CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

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THE PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES

OF THE

FIFTY-THIRD CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

ALSO

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE SENATE.

VOLUME XXV.

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VOLUME XXV, PART I.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD,

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE SENATE

AND

FIFTY-THIRD CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE FIFTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE SENATE.

SENATE.

SATURDAY, *March 4, 1893.*

Hon. ADLAI E. STEVENSON, Vice-President of the United States, having taken the oath of office at the close of the last regular session of the Fifty-second Congress, took the chair.

PRAYER.

Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D.D., Chaplain to the Senate, offered the following prayer:

O Thou, with whom is no variableness or shadow of turning, the unchangeable God, whose throne stands forever, and whose dominion ruleth over all; we seek a Father's blessing as we wait at the mercy seat. We bring to Thee our heart homage, God of our fathers, thanking Thee for our rich heritage of faith and of freedom, hallowed by the toils and tears, the valor and blood and prayers, of our patriot dead. We come with an abiding faith in God, who has led us all through our history, and pray that the blessings we so abundantly enjoy may abide upon the family of nations so honorably represented here to-day. Grant that this stream of mercy may flow throughout the world, and that all the people may have the freedom wherewith Christ makes free.

We look unto Thee for Thy guidance and blessing as we come to these solemnities, and pray that Thy peace may abide upon Thy servants the President and his Cabinet, upon the President of the Senate, and these Thy servants who to-day lay aside the perplexing responsibilities of public office, honored of men and blessed of God.

We commend to Thine especial favor Thy servant, the President-elect, called for the second time to these high and honorable and responsible trusts. O God, shield him by Thy power and let Thy banner over his home, in which Thou hast opened a wellspring of joy, ever be love. Gird him with Thy might. Guide him by Thy counsel. Control his judgment. Make him strong in purpose, and so do Thou direct his Administration with those associated with him in official relations that the blessing of God may continue more and more upon our Republic, which has ever been prospered of Heaven.

Bless, we pray Thee, our Vice-President, the President of the Senate, and those who to-day assume for the first time these responsibilities. So guide by Thy divine counsel, our Father, that in the future, as in the past, the unseen hand may lead us. Bless all the people of this great nation in their industries, in their homes, in their churches, in their schools, prospering every right endeavor, delivering us from lawlessness and vice, and bringing in the reign of peace and righteousness more and more, and among the nations of the world.

Guide us in the path of duty. Purify our hearts, we pray Thee, by the indwelling of Thy Spirit. O Lord, pardon what we have been. Sanctify what we are. Order what we shall be. And Thine shall be the glory and ours the eternal salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who hath taught us when we pray to say:

"Our Father Who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done upon earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen."

ADDRESS OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Senators, deeply impressed with a sense of its responsibilities and of its dignities, I now enter upon the discharge of the duties of the high office to which I have been called.

I am not unmindful of the fact that among the occupants of this chair during the one hundred and four years of our constitutional history have been statesmen eminent alike for their talents and for their tireless devotion to public duty. Adams, Jefferson, and Calhoun honored its incumbency during the early days of the Republic, while Arthur, Hendricks, and Morton have at a later period of our history shed luster upon the office of President of the most august deliberative assembly known to men.

I assume the duties of the great trust confided to me with no feeling of self-confidence, but rather with that of grave distrust of my ability satisfactorily to meet its requirements. I may be pardoned for saying that it shall be my earnest endeavor to discharge the important duties which lie before me with no less of impartiality and courtesy than of firmness and fidelity. Earnestly invoking the coöperation, the forbearance, the charity of each of its members, I now enter upon my duties as Presiding Officer of the Senate.

The Secretary of the Senate will read the proclamation of the President of the United States convening the Senate in extraordinary session.

PROCLAMATION.

The Secretary (Mr. ANSON G. MCCOOK) read the following proclamation:

By the President of the United States of America:

Whereas public interest require that the Senate should be convened at 12 o'clock on the 4th day of March next to receive such communications as may be made by the Executive:

Now, therefore, I, Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim and declare that an extraordinary occasion requires the Senate of the United States to convene at the Capitol, in the city of Washington, on the 4th day of March next, at 12 o'clock noon, of which all persons who shall at that time be entitled to act as members of that body are hereby required to take notice.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States at Washington this 25th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1893, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and seventeenth.

BENJ. HARRISON.

By the President:

WILLIAM F. WHARTON,
Acting Secretary of State.

SWEARING IN OF SENATORS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The names of the newly elected Senators whose credentials are on file will now be called by the Secretary, and they will come forward and receive the oath of office four at a time.

The Secretary read the names of—

Nelson W. Aldrich, of the State of Rhode Island.
William V. Allen, of the State of Nebraska.
William B. Bate, of the State of Tennessee.
Francis M. Cockrell, of the State of Missouri.

As their names were called the respective Senators-elect came forward, and the oath prescribed by law was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of—

John W. Daniel, of the State of Virginia.

Cushman K. Davis, of the State of Minnesota.
Charles J. Faulkner, of the State of West Virginia.
James Z. George, of the State of Mississippi.

As their names were called the respective Senators-elect came forward, and the oath prescribed by law was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of—
Arthur P. Gorman, of the State of Maryland.
George Gray, of the State of Delaware.
Eugene Hale, of the State of Maine.
Joseph R. Hawley, of the State of Connecticut.

As their names were called the respective Senators-elect came forward, and the oath prescribed by law was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of—
Henry Cabot Lodge, of the State of Massachusetts.
Roger Q. Mills, of the State of Texas.
John L. Mitchell, of the State of Wisconsin.
Edward Murphy, jr., of the State of New York.

As their names were called the respective Senators-elect came forward, and the oath prescribed by law was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of—
Samuel Pasco, of the State of Florida.
Redfield Proctor, of the State of Vermont.
Matthew S. Quay, of the State of Pennsylvania.
William N. Roach, of the State of North Dakota.

As their names were called the respective Senators-elect (with the exception of Mr. Quay, who was absent) came forward, and the oath prescribed by law was administered to them:

The Secretary called the names of—
John Sherman, of the State of Ohio.
James Smith, jr., of the State of New Jersey.
William M. Stewart, of the State of Nevada.

As their names were called, the respective Senators-elect came forward and the oath prescribed by law was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of—
Francis B. Stockbridge, of the State of Michigan.
David Turpie, of the State of Indiana.
Stephen M. White, of the State of California.

As their names were called, the respective Senators-elect came forward and the oath prescribed by law was administered to them.

SENATOR FROM KANSAS.

Mr. PEFFER. I present the credentials of John Martin, recently elected a Senator from Kansas for the term ending March 3, 1895, and ask that they be read and lie on the table for the present.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The credentials will be read.

The credentials were read and ordered to be filed, as follows:

STATE OF KANSAS, *Executive Department.*

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that on the 25th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1893, John Martin was duly elected by the Legislature of Kansas a Senator to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the unexpired term of six years commencing the 4th day of March, A. D. 1889, and ending March 4, 1895, and to fill the vacancy in said term happening by the decease of the Hon. Preston B. Plumb.

Witness his excellency, our governor, L. D. Lewelling, and our seal hereunto affixed, at Topeka, this 25th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1893, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and seventeenth.

[SEAL.] L. D. LEWELLING.

By the governor:

R. S. OSBORN, *Secretary of State.*

Mr. HOAR. The credentials of Mr. Martin seem to be in due form and to entitle him *prima facie* to be admitted to a seat in the Senate. If there be any question as to his title upon the merits the Senate can deal with it afterwards. I ask that the oath be administered to Mr. Martin.

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. Martin being present, I rose to ask that the oath of office be administered to him.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator-elect from Kansas will come forward and take the oath of office.

Mr. Martin was escorted to the Vice-President's desk by Mr. PEFFER, and the oath prescribed by law having been administered to him, he took his seat in the Senate.

SENATORS PRESENT.

The Senators-elect having been sworn and taken their seats in the Senate, the following Senators were present:

From the State of—
Alabama—James L. Pugh.
Arkansas—James H. Berry and James K. Jones.
California—Stephen M. White.
Colorado—Henry M. Teller and Edward O. Wolcott.
Connecticut—Joseph R. Hawley and Orville H. Platt.
Delaware—George Gray and Anthony Higgins.
Florida—Wilkinson Call and Samuel Pasco.
Georgia—John B. Gordon.
Idaho—Fred. T. Dubois and George L. Shoup.
Illinois—Shelby M. Cullom and John M. Palmer.
Indiana—David Turpie and Daniel W. Voorhees.
Iowa—William B. Allison and James F. Wilson.
Kansas—John Martin and William A. Peffer.
Kentucky—Joseph C. S. Blackburn and William Lindsay.
Louisiana—Donelson Caffery and Edward D. White.
Maine—William P. Frye and Eugene Hale.
Maryland—Charles H. Gibson and Arthur P. Gorman.
Massachusetts—George F. Hoar and Henry Cabot Lodge.
Michigan—James McMillan and Francis B. Stockbridge.
Minnesota—Cushman K. Davis and William D. Washburn.
Mississippi—James Z. George.
Missouri—Francis M. Cockrell and George G. Vest.
Montana—Thomas C. Power.
Nebraska—William V. Allen and Charles F. Manderson.
Nevada—John P. Jones and William M. Stewart.
New Hampshire—William E. Chandler and Jacob H. Gallinger.
New Jersey—John R. McPherson and James Smith, jr.
New York—David B. Hill and Edward Murphy, jr.
North Carolina—Matt W. Ransom and Zebulon B. Vance.
North Dakota—William N. Roach and Henry C. Hansbrough.
Ohio—Calvin S. Brice and John Sherman.
Oregon—John H. Mitchell.
Pennsylvania—James Donald Cameron.
Rhode Island—Nelson W. Aldrich and Nathan F. Dixon.
South Carolina—M. C. Butler and J. L. M. Irby.
South Dakota—James H. Kyle and R. F. Pettigrew.
Tennessee—William B. Bate and Isham G. Harris.
Texas—Richard Coke and Roger Q. Mills.
Vermont—Justin S. Morrill and Redfield Proctor.
Virginia—John W. Daniel and Eppa Hunton.
Washington—Watson C. Squire.
West Virginia—Johnson N. Camden and Charles J. Faulkner.
Wisconsin—John L. Mitchell and William F. Vilas.
Wyoming—Joseph M. Carey.

INAUGURATION CEREMONIES.

The persons entitled to admission on the floor of the Senate Chamber having been admitted to the places reserved for them, the President, Hon. GROVER CLEVELAND, of New York, entered the Senate Chamber accompanied by the late President, BENJAMIN HARRISON and Mr. TELLER, Mr. RANSOM, and Mr. MCPHERSON, members of the Committee of Arrangements, and was escorted to a seat in front of the Secretary's desk, and the late President and the members of the committee were seated on his right and left.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Sergeant-at-Arms will now execute the order of the Senate relative to the inaugural ceremonies of the President of the United States.

Those in the Senate Chamber proceeded to the platform on the central portico of the Capitol in the following order:

The marshal of the District of Columbia and the marshal of the Supreme Court.
The ex-Vice-President.
The Supreme Court.
The Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate.
The Committee of Arrangements.
The President and the President-elect.
The Vice-President and the Secretary of the Senate.
Members of the Senate.
The Diplomatic Corps.
Heads of Departments.

The Major-General of the Army Commanding, the Admiral of the Navy, and the officers of the Army and Navy who, by name, have received the thanks of Congress.

Members of the House of Representatives and members-elect, governors of States, ex-members of the Senate of the United States, officers of the Senate, and officers of the House of Representatives.

All other persons who have been admitted to the floor of the Senate Chamber, followed by those who have been admitted to the galleries.

The President-elect delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS: In obedience to the mandate of my countrymen, I am about to dedicate myself to their service under the sanction of a solemn oath. Deeply moved by the expression of confidence and personal attachment which has called me to this service, I am sure my gratitude can make no better return than the pledge I now give before God and these witnesses of unreserved and complete devotion to the interests and welfare of those who have honored me.

I deem it fitting on this occasion, while indicating the opinions I hold concerning public questions of present importance, to also briefly refer to the existence of certain conditions and tendencies among our people which seem to menace the integrity and usefulness of their Government.

While every American citizen must contemplate with the utmost pride and enthusiasm the growth and expansion of our country, the sufficiency of our institutions to stand against the rudest shocks of violence, the wonderful thrift and enterprise of our people, and the demonstrated superiority of our free government, it behooves us to constantly watch for every symptom of insidious infirmity that threatens our national vigor.

The strong man who in the confidence of sturdy health courts the sternest activities of life and rejoices in the hardihood of constant labor may still have lurking near his vitals the unheeded disease that dooms him to sudden collapse.

It can not be doubted that our stupendous achievements as a people and our country's robust strength have given rise to a heedlessness of those laws governing our national health, which we can no more evade than human life can escape the laws of God and nature.

Manifestly nothing is more vital to our supremacy as a nation and to the beneficent purposes of our Government than a sound and stable currency. Its exposure to degradation should at once arouse to activity the most enlightened statesmanship; and the danger of depreciation in the purchasing power of the wages paid to toil should furnish the strongest incentive to prompt and conservative precaution.

In dealing with our present embarrassing situation as related to this subject we will be wise if we temper our confidence and faith in our national strength and resources with the frank concession that even these will not permit us to defy with impunity the inexorable laws of finance and trade. At the same time, in our efforts to adjust differences of opinion, we should be free from intolerance or passion, and our judgments should be unmoved by alluring phrases and unvexed by selfish interests.

I am confident that such an approach to the subject will result in prudent and effective remedial legislation. In the mean time, so far as the executive branch of the Government can intervene, none of the powers with which it is invested will be withheld when their exercise is deemed necessary to maintain our national credit or avert financial disaster.

Closely related to the exaggerated confidence in our country's greatness which tends to a disregard of the rules of national safety, another danger confronts us not less serious. I refer to the prevalence of a popular disposition to expect from the operation of the Government especial and direct individual advantages.

The verdict of our voters, which condemned the injustice of maintaining protection for protection's sake, enjoins upon the people's servants the duty of exposing and destroying the brood of kindred evils which are the unwholesome progeny of paternalism. This is the bane of republican institutions and the constant peril of our Government by the people. It degrades to the purposes of wily craft the plan of rule our fathers established and bequeathed to us as an object of our love and veneration. It perverts the patriotic sentiment of our countrymen, and tempts them to pitiful calculation of the sordid gain to be derived from their Government's maintenance. It undermines the self-reliance of our people, and substitutes in its place dependence upon governmental favoritism. It stifles the spirit of true Americanism and stupefies every ennobling trait of American citizenship.

The lessons of paternalism ought to be unlearned and the better lesson taught, that while the people should patriotically and cheerfully support their Government, its functions do not include the support of the people.

The acceptance of this principle leads to a refusal of bounties and subsidies, which burden the labor and thrift of a portion of our citizens, to aid ill-advised or languishing enterprises in which they have no concern. It leads also to a challenge of wild and reckless pension expenditure, which overleaps the bounds of grateful recognition of patriotic service and prostitutes to vicious uses the people's prompt and generous impulse to aid those disabled in their country's defense.

Every thoughtful American must realize the importance of checking at its beginning any tendency in public or private station to regard frugality and economy as virtues which we may safely outgrow. The toleration of this idea results in the waste of the people's money by their chosen servants, and encourages prodigality and extravagance in the home life of our countrymen.

Under our scheme of government the waste of public money is a crime against the citizen; and the contempt of our people for economy and frugality in their personal affairs deplorably saps the strength and sturdiness of our national character.

It is a plain dictate of honesty and good government that public expenditures should be limited by public necessity, and that this should be measured by the rules of strict economy; and it is equally clear that frugality among the people is the best guaranty of a contented and strong support of free institutions.

One mode of the misappropriation of public funds is avoided when appointments to office, instead of being the rewards of partisan activity, are awarded to those whose efficiency promises a fair return of work for the compensation paid to them. To secure the fitness and competency of appointees to office, and to remove from political action the demoralizing madness for spoils, civil-service reform has found a place in our public policy and laws. The benefits already gained through this instrumentality and the further usefulness it promises, entitle it to the hearty support and encouragement of all who desire to see our public service well performed or who hope for the elevation of political sentiment and the purification of political methods.

The existence of immense aggregations of kindred enterprises and combinations of business interests, formed for the purpose of limiting production and fixing prices, is inconsistent with the fair field which ought to be open to every independent activity. Legitimate strife in business should not be superseded by an enforced concession to the demands of combinations that have the power to destroy; nor should the people to be served lose the benefit of cheapness which usually results from wholesome competition. These aggregations and combinations frequently constitute conspiracies against the interests of the people, and in all their phases they are unnatural and opposed to our American sense of fairness. To the extent that they can be reached and restrained by Federal power, the General Government should relieve our citizens from their interference and exactions.

Loyalty to the principles upon which our Government rests positively demands that the equality before the law which it guarantees to every citizen should be justly and in good faith conceded in all parts of the land. The enjoyment of this right follows the badge of citizenship wherever found, and, unimpaired by race or color, it appeals for recognition to American manliness and fairness.

Our relations with the Indians located within our borders impose upon us responsibilities we can not escape. Humanity and consistency require us to treat them with forbearance, and in our dealings with them to honestly and considerately regard their rights and interests. Every effort should be made to lead them, through the paths of civilization and education, to self-supporting and independent citizenship. In the mean time, as the nation's wards they should be promptly defended against the cupidity of designing men and shielded from every influence or temptation that retards their advancement.

The people of the United States have decreed that on this day the control of their Government in its legislative and executive branches shall be given to a political party pledged in the most positive terms to the accomplishment of tariff reform. They have thus determined in favor of a more just and equitable system of Federal taxation. The agents they have chosen to carry out their purposes are bound by their promises, not less than by the command of their masters, to devote themselves unremittingly to this service.

While there should be no surrender of principle, our task must be undertaken wisely and without heedless vindictiveness. Our mission is not punishment, but the rectification of wrongs. If, in lifting burdens from the daily life of our people, we reduce inordinate and unequal advantages too long enjoyed, this is but a necessary incident of our return to right and justice. If we exact from unwilling minds acquiescence in the theory of an honest distribution of the fund of the governmental beneficence treasured up for all, we but insist upon a principle which underlies our free institutions. When we tear aside the delusions and misconceptions which have blinded our countrymen to their condition under vicious tariff laws, we but show them how far they have been led away from the paths of contentment and prosperity. When we proclaim that the necessity for revenue to support the Government furnishes the only justification for taxing the people, we announce a truth so plain that its denial would seem to indicate the extent to which judgment may be influenced by familiarity with perversions of the taxing power; and when we seek to reinstate the self-confidence and business enterprise of our citizens, by discrediting an abject dependence upon governmental favor, we strive to stimulate those elements of American character which support the hope of American achievement.

Anxiety for the redemption of the pledges which my party has made, and solicitude for the complete justification of the trust the people have reposed in us, constrain me to remind those with whom I am to coöperate that we can succeed in doing the work which has been especially set before us only by the most sincere, harmonious, and disinterested effort. Even if insuperable obstacles and opposition prevent the consummation of our task, we shall hardly be excused; and if failure can be traced to our fault or neglect, we may be sure the people will hold us to a swift and exacting accountability.

The oath I now take to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, not only impressively defines the

great responsibility I assume, but suggests obedience to constitutional commands as the rule by which my official conduct must be guided. I shall to the best of my ability, and within my sphere of duty, preserve the Constitution by loyally protecting every grant of Federal power it contains, by defending all its restraints when attacked by impatience and restlessness, and by enforcing its limitations and reservations in favor of the States and the people.

Fully impressed with the gravity of the duties that confront me and mindful of my weakness, I should be appalled if it were my lot to bear unaided the responsibilities which await me. I am, however, saved from discouragement when I remember that I shall have the support and the counsel and coöperation of wise and patriotic men who will stand at my side in cabinet places or will represent the people in their legislative halls.

I find also much comfort in remembering that my countrymen are just and generous and in the assurance that they will not condemn those who by sincere devotion to their service deserve their forbearance and approval.

Above all, I know there is a Supreme Being who rules the affairs of men and whose goodness and mercy have always followed the American people; and I know He will not turn from us now if we humbly and reverently seek His powerful aid.

The Senate returned to its Chamber at 2 o'clock and 3 minutes p. m., and the Vice-President resumed the chair.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. BLACKBURN submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That a committee to consist of two Senators be appointed to wait on the President of the United States and inform him that the Senate is assembled and ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.

The VICE-PRESIDENT appointed Mr. BLACKBURN and Mr. ALLISON as the committee.

HOUR OF MEETING.

On motion of Mr. HARRIS, it was

Ordered, That the daily hour of meeting of the Senate be 12 o'clock m. until otherwise ordered.

Mr. GORMAN. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, March 6, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

MONDAY, *March 6, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

ALFRED H. COLQUITT, a Senator from the State of Georgia, JOSEPH N. DOLPH, a Senator from the State of Oregon, LELAND STANFORD, a Senator from the State of California, and EDWARD C. WALTHALL, a Senator from the State of Mississippi, appeared in their seats to-day.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday last was read and approved.

NOTIFICATION TO PRESIDENT.

Mr. BLACKBURN and Mr. ALLISON, the committee appointed to wait on the President of the United States, appeared at the bar of the Senate, and

Mr. BLACKBURN said: Mr. President, the committee appointed to wait upon the President and inform him of the fact that the Senate is in session and ready to receive any communication he may have to make have discharged that duty, and were requested by the President to state that he will very soon to-day communicate to the Senate in writing.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of the secretaries of the President, appeared at the bar and said: Mr. President, I am directed by the President of the United States to deliver to the Senate sundry messages in writing.

Mr. HARRIS. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After fifteen minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

ADJOURNMENT TO THURSDAY.

On motion of Mr. GORMAN, it was

Ordered, That when the Senate adjourn to-day it be to meet on Thursday next.

SWAMP LAND GRANT PATENTS.

Mr. CALL. I submit a resolution, which I send to the desk and ask to have read and lie on the table. It is my intention to obtain some action by the Senate upon it if I can do so.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate, That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, requested to suspend the approval or the issuing of patents to land under acts of Congress granting swamp and overflowed land and under the act of May 17, 1856, granting land to the States of Alabama and Florida in aid of the construction of certain lines of railway, until Congress shall hereafter authorize the approval of lists of such lands.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I object to the consideration of the resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will lie over until to-morrow.

Mr. CALL. The Senator from Colorado has no right under the rules to object to the consideration of the resolution. I do not design to ask its consideration to-day, but I shall do so on the next day's session of the Senate. I wish to say that there are precedents for this action, and it has been the practice of the Senate of late years to consider resolutions which relate to the action of this body alone.

Mr. WOLCOTT. My objection is made under the rules of the Senate. I do not care to go into the consideration of the other question.

Mr. CALL. The Senator has no right to make such an objection, because no present consideration has been asked of the resolution.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I suppose I have the right to object, and the Chair will pass upon the correctness of my objection.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let the resolution be printed.

Mr. BUTLER. The resolution goes over on one objection, and will be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. So the Chair understands.

CHANGE OF INAUGURATION DAY.

Mr. SHERMAN. I introduce a joint resolution which I ask may lie on the table, to be referred hereafter to the Committee on the Judiciary. It is a joint resolution in amendment of the Constitution. I ask that it be read at length.

Mr. HARRIS. Do I understand the Senator to say it is a joint resolution?

Mr. SHERMAN. It is a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution, which I merely desire to introduce for reference. I ask that it be read and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The joint resolution (S. R. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States was read the first time by its title, and the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, as part of the Constitution, namely:

The term of office of the President and of the Fifty-fourth Congress shall continue until noon of the 30th day of April in the year 1897. The Senators whose term would expire on the 4th day of March in the year 1897 shall continue in office until noon of the 30th day in April succeeding such expiration: and the 30th day of April, at noon, shall thereafter be substituted for the 4th day of March as the commencement and termination of the official term of the President, Vice-President, Senators, and Representatives in Congress.

Mr. HOAR. Before the joint resolution passes from the consideration of the Senate I desire to say that I hope the Senator from Ohio will have it referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. The subject has been considered by that committee more than once. I had the honor to introduce a joint resolution substantially like the one the Senator now introduces, and it passed the Senate on the report of that committee.

Mr. SHERMAN. I have no objection to the reference of the joint resolution even now to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. We can make the reference although the committees are not yet organized.

Mr. HARRIS. It was my fault that I did not hear the joint resolution. Let it be read again.

The joint resolution was again read.

Mr. HARRIS. I wish to ask what action the Senator from Ohio proposes to take?

Mr. SHERMAN. I wish the joint resolution to lie on the table to be hereafter referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. HARRIS. Let it lie on the table for the present.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Ohio requests that the joint resolution lie on the table, to be referred hereafter to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. HARRIS. Let it be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be printed. Without objection, this will be taken to be the action of the Senate.

Mr. HARRIS. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 32 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Thursday next, March 9, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 6, 1893.

SECRETARY OF STATE.

Walter Q. Gresham, of Illinois, to be Secretary of State, vice John W. Foster, resigned.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, to be Secretary of the Treasury, vice Charles Foster, resigned.

SECRETARY OF WAR.

Daniel S. Lamont, of New York, to be Secretary of War, vice Stephen B. Elkins, resigned.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Richard Olney, of Massachusetts, to be Attorney-General, vice William H. H. Miller, resigned.

POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

Wilson S. Bissell, of New York, to be Postmaster-General, vice John Wanamaker, resigned.

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

Hilary A. Herbert, of Alabama, to be Secretary of the Navy, vice Benjamin F. Tracy, resigned.

SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

Hoke Smith, of Georgia, to be Secretary of the Interior, vice John W. Noble, resigned.

SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE.

Julius Sterling Morton, of Nebraska, to be Secretary of Agriculture, vice Jeremiah M. Rusk, resigned.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 6, 1893.

SECRETARY OF STATE.

Walter Q. Gresham, of Illinois, to be Secretary of State.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, to be Secretary of the Treasury.

SECRETARY OF WAR.

Daniel S. Lamont, of New York, to be Secretary of War.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Richard Olney, of Massachusetts, to be Attorney-General.

POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

Wilson S. Bissell, of New York, to be Postmaster-General.

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

Hilary A. Herbert, of Alabama, to be Secretary of the Navy.

SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

Hoke Smith, of Georgia, to be Secretary of the Interior.

SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE.

Julius Sterling Morton, of Nebraska, to be Secretary of Agriculture.

THURSDAY, *March 9, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of the proceedings of Monday last was read and approved.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

Mr. TELLER. I present the credentials of Hon. Lee Mantle, who has been appointed a Senator from the State of Montana by the governor of that State. I ask that the credentials be read and lie on the table until the Committee on Privileges and Elections is formed, and then referred to that committee.

The credentials were read, as follows:

Whereas a vacancy hath happened in the office of Senator in the Congress of the United States from the State of Montana by the expiration of the official term of Wilbur S. Sanders, which said vacancy happened at noon of the 4th day of March, 1893, which said date was during a recess of the Legislature of said State, which said recess still continues and said vacancy still exists: and

Whereas by section 3 of the Constitution of the United States, it is provided as to Senators in the Congress of the United States "if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the Legislature of any State the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature," and the exigency therein contemplated hath occurred:

Now, therefore, I, John E. Richards, governor of the State of Montana, by virtue of the power in me vested have appointed, and do hereby appoint, Lee Mantle to be a Senator in the Congress of the United States from the State of Montana to fill such vacancy until the next meeting of the Legislature of the State of Montana.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the State of Montana to be hereto affixed at Helena, in said State, at 12.30 o'clock of the 4th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1893, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and seventeenth.

[SEAL.] J. E. RICHARDS, *Governor.*

By the governor:

L. ROTWITT, *Secretary of State.*

Mr. VANCE. There has been so much confusion in the Chamber and in the galleries that I must ask what is the motion with reference to the credentials which have just been read?

Mr. TELLER. If the Senator from North Carolina will allow me, I will state that I asked that the credentials lie on the table, to be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections when formed. I do not propose to ask the Senate to take any action at this time, as I understand there is another credential presenting exactly the same question of law which has not yet been submitted, and I understand it is the intention of the committee at an early day to look into the question of law and make a report to the Senate.

Mr. VANCE. That is satisfactory to this side of the Chamber. When the credentials of the Senator appointed from Wyoming are presented I shall ask that the same course be taken.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The credentials will lie on the table.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

Mr. GRAY. I move that when the Senate adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

Mr. PROCTOR. I ask for the adoption of the following order:

Ordered, That N. J. Coffin have leave to withdraw his papers in connection with Senate bill 3638, from the files of the Senate, subject to the rules of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The order will be made as requested by the Senator from Vermont, in the absence of objection.

Sundry messages in writing were received from the President of the United States, by Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries.

ELECTION OF SENATORS BY DIRECT VOTE OF THE PEOPLE.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I introduce a joint resolution, which I ask may be read the first and second times by title and lie on the table, to be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections when that committee is raised.

The joint resolution (S. R. 2) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, providing for the election of Senators by the votes of the qualified electors of the States, was read twice by its title.

Mr. MANDERSON. I hope the Senator from Oregon will simply permit the joint resolution to lie on the table without any order as to its reference to a committee until the question shall be determined by the Senate whether at this extraordinary session, which is called for executive purposes, we shall transact any legislative business.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Very well; I am willing the order of reference shall be left open. Let the joint resolution lie on the table.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will lie on the table.

BUSINESS OF THE SESSION.

Mr. GORMAN. Before the subject passes from consideration I wish to suggest, as the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON] has done, that I think the uniform custom has been that at called executive sessions matters of legislation have not been introduced. There are some exceptions, it is true, but as my recollection serves me it has, by common consent heretofore, been understood that only such matters as the Senate alone can deal with should be presented for consideration at an extraordinary session. Otherwise, by the introduction of bills and joint resolutions legislative subjects will be brought before us for consideration.

I only throw out the suggestion, confirming the statement of the distinguished Senator from Nebraska, whether it would not be wise to follow the universal custom and not present matters of legislation at the present special session.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Maryland to the fact that four years ago I think the RECORD will show that both resolutions and bills were introduced.

Mr. SHERMAN. In consequence of conversation at the last meeting of the Senate, I looked into the precedents somewhat as to the course of the Senate in regard to business at a called or executive session, and I find that in nearly every called session, running back at least for forty years, the Senate has, I

think without exception, received sometimes petitions, sometimes resolutions, and sometimes other matters, but usually did not act upon them. I came to the conclusion, therefore, that whatever may be the policy and the desire of the Senate at the particular moment, the Senate being once convened by the President of the United States it can exercise all the powers it has under the Constitution of the United States; that it is a mere question of discretion as to what ought to be done.

As a general rule I think it would be better when an executive session is called to confine ourselves to executive business, or to that business which may be done by the Senate in respect to its own organization, as it may pass upon the right of a person claiming to be a Senator to a seat in this body, or do anything which it may properly and conclusively do by itself.

So I do not think there is any question of constitutional law involved, but it is merely a question of discretion. In following the general precedents I should feel inclined not to take up anything which can not be concluded and acted upon at the present time by the Senate, but to confine our action to passing upon treaties and executive messages, and also any questions relating to the organization of the body or the admission of new members.

Mr. HARRIS. I should like to ask the Senator from Ohio, who has been looking into the precedents, if he has found a single instance in the whole history of the Government where, when the Senate was convened in executive session, any action looking to legislation and requiring the action of both Houses of Congress has been entered upon?

Mr. SHERMAN. I have before me what occurred in 1873, when the Senate decided by two separate yea-and-nay votes that it would not receive petitions. I find that Mr. Howe had gathered the precedents, and he showed conclusively that at different periods from 1829 down petitions were received, that resolutions were offered in some cases, and there were presented resolutions of the legislative council of the Territory of Wisconsin.

As far back as 1829 "the Vice-President laid before the Senate a memorial of Messrs. Gales & Seaton, soliciting a subscription in behalf of the United States to a proposed compilation of executive and legislative documents," etc. There are various precedents as to what the Senate did or did not do, but it is clear that in every case it confined itself to those questions of which the Senate alone could take jurisdiction.

Mr. HARRIS. The presentation of a petition falls very far short of the introduction of a bill or joint resolution, which requires the action of both Houses of Congress and is in every essential respect the beginning of legislation. I hope the Senator from Ohio will not insist upon setting the precedent that the consideration of his joint resolution or even its introduction will set for those who shall come after us.

Mr. DOLPH. Mr. President, I am quite indifferent as to what rule the Senate may adopt in regard to the introduction of legislative business or business which requires the action of both Houses. The Senator from Florida [Mr. CALL] on Monday introduced a Senate resolution, which was legislative business, and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] introduced a joint resolution, thus setting the precedent. To-day my colleague [Mr. MITCHELL] has introduced a joint resolution. I hold one in my hand which I have been urged to present. I think the question ought to be met upon the right to introduce such a resolution, and I am quite willing that it should be made upon my own offer to introduce such a resolution; but if the Senator from Ohio, my colleague, and other Senators are to be allowed to introduce resolutions which require the action of both Houses, I simply do not want to be left out of the procession.

Mr. HARRIS. Is the Senator's resolution a joint resolution?

Mr. DOLPH. It is a joint resolution.

Mr. HARRIS. Then I interpose an objection to its being introduced.

Mr. DOLPH. Let it be offered.

Mr. HARRIS. Very well; the Senator may offer it; and I object to its being received at this session.

Mr. BUTLER. I merely rose for the purpose of interposing an objection. Of course my friend from Oregon understands I do not object with a view of being discourteous to him.

Mr. DOLPH. It will not be so, because I have signified my entire willingness that the rule which we are to follow shall be adopted on my offer to introduce a joint resolution.

Mr. BUTLER. Exactly; and I rose simply for the purpose of interposing an objection to the introduction of the joint resolution, as the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS] has already done.

Mr. CULLOM. Mr. President——

Mr. DOLPH. Let the joint resolution be read by title, that the matter may be intelligently placed before the Senate on the offer to introduce it.

Mr. CULLOM. Very well.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be read by title.

The SECRETARY. A joint resolution calling on the President to take such measures as he may deem necessary to consummate the agreement between the Governments of Spain and the United States for the relief of Antonio Maximo Mora, a naturalized citizen of the United States.

Mr. CULLOM. I have in my hand the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, which perhaps is the same volume referred to by the Senator from Ohio. In 1873 Senator Howe introduced the petition of John Alsop, coheir of Thomas Jenkins, etc. The question of its reception was debated somewhat by different Senators. Among others the distinguished Senator from Ohio took part, and I think the Senator's views then were that such a paper ought not to be received by the Senate. Without detaining the Senate by reading what took place, I will state that the judgment of the Senate was, I think, finally, that while petitions might be presented to be retained or cared for during the vacation, they could not be received to be referred to committees for consideration as connected with legislation. That seems to have been the judgment of Senators then.

Mr. HOAR. Was it held that petitions ought not or could not be received under the Constitution?

Mr. CULLOM. It was the view of the Senate that they should not be received. The question whether it was constitutional or not I do not undertake to discuss, but the view expressed by Senator Hamlin, Senator Bayard, and I think Senator SHERMAN and others was that in an executive session, called as is this one, petitions for legislation should not be received, and they were finally rejected.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President, this question arises every four years. I remember very distinctly we had a similar discussion four years ago. While I myself believe that it is competent for the Senate to transact at this session any business which it may transact at any other session, I have always been of the opinion that, as a matter of convenience and perhaps of propriety, it was well not to engage in legislative business. I have always understood in the fourteen years that I have been here that that course has been pursued by the Senate, as was suggested by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] a few moments ago, by common consent, without attempting to pass upon the question whether the Senate has the constitutional right to engage in legislation or not.

I am fully in sympathy with the idea of not entering upon legislative business at this session, but at the same time I wish to say, if the question of our right to do so was under consideration, I should be of the opinion that we have a perfect right to engage in legislative business. Therefore, in whatever course the Senate may take, I, for one, should not want to feel concluded by the opinion of the Senate, and should not want anything that we do to pass as the opinion of the Senate that we have not the right to engage in legislative business. I am quite willing to forego such business. I think it is better for our convenience and for all the proprieties of legislation that we should do so.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Mr. President, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] has stated precisely my view of this matter. I have no doubt at all as to our jurisdiction.

It has been said, however, that we have been convened in executive session by the President of the United States. We have not been convened in executive session by the President of the United States. The Senate has been convened in extraordinary session; and so far as the right of any Senator to introduce any matter of legislation is concerned, I have no doubt at all that that right exists; but I fully agree with the suggestion made by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN], by the Senator from Connecticut, and other Senators, that it is bad policy even to introduce measures which require the action of both Houses; and I should not have introduced such a measure this morning except from the fact that the Senator from Florida [Mr. CALL] on Monday introduced a resolution and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] also introduced a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. I desired to present my joint resolution in order that it might be before the Senate in the event the Senate should decide to receive business of that kind.

Mr. VEST. If the Senator will permit me, I wish to make a single remark.

I recollect twelve years ago, under the identical circumstances which surround us to-day, I introduced a petition and a bill, coming, I remember distinctly, from merchants of the city of St. Louis, and some of the most eminent men who have ever been in this body were then members of it. This question was brought up and discussed and decided in the affirmative, that the Senate had the right to receive matters of that kind; and the petition was received and the bill was laid upon the table until the committees were formed.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. It has been decided both ways by the Senate heretofore.

Mr. MANDERSON. Mr. President, like those who have spoken, I have no doubt, when the Senate is called in extraordinary session, under that constitutional power which vests in the President of the United States to call Congress or either House in extraordinary session, that it has the constitutional right to proceed to the consideration of any subject-matter, whether it be legislative or executive, which is within its jurisdictional power.

But we all understand the purpose for which the Senate is called in session when there is a change in the Executive. It is for the purpose of considering very largely executive business. There can be no possible objection, perhaps, to the receipt by the Senate of petitions, and that they shall lie upon the table or be placed upon the files for the future consideration of the Senate; but I see very grave objections to the introduction of bills and joint resolutions.

Bills or joint resolutions introduced at this executive session by a few members of the Senate have a certain precedence over matters which may be introduced by other Senators at the regular session which I do not think they should possess.

I should not think that either side or any member of this body would desire to go on either in committee or in the Senate with the consideration of that which requires the joint action of the two bodies, not that I hold to the view that the Senate can not at this time consider bills, but I consider it best that it should not.

I offer the resolution which I send to the desk, and ask for its present consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution offered by the Senator from Nebraska will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that at this extraordinary session of the Senate the business transacted shall be confined to executive matters and those requiring the action of the Senate only.

Mr. TELLER. Understanding that that resolution is only a declaration of policy, I shall not object to it.

Mr. MANDERSON and Mr. BUTLER. That is all it is.

Mr. TELLER. That the Senate has a right to proceed as if the House of Representatives were in session I do not think can be successfully denied.

Mr. PLATT. This resolution is an admission of that.

Mr. TELLER. If it is an admission of that right, as some Senators suggest, it is all right.

I have looked into the precedents, and I am satisfied that the modern precedents are that we have the right to legislate. We can prepare bills and pass them and get them ready for the action of the other House. It is a mere question of policy. I do not want to legislate at this session, but I should not like to have any precedent made here which could be used against us hereafter, that the Senate has not the constitutional power to pass upon these questions.

Mr. DOLPH. Is the resolution of the Senator from Nebraska in order at this time? I was of the opinion that the presentation of the joint resolution offered by myself was the pending question.

Mr. BUTLER. That goes over for a day.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the Senator from Oregon that his joint resolution has been objected to and that it has gone over until to-morrow.

Mr. DOLPH. Is a joint resolution subject to objection on its presentation?

Mr. BUTLER. Certainly, the joint resolution goes over under objection.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The first clause of Rule XIV will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

1. Whenever a bill or joint resolution shall be offered, its introduction shall, if objected to, be postponed for one day.

Mr. SHERMAN. I ask that the resolution offered by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON] may be again read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be again read.

The Secretary read the resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. DOLPH and Mr. COCKRELL. Let the resolution lie over.

Mr. SHERMAN. Treaties ought to be included in that resolution.

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask that the resolution be printed. I object to its present consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Missouri objects to the immediate consideration of the resolution, and it will lie over under the rules and be printed.

Mr. HALE. I offer the resolution which I send to the desk as a substitute for the resolution offered by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON].

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That no legislative business shall be received or entertained at the present session of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. COCKRELL. Let it be printed and lie over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Missouri objects, and the resolution will be printed and lie over.

Mr. HALE. I desire to modify the resolution by inserting the words "excepting treaties."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read as modified.

The Secretary read the resolution as modified, as follows:

Resolved, That no legislative business excepting treaties shall be received or entertained at the present session of the Senate.

Mr. HARRIS. I wish to ask the Senator from Maine if he deems it necessary to except treaties? Does he consider the action of the Senate upon a treaty legislative business in contradistinction to executive business?

Mr. HALE. I put those words in out of abundant caution, because there are Senators who believe that when we adopt treaties and make them the law between us and other nations, they are perhaps the highest form of legislation.

Mr. HARRIS. No matter how important or how high the form, treaties are purely executive.

Mr. HALE. The insertion of the words will do no harm at any rate.

Mr. MILLS. A treaty might require legislation by both Houses in order to carry it into effect. Where a treaty deals with the taxing power we should certainly have to get the consent of the House of Representatives. I think the words well put in by the Senator from Maine.

Mr. McPHERSON. I should like to make a single inquiry. The resolution seems to be very broad, and I wish to know whether it would cover Senate resolutions?

Several SENATORS. No.

Mr. McPHERSON. I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN], who objected to the presentation of resolutions, to the fact that it may be necessary in order to expedite the business of the session when we meet again, that some of the committees of the Senate should be required to perform certain labors during the recess. If the pending resolution would shut out all Senate resolutions which would be a direction to its committees, I should think that it ought to be changed or modified to the extent that the Senate might in open session direct certain committees to sit during the recess to perform labor which may be necessary and expedient for us to have at the coming session. Such resolutions should be permitted to be introduced and acted upon.

Mr. GORMAN. When the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] introduced a joint resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States on the second day of the session my recollection then was that it was an unusual procedure, and that the general determination on the part of the Senate in special executive sessions was not to receive any matter of legislation or to transact any business whatever except those matters which the Senate alone could deal with, which included, as a matter of course, the organization of its committees, instructions to its committees to perform any duty during the recess, questions relating to the organization of the body, and executive business.

I did not, however, at the time object, because of the experience of the Senator from Ohio; but, like him, I went back over the RECORD, and found the celebrated case to which he referred brought here by Mr. Howe in 1873, on the presentation of petitions, where, after long discussion and an objection on the part of the Senator from Ohio himself to the reception of petitions, by a yea and nay vote of 20 to 31 the Senate decided not to receive even petitions. While there have been one or two attempts since to introduce resolutions and bills, they have upon objection, as the Senator asked in that case, always been laid aside without any action whatever.

Mr. SHERMAN. Allow me to say that on the following day after that decision was made Mr. Howe again introduced the subject-matter—he, Mr. Bayard, I, and others taking part in the discussion—and the Senate yielded so far as to agree that petitions might be received, laid upon the table, and taken care of, not to be acted upon at that session. The next day there was another vote upon the question, Mr. Howe insisting upon his right of presenting the petitions. That vote reaffirmed the first vote, and that was the settlement of the matter. The petitions were received and laid upon the table, but not referred.

Mr. GORMAN. And with the distinct statement then made by the Senator from Ohio himself that it was a mere form, that

the Secretary might preserve the papers until the next session convened.

Mr. SHERMAN. That was what we thought the proper thing to do at that time.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. Howe in that discussion went back to the beginning of the Government, and he found but very few cases, all of which are on page 77, volume 1, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Forty-third Congress, special session of the Senate. By common consent, without the adoption of any resolution, the uniform custom has been to exclude the presentation of legislative business.

I trust, even without the passage of a resolution now, we may have, by common consent, an understanding to-day that no petitions, joint resolutions, bills, or other legislative matter may be considered or presented at this session, but that the Senate will go on and deal exclusively with those matters within its jurisdiction, including all executive business, whether treaties or otherwise, and not pass resolutions.

Now, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that that shall be the rule at this executive session.

Mr. TELLER. For this session?

Mr. GORMAN. For this session.

Mr. CULLOM. Without the passage of any resolution on the subject?

Mr. GORMAN. Yes.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I think the resolutions which have been offered had better go over and also the request for unanimous consent. I have no doubt that the Senate will, without an exception, come to the conclusion indicated by the Senator from Maryland, but there are reasons why I prefer to have these questions go over at present.

Mr. GORMAN. Very well; let the whole subject-matter go over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolutions have gone over under objection.

Mr. GORMAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. CALL. I ask the Senator from Maryland to withdraw his motion for a moment that I may be allowed to say a word.

Mr. GORMAN. Very well.

Mr. CALL. The resolution which I introduced has to some extent provoked the observations which have been made upon the floor of the Senate. My resolution is a Senate resolution and asks no other action than the action of the Senate in the shape of a request on the Interior Department in reference to certain matters, carrying with it only that weight which an expression on the part of this body might have with an Executive Department of the Government.

Although it is a matter of great importance whether or not there has been a corrupt and an unauthorized misappropriation of great bodies of the public lands of the country, and although this body is peculiarly charged with the duty of protecting the people of the country against fraudulent administration of any kind, I am content, if it be the sense of the Senate, when charges are made of gross misconduct in reference to the administration of any of our great Departments, that there shall be no investigation of the subject at this time.

Upon the question of the power of the Senate, however, there can be no reasonable objection. Where is the limitation to it? Is not this a Senate? Is it not a body with full power to do those things which the Constitution authorizes it to do? Where is the limitation in the Constitution as to the power of this body in respect to the time in which they shall perform the functions assigned to them? It is true there can be no law without the action of the other House of Congress, but that is the only limitation.

There is neither restraint nor direction nor limitation as to the time in which this permanent branch of the Legislature, always capable of sitting, may discharge any function assigned to it. Who is to tell whether or not treaties or Senate resolutions will require in some of their branches the concurrence of the other House of Congress? Where is there a treaty which does not require some action on the part of the other House of Congress, or at least that may not require it?

So I think it is eminently proper, when a public exigency demands it, that this body in session should perform any function which it may possess.

In regard to the policy of entering upon legislation at this time, I am entirely indifferent what action the Senate may take. I am content to leave the subject of the resolution I introduced to the able and faithful man who is the President of the United States, and the accomplished and talented man, Mr. Smith, who is Secretary of the Interior. I have entire confidence that they will be true friends of the people and will defend them in all their rights and secure to even the poorest and humblest of them their right to their homes upon the public lands against the most powerful corporations and influences.

IMMIGRATION AND CONTRACT-LABOR LAWS.

Mr. CHANDLER. I offer a resolution for reference to the Committee on Printing when appointed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That there be printed for the use of the Senate 2,000 copies of the act of March 3, 1893, "to facilitate the enforcement of the immigration and contract-labor laws of the United States," supplemented by Senate report, No. 787, of the first session of the present Congress, which accompanied the bill when reported to the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will lie on the table, to be referred to the Committee on Printing when appointed.

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

Mr. PROCTOR. I offer a resolution for reference to the Committee on Printing when appointed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That 5,000 copies of Senate bill No. 3824 "to establish a national university," and of the Senate report thereon, be printed in document form for the use of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will lie on the table, to be referred to the Committee on Printing when appointed.

CAPT. PHAROS B. BRUBAKER.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which will be read:

The Secretary read as follows:

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith a report submitted by the Secretary of State, in compliance with the resolution of the Senate of the 3d instant, calling for information relating to the capture and imprisonment of Capt. Pharos B. Brubaker by Honduras officials.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, March 9, 1893.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The message will lie on the table.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let it lie on the table to be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, when formed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The order will be made as suggested by the Senator from Missouri, in the absence of objection.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. GORMAN. I now renew my motion for an executive session.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Maryland that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After seven minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 12 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, March 13, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 9, 1893.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE.

Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, to be Assistant Secretary of State, vice William F. Wharton, resigned.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Isaac P. Gray, of Indiana, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Mexico, vice Thomas Ryan, resigned.

CONSUL-GENERAL AT LONDON.

Patrick A. Collins, of Massachusetts, to be consul-general of the United States at London, vice John C. New, resigned.

ASSISTANT SURGEON, MARINE HOSPITAL SERVICE.

James H. Oakley, of Illinois, to be an assistant surgeon in the Marine Hospital Service of the United States.

FOURTH ASSISTANT POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

Robert A. Maxwell, of New York, to be Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General, vice Estes G. Rathbone, resigned.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

F. P. Gayle, of Roswell, N. Mex., to be receiver of public moneys at Roswell, N. Mex., vice Frank Lesnet, removed.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Lieut. (junior grade) Herbert O. Dunn, to be a lieutenant in the Navy from the 17th February, 1893, vice Lieut. Lovell K. Reynolds, deceased.

Ensign Joseph Beale, to be a lieutenant, junior grade, in the Navy from the 17th February, 1893, vice Lieut. (junior grade) H. O. Dunn, promoted.

Lieut. (junior grade) Arthur W. Dodd, to be a lieutenant in the Navy from the 25th of February, 1893, vice Lieut. R. R. Ingersoll, promoted.

Ensign Edward F. Lieper, to be a lieutenant, junior grade, in the Navy from the 25th of February, 1893, vice Lieut. (junior grade) Arthur W. Dodd, promoted.

ASSISTANT SURGEONS IN THE NAVY.

Alfred Brown Pusey, a resident of Kentucky, and Edward Mansfield Shipp, a resident of Virginia, to be assistant surgeons in the Navy, both to fill vacancies in that grade.

MONDAY, *March 13, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday last was read and approved.

SWAMP LAND GRANT PATENTS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution submitted by the Senator from Florida [Mr. CALL] coming over from a previous day.

Mr. GORMAN. I ask that the resolution may lie on the table for the present.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Maryland asks that the resolution may lie on the table. That will be the order of the Senate in the absence of objection.

Mr. SHERMAN. I do not understand what the resolution is.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A resolution by Mr. CALL, requesting the Secretary of the Interior to suspend the approval or the issuing of patents to land in certain cases in Alabama and Florida.

Mr. DOLPH. If there is to be any disposition made of the resolution I shall insist that it be referred to the Committee on Public Lands. The matter has been before that committee at a number of Congresses.

Mr. GORMAN. I merely suggested that the resolution had better lie on the table.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That will be the order.

Mr. DOLPH. Very well.

BUSINESS OF THE SESSION.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution, submitted by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON], coming over from a previous day, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. MANDERSON on the 9th instant, as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that at this extraordinary session of the Senate the business transacted shall be confined to executive matters, and those requiring the action of the Senate only.

Mr. MANDERSON. I desire to modify the resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read as modified.

The Secretary read the resolution as modified, as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that at this extraordinary session of the Senate the business transacted shall be confined to the consideration of treaties and other executive matters and those requiring the action of the Senate only.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution as modified.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, I see no occasion for the passage of this resolution. It will amount to nothing. It would not bind us ten minutes nor ten seconds. I think the Constitution is quite broad enough. Referring to the President, it says in section 3 of article 2:

He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper.

Now, what does that mean? It does not mean an executive session. The Constitution knows no such thing as an executive session. That is a mere matter of rule for the Senate. This is an extraordinary session under the Constitution, and it possesses every power and right and jurisdiction that the Senate would possess if the other House had been called with it. The President can call the House of Representatives in extraordinary session.

Mr. MANDERSON. If I may interrupt the Senator——

Mr. COCKRELL. Wait until I finish my statement.

Mr. MANDERSON. I simply want to be understood, that is all; and I am not understood by the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. COCKRELL. Very well.

Mr. MANDERSON. No one contends on this floor, and did not in the discussion the other day, but that the Senate when it is called in extraordinary session has every power. The resolution is simply a declaration of the sense of the Senate that we had better not consider legislative matters, and all I hope for it is that either by the force of unanimous consent or by the adoption of the resolution every one shall agree that legislative matters, as the introduction of bills and joint resolutions, shall not be indulged in. Of course I recognize the right of any Senator to introduce a bill or joint resolution notwithstanding this resolution, but we may prevent a flood of such business by passing a simple resolution.

Mr. COCKRELL. I desire to state expressly that in my judgment the President can call the House of Representatives in extraordinary session, and that body can meet and pass every solitary appropriation bill that is necessary to be passed, and can pass a tariff reform bill, and after it has passed them then the President can call the Senate in extraordinary session, or he can let the House continue in extraordinary session until the regular session of Congress, and then the Senate can take up and pass the bills which the House had passed when it was in extraordinary session.

I desire to say to the Senator from Nebraska that there is no occasion for the Senate to say to-day that it will not do a certain thing or that it will declare a certain policy. The Senate is able day by day to take care of itself and to prescribe what it will do. Why undertake at this early moment in the session to pass a resolution to bind us not to introduce any bill or joint resolution? It is simply child's play to undertake to bind the Senate in advance.

I see no occasion for the passage of any resolution. Let the Senate go on and day by day meet the responsibilities that may rest upon it, and let the majority decide how that responsibility shall be discharged.

Mr. HALE. I submitted at the last meeting of the Senate an amendment in the nature of a substitute for the resolution offered by the Senator from Nebraska, which I think the Chair has not laid before the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the Senator from Maine that the attention of the Senate will be called to his resolution in a moment.

Mr. HALE. It was offered as a substitute for the resolution of the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. MANDERSON. I so understood it.

Mr. HALE. The Senator from Nebraska tells me he so understood it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution of the Senator from Maine, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. HALE on the 9th instant as follows:

Resolved. That no legislative business excepting treaties shall be received or entertained at the present session of the Senate.

Mr. HALE. I find in the RECORD of March 10 the following:

Mr. HALE. I offer the resolution which I send to the desk as a substitute for the resolution offered by the Senator from Nebraska.

When I offered it I knew that I was seeking the same end the Senator from Nebraska has in view; and as he has modified his resolution this morning it covers every point.

The resolution which I offered was sent to the desk for the action of the Senate, because it is simply a declaration of what we shall do. It simply declares, in as few words as I could frame it, that at the present session no legislative business excepting treaties shall be received or entertained. It does not deal with the question as to what Senators think. I am, for one, not particularly interested in the investigation of what has been done in the past, or in the old discussions that arose over the Howe resolution. The simple question for us to consider, called together as we are here, is what we shall do, not what we believe we can do. That is not raised at all in my resolution.

I suppose everybody realizes that there is to be no legislation at this session. The question whether we have all the vast power as one branch that the Senator from Missouri has indicated is not before us. Nobody is going to invoke any such power. Everybody knows we are here for a simple purpose—to consider executive nominations and possibly an important treaty. I, for one, can not see what is gained by any Senator projecting legislative matter upon this session. The trouble will be that if we go on as the Senator from Missouri indicates and do not adopt a rule we all believe in every day will be taken up with these discussions. My object was to stop all that in a practical way and to say what I think we all believe we should do, that is, consider no legislative business.

Therefore I should hope that we might come to an agreement upon this resolution, unless, as suggested by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] the other day, without any vote we unanimously agree here to do what we are going to do. I have legislation of importance to my constituents, and important I think to the people of the United States, but I shall gain nothing by hurrying in a resolution to get into the newspapers and be reported as being foremost in it. I am willing to wait until the regular session, held for legislative business, and take my chance then. I think four-fifths, nine-tenths, perhaps every

Senator here, has the same feeling about the matter. That is all I seek by my resolution.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, I expressed my opinion at the former session of the Senate that we have the power to legislate as stated by the Senator from Missouri. I do not think there can be any question that the principle he lays down is a correct one, but I wish to suggest to the Senators on this side of the Chamber that the Executive has called the Senate in extraordinary session, and it would be rather becoming, I think, on our side to let the majority on the other side indicate what they want to do. I do not know what they want to do. I do not know what the Executive wants to do. The responsibility of legislation and of carrying on the Government now does not rest with us on this side of the Chamber, but with the other side. If they do not want to do anything, if that is their policy, I should be glad to have them say so, and it would be very agreeable to me, as suggested by a Senator near me, to promptly adjourn.

There are some things that the Senate can do beyond all question, and there are some things that the Senate may want to do. The Senate may want to pass some of the usual resolutions of inquiry or some of the usual resolutions of instruction, and about those I think there ought to be no controversy. Things that will go *nem. con.* I think we might properly consider; but things that are going to be contested it would be profitable for us probably to continue until the regular session in the fall.

I myself wanted to introduce a resolution and have it considered by the Senate touching the international monetary conference. If it is possible, I desire to have an expression of the Senate as to whether it is better for the international conference to reassemble; for I discover by the debates in Parliament the English people claim that whether the conference reassembles will depend entirely upon the wishes of the United States Government. But I do not want to introduce a resolution if it is to be simply laid on the table, or if by so doing I am to be accused of precipitating matters of controversy. I wish the Senate could determine just what we ought to do and what we shall do—not what we have the right to do, but what it is good policy for us to do at this session, and what we shall do.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, since the adjournment of the Senate on Thursday I have gone over more carefully the precedents of the body upon this matter. I find that the first considerable debate upon the question occurred in 1851, at the called executive session at the beginning of the Thirty-second Congress, March 5, 1851. William R. King, afterwards Vice-President of the United States but then President *pro tempore* of the Senate, immediately after the prayer, directed the galleries to be cleared and announced that he could not receive any resolution or permit any business to be done until the doors had been closed. He proceeded to say that in the course of a long experience the Chair had known no instance of business being done at such a session until the galleries had been cleared.

Mr. Badger of North Carolina appealed from the decision of the Chair. The question was debated at that session at great length, and while it was almost universally conceded that no business which required the concurrent action of the other House could be done at such a session, there was some difference of opinion as to whether it was in the power of the Senate to transact such business as could be done by itself, independent of the House of Representatives. Finally Mr. Seward offered the following resolution, which has been practically adhered to ever since:

Resolved, That the Senate is not restricted at this session to the consideration of matters purely executive, but that such consideration may be extended to all matters proper to be transacted by the Senate without the coöperation of the House of Representatives.

That resolution has been practically adhered to from that day to this, with some slight exceptions, as was suggested at the last session of the Senate.

Without passing a resolution, and very few have been passed in the mean time, I ask unanimous consent that the resolutions which have been offered may be indefinitely postponed, and that the Senate will by unanimous consent agree not to consider matters which require the attention of the other House, but that all matters proper to be transacted by the Senate without the cooperation of the House may be considered at this session. I ask unanimous consent, first, that the resolutions may be indefinitely postponed; and then that the Senate will agree as I have suggested.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Maryland asks unanimous consent that the resolution proposed by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON] and the resolution submitted by the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] be indefinitely postponed; and that the Senate unanimously agree——

Mr. GORMAN. That it is not restricted at this session to the consideration of matters purely executive, but that such consideration may be extended to all matters proper to be transacted by the Senate without the coöperation of the House of Representatives.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Maryland?

Mr. HOAR. It seems to me that would imply what the Senator from Maryland does not mean to imply, that the Senate has no power to go beyond those matters which can be completed without the coöperation of the House of Representatives. I conceive, and I suppose every Senator conceives, that we have the constitutional power to introduce and discuss and pass a joint resolution if we see fit.

Mr. GORMAN. I avoid that question by simply asking unanimous consent that at this session we shall not consider any subject which requires the action of the other House.

Mr. HOAR. The request is in the form of a resolution, I understand. I ask that the request for unanimous consent may be again stated.

Mr. GORMAN. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate agree at this session not to consider any matter which requires the cooperation of the House of Representatives.

Several SENATORS. That is right!

Mr. HALE. I hope that will be agreed to unanimously.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I do not know that the proposition is disputed that the Senate has all the powers now that it has when the House of Representatives is in session; or, in other words, this is a call in extraordinary session of the Senate of the United States, and not of anything else but of the Senate of the United States. When it is so called it has all the powers and all the functions which the Constitution of the United States vests in that body. I do not think that proposition is disputed.

I understand now, however, the proposition is that we make a rule of order by which we shall limit the functions of the Senate *pro hac vice;* that is, for this session.

Mr. President, I think it is perfectly competent for the Senate, by a vote upon any proposition which may be submitted to it, to say that we regard the consideration of that particular proposition as inopportune, and therefore decline to consider it; but I respectfully submit that it will be going a very long way to pass a rule of order, whether by a majority vote or by unanimous consent, by which we shall undertake to limit the powers and the functions of the Senate for this session. For that reason, if it requires unanimous consent to adopt such a rule, I decline to give my consent to it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] to the resolution offered by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON]. The amendment will be stated.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That no legislative business excepting treaties shall be received or entertained at the present session of the Senate.

Mr. FRYE. Does my colleague mean by that that there shall be no consideration of Senate resolutions?

Mr. HALE. No; my intention was not to embrace Senate resolutions. My intention was merely to embrace such matters as the Senate itself can deal with, without coöperation on the part of the other body. I intended to reach, by a majority vote, precisely the object the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] sought to reach by unanimous consent, as evidently unanimous consent can not be had.

Mr. HOAR. I move to amend the amendment of the Senator from Maine by adding this proviso:

Provided, That petitions and resolutions of State Legislatures may be received, to be referred to their appropriate committees at the next session.

Mr. ALLISON. I suggest to the Senator from Massachusetts that if his proviso is attached to the resolution, it in effect will limit the action of the Senate to the reception of such petitions and resolutions. It may be that the Senate will desire at this session to adopt some resolution expressing its views upon certain questions; and as I understand the resolution of the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], we are not precluded from so doing under it; but if we provide that certain other things may be done, then we exclude the idea that Senate resolutions are in order. I should prefer myself the phraseology suggested by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] as the true rule to guide us at this session. I think that would cover all the suggestions which have been made.

Mr. HOAR. I do not conceive that my amendment would limit business according to the idea suggested by the Senator from Iowa. It would seem to me that it would be disrespectful not to receive petitions and resolutions of State Legislatures or to postpone their presentation until the next session.

Mr. ALLISON. It seems to me perfectly clear that petitions can be received without the action of the other House; therefore the request of the Senator from Maryland will embrace every phase of this question.

Mr. HOAR. I have no objection to a resolution in the lan-

guage proposed by the Senator from Maryland. My amendment will be offered if the resolution of the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] is to be acted on, because I think we all should agree that it would be inconvenient to keep petitions and resolutions of State Legislatures until the next session. The resolution of the Senator from Maine is:

That no legislative business excepting treaties shall be received.

I merely stipulate that petitions and resolutions may be received.

Mr. MANDERSON. Mr. President, if the Senator from Maryland will introduce a resolution in the language he stated a few moments ago, as that accomplishes the purpose, I certainly shall be glad to withdraw the resolution I have offered.

Mr. HALE. And I shall be very glad to withdraw mine.

Mr. GORMAN. I trust Senators will withdraw the resolutions. If we can not have unanimous consent I think probably we had better go on and dispose of these questions as they arise. Therefore I trust the Senators from Nebraska and Maine will withdraw their resolutions.

Mr. HALE. If the Senator will introduce his proposition in writing as he stated it verbally I think there will be no difficulty in getting almost the united vote of the Senate to such an agreement. I am entirely willing to withdraw my resolution, because it raises certain points suggested by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR]; the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON] is also willing and desirous of withdrawing his resolution; and we can settle the matter here and now.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, why pass any resolution? We have had these called sessions every four years, and I have witnessed a number of them. I witnessed them when gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber controlled the Senate, and they never introduced any resolution to attempt in the beginning of a session to determine every little thing that should be done.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President——

Mr. COCKRELL. Wait a minute.

Resolutions have been passed from time to time, such as the Senate thought it had jurisdiction of; other business has been introduced, and we were able to get along as Senators 21 years of age and of rational mind. The Democratic party had control of the Senate from 1879 to 1881, and we did not pass any resolution then declaring that we would in our rational mood bind our hands so that we could not do anything for the balance of the session.

I think the Senate is competent to take care of its business from day to day without attempting to pass a rule that we shall not do this thing or that thing. I think one Senator is as competent as another to determine whether he will introduce a resolution or not. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] had a perfect right to introduce his joint resolution. He has not asked that it shall be acted upon. We shall form our committees, and if Senators want bills and resolutions referred to committees for consideration it is their right to have them so referred; but no committee will undertake to report them back at this session so as to keep the Senate here indefinitely. If a committee should arrogate to itself the right to pursue such a course the Senate can very easily lay the matter on the table.

I see no earthly reason why we should begin to pass resolutions declaratory of our purposes as to what shall be done in the future. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I suppose the object Senators had in introducing such resolutions as have been presented was to avoid taking up the time just as it has been taken up to-day. It was seen at once when we began here that an attempt was to be made to turn this into a legislative session, to deal with subjects other than that for which we were called here, and whether we had a right to do so or not was the particular question that would be debated, as it has been here to-day. The object I had and the object, I have no doubt, that the Senator from Nebraska had, was to get us rid of these useless discussions.

I do not care if the majority are united upon this matter—it did not seem to me that they were united the other day—but if the majority in this Chamber, which is responsible for its business, is content and desirous that we do nothing, that we make no rule, that we drift along, and that every morning a half hour or an hour shall be consumed over some legislative proposition, I am entirely content, and I take it this side is content. The responsibility is with the other side, and not with us.

Mr. COCKRELL. Why, then, do you precipitate these resolutions? They did not come from this side.

Mr. HALE. I did not precipitate them.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senator's side did.

Mr. HALE. The resolutions were called forth because Senators were taking up time in legislative business. It was only a proposition for the accommodation of the Senate.

Mr. MANDERSON. If the Senator from Maine will permit me, the resolutions were the outgrowth of a request for unanimous consent which came from the other side.

Mr. HALE. It was only putting in form what evidently nearly every Senator here believes; but, as I said, I do not care. We can stay here as long as the other side. If they want to do nothing, want to let debate continue, want legislative business introduced, want petitions and bills and all forms of legislative matters brought here, when the President has clearly brought us here for another purpose, the responsibility rests with them and not with us.

Mr. MANDERSON. Mr. President, I realize that the existing condition is one which it is a little difficult to adapt one's self to, but we are rapidly learning the lesson that we are in the minority on this side of the Chamber, and, so far as I am concerned, I shall certainly not try again to suggest any method of doing business. I desire, however, to call the attention of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL], who sees fit to rebuke us somewhat for even suggesting what shall be the course of action by the Senate, that these several resolutions came from that which seemed to be the unanimous desire of the Senate. After some consideration, and as a result of a request for unanimous action of the Senate, which came from the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN], who seemed to be in hearty accord with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] and myself as to what was desired, the resolutions were introduced.

My objection to the consideration of legislative business, or rather the nonadoption of a resolution which would show the sense of the Senate in this regard, is not only that suggested by the Senator from Maine, but if Senators are to go on and introduce bills and joint resolutions for reference to committees we shall all desire to do the same thing. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], as he had the undoubted right to do, introduced a joint resolution having reference to the change of the date of the inauguration of the President of the United States. The Senator from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL] followed that with a joint resolution—and both resolutions by the way involve a change in the Constitution of the United States—as to the election of Senators by the people. These are proper resolutions to introduce and as proper to consider; but if they are to be introduced here and followed up by others it will be my own inclination, and I think the inclination of every other Senator, to gather up the bills which we introduced at the last session which failed, and reintroduce them, that they may have precedence over others.

I do not think we desire to do that. I certainly, for one, do not, but if the lists are to be opened to that sort of contest, I shall feel bound to prepare the numerous bills and joint resolutions which failed at the last session of the Senate, that we may act upon them again. To prevent this is the only object I have in view. But I bow with proper deference to the majority which rules. If it is not the desire of the other side that this resolution or any other shall be adopted, we simply shall have to submit to the inevitable.

Mr. GORMAN. I appreciate fully what has been said by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON] and the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], that the only object is to keep the business of the Senate within the usual and reasonable bounds; but, of course, this question always brings up very great differences of opinion in the Senate. It has done so from the beginning, and probably will continue to do so to the end.

Mr. President, I have caused to be made an exhaustive examination of the precedents of the Senate in called executive sessions, and can not find a single instance, prior to the present session, in which a bill, a joint resolution, or any matter requiring the concurrent action of the House of Representatives has ever been presented or received, with the single exception of a concurrent resolution submitted by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] in April, 1881, in relation to "isthmus ship canals," which was objected to by Mr. Dawes of Massachusetts, on the ground that it required the concurrence of the House of Representatives; whereupon, after debate, the Senator from Alabama modified the resolution so as to make it a simple Senate resolution, when it was received and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

I find in the early history of the Senate that many of the presiding officers held that no business of any character at called executive sessions similar to this could be received or acted upon in open session. Among others who took this view was Mr. William R. King, a most accomplished parliamentarian, who was President of the Senate in 1851.

At the called executive session of the Senate in March, 1881, the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] submitted a resolution concerning the attitude of national banks towards the refunding of the national debt; which was objected to by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL] "as being out of order, this being an executive session, and the resolution clearly pointing to legislative business."

Mr. Ferry, of Michigan, who had been President *pro tempore* of the Senate, took the ground that the Senate was called in executive session and could not consider legislative business; whereupon the Senator from Indiana obtained permission of the Senate to make a statement concerning the precedents which had been observed by the Senate at such called executive sessions. The speech, which will be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 12, Forty-seventh Congress, special session of the Senate, pages 37 to 40, is an elaborate review of all the precedents from 1825 to that date; but there is not a single instance cited of a bill, joint resolution, or other subject requiring the concurrent action of the House of Representatives having ever been presented or received, the whole current of the precedents being that the Senate can do, when the House is not in session, only such business as does not require the action of that body.

In recent times it has been held by such distinguished authority as Vice-President Hamlin, Judge Thurman of Ohio, Mr. Bayard and Mr. Saulsbury of Delaware, Mr. Garland of Arkansas, Mr. Stevenson of Kentucky, Justice Lamar of Mississippi, and others, that the Senate at a called executive session is not a legislative body, but is then assembled as a branch of the treaty-making and executive department of the Government. This position was also taken by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE] in an elaborate constitutional argument March 18, 1889.

While the instances are numerous in which it has been held that the Senate could transact any business relating to its organization and membership, the passage of resolutions of the Senate calling for information, etc., it has never heretofore been seriously contended by any considerable number of Senators that the Senate could transact in any such a session as this legislative business; and when the attention of the Senate was called to the question in 1873, it even refused to receive petitions.

As this body has always been conservative in its character, and has adhered with great pertinacity to the usages and customs of the past, I submit (laying aside for the moment the question of the right of the Senate to transact any business it may see proper) that we should at this session, convened for the purpose of acting upon executive matters, confine ourselves to action upon those matters, and of course considering, as they arise, questions relating to the organization and membership of the body, with which the Senate may unquestionably rightfully and properly deal.

I ask the privilege of the Senate to insert in the RECORD a statement of some of the precedents in this case, so that they may be printed for the convenience of Senators. I think it will probably be gratifying to some Senators other than myself to see them.

By unanimous consent the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

At the called executive session of the Senate at the beginning of the Forty-third Congress, in 1873, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 1, special session of the Senate, pages 29 and 30, Mr. Chandler of Michigan and Mr. Fenton of New York presented petitions.

Mr. Hamlin, who had been Vice-President of the United States, objected to the presentation of petitions of a legislative character at a called executive session, saying: "We have no legislative functions whatever. The matter has been discussed and deliberately determined by the Senate, and we may just as well begin precisely as we are to go on. I object to any legislative business, and this is legislation."

Thereupon Mr. Fenton withdrew his petitions.

"The VICE-PRESIDENT. They will be withdrawn, and those presented by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Chandler] will also be regarded as withdrawn, the point having been made."

On page 63, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 1, of same session, March 13, 1873, on certain petitions being presented—

Mr. SHERMAN said:

"I think myself it is objectionable in an executive session to present legislative petitions."

"The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* (Mr. Carpenter of Wisconsin). The Chair, on reflection, will rule all the petitions and memorials which have been offered, looking to legislation, out of order at the present session, regarding the standing objection which was made by the Senator from Maine [Mr. Hamlin] as continuing on that subject."

At the called executive session of the Senate in 1875, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 4, part 1, page 25, March 11, Mr. Clayton of Arkansas having submitted a resolution for the appointment of a select committee to visit the Indian Territory—

Mr. Ferry of Connecticut raised a question of order on the resolution that "at a called session of the Senate business of a legislative character or looking to legislation could not be entertained."

Mr. Hamlin said:

"Under the Constitution, however, I think that the Senate has no earthly power or constitutional right to pass any such resolution which is legislative in its character, or looking to any matter upon which legislation is subsequently to be had."

Mr. Hamlin denied even the right to withdraw petitions from the files of the Senate to be delivered to the parties. He furthermore said:

"The Senate is a part of Congress when the House of Representatives is in session; and it is not at any other time a part of Congress. It is an executive body, convened solely and exclusively for executive purposes." (*Ibid.*, page 26.)

He held that the Senate was limited by the proclamation of the President to the subjects for the consideration of which it had been convened.

Mr. SHERMAN said:

"We have no power to pass laws, because we can not pass laws except with the assent of the other House. * * * We can not send a bill to the House, because there is no House here."

"Mr. HAMLIN. But we may pass bills if the Senator's position is correct, and have them ready to submit to the House when they come.

"Mr. SHERMAN. I am inclined to think we can not."

Mr. Morton of Indiana took the ground that the Senate could do anything which did not require the cooperation of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Thurman of Ohio insisted that there was "no legislature of the Union now in session. The Senate when convened in executive session or special session, when the House of Representatives is not in session at all, is not a legislature. It is simply a body to which the Constitution confides certain duties in connection with the executive power—to ratify treaties, the power to confirm nominations, and the power of course to decide upon the qualifications, returns, and elections of its own members. That is necessarily inherent in the Senate. * * * but it has not one particle of legislative power, for it is not a legislature.

"There is no legislature of this Government except when both Houses are convened. * * * We must confine ourselves to that which the Senate sitting alone, when there is no session of Congress, has the power to do, and it has no power whatever to do one single legislative act—no more power than any seventy-four gentlemen of the United States who might get together have power to do legislative acts."

The question of order was submitted to the Senate, whereupon Mr. Anthony of Rhode Island moved to lay the whole subject on the table; which was agreed to—yeas 40, nays 22. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 4, Part I, special session of the Senate, page 27.)

At the same session, March 20, 1875, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 4, Part I, special session of the Senate, pages 92 and 93, on a resolution submitted by Mr. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey relative to the condition of Louisiana—

Mr. Bayard of Delaware raised the point of order that the resolution, "if not legislative in its character, is equivalent to legislation. It is intended to have legislative effect, and is not, therefore, consonant to the object of this special session of the Senate."

He took the ground that the special session was called by the President of the United States as "an executive session for the purpose of considering such nominations as he (the President) might see fit to lay before it, and for the performance of its constitutional duty in relation to such treaties as he might propose for its concurrence."

He also held that no other matters could be considered at such a called session except the question of the membership of the body.

March 23, 1875, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 147, Mr. Bayard said:

"The Senate of the United States is but one portion of the legislative branch of the Government. By itself it has no legislative power whatever; and only in conjunction with the other House of Congress and the action of the President of the United States can it have legislative power at all."

Mr. Saulsbury of Delaware said:

"We are now convened in extraordinary session, and certain it is that in our capacity as a Senate, convened under the proclamation of the President of the United States, we do not possess the powers which we ordinarily possess when we meet as a legislative body. Our power of legislation is entirely gone. We can only perform the functions pertaining to our character as an executive council. We may deal with questions affecting the constitution of this body, * * * but we may not deal directly or indirectly, in my judgment, with questions which do not pertain either to the constitution of this body itself or to the questions with which it has to deal in its character as an executive council." (*Ibid.*, page 30.)

Similar views were expressed by other leading Senators on both sides of the Chamber.

At the called session of the Senate March 5, 1881, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 12, Forty-seventh Congress, page 4, Vice-President Arthur decided that at an extraordinary session of the Senate petitions for legislation could not be received.

April 6, 1881, page 211, same volume of RECORD, the Vice-President ruled that petitions could not be received "except by unanimous consent, as the rule in reference to the morning hour does not apply to an executive session of the Senate."

At the same session, March 23, 1881, Mr. VOORHEES of Indiana offered a resolution concerning the attitude of national banks towards the refunding of the national debt.

Mr. MORRILL of Vermont objected to its reception "as being out of order, this being an executive session and the resolution clearly pointing to legislative business."

Mr. Ferry of Michigan (who had been President *pro tempore* of the Senate) took the ground that the Senate was called in executive session, and could not consider legislative business, whereupon—

Mr. VOORHEES obtained permission of the Senate to make a statement concerning the precedents of the Senate as to its action at such called executive sessions. The speech, which will be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 12, Forty-seventh Congress, special session of the Senate, pages 37–40, contains all the precedents from 1825 to that date; but there is not a single instance cited of a bill, joint resolution, or other subject requiring the concurrent action of the House of Representatives having ever been presented or received, the whole current of the precedents being that the Senate can do, when the House is not in session, only such business as does not require the concurrence of the other body.

April 1, 1881, same volume, page 154, Mr. Lamar of Mississippi said:

"We are here as part of the treaty-making department of the Government, and also as part of the executive department. We were called here for the purpose of adjusting our relations with foreign nations and confirming appointments nominated by the President. This, and this alone, is the business for which this body was convened. It is here in no legislative capacity, but simply, I repeat, as a branch of the treaty-making and executive department of the Government."

On a petition which Mr. MCPHERSON of New Jersey asked to present in relation to the arrest and imprisonment in a British jail of Michael Boyton, an American citizen—

Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee said:

"I suppose the propriety of receiving the petition depends altogether upon its character. If it be in respect to executive business, I should think it would be in order to receive it; if it be upon a legislative subject, it would not be in order." (*Ibid.*, p. 192.)

Mr. Bayard of Delaware, April 6, 1881, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 214, said:

"In the absence of the other House of Congress, no such thing as practical legislation can be begun here, because it can not be considered by the House of Representatives at the same session of the same Congress."

April 27, 1881, Mr. MORGAN of Alabama submitted a concurrent resolution in relation to "isthmus ship canals," which was objected to by Mr. Dawes of Massachusetts on the ground that it required the concurrence of the House of Representatives; whereupon, after debate, Mr. MORGAN modified the resolution so as to make it a simple Senate resolution, when it was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

After the death of President Garfield in 1881, and the accession of Vice-President Arthur to the Presidency, there having been no President *pro tem-*

pore of the Senate elected at the preceding session, and there being imminent danger, as the law relating to the Presidential succession then stood, that the Government would be left without a head in the event of the death of the then President, a special executive session was called by President Arthur, which assembled October 10, 1881.

At that session Mr. Garland, of Arkansas, afterwards Attorney-General, said:

"It is very evident that we can not do any legislative business at this extra session of the Senate. We can only perform executive business."—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 12, Forty-seventh Congress, special session of the Senate, 1881, page 516.

At the extraordinary session of the Senate convened by the proclamation of President Cleveland, March 4, 1889, on a resolution submitted by Mr. CALL of Florida for the appointment of a special committee to investigate and report on the relations of the United States with the Island of Cuba and the other West Indies, a very interesting debate occurred as to the power of the Senate to act upon such a resolution at a called session of the Senate alone, from which I quote the following from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 21, Part I, page 23, special session of the Senate:

Mr. GRAY of Delaware said:

"Mr. President, if from the resolution as reported at the desk we are to understand the scope of this proposition of the Senator from Florida, it is that a committee shall be now constituted which shall proceed to consider matters of public interest with a view to legislative action; and the resolution goes on to authorize this committee to make its investigations and to report to the Senate. I do not understand that this body, convened as it is in extraordinary session, is clothed with any legislative function whatever, and I think it is exceedingly important that we should maintain the distinction between this executive session and the ordinary legislative session in which we are one branch of the lawmaking or legislative power of the Federal Government.

* * * * * * *

"There is no possible action that could be taken by the Senate on a report made by this proposed committee that would not in my opinion be legislative action. If the Senator from Florida has the idea and maintains that this proposition of his looks merely to performing some executive function, of course that puts it upon a different ground from the one on which I object to the resolution; but I can not understand, as I heard the resolution read, that anything can come as the ultimate result of the investigation proposed by this committee except action on the part of the Senate, and that action must be legislative action in connection with the other branch of Congress. If that be so, it comes clearly within the scope of the objection that I made. I think we should be very careful to confine ourselves within our just powers and not proceed to business which it is not competent for the Senate to transact at this extraordinary session.

Mr. SHERMAN of Ohio said:

"Everything that can be done by the Senate at any time can be done by the Senate when assembled in extraordinary session. It is true we can not pass a bill so as to make it a law, but we might consider a bill, we might inquire into a bill, we might pass resolutions. We can not make a charge on the public Treasury, because that requires the assent of both Houses; but we can express our opinions and do anything that the Senate of the United States may lawfully and rightfully do. We might pass a bill, so far as we are concerned, but it would seem to be idle work, the other House not being in session to act upon it.

"But here is the point, and all the precedents referred to turn on this: That in every case the Senate has by its vote and by its rule limited its action. For instance, in July, 1861, when both Houses were convened in extraordinary session, one of the first acts done by the two Houses was to declare that no measure should be adopted or introduced except that which related to the subject-matter, that was the rebellion then existing in the United States. So eight years ago a similar, not rule, but practice was adopted. Objection was made to the introduction of resolutions and also to the introduction of bills, but petitions were presented.

"So in 1873 petitions and resolutions were presented and the point of order was made, not as to the right to introduce those resolutions, but as to whether it was expedient or wise, having been convened in extraordinary session, for the Senate to consider or even to introduce resolutions looking to legislative action. It was not denied that we might receive those resolutions and might receive those petitions, and, if you choose, refer them to appropriate committees already organized, but it was held not to be wise to do it, because as we could not complete anything we had better not do anything, and therefore the petitions were laid upon the table.

* * * * * * * *

"We are here without the power to enact laws, without the power to act upon laws, but we have the power to act upon resolutions. There can be no great use, however, in our expediting matters by undertaking to introduce petitions for the passage of certain bills. Doing so would not really expedite matters in the least. Therefore, in my judgment, we ought to confine ourselves (unless there is some strong reason for making an exception as to a particular subject-matter) simply to discharging the duties imposed upon us in confirming nominations and in passing upon treaties; we should confine ourselves simply to those duties that we can conclude and terminate by our separate action."

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut said:

"There is certainly nothing in the proclamation which limits the power of the Senate to do business at this session. There is nothing in the proclamation that requires this to be a short or temporary session of the Senate. We may continue in session until next December. And for one I believe, and have always believed since I have examined the question, that it is in the power of the Senate at a session like this to transact any business that it can transact at the regular sessions of the Senate.

"It would seem to be somewhat futile to pass bills, because the other House is not in session so that we can send them to the other House; but if it were thought best in order to facilitate the business of the coming session I believe that we could pass bills and send them to the other House when it shall be convened next December in regular session, and I have never understood that any settlement of this question has ever been made which in any way limited the right of the Senate to transact any business in this session which it could transact in a regular session.

* * * * * * * *

"I think it is true that we have not passed bills at these called sessions, but very many resolutions which are entirely outside of executive matters and entirely outside of matters relating to treaties have been passed at almost every special session of the Senate." (*Ibid.*, pages 23 and 24.)

Mr. GRAY again said:

"Mr. President, the Senate of the United States convened in extraordinary session, as the Senate is now convened, in the absence of the other House, undoubtedly has in one sense the power to do anything that it is its will to do. I do not dispute that. There is no text of the Constitution that forbids it doing anything, taking any order of proceeding, making any investigation that it may by its vote determine upon. This is not a question of order, properly so called, but it is a question of propriety. The question to be considered is of the competence of the Senate, to be determined by a consideration of the legislative power as conferred by the Constitution, taking into account the scheme of our Government and the appropriate depositaries of its various powers. It is a matter which ought to be carefully and gravely considered by the Senate before it commits itself to a precedent which, as seems to me, is so unwarranted as the one proposed by the unmodified resolution of the Senator from Florida.

"It is true this question has been before the Senate heretofore. It is not remarkable that it should often have been, as it has been, decided in various ways. In 1873 on the reception of a petition looking to matters of general concern presented to the Senate at one of its extraordinary sessions called by the President in the same manner and for the same purpose as this has been called, the question was debated at some length, and I find here an expression of opinion from Senators on both sides, Senators whose opinions are entitled to the greatest respect, in regard to this question of propriety and competency on that matter of the reception of general petitions and having them referred. The then Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. Carpenter, a man of unusual ability as well as of unusual brilliancy, said:

"'But the real question is'—

"That was March 14, 1873—

"'not whether the Senate could do such a thing, but whether the Senate alone, at an extra session, should enter upon business which belongs to the Congress of the United States. The Senate, of course, could receive petitions; the Senate could perhaps pass bills; but the question is, whether it would be proper to do it. The ruling that was made yesterday, as I understood it then and understand it now, is following the precedents that have been determined by the Senate where the objection was made.'

"In that same debate the Senator from Ohio, the present senior Senator from that State [Mr. SHERMAN], said:

"'Mr President, my friend from Wisconsin [Mr. Howe] seeks to establish a precedent. I submit to him whether on the whole, if we are to do that, it is not better for us to establish the precedent that the Senate shall not undertake to do what it can not do. The Senate is always disposed to exercise all the power it possesses, and sometimes we go a little beyond the line. Now, when the point is distinctly made, I submit to the Senator whether it is not better for the Senate to be content with what it has the right to do, rather than to undertake to do what it has not the right to do. The Senate has no power at this session to do anything of a legislative character. All legislative power is conferred upon Congress, and both Houses must be in session at the same time or legislation can not be done; and then the Constitution provides that neither House can adjourn more than a specified number of days without the consent of the other. If this petition is in the nature of legislative business, it is the business of Congress, not the business of the Senate alone.'

"So I say now that here is a resolution to create a committee to take into consideration business which can not be the business of the Senate alone, but is necessarily the business of Congress.

"The Senator from Ohio went on to say:

"'The Senate for certain purposes is a distinct political body, performing other duties besides those of legislation. The Senate shares with the President in the executive power. In certain cases it shares in the judicial power; in certain other cases it shares in the legislative power, but when it shares in the legislative power it must be as part of the Congress assembled, and the two Houses of Congress must both be in session.'

"Further on in the course of the same speech the Senator from Ohio said:

"'Therefore, since the point of order is made, I submit to the Senate whether we ought not now to settle forever the question that this body has no power, when separated from the House of Representatives, when not in Congress assembled, to do anything of a legislative character. The various propositions which have been made here since this session commenced are all right.'

"Mr. SHERMAN. From what page does the Senator read?

"Mr. GRAY. Page 79 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the special session of 1873. The debate was on March 14, 1873:

"'We have the power to pass upon the election and qualifications of our members, upon their right to hold seats here. Each House is by the Constitution the judge of that question, and we may act upon it. We are not in Congress assembled, but we may pass on executive business. We may continue our committees; we may direct our committees during the vacation to perform certain duties. We may do that under the rules of the Senate, because the Constitution authorizes each House to prescribe rules for its own government. Hence we may, under our rules, continue our committees in action during the vacation. Therefore the resolution offered by the honorable Senator from Michigan this morning is perfectly within our power. We may continue all our committees during the vacation, because it is a power expressly given to us by our rules, and those rules are authorized by the Constitution of the United States. But, sir, the same Constitution declares that all legislative power, everything that affects legislation, which makes laws, shall be done in Congress assembled. These petitions are not addressed to the Senate; they are addressed "to the Senate and the House of Representatives in Congress assembled." Why, therefore, receive petitions not addressed to us? If a petition is addressed to me as a member of the Senate, or even in a semiofficial capacity, I can not present it under the rules and usages of the Senate.'

"Then the Senator from Ohio went on to quote from a debate which had occurred in the Senate at the called session of March, 1861, when Mr. Powell of Kentucky undertook to present a petition:

"'Mr. POWELL. I present a petition of various citizens of Superior, Wis., praying for the adoption of the Crittenden compromise.

"'Mr. FESSENDEN. That can hardly be presented, I apprehend, at this session. We can not do any legislative business, and I think it improper to present petitions for matters of legislation.

"'Mr. POWELL. Why not?

"'Mr. FESSENDEN. Congress is not in session.

"'Mr. POWELL. I am aware of that. I merely wish to present the petition and let it lie on the table.

"'Mr. FESSENDEN. My question was as to the propriety of presenting it at all. It is a precedent. It calls for legislation. I raise the question upon the propriety of it. It is nothing in reference to the petition itself, but simply because I doubt whether there is any propriety in receiving it.

"'Mr. POWELL. I can see no impropriety in that. The petition is addresed to the Senate, and is respectful in its terms.

"'The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Maine raise the question?

"'Mr. FESSENDEN. Yes, sir.

"'The VICE-PRESIDENT. The impression of the Chair is, that such communications have been received at previous sessions, simply for the purpose of placing them on the files of the Senate, and not for the action of the Senate.

"'Mr. FESSENDEN. Very well, sir; I take no appeal.

"'The VICE-PRESIDENT. This communication, therefore, will be placed on the files of the Senate.'

"I will not weary the Senate with reading further from the discussion of

this point, which was carried on at great length; but it seems to me that every objection made by the Senator from Ohio to the reception and reference of those petitions in 1873 lies to the adoption of this resolution. Those petitions could undoubtedly have been received by the Senate and could have been referred; that is, the Senate had the power to do it. There was no constitutional inhibition in the text of the Constitution which forbade their doing it, nor is there any that forbids the Senate entertaining this resolution; but, as I said before, as a matter of propriety, as a matter of competency on the part of the Senate, inasmuch as this resolution looks to legislation, looks to some action which makes necessary the presence of the other branch of Congress, it seems to me that we should not undertake the first step toward considering it when we are not present in Congress assembled, but merely convened in extraordinary session as a Senate alone, and as such vested with no legislative power whatever.

"Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, I do not find fault with anything that I said in 1873; it is exactly in accordance with my position now; but the question as to whether we should enter upon these matters of legislation was then a question of propriety. I am of the same opinion now, that we ought not to enter upon anything that we can not complete as a Senate; but even then, in 1873, although petitions were ruled out because they were addressed to both Houses of Congress, by a vote of nearly two to one on two separate occasions petitions were excluded because they were purely legislative in their character, resolutions of various kinds were adopted and acted upon. So a distinction was made in 1873 that is palpable to the eye of every one between legislative proceedings and mere resolutions of inquiry to get information in regard to legislative matters or in regard to executive business. For instance, on the very date from which the Senator reads, I find a resolution introduced by the then Senator from Michigan——

"Mr. GRAY. From what page is the Senator reading?

"Mr. SHERMAN. From page 77.

"'Mr. CHANDLER. I offer the following resolution, and ask for its present consideration:

"'*Resolved*, That the Committee on Commerce be authorized and directed to sit during the recess, and to investigate and report upon the subject of subsidies to steamship lines, and what lines, if any, should be subsidized; also, upon the propriety of paying bounties to shipbuilders,' etc.

"Instituting an inquiry into the whole subject of subsidies to steamship lines, and that was objected to because it had not been printed, and it was ordered to be printed and laid over one day, and it was taken up subsequently and considered. So the Senate at the very time when this debate occurred, while they refused to receive petitions and enter upon the consideration of petitions, did receive resolutions.

"Mr. GRAY. The Senator from Ohio will allow me to say that that resolution and a great many others, I believe, of the same character as the one proposed by the Senator from Florida [Mr. CALL] have been adopted by the Senate, and they have generally been adopted by unanimous consent, as the Senator from Ohio, if he will pardon me, on page 78 of the volume before me, said in relation to just that point:

"'Mr. SHERMAN. It was done by unanimous consent without objection. By that kind of logic I can show that there are no rules in the Senate at all, because every rule in the Senate has been violated by unanimous consent. Unless the point was made, I insist that a precedent was not established by the Senate, because every rule has been violated. There is no rule on the whole list but what has been waived over and over again by unanimous consent; but that does not establish what the rule is."

"Mr. SHERMAN. The Senate can do what it has a right to do by unanimous consent, and it can do what it has a right to do by a majority vote; so that it makes no difference and there is nothing in that point. As a matter of course, if the Senate has the power to do anything, it is for it to determine. Usually all these matters are done by unanimous consent; any of them may be by a majority vote, and a majority of one vote makes it the act of the Senate just as much as if it was done by a unanimous vote. A question of order may be waived by a unanimous vote, but a question of power can not be. There is the difference.

"I say, then, it is a mere question of expediency, a mere question of propriety. I do not differ with the Senator from Delaware that on the question of expediency and propriety the Senate had better confine itself simply to executive business or to resolutions which affect its organization and separate business; but as to its power, I claim that the Senate of the United States has the power to go on now and pass bills or do anything which the Constitution authorizes it to do where the presence of the House of Representatives is not required. We can not send messages to the other House; we can make no progress towards the final passage of the bills; but whatever the Constitution authorizes the Senate to do, that may be done properly at this time." (Pages 24 and 25.)

In the same debate (pages 26 and 27) Mr. GEORGE of Mississippi said:

"I do not think that the Senate can exercise any legislative power when assembled in what is called 'extraordinary session,' the House of Representatives not being in session. All the powers that this body can exercise are powers granted by the Constitution of the United States. No legislative power is granted by the Constitution of the United States to the Senate, none to the House of Representatives. The grant made by the Constitution is in the language read by the Senator from Florida, and which I shall read again:

"'All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress—

"Not in a Senate, not in a House of Representatives, but 'in a Congress.' Reading all of that section of the Constitution, we find what a Congress is:

"'All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.'

"There is no Congress and can be no Congress under the Constitution unless there be a Senate and House of Representatives.

"Mr. PLATT. May I ask the Senator a question?

"Mr. GEORGE. Not now. There must be both a Senate and a House of Representatives, and in order to constitute that Congress, that Senate and that House of Representatives must be organized according to the Constitution, and must be assembled, both of them, at a time and place prescribed by law. Unless there is such an assemblage of both Houses, both of a Senate and of a House of Representatives, at a time and place prescribed by law, there is no body in existence entitled to be called 'a Congress,' in which, by that clause of the Constitution which I have just read, all legislative power is vested.

"'Congress' itself in its literal meaning simply means an assemblage, a coming together, a coming together of the representatives of the States and of the people, and it is inaccurate and unconstitutional language to apply the term 'Congress' to any individuals, though they be Senators or Representatives, unless they be organized and assembled as a Congress in pursuance of law. The assembling of the Senate in extraordinary session by proclamation of the President is not an assemblage of Congress. It is not a Congress, and therefore is not a body in which the Constitution vests legislative power. It is not in that condition even a part of Congress. It is the assemblage of a body which may, under certain circumstances and in accordance with law and when the other body is assembled also, become then, and not till then, a part of the Congress of the United States.

"To show that is correct I have but to call the attention of Senators to the formula prefixed to every bill and to every joint resolution ever passed by the Congress, which is in these words:

"'*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.*'

"That formula was adopted at the very first session of Congress held under the Constitution, and it has been adhered to from that time to this. That formula expresses this idea that there must be an assembly in Congress of both the Senate and the House of Representatives before that constitutional body is formed in which legislative power is vested by the Constitution.

"Mr. GRAY. The Senator from Mississippi will allow me to say that I understood the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] and the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] both to contend that it was competent for the Senate of the United States convened in extraordinary session, in the absence of the House of Representatives, to pass a bill.

"Mr. HARRIS. To transact any legislative business.

"Mr. GEORGE. To do any legislative business whatever; a pretension which I am trying to overturn and which I think has been sufficiently overturned by the mere calling of the attention of the Senate to that part of the Constitution which was read by the Senator from Florida [Mr. CALL], and which I have also read.

"Mr. President, there is no Senate, there is no House of Representatives, constitutionally speaking, until each body has been assembled according to law. We have seventy-six members of this body. The seventy-six individuals who hold commissions from the thirty-eight States as their Senators might all meet together at the same time and place, and unless that time and that place were designated by law, which law clothed them with their character as a Senate, they would not be competent to perform any act whatever, legislative, executive, or anything else. Any act intended to be officially performed by these seventy-six Senators assembled at a particular place and time not specified by law would be as valueless in law as the acts of any other seventy-six persons in the United States assembled at any time and place.

"There is, then, no Senate unless it be assembled at the time and place fixed by law. There is no House of Representatives now, because there is no body composed of three hundred and twenty-five Representatives of the different States assembled at a time and place fixed by the law and the Constitution for the performance of their duties.

"So we stand to-day in this wise, that there is a Senate of the United States and there is no actual House of Representatives. There have been, it is true, so many men elected to the House of Representatives who, when the time arrives which is fixed by law, may assemble together at the place fixed by law, and then, organizing themselves as the Constitution requires them to be organized, they will constitute a House of Representatives.

"Now, having made that clear beyond controversy, I go back to the Constitution, and when Senators claim that this body now assembled, lawfully it is true, and in pursuance of the proclamation of the President, may exercise legislative power, I call their attention to the Constitution, which says—I will read it again:

"'All legislative power'—not a part of them, but 'all legislative power herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States,' and that, too, 'in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist,' not of a Senate alone, but 'of a Senate and House of Representatives.' Then, sir, there being no House of Representatives, there is no body, no organized body, in which by the terms of the Constitution any part of the legislative power of this Government can be vested. For though there is a Senate, yet there is no Congress, and it is only in the Congress that legislative power is vested by the Constitution.

"Mr. SPOONER. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

"Mr. GEORGE. Yes, sir.

"Mr. SPOONER. I understand the Senator to argue that this body is not one of the Houses of Congress under the Constitution.

"Mr. GEORGE. No, I did not say that.

"Mr. PLATT. Sitting now.

"Mr. SPOONER. Sitting now. Did I understand the Senator?

"Mr. GEORGE. I did not say that.

"Mr. SPOONER. Does the Senator say that sitting now this body is not a part of Congress?

"Mr. GEORGE. I say that the Senate as now organized and as now sitting is not one of the two constituent bodies, is not *per se* a Congress of the United States, but is only one of two constituent bodies, both of which must be convened in order that a Congress may be constituted in which by the Constitution legislative power is vested. There is no legislative power vested by the Constitution in the Senate. There is no legislative power vested by the Constitution in the House of Representatives. The legislative power is vested in a Congress. That is what the Constitution says. What now is a Congress? A Congress must be, if it be a constitutional Congress, according to the express words of the Constitution, composed of both the Senate and the House of Representatives, and there is no such body in existence. There is no answer to that.

"Mr. GRAY. The proposition of the Senator from Mississippi, if he will pardon me, is that the Senate of the United States or the House of Representatives, when convened in the absence of the other body, is not under the Constitution in any sense the depositary of legislative power.

"Mr. GEORGE. It is not the depositary of any legislative power whatever.

"Mr. HARRIS. And is not a legislative body.

"Mr. GEORGE. And is not a legislative body. As unanswerable as that position must be when tested by the language of the first section of the first article of the Constitution, it becomes, if possible, even more clear when we consider another clause of the Constitution to which I invite the attention of the Senate. The fourth clause of the fifth section of the first article of the Constitution reads in this wise:

"'Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days.'

"Alone this provision would be of no value in determining this question, but taken with the first section of the first article on which I have commented it shows in the strongest and most conclusive manner that the body of Congress mentioned in the first section in which legislative power is vested shall not exercise any of its powers unless both Houses be in session. When both Houses get here under the clause to which I have called the attention of the Senate, although being in legal session, yet the Constitution so considers the necessity of having both branches in actual session when legislative duties are performed that it provides that neither House shall adjourn without the consent of the other for more than three days. So that, though the Congress be regularly convened, the Constitution by this clause provides against the transaction of business by one branch alone, except by its own consent.

"Mr. President, I am not bound to furnish the motives and the reasoning upon which the framers of the Constitution proceeded in making that instrument. It is sufficient if we can understand the plain meaning of its terms used in the Constitution. According to its plain meaning, if there be any proposition not mathematical, merely of a moral character, which can be said to be demonstrated, it is demonstrated by a consideration of the

clauses of the Constitution to which I have called attention that legislative power can not be exercised except when both Houses are in session.

PHILADELPHIA HARBOR IMPROVEMENT.

Mr. FRYE. I desire to offer a resolution and to ask its immediate consideration. I will state the necessity for it.

The contractors for the improvement of the harbor at Philadelphia some two months ago failed. Proposals were issued, bids were received, and the lowest bidder was a Canadian company, about whose ability to complete the contract the Secretary of War had very serious doubts. He rejected the bids, and he was about to issue new proposals. The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY], who felt very desirous that the Secretary of War should give the award to the next highest bidder, on the 27th of February introduced and secured the passage of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be required to furnish for the information of the Senate copies of all papers and documents relating to the proposals for the improvement of the harbor of Philadelphia, under date of January 31, A. D. 1893, and that he be requested to suspend action upon said proposals until the information has been received and considered by the Senate.

The information which was received was referred to the Committee on Commerce and ordered to be printed. I have no doubt when the Senator from Pennsylvania left the city for the South, being somewhat in ill health, he forgot entirely the scope of the resolution which had passed the Senate. Now, the Secretary of War regards it as a request which he ought to be bound by—of course he knows he is not legally bound by it—but a request which ought to bind him, and he will not issue any proposals or accept any bids which have been made in relation to this work. Therefore the whole season is liable to be lost. What is worse than that, the removal of the islands in the harbor having commenced, the currents of the stream are changed in such a way that already great damage is being done to the harbor itself.

The work of removing the islands must be kept *pari passu* with the building of the shores in order to preserve the present condition of the harbor.

I did not discover this until the day before yesterday. Knowing that it was a matter of the utmost importance to Philadelphia, and not knowing where the Senator from Pennsylvania was, I telegraphed myself to Philadelphia the condition of things. They evidently found the Senator, for I have here, under date of March 10, the following telegram:

The resolution requesting the Secretary of War to suspend action upon the contract for the removal of the islands in the harbor of Philadelphia has accomplished the purpose and should be rescinded. Will you have the kindness to attend to it?

Mr. President, I offer the resolution which I send to the desk, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the resolution will be reported by the Secretary.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That so much of Senate resolution of February 27 last as requested the Secretary of War to suspend action in relation to the improvement of the harbor of Philadelphia is hereby rescinded.

Mr. FRYE. I thought the resolutions which were under consideration a few moments ago had been withdrawn. I find, however, they have not been, and therefore I ask unanimous consent that they may be temporarily laid aside, and that the resolution which I have offered shall be considered. It will take but a moment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Maine? The Chair hears none.

Mr. HARRIS. Is this resolution to rescind a former Senate resolution?

Mr. FRYE. It is to rescind a portion of a former resolution which is still in existence.

Mr. HARRIS. It is simply a Senate, and not a concurrent or joint resolution?

Mr. FRYE. It is a Senate resolution only.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the resolution submitted by the Senator from Maine? The Chair hears none. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT TO WEDNESDAY.

Mr. GORMAN. I move that when the Senate adjourn to-day it be to meet on Wednesday next.

The motion was agreed to.

BUSINESS OF THE SESSION.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the resolution submitted by Mr. MANDERSON on the 9th instant, relative to the business of the session.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question now before the Senate is upon agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] to the amendment offered by the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] to the resolution submitted by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON].

Mr. VEST. I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Missouri.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Wednesday, March 15, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

WEDNESDAY, *March 15, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of the proceedings of Monday last was read and approved.

Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of the private secretaries of the President of the United States, communicated to the Senate sundry messages in writing.

SENATOR FROM WYOMING.

Mr. VANCE. I present the credentials of Hon. Asahel C. Beckwith, appointed a Senator from the State of Wyoming. I ask that the credentials be read and referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections when appointed, and that meanwhile they lie on the table.

The credentials were read, and ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

STATE OF WYOMING, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

To all persons to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Know ye, that the executive of said State hereby appoints Asahel C. Beckwith, a duly qualified citizen of said State and an inhabitant thereof, a Senator from the said State of Wyoming, to fill the vacancy happening in the Senate of the United States by the expiration of the term of Francis E. Warren on the 3d day of March, in the year of our Lord 1893, during the recess of the Legislature of said State, and by the nonelection of said Francis E. Warren's successor.

To have and to hold the said office of Senator of the United States until the next meeting of the Legislature of said State.

In testimony whereof I have caused these letters to be made patent and the great seal of the State to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand at the city of Cheyenne on the 9th day of March, A. D. 1893.

JOHN E. OSBORNE, *Governor.*

By the governor:

AMOS W. BARBER, *Secretary of State.*

PROPOSED USE OF PENSION OFFICE BUILDING.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Interior, in response to a resolution of the 28th ultimo, relative to the use of the Pension Office building for musical concerts on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, transmitting the correspondence relating to the subject and stating that permission to use the building for the purpose referred to in the resolution was expressly refused by the Secretary of the Interior; which, on motion of Mr. HAWLEY, was, with the accompanying papers, ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

ANNEXATION OF HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a memorial of the senate and house of representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which will be read.

The Secretary read the memorial, as follows:

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, *in the year 1893.*

Resolutions relative to the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands.

Resolved, That it is the sense of this General Court that it is expedient that the Hawaiian Islands should be annexed to the United States, and that the interests of the United States, commercially and strategically will be promoted thereby.

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the presiding officers of both branches of Congress, and also to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this Commonwealth.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *February 13, 1893.*

Adopted. Sent up for concurrence.

EDWARD A. MCLAUGHLIN, *Clerk.*

SENATE, *March 2, 1893.*

Adopted in concurrence.

HENRY D. COOLIDGE, *Clerk.*

A true copy. Attest:

EDWARD H. MCLAUGHLIN,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Mr. HARRIS. From whom does the memorial come?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. From the Legislature of Massachusetts.

Mr. SHERMAN. I think the memorial ought to have been presented elsewhere. My attention was not called to it at the

moment. I think it ought to have been presented in executive session. It had better lie on the table for the present.

Mr. HOAR. The memorial does not contemplate any particular form or method of annexation.

Mr. SHERMAN. That is true.

Mr. HOAR. Hawaii may be annexed as Texas was, by a joint resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The memorial will lie on the table for the present.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. GORMAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After ten minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

RECESS.

Mr. GORMAN (at 12 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.). I move that the Senate take a recess until half past 3 o'clock.

The motion was agreed to; and at the expiration of the recess (at 3 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate reassembled.

AMENDMENT OF THE RULES.

Mr. SHERMAN. I desire to give notice of an amendment of the rules, which I ask to have read and referred to the Committee on Rules.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The notice will be read.

The Secretary read, as follows:

Notice is hereby given of a motion to amend Rule XVI, by adding after the words, "Committee on Commerce," in clause 1, the words, "and bills making appropriations for the District of Columbia, which shall be referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia;" so as to read:

"All general appropriation bills shall be referred to the Committee on Appropriations, except bills making appropriations for rivers and harbors, which shall be referred to the Committee on Commerce, and bills making appropriations for the District of Columbia, which shall be referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia," etc.

Mr. SHERMAN. I ask that the notice be referred to the Committee on Rules.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The notice will be referred to the Committee on Rules and printed.

Mr. DOLPH. I rose to make a parliamentary inquiry, but the notice has been referred. I was about to inquire if the amendment proposed would without further notice leave the whole matter of the disposition of appropriation bills open when it came up for consideration in the Senate.

Mr. SHERMAN. In answer I will state the rules require that any amendment to the rules must be made after written notice, so that notice of amendment will have to be given in the case suggested by the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. HARRIS. I desire to suggest to the Senator from Ohio that he has simply given notice, which was very proper under the rules, but the notice can not be referred. When he prepares his resolution making the amendment the resolution can be referred to the Committee on Rules, but not the notice.

Mr. SHERMAN. It is the ordinary way, I think, that a notice shall be referred to the Committee on Rules, and if they think such an amendment of the rules ought to be made they will so report. I have one precedent before me, where a case of that kind occurred. It is to the effect that the Committee on Rules must first determine whether the amendment of which notice is given is a wise provision, and if so, then they will in their own language report the amendment to the Senate. Such was the report made by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], the chairman of the Committee on Rules, in a recent case.

Mr. HARRIS. So far as I have introduced resolutions looking to an amendment of the rules, I have offered the resolution and issued the notice at the same time, but the resolution goes to the committee. The notice is simply in conformity to Rule XL, which requires a notice showing exactly what rule is to be amended, and how amended.

Mr. SHERMAN. If the Senator thinks that is a better form I am perfectly willing to follow it.

Mr. HARRIS. Just let the notice lie on the table and the Senator can at leisure prepare his resolution.

Mr. SHERMAN. All right.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That will be the order of the Senate.

Mr. SHERMAN. Notice will be given according to Rule XL.

COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE.

Mr. GORMAN. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the election of the committees of the body.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair hears no objection.

Mr. GORMAN. I ask for the adoption of the following order:

Ordered, That so much of Rule XXIV of the Senate as provides for the appointment of the standing and other committees of the Senate by ballot be suspended.

Mr. CULLOM. That is always done.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the adoption of the order? The Chair hears none, and the order is agreed to.

Mr. GORMAN. I submit the resolution I send to the desk and ask for its present consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read by the Secretary.

The Secretary read as follows:

STANDING COMMITTEES.

Resolved, That the following constitute the standing and select committees of the Senate of the United States for the Fifty-third Congress:

On Agriculture and Forestry: Messrs. George (chairman), Bate, Ransom, Peffer, Roach, McMillan, Washburn, Proctor, Hansbrough.

On Appropriations: Messrs. Cockrell (chairman), Call, Gorman, Blackburn, Brice, Allison, Hale, Cullom, Teller.

To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate: Messrs. White of Louisiana (chairman), Camden, Jones of Nevada.

On the Census: Messrs. Turpie (chairman), Berry, White of California, Murphy, Peffer, Hale, Stockbridge, Dixon, Hansbrough.

On Civil Service and Retrenchment: Messrs. Call (chairman), Walthall, Gordon, Irby, Cockrell, Stanford, Washburn, Morrill, Lodge.

On Claims: Messrs. Pasco (chairman), Daniel, Berry, Caffery, Allen of Nebraska, Mitchell of Oregon, Davis, Stewart, Peffer.

On Coast Defenses: Messrs. Gordon (chairman), Irby, Mills, White of California, Smith, Squire, Dolph, Hawley, Higgins.

On Commerce: Messrs. Ransom (chairman), Coke, Vest, Gorman, White of Louisiana, White of California, Murphy, Frye, Jones of Nevada, Dolph, Cullom, Washburn, Quay.

On the District of Columbia: Messrs. Harris (chairman), Faulkner, Gibson, Hunton, Smith, Martin, McMillan, Wolcott, Gallinger, Hansbrough, Proctor.

On Education and Labor: Messrs. Kyle (chairman), George, Hunton, Caffery, Murphy, Carey, Stanford, Washburn, Lodge.

On Engrossed Bills: Messrs. Allison (chairman), Cockrell, Martin.

On Enrolled Bills: Messrs. Caffery (chairman), Mitchell of Wisconsin, Dubois.

On Epidemic Diseases: Messrs. Jones of Nevada (chairman), Stockbridge, Gallinger, Quay, Harris, Irby, White of Louisiana.

To Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service: Messrs. Peffer (chairman), Gray, Vilas, Power, Gallinger.

On Finance: Messrs. Voorhees (chairman), McPherson, Harris, Vance, Vest, Jones of Arkansas, Morrill, Sherman, Jones of Nevada, Allison, Aldrich.

On Fisheries: Messrs. Coke (chairman), Call, Gibson, Hill, Mitchell of Wisconsin, Stockbridge, Stanford, Squire, Power.

On Foreign Relations: Messrs. Morgan (chairman), Butler, Gray, Turpie, Daniel, Sherman, Frye, Dolph, Davis.

On Immigration: Messrs. Hill (chairman), Voorhees, McPherson, Faulkner, Harris, Stewart, Chandler, Squire, Proctor, Dubois, Lodge.

On Improvement of the Mississippi River and its Tributaries: Messrs. Bate (chairman), Walthall, Palmer, Peffer, Washburn, Pettigrew, Power.

On Indian Affairs: Messrs. Jones of Arkansas (chairman), Morgan, Smith, Roach, Allen of Nebraska, Stewart, Platt, Stockbridge, Manderson, Pettigrew, Shoup.

On Interstate Commerce: Messrs. Butler (chairman), Gorman, Brice, White of Louisiana, Camden, Lindsay, Cullom, Wilson, Chandler, Wolcott, Higgins.

On Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands: Messrs. White of California (chairman), Jones of Arkansas, Kyle, Roach, Brice, Stewart, Dubois, Carey, Hansbrough.

On the Judiciary: Messrs. Pugh (chairman), Coke, George, Vilas, Hill, Lindsay, Hoar, Wilson, Teller, Platt, Mitchell of Oregon.

On the Library: Messrs. Mills (chairman), Voorhees, Wolcott.

On Manufactures: Messrs. Gibson (chairman), Smith, Caffery, Higgins, Gallinger.

On Military Affairs: Messrs. Walthall (chairman), Cockrell, Bate, Palmer, Mitchell of Wisconsin, Hawley, Cameron, Manderson, Davis.

On Mines and Mining: Messrs. Stewart (chairman), Bate, Call, Irby, Mills, Jones of Nevada, Power, Shoup, Allison.

On Naval Affairs: Messrs. McPherson (chairman), Butler, Blackburn, Gibson, Camden, Cameron, Hale, Stanford, Stockbridge.

On Organization, Conduct, and Expenditures of the Executive Departments: Messrs. Smith (chairman), Cockrell, Hill, Walthall, Caffery, Wilson, Proctor, Dubois, Lodge.

On Patents: Messrs. Gray (chairman), Kyle, Mills, Berry, Dixon, Platt, Wilson.

On Pensions: Messrs. Palmer (chairman), Brice, Vilas, Camden, Caffery, Gorman, Shoup, Hansbrough, Gallinger, Hawley.

On Post-Offices and Post-Roads: Messrs. Colquitt (chairman), Vilas, Irby, Mills, Hunton, Hill, Mitchell of Oregon, McMillan, Wolcott, Dixon, Washburn.

On Printing: Messrs. Gorman (chairman), Ransom, Manderson.

On Private Land Claims: Messrs. Hale (chairman), Teller, Dixon, Ransom, Colquitt, Pasco, Berry.

On Privileges and Elections: Messrs. Vance (chairman), Gray, Pugh, Turpie, Palmer, Hoar, Mitchell of Oregon, Chandler, Higgins.

On Public Buildings and Grounds: Messrs. Vest (chairman), Daniel, Pasco, Brice, Gordon, Stanford, Morrill, Quay, Squire.

On Public Lands: Messrs. Berry (chairman), Walthall, Pasco, Vilas, Martin, Allen of Nebraska, Dolph, Pettigrew, Carey, Power, Dubois.

On Railroads: Messrs. Camden (chairman), Berry, Gordon, Palmer, Martin, Blackburn, Hawley, Stockbridge, Pettigrew, Power, Peffer.

On Relations with Canada: Messrs. Murphy (chairman), Pugh, Colquitt, Hunton, Mitchell of Wisconsin, Hoar, Hale, Dolph, Higgins.

On the Revision of the Laws of the United States: Messrs. Daniel (chairman), Call, Lindsay, Wilson, Platt.

On Revolutionary Claims: Messrs. Cameron (chairman), Frye, Aldrich, Coke, Pugh.

On Rules: Messrs. Blackburn (chairman), Harris, Gorman, Aldrich, Manderson.

On Territories: Messrs. Faulkner (chairman), Hill, Blackburn, Bate, Call, White of California, Platt, Davis, Carey, Shoup, Hansbrough.

On Transportation Routes to the Seaboard: Messrs. Irby (chairman), George, Turpie, Gordon, Ransom, Gallinger, Squire, Mitchell of Oregon, Aldrich.

On Pacific Railroads: Messrs. Brice (chairman), Morgan, Faulkner, White of Louisiana, Murphy, Davis, Carey, Wolcott, McMillan.

On Indian Depredations: Messrs. Lindsay (chairman), Faulkner, Kyle, White of Louisiana, Cockrell, Shoup, Chandler, Pettigrew, Carey.

SELECT COMMITTEES.

To Investigate the Condition of the Potomac River Front of Washington: Messrs. Frye (chairman), Sherman, Proctor, McPherson, Ransom, Hunton.

To Inquire into all Claims of Citizens of the United States against the Government of Nicaragua: Messrs. Hawley (chairman), Stewart, Mitchell of Oregon, Morgan, Palmer.
On Woman Suffrage: Messrs. Hoar (chairman), Quay, Vance, George, Blackburn, McPherson.
On Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress: Messrs. Morrill (chairman), Dixon, Voorhees, Butler, Pugh.
On the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians: Messrs. Teller (chairman), Platt, Butler, Pasco, Roach.
On Transportation and Sale of Meat Products: Messrs. Platt (chairman), Power, Vest, Coke, Allen of Nebraska.
To Establish the University of the United States: Messrs. Hunton (chairman), Kyle, Vance, Jones of Arkansas, Turpie, Proctor, Sherman, Dolph, Washburn.
On the Quadro-Centennial: Messrs. Vilas (chairman), Colquitt, Vest, Gray, Daniel, Gibson, Voorhees, Lindsay, Pettigrew, Sherman, Cameron, Hawley, Wilson, Cullom.
To Investigate the Geological Survey: Messrs. Martin (chairman), Jones of Arkansas, Ransom, Wolcott, Carey.
On National Banks: Messrs. Mitchell of Wisconsin (chairman), Vance, Colquitt, Chandler, Manderson.
On Forest Reservations: Messrs. Allen of Nebraska (chairman), Kyle, Morgan, Teller, Davis.
On Corporations in the District of Columbia: Messrs. Aldrich (chairman), McMillan, Gorman, Brice, Harris.
To Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands: Messrs. Roach (chairman), Butler, Higgins.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HARRIS in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the resolution of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN].

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. MANDERSON. I ask consent that in addition to the list that has been read, which will of course appear in the RECORD, there also appear an alphabetical list of Senators in the usual form, with the committees to which they are assigned. Such a list can very easily be prepared.

Mr. COCKRELL. And that the list of committees be printed as a separate document.

Mr. MANDERSON. And that both lists be printed as a document.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be so ordered if there be no objection. The Chair hears none.

UNITED STATES SENATORS ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED, SHOWING THE COMMITTEES OF WHICH THEY ARE MEMBERS.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, Vice-President of the United States and President of the Senate.

Mr. ALDRICH (5)
- Corporations in the District of Columbia (Select), chairman.
- Finance.
- Revolutionary Claims.
- Rules.
- Transportation Routes.

Mr. ALLEN of Nebraska (5)
- Forest Reservations (Select), chairman.
- Claims.
- Indian Affairs.
- Public Lands.
- Transportation and Sale of Meat Products (Select).

Mr. ALLISON (4)
- Engrossed Bills, chairman.
- Appropriations.
- Finance.
- Mines and Mining.

Mr. BATE (5)
- Improvement of the Mississippi River, chairman.
- Agriculture and Forestry.
- Military Affairs.
- Mines and Mining.
- Territories.

Mr. BERRY (6)
- Public Lands, chairman.
- Census.
- Claims.
- Patents.
- Private Land Claims.
- Railroads.

Mr. BLACKBURN (6)
- Rules, chairman.
- Appropriations.
- Naval Affairs.
- Railroads.
- Territories.
- Woman Suffrage (Select).

Mr. BRICE (7)
- Pacific Railroads, chairman.
- Appropriations.
- Corporations in the District of Columbia (Select).
- Interstate Commerce.
- Irrigation.
- Pensions.
- Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. BUTLER (6)
- Interstate Commerce, chairman.
- Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress (Select).
- Five Civilized Tribes of Indians (Select).
- Foreign Relations.
- Naval Affairs.
- To Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands (Select).

Mr. CAFFERY (6)
- Enrolled Bills, chairman.
- Claims.
- Education and Labor.
- Manufactures.
- Organization, etc., of the Executive Departments.
- Pensions.

Mr. CALL (6)
- Civil Service and Retrenchment, chairman.
- Appropriations.
- Fisheries.
- Mines and Mining.
- Revision of the Laws.
- Territories.

Mr. CAMDEN (5)
- Railroads, chairman.
- Interstate Commerce.
- Naval Affairs.
- Pensions.
- To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Mr. CAMERON (4)
- Revolutionary Claims, chairman.
- Military Affairs.
- Naval Affairs.
- Quadro-Centennial (Select).

Mr. CAREY (7)
- Education and Labor.
- Indian Depredations.
- Irrigation.
- Pacific Railroads.
- Public Lands.
- Territories.
- To Investigate Geological Survey (Select).

Mr. CHANDLER (5)
- Immigration.
- Indian Depredations.
- Interstate Commerce.
- Privileges and Elections.
- National Banks (Select).

Mr. COCKRELL (6)
- Appropriations, chairman.
- Civil Service and Retrenchment.
- Engrossed Bills.
- Indian Depredations.
- Military Affairs.
- Organization, Conduct, and Expenditures of the Executive Departments.

Mr. COKE (5)
- Fisheries, chairman.
- Commerce.
- Judiciary.
- Revolutionary Claims.
- Transportation and Sale of Meat Products (Select).

Mr. COLQUITT (5)
- Post-Offices and Post-Roads, chairman.
- National Banks.
- Private Land Claims.
- Quadro-Centennial (Select).
- Relations with Canada.

Mr. CULLOM (4)
- Appropriations.
- Commerce.
- Interstate Commerce.
- Quadro-Centennial (Select).

Mr. DANIEL (5)
- Revision of the Laws, chairman.
- Claims.
- Foreign Relations.
- Public Buildings and Grounds.
- Quadro-Centennial (Select).

Mr. DAVIS (6)
- Claims.
- Foreign Relations.
- Forest Reservations (Select).
- Military Affairs.
- Pacific Railroads.
- Territories.

Mr. DIXON (5)
- Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress (Select).
- Census.
- Patents.
- Post-Offices and Post-Roads.
- Private Land Claims.

Mr. DOLPH (6)
- Coast Defenses.
- Commerce.
- Foreign Relations.
- Public Lands.
- Relations with Canada.
- University of the United States (Select).

Mr. DUBOIS (5)
- Enrolled Bills.
- Immigration.
- Irrigation.
- Organization, etc., of the Executive Departments.
- Public Lands.

Mr. FAULKNER (5)
- Territories, chairman.
- District of Columbia.
- Immigration.
- Indian Depredations.
- Pacific Railroads.

Mr. FRYE (4)
- Potomac River Front (Select), chairman.
- Commerce.
- Foreign Relations.
- Revolutionary Claims.

Mr. GALLINGER (6)
- District of Columbia.
- Epidemic Diseases.
- Examine into Several Branches of the Civil Service.
- Manufactures.
- Pensions.
- Transportation Routes.

Mr. GEORGE (5)
- Agriculture and Forestry, chairman.
- Education and Labor.
- Judiciary.
- Transportation Routes.
- Woman Suffrage (Select).

Mr. GIBSON (5)
- Manufactures, chairman.
- District of Columbia.
- Fisheries.
- Naval Affairs.
- Quadro-Centennial (Select).

Mr. GORMAN (7)
- Printing, chairman.
- Appropriations.
- Commerce.
- Interstate Commerce.
- On Corporations in the District of Columbia (Select).
- Pensions.
- Rules.

Mr. GORDON (5)
- Coast Defenses, chairman.
- Civil Service and Retrenchment.
- Public Buildings and Grounds.
- Railroads.
- Transportation Routes.

Mr. GRAY (5) .....
Patents, chairman.
Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service.
Foreign Relations.
Privileges and Elections.
Quadro-Centennial (Select).

Mr. HALE (5) .....
Private Land Claims, chairman.
Appropriations.
Census.
Naval Affairs.
Relations with Canada.

Mr. HANSBROUGH (6) .....
Agriculture and Forestry.
Census.
District of Columbia.
Irrigation.
Pensions.
Territories.

Mr. HARRIS (6) .....
District of Columbia, chairman.
Epidemic Diseases.
Finance.
Immigration.
On Corporations in the District of Columbia (Select).
Rules.

Mr. HAWLEY (6) .....
Nicaragua Claims (Select), chairman.
Coast Defenses.
Military Affairs.
Pensions.
Quadro-Centennial (Select).
Railroads.

Mr. HIGGINS (6) .....
Coast Defenses.
Interstate Commerce.
Manufactures.
Privileges and Elections.
Relations with Canada.
To Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands (Select).

Mr. HILL (6) .....
Immigration, chairman.
Fisheries.
Judiciary.
Organization, etc., of the Executive Departments.
Post-Offices and Post-Roads.
Territories.

Mr. HOAR (4) .....
Woman Suffrage (Select), chairman.
Judiciary.
Privileges and Elections.
Relations with Canada.

Mr. HUNTON (6) .....
University of the United States (Select), chairman.
District of Columbia.
Education and Labor.
Post-Offices and Post-Roads.
Potomac River Front (Select).
Relations with Canada.

Mr. IRBY (6) .....
Transportation Routes, chairman.
Civil Service and Retrenchment.
Coast Defenses.
Epidemic Diseases.
Mines and Mining.
Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (5) .....
Indian Affairs, chairman.
Finance.
Irrigation.
To Investigate Geological Survey (Select).
University of the United States (Select).

Mr. JONES of Nevada (5) .....
Epidemic Diseases, chairman.
Commerce.
Finance.
Mines and Mining.
To Audit and Control Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Mr. KYLE (6) .....
Education and Labor, chairman.
Irrigation.
Indian Depredations.
Patents.
To Investigate Forest Reservations in California (Select).
University of the United States (Select).

Mr. LINDSAY (5) .....
Indian Depredations, chairman.
Interstate Commerce.
Judiciary.
Revision of the Laws of the United States.
Quadro-Centennial (Select).

Mr. LODGE (4) .....
Civil Service and Retrenchment.
Education and Labor.
Immigration.
Organization, etc., of the Executive Departments.

Mr. McMILLAN (5) .....
Agriculture and Forestry.
District of Columbia.
Pacific Railroads.
Post-Offices and Post-Roads.
To Investigate Corporations in the District of Columbia (Select).

Mr. McPHERSON (5) .....
Naval Affairs, chairman.
Finance.
Immigration.
Potomac River Front (Select).
Woman Suffrage (Select).

Mr. MANDERSON (5) .....
Indian Affairs.
Military Affairs.
National Banks (Select).
Printing.
Rules.

Mr. MARTIN (5) .....
To Investigate Geological Survey (Select), chairman.
District of Columbia.
Engrossed Bills.
Public Lands.
Railroads.

Mr. MILLS (5) .....
Library, chairman.
Coast Defenses.
Mines and Mining.
Patents.
Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon (6) .....
Claims.
Claims Against Nicaragua (Select).
Judiciary.
Post-Offices and Post-Roads.
Privileges and Elections.
Transportation Routes.

Mr. MITCHELL of Wisconsin (5) .....
National Banks (Select), chairman.
Enrolled Bills.
Fisheries.
Military Affairs.
Relations with Canada.

Mr. MORGAN (5) .....
Foreign Relations, chairman.
Claims against Nicaragua (Select).
Indian Affairs.
Pacific Railroads.
To Investigate Forest Reservations in California (Select).

Mr. MORRILL (4) .....
Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress (Select), chairman.
Civil Service and Retrenchment.
Finance.
Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. MURPHY (5) .....
Relations with Canada, chairman.
Census.
Commerce.
Education and Labor.
Pacific Railroads.

Mr. PALMER (6) .....
Pensions, chairman.
Claims against Nicaragua (Select).
Improvement of the Mississippi River.
Military Affairs.
Privileges and Elections.
Railroads.

Mr. PASCO (5) .....
Claims, chairman.
Five Civilized Tribes of Indians (Select).
Private Land Claims.
Public Buildings and Grounds.
Public Lands.

Mr. PEFFER (6) .....
Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service, chairman.
Agriculture and Forestry.
Census.
Claims.
Improvement of Mississippi River.
Railroads.

Mr. PETTIGREW (6) .....
Improvement of Mississippi River.
Indian Affairs.
Indian Depredations.
Public Lands.
Quadro-Centennial (Select).
Railroads.

Mr. PLATT (7) .....
Transportation and Sale of Meat Products (Select), chairman.
Five Civilized Tribes of Indians (Select).
Indian Affairs.
Judiciary.
Patents.
Revision of the Laws.
Territories.

Mr. POWER (7) .....
Fisheries.
Improvement of Mississippi River.
Mines and Mining.
Public Lands.
Railroads.
To Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service.
Transportation and Sale of Meat Products (Select).

Mr. PROCTOR (6) .....
Agriculture and Forestry.
District of Columbia.
Establish the University of the United States (Select).
Immigration.
Organization, etc., of the Executive Departments.
Potomac River Front (Select).

Mr. PUGH (5) .....
Judiciary, chairman.
Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress (Select).
Privileges and Elections.
Relations with Canada.
Revolutionary Claims.

Mr. QUAY (4) .....
Commerce.
Epidemic Diseases.
Public Buildings and Grounds.
Woman Suffrage (Select).

Mr. RANSOM (7) .....
Commerce, chairman.
Agriculture and Forestry.
Potomac River Front (Select).
Printing.
Private Land Claims.
To Investigate Geological Survey (Select).
Transportation Routes.

Mr. ROACH (5) .....
Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands (Select), chairman.
Agriculture and Forestry.
Five Civilized Tribes of Indians (Select).
Indian Affairs.
Irrigation.

Mr. SHERMAN (5) .....
Finance.
Foreign Relations.
Potomac River Front (Select).
Quadro-Centennial (Select).
University of the United States (Select).

Mr. SHOUP (5) .....
Indian Affairs.
Indian Depredations.
Mines and Mining.
Pensions.
Territories.

Mr. SMITH (5)	Organization, etc., of the Executive Departments, chairman.
	Coast Defenses.
	District of Columbia.
	Indian Affairs.
	Manufactures.
Mr. SQUIRE (5)	Coast Defenses.
	Fisheries.
	Immigration.
	Public Buildings and Grounds.
	Transportation Routes.
Mr. STANFORD (5)	Civil Service and Retrenchment.
	Education and Labor.
	Fisheries.
	Naval Affairs.
	Public Buildings and Grounds.
Mr. STEWART (6)	Mines and Mining, chairman.
	Claims.
	Immigration.
	Indian Affairs.
	Irrigation.
	Nicaragua Claims (Select).
Mr. STOCKBRIDGE (6)	Census.
	Epidemic Diseases.
	Fisheries.
	Indian Affairs.
	Naval Affairs.
	Railroads.
Mr. TELLER (5)	Five Civilized Tribes of Indians (Select), chairman.
	Appropriations.
	Forest Reservations (Select).
	Judiciary.
	Private Land Claims.
Mr. TURPIE (5)	Census, chairman.
	Foreign Relations.
	Privileges and Elections.
	Transportation Routes.
	University of the United States (Select).
Mr. VANCE (5)	Privileges and Elections, chairman.
	Finance.
	National Banks (Select).
	University of the United States (Select).
	Woman Suffrage (Select).
Mr. VEST (5)	Public Buildings and Grounds, chairman.
	Commerce.
	Finance.
	Transportation and Sale of Meat Products (Select).
	Quadro-Centennial (Select).
Mr. VILAS (6)	Quadro-Centennial (Select), chairman.
	Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service.
	Judiciary.
	Pensions.
	Post-Offices and Post-Roads.
	Public Lands.
Mr. VOORHEES (5)	Finance, chairman.
	Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress (Select).
	Immigration.
	Library.
	Quadro-Centennial (Select).
Mr. WALTHALL (5)	Military Affairs, chairman.
	Civil Service and Retrenchment.
	Improvement of Mississippi River.
	Organization, etc., of the Executive Departments.
	Public Lands.
Mr. WASHBURN (7)	Agriculture and Forestry.
	Civil Service and Retrenchment.
	Commerce.
	Education and Labor.
	Improvement of the Mississippi River.
	Post-Offices and Post-Roads.
	University of the United States (Select).
Mr. WHITE of California (5)	Irrigation, chairman.
	Census.
	Coast Defenses.
	Commerce.
	Territories.
Mr. WHITE of Louisiana (6)	To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, chairman.
	Commerce.
	Epidemic Diseases.
	Indian Depredations.
	Interstate Commerce.
	Pacific Railroads.
Mr. WILSON (6)	Interstate Commerce.
	Judiciary.
	Organization, etc., of Executive Departments.
	Patents.
	Revision of the Laws.
	Quadro-Centennial (Select).
Mr. WOLCOTT (6)	District of Columbia.
	Interstate Commerce.
	Library.
	Pacific Railroads.
	Post-Offices and Post-Roads.
	To Investigate Geological Survey (Select).

CLERK TO COMMITTEE ON PACIFIC RAILROADS.

Mr. BRICE submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Pacific Railroads be, and is hereby, authorized to employ a clerk, at an annual salary of $2,220 per annum, to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate until otherwise provided for.

Mr. MILLS. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 47 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, March 16, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 15, 1893.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Edward B. Whitney, of New York, to be Assistant Attorney-General, vice Abraham X. Parker, resigned.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

William McAdoo, of New Jersey, to be Assistant Secretary of the Navy, vice James R. Soley, resigned.

POSTMASTERS.

Dale J. Crittenberger, to be postmaster at Anderson, in the county of Madison and State of Indiana, in the place of Hiram J. Daniels, resigned.

Charles H. Long, to be postmaster at Tipton, in the county of Cedar and State of Iowa, in the place of Mrs. Lucy Bowers, whose commission expires March 21, 1893.

Stephen Smith, to be postmaster at Tama, in the county of Tama and State of Iowa, in the place of Charles J. Wonser, resigned.

Joseph E. Swindlehurst, to be postmaster at Livingston, in the county of Park and State of Montana, in the place of Stiles M. Parks, resigned.

Robert B. Brown, to be postmaster at Meadville, in the county of Crawford and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of Orrin H. Hollister, removed.

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS, MILITARY ACADEMY.

First Lieut. Wright P. Edgerton, Second Artillery, to be associate professor of mathematics, March 14, 1893, to fill an original vacancy.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

Quartermaster's Department.

Capt. Charles W. Williams, assistant quartermaster, to be quartermaster with the rank of major, March 4, 1893, vice McGonnigle, retired from active service.

Cavalry arm.

Capt. James N. Wheelan, Second Cavalry, to be major, March 7, 1893, vice Harris, Eighth Cavalry, retired from active service.

Capt. Adam Kramer, Sixth Cavalry, to be major, March 8, 1893, vice Adam, Sixth Cavalry, retired from active service.

First Lieut. Frederick W. Sibley, Second Cavalry, to be captain, March 7, 1893, vice Wheelan, Second Cavalry, promoted.

First Lieut. Benjamin H. Cheever, Sixth Cavalry, to be captain, March 8, 1893, vice Kramer, Sixth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Harry G. Trout, Ninth Cavalry, to be first lieutenant, March 7, 1893, vice Sibley, Second Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Edward C. Brooks, Eighth Cavalry, to be first lieutenant, March 8, 1893, vice Cheever, Sixth Cavalry, promoted.

Infantry arm.

Maj. Richard Comba, Ninth Infantry, to be lieutenant-colonel, March 8, 1893, vice Whittemore, Twelfth Infantry, retired from active service.

Capt. Ezra P. Ewers, Fifth Infantry, to be major, March 7, 1893, vice Comba, Ninth Infantry, promoted.

First Lieut. William H. C. Bowen, Fifth Infantry, to be captain, March 7, 1893, vice Ewers, Fifth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. George B. Davis, Twenty-third Infantry, to be first lieutenant, March 7, 1893, vice Bowen, Fifth Infantry, promoted.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Passed Assistant Engineer Charles W. Rae, to be a chief engineer in the Navy from the 21st February, 1893, vice Chief Engineer Robert B. Hine, retired (subject to the examinations required by law).

Assistant Engineer William H. Allderdice, to be a passed assistant engineer in the Navy from the 21st February, 1893, vice Passed Assistant Engineer Charles W. Rae, promoted.

THURSDAY, *March 16, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

Mr. BATE. I move that when the Senate adjourn to-day it be to meet on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented a petition of the Legislature of Washington, praying that action be taken by Congress for the protection of Puget Sound and the entire coast; which was referred to the Committee on Coast Defenses.

He also presented a petition of the Legislature of Washington, praying that an appropriation be made for the survey and improvement of the western coast of that State north of Grays Harbor and the Ozeete River; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also presented a petition of the Legislature of Washington, praying for the enactment of legislation to protect the country from infectious diseases; which was referred to the Committee on Epidemic Diseases.

He also presented a petition of the Legislature of Washington, praying for the creation of a new light-house district which shall embrace all the aids to navigation on the Straits of Juan de Fuca, Puget Sound, Washington Sound, and all the adjacent and tributary waters thereto, and also all Alaskan waters; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also presented a petition of the Legislature of Washington, praying for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of the Legislature of Washington, praying for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of United States Senators by a popular vote; which was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

He also presented a petition of the Legislature of Washington, praying for the early completion of the Nicaragua Canal; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of the Second Legislative Assembly of Oklahoma Territory, praying that the provisions of section 2301, Supplement of the Revised Statutes, be amended so as to apply to the Public Land Strip; which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also presented a petition of the National Assembly, League of American Wheelmen, praying that an appropriation be made for the continuance and early completion of the work of the United States Geological Survey; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. HANSBROUGH presented a petition of the Legislature of North Dakota, praying that all telegraph lines be placed under Government control; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented petitions of the Legislature of North Dakota, praying for the removal of the duty on binding-twine and for the passage of a graduated income-tax law; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the Legislature of North Dakota, praying for a change in the plans for the expenditure of the balance of the appropriation for the erection of a penitentiary building at Grafton, N. Dak., under the provisions of an act of Congress, so that the building may be used as an institution for the feeble-minded; which was referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also presented a petition of the Legislature of North Dakota, praying for an amendment of the law regulating the allotment of the national militia fund; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of the Legislature of North Dakota, praying for the passage of what is known as the "good roads bill;" which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

CLERK TO SELECT COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL BANKS.

Mr. MITCHELL of Wisconsin submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Select Committee on National Banks be, and it is hereby, authorized to employ a clerk at an annual salary of $1,440, to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate until otherwise provided for.

Mr. GORMAN. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, March 20, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

MONDAY, *March 20, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday last was read and approved.

ADJOURNMENT TO WEDNESDAY.

Mr. FAULKNER. I move that when the Senate adjourn to-day it be to meet on Wednesday next.

The motion was agreed to.

REGENT OF SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Pursuant to section 5581 of the Revised Statutes, the Vice-President appoints the Senator from Delaware, Hon. GEORGE GRAY, to be a regent of the Smithsonian Institution, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the expiration of his term of office.

SENATOR FROM WASHINGTON.

Mr. SQUIRE presented the credentials of John B. Allen, appointed by the governor of Washington a Senator from that State; which were read, and referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, as follows:

STATE OF WASHINGTON, *Executive Department.*

To the President of the Senate of the United States and to all to whom these presents may come, greeting:

Whereas the term of office of Hon. John B. Allen as a Senator in Congress from the State of Washington expired March 3, A. D. 1893; and

Whereas the Legislature of the State which assembled January 9, A. D. 1893, finally adjourned March 9, A. D. 1893, without electing a Senator in Congress from said State to fill the vacancy occasioned by the expiration of the term of Senator Allen; and

Whereas by reason of the premises a vacancy exists and happens during the recess of the Legislature in the office of Senator in Congress from the State of Washington:

Now, therefore, I, J. H. McGraw, executive of the State of Washington, by reason of the premises, and by virtue of the authority in me vested as such executive by the Constitution of the United States, do hereby appoint said John B. Allen, a native-born citizen of the United States over the age of 30 years and an inhabitant of the State, a Senator in Congress from the State of Washington to fill such vacancy until the next meeting of the Legislature of the State.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the State of Washington to be affixed hereto, at Olympia, this 10th day of March, A. D. 1893, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and seventeenth.

[SEAL.] J. H. McGRAW.

By the governor:

J. H. PRICE, *Secretary of State.*

CLERK TO SELECT COMMITTEE ON GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Mr. MARTIN submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Select Committee to Investigate the Geological Survey be, and it hereby is, authorized to employ a clerk at an annual salary of $1,440, to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate, until otherwise provided for.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. HOAR. I rise to a question of order.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Massachusetts will state his question of order.

Mr. HOAR. It is that the rules of the Senate require the presentation of routine business in a regular order, first petitions, and afterwards reports of committees, bills, and resolutions.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The point of order of the Senator from Massachusetts is well taken, and routine business will be called in regular order. The presentation of petitions and memorials is first in order.

Mr. PASCO. What is the point of order made?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The regular order is called for, which is the presentation of petitions and memorials.

Mr. SHERMAN. It is usual to first lay before the Senate messages from the President and communications from heads of Departments. I take the liberty of suggesting that that order precedes the presentation of petitions and memorials.

REPORT ON PHOSPHATE INDUSTRY.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Commissioner of Labor, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the Senate of December 4, 1890, a special report relating to the phosphate industry of the United States; which, with the accompanying papers, was, on motion of Mr. CALL, referred to the Committee on Printing, and ordered to be printed.

LONG ISLAND SOUND COAST DEFENSES.

Mr. HAWLEY presented a petition of the Legislature of Connecticut, praying for improved defenses of the eastern entrance to Long Island Sound; which was read, and referred to the Committee on Coast Defenses, as follows:

STATE OF CONNECTICUT, GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
January Session, A. D. 1893.

House joint resolution No. 354, concerning the defense of the eastern entrance of Long Island Sound.

Resolved by this Assembly:

SECTION 1. That the proposed erection of suitable coast defenses at the

eastern entrance to Long Island Sound is hereby approved, and a sufficient application of funds appropriated for seacoast defenses by the Congress of the United States according to plans prepared by the Chief Engineer of the United States Army, under direction of the Secretary of War, is hereby recommended and urged as a necessity in order that this important part of the coast may be properly protected.

SEC. 2. The secretary is hereby directed to forward copies of this resolution to the Senators and Representatives from this State in Congress.

Passed senate March 2, 1893.

Passed house of representatives March 2, 1893.

STATE OF CONNECTICUT, *ss.*,
Office of the Secretary:

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of record in this office.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said State, at Hartford, this 6th day of March, A. D. 1893.

[SEAL.] JOHN J. PHELAN, *Secretary.*

(Mr. O. L. Pruden, one of the private secretaries of the President of the United States, communicated to the Senate sundry messages in writing.)

REPORT ON COST OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS.

Mr. McPHERSON submitted the following resolution, which was read:

Resolved, That the Commissioner of Labor is hereby directed to make a report to the Senate at the opening of the Fifty-third Congress comprehending the facts already collected by him, or to be obtained from other sources, of the total cost and also actual labor cost of producing various iron and steel products, such as bar iron, steel rails, etc., and leading articles in the textile industry, and of such other articles for which the cost of production has been or may be approximately obtained, and in his report to state the facts in parallel columns for this and other countries for which they have been or may be obtained.

Mr. McPHERSON. If there is no objection I ask for the immediate consideration of the resolution.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let it be referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. PLATT. Why not the Committee on Finance?

Mr. COCKRELL. Let it go to the Committee on Finance, then.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Missouri submit a motion to refer?

Mr. COCKRELL. I move that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I ask the Senator from Missouri to withhold his motion for a few minutes that I may submit some reports.

Mr. SHERMAN. I rise to offer a resolution.

Mr. VEST. I will yield to allow routine business to be transacted.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Missouri withdraws his motion.

AMENDMENT OF THE RULES—APPROPRIATION BILLS.

Mr. SHERMAN. In pursuance of the notice I gave the other day, I introduce a resolution, which I ask to have referred to the Committee on Rules.

The resolution was read, and referred to the Committee on Rules, as follows:

Resolved, That Rule XVI be amended by adding after the words "Committee on Commerce," in clause 1, the words "and bills making appropriations for the District of Columbia, which shall be referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia;" so as to read:

"All general appropriation bills shall be referred to the Committee on Appropriations, except bills making appropriations for rivers and harbors, which shall be referred to the Committee on Commerce, and bills making appropriations for the District of Columbia, which shall be referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia," etc.

Mr. BUTLER. I submit a resolution, which I ask be referred to the Committee on Rules.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That paragraph 1 of Rule XVI of the standing rules of the Senate be amended by striking out the words "All general appropriation bills shall be referred to the Committee on Appropriations, except bills making appropriations for rivers and harbors, which shall be referred to the Committee on Commerce," and inserting the following:

"The general appropriation bills shall be referred to committees as follows:

"To the Committee on Appropriations: The bills for legislative, executive, and judicial expenses, for sundry civil expenses, for pensions, and for all deficiencies.

"To the Committee on Agriculture: The bill for the Agricultural Department.

"To the Committee on Foreign Relations: The consular and diplomatic bill.

"To the Committee on Military Affairs: The bill for the military establishment, including the Military Academy.

"To the Committee on Naval Affairs: The bill for the naval establishment.

"To the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads: The Post-Office appropriation bill.

"To the Committee on Indian Affairs: The bill for Indians and Indian tribes.

"To the Committee on Commerce: The bill for rivers and harbors.

"To the Committee on Coast Defenses: The fortifications bill; and

"To the Committee on the District of Columbia: The bill making appropriations for the District."

Mr. HARRIS. Let the resolution be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be referred to the Committee on Rules and printed.

REPORT ON IMMIGRATION.

Mr. CHANDLER submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved, That there be printed and bound in paper covers, for the use of the Senate, 1,000 copies of the Report No. 1333, of the Committee on Immigration, made at the second session of the Fifty-second Congress, with the testimony accompanying said report.

REPORT ON FAILED NATIONAL BANKS.

Mr. CHANDLER submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved, That there be printed and bound in paper covers, for the use of the Senate, 2,250 copies of the Report No. 1286, of the Committee on Failed National Banks, made at the second session of the Fifty-second Congress, with the testimony accompanying said report.

INDIAN DEPREDATION CLAIMS.

Mr. KYLE. I submit a resolution for reference to the Committee on Indian Depredations.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Indian Depredations be, and hereby is, directed to make inquiry concerning all Indian depredation claims which at any time have been or may be presented in the Court of Claims under the act of March 3, 1891, especially those in which unpaid judgments have been hitherto rendered, or may be rendered prior to the conclusion of the inquiry; and also into the manner in which such claims have been defended in behalf of the Indians and the United States; and generally into the workings of said act of March 3, 1891; and concerning all other Indian depredation claims not covered by said act, and to make such recommendations relative to any or all of said claims and for additional legislation as said committee may deem expedient; said committee, either as a full committee or through subcommittees, being hereby empowered to sit during the recess of the Senate, to send for persons and papers, and to employ a stenographer and expert, the expenses of the inquiry to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

Mr. HARRIS. The resolution had better be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from South Dakota desires to have it referred to the Committee on Indian Depredations.

Mr. KYLE. I wish to have the Committee on Indian Depredations consider the resolution before action is had upon it.

Mr. HARRIS. I have no objection to its going to that committee, but before the Senate can finally consider it it must go, under the law, to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be referred, in the first instance, to the Committee on Indian Depredations.

PHOTOGRAPHIC COPIES OF SENATE ARCHIVES.

Mr. ALLISON. I submit a resolution and ask that it be referred to the Committee on Rules, as I think that is the proper committee to consider the subject. It is a matter of some importance to the Senate.

The resolution was read and referred to the Committee on Rules, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he is hereby, directed to allow, under his supervision, the representative of the Department of Justice on the board of management of the World's Columbian Exposition to have photographic copies made of certain ancient executive communications on file in the archives of the United States Senate, for exhibition at the World's Columbian Exposition, as follows: The nominations by the President of the Chief Justices and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, embraced in Nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 14, 16, 27, 28, 31, 35, 37, 40; also nominations of Ellsworth and Fuller, and Jefferson's address to the Senate on taking the oath of office.

STATE QUARANTINE PROPERTY.

Mr. CHANDLER submitted the following resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Epidemic Diseases:

The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to ascertain, by means of a suitable board of officers appointed for that purpose, or otherwise, the value of the real or personal property belonging to any State or municipal government designed or used for quarantine purposes; also to ascertain at what price such property may be purchased by the United States, and to report the result of these inquiries at the first session of the next Congress.

CLERKS TO SELECT COMMITTEES.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I am directed by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the resolution submitted by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MITCHELL] on the 16th instant, providing for a clerk to the Select Committee on National Banks, to report a substitute therefor, and I ask for its present consideration.

The substitute was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay the clerks to the following committees their salaries at the rate of $1,440 per annum, from the 16th day of March instant, or so soon thereafter as they shall qualify:

To Investigate the Geological Survey; on National Banks; on Forest Reservations in California; on Corporations in the District of Columbia; and to Investigate Trespassers upon Cherokee Lands; the said salaries to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

Mr. COCKRELL. The words "in California" should be stricken out after the words "forest reservations." It is designated the Select Committee on Forest Reservations.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I will strike out those words.

Mr. COCKRELL. The word "Cherokee" should be stricken out and the word "Indian" inserted; so as to read: "To investigate trespassers upon Indian lands."

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I will so modify the resolution. I ask unanimous consent for its consideration at this time.

Mr. SHERMAN. I have not been able to hear the resolution. I think the Senator from Louisiana had better allow it to be printed and go over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read as modified.

The resolution was read as modified, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay the clerks to the following committees their salaries at the rate of $1,440 per annum, from the 16th day of March instant, or so soon thereafter as they shall qualify:

To Investigate the Geological Survey; on National Banks; on Forest Reservations; on Corporations in the District of Columbia; and to Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands; the said salaries to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

Mr. CULLOM. I wish to inquire if the resolution comes from the Committee on Contingent Expenses.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. It is reported by me from that committee.

Mr. CHANDLER. I ask the Senator from Louisiana to be kind enough, as he desires the present consideration of the resolution, to state what change it makes in the existing law as to the payment of clerks.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I will state the practical effect of the resolution. Under the legislative, etc., appropriation act there were certain designated committees authorized to employ clerks, those committees being mentioned nominally in the act. Then there was a general provision authorizing twenty-three clerks to committees. Then there was a general provision providing that where a Senator was chairman of a committee he should not be entitled to a secretary. By the make-up of the committees since that statute was passed the committees designated here and one other were not embraced in the enumeration. If this resolution be not passed the effect will be to deprive the chairmen of these committees of the secretaries which they would otherwise have. The effect of the resolution is simply to put them upon a footing of equality.

Mr. CHANDLER. I understand perfectly the difficulty the Senator has sought to obviate. Does the resolution propose to pay these clerks any more than they would receive as clerks of Senators?

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. It proposes to pay them the same that clerks of other committees of the same grade received.

Mr. CHANDLER. What sum is that?

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. Fourteen hundred and forty dollars, instead of the sum they would receive as secretaries.

Mr. CHANDLER. It is the purpose of the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate that all the committees of this grade shall have $1,440 clerks?

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. Yes, that they shall be treated exactly alike except as to those committees where a greater sum is provided for clerks by the terms of the statute.

Mr. CHANDLER. The salaries of the clerks of Senators without committees will be how much under the new law?

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. Twelve hundred dollars a year.

Mr. CHANDLER. I think the resolution had better go over until to-morrow.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Objection being made, the resolution will go over.

CLERK TO COMMITTEE ON PACIFIC RAILROADS.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I am also directed by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the resolution submitted by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICE] on the 15th instant, to report a substitute therefor, which I ask to have read and considered at this time.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The substitute reported by the committee will be read.

The Secretary read the proposed substitute, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Pacific Railroads be, and it is hereby, authorized to employ a clerk at an annual salary of $1,440, from the 16th day of March, instant, or so soon thereafter as the said clerk shall qualify, and that the Secretary of the Senate be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay the salary of the said clerk out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP.

Mr. CALL submitted the following resolution; which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed:

Resolved, That the Committees on Naval Affairs, Military Affairs, Judiciary, Foreign Relations, Appropriations, Commerce, Interstate Commerce, shall each consist of fifteen members.

REPRINT OF INDIAN APPROPRIATION ACT.

Mr. COCKRELL. I offer the resolution which I send to the desk, and ask for its present consideration. It is a resolution simply to print additional copies of the Indian appropriation law, for which there is a very great demand in consequence of legislation affecting the opening of the Cherokee Outlet. All the copies in the document room have already been exhausted.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That there be printed for the use of the Senate 500 additional copies of public act No. 125, being "An act making appropriations for current and contingent expenses, and fulfilling treaty stipulations with Indian tribes, for fiscal year ending June 30, 1894."

Mr. HALE. Before the Senator gets a vote upon the resolution, I wish to ask him if he has examined the Indian appropriation bill, to which it refers, with a view to the correctness of its enrollment?

I regret to say that in several appropriation bills passed in the last days of the last session of the last Congress many errors in enrollment have crept in. I had occasion this morning to examine the naval appropriation bill, and I found more than ninety errors in it, mainly of punctuation and the omission of letters, but occasionally the omission of important words and the changing of one word to another. Senators will bear in mind that even in the matter of punctuation, the insertion of a comma or a semicolon in the wrong place may change the purport and spirit of the provisions of a law.

Mr. HOAR. Such an error made one of the most important changes in a tariff act.

Mr. HALE. And, as the Senator on my right reminds me, a very important change in tariff legislation occurred in this fashion.

Now, I hope the Senator from Missouri, who I know is vigilant in this as in all matters, has examined this bill carefully and has seen that nothing has crept in through enrollment which Congress did not intend. There are in some of the appropriation bills grave questions raised by the errors which have occurred in the enrollment.

Mr. CULLOM. In which House?

Mr. HALE. In the other House, I am bound to say upon information which has been given to me. There is one case where an appropriation considered of immediate and necessary importance was made for $37,000, and it is enrolled and is a part of the law for $37.

This is a subject which ought to command the attention of those Senators and members of the other House who will have the responsibility for legislation hereafter. The enrolling force ought to be an expert, a well known and well established force, otherwise Congress is at the mercy of it, and the gravest of errors may creep in.

Mr. MCPHERSON. May I inquire of the Senator from Maine to what particular appropriation bill he is calling the attention of the Senate?

Mr. HALE. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] asks that a reprint be made of the Indian appropriation law, and I asked him, before such order is made, to examine, if he had not already done so, to see if it is correctly enrolled. I think it has been stated to me that there is some error in that bill, but of that I am not sure.

Mr. HOAR. I wish to add my testimony to some extent to the facts stated by the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], though I have not, of course, the same familiarity with appropriation bills which he has; but in one appropriation bill I discover that there was a substitution of a word which materially changed an appropriation of some consequence—not a very important one, but it was an amendment which I moved, which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, reported back by that committee, it being in print, referred to the Appropriations Committee, reported back by that committee in print, and the printed amendment being moved in the Senate and sent up by the Senator from Maine himself to the Secretary's desk, and then pasted into the bill as the amendment adopted. That appears in the law with the substitution of the words "the coming year" for "the current year." I went into the Secretary's office to inquire as to how the mistake arose, but they could not inform me.

The possibility of such a thing is of infinite importance in legislation. It offers room for the grossest malpractice, and indicates somewhere a very great failure in the security and safety of our legislative mechanism. I hope the Committee on Enrolled Bills of the Senate, when it starts in its duty, will make a very careful and thorough investigation of the manner in which the integrity of our legislation is preserved, and that there will be a reform.

I am not criticising what happened in antecedent Congresses, but in the last. I call the attention of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL], an experienced Senator, who is chairman of

the Committee on Appropriations, and who will have these great bills in his charge, to the necessity of insisting that this matter be examined by the Committee on Enrolled Bills to the bottom, so that there may be no possibility of a comma, still less of a word, getting into a bill or being struck out of a bill without the knowledge of the Senate itself.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, I desire to add my contribution to the matter under discussion, and I trust that the whole may receive a most searching investigation.

It will be remembered that in the sundry civil bill a very vigorous and animated discussion arose over the retention of a proviso in that bill whereby the effect of a certain statute of repose as to land entries was entirely taken away and the contests thrown open again as if that statute never existed. After much discussion that proviso was struck out, so that the antecedent statutes of repose remained for the protection of the citizens of the Northwest especially. When that bill came to be enrolled the proviso which the Senate had stricken out, and which action of the Senate had been agreed upon in conference, appeared in the enrolled bill, as I am informed, and the whole matter was set at large so far as those titles are concerned. The existence of that proviso, which had thus been stricken out and agreed to be stricken out, was discovered by the vigilance of the clerk of the Committee on Appropriations happily in time to correct the enrollment and save the rights which the Senate had thus restored to the people whom I represented in the debate upon this floor at that time.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, bills are enrolled when passed in the House where they originate, and all these errors and defects—and there were quite a number of them at the last session—so far as I know, were found in the appropriation bills, and they were not enrolled in this body or by the clerks of this body.

I think I can say, after considerable observation and experience, of our own clerks that the enrollments here are absolutely accurate and the examinations are accurate. It is true that it is difficult at the closing hours of a session, when a great number of bills are passing between the two Houses, perhaps, to make these enrollments without errors; but I think some of the errors at the last session were inexcusable. I regret very much that they were made, but I know of no way—and I should be glad to have a way pointed out if it can be—whereby the Senate can exercise jurisdiction over the enrolling clerks of the House of Representatives. It seems to me that where bills are enrolled in the other House there is no way whereby the Senate can exercise control over them.

It is true as to the case suggested by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS] that the clerk of the Committee on Appropriations of the House and the clerk of the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate did undertake to make an examination of these bills so far as they could with a view to ascertain the correctness of the enrollment. A number of errors were corrected by them before the enrolled bills were signed, and that alluded to by the Senator was one of the errors which was discovered and corrected by the clerks of the Committees on Appropriations of the two Houses.

I quite agree that this is a proper discussion, but I know of no way whereby the difficulty can be corrected unless there shall be some joint arrangement between the two Houses as to the method and manner of enrolling bills.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, in response to the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] I desire to say that I regret that I have not even had time yet to read the Indian appropriation bill as it became a law, and if I had the time to read it and discovered any possible number of errors in it, neither I nor the Senate at this session have any power to reform or correct them. It is a law; it is in existence, and must be construed by the courts until some legislation is enacted by Congress amendatory of, repealing, or modifying it. Therefore I have not looked at the bill at all; but it is the law, and in the form it is now it must go into operation and must receive construction at the hands of the courts. Because there may be errors in the law is no reason why we should undertake to suppress the circulation of it.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, my suggestion was not made with any view of suppressing the publication of the act, but I think it would be a matter of satisfaction to the Senator himself, who is a careful legislator and who is to have very broad control and jurisdiction over the appropriation bills, to find out if there are errors in the Indian appropriation act such as have been discovered in other acts, because it is by finding these things out and realizing the harm they may do that we shall be able to correct them in the future.

I do not object to the Senator's resolution. I do not deny his proposition that the bill as printed, signed, and coming to us as the law is the chart that we have to follow for the next year. That is undoubtedly so; but if there are errors in it and they are exposed and brought to public notice, there will be less likelihood of such errors occurring hereafter.

Mr. COCKRELL. That is all true, and in due time, when other pressing matters are laid aside or disposed of, that question will be considered.

I desire to call the attention of the Senator and of the Senate to the fact that scarcely a Congress passes when some mistake of this kind is not made. We all know, when we begin to think about it and investigate it, what is the cause of these errors. It is the immense pressure of business upon Congress in the closing days of the short session, which expires by limitation at 12 o'clock on the 4th day of March. We have to get the appropriation bills through. As I understand—and it is no secret—three of the important appropriation bills were never carefully compared and could not be unless we could have extended the existence of that Congress ten or twelve hours. Those bills had to be passed or an extra session of Congress be called, and they had to be passed in their uncompared form. Therefore necessarily there were errors in them, and this happens at almost every short session of Congress.

Mr. DAVIS. I should like to ask the Senator from Missouri if he thinks the pressure of business accounts for writing in a long proviso after it was stricken out of the bill?

Mr. COCKRELL. If there had been any comparison of the bill does not the Senator know that the proviso would not have been written there? In that case it would have been stricken out.

Mr. DAVIS. When the bill went to the enrolling clerks of the other House the proviso had been stricken out, and it was written in there. Pressure of business does not account for that.

Mr. COCKRELL. I shall not detain the Senate. I wish simply to say that these things come up, and they come up largely from the pressure of business in the closing hours of a Congress. If the existence of the second session of a Congress could be extended until the 30th day of April, in my judgment it would give time in which all the appropriation bills could be properly considered; but between the first Monday in December and the 4th day of March Congress has to enact thirteen large appropriation bills. They have to be prepared in the other House and come here and be considered. Ordinarily it takes from six to eight months for Congress to pass these bills, and yet at a short session they are to be pressed through in so short a time that mistakes have occurred and will continue to occur, and some errors will be made and some inaccuracies will creep in. We shall simply have to do the best we can. As we have done heretofore in regard to the tariff act of October 1, 1890, we shall have to pass a law amendatory of it, explaining what is left out, and this will have to be done from Congress to Congress.

Mr. DUBOIS. Mr. President, I think it due to the Senate, to the Committee on Enrolled Bills, and to myself to make a statement.

One of the members of that committee was absent and another member of the committee was at home sick, so that I have acted as chairman of that committee during most of the recent session of the Senate. No bill went from here that was not carefully compared and corrected by that committee. So far as the Senate is concerned there have been no mistakes in enrolled bills. I desire to emphasize the statement of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], that the Senate is not responsible for any errors which may appear in these bills as they have become laws.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, this matter will never be righted until bills are prepared and acted upon more deliberately earlier in the session. Mistakes must necessarily occur when a vast amount of business is done in the last hours of a session when Senators do not have an opportunity even to know what the bills are, and the pressure is such from day to day that bills are passed through here which can not be amended or discussed. This want of deliberation has become a growing evil. I hope the Committee on Rules will, in connection with the committee of the other House, frame some rule or make some arrangement whereby legislative matters may be considered and appropriation bills may be considered properly, and that the bills may then be properly enrolled.

It has become an absolute necessity to good government that Senators should have an opportunity to know what the bills are, that the clerks should have an opportunity to properly enroll them, and that they be carefully looked over by the enrolling committees.

The habit of doing the largest part of the legislation of a session in a hurried manner is a great evil, and this circumstance may work good by calling attention to this growing and terrible evil, which exists in rushing through the whole mass of business of a session in a few hours, when a large number of Senators are out of the body on conference committees, and when Senators are denied the privilege of debating or calling attention to the various items in a bill because if they should do so it would involve the necessity of an extra session.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, I only wish to say a word. I

think it is due at all events to the officers of this body to say that there are no more expert and correct engrossing clerks to be found anywhere than here.

My attention has been called to this subject; I have looked over it somewhat, and I was very much concerned about the result, owing to the condition of legislation at the very last hours of the last session.

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] says that these errors always occur at short sessions. I submit to the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], who practically had charge of the appropriation bills in this body, that seldom in the history of the Government, certainly not within my time, have the appropriation bills been so delayed as they were at the recent session.

The Senator from Iowa, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, pressed these bills to the best of his ability, but he was antagonized, as he always is, with other matters of minor importance, and more or less delay occurred. So it was that in the last three days of the session, when two or three great appropriation bills absolutely necessary for the Government had to be passed or else we should have had an extra session of Congress, those bills were delayed here by useless discussion of other matters. The result was that when they went elsewhere to be enrolled there was not sufficient time in which to do it. There was great carelessness, I admit.

I hold in my hand the naval appropriation bill as it became a law. The errors in that bill of misspelling and of misnaming places are almost without number. They occur upon nearly every page of the bill. For instance, "quarterman" for "quartermaster," errors in punctuation, etc., showing great carelessness on the part of the clerk who did this work. The fact remains, however, that if the clock had been at the standard time, the bill, even in its imperfect form, would never have been presented for the signature of the President. It is a lesson which I trust no Senator will forget hereafter, and press small minor matters in the place of the consideration of appropriation bills at the last hours of the session. It is to be regretted that this has occurred, but it is a wonder that greater errors have not occurred.

I repeat now, in the presence of this body, that but for the determination of the gentlemen in charge of these great appropriation bills, and the Executive whose duty it is under the Constitution to approve them, we should probably have had an extra session of Congress. The clerks were worn out working day after day and night after night, Sundays included, and it is no wonder that these errors occurred with men less experienced than those we have on this side.

Those are the facts. The responsibility ought not to be put alone upon the faithful men who have discharged their duty to the best of their ability, but it is with both bodies as well as it is with the clerks. The Senator from Iowa, the Senator from Maine, and the Senator from Missouri, know too well that every moment of that long last night of the session we were engaged in struggling to bring to a conclusion of some sort two great appropriation bills, and there was but an hour or two left in which the clerks could transcribe the result of our work.

Mr. STEWART. The Senator must be aware that the clerks of the House of Representatives have the burden of this work, and they ought not to be reflected upon by any remarks because they did not have time to properly do the work.

Mr. GORMAN. I tried to make that statement as plain and emphatic as I could. I say that it is the case, and it is a lesson for the two bodies who deal with these bills. Therefore the Senators who shape and control these bills should not be interfered with in the consideration of them in the last few days of a session; the clerks should have time to properly enroll them; and those charged with such duty the time to carefully compare them.

Mr. HIGGINS. May I ask the Senator if the lack of time on the part of the clerks of the House of Representatives could account for bad spelling?

Mr. GORMAN. In the few short hours in which they had this work to do anything might occur. I said a moment ago frankly that there were more mistakes made at the recent session than I have ever known before. The bill I hold in my hand contains many for which there is no excuse; but the fault is not alone with the clerks.

Mr. PLATT. Is it not true that there is so small a regular enrolling force in another body that it is utterly impossible for them to make the enrollment, and therefore when the passage of bills is deferred until the last moment, inexperienced people have to be called in to assist the regular enrolling force?

Mr. GORMAN. I will answer the Senator from Connecticut by saying that his statement is absolutely true. That occurs in both bodies. At the last session there were six extra men employed to help to get this work in shape so that the bills could be signed in due season. I say again that the great fault has been with the members of the two legislative bodies in delaying the appropriation bills at the last hours of the session, and expecting the impossible of the enrolling clerks.

Mr. CULLOM. The Senator from Maryland will allow me a remark.

Mr. GORMAN. Certainly.

Mr. CULLOM. Referring to the bill on which this discussion seems to have arisen, the Indian appropriation bill, the Senator from Maryland will remember that between 6 and 7 o'clock in the morning on the 4th day of March the conference committee was at work on that bill, and it was not until 7 o'clock or later that the conference report was agreed to by this body. Before it got through and was signed by the presiding officers of the two Houses it must have been well on to 9 o'clock in the morning or probably later.

Mr. PLATT. It was not signed by the presiding officers until probably 12 o'clock.

Mr. GORMAN. The bill probably did not reach here from another branch, enrolled imperfectly as it had been, until 1 o'clock by the standard time and 12 o'clock by ours. Therefore I say we ought not to gibbet these men on whom we imposed a task which it was not physically possible for them to perform. Hereafter I trust when the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations comes in with a bill in the last few days of an expiring Congress, by common consent, he shall meet with no antagonism. Then we may get these bills through earlier, and there will be opportunity to properly compare and enroll them. There is too much at stake to have this work done hastily. Everything depends upon its being properly done. I am glad that the attention of the Senate has been called to the matter, so that we may all be impressed with the importance of more speedy action and less interference with the passage of appropriation bills hereafter.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution offered by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL].

Mr. McPHERSON. I should like to have the resolution again read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution.

Mr. HARRIS. May I inquire if the resolution has been reported from the Committee on Printing?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution was offered by the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. GORMAN. The resolution is only for the reprint of a bill, and it is not necessary that it should go to the Committee on Printing.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. VEST. I now renew my motion that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Missouri.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After forty minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 1 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Wednesday, March 22, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 20, 1893.

ENVOYS EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTERS PLENIPOTENTIARY.

John E. Risley, of New York, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Denmark, vice Clark E. Carr, resigned.

James B. Eustis, of Louisiana, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to France, vice T. Jefferson Coolidge, resigned.

Theodore Runyon, of New Jersey, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Germany, vice William Walter Phelps, resigned.

SOLICITOR FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

Walter D. Dabney, of Virginia, to be solicitor for the Department of State, vice Frank C. Partridge, resigned.

CIRCUIT JUDGE.

James G. Jenkins, of Wisconsin, to be United States circuit judge for the seventh judicial circuit, vice Walter Q. Gresham, resigned.

JUDGE UNITED STATES COURT FOR INDIAN TERRITORY.

Charles B. Stuart, of Texas, to be judge of the United States

court for the Indian Territory, vice James N. Shackelford, whose term will expire March 26, 1893.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS.

Joseph W. House, of Arkansas, to be attorney of the United States for the eastern district of Arkansas, vice Charles C. Waters, whose term will expire March 27, 1893.

Frank B. Burke, of Indiana, to be attorney of the United States for the district of Indiana, vice Smiley N. Chambers, whose term expired March 13, 1893.

Clifford L. Jackson, of the Indian Territory, to be attorney of the United States court for the Indian Territory, vice Zachariah T. Walrond, whose term will expire March 26, 1893.

UNITED STATES MARSHALS.

Abner Gaines, of Arkansas, to be marshal of the United States for the eastern district of Arkansas, vice Oscar M. Spellman, whose term will expire March 27, 1893.

William H. Hawkins, of Indiana, to be marshal of the United States for the district of Indiana, vice William L. Dunlap, whose term expires March 20, 1893.

James J. McAlester, of the Indian Territory, to be marshal of the United States court for the Indian Territory, vice Thomas B. Needles, whose term will expire March 26, 1893.

David T. Guyton, of Mississippi, to be marshal of the United States for the northern district of Mississippi, vice John S. Burton, whose term expires March 20, 1893.

FIRST AUDITOR OF THE TREASURY.

Ernest P. Baldwin, of Maryland, to be First Auditor of the Treasury, to succeed George P. Fisher, resigned.

FIFTH AUDITOR OF THE TREASURY.

Thomas Holcomb, of Delaware, to be Fifth Auditor of the Treasury, to succeed Ernst G. Timme, resigned.

COMMISSIONER OF RAILROADS.

Wade Hampton, of Columbia, S. C., to be Commissioner of Railroads, vice Horace A. Taylor, resigned.

POSTMASTERS.

Julius W. Lancaster, to be postmaster at Dardanelle, in the county of Yell and State of Arkansas, in the place of James F. George, whose commission expires March 27, 1893.

Reese B. Hogins, to be postmaster at Russellville, in the county of Pope and State of Arkansas, in the place of Walter W. Brashear, whose commission expires March 27, 1893.

John A. Dyson, to be postmaster at Washington, in the county of Wilkes and State of Georgia, in the place of Susie T. Gatchell, removed.

William L. Isenhower, to be postmaster at Bloomfield, in the county of Greene and State of Indiana, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after October 1, 1892; John A. Pate, who was appointed and commissioned as postmaster at this office, and nominated to the Senate, not having been confirmed.

Louis E. Rowley, to be postmaster at Lansing, in the county of Ingham and State of Michigan, in the place of Seymour Foster, resigned.

W. L. Berry, to be postmaster at Madison, in the county of Madison and State of Nebraska, in the place of Mortimer L. Stewart, resigned.

Charles E. Clark, to be postmaster at Matawan, in the county of Monmouth and State of New Jersey, in the place of Orville Van Wickle, whose commission expires March 21, 1893.

William H. McCabe, to be postmaster at Coshocton, in the county of Coshocton and State of Ohio, in the place of Joseph K. Johnson, whose commission expires March 26, 1893.

Guy W. Junker, to be postmaster at Beaumont, in the county of Jefferson and State of Texas, in the place of Charles L. Nash, resigned.

Paul J. Millard, to be postmaster at Antigo, in the county of Langlade and State of Wisconsin, in the place of William H. Blinn, resigned.

Frank Warring, to be postmaster at Florence, in the county of Florence and State of Wisconsin, in the place of Frank R. Whittlesey, resigned.

De Witt S. Johnson, to be postmaster at Rhinelander, in the county of Oneida and State of Wisconsin, in the place of William L. Beers, whose commission expired March 13, 1893.

Stephen A. D. Keister, to be postmaster at Lander, in the county of Fremont and State of Wyoming, in the place of Isaac O. Wynn, resigned.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 20, 1893.

ENVOYS EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTERS PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Isaac P. Gray, of Indiana, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Mexico.

James B. Eustis, of Louisiana, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to France.

COMMISSIONER OF RAILROADS.

Wade Hampton, of South Carolina, to be Commissioner of Railroads.

CONSUL-GENERAL.

Patrick A. Collins, of Massachusetts, to be consul-general of the United States at London.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE.

Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, to be Assistant Secretray of State.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

William McAdoo, of New Jersey, to be Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

FOURTH ASSISTANT POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

Robert A. Maxwell, of New York, to be Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General.

APPOINTMENT IN THE MARINE HOSPITAL SERVICE.

James H. Oakley, of Illinois, to be an assistant surgeon in the Marine Hospital Service of the United States.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE NAVY.

Alfred Brown Pusey, a resident of Kentucky, and Edward Mansfield Shipp, a resident of Virginia, to be assistant surgeons in the Navy.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Lieut. (junior grade) Herbert O. Dunn, to be a lieutenant.

Ensign Joseph Beale, to be a lieutenant, junior grade, in the Navy.

Lieut. (junior grade) Arthur W. Dodd, to be a lieutenant.

Ensign Edward F. Leiper, to be a lieutenant, junior grade, in the Navy.

Passed Assistant Engineer Charles W. Rae, to be a chief engineer.

Assistant Engineer William H. Alderdice, to be a passed assistant engineer.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

Quartermaster's Department.

Capt. Charles W. Williams, assistant quartermaster, to be quartermaster.

Cavalry arm.

Capt. James N. Wheelan, Second Cavalry, to be major.

Capt. Adam Kramer, Sixth Cavalry, to be major.

First Lieut. Frederick W. Sibley, Second Cavalry, to be captain.

First Lieut. Benjamin H. Cheever, Sixth Cavalry, to be captain.

Second Lieut. Harry G. Trout, Ninth Cavalry, to be first lieutenant.

Second Lieut. Edward C. Brooks, Eighth Cavalry, to be first lieutenant.

Infantry arm.

Maj. Richard Comba, Ninth Infantry, to be lieutenant-colonel.

Capt. Ezra P. Ewers, Fifth Infantry, to be major.

First Lieut. William H. C. Bowen, Fifth Infantry, to be captain.

Second Lieut. George B. Davis, Twenty-third Infantry, to be first lieutenant.

MILITARY ACADEMY.

First Lieut. Wright P. Edgerton, Second Artillery, to be associate professor of mathematics.

POSTMASTERS.

Stephen Smith, to be postmaster at Tama, in the county of Tama and State of Iowa.

Dale J. Crittenberger, to be postmaster at Anderson, in the county of Madison and State of Indiana.

Charles H. Long, to be postmaster at Tipton, in the county of Cedar and State of Iowa.

WEDNESDAY, *March 22, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D.D.

The Journal of the proceedings of Monday last was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented a petition of the National Citizens' Industrial Alliance of New York, praying that the people of the United States be "relieved from the oppressions and exactions of the Bell Telephone Company;" which was referred to the Committee on Patents.

He also presented a petition of the Legislature of Kansas, praying for the passage of House bill No. 6595 for raising ad-

ditional revenue, and for other purposes; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

CLERKS TO SELECT COMMITTEES.

Mr. COCKRELL. In acting upon the amendments to the resolution providing for clerks to sundry committees, reported from the Committee on Contingent Expenses upon Monday, I think there was one amendment not agreed to; and I should like to have the resolution laid before the Senate and the amendment made. In the designation of one of the committees I moved to strike out the word "Cherokee" and insert the word "Indian," so as to read "Indian lands" instead of "Cherokee lands." I understand the record at the desk does not show that that amendment was agreed to. I wish to call up the resolution and have that amendment made, and then the resolution adopted.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution reported by Mr. WHITE of Louisiana, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate on the 20th instant, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay the clerks to the following committees their salaries at the rate of $1,440 per annum, from the 16th of March instant, or so soon thereafter as they shall qualify:

To Investigate the Geological Survey; on National Banks; on Forest Reservation; on Corporations in the District of Columbia; and to Investigate Trespassers upon Cherokee Lands; the said salaries to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Before the word "Lands" strike out "Cherokee" and insert "Indian;" so as to read:

And to Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be so modified, if there be no objection. The question is on agreeing to the resolution as modified.

Mr. CHANDLER. I have examined the subject since Monday, and I see it is necessary that the resolution shall be passed in order that the five Senators who are the chairmen of these committees may have clerks. The legislative, etc., appropriation act provided for thirty special committee clerks, with salaries ranging from $3,000 down to $2,220; for twenty-three clerks to committees at $1,440 a year, and for thirty-five annual clerks to Senators who are not chairmen of committees at $1,200. Now, there are five new committees created, and as the appropriation was for clerks to Senators who are not chairmen of committees of course there is no way to pay the clerks of the chairmen of these committees except from the contingent fund of the Senate. Therefore for that purpose it is right that the resolution should pass.

However, I call the attention of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL], who is chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, to the fact that in the organization of the committees we have created five new chairmanships, and by this resolution, while there will be saved $6,000 from the appropriation for 35 clerks, there will be taken $7,200, or an increase of $1,200, out of the contingent fund of the Senate; that is to say, $7,200 will be taken from the contingent fund and $6,000 will be saved from the appropriation for 35 clerks. I should like to ask the Senator from Missouri whether the appropriation for the contingent fund is sufficient to pay the $7,200, or where in any of the acts, if he can tell me, the appropriation is contained.

Mr. COCKRELL. I suppose the chairman of the Committee on Contingent Expenses ascertained that fact. It may run the contingent fund of the Senate rather low to have the clerks paid in this way, but the chairman who investigated the matter and whose attention was called to it insisted upon having it done in this manner.

There is no increase of committees, but simply certain committees which have been in existence for a long time were made regular committees. They were select committees and they have had chairmen, but they were not authorized to have clerks except at special times. Some of those have simply been made regular committees and others that are not regular committees have been authorized to employ an annual clerk.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator from Missouri thinks that this increased expenditure is correct and judicious, I suppose, and that it is wise to take this money out of the appropriation for the contingent expenses of the Senate?

Mr. COCKRELL. I have not investigated the different funds. It was left entirely to the chairman of the Committee on Contingent Expenses to investigate and see out of what funds this payment ought to come.

Mr. CHANDLER. I repeat, it is right that the resolution should pass in order that the clerks of these Senators may be paid, but it is an increase of the committees of the Senate by five.

Mr. COCKRELL. It is ridiculous to talk that way. The Senator knows it is not an increase of the committees of the Senate. Every one of these committees existed before. There is no use in talking about that. State the facts as they are. Every one of these committees existed before, but they were not regular standing or select committees and they were not entitled to annual clerks. All the difference is, as in the case of the Senator from New Hampshire who had the Committee on Failed National Banks, and we made it the Committee on National Banks. It is a continuation of the same committee.

Mr. CHANDLER. But there was not an extra clerk provided for that committee.

Mr. COCKRELL. That is true. I stated that we create clerks for these committees.

Mr. CHANDLER. I say it is an increase of clerks over those provided for in the appropriation act.

Mr. COCKRELL. There is no doubt about that.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution as modified.

The resolution as modified was agreed to.

REPORT ON COST OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS.

Mr. MCPHERSON. From the Committee on Finance I report back a resolution amended by the committee as a substitute for the resolution I had the honor to offer on Monday last. It is the custom of the Senate, when a resolution calls for an appropriation of money from the contingent fund of the Senate, to report it back and have it referred to the Committee on the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. I ask that that course be taken.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution reported as a substitute by the Committee on Finance will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the Commissioner of Labor is hereby directed to make a report to the Senate at the opening of the Fifty-third Congress comprehending the facts already collected by him, or to be obtained from other sources, of the total cost, including all the elements thereof, and also actual labor cost of producing various iron and steel products, such as bar iron, steel rails, and other articles of iron and steel, and also the leading articles of textile industry, and of such other articles for which the cost of production has been or may be approximately obtained, and in his report to state the facts in parallel columns for this and other countries from which they have been or may be obtained; and that the Committee on Finance, or any subcommittee thereof, is hereby authorized to make such further investigations in respect to the same matters as it shall deem important, and with power to summon and examine witnesses, to send for persons and papers, and to administer oaths; and the expenses of such investigations, when made by said Finance Committee, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

Mr. PLATT. I should like to make an inquiry with regard to the resolution, so that I may understand exactly what is contemplated by it. The first part of it seems to be a direction to the Commissioner of Labor to do certain work, and the last part of the resolution seems to contemplate that the Committee on Finance is to do the same work. I should like a little explanation of that.

Mr. MCPHERSON. The Senator from Connecticut is partially right, but not altogether. I hold in my hand a copy of the report made by the Commissioner of Labor. It contains 1,440 pages of printed matter, with figures, statistics, and information touching one single industry in the United States, the metal industry. I do not know but that coal is included; I think it is. This is a report made in 1890. It is Executive Document No. 265. The Commissioner of Labor is preparing like reports with respect to the textile industries, and I suppose before he completes his labors (the information has been largely gathered) the work will comprise several volumes of the size I hold in my hand.

What is asked for in this resolution is that the Commissioner of Labor may compile his own report. It is so involved that it is almost impossible to ascertain conclusions. Conclusions are what we want to reach. Let him compile his own report to the extent merely of giving a computation in parallel columns of the full cost and the labor cost. It may not take a publication larger than the sheet of paper I now hold in my hand. There has been a good deal of discussion in the Senate touching a proper understanding of the report. We want the Commissioner of Labor to make his own compilation of his report, and then, in addition to that, if the Committee on Finance wish to make any further investigation touching the matter, that they shall have the privilege of doing so.

[Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of the private secretaries of the President of the United States, communicated to the Senate sundry messages in writing.]

Mr. PLATT. I see that by the resolution the proposition is that the Commissioner of Labor shall make his report at the opening of the Fifty-third Congress, so that the conclusions of the Commissioner of Labor will only be obtained then by the committee, I understand.

Mr. MCPHERSON. No; the Senator is wrong in one respect. The Commissioner of Labor writes me this morning a letter in which he makes the statement that he is now continually receiving information from foreign countries which was hardly obtainable by him when the collection of statistics was made; that a good many manufacturers refused to give him any information,

manufacturers abroad as well as manufacturers in this country; that they are now willing to give him the information, and that he is continually in receipt of information both from manufacturers in this country and manufacturers abroad, from labor bureaus in this country and from labor bureaus abroad, all of which would be brought down to the time of his report, say, in December, 1893.

I do not say that any supplemental investigation will be desired by the committee; I do not say that any will be made; but it is proposed that if they shall so desire they may have the privilege of making any further supplemental investigation of matters in this country, and if they do it the expense must necessarily be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate. As to what the Commissioner of Labor does there is no expenditure incurred; that is done by the force in his Department.

Mr. PLATT. Then I do not understand that the committee desire to be conducting the investigation at the same time with the Commissioner of Labor.

Mr. McPHERSON. Not at all. All that the Commissioner of Labor does is to give us a compilation of his own report.

Mr. FRYE. Mr. President, I hope the Senator from Connecticut will not interfere with this attempt to obtain correct information. My recollection is that the Senator from New Jersey, in the last tariff discussion, gave the country more misinformation on these subjects than it has ever received from any quarter before; and if he can get real light I hope the Senator from Connecticut will allow him to do it.

Mr. PLATT. I was not interfering, Mr. President. I confess that I was not entirely satisfied with the partial report made by the Commissioner of Labor. I felt that it was very far from stating the exact facts about the cost of production and the labor cost of production. I simply desired to know whether the Finance Committee were to take the matter up independently as a committee while they were obtaining authority for the Commissioner of Labor to complete his work.

Mr. McPHERSON. If the Finance Committee shall deem it important in order to give them further information, and, as the Senator from Maine states, correct information, we want the opportunity of doing it; and the resolution asks for just that amount of power.

Mr. HOAR. There is some reason in the constitution of the Departments, I believe, why the Senate makes a direct request of this officer instead of the Secretary of the Treasury or some other head of a Department. Will the Senator state that?

Mr. McPHERSON. I did not understand the Senator's question.

Mr. HOAR. I wish to know why it is that this direction is given to the Commissioner of Labor. Is he not a subordinate of the Secretary of the Treasury?

Mr. McPHERSON. No; it is an independent Department, I think.

Mr. HOAR. What I want is to have the Senate understand from some member of the Finance Committee why it is that we give directions to this official and not to the Cabinet officer.

Mr. McPHERSON. It is an independent Department, is it not?

Mr. ALLISON. It is.

Mr. McPHERSON. That is the reason.

Mr. ALLISON. It is an independent Department, and its object is to gather statistics on industrial questions. So I think the Commissioner of Labor is a very proper person to make the inquiry. I should like to see the resolution in print. It must be referred to the Committee on Contingent Expenses, and I ask that it be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be printed and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

RESIGNATION OF PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE.

Mr. MANDERSON. Mr. President, two years ago there came to me the distinguished honor of election as the President *pro tempore* of the Senate. No suitable time has seemed to come when I could make that recognition of this distinction which I should like to do, and I desire now to express my deep sense of obligation and my very hearty thanks to my political associates on this side of the Chamber, by whom the distinction was proposed, and at the same time to thank very heartily those of opposing politics, who made no nomination against the selection of the Republican caucus. There came, therefore, to me this place by the unanimous vote of the Senate of the United States. I thank all from the depths of my heart for this distinction, and I further want to express my obligation for that forbearance on the part of all which has enabled me when I have been the occupant of the chair to administer, I hope with some satisfaction to the Senate, the duties that devolved upon me.

Recognizing a change of condition and perhaps also a change of theory, I now tender my resignation of the position to the Senate and ask to be excused from further duty in that regard.

Mr. SHERMAN. I move that the resignation of the honorable Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON] as President *pro tempore* of the Senate be received and accepted.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President, at the close of the last session the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] offered a resolution, which was unanimously adopted by this body, thanking the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON] for the able, courteous, and most satisfactory manner in which he had discharged the duties of the high office which he has just now resigned. There the matter might rest; but it has been suggested that in addition, in taking leave of him in his official capacity as President *pro tempore* of the Senate, we express on this side our thanks anew and our best wishes for him in every relation of life hereafter. The relations just sundered were delightful. He rendered them pleasant to us all; and we will bear them in memory as long as we remain here and through life.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE.

Mr. GORMAN submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Senate now proceed to elect a President *pro tempore* of the Senate.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, it affords me a great deal of pleasure to offer the resolution I send to the desk, and to ask for its immediate consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That ISHAM G. HARRIS, a Senator from the State of Tennessee, be and he hereby is, elected President *pro tempore* of the Senate, to hold office during the pleasure of the Senate, and in accordance with the resolution of the Senate adopted on the 12th day of March, 1890, on the subject.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Missouri asks for the present consideration of the resolution.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Tennessee will come forward and take the oath of office.

Mr. HARRIS was escorted to the Vice-President's desk by Mr. MANDERSON, and the oath of office was administered to him.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Senators, I am profoundly grateful for the honor you do me in this election, and it shall be my most earnest object and purpose to deserve the kindness and confidence which have conferred it upon me. My thanks, Senators, my thanks.

Mr. McPHERSON. I offer the resolution which I send to the desk, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that the Senate has elected Hon. ISHAM G. HARRIS, a Senator from the State of Tennessee, President of the Senate *pro tempore*, in place of CHARLES F. MANDERSON, to hold and exercise the office in the absence of the Vice-President from time to time during the pleasure of the Senate, in accordance with the terms of its resolution passed March 12, 1890.

By unanimous consent, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. SHERMAN. I move to insert, after the name "MANDERSON," the word "resigned."

Mr. McPHERSON. I thank the Senator from Ohio for his suggestion, and I just rose for the purpose of modifying the resolution in that way. It was an accidental omission.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be so modified. The question is on its adoption as modified.

The resolution as modified was agreed to.

JOINT COMMISSION ON EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. CULLOM. Before the close of the last session of Congress I was named by the President of the Senate as one of a commission on the part of the Senate for the discharge of certain duties, the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] being the chairman of the commission. As it will not be within my power to give attention to the commission during the coming recess, I desire to resign my place upon it, so that another Senator may be appointed.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President, I do not know but that it is perfectly competent for the Senator from Illinois to resign to the Senate, but, as I understand, this commission was created by an act of both Houses; it is a law providing for the appointment of a commission; and the appointment of that part of it which was to consist of members of the Fifty-third Congress in the Senate devolved upon the last presiding officer of the Senate. I do not know but that it is competent for the Senator to resign to the Senate, but I do not wish that resignation to be accepted until we can have an opportunity to look into the question.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, I concur with what the Sen-

ator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] has just said. The provision for the appointment of this commission was contained in the legislative, etc., appropriation act passed at the late session. It was an extraordinary provision, which the Senate Committee on Appropriations recommended should be stricken out and the Senate concurred in that view, but afterwards in conference the Senate conferees were compelled to give way, and the provision was finally adopted. I doubted the propriety of it at the time, and the more I think of it the more I am convinced that it was a most extraordinary thing for an expiring Congress to provide that the then presiding officer of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate should make these appointments without any provision whatever for filling vacancies that might occur. It was a commission authorized by law. I will read the provision:

That a joint commission, consisting of three Senators, members of the Fifty-third Congress, to be appointed by the present President of the Senate, and three members elect to the House of Representatives of the Fifty-third Congress, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-second Congress, shall, during the Fifty-third Congress, inquire into and examine the status of the laws organizing the Executive Departments, bureaus, divisions, and other Government establishments at the national capital; the rules, regulations, and methods for the conduct of the same.

I shall not read the remainder of the verbiage; but that is the provision as to the appointment. When that power has been once exercised there is no right under the statute to fill a vacancy which may occur. I suggest to the Senator from Illinois, who I know very reluctantly accepted the appointment, or permitted his name to be used, that there is now no escape for him whatever.

Mr. CULLOM. If the Senator will allow me a word, I shall not shirk any duty that is imposed upon me. I got the impression, however, that while the language of the act did seem to preclude the idea that a successor could be appointed if I resigned, there ought to be, and I am inclined to believe there is, an innate power in the Senate to keep its portion of any commission or committee intact by the appointment of Senators to fill vacancies. Whether or not that is correct I do not know, but I was supported in that suggestion by one or two gentlemen who are lawyers, and I concluded, under the circumstances, if that could be taken as a correct construction, that I should like to give way, so that another Senator, who could more conveniently attend to the duties, might be appointed.

I will say, however, if it should be determined by the Senate or the Vice-President that no appointment can be made in my place, I shall most cheerfully consent to remain on the commission and discharge the duties as best I may. If, on the other hand, a vacancy can be filled, I shall be glad to be excused, so that another Senator may be appointed in my place.

Mr. GORMAN. I trust the Senator from Illinois, who can only remain on the commission at great sacrifice to himself and his business interests, will not raise this question, and will permit his name to remain upon the commission. One of the strong reasons and arguments put forth by the advocates of this extraordinary provision was that the two Houses were different in politics, that the then Vice-President belonged to the party of the Senator from Illinois and that the Speaker of the House of Representatives was a Democrat, and that therefore in making up the commission it would be made up fairly by them with a view to the actual business operations of the Departments. That was the argument which was used, and it had some weight, though I confess it had not with me, because I believed it was a bad precedent. I thought that Congress ought not to engage in that work, but having done it and the Senator having been appointed on the commission, I think he owes it to the Senate and to the country to continue to serve, and I trust the Vice-President himself, no matter what the opinion of lawyers may be on this question, will refuse to exercise the power, even if he has it, and let the commission stand and do its work as best it can.

Mr. HOAR. I move to refer the request of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM] to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

It seems to me this presents a very grave question, indeed, and one with which the Senate ought to deal. The Constitution of the United States provides:

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

A practice seems to be growing up of establishing certain public duties or functions, which are in all respects analogous to those performed by civil officers, and imposing them upon members of this or the other House. The President of the United States has within the last year sent abroad members of this body, whom we all esteem, men fitted for the grave and delicate responsibilities which were imposed upon them, to represent this country in dealing with foreign nations in one case, and in another of representing this country before a great tribunal which is to determine a great international dispute. It is a very serious question in my mind whether such function is not the function of a civil officer, and whether all the reasons which the framers of the Constitution had in the prohibition which I have read do not apply to such a case as that.

There were two prominent reasons for that prohibition: First, that the mind of the Senator or Representative should be engrossed by his public and official duties in this body or in the other—and they are enough to engross all the capacities of the ablest intelligence; and, next, that there should be no influence of patronage or conferring of public honor or emolument exerted by the executive power over the legislative power. The President of the United States selects a member of this or the other House for an office, which is a great public honor in itself, one of the greatest public honors that this Government can bestow, an office which is accompanied with the incident of a journey to Europe, a support in Europe in luxury or comfort, and an opportunity to enjoy the delights and pleasures of the best foreign society, conferring upon a member of this body advantages which men of wealth, however well occupied in their private affairs, eagerly seek at a large personal cost to themselves.

No man has a higher regard than I for the gentlemen selected in the past and the gentleman now performing such functions abroad, but it seems to me that it is time the Senate considered whether this practice should go on and whether there are to be taken from their seats in the Senate and sent abroad members of this body on missions which involve the office of ambassador or envoy extraordinary or minister plenipotentiary in everything but name.

This is a kindred question. We have the right under the Constitution to select our own officers; we have the right to appoint our own committees and to change them from time to time. Here is a function which can be defended only on the ground that the person performing it is performing a Senatorial service, is acting as a representative of the Senate to obtain information for its action and conduct, and it is seriously claimed that the statute which the other House has initiated, and on the terms of which it has insisted against the judgment of the representatives of the Senate, puts it out of the power of the Senate to change that officer or to prevent his service during the time the commission shall last.

Mr. BUTLER. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. HOAR. Let me add this one sentence, and then I shall yield to the Senator from South Carolina for his question.

Suppose it had happened that instead of one House being Democratic, both Houses had been Republican, and that in advance of a coming change of the party politics of both Houses a statute had been passed providing that certain Senate commissioners should be appointed by the then Presiding Officer of the Senate and certain House commissioners by the then Speaker of the House of Representatives, and under circumstances which made it impossible for either body to change the constitution of that commission.

I will now hear the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. BUTLER. I agree with what the Senator from Massachusetts has just said in regard to the Senate and House of Representatives, but I wanted to call his attention to the Supreme Court of the United States, and to inquire if, in his judgment, the argument does not apply just as well to members of the Supreme Court of the United States as to Senators or Members of the House of Representatives?

Mr. HOAR. I think it does very largely. I know the precedent of Chief Justice Jay, who left his seat upon the bench to negotiate a famous treaty in the Administration of Gen. Washington, but in the case of a justice of the Supreme Court there is no constitutional prohibition, if I recollect aright, against holding any other office.

Mr. BUTLER. I think not. I was just looking as to that.

Mr. HOAR. But the principle is very largely the same.

Mr. BUTLER. It occurred to me so.

Mr. HOAR. It seems to me that the time for the Senate to deal with this question is when no human being can suppose that there is any dissatisfaction with the selection of the persons who have been so selected.

If the Senator from Illinois is to act upon this commission at all, he must act as a Senator, and in no other capacity or function; and if he is to act upon the commission as a Senator, that action must necessarily and constitutionally be during the pleasure of the Senate. It seems to me he has entirely and most correctly conceived his relation to the matter by the proposition which he has made.

If the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN], whom we all respect, or the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], or the Senator

from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], whom we all respect, went abroad to perform an important constitutional function, to meet the officials of other nations, they went abroad either as Senators—in which case they should not receive instructions from the Administration and should not report to the Administration, but should take their instructions from us and make their report to us—or they went abroad as civil officers.

I move the reference of the matter to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. CULLOM. I do not think I ever got into an office before which I could not resign and let somebody else fill. I think I can resign now, but a question more important is whether, if I resign and thus create a vacancy, it can be filled by the present Presiding Officer of the Senate.

Referring to the suggestions of the Senator from Massachusetts, I think that the commission provided by the statute stands in an entirely different relation from any other which has been indicated or cited by him. The work imposed upon this commission, as it is termed in the statute, is a work which pertains specially to the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Mr. BUTLER. It is legislation.

Mr. CULLOM. That is to say, it pertains to legislation and to the organization of the Executive Departments under the law. So that, so far as the *personnel* or the making up of the commission of Senators and Representatives is concerned, there is no set of men who can perform the duties as well as Senators and Representatives. I think there is that distinction between the organization of this commission and any commission appointed outside to go abroad or anywhere else.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator will observe that I did not state that this commission was improper. I only stated that it could be supported only on the theory which the Senator himself has taken up.

Mr. CULLOM. Without taking up the time of the Senate further, I am inclined, in view of the variety of opinion which seems to exist here, if the Senate will allow me, to withdraw my effort at resigning and let the matter go.

Mr. BUTLER. That is the best solution of the difficulty.

Mr. ALLISON. Before this matter passes from the consideration of the Senate, I desire to make an observation or two respecting the commission referred to.

It may be that the view taken by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] is the true view; which is, that although this commission is appointed by the authority of a statute and designated as a commission, it is in fact and in form only a joint committee of the two Houses, and being a joint committee of the two Houses, it is within the competency of any member of it at any time to resign, and within the competency of the then Presiding Officer or the body itself to select a successor.

I regret to say that I do not regard the view of the Senator from Massachusetts as the correct one. I think if a statute creates a commission it is a commission within the meaning of the statute; whether it is an office within the meaning of the Constitution is quite another question.

The provision for the creation of this commission is similar to provisions which have been hitherto inserted in the statutes. Although, as the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] well said, the Senate itself was opposed to the creation of this commission, yet in view of the comity which ought to prevail between the two Houses as respects matters of this character, the conference committee on the part of the Senate, of which I was a member, yielded to the request of the House of Representatives and allowed this provision to remain.

It was argued to us by the conferees on the part of the House that an examination into the several Departments of our Government by competent members of the two Houses acting together would enable us in the future to make certain reforms respecting the administration of the Departments and the cost of maintaining them. It was argued to us that in view of the expiration of the Fifty-second Congress there was no method by which this joint action could be had, unless by a method provided for by statute; that the House of Representatives itself would be dissolved, that no new House would be organized until October or December, and that it was important in a practical sense that this investigation should be pursued during the long vacation. On these arguments the conferees on the part of the Senate yielded to the request made by the House in view of the fact that there would be no power to organize the House branch of the commission in the meantime.

It seems to me, although I may be mistaken as respects the true construction of this provision, that the commission having been created without any authority being given to fill vacancies, it is not within the competency of the Presiding Officer of the Senate to fill a vacancy, although I should not raise that question, because I have no doubt, should that power be exercised, there would be no objection to any Senator accepting this position under the circumstances and relieving the Senator from Illinois, and that his views and examinations as a member of the commission would be respected. Therefore I do not agree with the Senator from Massachusetts respecting the method of dealing with this question.

I appreciate the criticism of the Senator as respects members of this body, or of the other, accepting or engaging in other duties and occupations aside from their Senatorial or representative positions. It so happens that, without any fault of my own or any consideration of my own, I was selected by the President of the United States as a member of the monetary conference recently assembled at Brussels. The Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES] was also designated by the President of the United States for the execution of whatever mission we had in charge, and a member of the House of Representatives was also so designated. That designation came to me unsought, and, I wish to say, without even consulting my convenience as to whether I could accept the position. Not having an opportunity of seeing the President after my designation and selection, I accepted the trust, and so far as I could discharged the duties, leaving my home on the day of the election and returning to this capital on the 3d day of January last.

The Senator from Massachusetts seems to think that either I discharged those duties, if they were duties, as a Senator of the United States or that I discharged them as an officer of the United States. With the highest respect for his opinion and learning upon constitutional questions, as I understand, I neither discharged those duties as a Senator nor as an officer of the United States. I took no oath of office, I was required to take none; I received no appointment as an officer, I was not required to receive such an appointment. I was selected as a delegate to the monetary conference at Brussels, which, in the very nature of its calling and in the nature of its service, could exert no official power to bind the Government of the United States or any other government in the world. So that I do not even by implication desire it to be understood that I vacated my seat in the Senate by accepting another office, nor do I wish it understood that in accepting that duty, requested of me by the President of the United States, I in any way failed to discharge my just obligation, as I understood it, to the people of the State of Iowa, who sent me here as a member of this body.

So I think the analogy between the designation of the President for the service which the Senator from Nevada, Mr. McCreary, of the House of Representatives, and I accepted from the President of the United States and that to be performed by this commission is not so clear. This is entirely a different service. In my view neither of these services in any sense constitutes an office in the sense of the Constitution. This service is performed without compensation; it is a service in the line of the duties of Senators and Representatives who are called upon day by day to legislate respecting the Executive Departments; it is a method of giving them further and fuller information respecting their duties here; and it is a part, as I understand, of the duties of the members of this body in the nature of the work of a committee.

Mr. GORMAN. Do I understand the Senator to hold that the Vice-President has a right to make an appointment on this commission?

Mr. ALLISON. I do not. I do not think any such power is conferred. It is an imperfection, if I may use that word, in the statute itself. If the Senator from Illinois shall vacate his place on the commission, there being no provision in the statute itself for its being filled, it seems to me it will remain vacant, although I say I shall not raise that question myself.

Mr. GORMAN. As the statute reads "the present President of the Senate," that is, the then Vice-President on the 3d day of March, I ask the Senator whether an appointment could now be made by the Vice-President to fill a vacancy on the commission? The language of the provision is peculiar—"to be appointed by the present President of the Senate." That would seem to exclude the possibility of any other Presiding Officer making that appointment.

Mr. ALLISON. Undoubtedly. That was, as the Senator very well knows, not only the phraseology of the statute, but it was the intent and purpose of it.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, there is another point of view in which the suggestion of the Senator from Massachusetts has a great deal of force, and that is the question of how far the President of the United States and the two Houses of Congress by a statute can discharge the duties which are imposed upon the Senate in its separate capacity. The Senate is charged with the appointment of its committees and with investigations which are necessary to the performance of legislative duties. If it be true that by a statute one committee of this body can be superseded and its functions transferred to a joint committee of the two Houses of Congress, then it is true as to all the committees of this body and its methods of legislation, and a statute of the

United States, having the assent of the President, can abolish all the committees of this body and all its methods of proceedings.

Mr. President, the Constitution is perfectly plain. Each House, and each House alone, has the power, and the exclusive power, for the constitution of its committees and the appointment of the methods in which its business shall be transacted. In my judgment it is not competent for the Congress of the United States to create a commission which shall be composed of members of the two Houses to perform committee duties or legislative duties, or to conduct investigations which have been prescribed or may be prescribed by the law of each body to its committee.

The Senate has just selected a committee charged with this investigation, and it is met by a statute creating a commission charged with the performance of the same duties. Which is valid, the commission, the President of the United States and each House of Congress authorizing it, or the body which by the Constitution has been created by the Senate and charged with these duties?

It seems to me entirely plain that this matter should be referred in some shape to the Committee on Privileges and Elections to ascertain how far it is competent for the two Houses of Congress and the President of the United States to create a joint committee which shall perform the duties required to be done by the separate action of these two bodies.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I am very sure that the honorable Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] does not for a moment conceive that there was any element of personal disrespect to him in the observations which I deemed it my duty to make.

Mr. ALLISON. Not at all.

Mr. HOAR. If I were to state far within bounds my regard for that Senator, his modest nature would suspect me of gross flattery.

I have no doubt when the Senator undertook his functions as a representative of this Government at the Brussels Conference there was a general opinion of the people of the United States that he was the fittest person within our borders who could have been selected. He had not only the special gift which that function required, but his service upon the Finance Committee here had made him, more than almost any, certainly as much as any other member of this body and more than any other person who could be found for the service, conversant with the perplexing and difficult subject with which he had to deal; but I made up my mind some time ago that it would be my duty when an opportunity offered to call the attention of the Senate to this grave and serious question.

Now, my honorable friend says it was not an office, because he did not take an oath, because no oath was required, and because there was no emolument. It seems to me, whether a particular function be that of a public office depends not upon the safeguard of the oath, but upon the thing to be transacted, and if the receiving instructions from the President of the United States, bearing those instructions abroad, communicating them to the representatives of a foreign government, enforcing them in debate, hearing and weighing their views in return, reporting them to his own countrymen, and concurring in the action of a body whose action, if unanimous, is very likely to affect and bind the action of the governments represented, be not in its nature and essence a public office, then it seems to me that the function of no foreign ambassador or agent, special or general, envoy ordinary or envoy extraordinary, is a public office. I am hardly ready to concur in the view that the having a journey to Europe at the public charge, dwelling in a foreign capital at the public charge, and coming home at the public charge is not an emolument of office. I think it is an emolument which would be very eagerly sought.

So in regard to the Bering Sea arbitration. No member of this body can be appointed under this constitutional provision and under the statute which reënforces it to act as an associate counsel for the United States in any ordinary suit here; and what is the difference, except in degree and dignity, between that and the Bering Sea arbitration?

The Senator from Iowa being sincere in his view, was right in undertaking this function, because, as we all know, it was a function which he undertook at great personal inconvenience, at the risk of great personal labor, and undoubtedly with the most absolute and sincere reluctance. So there is nothing personal or individual in the suggestion which I make.

Mr. President, the other suggestion which my honorable friend makes is that the main and principal object was to gain information as a Senator. Is the President of the United States charged with the duty of picking out particular Senators and sending them abroad to gain information in their Senatorial office? If the information which they gain is to be communicated to the Senate it is the function of a Senate committee that is being performed; if it is not to gain information for the Senate the difficulty seems to be greater with that view than with any other.

If the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM], as I understand, withdraws his resignation, of course my motion to commit will fall with the withdrawal; but I wish to add one other word.

It seems to me that whatever there may be of weight in the objection which I have stated in regard to the selection by the President is still more grave when you consider the undertaking to regulate this matter by statute. The statute of last winter did nothing more and nothing less than to appoint a permanent committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives, which the Senate, if the view of the Senator from Maryland and of the Senator from Iowa is right, when it changes its political complexion, can not change, that is more directly in violation of the Constitution than the other proceeding in my judgment.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, before further proceeding is had, I should like to ask a question of the Senator, which ought to be submitted to a committee. The Senate at this session, since the passage of that law, has created a committee and charged it with this particular duty. Which is to prevail, the action of the Senate or the act passed by the two Houses and approved by the President, who have disappeared and will never exist again? Can Congress by a permanent law, as the Senator from Massachusetts has said, create a committee of this body to perform duties which the Senate at a subsequent session, in the exercise of its constitutional duty, has prescribed to others? What is to become of the action of this body in pursuance of the Constitution creating this committee and charging it with duties? Can it be said that a statute of a Congress which has expired is now binding upon the Senate and supersedes the committee which it has created and the duty it has imposed upon it?

Mr. CULLOM. In view of the variety of opinion here as to the power of the President of the Senate to make an appointment in case of a vacancy on the commission, I ask leave to withdraw my resignation as a member of the commission, and I shall try to discharge my part of the duties as best I can.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Illinois asks leave to withdraw his resignation as a member of the commission. In the absence of objection, the resignation will be withdrawn.

LABOR TROUBLES IN IDAHO.

Mr. McPHERSON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. DUBOIS. I ask the Senator to withhold his motion for a moment, that I may offer a resolution.

Mr. McPHERSON. I will withhold the motion for that purpose.

Mr. DUBOIS. I offer a resolution, which I send to the desk and ask that it be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be reported.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That a select committee of seven Senators be appointed by the President of the Senate, whose duty it shall be to investigate and report to the Senate the facts in relation to the recent serious difficulties existing between the employing silver-mine owners and the working miners of Idaho, as to the employment for private purposes of armed bodies of men, or detectives, in connection with said difficulties. The investigation shall extend to and embrace, in addition, an inquiry into the causes and necessity for the employment of United States soldiers, and the conduct of such soldiers. The committee shall ascertain if present serious difficulties exist between employers and employés, or if justice has been or is being denied any one through a suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, or through any dereliction of duty on the part of United States courts.

The committee shall also inquire into the character, objects, and purposes of the miners' union; and whether the obligations required of its members conflicts or conflicted with the obligations and duties these members owe to the State and Government as law-abiding citizens. In addition to the testimony and conclusions of fact the committee will consider and report, by bill or otherwise, what legislation, if any, will tend to prevent a recurrence of similar troubles. Said committee, either as a full committee or through subcommittees thereof, shall have authority to send for persons and papers, administer oaths to witnesses, and take testimony in Washington or elsewhere, according to its discretion, during the present session or approaching recess of Congress, and to employ a clerk, messenger, and stenographer; the expenses of the investigation to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

Mr. DUBOIS. I move that the resolution be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. McPHERSON. I now renew my motion that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After forty-five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 2 o'clock p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, March 23, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 22, 1893.

FIRST ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

William H. Sims, of Columbus, Miss., to be First Assistant Secretary of the Interior, vice George Chandler, resigned.

UNITED STATES CIRCUIT JUDGE.

Horace H. Lurton, of Tennessee, to be United States circuit judge for the sixth judicial circuit, vice Howell E. Jackson, resigned.

UNITED STATES MARSHALS.

Frank E. White, of Nebraska, to be marshal of the United States for the district of Nebraska, vice Brad D. Slaughter, whose term expired March 19, 1893.

George Pfeiffer, jr., of New Jersey, to be marshal of the United States for the district of New Jersey, vice William Budd Deacon, whose term expired March 20, 1893.

COMMISSIONER OF PATENTS.

John S. Seymour, of Norwalk, Conn., to be Commissioner of Patents, vice William E. Simonds, resigned.

COMMISSIONER OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE.

Silas W. Lamoreux, of Horicon, Wis., to be Commissioner of the General Land Office, vice William M. Stone, resigned.

ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE.

Edward A. Bowers, of Washington, D. C., to be Assistant Commissioner of the General Land Office, vice Manning M. Rose, resigned.

SECOND DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF PENSIONS.

Henry C. Bell, of Marshall, Ill., to be Second Deputy Commissioner of Pensions, vice Charles P. Lincoln, resigned.

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

John J. Carter, of Louisiana, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Louisiana, to succeed Homer C. Powers, resigned.

CONSUL-GENERAL AT VIENNA.

Max Judd, of Missouri, to be consul-general of the United States at Vienna, vice Julius Goldschmidt, recalled.

POSTMASTERS.

William T. England, to be postmaster at Van Buren, in the county of Crawford and State of Arkansas, in the place of Alvis Smith, resigned.

Philip Zoercher, to be postmaster at Tell City, in the county of Perry and State of Indiana, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after January 1, 1893.

Charles F. Chase, to be postmaster at Atlantic, in the county of Cass and State of Iowa, in the place of Charles H. Everitt, resigned.

William C. Hall, to be postmaster at Sweet Springs, in the county of Saline and State of Missouri, in the place of George W. Smith, removed.

Neri A. Hanna, to be postmaster at Cadiz, in the county of Harrison and State of Ohio, in the place of Charles S. McCoy, whose commission expired March 21, 1893.

Miss Lela Tyns, to be postmaster at Groesbeck, in the county of Limestone and State of Texas, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after July 1, 1892; Alonzo L. Steele, who was appointed by the President November 18, 1892, and confirmed by the Senate December 14, 1892, having declined the appointment.

Frank D. Hoy, to be postmaster at Point Pleasant, in the county of Mason and State of West Virginia, in the place of Fulton M. Whaley, removed.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 22, 1893.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

Frank B. Burke, of Indiana, to be attorney of the United States for the district of Indiana.

UNITED STATES MARSHALS.

David T. Guyton, of Mississippi, to be marshal of the United States for the northern district of Mississippi.

William H. Hawkins, of Indiana, to be marshal of the United States for the district of Indiana.

THURSDAY, *March 23, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

COLUMBIA INSTITUTION FOR DEAF AND DUMB.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Connecticut, Mr. HAWLEY, having declined reappointment as a member on the part of the Senate of the board of directors of the Columbia Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, the Vice-President appoints to fill the vacancy the Senator from Mississippi, Mr. WALTHALL.

Mr. HAWLEY. The word "declined" is quite a proper one to be used in this connection; but I did not decline reappointment by reason of any dissatisfaction, for I have found the duties of the place very interesting and agreeable. However, at the end of my term of six years, as the Senator from Mississippi, who is now reappointed, served a very short term just before me, my personal preference is that he shall go back on the board. He is familiar with the institution and interested in it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It was at the suggestion of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY] that the appointment of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WALTHALL] was made.

JOINT COMMISSION ON EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. CALL. I submit the resolutions I send to the desk, and ask that they be read and lie on the table.

The resolutions were read, as follows:

Resolved, That the enactment in the act making appropriations for legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, and for other purposes, approved March 3, 1893, creating a commission to be composed of members of the Senate and the House, appointed by a President of the Senate and a Speaker of the House whose terms of office expired on the 4th day of March current, to examine into the civil service in the executive branches of the United States and to report and recommend to the present and future Congresses their opinion in relation to the exercise of the legislative powers of each and both Houses of the Congress which shall convene in December, 1893, in respect to the civil service of the United States, is in derogation of the constitutional right, power, and prerogative of each House and otherwise violative of the Constitution, and is absolutely null and void.

Resolved, second, That the Constitution confers on "each House" the sovereign and exclusive power to prescribe its rules of proceeding, and therein of the creation of its committees and the duties and powers which shall be imposed and conferred upon them, both to recommend changes in existing law and to enact new laws, and to obtain the information necessary for the exercise of their legislative power, and the members of each House can derive no power or authority of right in respect to any exercise of legislative functions from any other source than the separate and exclusive power of "each House" as they shall be organized, and during their constitutional term of official life to prescribe, regulate, and direct all their rules of procedure and the exercise of their legislative function.

Mr. GORMAN. I suggest that the resolutions had better be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. CALL. I prefer that they shall lie on the table for the present. I wish to make some observations upon them. They may then be referred.

Mr. HARRIS. Let them be printed, then, and lie on the table.

Mr. GORMAN. Very well.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That will be the order of the Senate.

AMENDMENT OF RULES—PENSION APPROPRIATION BILLS.

Mr. PALMER submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Rules:

Resolved, That Rule XVI be amended by adding, after the words "Committee on Commerce," in clause 1, the words, "and pension appropriation bills, which shall be referred to the Committee on Pensions;" so as to read: "All general appropriation bills shall be referred to the Committee on Appropriations, except for rivers and harbors, which shall be referred to the Committee on Commerce, and pension appropriation bills, which shall be referred to the Committee on Pensions."

CLERK TO SELECT COMMITTEE ON LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Mr. VOORHEES submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress be, and hereby is, authorized to employ a clerk from March 16 to June 30, 1893, inclusive, at the rate of $1,440 per annum, to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

On motion of Mr. GORMAN, it was

Ordered, That when the Senate adjourn to-day it be to meet on Monday next.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. DANIEL. I move that the Senate resolve itself into executive session.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After forty-two minutes spent in executive session, the doors were reopened and (at 12 o'clock and 52 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, March 27, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 23, 1893.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Theodore Runyon, of New Jersey, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Germany.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Edward B. Whitney, of New York, to be Assistant Attorney-General.

TERRITORIAL JUDGE.

Charles B. Stuart, of Texas, to be judge of the United States court for the Indian Territory.

SOLICITOR DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

Walter D. Dabney, of Virginia, to be Solicitor for the Department of State.

CIRCUIT JUDGE.

James G. Jenkins, of Wisconsin, to be United States circuit judge for the seventh judicial circuit.

FIRST AUDITOR OF THE TREASURY.

Ernest P. Baldwin, of Maryland, to be First Auditor of the Treasury.

FIFTH AUDITOR OF THE TREASURY.

Thomas Holcomb, of Delaware, to be Fifth Auditor of the Treasury.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

Abner Gaines, of Arkansas, to be marshal of the United States for the eastern district of Arkansas.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS.

Clifford L. Jackson, of the Indian Territory, to be attorney of the United States court for the Indian Territory.

Joseph W. House, of Arkansas, to be attorney of the United States for the eastern district of Arkansas.

POSTMASTERS.

Guy W. Junker, to be postmaster at Beaumont, in the county of Jefferson and State of Texas.

Reese B. Hogins, to be postmaster at Russellville, in the county of Pope and State of Arkansas.

Julius W. Lancaster, to be postmaster at Dardanelle, in the county of Yell and State of Arkansas.

Louis E. Rowley, to be postmaster at Lansing, in the county of Ingham and State of Michigan.

William L. Isenhower, to be postmaster at Bloomfield, in the county of Greene and State of Indiana.

Stephen A. D. Keister, to be postmaster at Lander, in the county of Fremont and State of Wyoming.

Frank Warring, to be postmaster at Florence, in the county of Florence and State of Wisconsin.

Paul J. Millard, to be postmaster at Antigo, in the county of Langlade and State of Wisconsin.

Joseph E. Swindlehurst, to be postmaster at Livingston, in the county of Park and State of Montana.

Robert B. Brown, to be postmaster at Meadville, in the county of Crawford and State of Pennsylvania.

W. L. Berry, to be postmaster at Madison, in the county of Madison and State of Nebraska.

De Witt S. Johnson, to be postmaster at Rhinelander, in the county of Oneida and State of Wisconsin.

MONDAY, *March 27, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday last was read and approved.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, I rise to a question of privilege. I ask to have read the extract from a newspaper which I send to the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

CALL GETTING MAD.

The struggle for office in Washington is developing many curious things. One member of Congress from Mississippi pitched into Cleveland while in the committee room last week because the President would not appoint the Congressman's friends to positions as requested, saying, "Cleveland is going to do as he pleases, and not as the Senators and Representatives desire, and it is useless for us to call on him or suggest any more names. He only says, 'File your application, and if other Democrats do not oppose the appointment I will give it due consideration.'"

Thursday the Washington correspondent of the New Orleans Delta sent that paper the following dispatch, which will be read with interest by Floridians:

"There is considerable muttering among the Senators at Cleveland's non-action in regard to nominations, and among the loudest in his criticism is CALL of Florida. He does not disguise his disgust, and talks about Cleveland's slowness openly in the corridors and in the elevators of the Capitol after the Senate has adjourned."

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, that statement has been extensively circulated by the land-grant corporations of the State of Florida, I presume for the purpose of creating some prejudice against me. I wish to state in my place in the Senate that it is absolutely false; that I have never criticised the President's policy either in the corridors, the elevators, or in private. I know of nothing to disapprove in his policy, and I expect to give him my loyal support. The President is an able and patriotic man; the country has confidence in him and his Cabinet, and it is only right that he should be supported in his efforts to settle on a just basis the great questions which now confront us.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATION.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the Senate of February 27, 1893, a copy of the report of the commission to select wool samples for use in the custom-houses of the United States, and also of a circular issued by the Department on the subject under date of the 21st ultimo; which, with the accompanying papers, was on motion of Mr. SHERMAN, ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

PRESENTATION OF PETITIONS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair presents a petition of the Hatters' National Unions of New York City, praying that the people of the United States be "relieved from the oppressions and exactions of the Bell Telephone Company;" which will be referred to the Committee on Patents.

Mr. GORMAN. I trust that by common consent petitions relating to legislation may not be presented at this session. It is true we have not adopted the resolution which was under consideration, but that has been almost the uniform practice of the body, and without the passage of a resolution I trust that petitions will be simply put on file and kept to be presented at the next regular session.

Mr. CULLOM. I desire to state that on my own part I have withheld the introduction of petitions, and I have received a pretty large number of them.

Mr. GORMAN. I will state to the Senator from Illinois that similar action was taken, I think, when Vice-President Wheeler occupied the chair, who felt it his duty to present a petition, and the same suggestion was made that I now make. I trust the rule I suggest will be followed by unanimous consent at this session.

Mr. CULLOM. I should like myself to present the petitions I have received if the presentation of petitions is to be the rule.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair desires to state that, inasmuch as the Senate had taken no action on the subject, the Chair thought it proper to bring before the Senate what was called to his attention officially.

Mr. GORMAN. I understand the action of the Chair perfectly. I ask unanimous consent that petitions may be merely filed with the Secretary, to be presented hereafter at the regular session.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection that will be taken as the order of the Senate.

Mr. HOAR. I desire that the request of the Senator from Maryland may be stated by the Chair. I was not able to hear it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Maryland asked unanimous consent that further petitions may not be presented, but may be filed with the Secretary. Has the Chair stated correctly the request of the Senator from Maryland?

Mr. GORMAN. The Chair has stated practically the request. I stated that heretofore the Vice-President (I think Vice-President Wheeler) presented a petition, and by general consent it was agreed that such papers should be simply filed with the Secretary as a matter of convenience for safe-keeping until the regular session, when they should be presented. I ask that that rule may be observed now.

Mr. HOAR. I make no objection. I suggest to the Senator from Maryland, however, that it might be well, as a mark of the usual respect always observed in such cases, that resolutions of State Legislatures, which are of course in the nature of petitions, shall be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. GORMAN. We have already pursued that course, and there will be no objection to it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair hears no objection to the request of the Senator from Maryland, and it is so ordered.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

Mr. HOAR. I am directed by the Committee on Privileges and Elections, to whom were referred the credentials of Lee Mantle, claiming a seat in the Senate from the State of Montana, to submit a report. There is a resolution accompanying the report, which I ask to have read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

Mr. VANCE. I have endeavored to have the views of the minority ready for submission at the same time with the report of the committee, but I have not been able to do so. I ask that I may be permitted to submit the views of the minority to-morrow or at the next meeting of the Senate, and that the report of the committee submitted by the Senator from Massachusetts be withheld from being printed until to-morrow, so that both may be printed together.

Mr. HOAR. I was about to ask that the report lie on the table to be printed with the views of the minority when submitted. I suppose the views of the minority might be handed to the Secretary in order to save time if the Senate is not in session when the Senator from North Carolina is ready to submit them.

Mr. VANCE. Yes; if the Senate is not in session to-morrow. That will be satisfactory.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The report, with the accompanying resolution, will lie on the table, to be printed with the views of the minority when submitted.

SENATOR FROM WYOMING.

Mr. HOAR. I am directed by the Committee on Privileges and Elections, to whom was referred the claim of Asahel C. Beckwith to be admitted to a seat in the Senate from the State of Wyoming, to submit a report, accompanied by a resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That Asahel C. Beckwith is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Wyoming.

Mr. HOAR. Let this report also lie on the table. It depends on the same principle with the preceding report.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered.

SENATOR FROM WASHINGTON.

Mr. HOAR. I am directed by the Committee on Privileges and Elections, to whom was referred the claim of John B. Allen to be admitted to a seat in the Senate from the State of Washington, to submit a report accompanied by a resolution. It will take the same direction.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That John B. Allen is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Washington.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The same order will be taken as in the previous cases.

EXECUTION OF RECENT IMMIGRATION ACT.

Mr. CHANDLER submitted the following resolution; which was read:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to transmit to the Senate copies of any orders, regulations, and forms of lists, manifests, and certificates prepared and issued by the Treasury Department in execution of the immigration act of March 3, 1893, together with copies of all correspondence concerning such orders, regulations, and forms between said Department and Government officials, steamship agents, and other persons.

Mr. CHANDLER. I ask that the resolution may go over until to-morrow.

Mr. HARRIS. It will be printed?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will go over, and be printed.

INQUIRY BY COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION.

Mr. CHANDLER submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Immigration be authorized and directed to make inquiry into the condition and character of the alien immigrants coming to the United States for the purpose of supplying labor for the coal, iron, and other mines of the country; and further to inquire whether the laws against the admission of laborers under contract are effectually enforced, and whether the immigration laws are economically administered, without an excessive force of officers, clerks, inspectors, special agents, and other employés; and also generally to inquire into the workings of the new immigration law of March 3, 1893, and prior immigration laws, and concerning any suspected evasions and violations thereof; for the purposes of which inquiry the committee may act as a full committee or through subcommittees duly appointed by its chairman, and may take testimony during the recess of the Senate at such places as may be most convenient, and send for persons and papers, and employ a stenographer, the expenses of the inquiry to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

[Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of the secretaries of the President of the United States, communicated to the Senate sundry messages in writing.]

JOINT COMMISSION ON EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. CALL. I ask the Senate to take up for consideration the resolutions I introduced on the last legislative day, which now lie on the table.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read.

The Secretary read the resolutions submitted by Mr. CALL on the 23d instant, as follows:

Resolved, That the enactment in the act making appropriations for legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, and for other purposes, approved March 3, 1893, creating a commission to be composed of members of the Senate and the House, appointed by a President of the Senate and a Speaker of the House whose terms of office expired on the 4th Day of March current, to examine into the civil service in the executive branches of the United States and to report and recommend to the present and future Congresses their opinion in relation to the exercise of the legislative powers of each and both Houses of the Congress which shall convene in December, 1893, in respect to the civil service of the United States, is in derogation of the constitutional right, power, and prerogative of each House and otherwise violative of the Constitution, and is absolutely null and void.

Resolved, second, That the Constitution confers on "each House," the sovereign and exclusive power to prescribe its rules of proceeding, and therein of the creation of its committees and the duties and powers which shall be imposed and conferred upon them, both to recommend changes in existing law and to enact new laws, and to obtain the information necessary for the exercise of their legislative power, and the members of each House can derive no power or authority or right in respect to any exercise of legislative functions from any other source than the separate and exclusive power of "each House" as they shall be organized, and during their constitutional term of official life to prescribe, regulate, and direct all their rules of procedure and the exercise of their legislative function.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolutions.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, the enactment in the appropriation act for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, approved March 3, 1893, providing for a joint commission of three Senators of the Fifty-third Congress and three members-elect to the House of Representatives, to be appointed by the President of the Senate whose term of office was to expire on the 4th of March, 1893, and by the Speaker of the House, who was to become *functus officio* on the 4th of March, 1893, is, in my judgment, the most dangerous violation of the Constitution and of the rights and liberties of the people that has ever occurred in the history of this Government.

It is practically an overthrow of the constitutional powers of this body. It is an opening for the influences of wealth and corporate power to control the money appropriations of this Government and the exercise of the political power which has been conferred on the sovereign legislative department of the Government. I think it is of such importance, that the people of this country will demand a reason of Congress why such an innovation of their rights and liberties should be permitted to go unnoticed and unrebuked.

Let us examine the provisions of that act. It is an act which is to take effect in the future, and it proposes to give to the Speaker of an expired House and the President of an expired Senate—that is to say in the term for which they were chosen—the power to designate officers and members of the incoming Congress for specific duties. It is an act which proposes to supersede and annul the power of "each House" of each Congress to determine its rules of proceeding. It confers power on persons designated by the President and Speaker of the session ending March 4, 1893, to summon the President and his Secretaries before them.

It is either a legislative power or an executive power or a judicial power. If it be legislative, it is by the Constitution amenable only to the control of the House, of which the Speaker is the officer, and the Senate, of which the President of the Senate is the officer. But the act proposes to give to two persons who will become private citizens on the 4th of March, 1893, the right to designate the members of this body who shall perform certain duties. What are those duties? As I said, if they are duties which are legislative and appertain to this body, then these officers can only be designated by the Fifty-third Congress, commencing on the 4th of March, 1893, under the Constitution of the United States, which says that "each House may determine the rules of its proceeding," and therein of the committees who shall be charged with public duties, and therein of the public duty with which the committees shall be charged.

Mr. President, what are the duties imposed on the three Senators designated by the former President of this body and the three members-elect of the House? Who are to determine who are the members-elect of the House and what members are elected to the House? The men whom the House shall judge to be returned elected and qualified. Election is of two descriptions: One the choice of the people; the other the judgment of the House to which they belong as to their election, returns, and qualifications.

Now, it is proposed by this law to give to the Speaker of an expired House, whose term of office has ended, the right to determine and adjudge the returns and qualifications of the members elected to that House. How can he exercise this function constitutionally? And how dangerous to the liberties of this country to allow the officer of the expired House or the President of a Senate who is about to go out of office, who are no longer

amenable to the judgment of the legislative bodies, to designate the members of the two bodies who are to perform important duties!

But let us go further. What are the duties which this commission imposes upon these officers? Let us see. They are to "inquire into and examine the status of the laws organizing the Executive Departments, bureaus, divisions, and other Government establishments at the national capital." Is or is not that a duty of the Senate? Can the Senate delegate its authority and power to examine and inquire into the status of the laws governing the Executive Departments, bureaus, divisions, and other Government establishments at the national capital to any one but members of this body, and under rules of proceeding determined by "each recurring House?" To inquire and report to each House is a legislative function of each House. The rules of proceeding of each House can not be determined by the President and by both Houses.

The rules, regulations, and methods providing for the conduct of their proceedings; the time and attention devoted to the operations thereof must be determined by each House. Whose duty is it under the Constitution to examine into the methods in which the executive officers of this Government perform their duties? Is it not the President of the United States? What have the committees even of this body to do with the manner in which the President of the United States shall perform his duties or the heads of Departments theirs unless it be upon an impeachment of them?

The manner in which they shall perform their executive duties is prescribed by the Constitution, viz, under the supervision of the President. Whether any modification of these laws can be made to secure greater efficiency and economy, whether a reduction in the number or compensation of the persons authorized to be employed in the Executive Departments or Bureaus can be made without injury to the public service is a question for each House in the enactment of laws. "The commission shall have no jurisdiction to inquire into and report on pension legislation;" it is authorized to employ three experts, who shall render such assistance as the commission may require in the prosecution of the investigation therein required, and shall receive such compensation as the commission shall determine to be just and reasonable.

By what authority can a commission of the members of the Senate and of the House decide for these two Houses what compensation shall be reasonable and just to the persons they employ? Are they legislative or executive in this authority to employ persons and determine their compensation? It may be a hundred thousand dollars so far as this law is concerned. Their power to determine this compensation is unlimited, and it is no answer to the proposition to say that the persons designated will perform this duty economically and faithfully.

The authority given to them is to employ and to pay whatever compensation in their judgment they may see proper to give. Is it safe and in accord with our Constitution to intrust this power to engage the public credit of the people of the United States to six men, subject to no authority, selected by the Speakers of expired Senates and Houses of Congress—that is, an authority conferred by the nomination of the President of a Senate that has expired and by the Speaker of a House that has expired upon Senators and Representatives designated by these officers of a past Congress?

To whom are the members of this body responsible, Mr. President? They are responsible alone to this, the Senate of the Fifty-third Congress. To whom are the members of the House of Representatives responsible? They are responsible alone to the House of Representatives of the Fifty-third Congress; but here they are designated by an authority which has passed away, and absolute power is conferred upon them; they are not amenable to the Senate or to the House, but are to judge and decide for themselves as to the compensation which shall be paid and the assistance which they shall require. But that is not all:

> The heads of the respective Executive Departments shall detail from time to time such officers and employés as may be requested by said commission in their investigations.

By this act the whole executive force of this Government is placed at the disposal of this body of three Senators and three Representatives elect, but unqualified, placed at their absolute command, without responsibility to this body and without the action of this the Fifty-third Congress.

> Said commission or any subcommittee thereof shall have power to send for persons and papers, and to administer oaths, and such process shall be issued and such oaths administered by the chairman of the commission or subcommittee, and the commission may report, by bill or otherwise, to their respective Houses of the Fifty-third Congress. All necessary expenses of said commission shall be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated upon vouchers approved jointly by the chairman of said commission.

These six members of proconsular authority and power have vested in them the dignity and power of the Senate and the House by the selection and will of officials whose terms of office have expired.

What kind of an authority is that, Mr. President, to confer upon three members of the Senate and three members of the House of Representatives, to determine for themselves, without responsibility and without any act of appropriation by the Congress to which they are amenable, the amount of money useful or necessary in the performance of certain duties, and to issue their warrant upon the Treasury of the United States for the payment of this judgment in their own favor?

The Constitution of the United States contains this provision:

> No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

Is it an office under the United States to inquire and report as to the conduct of all public officials, to advise as to changes in the existing law, to issue warrants on the Treasury?

What does that mean? Does it mean that a President of the Senate and a Speaker of the House of Representatives, under a statute of the United States, may respectively designate three Senators and three members of the House of Representatives to constitute a commission, with authority to draw money from the Treasury, to incur expenses, and to adjudicate for themselves the amount of money to be used in the performance of a public duty? Does it mean that a civil office is a public function either executive, legislative, or judicial, and that a member of Congress can exercise no public function except that which is legislative, no judicial or executive public function?

If it be true that this power which the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM] contend is a lawful authority under this statute, and that the appointee of a defunct Speaker of the House of Representatives and of a President of the Senate whose term has expired is irrevocable and beyond the reach of any authority, then this mysterious power may be exercised for the destruction of this Government and the rights of the people.

The Constitution of the United States creates this Senate a permanent legislative body, and thus makes it the people's greatest protection against usurpations of power and the misappropriation of the public money. In the very fact of its permanent character, ever ready to be called into action upon its own adjournment for the protection of the rights of the people, permanent in its sessions and its character and in the exercise of its great functions, with the power to try, convict, impeach, and remove all other officers of every other department of the Government, it is by the Constitution the protector of the liberties of the people in a superior degree even to the House of Representatives, against the influences of wealth, of social station, of personal ambition, and of arbitrary power.

What is the chief feature of the Senate, this guardian of liberty and the rights of the people? What is the chief and essential power it possesses? The power of the Senate as constituted consists in its separate and distinct organization, in the fact that the legislative power of these bodies can be exercised only by "each House" separately, not jointly or concurrently, except in the enactment of permanent law, and in that provision of the Constitution which asserts that the functions of this legislative power shall be exercised by each of the two Houses of Congress consists the substantial distinction and provision for the permanence of this Government and the protection of its constitutional limitations of power.

The Senate and the House each may determine the rules of its proceedings. So no other power can determine them. Is it a rule of proceeding of each House to inquire into the condition of the Executive Departments and into the manner in which public duties shall be performed, into changes and modifications of existing law? To what end shall a commission, irresponsible and beyond the control of the Senate or the House, be allowed to supersede this power of "each House" to determine its own proceedings?

Mr. President, here is an instance of six members of these two distinct bodies, constituted by a statute upon the appointment of officers whose term of office has expired, vested with distinction above their associates, charged with duties carrying with them emoluments and the expenditure of public money, in derogation of the rules with which this body has determined shall be its methods of legislation and its manner of proceeding.

Suppose this commission shall summon the President of the United States before it to inquire into the manner in which his subordinates have performed their duty; suppose the principle had been extended further, and they had been authorized to inquire into the manner in which the judicial department dis-

charged its duty, and they had summoned the Chief Justice of the United States and the clerks of the courts to ascertain in what manner they had performed their duties, what would be the reply? The reply would be that this is a government coördinate, of legislative, executive, and judicial powers, and there is no power in either of these departments to encroach upon the duties of the other.

For the purposes of legislation inquiries may be made by each House of Congress in order to aid them in devising the laws necessary to provide for the enforcement of the laws by the executive department of the Government and for their determination by the judiciary, but for no other purpose, except by process of impeachment, can any commission constituted either in part or in whole, even if it were lawful to do so, of members of this body, interfere with the proper and orderly operations of the other departments of this Government.

Then, again, let us inquire for what reason is it that a President of a Senate whose term of office is about to expire shall be required to designate members of the body to perform the constitutional duties of another Congress; for what reason of public convenience, of utility in legislation shall this power be exercised by which one Congress; with the aid of the President of the United States, shall deprive a future Congress of their power to determine upon their proceeding? Of what significance is the declaration, "each House may determine the rules of its proceedings?" Each House means each recurring House, each House chosen by the people—the Senate one-third every two years and the whole membership of the House every two years.

Mr. President, in my judgment this enactment marks a growing indifference to the rights of the people and the obligations of the Constitution; it marks our want of appreciation of the great dignity of the power invested in this body, its great usefulness as the protector of the people's rights under the Constitution of the country. For one, in my place here I desire to protest against it.

Here is a provision in a statute of the United States superceding the power of the Senate in the appointment of its committees. Here is a commission charged with a duty which, by the subsequent action of this body in the exercise of its constitutional power to determine its own rules of proceeding, this body has at this very session devolved upon committees and charged them with the performance of the same duties; and they are met in the performance of these duties by a commission of Senators appointed, not by the present President of this Senate, not by the Vice-President of the United States, but by virtue of a statute appointed by a former President and Speaker of an expired Congress—Senators of the Fifty-third Congress designated for public duties by the Presiding Officer of the Fifty-second Congress and members elect of the House of Representatives, unqualified, designated for the performance of the duties of that House by the Speaker of the Fifty-second Congress.

Of what avail is the constitutional declaration that "each House may determine the rules of its proceedings" if this is to stand? Has not the Senate at this session prescribed, and may not the House at its next session prescribe, the rule of proceeding, the committees which shall discharge these duties, the subjects of inquiry by them, and are they not met with a provision in a statute of the United States that a former Congress and its former President and Speaker, and not the rules of each House, shall determine the duties of these Senators and Representatives?

It seems to me that if we have any just sense of the dignity and power of this body, if we have any desire to preserve the equality of the States, if we are to exclude the influences of wealth and power from this Senate, if the functions which have been assigned in the Federal Constitution to this body are to continue intact and to be so exercised as to preserve the respect and confidence of the people, we shall not hesitate to pass these resolutions declaring this action of the last Congress to be in derogation of the constitutional rights and prerogatives of the Senate. If there can be any proposition plainer than that it is unconstitutional on the part of a Congress about to expire to attempt to control the action of a succeeding Congress in respect to the duties which shall be imposed upon its members and the manner of their performance, then I must confess I fail to see it.

It seems to me that the contradiction is direct and positive, that this enactment of Congress in an appropriation act is in denial of the authority which this body has exercised under the Constitution of prescribing its rules of proceeding, the committees which shall execute its will, and the subjects which shall be committed to their jurisdiction. We have a committee charged with the duty of inquiring into the civil service, so charged by the standing rules of this body, so charged by its creation at this session; and yet we have a statute conferring power and emoluments and giving the key of the Treasury to an unlimited extent to three unsworn members of the House of Representatives and three Senators of this body, nominated by the President of an expired Senate and the Speaker of an expired House. If the provision which authorizes these six men, three Senators and three members of the House, to determine the necessary and proper amount of the expenses of their proceedings and to issue their warrant upon the Treasury of the United States without further inquiry for its payment, be law and free government and a defense of the rights of the people, I fail to understand it.

It may be unimportant in this instance; but in the example it is full of danger. In the example it may license the drawing from the Treasury of the United States of an unlimited amount of money upon the judgment of three Senators, not nominated by the rules of this body nor by its Presiding Officer, and, according to the Senator from Maryland and the Senator from Illinois, not responsible to it, whose places can not be filled even by the order of this body if there be resignations. This is a strange and mysterious law, without authority, without reason, without constitutional right, and in derogation of the principles of this Government.

Mr. President, I shall be glad to have a vote upon the resolutions.

Mr. HARRIS. If no Senator desires to be heard further upon the resolutions, I suggest that they be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, where they may be carefully considered and reported upon.

Mr. ALLISON. I trust the Senator from Tennessee will not make that motion at this moment. I think one or two Senators desire to be briefly heard upon the subject.

Mr. HARRIS. Of course I shall not make the motion if any Senator desires to be heard.

Mr. ALLISON. I suggest that the resolutions lie upon the table, to be called up hereafter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COCKRELL in the chair). Does the Senator from Florida object to the resolutions going over?

Mr. CALL. No, sir; let them lie over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be laid aside for further consideration. What is the further pleasure of the Senate?

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. COKE. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 1 hour and 30 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 2 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, March 28, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 27, 1893.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE.

William H. Seaman, of Wisconsin, to be United States district judge for the eastern district of Wisconsin, vice James G. Jenkins, appointed circuit judge.

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE SUPREME COURT OF NEW MEXICO.

Albert B. Fall, of New Mexico Territory, to be associate justice of the supreme court of the Territory of New Mexico, vice John R. McFie, whose term expired March 23, 1893.

SOLICITOR OF THE TREASURY.

Felix A. Reeve, of Tennessee, to be Solicitor of the Treasury, vice William P. Hepburn, resigned.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS.

William T. Gary, of Georgia, to be attorney of the United States for the southern district of Georgia, vice Marion Erwin, whose term will expire March 30, 1893.

Joseph S. James, of Georgia, to be attorney of the United States for the northern district of Georgia, vice Sion A. Darnell, whose term will expire April 2, 1893.

George J. Denis, of California, to be attorney of the United States for the southern district of California, vice Matthew T. Allen, resigned.

UNITED STATES MARSHALS.

Thomas J. Allison, of North Carolina, to be marshal of the United States for the western district of North Carolina, vice Tyre Glenn, whose term will expire March 30, 1893.

James Blackburn, of Kentucky, to be marshal of the United States for the district of Kentucky, vice Drury J. Burchett, whose term will expire April 2, 1893.

Frank Leverett, of Georgia, to be marshal of the United States for the southern district of Georgia, vice Walter P. Corbett, whose term expires March 27, 1893.

CONSUL-GENERAL.

Samuel E. Morss, of Indiana, to be consul-general of the United States at Paris, vice Adam E. King, recalled.

CONSULS.

C. W. Chancellor, of Maryland, to be consul of the United States at Havre, vice Oscar F. Williams, recalled.

Allan B. Morse, of Michigan, to be consul of the United States at Glasgow, vice Levi W. Brown, recalled.

George F. Parker, of New York, to be consul of the United States at Birmingham, vice Adam Everly, recalled.

ASSISTANT SURGEON MARINE HOSPITAL SERVICE.

Seaton Norman, of Indiana, to be an assistant surgeon in the Marine Hospital Service of the United States, in accordance with the act of Congress approved March 1, 1893.

ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER OF PATENTS.

Samuel T. Fisher, of Canton, Mass., to be Assistant Commissioner of Patents, vice Nathaniel L. Frothingham, resigned.

INDIAN AGENT.

Francisco Estudillo, of San Jacinto, Cal., to be agent for the Indians of the Mission Tule River (consolidated) Agency in California, vice Horatio N. Rust, resigned.

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE.

Robert E. Wilson, of Jackson, Miss., to be register of the land office at Jackson, Miss., vice Henry Kernaghan, to be removed.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Medical Inspector John H. Clark, to be a medical director in the Navy, from March 4, 1893, vice Medical Director William T. Ford, retired.

Surg. James M. Flint, to be a medical inspector in the Navy, from March 4, 1893, vice Medical Inspector John H. Clark, promoted.

Passed Assistant Surg. Nelson H. Drake, to be a surgeon in the Navy, from March 4, 1893, vice Surg. James M. Flint, promoted.

Ensign Joseph H. Rohrbacher, to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy from the 7th March, 1893, vice Lieut. (junior grade) R. P. Schwerin, resigned.

POSTMASTERS.

Crawford B. Andrews, to be postmaster at Prescott, in the county of Nevada and State of Arkansas, in the place of Zachariah T. Grayson, whose commission expires March 30, 1893.

William P. Powell, to be postmaster at Hope, in the county of Hempstead and State of Arkansas, in the place of John M. Kinser, whose commission expires March 29, 1893.

Mrs. Amelia H. Bates, to be postmaster at Sonoma, in the county of Sonoma and State of California, in the place of Emma Hope, resigned.

John H. Swartwout, to be postmaster at Stamford, in the county of Fairfield and State of Connecticut, in the place of Henry E. Smith, deceased.

James E. Brown, to be postmaser at Newnan, in the county of Coweta and State of Georgia, in the place of Robert F. Milner, whose commission expires March 27, 1893.

William M. Dunbar, to be postmaster at Augusta, in the county of Richmond and State of Georgia, in the place of Jabez T. Denning, removed.

Samuel Harris, to be postmaster at Franklin, in the county of Johnson and State of Indiana, in the place of William B. Ellis, resigned.

Henry C. Ulen, to be postmaster at Lebanon, in the county of Boone and State of Indiana, in the place of Felix Shumate, resigned.

Rollin M. Clark, to be postmaster at Keokuk, in the county of Lee and State of Iowa, in the place of Richard Root, whose commission expired March 13, 1893.

Henry Heimiller, to be postmaster at Versailles, in the county of Woodford and State of Kentucky, in the place of Joseph N. Reid, whose commission expires April 1, 1893.

Francis M. Mumford, to be postmaster at Bayou Sara, in the parish of West Feliciana and State of Louisiana, in the place of Francis M. Mumford, whose commission expired February 28, 1893.

Oliver Wells, to be postmaster at Marshfield, in the county of Webster and State of Missouri, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after January 1, 1893.

Walter P. Horne, to be postmaster at Suspension Bridge, in the county of Niagara and State of New York, in the place of John C. Lammerts, resigned.

John P. Kerr, to be postmaster at Asheville, in the county of Buncombe and State of North Carolina, in place of George W. Cannon, whose commission expires March 27, 1893.

Thomas H. Craig, to be postmaster at Athens, in the county of Athens and State of Ohio, in the place of George W. Baker, whose commission expired March 23, 1893.

Lewis Green, to be postmaster at Logan, in the county of Hocking and State of Ohio, in the place of Francis S. Bursell, whose commission expires April 1, 1893.

James F. Johnson, to be postmaster at Pendleton, in the county of Umatilla and State of Oregon, in the place of Benjamin S. Burroughs, resigned.

W. B. Woody, to be postmaster at Rockdale, in the county of Milam and State of Texas, in the place of John C. Witcher, resigned; Hugh L. Witcher, who was appointed by the President November 18, 1892, and confirmed by the Senate December 14, 1892, not having been commissioned.

Charles D. Denit, to be postmaster at Salem, in the county of Roanoke and State of Virginia, in the place of W. Lee Brand, whose commission expires March 29, 1893.

Henry I. Tuggle, to be postmaster at Martinsville, in the county of Henry and State of Virginia, in the place of Charles W. Jones, whose commission expires March 27, 1893.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 27, 1893.

CIRCUIT JUDGE.

Horace H. Lurton, of Tennessee, to be United States circuit judge for the sixth judicial circuit.

COMMISSIONER OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE.

Silas W. Lamoreux, of Horicon, Wis., to be Commissioner of the General Land Office.

TUESDAY, *March 28, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of the secretaries of the President of the United States, communicated to the Senate sundry messages in writing.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. What is the pleasure of the Senate?

Mr. HOAR. The regular order.

Mr. FRYE. Petitions and memorials.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair reminds the Senator from Maine of the action of the Senate taken yesterday.

Mr. COCKRELL. The presentation of petitions and memorials is the first order of business.

Mr. SHERMAN. The call for reports of committees and then for resolutions I think would be a proper form of procedure.

Mr. COCKRELL. I understand that yesterday morning, by unanimous consent, the form of the presentation of petitions, introduction of bills, etc., was dispensed with.

Mr. SHERMAN. By unanimous consent it was agreed that all petitions should be handed to the Secretary, to be kept by him until the regular legislative session.

Mr. HOAR. But that did not include memorials of Legislatures.

Mr. SHERMAN. It did not.

Mr. HOAR. Therefore the regular order would be the ordinary call, and memorials of Legislatures would be presented under the first call for petitions and memorials.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there are none such, reports of standing and select committees are in order.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ADDITIONAL ACCOMMODATIONS FOR THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I am directed by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate to report back a substitute for the resolution to authorize the Select Committee on Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress to employ a clerk, and I ask for its present consideration.

The substitute resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Select Committee on Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress be, and hereby is, authorized to sit during the recess of the Senate and to employ a clerk.

The Senate, by unanimous consent, proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. DOLPH. I desire to ask the chairman of the Committee on Contingent Expenses if there is not some general provision fixing compensation and providing for the payment of clerks?

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. If the Senator will allow me, I have a communication in my hand addressed to the First Comptroller and his reply, by which it is made perfectly manifest that by reason of the provision in the deficiency appropriation act of last session this committee is without the means of paying

its clerk unless it is provided for by resolution. I send the communications to the desk and ask that they be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The communications will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

MARCH 22, 1893.

SIR: The bill making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year 1893, approved July 16, 1892, provided for "twenty-four clerks to committees, at $6 per day each, during the session." The act to supply deficiencies, etc., approved March 3, 1893, provided for the pay of these twenty-four committee clerks from the 4th to the 31st of March, at which time it was supposed that the executive session of the Senate would terminate. The act making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government, approved March 3, 1893, provided for twenty-three clerks to committees, at $1,440 per annum, and was made immediately available. The same act makes one of the twenty-four clerks provided for in the act of July 16, 1892, at $3 per day, viz, the clerk to the Committee on Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress, annual, at a salary of $2,220, taking effect on the 1st day of July, 1893. I respectfully ask that you decide whether this clerk can not be paid from the 4th of March to the 31st of March at the rate fixed by the act of July 16, 1892, and, inasmuch as there will be a large surplus in the appropriations for the session employés, can he not also be paid at the same rate to the 30th of June from this surplus, a resolution of the Senate being passed to continue the clerk until that date, when the new appropriation will go into effect? At that time he will go on the roll as an annual clerk at $2,220 per annum.

Very respectfully,

ANSON G. McCOOK, *Secretary.*

Hon. A. C. MATTHEWS,
Comptroller.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE FIRST COMPTROLLER,
Washington, D. C., March 24, 1893.

SIR: In reply to your letter of 22d instant I have to say that the salary of $2,220 per annum provided for a clerk to the Committee on Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress in the legislative act of March 3, 1893, is not available until July 1, 1893.

The present salary of the clerk to that committee is $6 per diem, and he can be paid at that rate from the 4th to the 31st of March out of the appropriation made in the deficiency act of March 3, 1893.

If his services are continued by a resolution of the Senate after March 31, he can be paid $6 per diem to June 30, 1893, from the same fund, not by virtue of the fact that there will be a surplus of the appropriation, but because he was "in the service of the Senate" at the date of the passage of the act, and there is no limit of time, except to the fiscal year 1893, of the appropriation, and because Congress evidently did not intend to discriminate against this one committee clerk when it made the salaries appropriated for the twenty-three others immediately available and his salary not available until July 1, 1893.

Under ordinary circumstances, or if the position were one created merely by a Senate resolution, payment could, of course, be made only out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

Respectfully, yours,

A. C. MATTHEWS,
Comptroller.

Hon. ANSON G. McCOOK,
Secretary United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I ask for the adoption of the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

CLERK TO SELECT COMMITTEE ON GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I am directed by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate to report adversely the resolution submitted by the Senator from Kansas [Mr. MARTIN], authorizing the Select Committee to Investigate the Geological Survey to employ a clerk at an annual salary of $1,440. The resolution is reported adversely because the clerk is already provided for.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be indefinitely postponed if there be no objection.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. CHANDLER. If there are no further reports of committees, I ask for the consideration of the resolution submitted by me yesterday.

Mr. GORMAN. Has the regular order been concluded?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Not yet.

Mr. GORMAN. What is the pending order?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Reports of committees are still in order. If there be none, the Chair recognizes the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER].

Mr. HOAR. I desire to inquire whether the next order should not first be called.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The introduction of bills and resolutions is in order.

Mr. HARRIS. That call is for legislative session. There is no such thing, it seems to me, at this session of the Senate.

OFFICERS OF THE SENATE.

Mr. GORMAN. I submit sundry resolutions, which I ask may be read for information in the order in which they stand, and lie on the table.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate do now proceed to the election of its Secretary Sergeant-at-Arms and Doorkeeper, and Chaplain.

Resolved, That the officers to be elected as aforesaid shall, unless said offices become vacant in the mean while by death, resignation, or otherwise, only enter upon the discharge of their duties on the 30th day of June next, being at the end of the present fiscal year, and the present incumbents of said offices, as aforesaid, shall continue to be the incumbents thereof and exercise the duties of their respective offices until the end of the present fiscal year, as aforesaid, when the officers to be elected as hereinabove provided shall, as hereinabove stated, enter upon the discharge of their duties.

Resolved, That William R. Cox, of North Carolina, be, and he is hereby, elected Secretary of the Senate, his term of office to begin on the 30th day of June next, being the end of the present fiscal year, until which time the present incumbent shall continue to be Secretary of the Senate, unless the office of Secretary becomes vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise before the end of the present fiscal year, in which event the said William R. Cox shall be at once Secretary of the Senate and enter upon the discharge of his duties as Secretary.

Resolved, That Richard J. Bright, of Indiana, be, and is hereby, elected Sergeant-at-Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate, his term of office to begin on the 30th day of June next, being the end of the present fiscal year, until which time the present incumbent shall continue to be Sergeant-at-Arms and Doorkeeper, unless the office of Sergeant-at-Arms and Doorkeeper becomes vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise before the end of the present fiscal year, in which event the said Richard J. Bright shall be at once Sergeant-at-Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate and enter upon the discharge of his duties in said office.

Resolved, That William H. Milburn, D. D., of Illinois, be, and he is hereby, elected Chaplain of the Senate, his term of office to begin on the 30th day of June next, being the end of the present fiscal year, until which time the present incumbent shall continue to be Chaplain of the Senate, unless the office of Chaplain becomes vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise before the end of the present fiscal year, in which event the said William H. Milburn, D. D., shall be at once Chaplain of the Senate and enter upon the discharge of his duties as Chaplain.

Mr. GORMAN. I ask that the resolutions may lie on the table and be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Such will be the order in the absence of objection.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

Mr. HOAR. I desire to give notice that to-morrow, after the conclusion of the morning business, I shall call up the report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections in the case of Mr. Mantle, and the other cases will follow when that is disposed of. This notice is given by an arrangement with and at the request of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE], who desires to have the matter taken up when the Senate are ready for its consideration.

Mr. VEST. May I inquire of the Senator from Massachusetts why it is that the report of the majority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections is not printed and upon our desks this morning?

Mr. HOAR. I do not know; I suppose it will be circulated in a few minutes. It went to the Printer last night.

Mr. VEST. I have the views of the minority, but not the report of the majority.

Mr. HOAR. Whoever is charged with distributing such documents will circulate them.

Mr. FRYE. The order was that they should be printed together.

Mr. HOAR. The order was that they should be printed together. The copy the Senator from Missouri has of the views of the minority is probably one made for the use of the committee and not the one made for the Senate.

Mr. VEST. That is possibly the case.

CHARGES AGAINST SENATOR ROACH.

Mr. HOAR submitted the following resolution; which was read:

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections be directed to investigate the allegations recently extensively made in the public press charging WILLIAM N. ROACH, a Senator from the State of North Dakota, with the offense of criminal embezzlement, to report the facts of the transactions referred to, and further to report what is the duty of the Senate in regard thereto. For that purpose the committee shall have authority to send for persons and papers, to administer oaths, to employ a stenographer, and to act through a subcommittee.

Mr. GORMAN. I ask that the resolution may lie on the table. Let it be printed and go over.

Mr. HOAR. Does the Senator mean to have it lie on the table, or go over under the rule?

Mr. GORMAN. To go over under the rule.

Mr. HOAR. That does not put it on the table.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will go over and be printed.

EXECUTION OF RECENT IMMIGRATION ACT.

Mr. CHANDLER. I ask for the consideration of the resolution submitted by me yesterday.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution coming over from a previous day, which will be read.

The resolution submitted yesterday by Mr. CHANDLER was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to transmit to the Senate copies of any orders, regulations, and forms of lists, manifests, and certificates prepared and issued by the Treasury Department in execution of the immigration act of March 3, 1893, together with copies of all correspondence concerning such orders, regulations, and forms between said Department and Government officials, steamship agents, and other persons.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

PRINTING OF CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION REPORT.

Mr. COCKRELL. I have not written it out, but I want to have a resolution adopted directing the Public Printer to inform the Senate what is the cause of the delay in the publication of the last report of the Civil Service Commission, which ought to have been out months ago.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be reduced to writing and read by the Secretary.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Public Printer be directed to inform the Senate as to the causes of delay in the printing of the last report of the Civil Service Commission.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Missouri desire the immediate consideration of the resolution?

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask for its present consideration.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. HARRIS. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After ten minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 12 o'clock and 33 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, March 29, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 28, 1893.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

Ezra W. Miller, of South Dakota, to be attorney of the United States for the district of South Dakota, vice William B. Sterling, resigned.

CONSUL-GENERAL.

George G. Dillard, of Mississippi, to be consul-general of the United States at Guayaquil, vice William B. Sorsby, recalled.

POSTMASTERS.

J. E. Horsman, to be postmaster at Rice Lake, in the county of Barron and State of Wisconsin, in the place of Ole E. Waugulld, whose commission expires March 29, 1893.

Thomas F. Solon, to be postmaster at West Superior, in the county of Douglas and State of Wisconsin, in the place of Graham L. Rice, whose commission expired March 21, 1893.

WEDNESDAY, *March 29, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PRINTING OF CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION REPORT.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Public Printer, in response to a resolution of the 28th instant, concerning the causes of delay in the printing of the last report of the Civil Service Commission; which, on motion of Mr. COCKRELL, was ordered to lie on the table, and be printed.

[Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of the secretaries of the President of the United States, communicated to the Senate sundry messages in writing.]

CAUSE OF FINANCIAL DEPRESSION.

Mr. TELLER. I present the petition of B. F. Rice, formerly a member of this body, praying for the appointment of a committee to investigate the cause of the continuous financial depression throughout the country, and to ascertain how far the present mode of Federal taxation is responsible for such depression, also praying for appropriate legislation to correct any evils found to exist. I ask that the petition be printed as a document and referred to the Committee on Finance.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection that will be the order of the Senate.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE INVESTIGATION.

Mr. HIGGINS. I submit a resolution, and ask that it be read and referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Interstate Commerce be, and is hereby, authorized to inquire whether or not the methods prevailing in the transportation of freight and passengers over the great railroad lines of the country, and the conditions and necessities of travelers and shippers and of the transportation companies justify or require a repeal or modification of section 5 of the interstate commerce act of February 4, 1887, which prohibits pooling under any circumstances; and that said committee be further authorized to inquire whether the system of closing and sealing cars engaged in transporting merchandise from one of the States of the Union into another State through foreign territory, or from such territory into any State, or from such territory through the United States into foreign territory, or any system of bonding merchandise so transported, needs to be abolished, modified, or further regulated by law, and whether all railroads engaged in such traffic should either be required to conform to all the provisions of the said interstate commerce act, or be prohibited from continuing such transportation business; the said committee being hereby empowered to sit during the recess of the Senate, to act by subcommittees if deemed necessary, to take testimony at convenient points, to send for witnesses, books, and papers, and employ a stenographer, and to have its expenses paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let the resolution be referred.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. COCKRELL. That is right.

Mr. CULLOM. I think the resolution ought to be referred to the committee.

Mr. COCKRELL. It has been referred.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

Mr. HOAR. I call up as a matter of privilege the resolution in regard to the admission of Mr. Mantle.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution reported from the Committee on Privileges and Elections on the 27th instant, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

Mr. HOAR. I am disposed to take the sense of the Senate as to whether the reports, which have been printed and I suppose laid on the tables of all Senators, shall be read at the desk. Unless some Senator calls for the reading of the report and the views of the minority I shall not ask to have them read. The Senator from Alabama [Mr. PUGH] is prepared to state the views of the majority of the committee.

Mr. HARRIS. Will the Senator from Massachusetts allow me to suggest to him that the report of the committee is laid upon the tables of Senators for the first time this morning? I doubt whether any Senator outside of the committee has had an opportunity to examine it. I am sure I have not. In view of this fact, I shall be glad, if it suits the convenience of the Senator from Massachusetts, that the matter may go over to another day so that Senators may have an opportunity to examine the report with some care. To have it read at the desk communicates wonderfully little information to the Senate, and in the hurry and confusion of business here we can not examine the report with any degree of satisfaction.

Mr. HOAR. That will undoubtedly be the course taken; that is, the matter will go over so that Senators will have a full opportunity to consider the report before a final vote is asked; but I think it would be well to proceed with the debate. Some Senators are ready to speak to-day. Arrangement was made that the debate should begin to-day for the convenience of a Senator who desires to leave the city. So, as I suggested, nobody calling for the reading of the report at the desk, the debate had better proceed for a little while, and then the matter will go over.

Mr. HARRIS. Of course I shall have no objection to the suggestion last made by the Senator from Massachusetts.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. HOAR. I understand the resolution takes its place under the rule, that a question on the credential of a Senator proceeds as of right until it is disposed of. It is a matter of the highest privilege, and I have simply called up the resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution is before the Senate, and the question is on agreeing to the same.

Mr. PUGH. Mr. President, the importance of the question presented by the reports of the majority and minority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections will be conceded, and the necessity for a solution of it by the Senate that will be accepted hereafter as final can not be questioned. The conditions and results inseparable from the discussion, consideration, and determination of the right of the appointee of a governor to fill the vacancy existing in the Senate have unfortunately been influenced more or less by the fact that the appointee was a Democrat or Republican, as is shown by the division of the votes of Senators on party lines, and when once committed it is difficult for the Senator on reconsideration of the same question to give due weight to arguments against the soundness of his former decision. The question as it is now presented is freer from political surroundings and in a better condition to be decided on its real merits than at any time when heretofore determined.

The first inquiry to which I direct the attention of the Senate is as to the facts in each of the three cases of the States of Montana, Wyoming, and Washington. In each of the cases the terms of the Senator elected by the Legislature of his State expired on

the 4th day of this present month. In each of the States the Legislature had met and organized some time prior to the 4th of March, when the seat of one of the Senators from each State was vacated by operation of the Constitution. In each of the States the Legislature, in accordance with the act of Congress of 1866, proceeded to elect a Senator to fill the vacancy, and continued in daily session to elect until the existence of the Legislature was terminated by an express provision of the constitution of each State, and when thus terminated the power of the Legislature in each State expired, leaving the seat of each of the Senators vacated and the three States without their constitutional representation.

In the case of Montana and Wyoming, the sessions of the Legislature expired by constitutional limitation a few days before the 4th of March, when the seats of the Senators were vacated. In the case of the State of Washington, the Legislature expired by constitutional limitation after the 4th of March; so that in the former two States the vacancy occurred after the termination of the life of the Legislature, and of course during its recess, while in the State of Washington the vacancy in the Senate occurred when the Legislature was in session.

The foregoing are the undisputed facts and all the facts upon which the question of constitutional law arises, whether the governors of the States are invested with the power of filling the vacancies in the Senate of the United States admitted to exist in the manner and under the circumstances I have stated. We can look nowhere for the power to fill these vacancies in the Senate except in the Constitution of the United States.

In the first article and third section of the Constitution we find the following words:

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

The above quotations are all the provisions of the Constitution relating to filling and keeping the Senate full of two Senators from each State at all times. It will be observed that there are only two modes provided of securing to each State at all times a full representation by two Senators: (1) By having them "chosen" permanently by the Legislature of the State, and (2) when "vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies."

How is representation kept full in the House of Representatives?

The second section of the Constitution provides for representation in the House on the basis of population, and that "each State shall have at least one representative," and "when vacancies happen in the representation from any State the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies."

Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members.

How are all the offices of the United States kept full so that the public service may suffer no detriment?

The second section of Article II provides that the President "shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint * * * all officers of the United States," and "the President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session."

The foregoing extracts from the Constitution embrace everything in it relating directly or indirectly to every aspect of the questions before the Senate. The next source of information to which I call the special attention of the Senate is what was said and done in the convention that framed the above provisions of the Constitution to shed light on their objects and true meaning.

In Elliott's Debates, found in the Madison Papers, at page 377 Mr. Rutledge, on the 6th of August, 1787, reported from the committee of detail as follows:

Article V, section 1. The Senate of the United States shall be chosen by the Legislatures of the several States. Each Legislature shall choose two members. Vacancies may be supplied by the executive until the next meeting of the Legislature. Each member shall have one vote.

This provision, reported by the committee of detail, was under consideration on the 9th of August. The whole proceeding on Article V, section 1, as I have quoted it, appears as follows, just as it stands in the Debates:

Mr. Wilson objected to vacancies in the Senate being supplied by the executives of the States. It was unnecessary, as the Legislatures will meet so frequently. It removes the appointment too far from the people, the executives in most of the States being elected by the Legislatures. As he had always thought of the appointment of the executive by the legislative department wrong, so it was still more so that the executive should elect into the legislative department.

Mr. Randolph thought it necessary in order to prevent inconvenient chasms in the Senate. In some States the Legislatures meet but once a year. As the Senate will have more power and consist of a smaller number than the other House, vacancies there will be of more consequence. The executives might be safely trusted, he thought, for so short a time.

Mr. ELLSWORTH. It is only said that the executives may supply vacancies. When the legislative meeting happens to be near the power will not be exerted. As there will be but two members from a State, vacancies may be of great moment.

You see that the word happens is used by Mr. Ellsworth in reference to the meeting of the Legislature, which is always fixed by law.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Senators may resign or not accept. This provision is therefore absolutely necessary.

On the question of striking out "vacancies shall be supplied by the executives," the vote stood—Pennsylvania, aye 1; New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, no 8; Maryland, divided.

Mr. Williamson moved to insert, after "vacancies shall be supplied by the executives," the words, "unless other provision shall be made by the Legislature of the State."

Mr. Ellsworth was willing to trust the Legislature or the executive of a State, but not to give the former a discretion to refer appointments for the Senate to whom they pleased.

On the question on Mr. Williamson's motion, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, aye—4; New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, no—6.

Now Mr. Madison speaks, and I desire Senators to hear him:

Mr. Madison, in order to prevent doubts—

About what? The power of the executives to fill vacancies whenever or however they might happen? Certainly not, as he had just voted against striking out the words giving executives power to fill vacancies that happen to exist without any reference to how or what caused them to happen to exist——

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Will it disturb the Senator if I ask him a question?

Mr. PUGH. Yes, sir, it will disturb me; but I will answer any question the Senator desires to ask me after I get through.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I simply wanted to know how the clause read when the motion was made to strike out the word "vacancy."

Mr. PUGH. It read just as I have stated it.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I should like to hear it.

Mr. PUGH. It read just as it was reported from the committee of detail.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I should like to know that before we go further, because it is very important.

Mr. PUGH. I should say it is; and that is exactly what I am urging. It is the crucial test of the power of the governor, in my judgment. On the question of striking out "vacancies shall be supplied by the executives" there was no limitation or qualification in the power reported in the Constitution from the committee of detail, and eight States to one voted against striking out those words.

Then what did Madison say were the doubts he desired to remove?—

in order to prevent doubts whether resignations could be made by Senators, or whether they could refuse to accept, moved to strike out the words after "vacancies" and insert the words "happening by refusals to accept, resignations, or otherwise, may be supplied by the Legislature of the State in the representation of which such vacancies shall happen, or by the executive thereof until the next meeting of the Legislature."

Making the power of the Legislature and the governor to fill vacancies that happen coequal.

Mr. HOAR. Will the honorable Senator from Alabama permit me to make a suggestion, which I dare say may be in his plan of remarks, that that difficulty arose from the rule in the English House of Commons, which is familiar to all Senators, which did not permit a member of the House of Commons to vacate his office by resignation.

Mr. PUGH. And thereby create a vacancy.

Mr. HOAR. To this day I believe the fiction is kept up, and when a member of the House of Commons desires to vacate his seat he accepts another office—the Chiltern Hundreds; he gets out of it in that way. That was what made that language seem necessary to Mr. Madison.

Mr. PUGH. It was upon that state of facts that doubts arose as to the right of a Senator to resign and thereby create a vacancy.

Mr. GOUVERNEUR MORRIS. This is absolutely necessary; as members chosen in the Senate are disqualified from being appointed to any office by section 9 of this article, it will be in the power of a Legislature, by appointing a man a Senator against his consent, to deprive the United States of his services.

The motion of Mr. Madison was agreed to *nem. con.*

Here is proof as strong as language can make it that no opposition was ever expressed in the convention that framed the Constitution, except by one State, to granting power to the executives of the States to fill vacancies that happen in the Senate

from any cause at any time. No mention was made of how a vacancy should happen, or that it should be of any particular kind or character, to be imparted to it by the cause or event or fact that produced it. There was no attempt to limit the executive power to fill vacancies.

Mr. VANCE. If it will not disturb the Senator, I shall be glad to ask him what became of Mr. Madison's proposed amendment to the Constitution?

Mr. PUGH. It was adopted without a word of dissent.

Mr. VANCE. That is not in the Constitution now, is it?

Mr. PUGH. It is, leaving out the words "refusal to accept." It is confined now to "resignation, or otherwise." I will explain that in a minute.

Mr. VANCE. I should like to know how it came that that material portion of the amendment was left out.

Mr. PUGH. I shall enlighten the Senator in the remarks I shall proceed to make.

The existence of the vacancy from any cause was the crucial test of executive power to fill it. Then, why were the words "by resignation, or otherwise," inserted? Plainly and undoubtedly for the purpose, as declared then and there by Madison, the author and mover of the language, and by Gouverneur Morris, the supporter of Madison's motion, of removing all doubt as to the right of Senators to resign, and not doubts as to the power of the executives to fill vacancies to keep the Senate full to preserve the equality of representation.

The manifest and declared purpose for inserting the words "by resignation or otherwise" was to protect the rights of Senators, and not to interfere with or limit or qualify the power of the governors to fill all vacancies that happen to exist in the Senate. The word "resignation" removed all doubts as to the rights of Senators by express specification, and the words "or otherwise" were added to preserve the power of the executives to fill vacancies to the full extent that it would exist by the use of the words which eight States refused to strike out on the motion of a single State.

Mr. President, I have read to the Senate every provision of the Constitution and all that was said by the authors of these provisions at the time they were adopted, and it seems to me there is nothing upon which to base a reasonable doubt, and all the minority of the committee can do is to turn the Senate into a college of philologists, to teach each other etymology, syntax, and prosody, and speculate on what Washington and Franklin and Madison and Ellsworth and Gouverneur Morris really intended, that then existing and future generations, who were to be governed under the Constitution to be submitted to each State for ratification, should understand from the language of the Constitution and where the power was invested to keep the Senate and House and executive offices full, so that each State should have two Senators in the Senate and at least one Representative in the House and every executive office an incumbent.

The language of the Constitution was not selected by philologists or technical lawyers, but by statesmen, who used plain, comprehensive words to give expression to their strong common sense and practical knowledge of the fundamental objects and uses of free representative government.

The words in the Constitution that give rise to all the contention and difference of opinion as to where the power resides to fill vacancies in the Senate are the following:

> And if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

I have shown all the history of the use of these words. It is an axiomatic rule of construction of words and sentences, wherever found, to ascertain the intention, purpose, and object of those using the language, and then, if practicable, to adopt the meaning that will execute the intention and accomplish the object of the authors.

There can be no controversy about the importance of the object intended to be accomplished by declaring that "the Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, and each Senator shall have one vote." How shall two Senators be assured to each State at all times? Was it considered possible under any circumstances or conditions existing or that could exist at any time that a State could be deprived of its full representation by two Senators?

If such a possibility could have been discovered by the framers of the Constitution in the insufficiency or uncertainty in the meaning of the words used to provide against such a material and revolutionary probability or possibility, would they have failed to avoid it by the insertion of words that would have excluded all doubts as to the happenings of such possible consequences? It is a reflection upon the capacity and intelligence of the framers of the Constitution to charge that their paramount object to keep the Senate full is to be defeated by their intentional or careless or ignorant selection of words to carry out their main purpose that they ought to have known were wholly inadequate to accomplish such object. What language of the Constitution can be tortured into the discovery of the intention, desire, or anticipation of its framers that the power should exist anywhere in the framework of our dual system of government by action or nonaction of any of the agencies provided to keep the Senate full to deprive any State of equal representation in that great lawmaking body?

It is claimed by the philologists in the Senate who deny the power of the governors of Montana, Wyoming, and Washington to fill the vacancies in the Senate from those States that no such vacancies exist in the Senate, because the vacancies there did not "happen" in a constitutional sense: that the only "vacancies" the governors can fill are those that "happen" in the sense that word was used in the Constitution, and that is, that "happen" is a descriptive term, used by the framers of the Constitution to define particular kinds of vacancies—vacancies having a specific character imparted to them by the cause or event or fact that produced them; that the cause, event, or fact that produced the vacancies that "happen" in a constitutional sense is an accidental cause, an accidental event, an accidental fact happening by chance, that no power of foresight, forethought, or anticipation could discover, such as the resignation, death, or removal of a Senator.

The existence of vacancies in the Senate from those States mentioned must be admitted as a physical fact, shown by ocular demonstration. Each of these States has only one Senator, when the Constitution in mandatory language requires that each of them shall have two Senators. Neither is it denied that the constitutional right to two Senators is just as much impaired by a vacancy that exists from any cause as it is by a vacancy that happens by chance or accident. The framers of the Constitution must have known that any other vacancy was the same in effect as a vacancy that happens by chance or accident. They provided for a vacancy that happened by chance or accident, but a vacancy that was an anticipated certainty, like the termination of a six-year term on the 4th of March, they made no provision for filling except by an election by the State Legislature.

A vacancy that happened by chance or accident pending a six-year term could be filled in two ways—by an election by the Legislature or by an appointment by the governor. But vacancies that exist by operation of law, it is claimed by the minority, can only be filled by the Legislature, and that vacancies that happen in a six-year term by the occurrence of an unexpected fact can be filled by the governor or the Legislature. There is no conceivable reason for and no possible evil to be remedied by this difference in the power to fill vacancies in the Senate. There is about as much substance in the difference and reason for it as there is in the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee.

If we take Washington and Franklin among the dictionaries, with which the philologists in the Senate must presume these illustrious statesmen were familiar and must have frequently consulted to find fit and proper words to convey their exact meaning, we are unable to discover any word in the English language that could be preferred to the word "happen" to give expression to their full meaning as to the "vacancies" the executives were to have the power to fill in the Senate.

Mr. Whitney, the author of the Century Dictionary, has shown us much learning and research in his analysis of English words to ascertain their derivation and most reliable meaning as any philologist who ever published a dictionary. He enjoyed the advantage of having studied the dictionaries and works of all his predecessors, and his Century Dictionary is established as among the highest standard authorities.

In the Century Dictionary the word "happen" is defined in its particular and general meaning, and it embraces completely the accidental and chance causes and the causes that can be anticipated. "Happen," says the Century Dictionary: "1. To occur by chance: occur unexpectedly or unaccountably; in general, to occur; to take place." In other words, and unmistakably, the general definition in the dictionaries, "vacancies that happen to exist," as decided by every Attorney-General of the United States in analogous cases where the same words are used in the Constitution.

Mr. President, I will now call the attention of the Senate to the last cases involving the identical question now before the Senate, and which adjudications by the Senate would be treated as *res adjudicata* by any court in the United States. Speaking for myself, however, I have never considered that the principles and doctrines of *res adjudicata* could be applied and treated as conclusive upon Senators on a reconsideration of the same question involving the right of representation of a State in the Senate. But former decisions of the Senate, made upon full discussion and deliberation, are certainly entitled to great weight when the same question is presented on another hearing.

In 1879 the credentials of Charles H. Bell were presented, and recited that he had been appointed a Senator by the governor of the State of New Hampshire to fill the vacancy happening in the Senate of the United States by the expiration of the term of Bainbridge Wadleigh, on March 3, 1879, during the recess of the Legislature of said State.

A majority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections reported adversely to the right of Bell to be seated and based their decision solely upon the ground that the Legislature of the State was alone invested with the power of filling a vacancy happening at the beginning of a term of six years, and that the power of the governor to fill vacancies by appointment was confined exclusively to those happening during a term by causes that could not be anticipated.

After an able and exhaustive argument Bell was seated and the power of the governor sustained to fill the vacancy by a vote of 35 yeas against 28 nays.

In 1885 the credentials of Henry W. Blair were presented, showing that he had been appointed a Senator from New Hampshire by the executive to fill a vacancy in the Senate happening in the Senate on the 4th of March, 1885, during the recess of the Senate. The same identical question decided in the Bell case six years before was reargued and fully considered, and the power of the governor to fill the vacancy happening at the beginning of a new term of six years was again sustained by a vote of 36 yeas against 20 nays.

In March, 1893, before the Senate met in extraordinary session, the credentials of SAMUEL PASCO were presented and read to the Senate, and recited on their face that he was appointed by the governor of Florida to fill a vacancy in the Senate happening on the 4th of this month, in the beginning of a new term of six years.

The appointment was made by the governor before the vacancy happened on the 4th of March, during the recess of the Legislature, and before it could assemble to elect a Senator. The facts in the Montana and Wyoming and Florida cases are precisely the same, except that the cases of Montana and Wyoming are made stronger by the fact that the Legislatures in both States had made an exhaustive effort to elect Senators and were engaged in the effort when the life of both Legislatures expired by a provision of the constitution of each State, thereby making a vacancy by an event it was impossible to anticipate. Tell me why the Senator from Florida was seated without dissent from these Senators who now deny the right of the appointees from Montana and Wyoming to be seated. Where is the difference in principle between the four appointments by the governors of the States now represented by only one Senator?

The report of the minority must stand or fall on the broad ground that no power exists anywhere to fill a seat in the Senate that is vacated at the end of two, four, and six years except in the Legislature of the State, and that the only power a governor has to fill a vacancy is when such vacancies happen during the recess of the Legislature and pending the existence of the regular term that was filled at its beginning by the Legislature. And yet the Senator from Florida is now occupying a seat by the appointment of his governor that was vacated on the 4th of March by a law fixed and organic and absolute in causing a vacancy on a day certain. What can be the excuse for this discrimination in favor of Florida? The only suggestion of an excuse is that the Legislature of Florida was not in session and had not met before the seat was vacated, and by the constitution of the State no Legislature having the power to elect could meet until next month or some time after the seat was vacated.

Let us test the validity of this excuse for allowing the governor of Florida to fill a seat in the Senate at the beginning of a new term. If the power of the Legislature to fill such a vacancy resides only in the Legislature, as stated in the minority report, where does the governor of Florida get the power to appoint on account of the absence of a Legislature to elect? Is it a vacancy that "happens by resignation or otherwise" in the constitutional sense, as urged by the minority report? Certainly not, as the vacancy was caused by an event fixed by law and known to be absolutely certain to exist on the 4th of this month.

Why did not the governor of Florida call the Legislature together in extraordinary session to select a Senator? Did the framers of the Constitution ever imagine that a governor would call an extra session of the Legislature to fill a vacancy in the Senate? If so, why did they confer the power of appointment on the governor to fill a vacancy in the Senate that happened to exist from any cause at any time? They made it the governor's duty, and conferred on him the power to issue writs of election by the people when a vacancy happened in the House of Representatives. Why not authorize and require the governor to call the Legislature together when a "vacancy happened in the Senate, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature?" Was there no reason for this difference in the power of the governor to fill vacancies that happen in the Senate and in the House of Representatives? Let us make a further application of the rule of constitutional construction urged in the minority report.

According to that rule the event that confers power upon the governor to fill a vacancy in the Senate must have three indispensable qualities:

1. The vacancy must make a gap or vacuum in a six-year term.

2. The vacancy must "happen by resignation or otherwise"—that is, by an event like resignation, that can not be foreseen or anticipated—an event that happens by chance or accident.

3. That such a vacancy must happen as specified "during the recess of the Legislature."

As to the first quality: In the case of Florida, the event that caused the vacancy at the beginning of a term was known to be inevitable, and yet the governor appointed, and his appointee was seated on the first day of the new term. The same thing on the same facts was done in the cases of Bell and Blair from New Hampshire.

As to the second quality; the event must be incapable of being anticipated, like the resignation or death or expulsion of a Senator. In the cases of Montana and Wyoming, the Legislatures in both States "chosen next preceding the expiration of the time for which the Senators were elected" met and organized and proceeded from day to day in accordance with the act of Congress of 1866 to elect a Senator, and the members of each Legislature being unable to agree upon any person who could obtain the votes of a "majority of all the members elected to both houses being present and voting," the Legislatures were adjourned by the provision in the constitution of each State limiting the duration of their sessions.

It is claimed by some Senators that the Legislatures in Montana, Wyoming, and Washington failed to discharge their duty, and one Senator went so far as to say the Legislatures had refused to elect, and that the failure or refusal to keep the Senate full is chargeable to the Legislatures, who are responsible to their States for not supplying equal representation by two Senators. All the States in the Union are made to suffer by unjust and unequal taxation and extravagant appropriations because three States failed or were unable to elect their Senators to begin a new term, and thereby keep the Senate full for the equal benefit of all the States. The late bill known as the force bill would have been the law to-day if one Senator from any State opposed to such legislation had been kept out of his seat and the State deprived of its equal representation for the reasons urged against the seating of the appointees of the governors of Montana, Wyoming, and Washington.

Are Senators prepared to establish the rule, in utter contravention of the paramount object of the Constitution to keep the Senate full, that no vacancy exists in the Senate on account of the absence of one or more Senators that any Legislature in the State failed to fill when it had the power and the opportunity to elect a Senator?

Three or more parties exist by regular organization in several States. These parties are organized to favor or oppose specific measures, principles, and policies. Their differences are fundamental and irreconcilable. They all have the same right to their opinions, and feel the force of the same obligations to adhere firmly to their convictions and to be faithful to the people they represent in their State Legislatures. The representatives of each of these parties are in the minority; neither party has a majority or can secure a majority in the Legislature who will agree to vote for the same man for Senator. Neither of these parties will agree to surrender their opinions and convictions.

Is it right for the Senate to establish the tyrannical and arbitrary and inflexible rule that the three or more parties that have minority power in a State Legislature shall surrender their opinions and convictions and disregard their pledges and fidelity to their constituents and come to some agreement that will unite a majority on one person for Senator, or suffer the penalty of unequal representation and the impairment of the integrity and fundamental policy underlying the framework in our fabric of government?

As to the third quality of the vacancy, that it must happen during the recess of the Legislature: When the seat of the Senator from Washington was vacated the Legislature of that State chosen next before the 4th of March was in session, and had been many weeks before engaged in the effort to elect a Senator, and several days after the new term had commenced, and the seat in the Senate was vacated by the expiration of the last term, the Legislature exhausted all its power to bring a majority to agree upon one man for Senator, and were unable to do so up to the last hour the constitution of the State allowed the Legislature to continue in session.

When the Legislature expired by a constitutional provision the

vacancy made when it was in session continued to exist after the adjournment and during the recess of the Legislature. But the minority Senators may claim that the vacancy must happen as well by accident as during the recess of the Legislature, and that it is not enough that the vacancy exists during the recess of the Legislature. No continuing vacancy during the recess of the Legislature can confer power on the governor to fill it by appointment; it must happen during the recess.

Suppose that while a six-years' term is pending a gap or vacancy happens in it by the resignation, death, or expulsion of a Senator, and that at the time the vacancy happens the Legislature of the State is in session. The law of 1866 provides, in section 17, that—

> Whenever during the session of the Legislature of any State a vacancy occurs in the representation of any State in the Senate, similar proceedings to fill such vacancy shall be had on the second Tuesday after the Legislature has organized and has notice of such vacancy.

Suppose that in any State whose constitution limits the sessions of the Legislature a Senator resigns, dies, or is expelled while the Legislature is in session, and when it receives notice of the vacancy, and before the second Tuesday thereafter when the Legislature can proceed to fill the vacancy by electing a Senator, the duration of the legislative session is terminated by provision of the State constitution, then how can the governor fill the vacancy that happens when the Legislature is in session?

Mr. President, the importance of the question involved in the cases before the Senate is my apology for consuming so much time in its discussion as one of the members of the Committee on Privileges and Elections who made the majority report.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Mr. President, I desire to submit some remarks on this question, but I prefer not to go on to-day if it be the pleasure of the Senate to let the matter go over until to-morrow.

Mr. HARRIS. Will the Senator yield to me in order that I may move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I yield to the Senator from Tennessee for that purpose.

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator from Tennessee will pardon me, I wish to occupy a moment in calling the attention of the Senate to a statement which I may as well make now as at any other time.

Mr. HARRIS. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. When the Bell case, which has been cited by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PUGH], and which was the first of the recent precedents affecting this question, was before the Senate, I was charged with presenting the views of the minority, which were adopted by the Senate. The majority of the committee thought the governor of New Hampshire could not appoint a Senator for a vacancy existing at the beginning of a Senatorial term. The Senate, as is well known to everybody, held otherwise, and determined that Mr. Bell was entitled to the seat under the appointment of the governor, the Legislature of the State not having made a choice.

Mr. Blair afterward presented himself under the same circumstances, and on a full discussion the question was again determined the same way, and he was admitted to the Senate.

Then Mr. Marston, from the same State, claimed a seat under the same circumstances precisely, and was admitted without debate.

In the discussion of the first of these cases, Mr. Carpenter, of Wisconsin, proposed a question to me which I should like to have read at the Secretary's desk, and also my answer to the question.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

> Mr. CARPENTER. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?
>
> Mr. HOAR. Certainly.
>
> Mr. CARPENTER. I do it for information. I want to vote with the Senator if I can on this question. The difficulty in my mind is that I think the emphatic word in the constitutional provision is "happen." Take the case of Wisconsin. Our Legislature assembles on the first Monday of January. It has to elect to fill up the vacancy that is to occur in March. The Legislature generally sits until about the last of April. Suppose they begin on the day fixed by the act of Congress to ballot for Senator; they make no choice; they ballot up to and past the 4th of March without making an election. A vacancy then occurs; by the Constitution the term expires, and the Legislature sits still, with that vacancy running on, balloting for thirty days and unable to make a choice, and finally adjourns without making a choice. Could the governor then appoint a Senator upon the ground that that was a vacancy happening in the recess of the Legislature?
>
> Mr. HOAR. I think not; and for the reason not that it would not be a vacancy, but that the power is qualified by the other words, as uniformly construed, that the governor may appoint "until the next meeting of the Legislature." Therefore, if the Legislature should meet after the vacancy occurred, the governor not having appointed, and fail to elect, the literal answer would be that in the particular case the Senator supposes the vacancy would not have happened in the recess; but I suppose the Senator could easily vary that by supposing the Legislature not to be in session on a particular day, and therefore I make the other answer, which is that the governor's right to appoint until the next meeting of the Legislature is uniformly construed to mean that after the Legislature has met the entire constitutional authority of the governor, so far as relates to that vacancy, is gone.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, it will be seen that the question proposed to me by Mr. Carpenter did not affect the determination of the Bell and Blair cases, and that it had no relation to the determination of the first two of the three pending cases.

Mr. VANCE. It was *obiter dictum*.

Mr. HOAR. Yes. Mr. Carpenter put to me the precise condition which occurs in the case of Mr. Allen, of Washington. The Legislature of Washington sat until after the beginning of the term, till the 10th of March, continuing to ballot, and then adjourned, having failed to elect, the office being vacant on the 4th of March and thereafter.

It will be observed that that question was put to me in debate and that the answer was *obiter dictum*. Almost immediately on reflection after that debate was over I became satisfied that I had erred in that answer, and that the principle which I think affects all this class of cases—that is, that the Senate should be kept full—would require the Senate to give the broad construction which is proposed to be given in the case of Mr. Allen, of Washington; and I have myself made, I should think, a half dozen reports since where this general class of questions has come up; for instance, in the case of Mr. Chilton, of Texas, where the broad ground was taken. I have changed my mind in regard to the particular question propounded to me by Mr. Carpenter.

Mr. PLATT. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Massachusetts whether it was not agreed by everybody who discussed the Bell case, as well as by himself, that if a vacancy had happened during the recess of the Legislature, and the Legislature had met and refused or declined to fill that vacancy, the governor could not thereafter appoint. As I remember that discussion, Mr. Cameron of Wisconsin, who concurred with the Senator, admitted that distinctly, and I think every Senator whose attention was called to it admitted it.

Mr. VEST. Mr. Edmunds.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Edmunds admitted it.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Edmunds admitted it, and I think every Senator whose attention was called to the question, as well as the Senator from Massachusetts, in that discussion admitted that the governor would have no right to appoint under those circumstances.

Mr. VEST. If the Senator from Connecticut will permit me——

Mr. HOAR. The Senator from Connecticut has asked me a question, but I can defer the answer if the Senator from Missouri desires.

Mr. VEST. If the Senator from Connecticut will permit me, I will supplement his answer, and then the Senator from Massachusetts can reply to both of us. If Senators will turn to the record of proceedings in the Blair case in 1885, they will find that I stated in the argument I made then that the Legislature of New Hampshire had met and declined to elect, and it was admitted on all sides that the governor had no right to appoint. Both the Senators from New Hampshire immediately controverted the fact that the Legislature had met after the vacancy had occurred and had failed to elect, and by no Senator was it ever pretended that if the Legislature had met and had failed to elect then the governor could appoint.

Mr. HOAR. I am not prepared, without an examination of the RECORD, to controvert the statement of the Senator from Missouri or to answer the statement of the Senator from Connecticut in regard to anybody except myself. I supposed that the precedents of the Senate had settled the question that when a vacancy occurred the governor might appoint only to the end of the next session, but if the Legislature met, the governor having either once appointed or having failed to appoint in the case that I put, and there had been an intervening session of the Legislature, the constitutional power of the governor was gone.

I am satisfied now not only that there are no precedents or judgments of the Senate to that effect, but that the doctrine itself was a mistake, and that the only constitutional limitation on the power of the governor is to appoint until the next session of the Legislature, which has been held by the Senate to mean to appoint until the adjournment of the next session of the Legislature, and that a Senator so appointed vacating his seat when the Legislature adjourns, if there be no election in the mean time, the governor may make a new appointment.

In other words, my opinion is, both on principle and on authority, if the judgments of the Senate are authority, that the words "if a vacancy happen" mean if there be a vacancy, and the term "happen" does not, of course, apply to the expiration of the previous term, but to the fact that no Legislature has met and made an election in the mean time; and that then when there is a vacancy the governor may appoint until the end of the next ses-

sion of the Legislature, and if there is a vacancy after that he may appoint again and again.

I think that is the constitutional purpose. I think that is the answer to the question which would have been given by every member of the convention that framed the Constitution. I think it is the doctrine required by a consideration not only of the rights of the States but of the due and constitutional construction of this body.

I do not propose to address the Senate at length to-day, but I wished to call attention in the outset of the debate to the fact that this answer, given in haste to a question put in the midst of a speech on the other proposition, was an answer which I now do not adhere to.

Mr. GEORGE. If the Senator from Massachusetts will give me his attention, I wish to know if it be his position (I thought he expressed himself a little doubtfully on the subject) if the governor shall appoint and the Legislature shall meet and fail to elect and then adjourn, whether the governor shall then make a new appointment or whether the old appointment stands?

Mr. HOAR. I think the governor should make a new appointment.

Mr. GEORGE. So, in the Senator's view of the Constitution, whenever there has been a meeting of the Legislature and a failure to elect, even if the Legislature should meet annually for the whole term of six years, there must be a new appointment six times by the governor?

Mr. HOAR. Yes.

Mr. PLATT. Three times.

Mr. HOAR. I will answer the question if the Senator will permit me. That is exactly my proposition, if I correctly understand the point of the question of the Senator from Mississippi. Whenever there is a vacancy in the Senate the Legislature being in session must fill it, but if they can not fill it because of failure to agree between the two houses in old times, or a failure to agree where there were three candidates, upon any one by the friends of any two, it is an inability and not a refusal in my judgment. Then comes in the authority of the great representative of the sovereignty of the State in many other matters of importance, and the Senate has its representation and the people of the United States have their Senate, which they are entitled to. All the States are entitled to a Senate consisting of two persons from every State.

I am gratified that this question now arises under circumstances where it can be settled without any thought or imputation of partisanship upon any Senator delivering his judgment, because, although it happens there are two Republicans and one Democrat affected by these three reports, there is a Senator in this body who took his seat on the 4th of March without question whose title depends upon virtually the same thing.

Mr. HIGGINS. A Democratic Senator?

Mr. HOAR. Yes. So the rights to their seats of two Democrats and of two Republicans are dependent upon this general principle.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President——

Mr. VEST. If the Senator from Connecticut will permit me, I wish to make a single remark in reply to the Senator from Massachusetts, and the Senator from Alabama, who made the same point, and that was, that we sat here silently and permitted the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO] to be sworn in without question. After the decision of the Blair case in 1885, which affirmed the decision in the Bell case in 1879, I have been so well satisfied that the opinion of the Senate was against me upon this question that I have never raised it; not that I ever gave up the correctness of my opinion, but because I considered it useless to bring it before the Senate again. The successor of Mr. Blair, or rather, I believe, the intervening Senator between Mr. Bell and Mr. Blair, was sworn in without opposition.

Mr. HOAR. No; first Bell, then Blair, and then Marston.

Mr. VEST. Marston was sworn in without opposition.

Mr. HOAR. The last.

Mr. VEST. I have not changed my opinion on the subject, because I did not object to the swearing in of that Senator, and the Senator from Florida himself knows that I affirmed to him privately my opinion that he was not entitled to a seat on this floor, in my judgment, although the ruling of the Senate in the Bell case and the Blair case had been otherwise. I did not raise the question, but I never considered myself estopped from doing it at any time if I saw proper to raise it.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator certainly did not understand me—I do not know what the Senator from Alabama said on that point—as implying that any Senator had committed himself by his silence. All I said was that it was fortunate the question arose when there could be no imputation of a partisan judgment upon anybody, because the question affects two persons on each side of the Chamber. That is all I said.

Mr. VEST. Exactly, and the Senator from Alabama used it as an argument.

Mr. HOAR. No; not the least in the world.

Mr. VEST. The Senator from Alabama did; not the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. HOAR. I do not know about that.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President, of course I do not want to discuss this question now, but since the Senator from Massachusetts has frankly admitted what the logic of the majority report drives every Senator to admit, namely, that where a Legislature has met after a vacancy has happened during the recess of the Legislature and failed to fill it, still the governor has power to make the appointment, and so on, after every successive Legislature has failed, to still keep making appointments until the six years expire, I desire to say just one thing in reply, and that is, that any such construction of the Constitution reads out of it what I think is the controlling clause in this whole matter. I wish to refer to it:

> The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years.

If it be so, that, the Legislature failing to act and fill these vacancies, the governor at the close of each Legislature so failing to act can make appointments and thus fill out the whole term of six years, you might just as well strike out that clause of the Constitution, which I think is the controlling clause. I want to say—because I think perhaps this is the important thing in the whole discussion—that any construction of the Constitution which makes it possible to take away from the Legislatures of the States the power of choosing Senators must be a wrong construction.

Mr. HOAR. I may be allowed to observe, in reply to my friend from Connecticut, that there is no human or constitutional power to take away from a Legislature its right to fill these vacancies, but it may be an impossibility. Now, here are two bodies who, until the statute of 1866, when Senators were required to be elected by joint ballot, must concur. They are two persons, artificial persons it is true, but persons moved by the sense of public obligation of duty, with the right of choice. They are moved by an obligation to the constituency that elected them to carry out their views. Suppose it happens that the house of representatives in a State think it a destruction to everything that is of interest and of importance to the public to have Mr. A sit in the Senate, and prefer Mr. B, and the other body think it is equally destructive to have Mr. B sit in the Senate and prefer Mr. A. One body think a protective tariff is a monopoly, a robbery, bringing the country to destruction, enriching the few for the benefit of the many.

Mr. GRAY. At the expense of the many.

Mr. HOAR. Yes; enriching the few at the expense of the many, to their injury. The other body think this same policy is essential to the comfort of every workingman's home. Is a Legislature to be said to refuse to execute its constitutional duty when that condition of things which has happened in this country again and again exists? It is as much an impossibility to honest men on either side as if they were manacled and fettered or their tongues cut out before they were asked to make the answer.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. HOAR. Let me state this proposition, if you please. Therefore, I do not conceive that the controlling clause is what my friend from Connecticut thinks it is, that the Legislature shall choose, and that that is to interpret every word and sentence and arrangement and part of the mechanism of the Constitution. I think that the controlling clause is that there shall be a Senate, and that in that Senate every State shall have an equal representation, not that Connecticut shall have one man while Texas has two. That is the controlling clause, and that is a clause which is put in for the benefit not of a particular State and not of a particular State Legislature, but for the benefit of the whole people of the United States alike.

The controlling clause is that there shall be a Senate. It is a clause which the framers of our Constitution deemed of so much importance, that while the American people have the constitutional power, a power incident to all self-government, to change every other thing in the Constitution by the action of three-fourths of the States and two-thirds of their representatives in this and the other Chamber, this provision, that there shall be always, every hour and every instant, as far as human ingenuity will contrive a means of it, two Senators sitting in this Chamber when it is in session, can not be changed unless every single State, Nevada and Rhode Island as well as New York and Pennsylvania and Ohio, agree.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Now, will the Senator answer a question? The Senator from Massachusetts insists in his report and in his argument that the great purpose of the framers of the

Constitution in providing that the executives of States might appoint to vacancies in the Senate was that the Senate might be kept full. That the Senate "may be kept full, always full," is the language of the report of the Senator. He emphasizes that position here to-day in his argument, and he builds his whole superstructure upon the theory that the sole purpose of the constitutional convention was that the Senate should always have two Senators from each State.

Now, the question I desire to ask the Senator is, Does the construction the Senator places upon the Constituti on result in that? Will that construction, if adopted by the Senate and enforced by the States respectively to its fullest extent, always, under all circumstances, keep two Senators here from each State?

Mr. HOAR. Yes; so far as human ingenuity can bring it to pass.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. What does the Senator mean by so far as human ingenuity can bring it to pass? Does he mean that it will keep two Senators here all the while except for the little time that it may take a Legislature, if it happens to be in session, to elect a Senator and that Senator to come to the Capitol to be sworn in in the one case, or in the case of a governor so long as he, the governor, is required to have notice of the death or resignation or expiration of the term and shall have time to make an appointment and that appointee get here and take the oath? Does the Senator mean that?

Mr. HOAR. The Senator's question seems to have a pretty large beam and a very small scale. If I understand the Senator I do mean that exactly.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. The Senator does mean that?

Mr. HOAR. If I understand the Senator correctly.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I will show in a moment, I think to the satisfaction not only of the Senator from Massachusetts but to the satisfaction of every other Senator here, that even under the construction for which he contends cases may occur where a State would be nearly two years with but one Senator. I will state a case. The Legislatures of a great many of the States convene biennially, none of them more than once a year, and many of them, especially in the West, convene but once in every two years. My own State for instance is in that condition.

The Legislature of the State of Oregon adjourned two or three weeks ago. It will not meet again, unless convened in extraordinary session by the governor of that State, for two years, lacking two or three weeks, whatever time has elapsed since the Legislature adjourned. Suppose that to-day either my colleague or myself should die, or be expelled, or resign, there would be a vacancy which not only the Senator from Massachusetts but every other Senator here on both sides of the Chamber will concede the governor would have a right to fill by temporary appointment.

Now, suppose our respected governor in Oregon, following in the path marked out by the three Legislatures of Montana, Wyoming, and Washington, should say, "I will not appoint anybody"—in other words, would do just what the Legislatures have done in those States, fail to perform a constitutional duty. His friends go to him and say, "Governor Pennoyer, if you will not do that, then it is your duty to reconvene the Legislature of Oregon in extraordinary session, for the purpose of filling the vacancy that has occurred." He says, "I will not do that, either;" and by refusing to appoint and by refusing to convene the Legislature the seat made vacant by my death, expulsion, or resignation remains vacant for two years under the construction the Senator applies to the Constitution.

Mr. HOAR. Under the Senator's construction also.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Under mine also; but the difference between the Senator and myself is, he is contending that the great purpose of the Constitution was that there should be always two Senators in their seats here from each State. I do not contend that that was the purpose. I say that was not the controlling purpose.

Mr. HOAR. Now, Mr. President, if I am not trespassing upon the patience of the Senate too much, I will state that the proposition of the honorable Senator from Oregon was answered on this floor a generation ago by Daniel Webster, in his great debate with Mr. Calhoun, in which he expressly said that the whole Constitution depended upon the sense of duty and obligation of the State officers. He pointed out that the members of State Legislatures and the executives of the States were bound by the same oath of office and the same constitutional obligation that the Senators here or members of the other House were bound by, and if that sense of personal duty failed to operate and the States failed to send Senators to this Chamber, then he said, rather hesitatingly, things would occur which would bring to an end certainly any other government on the face of the earth.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. But the doctrine was it must depend on the consciences of the members of the Legislature.

Mr. HOAR. That is exactly it. The distinction between the case the Senator puts and the case I put is that I put the case of a clear impossibility for men acting as honest men to choose. We have put the constitutional constraint upon the members of a Legislature by the statute of 1866, providing that if either House refuse to elect or the houses do not concur they shall meet in joint ballot; but when a majority fail to agree upon any Senator that is not a case of refusal.

It is a case of conscientious impossibility, where men are acting under their sense of public obligation, and that is one of the cases which the Constitution properly provides for. The case the Senator from Oregon puts is a case of a great public officer refusing to perform his sworn constitutional duty. He says: "I will neither appoint, nor will I call the Legislature together to elect." That is an impeachable offense.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Will the Senator allow me to ask who is to determine? Are we, as a Senate, to sit here and determine whether the Legislature where they have failed to elect did it wantonly, or did it because they were unable to agree? Can we pass upon that question here?

Mr. HOAR. Not at all here——

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Who will determine it?

Mr. HOAR. But the presumption is that they could not agree and there is no Senator chosen, and therefore the Constitution has provided for filling the vacancy by the executive.

Mr. VILAS. Mr. President——

Mr. HOAR. I am answering the question of the Senator from Oregon, and I say again that he supposes what is applicable to every government, if it can be presumed, and that is, that an officer appointed, with a great public obligation, wantonly and in violation of his duty and in violation of his oath of office, refuses to act. Suppose the question was whether the Supreme Court of the United States had jurisdiction over a certain class of constitutional questions, and I were to come in here and say, "Why, if that court has not jurisdiction over that class of questions they can not be considered; no other court has jurisdiction; and therefore, in doubtful language, of course, we would suppose it was meant to give it to them."

The Senator from Oregon might just as well reply to such an argument as that, "What are you going to do if the Supreme Court refuses to decide a case that is before it?" Or suppose the power was given to the Chief Justice of the United States. The Chief Justice of the United States is the officer to preside over this tribunal if the President of the United States be impeached. The Senator from Oregon might as well turn on me and ask me to interpret some question depending upon an argument like this in a process of impeachment by saying, "What are we going to do if the Chief Justice of the United States refuses to attend and to preside?" The answer is, "We will impeach him;" that is all.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Now, just a moment. I was endeavoring to show that while under the construction placed on the Constitution by the Senator from Massachusetts the Constitutional Convention had undertaken to provide a substitute who should appoint a Senator in case the Legislature whose constitutional duty it was to choose a Senator failed to perform the constitutional function——

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I do not yield now.

Mr. HOAR. I beg pardon.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. The Constitutional Convention desired to do that thing in reference to the Legislature, and did do it as a matter of fact, as the Senator thinks they did in the provisions they adopted. Then if the great purpose was to keep the Senate always full and always have at all times two Senators here, why did they not provide by some provision for some power, some tribunal, some officer that should designate a Senator to sit in the Senate with his colleague in the event the governor failed to appoint or failed to reconvene the Legislature?

Mr. HOAR. Because in the case of the Legislature they provided a body that with all the constitutional purpose to do their duty may be unable to do it by failing to agree, and therefore they very properly provided for that case by referring it to the executive. When you get to the executive you have got to a body, to a person, to an authority, to a power that can not be unable to perform the duty, that has the ability. It is only a question of sheer refusal to do a constitutional duty, and the Constitution can not provide for that in regard to any officer whatever. Suppose the President of the United States says he will not do his duty?

Mr. VILAS. I should like to invite the attention of the Senator from Massachusetts to one view in reference to the question which has been asked by the Senator from Oregon. It has been determined by the courts in England and many times by the courts in this country—the Supreme Court of the United States as well as by the supreme tribunals of several of the

States—that whenever a public officer is charged with the performance of a public duty for the common benefit of the public at large any citizen has a right to invoke the judicial tribunals to compel him by mandamus to perform that duty. The question is, when the Constitution, after having considered that the legislative power might, not by refusal but by the inability which the Senator from Massachusetts has justly characterized as being a failure to elect, fail to fill the vacancy, thereupon devolved the duty upon the governor, whether he could not be compelled by the supreme court of the State at the suit of citizens, or any citizen suing in behalf of all interested, to discharge the duty which he refused to perform?

Mr. GRAY. May I ask the Senator from Wisconsin a question?

Mr. VILAS. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. I ask him whether his proposition is that where a vacancy happens in the recess of a Legislature and the governor may temporarily appoint a person to fill such vacancy, the constitutional provision imposes upon the governor in the interest of the public of the State such a duty as a supreme court having that prerogative will compel the performance of by mandamus, the language being "may" and not "shall."

Mr. VILAS. I suppose that I can ask of no lawyer in the Senate rather than the Senator from Delaware the admission that the word "may" always means "must" when it imposes upon or grants to a public officer a duty for a public purpose. The authorities are overwhelming upon that point, I believe, and I speak only from them.

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. PEFFER. For a question.

Mr. VILAS. Certainly.

Mr. PEFFER. I desire to ask the Senator from Wisconsin by what process such a proceeding would be instituted. The Senator, I understand, alleges that in the case about which we are speaking the governor might be compelled by a writ of mandamus to perform the duty of appointing a Senator. The question I ask is, by what means, by what process, could such a proceeding be instituted, and by whom?

Mr. VILAS. I have already indicated that. It has been so often discussed, that it may now be said to be settled law that a public duty imposed upon a public officer for the common benefit of the public may be enforced by a judicial tribunal at the suit of any citizen interested as one of the community in the performance of that duty.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Suppose you could mandamus the governor of a State, which I deny as far as I am concerned individually. Suppose a proceeding was commenced on the part of certain citizens in a proper court and a peremptory mandamus issued by that court directing the governor to appoint a Senator, or if not that, directing him to reconvene the Legislature in session, and suppose the governor failed to obey the mandate, what could you do? How would you get the Senator? That is what I want to know.

Mr. VILAS. Whenever you enter into the construction of a great instrument like the Constitution there are two elements that require acknowledgment. One is the infirmity of human foresight and the other is the poverty of human language. It may be that constitution-makers did not reach to the ultimate possibility that the executive force would be found disobedient to the judicial mandate, the executive being by the constitution and the laws peculiarly and especially charged with the execution of judicial authority and direction. When the time comes that the greatest officers of the State shall pay no regard to the ultimate judgment of the highest tribunals of the States we may well conceive that our Government has ceased to be one of law and become one of anarchy.

But I only intend in what I have said a mere suggestion for the examination of any interested in it.

Mr. HARRIS. If no other Senator is inclined to occupy the floor at this time, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of——

Mr. PLATT. I have been endeavoring for the last half hour to get an opportunity to make a reply to a single suggestion of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR].

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. HARRIS. I withdraw the half sentence I have uttered, and shall not utter it again to-day.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President, the failure in the argument of the Senator from Massachusetts, in his reply to the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL], is this: He assumes that the Constitution places upon the governor of a State an absolute duty to make an appointment to fill a vacancy which happens in the recess of the Legislature. I conceive that it places no duty whatever upon the governor of a State to make an appointment; and I think it is announced now for the first time in all the discussions on these questions, running back nearly a century, that there is any obligation or duty imposed upon the governor of a State to make the appointment.

The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. VILAS] seems to have fallen into the same error. Each of the Senators holds that the word "may" in the Constitution means "shall." The very discussion in the Constitutional Convention, which was alluded to by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PUGH] in his speech to-day, shows that that was not the intention, that that was not the meaning of the word "may" as used in the Constitution. The language is this:

> And if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

Mr. Ellsworth, when this matter was under discussion in the Constitutional Convention, in reference to that point said:

> It is only said that the executive may supply vacancies. When the legislative meeting happens to be near, the power will not be exerted.

If the controlling purpose of the Constitution was to keep the Senate full, why did not its framers use the word "shall"—"the governor shall make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature"?

Then, immediately after, when the Constitution refers to the Legislature filling vacancies, it does use the word "shall:"

> The executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

The distinction being taken in the clause itself. In the discussion of it, Mr. Ellsworth, a member of the Constitutional Convention from my own State, put that interpretation upon the word "may," when he said that if the meeting of the Legislature was near the power of the governor would not be exercised.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I now yield to the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. GORMAN. I understand the Senator from Oregon does not desire to go on with his remarks until to-morrow?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I desire to take the floor to-morrow.

Mr. GORMAN. With the permission of the Senator, I will present some reports. Let the pending question go over until to-morrow by common consent.

Mr. MANDERSON. What is the motion? I thought the Senator made a motion.

Mr. GORMAN. The Senator from Oregon has taken the floor, and desires to proceed on the pending question to-morrow. The resolution will go over until to-morrow, as I understand.

Mr. GEORGE. With the permission of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL] I should like to state a difficulty which I have in the constitutional construction which has been placed upon the clause now under consideration by some members of the Senate.

As was well said by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] in opposition to the suggestion made by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. VILAS] that the word "may" in this clause should have the construction of "shall" or "must," in the very same clause of the Constitution in which it is said that the governor may make temporary appointments when it comes to impose a duty, the Constitution in its very next language says the Legislature "shall" elect.

It is one of the fundamental rules of construction, of constitutions at least, when two phrases are thus brought into juxtaposition with reference to the same subject-matter, and when those two phrases in their ordinary signification have different meanings, that it is not within the just power of a construing body to give to both phrases exactly the same meaning——

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question right there?

Mr. GEORGE. In a minute.

Because we are to presume that when the framers of the Constitution said "may" with reference to the appointment of the governor, and in the very same sentence and in the language following as applied to the Legislature they say "shall," it is not within the power of rational and reasonable construction to say that in this change of language the framers of the Constitution meant identically the same thing, and there is no instance which has been pointed out, or I believe can be pointed out, in the Constitution, where the word "may" has legitimately the construction of "shall," especially so in reference to elections. In every single instance in which the elections of Senators and Representatives are spoken of in the Constitution the word "shall" is used, and not the word "may."

Now I will give way to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. HOAR. I want to ask the Senator a question, and call his

attention to a clause in the Constitution on the same page, if he will allow me.

Mr. GEORGE. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. On the first two lines of page 39, the very page where this matter we are discussing occurs, is this:

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union.

Does the Senator think the word "may" means something different there from what it would if the language read "the several States which shall be included within this Union"?

Mr. GRAY. The word "shall" could not be properly used there.

Mr. HOAR. I was asking the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. GEORGE. There is no duty imposed on any one or attempted to be imposed upon any one by the words "may be."

Mr. HOAR. The Senator says they must have different meanings if different words are used in the same clause. Here are two different words in the same clause which have the same meaning.

Mr. GEORGE. The word "may" was used there because of the fact that there may be at one time one number of States and at another time another number of States, and it was used to express that idea; but the difficulty in this matter, which I desire to suggest to the attention of Senators who have given this subject more attention than I have, is this: Senators have assumed, especially has the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] assumed, and so far as I can see—and I want to call his attention to it—without any authority in the Constitution for that assumption, that the Constitution provides that the Senate shall always be full, that there shall always be two Senators from each State. There is no such provision in the Constitution.

I want to call the attention of the Senators to the exact provision on that subject. Article I, section 3, of the Constitution, the first provision which relates to the Senate of the United States, reads as follows:

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State—

Now, if that clause of the Constitution had stopped there, I admit there would be some slight ground for the assumption of the Senator from Massachusetts—

shall be composed of two Senators from each State—

But, sir, there comes another clause which is fundamental in its character, which qualifies that—

two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof.

That is the mandate of the Constitution, that "the Senate of the United States shall be composed of the two Senators from each State"—not at all events, not elected or selected in any way that may suit the convenience of the States, but "composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof;" and it is as much the fundamental idea of the Constitution that the two Senators from each State shall be chosen by the Legislature thereof as that there shall be two Senators.

So I assume, unless some argument can be produced which I have not heard, that the broad proposition, which is likely, if not well considered, to mislead the minds of Senators upon this subject, that the meaning of the Constitution is that the Senate shall always be full, and always be composed of two Senators from each State, is not true except *sub modo*, except they be chosen by the Legislature of each State. That is the mandate of the Constitution. If there were no other clause in the Constitution in relation to Senators than the one to which I have called attention, it would be utterly impossible to seat a member in this body unless he be chosen by the Legislature.

There is another idea which was brought out by the answer of the Senator from Massachusetts to the question which I propounded to him to which I desire to call the attention of the Senate.

Before I get to that idea, however, I will state that it is as much the fundamental policy of the Constitution that the Senators composing this body shall be chosen for six years as it is that there shall be two Senators and they be chosen by the Legislature.

In the adjustment of political forces in the Legislature of the Union, in Congress, it was a main object of the framers of the Constitution that there should be one body directly responsible to the people with short terms, and the term of those Representatives is fixed at two years. It was a part of the scheme of the Constitution, and as important a part of the scheme of the Constitution as any other part of it, that when we came to the Senate, for the purpose of giving more stability to the deliberations of one branch of the Legislature, the members of that branch should have a longer term than was given to the others. And for the manifest purpose, as expressed in the debates in the Constitutional Convention, that there should be one body with a long term, which would not be swayed by every wind of popular passion and popular prejudice.

So I wish to call the attention of the Senate to that fact, that the term of six years for Senators is one of the fundamental ideas of the Constitution, one of the schemes which the framers of the Constitution resorted to for the purpose of having proper legislation.

Now I come to the answer made to my question by the Senator from Massachusetts. His answer is the logical sequence of his position. His answer was that in case a temporary appointment was made and the Legislature met and failed or refused—I do not care which word you use—to make an appointment or to make an election, then the term of the Senator who had the temporary appointment ceased, a new vacancy arose, and then there was to be another appointment, and so on through the whole series of six years, whereby this very remarkable result would follow—a result, too, in direct contradiction of the policy of the Constitution—that instead of having a Senate composed of two Senators chosen by the Legislatures of the several States for the term of six years, we should have more or less, according to the fault or default of governors and Legislatures, a Senate composed partly of men who held their term of office by appointment from governors of States and for terms less than six years. So the whole term of six years assigned by the Constitution to a Senator might in a State—and there are several of that sort—where the Legislature met annually be filled by six temporary appointments, each appointee holding his term only for one year. I wish to call the attention of Senators to that difficulty in the matter.

I did not intend to go into this debate this morning, but only to state the difficulties which have arisen from a plain departure, as I am bound to say, from the plain language of the Constitution by which we get into these difficulties. First, if we adopt the contention of the Senator from Massachusetts, we abolish the fundamental rule of the Constitution that two Senators shall be chosen from each State by the Legislature thereof for the term of six years; we get rid of that entirely, and we have a Senate composed of temporary appointments, or largely composed of temporary appointments, for short periods of time, directly in the face of the main and fundamental provision of the Constitution.

Now we come to the exception. Notwithstanding that main and primary provision, we have an exception. What is that? That if vacancies occur during the recess of the Legislature—I want to get that exactly right, and I shall read the language of the Constitution:

If vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State—

What is the plain meaning of that? Can there be any doubt about the meaning of that? There must be a vacancy happening, and that happening must be during the recess of the Legislature. Recollect, Mr. President, we are now talking about an exception to the general rule fixed by the Constitution.

If vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State—

That must occur. Unless that occurs there is no power anywhere granted by the Constitution to fill a vacancy. Then what happens?—

the executive thereof may make temporary appointments—

Not "shall"—

until the next meeting of the Legislature.

Originally there was doubt and dispute as to the termination of the executive appointments. It was insisted that these temporary appointments expired on the day that the Legislature met, and that idea was entertained by some of our ablest statesmen, but for convenience it was finally held that the Legislature was to be considered as being held only for one day, or, in other words, I believe according to the rule of the British Parliament, where all the statutes passed during a session of Parliament, which may have lasted say for months, even though passed on the last day of the session took effect from the first day.

On that sort of an idea it was held and settled that the appointment did not expire on the first day of the session, but only on the last day, in case there was no election in the meantime. We have got that much, contrary to the plain meaning of the words of the Constitution. I accept that as settled. It has been settled over and over again. But what next does the Constitution say?

The executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature—

When that Legislature meets, then what? I will read the language:

which—

That is the Legislature—

shall then fill such vacancies.

When the plain mandate of the Constitution is that when the Legislature meets it shall then fill the vacancies, how are we to get at the conclusion that if the Legislature fails to discharge

its constitutional duty to fill the vacancy then somebody else may fill it? That is exactly the position of the majority of the committee in this case, because they say it is inconvenient to have a vacancy in the Senate, because they say—and that, too, without warrant in the Constitution—that the Constitution says that the Senate shall always be full, when the Constitution only says that there shall be "two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof." On account of that misconception they say that when the Constitution says the vacancy shall then be filled by the Legislature, they assume or reach the conclusion that if the Legislature will not do it, then the Constitution meant as if it had read in this way "which shall then fill such vacancies," and if they fail to do it, then the governor may again appoint.

Mr. President, I submit to honorable Senators to do away with this idea of convenience, to look to the mandate of the Constitution, and when they do that they will find that the authority to fill a place in this body is plainly fixed, first, in the Legislature as a duty which they can not avoid or evade without a disregard of their constitutional obligations; and then in order to fill up a hiatus from a vacancy happening—some time or other I shall talk a little more about that, but I will not do it to-day—during the recess—not at any other time—the governor may appoint. Instead of that being the rule, they argue, in order to carry out a supposed theory of the Constitution, that the Senate shall always be full, that the power shall be conferred upon a governor to fill a seat in this body without warrant in the Constitution.

Mr. President, I insist, with due respect to those who differ from me, that it is as important to the stability of our Government and to the rights of the American people that the Senator who takes a seat in this body shall take it by an authority authorized by the Constitution. That is more important than this chimerical idea, not found in the Constitution, that somehow or other at all events, whether in accordance with the Constitution or against it, we must always have two Senators here representing each State. We do not help the States or maintain their just right to representation in this body by seating as their representatives men selected by agencies not authorized by the Constitution.

Mr. GORMAN. As the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL] has taken the floor and wishes to address the Senate to-morrow, I suppose the pending resolution will go over. I therefore ask the privilege of the Senate to make certain reports from the Committee on Printing for the printing of certain documents, and I shall ask the present consideration of each.

Mr. MANDERSON. The Senator asks unanimous consent for their consideration, I understand?

Mr. GORMAN. I ask unanimous consent for their consideration at the present time.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The reports referred to by the Senator from Maryland will be received in the absence of objection.

REPORT ON FAILED NATIONAL BANKS.

Mr. GORMAN. I report from the Committee on Printing the resolution submitted by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] on the 20th instant for the printing of the report of the Committee on Failed National Banks; which I ask may be considered at this time.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That there be printed and bound in paper covers, for the use of the Senate, 2,250 copies of the Report No. 1286, of the Committee on Failed National Banks, made at the second session of the Fifty-second Congress, with the testimony accompanying said report.

REPORT ON IMMIGRATION.

Mr. GORMAN. I also report from the Committee on Printing the resolution submitted by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] on the 20th instant, for the printing of the report of the Committee on Immigration, for which I ask present consideration.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That there be printed and bound in paper covers, for the use of the Senate, 1,000 copies of the Report No. 1333, of the Committee on Immigration, made at the second session of the Fifty-second Congress, with the testimony accompanying said report.

IMMIGRATION AND CONTRACT-LABOR LAWS.

Mr. GORMAN. I am also directed by the Committee on Printing to report the resolution submitted by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] on the 9th instant, for the printing of extra copies of the act "to facilitate the enforcement of immigration and contract-labor laws of the United States," etc.; which I ask may be considered at this time.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That there be printed for the use of the Senate 2,000 copies of the act of March 3, 1893, "to facilitate the enforcement of the immigration and contract-labor laws of the United States," supplemented by Senate Report No. 787, of the first session of the present Congress, which accompanied the bill when reported to the Senate.

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

Mr. GORMAN. I am also instructed by the Committee on Printing to report the resolution submitted by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR] on the 9th instant, for the printing of extra copies of the bill "to establish a national university," and of the report thereon; which I ask may be now considered.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That 5,000 copies of Senate bill No. 3824 "to establish a national university," and of the Senate report thereon, be printed in document form for the use of the Senate.

CHARGES AGAINST SENATOR POWER.

Mr. POWER. Mr. President, I rise to a question of personal privilege, and wish to make a brief statement.

Mr. MANDERSON. I hope the Senator will ask unanimous consent that he be heard, as there is now pending a question of the highest personal privilege, which under the rules must be continued. There will certainly be no objection to the Senator's request, but I wish he would put it in that form.

Mr. POWER. I shall do so. I ask unanimous consent to be heard.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Senator from Montana will proceed.

Mr. POWER. Mr. President, the Senate have no doubt seen the Washington Post of this morning. My success in party strife has caused a competitor to try to vent his spleen on me through the press and in every conceivable manner possible. These attacks have been made continuously since my election to the Senate. Out of respect to my State, the country, and the Senate, I can not allow these aspersions to go without notice, and will be brief.

While it may be humiliating, under the circumstances, I respectfully court the most careful and thorough investigation by a special committee on every statement and insinuation; in fact, as a member of this body, I demand it. In naming this committee, I would most respectfully ask that the cause of the remarks made by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] be thoroughly looked into. He saw fit, in his speech delivered during the contest before the Senate in which I was interested, to use language that does not become a Senator, unless he can prove at least some of the allegations made. I ask this, believing that the Senator does not want to do anyone an injustice knowingly.

Mr. VEST. I have the kindest possible feeling for the Senator from Montana [Mr POWER]; he knows that; therefore anything which I say is not at all personal to him. I have, however, very decided opinions in regard to this thing of asking for examination by committees as to newspaper statements.

I remember once several years ago—I can not give the exact date—when one of the Senators from Louisiana, Mr. Kellogg, rose as the Senator from Montana has risen here to-day, read a newspaper article assailing his personal character, demanded a committee, and offered a resolution calling for a committee to investigate the charges.

The Senator from Ohio then with us, Mr. Thurman, stated my opinion so exactly—and it will be found in the RECORD—that I simply repeat it. He said then what I think will suggest itself to the good sense of every Senator and the public at large, that if the Senate of the Uuited States is to appoint committees to enter into the investigation of all personal charges against Senators in the public press, we might as well dismiss all other business and go into that matter exclusively.

There is not a Senator on this floor who has not been libeled in one way or another from one motive or another. If the Senator from Montana can rise here and demand a committee of investigation and have one, why, as a matter of course, that makes it incumbent on all the balance of us to do the same thing.

As the Senator from Ohio then said, I say now, the courts of the country are open to all Senators. They have no more privileges than any other citizens. If they see proper to establish their characters by judicial proceedings, they can do so. They can institute actions for libel or actions for slander. As long as that is the case, it is absolutely unnecessary, it seems to me, to talk about a committee of investigation.

Mr. GRAY. I did not quite understand the proposition of the Senator from Montana, and I rose for information. Of course I shall not object to any demand he makes for an investigation in regard to a personal charge, but I did not quite understand whether the charge he wishes investigated is one recently made in the public press or the charge to which he alluded as made by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] some two or three years ago.

Mr. POWER. I referred to the remarks of the Senator from

Indiana, but should not have referred to them at this time had not the matter again been brought up through the press this morning, and I now appeal to him and to the Senate to make this investigation. I believe, in fact I have learned since these remarks were made by the Senator from Indiana, that he would not have made them had he known they were untrue, and I know that the source of his information at the time was biased.

Mr. GRAY. I thank the Senator from Montana. Then I understand, which I did not understand before, that the allusion in the press to which he referred is an allusion to the remarks made by the Senator from Indiana some three years ago.

Mr. POWER. And other allusions.

Mr. GRAY. I understand.

Mr. VEST. I understood the Senator from Montana to call for a committee. That is the reason why I made the remarks I did.

Mr. CHANDLER. I venture to offer a resolution relating to this subject, which I have just written, by way of disposing of it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the request of the Senator from Montana that an investigation be made into the facts alleged against him in the public press be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. GORMAN. I trust that the resolution will go over. We had a resolution offered yesterday proposing to enter upon an entirely new theory so far as the practice of this body is concerned, and I think it would be wise, and I trust the Senate will agree, to fix a day later on for the consideration of these matters. If we are to enter upon investigations in relation to matters and transactions that have occurred prior to the election of members of this body, we had better take up the question deliberately, and dispose of all the cases that may be brought to the attention of the Senate. Possibly, as my friend on my right [Mr. VEST] suggests, it may result in an examination of everybody, certainly of quite a number. I suggest that the resolution go over until we can reach the question in an orderly way, and if we are to enter upon it, dispose of it very thoroughly and completely and for all time.

Mr. CHANDLER. I suggest to the Senator from Maryland that my resolution does not provide for an investigation, but merely refers the request of the Senator from Montana to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. Does he object to that?

Mr. GORMAN. I do for the moment. I think we had better dispose of the matter in some way after a little further consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will go over and be printed.

REPORT ON PHOSPHATE INDUSTRY.

Mr. CALL submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved, That the number of copies authorized by law of the report of the Commissioner of Labor on phosphates, made by direction of the resolution of the Senate, shall be printed.

CONSIDERATION OF QUESTIONS OF PRIVILEGE.

Mr. GORMAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. MANDERSON. I hope the Senator from Maryland will not make that motion, but put it in the form of a request for unanimous consent. I desire to call the attention of the Senator and of the Senate to the provision of the rules with reference to matters of privilege such as are now under consideration by the Senate. This later matter of strictly personal privilege was entertained by the Senate for a few moments by unanimous consent. I submit that under the rules of this body when it has entered upon the consideration of the right of a Senator to his seat no business either of a legislative or executive character can be transacted until that matter is disposed of. The rule is quite explicit, as it seems to me, and I will take the privilege of reading it.

RULE VI.

1. The presentation of the credentials of Senators elect and other questions of privilege shall always be in order, except during the reading and correction of the Journal, while a question of order or a motion to adjourn is pending, or while the Senate is dividing; and all questions and motions arising or made upon the presentation of such credentials shall be proceeded with until disposed of.

There is but one other matter mentioned in the rules where there is this explicit direction to the Senate to proceed with the matter until finally disposed of, and that is the correction of the minutes of proceedings or the Journal of the Senate. Turning to Rule III, I read:

The reading of the Journal shall not be suspended unless by unanimous consent; and when any motion shall be made to amend or correct the same, it shall be deemed a privileged question, and proceeded with until disposed of.

The reason for the rule which applies to this matter of high privilege is apparent. We have heard argument this morning on both sides of the grave question involved in the proposed resolution that seats Mr. Mantle, of Montana, and upon the disposition of that resolution depend three seats in this body. It has seemed to me in thinking over this question that just as nature abhors a vacuum so does the Constitution of the United States abhor a vacuum in this body, and upon any question, whether legislative or whether it shall arise upon treaty or upon questions of consenting and advising to nominations made by the President, the Senate is not in a condition to proceed with that business until this matter is disposed of and all the States have their full representation upon this floor, as required by the Constitution.

It is not a question that pertains alone to the gentlemen who are knocking at our doors for admission; it pertains to the Senate as a constitutionally organized body, and until it is decided either that they are entitled to their seats or they are not, until there is final disposition of the question, no motion, I submit, except a motion to adjourn, is in order.

I will not take the time of the Senate to refer to Cushing upon this matter. The rule of the Senate is in conformity with the general parliamentary practice. While I have no possible objection, and I do not think any Senator here perhaps will have objection, to the Senate going into executive session, I hope the Senator from Maryland will put it in a form that will comply with the rule and ask unanimous consent rather than make a motion.

Mr. GEORGE. Will the Senator name the rule he read from?

Mr. MANDERSON. Rule VI, on page 141 of the last edition of the Manual.

Mr. GORMAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. MANDERSON. I raise the question of order upon the motion, that it is not in order.

Mr. GORMAN. I submit to the distinguished Senator from Nebraska that nobody ever held in this body that when a question is pending, no matter of how high a privilege, a motion to adjourn, or a motion to adjourn to a fixed time, or a motion to proceed to the consideration of executive business can not be made. The fact that a matter of the highest privilege is before the body only means that it must be considered to the exclusion of other ordinary business whenever the Senate is prepared for the consideration of the measure; but that we have to remain in continuous session, without adjourning——

Mr. MANDERSON. I do not so claim.

Mr. GORMAN. Or refuse to go into executive session.

Mr. MANDERSON. I do not so claim. I stated especially that we could adjourn, but that motion is recognized by Rule V.

Mr. GORMAN. So is the motion to go into executive session. Rule XXII provides:

When a question is pending no motion shall be received but—
To adjourn,
To adjourn to a day certain, or that when the Senate adjourn, it shall be to a day certain,
To take a recess,
To proceed to the consideration of executive business,
To lay on the table,
To postpone indefinitely.

Mr. MANDERSON. Yes; "to postpone to a day certain; to commit; to amend."

Mr. GORMAN. As a matter of course.

Mr. MANDERSON. But those motions certainly do not apply to questions of privilege which rest upon themselves, but to the ordinary parliamentary questions before the body.

Mr. GORMAN. But "when a question is pending" is the language of the rule. I submit to the Chair that the question has never been suggested before that we could not proceed to the consideration of executive business or adjourn when a question of privilege is being disposed of.

Mr. CHANDLER. I ask that Rule VI be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The rule will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

RULE VI.

PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS.

1. The presentation of the credentials of Senators-elect and other questions of privilege shall always be in order, except during the reading and correction of the Journal, while a question of order or a motion to adjourn is pending, or while the Senate is dividing; and all questions and motions arising or made upon the presentation of such credentials shall be proceeded with until disposed of.

Mr. CHANDLER. I desire to call the attention of the Senator from Maryland——

Mr. GORMAN. I ask in the same connection that Rule XXII be read, and then we shall have the whole matter before us.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Rule XXII will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

RULE XXII.

PRECEDENCE OF MOTIONS.

When a question is pending no motion shall be received but—
To adjourn,
To adjourn to a day certain, or that when the Senate adjourn, it shall be to a day certain,
To take a recess,
To proceed to the consideration of executive business,
To lay on the table,
To postpone indefinitely,
To postpone to a day certain,
To commit,
To amend;
which several motions shall have precedence as they stand arranged; and the motions relating to adjournment, to take a recess, to proceed to the consideration of executive business, to lay on the table, shall be decided without debate.

Mr. CHANDLER. I am glad the Senator from Maryland had the last rule read, because by examining the two in connection he will see it is very clear that Rule XXII applies when ordinary subjects are before the Senate.

Mr. COCKRELL. It applies to any business on earth.

Mr. CHANDLER. It applies when questions which are not privileged, or questions which are not governed by special rules, are before the Senate, but it is very clear that questions of privilege are governed by a special rule, just as the question of the correction of the Journal is governed by a special rule. I think when the Senator from Maryland comes to look at the two rules he will see that the question of privilege connected with the credentials of a Senator is one of the highest possible privilege and is not governed at all by the twenty-second rule.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, that rule is explicit. It does not make any difference on earth what kind of business is pending before the Senate, a motion to adjourn is in order, a motion to proceed to the consideration of executive business is in order, a motion to postpone indefinitely is in order. Any one of those motions is in order, and there can be no question about it. If these motions were not in order the Senate would be bound to continue in session indefinitely until a question of privilege was utterly disposed of. This is the first time that anyone ever raised such a question in this body.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator from Missouri allow me to call his attention to a fact?

Mr. COCKRELL. As a matter of course.

Mr. CHANDLER. I want to call the Senator's attention to the fact that when he says a motion to adjourn would not be in order, there is in the sixth rule an express reservation that a motion to adjourn may intervene when a question of privilege is under discussion.

Mr. COCKRELL. Any motion is in order, to adjourn, to postpone indefinitely, or anything else.

Mr. CHANDLER. But no other motion is in order when a question concerning the right of a member to a seat is pending.

Mr. COCKRELL. It is ridiculous to talk about a motion to proceed to the consideration of executive business not being in order.

Mr. GORMAN. Let the Chair decide the question.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Will the Senator from Maryland state his motion?

Mr. GORMAN. I move that the Senate now proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. MANDERSON. Upon which I make the point of order that under the rule the motion can not be entertained. I wish to make merely one suggestion in reply to the Senator from Missouri. How would it be possible for the Senate to proceed until the question of high privilege, such as that is now before us, is disposed of, if a motion to postpone it to a day certain was to be permitted, or how could it be disposed of if a motion to lay it on the table or to postpone it indefinitely was in order? As the rule is explicit as to this particular sort of privilege, it is evident that the general rule which applies to the precedence of motions does not apply to this character of privilege, but to the ordinary parliamentary business.

Mr. GEORGE. I desire to ask the Senator from Nebraska a question.

Mr. FRYE. Is this discussion in order?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair thinks it is.

Mr. GEORGE. Does the objection of the Senator from Nebraska go to the extent of holding that the Senate can not consider any other business until all the debate about the right of the Senators from Montana, Wyoming, and Washington to their seats is disposed of?

Mr. MANDERSON. Certainly it does, because it involves the integrity of the Senate itself, its constitutional composition.

Mr. GEORGE. I do not know a great deal about the rules, but Rule VI reads in this way:

The presentation of the credentials of Senators-elect and other questions of privilege shall always be in order.

I understand the Senator's objection to go to the point now stated. If that be correct, how was it possible upon the presentation of the credentials of these Senators for the Senate to refer them to the Committee on Privileges and Elections or to do anything else except to proceed to the consideration of that matter?

Mr. MANDERSON. That is provided for. The credentials can undoubtedly be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections for their report, but when the report comes in and a resolution is reported to seat a Senator, then it partakes of that order of high privilege to which I have referred.

Mr. GEORGE. Then I understand the Senator to mean that whilst the presentation of the credentials may be postponed by referring them to the committee for report, when the report comes in we are bound to consider them to the exclusion of everything else. Now, if that be his position, there is nothing in the rule which authorizes him to make that statement.

Mr. CULLOM. Let the Chair decide.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair overrules the point of order, and will entertain the motion of the Senator from Maryland that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business. The question is on agreeing to the motion.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After forty minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 3 o'clock and 25 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, March 30, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 29, 1893.

SUPERINTENDENT OF IMMIGRATION.

Herman Stump, of Maryland, to be Superintendent of Immigration, to succeed William D. Owen, resigned.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

William P. Thompson, of Maine, to be collector of customs for the district of Belfast, in the State of Maine, in place of George B. Ferguson, deceased.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 27, 1893.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

John E. Risley, of New York, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Denmark.

CONSUL-GENERAL.

Max Judd, of Missouri, to be consul-general of the United States at Vienna.

COMMISSIONER OF PATENTS.

John S. Seymour, of Norwalk, Conn., to be Commissioner of Patents.

SECOND DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF PENSIONS.

Henry C. Bell, of Marshall, Ill., to be Second Deputy Commissioner of Pensions.

FIRST ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

William H. Sims, of Columbus, Miss., to be First Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE.

Edward A. Bowers, of Washington, D. C., to be Assistant Commissioner of the General Land Office.

UNITED STATES MARSHALS.

George Pfeiffer, jr., of New Jersey, to be marshal of the United States for the district of New Jersey.

Frank E. White, of Nebraska, to be marshal of the United States for the district of Nebraska.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

F. P. Gayle, of Roswell, N. Mex., to be receiver of public moneys at Roswell, N. Mex.

POSTMASTERS.

Miss Lela Tyns, to be postmaster at Groesbeck, in the county of Limestone and State of Texas.

Neri A. Hanna, to be postmaster at Cadiz, in the county of Harrison and State of Ohio.

William T. England, to be postmaster at Van Buren, in the county of Crawford and State of Arkansas.

Charles E. Clark, to be postmaster at Matawan, in the county of Monmouth and State of New Jersey.

William C. Hall, to be postmaster at Sweet Springs, in the county of Saline and State of Missouri.

Charles F. Chase, to be postmaster at Atlantic, in the county of Cass and State of Iowa.

Philip Zoercher, to be postmaster at Tell City, in the county of Perry and State of Indiana.

THURSDAY, *March 30, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Journal of yesterday's proceedings will be read.

Mr. MANDERSON. I suggest that there is no quorum of the Senate present, so that the Journal under the rules can not be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Allen,	Dubois,	Martin,	Roach,
Bate,	Gallinger,	Mills,	Sherman,
Berry,	Gibson,	Mitchell, Wis.	Smith,
Brice,	Gorman,	Morrill,	Stockbridge,
Caffery,	Gray,	Murphy,	Teller,
Call,	Hoar,	Palmer,	Turpie,
Carey,	Hunton,	Pasco,	Vance,
Chandler,	Kyle,	Peffer,	Vest,
Cockrell,	Lindsay,	Pettigrew,	Vilas,
Coke,	McMillan,	Power,	White, Cal.
Cullom,	McPherson,	Proctor,	White, La.
Dolph,	Manderson,	Ransom,	

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Forty-seven Senators have responded to their names. A quorum being present, the Journal of yesterday's proceedings will be read.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, which will be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

Mr. CULLOM. I ask for the adoption of an order simply for the withdrawal of some papers.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the order will be read.

The order was read, as follows:

Ordered, That Maria N. Flint have leave to withdraw her papers from the files of the Senate.

Mr. CULLOM. I understand that there has been no adverse report made.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair hears no objection, and the order will be agreed to.

Mr. HARRIS. Let the order be granted on the condition imposed by the rule; that is, that copies shall be left, unless there has been no adverse report.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection that will be the order of the Senate.

On motion of Mr. DOLPH, it was

Ordered, That Arthur M. Thorp be permitted to withdraw his papers from the files of the Senate.

CHARGES AGAINST SENATOR POWER.

Mr. CHANDLER. Yesterday, after the request was made by the Senator from Montana [Mr. POWER] for an investigation, I submitted a resolution, which went over until to-day. I ask unanimous consent to withdraw that resolution and substitute for it the resolution I send to the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none. The substitute resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections be, and hereby is, directed to investigate the statements derogatory to the Senator from Montana [Mr. POWER] contained in the Washington Post of Wednesday, March 29, 1893, and to report whether any, and if so what, action should be taken thereon by the Senate; and said committee is hereby empowered to send for and examine persons and papers, to employ a stenographer, and to have its expenses paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

Mr. HARRIS. Let the resolution be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I shall not object to the resolution. Yesterday I expressed my opinion in regard to investigating newspaper charges by committees of the Senate, and I reassert my deliberate opinion that if we go into this matter we might as well set aside all other business.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will interrupt the Senator from Missouri to inquire whether there is objection to the present consideration of the resolution.

Mr. HARRIS. The resolution under the law must go to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is whether that order shall be taken now. Is there unanimous consent? The Chair has stated that the business before the Senate is the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, which is now in order.

Mr. SHERMAN. I rise to a question of order. I think it is perfectly clear that under the rules as they now stand, even pending a question of special privilege like the admission of a Senator, the morning hour is expressly reserved, and morning business is now the order. As a matter of course the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts will come up whenever the Senate gets through with the morning-hour business. Here is the rule, on page 142 of the Manual. It provides that—

Until the morning business shall have been concluded, and so announced from the chair, or until the hour of 1 o'clock has arrived, no motion to proceed to the consideration of any bill, resolution, report of a committee, or other subject upon the Calendar shall be entertained by the Presiding Officer, unless by unanimous consent.

Under this clause of Rule VII it is perfectly clear that the morning-hour business is in order.

Mr. CULLOM. I think consent was granted by the Senate on the statement of the Presiding Officer to take up the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SHERMAN. I know, but the morning business displaces it, and that is only in order after the morning business.

Mr. CULLOM. The resolution was laid before the Senate a few moments ago, and by consent I think it was agreed to be taken up.

Mr. SHERMAN. The Chair very naturally and very properly, I think, in the debate yesterday, assumed that the business of passing upon the right of a member overrides the morning hour, but it is perfectly clear that under Rule VII the morning business displaces everything until it is disposed of, and then the special question of privilege comes up after the morning business, or at 1 o'clock.

Mr. HARRIS. If the Senator will allow me, I should be glad to inquire whether he thinks that if a motion had been made to correct the Journal the rule he has referred to would require the Senate to proceed with the ordinary call for morning business during and through the morning hour, or would it not have to consider and determine that question before any other business was entered upon? It seems to me this question is somewhat parallel to an amendment of the Journal.

Mr. SHERMAN. Rule IV expressly provides for the Journal:

The proceedings of the Senate shall be briefly and accurately stated on the Journal.

Rule III provides that—

The Presiding Officer having taken the chair, and a quorum being present, the Journal of the preceding day shall be read, and any mistake made in the entries corrected. The reading of the Journal shall not be suspended unless by unanimous consent; and when any motion shall be made to amend or correct the same, it shall be deemed a privileged question, and proceeded with until disposed of.

When the Journal is read, the first thing to be done is that it must be approved. That is done *sub silentio*. Then the morning business comes in. That is the rule; though it is not material now, except I think it would be better to go through with the call for morning business in the ordinary way.

Mr. VEST. I am not responsible for the resolution coming here. It was offered by the Senator from New Hampshire, and the Chair took up the question immediately as to substituting it for the resolution submitted yesterday.

Mr. CHANDLER. I wish to say to the Senator from Missouri that I did not intend to ask for the present consideration of the resolution.

Mr. VEST. I think the Senator from Ohio is right. The Journal ought to be read and approved, and then routine business be received.

Mr. CHANDLER. I merely asked for the substitution of the resolution for the one presented by me yesterday, and now I ask that it shall go over until to-morrow.

Mr. GORMAN. That is right.

Mr. VEST. Let the resolution go over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution submitted by the Senator from New Hampshire will go over under the rule.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. TELLER. I ask that I may be permitted to be absent from the Senate during the remainder of this extraordinary session.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the request of the Senator from Colorado is granted.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. What is before the Senate?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair decides that the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] from the Committee on Privileges and Elections is now before the Senate. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Mr. President, the question involved in the proposition now before the Senate is not only one of the highest privilege, but of transcendent importance. It is one, the solution of which does not depend on the determination of any question of fact, but rests solely upon constitutional and statuory construction. It is therefore a question in the consideration and determination of which no element of partisanship can be permitted, and I am sure will not be permitted to enter. It may seem somewhat strange that there should be, after a lapse of over one hundred years since the adoption of our Constitution, room for any serious differences of opinion as to whether the executive of a State has or has not the constitutional power in a given case to confer upon a citizen by appointment the right to a seat temporarily or otherwise in this body, and yet the report in the case under consideration and the debate now in progress clearly show that this is so.

The right upon the part of a citizen to a seat in the Senate of the United States is one that can only exist in virtue of the exercise in some proper form by a State speaking through some authorized officer or tribunal of a high constitutional function. When, therefore, a citizen of any State claims that this function has been so exercised as to clothe him with this constitutional right he should not be turned away from the doors of the Senate with a wave of the hand, or without the most careful consideration of the questions involved. This much is due the citizen claiming the seat and nothing less than this is due both the State and the executive of the State whence he comes.

But aside from the rights of the claimant and of the State, all of which are entitled to the highest consideration and the most faithful guardianship, there are still other and higher interests involved, demanding no less of careful and thorough investigation, of correct constitutional interpretation, and they are those relating not only to the conservation of the integrity of the Constitution, but also of that of the Senate itself. It will be conceded, I take it by all, it is of the utmost importance that the *personnel*, the constituent parts of this most exalted legislative body, not only in this country, but in the world, should forever be kept free from any taint in the title under which they hold.

We are told with great confidence that the theory of the Constitution is that it was so constructed in its various provisions relating to the choosing of United States Senators that the Senate shall always have its full complement of members present in this body. So that in the language of the report of the majority the Senate "shall be kept full—always full." Grant, for the sake of the argument, that this is so; and grant further, that it is always a matter of deep regret that there should be a vacant seat from any State for any considerable length of time, yet in all confidence I submit that an occasional vacancy for a brief time in the representation of a State, or two States, or a half dozen States for that matter, is an evil infinitesimal in degree and character, in importance and consequences, compared with that overshadowing evil which must necessarily result from the recognition of a construction, or the approval of a doctrine that will eventuate in admitting to a seat in the Senate a single member who is lacking in the proper constitutional title. There is but one way, it is respectfully submitted, by which Senators can be rightfully chosen under our present Constitution, either for a full term or to fill a vacancy, and that is by the Legislatures of the States respectively.

The executive of a State has no constitutional power to choose a Senator for a State, no not for even the briefest possible period of time; that belongs alone and exclusively under the Constitution to the Legislature. The executive, however, is, by a certain carefully prescribed, clearly defined, limited constitutional grant, clothed with the prerogative which he alone can exercise, as I shall confidently contend, only *after* a Senator has been thus chosen by the proper constitutional authority—the Legislature—and a vacancy in that Senator's term so chosen subsequently happens "by resignation or otherwise" by which he can, in the event such vacancy or vacancies happen "during the recess of the Legislature," not choose a Senator, not even fill the vacancy, but make "temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall *then* fill such vacancy."

The primary and constitutional power, therefore, both of choosing Senators for full terms, whether these full terms be for two, four, or six years, and also of *filling vacancies* which may occur in those terms belongs under the Constitution *exclusively* to the Legislature of the State, and the only constitutional power inhering in the executive of a State in respect of this important function, is not to choose a Senator, not to fill a vacancy, because these are functions vested clearly by the Constitution *exclusively* in the Legislature, but to make "temporary appointments" in case vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the Legislature.

Section 3, Article I, of the Constitution provides in part as follows:

> The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.
>
> Immediately after they shall have assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

In giving construction, therefore, to these clauses of the Constitution, and in order to determine the precise scope and extent of the constitutional power of the executive of a State thereunder, it is of the utmost importance to bear in mind the important fact, to which all must give assent, that both the choosing of a Senator for a full term, as well also as the *filling* of any vacancy that may happen in that term, by resignation or otherwise, not only belongs under the Constitution *exclusively* to the Legislature, but is by the express terms of the Constitution made *mandatory* on such Legislature. The clause in the Constitution correctly paraphrased reads:

> The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators, who *shall* be chosen by the Legislature thereof for six years.

While as to vacancies happening by resignation or otherwise during a recess of a Legislature, they, using the precise language of the Constitution, without any transposition or interpolation of terms, "*shall* be filled by the Legislature which shall meet next after the making of a temporary appointment."

The clause reads, "until the next meeting of the Legislature, which *shall* then fill such vacancies," while the power of the executive to appoint under the Constitution is not only limited to that of making temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature in cases where vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of such Legislature, but it is not mandatory, as in the case of the Legislature whose duty it is to choose both for a full term, and also to fill vacancies, but left *optional* with the executive, the language of the Constitution being "the executive thereof *may* make temporary appointments."

I now come, before proceeding to a review of the history of the Constitutional Convention and of Senatorial discussion and action on this and kindred questions, and before attempting to state what I conceive to be the proper construction to be placed on the constitutional provision I have just quoted, to consider further the pivotal point in the report of the committee, and upon which so much reliance seems to be placed by the able Senator from Massachusetts, namely, that the construction for which he insists was not only intended by the framers of the Constitution but is necessary, to the end that the Senate of the United States shall, to use the language of the report, "be full, always full." And in this connection I agree in advance that it was the intention of the Convention which framed the Constitution to provide all the necessary machinery with appropriate and ample powers, whereby in case such machinery, should be kept in proper motion, performing at all times its proper functions, each State should at all times be represented in the Senate of the United States by two Senators.

That it was, in other words, the purpose and meaning of the men who framed the Constitution to clothe all necessary officers and tribunals within each State with that ample power in respect of the appointment of United States Senators, both for full terms and to fill vacancies, so that in case those officers and tribunals exercised their appropriate constitutional functions in the manner and at the times authorized and required of them, respectively, by the Constitution, that then there never would be an interregnum in the representation of any State—never a time except such proper reasonable time as might be necessary for the exercise of the power of appointment in the manner required by the Constitution, and such further time as might be necessary to enable the Senator chosen to appear and take the oath of office—when any State should not be fully represented by two Senators.

There is therefore no room for controversy on this point between the majority and minority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections respecting this case—no room upon this point for any difference of opinion between the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] and myself, unless indeed it should be contended by him, unless indeed this report of the majority means and is intended to mean, that it was not only the intention of the framers of the Constitution to provide for the choosing of Senators in a manner which should, in the event of the proper performance of duty upon that tribunal or officer designated by the Constitution

to represent the State in the matter of the appointment of Senators, result in always keeping the Senate full, but also to provide for the filling of a vacancy that might result from a declination, refusal, or inability, if you please, of such tribunal or officer to perform this constitutional function.

If the contention of the report in this case and that of the honorable Senator who submitted it is the latter, then I most respectfully and emphatically dissent. While we all agree that it was the intention among other things of the men who made the Constitution to provide so that the Senate *might* as nearly as possible at all times be represented by two Senators from each State in the event the States complied with the constitutional mandate, yet if the contention of the report and of the honorable Senator is to go a step further and to insist that not only such was the intention, but also that it was the intention to provide for the filling of a vacancy that might occur by reason of the failure or refusal of the State to perform its constitutional functions, the performance of which could not but result in giving such State full and complete representation in the Senate at all times, then, Mr. President, we have come to the parting of the ways in this controversy.

While I insist, and the minority of the committee insist, that under the interpretation we place on the Constitution all has been done by the framers of that instrument necessary and proper to give a State full and complete representation in the Senate at all times by the constitutional provisions just quoted, and while we contend the framers of the Constitution provided in a clear and specific manner that Senators should be chosen exclusively by the Legislatures of the States respectively both for full terms and to fill vacancies, and clothed the executives of the States respectively with the power to make temporary appointments when vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during a recess of the Legislature, it was never for one moment contemplated by the Convention which made that great instrument, as we believe, that either the Legislatures or the executives of great sovereign States would for any reason, or for any time, or under any circumstances, or on any account, omit to exercise at the proper time and in the proper manner this great constitutional function impressed upon them, and the *non-exercise* of which upon the part of any State is a direct step toward national disintegration.

Hence we confidently insist, while the Convention provided all the necessary machinery in a State appropriate and proper to enable such State to keep its full representation in the Senate of the United States at all times, under all circumstances, it was not the intention of that Convention to provide for any such emergency as that resulting from a deliberate failure of a State to exercise its constitutional functions through the machinery provided by the Constitution, and the performance of which would result in giving full representation at all times. To have done that would have been to have discredited in advance the stability, the permanency, the perpetuity of the great structure of government they were building. To have contemplated such a thing, much less to have been guilty of the unpardonable folly of attempting to provide against it, would have been to chisel with their own hands upon the very foundation stones of the Government they were establishing their own distrust as to its capacity to live. If these great founders of the Republic had in contemplation the possible failure of the Legislature of a State to perform a function so essential to the very existence of the Government, and the maintenance of its own rights, and had attempted to provide a substitute which in such event should come to the rescue of the State and perform that function, to the end that each State should at all times have a full representation in the Senate of the United States, as contended by the able Senator from Massachusetts, and if such a thing were necessary in order that there should be no interregnum in representation, in the event of the failure of the Legislature to perform its appropriate *mandatory* constitutional function, then, why not also for the same reason, and for the same purpose, and to the same great end, so heroically contended for by the Senator from Massachusetts, should not the Convention have gone a step further and clothed some officer or tribunal with power to appoint a Senator in the event the *executive* of a State failed to exercise his constitutional function, and did not make a temporary appointment in case of a vacancy happening during the recess of the Legislature?

If it were necessary, essential, appropriate, or proper, I respectfully submit, for the Constitutional Convention to anticipate in advance, or contemplate such a thing as the Legislature of a State failing to perform a great constitutional duty so absolutely essential, not only to the maintenance of its own sovereign rights, but also to the very existence and perpetuity of the Government, and the vindication of the right of such State to participate to the full extent of its rightful constitutional authority in the business of this great legislative body, and to provide in advance a remedy, thus discrediting their own work, then it would have been equally necessary, appropriate, and proper to have provided also in advance a remedy in the event of a failure on the part of the executive of a State to perform his constitutional function of equal importance to the existence of the Government and the preservation of the rights of a State in this body. In many of the States of the Union the recesses of the Legislature extend over a period of nearly two years—in all of them nearly a full year. Take the case of my own State, Oregon.

The Legislature meets in biennial session on the second Monday of January. Let us suppose a case, and to which I briefly alluded yesterday. My term expires March 4, 1897. The Legislature of Oregon adjourned in February last, some four weeks ago, and will not convene again, unless convened in extraordinary session, until the second Monday in January, 1895—nearly two years hence. Suppose I were to die, resign, or be expelled to-day, during this recess, then there would be such a vacancy in this body from the State of Oregon which we all agree the governor could constitutionally fill, by making a temporary appointment, or he could convene the Legislature in extraordinary session, and then it could fill it. We will all further agree that in such event it would be the duty, the constitutional duty of the executive of that State, to either make a temporary appointment or convene the Legislature in extraordinary session without delay, to the end that the great purpose of the framers of the Constitution might be carried out, namely, that each State should at all times have its proper representation in the Senate of the United States.

But suppose my good friend, Governor Pennoyer, for some reason peculiar to himself—and he has at times, I might say in this connection, some rather peculiar and odd views, not in harmony always with everyone else, following in the revolutionary path marked out by the recent action of the Legislatures of Montana, Wyoming, and Washington—not only refuses to make a temporary appointment, but also declines to convene the Legislature in extraordinary session, what is the result? Why, undoubtedly Oregon in such a case would be represented by but *one* Senator from that State, at least until the 1st of February, 1895, a period of nearly two years. Where does my distinguished friend, the Senator from Massachusetts, find any person or tribunal or power, which in such a situation could come to the rescue of the disfranchised State and provide the *second* Senator for the State of Oregon for two years?

Yet we find our distinguished friends making the remarkable argument here that this constitutional provision must be so construed that at all times, every day and every week and every month, there must be two Senators here from each State; and the majority of the committee insist, by implication at least, that by giving these provisions that construction for which they contend, there would always be two Senators here from each State. It is not true, Mr. President; it is bad logic; it is all wrong?

If no such power exists, what then becomes of the argument of the majority of the committee and of my venerable and respected friend, the able Senator from Massachusetts, to the effect that his interpretation of the Constitution will result in "keeping the United States Senate full—always full," and that it was the intention of the framers of the Constitution to provide for the immediate filling of *every vacancy* that might *occur* in the representation from any State, whether such vacancy happens by resignation or otherwise, or whether it *occurs*, or even *happens*, if you please, by reason of the properly constituted and authorized tribunals or officers whose business it is to represent the State, respectively, in the choosing of Senators, failing to perform their constitutional duty?

While I admit that among other things the Constitutional Convention had in view the adoption of such provision as would forever, as long as the Government lasts, preserve intact the *Senate* of the United States as one of the legislative branches of the Government, there was no great purpose upon the part of the convention to make provision that every seat in that Senate should at all times and under all circumstances be filled, or that each State should be compelled to have in the Senate two Senators at all times and under all circumstances. Therefore, to the end that the existence of the *Senate* should be maintained and preserved, the classification in the beginning was wisely provided for.

The great purpose of this classification was to so provide that the terms of one-third of the body should expire every two years, thus leaving a Senate composed of two-thirds of the whole body in existence at all times and under all circumstances, save an occasional vacancy that might occur by death, resignation, or other like cause, and under these wise provisions the Senate of the United States has existed for more than one hundred years. The Senate organized in 1789 is the Senate of to-day. There has never been but *one* Senate of the United States, and we trust there never will be but one.

If it were a fact, therefore, that the construction sought to be placed on the Constitution by the committee would result in providing for every possible emergency that might arise, for every vacancy, if you please, that might happen or *occur* by reason of the failure of a State to appoint a Senator through the constituted appointing power as required by the Constitution, then there might be some force in the position of the committee. If the construction claimed would justify the conclusion of the committee that it would result in keeping, in the language of the committee, "the Senate full, always full," then would the argument be clothed with greater weight and more convincing assurance. But unfortunately, as I have shown, this is not so. While the committee would by a forced construction of the language of the Constitution, by the rejection of the universally recognized maxim of statutory and constitutional construction, provide for filling a vacancy caused by a failure of the Legislature of a State to perform a great constitutional function, they find no means in the Constitution of supplying a vacancy resulting from the failure of the executive of a State to perform an equally important constitutional function.

The construction placed upon the Constitution by the minority of the committee, and for which I am contending, will result, provided Legislatures and governors of States do their duty, provided they never fail to perform the constitutional function impressed upon them by the great fundamental charter, in keeping, in the language of the report of the majority "the Senate full, always full," while the construction sought to be engrafted by the committee, and by the distinguished Senators from Massachusetts and Alabama on the provisions in question, seeks to meet an emergency caused by the failure of the Legislature *only* to perform its constitutional duty, while it makes no pretense whatever of providing for the filling of a vacancy resulting from the failure of a governor to perform his duty. The great fallacy of the argument of the report, and of the distinguished Senators, consists in the fact that the men who made the Constitution never intended to do either.

The Constitution clothed certain tribunals and officers in each State with ample powers whereby each in their turn performing their appropriate and constitutional functions, would enable the wheels of the Government to revolve in proper order, thus securing every right, not only of the people, but of the States in their sovereign capacity in so far as representation in the Senate of the United States is concerned. But having done this it "lays its hands on individual conscience and individual duty," and further, in the language of that great constitutional lawyer, Mr. Webster, the distinguished predecessor of his eminently worthy and able successor in this body, whose words, it occurs to me, have not been fitly chosen by the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts to sustain the report of the committee—

> The Constitution utters its behests in the name and by authority of the people, and it does not exact from States any plighted public faith to maintain it. On the contrary, it makes its own preservation depend on individual duty and individual obligation. Sir, the States can not omit to appoint Senators and electors. It is not a matter resting in State discretion or State pleasure. The Constitution has taken better care of its own preservation. It lays its hand on individual conscience and individual duty. It incapacitates any man to sit in the Legislature of a State who shall not have first taken his solemn oath to support the Constitution of the United States as they are to support their own State constitution. Nay, sir, they are as solemnly sworn to support it as we ourselves are, who are members of Congress.

The distinguished lawyer, proceeding further upon this great question, said:

> No member of a State Legislature can refuse to proceed, at the proper time, to elect Senators to Congress or to provide for the choice of electors of President and Vice-President any more than the members of this Senate can refuse, when the appointed day arrives, to meet the members of the other House to count the votes for those officers and ascertain who are chosen. In both cases the duty binds, and with equal strength, the conscience of the individual member, and it is imposed on all by an oath in the same words. Let it then never be said, sir, that it is a matter of discretion with the States whether they will continue the Government or break it up by refusing to appoint Senators and to elect electors. They have no discretion in the matter. The members of their Legislatures can not avoid doing either, so often as the time arrives, without a direct violation of their duty and their oaths; such a violation as would break up any other government.

Surely, Mr. President, Mr. Webster never dreamed that the Constitution provided or intended to provide a substitute whose duty it should be to appoint a Senator from a State to fill a vacancy caused by the failure of a State Legislature to choose a Senator at the time and in the manner it was its constitutional right and duty to do so. No, Mr. President, this great fabric of constitutional government, this model Republic of the world, was never constructed upon the theory that either the National Government or any State government would ever at any time fail to perform a constitutional function when and as required by the Constitution, and which is essential to its very existence. When sovereign States do this, then we stand in the presence of revolution, and then there is but one remedy, and that not a peaceful one.

Section 1, Article II, of the Constitution provides as follows:

> Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress, etc.

By this provision full power and authority are given to each State to enable it to be properly represented in the electoral college for the election of President and Vice-President of the United States.

But suppose the Legislature of a State refuse or for any reason omit to direct the manner in which such electors shall be appointed, or having directed they should be chosen either by the executive or by the qualified electors of the State, these decline to appoint such electors, would not such omission or refusal deprive such State of its proper representation in the electoral college, would it not deprive such State of any voice in the election of a President and Vice-President, and is there any power by which said State in such a case can be given its representation in the college, or a voice in the selection of a President and Vice President; and moreover is it not as important, yea, infinitely of greater importance, that each State should be represented in the electoral college and have a voice in the election of President and Vice-President as that each State should at all times have its full representation in the Senate?

But not only so. Would anyone contend that in such a case the action of the Legislature, or rather its nonaction, was not the act of and in every sense binding on the State. The distinguished Senator from Massachusetts in his report in this case, as also in his speech yesterday in support of that report, announces what seems to me the remarkable doctrine that the failure or refusal, or, to be entirely free from any charge of disingenuousness, to use his own language, "the inability of a majority of a State Legislature, where there is more than one candidate, to agree upon a Senator, is by no means equivalent to a refusal of a State to elect one."

Surely, Mr. President, this is a doctrine which can not for one moment be maintained. In what way? Through what organ? By what instrumentality alone can or does a State in its sovereign capacity speak or act? It is through the Legislature of each State, and through that alone, except, perhaps, in the single case of the temporary appointment of a Senator in case a vacancy happens during the recess of the Legislature by resignation or otherwise, and unless, indeed, Congress has provided that its sovereign will can be expressed at the ballot box or in some other way. For the present, in so far as the choosing of Senators is concerned, and in so far as filling vacancies is concerned, a State in its sovereign capacity must speak alone in the manner pointed out in the Constitution in the matter of choosing or refusing to choose a Senator for a full term, and that is through the Legislature whenever it has an opportunity to do so.

Therefore the act of a Legislature chosen next preceding the expiration of the time for which any Senator is elected, and whose constitutional and statutory duty it is to elect a successor, in either electing, or in omitting, or failing, or, if you please, in being unable, and therefore omitting, to choose such successor, is, I respectfully and confidently submit, the act of the State to all intents and purposes, and it will not do to say such inability upon the part of a Legislature to perform a great constitutional duty, which it has the clear power and opportunity to perform, is not binding upon or the act of the State.

I submit these considerations, Mr. President, in response to the following statement in the report of the committee:

> It is said that a failure by the Legislature to elect a Senator is a refusal by the State to be represented. The answer to that is twofold:
> First. That the Constitution of the United States did not mean to permit a State to refuse to be represented, and this constitutional purpose has been carried out as far as possible by the statute of 1866.
> Second. The inability of the majority of a State Legislature, where there is more than one candidate, to agree upon a Senator is by no means equivalent to a refusal of a State to elect one.

The minority of the committee most emphatically deny that proposition. I submit, Mr. President, in addition to what I have already said, inasmuch as the State can only speak in the choosing of Senators through its Legislature, the act of that Legislature, whatever may have been the motives of its members, or the reasons which have led to such action, whether such failure to elect is the deliberate and unanimous vote of every member of the body against an election, or whether it is the result of a disagreement among the members as to candidates, the action, the final act of the Legislature, whatever it may be, whether it results in the election or nonelection of a Senator, is the act of the State.

Mr. HOAR. What act?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. The act of either electing the Senator or the act of doing nothing, not electing.

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator will pardon me, does he think doing nothing is an act? I think it is not.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I do most decidedly when ap-

plied to this particular provision. It being the act of the State, I submit such State is not in a position to insist that it is being deprived of its proper representation in the Senate of the United States without its consent.

And now, Mr. President, having said this much by way of brushing away some of the fog which it seems to me has enveloped the real questions at issue, I shall proceed to the main questions involved.

It is a rule of construction as old as the history of jurisprudence, that in considering the provisions of a constitution or statute that construction shall be adopted which will give some meaning to each clause and each word employed, provided this can be done and maintain the sense of the provision. To give a construction to a provision, therefore, when this can be done, for the purpose of conveying a different sense, for the purpose of either enlarging or restricting a power conferred, and which leaves out of the account—leaves wholly meaningless and entirely useless—a phrase or a word or words, is to ignore and set aside a rule of interpretation the utility and sacredness of which no lawyer will deny. Keeping, then, this rule steadily in view, let us endeavor to ascertain what is meant by the clause in the Constitution, which declares:

> And if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

And the precise question for our determination and the one involved in the case before us and which must determine as to the right of the governors of the States of Montana, Wyoming, and Washington to make the temporary appointments they have made, is this: Does this power on the part of the executive of a State to make temporary appointments extend to a case where the *full* term of a Senator has expired byoperation of law, when the Legislature of the State, whose constitutional and statutory duty it is to elect his successor, has had an opportunity to elect, but has failed to do so; or is it limited to cases where, during the *term* of a Senator, and before it has expired by operation of law, a vacancy happens—no matter how, whether by death, resignation, abandonment, expulsion, or in some similar way—in other words, by resignation or otherwise? The minority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections hold to the latter view, and I join in that view, of course, with great deference to the opinion of the majority, without the slightest doubt in my mind as to its correctness.

In giving construction to the clause of the Constitution just quoted, and in determining the question as to the power of the executive of a State to make a temporary appointment, it is proper we should consider the legislation of Congress upon the subject of the election of United States Senators. That legislation was in furtherance of aid of the States in the election of Senators and it placed a legislative construction upon the clauses of the Constitution just quoted by which two points, left vague and by no means entirely clear by the terms of the Constitution, were made plain and definite. Prior to this legislation it was a matter of uncertainty as to what particular Legislature should choose the successor to a Senator whose term either had expired or was about to expire, and therefore Congress in this act of July 25, 1866, provided that such Senators should be chosen by the Legislature of the State "which is chosen next preceding the expiration of the time for which any Senator was elected to represent such State in Congress."

The sixteenth section of the act provided in terms that whenever on the meeting of the Legislature of any State a vacancy exists in the representation of such State in the Senate, the Legislature shall proceed on the second Tuesday after the meeting and organization to elect a person to fill such vacancy, etc. This legislative construction, Mr. President, has, I believe, been universally accepted by Congress, by the Legislatures of the several States, and by the people generally of this country from that day until the present.

It is safe, therefore, to assume that the Constitution of the United States makes it the constitutional duty of the Legislature in each State which is chosen next preceding the expiration of the time for which a Senator was elected to represent such State in Congress to elect a successor, and keeping this view of the case constantly before us let us proceed to the consideration of the question as to whether or not the executive of a State has the constitutional power to make a temporary appointment for the beginning of a term in a case where the Legislature whose constitutional duty it was to choose a Senator for such term has had an opportunity to do so and has failed to perform its constitutional function.

With all deference, Mr. President, with that deferential humility and respect due certainly from me to the great ability, the legal learning, the ripe experience of the distinguished Senators of the Committee on Privileges and Elections from each side of this Chamber who have joined in the report of that committee, I must be permitted to enter my respectful but deliberate and emphatic protest that no such construction of these provisions of the Constitution was ever intended by the men who framed them.

In the light of these observations, let us consider the provisions of the Constitution under consideration and endeavor to arrive at a conclusion as to their correct interpretation.

The minority of the committee hold to the view that, inasmuch as the Constitution in plain and specific terms provides in the first instance for certain definite specific terms of Senators, first of six years, then four, then two years, by virtue of the classification to be made immediately after assembling in consequence of the first election, and then provides—

> If vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State—

that the vacancy contemplated and referred to is a vacancy occurring by resignation, or otherwise, in one or the other of these fixed and definitely-described terms, and that it has no reference whatever to any condition that may exist at the expiration of any of these regular terms, and this is so for a great number of reasons. First, because it is the constitutional duty of the Legislature of a State, not only in virtue of the provisions of the Constitution itself, but doubly so in virtue of the act of Congress of July 25, 1866, to provide by election in advance of such a vacancy for a successor to a Senator whose full term is about to expire. And it was never contemplated, as we submit, that the Legislature, no less than the executive, of a State would fail to perform this great constitutional function.

In other words, we confidently insist for the reasons already fully indicated that the vacancy referred to in the Constitution is a something that must be carved out of a *term* to which a Senator has been chosen. It is a vacancy that must "happen," not by a predetermined fact, not by the occurrence of something we all know long in advance of its occurrence is absolutely sure to occur at a certain date, but a vacancy which "happens by resignation or otherwise:" that is, which happens in *some such manner* as a *resignation*, in some *like manner*, some unexpected manner, in some manner that we did not anticipate, some manner we did not expect, some like unexpected and unanticipated manner such as death, abandonment, expulsion, or other like unexpected occurrence, and not only by resignation, but *otherwise*.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1787 FURNISH A CONCLUSIVE ARGUMENT AGAINST THE CONSTRUCTION CONTENDED FOR BY THE MAJORITY OF THE COMMITTEE.

The able Senator from Alabama [Mr. PUGH], in his speech on yesterday, devoted considerable space to a consideration of the proceedings of the Convention which framed the Constitution, and thought he could see in these an argument in favor of that construction of that portion of the instrument relating to temporary appointments of Senators by the executives of States so ably contended for by him. A consideration of these proceedings is both interesting and instructive; but as I shall contend, and as I believe I can demonstrate, so far from furnishing any argument in favor of the construction for which he contends, they furnish a very strong argument against that construction. In the original "Plan of a Federal Constitution," submitted to the Convention by Mr. Charles Pinckney on the 29th day of May, 1787, it was provided that the Senate of the United States should be chosen by the House of Delegates. That plan contemplated assigning to each State, not an equal number of Senators, but to some States a greater and some a less number, and the provision in that plan relating to vacancies read as follows:

> As their terms of service expire the House of Delegates shall fill them up by elections for —— years; and they—
>
> That is the House of Delegates—
>
> shall fill all vacancies that arise from death or resignation for the time of service remaining of the members so dying or resiguing.

This plan, therefore, provided, as in the Constitution as it stands to-day, on this subject, a *tribunal*—not the Legislature of a State it is true, but the House of Delegates—as the House of Representatives was called at that time, whose constitutional duty it should be to not only choose Senators originally, but their successors from time to time as their terms might expire, and then provided that that same tribunal should fill vacancies occurring from death or resignation, thus keeping up clearly the distinction between the filling of a term originally and the filling of vacancies that might occur *in such term*, precisely as we claim is the case in the Constitution as finally adopted.

In the report of the committee of detail submitted to the convention by Mr. Rutledge August 6, 1787, the clause on this subject read as follows:

> The Senate of the United States shall be chosen by the Legislatures of the several States. Each Legislature shall choose two members. *Vacancies may be supplied by the executive until the next meeting of the Legislature.* Each member shall have one vote.

It will thus be seen that in this original draft from the committee of detail, the simple term "vacancies," without any limitation or qualification whatever, was employed. Neither the word "happen" nor the words "by resignation or otherwise" were included. It was simply, "*Vacancies* may be supplied by the executive until the next meeting of the Legislature."

When the matter came up for discussion in the Convention Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania objected to vacancies in the Senate being supplied by the executives of the States. He said it was unnecessary, as the Legislatures will meet so frequently. "It removes," said he, "the appointment too far from the people, the executives in most of the States being elected by the Legislatures. As he had always thought the appointment of the executive by the legislative branch wrong, so it was still more so that the executive should elect into the legislative department."

While Mr. Randolph argued that it was necessary in order to prevent, to use his own language, "inconvenient chasms in the Senate."

"True," Mr. Williamson said, as stated by Senator PUGH in his argument yesterday, "that Senators might resign *or not accept*." He said that, but he did *not* say, true, a *Legislature may fail to elect*. He did not state that as a reason why this power should be given to an executive. Nobody said that in the Convention. They did say that a man duly chosen might die or might *refuse to accept*, but no one ever suggested in the Convention a case where the Legislature should *fail to elect*, and not one of the distinguished Senators who favor the report of the committee in this case can point it out.

Mr. VANCE. If my colleague on the committee will allow me, I should like to ask him a question which I think is pertinent in this connection.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Certainly.

Mr. VANCE. Can the Senator point out any case in the Constitution where a duty being primarily imposed upon an officer therein named, the performance of that duty is conferred upon another officer contingent upon the failure of the first officer to perform his duty?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. There is no such case in the Constitution. It can not be found. I have been trying here for the last half hour or more to demonstrate that very thing. I have been trying to prove that the men who framed the Constitution, after having designated a tribunal to perform a constitutional function, never dreamed of providing a substitute to perform that constitutional function in the event of a failure upon the part of the tribunal thus constitutionally provided to do its duty.

"True," Mr. Williamson said, as stated by Senator PUGH in his argument yesterday, "that Senators might resign or not accept," and gave that as his reason why there should be some provision authorizing the executives to fill vacancies, and on the question being taken to strike out the words "vacancies shall be supplied by the executives," the vote was 1 in favor of striking out and 8 against it, while Maryland was divided.

Now, whatever may have been the intention of the committee of detail, whether they intended that the words "vacancies shall be supplied by the executives" should include a case of a vacancy occurring at the expiration of a term, it is absolutely clear beyond all question that the clause as reported by the committee of detail would, by proper construction, include a case such as that now before the Senate, and had the Convention stopped in its attempt to reform this particular provision of the report of the committee of detail with the vote refusing to strike out these words "vacancies shall be supplied by the executives," then I, for one, would have no trouble whatever in agreeing with the majority of the committee. But, unfortunately for the argument of the committee and of the able Senators from Alabama [Mr. PUGH] and from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], the convention, while they determined by this decisive vote that the executives of States should be empowered to fill vacancies, determined later on that they would define and fix by appropriate language the *character of the vacancies* which should thus be filled by the executives of States. And several propositions were submitted looking to limiting and qualifying the words "vacancies shall be supplied by the executives."

One motion made by Mr. Williamson was to insert, after the words "vacancies shall be supplied by the executives," the words "unless other provision shall be made by the Legislature," and this proposition was combated by Mr. Ellsworth, who declared that he was willing to trust the Legislature of a State, but not to give the former—the Legislature—a discretion to refer appointments for the Senate to whom they pleased. Consequently the motion of Mr. Williamson was voted down by 4 ayes and 6 noes. Then it was that Mr. Madison moved to strike out of the clause, as reported by the committee of detail, all after the words "vacancies," and insert in lieu thereof the words "happening by *refusals to accept*, resignations, or otherwise, may be supplied by the Legislature of the State in the representation of which such vacancies happen, or by the executive thereof until the next meeting of the Legislature." True, this proposition of Mr. Madison was in the first instance agreed to *nem. con.*

Now, Mr. President, if we were to admit that if the clause had remained in that form, that then the construction contended for by the committee and by the Senators from Massachusetts and Alabama would be the correct one; but this I deny and will conclusively show, I think in a moment, unfortunately again for the argument of the committee and of the distinguished Senators who hold to that view, this portion of the Constitution was not left in this form, but as signed by the members of the Convention was remodeled and put in form as it stands to-day.

In other words, the clause, "by refusals to accept," which was a part of Mr. Madison's motion, was stricken out, so that while by the report of the committee of detail, as well as amended by the motion of Mr. Madison, the executives of States were authorized until the next meeting of the Legislature to fill a vacancy that might occur, not only by resignation or some such like cause, but also a vacancy caused by a *refusal to accept* on the part of a person theretofore *duly chosen* Senator by the *Legislature*, the provision, as finally remodeled, was entirely changed in this respect. Whatever, therefore, may have been the intention originally, or even throughout, of some of the members of that Convention, it seems to me perfectly clear that the final action of the Convention—and that is what we must look to to get the final conclusion of the mind of the Convention—limited the vacancies which could be filled by the executive to those carved out of a term by resignation or some other like cause, such as death, abandonment, or expulsion.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to understand the Senator. I do not wish to interrupt the course of his argument, but I wish to know whether he holds that in case of a refusal to accept the executive might fill a vacancy at the beginning of a term.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I think that is a very serious question.

Mr. HOAR. I thought the Senator indicated an opinion upon that subject.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I think that is a question upon which there can be a great deal said on both sides.

Mr. HOAR. I have no doubt what the Senator says is true; but I thought the course of the Senator's argument just now indicated an opinion on his part that there could be action by the executive in case of refusal to accept at the beginning of a term.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. No; I have not intended to express any opinion on that question. I understand the Senator distinctly.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator is not prepared to give an opinion?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. It is not necessary for my present purpose to express an opinion on that subject. All I have meant to say is that if the clause in the report of the committee of detail as amended by the motion of Mr. Madison had remained a part of the Constitution to-day, then, as a matter of course, there would be no question but the executive would have power to appoint a Senator in a case where the Legislature had chosen a person for a term and that person had refused to accept.

Mr. GRAY. How does that case differ from a vacancy which exists according to the opinion of the majority of the committee by reason of the Legislature failing to elect at all to a full term?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. There is a difference, and I think a very wide difference.

Mr. GRAY. Perhaps I do not understand the Senator. I supposed he was alluding to a vacancy that existed by reason of the election of a person to a full term in the United States Senate and the refusal of the person so elected to accept. Is that the case the Senator is discussing?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I made the statement that Mr. Madison's amendment did provide for the appointment by the executive to fill a vacancy which arose in a case where the Legislature had duly chosen a person——

Mr. GRAY. For a full term.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. For a full term, and that person had refused to accept.

Mr. GRAY. What was the action of the Convention?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I will come to that later. The Senator will see in a moment.

Mr. GRAY. How does that differ, then, from the case of a vacancy existing, as the majority say, by reason of the Legislature not electing at all? There are two things necessary to complete an election: First, the action of the Legislature; and second, the acceptance of the person elected.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I am not prepared to say that there is in law any real difference, but there is this difference in so far as the facts are concerned: In the one case no person has been chosen at all by the Legislature for the full term, while

in the other case a person has been chosen, although he has never accepted.

Mr. HOAR. Suppose they chose a person who was not constitutionally qualified in the State, as Albert Gallatin was chosen?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. If the Senator will allow me, my argument is that the Madison amendment provided for an additional kind of vacancy that could be filled by the executive which is not included in the Constitution as it stands to-day. That is my argument, and there is no escape from it, as I shall show in a moment.

Mr. GRAY. I do not think the Senator caught the drift of my question.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to ask the Senator from Oregon if he is willing to state his opinion on that very interesting question. Albert Gallatin was chosen by the Legislature of Pennsylvania a Senator, and it was objected that he had not been a citizen nine years. In that case Mr. Gallatin, not being admitted to the Senate and the Legislature having adjourned, could the governor fill the vacancy or not?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I have already said to the Senator from Massachusetts that it is not necessary for the purpose of my argument here to express an opinion upon that subject.

Mr. HOAR. Very well.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. But I should say not, decidedly not, if I were driven to it; although I confess in a case of that kind there is much stronger reason for the argument that the governor might fill the vacancy than in the case for which my distinguished friend is contending.

Mr. HOAR. But in the case I put, if the Senator will pardon me, which was put to me yesterday by the Senator himself in an interruption, the Legislature have done their best and they can not conscientiously agree. In the Senator's case, where he thinks the governor might fill the vacancy, the Legislature have not done their best, because without sufficient inquiry they have elected a man who is not qualified. Yet he thinks that the governor may fill at the beginning of the term in one case and not in the other.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I inquired of the Senator yesterday when he made that same argument whether the Senate of the United States is to determine, and if not the Senate then what tribunal is to determine whether, in the case of the failure to elect by a Legislature, that failure to elect has been brought about by the Legislature trying their best to elect and failing, or by the wanton act of the Legislature, and the Senator answered that the Senate could not determine that question.

Mr. HOAR. No; I beg the Senator's pardon, I made no such answer. I answered that the presumption was that the Legislature had done their best of course.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Mr. President, I will now try to find out "where I am at." [Laughter.]

The Madison amendment—and to this I invite the especial attention of Senators—did not empower the executive of a State to make temporary appointments to fill a vacancy at the commencement of a Senatorial term except such vacancy arose, or happened if you please, in one particular way, and that by a refusal to accept. So that the very provisions relied on by the committee and the distinguished Senator from Alabama as an argument in their favor—I refer to the Madison amendment—recognized the primary and exclusive right of the Legislature to choose a Senator in the first instance, and only provided that vacancies arising from resignation or other like causes, and also vacancies happening by reason of the refusal of a person who had been duly chosen by the Legislature to accept, should be filled by temporary appointments of the executive until the next meeting of the Legislature. Here the well-recognized rule *expressio unius exclusio alterius* applies; that is to say, the Madison amendment limited the power of the executive to appoint a Senator for the beginning of a term to the *one* case of the vacancy occurring *by a refusal to accept*.

This being so, it excludes the idea at once that the executive could appoint at the beginning of a term to fill a vacancy caused either by the failure or refusal of the Legislature to elect or in any other manner. It is therefore perfectly clear to my mind that even if the Constitution to-day stood precisely as Mr. Madison's motion left it, there would be no constitutional power or authority whatever vested in the governor of any State to make temporary appointments to fill vacancies existing at the beginning of a term, save and except such vacancy was caused by the refusal to accept the position of a Senator elect, who had been duly chosen by the Legislature; and the only difference between the provision as left by the Madison amendment and the provision as it stands to-day in the Constitution is this, that in addition to the vacancies happening by resignation or other like manner, which the executive may fill under the Constitution as it now stands, there was added by the Madison amendment *one* and *only* one other vacancy, and that vacancy was specifically defined, and the language used in defining it moreover presupposed the election of a Senator by the Legislature for that very term, and that a vacancy happens by his refusal to accept. To the history therefore of the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention on this subject is the very last place the distinguished Senators from Massachusetts and Alabama should go for an argument to support their interpretation of the provision under consideration.

It must be remembered the Madison amendment did not designate a vacancy happening by the expiration of the term of a Senator and the failure of the Legislature to elect. It simply declared that one of the vacancies which might be filled by temporary appointment of the executive was where there was a "refusal to accept," clearly and unequivocally implying that the Legislature had done its duty, and that the vacancy happened not by the failure of the Legislature to do its duty, but by reason of the unforeseen circumstance of the failure of the person elected to accept the office. How, then, the distinguished Senators from Massachusetts and Alabama, or from any other State, great lawyers as they are, and we all must and do cheerfully acknowledge them to be such, can argue before this Senate that the adoption of the Madison amendment to the report of the committee of detail furnishes an argument in favor of the power of the executives of States to make temporary appointments of Senators in a case where the Legislature has failed to elect, is beyond my comprehension.

The Madison amendment, I respectfully submit, stands on all fours in principle with the position for which I am contending and in favor of the views which the minority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections declare, and that is, where a vacancy occurs, or happens, if you please, by reason of the Legislature failing to choose a Senator at the time it is their constitutional privilege and duty to do so, is not such a vacancy as can be filled by the executive of a State. Mr. Madison undoubtedly had this very principle in view when he, instead of declaring in his amendment that a *failure of the Legislature to elect* would create such a vacancy as the executive could fill, he simply said, "by refusal to accept."

The Madison amendment was simply equivalent to saying this: If a Senator's term is about to expire and the Legislature of a State whose business it is to choose a successor chooses that successor and after the adjournment of the Legislature and during its recess he should either refuse to accept or die, that then you have such a vacancy as the executive could fill by temporary appointment, thus fully recognizing the doctrine so prominently apparent in the Constitution that to the *Legislatures* and not the executives of States belong *primarily* and *exclusively* the constitutional right to choose Senators.

THE LEGAL AND ALSO THE COMMON-SENSE INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CLAUSE IN QUESTION CONCLUSIVELY REJECTS THE CONTENTION OF THE REPORT OF THE MAJORITY, THAT THE EXECUTIVES OF STATES HAVE THE POWER TO MAKE TEMPORARY APPOINTMENTS TO VACANCIES OCCURRING BY REASON OF THE EXPIRATION OF A SENATOR'S TERM AND THE FAILURE OF THE LEGISLATURE TO CHOOSE A SUCCESSOR.

And now in attempting a construction of these constitutional provisions it is worth while to inquire if it were the intention of the framers of the Constitution to confer authority on the executives of States to make temporary appointments in *all* cases of vacancies in a seat that might *occur*, or, if you please, happen, why were the four words "by resignation or otherwise" inserted in the Constitution?

With these four words omitted there would be much reason for holding that the governor would have the power to temporarily appoint whenever there was a vacancy occurring during a recess of the Legislature, no matter how happening, no matter how occurring—whether by death, resignation, expulsion, or the expiration of a term. In other words, in such a case one might well hesitate to deny that the clause would mean what the majority of the committee contend it now means with these four words in. All would agree that an authority to fill vacancies *occurring*, if the word "occur" instead of "happen" had been used, would include all vacancies, no matter how occurring.

Most of us would, perhaps not all, agree that vacancies happening where there were no words of limitation upon the term "vacancies" would include all vacancies in a seat, no matter how occurring, and this is my view. And I will here state, in giving construction to this clause of the Constitution, I do not personally, perhaps, place so much weight as some do on the word "happen" as in and of itself, when unqualified by other words, as so distinctly controlling the interpretation, as I do on the words "by resignation or otherwise." The word "happen," I admit, may have different meanings, the meaning depending entirely on the sense in which it is used, on the connection in which it is employed, on the subject-matter to which it relates, on the event to which it is applied, and the qualifying words employed in connection with this word.

The word may, I concede, be employed and sometimes is employed to signify a thing occurring, or to occur, as stated in the report of the majority, and of which the date is unknown in advance; as, for instance, it would not perhaps be considered a solecism to say, it so happens the Columbian Exposition opens on May 1 next; it so happens my friend from Massachusetts will be a certain age on the next anniversary of his birth, and so on; but the most common, usual signification of the term is something occurring "unexpectedly," "unusual," "without notice," "that comes by chance."

Now, in construing the clause of the Constitution under consideration, following the rule of interpretation indicated, we must, if we can preserve the sense, give some meaning to the words "by resignation or otherwise." This can not only be done effectually, but the clause taken altogether, as it seems to me, absolutely requires it shall be done by regarding them as a definition of the preceding words "if vacancies happen," and as a limitation of the same. Therefore, while the word "happen" if used in another sense and without any qualifying words, might be properly held to refer to an occurrence to take place in the future, at a time certain, of which we have knowledge, it is more than clear to my mind that its use here with these qualifying words, these words of limitation, is to designate solely such vacancies as may unexpectedly *occur* or *happen* in the *term* of a Senator, such as death, resignation, expulsion, abandonment, the acceptance of an incompatible office, or other like manner.

Mr. GRAY. Right there, if it will not interrupt the Senator in his very interesting exposition of the word "happen," I should like to make a suggestion.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I yield with pleasure.

Mr. GRAY. I suggest to the Senator that the illustrations he has used to indicate that the word "happen" may have the signification attributed to it by the report of the majority as synonymous with "occur" or "take place," hardly bear out even in the cases he supposes that interpretation, because if we say that it so happens, as we may, that the birthday of the Senator from Massachusetts—which I believe was the Senator's illustration—comes on the 1st day of May, if that word "happens" is used with propriety it must refer to some other contemporaneous event, the happening of which is a matter that is unexpected and to which, for the purpose of the speaker, the quality of being unforeseen can be attributed. There is always understood in connection with such a phrase as that a reference to some contemporaneous matter which occurs unexpectedly on the same day.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. The Senator is entirely right.

But what is the meaning of the word "otherwise" in the connection in which it is employed in the phrase, "If vacancies happen by resignation or *otherwise*."

The distinguished Senators from Massachusetts and Alabama, and other Senators who support the majority report, claim that the word "otherwise" in this connection, means "*in any other manner*," while we of the minority contend, that under the well-settled and universally recognized rules of constitutional and statutory construction, it means "*in like manner*," or some such manner as resignation.

It is a well-settled rule of judicial decision that where specific words are used, followed by more general words, the general words are qualified by the specific words. Innumerable authorities might be quoted to sustain this position. In Bishop on Statutory Crimes, page 246, we find this:

Lord Bacon observed that "as exception strengthens the force of a law in cases not excepted, so enumeration weakens it in cases enumerated." This doctrine is in part the foundation of the celebrated rule that where particular words are followed by general ones, as if after the enumeration of several classes of persons or things, the words are added "*and all others*," these general words are restricted in meaning to objects of the like kind with those specified. Therefore under statute 29 Charles II, chapter 7, section 1, providing that no tradesman, artificer, workman, laborer, or *other person whatsoever* should exercise his ordinary calling on the Lord's Day, the words "*other person*" were held not to include a farmer, who is not a person of the like denomination with those persons specifically mentioned. For as Bayley, J., said, "If all persons were meant, there was no need of the specific enumeration."

The books are full of illustrations similar in their nature and all tending to precisely the same end. I will attract attention to one or two which my distinguished friend, the chairman of the committee [Mr. VANCE], has so aptly set out in the report of the minority; for instance—I quote from the views of the minority—

It is thus stated by [Willis, justice, in Fenwick *vs.* Schmaltz (L. R. 3 C. P., 315, cited in Endlick, page 568):

"A general word which follows particular and specific words of the same nature as itself takes its meaning from them and is presumed to be restricted to the same genus as those words; or, in other words, as comprehending only things of the same kind as those designated by them, unless, of course, there is something to show that a wider sense was intended."

Now I will attract attention to one other case from the Supreme Court of the United States, set out in the views of the minority. It is the case of Ham *vs.* The State of Missouri, and will be found in 18 Howard, page 126:

The plaintiff in error was indicted for a trespass on land belonging to the State of Missouri, which had been granted in 1820 to that State for school purposes, being every sixteenth section of certain boundaries of land. Ham pleaded that by another act in 1811 the Congress of the United States had reserved and set apart from entry and sale certain lands against which there were outstanding claims until said claims had been settled. The terms of the grant to the State of Missouri were of every sixteenth section "unless the same had been sold or otherwise disposed of."

"*Unless the same had been sold or otherwise disposed of.*" Mr. Ham, who was indicted, claimed that because in 1811 the lands had been *reserved until certain claims could be settled*, they had been *otherwise disposed of* within the meaning of this section, and that therefore the land did not go to the State of Missouri. The Supreme Court of the United States knocked that argument into a cocked hat in about a minute, and here is what the court said:

The language and plain import of the sixth section of the act of the 3d of March, 1820, confer a clear and positive and unconditional donation of the sixteenth section in every township; and when these have been sold or otherwise disposed of other and equivalent lands are granted. Sale, necessarily signifying a legal sale by a competent authority, is a disposition, final and irrevocable, of the land. The phrase "or otherwise disposed of" must signify some disposition of the property equally efficient and equally incompatible with any right of the State, present or potential, as deducible from the act of 1820 and the ordinance of the same.

The minority of the committee proceed to say:

Here is an unequivocal avowal by the highest court in the United States of the existence of the rule, that the general term must be restricted and governed by the particular term, the particular term here being "sale." The court declared that the disposition "otherwise" must be equival nt and equally efficient in all its legal effects to a sale.

Another case often quoted in the books is, where a statute employed the words "wherry, lighter, or *other craft*, the word "craft" was held not to include a steam tug; because, although a steam tug is a "craft," yet it is not one of the same character as a "wherry" or a "lighter."

The late Senator Ben. Hill, of Georgia, universally conceded to be a lawyer of great ability, in the debate in the Bell case on the 3d of April, 1879, gave this definition to the words "if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise," as used in the Constitution. He said:

Now, the word "otherwise" there, as the Senator well knows, under the legal decisions, has a meaning; it has a very definite and well-settled meaning; and that is this: A vacancy that happens *otherwise* is one that is similar to those enumerated. For instance, a vacancy may happen by death, resignation, or *otherwise*. Otherwise, how? In some *similar method* upon the incumbent. The vacancy occurs by death upon the incumbent; the vacancy occurs by resignation—the act of the incumbent; and if so it occurs in any other wise the word means "any vacancy occurring otherwise;" that is in a similar manner upon the incumbent; that is, if the incumbent shall be expelled; that is, if the incumbent should not take his seat after he has been elected. The word "otherwise" there evidently means a vacancy happening in a similar manner by casualty to those specified."

Senator Hill, in further discussing this question and in defining the meaning of the word "otherwise," as used in the Constitution, used this language:

I find that this rule grew into a maxim in the days of Lord Hale and took, as all legal maxims did in those days, the Latin form, and was expressed in Latin thus: *Noscitur a sociis*, which means, "it is known from its associates." The meaning of the words is, "it may be known from the accompanying words."

Further quoting, he said:

Mr. Wharton in his Law Dictionary has the same legal maxim. He goes further. He quotes the language thus: *Noscitur ex socio, cognoscitur ex se.* It means this: He who can not be known from himself may be known from his associates; that is, you are not to get the meaning of the word "otherwise" from itself in this case. You must get its meaning from its association—from its connection.

But the Constitution itself in other clauses furnishes a most convincing argument in favor of the construction for which I am contending. We have two instances in other clauses of the Constitution where the term "happen" is used. Section 2, Article II, says:

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

While section 2, Article I, provides:

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

These provisions, Mr. President, I am somewhat surprised, are quoted and relied on as an argument to support the construction contended for by the majority of the committee. For instance, it is said, and truly said, by the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] that under the first of these clauses it is well settled, in accordance with the opinions of several of our Attorneys-General and the practice of the Government, that where an office becomes vacant during the session of the Senate and the Senate adjourns before it has been filled, a vacancy happened during the recess of the Senate within the meaning of this clause of the Constitution, and that the President's power to fill the vacancy comes into life.

This, Mr. President, is quite true; but unfortunately in using it as an argument, the distinguished Senator assumes that the clause of the Constitution in this respect is in all respects similar, not only in phraseology, but meaning, with that relating to the temporary appointment of Senators by the executives of States. This, Mr. President, is the fatal vice in the argument of the distinguished Senator. The clauses are not similar, either in phraseology or meaning. They are widely different. In the one case the terms "*all* vacancies that may happen" are employed without any words of limitation or qualification whatever, while in the clause relating to the appointment of Senators it is, "if vacancies happen *by resignation or otherwise.*"

Here the qualifying words "by resignation or otherwise" are employed, while they are omitted in the constitutional provision to which attention has been attracted. The same is true in reference to the clause in section 2, Article I. There there is no limitation or qualification; no words whatever to qualify the meaning of the word "happen." "When vacancies happen in the representation from any State," not "when vacancies happen *by resignation or otherwise*," but "*when vacancies happen*," no matter how. So that, Mr. President, these clauses and the interpretation placed upon them in the past, so far from being arguments in favor of the construction contended for here by the majority of the committee, are just the reverse.

The Congress, in the Revised Statutes, section 1769, enacted as follows:

> The President is authorized to fill all vacancies which may happen during the recess of the Senate by reason of death, or resignation, *or expiration of term of office.*

Here it will be observed the distinction between this provision and the other provision of the Constitution is marked and specific. In the one case the executive of a State is authorized, where vacancies happen during the recess of the Legislature by resignation or otherwise, to make temporary appointments. Here Congress has added in this statute another kind of vacancy, to wit, "expiration of term of office." This legislation is in pursuance of that clause of the Constitution which declares in Article II, section 2, that "the President shall have power to fill up *all* vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session."

Here it will be observed the phraseology of the Constitution is wholly different from that relating to the temporary appointment of a Senator by the executive of a State. Here the President has not only the power to fill up all vacancies that may happen by resignation or otherwise, but all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session. In the one case there is a studied effort to specify the kind of vacancy—that is to say, one arising from resignation or through like cause, while in the other case there is no limitation whatever upon the power of the President to fill during the recess of the Senate. It is not only a vacancy occurring by death, by resignation, or any other like cause, but "*all* vacancies." And hence it was that Congress in enacting section 1769 of the Revised Statutes specified vacancies occurring not only by death and resignation, but by "*expiration of term of office*," all of which is clearly authorized by the provisions of the Constitution referred to. The same is true of that other provision to the effect that "when vacancies happen in the representation from any State the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies."

Here it has very properly been held, as we have seen, that the executive of a State has the power to order the filling of all vacancies which have actually happened in the mode therein pointed out, no matter how a vacancy may have occurred—whether by death, resignation, or expiration of the term of members previous to the election of their successors. And this is necessarily so from the fact that no limit or qualification whatever appears in the constitutional provision limiting the vacancies specified to such as have occurred in a certain way as contradistinguished from vacancies which may occur or happen in anyway whatever. Therefore it is, Mr. President, that so far from the construction placed upon these several provisions of the Constitution being an argument in support of the committee in this case, they are each of them, as I view it, a most convincing argument to the contrary.

A leading Senator in discussing the Rantoul case in 1851 refers to this very subject in the following language:

> If the framers of the Constitution had intended to confer the same sort of power, they would have used the same terms—terms equivalent to each other in each case—but we find them using very different terms. This shows that the powers were conferred with different purposes in each case.

Another distinguished Senator, commenting upon the same question, said:

> I think there is a great deal of force in the comparison made by one of the Senators from South Carolina between the language used in this case and the language used in giving the President power to fill vacancies during the recess of the Senate. If the framers of the Constitution intended to apply the same rule to both, they would have used the same language in both cases, but we find them using very different language. I concur entirely with the Senator in relation to that point.

The committee in its report, and the distinguished and able constitutional lawyer who drew that report [Mr. HOAR] also in his remarks yesterday in support of it, place much stress by way of argument in favor of a liberal construction of the Constitution upon the fact that while the Constitution provides that in case vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise the executive may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, that it has been frequently held heretofore by the Senate, which I admit, that such temporary appointees hold their offices, not merely until the initial meeting, but until the end of the next Legislature, unless a Senator is duly elected before that time and his credentials presented to the Senate.

But I respectfully submit to my distinguished friend whether after all this construction of the clause in question is anything more than that which is plainly and clearly and necessarily authorized by the plain wording of the charter? Is the distinguished Senator, in other words, quite sure that the words "until the next meeting of the Legislature" were intended by the framers of the Constitution to apply to the duration of the term of the temporary appointee? On the contrary, do they not rather relate to the time within which, and fix definitely the period of time up to which the executive may continue to exercise the power of temporary appointment? In other words, are not these words, "until the next meeting of the Legislature," intended as a limitation upon the power of the executive to make such temporary appointments after the meeting of the next Legislature, although a vacancy may have happened by resignation or otherwise which may not be filled for days or weeks after such meeting?

This, I believe, is the true construction of this clause of the Constitution. And in this view I am supported by some of the ablest constitutional lawyers who have ever discussed it. Such was the view expressed in a report of the Judiciary Committee of this Senate, submitted January 16, 1854, in the case of Samuel S. Phelps, a temporary appointee from the State of Vermont, while similar views were expressed as stated in that report by many able Senators in the two previous cases of Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Rantoul of Massachusetts, in 1851; and of Mr. Meriwether and Mr. Nixon of Kentucky, in 1852. And a careful examination and reading of the Constitution itself leads strongly up to this conclusion.

The language of the Constitution is "if *vacancies happen* by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the Legislature of any State," not "if *a vacancy happens* by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the Legislature of any State," but "if *vacancies* happen," not "if vacancies happen in *several* States," not "if a vacancy happens in any State," but "if vacancies happen during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make," not a "temporary *appointment*"—that is not the language of the Constitution, but he "may make temporary *appointments*," the plural term being used, "until the next meeting of the Legislature;" thus clearly showing that the framers of the Constitution, in agreeing to this provision, had in their minds the contingency of the happening of more than one vacancy from the same State during the recess of the Legislature, not more than one in the sense claimed in the majority report, where the claim is made that the plural was intended to include a vacancy occurring by a failure of the Legislature to elect, but in the sense that the temporary appointee might die, resign, refuse to accept, or be expelled, before the meeting of the Legislature, and hence what was intended by the language "may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature" was that when and as often as any vacancy should occur" by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the Legislature of any State, that then the executive of such State should, at his option, have the power to make either one temporary appointment or more than one temporary appointment, should more than one such vacancy occur before the Legislature should meet and have an opportunity to elect, and might continue to thus exercise his constitutional power of making temporary appointments when and as often as any such vacancy should occur "*until* the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancy or vacancies." Whether, therefore, Mr. President, the construction referred to by the venerable Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], by which a temporary appointee to a vacancy is held to be entitled to hold his seat until the next Legislature either elects or has opportunity to choose a Senator, and which is cited as a controlling precedent for a most liberal construction of those clauses of the Constitution now under consideration, is or is not a liberal or literal construction of that clause depends entirely upon how the clause is regarded—what it means—what was the intention of the framers of the Con-

stitution by the use of the phraseology "*until* the next meeting of the Legislature."

If the latter portion of the clause of the Constitution, "the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature," is to be construed as defining and fixing the period or duration of the term for which an appointee shall hold his office, then it would follow that in every case of a temporary appointment by the executive to fill a vacancy the appointee would continue to hold his office as Senator until the next meeting of the Legislature. If such is the construction, then there could be no exception, but every such appointee's tenure of office could not be interfered with, any more than can the six-year term of any one of us be interfered with, except by the happening in the case of a temporary appointee of the one *specific thing;* that is to say, "the next meeting of the Legislature."

But that this is not the construction that should be placed upon this clause of the Constitution may be shown to be evident by this illustration: Suppose my term as Senator is to expire on the 4th day of March next. Suppose on the 1st day of May next, during a recess of the Legislature, I resign. There would be a vacancy which the executive of my State clearly, as we would all agree, would have the power to fill. He makes a temporary appointment to fill such vacancy. The appointee is sworn in next December at the meeting of the Congress, but there is no session of the Legislature of Oregon between that date and the 4th of March next, when my term expires. On the contrary, there is no meeting of the Legislature until the January following.

Would it be contended by any Senator that the tenure of office of the temporary appointee of the executive would in such a case extend, in the language of the Constitution, "*until* the next meeting of the Legislature?" Or must it not be conceded by everyone that the term of office of such temporary appointee would be vacated on the 4th day of March next—the date of the expiration of my regular term? From this illustration and others that might be given, it is to my mind perfectly clear that the word "*until*" in the Constitution, instead of having relation to or defining the duration of the term of office of the temporary appointee of the executive, is a word of limitation upon the power of the executive to make an appointment.

Mr. DANIEL. Would it interrupt the Senator if I should ask him a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MANDERSON in the chair). Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from Virginia?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Yes, sir.

Mr. DANIEL. When does the Senator from Oregon think that the appointment made by the executive expires?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I think it expires as soon as the Legislature that meets next after the appointment is made elects a successor and the credentials of the successor are presented to the Senate. If the Legislature goes through its session and fails to elect, then his term expires when the Legislature expires.

Mr. DANIEL. May I ask the Senator a further question?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Certainly.

Mr. DANIEL. From what part or word in the Constitution does the Senator collect the fact that the appointment expires when the Legislature meets if the governor has already filled the vacancy in a term which has been vacated? Where is there any limitation upon the duration of the term unless it be found in that clause of the Constitution "until the next meeting of the Legislature?"

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I will come to that point presently.

But another and still stronger illustration will show conclusively that the words "until the next meeting of the Legislature" as used in the Constitution never were intended to fix the duration of the term of office of an appointee, much less to limit it to the next meeting of the Legislature.

Suppose my term of office expires on the 4th of March next; the Legislature of my State meeting next January elects my successor, his term commencing the 4th of March next; the Legislature then adjourns, and in February I resign my seat. There clearly again is a vacancy which the executive of my State has the power to fill under the Constitution, and he makes a temporary appointment, under the authority conferred on him by the Constitution authorizing him to make "temporary appointments," "until the next meeting of the Legislature;" but the Legislature does not meet again until the following January, will any Senator contend that such appointee could hold until the next meeting of the Legislature?

Will not every Senator on this floor concede in a moment that he would not, but on the contrary that his term would expire on the 4th day of March, when the Senator elected by the Legislature as my successor would succeed him? There is no more reason therefore for holding that the term of a temporary appointee by the executive expires immediately on the next meeting of the Legislature than there is for holding that his tenure of office extends until the next meeting of the Legislature.

The true construction, therefore, I take it, of this clause of the Constitution is simply this: That the power of the executive to appoint temporarily to a certain vacancy is limited to a certain specific period of time, namely, from the date when the vacancy happens "until the next meeting of the Legislature," but that the *term* of the person so temporarily appointed within that period of time to fill a vacancy may or may not, according to the circumstances of the case, extend "until the next meeting of the Legislature," and that the proper construction as to the duration is, no intervening circumstance happening to limit the term, that it extends until the next Legislature shall have adjourned, so that full opportunity may have been given to such Legislature to elect a successor. This opportunity afforded and the Legislature having adjourned without choosing a Senator, then the term of the temporary appointee is at once vacated.

This construction is not new. It is one that has received the sanction of some of the ablest lawyers who ever held seats in the Senate, not merely strict constructionists, but those of the opposite school of constitutional interpretation. It was advocated and urged as the proper construction by a number of leading Senators in the debate over the successorship to Henry Clay, notably by Senator Brooke, of Mississippi, who said:

It is contended that the Constitution limits or extends, as the case may be, the appointment by the executive to the next session of the Legislature. Such, sir, is not my reading or understanding of this clause. That clause reads as follows: "And if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies." Now, sir, my construction is that the word "until," which is the limitation, is a limitation upon the power of the governor, or rather upon the time within which he may exercise the power of appointment, and not upon the term of the appointment itself.

The late distinguished Senator from New Hampshire, Mr. Hale, in placing a construction upon the words of the Constitution "until the next meeting of the Legislature" in the contested case of Rantoul, from Massachusetts, on the 7th day of February, 1851 (volume 23, Congressional Globe, page 462), said:

There is another thing to which I wish to call the attention of the Senate. I find on page 31 of "Hickey's Constitution" the certificate of Mr. Buchanan, Secretary of State, that "this copy is correct in text, letter, and punctuation." I take it that it is so, and not to affect any great learning above all the rest of mankind, I wish to call the attention of the Senate to that clause of the Constitution which has been quoted in order to see what the adverb "until" qualifies. It strikes me that it qualifies the verb "make." Then the executive of a State may *make* temporary appointments *until* the next meeting of the Legislature. If that be the true grammatical construction of the clause, it means that the moment that the Legislature meets his power to make appointments expires; it is *functus officio*. Then the power is vested in the Legislature, "which shall then fill such vacancies." This "until" does not relate to the continuance of the person in office, but simply qualifies the time when the power shall be exercised by the governor——

Mr. HOAR. What case is that?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. That was the case of Rantoul *vs.* Winthrop, a contested case as to whether Mr. Rantoul or Mr. Winthrop was entitled to a seat from Massachusetts, the Senator's own State. I quote from Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire, in the Rantoul case, from Massachusetts, in February, 1851. He said it—

simply qualifies the time when the power shall be exercised by the governor, and until the Legislature meets; then the power is vested in the Legislature. That, it strikes me, is the true grammatical as well as the commonsense interpretation of the Constitution. It does not follow that it is incumbent on the Legislature to make the appointment the first day; but when they have exercised their power and sent us the usual evidence of their action, we have no further duty to perform.

Senator Walker of Wisconsin, in the Rantoul debate in 1851, after quoting the clause of the Constitution, "until the next meeting of the Legislature," said:

That is as much as to say that the executive may make temporary appointments until such time as the Legislature shall next meet. What is to be done after that time? Then the Legislature shall "fill such vacancies." It seems to me clear that the Constitution intends by using these words to describe or point out who shall fill the vacancy at the two different periods. Until the next meeting of the Legislature the governor of the State shall fill it, after that the Legislature shall fill it, consequently the word "until" has nothing whatever to do with qualifying the term of Senator.

Continuing further, he said:

It seems to me that the construction of the Constitution would clearly express what was intended if it read thus: "And if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the Legislature shall meet;" but after the Legislature shall have met it "shall fill such vacancy." It will be observed also that the term "temporary appointments" in the plural is used. It does not say "temporary appointment." I take that to mean this: Suppose the governor makes one appointment to fill the vacancy temporarily, and that appointee dies or does not accept, he may appoint again. Suppose he dies or does not accept, the governor may make another appointment and keep on making appointments from time to time up to the period of the next meeting of the Legislature. The Constitution declares that the Legislature shall then fill the vacancy.

Senator Downs, in discussing the contested case of Rantoul in 1851, said:

Suppose the term of a Senator elected, not appointed, expires, and the Legislature does not elect. There is a vacancy which must be filled, and

there can be no doubt that when the Legislature adjourns without filling it the vacancy can not be filled until the Legislature meets again. It is expressly limited to that time by the Constitution.

Senator Downs, commenting upon and giving construction to the words, "until the next meeting of the Legislature," in the contested case of Rantoul, said:

I can not give the same construction as the Senator from South Carolina to the other clause of the Constitution when he supposed the word "until" to apply to the continuance of a Senator appointed by the governor. The Senator from Wisconsin properly took the ground that the "until" applied to the time the authority of the governor was to be exercised. It is necessarily so, because a vacancy might happen in the representation of a distant State—California for instance—and it would require a considerable time before a Senator elected could make his appearance and have his credentials presented. The idea of the Constitution was that the vacancy should be temporarily filled until the Legislature should elect, and the seat become entirely vacant when the Legislature adjourns without filling it."

Senator Underwood of Kentucky approved the views expressed by Senator Hale in the following language:

Now, the expression of the Constitution is that the governor is to make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature. I think it perfectly clear that the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. Hale] and the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Walker] have demonstrated that the term "until" qualifies merely the time within which the governor is to exercise that power. Before the meeting of the Legislature the governor is to exercise the power of making temporary appointments; after the meeting of the Legislature nobody but the Legislature is to fill the vacancy.

This expression, therefore, does not limit the duration of the appointment, but only qualifies the time within which the power is to be exercised by the governor. It is to say to his appointee, "Go and take that seat and hold it and exercise the duties belonging to it." How long? Up to the time that an individual shall come with a commission from another authority. He is *locum tenens* of the seat until some other person comes with a commission That has been the construction of the Constitution from the beginning; that from a higher authority and says, "Give way to me; I am entitled to take it." is the report from the Judiciary Committee. It does seem to me that the language of the Constitution conveys these ideas just as plain as any language possibly could. It carries out the object and intent of the framers of the Government.

Senator Mason of Virginia in the debate in the Rantoul case said:

I submit, then, with perfect confidence that the word "until" is intended to limit the period within which the executive may appoint and to limit nothing else. The executive may appoint until the Legislature meets, but when the Legislature meets the power vested in the executive ends. The word "until," then, limits the time within which his duties shall be discharged by the executive and it limits nothing else. It has been construed by some, I believe, to limit the period during which the appointee of the executive shall continue in the Senate. It does not fix such limit at all. The term of the office is six years, and if a vacancy occurs in the term that vacancy, in the contemplation of the Constitution, is not filled until somebody is appointed for the whole of the remainder of the term.

Senator Mason, in further discussing the Rantoul case, said:

I submit, then, that the proper construction of the Constitution is that a temporary appointment by the executive does not fill the vacancy. It is an appointment temporary in itself, and that appointment ends when the vacancy is filled by the proper appointing power. Power is given to the executive not to make a "temporary appointment," but to make "temporary appointments;" for if the term used was in the singular number, when the executive made a single appointment his function would terminate; and if his appointee ceased to act in consequence of death, resignation, or otherwise, the place would remain vacant. The power then is given to make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature.

But, Mr. President, suppose I am wrong in this construction. Suppose the words "until the next meeting of the Legislature" are intended, not to limit the power of temporary appointment vested in the executive, but rather to limit the term of the person so temporarily appointed; even then I should confidently insist that the construction placed upon it as to the duration of such term in the case of Smith from Maryland in 1809, and which has been adhered to ever since without an exception, to the effect that the word "meeting," as used in the Constitution, has reference to and includes the whole of the next term or session of the Legislature, is not only not a strained construction or a liberal construction that can be used as an argument here by Senators in favor of the construction that the majority of the committee seek to place upon the language of the Constitution vesting the power of temporary appointment in the governor, but it is rather the only sensible construction warranted by the words used. As stated by Senator Butler of South Carolina, in the contested case of Rantoul in 1851, in discussing this very question—

The next ensuing Legislature that meets after executive appointment has the power to make an effectual appointment in the place of the sitting member. My colleague is mistaken in supposing that a sitting member under executive appointment can not hold his office longer than the day of the meeting of the Legislature; because to suppose that the Legislature must make an appointment on the very day that it meets is inconsistent with all the analogies upon subjects of this kind. Why, a court has but one term and it is a day; and the session of the Legislature is a unit and to the same purpose it may be regarded as a day—as an entire term. It is during that term that a Legislature has a right to exhaust this power.

The distinguished Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE] yesterday referred to the case of the British Parliament, where the whole term is treated as one day and all acts passed during the whole session relate back and take effect from the first day of the meeting of Parliament.

Again, Senator Davis of Massachusetts, in the same debate, in discussing this question said:

Now, it is a very fair construction of the term "meeting" that it is tantamount to and synonymous with the term "session." It applies, then, to any period of the session.

I refer to this for the purpose of answering, or trying at least to answer, the argument of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], when he claims that a liberal construction was placed upon that provision of the Constitution, which extended the term of a temporary appointee not only to the first day of the meeting of the Legislature, but to the end of the session of the Legislature.

WHAT ARE THE PRECEDENTS?

Now, Mr. President, a few words as to the precedents.

It is an historical fact worthy of note, not to be lost sight of in the discussion of this important constitutional question, that in the very first case ever presented to the Senate in which the construction of this clause of the Constitution as to the power of the executive of a State to appoint a Senator was involved, the Senate, then composed of many of the very men who participated in the formation of the Constitution, adopted without hesitation that view of the Constitution for which I am now contending. That was the case of Kensey Johns, of Delaware.

Mr. HOAR. Before the Senator begins on that point will he permit an interruption?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. I think the Senator would like perhaps to correct one statement which has no relation to his argument. There was never any contested case between Mr. Rantoul and Mr. Winthrop. There was never any question raised, as I recollect, and I am quite sure I am right, in regard to Mr. Rantoul's title to his seat. I will state the facts. Mr. Winthrop raised the question himself. The Legislature having met, and Mr. Winthrop holding his seat by the appointment of the governor, he raised the question whether he should continue to sit. Thereupon the Senate voted that he could continue until the Legislature elected a successor and the credentials were presented.

Mr. Winthrop presented Mr. Rantoul's credentials and then vacated the seat voluntarily. After that, Mr. Rantoul not instantly appearing to claim his seat, a resolution was proposed in the Senate that a Senator under such circumstances was entitled to hold the seat after the presentation of his successor's credentials. The debate went on in the absence of both Senators, neither claiming the seat. Then somebody observed that it was a question of no practical application, and it was not worth while to discuss it any further. It does not affect at all the Senator's citation, but the Senator quoted it as if it was the case of Rantoul vs. Winthrop. There never was any contest.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. The Senator is entirely right. He has stated the facts as they are. I simply spoke of it as a contested case in order to attract the attention of the Senator to it.

Mr. HOAR. I remember the case very well, but when the Senator spoke of it as a contest I was amazed; I thought it was something I had not seen.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. No; the facts are as stated by the Senator, but it led to a long and a very able debate, in which at least many of the questions which we are now discussing were presented very ably and at great length.

Mr. VILAS. I should like to state a question to the Senator in connection with the point he has been discussing.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Certainly.

Mr. VILAS. Suppose first an appointment by the governor to a vacancy happening by resignation, do I understand the Senator to hold that at the next meeting of the Legislature, whether in special called session or in regular session under the constitution and laws of the State, if no election is made the commission terminates?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Yes, that is my view; that is, it terminates when the Legislature adjourns, not before, unless there has been an election.

Mr. VILAS. After the Legislature has adjourned failing or being unable to elect, there remains another vacancy. Can the governor appoint to that?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Not at all, in my opinion. The prerogative of the governor is exhausted; his power is gone by the meeting of the Legislature.

Mr. VILAS. That then makes two cases in which the Senator holds the governor can not appoint under his construction, one where the vacancy occurs by reason of the expiration of a regular term fully served out, and the other where a vacancy happens because the Legislature has not chosen to fill the vacancy.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. That is my view precisely, and I think no distinction whatever can be drawn between the two cases, if indeed these constitute *two* vacancies, or merely a continuance of the *one* vacancy, because in either case the Legislature whose duty it is to choose a Senator has met and failed to perform its duty.

Mr. VILAS. But has not the vacancy in the second case happened by an accident, as it were?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Not at all. It has happened or continued to exist by reason of the failure of the Legislature to perform a constitutional function. That is my view.

When interrupted by the Senator from Massachusetts I was about to refer to the case of Kensey Johns, of Delaware, which was the first time in the history of the Government when the question we are now considering was brought to the attention of the Senate. In that case George Read, a Senator from the State of Delaware, resigned his seat in December, 1793, during the recess of the Legislature of that State. The Legislature met in January and adjourned in February, 1794, without choosing a Senator.

On the 19th of March Kensey Johns was appointed by the governor of said State to fill the vacancy, and when his case came before this body it was decided that Mr. Johns was not entitled to his seat for the reason that a session of the Legislature had intervened between the resignation of Mr. Read and the appointment of Mr. Johns. This is the very case put by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. VILAS]. The credentials of Mr. Johns in that case were referred to the Committee on Elections March 24, 1794, the committee being composed of Senators Bradley, Ellsworth, Mitchell, Rutherford, Brown, Livermore, and Taylor.

This committee, after reciting the facts, submitted a report March 28, 1794, accompanied by the following resolution:

Resolved, That Kensey Johns, appointed by the governor of the State of Delaware as a Senator of the United States for the said State, is not entitled to a seat in the Senate of the United States, a session of the Legislature of the said State having intervened between the resignation of said George Read and the appointment of said Kensey Johns.

This report was adopted on a yea-and-nay vote of 20 yeas and 7 nays. I have the vote here. It was a very decided vote—a two-thirds vote.

Mr. VANCE. Will my colleague on the committee allow me to ask him if he has taken pains to notice how many Senators who participated in that decision had been members of the Constitutional Convention?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I have not, I regret to say. I intended to look that up, but it slipped my mind. My impression is that there were quite a number.

Mr. DOLPH. I suggest to my colleague to read the vote.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I will read the vote. Those who voted "yea," that is, that he had no right to a seat, were: Senators Bradford, Bradley, Brown, Burr, Butler, Cabot, Edwards, Ellsworth, Frelinghuysen, Gunn, Hawkins, Jackson, King, Langdon, Livermore, Martin, Mitchell, Monroe, Robinson, and Taylor.

The nays were: Senators Foster, Izard, Morris, Potts, Rutherford, Strong, and Vining.

This case is infinitely stronger than the one now before the Senate, as in that case there was originally such a vacancy as the executive unquestionably had the right to fill by a temporary appointment "until the next meeting of the Legislature," because it was carved out of the term for which Mr. Read had been elected; but, although this was so, the Senate decided by this two-thirds vote that because a meeting of the Legislature had intervened subsequent to the happening of the vacancy it was the duty, and the exclusive duty, of such Legislature to fill the same under the provision of the Constitution, and that not having done so, then no such vacancy existed as is contemplated by the Constitution, which could be filled by the temporary appointment of the executive.

Subsequent to the determination of the case of Kensey Johns, a number of cases occurred between that date and the Lanman case in 1825, in which the temporary appointees were seated, but in reference to which, with a single exception, that of the case of Uriah Tracey, an appointee from the State of Connecticut in 1801, there was no question raised, just as in the case of my friend Senator PASCO, who was admitted the other day without a question being raised at all.

The cases seem to have gone along without the attention of any Senator having been called to them. These were the cases of William Cocke from Tennessee in 1797, of Uriah Tracey from Connecticut, March, 1801, of Mr. Condit of New Jersey in 1803, of Joseph Anderson from Tennessee and Mr. Smith of Maryland in March, 1809, Mr. Cutts of New Hampshire in 1813, and of John Williams from Tennessee in January, 1817. The vote in the case of Mr. Tracey of Connecticut, the only one upon which there was a division, was 13 in favor and 10 against the right of the member to take his seat. This was the state of the case when the case of Lanman, an appointee from the State of Connecticut, reached the Senate March 4, 1825, and then for the first time in the history of the Government was there a determination manifested upon the part of the Senate to take up, carefully consider, and determine as to the proper construction to be placed on the constitutional provision authorizing the executive of a State to fill a vacancy by a temporary appointment.

In that case the credentials of Mr. Lanman were referred to a select committee consisting of three members, composed of Senators Eaton, Edwards, and Tazewell; and to the end that the consideration of the question should not be merely perfunctory but thorough; to the end that all sides and all interests should be heard and duly considered, Mr. Van Buren on the 5th day of March, 1825, submitted the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Hon. James Lanman have leave to be heard at the bar of the Senate on the question as to his right to a seat therein under an appointment by the executive of Connecticut.

That there may be no misunderstanding as to the facts in the Lanman case, it should be stated that Mr. Lanman's term as Senator expired March 3, 1825. March 4, 1825, he produced credentials of appointment by the governor to fill the vacancy. The credentials of appointment were dated February 8, 1825, and set forth that the President of the United States had desired the Senate to convene on the 4th of March following and had caused official notice of that fact to be communicated to the governor; that they, the credentials, were "to take effect immediately after the 3d day of March, 1825, and to continue until the next meeting of the Legislature."

These were the facts.

The select committee appointed to consider the case were divided in opinion, Senator Edwards alone favoring the right of the executive to appoint, while Senators Eaton and Tazewell, the majority of the committee, denied the right of the executive to appoint. After some considerable discussion, which is set out at some length in Niles's Register, volume 28, page 32, the vote was taken on the resolution offered by Mr. Edwards, the minority of the select committee, to the effect that Mr. Lanman be qualified and take his seat in the Senate pursuant to the credentials of the governor.

On that vote, the roll being called, there were 18 yeas to 23 nays. The Senate of the United States, therefore, in the case of Mr. Lanman in 1825, after a thorough consideration of that case and of the precedents, decided by this emphatic vote that the executive of a State had no constitutional power to make a temporary appointment to fill a vacancy caused by the expiration of the term of a Senator in a case where the Legislature had failed to choose a Senator.

But it is insisted with great earnestness by the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts that the Lanman case, passed upon in the Eighteenth Congress (1825), did not involve the question now before the Senate, but on the contrary that the only question involved in that case was as to the power of the executive to make a temporary appointment in advance of the happening of a vacancy.

It occurs to me, after a very thorough investigation of the history of the times and of the history of the proceedings of the Senate occurring shortly thereafter, that this conclusion of the distinguished Senator is not justified.

It will be found by a reference to the case of Ambrose H. Sevier, a temporary appointee from the State of Arkansas, whose case was passed upon at the special session of the Senate in March, 1837, but twelve years subsequent to the Lanman case, that the Committee of the Judiciary of this body, then composed of Grundy (chairman), Crittenden, Morris, King of Georgia, and Wall, in their report favoring the seating of Mr. Sevier, referred to the Lanman case, cited the fact that the Senate refused to seat him by a vote of 23 to 18, and commented on and characterized it in the following language:

This decision seems to have been generally acquiesced in since that time, nor is it intended by the committee to call its correctness in question. The principle asserted in that case is that the Legislature of a State, by making elections themselves, shall provide for all vacancies which must occur at stated and known periods; and that the expiration of a regular term of service is not such a contingency as is embraced in the second section of the first article of the Constitution.

Mr. HOAR. My honorable friend does me an unintentional injustice.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Of course I do not mean to do that.

Mr. HOAR. He says that I claim the Lanman case did not proceed on the ground he is now advocating, but on other ground. All I have ever said was that it is impossible to tell on which of the two grounds it went; that there was high authority—Judge Story, Gordon's Digest, and the National Intelligencer one way, and the statement of Mr. Grundy the other way, the first saying it was on one ground and the other on another ground. If the Senator will pardon me, if he will look at my report he will see the statement in Appendix A, and I will detain him but half a minute:

There is no historical evidence from which we can determine whether the Senate rejected Mr. Lanman on the ground that the governor could not fill a vacancy happening at the beginning of the term, or on the ground that the

governor could not lawfully make the appointment in anticipation, before the vacancy occurred, and before he could possibly know whether the Legislature might be called together before that time.

Then I go on to quote, what the Senator quotes, the authorities on the other side, and then I sum it up at the end. I will not stop to read it.

Mr MITCHELL of Oregon. I stand corrected. Assume it to be true that that is the position of the Senator, that it does not appear from the history of the times what was the exact point upon which the case went.

Mr. HOAR. I went over all the evidence which the Senator quoted, and then quoted the evidence on the other side, and said it was of about equal authority.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I am endeavoring to show, however, that very shortly after that case was determined the Judiciary Committee of this body, in the case from Arkansas, referred to the Lanman case as having been decided upon the very point as to whether the executive of a State could fill a vacancy occurring by the expiration of a term.

And proceeding further the committee in the Sevier case said:

The case now under consideration is wholly different in principle. The time when Mr. Sevier was to go out of office under his election made by the Legislature of Arkansas was decided by lot agreeably to the provisions of the Constitution on that subject. After the decision thus made, the Legislature of Arkansas not being in session, could not supply the vacancy; and the case, in the opinion of the committee, comes fairly within the provision of the Constitution contained in the third section of the first article, which declares: "And if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the Legislature of any State the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies."

Thus it will be seen, Mr. President, that the construction placed upon the Sevier case by the Judiciary Committee of this body, decided at a time when the Senate was doubtless composed of many of the same members composing the Senate when the Lanman case was under consideration, was entirely different from that now placed upon it, after a period of sixty-eight years has elapsed, by the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts.

"The principle asserted in that case" (referring to the Lanman case), say the Judiciary Committee of this body in 1837, was *not*, as contended for by the Senator from Massachusetts and the Senator from Alabama and others here to-day, that the executive of a State could not make a temporary appointment in advance of the happening of a vacancy, but rather "that the Legislature of a State by making elections themselves shall provide for all vacancies which must occur at *stated* and *known periods;* and that *the expiration of a regular term of service* is *not* such a contingency as is embraced in the second section of the first article of the Constitution."

The Senator from Massachusetts relies upon an article published in a newspaper, the National Intelligencer, and in the report of Mr. Bartlett, which it is assumed is accepted by Judge Story for the conclusion that the Lanman case was decided solely upon the ground that an appointment was made by the executive in advance of a vacancy; but in addition to the report of the Committee on the Judiciary of this body in the Sevier case, we have the statement of the late Senator Benton, of Missouri, in his Thirty Years' View, in which, referring to the Lanman case, he says:

Mr. Tazewell was the principal speaker against the validity of the appointment, arguing against it both on the words of the Constitution and the reason for the provision. The words of the Constitution are "if vacancies happen" (in the Senate) by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature. "Happen" was held by Mr. Tazewell to be the governing word in this provision, and it always implied a contingency, and an unexpected one.

And Mr. Benton, commenting further on this decision, says:

And with this decision the subsequent practice of the Senate has conformed, leaving the States in part or in whole unrepresented when the Legislature failed to fill a regular vacancy.

But not only so. The decision made in the Lanman case in 1825 referred to, and the principle involved in it fully stated and approved by the full Judiciary Committee of the Senate in 1837, and by a vote of 26 yeas to 19 nays in the Sevier case in 1837, remained the established precedent followed by the Senate on every occasion and in every instance for a period of more than half a century; and is still the unreversed precedent of this body to-day after a lapse of sixty-eight years, unless, indeed, it can be successfully shown that that construction of the constitution so salutary in all respects, that precedent so firmly established and so faithfully followed through all this long period of our country's history, supported, sustained, and approved by a majority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate so late as 1885, were broken down by a vote of the majority of this body, based upon a minority report from the Committee on Privileges and Elections submitted at that time by the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] in the case of Bell, a temporary appointee from the State of New Hampshire. That there is a wide distinction to a very great extent controlling in its nature between the Lanman case and those of Bell and Blair will be shown as I proceed.

But it is claimed by a majority of the committee in this case that the decision in the Sevier case is an authority for the construction now claimed by the committee. This can not be so, inasmuch as the committee who reported that case and a majority of the Senate who voted to sustain the report based their decision, not upon the ground that the executive of a State could by temporary appointment fill a vacancy caused by a failure of the Legislature to choose a Senator at the beginning of a term, but upon the other and wholly different ground that the vacancy in that case happened not by the expiration of the term of a Senator fixed by law, but by reason of the casting of a lot, and that, therefore, the case was not parallel with the case where a vacancy occurs by reason of the expiration of the term of a Senator for which he had been chosen by the Legislature. And it is true and a fact not to be lost sight of in this connection that while that was the view in the Sevier case, and which clearly distinguished it from the case of a vacancy occurring by the expiration of a term of a Senator, many of those who voted in the negative in that case, including Daniel Webster, the first Bayard, Henry Clay, Crittenden, King of Alabama, Prentiss, and others, failing to see the distinction thus drawn by the committee and by a majority of the Senate between that case and the case of a vacancy occurring by reason of the expiration of a term for which a Senator had been chosen, and the failure of the Legislature to elect a successor, voted against the seating of Sevier upon the ground clearly that in their judgment a vacancy that happened, either by the expiration of the term of a Senator whose term had been ended by full service of a full term, or by lot in fixing the different classes of Senators under the Constitution, was not such a vacancy as the Constitution intended should be filled, even temporarily, by the appointment of the executive of a State.

In the discussion which took place in the Senate in the celebrated case as to the successorship of Henry Clay much light is thrown upon the question now under consideration. Henry Clay was elected a Senator from the State of Kentucky for the full term of six years, commencing on the 4th of March of that year. On the 17th of December, 1851, he resigned his seat in the Senate, to take effect on the first Monday of September, 1852. The Legislature of Kentucky, then being in session, elected Mr. Dixon to fill the vacancy which was to happen on the first Monday of September thereafter, the time fixed by Mr. Clay at which his resignation should take effect.

On the 29th of June, 1852, over two months before his resignation was to take effect, Mr. Clay died. On the 6th of July the governor of Kentucky appointed Mr. Meriwether to hold the place until Mr. Clay's resignation should take effect, on the first Monday of September following. Under this commission Mr. Meriwether took his seat in the Senate in December, 1852. The question came up for discussion as to whether Mr. Dixon, elected by the Legislature of Kentucky in December, 1851, was entitled to his seat.

This state of case very naturally and very properly brought before the Senate for consideration the question as to the proper construction of those parts of the Constitution which relate to the choosing of Senators by the Legislature, both for full terms and to fill vacancies, as well also as the question as to the proper construction of that clause of the Constitution authorizing the executive of a State in certain emergencies to make temporary appointments. Mr. Stephen A. Douglas, in discussing the general subject, as will be found on page 90, volume 26, of the Congressional Globe, second session Thirty-second Congress, used this language:

Mr. GEORGE. Whose language is that?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Stephen A. Douglas, a pretty good lawyer, too. He said:

Where a Senatorial term has expired by its own limitation under the Constitution, and an absence of representation results from that cause, it is not a vacancy within the meaning of the Constitution. Vacancies happening in the representation in the Senate during a recess of the Legislature may be filled by the governor of a State.

I ask attention to this:

But I presume no man ever contended—certainly not since the Lanman case—that a governor under the power to fill vacancies could make an appointment to an original term of office.

But the distinguished jurist and statesman from Illinois (Mr. Douglas), proceeding further, emphasized the doctrine he was announcing in the following language:

Therefore, when we speak of vacancies happening in the constitutional sense, we must be understood as meaning cases where the term has once been filled and subsequently becomes vacant by resignation or otherwise.

And right here, in answer to the claim of my distinguished friend from Massachusetts, who seems to base his whole argument on the alleged fact and to contend with great earnestness that each State is entitled at all times to have two Senators in

their seats in the Senate, I might cite him to the words of Mr. Douglas in the Dixon-Meriwether cases from Kentucky, wherein, in answer to an argument made by Senator Jones of Kentucky, similar to that for which my distinguished friend from Massachusetts now contends, he said:

I apprehend that I will go as far as he or any other man in advocating the true rights of the States. What is the right of a State, then, as connected with representation in this body? It is a right derived from the Constitution of the United States to be represented in this body in pursuance of the Constitution. It is not a right to be represented as Kentucky pleases or as any other State pleases, but it is a right to be represented as the Constitution provides. She has no right to any other representation or mode of appointment than that authorized and prescribed by the Constitution. To allow her or to compel her to be represented here, then, in any other mode than that appointed in the Constitution is a violation of State rights and of State sovereignty too. The question here is, what is the mode of representation to which Kentucky is entitled in this case?

Why, sir, the Constitution provides that in the election of Senators generally it shall be done by the Legislature of each State; it provides by implication that in case of vacancies which occur during the session of the Legislature, the Legislature shall elect; but it also provides that if the vacancy occurs during the recess of the Legislature, the Legislature shall not elect in the first instance, but that the governor shall appoint, and that the appointment shall continue until the next meeting of the Legislature, and that the Legislature shall then elect.

In the same interesting debate, Lewis Cass, the great Senator from the State of Michigan, defined these provisions of the Constitution as follows:

How, then, stands this case, sir? The third clause of the first article of the Constitution provides for the composition of the Senate by fixing the term of service and the mode of selecting the Senators, permanent and temporary. It declares that "if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies." The regular terms of Senators are for six years, and the "vacancies" herein provided for are the *unexpired portions of such terms*, which are to be "filled" by the Legislature when it can act, and when it can not act to be occupied by *temporary executive appointments*. If, therefore, a Senator resign, or his seat is otherwise vacated, *except by the expiration of his term*, the "vacancy" is for his original period of service, to be temporarily appointed to by the governor or "filled" by the Legislature.

Mr. Underwood of Kentucky, in the great debate of 1852 upon this question, in his able argument undertook to enumerate the various ways in which a vacancy, such as is contemplated by the Constitution, may be created. He said:

There may be various ways of creating a vacancy. Death creates it *eo instanti;* there is a vacancy from the time of the last breath. That is one way. There may be judgment of expulsion upon impeachment and trial. As soon as the judgment is rendered the official life of the officer terminates and there is a vacancy from that period. There may be vacancy by abandonment, as where a man leaves the State which he was elected to represent. The time of the abandonment may be uncertain, but still an incumbent may vacate the office by abandonment. Then there may be vacancy by resignation.

But it will be seen, Mr. President, that in this enumeration the distinguished Senator fails to state that a vacancy, such as is recognized by the Constitution, may happen by the *expiration of the term of a Senator, and the failure of the Legislature to elect.* That, clearly in the judgment of Lewis Cass, the great Michigander, is *not* such a vacancy as was contemplated by the Constitution.

Mr. Seward, in the great debate as to the successorship of Henry Clay (Congressional Globe, second session Thirty-second Congress, p. 94), strongly, ably deprecating any construction of the Constitution that would tend to increase or strengthen the prerogatives of the governors of States relative to their power to appoint Senators of the United States, used this language:

Mr. President, this question has bearings upon the present of the State of Kentucky and also upon the future and the whole Union. A rejection of Mr. Dixon, who comes with the plenary commission unanimously confirmed by the Legislature and governor of Kentucky, and an admission on the contrary of Mr. Meriwether, who not only presents no such commission, but presents no claim and does not even appear, will, I think, deeply disturb Kentucky and alarm all the other States. This alarm will be increased by the fact that the proceeding will operate to strengthen and increase the provisional prerogative of the governors of the States at the expense of the power conferred by the Constitution on the Legislatures of the States; for nothing is clearer than that the power conferred on the governors to fill vacancies was designed to be but occasional and exceptional, and subordinate to that devolved on the Legislatures, which was designed to be general, complete, and supreme.

The great Senator from New York, continuing further, said:

You will also excite new and painful apprehensions of another and even more grave kind. The House of Representatives is a legislative assembly drawn out by representation of the whole Union as one undivided country and people; and the constitution of that House is a great centripetal power acting toward consolidation. But the Senate is composed of an equal delegation of the several States appointed by the States. Senators are in a manner ambassadors of the States, and the control exercised by the States in their appointment, without interference from the center, constitutes a centrifugal force important to the preservation of the State in their qualified constitutional independence.

Hitherto the Senate of the United States has received whomsoever has been sent by the States, only examining their qualifications when denied, or deciding judicially between contestants. But if now we reject one who is sent with full authority and whose title is not denied from without this body and call in one who is not sent with any such authority, we shall shake the confidence which has hitherto been enjoyed by the Senate, and raise alarm for the safety of the States and thus weaken the bonds of the Union.

Mr. Mason of Virginia, in this same celebrated debate, took strong ground in opposition to the view contended for by the distinguished Senators from Massachusetts and from Alabama and held to the doctrine established by the Senate in the Lanman case, and for which I am contending here to-day. Here is what he said:

The Constitution has created Senatorial terms and has declared that those terms shall last for six years; they are so arranged by another provision of the Constitution, that one-third of the Senate go out biennially. What is the language of the Constitution as affecting the duration of the term? The Constitution declares that the seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the end of two years; of the second class at the end of four; and of the third at the end of six years, thus creating the terms. The language of the Constitution is that the seat "shall be vacated" by the lapse of time, and then new terms commence.

A few words now as to the precedents. Until Lanman's case, according to my recollection, it was considered by the Senate, or rather it was decided by the Senate, manifestly without consideration, that it was competent for the State executive when a term expired in the recess of the Legislature to treat that as a vacancy and to fill it accordingly. Such a practice was common until the decision in Lanman's case. I confess that on looking at the Constitution my first impression was that the practice was correct, but on examining the Constitution and weighing it carefully and deliberately I can not entertain a doubt that the decision of Lanman's case was correct, and that when a term expires by constitutional limitation it is not a "vacancy", which the executive can fill.

Senator Butler, in discussing the Phelps case in 1854, said:

It must be conceded that the authority to choose a Senator to commence a new term of six years, after the efflux of a regular term, is exclusively vested in the State Legislature.

And referring to the Lanman case, he said:

In 1825 Lanman's case came up for consideration involving *both* questions.

That is to say, as well the question as to whether the governor could appoint at the commencement of a full term as the further question, if so, whether he could make such appointment in advance of the happening of the vacancy.

In that case, after a very full debate, it was solemnly decided that it was not competent for the governor of a State to put a member on this floor at the commencement of a term. In other words, it was decided that his power of appointment could not be substituted for the election of the State Legislature. Even if such had not been the decision in the case of Lanman, I take it for granted that such would be, and must necessarily be, the decision now.

In the great debate of 1852, Jefferson Davis, then a Senator from the State of Mississippi, expressed his views as to the construction of these clauses of the Constitution relative to choosing Senators:

Sir—

Said he—

there are two modes of electing Senators—the one by the Legislature of a State, the other by executive appointment. And how comes it, Mr. President, that there are two modes? It is well to understand the reason. It was foreseen by the framers of the Constitution that vacancies would occur—would "happen," as the Constitution expresses it—during the "recess" of the Legislature of a State, and consequently that a State would be deprived of its representation, for a time at least, unless that vacancy could be supplied. Hence it gives to the executive of a State the power of a temporary appointment, as the Constitution expresses it, a temporary appointment to hold until the Legislature, as I shall show you, has had an opportunity to appoint; and when the Legislature has once had that opportunity and declined or omitted to exercise its power, the executive no longer has any power over the subject. It has been justly enough observed here that the word "until," in the clause of the Constitution, qualifies the word "power;" that is, he shall appoint to hold until the Legislature discharges that duty or has an opportunity to discharge it.

Senator Underwood of Kentucky, in the contested case of Rantoul, used this language in this body:

The Constitution shows that it was never intended by its framers that a person should represent a State in this body if it could be avoided unless he came here by an election on the part of the Legislature of his State. The Constitution shows that an election is to be preferred to an executive appointment, and you ought to put such construction on the legislation of the country as will give authority to those appointed according to the provisions of that instrument, by the very fountain of power, the Legislature elected by the people; and if you were to continue Mr. Winthrop after being officially informed by the great seal of the State that the Legislature of the State had made such an election and appointed an officer to discharge the duties of the Senator, we would be going in violation of the spirit of our institutions by continuing in office an individual appointed by one man and allowing him to exercise powers, when the persons possessing the original fountains of power had showed their determination that he should not be continued. It is well known that from political associations I would much prefer the continuance of the present and sitting member to the admission of the other, but still the great principles of the Government are much more dear to me than men. And these are the principles which in the time to come I think ought to be carried out as they are proposed to be carried out by the report of the committee.

That great constitutional lawyer, Senator Badger of North Carolina, in the debate in the Phelps case in 1854, from which I quote, said:

The vacancies which the executive of a State is authorized to fill are never vacancies that happen by the efflux of time. They are not foreseen vacancies; they are vacancies that happen by resignation or otherwise. Mr. President, from an exceeding desire to give to this clause of the Constitution such a construction as would keep the Senate always full, I labored hard a year or two ago, when we had questions of this kind before us, to find out some method of supporting in my own mind a construction that a vacancy happening by efflux of time, and not filled beforehand by the Legislature, might be brought within this limited power conferred on the executive.

But, sir, I have been obliged to abandon it. "By resignation or otherwise," is the language. We must expound the word "*otherwise*" to apply to vacancies happening by *similar events;* that is, unforeseen events—death, resignation, appointment to an office which disqualifies, *but it can never be applied to the*

expiration of a term of a Senator which leaves a seat vacant on this floor. My opinion, therefore, is that the governor of a State has no power to fill a vacancy in this body which is brought about by the *expiration or efflux of the time for which the Senator was elected*—in other words, at the termination of his term in the Senate. It must be a vacancy *in the term* happening during the recess of the Legislature; it must be a vacancy in the term happening by resignation or other casualty. *That I understand to have been the express and solemn decision of the Senate in Lanman's case in 1825*, overruling one or two earlier decisions which had passed, perhaps, without full consideration.

The late Senator James A. Bayard, father of the late distinguished Senator and Secretary of State, who joined with Mr. Butler in a minority report in the Phelps case in 1854, which report was adopted by the Senate, defined the constitutional provisions under consideration in these words:

You find that in reference to the full term of a Senator the provision is that he shall hold his office for six years and be chosen by the Legislature. The executive has no authority there. And you find further that if the Legislature is not in session at the time a vacancy occurs by resignation or otherwise, though it may not even be known to them, yet no authority in such a case is confided to the executive to appoint.

You find, in other words, that within the intent of the Constitution no authority over the subject is meant to be intrusted to the executive whenever the primary power—the Legislature—is in existence as an organized body. I am aware that at one time it was decided that even in reference to the full term the executive of a State might make an appointment until the Legislature met; *but that construction was subsequently overruled by the Senate in the case of Mr. Lanman in the year 1825, and ever since the practice has been uniformly in accordance with the decision in that case.*

Proceeding further, Senator Bayard said:

In reference to the *full term* it can not be doubted that *no authority whatever is confided to the executive.* The negative of power in any other event than when the vacancy occurs in recess shows that it was not the intent of the Constitution that the executive was merely to provide for casualties happening when the legislative power, which is the primary power, was not in existence and of course could not act.

Senator Carpenter of Wisconsin, likewise a most distinguished constitutional lawyer and Senator, in the discussion of the Bell case—I quote from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 3, 1879—said:

Mr. CARPENTER. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. HOAR. Certainly.

Mr. CARPENTER. I do it for information. I want to vote with the Senator if I can on this question. The difficulty in my mind is that I think the emphatic word in the constitutional provision is "happen." Take the case of Wisconsin. Our Legislature assembles on the first Monday of January. It has to elect to fill up the vacancy that is to occur in March. The Legislature generally sits until about the last of April.

Suppose they begin on the day fixed by the act of Congress to ballot for Senator; they make no choice; they ballot up to and past the 4th of March without making an election. A vacancy then occurs; by the Constitution the term expires and the Legislature sits still with that vacancy running on, balloting for thirty days and unable to make a choice, and finally adjourns without making a choice. Could the governor then appoint a Senator upon the ground that that was a vacancy happening in the recess of the Legislature?

Mr. HOAR. I think not.

It is due, however, to state that I understand the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], soon after making the answer just quoted and having had time to reflect, came to a different conclusion, and as he very frankly stated in the Senate on yesterday.

Other distinguished Senators held to the same view in the discussion that took place in the Bell case in 1879. Among these, in addition to Carpenter of Wisconsin were Saulsbury of Delaware, who submitted the report of the committee, Beck of Kentucky, Eaton of Connecticut, Garland of Arkansas, subsequently Attorney-General; Conkling of New York, Davis of Illinois, formerly associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; Kernan of New York, Lamar of Mississippi, subsequently associate justice of the Supreme Court; Maxey of Texas, MORGAN of Alabama, and many others not now here; and last but not by any means the least among the number in knowledge of constitutional construction and all that tends to constitute statesmanship in the highest and best sense of that term, James G. Blaine, of Maine.

But it must be borne in mind furthermore that in the discussions not only of the Lanman case, but in every other discussion that has ever taken place in this body—and there is nothing in the decision of the New Hampshire cases of Bell and Blair to the contrary—that where a vacancy has occurred which has been filled or not filled by the executive by a temporary appointment, and a session of the Legislature has then intervened and no Senator has been chosen by such Legislature, that then the constitutional prerogative of the executive of a State to temporarily appoint a Senator to such vacancy is forever gone.

In other words, conceding that a vacancy has happened which the executive clearly has the constitutional power to fill by temporary appointment, then, whether he exercises this power or not before the convening of the Legislature, by the very fact that the Legislature has convened, he is forever deprived thereafter of filling that vacancy, whether the Legislature choose a Senator to fill it or not. And it must not be forgotten that the fact that the Legislature of the State of New Hampshire had had no opportunity to choose a Senator to the place to which Bell was appointed was commented upon and urged by several Senators in the debate in that case as a reason why the appointment of the governor should be sustained, and there can be but little doubt that the report of the majority of the committee in the Bell case was overthrown in this Senate by the votes of enough Senators to create the majority that was given in that case who based their conclusions and votes upon that sole ground that the Legislature of the State had had no opportunity to choose a Senator.

Therefore, for this reason, which must be apparent to all familiar with the history of that case and of the Blair case, the result of the vote in the Senate in those two cases should not for one moment be regarded as a precedent to control the action of any Senator on the three cases now pending before the Senate. I speak of the three cases from Montana, Wyoming, and Washington as now being before the Senate, although but one of them, of course, is now under consideration, that of Mr. Mantle of Montana. All these three cases are unlike the Bell case in this, that in every one of them the Legislatures of these three States respectively not only had an opportunity to choose a Senator, but actually engaged for days and weeks and months, I may say, in an effort to accomplish that purpose.

These three cases of temporary appointments by the governors of the three States of Montana, Wyoming, and Washington are, so far as the constitutional questions are involved, in my judgment precisely similar, and, as it seems to me, no Senator who can see his way clear to vote for the admission of one of these appointees can with any degree of consistency or propriety whatever withhold his vote from either one of the other two. In so far as the two States of Montana and Wyoming are concerned the facts are identical. In each of those cases the Legislature convened, attempted to elect, and adjourned before the expiration of the terms of the Senators respectfully whose successors they had striven to elect, and in each of these cases the appointment by the governor was after the expiration of the term.

The only difference between these two cases and that of the case of Washington—the appointment of Senator Allen—is that in the latter the session of the Legislature whose business it was to elect Senator Allen's successor continued in session for, I believe, five or six days after the expiration of Senator Allen's term. But on the theory advanced by the report of the majority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, supported and sustained so ably by the distinguished Senators from Massachusetts and Alabama, if there were a vacancy in the one case, or in the two cases of Montana and Wyoming, which the executive of those States respectfully could constitutionally fill, then it is equally clear that such a vacancy occurred on the adjournment of the Legislature of the State of Washington. In my view of the Constitution there was no such vacancy in any one of the three cases.

WHAT ARE SOME OF THE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES CERTAIN TO FOLLOW THE ADOPTION OF THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE?

But what are some of the disastrous consequences, Mr. President, which must necessarily flow from the construction sought to be placed on the Constitution by the report of the committee? One result is to unreasonably augment and extend the prerogatives of the executives of the States over those of the Legislatures; to subordinate the constitutional functions of the States respectively, speaking through their Legislatures, to those of the executives. The power conferred upon the executive of a State by the Constitution in respect of the appointment of Senators is a limited and carefully circumscribed power—a grant carefully prescribed, definitely defined, and fitly circumscribed by the express terms of the great charter—a power which by its very creation recognizes to the fullest extent the primary, paramount, and exclusive authority of the Legislature to not only *choose* Senators in the first instance *for the full terms*, but also to *fill all vacancies* which may happen *in such terms.*

It is a power which in its most extensive sense must be limited solely to temporary appointments to such vacancies as may happen during the recess of the Legislature, by resignation or otherwise; and not only so, but which must expire at furthest when the Legislature at its next meeting shall have had an opportunity to elect. It is a power which is absolutely exhausted, not only in reference to its exercise in the first instance, but also in reference to the duration of the title of the appointee whenever a Legislature shall have met and adjourned subsequent to the happening of such vacancy whether such Legislature chooses a Senator or not.

Nay, more. Although a vacancy may happen, such as contemplated by the Constitution, and which the executive has the undoubted right to fill temporarily by appointment as prescribed in the Constitution, but which right he fails to exercise until the Legislature meets, even then this constitutional power conferred upon the executive is exhausted; this prerogative as to that vacancy is forever gone, and such vacancy can never thereafter be

constitutionally filled by a temporary appointment on the part of the executive, even though such Legislature may fail to choose a Senator.

The recognition of the doctrine contended for by the distinguished Senators from Massachusetts and Alabama and others is to establish a precedent pregnant with consequences of the most disastrous nature. It will place a premium on treason to party organization and party discipline; it will encourage, support, and defend factious minorities in Legislatures, whether composed of one party or the other, in filibustering efforts to defeat the will of the majority. It will tend to prevent a fair expression of the will of the majority of Legislatures in the matter of choosing United States Senators. It will operate and tend to the subversion and destruction of that great constitutional function prescribed by the Constitution which makes the Legislatures of the States, and not the executives thereof, the primary and exclusive tribunals for the choosing of United States Senators not only for fixed terms of six, four, and two years, as the case may be, but also for filling vacancies that may occur in such terms.

But not only so. It will prescribe a rule which will result in placing before the choice of a majority of a particular party which may be in the majority in a Legislature and the party and personal friends and adherents of such choice, too strong a temptation to stand firm and prevent an election by the Legislature, when it becomes demonstrated that he himself can not be elected. To explain fully my meaning: Suppose at the expiration of my term here I desire a reëlection. On returning to my State I find that not only my party, but the people of my State are unfavorable to my reëlection, but I find I have enough friends in the Legislature who, if they will but stand firm and refuse to act with the majority of their party, can prevent an election.

I also find that the governor of the State is not only of my own political party, but is also my personal and political friend. In this situation, the majority being against me, I have no chance whatever of an election by the Legislature whose constitutional duty it is to elect. In this situation I say to my friends in that Legislature: "Stand firm, bolt the caucus of your party, refuse to be governed by the will of the majority, and prevent an election." I say to them: "I know you can not elect me, but you can prevent an election; and if you do so, the governor will appoint me." And what is the result? A mere handful, an unscrupulous faction, a small minority, a few individual members of that Legislature by standing out against the will of the majority, in face of the Constitution and the law which make it their duty to elect a Senator, defeat the will of the majority; the Legislature adjourns without an election, and the governor appoints me Senator. And thus it is the will of the majority is frustrated. I become the Senator of a State while neither my own party nor any other party has any indorsement for me, and the intent and purpose, not only of the Constitution but of the laws, are set at naught.

But let us suppose another case, which proves conclusively the disastrous consequences that may flow, and undoubtedly will flow from time to time from the precedent sought to be established here by the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts. Suppose, at the expiration of my term, on my return to Oregon, seeking a reëlection, I find I am the choice of two-thirds of my party—my party being in the majority in the Legislature—but a small fraction of my party is opposed to me, and without that faction I can not hope to secure a majority of the Legislature.

Suppose at the same time the governor is my friend, both politically and personally, and I am assured that in the event of no election by the Legislature I will be appointed, then, Mr. President, I respectfully submit the doctrine for which my friend, the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, contends is to place before me and my friends a temptation which I or no other man ought to be called upon to resist.

Suppose another case: A Legislature is very nearly equally divided as between the two great political parties; the party in the minority may have the governor. If the doctrine sought to be enforced here should obtain, as a matter of course the minority in that Legislature will resort to every expedient to prevent a Senator from being chosen by the Legislature, in the hope and belief and knowledge that in such event the governor will appoint, and thus, while a temporary political advantage may be obtained, the very principles upon which the provisions of the Constitution are based will be subverted.

I submit, Mr. President, in conclusion, that a construction of the provisions of the Constitution which leads to such results should not be tolerated, unless, indeed, such construction is compelled by the plain letter of the charter. That this is so will not be contended here. It is true that the doctrine of *ab convenienti* is not to be invoked where there is no room for construction, where the language is clear and plain and susceptible of but one construction. But here it is evident that this is not so; otherwise these differences in committee and in this Senate would not exist.

Here there are and have been differences of opinion as to the proper construction of the provisions of the Constitution under consideration, and hence it is not only proper in giving construction to these provisions that we should well consider not only the intention of the framers of that instrument as we may be able to gather it from the words and the context, but the consequences which will naturally, eventually, and inevitably flow from this or that construction should be taken into account to the end that we may be better able to determine the true and proper construction as understood and intended by its framers.

What more convincing evidence is desired? What more conclusive proofs are needed to demonstrate the truth of the fearfully demoralizing tendencies, the alarmingly destructive consequences, the rapid tendency toward imminent peril to the very best interests of our political fabric which must inevitably result from the recognition of such a construction of the Constitution as is here demanded, than are furnished us by the results of the recent Senatorial elections in the three States of Montana, Wyoming, and Washington?

Now, Mr. President, having done what I conceive to be my duty, not only as a member of the Committee on Privileges and Elections of this body, but of this Senate, I submit this case, so far as I am concerned. All my personal inclinations would have led me to a different conclusion than that to which I have come.

One of these appointees, Senator Allen, is from my neighbor State. He has already rendered faithful service in the Senate under election by the Legislature of his State. I have been associated with him in the public service on the same committee; our relations have been, and are, and, I trust, always may continue to be, of the most friendly nature. He has made a record during his term here of faithful and able service of which his State and the country have reason to be proud.

And as to the appointee from Montana, Mr. Mantle, while my acquaintance with him has been very brief, I have known him long by reputation, and I have heard naught but words of commendation and praise for him from all sources as an unassuming, intelligent, frank, open-hearted, straightforward, first-class man, and I confess I deeply regret I can not see my way clear to vote for the admission of both Senator Allen and Mr. Mantle.

As to the other appointee, Mr. Beckwith from Wyoming, I never had the pleasure of meeting him until within the last few days, and while I understand his politics are not of the very best, he has impressed me with being a good old-fashioned gentleman of the old school, whose word is, by those who know him best, considered to be as good as his bond, while his bond is worth its millions, and that he is in all respects worthy of a seat in this body, and therefore for these reasons I sincerely regret I am unable to see my way clear to vote for the admission of Mr. Beckwith as appointee from Wyoming.

But, Mr. President, I am done, and I do not fail to realize that notwithstanding the opinions held by the minority of the committee, of which I am an humble member, the die in all probability is already cast, and a majority of this Senate will probably vote to admit to seats in this body the three appointees of the States respectively of Montana, Wyoming, and Washington. But let me, Mr. President, remind you and this Senate when you do this you vote to overturn the deliberate precedent established by this Senate, after full consideration, over sixty-eight years ago; you vote to reject the interpretation placed on the Constitution of the United States by such great constitutional lawyers and statesmen as Webster and Clay, as Butler and Cabot, as Ellsworth and Frelinghuysen, as Monroe and King, as Cass and Calhoun, as Douglas and Seward, as Underwood and Mason, as Badger and Bayard, as Carpenter and Conkling, as Davis and Lamar, as Garland and Eaton, as Kernan, MORGAN, and James G. Blaine of Maine.

You establish a rule by virtue of which the great fundamental principle of the Constitution, which vests in the Legislatures of States the exclusive power of choosing Senators, will be subverted. You will establish a precedent which inside of ten years will, in my judgment, result in witnessing one-third of this great body seated here by virtue of no other title than that conferred by temporary appointments of the executives of States; you will establish a precedent which will tend to demoralization in State Legislatures, which will transfer the jurisdiction as to the election of United States Senators from the Legislatures of the States respectively, where the Constitution has vested it, to the governors of States, and you will inflict a fatal stab at the great structure of republican government under which we live, and encourage, protect, and defend antagonisms to the best interests of the States respectively, and to the greatest and best of all the republics that has ever existed since the world began.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I do not presume at this late

hour, after the long, interesting, able, and exhaustive speech of the Senator from Oregon, that there is anyone who wishes to proceed with the argument in this case to-day. But I was requested by my colleague on the committee, the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE], who was called away from the Chamber a few moments ago, to say, sir, through you to the Senate, that he did intend to take the floor upon the conclusion of the argument of the Senator from Oregon, so that if the Senate did not conclude to proceed further to-day with this debate he might have the floor upon its reconvening upon the next day when this matter came before the Senate. If I may ask the privilege of securing the floor for him, I do so now.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Chair will recognize the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] as being entitled to the floor on the pending resolution when its consideration shall be resumed.

INDIAN DEPREDATION CLAIMS.

Mr. KYLE. I ask leave out of order to report from the Committee on Indian Depredations, in behalf of the chairman of the committee [Mr. LINDSAY], the resolution which I send to the desk. I ask that the resolution may be read and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be received and read in the absence of objection.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Indian Depredations be, and hereby is, directed to make inquiry concerning all Indian depredation claims which at any time have been or may be presented in the Court of Claims under the act of March 3, 1891, especially those in which unpaid judgments have been hitherto rendered, or may be rendered prior to the conclusion of the inquiry; and also into the manner in which such claims have been defended in behalf of the Indians and the United States; and generally into the workings of said act of March 3, 1891; and concerning all other Indian depredation claims not covered by said act, and to make such recommendations relative to any or all of said claims and for additional legislation as said committee may deem expedient; said committee, either as a full committee or through subcommittees, being hereby empowered to sit during the recess of the Senate to send for persons and papers, and to employ a stenographer and expert, the expenses of the inquiry to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

Mr. HARRIS. I move that when the Senate adjourn to-day it be to meet on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. GORMAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After forty-five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 4 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, April 3, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 30, 1893.

AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Great Britain, vice Robert T. Lincoln, resigned.

ENVOYS EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTERS PLENIPOTENTIARY.

James D. Porter, of Tennessee, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Chile, vice Patrick Egan, resigned.

James A. McKenzie, of Kentucky, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Peru, vice John Hicks, recalled.

Lewis Baker, of Minnesota, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Salvador, vice Richard C. Shannon, recalled.

Pierce M. B. Young, of Georgia, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Guatemala and Honduras, vice Romualdo Pacheco, recalled.

Edwin Dun, of Ohio, now secretary of legation at Japan, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Japan, vice Frank L. Coombs, resigned.

SECOND SECRETARY OF LEGATION.

Newton B. Eustis, of Louisiana, to be second secretary of the legation of the United States at Paris, vice Augustus Jay, recalled

CONSULS.

L. M. Shaffer, of West Virginia, consul to Stratford, Ontario, vice Woolman J. Holloway, recalled.

Harrison R. Williams, of Missouri, consul to Vera Cruz, vice William W. Apperson, recalled.

M. P. Pendleton, of Maine, consul to Pictou, vice Alonzo Spencer, deceased.

Theodore M. Stephan, of Illinois, consul to Annaberg, vice Daniel B. Hubbard, recalled.

William T. Townes, of Virginia, consul to Rio de Janeiro, vice Oliver H. Dockery, recalled.

Claude Meeker, of Ohio, consul to Bradford, vice John A. Tibbits, recalled.

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS.

Walter Goddard, of Connecticut, to be collector of customs for the district of Fairfield, in the State of Connecticut, to succeed George B. Edmonds, resigned.

Henry J. Hathaway, of Maine, to be collector of customs for the district of Aroostook, in the State of Maine, to succeed Albert A. Burleigh, whose term of office has expired by limitation.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

John M. Reynolds, of Bedford, Pa., to be Assistant Secretary of the Interior, vice Cyrus Bussey, resigned.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL.

Lawrence Maxwell, jr., of Ohio, to be Solicitor-General, vice Charles H. Aldrich, resigned.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

John I. Hall, of Georgia, to be Assistant Attorney-General, vice George H. Shields, resigned.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate March 28, 1893.

POSTMASTER.

William H. McCabe, to be postmaster at Coshocton, in the county of Coshocton and State of Ohio.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 30, 1893.

AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States to Great Britain.

UNITED STATES MARSHALS.

Thomas J. Allison, of North Carolina, to be marshal of the United States for the western district of North Carolina.

Frank Leverett, of Georgia, to be marshal of the United States for the southern district of Georgia.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS.

George J. Denis, of California, to be attorney of the United States for the southern district of California.

Joseph S. James, of Georgia, to be attorney of the United States for the northern district of Georgia.

William T. Gary, of Georgia, to be attorney of the United States for the southern district of Georgia.

MONDAY, *April 3, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday last was read and approved.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] from the Committee on Privileges and Elections. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I rise to a question of the highest privilege. I desire to present the petition of Mr. Ady, praying to be admitted to a seat in the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The petition will be read.

The SECRETARY. The petition of Joseph W. Ady for admission to a seat as a Senator from the State of Kansas.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. What action does the Senator from Massachusetts desire?

Mr. HOAR. Let the petition be read in full.

Mr. GORMAN. What is the petition? Let it be read again.

Mr. HOAR. Let it be read in full and referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The petition will be read.

The Secretary read the petition, as follows:

To the Senate of the United States:

I hereby claim that Hon. JOHN MARTIN was never duly elected Senator from Kansas, and that I was so duly elected for the term beginning March 4, 1893, and desire to be admitted to a seat in the Senate accordingly.

JOSEPH W. ADY.

Mr. HOAR. I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. HOAR. I ask unanimous consent to present at this time a paper in the nature of a petition to the Senate, although in form it is addressed to me as a letter. It refers to a legisative matter, but it asks a special investigation to be conducted by the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry of the Senate in the vacation. It relates to the very important matter of public roads. The writer, Mr. Albert A. Pope, a gentleman who has devoted much attention to the subject, presents some facts showing the great loss to our international and interstate commerce by the condition of the roads of this country. I ask that the paper may be printed as a document and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Massachusetts? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. STEWART. I present a memorial of the Legislature of Nevada, recommending a settlement of the Pacific Railroad indebtedness. As it is the memorial of a State Legislature, I ask that it be read and referred to the Committee on Pacific Railroads.

The memorial was read and referred to the Committee on Pacific Railroads, as follows:

Senate joint resolution relative to the indebtedness of the Central Pacific Railroad Company to the United States of America.

Whereas, by act of Congress duly passed and approved, the Government of the United States loaned to the Central Pacific Railroad Company certain bonds to aid said company in the construction of its railroad; and

Whereas the payment of the principal amount of said bonds and of the interest thereon is secured by a second mortgage upon the Central Pacific Railroad; and

Whereas, in the event said company should be unable to pay said indebtedness when due, foreclosure proceedings may be instituted against said company, which may result in the vesting in the Goverument of the title to said railroad and of the unsold portion of the land grant of said company; and

Whereas said properties, should they pass into the ownership of the Government, would be exempt from State and local taxation; and

Whereas for many years said company has been a heavy taxpayer, and has paid into the State and local treasuries a very large portion of the money necessary to support the State, county, and other local governments; and

Whereas the withdrawal of said property from its present ownership and the vesting of the title thereof in the Government would deprive the State and local goverunments of the right to tax the same, and would thereby seriously embarrass said State and local governments and would threaten the political existence thereof; and

Whereas certain bills are now pending before Congress relative to the adjustment of said indebtedness: Therefore be it

Resolved by the senate (the assembly concurring), That our Senators and Representative in Congress be, and they are hereby, urgently requested to do all in their power to promote and secure the passage of an act of Congress providing for the adjustment or refunding of said indebtedness, to the end that said company shall be enabled to pay said indebtedness: *Provided*, Said support does not interfere or in anywise hinder or delay their labors from the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

Resolved further, That his excellency the governor forward engrossed copies thereof to each of our Senators and Representative in Congress.

Attest: A true copy.

[SEAL.]

C. H. GREY,
Secretary of State.

DEPOSIT OF SPEECHES IN SENATE LIBRARY.

Mr. TURPIE. Mr. President, I rise to speak to the resolution reported by the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator from Indiana allow me to present two resolutions before he proceeds?

Mr. TURPIE. On what subject?

Mr. HOAR. I wish to present two resolutions, one in regard to depositing some documents with the Senate Librarian, a very unimportant matter, but for the convenience of the Senate, and another resolution, on which I wish to address the Senate at a later day in the session, which I should like to have printed and laid on the table.

Mr. TURPIE. I have no objection.

Mr. HOAR. I ask that the resolution I send to the desk be read and referred to the Committee on Printing.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Public Printer be directed to deposit in the Senate Library 10 copies each of all speeches made in either House of Congress which shall hereafter be by him printed in pamphlet form; the same to be bound, under the direction of the Senate Committee on Printing, and preserved in said library for the use of the Senate.

Mr. VOORHEES. Where does the resolution go?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. To the Committee on Printing.

Mr. VOORHEES. I think it ought to go to the Committee on the Library. Very likely we should have to enlarge the present accommodations of the library if the resolution should pass.

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator will pardon me one moment, I suppose there are probably printed by this body a hundred different speeches in the course of a Congress, that is, Senators make them and they are printed in pamphlet form. When you wish to refer to them afterwards you have to hunt through the clumsy large volumes of the RECORD. The resolution merely provides that when the Public Printer prints by the direction of any Senator in pamphlet form his speech he shall send a few copies to the Senate Library to be bound under the direction of the Committee on Public Printing, so that we can have them in that form. It will not cost $3 a year.

Mr. VOORHEES. I was under a misapprehension. I thought it was in contemplation to place them in the Library of Congress. They are to be placed in the Library of the Senate?

Mr. HOAR. In the Senate Library.

Mr. VOORHEES. Then the resolution should go to the Committee on Printing.

Mr. HOAR. That was my idea. It will not cost $3 a year and will be a great convenience to the Senate.

Mr. VANCE. I beg to suggest to the Senator from Massachusetts that the resolution should make some provision for having the speeches when bound indexed according to subjects, as well as the names and dates of delivery, so that they may constitute a volume of easy reference hereafter. If they are to be merely bound at large without an index showing the dates when they were delivered and the subjects upon which they were delivered, it will impose upon the searcher after knowledge the melancholy duty of wading through all the speeches to get what he wants, and as *peine forte et dure* has been abolished, I hope this will not be required.

Mr. HOAR. The Committee on Printing, I think, will be likely to adopt the suggestion of the Senator from North Carolina when they come to consider the resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be referred to the Committee on Printing.

ELECTION OF SENATORS BY DIRECT VOTE OF THE PEOPLE.

Mr. HOAR submitted the following resolution, which was read:

Resolved, That it is inexpedient that the resolution sent to the Senate by the House of Representatives during the last Congress, providing for an amendment of the Constitution securing the election of Senators by the people of the several States, be adopted.

Such a method of election would essentially change the character of the Senate as conceived by the convention that framed the Constitution and the people who adopted it.

It would transfer practically the selection of the members of this body from the Legislatures, who are intrusted withall legislative powers of the States, to bodies having no other responsibilities, whose election can not be regulated by law, whose members act by proxy, whose tenure of office is for a single day, whose votes and proceedings are not recorded, who act under no personal responsibility, whose mistakes, ordinarily, can only be corrected by the choice of Senators who do not represent the opinions concerning public measures and policies of the people who choose them.

It requires the substitution of pluralities for majorities in the election.

It will transfer the seat of political power in great States, now distributed evenly over their territory, to the great cities and masses of population.

It will create new temptations to fraud, corruption, and other illegal practices, and in close cases will give rise to numerous election contests, which must tend seriously to weaken the confidence of the people in the Senate.

It will absolve the larger States from the constitutional obligation which secures the equal representation of all the States in the Senate by providing that no State shall be deprived of that equality without its consent.

It implies, what the whole current of our history shows to be untrue, that the Senate has during the past century failed to meet the just expectations of the people, and that the State Legislatures have proved themselves unfit to be the depositaries of the power of electing Senators.

The reasons which require this change, if acted upon and carried to their logical result, will lead to the election by the direct popular vote and by popular majorities, of the President and of the judiciary, and will compel the placing of these elections under complete national control.

It will result in the overthrow of the whole scheme of the Senate, and in the end, of the whole scheme of the national Constitution as designed and established by the framers of the Constitution and the people who adopted it.

Mr. HOAR. I give notice that at some time after to-morrow (if such a time shall come when it will not be inconvenient to the Senate) I desire to address the Senate in support of the resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Meanwhile the resolution will lie on the table and be printed.

HARBOR IMPROVEMENTS ON PACIFIC COAST.

Mr. RANSOM submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Commerce be, and they are hereby, authorized and directed to sit, by subcommittee not exceeding five in number, to be appointed by the chairman of said committee, during the recess of Congress, and to visit and examine the Pacific coast between Points Duma and Capistrano, with a view to determining the best location for the construction of a deep-water harbor. Said subcommittee is hereby also authorized to visit and examine such other works of river and harbor improvement on the Pacific coast, existing or proposed, as in their judgment the interests of commerce shall demand, and shall have power to subpœna witnesses, to administer oaths and take testimony, to employ a stenographer, and to appoint a sergeant-at-arms from the messengers of the Senate; and that the actual necessary expenses of the said subcommittee, properly incurred, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate in the usual manner.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

Mr. TURPIE. I ask to have the pending resolution again read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be again read.

The Secretary read the resolution reported from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution, upon which the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. TURPIE. Mr. President, we have no legislation on the subject of the appointing power by the governor of members of this body. The precedents in regard to Senatorial action we think are largely upon our side. They are claimed, however, by the advocates of the minority report to be about equally divided. It would be perhaps as fair a way as any to treat this as a case of first instance, the same as if no decision had ever been made upon it, and to remit the present court, the members of this body sitting in judgment, to the text of the Constitution itself, to the letter of the passage relating to the appointing power, the spirit of the context in which it is found, and the tenor and purpose of the whole instrument.

We have the highest legal and political authority for the maxim that the Union of the States in contemplation of law is perpetual—that of Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. The law of that Union, its rule of action and operation, must be deemed to be of the same character, and the instrumentalities by which the law is executed, the great constitutional functions, the fundamental offices and officers of the Government must alike be deemed by the same necessity to be of perpetual existence and uninterrupted continuity.

This principle of continuing stability and permanent continuity of governmental forces is very plainly taught, inculcated, and even enforced by the various sections of the Constitution relating to the succession of political authority, provisions relating to the certainty of such succession, to the facility of such succession, to the certitude and the celerity of the succession of political authority, and also the practice of substitution and replacement in the various constitutional functions of the Government.

It is said the king never dies. Neither does the President. The man may disappear: the office and the officer are not subject to death. The Presidential term once filled by election continues through the whole quadrennial period. There is no special election or second election within the term called the Presidency. In case of the death or disability of the chief officer of state, a person is chosen at the same time he was himself elected to succeed to the duty and office of the President, and in case of the death or disability of this substitute or this *locum tenens* of the President, a person is designated by law to succeed him; and so on in a series of successions the Presidential office is perpetuated without change, not subject even to electoral change during the four years for which the choice was first made.

This is not, sir, a succession of blood. It is not a succession of birth. It is not a succession of heredity. It is a succession fixed by law. Many have been the wars of succession. The most bloody, the most devastating wars in the history of the world have been those with respect to the succession of political authority. An instance of it occurred when for many years the wars between the White and Red Roses involved all England in widespread ruin, twice with respect to the Spanish succession, and once with respect to the Austrian succession; almost every continental power in Europe was involved in war concerning the same.

We in the United States can never have such wars as long as the law of the country is obeyed and regarded, because the perpetual unbroken succession of political authority is provided for as a matter of law; even the second officer of the Government, to which all of us owe allegiance, and the term is not subject to interruption; it is subject to no loss or disparagement. If the Vice-President should be absent, such is the term used in the Constitution, by death or by any other casualty, this body is authorized to select a successor, a President *pro tempore*, an officer named in the Constitution, designated by the organic law, a permanent part of the system of the Senate, of the official staff of the Senate.

This officer is named and designated in the line of succession, even to the second officer of the Government, and allow me to say that he is chosen with reference to the succession of political authority in the executive department of the Government. These are measures of repose, of unshaken security, of peace, of quiet worthy of a great people engaged in all the vocations and arts of civilization, without a thought that they can ever be disturbed or molested by any question of the interruption of the constitutional functions of the Government.

The continuity of the legislative powers and department of the Government is a thing as necessary as that of the executive. This Government as well as all others depends upon revenue, and the revenue both in its supply and disbursement is wholly dependent upon the action of the legislative department.

But the legislative department of the Government is constituted in a manner very different from the executive, and especially in the number of its membership. The Constitution does not attempt to designate successors in the legislative department of the Government. What the Constitution does do without doubt is to frame a mode of succession, the means of succession, not to name or designate successors. That is certainly done with respect to both departments of the National Legislature. There has been no instant of time since the organization of the first Congress when there has not been under all circumstances, under every exigency and emergency, the means provided for the succession of legislative authority and the mode and manner of that succession prescribed by the organic law, even to the units of membership in both the Houses of Congress.

It is said in the Constitution "that the House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year," and when vacancies occur the executive of the State is to issue writs of election for the purpose of filling such vacancies. The term "vacancies" here is without qualification or limitation. It comprises vacancies arising from every conceivable cause, just as the statute of a State regarding administration disposes of the goods and chattels, the property of the deceased, under every circumstance of intestacy, and discovers the heir by the rules of descent enacted in such cases.

In the membership of the House of Representatives there is no substitution, there is no replacement. There is no person who is designated to succeed. It is not said, for example, that the person receiving the next highest number of votes shall succeed the member elected in case of a vacancy, or that the vacancy shall be filled by the remaining members of the delegation. No such expedient is resorted to. In this respect the membership of the House of Representatives is the highest and most dignified in the National Legislature or in the whole system of Government. It is the only office where no alternate is provided and which can not be filled by substitution.

The consequence is that the means of succession do remain undisturbed. The mode of succession is provided in the Constitution perpetually. The Constitution provides that a writ of election shall be issued by the governor to fill the vacancy, and that is the only means of succession. It is the most expensive means, it is the most deliberate, it is the most prolonged, and the most dilatory method of succession in respect to any of the offices named in the Constitution.

A vacancy may occur in that House by the casualty of death, by resignation, by the failure to elect by the people, a tie vote by the people, by the refusal to accept by a person who has been elected, or it may occur by the death of the person elected after his election and before qualification. In that case the vacancy does not occur in the term, for the term has never been occupied. Filling a vacancy proper can only mean the filling of a place which has formerly had an occupant, the completing of a term which has formerly had a tenant. The new term of a member of the House dying before his qualification is therefore not a vacancy in the term; but the words used in the Constitution are "vacancies in the representation." Although this is not a vacancy in the term, it is a vacancy in the representation; it is a vacancy in the delegation; the delegation from that State is one short in the House of Representatives and an election is ordered to fill this vacancy—a vacancy in strict propriety and in the strictest use of our language called, and properly called, such, because it is a vacancy in the representation, a vacancy in the delegation, a vacancy in the succession, thus commanded by constitutional ordinance to be filled and to be supplied.

Now, sir, I think it has always been a favorite theory in discussions upon constitutional power and in the practice of this Government to regard the two Houses of Congress as coördinate and coequal, as having equal power and equal authority in the public affairs of the Government. So far as they related to the legislative system, they have always been taken and deemed to be of equal moment.

As to a vacancy in the House of Representatives, where but one means of filling a vacancy is provided, if with respect to this vacancy in representation in that House there can be no interregnum, there can be no interruption, there can be no hiatus, for the filling of which the means of succession is not provided by the Constitution at any moment, at any hour, at any day when the vacancy occurs; then in this body, where there are two means provided of political succession, of the succession of political power, one by appointment and one by election, with what reason can it be claimed that in this body, where a double alternative is provided for the succession, there should here be a hiatus,

a chasm impassable, not to be supplied, not to be filled, and of indefinite recurrence?

In the two articles of the Constitution referring to the composition of these Houses it is said that the House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every two years by the people of the several States, and that the Senate of the United States shall be composed of members chosen by the Legislatures of the States, two Senators from each State. Nevertheless, it is afterwards provided in the clause relating to representation in the House, as in the clause relating to representation in the Senate, that in case vacancies occur, in the one instance the governor shall issue a writ for a special election, and in the other instance, where vacancies occur during a legislative recess, the governor shall appoint.

Now, is there any disparagement of a member elected to the House of Representatives under a special election in the fact that his office is not provided for in the first clause of the Constitution relating to that subject? That clause says members of the House shall be elected every two years. There is no House which has met since the organization of the Government, since the first, that did not have members elected in it at different intervals. Is their title to be questioned or to be disparaged because it is not described or provided for in the first clause of the instrument?

Again, in the first clause of the third section relating to the composition of this body it is said that Senators shall be chosen by the Legislatures of the several States for the term of six years, two Senators for each State; but it is afterwards provided also that during a recess of the Legislature vacancies may be filled by appointment.

We always have appointees in this body. Even before we admit the postulants now asking for admission, whose right to a seat here is questioned, we have now appointees in this body by the governors of States during legislative recesses, who will vote upon this question and who will aid and assist us in determining the question as to whether these additional seats shall be filled or whether they shall remain empty. Has it ever been considered to be any disparagement of the title of an appointee by a governor that his appointment was provided for in a subsequent clause of the Constitution relating to the composition of this body rather than in the first clause regarding it? What is there more of control in the first clause than in the second or the third?

I speak now with reference to the commanding power, the paramount authority, the supreme dominion of this highest law of the land, when I say that the last clause in the section respecting the composition of the Senate and respecting the composition of the House is as binding as the first; each and all are of equal authority. The members of the House who are not chosen every two years, and the members of the Senate who are not chosen by the Legislatures at all, but are appointed by the governors of States, are equally entitled to their seats, are guaranteed in their title thereto, and are vested with these official duties and functions by a part of the paramount law, as binding in its obligation as the very first sentence or clause in that instrument.

I wish to call attention very briefly to the section in the Constitution which relates to the composition of this body, and contains the provision in reference to the appointing power. It is found in the second clause of the third section of that instrument:

> Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies—

Using the noun agreeing with the verb "vacated" used in the prior part of the sentence, for this clause is a single sentence—

> and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments.

What is the meaning of the term "vacancies" in that passage? I speak advisedly when I say "passage." Senators have called it a clause; it is not a clause. Senators have called it a section; it is not a section. Senators have called it a sentence; it is not even a sentence; it is a very small part of a sentence, cut off simply by a semicolon from that which precedes it in the context.

What, then, can "vacancies" refer to? It can only refer to the verb "vacated" preceding it. It can only refer to vacancies in the classes, and not to vacancies in the term. At the beginning of a new term no vacancy in the term can be predicated, because the term has had no preoccupant, no former tenant; but a vacancy in the class at the commencement of a new term, at the middle, at the end of it, at any time when the place is vacant, a vacancy in the class exists, and it is with respect to such vacancy that the framers of the Constitution used this language.

Take for example the cases in argument now. Here is Mr. Mantle, a Senator of the third class, appointed at the commencement of a new term, a term which could have no vacancy in it, and yet there is a vacancy in his class; there is a place in that class which has been preoccupied and is now empty. The occupant was Mr. Sanders, formerly a Senator in this body. Therefore it is strictly philosophical to say as to the clause in which this passage is found, with respect to the classification of Senators, that a vacancy exists in the class and it may be filled by appointment. Take for another instance the case of Mr. Beckwith. His predecessor was Mr. Warren, a Senator of the second class, now in the third class; and in the second class, in the present condition of affairs, there is a vacancy, and that vacancy occurred during the legislative recess. Although it may not be called a void in the term, no man can deny that it is a void place in the class, and, therefore, constitutional authority is given to the executive of the State to fill it.

The same question might be asked with respect to the representation in this body of the State of Florida. Was there a vacancy in the representation of the State of Florida at the commencement of this session of the Senate? It was the commencement of a new term and the expiry of an old one. There was a vacancy in the class. The Senator now sitting belongs to that class. His term expired on the 3d of March last, the seat was empty afterwards, and would be now if it had not been for the gubernatorial appointment.

There was in every sense, at the expiration of his former term, a vacancy in the class to which the Senator belonged, a vacancy in the classification of Senators, a vacancy spoken of, particularly described, and provided for in the clause of the section where this appointing power is found. Not only had this place in the class been filled by the Senator from Florida as his own predecessor, but this place in that class had been filled by Senators from Florida ever since the admission of the State. There had been a line of predecessors, a line of preoccupancy, a half century of tenure of the term before; and, therefore, this vacancy as well as the others are clearly defined to be places now empty, but formerly filled.

It may be asked, however, did this vacancy, referring to the Florida case, happen? We think that interrogatory is too short. It is said it could not have happened, because it occurred by reason of the expiry of a term upon a certain fixed date designated by law. That would be the case if the framers of the Constitution had used the expression "if vacancies happen" without any sequence. That inquiry is, however, too short. This is the inquiry which ought to be made under the passage of the Constitution which we are now treating of: Did the vacancy in Florida happen during the recess of the Legislature of that State?

I admit that where a thing is foreordained—fixed by law to occur—"happen" may not be strictly used with respect to it; but where the thing is most certain, where the date is fixed by law and by enactment, if it be coupled and connected with a date uncertain and a time unknown, then the proposition may be regarded and must be regarded as a contingency, and then the word "happen" is used with all propriety. The only question is: Did the vacancy happen during the recess of the Legislature?

It is said the framers of the Constitution could not have intended to use the word "happen" with reference to the expiry of the term, because—and it is true—the framers of the Constitution themselves had fixed the date of the expiry of full terms down to the latest syllable of recorded time. They did so fix it; it is immovable. But what did the framers of the Constitution know about the recess of the Legislature of Florida? That is a limb of the proposition just as clear as the other; it is connected with the other. "If vacancies"—not "when vacancies happen," and stop there—but "if vacancies happen * * * during the recess of the Legislature of any State;" and although the framers of the Constitution did fix the date of the expiry of the Senatorial term beyond change and peradventure, they did not fix and they could not know when there would be a recess in the Florida Legislature.

The Constitution was written in 1787 and approved in 1789. Florida was not then a part of the territory of the United States. Its people were outside, out of the pale of liberty; they were aliens and strangers to our Israel. The Legislature of Florida had not even been dreamed of. How was it possible, then, for the framers of the Constitution to have fixed a time or to have known the time when the Legislature of Florida would be in session or in recess? How was it possible that these framers could have used a word more precise, more classic, and better fitted to the taste of the veriest purist than the word "happen" to indicate two things so coupled together, the expiry of a term certain and the recess of a Legislature, entirely uncertain?

I admit, for the sake of the argument, that there might be a sort of judicial knowledge chargeable upon the members of the Constitutional Convention with respect to the date when the

Legislatures of the old thirteen States were in session and when recesses of those Legislatures would occur. There might have been; but, sir, that would not have justified the convention in so concluding. All the older States have changed the times of the meeting of their Legislatures and even the composition of the Legislatures. In my State, which may be reckoned now among the old ones, within my time the date of the meeting of the Legislature has been changed twice. So that now that period of the year which was formerly recess occurs in the session, and the period of the year that was formerly in the session occurs in recess.

Take, then, the framers of the Constitution writing and speaking and considering in 1787, looking down the lapse of centuries, with respect to the organization of the Legislatures of the old States and the new States to be admitted, the time when they would assemble, and the time when they would be in recess; is there any other possible conclusion than that this limb and branch of the proposition, the recess of the Legislature, was a matter wholly contingent and entirely doubtful, and was therefore designated as a happening, a thing that might occur or might not occur, and was used properly in the language of the Constitution, saying "if vacancies happen during the recess of the Legislature of any State"?

I speak of the connection between a fixed date and an uncertain one. Take now, for example, a person speaking and writing in 1840 of the 4th of July in 1861. He could not have said with propriety, "if the 4th of July happens in 1861," but he could have said with the utmost propriety "if the 4th of July happens during the recess of Congress in 1861." The "recess of Congress" is a very doubtful term, and it makes the whole proposition one of contingency.

Lindley Murray himself would not object to the use of such an expression. If he were here in this case he would, of course, be admitted to the floor, as this is a grammatical discussion; but, sir, he could not object to the precise use of such language, "if the 4th of July"—the national anniversary, fixed beyond change, fixed for perpetuity—"if the 4th of July happens in 1861 during the recess of Congress"—I do not know whether it did or not, but it might have occurred or it might not have occurred. That establishes the contingency which justifies the use of the word "happen" by the framers of the Constitution. It shows not only that they were statesmen surpassing all others in excellence, but they were grammarians not excelled even in the details of the use of the language.

This brings me, sir, to the very common principle of exegesis which has not been noticed in the argument of Senators who have preceded me. I am sorry it is not a principle recognized by any legal authority, and you will not find it in the published reports of any of the courts; but it is a principle of interpretation very dear to common sense, very near to the plain people of the United States who adopted this Constitution, who ratified this Constitution, and who have lived and died under it for three generations. That principle is the point of view, or, in other words, the standpoint of the writer or speaker. That must be taken into consideration in determining the meaning of the passage.

Now, sir, it is remarkable that in the Constitution of the United States there are in several passages glimpses of the point of view, the standpoint of the writers or the framers. It happens—and I hope the use of the word is not objectionable here—it happens that with respect to the composition of the House and Senate the point of view of the framers is disclosed. Nearly all the imperative commands in the Constitution are in the future—shall do so and so, shall be elected, shall be appointed, shall make an appointment.

The whole instrument itself was at that time theoretical; it had no practical operation; it existed wholly *in posse;* its execution remained altogether *in futuro*, and it is very plain from the point of view that the framers of that instrument did then in their minds conceive that a Senate had been composed, that a House had been organized, that the Union destined to prevail against all enemies should exist in perpetuity by the fundamental forces of this organic law. They saw the whole thing before them. It is disclosed in the very use of this phrase.

It would have been perfectly proper to have said in the case of the House of Representatives, "the House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year," and to have said also "when vacancies shall happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies." It is not so said. The word used is "happen"—the present tense, the mood most simple, the first mood. The framers have brought before their eyes the whole organization of the National Legislature. They treated themselves and deemed themselves to be living under its benignant sway. They therefore speak in the present; they therefore write *in presenti*, "when vacancies happen," and the same phase occurs in the provision in relation to Senators in that passage of the Constitution.

The only difference is this: In the parallel clause relating to representation in the House the phrase is, "when vacancies happen." In the passage relating to representation in the Senate the phrase is, "if vacancies happen." The tense is the same, the tenor and purport is the same. It is the point of view, it is the standpoint from which these parties looked upon the legislative operations of the Government.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Would it disturb the Senator if I should ask him a question?

Mr. TURPIE. With all due respect to the honorable and learned Senator from the State of Oregon, I decline to yield and do not desire to be interrupted.

In the view of the framers of the Constitution, then having present before them the different functions of the Government and the legislative department in actual operation, they had nothing which enabled them to say anything with respect to a juncture so uncertain as the recess or session of a Legislature or as to what period of the year it might occur, or that it might be coexistent with a vacancy happening in the Senate.

It has been said here in argument that when a State declines to send a member to this body, that is, when the Legislature of a State fails to elect, there is no further duty upon the executive. What are the functions of a member of this body and what parties are interested in the discharge of such functions? I think the first and most important party in interest is the people, the nation of the United States; the second is the State which sends the Senator, and the third is the Senate itself. If the State then does decline to send a Senator here, it does not foreclose and bar the interests of the other two parties in the representation. It can not have that effect.

Allow me to remark, Mr. President, that the Constitution of the United States is a law of the people of the United States; it is legislation by the people; it is an enactment much more solemn than any which passes these two Houses and is approved by the President; it is a legislative statute of the sovereign, requiring no man's approval or confirmation; and the people of the United States in this primary, elementary law of their own enactment have vested the power to appoint during a legislative recess in the governor. In whose behoof and for whose benefit? Not certainly alone for the benefit of the State having the right to send, but in our behoof as Senators and in their own behoof as citizens of the United States. The whole mass of the citizenhood of this country is authorized to be represented in the Senatorial classes, and is interested in the full complement of such representation at every hour, at every moment of the public service.

It is said that the governor may decline to appoint. Most certainly he may. It is said the Legislature may decline or refuse or neglect to elect. Most certainly it may, and most certainly it has in each of these three cases now under consideration. It is said also that there is no power in the Constitution of the United States to compel the governor to appoint, to compel the Legislature to elect, to compel the person chosen to accept. It is therefore argued that a succession of political authority under this section of the Constitution was not intended or contemplated by its framers, because the Constitution is lacking in these compulsory means; and a passage is quoted here from Mr. Webster, in which he declares that the Constitution of the United States is binding upon individuals; it is obligatory upon the conscience of the citizen. Most certainly it is, but it is not binding upon the action, the highest action, either of the citizen or of the public officer of the Government. His words will not bear any such construction or misconstruction.

Where the Constitution binds action it is always that of some subordinate, some inferior, some merely administrative functionary or officer of the Government. It might as well be said a President-elect of the United States may decline to take the office. Is there anything in the Constitution of the United States to compel him to take it and to enter upon the discharge of his duties? In the case of the incapacity of the President, the Vice-President of the United States may decline to become his successor. Is there anything in the Constitution compelling him to accept that succession or compelling any of the officers in the line of succession to accept it?

The highest functions of government are not subject to compulsion. They were not intended to be. They are only obligatory upon the conscience and honor of the public officer; they have no sanction, and no penalty is attached, except that which attaches to the breach of conscience and to the violation of honor.

Take a higher function than any I have named. I speak with all reverence and with due consideration. The right of a freeman to vote is a higher function than any of those provided for either in the State or Federal constitutions. There is nothing in any of these instruments which can compel a citizen to vote.

The very highest function in a free government is entirely voluntary; there is no compulsion about it. Freedom of the ballot necessarily implies the freedom of the voter, and that freedom implies the privilege to vote or to abstain. In my judgment the great political revolutions, those which have even occurred most recently, are to be much more largely attributed to abstention than they are to a change of political opinion or to a change in the fellowship of partisan alliance.

It can not be said that the commandment of the Constitution with respect to the classification of the Senate and the perpetuity of the succession in those classes is not intended and contemplated by the organic law because there is no compulsion upon the governor or the Legislature to supply vacancies. It might as well be said that the Presidential succession of the United States is not intended and is not provided for because there is no agency in the Constitution which can compel the acceptance of the duties of that high office. I suppose no one would contend for such a construction.

For my part, I believe that the perpetuity of Senatorial succession in the classes of this body is as firmly fixed and as assuredly secured by the provision of the Constitution in reference to the elections and appointments of our members here as the Presidential succession is fixed and secured. I know of no fact, I know of no occurrence, I know of no era to be ascertained, to be established, to be firmly fixed by any human instrumentality, which exceeds in certainty the Presidential succession in the United States. It is a succession beyond peradventure, beyond interruption, beyond change, beyond the power of death, beyond any casualty to break it, except by the abdication and abandonment of the Government by the people who have so long supported and so bravely defended its life and continuance.

I turn now for a moment to that passage of the Constitution relating to the succession in the Presidency:

> In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

If there is anything certain in human affairs it is the succession of authority in the Presidency of the United States; but it is not more so than the Senatorial succession in the classes of this body.

There is a very singular consideration urged in favor of the interpretation of the minority of the committee. They say the failure of the Legislature to elect in these three cases is an indication of subsequent and repeated failures. To hear the Senators make the argument and state it, it would seem as if the Legislatures of the different States had about concluded to finally abandon their right to elect Senators of the United States; had about concluded to abdicate their powers and duties in that regard; that this body hereafter must be filled solely and only by appointees of governors. They speak in graveyard tones of the existence of third parties in the country, of the continued popular unrest, of the impossibility of making numbers unanimous, and of the disagreement existing among even majorities as throwing obstacles unforeseen, unknown, unconjectured by the framers of this Constitution in the way of the construction placed upon this passage by the majority of the committee.

Why, sir, I do not believe there was ever a body of statesmen in any civilized country in the world who were so perfectly familiar with the present political conditions as the framers of the Constitution were with the same conditions, only in a more aggravated form, during the whole of the Revolutionary war and the political struggles which preceded it. There are three parties in the country, and they sometimes find their way into the State Legislatures.

During the whole twenty years prior to the commencement of the Revolutionary war there were four parties in the British Parliament well defined, well marked by dividing lines, more distinct than those of nationa. subdivisions among the people—the party of Pitt, the party of North, the party of Rockingham, the party of Shelburne. When the ministry was forced upon the Crown, which finally recognized American independence, it was not by a victory of the Whigs over the Tories; that did not happen till much later; but it was by the combination of two sections of adverse parties, who placed a Cabinet in power which concluded the treaty of Paris and recognized the free and independent existence of the United States as a nation.

There is no subtlety of political design, there is no form of political finesse, there is no shape of caucus or of conference or of primary craft or cunning which was not exhausted in the political struggles pending in the earlier years of George III prior to the declaration of war against the Colonies.

I know, sir, it is sometimes said that there is nothing new under the sun. I do not accede to that proposition. I think there is; there is much that is new, entirely unknown before, which has come to this age, and I believe much more will come to it; but if it be said there is nothing new in political chicanery, there is nothing new in political strategy, there is nothing novel in political combinations, I agree to it. If there is anything trite by repetition, if there is anything grown stale by custom, if there is anything that has grown moldy by usage, it is the different fraudulent combinations and the different varieties of political intrigue which characterized the era of the framers of this Constitution. These were old things even at that time; they are older now.

I took occasion some years ago to refer to election incidents in Montana, which most of us on this side thought to be unjust and to savor of corruption; but I never dreamed that they were novel. They did not have that charm. Returning boards existed in Scotland and Wales during the whole of this era; the members were certified by returning boards, the election was settled by returning boards. They flourished with a growth as luxuriant and as infamous as that which has characterized their existence and service in the United States, and were much more frequent. The framers of this instrument need not have crossed the Atlantic, for there was the same arena of political scheming, intrigue, fraud, and craft intervening in every Colonial Legislature of the thirteen different Colonies during the period spoken of.

I recollect very well reading of a time when the proceedings of the House of Burgesses at Williamsburg; the proceedings of the General Court and Assemblymen at Boston, Mass.; the proceedings of the House of Delegates at Albany, N. Y., before the Union and before the war were noticed with as intense anxiety as the proceedings of either branch of Congress are noticed now, not only by the inhabitants of the Colonies, but by the parties and citizens of the mother country. They were interested as much as our fathers were, and towards the close of that great parliamentary struggle, happening in the thirteen different political centers in thirteen different Colonies, when every device had been exhausted by the party of the Crown, when they had offered pensions on the civil list and annuities on the privy purse, stars, garters, even peerages, to disrupt a single American Legislature on the question of the stamp act—it was at such a period as this that the framers of the Constitution acquired their political education, and it is of men so educated that it is here asserted that, although they might have the wisdom of the serpent, they had also the harmlessness of the dove.

I believe they had the wisdom of the serpent, and they had the innocence and the purity of the dove in all the work and way of liberty, but they knew what evil was. They felt the hot, heavy breath of legislative corruption. They had withstood all its blandishments and all its approaches. There were three parties in every Colonial Legislature, well defined, spoken of in all the histories of that era. One party was the patriot party, looking forward to the separation of the States from the English Crown. Another party was one which sympathized with the former, but were not willing to take the irrevocable step. Another party, frequently in the majority also, was the party of the Crown, insisting upon the right of the Imperial Parliament to tax the Colonies, and their duty to impose excises.

To say that the framers of this Constitution were not familiar with such an instance as this, a nominal majority divided and avoiding control or election which they might have secured, the artificial division of all the members on the floor compelling the presiding officer, the person in your place, to cast the tie vote, and to discover at last whether he was with the Crown or with the patriots—to suppose that they were unfamiliar with the tactics of the trained minority which might propose dilatory motions and actions to prevent an election or the passage of a law until the adjournment of the colonial assembly, when the office might be filled by the governor or by the appointment of the Crown—to suppose any of these things is to suppose an impossibility.

Who were the makers of this instrument? Gen. Washington was the president of the Convention. Dr. Franklin was the oldest member of it. Dr. Franklin had spent most of his life in London, the scene of these political intrigues. He was better acquainted with European politics and with American politics than any other member of the body. I will not say any more for him now except one thing. Dr. Franklin was a member-elect of the Convention when Gen. Washington went to Philadelphia to attend its session, and Gen. Washington, that master of etiquette, that sovereign of dignity and decorum, called first upon Dr. Franklin.

That certifies to me the wisdom, the intelligence, the purity, and the patriotism, and even the political knowledge in detail which characterized these great coactors and contemporaries. When, therefore, I hear a Senator assigning as a reason against a certain construction that there were some considerations inci-

dent to it which had not been weighed in the balance by the framers of this instrument, I immediately come to the conclusion that he has overestimated the wisdom and intelligence of the present age and that he has certainly underestimated and underrated the experience and information of the fathers and founders of this Government.

Gentlemen say there is no evidence of such a construction in the debates. The debates are perhaps sufficiently voluminous. The convention sat several months. This Constitution covers four pages in a book of octavo size; it covers about eight pages in a book of ordinary size. Did it take months and months to write it? Did it take months to compose it? How were these months of the session spent? They were spent in considering every clause, every word of the instrument from the beginning to the close.

There are a class of persons well known who speak too often in legislative bodies. I do not know that they are held in higher estimation than those who speak more seldom, but what I wish to say is that there are many valuable members of this body and of every other public body who do not participate in the debates at all, and their considerations are well thought out, deeply founded; although effective upon their fellow-members, they are not found in the debates.

Take the distinguished philosopher and statesman of whom I have spoken, a man who attended the sittings of the Convention every day; who lived in Philadelphia, whose house was open; where the committees met, where conferences were held of the friends of a certain section, of the friends of a certain clause, of parties interested in a certain passage as this is, the appointing power of the governor. Take such a man as that. He made but one speech in the many months' session of this convention. It may be read in ten minutes, and it was made just prior to the adjournment *sine die*. He was a man most industrious, most diligent, a man most constant in his labors and in his attendance, and I do not think it is impossible that a conjuncture here spoken of, the existence of third parties and the necessary sequence of such an existence, could have escaped his observation or the observation of his contemporaries when they had political and personal experience every year of their public life of just such vicissitudes and conjunctures as these are at present.

This construction of the minority makes an indefeasible, an irreparable gap. It creates a crevasse not to be repaired, not to be filled in the political current of governmental authority. That is the effect of it, and it is based partly upon the use of the word "happen" in the phase "if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State," the governor shall make appointments. It is said with respect to this word, and I read now from the report of the minority—

> An event that is provided for by law to take place at stated periods known to all men is not correctly spoken of by people of ordinary education as "happening," because there is no element of uncertainty in it.
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> * * * * * * *
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> We do not say, for instance, that any natural event, which all men know and look for, did "happen" to come at the time on which it was expected; we do not say that the sun "happens" to rise on a certain day; we do not say that water "happens" to flow down a descent by the force of gravity. That is a known law of nature. We do not say that Christmas "happens" to come on the 25th of December; by the universal consent of Christendom that event comes on that day without peradventure. We do not say that a note "happens" to fall due on the day which is specified in the instrument, though it no doubt is often said that it "happened" to fall due when the maker did not have the money to pay it.
>
> We do not say that Congress happened to meet on the first Monday in December: that is law.

I have no criticism to make on this exposition of the meaning of the term "happen," but I have an observation to make upon its relevancy to this argument. The whole of this exposition is founded upon a fallacy very manifest. That fallacy is that the vacancy is created by a single cause, the expiry of the term. A vacancy can never occur after adjournment by an expiry of the term alone. What if the Legislature had elected, would not the term have expired? Would there have then been any vacancy?

The vacancy is not due to the single cause of expiry of the term. It is due to the two causes, the expiry of the term and the failure of the Legislature to elect. The one cause is certain; it is fixed by law beyond contingency. It can not be spoken of as happening. But the other cause is entirely doubtful, the failure of the Legislature to elect. It may occur or it may not occur. When an event depends on two causes, one of which is fixed and certain and the other is uncertain and contingent, the event itself is a contingency. The one uncertain cause makes the event itself uncertain.

Now, is there any event more uncertain than the action of a Legislature circumstanced as these Legislatures were with respect to a Senatorial election, where the majority is very close, or where it is divided, or where the balance of power is in the hands of a third party? I passed through such a crisis myself, weeks and weeks of balloting depending upon a single vote belonging to a third section or independent party represented in the Legislature, and finally terminated by that vote alone. There is not a more uncertain thing in the world or in the transactions of the world than what will be the legislative action in such a juncture. If there be, it is the proverbial verdict of the petit jury. That is said sometimes to be the most doubtful thing.

But I believe that dubiety is just as intense in the case of such legislative action as it is in the case of a mistrial; and I ask any one here, skilled or unskilled in the use of language, if a gentleman speaking of a case where the jury had disagreed should say a mistrial happened, whether that would be solecism, whether there is anything incorrect in it or ungrammatical; and in speaking of legislative nonaction, if that gentleman should remark there happened to be a failure to elect, who could lay anything like a solecism to his charge? What incorrectness is there in the use of that language? How is it said, then, that the makers of the Constitution were not fully justified in using the word "happen" when they spoke of a vacancy occurring from the two causes, the expiry of the term and the failure of the Legislature to elect?

Sir, if there be any happening in this world of haps which is more uncertain than another, it is what shall be the event of a trial by a petit jury or what shall be the action of a legislative body under such circumstances. I do not believe, since the first man broke silence with the first speech, that any thought or thing has ever been so appropriately designated, denominated, and pointed out as a vacancy caused by a failure to elect in this instance is by the framers of the Constitution when they say that if it happen.

The original draft of the instrument did not contain the words "by resignation or otherwise." Having done away with the obstacle in the use of the word "happen," the opponents of this construction take refuge in the phrase "by resignation or otherwise." They claim that it is a limitation upon the power of the governor, and that the vacancy which happens is one which is occasioned by resignation, or, as they claim it, "otherwise," meaning by similar modes to resignation, something like resignation. We of the majority say that "otherwise" includes every other casualty by which a vacancy could occur, every other casualty no matter what it may be. "Otherwise" means "other ways." Gentlemen may examine Johnson, the contemporary authority with the Constitution of the United States, the nearest contemporary, the first of English lexicographers, not the last nor the least in learning. He defines the term "otherwise" to mean "other ways, in another manner, in a different mode or manner, not in a similar way, not in the same way, not in a way like the way first named." And the real question in this debate is not how a vacancy occurred, but whether it exists.

But I do not quote Johnson alone, and I should be willing to say that the original interpretation was somewhat doubtful if it was not for the practice of the Senate of the United States. I am not talking about precedents. I am speaking of the practice of this body, the practice acquiesced in, conceded, taken *pro confesso*, acknowledged, admitted, unquestioned ever since the organization of the first Senate.

Vacancies may occur in this body by death. Death came very early to us, and vacancies came to us by means of death as early as the second Congress. Death is a very common cause of vacancy.

Now, what has been the practice? The practice has been constant and unbroken where a vacancy occurs by death; it has been always filled by temporary appointment by the governor during the recess of the Legislature. There have been many such appointments, and there have been very numerous decisions and judgments of the Senate that the vacancy occurring by death is legitimately filled by a gubernatorial appointment.

How does death resemble resignation? How is death like resignation? What similitude is there between resignation and death? Resignation, of course, implies the voluntary action of the Senator. It implies an act closely related to his will or volition. Is death a voluntary act? Has it any kinship with voluntary action? A Senator might commit suicide, but the best authorities have said no sane man was ever a voluntary agent in his own destruction. Death is the most involuntary of all acts. It is the most dissimilar to that of resignation. I have always understood death to be a struggle against the will and against the wish to live; the death bed is a scene of contest between the forces of disease upon the one hand and the forces of vitality upon the other, in which the patient finally yields by force, by superior duress; not of willingness, but by compulsion.

> For who, to dumb forgetfulness a prey,
> This pleasing, anxious being e'er resign'd?

The poet has spoken the sentiment of humanity with respect to the character of death. Who has ever tendered a resignation

of his life except that Divine Being whose majestic self-sacrifice has filled the world with wonder and worship?

I have no doubt, sir, insanity would create a vacancy here. I think there is not an instance of it in the history of the Senate, but I have no doubt that insanity after office found must create here a vacancy. After a Senator has suffered the inquest of *non compos*, and is declared judicially to be void of disposing mind and memory, he could not certainly fill the functions of a lawmaker. We ourselves would be obliged to take notice of such procedure, and the chief executive of the State would be bound to fill the vacancy.

Is insanity a voluntary act? Does it resemble resignation? I have always understood that derangement of the reason once extant and once in being was a result of an intense struggle prolonged for nights of torture, for days of gloom, until the malady finally dethroned the sovereign reason and ruin followed. Next to death it is the most involuntary of acts or of conditions, and yet it might create a vacancy.

Expulsion may be another cause of vacancy. We have had in the history of the Senate two instances of expulsion, and in both of these instances, as soon as the decree of expulsion was entered, the governor, it being in the recess of the Legislature, appointed a citizen to fill the vacancy. One of these expulsions related to my own State, Indiana. Within three days after the order of expulsion was entered the appointee of the governor, it being in legislative recess, came here and was qualified and took his seat, acted as a Senator, voted as a Senator, was recognized as a Senator until the day that the Legislature elected his successor. In the other instance the same procedure was followed.

Is expulsion within the category of "or otherwise"? We claim that it is. It does not resemble resignation. The failure to elect by the Legislature may be the cause of a vacancy. I will not ask whether that resembles resignation. I do not believe two acts could be differenced by a more extended disparity than resignation and a failure to elect by the Legislature, but I will say a failure to elect by the Legislature and a vacancy occasioned thereby resemble resignation, and a vacancy occasioned by resignation just as fully and as completely as a vacancy occasioned by death or by insanity or by expulsion resembles resignation.

We claim that all these four causes—death, insanity, expulsion, the failure of a Legislature to elect—are causes of vacancy included in the phrase "or otherwise." Two of them are conceded by a century of action of the Senate of the United States itself to be in that category—death and expulsion; and these two are most dissimilar and the most completely and remotely separated from resignation of any causes that could happen occasioning the vacancy.

We think, therefore, the words "or otherwise" do include and were intended to include every cause of vacancy except resignation. Then why should resignation have been mentioned at all? A Senator has already spoken of the history of that term. There was a question then entertained very seriously in the Colonies and by the statesmen of the Colonies whether a person elected by the people or by their representatives to an office could divest himself of that election, could excuse himself in anyway by his voluntary act from the performance of the duty, and there was a very large minority of opinion in the courts and assemblies of the colonial period against the authority and right to resign.

In England to this day a member of Parliament can not resign. Once elected, he can not resign. A member of Parliament may take an appointment from the Crown, and if he receives such appointment his seat is vacated. The member of Parliament who desires to retire asks of the premier the appointment of warden of the Chiltern Hundreds. It is never refused. It is an office without duties; it is an office without salary or emoluments. Having accepted the Chiltern Hundreds, and having waited until the writ for the election of a successor has been properly signed and attested, he resigns the office and finds himself at once out of Parliament, out of public life, in that post of honor the private station. It is only through this narrow door that he can divest himself of that sovereignty which the suffrages of his fellow-citizens have imposed upon him.

In the case of Senator Allen, however, it is said, granting that the use of the word happen is more than justified by the rules of the language at the period of the formation of the Constitution and at this present hour, granting also that "vacancies" refers to vacancies in the classes, to real vacancies, places which had former occupants, it is said in the case of Senator Allen that the vacancy did not commence in the recess of the Legislature. The Constitution says nothing about the commencement of the vacancy. It says nothing about the beginning of vacancies. The language is, "if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State."

Now, sir, I think it is very clear that with respect to the use of this word it may be continuous. I was reading the work of a very accomplished authoress a few days ago, a lady who visited the Cape of Good Hope, and who published an account of her travels on the way to India and to the farther orient. This lady said she arrived at the Cape at the commencement of the rainy season and that it rained without ceasing. "It happened to rain every day of our sojourn at Capetown, and we were unable therefore to go out and view the city." Is that ungrammatical? I have a very distinguished Senator as my ordinary seat mate on the right, the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WALTHALL], whose absence has been missed so much by all those who have the pleasure of his acquaintance. If I were to speak now of his absence in this body and to say that he happened not to be present, or that he happened to be absent during the whole of the last week in March, or during the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh days of such a week, or during each day in the last week of that month, would there be anything improper in the use of such language? And instead of supposing he were present, detained as he is by indisposition, if I would speak abstractly only of the absence as the Constitution speaks of the vacancy, might not I say that this absence of the learned and honorable Senator from Mississippi had happened during the whole of the first week of March, and during each day of the second week, and during every day of the third week, and had happened during Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of the last week of March, 1893?

It is not the continuance of the condition which justifies the use of the word "happen," but its contingency. If such condition must end on a day certain, then it can not be said to happen no matter how long it may last; but if its duration and ending are uncertain, then it may be said to happen every day of its existence no matter how long it may continue.

Now, sir, I believe that this vacancy occurring at the expiry of a term, during the session of a Legislature, not supplied by them, happened every day of the session, because it might either have been or not have been every successive day, and happened every day of the recess following the session succeeding the adjournment. It happened every day of that recess, because it might have been filled or might not have been filled by appointment by the governor.

The election or nonelection by the Legislature is a contingency which happens each day of the session, and the vacancy so caused might happen each day of the recess succeeding the adjournment. It is proper to say that the vacancy in the class of the Senator from Washington, Mr. Allen, the vacancy in the class, the place filled in that class by himself as his predecessor, the vacancy in the place heretofore preoccupied which is now empty, has happened and did happen every day up to the date of the gubernatorial appointment from that State.

Mr. President, the different clauses, sections, and passages of the Constitution ought to be construed with reference to the main tenor and purpose, and especially with reference to the objects mentioned or aimed at in the particular passage in argument. The subject-matter of this section of the Constitution is the composition of the Senate, and it plainly shows two methods of composition, one by appointment and one by election. The subject-matter of this clause in that section is the classification of Senators and the perpetuity of that classification, and it plainly shows that vacancies in the classes are to be filled during legislative recesses by executive appointments. Our construction, even if it should be doubted upon any ground, ought to be favored, because the other is adverse to the purpose of this section, of this clause, and to the whole tenor of the instrument.

There is no mere construction by implication which will justify us in concluding that any vacancy could not be filled by the governor occurring during recesses. We ought to be unwilling to come to the conclusion that any such vacancy could happen from any cause which could not be supplied by a gubernatorial appointment unless the power is expressly excluded by the terms of the Constitution. For instance, this would be an exclusion: "When the Legislature has been in session and adjourned without choice the governor shall not in the subsequent recess appoint a Senator." What if that had been offered during the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States? What if it had been read in the presence of the presiding officer, Washington, and in the presence of that great statesman, Franklin, as I have read it here to-day?

I think there would have been many members of the Convention who would have sprung to their feet and said, "Why, gentlemen, it is impossible for us to adopt such a proposition as that. That does not look to an occasional interruption during the use or attempted use of the means of succession. That proposition denies the means of the succession and destroys its perpetuity. It deprives the Government of a means of its enduring existence. If we are to pass any such thing, if we are to submit any such proposition to the people of the United States, let us do it in a separate clause, let us do it in a separate section; let us not, at

least, put it after a semicolon in another passage. If there is to be a final incurable hiatus in governmental affairs, let it be plainly directed, commanded, promulgated in the organic law. It ought not be left to mere construction, or to the broken lights of misconstruction." There is no such passage in the Constitution, and without the utmost distortion of language no such passage can be implied from the terms used in that instrument.

This section treats of the composition of the Senate. This pretended construction demands the decomposition of the Senate, by declaring not only that a vacancy had occurred, but that it shall continue, and that there is no power to fill or supply it. This construction, the construction of the minority, is the construction of dissolution, of decadence, of decomposition, of death, and if a sufficient number of States were implicated and there was an abstention suggested by this construction of gubernatorial appointment, it might lead to the dissolution of this body and the termination of its functions.

Under this construction of the minority we go forth into a void desert, a land unsown, a country sterile, barren of results or returns. We undertake to define and declare an interregnum, an interruption in the legislative department of the Government, by contemplation of law perpetual in its existence and in its operation, and this vacancy is incapable of being supplied, and it is of indefinite frequency of occurrence. The consequence is that in the very origin this Government has deliberately created a default and framed a defect in its fundamental law which is without remedy.

Although vacancies do occur of necessity, such as the lapse of time in electing a member of the House of Representatives or the lapse of time occurring in appointment by the governor, yet such delays are incurred in the actual use and operation of the means of succession, of the mode of perpetuity. Under this construction it is claimed that in certain cases there can be no means of succession and there can be no method of perpetuity. We have reached a point in the Government at last where we can govern no longer.

Our construction, the construction of the majority, on the other hand, is affirmative. We claim the right to do where doing is demanded. We claim the right of the governor to act where action is exceedingly necessary and must have been contemplated from the beginning. The construction of the majority in this case is beneficial. It is in accord with the underlying instinct and purpose, the aim and destiny, of this constitutional Republic, the continuity and perpetuity of the national life.

I have sometimes thought, sir, that these procreant elements and forces of the organic law, these procreative agencies in our system, have in themselves a savor of immortality, of self-engendering perpetuity, and that if in some ill-starred time of storm or disaster any part of this magnificent fabric of civil liberty should go down, these principles would yet survive; they would never be wholly submerged. As has been written by another upon a similar theme, these would yet appear clearly, distinctly visible in every circumstance or calamity, like that cluster of stars fabled, shining, to float upon the waves of the Ionian Sea to mark the spot where the enchanting lyre of Sappho sank ages ago beneath its waters.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I desire to discuss this question briefly, but there is some executive business pending. However, I can go on now if the Senate chooses.

Mr. ALLISON. Let us have an executive session.

Mr. VEST. I move an executive session, and I will take the floor on this question when it comes up again.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JONES of Arkansas in the chair). The Senator from Missouri is recognized as entitled to the floor on the pending question when its consideration is resumed. He moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 1 hour and 5 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 3 o'clock and 7 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, April 4, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 3, 1893.

ASSISTANT TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES.

James F. Meline, of the District of Columbia, to be Assistant Treasurer of the United States, to succeed James W. Whelpley, resigned.

ASSISTANT SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY.

William Edmond Curtis, of New York, to be Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, to succeed Genio M. Lambertson, resigned.

Charles S. Hamlin, of Massachusetts, to be Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, to succeed John H. Gear, resigned.

COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY.

James H. Eckels, of Illinois, to be Comptroller of the Currency, to succeed A. Barton Hepburn, resigned.

AUDITORS OF THE TREASURY.

T. Stobo Farrow, of South Carolina, to be Second Auditor of the Treasury, to succeed Joab N. Patterson, resigned.

John B. Brawley, of Pennsylvania, to be Auditor of the Treasury for the Post-Office Department, to succeed Thomas B. Coulter, resigned.

DEPUTY FIFTH AUDITOR OF THE TREASURY.

James J. Willie, of Florida, to be Deputy Fifth Auditor of the Treasury, to succeed J. Lee Tucker, resigned.

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS.

Henry W. Egnor, of New Jersey, to be collector of customs for the district of Newark, in the State of New Jersey, to succeed Eli H. Reynolds, whose term of office has expired by limitation.

Dudley O. Watson, of Michigan, to be collector of customs for the district of Michigan, in the State of Michigan, to succeed George W. McBride, whose term of office has expired by limitation.

SUPERINTENDENT OF CHARITIES.

John Tracy, of New York, to be superintendent of charities for the District of Columbia, vice Amos G. Warner, resigned.

POSTMASTERS.

Isidore Zacharias, to be postmaster at Bainbridge, in the county of Decatur and State of Georgia, in the place of Levi H. Peacock, removed.

Francis A. Glass, to be postmaster at Cresco, in the county of Howard and State of Iowa, in the place of William B. Webster, whose commission expired March 29, 1893.

Stephen Oliver, to be postmaster at Griggsville, in the county of Pike and State of Illinois, in the place of Edward S. Hoyt, whose commission expired March 23, 1893.

Miss Rebecca Snape, to be postmaster at Petersburg, in the county of Menard and State of Illinois, in the place of William R. Parks, whose commission expired March 23, 1893.

Orris T. Dickerson, to be postmaster at Spencer, in the county of Owen and State of Indiana, in the place of John W. Anderson, resigned.

Albert A. May, to be postmaster at Cannelton, in the county of Perry and State of Indiana, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after January 1, 1893.

Frank Mapes, to be postmaster at Kansas City, in the county of Wyandotte and State of Kansas, in the place of Osceola K. Serviss, whose commission expired March 29, 1893.

Horace C. Ashton, to be postmaster at Flemingsburg, in the county of Fleming and State of Kentucky, in the place of Horace C. Ashton, whose commission expired February 28, 1893.

Elliott N. Benson, to be postmaster at Bar Harbor, in the county of Hancock and State of Maine, in the place of John Summisby, whose commission expired March 29, 1893.

Amasa Howe, to be postmaster at Presque Isle, in the county of Aroostook and State of Maine, in the place of Arthur C. Perry, whose commission expired March 13, 1893.

Henry W. Hough, to be postmaster at Kirkwood, in the county of St. Louis and State of Missouri, in the place of William W. Alter, resigned.

George W. Evans, to be postmaster at Ocean Grove, in the county of Monmouth and State of New Jersey, in the place of Aaron E. Ballard, resigned.

J. Elwood Harvey, to be postmaster at Little Silver, in the county of Monmouth and State of New Jersey, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after April 1, 1893.

Charles F. Newton, to be postmaster at Woodbridge, in the county of Middlesex and State of New Jersey, in the place of John M. Sutton, whose commission expired March 23, 1893.

Patrick Sheridan, to be postmaster at Elizabeth, in the county of Union and State of New Jersey, in the place of Samuel S. Moore, whose commission expired April 1, 1893.

I. Mount Smith, to be postmaster at Hightstown, in the county of Mercer and State of New Jersey, in the place of Thomas M. Scroggy, who is incapacitated by reason of mental infirmity, and therefore removed.

Charles Bull, to be postmaster at White Oaks, in the county of Lincoln and Territory of New Mexico, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after April 1, 1893.

Clarence W. Boshamer, to be postmaster at Statesville, in the county of Iredell and State of North Carolina, in the place of Andrew D. Cowles, whose commission expired March 30, 1893.

William Dalrymple, to be postmaster at Nelsonville, in the

county of Athens and State of Ohio, in the place of John F. Welch, whose commission expired March 23, 1893.

Charles E. Peoples, to be postmaster at Pomeroy, in the county of Meigs and State of Ohio, in the place of Walter W. Merrick, whose commission expired April 1, 1893.

Daniel Wyss, to be postmaster at New Philadelphia, in the county of Tuscarawas and State of Ohio, in the place of Daniel Korns, whose commission expired March 23, 1893.

W. O. Prentiss, to be postmaster at Beaufort, in the county of Beaufort and State of South Carolina, in the place of Marion F. Campbell, removed.

John W. Clark, to be postmaster at Ripley, in the county of Lauderdale and State of Tennessee, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after April 1, 1893.

D. W. Nash, to be postmaster at Cuero, in the county of Dewitt and State of Texas, in the place of John C. Woodworth, whose commission expired June 25, 1892; William Drawe, who was appointed by the President and subsequently nominated and confirmed by the Senate December 20, 1892, having declined the appointment.

Helen I. Campbell, to be postmaster at Saxtons River, in the county of Windham and State of Vermont, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after January 1, 1893.

E. Hess Reinhart, to be postmaster at Shepherdstown, in the county of Jefferson and State of West Virginia, in the place of James D. Fayman, resigned.

John Dawe, to be postmaster at Edgerton, in the county of Rock and State of Wisconsin, in the place of Simon L. Lord, deceased.

John Finch, to be postmaster at Stevens Point, in the county of Portage and State of Wisconsin, in the place of Edward McGlachlin, whose commission expired March 21, 1893.

William A. Hume, to be postmaster at Chilton, in the county of Calumet and State of Wisconsin, in the place of George D. Breed, whose commission expired March 26, 1893.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 29, 1893.

POSTMASTERS.

James E. Brown, to be postmaster at Newnan, in the county of Coweta and State of Georgia.

Henry I. Tuggle, to be postmaster at Martinsville, in the county of Henry and State of Virginia.

J. E. Horsman, to be postmaster at Rice Lake, in the county of Barron and State of Wisconsin.

Thomas F. Solon, to be postmaster at West Superior, in the county of Douglas and State of Wisconsin.

Lewis Green, to be postmaster at Logan, in the county of Hocking and State of Ohio.

James F. Johnson, to be postmaster at Pendleton, in the county of Umatilla and State of Oregon.

Charles D. Denit, to be postmaster at Salem, in the county of Roanoke and State of Virginia.

Rollin M. Clark, to be postmaster at Keokuk, in the county of Lee and State of Iowa.

Francis M. Mumford, to be postmaster at Bayou Sara, in the parish of West Feliciana and State of Louisiana.

Thomas H. Craig, to be postmaster at Athens, in the county of Athens and State of Ohio.

William M. Dunbar, to be postmaster at Augusta, in the county of Richmond and State of Georgia.

Samuel Harris, to be postmaster at Franklin, in the county of Johnson and State of Indiana.

Henry C. Ulen, to be postmaster at Lebanon, in the county of Boone and State of Indiana.

TUESDAY, *April 4, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. COCKRELL. Yesterday evening my colleague [Mr. VEST] took the floor on the pending resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair so understands.

Mr. COCKRELL. As it is very early, he is not here. I move that the Senate take a recess for ten minutes.

Mr. HARRIS. I will state to the Senator from Missouri that his colleague was in committee a few moments ago, and I think he will undoubtedly be in the Senate very soon.

Mr. HOAR. There is no quorum present.

Mr. SHERMAN. The Secretary had better call the roll.

Mr. HOAR. A recess need not then be taken.

Mr. COCKRELL. Very well.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Allen,	Dolph,	Jones, Ark.	Ransom,
Allison,	Dubois,	Jones, Nev.	Sherman,
Bate,	Faulkner,	Manderson,	Smith,
Berry,	Gallinger,	Martin,	Stewart,
Caffery,	George,	Mills,	Stockbridge,
Call,	Gibson,	Mitchell, Oregon	Vance,
Chandler,	Gorman,	Mitchell, Wis.	Vest,
Cockrell,	Hansbrough,	Morrill,	Voorhees,
Colquitt,	Harris,	Murphy,	Washburn.
Cullom,	Hill,	Pasco,	
Daniel,	Hoar,	Peffer,	
Davis,	Irby,	Power,	

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Forty-five Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] is entitled to the floor on the pending resolution, and will proceed.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I shall claim the attention of the Senate but a very short time. It was my fortune to have been present when this question was debated in 1879, when some of the most eminent lawyers in the United States were members of the Senate. With the great weight of authority upon the other side of this case I should distrust my own conclusions, but for the fact that such lawyers as David Davis, Roscoe Conkling, Matt Carpenter, A. H. Garland, Bailey of Tennessee, and Kernan of New York advocated the same opinion which I express here now.

Great stress is put by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PUGH] in this, as has been done in preceding debates, upon the fact that this question is *res adjudicata* in the Senate, and the doctrine of *stare decisis* is now invoked as absolutely conclusive. If that were so, as a matter of course it would be the end of the controversy; but I deny it. I deny that the doctrine of *stare decisis* applies to the proceedings or decisions of the Senate except when under the Constitution it sits as a high court of impeachment, when by constitutional provision each Senator is required to take a special oath or affirmation to act judicially, and when in the case of the impeachment of the President of the United States the Chief Justice presides over the court.

The Senator from Massachusetts conceded it was not a court in the debate of 1885, when he said that the Senate sat here in a quasi-judicial capacity. That gives away the entire doctrine of *stare decisis*. Whenever the Senate exercises its discretion in legislative session it acts quasi judicially, just as a board of commissioners, or the head of a bureau, or an agent of the Government acts in a quasi-judicial manner when he exercises his discretion as to any official matter brought before him.

It would be very remarkable if the doctrine of *stare decisis* applied to the legislative proceedings of the Senate, a body one-third of which is elected every two years, a body whose constituent parts are sent here by changes of popular opinion, by passion and prejudice and all the influences of popular government; and it would be much more remarkable if this doctrine could be invoked here in view of the fact that the doctrine of *stare decisis* is based upon great public policy, in order to conserve and preserve private titles, rights which are based upon judicial decisions, because the great Latin maxim *interest republicæ ut sit finis litium* as a matter of course applies to proceedings of judicial tribunals, in order that the rights of property may not be disturbed by vacillating opinion. This doctrine does not apply to the proceedings of the Senate of the United States when determining the qualifications of its members, although the Constitution uses the words "each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members."

In the Kellogg case this contention was made, and seven Democratic Senators voted with our friends upon the opposite side of the Chamber, some of them, I know personally, against their judgment, because they believed that the doctrine of *stare decisis* applied and that the Kellogg case had been adjudicated prior to the time we considered it. But the very large majority of Democratic Senators denied that the doctrine applied, and the proceedings of the Senate since 1801 show conclusively that this doctrine has never been thought by the best lawyers to apply to a question such as is now pending in this body.

Mr. President, it is an acknowledged fact that the Senate of the United States has decided this question in both ways. The first case was decided in 1793. It came up from Delaware, and was decided in favor of the position which I assume here to-day. It is referred to most aptly in the very able argument of the late Attorney-General of the United States, Mr. Garland, which is found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, giving the debate of 1879. It was the case of Kensey Johns of Delaware. The facts were as follows:

George Read, esq., having resigned his seat in the Senate on the 18th of September, 1793, the executive, on the 19th of March, 1794, appointed and commissioned the said Kensey Johns to represent the State in the Senate till the next meeting of the State Legislature.

On the 24th of March, 1794, Mr. Johns appeared in the Senate and produced his credentials of appointment.

Whereupon it was moved that they be referred to the consideration of the Committee of Elections before the said Kensey Johns should be permitted to qualify.

I refer Senators to the subsequent report of the case, to show that the debate finally culminated in a resolution of the Senate, in which 20 Senators voted that Mr. Johns, who was appointed to an original term, as the applicant in the case now before the Senate was appointed, by the governor of the State, was not entitled to his seat, 20 Senators voting in the affirmative—that is, that he had no right to a seat—and 7 in the negative.

Mr. HOAR. Was he not appointed before the vacancy occurred?

Mr. VEST. The Senator from Massachusetts asks me if he was not appointed before the vacancy occurred. He was appointed under circumstances exactly similar to those that surround the present case. The Legislature endeavored to elect. They failed to elect, and the governor of the State then undertook to fill an original term, an unbroken term, by appointment. The committee (and I have the record here before me) made their report, and the Senate affirmed it upon the distinct ground that the governor had no such right.

Resolved, That Kensey Johns, appointed by the governor of the State of Delaware as a Senator of the United States for said State, is not entitled to a seat in the Senate of the United States, a session of the Legislature of said State having intervened between the resignation of the said George Read and the appointment of the said Kensey Johns.

Now, if the contention be correct that all vacancies, no matter when they occur, in the Senate of the United States must be filled out, what difference does it make when the vacancy occurs? I understand the contention of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] to be that the monarchical doctrine applies to Senatorial succession. The king is dead, long live the king; in other words, that the subtile element of royalty passes out of the dead body of the monarch into his lineal successor, although it be an—

Infant,
Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms.

Mr. President, our fathers undertook to overthrow that doctrine when they established a representative government in which the vitalizing element was representation by the people, in which the House of Representatives should be constituted of members elected directly by the people, and in which the constituency of the Senate should be the Legislatures elected by the people and representing the States.

If the contention be correct that there can be no vacancy in the Senate, why did the Senate of the United States in the first case that came up, immediately after the adoption of the Constitution of 1789, by a vote of 20 to 7, declare that, the Legislature having met and failed to elect, the governor had no right to fill an original term? This was the opinion of our distinguished friend from Massachusetts in the debate of 1879 and afterwards in the debate of 1885. If Senators will take the trouble to go back to the RECORD of 1885 they will find that I then called the attention of the Senate to the fact that, the Legislature of New Hampshire having met and failed to elect after the vacancy occurred, it must be admitted on both sides of the Senate and by all Senators that the power of appointment to a full term on the part of the governor could not exist.

My position as a matter of law was fully acceded to. The RECORD shows that the two Senators from New Hampshire immediately took the floor, and contradicted my position as to the facts, but not as to the law. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] now rises and says he has changed his opinion. He has a right to do it. As a matter of course he has a right to do it, but from 1879 to 1885 that stood the unbroken and unquestioned law of the Senate, and from 1885 until the other day when the Senator from Massachusetts took back that opinion it was considered by all lawyers to be settled that if the Legislature had met and tried to elect to the vacancy and failed, the governor could not fill a full term by appointment.

Even if we concede for the sake of argument that the doctrine of *stare decisis* applies, which it does not, what is the historical résumé of this question?

The first case, that of Kensey Johns, was decided upon our side of the question by a vote of 20 to 7 when the Constitution was fresh; when the men who made it were still actors in public life; when the great intellect of Madison, the father of the Constitution, was still accessible to state what he meant and what his colleague meant in this clause of the Constitution; and yet by a vote of nearly three to one the Senate in that Congress decided that the governor had no right to fill an original term by appointment.

The next case came up in 1801, the Tracy case, and I have diligently sought without avail to find the debate in regard to that case. It was passed over *sub silentio* except as to the vote. The Senate then voted that the governor did have the right to fill an original term by appointment.

Nine cases besides the Tracy case were decided between 1801 and 1825, every one of them without debate. So far as I have been able to find by diligent search not one word was said in discussion until we come to 1825, to the Lanman case, when the Senate took up this question and debated it for three days. The result of that debate was that the Senate deliberately determined that the governor did not have the right to fill an original term by appointment.

In other words, the Senate of the United States declared the doctrine, about which I have not the slightest doubt, and the more I examine it the more confirmed I am in the opinion, that the men who made the Constitution intended that the Legislature alone should fill a full term and commence it. After they had filled it, after they had elected, then a broken term caused by death, resignation, or otherwise could be filled by appointment, until when? Until the Legislature should again meet. In other words, the great original and primary power of electing a Senator is vested in our immediate constituency, the Legislatures of the respective States.

Mark the Constitution in its autonomy throughout. The House of Representatives is elected by the people. If a vacancy occurs, it is made the duty of the governor to issue a writ of election—not to appoint, but to issue a writ of election, in order that the primary and fundamental right of filling up the House of Representatives shall still remain with the electors, the people at large. When we come to the Senate of the United States—mark the language, which seems to me abs lutely conclusive—the Constitution says the Legislatures shall choose Senators to serve six years. Does it use the language, "The Legislature shall choose or the governor shall appoint?" Does it say that Senators shall be chosen or appointed for six years? Is it possible that the men who made the Constitution and weighed every letter, not to say every syllable and word, should have intended that the power to appoint was included within the word "chosen?" And when the power of appointment is given, mark the language: When vacancies shall occur, after the Legislature has elected, "by resignation, or otherwise"——

Mr. HUNTON. "If vacancies happen."

Mr. VEST. "If vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise." I am willing to give them the full benefit of the meaning of the word "happen" as occurring. When a vacancy shall happen, or occur either, and I care not which—after the Legislature has elected, when there is a broken term, then the governor may appoint "until the next meeting of the Legislature," still preserving, as in the case of the House of Representatives, the great fundamental and original idea of the creation of Senators by their immediate constituencies, the Legislatures representing the people.

What tyro in the history of the Constitution does not know that the Senate of the United States was created in order to represent the States, and, which may almost seem to be a contradiction in terms, also to represent the people. The Senate represents the people acting through the sovereignty of the States. The House of Representatives represents the people without the intermediation of the State, but directly by popular election.

From 1825, in the Lanman case, up to 1879, more than fifty years, the doctrine for which I contend to-day was never questioned. I was amazed to hear the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] yesterday declare that there were one hundred cases which were precedents as to this issue in which appointments had been made to full terms by governors of States. I deny it. I deny it absolutely. I know the Senator will find one hundred cases, possibly more, in which after the death or resignation of a Senator after the Legislature has commenced a full term by election the governor has appointed; but I challenge him to find that number of cases where the governor has ever made the appointment until the Legislature has first acted.

Now, let me put a plain question to my friend from Indiana, and I am sorry to say he is not present. I put it without dividing words or hair splitting. How can a man resign unless he has been elected? How can a man refuse to accept unless he has been elected? The language of the Constitution is "by resignation, or otherwise." Can he resign a place which has not been given to him?

But, says the Senator from Indiana, "otherwise" means "other ways," therefore when you say "by resignation or other ways," it covers every conceivable vacancy. If that be so, why did not the framers of the Constitution say "in case of vacancies the governor shall appoint?" Does any man believe that Madison and his confreres overlooked this manifest inaccuracy of language, that they used surplusage in an instrument every syllable of which was weighed, when they knew they were legislating for millions upon millions of people for hundreds of years to come? Yet the Senator from Indiana would have us believe that, instead of saying the governor may appoint or shall appoint, the framers of the Constitution used words utterly superfluous, and said "when vacancies shall happen by resignation or other ways." Mr. President, it is simply incredible.

Now, let me give an illustration which makes this doctrine come home peculiarly to myself and to every citizen of my State. It has been said here of the advocates of the opposite construction of the Constitution that the Lanman case was decided upon the ground that the governor could not appoint until a vacancy occurred, and that it was not decided upon the doctrine for which we are contending here to-day. Mr. Benton, in his Thirty Years' View, and he was then a member of the Senate, gives an account of the debate in the Lanman case. Says Mr. Benton:

Mr. Lanman had served a regular term as Senator from Connecticut. His term of service expired on the 3d of March of this year, and the General Assembly of the State having failed to make an election of Senator in his place, he received a temporary appointment from the governor. On presenting himself to take the oath of office on the 4th day of March, being the first day of the special Senatorial session convoked by the retiring President (Mr. Monroe) according to usage for the inauguration of his successor, his appointment was objected to as not having been made in a case in which a governor of a State could fill a vacancy by making a temporary appointment. Mr. Tazewell was the principal speaker against the validity of the appointment, arguing against it both on the words of the Constitution and the reason for the provision. The words of the Constitution are: "If vacancies happen [in the Senate] by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature." "Happen" was held by Mr. Tazewell to be the governing word in this provision, and it always implied a contingency and an unexpected one.

Whatever may have been the opinion of contemporaries, or whatever may be the opinion of the world now in regard to Mr. Benton's political opinions, one thing has been conceded to him by his worst enemy—a more accurate, painstaking, impartial historian of political events has never lived in this country. Mr. Benton was a member of the Senate at that time. He remembered that debate. He took notes of it, and he said emphatically that Mr. Tazewell made the principal speech, and the point he made was upon the word "happen," and that a governor did not have the right to fill an original term by appointment.

But, Mr. President, what emphasizes and accentuates this beyond all controversy is the fact that subsequently the State of Missouri was unable to elect two Senators to this body. The Democratic party divided on the Texas question into the Benton and anti-Benton factions; the Whig party, being numerically equal to either, made a triangular contest, which for two years prevented the election of a Senator, and Missouri had but one Senator in this body.

Mr. GEORGE. For the two years?

Mr. VEST. For the two years. We were unable to elect. Mr. Benton was one of the candidates. During those two years, when party spirit ran so high that families were divided, brother against brother and father against son—and the scars of the contest yet remain politically in our State—the governor was an anti-Benton man, bitterly opposed to Mr. Benton, and yet he never dreamed, nor did such lawyers as Geyer, Napton, and Scott ever dream, that the governor had the right to fill that original term. Everything was resorted to in order to achieve success in that terrible contest, and yet neither party ever thought the right existed in the governor of Missouri to send another Senator to this body.

In eight other cases during the fifty-four years from 1825 to 1879 States were represented in this body by but one Senator, because the Legislature had not elected, and nobody dreamed until 1879 that the doctrine in the Lanman case was to be disturbed and the contention made which is made here to-day in this body.

I know that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] has invoked an article in the National Intelligencer, published about the time of the Lanman decision, and quoted from a book giving a synopsis of the proceedings of the Senate by a compiler. I quote upon the other side, as better authority, not only Mr. Benton, who was an actor, whose words were part of the *res gesta* at the time, but I quote from Niles' Register, contemporaneous authority. Niles' Register says:

The following members also, reëlected for six years from this day, took the oath of office, namely: Mr. Lloyd of Maryland, Mr. Macon of North Carolina, Mr. Gaillard of South Carolina, Mr. J. S. Johnston of Louisiana, and Mr. Barton of Missouri.

Some conversation took place on the case of Mr. Lanman, reappointed by the governor in the recess of the Legislature, the question being—

Not as stated by the article in the Intelligencer, but—

the question being whether a failure by the Legislature to make a choice of a Senator constitutes the contingency in which a governor may appoint a Senator, the language of the Constitution being "if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise," etc.

And that was decided against the power of the governor to fill an original term.

Now, Mr. President, I call the attention of the Senate—and it has been done repeatedly—to the only three clauses in the Constitution where the word "happen" occurs. The first is in Article II, section 2. The Constitution says:

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Mark that language: "The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies." Is there any doubt upon that clause that the President has the right to fill a vacancy happening for any reason, by death, resignation, expatriation, or any other cause whatever? Is there any limitation upon it?

Now, go to the next clause, where the word "happen" is used. Article I, section 2, provides:

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

Is there any doubt that the governor has the right to issue writs of election when a vacancy occurs in the representation of the House of Representatives from any cause whatever?

Take the clause over which this controversy has arisen and mark the difference. Article I, section 3, provides:

And if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

I want any Senator here to tell me if the Constitution meant as to Senatorial vacancies what it obviously means as to the appointment of executive officers by the President, and as to the issuing of writs of election to fill vacancies in the House, why are not the same words used, and why did the framers of the Constitution interpolate or add the words "by resignation, or otherwise"?

The contention to-day of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] and of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] is that these clauses mean the same thing as to vacancies. The Senator from Alabama [Mr. PUGH] told us that there was not a shadow or scintilla of doubt about this question, and he was amazed that any of us should think differently. He thought differently in 1885, when he voted with us for the construction of the Constitution we now advocate.

Mr. PUGH. If the Senator will allow me, I will state that at that time I followed my friend from Missouri off into the mazes of metaphysics and decimal fractions, and we both got lost. I returned and studied the question for myself, and found out that two and two made four, and I have stuck to it ever since. [Laughter.]

Mr. VEST. Well, Mr. President, the Senator has added to the list of miraculous conversions, one of which we had when St. Paul was journeying from Jerusalem to Damascus; but I am afraid that the authority which changed the mind of St. Paul did not operate on the Senator from Alabama. [Laughter.] The Senator says he got lost. It has taken him from 1885 to 1893 to find that he was lost.

Mr. PUGH. I never had a chance to show that I had changed.

Mr. VEST. The Senator then was younger and fresher and had not been here so long, had not got into these mazes and intricacies of metaphysical discussion in which he now seems to be an adept. Then he had no doubt in determining this question on the side of the constitutional construction that makes our primary and original constituency send each of us here in the first place.

Mr. President, any man who takes the construction contended for here by the Senator from Alabama would have no difficulty in believing without trouble in the construction that was put originally upon the general-welfare clause of the Constitution, that Congress could do anything. In order to come to the construction which they now contend for, we must be satisfied that Mr. Madison and his colleagues were guilty of gross neglect by putting the unnecessary words in the Constitution "by resignation or otherwise." If they meant that the Senate should be continuously full, if they meant that the subtile essence of Senatorial representation should pass *eo instanti* from the outgoing to the incoming Senator without an interregnum, why did they not say, "In case of any vacancy the governor shall appoint until the Legislature can assemble"? Why did they put in these superfluous words "by resignation or otherwise?"

It is unnecessary for me to go back and read what has been read here again and again as to the debates held in the Constitutional Convention upon this clause. Mr. Madison, it seems to me, disposed of the whole question when he gave his reasons for

putting in the additional words "by resignation or otherwise." It seems to me, if Senators will weigh his language, that every difficulty is removed, and the question of the Senator from Indiana as to why these words were put here is absolutely answered. It will be noticed that the committee on detail in their report used the language "when vacancies shall happen," and it was so reported to the Convention. Then came this debate:

Mr. Wilson objected to vacancies in the Senate being supplied by the executives of the States.

Mark that language. He objected to any governor appointing under any state of case whatever. Said Mr. Wilson:

It was unnecessary, as the Legislature will meet so frequently.

He was a stickler for the idea that no power but the Legislature could send a Senator here. He did not believe that the governor ought to be permitted to appoint even for a broken term, and he so stated.

Mr. Randolph thought it necessary, in order to prevent inconvenient chasms in the Senate.

* * * * * * *

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Senators may resign or not accept.

Mark that language. We have had learned dissertations here to show that this idea came from the precedents in the British House of Commons, where it was held that a member of Parliament could not resign, but was bound to accept, and therefore Mr. Williamson said:

Senators may resign or not accept.

How was it possible for a Senator to resign until he had been elected?

Mr. GEORGE. Until he had something to resign.

Mr. VEST. How, as the Senator from Mississippi says, could a man resign until he had something to resign? How could he not accept unless he had been elected? How can any Senator doubt for one instant that this clause was based upon the idea that the Legislature had acted?

Then the objection was raised that the governor should not have the right to appoint under any state of case, and the additional argument was made that a Senator might not accept if elected by the Legislature. Now, mark the balance of it:

Senators may resign or not accept. This provision is therefore absolutely necessary.

The provision was retained, but immediately after, on the page following of the record of the debate, Mr. Madison took the floor. On what question? On the question whether, after the Legislature had elected, a Senator could resign or not accept. That is as absolutely the fact as anything could be demonstrated to be in logic or in mathematics. Mr. Madison took the floor on that question, and what did he say?

In order to prevent doubts—

Not as to who should elect, not as to how a Senator should come here, but—

In order to prevent doubts whether resignation could be made by Senators or whether they could refuse to accept, moved to strike out the words after "vacancies" and insert the words "happening by refusals to accept, resignations, or otherwise, may be supplied by the Legislature of the State in the representation of which such vacancies shall happen or by the executive thereof until the next meeting of the Legislature."

Simply and solely to remove the doubt as to the power to resign. He could not resign until elected; he could not refuse to accept until the office was tendered to him by a vote of the Legislature. Then when the English doctrine was invoked, that he could not resign and could not refuse to accept, Mr. Madison simply undertook to meet that, and nothing more.

Mr. HOAR. May I inquire of the Senator at that point whether he concedes that, if the Legislature having met and elected and the person so designated refused to accept or died, then the governor may appoint?

Mr. VEST. No, sir. I say absolutely, if I understand the Senator's question, there is no such thing known to the Constitution, in my judgment, as the power of a governor to appoint for a term which has not been commenced by the Legislature. That is my whole contention.

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator will pardon me, as I do not wish to interfere with his argument further than to understand him, I understood the Senator to claim that these words which provide for the filling of vacancies were inserted by Mr. Madison to cover the case not of their never having been an election by the Legislature, but of a person having been elected by the Legislature and refusing to accept. Of course, it would also include a person dying without taking his seat. Then does it not follow, if the Senator is right, that at the beginning of a term, as well as at any other time in the term, if a vacancy occur in consequence of the death or refusal to accept by the person chosen, the executive may appoint?

Mr. VEST. If the Legislature has acted and is not then in session?

Mr. HOAR. Yes, if the Legislature has acted. Therefore, if that be true—and I do not see how the Senator can think otherwise upon the statement which he has just made—we have got as far as this, that the executive may fill a vacancy occurring at the beginning of a term.

Mr. VEST. Not at all; I deny it absolutely, because the Senator leaves out the absolutely necessary premise that the Legislature has acted. That is the difference between him and myself.

Mr. HOAR. I include that. I take the case at the beginning of the term of Mr. Mantle or the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO] or anybody else as to whose seat a question arises here. The Legislature are in session, they choose, they adjourn, and the man chosen, never taking his seat, refuses to accept or dies.

Mr. VEST. Very good.

Mr. HOAR. Now, I understand the Senator's argument to be that Mr. Madison put those words in the Constitution expressly to provide for the case of a vacancy happening at the beginning of a term. Then, if the Senator will pardon me, I want to see whether those who think with him are not driven to the admission that a vacancy which may be filled by the executive under this constitutional provision does include cases at the beginning of a term as well as at the end?

Mr. VEST. No.

Mr. HOAR. So that we have got the refinement, if we are right in thinking it a refinement, to cover a very small space indeed.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I would ask the Senator from Massachusetts, with the permission of the Senator from Missouri, if he does not think that it is quite as legitimate, from the proceedings which have been cited by the Senator from Missouri in the Convention, that whereas Mr. Madison thought it necessary in the case of an election on the adjournment of the Legislature and the refusal of the party elected to accept that the executive might appoint, to draw the inference that without such an amendment the dower did not exist under the phraseology as adopted?

Mr. HOAR. I make the answer which has been made twenty times in the debate, which has been made by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PUGH], by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE], and made by myself, and that is, that phraseology was put in simply to remove the doubt as to whether the English doctrine prevailed. Under the English doctrine, as has been already said, a man can not resign a seat in the House of Commons. The only way he can get out of the House of Commons under the English constitution is to accept an incompatible office. He accepts the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, a little office which has no salary, no importance, and exists for the sole purpose of this indirection. Mr. Madison wanted to remove that, and so he moved to insert in terms the words "by resignation or otherwise." If he had left all those words out, the constitutional meaning of this clause, so far as it applies to the right of the governor to appoint, would have been, in my judgment, exactly the same that it is now. They were put in not in the least to enlarge, diminish, interpret, or construe the provision providing for the appointment by the executive, but only to make it clear that under the American system a man has a right to refuse an office.

Mr. GRAY. I should like to ask of the Senator from Massachusetts, if the Senator from Missouri will indulge me again, if he thinks the existence of the phrase "by resignation or otherwise" makes it clear, or even intimates in any degree that the reason for inserting that phrase was to make it clear, that a resignation could be made by a Senator who was elected?

Mr. HOAR. The debates show it, as I understand.

Mr. GRAY. How can you incorporate the reason given in the debates into the text of the Constitution? I ask if there is anything in the text of the Constitution to even intimate that that was the reason or could be the reason for using that phrase?

Mr. HOAR. I understand that in all cases where the words of a constitution or statute may mean one way or another, the courts, legislative bodies, and commentators resort to the contemporaneous declarations of the parties.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, it may be my obtuseness, but I am utterly unable to discover how the Senator from Massachusetts finds any argument even if I concede to the full extent the proposition he has just put to me. Suppose I concede if the Legislature elects a man and he refuses to accept, that then the governor can appoint, does it help the Senator in this case?

Mr. HOAR. Certainly. My proposition is that if the Senator is brought to admit, as I think he is by his own statement, that the governor may appoint when the vacancy happens at the end of the term, that the governor may appoint when the vacancy happens in a very large class of cases, supposed to be at that time at the beginning of the term, then the argument is that the language as to what is left of the little dispute that remains being doubtful, the Senator can not conceive, and no ingenuity can conceive, a reason why the framers of the Constitution should have intended to give this power to the governor in this large class of cases, and denied it to him in the very small class which was left. That is the argument.

Mr. VEST. I am still unable to see the force of the statement of the Senator from Massachusetts. My contention here is that the original, primary power to start a full term in the Senate is with the Legislature, and that the governor can only appoint as to a broken term. That is my contention.

Now, if the Legislature have elected a man and he refuses to accept, they have commenced a term; they have done all they can do; they have complied with the meaning of the Constitution; they have preserved the great fundamental doctrine that the Legislatures of the States are our primary constituencies. That is my meaning. I do not care if it is but for one minute after the Legislature has performed its duty, the term has commenced, and then, if the Senator refuses to accept, the governor may appoint until another Legislature comes in and our primary constituency again undertakes to comply with the Constitution.

Mr. VANCE. After the Legislature adjourns the governor may appoint.

Mr. VEST. As a matter of course, after the Legislature has adjourned; but in the Phelps case, which I have before me, the minority report expresses our opinion so clearly and so much better than I can express it that I will ask my friend from Delaware to read it.

Mr. GRAY read as follows:

The Senate of the United States is composed of organized constituencies, the State Legislatures. To them belong the power primarily of electing their Senators when they are in session at the happening of the vacancy and at their first meeting when it happens in their recess, and on them devolves the exclusive jurisdiction of filling such vacancies. Their right and authority to fill or supply vacancies which have been temporarily filled by executive appointment are as absolute and exclusive as was their power in an original election. When their power is brought into existence it must supersede all others, with this qualification, and that according to precedent, that they have a session to make the choice. In our view it does not depend on the actual exertion of the power to elect, but on its existence. A Senator under an executive appointment may or may not represent the political views of his State; he may be the mere personal favorite of the governor. The Senate, as far as practicable, should be made to represent its constitutional constituency, and in this respect should preserve the republican feature of our Union.

Mr. VEST. That is the contention we make. If the Legislature has started the term and done all that the Constitution imposes upon it as a duty, then, if for any cause in the recess of the Legislature a vacancy happens, the governor may appoint, but not otherwise.

Mr. President, to reënforce what I have said as to the opinions of Senators on this question, I refer to a debate that was had here while Mr. Blaine was in the Senate, and in which Mr. Wadleigh participated. Mr. Thurman asked a question. We had pretty fair lawyers in the Senate then. Mr. Thurman was a fair lawyer.

Mr. GEORGE. I do not think he was a decimal-fraction man or a hair-splitter.

Mr. VEST. He was considered a very fair lawyer, and is yet, I believe. Mr. Thurman asked:

Is there any probability of Congress being in session during those three months?

Referring to the Wadleigh case—

Mr. WADLEIGH. I do not know about that.
Mr. WHYTE of Maryland—

Another fair lawyer—

I ask the Senator from New Hampshire why the governor of New Hampshire can not appoint for the vacancy until the Legislature meets in June?
Mr. BLAINE. He can not do that if the previous term has fully expired.

That is the very point here.

Mr. WHYTE. Suppose this Legislature has power to elect and does not elect; is not that a vacancy?
Mr. BLAINE. Then the power of the governor does not come in.
Mr. WHYTE. It does apparently.
Mr. BLAINE. Not at all.
Mr. DAWES—

The then colleague of my friend from Massachusetts—

Mr. DAWES. Every precedent of the Senate is against that.

Against the power of the governor to appoint for the full term.

Mr. BLAINE. The Senator from Maryland is too good a lawyer to make that assertion.
Mr. WADLEIGH. Having examined the precedents, I am inclined to think the governor can not appoint.
Mr. BLAINE. Of course the governor can not appoint. Nothing is better settled than that. The honorable Senator from Ohio [Mr. Thurman] will give his assent to that, if the term has fully expired.

There was not a Senator here present then, among all these distinguished lawyers, who held any other opinion. More than that, Mr. Wadleigh, whose own seat was in contest, made an argument which is a conclusive answer in regard to this question. I will ask my friend from Delaware to read it, as I am suffering from a cold.

Mr. GRAY read as follows:

Mr. Wadleigh, from New Hampshire, in discussing this very question, admitted that the Lanman case was decisive of the whole matter. Says Mr. Waldleigh:

"The Senator from Ohio—

Referring to Mr. Thurman—

"The Senator from Ohio would have us believe that there is some doubt as to whether this Legislature or the next is entitled to elect. That is a matter which greatly concerns the people of New Hampshire. It is desirable that that question should be settled at once, so that they may not put themselves in a position from which they can not be extricated without great embarrassment. Accordingly a bill was presented to this body by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Cameron] and referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, which reported unanimously that this Legislature can not elect the Senator; that the next Legislature must elect. That shows to us clearly that unless this bill passes there must be a vacancy in this Senate from the State of New Hampshire for three months in the next Congress."

Mr. VEST. There is the case of a Senator whose right to a seat was then being discussed, and he did not pretend that the governor could appoint for a full term, and I say here that for more than fifty years no Senator amongst all the distinguished lawyers who came to this body ever made any such contention, never. For more than fifty years it was never thought of that the governor of a State could do this thing; never until 1879.

Now, in the majority report it is said the supreme court of Indiana decided this question. It did no such thing. The clause in the constitution of the State of Indiana is utterly dissimilar from the clause in the Constitution of the United States which is now under debate. Here is the decision in Indiana:

It is objected—

Says the judge who delivered the opinion—

It is objected that the judge who presided was not properly the judge of that circuit, because appointed by the governor instead of being elected by the people. The objection is not well taken. The act creating the circuit was declared in force from its passage, as a case of emergency.

If there was a vacancy, it existed independent of that declaration. If there was no vacancy, that body could not create one by a declaratory enactment. The vacancy flowed as a natural consequence of their doing what they had a right to do—to create a new circuit. There is no technical nor peculiar meaning to the word "vacant" as used in the constitution. It means empty, unoccupied; as applied to an office without an incumbent. There is no basis for the distinction urged that it applies only to offices vacated by death, resignation, or otherwise. An existing office without an incumbent is vacant, whether it be a new or an old one. * * * The emergency which created the office would imply that the vacancy in the office of judge in the new circuit should be filled immediately.

Now, how does the governor fill it?

The eighteenth section, article 5, provides that the governor shall, by appointment, fill a vacancy in the office of judge of any court.

In other words, there is no sort of limitation, but he has the absolute, unqualified, unquestionable right to fill any vacancy under any and all circumstances. Did the framers of the Federal Constitution mean that when they put in the clause that if a vacancy happen in a Senatorial seat "during the recess of the Legislature, by resignation or otherwise"—not "if it shall happen," not "if it shall occur," but "by resignation or otherwise?" Those words are not found in the constitution of Indiana. If the contention of the Senator from Massachusetts and those who agree with him be correct, we convict James Madison and the framers of the Constitution of gross negligence, of not knowing the meaning of words, and of putting surplusage into one of the most important clauses as to the representation of the States.

Mr. President, if this case be not already decided, it seems to me of the utmost importance that it should be settled now. I have never belonged to that school of constructionists who thought that the highest argument in regard to the construction of the Constitution came from necessity. I have never believed that the Federal Constitution should be construed like a bill of indictment; but I do believe that the men who made it intended every word and letter of it to mean something, and I hope that I shall never as a public man come to the conclusion that it can be my duty to do anything else as to any question than what the plain language and spirit of the Constitution mean.

I conclude what little I have to say in reaffirmation of my former opinion with this question: Why is it, if the framers of the Constitution intended to give the power to the governor of a State to fill a full term, that the clause we are now considering has in it words which are not found in the other clauses which give to the President the power to make an executive appointment during the recess of the Senate or the power to the governor of a State to issue a writ of election in the event of a vacancy in the House of Representatives? Are the words "by resignation or otherwise" superfluous? If the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] is correct when he says that "otherwise" means "other ways," and "to fill a vacancy happening by resignation or other ways" means to fill it in any contingency, why did not the Constitution say, as in the other clauses, that in the event of a vacancy it may be filled during the recess of the Legislature by the governor?

Mr. CHANDLER rose.

Mr. VANCE. Does the Senator from New Hampshire wish to take the floor on the pending question?

Mr. CHANDLER. I desire to say a few words on the pending resolution. I yield, however, to the Senator from North Carolina, if he desires to go on at this time.

Mr. VANCE. I simply rose to move to go into executive session, if no other Senator wishes to speak now; but of course if the Senator from New Hampshire is ready to go on I shall not make the motion.

Mr. CHANDLER. I will yield for a motion to proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. VANCE. I move that the Senate go into executive session.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After twenty minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 1 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, April 5, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 4, 1893.

ENVOYS EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTERS PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Eben Alexander, of North Carolina, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary and consul-general of the United States to Greece, Roumania, and Servia, vice Truxton Beal, resigned.

James O. Broadhead, of Missouri, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Switzerland, vice Person C. Cheney, resigned.

Bartlett Tripp, of South Dakota, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Austria-Hungary, vice Frederick D. Grant, resigned.

CONSULS.

David N. Burke, of New York, to be consul of the United States at Pernambuco, vice Edwin Stevens, recalled.

Asa D. Dickinson, of New York, to be consul of the United States at Nottingham.

James M. Dobbs, of Georgia, to be consul of the United States at Valparaiso, vice Corvis M. Barre, recalled.

Q. O. Eckford, of Mississippi, to be consul of the United States at Kingston, Jamaica, vice Louis A. Dent, recalled.

Benjamin Lenthier, of Massachusetts, to be consul of the United States at Sherbrooke, vice James A. Wood, recalled.

Henry F. Merritt, of Illinois, to be consul of the United States at Barmen, vice Rounsevelle Wildman, recalled.

James E. Neal, of Ohio, to be consul of the United States at Liverpool, vice Thomas H. Sherman, recalled.

Edgar Whidden, of Maine, to be consul of the United States at St. Stephen, New Brunswick, vice Albert E. Neill, recalled.

APPRAISER OF MERCHANDISE.

Charles E. Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, to be appraiser of merchandise in the district of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, to succeed J. Granville Leach, resigned.

INDIAN INSPECTOR.

Paul F. Faison, of Raleigh, N. C., to be an Indian inspector, vice William W. Junkin, term expired.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 30, 1893.

APPOINTMENT IN THE MARINE HOSPITAL SERVICE.

Seaton Norman, of Indiana, to be an assistant surgeon in the Marine Hospital Service of the United States.

CONSULS-GENERAL.

Samuel E. Morss, of Indiana, to be consul-general of the United States at Paris.

George C. Gillard, of Mississippi, to be consul-general of the United States at Guayaquil.

CONSULS.

George F. Parker, of New York, to be consul of the United States at Birmingham.

Allan B. Morse, of Michigan, to be consul of the United States at Glasgow.

C. W. Chancellor, of Maryland, to be consul of the United States at Havre.

POSTMASTERS.

Oliver Wells, to be postmaster at Marshfield, in the county of Webster and State of Missouri.

Henry Heimiller, to be postmaster at Versailles, in the county of Woodford and State of Kentucky.

John H. Swartwout, to be postmaster at Stamford, in the county of Fairfield and State of Connecticut.

William P. Powell, to be postmaster at Hope, in the county of Hempstead and State of Arkansas.

W. B. Woody, to be postmaster at Rockdale, in the county of Milam and State of Texas.

John P. Kerr, to be postmaster at Asheville, in the county of Buncombe and State of North Carolina.

Crawford B. Andrews, to be postmaster at Prescott, in the county of Nevada and State of Arkansas.

WEDNESDAY, *April 5, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], from the Committee on Privileges and Elections. The resolution will be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] is entitled to the floor on the pending resolution.

Mr. HOAR. I suggest that there is no quorum of the Senate present.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and, after a little delay, the following Senators answered to their names:

Allison,	Davis,	Hunton,	Pasco,
Berry,	Dubois,	Jones, Ark.	Peffer,
Butler,	Frye,	Lindsay,	Platt,
Caffery,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Power,
Call,	George,	Manderson,	Sherman,
Carey,	Gordon,	Martin,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Gorman,	Mills,	Smith,
Cockrell,	Hansbrough,	Mitchell, Wis.	Stewart,
Coke,	Harris,	Morrill,	Stockbridge,
Colquitt,	Hill,	Murphy,	Vance,
Cullom,	Hoar,	Palmer,	Vest.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Forty-four Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present; and the Senator from New Hampshire will proceed.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, having in former years been in doubt about the question presented by the pending resolution, with a tendency toward the opinion that the governor of a State could not appoint a Senator when a Legislature had possessed an opportunity of making an appointment and had failed to do so, and having, through the pressure of circumstances in the pending cases, reached a conclusion in favor of the right of the governor to appoint which leads me to vote for the resolution now before the Senate, I take occasion to state my views on the subject.

My doubts on this subject and my bias against the right of the governor to appoint have grown from my familiarity with the New Hampshire case of 1854, that of Jared W. Williams, who sat in the Senate during the summer of 1854 by appointment from the governor, but the Legislature of New Hampshire having adjourned during that summer and Mr. Williams then having left his seat, it does not appear that it was thought the governor could make another appointment, and therefore a vacancy remained in this class of Senators during the winter of 1854–1855.

The historic circumstances connected with the Williams case impressed the subject upon my mind. Mr. Williams had been appointed in the place of Charles G. Atherton, who had died November 15, 1853. Mr. Atherton had been elected in the place of John P. Hale, who had been chosen in 1846 and had become the first distinctive antislavery Senator to appear in this Chamber. All Senators when he entered the Senate were classed either as Whigs or Democrats. Mr. Hale, in the winter of 1845, being a Democratic Representative in Congress, had written his famous Texas letter, and for this had been taken off the ticket which was then before the people of New Hampshire for reëlection. A new Democratic State convention was called. General Franklin Pierce went personally to that convention and forced a new nomination in the place of Mr. Hale. There was a bolt, and three times during the spring, summer, and autumn of 1845 an election of the regular Democratic candidate was defeated, Mr. Hale running as an independent candidate. It was this first great Free-soil victory in New Hampshire that called from Mr. Whittier his poetical apostrophe to our State:

> God bless New Hampshire! From her granite peaks
> Once more the voice of Stark and Langdon speaks.
> The long-bound vassal of the exulting South
> For very shame her self-forged chain has broken—
> Torn the black seal of slavery from her mouth,
> And in the clear tones of her old time spoken!
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> Courage, then, Northern hearts! Be firm, be true;
> What one brave State hath done, can ye not also do?

Under the influence of such sentiments, in 1846 there was an overwhelming Democratic defeat in New Hampshire. The Free-soilers and the Whigs combined and the Democracy were overthrown. Mr. Whittier greeted that triumph of freedom in an equally joyous but a jocose song, different from that which he had given to the victory of the previous year. Our poet of the Merrimac Valley, in verses entitled "A Letter," first published in the Boston Chronotype in March, 1846, purporting to have

been written by the chairman of the Central Clique at Concord, N. H., to Hon. Moses Norris, jr., then Senator at Washington, thus announces the result of the March election:

'Tis over, Moses! All is lost!
I hear the bells a-ringing.
* * * * * * *
We're routed, Moses, horse and foot,
If there be truth in figures.

The verses were never acknowledged by Mr. Whittier until his recent and last revision of his poems, where they are now to be found.

So Mr. Hale was elected the first antislavery Senator in June, 1846, and took his seat in December, 1847, for his term of six years. But New Hampshire relapsed from this spasm of Free-soil sentiment. It was recaptured by the Democracy in 1847, and Gen. Pierce, as a reward for his military services in the Mexican war and because of his fidelity to the cause of the national Democracy, was made President in 1852. Thereupon, as a President-elect, he undertook, as other Presidents have done before and since, not always with success, to control the election of a Senator in his own State to fill a term which was to commence with his own Presidential term.

There were obstacles in the way of the Presidential wishes. John S. Wells was the idol of the New Hampshire Democracy. He was the people's choice, but the choice of the President-elect was Charles G. Atherton, a man of great ability and an accomplished orator, but a politician who had achieved notoriety as an opponent in the Senate at a previous time of the right of petition and had thereby acquired the sobriquet by which he was always thereafter known in New Hampshire as Charles Gag Atherton. President Pierce succeeded in electing Mr. Atherton to the Senate, and on the 4th of March, 1853, Mr. Hale finished his six years' term and Mr. Atherton entered upon a new six-year term at the same time that President Pierce was inaugurated.

Mr. President, the whirligig of time brings strange revenges. Within a few short months Mr. Atherton had died. Mr. Jared W. Williams had been appointed in his place and served during the spring and summer of 1854. Senator Norris died in January, 1855, and Mr. John S. Wells was appointed by the governor in his place, taking his seat January 16, 1855; but the Legislature of New Hampshire, in the summer of 1854, having failed to elect Senators to the existing vacancy and to the approaching vacancy, and Mr. Norris being sick when Congress met on the first Monday of December, 1854, New Hampshire was then without any Senators in this Chamber. One of the places continued vacant until the 4th of March. The other was filled after January 16 by Mr. Wells, under appointment from the governor, in the place of Mr. Norris. Mr. Wells held his seat until March 4, 1855, and then New Hampshire was without any Senators until in the summer of 1855 John P. Hale and James Bell were elected to fill the two vacant places, Mr. Hale returning to his old place to oppose the Administration of Franklin Pierce; and from that time down to this hour New Hampshire has always been represented by two antislavery, anti-Democratic, and radical Republican Senators.

Now, Mr. President, being familiar with all this political history and knowing of these vacant seats in the Senatorial representation from New Hampshire, remembering well that Mr. Williams, who had been appointed by the governor to fill out the unexpired term of Mr. Atherton, after sitting here during the spring and summer of 1854, had been upon due debate ejected from the Chamber, and that the governor of New Hampshire had not undertaken to make a second or further appointment, I had been impressed with the idea that under the Constitution there could not be an appointment to fill a vacancy in a Senatorial seat where the Legislature had been given an opportunity to fill it and had not succeeded in filling it.

I remained under the incubus of this precedent until the case of Senator Charles H. Bell, from New Hampshire. He was admitted in March, 1879, notwithstanding it was contended by Senators that there had been a New Hampshire Legislature which might have filled the place; but he was admitted because there was a doubt as to whether the Legislature which it was thought should have filled it had the right to do so. Because the question was doubtful, Mr. Bell was admitted to a seat under a gubernatorial appointment at the beginning of a Senatorial term.

This was in 1879. Subsequently, in March, 1885, under similar circumstances, Senator Henry W. Blair was admitted to a seat at the beginning of a term under a gubernatorial appointment and retained his place under that authority until June, when he was reëlected by the Legislature.

Again, in March, 1889, between my first service of two years and my present term, a gubernatorial appointment was made which was recognized by the Senate from March to June, 1889, being the beginning of a term of six years, by the seating of that distinguished lawyer and soldier of New Hampshire, Gen. Gilman Marston.

But during all this period, even with these New Hampshire cases before me, I continued to doubt whether the true construction of the Constitution would fairly allow the filling of a vacancy by gubernatorial appointment at the beginning of a term, and I was so impressed with the fear that these successive gubernatorial appointments could not continue forever that I took an active part in promoting a change in the constitution of New Hampshire by which the Legislature chosen in November was required to meet in January, as was the case with most other States. That change has been made, and this question can never arise again in New Hampshire. The case of an appointment by the governor to fill a three months' vacancy at the beginning of a term until a Legislature elected before and meeting after the vacancy shall elect a Senator, similar to the case which is now before us in the Senate of Senator PASCO, from Florida, will never be presented again from the State of New Hampshire.

Thus impressed historically, and later brought in contact, as a member of the Senate and of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, with the question which is now before us, I have necessarily been led to inquire carefully what is the just and true construction of the Constitution. I find that the issue is simply between a technical and narrow construction of the Constitution and a broad and a liberal construction of the Constitution, and Senators will vote upon this question one way or the other as they are in favor of a technical and narrow construction or a broad and liberal construction of that instrument.

Unquestionably, Mr. President, early in the history of the Government there were precedents in favor of a contracted and an illiberal construction of the clause which gives the governor the right to appoint Senators. This disposition to construe the Constitution in the contracted and illiberal sense led to four limitations upon the language giving the gubernatorial power.

The first limitation was that a governor could not appoint to fill a vacancy happening at the beginning of a Senatorial term. The word "happen" was construed to mean a vacancy happening in a term after that very term had once been filled. That was the old contention, and that is the contention now of the Senators who are against the passage of this resolution; and that was undoubtedly the view which prevailed to some extent and in some cases, not universally, but as a frequent view of the language of the Constitution.

Secondly, the opinion prevailed that there could be no appointment by a governor in anticipation of a vacancy; the governor of a State undertaking to exercise the power of appointment must wait until the vacancy actually happened, and no matter how certain the vacancy might be, no matter how sure the governor might be that a vacancy would exist on a particular day, with no possibility of filling it by means of the Legislature, nevertheless he could not make the appointment, but must wait until the vacancy actually happened, and then make the appointment at the seat of government of his State and let the place remain vacant until the appointee could reach Washington.

Thirdly, there was asserted the important limitation now under discussion upon the power of the executive, to the effect that it could not be exerted where the Legislature of a State had had an opportunity to fill the vacancy and had failed from any cause to do it.

The fourth limitation was one which necessarily resulted from the third: that after a governor had once made an appointment, his appointee could only hold his office until the next meeting of the Legislature, and if the Legislature failed to elect, the governor could not make a second appointment.

These are, I believe, all the limitations which have been put upon the power of gubernatorial appointment at any time during the hundred years of our governmental history. But they have never prevailed as admitted and undisputed restrictions. They have always been contested, debated, and redebated, and have never become established constitutional or parliamentary law. On the contrary, by advancing toward a broad and liberal construction of the Constitution we have gone on step by step to enlarge the scope of gubernatorial appointments and to allow such appointments to be made where the advocates of the old doctrine would not agree to tolerate them.

In the first place, we have allowed many appointments by governors at the beginning of Senatorial terms; Senators are familiar with the cases. Beginning with the case of Cocke, of Tennessee, in 1797, and coming down to the case of PASCO, in March, 1893, there have been thirteen cases where the governor has appointed a Senator to take his seat at the beginning of a Senatorial term, and in each case the Senator has been admitted to his seat. By these precedents we have utterly destroyed the old notion that a vacancy can not possibly happen in a term unless that very term has once been filled.

Secondly, the Senate has come to allow an appointment to be

made by a governor in anticipation of a vacancy. The incubus which prevented a governor from making an appointment until a vacancy actually happened, however sure he might be that it would take place, was not finally removed until the Fifty-second Congress, in 1891, when, in the case of Senator Chilton, of Texas, it was deliberately determined by a unanimous report from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, adopted by the Senate, that the old notion should be exploded and that a governor, if he knew that a vacancy was to take place and that no Legislature could fill it, might make his appointment before the vacancy took place, and that the Senator might come here and hold his seat under such appointment.

Thirdly, the Senate has made this further advance, in the three New Hampshire cases and in the case of Senator PASCO, now sitting under a gubernatorial appointment, that it has consented to seat in this body a Senator appointed by a governor where there is a doubt as to whether a Legislature meeting next previously to the vacancy should have chosen or should not have chosen the Senator. The fact that although a Legislature may have met which was entitled to fill a Senatorial vacancy and failed to fill it, yet there was a doubt about the right of that Legislature to fill it, which has been accepted as a justification of a gubernatorial appointment.

So we have made these three gains over the old prohibitory notions, and we are now confronted with the question whether, fourthly, a governor may not appoint, although a Legislature which had the undoubted right to fill a vacancy has met and failed to fill it; and, fifthly, whether or not, as the result of an affirmative decision upon this point, a governor may not continue to appoint as often as a Legislature shall make the attempt but shall not succeed in choosing a Senator and placing him within the Senate Chamber.

Mr. President, having carefully considered the question whether or not this new advance should be made through a liberal construction of the clause in the Constitution giving the governors the right to make appointments, I have no hesitation, now that I am confronted with the question, in reaching the conclusion that the gubernatorial power of appointment does exist in these two remaining cases, and that Senators appointed by governors under such circumstances are entitled to admission to their seats in the Senate.

This conclusion is based upon the plain and evident natural meaning of the language of the Constitution, which says:

> And if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

It will be impossible to make the minds of common-sense men, the minds of plain people, reach the conclusion that this language means anything else than the declaration that when a Legislature has not filled a vacancy in the Senate and the vacancy exists and there is no Senator there, the governor of the State may fill the vacancy. It will be impossible to make any intelligent citizen of America understand how an office can have nobody in it and yet not be vacant. Senators may forever argue this question; they may refine upon it with all the subtlety of legal logic, and they never will be able to make one single human being in this country, not a technical lawyer, understand how it can be conceivable that when an office is vacant and when a governor of a State is authorized to fill a vacancy which may occur in the office when the Legislature is not in session, the governor can not fill the office thus actually empty and which the Legislature has not filled.

Mr. President, it being impossible to justify a construction of the Constitution adverse to the passage of the resolution before the Senate except by the most narrow and rigid and technical construction of the language used, I ask Senators what there is in the circumstances of this case and of other similar cases to justify such narrow and contracted construction of the Constitution? It seems to me that this case is preëminently one which does not justify such a narrow construction.

This is not a penal provision. Lawyers and common-sense citizens who are not lawyers can understand the doctrine by which, when we are undertaking to enforce a penal statute, it is construed strictly. It must be plain and unmistakable in its penalties, and if a person who is to be subjected to a penalty or who is to be convicted of a crime can escape from the penalty or the conviction by a close and narrow and technical construction of the statute, that is right, because it is better—such is the maxim of the law—that ninety-nine guilty persons should escape rather than that one innocent person should be convicted. But does any Senator stand here to say that this is a penal provision, that there is anything in this clause in the Constitution which governs this whole subject of the election of Senators by the Legislature and the filling of Senatorial vacancies by the governors that is in the nature of a penal statute? There is no such implication to be deduced either from the language of the clause or from anything to be found anywhere else within the limits of the Constitution.

On the other hand, so far from this being a penal clause of the Constitution to be construed strictly, it is clearly and unmistakably a beneficial provision to be construed liberally, in order to effect the purpose which is sought to be accomplished. The purpose is to keep the Senate full. The Senate is to consist of two Senators from each State chosen by the Legislature thereof, with the provision that if a vacancy happens when the Legislature is not in session, the governor may make an appointment, his appointee to hold the place until the Legislature has made an election.

Mr. President, is not that a beneficial statute? Is not that a beneficial clause? Is not that a clause carefully framed for a wise and a beneficent and laudable purpose? It seems to me so; and I can not comprehend how any argument can be made in any other direction. I have tried to think why there was this disposition in former times to construe this provision strictly and thereby to prolong vacancies in the Senate. I have been inclined to think that perhaps the earlier Senators were not so anxious as we are to have the Senate full; it is possible that they were influenced by the feeling that the fewer there were of them in the Senate Chamber, the more power would appertain to those who were here, and that it was best for them that whenever a vacancy could be created in the Senate it should be so created and should be perpetuated as long as possible, so that the Senators who remained in the Senate might have more power.

Whether this be so or not, such is not the feeling of the present day. The idea of the present day is that the States are entitled to eighty-eight Senators, and that eighty-eight Senators shall be here. It is the idea not only that each State shall be here with its two Senators for the benefit of the State, but that each State shall be here with its two Senators for the benefit of the whole United States, and therefore it is that we have gone on gradually outgrowing the old, the narrow, and the technical construction of the Constitution which prevailed in some minds and in some cases, until now it is an admitted and avowed object of every Senator here to keep this Senate full if it can possibly and fairly be kept full. Here is the clause in the Constitution which enables it to be kept full by adopting a common-sense, plain, and, as I conceive, unmistakable interpretation; which says that whenever there is not a Senator here from any State elected by the Legislature, there shall be a Senator here appointed by the governor, if the governor of the State will do his duty, whether the Legislature is able to do its duty or not.

Mr. President, is there any justification for this narrow and limited and destructive construction of this clause in the Constitution to be deduced from the assumed fact that there is any constitutional inferiority of a governor to a Legislature? The opposing argument, it seems to me, has proceeded somewhat upon the idea that a Legislature was superior to a governor, that a Legislature was an exalted body, that a Legislature had a peculiar strength and a special sanctity in the opinion of the framers of the Constitution of the United States as against the governor of the State. I repudiate any such distinction, and say that it is not derivable from the Constitution in any of its parts. The Legislature is the Legislature of a sovereign State, if Senators choose to speak of sovereign States; the governor is the governor of a sovereign State, and he stands within the sphere of his prescribed duties as the equal of the Legislature of the State.

Can any Senator maintain that a narrow and illiberal construction should be given to this clause in the Constitution because a Legislature any more represents the people of the State than the governor represents the people of a State? Senators might magnify the position of a Legislature in the choice of Senators if in order to fill a vacancy it had been provided that if a Legislature failed to appoint a Senator a Senator should be drawn by lot as jurors are drawn. I could conceive then that Senators might argue that this inferior method of creating Senators should not be favored, and that we should strike down such a method of filling vacancies whenever we could reach it by fair constitutional construction; but I do not see how Senators can undertake to elevate the Legislature of a State, which is told to elect Senators when it can, above the governor of a State, who is the equal representative of the people and is told to create a Senator whenever the Legislature fails to create one.

Mr. President, look at the Constitution in this light. When it was constructed by the fathers there was supposed to be in existence at the the seat of government of every State a Legislature and a governor. The United States Senators were to be the representatives of the States; the popular branch of Congress was the House of Representatives, while the two Senators, each small State having two Senators as well as each large State, were supposed to represent the State. At the seat of government of every

State there was assumed to be a Legislature and a governor, with this qualification, that the Legislature would not remain in session all the year round, while the governor, the commander-in-chief, the highest executive officer, the greatest public functionary, invested not only with executive power, but with a large share, by reason of his veto power, of the legislative power of the State, he would be at the State capital all the year round. What then did the founders who made the Constitution say? Simply this: That the Legislature shall elect the Senators when they can; and when a vacancy exists and the Legislature is there it shall fill the vacancy; and when a vacancy exists and the Legislature is not there, then the governor shall appoint and keep the office full.

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from New Hampshire yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. CHANDLER. In one moment.

It is true that the power of the Legislature to elect is primary and the power of the governor to appoint is secondary; but it does not follow that because the power of the Legislature is primary it is superior to the secondary power of the governor whenever the occasion arises under the Constitution when it becomes the duty of the governor to fill a vacancy in the Senate of the United States.

I now yield to the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President, the Senator from New Hampshire is speaking of the primary authority of the Legislature to choose Senators. I wish to ask a question at that point in order that the thought may be in a fitting place. My question is, in case the first Legislatures of the several States which were convened after the adoption of the Federal Constitution had failed to choose two Senators, which they were required and expected to choose by the provisions of the Constitution, whether the governor would have been authorized to appoint two Senators to fill those alleged vacancies?

Then, when the Senator answers that question, if he answers it in the affirmative, I should like to ask him the further question, so as to get the whole question in issue at once, whether, in case two vacancies should now happen, and if the Legislature which meets after the happening of those vacancies should neglect from any cause to fill the vacancy, the governor would then have the authority to make two appointments, one of them being for a new term and the other to fill a continuing term?

Mr. CHANDLER. If the Senator had listened to me attentively he would have noticed that I had already answered his last question in the affirmative. I do believe, and I do not shrink from the conclusion, that under a proper construction of this clause giving governors of States the power to make appointments—a construction to carry out the beneficent object of the clause, made liberal for that purpose—if the governor makes an appointment and the Legislature meets and does not fill the office, a vacancy again happens, because when the Senate meets the office is certainly empty. Therefore I answer that question in the affirmative.

The Senator from Kansas asks me to go back a hundred years and tell him what right I think the governors of the States would have had to start this Government when it originated, in case the Legislatures of the thirteen States had refused to send Senators. The Constitution evidently contemplated that the Legislatures would send Senators, that they should be classified, and that if after they were classified vacancies happened, and the Legislatures did not fill the vacancies, the governors should fill them. I can not undertake to say to the Senator whether, if I had been here a hundred years ago, elected by a Legislature, and the attempt had been made to fill all the other seats in the Senate by gubernatorial appointments, I should have been in favor of starting the Government in that way.

But, Mr. President, I am surprised that the Senator should wish to go back a hundred years. He is the apostle of new ideas; he comes here full of new constructions of the Constitution and in favor of exerting the powers of the National Government to an extent that never yet has been dreamed of, and yet we find him, with all these new and liberal, and it is to be supposed popular and beneficial, ideas concerning the construction of the Constitution, going back, I am afraid, to a very narrow and contracted and illiberal construction of the Constitution on the point now under discussion. I am sorry to see such a manifestation on the part of my friend the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. President, I do not intend to detain the Senate except for one more suggestion, and that is this: I am very much surprised to find the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL] and, I may add, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PALMER], who I see is preparing to speak against this resolution, taking ground here and now in the discussion of this question in favor of exalting the power of State Legislatures. The Senator from Oregon is a Senator of great erudition, industry, and persistency, and the Senator from Illinois is a lawyer of profound ability and extreme ingenuity in argument.

The Senate in the last Congress heard from both those Senators against the election of Senators by State Legislatures, and both those Senators have undertaken to satisfy their associates and the larger audience, which they always address when they speak, that if there is any one thing which is bad in the Constitution of the country it is the method of electing Senators by State Legislatures. We have heard described the vicious character of elections by State Legislatures; we have been told of the dangers of corruption which result from the elections by State Legislatures; we have been told of the danger that millionaires, purchasing Legislatures, will force their way into this body; and the Senator from Oregon and the Senator from Illinois wish to tear out the Constitution the whole plan of electing United States Senators by State Legislatures, and to substitute for it the election of Senators by popular vote in each State.

Mr. President, with this record those Senators now, for their present purposes, are seeking to magnify and to clothe with dignity and honor and sanctity the power of State Legislatures; they insist that when the Constitution was framed the makers of it were determined that the one particular method of electing Senators, the election by Legislatures, and no other method when it was possible to be avoided, should be resorted to in order to place Senators on this floor. It seems but yesterday since they were decrying the State Legislatures; to-day they are praising the State Legislatures, and are advocating the right, and so far as possible the exclusive right, of the State Legislatures to elect Senators, even to the extent of tolerating vacancies in the Senate.

Mr. President, what are they also condemning in the present argument? They are condemning and denouncing the power of the governor of a State to appoint a United States Senator. How is the governor of a State put into his office? By direct election by the people of the State, the very method which the Senator from Oregon and the Senator from Illinois say is the only safe and true and honest method of electing Senators; and this governor, thus elected directly by the votes of the people, in case of necessity exercises the power of appointing a Senator. Is he not the equal of the Legislature in dignity and power when the Constitution directs him to act?

I can follow those Senators in neither of the constructions which they put upon the Constitution and in neither of their projects. I believe that the present method of electing Senators by the State Legislatures is wise and judicious as framed by the makers of the Constitution. I am not in favor of tearing it up by the roots and substituting for it the election of United States Senators by the people. On the other hand, however, when a Legislature fails to elect and the seat is vacant, and the governor of the State, elected by the people of the State, a distinguished citizen of the State, chosen by direct vote of his people, undertakes to keep the Senate full with its 88 members, then I believe that the construction of the Constitution which allows him thus to keep the Senate full is a construction to be favored.

I believe it is a construction to be commended and built up, and not a construction to be decried and destroyed by the application of rules which ought only to govern in the construction of a highly penal statute. Therefore I shall vote not to narrow this clause in the Constitution which gives the governor power to appoint Senators. I am not willing to belittle the governors of States, and to reduce them either in popular estimation or in constitutional estimation, but I am in favor of the free exercise of the rights which the Constitution has conferred, in the first place, upon the Legislature, and in the second place upon the governor, who is quite as completely as the Legislature the creation of the popular will of the State whose people are entitled to be represented at all times by two Senators in the Congress of the United States.

Mr. PALMER. Mr. President, the most impressive part of Washington's Farewell Address, read so perfectly from your place on the 22d of February, was the warning of Washington against the danger of attempting to alter the Constitution by construction. He reminded his countrymen that the Constitution could be amended and thus altered; but he warned them against constructive alteration. Nothing impressed me more than those solemn words of the great Father of his Country. I am impressed with that in view of what has been said by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER].

As I understand the Senator, he admits that for many years after the formation of the Constitution the construction for which I contend was the received construction; but the Senator has discovered that the Constitution may be changed by construction. The fathers adopted what he calls a narrow and illiberal construction of that instrument. He, their wiser son, has found another method better than that. The Senator's discovery reminds me of that of which I once heard of a Calvinistic preacher,

who said to his congregation: "My brethren, there is a man going up and down through the country teaching that all men will be saved. Thank God, we teach better things." [Laughter.]

That is an illustration of the methods of the Senator. This illiberality characterized the authors of the Constitution and their contemporaries; but this liberality distinguishes the Senator from New Hampshire and those who think with him. I prefer myself to be treated as illiberal with those who won the independence of his country and who framed the admirable system of government under which the United States has extended from sea to sea and from the Lakes to the Gulf rather than the new light vouched us by the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire.

The Senator again refers to the fact that the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL] and myself desire to alter the Constitution in order to give the election of Senators to the people. Mr. President, I do. I desire to alter the Constitution by formal provision, to change it deliberately and solemnly, because I believe an election of Senators by the people would be altogether preferable to either of the modes favored by the Senator; but I seek to do it by formal constitutional means; I seek to call the attention of the country to the great importance of this change; I have sought the aid of Congress to initiate the reform which I favor, and I have supposed and still suppose the time will come when the dangers of these new lights in political philosophy will compel some such thing to be done, not only in that particular respect, but possibly in some others.

No inconsistency can be predicated or charged against us, because while the Constitution exists as it is we favor adhering to it rigidly. It will be found that the most dangerous class of politicians are those who believe and teach that the framework of the Government, the Constitution, is to be modified not by formal action in some of the methods prescribed by the Constitution, but it is to be altered by new constructions to meet changed conditions, real or imaginary. I ask the Senate to stand by the Constitution as it is. I have no right to be liberal in construing the instrument which I have sworn to support. I have sworn to support the Constitution as it is. Neither my judgment nor my conscience will allow me to follow the Senator from New Hampshire in the new path which he has marked out for the Senate to pursue.

I am exceedingly anxious to confine what I have to say to the very question before the Senate. It is an important question. The Senator from New Hampshire indicates a purpose to give to this instrument a new construction. I have said already that he admits that the construction of the Constitution first recognized, and afterwards adhered to by those who were very near the period of its adoption, was that which I maintain to-day. I desire very much that the construction of the fathers shall be maintained until the people in some of the modes prescribed by the Constitution shall alter it. We shall then understand what the alterations are and we shall obey them, because it will be our duty to do so. In pursuance of that disposition to be accurate, I shall endeavor to state in a correct and accurate form the real question before the Senate.

Mr. President, the question presented by the resolution reported by a majority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections is one of very great importance, as it involves a construction of those provisions of the Constitution which relate to the organization of this body. The report of the committee asserts that under the facts to be hereafter stated the governors of the States of Montana, Wyoming, and Washington had the constitutional power to appoint Senators to represent those States in this body.

The facts in the case of Mr. Lee Mantle, which is the case immediately before the Senate, and of Mr. Beckwith, both of whom are asserted by the committee to have a right to seats in this body, are identical. The Legislatures of the States of Montana and Wyoming convened in January, 1893, in pursuance of the constitutions of those States. The members of the Legislatures of both States balloted for Senators, as required by the act of Congress of July 25, 1866, and on the 3d of March, 1893, adjourned without having made a choice. The terms of Mr. Sanders, the late Senator from Montana, and of Mr. Warren, late Senator from Wyoming, expired on the 3d day of March, 1893, so that it may be said with perfect accuracy that the sessions of the Legislatures of those States and the terms of Senators Sanders and Warren expired at the same moment.

The case of Mr. Allen, who claims the right to be seated as a Senator from the State of Washington, differs from the cases of Mr. Mantle and Mr. Beckwith in this respect only, that the term of Mr. Allen, who was the late Senator from Washington, expired on the 3d day of March, 1893, and the Legislature of that State, which was in session some time before the 3d day of March, and had balloted for a Senator to fill the term which commenced on the 4th day of March, 1893, continued to ballot in actual session until the 4th day of March, when it adjourned without having made a choice.

The Legislatures of each of the States of Montana and Wyoming were in actual session for one or more months before the expiration of the terms of Mr. Sanders and Mr. Warren, and the Legislature of Washington was in session for a month or more before and for several days after the expiration of the term of Mr. Allen. It was the duty of the Legislatures of those States to elect Senators for the term commencing on the 4th day of March, 1893; it was in their power to do so; yet they failed to make such elections. After the adjournment of the Legislatures of those States the governor of the State of Montana appointed Mr. Mantle, the governor of Wyoming appointed Mr. Beckwith, and the governor of Washington appointed Mr. Allen, to be Senators.

The majority of the committee treat the cases of the claimants from Montana, Wyoming, and Washington as alike in principle, and assert the right of all to be seated.

The rights of these gentlemen to seats depend upon the authority of the governors of their respective States to appoint them Senators, and the authority of the governors to appoint them, if it exists at all, is derived alone from the Constitution. The provisions of the Constitution which relate to the organization and to the election of members of the Senate are so brief that they may be conveniently quoted. Section 3 of Article I provides that—

> The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.
>
> Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

The material, relevant portions of the Constitution may be condensed into this form: "The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof for six years, * * * and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies."

The Constitution determines that Senators shall be chosen by the Legislatures of the States for a term of six years. The power of electing Senators is conferred upon the Legislature, and to meet the possibility that vacancies might happen from resignation or like causes, the power is conferred upon the governor to fill vacancies thus occurring.

It is not easy to mistake the general purpose of the framers of the Constitution. It was contemplated by the framers of the Constitution that vacancies might occur from any of the causes that could be anticipated, and it was also understood that the Legislatures of the States would not be in continual session, and there was a necessity for providing for the filling of vacancies.

Upon observing the Constitution closely and carefully it will be found that the original proposition which came from a committee of that body was that the governors of States should fill vacancies absolutely, without limitation. It was by subsequent amendment determined to limit the power of the governors of States to make appointment of Senators to be exercised on particular specified contingencies—that is, the governors should have power to fill vacancies caused by resignation or from any similar cause which might happen at a time when the Legislature was not in session.

A careful provision was made, however, that the appointment should continue until the meeting of the Legislature. So the power of the governor to appoint was considered as purely exceptional, not as original. It was not supposed in the original scheme that the power was conferred upon the governor to appoint a Senator originally. The theory was that the vacancy must be accidental, and death or resignation are given as some of the illustrations of the cases in which the power of governors could be employed. The whole theory of the Constitution was, and is, that the power of election was with the Legislature, and the contingent power of filling vacancies was vested in the governor, a power to be vested only upon the happening of certain contingencies, and a power which exhausted itself when the true electoral body met in actual session.

The Constitution determines that Senators shall be chosen by the Legislatures of the States for a term of six years; the power of electing Senators is conferred upon the Legislatures in the most absolute and exclusive terms, but it was foreseen by the authors of the Constitution that vacancies might occur or hap-

pen during the recess of the Legislature of a State at a time when the Legislature, not being in session, would be incapable of filling the vacancy.

To meet that contingency the executive of a State was empowered to make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which is required by the terms of the Constitution to then fill such vacancies.

The Committee on Privileges and Elections agree that under the Constitution the power and the duty of the Legislatures of the States is primary, and that of the governors of the States to make temporary appointments to fill vacancies in the Senate is contingent.

The majority of the committee contend that the coexistence of but two facts is essential to the existence of the power of the governors to make such temporary appointments. The first of these facts is that there shall exist a vacancy in the representation of any State in the Senate; and, secondly, that at a time when such vacancy exists the Legislature of such State is not in session. At any time upon a concurrence of these two circumstances the power of a governor to appoint a Senator is complete. While the contention of the minority is that in order to the existence of the power of a governor of a State to make temporary appointments of Senators the vacancy to be filled must happen by the resignation of a Senator or otherwise during the recess of the Legislature of such State, and that the power in question can not exist in the governor of a State to fill a vacancy occasioned by the expiration of a constitutional term. The majority of the committee profess to have discovered that the leading object of the provision of the Constitution is to keep the Senate at all times full. It is asked in the report:

> What is the great and leading purpose which the provision now under consideration was designed to accomplish? It is that the Senate of the United States be full, always full; each State was to be represented there by two Senators.

In order to secure this "great and leading purpose" the committee inferentially assert this purpose is to be appealed to to supply all omissions, to reconcile all inconsistencies, to give a meaning to all ambiguities, and even in clear cases to compel a construction opposed sometimes to a clear meaning of particular words and phrases.

The committee, in quoting this extreme rule, sometimes applicable to the construction of contracts between parties, seem to have forgotten the injunction of Judge Marshall, which they quote, "Never forget that it is a constitution we are construing," and seem, furthermore, to have disregarded the maxim that "the best rule by which to arrive at the meaning and intention of a law is to abide by the words which the lawmaker has used," and that other rule that "words in a statute and a portion of a constitution are never to be construed as unmeaning and surplusage, if a construction can legitimately be found which will give force to and preserve all the words in the act." The end interpretation aims at is to find out the intent of the statute or the constitution, as the case may be; to clear up the meaning of the words if they are obscure; to ascertain their sense if they are ambiguous, and to determine their design where the words express it imperfectly. It is not permitted to interpret what has no need of interpretation.

When an instrument is conceived in clear and precise terms; when the sense is manifest and leads to nothing absurd, there can be no reason to refuse the sense which the words naturally present; to go elsewhere in search of conjectures in order to restrain or extend the words of an instrument is to elude it.

The meaning of the provisions of the Constitution under consideration can be determined without resorting to the violent means of interpretation quoted with approbation by the committee. The Constitution as a complete instrument was the production of deputies representing sovereign but united States. Its purpose was to provide a common government for the United States. In execution of that purpose it created a Senate to consist of two Senators from each State, to be elected by the Legislatures of the States for a term of six years, and in contemplation of possible vacancies it provided:

> And if vacancies happen during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

In the early days of the Union the words quoted were not supposed to be ambiguous in their meaning.

The case of Kensey Johns, which was before the Senate in 1794, and of James Lanman in 1825, were decided without apparent difficulty, and now the words in question may be readily interpreted by the employment and application of well-established rules of construction. The admitted object of the language is to provide a means for filling vacancies which may happen to exist in the representation of any State in the Senate. To satisfy the terms of the Constitution upon which the power of the governor to appoint a Senator to fill a vacancy, it is necessary first that a vacancy shall happen.

It is admitted that the word "happen" has a very wide signification. It is clear, however, that while other words may sometimes be employed instead of the word "happen," and examples will occur to every Senator, the word "happen" in its strict sense will hardly supply the meaning of the words that are sometimes substituted for it. The word "happen" exactly expresses the construction which was given in all the cases up to 1825. No other word could have been employed that would have satisfied the construction first given to the Constitution by the Senate. The minority report of the committee discusses the meaning of that term as far as it is necessary to do so.

It may be conceded, too, that the word "occur" is often used as an equivalent for "happen," and that therefore no conclusive inference as to the intention of the framers of the Constitution can be drawn from the use of the word "happen" alone. The exact intention of a deliberative body in the use of a word of doubtful meaning, when other means fail, can often be determined by contrasting it with another word or words for which it was substituted in the course of the composition of a statute or a constitution and by the association of the word in question with words which precede or follow it. We have the debates in the convention which framed the Constitution, and it is admissible to resort to those debates as a means of ascertaining the intention of the framers of the Constitution in the use of particular words. It appears that a committee of the convention known as the committee on detail recommended a clause to be made a part of the Constitution.

I have not the exact words before me. The recommendation was a broad one, that the power of filling vacancies—I quote freely—shall belong to the executives of the States until the next meeting of the Legislatures. It is true, as has been said already, that an attempt was made to strike out those words from the plan. It is also certain that the words suggested by the committee were not satisfactory to the Convention. It is easy to be seen that if the original words reported by the committee of detail had become a part of the Constitution controversies like this could not have happened. "Vacancies shall be filled by the executives of the States until the next meeting of the Legislatures."

I repeat, I quote freely. The necessity for retaining in the Constitution power to fill vacancies was recognized to the extent that the Convention refused to strike out those words when that distinct proposition was made. But the clause was not satisfactory to the Convention, and the words now found in the Constitution were inserted to give exact expression to the intention of the Convention. The exact words selected were "if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise."

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] attaches much importance to the meaning of the word "otherwise." The Senator's proposition is that the Convention was unwilling to accept as a part of the Constitution the clause which provided that vacancies in all cases shall be filled by the governor until the next meeting of the Legislature, but his proposition is that the word "otherwise" gives to the clause reported greater significance than it had before; that is, all vacancies may be filled by the governors of the States. Now the modification was, "if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise."

The Senator from Indiana argues that the word "otherwise" restores to the original proposition the broad comprehension intended by the authors of the report, and that the clause is now to be read, "if vacancies happen by resignation or exist from any other cause the governor may fill that vacancy until the next meeting of the Legislature;" that is, that the limitation which was intended by the insertion of the word "resignation" was enlarged and made as broad as before by the use of the word "otherwise." So according to the theory of the Senator from Indiana, and, as I understand it, of the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER], the governor may fill all vacancies until the next meeting of the Legislature; that the word "resignation" is without meaning, as "otherwise" comprehends all that was meant in the proposition contained in the original report.

The Senator from Massachusetts ingeniously suggests that the purpose for which the word "resignation" was inserted in the clause was not to limit the executive power of appointment, but it was to confer upon an incumbent the power of resignation. He tells us that it was the rule in England, that no member of the House of Commons could resign or vacate his seat otherwise than by the acceptance of an employment under the Crown, and the familiar practice of the House of Commons of a retiring member accepting the stewardship of Chiltern Hundreds is cited to illustrate and enforce the proposition the Senator advances. But it will be remembered by those who have taken the pains to examine the debates that there is no allusion in any of the de-

bates to that fact. It is nowhere claimed in the Convention that that case was before the minds of the framers of the Constitution.

It is suggested by a Senator on my right [Mr. PEFFER] that resignations were familiar in the Continental Congress, and the American doctrine of the right of the incumbent to resign his place was not questioned. The suggestion, therefore, of the Senator from Massachusetts has the merit of ingenuity, but it has no foundation in any fact or expression which occurred in the course of the debates in the Constitutional Convention.

For what purpose, then, was the word introduced? Its natural effect is to limit the generality of the words reported by the committee of detail. That report provided, in substance, that the executives of States should fill all vacancies until the next meeting of the Legislature. That was not satisfactory to the Convention. It was not satisfied that the governors of States should have the power to fill all vacancies that might occur, and words of limitation were thought to be necessary, and were introduced into the clause. The words of limitation are, "if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise."

As a matter of fair construction, the word "resignation" can only refer to the vacation of an office by one who had a right to continue to occupy it. The word was introduced into the Constitution for a purpose. I maintain it was introduced as a word of limitation, and the Senator maintains that the purpose intended was only to give the Senator incumbent the right to vacate his seat. I maintain that the words are a limitation on the power of the governor to appoint Senators. The other proposition is that the words only mean Senators may resign their seats and thus create a vacancy, and the executive of the State may fill all vacancies which may happen or exist during a recess of the Legislature.

Is it not much more reasonable to conclude that the amendments proposed to the original draft had a more definite purpose? The Legislatures of the States are the electors of Senators. I think I may fairly assert it was undoubtedly the expectation as well as the purpose of the framers of the Constitution that the Legislatures would in all cases elect Senators.

What ground could there be for a doubt on that subject? The power was conferred upon States to elect Senators for the sake of the States. It was the right as well as the privilege, the duty as well as to the advantage, of the States to be represented in the United States Senate. Could it have been anticipated by the framers of the Constitution that the States would fail to exercise the privilege of being represented in the Senate of the United States? The right of States to representation in the Senate was deemed so precious that it was provided elsewhere in the Constitution that no State should be deprived of its representation in the Senate without its consent.

I quote these provisions of the Constitution freely. It was deemed an essential, valuable, precious right of representation. It never could have been thought possible that the States of the Union would waive so valuable a right as that of being represented in the national Senate. The right to representation in connection with taxation was the cause of the Revolution. Can it be supposed that the Convention which formed the Constitution anticipated the possibility that the States would voluntarily waive this most valuable right? The idea that it was intended to provide for the contingency of a Legislature disregarding its plain duty to its people in electing a Senator could not possibly occur to the framers of the Constitution.

The Senator from Indiana says, and truly, too, I think, that our fathers were familiar with factions and with political strifes, as we are. But they never contemplated that the factions of a State would consent to waive the valuable right of representation in the national Senate. I shall not trouble the Senate by discussing that which the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL] presented so clearly and well. It can not be presumed that the Convention imagined, if I may use that term in such a connection, that the Legislatures of States to whom the election of Senators was confided would ever fail to discharge that duty. It can not be affirmed with proper respect to them that they anticipated such a condition of things; that they did not anticipate such a condition is inferable from the fact that if they had they would have inserted an express provision in the Constitution to meet it.

It would have been easy to have provided that "when vacancies shall occur by a failure to elect or happen by resignation or otherwise,"

I take it, therefore, that this was not in contemplation or it would have been provided for.

Now I return to the original proposition, "If vacancies happen by resignation." If it had been anticipated that a vacancy could exist by failure to elect, the natural order of that statement would have been that the failure to elect would have been provided for and it would have preceded the word "resignation," as incumbency must precede resignation. The term "resignation," as I maintain, was introduced as a word of limitation. It was proposed that governors should fill all vacancies. The amendment was that the governors might fill some vacancies, and an attempt is made to describe the vacancies which may be filled by a governor. "Resignation" is chosen as the descriptive word indicating the general cause of the vacancy.

The Senator from Indiana, with that ingenuity which characterizes him, and to the exhibitions of which I always listen with much interest, intimates that the word "otherwise" covers all vacancies, all cases, all other ways. I ask him if it was intended that the governors should fill all vacancies, why were the words reported from the committee of detail rejected? Why were any other words used? If, as is maintained, the governor may fill all vacancies until the next meeting of the Legislature, why were words of limitation used? If that was the intention of the framers of the Constitution, why were other words employed?

The ingenious suggestion of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], which I have already noticed, is that the purpose of the use of the word "resignation" was simply to recognize the right of a Senator to resign. If it was used for that purpose only, then it has the merit, I say, of extreme ingenuity, but has no support whatever in the debates in the Convention, and seems to be unwarranted by anything under any custom or rule which prevailed in this country at any time.

Upon a careful inquiry as to the meaning of the word "otherwise" its significance is not always clear. In the report of the committee this subject is discussed with clearness and ample learning. I will not ask the Senate to listen to me while I continue a discussion which seems to me to have been there exhausted. Evidently from the fact that that is the word chosen after "resignation" it contemplates causes resembling resignation, according to very well understood rules of interpretation. "Otherwise," if interpreted as the Senators on the other side interpret it, rendered an amendment to the report of the committee of detail entirely unnecessary. As I said before, it simply restored the original words reported by the committee, and with a sort of grant of power to an incumbent to resign. That would seem to be the whole effect of the proposition according to the arguments on the other side.

The term "otherwise" admits of very free interpretation. It may mean "in any other way." It may mean, in connection with the word "resignation," "or any like case." The Senator from Indiana wastes some time, I think, in combating that view when he asserts that a vacancy occasioned by resignation and one caused by death or expulsion are altogether unlike. They are unlike in their causes, but they are alike in their results and in their incidents.

In order to find the meaning of the term "resignation," we must find that one has been in possession of an office or thing and that he has yielded it up so that that place which was full is now vacant. In the case of expulsion the office was full, but made vacant; and in the case of resignation the vacancy happened by the voluntary act of the incumbent. In the one of expulsion it happened by the act of the body which had the right of expulsion. Other illustrations might be found. While these vacancies originating from different causes may be unlike in the cause they are alike in the results. An office is full. An office happens to be vacated. Resignation is given as one of the examples of an office once full, but which has become vacant.

Illustrations might be multiplied showing that while the Senator from Indiana is largely our creditor for ingenuity, he seems to have failed to perceive that the vacancy is the thing to be considered; and that is the result of any one of a number of different causes which produce the result, "otherwise" being the term which comprehends all similar cases.

Mr. GRAY. Classified with reference to that result.

Mr. PALMER. As is suggested by the Senator on my left, classified with reference to that result, the result being a vacancy in an office once filled.

I attach much consequence to the alterations in these phrases employed in the progress of the debates in the Convention. The first idea was that the Constitution should confer upon governors of States power to fill all vacancies however they might happen, or from whatever cause they might result, and that would satisfy the Senator from New Hampshire, who has presented us an argument this morning to support the equal dignity of the governor of a State with the Legislature of that State. I may reply to the Senator by saying that I am not called upon to determine the relative dignity of the executive and legislative departments of States.

The inquiry is, What was the intention of the framers of the Constitution? In order to ascertain that intention we must resort first to the words. We are at liberty to look to the process by which the ultimate result was reached; we are permitted to

consult contemporary history, and we are at liberty to resort to contemporaneous practice.

Permit me to show a rule I think the Senator from Massachusetts will recognize as one of universal acceptance, that in the construction of a law, and necessarily of a constitution, it can not be presumed that the Legislature or the Constitutional Convention employed any words without meaning. In construction a meaning must be found for every word unless it is clear that no construction can be found which would not be absurd. It is a modification of the rule that the intention must govern in the construction of constitutions and statutes.

Now, why were these words introduced? What was intended? I perceive that if the Senator from Massachusetts is correct in his theory the word "resignation" is a useless word, serving as the mere resting point of the word "otherwise." "If a vacancy shall happen," I render freely, "the governor shall make temporary appointment until the next meeting of the Legislature." If that had been the clause of the Constitution the word "happen" might be accepted in the broad meaning claimed for it by the Senator from Massachusetts, it being the same as "occur," or even the word "exist"—if vacancies exist, the governor may fill that vacancy until the next meeting of the Legislature.

What is the case of the Senator from Washington, Mr. Allen? In that case the vacancy occurred while the Legislature was in session, and in order to get rid of that difficulty the Senator must get rid of the words "during the recess of the Legislature." The ingenious Senator from New Hampshire would not have the least difficulty in holding that modern learning and skill are quite equal to the task of even getting rid of the phrase "if the vacancy shall happen in the recess of the Legislature the governor may make a temporary appointment." In this case the vacancy happened while the Legislature was in session, and the Legislature continued in session for nearly a week, from the 3d until I believe the 9th day of March, 1893. There the vacancy did not happen during the recess of the Legislature. Undoubtedly under the rules of free and liberal interpretation some method will be found to show authority for the governor to reappoint Mr. Allen as his own successor.

Going back again, I have said, and I repeat, that in the progress of these investigations we are to conclude that every word had some meaning, not necessarily an exact meaning according to the best authorities, but it must be implied in some sense, perhaps the better sense, as the term is understood by the people. I understand no rule is better settled than that, unless phrases are technical, we are to look to the language of the country in order to interpret written or printed instruments, whether constitutions or contracts. It is also to be supposed that while we are giving the interpretation to words we can reject none. "If vacancies happen."

I invite the special attention of the Senator from Massachusetts, if he shall take part in the debate, to the proposition advanced by the Senator from Oregon. No case can be found in the Constitution of the United States or in the constitution of a State where a duty has been imposed upon a branch of the Government that it has been assumed as possible that the department to which the duty is intrusted would disregard that duty. It may be said, and on that point I wish to dwell a moment, that the Convention doubtless anticipated——

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator will pardon me, that was not the question which the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE] put to the Senator from Oregon or which the Senator from Oregon answered. He asked him if there was any case where a provision was made that if the functionary to whom a duty was committed failed to perform it the duty should be given to another to perform, and the Senator from Oregon said there was no such instance. It was not a refusal but a failure to perform a duty.

Mr. PALMER. I beg pardon of the Senator; how does that differ from my statement of the proposition?

Mr. HOAR. The Senator said the statement of the Senator from Oregon was that there was no place where provision was made, in the case of a refusal by one functionary to perform a duty, for putting the duty upon another. The question which the Senator from North Carolina put was in regard to a failure to perform a duty, not a refusal. I will state fully the question put by the Senator from North Carolina, if I am not imposing on the good nature of the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. PALMER. Not at all.

Mr. HOAR. There are two provisions of the Constitution which provide for such a case. One is the case of the inability to elect, where, as we on our side say, this numerous body can not agree on one man conscientiously. It is the inability, not the refusal to elect. In the case of the inability of the President of the United States to perform his duty it is put on the Vice-President. The other case is precisely like it in principle. Where the two Houses of Congress fail to agree on the time of an adjournment or on the length of an adjournment, the President of the United States is authorized to interfere and settle the question.

Mr. VANCE. If the Senator from Illinois will permit me, I do not think that presents the same case by any means. My question, as I remember it, was, is there any case in the Constitution where a duty is imposed upon one official, and a failure to perform it renders it the duty of some other official to perform it?

Mr. HOAR. Exactly.

Mr. VANCE. There is no duty imposed by the Constitution upon the Houses of Congress to adjourn.

Mr. HOAR. I think there is.

Mr. VANCE. That is an act of their own free will. They can adjourn, but they are not required to adjourn; and when their term constitutionally expires they do not need to adjourn; they go out by law.

Mr. HOAR. No; that is not the point. It is the question of adjourning to a particular time; and that involves not merely the departing when they have got through, but coming back again to do their legislative duty at a particular time, which is a very serious and grave constitutional obligation.

If the House of Representatives were in session at this moment, and the highest interests of the country required a session in September or October, and we could not agree with the other House on the time of meeting, the duty of fixing that time is imposed upon the Executive. It is a duty quite as plain and of quite as much importance as the election of a single Senator, and a duty which we might be unable to perform for the same reason that a State Legislature might be unable to elect a Senator; that is, that we could not conscientiously agree, there being two bodies who have to agree. So there are two cases in the Constitution. One is a case of failure from inability. If the President of the United States is unable to perform his duties by insanity, by illness, or for any other reason which makes an inability, another functionary comes in. If we can not agree from inability on a time when we shall have a session next fall, the two Houses being in session, the President comes in and cuts the knot.

Mr. PALMER. I appreciate the force of that answer, but the framers of the Constitution evidently foresaw those possibilities and provided for them.

Mr. HOAR. As the Senator is summing up, perhaps, in order not to interrupt him again, he will let me make one other suggestion, which will take but a moment.

Mr. PALMER. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. If I understood the Senator just now, he said the suggestion that the phrase "by resignation, or otherwise" was put into the Constitution in order to remove the doubt growing out of the English practice, whether a Senator could lawfully resign his office, was due to my ingenuity, as he was kind enough to say, not uncivilly at all, and that it found no warrant in the debates. Did I understand the Senator correctly?

Mr. PALMER. Certainly, I said that.

Mr. HOAR. Now, will he allow me to read to him Mr. Madison's own statement on the subject, and see whether I understood him?

Mr. PALMER. Certainly; with great pleasure.

Mr. HOAR. This is Mr. Madison's own report:

> Mr. Madison, in order to prevent doubts whether resignations could be made by Senators, or whether they could refuse to accept, moved to strike out the words after "vacancies" and insert the words "happening by refusals to accept, resignations, or otherwise, may be supplied by the Legislature of the State in the representation of which such vacancies shall happen, or by the executive thereof, until the next meeting of the Legislature."

Mr. PALMER. I remember that.

Mr. HOAR. I do not understand the Senator, then, in saying that he finds no warrant in the debates for my statement.

Mr. PALMER. I spoke of the fact that the Senator had referred to the English example, and that there was nothing in the debates that referred to the practices in England. That was the remark I made. I am quite familiar with Mr. Madison's suggestion. Mr. Madison suggested the original amendment proposed by him, "by failure to accept," etc. That makes the proposition, I admit, plausible, and the words were retained, but there is nothing in the debates that would justify the proposition that they were not words of limitation also.

Getting back to the line I was pursuing, however, in rather a desultory way, I want to remark, and somewhat in continuation, that the terms employed in this instrument evidently contemplate, on even Mr. Madison's suggestion, that these words would authorize resignation. They were at the same time words of limitation upon the power of the governor. They were to operate by way of limitation and also to operate by words as examples, and in connection with the word "happen," which, as I have

said before, perfectly represents the idea of possibility or accident, and does not perfectly represent an occurrence which comes by course of nature or by operation of law—one that may be foreseen. It is therefore much safer as a matter of construction to accept a word which has a distinct signification without being ingenious to find that the same word may have other meanings.

The example was resignation, and the word "happen" was also introduced. The word "happen" does not exist in the original draft of the committee of detail. The word "happen" was imported into the amendment, as well as the word "resignation." The whole clause is coupled with this word of contingency, which perfectly satisfies our view of the case and only possibly satisfies the purpose of the Senators on the other side.

Now, Mr. President, being about to conclude what I have to say on this subject, I beg to state that this is one of the most solemn occasions which has occurred in the Senate since I have had the honor of being a member of the body. We are discussing questions that go to its very organization, and it is proposed to extend the Constitution so as to remove the choice of Senators still further from the primary source of all political power, the people. By way of compromise perhaps it was suggested in the Convention by some persons that the power of appointing Senators might be conferred upon the executives of the States. On the other hand, the claim was made that the power of electing Senators should be brought as near the people as possible. The compromise was found in vesting the choice of Senators in the Legislatures of the States, and the qualifications of electors of the Legislatures were left undefined in order that the power might be as near the people as possible.

Instead, therefore, of characterizing the construction for which gentlemen on the other side contend as being beneficial, it is the reverse. It is subversive. It is intimated in the report of the committee that it was proposed to give this power to the governors alone. That is true, but the prevailing sentiment was to place the power as near to the people as was possible. This proposition will confer ultimately on the governors of the States the power to appoint Senators much more extensively than is claimed now, because you observe how it has gone on step by step. In 1794, in the case of Johns, according to the admission of the Senator from New Hampshire, it was agreed that the power of the governor to appoint could not be exercised in cases like these.

In the cases from New Hampshire another step was taken in the direction of increasing the mere uncontrolled power of the governor. That was another step in the direction of giving the power to the governors to appoint Senators. If this line of construction is pursued, when gentlemen reject clauses in the Constitution in order to attain liberal results, the time is not distant when the powers of the Legislatures to elect will be very largely abridged, and the day is not distant when there will be combinations in the States to defeat the choice of Senators by the Legislatures so as to insure appointments by the governors. The process is an easy one.

We have the remarkable example of three States now with Senators appointed by governors knocking at these doors. The Legislatures have been in session. Every man of them was under the obligation of a solemn oath to obey the requirement to elect a Senator as the representative of his State and its people. They failed to do so. From what consideration? Senators say they could not elect. I in turn say that it was their duty to elect, and that their inability was a fictitious inability, imaginary, pretended; that it was not real. The spirit of faction may have taken control of some or all of them, but there is reason to believe, and it is a possible conclusion, that certain interests preferred that the governors should make appointments.

The gentlemen who are here, so far as I know, are blameless, free from fault. They have my personal respect; but there lies the danger, and step by step we depart from the pathway of the fathers. We become wise in our own conceit. The Senator from New Hampshire conceives the doctrine of liberal interpretation which would change the Government, and step by step our institutions are subverted by this spirit of change. No man can foresee the result.

The safe course is to restrict the power of governors to the exact limits of the Constitution. If the Legislatures fail to elect Senators, let them be responsible to those who elected them. You afford to faithless legislators a means of escape by this substitutionary method of appointing Senators.

Gentlemen talk about representation in this body as if it was a matter of such transcendent consequence that anybody might appoint, or as if the origin of the appointment is a matter of comparatively small consequence. The object is, we are told, that the Senate shall be full, always full. It is not so, Mr. President. The object is that the Senate shall be filled with the representatives of the States, representatives selected by the agencies to which the election has been confided by the Constitution, by the representatives of the people, and every step that removes from the Legislature a sense of its responsibility is a step towards the subversion of free institutions.

If the people of Montana, or of Washington, or of Wyoming are without representation in this body, whose fault is it? Have not their Legislatures had ample power to elect? In a session that lasted for months they have been struggling, they tell us, over an election for Senator, and have been unable to elect. What was the ground of that inability? Did they will to discharge their duty? Were they there to meet their obligations to their constituents? No; they were obeying the voice of faction, which would sacrifice sometimes free institutions for the sake of mere temporary advantages. They have failed to discharge their duty.

What is the remedy? Gentlemen suggest that the governor of a State shall relieve them of all responsibility by appointing a Senator for them. Sir, the governors of those States (and I speak again respectfully of those gentlemen) have appointed as Senators gentlemen whom the Legislatures would not elect. They did not elect them. They had the opportunity to elect them and they would not do it. The effect of this is to relieve these recreant members of the Legislature from their responsibility to the people. If the States of Washington, Montana, and Wyoming were to remain without representation who would be responsible for it? Whom would the people hold responsible? They would visit the proper punishment upon the faithless men who disregarded their duty.

But the Senate proposes to kindly relieve them of all trouble. The men whose duty it was to choose a Senator go back to their constituents and say, "The governor has done that which we ought to have done, and the Senate of the United States has held that where the Legislature of a State refuse to elect, the governor shall appoint"—I ask pardon, these Legislatures have not used the word "refuse;" but let me put a case. Suppose the Legislature had before ending its session passed this resolution:

Resolved, That we will not elect a Senator to the Senate of the United States.

What would the Senator from Massachusetts say then? To be logical he would say, "Let the governor appoint a Senator," forgetful that the Convention would not intrust the Legislature with the discretion to refer appointments for the Senate to whom they pleased. The Senator has the book before him. They would not intrust the Legislature with that power, yet the Senator maintains a doctrine here that would enable the Legislature to abandon its duty and delegate the power of election to a governor who might not represent the people.

Mr. HOAR. Would it disturb the Senator if instead of his saying what I would answer to that question he would permit me to say it?

Mr. PALMER. Clearly it would afford me pleasure to hear the Senator.

Mr. HOAR. I wish to preface what I desire to state by saying that I differ with the Senator in his history when he says he thinks it did not enter into the contemplation of the framers of the Constitution or the men of that generation that any State Legislature might refuse to exercise this prerogative. I think, on the contrary, it was a Constitution which was adopted with great doubt and put in operation with great apprehension on the part of the people of that generation; and unless a great many persons are in error leading statesmen of that day contemplated the attempt to have the State Legislatures abandon the Constitution and refuse their representation here. That serious question of doubt continued down to the time of Mr. Webster's famous debate with Mr. Calhoun, where Mr. Webster considers elaborately and at length the securities we have in our Government against the refusal of State Legislatures to elect Senators and goes on to make the argument which has been referred to more than once in this debate.

Therefore, I hold that if after the famous Hartford convention the Legislature of Connecticut, or Massachusetts, or New Hampshire, or Rhode Island had refused to send Senators here, intending to abandon the support of the Government in the war of 1812, and there had been a loyal, upright, patriotic governor in the State, it would have been within his power and it would have been his duty to make an appointment, and the Constitution would have furnished the necessity for its own protection for such a proceeding. That is a mere contingency. A great many men well informed will deny that there was any serious contemplation of such a thing then, but I am afraid, though I do not think the Hartford convention contemplated it, that Mr. Timothy Pickering did.

Now, suppose in 1861 my honorable friend had been governor of some Southern State whose Legislature had been possessed by the frenzy of that time. I think if the Legislature had refused to elect Senators he would have exercised his power of appointment.

Mr. PALMER. I think so.

Mr. HOAR. He would have had a right to do it, and the Senator thinks so, too.

Mr. PALMER. I think so, because revolutions have their own laws, if there can be said to be any law where there is no law. I incline to think that if I had been the governor of a State I should have looked to the safety of the Republic.

Mr. HOAR. That is what the framers of the Constitution did.

Mr. PALMER. But I should not have appealed to the Constitution for it. I should have appealed to that higher law, which guards the public, as I should have raised an army to resist rebellion.

No argument, I think, can be drawn from the illustration given by the Senator. He does, however, say in terms that if the Legislature refuses to elect a Senator—I beg the Senator's pardon, I wish to state it correctly—I understand the Senator to say that if the Legislature should have assembled and distinctly refused to elect a Senator, that would be a vacancy happening within the meaning of the Constitution.

I state the proposition with some hesitation. I admire the boldness of the Senator from Massachusetts. If that be so, then it is within the power of the Legislature of a State to abdicate its function as an electoral body and bestow it by the very act of abdication upon the governor, who would succeed to it if abdicated. That would be a happening within the meaning of the Constitution as interpreted by the Senator.

Can that be the true interpretation of the Constitution? Is it possible that an electoral body charged with a duty by the Constitution can create a power in a governor by simply refusing to discharge the duty imposed upon them by the Constitution? Can they thus subvert the Government by transferring one of its most important functions to an officer whose power is contingent, an officer whose power was conferred, as I maintain, to meet a contingency, a happening? Yet the Senator from Massachusetts tells me that that happening may be the deliberate refusal of the electoral body to discharge its duty, that that is a happening within the meaning of the Constitution, and thus the Government may be subverted.

It may be a continual happening from term to term. I believe the Senator the other day did admit that if the Legislature should meet and refuse to elect, the appointment of the governor made in the recess would be suspended during the session of the Legislature or would cease, and the governor would be required to renew the appointment, and so on from time to time and for all time. That seems to be the dangerous result of the view entertained by the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. President, how much safer it is to stand by the doctrine of the fathers, the doctrine applied in the case of Johns and of Lanman. How much safer it is to throw upon the State Legislatures the responsibility of choosing a Senator and leaving the members of the State Legislatures to be responsible to their constituents. Let the people speak in the choice of their representatives. Ours is a voluntary government, and the people ought to have the power to control it. One thing is very clear; it is as clear as a mathematical problem, that the governor will never appoint a person to be a Senator whom the Legislature would have elected. In the case supposed some portion of the Legislature may have voted for that person, but they would not choose him. If they be regarded as the true exponents of the popular will, a Senator is here as the representative of the governor, not of the Legislature.

I am done, when I say that I respect the power of the executives of the States and I claim for them all the powers which belong to their office. I had the honor of being the governor of a State once, and I surely magnified my office. I never allowed its honors to be trailed in the dust. I employed its powers in season and out of season, whenever its dignity was invaded or its laws violated; but I also believe that the safety of the people of this country depends upon a rigid adherence to the Constitution as it is.

In the great struggle which commenced in 1861 and ended in 1865 the effort of patriots was not to establish a new government; it was to maintain the dignity and authority of the Constitution as it is, as it was, as it came from the hands of the fathers. I believe it my duty now to stand by the ancient ways and to resist these innovations, because I can not foresee where they will end. When we depart, we take a final departure; we break loose from our moorings under the influence of the liberal doctrines of the Senator from New Hampshire, doctrines which have no other merit than their liberality. They are liberal with sacred things. It is a liberality without the sanction of law, conscience, or right; it is a liberality which disregards the interests of the free people of this country; it disregards popular liberty as defined and guaranteed and defended by the written Constitution and fair and honest interpretation.

Mr. President, I trust this question will be settled definitely on this vote. It is a great occasion. We are making a government by enlarging its powers. The power of construing constitutions is in fact the power to make them. We are to-day exercising a part of that power, and I warn the Senate that this innovation, this liberal interpretation, at some time will return to plague the inventors.

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President, I desire to be heard a short time upon the matter pending, but I prefer not to proceed at this time. I do not suppose the discussion will continue to-day, and I therefore ask that I may have the floor when the Senate meets again in the morning.

Mr. GORMAN. I ask the Senator from Kansas to give way for a moment to permit me to offer a resolution which is necessary to the business of the Senate. The Senator will, of course, be entitled to the floor when the question again comes up.

Mr. PEFFER. I yield to the Senator.

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING.

Mr. GORMAN. I offer the resolution which I send to the desk, and ask for its present consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Printing be, and is hereby, authorized to sit during the coming recess for the performance of any and all duties devolving upon it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. CULLOM. I suppose the passage of the resolution will incur no additional expense?

Mr. GORMAN. None whatever. This is the ordinary and necessary resolution. Under the law the Committee on Printing is required to discharge certain duties during the recess.

Mr. CULLOM. I so understood. If the resolution did incur additional expense it would have to go to the Committee on Contingent Expenses.

Mr. GORMAN. It does not involve a dollar of additional expense.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

"BLACK HILLS" TIMBER DEPREDATIONS.

Mr. KYLE submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Interior be directed to furnish for the Senate copies of all reports and correspondence relating to the unlawful cutting of timber on public mineral lands in the district known as the "Black Hills," South Dakota.

REPORT ON COST OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS.

Mr. VANCE. If no Senator is prepared to proceed with the discussion of the resolution which has been under consideration, I shall move to proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. Will the Senator yield to me to make some reports?

Mr. VANCE. Certainly.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I am instructed by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the resolution reported by the Committee on Finance on the 22d of March, to report it favorably.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Commissioner of Labor is hereby directed to make a report to the Senate at the opening of the Fifty-third Congress comprehending the facts already collected by him, or to be obtained from other sources, of the total cost, including all the elements thereof, and also actual labor cost of producing various iron and steel products, such as bar iron, steel rails, and other articles of iron and steel, and also the leading articles of textile industry, and of such other articles for which the cost of production has been or may be approximately obtained, and in his report to state the facts in parallel columns for this and other countries from which they have been or may be obtained; and that the Committee on Finance, or any subcommittee thereof, is hereby authorized to make such further investigation in respect to the same matters as it shall deem important, and with power to summon and examine witnesses, to send for persons and papers, and to administer oaths; and the expenses of such investigations, when made by said Finance Committee, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

Mr. HOAR. By whom was that resolution originally introduced?

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. It was introduced by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. MCPHERSON], referred to the Committee on Finance, reported by that committee, and then referred to the Committee on Contingent Expenses.

Mr. HOAR. I wish the Senator from Louisiana would let the resolution lie over.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I have not asked any action upon it at this time. I have simply made the report.

Mr. HOAR. I wish the resolution to go over until the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. MCPHERSON], who originally offered it, shall be present.

The other day the Senator from New Jersey made some state

said before, perfectly represents the idea of possibility or accident, and does not perfectly represent an occurrence which comes by course of nature or by operation of law—one that may be foreseen. It is therefore much safer as a matter of construction to accept a word which has a distinct signification without being ingenious to find that the same word may have other meanings.

The example was resignation, and the word "happen" was also introduced. The word "happen" does not exist in the original draft of the committee of detail. The word "happen" was imported into the amendment, as well as the word "resignation." The whole clause is coupled with this word of contingency, which perfectly satisfies our view of the case and only possibly satisfies the purpose of the Senators on the other side.

Now, Mr. President, being about to conclude what I have to say on this subject, I beg to state that this is one of the most solemn occasions which has occurred in the Senate since I have had the honor of being a member of the body. We are discussing questions that go to its very organization, and it is proposed to extend the Constitution so as to remove the choice of Senators still further from the primary source of all political power, the people. By way of compromise perhaps it was suggested in the Convention by some persons that the power of appointing Senators might be conferred upon the executives of the States. On the other hand, the claim was made that the power of electing Senators should be brought as near the people as possible. The compromise was found in vesting the choice of Senators in the Legislatures of the States, and the qualifications of electors of the Legislatures were left undefined in order that the power might be as near the people as possible.

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The Secretary read as follows:

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The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Commissioner of Labor is hereby directed to make a report to the Senate at the opening of the Fifty-third Congress comprehending the facts already collected by him, or to be obtained from other sources, of the total cost, including all the elements thereof, and also actual labor cost of producing various iron and steel products, such as bar iron, steel rails, and other articles of iron and steel, and also the leading articles of textile industry, and of such other articles for which the cost of production has been or may be approximately obtained, and in his report to state the facts in parallel columns for this and other countries from which they have been or may be obtained; and that the Committee on Finance, or any subcommittee thereof, is hereby authorized to make such further investigation in respect to the same matters as it shall deem important, and with power to summon and examine witnesses, to send for persons and papers, and to administer oaths; and the expenses of such investigations, when made by said Finance Committee, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

Mr. HOAR. By whom was that resolution originally introduced?

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. It was introduced by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. MCPHERSON], referred to the Committee on Finance, reported by that committee, and then referred to the Committee on Contingent Expenses.

Mr. HOAR. I wish the Senator from Louisiana would let the resolution lie over.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I have not asked any action upon it at this time. I have simply made the report.

Mr. HOAR. I wish the resolution to go over until the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. MCPHERSON], who originally offered it, shall be present.

The other day the Senator from New Jersey made some state

ments in regard to a defect in the report of the Commissioner of Labor as to something he had tried to find there and had not found. I have had no conversation with the Senator upon that subject, but I have been informed—whether true or not I do not know—that that Senator has discovered that the report of the Commissioner of Labor contains in the main what he desired and expected to find there, that his attention had been called to it, and that he intended when the resolution came back to make some statement on that subject to the Senate as a matter of justice to the Commissioner of Labor.

As I said, I am not authorized to speak for the Senator from New Jersey, but I should like to have the resolution stand until he comes in, if he shall come in the course of a few days.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I have not asked any action upon the resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will go over.

INQUIRY BY COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I am also directed by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the resolution submitted by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] on the 27th of March, to report a substitute therefor.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The proposed substitute will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Immigration be authorized and directed to make inquiry into the condition and character of the alien immigrants coming to the United States for the purpose of supplying labor for the coal, iron, and other mines of the country; and further to inquire whether the laws against the admission of laborers under contract are effectually enforced, and whether the immigration laws are economically administered, without an excessive force of officers, clerks, inspectors, special agents, and other employés; and also generally to inquire into the workings of the new immigration law of March 3, 1893, and prior immigration laws, and concerning any suspected evasions and violations thereof; for the purpose of which inquiry the committee may act as a full committee or through subcommittees duly appointed by its chairman, and may take testimony during the recess of the Senate at such places as may be most convenient, and send for persons and papers, and employ a stenographer, the expenses of the inquiry to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate: *Provided*, That no extra expense be incurred for a clerk to said committee, any clerical work required by the committee or subcommittee to be performed by the regular clerk of the committee without extra allowance or compensation.

Mr. CHANDLER. I ask action upon that resolution, if the chairman of the committee has no objection.

Mr. PLATT. Is that an original resolution or a substitute?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That which has just been read is a substitute.

Mr. CHANDLER. The substitute is the same as the original with a clause added. I see that the chairman of the committee is here, and I ask immediate action on the resolution.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

INDIAN DEPREDATION CLAIMS.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I am also directed by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the resolution submitted by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. KYLE] on the 30th of March, to report a substitute therefor.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The proposed substitute will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Indian Depredations be, and hereby is, directed to make inquiry concerning all Indian depredation claims which at any time have been or may be presented in the Court of Claims under the act of March 3, 1891, especially those in which unpaid judgments have been hitherto rendered, or may be rendered prior to the conclusion of the inquiry; and also into the manner in which such claims have been defended in behalf of the Indians and the United States; and generally into the workings of said act of March 3, 1891; and concerning all other Indian depredation claims not covered by said act, and to make such recommendations relative to any or all of said claims and for additional legislation as said committee may deem expedient; said committee, either as a full committee or through subcommittees, being hereby empowered to sit during the recess of the Senate, to send for persons and papers, and to employ a stenographer and expert, the expenses of the inquiry to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate: *Provided*, That no extra expense be incurred for a clerk to said committee, any clerical work required by the committee or subcommittee to be performed by the regular clerk of the committee without extra allowance or compensation.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

HARBOR IMPROVEMENTS ON PACIFIC COAST.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I also report from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate a substitute for the resolution submitted by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. RANSOM] on the 3d instant.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The proposed substitute will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Commerce be, and they are hereby, authorized and directed to sit, by subcommittee not exceeding five in number, to be appointed by the chairman of said committee, during the recess of Congress, and to visit and examine the Pacific coast between Points Duma and Capistrano, with a view to determining the best location for the construction of a deep-water harbor. Said subcommittee is hereby also authorized to visit and examine such other works of river and harbor improvement on the Pacific coast, existing or proposed, as in their judgment the interests of commerce shall demand, and shall have power to subpœna witnesses, to administer oaths, and take testimony, to employ a stenographer, and to appoint a sergeant-at-arms from the messengers of the Senate; and that the actual necessary expenses of the said subcommittee, properly incurred, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate in the usual manner: *Provided*, That no compensation be paid for a clerk to said subcommittee, the chairman being authorized, if necessary, to detail the regular clerk of said committee to attend the said subcommittee, the clerk so assigned to receive no extra allowance or compensation.

Mr. SHERMAN. I think that resolution had better lie over.

Mr. FRYE. Will the Senator hear me one moment?

Mr. SHERMAN. Certainly, I will hear the Senator.

Mr. FRYE. For the last eight or ten years there has been a very strong pressure brought upon the Committee on Commerce to provide a deep-water harbor between the two points which are named in the resolution, between San Francisco and San Diego, there being no deep-water harbor in the whole district within the neighborhood of a thousand miles. A commission of Army engineers was appointed at the request of the committee, which made some investigation and submitted a report. There were two points, one Santa Monica and the other San Pedro. The railroad lines were all at San Pedro, with a large investment of money. Santa Monica was a point nearer to Los Angeles, and to some seemed the better point.

An examination of the report of the engineers shows that, while they determined in favor of San Pedro, it was not decisive action on their part. The matter came again before the committee. In the mean time I had been over on the Pacific coast myself, and had investigated, with all the care I could, these two points, and had come to the conclusion that Santa Monica was very much the better place for a deep-water harbor than San Pedro.

The result was, when the matter came before the committee, the committee was again divided, and nothing was done. We finally had a commission of five engineers appointed to make the examination. They made the examination, and they united in a report in favor of San Pedro, but still, on reading the report, it is not, in my judgment, decisive.

The construction of this deep-water harbor will cost the United States three million dollars. It is of the utmost importance that it shall be located at the right place, that no mistake shall be made. I felt that it was my duty to the United States to urge upon the Committee on Commerce that a committee should go over there and investigate that matter with care. My judgment is that the testimony of all the employés of the Coast Survey should be taken on this question; that the testimony of ship-owners and ship-sailors should be taken. I believe that if the committee does investigate, it will report unanimously that Santa Monica is the point at which this deep-water harbor should be located.

Only three weeks ago there was a tremendous storm on the Pacific coast and every vessel was compelled to leave San Pedro, and yet, though it was the prevailing storm from the southwest, at Santa Monica there was not the slightest disturbance whatever.

There is another thing. I said the railroads all centered at San Pedro and owned property there. The Southern Pacific Railroad Company had an enormous investment at San Pedro of about a million dollars. Within the last two years the Southern Pacific Railroad Company has deliberately deserted its investment at San Pedro, has gone up to Santa Monica, and has spent several hundred thousand dollars in building a wharf there. There are practical men who have examined into this matter and determined to sacrifice several hundred thousand dollars at San Pedro, who have gone and located their harbor up at Santa Monica. I think it is the duty of the United States to investigate this matter with care before an appropriation of $3,000,000 is made for a deep-water harbor on the Pacific coast.

Another thing, the Committee on Commerce reported and the Senate passed a bill looking to the building of a canal from Lake Washington to Puget Sound, which will cost another $3,000,000. My judgment was then and is now that the necessities of commerce will not require a dollar of that expenditure. I wish a subcommittee of the Committee on Commerce to investigate that matter and be able to report to the full committee at the next session of Congress whether or not an expenditure of two or three million dollars for the building of a canal from Lake Washington down to Puget Sound is in the interest of commerce.

I think this committee will save the United States two or three million dollars, and I think it will also prevent the United States from making a mistake in the investment of $4,000,000 more.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, it so happens that I have been at both these places, and there have been pointed out to me the advantages and disadvantages of both. It seems to me that it is a question of engineering rather than a question of Con-

gressional investigation. While it may be a pleasant journey for a committee of this body to visit these important points—for they are both important—I believe the opinion of engineers taken from the Army and the Navy—there are skilled men in both branches of the service—would be much more reliable for the action of Congress than an examination conducted by five or six Senators. Still, I have no objection to letting the resolution go over until to-morrow so that Senators may look at it.

I suppose it is understood that the engineers have agreed that San Pedro is the better point. It is a projecting point in the Pacific Ocean. My own observations would perhaps lead me to think that Santa Monica was a better point, although I have never been inside the bay of Santa Monica, but I passed by it two or three times.

I think the resolution had better go over. If we see proper to have a committee of Senators appointed, let there also be attached to it engineer officers to look over the ground at the same time, and to give information and advice, so that we may have the benefit of their experience in the investigation by a Congressional committee, as this is a mere engineering project.

Mr. FRYE. Mr. President, the Committee on Commerce has been considering this subject for quite a number of years and has given a great deal of care and study to the question, because it is admitted by them that a deep-water harbor must be had between San Francisco and San Diego. It must be had between these two points. Has the Senator from Ohio read the reports of the Army engineers?

Mr. SHERMAN. I have not. I have not given the subject any particular investigation beyond what I heard at the time at these places. I was taken by the citizens of the city——

Mr. FRYE. Of Los Angeles?

Mr. SHERMAN. No. I mean up in Puget Sound. I then visited that point, and also visited the one at Los Angeles.

San Pedro is a point jutting out about 25 miles, if I remember, from Los Angeles. Santa Monica, however, is a bay which runs in 13 or 14 miles. In that respect Santa Monica is clearly the better place, because it is protected by a projecting point. But at the same time this is purely a question of engineering, and if a Congressional committee is sent there, there ought to be sent with it, by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, skilled officers to examine the ground and give the committee the benefit of what information they can get. So far as I know the reports of the engineers have been in favor of San Pedro all along. As the Senator himself said, the last report made by five Army engineers was in favor of San Pedro.

I think, therefore, if there is to be a commission appointed, it ought to be well organized and composed of all branches of the service, including members of the Committee on Commerce and Army and Navy engineers. Then we may secure information upon which we can rely and can act.

Mr. FRYE. Mr. President, we have all the information now that the Army engineers can give us. If the Senator will take the pains to read the two reports which have been made by them, he will find that on almost every question there is a balance in their minds, that they leave the question in uncertainty, although their ultimate conclusion is in favor of San Pedro.

Again, the Senator misunderstands what I ask. I am not asking for a committee to go out there and locate. I am asking a committee to take the testimony, which Army engineers never will take.

I want the testimony of the Coast Survey men, who know every inch of that coast from San Francisco to San Diego. They never have had an opportunity to testify in relation to this question. I want their testimony taken as to the advantage of the one place over the other. I want to know the reasons why the Southern Pacific Railroad Company sacrificed a million dollars in one place and expended a million dollars in another. I want to know from the engineer of the Southern Pacific Railroad Company what his reasons were for ordering that change. I understand he says that the bottom of the ocean at San Pedro is made of shale and that it is utterly impossible to have an anchorage ground there. If that be true, the Army engineers did not study the ocean bottom there at all. They only took a general view of it. The same improvement precisely is to be made at each place—a breakwater. They made no investigation of that.

I understand that the thing now, after these reports, is left in doubt; it is in my mind. I looked at both of them with a great deal of care, and I made up my mind in favor of Santa Monica. I wish these people to go out and take all the testimony that can be taken there and nowhere else. The Army engineers are right here, and we can call them before us any day when the testimony comes in, and the committee would do it.

I wish to say, so far as I am concerned, that I am excluded from being a member of the committee. My mind is fully and very definitely made up as to which is the better point, and unless the committee can find testimony which indicates very strongly that San Pedro is the better point, I shall still adhere, notwithstanding the Army engineers, to Santa Monica. I am not going with the committee myself, but I have seen the necessity and importance of this work. If the Senator from Ohio had been on the Committee on Commerce, and if he had seen and known the action of the Committee on Commerce in certain directions and the danger of the action of the United States Senate in certain other directions, he, in the interest of the United States, would favor a committee going out there, and not only examining into this question, but examining as to the other question at Lake Washington.

The Senate passed that once as a proposition to appropriate $250,000 or $300,000 for commencing the canal at Lake Washington. The committee reported it. The committee have not been on the ground. I want the five members of the committee—that was my resolution offered here, and I so limited it, for I did not want the United States to be put to any larger expense—to be selected here, to go out and investigate this question, and then report to us as a committee the testimony which they take and their conclusions from it. I assure the Senator from Ohio that it would be a saving to the United States infinitely greater than the cost of the expedition.

Mr. SHERMAN. Let the resolution go over until to-morrow.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Objection being interposed, the resolution will go over under the rule.

REPORTS OF CITIZENS' NATIONAL BANK OF WASHINGTON.

Mr. CHANDLER. I offer a resolution, which may go over if any Senator objects to it, but, if not, I shall ask for its present consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, directed to transmit to the Senate copies of all reports of the Citizens' National Bank of Washington, D. C., from 1875 to 1882, inclusive, and of any reports that may have been made by the bank examiners as to the condition of the said bank during that period.

Mr. GORMAN. Let the resolution go over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Being objected to, the resolution goes over under the rule.

COMMITTEE ON CIVIL SERVICE AND RETRENCHMENT.

Mr. CALL submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment be, and is hereby, directed to sit during the recess of Congress, either as an entire committee or as a subcommittee, to examine and investigate the civil service of the United States, and report by bill or otherwise the legislation proper for its reformation or change, and shall have power to send for and examine persons and papers, to employ a stenographer, and to have its expenses paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP.

Mr. CALL. I desire to bring before the Senate a resolution which I offered some time since, proposing to enlarge the leading committees of the Senate. Inasmuch as the pending question of privilege has precedence all the time, I should be very glad either now or to-morrow to have unanimous consent of the Senate to consider that resolution, so that I may make some observations upon it. I suggest to Senators that to-morrow, by unanimous consent, I may be permitted to call up the resolution and to submit my observations upon it.

Mr. HAWLEY. I did not hear the remarks of the Senator. Does he refer to the resolution which has just been read?

Mr. CALL. I do not. I refer to a resolution proposing to enlarge the leading committees of the Senate.

Mr. GORMAN. If the Senator requests unanimous consent to take up the resolution and have a vote upon it, I shall object; but if the Senator desires to call up the resolution to submit remarks upon it, as a matter of course there will be no objection.

Mr. CALL. I shall ask the leave in the morning, then, to submit some observations upon the resolution, and I shall endeavor to obtain a vote upon it as soon as it can be had.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Florida?

Mr. HOAR. What is the request?

Mr. CALL. The request, I will say to the Senator from Massachusetts, is, that as a privileged question is before the Senate, which has precedence, I may have unanimous consent to submit some observations upon the subject of the resolution to enlarge the leading committees of the Senate to-morrow at the opening of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair hears no objection to the request of the Senator from Florida.

Mr. VANCE. I now renew my motion that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator withdraw the motion for one moment?

Mr. VANCE. I withdraw it.

Mr. HOAR. I had myself given notice that I desired to address the Senate on the resolution in relation to the election of Senators by the people, and had proposed to do so this morning. I did not call up the resolution this morning, because I found it was the desire of Senators who were prepared to speak on the pending question to proceed, and I deferred to them. I then proposed to call up the resolution to-morrow morning in pursuance of the notice I gave the other day, but I find the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEFFER] preferred, as was very proper, to address the Senate at the opening of the Senate to-morrow morning. So I gave way and postponed my application out of deference to him. I should like at some time convenient to the Senate to discuss that question.

Mr. CALL. I shall be very glad to give way to the Senator from Massachusetts to-morrow if he desires to proceed. I presume the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEFFER] will have no objection to delaying his discussion of the pending question for a short time.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. VANCE. Once more, and for the last time, I make an effort to renew my motion that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After ten minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 3 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, April 6, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 5, 1893.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

James S. Ewing, of Illinois, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Belgium, vice Edwin H. Terrell, resigned.

CONSULS-GENERAL.

Thomas T. Crittenden, of Missouri, to be consul-general of the United States at the City of Mexico, vice Richard Guenther, resigned.

William T. Townes, of Virginia, to be consul-general of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, vice Oliver H. Dockery, recalled.

SURVEYOR OF CUSTOMS.

William M. Maize, of Ohio, to be surveyor of customs for the port of Columbus, in the State of Ohio, to succeed Frank E. Hayden, whose term of office has expired by limitation.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS.

Louis C. Hughes, of Tucson, Ariz., to be governor of Arizona, vice Nathan O. Murphy, removed.

William T. Thornton, of Santa Fe, N. Mex., to be governor of New Mexico, vice L. Bradford Prince, term expired.

WITHDRAWAL.

Executive nomination withdrawn from the Senate April 5, 1893.

William T. Townes, to be consul to Rio de Janeiro.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 5, 1893.

SOLICITOR OF THE TREASURY.

Felix A. Reeve, of Tennessee, to be Solicitor of the Treasury.

DISTRICT JUDGE.

William H. Seaman, of Wisconsin, to be United States district judge for the eastern district of Wisconsin.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Medical Inspector John H. Clark, to be a medical director.

Surgeon James M. Flint, to be a medical inspector.

Passed Assistant Surgeon Nelson H. Drake, to be a surgeon.

Ensign Joseph H. Rohrbacher, to be a lieutenant (junior grade).

UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

James Blackburn, of Kentucky, to be marshal of the United States for the district of Kentucky.

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE.

Robert E. Wilson, of Jackson, Miss., to be register of the land office at Jackson, Miss.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

Ezra W. Miller, of South Dakota, to be attorney of the United States for the district of South Dakota.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

William P. Thompson, of Maine, to be collector of customs for the district of Belfast, in the State of Maine.

POSTMASTERS.

Mrs. Amelia H. Bates, to be postmaster at Sonoma, in the county of Sonoma and State of California.

Frank D. Hoy, to be postmaster at Point Pleasant, in the county of Mason and State of West Virginia.

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate April 5, 1893.

SUPERINTENDENT OF IMMIGRATION.

Herman Stump, of Maryland, to be Superintendent of Immigration.

THURSDAY, *April 6, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

OFFICERS OF THE SENATE.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, before we proceed with any other business I desire to call up the resolutions I introduced some time since in relation to the election of officers of the Senate. I call up the resolutions printed as Miscellaneous Document No. 22, and I offer a substitute for the second resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read.

The Secretary read the resolutions submitted by Mr. GORMAN March 28, 1893, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate do now proceed to the election of its Secretary, Sergeant-at-Arms and Doorkeeper, and Chaplain.

Resolved, That the officers to be elected as aforesaid shall, unless said offices become vacant in the meanwhile by death, resignation, or otherwise, only enter upon the discharge of their duties on the 30th day of June next, being the end of the present fiscal year, and the present incumbents of said offices as aforesaid shall continue to be the incumbents thereof and exercise the duties of their respective offices until the end of the present fiscal year, as aforesaid, when the officers to be elected as hereinabove provided shall, as hereinabove stated, enter upon the discharge of their duties.

Mr. GORMAN. I submit as a substitute for the second resolution, being in a different form, what I send to the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Maryland submits a substitute, which will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate do now proceed to the election of its Secretary, Sergeant-at-Arms and Doorkeeper, and Chaplain.

Resolved, That the officers to be elected as aforesaid shall, unless said offices become vacant in the meanwhile by death, resignation, or otherwise, only enter upon the discharge of their duties on the first day of the meeting of the Fifty-third Congress, whether in extraordinary or regular session, and the present incumbents of said offices as aforesaid shall continue to be the incumbents thereof and exercise the duties of their respective offices until the said first day of the meeting of the Fifty-third Congress, as aforesaid, when the officers to be elected as hereinabove provided shall, as hereinabove stated, enter upon the discharge of their duties.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Maryland what he means by the term "by death, resignation, or otherwise." Does he presume that one of these officers may decline to accept?

Mr. PALMER. In answer to the Senator from Massachusetts, I will state that I think logically the Senator from Maryland should fill the vacancy. [Laughter.]

Mr. RANSOM. The Committee on Privileges and Elections should be able to answer the question of the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. GORMAN. It applies to the existing officers, who have been already elected.

Mr. CHANDLER. I rise to a question of order.

Mr. HOAR. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Massachusetts suggests the absence of a quorum. The roll will be called.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Allen,	Davis,	Kyle,	Power,
Bate,	Dolph,	Lindsay,	Ransom,
Berry,	Faulkner,	McPherson,	Roach,
Caffery,	Gallinger,	Martin,	Sherman,
Call,	Gorman,	Mills,	Smith,
Cameron,	Harris,	Mitchell, Wis.	Stockbridge,
Carey,	Higgins,	Morrill,	Turpie,
Chandler,	Hill,	Murphy,	Vance,
Cockrell,	Hoar,	Palmer,	Vest,
Coke,	Hunton,	Pasco,	Washburn,
Colquitt,	Jones, Ark.	Peffer,	White, La.
Cullom,	Jones, Nev.	Platt,	

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Forty-seven Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. CULLOM. And the question is on the resolutions.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair did not hear the remark of the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. CULLOM. I simply suggested that the vote will now be taken on the resolutions submitted by the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. GORMAN. I ask that the Secretary may read the resolutions again. I have amended the second resolution by striking out the words to which the Senator from Massachusetts called attention.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read as modified.

The Secretary read the resolutions as modified, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate do now proceed to the election of its Secretary, Sergeant-at-Arms and Doorkeeper, and Chaplain.

Resolved, That the officers to be elected, as aforesaid, shall, unless said offices become vacant in the meanwhile, only enter upon the discharge of their duties on the first day of the meeting of the Fifty-third Congress, whether in extraordinary or regular session; and the present incumbents of said offices, as aforesaid, shall continue to be the incumbents thereof and exercise the duties of their respective offices until the said first day of the meeting of the Fifty-third Congress, as aforesaid, when the officers to be elected as hereinabove provided shall, as hereinabove stated, enter upon the discharge of their duties.

Mr. SHERMAN. I am in favor of the disposition of the matter suggested in the resolutions, and I believe the Senate will be in favor of it. I think it is much better and much more dignified and proper in every way that the Senate should proceed in an orderly manner without haste in the change of its officers. The change would naturally come at the regular meeting of Congress; but I suggest to the Senator from Maryland, as the resolutions have been introduced without any knowledge on this side of the Chamber, whether they had not better be postponed until Monday, when the order can be executed, and on Monday the election of these officers can take place. There are many Republican Senators who do not happen to be present this morning. I ask, therefore, that the resolutions may go over until Monday, not that I expect any resistance to their adoption, but I think it would be fair that the Senate should know when the election is to take place.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, I confess my amazement at the statement of the Senator from Ohio that there was no knowledge on the other side of the Chamber as to the introduction of the resolutions.

Mr. SHERMAN. The resolutions have been introduced today. I did not know myself that they would be introduced.

Mr. GORMAN. Of course if the Senator desires the resolutions to go over until to-morrow there is no objection to that course, but it is the universal conviction of the Senate that the majority should control in this matter. There has always been a radical difference of opinion on the subject; at least the minority, no matter of what party in the body, has always heretofore contended against a change of officers except at the beginning of a Congress, whether it be in July, September, or December. While there has been a very great desire to move along in an orderly way and not have an unseemly squabble here, the modification of the resolutions I had a right to believe would meet with the universal approval of the Senate without regard to party. I confess I am amazed that the Senator from Ohio should state that his colleagues on the other side were not aware of the intention to so modify the resolutions.

Mr. SHERMAN. I wish to say that while this matter has been the subject of conversation between Senators, I was not notified or advised that the resolutions were to be introduced to-day. I have no special desire on the subject, but the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON], who was for a long time Presiding Officer of the Senate and is more familiar with this matter, is not here, and I suggest whether on the whole it would not be better to defer action on the resolutions. I presume the Senator from Nebraska has been fully advised.

Mr. GORMAN. I will take pleasure in waiting until the Senator from Nebraska returns to the Chamber; but he is as well informed of the action proposed as I am.

Mr. SHERMAN. If the Senator is satisfied, I have no objection to the informal action being taken to-day, but I suggest to him whether in the absence of many Senators it would not be better to let the resolutions go over until Monday. However, it is a matter of absolute indifference to me. I shall vote for the resolutions.

Mr. GORMAN. I will say to the Senator from Ohio that there can not be any question about the Senator from Nebraska understanding this matter. I will agree to postpone action until later in the day, but I state to the Senator frankly that we are exceedingly anxious (at least I am: I speak for myself, but I think I voice the sentiments of every other Senator) to get through with the business of the present session. Quite a number of Senators want to go away. I have postponed this matter at the suggestion of gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber that they might have time. I have postponed it one week.

Mr. CHANDLER. If I may interrupt the Senator, I think that the only hesitation on this side of the Chamber grows out of the absence of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON]. I ask the Senator whether the understanding between him and the Senator from Nebraska is perfect.

Mr. GORMAN. I have no objection to withholding action on the resolutions for the present. The Senator from Nebraska will be here during the day or to-morrow. I will agree to let the resolutions go over, and he can speak for himself.

Mr. HOAR. I think if the Senator will let the resolution go over until to-morrow, or say until 3 o'clock this afternoon, there may be some Senators on this side of the Chamber who would like to record their votes at the election, who did not suppose, as I did not know myself, that the matter was coming up at this time, though I supposed something of the sort would come up at some time from what I had heard. If the Senator will let it stand perhaps the Senate will be full this afternoon.

Mr. GORMAN. I will let the matter stand until to-morrow and call it up then.

Mr. WASHBURN. Say until 2 o'clock to-day. The Senator from Nebraska will be here very soon.

Mr. GORMAN. Very well; I will let the matter stand until 2 o'clock.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection that will be the order of the Senate.

ADMISSION OF TERRITORIES.

Mr. CAREY, from the Committee on Territories, reported the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Territories, or any subcommittee thereof appointed for the purpose, are hereby authorized during the recess of Congress to visit the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Oklahoma for the purpose of obtaining information with regard to the resources, population, and condition of said Territories, and as to the propriety of the admission of the same as States, and that the expenses of said committee be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], from the Committee on Privileges and Elections. It will be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President, it was not my intention originally to take part in this discussion, and it was only yesterday that, having listened to the remarkable speech of my excellent neighbor from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER], and to the comments upon it during the course of its delivery, I felt it incumbent upon me to ask the indulgence of the Senate while very briefly, and lamely perhaps, I shall, to a large extent extemporaneously, express my views upon the pending question.

It is charged that those of us who are opposed to the resolution take a narrow view of the subject involved, and that we are disposed to construe the Constitution narrowly, while those who favor the resolution take a liberal and an enlarged view of the subject before us, and that they favor a liberal construction of the Constitution.

Mr. President, a narrow construction in this case is a correct construction. There are two classes of objects to be attained by the active operation of the provisions of the Constitution. In one of those classes the subjects are general in their nature, as for example the subject of taxation, which implies necessarily the exercise of general powers because it is a general subject, and it leaves the selection of methods and the application of powers to the discretion of Congress.

So, too, in the matter of commerce, the people in adopting the Federal Constitution provided that Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States. This is a general purpose, not to regulate commerce in Massachusetts, or in Virginia, or Georgia, or Kansas, but in the whole country—necessarily a general object, and as necessarily implying the exercise of general powers involving the discretion of Congress. So, too, in the matter of coinage. Congress is invested with the power of coining money and regulating its value. That is another general object, a general purpose, and the Congress is necessarily vested with discretionary powers in providing for the execution of this grant of power.

But, Mr. President, when we come to the other class of objects—special objects, such as that which is brought to our attention by the pending resolution, then we find that the Congress is authorized to exercise only limited or special powers, and the particular officers or tribunals charged with the execution of these special powers have no discretion whatever.

In reference to the pending matter the Constitution uses the words "may" and "shall." The governor "may" make temporary appointments. The Legislature "shall" fill a vacancy.

I understand very well the construction given to the word "may" by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. VILAS] and other Senators upon the floor, that it is often construed "shall." That, however, happens only when there is some person or party, some third person, as the law books use it, interested who may by right call upon an officer or tribunal to exercise certain functions which the law says may be exercised when his rights are involved. Then these functions must be exercised if he asks that it shall be done.

Mr. President, I lay down this general proposition, that all agents must operate within the scope of their authority. That is a principle or proposition so well established in the law and in the jurisprudence of the country that it need not be elaborated. Its statement is sufficient, for the proposition is within itself self-evident. Agency can not exist without a principal. This is equally self-evident. Following these we have the other proposition—the agent has no authority whatever except what he derives from his principal. This rule applies to all public officers. It applies to every department of the Government, for it is so expressly stated in the Constitution:

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress.

The word "legislative" had a well-defined meaning at the time, broad and comprehensive; but whatever was involved in the words "legislative powers," such as were granted by the people should be vested in a Congress.

So, too, the words "executive" and "judicial" had well-defined meanings at the time, and the Convention which framed the instrument which we are now discussing in this Chamber used the words "executive power" and "judicial power," providing that "the executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States," and that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court," and in such inferior tribunals as might be established from time to time, etc. Here are several grants of power from the principal, the people, to their agents, the Congress, the President, the Supreme Court, and the inferior tribunals.

Without going further into that subject let me call the attention of the Senate briefly to the effect of permitting officers of the law to set up their own judgment instead of the law. It would necessarily result in anarchy, endless confusion, the destruction of the Republic, indeed the destruction of all government. We had examples of this kind in my own State after we had adopted an amendment to our constitution, providing that there should be no intoxicating liquors manufactured or sold within the State except for certain purposes. After we had passed an act of the Legislature to enforce that provision it required some three to four years to teach the sheriffs and the jurors and judges that the will of the people as expressed by the law of the Legislature was the law of the State, and not the individual opinions of officials.

And, too, the agent must always be governed by the terms of the grant in which his authority is couched. If those terms be in writing, the writing is the evidence which must be used; if not in writing, then the next best evidence. In this case the Constitution of the United States is the charter containing the grant of authority to every department and to every officer and agent of the Federal Government.

In order that the language of the contract, if it may be so called, may be used in connection with the statement, I read from paragraph 2 of Article VI of the Constitution:

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Then in another clause, after enumerating the various powers conferred upon Congress, it is expressly stipulated that all other powers necessary to carry out the foregoing powers are hereby vested likewise in the Congress. I quote the language substantially.

I understand very well the nature of implied powers and their extent. Implied powers are to be exercised only in the carrying out of express grants of authority. That is the rule universally established by the courts, and ought to be always acted upon in practice. There is no room for doubt about the construction of these special powers, whether as to those expressly granted or as to those which are implied.

In addition to that, the tenth amendment of the Constitution, which, with the other nine preceding it, had been proposed by the First Congress of the United States, which met under the Constitution in 1789, and had been adopted by the Legislatures of the several States within a few months thereafter, provided that all powers not herein granted are reserved either to the States or to the people.

It seems to me that as to all powers which are granted by the Constitution, except only those of a general character to carry out a general object, must be strictly construed, and that the officer must follow the law as it is written.

In supplying the machinery to carry on the new Government the Constitution provides that—

The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States.

It also provides that—

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

It further provides that judges, ambassadors, and other public ministers and consuls, and certain other officers referred to, are to be appointed by the joint action of the President and the Senate.

The powers of these separate departments are clearly and specifically pointed out by the language of the Constitution, so plainly, it seems to me, that except only in cases of the supremest emergency, where great peril is facing the people, where action must be prompt and decisive—something, I hope, which may never again occur in this country—there can be no question about the proper construction of the Constitution.

I believe, Mr. President, that there are times when the Constitution itself may be cast aside and the laws of the country may be cast aside; when there is nothing written either upon the earth, the heavens above the earth, or the waters beneath the earth, that may properly govern the conduct of men; that there is something in the heart and in the soul and in the make-up of men that at times they are privileged to strike without asking anybody's consent. But fortunately we are not brought face to face with such a condition or such a proposition at this time.

As to the representation of the people of the several States in the Senate, the manner in which it was brought about, and the language in which the power and the privilege are couched, show, as well as the nature of the conditions and surrounding circumstances under which the work was done, that it is a reservation of a right, a reservation upon the part of the States that they may be, indeed that they shall be, represented in the Senate of the United States.

The theory that this requires a constant presence in the Senate of two Senators from each State can not be true, for the reason that the fact that the provision was entered and finally adopted in the Constitution turned upon the question as to whether a State should have one vote by its two Senators, or whether those two gentlemen should act as individuals representing their particular States. So the Constitution provides that the Senate "shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote."

It was announced in the Federal Convention by a delegate from Delaware, if my memory serves me, that unless the small States should be entitled in the new Senate to be established to representation equal with the larger States there could be no Constitution, that the old Confederation then existing would be abolished, and that the smaller States would lean upon the arm of some foreign power which would have more honor than their immediate associates. Upon this very question the Convention became excited in its deliberations, and many heated words were passed from mouth to mouth by the sages of that body.

The point I wish to present in this particular portion of my argument is that as to the representation of the States in this body it is the State and not the nation that is advantaged; it is the State's business and for the State's benefit, and not the business of the nation and for the nation's benefit. So when we come to the matter of choosing Senators to represent the several States it is the business of the State to take care of it, and not the business of the Senate of the United States.

From the language of the Constitution it is evident, and especially so when we consider it in connection with the surrounding circumstances and contemporaneous history, that the State is primarily interested, and therefore the State Legislature is the body which must primarily choose the Senators, for it must be remembered that the Convention which framed the Constitution was made up of delegates from the several States, every one of which at that time, and very properly so, regarded itself as a sovereign and independent political body. They did not call themselves nations; they called themselves States. But, nevertheless, they had surrendered none of their sovereign powers, which it was conceded that they enjoyed and were of right entitled to enjoy by the treaty with George III. As finally agreed upon the language is a compromise, and it is as clear as it is forcible.

Now we come to the matter of appointment. I do not think the question here necessarily involves a construction of the words "vacancy" and "happening," but simply requires that we

shall follow the plain words of the contract out of which this agency arises. Yesterday, while the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] was addressing the Senate, I asked him a question which appears in this morning's RECORD, and the Senator very kindly and courteously, as he always does, answered it. I will ask the Secretary to read the question and answer.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President, the Senator from New Hampshire is speaking of the primary authority of the Legislature to choose Senators. I wish to ask a question at that point in order that the thought may be in a fitting place. My question is, in case the first Legislatures of the several States which were convened after the adoption of the Federal Constitution had failed to choose two Senators, which they were required and expected to choose by the provisions of the Constitution, whether the governor would have been authorized to appoint two Senators to fill those alleged vacancies?

Then, when the Senator answers that question, if he answers it in the affirmative, I should like to ask him the further question, so as to get the whole question in issue at once, whether, in case two vacancies should now happen, and if the Legislature which meets after the happening of those vacancies should neglect from any cause to fill the vacancy, the governor would then have the authority to make two appointments, one of them being for a new term and the other to fill a continuing term?

Mr. CHANDLER. If the Senator had listened to me attentively he would have noticed that I had already answered his last question in the affirmative. I do believe, and I do not shrink from the conclusion, that under a proper construction of this clause giving governors of States the power to make appointments—a construction to carry out the beneficent object of the clause, made liberal for that purpose—if the governor makes an appointment and the Legislature meets and does not fill the office, a vacancy again happens, because when the Senate meets the office is certainly empty. Therefore I answer that question in the affirmative.

The Senator from Kansas asks me to go back a hundred years and tell him what right I think the governors of the States would have had to start this Government when it originated, in case the Legislatures of the thirteen States had refused to send Senators. The Constitution evidently contemplated that the Legislatures would send Senators, that they should be classified, and that if after they were classified vacancies happened, and the Legislatures did not fill the vacancies, the governors should fill them. I can not undertake to say to the Senator whether, if I had been here a hundred years ago, elected by a Legislature, and the attempt had been made to fill all the other seats in the Senate by gubernatorial appointments, I should have been in favor of starting the Government in that way.

But, Mr. President, I am surprised that the Senator should wish to go back a hundred years. He is the apostle of new ideas; he comes here full of new constructions of the Constitution and in favor of exerting the powers of the National Government to an extent that never yet has been dreamed of, and yet we find him, with all these new and liberal, and it is to be supposed popular and beneficial, ideas concerning the construction of the Constitution, going back, I am afraid, to a very narrow and contracted and illiberal construction of the Constitution on the point now under discussion. I am sorry to see such a manifestation on the part of my friend the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President, I do not desire to carry the Senator from New Hampshire back a hundred years, nor do I desire to carry the country back a hundred years, nor am I urging before this body, so far as I am aware, any new ideas. If what I have said at any time should appear to the Senator or to the Senate in that coloring, my reply is that I am trying not to make a narrow and strained construction of the Constitution in order to fit ideas, but I am simply trying to convince Senators and my fellow-men generally that the Constitution of the United States as to all these alleged new ideas, as they are called, in reference to transportation, money, etc., is abundantly large, abundantly full, abundantly adequate, when fairly and properly construed, to include all those things which I ask.

But, referring to the century idea of my amiable friend, I ask the Senator to take the Constitution just as it stands. Let me read it, and then we shall see whether it is necessary to go back a hundred years or not. This is the language of the instrument, and I ask the attention of the Senator from New Hampshire not so particularly to the language of the Constitution as to the thought which may follow it. The Constitution reads:

Immediately after they [the Senators] shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year.

I do not ask the Senator from New Hampshire to go back and consider the means which were devised in order to set the new Government in motion, but I call his attention to what the actual fact was, and then I ask him this question: whether or not, in his opinion, if the Legislatures, which were specially charged with the election of the first Senators under the Constitution, had failed or refused to so elect their Senatorial representatives, the governor would have been authorized to appoint Senators, and the Senator from New Hampshire evades the question in the language which has been read.

Mr. President, it is not necessary, in order to elucidate the idea involved in my question, that we go back one year. We may go ahead one year, when I hope we shall have at least four new States knocking at the doors of Congress for admission. I will take one of those cases, for example, say the Indian Territory, when it is organized into statehood and the Legislature of the new State, whatever the name may be, should fail or neglect from any cause, I care not what, to elect Senators to represent them in this body, will the Senator from New Hampshire assume to say that in that case the governor of the new State would be authorized to appoint two Senators, and have them assigned to the separate classes when they should come up here? I do not believe the Senator will hold to such a doctrine.

Mr. PLATT. Will the Senator permit me there?

Mr. PEFFER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PLATT. It would be utterly impossible in that case to comply with the provision of the Constitution, which requires that Senators should be classified. The governor would appoint two Senators to hold until the next session of the Legislature, which would be only two years off, and in drawing for seats neither of the appointed Senators could draw a term of more than two years.

Mr. HOAR. I should like, if the Senator from Kansas will pardon me, to observe, in answer to my friend from Connecticut, that to whatever classes they belonged they would draw for themselves and their successors. It might as well, it seems to me, with great deference to my friend, be said that when the Senators who first come in draw for two or four years that drawing does not affect the classification of their successors. When once made as to the individual it applies to him and his successors for all time.

Mr. PLATT. And yet the fact that the new Senators are to draw for terms, which may be six years, I think is conclusive that they are not to be appointments of a temporary character, only holding their office until the next session of the Legislature.

Mr. PEFFER. So, Mr. President, in either view of the case the situation is to that extent complicated, and is an additional reason why the governor would not, in my opinion, even consider whether he had any authority to appoint these two new Senators. From any point of view it can not be doubted that the governor has no authority in any such case.

In reference to the light in which the analytical mind and the clear perception of my distinguished friend from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] viewed this question a few days ago, I differ with the Senator, with all due respect to his legal acumen, which I most cheerfully grant and concede, for I have been acquainted with the Senator many, many years. I do not believe that the word "vacancy" has any reference to the classification of Senators, except possibly in an incidental way, for it relates only to a vacancy happening in the term for which a Senator is chosen, not appointed, no matter to what class he belongs.

Take this book which I hold in my hand and you will see, through the labor of our Secretary, the classification of the Senators from the beginning of the First Congress down to the end of the Fifty-second Congress, and you will find a regular line of classification. During the period of time elapsing between the meeting of the First Congress and, so far as I am informed, to about the year 1825, there was no suggestion such as the Senator from Indiana makes connecting this classification and the vacancy. First:

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

In connection with that:

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election—

Here is something that is mandatory upon the Senate by way of getting the classification started, so as to make the Senate of the United States a continuing body from year to year and from session to session, so that it shall never be out of existence; there shall always be two-thirds, or about two-thirds, of the members of the Senate actually in office. After they have assembled the first thing that they do shall be to classify themselves; and the classification was made, as every Senator who is familiar with the record remembers distinctly.

Now, "if vacancies happen." Suppose that we use this word "vacancy" in the connection that the Senator from Indiana uses it, how does it change the situation? What difference can it make in any substantial respect as to whether we use it as to the classification or whether we use it as to the term? But it seems to me that the more forcible, the more natural and logical way of construing the sentence is that if vacancies shall happen in the six-year term for which the Senator shall have been chosen, in that case if the vacancies happen during the recess of the Legislature the governor may make temporary appointments, to continue until the next meeting of the Legislature, when that body "shall then fill such vacancies."

That, in connection with the thought presented a moment ago as to the failure to choose new Senators, to my mind makes it perfectly clear that it is necessary that the governor shall not be clothed with power to appoint except only in cases of vacancies in terms which happen during the recess of the Legislature, because otherwise there could be no sense in the language of the

Constitution. If the construction put upon it by Senators upon the other side of this question be the correct one, then the governor of a new State, in case the Legislature shall have failed or refused to choose Senators, is authorized to appoint, and there is no need of the Legislature interfering in the matter at all.

All that would be necessary to do in order to perpetuate the appointing power of the governor would be for a few men, where they might chance to hold the balance of power in one party or another party or in the commingling of all parties, to have an agreement with the governor that "in case I prevent a choice by the Legislature you will appoint Mr. Smith or Mr. Brown Senator." That can be done by a revolving process which has come to be so well understood in modern politics that it would be a very easy thing to do. We now have three cases upon our hands which would illustrate the point were it not for the fact that we do not charge anything of that kind; it would not be very respectful to do so, and I do not pretend to do it. I only say that, in order to continue the appointing power of the governor in such a case, one man need but to have the power to prevent an election at his fingers' ends.

It is better, Mr. President, and it is always safe to be right, and it is always safe and it is always better for an officer to follow the law, to follow the charter which conveys to him all the authority he has.

Then, as to a vacancy happening "by resignation, or otherwise," I want to make one single observation in reference to that matter. I do not see the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] in his seat. That learned and able Senator suggested that the use of the word "resignation" in the Constitution, the word that we are construing in this discussion, may possibly have been intended to grant authority to Senators to resign their seats, as if it had been the custom in this country in the days prior to the Federal Convention to prevent public officers from resigning.

Not only was such a practice not common, but the reverse was true. A large number of members of the Continental Congress resigned their seats in that body. I asked our most excellent Secretary how many of the members of the first Senate, and the second Senate, and the third Senate had resigned their seats, and he has given me a list of the Senators who resigned during the terms of the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Congresses.

I find in the First Congress one Senator resigned; in the Second Congress three; in the Third Congress two; in the Fourth Congress ten; in the Fifth Congress nine; in the Sixth Congress six; in the Seventh Congress seven; in the Eighth Congress seven, and in the Ninth Congress four; but I have been unable to find anywhere any reference to a possible prohibition derived from custom which would prevent Senators from resigning their seats in this body, nor in any of the contested-election cases in the Senate which occurred during the years following, at any rate for the period of thirty or forty years, so far as I am aware, can any trace of even such a suggestion be found.

Mr. President, there is no personal feeling in this matter. So far as I am personally concerned, until two of the gentlemen claiming seats came to this city within the last thirty days or thereabouts, I had no acquaintance with them. All that I know of them is to their credit. As to the gentleman coming from the State of Washington, who claims to be a Senator in this body, Mr. Allen, I have been personally acquainted with him about two years. I have served with him on one of the important committees of the Senate, the Committee on Claims, and have met him many, many times. I have for him the warmest affection. I know of no member of the body whom I esteem more highly than I do the former Senator from Washington.

I should be pleased on account of my personal feeling in that respect to vote "yea" upon this resolution; but, Mr. President, it is always safe to be right. Neither in public nor in private life, when we are charged with responsible duties as agents, should we ever depart from the strict letter of the contract constituting our agency. No matter who shall go down, no matter who shall go up, it is the duty of a Senator to discharge his obligation under this contract, which he has solemnly sworn to support. Before God I do not believe that a governor of a State has any authority outside of the letter of the written contract. He may appoint when a vacancy occurs in a term during the recess of the Legislature; then, and then only, Mr. President.

There are certain broad and basic principles of the Constitution which authorize us at times to widen, to enlarge, the scope, if you please, of powers, and I read an enumeration of them:

> We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare.

These separate clauses are so many grants of authority to the Congress of the United States in the interest, not of the people of one State, nor of two States, nor of a dozen States, but the whole great Union, grown from thirteen States at that time to forty-four at this time, a territory nearly 3,000 miles long and half as many miles wide, populated by sixty-odd millions of active, earnest, industrious people.

As to these matters there are, because there can be, no State lines. "General welfare" means the welfare of all the people; the "justice" that is to be established is justice for the whole country; the "domestic tranquillity" is that which relates to the condition of all the people, and the "common defense" means the common defense of the great Republic. It is in such cases, and only such, that we are permitted to exercise discretionary powers as to what ought to be done under the particular circumstances.

As to the matter of the choosing of officers we ought always to get as nearly as possible to the people, and as members upon this floor know very well, I am in favor of the people choosing their Senators by a direct vote; but until that time comes let us follow the law.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President, when the Senator from Kansas was suggesting that the position taken by the majority of the committee was so broad that it would involve the right of a governor to appoint Senators even on the admission of a new State if the Legislature failed to elect, I suggested that if such an appointment was made the Senators could not be classified in accordance with the Constitution. The Senator from Massachusetts took issue with me, and said that the Senators could draw for the term of themselves and their successors. I do not so read the Constitution. I did not have the Constitution in my hand at the time, and I wish to refer to it now.

This classification goes on, though it was first established when the first Senate was chosen, and so, for the purpose of determining whether the Senators who might be appointed by the governors at the time when the Senate was first established would draw for themselves and their successors, I wish to refer to the Constitution upon this subject. Suppose that one State had refused by a direct vote of its Legislature, which had the right to elect the first Senators, to send Senators here. Suppose that New York, or some State which accepted and ratified the Constitution with great difficulty, had so far changed its mind when the Legislature came together for the purpose of electing Senators as to declare by resolution that it would not be represented in the Senate, and suppose that the governor thereafter appointed two Senators to hold seats in the Senate until the next meeting of the Legislature of that State. The Senator from Massachusetts says they would have come here and been classified, so that they would have taken their terms not only for themselves, but for their successors. Let us see what the Constitution says on that subject:

> Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year.

Here would be two Senators in the case supposed appointed to hold until the next meeting of the Legislature of that State, and the Constitution, if they should be classified at all, would provide that if one of them happened to draw the six-year term the seat of that Senator should be vacated at the end of six years.

Mr. HOAR. The seats of Senators of that class.

Mr. PLATT. The seats of Senators of that class should be vacated. If he became a Senator of the third class his seat would be vacated, according to the Constitution, at the end of six years, and there is no escape from it.

Mr. President, this discussion would not be important, perhaps, if it were not that it illustrates to my mind the absurdity of the position that wherever or however a vacancy occurs the governor may fill it, because when a State is a member of the Union, when it is admitted to the Union, it has a right to representation here by our Constitution. It has a right by its own constitution to representation here. There is the office, and if a Senator is not elected according to the majority report the office is vacant, a vacancy has happened, and therefore the governor may fill it.

I submit, Mr. President, that no man can read the Constitution, the classification of Senators, the provision that the seats of Senators of the first, second, and third classes shall be vacated at the end of two years, four years, and six years, respectively, and for a moment believe that the Constitution ever intended that in case the Legislature in the first instance, when the State was first admitted, failed to elect, the governor might make the appointment until the next meeting of the Legislature.

REPORT ON COST OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS.

Mr. MCPHERSON. I ask that the pending matter be laid aside informally for a few moments in order that I may call up a resolution for consideration. I presume the discussion will be somewhat prolonged upon this subject.

Mr. HOAR. I was very desirous of going on at this time. What is the resolution to which the Senator refers?

Mr. McPHERSON. It is the resolution printed as Miscellaneous Document No. 12, the one that the Senator from Massachusetts asked to have laid over yesterday in my absence. It will take but a moment's time, I think, to dispose of it.

Mr. HOAR. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JONES of Arkansas in the chair). The Senator from New Jersey asks unanimous consent that the pending resolution be laid aside informally for the purpose of taking up a resolution which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution reported yesterday from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, as follows:

Resolved, That the Commissioner of Labor is hereby directed to make a report to the Senate at the opening of the Fifty-third Congress comprehending the facts already collected by him, or to be obtained from other sources, of the total cost, including all the elements thereof, and also actual labor cost, of producing various iron and steel products, such as bar iron, steel rails, and other articles of iron and steel, and also the leading articles of textile industry, and of such other articles for which the cost of production has been or may be approximately obtained, and in his report to state the facts in parallel columns for this and other countries from which they have been or may be obtained; and that the Committee on Finance, or any subcommittee thereof, is hereby authorized to make such further investigation in respect to the same matters as it shall deem important, and with power to summon and examine witnesses, to send for persons and papers, and to administer oaths; and the expenses of such investigations, when made by said Finance Committee, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New Jersey? The Chair hears none, and the resolution is before the Senate.

Mr. McPHERSON. In consideration of what was said by the Senator from Massachusetts when this subject was last before the Senate, it is due, I think, that I should make a single remark with respect to the questions raised by the Senator.

It will be remembered that there has been considerable controversy in the Senate touching the value of the reports made by the Commissioner of Labor and a general expression of opinion by many Senators that they were unable to understand them. I confess that on prior occasions I have myself somewhat criticised the Commissioner of Labor, but since the present session began I have spent considerable time with Chief Wright in that office, taking up the reports as made by the Commissioner of Labor, which are very voluminous, and I have undertaken to ascertain if I could the true solution of certain matters which had troubled me very much in the investigation. I find upon a careful investigation, with the Commissioner of Labor himself as an expert to guide me, that these works are scientifically correct. Yet at the same time it is very difficult for a layman, one who is not conversant with the scientific mode of treating the question, to ascertain exactly what the reports actually show, or to utilize them for present and immediate use.

Therefore, I went to the Commissioner of Labor and asked him if he would prepare a resolution that would enable him to put in parallel columns such information as he already had and such as he might be able to obtain between now and the meeting of Congress, so as to show the comparative cost of certain important articles in this country, notably iron and steel, the textile fabrics, etc. This resolution was prepared by the Commissioner of Labor and myself. It has been slightly amended by the Committee on Finance, which does not injure it or benefit it; and we have added a clause authorizing the Committee on Finance, if in the opinion of the committee it shall be necessary to make further investigation, to go on with the work.

Now, owing to the criticisms I have myself made heretofore upon the Commissioner of Labor, I want to say that I think this is a very valuable work, and if any Senator who desires information can have an expert at his elbow, he will find in the report all that he needs. But as it can be compiled by the Commissioner himself, and there can be placed upon a single sheet of paper almost all the information we want, about which there will be no controversy in the future, we think it infinitely wiser and better to do it, inasmuch as the cost will be very little. Therefore, I ask for the adoption of the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

ELECTION OF SENATORS BY DIRECT VOTE OF THE PEOPLE.

Mr. HOAR. I ask that the pending matter may be informally laid aside and the Senate proceed to the consideration of the resolution introduced by me the other day in regard to the election of Senators by the people. I will state that if the Senate will give its consent to proceed with this matter I shall expect to yield the floor whenever the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] desires to call up his resolutions for electing officers of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent that the pending order be laid aside for the purpose of calling up a resolution, which will be read.

The SECRETARY. A resolution by Mr. HOAR relative to the election of United States Senators by the people and against House joint resolution of the Fifty-second Congress providing for the same.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Massachusetts? The Chair hears none, and the resolution is before the Senate.

Mr. HOAR. I ask that the resolution be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. HOAR on the 3d instant, as follows:

Resolved, That it is inexpedient that the resolution sent to the Senate by the House of Representatives during the last Congress, providing for an amendment of the Constitution securing the election of Senators by the people of the several States, be adopted.

Such a method of election would essentially change the character of the Senate as conceived by the Convention that framed the Constitution and the people who adopted it.

It would transfer practically the selection of the members of this body from the Legislatures who are intrusted with all legislative powers of the States to bodies having no other responsibilities, whose election can not be regulated by law, whose members act by proxy, whose tenure of office is for a single day, whose votes and proceedings are not recorded, who act under no personal responsibility, whose mistakes, ordinarily, can only be corrected by the choice of Senators who do not represent the opinions concerning public measures and policies of the people who choose them.

It requires the substitution of pluralities for majorities in the election.

It will transfer the seat of political power in great States, now distributed evenly over their territory, to the great cities and masses of population.

It will create new temptations to fraud, corruption, and other illegal practices, and in close cases will give rise to numerous election contests which must tend seriously to weaken the confidence of the people in the Senate.

It will absolve the larger States from the constitutional obligation which secures the equal representation of all the States in the Senate by providing that no State shall be deprived of that equality without its consent.

It implies what the whole current of our history shows to be untrue, that the Senate has during the past century failed to meet the just expectations of the people, and that the State Legislatures have proved themselves unfit to be the depositaries of the power of electing Senators.

The reasons which require this change, if acted upon and carried to their logical result, will lead to the election by the direct popular vote, and by popular majorities, of the President and of the judiciary, and will compel the placing of these elections under complete national control.

It will result in the overthrow of the whole scheme of the Senate and, in the end, of the whole scheme of the national Constitution as designed and established by the framers of the Constitution and the people who adopted it.

[Mr. HOAR addressed the Senate, but not having concluded, his speech appears entire in the proceedings of April 7, 1893.]

Mr. GORMAN said (at 2 o'clock p. m.): Will it interfere with the Senator from Massachusetts now to call up the resolutions providing for the election of officers of the Senate, or would he prefer to have them withheld until a later period in the day?

Mr. HOAR. It is perfectly agreeable to me at any time the Senator pleases.

OFFICERS OF THE SENATE.

Mr. GORMAN. According to the agreement of the Senate by unanimous consent this morning, I trust that the resolutions for the election of officers of the Senate will be taken up.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolutions submitted this morning by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] as modified will be read.

The Secretary read the resolutions as modified, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate do now proceed to the election of its Secretary, Sergeant-at-Arms and Doorkeeper, and Chaplain.

Resolved, That the officers to be elected as aforesaid shall, unless said offices become vacant in the meanwhile, only enter upon the discharge of their duties on the first day of the meeting of the Fifty-third Congress, whether in extraordinary or regular session, and the present incumbents of said offices as aforesaid shall continue to be the incumbents thereof and exercise the duties of their respective offices until the said first day of the meeting of the Fifty-third Congress as aforesaid, when the officers to be elected as hereinabove provided shall, as hereinabove stated, enter upon the discharge of their duties.

Mr. MANDERSON. Mr. President, I regret exceedingly that duty elsewhere prevented me from being in the Senate during the early hours of to-day's session when the resolutions looking to a change in the officers of the Senate were presented in modified form by the Senator from Maryland and their consideration asked. The resolutions as modified are entirely satisfactory to me, and are also satisfactory, I understand, to my colleagues on this side of the aisle, composing now the minority of the Senate of the United States. The action proposed is in line, as to its results at least, with the traditions and the precedents of the Senate.

I desire simply to say that I think we can repudiate on both sides of the Chamber the suggestion that what little of contention there has been over this matter has been actuated by desire simply to retain or to obtain the patronage of the Senate and to hold men in place merely that they may receive the emoluments of office.

It has been suggested frequently of late, not only upon this floor but in the public press, that the precedents of the Senate

are that at no extraordinary session of the Senate has its official force, its clerical machinery, been changed, but that in all times past, sometimes after conflict more or less extended, the Sergeant-at-Arms and the Secretary of the Senate and the Chaplain, and in former times when the office was elective the Chief Clerk, have been changed only by the action of the Senate at an extraordinary or regular session of both Houses of Congress. Not that the claim has ever been made, not that the claim can now be successfully made, that it is not the right of the Senate to change its officers in whole or in part at any time, but this has been considered the fairer and the better method.

If we were to go back to the earlier days of the Senate we would find a condition of affairs existing and a course of action in this behalf that I think every fair-minded Senator will regret has ever been departed from. The time was when a political change of the Senate did not cause a change in its executive officers. Looking a moment since at the record of the past in this regard, I find that so far as the Secretaries of the Senate are concerned, that important office, so essential to the good conduct and the well-being of this body, was filled by but eight officials prior to the election nearly ten years ago of the present incumbent of the Secretaryship. The first four Secretaries filling the place, Mr. Otis, of Massachusetts; Mr. Cutts, of New Hampshire; Mr. Lowrie, of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Dickins, of North Carolina, occupied the station for seventy-two years of the one hundred and four years of the existence of this body; and I regret to say that probably the first departure from this most excellent civil-service method, when reform or change under that name was not needed, was by the party of which I am a humble member.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Dickins was unable to perform the duties.

Mr. MANDERSON. It is true that Mr. Dickins, as is suggested, was unable physically in 1861 to perform the duties of the office, and Mr. John W. Forney succeeded him by the election of the Senate, but other officers were then changed.

But a new order of things has come, and we on this side of the Chamber recognize it fully and bow to the inevitable. We acknowledge not only the right but to a certain extent we recognize the political duty of the majority of this body to place in the position of Secretary of the Senate, Sergeant-at-Arms, and perhaps even of the gentleman who invokes the Divine blessing here in the morning, those who are in political accord with the majority of the Chamber.

During the last two years especially it has become a part of my special duty, I may suggest, to look as to the conduct of affairs by the officers of this body, and particularly at the desk of the Senate. I do not believe that it would be possible under any change that may or will come to obtain the services of a more diligent, competent, and effective force than that which has conducted the affairs of the United States Senate during the last eight or ten years; and I say this without designing to reflect in the least upon any who have preceded the present efficient Secretary of the Senate, Gen. McCook. I am glad to pay this tribute to him, not only because of a lifelong friendship and comradeship that has taught me a most earnest and hearty affection for him, but because, further, it is to his great credit that better than anything which can be said of him is the admitted fact that he has so faithfully and so acceptably performed the duties of his high place.

The Sergeant-at-Arms of this body is a citizen of the State I have the honor in part to represent, an efficient, able, industrious, alert, and trustworthy official. Not less can be said of his force of officials and not less can be said of the officers and employés of the Secretary of the Senate than what I have said of those who stand at the head of these respective offices.

The gentleman who has every morning been so prompt in attendance and whose well-worded prayers have been heard unfortunately by too few of this body, has commanded our respect. There is nothing in him in the nature of the sensational. He is a true, unobtrusive, and faithful servant of the living God and an example to all with whom he comes in contact.

Now, the resolutions have been so modified that those who are to be elected by the majority side of this Chamber will take their places the first day of any extraordinary or regular session of the Fifty-third Congress. This as to commencement of term is in accord with the precedents and follows the traditions of the Senate.

This contest has been made that these traditions and these precedents might be recognized and followed, for it is an unsafe thing in this body to depart very materially from the old ways, which are usually the best ways. These traditions and precedents lie at the very foundation of the courtesy which exists in this body, which courtesy enables it to do its work satisfactorily to itself and satisfactorily, as I believe, to the great mass of the American people.

I rise to suggest that so far as this side of the Chamber is concerned, I do not think that any one here will desire that the roll shall be called upon the resolutions; not that we acquiesce in the desire for change, but because a call of the roll might disclose a condition as to attendance that might not be acceptable to those of us who are present and certainly would not be to those who are absent.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, it is true as stated by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON] that the uniform action of this body has been not to change its officials except at a regular session or a called session of Congress. That has been rather the custom. More than one attempt has been made to change the offices at an executive session of the Senate and it has uniformly been resisted by the minority, no matter of which party the minority may have been.

Now that the political complexion of the Senate has changed we have thought it necessary and proper, as the rule has been well established by both parties, that the principal officers of this body should be in accord with the majority. I thought, and quite a number of our friends on this side of the Chamber believed, as there had been no fixed time heretofore except the custom to which I have referred, that probably it would have been better in the interest of the service to have had the change occur at the beginning of the fiscal year, and hence the resolutions that I first offered fixed that date. But there is a universal desire on the part of every Senator so far as I know, no matter what his politics may be, that in this body above all others there shall not be an unseemly struggle, which would create an impression that it was carried on merely for the purpose of getting possession of the few small offices connected with the Senate.

Personally, sir, I have had for many years great regret that the original rule of permanency which obtained in this body was ever interfered with. There is no other member of the Senate who can appreciate that rule as I have done. I have seen its operation and I have known how just and how right that rule was. I have seen the time, and participated in the transaction, when a subordinate officer of this body could not be removed by the Secretary or the Sergeant-at-Arms without charges being made and an opportunity given to him for self-vindication before the Vice-President. I regret that that rule was abandoned, but now for more than thirty years another has been established.

So when we come into power on this side of the Chamber we naturally follow the rule now established, which probably never will be changed again, that the majority shall control the officers who are to serve the body. We therefore offer the resolutions, and not as a reflection upon the conduct of any of the officials of this body. On the contrary, I take great pleasure in saying that I do not believe, certainly not in the last forty years when I have had an opportunity to witness the transaction of affairs here, have the affairs of the Senate ever been better conducted than by the present Secretary and Sergeant-at-Arms of this body, and when the Senate parts from them it is only because under the rule which has been fixed, as I said, for thirty years or more, we believe it is necessary to have the persons filling these high offices in accord with the majority of the body.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, the passage of the resolutions contemplates the retiracy of the elective officers of this body at a future day, in view of which fact I desire to say, as one who has not been unobservant of the manner in which these several officers have performed their duties, what I think every Senator can say, that they and each of them have been always polite, always prompt, always accurate and efficient in the performance of their respective duties.

It is for no fault of theirs that we seek this change, for I do not think there is any single bad thing that can be said of any one of them except one, and that is bad politics. That at least is the consideration that controls my action in the premises, and when they shall retire from their respective places each of them will carry with him my profound and most kindly regard.

This much I have deemed it due to myself as well as to the retiring officers to say upon this occasion.

Mr. PALMER. Mr. President, although perhaps in point of age almost the senior of any member of the Senate and one of the youngest in point of service, I hope it may not be improper for me to make a very few remarks.

I desire to extend my thanks, first, to the Senators on both sides of the Chamber who have agreed upon the resolutions for relieving me from a position of most painful embarrassment. I have been taught since becoming a member of this body that there are certain Senatorial traditions in respect to the change of the officers of the body, and I had, after mature consideration, learned to respect them. I am also a party man and attached to the political organization with which I act. But the proposition to make an immediate change was met by a most earnest respect (perhaps the word "love" is too strong to express the feeling one

man bears to another) for the Secretary of this body. If the proposition had been made to change the Secretary of the Senate violently, I am not now prepared to say what course I should have been compelled to pursue.

Much more mature in point of age than the Secretary of the Senate, he served under my command during the war. He won my confidence as a gentleman and a soldier. His name was one that of itself commanded respect in the Army of the United States. The name McCook was significant of gallantry and patriotism. I repeat that he served under my immediate command. I knew him and saw him on battlefields. I learned to respect him. He still commands my respect.

I regret that political changes make a succession necessary; but, even though the resolutions have been assented to by all parties, I could not permit their passage without bearing this testimony to my esteem for the Secretary of the Senate, who will soon give place to another.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President, I might well let the matter rest where it has been placed by the Senators who have preceded me, but I have so many strong personal attachments to the subordinate officers of this body that I do not feel like permitting this occasion to pass without a few words.

We all strive for victory in the hour of battle. We push on, and when the victory is obtained we rejoice in it; but sometimes after the battle is over and the victory won there are circumstances which are sorrowful in their nature. I, so far as I am concerned, encounter one of those circumstances now in parting from the able, courteous, kind, and efficient corps of officers of this body. In making preparation to part from them I take no pleasure. On the contrary, so far as my relations with them are concerned, my feeling is one of regret.

I wish to say this much, for certainly I have been the recipient so constantly for years past of the kindness and assistance and attention of the officers of this body, that I would be derelict to my heart and to my duty and to my feeling if I said less than this.

I appreciate, Mr. President, as we all do, that these changes have to come. The excellent officers of the Senate who hear me now know that this is one of the incidents of political warfare, not the pleasantest by any manner of means, but nevertheless a necessary incident. I trust that in the future many circumstances may come to them pleasant in their nature and that their lives will be crowned with entire success.

Mr. President, I felt not willing to let this event pass into history without saying these few words.

Mr. BLACKBURN. As no vote is to be taken and no record is to be made except the utterances of individual Senators upon this occasion, I wish to detain the Senate for a moment to bear my testimony too to the efficiency, to the courtesy, and the value that have marked the services rendered by the officers for whose retirement we are now providing.

As to the Chaplain, who during my term of service in the Senate has officiated here, I am sure that every Senator cherishes that full measure of respect and esteem that his bearing has fairly entitled him to. I do not know him so closely as I do the other elective officers of this body. The Sergeant-at-Arms, now to retire under the provisions of the resolutions, and myself were members of the other House of Congress together. I know him there. I have seen him fairly tested. I know that he answers the fullest measure that criticism could apply in the discharge of every duty which devolved upon him, whether as a lawmaker of the Government or as an executive officer of this body.

With the Secretary of the Senate it is with me different. I served with him, too, in the other House of Congress. I did not serve with him, at least not upon the same side with him, as did the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. PALMER] during the days of war; but if I fought upon the other side it only tended to enhance and to emphasize the sense of appreciation and affection that I cherish for that splendid specimen of the soldier of the late war. I do not mean to trust myself to speak of the sense of regret with which I contemplate his retirement from this Chamber. I never knew a knightlier, truer, purer, nobler, manlier man. A better officer I am sure this Chamber never had, and whilst I know full well that his successor will prove to be an eminently worthy one, I am not permitted to indulge the hope that we shall ever have a better Secretary than we are parting with now. If it were possible to test the sense of this Chamber, I very much doubt whether, taking counsel of their personal feelings, he would find more friends upon that side than he would upon this side.

But, Mr. President, the same causes that remove these gentlemen operated to bring them into their present positions. These causes are beyond our control; and whilst regret may be expressed that the machinery of this body must respond to the change of political power that pervades the country, still it is in the line of logic, at least the logic of politics.

I only wish to say that in taking our leave of these officials I believe that I am warranted in assuring them that they will carry with them, whether into private life or into further distinguished public service, the best wishes of every member of this body. I am sure that they will always have mine.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolutions proposed by the Senator from Maryland, as modified.

The resolutions as modified were agreed to.

Mr. GORMAN. I submit a resolution as a substitute for resolution numbered 23, modified so as to conform to the resolutions just passed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution, as modified, will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That William R. Cox, of North Carolina, be, and he is hereby, elected Secretary of the Senate, his term of office to begin on the first day of the meeting of the Fifty-third Congress, whether in extraordinary or regular session, until which time the present incumbent shall continue to be Secretary of the Senate, unless the office of Secretary becomes vacant before the said first day of the meeting of the Fifty-third Congress, in which event the said William R. Cox shall be at once Secretary of the Senate and enter upon the discharge of his duties as Secretary.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution as modified.

The resolution as modified was agreed to.

Mr. GORMAN. I submit the resolution I send to the desk, it being a modification of the resolution previously offered by me.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution as modified will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That Richard J. Bright, of Indiana, be, and is hereby, elected Sergeant-at-Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate, his term of office to begin on the first day of the meeting of the Fifty-third Congress, whether in extraordinary or regular session, until which time the present incumbent shall continue to be Sergeant-at-Arms and Doorkeeper, unless the office of Sergeant-at-Arms and Doorkeeper becomes vacant before the said first day of the meeting of the Fifty-third Congress, in which event the said Richard J. Bright shall be at once Sergeant-at-Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate and enter upon the discharge of his duties in said office.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution as modified.

The resolution as modified was agreed to.

Mr. GORMAN. I offer the modified resolution I send to the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution as modified will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That William H. Milburn, doctor of divinity, of Illinois, be, and he is hereby, elected Chaplain of the Senate, his term of office to begin on the first day of the meeting of the Fifty-third Congress, whether in extraordinary or regular session, until which time the present incumbent shall continue to be Chaplain of the Senate, unless the office of chaplain becomes vacant before the said first day of the meeting of the Fifty-third Congress, in which event the said William H. Milburn, doctor of divinity, shall be at once Chaplain of the Senate and enter upon the discharge of his duties as Chaplain.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution as modified.

The resolution as modified was agreed to.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President——

Mr. GORMAN. I ask the Senator from Massachusetts whether he prefers to go on this afternoon or to continue to-morrow morning?

Mr. HOAR. I do not know whether the Senator from Maryland desires an executive session or not. I do not wish to interfere with that.

Mr. GORMAN. We would like to have a short executive session some time during the day, but of course will consult the convenience of the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator desires an executive session this afternoon I suppose it would be more convenient to the Senate to have it now.

Mr. CHANDLER. I hope the Senator from Massachusetts will yield, and go on to-morrow morning.

Mr. HOAR. All right.

COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP.

Mr. CALL. I give notice that at the conclusion of the speech of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] to-morrow I shall call up the resolution fixing the membership of certain committees, upon which I wish to submit some remarks.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. GORMAN. With the permission of the Senator from Massachusetts, and with the understanding that he is to have the floor the first thing in the morning, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After fifteen minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 2 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, April 7, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 6, 1893.

COMMISSIONER OF PENSIONS.

William Lochren, of Minneapolis, Minn., to be Commissioner of Pensions, vice Green B. Raum, resigned.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Hannis Taylor, of Alabama, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Spain, vice A. Louden Snowden, resigned.

ASSISTANT SURGEON IN THE NAVY.

Charles Edward Riggs, a resident of Iowa, to be an assistant surgeon in the United States Navy, to fill a vacancy in that grade.

POSTMASTERS.

Robert A. Baird, to be postmaster at Morrillton, in the county of Conway and State of Arkansas, in the place of William W. Stout, removed.

Frank L. Bills, to be postmaster at Urbana, in the county of Champaign and State of Illinois, in the place of Walter W. Lindley, resigned.

Thomas B. Powell, to be postmaster at Vienna, in the county of Johnson and State of Illinois, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after April 1, 1893.

Clarence M. Hawkins, to be postmaster at Marion, in the county of Grant and State of Indiana, in the place of Jasper A. Garnett, removed.

Royal E. Purcell, to be postmaster at Vincennes, in the county of Knox and State of Indiana, in the place of Allen Tindolph, removed.

Amos West, to be postmaster at Mayfield, in the county of Graves and State of Kentucky, in the place of Orlando B. Happy, whose commission expired March 30, 1893.

Lela Henley, to be postmaster at Cloverport, in the county of Breckinridge and State of Kentucky, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after April 1, 1893.

William R. Bowles, to be postmaster at Greenfield, in the county of Dade and State of Missouri, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after January 1, 1893.

Alexander Wright, to be postmaster at Neihart, in the county of Meagher and State of Montana, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after October 1, 1892.

John Q. Pike, to be postmaster at Epping, in the county of Rockingham and State of New Hampshire, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after April 1, 1893.

Connie P. Priestly, to be postmaster at Huntingdon, in the county of Carroll and State of Tennessee, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after April 1, 1893.

James T. McCutchen, to be postmaster at Jackson, in the county of Madison and State of Tennessee, in the place of William M. Moss, removed.

William B. Pearson, to be postmaster at Nacogdoches, in the county of Nacogdoches and State of Texas, in the place of Henry H. Sawyer, resigned.

John T. Hart, to be postmaster at Orange, in the county of Orange and State of Texas, in the place of George F. Poole, removed; Joshua B. Bisland, who was nominated by the President, and confirmed by the Senate January 4, 1893, having declined the office.

Exum B. Britt, to be postmaster at Suffolk, in the county of Nansemond and State of Virginia, in the place of George L. Borum, whose commission expired March 26, 1893.

Irwin Tucker, to be postmaster at Newport News, in the county of Warwick and State of Virginia, in the place of Thomas H. Gordon, resigned.

Howson H. Wallace, to be postmaster at Fredericksburg, in the county of Spottsylvania and State of Virginia, in the place of Oregon D. Foster, removed.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 4, 1893.

ENVOYS EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTERS PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Pierce M. B. Young, of Georgia, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Guatemala and Honduras.

Lewis Baker, of Minnesota, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Salvador.

Edwin Dun, of Ohio, now secretary of legation at Japan, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Japan.

James A. McKenzie, of Kentucky, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Peru.

James D. Porter, of Tennessee, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Chile.

CONSULS.

Claude Meeker, of Ohio, consul to Bradford.
Theodore M. Stephan, of Illinois, consul to Annaberg.
M. P. Pendleton, of Maine, consul to Pictou.
Harrison R. Williams, of Missouri, consul to Vera Cruz.
L. M. Shaffer, of West Virginia, consul to Stratford, Ontario.

SECOND SECRETARY OF LEGATION.

Newton B. Eustis, of Louisiana, to be second secretary of the legation of the United States at Paris.

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS.

Henry J. Hathaway, of Maine, to be collector of customs for the district of Aroostook, in the State of Maine.

Walter Goddard, of Connecticut, to be collector of customs for the district of Fairfield, in the State of Connecticut.

FRIDAY, *April 7, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] from the Committee on Privileges and Elections. It will be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Pending the consideration of the resolution the Chair will lay before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury.

EXECUTION OF RECENT IMMIGRATION ACT.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the Senate of March 28, 1893, copies of the following-described blank forms, correspondence, etc., being the affidavit of the master or commanding officer or first or second officer and affidavit of surgeon, questions to be answered by the immigrant before booking, list or manifest of alien immigrants for the Commissioner of Immigration, together with the correspondence concerning such orders, regulations, and forms between the Department and Government officials; which was read.

Mr. CHANDLER. I move that the communication and accompanying papers be printed and referred to the Committee on Immigration.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. CHANDLER subsequently said: This morning a communication was received from the Secretary of the Treasury transmitting rules and regulations concerning immigration. I find that some correspondence which I myself had with the Secretary was omitted, and I ask that it may be printed as an appendix to the document transmitted by the head of the Department.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New Hampshire? The Chair hears none, and it will be so ordered.

CALL OF THE ROLL.

Mr. CHANDLER. I suggest that there is no quorum present in the Chamber, and ask that the roll be called.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Berry,	George,	Manderson,	Ransom,
Blackburn,	Gibson,	Martin,	Roach.
Brice,	Gordon,	Mills,	Sherman,
Butler,	Gorman,	Mitchell, Wis.	Smith.
Caffery,	Gray,	Morrill,	Stockbridge.
Call,	Hansbrough,	Murphy,	Turpie,
Carey.	Harris,	Palmer,	Vance,
Chandler,	Hawley,	Pasco,	Vest.
Cockrell,	Hoar,	Peffer,	Voorhees,
Coke.	Jones, Ark.	Platt	Washburn,
Cullom,	Kyle.	Power,	White, La.
Faulkner,	Lindsay,	Pugh,	

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Forty-seven Senators have responded to their names. A quorum is present. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] as entitled to the floor on the resolution submitted by him relating to the election of Senators by a direct vote of the people.

RESTRAINT OF LIBERTY OF RAILROAD EMPLOYÉS.

Mr. VOORHEES. Will the Senator from Massachusetts allow me to introduce a resolution for reference to a committee? It is in the nature of morning business.

Mr. HOAR. Certainly.

Mr. VOORHEES. I ask that the resolution be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Whereas the tenth section of the act of Congress approved February 4, 1887, known as the interstate-commerce act, contains the following enactment:

"That any common carrier subject to the provisions of this act, or, whenever such common carrier is a corporation, any director or officer thereof, or any receiver, trustee, lessee, agent, or person acting for or employed by such corporation, who, alone or with any other corporation, company, person, or party, shall willfully do or cause to be done, or shall willingly suffer or permit to be done, any act, matter, or thing in this act prohibited or declared to be unlawful, or who shall aid or abet therein, or shall willfully omit or fail to do any act, matter, or thing in this act required to be done, or shall cause or willingly suffer or permit any act, matter, or thing so directed or required by this act to be done not to be so done, or shall aid or abet any such omission or failure, or shall be guilty of any infraction of this act, or shall aid or abet therein, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, upon conviction thereof in any district court of the United States within the jurisdiction of which such offense was committed, be subject to a fine of not to exceed $5,000 for each offense."

And whereas it is alleged that said section of the law as it now stands has been construed by the judges of the circuit and district courts of the United States in recent decisions at Toledo, Ohio, to mean that "the duties of an employé of a public corporation are such that he can not always choose his own time for quitting that service," but that in attempting to leave the employment of such corporation of his own free will and to escape from its control and consequent servitude, such employé is guilty of a misdemeanor and liable to severe penalties: Therefore

Resolved, That the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate be, and is hereby, instructed to inquire into the question here presented, and to report to this body what action may be necessary, either by the repeal of said tenth section of the existing law, or by the enactment of additional legislation for the better protection of the laboring people of the United States in their natural and inalienable rights, and for their greater security from the encroachments of corporation power.

Mr. VOORHEES. I ask that the resolution be printed and referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. CULLOM. I will state to the Senator from Indiana that that committee has already one resolution before it. It does not cover this particular feature of the act, however. I was going to suggest the reference of the resolution to that committee, to enable it to consider both together, so as to include all the questions that are involved in this resolution and the one previously offered.

Mr. VOORHEES. I have no objection, so that the resolution is properly considered.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be printed and referred as requested.

PRINTING OF CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION REPORT.

Mr. COCKRELL submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the United States Civil Service Commission is hereby directed to report to the Senate the cause of delay in furnishing the Public Printer with the copy for the completion of the publication of their last annual report.

HARBOR IMPROVEMENTS ON PACIFIC COAST.

Mr. RANSOM. If it will not interfere with the Senator from Massachusetts, I should like to call up the resolution reported by the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. WHITE] day before yesterday, from the Committee on Contingent Expenses, in reference to a subcommitee of the Committee on Commerce being sent to the Pacific coast.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. HOAR. I suppose the Senator does not anticipate any debate upon the resolution.

Mr. CULLOM. It will not take any time.

Mr. RANSOM. I hope it will not.

Mr. HOAR. With that understanding, I have no objection.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The substitute resolution reported by the committee will be read.

The resolution reported on the 5th instant by Mr. WHITE of Louisiana, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Commerce be, and they are hereby, authorized and directed to sit, by subcommittee not exceeding five in number, to be appointed by the chairman of said committee, during the recess of Congress, and to visit and examine the Pacific coast between Points Duma and Capistrano, with a view to determining the best location for the construction of a deep-water harbor. Said subcommittee is hereby also authorized to visit and examine such other works of river and harbor improvement on the Pacific coast, existing or proposed, as in their judgment the interests of commerce shall demand, and shall have power to subpœna witnesses, to administer oaths and take testimony, to employ a stenographer, and to appoint a sergeant-at-arms from the messengers of the Senate; and that the actual necessary expenses of the said subcommittee, properly incurred, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate in the usual manner: *Provided*, That no compensation be paid for a clerk to said subcommittee, the chairman being authorized, if necessary, to detail the regular clerk of said committee to attend the said subcommittee, the clerk so assigned to receive no extra allowance or compensation.

Mr. SHERMAN. I intended to offer an amendment to the resolution, requiring a detail of officers of the Army and Navy to accompany the committee, but I find my friend from North Carolina thinks, and perhaps other Senators as well, that that would be a departure from the dignified position of the Senate, and that nobody ought to assist the Senate in a matter of this kind, and on the whole he objects to the amendment. I will therefore withhold my offer of amendment, and let the resolution pass if the Senate is so inclined, although I am not very much in favor of traveling commissions of the Senate. For the last twenty years I have declined to serve on them. I have not served on one for twenty-odd years. I think large expense is incurred, and generally not very fruitful results come from them.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the substitute resolution reported by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The resolution was agreed to.

ELECTION OF SENATORS BY DIRECT VOTE OF THE PEOPLE.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Pending the consideration of the resolution reported from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, the Chair, in pursuance of the agreement yesterday, lays before the Senate the resolution submitted by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A resolution by Mr. HOAR, relative to the election of United States Senators by the people and against House joint resolution of the Fifty-second Congress providing for the same.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I ask that the pending resolution be read.

The resolution, submitted by Mr. HOAR on the 3d instant, was read, as follows:

Resolved, That it is inexpedient that the resolution sent to the Senate by the House of Representatives during the last Congress, providing for an amendment of the Constitution securing the election of Senators by the people of the several States, be adopted.

Such a method of election would essentially change the character of the Senate as conceived by the Convention that framed the Constitution and the people who adopted it.

It would transfer practically the selection of the members of this body from the Legislatures, who are intrusted with all legislative powers of the States, to bodies having no other responsibilities, whose election can not be regulated by law, whose members act by proxy, whose tenure of office is for a single day, whose votes and proceedings are not recorded, who act under no personal responsibility, whose mistakes, ordinarily, can only be corrected by the choice of Senators who do not represent the opinions concerning public measures and policies of the people who choose them.

It requires the substitution of pluralities for majorities in the election.

It will transfer the seat of political power in great States, now distributed evenly over their territory, to the great cities and masses of population.

It will create new temptations to fraud, corruption, and other illegal practices, and in close cases will give rise to numerous election contests which must tend seriously to weaken the confidence of the people in the Senate.

It will absolve the larger States from the constitutional obligation which secures the equal representation of all the States in the Senate by providing that no State shall be deprived of that equality without its consent.

It implies what the whole current of our history shows to be untrue, that the Senate has during the past century failed to meet the just expectations of the people, and that the State Legislatures have proved themselves unfit to be the depositaries of the power of electing Senators.

The reasons which require this change, if acted upon and carried to their logical result, will lead to the election by the direct popular vote, and by popular majorities, of the President and of the judiciary, and will compel the placing of these elections under complete national control.

It will result in the overthrow of the whole scheme of the Senate and, in the end, of the whole scheme of the national Constitution as designed and established by the framers of the Constitution and the people who adopted it.

Mr. HOAR resumed and concluded the speech begun by him yesterday, which is, entire, as follows:

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I suppose that no thoughtful person will deem a discussion of this topic out of time or premature. Four important States have sent to us resolutions of their Legislatures favoring such a change in the Constitution. Three Senators have advocated it in elaborate speeches. The House of Representatives, without a debate, has passed resolutions for submitting the change to the States. The careless and thoughtless dealing with this subject is shown by the proposal to take from Congress all power over the manner of electing Senators—a step which would go far in my judgment to change this country from a nation into a league or confederacy.

I am not sure whether it is the good fortune or the ill fortune of our American political system that our controversies so often relate to matters which are vital, not only to the well being, but to the very existence of the Republic. The English take their constitution for granted. They can change anything in their state by a simple act of legislation. But it has been very rarely in their history that great constitutional changes have been brought about by the action of legislative bodies. They have never been brought about by the direct action of the people.

The abandonment of the influence of the sovereign in legislation, the abandonment of the veto power, the diminished authority of the House of Lords, the transfer of executive power from the immediate servants of the Crown to the ministers, who depend for their official existence upon the majority of the House

of Commons—all these things have come to pass so silently that it is difficult to discover when any of them took place. Although our constitutions, State and national, are all in writing, there are constant attempts to make changes of the most radical and vital character, and to bring them about suddenly and without deliberation or discussion by popular action.

If the Senate as at present constituted is to be defended, it is to be defended here. If the great reasons which moved our fathers to establish this Chamber, which they hoped would last in unbroken succession until time shall be no more, to give its members a tenure of office more enduring than that of any other department of the Government save the judiciary alone, to remove it from the operation of the fleeting passions of the hour, to lay its foundation below the frost, and to remove the appointment of the men who are to compose it, as far as may be, from the temporary excitements which so often move the people to their own harm, are understood anywhere, those reasons must be understood by the men who fill these seats. If this great part of the structure of our body politic is to be maintained, it must be maintained by the confidence of the American people in the character of their Senators and by the strength of argument which those Senators must themselves at least help to furnish.

This is clearly, Mr. President, a question of centuries, and not of years. In determining it we must appeal to our experience of a hundred years, and not merely to that of yesterday or the day before. A present impatience is not only no good reason for making a change, but its existence seems to me an especial reason for postponing it. If we listen only to present complaints, we must make radical changes also in the manner of electing the President, in the constitution of the State Legislature, in our judiciary, in the House of Representatives, in the management of our great corporations, of our railroads, our schools, our universities, the church, the law, and the private habits of the people. Complaint, impatience, uneasiness attend upon everything which depends upon human instrumentality for its administration. They are the sign of vigorous health, and if soberly and thoughtfully dealt with, are the conditions of all life and growth.

We must judge the Senate, as I have said, by the experience of a century, and not by a few recent failures. Whatever there may be of existing evil may be corrected by the intelligence and good sense of the people, as other evils quite as great have been corrected in the past.

When I came into the national service in 1869, all avenues to this and the other Chamber and to every Executive Department were swarming with a powerful and corrupt lobby. That lobby has disappeared before an aroused and vigorous public sentiment. Who hears now of great measures of legislation promoted or affected in Congress by corrupt instrumentalities?

When I came into public life in 1869, the Senate claimed almost entire control of the Executive function of appointment to office. Every Senator, with hardly an exception, seemed to fancy that the national officers in his State were to be a band of political henchmen devoted to his personal fortunes. What was called "the courtesy of the Senate" was depended upon to enable a Senator to dictate to the executive all appointments and removals in his territory. That doctrine has disappeared as completely as the locusts that infested Egypt in the time of the Pharaohs.

When I entered public life in 1869, Tweed was the dominant power in New York City. He dictated alike all civic expenditures and the appointment and the judgment of the courts of the city. It became my duty, in representing the House of Representatives on the impeachment of a public officer before the Senate, to utter the following language of warning, the timeliness and necessity of which I think few men will now question:

> My own public life has been a very brief and insignificant one, extending little beyond the duration of a single term of Senatorial office. But in that brief period I have seen five judges of a high court of the United States driven from office by threats of impeachment for corruption or maladministration. I have heard the taunt, from friendliest lips, that when the United States presented herself in the East to take part with the civilized world in generous competition in the arts of life, the only product in her institutions in which she surpassed all others beyond question was her corruption.
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> I have seen in the State in the Union foremost in power and wealth four judges of her courts impeached for corruption, and the political administration of her chief city become a disgrace and a byword throughout the world. I have seen the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in the House, now a distinguished member of this court, rise in his place and demand the expulsion of four of his associates for making sale of their official privilege of selecting the youths to be educated at our great military school. When the greatest railroad in the world, binding together the continent and uniting the two seas which wash our shores, was finished, I have seen our national triumph and exultation turned to bitterness and shame by the unanimous reports of three committees of Congress—two of the House and one here—that every step of that mighty enterprise had been taken in fraud.
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> I have heard in highest places the shameless doctrine avowed by men grown old in public office that the true way by which power should be gained in the Republic is to bribe the people with the offices created for their service, and the true end for which it should be used when gained is the promotion of selfish ambition and the gratification of personal revenge. I have heard that suspicion haunts the footsteps of the trusted companions of the President.
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> These things have passed into history. The Hallam or the Tacitus or the Sismondi or the Macaulay who writes the annals of our time will record them with his inexorable pen.

Will any man deny the truth of any of these charges? Will any man find occasion to repeat them to-day? These great evils, one and all, have been corrected by the American people with the abundant resources which, under their existing constitutions, were at their command. Other evils, as grave, but not graver, demand our attention to-day. These evils will in their turn disappear when brought into the daylight before the intelligence and the justice of the American people.

The sufferings of the people have been mostly from their apprehensions, never from any actual misgovernment. Even our civil war itself came through the apprehension of the people of one section of the country of which those who waged it against the Government, now think it was an unmixed good. Our political history seems to be almost made up of popular movements which are the result of the fears of the people—of evils apprehended from legislation which in fact are never experienced.

The history of the United States for a hundred years has been the history of marvelous prosperity and growth, which reads, even in the pages of soberest historians, like an Oriental tale. Yet our political journals have been constantly filled with prediction of disaster and ruin. If anybody need confirmation of this statement let him read the political platforms of the party conventions of the minority. It is marvelous to see how safe, conservative, and beneficent has been our national legislation in spite of all the violence and all the extreme utterances of the journals and the platforms. This quality in our legislation is derived largely, though not wholly, from the character of the Senate under the existing method of choosing its members.

The dangers of the country are the dangers to the elective franchise—violence, fraudulent voting, fraudulent counting, intimidation, corruption, gerrymandering, the unseating of legislators with unquestioned title to their seats for the accomplishment of political objects by unscrupulous men, the use of weapons intended to protect our institutions, to subvert them. These things—not mistakes in finance, or an erroneous fiscal policy, or unwise laws of succession, or even rash and violent projects of social extremists—are the things that menace the permanence of our institutions to-day.

Every generation since the dawning of civilization seems to have been gifted with its own peculiar capacity. The generation of Homer has left nothing behind but a great epic poem, which for thirty centuries remains without a rival. Italian art had its brief and brilliant day of glory, which departed and has never returned. The time of Elizabeth was the time of dramatic poetry which has been alike the wonder and the despair of all succeeding ages. The generation which accomplished the American Revolution had a genius for framing constitutions which no generation before or since has been able to equal or to approach. The features of the State constitutions framed in that day have been retained with little changes in substance, and have been copied since by every new State.

The men of that day had many great advantages for this work. They had conducted a great revolution. To prepare for it, they had been engaged for a century in discussing the principles on which self-government is founded and by which constitutional liberty is secured. They were men of English stock, trained in the principles of English liberty. There was no admixture in their body politic of men who had been born under despotic governments, and who associated the idea of government inseparably with the idea of tyranny. At their fathers' firesides the great debate of constitutional liberty had been conducted from the earliest recollection of the oldest men then living. They had the other advantage, that in framing their constitutions they were free from all party bias and from the temptation to consult party advantage, or to appeal to the party prejudices of the people.

I do not of course claim that the people can not now amend, or that they can not now improve, our Constitution. That Constitution itself would be a failure if the experience of a hundred years under its operation found the people unfitted to improve it. The lives of our fathers would have been of little worth, if, under the Constitution they framed, there had not grown up and flourished a people who were also fit to deal with the great and fundamental constitutional principles of the state. The men who entered upon the untried field of providing by written enactment what were the boundaries and limits of constitutional power and constitutional authority in the state have left children who, after a hundred years of trial, need not fear to approach and to deal with the same great problems. But they must bring to them the same wisdom and courage and virtue. They must dare to tell the people plain truths. They must possess the wisdom of deliberate action, and rise to the austere virtue of self-restraint.

Mr. President, wherever there can be found an expression of admiration for the American Constitution in the works of any great writer or thinker at home or abroad, it will be found that the admiration is based upon that part of its mechanism which secures the deliberate and indirect action of the popular will in-

stead of its immediate, rapid, inconsiderate, and direct action. The parts of it which are everywhere the most praised and by which its framers sought especially to commend it to the confidence of the people were the constitution of the Senate and the constitution of the Supreme Court.

The great function of the Supreme Court is not merely or chiefly to afford a learned, able, and impartial tribunal for the determination of controversies between private parties upon the principles of ordinary municipal law; but it is the function of keeping the national and State Legislatures alike within the appointed limits of their authority. In other words, it is a restraint upon the people's will when expressed in the form of legislation by the people's representatives, whether that will undertake an encroachment upon the individual and natural rights of the citizens or upon the domain of other appointed constitutional authorities. "It is, indeed," said Daniel Webster, "a great achievement; it is the master work of the world, to establish governments entirely popular on lasting foundations."

I do not propose to take any time in commending the excellencies of the Constitution of the United States. I do not think it worth while to cite to ears to which they are familiar the praise of foreign statesmen or philosophers, of Gladstone, or of De Tocqueville, or of Bryce. These compliments are trifling and insignificant in comparison with the great fact that the American people are satisfied with it, and that they would reject with swift and unanimous indignation any proposition which they thought would change it in its essence.

I think it can be established to their satisfaction that the proposed change in the method of electing Senators is in itself a change in principle and essence of the most vital character, and that its logic will lead to other changes equally vital and essential. And for that reason I have no apprehension of the success of this scheme when deliberately considered and discussed.

I am not afraid to say to the American people that it is dangerous to trust any great power of government to their direct or inconsiderate control. I am not afraid to tell them, not only that their sober second thought is better than their hasty action, but that a government which is exposed to the hasty action of a people is the worst and not the best government on earth. No matter how excellent may be the individual, the direct, immediate, hasty action of any mass of individuals on earth is the pathway to ruin and not to safety. It is as true to-day as it was when James Madison, the great advocate of the rights of the people in his time, one of the foremost among the framers of our Constitution, first said it, "That, although every Athenian citizen might be a Socrates, every Athenian assembly would still be a mob."

Our fathers were profound students of history. They found that no republic, although there had been many examples of other republics, ever lasted long without a senate. The term senate implied to their minds, as to ours, a body of men of mature age and of a tenure of office which was removed from all temptation of being affected by temporary currents of public sentiment. The word senate is a misnomer when applied to any legislative body of whom these things are not true.

My friend from Oregon said the other day that the framers of the Constitution distrusted the people. He said that one of them who declared in the Convention that legislation ought to be removed as far as possible from the immediate action of the people would be remanded to private life nowadays with a promptness that would be almost grotesque. Why, Mr. President, that Senator represents a State—one of the new States of the Union—that has incorporated the doctrine of that utterance into every department and arrangement of her constitution more completely, I think, than any other State in the American Union. The Senator overlooks what the author of the utterance with which he finds fault had so profoundly studied—the difference between the immediate action of the people upon legislation and administration and the expression of the sober and deliberate will of the people through instrumentalities whose own sobriety and deliberation are thoroughly secured.

Does my friend really think that the authors of the opening sentences of the Declaration of Independence, who rested their cause on those sublime and eternal truths in their great controversy with the mother country, who placed those truths at the very foundation of their new Government, who pledged their lives and fortunes and sacred honor to maintain them, distrusted the people? They trusted the people when they made those great declarations of natural right. They trusted the people when they declared the equal right of every human being without exception of race or color or nationality or rank or fortune. But they trusted them also with as profound and implicit a trust when they submitted to them constitutions, both State and national, filled with restraints which alike secure minorities and individuals against injustice and oppression from majorities, and secure the whole people against their own hasty and inconsiderate action.

No, Mr. President, it is not because the framers of our Constitution distrusted the people; it is because they trusted the people that they confidently asked their adoption of a Constitution which compelled them to deliberation, to sober thought, to delegated power, to action through selected agencies and instrumentalities, to thinking twice before acting once. It was not Madison or Hamilton, it was the people of the United States who ordained and established the Constitution.

I have no respect for the notion that the people of the United States need to be flattered or cajoled, or that they are impatient of the necessary restraints of constitutional liberty. Truth, frankness, and courage are the avenues to their confidence. There is but one way to discover what will be popular in this country, and that is to discover what is right. There is but one road to the enjoyment of the confidence of the people, and that is to counsel them to wise, honest, and safe policies. The public man who appeals to temporary opinion or who flatters temporary passion will find his hold upon power as temporary and short-lived as are the instrumentalities by which he seeks to obtain it.

It has been said in this discussion that the Constitution needed amendment at once. This is true; but all amendments were in the direction of placing checks on the power of the people and declaring that there were certain things the people should not be permitted to do. The great statesmen who framed the Constitution placed in it certain checks and safeguards against the popular will. The greater people to whom they submitted it perfected it by inserting other safeguards still.

I stated just now that the term senate implied to the apprehension of every studious man certain essential conditions; but the Senate of the United States, as established by our Constitution, implied something more than this.

First, our fathers wished to secure a dual legislative assembly. With the exception of Dr. Franklin and his associates in the Pennsylvania delegation, who are understood to have cast a formal vote out of deference to him, it was thought best to provide a dual representative assembly. Every act of the Legislature was to be twice considered and have the approbation of two different, separate houses.

Second, these two houses were to have a different constituency. So every proposed law must run the gauntlet of two diverse interests and be judged from at least two points of view. Every State in the construction of its Legislature has maintained these two principles. The American people, I suppose, are now agreed upon them with substantial unanimity.

Third, the Senate is expected to represent the equality of the States. This is the one principle which would never have been yielded by a majority of the States when the Constitution was made, and which has been made eternal as far as possible by the provision that it shall not be changed without the consent of every State.

Fourth, the Senate was to represent deliberation in the expression of the popular will by the length of the term of office of Senators and by its removal from the direct popular vote in the method of choice. It is this point at which the Senate is now attacked.

The constitution of the Senate secures the application of all these principles in the four great constitutional functions of the National Government—in legislation, in the making of treaties, in the appointment of the great executive officers, and in impeachment. The last of these powers has happily not often been resorted to in our history, but was regarded by the framers of the Constitution as essential for the security of the whole. As James Monroe well said:

> The right of impeachment and of trial by the Legislature is the mainspring of the great machine of government. It is the pivot on which it turns. If preserved in full vigor and exercised with perfect integrity, every branch will perform its duty.

Each of these the Senate shares with other departments of the Government, and to each of them it contributes the great and conservative principle which our fathers thought essential to secure to all generations and amid all popular temptations and excitements the Government they framed against the evils by which all former republics had perished.

The Constitution also carefully provides in the case of the Senate, as in the case of the House, that the manner of the election shall be prescribed by the authority of the nation for whom the persons selected are to legislate.

It will be seen, I think, very clearly that the change proposed destroys the essential character of the Senate in each of these particulars.

It substitutes a direct election by the people for an election by the Legislature.

For a selection by public officers to whom the great public

duty of State legislation is intrusted, there is to be a selection and nomination by conventions composed of persons without other responsibility. This, in most cases, will be the mode in which the majority, practically, will make its choice.

For a selection by men who are themselves selected under strict legal provisions, there is to be, therefore, practically a selection by men who are not chosen in pursuance of any law.

Instead of selection by men under oath of office, there must be a choice by men upon whom no oath is imposed.

For a selection by men of whose action there is a record, the choice is practically to be made by men of whom no record exists.

For a choice by men acting under personal responsibility, the selection will be made by men who may act by proxy.

For a choice by a permanent body, there must be a choice by a body lasting but a day.

For a choice in a manner prescribed by national authority, there must be a choice in a manner prescribed in no authority whatever.

For a choice by a body acting by majorities, there must be substituted, in the end, a choice by a plurality.

For a choice by a body representing all localities in a State where different local interests are fairly represented, there must be a choice by sheer force of numbers, where the popular masses in great cities will have an undue and disproportionate weight.

Instead of representing different constituencies to secure the different interests in legislation, the Senate and the House are to represent constituencies of the same kind, differing only in size.

From the change in the manner of election will surely and inevitably, in my judgment, follow the destruction of the equality of the States in the Senate. It is true the Constitution now provides that no State shall be deprived of its equal vote in the Senate without its consent. But this provision relates to a Senate to be constituted and selected in the old constitutional manner, and will never be long tolerated, in my judgment, by the large States under the proposed arrangement.

The State Legislatures are the depositories of the sovereignty of the States. They are, in theory, and I believe in general in fact, composed of the picked and chosen men of the communities from which they come. The men who make up the State Legislatures are chosen by their neighbors. They are chosen by men who know them, or can know them. There have been exceptions, but in general they have been honest, wise, faithful, and just. The pages of the statute books of the forty-four Commonwealths are in general without a stain. They can be read by the patriot without a blush. I am not afraid to compare them with the two hundred and fifty Parliaments through which, for eight hundred years, the freedom of England—

> Has broadened slowly down,
> From precedent to precedent.

There have been many things we might well wish were otherwise. In the chambers where all men are equally represented, what is worse as well as what is best of humanity will sometimes find its representative. The ambition, the love of power, the party spirit, the private greed, the popular passion, injustice, and tyranny will occasionally appear there as elsewhere. In what spot in human history are they not found? But I am willing to take the legislation of any American State which is a quarter of a century old and compare it with the legislation of any government possessing a legislature in any period of its history. Why, in the British House of Commons Disraeli said that long after the close of the American war, and within the memory of men who heard him, a member of the Government stood below the gangway at the final adjournment of the Parliament and gave a £500 note to every member who had supported the administration.

You and I can well remember when bribery was a common and necessary method of getting a seat in the English House of Commons. But English constitutional liberty and English constitutional government have not proved a failure.

Do you propose to strip the State Legislatures of any other function of their sovereignty? Can you not trust the men who make all the laws upon which the safety of property, the marriage relation, the security of the home, the administration of the schools, taxation, freedom of religion, the punishment of crime, and everything else which enters into the comfort and honor of private life are depending with the choice of Senators because my honorable friend from Illinois thinks that, in the experience of the people of that excellent State, the selection of Senators under existing conditions has been unsatisfactory?

What is the alternative, and what must be the alternative? What is the alternative proposed? What must be the necessary and only alternative that can be proposed for the exercise of this great function of local sovereignty? The State Legislature is a failure, we are told; and is not fit to be trusted any longer. Who are to nominate our Senators? To whom is the practical selection to be intrusted? Whatever may be the theory, the voting population of the State of New York, or of the ten millions who within the lifetime of some of us will dwell within the borders of that imperial Commonwealth, are not expected to gather together and put in nomination a Senator by direct action. No one hall will quite hold them, even were it as flexible and expansive as the court room when naturalization is going on.

The practical choice of the Senator must be made by nominating conventions. Are not these bodies quite as likely to be susceptible to mistakes or to corrupt manipulation as a State Legislature? They gather together at midday, chosen by no constituency whose action, or even the freedom or purity of whose choice, can be regulated by law. The men who gather are to perform but a single function, to which there is attached ordinarily little responsibility. They can not be instructed by their constituents. Their functions may be exercised by proxy. They are not amenable in their individual action to a sound public opinion.

There is no record of the individual vote, or any means of correcting a mistake or fraud. They gather in the morning, and disperse when the mists of evening rise. And it is to these bodies that the choice of the men who are to compose what we are fond of calling the most august body on earth is practically and in the ordinary course of things to be committed. It is these bodies who are fitter to be trusted than the Legislatures to whom all the dearest interests of the people of the States are committed.

Cicero, in his oration for Lucius Flaccus, attributes the decay of Roman and the destruction of the Grecian liberty to the substitution of the turbulent popular assembly for the deliberative chamber in wielding the political power of the State. He has left his terrible picture of the popular assemblies of his time as a pregnant lesson for all mankind.

It may be said that governors and State officers and Representatives in Congress are selected in this way now. That is true. But have all nominations of governors and Representatives in Congress been on the whole more satisfactory to the people than the selection of Senators for one hundred years? I think that when any one of us wishes to arouse the State pride of the people he represents by enumerating the great men who have adorned their history, we find that the names of the men who have sat in these seats arise to our lips quite as naturally as the names of the governors or the Representatives in Congress, however illustrious.

When my colleague here or my colleagues in the other House wish to stir the hearts of a Massachusetts audience they are quite as likely to speak of Webster, and of John Quincy Adams, of Charles Sumner, of Rufus Choate, or George Cabot, and of Edward Everett and John Davis as of any one in our list of governors, excellent as that list has been. Is there any other State of which the same is not true? And nearly every one of the great men who have been elected to the House by the choice of the people has also sat in the Senate. The people who by any constitutional method of choice will in any generation send to this Chamber an ignoble or unworthy Senator will, I will venture to say, be found to have at the same time no better timber in their executive chair or in the House of Representatives.

It is a little difficult for a member of this body, without some violation of good taste or self-assertion, to state what we all think of the character which the Senate has maintained from the beginning of the Government and of its title to the confidence of the people. But I am not afraid or ashamed to invite a comparison of the men who have sat in these seats and represented my own Commonwealth, down to the date when the present Senators took their places, with any line of dukes, barons, or princes, or emperors, or popes who have successively filled the seats of any legislature or the executive chair of any commonwealth, whether these persons held their titles by virtue of noble descent or royal favor or of the favor of the people themselves.

I do not believe the people of Massachusetts—and the same challenge may be given with confidence in behalf of any other American State that has a history—will accept this invitation to change the method of choosing the Senators, which depends, as I have said, not only upon the claim that the Legislatures are unfit to be trusted with this duty, which is one among the chiefest functions of sovereignty, but that the Senate of the United States has, upon the whole, been a failure.

I do not believe the people of Massachusetts are quite ready to discredit their own General Court with its two hundred and sixty years of legislative history, and give their confidence instead to a political convention which gathers in the morning and disperses when the mists of evening arise, whose members are without an oath of office, without a record, without legal restraint upon their election, who have no accountability to their representatives, or to anybody, without even the requirement that they shall be citizens.

And I do not believe that they are quite prepared to say that,

on the whole, they are ashamed of the Senators who, by the free choice of their Legislatures, have for a hundred years represented them in this great national council.

It is a poor cheap flattery of the people, this notion that suffrage is to be deified and that the results of suffrage are to be degraded; that the people have all wisdom and all honesty, but that their trusted agents are to be bought or cajoled. Will it not be the same people who choose the Senators and who choose the Legislatures? Is there any evil influence which will operate upon the Legislature which will not operate with like effect upon the convention?

But it is said that the choice of a nominating convention is but the first step. Any mistake it may make will be corrected by the people. But, Mr. President, except in most extreme cases, the correction must be worse than the evil which is to be cured.

At what cost are the people to vote down the nomination made by the convention of the party which is in the majority because of their disapproval of a man who is its candidate for the Senate? Of course the plurality system will be applied to this as to every popular election. The people, then, must manifest their disapproval of an unworthy candidate regularly nominated only by transferring their support to the candidate of another party. It is not likely that any man who would get the nomination of his party convention will be so unpopular that substantially the whole membership of his party will refuse to support him. What will happen will be the choice of the candidate of another party.

Now, what does this mean? It means that the people of a State are to give their support to doctrines, measures, policies, political principles of which they disapprove solely because of their opinion as to the individual character of the man who represents them. We have a party in Massachusetts who think a protective tariff a monopoly, extortionate, robbery, and plunder of the many for the benefit of the few. They think it operates grievous and intolerable injustice in its application to the individual citizen, and that its effect upon the national welfare is immoral, evil, disastrous.

And yet if any of them happen to think that a man nominated by their party to represent these opinions is not a good man, they are to send to Washington a man who supports all of these things simply because of their opinions as to an individual character. They must prefer a man who makes his country the instrument of robbers, monopolists, plunderers, and evil managers of finances, who is amiable and honest in private, over a dishonest and unamiable man who will put an end to all this iniquity.

In other words, the correction of the mistake made by the political convention is only to be made at the cost of destroying the character of the country because of the character of the candidate. The amiable man who has no objection to dishonest and fraudulent elections is to be preferred to the unamiable man who wants honesty and fairness in elections. I have no doubt but that in extreme cases a man may be nominated by mistake, by deception, by public indifference, as a candidate of my party, whose personal character is such that it would be my duty to refuse him my support, whatever happened. But those cases will, I believe, be extremely rare, and if the disease to be remedied be wholly evil, the remedy itself is almost as bad.

Mr. President, the experience of our first century has, it seems to me, most amply vindicated the constitutional purpose which resulted in the Senate. It is not expedient to have two Houses both directly dependent on the popular will. I would not speak with disrespect of the House of Representatives. Every American who knows the history of his country must feel a just pride in that great assembly, which has been and will hereafter be the direct representative of the people's will. The names of its great leaders—of Clay, of John Quincy Adams, and of Thaddeus Stevens—rise to the lips when we would stir in the hearts of any American assembly the emotion of national pride or the love of constitutional liberty.

If there be anything in its conduct which at any time impresses the thoughtful observer unpleasantly, I think he will admit that, on the whole, it bears comparison with the French Assembly, or the great representative body of Germany, or even with the British House of Commons. But the constitution of that House has compelled it to resort to many devices and to submit to many inconveniences. We should all be sorry if we were compelled to submit to them in the Senate. The freedom of debate in the House of Representatives is gone. What I sometimes think is even of more importance, the freedom of amendment is gone also.

Both these great essentials to wise and honest legislation exist only to a very limited extent, and then at the pleasure of the majority. It is here only that the freedom of debate is secure.

From all this has grown up the most pernicious of unconstitutional practices, that of filibustering, which was introduced originally to prevent hasty or arbitrary action by the majority, but is now used to prevent or overthrow the rule of the majority altogether. So that the course of legislation in that House today is this: A few great measures, to which the party in the majority is agreed, are carried through by special rules adapted for the purpose, the minority being deprived of all rights of reasonable debate or reasonable amendment.

All other measures, however important, however salutary, however much desired by the majority of the House and a majority of the people, are at the mercy of a small and resolute minority. In the last House the antioption bill, which I regarded as an evil and pestilential measure, and the bankruptcy bill, which I regarded as a wise and salutary measure, met the same fate in spite of the desire of a clear and large majority of that body for their passage. This condition of things is unrepublican and undemocratic, and if continued long must result in the overthrow of republican government itself.

Another evil of like character and of equal magnitude has grown up from the necessities, or the fancied necessities, in the transaction of business in the House of Representatives.

The question whether an important measure shall be submitted to the House for consideration has to be determined, not by individual members, not by chosen committees, not by the majority of the House itself, nor even by its unanimous consent in many instances, but by the will of the presiding officer alone. He determines, at his sole volition, what members shall be recognized and what measures the House shall be asked to consider.

It is notorious that many measures of vast importance, many measures of relief demanded by justice and by the national good faith, abide session after session and Congress after Congress, having received the support of this body, and which would have received the unanimous consent of the other if they could be taken up, which never can be heard in that House because of the refusal of its presiding officer to submit them.

Now, Mr. President, habits like this in the conduct of legislation do not grow up and keep their place without some grave public reason, or at least some grave public necessity. It may be that a body which represents, as does that House, a temporary and sometimes fleeting popular purpose requires such restraints and chains and fetters as these for the public safety. I think we may well pause before we give to this body a character which will require such obstacles to be placed in the path of its free action. The time may come—some of us thought that it was near at hand—when it may be necessary to introduce even here a rule for a limited and carefully guarded clôture in debate.

Every member of this body would regard that as a most painful necessity. If that time ever comes, it will be because rules established for the protection of freedom of action in the Senate have been abused to prevent and subvert it. But I hope and believe the time will never come when any question will be taken in this Senate in regard to which every Senator shall not have an opportunity to express fully and freely his opinion in debate, and in regard to which he shall not have the fullest opportunity to offer amendments as seems to him desirable.

I suppose there have been a few instances of corruption of State Legislatures in the election of Senators. In a few cases such attempts have been exposed and failed in the Legislatures themselves. In a few cases they have been detected here. In very few, indeed, they have probably been successful. I thought the Senate touched its low-water mark when a few years ago it refused to investigate one of them. It is a great mistake to suppose that nominating conventions will be much more easily dealt with, or that popular elections have been or will hereafter be any more exempt from such influences. Have popular elections in ancient republics, or in England, or here, been freer from corruption than elections through delegated and chosen assemblies? Mr. President, there will never, for any length of time, be venal Legislatures without a corrupt people behind them.

Besides, there are, unhappily, other modes of destroying the freedom of elections, to which popular elections are exposed, from which legislative assemblies are free. The great prize of the office of Senator is, if this amendment be adopted, to be added to the temptations which, unless many a report in the other House be without foundation, have induced in very many instances in our history false counts, fraudulent naturalization, personation of voters, fraudulent residences, forged returns, intimidation, and mob violence. These attend elections in great cities and in States where race differences still add their bitterness to the struggle for political power.

There have been, it is estimated, more than three hundred and twenty contested-election cases in the House of Representatives. They have been the scandal and reproach of our political history. Excepting a very few creditable examples, they have been decided for partisan considerations, as like cases were decided in the British House of Commons until jurisdiction was transferred to the judges.

I suppose it is not intended to take from the Senate the power to judge of the election of its own members. Until now the contested-election cases in the Senate have in general depended upon constitutional or legal questions, or upon facts easily ascertained and established. But if this change be made, the Senate, in every close election, must undertake investigations which will range over an entire State. A contest in New York, or Pennsylvania, or Illinois, or Ohio may put in issue the legality of every vote cast in a State of three million, or five million, or perhaps within a generation, of ten million people. There will never be a close election without a contest here. Unless human nature shall change, the result of these contests will depend on partisan considerations, and will shake public confidence in the Senate to its very foundation.

Let no man deceive himself into the belief that if this change be made the Senate of the United States will long endure. Another legislative system will take the place of that which our fathers devised for us, and which for a hundred years has been the admiration of mankind. The method of election is indispensable to secure the peculiar quality of the body to be elected. The change will lead to an attempted overthrow of the equality of the Senate.

The States never consented to perpetual equality in a senate made up in any other way or on any other principle of selection. They never agreed that there should be forever between New York and Maine an equality in a legislative chamber, which is only a house of representatives made up of differently constituted districts. In twenty years the State of New York will have ten millions of people, with a vote for every five persons. Do you think they will long endure to submit to equality in legislation, in the making of treaties, in the appointment of great executive officers, in the power to punish and remove great offenders, in the making of war, and in the making of peace, with the 8,000 voters of dwindling Nevada, when the two States are simply two representative districts, whose only difference is that one is two hundred and fifty times as large as the other?

New York submits to this loyally to-day. She has pledged her eternal allegiance to the Constitution. She can not change it without the consent of every other State. It is so nominated in the bond, and is the price she pays for being the Empire State of an imperial nation. She can not escape it without a revolution. But open to her this door. Tell her that the Senate, as Hamilton and Jay conceived it, is gone. Tell her that it is no longer to be made up of chosen men, selected by chosen men, to be removed one degree from public impulse and passion, and representing the deliberate, sober, and instructed will of the people. She will tell you that her constitutional obligation has gone also, and that the equality of the States in the Senate may henceforth be abolished or modified like other provisions of the instrument. "I never promised," she will tell you, "to submit to it forever, under your new arrangement." "*Non in hæc fœdera veni*," or, as my great predecessor on this floor used to translate it: "I made no such bargain, and I stand no such nonsense."

Various methods of electing Senators were proposed and thoroughly discussed in the Convention, but the vote for the present method was at last unanimous. I think the suggestion of another method of choice is of quite recent origin and is more the outcome of circumstances that are not only recent, but will be temporary. Chancellor Kent, volume 1, page 225, says:

> The election of the Senate by the State Legislatures is also a recognition of their separate and independent existence, and renders them absolutely essential to the operation of the National Government.

The Federalist, number 62, written by Hamilton, says:

> It is equally unnecessary to dilate on the appointment of Senators by the State Legislatures. Among the various modes which might have been devised for constituting this branch of the Government, that which has been proposed by the convention is probably the most congenial with the public opinion. It is recommended by the double advantage of favoring a select appointment, and of giving to the State government such an agency in the formation of the Federal Government as must secure the authority of the former, and may form a convenient link between the two systems.

Hamilton adds in the same number of the Federalist:

> In this spirit it may be remarked that the equal vote allowed to each State is at once a constitutional recognition of the portion of sovereignty remaining in the individual States and an instrument for preserving that residuary sovereignty. So far the equality ought to be no less acceptable to the large than to the small States, since they are not less solicitous to guard by every possible expedient against an improper consolidation of the States into one simple republic.

The Convention which framed the Constitution, after some consideration, unanimously rejected the plan of choosing Senators by the people, and unanimously adopted the present system. Judge Story (Constitution, section 704) mentions as one of the reasons that this "would increase public confidence by securing the National Government from any encroachments on the powers of the States."

This idea deserves to be dwelt upon. The State Legislatures are the bodies of men most interested of all others to preserve State jurisdiction—more than the governors, who may be expected to aspire to national employments. It is well that the members of one branch of the Legislature should look to them for their reëlection, and it is a great security for the rights of the States. The State Legislatures will be made up of men whose duty will be the administration of the State authority of their several State interests and the framing of laws for the government of the State which they represent. The popular conventions, gathered for the political purpose of nominating Senators, may be quite otherwise composed or guided. Here, in the State Legislature, is to be found the great security against the encroachment upon the rights of the States.

How many instances there have been in our history in which an immediate popular vote would have led to disastrous consequences, but the sober second thought of the people has led to the path of safety. Mr. Madison said in the Constitutional Convention (see Madison Papers, volume 2, page 847):

> If the opinions of the people were to be our guide, it would be difficult to say what course we ought to take. No member of the Convention could say what the opinions of his constituents were at this time, much less could he say what they would think if possessed of the information and lights possessed by the members here; and still less what would be their way of thinking six or twelve months hence.

Suppose that if, instead of action through a convention, the adoption of the Constitution itself had been submitted to a direct popular vote, it would have been rejected by a majority of the States, certainly by the States of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia, the four great States without whose coöperation the establishment of national government would have been impossible. How many times great waves of delusion have swept over the land, whose force was broken by the sober discussions of deliberate assemblies. The great anti-Masonic movement of 1835, the Know-Nothing movement of 1854 and the years that followed, are but two out of many examples.

Neither Charles Sumner nor Salmon P. Chase could have been elected by a popular vote when they were first chosen. Mr. Sumner certainly would have gone down before the Know-Nothing movement, which he so bravely breasted, if the question of his reëlection had been submitted to a popular vote in Massachusetts in 1855. It is quite doubtful if Mr. Webster himself would have been chosen by a direct vote of the people of Massachusetts at any time after 1850.

It is the purpose and the effect of this constitutional amendment to overthrow State autonomy in two particulars, in regard to which the State is to be bound and fettered for all time unless two-thirds of the two Houses of Congress and three-fourths of the States shall hereafter consent to retrace their steps.

First, the States, in many instances, distribute their political power evenly. The people are represented in the State Legislatures by their neighbors and associates, by men whom they know and whom they respect and who represent the local feeling.

This proposed amendment requires the voice of the State to be uttered by masses of its citizens, and removes political power to the great masses who are collected in our cities. Chicago is to cast the vote of Illinois, Baltimore of Maryland, New York City of the State of New York, and Cincinnati of Ohio. The farmer class, which now have their just weight, will be outweighed by the dwellers in the great towns where the two extremes meet—great wealth and great poverty—and combine to take possession of the affairs of the Government.

Second, plurality must take the place of the majority. The opportunity for third parties to have a just and reasonable weight will be destroyed.

Besides, there will be larger opportunities for fraud and crime in elections. These will be easy to commit and hard to be inquired into.

Mr. President, a people has always a distinct individual character. A city, a State, a nation, is very human. It has its hopes, its fears, its passions, its tastes, its prejudices, its resentment, its affection, its hasty impulse, its sober judgment, its deliberate will. We attribute to it the moral qualities of patience, endurance, and self-sacrifice. These qualities are made up of the prevailing temper of the men and women who possess them, but they are of a higher standard than is attained by any individuals except the best.

The Spartan or the Swiss or the American quality is as well known and as individual and distinct as that of the great heroes of history. It is this trait that causes the affection which we feel for our country. We love it with an individual love. We cherish it with a supreme affection. Men die for it as they would die for wife or parent or children. It is therefore no dishonor to the American people that we demand that in the conduct of their great affairs they shall do what every wise man and every good man and every brave man is expected to do in the conduct of his own.

It is no affront to the American people to require that they shall be asked to secure that deliberation, that caution, that

putting aside of hasty impulse and passion in their important affairs that every wise man practices in his own. This Republic is no mushroom growth. It is an oak which adds ring to ring through many a summer's heat and winter's cold. Its glorious gains come slowly that they may come surely. The deliberate will of the people is, however, sure and certain of accomplishment. Whatever the American people have thoughtfully, wisely, and patiently considered and designed and resolved upon, that result is sure to be accomplished. And our present constitutional forms and mechanisms have always proved abundantly sufficient for its accomplishment. And it is hardly too much to say that the great beginnings of popular movements for liberty have been in the Senate.

Mr. President, it is not true that the Senate, in the sober judgment of the American people, has failed to meet the just expectations of the generation who framed and adopted the Constitution. It has responded quite as speedily and quite as directly to the sober conclusion of the popular judgment and to the settled desires of the popular heart as has the other House or as has any State Legislature.

It has originated far more than its proportion of the great measures in our legislative history, for the benefit of the people, which are found in our statute books.

It has resisted what is evil, but it has also initiated and accomplished what is good. This was never more true than in recent years. It is not too much to say—and I assert it without fear of successful contradiction—that—

If any private citizen want justice;

If any executive officer want to improve administration;

If any man desire new and wholesome laws;

If any man want the public mind awakened by discussion—he seeks and he finds what he desires in the Senate. Why, even the friends of this amendment to the Constitution come here for its first serious discussion.

It is said the recent elections of Senators in States lately admitted have been attended with some occurrences that tend to bring the present method of choosing them into disrepute. There has been no investigation into this matter. No man here can say how much truth there may be in these reports, in the charges or suspicions which appear in the columns of the newspapers. The fact that those elections have resulted in a way some of us do not like is of little importance.

The only questions are whether whatever evil may have attended them is likely to be permanent, and whether the same evils would not have existed if the choice had been by popular election, and have not existed to an equal degree in the choice of governors and Representatives in Congress. When we consider the circumstances of these new communities it is astonishing and gratifying that they have done so well. It seems to me that the inauguration of their governments was creditable to them. Their population is spread over large spaces of territory.

The people of the different parts of the new States are unknown to each other, and the representative or senator in the State Legislature is frequently little known to his constituents. Mingled with the honest and enterprising men who have chosen their residences in the honorable ambition to achieve fortune for themselves, to perform every duty of good citizenship, to build on sure foundations States of the best kind, are adventurers, criminals, men from all parts of this continent, and from Europe and Asia, some of whom have left their country for their country's good. They are not worse than other communities in this respect, but they have less opportunity to know each other. They will compare most favorably with the dense populations of some Eastern cities. But the people of this class are there.

These communities are called upon to take upon themselves the great function of government under circumstances which would have rendered success impossible to our ancestors at Plymouth, or Boston, or New Haven, or Philadelphia; suppose that, added to the chosen and venerable men who founded the old thirteen States, there had come across the sea adventurers from all Europe; suppose that on the first organization of their legislative bodies had depended the political ascendency of one or the other of the contending factions who were struggling for the political control of all Europe; suppose that every passion and ambition and jealousy and evil desire which entered into such a controversy had followed them to their new domains and had blazed even more fiercely among them; suppose men of large wealth were ready to corrupt them to the service of their own personal ambitions; suppose members or emissaries of the national committees of great parties had seated themselves with their money bags at their gates—is it likely that the Puritans at Plymouth, or the Cavaliers of Jamestown, or the Quakers of Philadelphia would have succeeded any better in founding their States than our countrymen and brethren in the far West? But all these things will pass by. The people will come to know each other. They will understand their permanent interests. Combinations of dishonest men will be powerless before the honesty and intelligence of the people. Property will increase. Every honest and industrious man will get his share, and the interests of property will have their due and just influence. The people will choose legislators whom they are willing to trust with their local concerns, and so fit to be trusted to select the men who are to wield their share of national power.

I do not think the American States that have come into the Union within the last twenty-five years have any reason to shrink from a comparison with any others in respect to the honesty, the capacity, the industry, the fidelity, or the wisdom of the men who have represented them in the national councils. While I have differed with them, or with most of them, upon some very important questions, I believe that if we had had a Senate and a House composed wholly of the representatives of these new States our national legislation would have gone on well, and would have been, in general, acceptable to the people of the whole country.

The argument of the able Senator from Illinois, which I have read with much care, is summed up in three propositions:

First. That the people of Illinois believe that under existing conditions the election of Senators by their State Legislatures has failed of satisfactory results.

Second. The framers of the Constitution did not properly estimate the intelligence and capacity of the then people of the several States. Most of the members of the Convention were themselves still under the influence of inherited aristocratic ideas, and were without experience of the successful workings of popular institutions.

Third. The Legislature of Illinois, before 1847, was omnipotent and abused its great powers. The Constitution of 1847 deprived the Legislature of its electoral powers and conferred the election of governor and judges upon the people. The names of the illustrious men who have since composed the supreme court of Illinois, elected by the people, have justified the highest hopes of those who favored the innovation.

I have stated these propositions in the Senator's own language. They contain his entire argument. Let us look at them. "The election of Senators in Illinois under existing conditions," says the Senator, "has failed of satisfactory results." He invites us to a contrast with the results attained by popular elections since 1847, under which governors and illustrious judges have been chosen by the people.

The Senators of Illinois in 1847 were Stephen A. Douglas and Sidney Breese. Does the Senator doubt that Stephen A. Douglas would have been chosen by the people of Illinois, if the question had been submitted to them, on every occasion when he was chosen by the Legislature?

Mr. PALMER. Will the Senator allow me to answer that question?

Mr. HOAR. Certainly.

Mr. PALMER. Judge Douglas would undoubtedly have been chosen by the people at any time except at his last election, when the popular vote was against him.

Mr. HOAR. I do not so understand it. Was not Sidney Breese, successively justice and chief justice, one of the most illustrious of the illustrious men whom the Senator says the people of Illinois elected to the bench? They were succeeded by James Shields, the gallant soldier of Irish birth, who represented three States in this body, and by William A. Richardson. Will it be claimed that either of these eminent men would not have been chosen if the people could have chosen them? Next came Lyman Trumbull and Richard Yates. Trumbull was elected by the people to the supreme bench in 1848 and Yates was governor. Then came Richard Oglesby, three times chosen governor, and John A. Logan, the most illustrious volunteer soldier of the war and the favorite candidate of Illinois for the Presidency. I do not think we have quite yet reached the "failure under existing conditions."

Next we have David Davis, three times chosen judge by the people, who came at last to the Senate from the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, where Abraham Lincoln had placed him. Can the Senator from Illinois place his finger upon one of this illustrious line, who did grace and honor to the Senate, who was not among the foremost citizens of his noble State or who would not have been chosen if the choice had been by the people? Then comes CULLOM, the friend and pupil of Abraham Lincoln, twice governor by the choice of his fellow-citizens, as he has been twice Senator by the choice of the Legislature. Has the Senator yet reached the period for his argument that the legislative selection of Senators is on a lower level than the choice of the people for governor or for judge?

There remains to be considered the case of the Senator himself. I might otherwise feel a delicacy in discussing it. But the facts strongly support my argument, and, as stated in his ample autobiography, are so highly creditable to him, that I must be

pardoned for alluding to them. After a career of brilliant civil and military service, and after having been tried for four years in the office of governor, he was nominated for governor again in 1888. The ungrateful people of Illinois defeated him by a majority of 38,000 on a direct popular vote.

Mr. PALMER. I ask pardon. Will the Senator please state again the majority?

Mr. HOAR. Thirty-eight thousand in 1888.

Mr. PALMER. My colleague [Mr. CULLOM] will furnish different figures.

Mr. HOAR. I have taken the figures very carefully, taking the votes of all other parties.

Mr. CULLOM. As my colleague [Mr. PALMER] has referred to me, I will state that so far as the two prominent candidates were concerned, my colleague and his opponent, Governor Fifer, my colleague was defeated for governor by about 12,500 votes, if I remember correctly.

Mr. HOAR. At any rate, it is enough. The people of Illinois defeated him by 12,500, without counting the third party or the fourth party vote; and then he was elected Senator by the Legislature. The people of Illinois elected a Legislature whose majority was originally opposed to him. But on conference and comparison of views he was finally selected.

Now, if the Senator from Illinois means to affirm that this, the latest result of choosing Senators in Illinois by the Legislature, is unsatisfactory to the people, we who know the value of his service must be permitted respectfully to dissent.

The Senator from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL] has brought to the discussson of this interesting question the great industry and the great ability which always characterize his contributions to our debates. I have carefully read his argument of April 22, 1890. I think he summed up in that all the chief reasons for this change. He begins with a history of the proceedings of the Convention which framed the Constitution, so far as they deal with this subject. As I have already observed, he imputes to that Convention and to its members a distrust of the people. I differ from him in that opinion, as I do from the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PALMER], who utters the same opinion.

I think the members of the Convention exhibited a sublimer trust in the people than any other body of men who have been gathered together in human history. They were, some of them, the same men who signed the Declaration of Independence in 1776. They were inspired by the same faith that inspired the Congress which, as its final act, ordained that great security of freedom—the Ordinance of 1787. They were laying the deep foundations of what was hoped would be an eternal structure. Every stone, every beam, every rafter, was laid in confidence of the wisdom and the justice of the people and their eternal capacity for self-government. Trust in the people was with them an article of profoundest religious faith. They derived the great doctrine of human equality, which they placed in the forefront of the Declaration, which made us a nation, from the word of the Creator of mankind himself, as they read and interpreted it.

But, as I have already said, their confidence in the people was like the confidence we feel in a wise, just, and righteous man, capable of self-government and understanding and self-restraint, who in the great actions of life exercises for himself deliberation, reflection, and self-control. It was the immediate action of the people which they deprecated. It was final and absolute self-control and self-government which they ordained and secured.

The Senator from Oregon said that the Constitution these men ordained has required amendment. He is amazed that the amendments were not understood and incorporated in the Constitution by the men who originally framed it. But the Senator has failed to see that every one of these amendments, from the first to the fifteenth, is an amendment in the direction of putting new control upon the immediate and direct action of majorities. Every one of them secures the rights of the people by a restraint upon their power. Every one, with a single exception in the change of the method of electing the President—adopted after the election of Mr. Jefferson—both the original twelve and the three that have been adopted in our time, are simply declarations of those things which, for the welfare of the whole people, no majority under our Constitution shall be permitted to do.

The Senator goes on to announce, as the foundation of his argument, the principle that no system can be properly termed free or popular which deprives the individual voter of his right to cast his vote directly for the man of his choice for any office, whether it be a State officer, member of the national House of Representatives, United States Senator, or President. And the logic of his position compels him to avow this doctrine. So that, if the people go with him, this amendment must be followed by others, under which the United States judiciary and the President and the Vice-President are to be chosen by the action of a direct popular majority. This may be sound policy; but when it is established, the Constitution of the United States is gone.

The Senator further adds that in his judgment lodging this power in the State Legislatures tends to the election to the Legislature of a man solely because of his opinions as to election of a Senator, and the "question as to his qualifications for the business of the general Legislature, or the views he entertains with reference to the great material interests of the State—internal improvements, assessments, taxes, revenue, corporations, appropriations, trusts, municipal affairs, salaries and fees of officers, civil and criminal code, apportionment, and other like important subjects—are wholly lost sight of."

I can only oppose to this opinion of my honorable friend my own opinion that this is a very important consideration in favor of the present system. I think that it is best to commit this great function of choosing the members of this body to the deliberate and careful judgment of men who are trusted with every other legislative function of sovereignty, and not to adopt a method which in practice will commit it to men whom the people trust with nothing else.

Mr. President, if you take from the men who now represent the sovereignty of the State in all its domestic relations the right to choose the men who are to exercise its share of national legislation, you will diminish their weight and character. You will get for the discharge of both duties men less fitted to be trusted with either.

The Senator from Oregon says that he finds, as a chief reason for promoting the change—that he finds everywhere discontent and unrest. If he means that he finds everywhere discontent with the present method of choosing Senators, or with the existing Constitution of the United States, or even among thoughtful men with the Senate itself, I must express my dissent from his opinion. On the contrary, I believe that any intelligent assemblage of American people will unite as readily and enthusiastically in praise of their national Constitution as at any time since it went into operation. I believe, if called upon to declare what it is in the Constitution they especially value, they would now, as ever, state that among the chief titles to their regard are the Senate and the national judiciary.

If the Senator mean that there is a general feeling of dissatisfaction with existing conditions, that our social life is disturbed, that the classes in society are getting into conflict with each other, that the people are in that frame of mind which precedes a great revolution—while I think he exaggerates very much the state of feeling, so far as he is right I think he urges an especial reason for not changing the Constitution to-day. Certainly such a change should be made soberly, quietly, deliberately, and by men who can look through the history of a century, and not look merely at the fleeting and passing evils.

I have read also with great attention the argument upon this subject by the accomplished and thoughtful Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE]. He thinks that neither of the three departments of the National Government is now controlled by the people. If he means that the choice of neither is directly controlled by the people, I would remind him that not only one of our two legislative branches is the direct popular choice according to numbers, but that action of the electoral colleges is, in fact, a direct expression of the popular will. So that the House of Representatives, which shares equally with the Senate in power of affirmative legislation, and the President, with his executive and treaty-making powers and his veto upon all legislative action, are the result of direct popular choice.

If he mean that, when our three departments of Government are chosen, their action should be the result, not of the individual conscience and judgment of the legislature, of the executive, or of the judge, but should respond to the present and instant pulsation of the popular heart, I answer that I think he is wrong in desiring a government so constructed or administered.

If the Senator's doctrine be sound, it seems to me it should be applied everywhere; that the people should, as far as possible, deliberate for the legislature, execute for the officer, and decide for the judge. If, as I believe, that be the worst and not the best theory of government on earth, the doctrine should be applied nowhere.

Mr. President, the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] well said that this is the first change ever seriously proposed in the framework of our National Government. All the other amendments have been restraints upon the people's will to secure the people's rights. The amendment in the time of Mr. Jefferson only required the designation by the electoral college of the offices to be held by the persons for whom their votes were cast; a change shown to be necessary by the experience in the famous contest between Jefferson and Burr.

Never before has there been proposed, so far as I know, a change which is to affect the great balance of political power which our fathers adjusted with so much care. I quite agree with

the Senator from Oregon that the principle of this change will lead to the choice of the President, the choice of the Senators, and in the end to the choice of the judges by the mere brutal force of numbers. I do not agree with him in thinking such a change is desired by the American people. When it shall be accomplished, the American Constitution is gone.

Mr. President, I have no respect for the habit which has long since grown up of undervaluing the character of American legislative assemblies. Since our Government went into action it has been the habit of thoughtless persons or of persons who in their own lives have had no experience in public responsibilities—the habit has even crept into grave histories—to decry and disparage the Continental Congress. The men who made up that illustrious body began their services with the great state papers which commanded the admiration of Chatham, who declared that although he had read Thucydides and was familiar with the work of the master minds of the past, in his judgment they equaled anything in antiquity.

These papers—the address to the King, the address to the British people, and the address to the people of Ireland—were followed by the Declaration of Independence. It was the same Continental Congress whose wisdom selected Washington for the command of our armies and Franklin and John Adams for our diplomatic agents abroad. It was the same Continental Congress which stood faithfully by Washington during the seven years of the Revolutionary war, which ended its labors with the great Ordinance of 1787, and whose members composed in large part the body which framed the Constitution itself.

Of the thirty-nine men who signed the Constitution, eighteen signed the Declaration. Ellsworth, who signed the Declaration, was absent when the Constitution was completed. Gerry, who signed the Declaration, refused to sign the Constitution. The failure, if there were any failures in the conduct of the Revolutionary war, was the failure of the people of the American States, who were too jealous to part with their own power or to establish and trust the necessary agencies for their own protection and safety.

The Legislature of my own State has had two hundred and sixty years of illustrious history. During my life, while the Legislature has been in session it has been the target for the sneers of critics and of the press. But every session has ended its own term of laborious service, completing a record in which always is to be found some new and valuable legislation for humanity, for labor, for education, for administration of justice, which is alike beneficial to their own constituencies and an example to the people of other Commonwealths.

I am neither afraid nor ashamed to compare the statute book in which is found the essence of the history of Massachusetts for nearly three centuries with any other body of laws which may be produced by any other Commonwealth or by any nation. I believe the men who have done this work have performed also to the satisfaction of the people the important work of selecting their representatives in the national Senate.

Why, it is said the Senate has not responded to the popular will. When has it failed to respond to the popular will when the popular will itself had become settled? The gentlemen who make this complaint are impatient. They must remember that the Senate has to act for the interests of a people of 65,000,000 and for a nation whose life is to be measured, not by years or by generations, but by centuries. Sessions of Congress, terms of Presidential office, generations of men, count but as minutes, are but as the pulsation of an artery in this mighty national life. But whenever the American people has made up its mind, when its judgment is formed, when its will is determined, that will is sure to be carried into effect. Whether through Senates or over Senates, through courts or over courts, through Presidents or over Presidents, through constitutions or over constitutions, the irresistible current will make its way.

Mr. President, I have no patience with the spasms of dismay which seem now and then to affect some worthy philosophers, and the effects of which are occasionally seen in the Senate Chamber. One day there is a fear that a few speculators in cotton or corn will diminish the price to the seller and raise it to the buyer; and so we are asked to overthrow and sweep away all of the rights of the States by a single legislative act, and a majority of this body and the other House lose their heads and are taken off their feet. They think all our existing constitutional resources are powerless before a few speculators. So, because a few millionaires clink their money bags about our State legislative halls, it is proposed to overthow the Constitution of our fathers and build up a pure democracy in its place.

The American people have dealt with dangers that were serious before. They have put down rebellion, they have abolished slavery, they have thrown off the yoke of foreign tyranny by strictly constitutional processes, and with the weapons in their hands that have served them so well in the past, they have no occasion for apprehension of these new dangers.

Contempsi Catilinea gladios, non pertimescum tuos.

The people of the United States are proud of their history. It is a touching and noble story. The American youth knows something of the annals of other lands. His childhood has delighted in the half-fabulous legends by which they explain their origin. He is especially acquainted with the history of the older republics and of countries where constitutional liberty has in other years found its home. He can tell you something about Solon and Lycurgus, about Romulus and the she wolf, of Numa in his cavern, of Tell and Winkelried, of Alfred and Edward, of Agincourt and Cressy, and the Barons who wrung Magna Charta from King John.

But he better loves the story, with which no romance or fable mingles, upon which history pours its full and blazing torchlight, of the men who founded these States of ours in Christian liberty and law. He likes better to hear of the Pilgrim of Plymouth, of the austere Puritan of Salem and New Haven, of the liberty-loving enthusiast of Rhode Island, of the Quaker of Pennsylvania, of the Catholic of Baltimore, of the adventurous Cavalier of Jamestown. He knows the quality of the woodsmen who, in the later generations, struck their axes into the forests of this continent; of the sailors who followed their prey from the Arctic to the Antarctic Sea. He knows how his country has spread from a little space by the side of the Eastern sea, till in her westward march the gates of the East become visible again, and she has added to her dominion until, as my late colleague said, "before the sun sets upon Alaska he has risen upon Maine." He knows by heart the military achievements of the Revolution and the great sea fights of the war of 1812. He knows what his country has done in science and literature. He knows what her inventive genius has added to the world's wealth and how it has lifted the burden beneath which the back of humanity has so long been bowed and bent.

But he knows, also, something of that which makes these great achievements permanent and secure. He knows something of the great foundations upon which the structure of our Constitution is reared. He knows something of the temperate restraints of American liberty. The figures of great judges and of great Senators command his admiration and stir his enthusiasm and excite his sober approbation quite as much as any achievement by sea or any military glory upon land. The profound sagacity of Ellsworth, whose great fame in the beginning of the Government reached the people even from within the closed doors of the Senate Chamber; the unequaled wisdom of Marshall, without whose luminous exposition the mechanism of the Constitution must have failed; the robust sense of Taney; the ripe learning and lofty patriotism of Bradley—these will be as familiar to his instructed intelligence as the name of any great captain or admiral. He comes of a race of political shipwrights, and he knows by heart below and aloft the whole structure of our ship of state. He knows to the fullest depths of its meaning what the flag stands for. He knows how to bend the sails and step the masts. He likes only too well the sound of the guns. But he has found out that it is not the colors, or the armament, or even the sail that makes the ship stanch and the voyage prosperous and secure. It is the tough resistance of the mast, the strength of the timbers, the fashion of the keel, the strength below the water line, the chain and the anchor, to which the ship of state, with her precious freight, owes her safety.

He knows what master laid her keel;
What workmen wrought her ribs of steel;
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope;
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge and what a heat
Were shaped the anchors of her hope!
He fears no sudden sound or shock,
'Tis of the wave, not of the rock;
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale!

I said in the beginning that this is a question of centuries and not of years. It is to the credit of the men who framed the Constitution that they so understood it. If they had taken counsel of their own recent experience, they never would have ventured to appeal to the people of their own generation to establish the permanent securities of the Constitution, and would never have ventured to trust them with the powers which the Constitution creates.

The six years which followed the peace of 1783 present but a sorry story. It is a tale of feeble government, of disaster, of discontent, of broken faith, of depreciated currency, of stay laws, of suffering debtors, of cheated creditors, of lawlessness, of Shays's rebellion, and of popular commotions North and South. Some of our best friends abroad thought it was all over with us, and that the best thing we could do was to ask George III to take us back into favor. But out of it came the Ordinance of 1787, the Constitution of the United States, the design of the

Supreme Court, the conception of the Senate, the great debate upon the adoption of the Constitution, and the adoption of the Constitution by the unanimous action of thirteen States.

We have had one great civil war. But yet it is our glory, as it is the glory of the country from which our ancestors came, that we determine the differences which cause revolutions elsewhere by debate and not by arms. We reason them out, and do not fight them out. This Chamber has been the most conspicuous arena of these conflicts. Here the champions have encountered and measured their strength. There have been chieftains in the Senate Chamber whose names and memory the American people cherish with pride and gratitude, as they cherish the names and memory of the men who marshaled the forces at Saratoga, or Yorktown, or New Orleans, or Appomattox.

The great conquests which gave the Union and Constitution their empire over the reason and affection of our countrymen have been achieved here. Here Webster hurled the weighty projectiles of his irresistible argument. Here the voice of Clay taught his countrymen North and South the great lesson of reconciliation. Here Calhoun was borne in his dying hours, his great heart overcoming the weakness and infirmities of his sinking body, sitting, as his colleague said, like "a wounded eagle, with his eyes turned to the heavens to which he had soared, but into which his wings could never carry him again." Here the blood of Sumner was shed—the baptismal water of our newer liberty. Here Seward summoned his countrymen to that irrepressible conflict from whose issue the vanquished gained even more than the victors. Victories in arms are common to all ages and to all nations. We do not excel, and it may be we do not equal, other people in these things. But the greatest victories of constitutional liberty since the world began are those whose battle ground has been the American Senate and whose champions have been the Senators who for a hundred years, while they have resisted the popular passions of the hour, have led, represented, guided, obeyed, and made effective the deliberate will of a free people.

INCREASE OF COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP.

Mr. CALL. I ask unanimous consent that the pending resolution of privilege may be laid aside, that I may call up a resolution previously offered by me for the purpose of submitting some remarks thereon.

Mr. SHERMAN. Would the Senator from Florida prefer to speak now, or to have an executive session and speak to-morrow?

Mr. CALL. I am content, if it be the desire of the Senate, to speak to-morrow morning.

Mr. MILLS. Then let us have an executive session.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. SHERMAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After twenty-five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 2 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, April 8, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 7, 1893.

GOVERNOR OF UTAH.

Caleb W. West, of Salt Lake City, Utah, to be governor of Utah, vice Arthur L. Thomas, to be removed.

FIRST DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF PENSIONS.

Dominic I. Murphy, of Washington, to be First Deputy Commissioner of Pensions, vice Andrew Davidson, resigned.

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Ambrose W. Lyman, of Montana, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Montana, to succeed James H. Mills, resigned.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

David G. Browne, of Montana, to be collector of customs for the district of Montana and Idaho, in the State of Montana, to succeed Jeremiah Sullivan, whose term of office has expired by limitation.

SECOND ASSISTANT ENGINEER, REVENUE CUTTER SERVICE.

Levin T. Jones, of Maryland, to be a second assistant engineer in the Revenue-Cutter Service, to succeed James I. Brereton, resigned.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 5, 1893.

ASSISTANT TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES.

James F. Meline, of the District of Columbia, to be Assistant Treasurer of the United States.

SECOND AUDITOR OF THE TREASURY.

T. Stobo Farrow, of South Carolina, to be Second Auditor of the Treasury.

DEPUTY FIFTH AUDITOR OF THE TREASURY.

James J. Willie, of Florida, to be Deputy Fifth Auditor of the Treasury.

POSTMASTERS.

Charles E. Peoples, to be pastmaster at Pomeroy, in the county of Meigs and State of Ohio.

William Dalrymple, to be postmaster at Nelsonville, in the county of Athens and State of Ohio.

Charles Bull, to be postmaster at White Oaks, in the county of Lincoln and Territory of New Mexico.

I. Mount Smith, to be postmaster at Hightstown, in the county of Mercer and State of New Jersey.

Helen I. Campbell, to be postmaster at Saxtons River, in the county of Windham and State of Vermont.

D. W. Nash, to be postmaster at Cuero, in the county of Dewitt and State of Texas.

Daniel Wyss, to be postmaster at New Philadelphia, in the county of Tuscarawas and State of Ohio.

William A. Hume, to be postmaster at Chilton, in the county of Calumet and State of Wisconsin.

Jacob Finch, to be postmaster at Stevens Point, in the county of Portage and State of Wisconsin.

John Dawe, to be postmater at Edgerton, in the county of Rock and State of Wisconsin.

Henry W. Hough, to be postmaster at Kirkwood, in the county of St. Louis and State of Missouri.

Amasa Howe, to be postmaster at Presque Isle, in the county of Aroostook and State of Maine.

Elliott N. Benson, to be postmaster at Bar Harbor, in the county of Hancock and State of Maine.

Charles F. Newton, to be postmaster at Woodbridge, in the county of Middlesex and State of New Jersey.

J. Elwood Harvey, to be postmaster at Little Silver, in the county of Monmouth and State of New Jersey.

George W. Evans, to be postmaster at Ocean Grove, in the county of Monmouth and State of New Jersey.

Miss Rebecca Snape, to be postmaster at Petersburg, in the county of Menard and State of Illinois.

Stephen Oliver, to be postmaster at Griggsville, in the county of Pike and State of Illinois.

Francis A. Glass, to be postmaster at Cresco, in the county of Howard and State of Iowa.

Frank Mapes, to be postmaster at Kansas City, in the county of Wyandotte and State of Kansas.

Albert A. May, to be postmaster at Cannelton, in the county of Perry and State of Indiana.

Orris T. Dickerson, to be postmaster at Spencer, in the county of Owen and State of Indiana.

SATURDAY, *April 8, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, which will be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

INCREASE OF COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP.

Mr. CALL. I ask unanimous consent to lay aside the pending resolution in order that the Senate may proceed to the consideration of the resolution on the table introduced by me, for the purpose of submitting some observations upon it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution of the Senator from Florida will be read.

Mr. CALL. I have modified the resolution as originally introduced by me.

The resolution submitted by Mr. CALL March 20, 1893, was read, as modified, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committees on Finance, Naval Affairs, Military Affairs, Judiciary, Foreign Relations, Appropriations, Commerce, and Interstate Commerce shall each consist of fifteen members.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Florida asks unanimous consent that the resolution reported from the Committee on Privileges and Elections be laid aside for the consideration of the resolution which has just been read. Is there objection? The Chair hears no objection.

Mr. FAULKNER. I ask the Senator from Florida to give way for a few minutes that I may make a motion that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. CALL. Very well; and if agreeable to the Senate I can postpone my remarks until Monday.

Mr. MARTIN. Before the question is put on the motion for an executive session, will the Senator from West Virginia permit me to engage the attention of the Chair for a moment?

Mr. FAULKNER. Certainly.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

Mr. MARTIN. On the 21st of February, 1890, the late Senator Plumb introduced in this body a bill, No. 2797, to place the name of Lucy A. Dewey on the pension rolls. The bill was read and referred to the Committee on Pensions. No action was ever taken further than that. Mrs. Dewey has now placed her matter before the Commissioner of Pensions, and she desires to have the papers withdrawn. I ask for the adoption of the proper order withdrawing the papers.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The order will be read.

The order was read, as follows:

Ordered That Lucy A. Dewey have leave to withdraw from the files of the Senate her pension papers presented with Senate bill 2797 February 21, 1890.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair hears no objection, and the order will be agreed to.

Mr. SHERMAN. Subject to the rule.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Subject to the rule.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. FAULKNER. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After thirty minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 12 o'clock and 40 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, April 10, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 8, 1893.

AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY.

James B. Eustis, of Louisiana, to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to France.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Henry W. Egner, of New Jersey, to be collector of customs for the district of Newark, in the State of New Jersey, to succeed Eli H. Reynolds, whose term of office has expired by limitation. The nomination of Henry W. Egnor for the same office, delivered to the Senate on the 3d instant, withdrawn, to correct the name of the nominee.

SPECIAL FISCAL AGENTS, LONDON, ENGLAND.

August Belmont, Walther Luttgen, and Oliver H. P. Belmont, trading under the name, style, and form of August Belmont & Co., at London, England, to be special fiscal agents of the Navy Department at that place, vice Seligman Brothers.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 6, 1893.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Bartlett Tripp, of South Dakota, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Austria-Hungary.

CONSUL.

Asa D. Dickinson, of New York, to be consul of the United States at Nottingham.

CONSUL-GENERAL.

Thomas T. Crittenden, of Missouri, to be consul-general of the United States at the City of Mexico.

SUPERINTENDENT OF CHARITIES.

John Tracy, of New York, to be superintendent of charities for the District of Columbia.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL.

Lawrence Maxwell, jr., of Ohio, to be Solicitor-General.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

John I. Hall, of Georgia, to be Assistant Attorney-General.

ASSISTANT SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY.

Charles S. Hamlin, of Massachusetts, to be Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

William Edmond Curtis, of New York, to be Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

John M. Reynolds, of Bedford, Pa., to be Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

AUDITOR OF THE TREASURY.

John B. Brawley, of Pennsylvania, to be Auditor of the Treasury for the Post-Office Department.

MARSHAL.

James J. McAlester, of the Indian Territory, to be marshal of the United States court for the Indian Territory.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Dudley O. Watson, of Michigan, to be collector of customs for the district of Michigan, in the State of Michigan.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 8, 1893.

AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY.

James B. Eustis, of Louisiana, to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States to France.

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

John J. Carter, of Louisiana, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Louisiana.

MONDAY, *April 10, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday last was read and approved.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] from the Committee on Privileges and Elections; which will be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

Mr. PEFFER. I desire to present a petition.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The petition will be received, there being no objection.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. PEFFER. I present a petition from the National Citizens' Industrial Alliance of New York City. After several paragraphs of preamble the petition is couched in the following resolution:

Be it resolved, That we petition the President of the United States, the Attorney-General, and the Senate and House of Representatives to relieve the people from the oppressions and exactions of this great and powerful monopoly—

The Bell telephone patent monopoly—

who propose, in defiance of all laws and justice, the voice of the press, and the desires and will of the people, to continue to rule and rob our citizens who use the telephone by a fraudulent use of this illegally reissued patent and by dilatory litigation in our courts of justice.

I ask that the petition be referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the reference suggested by the Senator from Kansas? The Chair hears none, and the petition will be so referred.

Mr. COCKRELL. I move that the Senate take a recess for twenty minutes.

Mr. HOAR. I ask the Senator from Missouri to allow me to introduce some morning business.

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. I present for reference to the Committee on Privileges and Elections the petition of Joseph W. Ady.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The petition will be stated.

The SECRETARY. The petition of Joseph W. Ady, of Kansas, praying for an investigation of the election of United States Senator from the State of Kansas to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the late Senator Preston B. Plumb.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The petition will be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. HOAR. I desire that the petition and accompanying documents may be printed for the use of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered in the absence of objection.

CHARGES AGAINST SENATOR ROACH.

Mr. HOAR submitted the following resolution; which was read:

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections be directed to examine the allegations recently made in the public press charging WILLIAM N. ROACH, a Senator from the State of North Dakota, with certain criminal offenses committed while cashier or officer of a bank in the city of Washington, and to ascertain the facts and circumstances so far as to enable the com-

mittee to determine and report what are the duty and power of the Senate in regard thereto; and for that purpose the committee shall have authority to send for persons and papers, to employ a stenographer, to sit during the recess of the Senate, and to act through a subcommittee; and its expenses shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

Mr. HOAR. This resolution is proposed as a substitute for one introduced by me the other day, and has been agreed upon after a conference between several Senators on both sides of the Chamber as the proper form. I will let it lie over, however, one day in order that it may be seen by Senators.

Mr. HARRIS. Let it be printed, Mr. President.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will lie over and be printed.

INTERSTATE-COMMERCE INVESTIGATION.

Mr. BUTLER. I am instructed by the Committee on Interstate Commerce to report a substitute for the resolution of the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HIGGINS] and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], and I ask that it be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The substitute will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Interstate Commerce be, and is hereby, authorized to inquire whether or not the methods prevailing in the transportation of freight and passengers over the great railroa l lines of the country and the conditions and necessities of travelers and shippers and of the transportation companies justify or require a repeal or modification of section 5 of the interstate-commerce act of February 4, 1887, which prohibits pooling under any circumstances; and that said committee be further authorized to inquire whether the system of closing and sealing cars engaged in transporting merchandise from one of the States of the Union into another State through foreign territory, or from such territory into any State, or from such territory through the United States into foreign territory, or any system of bonding merchandise so transported, needs to be modified or further regulated by law, and whether all railroads engaged in such traffic should either be required to conform to all the provisions of the said interstate-commerce act or be prohibited from continuing such transportation business; and whether any modifications should be made of the existing provisions of law concerning the relations between common carriers and their employés; the said committee being hereby empowered to sit during the recess of the Senate, to act by subcommittees if deemed necessary, to take testimony at convenient points, to send for witnesses, books, and papers, and employ a stenographer, and to have its expenses paid from the contingent fund of the Senate; and it is expressly provided that no additional expense whatever shall be allowed for clerical hire under the terms of this resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Mr. PLATT. Where does the resolution come from? Is it reported by a committee?

Mr. BUTLER. It is reported by the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. PLATT. And is a report made upon the resolutions submitted by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HIGGINS]?

Mr. BUTLER. It is. It is a substitute for those resolutions.

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President, before the resolution reported by the Senator from South Carolina passes from the consideration of the Senate, I wish to impress upon the minds of the members of the Committee on Interstate Commerce the importance of the resolution submitted by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES]. Last winter, late in the season (I am not so certain now, as I have not the RECORD before me, but that it was in the summer), I had the honor to offer a resolution somewhat upon the same subject, and it was side-tracked, if I may use that expression, by referring it to a committee which I did not believe at the time and do not now believe, has any jurisdiction of the matter, and as I believed then and believe now, for the purpose of keeping it away from consideration by this body.

I now hope that the Committee on Interstate Commerce will take hold of this subject without gloves and treat it as it ought to be treated, beginning with the proposition that the workingman is equal with the man of capital; that the employé of a railway company has just as many rights and just as sacred ones as those of the employer; and that it will go further than that, and adopt as a basis the doctrine laid down by Judge Ricks in his recent decision. That decision is criticised a good deal by some members of labor organizations throughout the country, but I think that as they come to understand it better, as they come to see the breadth of its scope and to view it in all its fullness of meaning, they will see that it is the first broad-gauged declaration of principle concerning the relations between employers and employés engaged in interstate commerce that has yet been judicially proclaimed; that is to say, that the employé of a railway company is just as much a common carrier as the president or the managing directors or as any other officer of the corporation or as the corporation itself, and that therefore they will follow out that line of thought from the standpoint of Judge Ricks unto its legitimate conclusion. We shall then possibly have legislation which will make all persons concerned in the carrying trade common carriers, responsible in the same way to the people and entitled in the same way to compensation.

We now permit the common carriers—I mean the railway companies recognized as common carriers—to collect their fares from passengers in advance. We now give them a lien upon all the property that is intrusted to them for carriage for their compensation. The decision of Judge Ricks, followed out by the committee, as I hope it will be, will lead to the final adjustment of all differences beween employers and their employés in the carrying business, for then the law will determine the right of the workman to reasonable compensation, and the Government will secure it to him as it secures compensation to his employer, and that is all that the employés ask.

CHARGES AGAINST SENATOR POWER.

Mr. CHANDLER. I submit a resolution and ask that it may be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections be, and hereby is, directed to examine the statements derogatory to the Senator from Montana, Mr. POWER, contained in the Washington Post of Wednesday, March 29, 1893, and to ascertain the facts and circumstances so far as to enable the committee to determine and report what are the duty and power of the Senate in regard thereto; and said committee is hereby empowered to sit during the recess of the Senate, to send for persons and papers, to employ a stenographer, to act through a subcommittee, and to have its expenses paid from the contingent fund of the Senate

Mr. GORMAN. Let the resolution go over and be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Being objected to, the resolution will go over and be printed.

Mr. CHANDLER. It will be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate?

Mr. COCKRELL. No reference, Mr. President.

Mr. GORMAN. Let it lie on the table for the time being.

Mr. CHANDLER. Was objection made?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Objection was made. The resolution will go over and be printed.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

On motion of Mr. FAULKNER, it was

Ordered, That John J. Farnsworth have leave to withdraw his papers from the files of the Senate subject to the rules.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. HARRIS submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That a committee consisting of two Senators be appointed by the Chair to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that unless he may have some further communication to make the Senate is ready to adjourn without day.

Mr. HOAR subsequently said: I enter a motion to reconsider the vote by which the Senate ordered the appointment of a committee to wait upon the President with reference to final adjournment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The motion to reconsider will be entered.

INVESTIGATION BY THE COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I submit a resolution, which I ask to have referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Indian Affairs be instructed, either by full committee or such subcommittee or committees as may be appointed by the chairman thereof with the full power of such committee, to continue, during the recess of Congress, the investigations authorized by the resolutions of May 13, 1890, and February 27, 1891, with the authority and in the manner and to the extent provided in said resolutions, and in the pursuance of such investigations to visit the several Indian reservations, Indian schools supported in whole or in part by the Government, and the five nations in the Indian Territory, or any reservation where, in the opinion of said committee, it may be necessary to extend their investigations.

2. That said committee or subcommittee shall have power to send for persons and papers, to administer oaths, and to examine witnesses under oath touching the matters which they are hereby empowered to investigate, and may hold their sessions during the recess of the Senate at such place or places as they may determine; and the necessary and proper expense incurred in the execution of this order shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of said committee.

Mr. SHERMAN. I think that these——

Mr. HOAR. How does the resolution come up?

Mr. SHERMAN. It was just introduced.

Mr. HOAR. I want to have the resolution go over.

Mr. SHERMAN. All right; but I want to say a word about it first. The practice of the Senate to organize committees of inquiry has been growing apace and in a rapid way. It does seem to me that a committee of the Senate which for two years has been charged with the duty of inquiring into the condition of Indian affairs and visiting the Indian reservations should have

terminated its inquiry and there should be now no occasion to renew it.

I wish to call the attention of Senators on both sides of the Chamber to the fact that year in and year out the number of such committees of investigation has increased, and there is a popular sentiment abroad, cultivated by our friends in the gallery above, that these are mere junketing committees, intended to make pleasure excursions in different parts of our country—to look into the sea to find the deep soundings for a harbor, to examine Indian schools and roam over the plains of the West, and for various purposes of that kind.

It does seem to me that there ought to be an end to the practice. I objected to such a resolution the other day, and it is rather unpleasant for me to do it. These resolutions continue the committees in force during the recess and it is very expensive. One committee during the last recess, as I ascertained from the Secretary of the Senate, cost from $8,000 to $10,000. There is a constant deficiency in the fund to pay the expenses of these committees, and deficiencies are asked for at nearly every session of Congress.

Now, as our Democratic friends have come into power, and as I have made this complaint before when the Republicans had the control of the Senate and sometimes without effect, I do hope that they will take into serious consideration the question whether it is wise, except under some strong pressing reason, to continue committees of investigation during the coming recess of the Senate. Twenty or thirty years ago it was very rare indeed. One of the memorable committees that did perform a work of great value to this country was the Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard, of which Mr. Windom was chairman. They did perform a laborious duty and obtained a great amount of information which was published by Congress, and that inquiry led to many important results of great benefit to the people of the United States. It led especially to the improvement of the mouth of the Mississippi and to many other internal improvements, and the report has been a constant book of reference both in Congress and by citizens. It is a very valuable document. But with rare exceptions these committees generally result in nothing except expenditure.

I can in this case see no reason whatever for continuing the Committee on Indian Affairs in active duty during the recess. For two years they have been investigating the identical affairs that they are now called upon by the resolution to investigate. Whether they have made any report I do not know; whether they have incurred any expenditures I do not know; but it seems to me the time has come when the Senate ought to hesitate in authorizing such investigations, and should insist upon it that none shall be authorized to draw upon the funds of the Treasury from money appropriated for this purpose unless there is a public demand for it and some public usefulness to come out of it. Without that, the popular opinion will still condemn them as mere pleasure parties, organized at the expense of the Government of the United States.

Mr. HOAR. Let the resolution go over.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas rose.

Mr. HOAR. After the Senator from Arkansas has been heard, of course.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, a resolution similar to the one now proposed has been adopted by each Congress for a number of Congresses past. There are many questions developing all the time in the line indicated by the resolution in the management of Indian affairs. In the years past, whatever complaints may have been made about the misuse of funds intrusted to committees, I undertake to say there has been no complaint of anything of that kind done by the Committee on Indian Affairs. There are many questions originating in the various reservations at different times that require personal attention. I believe that every dollar of money which has been spent by the Committee on Indian Affairs in investigating the conditions which prevail in each one of the reservations has been wisely spent and has tended to good government. I believe that every dollar of money spent in that way has been judiciously spent, and has resulted in the advancement of the public service.

I do not know that there will be any occasion to investigate any particular question during the coming summer, but if such a question should arise, it seems to me that the discretion ought to be vested somewhere with somebody to cause an investigation. There are some matters that I know the leading members of the Committee on Indian Affairs have desired to look into for years past. For instance, there is pending a proposition to remove the Southern Utes from a particular location in Colorado into Utah. There was a commission appointed and sent out there, which went all over the ground and examined the question and made a report.

On the other side, there have been complaints made that the agreement between the Indians and this commission ought not to be carried out. It is a simple impossibility for members of the committee to determine whether it would be wise to remove the Utes from the country they now occupy to the country to which it is proposed to carry them. If a subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs make a personal inspection of the conditions which prevail there, and, understanding the country to which they are to be sent, make a report to the committee and to the Senate, I am sure it would result in positive and definite action on the part of the Senate which can not in all human probability come about in any other way. There are conflicting interests. There are men who have personal interests in getting those Indians moved, who are anxious to get possession of their present reservation, as well as men who are undertaking to dispose of territory in Utah. Each one will make his statement, and it is a difficult matter for a committee to determine what is right without a personal inspection of the facts of the case.

I mention this as an illustration of the difficulties we have to deal with. I assert that to-day there is scarcely a member of the Committee on Indian Affairs who has a positive opinion as to whether the Utes ought or ought not to be removed from their present reservation. A personal examination of the circumstances of the case would do good and would result in benefit to the Indians and to the public service.

I believe that there has been no complaint, as I said in the beginning, of any exercise of the discretion which has been heretofore, for years past, invested in the Committee on Indian Affairs, and I do not believe there will be any complaint in the future. However, if the Senate proposes to follow the suggestions of the Senator from Ohio, and, without regard to the circumstances, without regard to the peculiar conditions or the facts in a given case, shall cut off all proposed investigations, I for one will not complain, and will simply try to do my duty to the best of my ability with the lights before me as they are.

I have introduced this resolution and asked that it might go to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. I hope there will be no objection to that reference. If that committee after looking into the facts think that it is wise to pass the resolution and report it back, then it can be discussed, and if the Senate concurs in their recommendation let the authority for the investigation be given. If not, then let the resolution be voted down. I think the resolution ought to be allowed to go to the committee for consideration.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President, there was great force in what the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] has said with reference to committees of investigation and the public understanding of what those committees are organized to do. Perhaps the duty of investigation has been pushed too far and perhaps there has been in times past some foundation for the belief of the public that these are junketing committees; but it seems to me that this resolution is not the proper one on which to raise the objection.

We have been passing numerous resolutions at this session authorizing investigations to be had by committees during the recess, and I venture to say with reference to a good many matters which are not as important as the matters which will come under the jurisdiction and cognizance of the committee now proposed.

When the Senator from Ohio comes to think about it he will see that what is called our Indian policy is exciting very great interest throughout the country. I venture to say that there are no more complicated problems arising either before the Committee on Finance or the Committee on Interstate Commerce than arise before the Indian Committee, and none which more require investigation outside of the Senate Chamber than those which come before the Indian Committee. I have felt that perhaps I ought to say this.

I agree with the chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs [Mr. JONES of Arkansas] that this power has never been abused when it has been given to that committee. There are many matters arising in relation to the treatment of our Indians about which it is utterly impossible to determine what Congress should do except by a personal investigation of the committee upon the reservation. I have myself during all the time I have been on the Committee on Indian Affairs not been able to go upon a journey to the Indian reservations; but I know that such journeys have in many instances been productive of very great good.

I wish that all Senators could in some way be put in possession of more facts than they have in relation to our Indian affairs and the treatment of Indians upon reservations. It is a great question; it is one which engages the interest certainly of all the philanthropists in the country; one which is passed over by Senators, relying almost entirely upon the Committee on Indian Affairs, and I might say in the past upon the chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, to direct what the Senate ought to do in respect to such matters. I feel that all these

matters have been in a sense neglected by Senators. We have been treating our Indians without sufficient knowledge as to their rights, as to what is necessary to bring them up to a state of civilization and make them citizens, and self-supporting citizens. When Senators have no opportunity personally to inform themselves on this subject, it seems to me they ought not to object when the Committee on Indian Affairs says it desires to better inform itself by personal observation upon the reservations and personal inquiry as to the questions which will come before it.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, it seems to me that there may be a false economy in regard to the proceedings of this body in examinations by its committees, and that we lose sight somewhat of the dignity and power of the Senate, and of the confidence and expectations of the people in it.

What reasonable objections can be urged to the Senate's making use of all the instrumentalities which the Constitution provides for the ascertainment of the necessary facts for legislation? What agency is so well to be trusted as the Senators who are charged with the duty of making laws regulating the operations of the Government? Shall they be confined to secondary agencies? Shall it be said that the men who are the executive officers in the various bureaus of the Government are better to be trusted than the Senators, chosen by the States and vested with the highest powers of legislation, to ascertain the facts upon any important subject?

Is it not too much to say that the eighty-eight men who are charged with one branch of the legislative administration of the Government, having supervision of 65,000,000 people and all their interests, and the great questions which are vital to the life and the happiness and the prosperity of the nation, shall be deprived of the privilege of personal investigation because of the little expense it may cause the people?

Mr. President, I regard this function of investigation by committees chosen by the Senate as one of the most important and valuable in all the measures and proceedings which are at our command. Shall it be attacked upon the ground that it is sometimes abused by this body? If abused by the committee and by the members of it, why will it not be more abused by those whom you trust with the administrative bureaus of the Government? I think that there is no considerable number of members of this body who could not be trusted with the duty of examination and inquiry in making themselves and the body familiar with the facts relating to any subject, to the condition of labor, to the poverty or the wealth of the people—to the general content or discontent, and all the subjects which are vital to a sound public opinion and the enactment of wise policies. In my fourteen years of service in this body I have not heard any well-grounded complaint or any facts which justify the complaint of the abuse of this power by committees.

The Committee on Finance sits here nearly during the whole year, and wisely, too, because in the ordinary session of the Senate there is not an opportunity to gather all the facts necessary for its proper and wise and deliberate action. Too much time can not be bestowed upon this question. So upon the great appropriations for the improvement of the rivers and harbors of the country. Who is it that is more competent than the Committee on Commerce to ascertain whether or not the money has been wisely expended and whether the expenditure is necessary in this or that place? Shall we be confined to the report of the engineers? Eminent as they may be and wise as they may be, they are fallible, and the supervision over them is committed to this body and to the other House of Congress.

So in regard to the impeachment of officers. This body is intrusted with the sole power of determining upon the efficiency, the responsibility, the integrity, and the virtue with which the administrative officers of this Government perform their duties. Why should they not be advised through members of this body in regard to these facts?

Then, again, is it to be assumed that a lower order of intelligence and integrity is to be found in the members of this body than in the administrative department of the Government?

Upon all these points, Mr. President, as this country grows in magnitude and power, as great questions involving the happiness of every family are growing up and attacking the very foundations of the Government, I think it is eminently wise that these committees should be intrusted with the power of examining into the facts, taking testimony themselves, and coming in contact with the witnesses.

Is it more expensive for a committee of this body to go to a distant part of the country than to bring here five or six or ten or dozens of witnesses for the purpose of their examination? Upon the very score of economy, if this body is to examine into the facts upon which legislation shall be predicated, it is less costly and more economical to send out these committees than it is to send for witnesses from distances and bring them here.

I differ in opinion with the eminent Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN]. I believe that it is wise to give this power to the committees, and that the money expended is wisely and beneficially expended to the public service.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Objection being made, the resolution will go over.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I merely wish to make a remark before the resolution goes over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will hear the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I suppose I come in for a share of the rebuke of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] in his observations on the general subject of what he chooses to call junketing committees. I reported a resolution this morning from the Committee on Interstate Commerce by the instruction of that committee, and I wish to say to the Senator and to the Senate that I have no desire whatever to enter upon the labors which will be necessary if that resolution shall be passed by the Senate. If I do enter upon that investigation, it will be at a very great personal sacrifice.

Questions have arisen within the last few days which it seems to me are of the very greatest and most vital importance to the laboring classes of this country, and in fact to all classes, questions which should be investigated by a proper committee of this body before intelligent legislation can be enacted. I merely desire to say that much in regard to the resolution which I reported.

I wish to concur with the Senator from Florida [Mr. CALL] in what he has just said. I have never known one of these committees appointed by the Senate which has not introduced valuable information for the guidance of this body. The only object of investigating committees, as I understand, is to procure information upon which the Senate can wisely and judiciously legislate. To that extent these committees are legitimate; beyond that they are not legitimate.

I have been on two or three of them, one of which I think my friend the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY], who is just going out of the Chamber, will bear me out in saying was of very great value to both branches of Congress. I refer to what was known as the ordnance committee, which was established for the purpose of inquiring into the condition of this country in regard to the production of material for the rehabilitation of the Navy. I think nobody will question that the information procured by that select committee was invaluable to both branches of Congress.

I was on another of these committees, of which the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] was the chairman, the select committee to inquire into relations with Canada. I think I may safely say, and I think that Senator will bear me out in saying, that the information procured by that select committee was of very great value to Congress and to the country. I believe I have been on two other select committees.

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator appeals to me, I should like to be permitted to say that I have tried to study that subject as thoroughly as I could, and have collected everything I could lay my hands on which has been published here or in Canada or in England in regard to our relations with Canada, and I do not believe there is in any single place anywhere in existence so complete and so valuable a mass of information on that subject as will be found in the two volumes reported by that committee.

Mr. BUTLER. I think that may be said to be generally true in regard to all committees of investigation. I desire to repeat that I have never known one of these committees which has not resulted in good to this body.

In common parlance they are called junketing committees. Why, Mr. President, there is not a Senator who gets a dollar of additional compensation for that service. He very often, almost invariably, goes on such committees at great personal sacrifice to himself, and the information so procured is of service to the country and to the legislative department of the Government.

For one, I have no desire whatever to make the investigation which is confronting us upon the Interstate Commerce Committee. It is a complicated and difficult question, which will require very great and patient labor. I have no ambition whatever in that direction. I have asked that the committee be allowed to sit during the recess. The Senate can refuse to do it or not, as it pleases; but I am not willing that the Senator from Ohio shall charge that the recess committees are always junketing committees.

My friend from Connecticut knows that the committee to which I refer, and of which he was the chairman, labored continuously in order to procure the necessary evidence upon which we could frame proper legislation.

I do remember that there was a time in the history of this country when I did not hear the Senator from Ohio protest, as he has done to-day, against these junketing committees, when committees were sent all over the South at an enormous expense,

not with a view, as some of us thought, of aiding legislation, but in the interest of a political party, and hundreds of thousands of dollars were taken out of the Treasury of the United States to pay the expenses of the committees and of the witnesses. I heard not one word from the Senator from Ohio at that time protesting against what he now chooses to call junketing committees.

The questions which are arising in this country every day as it develops in its resources, in its population, and in the relations all these questions bear to legislation can only be settled by the result of the investigations of committees of this body. I therefore desire to repeat, that I do not believe there has been a single instance where committees have been appointed by either branch of Congress where good has not resulted. As was suggested by my friend from Delaware [Mr. HIGGINS], when he went to the Indian Territory on the select committee of which I was a member, but could not attend, he had his ideas enlarged. The information which he procured by personal contact with the objects to be investigated has been of inestimable value to him and through him to the Senate of the United States.

Mr. President, that Senator did not realize one dollar of additional compensation for that trouble. Is it asking too much of the Government of the United States to pay his expenses and my expenses when we are performing such extra duty—not duty that is desirable by any means, but duty which is to be performed in the interest of intelligent legislation, and only in that interest? Therefore I think the manner in which the Senator from Ohio has characterized these committees is a little harsh, and not sustained by the facts and the results of these investigations.

Mr. HIGGINS. Mr. President, I think the criticism of the Senator from Ohio is ill founded, and largely for a reason which is not going to grow less, and that is the very extent and magnitude of the country and the difficulty growing from that consideration of the legislative bodies getting directly at the facts.

Under our dual system of government the large mass of legislation is left to the States; matters that pertain to the localities peculiarly are left to the States. The members of the State Legislatures are in close contact with their people and with the locality that may be concerned in any legislation, if it concerns any peculiar locality or interest.

But here we sit at the capital of this great Republic of almost unexampled size and magnitude, dealing with interests that we can not understand, unless we come in close personal contact with them, either the whole body or through appropriate committees. It is because, acting, as we do, under government by committees, that these various and several respective resolutions have been referred to their appropriate committees, who, charged with the duty of initiating legislation in that behalf, have reported them back for action. When such committee has in its judgment determined that such inquiry is not only proper but necessary, I think it is a complete answer to the criticism, if you choose to call it so, of the Senator from Ohio, that these duties are laid out for public performance merely because of the travel that they will entail.

Mr. HAWLEY. The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] referred in flattering terms to the service of the committee upon which he, the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN], and others of us served six or seven years ago. That is the only vacation committee that I ever served upon.

I have always been very proud of the work of the committee. The whole committee became interested in it. We were to inquire into the facilities for the construction of gun steel and armor steel in this country, the power of the different manufacturing establishments to make armor and to make heavy guns, how ships should be built, whether by private parties or by the Government alone, and as to foundries and assembling shops, etc. We devoted a large part of two summer vacations to that work, visiting the great steel concerns, the ship and navy yards, and also the leading establishments in England. My impression is the whole thing did not cost $2,500, I think about $2,000, if I recollect aright.

Mr. BUTLER. I think the Senator ought to state, if he will pardon me for interrupting him, that it would have been almost impossible for the committees of this body to procure such evidence otherwise than by the method we adopted.

Mr. HAWLEY. It could only have been acquired in that way. We called on the most distinguished shipbuilders and steel-workers in this country.

Mr. BUTLER. And on naval officers.

Mr. HAWLEY. Yes, and on naval officers, as the report shows for itself. We called on such men as the late Mr. Roach, as shipbuilders, and Hotchkiss, the gun man; also on the Whitworths, the Browns, the Cammells, and other people in England. From our examinations we were enabled to make recommendations as to the future policy of the Government on these questions, comprised in a single page of our report, and on the line marked out by that committee the work of regenerating coast defenses, the Navy, etc., has been done ever since. The work of that committee shows for itself.

This committee may or may not be appointed precisely as any other committee of investigation may or may not be appointed. It is a question of the necessity and desirability of the information, etc. It is not a question of the character of Senators. I do not think any Senator pockets any money in the matter. He gets his railroad fare and his hotel bills paid, but for the extra time and labor he devotes to this service he gets no return.

Mr. CULLOM. Mr. President, I did not expect that the question of the appointment of a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate Commerce would come up this morning, but there seems to be a disposition to discuss the whole subject of vacation committees, and therefore I think I ought to say a word in reference to the proposition of the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER], the chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee.

Before doing that I desire to say that in my ten years' service in the Senate I believe I have not been on any select committee or committee to sit during the vacation, except the committee of which I had the honor of being chairman, which was first a select committee and afterwards a standing committee, as it is now.

When I first came into the Senate the subject of the regulation of interstate commerce was becoming prominent before the country. The subject was before the Senate. It was demonstrated I think very clearly that none of us at that time were very familiar with the question, and I remember distinctly that I was urged, having introduced a bill and taken an active part in the question, to ask the Senate to appoint a select committee for the purpose of making an investigation during the then coming vacation which was soon to take place. On the request of Senators I introduced a resolution for that purpose, which was passed. A select committee of five was appointed, and we put in a good deal of time during the following summer in making the investigation directed to be made.

I wish to say so far as that committee is concerned that neither the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] nor anyone else can afford to charge it with having been a junketing committee. I have done a good deal of hard work in my time, but I wish to say to him and to the Senate that I never did a harder summer's work in my life than I did during that summer in making the investigations and in assisting in preparing the report which is before the country.

While I am ready to give all praise to the report made by the committee of which the late Senator Windom was chairman, I must be allowed to say that if the Senator will read the report made by the select committee to which I referred, he will find that it contains a vast amount of important information on that subject. The scope of the work of that committee was more confined than that of the committee of which the late Senator Windom was chairman; but that was the foundation of the legislation which afterwards resulted in the regulation of commerce among the several States.

Subsequent to that time, the same committee was instructed by the Senate to make another investigation, which it did, and did faithfully and as well as it could, and with as little expense as possible. That investigation had relation to the commerce of the American railroads and the railroads of Canada. Our committee was confined somewhat strictly to that investigation. The Senate will find a volume containing the report and the testimony upon that subject, which I think they will find to be almost exhaustive. The resolution reported by the chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce this morning not only takes in that subject, but goes beyond it, in reaching out to investigate the question which pertains more to trade between the United States and Canada, including the bonding question, etc.

Mr. President, those two committees are the only ones I have been on which were authorized to sit during vacation, and I am very certain there was not a penny of expense incurred by that committee on either occasion which was not necessary. I think the Senate will find that the investigations made by that committee were valuable to the Senate and to the country.

I do not myself take any stock in the usual expression which is made by Senators and newspapers and other people outside, that these committees are for the purpose of junketing over the country. I have myself had no such experience, and I am unwilling to believe that other Senators belonging to any of the other committees have any such disposition.

The Senate the other day authorized a subcommittee of the Committee on Commerce to go to the Pacific coast to make certain investigations. I am perfectly certain that the investigations made by that committee, as they will be made, will result in valuable information and in determining upon the necessary

legislation which ought to be enacted with reference to deep harbors and other improvements upon the Pacific coast.

How are we going to find out what we ought to do as Senators? Are we simply to sit here and take the report of a committee made in the city of Washington as to the expenditure of from three to five million dollars at any particular point on the Pacific coast? It is true, the Senators may say that we have engineering boards for that purpose. So we have in a sense, and yet there are questions which sometimes come up, as in the present instance, where the Senate committee is unprepared to determine in its own mind exactly what is for the best interests of the country in the location of a deep harbor south of San Francisco.

I confess I do not know myself. I have read the reports, and I have tried to come to a correct conclusion, but other men have met me with antagonistic views to my own. While I thought it certain, in the first instance, that my views were correct, I am not prepared to say now that my views are correct as to whether a deep harbor should be made at one place or another which has been designated by these various reports.

Therefore, so far as I am concerned, while I do not think I shall go upon the committee, I do want a committee to go to the Pacific coast for the purpose of resorting to every proper means of securing the necessary and correct information, so that when we make an appropriation of one, two, three, or five million dollars for a deep harbor somewhere there, as we shall have to do in the end, we shall be certain that we have got the right place and are serving the great interests of the commerce of this country.

Mr. BUTLER. May I ask the Senator if he does not think it a matter of very great consequence to the Senate, and in fact to both branches of Congress, and that the questions involved in the resolution reported from the Interstate Commerce Committee this morning are very important?

Mr. CULLOM. I will answer the question.

Mr. BUTLER. And that we can not possibly be informed about the matter except by some such investigation as that contemplated by the resolution?

Mr. CULLOM. In the line of the suggestion of the chairman of the committee, let me say that the Committee on Interstate Commerce has favored the legislation which has been enacted upon that subject, and we have been working to the end, as we supposed all the time, of controlling the railroad corporations in the country in the interest of the great body of the people and in the development of the commerce of the nation. While we have been doing that, as a matter of fact I might as well say frankly we had no idea that we were adopting legislation reaching to the individual employé of the railroad as an employé of the railroad, but we were undertaking to compel the common carriers of the country to deal fairly by the people, to desist from unjust discrimination, to desist from extortion, and to compel one common carrier to treat another fairly in the continuation of the transportation of freight and passengers from one portion of the country to another. That provision of law is the third section set out in the act, which requires of the corporations that this shall be done.

We have had recently two or three decisions of courts which affect the great body of the laboring people connected with railroads, numbering some seven hundred and eighty-five thousand men. The question now is, nobody having thought about affecting the masses of the people employed by the railroads when the law was enacted, whether that act goes further than it ought to do under the Constitution in the regulation of interstate commerce. That is one of the questions which are proposed to be investigated by the Interstate Commerce Committee in pursuance of the resolution reported by the Senator from South Carolina, the chairman of the committee.

Then, again, there are other important questions which are set out in the resolutions, one of which is the question of pooling.

Mr. BUTLER. The question raised by President Harrison in his message.

Mr. CULLOM. Certainly, the question was raised by the message of President Harrison a few weeks before he retired from office, affecting the rights of the people of the United States engaged in trade in competition with the people of Canada.

The Committee on Interstate Commerce thought that it was their duty to take up those questions, not for the purpose of visiting any place, not for the purpose of traveling over the country, although it may be necessary to go to one or two places, but for the purpose of going to the bottom of all these questions and determine, if it can, what Congress ought to do with reference to them and be able to report to the next session of Congress upon the subject by ascertaining not only the facts, but to report such legislation as they may deem wise to be enacted, if any, in order to do exactly the right thing in the interest of commerce and the great body of the people.

That is the only purpose of the committee. While that committee, if the Senate should authorize it to do so, may desire to go to one or two places in the country away from the capital, yet there is no purpose of traveling about the country *ad libitum*, but simply to make an investigation of this question, so that when the committee is called upon at the next session of Congress they may be prepared to say what they think about it after having investigated the subject.

While I do not believe in committees simply getting leave of the Senate to travel about the country, yet I do believe there is no foundation for the impression which the country may have that committees of the Senate get this authority for the purpose of junketing. We are simply doing our duty as legislators when we ask the Senate to authorize a committee to investigate a particular question which we are charged as committees to investigate.

I believe that the Interstate Commerce Committee ought to be authorized to do this work. I believe also that there has never been a dollar spent, as the chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs [Mr. JONES of Arkansas] and the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] have said, in the investigation of Indian questions which ought not to have been spent. There are, as everybody knows in the Senate, difficult questions arising in connection with the regulation of Indian affairs in this country which have to be looked into. Who is going to do it if the committee charged with the subject is not authorized to do it? How are they going to do it unless the Senate gives them power to do it by special sessions of their committee during the vacations of Congress? They can not do it when the Senate is in session. None of these committees can do such work during sessions. We are doing the country a service when we submit ourselves, as we have, to do these things without a dollar of extra compensation and impose upon ourselves extraordinary labor during the hot weather of the summer.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, I do not regret at all that the Senator from Ohio has called attention to the resolutions which are pending before the Senate to authorize committees to sit during the recess to investigate various subjects. It is possible, indeed I think it is probable, that in the past the Senate has gone too far in that direction, and that we should be careful in the passage of such resolutions and limit them to subjects which are of great importance. I agree with the Senator from Ohio in that.

Heretofore when many of the committees of the Senate were not authorized to employ clerks during the recess we all understood the reason for some of the resolutions which were then offered. It is true that there are quite a number of resolutions already pending in the body to authorize committees to sit during the recess. If they should all be agreed to, as has been the custom heretofore, there would not be a sufficient amount of money in the contingent fund to pay the expenses of them, $25,000 being the amount appropriated for that purpose.

I agree with the Senator from Ohio that we must be careful to limit these investigations within reasonable bounds; but, Mr. President, there are certain great questions which, if they are to be considered intelligently and disposed of with proper economy, can only be dealt with by means of these investigations.

We have one committee, the Committee on Indian Depredations, which has Indian depredation claims to the amount of over $300,000 now pending, which will be provided for in all probability in the appropriations to be made next year, and there are also three or four or five million dollars depending upon the result of the investigations by that committee. The Senate has never had the opportunity through any committee to give these claims proper consideration. The accounts are complicated, and hundreds of thousands, if not a million, of dollars may be saved, and probably will be saved, by that investigation.

So with the resolution passed a few days ago in regard to the Committee on Commerce. There are great questions involved, which can not be properly examined in the busy hours of the session. I have been a member of the Committee on Commerce, and have given those particular questions all the time that was possible in view of other labors. I agree with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM] that it is simply an impossibility to come to a proper conclusion in those matters on the different reports we have received from the Engineer Department.

Mr. President, the resolution which is now pending before this body is more far-reaching and of greater importance to the people of this country than any one question that is now pending before us. Questions of currency and taxation are not of greater importance when compared with the questions involved in the proposed investigation.

Mr. CULLOM. Perhaps the Senator had better designate the resolution to which he refers.

Mr. GORMAN. I mean the resolution presented by the Committee on Interstate Commerce through the distinguished Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER]. The question should be inquired into at this time and not be postponed. The privileges granted to the Canadian railroads for transporting goods in bond through our territory and its effect on the American railroads affects great interests. It is pressing upon us and it ought to be inquired into more fully than it has been heretofore. Its effect upon millions and hundred millions of invested capital in our railroads depends very largely upon the conclusions we may reach upon the question.

The other question is in reference to our own railroads, whether it is possible to make provision by law which will enable them to protect themselves in the matter of their freights and freight charges without doing injustice to communities and to individuals. We are only upon the threshold of that investigation. The temper of the people of the country has not been such as to warrant legislation of the character insisted upon by those who are engaged in transportation and who go so far as to say that their future prosperity depends upon their securing the relief which they seek.

Then the other matter—and I speak about this with great freedom—the recent decisions of courts of the United States, that under the act of Congress regulating interstate commerce, the act prohibiting combinations and pools, they have the right to determine not only what a man shall do but what he shall not do when he is an employé of a railroad company. It is the first great step in this country of the judicial branch of the Government to absolutely take possession of the railroads and of the men who are the employés of corporations.

If the law warrants the decision, and possibly it does, then the law ought to be modified or repealed. I do not believe that the people of this country will ever submit by any branch of the Government, whether the judicial or the legislative, to such restrictions as have been placed upon them by these recent decisions. The late chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce [Mr. CULLOM], since the committee was created in this body, and every member of it—and I have been a member from the organization of the committee—had not the slightest conception that by that act, or the bill introduced by the distinguished Senator from Ohio and afterwards reported from the Judiciary Committee, it was intended to give such power to the Federal judiciary.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator specify a little more fully (and what he says is very interesting) the point he has specially in mind?

Mr. GORMAN. I mean to say that the recent decision of the courts, that employés of railroad corporations could by order of the courts be restrained from quitting the service of the corporation; that they can not resign their position as engineers, or other employés of the company; that not only are combinations to obstruct interstate commerce a misdemeanor, but that a single man, quitting work on his notion, is a violator of the act, is a most extraordinary decision. If the act of Congress warrants it, then we must meet that question at the very beginning of the next Congress. It ought to be inquired into carefully by men who have but one motive, that of protecting the great interstate commerce, but that in doing so shall amend the law so that the liberty of the employés shall not be unduly restrained. The judges of the United States should not be armed with such power as to make them czars.

In a question of this sort, Mr. President, a matter of a few dollars for the investigation, when so much depends upon it, ought not to stand in this body a moment. I have never been a member of a roaming committee since I have had the honor of a seat on this floor. I did join my distinguished friend from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM] upon the Committee on Interstate Commerce for a few days. I am unalterably opposed to junketing committees; but I submit to the Senate that the line is perfectly well defined between a junketing committee and one that is looking after great interests, where not only millions of dollars are involved but where the rights of the people are also involved.

Mr. CULLOM. I will inquire of the Senator from Maryland whether he saw any indication that there was a disposition to junket on the part of the committee of which he was a member?

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, none whatever; and there will not be upon this, I submit, with all due deference to the views of the Senator from Ohio, who properly wants to economize in our expenditures in this body, in which I will join him heartily. He, as the leader of the opposition, active as he is necessarily from his position now in criticising the expenditures, will find that I will go as far as he in protecting the Treasury. I only regret that that activity has not heretofore been displayed. But now that we have on this side of the Chamber the responsibility as well as the power, I trust our friends here will not flinch from an investigation, though it shall cost a few thousand dollars, where the liberties of our fellow-citizens are at stake as they are in this case.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President, I hardly think this is the time to enter into any extended discussion of the decisions which have been recently rendered in the courts relating to the rights of employés and corporations engaged in interstate commerce to discontinue their relations as employés, especially when it is admitted and urged here upon the floor of the Senate that this is a question to be specially investigated by a committee. In view of a single word which dropped from the lips of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN], possibly thoughtlessly, I desire to say that I have not yet seen in those decisions anything which looks like a usurpation of power by the courts, or which in anyway looks like degrading the workingmen of this country to the condition of serfs.

I believe that people who are employed have no more right to engage in discriminations in commerce than people who employ them. I do not believe that there is anything either in the interstate-commerce law or in the antitrust law which is not an affirmance of well-considered and long-established common law; and while I have not the text of the decisions which have been rendered, I believe it will be found when they have been carefully examined that they have only gone to the extent which has been common law for hundreds of years.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I have not read the decisions to which the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] refers; but the trust act is, in my opinion, the law as applied to its local commerce of every State in the Union except the State of Louisiana. I believe that is the only State where the common law does not prevail. At any rate, it is the law. The trust act simply extends to the United States commerce the principles which every State which adopted the common law has as a part of its common law in reference to its local concerns. So I am quite sure that no such doctrine as that which the Senator from Maryland apprehends will be warranted by the law known as the Sherman law.

The Senator from Maryland spoke of that act as one introduced by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN]. It is true that he introduced a bill which in an entirely new shape, without any sort of adoption of anything in his old bill, was reported to the Senate from the Judiciary Committee, and passed by the Senate with almost absolute unanimity, having been very zealously supported on both sides of the Chamber. It is impossible, I conceive, that any such doctrine as the Senator apprehends can be found in the bosom of that enactment.

It is a mere extension of the common law in regard to combination in restraint of trade to the United States commerce. The interstate-commere law is a different enactment. That is a new piece of machinery. I have no doubt that the interstate commerce law as passed contains a good deal which some day will return to plague the inventors; indeed it has plagued the inventors a good deal since it has passed.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I think it is unfortunate that this matter should have come up here for discussion, because it is necessarily in the nature of an *ex parte* criticism. Every lawyer knows how exceedingly unsafe it is to take the newspaper accounts of the decision of a court in regard to a matter of as much importance as that which has been commented on by the Senator from Maryland. I was startled this morning in picking up a Washington City paper to find that a great revolution had taken place, so far as the judiciary could accomplish it, as to the common-law doctrine in regard to contracts in restraint of commerce. I read very carefully what purported to be the substance of a decision of a district judge—Judge Speer, of Georgia. The article was headed "A great triumph for the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers," and makes the impression upon the public that this district judge had decided that the regulations of the locomotive engineers of the United States would be recognized by the Federal judiciary hereafter.

In reading the decision, which is in this morning's paper, it will be found that the text does not bear out the head at all. Judge Speer simply affirmed what every lawyer knows to be the elementary doctrine of the common law in regard to contracts in interstate commerce. He simply affirmed what the bill reported by the Judiciary Committee in regard to trusts affirmed and what the spirit if not the letter of the interstate-commerce law affirmed. He has made no decision which varies from that doctrine as I understand the report in this morning's paper. He does decide that any contract or regulation which is a restraint of commerce is absolutely void, and he proceeds to say that any engineer has a right to give up his employment.

That is the inherent right of every American citizen; but when the locomotive engineers, or any other association, or any corporation undertake to make a rule and enforce it in restraint of commerce that rule and regulation is absolutely void, and the courts will so hold. Does any lawyer see anything startling or

revolutionary in that? It has been the doctrine of the English law, and we adopted it in this country in all the States except Louisiana, where they have had the Code Napoleon for two hundred years.

If any such doctrine as the Senator from Maryland has announced has been decided by any court, I have not seen it. I undertake to say now in advance, as a lawyer, that if any such doctrine as he asserts has been declared by the judiciary of the United States it would be reversed by the Supreme Court without one dissenting opinion against it. Why, it would be a monstrous doctrine. The Congress of the United States never intimated that that could be the law, much less did it enact such a statute.

I had something to do with making what is called the antitrust law that came from the Judiciary Committee. The difficulty we encountered was not in regard to the common-law doctrine. There never was any difference between lawyers as to that, that any contract, any regulation made in restraint of commerce, the legitimate, ordinary, natural commerce of the country, was void. Where people went together and made a combination to put up prices it was a restraint of commerce and impeded commerce among the States, and there was no trouble about that. The difficulty we encountered was in drawing the line between the jurisdiction of the General Government and of the States. The clamor was raised that we should go into the States and regulate commerce between citizens of the States.

The antitrust law, with which, with great deference, the Senator from Ohio had nothing to do except to vote upon it as any other member of this body—the law that was reported from the Judiciary Committee applies strictly, of course, and only to commerce among the States. There was the trouble we had in regard to the enactment of that measure. That law simply declares what is an elementary doctrine, that any contract or regulation of any sort in restraint of commerce, no matter how it is made or by whom made, is absolutely void, and that is the whole of it.

Mr. BUTLER. May I ask the Senator what he would think of a proposition, which I shall state, and which seems to be one of the questions raised in the decision in Toledo, Ohio? I have not read the decision of the court, and therefore it may be premature to discuss it, but I understand that the decision was that the court had the right to enjoin the employés of a corporation engaged in interstate commerce from combining in such way as to obstruct that commerce; for instance, that it was a violation of the interstate-commerce law that they should unite in what they call a strike, and should boycott one set of cars from a certain railroad company and order the employés not to handle the freight from that company in order to transfer it to another.

I understand that the decision of the court is that that combination is unlawful and that the court could enjoin it. That seems to me to have gone very much further than any decision of any court heretofore, if I am correct about it. I have not seen the decision. That, I understand, was the subject of the inquiry proposed by the resolution of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES].

Mr. VEST. My remarks were directed especially to the article in this morning's paper with the startling headlines to which I have referred.

Mr. BRICE. Allow me to ask, in reference to the article this morning, does the Senator from Missouri understand that the decision did in terms declare the right of the court to enjoin an employé from leaving the service of the company?

Mr. VEST. No; I understood the decision to be simply the exercise of the ordinary jurisdiction of a district judge of the United States over property which was in the hands of a receiver.

Mr. BRICE. Did it not include in that the power to order the servant of the company to continue in the discharge of his duties?

Mr. VEST. No, I think not.

Mr. BRICE. So long as the court thought he ought to be so enjoined?

Mr. VEST. No, sir.

Mr. BRICE. I call the Senator's attention to the last clause of the decision.

Mr. VEST. Is that the decision in Georgia?

Mr. BRICE. In Georgia. The court say:

While any engineer may at any time exercise his right as an individual to leave the service of the receiver, he may not do so in such manner as to injure the property of the company.

Mr. VEST. I understand that doctrine to be applied to property then in the hands of a receiver and under the absolute control of the court. If the judge meant by that that he could not quit his employment whenever he pleased, as a matter of course it is not the law. I read the opinion over, and came to the conclusion that Judge Speer simply meant to say that they could not injure, by any act of theirs in the way of intimidating other employés, the property which was under the control of the court in the hands of its receiver, because it is very well known to lawyers that the Federal courts exercise the fullest jurisdiction in regard to property that is in the hands of one of its agents, and every receiver is an agent of the court. As a matter of course I assume that no district judge who is worthy of his position would declare that any employé did not have a right to quit his employment when he pleased. It would be absurd to hold that he could not do so.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator pardon me a moment?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. I have looked at the last sentence which the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICE] read, and it is interpreted by the preceding sentence. Perhaps the Senator from Missouri will allow me to read the last few sentences.

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. The court say:

This declaration—

After speaking of a declaration by the representatives of the Brotherhood—

is authoritative, and the court will act upon it. It is binding upon the engineers of the Brotherhood, who are officers of the receiver, and who were represented by the committee and their assistant chief engineer, Mr. Youngson, all of whom were in the presence of the court when it was made. It is accepted as made in good faith and a condition of the contract which the court will direct the receiver to make. While, therefore, any engineer may at any time exercise his right as an individual to leave the service of the receiver, he may not do so in such manner as to injure the property of the company.

I understand that to be the affirmance by the court of the doctrine that when a receiver is appointed and when officers subordinate to the receiver come into the court and take upon themselves the execution of the order of the court through the receiver as his officers and subordinates, as they are allowed by the court to do, they can not withdraw from that employment at a time and in a manner which will injure the property of the court.

Take the case of the receiver himself, for instance. Suppose the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICE] were appointed receiver of a large railroad company. He accepts the office, and having accepted the office in open court and undertaken it, and having got an entire knowledge of all the transactions and the daily running of the trains, with freight contracts depending upon his action, suppose he should suddenly say, "I think I will throw this all up and start for Europe."

The court say, "I will not allow you to do that. You have undertaken to do a duty as an officer of this court." Everybody will agree that that is a reasonable exercise of the power of the court. In the two closing sentences here the judge applies that doctrine to officers under the receiver who had themselves in the presence of the court undertaken the duty. What else there is in his opinion I do not know.

Mr. VEST. I do not think the Senator from Massachusetts, or myself or any other lawyer would undertake to give an opinion in regard to what the court did mean without reading the entire opinion in an official form and without knowing the facts upon which it was rendered. It is enough for me to say that the headlines of the article in this morning's paper are not sustained by the text. It is headed: "Labor claims a victory. Railroad receivers required to recognize the Brotherhood." It is very obvious from the debate which has taken place that Senators are divided in opinion as to whether it is a victory of either party or not. From my reading of the opinion I think that the intention of the judge was simply to declare the elementary principles of the common law as to contracts, regulations, and rules in restraint of commerce, and that is the whole of it; but I will not undertake to criticise the opinion until I have seen it officially.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President, a few mornings ago my attention was called to the subject under discussion by publications that have not been alluded to as yet in this debate. These publications purported to be verbatim reports of two judicial decisions, one by Judge Taft, of the circuit court of the United States, and the other by Judge Ricks, of the district court of the United States for the northern district of Ohio, rendered at Toledo. Those decisions prompted the resolution which I then introduced and which is now partially at least under discussion. In that resolution I set out the tenth section of the act of Congress approved February 4, 1887, known as the "interstate-commerce act." Sir, I am satisfied that section goes further than anyone supposed it did at the time of the passage of the act, unless perchance some person or persons interested in having a sweeping and oppressive enactment that would practically chain a railroad employé to his car, to his locomotive, at the behest of the corporation, dictated the provision and had it put in.

Mr. President, instead of discussing Judge Speer's decision, which is noticed in this morning's paper, I shall briefly discuss the decisions that have been made in Ohio, as I understand. I read the decision of Judge Speer this morning, and it is subject

to the comments made by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST]. The headlines are much stronger than the body of the decision. The proclamation at the head is much more pronounced than the text. The text does not sustain the announcement which precedes it, but it does not follow that the decision should therefore be criticised. I think the main fault is in the law itself, increased and aggravated in some instances by the willingness and eagerness with which Federal courts construe laws in favor of corporate power and against labor in this country.

The greatest and most dangerous question to-day before us is the encroachments of corporation power, colossal consolidated wealth against those that are helpless in its presence, powerless, and who have to obey its mandates to get bread and to live.

Sir, let us see what it is that is under consideration. Having set out the tenth section, let us see for a moment what it contains. Without going into detail, I say here as a lawyer it provides that if an employé of a public corporation, either alone or in company with others, leaves the employment of such corporation at a time of his own choosing, he is liable to be prosecuted, convicted, and fined heavily for a misdemeanor.

If a solitary individual, not engaged with numbers or conspiring with others or moving in a strike, but for himself alone, sees fit to leave the employment of his corporation master he can be held under this law and prosecuted. Having stated in general the scope of this section, this terrible section for the enslavement of laboring people, the resolution which I had the honor to introduce proceeds to say:

And whereas it is alleged that said section of the law as it now stands has been construed by the judges of the circuit and district courts of the United States in recent decisions at Toledo, Ohio, to mean that—

Then I quote the language that was set out in the decisions, and reported some days ago, in the newspapers it is true, but I take it for granted there was no motive to misstate a single word of the decisions, and that they are substantially correct as I have quoted them here—

the duties of an employé—

This is the language of the decision. That—

the duties of an employé of a public corporation are such that he can not always choose his own time for quitting that service, but that in attempting to leave the employment of such corporation of his own free will and to escape from its control and consequent servitude such employé is guilty of a misdemeanor and liable to severe penalties.

To be prosecuted for a misdemeanor and fined heavily!

Now, Mr. President, whatever else may be said, that is a law, as interpreted by the courts, which chains a laborer to his engine and his car as completely as the galley slave was ever chained to his oar. It prohibits his departure from his work. It says that, once enlisted, he has become bound as a private soldier in the Army; that if he leaves his post he is to be punished as a deserter.

Mr. President, when such an issue as this is presented we have reached a point in this country where it becomes us to pause and retrace our steps. I heartily concur in the remarks and respond to the tone of the Senator from Maryland, who so strongly stated the grasping powers of the Federal judiciary of this country a few moments ago; but before denouncing the Federal judiciary for its encroachments on the laboring classes let us clear our own skirts.

Let us see that no law remains long on our statute books, put there however it may have been, which punishes an individual laborer for leaving the employment of a corporation or of any other employer. Whoever heard of such a law before? One individual employs another individual, and the individual employed can leave when he pleases. Has a corporation become such a master that it can say to those under its employment that they shall remain there indefinitely? An employé can not always choose his time, the decisions say. Can he choose it at all? If his own choice does not govern, he must of course ask permission of a master whom Congress and the courts have established over him. To hold a man's person for the specific performance of personal service is the direct reënactment of involuntary servitude in this country.

An action for damages is the only remedy ever known in a free country for the violation of a labor contract. The claim now for the first time in this country put forth that the laborer can be bound by law to continue in service after he has made up his mind to quit is the principle on which peonage, serfdom, slavery are founded wherever they exist on the face of the globe. No graver question than this has ever appeared here. It touches the very foundations of free government, and involves the liberty and happiness of meritorious millions upon whose labors the prosperity of this country depends and whose protection should be the first care of the American Congress. These sentiments are not new with me. They are as old as the years of my political life, and will only cease to control my action when all action is ended so far as I am concerned.

Sir, such were the considerations which induced me to introduce this resolution, instructing the Committee on Interstate Commerce to inquire "what action may be necessary, either by the repeal of said tenth section or by the enactment of additional legislation for the better protection of the laboring people of the United States in their natural and inalienable rights and for their greater security from the encroachments of corporation power."

I know very well what may be said on the corporation side of this discussion. I will answer in advance. Nobody pretends that an engineer can fling himself from his engine and abandon it en route and in motion, thus endangering life. Such an act would be a criminal attempt to wreck a train, and has always been punishable by the laws of every State in the Union and of the whole civilized world.

That is not, however, what is meant or contemplated by this law. This law as construed by the courts says the employé can not alone or in company with others, though in an orderly way and in the exercise of what we have heretofore thought to be natural and inalienable rights, sever his connection with a corporation. It is decided that he has enlisted to stay, and he is to be punished as a deserter if he leaves his post or attempts to cast off the badge of his servitude.

Mr. President, I have not much to say in regard to the judiciary itself. When bad laws are enacted, by mistake or otherwise, some judges are glad to mitigate their evils; evince no pleasure in their enforcement; point out with a gentle hand the errors they contain, and make the injury they inflict as light as possible. On the other hand, there are judicial minds that grasp at power, love it for its own sake, enforce it ruthlessly, and ignore the protection and safety of the people. The old distinctions here at once arise between a strong federal government and a government resting upon the consent of the people. Jefferson, the great apostle of popular liberty, foreseeing such dangers as are now upon us, proclaimed in his day that the Federal judiciary were the sappers and miners of constitutional liberty. So they are, such of them as with a greedy thirst for power delight to enforce laws of the kind we are now considering.

I think, Mr. President, that the Committee on Interstate Commerce could not be better employed than in making inquiry into this dangerous question where friction comes between corporation power and the humble though strong and patient multitude of laborers of this land. We are going in the pathway of nations who have gone before us. Old history is being reënacted day by day. The grasp of wealth, the consolidation of capital, coming here from year to year and obtaining legislation, putting manacles as it were upon the labor of the land, is nothing new. It has happened before in other lands and ages, and with its growth personal liberty and the institutions of free government have perished by the wayside. If this Government is to be overtaken by calamity, if there is to be revolution, change in its substance and form, it will come upon this vital point more quickly than on any other within the scope of my mental vision.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President, I have been convinced for months and years that nobody did the laboring man of the country any greater injury than those who attempted by appeals to his passion to inflame him, to incite him to unlawful acts. The laboring man of the country desires to submit to the laws of the country, and I think he asks no advocate of his right to disobey the laws of the country. The laboring man, I apprehend, does not want to enter into any unlawful combinations any more than he desires corporations to enter into unlawful combinations.

The real, true laboring man of this country desires to engage in no organization or association or to be guilty of no act which will destroy property, which will restrain trade, which will disastrously affect the operations of trade, and no greater injury can be done to him and his cause than intemperate appeals to him to defend any fancied right which he may have to engage in associations and organizations which are calculated to do public injury.

Now, as I said before, I do not propose at this time to discuss some decisions which have been rendered, which Senators say they have not read, and which I apprehend we have none of us examined so that we are thoroughly informed as to the point of those decisions. I simply want here and now to say that before the matter is thoroughly within our cognizance, before we understand exactly what has been decided, it is not wise to attack the judiciary of the United States; it is not wise to charge it with desiring to usurp power; it is not wise to intimate that judges are czars; it is not wise to talk about the disposition of the judiciary to reduce laborers to the condition of slaves and chain them to their oars.

That is not wise legislation. It is not wise discussion in the halls of legislation. We as legislators should have no passion about matters of this sort. Above all we should not seek for political advantage to be derived from occasions like this. The laboring man of this country will learn who his friends are. He

will not be deceived. He will not be deceived by frantic appeals to his passions, whether they take place on the floor of the Senate, or in the newspapers, or elsewhere. He has no desire to go beyond the limits of the law, and he has confidence, I believe, in the courts that he will be protected in all his legal rights.

I desire just to put in another remonstrance here. I do not believe, and I do not think the laboring man believes, that when engaged in the employment of common carriers he can choose his own time to leave that employment. The Senator from Indiana himself, seeing the length and breadth of the doctrine which he affirmed here—that it was the right of any man employed to leave his employment whenever he chose—puts in a disclaimer. He can talk in one breath about a man being chained to his car and he is forced in the next breath to say that he may not leave that car under all circumstances.

Common carriers are quasi public officers. They are engaged in the performance of a public duty, the transportation of passengers and property. Everybody who engages in their employment becomes a quasi public officer engaged in and responsible for the transportation of passengers and property, and neither the public carrier, be he corporation or individual nor the person employed by the public carrier, can quit his occupation in a way to damage passengers or property, in my judgment. That has been the law of all civilized nations for years and hundreds of years.

Can an engineer in a steamboat plying up and down the Potomac River in a storm choose that time to leave the employment of the common carrier that is transporting passengers and property along the river? Can he abandon his boat? Can he suffer it to go to ruin? Can he endanger the lives of the passengers and put the property in peril? Certainly he can not, any more than his employer can. Can a stage-driver, midway between the points of his route, in a dark night and a blizzard, say, "I choose this moment as the time when I will quit the service of my employer," and abandon his stage and the passengers to the fury of the storm? Can a person engaged by a railroad corporation abandon his occupation in a way to injure the property which is in the course of transportation? I apprehend not. I apprehend that no laboring man, that no employé, whether he belongs to an organization of labor or not, will set up that right.

Therefore it is not true—it is not true as a matter of law—that the employé can always quit the service of the common carrier. Just when and how he may quit that service I do not undertake to say. Under what circumstances he must, for the protection of the property which he is engaged in carrying, remain in the service, or at what point of time he may without injury to that company leave the service, is not the question here. That may well be left with the courts.

If the court has made any mistake in this decision, and I do not know enough about it to determine in my own mind whether it has or not, the Supreme Court of the United States will set it right. But what is to be gained by this intemperate talk about courts and judges and the judiciary and about chaining laborers to the car and making them galley slaves? The laboring man of this country, as I have already remarked, does not desire to do injury either to persons or property. He will, in my judgment, if he knows it, engage in no illegal combination, and if he does engage in illegal combinations he should be as much open to the decisions of the court as capital when it engages in illegal combinations. There is no distinction between capital and labor in this matter. Illegal combinations are what courts will aim at and what law should aim at and what lawmakers should aim at. Capital will not be shielded when it engages in illegal combinations, nor will labor or laborers be shielded if they engage in illegal combinations.

Do not let us lose our heads, Mr. President, for the sake of political advantage. Let us hold to principles. Combinations in restraint of trade, whether by capital or whether by laborers, are illegal, and combinations in restraint of trade which the United States Government has a right to protect, whether by capital or by laborers, should be dealt with with the same justice and the same vigor.

I again say that I do not discuss these cases, because I am not fully advised as to their scope and their meaning; but I do desire here to say that nothing is to be gained by rushing in such hot haste to defend laboring men from what after all may not have been any injustice to them.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I am not going now to enter into the discussion which seems to have been opened by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES]. I will be pardoned if I say that in my judgment that discussion is a little premature. But this matter will not, I trust, be without value to us now and hereafter.

I was very profoundly impressed with the speech made by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] when we were discussing what is known as the antioption bill, and when the other day he was discussing the election of United States Senators by the people. I will not say before we condemn, but before we proceed to criticise, anybody else, I submit that it is our duty to put our own house in order.

I know how difficult it is to resist appeals from a large body of my fellow-countrymen upon any given subject. I know how hard it is to say to them or to myself, you may conclude that that particular legislation is for your interest, but the Constitution of your country stands in the way, and I can not vote for it.

The agitation on this very proposition, begun several years ago, has been increasing in volume, in importance, I may say in intelligence. First, the demand was made upon Congress under what is known as the commerce clause of the Constitution to pass the interstate-commerce act and control the corporations of the country engaged in that business. We have heard from my distinguished friend the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM], usually so accurate, so conservative, so patriotic, the statement that he never dreamed for an instant that there was anything in that act which justified the decision of the courts in Ohio of which we have just heard.

It only shows, Mr. President, that with the exercise of all the sagacity and all the patriotism of which we are capable we sometimes tamper with and at least treat inconsiderately the grave and solemn provisions of the Constitution of the United States. It was done, sir, when we were discussing what was known as the antioption bill. It has been done again and again in this body and in the other House, yielding, as I have suggested, to what appears at least to be the demand of a large number of our fellow-countrymen whose voices are entitled to our consideration. As I stated, it is our duty to clear our own skirts before we inveigh against other coördinate branches of the Government. If there is in the tenth section of this act, which I hold in my hand, authority for the court to have made the decision which is said to have been made, the responsibility is upon ourselves and not upon the court.

If we have dealt lightly with the Constitution in our anxiety to control the commerce of this country, the fault and responsibility are with us and with nobody else. I will venture the assertion that it was not in the mind of a single Senator upon this floor, however able a lawyer he might be, that the authority for that decision could have been found in this provision of law.

Mr. HOAR. May I ask the Senator from South Carolina what he understands the substance of the decision to be when he makes that statement?

Mr. BUTLER. I have not read the decision.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator pardon me for one moment?

Mr. CULLOM. Let me read it.

Mr. BUTLER. I have only discussed it as I have heard it from Senators.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. BUTLER. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. Perhaps I am all wrong, because I have only hastily seen the decision in the papers; but I understand that the Congress of the United States enacted that no railroad corporation in this country should give a preference to any one railroad in handling its freight over any other; that it should deal with all equally and fairly without preference. That seems to be pretty sensible legislation.

If the Senator from South Carolina and myself present ourselves to a common carrier to take a parcel, he going first and I next, the common carrier can not lay his parcel aside and take mine first because he likes me better, if any such unreasonable carrier could be found, which is not very likely. That is the provision of our law. Certain employés of a railroad say, "We do not like a certain other railroad for some reason or other, and we will continue in the service of the common carrier." Of course all railroad corporations act only by their agencies and instrumentalities. The court comes in and says to this railroad company, "You and your servants and agents shall carry out that law and treat all other railroads with entire equality." Whereupon the engineers, or the workmen, whatever they are, continuing in the service of that road and not leaving it, say "We will not do it. Here is a railroad in South Carolina we do not like, and that railroad's freight shall not be moved when it comes to the road we are working on." The judge says that the injunction of a court of equity applies, when its mandate is to obey the law, not only to the corporation, but to all its servants, and you who undertake to continue in the service of that road shall not disobey the law.

I will venture to say, if I may be pardoned one other word, that if the court had said that thing to the president of the road or to the superintendent, or to any of the officials not denominated laborers, there would have been one universal chorus of approbation from the American people if the court had led him by the heels if he had disobeyed. I understand Judge Taft and

Judge Ricks have said that thing alike to all the servants and employés: "As long as you are servants and employés of that road you have got to obey this law, made in the interest of the United States and made also by the earnest request," as the honorable Senator from South Carolina has so eloquently said, "of the very men and class of men you belong to." That is the whole of it.

Mr. BUTLER. I am not expressing any opinion about the wisdom or unwisdom, the justice or injustice, of this decision, because I have not read it. Possibly the decision may be entirely proper; I make no criticism about it; but what I was saying is that if that decision goes to the extent represented and as was not contemplated in the act I hold in my hand, it was inadvertence or a want of consideration on our part. It may be entirely proper, but I have been told that the decision goes entirely beyond that, and prevents the employés from leaving the service of the corporation. How far we intended that to be done is a question. I have not condemned the decision. It seems to me, after reading this tenth section, that the court was right, because it is not restricted to corporations and to common carriers, but extends to persons as well, and all persons combining for the purpose of interfering with the freedom of interstate commerce. Whether that evil can be reached by injunction or in what form is one of the questions I understand we are to inquire into.

But, Mr. President, what I was trying to impress upon the Senate was that if no such decision was contemplated under this provision of the interstate-commerce act, it shows conclusively Congress was not careful in the enactment. I have no criticism to make upon anybody for that, for, as I said, I am perfectly aware how difficult it is, with all the precautions and all the conservatism, to avoid the occurrence of such things in the future.

If I were called upon to express an opinion as to what I conceive to be the greatest danger to the perpetuity of the Government as it was originally organized, I would say it was to be expected from the usurpations of Congress itself. It is the encroachment of the legislative department of the Government which threatens the safety of this country and the liberties of the people.

Congress is called upon from session to session to stretch out its arms and take within its scope not only the jurisdiction justified by the Constitution itself, but jurisdiction upon all conceivable subjects which had much better be left to the States and the people of the States. I doubted at the time, and I must say I see no reason to have that doubt removed, whether it was wise to pass this act. I am not surprised that results have flown from it which have startled Senators upon this floor. It is in my judgment an abuse of the commerce clause of the Constitution. Such an exercise of power was never contemplated by those who made that instrument. As oppressive as corporate power may be and may have been in this country, it is in the long run safer to leave their conduct to the laws of competition between themselves.

We are always in danger when we do not confine ourselves to the strict letter of the Constitution in our legislation, when we do not confine ourselves to a jurisdiction which is unquestioned and unquestionable. Whenever we transcend that we are in danger of just what has occurred under the tenth section of this act. As I desire to get the tenth section into the RECORD, I ask the Secretary to read it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The tenth section of the act of February 4, 1887, will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

SEC. 10. That any common carrier subject to the provisions of this act, or, whenever such common carrier is a corporation, any director or officer thereof, or any receiver, trustee, lessee, agent, or person acting for or employed by such corporation, who, alone or with any other corporation, company, person, or party, shall willfully do or cause to be done, or shall willingly suffer or permit to be done, any act, matter, or thing in this act prohibited or declared to be unlawful, or who shall aid or abet therein, or shall willfully omit or fail to do any act, matter, or thing in this act required to be done, or shall cause or willingly suffer or permit any act, matter, or thing so directed or required by this act to be done not to be so done, or shall aid or abet any such omission or failure, or shall be guilty of any infraction of this act, or shall aid or abet therein, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, upon conviction thereof in any district court of the United States within the jurisdiction of which such offense was committed, be subject to a fine of not to exceed $5,000 for each offense.

Mr. CULLOM. Mr. President, this whole discussion has been somewhat of a surprise to me, and I am inclined to think to everybody else, even to those of us who have taken part in it. But as there has been a good deal said about the decisions, since I had the honor to make a few remarks in the Senate a while ago I have received what purports to be the decision of Judge Ricks in the case at Toledo. As it is very brief, I think I will take the liberty of reading it to the Senate. Judge Ricks's decision is as follows:

This suit was instituted by the Toledo, Ann Arbor and North Michigan Railway Company to compel the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad, the Pennsylvania Company, and other defendants to receive from it and deliver to it freight and cars destined from one State to another, commonly known as interstate freight.

That was the case as it appeared in the United States courts.

The bill was drawn to enforce the third section of the interstate-commerce act, which provides:

The chairman of the committee has been commenting upon the tenth section of the act, which is the penalty section, but the suit is brought under the third section of the interstate-commerce act, and it reads as follows:

That it shall be unlawful for any common carrier subject to the provisions of this act to make or give any undue or unreasonable preference or advantage to any particular person, company, firm, corporation, or locality, or any particular description of traffic, in any respect whatsoever, or to subject any particular person, company, firm, corporation, or locality, or any particular description of traffic, to any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage in any respect whatsoever.

That seems to read pretty well and is the common law of the country.

The common carriers subject to the provisions of that act are defined by the statute to be "any common carrier or carriers engaged in the transportation of passengers or property wholly by railroad, or partly by railroad and partly by water, when both are used under a common control, management, or arrangement, for a continuous carriage or shipment from one State or Territory of the United States or the District of Columbia to any other State or Territory of the United States."

The subject-matter of this litigation is therefore the construction and enforcement of an act of Congress, and the court acquires jurisdiction because of the Federal question involved. That such question is involved I think too plain for serious controversy. It is sufficient to constitute a case for cognizance by a Federal court if it involves but a single ingredient or question dependent on the Constitution or a law or a treaty of the United States, although it may at the same time involve any other questions that depend on the general principles of law. Chief Justice Marshall, in Osborn *vs.* United States Bank, 9 Wheaton, 738, considered——

Mr. DAVIS. Ogden?

Mr. CULLOM. Ogden is, I believe, the real report, but it says here "Wheaton"—

this point, and came to the following conclusion: "We think, then, that when a question to which the judicial power of the Union is extended by the Constitution forms an ingredient of the original case, it is in the power of Congress to give circuit courts jurisdiction of that cause, although other questions of fact or law may be involved in it."

Remedies of a similar nature might undoubtedly be invoked under the statutes and the common law, but the act in question affords the broadest, most effective relief, and the jurisdiction is therefore safely grounded upon that law.

Upon the filing of this bill on the 11th day of March, and upon application of the complainant to me at chambers, in Cleveland, a mandatory injunction was allowed, directed to the defendants, their agents, officers, servants, and employés, and it was therein ordered that the said defendants, Albert G. Blair, Jacob S. Morris, the Pennsylvania Company, the Wheeling and Lake Erie Railway Company, the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company, the Michigan Central Railroad Company, the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railroad Company, the Columbus, Hocking Valley and Toledo Railway Company, the Toledo and Ohio Central Railway Company, the Cincinnati, Jackson and Mackinaw Railway Company, and each of them and their officers, agents, servants, and employés be, and they are hereby, enjoined and restrained from refusing to offer and extend to the said Toledo, Ann Arbor and North Michigan Railroad Company the same equal facilities for interchange of traffic on interstate business between said railway companies as are enjoyed by other railway companies, and from refusing to receive from the said Toledo, Ann Arbor and North Michigan Railway Company cars billed from points in one State to points in another State which may be offered to said defendant companies the complainant, and from refusing to deliver in like manner to said complainant cars which may be billed over said complainant's line, from points in one State to points in other States, which may be offered to said defendant companies by the complainant, and from refusing to deliver in like manner to said complainant cars which may be billed over complainant's line from points in one State to points in other States.

"Ordered that a writ of injunction be issued out of and under the seal of this court as prayed for in the bill of complaint, to remain in force until the further orders of court herein."

The application for this order was made to me at chambers, in Cleveland, late on Saturday night, March 11. The situation set out in the bill disclosed an emergency in which prompt action was necessary. I had granted a similar mandatory order in 1891 on a bill for an injunction filed in this court by the Wheeling and Lake Erie Railroads, and it was enforced with beneficent results as against its engineers, firemen, and trainmen, who had refused to handle interstate-commerce freight loaded on cars consigned to various ports on Lakes Superior and Michigan. The bill in this case clearly entitled the complainant to relief as against the defendant railroads, who were threatening to refuse to receive or deliver interstate freight.

The section of the interstate-commerce law above quoted made it mandatory upon connecting railroads to receive and deliver passengers and freight and to afford equal facilities for the interchange of traffic. Corporations can act only through their officers, agents, and servants, so that the mandatory provisions of the law which apply to the corporation apply with equal force to its officers and employés. The authority of the court to issue such an order has been questioned, but it rests on well-established principles. In Beadl *vs.* Perry, L. R., 3 Eq. 465, a mandatory injunction was granted on motion by Sir John Stewart, V. C.

Judge Ricks also read Judge Taft's decision in the Ann Arbor injunction case, in which the temporary injunction against Chief Arthur, of the Engineers' Brotherhood, is allowed.

Mr. BUTLER. Will the Senator allow me to state that the tenth section to which I referred is an amendment of the original act?

Mr. CULLOM. That is true, but the whole law as it is now was before the judges, and the decision was really made under the third section, which requires fair treatment by one railroad of all the rest.

Mr. BUTLER. Is not that the section which prevents pooling?

Mr. CULLOM. No; it is not. The third section is not the pooling section.

Mr. BUTLER. The fifth section, I should say.

Mr. CULLOM. The fifth section is the antipooling section.

Mr. BUTLER. That is an amendment to the original text of the law.

Mr. CULLOM. Yes. The section to which the Senator referred and had inserted in the RECORD is the penal section of the statute.

Mr. BUTLER. Exactly.

Mr. CULLOM. But the decision of the court is under the third section, which, I think, is the law of England and of almost every other country where any legislation exists on this general subject.

As the chairman of the committee has taken occasion to make some remarks concerning the propriety of this interstate-commerce legislation, I simply desire to say that the people of the United States have been divided into three classes: One class requiring the Government to own the railroads; another class requiring that Congress should put in force the commercial clause of the Constitution for the regulation of interstate commerce; and the third class, the railroads themselves, not wanting anything done at all.

That is about the statement of the division of sentiment upon this question. The laboring classes themselves, together with the great body of the people of this country, long before any legislation was completed in the Congress of the United States under the provisions of the Constitution, were demanding that something should be done. The Senator intimates that we have made haste about interstate legislation——

Mr. BUTLER. Oh no, Mr. President; I did not criticise the Senator adversely at all.

Mr. CULLOM. I do not understand that the Senator criticised me at all.

Mr. BUTLER. No; I said I thought perhaps we had proceeded inconsiderately.

Mr. CULLOM. I understand that was the remark of the Senator; but the fact is that the Congress of the United States had this subject under consideration for ten years before anything was ever accomplished. A further fact is that for nearly one hundred years after the Constitution was adopted containing that commercial clause, giving Congress directly the control of the regulation of interstate commerce, nothing whatever had been passed except two little acts of Congress, one allowing the consolidation of railroads, and the other providing for the unloading of cattle and watering them somewhere between Illinois and the far West and New York. It seemed to the people of the United States that the time had come when that provision of the Constitution should be vitalized and that Congress should assert its power in the regulation of commerce over these great common carriers of the country.

So far as the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate is concerned, as the Senator from South Carolina, now the chairman of that committee, intimates, we approached this subject with great conservatism. We thought we were as careful as possible; we allowed the matter to run along session after session before we came to a conclusion, and when we did arrive at a conclusion we thought we had secured the passage of an act which would result not only in the protection of the great body of the people of this country in their individual rights, but in every other way; that we had put in force an act of Congress which would, to some extent at least, control and regulate these great corporations, which I regard as a very dangerous element in this country, unless they are regulated by the Government of the United States. Such vast wealth in control of a few men becomes a danger not under control of government. To-day there are about $10,000,000,000 worth of property in these railroad corporations. Perhaps one-eighth of all the wealth of the United States to-day is in the railroad companies of the United States, and the railroad corporations are substantially as one. They necessarily almost and naturally drift together, and practically they are controlled by a half-dozen men in this country.

I thought and the people thought and Congress thought that the time had come when some restraint and regulation should be enacted by Congress for the purpose of preventing these corporations from imposition or oppression upon the people in whatever way they might see proper to undertake to enforce it.

I have never had any disposition to impose unnecessary restraints upon the railroad companies. I am certain that my efforts as one Senator, feeble as they have been, have been in the line, as I thought, of protecting the great masses of the people of this country from imposition, extortion, unjust discrimination, or oppression in any way, including the great laboring class of nearly a million people operating these railroads.

I do not see anything in the decision of Judge Ricks which at this moment I desire to criticise. I do not recognize the right of the Government to say under all circumstances that a man must work and that he shall not stop. I recognize and believe in the freedom of the people of this country. I can very well conceive, however, of cases where a man employed as an engineer or in any other capacity in operating a railroad ought not to be at liberty to lay down his oar and desert the ship, if I may use that illustration; but I believe in the freedom of the great masses of the people who are operating the railroads of the country to quit when they please, as a general proposition, and there is not anything in that decision, so far as I can see in reading it, which interferes with that individual right of any man.

Mr. President, I do not care to discuss this subject longer, but I think it has been demonstrated by the discussion here to-day that the subject needs to be investigated by the Committee on Interstate Commerce or some other committee, so that when the next session convenes we may know what the law is, what the decisions are, and what the rights are as between the corporations and the men who are operating them as subordinates, as well as what are the rights of the people at large.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, I wish to say a word upon the pending question. I think the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM] is quite right. The question is one of importance. The committee ought to sit during the recess of Congress and ought to investigate the subject.

The question involved is whether or not the right of a court to punish for contempt is unlimited, whether it supersedes the constitutional provisions which guarantee to a citizen the security of his personal freedom from arrest except under process of law and in the manner provided in the Constitution of the United States.

It is an unheard-of proposition that a judge shall turn the act of a citizen in declining to perform a duty, solvable in damages, a violation of a contract, into a criminal act, and deprive him of the right of trial by jury, of indictment, of confronting his witnesses, and of defending himself. How far is this power to punish for contempt in the breast of a single judge, restrained by no guarantees, no reservations of personal right, to extend?

The interstate-commerce law provides that certain offenses shall be penal, makes them criminal, and certain otherwise simple violations of contract obligations assumed upon the civil side of the court, and there to be determined, it makes under certain circumstances penal; but does that divest the citizen of his right to trial in the manner provided by the Constitution of the United States? That is the grave question; and that is the point where the civil liberties and the rights of the citizen are involved. The Constitution says:

> The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

It further directs that no person shall be deprived of his liberty without due process of law. Is the process of contempt due process of law, except in the most restricted cases, where there is an open defiance of the jurisdictional power, a rightful exercise of power by the court? Certainly not. If it be true that the power of the court to issue an injunction upon a laborer requiring him to perform a duty which he has contracted to perform can be punished as a contempt of court by his incarceration, then there is no limit to the judicial power.

I do not agree with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] that there have been usurpations of the legislative power. The supreme sovereign legislature of this country is the people, and Congress is the people's representative, it obeys the voice of the people, and, in my judgment, it is a necessary part of this Constitution for the protection of the people.

This great consolidation of capital which teaches us that property has superior rights to human life and to mankind and to the personal liberties of men ought not to have a place in our system of government or in the deliberations of this body. This power of contempt, arbitrary and unlimited, should be restrained by law, and this tribunal here is the place where should be considered what shall be the restraints and the limitations placed upon it. If it be necessary for the common carriers of this country to have enlisted men bound to military service, let the law be so framed and so considered, but let it be done with a full knowledge on the part of the man that he sacrifices his civil rights and his personal rights for advantages which may be given to him.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, this discussion seems to have taken a wide range. If I understand it, the question before the Senate is the resolution of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] authorizing the Committee on Indian Affairs to make investigations during the vacation, which resolution it is proposed to refer to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. I ask to be corrected if I am wrong.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PLATT in the chair). The Chair would state that when that resolution was introduced the Senator from Massschusetts [Mr. HOAR] made an objection that

it should lie over until to-morrow, but, some Senators desiring to be heard on it, the Senator from Massachusetts withdrew his objection for that purpose. That is the way the matter now stands.

Mr. CHANDLER. That is the resolution now pending. With reference to that resolution, I hope, when it comes before the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, that it may be adopted. The Committee on Indian Affairs having deemed it important to the transaction of its business that authority to sit during the vacation should be given, I am in favor of giving it to them. I am willing to trust to the committee not to abuse the discretion intrusted to them by the Senate, as I think nearly every committee of this body is worthy of being similarly trusted by the Senate.

Mr. President, the larger portion of the debate appears to have been upon a resolution reported this morning from the Committee on Interstate Commerce, which was a resolution originally introduced by the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HIGGINS]. It proposed to authorize an investigation during the recess of the Senate by the Committee on Interstate Commerce, in the first place, of the expediency of modifying that portion of the interstate-commerce law which prohibits pooling under any circumstances, and also to investigate the subject of sealing and closing cars and of bonding merchandise along our Northern borders. That resolution being before the Committee on Interstate Commerce, a resolution was introduced in the Senate by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], in which he proposed that the committee should be authorized to inquire into the expediency of further legislation concerning the interstate-commerce law in its relation to the employés of railroads and other common carriers in view of recent judicial decisions.

The Committee on Interstate Commerce have reported back the resolution introduced by the Senator from Delaware substantially as he offered it. The committee have also added to that resolution a clause proposing an investigation substantially as requested by the Senator from Indiana. The clause is divested of some of the rhetoric which naturally and perhaps befittingly accompanied the resolution coming from the Senator from Indiana, and I ask the attention of the Senator from Indiana a moment, if he will kindly give it to me.

I stated that the Committee on Interstate Commerce had introduced into the resolution of the Senator from Delaware a clause covering the objects and purposes sought to be accomplished by the Senator from Indiana in the resolution which he had introduced. I desire the Senator from Indiana to examine that clause before the resolution comes up for action, in order to determine whether it satisfactorily embraces the scope of the inquiry which he wishes to have conducted by the committee.

Mr. VOORHEES. Does the Senator allude to the resolution reported from the committee this morning?

Mr. CHANDLER. Yes; to be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Mr. VOORHEES. I have examined it, and I think it does cover the ground embraced in the resolution I offered. It gives a latitude to the action of the committee that will go into the matter which I desire to have investigated.

Mr. CHANDLER. It is perhaps due to the Senator that I should repeat the remark that I made when he was not in his seat, and that is, that the committee took the liberty of divesting his resolution of some of that exuberant rhetoric with which the Senator is accustomed to clothe his ideas when they are presented to the Senate; but it is not the intention of the committee, I beg to say to the Senator, to limit in the slightest degree the scope of the investigation which he proposed. If the language reported is not sufficient, I hope he will take occasion to-morrow, when the resolution comes up, to have it made explicit.

Mr. VOORHEES. When a man once makes a statement on this floor which is rather foolish he need not take occasion to repeat it to me the second time because I did not hear it the first. I do not know of any exuberance in this cold and matter-of-fact resolution, unless it is in the tenth section of the law which I have set out or in the luxuriant fancy of the Senator from New Hampshire.

I will now trust him to go on and make further remarks, as I have to retire from the Senate for a little while, and if I do happen to come in, I trust he will not take occasion to repeat them to me, as he has in this instance.

Mr. CHANDLER. If the Senator will allow me, before he retires, to explain what he calls my foolishness, the reason for my repetition was that I did not wish him to say that I had said while he was out of the Senate Chamber what I would not have said when he was in the Chamber.

Mr. VOORHEES. I never take exception to anything the Senator says.

Mr. CHANDLER. I almost always agree with the Senator in his humane and rhetorical expressions, but it was certainly difficult to incorporate them into the body of a resolution of investigation, and therefore he will excuse their omission.

Mr. President, I hope when it comes back from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, if the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. WHITE], who is the chairman of that committee, should report it back and be of opinion that the state of the contingent fund will allow of such an investigation, that the resolution will be adopted without any dissent by the Senate.

I believe the questions which are proposed for investigation are those of great importance to the public interest. I believe the question whether the prohibitions of pooling contained in the present law should be abolished and railroad competition prohibited by an act of Congress should receive careful investigation. I believe the questions connected with border transportation over our own roads and over the Canadian roads should receive further investigation; and I certainly believe that the subject which has been introduced by the resolution of the Senator from Indiana should be most carefully considered by the Senate and next winter by both Houses of Congress.

I do not know that the question is in a situation to be largely discussed at this time. It is perhaps unjust to the judiciary. If the decisions of the judges are to be made the subject of animadversion in the Senate, it is perhaps just to them that the discussion be postponed until a more careful examination can be made than has already been made of those decisions.

The question whether the employés of a railroad company, the employés of a common carrier, can be ordered to continue their work and not to strike upon the theory that a strike is a conspiracy against interstate transportation, and therefore the courts of the country can order the workmen not to strike, not to cease their work, is a question of infinite moment to the laboring men of this country, and it is perhaps of equal importance in a different sense to the corporations of the country.

I must confess, without being able to join in the language of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN], who imputes to the judiciary in the cases which have already been decided those powers which are possessed alone by an autocratic ruler like the Czar of Russia—which I think was the expression of the Senator—that I am not prepared myself to see indorsed by the people of this country the proposition that by process of mandatory injunction men can be compelled to work for a corporation when they wish to quit work.

I think the great trouble that is threatened by these recent decisions is the one that has been stated so admirably by the Senator from Florida. It is the magnifying of judicial power, so that by injunctions the persons who are enjoined are not merely commanded not to do certain acts, but they are required upon pain of contempt of court to affirmatively perform certain acts which they conceive it is their privilege and their right as citizens to refrain from performing.

Mr. President, this is a recent power of courts of justice. It is a jurisdiction that has grown up in recent years. I very much question whether it is a power that ought to be extended by the construction of judges and of courts. The power of mandatory injunction is a very dangerous power for courts to use. It is a power which, under olden conditions and in former times, was rarely if ever exercised. The power of courts of equity was to prevent irreparable mischief by commanding the persons to whom the writs were sent negatively to abstain from doing that which would perpetrate a wrong.

But, Mr. President, under this modern system the courts undertake not merely to enjoin against wrongs, but they undertake to command the right to be done under the pains and penalties of being adjudged in contempt of court and without trial by jury to be imprisoned according to the pleasure of the court. I conceive that that is a very serious power, and is one which, if the courts of the United States are undertaking to exercise it, should be carefully inquired into and considered by the Senate of the United States and by both Houses of Congress with reference to a determination of the question whether by statute some limitation shall not be put upon the equity powers of the United States courts.

Mr. President, I have deemed it advisable to say this much because this question has come up for discussion. I wish to utter a further thought, and that is one of regret that the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER], the chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce, has seen fit upon this occasion to discredit somewhat, as I think, the interstate-commerce law. The merits of that law have been well stated by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM], the late chairman of the committee. He has undertaken to show to the Senate that the enactment of that law was deemed an important protection to the people of this country in view of the consolidation of the railroad companies of the country, by which, as he says, nearly

$10,000,000,000 of corporate capital has been practically aggregated in one mass for the purpose of doing the transportation business of the country and of protecting the capital so employed.

I repeat, now that the Senator from South Carolina is in his seat, I regret that he as chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee should have taken occasion to discredit this great statute as one which he believes ought not to have been passed.

Mr. BUTLER. The Senator from New Hampshire is entirely mistaken. My remarks were based entirely upon what fell from the Senator from Illinois. He said that he himself was surprised that that provision was in the act. That was the ground of my criticism.

Mr. CHANDLER. It is in regard to a certain clause in the act, do I understand the Senator?

Mr. BUTLER. He said he was astonished and surprised.

Mr. CHANDLER. Which clause does the Senator refer to, the antipooling clause?

Mr. BUTLER. The clause under which the decision was made. So I understood the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. CHANDLER. The clause under which the decision was made makes the doing of certain acts under the law, or the omission to do certain acts under the law, a penal offense; but it nowhere contains the jurisdiction, I understand, by process of equity and by orders of injunction to do what the courts are now undertaking to do. If I am wrong about that, the Senator from South Carolina will correct me.

Mr. BUTLER. I really am not able to inform the Senator. He has read the act as much as I have. I was expressing no opinion whatever about what the act did contain, except that we ought to be very careful in making laws to be sure that the thing shall not be accomplished which appears to have been accomplished in the estimation of the Senator from Illinois under this very act, and which he says was not contemplated by it.

Mr. CHANDLER. This section certainly does not contain a clause investing the courts of the United States, specifically or generally, with any such jurisdiction as the courts are now assuming.

Mr. BUTLER. I am not prepared to express an opinion on that point.

Mr. CHANDLER. Certainly the Senator knows that the question what the jurisdiction of the United States courts shall be is a question wholly within the powers of Congress.

Mr. BUTLER. It is statutory entirely.

Mr. CHANDLER. I certainly understood the Senator from South Carolina, when I came in the Senate a little while ago, to be speaking of the whole interstate-commerce act and to be saying that he did not think and never had thought the interstate-commerce act was a wise statute.

Mr. BUTLER. I will state what I did not state a while ago, that I voted against the act when it was passed. That would rather indicate what my opinion was about it.

Mr. CHANDLER. I am not undertaking, of course, to call the Senator to any account for his action then or for his action now. The Senator might have thought the act ought not to have been passed, and he might think to-day that it was an unwise act, but certainly the Senator from South Carolina, as it is upon the statute books, will be in favor of having the act enforced.

I merely wish myself to say that I regard this statute as one of the most important and beneficent statutes that was ever enacted by the Congress of the United States. I do not believe that the people of this country would ever have tolerated the consolidation of its great railroads into a few trunk lines of enormous capital, gradually taking possession of all the feeders and branch lines until making, as I understand there are to-day, eight great trunk lines between Chicago and the seaboard, with, upon an average, $1,000,000,000 of capital in one way or another involved in each one of the great trunk lines, and the whole of them, so far as the question of competition is concerned, so far as the question of pooling is concerned, engaged in a united effort to defeat the operation of this great and beneficent statute—I do not believe that the people of this country would ever have tolerated this extraordinary and these complete consolidations of the great railroads of the country if there had not been placed upon the statute book of the United States a law in which the American people declared that the people of the country should be protected from extortionate rates and from discrimination and from all manner of inequalities that could be devised by the railroad companies, and that the people of the country should be protected from all this by the paramount power of the Congress of the United States.

Mr. BUTLER. Will the Senator from New Hampshire allow me a moment?

Mr. CHANDLER. Certainly.

Mr. BUTLER. The Senator says it is a wise and beneficent act, and I am not going to take any issue with him about that; but if it should turn out that there is authority in the very wise law of which he speaks to deprive the laboring classes of this country of their liberties, would the Senator still insist that it was wise to allow it to remain so? I agree with him that if Congress has the constitutional power to control these large transportation companies it is the duty of Congress to do so.

I would state generally, if he will permit me one word more, that in my view the more Congress keeps its hands off the business interests of the country the better it will be for the country, the people, and the business interests themselves. That I state as a general proposition. Under the commerce clause of the Constitution it might be the duty of Congress to regulate the matter, but if it should turn out, as I said, that the act itself deprives the laboring classes of their liberties and prevents their leaving their employment when they choose, would the Senator be in favor of sustaining that?

Mr. CHANDLER. I answer the Senator frankly, no; and if the Senator had been in his seat a few moments ago he would have heard me express great fear as to the extraordinary power of mandatory injunction which the courts of the United States have lately assumed. I say it is a dangerous power.

But I call the attention of the Senate to the fact that there is not any such power expressly given by the language in this statute. Acts are forbidden and acts are commanded in the statute, but the courts of the United States are not told that they may issue such orders as the Senator and I both understand have recently been issued.

Mr. BUTLER. But, Mr. President——

Mr. CHANDLER. Therefore, if the Senator will wait one moment, when I will yield to him, I say the complaint that is to be made of these decisions, if it is to be made at all, and I do not see how we can tell whether it is to be made at all until we have made the inquiry which the committee proposes—I say the complaint is a complaint of the courts and their jurisdiction, and is not and can not be made a complaint against anything that is to be found within the four corners of the interstate commerce statute itself.

Mr. BUTLER. Then the position in which the Senator finds himself is that he is undertaking to decide a judicial question, and, as he knows, the Senate of the United States is not an appellate court. There is a very well-recognized power to cure those defects, if there are such defects. I can not undertake to say in this summary way whether that authority is in the act or not; but I will assume that if it is not, and any subordinate court has attempted to exercise a power which is not contained in the law itself, that error will be corrected by the Supreme Court of the United States. That I must assume until the contrary appears. Therefore I think the discussion as to whether that provision is in the act or not is entirely aside from the real issue.

Mr. CHANDLER. I believe the Senator from South Carolina and I now agree perfectly.

Mr. BUTLER. I am glad to know that the Senator thinks this is not an appellate tribunal and that the Supreme Court can correct the evil of which he himself complains.

Mr. CHANDLER. That may be, Mr. President, if the jurisdiction is not now given by any existing statute; but if the jurisdiction has been extended to mandatory injunctions to secure the working of railroad trains and Congress does not believe that the equity jurisdiction exists, it is certainly competent for Congress to repeal any law that gives such jurisdiction.

I for one, Mr. President, only sought in this connection in my remarks to dissent from the statement of the Senator from South Carolina to the effect, as I thought, that he considered the interstate-commerce act to be to-day an unwise law upon the statute books. I do not so consider it. I think that this discussion, as I stated in the beginning, is somewhat premature upon a resolution which is not before the Senate, and which is only to come up to-morrow, or whenever the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate shall have reported the resolution which was submitted from the Committee on Interstate Commerce this morning by the Senator from South Carolina.

The Senator from Maryland undertook to animadvert with considerable severity upon the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], as if the Senator from Ohio had objected to the resolution reported by the Senator from South Carolina from the Committee on Interstate Commerce; whereas the Senator from Ohio merely raised the question upon the resolution authorizing the Committee on Indian Affairs to make an investigation. He did, it is true, suggest that extravagant expenditures should not be authorized, but I understand he made no allusion whatever to the resolution which is now under discussion, but which is not before the Senate, and confined himself strictly to the resolution which is now before the Senate.

Mr. BUTLER. I did not so understand the Senator from Ohio. I thought he was general in his condemnation of the practice of

the Senate in authorizing committees to investigate questions during the recess.

Mr. CHANDLER. I think up to the time when the Senator from Maryland criticised the Senator from Ohio there had not been a word said about this interstate-commerce investigation. The Senator from Ohio will remember better than I.

Mr. PALMER. Mr. President, I entertain some views in regard to the recent decisions in question that have not yet been expressed by any member of the Senate, and I hope when the subject is again before the Senate that I shall have an opportunity of expressing them. I understand that there is now a disposition on the part of some Senators to proceed to the consideration of executive business, and I will at present yield the floor, with the hope that I shall have an opportunity of stating my opinions when the subject is again called up.

Mr. SHERMAN. I rose to suggest that the discussion had better be postponed.

Mr. BUTLER. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. HOAR. I call for a division on that motion.

Mr. CALL. Will the Senator from South Carolina withdraw the motion for a moment?

Mr. BUTLER. Certainly.

INCREASE OF COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP.

Mr. CALL. I ask unanimous consent that to-morrow morning, after the reading of the Journal, I may be allowed to call up the resolution which lies on the table in reference to the enlargement of certain committees of the Senate, for the purpose of submitting some observations upon it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Florida?

Mr. HARRIS. I ask the Senator from Florida to change his request, so that if there is any morning business in the form of resolutions which are not going to consume time in debate, the discussion of the resolution he has introduced may come up after the regular morning business.

Mr. CALL. I agree to that.

INVESTIGATION BY COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY.

Mr. GEORGE. By the kindness of the Senator from South Carolina, I desire to introduce a resolution, and as it is unusual, it is necessary for me to make a little explanation, which I hope the Senate will indulge me in making.

The resolution provides that the Secretary of the Senate shall set apart for the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry out of the contingent fund $5,000 to be used in an investigation directed by the Senate into the condition of agriculture in this country, the prices of cotton, wheat, etc. That resolution was first passed in the last Congress in April, 1892. I applied to the Secretary of the Senate then for some funds with which to conduct a part of the investigation, I being the chairman of a subcommittee. I found that nearly the whole fund had been preoccupied by other resolutions which had been passed by the Senate, and the sum of only $1,000 remained to be used by the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry in this great investigation. The result of it was that there was just the beginning of the investigation made. An expert was employed and the investigation started.

I will here state that the sum of only $15 of that $1,000 was used in paying the expenses of any member of the subcommittee. One member of the subcommittee visited the city of New York twice on that business. He had also private business at the same time, and he divided the expenses and charged the fund with $15.

Apprehending a similar trouble this year, I introduced a resolution at the last session continuing the investigation authorized by the prior resolution of the Senate, and I thought I would be in time. The Committee on Agriculture and Forestry have held a meeting and apportioned the work between two subcommittees, one subcommittee to have charge of the cotton investigation, the other subcommittee to have charge of all the other agricultural productions of the country.

I made application to have set apart to the committee, as I understood had been formerly the practice, the sum of $5,000 to pay the expenses of the two subcommittees, the experts, etc. I am informed to-day by the Secretary of the Senate that so many resolutions have been passed authorizing expenditures from the contingent fund that the small sum which I have asked for the benefit of the two subcommittees will probably not be available; at least I can not get an assignment of that sum, so that the committee is in doubt as to what course to pursue. The Secretary very kindly stated to me that he would be glad if by some authority of the appropriate Senate committee or some action of the body the assignment should be made and he should be released from the responsibility.

Under these circumstances I have thought it my duty, as the investigations which have been commenced are of a most interesting character to the farmers of the United States, to relieve the Secretary of the Senate from the difficulty about an assignment, and I have prepared a resolution, which, as I write a very bad hand, I will read in the hearing of the Senate for fear the clerks may not be able to read it:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he is hereby, instructed to set apart for the investigation of the condition of agriculture in the United States, etc., as directed by the resolution of the Senate to be made by the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, the sum of $5,000, one thousand of which to be paid out of the contingent fund available for the present fiscal year and the remainder out of the contingent fund for the next fiscal year.

I make the explanation, and ask that the resolution be printed. Under the rule it lies over, I believe, until to-morrow, and then I shall call it up for action.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered.

PHOTOGRAPHIC COPIES OF SENATE ARCHIVES.

Mr. BLACKBURN. I ask at this time unanimous consent to make a report from the Committee on Rules of a resolution which was referred to that committee. I report the resolution back favorably with an amendment, and ask unanimous consent to have it considered now, as it will provoke no debate and is a matter of some importance.

Mr. HOAR. Let it be first read for information.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read, together with the amendment reported by the Committee on Rules.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he is hereby, directed to allow, under his supervision and subject to his directions, the representative of the Department of Justice on the board of management of the World's Columbian Exposition to have photographic copies made of certain ancient executive communications on file in the archives of the United States Senate for exhibition at the World's Columbian Exposition, as follows: The nominations by the President of the Chief Justices and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, embraced in Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 14, 16, 27, 28, 31, 35, 37, 40; also nominations of Ellsworth and Fuller, and Jefferson's address to the Senate on taking the oath of office.

The amendment reported by the Committee on Rules was to add to the resolution:

Provided, That the copies above referred to are to be used solely for the purposes of exhibition at the Columbian Exposition, and upon its conclusion are to be delivered to the Secretary of the Senate: *And provided further*, That the negatives from which the copies are printed shall also be delivered to the Secretary of the Senate.

Mr. BLACKBURN. I desire to say that the amendment recommended by the Committee on Rules is intended to prevent the sale and distribution generally over the country of copies of the archives which are named in the resolution. The amendment of the committee proposes to put the work completely under the control and in the hands of the Secretary of the Senate. It adds further that, as soon as these copies are made, the negatives shall be left in the custody of the Secretary, and that those copies, when made, shall be used for no purpose except for exhibition at the Columbian World's Exposition, and when that shall have been concluded they shall be returned to the Secretary of the Senate. They are all in one book, and the Secretary of the Senate assures the committee that there is no danger of any defacement or injury resulting.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? The Chair hears none. The question is on the adoption of the amendment reported by the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

EXECUTIVE BUSINESS.

Mr. GORMAN. I renew the motion that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. HOAR. On that I demand a division.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Maryland that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business, on which the Senator from Massachusetts demands a division.

The Senate proceeded to divide; and the ayes were 17.

Mr. GORMAN. Let us have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DAVIS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE].

Mr. GEORGE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH]. If he were present I should vote "yea."

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. VILAS] on all political questions.

Mr. GEORGE. I suggest to the Senator from Oregon that as I am paired with his colleague [Mr. DOLPH] we might both vote by a transfer of pairs. Will that do?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I have no objection to that course. I vote "nay."

Mr. GEORGE. I vote "yea."

Mr. WASHBURN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. CAMDEN].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CHANDLER. I desire to announce my pair on this question with the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. GORDON]. If he were present I should vote "nay."

Mr. POWER. I will announce my pair with the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. WHITE].

Mr. CALL (after having voted in the affirmative). I am paired with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I did not understand the pair to relate to the question of going into executive session or an adjournment; but I will transfer my pair on this occasion to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] and let my vote stand.

Mr. BUTLER (after having voted in the affirmative). I think I ought to state that I have a general pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CAMERON], but I understand it does not apply to a motion to proceed to the consideration of executive business, and therefore I will let my vote stand.

Mr. HOAR. May I be permitted to say that if this be not a question on which the two parties divide on party lines I do not know what is.

Mr. HARRIS. I did not hear the remark of the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. HOAR. I will repeat it. I said that if this were not a question on which the two parties divided on party lines I did not know what was.

Mr. MILLS (after having voted in the affirmative). Then I withdraw my vote. I am paired with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER].

Mr. BUTLER. I think that I am conferring a favor upon the Senator from Pennsylvania by voting, because if the vote should develop the want of a quorum it would probably necessitate sending for him. However, if that is the understanding on the other side I do not want to violate any obligation, and I withdraw my vote.

Mr. STOCKBRIDGE. I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. MCMILLAN] is away on important business, and is paired with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. RANSOM].

The result was announced—yeas 24, nays 10; as follows:

YEAS—24.

Bate,	Faulkner,	Hill,	Palmer,
Blackburn,	George,	Hunton,	Pasco,
Brice,	Gibson,	Kyle,	Peffer,
Caffery,	Gorman,	McPherson,	Pugh,
Call,	Gray,	Martin,	Vance,
Coke,	Harris,	Murphy,	Vest.

NAYS—10.

Cullom,	Higgins,	Morrill,	Stockbridge.
Hansbrough,	Hoar,	Platt,	
Hawley,	Mitchell, Oregon	Sherman,	

NOT VOTING—50.

Aldrich,	Dixon,	Manderson,	Stewart,
Allen,	Dolph,	Mills,	Teller,
Allison,	Dubois,	Mitchell, Wis.	Turpie,
Berry,	Frye,	Morgan,	Vilas,
Butler,	Gallinger,	Pettigrew,	Voorhees,
Camden,	Gordon,	Power,	Walthall,
Cameron,	Hale,	Proctor,	Washburn,
Carey,	Irby,	Ransom,	White, Cal.
Chandler,	Jones, Ark.	Roach,	White, La.
Cockrell,	Jones, Nev.	Shoup,	Wilson,
Colquitt,	Lindsay,	Smith,	Wolcott.
Daniel,	Lodge,	Squire,	
Davis,	McMillan,	Stanford,	

The VICE-PRESIDENT. No quorum having voted, the Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Bate,	Faulkner,	Hunton,	Platt,
Blackburn,	George,	Kyle,	Power,
Brice,	Gibson,	McPherson,	Pugh,
Butler,	Gorman,	Martin,	Sherman,
Caffery,	Gray,	Mills,	Stockbridge,
Call,	Hansbrough,	Mitchell, Oregon	Vance,
Chandler,	Harris,	Morrill,	Vest,
Cockrell,	Hawley,	Murphy,	Washburn.
Coke,	Higgins,	Palmer,	
Cullom,	Hill,	Pasco,	
Davis,	Hoar,	Peffer,	

Mr. GEORGE. I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. WALTHALL] is absent from the city owing to illness, and that he is absent in accordance with the advice of his physician.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Forty-one Senators have responded to their names. No quorum is present.

Mr. GORMAN. There is unquestionably a quorum in the city, but it would probably be difficult to get it here this afternoon. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, April 11, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

TUESDAY, *April 11, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] from the Committee on Privileges and Elections. The resolution will be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. GORMAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. CALL. Unless there is some very special reason for an executive session, I obtained unanimous consent yesterday to address the Senate this morning on the resolution I introduced proposing the enlargement of certain committees, and I should like to proceed.

Mr. GORMAN. I think it important to have a short executive session.

Mr. CALL. Then I will yield.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that unanimous consent was given yesterday for the Senator from Florida to proceed this morning.

Mr. GORMAN. I understand, but the Senator from Florida yields for an executive session.

Mr. CALL. I will yield and postpone my remarks.

Mr. HOAR. Does that require unanimous consent?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Maryland, that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. HOAR. I hope the Senator from Florida will proceed with his remarks according to the unanimous understanding of the Senate. It was the agreement that this time should be devoted to his remarks, and I do not think he should waive his right.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Florida has yielded to the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senator from Florida has certainly a right to yield the floor to the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. HOAR. Certainly he has that right.

Mr. COCKRELL. He has done that.

Mr. HOAR. But it destroys the unanimous consent which had been previously given to proceed with his remarks this morning.

Mr. CALL. I do not desire to interfere with the orderly progress of business if there are any executive matters of importance to be considered.

Mr. CHANDLER. Upon the motion to proceed to the consideration of executive business I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. COCKRELL. We join in the request on this side.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CALL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I understand the pair to permit a vote where a quorum is needed; but I have transferred my pair to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN], and vote "yea."

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. VILAS].

Mr. SQUIRE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HUNTON. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. DANIEL], who has been absent from the city for a few days, is paired with the Senator from Washington [Mr. SQUIRE]. If my colleague were here he would vote "yea." I desire also to state that my friend the Senator from Georgia [Mr. COLQUITT] is paired with the Senator from Iowa [Mr. WILSON] with the understanding that he may vote to make a quorum. I ask the Secretary to call his name.

Mr. COLQUITT. I vote "yea."

Mr. MILLS (after having voted in the affirmative). I ask if the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted, the Chair understands.

Mr. MILLS. Then I withdraw my vote. I am paired with that Senator.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Texas withdraws his vote.

Mr. DUBOIS (after having voted in the negative). I inquire if the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted, the Chair is informed.

Mr. DUBOIS. Then I withdraw my vote.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Idaho withdraws his vote.

Mr. BERRY (after having voted in the affirmative). I have been paired with the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] generally, but I transfer that pair to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and will let my vote stand. The Senator from Idaho [Mr. DUBOIS] can cast his vote also, as the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] will stand paired.

Mr. DUBOIS. I vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 39, nays 16; as follows:

YEAS—39.

Bate,	Colquitt,	Irby,	Peffer,
Berry,	Faulkner,	Jones, Ark.	Pugh,
Blackburn,	George,	Kyle,	Roach,
Brice,	Gibson,	Lindsay,	Stewart,
Butler,	Gordon,	McPherson,	Turpie,
Caffery,	Gorman,	Martin,	Vance,
Call,	Gray,	Mitchell, Wis.	Vest,
Camden,	Harris,	Murphy,	Voorhees,
Cockrell,	Hill,	Palmer,	White, La.
Coke,	Hunton,	Pasco,	

NAYS—16.

Cameron,	Dolph,	Hoar,	Proctor,
Carey,	Dubois,	Manderson,	Sherman,
Chandler,	Hansbrough,	Morrill,	Stockbridge,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Power,	Washburn.

NOT VOTING—29.

Aldrich,	Hale,	Pettigrew,	Vilas,
Allen,	Higgins,	Platt,	Walthall,
Allison,	Jones, Nev.	Ransom,	White, Cal.
Daniel,	Lodge,	Shoup,	Wilson,
Davis,	McMillan,	Smith,	Wolcott.
Dixon,	Mills,	Squire,	
Frye,	Mitchell, Oregon	Stanford,	
Gallinger,	Morgan,	Teller,	

So the motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After three hours spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

INCREASE OF COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP.

Mr. CALL asked and obtained leave, by unanimous consent, to address the Senate at the conclusion of the routine business to-morrow upon the resolution submitted by him March 20, 1893, providing for the enlargement of the membership of certain committees of the Senate.

Mr. FAULKNER. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, April 12, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 11, 1893.

THIRD ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE.

Edward H. Strobel, of New York, to be Third Assistant Secretary of State, vice William M. Grinnell, resigned.

TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES.

Daniel N. Morgan, of Connecticut, to be Treasurer of the United States, to succeed Enos H. Nebeker, resigned.

ASSISTANT TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES.

Conrad N. Jordan, of New York, to be assistant treasurer of the United States at New York City, in the State of New York, to succeed Ellis H. Roberts, resigned.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE.

Charles B. Bellinger, of Oregon, to be United States district judge for the district of Oregon, vice Matthew P. Deady, deceased.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

Henry V. Johnson, of Colorado, to be attorney of the United States for the district of Colorado, vice John D. Fleming, whose term expired March 23, 1893.

JUDGE OF PROBATE.

William K. Reid, of Utah Territory, to be judge of probate in the county of Sanpete, in the Territory of Utah, vice Jacob Johnson, resigned.

COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Daniel M. Browning, of Benton, Ill., to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs, vice Thomas J. Morgan, resigned.

ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Frank C. Armstrong, of Washington, D. C., to be Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, vice Robert V. Belt, resigned.

THIRD LIEUTENANT, REVENUE-CUTTER SERVICE.

Henry L. Peckham, of Rhode Island, to be a third lieutenant in the Revenue-Cutter Service, to succeed John B. Hull, promoted.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 7, 1893.

GOVERNOR OF NEW MEXICO.

William T. Thornton, of Santa Fe, N. Mex., to be governor of New Mexico.

ENVOYS EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTERS PLENIPOTENTIARY.

James O. Broadhead, of Missouri, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Switzerland.

Eben Alexander, of North Carolina, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary and consul-general of the United States to Greece, Roumania, and Servia.

CONSULS.

Edgar Whidden, of Maine, to be consul of the United States at St. Stephen, New Brunswick.

James E. Neal, of Ohio, to be consul of the United States at Liverpool.

Q. O. Eckford, of Mississippi, to be consul of the United States at Kingston, Jamaica.

James M. Dobbs, of Georgia, to be consul of the United States at Valparaiso.

David N. Burke, of New York, to be consul of the United States at Pernambuco.

CONSUL-GENERAL.

William T. Townes, of Virginia, to be consul-general of the United States at Rio de Janeiro.

APPRAISER OF MERCHANDISE.

Charles E. Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, to be appraiser of merchandise in the district of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania.

SURVEYOR OF CUSTOMS.

William M. Maize, of Ohio, to be surveyor of customs for the port of Columbus, in the State of Ohio.

WEDNESDAY, *April 12, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

INCREASE OF COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Pending the consideration of the resolution of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, the Chair, in pursuance of the agreement made yesterday, lays before the Senate the resolution of the Senator from Florida [Mr. CALL], upon which he is entitled to the floor. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr CALL March 20, 1893, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committees on Finance, Naval Affairs, Military Affairs, Judiciary, Foreign Relations, Appropriations, Commerce, and Interstate Commerce shall each consist of fifteen members.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], in a speech of singular beauty of style and forcible argument in support of his conclusions, laid before the country a few days since a statement of the important place which the Senate holds in our fabric of Government. He recounted the illustrious men who have been members of this body whose memory still lingers here.

It is not necessary that I should preface what I have to say with an exhibition to the country of the reasons for the creation of this body; but it is important that we should have some regard to its peculiar structure and its characteristics. The Constitution of the United States contains the following provisions:

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

* * * * * * *

Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members.

* * * * * * *

Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

* * * * * * *

Congress shall have power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

These provisions constitute the great charter of free government. They are the defense of the people's rights, and upon them depend all the powers of the supreme and sovereign Legislature of the nation.

The chief characteristic of these provisions is the independence of the two Houses of Congress in the exercise of their legislative powers. That depends upon the provision that each House may determine the rules of its proceedings. The concurrence of the will of these two bodies, their independent will, in forms of proceeding established by themselves, constitutes the law-making power of this Government.

In the Senate of the United States the equality of States is the essential distinction and the foundation of its powers and functions. Without that equality of States the structure of this Government is essentially changed. It is the one provision that protects the smaller portions of the country in their separate organizations from the absolute control of a sectional majority. It is the one provision that enables the people of this country to assert over all the departments of the Government the guaranties of the Constitution in respect to their personal rights.

Every sentiment of devotion to free government, every feeling of just pride in the prerogatives and privileges of the Senate, every pride of patriotism in its history and in our country demands a loyal observance of this the essential feature of the Constitution—the preservation of the equality of the States in the Senate.

The question arises, How shall it be done? This is an all-important question. Is it to be done by conferring powers and privileges on the Senators from some States over those from others? Is it to be done by allowing connection with the important business of this body in a greater degree to the Senators of some States than those of others? Is it to be done by gratifying the personal pride, the desire for superior consideration, of Senators from some States over those of others, because of their more intimate connection with the great transactions of sovereign legislative power over a great people? Is this equality to be preserved by allowing the advantages of adventitious fortune, of accumulated wealth, of social position, of corporate power, to have greater influence in this body in the person of Senators from some States than those from others?

How shall this be prevented, Mr. President? If by negligence, or chance, or the infirmities of human nature this order of motives shall be allowed to have place in this body, if instead of a careful observance of the equality of the States in our rules of proceeding, personal ambition, pride, social distinction, the influence of wealth, the representation of power shall differentiate the Senators here in their connection with the public business, then this scheme of government so far as the Senate is concerned is a failure, and the people of the United States, instead of a friend and a protector, will have an enemy, and a dangerous enemy to popular liberty.

If, instead of preserving the equality of the States, our rules of proceeding be such as to admit of the existence and influence of such motives, then we shall have destroyed the equality of the States of the Union.

The methods by which the sovereign legislative powers of this body shall be exercised are vital to the continuance of the confidence of the people in it, as a body of men who rise superior to these motives, men worthy of the confidence and respect of the people, as a tribunal not only powerful but august in its character, essential to the preservation of free government.

Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings.

What are the rules of proceeding? The great rule of proceeding by which the Senate can effectuate its functions is the constitution of its committees. It is the selection of Senators to whom shall be committed all proposed exercise of legislative power for examination and recommendation. The final exercise of the sovereign legislative power is oftentimes and to a large extent performed by the committee to which its proposed legislation is referred.

The importance, then, of the constitution of our committees will be readily recognized. They may be made so as to exclude some States from a proper share in the exercise of the powers of this body. They may be so constituted as to exclude some States from an equal participation in the benefits of legislation. The history of all legislative bodies has been a history of encroachment and usurpations of power, not by the legislative body, but by privileged classes, making use of the opportunities to create influences within the legislative body which would control by faction and by sections and smaller portions of it the exercise of its great power.

The committees, in the history of every legislative body, and particularly in the history of the country which is our prototype of free government, the Parliament of England, have been at different times made, as they may be made now, the mere toys to gratify personal ambition, superior fortune to promote inequality between States, men, constituencies, communities, and to give advantages to a few in the control of the powers of government over the whole constituent body. They may be made use of to degrade the Representatives and Senators of some States and to exalt those of others.

The Senate of the United States at this time is the most important of all deliberative bodies exercising legislative power in the world. Upon it more than upon any other tribunal depends the opportunity of a free discussion, an impartial and just consideration, of the great questions which are threatening to disturb the social order, which are creating discontent widespread and profound amongst the people of every country because of conditions of poverty, the result, as they believe, of public policies which need to be reformed and changed. It should be the arena of free thought. Its committees should be constituted with a view to immediate access of the waves of public opinion from the mass of the people, and that opinion should receive careful consideration.

The new problems which come from the great leaders of thought, looking to the improvement of the condition of the masses of the people, to greater happiness, to greater comfort, to a more equal enjoyment of the blessings and privileges of life and changed economic conditions, should have full and fair and just consideration in this body. It may be so constituted in its committees that the power of privilege, and class, and accumulated wealth, and of the great corporations may suppress from consideration the free and fair examination of these great economic questions.

We can not, therefore, overestimate, neither in respect to our constitutional duty, nor to what should be our just pride, the preservation of the cardinal and essential distinctions and reasons for the creation of this body and its functions, nor, in respect to the danger arising from a mistake in regard to public economies and public policies, the importance of so arranging the rules of proceeding that its committees may be so constituted as to represent all shades of thought, all States, and be in communication with the people of the country fully, freely, and entirely.

Mr. President, the discoveries of modern chemistry in our times have produced explosive forces more destructive in their effects than any hitherto known in the history of the world; but there is no force more explosive, inflammable, more powerful or destructive than a universal and general discontent of the people, produced by conditions of poverty and want, when impregnated with the belief or with the knowledge, which modern economic science has created in large portions of the country, that the factors which produce these conditions of poverty in the masses of the people are factors of increasing force, which, unless eliminated, or modified, or restrained in some form by wise public policies, will result in the decadence of civilization, the darkness of ignorance, and the recurrence of the days of barbarism and force. No more explosive and dangerous power exists than that of a general discontent accompanied by a conviction that it is the result of policies which may be altered, and which are producing greater want and misery.

We in this place of privilege and power are but blind leaders of the blind if we shall not seek to find some means of convincing public opinion that we can discover policies and make laws which will establish improved conditions of the masses and cause these evils to disappear under the benignant administration of our Government. In the exercise of legislative power we should not seek to suppress, to ignore these great moving tides of public opinion, these resistless forces, which in the beginning of this century, growing out of widespread discontent, produced revolutionary forces, which increased until they rent into fragments the economic institutions and traditions of a thousand years and have not yet spent their force in the moving tides of public opinion throughout the world.

In the agitation which prevails in our country amongst the mass of the people, a profound conviction, which seems difficult to find consideration in this Chamber, is moving them with the idea that there may be a far more widespread condition of happiness and of economic welfare than now exists. If in the midst of this great agitation and discontent this body is to preserve its hold upon these waves of feeling, if it is to guide and direct free thought into the haven of true conclusions and wise statesmanship, we must address ourselves to so modeling the rules of pro-

ceeding that neither the graces of oratory, the advantages of adventitious fortune, the hope of social station and position, nor even the superior force of mind, shall find a place in the rules of proceeding of this body to the exclusion of the rights of Senators and the perfect equality of the States. Upon that foundation alone rests the opportunity through the humblest of the members here of making known the wishes and opinions of the great masters of government, the people—the free thought of the American people upon all economic questions and all proposed legislation.

I know that there are many persons who laugh at the idea that there is any danger or that the people are dissatisfied to any great extent because of great differences of fortune, or that there is any possibility that its influence may find access to and control this place of legislative power. But the late President of the United States, Mr. Garfield, called attention to the fact that the great corporate power of this country had already taken in its train some of the sovereign States of the country, and held in its grasp their judiciary, their legislative powers, their executive powers, their representation in the other House and in the Senate. Whether his apprehensions were exaggerated or not, it is safe to say that the progress of affairs since that declaration was made has not diminished the force of his statement.

There is a State in which more than half the soil of the State has been appropriated to foreign landlordism by fraudulent certifications of public land without the consent of her people or the authority of law, in which the soil is in the dominion of foreigners and strangers, and the people whose birthright it is to control that State are but tenants upon the soil which was paid for by their own hard labor in acquisition from foreign countries; a State richly endowed with nature's bounties, where life with her generous people may pass without poverty or suffering, where corporations created for public purposes are habitually used to deprive her people of all political power.

Without any kind of reflection upon anybody, and admitting that those distinguished Senators who now and in past years have made the assignments for these committees on both sides of this Chamber have acted with the desire to promote equality between Senators, the rule of assignment of members of the Senate to perform duties in which they must themselves sit in judgment upon their own States, upon their own merits, and upon their own opportunities, is of necessity one which must produce either injustice to themselves or inequality to others.

I regard this question of the constitution of the committees of this body tantamount to its continuance as a function of government of the United States. As a practical question the States ought to be perfectly equal in all the opportunities, privileges, prerogatives, and powers of this body. The Senators who are sent here from a State—sovereign in respect of its complete independence in those things which are committed to her guardianship alone—should be recognized, to whatever party they belong, to have the right to the same access to important opportunities of legislation in the committees charged with the permanent and important business of this body. That is the idea of the Constitution and the idea of patriotic duty here. The idea is the preservation of the equality of the States in all the rights, prerogatives, privileges, and powers of this body. That idea can not be accomplished unless Senators have an equal share and an equal representation in the committees which are charged with the important duties of this body.

Let us see now how the question stands. The committees which have any important and permanent connection with the legislative business of the country, the continuing important business of the country, are the Committees on Finance, Commerce, Appropriations, Foreign Relations, Judiciary, Military Affairs, and Naval Affairs. The Interstate Commerce Committee may perhaps be ranked also with them, because of the growing importance of its connection with the great systems of transportation which exist in this country, and with the great corporations which seek to assume the control of the legislative power and the executive power of the States and of this tribunal; but for the purposes of this classification I have arranged them, leaving out of the first class the Interstate Commerce Committee and putting it in the second class.

The second class of committees, charged with less important or not so permanent relations to the business interests of the country, are the Committees on Interstate Commerce, District of Columbia, Indian Affairs, Printing, Privileges and Elections, Post-Offices and Post-Roads, Public Lands, Pacific Railroad, Public Buildings and Grounds, Rules, Territories. These committees differ greatly. Printing, District of Columbia, Public Buildings and Grounds, Post-Offices and Post-Roads, and Pacific Railroads rank almost with the great committees in their connection with large appropriations and numerous appointments; Rules and Privileges and Elections with important prerogatives and privileges.

There is also a class of committees which I denominate the third class, because their duties are almost entirely nominal.

I have here a table showing the committees as now constituted in respect to the equality of the States, which I will print as an appendix.

The Senators who are each on two or more of these great committees are: ALLISON, two; BLACKBURN, two; BUTLER, three; CAMERON, two; COCKRELL, two; COKE, two; CULLOM, two; DAVIS, two; DOLPH, two; FRYE, two; GORMAN, two; HALE, two; HARRIS, two; JONES of Nevada, two; LINDSAY, two; MCPHERSON, two; MORGAN, two; SHERMAN, two; TELLER, two; VEST, two; WILSON, two—21.

Senators who have only one of the great committees are ALDRICH, BERRY, BRICE, CALL, CHANDLER, DANIEL, DIXON, GEORGE, GIBSON, GRAY, HILL, HOAR, JONES of Arkansas, MANDERSON, MITCHELL of Wisconsin, MORRILL, MURPHY, PALMER, PLATT, QUAY, RANSOM, STANFORD, STOCKBRIDGE, TURPIE, VANCE, VILAS, VOORHEES, WALTHALL, WHITE of Louisiana—29.

Senators who are on none of the seven great committees are ALLEN, BERRY, CAFFERY, CAREY, CHANDLER, COLQUITT, DIXON, DUBOIS, FAULKNER, GALLINGER, HANSBROUGH, HIGGINS, HUNTON, IRBY, KYLE, LODGE, MCMILLAN, MARTIN, MILLS, PASCO, PEFFER, PETTIGREW, POWER, PROCTOR, ROACH, SHOUP, SMITH, SQUIRE, STEWART, WOLCOTT—30.

Twenty-one Senators on two or more of the seven great committees, twenty-nine on one, and thirty Senators on none of the seven great legislative committees.

States represented on two or more great committees: Iowa, three; Kentucky, three (with Interstate Commerce, four); Ohio, three; South Carolina, three (with Interstate Commerce, four); Pennsylvania, three; Missouri, four; Illinois, three; Minnesota, three; Oregon, three; Maine, four; Tennessee, three; New Jersey, two; Alabama, two; North Carolina, two; Nevada, two—15.

States represented on only one great committee: Rhode Island, Arkansas, Louisiana, Virginia, Mississippi, Delaware, Kansas, Florida, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Vermont, West Virginia—twelve States with one representative on the seven great committees.

States which have no representative on any of the seven great committees: Wyoming, New Hampshire, Georgia, Idaho, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Washington—eight States.

In the committees next in importance, such as Post-Offices and Post-Roads, Interstate Commerce, District of Columbia, Printing, Rules, and Pacific Railroads, there are the same differences.

It is evident that if a State has no representative in any of the first-rate committees she is denied her equal rights; if she has less representation on the first and on the second rate committees she is also denied her equal rights and opportunities.

If seniority is applied in favor of Senators of one State and not applied to others the States are deprived of their equality of right and power.

The inequalities between States here shown is great, but the inequality between Senators is greater. Seniority is applied in some cases and disregarded in others. The principle of merit as it appeared to the judgment of the persons making the assignment is applied to the displacement of seniority, yet it remains true that in making these awards of the prizes of distinction and the places of prestige and favor they have destroyed the equal power and right of the States and have taken away from the Senate its peculiar distinction and its essential function. They have opened the avenues and broadened the portals and made easy the access to the Senate of the influences of superior wealth, social station, and the power that comes from privilege. They have removed the Senate further from the people and nearer to aristocratic influences.

Not only is this true, but they have added a committee of three persons to whom all expense in the performance of public duty is referred. These three Senators have it in their power to favor some Senators and injure others, to favor some States and injure others, to promote some investigations and suppress others.

The impartiality and ability of the Senators making the assignment in both parties shows the viciousness of the system and proves the necessity for the adoption of a new method. The system of designating members of the committees who are themselves interested in the assignments, and who are charged with the duty of assigning places to themselves, is in its very nature impossible of proper results.

The Senators making these assignments must either disregard themselves and deprive the country of their services on the important committees, or assign themselves to such committees, and be forced to the indelicacy of sitting in judgment on their own merits, displacing the rule of seniority of service in others for that of merit in themselves and deciding the case in their own favor, and place themselves on two or even three of the important committees of the body, while the Senators from other States

equal in theory and right are excluded from all participation in the important business, and the States which they represent are practically deprived of representation in this body.

Senators on committees may or may not in their action treat the States which they represent or the bills which concern them with greater liberality or more consideration than they give to the States and Senators which have no representation on the important committees of the Senate, and in this respect there may or may not be advantage to the State or a Senator to be a member of them; but it is impossible for the Senators on the committee to be so accurately advised of the interests of other States and of the opinions of Senators not on the committees as they are of their own States and of the facts within their own knowledge.

The remedy for all this is—

First. Enlarge the committees, so that every State shall have representation on one of the great committees of the Senate.

Second. Limit the State to a membership of each Senator on one of these great committees; distribute the excess to Senators according to seniority of service, so that Senators being on the great committees shall be senior Senators.

Third. Assign Senators to committees by drawing lots, with right to exchange memberships. Let chairmanships be assigned by rule to seniority of service. Let there be a rule of the Senate that, by vote of the Senate, Senators having special fitness for particular duty may be added to any committee. Let Senators alternate in different Congresses on different committees by a fixed rule of alternation from one committee to another.

These rules are plain and easy of understanding and application. Their adoption will secure equality of power and privilege, impartiality and fairness in the distribution of committee work, avoid the indelicacy of personal exaltation and the humiliation of exclusion from the great duties of the Senate, prevent discriminations, jealousies, and unfriendly feelings.

This rule of the arbitrary assignment according to the discretion, will, and judgment of a committee of the different States to their share of privilege and power here has broadened the road, opened the access, and made the path easy for the control of this body by the great accumulated power and wealth of corporations over the elections and will of the people. The sole protection against it is by the Senate, permanent in its character, holding its term for six years, giving full recognition to the principle of the equality of the States in the persons of the Senators sent here, and making our rules of proceeding such, that the waves of public thought and feeling upon the new questions and problems of the day come here to be respectfully considered and to find just and fair consideration as elements of thought, to have place in legislative action—rules of proceeding which shall recognize that privilege and power have no place with the sovereign free thought of the American people, and that those who come here to represent it must feel that they are accredited by the voice of the people in the forms and methods of the Constitution.

We are here with this power in ourselves to determine our rules of proceeding, with this duty of investigation of all conditions, of all questions, that free thought may have access here, not fortune, not privilege, not social distinction, but a genuine will to promote the happiness and welfare of the American people and advance the comfort of the millions of human beings who have heretofore been the subjects of power, of oppression, of want.

I am one of those who believe that there have been discoveries in modern thought, who believe that there is a better day coming, a day of greater content and greater happiness and greater abundance in every home throughout the country, and that it is within the possibility of enlightened and wise statesmanship and generous patriotism and a true sympathy to bring about these results.

So I think that the rules of proceeding in this body should not be in anywise influenced, as they will be, unless there be other methods adopted, by the opportunities of adventitious fortune, by the privileges of position, by our desire to acquire social position and be heralded to the country as being connected with the great transactions of supreme and sovereign legislative power over the people of this country. Such was not the intention of the makers of this Constitution.

What, then, shall we do? Shall we enlarge these committees so that every State shall have representation upon some one of them? Is it too much to say that eight men upon this side of the Chamber and seven upon the other are too many to consider the levy of a thousand million dollars upon the labor interests of this country every two years? Is that too large a body to consider whether or not the new ideas of taxation, of reform, of finance, are worthy of thought, of trial, of experience, of judgment? It seems to me that we should not assume that four or five of us carry with us the wisdom of the past and also of future generations. Is it too much to say that the Committee on Appropriations should consist of fifteen men; that eight Democrats and seven Republicans are not too many to consider the disbursement and the appropriation of five or six hundred million dollars a year?

The smaller the committees the greater the opportunity of mistake, of ignorance, of fanciful mental conclusions, of corruption of the great power of the corporations. Certainly a committee may be made too large; but is it too much to say that the Senators sent by every State, no matter how poor, how humble, how far inferior, shall be recognized upon all the great committees? Is it too much to say also that, if you apply the rule of seniority, it shall be applied to all, not be applied to some and dispensed with as to others? Might not that rule be applied also to the chairmanships of committees? I think it is time for us to reconsider the methods by which the assignments of the committees of this body have been made.

Mr. President, this is the day when social power, when accumulated wealth, when corporate power find a lodgment everywhere, even in the most august and sacred tribunals of power. It influences Legislatures; it has more or less to do with the election of Members of Congress and of Senators. If it be permitted to control this body and its action, the people of this country will soon do away with the Senate; but, what is a greater evil than that, this body will have failed to perform its part in our scheme of government, it will have failed to advance the civilization of the day, it will have failed to assist in obtaining a wise solution of the great problems which are agitating the public mind, which are taking hold of the religious thought of the country.

If we fail in our duty, the great assemblies, the religious organizations, which are already manifesting their interest in these great problems, will not fail to do theirs. We see the supreme Pontiff of the Catholic Church, from his high tribunal of power, with calm and sagacious mind interesting himself in the great problems which lie at the bottom of social and domestic happiness and political independence. We see the ministers of the great Protestant church, the Baptists, the Methodists, the Episcopalians, men of thought, themselves becoming a tribunal and a senate for the consideration of these great questions. Religious enthusiasm like that of the Crusades, more powerful than all other sentiments and powers, is taking hold of these ideas.

Let the Senate of the United States then found its committees and its rules of proceeding upon the only rock upon which its prerogatives and powers can be safely and fairly and equally exercised, the only rock which will prevent the control of its deliberations by wealth and power and privilege—the equality of the States and the representatives of the States in the rules of proceeding of this body.

That is my contention. So long as some States have representation on three or four of the great committees of this body and others have none, so long as some States, as exhibited by the table which I have here, have only one representative upon the leading committees of this body and others have more, so long as that inequality exists there is a reason for it, a reason either of negligence or bad methods, or a reason in the want of consideration of the great principle which constitutes the essential foundation of this body and for the exercise of its functions.

All considerations concur that there is danger in this country. The concentration of power is not in the Government, but outside of the Government. The concentration of the taxing power is in railway corporations, trusts, syndicates, and monopolies. The levy of taxes upon the poor of the country is becoming almost as great and oppressive as it was in France preceding the days of the French Revolution, when the corvée—the tax upon salt, to maintain the luxury and ostentation and pride of the privileged classes, produced the terrible explosion which sent forth a force which, although it dealt in blood and ruin throughout the whole civilized world, emancipated the human mind from the bondage of ancient traditions and started it upon an inquiry for public policies and institutions for the benefit of mankind and not of the few. So with us. We must look into the economic and social conditions which exist in this country; and we must do it when a State sends her representatives here who may be of no political party, recognizing her sovereign right to do so, and their sovereign right to an equal participation in all the privileges and functions of this body.

Upon the subject of the danger to this country from the corporate power in elections, I desire that there shall be an investigation by this body. I assert the proposition that there is a deliberate effort on the part of some of the great corporations of this country to acquire the ownership of the soil of particular States, and to control all the powers of legislation with money, with free transportation; and that purpose is sometimes accomplished, and will be accomplished still more, unless a profound feeling of devotion to American liberty shall stir the masses of the American people and find a place of power here, in which their rights and their privileges can be defended.

I will ask permission, Mr. President, without addressing the Senate further, to print as part of my remarks some observations which I have made upon these subjects addressed to the people of my own State, and also the tables, which I have not read, showing the formation of the committees of this body, and the inequalities between States and the Senators of States which have characterized the proceedings of the Senate for many years past.

Formerly, when this body was smaller, when the questions which agitated the country were divided upon sectional lines, and when there was no great pressure of opinion upon it except upon a few sectional questions, these differences were not noted, these inequalities did not exist; but as the number of this body has increased and the States have grown to forty-four in number, soon to be increased still more, as the expenditures of the Government have increased and its tax levies increased, as the great corporations of the country have acquired and exercise a taxing power three times greater than that of the Federal Government, and as they control an army of voters of 1,200,000 men, this body is called upon to perform its august function of interposing between them and the people, to the end that the people may be protected in their liberties, their properties, their comfort, and their hopes of future enjoyment.

The Senate has a still more august duty imposed upon it, the duty of hearing from the Senators of States the conditions which demand the exercise of its powers to initiate such public policies for their consideration and approval as will not only protect them from the bondage of power, whether it be like that of the old republic in the form of her successful generals and their legions of veteran soldiers or in the form of corporate power and oppressive public economies, producing general poverty, suffering, and want, but also secure to them conditions of comfort and contentment.

The contest between the power of the unorganized people and the organized power of monopoly and corporate combination is not unlike that of old Rome, with her victorious consuls and their legions. It is a contest for the powers of government over a great and rich country. In it liberty and freedom may go down again and the bondage of mankind to poverty, want, and misery be fixed for centuries, or, on the other hand, the dawn of a new, brighter, and happier day may be heralded.

The people may congratulate themselves that they have now in President Cleveland a man of broad and cultivated mind, of firmness and experience, of earnest sympathy with all prudent and wise policies for their greater happiness, and that they may confidently rely on his wisdom, sagacity, and firmness, and on the able and patriotic men of his Cabinet, in the great contest which now impends over the country and over civilization.

APPENDIX.

The State of Alabama has one Senator of sixteen years' experience and one of twelve years. The former (Mr. MORGAN) is chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations and a member of the Committees on Indian Affairs and Pacific Railroads. The other (Mr. PUGH) is chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary and member of the Committees on Privileges and Elections, Relations with Canada, and Additional Accommodations for Library. Chairmen of two of the leading committees, and members of four of second-rate importance and two of third-rate importance.

Arkansas: One Senator of eight years (Mr. JONES) on the Committee on Finance, a first-rate committee, and on Indian Affairs (chairman), a second-rate committee. One Senator (Mr. BERRY) on Public Lands, Claims, and Patents. Arkansas has Mining, Indian Affairs, and Public Lands.

California: Mr. WHITE (Democrat), first term, is a member of the Committee on Commerce and the Committee on Territories; one first-rate and one second-rate committee. Mr. STANFORD (Republican) is a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs, Commerce, Public Buildings and Grounds, and Territories, one first-class, one second-rate, and one third-rate committee. California has Committees on Naval Affairs, Territories, Public Buildings and Grounds, and Commerce.

Colorado: Mr. TELLER, eighteen years in the Senate, except two years as Secretary of the Interior, is a member of the Committees on Appropriations and Judiciary, two first-rate committees. Mr. WOLCOTT, four years in the Senate, is on Interstate Commerce, District of Columbia, Library, Pacific Railroads, and Post-Offices and Post-Roads. Colorado has Appropriations, Judiciary, Interstate Commerce, District of Columbia, Pacific Railroads, and Post-Offices and Post-Roads—two first-class committee, two second-class committees, and two third-class committees. Colorado has representation in two first-class committees, three second-rate committees, and two third-rate committees.

Connecticut: Mr. PLATT, fourteen years in the Senate, is on the Judiciary, Territories, and Indian Affairs—one first-class committee and two second-class committees, and six others, nominal and special. Mr. HAWLEY, twelve years a Senator, is on Military Affairs and others, special and nominal. Connecticut has representation on two first-rate committees and on two third-rate committees.

Delaware: Mr. GRAY (Democrat), six years in the Senate, is on Foreign Relations, Privileges and Elections, and Patents. Mr. HIGGINS, four years a Senator, is on Interstate Commerce, Privileges and Elections, and Relations with Canada. Delaware has representation in one first-rate committee, two second-rate committees, and two third-rate committees. Delaware has Foreign Relations, Privileges and Elections, and Interstate Commerce.

Florida: Mr. CALL, fourteen years a Senator, is on Appropriations, Territories, and Mines and Mining, one first-rate, one second-rate, and one third-rate. Mr. PASCO is on Claims, Public Buildings and Grounds, and Public Lands, two second-rate committees and one third-rate committee. Florida has representation in one first-class committee, four second-class committees, and one third-class committee—Appropriations, Territories, Claims, Public Buildings and Grounds, and Public Lands.

Georgia: One Senator of nine years is on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, one first-class committee, and one third-class committee (Select). Mr. GORDON (old term, nine years; new term, three years) is on Public Buildings and Grounds, his only committee of importance, no first-class committee, and one second-class committee. Georgia has one first-class committee and two second-class committees—Post-Offices and Post-Roads and Public Buildings.

Idaho: Mr. SHOUP, three years in the Senate, is on no first-class committee and two second-class committees—Territories and Pensions. Mr. DUBOIS, two years in the Senate, is on Public Lands, one second-class committee, and Immigration, one third-class committee.

Illinois: Mr. CULLOM (Republican), ten years in the Senate, is on Appropriations, Commerce, and Interstate Commerce—two first-class committees and one second-class committee. Mr. PALMER, two years in the Senate, is on Military Affairs, Pensions, and Privileges and Elections—one first-class committee, one second-class committee, and one third-class committee. Illinois has representation on three first-class committees, three second-class committees, and one third-class committee, as follows: Appropriations, Commerce, Interstate Commerce, Military Affairs, Privileges and Elections, and Pensions.

Indiana: Mr. VOORHEES, sixteen years in the Senate, is on Finance (chairman), Immigration, and the Library. Mr. TURPIE, six years in the Senate, is on Foreign Relations and Privileges and Elections—one first-class committee and one second-class committee. Indiana has two first-class committees, Finance and Foreign Relations; one second-class committee, Privileges and Elections, and one third-class committee. Indiana has Finance, Immigration, Foreign Relations, Privileges and Elections, and the Library.

Iowa: Mr. ALLISON, twenty years in the Senate, is on Finance and Appropriations—two first-class committees, and is on one third-class committee. Mr. WILSON, ten years in the Senate, is on Judiciary, Interstate Commerce, Post-Offices and Post-Roads, and Patents—two first-class committees, one second-class committee, and one third-class committee. Iowa has Finance, Appropriations, Judiciary, Interstate Commerce, Post-Offices and Post-Roads, and Patents.

Kansas: Mr. PEFFER, two years in the Senate, is on Claims, Census, and Mississippi River—no first-class committee, three second-class committees, and one third-class committee. Mr. MARTIN, first year, is on Geological Survey, Public Lands, and District of Columbia—one second-class committee and two third-class committees. Kansas has Claims, Census, Mississippi River, and Public Lands. Kansas has no first-class committees, but has representation on six second-class committees.

Kentucky: Mr. BLACKBURN, eight years in the Senate, is on Rules, Appropriations, Naval Affairs, and Territories—two first-class committees and two second-class committees. Mr. LINDSAY, first year, is on Interstate Commerce and Judiciary—one first-class committee and one second-class committee. Kentucky has Appropriations, Naval Affairs, Judiciary, Interstate Commerce, Rules, and Territories—three first-class committees and three second-class committees.

Louisiana: Mr. WHITE, two years in the Senate, is on the Committee to Audit and Control Contingent Expense of the Senate, Commerce, Epidemic Diseases, Interstate Commerce and Pacific Railroads—two first-class committees, four second-class committees, and one third-class committee. Mr. CAFFERY is on Claims and Pensions—two second-rate committees. Louisiana has one first-class committee, four second-class committees, and one third-class committee

Maine: Mr. HALE, twelve years in the Senate, is on Appropriations, Naval Affairs, Census Expenses, Commerce, Epidemic Diseases, Interstate Commerce, Pacific Railroads, Claims, and Pensions—two first-class committees and two third-class committees. Mr. FRYE, twelve years in the Senate, is on Commerce and Foreign Relations—two first-class committees. Maine has Appropriations, Naval Affairs, Foreign Relations, and Commerce—four first-class committees.

Maryland: Mr. GORMAN, thirteen years in the Senate, is on Printing, Appropriations, Commerce, Interstate Commerce, Rules, and Pensions; six of the most important committees—three first and three second-class committees. Mr. GIBSON, one year in the Senate, is on District of Columbia, Naval Affairs, and Fisheries—one first-class committee and two second-class committees. Maryland has Printing, Appropriations, Commerce, Interstate Commerce, Rules, Pensions, District of Columbia, Naval Affairs, and Fisheries, nine committees—three first-class and six of the most important second-class committees.

Massachusetts: Mr. HOAR, fifteen years in the Senate, is on Judiciary and Privileges and Elections—one first-class committee and one second-class committee. Mr. LODGE, first year in the Senate, is on one third-class committee. Massachusetts has one first-class committee, one second-class committee, and one third-class committee—Judiciary, Privileges and Elections, and Immigration.

Michigan: Mr. STOCKBRIDGE, six years in the Senate, is on Naval Affairs, Indian Affairs, Fisheries, and Epidemic Diseases—one first-class committee, one second-class committee, and two third-class committees. Mr. MCMILLAN, three years in the Senate, is on District of Columbia, Post-Offices and Post-Roads, and Pacific Railroads—no first-class committee, two second-class committees, and one third-class committee. Michigan has Naval Affairs, Indian Affairs, Fisheries, Epidemic Diseases, District of Columbia, Post-Offices and Post-Roads, and Pacific Railroads—one first-class committee, three second-class committees, and two third-class committees.

Minnesota: Mr. DAVIS, six years in the Senate, is on Foreign Relations, Military Affairs, Claims, Pacific Railroads, and Territories—two first-class committees, two second-class committees, and one third-class committee. Mr. WASHBURN is on Commerce and Post-Offices and Post-Roads. Minnesota has Military Affairs, Claims, Pacific Railroads, Foreign Relations, Territories, Commerce, Post-Offices and Post-Roads, and Agriculture.

Mississippi: Mr. GEORGE, twelve years in the Senate, is on Judiciary, Agriculture, and Education—one first-class committee and two third-class committees. Mr. WALTHALL, eight years in the Senate, is on Military Affairs, Public Lands, and Improvement of the Mississippi River—one first-class committee, one second-class committee, and one third-class committee. Mississippi has Judiciary, Agriculture, Military Affairs, Public Lands, and Mississippi River Improvement.

Missouri: Mr. COCKRELL, eighteen years in the Senate, is on Appropriations and Military Affairs—two first-class committees. Mr. VEST, fourteen years in the Senate, is on Public Buildings and Grounds, Commerce, and Fisheries—two first-class committees and one second-class committee. Missouri has Appropriations, Military Affairs, Commerce, Finance, and Public Buildings and Grounds, four first-class committees and one second-class committee.

Montana: Mr. POWER, three years in the Senate, is on Improvement of Mississippi River, Fisheries, Mines, and Public Lands—no first-class committee, one second-class committee, and two third-class committees.

Nebraska: Mr. MANDERSON, ten years in the Senate, is on Indian Affairs, Military Affairs, Printing, and Rules—one first-class committee and three second-class committees. Mr. ALLEN, first year, is on Claims, Indian Affairs, and Public Lands—no first-class committee and three second-class committees. Nebraska has Indian Affairs, Military Affairs, Printing, Rules, Claims, and Public Lands, six committees—one in first class and five in second class.

Nevada: Mr. JONES, twenty years in the Senate, is on Commerce, Finance, Audit and Control Contingent Expenses, Epidemic Diseases, and Mining—two first-class committees, one second-class committee, and two third-class committees. Mr. STEWART, six years in the Senate, leader from term, is on Mines and Mining, Immigration, Claims, and Naval Affairs. Nevada has Commerce, Finance, Contingent Expenses, Epidemic Diseases, Mines and Mining, Immigration, and Claims.

New Hampshire: Mr. CHANDLER, seven years in the Senate, is on Immigration, Indian Depredations, Interstate Commerce, and Privileges and Elections—no first-class committee, two second-class committees, and one third-class committee. Mr. GALLINGER, two years in the Senate, is on District of Columbia, Epidemic Diseases, Pensions, Manufactures, Transportation Routes, and Examine Civil Service—no first-class committee, one second-class committee, and one third-class committee. New Hampshire has Immigration, Interstate Commerce, Privileges and Elections, District of Columbia, Epidemic Diseases, Pensions, Manufactures, Transportation Routes, and Examine Civil Service.

New Jersey: Mr. MCPHERSON, sixteen years in the Senate, is on Naval Affairs, Finance, Immigration, Potomac River Front (Select), and Woman Suffrage (Select)—two first-class committees. Mr. SMITH, first year in the Senate, is on Organization Executive Departments, Coast Defenses, District of Columbia, Indian Affairs, and Manufactures—all second-class committees. New Jersey has Naval Affairs, Finance, Immigration, Potomac River Front, Woman Suffrage, Organization Executive Departments, Coast Defenses, District of Columbia, Indian Affairs, and Manufactures.

New York: Mr. HILL, first year in the Senate, is on Immigration, Judiciary, Territories, Post-Offices and Post-Roads, Fisheries, and Organization, etc., of Executive Departments. Mr. MURPHY, first year, is on Claims, Commerce, Education and Labor, and Pacific Railroads. New York has Immigration, Fisheries, Judiciary, Executive Departments, Post-Offices and Post-Roads, Territories, Canada, Claims, Commerce, Education, and Pacific Railroads.

North Carolina: Mr. RANSOM, twenty-one years in the Senate, is on Commerce, Agriculture, Printing, Private Land Claims, Transportation Routes, Potomac River, and Geological Survey—one first-class committee, one second-class committee, and two third class committees; the others nominal. Mr. VANCE is on Privileges and Elections and Finance. North Carolina has Commerce, Finance, Privileges and Elections, and Printing—two first-class committees, two second-class committees, and one third-class committee.

North Dakota: Mr. HANSBROUGH, two years in the Senate, is on Agriculture, Census, District of Columbia, Irrigation, Pensions, and Territories—no first-class committee and five second-class committees. Mr. ROACH, first year in the Senate, is on Agriculture, Indian Affairs, Immigration, Five Civilized Tribes. North Dakota has Agriculture, Census, District of Columbia, Immigration, Pensions, Territories, Indian Affairs, and Indian Tribes.

Ohio: Mr. SHERMAN, thirty-two years in the Senate (with an interval), is on Finance, Foreign Relations, Potomac River, Quadro-Centennial, and United States University—two first-class, the others nominal. Mr. BRICE, two years in the Senate, is on Pacific Railroads, Appropriations, Interstate Commerce, Irrigation, Pensions, Public Buildings and Grounds, and District of Columbia—one first-class committee, three second-class committees, and one third-class committee. Ohio has Foreign Relations, Finance, Appropriations, Interstate Commerce, Irrigation, Pensions, Pacific Railroads, Public Buildings and Grounds, and District of Columbia—three first-class committees and five second class committees.

Oregon: Mr. DOLPH, ten years in the Senate, is on Commerce, Foreign Relations, Public Lands, Relations with Canada, and Coast Defenses—two first-class committees, one second-class committee, and one third-class committee. Mr. MITCHELL, eight years in the Senate, is on Judiciary, Claims, Post-Offices and Post-Roads, Privileges and Elections, Transportation Routes, and Claims against Nicaragua (Select)—one first-class committee and three second-class committees. Oregon has Commerce, Foreign Relations, Public Lands, Relations with Canada, Coast Defenses, University, Judiciary, Claims, Post-Offices and Post-Roads, and Privileges and Elections—three first-class committees, four second-class committees, and three third-class committees.

Pennsylvania: Mr. CAMERON, sixteen years in the Senate, is on Military Affairs and Naval Affairs—two first-class committees. Mr. QUAY, six years in the Senate, is on Commerce, Epidemic Diseases, and Public Buildings and Grounds. Pennsylvania has Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, Commerce, Epidemic Diseases, and Public Buildings and Grounds—three first-class committees, two second-class committees.

Rhode Island: Mr. ALDRICH, twelve years in the Senate, is on Finance, Rules, Corporations, District of Columbia, Revolutionary Claims, and Transportation Routes—one first-class committee, one second-class, the others nominal. Mr. DIXON, four years in the Senate, is on Census, Patents, Post-Offices and Post-Roads, Private Land Claims, and Additional Accommodations for the Library—one second-class committee, one third-class committee, the others nominal. Rhode Island has Finance, Rules, and Post-Offices and Post-Roads, others nominal.

South Carolina: Mr. BUTLER, sixteen years in the Senate, is on Interstate Commerce, Foreign Relations, Naval Affairs, Additional Accommodations for the Library, and Five Civilized Tribes—three first-class committees and three nominal committees. Mr. IRBY, two years in the Senate, is on Post-Offices and

Post-Roads, Transportation Routes, Civil Service and Retrenchment, Coast Defenses, Epidemic Diseases—no first-class committee, one second-class committee, the others nominal. South Carolina has Interstate Commerce, Foreign Relations, Naval Affairs, Library, Five Civilized Tribes, Post-Offices and Post-Roads, Civil Service and Retrenchment, and Coast Defenses—three first-class committees, one second-class committee, the others nominal.

South Dakota: Mr. PETTIGREW, four years in the Senate, is on Improvement of Mississippi River, Indian Affairs, Indian Depredations, Public Lands, Railroads, and Quadro-Centennial—two second-class committees, the others nominal or of third-class importance. Mr. KYLE, two years in the Senate, is on Education and Labor, Indian Depredations, Immigration, Patents, to Investigate Forest Reservations (Select), and University (Select)—no first-class committee, no second-class committee, three third-class committees. South Dakota has Indian Affairs, Mississippi River, Indian Depredations, Public Lands, Railroads, Patents, Irrigation, and Education.

Tennessee: Mr. HARRIS, sixteen years in the Senate, is on District of Columbia, Epidemic Diseases, Finance, Immigration, Rules, and Corporations. Mr. BATES, six years in the Senate, is on Improvement of Mississippi River, Agriculture, Military Affairs, Mines and Mining, and Territories. Tennessee has District of Columbia, Epidemic Diseases, Finance, Immigration, Rules, Corporations, Improvement of Mississippi River, Agriculture, Military Affairs, Mines and Mining, and Territories—two first-class committees, four second-class committees, the others third-class and nominal.

Texas: Mr. COKE, sixteen years in the Senate, is on Commerce, Judiciary, Fisheries, Revolutionary Claims, and Meat Products—two first-class committees, one third-class committee, the others nominal. Mr. MILLS, one year in the Senate, is on Library, Coast Defenses, Mines and Mining, Patents, and Post-Offices and Post-Roads. Texas has Commerce, Judiciary, Fisheries, Revolutionary Claims, Meat Products, Library, Coast Defenses, Mines and Mining, Patents, and Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Vermont: Mr. MORRILL, twenty-six years in the Senate, is on Additional Accommodations for Library, Civil Service and Retrenchment, Finance, and Public Buildings and Grounds—one first-class committee and one second-class committee. Mr. PROCTOR, two years in the Senate, is on Agriculture, District of Columbia, Executive Departments, Immigration, University, and Potomac River. Vermont has Finance, Public Buildings and Grounds, District of Columbia, Immigration, and Agriculture—one first-class committee, two second-class committees, and two third-class committees.

Virginia: Mr. DANIEL, six years in the Senate, is on Claims, Foreign Relations, and Public Buildings and Grounds—one first-class committee, one second-class committee, the others nominal. Mr. HUNTON is on District of Columbia (second class), Education (third class), Post-Offices and Post-Roads (second class), Relations with Canada (third class), and Potomac River (nominal). Virginia has Foreign Relations, Claims, Public Buildings and Grounds, District of Columbia, Post-Offices and Post-Roads, and Relations with Canada—one first-class committee, three second-class committees, and four third-class committees.

Washington: Mr. SQUIRE, first term, is on Coast Defenses, Fisheries, Immigration, Public Buildings and Grounds, and Transportation Routes.

West Virginia: Mr. CAMDEN is on Interstate Commerce, Naval Affairs, Audit and Control Contingent Expenses, Pensions, and Railroads. Mr. FAULKNER is on Territories, District of Columbia, Immigration, Indian Depredations, and Pacific Railroads.

Wisconsin: Mr. VILAS, three years in the Senate, is on Quadro-Centennial (Select), Examine Branches of Civil Service, Judiciary, Pensions, Post-Offices and Post-Roads, and Public Lands—one first-class committee. Mr. MITCHELL, first year in the Senate, is on National Banks (Select), Enrolled Bills, Fisheries, Military Affairs, and Relations with Canada—one first-class committee. Wisconsin has Quadro-Centennial, Civil Service, Judiciary, Pensions, Post-Offices and Post-Roads, Public Lands, National Banks, Enrolled Bills, Fisheries, Military Affairs, and Relations with Canada.

Wyoming: Mr. CAREY, three years in the Senate, is on Education and Labor, Indian Depredations, Irrigation, Pacific Railroads, Public Lands, Territories, and to Investigate Geological Survey (Select). Wyoming has three second-class committees.

INVESTIGATION BY COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution reported from the Committee on Privileges and Elections by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], which will be read:

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I wish to ask if the resolution which was presented by me two or three days ago in reference to an investigation by the Committee on Indian Affairs, with a motion that it be referred to the Committee on Contingent Expenses, would not be in order before the resolution which has been read is laid before the Senate for consideration? I should like to have the resolution submitted by me referred, if there be no objection.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That can be done by unanimous consent, as the Chair understands.

Mr. HOAR. Is that the resolution to which I interposed an objection?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is.

Mr. HOAR. I do not interpose any objection now.

Mr. SHERMAN. That is, to the resolution going to a committee?

Mr. HOAR. Yes.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I want the resolution to go to the Committee on Contingent Expenses. I desire it to take the regular course.

Mr. HOAR. I will withdraw my objection, if that is the objection which stands in the way of the reference of the resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The objection is withdrawn.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It seems to me a majority of the Senate would have the right to refer the resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate in the absence of objection.

KANSAS SENATORIAL INVESTIGATION.

Mr. FAULKNER. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. VANCE. I ask the Senator to withdraw that motion for a moment, so that I can make a report.

Mr. FAULKNER. I withdraw the motion temporarily for that purpose.

Mr. VANCE. I am directed by the Committee on Privileges and Elections to report a resolution, and to ask for its immediate consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections, or any subcommittee thereof, be authorized to investigate the right of Mr. Joseph W. Ady, who claims a seat in this body as Senator from Kansas; and, if in their judgment it be necessary, to employ a stenographer, send for persons and papers, to administer oaths, and to sit during the recess of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? The Chair hears none.

Mr. PLATT. The resolution must go to the Committee on Contingent Expenses, under the rule.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair did not understand the suggestion of the Senator from North Carolina in regard to the resolution.

Mr. VANCE. I asked that the resolution be immediately considered.

Mr. GORMAN. I suggest to the Senator from North Carolina that under the rule the resolution must go to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, as it provides for the employment of a stenographer.

Mr. HOAR. That rule can be waived by unanimous consent.

Mr. GORMAN. I suppose it can be waived by unanimous consent. There is no objection to the resolution, so far as I know.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator from North Carolina asked unanimous consent for its consideration.

Mr. CHANDLER. I suggest to the Senator from North Carolina that a provision for paying the expenses of the proposed investigation is not added to the resolution. Such a provision can, however, be added in the committee if the resolution is referred.

Mr. VEST. Let the resolution go to the Committee on Contingent Expenses. That is the ordinary course.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, if there be no objection. The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. FAULKNER. I now renew my motion that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After two hours spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 3 o'clock p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, April 13, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 12, 1893.

SURVEYOR OF CUSTOMS.

Andrew Fyfe, of Michigan, to be surveyor of customs for the port of Grand Rapids, in the State of Michigan, to succeed Rezin A. Maynard, resigned.

PROMOTION IN THE REVENUE-CUTTER SERVICE.

Third Lieut. Godfrey L. Carden, to be second lieutenant in the Revenue-Cutter Service, to succeed A. Y. Lowe, resigned.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

Cavalry arm.

Maj. John M. Bacon, Seventh Cavalry, to be lieutenant-colonel, April 7, 1893, vice McLellan, First Cavalry, retired from active service.

Capt. Edward M. Hayes, Fifth Cavalry, to be major, April 7, 1893, vice Bacon, Seventh Cavalry, promoted.

First Lieut. Homer W. Wheeler, Fifth Cavalry, to be captain, April 7, 1893, vice Hayes, Fifth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Malvern-Hill Barnum, Third Cavalry, to be first lieutenant, April 7, 1893, vice Wheeler, Fifth Cavalry, promoted.

POSTMASTERS.

Frederick G. Aildis, to be postmaster at Torrington, in the county of Lichfield and State of Connecticut, in the place of James W. Hague, whose commission expired March 21, 1893.

Manellans Ellis, to be postmaster at Laurel, in the county of Sussex and State of Delaware, in the place of George E. Smith, removed.

Joseph C. Thompson, to be postmaster at Quincy, in the county of Adams and State of Illinois, in the place of Chester A. Wilcox, whose commission expired March 29, 1893.

Isaac Holton, to be postmaster at Plainfield, in the county of Hendricks and State of Indiana, in the place of William Stanley, removed.

Frank S. Thomas, to be postmaster at Topeka, in the county of Shawnee and State of Kansas, in the place of James L. King, whose commission expired March 26, 1893.

George Warren, to be postmaster at Hickman, in the county of Fulton and State of Kentucky, in the place of James T. Stephens, resigned.

Albert J. Almoney, to be postmaster at Rockville, in the county of Montgomery and State of Maryland, in the place of Thomas Dawson, whose commission expired April 1, 1893.

Joseph F. Upleger, to be postmaster at Mount Clemens, in the county of Macomb and State of Michigan, in the place of William Jenney, whose commission expired March 30, 1893.

Conway C. Flowerce, to be postmaster at Vicksburg, in the county of Warren and State of Mississippi, in the place of William Groome, whose commission expired February 28, 1891; James Hill and Michael J. Mulvihill, who were nominated, respectively, by the President to the Senate, not having been confirmed.

John E. Leavett, to be postmaster at Portsmouth, in the county of Rockingham and State of New Hampshire, in the place of William O. Sides, removed.

Charles W. Clare, to be postmaster at Watertown, in the county of Jefferson and State of New York, in the place of Edward M. Gates, resigned.

John Crowley, to be postmaster at Plattsburg, in the county of Clinton and State of New York, in the place of Abram W. Lansing, whose commission expired March 29, 1893.

Allen H. Fay, to be postmaster at Malone, in the county of Franklin and State of New York, in the place of Lensie L. Sayles, whose commission expired March 13, 1893.

George B. Gibson, to be postmaster at New Castle, in the county of Lawrence and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of James M. Clark, whose commission expired March 26, 1893.

John M. Seigfreid, to be postmaster at Warren, in the county of Warren and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of Willis A. Mitchell, resigned.

Robert A. Poole, to be postmaster at Cleburne, in the county of Johnson and State of Texas, in the place of William H. Deal, resigned.

Richard H. Adams, to be postmaster at Radford, in the county of Montgomery and State of Virginia, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after April 1, 1893, and in place of Richard H. Lytle, resigned.

Robert G. Wright, to be postmaster at Waynesboro, in the county of Augusta and State of Virginia, in the place of Thompson S. Brown, removed.

Jackson Silbaugh, to be postmaster at Viroqua, in the county of Vernon and State of Wisconsin, in the place of Henry A. Chase, deceased.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 8, 1893.

GOVERNOR OF ARIZONA.

Louis C. Hughes, of Tucson, Arizona, to be governor of Arizona.

ENVOYS EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

James S. Ewing, of Illinois, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Belgium.

Hannis Taylor, of Alabama, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Spain.

COMMISSIONER OF PENSIONS.

William Lochren, of Minneapolis, Minn., to be Commissioner of Pensions.

INDIAN INSPECTOR.

Paul F. Faison, of Raleigh, N. C., to be an Indian inspector.

ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER OF PATENTS.

Samuel T. Fisher, of Canton, Mass., to be Assistant Commissioner of Patents.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Henry W. Egner, of New Jersey, to be collector of customs for the district of Newark, in the State of New Jersey.

POSTMASTERS.

Clarence W. Boshamer, to be postmaster at Statesville, in the county of Iredell and State of North Carolina.

Isidore Zacharias, to be postmaster at Bainbridge, in the county of Decatur and State of Georgia.

Horace C. Ashton, to be postmaster at Flemingsburg, in the county of Fleming and State of Kentucky.

Robert A. Baird, to be postmaster at Morrillton, in the county of Conway and State of Arkansas.

E. Hess Reinhart, to be postmaster at Shepherdstown, in the county of Jefferson and State of West Virginia.

W. O. Prentiss, to be postmaster at Beaufort, in the county of Beaufort and State of South Carolina.

Clarence M. Hawkins, to be postmaster at Marion, in the county of Grant and State of Indiana.

Thomas B. Powell, to be postmaster at Vienna, in the county of Johnson and State of Illinois.

Frank L. Bills, to be postmaster at Urbana, in the county of Champaign and State of Illinois.

William R. Bowles, to be postmaster at Greenfield, in the county of Dade and State of Missouri.

Amos West, to be postmaster at Mayfield, in the county of Graves and State of Kentucky.

Royal E. Purcell, to be postmaster at Vincennes, in the county of Knox and State of Indiana.

Connie P. Priestly, to be postmaster at Huntingdon, in the county of Carroll and State of Tennessee.

John Q. Pike, to be postmaster at Epping, in the county of Rockingham and State of New Hampshire.

Alexander Wright, to be postmaster at Neihart, in the county of Meagher and State of Montana.

Howson H. Wallace, to be postmaster at Fredericksburg, in the county of Spottsylvania and State of Virginia.

John T. Hart, to be postmaster at Orange, in the county of Orange and State of Texas.

James T. McCutchen, to be postmaster at Jackson, in the county of Madison and State of Tennessee.

THURSDAY, *April 13, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Journal of yesterday's proceedings will be read.

Mr. PLATT. I think it is more orderly that we should transact business with a quorum. I do not believe there is a quorum present.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let the roll be called.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Bate,	Dolph,	Jones, Nev.	Pugh,
Berry,	Dubois,	Kyle,	Roach,
Butler,	Faulkner,	Lodge,	Sherman,
Caffery,	George,	Martin,	Smith,
Call,	Gibson,	Mitchell, Oregon	Squire,
Cameron,	Gorman,	Mitchell, Wis.	Stockbridge,
Carey,	Hansbrough,	Morrill,	Turpie,
Chandler,	Harris,	Murphy,	Vance,
Cockrell,	Higgins,	Pasco,	Vest,
Coke,	Hill,	Peffer,	Voorhees,
Cullom,	Hoar,	Platt,	Washburn,
Davis,	Jones, Ark.	Proctor,	White, La.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Forty-eight Senators having responded to their names, a quorum is present. The Journal of yesterday's proceedings will be read.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, which will be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

ST. JOHN RIVER BRIDGE.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Pending the consideration of the resolution of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, the Chair lays before the Senate a communication from the governor of the State of Maine, transmitting a memorial adopted by the Sixty-sixth Legislature of Maine, calling for united action on the part of this Government and that of the Dominion of Canada in building a bridge across the river St. John opposite the village of Fort Kent, in the county of Aroostook, in that State, for the purposes therein indicated. The memorial will be referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. HARRIS. If it be the memorial of a State Legislature, it ought to appear in the RECORD. I ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

The memorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF MAINE.

Memorial to Congress.

Whereas by the Ashburton treaty, concluded August 9, 1842, the St. John River became the boundary line between the United States and the Dominion of Canada; and

Whereas a very large area of territory in the northwestern part of the State of Maine, embracing more than one hundred townships, and amounting to more than 2,000,000 acres of land, of which a very large proportion is fertile and suitable and well adapted for agricultural purposes, and since the treaty, has been and now is in process of development, thereby largely increasing its population and adding to the wealth of the State and nation; and

Whereas this belt of territory, as large as a majority of our counties, by reason of its geographical location, has no other available outlet for the purposes of trade and commerce except the river St. John or its banks; and

Whereas said river St. John, owing to the peculiar conformation of the vast area of land in which it has its source, fed by the great rivers the Allegash, Big and Little Black, the St. Francis and Fish rivers, is subject to high and dangerous freshets, continuing for long periods; also at other periods of the year is filled with anchor ice or frozen slush, therefore closing the great highway during said periods, thus shutting up and closing all intercourse between the inhabitants of said territory and the other parts of the State and the world, whereby the inhabitants suffer great loss in their business, and the settlement and development of this rich agricultural domain is seriously retarded; and

Whereas the Temiscouata Railway has been extended up the left bank of the St. John River to St. Clair station, directly opposite Fort Kent, and upon the said bank of the river to St. Francis River and the Canadian Pacific Railway running to Edmundston, within 20 miles of which said road makes connection at said point, thereby giving railway facilities through by Bangor, or by the river De Loup, Quebec, and Portland; and further it is the intention of the Dominion of Canada to construct this railway up the valley of the St. John and St. Francis rivers, which, when completed, will give greater facilities and a much shorter route to Portland; and

Whereas all that is necessary to be done to accomplish this great object is to build a railroad and carriage bridge at Fort Kent over and across said St. John River; and

Whereas the Fish River, flowing from the Great Lakes, Long, Cross, Square, Eagle, and Portage lakes, and some five other smaller lakes, making one of the best, if not the very best, water powers in the State of Maine, draining as it does a vast area of valuable timber and fertile agricultural land, which wants but railway facilities to set in motion a vast amount of machinery and manufacture millions of lumber every year and build up the towns of the county of Aroostook, thereby largely adding to the wealth of the State, and bring the people seeking for good health in one of the most beautiful spots of earth for a summer residence, thereby restoring their diseased and weak lungs and giving pleasure and delight to life: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the senate and house of representatives in Legislature assembled, That our Senators in Congress are instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use their best endeavors and influence to secure an appropriation of $50,000 in aid of building a bridge for railroad and carriage and foot travel; said bridge to be constructed with granite abutments and piers, or with heavy iron tubes, and filled with hand-laid concrete; the structure to be of iron or steel: *Provided*, The Dominion government of Canada, or any railroad corporation in said Dominion, shall furnish a like sum.

Resolved, That the governor transmit to the Senate of the United States and to the House of Representatives at Washington, and to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and to the Dominion government at Ottawa, also the parliament, senate, and house of representatives at Ottawa, certified copies of the foregoing memorial, preamble, and resolutions.

IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *February 27, 1893.*

Adopted.
Sent up for concurrence.

W. S. COTTON, *Clerk.*

IN SENATE, *February 28, 1893.*

Adopted in concurrence and filed with the governor.

KENDALL M. DUNBAR, *Secretary.*

KANSAS SENATORIAL INVESTIGATION.

Mr. SHERMAN. I rise to a privileged question. I present a memorial of 77 members of the Kansas Legislature, relating to the election of a United States Senator from Kansas to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Preston B. Plumb. The memorial is signed by the number of members and senators I have stated. It sets out in full detail all the steps which led to the election by the Legislature of a Senator from the State of Kansas last, the various steps to organize the two houses, and especially the house of representatives.

The memorialists proceed then to recite in full the organization of the house of representatives of the Kansas Legislature on the 10th of January, 1893, and the election of speaker. They then charge that "58 persons holding certificates of election and 10 persons above named who were not elected and held no certificates of election have since pretended to act as a house of representatives until the present time." The memorial states in full the well-known facts in respect to the organization. It sets out the illegality of the proceedings in the election by the Legislature, or the attempted election, of the gentleman who now holds a seat as a member of this body, and the subsequent election of J. W. Ady in a legal and formal manner. The memorialists demand that the Senate of the United States make a full and complete investigation of the situation in the State Legislature.

I ask that the memorial be printed as a document and referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. FAULKNER. I ask the Senator from Ohio whether it is a memorial from a Legislature in its legislative capacity?

Mr. SHERMAN. It is a memorial of 77 members of the Kansas Legislature, signed by each one.

Mr. FAULKNER. Then I suppose it would not be proper to print it in the RECORD?

Mr. HARRIS. Of course not.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senator from Ohio asks that it be printed as a document.

Mr. SHERMAN. I do not ask to have it printed in the RECORD. I ask that it be printed as a document for the information of the Committee on Privileges and Elections and the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the memorial will be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections and be printed as a document.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. VEST. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. HOAR. I hope the Senator from Missouri will withhold the motion for a few moments. There is probably some legislative business to be transacted. I think the Committee on Contingent Expenses is ready to report on a resolution referred to it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. VEST. I have no objection to the report being made.

ADMISSION OF TERRITORIES.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I am directed by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the resolution submitted by the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CAREY] on the 6th instant, to report it with an amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Territories, or any subcommittee thereof appointed for the purpose, are hereby authorized during the recess of Congress to visit the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Oklahoma, for the purpose of obtaining information with regard to the resources, population, and condition of said Territories and as to the propriety of the admission of the same as States, and that the expenses of said committee be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment of the committee will be read.

The SECRETARY. Add to the resolution the following proviso:

Provided, That no expense be incurred for clerical service, any clerical service required by the said committee or any subcommittee thereof to be performed by the regular clerical force of the committee without extra compensation.

Mr. HARRIS. Let the resolution and the amendment be printed and lie over until to-morrow.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered.

KANSAS SENATORIAL INVESTIGATION.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I am directed by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the resolution reported by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE] from the Committee on Privileges and Elections on the 12th instant, to report it with an amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections, or any subcommittee thereof, be authorized to investigate the right of Mr. Joseph W. Ady, who claims a seat in this body as Senator from Kansas; and, if in their judg-

ment it be necessary, to employ a stenographer, send for persons and papers, to administer oaths, and to sit during the recess of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment of the committee will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Add after the word "Senate," at the end of the resolution:

The expense thereof to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

Mr. HARRIS. Let that lie over until to-morrow and be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will lie over and be printed.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Tennessee if it be his purpose to object or prevent the adoption of the resolution by the Senate?

Mr. HARRIS. It is my purpose to look at it and see exactly what it is, and to-morrow will come in twenty-four hours.

Mr. HOAR. I did not know but the Senator might be willing to disclose his whole purpose now, if he has any further purpose than that.

Mr. HARRIS. My purpose is one of inquiry at present. I do do not know what my purpose will be after I have looked at the resolution.

Mr. HOAR. I suspect the Senator has looked at it a good many times before.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. VEST. I renew my motion.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Missouri, that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. HOAR. On that question I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. VILAS]. If he were here I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. PLATT. I desire to announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON] is detained from the Senate to-day by illness. He is paired with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BLACKBURN].

Mr. STOCKBRIDGE. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. MCMILLAN] is absent from the city and is paired with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE].

Mr. WASHBURN (after having voted in the negative). I am paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. CAMDEN]. I notice that he is not present, and I therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. HOAR. The list of names read by the Secretary shows some ten or twelve more than a quorum, and yet several Senators have voted, undoubtedly inadvertently, who are supposed on our side to be paired with absent Republican members.

The same thing happened day before yesterday. I suppose that the reservation of a right to vote to make a quorum does not authorize the Senator reserving it to vote when there are ten or twelve more than a quorum voting. Day before yesterday there was an apparent majority on the other side of 23 upon a party vote.

Mr. COCKRELL. Is debate in order?

Mr. HOAR. I think it is a question of the highest privilege.

Mr. VANCE (after having voted in the affirmative). I wish to state that I voted inadvertently. I have a general pair with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN], who is absent. I understood it was announced the other day that he was paired with some other Senator, and I did not think to announce the pair this morning.

Mr. MILLS (after having voted in the affirmative). I am paired with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], and will withdraw my vote.

Mr. DUBOIS. I desire to announce the pair of my colleague [Mr. SHOUP] with the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE].

Mr. VANCE. I understand that my vote will be withdrawn.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The vote of the Senator from North Carolina is withdrawn.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a pair with the Senator from Montana [Mr. POWER]. My understanding of the pair is that it gives me a perfect right to vote on this motion. I take it that I am the judge of that. However, to prevent all possibility of misapprehension, I transfer my pair to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN], so as to enable me to vote.

Mr. CALL. I have transferred my pair to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN].

Mr. PASCO. But the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] has come in and voted.

Mr. CALL. I am informed that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] has voted, and therefore the pair of the Senator from Louisiana can be transferred to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. BERRY (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER], but I have the liberty to vote to make a quorum or at any other time I choose to vote, the matter resting entirely between the Senator from Colorado and myself. If, however, a question is raised about it, as my vote is not necessary to make a quorum, I will withdraw it.

The result was announced—yeas 33, nays 19; as follows:

YEAS—33.

Bate,	Gibson,	Kyle,	Roach,
Butler,	Gordon,	McPherson,	Smith,
Caffery,	Gorman,	Martin,	Turpie,
Call,	Gray,	Mitchell, Wis.	Vest,
Cockrell,	Harris,	Murphy,	Voorhees,
Coke,	Hill,	Palmer,	White, La.
Daniel,	Hunton,	Pasco,	
Faulkner,	Irby,	Peffer,	
George,	Jones, Ark.	Pugh,	

NAYS—19.

Cameron,	Dolph,	Hoar,	Proctor,
Carey,	Dubois,	Jones, Nev.	Sherman,
Chandler,	Hansbrough,	Lodge,	Squire,
Culiom,	Hawley,	Morrill,	Stockbridge.
Davis,	Higgins,	Platt,	

NOT VOTING—32.

Aldrich,	Dixon,	Mitchell, Oregon	Teller,
Allen,	Frye,	Morgan,	Vance,
Allison,	Gallinger,	Pettigrew,	Vilas,
Berry,	Hale,	Power,	Walthall,
Blackburn,	Lindsay,	Ransom,	Washburn,
Brice,	McMillan,	Shoup,	White, Cal.
Camden,	Manderson,	Stanford,	Wilson,
Colquitt,	Mills,	Stewart,	Wolcott.

So the motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After twenty minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

CHARGES AGAINST SENATOR ROACH.

Mr. GORMAN. I move that the Senate adjourn.

Mr. CHANDLER. I ask the Senator to withdraw the motion in order to enable me to make a request of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Maryland yield?

Mr. GORMAN. Yes, sir; for that purpose.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, there is before the Senate a resolution in relation to the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. ROACH], which has been offered by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], and has not yet been referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. I desire to make some remarks upon that resolution, and I ask unanimous consent of the Senate to proceed at this time. I have understood that there is a substitute to be offered for the resolution. I am willing to proceed either before or after that substitute shall be offered, if it is to be offered. My request is that I may be allowed now to address the Senate in favor of the resolution of the Senator from Massachusetts.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. GORMAN. I trust it may suit the convenience of the Senator to postpone his remarks until to-morrow.

Mr. CHANDLER. I will speak at the pleasure of the Senate. If it is not the pleasure of the Senate that I shall proceed now, I ask that to-morrow morning, after the routine business, I may have leave to address the Senate on that resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New Hampshire? The Chair hears none.

Mr. GORMAN. I renew my motion that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, April 14, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 13, 1893.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Alex. W. Terrell, of Texas, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Turkey, vice David P. Thompson, resigned.

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE SUPREME COURT ARIZONA.

John J. Hawkins, of Arizona Territory, to be associate justice of the supreme court of the Territory of Arizona, vice Edmund W. Wells, resigned.

DISTRICT ATTORNEYS.

Francis R. Lassiter, of Virginia, to be attorney of the United States for the eastern district of Virginia, vice Thomas R. Borland, resigned.

John H. M. Wigman, of Wisconsin, to be attorney of the United States for the eastern district of Wisconsin, vice Elihu Colman, to be removed.

James F. Read, of Arkansas, to be attorney of the United States for the western district of Arkansas, vice William H. H. Clayton, to be removed.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

George J. Crump, of Arkansas, to be marshal of the United States for the western district of Arkansas, vice Jacob Yoes, resigned.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Charles W. Larrabee, of Maine, to be collector of customs for the district of Bath, in the State of Maine, to succeed James W. Wakefield, whose term of office has expired by limitation.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 11, 1893.

GOVERNOR OF UTAH.

Caleb W. West, of Salt Lake City, Utah, to be governor of Utah.

FIRST DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF PENSIONS.

Dominic I. Murphy, of Washington, D. C., to be First Deputy Commissioner of Pensions.

POSTMASTERS.

Exum B. Britt, to be postmaster at Suffolk, in the county of Nansemond and State of Virginia.

Irwin Tucker, to be postmaster at Newport News, in the county of Warwick and State of Virginia.

FRIDAY, *April 14, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

CHARGES AGAINST SENATOR ROACH.

Mr. ROACH Mr. President, I rise to a question of personal privilege.

My colleague, the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH], is reported to have said, referring to the charges alleged in the resolution of the Senator from Massachusetts, that I told him I desired to offer a resolution for investigation, or that I thought it was the best thing to do. I rise now to confirm that statement, and to say further that as far as that investigation is concerned I desire it, and am perfectly willing that it shall be proceeded with.

After the conversation referred to by my colleague, I yielded to the advice of friends in the Senate and did not act upon my own impulses in the matter. Hence I did not offer the resolution that I desired and intended to offer. New to this body and entirely unfamiliar with the customs and usages of the Senate, I naturally attached weight to the advice and opinion of those older in the service and versed in the practices and precedents of the Senate. I was given to understand that, however much I might desire or demand an investigation, it was not the practice of the Senate to take jurisdiction of alleged acts or conduct prior to the election of a Senator and having no connection with the legality thereof.

If this practice is to be now changed, I have no protest to make; on the contrary, I repeat I am willing and desirous that the investigation be made. I seek no shelter and shrink from no scrutiny into my public and private character.

I desire to say at this time that I am perfectly willing and desirous that this investigation shall be proceeded with. That has been my position from the beginning. I stand here now to say that much, and to repeat it.

With reference to my rising at this time, I will state that I have been blamed for not speaking. I have also been criticised because it is alleged that I did say something. In justice to my colleague and myself with reference to what has been said in the newspapers (because these things so far are proceeding upon newspaper allegations) I thought it my duty to say this much at this time.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, in view of the statement made by the Senator from North Dakota, I desire to call the attention of the Senate to the situation with reference to the resolution now pending before the Senate, upon which I obtained unanimous consent yesterday to speak. The resolution as originally introduced by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] has been modified by him and provides for what might be called in some sort a qualified investigation. The resolution now before the Senate, and which the Senator from Massachusetts requested might be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, provides that the Committee on Privileges and Elections shall inquire into the facts connected with the case of the Senator from North Dakota so far as to determine what would be the right and the duty of the Senate in the premises, and to make report to the Senate.

This modified resolution was drawn by the Senator from Massachusetts, submitted to the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE], the chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and agreed to by him; and it was supposed upon this side that it would be agreed to by the Senate without debate and without objection upon either side of the Chamber.

In view of the statement now made by the Senator from North Dakota, I venture to ask the Senator from North Carolina if, after the resolution shall have gone to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, and shall have been reported back by that committee, there is any objection to its adoption without debate, so far as the Senator is advised as to the views of Senators upon the other side of the Chamber?

Mr. VANCE. Mr. President, I can only speak for myself of course. When the committee report the resolution back to the Senate I shall have no objection to its adoption.

Mr. CHANDLER. Then I ask that the resolution may be referred and that there may be unanimous consent that when the resolution is reported back by the Committee on Contingent Expenses, if it be so reported, it may be adopted without debate and without objection.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I have sent to the desk to get a copy of the resolution, but have been unable to get it. I understand, however, that the resolution proposes to examine into and investigate the conduct of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. ROACH] prior to his election to the Senate, and not connected with that fact. I shall be obliged, sir, to refuse unanimous consent so far as I am concerned, without reference to what consequences may follow. I have had no interview, no communication, either directly or indirectly, with the Senator from North Dakota. I act upon my own responsibility and upon my conviction of my duty to the Senate and to the Constitution of my country.

I deny absolutely the power of this body under any circumstances to institute and conduct an investigation in relation to the conduct of a Senator, that conduct having transpired before his election to this body and that conduct being disconnected with that election. I deny absolutely that any consent on the part of a Senator whose conduct is proposed to be investigated will give this body jurisdiction.

Mr. CULLOM. Will the Senator from Mississippi allow me to interrupt him one moment?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Mississippi yield?

Mr. GEORGE. No, sir.

Mr. CULLOM. Then I have the right to inquire what is now before the Senate, under the rule.

Mr. GEORGE. I am before the Senate, for one.

Mr. CULLOM. Whether the Senator is in order is what I desire to know.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. What is the point of order the Senator from Illinois makes?

Mr. CULLOM. I make the inquiry of the Chair, what is now before the Senate?

Mr. GEORGE. The remarks of the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. CULLOM. I understand the resolution for seating the Senator from Montana is the matter to be laid before the Senate. The Senator from North Dakota [Mr. ROACH] rose to a question of privilege. The resolution in reference to the Senator from Montana has not been laid before the Senate by the Chair.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] has asked unanimous consent that the resolution submitted some days ago by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] may be referred, and agreed to without debate when reported. The resolution will be read, in order that the Senate may understand the question before it.

Mr. CULLOM. That resolution was not laid before the Senate by the Chair.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Mississippi will suspend until the resolution is read.

Mr. GEORGE. Very well.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. HOAR on the 10th instant, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections be directed to examine the allegations recently made in the public press, charging WILLIAM N. ROACH, a Senator from the State of North Dakota, with certain criminal offenses, committed while cashier or officer of a bank in the city of Washington, and to ascertain the facts and circumstances so far as to enable the committee to determine and report what are the duty and power of the Senate in regard thereto; and for that purpose the committee shall have authority to send for persons and papers, to employ a stenographer, to sit during the recess of the Senate, and to act through a subcommittee, and its expenses shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

Mr. GEORGE. Am I in order now, Mr. President?

Mr. CHANDLER. If the Senator will allow me a moment, I asked for unanimous consent, and the Senator from Mississippi rose to state that he could not give unanimous consent. I certainly hope that he may, by the unanimous consent of the Senate, be allowed to state the reasons why he objects to unanimous consent.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that this debate is proceeding by unanimous consent.

Mr. GEORGE. That includes my right to proceed, I hope.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Mississippi will proceed, unless there be objection.

Mr. CULLOM. I make no objection, Mr. President.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair does not understand that objection has been made to the Senator from Mississippi proceeding with his remarks.

Mr. HOAR. I make no objection, but, on the contrary, hope that the Senator from Mississippi will proceed. However, it is understood of course that that does not waive the right of the Senator from New Hampshire to proceed afterward under the unanimous consent given last night.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair so understands. The Senator from Mississippi will proceed.

Mr. GEORGE. When I was interrupted I was proceeding to state, in the first place, that the Senate has no jurisdiction to make the investigation, and, secondly, that no consent of the party to be investigated could give that jurisdiction. I understand the proposition is to investigate the conduct of a Senator transpiring before his election to the Senate and disconnected entirely from that election; that the conduct alleged has no relation to procuring his election to the Senate whereby the regularity of that election might be impeached.

I have not looked to the precedents upon the subject, but I take it that the only power this body has to inquire into the conduct of a member is under that clause of the Constitution which authorizes the Senate to punish a member for disorderly behavior or to expel him. It is not alleged that the Senator from North Dakota has been guilty of any disorderly conduct. Then, if we have a right to investigate at all it is under that other clause of the Constitution, the right to expel a member. It is not defined in the Constitution except incidentally for what cause a member may be expelled. I read the whole paragraph so that the Senate may take it in:

> Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

The resolution, if it does not look to one of these two things, is certainly without the jurisdiction of this body. If it be alleged that a member of this body has been guilty of disorderly conduct the Senate may investigate that question, ascertain the facts, and pronounce judgment upon the facts. Certainly that relates to disorderly conduct whilst a member of this body, for it says "punish its members for disorderly behavior." Disorderly behavior of whom? Disorderly behavior of the member, and when he is a member, amenable to the jurisdiction of this body.

Then, for what cause have we a right to inquire and have we a right to expel? Sir, I think it is a very extraordinary proposition, when we consider it in all its length and breadth, that the Senate may look into the antecedent conduct of a person who has subsequently been elected a member of this body for the purpose of expelling him. What does that mean, Mr. President? Stop and think. It means that the Senate, for any cause which the Senate may adjudge sufficient, may reverse the action of a sovereign State in relation to the election of a member to this body.

Stating it in a little different form, because I desire the Senate to understand distinctly what this proposition means, if we may for conduct or alleged conduct transpiring before the person becomes a member of this body expel him, do we not assume to dictate to a sovereign State in this Union whom it may elect as a Senator? In other words, whilst the Constitution of our country says that the State through its Legislature shall elect a Senator, if that Senator has the prescribed qualifications fixed in the Constitution, when he comes to take his seat here we may say, "We do not like the person whom the Legislature has sent here; he is *persona non grata;* we do not like the man, though possessing all the qualifications prescribed by the Constitution, whom a sovereign State has seen proper to select and accredit to this body."

Mr. President, have we the power to do that? Are we an appellate court authorized by the Constitution (and if we are not authorized by the Constitution we are not authorized at all) to sit in judgment upon the propriety of an act performed by a State Legislature in sending a Senator to this body? State the proposition as you may, conceal it by any sort of circumlocution or specious verbiage, and at last it comes to the simple, single proposition, the Legislature of the State may say that this man suits us; we may say that he does not suit us.

Mr. President, if the mere statement of that proposition is not enough to condemn it in the minds of thoughtful Senators, I hope I may be allowed to indulge a little in speculating for what cause we shall undertake to expel a member for acts done prior to his election. Where are the rules laid down which are to guide us in our judgment in this important particular? Do you find anywhere in the Constitution of the country that a Senator shall not have been guilty of this thing or that thing or the other thing as a necessary prerequisite to his title to a seat here? Not one word.

Then, sir, what are the rules by which we are to determine whether we shall expel a member or not for acts done prior to his election? They are absolutely unwritten in the Constitution; they are left to the discretion of this body; and that discretion, when translated into plain English constitutional language, means that the Senate of the United States have the right to expel a person from this body because they do not like what he may have done prior to his election to the Senate. If any Senator can say to me that that is not the correct statement of the proposition I should like to hear him. I deny, therefore, that we have any jurisdiction. I deny, therefore, that any consent on the part of the Senator can give jurisdiction.

But do Senators say, as I heard one suggest the other day, that we have a right to know with whom we are associated? Where do we get that right? What clause of the Constitution gives the power to a Senator from Mississippi or to a Senator from any other State to say, "I invoke the action of this body to enable me to determine whether I shall associate with the Senator from Arkansas or the Senator from any other State"? This body has no jurisdiction—I want that understood—to make an inquiry, except that inquiry be the foundation for some action of this body, not the action of A and B, or C and D, who may be members of this body, but the action of the body as a Senate.

As I have shown, we can not expel a Senator for misconduct prior to his election, and we are therefore without jurisdiction. For what purpose can we make the investigation? None. Then, according to the rule of law, if we be without jurisdiction to pronounce any effectual judgment, how can we make the investigation? It is a fundamental principle of law that you can not punish a witness for perjury before a court and in a cause over which that court has no jurisdiction. So, if the Senate should conclude to go into this sham and farce of an investigation, it will meet with these difficulties: First, that no man who is summoned by a committee as a witness will be bound to attend, the court having no jurisdiction; secondly, if he does attend, and gives false testimony, he can not be punished. So you make this investigation, if you make it at all, before a committee who can only examine witnesses who volunteer their presence and witnesses who testify without being under any legal—I am not talking about moral—obligation to tell the truth.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President——

Mr. GORMAN. If the Senator from New Hampshire will permit me, I will say that if we have a quorum when this resolution comes up I shall offer a substitute for the resolution, which I should like to have read before the Senator proceeds.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The proposed substitute will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

> *Resolved*, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections be directed to inquire into and consider the question whether the Senate has authority or jurisdiction to investigate charges made against a Senator as to conduct or offenses occurring or committed prior to his election, not relating to his duty as Senator or affecting the integrity of his election.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President——

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator from New Hampshire kindly yield to me for a moment to make a suggestion in relation to the order of business, which I suppose will take but a moment?

Mr. CHANDLER. Certainly.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, it will be remembered by the Senate that the report of the minority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections in regard to the claims to three seats in the Senate, depending upon the validity of the appointments by the governors of certain States, was submitted to me to present to the Senate. That was done by the unanimous request of the committee, and I made the report. I wish, therefore, to do my duty in regard to those cases. From what I can learn I suppose that the debate in regard to them is substantially over, and I desire to ask unanimous consent that there may be a vote taken upon those cases without further debate at 2 o'clock to-morrow.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. HARRIS. There is.

Mr. VEST. I object.

Mr. FAULKNER. I desire to say, in connection with the request of the Senator from Massachusetts, that I know of several Senators who desire to be heard upon those resolutions before they are acted upon.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There is objection to the request of the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. HOAR. If I may be pardoned, I will say that I thought it very likely that some Senator would desire to have further debate without taking the vote at the time I named; but I thought under the circumstances everybody would recognize the propriety of granting unanimous consent in order that it might be understood that the matter should be concluded.

Mr. FAULKNER. I will say to the Senator from Massachusetts that I know there is a desire to discuss the questions arising upon those resolutions.

Mr. HOAR. I wished to have that fact appear clearly by making this request.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from New Hampshire is entitled to the floor.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President——

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator will pardon me one moment more, I will inquire if the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. FAULKNER], or the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], or the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS] think that a time can be fixed at the present session by agreement for such a vote?

Mr. VEST (in his seat). We will confer about that.

Mr. HOAR. I should be very glad to have such a time fixed, if the Senate can agree to it.

DISBURSEMENTS BY RECESS COMMITTEES.

Mr. COCKRELL. I offer a resolution, which I ask to have referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from New Hampshire yield for that purpose?

Mr. CHANDLER. I yield.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be reported.

The resolution was read, and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate be instructed to ascertain and fix the sums necessary to be disbursed by the various standing or special committees authorized to sit during the recess; that when the said sum or sums be so ascertained and fixed by the said committee, the expenses of the various committees, standing or select, authorized to sit during the recess, be absolutely limited to the amount so fixed by the said committee.

Resolved further, That the said Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, in ascertaining and fixing the said sums, be, and hereby is, directed to so fix the amounts as to keep the aggregate sum within the appropriation.

REPORT OF IMMIGRANT COMMISSIONER SCHULTEIS.

Mr. CHANDLER. I think I shall offer a resolution myself and then take a new start in my remarks, with the permission of Senators.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution of the Senator from New Hampshire will be read.

The resolution was read, and referred to the Committee on Printing, as follows:

Resolved, That the Public Printer be, and is hereby, directed to print for the use of the Senate, with a title page, 12,000 additional copies of the report of Immigrant Commissioner H. J. Schulteis, contained in Part I, House Executive Document No. 235, first session Fifty-first Congress, pages 263 to 323 inclusive.

KANSAS SENATORIAL INVESTIGATION.

Mr. CHANDLER. I take occasion now to yield to any further morning business which Senators may desire to offer.

Mr. HOAR. If that be the case, I should like to inquire if there is any further objection to the resolution reported from the Committee on Contingent Expenses in regard to the Kansas Senatorial investigation case?

Mr. HARRIS. There is not, so far as I am concerned.

Mr. HOAR. I ask that the resolution may be now disposed of.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution referred to by the Senator from Massachusetts, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections, or any subcommittee thereof, be authorized to investigate the right of Mr. Joseph W. Ady, who claims a seat in this body as Senator from Kansas; and, if in their judgment it be necessary, to employ a stenographer, send for persons and papers, to administer oaths, and to sit during the recess of the Senate.

The resolution was reported from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate with an amendment, to add:

The expense thereof to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to be permitted to say that I think, and I believe that the Republican members of the Committee on Privileges and Elections agree with me in thinking, that it would be better and more in accordance with the precedents to have distinct authority given to the committee not only to investigate the claim of Mr. Ady, but also the title of Mr. MARTIN.

As the majority of the committee, however, have preferred this form of the resolution, it is quite obvious that no public advantage will be gained to anybody by entering upon a long debate at this time, when we are all anxious to finish the session as soon as possible. Therefore I do not raise any question about the resolution in its present shape. I intended originally to move an amendment, broadening a little the language and possibly the meaning of the resolution, but under the circumstances I shall not raise any question about it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

ADMISSION OF TERRITORIES.

Mr. HARRIS. I objected to the resolution which was reported yesterday morning by the Committee on Contingent Expenses in respect to the Committee on Territories. I ask that that resolution be now laid before the Senate, and I shall withdraw all objection to it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Chair will lay before the Senate the resolution referred to by the Senator from Tennessee, which will be read.

The Secretary read the following resolution, submitted by Mr. CAREY April 6, 1893, which had been reported from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, with an amendment:

Resolved, That the Committee on Territories, or any subcommittee thereof appointed for the purpose, are hereby authorized during the recess of Congress to visit the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Oklahoma, for the purpose of obtaining information with regard to the resources, population, and condition of said Territories, and as to the propriety of the admission of the same as States, and that the expenses of said committee be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

The amendment reported by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate was to add to the resolution:

Provided, That no expense be incurred for clerical service, any clerical service required by the said committee or any subcommittee thereof to be performed by the regular clerical force of the committee without extra compensation.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

DISBURSEMENTS BY RECESS COMMITTEES.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I ask leave to report from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate the resolution submitted this morning by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL].

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate be instructed to ascertain and fix the sums necessary to be disbursed by the various standing or special committees authorized to sit during the recess; that when the said sum or sums be so ascertained and fixed by the said committee, the expenses of the various committees, standing or select, authorized to sit during the recess, be absolutely limited to the amount so fixed by the said committee.

Resolved further, That the said Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, in ascertaining and fixing the said sums, be, and hereby is, directed to so fix the amounts as to keep the aggregate sum within the appropriation.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the resolution at this time.

Mr. CALL. I ask that that resolution go over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Florida objects, and the resolution will go over and be printed.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

On motion of Mr. CULLOM, it was

Ordered, That Goff A. Hall have leave to withdraw his papers from the files of the Senate.

Mr. GORMAN. As the Senator from New Hampshire has given way to quite a number of matters of public business, will it inconvenience him to have a short executive session before he proceeds with his remarks?

Mr. CHANDLER. I yield to the request of the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. GORMAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. HIGGINS. I should like to present an order for adoption before that is done.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Maryland yield to the Senator from Delaware?

Mr. GORMAN. We shall likely come out of executive session in a short time.

Mr. HIGGINS. I hope the Senator from Maryland will allow me to offer an order for adoption.

Mr. GORMAN. I yield for that purpose.

On motion of Mr. HIGGINS, it was

Ordered, That William W. S. Davis have leave to withdraw his papers from the files of the Senate, subject to the rules.

On motion of Mr. COCKRELL, it was

Ordered, That the papers in connection with Senate bill No. 1194 of the Fifty-second Congress, for the relief of G. W. Harbaugh, be withdrawn from the files of the Senate, there having been no adverse report.

PROPOSED EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. GORMAN. I now renew my motion that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. CULLOM. I hope the purpose of the Senator from Maryland is not to have the Senate hold an extended executive session.

Mr. GORMAN. I think a very short executive session will suffice.

Mr. CULLOM. As the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] has been waiting now for two days and expected to make his remarks this afternoon——

Mr. GORMAN. I have made the motion with his consent.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understood that the Senator from New Hampshire had yielded to the Senator from Maryland to make that motion.

Mr. CULLOM. I simply want it understood that the Senator from New Hampshire will be entitled to proceed with his remarks very soon.

Mr. GORMAN. As a matter of course, he will. I renew my motion.

Mr. HARRIS. I desire to inquire if the Senator from New Hampshire, under the consent which was given yesterday, holds the floor at this time and *in futuro*? Will the Senator from New Hampshire tell me how long he claims the right to the floor under the consent which was given yesterday?

Mr. CHANDLER. I have hardly had the floor at all yet, and I think it is rather hard for the Senator from Tennessee to put that question to me. I had not taken the floor under the unanimous consent given me yesterday, but the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. ROACH] made a statement; then I asked unanimous consent; then the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE] made a speech; and then I thought it was an opportune time for me to go on. I have yielded to morning business and all kinds of business, and I now yield to the motion of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN]; but I do not care to tell the Senator from Tennessee how long I shall speak when I am kindly accorded the right to go on under the unanimous consent which was given me yesterday.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I am a little curious to know, and I have a right to know, how long the Senator is going to hold the right to the floor under the consent which was given yesterday?

Mr. CULLOM. Mr. President——

Mr. HARRIS. I will hear the Senator from Illinois later.

Mr. CULLOM. I should like to make a remark in connection with the inquiry of the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. HARRIS. The Senator may make the remark when I get ready to hear him, and not till then.

Mr. CULLOM. Very well. Has the Senator the right to the floor?

Mr. HARRIS. I was recognized by the Chair, and I think that gives me the right to the floor.

Mr. CULLOM. Not for all day.

Mr. HARRIS. I shall probably not occupy it quite so long.

Mr. CULLOM (to Mr. CHANDLER). I would not yield at all under those circumstances.

Mr. CHANDLER. I yielded the floor——

Mr. HARRIS. But the Senator from New Hampshire took the floor this morning under the consent which was granted yesterday, and matters have drifted on. Now I do not quite understand that the consent given on yesterday for the Senator to address the Senate immediately after the reading of the Journal to-day shall extend without limit. I want to know how far it extends, and the Senator declines to answer.

Mr. CHANDLER. No, Mr. President, I do not.

Mr. HARRIS. He has been very kind in yielding to others, I grant; but there is a good deal of business before the Senate.

Mr. CHANDLER. I will answer the Senator's question, of course, if I can. I should like to understand exactly what the Senator wishes to know of me. I yielded to the recognized leader of the Senate on the other side, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN].

Mr. HARRIS. What I wish to know is, how far the consent of yesterday goes. I regret that I did not object then. I am ready to object whenever the time comes that I can legitimately do so without violating a unanimous consent rule. That is my point.

Mr. CHANDLER. I yield to the Senator from Maryland, and leave the matter in his hands.

Mr. GORMAN. Of course the Senator from New Hampshire, by unanimous consent, is entitled to the floor, and if the motion I made for an executive session interrupts him, I shall withdraw the motion.

Mr. CULLOM (to Mr. CHANDLER). Go on and make your speech.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Maryland withdraws his motion, and the Senator from New Hampshire is entitled to the floor.

CHARGES AGAINST SENATOR ROACH.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, at the banquet given on the 27th of February last by the eighty-eight Senators to Vice-President Morton, the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] described the Senate as "the most important and distinguished legislative assembly on earth." Imbued, I trust, with the spirit of that utterance, I approach the unpleasant duty of advocating the resolution which is before the Senate and of stating my views of the law and the facts in the case of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. ROACH].

I had hoped, Mr. President, to be spared the necessity of speaking, by an arrangement between Senators on both sides of the Chamber for the unanimous passage, without debate, of a resolution, carefully expressed, under which we might have such an investigation as the circumstances of the case seem to require, and discussion after that—investigation first, and discussion afterwards. Indeed such an arrangement was entered into after a conference between the Republican and Democratic members of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and the result was the resolution which is now before the Senate, to the unanimous passage of which the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE] has objected, and for which the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] has offered a substitute.

Instead, therefore, of an amicable understanding as to the appropriate course of procedure in this case, which is one of some delicacy, it seems to have been decided by the leaders on the other side of the Chamber that the resolution of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] shall not pass. The Senator from Mississippi alone of the Senators upon the other side of the Chamber objected to it, but later the Senator from Maryland offered a substitute for it. That substitute states the only ground upon which there can possibly be opposition to the resolution which was agreed upon, namely, that it is not within the constitutional power of the Senate the United States to inquire into the conduct of any Senator or into a crime committed by any Senator before he was elected to the Senate.

It is only possible to defeat the resolution for investigation which is now before us by laying down in the American Senate in this year 1893 the rule that no matter what crime may have been committed by a person occupying a seat in this Chamber, no matter under what circumstances of atrocity, it is not within the constitutional power of the Senate to even so much as appoint a committee to make an investigation into the facts and circumstances of that conduct and of that crime.

This proposition can not be sustained upon any correct view either of English parliamentary law or of the constitutional or parliamentary law of the United States. I have taken occasion during the present session to examine the authorities, both English and American, on this subject. I did this not with a view of presenting my conclusions to the Senate, but for my own guidance in determining my action as a Senator; but I have made a summary of the precedents, which has already been made public, and which I now read to the Senate:

I. In England members of the House of Commons have been expelled indiscriminately for acts done before as well as after their elections.

II. The principle has been to preserve the purity, honor, and high character of the legislative body; and the members have been expelled both before and after conviction of crime, and whether legal prosecutions have or have not been instituted.

III. In the United States there have been almost no actual expulsions from Congress except for disloyalty, and, apparently, not one for an offense committed before election.

IV. The advocates of expulsion have asserted the principle of the English cases—the necessity of preserving the character of the legislature—in language broad enough to cover offenses committed before as well as after election. The opponents of expulsions have usually argued against the right of expelling for acts done before the election.

V. The decided weight of American opinion is in favor of the right and duty to expel for offenses committed before election which, in the judgment of the legislature, renders the person an unfit member thereof.

VI. Numerous investigations have been made into the conduct of members before their election, and it is believed that in all cases where an investigation has been seriously demanded it has been ordered, and the decision to expel or not to expel has been made in full view of all the facts, except in one case, where the facts appeared upon the request for investigation and were not deserving of consideration.

This summary is sustained by the English and American cases. I read first from May's Parliamentary Practice, on page 62, where he states the grounds of expulsions:

Expulsion is generally reserved for offenses which render members unfit for a seat in Parliament, and which if not so punished would bring discredit upon Parliament itself. Members have been expelled as being in open rebellion; as having been guilty of forgery, of perjury, of frauds and breaches of trust; of misappropriation of public money; of conspiracy to defraud; of corruption in the administration of justice, or in public offices, or in the execution of their duties as members of the House; of conduct unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman; and of libels and various other offenses committed against the House itself.

In support of Mr. May's proposition are cited numerous cases from the Commons Journal which I have examined, and some of them I propose to submit to the Senate. As stated in my memorandum, the English cases of expulsion from the House of Commons are indiscriminately for offenses committed both before and after the election. These which I now first read were apparently committed while the offenders were members of Parliament.

In 9 Commons Journal, 24, November 22, 1667, it was—

Ordered, That John Asburnham, in receiving £500 from the French merchants, hath committed an offense to the dishonor of this House and contrary to his duty as a member thereof

And he was expelled.

In 11 Commons Journal, 274, on March 16, 1694, Sir John Trevor, late Speaker, was expelled for receiving 1,000 guineas from the city of London after passing the orphans' bill.

In 11 Commons Journal, 283, it appears that Mr. Hungerford, a member, having taken 20 guineas for his pains and services as chairman of the committee to whom the orphans' bill was committed, was expelled as guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor.

On January 21, 1720, as appears by 19 Commons Journal, 406, Jacob Sawbridge and Sir Theodore Janssen, each being described as "a member of this House and one of the directors of the South Sea Company," were expelled for being "guilty of a notorious breach of trust," the record stating as to each that he has "thereby occasioned very great loss to great numbers of His Majesty's subjects, and has highly prejudiced the public credit."

On page 412 of the same volume, 19 Commons Journal, Sir Robert Chaplin and Francis Eyles, esq., were expelled for the same reason.

In 20 Commons Journal, 702, May 16, 1726, is recorded the case of John Ward, esq. A record was exhibited from the court of King's Bench, and it appeared that Ward had been "convicted of the crime of forgery this present Easter term." He was expelled *nem. con.* The forgery was committed February 1, 1725. The forged writing appeared to be dated April 30, 1706.

In 69 Commons Journal, 433, July 5, 1814, is recorded the case of Sir Thomas Cochrane. He was expelled because he was declared to have been "convicted of a conspiracy with a wicked and fraudulent intention to thereby cheat and defraud His Majesty's subjects of divers large sums of money." The conviction was in 1814. The crime alleged was a conspiracy on February 19, 1814, to spread the false report that the French troops had been beaten and Napoleon killed, and this in order to make profitable a speculation in the public funds.

Now I come to cases where the expulsions seem to have been for offenses committed before the person expelled became a member of the House of Commons.

In 14 Commons Journal, 171, February 1, 1702, it appears that it was

Resolved, That Richard, Earl of Ranelagh, late paymaster of the forces, is guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor in misapplying several sums of the public money.

Resolved, That Richard, Earl of Ranelagh, for his said offenses be expelled this House.

This crime appears to have been committed between 1692 and 1699, and apparently before Earl Ranelagh became a member of the House of Commons. It was clearly while he was paymaster of Her Majesty's forces.

In John Quincy Adams's speech in Senator John Smith's case, recorded in the Annals of Congress, Tenth Congress, first session, volume 1, page 243, is stated the case of Thomas Ridge, who was expelled from the House of Commons.

In 17 Commons Journal, 30, January 14, 1711, is recorded the well-known case of the expulsion of Sir Robert Walpole. The charge was a corrupt contract sworn to by Robert Mann, and the record shows that the offense was committed in August, 1709. I am not able to determine whether Sir Robert Walpole was then a member of the House of Commons, a minister, or not. The resolution was:

That Robert Walpole, esq., a member of this House, in receiving the sum of 500 guineas and in taking a note for £500 more on account of two contracts for forage of Her Majesty's troops quartered in North Britain, made by him while secretary of war, pursuant to a power granted to him by the late lord treasurer, is guilty of a high breach of trust and notorious corruption.

The resolution was passed by yeas 205, nays 148; and he was committed to the Tower and expelled by a vote of 170 to 148.

In 51 Commons Journal, 661, May 2, 1796, it appears that Mr. John Fenton Cawthorne, who was then expelled, had been found guilty by court-martial of having acted fraudulently and in a scandalous and infamous manner unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman as colonel of the Westminster regiment in the Middlesex militia, in the embezzlement of soldiers' money and clothing and of like offenses as far back as 1793.

In 65 Commons Journal, 399, May 23, 1810, is recorded the case of Joseph Hunt, esq., who was expelled for having as treasurer of ordnance misapplied a large sum of the public money. On page 280 it is stated that he was a defaulter to the amount of £93,926. It also appears that he was first appointed treasurer of ordnance in 1803, and a second time in 1807, when he was not a member of the House of Commons.

In 21 Commons Journal, 871, March 30, 1732, it appears that Denis Bond, esq., and John Birch, esq., were expelled for breach of trust as commissioners for the sale of forfeited estates for the use of the public. These offenses were committed July 30, 1723, nearly nine years before the time of expulsion.

In 39 Commons Journal, 770, December 4, 1783, Christopher Atkinson, esq., was expelled because "convicted of the crime of perjury." The perjury was committed February 7, 1780, by swearing that William Bennett had libeled him in the General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer of January 31, 1781, while he was corn factor, purchasing corn and supplying the commissioners for victualing the royal navy.

BENJAMIN WALSH'S CASE.

The last English case to which I wish to call special attention is that recorded in 67 Commons Journal, 176, proceedings of March 5, 1812. It was the case of Benjamin Walsh. The question before the House of Commons was this:

That Benjamin Walsh, esq., a member of this House, having been tried at the Old Bailey in January last for felony and convicted thereof, and having received a free pardon by reason of his offense not amounting to felony in the opinion of the judges, but gross fraud and notorious breach of trust having been proved against him on the said trial, is unworthy and unfit to continue a member of this House.

I find a statement of the principle upon which Mr. Walsh was expelled in Lord Colchester's Diary. Lord Colchester had been Mr. Speaker Charles Abbot, and in volume 2 of his Diary and Correspondence, page 373, is this entry:

House of Commons: Mr. Walsh was expelled after a long debate, by 101 to 16. The principle of the expulsion: The facts incontrovertibly proved (upon the trial at the Old Bailey) of his having plotted and practiced a gross and infamous breach of trust in a money transaction, to his own emolument; and the precedent (by which that principle had already been extended to transactions respecting not only public, but also private property in the case of individuals) argued and relied upon was that of the Charitable Corporation in 1732, when, for indirect and fraudulent practices, three members were expelled; and the legal conviction of any indictable offense in those practices was held to be so little necessary to precede the expulsion that they were expelled first and the legal prosecutions were ordered afterwards, as is commonly the practice of Parliament, where it first vindicates its own honor and then consigns the individual to legal prosecution, which may or may not be able to fix legal guilt and punishment on the delinquent.

The debate in the Walsh case is contained in Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, first series, volume 21. On page 934 is stated the record of the conviction. On page 939 is the free pardon granted him for the crime. Then follows the letter of Mr. Walsh, which was read in the House of Commons, which constituted a confession of his crime. I will ask that the Secretary may read it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JONES of Arkansas in the chair). The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

My commission business, which I expected would increase, has become a hopeless resource, as it would furnish but a very small portion of my expenditure, and every attempt that I have made to assist by other means has ended in failure and loss. I did look forward with hope to the connection I proposed to you, and if this late unfortunate event had not occurred I think it possible I might have struggled through, as I have no doubt it would have answered our utmost wishes; and I trust that you will persevere in it with the fullest success. But I saw that it was impossible for me to provide the means, and there was no chance of saving myself from ruin, and my dear wife and children from poverty, and my brothers and sisters from loss by me, which they could ill afford, but to pursue a step which, though it will bring disgrace on my name, yet will afford me the means of preventing these dreadful calamities.

You who know my principles may well conceive that to resolve on a direct dishonest act must have given me much pain; but when I pictured to myself my sweet children in want, I resolved to take the means for their support from one to whom the loss would be but imaginary, as his fortune and accumulations far exceeded his expenditure, and his mercenary disposition would have induced no one to regret his loss. I have not had the opportunity I looked for with this person (Mr. O.), but it has been afforded me by another, who, though in a great respect free from the latter imputation, yet has every advantage of the former. He has ever been a kind friend to me, and I fear the act will add ingratitude to the crime; but I had no other chance, and the die is now cast.

Oh! my God, pardon my heinous offense. Sir Thomas Plumer employed me to sell a large sum of stock to pay for an estate, and I have withheld a part of the proceeds. I might have taken all; but I thought it crime enough for my future life to answer for to take what I conceived would be sufficient to maintain my family in competence and pay those debts which hung the

heaviest on my mind. I have already remitted it abroad; and though my person is safe from arrest, yet I have resolved to follow it, as I can never live in this country without shame and dishonor. It has been a heart-breaking struggle to leave you all; and I know I shall cause you great affliction where I would bestow nothing but happiness.

Mr. CHANDLER. That was the offense. I now read some portions of the debate. Mr. Bankes made the motion for expulsion, and in the course of his remarks he said (page 1175):

He agreed with those who thought that judicial power should be assumed by the House of Commons as seldom as possible, nor was the present the first opportunity that had been afforded him of expressing the opinion how little suited were its functions for such a purpose. Much less would he wish that questions of individual property or of general character should be there discussed, since it ill-suited the dignity of the House that through it means should be afforded to private malevolence to scrutinize every deviation from the strictest rules of moral rectitude; but it was inherent in the House of Commons and was a part of the constitution of every aggregate body to preserve its character and reputation.

If the House was proud of the splendid talents of some of its members, if it felt gratified by the exertions of military prowess by others, or if it owned with satisfaction the dignity it derived from the not less important though less glaring virtues of integrity and rectitude in others, it was impossible for it not to suffer in an equal proportion if men whose characters were stained by vice and corruption were still permitted to retain seats in a body where their peculiar deformity was rendered the more conspicuous by the general excellence of the whole. Unless from time to time wholesome remedies were applied to purify it, it was impossible that this main limb of the Constitution could continue healthy and vigorous.

At a later stage of his address he says:

Cases of all kinds might here be discovered, but no general, positive, or precise rules appear to have been laid down; but the House exercised its discretion according to the facts of the particular case presented to its consideration.

Still further Mr. Bankes says:

The expulsion of Colonel Cawthorne, in 1796, was entirely a new case, and much doubt was entertained of the wisdom and prudence of the proceeding; but among all the precedents there were none of more frequent occurrence or which had been visited more uniformly by the just punishment of the House than cases of fraud and notorious breach of trust in pecuniary transactions for private and undue emolument. The cases of public were undoubtedly more frequent than those of private fraud, and it was extremely natural that it should be so, since transactions between man and man were seldom brought to light, and until within the last thirty years members of Parliament were concerned in the collection of the revenues, in the public expenditure, in the lotteries, and contracts of government.

The principle, however, applied equally to all cases of fraud and breach of trust, when coupled with a most material circumstance, the notoriety and publicity of the fact. Could it, in the present case, be made more notorious than by a trial at the Old Bailey? It was impossible for the House to profess ignorance of what was known to the whole country.

Mr. Bathurst, in debating the subject, made the following utterance:

The honorable and learned gentleman had stated that an arbitrary discretion should not be allowed to the House. If the honorable and learned gentleman meant that the proceedings of the House should not be suffered to be capricious and vindictive he fully agreed with him; but if he meant that the House should be bound by strict technical rules, he entirely dissented from that opinion, and had a very different idea of the constitution of Parliament. As to immoralities committed by members of Parliament, he did not see how they affected the present case. Such immoralities might exist without injury to the public official character of a man, but the conduct of Mr. Walsh was marked with peculiar turpitude; and breaches of trust were precisely of a nature to affect the characters of members of Parliament, as members.

Further he says:

When the honorable and learned gentleman wished the House not to let their feelings run away with them, he must himself, at the same time, have felt the great indecorum, the gross indecency of such a person sitting in that place. Under all these circumstances, seeing no probable danger from the adoption of the motion, but seeing great danger from the rejection of it, he felt it impossible for him not to give his sincere and ardent support to the motion.

Sir Francis Burdett said—

That he was very far from being a stickler for what were called the privileges of Parliament, but certainly if there was a privilege or a power in any body or assembly less disputable than another, he conceived it to be that of declaring any one of the individuals of which they were composed unfit and unworthy of associating amongst them; it was, at all events, a power which, when compared with the other extraordinary privileges assumed by Parliament, appeared to him to be, of all others, the least liable to abuse, because if any member was expelled from any motives of party zeal or personal persecution, a remedy would be open to him in an appeal to his constituents, who, if they thought differently of his conduct, could unquestionably restore him to his seat

Again, Sir Francis said:

But as to the right of that assembly to expel one of its own members, he thought there could be little doubt of the right of every body to try to purify itself. He understood that in 1809 the members of the stock exchange had expelled Mr. Walsh for what they termed to be gross and nefarious conduct; now, certainly, if the feelings of the gentlemen upon 'Change were so sore at the idea of associating with Mr. Walsh, he did not see why that House, even constituted as it then was, should not be allowed the privilege of removing from themselves, in a similar way, an annoyance of the same kind.

Later Sir Francis said:

If the honorable gentleman who had preceded him in the debate thought that House to be made of a collection of—he knew not how to name them—if there were any or many such persons in that House or in the country, that would be with him a tenfold reason why the evil should be stopped before it proceeded to such excess, unless they should go on the principle—

I call this utterance especially to the attention of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN]—

unless they should go on the principle that where roguery was so general it was more prudent to pass it over. And this reminded him of that part of the dialogue between Lady Macduff and the child. Her son asks, "And must they all be hanged that swear and lie?" Lady Macduff replies in the affirmative. "Who must hang them?" demands the child. "Why, the honest men." Upon which the child observes, "Then the liars and swearers are fools, for there are liars and swearers enough to beat the honest, and hang up them."

Sir Francis, however, notwithstanding this argument, continued:

If the House had any power of expulsion they had a right to exercise it in getting rid of one who, in public esteem, was evidently and totally unworthy to remain in their society.

Mr. C. W. Wynn said:

The object of the present motion was not to punish Mr. Walsh, but to take a very important trust out of the hands of a person entirely unworthy to hold it.

Mr. C. Adams addressed the Commons and said he supported the motion—

upon the ground that it was a case of great atrocity, the person against whom the fraud was committed, being the friend and patron of the person who committed it. He hoped the House would not disgrace themselves by having amongst them so degraded a delinquent. There was no society, however insignificant, who did not exercise the power of expulsion in atrocious cases, and though he did not pretend to nicer feelings than others, he should feel most awkward on coming in contact with such a person.

The Attorney-General, toward the close of the debate, in support of the motion to expel, said:

What, then, was the ground upon which the House would proceed to expulsion in a case of that description? The only case that bore any resemblance to it was that which he had already mentioned; and if the House had proceeded on it, not as a misapplication of public money, but as an act of gross dishonesty, it was at least equaled by the act that had been committed by Mr. Walsh. Indeed he could not conceive any case more repugnant to all moral rules than Mr. Walsh's.

The former resembled the dishonesty of a trustee, but the latter was not merely a misapplication of money which had come into his hands, but a deliberate act of fraud; a cold looking round to see whom he could plunder; fixing first upon one, from whom he withdrew, only because he found it impossible to accomplish his purpose, and then turning to his benefactor for no other reason than because he wanted money himself, and thought Sir Thomas Plomer could do very well without it: a case of cooler and more deliberate villainy had never come under his inspection. If they were to act from any paltry fear of public clamor, instead of proceeding with confidence to do their duty, they would act in a manner unbecoming their situation; and, basely as he thought of Mr. Walsh, he would not vote against him if he entertained any doubt of the justice of the precedent which that vote would establish.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer followed, and said:

He could not think that because an act of Parliament did not make a moral crime a legal one, the House of Commons should be prevented from taking cognizance of it. There were many cases of breach of trust, as stated by his honorable and learned friend (Sir A. Pigott), but if there was a plain one brought forward, upon the mere statement of which no two men could differ in opinion, though it was no legal crime, he saw no danger from the precedent of expulsion.

Then the House divided, and the numbers for the expulsion of Mr. Walsh were 101; against it, 16; majority for expulsion, 85.

HUMPHREY MARSHALL'S CASE.

I now come to the American cases of expulsions. The first, widely known, and one that has often been quoted, is Humphrey Marshall's case, occurring March 22, 1796. It is to be found in the Annals of Congress, page 59, Fourth Congress, first session, and also in the Senate Journal, vol. 2, 1793-1799, page 226; also in Taft's Election Cases, page 68.

This case has been often quoted to prove that the American doctrine is that the Constitution gives no right to expel a member for an offense committed before his election. A memorial was presented to the Senate which states that Marshall had a suit in chancery in the court of appeals of Kentucky, and that it was manifest from the record that he had committed a gross fraud, that the court gave a decree against him, and that in the course of the investigation he was publicly charged with perjury.

All these facts appeared to the Senate, the fact that there was a lawsuit, that it was a bitter controversy, that the litigants on the other side charged fraud, and also that Mr. Marshall had committed perjury. Mr. Marshall solicited an investigation. The committee report that fact:

Mr. Marshall is solicitous that a full investigation of the subject should take place in the Senate.

And I am glad to say, Mr. President, that I think there has not been a case from 1797 down to this hour where an accused person has not solicited an investigation. This is true from 1796 down to this 14th day of April, 1893, when the Senator from North Dakota rises from his seat and instead of opposing an investigation asks that an inquiry may be made.

The committee were evidently of the opinion that the Marshall case was one, considering it on its merits, on which the Senate ought to take no action; but it must be admitted that they adopted at the close of their report this expression:

And they are also of opinion that, as the Constitution does not give jurisdiction to the Senate, the consent of the party can not give it, and that therefore the said memorial ought to be dismissed.

The conclusion of the committee is put largely upon the ground that, while there was a charge of fraud and of perjury, there had been no prosecution and conviction in the courts of

law, and that, therefore, the presumption was that Mr. Marshall was innocent.

Mr. PLATT. They put it entirely upon that ground.

Mr. CHANDLER. The conclusion seems to have been put entirely on that ground, but the committee were evidently of opinion that the very facts in the case were not such if true as to require any action; they all appeared on the record, and assuming them to be true there was no cause for any proceedings against Mr. Marshall by the Senate.

Now, Mr. President, that is the Humphrey Marshall case, which to some extent contains an argument in favor of the proposition that the Senate should not inquire into the acts of a Senator before he becomes a member of the Senate.

Mr. PLATT. Will the Senator from New Hampshire permit an interruption?

Mr. CHANDLER. Certainly.

Mr. PLATT. Is there anywhere in the record of that case a claim made, either in the report of the committee or in the debates upon the report, that the Senate did not have jurisdiction for the reason that the alleged offense was committed before Mr. Marshall was elected to the Senate?

Mr. CHANDLER. That claim is not made. The doctrine is stated that the Senate ought not to take any cognizance of the offense until the party be convicted. The Senator from Connecticut can examine the record and make such comment upon it as he sees fit.

Mr. PLATT. I have examined it.

WILLIAM BLOUNT'S CASE.

Mr. CHANDLER. The next case is that of the expulsion, July 8, 1797, of William Blount. The report is to be found in the Senate Journal, 1793–1799, volume 2, page 390; also in the Annals of Congress, Fifth Congress, volume 1, pages 34–44.

Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography states that Mr. Blount was expelled "for conspiring to deliver New Orleans to Great Britain, and to instigate the Creeks and Cherokees to assist the British in conquering the Spanish territory of Louisiana." He was declared guilty of a high misdemeanor entirely inconsistent with his high public trust and duty as a Senator.

The question in Mr. Blount's case might be generally stated as one of disloyalty. I have in my hand a biography of Mr. Blount, entitled "Some Account of the Life and Services of William Blount," lately published, and kindly sent me by Gen. Marcus J. Wright, who was a former brigadier-general in the Confederate army, and is now one of the agents of the War Department in connection with the publication of the war records.

Gen. Wright has fully reviewed the Blount case, and I think makes a very good defense for Mr. Blount. The people of Tennessee were anxious about the control of the Mississippi Valley and of New Orleans while it was in the hands of another nation, and they were justly apprehensive on the subject. Mr. Blount felt that the interest of the people of Tennessee required him to take certain action, which the Senate of the United States deemed to be treasonable and expelled him; but he was thereafter repeatedly honored by the citizens of his own State, and his public character seems to be completely vindicated by Gen. Wright.

Mr. DOLPH. Will the Senator allow me to ask him if the acts of Mr. Blount were committed before he became a United States Senator or afterwards?

Mr. PLATT. Afterwards.

Mr. CHANDLER. He came into the Senate December 6, 1796. The letter that he wrote to Carey, in which he outlined this plan for delivering New Orleans to Great Britain when it was Spanish territory and to stir up the Creeks and the Cherokees to assist the British in getting possession, was dated April 21, 1797, and Senator Blount came into the Senate December 6, 1796. So he wrote the letter the next spring.

Mr. VOORHEES. If it would assist the Senator from New Hampshire, as I have been looking into the Blount case, I will state that the alleged bad conduct was committed while he was a Senator. After his connection with the Senate he was sought to be impeached as a Federal officer. He was sought to be impeached for his conduct while a Senator. His plea was that he was not then, when placed on trial, nor had been while a Senator, an officer of the United States Government or subject to impeachment. He plead that he had never been an officer of the Federal Government so as to be subject to impeachment, and on that question, after elaborate argument, he was sustained by the Senate in 1797.

Mr. CHANDLER. After he had been expelled.

Mr. VOORHEES. After he had been expelled. But in the plea he states that he never was an officer of the Federal Government. When he committed the conduct complained of he was a Senator, but he denied that at that time, when he was a Senator, he was an officer of the Federal Government. He claimed that he was an officer of the State, amenable to its laws, but not amenable to impeachment here. It was that question which gave the case its true value.

Mr. CHANDLER. I stated the date when he became a Senator, December 6, 1796. He wrote the Carey letter April 21, 1797, which, after debate, was declared to be a treasonable act, and he was expelled. The House of Representatives had preferred articles of impeachment against him to the Senate, and there was a long discussion as to whether, notwithstanding he had been expelled, he could be impeached. It was decided that he could not be impeached. Of course, the Blount case was a subject of full discussion upon the impeachment of Secretary Belknap, and Senators who are curious upon the subject will find the right of impeachment after an official has gone out of office fully discussed in that case. It is to be borne in mind that there were two questions involved in Blount's case; first, whether any Federal officer could be impeached after retiring from office; and, secondly, whether a Senator of the United States was under any circumstances impeachable upon the motion of the House of Representatives before the Senate, to which he belonged and which had the power of expulsion.

Mr. PLATT. I always understood that it was settled in the Blount case that a Senator was not a civil officer of the United States liable to impeachment under the Constitution.

Mr. CHANDLER. That may be taken to be the outcome of the Blount case. I do not know that the case is of any great value in the present discussion.

JOHN SMITH'S CASE.

Next came the case in 1808 of Senator John Smith, who was charged with participation in Aaron Burr's conspiracy. This is to be found in the Annals of Congress, Tenth Congress, volume 1, page 57, and also in Taft's Election Cases, page 79. It is also alluded to by Mr. Sumner; in the debate in the case of Mr. Bright, to which I shall shortly call the attention of the Senate. In that case the offense charged had been committed while Mr. Smith was a Senator. The case is notable because of the report of Mr. John Quincy Adams, in which the doctrine as to the power of the Senate to expel a member is stated broadly and in language which makes the report pertinent to the present question. Under date of December, 1807, page 56 of the Annals of Congress, Tenth Congress, first session, volume 1, is to be found Mr. Adams's report. I ask the Secretary to read a portion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

The power of expelling a member must, in its nature, be discretionary, and in its exercise always more summary than the tardy process of judicial tribunals.

The power of expelling a member for misconduct results, on the principles of common sense, from the interest of the nation, that the high trust of legislation should be invested in pure hands. When the trust is elective, it is not to be presumed that the constituent body will commit the deposit to the keeping of worthless characters. But when a man whom his fellow-citizens have honored with their confidence, on the pledge of a spotless reputation, has degraded himself by the commission of infamous crimes, which become suddenly and unexpectedly revealed to the world, defective indeed would be that institution which should be impotent to discard from its bosom the contagion of such a member; which should have no remedy of amputation to apply until the poison had reached the heart.

Mr. CHANDLER. I also ask the Secretary to read what appears in two other places.

The Secretary read, as follows:

Those two articles were in substance borrowed from similar regulations contained in that justly celebrated statute, which for so many ages has been distinguished by the name of the Great Charter of England. Yet, in that country, where they are recognized as the most solid foundations of the liberties of the nation, they have never been considered as interfering with the power of expelling a member, exercised at all times by the House of Commons; a power which there, however, rests only upon parliamentary usage, and has never been bestowed, as in the Constitution of the United States, by any act of supreme legislation. From a number of precedents which have been consulted, it is found that the exercise of this authority there has always been discretionary, and its process always far otherwise than compendious in the prosecutions before the judicial courts.

So far, indeed, have they been from supposing a conviction at law necessary to precede a vote of expulsion that, in one instance, a resolution to demand a prosecution appears immediately after the adoption of the resolution to expel. In numerous cases the member submits to examination, adduces evidence in his favor, and has evidence produced against him, with or without formal authentication; and the discretion of the House is not even restricted by the necessary concurrence of more than a bare majority of the votes.

The provision in our Constitution which forbids the expulsion of a member by an ordinary majority, and requires for this act of rigorous and painful duty the assent of two-thirds, your committee consider as a wise and sufficient guard against the possible abuse of this legislative discretion. In times of heat and violent party spirit, the rights of the minority might not always be duly respected, if a majority could expel their members under no other control than that of their own discretion. The operation of this rule is of great efficacy, both over the proceedings of the whole body and over the conduct of every individual member.

The times when the most violent struggles of contending parties occur—when the conflict of opposite passions is most prone to excess—are precisely the times when the numbers are most equally divided; when the majority amounts to the proportion to two-thirds, the security in its own strength is of itself a guard against extraordinary stretches of power; when the minority dwindles to the proportion of one-third, its consciousness of weakness

dissuades from any attempts to encroach upon the rights of the majority, which might provoke retaliation. But if expulsion were admissible only as a sequel to the issue of a legal prosecution, or upon the same principles and forms of testimony which are established in the criminal courts, your committee can see no possible reason why it should be rendered still more imbecile by the requisition of two-thirds to give it effect.

Mr. CHANDLER. There is much in this report of Mr. Adams that would be useful in this discussion, but I forbear from making any additional quotations.

Mr. Hillhouse, on page 270, in discussing the Smith case states the true doctrine in reference to expulsion in the following language:

That the constitutional authority of the Senate to expel a member is not the jurisdiction of a court instituted for the trial and punishment of crimes, but a political power, to be exercised only when necessary for preserving the purity of this branch of the Legislature, is evident from the consideration that it does not exempt a person from the liability to be tried and punished by the criminal tribunals of the country.

The vote to expel Smith was, in April, 1808—yeas 19, nays 10. He failed of expulsion through the lack of one more vote in its favor.

O. B. MATTESON'S CASE.

The next case to which I call the attention of the Senate is that of O. B. Matteson, in 1857. It is briefly stated in McCrary on Elections, page 394, section 522. Mr. Matteson, while a member of Congress, had written letters in which he expressed the opinion that it would be impossible to secure the passage of certain legislation unless money was spent for that purpose. McCrary says:

The question was again raised in the case of Matteson in the Thirty-fifth Congress. The charges against Mr. Matteson had been preferred in the previous Congress, and a committee of investigation had reported against him, recommending his expulsion. Pending these resolutions he had resigned, having, however, at the time of his resignation been reëlected. When he took his seat in the new Congress by virtue of such reëlection the charges were renewed. A majority of the committee reported adversely to the jurisdiction of the House. In the report, as well as in the debate, the want of jurisdiction was based upon various grounds, and among them upon the ground that the offense was committed prior to the election of the accused member. After a long debate the whole subject was laid upon the table, so that it can not be said that the question was authoritatively determined one way or the other.

MR. BRIGHT'S CASE.

The fullest American debate which I conceive to be strictly pertinent to the present case is that which took place on the expulsion of Mr. Bright, of Indiana. It is to be found reported in Taft's Election Cases, 217, and also in the Globe of the second session of the Thirty-seventh Congress. Mr. Bright had written a letter, dated March 1, 1861, while he was Senator, to Jefferson Davis, introducing Thomas B. Lincoln, of Texas, "to dispose of what he regards as a great improvement in firearms," and this was treated as an act of disloyalty. There was an explanatory letter of September 7, 1861. The Judiciary Committee reported favorably to Mr. Bright on the 13th day of January, 1862, page 287 of the Globe, but on February 5, 1862, after a full debate, he was expelled by a vote of 32 to 14.

I desire to call to the attention of the Senate and put upon record some extracts from that debate. Mr. Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, took a leading part in advocating the expulsion. On January 22, 1862, he says, page 434:

But what is the law? We are not sitting as a court trying the honorable Senator. There are some gentlemen, able men, very able men, too; men of enlarged patriotism, of eminent public and private virtue, that have pursued the profession of the law so long, either as practitioners, counsellors, and solicitors, or as judges, that their minds become too contracted for enlarged statesmanship and the great principles of policy and of moral justice upon which governments ought to be administered and upon which alone they can be wisely administered. They have dwarfed their minds to such an extent that they can not reason on the expansive principle and sentiment and consideration that ought to guide and to control the largest and the wisest statesmanship.

There is no law which defines any particular class of offenses that shall be sufficient to expel a Senator from his seat. The common law does not; there is no statute law that does. There are no laws of evidence establishing technically the rules of testimony that are to guide and control and govern this body in getting its lights and reaching its conclusions when a Senator is thus on trial.

The general rule and principle of law and of reason and common sense is, that whatever disqualifies a member of the Senate from the proper discharge of his duties, whatever it may be, is sufficient, and ought to be held sufficient, for his expulsion; and whatever evidence satisfies the mind reasonably, and according to moral certainty and truth of the existence of that cause, is sufficient evidence, without resort to the technical rules of testimony upon which to convict him. That is the law of this country; it is the law of England; it is the law of Parliament.

Mr. Davis then proceeds to read from Story on the Constitution, and from Mr. Rawle's work on the Constitution, where Mr. Rawle says:

It seems, therefore, to be settled by the Senate upon full deliberation, that expulsion may be for any misdemeanor which, though not punishable by any statute, is inconsistent with the trust and duty of a Senator.

After this quotation from Mr. Rawle, Mr. Davis proceeds:

There is the touchstone: any conduct, any opinions, any line of action as a Senator which is inconsistent with the duty of a Senator, is a sufficient cause for his expulsion, and ought to be by the rules of reason and of common sense.

Mr. Davis then reads from Story on the Constitution several paragraphs, one concluding as follows:

The power to expel a member is not in the British House of Commons confined to offenses committed by the party as a member, or during the session of Parliament; but it extends to all cases where the offense is such as, in the judgment of the House, unfits him for parliamentary duties.

Mr. Davis then says:

That is the standard; and a just and a reasonable and a common-sense standard it is. Whenever a member of this House forms opinions, and in his official character and acts carries out those opinions, positively or negatively, in such a manner as to render him an unfit and unsafe member of the Senate, he becomes a proper subject of removal from the body.

Mr. Davis, after reading further from the report of Mr. John Quincy Adams in the Smith case, makes a remark which I will ask the Secretary to read, on page 435.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

Mr. President, these authorities prove conclusively that we are bound now, in giving our judgment in this case, by no positive principle of law. There is and can be no controversy as to the proofs in the cause, and therefore I will make no remark on the law of testimony that would apply to the case if there was any such controversy.

The principle deduced from the authorities is this: There is no common law, no statutory law, there is no parliamentary law, that binds the Senate to any particular definition of crime or offense in acting in this or any other case of the kind. On the contrary, as these authorities establish, it is a matter coming within the discretion of the tribunal trying the Senator. They establish this general principle, but where the evidence makes out a case against him which, in the judgment of the triers, unfits him for his parliamentary duties, it is their duty to expel him.

Again, on page 541, Senator Davis, replying to Mr. Saulsbury, who had undertaken to answer Mr. Davis's argument, says:

The gentleman garbles Justice Story. He does not limit the cause of expulsion as the gentleman makes him limit it in his remarks. He says, in plain and distinct terms, that anything which renders a member of a deliberative body unfit to act as a member of that body, or that may be adjudged to be so by the body itself, is sufficient cause for his removal by expulsion. I do not quote his words, but that is the idea.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Mr. President, I took the extract from the printed speech of the Senator himself. If there is any garbling of it, it is in the speech.

Mr. DAVIS. Will the gentleman allow me a moment again?

Mr. SAULSBURY. I do not mean to misrepresent the Senator; I took it from the printed speech.

Mr. DAVIS. I did not quote and rely upon that authority as Judge Story has written it and as it has been printed. I do not know how I am reported in the papers; I have not revised or corrected any report of my sentiments or of my argument; but I say that I read the whole passage from Story's Commentaries upon the Constitution, and I relied upon the whole passage as it is printed. If the gentleman so states it, I agree to it; but the gentleman's argument only states a part of the premises upon which Judge Story predicates the right of the Senate to expel a member.

Mr. SAULSBURY. The point contained in the conclusion to which Judge Story comes, is that any misdemeanor which, in the judgment of the Senate, although it may not be punishable by a statute, renders a Senator unfit for his trust, may be a cause for expulsion; but the Senator does not lay down in precise language what I have quoted from his speech. The rule as laid down by him is, that any conduct, any opinion, any line of action which is inconsistent with the duty of a Senator, is ground for his expulsion. Such, at least, I understood his argument to be—I do not wish to misrepresent him.

Mr. DAVIS. I reassert that proposition now.

I ask the Secretary to read some further remarks of Mr. Davis, on page 543.

The Secretary read as follows:

Mr. President, that is only a portion of the ground that Story lays down, only a portion of the ground which I read from him, and only a portion of the ground on which I relied. You, sir, and the Senate will recollect distinctly that I assumed that in order to authorize the Senate to expel a member it was not necessary that that member should have committed any offense defined by law, either by common law or by statute law. You will recollect that I read at some considerable length from the authority of Mr. Adams's report in the case of Smith, and I also read at some considerable length from the report of the case of Blount, a member of the Senate from the State of Tennessee, who was expelled from this body; and I also read a collation of authorities from the British Houses of Parliament, as collated by Justice Story himself, that established this position: that it was a matter of justice and discretion, and rested wholly in the judgment and discretion of the body which was proceeding against one of its members for expulsion, whether the cause was sufficient or insufficient, and that all the authorities concurred in laying down the rule that where the principles and the conduct of the party proceeded against were such as to render it improper and unsafe that he should continue a member of the body, and his peers so considered the case as made out against him, they had the power, and it was their duty, to expel him. I do not quote the exact words, but state the substance.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Hampshire yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. CHANDLER. Certainly.

Mr. HARRIS. I inquire of the Senator from New Hampshire if the authority he reads refers to a charge of offenses committed prior to election to the Senate or offenses committed by a Senator. The extract read says that Blount was expelled, when upon the contrary Blount was impeached. This body sitting as a high court of impeachment, held that Blount was not an officer of the United States, but an officer of the State of Tennessee.

Mr. CHANDLER. Senator Blount had been expelled from the Senate.

Mr. HARRIS. Before the impeachment?

Mr. CHANDLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. HARRIS. Expelled from the Senate before?

Mr. CHANDLER. Yes, Mr. President, and the House of Representatives undertook afterwards to impeach him.

Mr. HARRIS. That is a matter of history with which I am not familiar, if it be true. Mr. Blount was impeached as a Senator by the House of Representatives. He was tried here, and it was solemnly decided by this body that he was not an officer of the United States and not impeachable.

Mr. CHANDLER. Having been expelled.

Mr. HARRIS. No, no. I want the record produced which shows that he had been expelled. I have seen no such record, and I do not believe any such statement is true.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator from Tennessee is confused in two respects. In the first place, Senator Blount was expelled and the question was afterwards decided by the Senate whether he should be impeached notwithstanding his expulsion. Secondly, the debate from which I am reading, as the Senator would have noticed if he had paid close attention, is the debate on the expulsion of Jesse D. Bright.

Now, I will answer the question which I supposed the Senator asked me. Mr. Bright's offense was committed while he was a Senator. It was a question of the treasonable character of a letter which he had written as a Senator. But I am reading from the debate the doctrine as to the right of expulsion of Senators which was expounded by Mr. Garrett Davis, a Senator, in debating the Bright case.

Mr. HOAR. Will my honorable friend allow me to read three lines which are the head note of the Blount case in Taft's report?

Mr. CHANDLER. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. It will answer the question of the Senator from Tennessee. I read the head note made by Mr. Taft, quite a careful person I think, in the Blount case. It is in Taft's Senate Election Cases, published as a document, page 74:

* Mr. Blount was expelled from the Senate on July 8, 1797, as "having been guilty of a high misdemeanor." An account of his impeachment, which was a proceeding distinct from the expulsion case here given, is found in the Annals of Congress, Fifth Congress, first and second sessions, vol. 1, 1797–1798, within pages 39 to 45, and Annals of Congress, second and third sessions, vol. 2, 1798–1799, pages 2245 to 2416. The decision in the impeachment trial was that "the court ought not to hold jurisdiction of the said impeachment, and that the said impeachment is dismissed," the grounds on which the decision rested not being given.

If I may add only one word, I studied the Blount case very carefully when I acted for the House of Representatives in the impeachment of Belknap; and I think any Senator who will study it will see that it is not accurate to say that the prevailing opinion when that impeachment case was dismissed was that a Senator of the United States is not an officer of the United States.

Mr. PLATT. A civil officer.

Mr. HOAR. A civil officer of the United States, of course. For many purposes I think it is settled he is; for instance, in regard to various statutes which prohibit civil officers from doing so and so, the statute which prohibits a Senator from holding any other office, and so on. But the decision was that he was not an impeachable officer, and what seemed to me the prevailing ground from what I could find was, that the Senate having the power of expulsion committed to it by a direct, affirmative, and explicit provision of the Constitution, it could not be supposed that it was intended to commit to the House of Representatives the right to come in here and put on trial a Senator of the United States by its process of impeachment, and compel us to try, with them as plaintiff, a question which was committed to our sole and absolute jurisdiction under the expulsion clause.

Mr. HARRIS. Still the question as to whether he was an impeachable officer of the United States was involved in the impeachment, if I understand the case.

Mr. HOAR. I think so, but he was expelled first, and then they undertook to impeach him.

Mr. HARRIS. Very well; and it was decided by the Senate that he was not an impeachable officer because he was not an officer of the United States.

Mr. HOAR. But if the Senator will pardon me——

Mr. HARRIS. However, what I wanted to emphasize and call to the attention of the Senator from New Hampshire is this: Of course all of us admit that a Senator is amenable and answerable to the Senate for his conduct while he is a member of this body, but whether we can trace him from his cradle to the time he reaches this body is a very different, a very much broader, and, I may say, a very much more absurd question to be suggested.

Mr. VOORHEES. If it will not interfere with the discussion——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Hampshire yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. CHANDLER. I am entirely willing to yield for an inquiry or an incidental point, but not for a long speech.

Mr. VOORHEES. No, no; no speech at all; but I want to settle this question. The Senator from Tennessee is right upon the question of doctrine and principle. As to the question of Mr. Blount's expulsion or his resignation it is a matter of no consequence. I read the plea that had been interposed through his counsel. Jared Ingersoll and A. J. Dallas appeared for him, and the plea, which set up the principle which governs this whole thing and makes it of value, is in these words:

That although true it is that he, the said William Blount, was a Senator of the United States, from the State of Tennessee at the several periods in the said articles of impeachment referred to; yet, that he, the said William, is not now a Senator, and is not, nor was at the several periods so as aforesaid referred to, an officer of the United States; nor is he, the said William, in and by the said articles, charged with having committed any crime or misdemeanor in the execution of any civil office held under the United States, or with any malconduct in civil office, or abuse of any public trust in the execution thereof.

Although he was charged with the offenses imputed to him while he was a Senator, the plea traverses the question of his being an officer of the Government at all, and on that plea, after elaborate, imposing, and instructive debate, the Senate decided, in 1799, that he was not an officer of the Federal Government. The contention was stated by Mr. Dallas for the defendant in the following words:

1. That only civil officers of the United States are impeachable; and that the offenses for which an impeachment lies must be committed in the execution of a public office.

2. That a Senator is not a civil officer, impeachable within the meaning of the Constitution; and that in the present instance no crime or misdemeanor is charged to have been committed by William Blount in the character of a Senator.

Mr. CHANDLER. Therefore the facts in the Blount case have not much bearing upon the right of the Senate to expel a Senator. The Senator was expelled by a vote of 25 to 1 for acts done while he was a Senator. Subsequently it was decided that he was not impeachable, whether on the ground that he had ceased to be a Senator, or on the ground that a Senator is not a civil officer of the United States and subject to impeachment, the decision does not accurately show. That I understand is the Blount case.

Mr. PLATT. He was expelled on the 8th day of July, and on the same day the House of Representatives inaugurated impeachment proceedings and brought the case again before the Senate for trial.

Mr. CHANDLER. I believe the Senator from Connecticut is right. On the very day on which the Senate expelled him by a vote of 25 to 1 the House of Representatives undertook to impeach him and to have him tried before the Senate for his alleged crime.

When the Senator from Tennessee interrupted me to bring the attention of the Senate to the case of Blount, I was reading from the speech of Senator Garrett Davis in the Bright case, and I had nearly finished my quotations from that Senator. There is, however, one more, and this is it, near the conclusion of his speech:

I say this is the law of Parliament; and as it is the law it ought to be enforced: Whenever a gentleman by his opinions, and those opinions are connected with his official conduct, shows that he is an improper person to be in the Senate of the United States, he ought to be expelled from it.

That extract I do not read for the purpose of implying that I go as far as Mr. Davis did, but I read it in order to show, as I have done by these repeated extracts, exactly how far Senator Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, was willing to go in the Bright case.

Next I read from the remarks in that debate of Senator Daniel Clark, from my own State (page 475):

Here, Mr. President, let me say that I do not agree with the opinion which seems to be entertained by some and which I have heard expressed, that the facts, in order to expel the Senator, must constitute the crime of treason. This point has been met and successfully refuted, both by the Senator from Massachusetts—

That was Mr. Sumner—

and the Senator from Kentucky.

That was Mr. Garrett Davis.

The Constitution gives to each House of Congress the largest discretion in the premises. It specifies no crime, no misdemeanor, no fault, no particular act for which a Senator may be expelled. It simply requires the vote of two-thirds—the same number, no more and no less—which it requires in each House to make an act which has been vetoed a law over the head of the President.

To expel a Senator is undoubtedly, as has been well said, a grave act. It involves not only the right and the reputation of the sitting member, but the interests and rights of the State whose representative he is. But the Constitution contemplates that it may become sometimes necessary, and wisely leaves the body to judge of the necessity which demands it, securing to the offender a vote of two to one before he can be expelled. For acts constituting a crime for which a Senator may be arraigned, tried, and convicted, he may be expelled. So, too, for a misdemeanor, for acts unworthy of and unbecoming a Senator, and disreputable and disgraceful to the body;

and so, too, for such acts as in times of great danger to the Government give evidence to his peers that he is a dangerous and unsafe man to be trusted with the responsibilities of his position, such as giving aid to rebellion or sympathizing actively with traitors.

Next, I read from the remarks of Senator Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, and we will see what his views were at that time as to the power of expulsion under the Constitution (page 584):

Mr. President, I hold that under the Constitution of the United States we clearly have the power to expel a member, and that, too, without our assuming the character of a judicial body. It is not necessary to have articles of impeachment preferred by the other House; it is not necessary to organize ourselves into a court for the purpose of trial, but the principle is broad and clear, inherent in the very organization of the body itself, that we have the power and the right to expel any member from the Senate whenever we deem that the public interests are unsafe in his hands, and that he is unfit to be a member of the body.

Again Senator Johnson says:

Mr. President, suppose Aaron Burr had been a Senator, and after his acquittal he had come back here to take his seat in the Senate, what would have been done? According to the doctrine avowed in this debate, that we must sit as a court and subject the individual to all the rules and technicalities of criminal proceedings, could he have been expelled? And yet is there a Senator here who would have voted to allow Aaron Burr to take a seat in the Senate after his acquittal by a court and jury? No; there is not a Senator here who would have done it.

From Senator Browning I now read (page 623):

From a careful examination of the constitutional provision upon the subject of expulsion I am fully satisfied that it is not necessary, in the exercise of the power of expulsion by the Senate, that the Senator proceeded against should have been guilty of any offense for which he would be subject to indictment, trial, conviction, and punishment. Such seem to be the precedents also that the Senate has not been confined to so narrow a range in its action upon questions of this character. If, for instance, it were certain that there were in our midst a man of disloyal and treasonable sentiments to the Government, who had yet been guilty of no overt act of treason for which he could be proceeded against criminally, I think there can be no question that it would be a proper exercise of the power vested in the Senate of expulsion to expel him for that cause, although he would not be subject to animadversion by the criminal laws of the country.

Indeed, I believe the power of expulsion is the only power of protection the Senate possesses in regard to its members

Senator McDougall, of California, on page 655, stated quite clearly what his views were as to the character of the constitutional right of expulsion:

I do not understand that, sitting here as a Senate, we have to work by the terms and rules that govern justices of the peace, county judges, judges of the circuit court, or judges of the Supreme Court, or judges anywhere. We stand here to determine what is right for the Republic. I believe, and I say it here in the Senate, that we have—I will not say lost—almost lost the dignity that belongs to the Senate of a republican Government. It would be well for all of us if we could think that the Senate of the Republic of the United States was a great body where wise men undertook to sit in council. It is not appreciated or felt, but it would be a great thing for all of us if it were. I have thrown out here rather the expressions of my heart than the exact measure of my opinions.

Sir, I am astonished that the Senator, an able lawyer, one of the ablest lawyers that sits in this Hall, could engage in this discussion and put the question upon purely technical ground. I rose merely to say to him that this is not a question of treason or no treason. It is no question of law. We have not to ask whether the Senator from Indiana is guilty or not guilty. We have to judge him in our best judgment, and by that we try him; and we say "yea" or "nay" as we think, whether he be a true man or not to sit in the Federal councils to conduct the affairs of the nation.

B. F. WHITTEMORE'S CASE.

In 1870 the case of B. F. Whittemore came before the House of Representatives at the second session of the Forty-first Congress. Mr. Whittemore had been charged with selling his cadetships, and a report was made in favor of his expulsion February 21, 1870, page 1469 of the Globe. The report was made by the chairman, Gen. John A. Logan, and the committee state that they have—

come to the conclusion that in making appointments to the Military and Naval Academies from the district represented by him the said B. F. Whittemore has been influenced by improper pecuniary considerations. They therefore submit the accompanying resolution, and recommend its adoption.

The resolution was one of expulsion. On page 1544 it is recorded that on the 24th day of February, 1870, Mr. Whittemore resigned in order to avoid a vote upon the resolution of expulsion. The resignation being communicated to the Speaker, Mr. Whittemore, who undertook to speak, was not allowed to speak. Gen. Logan then offered a resolution as a question of privilege, declaring—

That B. F. Whittemore, late member from the First district of South Carolina, did make appointments to the Military Academy at West Point and the Naval Academy at Annapolis in violation of law, and that such appointments were influenced by pecuniary considerations, and that his conduct in the premises has been such as to show him unworthy of a seat in the House of Representatives, and is therefore condemned as conduct unworthy of a representative of the people.

Upon that resolution the yeas and nays were called, and there were 187 yeas and no votes in the negative. On page 4589 it appears that Mr. Whittemore's credentials were presented again at the same session, on the 18th day of June, 1870. The certificate of Gov. Scott was presented, showing that Mr. Whittemore had been reëlected to the House of Representatives.

Mr. PLATT. At a special election?

Mr. CHANDLER. At a special election held, I suppose, to fill the vacancy created by his resignation. Objection was made to his being sworn in, and Gen. Logan said:

It is merely a question whether this House, after having declared that this man was unworthy to hold a seat in the Forty-first Congress, will now repudiate its action, or whether it will stand by that which was justified by the moral sense of this House and of this country.

The case was considered again on the 21st of June, and Gen. Logan submitted a resolution reciting the proposition for expulsion which was pending when Mr. Whittemore resigned, and the resolution which the House had adopted after his expulsion, stating him to be unworthy of a seat in the House of Representatives, and the fact of his reëlection, and the presentation of his credentials, and resolving—

That the House of Representatives decline to allow said B. F. Whittemore to be sworn as a Representative in the Forty-first Congress, and direct that his credentials be returned to him.

The Secretary will kindly read extracts from Mr. Logan's speech, on pages 4670 and 4671.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

It is said that a constituency have the right to elect such a member as they may think proper. I say no. We can not say that he shall be of a certain politics, or of a certain religion, or anything of that kind; but, sir, we have the right to say that he shall not be a man of infamous character. He is not merely a representative of the constituents who elect him, but his vote in this House is a vote for the whole nation. It is a vote for the people of the whole country, and every district of the United States has the same interest in his vote that his own district has. Hence, if Congress shall not have the power or authority or shall not have the right to exclude a man of that kind, then the rights of the people of the whole country may be destroyed by a district sending a Representative who may be obtained to vote in a manner which may be destructive of the rights of the people. Are we to be told that Congress has no right to prevent anything of this kind because of the right of any constituency to send whomsoever they may please?

* * * * * * *

It is not that the people shall not be represented. Not at all. It is this: That the people of the country have no right to destroy their own liberties by filling Congress with men who, from their conduct, show themselves capable of the destruction of the Government.

* * * * * * * * *

Congress, being the representatives of the whole people, are entitled to say that the rights of the whole country shall not be destroyed by one or more districts throwing in here a man or a set of men capable of their destruction; and that, having knowledge of the facts, and the power to prevent the mischief by exercising the power of exclusion, they have a right to exercise that power, and thereby to protect the interest of the country, and to preserve instead of to destroy the right of representation.

* * * * * * * *

For crime, sir, we have a right to proscribe a man. That is the ground I put it on. That is the ground on which I put it at first and the ground on which I put it now. We have a right, I say, to protect the interests of the people of this country by excluding men from these Halls on the ground of crime. It is not a crime to be Democrat or a Republican, to be a Presbyterian or a Methodist, or a member of any other denomination; but, sir, it is a crime for a man to do what this man has done. And why? Because the laws of our country denominate it a crime. It is made a crime by law. Hence my theory is based on the law, and is this, that in pursuance of the law and in carrying out its principles we must protect the country by protecting ourselves against crime and against criminals in this body. That is the ground I took and the theory I stated.

Mr. CULLOM. Whose language is that?

Mr. CHANDLER. Gen. Logan's, in debating the question of allowing Mr. Whittemore to be sworn in on his new credentials. The resolution offered by Gen. Logan, which I have read, was adopted, and Mr. Whittemore was refused his seat.

THE CRÉDIT MOBILIER CASES.

The point which is now before the Senate was fully discussed in what is known as the Crédit Mobilier cases in 1873, although the precise question as to the right of the House to expel a member for an act done when not a member was not directly before the House of Representatives. I have in my hand House report No. 77, Forty-second Congress, third session, the report covering the Crédit Mobilier investigation, submitted by Mr. Poland, of Vermont, where the argument is stated with directness and force that the right exists to expel a member for any cause deemed sufficient by the legislative body. I will ask the Secretary to read from the Poland report, on pages 15 and 16.

The Secretary read as follows:

None of the commentators upon the Constitution or upon parliamentary law assign any such limitation as to the time of the commission of the offense, or the nature of it, which shall control and limit the power of the expulsion. On the contrary, they all assert that the power in its very nature is a discretionary one, to be exercised of course with grave circumspection at all times, and only for good cause. Story, Kent, and Sergeant all seem to accept and rely upon the exposition of Mr. Adams in the Smith case as sound. May, in his Parliamentary Practice, page 59, enumerates the causes for expulsion from Parliament, but he nowhere intimates that the offense must have been committed subsequent to the election.

When it is remembered that the framers of our Constitution were familiar with the parliamentary law of England, and must have had in mind the then recent contest over Wilkes's case, it is impossible to conclude that they meant to limit the discretion of the Houses as to the causes of expulsion. It is a received principle of construction that the Constitution is to be interpreted according to the known rules of law at the time of its adoption, and therefore when we find them dealing with a recognized subject of legislative authority, and while studiously qualifying and restricting the manner of its

exercise, assigning no limitations to the subject-matter itself, they must be assumed to have intended to leave that to be determined according to established principles as a high prerogative power to be exercised according to the sound discretion of the body.

It was not to be apprehended that two-thirds of the representatives of the people would ever exercise this power in any capricious or arbitrary manner, or trifle with or trample upon constitutional rights. At the same time it could not be foreseen what necessities for self-preservation or self-purification might arise in the legislative body. Therefore it was that they did not, and would not, undertake to limit or define the boundaries of those necessities.

* * * * * * *

The case of Matteson, in the House of Representatives, has also often been quoted as a precedent for this limitation of jurisdiction. In the proceedings and debates of the House upon that case it will be seen that this was one among many grounds taken in the debate; but as the whole subject was ended by being laid on the table it is quite impossible to say what was decided by the House. It appeared, however, in that case that the charge against Matteson had become public, and his letter upon which the whole charge rested had been published and circulated through his district during the canvass preceding his election. This fact, we judge, had a most important influence in determining the action of the House in his case.

Mr. CHANDLER. This report of Mr. Poland from the Crédit Mobilier Committee was answered, or an attempt was made to answer it, by another committee of the House of Representatives. The Committee on the Judiciary had been directed to examine "the testimony taken by the committee of this House of which Mr. Poland, of Vermont, is chairman," and "to inquire whether anything in such testimony warrants articles of impeachment of any officer of the United States not a member of this House, or makes it proper that further investigation should be ordered in his case."

The chairman of the Judiciary Committee at that time was Mr. Bingham, but the report was made by Gen. Benjamin F. Butler. Although the directions limited the inquiry to the question whether an officer of the United States not a member of the House could be impeached, the report of the committee, which was undoubtedly drawn up by Gen. Butler and was submitted by him, goes out of the way to argue against the propositions of the Poland report. I read the point of Gen. Butler's argument:

But your committee are constrained to believe that the power of expelling a member for some alleged crime, committed it may be years before his election, is not within the constitutional prerogative of the House.

Gen. Butler goes on through many pages with his argument that the power to expel can only be exercised for offenses committed while the person is a member of the body. It is wholly based upon the assumed danger that a two-thirds majority in a legislative body will sometimes unjustly exercise its power of expulsion upon the pretense of necessary purgation, that there will sometimes be a harsh and cruel and extreme exercise of that power.

THE PACIFIC MAIL SUBSIDY INQUIRY.

There is further argument from the House of Representatives concerning the power of expulsion, to be derived from the two reports in connection with the Pacific mail subsidy investigation. In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the Forty-fourth Congress, first session, on pages 5370 and 5371, are two reports from the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Lynde, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported that—

The results of the evidence are that about $900,000 was disbursed upon the allegation that it was used in aid of the passage of the act now under investigation; that about $565,000 appears to have been paid to the exclusive use of persons having no official connection with such legislation; and that the disposition of the remaining $335,000 remains in doubt upon the evidence presented, but without any testimony showing that it was a reward paid to any person at that time a member of either House of Congress; and that the uncertainty attending the disposition of this latter sum is owing to the refusal of William S. King—

Who had been Postmaster of the House—

to testify the truth, and to the failure or refusal of John G. Schumaker—

Who had been a member of the House—

to present all the facts which the committee believe it was in his power to give.

The committee, therefore, recommend that all the testimony be sent to the District attorney of this District for prosecution, in order that the crime committed may be prosecuted.

The committee proceed to refer to the Humphrey Marshall case of 1797, and to repeat the opinion there stated, as follows:

Your committee are of opinion that the House of Representatives has no authority to take jurisdiction of violations of law or offenses committed against a previous Congress.

The present Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE] was a member of that committee, and, it was understood, joined in the majority report. There was, however, submitted the views of the minority, signed by Scott Lord, William Lawrence, GEORGE F. HOAR, B. G. Caulfield, and also by George W. McCrary; and the minority of the committee argue the other way. They quote the power given by the Constitution to expel a member and say:

It will be seen that there are no words of limitation on the power to expel, which seems to have been left to the good sense and discretion of each House; in other words, does not the Constitution refer rather to the fitness of the member to hold the office, resting on considerations of public justice and policy, than to the time of his election? Yet the undersigned do not deny but that there are limitations on the power of this House arising from the circumstances of particular cases and the relations of this House to the constituency of an accused member; therefore, as will be seen, the undersigned need not go further in this case than to assert jurisdiction, because the offenses complained of were not known to the constituents of the members in question until after their election.

SENATOR GROVER'S CASE.

The attention of the Senate I now ask to cases where the Senate has made investigations into the conduct of Senators before they were elected. In Taft's Election Cases, pages 606, is the case of Senator Grover, of Oregon. Objections were made to his right to his seat on account of his action in connection with the previous Presidential election. In this case the accused Senator asked for and moved a resolution of investigation. The following is the resolution submitted by Mr. Grover:

Resolved, That the thirteen memorials heretofore presented to the Senate by Hon. J. H. MITCHELL, purporting to be signed by 339 citizens of the State of Oregon, reciting that it was currently reported and generally believed that the election of L. F. Grover as a Senator of the United States was procured by bribery, corruption, and other unlawful means in the Legislature of the State of Oregon, and that the said L. F. Grover did corruptly and fraudulently issue a certificate of election to one E. A. Cronin as a Presidential elector on December 6, 1876, and that the said L. F. Grover did bear false witness before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, on or about January 6, 1877, be now referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, who shall thoroughly investigate and report upon the foregoing charges, with power to send for persons and papers.

The allegation was twofold, corruption in securing his election and corrupt and improper conduct as governor, before he was Senator, in connection with the Presidential election of 1876. At his own request jurisdiction was taken. An investigation was made, and a report was submitted which acquitted Mr. Grover of all wrong in either connection.

SENATOR CLAYTON'S CASE.

A similar investigation took place in the case of Senator Powell Clayton, which is to be found on page 386 of Taft's Election Cases. The committee were instructed to investigate the conduct of Mr. Clayton while he was governor in connection with the issue of certificates to members of the Arkansas Legislature. A full investigation was made of all transactions, and a majority of the committee reported that Senator Clayton was guilty of no wrong.

The investigation, it should be stated, was also extended to the methods by which Senator Clayton was alleged to have procured his election, and there was an attempt to connect his conduct as governor with his conduct in reference to his election as Senator.

SENATOR MATTHEWS'S CASE.

Senator Stanley Matthews was investigated on his own request. The case is to be found on page 615 of Taft's Election Cases. June 5, 1878, Mr. Matthews submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That a select committee of seven Senators be appointed to inquire into and consider all things touching the matter stated and referred to by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Matthews] and the events connected therewith, and particularly what connection, if any, that Senator had with any real or pretended frauds or other wrongs committed in the conduct and returns of the election in the State of Louisiana in 1876, and with any promises of protection or reward, if any, made by anyone to one James E. Anderson, or others, in consideration of, or connection with, any official conduct by said Anderson or others, in relation to said election or the returns thereof; and into all the circumstances of any recommendation by the said Senator of the said Anderson for appointment to office; and that said committee have power to send for persons and papers, to employ a clerk and stenographer, and have leave to sit during the recess.

All the transactions in connection with the Presidential election in Louisiana in 1876 took place before Mr. Matthews was elected Senator. He was elected in March, 1877, to take the place of the present senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], who had entered the Cabinet of President Hayes. A report was made by the committee acquitting Mr. Matthews of all improper conduct.

SENATOR HENRY M. RICE'S CASE.

The case of Henry M. Rice, of Minnesota, is to be found in Taft's Election Cases, on page 193. On May 12, 1858, Mr. Rice was sworn in upon his credentials as the first Senator from Minnesota. Mr. Harlan, of Iowa, submitted the following resolution for consideration:

Whereas the settlers on Fort Crawford reservation, in the State of Iowa, allege that they have been defrauded by Mr. Henry M. Rice, as agent of Hon. John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, in the sale of their claims as settlers on said reservation—

Then reciting the particular case of fraud of which Mr. Rice, as agent of the Secretary of War, had been charged with being guilty, and concluding with a resolution that a committee be appointed to make an investigation. Two days later, Friday, May 14, Mr. Rice himself submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That a select committee, to consist of five members, be appointed to investigate the charges preferred by certain citizens of Iowa, settlers upon the Fort Crawford reserve, as to the conduct of Henry M. Rice, special agent, appointed by the Secretary of War, to superintend the sale of that reserve; that said committee have power to send for persons and papers and to report by bill or otherwise.

The next day in a modified form the resolution was adopted by the Senate. This investigation was made into the conduct of Mr. Rice long before he was a Senator, and the committee found nothing in the developments which in their opinion tended to disqualify him for a seat in the Senate.

Mr. McCrary, in his work on elections, after discussing many of the cases which I have recited, reaches a conclusion as to the American law—having stated that in the Crédit Mobilier case the preamble of the resolutions was voted down by a vote of 98 yeas to 113 nays—as follows:

Thus the House decided to sustain the doctrine contended for by the special committee—

That was the doctrine stated by the Poland report—

and against the doctrine laid down in the above-mentioned report from the Committee on the Judiciary. It may, therefore, be said that the House has fairly decided the question, and has held that a member may be expelled or punished for offenses committed prior to his election, especially if those offenses were unknown to his constituents at the time of his election. It will of course occur to every one that this is a power which should be exercised with great circumspection and moderation, and with a due regard to the rights both of constituencies and of individual members of Congress.

Mr. President, I know I have taken too much of the time of the Senate in bringing the precedents in England and in this country to the notice of Senators. I believe upon all these precedents that it can not be fairly contended that it is a principle of American constitutional law that under no circumstances shall there be an investigation into the conduct of members committed before their election to Congress.

I come, therefore, to the question, what are the facts which require the passage of the resolution now before the Senate? It is not my purpose to spread those facts at length upon the record. I refrain from making as full a statement as I should have done if it had not been for the request of the Senator from North Dakota, made this morning, that there should be an investigation of his case. I should refrain from making any statement whatever as to the facts, in view of the Senator's request, were it not that we have been notified by Senators upon the other side of the Chamber that notwithstanding his request this case is not to be investigated.

Those Senators have the majority; they have reached that determination; such will be the vote, and there will be no inquiry; but, Mr. President, I do not believe that this Senate will ever put itself upon record as making a declaration of the constitutional principle that there is no power under any circumstances to investigate the conduct of a Senator before his election as a Senator.

The facts in relation to Mr. ROACH are to be found, in the first place, in the New York Recorder of March 14, 1893. The same facts are stated in the Philadelphia Press of March 15, 1893. The facts narrated in those two newspapers are taken from an interview in the Evening Star of August 15, 1879, with Mr. J. A. J. Creswell, then president of the Citizens' National Bank, of Washington, D. C. There is an interview in the Recorder with Mr. Jacob Tome, an owner of two-thirds of the stock in the bank, which corroborates the statements made in that paper.

There is also contained in the Recorder an interview with Mr. Thomas C. Pearsall, who succeeded Mr. ROACH as cashier of the Citizens' National Bank, and he confirms the narrative.

Moreover, the facts are to be found upon the records of the Government in the office of the Comptroller of the Currency, in the reports made by the Citizens' National Bank to that officer. Further, there have been published in the newspapers interviews with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. ROACH]. There is an interview in the Recorder and also one in the New York Sun of March 21, 1893. In the Recorder interview the Senator from North Dakota first said he had nothing to say; later he said he remembered the Creswell interview in the Star, but had forgotten the details; that if he had had any controversy with the bank it had all been settled. Then the following questions and answers appear:

"It is stated that the larger part of the money taken was returned to the bank?"
"Yes, I believe it was."
"Has it all been returned?"
"I think so; but it was a long time ago, and I can not say positively."
"No indictment was ever brought?"
"No; there was never any attempt to prosecute."

The New York World of March 15, 1893, has a half-column interview with the Senator from North Dakota, where he says nothing pertinent to the issue presented by the resolution of the Senator from Massachusetts, except that he has not been a fugitive from justice, and that the printed story is "full of absurdities and extravagancies." There is no other denial.

The New York Sun is, I suppose, recognized as a Democratic paper, friendly to the Democratic party, to the majority upon this floor, and to the present Administration, and in an editorial in this Democratic paper, the Sun, of Tuesday, March 21, 1893, all the facts in reference to the Senator from North Dakota are reiterated, and the question whether or not he ought to hold his seat in the Senate is discussed.

Mr. President, there is this further fact, which I think ought to be stated in justice to the mover of the resolution, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], and to the other Senators on this side of the Chamber, that the Senator from North Dakota received a suggestion from his colleague a long time ago that he should make a statement upon the subject, and he replied that it was his own judgment that he ought to do so, but that he was guided in refraining by the advice of Democratic Senators.

So it appears that we received no light upon this subject, as has usually been the case when charges have been made against a Senator or against a public official, by a statement from the person accused; the mouth of the person accused was stopped and he was prevented from making a statement to the Senate which, if made, might have rendered it wholly unnecessary to bring this subject to the attention of the Senate.

It remains to be considered whether, if the facts recited in the resolution, and which are of public notoriety, and which are recorded upon the books of the Comptroller of the Currency, are true, the character of the offense is not amply sufficient to compel an investigation.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. Will it interrupt the Senator if I ask a question?

Mr. CHANDLER. Certainly not.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. Will the Senator state to me what the books of the Comptroller of the Currency show—what is on those books?

Mr. CHANDLER. If the Senator desires the particulars, I can inform him.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. Do those books connect the name of the Senator from North Dakota with this transaction in any way?

Mr. CHANDLER. The books of the Comptroller of the Currency, as I understand, show that the repeated reports from the bank carried along for months and years a large defalcation of the "late cashier."

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I am much obliged to the Senator.

Mr. CHANDLER. Inasmuch as the Senator has asked me the particulars——

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. My inquiry is satisfied by the Senator's answer.

Mr. CHANDLER. I will take occasion to read from the New York Sun, not the full statement which is there contained, because I do not wish, and have not wished, to anticipate the facts, but this portion of the Sun's statement:

In October, 1879, the report of the Comptroller of the Currency presented the sworn statement of the officers of the Citizens' National Bank containing this item: "Defalcation of late cashier, $18,483.54."

And now I repeat: Not only has the mouth of the Senator himself been closed, but we have had no denial by any human being of the substantial truth of those newspaper statements. They have been before the public now for many weeks, and they have been of such a character that even if the Senator from North Dakota had not chosen to qualify them or deny them, qualification or denial would have been uttered from some quarter; but from no quarter down to this hour has there been any denial of the substantial correctness of the charges made in the New York Sun and other newspapers.

I ask, again, are not these facts sufficient to require an investigation by the Senate if they are to be taken as true? Here is a grave breach of trust alleged; here is a large embezzlement alleged upon the part of an officer of a national bank.

Mr. President, I believe that if there is any one thing which is necessary to the prosperity of this country it is that breaches of trust should be inexorably punished; that persons who violate a public trust or who take the money which belongs to their wards or to beneficiaries of any kind, or to people of small means, who depend for their subsistence upon the fidelity of their trustees, should be punished to the extreme extent of the law.

This question concerns the widows and the orphans of the country. They put their money into the hands of trustees; they deposit it in the banks of the country; they invest it in the stock of the national banks, and there never has been a great defalcation, there never has been a serious violation of a great pecuniary trust, where there has not been wrought suffering and destitution and misery to those whose circumstances and conditions in life were such that they were specially entitled to be guarded and protected against defalcations and against all violations of trusts.

Mr. President, I believe that there is no man so unfit to act as a Senator upon this floor as one who has proved a defaulter in either a public or a private pecuniary trust.

As chairman of the Committee on Failed National Banks I had occasion to make an investigation during the last season into

the causes of the recent failures of banks. There was disclosed a most alarming condition of affairs in this country growing out of the want of fidelity to their trusts of national-bank officers.

In the report of the committee, which I hope may be read by Senators who have doubts whether this offense which is charged against the Senator from North Dakota is one which, if true, would unfit him to sit upon this floor, there are embodied some extracts from the report of the Comptroller of the Currency of December 5, 1892, from which I will read two or three items:

The doors of the California National Bank of San Diego, Cal., were not opened after close of business November 11, 1891. * * * When it became known, upon thorough examination, that the entire capital and surplus of the bank had been lost, and all efforts to resume had proven futile, the president of the bank, who had personally exerted himself in the interests of resumption of business, committed suicide.

* * * * * * *

The Cheyenne National Bank of Cheyenne, Wyo., closed its doors to business November 13, 1891, a run having been caused by the suspension of the California National Bank of San Diego, Cal. A few days later the cashier committed suicide. The president of the California National Bank of San Diego was likewise the president of the Cheyenne National Bank, and the character of management in both cases was almost identical. The personal presence of the president, his correct manner of life, and his energetic attention to business are said to have given him the entire confidence of the community and enabled him to consummate questionable transactions without suspicion. From the first, the funds of the bank were diverted to his use, etc.

* * * * * * * *

On July 5, 1892, the president of the Vincennes National Bank of Vincennes, Ind., committed suicide.

It appeared that this last bank had been depleted by its president; and so on, there is an interminable catalogue of similar crimes, after not all of which the officers guilty of those crimes committed suicide. Those who did went to their own place. Fearful must have been the workings of their consciences which compelled them to take themselves into another world rather than to meet the just punishment of their misdeeds in this world; and shall defaulting cashiers who become elected to the Senate remain here and not even be investigated? Do Senators propose seriously to ask the Committee on Privileges and Elections, of which the honorable Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE] is chairman, to make a report here that under no circumstances can any crime committed by any member of the Senate before he became a member be investigated?

I have no fear that any such declaration will be made by this Senate, and I have no fear that any such report will be made by a committee upon which as members are the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE] and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PUGH]. No, Mr. President, the amendment directing an inquiry into that constitutional question is to serve the purpose of putting off the investigation of this case until the session of the Senate next fall or next winter, in the hope that something may turn up which will relieve the Senator from North Dakota from the necessity of an authentic statement to the people of the country of exactly what the facts in his case are.

I believe that to be the object of the amendment. I do not believe that Senators seriously contemplate the notion that in this year of our Lord 1893 the doctrine will be affirmed by this Senate that, although a man will be expelled from the Senate if he commits murder or burglary or forgery or embezzlement the day after he is elected a Senator, yet that the sacred ægis of the Constitution protects him and keeps him in the Senate if he commits those acts the day before he is elected a Senator.

I do not believe that even my State's rights friend from Texas [Mr. MILLS], who I see honoring me with his attention, and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER], who have hitherto announced their belief in the doctrine that it is beyond the power of the Senate of the United States to inquire into the acts of Senators committed before they were members, will be willing, when they come to consider the subject, to affirm it as a proposition of constitutional law that there can be no investigation under any circumstances into the acts of a Senator committed before he was a Senator.

Mr. BUTLER. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. CHANDLER. Certainly.

Mr. BUTLER. Will the Senator be good enough to state when and where I made that announcement?

Mr. CHANDLER. I will not state when and where the Senator made the announcement, but I will state that I have understood the Senator to hold to the doctrine that, as has been stated to-day by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE], it was not within the constitutional power of the Senate to investigate the acts of a member before he became a Senator.

Mr. BUTLER. I should be very glad if the Senator would state upon what he bases that announcement, and when and where I have stated any such thing.

Mr. CHANDLER. I am not certain that I said that the Senator had so stated. If I so stated——

Mr. BUTLER. The Senator certainly did.

Mr. CHANDLER. If I so stated, I will withdraw that remark, and will state that I have believed that to be the opinion of the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. BUTLER. Then I understand the Senator to say that he withdraws the remark that I did make that statement.

Mr. CHANDLER. If I said that, I will withdraw it; but I do not think I said that. I think I said those were the views of the Senator from South Carolina. I will wait for any further statement the Senator desires to make.

Mr. BUTLER. I have no further statement, except I should be very glad to have the Senator confine himself to the occasion when I expressed myself in regard to this question. I think I shall then be able to show that he has not conformed to the rules of the Senate.

Mr. CHANDLER. I shall be very happy to have the Senator state what his views are on that question now.

Mr. BUTLER. I will state them at the proper time and in my own way, if the Senator will pardon me.

Mr. CHANDLER. I do not ask the Senator to do it, but I simply yield to him to make that statement if he desires to make it.

Mr. BUTLER. The Senator is very kind in yielding.

Mr. CHANDLER. The elevated character of the Senate forbids the announcement of any such fatal doctrine as this. A few short weeks ago the Vice-President, upon taking the chair as presiding officer of the Senate, uttered a high tribute to the Senators assembled before him. With his advent to the position came also a great political change, but I do not believe that the majority which now prevails here will be any less solicitous than the minority to maintain the reputation and character of the Senate.

We shall differ on questions of finance and tariff and on measures of public administration; not, I trust, on questions which are to determine the estimation in which the Senate is to be held by the wise and the good men of all countries. But to refuse even to investigate the facts alleged against the Senator from North Dakota will turn into a sarcasm and a mockery the eulogium of the Vice-President when he came to preside over the Senate and declared it to be "the most august deliberative assembly known to man."

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President, we have just listened to a three hours' speech delivered under very extraordinary circumstances. Usually an advocate, whether prosecuting or defending a man for his life or his honor, desires to wait until testimony has been taken and something has been proved. The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] prefers to appear as advocate, accuser, and witness; to bear testimony, construe the law, and sum up and dispose of his victim, all at the same time. It is indeed an extraordinary spectacle.

My object, however, in rising, Mr. President, is higher than that of mere criticism. It is well for us to understand the points of difference which prevail between the two sides of this Chamber upon this great question. When our fathers founded this Government widely different theories of construction contended for recognition. On the one hand were able men who believed that the Federal Government should swallow up, concentrate, condense, as it were, all the power incident to the Republic, while, on the other hand, those who actually framed the Government, who had the controlling voice in making the Constitution, believed the States made this Government, that the States preëxisted the Government of the Union, and by their concessions and their arrangements one with another the Federal Government arose in its power, its beauty, and its dignity.

The distinctions which then prevailed in regard to State and Federal power govern the question now under discussion. What are the official relations of Senators, whence do they derive their existence, and to whom are they responsible?

According to the position and argument of the Senator from New Hampshire, when Senators reach here from the States this body may resolve itself into an inquisitorial jury to try the moral, mental, and physical qualifications of the newcomers. Such is the conclusion imperatively enforced by his argument. On this side of the Chamber we hold a distinctly different theory of government; and it is because I desire the country to know where we stand on this question rather than for any other reason that I am prompted to say a few words in this debate.

Sir, Senators are officers of States. They are sent here by States and by States alone. It has been held now for nearly one hundred years that they are not civil officers of the Federal Government. That was decided in 1799 in the celebrated case of Senator Blount, which has been mentioned here this afternoon. It was held in that case that Mr. Blount was not triable in the Senate for an alleged offense committed even while a Senator, because of the constitutional fact that a Senator is not a civil officer of the Government of the United States. Whether he was properly expelled, or whether the question of constitu-

tional power was raised in his expulsion, it is not necessary to inquire; but I say here and now, that when the question was raised whether he was an officer of this Government or simply an officer of the State of Tennessee, the great body of which we are the constitutional continuation decided that there was no power here to try him for offenses committed either before he was a Senator or while he was a Senator or after he was a Senator.

At one period of the discussion this afternoon I interposed to read the plea for the defense on which the Blount case was decided. I will read it a little more at length now, in order to state fully and explicitly the position which we on this side occupy. We hold that the power of the Senate does not extend to a man's life and conduct before he becomes a member of this body. We hold that we can not make inquiry into the details of a Senator's career from the years of his maturity to his arrival here, nor can we organize the Senate into a trial court for the punishment of offenses committed before he was a Senator.

In the impeachment and trial of William Blount, a Senator of the United States from the State of Tennessee, for misdemeanor, commencing December 17, 1798, I find that he filed his defense in the Senate of the United States December 24, 1798. He appeared by Jared Ingersoll and Alexander J. Dallas as counsel. These gentlemen were justly regarded as the foremost members of the bar of the United States at that time. Mr. Dallas was Secretary of the Treasury under Madison and was the father of the then future Vice-President of that name. In the defense of Blount made by these great lawyers we find, among other pleas, the following:

That although true it is that he, the said William Blount, was a Senator of the United States from the State of Tennessee at the several periods in the said articles of impeachment referred to, yet, that he, the said William, is not now a Senator, and is not, nor was at the several periods, so as aforesaid referred to, an officer of the United States; nor is he, the said William, in and by the said articles, charged with having committed any crime or misdemeanor in the execution of any civil office held under the United States, or with any malconduct in civil office, or abuse of any public trust, in the execution thereof.

All that, Mr. President, notwithstanding the fact that the articles of impeachment alleged explicitly that his offense, whatever it may have been, was committed while he was holding the position of a Senator. He denied that such allegation gave this body any jurisdiction whatever over him. He went on to set up a still further reason why he could not be tried by this body.

It is as follows:

That the courts of common law, of a criminal jurisdiction, of the State wherein the offenses in the said articles recited are said to have been committed, as well as those of the United States, are competent to the cognizance, prosecution, and punishment of the said crimes and misdemeanors, if the same have been perpetrated, as is suggested and charged by the said articles, which, however, he utterly denies.

In other words, even though the charges are true, he denies that he is answerable here, but admits that he is answerable to the courts of criminal jurisdiction in his own State, or in any of the several States, where his offenses are alleged to have been committed, or in the courts of the United States, making the square distinction between a trial by the Senate and his responsibility to the courts of his country. An elaborate discussion, in which the first names of our Republic appear, ensued. The contention on the part of the defendant was formally stated by Dallas and enforced by the distinguished counsel to the end of the trial in the following terms:

1. That only civil officers of the United States are impeachable; and that the offenses for which an impeachment lies must be committed in the execution of a public office.

2. That a Senator is not a civil officer, impeachable within the meaning of the Constitution; and that, in the present instance, no crime or misdemeanor is charged to have been committed by William Blount in the character of a Senator.

After weeks of debate, involving these propositions and enriching the political thought of this country and of the world, the Senate of the United States came to a conclusion which has ever since stood, and which I submit in this connection. The judgment of the high court of impeachment was rendered as follows on the 11th of February, 1799:

On motion it was determined that—

The court is of opinion that the matter alleged in the plea of the defendant is sufficient in law to show that this court ought not to hold jurisdiction of the said impeachment, and that the said impeachment is dismissed.

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The court being opened, the parties attending, and silence being proclaimed, judgment was pronounced by the Vice-President as follows:

"Gentlemen managers of the House of Representatives and gentlemen, counsel for William Blount: The court, after having given the most mature and serious consideration to the question and to the full and able arguments urged on both sides, has come to the decision which I am now about to deliver.

"The court is of opinion that the matter alleged in the plea of the defendant is sufficient in law to show that this court ought not to hold jurisdiction of the said impeachment, and that the said impeachment is dismissed."

The Senator from New Hampshire suggested that it could not be told whether that finding was upon the point that Mr. Blount was no longer a Senator, or that he had not been a civil officer of the United States. On the contrary, the only point debated from the beginning to the end of this great discussion was what kind of official relation he bore to the United States Government when he was a Senator. The question of his not being a Senator at the time of his trial does not figure at all, or at least with no importance, in this discussion.

So, Mr. President, from that day in 1799 to the present day it has been conceded, it has been the consensus of nearly one hundred years of opinion in this country, in this body and elsewhere, that a Senator is not amenable to punishment for crime or impeachment as a civil officer.

Mr. President, let us take another step in looking at this question. Again, what is a Senator, and how comes he here? In the construction of this Government provision was made for a Congress of the United States composed of two great bodies. In making that provision the Federal Government could and might have gone further and laid down other and more extensive rules or conditions, but declared only three conditions on which a Senator was to be admitted from a State. What were they? You will find in section 3 of Article I these few and simple conditions imposed as to the qualifications of a Senator:

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

Why did they not go on, if the Senator from New Hampshire is right, and say further that inquiry should be made whether he had ever been charged with a misdemeanor, and, if he had, that he should not be admitted? They had the subject in their minds and in their hands; they were prescribing conditions, and those conditions, though affirmative, are in the nature of a severe limitation, for in inserting them they excluded all others. Every lawyer knows the weight of an argument of this kind; every lawyer knows when Congress was dealing with that subject-matter and went no further it was a denial to this body of power to go beyond the limitation expressed. A compliance with the constitutioual conditions admits a Senator, and he is subject to but one other inquiry under the Constitution.

We hear a good deal sometimes about investigating a Senator's election to this body. It is provided that the Senate shall be the judge of the qualifications and elections of its own members. Yes, we may judge of his qualifications, to the extent limited by the Constitution. If, as in some very celebrated instances, a man should come here alleged to be under the prescribed age, or who had not been a citizen of this country nine years, or if not an inhabitant of the State, an investigation would be allowed, because these are required conditions by the Constitution.

There is still, however, another field of investigation. If charges are made that a man used fraud, was guilty of corruption, bribery, or other improper conduct before his Legislature in securing his election, the right to investigate arises, because, if such charges are true, he has not been elected at all according to law, but according to fraud.

I appeal to the older and better trained legal intellects on the other side of the Chamber to know where the additional power claimed by you for investigation is given by the Constitution. There is a difference between a power given and a power taken. I know you can trample upon all distinctions; I know you can trample upon the fundamental law. I do not say you desire to do it in this instance.

I wish to forbear in speech to-day. I ask learned men, however—I ask legal minds, where do you get one scintilla of power or a hair's breadth of right to investigate beyond these limitations? No one can take his stand on the written law and make good his claim. If I am right in my construction of the Constitution, then we reach another question. Can the States be trusted to send fit and proper men to this body? Are the States a safe depository of power for the choice of Senators to represent them in the Federal Congress, or must Senators already chosen supervise the characters and moral fitness of incoming members?

According to the Senator from New Hampshire, who constitutes himself a sort of inquisitor-general, there would be no limit to the investigation and trial of Senators; the disgusting process would never end. According to his theory, every State is subject to the imputation that its people are not to be trusted; that they must be subject to our supervising power; that if they should select a Senator professing opinions adverse to the majority we could organize an inquiry to see whether it was safe for him to be here; whether he was a moral person or whether he was agreeable for us to sit with.

Many of us can remember in the early history of the country when questions connected with religious faith were paramount to everything else. I have heard good men in the sincerity of their belief announce that the country would be destroyed if a certain denomination of religious thought should obtain supremacy in this country. Many Senators about me have heard the same.

Where, then, is the limit of inquiry, unless you take that invincible limit given by the Constitution? Will you, in the face of that sacred instrument, dare to say that you have the right to inquire whether a man sent here by a sovereign State has at some time or other been indicted for crime, even if he has paid the penalty of the offense in accordance with the laws of his State? If you can investigate in such a case as that, you can investigate anything and everything which may be distasteful to the Senator from New Hampshire or anyone else, however petty or contemptible the accusation may be.

Sir, such a doctrine is at war with the Government the fathers made, at war with the existence and the dignity of the States, and at war with the fundamental doctrines of self-government.

Senators may rise and say that, assuming the position which I do, bad men may come here, evil-minded persons from the States, stained with unlawful transactions, or even with the blood of murder, and what shall we do about it? Mr. President, assumptions of that kind can not be allowed; presumptions in civilized Christian countries run in favor of the virtue, the intelligence, and the capacity of the people, and in this Republic they run in favor of the States choosing reputable, upright, competent men of pure lives as their Senators. If the States are not to be trusted in their own individual capacity to discharge this high duty, it would be a failure of Government to remit it to the already elected representatives of other States. In other words, when a State has made its choice and sent a Senator here, is it to be assumed that the representatives of the other States shall meet in conclave and pass upon his fitness and inquire into his morals? The presumptions run the other way; the presumptions are that the State knows him and understands him; and the presumptions are also that the representatives of other States will be better engaged in minding their own business and letting the business of the other State alone.

Sir, take the individual case at bar, that seems such a sweet morsel under a few tongues—I am happy to say a very few—on the other side of the Chamber. Let us for a moment see what it really looks like. I use it more as an illustration than anything else.

The plea rendered by Blount, as I have already read, set out that he was amenable and answerable to the courts in his own State and in every other State where he had committed the offense charged, and in the United States courts. We will see that his plea fits exactly the case of the Senator from North Dakota.

We have listened to three hours' talk this afternoon. A full answer to it all is that the gentleman from North Dakota now occupies a seat on this floor by the selection of a State, whether young or old, or large or small, still a State as great in her rights and her dignity as the empire State of New York or the empire State of Texas, whose Senator sits before me, for she is the greatest empire of them all. As a matter of course, my statement carries his own absolute personal, individual equality in every right under the Constitution with every other Senator upon this floor.

What is there to be said of him? This much, at least. During all the years since his alleged trouble, I know not how many, fourteen or fifteen, he has been subject to the laws of the United States, subject to the laws of this District, subject to any laws that have been infracted, liable to be called for trial before any court having jurisdiction. He has not been in Canada, he has not been across the waters, he has staid under the American flag and fought it out like a man, and every manly heart now wishes him well. However it may be with others, it is certainly so with me. No indictment was ever found against him. He has been all the time subject to criminal charge, and yet no indictment found.

If the offense was committed in this District, here have met courts, here have met grand juries, but no indictment has ever been heard of. No warrant has been sworn out before any tribunal of any kind. No arrest has ever been made or attempted to be made. And now, still further to reduce this charge to contempt, it stands confessed as an absolute fact that the parties said to have been injured by Mr. ROACH have no word of complaint to make against him.

Sir, this is the case which has been seized upon to make an issue upon against this side of the Chamber. I speak of Mr. ROACH'S case personally as an illustration of the great legal principle underlying this discussion—a man subject to the prosecution of the courts in his own State, or in a distant State, subject to be called back here by requisition.

Thank God, he has stood his ground, and does now. He says you may investigate him as far as the Constitution allows. What more can he say? He will also answer any charges made against him anywhere in the courts. And this is supposed to be a case calling for the direst punishment that can be inflicted, by arraignment and impeachment here!

Mr. President, I return again to the point that the Constitution gives the required conditions for membership in this body. If the Constitution had said that if a man were arraigned in the newspapers for having committed a breach of trust or for having embezzled funds, that would be a very different thing. In order to still further emphasize the legal ground on which I stand, I wish to call attention to another point. My attention was called to it by the able and gifted lawyer from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE] a few moments ago. The fourteenth amendment of the Constitution is pregnant with authority upon this great subject.

After the war was over new troubles arose. The irruption, if I may use the word, of unfit people into this body was threatened, as it was thought, and in some instances it took place, from the Southern States. However, this amendment was not aimed at the class I objected to; but I desire to show the Senate that the whole question of the constitutional limitation of conditions which makes Senators eligible was considered and revised by the leading members of the Republican party itself. Section 3 of the fourteenth article of amendment reads as follows:

> No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

There is an initial condition against the admission of a Senator here. The subject of precaution against the admission of improper persons was once more, this side of the formation of the Government, under the consideration of learned and able men, and they prepared this clause, setting forth that no man who had betrayed his oath as an officer of the Federal Government before the war should be admitted to any office, civil or military, or should be elector of President and Vice-President, unless his disabilities were removed by a two-thirds vote of Congress.

There were three limitations already, one of age, one of citizenship, the other actual residence in a State. To those three conditions such men as Trumbull, perhaps the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] himself, and other leading and able men in public life at the period of reconstruction added this one.

Suppose they had gone on. They had the subject up in their minds. They could have gone on and made other limitations. They could have said if a man had been charged with crime by indictment he would not be eligible here. They could have said that a man who was convicted in his State court should not come here. They could have said all that and more. They did not do it; for they proceeded upon the presumption that the States might be trusted to elect their Senators, and that there was no danger of a debauched body of men here as long as the American States were worthy of existence.

But there is another feature in connection with the fourteenth article of amendment which emphasizes what I am saying beyond all power of contradiction. In a court of justice a presiding justice would stop a gentleman contending as I am and say, "I will hear from the other side;" it would want no more argument. Now, what says the second section of the fourteenth amendment?

> Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being 21 years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens 21 years of age in such State.

The word "crime" is used here, showing there was no oversight on this question. The question of what disability a crime should produce was considered. It operates only where in the State courts a man has been convicted of crime and disfranchised, as we have seen done. That is the meaning of that section.

I dwell upon these two sections to show that since 1799, that since the formation of the Constitution, within sight of the great troublous period of the war, when we were merging into a new life and needed new things done, as it was thought, for safety, this subject came before the mental view of the men who were guiding public affairs, and these provisions show that no such thing as the Senator from New Hampshire has been urging here to-day as a disqualification to a Senator was thought of for a single moment.

Ah, the Senator may say, shall such things as we talk of go unwhipped of justice? I have already anticipated the argument on that subject. The man is answerable under the Constitution

to the courts, but does it say he is answerable some place else? What an admirable supporter of government it seems to me the Senator from New Hampshire would have made during the reign of the Stuarts when things went by bills of attainder. What is this proceeding to-day but in the nature of a bill of attainder? What is this proceeding except an attempt to disgrace and punish as far as possible a man who has been subject to the laws of his country, and is subject to them now, unless those who have had the right to complain of him have waived it by the length of time which has elapsed? What else is this movement except to proceed against him by act of Congress? A man who never evaded the courts is now by Congressional proceeding to be assaulted.

Webster says in describing the office of attainder that it is a proceeding used to stain, to taint, to blemish, to sully a man's character and corrupt his blood, so that his children can not inherit. This proceeding here is exceedingly like the proceedings we are familiar with in English history. Strafford, Earl of Wentworth, was arraigned upon a bill saying that it was reported he had done evil things in Ireland and elsewhere.

It was alleged that he had advised the king to arbitrary and oppressive acts of government, and he had to answer in a cloud of mist and uncertainty; whereas the everlasting pillars of the law give a man the right to be presented by a jury of twelve, to be put upon his trial before a jury of twelve, to be confronted with witnesses against him, to appear by counsel, and to have a full and open hearing. This is simply an inquisitorial process outside of all constitutional limit, and as such I desire the country to know that on this side of the Chamber we will investigate within the limits given us, and not beyond them.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to ask the Senator from Indiana if he claims as a principle of constitutional law that there is nothing which took place before the election of a Senator to this body which would make him liable to expulsion?

Mr. VOORHEES. If you can find where the Constitution says that there was anything beyond the limitations which I have laid down I will be obliged to the Senator to show it to me.

Mr. HOAR. No, I was not arguing the question; I wanted to understand the Senator's proposition.

Mr. VOORHEES. I take my position squarely. A Senator of criminal character may be imposed upon a State possibly. I have never known, nor have you, such a case. We have had over a hundred years of history, and such an instance has not occurred. There are a class of men who are always supposing an evil thing will happen. Such a thing never has happened in this country as the Senator is now supposing. But if a State should have the misfortune to elect a man blackened with crime it is the misfortune of the State, and I find no power given to us, who have sworn to support the Constitution, to organize a tribunal of morals and try that man here for his offenses.

Mr. HOAR. Then, if I understand the Senator correctly, he says there can be no such instance.

Mr. VOORHEES. Yes, I have the misfortune to believe that the Constitution of my country is binding. I believe that every word it says expresses its meaning, and that it is binding on my conscience. See what any other rule would lead to. I have great respect for the Senator from Massachusetts, especially when he is in an amiable mood. I can join with him in supposing that an embarrassment might arise.

If the supposititious case that has not come in more than a hundred years should, however, come at last, it would be far less a difficulty, more tolerable, to good government than for us to claim the power to try the Senator from Massachusetts, or to try the Senator from Indiana now speaking, for alleged offenses long, long ago, or to try the Senator from New Hampshire for all that has been alleged against him.

I do not want to say an unkind thing to-day, but when we argue these questions we have to argue as lawyers, with freedom and pertinency. I know the Senator from New Hampshire will not complain of what I say, after occupying three hours in seeking to destroy the reputation of the Senator from North Dakota.

I have heard alleged of the Senator from New Hampshire various grave and ugly things which I have not credited. I have heard men say that while he was Secretary of the Navy he built three or four ships that made but one trip in their lives, and that was to the bottom of the sea. I have heard it alleged that the contractors who built them retired from their work rich, contented, and infamous, all at the same time. I have heard these things said. Does the Senator from New Hampshire believe that these matters should be taken up out of the newspapers, and before a word of testimony is taken, I or any other Senator should arise here and arraign him?

I have had occasion to reflect upon that side of the Chamber, not for what they have not done heretofore, but for what they are aiming to do now, so utterly inconsistent with their course heretofore. I complain not of that side of the Chamber for having sat still for the last six years, or perhaps double that time, with newspapers reeking with charges against their associates. I complain not of them, for if we had thought that the Constitution gave us the power to investigate charges of defalcation made by Senators before they were in the Senate or even afterwards where they are subject to the criminal laws of their country, we ourselves would have investigated them.

But the spectacle is presented to the country here of a great strong party remaining silent on the subject of the sins of their own people, and yet the moment a speck can be found upon anybody on this side of the Chamber they clamor as the Pharisees of old did when the Saviour suggested to them to take the beam out of their own eyes, so that they could see the mote in other people's eyes. That is what I complain of. I hold that in your silence on that side of the Chamber, your noninvestigation of the published charges about Senators of your own political faith, you are consistent with common honesty as well as with the Constitution. All that will be gained by this proceeding on your part will be the comment of honest and consistent people in regard to the difference it makes whose ox is gored in the transactions of life.

Mr. President, I do not wish to be provoked into acrimonious discussion on this subject, but I ask the country to take notice. The Democratic party is standing upon the rock of the Constitution. It is standing upon its limitations. They can not be ignored or trifled with. That side of the Chamber, guided by the uncertain, capricious whims of party interest, are seeking now to destroy where they sought to spare, cover up, and whitewash in their own ranks. The country will take notice of this. I have no fears of the result.

The Senator from New Hampshire asks us on this side of the Chamber whether we are willing, considering the honor and dignity of this great body, to let a question of this kind go uninvestigated. In answer to that I say that I take my Government as formed by the fathers. The Constitution says in so many words what entitles a man to a seat here. In compliance with that I see no power of investigation on a matter that was open to all the courts, free to every inquiry known to the law.

The Senator from New Hampshire emphasized very much as an exclamation, "not to be investigated!" What do I care for the long list of decisions of the British Parliament. The British Parliament is not the creature of a written constitution. It has no limitations or outlines. It is a growth and an aggregation of customs that have been built up. Sometimes they expelled members of Parliament and sometimes they beheaded them. What is that to me or to any other man on this side of the Chamber who reads a written constitution, takes an oath to obey it, and has some faith in his fellow-men?

This question gives rise to the old distinctions of political thought in this country. There is one class of people who have never believed in any other class but their own. There is one class of people who have never believed that good government could come except from themselves. There is one class of people in this country, and indeed throughout the world, who narrow their prayers simply to "bless me and my house, and no more."

I am thankful I do not belong to that class of people, Mr. President. It was the theory of that class that the States should all be swallowed up, and they would swallow them up yet if they could. The Senator from New Hampshire believes to-day that he is a better judge of a Senator here than the State of Indiana, or Ohio, or Missouri—certainly a great deal better judge than the people of Maryland, to say nothing of North Dakota or South Carolina. He holds the power, and believes in it, to investigate all. I, without any arrogance at all, put that doctrine at defiance. I have answered a long time to my own people. While I have committed faults I have no doubt, for no man is perfect, yet I have answered to my people. My responsibility is unto them and to the laws of my country, and not unto the Senator from New Hampshire or any other State.

That was the spirit which presided over the theory of our Government in the beginning. It was the spirit that begot sovereign power for independent States which, when they came together, gave up to the General Government the right to prescribe conditions as to the admission of Senators, which were laid down there—three in the original body of the instrument, one afterwards in the fourteenth amendment, but none for one moment looking to or embracing or tolerating the position of the Senator from New Hampshire.

Sir, I talk with reluctance, and I would not have talked to-day had it not been for my desire now, near the close of this extraordinary session of the Senate, that a proper conception should go out to the public mind of the real position of the Democratic party on this side of the Chamber; and in my feeble and humble way I have endeavored to state it. It is the doctrine on which our Government rests, and any other doctrine would turn this

body into the most miserable and contemptible conclave of inquisitorial processes that the world has ever had any knowledge of.

Where would it stop? I would leave the Senate with loathing and disgust rather than remain with a body where the Senators of each State claim the right to supervise the morals of the Senators of every other State, and to enter into judgment with States the equal of their own in regard to the kind of men they send here.

It may be the Senator from North Dakota has suffered misfortune. I stop not to go into that further than to say, and to repeat myself, that, obedient to the laws of his country, he has never sought to evade them, and to-day he returns to those who were thought to be injured without a single claim upon him. When a man has lived a life of that kind, commend me to him. I will take him with his faults; I will take him with his defalcations; I will take him with every step of error he has had the misfortune to commit, before I will take for my guide the philosophers of the other side of the Chamber, who sit as inquisitors on the act of every man's life except their own.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. Mr. President, no Senator upon this floor is more regretful than I am that it should have appeared necessary that these proceedings must be brought into this body. I myself have taken no part in bringing them here or in the discussion, and I would not now consume the time of the Senate if I did not feel a personal obligation so to do.

I have known my colleague [Mr. ROACH] for the past ten or eleven years. I knew him when he first came into the old Territory of Dakota. I knew him when he traversed the prairies of that Territory over the plains and the snows, through winter and summer, carrying the mails a distance of 100 miles from the city of Grand Forks to the old military post of Fort Totten, under a subcontract which he held at that time. Our relations have been personally agreeable and pleasant. I have had a very high regard for Mr. ROACH, and he is held in esteem by the people of our State.

I regard this as a very unfortunate occurrence—unfortunate on account of my colleague, and on account of the State that he and I have been sent here to represent, and on account of the people therein. North Dakota is one of the new States. It had a very difficult task to get into the Union and become a member of the sisterhood of States; and when we once got into the Union we supposed that all our woes and troubles were at an end. But it seems that we come here simply to witness the beginning of those trials and tribulations which are calculated to keep the people of that young State back and prevent their progress, because these proceedings here and the comments of the press upon them can be of no other avail than to injure the State of North Dakota and its people.

Mr. President, I am not disposed to criticise or find fault with the newspapers of the country. I myself have had the honor to be a member of the journalistic profession for the past twenty-five years. In that time I have no doubt said some very caustic things of men whom I supposed to be the enemies of the Commonwealth and of the public good, and there have been some very caustic things said concerning myself. But I am charitable enough to believe that no editor ever puts his pen to paper to say a derogatory thing of another unless he feels that he has good ground for doing so and that it is for the good of the country that he does so. I know that that at least has been the controlling influence throughout my journalistic career.

I find in a recent issue of the Daily Globe of the city of St. Paul, Minn., a very remarkable article under date of Washington, April 10. The editor and proprietor of the Globe is a Mr. Baker, now minister to Nicaragua and Salvador, I believe, recently confirmed by this body; and we have a right to expect Mr. Baker to be the kind of man who, when he asserts a thing or employs an agent to assert a thing—we must concede that he or his agent believes there is some ground for the truth of such assertion; and we have also a right to believe that they are fair enough to expect that their readers shall believe what they say. For this reason, the editor of the Globe occupying a distinguished position and being foremost among the editors of the country, the assertions of his paper are full of importance. I will read some extracts from the article I have referred to. It is under date, as I have said, of Washington, April 10:

A bomb will drop in the camp of the combination who are behind the persecution of Senator ROACH, of North Dakota. When old Senator HOAR, of Massachusetts, offered a new resolution in the ROACH matter to-day he did not know that within a few hours a man would arrive in Washington with enough evidence to completely overwhelm one of the Republican members with whom that saintly pair, HOAR and CHANDLER, do not hesitate to associate.

It is needless to state, Mr. President, that the Globe of St. Paul, Minn., is a Democratic paper.

Mr. HOAR. That is quite evident.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. The article continues:

This man arrived straight from North Dakota this afternoon. His name is Jud La Moure, of Pembina, and he brought with him a gripsack full of affidavits, letters, and other documents which he proposes to lay before the United States Senate.

I understand that Mr. La Moure was in this city recently, and for aught I know he may be here now.

Minister Baker's representative then proceeds to interview Mr. La Moure and to comment upon the interview as the interview progresses.

Senator Jud La Moure was one of the ten Republicans at Bismarck who voted for Senator ROACH, and he knows all about the contest as well as the fight two years earlier which resulted in the election of Senator HANSBROUGH.

Going back to the Senatorial contest of two years ago, Senator La Moure produced the inside history of that struggle in documentary form, and declared that in it are reasons for the immediate expulsion of Senator HANSBROUGH.

Mr. President, this is a very serious accusation to be found in the columns of a newspaper edited and controlled by a gentleman who seems to have occupied a position high enough to be selected by the present incumbent of the White House as a minister to an important foreign country. The article then proceeds:

The fact that La Moure would be here to-day was known in advance to Senator GORMAN, with whom the Pembina statesman spent several hours this evening, showing a mass of evidence concerning Senator H. C. HANSBROUGH.

All evening La Moure was in close conference with Senator GORMAN, the Democratic leader, and while neither cared to state the agreement reached, there is little doubt that to-morrow morning the case of Senator HANSBROUGH will be taken up by resolution and referred for investigation to a committee.

I also have here an article under date of April 10, from the Daily Tribune, of the city of Minneapolis, a newspaper published by a former member of this body and now minister to Portugal. At last accounts the editor of the Tribune was on his way to his post at Lisbon. This article purports to be an interview with Mr. La Moure. I will read a portion of it if the Senate will bear with me. The representative of the Tribune asked this question:

What are you here for?

To which Mr. La Moure replied:

Well, there seems to be a disposition on the part of the Republicans to push my friend Senator ROACH. He is being abused. What kind of a fellow is Senator GORMAN—biggest toad in the Democratic puddle?

The reporter answered "yes."

Well—

Said Mr. La Moure—

I am going to see Senator GORMAN to-night, and I am going to put him on. If they do not let my friend ROACH alone I will make it hot for some of the high and mighty Republicans holding office from North Dakota. For instance, Senator HANSBROUGH, and I will have very little difficulty in the process. I propose to lay these facts before GORMAN and tell him the evidence is all ready.

The representative of the Tribune, after he had succeeded in interviewing Mr. La Moure, was honest enough and fair enough to make this statement; which reveals the real object of La Moure's visit to this city.

Jud is looking after the interests of his father-in-law, Mr. Nelson, collector of the port of Neche.

I will state that there is no such port. It is the customs district of North and South Dakota, the port of Pembina.

It was part of Jud's deal that Nelson should be retained if Jud voted for a Democrat.

Mr. President, in view of these allegations and assertions and charges, if they may be called charges, in two reputable papers owned and edited by two ministers to foreign lands, and in which assertions and charges there is not an iota or one scintilla of truth, I think I am justified in calling upon the Senator from Maryland to state whether he is in possession of any documentary evidence, affidavits, letters, or otherwise bearing upon my election to this body. If he is, I believe I am also justified in asking of the Senator, in justice to himself as a Senator, in justice to myself, in justice to the Senate as a body, to proceed forthwith to lay those documents, affidavits, or whatever they may be before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of this body, and that the matter be inquired into thoroughly and fully as soon as possible.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, the remarks just made by the Senator from North Dakota furnish a pointed illustration of the folly, the unwisdom of this body opening its doors for the reception of statements or proceeding to consider for a moment statements affecting the character and reputation of Senators. The Senator from North Dakota has not known me very long, but I had hoped that he and every other intelligent citizen of this country would have known enough of my public course to believe it impossible that I should be the receptacle or the dumping ground of the miserable slanders that are constantly uttered against public men.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I did not suppose that, Mr. President.

Mr. GORMAN. If there is any one thing that I have avoided,

that I despise, it is to indulge in such matters, and I have but little respect for the judgment of any man who does it.

Of the matter to which the Senator refers, I knew nothing except through him, who casually asked me if such a man had approached me. That class of vipers do not come to me and get hearings.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I am very glad to hear it.

Mr. GORMAN. I have never to my knowledge heard of the man who is named in that article. He has certainly never presented charges against the Senator from North Dakota to me. Like other Senators I read the newspapers, and I am bound to take note of what I see there; but such articles make no such impression on me as to warrant me in making use of them here or elsewhere.

So for to-day I hope we will dismiss this subject; and I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. HARRIS. If the Senator from Maryland will withdraw the motion for one moment, I will move that the resolution and the pending amendment be laid upon the table, and let us dispose of that question to-day.

Mr. GORMAN. I withdraw the motion.

Mr. HARRIS. I move that the resolution and amendment be laid upon the table.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President, the motion is not debatable——

Mr. HARRIS. It is not.

Mr. PLATT. I should like, however, to ask the Senator from Tennessee to withhold it for one moment that I may make a single observation.

Mr. HARRIS. I do not know how to deny the Senator from Connecticut anything that he asks.

Mr. GORMAN. I hope the Senator from Tennessee will not press his motion at this time. For public reasons I must insist that we shall proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. HARRIS. Then, if the Senator from Maryland will yield to me, I move to lay the resolution and amendment on the table, and under the suggestion, I can not grant the request of the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. PLATT. On that question I ask for the yeas and nays.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Tennessee that the resolution and amendment be laid on the table. Upon this question the yeas and nays are demanded.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. DOLPH. I ask that the resolution and amendment be read so that we may know precisely on what we are to vote.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. HOAR on the 10th instant, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections be directed to examine the allegations recently made in the public press charging WILLIAM N. ROACH, a Senator from the State of North Dakota, with certain criminal offenses committed while cashier or officer of a bank in the city of Washington, and to ascertain the facts and circumstances so far as to enable the committee to determine and report what are the duty and power of the Senate in regard thereto; and for that purpose the committee shall have authority to send for persons and papers, to employ a stenographer, to sit during the recess of the Senate, and to act through a subcommittee; and its expenses shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be read.

The Secretary read the substitute, submitted this day by Mr. GORMAN, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections be directed to inquire into and consider the question whether the Senate has authority or jurisdiction to investigate charges made against a Senator as to conduct or offenses occurring or committed prior to his election, not relating to his duty as Senator or affecting the integrity of his election.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Delaware will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. GRAY. Does the amendment just read as a substitute refer also to and is it a substitute for the resolution of like import to the one just read referring to the investigation into certain newspaper charges against the Senator from Montana [Mr. POWER]?

Mr. SHERMAN. I should like to say one word to Senators. I think we had better adjourn until to-morrow.

Mr. HARRIS. If the Senator from Ohio will allow me, in view of the present conditions and the request of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT], I withdraw my motion to lay on the table.

Mr. SHERMAN. That is right.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Tennessee withdraws his motion to lay on the table. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT].

Mr. PLATT. I simply desire an opportunity to reply, not at any great length, to the position taken by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES]. That is all I desire.

Mr. HAWLEY. To reply to-morrow?

Mr. DOLPH. To-morrow.

Mr. PLATT. Yes.

Mr. GORMAN. I renew my motion.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Pending the motion of the Senator from Maryland, the Chair lays before the Senate the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] from the Committee on Privileges and Elections. The resolution will be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Maryland moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After twenty minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 4 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, April 15, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 14, 1893.

COURT OF APPEALS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Richard H. Alvey, of Maryland, to be chief justice of the court of appeals of the District of Columbia, as provided by act approved February 9, 1893.

Martin F. Morris, of the District of Columbia, to be associate justice of the court of appeals of the District of Columbia, as provided by act approved February 9, 1893.

Seth Shepard, of Texas, to be associate justice of the court of appeals of the District of Columbia, as provided by act approved February 9, 1893.

SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF ARIZONA.

Levi H. Manning, of Tucson, Ariz., to be surveyor-general of Arizona, vice Royal A. Johnson, resigned.

RECORDER OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE.

Lucius Q. C. Lamar, of Oxford, Miss., to be recorder of the General Land Office, vice Dolphin P. Roberts, resigned.

PRINCIPAL CLERK PUBLIC LANDS, GENERAL LAND OFFICE.

Robert K. Gillespie, of Gallatin, Tenn., to be principal clerk of public lands in the General Land Office, vice Calvin G. Townsend, resigned.

RECEIVERS OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

William Anglim, of Crookston, Minn., to be receiver of public moneys at Crookston, Minn., vice Lars K. Aaker, resigned.

John Lafabre, of Rapid City, S. Dak., to be receiver of public moneys at Rapid City, S. Dak., vice George V. Ayres, resigned. Stiles E. Forsha, who was nominated February 2, 1893, failed of confirmation.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

John C. Geraghty, of Minnesota, to be collector of customs for the district of Minnesota, in the State of Minnesota, to succeed Charles G. Edwards, whose term of office has expired by limitation.

SURVEYOR OF CUSTOMS.

Charles H. Miller, of Illinois, to be surveyor of customs for the port of Galena, in the State of Illinois, to succeed John Mahood, resigned.

ASSISTANT SURGEONS IN THE MARINE HOSPITAL SERVICE.

John W. Branham, of Virginia, to be an assistant surgeon in the Marine Hospital Service of the United States.

Emil Prochazka, of Wisconsin, to be an assistant surgeon in the Marine Hospital Service of the United States.

Ezra K. Sprague, of New York, to be an assistant surgeon in the Marine Hospital Service of the United States.

ASSISTANT SURGEON IN THE NAVY.

Edward Lyman Munson, a resident of Connecticut, to be an assistant surgeon in the Navy, to fill a vacancy in that grade.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 12, 1893.

COMPTROLLER OF CURRENCY.

James H. Eckels, of Illinois, to be Comptroller of the Currency.

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Ambrose W. Lyman, of Montana, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Montana.

SPECIAL FISCAL AGENTS.

August Belmont, Walther Luttgen, and Oliver H. P. Belmont, trading under the name, style, and form of August Belmont & Co., at London, England, to be special fiscal agents of the Navy Department at that place.

POSTMASTER.

Lela Henley, to be postmaster at Cloverport, in the county of Breckinridge and State of Kentucky.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 13, 1893.

COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Daniel M. Browning, of Benton, Ill., to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Frank C. Armstrong, of Washington, D. C., to be Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

SATURDAY, *April 15, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, which will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Pending the consideration of this resolution, the Chair recognizes the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT].

Mr. HARRIS. Will the Senator from Connecticut indulge me for a single moment?

Mr. PLATT. It is understood I have the floor?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Connecticut has the floor. Does he yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. PLATT. If it is understood that I have the floor I yield.

Mr. HARRIS. Of course. I appeal to the Senator to yield. I desire to ask the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] if he has any objection to disposing of his motion to reconsider the resolution raising a committee to wait on the President and inform him that the Senate is ready to adjourn when he has no further communication to make?

Mr. HOAR. I have no objection to having that matter dealt with at the discretion of the side of the Chamber to which the Senator from Tennessee belongs, and I suppose he represents the desire of his political associates here. Whenever they desire to take up the resolution I shall interpose no objection.

Mr. HARRIS. I should be glad to have it disposed of this morning and at this time.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. CALL. I should like to have the question about committees of investigation during the recess dealt with before anything further is done in the matter. I feel that my State is very deeply interested in that question, and I should be glad to have at least some consideration of it before this body adjourns.

Mr. HOAR. Let the matter stand until the Senator from Connecticut concludes his remarks.

Mr. HARRIS. Very well. I have no objection to the Senator from Connecticut proceeding, but I give notice that I shall call the resolution up and ask for action upon it at an early hour today.

Mr. HOAR. As far as I am concerned I suppose there will be no objection to it.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

On motion of Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon, it was

Ordered, That Austin Herr be permitted, subject to the rule, to withdraw his papers from the files of the Senate.

CHARGES AGAINST SENATOR ROACH.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President, when the Senate adjourned last night I desired the floor in order that I might reply briefly to what seemed to me the extraordinary position taken by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], who, as I understood, assumed to speak for the Democratic members of the Senate, and by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE], who, as I understood, assumed to speak for no one but himself. But the hour was late, and the Senate showed a disposition to adjourn or proceed to the consideration of executive business.

It is not pleasant under any circumstances to speak upon a proposition which involves the character, standing, and honesty of one of the members of this body; and yet when such a proposition is before the Senate I conceive that a Senator should not, from any motives of delicacy, shrink from the proper discussion of it. Unpleasant as it is, I desire to call the attention of the Senate to the precise case which we have before us. I do not think any suggestions that there may be other cases which the Senate ought to look into are pertinent to the discussion of this question.

The Senator from North Dakota presented himself here on the 4th day of March, at the opening of the session, without any previous suggestion made anywhere that there was anything whatever in his past life or conduct which in anyway militated against his being sworn in or being a proper member of this body. He came with the credentials from his State in proper form, and was therefore admitted and took the oath, and became a sitting Senator from the State of North Dakota.

On the 15th of March publications appeared in the newspapers charging, in specific terms, that in the year 1879 (and since I have been a member of the Senate) he was a bank officer in a bank in the District of Columbia; that as such bank officer he embezzled the funds of the bank to the specific amount stated of $64,000 and fled the city; that $25,000 of that sum was made up to the bank by his bondsmen; that another sum, I think about $16,000, was realized by the bank from some property which belonged to him, which was secured by attachment; and that the balance of the $64,000 had never been made up to the bank, and he had remained a fugitive from justice from that day to this.

This is the charge; and I submit in the outset, in reply to a suggestion made by the Senator from Indiana, that it is not a question of morals; it is a question of criminality. If it be true as charged, then the Senator from North Dakota became amenable to the criminal laws of the country, and if tried and convicted for the offense would have been liable to imprisonment in the penitentiary. This is not a question of morals; it is not a question of taste, or religion; it is not a question of choosing our associates and selecting the men whom we may like to associate with. It is a question whether, these charges having been made boldly and specifically and not denied either by the person against whom they are made or by anybody else, the Senate has any duty to perform. These charges, as I said, first appeared in the public press on the 15th day of March last. No notice was taken of them in the Senate until the 28th day of March.

Mr. PALMER. Will the Senator from Connecticut allow me to ask him a question?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. PALMER. To ask a single question.

Mr. PLATT. Certainly.

Mr. PALMER. I ask the Senator if the matters he speaks of have been distinctly charged by any responsible person in this body?

Mr. PLATT. I do not understand the Senator.

Mr. PALMER. I ask the Senator whether any responsible person has made the charges, to which he refers, in this body?

Mr. PLATT. Whether any Senator has risen here and made the charge?

Mr. PALMER. Yes; any responsible charge. Whether any charge is before the Senate for which anybody is responsible?

Mr. PLATT. It occurs to me that the resolution which was presented on the 28th day of March is an answer to that inquiry.

As I was saying, no notice was at first taken of these charges, which, by the way, are not confined now to one or two newspapers but have gone the length and breadth of this land till all the people of the country know what they are. But on the 28th day of March the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], who is a member of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, having waited a period of thirteen days, to see whether any action would be taken from the other side of the Senate, introduced the following resolution:

That the Committee on Privileges and Elections be directed to investigate the allegations recently extensively made in the public press charging WILLIAM N. ROACH, a Senator from the State of North Dakota, with the offense of criminal embezzlement, to report the facts of the transactions referred to, and further to report what is the duty of the Senate in regard thereto.

I think that is a sufficient answer to the inquiry of the Senator from Illinois.

That resolution was laid on the table and ordered to be printed. It was not referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. No further action was taken in the Senate until the 10th of April, when the Senator from Massachusetts submitted another resolution, stating at the time, I believe, that as he understood it, it was a resolution which had been agreed to by the Committee on Priv-

ileges and Elections modifying somewhat the original resolution. I will read the important part of that resolution:

That the Committee on Privileges and Elections be directed to examine the allegations recently made in the public press charging WILLIAM N. ROACH, a Senator from the State of North Dakota, with certain criminal offenses committed while cashier or officer of a bank in the city of Washington, and to ascertain the facts and circumstances so far as to enable the committee to determine and report what are the duty and power of the Senate in regard thereto.

Modifying the original resolution, so that by the resolution then submitted the only duty of the committee would be to make sufficient inquiry to determine what was the power and duty of the Senate in relation to this matter.

These resolutions have been steadfastly resisted until yesterday, when the following resolution was submitted by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] as a substitute for resolutions heretofore presented by the Senator from Massachusetts and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER], the resolutions of the latter having reference to another matter:

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections be directed to inquire into and consider the question whether the Senate has authority or jurisdiction to investigate charges made against a Senator as to conduct or offenses occurring or committed prior to his election, not relating to his duty as Senator or affecting the integrity of his election.

Near the close of the session on yesterday the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS] moved to lay all these resolutions on the table, thus ending and disposing of the whole matter if the vote were successful.

Earlier in the day the Senator from North Dakota, for the first time, himself asked that the matter might be investigated, which request was immediately followed by a denial on the part of the Senator from Mississippi for himself of the right or power of the Senate to make any inquiry or investigation relating to the matter; and a little later by the Senator from Indiana, speaking, as he said, for the Democratic side of the Chamber, utterly denying the right of the Senate to investigate under any circumstances.

Now, Mr. President, this is a pretty important question, whether the Senate has the right, under any circumstances whatever, to inquire into the character or conduct of a sitting member as resulting from acts committed prior to his election to the Senate. If the Senate has the right and the power, I think it will be very hard for Senators on either side of this Chamber to say that it ought not to be exercised in this case. If the Senate has not the right or power, then all the talk to which we have listened, to the effect that the alleged offenses were committed long ago, that the person alleged to have committed them did not flee to Canada, has been under the American flag, "and stood it out like a man," and that his conduct ought not therefore to be inquired into, are not to the point at all. The question is whether the Senate has the right to do it—whether it has the power to do it. If it has, I conceive that its duty is plain.

It is said in denial of this right that the Constitution has prescribed the qualifications of Senators, and no matter whom the State may send here, so long as he possesses the qualifications which are prescribed in the Constitution, this body has no power to inquire further, has no power to exclude him, or if once seated has no power to expel him, no matter how great may have been his crime, no matter how vile or criminal may be his character, no matter how much his presence here may disgrace the United States Senate.

It is true that the Constitution has prescribed three positive conditions which a person must satisfy in order to be elected to this body. It has provided that a person to be eligible to the office of Senator must be an inhabitant of the State, must have been nine years a citizen of the United States, and must be of the age of thirty years. It has also provided negatively in the fourteenth amendment that he must not have been an officer of the United States and left it to go into the rebellion. I do not state that clause fully, but I state the substance of it.

If, then, the Senate is shut up to determine simply whether these qualifications exist in case of a person who comes here presenting the credentials of his State, the Senator from Indiana and the Senator from Mississippi are right, and a man who may have committed the most atrocious crime, which at the time of his election was unknown, must be admitted here and retained here although it comes out fully after his election. Nay, more——

Mr. GEORGE rose.

Mr. PLATT. A single word. If the Senator from Indiana is right, and we can not go beyond the specified constitutional limitations to inquire into the qualifications of a Senator, then a convicted criminal who has just served a term in the penitentiary may be accredited here by a State and we are powerless to reject him or to expel him.

Mr. GEORGE. With the permission of the Senator from Connecticut——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. PLATT. Certainly.

Mr. GEORGE. I wish to ask the Senator a question with a view of ascertaining more definitely than I now understand what his position is on one point. I should like to know if it be the position of the Senator from Connecticut that, upon the presentation of the credentials of a person elected to the Senate, the Senate, under its power to inquire into the qualifications of Senators, may then make an inquiry and refuse him his seat for any cause other than his want of one of the three qualifications mentioned in the Constitution?

Mr. PLATT. The Senate has instituted such an inquiry, as I shall show, in several cases. I have no doubt that it has the right to do it.

Mr. GEORGE. The point is, does the Senator insist that that is the true meaning of the Constitution, and that such a person may be rejected from his seat in the Senate by a majority vote of this body, he possessing all three of the constitutional qualifications, simply because he does not possess some other qualification which the Senate thinks he ought to possess?

Mr. PLATT. I hold that if it had appeared when the Senator from North Dakota presented himself here that he was charged with criminal embezzlement, it would have been the duty of the Senate to have inquired into it before receiving him as a Senator into this body. At the same time I do not conceive that the inquiry made by the Senator from Mississippi is precisely pertinent to the question at issue.

I was saying that there are these three requisites mentioned in the Constitution of the United States as originally adopted, and the one requisite mentioned in the fourteenth amendment, which must be observed by the States in electing a man to the Senate. But the Constitution goes further than that, and it provides:

Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members.

That is a power which is conferred, I believe, upon every legislative body in Christendom. It is essential to the correct and proper constitution of the body, and, to my mind, it qualifies the provisions of the Constitution that a man must be thirty years of age, must be an inhabitant of the State, must have been nine years a citizen of the United States, and must not have engaged in the rebellion under certain circumstances, by placing in the hands of the Senate the right to make other inquiry as to the qualifications of the Senator in order that the integrity of the body, its honor, and its purity shall not be intrenched upon.

Mr. President, I think no precedent can be found in the United States, in England, or in any other civilized country where the doctrine has been upheld that the Senate or the House was held down in judging of the qualification of its members to the rigid constitutional requisite for election as a Senator or a Member of the House of Representatives. On the contrary, although these precedents are in the nature of the case few, it has always been held that jurisdiction was given to the Senate or to the House to inquire into and investigate under such circumstances. It has been done at least six times by the Senate, and it has been done over and over again by the House. From the necessity of the case it must be that the Senate has a right to inquire beyond these three positive requirements which the Constitution provides and the negative requirement which the fourteenth amendment provides.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Delaware?

Mr. PLATT. I wish to be very courteous, but I am making an argument rather difficult to make with interruptions.

Mr. GRAY. All right.

Mr. PLATT. I will, however, yield to the Senator.

Mr. GRAY. No, go ahead. I will not disturb the Senator.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President, if this be not so, then no matter how much an improper person may have concealed his crime, or, as I said a little while ago, no matter how enormous it may be, the Senate is bound to receive him if the State sends him here. The State may have no knowledge of his crime. It is to be presumed that a State will not send a Senator here if it has knowledge that he is charged with a criminal offense. It is to be presumed that the State of North Dakota would not have sent the sitting member here if the State of North Dakota had known what we now know. A State can not recall a Senator once elected, and if the Constitution gives us no power to go beyond the inquiry as to whether a Senator possesses the requisites which are mentioned in the Constitution, then there is no remedy, and an utterly unfit, disreputable, criminal, treasonable person may occupy a seat on the floor of the Senate and the Senate is powerless to prevent it.

I say that it can not be assumed, unless the letter of the Constitution is so plain as to make it beyond question, that it was ever intended so to tie the hands of a legislative body that it must submit to disgrace, to humiliation, to tolerate as one of its members a man who may have been guilty of the blackest crimes. Do Senators on the other side of the Chamber contend that we should be obliged to receive a physical leper in our midst if a State should elect and send him here?

Mr. GRAY. What would you do about it?

Mr. PLATT. I would expel him. I would refuse, in the first place, to receive him; and if he had been received without the knowledge of his disease, I would expel him.

In one case the Senate made inquiry into the condition of a Senator sent here by the State of Connecticut, John M. Niles. It was alleged that he was insane. The Senate took jurisdiction of that case, inquired into it, and decided that, while from illness his mind was somewhat impaired, he was not insane, and admitted him.

Are we obliged to receive here a raving maniac if a State chooses to send one here? If he has been a raving maniac and comes here in a semilucid interval, can we not inquire into the prior facts?

Each House shall be the judge of the * * * qualifications of its own members.

I apprehend that the trouble with the Senators upon the other side arises from this, that they have mistakenly supposed that that clause refers only to the constitutional requisites which a man must have in order to be elected a Senator. It does not say that; it does not say each House shall be the judge of whether a person possesses the constitutional requisites; that each House shall be the judge whether a person presenting himself as a Senator is eligible under the Constitution; but it says they shall judge of the qualifications of their own members.

Is there nothing which goes to the qualification of a member of this body except the question how old he is, where he was born, and in what State he lives? Is that the position which Senators take? Do Senators hold that the Constitution means that anybody and everybody 30 years old, nine years a citizen of the United States, and an inhabitant of the State, possesses all the qualifications which are required for a Senator, and that criminality and treason and other vileness do not constitute disqualification to a seat in this body?

Mr. President, I do not so read the Constitution. As the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] well showed yesterday, it has not been so interpreted by any legislative action either in the Senate or in the House of Representatives, or in Parliament. I do not know but that the doctrine has been stated before as baldly as in the present case yesterday by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES]. I think the Senator from Indiana is consistent with the report which was made by the Judiciary Committee, with Mr. Butler at its head, in the Crédit Mobilier cases, in which report he, as a member of the committee, concurred; but the House of Representatives did not sustain that report. The House of Representatives sustained the Poland report, which distinctly declared the right of the House to expel for acts committed before a person became a member of the House. So in the only instance where in any report this doctrine has been laid down either in the House or the Senate, it has been disagreed to, or else my reading of the precedents is faulty.

Can we expel for any offense committed prior to a Senator being admitted to a seat here? If we have the right to go beyond an investigation of the three formal requirements of the Constitution and the clause of the amendment which disqualifies a man who has taken part under certain circumstances in the rebellion; if, as I believe, not only on the plain reading of the Constitution, but on the very reason of things and of all the precedents, we have a right to make other inquiries as to the qualifications of the Senators who present themselves here, I imagine it follows as a matter of course that if a person is admitted here without knowledge of circumstances an inquiry into which would have prevented his reception here, we may expel.

The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE] says that from the reading of the clause relating to expulsion it is evident that it means only that the Senate has the power to expel a member for acts committed by him in his official capacity or acts committed by him while in office. I do not so read it. I do not see anything in the language or in its connection with other portions of the clause which implies any such doctrine.

Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and,—

A comma before and after the word "and"—

with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

The clause has no limitation whatever. It rests, as has been said, purely upon the discretion of the Senate. There is nothing very alarming about that. Senators upon the other side say that the Constitution rests the right of a man to a seat here upon the presumption that the State will not elect a man who ought not to be elected. Is not the argument much stronger that the Constitution rests the power to expel by two-thirds upon the discretion of the Senate or the House, believing that the discretion will not be improperly exercised? It is a discretion given to the Senate and to the House, and to a legislative body, from the necessity of the case, and because no rule could be laid down by the Constitution governing the expulsion of members, because every case that arose would arise upon its own peculiar facts and circumstances.

The only way of purging the body, the only way of preserving its purity, the only way of having capable, proper legislators in the body, was to place in the discretion of such a body the power to purge itself. It has no limitation whatever except the discretion of the Senate. It may be, as the Federalist says in relation to the power of impeachment, "an awful discretion," but it was a discretion which was committed to the Senate in the matter of impeachment confessedly. That discretion having been committed to the Senate in cases of impeachment, there is no reason to argue that it was not intentionally committed to the Senate in cases of expulsion.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Will the Senator permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. PLATT. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I do not know that I agree entirely with what the Senator is saying, but I want to get the view of the Senator. I suppose the Senator from Connecticut understands that the words "disorderly behavior" in the clause to which he has adverted refers to disorderly behavior of a member while he is a Senator?

Mr. PLATT. Undoubtedly.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Then the Constitution says, "and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member." I understand the Senator to claim that there is no qualification there, but that the expulsion may be for anything for which, in the judgment of two-thirds of the Senate, a person sitting here as a member ought to be expelled, whether his disqualification, whatever it may be, occurred either before he became a Senator or afterwards?

Mr. PLATT. Certainly. If there is anything in the Senator's suggestion, it claims too much. If he would read the clause this way: "Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member for disorderly behavior," he would cut off all power of expulsion except for disorderly behavior, a position which no Senator will take.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. If the Senator will allow me, what I wanted to know was the exact reason assigned by him for making the one general and the other special.

Mr. PLATT. The limitation to punishment is for disorderly behavior. If a Senator takes a bribe, if a Senator robs a bank, if a Senator commits murder, that is not disorderly behavior within the meaning of the Constitution, and the Senator will not for a moment contend that a member might not be expelled for those causes. The clause does not limit itself to disorderly behavior. Every expulsion which has taken place in the Senate is a contradiction of the doctrine that the power of expulsion is limited to cases of disorderly behavior.

Unless the Senator narrows the clause to that, which he will not do, there is no chance to narrow it at all. I repeat that this power of expulsion has been asserted over and over again to be without limitation, a power which was given to the legislative body, to the Senate, from the very necessity of the case, and because it was of the highest consequence to the nation that its legislative bodies should be kept pure, and that traitors and criminals and vile people should not be allowed to sit here, whether the acts which made them traitorous and criminal and vile preceded or succeeded their admission to the body. There can be no higher reason; and it is a reason so necessary and so high that it seems to me it is decisive of the question of power, especially in view of the fact that the power is given without qualification and without limitation, and has always been asserted to be without qualification and without limitation. It is well put in an extract from the report of Mr. Adams in the Smith case, referred to yesterday in these words:

The power of expelling a member for misconduct results on the principles of common sense from the interest of the Nation that the high trust of legislation should be vested in pure hands.

Then, supposing that a man blackened all over with treason and treasonable conduct, as was alleged in the case of Smith, is proceeded against for expulsion, he said:

Must the assembled rulers of the land listen with calmness and indifference session after session to the voice of notorious infamy until the sluggard step of municipal justice can overtake his enormities? Must they tamely see the lives and fortunes of millions, the safety of present and future ages, depending upon his vote recorded with theirs, merely because the abused benignity of general maxims may have remitted to him the forfeiture of his life?

To apply that reasoning to this case—I make no charge; I do not say whether these charges are true—but must we, if they be true, sit here and legislate against embezzlement when one of our members is an embezzler? Can he vote on a question of that sort? No, Mr. President. Mr. Adams goes on:

Such, in very supposable cases, would be the unavoidable consequences of a principle which should offer the crutches of judicial tribunals as an apology for crippling the Congressional power of expulsion. Far different, in the opinion of your committee, is the spirit of our Constitution. They believe that the very purpose for which this power was given was to preserve the Legislature from the first approaches of infection; that it was made discretionary because it could not exist under the procrastination of general rules; that its process must be summary, because it would be rendered nugatory by delay.

What have been the precedents of the Senate? The Senate has taken jurisdiction in at least six cases for acts of Senators committed before they became members of this body, jurisdiction to the extent of an inquiry, certainly; and that is all which is at issue here. It is not a question of whether under the facts and circumstances the Senator ought to be expelled which we are arguing now; it is not a question whether there is anything in the circumstances which makes it proper that we should exercise clemency, and makes it proper that we should forgive or forget; but it is a question whether the Senate has the right to inquire; and the Senate has done it six times. It did it first in the Humphrey Marshall case.

Before alluding to the Marshall case let me say, however, that I think I agree with the Senator from Indiana that in the impeachment case of Blount it was decided that a Senator was not an impeachable officer. I know the plea raised two questions, one whether a Senator was an impeachable officer, and the other whether, having been expelled from the Senate, he was then liable to impeachment; but, as I have read that case, I think all the arguments centered around the proposition that a Senator was not a civil officer of the Federal Government, and that only civil officers of the Federal Government were by the Constitution liable to impeachment.

But what has the impeachment case of Blount to do with this? It is perhaps true that in the expulsion case of Marshall it was argued that the cases of impeachment and expulsion rested upon the same principle; but the same Senate which expelled Blount refused to impeach him. Impeachment is one thing. Impeachment is to punish for high crimes and misdemeanors; expulsion is to preserve the purity and integrity of the body. Expulsion is not punishment; impeachment is punishment. So when the Senate expelled Mr. Blount from the Senate, the House, not content with expulsion, the same day when the vote was taken in the Senate inaugurated proceedings of impeachment, the object being to punish him and to disqualify him from holding in the future any office of trust and profit.

What was the Humphrey Marshall case? He was a Senator from March 4, 1795, to March 4, 1801.

In February, 1796, the Vice-President laid before the Senate a letter from the governor of Kentucky and a memorial from the Representatives of said State, which memorial stated that in February, 1795—

Which was a month before his election—

a pamphlet was published by George Muter and Benjamin Sebastian (two judges of the court of appeals), in which they said that Humphrey Marshall had had a suit in chancery in said court of appeals, in which, it appearing manifest from the records and documents that he had committed a gross fraud, the court had given a decree against him; and that in the course of an investigation he had been publicly charged with perjury.

That was the charge against Humphrey Marshall, that a month prior to the time when he was elected by the "sovereign State" of Kentucky, which, in the estimation of the Senator from Indiana, speaking for the other side of the Senate, had the unquestioned right to say that they would send him here although he had been guilty of perjury. A month before his election as Senator he had been charged in Kentucky with perjury. Did the Senate say, "We have no right to inquire"? Not at all. Mr. Marshall promptly requested an inquiry. It was referred to a committee; the committee investigated it, reported, and held that there was nothing in the case to justify the expulsion of Humphrey Marshall. The Senate unhesitatingly exercised the power to inquire into the case. In other words, it took jurisdiction.

It is unfortunate, perhaps, that the debates of that day are not fully reported; but there is nothing either in the report of the committee or in the Annals of Congress to show that any living Senator suggested that the Senate could not inquire into the conduct of a Senator previous to his election. The case seems to have been put upon the ground that the Senate had no right to inquire into the criminal practices of its members under any circumstances. That was to be left to the courts. If that was the decision of the case, it was overruled very shortly after in the Blount case, but it was a case——

Mr. GEORGE. Will the Senator allow me to ask him one question right there, not for an interruption at all?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MANDERSON in the chair). Does the Senator from Connecticut yield?

Mr. PLATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. GEORGE. The Senator has emphasized in several parts of his interesting address this point: The power of the Senate to inquire, and stopped there. I should like to ask the Senator this question: Does he conceive that the Senate has the right to make an inquiry when under no possible result of the inquiry it can take action; or, in other words, can the Senate institute an inquiry merely for the purpose of being informed of the facts inquired about, without reference to the power of the Senate to take action upon the facts when reported to it?

Mr. PLATT. I do not think the question proposed by the Senator from Mississippi is important to this issue, because if I succeed in maintaining anything it will be that we have the power of expulsion, and if we have the power of expulsion, we have the power of inquiry and the right of inquiry.

I understand that in the Hallet Kilbourn case, as it is called, the Supreme Court is supposed to have intimated that the legislative body had no right to inquire into a matter where they could not take any definite action upon the facts. I never read the decision exactly in that way, but I know that is claimed to be the effect of that decision.

I have spoken of the Marshall case. The case of John Smith, which was referred to yesterday, is not important upon this point, because that was for something that he was guilty of, if at all, during the time he was a Senator—for a participation in the conspiracy of Aaron Burr; but it would be a perfect answer if it were set up that there had been no prosecution, there had been no conviction, there had been no passing by a court upon these charges made against the Senator from North Dakota—if that was the defense set up, then the case of John Smith would be conclusive that that was not a good reply.

Benjamin Stark presented credentials from the governor of Oregon on the 6th day of January, 1862, to fill a vacancy in the Senate. Objection was made, when Mr. Stark's credentials were presented, to his admission, on the ground that he was disloyal. The Senator from Indiana would have said, "What difference does that make? Suppose he is disloyal? The 'sovereign State' of Oregon is clothed by the Constitution with determining whom it will send here, and if it sends a disloyal man the Senate has nothing to do with it." The Senator said yesterday that we ought not to suppose cases that are not supposable; but this was not a supposable case; it was an actual case. The State of Oregon had sent a Senator here against whom disloyalty was charged.

The Senator from Indiana would have quoted the Constitution and he would have said: "Mr. Stark is 30 years of age, he has been a citizen of the United States nine years, and he lives in the State of Oregon"—the amendment to the Constitution was not passed then—"and the Senate can not inquire further. Loyal or disloyal, his State has sent him here, here he must be admitted, and here he must sit." But the Senate did inquire, and inquired at great length, and finally passed a resolution admitting him without prejudice to the Senate's right of expulsion. That was how he got in. It was a long case. From the headnote it is said:

After a debate on the *prima facie* right of Mr. Stark to the seat, the resolution was agreed to. February 7—

A whole month; it had been in the mean time referred to the Judiciary Committee and reported back—

February 7, the committee, "without expressing any opinion as to the effect of the papers before them upon any subsequent proceedings in the case," reported a resolution that Mr. Stark was entitled to take the oath of office.

* * * * * * * * *

February 27 the resolution reported by the committee passed after amendment, and Mr. Stark took his seat. February 28—

The very next day—

a resolution was submitted that the papers relating to the loyalty of Benjamin Stark be referred to the same committee, with instructions to investigate the charges preferred against him. March 18 this resolution passed the Senate, having been so amended that the papers were referred to a select committee, instead of to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A great amount of testimony was taken, a great many affidavits were presented, and a very elaborate report was made. It is true that this report found that Benjamin Stark "is disloyal," and it is true that the resolution for his expulsion did not pass by a two-thirds vote. I do not know that it received even a majority vote. I think it did, however; but I am now on the question of inquiry, and the Senate inquired. It did not for a moment set up this new doctrine, this startling doctrine, that the Senate could not inquire into the question of whether a man sent here by a sovereign State was disloyal, though he had all the other constitutional qualifications. If the Senate has a right to inquire into the disloyalty of a man, if the Senate has a right to reject or expel a man for treasonable conduct, for being engaged in levying war, then it has a right to inquire into some other qualifications than those which the Senator from Indiana says are the only qualifications which it may consider.

If Aaron Burr had been elected by his State to come here to the doors of the Senate, even after the dismissal of the proceedings against him in the court of Virginia, and said, "I am 30 years of age, I am an inhabitant of the State of New York, and I have been nine years a citizen of the United States," would the Senate have been powerless to have made any other inquiry into his qualifications? Would not that great notorious fact, even though he had escaped the clutches of the law, that he had been engaged in a treasonable conspiracy against the United States, have been a fact which the Senate could have considered? Would the Senator from Indiana then have said that we had no power to sit upon the morals of a man who may present himself here, that we had no power to determine whether he was agreeable to us or not, and that Senators who asked for an inquiry were Pharisees and hypocrites and inquisitors?

It would not have taken long to settle that question. Had Aaron Burr presented himself here with the credentials of a "sovereign State" back of him, the Senate would have discovered that it had some power to inquire into other qualifications of a person claiming a seat in this body. In the Stark case there was beyond question an inquiry into acts antecedent to the election.

So also in the Rice case, referred to yesterday, which did not result in expulsion. I do not know that this inquiry would result in expulsion. It is possible there is some palliating circumstance to be urged in the case of the Senator from North Dakota; it is possible that the charges so directly and specifically made may not be proved to be true; it is possible that this Senate may think that a man fleeing from justice to a sparsely settled State, living with his crime unknown, and coming back for the first time to the scene of his acts as a Senator of the United States, is a concatenation of circumstances which makes it improper for the Senate to visit the penalty of expulsion upon him; but the Senate has the right to inquire, a right never denied, and a right repeatedly exercised by the Senate.

As to the case of Mr. Rice, who was Senator from Minnesota from May 12, 1858, to March 3, 1863, I find:

May 12, 1858, the credentials of Mr. Rice were presented, and he took his seat in the Senate. On the same day the following resolution was submitted by Mr. Harlan, of Iowa, for consideration:

"*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to investigate the allegation of fraud and extortion made against Henry M. Rice, as agent of the Secretary of War, in the sale of the Fort Crawford reservation, by settlers on said reservation, and that said committee have power to send for persons and papers.

That was for acts committed before he became a Senator. There were pretty good Senators and there were pretty able men in the Senate at that time, but no one of them rose to his feet and said: "Mr. Rice is 30 years of age, an inhabitant of the State of Minnesota, and nine years a citizen of the United States, and that is all you have a right to inquire about." The Senate passed a resolution—

That a committee be appointed to investigate the allegation of fraud and extortion made against Henry M. Rice, as agent of the Secretary of War, in the sale of the Fort Crawford reservation, by settlers on said reservation, and that said committee have power to send for persons and papers.

That was on the 12th of May, 1858. On the 14th of May Mr. Rice submitted a similar resolution, which was amended, and agreed to May 15, 1858.

On the 9th day of June a report was made, nearly a whole month having been consumed in the process of inquiry, in which it was said that there was—

Nothing in the developments of the investigation which, in the opinion of the committee, tend to disqualify him for a seat in the Senate; they herewith submit the record in the case as a part of this report, and ask to be discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

They went to the merits of the case. They never for a moment had conceived this new-fangled doctrine, put up for the first time now, to shield a man against whom there are charges of the gravest character from an investigation; that is, that the Senate could only inquire as to how old a man he was, where he lived, and what his citizenship was. I will not take time to refer to the particular circumstances of three other cases, those of Powell Clayton, Lafayette Grover, and Stanley Matthews. They were stated yesterday by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER]. In each of these cases the Senate inquired into the truth or falsity of charges as to acts occurring before their election as Senators.

I submit, Mr. President, that after these six precedents in the Senate, and none to the contrary, and after the House of Representatives, in a contested case where the question was made, affirmed the right of inquiry into the conduct of a member for acts committed prior to election, it is too late to bring forward and press here this narrowest of all the narrow attempts to construe the Constitution in the direction of State rights.

What Mr. Adams said in the Smith case is quoted approvingly in a note on page 236 of Kent's Commentaries, Lacy's edition:

The power of expulsion is in its nature discretionary, and its exercise of a more summary character than the power of judicial tribunals.

Mr. President, the people of this country will be hardly able to understand the position of the Democratic side of this Chamber. The people of the country will hardly be able to understand the fine-spun arguments upon which an inquiry into these serious charges is to be denied. There has been a good deal said by the people of the country, and a good deal, I think, which is unjust, about the character of the Senate. I have heard a Senator on this floor within three days charge that the Senate was coming under the influence of aggregated capital and corporate wealth.

There is a great deal said among the people about the character of the Senate, and they will not understand why it is that when a resolution is introduced to inquire whether one of its members, charged since his election with criminal embezzlement occurring before election—charges unknown at the time of his election or at the time of his admission here—is or is not guilty of such embezzlement, the Senate refuses to consider it. They will hardly understand how it is that the Senate, when that Senator himself stands up, not denying the charges, but asking to have them investigated, refuses to investigate and lays the resolution on the table.

They will not follow the Democratic side of the Chamber in the other excuse which they make. They will not hold that the Senate is justified in refusing to investigate this charge because, forsooth, it is said that there are other Senators here who ought to be investigated. They may believe that there are other Senators here who ought to be investigated, but they will not hold that to be a valid excuse for laying upon the table and thus finally disposing of a resolution which proposes to proceed to the investigation of one Senator.

Mr. President, there are political sides in this Chamber. We are either Republicans or Democrats or Populists; but whatever we may be in our political views, we are Senators, and we have some duties to perform as Senators. For one, speaking for myself, I desire to say that no amount of sneers, no amount of insinuations by Senators on the other side of the Chamber will deter me from the performance of what I conceive to be a plain duty in this matter.

Now, I want to say one other word. If there be any Senator here against whom any other Senator can bring the charge of criminal dishonesty for anything he did before he became a member of this body, I not only will but I want to vote for an inquiry into the facts and circumstances of that Senator's conduct. I agree that the Senator from Indiana is a man who, as he yesterday proclaimed, would hesitate about wounding the character of any man, and especially the character of any Senator, by insinuations or aspersions or by giving credence to newspaper reports. I therefore absolve him from any delinquency in this matter; but if it were believed for a moment, if it had been at any time in the past five years believed for a moment, that any Senator was sitting on this side of the Chamber against whom there was a reasonable presumption raised of having been guilty of criminal dishonesty before he became a member of this body, there would have been found some Senator sitting on the other side of the Chamber not so tender-hearted, not so fearful of wounding the sensibilities of his brother Senators as the Senator from Indiana, who would have introduced a resolution of investigation.

Mr. DOLPH. On this side, too.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. President——

Mr. HARRIS. Will the Senator from Texas yield to me for a single moment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Texas yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. MILLS. I do.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. HARRIS. I should like to have the resolution, which was passed some days ago, to appoint a committee to wait upon the President disposed of. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read for information.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That a committee consisting of two Senators be appointed by the Chair to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that unless he may have some further communication to make the Senate is ready to adjourn without day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? The Chair hears none.

Mr. HOAR. I wish to make a suggestion to the Senator from Tennessee, if the Chair please. It is my desire, and it is the desire of Senators on this side of the Chamber, that there should be a roll call upon the resolution in regard to the investigation of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. ROACH]. I understand that a motion to lay the resolution upon the table has been proposed; indeed, it was made and withdrawn. If that motion

should be renewed and the call be had on it I should be content, or if the vote should be on the amendment of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] I am willing in that case to withdraw my motion to reconsider the pending resolution, with the understanding that before the Senate adjourns that question will be put and voted upon in the Senate. I withdraw the motion to reconsider the vote by which the pending resolution was agreed to, as I understand the Senator from Tennessee, as far as he is concerned, assents to that proposition.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion to reconsider being withdrawn, the resolution has heretofore been adopted by the Senate,

Mr. HOAR. So I understand.

Mr. HARRIS. The Chair will appoint the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair appoints the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS] and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] as the committee under the resolution.

CHARGES AGAINST SENATOR ROACH.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. President, the inquisitorial proceeding which is now sought to be instituted by the Senate must rest upon one of two propositions; either that this body has it in its power to add to the constitutional qualifications prescribed for Senators and prevent the Senator from North Dakota from retaining his seat by a majority vote, or that the body must exercise its constitutional power to expel him by a two-thirds vote.

It was announced by the Senator who has just yielded the floor [Mr. PLATT] that it is a "new-fangled" doctrine in this Government that Senators must possess the three constitutional qualifications of age, citizenship, and residence, and those alone. I beg to assure the distinguished Senator from Connecticut that he has not thoroughly investigated the question, or he would not announce that as a "new-fangled" doctrine either in this body or in any part of the United States.

One of the most, if not the most, distinguished of all the commentators who have written upon the Constitution, and a gentleman who took the latitudinous views of the Senator from Connecticut and resided in his own section of the country, long ago laid down the proposition, which has been announced and sustained by the great lawyers and statesmen of the United States for a century, that the Constitution of the United States prescribes three qualifications for a Senator and three alone, and that the expression of those three excludes all others. He must have United States citizenship for nine years; he must be an inhabitant of the State which he represents; and he must have attained to the age of 30 years. There are these three, and only these three, qualifications.

As to whether a Senator possesses the other qualifications that commend him to the acceptance of the people of a State, it rests with them to determine and not with this body. He may possess the three constitutional qualifications and still not be qualified in the judgment of the State to be chosen their Senator. He may be ignorant, untruthful, untrue to his constituency, or he may have and maintain political opinions opposed to theirs. For these qualifications they are the judges, and they alone. But for the necessary qualifications to hold the office when chosen the Constitution permits this body to consider but three, and the three prescribed by the Constitution. Having satisfied themselves that a Senator has these three, the investigations and labors of Senators are at an end.

I call the attention of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT], who has entertained us so learnedly on this question, to the first volume of Story on the Constitution, section 625. He says:

> It would seem but fair reasoning, upon the plainest principles of interpretation, that when the Constitution established certain qualifications as necessary for office, it meant to exclude all others as prerequisites.

It is unnecessary to read extendedly. What I have read is sufficient. It declares the principle clearly that no qualifications can be added to those prescribed by the supreme law. This is the rule in the courts and should be the rule here. This principle was ratified in both branches of Congress many years ago. There were two cases brought to Congress, one to the Senate and the other to the House. Both of them came from the State of Illinois and both arose under the same provision of her State constitution, which rendered ineligible to Federal office any officer holding under the State government. In both cases it was declared that the State itself in organizing the powers of its government could not add one single qualification to that prescribed in the Federal Constitution, and that Congress could look no further than to see that the person elected had the qualifications defined in that instrument.

I call the attention of the Senate to the case of Trumbull, as reported in Bartlett's Decisions, where it was claimed that he was disqualified because of the provision in the State constitution of Illinois. This body at that time had among its members the ablest lawyers and statesmen then in the country, and it was decided by a vote of 35 to 8 that it was not in the power of the State to add a single item to the qualifications prescribed by the Federal Constitution. Let me read an extract from the remarks of Senator Crittenden, who was recognized in his day as one of the greatest lawyers in the country. He said:

> According to the plain meaning of the Federal Constitution, every inhabitant of a State, 30 years of age, who has been nine years a citizen of the United States, is eligible to the office of Senator. What more can be said about it? It is now supposed by those who contend that Mr. Trumbull is not entitled to his seat that it is competent for a State, by its constitution—and I suppose they would equally contend by any law which the Legislature might from time to time pass—to superadd additional qualifications. The Constitution of the United States, they say, has only in part regulated the subject, and therefore it is no interference with that Constitution to make additional regulations.
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> This, I think it will be plain to all, is a mere sophism, when you come to consider it. If it was a power within the regulation of and proper to be regulated by the Constitution of the United States, and if that Constitution has qualified it, as I have stated, prescribing the age, prescribing the residence, prescribing the citizenship, was there anything more intended? If so, the framers of the Constitution would have said so. The very enumeration of these qualifications excludes the idea that they intended any other qualifications. That is the plain rule of ordinary construction; but, for a reason above all technical considerations, it is applicable here. The object of the Federal Constitution was to have a body framed by a uniform rule throughout the United States, coming here to constitute this great council of the country—coming here by the agency of the same elective power, the State Legislatures—coming here under the same requirements and with the same qualifications, and standing here upon a perfect and exact equality in all respects to represent the nation justly and equally, and with a sole regard to the common welfare of the Republic.
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> Must not this have been the idea in the contemplation of the framers of the Constitution? Undoubtedly it must. We can not in justice to them impute any other view or any other motive. We are told now that they have only regulated the subject in part, and therefore, as to the residue, the States may regulate. That is the argument. How can you say they have only regulated it in part? I say they have given to it all the regulation which they intended it should have. They have prescribed but few qualifications. They have prescribed a broad and almost universal rule of eligibility. They intended to leave the honor of these seats open to every man coming within the prescribed qualification. This was the broad general principle of republicanism on which the Government was founded. Every man of the requisite age, if he has been a citizen for nine years and is an inhabitant of a State, is eligible to the Senate of the United States from that State. Out of this broad circle the Legislatures were told to make their own selection. That is the constitutional principle and the constitutional rule by which the Senate exists, and there is no other.
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> We are told, however, that the States may superadd to what the Constitution of the United States regulates! Why, sir, the whole object of the Constitution of the United States could not be more completely subverted by eradicating from the Constitution the positive qualifications which it requires than it would be in substance and virtually by superadding qualifications. If the Constitution has not thought proper to make further qualifications, what is the reason of it? It is because its framers did not desire any other to be made. Did they intend carefully to make these qualifications, and then to leave it to the States to make any which, according to their casual will or wish or caprice, they might from time to time make! Was this grave body, intended to be the great council of the country, left to be changed and diversified by different tests to be made and applied in one State and in another State?
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> I suppose, if that were the case, we should now have ringing in our ears calls for conventions to make new constitutions to denounce and disqualify Nebraska-bill men in one State and anti-Nebraska-bill men in another State. In one State we should be told none but a Catholic could be elected, and in another State none but an anti-Catholic. When these qualifications were once made, of course the States could change them from time to time as the public whim or public passion, animated and actuated by personal interests, by selfish purposes, and selfish projects, might dictate. One party would proscribe one party to-day and another to-morrow. You might use it for all these purposes; and would that accomplish the purposes of the framers of the Constitution? Surely not.

Now, let me give the vote of those who agreed to the proposition that the State could not add to the qualifications prescribed in the Constitution: Adams, Allen, Bell of Tennessee, who was not a small man; Bright, Brown, Butler of South Carolina, one of the ablest lawyers who ever sat in this Chamber, I believe at that time the chairman of the Judiciary Committee; Cass, a great statesman; Collamer, another; Crittenden, Dodge, Durkee, Evans, Fessenden, Fish, Foot, Foster, Geyer, Hale, Hamlin, Harlan, Sam Houston, Robert M. T. Hunter, James, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Reid, Rusk, Sebastian, Seward, Sumner, Toucey, Wade, Wilson, and Yulee, the vote being 35 to 8.

These are the great lawyers and statesmen who said nearly forty years ago that no qualifications could be added to those prescribed by the national Constitution, and I respectfully submit that it is not a new doctrine, but an old and accepted doctrine both in the courts and in Congress. If the States can not add to the qualifications of the servants they choose to represent them, certainly the Federal Congress to which they are sent can not do it, and if both branches can not do it by law, neither can one do it.

It is said: Suppose a man had just served out his term in the penitentiary, could he be admitted here? If he had complied with the provisions of the law, paid the penalty of his crime, been restored, if it were possible, under the constitution and laws of his State, to full citizenship, and then his State had thought proper to send him to represent her here, he is entitled to be admitted. Is he to be punished twice for the same offense? Is he to suffer imprisonment by his State and proscription by this body for the same act? Is the Senate to get itself up on stilts and say that he shall not sit with us and be one of our members

because he is not acceptable to us? That he shall not be in fact what he is chosen to be, a representative of his State; but that he shall be the creature of the Senate?

It is an old adage, "Like priest, like people," and it applies to the representative as well as the priest. The representative will be a type of his constituency. Democratic constituencies do not send Republican representatives or Republican constituencies Democratic representatives, unless serious objections intervene to prevent the operation of the general rule. Protestants do not have Catholic priests nor Catholics Protestant priests. The people of North Dakota in accord with the general law, have sent a Senator who is the representative of his people, and Senators think he should represent them and their ideas. They say that grave charges are made against him and he must be investigated, and if they think the charges are true he is not acceptable to them, and his seat must be vacated. Let us reverse the proposition and see if it does not hold equally good. Suppose a State, having attained the highest civilization, touched the highest point of moral perfection, were to send to this body one of its most illustrious exemplars, and the Senate should be composed of blackguards, could they hold that the representative should not be admitted because he did not measure down to the moral standard of the body?

The position, of course, is extreme and the argument in its support either way is absurd. The Senate has nothing to do with the religion or morals of the person chosen, nor with his politics, nor with any feature of his past life. These are things with which his constituents have to deal, and they alone are the judges of everything touching his fitness to represent them except his United States citizenship, his age, and his inhabitancy of the State for which he is chosen; and when they elect a representative possessing these qualifications he is entitled to his seat, and he can not be denied it except by a palpable infraction of that Constitution which we have all sworn to support.

I invite the attention of the Senate to the case of Marshall, of Illinois, in the House of Representatives. This case, as I have said, arose under the same provision of the Constitution as that of Trumbull. It was decided the same way. The headnote to that case reads:

The State can not add to the qualifications prescribed for the Representative in Congress by the Constitution of the United States.

The report in this case was made by Mr. Bingham, of Ohio, then one of the ablest Representatives in that body, to which I refer, but from which I will not stop to quote. I do not know where any other doctrine prevails, except in this body at this time, where it is sought to start an investigation which can accomplish nothing, and the discussion can accomplish nothing further than to cast odium upon the representative of a sovereign State.

If we investigate, what can we do? Suppose the Senate should find in their judgment probable cause to believe him guilty, what then? You say he is charged with embezzlement. Has this body jurisdiction to try felony cases or even misdemeanors? This body is a part of the legislative assembly of the nation. Its duty is to help make laws, not to try and punish offenses. Courts have power to hear and determine, but this body has not. Courts have power to summon witnesses and to confront the accuser and the accused, but this body has no such power except in support of the jurisdiction given to it by the Constitution.

It has been deemed absolutely essential to the preservation of free government that the legislative shall be divorced from the judicial department of the Government, and that the executive, legislative, and judicial departments should be independent of each other. If the Senator from North Dakota has committed a crime, he is entitled to trial under the Constitution and laws of the United States before a jury of his peers. Until he is convicted he is presumed innocent. Englishmen have called the trial by jury the bulwark of English liberty. We have placed it in all our constitutions and laws, and we have made it the bulwark of American liberty.

When the Constitution of the United States was made it did not contain the guaranty of personal liberty, because the Government was one of delegated powers, and the power to try without jury was not given; but the jealous love of liberty caused its insertion in that instrument at the very beginning of the National Government.

The fifth and sixth amendments of the Constitution of the United States came to us from the revolution of 1688. I read from the first clause of the fifth article:

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury—

except in certain cases in the Army and Navy. It is charged that the Senator from North Dakota has been guilty of embezzlement. If that be true, he is entitled to be tried by a jury of his peers, not by his enemies in this body, not by Senatorial accusers, not by political partisans. He is entitled to a fair public trial before the courts of his State and in the district in which he lives, and to be tried by men who are his peers, who will give him a fair trial.

In all criminal prosecutions—

The sixth amendment says—

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

He can have none of these in this body. Hence the Constitution of the United States prohibits this body from bringing him to its bar for trial. But it is said we do not propose to try him; we only propose to investigate him; that is all. We know that we can not impose any penalty on him; we know that we can not punish him; we simply want to investigate.

Suppose you begin the investigation. How are you going to investigate? You must summon witnesses. That is the way to investigate. You have got to take testimony. Suppose a witness refuses to testify, as Hallet Kilbourn did when the House of Representatives undertook to investigate something they had no rightful power to investigate and demanded of him to answer questions and he refused to answer, then what are you going to do? You are going to incarcerate your witnesses in jail, are you? Then what? They sue you for damages. Then what? The Government responds in an enormous verdict, as it did in the Kilbourn case, and the taxpayers of the country have got to pay for this little business of investigating where the Senate and House have no business to investigate. You can not enforce an investigation. You can not accomplish anything by it. Let me read a short extract from the opinion of the court in the Kilbourn case, 103 U. S., page 189:

As we have already said, the Constitution expressly empowers each House to punish its own members for disorderly behavior. We see no reason to doubt that this punishment may in a proper case be imprisonment, and that it may be for refusal to obey some rule on that subject made by the House for the preservation of order.

So, also, the penalty which each House is authorized to inflict in order to compel the attendance of absent members may be imprisonment, and this may be for a violation of some order or standing rule on that subject.

Each House is by the Constitution made the judge of the election and qualification of its members. In deciding on these it has an undoubted right to examine witnesses and inspect papers, subject to the usual rights of witnesses in such cases; and it may be that a witness would be subject to like punishment at the hands of the body engaged in trying a contested election for refusing to testify that he would if the case were pending before a court of judicature.

The House of Representatives has the sole right to impeach officers of the Government and the Senate to try them. Where the question of such impeachment is before either body, acting in its appropriate sphere on that subject, we see no reason to doubt the right to compel the attendance of witnesses and their answer to proper questions in the same manner and by the use of the same means that courts of justice can in like cases.

Whether the power of punishment in either House by fine or imprisonment goes beyond this or not, we are sure that no person can be punished for contumacy as a witness before either House, unless his testimony is required in a matter into which that House has jurisdiction to inquire and we feel equally sure that neither of these bodies possesses the general power of making inquiry into the private affairs of the citizen.

I plead to the jurisdiction of this court. It has no power to invade the sanctuary of a private citizen and inquire how he has lived or whether he has committed any offense or not. That belongs to the grand jury of his State and the grand jury of the district where it is charged that he has committed an offense. There he may go. There he may have the benefit of counsel to represent him. There he can have the witnesses to testify in his behalf and have a fair and impartial public trial, and that before an impartial jury. He can not have that here. The Constitution has, fortunately for the American people and for the liberties which they cherish and which are guarded by that instrument, slammed the door in the face of the Senate and House of Representatives against passing bills of attainder.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. MILLS. Certainly.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Suppose the Senator who holds a seat on this floor commits a felony.

Mr. MILLS. I am coming to that question.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Would the Senate be compelled to wait until he was indicted and tried in the courts before proceeding against him?

Mr. MILLS. You may expel him for an offense he commits here. The gentleman is anticipating me. I am coming to that question. Perhaps I have said enough on the first point. I will now come to the other provision. If the Senator can not be ousted from his seat by a majority vote on the ground that he has not an additional qualification prescribed by the Senate in addition to that prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, then the only way to get rid of him is to expel him. For what may you expel him and for what may you punish any member of this body?

The power of this body is not unlimited. This is not a legislative despotism by any means. This body is clothed with certain limited enumerated powers, and the Government has been declared by the highest court in the land to be a government of enumerated powers. This body is vested with certain enumerated powers to enable them to execute the functions charged upon it by the Constitution. It may compel the attendance of its members. It may use whatever force is necessary to compel the attendance of its members. The decisions of the Supreme Court say it may imprison. It is a very high exercise of judicial power to deprive the citizen of his liberty. It may fine. That is lighter, but still it may be a severe punishment. It may reprimand, and that is regarded both in the Senate and House of Representatives as an intensely severe punishment. The Constitution fixes the limit to the punishment which it may inflict by saying that it may expel by a two-thirds vote.

Now let me read what that other new-fangled authority on the Constitution says on this subject. I read from Story, first volume, section 837:

> The next clause is, "Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings"—

That is a part of the sentence. It is not a whole paragraph. The subject is not broken—

> "Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member".

Expel a member.

> No person can doubt the propriety of the provision authorizing each House to determine the rules of its own proceedings. If the power did not exist, it would be utterly impracticable to transact the business of the nation, either at all, or at least with decency, deliberation, and order. The humblest assembly of men is understood to possess this power, and it would be absurd to deprive the councils of the nation of a like authority. But the power to make rules would be nugatory unless it was coupled with a power to punish for disorderly behavior or disobedience to those rules.

Here is where your punishment comes in; first, to make the rules for your procedure to enable you to carry out the functions charged to you by the Constitution of the United States. When you make those rules, then to punish for disorderly behavior in the execution of those rules or in prohibiting others from executing those rules.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Is not that wholly disconnected from the power to expel?

Mr. MILLS. Will my friend just wait until I get to the end of that? Judge Story says:

> But the power to make rules would be nugatory unless it was coupled with a power to punish for disorderly behavior or disobedience to those rules. And as a member might be so lost to all sense of dignity and duty as to disgrace the House by the grossness of his conduct or interrupt its deliberations by perpetual violence or clamor, the power to expel for very aggravated misconduct was also indispensable, not as a common but as an ultimate redress for the grievance.

Now, then, Mr. President, the power to expel follows the power to establish rules, and the power to expel follows as the highest exhibition of punishment for misbehavior in preventing the House in the exercise of its functions from proceeding in the orderly discharge of its duties. You may imprison. You may fine. You may reprimand. You may expel. You may not take life. Now, then, you can choose which horn of this dilemma you will hang on. If you want to expel this man, it must be because he has been guilty of disorderly behavior since he has been a member of this body, infracting its rules, interfering with its deliberations. That is the consistent, common-sense interpretation of this provision of the Constitution, and that which is given to it by the most distinguished commentator who has ever written on that instrument, and, as I said before, not a strict constructionist by any means.

Mr. GEORGE. Free.

Mr. MILLS. Yes, sir; a free and liberal construer; but he has never gone so far as to say that this body or the other, for any purpose except to punish for disorderly behavior, may exercise the power of expulsion. The power of expulsion of course, among civilized and honest men, men who have consciences and intelligence, must be withheld until the offense becomes so aggravated and so monstrous as that no other remedy exists for the preservation of order in the body.

Mr. President, I think I have shown that this body can not try. You can not try for an offense committed against the laws of the District of Columbia. You can not try for an offense committed against the laws of North Dakota or any State or Territory in the Union. You can not try a Senator for any offense he has committed against a private citizen anywhere in the United States before he came here. You can only try him for disorderly conduct since he came here. The only power you have to punish a member of this body is to punish under that provision of the Constitution one who infracts the rules of this House by his disorderly behavior, and to inflict your punishment in proportion to the magnitude of the crime which he commits.

I do not pretend to deny that you can find instances, and you can run over them, where investigating committees have been appointed. They are the fruits of a mad partisan feeling, and I do not say that it exclusively belongs to that side of the Chamber. All men are more or less partisan. What I mean to say is, that whether it occurred fifty years ago or to-day, and however numerous the instances are, they are infractions of the constitutional right.

The Supreme Court of the United States in this very case called attention to that fact, very delicately of course, but they intimate to the Senate and House of Representatives that there have been tendencies, and sometimes not without success, to encroach upon the domain granted by the Constitution to the judicial department of the Government, and whenever it does so and an appeal is made to the courts of the country, it is their duty to enforce the Constitution and the rights of the citizens. We might return the compliment by saying, in a very delicate sense too, that they sometimes come very near encroaching upon the legislative territory confined by the Constitution to the Senate and House of Representatives.

Construction sometimes becomes very elastic. I do not believe in the soundness of everything I read in the decisions of the courts, and yet in a court-house when one is arguing a case he must of course abide by the decisions of the courts, because they constitute the law of the land. But in this body, where we make laws, make them for the government of the courts and for the government of the people of the United States, we ought to adhere rigidly, strictly, narrowly to this great charter of our liberties. We ought to conform our own conduct and require of every other citizen and every officer of this Government, in whatever department he is chosen, to adhere to the letter and spirit of this instrument; and we ourselves should set the example.

Mr. President, I have said all I wish to say. I have an aversion to saying unkind things about people. I never prosecuted anybody when I was a practicing lawyer. I undertook it once and gave up the business. I do not like it. I am glad that I can discuss the question of power and of right without interfering with persons. These things have always been disagreeable to me, and I mean now to assert that no Senator has the right, having sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, to refuse admission to a fellow-Senator who is sent here possessing the three constitutional qualifications from any State in this Union. When he does it, and does it upon the ground that a Senator's moral character is not what it ought to be, he offers a gratuitous insult to the constituency whom that Senator represents; for, as I said, the representative will represent his constituency.

Suppose that man should have erred, and erred a long way, from the path of rectitude and integrity in his younger days, thank God there is something, especially in the civilized heart of man, that forgives. Suppose a great people have seen a young man struggling and rising out of these embarrassments and establishing a character that commends itself to their approval, and they become attached to him and cast the veil of oblivion and go backward as Japheth did, who threw the cloak back upon the prostrate body of his father, refusing to look upon it, and trust him with the high office of ambassador from his State, have we the right to say that that act of clemency shall become null and void by the disposition of the Senate of the United States to go back into the past years of one's life to see if they can not dig up something between the cradle and the grave to smirch the reputation of an honorable man who has risen to the high honor of the representative of a sovereign State in this body and by the unchallenged consent of the constituency he represents?

I say, sir, we have no right to do anything of the sort. I say we have no right to add to the qualifications. I say we have no right to expel except for an infraction of the rules, and having no right to do either, we have no right to investigate. If we attempt to investigate and compel witnesses to testify to enable us to obtain the information necessary to render a correct judgment, and a witness, knowing what his rights are under the Constitution, stands before your mock tribunal and refuses to testify, and then if you punish him to make him testify, the result will be that the Government will have to pay the damages for having made its officer infract the Constitution and laws and put in peril the liberty of its citizens.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. President, I have had the pleasure of an acquaintance with the distinguished Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] these many years. We were associated in the House of Representatives. I have heard him on numerous occasions. I thought I understood his character tolerably well, but he will allow me to say to him that there was no such feebleness or lack of aggressiveness in his character as to induce me to suppose that he could never prosecute anybody, as he affirms. It often seemed to me that he was prosecuting his fellow-citizens of the Republican party with quite as much vigor as it would have been necessary to display as a State's attorney in a court of justice.

But if all men were such as he thinks he is, if they had such an exceeding degree of gentle mercy, there would be no civil government, for somebody must prosecute someone occasionally. It may be a very unpleasant duty, as unpleasant as that of the surgeon.

I do not rise this morning because I find any special pleasure in it. I might say, indeed, I am up because it is an exceedingly painful and disagreeable business that everybody must not run away from. I decided to put myself on record upon what I thought was the right side after what I heard the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] speak. I did not know my colleague [Mr. PLATT] was to deliver his long and able speech. However, I will not retreat now, though I will not attempt an elaborate legal argument, and will only indicate my general position.

Permit a preliminary remark or two concerning some things the Senator from Texas has said. Firstly, the famous Kilbourn case to which he has referred has nothing on earth to do with our discussion here. Everybody understands that who listened to the closing words of his quotation from the decision of the court upon that subject. The House of Representatives, by committee, was engaged in a long and laborious investigation.

The committee called up Mr. Kilbourn and attempted to go into an elaborate inquiry concerning his real-estate transactions—his private business—not relevant to the legitimate inquiry. Nobody could see the relation, and the Supreme Court expressly gave its judgment in favor of Mr. Kilbourn when he brought suit against the Sergeant-at-Arms upon the ground not that inquiries on that subject were not legitimate, but that the special inquiry of Kilbourn was too remote. That is all.

Now the Senator gives us to understand that a Senator can not be censured or in respect or degree punished for any crime whatever that he may commit while a Senator, or at any time before. The whole matter must be relegated to the criminal courts, and there must not be even an investigation by this body. Mr. President, the records abound in cases where there have been investigations into the conduct of members of Congress and there have been numerous censures and expulsions, some for offenses of which the courts of law would have taken no cognizance.

I think it was while the Senator from Texas was in the House of Representatives that a certain member—I do not like to mention names any more than is necessary—a certain member of the House was found by the House (and not by a judgment of other peers in another tribunal) to have been guilty of selling his appointment to a cadetship at West Point. Forthwith, by general consent, he was expelled from the House. Not only that, sir; his constituents reëlected him to the next Congress. The people, who are sometimes spoken of here as if they were divine, do make mistakes. His constituents reëlected him to the House of Representatives, to the next Congress, I think, was it not?

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator from Connecticut will pardon me, he resigned when the resolution of expulsion was under debate.

Mr. HAWLEY. I thought the vote was taken.

Mr. HOAR. No.

Mr. HAWLEY. It is practically the same thing. He was practically expelled, for he ran away from the coming vote for expulsion and was reëlected notwithstanding this record of disgrace, but the next Congress refused to receive him.

On what ground was Mr. Bright expelled? I will not catalogue the cases, but on what grounds were these various Senators and Representatives censured or expelled? In some cases their offenses were such that they might have been properly taken up in the ordinary courts of justice; but men have been again and again expelled from legislative bodies in this country and analogous bodies in foreign countries for offenses, if touched by the civil law, touched by it very slightly. I can easily imagine cases in which a Senator would be censured or expelled from this body, and yet that for which he would be tried in the criminal courts might amount to little or nothing.

My colleague kindly hands me a marked passage in Story's Commentaries. It is as follows:

> It seems, therefore, to be settled by the Senate, upon full deliberation, that expulsion may be for any misdemeanor which, though not punishable by any statute, is inconsistent with the trust and duty of a Senator.

I thank my colleague. That is exactly what I was endeavoring to say. So the Senator from Texas makes a ridiculous thing of the power of this great legislative body to protect its honor, a very ridiculous thing if the Senate can not for its own purposes and necessities decree censure or expulsion in any case whatever, while leaving the same offenses, in their relation to public justice, to be punished by the criminal courts. A Senator might be sent to the penitentiary for burglary and, as the result of an entirely disconnected inquiry, at the same time expelled from this body.

It seems hardly necessary to say this. Let me record my protest against the pending attempt to put this whole matter out of sight, to ignore the bill, in the language of the courts, at the very threshold, without calling a single witness, making a single inquiry of any description, refusing not only to go into a trial, but refusing to make a preliminary inquiry as to whether we might do so. I believe, though, the proposition has been made to instruct the Committee on Privileges and Elections to inquire whether an offense committed by a Senator before his election can be the subject of investigation or censure here. But the pending attempt is to evade the whole question.

Senators on the other side say there is nothing of consequence in the charges against the Senator from North Dakota; but there is something very serious in them.

It is a very serious case. It is charged that while a cashier of a bank in this city some twelve years ago he was guilty of falsifications of books of account and a long series of embezzlements, amounting to $64,000, a large part of which is still unpaid. That is the gravamen of the charge; and the man who is in this painful and most unhappy position went away shortly from the scene of his offenses and never returned to it until he came here protected by the Constitution, which forbids the arrest of a Senator for any offense except treason, felony, and breaches of the peace while he is here or on his way to or from this place. Is not this a serious case? And is it made upon idle rumor?

With great particularity and vigor these things are asserted by men of responsibility, the conductors and publishers of great journals, asserted everywhere in ordinary conversation and in the speech of men. They are not trifles; they are not mere rumors. The statements are supported by the records of the bank that was sinned against. They are supported by the records and reports in the office of the Comptroller of the Currency.

There are two inconsistent positions taken: one that the facts are known and properly estimated and do not amount to much. Why not, then, inquire and vindicate? They are sufficiently known in such a way as to be accepted as facts indeed by the people in general, and they have not been denied by any human being, so far as I know.

But it is said again that no matter what the case may be, the occurrences having taken place before the defendant came into the Senate and before he was elected, the Legislature of North Dakota is supposed to be satisfied that, whether guilty or innocent, he is a fit man to represent them and that is an end of it. There is a point in the case that has not been mentioned in my hearing. It does not appear that the Legislature of North Dakota knew what it was doing when it elected Mr. ROACH. I do not speak lightly. I am assured by men who would be likely to know that probably not two men in the Legislature of North Dakota knew that there were any disagreeable charges or rumors in connection with the gentleman whom they elected to the Senate.

But it is said that a "sovereign State" sent him here, and that if he has the three qualifications spoken of in the Constitution, the requisite age, citizenship, and residence, that is the end of the law; he can not be called in question. That has not been the doctrine of any legislative body in the world.

The constitutional provision that the Senate shall be the judge of the qualifications of its members, in my judgment, goes further than the mere legal, bare skeleton of the three points spoken of. At any rate we may argue as John Quincy Adams and Story and great men of that kind have argued again and again, that a body of this description has something more in its charge than mere technical legal qualifications in the defense of ts honor and the honor of the United States.

We are asked why does not North Dakota protest? I do not know. The Legislature has adjourned, and if it protests, if it asks us to take this matter up, that is the extent to which it can go. It is absolutely powerless to act, and so are we.

But have the other 65,000,000 people in the United States nothing to do with it? Has the Senate or the House of Representatives no responsibilities and duties in such cases as well as the State from which the offender comes? Is it to be really taken for granted in our extreme devotion to State rights doctrine that the blessed people never made a mistake?

Sir, the Constitution is full of provisions against the possible omissions and errors and mistakes of the dear people. It is full of them. It is taken for granted that they will make mistakes and will do wrong. What does it mean when the Constitution says that Congress may prescribe the times and places and manner of electing Representatives? It may; it is not obliged to do it; but there is the power, because our fathers, who were accustomed to tales of sedition and faction and revolution all around the world, saw that times might come when the dear people of the States or of certain localities would not be faithfully discharging their duty in electing Representatives to Congress, and then as an absolute necessity for the preservation of national life the Congress of the United States would have the right to come in and prescribe not only the times—we have done that already, because the States did not seem to conduct themselves wisely in

that matter—but the places, down even to the precincts for voting, and the manner of it, the manner of putting in and counting and returning ballots. All that may be prescribed. This may be done by Congress, because the dear people may do wrong or fail to do right. The time and manner of electing Senators is already prescribed in imperative detail, because serious evils arose under the old manner.

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] says very truly that the rational theory is that the States will do their duty and that the people will do their duty. Certainly; the idea is in the very foundation of the Constitution that the people will be intelligent and patriotic; and yet I tell you, beginning with the laws against treason and insurrection and regulation of elections, it is everywhere provided that no mistakes or blunders, no crimes, no temporary insurrections, no rebellions shall stand in the way of the preservation of the life and honor of the Republic.

It is well once in a while, I think, to take the side of the Government against that mysterious man so often called "the people," and yet it is not against the people, because it is in the roundabout, conservative, and careful ways provided by the fathers that the people themselves have guarded against their own possible mistakes and crimes by constitutions and statutes. The fifteen amendments to the Constitution were in the nature of limitations of the power of the people, as that power might be manifested here in Congress and in State Legislatures.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] suggests to me that this is a question between the Legislature of North Dakota and the Senate of the United States, both representative bodies, and not a question between the Senate and the people of North Dakota. It does not appear what the people of North Dakota would do to-day upon this matter if with the knowledge of to-day they were again called to act.

Mr. President, I am not disposed to continue. If my colleague had not spoken there were certain points that I should have touched, but with nothing like his ability and his legal acumen. Indeed, it is a most monstrous proposition that we are absolutely powerless not only in this case, but in cases of far greater mischief and wrong.

We are told here, we have heard in various ways, in conversation and in public speech, something very like threats as to what will be done if we, meaning the Republicans, persist in demanding investigation. Yet I doubt whether on a free private ballot of the Senate party lines would be strictly drawn. It is the intimation that if we insist upon investigation and upon action in this case there will be retaliation and Republicans will be assaulted. I can dispose of that very briefly, Mr. President, and with that I close. That is in the style of children's arguments—"So are you;" "You are another;" "Go yourself;" "I will tell your mother." Or if it be not of that childish kind, it is quite analogous to blackmailing.

HAWAIIAN AFFAIRS.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President——

Mr. LODGE. I desire to offer a resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection the resolution proposed by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of State be, and he is hereby, directed to inform the Senate by whose authority the American flag was hauled down from the Government building at Honolulu on April 1.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. What disposition does the Senator from Massachusetts desire to have made of the resolution?

Mr. LODGE. I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration, unless there be objection.

Mr. GORMAN. Let it lie over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will lie over, objection being made.

Mr. COKE. I ask for the adoption of an order.

Mr. HOAR. Was my colleague's resolution objected to?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. An objection being interposed, the resolution will lie over.

Mr. HOAR. By whom was an objection interposed?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The objection was interposed by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN].

Mr. GORMAN. I ask that it may go over until to-morrow under the rule.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution goes over under the rule.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

On motion of Mr. COKE, it was

Ordered, That leave be granted, subject to the rule, to withdraw from the files of the Senate the papers in the case of Daniel Woodson and Ely Moore.

Ordered, That leave be granted, subject to the rule, to withdraw from the files of the Senate the papers in the case of John A. Whitfield.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY CONFERENCE.

Mr. DAVIS submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved, That there be printed and bound for the use of the Senate 1,500 additional copies of Executive Document No. 82, Fifty-second Congress, second session, being the proceedings of the International Monetary Conference.

DISBURSEMENTS BY RECESS COMMITTEES.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I ask leave to call up at this time the resolution of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL], reported by me from the Committee on Contingent Expenses yesterday.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate be instructed to ascertain and fix the sums necessary to be disbursed by the various standing or special committees authorized to sit during the recess; that, when the said sum or sums be so ascertained and fixed by the said committee, the expenses of the various committees, standing or select, authorized to sit during the recess be absolutely limited to the amount so fixed by the said committee.

Resolved further, That the said Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, in ascertaining and fixing the said sums, be, and hereby is, directed to so fix the amounts as to keep the aggregate sum within the appropriation.

Mr. GORMAN. I desire to make a statement in regard to the resolution. The present efficient Secretary of the Senate during the last session called the attention of those of us who are on the Appropriations Committee to the difficulty under which he has always labored in the matter of the proper distribution of the contingent fund to the various committees authorized to sit and investigate questions during a recess. This resolution would have been offered at the last session, but it was overlooked in the hurry of business. It was a valuable suggestion, made by that officer at the time, and one which will relieve him or his successor from the annoyance and difficulty and trouble of settling questions of this character between Senators. I wished to make this statement before the resolution is passed.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President——

Mr. HOAR. If this resolution is to give rise to debate to any extent I must object to its coming in now.

Mr. GORMAN. I thought it was proper that this statement should be made.

Mr. HOAR. Let the debate proceed by unanimous consent, only reserving the right to object hereafter.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection that course will be pursued.

Mr. GEORGE. Is the resolution before the Senate for action at this time?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. By unanimous consent, subject to objection.

Mr. HARRIS. It was reported a day or two ago.

Mr. GEORGE. Reported from what committee?

Mr. HARRIS. From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution called up by the Senator from Louisiana, the Chair will state, was reported by him yesterday.

Mr. GEORGE. I desire to call the attention of the Senate——

Mr. CHANDLER. I object to the consideration of the resolution for the present.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. Mr. President——

Mr. GEORGE. I am entitled to the floor, I think.

Mr. HOAR. Oh, no.

Mr. GEORGE. I was proceeding to address the Senate. I shall be through in five minutes.

Mr. HOAR. I expressly reserved the right to object.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will hear the inquiry of the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. GEORGE. I am entitled to the floor and have been recognized. I claim the right to the floor, and I object to the Chair recognizing anybody while I am on the floor without my consent.

Mr. HOAR. I rise to a question of order.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the Senator from Mississippi that when a Senator rises and makes a point of order the point of order must be stated.

Mr. GEORGE. If a point of order is made on my remarks I have no objection to its being stated.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair desires to hear the Senator from Massachusetts state his question of order.

Mr. HOAR. My point of order is, that while another matter was pending unanimous consent was asked to report this resolution. I rose and said that if it was to give rise to no debate I should make no objection, but if there was to be a debate I desired to reserve the right to object and desired that the debate should only proceed subject to unanimous consent. That the

Chair announced. I have no objection to the Senator from Mississippi making a statement, but I do object to the Senator from Mississippi claiming the floor and saying that no Senator has a right to interpose if the debate is prolonged. There is another subject being taken away from the Senate, and the Senator from New Hampshire, I understand, now objects. That is the attitude of the matter.

Mr. GEORGE. I should like to know whether I am entitled to the floor.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. There is a mistake of fact in the statement made by the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts. I did not rise and ask unanimous consent to report the resolution. The resolution was reported yesterday. I simply rose and asked to call the resolution up. As to the reservation which the distinguished Senator says he made when I made a motion, he is mistaken. He only made his statement after the Senator from Maryland had taken the floor and was speaking in favor of the resolution.

Mr. HOAR. But the Senate has given no consent to take up the resolution. The Senator from Maryland asked consent to explain what it was, and we heard the explanation, as we always should, out of courtesy. Certainly the Senator from Louisiana would be the last person to desire that such a request as he made, when another matter was going on and a Senator had risen and got the floor from the Chair, should be treated as taking a subject out of the possession of the Senate. He did not mean to ask any such thing as that.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. If anybody else had had the floor I certainly would not have asked for the consideration of anything, but nobody else had the floor and there was no business before the Senate. There was not the slightest impropriety in my asking leave to call up the resolution. So I say the resolution is not limited to unanimous consent under the circumstances. With the greatest respect for the judgment of the Senator as to what is courteous, my opinion is that in this particular instance no courtesy exacts unanimous consent whatever.

Mr. HOAR. The Chair will state whether he did not understand me to reserve that right, and to reserve it seasonably. I will abide by the decision of the Chair on the subject.

Mr. PASCO. I should like to state the attitude of the question.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state, if the Senator from Florida will permit, that this matter came up by unanimous consent. The Chair understood the Senator from Massachusetts to reserve the right to object. For that reason the Chair interrupted the Senator from Mississippi. The Chair will hear the statement of the Senator from Florida.

Mr. PASCO. I should like to call the attention of the Senator from Massachusetts and of the Chair to the fact that the matter which the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] claims is before the Senate was laid aside some time ago. It was laid aside when the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] was recognized and brought up another matter. That was disposed of, and then the Senator from Louisiana rose and asked leave to bring to the attention of the Senate still another matter. So two subjects have been brought to the attention of the Senate since the matter which the senior Senator from Massachusetts refers to.

The Senator from New Hampshire had not been recognized. I have been seated here all the time and he has not been accorded the floor. That subject passed away from the attention of the Senate when the junior Senator from Massachusetts rose and presented another matter. After that, as I said, the Senator from Louisiana presented this third matter, which is now claiming the attention of the Senate. I thought I would call the attention of the Chair to the exact condition of business so that it might be seen no unanimous consent was necessary and that none was asked for.

Mr. HOAR. The Chair stated otherwise both recently and before. My colleague merely did what is done a thousand times; he got the leave of the Senate to put in a resolution to be acted upon and disposed of.

HAWAIIAN AFFAIRS.

Mr. BUTLER. I wish now to offer an amendment to the resolution of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] to be printed. I should like to have it read.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be read for information.

The Secretary read as follows:

And also by whose authority the same was hoisted on said building.

Mr. BUTLER. Read the resolution as it will read if amended as I propose.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution is not before the Senate, the Chair will state.

Mr. BUTLER. But an amendment is, and I want the resolution read as proposed to be amended. I have a right to have that done. I ask the Secretary to read it as amended.

Mr. CHANDLER. And both the resolution and amendment to go over.

Mr. BUTLER. Both to go over; but I want it read as it would read amended.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read as proposed to be amended.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of State be, and he is hereby, directed to inform the Senate by whose authority the American flag was hauled down from the Government building at Honolulu, April 1, and also by whose authority the same was hoisted on said building.

DISBURSEMENTS BY RECESS COMMITTEES.

Mr. CHANDLER. I ask the Chair whether a short time ago I was recognized to speak on the pending question. I understood that I was so recognized and was asked to yield. I am always disposed to yield to such requests when I have the floor, and intended to yield to business that any Senator might propose that would not lead to debate. The moment that debate ensued, I understood the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] to reserve the right to object; but I am willing to yield to any resolution of the Senate that will not lead to debate. I was then; I am now.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair recognized the Senator from Louisiana to report a resolution, which was done by unanimous consent.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. If the Chair will allow me, I will beg pardon and make a correction. The resolution was reported yesterday.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It was reported yesterday.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. It was carried over under objection yesterday and was regularly called up. I did not rise to ask unanimous consent; I rose to call up the resolution; and I am yet entirely uninformed as to what rule requires unanimous consent for such a proceeding.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the Senator from Louisiana that, as the Chair understands, it requires unanimous consent because of a resolution then pending.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. What was the resolution pending?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution reported by Mr. HOAR from the Committee on Privileges and Elections March 27, 1893, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. This is the pending resolution.

Mr. GORMAN. I trust that the resolution called up by the Senator from Louisiana will be considered by unanimous consent, as it relates to the business of the Senate and is one of some importance unquestionably.

Mr. HOAR. If it leads to no debate I make no objection. If it is to be debated, I object.

Mr. GORMAN. If the Senator from Massachusetts will permit me but a moment——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. CALL. There will be debate, Mr. President. I offer an amendment to the resolution.

Mr. GORMAN. I think I have the floor. I have not yielded the floor. I understand that the Senator from Louisiana proposes to move to proceed to the consideration of the resolution, and such a motion is of course always in order. That question must be determined by a vote of the Senate without debate.

Mr. CALL. What is the resolution?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be again read for the information of the Senate.

The Secretary read the resolution of Mr. COCKRELL, reported yesterday by Mr. WHITE of Louisiana from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate be instructed to ascertain and fix the sums necessary to be disbursed by the various standing or special committees authorized to sit during the recess; that, when the said sum or sums be so ascertained and fixed by the said committee, the expenses of the various committees, standing or select, authorized to sit during the recess, be absolutely limited to the amount so fixed by the said committee.

Resolved further, That the said Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, in ascertaining and fixing the said sums, be, and hereby is, directed to so fix the amounts as to keep the aggregate sum within the appropriation.

Mr. HOAR. I rise to a question of order. I understood the Chair just now to announce that the Lee Mantle resolution was before the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That is the pending resolution.

Mr. HOAR. This matter then has not come before the Senate?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Florida inquired what was the resolution called up by the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. HOAR. The Senate has not voted to take up that resolution.

Mr. CALL. I propose to offer an amendment to the resolution just read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. HOAR. I object, unless it can be disposed of without debate.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I move to proceed to the consideration of the resolution.

Mr. HOAR. On that I call for the yeas and nays.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Louisiana moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the resolution reported by him yesterday to ascertain and fix the sums necessary to be disbursed by various standing or special committees authorized to sit during the recess. The question is on agreeing to the motion.

Mr. HOAR. On that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BERRY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER]. If he were present I should vote "yea."

Mr. BUTLER (when his name was called). I should like to inquire of some Senator on the opposite side whether this is a political question or not, to determine how the contingent fund shall be disbursed?

Mr. HOAR. I regard the taking of this question up to displace the pending resolution, speaking for one, as clearly a political and party question. If Senators on the other side desire unanimous consent to take the resolution up without debate, I do not suppose there will be any objection; but I regard the present question as a party question.

Mr. BUTLER. Then I suppose the opinion of the Senator from Massachusetts, speaking *ex cathedra*, will be conclusive of my vote. I therefore withhold my vote, and announce my pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CAMERON], looking upon the Senator from Massachusetts, of course, as the leader on the other side.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair desires to inquire of the Senator from South Carolina whether he voted upon this question?

Mr. BUTLER. No. I have announced my pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CAMERON].

Mr. CAREY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. IRBY].

Mr. GORDON (when Mr. COLQUITT'S name was called). My colleague [Mr. COLQUITT] is paired with the Senator from Iowa [Mr. WILSON].

Mr. GORMAN (when his name was called). I am paired generally with the Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE], who is now absent from the city. I shall refrain from voting on any question that is purely political, but I have the right to vote on any question where my vote may be necessary to make a quorum, or upon questions affecting the ordinary business of the Senate. I therefore vote "yea."

Mr. HIGGINS (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. MCPHERSON]. In his absence I withhold my vote.

Mr. MILLS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], but I transfer that pair to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] and vote "yea."

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. VILAS]. In his absence I withhold my vote.

Mr. DUBOIS (when Mr. SHOUP'S name was called). I announce the pair of my colleague [Mr. SHOUP] with the junior Senator from California [Mr. WHITE].

Mr. SQUIRE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. STOCKBRIDGE (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. GIBSON], and withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BLACKBURN. My colleague [Mr. LINDSAY] is paired with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW]. Were my colleague present he would vote "yea."

Mr. BUTLER. I announced a moment ago that I was paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CAMERON]. If I can get the gracious permission of my friend from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] and my friend from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], to transfer that pair to the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], I shall be very glad to do so. [A pause.] In the absence of any opposition on their part, I will announce the pair between the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CAMERON], and I vote "yea."

Mr. CAREY. I will inform the Senator from South Carolina that the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH] has paired the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] with the Senator from Colorado [Mr. WOLCOTT].

Mr. PASCO. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICE] is paired with the Senator from Colorado, unless that pair has been transferred.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I was requested by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] to arrange a pair for him. I supposed the Senator from Colorado [Mr. WOLCOTT] was absent without a pair, and so I arranged the pair in that way. However, if the Senator from Colorado is not paired——

Mr. PASCO. He is already paired.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I paired him with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] this afternoon.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, does that cut me out of my privilege of voting? It seems so.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That is not a matter for the Chair to decide, but for the Senator himself to decide.

Mr. BUTLER. I wish it were. It seems that it is being decided on the other side by the two recognized leaders on that side, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER].

Mr. CHANDLER. If debate is in order, I should like to be heard.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Debate is not in order. The Chair will state that the Senator from South Carolina must determine for himself as to his vote.

Mr. BUTLER. I am not debating anything. Of course, if there is another pair arranged for the Senator from Missouri, I withdraw my vote.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from South Carolina withdraws his vote.

Mr. DUBOIS. I inquire whether the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted, as the Chair understands.

Mr. DUBOIS. I have a general pair with that Senator, which is quite liberal in its terms. Either of us can vote whenever we see fit, provided that there is nothing of a political question concerned. I regard this as a political question, and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. BERRY. I suggest to the Senator from Idaho that he may vote, and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] can be paired with the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER], which will enable me to vote also.

Mr. DUBOIS. Very well. I vote "nay."

Mr. BERRY. I vote "yea."

Mr. BRICE. I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. WOLCOTT], but with the understanding that I have a right to vote on any question by assuming the responsibility to him, which I do, and I vote on this question. I vote "yea."

Mr. CAMDEN. I desire to say that I have a general pair on all questions with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. WASHBURN], but with the right to vote to make a quorum and on questions concerning the ordinary business of the Senate. Therefore I vote "yea;" but I shall observe the pair on any question of a political nature.

The result was announced—yeas 33, nays 16; as follows:

YEAS—33.

Bate,	Faulkner,	Jones, Ark.	Pugh,
Berry,	George,	Kyle,	Roach,
Blackburn,	Gibson,	Martin,	Turpie,
Brice,	Gordon,	Mills,	Vance,
Caffery,	Gorman,	Mitchell, Wis.	Voorhees,
Call,	Gray,	Murphy,	White of La.
Camden,	Harris,	Palmer,	
Cockrell,	Hill,	Pasco,	
Coke,	Hunton,	Peffer,	

NAYS—16.

Chandler,	Dubois,	Jones, Nev.	Morrill,
Cullom,	Hansbrough,	Lodge,	Platt,
Davis,	Hawley,	McMillan,	Proctor,
Dolph,	Hoar,	Manderson,	Sherman.

NOT VOTING—35.

Aldrich,	Frye,	Pettigrew,	Teller,
Allen,	Gallinger,	Power,	Vest,
Allison,	Hale,	Ransom,	Vilas,
Butler,	Higgins,	Shoup,	Walthall,
Cameron,	Irby,	Smith,	Washburn,
Carey,	Lindsay,	Squire,	White, Cal.
Colquitt,	McPherson,	Stanford,	Wilson,
Daniel,	Mitchell, Oregon	Stewart,	Wolcott.
Dixon,	Morgan,	Stockbridge,	

So the motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution yesterday reported from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate in relation to disbursements by recess committees.

Mr. CALL. I offer an amendment to the resolution, which I send to the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out the first and second clauses of the resolution and insert:

That the sum appropriated for the contingent expenses of the Senate shall be divided between the following committees, and the said committees shall be authorized to sit during the recess of Congress, as follows: The Committee on Territories, $7,000; the Committee on Interstate Commerce, $7,000; the Committee on Indian Affairs; the Committee on Agriculture, $5,000; the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, $2,000; the Committee on Privileges and Elections, $3,000.

The said committees are authorized to incur such additional expense as the performance of the duty imposed on them by the order of the Senate shall render proper or necessary.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, I have endeavored for some time to have a resolution reported favorably to this body authorizing the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment to examine into the condition of the civil service in respect to the persons who are holding office in the different Departments from the different States and from the District of Columbia. I have had a letter sent to me which contains the statement that there are about five thousand persons in the District of Columbia holding office, and that the proportion which under the statutes of the United States citizens of the District are entitled to hold is not one-tenth of that number. I send the communication to the Secretary to be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

101 SECOND STREET N. W.,
Washington, D. C., April 10, 1893.

DEAR SIR: The inclosed paper shows to what an extent the people of your State are defrauded out of their rights of representation in Government employ by the natives and legal residents of the District of Columbia. At a very low estimate there are five thousand persons, residents of Washington, D. C., holding Government positions, who should be discharged and their places given to the legal residents and voters of the various States, according to the law of apportionment according to population. This has been the state of affairs for many years; before 1890 it was even worse than it is at the present time; in those days scarcely anyone had a chance of employment in the departmental service unless he was a resident of the District of Columbia.

Very respectfully,

A. ROSS, *of Iowa.*

HON. WILKINSON CALL,
United States Senate.

Florida's quota as compared with the appointments held by residents of the District of Columbia.

Department.	Florida.		District of Columbia.	
	Has—	Entitled to—	Has—	Entitled to—
Treasury	7	25.6	1,155	11.1
Interior	20	26.7	792	11.6
War	6	14	725	6.1
Navy	3	9.2	759	4.0
Post-Office	2	4	99	1.7
Government Printing Office	11	16.4	760	7.1
Fish Commissi n			30	.4
Bureau of Labor	3		10	
Interstate Commerce	1		12	
Civil Service Commission	0		2	
National Museum	0		98	
Attorney-General	0		18	
Agricultural	1		115	
House of Representatives	0		23	
Congressional Library	0		5	
United States Senate	0		37	
Smithsonian: Bureau of Ethnology, International Exposition, Zoölogical Park	0		24	
Capitol Police	0		1	
Executive department	0		5	
State Department	0		24	0.2
Census Office	11		480	7.2
Total	65	124.0	5,168	54.0

NOTES.—Of the above 68 clerks charged to Florida, 48 are males, 17 are females; they drew in 1890-'91, an aggregate salary of $61,305.50. There are five natives of the District of Columbia charged to Florida.

The aggregate salary for the fiscal year of 1890-'91 of the District of Columbia clerks was $3,378,709.86. In addition should be included the thousands of natives of the District of Columbia who are charged to various States, and the people who have lost their residence and votes in their native States, but are shrewd enough to continue to have themselves charged to those States.

Mr. HARRIS. By whom is that paper signed?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state, in response to the inquiry of the Senator from Tennessee, that the paper just read is signed "A. Ross, of Iowa."

Mr. CALL. I do not know anything about the accuracy of the statements contained in that paper, nor am I in the habit of making war upon the clerks in the Government Departments who may have come from different States and remained here some time. Certainly, however, there should be some reasonable apportionment of these places under the statutes of the United States, and, if there were no statute, under any principle of equity between the different States.

If the committee which has been appointed be a real Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, to which I have been assigned, as to which I have much doubt; if it is its duty under the orders of the Senate to investigate the condition of the civil service in all respects, the demand made upon me in behalf of my own State by this communication, whether correct or not, requires me to attempt at least to do what I may for the equal rights of the people of Florida under the laws of the United States in respect to these appointments. That is one reason why I have sought to have a resolution passed authorizing the Committee on Civil Service to sit during the recess of this body.

Another reason is that in the appropriation bill it is declared by the two Houses that an examination into this service is absolutely necessary, and it is there undertaken to appoint a committee by the Speaker of the last House and the President of the last Senate to perform the duty which at this session of the Senate has been imposed upon the committee of which I am chairman.

Recognizing as I do that the Constitution confers upon the Senate the right, the duty, and the power to prescribe its own committees and its own rules of proceeding, I have asked that this duty should be recognized in this committee, and that they should be assigned to its performance and leave given to them to sit during the recess of the Senate, when alone there is an opportunity for a full examination of this subject.

Another reason I have asked for it is, that it is known that there have been great irregularities in the certification of the public lands in that State. I hold in my hand a map by which it will be seen by the colors that almost the entire soil of the State of Florida has been certified under various pretended acts of Congress, chiefly swamp and overflowed land grants and some old railroad land grants, which have no existence whatever, to corporations and foreigners, under which they have endeavored to give away the land in the State, and that practically the ownership of the soil is taken away from the people of the State, the homestead law is nullified, and the land attempted to be transferred into foreign ownership.

This question has been the subject of political division in that State, and great sums of money have been expended to influence elections to this Senate. I have gone through an experience of that kind. Two hundred thousand dollars have been expended by great corporations to carry the elections of that State, not in the interest of the Democratic party, not in the interest of the Republican party, for Republicans and Democrats, all the people, are a unit upon that subject in that State, as they are in every other.

I have charged that these certifications were fraudulent and made without authority of law—as fraudulent as it would be for the Secretary of the Treasury to certify that the Treasury building was under some act of Congress subject to approval to some corporation, State, or individual. There is no authority whatever for it, and repeatedly has the Senate, by a majority of both Democrats and Republicans, passed resolutions for the reference of these questions to the judicial tribunals of the country, declaring that these fraudulent acts of officials conveyed no title.

That process of certification has been going on. I believe it has been procured through corrupt means. The records show that charges of this kind have been made and sworn to, and when I have asked that a committee should be appointed and that the committee to which I have been assigned, and which has charge of examining into the honesty and fidelity with which the civil service is performed, should sit during the recess, an adverse report has been made by the three gentlemen to whom it has been committed to say what shall be the rights of Senators and of States upon this floor.

For that reason I have moved this amendment. I want the vote of the Senate, to know whether Senators are to be disfranchised of their right and power of representation by three Senators, who are charged with the duty and the power of vetoing the expenditures of these committees. I wish the people of the United States to sit in judgment on this question.

Mr. President, there have been various committees authorized by these three Senators, of one of which the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. FAULKNER], now in the chair, is the distinguished chairman, of which I am a member, charged with the duty of going out to Utah to see if they can find any Mormons there who have more than one wife, and, if so, how many, and whether they are qualified for the performance of the duties of citizenship and admission to statehood. I have never been one

of the persecutors of these people and do not believe in persecution of any one.

There has been appointed another committee for an investigation, as the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] said, of the question of the transportation routes of this country and of the Canadian routes—a question which he conceives to be of greater importance than that of the whole financial system of this Government. Why? To ascertain whether or not the American citizen can have his freight transported more cheaply over Canadian railroads and himself go over them cheaper than over our own railroads; whether or not he shall not be compelled to pay a higher price to our American system of roads; but upon this subject, where more than 26,000,000 acres of public lands have been made the property of a few private individuals and nearly 400,000 people have been deprived of their privilege under the homestead laws of this country without the authority of a single word in any act of Congress or any act of the Legislature of the State of Florida, as I have contended time and time again, and I have challenged the production of the law that authorized or pretended to authorize it—it is not conceived by these three Senators to be a matter of sufficient importance for a committee of investigation to sit in the recess of the Senate; the State of Florida, with her 400,000 people, is not to be regarded; this investigation can not go on, and it does not matter how much fraud is committed I have not expected any consideration of the people's right from this committee.

Mr. President, the people have every confidence in the great man who is the President of the United States, in his great heart and sympathy with the people, and in his great ability and patriotism, as well as his able advisers. I know that the poorest man in this country and of every State in it can rely upon the President's protecting him in his rights to any and every extent, and so of his able counselors; that is the only hope and the sure reliance I have of protection to the people from the great corporations who seek to deprive them of their freedom and to impoverish and oppress them and deprive them of their humble homes; but it needs the assistance of this body and its investigations; and I should be untrue to myself if I did not at least endeavor to obtain some action which would authorize an investigation into these questions.

I ask leave, if there be no objection, to print as part of my remarks some extracts and statements of facts from speeches which I have made and from the records of the General Land Office on this subject. The poor people of Florida who live on this land and earn a frugal but honest living have a right to be protected against these robberies and frauds and to have their perpetrators indicted and punished. I shall continue to expose them and demand their punishment and the restoration of the land to the people, protecting all innocent and bona fide purchasers of limited quantities of land.

I ask leave to print here with my remarks a statement of a small part of this land, showing one of the most flagrant of these robberies, as follows. No such record of fraud can be found in any other State. It is a black record. I know how powerful are the influences of corporations, but the people will have justice in the end.

LAND FROM PENSACOLA TO LAKE CITY, FLA.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, GENERAL LAND OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., April 28, 1890.

SIR: In compliance with your request of the 26th instant, relative to lands listed or approved to the State of Florida on account of the grant made by the act of May 17, 1856 (11 Stat., 18), for the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad Company, I submit herewith a statement, by counties, showing approximately the amounts so listed.

Very respectfully,

W. M. STONE,
Assistant Commissioner.

Hon. WILKINSON CALL,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Lands listed, or approved, to the State of Florida on account of the act of May 17, 1856, for the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad Company.

Name of county.	Acres.	Name of county.	Acres.
Calhoun	55,605.80	Liberty	11,056.35
Columbia	29,077.39	Madison	72,113.36
Gadsden	24,149.32	Santa Rosa	214,502.02
Hamilton	46,707.59	Suwannee	122,128.45
Holmes	74,245.69	Taylor	1,717.53
Jackson	117,776.02	Walton	316,068.17
Jefferson	9,902.43	Washington	166,960.24
La Fayette	5,814.28		
Leon	14,006.35	Total	1,273,890.99

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, GENERAL LAND OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., May 24, 1890.

SIR: Referring to your request of this day relative to the quantity of land reserved in certain counties under the act of May 17, 1856, making a grant of lands to the State of Florida to aid in the construction of a railroad from Amelia Island (Fernandina) on the Atlantic to the waters of Tampa Bay, with a branch to Cedar Keys, on the Gulf of Mexico, you are advised that an approximate estimate shows as follows:

	Primary limits.	Indemnity limits.
	Acres.	*Acres.*
Marion County	138,240	207,360
Hernando County	46,080	120,960
Sumter County	138,240	157,440
Polk County	39,360	84,480
Hillsboro County	89,240	104,800
Alachua County	37,440	126,720

These figures represent in the aggregate the actual quantities covered by the withdrawal made for the benefit of said grant within the counties mentioned, without deducting therefrom the lands excepted or in anywise lost to the grant.

Respectfully,

W. M. STONE,
Assistant Commissioner.

Hon. WILKINSON CALL,
United States Senate.

MAY 27, 1890.

SIR: The area of the selections made by the State of Florida prior to the confirmatory act of March 3, 1857, is 11,630,271.61 acres.

Total swamp selections up to this date is 22,222,439.60 acres.

Total swamp land patented up to this date is 16,114,669 acres.

These subjects require an investigation. We need to know whether money has been paid or corrupt inducements offered for the alienation of a whole State. We need to know if great corporations of this country can affect the legislation of the country and of the States and the execution of the law in the different Departments of this Government.

I have taken this position and made this contest throughout the State of Florida and amongst my people, and we are a unit upon the subject without reference to party lines. I ask of the Senate here to-day that they give us the opportunity of investigating carefully every branch of the civil service of this Government connected with the certification of land.

Let us have the opportunity of showing that great corporations of the country have used improper influences. I believe that such influences have been used. I do not know the fact. I do know that the records of the Attorney-General's Department show a statement that an agent of one of these corporations, as sworn to by Mr. Dickerson, the vice-president of one of these great corporations, retained $6,000, according to his (Mr. Dickerson's) affidavit, which he said had been used improperly with public officials.

Is not that enough to require investigation by a committee? Is not the alienation of 26,000,000 acres of public land, a whole State, with hundreds of millions of dollars of valuable phosphate deposits upon it; is not the imposition of a mortgage of thirty or forty million dollars upon the poor people of that State, without authority of law and under suspicious circumstances, sufficient to require, when asked for by a Senator of the State, the privilege of an investigation during the recess of the Senate? That is the object of my amendment.

Mr. President, I desire to have a vote upon the amendment, and I think that it is quite as important as the question whether or not there is one or whether there are 50,000 Mormons in Utah who have more than one wife, and that a committee should be sent out to investigate that question, and that it is quite as important as to ascertain whether citizens of the United States who may make use of the Canadian system of railroads shall be compelled to make use of those upon this side of the border and pay the interest on their watered stock, and pay a higher price for their transportation and travel. The people are beginning to wake up from their sleep and take an interest in these subjects, and to know that they mean their poverty and want and degradation, and the unlawful and unearned wealth and luxury of a few men.

Then, again, there is another feature of this subject. The resolution of the Senator from Missouri proposes to cast a reflection upon the integrity of all the members of this body, to say that they can not be trusted upon these committees, that they must be governed by the superior integrity and judgment of the three Senators who compose the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, and if the committee appointed to visit Utah and the Indians and the Pacific coast shall find that they require the examination of a greater number of witnesses than the three Senators think proper to allow and the money at their command shall be exhausted, they must return here and abandon the investigation, and fail to perform the duty imposed by the Senate.

Is no confidence to be reposed in their judgment? Can not Senators from States, charged with the performance of a great public duty, be trusted to incur any expense or any obligation necessary and proper for the performance of their duty? In all these respects I think the amendment I have offered is a proper one, and I submit it to the judgment of the Senate.

The appointment of three Senators who shall have it in their power to authorize and limit investigations, to select favorites, to suppress investigations, to punish or protect wrongs in the public service is a great advance towards an autocratic government. It is an abandonment of democracy and democratic principle; it will not have my support, and I believe the democratic people of the country will regard it with alarm and distrust.

Mr. HARRIS. I move to lay the amendment of the Senator from Florida on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAULKNER in the chair). The Senator from Tennessee moves to lay the amendment of the Senator from Florida on the table. The question is on that motion.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question recurs on the adoption of the resolution reported by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Mr. DUBOIS. I desire to offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment submitted by the Senator from Idaho will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add to the resolution the following:

Resolved, That a select committee of seven Senators be appointed by the President of the Senate, whose duty it shall be to investigate and report to the Senate the facts in relation to the recent serious difficulties existing between the employing silver-mine owners and the working miners of Idaho, as to the employment for private purposes of armed bodies of men, or detectives, in connection with said difficulties. The investigation shall extend to and embrace, in addition, an inquiry into the causes and necessity for the employment of United States soldiers, and the conduct of such soldiers. The committee shall ascertain if present serious difficulties exist between employers and employés, or if justice has been or is being denied any one through a suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, or through any dereliction of duty on the part of United States courts.

The committee shall also inquire into the character, objects, and purposes of the miners' union; and whether the obligations required of its members conflicts or conflicted with the obligations and duties these members owe to the State and Government as law-abiding citizens. In addition to the testimony and conclusions of fact the committee will consider and report, by bill or otherwise, what legislation, if any, will tend to prevent a recurrence of similar troubles. Said committee, either as a full committee or through subcommittees thereof, shall have authority to send for persons and papers, administer oaths to witnesses, and take testimony in Washington or elsewhere, according to its discretion, during the present session or approaching recess of Congress, and to employ a clerk, messenger, and stenographer; the expenses of the investigation to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

Mr. DUBOIS. Mr. President, I had the honor of introducing on January 30 last this same resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, and from that committee reported favorably. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] objected to this resolution at that time on the ground that it proposed a junketing trip. Every Senator on the other side of the Chamber who was on the Committee on Education and Labor combated this investigation. All the Republicans and Senator KYLE, Populist, favored the investigation.

During this session there have been six committees of investigation appointed, none of which deal with a question as serious as that embodied in my resolution. There was no protest from the Senator from Missouri that they were junketing expeditions.

I have not been able during this session, although I introduced this resolution on the 22d of March, to get it out from the Democratic Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. The troubles which I want to investigate were the most serious labor troubles which occurred in this country during the past year. There were several men killed; there was a large amount of property destroyed; several hundred miners were in arms, and took possession of that section of the country. In the judgment of the President of the United States it was necessary to send, and he sent, to that country one thousand United States troops. In addition, the State militia was also sent there. The county in which these troubles occurred was under martial law for six months.

The Democrats in that State charged that during the last campaign these labor troubles were brought about by Republicans and that it was a political proposition, and the Democrats throughout the country stated that these labor troubles occurred on account of the tariff. The resolution which I have sent to the desk embraces every phase of the labor question in this and similar controversies. There is no better chance than this to investigate these troubles, and I think the committee ought to report in favor of the resolution.

I desire to present a communication, dated Boise City, Idaho, January 9, 1893, which reads:

To all whom it may concern:

Notice.—We have this day appointed the Hon. D. R. Munro, of Shoshone, Idaho, as our agent to intercede for us with the Congress of the United States in obtaining a Congressional investigation of the Cœur d'Alene troubles which occurred last July.

THOMAS O'BRIEN,
President Central Committee of Miners' Union.
J. F. POYNTON,
Secretary Central Committee of Miners' Union.

Here is a letter signed by D. R. Munro, who was a Presidential elector in that State, and who is a representative labor man, in which he states:

Having been designated by the miners of Idaho, through their official representatives, as indicated by the attached credentials, to request of the representatives of the State of Idaho in Congress that they endeavor to secure at the hands of Congress the selection and appointment of a committee to inquire into and investigate the recent as well as present serious difficulties existing between the employing silver-mine owners and the working miners of our State.

This is asked for by reason of the fact that—

First. Much bitterness and feeling exists on the part of the working classes of the State, they believing the courts to have dealt unjustly with them in the conduct of the case.

Second. That 1,000 United States troops, more or less, were sent into the State in connection with this trouble.

Third. That the right of habeas corpus is now virtually suspended in the Northwest, from the fact that application was made some two months ago to the appellate court at San Francisco for a writ granting the right of habeas corpus to miners now lying in jail at Boise City, Idaho, charged with contempt of the United States court, a response to which application had not been received up to the 10th day of January.

Trusting that this matter may receive early and earnest consideration, and that a committee may be appointed, I am,

Very truly, yours,

D. R. MUNRO.

I will say, in addition to that, that the Supreme Court of the United States about a month ago overturned the ruling and decision of the court in Idaho and set these men at liberty. I believe myself that the district judge in Idaho is an honest, conscientious, and fair man. I do not believe that these statements of the laboring men will be borne out by the facts; but they believe nevertheless that they can not get justice. There is uneasiness and bad feeling, which a fair investigation would help to allay.

On the other hand, here is a telegram from W. B. Heyburn, who represented the mine-owners in the courts in all these trials. He says:

SPOKANE, WASH., *April 15, 1893.*

To Hon. FRED T. DUBOIS,
United States Senate:

Spare no effort to secure appointment of committee to investigate labor troubles. We all desire it strongly. Wire me prospects.

W. B. HEYBURN.

Here is a telegram from John A. Finch and A. B. Campbell, leading mine-owners of that country, in which they say:

WALLACE, IDAHO, *April 13, 1893.*

Senator FRED T. DUBOIS:

We will heartily approve your efforts to secure appointment of committee of investigation. We will welcome same and earnestly hope appointments will be made before Senate adjourns.

JOHN A. FINCH.
A. B. CAMPBELL.

I am in receipt of telegrams and communications from both mine-owners and miners in great numbers, also from labor organizations, all of whom unite in the opinion that an investigation will be of great advantage to labor and the State.

There is great confusion in that country now, not only in Idaho, but throughout the Northwest. Two banks have recently failed in the Cœur d'Alene country, a number of mines have been closed down, and hundreds of men have been thrown out of employment. There is almost a similar condition of affairs to that in Idaho now existing in Utah. An investigation will clear the atmosphere. It will show who was right and who was wrong; it will help adjust differences; it will destroy a great deal of the bitterness which has sprung from this contention, and will be of great advantage.

I have offered the amendment because I can find no other way by which I can get the question before the Senate, and I desire my friends on the other side, if they see fit to do so, to vote against the resolution. I want them to make their record now. My political associates favor my resolution.

Mr. DOLPH. Mr. President, I exceedingly regret that I feel compelled to take a moment of the time of the Senate at this late hour in the session, and I regret that my friend from Florida [Mr. CALL] has seen fit to again bring up the question of the adjustment of the swamp-land grant and the railroad land grants in Florida during the last moments of the session, and make the remarks he has, which I consider to some extent a reflection upon the administration of the General Land Office and upon the conduct of the Secretary of the Interior.

The Senator introduced a resolution upon this subject before I was taken sick and was compelled to leave the Senate, prior to the adjournment of the last regular session. I think during the first session of that Congress he had also introduced a resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and either adversely reported or suffered to die with the Congress; and at the present session he has introduced a resolution, which I think still lies upon the table. I intended, if I had not been taken sick, to answer some of the statements of the Senator during the last session.

Mr. President, ever since I entered this body I have been a member of the Committee on Public Lands. After the death of Senator Plumb I become chairman of that committee, and re-

mained chairman until the Senate was reorganized at this executive session. I think that at every Congress the Senator from Florida has introduced resolutions calling for investigations in regard to the lands in Florida, either the railroad grants or the swamp-land grants. At first these resolutions were considered by the Committee on Public Lands and adverse reports made, but the Senator does not seem at all daunted with the adverse action taken by the committee. He seems disposed rather to find fault with the committee and to criticise the administration of the General Land Office and the disposition of the public lands in Florida under every administration.

I can not take time now to reply to the Senator, but, as he has asked to have quotations from his previous speeches printed in the RECORD as part of his remarks—and how long they will be no one knows—I will ask to submit as part of my remarks a communication of the late Secretary of the Interior to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, communicating with his approval "clear list No. 3 of lands within the Gainesville land district, Florida, selected on account of the grant made by the act of May 17, 1856, to aid in the construction of a railroad 'from Amelia Island, on the Atlantic, to the waters of Tampa Bay, with a branch to Cedar Keys, on the Gulf of Mexico,' which road is now known as the Florida Central and Peninsular Railroad Company."

I do this because it contains a statement of the facts and the legal propositions concerning this grant and the motives which actuated the late Secretary of the Interior and probably the action of his predecessor, and because it will be a complete refutation of any charges or complaints against the Secretary of the Interior or the General Land Office in regard to their action concerning this railroad grant.

The Senator insists here from time to time—and I discussed the question at length with him, when we were discussing the general forfeiture bill, that this railroad company and the other railroad companies to which he has referred in Florida never had a grant, that there was never any legal act of the State transferring the lands to the railroad companies. The officers of his State, however, have contended from time to time, and the governor at the time the matter was investigated before the Committee on Public Lands, that the lands had been transferred to the railroad company. That question can be investigated, can be litigated and determined in regard to any quarter section of land in the State covered by the grant; because when the railroad company claims a quarter section of land which is claimed by a homesteader, that raises a question of title which can be tried and determined in the courts of the State, or in the courts of the United States.

Besides that, ever since the honorable colleague of the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO] has been a member of the Senate, he has been a member of the Committee on Public Lands, and the committee has heard no complaint from him in regard to the treatment of the questions concerning lands in Florida by the committee. I submit this communication and ask to have it printed as part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, it will be so ordered.

The communication referred to is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, March 2, 1893.

SIR: Referring to my letter of February 15, 1893, returning to your office, with my approval, clear list No. 3 of lands within the Gainesville land district, Florida, selected on account of the grant made by the act of May 17, 1856, to aid in the construction of a railroad "from Amelia Island, on the Atlantic, to the waters of Tampa Bay, with a branch to Cedar Keys, on the Gulf of Mexico," which road is now known as the Florida Central and Peninsular Railroad Company, I have deemed it proper to submit for your information the reasons that prompted the decision and action of the Department in said matter.

On March 16, 1891, I addressed you a letter stating that the Department was in receipt of a communication from Mr. Wayne MacVeagh, complaining of the delay in the adjustment of said grant, in which I stated that I had not taken action thereon for the following reasons:

First. That Senator CALL, of Florida, has been urging upon the consideration of Congress for several years a forfeiture of this grant.

Second. The possibility that Congress might take some action looking to a forfeiture thereof.

It appearing that it was not the policy of Congress to forfeit any land grants where the road had been constructed, although built out of time, I could see no necessity for further delay in the adjustment of this grant under the provisions of the act of March 3, 1887, and directed that, unless some reason existed why such adjustment should not be proceeded with, you will prepare a clear list of the pending selections of said company and present it for my approval.

At the time such instructions were given there was pending before the Department a motion filed by Senator CALL for review of the decision of Secretary Schurz of January 28, 1881, in the matter of the reservation of lands granted to the State of Florida, under the act of May 17, 1856, for the construction of a road from Amelia Island to Tampa Bay and Cedar Keys.

The effect of these instructions was to deny said application, no sufficient reason being shown why the decision of Secretary Schurz, which had been affirmed by Secretaries Teller and Lamar, should be disturbed.

Said decision of Secretary Schurz held that a map showing the definite location of said road from the junction of the Cedar Keys branch at Waldo to the waters of Tampa Bay was filed in the Department December 14, 1860, and within the time required by the act for the construction of the road, all other portions of the road having been previously exhibited by maps filed in and recognized by the Department. By this decision the Commissioner of the General Land Office was directed to make the necessary withdrawal of lands to protect the rights of the company and to secure the proper adjustment of the grant upon the line designated. It was made upon the application of the Atlantic, Gulf and West India Transit Company, formerly the Florida Railroad Company, for a review of the decision of Secretary Chandler of April 29, 1876, rejecting a claim for a withdrawal of lands and the recognition of the rights of said company under the act of May 17, 1856.

Secretary Chandler held that no map showing the definite location of the road from Waldo to Tampa Bay had ever been filed in the Department, and the failure of the company to perform this important act within a reasonable time after the date of the grant should be taken as conclusive evidence of the abandonment of the grant.

It is urged by Senator CALL, in support of his application, that the action of Secretary Chandler in this matter was binding upon his successors and could not be revoked by Secretary Schurz, and that if it was competent for Secretary Schurz to reverse the decision of Secretary Chandler it was equally competent for any subsequent Secretary to reverse the decision of Secretary Schurz.

The company resisted this application upon the ground that it was clearly shown that the map of definite location of the entire road had been filed in the Department and the greater part of the road completed long prior to the expiration of the time allowed for the completion of the road. It requested the Department to proceed with the adjustment of the grant in accordance with said decision.

In passing upon this application Secretary Lamar, in an elaborate opinion in which all the issues were carefully presented (5 L. D., 107), concurred in the ruling of Secretary Schurz—which had also been concurred in by Secretary Teller in his decision of January 30, 1884—that the map of definite location was filed by the Florida Railroad Company within the time required, and it was held that under the facts presented Secretary Schurz had the right to entertain jurisdiction of the subject; but he declined to direct the Commissioner to proceed with the adjustment of the grant because proceedings were then pending in Congress looking to the forfeiture of said grant.

Congress having failed to provide for the forfeiture of this grant, the company, on March 7, 1887, again urged that the Commissioner of the General Land Office be directed to proceed without delay with the adjustment of said grant, and pending the consideration of this application Senator CALL again filed in the Department a request that no action be taken looking to the certification of lands to the Florida Railway and Navigation Company, upon the following grounds:

1. That no location was ever made under this grant within the lifetime of the grant, under any authority from the State, or its Legislature, or its executive.
2. That no grant was ever made by the State of this land to the Florida Railway Company or its successors, or to any other company.
3. That none has ever been made up to this date.
4. That the State is the grantee named in the act.
5. That no road has ever been built under the grant or upon the line of any survey made by authority of the State during the lifetime of the grant.
6. That the Supreme Court of the United States has in numerous cases decided that a location under a grant was a condition-precedent to the vesting of any title.
7. That the grant being for lands within 6 miles of either side of a road between certain designated points, that it could describe no land or line of road which was not built.
8. That no road has ever been built on any line of survey or location made by authority of the State under the grant of May 17, 1856.
9. That the State of Florida has, by continuous legislation since the year 1858, repeatedly denied to the Florida Railroad Company any of the benefits of this grant, and has granted a right of way and incorporated various other companies for the construction of a railway between Waldo and Tampa, giving, however, to none of them the benefit of the grant of May 17, 1856.
10. That the governor of Florida, M. S. Perry, in 1856, in his message to the Legislature of Florida, officially declares that no survey and no location of any road had been made from Waldo to Tampa, and that he had refused to approve the location of the lands under the road then projected to be built by the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad Company to Pensacola.

This is the motion above referred to, the several grounds of which may be embraced under three general heads:

1. That no location of the road was made under proper authority within the time required.
2. That no grant was made by the State of this land to the Florida Railroad Company or its successors.
3. That the State of Florida has denied to the Florida Railroad Company the benefits of this grant, and has incorporated and granted to other roads the right of way between Waldo and Tampa, giving to none the benefits of the grant of May 17, 1856.

The first ground was fully settled and disposed of by Secretary Lamar's decision of August 30, 1886, reaffirming the decision of Secretary Teller, who by that decision reaffirmed the decision of Secretary Schurz, holding that a map of definite location of the whole line of road was filed in the General Land Office within the time required for the construction of the road. (See 2 L. D., 561; 5 L. D., 107, and Ex. Doc. in record, page 12.)

It is further alleged by Senator CALL "that no grant was made by the State of this land to the Florida Railroad Company, or its successors."

This question was also considered by Secretaries Lamar and Teller, in the decisions above referred to, in which it was distinctly held that the benefits of the grant of May 17, 1856, were conferred by the State of Florida upon the Florida Railroad Company, whose rights and interests thereunder have been assigned and transferred, through its successors, to the Florida Railway and Navigation Company.

The act of January 5, 1855, known as the internal-improvement act of the State of Florida, by section 4, provided for the building of certain roads, among which was one from Amelia Island on the Atlantic to the waters of Tampa Bay, in South Florida, with an extension to Cedar Keys, in East Florida. This was done in anticipation of a grant of lands from the United States for the purpose of aiding in the construction of said roads. (Ex. Doc., page 18.) Section 5 of said act then provides—

"That the several railroads now organized or chartered by the Legislature, or that may hereafter be chartered, any portion of whose route as authorized by their different charters and amendments thereto shall be within the line or routes laid down in section four (4), shall have the right and privilege of constructing that part of the line embraced by their charter, on giving notice to the trustees of the internal-improvement fund of their full acceptance of the provisions of this act, specifying the part of the route they propose to construct; and upon the refusal or neglect of any railroad company now organized to accept within six months from the passage of this act the provisions of the same, any other company duly authorized by law may undertake the construction of such part of the line as they may desire to make, and which may not be in progress of construction under a previous charter."

The Florida Railroad Company, which has previously been incorporated

with authority to build a road from the Atlantic Ocean across the State to the Gulf of Mexico, accepted the provisions of said act March 6, 1855, within three months after the passage of said act. (Journal, 1858, page 72; documents accompanying governor's message.)

By act of December 14, 1855, the charter of said company was amended, authorizing it to construct its road from Amelia Island, on the Atlantic, to the waters of Tampa Bay, in South Florida, with an extension to Cedar Keys, in East Florida, under the provisions of the internal-improvement act.

By act of Congress of May 17, 1856, a grant of lands was made to the State of Florida to aid in the construction of a railroad "from Amelia Island on the Atlantic to the waters of Tampa Bay, with a branch to Cedar Keys, on the Gulf of Mexico," being the precise line designated in the internal-improvement act, and in the amended charter of the Florida Railroad Company.

Acting under this authority, the Florida Railroad Company, in 1857, filed in the General Land Office the map of definite location of that part of the main line of said road from Fernandina (Amelia Island) to Waldo, and of the branch line from Waldo to Cedar Keys, and commenced the construction of the road on this part of the line, completing it in 1860. On December 14, 1860, the company filed a map of definite location of the remaining portion of the road from Waldo to Tampa Bay.

Passing upon the question as to the right of the Florida Railway and Navigation Company to the benefits of this grant, as successors of the Florida Railroad Company, Secretary Lamar, in his decision of August 20, 1886, said:

"The act of May 17, 1856, granted to the State of Florida, for the purpose of constructing the road aforesaid, six sections per mile on each side of said road, prescribing the manner in which the State might dispose of said lands, and providing that if said road or branch is not completed within ten years no further sales shall be made and the lands unsold shall revert to the United States. The benefit of this grant was conferred by the State of Florida upon the Florida Railroad Company, whose rights and interests thereunder have been assigned and transferred, through its successors, to the Florida Railway and Navigation Company. The road was completed from Fernandina, via Waldo, to Cedar Keys in 1860, and lands inuring for that portion of the road were certified to the State in 1858 and 1860, a map of definite location for such portion having been filed and accepted as the basis of the adjustment of the grant."

Secretary Teller, in his decision of January 30, 1884, passing upon the same question, said:

"This company was formerly known as the Florida Railroad Company, and by the act of the Florida Legislature, made in anticipation of the grant, said company became the beneficiary of the grant. In 1872 the name of the company was changed to the Atlantic, Gulf and West India Transit Company. The route of the road from Amelia Island to Cedar Keys was definitely located in 1857, and the road was constructed in 1860, such construction being that of all of the branch line and that part of the main line from Fernandina to Waldo."

It will be seen from the extracts above quoted that the Department has directly considered and recognized that the benefits of the grant of May 17, 1856, were conferred upon the Florida Railroad Company, and, acting upon this, the Department, in 1858 and in 1860, certified to the State lands inuring for that portion of the road from Fernandina, via Waldo, to Cedar Keys, which was completed in 1860.

The only question remaining for consideration is as to the right of the Florida Railway and Navigation Company to the benefits of the grant of May 17, 1856, for that part of the road between Waldo and Tampa Bay.

In a speech delivered by Senator CALL in the United States Senate, March 3, 1887, and filed with and made part of his application, he says:

"The fact that the State of Florida had expressly denied to this company (referring to the Florida Railroad Company) the right to the grant of 1856, has never been considered by the Interior Department."

In the same speech he also says:

"I had supposed that on the production of the acts of the Legislature of Florida and the message of her governor, and the opinion of her attorney-general, in December, 1858, that this fact was established: that by an act of sovereign legislation, of full force and effect, the State of Florida did, in 1858, deny to the Florida Railroad Company the benefits of the internal-improvement act of 1856, and granted it to another company."

It is evident from what follows, in the speech above referred to, that he has reference solely to that portion of the road from Waldo to Tampa Bay not completed within the ten years required by the act.

This is shown by the ninth ground of objection, embodied in the third general ground, as follows:

"That the State of Florida has denied to the Florida Railroad Company the benefits of this grant and has incorporated and granted to other roads the right of way between Waldo and Tampa, giving to none the benefits of the grant of May 17, 1856."

The act of the Legislature of Florida (January 10, 1859) referred to by Senator CALL is the act incorporating the Florida Peninsular Railroad Company and granting to said company the right of way from a point on the Florida Railroad to Tampa Bay. (Statutes 1858, page 62.)

It is urged by Senator CALL that this act denied to the Florida Railroad Company the benefits of the internal-improvement act of 1855 by conferring it upon another road, and by necessary implication also denied to the Florida Railroad Company the benefits of the grant of May 17, 1856. He also insists that this was the opinion of the attorney-general of the State, to whom the matter was referred when the bill to incorporate the Florida Peninsular Railroad Company was pending before the Legislature.

The question submitted to the attorney-general was whether the "bill to be entitled an 'Act to construct a railroad from a point on the Florida Railroad, in East Florida, to Tampa Bay, under the style of the Florida Peninsular Railroad Company,' in any of its provisions does or does not conflict with the chartered rights or privileges of any other company."

He was considering the question with reference to the internal-improvement act solely, and makes no reference whatever to the rights of any other road under the act of May 17, 1856. The question was whether, under the internal-improvement act, the Florida Railroad Company had the exclusive right to build a road between Waldo and Tampa Bay. He says:

"* * * While, therefore, the Florida Railroad Company may be entitled to build their road to the waters of Tampa Bay under authority of the amended charter, they are not, in my opinion, entitled to the benefit of the restriction against the building of a lateral road, and hence I conclude there is no provision of the bill referred to your committee which conflicts with the chartered rights of any other company.

* * * * * * * *

"The authority of the Florida Railroad Company to build the road from the point of divergence to the waters of Tampa is claimed to be derived from the act to amend the act incorporating the said company, approved 14th December, 1855. There is nothing in this act that I can discover which conflicts with the bill referred to your committee, unless it is determined that all exclusive rights and benefits of the internal-improvement act are, by the terms of the said first section, unconditionally conferred on said company. I am, however, inclined to the opinion that the real intent of the first section of the amended act was simply to grant to the Florida Railroad Company the privilege of building their road to the waters of Tampa Bay, and that if they desired the exclusive privileges offered in the internal-improvement law, they must conform to the conditions and adopt the course which only secures them to other companies, because to come under the internal-improvement law is to come under its conditions as well as its benefits."

But whatever may have been the opinion of the attorney-general as to the right of the State to grant the right of way from Waldo to Tampa to another road and to confer upon it the benefits of the internal-improvement act to the exclusion of any other road, it does not appear that any such bill was passed.

The act granted to the Florida Peninsular Railroad Company the right of way from a point on the Florida Railroad to Tampa Bay, and also the benefits of the "internal-improvement fund," to aid in the construction of said road, but it did not deny to the Florida Railroad Company the benefits of the grant of 1856, or of the internal-improvement act, or attempt in any manner to impair or affect the rights of any other company. On the contrary, it provided "that the provisions of this act shall not be so construed as to prejudice the chartered rights of any other company."

The internal-improvement act of the State of Florida, approved January 6, 1855, provided that so much of the 500,000 acres of land granted to the State for internal-improvement purposes by the act of Congress of March, 1845, as remains unsold and of the proceeds of the sale of such lands remaining unappropriated; and also of the swamp lands granted by the act of 1850 and of the proceeds of the sale of such lands that have accrued shall be set apart as a fund to be called the internal-improvement fund of the State of Florida, to be applied according to the provisions of the act.

The act then described what lines of road were proper improvements to be aided from said fund, among which was the line from Amelia Island to Tampa Bay.

Section 21 of said act provided—

"That should the Government of the United States grant land to the State of Florida for the purpose of aiding in the construction of the lines of railroad indicated and their extensions, by general or special act, said lines of railroad shall be entitled to all the benefits and advantages arising from said grant that the State of Florida would be entitled to by the construction of said lines of railway and their extensions." * * *

The Florida Railroad Company was incorporated by an act of the Legislature of Florida approved January 8, 1853, and under section 5 of the internal-improvement act was entitled to the benefits of that act, being a chartered company authorized to build upon one of the routes laid down in section 4 of said act, having accepted the provisions of the act within three months after its passage.

By act of December 14, 1855, of the Legislature of Florida, the charter of the Florida Railroad Company was amended, "so that the said company shall have power to construct the railroad from Amelia Island, on the Atlantic, to the waters of Tampa Bay, in South Florida, with an extension to Cedar Keys, in East Florida, under the provisions of an act to encourage a liberal system of internal improvements in this State, approved the 6th day of January, A. D. 1855." This is the precise line designated in the act of May 17, 1856, passed thereafter.

Now, as the twenty-first section of the internal improvement act provided that the company authorized to construct the road upon any of the lines designated by said act should be entitled to all the benefits and advantages of any grant made the United States to aid in the construction of said road, there can be no question that the Florida Railroad Company, by the terms of its charter and the provisions of the internal improvement act, was entitled to the benefits of the grant of May 17, 1856, upon complying with its provisions.

The act of May 17, 1856, gave the company ten years in which to complete its road. In pursuance of the requirements of said act, the Florida Railroad Company filed a map of definite location of its road from Fernandino (Amelia Island) to Cedar Keys via Waldo in 1857, and completed that portion of the road in 1860. In 1860 the company also filed a map of definite location of the remaining portion of the road from Waldo to Tampa Bay, thereby causing the grant to attach to the specific sections contemplated by the grant along the entire line of the road.

In 1858 the company had contracted for the building of 40 miles of the road from Waldo to Tampa Bay, with a continuous extension 12 miles farther, and before the commencement of the war a distance of 45 miles of the road was graded with culverts and trestles constructed.

At the date of the act incorporating the Florida Peninsular Railroad Company, the right of the Florida Railroad Company under the grant of May 17, 1856, had attached along the entire line of the road, and having by the terms of that act ten years in which to complete the road, that right could not be divested by the State by incorporating another road with the right to build a lateral line, even if the act pretended to divest the Florida Railroad Company of the rights acquired under the act of May 17, 1856, or of its initial right to this grant under the internal improvement act of January 8, 1855, because the title of the State was that of a mere trustee, and it had no power to divest the rights of the beneficiary which had then attached, having up to that time fully complied with the terms of the grant.

But a reference to the act incorporating the Florida Peninsular Railroad Company shows that it was not intended to impair, or in any manner affect or divest, the rights of the Florida Railroad Company; nor was the grant to the Florida Peninsular Company of the benefits of the internal-improvement act inconsistent with the rights previously conferred upon the Florida Railroad Company, or a denial of the benefits of the grant of May 17, 1856.

It is also urged by Senator CALL that the grant has expired and that the Legislature of Florida made declaration of the fact that the company was not entitled to the benefits of this act after the expiration of the time required by the act for the construction of the road.

The declaration referred to is the following resolution of the Legislature of Florida of 1868 and 1869:

"Whereas by reason of the conflict of arms which prevailed in this State between the years of 1861 and 1865, it became impracticable to proceed with the construction of the roads comprehended in the system of internal improvement adopted by this State, whereby the grant of lands made by the United States in aid thereof, so far as applicable to the unconstructed portion of said system, expired by the operation of the limitation contained in the fourth section of the act of Congress making said grant; and

"Whereas this State is now desirous of promoting the completion of the said system, or so much of the unfinished part as leads from Amelia Island to Tampa Bay: Therefore,

"*Be it resolved*, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to urge the early passage of an act reviving the grant contained in the act of Congress entitled 'An act granting public lands in alternate sections to the States of Florida and Alabama, to aid in the construction of certain railroads in said States,' approved May 17, 1856, and that the operation of said act be extended to a term of —— years from the passage of an act reviving the aforesaid grant; but nothing herein contained shall be construed as a request to grant any lands to companies heretofore chartered by any State of the Union or by any act of Congress."

I see nothing in this resolution to warrant the conclusion arrived at by Senator CALL, but, on the contrary, it shows that the State was anxious to have the grant revived for the purpose of completing the road commenced

by the Florida Railroad Company. The resolution merely shows that the Legislature supposed at the time that the grant had lapsed, but the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Schulenberg *vs.* Harriman (21 Wall., 44), rendered shortly thereafter, in construing a grant precisely similar in this respect, corrected this error.

By an act of the Legislature of Florida, approved January 18, 1872, the name of the Florida Railroad Company was changed to the Atlantic, Gulf and West India Transit Company, continuing the rights, franchises, privileges, etc., the same as if no change had been made.

By section 4 of the act of December 14, 1855, amending the charter of the Florida Railroad Company, it was provided—

"That the president and directors of the Florida Railroad Company may set off any portion of their line to persons desirous of constructing the same, and in that event such portion may have a distinct organization, with all the grants, rights, powers, duties, and privileges conferred on the Florida Railroad Company, with the right to adopt a different name, in order to keep the stock account and liabilities separate."

Acting under this authority, the Atlantic, Gulf and West India Transit Company by proper assignment, set off and gave authority to the Peninsular Railroad Company to build that part of the road from Waldo to Ocala, a distance of 44.88 miles, and on July 1, 1882, the governor of the State of Florida made the following certificate to the Secretary of the Interior:

"SIR: I have the honor to certify that the railroad from Waldo to Ocala, in the State of Florida, being a part of the line of railroad from Amelia Island, on the Atlantic, to the waters of Tampa Bay, specified in the act of Congress approved May 17, 1856, and entitled 'An act granting public lands in alternate sections to the States of Florida and Alabama to aid in the construction of certain railroads in said States,' has been completed, and is in actual operation, and that said railroad from Waldo to Ocala is of a continuous length of 44.88 miles."

Acting under the authority conferred by section 4 of the act of December 14, 1855, above referred to, the Atlantic, Gulf and West India Transit Company by proper assignment set off and authorized the Tropical Florida Company to build that portion of their line of road from Ocala to Tampa Bay, and on August 5, 1882, the governor of the State of Florida made the following certificate to the Secretary of the Interior:

"I have the honor to certify that 26 miles 520 feet of railroad, commencing at Ocala, in Marion County, State of Florida, and running southwardly toward Tampa Bay, the same being a part of the line of railroad designated in the act of Congress approved May 17, 1856, entitled 'An act granting public lands in alternate sections to the States of Florida and Alabama to aid in the construction of certain railroads in said States;' to run from Amelia Island, on the Atlantic, to the waters of Tampa Bay, with a branch to Cedar Keys, on the Gulf of Mexico, are completed, and that the said 26 miles 520 feet of railroad is owned and operated by the Tropical Florida Railroad Company."

By act of March 8, 1881, the Legislature of Florida incorporated the Tropical Peninsular Railroad Company, with the right to construct a road from a point at or near Ocala to the city of Tampa, with a grant of alternate sections of swamp and overflowed lands to the extent of six sections per mile on each side of said road.

The act incorporating the said railroad company was not intended to divest the rights of the Florida Railroad Company, or its successor, the Atlantic, Gulf and West India Transit Company, nor was the grant of lands made by said act given in lieu of lands granted to another road by the act of May 17, 1856, because the act expressly provided "that the grant of lands herein made shall not interfere with any other rights heretofore granted to any other railroad company."

Under its charter, the Tropical Peninsular Railroad Company had the right to build a line of road from Ocala to Tampa, and to receive therefor the benefit of the grant made by the act; but this did not impair or in any wise diminish the right of the Atlantic, Gulf and West India Transit Company from also building its line of road from Ocala to Tampa Bay, either with its own funds or by authorizing another company to build said line under the authority conferred by section 4 of the act of December 14, 1855, and to receive therefor the benefit of the grant of May 17, 1856.

The chartered privileges of the Tropical Peninsular Company are not inconsistent with the rights of the Florida Railroad Company and its successors, under the grant of May 17, 1856, and the governor of the State of Florida recognized that right when he certified to the Secretary of the Interior that 26 miles of said road, commencing at Ocala and running south in the direction of Tampa Bay, were completed, "the same being a part of the line of railroad designated in the act of Congress approved May 17, 1856," and that said 26 miles of railroad is owned and operated by the Tropical Florida Railroad Company.

Whether a company receiving a grant from the State to aid in constructing a lateral line of road between the same points named in the charter of the Florida Railroad Company would by the acceptance of authority from the Florida Railroad Company, or its successors, to build the road upon its line be entitled to the benefits of the grant from the State, is not necessary to be considered in connection with the right of the Florida Railroad Company or its successors or its assignees under the act of May 17, 1856, because that is a question solely between the State and the company, in which the Government has no interest.

In January, 1883, the Peninsular Railroad Company and the Tropical Florida Railroad Company were merged and consolidated under the name of the Florida Transit Peninsular Railroad Company, and on March 5, 1884, all of the several companies that built any part of the line of road from Amelia Island to Tampa Bay, with a branch to Cedar Keys, were consolidated and merged into one company, under the name of the Florida Railway and Navigation Company, which now represents all right, title, and interest in said line of road.

These several consolidations were all made under and in accordance with the laws of Florida, and the legality of said consolidation has been certified to by the officials of said State and seems not to be questioned.

With the exception of the grant for the road in question, the grants made by the act of May 17, 1856, have been practically adjusted. This road has been entirely constructed, the portion between Fernandino and Waldo (85 miles) having been built in time, the remaining portion between Waldo and Tampa (152.65 miles) after the expiration of the time limited by law, and in each instance the governor of the State has certified to the construction of these roads, as they progressed under and in accordance with the provisions of the fourth section of the act of Congress making the grants, and in other ways gave recognition to the companies claiming through the State.

The grant in question was the subject of departmental report of January 10, 1883, in response to Senate resolution of December 27, 1882, and again in report of February 7, 1884, in response to Senate resolution of February 7, 1884, and since that time numerous reports have been made in each instance upon bills introduced by Senator CALL looking to the forfeiture of this grant.

It will thus be seen that since 1883 Congress has been at regular intervals kept informed as to the status of this grant, and during this time, more than ten years, no action has been taken looking to the forfeiture of the same.

After a careful consideration of all the objections that have been urged against this grant and the listing of lands on account thereof, I became satisfied that the right to the grant of May 17, 1856, had not been forfeited by any act of the Florida Railroad Company or its successors; that the State of Florida has, by none of the acts referred to, denied to said company the benefits of said grant, but that the State of Florida, through its governors, has recognized the right of the company to receive the benefits of said grant since the dates of the acts referred to, and that the Florida Central and Peninsular Railroad being now the successor of every company having a right to build any part of said road, under articles of consolidation made under and according to the laws of Florida, and so recognized by said State, and the road having been constructed under the provisions of the act of March 3, 1887 (24 Stat., 556), it became my duty to adjust the grant, the approval of the list in question being a step in that direction.

Since the approval of these lists I have received a letter from Senator CALL, directing my attention to the provision in the last general appropriation act, the object and intention of which he states "was to suspend any further action by the Department in regard to these lands until Congress should otherwise provide."

The portion of the act referred to is found on page 370 of the unbound volume of the Statutes, containing the acts passed by the first session of the Fifty-second Congress. It is that portion of the act making appropriation for surveys, and in appropriating $125,000 for the survey of lands in railroad limits, the following provision is found: "*Provided*, That no part of this sum of money shall be used for any land embraced in any grant to the State of Florida."

It is sufficient to say that none of the lands contained in the approved list referred to were surveyed under the appropriation above referred to, and I am unable to so construe the pr ovision to that act to have the effect claimed for it.

I have thus reviewed all the objections heretofore made against this grant, and the recent objections of Senator CALL, embodied in his letter above referred to, and can find no good reason to cause me to reconsider the action already taken in directing that the adjustment of this grant be proceeded with and in approving the list referred to.

For the reasons above set forth I have also approved lists numbered 1 and 2 of lands within the Gainesville land district, Florida, selected on account of the grant made by the act of May 17, 1856, to aid in the construction of a railroad "from Amelia Island on the Atlantic to the waters of Tampa Bay, with a branch to Cedar Keys on the Gulf of Mexico," which road is now known as the Florida Central and Peninsular Railroad Company, which are returned herewith.

Very respectfully,

JOHN W. NOBLE, *Secretary.*

THE COMMISSIONER OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE.

Mr. DOLPH. I will also ask to have printed the report, which is short, made by myself at the first session of the Fiftieth Congress on a resolution introduced by the Senator from Florida [Mr. CALL], not including the testimony of witnesses and the statement of the Senator from Florida, which constitutes about fifty printed pages. The report itself contains only about five pages, and deals with the title to the swamp lands in Florida, what is being done to segregate them and the rights of persons, homesteaders and others, who contest the claim of the State to alleged swamp lands, their rights to make contest either in the Department or in the courts, and have the character of the lands determined.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection the report will be printed in the RECORD as part of the Senator's remarks. The Chair hears no objection.

The report is as follows:

The Committee on Public Lands, to whom was referred the Senate resolution, passed April 18, 1888, directing said committee or a subcommittee of their number to investigate the facts concerning alleged illegal and fraudulent conveyances of public lands in the State of Florida, have had the same under consideration, and respectfully report:

The following is a copy of said resolution:

"IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, *April 18, 1888.*

"Whereas it has been alleged by the Senator from Florida that he is satisfied, from petitions presented by reputable citizens of Florida, that illegal and fraudulent conveyances of public lands have been made in said State, in derogation of the rights of the United States and of settlers upon said lands, and that a remedy for such evils can be provided by law: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the Committee on Public Lands, or a subcommittee of their number, be, and is hereby, directed to investigate all the facts bearing upon the general allegations referred to, and that for the purpose of such an investigation said committee is authorized to employ a stenographer, and shall have power to administer oaths, send for persons and papers, to sit in Washington or such other place as may be necessary, the expenses of the same to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate; and said committee shall report, by bill or otherwise as the circumstances shall seem to require, such plan for remedy of the evils, if any shown, as they may deem necessary.

"Attest:

"ANSON G. MCCOOK, *Secretary.*

In order to ascertain the class of lands concerning which an investigation was desired by the author of the resolution, the senior Senator from Florida [Senator CALL], he was invited to appear before the committee and make a statement. From his statement it appeared that an investigation was only desired in regard to swamp and overflowed lands granted to the State by the act of September 28, 1850.

The committee thereupon proceeded to take the testimony of certain witnesses, and have received a statement from the trustees of the internal improvement fund of the State of Florida, and from Mr. Hamilton Disston, on behalf of the Florida Land and Improvement Company, all of which are appended to this report.

By the act of September 28, 1850, above referred to, there was granted to the State of Florida the whole of the swamp and overflowed lands within her borders made unfit thereby for cultivation, which remained unsold at the date of the passage of the act, to enable said State to construct the necessary levees and drains for their reclamation.

By the second section it was made the duty of the Secretary of the Interior, as soon as practicable after the passage of the act, to make accurate lists and plats of the lands described in the grant, and to transmit the same to the governor of the State, and at the request of the governor to cause a patent to be issued to the State therefor. By the third section it was provided that, in making out lists and plats of such land, all legal subdivisions the greater part of which was wet and unfit for cultivation should be included in said lists and plats, but when the greater part of a subdivision was not of that character the whole of it should be excluded therefrom.

A circular of instruction as to the manner of proceeding under said act was issued by the Secretary of the Interior November 21, 1850, to the surveyors-generals of the several swamp-land States in which that office had not been discontinued, and to the registers and receivers in the other States to which the grant applied. Copies of this circular were sent to the governors of all the States in interest, with the request that the State authorities would elect which of the two methods for the selection of the swamp lands therein proposed they would adopt. These methods were:

1. The field notes of the Government survey to be taken as the basis for selection, and all lands shown by them to be swamp or overflowed within the meaning of the act to be placed in the lists to be reported to the General Land Office.

2. The States to select the lands by their own agents and report the same to the surveyor-general with proof as to the character of the lands.

The State of Florida elected to select the swamp lands granted to her under said act by her own agents. The total number of acres of swamp lands and overflowed lands selected as inuring to the State under the swamp-land grant of September 28, 1850, reported to the Commissioner of the General Land Office by the United States surveyor-general of Florida, to June 1, 1888, was 20,259,323.59 acres; amount so selected and reported prior to March 3, 1857, was 11,630,271.51; amount reported since March 3, 1857, 8,629,052.08.

By the act of Congress approved March 3, 1857 (11 Stat., 251) selections of swamp and overflowed lands under the act of 1850 theretofore made and reported to the General Land Office so far as the lands remain vacant and unappropriated and not interfered with by an actual settlement under any existing law of the United States, were confirmed to the States and the approval and patenting of the same to the several States was directed and required. By this act 11,630,271.51 acres of swamp land selected and reported to the Commissioner of the General Land Office prior to March 3, 1857, were confirmed to the State of Florida, whether in fact swamp lands or not.

Of the 8,629,052.08 acres reported since March 3, 1857, there have been approved by the Secretary of the Interior 5,131,944.32 acres. Of the lands so approved there have been patented to the State 4,953,333.50; and there are remaining unpatented of such selections 3,675,718.58 acres. But a comparatively small quantity of lands have been approved or patented to the State since September, 1879, and none have been approved or patented since June, 1885.

Among the witnesses examined before the committee was Mr. S. R. Edwards, chief of the swamp-land division in the General Land Office. From his statement it appears that in every case where the lands selected by the State of Florida as swamp and overflowed lands have not passed beyond the control of the General Land Office, either by confirmation of the selection, by the act of 1857, or by approval and patent of selection since that date, persons filing affidavits alleging that lands selected by the State are not swamp or overflowed lands within the meaning of the grant are allowed to contest the State's claim to the lands; and that in such contest for lands which have not been patented the burden of proof of the character of the land is upon the State.

It appears also that the State makes no defense, but allows her claims to be rejected in such cases without protest or objection. Before selected lands are approved or patented to the State they are thoroughly and carefully examined in the field by an agent of the Government appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, and are not approved to the State unless his report shows them to be, in fact, swamp and overflowed lands.

Under this state of the law and of the practice in the Department, it does not appear to the committee that any further legislation is required to secure to settlers upon the public lands in Florida the right to assert their claims and to secure title to lands which have been selected by the State as swamp lands, but have not been approved to it.

The next subject of inquiry is whether any legislation should be had to authorize the institution of legal proceedings to set aside patents which have been issued to the State for lands selected by the State under said act of 1850 as swamp and overflowed lands. As to the manner of selecting these lands we quote the following from the statement of the trustees of the internal improvement fund of Florida above referred to:

"As to the selection of swamp and overflowed lands we have only to say that they are selected by agents under the employment of this board, but the proof of their character is made not to us but to the Secretary of the Interior of the United States, who considers the proof, causes the lands to be examined by his own agents, and determines whether or not the lands selected are swamp and overflowed."

A serious question arises as to the power of Congress in the premises if it shall be proposed to authorize proceedings to be instituted to set aside patents which have been issued to the State for lands selected in the manner above described. By the act of September 28, 1850, it was made the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to pass upon the question of the character of the lands selected under it, and to make out accurate lists and plats of the lands granted by the act when they had been selected, and to cause a patent to be issued to the State therefor.

Without passing upon the question as to whether the approval of the selections of lands under this act is not a final and binding adjudication between the State and the General Government as to the character of the lands selected by the State, the committee will proceed to consider the question of the policy of legislation authorizing the institution of legal proceedings for the purpose of canceling such patents.

It appears from the statement of the trustees of the internal-improvement fund of Florida that there have been received by the State patents for 15,992,251 acres; that there have been disposed of by sales, preëmptions, homesteads, etc., 6,158,610 acres; conveyed to railroads, 5,940,010 acres; conveyed to Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company, 92,156 acres; conveyed to Atlantic and Gulf Coast Canal and Okechobee Land Company, on drainage contract, 1,174,942 acres; and that of the patented lands, the title to 2,626,532 acres remains in the trustees of the internal improvement fund of Florida.

It appears further that the lands so conveyed to corporations have been largely pledged for the moneys which have been expended in their works or sold to individuals, including not only speculators, but large numbers of settlers and immigrants, all of whom have purchased upon the faith of the patents of the United States issued after a determination of the question of the character of the land by the Secretary of the Interior, who was, by the act making the grant, invested with the power to finally determine the character of the land so far as the United States is concerned; that as to the lands the title of which remains in the trustees of the internal improvement fund, a large portion is involved in contracts with drainage and canal companies who have invested their money on the faith of the patents for the same, and that other portions of said land are held by said trustees to pay the liabilities of said fund.

It appears that the swamp lands granted to the State by the said act of September 20, 1850, were, by a statute of Florida of January 6, 1855, vested in the trustees of the internal-improvement fund, and that the governor, controller, treasurer, attorney-general, and commissioner of lands and immigration are *ex-officio* such trustees. The trusts to which the lands are devoted by the original act and all amendatory acts may be stated as follows:

1. Internal improvements, by railroads and canals.

2. Drainage, by work devoted immediately to that purpose.

3. Encouragement of actual settlement and cultivation of said lands, by allowing premiums of not exceeding one section to any one settler.

A number of railroad companies in the State have special land grants from this fund varying in quantity but subject to the general trusts of the act creating such fund and its amendments; and every railroad, or canal, or company incorporated under the general corporation acts of the State becomes entitled to receive the alternate sections of State land within 6 miles of its line, and indemnity within 20 miles of the road or canal as the road or canal is completed in sections of 6 miles.

It further appears that under the statutes of the State and the rules of the board, any person may acquire swamp lands still held by the trustees and not reserved by paying $1 per acre therefor; that any citizen of Florida who is the head of a family, or is 21 years of age, can acquire 80 acres of such land at 25 cents per acre, by making affidavit that he desires it for his own settlement and cultivation; that any person who is an actual settler on such land can preëmpt and acquire the title to such land, not exceeding 160 acres in a compact form in legal subdivisions, by applying for the same and paying $1 an acre therefor in three installments, one-third on entry, one-third in two years thereafter, and one-third in three years thereafter.

It appears, also, that in the grant of these lands to railroad companies, and in the sales of lands in large quantities, the rights of settlers have been protected. Upon this point the committee quote the following from the statement of the trustees of the improvement fund:

"The policy of the laws of Florida as to actual settlers on these lands has been liberal, and the administration of the trustees has been and is governed by an earnest and diligent solicitude for the interests of such settlers and to secure to them all the rights, privileges, and opportunities possible, and any intimations to the contrary, or that action is required of Congress or otherwise to secure the rights of actual settlers in lands of which these trustees have control, they repel as gratuitous and without any foundation of fact.

"Of course this board is not able to authorize persons to now enter upon or to convey to them lands which have been previously conveyed to some one else; but in all contracts, reservations, and conveyances the board has been careful and diligent in protecting the interests of all actual settlers whether occupying under color of any right or merely as squatters. Previous to the Disston sale, above mentioned, the most of these lands were unoccupied, but here and there persons had squatted on them, who lived on them without paying anything for them and without making any effort to acquire title. This may have been in some cases on account of poverty, and in some cases because of ignorance of the method of proceeding to get title, but in some cases it was because of a desire to enjoy the use of land without paying anything for it in purchase or in taxes.

"When the sale was made to Disston in 1881 the trustees entered into an agreement with him that all persons settled on any of the lands bargained or conveyed to him should have the lands on which they were settled at the State prices, the maximum of which was $1 per acre, and that they should have until January 1, 1883, to pay for such lands. Notice of this was published by the trustees in the newspapers of the various counties where the lands were situated, and blanks or forms of application sent to all persons so situated who made application to purchase such lands, and deeds were executed to them free of any cost other than the schedule price as aforesaid.

"In fact the limitation to January 1, 1883, has never been enforced, but upon a showing of bona fide settlement prior to the sale to Mr. Disston he has always been willing, if the land remained subject to his control, to convey it to the settler and to receive other lands from the trustees instead thereof, and the trustees have always been willing and anxious to make such arrangements. If any cases of individual hardship have occurred to settlers they have not arisen from any lack of care or provision by the board for their protection. There have been contests alleging attempts fraudulently to take advantage of these provisions for the protection of actual settlers by land speculators and persons having no bona fide settlements on the lands, also contests as to who of several was the actual settler on a certain piece of land; and the board has from time to time sent out agents to investigate and report upon these matters free of cost to the alleged settlers, and in determining whether or not a person was an actual settler their decisions have been liberal to the settlers.

"The general rule as to all reservations for railroads made since 1881, since which time nearly all the reservations under which railroads have acquired lands have been made, has been and is that the reservation is made 'subject to the rights of actual settlers and subject to the further order of the board.' And the board has exercised their reserved power liberally and freely in favor of actual settlers in all meritorious cases brought to their attention, and these opportunities of relief are generally known in the localities where the lands are situated, and settlers frequently and freely avail themselves of them. There are no fees, costs, or technical requirements in these proceedings, nor is there anything strict or difficult in the proof of settlement required.

* * * * * *

"Where reservations have been made for railroads or canals and by reason of delay in the work it has appeared to the board that the settlement of the lands was being impeded, the board has in several such reservations allowed actual settlers to go into such reservations and purchase homesteads at the schedule price of $1 per acre."

It seems more than probable that considerable tracts of land were confirmed to the State of Florida by the act of March 3, 1857, which were not swamp lands in fact, and that there have been since selected and approved and patented to the State lands which did not fairly come within the description of land granted to the State by the act of 1850. But it would be impossible at this late day to ascertain with any degree of precision what lands have been so erroneously patented to the State or the relative proportion of the same. It appears that large bodies of land are swamp or overflowed at certain seasons of the year, generally in the summer and fall, and during wet years, so as to be periodically too wet for cultivation or habitation, which in dry seasons or in dry years are dry.

It also appears that lands which, at the date of the swamp-land act, September 28, 1850, were undoubtedly swamp and overflowed within the meaning of the act, have since that date, by the construction of railroads, canals, and ditches, by the settlement, clearing, and cultivation of the land, and in some cases by trails made by stock, become comparatively dry and fit for cultivation.

The committee believe that in other States which received the benefit of the act of September 20, 1850, large quantities of land have been selected and patented to the State which were not swamp lands in fact, and if legislation is to be had authorizing legal proceedings for the purpose of setting aside patents issued for land in the State of Florida, it should be extended to such States.

In view of the fact that by the terms of the grant of the swamp and overflowed lands to the States the Secretary of the Interior was empowered to pass upon and determine the question of the character of the lands; of the fact that most of the lands patented to the States have been sold and conveyed by them and are now held by persons who have purchased them upon the faith of the United States patents; in view of the impracticability of de-

termining at this time with certainty the character of lands selected by the States as swamp and overflowed lands at the date of the grant, the committee believe that as a matter of sound public policy the United States should be bound by the action of the Secretary of the Interior, and that it would be unwise to throw a cloud over the title of these lands by any legislation authorizing proceedings to set aside and cancel the patents heretofore issued for them to the States.

Mr. DOLPH. I ask to have printed a report made by me at the first session of the Fifty-first Congress, September 19, 1890, on a resolution offered by the Senator from Florida, which is very short, and also one more on another resolution upon the same subject the same day. That will constitute my answer to the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The reports referred to will be printed in the RECORD in the absence of objection.

The reports referred to are as follows:

The Committee on Public Lands, to whom was referred the Senate resolution introduced by Mr. CALL January 8, 1890, to direct the Secretary of the Interior to report to the Senate all the evidence in the General Land Office touching frauds alleged in the report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office for 1888 to have been perpetrated in regard to the claims of the State of Florida to swamp lands, have had the same under consideration, and respectfully report:

The following is a copy of said resolution:

[Senate Mis. Doc. No. 43, Fifty-first Congress, first session.]

"Whereas the Commissioner of Public Lands states in his annual report to Congress as follows:

"'In the report for 1888 (p. 45) special mention was made of the frauds that had been perpetrated in regard to the claims of Florida under the swamp grant. There can be no doubt that large quantities of land, amounting to millions of acres, have been patented to this State erroneously as being swamp, when, in fact, they were and are good agricultural lands.

"'It would seem that before action is taken for the approval of current claims by this State the lands claimed should be carefully scrutinized and examined by reliable agents of the Government in the field, and that some action should be provided for by Congress to recover for the public domain the lands fraudulently obtained before any more lands are patented under these grants. The total area of Florida is 37,931,520 acres, while the lists already filed from that State amount to 22,221,469 acres, of which amount 16,061,129.98 acres have been patented. Only 711.59 acres were patented to Florida during the past year. I call attention to the fact that no lists have yet been filed for lands in that part of the State most notoriously swampy in character, viz, in the extreme southern part of the peninsula, in the vicinity of the Everglades.

"'It is probable, therefore, that in the future several million acres more will be claimed of lands that may be more genuinely swampy than the bulk of those previously claimed.

"'It thus appears that fully two-thirds of the public lands in the State have been or will be claimed as swamp, a claim which I am not prepared to admit by any means."

"'And whereas the trustees of the board of internal improvement of the State of Florida deny the statements of the report and assert that the selections of land under the act of 1850, made since the confirmatory act of 1857, are swamp and overflowed land unfit for cultivation, and that the statements of the report impute a fraud to the State of Florida. Therefore it is

"*Resolved by the Senate*, That the Secretary of the Interior is directed to report to the Senate all the evidence in the General Land Office touching this subject, and upon which the statements of this report were made."

In response to a letter from the chairman of the committee to the honorable Secretary of the Interior asking for such information as the Department had upon the subject-matter of the resolution, the Secretary reported by letter, of date June 4, 1890, inclosing a letter from the honorable Commissioner of the General Land Office, and a letter from the honorable Assistant Commissioner, which are appended hereto. In the opinion of your committee these communications contain all the information upon the subject that is of practical value to the Senate, and they therefore recommend that the resolution do not pass.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, June 4, 1890.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of April 14 last, inclosing a "resolution by Mr. CALL in relation to the claims of Florida under the swamp-land grant," and asking what information, if any, the General Land Office has on the subject-matter of the resolution.

In reply I inclose herewith a copy of the report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, dated the 22d ultimo, and a copy of the letter referred to therein, for your information.

The resolution transmitted by you is returned herewith.

Very respectfully,

JOHN W. NOBLE, *Secretary.*

CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, GENERAL LAND OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., May 22, 1890.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive, by reference from the Hon. Cyrus Bussey, Assistant Secretary, dated the 16th ultimo, for report in duplicate and return of papers, a letter of the 14th of the same month, from the Hon. P. B. Plumb, chairman of the Senate Committee on Public Lands, which reads as follows, viz:

"The Committee on Public Lands of the Senate desire to know what information, if any, the General Land Office has touching the subject-matter of the inclosed resolution."

The resolution inclosed by Mr. Plumb reads as follows, viz:

"Whereas the Commissioner of Public Lands states in his annual report to Congress as follows:

"In the report for 1888 (page 45) special mention was made of the frauds that had been perpetrated in regard to the claims of Florida under the swamp grant. There can be no doubt that large quantities of land, amounting to millions of acres, have been patented to this State erroneously as being swamp, when, in fact, they were and are good agricultural lands.

"It would seem that before action is taken for the approval of current claims by this State the lands claimed should be carefully scrutinized and examined by reliable agents of the Government in the field, and that some action should be provided for by Congress to recover for the public domain the lands fraudulently obtained before any more lands are patented under these grants. The total area of Florida is 37,931,520 acres, while the lists already filed from that State amount to 22,221,469 acres, of which amount 16,061,129.98 acres have been patented. Only 711.59 acres were patented to Florida during the past year. I call attention to the fact that no lists have yet been filed for lands in that part of the State most notoriously swampy in character, viz., in the extreme southern part of the peninsula, in the vicinity of the Everglades.

"It is probable, therefore, that in the future several million acres more will be claimed of lands that may be more genuinely swampy than the bulk of those previously claimed.

"It thus appears that fully two-thirds of the public lands in the State have been or will be claimed as swamp, a claim which I am not prepared to admit by any means.

"And whereas the trustees of the board of internal improvement of the State of Florida deny the statements of the report and assert that the selections of land under the act of 1850, made since the confirmatory act of 1857, are swamp and overflowed land unfit for cultivation, and that the statements of the report impute a fraud to the State of Florida. Therefore, it is

"*Resolved by the Senate*, That the Secretary of the Interior is directed to report to the Senate all the evidence in the General Land Office touching this subject, and upon which the statements of this report were made."

In reply, I have to state that the annual report of this office for 1888, page 45, issued under a former administration, contains the following in reference to swamp selections by the State of Florida, viz:

"The area of the State of Florida is 37,931,520 acres, and the selections of swamp and overflowed land made by the agents of said State reported to this office cover 20,259,389 acres. The selections in many cases embrace whole townships.

"In one of these townships, containing about 20,000 acres, all selected and returned as swamp, and reported as such by former agents of this office August 18, 1879, and patented to the State February 14, 1880, the field notes of survey, under the most liberal construction that can be placed on them, show but 1,560 acres to be swamp land, and in no case does it appear from the field notes that anything near the quantity claimed by the State is of the character of land contemplated by the grant.

The total area of the State of Florida is understood to be, as stated in the extract from the annual report of this office for 1889, given in the proposed resolution above quoted. That the number of acres selected by that State under the swamp grant and the number of acres so selected which have been patented are as stated in that report appears from the lists of selections on file and the patents recorded in this office. It appears to be the general opinion that a large proportion of the land so selected, much of which has been patented, is not swampy, within the meaning of the statute making the grant, but agricultural land, not intended to be granted thereby.

This understanding is apparently based upon a consideration of the total area of the State and the very large proportion which the area selected as swamp, a great portion of which has been patented as such, bears to the total area, it being considered highly improbable that so large a proportion of the State is actually swamp. This conclusion is strengthened by the field notes of surveys and reliable reports, official or unofficial, which from time to time have reached this office as to the actual character of portions of the land so selected. It seems to rest upon what may be called moral evidence—found in the circumstances of the case, as above indicated. To obtain legal evidence of the true character of all the tracts embraced in the lists of selection made, or in the patents issued thereon, many millions of acres would require a great and a costly investigation, covering the whole field, which has not been made, and therefore such evidence is not available to be reported to the Senate should the proposed resolution, above quoted, be adopted.

The Hon. W. M. Stone, the Assistant Commissioner, who was Acting Commissioner when the annual report of this office for 1889 was prepared, and who signed that report, addressed a communication to the honorable Secretary, under date of the 9th instant, in which he gives his reasons for the statements made therein on the subject of the Florida swamp-land claims, and I herewith inclose two copies thereof, returning also Mr. Plumb's letter and its inclosure.

Very respectfully,

LEWIS A. GROFF, *Commissioner.*

The SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, GENERAL LAND OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., May 9, 1890.

SIR: In answer to your letter of January 25, 1890, referring to this office a communication from the governor and other officers of Florida as "trustees of the internal-improvement fund" of that State, complaining of alleged inaccuracies in the report of the General Land Office for the last fiscal year, prepared and submitted by me as Acting Commissioner, having been referred to me by Commissioner Groff, I have the honor to submit for your consideration the following:

The particular grounds of complaint presented in the communication of the said trustees is contained in the following extract from the annual report:

"In the report for 1888 (see p. 45) special mention was made of the frauds that had been perpetrated in regard to the claims of Florida under the swamp grant. There can be no doubt that large quantities of land, amounting to millions of acres, have been patented to this State erroneously as being swamp when in fact they were and are good agricultural lands.

"It would seem before action is taken for the approval of current claims by this State the lands claimed should be carefully scrutinized and examined by reliable agents of the Government in the field, and that some action should be provided for by Congress to recover for the public domain the lands fraudulently obtained before any more lands are patented under these grants. The total area of Florida is 37,931,520 acres, while the lists already filed from that State amount to 22,221,469 acres, of which amount 16,061,129.98 acres have been patented. Only 711.59 acres were patented to Florida during the past year. I call attention to the fact that no lists have yet been filed for lands in that part of the State most notoriously swampy in character, viz, in the extreme southern part of the peninsula, in the vicinity of the Everglades.

"It is probable, therefore, that in the future several million acres will be claimed of lands that may be more genuinely swampy than the bulk of those previously claimed.

"It thus appears that fully two-thirds of the public lands in the State have been or will be claimed as swamp, a claim which I am not prepared to admit by any means."

Commenting upon the foregoing extract from the annual report, and as embodying the gravamen of their complaints, the Florida officials say:

"It is difficult to understand how a high official of the Government, with the records of his office accessible to him, could make the statement so at variance with the facts, that no lists have yet been filed for lands in that part of the State most notoriously swampy in character, viz, the Everglades.

"The facts are, that long anterior to the date of such report, lists embracing the whole of the Everglades, and the vast area of swamp and overflowed lands contiguous thereto, and within what is known as the Ocklocknee drainage system (the submerged lands contracted to be drained by the Atlantic and Gulf Coast Canal and Okeechobee Land Company) had been filed in the General Land Office. The lands embraced within this list (59), which

is the list of 1,662,080 acres referred to by Acting Commissioner, are within the above territory. That these facts may readily appear by a glance at the map, we have caused to be marked upon a map showing the Everglade region of the State and the Okeechobee drainage system on each township therein, the number of the list which contains the unpatented selections within the respective townships, in red figures.

"We have also prepared, and transmit herewith, lists of the selections therein patented and unpatented, giving the township and range and areas; the first designated as list 'A,' being the patented lands, amounting to 4,818,465 acres, and the second designated as list 'B,' being the unpatented selections, estimated at 4,498,950 acres. Thus it will appear that 9,317,415 acres have been selected within the Everglade region, and the notoriously overflowed lands embraced in the drainage system contiguous thereto, not going further north than township 25 south.

"In his charge of fraud against the State of Florida, and the statement that 'there can be no doubt that large quantities of land, amounting to millions of acres, have been patented to this State erroneously as being swamp, when, in fact, they were and are good agricultural lands,' the Acting Commissioner appears to have ignored the fact that there had been selected up to March 3, 1857, 11,630,271.51 acres, which were confirmed to the State by act of Congress of that date, and patents directed to be made therefor (all but a small portion of which have been patented), which was, in effect, a special grant to the State by said act of such lands, eliminating therefrom any question as to their swampy character.

"This would leave of the patent lands about 5,500,000 in addition to those so confirmed by the act of 1857, of which, as shown by list 'A' above mentioned, 4,818,465 acres lie within the Everglade and drainage region. There remains, therefore, only about 631,535 acres of the patented to be accounted for outside of the grant of 1857, and the submerged lands of the Everglade region and drainage system. And we respectfully submit there is no reason to believe that those remaining lands are not swamp as claimed.

"The Acting Commissioner reports the aggregate selections of Florida under the swamp land act to be 22,221,469 acres; of this, 11,630,271.51 acres were confirmed to the State by the said act of 1857, and 9,317,415 acres lie in the Everglade and the drainage system, as aforesaid, aggregating 20,947,686 acres, which being deducted from the total selections leave 1,273,783 acres of selections to be accounted for outside of the Everglade region and drainage system and the grant of 1857, and we do not hesitate to make the statement that there is sufficient land outside thereof 'wet and unfit for cultivation' (the test under the act of 1850) for the selection, without fraud, of that number of acres."

The Florida officers conclude their complaint to the honorable Secretary with the following prayer for relief:

"We have the honor to request that you will take such action as may be necessary to correct the erroneous statement and unjust imputations of fraud contained in the said report of the Acting Commissioner, and that justice may be done the State of Florida in the premises."

Reviewing the foregoing complaint of the governor and his official associates, I may be permitted to say that I fail to perceive in the annual report any expression of phraseology calculated in the slightest degree to reflect upon either the personal or official integrity of the officers named, or upon their predecessors. Certainly it was not designed to impute to State officers any intentional fraud in their swampland transactions.

Dealing in general terms with a condition of affairs that has for many years been the subject of profound concern and of extraordinary embarrassment to this Department, to which former Secretaries and Commissioners have repeatedly called attention, and that the facts connected herewith can not have escaped the knowledge of the State officers and authorized agents of Florida, I deemed it my official duty in submitting the annual report to invite the attention of the present Secretary to the subject. This I endeavored to do in language as appropriate and respectful as the evidence in this office impeaching the integrity of these selections would permit.

In using the terms "fraud" and "fraudulently obtained" I fully understood the recognized difference between fraud in law and fraud in fact. There is no evidence before me justifying the charge that any governor of Florida, or other State officer, has knowingly participated in, or approved of, any frauds in the swamp-land selections now on file in this office or that have been patented to that State. That the governors of Florida, however, have repeatedly urged the approval and patenting of fraudulent selections of alleged swamp and overflowed lands is established to a degree of certainty that would render a denial of the fact altogether preposterous. There may be fraud in fact, or fraud in law, or both.

If agents appointed by the State make and urge the approval of swamp-land selections before this Department, knowing that they are dry and arable, or not knowing with reasonable certainty that they are swamp and overflowed, and thereby secure their being patented to the State, it would be no abuse of technical phraseology to designate it as a fraud in law and fact. If a governor of Florida, misled by his agents, urges upon and secures from this Department the approval and patenting of swamp-land selections that are not so in fact, it becomes a fraud in law, because contrary to the declared object and purpose of the grant. In either case, if called upon to characterize the transaction, I should be constrained to say that such patents were "fraudulently obtained."

I do not undertake to say that agents appointed from time to time by the Department have displayed more trustworthiness than those employed by the State; that instances of personal rectitude and sincere devotion to duty have existed among both classes of agents I do not question; yet, with the evidence on the files and records of this office at hand, I am unable to resist the belief that those who have been lacking in these qualities, if not the most numerous, have been by far the most active and successful.

Undeniable facts are abundant to warrant the foregoing observations.

These swamp-land transactions have extended over a period of nearly forty years. They constitute a part of the history of ten administrations of the Federal Government, beginning with that of President Fillmore. During this time swamp-land agents have appeared and disappeared. In the very nature of things I can only comment upon the doings of those who have figured in more recent years. Many of these agents are remembered only among the traditions of the General Land Office and the meager record preserved of their operations. Without descending to details, or attempting to reproduce the statements of different agents, whose reports are on file in this office, I respectfully invite the attention of the Secretary to the following significant and instructive facts upon the subject.

The total area of Florida is 37,931,520 acres, while the lists of alleged swamp and overflowed lands from that State aggregate the enormous amount of 22,221,469 acres, of which 16,064,129.98 acres have been patented—an extent of country about one million acres larger than the combined areas of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont, and larger than many of the kingdoms of Europe.

In order that any of this vast area could rightfully have passed to that State, the acts of 1850 and 1857 required that it should have been "swamp and overflowed lands made unfit thereby for cultivation," and such was the only description of lands which Congress intended to grant to the State for reclamation purposes. If this hypothesis be true it certainly presents a novel feature in the topography of Florida. I can not believe it, nor will it be accepted as true by the people of that State. It will astonish the outside world to be informed that nearly two-thirds of Florida is an actual swamp, unfit for cultivation, and necessarily exposed to all the disagreeable and unhealthful influences naturally incident to such regions.

In further answer to the communication of the Florida officers, I respectfully call your attention to the following facts, which I feel assured can not, upon any material point, be successfully disputed.

As shown by our plats, nearly all of the 16,061,129.98 acres already patented are situated north of township 37, above Lake Okeechobee, and several miles north of the upper line of the Everglades. These patented lands extend entirely across the State from east to west and in the regions where its driest and most arable lands are found. These portions of the peninsula attain an altitude notoriously above the swampy level, and many feet higher than the Everglades.

In these regions, as I am informed, are found the most prosperous agricultural communities in the State and where lands are most valuable and desirable. These lands rarely have water upon them beyond what falls from the clouds, and, if any of them are swamp and overflowed, they are limited in extent and notably exceptional. That over 16,000,000 acres of swamp and overflowed lands, rendered unfit thereby for cultivation, should be found in these upper portions of the peninsula is absolutely phenomenal.

That illegal selections have been made (and by this is meant those that do not come within the meaning of the grant) seems to be understood among the people of Florida. In corroboration of this I cite a resolution unanimously adopted by the senate of that State April 12, 1888, page 113 of senate journal, as follows:

By Mr. Birrong: Senate joint resolution No. 23, instructing our governor and Senators and requesting our Representatives in Congress to cause an investigation to be made to ascertain as to the legality of selections of swamp and overflowed lands and have such as have been legally selected patented to the State."

From this it appears that suspicions existed as to the legality of these swamp land selections, and it is to the credit of the honorable senators of the State that they courted investigation on the subject, desiring that patents should issue only for such as have been "legally selected." They certainly were not induced to adopt this resolution by remarks contained in the annual report, which was not published until October following. This resolution was vetoed by his excellency Governor Fleming for the following, among other, reasons therefor:

* * * * * * *

"The Department of the Interior possesses ample means without further Congressional legislation to ascertain whether lands rejected come within the terms of the act of September 28, 1850, and eliminate therefrom any lands which may be improperly selected, and examinations are now being made by the Government as to the State selections; nor is Congressional action necessary to authorize the issue of patents to the State to which she may be entitled."

It is quite obvious that his excellency was not disposed to permit the question as to the legality of these selections to undergo the scrutiny of a Congressional investigation. He preferred to cast the labor and responsibility of such an undertaking solely upon the Interior Department, with its limited means under the inadequate appropriations made therefor by Congress.

Millions of acres of valuable land have unjustly been placed beyond the reach of actual settlers, and given over to illicit purposes of individual and corporate aggrandizement. And in this way also we can in part account for the rapidly diminishing area of our public lands.

In this connection I speak not alone of Florida, as she differed in this respect from some other swamp-land States only in degree.

As serving to illustrate what has been said as to the attitude and conduct of agents, both State and departmental, I cite the Secretary to the following well-known cases.

I quote the from the report of Mr. P. W. White and Dr. Mitchell, commissioners of immigration of Florida:

	Acres.
S. I. Walles, indemnity certificate assigned for services	75,010.22
Sold S. I. Walles, on his account as State agent at Washington for adjusting land	70,782.97
1881-'82, entered by S. I. Walles under his contract with trustees of April 13, 1878	21,664.03
Certificate No. 1, being 20 per cent of the whole amount for recovering same under his contract with trustees	1,072.96
November, 1821, 8 per cent of patents	1,956.92
July 25, 1881	5,800.60
May 31, Indemnity certificates assigned S. I. Walles, agent at Washington	1,667.92
Assigned Mr. Walles for services	17,141.76
To Mr. Walles $25,810.36 in land	5,162.07
April 23, Mr. Walles for services	4,639.51
Total	214,909.37

This magnificent compensation makes the energetic Mr. Walles one of the greatest individual land-owners in the world.

There is still another item to be considered, as follows:

This gentleman's contract for these services entitles him to 2 cents per acre for all the swamp lands patented to the State.

The lists of selections now pending aggregate 6,100,340 acres, and if secured will yield him under his contract $123,206.40 in addition to what he has heretofore received, and if we estimate the land at $1 per acre, and that is below the present actual value, it will swell the total of his compensation in this business to the comfortable sum of $338,214. This large sum to one agent alone.

But there are other agents which this enterprising State has in its employ, among whom are the following:

Charles Pomeroy, clerk and agent of L. G. Dennis, has received 5,800 acres for making selections; William Swan & Co., 3,614 acres for making selections; John A. Henderson, 29,589 acres; making in all 253,000 acres of land already paid to agents for making selections and securing approval of the Department, and $140,000 cash yet to be paid, depending upon success. I shall not attempt to give the amounts paid to other agents for similar services. I need not say that these payments of land to agents for their services are in direct contravention of the express condition of the swamp-land grant and a palpable misappropriation of the land.

No one will attempt to dispute the perfect right of the State to employ all the swamp-land agents it may deem necessary and pay them such compensation as it chooses, but I submit that it is a gross violation of the express conditions of the grant to pay them either in swamp land or indemnity money for their services.

I quote from the act of September 28, 1850, as follows:

"SEC. 1. That to enable the State of Arkansas to construct the levees and drains to reclaim the swamp and overflowed lands therein, the whole of these swamp and overflowed lands made unfit for cultivation which shall remain unsold at the passage of this act shall be and the same are hereby granted to said State."

By the fourth section of said act its provisions were thereby extended to

all the States in which swamp and overflowed lands were known to be situated. Under this act Florida acquired her right to these lands.

It will be observed that the grant thus made was for the specific purpose of "enabling the State * * * to construct the necessary levees and drains to reclaim the swamp and overflowed lands, made thereby unfit for cultivation, and for no other purpose." Nothing can be plainer.

Section 2 of the act provides as follows:

"* * * And on that patent the fee-simple to said lands shall vest in the said State of ——, subject to the disposal of the Legislature thereof: *Provided, however*, That the proceeds of said lands, whether from sale or direct appropriation in kind, shall be applied exclusively, so far as necessary, to the purpose of reclaiming said lands by means of the levees and drains aforesaid."

This evidently is not to pay agents for making selections, or agents for engaging, with their importunities, the time of the chiefs and clerks of the General Land Office. Congress intended that every acre of land and every dollar of cash indemnity should be faithfully and exclusively applied to reclaiming the lands so granted "by means of the levees and drains aforesaid."

I am justified by the observation and experience of the Department in saying that this swamp-land business years ago degenera ed into a system of lobbying as offensive as it was disreputable. Under the demoralizing incentive of a contingent compensation for his services, the State agent in his inordinate zeal frequently transgressed the limits of propriety and inadvertently drifted away from the moorings of conscience.

CONDUCT OF SPECIAL AGENTS.

In order to illustrate the character and conduct of some of the agents appointed by the Department to investigate these Florida swamp-land cases, I invite attention to the following report of Capt. J. G. Hester, a special agent of the Department, who, as this office understands it, is an honorable and reliable gentleman, directed to Hon. J. A. Williamson as Commissioner of the General Land Office, dated November 18, 1877, as follows:

"Information has come to me of other wrongs against the United States relative to public lands which I feel would be a neglect of duty were I to permit it to pass unnoticed. I therefore have the honor to invite your attention to the following:

"It appears that 896,915 acres of swamp and overflowed lands were granted to the State of Florida under act of Congress approved September 28, 1850. I refer to list No. 8, selections for the State of Florida, approved June 28, 1876. The lands included in this list are situated mainly in Manatee and Monroe Counties, on the Caloosahatchie Creek, Brush Creek, Peace Creek, Tsaloapopka Creek, Josh Creek, Prairie Creek, Halpatahatchie Creek, Caloosahatchee River, and along the coast of Charlotte Harbor. * * *

"Much of these lands have been sold and not one dollar has been expended as the law requires (section 2480, Revised Statutes), and in fact the lands in question, or at least a very small proportion of them, needed no such drainage, it being nearly all as high and dry as any lands in Florida. As evidence of this fact Mr. R. S. Fuller, of Hainesville, was recently in the State land office at Jacksonville, where he heard Mr. William H. Kendrick, a salesman in the State land office, negotiating the sale of some of these lands, state that he aided in the selection of the said lands, and that they were not overflowed or swamp lands.

"Any amount of evidence can be obtained to confirm the fact. * * * Evidence can also be had to fully establish the fact that the affidavits upon which the selections in this list (No. 8) are based were false. The facts in the foregoing are the same, to a great extent, in other lists and other grants previously made; this I assert from personal observation.

"Having recently traveled over much of the State land which was granted to the State of Florida, I can positively state that three-fourths of all the land granted to Florida under the act of September 28, 1850, is high dry land and has never been subject to overflow.

"It is perfectly clear that the act of Congress, September 28, 1850, so liberal in its provisions, has been greatly abused by a set of land sharks, swindlers, and railroad rings perverting its true intent and using it to their own personal advantage by making up lists of alleged swamp and overflowed lands and furnishing proof of the same as required by law, which is in most instances wholly or in part false. A recent selection of this kind has been made. I refer now to the list of State selections (No. 101), amounting to 530,176 acres, which I understand has been submitted to the honorable Commissioner of the General Land Office, asking for approval and patent.

"Three hundred and ninety-one thousand acres of this land is situated on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, between latitude 26 and 27; it embraces the mouth of Corkscrew River and Ostego Bay; the greater portion of it is represented by persons who were well informed to be high dry land, and very valuable for the growth of sugar cane and tropical fruits. One hundred and fifteen thousand acres of this land is located on the Atlantic coast, between latitude 25 and 26, and embraces the whole of the coast with some of the adjacent islands from Barnes Sound to Biscayne Bay. It is represented by persons well informed to be high dry land, and only a very small portion of it swamp or in any way subject to overflow; it embraces one of the best harbors on the peninsula, and with slight improvement on the bar would be the best south of Fernandina.

"Twenty-four thousand one hundred and seventy-six acres is located on the Caloosahatchie River, at the head of navigation, and is represented by persons well informed to be one of the best timbered bodies of land on that river and not in any way subject to overflow. It embraces the land around Fort Thompson. It is the head of navigation, and if owned by a ring or set of land sharks would give them the complete monopoly of the timber on the river above that point."

Report of Albert Akers, special agent, to Commissioner Stockslager, September 29, 1888, as follows:

"* * * I proceeded to the State of Florida in the month of January, 1888, and made a personal examination in the field of the lands in question. I was accompanied by a competent surveyor and other assistants. Two lists were given, to wit, lists No. 27 and No. 44, together with maps and field notes of the original Government survey, verified by the surveyor-general and approved by the General Land Office. All of these lands lie in south Florida, commencing in township No. 46, range 31, and ending in township No. 53, range 32, running to the extreme southern portion of the State bordering on the 'Everglades.'

"Florida is a much larger State than Iowa or Illinois. * * * No State in the Union has received as much, in the way of grants from the Government, for works of internal improvement. According to the record of the General Land Office there have been sold 1,832,431 acres; entered under the homestead law, about 500,000 acres; granted military services, 465,942 acres; officially approved railroad grants, —— acres; approved as swamp lands to the State, over 16,000,000 acres; granted for internal improvements, —— acres; granted for schools and universities, 1,000,663 acres; granted to individuals and corporations, 53,114 acres; granted to deaf and dumb asylums, 20,024 acres; confirmed private land claims, 3,362,529 acres.

"The surface of this State is generally undulating, in some cases rising into well-defined hills, and the climate is so attractive that from October till May more than 100,000 tourists and invalids annually seek it and convert the State into a pleasure resort and sanitarium.

"The Gulf of Mexico makes up five-sixths of its western boundary. Below the twenty-ninth parallel of latitude the State is a true peninsula. The rainy season is in the summer and it does not consist of steady rains, but of afternoon showers, which come up in the heat of the day with purifying thunder and lightning. This disproportion of summer rain leaves the winter an agreeable excess of clear days.

"Pine is the principal timber of Florida and is of many grades. The first-rate pine land is unlike any soil to be found in other States. The surface soil is usually several inches deep, of light sandy loam, mixed with vegetable mold or humus. Beneath this, to a depth of several feet, is a layer of light soil, resting generally on a final subsoil of clay, marl, or limestone. These first-class pine lands usually bear about sixty to seventy trees to the acre, and the trees are in most cases very large. The land is more or less rolling, well drained, easy to break, and being free from undergrowth is easily cleared. They are the healthiest lands in the State for residence, and experience has shown them to be adapted to the cultivation of the orange and all of the field crops. Other pine lands are more or less interspersed with a growth of oak and hickory. This variety of land is held by many to be the best for oranges, bananas, and pineapples.

"Most of all of the lands I have examined in Southern Florida claimed by the State are in a wild state and uncultivated, except here and there a few settlers and squatters waiting to enter homesteads. I found the great majority of these lands dry and fit for cultivation and situated in that part of Florida which, at some near future day, will become very valuable for timber and agricultural purposes. I have been informed that a former agent of the General Land Office had been sent to examine these lands, and he claims to have made an examination of the same and reported them to the General Land Office some time in the year 1879 or 1881, or thereabout, that the claim of the State was good, and that the lands were of the character contemplated by the swamp-land grant of 1850, and that the majority of the tracts were swamp and overflowed.

"From all the information I could obtain from old settlers and citizens of that part of Florida, J. W. Childs (said agent) had never visited, seen, or examined these lands, nor had he made inquiries in reference to their character and nature. I made diligent inquiry among the settlers and citizens of the county and it was universally conceded that Special Agent J. W. Childs had never made a personal examination or ever inquired about the lands that he afterwards reported to the General Land Office as swamp and overflowed.

"I am informed by two credible citizens of South Florida, men who have resided in that country for many years and regarded as the oldest citizens of Lee County, that Mr. Childs spent most of his time at Punta Rassa and Fort Myers, and never made an effort to reach these lands except in one instance, when he took a buggy at Fort Myers and traveled some 30 or 40 miles to the interior in the locality of township No. 46, range 31, and reported on sections 19 and 30 of that township.

"It would be impossible to find in the whole State of Florida, not excepting the entire 16,000,000 acres already reported and patented as swamp and overflowed, one township without a few 40-acre tracts that would produce any of the cereals without artificial drainage. The whole thing is a stupendous fraud on its face. Mr. Childs reports more than eleven townships, commencing at section 1, going to section 36, only omitting section 16 (reserved for school purposes), as swamp land unfit for cultivation without artificial means of reclamation, and not one-quarter of a quarter-section (40 acres) would produce tame grass or hay without ditching or some kind of surface drainage.

"It is well known in Florida by all old settlers and citizens that nineteen-twentieths of these lands reported and patented to the State as swamp are high, dry, rolling, and arable lands, free from overflow or swamp. There is no drainage in Florida to amount to anything; the lands that require drainage are not sought after by the State or by individuals. None of the 16,000,000 acres patented to the State, and disposed of by it, show any evidence, as far as I can see or learn, of artificial means of reclamation. What is artificial drainage? Artificial drainage, as considered by the Department, includes anything and everything done to render land drier than it was in its natural state, such as open ditches, blind ditches, and draining with tile, levees and embankments, and surface drainage. * * * The Department has always regarded this style of drainage of sufficient moment to adjust the claims of the several States for indemnity.

"The rule of the Department requires that the special agent shall go over the lands and examine them in person, noting in a book furnished for that purpose the topography of the country and describe the timber, shrubs, grasses, etc., growing on the land, and if there is any evidence of reclamation note that also, describing the same in full, giving the lakes and streams on or near the land, and state what effect, if any, they have upon it; he is also required to make inquiries of persons residing on or near the land of its character at the date of the grant (if any can be found), and if such persons can not be found, of those who have known it for the longest period of time.

"In a contest between a citizen of Florida and the State over a homestead entry, the question was asked on behalf of the State, when the settler went to prove the tract was not swamp and overflowed, under the act of 1850, how he (the witness) knew the land in question was not swamp and overflowed in 1850; for at that time the country was new and unsettled, and the oldest citizen could only date back to 1860, and no man in South Florida living could give any information as to the true nature and character of the soil when the grant was made, September 28, 1850.

"The witness, who is a very intelligent man, stated that he could tell by the growth of the timber; and the land in dispute was proven to be pine land, and the decision rendered established a precedent that has been followed ever since, and the growth of the timber always goes to prove the character of the soil at the date of the grant. Out of the great multitude of contests between the citizens and the State, the State has never been known to gain a case; the decision is invariably given to the settler, and very justly so. The State may, by long litigation, drive the poor man from his claim, but it is not because his claim is invalid, but because he has not the means to fight the case to successful termination.

"Pine trees never grow on swamp or overflowed land. Cypress grows on either one, and so will mangrove; mangroves only grow in salt water; cypress grows in fresh water only, and the soil must be continuously wet. During my examination of lands in Florida I frequently had to dig wells to obtain a supply of water; this was during the months of January, February, and March. We depended mainly for our water supply on cypress ponds along our line of travel. I have often gone as far as ten miles for water; it is a well-known fact that we have sometimes traveled 20 miles without finding a drop of water of any sort—not enough for man or beast. This, in a country put down by State selectors and by Special Agent Childs as swamp and overflowed lands unfit for cultivation until drained by artificial means. * * *

"Another very convincing proof that the lands reported by the State authorities, and passed by the special agents, were never seen or examined by them, is that the lands lie remotely from the coast, and in order to reach them a line had to be run by a surveyor and the trees blazed through a howling wilderness, over obstacles apparently insurmountable, and the only evidence that man had ever passed over the land was the marks on the trees made by the surveyors of the original Government survey. We found these marks with great difficulty, as they were grown over, almost obli-

erated. It required a surveyor of many years' experience to locate the line. The original survey was in 1872. * * * The field notes of the Government survey shows a very large majority of the land dry, arable, and covered with forests of pine and other timber.

"The State of Florida did not elect to take the field notes of the Government survey as a basis of settlement, as some States did, in dividing the swamp and overflowed lands from the dry, but preferred to make her own selections. This opened the door to all sorts of frauds in taking lands that were not of the character contemplated by the grant.

"The State, in making selections of so-called swamp land, never examined the land with a view to ascertain the fact whether or not it was swamp, but reported to the General Land Office all lands desired at the time, commencing at section 1 and running to section 36, omitting only section 16, reserved for school purposes. This egregious, flagrant, and high-handed outrage on the public domain deserves the highest condemnation. These lands were intended for actual settlers as homes, and to take them for any other purpose is a crime."

In harmony with the conduct of Special Agent Childs, as stated by Mr. Akers, is that of R. V. Ankeny, appointed by the Department in 1879. This gentleman was highly recommended for the position of special agent by prominent citizens of his State, and was supposed to be honest and reliable. He was sent to Florida on proper instructions, to make a special and thorough examination of certain lists of selections filed by that State. In May, 1879, he reported that he had made the proper examinations and that most of the lands described and included in the list were high and arable. After remaining in the State for several months he reported that he had made another and further examination of the lands and reported them swampy and overflowed within the meaning of the act of September 28, 1850.

This agent undoubtedly went to Florida with upright intentions, and his very radical change of opinion as to the character of the lands he examined has never been satisfactorily explained to the Department. What influence the climate of Florida and association with her swamp-land agents may have exerted upon his judgment remains a matter of conjecture. I simply state the facts, leaving the Secretary to draw his own conclusions.

These cases serve to show how difficult it is for the Department to obtain entirely truthful and trustworthy information from special agents sent to Florida to make these examinations. Some of these agents, I am happy to say, have shown industry and thoroughness in their examinations, and their reports are regarded as entirely reliable, but I regret to say that such has not been the general rule.

I have endeavored to afford the Secretary all the information upon this subject I could possibly obtain, but the task has been a difficult one. Many reports said to have been made to this office years ago, I have not been able, after much delay and great labor, to find. What has become of them, those now in charge of the swamp-land division are unable to inform us. I am satisfied, however, that no blame in this matter can be justly imputed to the present chief of that division, or to any of the clerks under his charge.

In their communication to the Secretary, the Florida officials complain of alleged erroneous statements contained in the Annual Report, as follows:

"In his charges of fraud against the State of Florida, and the statement that 'there can be no doubt that large quantities of land, amounting to millions of acres, have been patented to this State erroneously as being swamp, when in fact they are and were at the time good agricultural lands,' the Acting Commissioner appears to have ignored the fact that there had been selected up to March 3, 1858, 11,630,271.51 acres, which were confirmed to the State by act of Congress of that date, and patents directed to be made therefor (all but a small portion of which have been patented), which was in effect a special grant to the State by said act of such lands, eliminating therefrom any question as to their swampy character.

"This would leave of the patented lands about 5,500,000 acres in addition to those so confirmed by the act of 1857 of which, as shown by list A, above mentioned, 4,818,465 acres lie within the said Everglade and drainage region. There remains, therefore, only about 681,535 acres of the patented lands to be accounted for outside of the grant of 1857 and the submerged lands of the Everglade region and drainage system. And we respectfully submit there is no reason to believe that those remaining lands are not swamp, as claimed."

In their anxiety to diminish the force of the statement that over 16,000,000 acres of lands claimed to be swamp have already been patented to the State of Florida, these officers are compelled to resort to the desperate expedient of perverting the plain purpose and obvious meaning of the act of March 3, 1857. In order to do this they are driven to the unwarranted assumption that said act " * * * was, in effect, a special grant to the State by said act of such lands, eliminating therefrom any question as to their swampy character."

The act of 1857 was what may be properly termed an "omnibus bill," passed for the benefit of all the recognized swamp-land States, especially referring to Louisiana and Arkansas. Florida is not even named in the act, and it applies to that State only because it was an act in general terms for the benefit of the several swamp-land States. The title of the act itself sufficiently contradicts this assumption of the Florida officers. The following is the title of said act of March 3, 1857:

"An act to confirm to the several States the swamp and overflowed lands selected under the act of September 28, 1850, and the act of the 2d of March, 1849."

It was, by its very terms, an act to confirm to the several States the swamp and overflowed lands selected by them under the acts of 1849 and 1850. It was known that under said acts the so-called swamp-land States had made and reported their selections to the General Land Office, and the act of 1857 was passed to confirm them without further delay. It can not now be ascertained that Congress took any steps to verify those selections, or to determine as to their swampy character; but it did, without examination and without inquiry, undertake to relieve itself from further trouble and responsibility by a general and sweeping act of confirmation.

It is confidently asserted that no act can be found wherein Congress has made a grant of public lands to an individual, corporation, or State, except for a declared and specific purpose, and usually the amount of land intended to be granted had been in some manner clearly expressed, either in an aggregate quantity or by numbered sections, whether odd or even, with defined limits. But, from the very nature of the case, this certainly could not be attained in granting swamp and overflowed lands to the States. Hence, by a general provision the lists of selections then on file in the Department referred to were confirmed and granted.

It may not be regarded as disingenuous to say that the Florida officers now, for the first time, assert this claim, and for the obvious reason that they are unwilling to face the full measure of the fact that there are, as claimed by them, patented and unpatented selections in a total area of less than 38,000,000 acres, over 22,000,000 acres of swamp and overflowed lands "rendered unfit thereby for cultivation," and because they do not desire to be confronted with this damaging admission in view of their unsettled claim for nearly 6,000,000 acres now on file in this Department.

So far as this office is advised Florida is the only State that has made this claim under the act of 1857.

INDEMNITY LANDS.

Included in the lands patented are 92,980.57 acres given to the States as indemnity for alleged swamp land sold by the Government, as provided by section 2, act March 2, 1855, and claimed to have been swamped and overflowed in September, 1850. While the act of 1855 did not require that these indemnity lands should be from swamped and overflowed, yet it is notoriously true that in selecting them the State picked out the very best tracts it could find, thus obtaining arable and valuable lands for those that were swampy and inferior.

By the said act of March 2, 1855, it is also provided: "That upon proof by the authorized agent of the State or States, before the Commissioner of the General Land Office, that any of the lands purchased were swamp lands, within the true intent and meaning of the act aforesaid, the purchase money should be paid over to the said State or States."

Under this provision there has been paid to the State of Florida up to March 20, 1890, the sum of $69,214.83 in money, representing 70,403.86 acres of land at the graduated prices provided by law.

FLORIDA KEYS.

Still another fact may be cited illustrating the assiduity and admirable tact of these Florida agents. They have not confined their efforts alone to the peninsula, but have gone beyond its limits and invaded the waters of the Atlantic in their persistent hunt for swamp and overflowed lands. It is a noteworthy fact that they have selected 55,544.26 acres, over 22,000 acres of which have been patented, situated upon the Florida Keys, an archipelago or chain of islands along the straits, which begin at Dry Tortugas, its extreme western terminus, running thence in a northeasterly direction entirely around the southern end of the peninsula, several miles in front of its eastern shore.

These islands are situated from 6 to 50 miles out from the mainland, and are of coral formation, generally covered with a sandy soil, in many places showing alluvial deposits that are arable and rich, producing some of the choicest semitropical fruits. Occasionally their lowest portions are washed by the waves or covered by high tides. South of these keys, and separated from them by a navigable channel, is a narrow coral reef or ridge, known as the "Florida Reef," which here constitutes the left bank of the Gulf Stream.

From these circumstances, it would appear that these keys are not formations upon which swamp and overflowed lands can exist within the meaning of the granting acts. This proposition is so apparent as to exclude the necessity of illustration or argument.

But their selection as such by her agents seems to show that the State of Florida has been prompt and vigilant in pursuing all the chances suggested to her by the several acts of Congress. Her merest possibilities have been developed into an astonishing measure of success. Over 22,000 acres of the lands selected on the keys have already been patented to the State.

GRANTED TO RAILROADS.

Not only have large bodies of these swamp lands been absorbed by State agents in payment of their services, but an immense area has been donated to railroads and other corporations.

I find in the senate journal of the State, for the year 1889, page 761, that 9,125,541.69 acres have been conveyed by said State to railroads and canals, by far the largest portion of which being to the former. I shall not enter into a discussion of the question as to the right, under the granting act, of the State to divert these swamp and overflowed lands to the purpose of subsidizing railroads and canals. It is possible that inasmuch as the patents issued by the Department vested the fee-simple title to these lands in the State, it had the power thereby to divert them from the specific purpose expressed in the grant, and that the United States Government retained no power to interfere with such disposal.

In accepting the grant with its limitations and purposes so plainly expressed, the State pledged itself to apply the land granted to the purposes therein specified. To this the faith of the State was solemnly committed. By providing that the reclamation of these lands should be accomplished by the particular "means of the levees and drains aforesaid," it thereby, under all recognized canons of construction, excluded the idea that the lands granted for that purpose should be used in experimenting with other and untried agencies. It became a trustee for a particular specified trust and was bound to carry that trust into effect according to its terms.

Still another feature worthy of comment is connected with this giving of lands to the railroads and canals of the State. I am informed by citizens of Florida, and others in a position to know the facts, that a large portion of these lands were given to railway companies many miles distant from their respective lines of road. They were not confined to coterminous sections, but were allowed lands varying in distance from 25 miles to over 100 miles therefrom, thus excluding all pretense that they were given for reclamation purposes.

When it is considered that Florida has within her limits, according to her own showing, more than 22,000,000 acres of swamp and overflowed lands, rendered unfit thereby for cultivation, which, by accepting the grant made by Congress, she is under a solemn obligation to reclaim to the extent at least of the means provided for that purpose by the grant, it becomes apparent that she can not divert so large a portion of these lands, and so much of the cash indemnity, without seriously impairing her ability to discharge the obligation she has undertaken to perform.

In this view of the case the people of Florida are themselves doubly and most vitally interested, first, because every acre of land approved to the State as swamp and overflowed that is not so in fact is a loss of so much to actual settlers for homestead purposes; and second, because every acre, or its proceeds, should be faithfully and exclusively applied to the reclamation and rendering fit for cultivation of all the swamp and overflowed lands within her borders.

It was to effectually guard the State against the possible contingency of misappropriation that Congress wisely provided in the grant that every acre of said land, or its proceeds, should be "applied exclusively, so far as necessary, to the purpose of reclaiming said land, by means of the levees and drains aforesaid."

I allude to this feature of the case because, in my judgment, it serves to show still more clearly the extent to which the State of Florida has gone in disregarding the provisions of these swamp-land grants, rendering still more imperative the necessity for a thorough investigation of her selections now on file, embracing about 6,000,000 acres in addition to the enormous aggregate already obtained.

LANDS RECLAIMED.

That a very large majority of the lands patented to the State of Florida as swamp and overflowed have been absorbed by corporations and appropriated to the purposes of corporate and individual aggrandizement instead of being faithfully applied to the purposes of reclamation, as contemplated by the several acts of Congress on the subject, is a fact so clearly established as to place it beyond successful controversy.

The evident purpose of Congress was that the lands granted should be so appropriated as to procure their own reclamation—that is, the identical lands so granted—and it was for this purpose only that the grant was made. It

certainly never entered into the contemplation of Congress that they should be diverted from the declared purpose of reclamation and used for corporate or individual profit. Yet I regret to say that such has largely been the fate of the enormous acreage of the so-called swamp and overflowed lands patented to the State of Florida.

In the reports made by the trustees of the internal-improvement fund of that State, I find no statement as to the actual number of acres of land that have been reclaimed from their swamp and overflowed condition, and this office has no information that any lands have been reclaimed, nor have we been able to ascertain that, in this respect, the purpose of Congress in making the grant has in any manner been accomplished. I therefore respectfully submit that this subject should arrest the profound attention of the Secretary of the Interior, and of Congress, especially so as there are still selections pending in this office for considerably more than 6,000,000 additional acres from that State that are unadjusted.

For the information of the honorable Secretary I append the following table, showing the number of acres already patented to the several States, and the number of acres selected awaiting examination, viz:

Area of the swamp-land selections made by the several States up to May 3, 1890.

States.	Area.	States.	Area.
	Acres.		*Acres.*
Alabama	531,365.60	Michigan	7,293,159.28
Arkansas	8,655,210.10	Minnesota	4,389,252.94
California	1,883,555.90	Mississippi	3,602,963.30
Florida	22,232,439.60	Missouri	4,843,583.34
Illinois	3,981,784.10	Ohio	116,766.26
Indiana	1,377,727.70	Oregon	410,671.66
Iowa	4,567,959.33	Wisconsin	4,567,123.67
Louisiana, act March 2, 1849	11,214,996.32	Total	80,213,009.03
Louisiana, act September 28, 1850	55,459.51		

Area of the swamp lands patented to the several States up to May 3, 1890.

States.	Area.	States.	Area.
	Acres.		*Acres.*
Alabama	411,189.26	Michigan	5,667,304.64
Arkansas	7,647,709.36	Minnesota	2,890,547.25
California	1,469,340.25	Mississippi	3,259,153.20
Florida	16,114,669.00	Missouri	3,415,452.85
Illinois	4,456,641.45	Ohio	25,640.71
Indiana	1,257,863.05	Oregon	140,623.87
Iowa	1,183,815.20	Wisconsin	3,332,900.51
Louisiana, act March 2, 1849	8,708,588.53	Total	57,205,111.45
Louisiana, act September 28, 1850	225,172.32		

It will be seen that of the immense acreage of selections made by the sixteen swamp-land States more than one-fourth comes from the State of Florida alone. The average of selections per State is a little over 5,000,000 acres, Florida claiming over four times that amount.

In view of all the facts herein presented, I respectfully urge upon the honorable Secretary that no more selections be approved to the State of Florida until thorough and reliable examinations are made by competent and trustworthy agents, who go out under specific instructions, provided with competent surveyors, with orders to trace and report upon each section embraced in the lists of selections according to the field notes of the original surveys.

The limits of this communication, already too much extended, will not permit me to enter into a discussion of the important and somewhat difficult question as to the right and duty of the Government to institute proceedings for setting aside patents granted to the State upon the ground that they were procured through fraud and mistake. Upon this subject I am not now prepared to express an opinion. I therefore respectfully suggest that it be referred to the honorable Attorney-General for his consideration.

Very respectfully,

W. M. STONE,
Assistant Commissioner.

Hon. JOHN W. NOBLE,
Secretary of the Interior.

The Committee on Public Lands, to whom was referred the Senate resolution, introduced December 4, 1889, proposing to direct said committee or a subcommittee to investigate the facts concerning alleged illegal and fraudulent conveyances of public lands in the State of Florida, have had the same under consideration and respectfully report.

The following is a copy of said resolution:

"[Senate Mis. Doc. No. 12, Fifty-first Congress, first session.]

"Whereas the Secretary of the Interior in a communication to the Senate in 1885 stated that, at an estimated number, there were between two and three thousand contests and homestead cases in the State of Florida alleging unlawful selections of the land covered by their homesteads under alleged railroad and swamp-land grants; and

"Whereas the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of the General Land Office, in several communications to Congress in the years 1885, '86, '87, '88, called the attention of Congress to the fact that 'numerous letters were on file in the Interior Department from citizens of Florida complaining of unlawful selections of their homes, under alleged railroad and swamp-land grants, and recommended legislation for the protection of these people in their rights;' and

"Whereas many petitions have been presented to the Senate to the same effect, praying for protection to actual settlers: Therefore,

"*Be it resolved*, That the Committee on Public Lands, or a subcommittee of their number, be, and is hereby, directed to investigate all the facts bearing upon the general allegations referred to, and that for the purpose of such an investigation said committee is authorized to employ a stenographer, and shall have power to administer oaths, send for persons and papers, to sit in Washington or such other place as may be necessary, the expense of the same to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate; and said committee shall report, by bill or otherwise as the circumstances shall seem to require, such plan for remedy of the evils, if any shown, as they may deem necessary."

In answer to a letter from the chairman of the committee to the honorable Secretary of the Interior requesting information, the Acting Secretary, with a letter dated May 8, 1890, inclosed a letter from the Commissioner of the General Land Office (both of which are hereto appended), from which it appears that in the opinion of the Commissioner no legislation would be of benefit to applicants whose entries are in conflict with land claimed by the railroad company except the passage of bills looking to the forfeiture of the land grant—bills since disposed of by the passage of the general land-grant forfeiture bill—and that no "further legislation could benefit the swamp-land contestants or hasten the adjustment of the cases of conflict in the General Land Office."

A similar resolution passed the Senate during the Fiftieth Congress, and the committee investigated the facts and reported that no legislation was practical which would be beneficial to such contestants. A copy of the report, omitting the testimony accompanying it, is hereto appended.

Your committee therefore recommend that the resolution be indefinitely postponed.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, May 8, 1890.

SIR: I am in receipt of your communication of the 14th ultimo, inclosing a resolution offered by Senator CALL relative to an alleged unlawful selection of land in the State of Florida and asking of this Department information as to the difference, if any, which exists between the contests mentioned in said resolution and those arising in other States, and whether any, and, if so, what, legislation is necessary to hasten their settlement.

In reply thereto I transmit herewith a report from the Commissioner of the General Land Office upon said subject, which contains all the information in the possession of this Department relative to the matters inquired about.

Very respectfully,

GEO. CHANDLER,
Acting Secretary.

Hon. P. B. PLUMB,
Chairman Committee on Public Lands, United States Senate.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, GENERAL LAND OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., April 24, 1890.

SIR: I am in receipt, by reference from the Department, on April 16, 1890 (for report in duplicate), of a communication from the chairman of the Senate Committee on Public Lands, inclosing a resolution offered by Senator CALL, relative to the alleged unlawful selection of land in the State of Florida.

The first paragraph of said resolution reads as follows: "Whereas the Secretary of the Interior in a communication to the Senate, in 1885, stated that, at an estimated number, there were between two and three thousand contests and homestead cases in the State of Florida, alleging unlawful selections of the land covered by their homestead under alleged railroad and swamp-land grants."

The honorable chairman of the Committee on Public Lands, in his letter dated April 14, 1890, states that he would like to have information as to the difference, if any, which exists between the contests mentioned in the inclosed resolution, and those arising in other States, and whether any, and if so, what, legislation is needed to hasten their settlement.

Pursuant to said request I have the honor to submit the following report:

1. As regards the railroad contests, they are conducted in the same manner as in other States.

There are pending in this office about five hundred applications, on appeal from the rejection of the same, for conflict with the grant under the act of May 17, 1856 (11 Stat., 15), to aid in the construction of a railroad from Amelia Island (Fernandina), on the Atlantic, to the waters of Tampa Bay, with a branch to Cedar Keys, on the Gulf of Mexico.

The present owner of this grant is the Florida Railway and Navigation Company.

The road was completed from Fernandina to Waldo within the time prescribed, and from Waldo to Plant City after that time. It remains uncompleted from Plant City to Tampa.

The Cedar Keys branch, from Waldo to Cedar Keys, was constructed in time.

These applications are mostly opposite the road constructed out of time, and a few may be opposite the unconstructed portion.

Should action now be taken upon their applications it would be adverse to the applicants, and for this reason action has been suspended awaiting the result of the proposed legislation looking to the forfeiture of the grant.

I can not see how any legislation can benefit applicants whose entries are in conflict with land claimed by the railroad, except by disposing of the bills pending, looking to the forfeiture of the grant to the railroad company.

2. Relative to the swamp-land contests there is no difference in the manner of conducting the class of contests mentioned in said resolution from those arising in other States over which the swamp-land grant has been extended.

On December 13, 1886, the rules previously in force relative to the admission of entries and filings on land selected as swamp, which had not been approved or certified by the Secretary of the Interior, were modified so as to read as follows:

"1. When any settler upon such lands, or applicant to enter the same under the public land laws of the United States, shall apply to make a filing or entry under said laws, accompanied by a statement under oath, corroborated by two witnesses, that the land in its natural state is not swamp and overflowed, and rendered thereby unfit for cultivation, the register and receiver will allow such filing or entry 'subject to the swamp-land claim.'

"2. Upon the admission of any such filing of entry the register will at once notify the governor of the State thereof and allow him sixty days within which to object to the perfection of the entry and to apply for a hearing in behalf of the State to prove the swampy character of the land.

"3. When a hearing is ordered between the State and claimant, under the public land laws, the burden of proof will be upon the State to establish the character of the land.

"4. When no protest or application for a hearing is presented on the part of the State, as herein provided, the State will be deemed concluded from thereafter asserting a claim to the land under the swamp-land grant."

The foregoing rules are applicable to the State of Florida, and it will be observed that parties who desire to enter land that has been selected by the State as swamp land may do so, and the burden of proof to establish the character of the land is placed on the State; consequently the applicant is put to no expense in the matter of clearing the records of the swamp-land claim, unless the State objects to the perfection of such entries and applies for hearings, and even then the applicant is not required to be present, as the State must establish the swampy character of the land without expense to the applicant.

Nearly all the swamp-land contests initiated under the old methods, which place the burden of proof on the contestant, have been adjusted.

I am unable to see how further legislation could benefit the swamp-land contestants or hasten the adjustment of the cases pending in the General Land Office.

Very respectfully,

LEWIS A. GROFF, *Commissioner.*

The SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

[Senate Report No. 2288, Fiftieth Congress, first session.]

The Committee on Public Lands, to whom was referred the Senate resolution, passed April 18, 1888, directing said committee or a subcommittee of their number to investigate the facts concerning alleged illegal and fraudulent conveyances of public lands in the State of Florida, have had the same under consideration, and respectfully report.

The following is a copy of said resolution:

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, *April 18, 1888.*

Whereas it has been alleged by the Senator from Florida that he is satisfied, from petitions presented by reputable citizens of Florida, that illegal and fraudulent conveyances of public lands have been made in said State, in derogation of the rights of the United States and of settlers upon said lands, and that a remedy for such evils can be provided by law: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Public Lands, or a subcommittee of their number, be, and is hereby, directed to investigate all the facts bearing upon the general allegations referred to, and that for the purpose of such an investigation said committee is authorized to employ a stenographer, and shall have power to administer oaths, send for persons and papers, to sit in Washington or such other place as may be necessary, the expenses of the same to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate; and said committee shall report, by bill or otherwise as the circumstances shall seem to require, such plan for remedy of the evils, if any shown, as they may deem necessary.

Attest:

ANSON G. McCOOK, *Secretary.*

In order to ascertain the class of lands concerning which an investigation was desired by the author of the resolution, the senior Senator from Florida [Senator CALL], he was invited to appear before the committee and make a statement. From his statement it appeared that an investigation was only desired in regard to swamp and overflowed lands granted to the State by the act of September 28, 1850.

The committee thereupon proceeded to take the testimony of certain witnesses, and have received a statement from the trustees of the internal improvement fund of the State of Florida, and from Mr. Hamilton Disston, on behalf of the Florida Land and Improvement Company, all of which are appended to this report.

By the act of September 28, 1850, above referred to, there was granted to the State of Florida the whole of the swamp and overflowed lands within her borders made unfit thereby for cultivation, which remained unsold at the date of the passage of the act, to enable said State to construct the necessary levees and drains for their reclamation.

By the second section it was made the duty of the Secretary of the Interior, as soon as practicable after the passage of the act, to make accurate lists and plats of lands described in the grant, and to transmit the same to the governor of the State, and at the request of the governor to cause a patent to be issued to the State therefor. By the third section it was provided that, in making out lists and plats of such land, all legal subdivisions the greater part of which was wet and unfit for cultivation should be included in said lists and plats, but when a greater part of a subdivision was not of that character the whole of it should be excluded therefrom.

A circular of instruction as to the manner of proceeding under said act was issued by the Secretary of the Interior November 21, 1850, to the surveyor-generals of the several swamp-land States in which that office had not been discontinued, and to the registers and receivers in the other States to which the grant applied. Copies of this circular were sent to the governors of all the States in interest, with the request that the State authorities would elect which of the two methods for the selection of the swamp lands therein proposed they would adopt. These methods were:

1. The field notes of the Government survey to be taken as the basis for selection, and all lands shown by them to be swamp or overflowed within the meaning of the act to be placed in the lists to be reported to the General Land Office.

2. The States to select the lands by their own agents and report the same to the surveyor-general with proof as to the character of the lands.

The State of Florida elected to select the swamp-lands granted to her under said act by her own agents. The total number of acres of swamp lands and overflowed lands selected as inuring to the State under the swamp-land grant of September 28, 1850, reported to the Commissioner of the General Land Office by the United States surveyor-general of Florida, to June 1, 1888, was 20,259,323.59 acres; amount so selected and reported prior to March 3, 1857, was 11,630,271.51; amount reported since March 3, 1857, 8,629,052.08.

By the act of Congress approved March 3, 1857 (11 Stat., 251), selections of swamp and overflowed lands under the act of 1850 theretofore made and reported to the General Land Office, so far as the lands remain vacant and unappropriated and not interfered with by an actual settlement under any existing law of the United States, were confirmed to the States and the approval and patenting of the same to the several States was directed and required.

By this act 11,630,271.51 acres of swamp land selected and reported to the Commissioner of the General Land Office prior to March 3, 1857, were confirmed to the State of Florida, whether in fact swamp land or not. Of the 8,629,052.08 acres reported since March 3, 1857, there have been approved by the Secretary of the Interior 5,131,944.32 acres. Of the lands so approved there have been patented to the State 4,953,333.50; and there are remaining unpatented of such selections 3,675,718.58 acres. But a comparatively small quantity of lands have been approved or patented to the State since September, 1879, and none have been approved or patented since June, 1885.

Among the witnesses examined before the committee was Mr. S. R. Edwards, chief of the swamp-land division in the General Land Office. From his statement it appears that in every case where the lands selected by the State of Florida as swamp and overflowed lands have not passed beyond the control of the General Land Office, either by confirmation of the selection, by the act of 1857, or by approval and patent of selection since that date, persons filing affidavits alleging that lands selected by the State are not swamp or overflowed lands within the meaning of the grant are allowed to contest the State's claim to the lands; and that in such contest for lands which have not been patented the burden of proof of the character of the land is upon the State.

It appears also that the State makes no defense, but allows her claims to be rejected in such cases without protest or objection. Before selected lands are approved or patented to the State they are thoroughly and carefully examined in the field by an agent of the Government appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, and are not approved to the State unless his report shows them to be in fact swamp and overflowed lands.

Under this state of the law and of the practice in the Department it does not appear to the committee that any further legislation is required to secure to settlers upon the public lands in Florida the right to assert their claims and to secure title to lands which have been selected by the State as swamp lands, but have not been approved to it.

The next subject of inquiry is whether any legislation should be had to authorize the institution of legal proceedings to set aside patents which have been issued to the State for lands selected by the State under said act of 1850 as swamp and overflowed lands. As to the manner of selecting these lands we quote the following from the statement of the trustees of the internal improvement fund of Florida above referred to:

"As to the selection of swamp and overflowed lands, we have only to say that they are selected by agents under the employment of this board, but the proof of their character is made not to us but to the Secretary of the Interior of the United States, who considers the proof, causes the lands to be examined by his own agents, and determines whether or not the lands selected are swamp and overflowed."

A serious question arises as to the power of Congress in the premises if it shall be proposed to authorize proceedings to be instituted to set aside patents which have been issued to the State for lands selected in the manner above described. By the act of September 28, 1850, it was made the duty of Secretary of the Interior to pass upon the question of the character of the lands selected under it, and to make out accurate lists and plats of the lands granted by the act when they had been selected, and to cause a patent to be issued to the State therefor.

Without passing upon the question as to whether the approval of the selections of lands under this act is not a final and binding adjudication between the State and the General Government as to the character of the lands selected by the State, the committee will proceed to consider the question of the policy of legislation authorizing the institution of legal proceedings for the purpose of canceling such patents.

It appears from the statement of the trustees of the internal-improvement fund of Florida that there have been received by the State patents for 15,992,251 acres; that there have been disposed of by sales, preemptions, homesteads, etc., 6,158,610 acres; conveyed to railroads, 5,940,010 acres; conveyed to Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company, 92,155 acres; conveyed to Atlantic and Gulf Coast Canal and Okechobee Land Company on drainage contract, 1,174,942 acres, and that of the patented lands the title to 2,626,532 acres remains in the trustees of the internal-improvement fund of Florida.

It appears further that the lands so conveyed to corporations have been largely pledged for the moneys which have been expended in their works or sold to individuals, including not only speculators, but large numbers of settlers and immigrants, all of whom have purchased upon the faith of the patents of the United States issued after a determination of the question of the character of the land by the Secretary of the Interior, who was, by the act making the grant, invested with the power to finally determine the character of the land so far as the United States is concerned; that as to the lands the title of which remains in the trustees of the internal-improvement fund, a large portion is involved in contracts with drainage and canal companies, who have invested their money on the faith of the patents to the same, and that other portions of said land are held by said trustees to pay the liabilities of said fund.

It appears that the swamp lands granted to the State by the said act of September 20, 1850, were, by a statute of Florida of January 6, 1855, vested in the trustees of the internal-improvement fund, and that the governor, controller, treasurer, attorney-general, and commissioner of lands and immigration are *ex officio* such trustees. The trusts to which the lands are devoted by the original act and all amendatory acts may be stated as follows:

1. Internal improvements, by railroads and canals.
2. Drainage, by work devoted immediately to that purpose.
3. Encouragement of actual settlement and cultivation of said lands, by allowing premiums of not exceeding one section to any one settler.

A number of railroad companies in the State have special land grants from this fund, varying in quantity, but subject to the general trusts of the act creating such fund and its amendments; and every railroad, or canal, or company incorporated under the general corporation acts of the State becomes entitled to receive the alternate sections of State land within 6 miles of its line, and indemnity within 20 miles of the road or canal as the road or canal is completed in sections of 6 miles.

It further appears that under the statutes of the State and the rules of the board any person may acquire swamp lands still held by the trustees and not reserved by paying $1 per acre therefor; that any citizen of Florida who is the head of a family, or is 21 years of age, can acquire 80 acres of such land, at 25 cents per acre, by making affidavit that he desires it for his own settlement and cultivation; that any person who is an actual settler on such land can preempt and acquire the title to such land, not exceeding 160 acres in a compact form in legal subdivisions, by applying for the same and paying $1 an acre therefor in three installments, one-third on entry, one-third in two years thereafter, and one-third in three years thereafter.

It appears, also, that in the grant of these lands to railroad companies, and in the sales of lands in large quantities, the rights of settlers have been protected. Upon this point the committee quote the following from the statement of the trustees of the improvement fund:

"The policy of the laws of Florida as to actual settlers on these lands has been liberal, and the administration of the trustees has been and is governed by an earnest and diligent solicitude for the interests of such settlers and to secure to them all the rights, privileges, and opportunities possible, and any intimations to the contrary, or that action is required of Congress or otherwise to secure the rights of actual settlers in lands of which these trustees have control, they repel as gratuitous and without any foundation of fact. Of course this board is not able to authorize persons to now enter upon or to convey to them lands which have been previously conveyed to some one else; but in all contracts, reservations, and conveyances the board has been careful and diligent in protecting the interests of all actual settlers whether occupying under color of any right or merely as squatters.

"Previous to the Disston sale, above mentioned, the most of these lands were unoccupied, but here and there persons had squatted on them, who lived on them without paying anything for them, and without making any effort to acquire title. This may have been in some cases on account of poverty, and in some cases because of ignorance of the method of proceeding to get title, but in some cases it was because of a desire to enjoy the use of land without paying anything for it in purchase or in taxes.

"When the sale was made to Disston in 1881 the trustees entered into an agreement with him that all persons settled on any of the lands bargained or conveyed to him should have the lands on which they were settled at the State prices, the maximum of which was $1 per acre, and that they should have until January 1, 1883, to pay for such lands. Notice of this was published by the trustees in the newspapers of the various counties where the lands were situated, and blanks or forms of application sent to all persons so situated who made application to purchase such lands, and deeds were executed to them free of any cost other than the schedule price as aforesaid.

"In fact the limitation to January 1, 1883, has never been enforced; but upon a showing of bona fide settlement prior to the sale to Mr. Disston he has

always been willing, if the land remained subject to his control, to convey it to the settler and to receive other lands from the trustees instead thereof, and the trustees have always been willing and anxious to make such arrangements. If any cases of individual hardship have occurred to settlers they have not arisen from any lack of care or provision by the board for their protection.

"There have been contests alleging attempts fraudulently to take advantage of these provision for the protection of actual settlers by land speculators and persons having no bona fide settlements on the lands; also contests as to who of several was the actual settler on a certain piece of land; and the board has from time to time sent our agents to investigate and report upon these matters free of cost to the alleged settlers, and in determining whether or not a person was an actual settler their decisions have been liberal to the settlers.

"The general rule as to all reservations for railroads made since 1881, since which time nearly all the reservations under which railroads have acquired lands have been made, has been and is that the reservation is made 'subject to the rights of actual settlers and subject to the further order of the board.' And the board has exercised their reserved power liberally and freely in favor of actual settlers in all meritorious cases brought to their attention, and these opportunities of relief are generally known in the localities where the lands are situated, and settlers frequently and freely avail themselves of them. There are no fees, costs, or technical requirements in these proceedings, nor is there anything strict or difficult in the proof of settlement required.

* * * * * * *

"Where reservations have been made for railroads or canals and by reason of delay in the work it has appeared to the board that the settlement of the land was being impeded, the board has in several such reservations allowed actual settlers to go into such reservations and purchase homesteads at the schedule price of $1 per acre."

It seems more than probable that considerable tracts of land were confirmed to the State of Florida by the act of March 3, 1857, which were not swamp lands in fact, and that there have been since selected and approved and patented to the State lands which did not fairly come within the description of land granted to the State by the act of 1850. But it would be impossible at this late day to ascertain with any degree of precision what lands have been so erroneously patented to the State or the relative proportion of the same. It appears that large bodies of land are swamp or overflowed at certain seasons of the year, generally in the summer and fall and during wet years, so as to be periodically too wet for cultivation or habitation, which in dry seasons or in dry years are dry.

It also appears that lands which, at the date of the swamp-land act, September 28, 1850, were undoubtedly swamp and overflowed within the meaning of the act, have since that date, by the construction of railroads, canals, and ditches, by the settlement, clearing, and cultivation of the land, and in some cases by trails made by stock, become comparatively dry and fit for cultivation.

The committee believe that in other States which received the benefit of the act of September 20, 1850, large quantities of land have been selected and patented to the State which were not swamp lands in fact, and if legislation is to be had authorizing legal proceedings for the purpose of setting aside patents issued for land in the State of Florida it should be extended to such States."

In view of the fact that by the terms of the grant of the swamp and overflowed lands to the States the Secretary of the Interior was empowered to pass upon and determine the question of the character of the lands; of the fact that most of the lands patented to the States have been sold and conveyed by them and are now held by persons who have purchased them upon the faith of the United States patents; in view of the impracticability of determining at this time with certainty the character of lands selected by the States as swamp and overflowed lands at the date of the grant, the committee believe that as a matter of sound public policy the United States should be bound by the action of the Secretary of the Interior and that it would be unwise to throw a cloud over the title of these lands by any legislation authorizing proceedings to set aside and cancel the patents heretofore issued for them to the States.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I move to lay the amendment of the Senator from Idaho on the table.

Mr. CALL. I ask permission to say a few words.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. The Senator will have an opportunity subsequently to do that.

Mr. CALL. Then I shall call for the yeas and nays on the motion.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. Very well, then; the Senator may call for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana moves to lay the amendment submitted by the Senator from Idaho on the table.

Mr. DUBOIS. On that motion I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. GORMAN. I trust the Senator will be content to ask for a division, without calling for the yeas and nays, as his object will be accomplished by that just as well. To save time and for the convenience of the Senate, I trust the Senator will not ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. DUBOIS. I regard this as an extremely important matter, certainly as to the section of country which I have the honor in part to represent.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I make the point of order that the amendment of the Senator from Idaho is out of order, from the fact that under the law the subject-matter of the Senator's amendment must be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The point of order, the Chair thinks, is well taken, and it is sustained.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. HARRIS and Mr. SHERMAN, the committee appointed to wait upon the President, appeared below the bar, and—

Mr. HARRIS said: Mr. President, the committee appointed by the Senate to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that if he shall have no further communication to send to the Senate at its present session, it was ready to adjourn without day, have performed that duty, and were informed by the President that he had no further communications for the Senate at its present session.

DISBURSEMENTS BY RECESS COMMITTEES.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the resolution reported by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate relative to disbursements by committees during the recess.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH] has thought all along, in connection with his membership of the Committee on Public Lands, that a report made by him was sufficient to divest the right of every settler upon the public lands and every *bona fide* purchaser from an entry man to his home. It is true the Senator's reports have always been in the interests of the corporations and against the people of the country; but I affirm here to-day, whatever any Secretary of the Interior may have reported, that there is not a word in any law of the United States or of the State of Florida which gives even the pretense of a right to this land, unless, as the Senator has repeatedly claimed, in reference to another subject, two fraudulent statements made by officers of the Land Department in reference to the character of public lands, stating dry, arable lands to be swamp lands, and falsifying the facts of the case—unless, as he has maintained time and again, this fraud destroyed the force and effect of an act of Congress, and where a poor man's interests were at stake deprived him of his land, there is no law to authorize this shameful fraud and robbery.

What mockery to talk about a poor man, living upon 40 or 80 or 160 acres, going to the courts for the protection of his rights! Who would furnish the money? He is scarcely able to support his poor family, while these corporations and paid agents are disbursing their money in the Departments here to obtain false certifications of the land.

Here is the whole State of Florida [exhibiting a map]. Look at it. That is the railway company's map, which the Senator from Oregon, in his capacity as a member of the Committee on Public Lands, has endeavored to make valid, but fortunately for the poor people the decision of the Senator does not make the law, and can not divest the poor man and his family of his right to his home.

Mr. DOLPH. I beg to say to the Senator that I never examined or passed upon the question of the title of the railroad company.

Mr. CALL. Then the Senator ought not to have made the suggestion, and he ought not to have risen here to-day——

Mr. DOLPH. I said that if the railroad company claim as against the grant of the State or any other party, the State can contest it, or any person who claims can contest it, and have the question settled.

Mr. CALL. Not when a powerful corporation affects the election and spends hundreds of thousands of dollars to control public opinion and the selection of officers. I do not mean to say that there have been any improper acts on the part of any official of the State of Florida, but I do mean to say that an opinion has been created which has paralyzed action, while the fact is that there is no law of the United States or of the State of Florida which even looks in that direction.

In 1856, on the 17th of May, Congress passed a statute by which they gave to Florida and Alabama alternate sections of land upon the condition that the Legislatures of those States should dispose of it, and that the Legislatures should not dispose of it except as the roads should be thereafter built. It does not require two ideas to know that that required a subsequent disposal by the Legislatures. From that day to this there has been no disposal by the Legislature of the State of Florida. The governor of the State certified here in 1858, and it is upon the records, that there had never been a disposal of the land, and the Legislature so declared, and has repeatedly so declared.

Why talk about it, when I have here time and time again proved the fact to be as I state it? I have consulted with the former Assistant Attorney-General, Mr. Jenks, under a former Administration, and we have taken the statutes of Florida, and only the day before yesterday he said to me in the Executive Mansion, referring to that, that we went over very la w and there was not a vestige or a pretense of a disposal by the State of Florida. Is it not fraudulent then? Why does the Senator from Oregon get up here and justify it?

It is true that I have persistently, in season and out of season, claimed that this attempted alienation of the whole soil of the State of Florida was to the injury of all the people, Democrats, Republicans, old soldiers, Confederates, and everybody, and seeking to give it away to foreigners—a great outrage and a crime. I am no assailant of the railroads or other corporations of the

country, but when they take possession of the entire soil of a State under such circumstances, it is my duty, and as long as I remain here I shall endeavor to perform it, to protect these poor people upon this domain in their rights.

I shall insist upon the indictment and punishment of these criminals who have taken from the families of the poor people of Florida their hard-earned money in order that they may live in luxury, who seek to control a State with bribery, corruption, and free passes or tickets. I know that this resolution will be laid on the table now, but the time will come when it will not be laid on the table, but will become law and restore their homes to these people, with restitution of the money taken from them.

The record which the Senator produces condemns on its face the official who made it. Secretary Teller is a man of ability and fidelity to duty; Secretary Lamar was a man of great intellect and integrity, and Secretary Noble is a man of very considerable merit and attainments, and this being true it is certain that neither of them ever read the opinions which bear their signature; the absence of all reasonable argument and the self-evident fallacy and untruth of the propositions of these papers is clear to any mind.

Let us examine the points of the case. First, there is an alleged grant made to the State of Florida in the act of Congress approved May 17, 1856.

This act requires the Legislature of the State to dispose of it. It also requires the Legislature to dispose of it after the passage of the act of May 17, 1856, because it forbids the Legislature from disposing of it except as each 10 miles shall be completed, and only authorizes the Legislature to dispose of a specified quantity before the completion of the first 10 miles.

Again, it requires no act of Congress to show that the disposal by the Legislature was required to be subsequent to the passage of the act of Congress, viz, subsequent to 17th May, 1856, because the Legislature of Florida could not dispose of land belonging to the United States, and up to the time of passing the act of May 17, 1856, and its taking effect the land was the property of the United States.

Again, a subsequent disposal by the Legislature was required, because under the act there had to be a subsequent location of the line of road under authority of the Legislature, certified by the governor; and until that was done there could not be any alternate sections for 6 miles on either side of a "line" of road which had neither existence nor authority to exist.

It is quite as plain to any sane mind as that two halves make a whole, and that a whole quantity is equal to its two halves, that this act of Congress of 17th May, 1856, required first a disposal by the Legislature to some person.

Second. That this disposal should be subsequent to the passage of the act; that is, subsequent to 17th May, 1856.

Third. That there should be a location of the line of road by some person authorized by the disposal to make such location.

Fourth. That there could not be a line of road under this act nor any alternate section for 6 miles on either side of it until such subsequent disposal and location was made.

The question is plain, Was there such subsequent disposal by the Legislature of Florida and a location of the line under it? This is a very plain and simple question; there is no room for mistaken or fraudulent construction. Then surely the officials of a great Government can not be excused for robbing hundreds and thousands of poor people of their homes because of any possibility of mistake in determining the fact whether the published laws of Florida from the 17th of May, 1856, to this day contain any disposal of this grant and any location made under such disposal.

I affirmed that there was no such disposal of the grant by the Legislature, and as there was no such disposal there could be no location of a line under it.

This fact was officially notified to the United States by the governor of Florida, M. S. Perry, in 1858, that no disposal of the land had been made.

That this official notification of the governor, who was required to approve and certify the location of the line under a disposal by the Legislature, could not be set aside forty years after it was made by the opinion of any Secretary of the Interior. This, also, is too plain for argument.

That this official notification of the governor was further confirmed by the Legislature of the State on repeated occasions.

First. By a declaration in 1858, by act of the Legislature, that the Florida Railroad Company was not entitled to the benefits of the internal-improvement act of January, 1855, under which this land is claimed from Waldo to Tampa, and by the charter of another company to build the road from Tampa to Waldo, and in terms giving them the benefits of the internal-improvement act of January, 1855.

Second. By the act of the Legislature of 1868, notifying the United States that the State had not complied with the requirements of the act of 1856, and did not claim the land, and so far from disposing of the land to the Florida Railroad Company, expressly asked Congress to make a new grant, on the condition that the Florida Railroad Company should not have the benefit of it.

Thus in express terms, in the most absolute form of legislation, the State of Florida, so far from disposing of the land to the Florida Railroad Company, confirmed in 1858–'59, 1868, the official declaration of Governor M. S. Perry to the United States, made in 1858, in respect to the location of the line of road, viz, that there had been no "disposal" by the Legislature, and that there could be no location nor valid selection of land under the grant, and that the nominal and provisional reservation from sale under the grant was void and without authority.

But this shameless record does not stop here. Continuously the Legislature of the State of Florida by other repeated solemn acts of legislation ratified and confirmed the official declaration of 1858–'68, that the State Legislature had never disposed of this grant of May, 1850, and made no claim to it. In 1866 the provisional government, and internal-improvement trustees of the State of Florida, sold the Florida Railroad from Fernandina to Cedar Keys as a "completed road" under the act of the State Legislature of January 5, 1855, called the "internal-improvement act," under which the right to this grant is claimed.

At the time of that sale and purchase of a completed road there was no road from Waldo to Tampa being built by the Florida Railroad Company, or claimed by them. The State had given a charter to other companies. So far from disposing of this grant to them or any other company, had not even ever mentioned it, and the Florida Railroad Company had declared itself to be a completed road and to have abandoned all intention of building a road to Tampa. By repeated and by continuous acts of the Legislature of Florida this sale of the Florida Railroad from Fernandina to Cedar Keys as a completed road was confirmed and ratified.

By other acts the Legislature granted, continued, and confirmed to the purchasers of Florida Railroad Company all the rights acquired under the internal-improvement act of 1855, so far as the road was completed or built at the time of the sale in 1866. The Legislature could not have done otherwise, because the act of 1855, when it gave lands of the State to any railroad company, only gave them as each 10 miles should be built.

The road with all its chartered rights having been sold and bought as a completed road it needs no argument to show that the purchasers could claim no rights as an uncompleted road, even if such had existed before the sale, which was not the fact. The statement, therefore, as a fact that the Florida Navigation and Railway Company was the successor of the Florida Railroad Company and derived any rights from that company to the line from Waldo to Tampa is a pure invention and false, having no warrant whatever in fact.

The Florida Navigation and Railway Company derives all its rights of every nature from a purchase made in 1866, at a sale made by the trustees of the "completed road," required by the law to be completed before a sale could be made, and from an act of the Legislature in 1866, 1869, and 1870, ratifying their purchase of this "completed road" from Fernandina to Cedar Keys.

The Legislature further confirmed the official declaration of Governor M. S. Perry of 1856 and of the Legislature of 1866 and 1870–1872 by granting a new charter to the Florida Railroad Company to build a road from Waldo to Tampa, and giving them no land under the act of 1855—the internal-improvement act—but by giving them money bonds indorsed by the State, and by disposing of all of the land belonging to the State to other and different lines of railroad in other and different parts of the State, thus, while maintaining the policy of constructing a line of railroad from Fernandina to Tampa Bay, with an extension to Cedar Keys, abandoned the line from Jacksonville to Pensacola, or Escambia Bay, provided for in the act of July, 1855, and also provided for in the act of Congress of 17th May, 1856, which made the grant dependent on the condition that a line of road should be built from Jacksonville, on the St. Johns, to some point on Escambia Bay (Pensacola) for a line from "Jacksonville to Mobile."

The Legislature by these new charters gave money bonds instead of lands to these new chartered companies. Since that time the Legislature has continuously granted new charters to different companies without ever mentioning this grant of 1856. It is therefore manifest that there was no disposal of the land in this grant of May 17, 1856, by the Legislature of Florida, and no location of any line of road ever made by authority under the act of May 17, 1856, and that the Florida Raidroad Company and the Florida Navigation and Railway Company (a company chartered in, I think, about 1880 or 1881, under the general incorporation laws of Florida) never was nor had any claim to be the successor of the defunct Florida Railroad Company, whose completed line of road from Fernandina to Cedar Keys was sold as a

completed road and bought as a finished and completed road and held as a completed and finished road, and is now held and owned under this sale and by this title.

Every allegation of fact on which the Secretary's opinion is based is absolutely false, and official notice is required to be taken of these facts, because it is a matter of public law, and therefore knowledge of it is binding on all public officials. It is a plain, shameful robbery of the poor people of Florida, perpetrated in the interest of a few rich men, resident in other States.

If this be true there could be no location and no inception of a grant. In support of this statement reference was made—

First. To the letters of the United States Commissioner of Public Lands in 1856-'57 to the governor of Florida, that no lawful reservation could be made under the act until the Legislature should dispose of the land but that a provisional and temporary reservation would be made in anticipation of an act of the Legislature making a disposal of it.

Second. To the letter of Governor M. S. Perry, then governor of Florida, in 1858, officially giving notice to the Commissioner of Public Lands of the United States that no disposal had up to that time been made by the Legislature of the land in the grant of May, 1856, from Pensacola to St. Johns River or from Fernandina to Tampa and the extension to Cedar Keys. Neither the governor nor the Commissioners of Public Lands of the United States nor the chartered railroad companies nor the Legislatures then considered that a disposal had been made in conformity with the act of Congress of 1856 by the act of the State Legislature passed in January, 1855.

The act of the Legislature disposing of the land embraced in the grant of May, 1856, from Pensacola to the Alabama and Florida boundary line, and making no disposal of the land from Pensacola to Jacksonville, and none from Fernandina to Tampa, and the absence of any legislation since that time proves conclusively that the Legislature did not consider that any disposal had been made of the land embraced in the grant of May 17, 1856, by the act of January 5, 1855.

Third. The act of the Legislature of 1868 declaring to Congress that the State had not complied with the conditions of the act of 1856 and asking for a new grant, with a condition in the new grant that the Legislature should be required to dispose of it to new companies, thus declaring, first, that the Legislature had not disposed of it; second, that no right to the land had vested in the State or anyone under the State.

Fourth. That so far from disposing of it to the Florida Railroad Company, or any other company chartered before the war, the Legislature would not dispose of it to such companies.

Fifth. That the State had not complied with the conditions of the act of 1850—not any one condition, but none of them—for the term "conditions" of the act is used referring to all of the conditions.

The Secretary's reply to these statements of fact, none of which are denied, is—

First. That an attorney at law had complained of delay in the adjustment of this grant, that is, that he wanted this land for himself and his clients. That is really the reason for all these opinions and the only possible ground for them.

A wealthy and influential lawyer wanted the land for himself and his clients to sell and make money out of it, and the people of Florida, on the other hand, wanted the land to live and labor upon as free homes for themselves and their families, and reasons must be found for giving it to this attorney and his clients.

It has not the merit of plausibility even to sustain it.

Now let us examine the pretenses of this opinion, signed by Secretary Noble in answer to the foregoing statement, viz, that the Legislature had not disposed of the grant, and, so far from disposing of it to any company, had given notice to the United States that they had not complied with its conditions and that no location of any line of road had ever been made under its authority.

The following provision is contained in the sundry civil appropriation law for the year ending June 30, 1893:

> For the survey of the public lands lying within the limits of land grants made by Congress to aid in the construction of railroads, and the selection therein of such lands as are granted therefor, to enable the Secretary of the Interior to carry out the provisions of section 1 of the act of March 3, 1887, entitled "An act to provide for the adjustment of land grants made by Congress to aid in the construction of railroads, and for the forfeiture of unearned lands, and for other purposes," being chapter 376 of volume 24 of the Statutes at Large, page 556, $125,000; *Provided*, That no part of this sum of money shall be used for any land embraced in any grant to the State of Florida.

The object and effect of this provision of law was to forbid the adjustment of any land grants in the State. It will be observed that this law contains these words:

> To enable the Secretary of the Interior to carry out the provisions of section 1 of the act of March 3, 1887, entitled "An act to provide for the adjustment of land grants made by Congress to aid in the construction of railroads and for the forfeiture of unearned lands," * * * $125,000: * * * *Provided*, That no part of this sum of money shall be used for any land embraced in any grant to the State of Florida.

Notwithstanding this law, an attorney of a railroad corporation demands and the Secretary orders the approval of lists of this land, and it has been made upon the paltry plea that preceding the words I have quoted the following words are found in the law:

> For the survey of the public lands lying within the limits of land grants made by Congress to aid in the construction of such railroads and the selection therein of such lands as are granted therefor.

And therefore the prohibition in terms does not extend to the selection for adjustment of lands lying within the limits of grants made by Congress to aid in construction of railroads, but only to land within the limits of land surveyed with the money appropriated in the act, and as the Florida land grant was not so surveyed the selection may be made and the land approved.

The words and the intent and spirit of this law are perfectly plain, and can not be mistaken by any intelligent person.

The words prohibit the selection of or the adjustment of any land grant in the State of Florida with the money appropriated—the intent and spirit of the law prohibits any selection or adjustment of such land. The object of the appropriation is to carry out the provisions of an act of Congress for the selection of lands for adjustment of railroad land grants. The law says none of this money shall be used for the selection or adjustment of Florida land grants, and the Secretary says:

> I will select and adjust these Florida grants because they were not surveyed with the money appropriated.

The answer is, they were selected with the money appropriated; and if they were not, the law required them to be, and a law of Congress can not be defeated by unlawfully using other money, or the approval of any lists of lands relating thereto, but the Secretary found the act of Congress forbidding his approval of the list no obstacle in the way of his attempting to give this land to the owners of the railroad corporation and its foreign and domestic bondholders.

This donation to the foreign owners of the corporation of a right to levy tribute on the poor people of Florida amounts to not less than two or three millions of dollars, and would be a princely gift, were it not that the act of Congress forbids the Secretary from making it, and makes his act void.

The second ground taken by the Secretary is, that the fact that no location of the road was made under proper authority within the time required was fully settled by Secretary Lamar's decision of August 30, 1889, confirming Secretary Teller's decision, reaffirming Secretary Schurz's decision that a map of definite location was filed in the General Land Office within the time required.

The objection is the fact that there was no "proper authority to make a location because no disposal of the grant by the Legislature had then or has ever been made." To this Mr. Secretary Noble says, "Mr. Schurz, Mr. Lamar, and Mr. Teller decided that a location of a line was, in fact, made, and a map filed in the time required."

The fact of an unauthorized location of a line of road and the fact of a location under proper authority are two different propositions. Whatever these three Secretaries may have given as their opinions as to this fact, the records of the General Land Office show Governor M. S. Perry's letter written after this alleged location within the proper time and after the pretended filing of this map in the Land Office, officially stating that there was not any disposal of the land to the Florida Railroad Company, and no authority to make a location of a line of road, as the grantee of the land embraced in the act of Congress of May 17, 1856.

It is not difficult to see that there might be authority in a charter granted by a State to a railroad company to locate and build a line of railroad between two points without granting to them particular land or without granting them land or anything else.

This is precisely the fact. The old Florida Railroad Company had a charter to build a road from Waldo to Tampa, but it was never the grantee of the land embraced in grant of May 17, 1856, and it never built a road from Waldo to Tampa, and it was sold out as a completed road and bought as a completed road from Fernandina to Cedar Keys in 1866, and its franchise confirmed to it by act of Legislature in 1868, 1870, 1872, as a completed road from Fernandina to Cedar Keys, and a new charter granted to it to go from Waldo to Tampa with money bonds and not with lands; and these being facts, and declared in the laws of Florida and by the governor of the State at the time authorized by law to make such declaration, the case was concluded, and no subsequent authority by a statement that the fact was otherwise could set aside these laws and the official declaration of the governor of the State.

Secretaries Schurz, Teller, and Lamar all assumed that the Florida Railroad Company had a disposal of this grant made to them of the land by the Legislature of Florida. They also as-

sumed it to be a fact that the Florida Navigation and Railway Company was the successor of the Florida Railroad Company, not in time, but in law.

The laws of Florida and the official declarations of the governor at the time and the records of the Land Office all gave them notice that this was not a fact but a falsehood. Now the question arises, of what force and effect is the act of an executive officer based on an assumption of the existence of a law or a fact which he has official notice does not exist?

To illustrate, what force and effect would an official opinion of these four Secretaries have that an act of Congress had granted to the Florida Railroad Company Fort Marion, at St. Augustine, to build a railroad and that the company had made a location of a line of road within the time required by law, and therefore they approved Fort Marion to be the property of the Florida Railroad Company?

This proposition of Mr. Noble is that this opinion would create such an act of Congress where none existed before, and all that is necessary to make an act of Congress which shall be binding on the subsequent Secretaries is for some Secretary to say in some opinion that there is such an act of Congress.

It will be borne in mind that all the statements of fact and the propositions of law in the Secretary's statement rest, first, on the assumption that the Florida Railroad Company was the grantee of the land embraced in the act of May 17, 1856; this cardinal fact must in some way be established. Second, on the fact that the Florida Railroad Company transmitted its right in some way to the Florida Navigation and Railway Company.

His first proposition is that whatever may be the law of Florida in respect to this grant, and although he had official notice and was bound to know that there is no such law, yet these Secretaries were of the opinion there was such a law, although they had notice there was no such law, he was bound by their statement and not by the record of the laws of the State of which he had official notice.

But leaving this proposition, he consents to examine the several statements of fact made by me, to wit:

No disposal of land made by Legislature under act of 1856, subsequent to said act.

No previous disposition by Legislature could be made because the land was not subject to the authority of the State.

No location because no disposal by State.

No succession because Florida Railroad was sold as a completed road from Fernandina to Cedar Keys in 1866 and purchasers hold under a new act of Legislature. To these several propositions, no disposal by Legislature, no succession, let us examine in detail Secretary Noble's answer and argument.

To no disposal by Legislature he says, in substance:

Before the act of 17th May, 1856, was passed, by act of State Legislature the State of Florida granted the land embraced in the act of May 17, 1856, of the United States to any chartered railroad company that would promise to build the whole or any part of the line of the road from Fernandina to Tampa, with extension to Cedar Keys, on two conditions: First, that Congress should give the land to the State; second, that such railroad company should actually build the road under the provisions of the internal-improvement act of January, 1855, viz, accept benefits of the act, build 20 miles, in designated time.

Issue bonds guarantied as to interest by trustees of internal-improvement fund, pay one-half of net earnings to State until net earnings would pay interest on bonds, and one-half of 1 per cent semi-annually as a sinking fund. This is no denial of the statament that the Legislature had not disposed of the grant subsequent to the 17th of May, 1856.

Nor is it an assertion that the Florida Railroad Company ever built any railroad from Waldo to Tampa, or ever issued bonds for that part of the line, or ever paid any net earnings, or ever complied with any of the conditions of the act of the State Legislature of 5th January, 1855, or ever acquired any right to the benefits of the internal-improvement act of 5th January, 1855, to the line from Waldo to Tampa.

In fact, the ground on which the Florida Peninsular road from Waldo to Tampa was chartered by the Legislature was that the Florida Railroad Company was not building a line of road to Tampa under the internal-improvement act, and had not acquired any right under such act, and this is expressly stated in these words in the message of Governor Perry to the Legislature in 1858.

The opinion of the attorney-general of the State is referred to by Secretary Noble as to whether the act of 1858, chartering the Florida Peninsular road and giving to that road all the benefits of the act of 1856 was in conflict with the right of the Florida Railroad Company under its charter to build any part of the line to Tampa. The attorney-general said that in his opinion the Florida Railroad Company might build any part of the line from Waldo to Tampa under its general charter, and the Florida Peninsular road might build any part of the line and the latter have the benefits of the internal-improvement act of 1856, and so might any other company that should be authorized by law to build a railroad, viz, accept the benefits of the act and obtain them for such part of the line as it should actually build, and this certainly was the plain intent and meaning of the act; but in deciding that the act of the Legislature chartering the Peninsular Railroad Company and expressly and in terms giving to it the benefits of the internal-improvement act from Waldo to Tampa was valid and not in conflict with any right of the Florida Railroad Company, he gave it as his opinion that no right was thus vested in the Florida Railroad Company to the benefits of the internal-improvement act from Waldo to Tampa, but that the Florida Peninsular or any other railroad company might be authorized by the Legislature and have the benefits of the internal-improvement act from Waldo to Tampa. This was deciding that no right had vested in the Florida Railroad Company.

The case is very plain on this point, and the surprising fact is that a Secretary of the Interior should be so careless as to allow his name to be signed to such a paper, evidently prepared by an incapable law clerk. The opinion of the attorney-general of the State is of no importance unless it is true, but in this case we can easily understand his statement, and it is not, as claimed in the Secretary's paper, that the Florida Railroad Company had acquired a right to the benefits of the internal-improvement act from Waldo to Tampa by accepting and building 20 miles of the line, and therefore the Peninsular Railroad Company could not have the same right and the same benefits for the same line, but that the Florida Railroad Company had not acquired the right to those benefits which were given to the Peninsular road; but that if the Florida Railroad Company should build any part of the line under its general charter the Peninsular road might commence from the end of that part of the line, and the benefits of the act would commence from the point to which under its charter, and not under the internal-improvement act, the Florida Railroad Company might construct its road, and the Legislature might or might not give the Florida Railroad Company the benefit of the act for such part so constructed.

In fact, the Florida Railroad Company never constructed any part of the line from Waldo to Tampa, and was seized by the trustees as a completed road, declared by the company to be a completed road, and to have abandoned the right to be extended to Tampa, and it was sold as a completed road from Fernandina to Cedar Keys and purchased as a completed road from Fernandina to Cedar Keys and the sale confirmed as a completed road from Fernandina to Cedar Keys.

Does it need any argument to show that even if the provisions of the act of January 5, 1885, of the State Legislature had been a disposal of the conditional grant made by Congress in May, 1866, which it was not, that the purchasers of a completed road could not have a right to an uncompleted road and to privileges and lands which the Legislature had declared in 1858 they had no right to, but which they had given in express terms to another company?

It will be observed that immediately preceding the advent of the new administration this fraudulent grant is hastily approved.

The Secretary in his statement of the reasons for this approval quotes from Secretary Lamar's opinion, as follows:

> The benefit of this grant was conferred by the State of Florida upon the Florida Railroad Company, whose rights and interests thereunder have been assigned and transferred through its successors to the Florida Railway and Navigation Company.

The laws of Florida give official notice that this statement is untrue in all respects and without any warrant of fact. It was doubtless written by some law clerk and never examined, and perhaps not even read, by either Secretary Teller, Lamar, or Noble. Neither of these distinguished men would have signed a paper, knowing its contents, which was indisputably untrue in its statements of fact. The internal-improvemen act of the State of Florida was approved in January, 1855. In May, 1856, one year and four months afterwards, Congress passed the act of 1856—of May 17—granting the land on the condition of a disposal by the Legislature, and the subsequent location and construction of a railroad from Fernandina to Tampa, with an extension to Cedar Keys, and of a line of road from Jacksonville to Pensacola, and in terms declaring that both lines should be entirely built in ten years, and if not then completed the lands should revert to the United States.

The laws of the State show that the Legislature did not dispose of the land to the Florida Railroad Company or any other company.

They also show that neither the Florida Railroad Company nor the Peninsular Railroad Company built any line of road to Tampa.

They also show that the Florida Railroad Company did not

transfer its rights to the Florida Railway and Navigation Company.

They also show that the Florida Railway and Navigation Company was not the successor either in law or in fact of the original Florida Railroad Company chartered before the internal-improvement act of 1855, and by amended charter after said act, and referred to by Secretaries Schurz, Teller, Lamar, and Noble, but that there was no kind of connection between these two corporations.

They also show that the internal-improvement act did not grant any benefits or land to the old Florida Railroad Company from Waldo to Tampa.

They also show that the old Florida Railroad Company did not build any line of road from Waldo to Tampa, and did not have, under the internal-improvement act of the State of Florida of May, 1855, a right to a single foot of land and never claimed to have a right to a foot of land or to have built an inch of railroad.

These are indisputable facts set forth in the public laws of the State, and the alleged facts on which the claim of the Florida Railway and Navigation Company is based is only a fabric of falsehood.

In the first place we must bear in mind that the claim to this land made by the Florida Railway Company and its successors is founded—

First, on the statement that a disposal of it was made in the internal-improvement act to the Florida Railroad Company.

Second, on the statement that the Florida Railroad Company transferred its rights to the Florida Railway and Navigation Company.

The internal-improvement act of Florida did not attempt to dispose of the land embraced in the grant made by Congress of May 17, 1856.

That act in terms declared that if Congress should grant land to the State to build a line of road from Fernandina to Tampa with extension to Cedar Keys, and Jacksonville to Escambia Bay via Pensacola, and the railroad companies authorized under that act should build the road to Tampa with extension to Cedar Keys, such companies as should build any part of the line in compliance with and under the provisions of the act of January 5, 1855, should have the land so far as they should build the road.

No one pretends that the Florida Railroad Company ever built any line or road or any part of a line from Waldo to Tampa. All that these Secretaries claim is that the Florida Railroad Company claimed the right to build the road from Waldo to Tampa in 1860, and commenced to build it.

The act does not grant the land to a railroad company that claimed the right to build the railroad and commenced to build it.

This opinion contends that these two facts, viz, claiming the right to build the road, and commencing to build it, created a vested right which continued for centuries, and was transferable to others.

This proposition, even if there were any facts on which to base it, would be a monstrous fraud on the people—leaving out of view for the moment all other facts. The Florida Railroad Company of 1855–1860 abandoned in 1866 the construction of the road from Waldo to Tampa before building a single foot of the line and notified the State of Florida that their road from Fernandina to Cedar Keys was a completed road and subject to sale as a completed road, and that they were not able and did not intend to build the road to Tampa; and the road was sold as a completed road, and bought as a completed road, and held as a completed road, and the sale confirmed to the purchasers by the Legislature as a completed road, and a new franchise granted to the purchasers to build a road to Tampa, not with a land grant, but with money bonds indorsed by the State, and in this new franchise the new company was limited to a period of time in which the franchise to build the road to Tampa, and the time expired without the new company building any road to Tampa.

See, then, what an enormous fraud is this statement of a vested right claimed by the new company in the old Florida Railroad Company which abandoned all claim of right to build the road to Tampa, became extinct by the sale of its road as a completed road, the validity of its sale and purchase by a new company, being by the law dependent on the fact of its being a completed road and having no right to build a road to Tampa, this new company having obtained from the Legislature an act confirming to them all the rights and franchises of the old company under the internal-improvement act of 1855, only so far as the road was built at the time of the sale.

This new Florida Railroad Company having also obtained an act of the Legislature authorizing them to build the road from Waldo to Tampa with money bonds and not with lands limited to a certain time and having failed to build it.

New charters having been repeatedly given to other companies to build the road with money bonds and with a grant of swamp and overflowed lands, without any mention of the grant of May 17, 1856, and without even a reservation of the grant under the act of May 17, 1856.

The Florida Railway and Navigation Company was incorporated as a new corporation in 1881, under the general laws of the State authorizing corporations to be made. This corporation had no kind of connection with the old Florida Railroad Company, which had become extinct by the sale of the road in 1866 as a completed road, fourteen years before this corporation was created, and which had abandoned the construction of a road to Tampa and all right to its construction, which was defunct by act of law and in fact, and which, so far from transferring any right to the Florida Railway and Navigation Company, had abandoned and declared to the State its abandonment of any right to build the road to Tampa.

In Searles *et al. vs.* Jacksonville, Pensacola and Mobile Railroad Company, Justice Bradley says:

> But although the road had not been constructed on the entire length of line or route projected and authorized by its charter, yet the company had stopped construction at Quincy, and the road seems to have been mutually regarded by the company and trustees as a completed road to this point. (2 Wood's Ct. Cl. Repts., 628.)

Upon this subject of abandonment by the Florida Railroad Company of a right to build the road to Tampa, Mr. Justice Bradley, in an interlocutory motion in a case pending before him between the creditors of the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad Company and the new company and its stockholders which had been sold in like manner under the same act, held that the company had abandoned the further completion of the road.

It is really amazing that the Secretary of the Interior should have even a law clerk who would write such an opinion, discussing the opinion of Attorney-General Papy in 1858 on the point whether the charter of the Peninsular Railroad Company enacted by that Legislature, which charter granted the benefits of the internal-improvement act from Waldo to Tampa to that company, and not to the Florida Railroad Company, conflicted with the chartered right of the Florida Railroad Company.

The Secretary's law clerk, for I am sure he never read the paper he signed, commits the egregious mistake of not understanding the meaning of the language of the State attorney-general. The proposition was that the old Florida Railroad Company never acquired any vested right under the internal-improvement act of 1855 to build a road from Waldo to Tampa. The Florida Railroad and Navigation Company claimed that they had; and that this was a vested right and had been transferred to them, and that with this vested right there was also transferred the right to the lands in the grant of May 17, 1856, which the Florida Railroad Company had acquired by accepting the benefits of the internal-improvement act of 1855 and locating a line and filing a map.

The governor of the State, M. S. Perry, in his message, declared that the Florida Railroad Company accepted the terms of the act of 1855 for a road from Fernandina to Tampa, with an extension to Cedar Keys, but that the Florida Railroad Company was not building a railroad from Fernandina to Tampa, with an extension to Cedar Keys, but was building a railroad from Fernandina to Cedar Keys, and that it was not therefore entitled to any of the benefits of the internal-improvement act either in respect to lands or bonds beyond the point of divergence from the line to Tampa, and recommended the charter of another railroad company, and giving to this new company the right to build the road and all the benefits of the internal-improvement act of 1855.

A bill to this effect having been presented, the Legislature referred the question whether the chartering of a new company to build the road to Tampa and giving such new company the benefits of the internal-improvement act conflicted with any right of the old Florida Railroad to build the road from Waldo to Tampa, to the Attorney-General, and heheld that it did not; that under the internal-improvement act of 1855 the Florida Railroad Company might build a road and the Legislature might authorize the new company to build a lateral road to it and give such new company all the benefits of the internal-improvement act of 1855, or might authorize such new company to commence at any point to which the Florida Railroad Company had completed the road, and therefore there was no conflict with any right of the Florida Railroad Company, because it had no exclusive right under its charter to build the road and no right at all to any of the benefits of the internal-improvement act, and further, because the internal-improvement act required not only an acceptance of the benefits of the act, but also a compliance with its terms by actually building the road.

But the important fact is, that the Legislature did give the exclusive benefits of the internal-improvement act for the line from Waldo to Tampa to another company, and neither the Florida Railroad Company nor the Peninsular Railroad Company or the

new company ever built the road, and both of the corporations died and became extinct without building any road.

The facts, then, on which this mountain of fraud and falsehood has been erected, by which many millions of dollars have been and will be taken from the people of Florida, unless prevented by President Cleveland and Secretary Smith, to enrich a few men, are as shown by the laws of the State of Florida, to be as follows:

An act of the Legislature of Florida conveyed all the swamp and overflowed lands granted to the State and all the internal-improvement lands, viz, 500,000 acres, granted to the State on her admission to the Union, to the governor and other State officers and their successors, as *ex officio* trustees, in trust, to sell them and apply the proceeds to the payment of the interest on $10,000 to the mile of first-lien bonds of any companies which should be chartered to build and should actually build any part of the lines of road from Fernandina to Tampa and Cedar Keys and Jacksonville and Pensacola, in conformity with the provisions of said act, and also gave them the alternate sections of the swamp and overflowed lands and the internal-improvement land for 6 miles on either side of the road actually built.

The trustees had nothing to do with the land embraced in the act of Congress of May 17, 1856, and it was not a part of their trust, but one section of the act promised that if Congress should grant land for this purpose the Legislature would grant it to the companies which should build any part of the line under that act; and no companies ever built any part of the line from that day to this from Waldo to Tampa or from Quincy to Pensacola under that act; and the companies thus chartered and which accepted the benefits of that act for any part of the said lines of road became extinct, and these roads have been sold by the State as completed roads, and their charters by act and operation of law and by statutory enactment became extinct *functus officio*.

The land embraced in the trust has all been granted by the Legislature to other and different roads in other and different parts of the State. The act itself, as to all the benefits and rights embraced in it, has been repealed by the passage of other and inconsistent acts, viz:

An act prohibiting the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad Company from building the line to Escambia Bay, Pensacola, and providing for a line of road from Jacksonville to Mobile, and granting State bonds instead of lands to such road, and by an act authorizing the new Florida Railroad Company, holding the completed road to Cedar Keys, to build from Waldo to Tampa, and authorizing them to issue money bonds for $15,000 a mile without any grant of land, not even mentioning the grant in the act of Congress of May 17, 1856. We have, then—

First. A grant of lands and a guarantee of interest on bonds on condition that a railroad should be built.

Second. No road built.

Third. A sale by the State of so much of the road as was built as a completed road.

Fourth. The charter of new companies without any grant of land or any guarantee of interest.

Fifth. A grant of the lands promised the companies first chartered to other companies for other purposes on other lines and not to the Florida Railroad.

Sixth. A new company, chartered fourteen years after the old companies became extinct, to build a railroad over a part of the same lines claiming to derive a right to the land not embraced in the trust, but subject to the conditions of the act of 17th May, 1856, from these old extinct companies which abandoned the construction of the road, and were sold out as completed roads, and which did not build any part of the lines of road between the points in question.

This claim to this land is sought to be derived from these old companies under an act which in terms grants land only as each 10 miles shall be built, and which requires the companies receiving the land to issue bonds, have the interest guaranteed by the internal-improvement fund and paid by the internal-improvement fund, and when paid the internal improvement fund to have paid-up stock in the roads, and which requires the railroad companies under it to pay one-half of the net earnings to the internal-improvement fund, none of which conditions were contained in the new charters.

From all this it is evident that neither the old Florida Railroad Company nor any other of the companies chartered and authorized to build any part of the lines of road mentioned in that act ever acquired, or could by any possibility acquire, any right to any land on the uncompleted part of the line, or transmit any right to build the road over the uncompleted part of the line, or transfer to any other company rights which they did not have themselves to land on either side of the uncompleted lines.

Second. That none of the roads built under charters granted since the sale of these roads as completed roads are built under the internal-improvement act of 1855, because none of them are built with guaranteed interest bonds, none of them are built with donations of the swamp and overflowed land for 6 miles on either side of a line from Fernandina to Tampa, with extension to Cedar Keys; none of them are required to pay one-half of their net earnings to the State, none to pay one-half of 1 per cent to the internal-improvement fund as a sinking fund, none of them are required to be subject to all the provisions of the act of January 5, 1855—and the provisions of the internal-improvement act of 1855 have been repealed by numerous acts entirely inconsistent with its requirements.

The internal-improvement act conveyed all the swamp and overflowed lands and the 500,000 acres of internal-improvement land, granted the State by Congress, to trustees, to sell and apply the proceeds to the payment of the interest on bonds of two lines of railroad, on certain conditions. The roads were not built. The lands, by acts of the Legislature, have been withdrawn from the trust and appropriated to other purposes. The parts of the lines of road which were built have been sold as completed roads.

New charters have been granted to other companies to build the uncompleted parts of the line without any of the conditions required in the original trust.

The old companies became insolvent and extinct, and it is now claimed that the new corporations derived a right from those old, insolvent, defunct corporations to land not embraced in the trust, but under a section of the act of January 5, 1855, which promised to give the land to these old defunct corporations if they should build the parts of the line which they did not build, and also under an act of Congress of May 17, 1856, which expressly declared that the Legislature should dispose of the land subsequent to the passage of the act and made the grant dependent on the disposal by the Legislature as *each* 10 miles should be built.

The proposition is that a defunct corporation which could only have had a right to land by building a railroad which it did not build, but abandoned, could transfer a valid right to the land to some other company organized and chartered many years after its failure and after the original corporation became extinct and without life.

The proposition is so false and so utterly without reason that it is evident that the Secretaries whose names are signed to these opinions never read them. In 1866 the Florida Railroad Company's road was sold by the State officers as ex-officio trustees as a completed road, on the ground that it had abandoned all intention and right to build any further. In 1868, two years after this sale, the State Legislature declared to Congress that the State had not complied with the conditions of the act of May 17, 1856, and asked for a new grant in which none of the companies chartered before the war should have any interest or right.

There was never a claim of succession of any of the newly chartered companies to any of the rights of the old extinct companies to the uncompleted parts of the line of road.

There was never any transfer, real or pretended, by either act of parties or by act of the Legislature, of any right of the old companies to land on the uncompleted parts of the lines of road mentioned in the act of 1855. But this is not all of this enormous fraud. Great quantities of land lying along surveyed routes of these old extinct companies, which have not been followed by the newly chartered companies, the Florida Railway and Navigation Company, nor the Florida Central and Peninsular Railroad Company, and the Pensacola and Atlantic Railroad Company have been fraudulently claimed and certified to these companies, land not embraced in the act, beyond the limits fixed in the law, and beyond the alternate sections within 6 miles of the road actually built by the new companies, many years after the old companies had become extinct. Great areas of the land, I am informed, are outside of even the false and fraudulent indemnity limits prescribed in the act of May 17, 1856, and greatly in excess of the amount of land embraced in the act of Congress, if the Legislature had disposed of it, and the roads had been built under such disposal.

Sixty thousand acres of valuable land in the counties of Jackson and Calhoun, in Florida, on which there are many poor people living, have been approved, as I am informed, to Pensacola and Atlantic Railroad Company and attempted to be passed by deed from that corporation to the Florida Central and Peninsular Railroad Company, as the successor of the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad Company, alleged to be under the act of May 17, 1856, which gives land to the State as each 10 miles of road should be built.

The Florida Central and Peninsular Railroad Company has never built a foot of road on the west side of the Apalachicola River, and has no connection with, and is not the successor, either in fact or law, to any rights on the west side of the river, from the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad Company, which did build the completed line of road from Lake City to Quincy, which was sold by the State officers as a completed road in 1869, and was

prohibited from building any further by an act of the Legislature of Florida.

I have been on this land and know the people who are living on it, and I know from them and from the attorney of the Florida Central Peninsular Railroad Company, Mr. Benjamin Liddon, an able and zealous lawyer, that he has been taking the acknowledgment of these poor people of a tenancy of their homes under this corporation for the purpose of compelling them either to buy their homes or be ejected from them by judgments obtained by proof of acknowledgments of title by tenant to his landlord.

Such are the artifices by which in the courts the poor man, without money to defend his rights, is robbed of his home, his labor, and his property by corporations by the unlawful and fraudulent certification based on alleged facts by the Interior Department which the public laws declare to be false.

What a condition of government is exhibited by these plain and indisputable facts, as to which there can be no denial or doubt! It is one to awaken the most serious apprehensions for the preservation of the rights of the people, the security of their homes, and the enjoyment of the fruits of their labor.

The same causes which have been powerful enough without the authority of law to deprive the people of Florida of their homes on this land and subject them and their children to the payment of many millions of dollars will be sufficient in the future to levy unlawful tribute upon the homes and labor of all the people of the United States unless they shall be removed.

In a government where the rights of the people are dependent on the integrity of courts, where the executive officers are charged with taking care that the laws for their protection shall be faithfully executed, shall we find neither courts nor executive officers to prevent millions of acres of land from being unlawfully taken possession of by great corporations, and the people living upon it either dispossessed and driven away from them or subjected to the payment of tribute to the corporations?

The public servants who seek to protect the people are pursued with the slander and detraction of the hireling correspondents of venal newspapers. The power of these great corporations is felt in the Legislatures, the Congress, the Executive Departments, the judicial tribunals.

If the Senate in this executive session shall not find time and opportunity to take some steps towards redressing this great wrong I am persuaded the approaching Congress will not fail to find a remedy; and if Congress shall fail to protect the people and bring to justice the criminals who have perpetrated this great wrong on them, on the majesty of the law, and on the purity of the Government, I have confidence that the President, who is the fearless friend and defender of public right and the rights and liberties of the people, and his able and learned Secretary of the Interior, will find it to be within the range and competency of their executive power to uncover these frauds, set them aside, and furnish protection to those who have been wronged.

These, then, are a true recital of the facts as stated in the public laws of the United States and the State of Florida. As to their absolute truth there can be neither denial nor doubt. These facts show, in connection with similar facts relating to the swamp and overflowed land grant made in the act of Congress of 1850 and supplementary acts, a case where the soil of an entire State has been taken in violation of law and appropriated to the personal use and emolument of a few individuals, a case in which tribute for their benefit has been imposed and is sought to be imposed on every man who cultivates the soil now and for all time to come, a case where a large share of the labor and the comforts of every family, the education of every child, the means of support of every church and of all charities is taken away from them to be applied to the uses and enjoyments of strangers and nonresidents and very largely of aliens.

It rests with Mr. Cleveland, the President of the United States, the firm and fearless friend of the people and of justice and right, and his able Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Hoke Smith, or with the Congress, or with the Legislature of the State to prevent the consummation of this great wrong, this monstrous and inexcusable robbery of the people, this betrayal of all the principles and pledges of the Democratic party, and to bring to punishment all persons who have been criminally connected with the perpetration of this conspiracy against the United States.

The question remains for us to consider, to what extent the official declaration of three Secretaries of the Interior of the existence of a law and facts which the journals of Congress and of State legislatures show does not exist can create such a law and such a fact and deprive citizens of their rights and of their homes.

The act of Congress (R. S., 2449) is as follows:

When lands have been, or may hereafter be, granted by any law of Congress to any of the several States and Territories, and where such law does not convey the fee-simple title of the lands or require patents to be issued therefor, the list of lands which have been, or may hereafter be, certified by the Commissioner of the General Land Office under the seal of his office, either as originals or copies of the original deeds, shall be regarded as conveying the fee simple of all the lands embraced in such lists that are of the character contemplated by such act of Congress and intended to be granted thereby; but when lands embraced in such lists are not of the character embraced by such acts of Congress, and are not intended to be granted thereby, the lists, so far as these lands are concerned, shall be perfectly null and void, and no right, title, claim, or interest shall be conveyed thereby (10 Stats., 346; 18 *id.*, 475; R. S., 2449; House Miscellaneous Documents, Forty-seventh Congress, second session, volume 16; Digest of Decisions).

This statute is very plain, and makes any certification by a commissioner or approved by a Secretary of the Interior of land not embraced in an act of Congress and not intended to be granted thereby absolutely null and void.

It is attempted to explain away the force of this act of Congress in its application to this grant by the statement that the act of May 17, 1856, and the swamp-land grant convey a fee-simple title, and therefore the Secretary's approval of these fraudulent lists is not within the term and meaning of the act.

This contention is manifestly untrue. No fee-simple title can, *eo instanti*, on the approval of a law, be conveyed to anything which has not and can not have an existence until some subsequent act occurs or some subsequent condition be performed.

This proposition, if reason has anything to do with law or its interpretation, is self-evident.

The act of May 17, 1856, makes the grant dependent on several subsequent conditions before it could take effect, viz:

On a disposal by the State Legislature;

On a location by authority of the State of a line of railroad under such disposal;

On the actual building of such line of road under such disposal;

On the continuous performance of these conditions by the State; and this latter condition requires that the State should not abandon the performance of these several conditions and declare its failure to comply with them and the purpose never to comply with them, and her abandonment of their performance, as did the State of Florida in respect to this grant.

The same proposition is true of the swamp and overflowed land grant of 1850 and the supplementary acts. These acts of Congress provide not that a fee-simple title was conveyed *eo instanti* to the State on the approval of the act, but that when from the field notes of surveys by the United States it should be ascertained that on each 40 acres of land there was a greater part of it, viz, 21 acres, so swamp and overflowed as to be thereby rendered unfit for cultivation, a title should then vest, but subject to the condition that the State should sell the land and apply the proceeds to the construction of the levees and ditches necessary to make it dry and fit for cultivation.

The acts of Congress granting swamp and overflowed land to the States nowhere provide that a fee-simple title to areas of 40 acres of land on which there is 21 acres of dry land fit for cultivation shall vest immediately on the passage of the law.

Neither do they provide that the fact whether they are swamp or overflowed shall be determined by two false statements in regard to the facts. Not only the words of this act, before quoted, but also its object and spirit, are clear and unmistakable. Its purpose was that all lands which required to be selected, which required an approval by a Commissioner of Public Lands or a Secretary of Interior, should be subject to its provisions, and that if a Commissioner or a Secretary should in any list of lands approve any not embraced in an act of Congress and not intended to be embraced thereby, such approval should be void and convey no interest whatever. The answer is plain and self-evident. The approval is absolutely null and void, as much so as his approval of the Capitol or Executive Mansion of the United States to some corporation.

It requires no argument to show that the only object and purpose of the law was to prevent unlawful certifications of the public lands and to make all unlawful certifications absolutely void. The only question to ask is whether an approval of land by a Secretary thirty-seven years after the passage of this act of Congress, which required a disposal by the Legislature and the building of railroads under such disposal, and requires that it should be done within ten years, when no such disposal was made and no such railroad built under such disposal, is embraced in the terms of such an act of Congress and intended to be conveyed thereby?

Let us look at another side of this case. Are the officials who have been connected with the unlawful appropriation of the public lands of the United States in Florida liable under the criminal laws and is it the duty of the officers of the United States to take care that the laws shall be executed?

LAW OF THE UNITED STATES.

There is a statute of the United States which may properly be applied to such a case. It reads as follows:

If two or more persons conspire either to commit any offense against the United States, or to defraud the United States in any manner or for any purpose, and one or more of such persons do any act to effect the object of the conspiracy, all the parties to such conspiracy shall be liable to a penalty of

not less than $1,000 and not more than $10,000, and to imprisonment not more than two years.—*Section 5440, Revised Statutes.*

Is procuring unlawful certifications of vast bodies of the public lands of the United States on false statements of law and fact, which the public laws of the United States and of the State of Florida prove to be false, attempting to defraud the United States or defrauding the United States?

The question answers itself. There can be no doubt that this act is within the terms of the law.

The questions presented by this record profoundly concern the perpetuity of our Government. If the public lands of our country, dedicated by the established policy of our laws to be free homes for our people, can be changed into the vast properties of individuals, and thousands of millions of dollars be exacted from our people as purchase money by unlawful methods and without the sanction of Congress and no remedy be found, then indeed our democracy is a pretense and a fraud and our Republic a failure.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question recurs on the resolution reported by the Committee on Contingent Expenses.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I feel some reluctance in bringing this matter before the Senate now, but I feel under a very deep obligation to do so, and I will do it in a very few words. I shall offer an amendment, which I hope the Senate will adopt.

I stated a few days ago, when I introduced the resolution which I have converted into an amendment to the pending resolution, that at the last session of Congress the following resolution was passed, which I will read, so that the Senate may understand the scope of the investigation which was then imposed upon the committee:

APRIL 19, 1892.

Resolved, That the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry be, and they are hereby, authorized and directed to ascertain in every practicable way, and report from time to time to the Senate, the present condition of agriculture in the United States, and the present prices of agricultural products; and if there be any of which the prices are depressed, then the causes of such depression and the remedies therefor. And particularly whether the reports of the Department of Agriculture on the distribution and consumption of farm products, published from time to time by authority of the Secretary of Agriculture, contribute in any way to such depression of the market prices of such products, and whether any proper governmental purpose is subserved by such publication, and whether such publication should be continued.

And for this purpose that they be authorized, by subcommittee or otherwise, to sit during the recess and sessions of the Senate, at such times and places as they may deem advisable, to employ a stenographer and such clerical assistance and such experts as they may deem necessary, and that they be authorized to send for persons and papers, the expense of such investigation to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

If the Senate will give me their attention for a moment or two I shall state what we did under that resolution. In the first place, we applied to the Secretary of the Senate for funds to carry on the investigation. We were informed that the contingent fund had been about absorbed by other committees, and only the sum of $1,000 was allowed us. We employed an expert, and we have spent nearly $1,000 in paying his salary. We have collected information from nearly all the countries in the world. We applied to the Secretary of State, and he issued a circular to our consuls in all countries which are producing cotton, making inquiries in relation to the subject. We have secured a good deal of information, though we are very far from having complied with the order of the Senate.

Before the last Congress adjourned, fearing that the committee would be swamped again in relation to funds, I introduced a resolution continuing the committee. I estimated that about the sum of $5,000 could be economically expended in these investigations. That would not be enough, but that sum could be economically expended. Two subcommittees were appointed, one on cotton, and the other embracing all the other agricultural products of the country.

I wish now to submit to the Senate whether they will at this time provide that committee with the means of prosecuting their investigation. If we have to go before the Committee on Contingent Expenses, it is very certain, from the number of similar resolutions which have been passed, that we shall get far less than a sufficient sum. So I merely want to put the question to the Senate now, whether on this great matter of the agricultural interests of the country, they will provide the funds necessary for an investigation. Of course, if the Senate vote down my amendment and we can not have the funds in order to make the investigation, that ends it; we can do nothing, and we must wait for a more favorable time.

If the Senate will adopt the resolution, then I hope that the investigation is in such a state of progress that we shall be enabled to reach a conclusion and to finish our labors by the meeting of the next session of Congress.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, I trust the Senator from Mississippi will not press his amendment at this time.

Mr. GEORGE. I shall call for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

Mr. GORMAN. The appropriation which has been already made on this account is very limited, only $25,000, and there is but one of two things to do, either to confine the expenditure within that amount, or to have a deficiency at the beginning of the next session of Congress.

Mr. GEORGE. I do not propose to go beyond the appropriation.

Mr. GORMAN. I submit to the Senator from Mississippi that, under the resolution as reported by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, the committee will take up the whole subject and adjust it fairly. I have no doubt when the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate come to consider the matter they will give due importance to the resolution of the Senator from Mississippi, which was the first to pass, and what the Senator has now said upon the floor will have great weight with the committee.

Mr. GEORGE. Why can not the Senate act?

Mr. GORMAN. Because there is no precedent for it. Of course the Senate can take control of such a matter as this, but it never has done so.

Mr. GEORGE. Is there any precedent for the Committee on Contingent Expenses dividing this fund?

Mr. GORMAN. That committee have always supervised it.

Mr. GEORGE. But have the committee always divided and apportioned it?

Mr. GORMAN. That has been done in the way I indicated this morning, by the Secretary of the Senate.

Mr. GEORGE. Yes; but not by the Committee on Contingent Expenses.

Mr. GORMAN. The Secretary of the Senate at the last session, as I stated this morning, had in view all the difficulties of arriving at a proper conclusion, and with the natural embarassment under which an officer of the Senate would labor at any time in such a case, he desired this rule to be adopted as one which would better accommodate the Senate and promote the public interest. Under the peculiar conditions in which that officer stands now, it is absolutely necessary for his comfort and for the comfort of everybody that his former request should be complied with. That is all there is in the resolution. I have no doubt in the world from what I know of the condition of the funds that the Senator from Mississippi will accomplish what he desires.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I want to be understood perfectly about this matter. In the first place, there is just as much precedent for the introduction of my amendment for the action of the Senate as there was for the resolution authorizing the Committee on Contingent Expenses to make their apportionment.

I do not wish to do anything which would show that I had any disrespect or distrust of the Committee on Contingent Expenses, but I have stated the facts which the Senate can understand, that its order made at the last session of the Senate was defeated because the contingent fund was used up or apportioned so as to leave nothing, or next to nothing, for the Committee on Agriculture.

Mr. HARRIS. Allow me to ask the Senator if the very fact that he states does not furnish the strongest argument for submitting this question to a responsible committee of this body to apportion the funds for the investigations which have been ordered? The Senator states that his committee was left out in the cold.

Mr. GEORGE. No; not that. The fund was apportioned before the committee was raised. That was what I intended to say.

Mr. HARRIS. Still, I understand the Senator to say that the appropriations for these investigations had been so distributed by the Secretary as to leave no funds to enable the Senator's committee to proceed with their investigation.

Mr. GEORGE. That was not my statement exactly, and it does not convey a fair and just idea of what I intended to present to the Senate. I intended to say to the Senate that I applied to the Secretary of the Senate as soon as practicable after the adoption of the resolution to which I have referred in April last, and I found at that time that the money had been apportioned in the way I have stated, so that the Secretary had no discretion in deciding between that committee and the others.

Mr. HARRIS. The money was already apportioned.

Mr. GEORGE. The money was already gone. I wish to get the Senate, if they want this investigation to go on, to give the committee out of the contingent fund the sum of $5,000. If the Senate do not want to do that, if they want the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry to stop the investigation which it has begun, I am perfectly content; I have done my duty. I ask the Senate to adopt the amendment which I have offered in accordance with the views of several of the oldest and most experienced members of this body.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add to the pending resolution:

Provided, That the said committee be, and they are hereby, instructed to set apart for the investigation of the condition of agriculture in the United States, etc., as directed by the resolution of the Senate, to be made by the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, the sum of $5,000, $1,000 of which to be paid out of the contingent fund available for the present fiscal year, and the remainder out of the contingent fund for the next fiscal year; which said sum of $5,000 is to be first deducted for the use aforesaid, and the balance remaining of said sum only shall be apportioned by said committee.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. Mr. President, there can not be a doubt, I take it, if this resolution passes, that some of the committees which have been already authorized will be placed in exactly the position which the Senator describes himself as having been placed in at the last session of Congress.

Resolutions have already been passed authorizing six committees to sit during the recess. There are pending before the Committee on Contingent Expenses now, I think, six other resolutions covering a like order.

Many Senators think that some of the pending resolutions involve matters of considerable importance, and should be reported; but take the six already authorized, take the sum disposable, and deduct from that sum the sum covered by this resolution, and it follows as inevitably as the rule of subtraction would follow that there will not be the wherewith to apply to the other committees.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question recurs on the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE].

Mr. BATE. I should like to know, for I am not exactly informed, precisely what is the situation. I know we passed a resolution in regard to having the matter spoken of by the Senator from Mississippi investigated. I think it is highly important that that should be done. I know of no investigation which could take place that would be more beneficial to the Senate or of greater interest to the public. I should like to know where the other money has gone and to what particular committees it is assigned. I was not aware of any distinction being made as to the amount except a thousand dollars to this committee, and that committee, and the other committee. I should like very much to have a statement as to what committees will get the $25,000, and let us see if we can not make a partition that will be agreeable to the Senator from Mississippi, representing the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. GEORGE. I wish to make only one statement in reply to the Senator from Louisiana. It is no objection to the adoption of this amendment that it does not leave funds enough for the other committees. The very object I had in view in offering the amendment was because the fund was not sufficient for all the committees; and I wanted the Senate to decide upon the relative importance of the work to be done by several committees; that is all.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. The Senator did not understand my statement as objecting to his amendment. I simply made my statement so that the Senate might be in possession of the facts.

Mr. HARRIS. I merely desire to say that we confer by this resolution upon the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate the apportionment of the appropriations for that purpose. The Senator from Mississippi, as every other Senator, it seems to me, should recognize the fact that that committee will take into consideration the character, the importance, and the necessity of the investigation proposed, and will exercise a sound discretion and judgment as to how the fund shall be apportioned between the various committees proposing to investigate different subjects.

Now, the Senator from Mississippi proposes to deprive that committee of the discretion or the power in the light of such facts as may control its action as to the relative importance of investigations. He proposes by an order of the Senate to deprive it of any discretion or judgment whatever in respect to this particular matter, while I suppose the Senator from Mississippi is willing for it to have the discretion in respect to all other matters.

I have a very kindly side towards the Committee on Agriculture, but unfortunately for me, I have a kindly side towards all committees. If it be a proper rule to allow a committee of this body to apportion that fund there should be no exception.

I shall vote against the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi and all other kindred amendments.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I do not intend to have it inferred from anything that has been said here that I have any desire to cast any suspicion upon the fairness, judgment, etc., of the Committee on Contingent Expenses. I respect that committee, and I would not have introduced the resolution if I had not first obtained the consent of the chairman of the committee to do it.

The Senate has a right, and it is its duty, to decide upon the relative importance of these investigations when it is conceded that the money is insufficient. That is all I ask the Senate to do. If the Senate believes that the investigation ordered to be made by the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry is not of more importance to the country than all the rest put together, then it can vote down my amendment. My opinion is that it is the most important duty the Senate has committed to any of its committees in the last or the present Congress.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi to the resolution of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL].

Mr. GORMAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. CHANDLER. I ask the Senator from Maryland to withhold the motion that I may rise to a question of personal privilege. It will take but a few moments.

Mr. GORMAN. As a matter of course I yield for a personal matter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire will proceed.

PERSONAL EXPLANATIONS.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, I desire, while the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] is in his seat, to make some reference to statements made by him with regard to myself in his remarks on yesterday.

I did not distinctly understand whether the Senator from Indiana stated that he might have heard certain facts about my official action as Secretary of the Navy or that he had heard those facts. I looked in the RECORD this morning for the speech of the Senator, but it has not yet been published in the RECORD, and may not be until after the extraordinary session of the Senate has closed. I find, however, what purports to be a verbatim report of the Senator's remarks in the Washington Post of this morning, April 15, and I read as follows:

I have heard alleged of the Senator from New Hampshire various grave and ugly things which I have not credited. I have heard men say that while he was Secretary of the Navy he built three or four ships that made but one trip in their lives, and that was to the bottom of the sea. [More laughter in the galleries.] I have heard it alleged that the contractors who built them retired from their work rich, contented, and infamous, all at the same time. I have heard these things said.

Mr. President, I thought I had kept a pretty good track of the various attacks which have been made upon me from time to time, both personal and official. If I had been called upon to frame an indictment for the Senate against myself for the Senator from Indiana to use in this Chamber, I could have given him one with more semblance of correctness than the one which it has pleased him to bring forth against me.

It so happens that I never heard of either of these charges. I have heard many statements about myself, true and false, but never until now did I hear that I had been charged as Secretary of the Navy with building three or four ships which made but one trip and that was to the bottom of the sea.

The only ships that were built while I had the honor to occupy that office were the Chicago, the Boston, the Atlanta, and the Dolphin; and those ships I think are very much afloat at this day. When the great review takes place in Hampton Roads and in New York Harbor those ships will appear as fine ships as exist in the world, of the period when they were constructed. While the Dolphin will contain on board the President of the United States, the Cabinet, and possibly Senators now upon this floor, I devoutly hope that she will not go, as she never has yet gone, to the bottom of the sea.

I built no other ships; I made no other contracts. All the contracts for those ships were made with Mr. John Roach. It can not be Mr. Roach that the Senator meant when he said, "I have heard it alleged that the contractors retired from their work rich, contented, and infamous, all at the same time." Senators and the country know what became of John Roach. He became a failed contractor through the injustice of my successor as Secretary of the Navy. His affairs went into the hands of assignees and he died a broken-hearted man.

It has not been my purpose, I have not thought it becoming in me, to bring at any length at any time the circumstances of Mr. Roach's failure before the Senate, and I do it now only for the purpose of showing to the Senate that the Senator from Indiana was very much mistaken when he gave an intimation to the country that the allegations here narrated were correct and true. I desire to interpose a distinct denial to those charges, and also to deny any imputation that has ever found its way into the public prints in any way affecting either my personal or my official integrity.

Mr. President, it has not been my custom to notice mere general charges, but since I have been old enough to hold a pen and write, there has never been any specific charge of any kind made against me that I have not promptly noticed by my voice and my pen.

I certainly am not willing to be deterred from pressing the resolution concerning the Senator from North Dakota by any suggestions of this kind. If at any time any Senator sees fit to make a serious allegation against me, either as an individual or as a public official before my entrance into the Senate, I shall promptly meet the allegations and close by a request for an investigation.

But, Mr. President, I desire to call the attention of the Senator from Indiana and other Senators upon that side of the Chamber to the position which they have taken in the late debate. It is one that never will allow any Senator to have an investigation of any charges made against him, however injurious they may be, concerning his life before he became a member of this body. Senators can come in here and make allegations of any sort they please about a brother Senator, and if they relate to transactions happening before he was elected, the only remedy for that Senator is to make denial upon the floor of the Senate. If the doctrine which the Senators upon the other side of the Chamber are asserting is the correct one, under no circumstances is there any constitutional right of this body to investigate for the purpose of relieving a Senator upon this floor from the opprobrium which may attach to unjust charges.

That has not been hitherto the precedent of the Senate, and I trust that it is not hereafter to be the precedent of the Senate. I trust that the request of the Senator from North Dakota that he may be investigated will be granted, and that the request of the Senator from Montana that he be investigated may be granted; and it will be entirely agreeable to me to be myself investigated concerning any charge which any Senator will undertake seriously to make upon the floor of the Senate.

Mr. President, I do not know that the Senator from Indiana intended that anyone should understand in this broad land that the charges which he said he had heard against me were true, but for fear that some person might say that I sat silent in the Chamber after the Senator had stated that he had heard these things, I deemed it my duty and my privilege to make the statement which I now submit to the Senate.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President, the Senator from New Hampshire says I was mistaken in what I said yesterday. I was not mistaken. I was making no accusation against that Senator; I was bringing no charge against him; but I was illustrating the conduct of the other side of the Chamber. I was alluding to the fact that for years past the country has rung with charges against Senators on that side of the Chamber, imputing to them faults and offenses graver even than those imputed to the Senator from North Dakota; and in illustration of the fact that they had sat silent, had never taken up the spirit of accusation or investigation while their own people were affected, I alluded *en passant*, without any intention of being responsible for the truth of the charge, that I had even heard the Senator himself gravely accused. I have, and others have.

The very language which I used I heard used by others, and at not a very remote period of time from the present. Papers have been sent to me. I am no dumping ground either, as the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] so well said yesterday. I toss those things into the waste basket and the fireplace; I have great contempt for them. But I was illustrating the fact that the Senators on the other side of the Chamber, especially the Senator from New Hampshire, were swift to avenge what the Senator termed the purity of the Senate when he could make a point against a political adversary, but he was silent and dumb in the presence of charges affecting not merely himself, but other Senators on that side of the Chamber. It was in that spirit I brought it forward and in none other.

I am not an accusing spirit. I hold that those accusations should not be investigated if the offenses imputed took place prior to the election here. That was my argument yesterday. I stand on it now. I said yesterday that I did not arraign that side of the Chamber for what they have not done in the past, but what they were trying to do now in the present, totally inconsistent with what their career had been heretofore, betraying a hypocrisy and a phariseeism inconsistent with what I conceive to be a manly and true position, especially under the limitations of our Constitution.

I say to the Senator from New Hampshire if he is never arraigned or accused until I do it he will go very free and cheerful through life, unless it might be necessary, as I thought it was yesterday, to confront him with an illustration growing out of accusations even against himself. I have none to make, and I make none now.

I believe this is all I desire to say.

Mr. GORMAN. I renew my motion that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I hope the Senator from Maryland will yield to me. I desire to occupy the attention of the Senate for a few moments.

Mr. GORMAN. If it is a personal matter, I will yield; but the Senator must understand and appreciate that we ought to proceed with the business before us.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. It is a personal matter. I think it can be construed as a personal matter.

Mr. GORMAN. Then, of course, I will yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I will occupy the attention of the Senate a very short time.

Mr. President, I trust the Senate will not adjourn until it gives my colleague the opportunity which he has asked to have an investigation of the serious allegations and accusations made against him. I believe when my colleague rose in his place in the Senate yesterday and said that he courted an investigation here, that through him the State of North Dakota was speaking and demanding a right that its representative in this body be heard. That, it seems to me, is a very high ideal of State rights.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President, I rise to a question of order. The Senator from North Dakota is not speaking to a question of personal privilege. He is arguing a question that it would require unanimous consent for him to pursue.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state to the Senator from Indiana that the floor was given to the Senator from Maryland; that he yielded the floor, and the Chair recognized the Senator from North Dakota. As to the question of the propriety of the remarks of the Senator from North Dakota, that is a matter he must judge of himself. It is not a question of order. The Chair recognizes the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I think that this matter is personal to me, as it relates to my colleague and to the State I have the honor in part to represent here.

Mr. President, I claim that no political party has a right to come here and deny the privilege asked for by my colleague. I hope, as I said in the beginning, that the Senate will not adjourn without giving him the opportunity he has asked to be investigated. I do not want him to go back to his people and to rest under this cloud all summer until we convene here again next December. I believe the Senate should grant him the request he has made here. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution submitted by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] may be adopted.

Mr. VEST. I object.

Mr. GORMAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota asks unanimous consent——

Mr. GORMAN. I move that the Senate proceed——

Mr. CHANDLER. I rise to a question of order.

Mr. COCKRELL. I object, and that ends it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is of the opinion that the Senator from North Dakota, being on the floor, had a right to make the request as part of his remarks, and that his request the Chair is bound to submit to the Senate. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. COCKRELL. There is.

Mr. HARRIS. Pending which, a motion to proceed to the consideration of executive business was unquestionably in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Before a motion can be made to proceed to the consideration of executive business by a Senator the Senator must be recognized by the Chair. The Chair had recognized no one but the Senator from North Dakota. The Chair understands that there is objection to the request of the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. COCKRELL. There is; I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is made.

ANTITRUST AND INTERSTATE-COMMERCE DECISIONS.

Mr. MANDERSON. I dislike at this moment to ask the privilege, but as I feel compelled to leave the Chamber I wish to make a request.

A few days ago, in that latitude of debate which is permitted here, the decisions that have excited some comment throughout the country, made by Judge Ricks, in Ohio, and Judge Speer, in Georgia, were referred to. It was very evident, when I read the comments made upon the decision of Judge Speer, that the same misapprehension the newspapers seemed to be under had also obtained with some Senators who addressed themselves to that subject.

I have in my hand the full decision of Judge Speer, transmitted to me by that judicial officer. It bears upon questions of moment and of exceeding importance that have excited very great interest. Referring as the decision does more particularly to the antitrust act and the interstate-commerce law, I think it would be well that the decision, which is not of length, should appear in the RECORD. I ask the unanimous consent of

the Senate that it be printed in the RECORD of to-day's proceedings.

Mr. BUTLER. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina objects to the request of the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to ask if there is any objection to publishing as a document the three decisions which were referred to.

Mr. MANDERSON. I was on the point of asking that it be printed as a document.

Mr. HOAR. That is what I desire.

Mr. MANDERSON. I know a great many will desire to see it.

Mr. VEST. Let that be done.

Mr. MANDERSON. Does the Senator from South Carolina object to that request?

Mr. BUTLER. No, sir.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to add to the request to print the decision of Judge Speer, that the document also include the decisions of Judge Taft and Judge Ricks, to be printed under the direction of the Committee on Printing, if the chairman will undertake it.

Mr. VEST. That is right.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Nebraska, as amended by the Senator from Massachusetts, that the decisions be printed as a document? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. BUTLER. All three decisions are to be printed?

Mr. MANDERSON. All three are to be printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is the understanding of the Chair.

The order was reduced to writing and entered on the Journal, as follows:

Resolved, That the late decisions of Judge Speer, of Georgia, Judge Ricks, of Ohio, and Judge Taft, of Ohio, made in certain cases involving the rights and duties of railroad employés and construction of the antitrust and interstate-commerce laws be printed in document form for the use of the Senate.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. GORMAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After one hour and thirty minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY CONFERENCE.

Mr. GORMAN, from the Committee on Printing, to whom was referred the resolution submitted this day by Mr. DAVIS, reported it without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That there be printed and bound for the use of the Senate 1,500 additional copies of Executive Document No. 82, Fifty-second Congress, second session, being the proceedings of the international monetary conference.

REPORT OF IMMIGRANT COMMISSIONER SCHULTEIS.

Mr. GORMAN, from the Committee on Printing, to whom was referred the resolution submitted yesterday by Mr. CHANDLER, reported it without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Public Printer be, and is hereby, directed to print for the use of the Senate, with a title page, 12,000 additional copies of the report of Immigrant Commissioner H. J. Schulteis, contained in Part I, House Executive Document No. 235, first session Fifty-first Congress, pages 263 to 323, inclusive.

Mr. GORMAN. The reports accompanying these resolutions will be printed under the rule?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAULKNER). The reports will be printed under the rule.

THANKS TO THE VICE-PRESIDENT.

Mr. MANDERSON. I offer, with great pleasure, the resolution I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Senate are due, and are hereby tendered, to the Vice-President for the impartiality and courtesy with which he has presided over the Senate during its present extraordinary session.

The Senate, by unanimous consent, proceeded to consider the resolution; and it was agreed to *nem. con.*

INVESTIGATION BY COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY.

Mr. GEORGE. I ask leave to call up the resolution, which I introduced several days ago, in relation to the investigation of the agricultural interests of the country.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Chair understand the Senator from Mississippi that he desires to call up the resolution which he offered as an amendment to the resolution of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL]?

Mr. GEORGE. No; the independent resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. GEORGE on the 10th instant, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he is hereby, instructed to set apart for the investigation of the condition of agriculture in the United States, etc., as directed by the resolution of the Senate to be made by the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, the sum of $5,000, one thousand of which to be paid out of the contingent fund available for the present fiscal year and the remainder out of the contingent fund for the next fiscal year.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I rise to a question of order. When the Senate went into executive session the measure pending before it was the resolution of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] reported by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE] had offered an amendment, and the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi was the pending question. That is the matter now before the Senate, according to my conception of the rules of the Senate.

Mr. GEORGE. I move to take up the resolution which has just been read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that in the judgment of the Chair the point of order raised by the Senator from Tennessee is well taken, and the business properly before the Senate is the resolution of the Senator from Missouri, the pending question being on the amendment submitted by the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. GEORGE. I move to take up the resolution just read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi now moves that the resolution just read be taken up for consideration by the Senate.

Mr. HARRIS. Before we get into a wrangle here——

Mr. GEORGE. I do not want any wrangle about it. I merely want a vote on my motion.

Mr. HARRIS. I beg the Senator from Mississippi to test the strength of his case upon his amendment, which presents precisely the same question. Why should he move to divert the Senate from the consideration of the resolution reported by one of its standing committees?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair rules that a motion to proceed to the consideration of any other than the regular order is not debatable. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Mississippi, that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the resolution submitted by him. [Putting the question.] The Chair is in doubt.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let us have the yeas and nays and be done with it.

Mr. HOAR. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. I desire to know whether if this resolution be taken up it must not under the law go to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair would hold that a reference would not be necessary, as a resolution has already been passed authorizing an appropriation for the purpose.

Mr. GEORGE. The resolution for that purpose has already passed the Senate.

Mr. HOAR. If the Chair will pardon me, this resolution provides that $1,000 of the sum is to be paid out of the contingent fund for this year, the remainder to be paid out of the contingent fund for next year. The resolution creates for the first time a charge upon a particular contingent fund, I submit. I will not press the question if the Chair is not in doubt about it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is not properly now before the Chair for it to rule upon. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Mississippi to proceed to the consideration of the resolution. [Putting the question.] The noes seem to have it.

Mr. GEORGE. I call for the yeas and nays.

Mr. HARRIS. Very well; let the yeas and nays be ordered if the Senator from Mississippi wants them.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move that the Senate adjourn.

Mr. HAWLEY. *Sine die.*

Mr. CALL. I hope the Senator will allow me one moment. I withdraw the objection I made to the consideration of the resolution reported by the committee, and will state that my objection was only to the consideration of the resolution in executive session.

Mr. CHANDLER. I ask the Senator from Mississippi to allow by unanimous consent the two resolutions which have been reported from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate to be adopted first, so as to show what special committees are to be authorized to sit in vacation, and then dispose of his resolution.

Mr. GEORGE. I desire to have a vote of the Senate upon the question whether they will give the money, in preference to all other appropriations out of the contingent fund, to the Agricul-

tural Committee. For that reason I desire to have the vote on my motion now.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will recognize the Senator from Missouri, with the understanding that debate is proceeding by unanimous consent.

Mr. COCKRELL. I do not rise under unanimous consent, but to a question which is in order. I move that the Senate do now adjourn *sine die*.

Mr. HIGGINS. I hope that will not be done.

Mr. GEORGE. I call for the yeas and nays on that motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri moves that the Senate do now adjourn *sine die*. On that question the yeas and nays are demanded by the Senator from Mississippi.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. MANDERSON. I desire to understand the question. Is the motion to adjourn *sine die?*

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion is to adjourn *sine die*. The roll will be called on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Missouri.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CAREY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. IRBY].

Mr. PUGH. All pairs are off now.

Mr. CAREY. I am informed that all pairs are off. I vote "yea."

Mr. DUBOIS (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. BERRY. The Senator from Idaho is at liberty to vote.

Mr. DUBOIS. Then I vote "nay."

Mr. DUBOIS (when Mr. SHOUP'S name was called). I desire to announce the pair of my colleague [Mr. SHOUP] with the junior Senator from California [Mr. WHITE].

The roll call having been concluded, the result was announced—yeas 23, nays 23, as follows:

YEAS—23.

Berry,	Dolph,	Hill,	Pasco,
Blackburn,	Faulkner,	Jones, Ark.	Platt,
Brice,	Gibson,	Lodge,	Pugh,
Butler,	Gorman,	McMillan,	Turpie,
Carey,	Harris,	Morrill,	Vest.
Cockrell,	Hawley,	Palmer,	

NAYS—23.

Bate,	Dubois,	Hunton,	Peffer,
Call,	George,	Jones, Nev.	Roach,
Chandler,	Gordon,	Kyle,	Stockbridge,
Coke,	Hansbrough,	Manderson,	Voorhees,
Cullom,	Higgins,	Martin,	White, La.
Davis,	Hoar,	Murphy,	

NOT VOTING—38.

Aldrich,	Gallinger,	Pettigrew,	Teller,
Allen,	Gray,	Power,	Vance,
Allison,	Hale,	Proctor,	Vilas,
Caffery,	Irby,	Ransom,	Walthall,
Camden,	Lindsay,	Sherman,	Washburn,
Cameron,	McPherson,	Shoup,	White, Cal.
Colquitt,	Mills,	Smith,	Wilson,
Daniel,	Mitchell, Oregon	Squire,	Wolcott.
Dixon,	Mitchell, Wis.	Stanford,	
Frye,	Morgan,	Stewart,	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The vote being a tie, the motion to adjourn *sine die* does not prevail.

Mr. PASCO. I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. BUTLER. I trust that will not be done. We ought to be able to get through with the business here this evening.

Mr. BATE. The motion is not debatable.

Mr. BUTLER. The idea of coming back here on Monday on a trifle like this seems to be absolutely childish. There will be no quorum here on Monday.

Mr. PASCO. I made the motion because I feel very well satisfied that it will be impossible for the different elements to get together and arrange the business this evening; but if there is any prospect of accomplishing anything by remaining here I will withdraw the motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion to adjourn is withdrawn. The question recurs on the motion of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE] to proceed to the consideration of his resolution, on which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

Mr. CALL. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the roll will be called.

Mr. PLATT. What is the motion.

Mr. GEORGE. The yeas and nays have already been ordered on my motion.

Mr. CALL. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question before the Senate is on proceeding to the consideration of the resolution of the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senator from Florida has moved that the Senate do now adjourn. That motion is certainly in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida moved that the Senate adjourn, which motion of the Senator from Florida has been withdrawn.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senator from Florida has three times moved that the Senate adjourn.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the senior Senator from Florida so moved, the Chair did not hear him.

Mr. HOAR. He can not make a motion until he is recognized by the Chair.

Mr. MANDERSON. I appeal to the Senator from Florida that he change his motion to adjourn to a motion that we take a recess say for an hour, that the two wings on the opposite side may get together, and I think we can then meet and probably adjourn *sine die*.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Florida [Mr. CALL] if he desires to move an adjournment.

Mr. CALL. I am perfectly willing to try a recess for half an hour if Senators desire it. I withdraw my motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion to adjourn is withdrawn. The question recurs on the motion of the Senator from Mississippi, upon which the yeas and nays have been ordered, to proceed to the consideration of the resolution submitted by him. The roll will be called.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CAREY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. IRBY], and therefore withhold my vote.

The roll call having been concluded, the result was announced—yeas 21, nays 26; as follows:

YEAS—21.

Bate,	George,	Martin,	Stockbridge,
Butler,	Gordon,	Morrill,	Turpie,
Caffery,	Hunton,	Murphy,	Voorhees.
Call,	Kyle,	Peffer,	
Coke,	McMillan,	Proctor,	
Davis,	Manderson,	Roach,	

NAYS—26.

Berry,	Dubois,	Higgins,	Pasco,
Blackburn,	Faulkner,	Hill,	Platt,
Brice,	Gibson,	Hoar,	Pugh,
Chandler,	Gorman,	Jones, Ark.	Vest,
Cockrell,	Hansbrough,	Jones, Nev.	White, La.
Cullom,	Harris,	Lodge,	
Dolph,	Hawley,	Palmer,	

NOT VOTING—27.

Aldrich,	Gallinger,	Pettigrew,	Vance,
Allen,	Gray,	Power,	Vilas,
Allison,	Hale,	Ransom,	Walthall,
Camden,	Irby,	Sherman,	Washburn,
Cameron,	Lindsay,	Shoup,	White, Cal.
Carey,	McPherson,	Smith,	Wilson,
Colquitt,	Mills,	Squire,	Wolcott.
Daniel,	Mitchell, Oregon	Stanford,	
Dixon,	Mitchell, Wis.	Stewart,	
Frye,	Morgan,	Teller,	

So the motion was not agreed to.

DISBURSEMENTS BY RECESS COMMITTEES.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I call up the resolution of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL]. That, I think, is the pending question, is it not?

Mr. HARRIS. It is.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is the pending question before the Senate.

Mr. BUTLER. Let the resolution be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. COCKRELL, reported from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate by Mr. WHITE of Louisiana, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate be instructed to ascertain and fix the sums necessary to be disbursed by the various standing or special committees authorized to sit during the recess; that when the said sum or sums be so ascertained and fixed by the said committee, the expenses of the various committees, standing or select, authorized to sit during the recess, be absolutely limited to the amount so fixed by the said committee.

Resolved further, That the said Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, in ascertaining and fixing the said sums, be, and hereby is, directed to so fix the amounts as to keep the aggregate sum within the appropriation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE] will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add to the resolution the following proviso:

Provided, That the said committee be, and they are hereby, instructed to set apart for the investigation of the condition of agriculture in the United

States, etc., as directed by the resolution of the Senate to be made by the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, the sum of $5,000, one thousand of which to be paid out of the contingent fund available for the present fiscal year and the remainder out of the contingent fund for the next fiscal year, which said sum of $5,000 is to be first deducted for the use aforesaid, and the balance remaining of said sum only shall be apportioned by said committee.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I move to lay the amendment on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana moves to lay the amendment submitted by the Senator from Mississippi upon the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question recurs on agreeing to the resolution of the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, I have only one word to say. I think this is a very dangerous resolution. It gives opportunity for the rule of the Senate by a few men. It opens the way to all corrupt influences to control this body. I believe it is unconstitutional to delegate the legislative powers of this body to any three Senators on this floor, and I shall vote against the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

INVESTIGATION BY COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Mr. CHANDLER. I ask that the reports from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate be taken up for consideration in their order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair hears no objection, and the first resolution in order reported by the committee will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. JONES of Arkansas April 10, 1893, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Indian Affairs be instructed, either by full committee or such subcommittee or committees as may be appointed by the chairman thereof, with the full power of such committee to continue, during the recess of Congress, the investigations authorized by the resolution of May 13, 1890, and February 27, 1891, with the authority and in the manner and to the extent provided in said resolutions, and in the pursuance of such investigations to visit the several Indian reservations, Indian schools supported in whole or in part by the Government, and the five nations in the Indian Territory, or any reservation where, in the opinion of said committee, it may be necessary to extend their investigations.

2. That said committee or subcommittee shall have power to send for persons and papers, to administer oaths, and to examine witnesses under oath touching the matters which they are hereby empowered to investigate, and may hold their sessions during the recess of the Senate at such place or places as they may determine; and the necessary and proper expense incurred in the execution of this order shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of said committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

INTERSTATE-COMMERCE INVESTIGATION.

Mr. BUTLER. Let the next resolution be reported.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The next resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution reported by Mr. BUTLER from the Committee on Interstate Commerce April 10, 1893, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Interstate Commerce be, and is hereby, authorized to inquire whether or not the methods prevailing in the transportation of freight and passengers over the great railroad lines of the country and the conditions and necessities of travelers and shippers and of the transportation companies justify or require a repeal or modification of section 5 of the interstate-commerce act of February 4, 1887, which prohibits pooling under any circumstances; and that said committee be further authorized to inquire whether the system of closing and sealing cars engaged in transporting merchandise from one of the States of the Union into another State through foreign territory, or from such territory into any State, or from such territory through the United States into foreign territory, or any system of bonding merchandise so transported, needs to be modified or further regulated by law, and whether all railroads engaged in such traffic should either be required to conform to all the provisions of the said interstate-commerce act or be prohibited from continuing such transportation business, and whether any modifications should be made of the existing provisions of law concerning the relations between common carriers and their employés; the said committee being hereby empowered to sit during the recess of the Senate, to act by subcommittees if deemed necessary, to take testimony at convenient points, to send for witnesses, books, and papers, and employ a stenographer, and to have its expenses paid from the contingent fund of the Senate; and it is expressly provided that no additional expense whatever shall be allowed for clerical hire under the terms of this resolution.

Mr. HOAR. I move to amend the resolution, to make clear what the Senator from South Carolina understands is already in it, in line 9, after the word "circumstances," to insert "and also the provisions relating to long and short hauls."

Mr. BUTLER. I have no objection personally to that amendment, and I do not suppose any objection can be urged to it. I hope the amendment will be adopted.

Mr. HARRIS. I have no objection to the investigation of the question, but I shall have very serious objection to repealing either the long and short haul clause or the pooling clause of the interstate-commerce act.

Mr. HOAR. The resolution proposes to confer on the committee in terms the power to reconsider or modify or improve in anyway the pooling clause.

Mr. HARRIS. To investigate.

Mr. HOAR. I wish to have that clearly within the power of the committee.

Mr. BUTLER. There is no proposition to repeal.

Mr. HARRIS. I comprehend. It is an investigation resolution.

Mr. DOLPH. Let the amendment be reported.

The SECRETARY. In line 9, after the word "circumstances," it is proposed to insert:

And also the provisions relating to long and short hauls.

Mr. BUTLER. That is sufficient.

Mr. HARRIS. Insert the words "of section 4" after the word "provisions." That is the section which relates to the long and short haul.

Mr. HOAR. I suggest that we insert the words "of said statute."

Mr. HARRIS. That will be satisfactory.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be so modified. The question is on agreeing to the amendment as modified.

The amendment as modified was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question now is on the resolution as amended.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

SENATE EMPLOYÉS AT MALTBY BUILDING.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I beg leave to report at this time a resolution from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Sergeant-at-Arms be, and he is hereby, authorized to continue the present session employés at the Maltby Building, authorized under the resolution of July 26, 1892, until June 30, 1893.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I ask for the present consideration of the resolution.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

FINAL ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. HILL (at 6 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.). I move that the Senate do now adjourn *sine die*.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from New York moves that the Senate do now adjourn *sine die*. [Putting the question.]

Senators, before announcing the result of the vote just taken, I beg to express my earnest appreciation of the uniform courtesy shown me by the members and officers of this body during the session now closing.

For the resolution personal to myself, so kindly adopted by the Senate, I am profoundly grateful.

In accordance with the vote just taken, I now declare this extraordinary session of the Senate adjourned without day.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive omiations received by the Senat e April 15, 1893.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

Hewson E. Lannan, of Delaware, to be marshal of the United States for the district of Delaware, vice Henry C. Mahaffy, to be removed.

PRINCIPAL CLERK OF PRIVATE LAND CLAIMS.

William L. Kee, of West Virginia, to be principal clerk of private land claims in the General Land Office, vice Isaac R. Conwell, resigned.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

John H. Wise, of California, to be collector of customs for the district of San Francisco, in the State of California, to succeed Timothy Guy Phelps, whose term of office will expire by limitation April 16, 1893.

PROMOTIONS IN THE MARINE HOSPITAL SERVICE.

Assistant Surgeon Alexander C. Smith, of New York, to be a passed assistant surgeon in the Marine Hospital Service of the United States.

Assistant Surgeon James C. Perry, of North Carolina, to be a passed assistant surgeon in the Marine Hospital Service of the United States.

COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Joseph S. Miller, of West Virginia, to be Commissioner of Internal Revenue, to succeed John W. Mason, resigned.

SECRETARY OF LEGATION TO TURKEY.

John W. Riddle, of Minnesota, to be secretary of the legation of the United States to Turkey, vice H. R. Newberry, recalled.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive omiation confirmed by the Senate April 8, 1893.

INDIAN AGENT.

Francisco Estudillo, of San Jacinto, Cal., to be agent for the Indians of the Mission Tule River (consolidated) Agency in California.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 13, 1893.

THIRD ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE.

Edward H. Strobel, of New York, to be Third Assistant Secretary of State.

APPOINTMENT IN THE NAVY.

Charles Edward Riggs, a resident of Iowa, to be an assistant surgeon in the United States Navy.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 14, 1893.

SURVEYOR OF CUSTOMS.

Andrew Fyfe, of Michigan, to be surveyor of customs for the port of Grand Rapids, in the State of Michigan.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

Cavalry arm.

Maj. John M. Bacon, Seventh Cavalry, to be lieutenant-colonel.
Capt. Edward M. Hayes, Fifth Cavalry, to be major.
First Lieut. Homer W. Wheeler, Fifth Cavalry, to be captain.
Second Lieut. Malvern-Hill Barnum, Third Cavalry, to be first lieutenant.

APPOINTMENT IN THE REVENUE CUTTER SERVICE.

Levin T. Jones, of Maryland, to be a second assistant engineer in the Revenue Cutter Service.

PROMOTIONS IN THE REVENUE CUTTER SERVICE.

Third Lieut. Godfrey L. Carden, to be second lieutenant in the Revenue Cutter Service.
Henry L. Peckham, of Rhode Island, to be a third lieutenant in the Revenue Cutter Service.

POSTMASTERS.

Jackson Silbaugh, to be postmaster at Viroqua, in the county of Vernon and State of Wisconsin.
Frank S. Thomas, to be postmaster at Topeka, in the county of Shawnee and State of Kansas.
Joseph C. Thompson, to be postmaster at Quincy, in the county of Adams and State of Illinois.
George B. Gibson, to be postmaster at New Castle, in the county of Lawrence and State of Pennsylvania.
Albert J. Almoney, to be postmaster at Rockville, in the county of Montgomery and State of Maryland.
Manellans Ellis, to be postmaster at Laurel, in the county of Sussex and State of Delaware.
Robert G. Wright, to be postmaster at Waynesboro, in the county of Augusta and State of Virginia.
Richard H. Adams, to be postmaster at Radford, in the county of Montgomery and State of Virginia.
John M. Seigfreid, to be postmaster at Warren, in the county of Warren and State of Pennsylvania.
Patrick Sheridan, to be postmaster at Elizabeth, in the county of Union and State of New Jersey.
Joseph F. Upleger, to be postmaster at Mount Clemens, in the county of Macomb and State of Michigan.
Isaac Holton, to be postmaster at Plainfield, in the county of Hendricks and State of Indiana.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 15, 1893.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Alex. W. Terrell, of Texas, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Turkey.

CONSUL.

Henry F. Merritt, of Illinois, to be consul of the United States at Barmen.

JUDGES COURT OF APPEALS, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Richard H. Alvey, of Maryland, to be chief justice of the court of appeals of the District of Columbia.
Martin F. Morris, of the District of Columbia, to be associate justice of the court of appeals of the District of Columbia.
Seth Shepard, of Texas, to be associate justice of the court of appeals of the District of Columbia.

UNITED STATES TREASURER.

Daniel N. Morgan, of Connecticut, to be Treasurer of the United States.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS.

Henry V. Johnson, of Colorado, to be attorney of the United States for the district of Colorado.
John H. M. Wigman, of Wisconsin, to be attorney of the United States for the eastern district of Wisconsin.
Francis R. Lassiter, of Virginia, to be attorney of the United States for the eastern district of Virginia.
James F. Read, of Arkansas, to be attorney of the United States for the western district of Arkansas.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

George J. Crump, of Arkansas, to be marshal of the United States for the western district of Arkansas.

RECORDER OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE.

Lucius Q. C. Lamar, of Oxford, Miss., to be recorder of the General Land Office.

PRINCIPAL CLERK, GENERAL LAND OFFICE.

Robert K. Gillespie, of Gallatin, Tenn., to be principal clerk of the public lands in the General Land Office.

SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF ARIZONA.

Levi H. Manning, of Tucson, Arizona, to be surveyor-general of Arizona.

DISTRICT JUDGE OF OREGON.

Charles B. Bellinger, of Oregon, to be United States district judge for the district of Oregon.

SURVEYOR OF CUSTOMS.

Charles H. Miller, of Illinois, to be surveyor of customs for the port of Galena, in the State of Illinois.

ASSISTANT TREASURER.

Conrad N. Jordan, of New York, to be assistant treasurer of the United States at New York City, in the State of New York.

TERRITORIAL ASSOCIATE JUSTICES.

John J. Hawkins, of Arizona Territory, to be associate justice of the supreme court of the Territory of Arizona.
Albert B. Fall, of New Mexico Territory, to be associate justice of the supreme court of the Territory of New Mexico.
William K. Reid, of Utah Territory, to be judge of probate in the county of Sanpete, in the Territory of Utah.

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS.

John C. Geraghty, of Minnesota, to be collector of customs for the district of Minnesota, in the State of Minnesota.
Charles W. Larrabee, of Maine, to be collector of customs for the district of Bath, in the State of Maine.

RECEIVERS OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

William Anglim, of Crookston, Minn., to be receiver of public moneys at Crookston, Minn.
John Lafabre, of Rapid City, S. Dak., to be receiver of public moneys at Rapid City, S. Dak.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE MARINE HOSPITAL SERVICE.

Emil Prochazaka, of Wisconsin, to be an assistant surgeon in the Marine Hospital Service of the United States.
Ezra K. Sprague, of New York, to be an assistant surgeon in the Marine Hospital Service of the United States.
John W. Branham, of Virginia, to be an assistant surgeon in the Marine Hospital Service of the United States.

ASSISTANT SURGEON IN THE NAVY.

Edward Lyman Munson, a resident of Connecticut, to be an assistant surgeon in the Navy.

PRINCIPAL CLERK OF PRIVATE LAND CLAIMS.

William L. Kee, of West Virginia, to be principal clerk of private land claims in the General Land Office.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

John H. Wise, of California, to be collector of customs for the district of San Francisco, in the State of California.

PROMOTIONS IN THE MARINE HOSPITAL SERVICE.

Assistant Surg. Alexander C. Smith, of New York, to be a passed assistant surgeon in the Marine Hospital Service of the United States.
Assistant Surg. James C. Perry, of North Carolina, to be a passed assistant surgeon in the Marine Hospital Service of the United States.

COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Joseph S. Miller, of West Virginia, to be Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

SECRETARY OF LEGATION TO TURKEY.

John W. Riddle, of Minnesota, to be secretary of the legation of the United States to Turkey.

POSTMASTERS.

Conway C. Floweree, to be postmaster at Vicksburg, in the county of Warren and State of Mississippi.

George Warren, to be postmaster at Hickman, in the county of Fulton and State of Kentucky.

John Crowley, to be postmaster at Plattsburg, in the county of Clinton and State of New York.

Charles W. Clare, to be postmaster at Watertown, in the county of Jefferson and State of New York.

John E. Leavett, to be postmaster at Portsmouth, in the county of Rockingham and State of New Hampshire.

Frederick G. Alldis, to be postmaster at Torrington, in the county of Litchfield and State of Connecticut.

Walter P. Horne, to be postmaster at Suspension Bridge, in the county of Niagara and State of New York.

Allen H. Fay, to be postmaster at Malone, in the county of Franklin and State of New York.

FIFTY-THIRD CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE FIFTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

FIRST SESSION.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *August 7, 1893.*

The first session of the Fifty-third Congress commenced this day at the Capitol, in the city of Washington, in pursuance of the proclamation of the President of the United States of the 30th day of June, 1893. The Senators assembled in the Senate Chamber.

The VICE-PRESIDENT of the United States (Hon. ADLAI E. STEVENSON, of the State of Illinois) called the Senate to order at 12 o'clock meridian.

PRAYER.

Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D., Chaplain to the Senate, offered the following prayer:

Our eyes are toward Thee, Lord God Almighty, the governor among the rulers and the unseen leader in life's great battle. We pray for abiding faith in God, in His presence and power, in His wisdom and love and mercy. Are we not Thy children, chastened but not destroyed? We come confessing our sins. Thou art the God of pardon. We open our hearts to the indwelling of Thy spirit, and pray that these Thy servants may be filled with the wisdom that is pure and peaceable and gentle and easy to be entreated, which is without partiality and without hypocrisy, the wisdom that cometh from Thee, the only wise God.

Thou art overturning and overturning, O God. Thy kingdom is coming, the kingdom of truth and of righteousness. Establish it in our hearts and in the hearts of all the rulers and in the hearts of all the people.

Remember Thy servants, the President and the members of the Cabinet. Bless the two Houses of Congress now assembling, and so guide, O God, in their councils that the best interests of the people may be advanced in this time of doubt and perplexity, of unrest and agitation among the nations, and in our own land, which Thou hast led all through our history. Guide this day by Thy counsel. Have these Thy servants in Thy holy care and keeping, in their persons and in their families; bless them in their social and in their official relations; and grant, O God, so to order all things concerning us and concerning Thy kingdom that very soon the power of iniquity may be destroyed and truth and righteousness everywhere prevail. Grant us grace. Blot out our transgressions, and may the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep our hearts and minds through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.

THE PROCLAMATION.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the proclamation of the President of the United States, convening the Congress in extraordinary session.

The Secretary (Mr. ANSON G. MCCOOK) read the proclamation, as follows:

By the President of the United States of America.

A PROCLAMATION.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *Washington, D. C., June 30, 1893.*

Whereas the distrust and apprehension concerning the financial situation which pervade all business circles have already caused great loss and damage to our people, and threaten to cripple our merchants, stop the wheels of manufacture, bring distress and privation to our farmers, and withhold from our workingmen the wage of labor;

And whereas the present perilous condition is largely the result of a financial policy which the executive branch of the Government finds embodied in unwise laws which must be executed until repealed by Congress:

Now, therefore, I, Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, in performance of a constitutional duty, do by this proclamation declare that an extraordinary occasion requires the convening of both Houses of the Congress of the United States at the Capitol in the city of Washington, on the 7th day of August next, at 12 o'clock noon, to the end that the people may be relieved through legislation, from present and impending danger and distress.

All those entitled to act as members of the Fifty-third Congress are required to take notice of this proclamation and attend at the time and place above stated.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States at the city of Washington, on the 30th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1893, and of the Independence of the United States the 117th.

[SEAL.] GROVER CLEVELAND.

By the President:

ALVEY A. ADEE,

Acting Secretary of State.

SENATOR FROM PENNSYLVANIA.

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. President, the credentials of my colleague, Hon. Matthew S. Quay, have been heretofore presented, read, and placed on the files of the Senate. He is present, and I ask that he be now sworn in.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator-elect from Pennsylvania will please come forward and receive the oath of office.

Mr. Quay was escorted to the Vice-President's desk by Mr. CAMERON, and, the oath prescribed by law having been administered to him, he took his seat in the Senate.

SENATOR FROM FLORIDA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented the credentials of Samuel Pasco, chosen by the Legislature of Florida a Senator from that State for the term beginning March 4, 1893; which were read.

Mr. Pasco was escorted to the Vice-President's desk by Mr. CALL, and, the oath prescribed by law having been administered to him, he took his seat in the Senate.

SENATORS PRESENT.

The following Senators were present:

From the State of—

Alabama—James L. Pugh.
Arkansas—James H. Berry and James K. Jones.
California—Stephen M. White.
Colorado—Henry M. Teller and Edward O. Wolcott.
Connecticut—Joseph R. Hawley and Orville H. Platt.
Delaware—George Gray and Anthony Higgins.
Florida—Wilkinson Call and Samuel Pasco.
Georgia—Alfred H. Colquitt and John B. Gordon.
Idaho—Fred. T. Dubois and George L. Shoup.
Illinois—Shelby M. Cullom and John M. Palmer.
Indiana—David Turpie and Daniel W. Voorhees.
Iowa—William B. Allison.
Kansas—John Martin and William A. Peffer.
Kentucky—Joseph C. S. Blackburn.
Louisiana—Donelson Caffery and Edward D. White.
Maine—Eugene Hale.
Maryland—Charles H. Gibson and Arthur P. Gorman.
Massachusetts—George F. Hoar and Henry Cabot Lodge.
Michigan—James McMillan and Francis B. Stockbridge.
Minnesota—Cushman K. Davis and William D. Washburn.
Mississippi—James Z. George and Edward C. Walthall.
Missouri—Francis M. Cockrell and George G. Vest.
Montana—Thomas C. Power.

Nebraska—William V. Allen and Charles F. Manderson.
Nevada—John P. Jones and William M. Stewart.
New Hampshire—William E. Chandler and Jacob H. Gallinger.
New Jersey—John R. McPherson and James Smith, jr.
New York—David B. Hill and Edward Murphy, jr.
North Carolina—Matt W. Ransom.
North Dakota—Henry C. Hansbrough and William N. Roach.
Ohio—Calvin S. Brice and John Sherman.
Oregon—Joseph N. Dolph and John H. Mitchell.
Pennsylvania—James Donald Cameron and Matthew S. Quay.
Rhode Island—Nelson W. Aldrich and Nathan F. Dixon.
South Carolina—M. C. Butler and J. L. M. Irby.
South Dakota—James H. Kyle and R. F. Pettigrew.
Tennessee—William B. Bate and Isham G. Harris.
Texas—Richard Coke and Roger Q. Mills.
Vermont—Justin S. Morrill and Redfield Proctor.
Virginia—Eppa Hunton.
Washington—Watson C. Squire.
West Virginia—Johnson N. Camden and Charles J. Faulkner.
Wisconsin—William F. Vilas.
Wyoming—Joseph M. Carey.

SENATOR FROM WYOMING.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following communication; which was read, and ordered to lie on the table:

[The Beckwith Commercial Company. Merchants. Incorporated 1887.]

EVANSTON, WYO., *July 11, 1893.*

DEAR SIR: Owing to a combination of circumstances over which I had no control I have been obliged to hand in my resignation to Governor Osborne of my appointment as United States Senator from Wyoming.

I beg to remain,
Your obedient servant,

A. C. BECKWITH.

Hon. ADLAI E. STEVENSON,
Washington, D. C.

REPORTS OF SECRETARY OF THE SENATE.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Senate, submitting, in obedience to law, a full and complete statement of the receipts and expenditures of the Senate, showing in detail the items of expense under the proper appropriations, the aggregate thereof, and exhibiting the exact condition of all public moneys received, paid out, and remaining in his possession, from July 1, 1892, to June 30, 1893; which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

He also laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Senate, submitting, in obedience to law, a full and complete statement of the receipts and expenditures of the Senate, showing in detail the items of expense under the proper appropriations, the aggregate thereof, and exhibiting the exact condition of all public moneys received, paid out, and remaining in his possession, from July 1, 1893, to August 7, 1893; which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

He also laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Senate, submitting, in obedience to law, a full and complete account of all property belonging to the United States in his possession on the 7th day of August, 1893; which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

LIST OF PRIVATE CLAIMS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following communication; which was read:

UNITED STATES SENATE, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, August 7, 1893.

SIR: In compliance with the provisions of a resolution of the Senate of September 30, 1893, directing me to prepare an index of private claims from the Forty-seventh to the Fifty-first Congress, inclusive, I have the honor to state that the work has been completed, and the manuscript is in the office of the Secretary, subject to the order of the Senate.

Respectfully yours,

ANSON G. McCOOK.

Hon. A. E. STEVENSON,
President of the Senate.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let that be referred to the Committee on Printing.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered.

Mr. COCKRELL. The accompanying document ought to be printed.

CATALOGUE OF SENATE LIBRARY.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following communication from the Secretary of the Senate; which was read:

UNITED STATES SENATE, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, August 7, 1893.

SIR: About a year ago I directed Mr. E. T. Cressey, assistant librarian, to prepare a catalogue of books in the Library, including those stored in the basement, and in addition to search for certain documents of the earlier Congresses, in order to complete the files of the Senate from the beginning of the Government. On the 28th of July he finished the work and made his report, and I have the honor to transmit the report and manuscript of the catalogue for such action as the Senate may deem proper. Mr. Cressey is entitled to great credit for the intelligent manner in which he has discharged a very arduous duty, and the recommendations made are of value.

Yours respectfully,

ANSON G. McCOOK.

Hon. A. E. STEVENSON,
President of the Senate.

Mr. COCKRELL. What is the size of the accompanying papers?

Mr. MANDERSON. I suggest that the letter of the Secretary of the Senate and the accompanying report from his clerk be printed, and that the question of printing the catalogue of books be referred to the Committee on Printing. The catalogue is quite voluminous.

Mr. COCKRELL. I was going to suggest that all the papers be referred to the Committee on Printing, but let the accompanying report be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered.

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask that the report in regard to the catalogue of documents be printed in the RECORD and also as a separate document.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE LIBRARY,
Washington, D. C., July 28, 1893.

SIR: It gives me pleasure to inform you that the catalogue of the Senate library and its annex, which you requested me to prepare, was finished to-day.

You will remember that this request involved another, namely, that I hunt diligently in the annex to find the Senate documents of the first thirteen Congresses, and the House documents of the first nine Congresses, none of which were in this library. This involved a thorough search among 40,000 volumes stored in the basement of the Capitol. Some idea of the work performed may be gained by the statement that thousands of these volumes are arranged from three to five rows deep on their shelves, making it necessary in all such cases to remove from one to four rows of books for the sake of examining those in the back rows. Many of the cases are fifteen shelves high, and it required a ladder to reach them.

But the labor expended was abundantly rewarded. Seventy-nine of the lost volumes were found. They contain Senate documents of all the thirteen missing Congresses except the Second, and House documents of all the nine missing Congresses. It is quite possible that no Senate documents were printed by the Second Congress. Their Journal index of that Congress contains no reference to printing. The House of Representatives, by resolution, directed all heads of Departments to send their annual reports to that body; hence there was very little need of Senate printing. Or it may be that all the Senate volumes of that Congress were destroyed by the British in 1814, for we learn by Government documents that "the north wing of the Capitol was left after the fire in a much more ruinous state than the south wing."

A few of the seventy-nine volumes are bound in manuscript, just as they came from the authors. Some of them, it is believed, have never been printed.

Doubtless it will be a pleasure to you and to the Senate to know that these volumes have been found; for by their acquisition this library has become the best in the world for reference to the proceedings, the debates, and the documents of the United States Congress. This is verified by correspondence with the Boston Public Library and the British Museum, which are the best equipped with this line of books of all the libraries outside of this city.

During the first fourteen Congresses none of the documents were numbered, nor was their character indicated by marks. Each must be carefully examined to ascertain whether it is an executive or a miscellaneous document or a committee report. Nor are these volumes indexed, and very few of them have title pages. Further: In many volumes the documents of both Houses of Congress are bound together. There was no uniformity in this matter. Whoever had charge of the work seems to have gathered up whatever documents were at hand and had them bound. Hardly any two books have the same documents. They are nearly alike, but not duplicates.

For these reasons, and the added one that no consolidated index of the Senate documents has ever been printed, I have amplified the first fourteen Congresses of this catalogue nearly to an index. It must be a great convenience to all who have occasion to examine the books.

The remainder of this catalogue must speak for itself.

Hoping that its arrangement and mode of preparation will meet your expectation, it is herewith transmitted for your consideration.

On the first day of this month the number of books in the library and its annex was 74,956.

Respectfully,

E. T. CRESSEY,
Assistant Librarian.

Gen. ANSON G. McCOOK,
Secretary of the Senate.

REPORTS OF SERGEANT-AT-ARMS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate, submitting a full and complete account of all property belonging to the United States in his possession August 7, 1893; which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

He also laid before the Senate a communication from the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate, transmitting a full and complete statement of all money received from sale of condemned property belonging to the United States from December 3, 1892, to date, and disposition made of same; which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

SWEARING IN OF SECRETARY COX.

Mr. GORMAN. I suggest to the Chair, in view of the action taken at the special session of the Senate in regard to the officers of the body, that the Secretary-elect be now sworn in.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary-elect of the Senate will come forward and receive the oath of office.

Mr. William R. Cox was escorted to the Vice-President's desk by Mr. Anson G. McCook, and the oath prescribed by law was administered to him.

NOTIFICATION TO THE HOUSE.

Mr. VOORHEES offered the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary inform the House of Representatives that a quorum of the Senate is assembled, and that the Senate is ready to proceed to business.

PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE OF THE SENATE.

Mr. COCKRELL. It gives me great pleasure to offer the resolution which I send to the desk and ask for its present consideration.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to; as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary inform the House of Representatives that the Senate has elected ISHAM G. HARRIS, a Senator from the State of Tennessee, President of the Senate *pro tempore*, in place of CHARLES F. MANDERSON, resigned, to hold and exercise the office in the absence of the Vice-President from time to time during the pleasure of the Senate in accordance with the terms of its resolution passed March 12, 1890.

NOTIFICATION OF ELECTION OF SECRETARY.

Mr. RANSOM submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that WILLIAM R. COX, of North Carolina, has been elected Secretary of the Senate; and that he make a similar communication to the House of Representatives.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. HARRIS submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That a committee consisting of two members be appointed, to join such committee as may be appointed by the House of Representatives, to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that a quorum of each House is assembled, and that Congress is ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.

By unanimous consent, the Vice-President was authorized to appoint the committee on the part of the Senate, and Mr. HARRIS and Mr. SHERMAN were appointed.

HOUR OF MEETING.

On motion of Mr. FAULKNER, it was

Ordered, That the hour of the daily meeting of the Senate be 12 o'clock meridian, until otherwise ordered.

DEATH OF SENATOR STANFORD.

Mr. WHITE of California. Mr. President, it becomes my painful duty to announce to the Senate the death of my late colleague, Leland Stanford. I shall hereafter request the Senate to set apart a day for such remarks with reference to his memory as may be deemed proper. At present I shall content myself with moving that, as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 25 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, August 8, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *August 7, 1893.*

The members-elect of the Fifty-third Congress assembled in their Hall at 12 o'clock noon, and were called to order by Mr. JAMES KERR, Clerk of the last House of Representatives.

The CLERK. On the 30th of June, 1893, the President of the United States issued the following proclamation:

By the President of the United States of America.

A PROCLAMATION.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *Washington, D. C., June 30, 1893.*

Whereas the distrust and apprehension concerning the financial situation, which pervade all business circles, have already caused great loss and damage to our people, and threaten to cripple our merchants, stop the wheels of manufacture, and bring distress and privation to our farmers, and withhold from our workingmen the wage of labor:

And whereas the present perilous condition is largely the result of a financial policy which the executive branch of the Government finds embodied in unwise laws which must be executed until repealed by Congress:

Now, therefore, I, Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, in performance of a constitutional duty, do by this proclamation declare that an extraordinary occasion requires the convening of both Houses of the Congress of the United States at the Capitol in the city of Washington on the 7th day of August next, at 12 o'clock noon, to the end that the people may be relieved, through legislation, from present and impending danger and distress.

All those entitled to act as members of the Fifty-third Congress are required to take notice of this proclamation and attend at the time and place above stated.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States at the city of Washington on the 13th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1893, and of the Independence of the United States the 117th.

[SEAL.] GROVER CLEVELAND.

By the President:

ALVEY A. ADEE,
Acting Secretary of State.

The time designated by this proclamation having arrived for the meeting of the Fifty-third Congress of the United States, the Clerk of the preceding House of Representatives will call the roll, which, by law, he is authorized to prepare, of the members-elect, pending which all persons not entitled to the privileges of the floor are requested to retire, in order that the members-elect may occupy the seats which have been prepared for them; and the Doorkeeper and the Sergeant-at-Arms are requested to see to it that the rules of the House in reference to admissions to the floor are rigidly and strictly enforced.

The Clerk also requests that the Representatives-elect will respond promptly and distinctly to their names as called, in order that their presence may be ascertained without difficulty.

The roll was then called, and the following-named members answered:

ALABAMA.

Richard H. Clarke.
Jesse F. Stallings.
William C. Oates.
Gaston A. Robbins.
James E. Cobb.
John H. Bankhead.
William H. Denson.
Joseph Wheeler.
Louis W. Turpin.

ARKANSAS.

Philip D. McCulloch.
Clifton R. Breckinridge.
Thomas C. McRae.
William L. Terry.
Hugh A. Dinsmore.
Robert Neill.

CALIFORNIA.

Thomas J. Geary.
Anthony Caminetti.
Samuel G. Hilborn.
James G. Maguire.
Eugene F. Loud.
Marion Cannon.
William W. Bowers.

COLORADO.

Lafe Pence.
J. C. Bell.

CONNECTICUT.

Lewis Sperry.
James P. Pigott.
Charles A. Russell.
Robert E. DeForest.

DELAWARE.

John W. Causey.

FLORIDA.

Stephen R. Mallory.
Charles M. Cooper.

GEORGIA.

Rufus E. Lester.
Benjamin E. Russell.
Charles F. Crisp.
Charles L. Moses.
Leonidas F. Livingston.
Thomas B. Cabaniss.
John W. Maddox.
Thomas G. Lawson.
Farish Carter Tate.
James C. C. Black.
Henry G. Turner.

IDAHO.

Willis Street.

ILLINOIS.

John C. Black.
Andrew J. Hunter.
J. Frank Aldrich.
Lawrence E. McGann.
Allan C. Durborow, jr.
Julius Goldzier.
Albert J. Hopkins.
Robert R. Hitt.
Thomas J. Henderson.
Robert A. Childs.
Hamilton K. Wheeler.
Philip S. Post.
Benjamin F. Marsh.
John J. McDonnald.
William M. Springer
Benjamin F. Funk.
Joseph G. Cannon.
George W. Fithian.
Edward Lane.
William S. Forman.
James R. Williams.
George W. Smith.

INDIANA.

Arthur H. Taylor.
John L. Bretz.
Jason B. Brown.
William S. Holman.
George W. Cooper.
Henry U. Johnson.
William D. Bynum.
Elijah V. Brookshire.
Dan Waugh.
Thomas Hammond.
Augustus N. Martin.
William F. McNagny.
Charles G. Conn.

IOWA.

John H. Gear.
Walter I. Hayes.
David B. Henderson.
Thomas Updegraff.
Robert G. Cousins.
John F. Lacey.
William P. Hepburn.
A. L. Hager.
Jonathan P. Dolliver
George D. Perkins.

KANSAS.

William A. Harris.
Case Broderick.
Edward H. Funston.
Thomas J. Hudson.
Charles Curtis.
John Davis.
William Baker.
Jerry Simpson.

KENTUCKY.

William J. Stone.
William T. Ellis.
Isaac H. Goodnight.
Alexander B. Montgomery.
Asher G. Caruth.
Albert S. Berry.
William C. P. Breckinridge
James B. McCreary.
Thomas H. Paynter.
Marcus C. Lisle
Silas Adams.

LOUISIANA.

Adolph Meyer.
Robert C. Davey.
Andrew Price.
Newton C. Blanchard
Charles J. Boatner.
Samuel M. Robertson.

MAINE.

Thomas B. Reed.
Nelson Dingley, jr.
Seth L. Milliken.
Charles A. Boutelle.

MARYLAND.

Robert F. Brattan.
J. Frederick C. Talbott.
Harry Welles Rusk.
Isidor Rayner.
Barnes Compton.
William M. McKaig.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Ashley B. Wright.
Frederick H. Gillett.
Joseph H. Walker.
Lewis D. Apsley.
Moses T. Stevens.
William Cogswell.
William Everett.
Samuel W. McCall.
Joseph H. O'Neil.
Michael J. McEttrick.
William F. Draper.
Elijah A. Morse.
Charles S. Randall.

MICHIGAN.

James S. Gorman.
Julius C. Burrows.
Henry F. Thomas.
George F. Richardson.
David D. Aitken.
Justin R. Whiting.
William S. Linton.
John W. Moon.
Thomas A. E. Weadock.
John Avery.
Samuel M. Stephenson.

MINNESOTA.

James A. Tawney.
James T. McCleary.
Osee M. Hall.
Andrew R. Kiefer.
Loren Fletcher.
Melvin R. Baldwin.
Haldor E. Boen.

MISSISSIPPI.

John M. Allen.
John C. Kyle.
Thomas C. Catchings.
Hernando D. Money.
John S. Williams.
Thomas R. Stockdale.
Charles E. Hooker.

MISSOURI.

William H. Hatch.
Uriel S. Hall.
Alexander M. Dockery.
Daniel D. Burnes.
John C. Tarsney.
David A. De Armond.
John T. Heard.
Richard P. Bland.
Champ Clark.
Richard Bartholdt.
Charles F. Joy.
Seth W. Cobb.
Robert W. Fyan.
Marshall Arnold.
Charles H. Morgan.

MONTANA.

Charles S. Hartman.

NEBRASKA.

William J. Byran.
David H. Mercer.
George D. Meiklejohn.
Eugene J. Hainer.
Omer M. Kem.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Henry W. Blair.
Henry M. Baker.

NEW JERSEY.

Henry C. Loudenslager.
John J. Gardner.
Jacob A. Geissenhainer.
Johnston Cornish.
Cornelius A. Cadmus.
Thomas Dunn English.
George B. Fielder.
John T. Dunn.

NEW YORK.

James W. Covert.
John M. Clancy.
Joseph C. Hendrix.
William J. Coombs.
Thomas F. Magner.
Franklin Bartlett.
Edward J. Dunphy.
Timothy J. Campbell.
Daniel E. Sickles.
Amos J. Cummings.
W. Bourke Cockran.
John De Witt Warner.
John R. Fellows.
Ashbel P. Fitch.
William Ryan.
Francis Marvin.
Jacob Lefever.
Charles D. Haines.
Charles Tracey.
Simon J. Schermerhorn.
Newton Martin Curtis.
John M. Wever.
Charles A. Chickering.
James S. Sherman.
George W. Ray.
James J. Belden.
Sereno E. Payne.
Charles W. Gillet.
James W. Wadsworth.
John Van Voorhis.
Daniel N. Lockwood.
Charles Daniels.
Warren B. Hooker.

NORTH CAROLINA.

William A. B. Branch.
Frederick A. Woodard.
Benjamin F. Grady.
Benjamin H. Bunn.
Thomas Settle.
Sydenham B. Alexander.
John S. Henderson.
William H. Bower.
William T. Crawford.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Martin N. Johnson.

OHIO.

Bellamy Storer.
John A. Caldwell.
George W. Houk.
Fernando C. Layton.
Dennis D. Donovan.
George W. Hulick.
George W. Wilson.
Luther M. Strong.
Byron F. Ritchie.
Charles H. Grosvenor.
Joseph H. Outhwaite.
Darius D. Hare.
Michael D. Harter.
Henry C. Van Voorhis.
Albert J. Pearson.
James A. D. Richards.
George P. Ikirt.
Stephen A. Northway.
William J. White.
Tom L. Johnson.

OREGON.

William R. Ellis.
Binger Hermann.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Alexander McDowell.
Henry H. Bingham.
Charles O'Neill.
William McAleer.
Alfred C. Harmer.
John B. Robinson.
Irving P. Wanger.
Howard Mutchler.
Constantine J. Erdman.
Marriott Brosius.
Joseph A. Scranton.
William H. Hines.
James B. Reilly.
Ephraim M. Woomer.
Myron B. Wright.
Albert C. Hopkins.
Simon P. Wolverton.
Thaddeus M. Mahon.
Frank E. Beltzhoover.
Josiah D. Hicks.
Daniel B. Heiner.
John Dalzell.
William A. Stone.
William A. Sipe.
Thomas W. Phillips.
Joseph C. Sibley.
Charles W. Stone.
George F. Kribbs.

RHODE ISLAND.

Oscar Lapham.
Charles H. Page.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

William H. Brawley.
William J. Talbert.
Asbury C. Latimer.
George W. Shell.
Thomas J. Strait.
John L. McLaurin.
George W. Murray.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

John A. Pickler.
William V. Lucas.

TENNESSEE.

Alfred A. Taylor.
John C. Houk.
Henry C. Snodgrass.
Benton McMillin.
James D. Richardson.
Joseph E. Washington.
Nicholas N. Cox.
Benjamin A. Enloe.
James C. McDearmon.
Josiah Patterson.

TEXAS.

Joseph C. Hutcheson.
S. B. Cooper.
C. Buckley Kilgore.
David B. Culberson.
Joseph W. Bailey.
Jo Abbott.
Charles K. Bell.
Joseph D. Sayers.
Walter Gresham.
William H. Crain.
Thomas M. Paschal.
J. V. Cockrell.

VERMONT.

H. Henry Powers.
William W. Grout.

VIRGINIA.

William A. Jones.
D. Gardiner Tyler.
George D. Wise.
James F. Epes.
Claude A. Swanson.
Paul C. Edmunds.
Charles T. O'Ferrall.
Elisha E. Meredith.
James W. Marshall.
Henry St. G. Tucker.

WASHINGTON.

John L. Wilson.
William H. Doolittle.

WEST VIRGINIA.

John O. Pendleton.
William L. Wilson.
John D. Alderson.
James Capehart.

WISCONSIN.

Henry A. Cooper.
Charles Barwig.
Joseph W. Babcock.
Peter J. Somers.
George H. Brickner.
Owen A. Wells.
George B. Shaw.
Lyman E. Barnes.
Thomas Lynch.
Nils P. Haugen.

WYOMING.

Henry A. Coffeen.

ARIZONA.

Marcus A. Smith,

NEW MEXICO.

Antonio Joseph.

OKLAHOMA.

Dennis T. Flynn.

UTAH.

Jos. L. Rawlins.

After the State of Michigan had been called, the Clerk said:

The Clerk begs leave to state, in reference to the certificate of election from the Fifth Congressional district of Michigan, that on December 22, 1892, there was filed in his office a certificate of election to the House of Representatives from that district, in due and authorized form, showing the election of Hon. George F. Richardson as a Representative to the Fifty-third Congress of the United States, and the name of the said George F. Richardson was, by the Clerk of the House, then duly placed upon the roll of Representatives-elect. Exactly similar certificates in every respect, certified to by the same State officers, were filed at other dates, as late as April 3, 1893, showing the election of Representatives to Congress from all the other districts of Michigan, and similar action was taken in each case.

On February 20, 1893, there was delivered to the Clerk an alleged certificate of election, signed by other persons (the State officers required by law to certify the election of members of Congress having been changed in the interim), which said certificate, accompanied by sundry papers, claimed to show the election of Hon. Charles E. Belknap, from the Fifth Congressional district of Michigan, as a Representative to the Fifty-third Congress. The Clerk refused to strike off the roll the name of George F. Richardson as a member-elect from this district, having already exercised the authority given to him by law. The matter is therefore submitted to the House, which, when organized, is, under the Constitution and the law, judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members.

The roll call having been concluded,

The CLERK. The Clerk announces that upon the roll call 348 Representatives-elect have responded to their names, being more than a quorum. The Clerk is now prepared to receive a motion looking to the election of a Speaker, as no other business is in order until a Speaker is elected.

ELECTION OF SPEAKER.

Mr. HOLMAN. Mr. Clerk, I move that the House proceed to the election of Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-third Congress.

The motion was agreed to.

The CLERK. Nominations for Speaker are now in order.

Mr. HOLMAN. I have the honor to place in nomination for election as Speaker Hon. CHARLES F. CRISP, of the State of Georgia. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. HENDERSON of Illinois. I have the honor to place in nomination for the same office Hon. THOMAS B. REED, a Representative-elect from the State of Maine. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. KEM. I have the honor to place in nomination for the same position Hon. JERRY SIMPSON, of Kansas.

The CLERK (after a pause). If there be no objection, the nominations will be considered as closed.

There was no objection.

The CLERK. The Clerk will now proceed to call the roll of Representatives-elect, in order that their choice for Speaker may be ascertained.

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. Clerk, I believe it is usual to appoint tellers to ascertain the result of the election for Speaker.

The CLERK. The gentleman is correct; the matter was momentarily overlooked. The Clerk will appoint as tellers to assist in the tabulation of the vote Hon. A. G. CARUTH, member-elect from the State of Kentucky; Hon. HENRY H. BINGHAM, member-elect from the State of Pennsylvania; Hon. JOSEPH H. O'NEIL, member-elect from the State of Massachusetts, and Hon. ALBERT J. HOPKINS, member-elect from the State of Illinois. The gentlemen designated will kindly take their places at the Clerk's desk.

The tellers having taken their places, the House proceeded to vote *viva voce* for Speaker.

At the conclusion of the roll call,

Mr. CARUTH said: The tellers report that the total number of votes cast is 343, of which number Hon. CHARLES F. CRISP, of Georgia, has received 213, Hon. THOMAS B. REED, of Maine, 121, and Hon. JERRY SIMPSON, of Kansas, 7.

The following is the vote in detail:

FOR CRISP—213.

Abbott,	Cooper, Ind.	Hunter,	Price,
Alderson,	Cooper, Tex.	Hutcheson,	Rayner,
Alexander,	Cornish,	Ikirt,	Reilly,
Allen,	Covert,	Johnson, Ohio	Richards,
Arnold,	Cox,	Jones,	Richardson, Mich.
Bailey,	Crain,	Kilgore,	Richardson, Tenn.
Baldwin,	Crawford,	Kribbs,	Ritchie,
Bankhead,	Culberson,	Kyle,	Robbins,
Barnes,	Cummings,	Lane,	Robertson, La.
Bartlett,	Davey,	Lapham,	Rusk,
Barwig,	De Armond,	Latimer,	Russell, Ga.
Bell, Tex.	De Forest,	Lawson,	Ryan,
Beltzhoover,	Denson,	Layton,	Sayers,
Berry,	Dinsmore,	Lester,	Schermerhorn,
Black, Ga.	Dockery,	Lisle,	Shell,
Black, Ill.	Donovan,	Livingston,	Sibley,
Blanchard,	Dunn,	Lockwood,	Sickles,
Bland,	Dunphy,	Lynch,	Sipe,
Boatner,	Durborow,	Maddox,	Snodgrass,
Bower, N. C.	Edmunds,	Magner,	Somers,
Branch,	Ellis, Ky.	Maguire,	Sperry,
Brattan,	English,	Mallory,	Springer,
Brawley,	Enloe,	Marshall,	Stallings,
Breckinridge, Ark.	Epes,	Martin, Ind.	Stevens,
Breckinridge, Ky.	Erdman,	McAleer,	Stockdale,
Bretz,	Everett,	McCreary, Ky.	Stone, Ky.
Brickner,	Fellows,	McCulloch,	Strait,
Brookshire,	Fielder,	McDannold,	Swanson,
Brown,	Fitch,	McDearmon,	Talbert, S. C.
Bryan,	Fithian,	McEttrick,	Talbott, Md.
Bunn,	Forman,	McGann,	Tarsney,
Burnes,	Fyan,	McKaig,	Tate,
Bynum,	Geary,	McLaurin,	Taylor, Ind.
Cabaniss,	Geissenhainer,	McMillin,	Terry,
Cadmus,	Goldzier,	McRae,	Tracey,
Caminetti,	Goodnight,	Meredith,	Tucker,
Campbell,	Gorman,	Meyer,	Turner,
Cannon, Cal.	Grady,	Money,	Turpin,
Capehart,	Gresham,	Montgomery,	Tyler,
Caruth,	Haines,	Morgan,	Warner,
Catchings,	Hall, Minn.	Moses,	Washington,
Causey,	Hall, Mo.	Mutchler,	Weadock,
Clancy,	Hammond,	Neill,	Wells,
Clark, Mo.	Hare,	Oates,	Wheeler, Ala.
Clarke, Ala.	Harter,	O'Ferrall,	Whiting,
Cobb, Ala.	Hatch,	O'Neil, Mass.	Williams, Ill.
Cobb, Mo.	Hayes,	Outhwaite,	Williams, Miss.
Cockran,	Heard,	Page,	Wilson, W. Va.
Cockrell,	Henderson, N. C.	Paschal,	Wise,
Coffeen,	Hendrix,	Patterson,	Wolverton,
Compton,	Hines,	Paynter,	Woodard.
Conn,	Holman,	Pearson,	
Coombs,	Hooker, Miss.	Pendleton, W. Va.	
Cooper, Fla.	Houk, Ohio	Pigott,	

FOR REED—121.

Adams,	Bingham,	Chickering,	Dingley,
Aitken,	Blair,	Childs,	Dolliver,
Aldrich,	Boutelle,	Cogswell,	Doolittle,
Apsley,	Bowers, Cal.	Cooper, Wis.	Draper,
Avery,	Broderick,	Cousins,	Ellis, Oregon
Babcock,	Brosius,	Curtis, Kans.	Fletcher,
Baker, N. H.	Burrows,	Curtis, N. Y.	Funk,
Bartholdt,	Caldwell,	Dalzell,	Funston,
Belden,	Cannon, Ill.	Daniels,	Gardner,
Gear,	Hulick,	Murray,	Strong,
Gillet, N. Y.	Johnson, Ind.	Northway,	Sweet,
Gillett, Mass.	Johnson, N. Dak.	O'Neill, Pa.	Tawney,
Grosvenor,	Joy,	Payne,	Taylor, Tenn.
Grout,	Kiefer,	Perkins,	Thomas,
Hager,	Lacey,	Phillips,	Updegraff,
Hainer,	Le Fever,	Pickler,	Van Voorhis, N. Y.
Harmer,	Linton,	Post,	Van Voorhis, Ohio
Hartman,	Loud,	Powers,	Wadsworth,
Haugen,	Loudenslager,	Randall,	Walker,
Heiner,	Lucas,	Ray,	Wanger,
Henderson, Ill.	Mahon,	Robinson, Pa.	Waugh,
Henderson, Iowa	Marsh,	Russell, Conn.	Wheeler, Ill.
Hepburn,	Marvin, N. Y.	Scranton,	White,
Hermann,	McCall,	Settle,	Wilson, Ohio.
Hicks,	McCleary, Minn.	Shaw,	Wilson, Wash.
Hilborn,	McDowell,	Sherman,	Woomer,
Hitt,	Meiklejohn,	Smith,	Wright, Mass.
Hooker, N. Y.	Mercer,	Stephenson,	Wright, Pa.
Hopkins, Ill.	Milliken,	Stone, Charles W.	
Hopkins, Pa.	Moon,	Stone, William A.	
Houk, Tenn.	Morse,	Storer,	

FOR SIMPSON—7.

Baker, Kans.	Boen,	Harris,	Kem,
Bell, J. C.	Davis,	Hudson,	Pence.

The CLERK. Hon. CHARLES F. CRISP, a Representative-elect from the State of Georgia, having received a majority of all the votes cast, is duly elected Speaker of the House of Representatives for the Fifty-third Congress. [Applause.]

ADDRESS OF THE SPEAKER.

Mr. HOLMAN of Indiana, Mr. REED of Maine, and Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas, having been designated by the Clerk for that purpose, conducted Mr. CRISP to the chair.

The Speaker-elect, who was greeted with loud applause, said:

Representatives, profoundly grateful for this mark of your confidence, I shall strive to prove in some degree worthy of it by an honest effort to discharge the duties of the office upon which I am about to enter with fidelity, with courtesy, and with the strictest impartiality. [Applause.]

I am now ready to take the oath of office.

Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania having been designated by the Clerk, administered to the Speaker-elect the oath prescribed by law.

PRAYER.

The SPEAKER. Before the Speaker proceeds to administer the oath of office to members, prayer will be offered by the Chaplain of the last House of Representatives.

Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O God, in Whose hand our breath is, and Whose are all our ways, we devoutly pray that Thy blessing may rest upon Thy honored servants, the President and Vice-President of the United States, the Senators and Representatives now in extraordinary session assembled.

In this critical hour of the nation's life endow them, Thy servants, with supreme statesmanship and patriotism; inspire them with sound judgment and good counsel, that all their deliberations, decisions, and actions may be guided by Thy good Spirit to the welfare, the honor, and the prosperity of all the people.

Bring to naught, O Lord, the selfish schemes of men who seek their private gain in the public misfortunes; restore confidence in the minds of the people, dispel all fright and panic; and grant that the country may soon return to its accustomed way, crowned with prosperity and blessed with peace.

Keep far from our shores the pestilence; cover the homes of the whole land with the shadow of Thy wing; prosper the labor of the farmer, and grant, O Lord, that our whole country may give itself to Thy service, and ever remain as Thine own people. We pray Thee through Jesus Christ, our Saviour. Amen.

SWEARING IN OF MEMBERS.

The SPEAKER then proceeded to administer to the members in attendance the oath of office.

The members presented themselves as their names were called by States, and took respectively the oath of office provided by the law.

When the State of Michigan was called—

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. Speaker, I object to the oath of office being administered to Mr. Richardson, whose name appears on the roll, and hope, in accordance with the usage on such occasions, he will stand aside for the present.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Mr. Speaker, I did not understand the statement of the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. BURROWS. I asked that Mr. Richardson, whose name appears on the roll as made up by the Clerk, from the State of Michigan, stand aside for the present. I have objected to the oath of office being administered to him.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan will stand aside until the completion of the organization of the House.

SWEARING IN OF DELEGATES.

After the oath of office had been administered to the members-elect,

The SPEAKER said: The Clerk will now call the roll of Delegates elected to this House, and those who are present will also be sworn in.

The roll of Delegates being called, all the Delegates elected to the Fifty-third Congress came forward and took the oath of office required by law.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had elected ISHAM G. HARRIS, a Senator from the State of Tennessee, as President *pro tempore* of the Senate, in place of CHARLES F. MANDERSON, resigned.

Also that WILLIAM R. COX, of North Carolina, had been elected Secretary of the Senate.

The message also notified the House that a quorum of the Senate had assembled and was ready to proceed to business.

Also that a committee, consisting of two members, Mr. HARRIS and Mr. SHERMAN, had been appointed to join such committee as may be appointed by the House to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that a quorum of each House had assembled, and that Congress was ready to receive any communication he may see proper to make.

CONTESTED SEAT, FIFTH DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Mr. Speaker, I offer the resolution which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That George F. Richardson be now sworn in as a Representative in this Congress from the Fifth district of the State of Michigan.

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. Speaker, I offer the resolution I send to the desk as a substitute for that offered by the gentleman from Virginia.

The Clerk read as follows:

Whereas the credentials upon which George F. Richardson claims a seat in the Fifty-third Congress from the Fifth Congressional district of the State of Michigan have been annulled and made void by reason of the judgment of the supreme court of that State; and

Whereas in pursuance and in compliance with such judgment and with the laws of said State, the State board of canvassers of Michigan have determined, declared, and certified that Charles E. Belknap is duly elected a Representative to the Fifty-third Congress of the United States of America from the Fifth Congressional district of the State of Michigan: Therefore,

Resolved, That Charles E. Belknap is entitled to be sworn in as a member of this House on his *prima facie* case.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Mr. Speaker, I demand the previous question on the original resolution and the amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. BURROWS. Do I understand the gentleman from Virginia to demand the previous question?

Mr. O'FERRALL. I do.

Mr. BURROWS. That will cut off debate.

Mr. O'FERRALL. No, it will leave an hour, I understand, under the rules.

Mr. BURROWS. But we have no rules now.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Well, under the practice that prevails.

Mr. BURROWS. I hope the gentleman will not do that.

Mr. O'FERRALL. I do not desire to cut off debate. What time does the gentleman desire?

Mr. BURROWS. I should like to take the floor in my own right. I think I can get through with a statement of the case inside of an hour.

Mr. O'FERRALL. It seems to me that an hour ought to be sufficient altogether. Would the gentleman not be content with thirty minutes?

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. Speaker, there will be no time occupied on this side that is not necessary for a proper presentation of the case. I presume an hour will be ample for that purpose.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Say thirty minutes?

Mr. BURROWS. It would not be sufficient. An hour on this side will possibly be consumed. But, as I have said, there is no disposition to occupy time uselessly.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Very well, I am content. I shall agree to two hours' debate. One hour on each side, to be controlled on one side by the gentleman from Michigan and the other by myself.

The SPEAKER. Without objection that arrangement will be considered as agreed to.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. But, Mr. Speaker, one moment. If I understand the resolution of the gentleman from Virginia, it provides for immediate action upon this case. It seems to me that there ought to be a little time left for those persons who may believe that this case should go to the committee.

Mr. OATES. Mr. Speaker, I hope the gentleman from Virginia will consent to let this matter go over until to-morrow.

Mr. O'FERRALL. What was the suggestion of the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. I suggested that this be left open, so that if the House desires it the matter could be remitted to the Committee on Elections without seating either member.

Mr. OATES. Mr. Speaker, I request my friend from Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL] to ask the postponement of the consideration of this resolution until to-morrow, or at least until after the members have drawn seats.

Mr. REILLY. I hope that will be done. That is a very good suggestion.

Mr. SPRINGER. I desire to include in that request the privilege that Mr. Richardson have his name called, and that he be permitted to draw a seat when his name is called, as if he were sworn in.

Mr. BURROWS. Oh no; I shall have to object to that.

Mr. SPRINGER. Unless that is done, I shall object to the request for postponement. He ought to be permitted to draw his seat.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL] is recognized. The Chair will suggest to the gentleman, if it be agreeable to the House, that before entering upon the consideration of the right of this gentleman to be sworn in, the House might, by unanimous consent, be organized by the election of the other officers of the House, and the usual resolutions as to notification of the President and Senate might be adopted, so that there would be no delay in that respect.

Mr. O'FERRALL. I have no objection to that.

Mr. REILLY. I hope the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] will agree to a postponement of the consideration of the matter to which he has referred until to-morrow or some other day, and to let the organization of the House proceed regularly.

Mr. BURROWS. The suggestion just made is to suspend proceedings in reference to this matter until the organization of the House can be perfected, and to that there will be no objection.

Mr. HOLMAN. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. If there be no objection, the Chair will recognize the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN].

Mr. O'FERRALL. Is it understood that the case will retain its status?

The SPEAKER. The Chair understands that. It will retain its exact status.

ELECTION OF CLERK AND OTHER OFFICERS.

Mr. HOLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I submit the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That James Kerr, of the State of Pennsylvania, be, and is hereby, elected Clerk of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-third Congress;

That Herman W. Snow, of the State of Illinois, be, and is hereby, elected Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-third Congress;

That Alvin B. Hurt, of the State of Tennessee, be, and is hereby, elected Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-third Congress;

That Lycurgus Dalton, of the State of Indiana, be, and is hereby, elected Postmaster of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-third Congress; and

That the Rev. Samuel W. Haddaway, of the State of Maryland, be, and is hereby, elected Chaplain of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-third Congress.

Mr. HENDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment to the resolution just read, which amendment is in the nature of a substitute, and I ask the Clerk to read it.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution offered as a substitute by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HENDERSON].

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend by striking out all after the word "Resolved" and insert the following:

"That Edward McPherson, of the State of Pennsylvania, be, and is hereby, elected Clerk of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-third Congress.

"That Adoniram J. Holmes, of the State of Iowa, be, and is hereby, elected Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-third Congress.

"That Charles W. Adams, of the State of Maryland, be, and is hereby, elected Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-third Congress.

"That James W. Hathaway, of the State of Montana, be, and is hereby, elected Postmaster of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-third Congress.

"That Rev. Horace Reed, of the State of Illinois, be, and is hereby, elected Chaplain of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-third Congress."

The substitute was not agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question now is upon agreeing to the resolution offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN].

The resolution was agreed to.

SWEARING IN OF OFFICERS-ELECT.

The SPEAKER. The gentlemen named in the resolution just agreed to will come forward and take the oath of office.

The oath of office was then administered by the Speaker to the officers-elect of the House.

NOTIFICATION OF THE PRESIDENT AND SENATE.

Mr. McMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, I offer for present consideration the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Clerk be instructed to inform the President of the United States that the House of Representatives has elected CHARLES F. CRISP, a Representative from the State of Georgia, Speaker, and JAMES KERR, a citizen of the State of Pennsylvania, the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-third Congress.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Mr. Speaker, I submit for present consideration the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That a message be sent to the Senate to inform that body that a quorum of the House of Representatives have assembled; that CHARLES F. CRISP, a Representative from the State of Georgia, has been elected Speaker; that JAMES KERR, a citizen of the State of Pennsylvania, has been elected Clerk, and that the House is ready to proceed to business.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I submit for immediate consideration the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed by the Speaker on the part of the House of Representatives, to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate, to wait on the President of the United States and notify him that a quorum of the two Houses has assembled, and that Congress is ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.

The resolution was agreed to; and the Speaker appointed as such committee on the part of the House Mr. SPRINGER, Mr. McMILLIN, and Mr. REED.

CONTESTED SEAT, FIFTH DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Now, Mr. Speaker, there seems to be a general disposition upon the part of members of the House to go into the drawing of seats before debate upon this question, which will perhaps occupy some time, is entered upon; and unless there be objection, I will move that we now proceed to the drawing of seats, and that this matter be taken up immediately after that shall have been completed.

Mr. BURROWS. There is no objection on this side to the request of the gentleman from Virginia.

The SPEAKER. Unanimous consent is asked that the further consideration of the resolution offered by the gentleman from Virginia be postponed until after the drawing of seats. Is there objection?

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Speaker, I suggest to the gentleman from Virginia that this matter be postponed until to-morrow, for two reasons. First, it would take quite a while to draw seats; and next, the attention of the House has been called to this question and members will be better prepared and informed to-morrow to form a judgment on the matter than they could be to-day.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Indiana asks unanimous consent that this matter go over until to-morrow.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Well, Mr. Speaker, after we get through with the drawing of seats, if there be any general disposition on the part of the House to postpone the consideration of the resolution until to-morrow, I will agree to it, but for the present I submit my request that the matter be postponed until after the drawing of seats.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia, that the consideration of this resolution be postponed until after the drawing of seats? [After a pause.] The Chair hears no objection.

DRAWING OF SEATS.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I offer the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House do now proceed to draw seats for Members and Delegates of the present Congress, in pursuance of Rule XXXII of the last House, and that when the names of members absent from the city on account of sickness are called, seats be selected for them by their colleagues.

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I desire to offer an additional resolution in connection with the drawing of seats.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman propose to amend the resolution?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Yes, sir.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky submits an amendment, which the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That all ex-Speakers of the House of Representatives, duly elected members of the Fifty-third Congress, and that all Representatives in said Congress who have been elected to fifteen Congresses shall be called first in the order of their service, and allowed to select their respective seats before the regular drawing for seats commences.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will have the word "provided" inserted in the place of the word "resolved," so as to make the proposition an amendment.

The amendment as modified was agreed to.

Mr. WEADOCK. Mr. Speaker, I want to make an announcement in connection with the drawing of seats. My colleague, Judge Chipman, is detained at home by reason of sickness——

The SPEAKER. The question now is on agreeing to the resolution as amended.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

Mr. WEADOCK. Mr. Speaker, I desire to state that Judge Chipman is detained at home by reason of illness; and I ask that Mr. BENTON McMILLIN, of Tennessee, be allowed to select a seat for him when his name is called.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan states that his colleague [Mr. Chipman] is absent, sick, and asks unanimous consent that when the name of Judge Chipman is called the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McMILLIN] be allowed to select a seat for him.

Mr. DINGLEY. Do not the general terms of the resolution cover precisely such a statement?

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. It does not say which one of his colleagues shall select his seat.

The SPEAKER. The resolution covers that point, the Chair is informed.

Mr. WEADOCK. The request I submitted substitutes Mr. McMILLIN for a colleague. The desire is, not that one of Judge Chipman's colleagues select his seat, but that Mr. McMILLIN may make the selection; and therefore the motion is proper.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, then, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McMILLIN] will be permitted to make a selection of a seat for the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Chipman] when his name is called.

There was no objection.

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, I think it would be proper to designate the particular portion of the Hall in which the seats of the Republicans and Populists shall be located. I suppose they want to be together.

The SPEAKER. That is a matter which has never been determined by the action of the House.

Mr. KILGORE. It was determined by the House at the organization of the last House.

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not so recollect, but thinks no formal resolution to that effect was agreed to. There may have been some understanding.

Mr. KILGORE. The motion was made by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Blount] that the Republicans occupy certain sections.

The SPEAKER. Has the gentleman from Texas any motion to submit?

Mr. KILGORE. I move that the House designate the particular portion of the Hall which the Republicans and the Populists, the minority parties of the House, shall occupy, the Democrats to occupy the remainder of the Hall.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. The Republicans will take care of themselves.

Mr. KILGORE. I move that the Speaker designate the positions they shall occupy.

The SPEAKER. The Chair understands that the custom has always been to permit members to select places where they pleased, and that were unoccupied; and the resolution does not recognize any distinction between Republicans and Democrats. There is, of course, generally a kind of understanding among members as to what part of the Hall they shall be seated in. That is about all that has ever been done, so far as the Chair understands.

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, it has always, practically, been the custom for the parties to divide themselves by the main aisle, the Republicans taking this side [indicating] and the Democrats taking the other; and, in case of inequality of numbers, such as unfortunately now exists [laughter], the party which was most numerous took their seats, after they had filled up their own side, in what was left on the other side. That always resulted in filling up when the Republicans were in a minority, as they sometimes were [renewed laughter], from the center aisle as far as it was necessary for them to go. Two years ago, the number of Republicans being small, an understanding was entered into, for the benefit of the other side, by which they were allowed to take this section [pointing to first section west of main aisle]; but there has been a sufficient amount of change to permit us to go back to the old practice; and, after consultation with the Speaker and with several other members, an understanding was arrived at that we should revert to the old custom, and begin at the center aisle. I think that is suitable, proper, and fair, under all the circumstances.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. SICKLES], the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. STONE], and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON] be permitted to select seats before the regular drawing begins.

Mr. GEISSENHAINER. Will the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] include in his request the name of Dr. ENGLISH of New Jersey?

Mr. HATCH. And also the name of Mr. FYAN of Missouri.

Mr. SPRINGER. I have no objection.

Mr. ENLOE. The name of Mr. CALDWELL of Ohio ought to be added to that list.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] that the members named be permitted to draw seats before the regular drawing begins?

Mr. TAYLOR of Indiana. There is. I object.

The SPEAKER. Objection is made. The Clerk will read the rule in relation to the drawing of seats.

The Clerk read as follows:

RULE XXXII.

1. At the commencement of each Congress, immediately after the Members and Delegates are sworn in, the Clerk shall place in a box, prepared for that purpose, a number of small balls of marble or other material equal to the number of Members and Delegates, which balls shall be consecutively numbered and thoroughly intermingled, and at such hour as shall be fixed by the House for that purpose, by the hands of a page, draw said balls one by one from the box and announce the number as it is drawn, upon which announcement the Member or Delegate whose name on a numbered alphabetical list shall correspond with the number on the ball shall advance and choose his seat for the term for which he is elected.

2. Before said drawing shall commence each seat shall be vacated and so remain until selected under this rule, and any seat having been selected shall be deemed forfeited if left unoccupied before the call of the roll is finished, and whenever the seats of Members and Delegates shall have been drawn, no proposition for a second drawing shall be in order during that Congress.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that at times in the past some confusion has arisen from gentlemen occupying, even temporarily, seats on the floor before the completion of the drawing. Of course it is tedious for members to remain standing, especially for those whose names are drawn late, but the rule requires that before the drawing begins the seats in the Hall shall be vacated and shall not be occupied by any person for any purpose until selected by members under the rule, and it is obvious that even a temporary occupancy might very much restrict the freedom of members in making their selections. The Chair therefore asks gentlemen to retire to the rear of the railing, leaving the seats free to be selected and occupied as they are drawn.

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, Mr. Graham, is absent by reason of sickness, and I ask that I be permitted to select a seat for him when his name is called.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has that right under the order. Under the resolution just adopted the gentleman from Maine, Mr. REED, as ex-Speaker, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. O'NEILL, and the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. HOLMAN, who are now serving their fifteenth terms in Congress, are permitted to select seats before the drawing begins.

Mr. REED, Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylania, and Mr. HOLMAN selected their seats.

The SPEAKER. Before the drawing begins the Chair will request members to answer when their names are called by the Clerk, because on previous occasions some confusion has arisen from uncertainty as to whether certain members were present and exercising their right of selection or not.

Mr. BRYAN (when Mr. McKeighan's name was called). Mr. Speaker, Mr. McKeighan being absent on account of sickness, I ask that my colleague, Mr. KEM, be allowed to draw a seat for him.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will again state that, under the terms of the resolution adopted by the House, where a member is absent any of his colleagues present may select a seat for him.

The name of Mr. Hull being called, Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa stated that he had received a request by telegraph to select a seat for him.

The Clerk having announced that the representation of the Tenth Congressional district of Ohio was vacant—

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, I desire to inquire whether a seat can now be drawn, to be occupied by the Representative of that district when the vacancy shall have been filled.

The SPEAKER. Not under the terms of the resolution.

The drawing of seats was completed.

DAILY HOUR OF MEETING.

Mr. CATCHINGS submitted the following resolution; which was read, considered, and adopted:

Resolved, That until otherwise ordered, the daily hour of meeting of the House of Representatives shall be at 12 o'clock m.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. Hull, by unanimous consent, obtained leave of absence indefinitely, on account of illness.

CONTESTED SEAT—FIFTH DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Mr. Speaker, I understand there is a general desire on the part of the House that the consideration of the case of Belknap and Richardson upon the question raised by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] shall go over until to-morrow morning. I therefore give notice (and I do this, I believe, with the assent of the gentleman from Michigan) that immediately after the reading of the Journal to-morrow morning I will call up the matter for consideration. I move that the House do now adjourn.

CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP OF FIFTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

The SPEAKER. Before taking the question on the motion for adjournment, the Chair will submit, to be printed in the RECORD, a list of changes in the membership of the House since the regular election.

There was no objection.

List of changes since the regular election of the Fifty-third House of Representatives.

District.	Name.	Date of vacancy.	Name of successor.
Seventh Massachusetts.	Henry Cabot Lodge†	Mar. 3, 1893	Wm. Everett.
Fourth Wisconsin	John L. Mitchell†	Mar. 3, 1893	Peter J. Somers.
Eighth Pennsylvania.	Wm. Mutchler*	June 23, 1893	Howard Mutchler.
Tenth Ohio	Wm. H. Enochs*	July 13, 1893	

† Resigned. * Died.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL], that the House adjourn.

DEATH OF HON. WILLIAM H. ENOCHS.

Mr. GROSVENOR. If the gentleman from Virginia will withdraw that motion for a moment, I desire to announce the death of one of my colleagues.

Mr. O'FERRALL. I withdraw the motion.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, the painful duty devolves upon me to announce to the House of Representatives the death of my distinguished colleague, William H. Enochs, a Representative from the State of Ohio, who died at his home in the city of Ironton, Ohio, in the early morning of July 13 last.

I shall not detain the House at this time with any remarks upon his memory. His death came to us all with the suddenness and awfulness of a thunderbolt; and his colleagues upon this floor deeply lament his untimely death. Death came to him without a shadow of warning; and the news of the calamity fell with terrible force upon his family, his large number of personal friends, and the constituency he so well represented on this floor.

At some future time I shall ask the House to devote some time to the consideration of this sad event, and for the present I offer the resolutions which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with sincere regret the announcement of the death of Hon. William H. Enochs, late a Representative of the State of Ohio.

Resolved, That the business of the House be suspended in order that the public services and private character of the deceased be thoroughly commemorated.

Resolved, That the Clerk of the House of Representatives be directed to communicate these resolutions to the Senate, and send a duly attested copy to the widow of the deceased.

The SPEAKER. As the Chair understands, these resolutions are offered that they may lie over for action hereafter.

Mr. GROSVENOR. That is the purpose. And now, Mr. Speaker, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased member, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 31 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *August 8, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

JOHN L. MITCHELL, a Senator from the State of Wisconsin, and ZEBULON B. VANCE, a Senator from the State of North Carolina, appeared in their seats to-day.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

Mr. KERR, the Clerk of the House of Representatives, appeared below the bar of the Senate and delivered the following message:

Mr. President, I am directed by the House of Representatives to inform the Senate that a quorum of the House of Representatives has assembled; that CHARLES F. CRISP, a Representative from the State of Georgia, has been elected Speaker; that JAMES KERR, a citizen of the State of Pennsylvania, has been elected Clerk; and that the House is ready to proceed to business.

Also, that a committee of three has been appointed by the Speaker on the part of the House of Representatives, to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate, to wait on the President of the United States and notify him that a quorum of the two Houses has assembled, and that Congress is ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make; and that Mr. SPRINGER, Mr. MCMILLIN, and Mr. REED have been appointed such committee on the part of the House.

SENATOR FROM CALIFORNIA.

Mr. WHITE of California presented the credentials of George C. Perkins, appointed by the governor of California a Senator from that State to fill, until the next meeting of the Legislature thereof, the vacancy caused by the death of Leland Stanford; which were read.

Mr. Perkins was escorted to the Vice-President's desk by Mr. WHITE of California, and, the oath prescribed by law having been administered to him, he took his seat in the Senate.

RECESS.

Mr. GORMAN (at 12 o'clock and 18 minutes p. m.). I move that the Senate take a recess until a quarter to 1 o'clock.

The motion was agreed to; and at the expiration of the recess (at 12 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the Senate reassembled.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. HARRIS and Mr. SHERMAN, the committee appointed in conjunction with a similar committee of the House of Representatives to wait upon the President of the United States, appeared below the bar, and

Mr. HARRIS said: Mr. President, the committee appointed to wait upon the President of the United States and inform that a quorum of each of the Houses of Congress had assembled and were ready to receive any communication he might be pleased to send, have performed that duty, and were informed by the President that he would communicate with the two Houses immediately by a message in writing.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

At 12 o'clock and 47 minutes p. m., Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of the secretaries of the President of the United States, appeared below the bar, and said:

Mr. President, I am directed by the President of the United States to deliver to the Senate a message in writing.

The message was received from the secretary, and handed to the Vice-President.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the message of the President of the United States, which the Secretary will read.

The Secretary read the message, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

The existence of an alarming and extraordinary business situation, involving the welfare and prosperity of all our people, has constrained me to call together in extra session the people's representatives in Congress, to the end that through a wise and patriotic exercise of the legislative duty with which they solely are charged, present evils may be mitigated and dangers threatening the future may be averted.

Our unfortunate financial plight is not the result of untoward events nor of conditions related to our natural resources; nor is it traceable to any of the afflictions which frequently check national growth and prosperity. With plenteous crops, with abundant promise of remunerative production and manufacture, with unusual invitation to safe investment, and with satisfactory assurance to business enterprise, suddenly financial distrust and fear have sprung up on every side. Numerous moneyed institutions have suspended because abundant assets were not immediately available to meet the demands of frightened depositors. Surviving corporations and individuals are content to keep in hand the money they are usually anxious to loan, and those engaged in legitimate business are surprised to find that the securities they offer for loans, though heretofore satisfactory, are no longer accepted. Values supposed to be fixed are fast becoming conjectural, and loss and failure have invaded every branch of business.

I believe these things are principally chargeable to Congressional legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the General Government.

This legislation is embodied in a statute passed on the 14th day of July, 1890, which was the culmination of much agitation on the subject involved, and which may be considered a truce, after a long struggle, between the advocates of free silver coinage and those intending to be more conservative.

Undoubtedly the monthly purchases by the Government of 4,500,000 ounces of silver, enforced under that statute, were regarded by those interested in silver production as a certain guaranty of its increase in price. The result, however, has been entirely different, for immediately following a spasmodic and slight rise, the price of silver began to fall after the passage of the act, and has since reached the lowest point ever known. This disappointing result has led to renewed and persistent effort in the direction of free silver coinage.

Meanwhile, not only are the evil effects of the operation of the present law constantly accumulating, but the result to which its execution must inevitably lead is becoming palpable to all who give the least heed to financial subjects.

This law provides that in payment for the 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion which the Secretary of the Treasury is commanded to purchase monthly, there shall be issued Treasury notes redeemable on demand in gold or silver coin, at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, and that said notes may be reissued. It is, however, declared in the act to be "the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio or such ratio as may be provided by law." This declaration so controls the action of the Secretary of the Treasury as to prevent his exercising the discretion nominally vested in him, if by such action the parity between gold and silver may be disturbed. Manifestly a refusal by the Secretary to pay these Treasury notes in gold, if demanded, would necessarily result in their discredit and depreciation as obligations payable only in silver, and would destroy the parity between the two metals by establishing a discrimination in favor of gold.

Up to the 15th day of July, 1893, these notes had been issued in payment of silver bullion purchases to the amount of more than $147,000,000. While all but a very small quantity of this bullion remains uncoined and without usefulness in the Treasury, many of the notes given in its purchase have been paid in gold. This is illustrated by the statement that between the 1st day of May, 1892, and the 15th day of July, 1893, the notes of this kind issued in payment for silver bullion amounted to a little more than $54,000,000, and that during the same period about $49,000,000 were paid by the Treasury in gold for the redemption of such notes.

The policy necessarily adopted of paying these notes in gold has not spared the gold reserve of $100,000,000 long ago set aside by the Government for the redemption of other notes, for this fund has already been subjected to the payment of new obligations amounting to about $150,000,000 on account of silver purchases, and has as a consequence, for the first time since its creation, been encroached upon.

We have thus made the depletion of our gold easy, and have tempted other and more appreciative nations to add it to their stock. That the opportunity we have offered has not been neglected is shown by the large amounts of gold which have been recently drawn from our Treasury and exported to increase the financial strength of foreign nations. The excess of exports of gold over its imports for the year ending June 30, 1893, amounted to more than $87,500,000.

Between the 1st day of July, 1890, and the 15th day of July, 1893, the gold coin and bullion in our Treasury decreased more than $132,000,000, while during the same period the silver coin and bullion in the Treasury increased more than $147,000,000. Unless Government bonds are to be constantly issued and sold to replenish our exhausted gold, only to be again exhausted, it is apparent that the operation of the silver-purchase law now in force, leads in the direction of the entire substitution of silver for the gold in the Government Treasury, and that this must be followed by the payment of all Government obligations in depreciated silver.

At this stage gold and silver must part company and the Government must fail in its established policy to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other. Given over to the exclusive use of a currency greatly depreciated according to the standard of the commercial world, we could no longer claim a place among nations of the first class, nor could our Government claim a performance of its obligation, so far as such an obligation has been imposed upon it, to provide for the use of the people the best and safest money.

If, as many of its friends claim, silver ought to occupy a larger place in our currency and the currency of the world through general international coöperation and agreement, it is obvious that the United States will not be in a position to gain a hearing in favor of such an arrangement so long as we are willing to continue our attempt to accomplish the result single handed.

The knowledge in business circles among our own people that our Government can not make its fiat equivalent to intrinsic value, nor keep inferior money on a parity with superior money by its own independent efforts, has resulted in such a lack of confidence at home, in the stability of currency values that capital

Mr. GEISSENHAINER. Will the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] include in his request the name of Dr. ENGLISH of New Jersey?

Mr. HATCH. And also the name of Mr. FYAN of Missouri.

Mr. SPRINGER. I have no objection.

Mr. ENLOE. The name of Mr. CALDWELL of Ohio ought to be added to that list.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] that the members named be permitted to draw seats before the regular drawing begins?

Mr. TAYLOR of Indiana. There is. I object.

The SPEAKER. Objection is made. The Clerk will read the rule in relation to the drawing of seats.

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Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, I desire to inquire whether a seat can now be drawn, to be occupied by the Representative of that district when the vacancy shall have been filled.

The SPEAKER. Not under the terms of the resolution.

The drawing of seats was completed.

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CONTESTED SEAT—FIFTH DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN.

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The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL], that the House adjourn.

DEATH OF HON. WILLIAM H. ENOCHS.

Mr. GROSVENOR. If the gentleman from Virginia will withdraw that motion for a moment, I desire to announce the death of one of my colleagues.

Mr. O'FERRALL. I withdraw the motion.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, the painful duty devolves upon me to announce to the House of Representatives the death of my distinguished colleague, William H. Enochs, a Representative from the State of Ohio, who died at his home in the city of Ironton, Ohio, in the early morning of July 13 last.

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Resolved, That the business of the House be suspended in order that the public services and private character of the deceased be thoroughly commemorated.

Resolved, That the Clerk of the House of Representatives be directed to communicate these resolutions to the Senate, and send a duly attested copy to the widow of the deceased.

The SPEAKER. As the Chair understands, these resolutions are offered that they may lie over for action hereafter.

Mr. GROSVENOR. That is the purpose. And now, Mr. Speaker, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased member, I move that the House do now adjourn.

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SENATE.

TUESDAY, *August 8, 1893.*

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The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

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Mr. KERR, the Clerk of the House of Representatives, appeared below the bar of the Senate and delivered the following message:

Mr. President, I am directed by the House of Representatives to inform the Senate that a quorum of the House of Representatives has assembled; that CHARLES F. CRISP, a Representative from the State of Georgia, has been elected Speaker; that JAMES KERR, a citizen of the State of Pennsylvania, has been elected Clerk; and that the House is ready to proceed to business.

Also, that a committee of three has been appointed by the Speaker on the part of the House of Representatives, to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate, to wait on the President of the United States and notify him that a quorum of the two Houses has assembled, and that Congress is ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make; and that Mr. SPRINGER, Mr. MCMILLIN, and Mr. REED have been appointed such committee on the part of the House.

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Mr. WHITE of California presented the credentials of George C. Perkins, appointed by the governor of California a Senator from that State to fill, until the next meeting of the Legislature thereof, the vacancy caused by the death of Leland Stanford; which were read.

Mr. Perkins was escorted to the Vice-President's desk by Mr. WHITE of California, and, the oath prescribed by law having been administered to him, he took his seat in the Senate.

RECESS.

Mr. GORMAN (at 12 o'clock and 18 minutes p. m.). I move that the Senate take a recess until a quarter to 1 o'clock.

The motion was agreed to; and at the expiration of the recess (at 12 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the Senate reassembled.

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Mr. HARRIS and Mr. SHERMAN, the committee appointed in conjunction with a similar committee of the House of Representatives to wait upon the President of the United States, appeared below the bar, and

Mr. HARRIS said: Mr. President, the committee appointed to wait upon the President of the United States and inform that a quorum of each of the Houses of Congress had assembled and were ready to receive any communication he might be pleased to send, have performed that duty, and were informed by the President that he would communicate with the two Houses immediately by a message in writing.

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Mr. President, I am directed by the President of the United States to deliver to the Senate a message in writing.

The message was received from the secretary, and handed to the Vice-President.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the message of the President of the United States, which the Secretary will read.

The Secretary read the message, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

The existence of an alarming and extraordinary business situation, involving the welfare and prosperity of all our people, has constrained me to call together in extra session the people's representatives in Congress, to the end that through a wise and patriotic exercise of the legislative duty with which they solely are charged, present evils may be mitigated and dangers threatening the future may be averted.

Our unfortunate financial plight is not the result of untoward events nor of conditions related to our natural resources; nor is it traceable to any of the afflictions which frequently check national growth and prosperity. With plenteous crops, with abundant promise of remunerative production and manufacture, with unusual invitation to safe investment, and with satisfactory assurance to business enterprise, suddenly financial distrust and fear have sprung up on every side. Numerous moneyed institutions have suspended because abundant assets were not immediately available to meet the demands of frightened depositors. Surviving corporations and individuals are content to keep in hand the money they are usually anxious to loan, and those engaged in legitimate business are surprised to find that the securities they offer for loans, though heretofore satisfactory, are no longer accepted. Values supposed to be fixed are fast becoming conjectural, and loss and failure have invaded every branch of business.

I believe these things are principally chargeable to Congressional legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the General Government.

This legislation is embodied in a statute passed on the 14th day of July, 1890, which was the culmination of much agitation on the subject involved, and which may be considered a truce, after a long struggle, between the advocates of free silver coinage and those intending to be more conservative.

Undoubtedly the monthly purchases by the Government of 4,500,000 ounces of silver, enforced under that statute, were regarded by those interested in silver production as a certain guaranty of its increase in price. The result, however, has been entirely different, for immediately following a spasmodic and slight rise, the price of silver began to fall after the passage of the act, and has since reached the lowest point ever known. This disappointing result has led to renewed and persistent effort in the direction of free silver coinage.

Meanwhile, not only are the evil effects of the operation of the present law constantly accumulating, but the result to which its execution must inevitably lead is becoming palpable to all who give the least heed to financial subjects.

This law provides that in payment for the 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion which the Secretary of the Treasury is commanded to purchase monthly, there shall be issued Treasury notes redeemable on demand in gold or silver coin, at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, and that said notes may be reissued. It is, however, declared in the act to be "the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio or such ratio as may be provided by law." This declaration so controls the action of the Secretary of the Treasury as to prevent his exercising the discretion nominally vested in him, if by such action the parity between gold and silver may be disturbed. Manifestly a refusal by the Secretary to pay these Treasury notes in gold, if demanded, would necessarily result in their discredit and depreciation as obligations payable only in silver, and would destroy the parity between the two metals by establishing a discrimination in favor of gold.

Up to the 15th day of July, 1893, these notes had been issued in payment of silver bullion purchases to the amount of more than $147,000,000. While all but a very small quantity of this bullion remains uncoined and without usefulness in the Treasury, many of the notes given in its purchase have been paid in gold. This is illustrated by the statement that between the 1st day of May, 1892, and the 15th day of July, 1893, the notes of this kind issued in payment for silver bullion amounted to a little more than $54,000,000, and that during the same period about $49,000,000 were paid by the Treasury in gold for the redemption of such notes.

The policy necessarily adopted of paying these notes in gold has not spared the gold reserve of $100,000,000 long ago set aside by the Government for the redemption of other notes, for this fund has already been subjected to the payment of new obligations amounting to about $150,000,000 on account of silver purchases, and has as a consequence, for the first time since its creation, been encroached upon.

We have thus made the depletion of our gold easy, and have tempted other and more appreciative nations to add it to their stock. That the opportunity we have offered has not been neglected is shown by the large amounts of gold which have been recently drawn from our Treasury and exported to increase the financial strength of foreign nations. The excess of exports of gold over its imports for the year ending June 30, 1893, amounted to more than $87,500,000.

Between the 1st day of July, 1890, and the 15th day of July, 1893, the gold coin and bullion in our Treasury decreased more than $132,000,000, while during the same period the silver coin and bullion in the Treasury increased more than $147,000,000. Unless Government bonds are to be constantly issued and sold to replenish our exhausted gold, only to be again exhausted, it is apparent that the operation of the silver-purchase law now in force, leads in the direction of the entire substitution of silver for the gold in the Government Treasury, and that this must be followed by the payment of all Government obligations in depreciated silver.

At this stage gold and silver must part company and the Government must fail in its established policy to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other. Given over to the exclusive use of a currency greatly depreciated according to the standard of the commercial world, we could no longer claim a place among nations of the first class, nor could our Government claim a performance of its obligation, so far as such an obligation has been imposed upon it, to provide for the use of the people the best and safest money.

If, as many of its friends claim, silver ought to occupy a larger place in our currency and the currency of the world through general international coöperation and agreement, it is obvious that the United States will not be in a position to gain a hearing in favor of such an arrangement so long as we are willing to continue our attempt to accomplish the result single handed.

The knowledge in business circles among our own people that our Government can not make its fiat equivalent to intrinsic value, nor keep inferior money on a parity with superior money by its own independent efforts, has resulted in such a lack of confidence at home, in the stability of currency values that capital

refuses its aid to new enterprises, while millions are actually withdrawn from the channels of trade and commerce to become idle and unproductive in the hands of timid owners. Foreign investors, equally alert, not only decline to purchase American securities, but make haste to sacrifice those which they already have.

It does not meet the situation to say that apprehension in regard to the future of our finances is groundless and that there is no reason for lack of confidence in the purposes or power of the Government in the premises. The very existence of this apprehension and lack of confidence, however caused, is a menace which ought not for a moment to be disregarded. Possibly if the undertaking we have in hand were the maintenance of a specific known quantity of silver at a parity with gold, our ability to do so might be estimated and gauged, and perhaps in view of our unparalleled growth and resources, might be favorably passed upon. But when our avowed endeavor is to maintain such parity in regard to an amount of silver increasing at the rate of $50,000,000 yearly, with no fixed termination to such increase, it can hardly be said that a problem is presented whose solution is free from doubt.

The people of the United States are entitled to a sound and stable currency and to money recognized as such on every exchange and in every market of the world. Their Government has no right to injure them by financial experiments opposed to the policy and practice of other civilized states, nor is it justified in permitting an exaggerated and unreasonable reliance on our national strength and ability to jeopardize the soundness of the people's money.

This matter rises above the plane of party politics. It vitally concerns every business and calling and enters every household in the land. There is one important aspect of the subject which especially should never be overlooked. At times like the present, when the evils of unsound finance threaten us, the speculator may anticipate a harvest gathered from the misfortune of others, the capitalist may protect himself by hoarding or may even find profit in the fluctuations of values; but the wage-earner—the first to be injured by a depreciated currency and the last to receive the benefit of its correction—is practically defenseless. He relies for work upon the ventures of confident and contented capital. This failing him, his condition is without alleviation, for he can neither prey on the misfortunes of others, nor hoard his labor. One of the greatest statesmen our country has known, speaking more than fifty years ago, when a derangement of the currency had caused commercial distress, said: "The very man of all others who has the deepest interest in a sound currency and who suffers most by mischievous legislation in money matters, is the man who earns his daily bread by his daily toil."

These words are as pertinent now as on the day they were uttered, and ought to impressively remind us that a failure in the discharge of our duty at this time must especially injure those of our countrymen who labor, and who, because of their number and condition, are entitled to the most watchful care of their Government.

It is of the utmost importance that such relief as Congress can afford in the existing situation be afforded at once. The maxim "He gives twice who gives quickly," is directly applicable. It may be true that the embarrassments from which the business of the country is suffering arise as much from evils apprehended as from those actually existing. We may hope, too, that calm counsels will prevail and that neither the capitalists nor the wage-earners will give way to unreasoning panic, and sacrifice their property or their interests under the influence of exaggerated fears. Nevertheless, every day's delay in removing one of the plain and principal causes of the present state of things enlarges the mischief already done and increases the responsibility of the Government for its existence. Whatever else the people have a right to expect from Congress they may certainly demand that legislation condemned by the ordeal of three years' disastrous experience shall be removed from the statute books as soon as their representatives can legitimately deal with it.

It was my purpose to summon Congress in special session early in the coming September that we might enter promptly upon the work of tariff reform, which the true interests of the country clearly demand, which so large a majority of the people as shown by their suffrages desire and expect, and to the accomplishment of which every effort of the present Administration is pledged. But while tariff reform has lost nothing of its immediate and permanent importance, and must in the near future engage the attention of Congress, it has seemed to me that the financial condition of the country should at once and before all other subjects be considered by your honorable body.

I earnestly recommend the prompt repeal of the provisions of the act passed July 14, 1890, authorizing the purchase of silver bullion, and that other legislative action may put beyond all doubt or mistake the intention and the ability of the Government to fulfill its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognized by all civilized countries.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
August 8, 1893.

Mr. VOORHEES. I move that the message just read be ordered printed, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. STEWART. The message had better lie on the table. We may want to make some remarks about it.

Mr. VOORHEES. I suppose the Senator can address the Senate upon the subject of the message just as well after it is referred, as if it were on the table. The usual course is to order the President's message printed and referred to a committee.

Mr. STEWART. Very well, let it go.

Mr. VOORHEES. As a matter of course, there will be no obstruction to debate if Senators desire to discuss it. Let the message be ordered printed at once.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The message will be referred to the Committee on Finance, if there be no objection.

Mr. VOORHEES. The order should be made that the message be printed at once, so that we may have it here to-morrow.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered.

Mr. DOLPH. I give notice that after the conclusion of morning business, if there be time and it is the pleasure of the Senate to hear me, I shall address the Senate upon that portion of the President's message recommending the repeal of the Sherman law.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. CULLOM presented a petition of the board of directors of the Chicago (Ill.) Board of Trade, praying for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law, and the enactment of legislation authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to sell, at not less than par, $250,000,000 of bonds, payable in gold coin fifty years after date, bearing interest at a rate not exceeding 4 per cent, the proceeds thereof to be used, in the discretion of the Secretary, in the redemption of currency notes of any class already issued; and, also, for an amendment to the national banking act, permitting national banks to issue currency to the par value of their bonds; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of sundry business men of Chicago, praying for the admission of the Territory of Arizona into the Union as a State; which was referred to the Committee on Territories.

He also presented a petition of the Illinois Society of Engineers, praying that an appropriation be made for testing the strength of material of all American woods; which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. CULLOM. I also present a large number of petitions, which accumulated during the last extraordinary session of the Senate, of citizens of Champaign, Gallatin, Franklin, Randolph, Clay, Clinton, White, and Christian counties, all in the State of Illinois, praying for the appointment of a committee to investigate the combine formed between millers, railroads, and elevators for the purpose of depreciating the price of wheat. I move that they be referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. HILL. I present a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, praying for the repeal of what is known as the Sherman silver law, and for the appointment of a representative commission to inquire into the whole subject of the currency, to report at the next regular session of Congress. I move that the memorial be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. VEST presented resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of citizens of Kansas City, Mo., favoring home rule for Ireland and indorsing the action of Hon. William E. Gladstone in the English House of Commons; which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of Democrats of Polk County, Mo., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman law of 1890, and for the free coinage of silver; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the petitions of F. W. Biebinger and other business men of St. Louis, Mo., and of Albert Marty and other business men of Kansas City, Mo., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman law of 1890, that no substitute of any sort be enacted, and for the appointment of a commission to take into consideration the currency question; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of wholesale merchants of St. Louis, Mo., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman law of 1890, and remonstrating against the free

coinage of silver; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. BLACKBURN. I have been requested to present the petition of sundry citizens of Versailles, Ky., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman act of 1890, and that a commission be appointed to consider and recommend a scientific plan of currency based on the experience of other countries and adequate to the requirements of a great commercial nation. I move its reference to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. DAVIS presented the petitions of George S. Spaulding and other citizens of Alexandria, Minn., and of the Board of Trade of Faribault, Minn., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman act of 1890; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a memorial of the Cigar Makers' Union, No. 98, of St. Paul, Minn., remonstrating against the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman law of 1890; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. VILAS presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Lacrosse, Wis., praying for the repeal of the Sherman silver law of 1890; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. SHERMAN presented petitions of the Chamber of Commerce of Cleveland, Ohio, and of sundry business men of Mansfield, Ohio, praying for the repeal of the clause in the act of 1890 requiring the purchase of silver bullion; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. MANDERSON presented petitions of the Commercial Club of Hastings, Nebr., of the Board of Trade and of the Commercial Club of Omaha, Nebr., and of sundry citizens of Lincoln, Nebr., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman law of 1890; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. QUAY presented petitions of the Commercial Exchange of Philadelphia, of business men and merchants of Indiana County, of the Trades League of Philadelphia, of the Grocers and Importers' Exchange of Philadelphia, of the Hardware Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of Philadelphia, of the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburg, and of the Board of Trade of Erie, all in the State of Pennsylvania, praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman law of 1890; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the Erie (Pa.) Board of Trade, praying that an increased appropriation be made for the postal service; which was roferred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also presented resolutions adopted by the Junior Order United American Mechanics and Patriotic Order Sons of America of Franklin County, Pa., praying for the passage of the Chandler immigration bill, the use of the Bible in the public schools, and the placing of the American flag on public schoolhouses throughout the United States; which were referred to the Committee on Immigation.

He also presented numerous petitions of merchants, business firms, and corporations of the city of Philadelphia, Pa., indorsing resolutions of the Trades League of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman law of 1890; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. CALL presented a petition of sundry citizens of Florida, praying that an appropriation of $200,000 be made for the purpose of establishing and maintaining an agricultural college and university to be located near Terra Ceia Bay, Manatee County, Fla.; which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon, presented a petition of the State Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, of Marion County, Oregon, praying for the construction of the Nicaragua Canal; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of the State Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, of Marion County, Oregon, praying for the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people; which was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

He also presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Portland, Oregon, praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman law of 1890; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the State Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, of Marion County, Oregon, praying Congress to immediately reopen the mints of the country to the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold on equal terms, at the present ratio of 16 to 1, that the Government use the coins of both metals without discrimination, and that the metallic currency be supplemented by the use of United States notes in sufficient amounts to prevent the contraction of the currency of the people by the hoarding of gold by the banks, to the end that the volume of money shall not fluctuate, thereby unsettling the value of our farms, our stock, and our products, and opposing the repeal of the present law, known as the "Sherman law," unless a law providing for an enlarged use of silver or for its free coinage be enacted in lieu thereof; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of Grand Prairie Grange, No. 28, Patrons of Husbandry, of Junction City, Oregon, praying for the passage of legislation prohibiting dealings in options and futures; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. WALTHALL presented the petition of sundry business men of Natchez, Miss., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman law without the enactment of any substitute at the present session, and for the appointment of an expert commission to consider and recommend a scientific plan of currency, etc.; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. KYLE presented a memorial of 19 citizens of Clark County, South Dakota, remonstrating against the repeal of the Sherman silver law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. HALE presented a petition of the Portland (Me.) Board of Trade, praying for the early and unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause in the Sherman silver law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. DOLPH presented a petition of the Legislature of Oregon, praying for the passage of legislation restricting immigration into the United States; which was referred to the Committee on Immigration.

He also presented a petition of the Legislature of Oregon, praying for the construction of the Nicaragua Canal by the Government; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of the General Assembly of Oregon, praying for the passage of legislation opening the World's Columbian Exposition on Sunday; which was referred to the Committee on the Quadro-Centennial (Select).

He also presented a petition of the General Assembly of Oregon, praying for the establishment of a road department; which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also presented a petition of the General Assembly of Oregon, instructing the Senators and requesting the Representatives in Congress from that State to vote for a law creating a Cabinet officer of Secretary of Labor; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also presented a petition of the Portland (Oregon) Methodist preachers' meeting, praying for the repeal of the Chinese registration act of May 5, 1892; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. HILL introduced a bill (S. 1) to repeal certain sections of the act of July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes;" which was read the first time by its title.

Mr. HILL. I ask that the bill be read at length and referred to the Committee on Finance.

The bill was read the second time at length, and referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That sections 1, 3, and 4 of the act of July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," are hereby repealed.

SEC. 2. This repealing act, however, is not to be construed as an abandonment of bimetallism, but it is hereby declared that the policy of using both gold and silver as the standard money of the country shall be established, and to the accomplishment of that end the efforts of the Government shall be steadily and safely directed.

Mr. STEWART introduced a bill (S. 2) to restore the right of coinage; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also introduced a bill (S. 3) to supply the deficiency in the currency; which was read the first time by its title.

Mr. STEWART. I ask that the bill be read at length. It proposes to provide temporary relief, and I should like to make a short explanation of it.

The bill was read the second time at length, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, directed to issue silver certificates of the character and denominations as now provided by law equal in amount to the silver bullion in the Treasury purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issuance of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," in excess of the amount necessary, at its coining value, to redeem the Treasury notes issued under said act, and to use the same, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to provide for any deficiency in the revenues of the Government, and to use the balance of such certificates in the purchase of United States 4 per cent bonds at the market price thereof, not exceeding 12 per cent premium

on the face value of such bonds; and the Secretary shall, as fast as practicable, coin such excess of silver and hold the same for the redemption of the certificates provided for by this act.

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, further directed to issue $100,000,000 of United States legal-tender notes of the character and description of the United States legal-tender notes now outstanding, and purchase with such notes United States 4 per cent bonds, at the market price, not exceeding 12 per cent premium on the face value of the bonds so purchased, and the bonds purchased under the provisions of this act shall be held in the Treasury as security for the redemption of the Treasury notes issued under this act.

Mr. STEWART. I should like to call the attention of the Finance Committee to this bill. My effort in drawing it has been to give immediate relief, without involving the discussion of the whole financial question; on the one hand without involving the discussion of increasing the circulation of the national banks, against which both Houses have so frequently voted, and also without involving the question of supplying additional currency by restoring the laws of free coinage as they existed until 1873, because the condition of the country is such that before measures so important as either of those could be determined much harm would take place. Before the recommendation of the President could be considered and discussed here many worthy citizens would be ruined and much injury would result to the whole country.

Now, I do not propose to inquire into how this panic came, or whose fault it was. There is no time for that now. When the house is on fire we must put out the flames first. There is a currency famine in the country. Banks are closing their doors, the masses are being thrown out of employment, and before any relief can be reached great distress will occur. The repeal of the Sherman act may or may not do good. I think it would do great harm and add much to the present financial trouble, but that may or may not be true. We know very well if we could put out some currency for immediate use it would be a great relief.

There are $49,000,000 of silver bullion in the Treasury which is subject to be coined and silver certificates issued for it. They have been coining part of it and issuing silver certificates, but there is no authority in the Treasury Department to issue the certificates until it is coined. This bill authorizes the Department to issue certificates immediately for the amount they have on hand and coin it afterwards. There is $49,000,000. Then the bill further provides for the issuance of $100,000,000 of greenbacks, as they are called, Treasury notes, and purchase bonds, and put the bonds in the Treasury and hold them as security for the notes. The notes can be retired with these bonds at any time hereafter. If this could be done nearly $150,000,000 of money would be furnished to the country and it would give immediate relief.

My information is that the savings banks have a very large amount of 4 per cent bonds which they hold as investments. It is impossible for them to convert those bonds into currency. They have been compelled to require sixty days' notice before they can pay their depositors. That is creating great distress and great alarm. If they could convert their bonds immediately into currency and relieve the stringency it certainly would give us time to think over the matter and mature something that will meet the judgment of the American people.

I do not think that this is a time for angry discussion. What ought to be done ought to be done deliberately. What I propose is that we shall give immediate relief and then consider the general proposition, and it seems to me that we should not stand here and discuss the question while the country is in such a terrible state of panic. It appears to me that it would be unpatriotic for any man to get up any discussion before immediate relief is given. The silver men do not believe that they can allow the act of 1890 to be repealed because they think that is monometallism, and they will have to struggle against it. They believe that that would be the end of silver coinage forever. They can not give up that act and you can not expect them to do it.

But we do not want to be placed in a position where we must contend for what we believe should be contended for. We do not want to be charged with doing anything to hinder relief while the country is suffering as it now is. I appeal to the Senate if this is not the right scheme, to adopt some scheme to get out currency at once, and then we may, if possible, stop this panic and give prosperity to the country. These are mere suggestions. If this bill is not in the right form, any temporary measure that will give immediate relief, so that we can discuss these questions calmly, is what I am in favor of.

I call the particular attention of the Finance Committee to this scheme and ask them to examine it and adopt it, or some scheme of this nature, that does not involve the whole money question, but which will get out immediate currency and stop the panic. I call upon the committee as patriotic citizens to lend their aid to that first before we take up the general question of finance

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will be referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. BATE introduced a bill (S. 4) to repeal all statutes relating to supervisors of elections and special deputies; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. DAVIS introduced a bill (S. 5) to increase the appropriation for the erection of a public building at St. Paul, Minn.; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 6) to authorize the construction of a steel bridge over the St. Louis River between the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. HUNTON introduced a bill (S. 7) for the relief of Henry F. Errett, administrator; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 8) to authorize the coinage of a standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also introduced a bill (S. 9) to repeal all acts and parts of acts discriminating in taxation against the circulating notes of State banks and State banking associations, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also introduced a bill (S. 10) to repeal all statutes relating to supervisors of elections and special deputies, and for other puposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

He also introduced a bill (S. 11) to equalize taxation and impose an income tax, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also introduced a bill (S. 12) to provide for the free coinage of silver bullion, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. GALLINGER introduced a bill (S. 13) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Nashua, in the State of New Hampshire; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 14) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Dover, in the State of New Hampshire; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 15) for the erection of an equestrian statue of Maj. Gen. John Stark in the city of Manchester, N. H.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Library.

He also introduced a bill (S. 16) granting a pension to Nettie N. Seaver; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 17) granting a pension to Julia A. Hill; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 18) for the relief of Secor & Co., Perine, Secor & Co., and the executors of Zeno Secor; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas introduced a bill (S. 19) for the relief of the Little Rock and Memphis Railroad Company; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon introduced a bill (S. 20) to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States; which was read twice by its title.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. This is what is known as the Torrey bankruptcy bill. There are some provisions of the bill I should wish to amend before I give the measure my cordial support. I am in favor of the general principle of the bill. I move that it be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. VEST introduced a bill (S. 21) to fix the number of grains of gold and silver in the gold and silver coins of the United States, and for other purposes; which was read the first time by its title.

Mr. MORRILL. Let the bill be read at length.

The bill was read the second time at length, and referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That from and after the passage of this act the silver coins of the United States shall contain the following quantities of silver, that is to say: each dollar shall contain 464.4 grains of pure silver and 516 grains of standard silver; each half dollar shall contain 232.2 grains of pure silver and 258 grains of standard silver, and each quarter dollar shall contain 116.1 grains of pure silver

and 129 grains of standard silver; the dime, or 10-cent piece, shall contain 46.4 grains of pure silver, and 51.6 grains of standard silver.

SEC. 2. That the coins mentioned in the previous section shall have on them the devices and superscriptions provided for coins of like denomination now coined, and shall be legal tender at their nominal value for all debts and dues, public and private, except when otherwise expressly stipulated by contract; and any owner of silver bullion may deposit the same at the mints of the United States at Philadelphia, San Francisco, and New Orleans to be coined into dollars, or into half dollars, or quarter dollars, at the option of the Secretary of the Treasury, of 516 grains, 258 grains, and 129 grains, respectively, for his benefit.

SEC. 3. That any holder of the coins authorized by this act may deposit the same with the Treasurer or any assistant treasurer of the United States in sums of not less than $10 and receive therefor certificates of not less than $10 each, corresponding with the denominations of United States notes. The coins deposited or representing the certificate shall be retained in the Treasury for the payment of the same on demand. Said certificates shall be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues, and when received may be reissued.

SEC. 4. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall, within two years from and after the passage of this act, cause all the silver coins of the United States hitherto minted of the denominations of one dollar, half dollars, and quarter dollars, as well as the Treasury notes issued under the law of July 14, 1890, to be withdrawn from circulation by exchanging the same, or causing the same to be exchanged at their nominal value for silver certificates of like denominations, representing silver coins of the weight and fineness provided for by this act; and the silver certificates thus issued shall be in all respects similar to those provided for in the preceding section, and shall, like them, be receivable for customs, taxes, and public dues, and when received may be reissued, and that on and after the expiration of the two years above mentioned, all the silver coins hitherto minted of the denominations of one dollar, half dollar, and quarter dollar, as well as the Treasury notes issued under the law of July 14, 1890, shall cease to be legal tender.

SEC. 5. That all silver coins coined prior to the passage of this act shall be recoined as early as practicable into coins of like denominations of the weight and fineness authorized by section 1.

SEC. 6. That a sum sufficient to carry out the provisions of this act is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

SEC. 7. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to adopt such rules and regulations as may be necessary to enforce the provisions of this act.

SEC. 8. The section 1 of an act entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," approved July 14, 1890, be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

Mr. VEST introduced a bill (S. 22) making appropriation for the purchase of ground and the erection thereon, in the city of Washington, D. C., of a building to be used as a hall of records; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 23) to authorize the construction of bridges across the Missouri River between its mouth and the mouth of the Dakota or James River, and across the Mississippi River between the mouth of the Minnesota River, in the State of Minnesota, and South Port, in the State of Louisiana, and across the Illinois and Des Plaines rivers between the mouth of the Illinois and the city of Joliet, in the State of Illinois, and to prescribe the character, location, and dimensions of the same; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 24) to provide for the compulsory education of Indian children; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 25) to amend "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 26) to further amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce, approved February 4, 1887," as amended March 2, 1889; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 27) to place on the pension rolls the name of John J. Chapman; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 28) for the relief of Arthur P. Selby; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 29) to amend an act entitled "An act to establish a court of private land claims, and to provide for the settlement of private land claims in certain States and Territories," approved March 3, 1891; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Private Land Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 30) for the relief of Jacob Kern; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 31) to permit the withdrawal of certain papers and the signing of certain receipts of John Finn or his attorney; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 32) fixing the compensation of United States district attorneys, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 33) to restore Eugene Wells to the Army; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 34) fixing the compensation of the clerks of the circuit and district courts of the United States, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 35) to create a bureau in the Department of Agriculture for giving public information of the production and shipping of live stock; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Select Committee on the Transportation and Sale of Meat Products.

He also introduced a bill (S. 36) to extend the jurisdiction of courts in Oklahoma Territory and of the United States court in the Indian Territory; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 37) for the relief of Robert McGee; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Depredations.

He also introduced a bill (S. 38) to prohibit monopoly in the transportation of cattle to foreign countries; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Select Committee on the Transportation and Sale of Meat Products.

He also introduced a bill (S. 39) fixing compensation of United States marshals and deputies, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 40) to regulate the removal of causes by Federal corporations; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 41) for the relief of Joseph Edward Montgomery; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 42) to amend section 1910 of chapter 2, title 23, of the Revised Statutes of the United States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 43) to amend sections 2474 and 2475 of the Revised Statutes of the United States setting apart a certain tract of land lying near the headwaters of the Yellowstone Park as a public park; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Territories.

He also introduced a bill (S. 44) to provide for the erection of a public building for the use and accommodation of the post-office at Mammoth Hot Springs, in the Yellowstone National Park; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. KYLE introduced a bill (S. 45) for the relief of W. H. Ward; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Patents.

Mr. POWER introduced a bill (S. 46) to increase the circulation of national banks, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also introduced a bill (S. 47) to authorize the Missouri River Power Company of Montana to construct a dam across the Missouri River; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 48) to provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Great Falls, Mont.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. WHITE of California introduced a bill (S. 49) to provide for the erection of a public building at San Francisco, in the State of California; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 50) in aid of the California Mid-Winter International Exposition; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. CHANDLER introduced a bill (S. 51) for the final settlement of the claims of the State of New Hampshire for the reimbursement of national bounties advanced to recruits mustered into the service of the United States under the President's call of October, 1863; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 52) in amendment of the provisions of the Revised Statutes relative to national banks; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Select Committee on National Banks.

Mr. HOAR introduced a bill (S. 53) to repeal so much of the act of July 14, 1890, as provides for the purchase of silver; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. MURPHY introduced a bill (S. 54) to authorize the New York and New Jersey Bridge Companies to construct and maintain a bridge across the Hudson River between New York City and the State of New Jersey; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. HARRIS introduced a bill (S. 55) to amend section 1014

of the Revised Statutes of the United States, in relation to the arrest of offenders against the United States escaping from one district or State into another; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 56) for the relief of E. B. Crozier, executrix of the last will of Dr. C. W. Crozier, of Tennessee; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 57) for the relief of the legal representatives of Henry S. French; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 58) for the relief of William Clift; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 59) for the relief of W. J. Smith and D. M. Wisdom; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 60) for the relief of William S. Stokes, M. M. Brien, sr., Thomas Waters, and William T. Haskins; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 61) for the relief of Pearson C. Montgomery, of Memphis, Tenn.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 62) for the relief of the La Grange Synodical College, of La Grange, Tenn.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 63) for the relief of the legal representatives of Samuel Tate, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. DOLPH introduced a bill (S. 64) to increase the appropriation for the purchase of site and the erection of a public building at Portland, Oregon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 65) to provide for the construction of a public building at Salem, Oregon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 66) to provide for the construction of a public building at Baker City, Oregon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 67) to amend an act entitled "An act for the relief of certain settlers on the public lands, and to provide for the repayment of certain fees, purchase money, and commissions paid on void entries of public lands;" which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 68) to provide for the sale of desert lands in certain States and Territories; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 69) to grant to the State of Oregon townships 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31 south, in ranges 5 and 6 east of the Willamette meridian, in the State of Oregon, for a public park; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 70) to aid the several States and Territories to reclaim the arid lands within their boundaries; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 71) for the relief of John W. Lewis, of Oregon; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 72) to provide for the survey and construction of a wagon road from Gold Hill Station, Jackson County, Oregon, to Crater Lake; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 73) for the relief of William J. Cornell and Joseph M. Cornell; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 74) to provide for the classification and disposition of the public lands, the protection and administration of the public forest reservations, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 75) for the relief of Thomas Guinean; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 76) for the relief of William P. Keady; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 77) to establish an assay office at Portland, in the State of Oregon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also introduced a bill (S. 78) to establish an assay office at Baker City, in the State of Oregon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also introduced a bill (S. 79) to authorize a corrected patent to be issued for the donation land claim of Wheelock Simmons and wife; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 80) granting a pension to Sarah A. M. Blackford; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 81) for the relief of Lorenzo Wyett Mulvany; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 82) granting a pension to Wilson Rittenhouse; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 83) granting a pension to James H. Preston; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 84) to extend the time for filing certain claims for compensation for horses and other property lost in the military service of the United States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 85) for payment of balance unpaid on Oregon and Washington Territory Indian war claims for suppression of Indian hostilities in 1855 and 1856, as found due by commission appointed by Secretary of War, consisting of Gen. Rufus Ingalls, Capt. A. J. Smith, and Hon. L. F. Grover, pursuant to act of Congress, and disallowed by Third Auditor of the Treasury, as per his report of February 7, 1860; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 86) to amend the act approved February 25, 1885, entitled "An act to authorize a retired list for privates and noncommissioned officers of the United States Army who have served for a period of thirty years or upward;" which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 87) to extend the time for adjudicating certain claims; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 88) to pay the citizens of Oregon for supplies audited by Philo Callender, commissioner; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 89) referring the claim or claims of Eugene F. Arnold, administrator of William H. Arnold, to the Court of Claims; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduce a bill (S. 90) to provide for the sale of the unsold portion of the Umatilla Indian Reservation; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 91) to enlarge the jurisdiction and to fix the compensation of United States commissioners in Alaska, to regulate appeals from their judgments, to provide for the appointment of additional commissioners, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 92) to create and establish the pilot service of the United States, and to regulate the pilotage of vessels in ports and harbors along the coast of the United States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 93) to provide for fortifications and other seacoast defenses; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Coast Defenses.

He also introduced a bill (S. 94) to provide for the establishment of a gun factory for the finishing and assembling of heavy ordnance on the Pacific coast; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Coast Defenses.

He also introduced a bill (S. 95) to provide for the punishment of the violations of treaty rights of aliens; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also introduced a bill (S. 96) to provide for the formation and government of municipal corporations in Alaska; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 97) for the relief of Mrs. M. P. Sawtelle; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Depredations.

Mr. STEWART introduced a bill (S. 98) to establish a military post near the town of Reno, in Washoe County, in the State of

Nevada; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 99) to secure the relinquishment of the Indian title to a portion of the Pyramid Lake Reservation, in Nevada, and to the entire Walker River Reservation, in said State, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 100) to reimburse certain persons who expended moneys and furnished services and supplies in repelling invasions and suppressing Indian hostilities within the territorial limits of the present State of Nevada; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 101) to reimburse the States of California, Oregon, and Nevada for moneys by them expended in the suppression of the rebellion; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 102) for the erection of a public building at Reno, State of Nevada; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 103) for the relief of P. S. Corbett; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 104) for the relief of Gen. Napoleon J. T. Dana; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. MARTIN introduced a bill (S. 105) granting to the Chicago-Topeka Light, Heat and Power Company, a corporation organized under the laws of Illinois, the right to erect and maintain a dam or dams across the Kansas River, within Shawnee County, in the State of Kansas; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. QUAY introduced a bill (S. 106) to authorize the purchase of a site for the Government Printing Office; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon introduced a bill (S. 107) to establish postal savings depositories and subdepositories, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also introduced a bill (S. 108) to reduce letter postage to 1 cent per ounce; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also introduced a bill (S. 109) for the relief of the legal representatives of Chauncey M. Lockwood; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also introduced a bill (S. 110) for the relief of L. A. Davis; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also introduced a bill (S. 111) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Henry Von Hess, of Portland, Oregon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 112) to provide for the construction of a military and commercial telegraph line along the coast, between Yaquina, on Yaquina Bay, and Port Orford, to connect with Newport, on Yaquina Bay; Alsea Bay; Florence, on Siuslaw Bay; Gardiner, on the Umpqua River; Empire City and Marshfield, on Coos Bay, in the State of Oregon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 113) to extend the provisions of "An act to amend section 8 of an act approved March 3, 1891, entitled 'An act to repeal the timber-culture laws and for other purposes,'" to all of that part of Oregon lying east of the Cascade range of mountains; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 114) for the relief of certain purchasers of public lands within the limits of Congressional land grants; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 115) for the development and encouragement of silk culture in the United States under the supervision of the Secretary of Agriculture; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also introduced a bill (S. 116) explanatory of an act entitled "An act to settle certain accounts between the United States and the State of Mississippi and other States," and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 117) for the relief of W. L. Adams, of Oregon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 118) for the relief of Peter Grant Stewart, of Oregon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 119) for the relief of Sidney W. Moss, of Oregon City, Oregon; which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 120) for the relief of H. W. Shipley; which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 121) for the relief of William A. Starkweather, of Oregon; which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 122) for the erection of a public building for a post-office and United States land office at the city of The Dalles, Oregon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 123) defining and permanently fixing the northern boundary line of the Warm Springs Indian Reservation, in the State of Oregon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 124) for the relief of William Gallick; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 125) for the relief of Marshall R. Hathaway; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 126) extending the privilege of bounty land to persons who served in the Indian wars of the United States subsequent to March 3, 1855; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 127) granting a pension to P. F. Castleman, of Oregon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 128) granting a pension to Benjamin Franklin Dowell, of Oregon, for services with the Oregon volunteers in the years 1853, 1854, 1855, and 1856; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 129) for the relief of Edward Hughes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 130) pensioning soldiers who served in the Indian wars; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. PETTIGREW introduced a bill (S. 131) making an appropriation to pay the damages resulting to the persons who went upon the Crow Creek and Winnebago Indian Reservations in the State of South Dakota between the 17th day of February and the 27th of April, 1885; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 132) making an appropriation to enlarge the military post of Fort Meade near the city of Sturgis, in the State of South Dakota; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 133) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to pay the Yankton Sioux Indians who served as scouts under General Sully in 1864 the amount due them, and making an appropriation therefor; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 134) granting to the State of South Dakota 5 per cent of the net proceeds of the sales of public lands in that State; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 135) authorizing and directing the Secretary of Agriculture to cause to be made all necessary field examinations, surveys, and experiments for the purpose of demonstrating the extent, etc., with reference to irrigation, of the underflow waters between the ninety-seventh degree of west longitude and the foothills of the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, and making an appropriation therefor; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 136) to prohibit the sale of firearms and ammunition to the Indians residing upon reservations; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 137) in relation to a farm for the Indian training school at Pierre, S. Dak.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 138) to provide for the purchase of a site, and the erection of a public building thereon, at Deadwood, in the State of South Dakota; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 139) to ratify and confirm an agreement entered into in March, 1892, between the Indians of the Rosebud Agency and certain Indians of the Lower Brulé

Agency, both in South Dakota, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 140) to aid the State of South Dakota to support a school of mines; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 141) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to ascertain the amount due the Flandreau Sioux Indians, and making an appropriation to pay the same; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 142) to remove the charge of desertion from William H. H. Cook; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 143) for the relief of the heirs of D. Fulford; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 144) to correct the military record of John W. Taylor; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 145) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to carry out, in part, the provisions of "An act to divide a portion of the reservation of the Sioux Nation of Indians in Dakota into separate reservations, and to secure the relinquishment of the Indian title to the remainder, and for other purposes," approved March 2, 1889, and making appropriations for the same, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 146) to establish a military post at or near the city of Pierre, Hughes County, in the State of South Dakota; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 147) to provide for building and maintaining an Indian industrial school at or near Chamberlain, in the State of South Dakota, and at or near Rapid City, in the State of South Dakota, and to provide a farm in conjunction therewith; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 148) to increase the pension of soldiers and sailors who have been totally disabled from performing any manual labor, and having one or more additional diseases resulting from the pensionable cause, who have to be under regular medical attendance at least one-half of the time, and that have drawn $30 per month for the past five years; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. SQUIRE introduced a bill (S. 149) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the times and places to hold terms of the United States courts in the State of Washington;" which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 150) for the erection of a monument and statue of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, on ground belonging to the United States Government, in the city of Washington, D. C.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 151) providing for the erection of a public building at the city of Seattle, in the State of Washington; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 152) making an appropriation for the construction of a ship canal connecting lakes Union and Washington with Puget Sound; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 153) providing for the erection of a public building at the city of Spokane Falls, in the State of Washington; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. CAREY introduced a bill (S. 154) for the relief of William A. Richards, United States surveyor-general of Wyoming; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 155) granting an increase of pension to Oliver P. Goodwin; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 156) to increase the pension of Juliet W. Hart; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 157) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Mary E. Mason; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 158) granting a pension to Josephine Offley; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 159) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to make leases in the Yellowstone Park; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Territories.

He also introduced a bill (S. 160) to fix the price of lands entered under the desert-land laws; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 161) providing for the adjustment and payment of the accounts arising under the eight-hour law; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also introduced a bill (S. 162) granting 5 per cent of the net proceeds from the sale of public lands to several of the States for the support of common schools; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 163) to enable the people of New Mexico to form a constitution and State government, and to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Territories.

He also introduced a bill (S. 164) to enable the people of New Mexico, Utah, Arizona, and Oklahoma to form constitutions and State governments, and to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Territories.

He also introduced a bill (S. 165) to provide for the disposal of the Fort Bridger abandoned military reservation, in the State of Wyoming; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 166) to provide for the punishment of offenses committed in the Yellowstone National Park; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Territories.

He also introduced a bill (S. 167) to provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Laramie, Wyo.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 168) granting to the State of Wyoming certain lands in the Fort D. A. Russell military reservation for agricultural fair and industrial exposition grounds, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 169) for the relief of Katherine E. Thomas; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 170) for the erection of a public building at Cheyenne, Wyo.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. HANSBROUGH introduced a bill (S. 171) granting to the State of North Dakota certain lands heretofore set apart as a wood reservation for Fort Totten military reservation, for the use of the militia of North Dakota, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 172) to establish a military post at or near the city of Grand Forks, in Grand Forks County, in the State of North Dakota; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 173) to provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Grand Forks, N. Dak.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 174) to provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Bismarck, N. Dak.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 175) granting a right of way to the Jamestown and Northern Railway through the Devils Lake Indian Reservation, in the State of North Dakota; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 176) granting the right of way to the Duluth and Manitoba Railroad Company across the Fort Pembina reservation, in North Dakota; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 177) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Red River of the North, at Drayton, N. Dak.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 178) for the relief of Israel Kimball; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 179) authorizing the restoration of the name of Thomas H. Carpenter, late captain Seventeenth United States Infantry, to the rolls of the Army, and providing

that he be placed on the list of retired officers; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. VOORHEES introduced a bill (S. 180) authorizing the Librarian of Congress to purchase "Townsend's Library of National, State, and Individual Records, comprising a collection of historical records concerning the origin, progress, and consequences of the late civil war;" which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Library.

He also introduced a bill (S. 181) for the relief of Thomas G. Corbin; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. COCKRELL introduced a bill (S. 182) for the relief of J. E. Gillingwaters; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 183) for the relief of Jacob Swofford; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 184) for the relief of Capt. Ceran St. Vrain's company of New Mexico Mounted Volunteers; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 185) to provide for pay and certificates of honorable service to the officers and men of Foster's Cavalry Battalion, Missouri Volunteers; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 186) for the relief of Charles Wagemann; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 187) for the relief of Frederick Gramm; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 188) for the relief of Ernest Ulrich; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 189) for the relief of John M. Davis; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 190) for the benefit of sundry persons residing in the vicinity of Jefferson Barracks, Mo.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 191) for the relief of George A. Orr; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 192) for the relief of Joseph W. Carmack; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 193) for the relief of John S. Neet, jr.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 194) for the relief of Napoleon B. Giddings; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 195) for the relief of Ezra S. Havens; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 196) for the relief of the legal representatives of Douglas Dale, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also introduced a bill (S. 197) for the relief of Cogswell & Co.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also introduced a bill (S. 198) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to settle the claims of the legal representatives of S. W. Marston, late United States Indian agent at Union Agency, Indian Territory, for services and expenses; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 199) for the relief of E. R. Shipley; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also introduced a bill (S. 200) for the relief of Moses Pendergrass; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. COCKRELL also introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Claims:

A bill (S. 201) for the relief of Charles P. Chouteau, survivor of Chouteau, Harrison & Valle;

A bill (S. 202) for the relief of John S. Logan;

A bill (S. 203) for the relief of John F. W. Dette;

A bill (S. 204) for the relief of Samuel A. Lowe;

A bill (S. 205) for the relief of the Catholic Church at Macon City, Mo.;

A bill (S. 206) for the relief of Aaron Bell;

A bill (S. 207) granting jurisdiction and authority to the Court of Claims in the case of the towboat Future City, her barges, cargoes, etc.;

A bill (S. 208) for the relief of Joseph Diehl, of Moniteau County, Mo.;

A bill (S. 209) for the relief of L. W. Pritchett;

A bill (S. 210) for the relief of Wetmore & Bro., of St. Louis, Mo.;

A bill (S. 211) for the relief of St. Charles College;

A bill (S. 212) for the relief of William Wolfe, of Shelbina, Shelby County, Mo.;

A bill (S. 213) for the relief of James Price;

A bill (S. 214) for the relief of D. K. Ponder, of Ripley County, Mo.;

A bill (S. 215) for the relief of William Phipps, William Blankenship, and the legal representatives of Moses Summers, deceased;

A bill (S. 216) for the relief of Edwin F. Mathews;

A bill (S. 217) for the relief of the heirs of James Bridger, deceased;

A bill (S. 218) for the relief of Sarah E. B. Smith;

A bill (S. 219) granting jurisdiction and authority to the Court of Claims in the case of the towboat Future City, her barges, cargoes, etc.;

A bill (S. 220) for the relief of Mary J. Bealmear;

A bill (S. 221) for the relief of Henry M. Cannon, administrator of the estate of James Cannon, deceased;

A bill (S. 222) for the relief of William M. Pleas;

A bill (S. 223) for the relief of Isham T. Owen, of Missouri;

A bill (S. 224) for the relief of William P. Buckmaster;

A bill (S. 225) for the relief of John L. Peters; and

A bill (S. 226) for the relief of the legal representatives of Henry Drehman.

Mr. COCKRELL also introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Pensions:

A bill (S. 227) for the relief of Dicey Bobbitt;

A bill (S. 228) granting a pension to Thomas J. Reid;

A bill (S. 229) granting a pension to Broadus G. Roberts;

A bill (S. 230) granting a pension to Myra Freeman;

A bill (S. 231) granting a pension to Virginia A. Owen, widow of John Owen, deceased;

A bill (S. 232) granting a pension to James Reed, jr.;

A bill (S. 233) granting a pension to Ambrose J. Vanarsdale;

A bill (S. 234) granting a pension to Anderson Morton;

A bill (S. 235) granting a pension to William T. Hutton;

A bill (S. 236) granting a pension to William H. Shivers;

A bill (S. 237) to pension Mrs. Ann Bradford, mother of William K. Bradford;

A bill (S. 238) granting a pension to Henry Sands;

A bill (S. 239) granting a pension to James M. Ray;

A bill (S. 240) for the relief of Henry C. Rose;

A bill (S. 241) for the relief of Mrs. Mary L. Roderick;

A bill (S. 242) for the relief of the heirs of Catherine E. Nelson;

A bill (S. 243) granting a pension to E. C. Curtis;

A bill (S. 244) granting a pension to James Callison;

A bill (S. 245) granting a pension to Nancy E. Neely, widow of Alexander Neely;

A bill (S. 246) granting a pension to Levi C. Faught;

A bill (S. 247) granting a pension to Typpo S. Williams;

A bill (S. 248) for the relief of R. W. Barber;

A bill (S. 249) for the restoration of Zerelda Cobbs to the pension roll;

A bill (S. 250) granting a pension to Dora Sauer, widow of Peter Sauer, deceased;

A bill (S. 251) granting a pension to Eli Browning;

A bill (S. 252) granting a pension to Lucy F. Watson, widow of Joseph W. Melton, deceased;

A bill (S. 253) granting a pension to Maria Hall, widow of Joseph E. Doak, deceased;

A bill (S. 254) granting a pension to James F. Crump;

A bill (S. 255) granting a pension to John G. Hanna;

A bill (S. 256) granting a pension to Margaret Garrison, widow of James S. Garrison;

A bill (S. 257) for the relief of Eliza Dickerhoff, widow of Louir Dickerhoff, deceased, of Company A, Cape Girardeau (Mo.) Home Guards; and

A bill (S. 258) granting a pension to Henry Hahman.

Mr. COCKRELL also introduced a bill (S. 259) in relation to the binding of certain public documents; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Printing.

Mr. DOLPH introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 1) calling on the President to take such measures as he may deem necessary to consummate the agreement between the Governments of Spain

and the United States for the relief of Antonio Maximo Mora, a naturalized citizen of the United States; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon, introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 2) authorizing the issue of duplicate medals where the originals have been lost or destroyed; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. VEST introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 3) in regard to the export trade in cattle; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Select Committee on the Transportation and Sale of Meat Products.

He also introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 4) to maintain the parity of gold and silver; which was read the first time by its title, and the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the American people from tradition and interest favor bimetallism and the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver, without discriminating against either metal.

That it is also the established policy of the United States to maintain the parity of the two metals, so that the debt-paying and purchasing power of every dollar shall be at all times equal.

That it is the duty of Congress to speedily enact such laws as will effectuate and maintain these objects.

Mr. VEST. I ask that the joint resolution lie on the table and be printed. I shall call it up, unless prevented by some privileged question, to-morrow or the day after.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will lie on the table and be printed.

Mr. CALL introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 5) to permit the sculptor to exhibit the statues of Columbus and Isabella in Statuary Hall; which was read twice by his title, and referred to the Committee on the Library.

Mr. COCKRELL introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 6) to provide for the settlement of the claims of the officers and enlisted men of the various militia organizations of the State of Missouri for horses and equipments lost while engaged in the military service of the United States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

BUSINESS OF THE SESSION.

Mr. LODGE submitted the following resolution; which was read:

Whereas Congress has been called in extraordinary session on account of the unfortunate condition of business; and

Whereas some measure of relief can be obtained by the immediate and unconditional repeal of the purchasing clauses of the silver act of 1890: Therefore,

Resolved, That the Committee on Finance be instructed to report at once to the Senate a bill to repeal the purchasing clauses of the silver act of 1890, and that a vote be taken in the Senate on said bill on Tuesday, August 22, at 2 o'clock p. m., unless it is sooner reached.

Mr. LODGE. I ask for the immediate consideration of the resolution.

Mr. TELLER. What does the Senator ask?

Mr. LODGE. I ask for immediate consideration.

Mr. TELLER. The Senator from Massachusetts knows that that can not be done.

Mr. HARRIS. Let the resolution go over and be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There is objection to the present consideration of the resolution.

Mr. LODGE. It goes over until to-morrow, I understand, under the rule.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will go over and be printed.

Mr. MCPHERSON. I should like to have the resolution again read.

Mr. VEST. Let it be again read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be again read.

The Secretary again read the resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution has been ordered to be printed, and it goes over.

HOUR OF MEETING.

Mr. HALE submitted the following resolution; which was read:

Resolved, That on and after Thursday, August 10, 1893, until otherwise ordered, the hour of the meeting of the Senate shall be at 11 o'clock in the forenoon.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let that go over.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, only one word. The President has very aptly and in no uncertain voice given a business for the Senate and, the other House to attend to. He has quoted the maxim that "He gives twice who gives quickly." My object in introducing the resolution, which fixes the hour of the meeting of the Senate at 11 o'clock on and after Thursday next, is to strengthen his hand by increasing the length of the working day and decreasing the number of days which must elapse before Congress adopts the legislation which he recommends.

I do this seriously, because the private convenience and comfort and health of every member of Congress in Washington is now in accord with the public interests. There is no man now here upon either side of this Chamber who does not desire, so soon as his duty can be performed, to avoid the heat of this, it may be, pestilential city and hie him homeward. There is no great business interest in the country that does not demand, as the President has demanded, swift action; and how can we better indicate our purpose to that end than by using all of the days as they come up before us? There are no other committees at work. There will be no other legislation. Everybody understands that we have come here for one purpose, and that is to deal with the financial question strictly—the currency—and, over and above all things, the repeal of the purchase part of the Sherman act.

Mr. COCKRELL. And tariff reform.

Mr. HALE. The President has given us that chart of our action. The only thing that can be said against adopting the resolution is that our friends upon the other side who have the responsibility and must frame and mature legislation will not know what to do with this time if we give it to them. I can not myself believe that that is true. Under the guidance of the President of the United States the course is easy. It may be taken at once; the sooner the better.

I do not propose (because this side is modest and does not attempt to control the order of business) to put the resolution upon its passage to-day, although by the resolution of my friend from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], which we can not pass until to-morrow morning, and which we will undoubtedly then pass, by giving two-thirds of the Republican vote for it with perhaps a majority upon the other side, I am admonished that we can not do this too quickly. If we are to take a vote upon this important matter, as my friend indicates, on the 22d day of this month at precisely 2 o'clock, we ought to begin to meet at 11 o'clock; and as my friend from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], has suggested, 10 o'clock would be better even than 11; and I am willing to so modify it.

But I do not propose to put the resolution to a vote. The rules require that it shall go over for a day; and then I am inclined to think that I shall move to refer it to the Committee on Finance. The path then is plain and simple to my friend from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], the chairman of that committee. He has always been sound on the money question, and is supposed to have strengthened, if possible, his soundness on that question. He can get his committee together to-morrow; they can report to-morrow afternoon a joint resolution repealing the purchase part of the Sherman act; and we can at 11 o'clock on Thursday morning, as my resolution indicates, set ourselves seriously to the business of the country, which it demands us to do. We have nothing else to do.

The President has made a perfunctory allusion to the necessity for tariff legislation, but there is not a man within the sound of my voice who does not know that the Democratic party in the present condition of the finances and business of the country no more dare to tackle the tariff question than a sane man would dare to grasp a wire charged with electricity. We are here for the one purpose of dealing with this other question, and we on this side of the Chamber want immediate action. We want the Senator from Indiana to report a bill in accordance with the suggestion, and the patriotic suggestion, of the President of the United States, so that we may get at it on Thursday morning and set ourselves to work. We shall pass such a measure in only one way, and that is by sitting here days and nights and Sundays. There is no other way; but that will come afterwards.

The Committee on the Order of Business upon the other side of the Chamber, who have the responsibility, will report such a resolution, and we upon this side, or a large majority, shall sustain them in it; and we will get this business done. We have got to sacrifice our personal conveniences. We have got to come here and suffer and stand ready to vote at any time, day or night or Sunday. I ask that the resolution may go over.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, I can not, for one, permit the remarks of the Senator from Maine to pass without notice. This Congress has been assembled by the President in extraordinary session because of a great emergency, one that appalls not only the people of this country, but all the world. The President has said, and said well, in his message that the remedy which is to be applied, the measure intended for relief, is above and beyond party in its consideration. I am not astonished, and have not been, at some of the resolutions looking to haste which have emanated from the other side to-day, so that partisan advantage may come from such movements. The mover of each of the resolutions understands as well as I do, and as the country does, that it is only small politics which suggested their introduction.

I am amazed that the Senator from Maine, with all of his ex-

perience and patriotism and desire to serve the country, as I have no doubt he has, should have been carried away by the little current which seems to have swept over the other side of the Chamber during the morning hour. As the Senator from Maine knows, and as the country knows, we can not dispose of this question on the moment, and to-morrow. The Senator knows full well that members on both sides of the Chamber are divided in opinion as to the proper remedy to be applied. The President has presented a view clear and emphatic upon one side, but there are other views, and Congress is to determine precisely what shall be done. That decision can not be reached to-day or to-morrow; and in my judgment it is belittling the question; it is trifling with the great commercial interests of this country for us to seek small advantages on either side of the Chamber.

Mr. HALE. I agree with what the Senator says about the importance of this subject and the fact that men are honestly divided in opinion about it; but does not the Senator, who is equally patriotic with any of us, agree with me that the sooner we can get this matter before the Senate and begin the debate, wherein every Senator will and should have an opportunity of expressing his mind, the better? The resolution I have offered does not in any way involve any time when we shall stifle debate and bring the question to an issue, but it is in the interest of commencing the discussion of the subject-matter and disposing of it as promptly as possible. Is not the Senator in favor of that?

Mr. GORMAN. If the Senator from Maine had been present and had listened to what has occurred to-day, he would have known that the Senator in charge of the great financial committee of the body, the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], freely accorded the right to the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH] to open the debate upon this question. Not a moment is to be lost. No moment has been sacrificed. We have listened to the message of the President, and referred it at once to the Committee on Finance; but before that committee can have time to read the message in cold print or consider the suggestions which have been made on the other side of the question, an attempt is made for partisan advantage—it can not be for anything else—to show that the other side is most anxious to go on.

The Senator from Maine knows that we can not proceed with greater haste. I say to the Senator that whatever differences may be developed—and there are wide differences of opinion on this question, and we all know that fact—the subject should be considered and acted upon without undue haste.

Mr. HALE. Does the Senator see any reason on the single, distinct proposition of the repeal of the purchase part of the Sherman act why the majority of the Committee on Finance should not report its conclusions one way or the other on Thursday next?

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, the legislation which we are called upon by the President of the United States to repeal is legislation which was considered, not in a partisan spirit, but it took time to enact it, and it will take time, as we all know, to get the committee together, to ascertain their views, and obtain their report to this body. Nobody can know better than the Senator from Maine that the universal experience of this body has been that we absolutely gain time and hasten the moment when we can come to a vote by giving our committees ample opportunity to confer and by giving Senators ample time to confer with each other.

I hope when a measure comes here to be voted upon, in whatever form it may come, that it will come after a conference of members on this side and members upon the other side of the Chamber. I trust that we may all rise above mere partisanship and settle the matter in the interests of the country. I hope that nothing will be done upon the other side to excite party feeling upon this. Whilst we might go back and say that the present condition of affairs is the result of your action, I think anything like crimination or recrimination ought to be discarded at this session.

Mr. President, I do trust that from this time forth it will be thoroughly understood that we are all here to serve our country; it is a serious and awful condition of affairs which we are confronting, and we must take the question up deliberately and calmly, with a view to the enactment of legislation which will give relief.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President——

Mr. HALE. Will the Senator from Indiana allow me a moment?

Mr. VOORHEES. Yes.

Mr. HALE. I only wish to say that my proposition is a serious proposition with the view and end of strengthening the hands of the President. If there is any one thing in the President's message that rings out after his wont in undoubted and in no uncertain voice it is the appealing cry for immediate action.

Mr. President, it is not quite in the natural vein of the Senator from Maryland, who is a broad-minded and patriotic legislator, to charge the attempt of Senators on this side to uphold his President's hands as being done for a party purpose. The keynote of my resolution and of the resolution of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] is the President's message, speaking in its clear tones to us to-day, and the Senator from Maryland will not be able, by taunting us with seeking partisan advantage, to deter the large majority on this side of the Chamber from standing up to the President in his patriotic attempt to pass a measure that shall relieve the business interests of the country. No taunt from that side, sir, that a partisan advantage is sought, will prevent Republicans upon this side, not in a foremost and pushing way, but following the patriotic sentiment upon the other side, upholding their hands at every stage of this controversy in the direction of sound money and relieving the business embarrassments of the country.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President, the Committee on Finance will be convened the day after to-morrow. I shall call the committee together by notice to-morrow, and it will convene Thursday morning to take up this great question as it ought to be taken up, far away from the reach of charlatanism and cheap demagogy such as we have been listening to here at this time.

The idea of dealing with this condition in the hop, skip, and jump style suggested by the Senator from Maine is amazing in in the Senate of the United States, and the haste with which the Senator springs forward to undo what he himself has helped to do is another surprising feature. The Senator from Maine forgets that every curse of the Sherman act comes home to roost on that side of the Chamber, and not on this.

Every vote that passed it through this body was cast by that side of the Chamber and not one by this. Not a single vote on our side was given for that miserable act. I voted against it on its passage, and for the same reason, because of its degradation of one of the precious metals of this country, I shall vote for its repeal. I never believed in it; I do not now; but the idea of the Senator from Maine arraigning this side of the Chamber and appealing to me personally to make haste to undo the infamy and fraud which he himself voted to fasten on this country is about the most refreshing thing that I have witnessed in twenty years of public life. [Laughter and applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr BLACKBURN in the chair). The Senator will suspend for a moment until the Chair reminds the occupants of the galleries that under the rule of the Senate applause must not be indulged in, and if it be repeated the Chair will direct the Sergeant-at-Arms to clear the galleries.

Mr. HALE. Will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. VOORHEES. I yielded a while ago to the Senator. The Senator knows that in spite of his political predilections I like him and must oblige him, and I suppose I shall have to yield.

Mr. HALE. I think we like each other. I only wish to say, while not agreeing with the Senator as to the responsibility for the Sherman act—because that is a subject to be debated hereafter, and members upon one side and the other participated in the passage of that act for one reason or another—if it has worked ill and is practically an infamy, as he says, what reason can he give why we should not be in haste to repeal it? What harm is there, what inconsistency is there, supposing it to be true, as he says, and we have found it working mischief, in hurrying the repeal of that act as early as possible?

Mr. VOORHEES. Let me finish. I took the Senator in his own attitude. He is penitent; he is sorry for what he has done; he is in sackcloth and ashes, and he is crying, "Woe is me; hurry up, so that I can undo this deed." He is racked with remorse. That is the attitude he occupies here. I know the Senator from Maine—and he will pardon me, for I do not mean to be personally offensive at all—is not sincere in supposing this great financial question can be disposed of in this way. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], the distinguished member of the Finance Committee sitting just beyond him, knows the question can not be met in this kind of way. The point presented by the Senator from Maine is out of the reach of reasonable debate, and I simply reply to him in the manner I do because his suggestion is worthy of no other kind of reply.

If there is such evil in the Sherman act—and it is full of evil, not perhaps so full as some people think it is, though it is full enough to be repealed—we ought to repeal it, and I expect to vote for its repeal; but when the Senator appeals to me as chairman of the Finance Committee to hurry, I can not help but remind him that I am appealed to to undo his own wrongdoing, to undo the flagrant piece of legislation of which he complains, and I remind Senators on the other side of the Chamber that they are in no attitude to speak up and say, "Hurry; let us undo this deed." It is your own deed; it is your own legislation, and we are called upon in this hot summer month of August not to

correct Democratic legislation, not to sit on errors of our own, but to sit on your errors. We are called here in extra session at the sacrifice of all the ease and comforts of life to meet an issue made by you and not by us.

I had not the slightest idea of speaking in a partisan sense, as I am doing now, but it was forced upon us by the wonderfully inopportune remarks, as it seems to me, of the Senator from Maine. I repeat myself. I am not here because I have erred, or because the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL], here before me, or my brethren on this side of the Chamber have erred, but because Senators on the other side have erred. Whose name does this act bear? The name of the most distinguished Republican in the United States. His name has been borne aloft with this act. I did not believe in it at the time. I predicted evil when it was passed. I told the distinguished Senators who are near me from the Western silver States that it was a wrong movement, and they ought not to have accepted it as a compromise at the time; but I did not believe it would effect as much evil as it has. Now, in the face of these evils, the Republican side of the Chamber ask us to hurry and undo them. We will undo them as fast as we can, with method and in order, but not in haste, or in a spirit of disregard to all the methods of procedure which prevail in important legislation.

I trust that we shall hear no more of this. I regret extremely to have to say what I have said, but to sit here silent and be taunted by the other side with not sufficient haste in correcting their own errors is something that human nature can not abide with very much patience.

Mr. SHERMAN rose.

Mr. VOORHEES. I will yield to the Senator from Ohio if he desires to speak.

Mr. SHERMAN. I wish to say a few words, but not until the Senator is through. I do not wish to disturb him.

Mr. VOORHEES. I only wish to say a word further, and then I shall yield to the Senator from Ohio.

I wish to approach this question in a becoming spirit. There is a great and perilous condition of affairs, I think, based on many misapprehensions and many misrepresentations as to the real cause of the trouble, but, whatever they may be, we are American Senators and should approach the discharge of these great duties we are called here to perform in a becoming spirit, not as jockeys mount their steeds to catch the advantage at the start by crowding one person or another. These great interests are in our hands, and the jockey movement of the Senator from Maine, I trust, will meet with no repetition or imitation hereafter.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, with some of the remarks made by the Senator from Indiana I cheerfully concur. I believe that the Senate of the United States ought to meet the question presented by the President with deliberation, with moderation, with candor, and with fairness. I do not myself wish to enter into any political debate, but there is one fact I must impress upon my friend from Indiana, and that is that the passage of the act which he has referred to was caused by the imminent danger of the two Houses of Congress agreeing to the free coinage of silver. A portion of our Republican friends, whom we regard as political as well as personal friends also, committed themselves in favor of the free coinage of silver.

The Democratic party, in almost unbroken phalanx, committed themselves to the same policy. There can be no doubt about that. The House of Representatives sent us a bill providing for the purchase of four and one-half million dollars' worth of silver bullion. The Senate, by a very decided vote, I think by some twenty-odd majority, passed a substitute providing for the free coinage of silver. I was one of those who believed that that would be a very grave and serious peril to our country—not to one party, but to the whole country—that it would place us in a position to demonetize gold and adopt silver as the single standard, to detach ourselves from the great commercial nations of the world and join the inferior nations, where poverty or large populations compel them to the use of silver alone. Therefore the act which has been misnamed the Sherman act, with which I had nothing more to do than several others, was adopted as an expedient to defeat the free coinage of silver. That was the object, the aim, and the desire.

If this is to be regarded as a mere political question, I must say that my honorable friends on the other side, together with some Republicans who voted with them for the free coinage of silver, are responsible for the terms of that act. Every provision of that act is wise, conservative, and just, except the one which it is now sought to repeal, and the repeal of which I shall vote for with the greatest pleasure. It was yielded, as Senators around me here know, with great reluctance, and yielded only after full consideration. We sometimes resort to extreme measures to prevent greater evils; we sometimes take medicine in undue proportion in order to prevent an acute disease; we have resorted to the horrors of war in order to prevent the dissolution of the Union. Extreme measures are required for extreme cases, and the act referred to was passed for the purpose I have stated.

There is the condition of affairs. The question whether the act shall be repealed and what provision shall be substituted in its place is to be discussed here with frankness and fairness, I hope. What the Senator has said gives me great assurance that this can be done. If he and his friends are prepared now to vote for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the act of 1890, we will concur with them; we will join with them, with all our friends, the friends of silver and the friends of gold, to consider every measure that may be proposed which will ease the public mind from the apprehension of the perils which now confront us, or rather from the fears which now disturb the people, because I think the fears are far greater than the perils of the situation.

Mr. VOORHEES. Let me ask the Senator from Ohio one question. Surely the Senator from Ohio does not think this measure should be disposed of without reference and consideration properly made in the Committee on Finance, does he?

Mr. SHERMAN. No, sir; I do not. I say that I believe the time will come, and probably is not far distant, when the Senate, like every other body of eighty men, will be compelled to resort to some expedient by which the majority can put an end to debate; but I do not wish to see that applied in this case. I wish to see the broadest discussion. I believe if there ever was a time that general latitude should be allowed for free discussion it is on such a question as that now presented, and every Senator should have an opportunity to express his opinion.

Then I think we can appeal to those in the minority who resist the proposed measures of relief recommended by the President, as members of the Senate of the United States, as patriotic Republicans or as patriotic Democrats, not to extend their arguments and speeches to an undue length in order to prevent the immediate relief demanded by the President of the United States. I will not hurry or hasten any man in the expression of his opinion, but I believe the time will come, after we have considered this matter with moderation and with patience and deliberation; when we shall reach some common agreement which will relieve the public from the distrust they now labor under; which will free manufacturing establishments from the fear now threatening them of a change in the tariff laws of the United States, and which will free the people of our country who have their humble hoardings in the savings banks from the apprehensions of peril which induce them to apply for their money now deposited in the banks and in actual circulation among the people and to hoard it away—all these measures of relief I believe will come from a moderate, timely, patient, and nonpartisan consideration of this subject.

With these remarks, reserving to myself the opportunity at some other time to express myself more freely and more fully, I leave the matter to the Senate. I shall vote for no measure of extreme urgency to force a vote. I believe we can always appeal to the generous and manly sentiment of the Senate of the United States. If the Senate should show by a determined majority a desire to repeal the act in question, I believe the minority will yield to that desire and do what Senators have done in all times, in the midst of war as well as in peace, yield to the will of the majority wherever it is constitutionally expressed.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, all partisan discussion is to be deprecated at this time; but the Senator from Ohio has made an extraordinary statement, which, in justice to all of us, should now be considered further.

If I understand the Senator, he states that the Sherman act, as it is called, was enacted to prevent the passage of a free coinage bill by Congress. Is that the correct statement?

Mr. SHERMAN. Not exactly, because I regarded the House bill, if the Senator will allow me, which proposed to buy four and one-half million dollars' worth of silver bullion, and which now would buy about 6,500,000 ounces, as a very dangerous measure. It was to defeat that measure of the House of Representatives, and also to prevent the enactment of a free coinage bill, as passed by the Senate, that the compromise measure was finally agreed upon.

Mr. VEST. I understand from the latter part of the Senator's statement that the so-called Sherman bill was enacted into law in order to prevent the worse calamity, in his view, of the enactment of a free coinage law. Then that implies the extraordinary statement that the President of the United States, at that time Gen. Harrison, of Indiana, would have signed such a bill in order that it should go upon the statute books.

Mr. SHERMAN. Not at all.

Mr. VEST. Nothing is better known than that it was simply impossible to pass such a bill over the Executive veto.

Mr. SHERMAN. If the Senator will allow me, I will say that

I trust the time will never come when we shall either try to compel or induce the President of the United States to save us from a calamity which we are able to save the country from by the action of the Congress of the United States. I do not depend upon Presidential vetoes.

Mr. VEST. That may be true, Mr. President, but the assumption implied in the statement of the Senator from Ohio is that this doubtful measure, as he has often repeated upon this floor, this measure of doubtful public policy and expediency was enacted in order to escape a much greater evil. That, as a matter of course, carries with it the assumption that if the two Houses of Congress had voted in favor of that bill it would have become a law. I have seen a statement from the Senator from Ohio that he did not think it was right to put the President of the United States, at that time General Harrison, in that alternative or with that conjuncture presented to him.

Mr. SHERMAN. If the Senator will allow me, I will say that the President, by a happy expression in his message, has declared exactly the nature of that bill. It was "a truce" between the friends and the enemies of the free coinage of silver, and the expression is very aptly put and very truly put.

Mr. VEST. It was a most remarkable truce, Mr. President, when every intelligent man in Congress knew that a free coinage bill could not become a law, and the Senator from Ohio does not escape the logical conclusion by stating that we have no right to assume that the President of the United States will do one thing or the other. It is as well known that Gen. Harrison, on account of the platform on which he was elected, on account of his many public utterances, on account of his whole history as a public man, would have vetoed a free coinage bill as that the Senator from Ohio is the distinguished leader of his party to-day.

I am compelled to say—and I hope I shall not be compelled to make any other partisan utterances in this debate—since it has been thrust upon us by the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], the Sherman law was passed in order to relieve a Republican President of the United States from vetoing a free coinage bill, which would have lost California, Oregon, Nevada, and other silver-producing States to the Republican party.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President I do not question that the Senator from Maine speaks by authority when he speaks for the President of the United States, but I resent for myself and for my associates on this side who believe with me any claim on his part that he speaks for the Republican party of the Senate or of the United States. He may speak for himself; he may speak for the New England Senators who surround him; but he has no right to speak for us. We have not made him our mouthpiece and we are not likely to do so.

The Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH] desires to address the Senate, but I have asked his indulgence for only a moment, as I shall return to this subject probably on an occasion when I shall have more time than now.

I want to refer to the very subject mentioned by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] who has just taken his seat; that is, to the statement made by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] that the Sherman law was passed to save the country from a free coinage act. The Senator from Ohio was the chairman of the conference committee which framed that act, and on the floor of the Senate, when he made the report, he stated in the most emphatic manner that the House of Representatives had determined in a very positive way that no free coinage bill could pass that body.

Mr. President, I say here now with all due deference to the honorable Senator, and trying to keep as closely within the rules of Senatorial decency and courtesy as the circumstances will admit, that that statement is an afterthought. The records will not support it. The matter was brought here in that shape for the reason that it was supposed it would quiet the agitation and would maintain intact in the Northwest the Republican column of States. We were told in plain, unmistakable language that this might be a sop to our people, which would save us and save our political organization in that great section of the country, and that we could get nothing better.

I repeat, Mr. President, there was not a man in this body, nor anywhere else, who gave attention to this subject who did not know we had reached a point where it was absolutely impossible to pass a free coinage act. I, myself, from my seat on the floor, made the statement that, bad as I thought the bill was, pronouncing it, as I did, absolutely illogical, and founded upon no financial principle whatever, I should vote for it because it gave to the people an increased currency at a time when they needed it, and because there was a lingering hope that it might in some way raise the price of a product of my State, and because we could not secure free coinage.

History of the act will bear me out in the assertion that it was admitted on the floor by everybody that we had reached a point where the free coinage of silver could not be secured at that session; and I should not have gone home to my people with this makeshift, which we are now told was a truce that was to be violated on the first opportunity, if there had been a ghost of a chance to have secured the passage of a free coinage act.

Mr. President, I knew, as did the Senator from Ohio, and as he practically stated on this floor, that the House would not pass a free coinage bill. I knew further from the mouth of the President of the United States himself that, if Congress passed such a bill, he intended to veto it. We were in a condition to accept whatever was tendered to us by the party then in power.

Mr. President, I shall not take the time of the Senate now to discuss this question. There will be ample time for discussion, whether the Senate meets at 11 o'clock, or 10 o'clock, or at any other hour.

The Senator from Ohio very kindly tells us that he will not favor a clôture rule—not at present, at least. Perhaps that depends upon our good conduct. I want to say that we have passed through one period when an effort was made to secure a clôture rule in this body. The attempt was a disastrous failure, and I predict, whether the Senator from Ohio is for or against a clôture rule at this time or at any other, it is not likely to become a rule of this body.

The question presented to the Senate is a great question. It outweighs the tariff. It is beyond doubt the greatest question which has been presented to the American people at any time; equal, in my judgment, in importance to the question whether the country should remain united or be divided.

Mr. STEWART. More important.

Mr. TELLER. It is a question whether we shall go to a gold standard or whether we shall maintain the double standard; and we who believe that that would bring disaster to us and disaster to the world do not intend to be frightened either by suggestions of clôture or by a public clamor demanding this or that, which has been gotten up in a certain section of the country, nor because public opinion, to which we are all somewhat inclined to bow, may make unreasonable demands on us.

Mr. President, as a Senator of this body, as a representative, in part at least, of a sovereign State, I come here to act upon my judgment in the interests of my constituents and in the interests of the whole country. Executive advice goes for nothing unless it convinces my judgment. Public clamor passes my ears without going into them when I know that it is unreasoning public clamor, when I know that it is not based on common sense; and even the distinguished Senator from Ohio can not convince me that this most wonderful and astonishing panic, unlike anything in the history of the world, arises out of a distrust by the American people of the currency of the country.

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. TELLER. Certainly.

Mr. PEFFER. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Colorado when he is speaking of public clamor, whether he has heard any part of that public clamor coming from the men and the women who do the work in this country—the farmers and the mechanics and the wage workers—whether he can point to a single body of organized laboring men anywhere in the country, unless it be only those who are in the class of skilled workmen and who are receiving high wages and have bank accounts—whether any part of the clamor to which he refers, and whether what we are now calling public sentiment did not come originally from the speculators in Wall street and afterwards from the satellites who revolve around that sacred spot in this country, widening as the influences from the inspiring center widens?

Mr. TELLER. I think the Senator from Kansas has stated the conditions better than I could. The public clamor is not from the productive agencies of this country; it is not from the men who create the wealth of the country; it is not from the great conservative forces of the country; it is from the moneyed centers, and the moneyed centers alone.

I was referring to the claim that this was a panic created by fear of the currency. There has been exhibited nowhere in the United States a doubt as to the currency of this country. Silver dollars, silver certificates, greenbacks, and gold alike go to the private locker to be locked up. Why? Simply because the holder is afraid that if he neglects to get it to-day he will not be able to get it to-morrow. He is not afraid that it will depreciate on his hands.

It is the height of folly to say that this is a panic caused by distrust of the currency. Every dollar is as good as another, except to-day, I believe, and yesterday in the city of New York they were paying a little more for silver dollars, or, that I may

be exact, just twice the premium on silver dollars that was being paid on gold.

Mr. President, simply, this is a currency famine. It has no relation to the Sherman law, except that the Sherman law has put $148,000,000 of money in circulation, and to that extent it has relieved the necessities of the people and mitigated the severity of the panic. Otherwise it has no more relation to it than the transit of Venus.

Mr. President, there will be a time, as I said before, for full discussion of this subject. It will not be concluded on the 22d of August, as the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], who offered a resolution, seems to think. It will extend beyond that. It will extend beyond that, not because of a disposition on the part of those who oppose its repeal to protract or delay coming to a vote, but because a question of so much importance can not be discussed and disposed of properly in thirty days or in sixty days. So I shall have ample opportunity to discuss this subject in all its phases.

As the Senator from Oregon kindly yielded to me, I shall not detain him longer.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution of the Senator from Maine having been objected to, goes over under the rule.

Mr. HALE. I stated that I desired that the resolution should go over under the rule, purposing to-morrow to move that it be referred to the Committee on Finance. Senators need not be sensitive about what is contained in the resolution. There is nothing in it which in any way seeks to limit debate or to apply cloture, which I am not now and never have been in favor of, but the object of the resolution is to give to the Senate more time each day to consider this important subject, and I repeat the sooner we get at it the better.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Mr. DOLPH. Mr. President, the President of the United States, moved thereto by the business depression and financial disturbances everywhere prevailing, and assuming that the present condition of the country is the result of the operation of the so-called Sherman law, has convened Congress in extraordinary session and urged upon it in his message of to-day the immediate repeal of that law. Whether or not it would be wise under existing circumstances to repeal this law, the claim or the assumption that it is the principal cause of the prevailing business and financial condition of the country should not be permitted to go unchallenged.

The present financial and industrial condition of this country should surprise no one. It has been predicted for years by those who believe the prosperity of the country can only be maintained by the protection of American industries. The present condition is the logical result of the success at the Presidential election of November last of the party which declares that protection of American industries is robbery, and stands pledged to reverse the policy which for more than thirty years has given us an era of prosperity such as this or no other country has ever before enjoyed—a policy which has caused civilization to sweep across a continent, which has opened mines of the useful metals and started the wheels of new industries in the South, which has largely transferred the industries abroad once supported by our people to our own shores to furnish them employment, which has caused the continent to be covered with a network of railroads along whose lines great centers of industry have sprung up, with great manufacturing establishments giving profitable employment to millions of American citizens.

Over all this great industrial system hangs a dark cloud of uncertainty and fear, an impending blow threatening its destruction. And so the wheels of progress are stopped. The fires are suffered to go out in furnaces, the machinery of great establishments is idle, and idle men seek employment. The importer will not import dutiable goods when he fears that soon his competitors can import them free of duty. The manufacturer will not produce his products in excess of the present demand when he fears that his surplus product may be compelled to compete with free foreign products. He will buy raw materials for present needs only while the prospect is before him of soon being able to supply himself with raw materials of foreign production free of duty; and so the importer, the merchant, the manufacturer to avoid disaster curtail their operations.

The wholesale merchants, the bankers, and all classes of creditors press collections, settlements are forced, and financial losses, business failures, and bankruptcies are the result. The Sherman law is not the sole or even the principal cause of the present financial depression, and its repeal will not cure our financial and industrial ills. No permanent improvement in the industrial situation need be expected while the destruction of the protective system is threatened or feared. No legislation by which domestic industries will be injured or destroyed, by which the products of foreign labor will be admitted to free or to greater competition with domestic products, which will result in transferring domestic industries to foreign countries, and giving labor now performed by American citizens to foreigners, will help to restore confidence or bring business prosperity.

After the Democratic majority in Congress shall have settled upon a tariff policy, and formulated and enacted its tariff revision, whether such revision shall be general or be destructive only with a few American industries, such as the wool and tinplate industries, the business of the country will adjust itself to the changes, and we may enjoy a halting, intermittent prosperity with lower wages to laborers, but a sound, permanent, prosperity in this country will not, in my judgment, be again enjoyed until we are assured of the success of the Republican party and its control of both Houses of Congress, and that a policy is to be adopted and maintained by which the industries, the capital, and the labor of this country are to be preferred to those of foreign countries.

Necessity for the repeal of the Sherman law, if such a necessity exists, has been created by the success of the Democratic party, the threat of free trade and the predictions by the Democratic press and Democratic politicians of disaster to follow from the operation of the Sherman law, made in a systematic effort to secure the repeal of that law at the last session of Congress under a Republican Administration.

There are so many widely differing views upon the silver question, so many diverse financial plans proposed, so many erroneous opinions concerning our coinage laws, our financial system, and the character and functions of money, that it may be useful to refer briefly to some of the elementary principles of political economy which can not be disregarded by Congress if it would provide the country with a sound, safe, and honest currency.

Labor employed in the creation of useful articles is the source of all wealth. A useful product of labor is a thing of value. It may be a product of agriculture, for which the farmer plows and sows and reaps, availing himself of what nature has furnished him at hand; the fertile soil, the warmth of the sun, the early and later rains, or it may be the gold and silver for which the miner patiently delves in the great treasure vaults of nature, or the more useful products of iron and coal which require the labor of men to extract them from the earth and fit them for use, or it may be a coat, a hat, a watch, or a steam engine. All the things by which we are fed, clothed, and sheltered, which add to our convenience, comfort, and pleasure are the products of labor. They are valuable because they are adapted to the use of man. But one man can not make all the things he needs, or at least he does not. Hence we have diversity of labor, and one man mines gold and silver, another cultivates the soil, another raises sheep and grows wool, another manufactures cloth, another manufactures clothing, and so on.

Now, the man who works the mine or grows wool must have food and clothing and many other things. If there were no money or medium of exchange the manufacturer of cloth might buy wool of the wool-grower and give him cloth in exchange, but the wool-grower might not need the cloth. He would need provisions and clothing. He might take cloth and find a manufacturer of clothing who would exchange clothing for it, and he might possibly exchange cloth for groceries, and the groceryman might in turn exchange cloth for something that he needed; but this would be a very tedious and unsatisfactory manner of conducting commercial exchanges. Hence the necessity of a medium of exchange—a tool of exchange—so that when the wool-grower carries his wool to the manufacturer of cloth or to some middleman and sells it, instead of taking cloth in exchange for it, he can receive this medium of exchange to the amount of the value of his wool, and this medium can in turn be exchanged for any other commodity which he may need.

This medium we call money. If we could conceive of the first community which invented money assembling together to choose such a medium we could probably obtain a pretty good idea of why gold and silver came to be selected. Such a medium should possess considerable intrinsic value; that is, be capable of being used for a great many useful purposes. It should be tolerably scarce, and hard to obtain, so as to be proportionately valuable, easily transported, and pass currently from hand to hand. It should be plenty enough, however, to answer the requirements of commerce, and it should be capable of being easily subdivided and changed in form.

Diamonds would not be selected, because they are not plentiful enough and could not be divided. Gold seems to possess all the essential requirements for money, and it is undoubtedly for this reason that it was selected. Silver partakes in some degree of the same quality, although it is more abundant and more easily obtained. Therefore it has been selected and used for money

and made a legal tender for the payment of debts, in some countries for all sums and in others for limited sums only.

Sometimes in the exigencies of commerce the purchaser may not have this medium of exchange, money, in sufficient quantities to pay for his purchases, and hence he buys on credit. That is the promise to pay money at a future day. This promise may be a mere verbal promise or even an implied agreement; in which case it is called a book account, or it may be given in writing in a form required by commercial law and usage, and then it is a note, a bond, or a bill of exchange. In either case it is an obligation to pay money at a future day; it is not money itself. It may be worth all the money it calls for or it may not be. This depends upon the willingness of the promisor to pay, and his ability to do so, and the power of the creditor to force him to pay.

When the war of the rebellion broke out it required a great deal of money to carry it on, and there were many reasons which rendered it difficult for the Government to obtain money, that is, gold and silver. In its extremity the United States, to enable itself to meet its engagements, to pay the soldiers, to furnish arms, transportation, and supplies, not having gold and silver enough, issued its promise to pay money in the future. Some of these were promises to pay certain amounts of money at the expiration of a fixed period with interest semiannually at fixed rates. These were the Government bonds. Then it issued Treasury notes or greenbacks of various denominations, so as to pass from hand to hand as money, which were nothing but acknowledgments of indebtedness, without any time being fixed for their payment or any agreement to pay interest. Congress made these notes legal tender for the payment of private debts.

As the legal tenders possessed no intrinsic value and were debts payable only at the pleasure of the United States, and as the war progressed portions of the people began to fear that the South would prevail and that the States remaining in the Union would be either unwilling or unable to redeem these promises, they rapidly depreciated in value until they were worth no more than 35 cents on a dollar; but as the prospects of subduing the rebellion and maintaining the Union increased they gradually appreciated in value, and after the war was closed continued to appreciate until they reached about the value of 90 cents on the dollar; that is, a dollar in greenbacks was worth 90 cents in gold.

Congress after a while passed the resumption act—that is, fixed a day when the Government would pay its notes in coin if presented to the Secretary of the Treasury, and provided one hundred millions of gold in the vaults of the Treasury to pay them. But all at once the legal-tender notes became worth their face in gold and the gold in the Treasury was not needed. The people preferred to keep the promises of the Government to pay the money when the Government was ready to redeem them.

The legal tenders and all Treasury notes are evidences of debt of the Government and possess no intrinsic value. They are made by law to perform some of the functions of money. They are made legal tender for the payment of private debts and public dues, and their value depends entirely upon the provisions made by law for their redemption in coin—that is to say, upon the fact that they are convertible into that which has intrinsic value.

We have several kinds of currency in circulation, performing the functions or some of the functions of money. There is the gold coin double eagle, eagles, half eagles, quarter eagles, etc. These gold coins are legal currency—that is, they have been declared by law to be a legal tender for the payment of private debts and public dues, but they also possess such intrinsic value that if you should melt them up into bullion the bullion would be just as valuable as the coin. In fact, when they are exported, the fact that they are coined with the devices provided by our laws upon them adds nothing to their value; their value depends entirely upon their weight.

Then we have the silver coin, which is also by law made a legal tender for the payment of private debts, and is receivable for public dues. The intrinsic value of the silver dollar, like the intrinsic value of the gold dollar, is the value of the bullion it contains, which at present is about 60 cents in gold.

The silver dollar in the payment of debts and public dues is required by law to pass for one hundred cents. Forty cents of the value of every silver dollar is based upon the credit of the Government. It is true that the Government has not agreed to redeem the silver currency in gold upon presentation to the Treasury, but it has promised to receive it as the equivalent of gold for public dues, of which we collect about $500,000,000 annually. This is a qualified redemption in gold, and this provision, with the general expectation that the Government will maintain this currency upon a parity with gold, has so far kept the silver dollar at par with the gold dollar.

There are also the gold and silver certificates, which perform the functions of money. They are receipts for gold and silver deposited in the Treasury. They are redeemable upon presentation at the Treasury in gold or silver coin as the case may require. They are like wheat receipts issued by warehousemen, which call for a given number of bushels of wheat upon presentation, and pass from hand to hand instead of the wheat, until some holder is ready to present them to the warehouseman and exchange them for the wheat.

Any person may take gold not less than $10 in amount to the Treasury and deposit it and receive a gold certificate, and the gold is kept in the Treasury, to be returned to the holder of the receipt when it is presented. The same thing is true of silver certificates.

Then there are the legal-tender notes, possessing, as I have said, no intrinsic value, but redeemable in gold on presentation to the Treasury. They are, therefore, worth their face in gold. There are about $346,000,000 of this currency.

We have also another kind of national currency, the Treasury notes issued under act of 1890. They were issued for the purchase of silver bullion at the market price at the time of purchase. The silver bullion is stored in the Treasury vaults theoretically, if not legally, as security for the payment of the notes, and the law provides that the notes shall be redeemed upon presentation in coin—gold or silver coin—at the option of the Secretary of the Treasury. The gold coin and the gold certificates constitute an absolutely safe currency, for the coin is intrinsically worth its face, and the certificates can be exchanged for gold upon presentation at the Treasury.

The legal-tender notes are equally safe, for they are redeemable upon presentation at the Treasury in gold. A hundred millions of dollars in gold is kept in the Treasury as a reserve for the payment of these notes, and the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to sell bonds for gold, if necessary, for their redemption. The silver coin and silver certificates and Treasury notes stand on a different footing. The intrinsic value of the silver coin in gold, as I have said, is about 60 cents on the dollar. The silver certificates are redeemable in silver. The Treasury notes may be paid in silver coin. There is no provision of law for redeeming this silver coin and currency in gold, except the provision for the receipt of it as the equivalent of gold in payment of public dues.

If Congress should repeal the law requiring silver coin and silver currency to be received for public dues, the value of the silver coin, the silver certificate, and the Treasury notes would at once depreciate until they would be worth no more on the dollar than the value of the silver bullion in a silver dollar. To repeat, the gold and silver coin possess intrinsic value. The gold coin is intrinsically worth its face; the silver coins are intrinsically worth about 60 per cent of their face. The gold certificates and the silver certificates are the obligations of the Government, and are valuable because they are convertible on demand into gold and silver. The legal-tender and Treasury notes are evidences of debt of the Government, but possess no intrinsic value and are valuable only because the legal-tender notes can be converted into gold upon presentation to the Treasury, and the Treasury notes can be converted into coin, gold or silver coin, at the option of the Treasury, upon presentation for payment.

While silver and gold possess intrinsic value, and for that reason, in part, are adapted to use as money, it must not be supposed they have a fixed relative value; that is to say, that a certain amount of silver is always worth a certain amount of gold. Considered as bullion, they are but products of labor, just as wheat, potatoes, cotton, and wool are products of labor, and it would be no more absurd to suppose that the relative value between potatoes and wheat, or cotton and wool is fixed, so that 2 or 4 bushels of potatoes are always equal in value to the value of a bushel of wheat, or that 5 pounds of cotton is always equal in value to a pound of wool, than to suppose that a given number of ounces of silver, say 16 or 20, is always equal in value to an ounce of gold.

The value of each metal, like the value of every other product of human labor, is fixed by the supply and the demand. This is the reason why the use of the two metals as money under free coinage of both is impossible without the concurrent use of the two metals as money, at an agreed ratio, by a sufficient number of commercial nations to maintain the ratio of their intrinsic value at the legal ratio agreed upon.

Some persons who demand free coinage of silver in the United States at the ratio of 16 to 1 appear to believe that gold and silver have naturally a fixed value relatively one to the other, and that the United States adopted that natural relative value by the coinage acts of 1834 and 1837. The relative intrinsic value of the two metals, as I have said, is fixed by the universal and imperative law which fixes the price of every product of human industry in the world's market.

The value of silver as compared with gold has been, with the

exception of a comparatively brief period, constantly fluctuating since authentic history began. Five hundred years before the Christian era an ounce of gold was worth 13 ounces of silver. At the beginning of the Christian era an ounce of gold was worth 9 ounces of silver. Three hundred and fifty years later it required 15 ounces of silver to buy 1 ounce of gold. Two hundred and fifty years later still an ounce of gold was worth 18 ounces of silver. About the close of the fifteenth century the ratio was about 1 to 10; by 1688 the value of gold had again increased until an ounce of gold was worth 16 ounces of silver. For nearly two centuries this ratio was substantially maintained by the use of both metals as money by the principal commercial countries of Europe. When silver was demonetized by Germany and its coinage suspended by France and the Latin Union this ratio was no longer maintained, and the relative value of silver to gold has since greatly fallen and has been constantly fluctuating.

Until an international agreement can be secured between the principal commercial countries of the world for the free coinage of silver at an agreed ratio so that the intrinsic value of the silver product of the world as measured in gold can be maintained at the legal ratio agreed upon, each nation must determine for itself whether it will have a gold or a silver standard. A double standard is impossible. The two metals will not circulate together unless the parity of their value can be maintained. To-day the following foreign countries have the silver standard: India, China, Mexico, Japan, and most of the Central and South American States. The following have gold standards: Brazil, British possessions in North America, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, German Empire, Great Britain, Liberia, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Turkey. The following have legally a gold and silver standard, but in fact a gold standard. They have no free coinage of silver, and silver coin is maintained in domestic circulation on a parity with gold by some provision for its redemption in gold or by its receipt for public dues: Argentine Republic, Belgium, Chile, Cuba, France, Greece, Haiti, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, and Switzerland. Those people who propose free coinage for the United States propose that we shall change our measure of value from gold to silver and join India, Mexico, China, and other countries having a silver standard, and that silver shall be the basis upon which all the transactions in this country shall be conducted.

Our own experience is sufficient to show that it is impossible under free coinage to maintain in circulation both gold and silver when either is undervalued by the legal ratio. The coinage law of 1792 established the ratio of 1 to 15 between gold and silver. The intention of Congress was to adopt the commercial ratio between the two metals in the markets of the world. But gold was undervalued and could not be kept in the country, and its place was supplied with Spanish milled dollars and small, abraded silver coins. The ratio of France being at the same time 1 to 15½, France took all our gold under a law that is universal and inevitable. To secure the retention and circulation of gold in this country the acts of 1834 and 1837 were passed. The ratio under those laws was 1 to 16. Gold was overvalued and silver left the country under the operation of the same law. To enable us to retain in this country silver subsidiary coins the act of 1853 was passed, reducing the amount of silver in half dollars and other fractions of a dollar, discontinuing free coinage of subsidiary coin and providing for its coinage by the Government from silver purchased by it, upon which it received the profit.

Does anyone suppose for a moment that when Congress established a mint and fixed a ratio between gold and silver at 15 to 1 on the advice of Hamilton, or when in 1834 the ratio of 16 to 1 was adopted for silver and gold, if silver and gold had been of the value relatively to each other they are to-day the ratio of 15 to 1 or 16 to 1 would have been adopted? It is familiar history that Hamilton endeavored to adopt as the legal ratio the then commercial ratio between the two metals in the markets of the world, and that Congress in 1834 designed to make the ratio such that gold would remain in this country, whether under it we could keep silver or not.

Some persons have proposed that a new legal ratio between gold and silver should be established by law, say a ratio of 20 to 1, and the mints be opened for the free coinage of silver at this ratio; but this proposition is impracticable, would surely give us a silver standard and drive gold out of circulation, would not increase the price of silver bullion or benefit silver producers, and would be no better for the country than free coinage at the present legal ratio. If we are to abandon gold as the standard, and to adopt the silver standard, it is not material whether a silver dollar is worth 50 per cent or 90 per cent of the gold dollar. If we could maintain in the world's markets the actual commercial and intrinsic ratio of value between gold and silver at some legal ratio we could adopt, then the question would be solved; but we can not.

This can only be done by the united action of the principal commercial nations of the world. If we should adopt by law a legal ratio, which at the time was the same as the commercial ratio of value of the two metals, before a dollar could be coined under it, silver, which fluctuates every day in price, might fall until the legal ratio and the ratio of the intrinsic value of the two metals would be widely different; and under free coinage at the ratio adopted only one metal would be coined or remain in circulation. Such a proposition shows a failure upon the part of those who make it to comprehend the first principles of the silver question.

Others have advocated free coinage of both gold and silver without an attempt to make the silver dollar the equivalent of the gold dollar, but letting the intrinsic value of gold and silver fix the current money value of gold and silver coin; in other words, that we should have two standards, a gold standard and a silver standard; but this is impracticable. In such a case one or the other of the two metals would have to be measured by the other, or we would require a third standard to measure them both.

Gold being the standard of value of all the great commercial countries, and the medium in which public dues must be paid and foreign debts settled, the silver coin under such circumstances would be but a commodity in foreign countries. Gold would disappear, and the depreciated silver currency be our standard of value, and the measure of commercial transactions or our exchanges conducted on the silver standard would be mere barter.

We hear occasionally such nonsense as that the Creator intended by providing both gold and silver that they should both be used as money, and that gold and silver are the money of the Constitution. The ratio of value between gold and silver, as I have shown, has been in all times subject to great fluctuations. There is nothing in the Constitution about the use of both gold and silver as money, or concerning the ratio to be maintained between them. The truth is that under free coinage both gold and silver could not be maintained in circulation or both used as money in any civilized country without a stable ratio between the intrinsic or market value of gold and silver bullion.

While gold and silver both possess qualities which render them peculiarly fitted for use as money, their natural value as a tool of commerce is their intrinsic value, and when either metal, as is the case in the United States with silver to-day, is made by a provision for its exchange, for the other to possess a value in excess of its intrinsic value, this value is imparted to it because it can be converted into something more valuable than it is.

The Government stamp can not create good money. All money must possess intrinsic value or be convertible into that which has intrinsic value. I have referred on another occasion and in another place to the interesting fact that after the discovery of gold on the Pacific coast gold dust was largely used as a medium of exchange, and that before the establishment of the branch mint at San Francisco private parties manufactured gold coins of the weight and fineness of the United States gold coins, and in subdivisions as low as 25 cents. They were not made in imitation of the United States coin and were not legal tender, but they were worth as much, and passed as currently everywhere, as the gold coins of the United States. There probably was not a case in all the history of California where any creditor refused to receive them in payment of debt. When it was needed private enterprises supplied for the public use a more convenient medium of exchange than gold dust.

When the branch mint was established the Government did that for the public convenience which private parties before had done. This incident shows that while the stamp of the Government, and legal-tender enactments are necessary to make legal-tender money, it requires neither the Government stamp nor statutes to make a convenient medium of exchange when that medium possesses the necessary intrinsic value, while, on the other hand, the depreciation of the legal-tender notes during the war shows that neither the Government stamp nor legislative enactments making a currency legal tender can always make good money. Neither the Government stamp nor their legal-tender qualities gave the legal-tender notes the value they did possess as a medium of exchange, but this was imparted to them by the promise of the Government to redeem them in money, and when the day of payment was fixed and provision was made for their payment they became good for their face, because they were convertible into gold at par.

If private parties were to coin silver bullion into coin of the weight and fineness of the standard silver dollars such coin would be worth no more than its market value as bullion and would not circulate anywhere as a medium of exchange.

The silver rupee of India, the Mexican dollar, and the silver coins of China, and of every other country having free coinage of silver, are worth no more even in the countries where they are coined than the value of the silver they contain. The reason

that the standard silver dollar of the United States is worth 100 cents in the United States and even in Mexico, although it contains less silver than the Mexican dollar, is because the United States has put the standard silver dollar into circulation, virtually saying this coin, though intrinsically worth only what the silver it contains is worth as bullion in the markets of the world, is issued upon the pledge of the Government that it shall be accepted as the equivalent of a gold dollar in payment of all Government dues.

If Congress were to provide that all public dues should be paid in gold, and substitute no provision for the redemption of silver currency in gold, the standard silver dollar would become immediately worth less in the United States and everywhere than the Mexican silver dollar.

By the free coinage of silver it is proposed that anyone shall be permitted to take to the mints of the United States 371¼ grains of pure silver, now worth, say, 60 cents, and receive for it a standard silver dollar, which is to be a legal tender in payment for private debts at its face and receivable as the equivalent of a gold dollar for public dues, or, as provided in the Stewart bill of last Congress, which passed the Senate, receive for his 60 cents' worth of silver bullion a Treasury note which is a legal tender in payment of private debts and receivable in payment of public dues at its face. The whole object of the Stewart bill was to make the Government the purchaser of all silver bullion offered at the mints at the rate of 100 cents for 60 cents' worth of bullion.

If there are now premonitions of the depreciation of the silver dollar when it is coined only by the Government, and its coinage is limited, and its cost to the Government is only its intrinsic value, what would happen if the mints were thrown open for the coinage of silver on private account and private parties presenting the bullion to the mints were to receive a profit equal to the difference between the value of the bullion offered and the face value of the coin or Treasury notes received in exchange for it and the Government were to lose an amount equal to the profit of individuals?

It seems impossible that anyone should suppose for a moment that the silver dollar or Treasury notes received in exchange for silver bullion under such a law could be maintained equal to a gold dollar. It could not be. Before the first dollar under a free coinage law could be coined, the silver dollar could be worth no more than the value of the bullion it contained.

The merits or demerits of any measure for the use of silver as money to day must be determined by existing conditions. The question whether previous financial legislation has been wise or unwise is immaterial. The ratio of the value of silver to gold to-day, and not the ratio in 1873, is the important matter for consideration. Since 1873 silver has depreciated in value about 40 per cent. The product of silver increased from 63,000,000 ounces in 1873 to 140,000,000 ounces in 1891. The coinage of silver has been discontinued for many years by the principal countries of Europe. Many persons believe that with free coinage of silver we would be flooded with the world's silver.

The stock of full legal-tender silver coin in the principal countries of Europe approximates $1,100,000,000, of which $430,000,000 are stored in the vaults of five banks, and could be thrown upon our markets without delay. I have never feared that free coinage of silver in the United States would cause the world's silver to be dumped upon us, because I have never believed that with free coinage the silver dollar would possess any greater value than the bullion it contained.

Of course, if under free coinage the silver dollar could be maintained the equivalent in value of a gold dollar we would speedily get all the silver of the world, and citizens of the United States and subjects of foreign countries and foreign governments themselves would undoubtedly avail themselves of the privilege of presenting at our mints 60 cents' worth of silver, receiving for it a legal-tender note, and converting that note into gold. The United States would become the purchaser of all the silver in the world—bullion, coin, and old silverware—paying a dollar in gold for 60 cents' worth.

But it is absurd to suppose that if everyone was permitted to carry silver bullion to the mints to be coined there would be any alchemy in the process that would double the value of silver bullion. It is as absolutely certain as anything can be that under free coinage the value of the silver dollar would depreciate until it was worth no more as money than the value of the bullion contained in it. As soon as this occurred, the profits to silver owners in exchanging silver bullion for silver coin would cease and there would be no longer any inducement to take silver bullion to the mint to be coined. Silver, like every product of human labor, would be sold in the markets for what it would bring for use in the arts or for money.

The amount of silver coined under free coinage would be variable, and would depend upon a variety of circumstances. But little over eight million silver dollars were coined from the establishment of the mint until 1873, and it is not likely any great amount would now be coined under free coinage. With free coinage of silver, silver would be the standard for all our business transactions. Our $700,000,000 of gold would be withdrawn from circulation; the circulating medium would be greatly contracted, and the products of industry greatly diminished. Free coinage would not increase the price in gold of any commodity. The price of everything we import would still necessarily be paid in gold. If more silver dollars were received by the producer for his products, more silver dollars would be required to purchase everything which he consumes.

For instance, if the farmer should receive $1 in silver for a bushel of wheat, that silver dollar would go no further than 60 cents in gold or so much gold as in the world's markets would buy a silver dollar. The value of property measured in silver would be at once advanced to offset the depreciation in the standard of value. The last thing to be advanced would be the price of labor. Although the price of everything consumed by the laborer would be nearly doubled in value, it would be a long time, and after many a struggle, before the laborer would succeed in getting two silver dollars in lieu of the one gold dollar he now receives for his labor.

All producers and laborers would lose by the change in our standard of value, and only bankers, brokers, money-changers, and middlemen would profit by it. All salaries and pensions would be paid in silver and all appropriations of the Government expended in silver. The disturbance of our financial condition which would result from adopting a silver standard would produce great financial stringency, force the immediate collection of debts, increase the rate of interest, demoralize business, throw labor out of employment, impair the credit of the Government, bring home for collection our State, municipal, and corporation bonds held abroad, impair confidence, bring upon us ruin and bankruptcy.

If existing debts were paid in depreciated silver it would be robbing the creditor, because they have all been contracted with reference to the present standard, and 95 per cent of them since the great depreciation in silver.

India, one of the countries until recently having free coinage of silver or coining silver on private account, has hitherto been a great consumer of silver bullion for ornaments and coinage, and has been pointed to by the advocates of free coinage as an example of prosperity with free coinage of silver. The amount coined has been large, but not uniform, some years being a hundred per cent more than others. The following table shows the amount, expressed in dollars, of silver annually minted during the period of sixteen years, and shows the consumption of silver in India for coin:

1875	$23,890,686	1885	$48,487,114
1876	12,410,636	1886	27,121,414
1877	30,518,415	1887	44,142,013
1878	73,741,556	1888	35,207,132
1879	28,122,004	1889	37,927,814
1880	40,002,173	1890	57,931,323
1881	20,682,625	1891	32,670,498
1882	29,386,322		
1883	24,927,400	Total 17 years	500,562,656
1884	17,353,531	Annual average	34,150,744

The amount coined in 1890 is estimated at $30,000,000. The silver rupee of India contains 186 grains of pure silver; the half, quarter, and eighth rupees are of corresponding weights. The coinage of both metals until the recent action of the India government was practically free, provided the amount presented was equal to 50 tolos of gold or a thousand tolos in silver. There was a duty of 1 per cent upon all gold and silver brought to the mints. Gold was not coined in any considerable amount, and the business of the country was conducted upon a silver standard. The stoppage of the coinage of silver on private account in India is not an abandonment of the silver standard. Silver is still the standard, and will continue to be whether the government coins silver on its own account or not.

It is said this action of the government of India is intended to have the effect to prevent the further decline of the value of the rupee, but upon what this expectation is based is not stated. The value of the rupee will be fixed hereafter, as heretofore, by its value as silver bullion in the London market. It will still be measured in all London and in all foreign transactions by gold, and the discontinuance of free coinage by throwing the silver bullion heretofore coined in India on private account on the world's markets has depreciated, and will continue to depreciate, the intrinsic value of the rupee.

The claim sometimes made that silver has not fallen in value in India, and that the silver rupee in the interior of India will purchase as much wheat or as much of the other products of labor is absurd; it is incredible. The price of wheat in London is fixed in gold by the world's supply and demand. It is impossible that there could be to the exporter of wheat from India a

profit equal to the fall in the price of silver since 1873. Such a state of things could not exist ten days in any country under the sun. Competition among English wheat-buyers would speedily raise the price of wheat in India to an approximation of its gold price in London.

I am informed that the price of wheat is fixed in the export cities of India by the price in London and the cost of transportation, insurance, etc. The statement is undoubtedly an invention intended to make farmers believe that in some way the price of their commodities is affected by the depression of silver. Not every country which uses silver as money has a silver standard. In the United States we have about $500,000,000 of silver currency, but our standard is gold, and the difference between our gold and the intrinsic value of our silver currency rests upon the obligation of the Government to redeem it in gold.

England, although having a gold standard since 1816, has about $100,000,000 of silver, subsidiary coin, used in small transactions. France has $700,000,000 of silver and $900,000,000 of gold, but has a gold standard, and her silver passes at par upon the faith of its redemption, and an actual redemption in gold, and this is the case in every country which maintains in circulation silver upon a parity with gold. In all these countries silver is redeemable in some manner in gold; free coinage of silver has been discontinued, and the stock of silver is not increased. On the contrary, in every country where there is free coinage of silver the purchasing power of silver coin is precisely the market value of the bullion it contains.

Mr. PEFFER. Will the Senator from Oregon allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. DOLPH. For a question.

Mr. PEFFER. I do not wish to interrupt the Senator, but in view of the fact that I have received some inquiries from friends in different parts of the country, I wish to ask the Senator whether he understands that the Government of the United States, represented by the Secretary of the Treasury, has been in the habit of redeeming silver dollars with gold?

Mr. DOLPH. Not on their presentation to the Treasury, but they are never refused and can not be refused when they are paid either for internal-revenue taxes or duties at the custom-house, and that, as I said, is a qualified redemption of them in gold. It is a redemption to the extent of $500,000,000 annually in gold.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator is not discussing the act of 1890?

Mr. DOLPH. No, I am not discussing the act of 1890; that deals with the redemption of Treasury notes; that is another matter, to which I shall come directly.

Mr. PEFFER. Does the Senator understand that I have a right to take a silver dollar to the Treasury of the United States and ask a gold dollar for it?

Mr. DOLPH. No, you have not the right to do that; but if you had internal-revenue taxes to pay or if you were an importer and had to pay duties you could pay them in silver dollars, in silver certificates, or other silver currency. As I said before, that is a qualified redemption of the silver currency in gold, and that is the provision of law to-day which, in my judgment, together with the expectation of the people of this country that the parity will be maintained between the silver dollar and the gold dollar, and that if the present provisions are not sufficient for that purpose other provisions will be made for it, that keeps the silver dollar and the gold dollar at a parity.

Mr. HOAR. I am sorry to interrupt my friend, but I should like to put a question for my own information. Does not the Senator from Oregon understand that if the maintenance of the parity required the exchange of silver for gold whenever it was presented for that purpose to the Treasury, the obligation of the act of 1890 would rest upon the Treasury to do it? That would be necessary, as I understand it.

Mr. DOLPH. I do not understand that there is anything in the act of 1890 that requires the Treasurer of the United States to receive standard silver dollars or silver certificates in exchange for gold, nor do I believe that under the act of 1890 the Treasurer had any right to redeem Treasury notes with gold from the gold reserve in the Treasury. I think that his option was gone when the free gold in the Treasury was exhausted.

There is persistent and gross misrepresentation concerning the manner in which the act of 1873 discontinuing the free coinage of the silver dollar was enacted. The recent article by ex-Secretary Boutwell in the Boston Herald giving the facts concerning the manner in which the law of 1873 was passed should set the question at rest, but it will not. I quote the following from ex-Secretary Boutwell's article:

> The act known as the act for the demonetization of silver was passed in 1873, and upon a distinct recommendation made in my annual report to Congress in December, 1872. The statement so often made and so generally believed, that the provision was introduced and passed surreptitiously, was without any foundation, as will appear from quotations from my report, which I shall incorporate in this article.

The country had due and full notice of the policy proposed, and, if the friends of a silver currency were ignorant of the movement, the fault was their own. Not only was there no concealment, but, on the other hand, the change proposed was announced early and definitely. For myself, I can say that I never hesitated to avow the authorship of the measure, and I have been ready always to assign the reasons by which I was influenced.

In 1860 the American silver dollar was more valuable than the gold dollar, according to the statute ratio between the metals, in the sum of about 4 cents. From that time onward the difference in favor of silver diminished gradually, and in 1872 the difference had disappeared.

At that time the power drill had been invented and its value established. The use of dynamite was well understood, and the number and richness of the silver mines in the Rocky Mountains justified the conclusion that silver would deteriorate in value with each succeeding year.

On this theory of the then future my policy was based. We were then on a gold basis as far as the use of the metals had a part in our financial affairs; we were a principal producer of gold, and the most important steps had been taken in the work of bringing the Treasury note to the standard of gold coin.

In the same report I advised the coinage of a silver dollar, known as the trade dollar, in value superior to the Mexican dollar, which was then in use almost exclusively in the commerce of China and the East Indies. This coin, which was not current in the United States, became the means of a very considerable export of silver to the East.

These two measures were designed to maintain a gold basis, in competition with England, our principal rival, and to substitute American silver for Mexican silver in our dealings with the countries using that metal. As evidence of the facts alleged, I introduce the following extracts from my report of 1872:

> In the last ten years the commercial value of silver has depreciated about 3 per cent as compared with gold, and its use as currency has been discontinued by Germany and some other countries. The financial condition of the United States has prevented the use of silver as currency for more than ten years, and I am of opinion that upon grounds of public policy no attempt should be made to introduce it, but that the coinage should be limited to commercial purposes, and designed exclusively for commercial uses with other nations.
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> "The intrinsic value of a metallic currency should correspond to its commercial value, or metal should be used only for the coinage of tokens redeemable by the Government at their nominal value. As the depreciation of silver is likely to continue, it is impossible to issue coin redeemable in gold without ultimate loss to the Government; for, when the difference becomes considerable, holders will present the silver for redemption, and leave it in the hands of the Government to be disposed of subsequently at a loss. If the policy should be adopted of issuing silver coin irredeemable, but whose intrinsic and nominal value should correspond to gold, the time must come when the country would suffer from the presence of a depreciated silver currency, not redeemable by the Government nor current in the channels of trade.
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> "Therefore, in renewing the recommendations heretofore made for the passage of the mint bill, I suggest such alterations as will prohibit the coinage of silver for circulation in this country, but that authority be given for the coinage of a silver dollar that shall be as valuable as the Mexican dollar and to be furnished at its actual cost. The Mexican dollar is used generally in trade with China, and is now sold at a premium of about 8 per cent over the actual expense of coining. As the production of silver is rapidly increasing, such a coinage will at once furnish a market for the raw material and facilitate commerce between the United States and China."

In a speech made by me before the Massachusetts Republican Club in Boston some time ago, in discussing this matter, I said:

> There has been much misrepresentation about the manner in which the act of 1873 was passed, and, although the statement that the act was clandestinely passed has been many times disproved, it is constantly reiterated by the advocates of free coinage. The truth is that in the official statement which accompanied the bill by which free coinage of the silver dollar was discontinued when it was transmitted from the Treasury Department to Congress, attention was called to the fact that by the bill the coinage of the silver dollar was to be discontinued. That fact was also stated more than once on the floor of both the Senate and the House.
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> The bill was many times printed. It was pending in more than one Congress and received careful scrutiny by committees of both Houses of Congress; it was then a matter of indifference to Congress and to the country whether the provision for the free coinage of silver dollars was continued or not. Silver had been undervalued since the laws of 1834 and 1837 were passed. Silver dollars could not be kept in the country. As I have said, only a little over eight millions of silver dollars had been coined at our mints in all our history.
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> If the law of 1873 had not been passed when France and the Latin Union discontinued silver coinage, this country would have been compelled to have done the same, or to have gone to the silver standard. If the act of 1873 had not been passed, no silver dollars would have been coined between 1873 and 1878, or, if coined, they would have left the country as bullion. If the act of 1873 had not been passed after silver was demonetized by Germany and its coinage discontinued by France and the Latin Union, our gold would have disappeared and the silver of the world would have begun to come to us.
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> The results which would have followed the continuance of free coinage of silver in this country at the legal ratio would have been disastrous in the extreme. It would have made silver the currency and the silver dollar at its intrinsic value the measure of all values in this country. The only standards with which our financial standing under such a condition can be compared are those of India, China, Mexico, and other countries having a silver basis. With our mints open to free coinage of silver when the price of 371¼ grains of pure silver fell below $1 in gold of our coinage, silver would have been our only metallic currency in circulation and the basis of all commercial transactions.
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> Gold would have ceased to circulate, as it has in other countries under similar circumstances, and the purchasing power of our currency and the price of all our products of human industry would have fluctuated as the price of silver bullion rose and fell in the world's markets. The credit of the Government would have been impaired. Foreign capital would have been permanently withdrawn from the country, our foreign trade demoralized, our prosperity destroyed, and the development of our great resources stopped. But under the financial policy adopted and pursued by the Government the national credit has grown stronger and stronger until it is better than ever before in our history, and better than that of any other nation of the world.
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> Our once depreciated paper currency, on account of our wise financial policy, is to-day preferred for all common transactions in this country and passes current in other countries. Our national debt has been refunded at greatly reduced rates of interest, and has been rapidly paid off. Our bonds are at a premium, our public debt is decreasing, the rate of interest on Government securities is continually growing less, all of which prove the wisdom of the policy we adopted. The great development of our resources, the

rapid increase of our wealth, and our long-continued prosperity attest the wisdom of maintaining the public credit.

Our mines have been opened, our forests cleared, our vast public domains settled, railroads constructed, great manufacturing industries established, employment provided for labor, national and individual prosperity promoted, and the nation made rich. In my judgment free coinage of silver would not only provide a depreciated standard as the measure of value of all commodities, but would demoralize business, contract the circulating medium, and give us a currency which would fluctuate in value as the price of silver bullion rose and fell, destroy our prosperity, and bring upon us disaster and ruin.

The operaton of the Bland act and the Sherman law was recently stated in an authorized interview with Secretary Carlisle. He said:

The operations of the United States Mint commenced in 1792, and from that time to 1873, a period of eighty-one years, the total amount of silver dollars coined was $8,045,838. In 1873 the coinage was stopped by act of Congress, but in 1878 it was resumed under the so-called Bland-Allison act, by the terms of which the Secretary of the Treasury was directed to purchase and coin into standard silver dollars of 412½ grains each, not less than $2,000,000 worth nor more than $4,000,000 worth of silver bullion each month, and between the date of the act and the 14th of July, 1890, a period of twelve years, there was coined $378,166,793.

In addition to this there has been coined from trade dollars $5,088,472, and from the seigniorage of bullion purchased and coined under the act July 14, 1890, the sum of $6,641,109, making in the aggregate $389,896,374 in full legal-tender silver money issued by the Government since 1878. Of this amount only $58,016,000 was in actual circulation on the first day of the present month, the remainder being held in the Treasury as part of the assets of the Government, or being represented by outstanding certificates.

The act of July 14, 1890, requires the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase 4,500,000 fine ounces of silver bullion each month, and it provided that he should continue the coinage of silver dollars, at the rate of $2,000,000 per month, till the 1st day of July, 1891, and under this act there has been coined $29,408,461, which makes a total coinage of silver dollars under all acts since 1878, $419,294,835, or more than fifty times as much as was coined during a previous period of eighty-one years. In addition to the silver bullion purchased by the Government since 1878 and coined as above stated, the Secretary of the Treasury has purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, and now holds in the vaults of the Treasury uncoined, 124,292,532 fine ounces of silver bullion, which cost the people of the United States $114,229,920, and is worth to-day at the market price of silver $103,411,386, thus showing a loss of $10,888,530.

By the terms of the act the Secretary was required to pay for all silver bullion purchased by the issue of new United States Treasury notes, payable in coin, and it provided that upon demand of the holder of any such notes they should be redeemable in gold or silver coin, at the discretion of the Secretary, it being in the language of the act the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law. In the execution of this policy of Congress it is the duty of the Secretary when the necessity arises to exercise all the powers conferred upon him by law in order to keep the Government in a condition to redeem its obligations in such coin as may be demanded, and to prevent the depreciation of either as compared with the other.

The records of the Treasury Department show that during the eleven months beginning May 31, 1892, and ending May 1, 1893, the coin Treasury notes issued for the purchase of silver bullion under the act of July 14, 1890, amounted to $49,861,184, and that during the same period the amount of such notes paid in gold was $47,745,173. It thus appears that all silver bullion purchased during that time, except $2,216,011 worth, was paid for in gold, while the bullion itself is stored in the vaults of the Treasury, and can neither be sold nor used for the payment of any kind of obligation. How long the Government shall thus be compelled to purchase silver bullion and increase the public debt by issuing coin obligations in payment for it is a question that Congress alone can answer. It is evident that if the policy is continued and the Secretary of the Treasury be compelled to issue bonds or otherwise increase the interest-bearing debt, it will be done for the purpose of procuring gold with which to pay for silver bullion purchased under the act referred to.

There is to be added to our stock of silver bullion the purchases made since this interview was had. The intrinsic value of the silver dollar is to-day $0.56; present value of an ounce of silver, $0.726. Under the Bland and Sherman acts we have purchased 460,000,000 ounces of silver at a loss, at the present prices of silver bullion, of $134,957,000.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. May I interrupt my colleague at this point?

Mr. DOLPH. Certainly.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I understood my colleague to say he did not think the Secretary of the Treasury had any right, after the $100,000,000 limit had been reached in the gold reserve, to redeem the Treasury notes put out under the Sherman act in gold.

Mr. DOLPH. That is my impression about the law.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. The only other way to redeem them would have been in silver?

Mr. DOLPH. In silver.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Now, suppose he had redeemed them in silver, would that or would it not have destroyed the parity?

Mr. DOLPH. I do not think it would, but still it may be that the action of the Secretary of the Treasury, whether legal or otherwise, did affect the value of the silver dollar.

Mr. STEWART. Let me ask the Senator from Oregon whether he is aware of the fact that the French Government has $260,000,000 of silver in its treasury and $700,000,000 in circulation, and all its obligations are payable the same as ours in either silver or gold?

Mr. DOLPH. I am aware that in France there is a silver circulation of $700,000,000. I am not prepared to admit that the Senator is correct when he says that there are $260,000,000 in the French treasury in addition to the $700,000,000.

Mr. STEWART. No, that is a part of it.

Mr. DOLPH. Part of the circulation is contained in the Bank of France. There are, I suppose, $250,000,000 or $260,000,000 in the Bank of France. France also has $900,000,000 in gold. The Bank of France pays out gold or silver at its option, just as the Secretary of the Treasury redeems the Treasury notes at his option in gold or silver coin, and silver is received for Government dues the same as in the United States. They have substantially the same provisions we have for the use of silver; but coinage by the Government and coinage for individuals of silver has been stopped and there is no further increase of the silver in circulation. With $900,000,000 in gold, under similar provisions to our own, they manage to maintain a parity between silver and gold.

Mr. STEWART. Can a person take any paper of France and obtain gold for it for exportation?

Mr. DOLPH. I do not know what the provision is as to the exportation of gold. There may be some provision against it. I suppose that the Bank of France, being a government institution, could itself regulate that matter.

Mr. STEWART. Is not that the fact?

Mr. DOLPH. I will take the Senator's word for it.

Mr. STEWART. That is the fact.

Mr. DOLPH. I will not state as a fact what I do not know.

Mr. STEWART. That is the fact. Now, with regard to Germany, will she pay out gold for paper? Does she not compel them to take silver? Is there any government except ours that will exercise the discretion given it to protect the country in favor of exporters and against the people? Is there any other government? I defy any Senator to tell me of any other government that has robbed the people of gold and given the creditors the preference when the option belonged to the government.

Mr. DOLPH. I am informed by a Senator near me that there is no government but ours that puts out paper money and redeems it in gold.

Mr. STEWART. What construction does the Senator put upon what are claimed to be the mandatory clauses which provide that the Secretary of the Treasury shall coin sufficient of the bullion purchased to provide for the redemption of the notes? I say that all the trouble which has grown up and all of the disgrace which has been heaped on the act of 1890 is the result of maladministration and not of unwise law.

Mr. DOLPH. I do not construe that provision to require the Secretary of the Treasury to coin silver unless he finds it necessary for the purpose of redeeming the notes in silver; he may have a right under the act of 1890 to use the gold reserve for the purpose of redeeming notes issued under that act in gold. But I do not believe he has. I believe he acted contrary to the requirements of law when he continued to redeem the Treasury notes of 1890 with gold after the reserve had been encroached upon.

Mr. STEWART. I will not interrupt the Senator from Oregon now, but at the proper time I shall show the various arrangements made to get gold into Austria and the action of different parties. I shall give a detailed history of the manner in which our gold was sent abroad and how this trouble was produced.

Mr. DOLPH. One of the causes that sends gold abroad is a balance of trade against us. Gold is the standard of all the commercial countries of Europe, and all our imports from there must be paid for in gold.

A tariff that causes what we consume to be made at home tends to increase our exports and diminish our imports, and to bring gold to us instead of sending it out of the country. Then American travelers must provide gold for their expenses in Europe, and they carry a great deal of gold abroad annually, but the principal cause of the drain of gold from this country is the fact that we are debtors to the people of foreign countries, and when they demand payment we must send the gold abroad to liquidate our indebtedness.

During our recent financial disturbances there was a large exportation of gold. The stock of free gold in the Treasury—that is, the amount of gold over and above the $100,000,000 reserved for the redemption of legal Treasury notes—was exhausted and the reserve was encroached upon. This condition, in my judgment, was largely caused by the fear of our European creditors that we would go to the silver standard in the United States, and the consequent disposition on their part to recall their investments in this country. If we should adopt free coinage of silver and go to a silver basis, whenever an American citizen should go abroad he would be compelled to exchange the silver currency of the United States for gold, paying a premium equal to the difference between the intrinsic value of the two metals, and the same thing would be true concerning the payment of any balance of trade against us and of the payment of our foreign creditors.

There is a great deal of absurd talk about the friends of silver

and the enemies of silver. I am neither a friend of gold nor an enemy of silver. I am in favor of the use of the two metals as money whenever possible. The advocates of free coinage denounce those who oppose free coinage of silver as the enemies of silver, and as gold bugs, etc. Nothing could be more unjust. No legislation favored by those who believe that the gold standard should be maintained is for the purpose of discriminating against either metal.

I have no doubt but that the repeal of the Sherman law, the cessation of the purchase of silver by the Government, and the throwing of the 4,500,000 ounces of silver monthly now purchased by the United States upon the markets of the world, would still further depreciate the price of silver; but the Sherman law has failed to keep up the price of silver bullion, and threatens under existing conditions, for which the law is not responsible, to force us to a silver standard.

I do not believe that the free coinage of silver would maintain the price of silver bullion or benefit silver producers, while it would bring disaster upon the country. I claim to have been a better friend to the producers of silver than those who have favored free coinage. I have never thought that the purchase of silver by the Government and coining it into silver standard dollars required to be received at their face for public and private dues, or storing it in the vaults of the Treasury, was in accordance with sound financial principles; in other words, that such a course could be continued indefinitely, and the parity between the gold and silver dollar be maintained. In a speech which I made in the Senate on the 19th of May, 1890, I said:

The silver coin of the United States, coined under the Bland act and now stored in the Treasury vaults, may be compared to a leaning tower. The fact that a silver dollar is intrinsically worth but about 80 cents on the dollar is the law of gravitation that is constantly pulling the whole mass downward to the level of the price of silver bullion. The fact that the Government receives it in payment of public dues upon a par with gold and redeems the certificates in gold if preferred by the holder is the counteracting force that prevents the fall; but every month's coinage represents a course of material that raises the height of the tower and carries it towards the center of gravity, which, once reached, the law of attraction will precipitate the mass downward. That there is such a line between the opposing forces, beyond which we can not safely pass, is conceded by most people in this country, and because some persons have miscalculated its position and the precise time when it will be reached does not prove that it does not exist.

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PASCO in the chair). Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. DOLPH. For a question?

Mr. PEFFER. Just a question.

Mr. DOLPH. Certainly.

Mr. PEFFER. The importance of the subject which the Senator is discussing is my only excuse for interrupting him, if it is an interruption. I wish to ask the Senator what, in his opinion, maintains the value of gold?

Mr. DOLPH. The same thing that maintains or fixes the value of every other product of human industry.

Mr. PEFFER. Is there any other product of human industry whose value is fixed in the law?

Mr. DOLPH. The value of gold is not fixed by law. The law simply provides what shall constitute a dollar. That dollar might be worth 25 cents of our present dollar, or it might be worth five times the value of the gold dollar. The fact that gold is used for money as well as for ornaments and in the arts helps to maintain its value, but that may be said as well of silver. That is but an additional use of the metal which helps to fix its value.

Mr. PEFFER. I wish to ask the Senator, then, whether it is not the law that a certain number of grains of pure gold shall be put into a certain coin, say a quarter eagle, and that its value shall be a certain sum, say $2.50, and whether the value of gold is not fixed by the law and maintained by the law.

Mr. DOLPH. No, not at all. If a legal enactment would give what is called money value, if the stamp of the Government or the device of the Government upon the metal would give it value, you might just as well make money out of iron and copper as of silver or gold.

Mr. HAWLEY. It is a mere enactment providing a name for so many grains.

Mr. DOLPH. It is a mere enactment giving a name to so many grains of gold and providing what its functions as money shall be.

Mr. PEFFER. Then I want the Senator to answer my original question, what makes the value of gold? What maintains its value?

Mr. DOLPH. Its use, its adaptation to the uses of man, the fact that it is useful for a great many purposes, for ornaments, for implements, or for table service, and for coinage as money.

I wish to quote some remarks I made in the Senate when the conference report on the Sherman law was under consideration in this body. I then addressed the Senate as follows:

Mr DOLPH. Mr. President, I intend to vote for this measure. I vote for it because I consider it as different from the free coinage of silver as night is from day. I think the conferees did well to make haste to report such a measure, for it is pretty generally understood that a disagreement of the conferees might have led to the passage of a free-coinage bill. I vote for this measure for a very different reason from that which has been given by some Senators for supporting it, namely, that it is an approach to free coinage.

On the contrary, this bill distinctly announces the fact that it is the intention of Congress by the bill to maintain the present standard, the gold standard, whereas, in my judgment, free coinage would have put the country upon a silver basis, would have put all our revenues upon that basis, and all our expenditures, as well as the price of all commodities, and the wages of every laboring man in the country upon the same basis. The soldier would have received the amount of pension he now receives in gold in dollars worth 80 cents on the dollar of the present standard. Every employé in the Government would have been paid in the same depreciated currency. In my judgment, gold would have been withdrawn from circulation, the Government would have had no power to supply anything in its place, and free coinage of silver would not have supplied as much silver coin as we have been coining under the Bland act.

There would under free coinage be no inducement to bring silver to the mines unless, as supposed by some, a man could come in one door of the mint with silver at from 72 to 80 cents on the dollar and take out at another door a silver dollar worth a dollar in gold. That is improbable. The moment the silver dollar became worth no more than the bullion in it there would be no more inducement to take silver bullion to the mint than to sell it in the open market. We had free coinage for eighty years, and in two years, I think, or three years past, we have coined more under the forced purchase of silver by the Government than we coined of silver in the whole eighty years when we had free coinage.

I vote for this bill also not without some misgiving. I think there is some danger in it. There will be danger in any measure by which the volume of silver coin or silver certificates which are redeemable in silver dollars containing but 80 cents' worth of bullion, measured by the standard of gold, is largely increased.

The question naturally arises, how much can the volume of this character of currency be increased without passing the point at which the receiving of these certificates for public dues and all the efforts of the Secretary of the Treasury in redeeming them in silver or gold, as he may have either metal, can maintain them at par with the gold dollar?

So, when I vote for this measure, I do it with my eyes open, knowing that there is danger lurking in it. But it is so different from free coinage, so far removed from free coinage, that I vastly prefer it to that.

As I said before, there is a reasonable fear that if there should be disagreement we would get a free-coinage bill. Instead of criticising the gentlemen who have changed their views upon this question, have seen such sudden light and been so suddenly converted, I feel like congratulating them on their conversion to sound principles of currency. We read of a man who was traveling towards Damascus and breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the early Christians, that he saw a great light and was instantaneously converted, and the whole trend and purpose of his life was changed.

I read this to show how I considered the Sherman law at the time the conference report was agreed upon.

I believe, however, with the continuance in power of the Republican party, the Sherman law might have continued in force for some time to come without any disastrous effects. The repeal of the Sherman law without any substitute by throwing upon the markets of the world monthly the 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion now purchased monthly by the Government, should the present production of silver continue, will necessarily greatly depreciate the price of silver bullion.

It will stop the increase of our circulating medium by the issue of Treasury notes. It will not, in my judgment, restore confidence or greatly improve the business situation. I fear, on the contrary, that it will make it worse. It may, however, prevent what is threatened, viz, the parting company of the silver and gold dollar, and enable the Government to float its load of silver currency upon our present stock of gold. This will only be the case, however, by the repeal of the law unaccompanied by any measure calculated to shake confidence in the financial ability of the Government, and by such a decided action of Congress as to make it certain that there is no further danger of free coinage of silver, and that it is the policy of the Government to maintain the gold standard, and to redeem and retire the silver currency by substituting Treasury notes redeemable in gold on presentation, or to maintain our present circulation of silver currency at par with gold under the present or additional provisions for its redemption in gold.

Some persons talk about the redemption of our silver currency in gold as if it were, like our legal-tender currency, redeemable on presentation. Others ignore entirely the provision which has been made by law for the redemption of silver currency in gold, and point to the fact that standard silver dollars pass current at their face in this country as evidence that free coinage of silver would make the legal ratio in the United States between gold and silver 16 to 1, the actual ratio of the intrinsic value of the two metals.

I do not believe that the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized under the Sherman act to redeem the Treasury notes issued under it in gold when the gold reserve is encroached upon, or to sell bonds to obtain gold to redeem them. They should, under the law, have been paid in silver coin when there was no longer gold with which to redeem them without encroaching upon the gold reserve, but the course pursued by the Secretary of the Treasury no doubt helped to maintain the parity between gold and silver.

In several of the States and Territories one of the principal industries is silver mining. The owners of silver mines and those engaged in dependent industries are interested in having a market for the products of the mines at prices for silver bullion which will make mining profitable and the mining regions

prosperous. Their reasonable demands upon the General Government, in this regard, have heretofore been more than complied with.

Under the Bland act the Government became a forced purchaser of silver to the value of $2,000,000 per month, and under the Sherman act of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion per month, all in a vain endeavor to prevent the further depression of silver bullion. I greatly sympathize with these people, and if some one can devise a scheme by which silver mining can be protected without injustice to other interests quite as deserving and without danger to our finances and our credit, I should be very glad to support it.

It is evident that the Sherman law, even if it could be safely continued, will not be sufficient to keep up the price of silver bullion, and owing to its depreciation, silver mines are already closing down. Undoubtedly the law has helped to sustain the price of silver by withdrawing from the world's market so large an amount of silver bullion.

While I have reluctantly concluded, notwithstanding the disastrous effect of the repeal on the price of silver bullion and the silver-mining industry, that the Sherman law should be repealed to prevent greater disaster, I am not willing to admit that that law is responsible for existing financial and business conditions, and I do not expect its repeal will greatly relieve us from such conditions. The proposition to repeal the provision of the Sherman law, authorizing the purchase of silver bullion, to receive my support, must not be connected with any other measure which would be equally or more injurious to the credit of the Government and the finances of the country, such as the removal of the tax upon State-bank issues or free coinage of silver.

Mr. PEFFER. In further explanation of the reason why I asked a question of the Senator from Oregon, I wish to read section 9 of the act of Congress approved April 2, 1792, it being chapter 16 of the laws of that year:

And be it further enacted, That there shall be from time to time struck and coined at the same mint coins of gold, silver, and copper of the following denominations, values, and descriptions, viz: Eagles, each to be of the value of ten dollars or units, and to contain two hundred and forty-seven grains and four-eighths of a grain of pure or two hundred and seventy grains of standard gold. Half eagles, each to be of the value of five dollars, and to contain one hundred and twenty-three grains and six-eighths of a grain of pure or one hundred and thirty-five grains of standard gold. Quarter eagles, each to be of the value of two dollars and a half, and to contain sixty-one grains and seven-eighths of a grain of pure or sixty-seven grains and four-eighths of a grain of standard gold. Dollars or units, each to be of the value of a Spanish milled dollar as the same is now current, and to contain three hundred and seventy-one grains and four-sixteenth parts of a grain of pure or four hundred and sixteen grains of standard silver.

The remainder of the section provides for the coinage of half dollars, quarter dollars, dimes, half dimes, cents, and half cents; and in each individual case the law provides, just as it did as to the articles I have already read about, how much gold, how much silver, how much copper shall be put into each one of the several coins and the value thereof under the constitutional provision authorizing Congress to coin money and to regulate the value thereof. This explains the reason why I dare to insist that the law gives value to metal in coin, as I do.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

Mr. HOAR. I ask that the unfinished business be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BLACKBURN in the chair). The order of morning business being closed, the Chair will lay before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated.

The Secretary read the resolution reported by Mr. HOAR, from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, March 27, 1893, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

Mr. HOAR. I thought it was my duty, having this matter in charge by the direction of the committee, to have it laid before the Senate so that it may have whatever right of way it is entitled to; but I do not propose to ask its consideration without conference with the gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber.

Mr. GRAY. May I ask, for information, what is the resolution? I did not exactly catch it.

Mr. HOAR. It is the Lee Mantle resolution; and I stated that I thought it was my duty, having the matter in charge, that it should not lose whatever title to precedence it has; but it is not my purpose to ask the Senate to proceed with its discussion without conference with the gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution called up by the Senator from Massachusetts comes up under the rules as the unfinished business before the Senate.

Mr. COCKRELL. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 8 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, August 9, 1893, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, *August 8, 1893.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m.

The Chaplain, Rev. SAMUEL W. HADDAWAY, offered the following prayer:

Almighty and Everlasting God! Thou who rulest amidst the armies of Heaven and presidest over the deliberations of men, be pleased to grant us Thy presence and Thy blessing at this hour. We praise Thee for permitting Thy servants to assemble in their legislative capacity. We praise Thee and we adore Thee for all the manifestations of Thy grace and Thy truth unto us. Thy servants have come together in session extraordinary—a session that will involve extraordinary duties, the assumption of extraordinary responsibilities, and the necessity of extraordinary blessings from God. May it please Thee to vouchsafe these unto us; and may the beneficent results of the action of this legislative body be felt far and wide among all sections of our country and among all classes of our people; and may the annals of this Fifty-third Congress go down to the ages to come, full of the assurance that it has contributed very largely to the peace, to the plenty, and to the prosperity of the nation. We ask this for Christ's sake. Amen.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read, corrected, and approved.

SWEARING IN OF MEMBERS.

The SPEAKER. If there are any members present to-day who were not here yesterday they will please come forward and take the oath of office.

Mr. W. A. McKeighan, a Representative-elect from the State of Nebraska, and Mr. John E. Reyburn, a Representative-elect from the State of Pennsylvania, presented themselves and were duly qualified by taking the oath of office prescribed by law.

ANNUAL REPORT CLERK HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the annual report of the Clerk of the House of Representatives, embracing the period from July 1, 1892, to June 30, 1893; which was ordered to be referred to the Committee on Accounts when appointed.

SALES OF WASTE PAPER, DOORKEEPER'S OFFICE.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House a communication from the Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, transmitting report of the sales of waste paper during the term of the Fifty-second Congress; which was also referred to the Committee on Accounts when appointed.

BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, ETC., FOLDING ROOM.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House a communication from the Doorkeeper, transmitting an inventory of books, pamphlets, maps, etc., in the folding room of the House of Representatives on the 7th day of August, 1893; which was ordered to be referred to the Committee on Accounts when appointed.

RECESS.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the House take a recess for twenty minutes. I do this with the consent of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS].

I gave notice on yesterday that immediately after the reading of the Journal I would call up the election matter of Belknap and Richardson, from the State of Michigan. I learn, however, that the President's message will probably be here in a few minutes, and believe it to be the desire of the House to have that read before going into the consideration of the contested-election case.

Mr. BURROWS. There will be no objection to that course.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is informed that the Senate has taken a recess until 12:45.

Mr. O'FERRALL. I will modify my motion, and move that the House take a recess for fifteen minutes.

The motion was agreed to; and accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the House took a recess for fifteen minutes.

AFTER THE RECESS.

The recess having expired, the House, at 12:45 p. m., resumed its session.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE TO WAIT ON THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the committee appointed on yesterday by the Speaker to join such committee as may be appointed by the Senate to wait upon the President of the United States and notify him that a quorum of the two Houses had assembled, and that Congress was ready to receive any communication he might see proper to make, I wish to state that we have performed that duty, and I am instructed by the committee to say that the President will communicate in writing a message at once.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

A message from the President, by Mr. Pruden, one of his secretaries, was communnicated to the House.

[For the message see Senate proceedings.]

The SPEAKER. The message will lie on the table for the present.

CONTESTED SEAT—FIFTH MICHIGAN DISTRICT.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Mr. Speaker, I now call up for consideration the contested-election matter from the State of Michigan.

I ask that the Clerk read the original resolution and also the substitute proposed by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS].

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That George F. Richardson be now sworn in as a Representative in this Congress from the Fifth district of the State of Michigan.

The substitute was read, as follows:

Whereas the credentials upon which George F. Richardson claims a seat in the Fifty-third Congress from the Fifth Congressional district of the State of Michigan have been annulled and made void by reason of the judgment of the supreme court of that State; and

Whereas in pursuance and in compliance with such judgment and with the laws of said State, the State board of canvassers of Michigan have determined, declared, and certified that Charles E. Belknap is duly elected a Representative to the Fifty-third Congress of the United States of America from the Fifth Congressional district of the State of Michigan: Therefore,

Resolved, That Charles E. Belknap is entitled to be sworn in as a member of this House on his *prima facie* case.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday an understanding was reached that there would be an hour's debate on each side, one hour to be controlled by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] in support of his substitute, and one hour to be controlled by myself in support of the original resolution. I reserve the time allotted to those who intend to support the original resolution, and the gentleman from Michigan can control his hour.

Mr. BURROWS. I would suggest, Mr. Speaker, to the gentleman from Virginia whether, in support of his resolution, he ought not to have read at least the credentials of Mr. Richardson, in order that they may be before the House at this time.

Mr. O'FERRALL. I think the suggestion a good one, and ask the Clerk to read the certificate issued to Mr. Richardson.

The Clerk read as follows:

CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION.

We, the undersigned, State canvassers, from a careful examination of the election returns from all the counties composing the Fifth Congressional district of the State of Michigan, as received by the secretary of state, do determine as the result of our investigation that George F. Richardson has been, by the greatest number of votes, duly elected a Representative to the Fifty-third Congress of the United States of America for and on the part of the State of Michigan, in accordance with the laws of said State, at the election holden on the 8th day of November, 1892.

Witness our hands, at Lansing, this 17th day of December, 1892.

ROBT. R. BLACKER,
Secretary of State.
FREDERICK, BRAASTAD,
State Treasurer.
GEO. T. SHAFFER,
Commissioner State Land Office.

STATE OF MICHIGAN, *Office of the Secretary of State, ss:*

I, Robert R. Blacker, secretary of state of the State of Michigan, do hereby certify that I have compared the foregoing copy of the determination of the board of State canvassers with the original, on file in this office, and that it is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole of such original.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of the State of Michigan, at Lansing, this 17th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1892.

[SEAL.]

ROBT. R. BLACKER,
Secretary of State.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Mr. Speaker, I also ask that the certificate of election issued to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] be read.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that that can be read in the time of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL]. Does the gentleman reserve his time for the present?

Mr. O'FERRALL. I will let the certificate be read in my time.

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. Speaker, if the House will give me its attention, I can state in a very few words all there is of this case.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] will allow me, I asked for the reading of the certificate upon which the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] himself holds his seat.

The SPEAKER. The Chair understood that was to be read when the gentleman from Virginia took the floor in his own time.

Mr. BURROWS. Charles E. Belknap and George F. Richardson each hold a certificate of election to the House of Representatives of the Fifty-third Congress, and both of these certificates are regular in form, signed by the proper officers of the State authorized by our statutes to sign such certificates, and I have no doubt that the holder of either of these certificates, unchallenged, would be entitled *prima facie* to a seat in this House. Both, however, can not be admitted, and it becomes necessary for the House of Representatives, in the exercise of its constitutional duty, to "determine the election, qualifications, and returns of its own members," to pass upon this *prima facie* case. The Clerk of the House very properly stated, in his explanation of his action—

The matter is therefore submitted to the House, which, when organized, is, under the Constitution and the law, judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members.

The fact that the Clerk of the House placed upon the roll the name of George F. Richardson will, I presume, be conceded by all as adding nothing to and detracting nothing from the force of either certificate. Mr. Payne, in his work on elections, very properly says:

This provision—

Speaking of the provision authorizing the Clerk to make up the roll—

is also constitutional if its effects terminate with the preparation of the roll. For it is no violation of the constitutional provision, which makes the House the sole judge of the credentials (which are the returns) for a Clerk of the preceding House to pass judgment thereon if that judgment is to remain with the Clerk, and is not to be in any way thrust upon the House. But if the object and effect of the statute, either standing alone or connected with the rules of the preceding House, were to encourage the Clerk in any attempt to impose his judgment respecting the credentials and his roll, framed in accordance therewith, upon the House at its organization it would be unconstitutional and void; because while Congress has the power to prescribe the form and substance of the credentials, the House is the sole judge of the credentials under the Constitution, and Congress is powerless to constitute any other tribunal, authority or person to judge thereof.

The power to judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its members to determine its own rules, and to choose its own officers, which is conferred by the Constitution upon the House, is in its character absolute and exclusive. No other body, tribunal, or authority can in any case exercise that power, or any part of it. * * * Of course it was competent for Congress to authorize any citizen, whether he had or had not ever been a Clerk of the House of Representatives, to make up such a roll; but if there was any attempt, in this act, to authorize the ex-Clerk to appear, as a functionary, at the organization of the new House, or to give his roll any constitutional place in that proceeding, or to furnish any rules or regulations for the occasion, that attempt was wholly unconstitutional and void.

So this case stands before the House without receiving any additional force from the action of the Clerk in placing the name of Mr. Richardson on the roll. We must, therefore, gentlemen, pass upon this case as if, for the first time, at this moment, these two claimants appeared at the bar of this House, holding each the evidences of title to a seat in this body.

Now, what is this case? The certificate of Mr. Richardson has been read. Another certificate will be read, a certificate issued by the same authority, declaring Mr. Belknap duly elected. That comes about in this way: The Fifth Congressional district of Michigan is composed of three counties; but for the consideration of this matter it will only be necessary to bear in mind the name of one county, the county of Ionia. Under the laws of Michigan each polling place is presided over by inspectors of election. The law requires that these inspectors, when the polls close, shall canvass the vote and declare the result.

The statute is as follows:

After the count of the tickets or ballots has been completed, the result shall immediately be publicly declared, and the number of votes received by each candidate or person on the ticket shall be publicly declared by one of the inspectors. The inspectors shall then prepare a statement of the result in duplicate, showing the whole number of votes for each office, the names of the persons for whom such vote was given, and the number each person received. Such certificate, when certified by the officers, duly signed, shall be delivered, one copy to the township clerk, to be filed by him in his office, and the other to the inspector appointed by the member to attend the county canvass.

Acting under this law, the inspectors of every polling place in the Fifth district made their reports to the county clerks of the respective counties. The law provides that on the Tuesday following the election the board of county canvassers shall convene and canvass the vote and declare the result. The board of county canvassers did convene, but the board of county canvassers in the county of Ionia were petitioned by Mr. Richardson, under a presumed right, under our statute, for a recount of the ballots in Ionia County.

The board granted the request and entered upon a reëxamination of the ballots; sent for every ballot box and the ballots from every polling place, and then recounted the votes from day to day, commencing November 15, and ending on the 17th day of December; and on the 17th day of December they made their report to the secretary of state, who, together with the commissioner of the land office and the State treasurer, constitute, *ex officio*, the canvassing board and the certifying board of the State.

Mr. COBB of Alabama. Will the gentleman allow me a question right there?

Mr. BURROWS. I would prefer that the gentleman do not interrupt me until I get through. I desire to make a continuous statement.

The boards of the several counties canvassed the vote and made their reports. When the State board canvassed the vote

they found upon that canvass that Mr. Richardson was elected by a majority of 10 votes out of a poll of 42,000—a plurality of 10 votes, as there were three candidates. The Ionia board completed its canvass on the 17th of December. On the 17th of December, the same day, the canvassing board of the State issued a certificate, and that certificate, five days later, on the 22d of December, was filed with the Clerk of this House, and the name of Mr. Richardson placed on the roll.

On the 23d of December, the day after Mr. Richardson's certificate was filed, and the day of the convening of our supreme court, Mr. Belknap instituted proceedings in the supreme court for a mandamus to compel the board of county canvassers of Ionia County to recount the votes and returns from the various precincts in that county.

Let me say right here that had the board of Ionia County counted the vote as returned by the inspectors of elections, Mr. Belknap had a plurality in the district of 19. That is conceded, publicly declared at the polling places, and not doubted by anyone. But this canvassing board, under an assumed authority, to which I shall refer later, in their canvass threw out 54 votes that had been given to Mr. Belknap, which wiped out his plurality of 19 and elected Mr. Richardson by 35 votes; and then, to make it eminently fair, they threw out 25 votes of Mr. Richardson so as to leave him a plurality of 10 in the district.

As I stated, proceedings were had in the supreme court to compel the board of county canvassers of Ionia County to reconvene and count the votes as returned. You will permit me to read from the opinion of the court:

Charles E. Belknap *vs.* Board of Canvassers of Ionia County. Filed February 3, 1893.

Proceedings were instituted on December 23, a hearing was had in January, and the court rendered the opinion in January.

Mr. DINGLEY. That is the supreme court of Michigan.

Mr. BURROWS. That is the supreme court of the State of Michigan.

Petition of Charles E. Belknap for a mandamus to compel the board of canvassers of Ionia County to reconvene and canvass the votes cast for petitioner according to the original returns. (Granted.)

Then it gives the attorneys of the relator and the attorneys of the respondent.

Per curiam: This is an application for a mandamus to compel the board of canvassers of Ionia County to reconvene and canvass the votes cast for petitioner according to the original returns made to the county clerk. The petition sets forth that according to the original returns made to the several county clerks of the district he was elected Representative in the Federal Congress, and the answer does not deny that allegation.

The House of Representatives is made the judge of the election and qualification of its own members, and it is now well settled that act No. 206 of the laws of 1887, 3 How. Stats., 234a, under which the recount was had, has no application to such a case. (Weston *vs.* Probate Judge, 69 Mich., 600; Naumann *vs.* Board of Canvassers, 73 Mich., 252; Newton *vs.* Board, and Wheeler *vs.* Board, filed December 24, 1892; State *vs.* Canvassers, 36 Wis., 498; Keeler *vs.* Robertson, 27 Mich., 116.)

It follows that the board of canvassers of Ionia County was wholly without authority in the premises.

Then, passing by that, the opinion of the court——

Mr. Speaker, if the pages and those near the Speaker will make less noise, I will be obliged.

The SPEAKER. The House will be in order.

Mr. BURROWS (reading). The respondent must be held to have acted without authority.

It will be the duty of the board to reconvene and recanvass the votes of Ionia County according to the original returns, and to report the result to the secretary of state. It will then be the duty of the State board of canvassers to reconvene and recanvass the vote for Congressman in the Fifth district and issue a certificate accordingly. In the meantime Mr. Richardson has his remedy, should he desire a recanvass of the Kent County votes according to the original returns in that county. The mandamus will therefore issue as indicated without costs. Hooker, C. J., took no part in the decision.

Mr. BROWN. Was Mr. Richardson, whose name is upon the House roll, a party to that proceeding?

Mr. BURROWS. He was not, of course, a party on the face of the proceeding, but he appeared by counsel and put in an answer. The mandamus was in the usual form. I will read a portion of it:

In the name of the people of the State of Michigan.

To the board of county canvassers of Ionia County, and to each member of said board, and to the county clerk of Ionia County:

Whereas Charles E. Belknap was duly elected Representative to Congress from the Fifth Congressional district of Michigan, according to the original returns made to the several county clerks of said district—

Remember, that in the answer made by the respondent that fact was not denied—

And whereas it was your duty to canvass the votes cast November 8, 1892, for Representative in Congress, according to the original returns filed with the county clerk of Ionia County from the inspectors of election in said county; and

Whereas we have been informed by the complaint of said Charles E. Belknap that you, not having been ignorant, have disregarded your duty in the premises and made other and different returns from those demanded of you by law:

We therefore, being willing that due and speedy justice should be done to the said Charles E. Belknap in this behalf as it is reasonable, do command and firmly enjoin you that immediately after the receipt of this our writ, you do, without delay, and on Tuesday, February 9, 1893, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, reconvene at the office of the county clerk of the said county of Ionia, in the court-house in the city of Ionia, and immediately recanvass the said votes of Ionia County for Representative in Congress according to the said original returns, and forthwith thereafter report the result thereof to the secretary of state according to law.

The board did reassemble on the 9th day of February, and they made their return to the supreme court in the following language:

STATE OF MICHIGAN, *County of Ionia, ss:*

We hereby certify and return that the board of county canvassers of Ionia County has reconvened and recanvassed the votes of the said Ionia County for Representative in Congress, and made a report of said votes cast November 8, 1892, according to the original returns thereof filed with the county clerk of Ionia County, to the secretary of state, as commanded in the annexed writ.

The amended returns being before the board of State canvassers, that board hesitated about taking action, as a previous certificate had already been issued. Thereupon Mr. Belknap proceeded in the supreme court for a mandamus to compel the State board of canvassers to recanvass the vote as now reported to the secretary of state, and in that case the court made an order, which I will read in part:

Relator was a candidate for Representative in Congress at the election held in November last. Upon the returns made to the State board of canvassers as then constituted the certificate of election was delivered to his opponent. On January 1, 1893, the State officers constituting said State board of canvassers retired from office and the newly elected State officers entered upon the duties of their respective offices. Upon application made by relator to this court a mandamus issued to the board of county canvassers of Ionia County, requiring that board to reconvene and recanvass the returns of the votes of that county for Congressman and report the result to the secretary of state. Belknap *vs.* Board, 54 N. W. Rep., 376. That recanvass has been had, and the result thereof has been reported to the present secretary of state.

The court state in detail what that result was, and then they say further:

Relator now asks that the present board of State canvassers may be directed to convene and canvass the returns as they now appear, and that they may be further directed to include in such canvass the votes cast in the second precinct of the township of Lyons. We think the case must be treated as though the returns had not been received until the present State officers had entered upon their duties. Certain State officers *ex officio* constitute the board of canvassers. The old board neglected no duty. They canvassed the returns which were before them, and certain of the returns so canvassed were held to be invalid. It is the duty of the present State officers constituting the board of canvassers to canvass the returns as now presented.

Upon the second question presented, the certificate of the chairman and clerk of the board of county canvassers is in due form. This, if unimpeached, would be sufficient for the board to act upon; but a return shows that a resolution was adopted to exclude the vote of the Second precinct of Lyons Township, on the ground that it was not certified as required by section 130, How. Stat., the board assuming that that section controlled. It is at least doubtful whether the force of this resolution is not overcome by the subsequent vote adopting the tabulated statement made by the committee, which included the vote of both precincts. Furthermore, if section 130 applies at all, it applies to both districts alike. But we think, as applied to the present case, section 130 was, so far as it relates to the manner of the return by inspectors, superseded by act No. 190, of the laws of 1891. Section 1 of that act provides that in elections of certain officers, including members of Congress, the supervisor, two justices, township clerk, and assessor, if there be one, shall be inspectors of election, provided that in all voting precincts where by special enactment provisions exist for designating inspectors of election, said provisions are not to be superseded, but such officers shall be inspectors of election under this act.

The provisions of the general law are therefore adopted in elections for member of Congress, etc., only so far as they relate to the designation of inspectors, but their duties are defined by the provisions of act No. 190, laws of 1891. Section 38 of that act is as follows: "After the count of the tickets or ballots has been completed, the result shall be immediately publicly declared, and the number of votes received by each candidate or person on the ticket shall be publicly declared by one of the inspectors. The inspectors shall then prepare a statement of the result in duplicate, showing the whole number of votes for each office, the names of the persons for which such votes were given, and the number each person received. Such statement, when certified by the inspectors and duly signed, shall be delivered, one copy to the township clerk, to be filed by him in his office, and the other to the inspector appointed by the board to attend the county canvass." The act makes no provision for the consolidation of the returns from two or more precincts in a township. There is no object in such consolidation, except in cases where an election is held for township officers, and there is no provision for a canvassing board as distinct from the board of election inspectors. The board will therefore be directed to include in their canvass the votes of both districts of the said township of Lyons. A mandamus will issue accordingly, but without costs.

The court then issued its mandate to the board of State canvassers in the following terms:

This cause coming on for argument, and counsel having been heard for respective parties, and due consideration thereof having been had by the court, and the court being of the opinion that it is the duty of the present State officers constituting the State canvassing board to canvass the returns from the Fifth Congressional district of this State: Thereupon it is ordered that a peremptory mandamus issued out of and under the seal of this court to compel the said respondents, above named, constituting the board of canvassers of this State, to forthwith canvass the returns of the votes cast November 8, 1892, for member of Congress from the Fifth Congressional district of this State, as returned and now on file in the office of the secretary of state, and to canvass the returns from the county of Ionia according to the tabulated statement of the canvassing board of said county, without reference to the resolution rejecting the vote from Lyons Township; and upon the completion of such canvass to forthwith issue a certificate of election as a member of Congress from the Fifth Congressional district of this State to the person found to be entitled thereto.

Mr. BROWN. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. BURROWS. I would prefer to complete the statement of the case before yielding.

Mr. BROWN. The question I desire to ask the gentleman is intended to settle an important matter of fact. I wish to ask him whether Mr. Richardson, whose name is upon the House roll, was a party to either of these mandamus proceedings. I am led to believe, and do believe, that he was not a party to either of them.

Mr. BURROWS. He was not a party to the mandamus proceedings, because the proceedings were against the canvassing board, to compel them to recanvass the vote in Ionia County. The whole question in this case turns upon this point: The board undertook to recanvass the vote in Ionia County under a certain statute, and the supreme court of the State of Michigan declared that they had no authority whatever under the statute to do any such thing, and that therefore their action was null and void, and it was to correct that illegal action that the mandamus was issued.

When the second canvass was made by the canvassing board of the State in obedience to the mandate of the supreme court, Mr. Belknap was found to be elected, and a certificate issued to him, which I will ask the Clerk to read.

The Clerk read as follows:

CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION.

We, the undersigned, State canvassers, from a careful examination of the election returns from all the counties composing the Fifth Congressional district of the State of Michigan, as received by the secretary of state, do determine, as a result of our investigation, that Charles E. Belknap has been by the greatest number of votes elected a Representative to the Fifty-third Congress of the United States of America, for and on the part of the State of Michigan, in accordance with the laws of said State and the decision of the supreme court of Michigan annulling the certificate heretofore illegally issued to George F. Richardson and is issued in lieu thereof, at the election holden on the 8th day of November, 1892.

Witness our hand, at Lansing, this 14th day of February, A. D. 1893.

JOHN W. JOCHIM,
Secretary of State.
JOSEPH F. HAMBITZER,
State Treasurer.
JOHN G. BERRY,
Commissioner State Land Office.

STATE OF MICHIGAN, *Office of the Secretary of State, ss:*

I, John W. Jochim, secretary of state of Michigan, do hereby certify that I have compared the foregoing copy of the determination of the board of State canvassers with the original on file in this office, and that it is a correct transcript therefrom and the whole of such original.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of the State of Michigan, at Lansing, this 14th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1893.

[STATE SEAL.] JOHN W. JOCHIM, *Secretary of State.*

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. Speaker, I desire to state to my friend from Indiana [Mr. BROWN], who asks whether Mr. Richardson was made a party to this proceeding, that of course he could not have been made a party. The proceeding was against the county canvassing board and against the canvassing board of the State. But Mr. Richardson's attorney appeared in both cases, and defended the proceedings.

Mr. BROWN. I have failed to find such a statement in the papers; but we will answer that point in the discussion on our side. Meanwhile will my friend allow me to ask him this question: Is it not true that the State board of canvassers that issued the certificate to Mr. Richardson went out of office on the 1st day of January of this year——

Mr. BURROWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BROWN. And that another set of officers issued the certificate to Mr. Belknap?

Mr. BURROWS. Certainly, there is no question about that; that matter is perfectly plain, and I have so stated. Nevertheless the supreme court of the State of Michigan directed that board to recanvass the vote and to give the certificate to the person shown to have been elected; and the board that made the second certificate occupied the same offices as did the board that gave the first certificate.

Mr. BROWN. The reason I asked the question was because I believe the law to be that when such a board has discharged its duty that is the end of the matter.

Mr. BURROWS. I desire to occupy my own time; and if my friend will not interrupt me, I shall be obliged to him.

I desire to state in this connection that Mr. Belknap's certificate was filed with the Clerk of this House, and also a certified copy of the opinion of the supreme court nullifying the certificate of Mr. Richardson. I wish to incorporate in the RECORD a full copy of the opinion of the supreme court, and also a copy of the mandamus.

The documents are as follows:

Supreme court of Michigan. [54 N. W. Rep., 376.] Charles E. Belknap *vs.* Board of Canvassers of Ionia County. Filed February 3, 1893.

Per curiam: This is an application for a mandamus to compel the board of canvassers of Ionia County to reconvene and canvass the votes cast for petitioner according to the original returns made to the county clerk. The petition sets forth that according to the original returns made to the several county clerks of the district, he was elected Representative in the Federal Congress, and the answer does not deny that allegation.

The House of Representatives is made the judge of the election and qualification of its own members, and it is now well settled that act No. 208 of the laws of 1887, 3 How., Stats. 234, under which the recount was had, has no application to such a case. (Weston *vs.* Probate Judge, 69 Mich., 600; Naumann *vs.* Board of Canvassers, 73 Mich., 252; Newton *vs.* Board, and Wheeler *vs* Board, filed December 24, 1892; State *vs.* Canvassers, 36 Wis., 498; Keeler *vs.* Robertson, 27 Mich. 116).

It follows that the board of canvassers of Ionia County was wholly without authority in the premises.

The answer sets up that relator filed a petition for a recount in the county of Kent, and that such recount was had, and that while relator objected to the action of the Ionia County board on the ground that the petition was not filed in time, yet he did not question the power of the board. It is, however, alleged that by the original returns relator was elected. His right, therefore, to a certificate did not depend upon a recount in Kent, and the petition filed in Ionia County was not predicated upon nor rendered necessary by the recount in Kent. Mr. Richardson was in no sense misled or prejudiced by either the recount in Kent or the failure to object to the recount in Ionia instituted by himself.

It is next urged that the returns having been made, and the certificate having been issued, the relator's only remedy is a contest in the House of Representatives. The point is ruled by Roemer *vs.* Board of Canvassers, 90 Mich., 27. It is further insisted that inasmuch ast he answer alleges that the recount in Ionia County was fair and impartial, and resulted in such an increase of the vote for Mr. Richardson as to entitle him to the certificate of election, it would be unjust to set aside such recount.

In Maynard *vs.* Board of Canvassers, 84 Mich., 228, it was held that where the facts are not in dispute, and it appeared that the relator is not entitled to the office, the court will not compel the issue of a certificate by mandamus. In the present case the petition alleges unfairness and partiality in the recount, and a large number of copies of ballots, certain of which were counted for Mr. Richardson, and others of which were evidently cast for relator, and rejected by the committee, are attached to the petition. A comparison of these copies negatives any presumption of fairness and impartiality that might otherwise exist. While the answer of a majority of the board contains a general denial of the allegations of unfairness and partiality, and contains a general allegation that the alleged copies of the ballots are not true copies, yet said answer does not attempt to indicate in what respect such copies differ from the originals.

Two answers are presented, one signed and sworn to by twelve members of the board, and another signed and sworn to by nine members. The latter admits the allegations of fraud, unfairness, and partiality, and that the copies of the ballots are true copies, while the former denies the allegations of fraud, unfairness, and partiality, and alleges that the copies are not true copies. A determination of the essential facts in this controversy must depend upon a reëxamination by the proper tribunal of the original ballots. It can not be said upon the paper before us that the fairness and impartiality of this recount are undisputed, and therefore the case does not come within the rule laid down in the Maynard case above cited.

The respondent must be held to have acted without authority. It will be the duty of the board to reconvene and recanvass the votes of Ionia County according to the original returns, and to report the result to the secretary of state. It will then be the duty of the State board of canvassers to reconvene and recanvass the vote for Congressman in the Fifth district and issue a certificate accordingly. In the meantime Mr. Richardson has his remedy, should he desire a recanvass of the Kent county votes according to the original returns in that county. The mandamus will therefore issue as indicated without costs. Hooker, C. J. took no part in the decision.

Correct. CHARLES C. HOPKINS, *Clerk.*

THE MANDAMUS.

In the name of the people of the State of Michigan.

To the board of county canvassers of Ionia County, and to each member of said board, and to the county clerk of Ionia County:

Whereas Charles E. Belknap was duly elected Representative to Congress from the Fifth Congressional district of Michigan, according to the original returns made to the several county clerks of said district; and

Whereas it was your duty to canvass the votes cast November 8, 1892, for Representative in Congress, according to the original returns filed with the county clerk of Ionia County from the inspectors of election in said county; and

Whereas we have been informed by the complaint of said Charles E. Belknap that you, not having been ignorant, have disregarded your duty in the premises and made other and different returns from those demanded of you by law:

We therefore, being willing that due and speedy justice should be done to the said Charles E. Belknap in this behalf as it is reasonable, do command and firmly enjoin you that immediately after the receipt of this our writ you do, without delay, and on Tuesday, February 9, 1893, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, reconvene at the office of the county clerk of the said county of Ionia, in the court-house in the city of Ionia, and immediately recanvass the said votes of Ionia County for Representative in Congress according to the said original returns, and forthwith thereafter report the result thereof to the secretary of state according to law. And how you shall have executed this our writ make known to us before our supreme court in the city of Lansing on Tuesday, the 14th day of February, A. D. 1893, and have you then and there this writ.

STATE OF MICHIGAN, *County of Ionia, ss:*

We hereby certify and return that the board of county canvassers of Ionia County has reconvened and recanvassed the votes of the said Ionia County for Representative in Congress, and made a report of said votes cast November 8, 1892, according to the original returns thereof filed with the county clerk of Ionia County, to the secretary of state as commanded in the annexed writ.

Dated, February 9, 1893.

LOREN C. FALES,
Chairman of Board of County Canvassers of Ionia County.
L. DELOS BURCH,
Clerk of Ionia County.

STATE OF MICHIGAN,
In the supreme court clerk's office, ss:

I, Charles C. Hopkins, clerk of the supreme court of the State of Michigan, do hereby certify that the annexed is a true and correct copy of the writ of mandamus issued in said cause with returns inclosed therein, on file in said court in said cause; and that I have compared the same with the original, and that it is a true transcript therefrom, and the whole of said original.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said supreme court, at Lansing, this 24th day of February, A. D. 1893.

[SEAL.] CHARLES C. HOPKINS, *Clerk.*

I think that under the circumstances the Clerk of this House should in the first instance have put Mr. Belknap's name on the roll; but he seems to have been under the impression that there is something sacred about that roll, and that if, as in this case, he puts a name upon the roll he has no power afterward to change the roll, whatever may be the proofs subsequently offered—a position which I may be permitted to say seems to me utterly absurd. I have in my hands the records of a case very similar to this; and I think if the Clerk had in the present instance followed the precedent set by Mr. George M. Adams, of Kentucky, the Clerk of the House when Samuel J. Randall was Speaker, he would have avoided much difficulty. In that case, when the State of Florida was reached during the reading of the roll, the Clerk made the following statement:

In reference to the State of Florida, the Clerk, without objection, will make a statement as to the reasons by which he was controlled in placing upon or withholding from the roll the names of the members from this State, about which he imagines there may be some diversity of opinion in the minds of the Representatives-elect.

Now, if my friend will listen he will see that in the Florida case a point was made very much like that which he makes in this case.

From the State of Florida certificates were received, signed by Marcellus L. Stearns as governor of Florida, with the seal of the State attached, certifying that William J. Purman was elected in the first, and that Horatio Bisbee was elected in the Second district of said State. These certificates bear date respectively December 9 and December 14, 1876, and seem to be regular in form.

An election seems to have intervened and the officers were changed on the 1st day of January.

But in reference to the First district, two certificates were subsequently received, signed by George F. Drew, governor of Florida, with the seal of the State attached, and bearing date respectively January 12 and February 26, 1877.

Now, I ask the gentleman to mark this:

These certificates recite the fact that the canvass of the vote upon which the certificate in favor of Mr. Purman was based had been declared by the supreme court of Florida to be illegal, and that another canvass had been made in obedience to the order of the supreme court of Florida, which canvass resulted in the election of Robert H. M. Davidson as Representative from said district.

A MEMBER. Mr. Davidson was a Democrat, was he not?

Mr. BURROWS. He was the Democratic candidate returned as elected from that district, upon the decision of the supreme court of that State.

Under such circumstances the Clerk felt bound to place on the roll from the First district of Florida the name of Robert H. M. Davidson, whose credentials show that he was elected in accordance with the laws of the State of Florida as interpreted by the supreme court of that State.

And the House approved that action; and Mr. Davidson was seated.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have stated all there is of this case. Mr. Richardson secured his certificate by the action of the board of county canvassers of Ionia County in recanvassing the vote of that county under a statute which the supreme court of our State declared was not applicable to the case; and the court declared that the board of canvassers had no power to make the recanvass. But Mr. Richardson's certificate rests upon that illegal report from Ionia County, and the supreme court has nullified it, destroyed it; and another return is made upon which Mr. Belknap is shown to have been elected by a plurality of 19.

I do not care to detain the House further. I have stated this matter in outline, and I only regret that both certificates, with all the documentary evidence, could not go to the Committee on Elections when appointed (or to a special committee with authority to report at any time) to determine the *prima facie* case as between these two claimants; for I am quite sure, when the facts are clearly understood, that the members of this House, with the oath of office fresh upon them, will not so far disregard the obligation of that oath as to admit to membership in this body a gentleman who upon the face of the returns it is conceded was not elected, and whose certificate has been declared null and void by the highest judicial tribunal of a State which he seeks to represent.

May I ask how much time I have occupied?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has occupied thirty-three minutes.

Mr. BURROWS. I wish to reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. HEARD. Before the gentleman from Michigan resumes his seat will he permit an inquiry?

Mr. BURROWS. Certainly.

Mr. HEARD. I am not familiar, of course, with the details of the Michigan law of elections. I wish to ask the gentleman from Michigan a question in regard to one point. I suppose the application made by Mr. Richardson for a recount in Ionia County was based on an alleged mistake or something inaccurate which was embodied in the original returns?

Mr. BURROWS. I do not know. But that is entirely immaterial. We will assume that it was.

Mr. HEARD. Very well. Then my friend says the statute invoked by Mr. Richardson for the purpose of securing a recount in that county had no application; or, in other words, that it was held by the supreme court that it did not warrant any such recount.

Mr. BURROWS. Certainly.

Mr. HEARD. Then is there any provision in the law of the State of Michigan, applicable to such cases, which Mr. Richardson could have invoked for the purpose of securing the correction of a manifest error if it had been discovered?

Mr. BURROWS. There is not, except possibly errors in the form of the returns.

Mr. HEARD. The return, then, of the original canvassing board of the county was absolutely final, although a mistake might have later appeared to have been made?

Mr. BURROWS. Under the laws of the State of Michigan, and under the decision of the supreme court, as they have directed in the decision upon the mandamus proceedings, they compelled the board of county canvassers of Ionia County to return the vote as reported to them from the various precincts of the county.

Mr. HEARD. And there was no power in the law of Michigan to correct a mistake?

Mr. BURROWS. Oh, a mistake of signing, or something of that kind——

Mr. HEARD. But I mean a mistake affecting the correctness or validity of the returns.

Mr. BURROWS. They had no authority under the decision of the supreme court to do what they undertook to do, namely, bring in the boxes, recount the ballots, and change the original returns.

Mr. HAYES. I would like to ask the gentleman from Michigan a question.

Mr. BURROWS. Certainly.

Mr. HAYES. I understand the gentleman from Michigan expresses a desire to have the certificates with all of the papers go to some committee and let them report upon the *prima facie* case?

Mr. BURROWS. Certainly.

Mr. HAYES. But that is not the motion of the gentleman.

Mr. BURROWS. That is true. I was compelled to draft the resolution as I did in its present shape. But I am so confident of the case, and that the House will do justice if gentlemen will take time to examine the matter, that I am content if the House shall see proper to adopt the suggestion of the gentleman.

Mr. HAYES. But why not make that motion?

Mr. BURROWS. Possibly I may do so. I am in hopes, however, that it will not be necessary.

Mr. HAYES. That strikes me very favorably as a mode of disposing of this question.

Mr. BURROWS. I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. O'FERRALL. I yield now twenty minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WEADOCK].

Mr. WEADOCK. Mr. Speaker, I apprehend that the only question before this House is, which one of these two gentlemen has the *prima facie* case? Our contention is that that *prima facie* case rests with Mr. Richardson, whose name is on the roll of members, and who ought now to be sworn in; that any question arising as to whether this or that gentleman has the *prima facie* case is one for the House itself to determine, and for the House only, and that the opinion of the supreme court of the State of Michigan, upon a law which they confess in their opinion has no application to this case, should have no more weight or influence in its consideration by the House than their opinion as to the repeal of the Sherman law, or any other question that gentlemen of undoubted integrity and ability may see fit to express themselves upon when it was not judicially before them for consideration.

If the opinion had ended with the statement that as the Michigan statute providing for a recount did not apply to elections for Representatives in Congress, as they had previously held in relation to election of the mayor of Grand Rapids, where the common council was properly held to be the "judge of the election, etc., of its own members," for the same reasons they might have given in these cases. (Weston's case, 69th Mich.)

Under the laws of Michigan the officers named by my colleague [Mr. BURROWS] constitute the canvassing board of the State. That board met at the proper time. They canvassed the returns that were before them. They issued a certificate of election to Mr. Richardson in the same form as that held by my colleague [Mr. BURROWS], and in the same form as that held by myself, and the Clerk of the House, properly acting upon that certificate, placed the name of Mr. Richardson upon the roll.

The first person to invoke the action of this law, which the supreme court says does not apply, was the contestant, Mr. Belknap. Upon one day he filed a petition for a recount. On the next day he withdrew it. On the next day he refiled it, and the vote in the county of Kent, in which both these gentlemen

reside, was recounted, and upon that recount the second board acted in giving their certificate to Mr. Belknap. So far as the throwing out of the votes is concerned, while it is claimed that 35 votes were thrown out as against Mr. Belknap, 921 votes were thrown out, as I am advised, about two-thirds of them having been cast for Mr. Richardson, by a board that was two-thirds Republican; and so far as the merits of the question are concerned—which we are not to touch upon now—we will be amply able to meet them when the time comes, if it ever comes.

Now, what did Mr. Belknap do? There had been a recount under this statute in the county of Ionia, and Mr. Belknap mandamused that board. Mr. Richardson was not heard at that time, although men who were his attorneys appeared and made an answer for the board. But in the meantime, and before the second certificate was issued, the political aspect of Michigan had changed. The three Democratic officers who formed the board in December had gone out of office, and in their places were three Republicans, elected at this same election. Then the supreme court undertook by mandamus to convene the new board.

Under the statutes of Michigan the attorney-general of the State of Michigan is the proper person to appear when any State officer is cited to answer in a court. The attorney-general of Michigan was the only State officer elected who was a Democrat; and instead of the attorney-general of Michigan being invited to appear for that canvassing board, Mr. Belknap's private attorneys, the same attorneys, as shown by the official documents, who appeared in the process against the county of Ionia, conducted the proceedings against the State board in the mandamus proceedings to compel this new board to convene and issue a new certificate to Mr. Belknap, upon the vote as it should have been canvassed, as they say, by the Ionia board, and upon the vote as it was recounted by the county board in Kent County.

Then we have this position, that the supreme court of Michigan, acting partly upon a statute which they admit has no application to this question, directed the new board to convene. The old board being *functus officio*, all its duties having been performed, and as has been well said by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HEARD] whether rightly or wrongly performed, whether they were correct or whether they were wrong, that matter had passed into a judgment. It could not be questioned or attacked anywhere except in this House, and here alone. The court say the old board omitted no duty, but they direct that certain votes should be counted by the board, thus giving a small plurality for Mr. Belknap. Having done this, the alleged certificate for Mr. Belknap was presented to the Clerk of thus House, and the Clerk did the only thing he could do, and that was to lay the matter before the House, having placed the name of Mr. Richardson upon the roll where it properly belonged.

Let me invite the attention of the gentleman from Michigan, [Mr. BURROWS] to the fact that the opinions of the supreme court of Michigan have not heretofore commanded that great respect upon his side of the House in Congressional contests which they seem to elicit now. In the case of Baldwin *vs.* Trowbridge, in the Thirty-ninth Congress, the report of which I have before me, the supreme court of Michigan, which was Republican at that time, had decided that the soldiers' voting law was unconstitutional.

Upon the legal votes cast in the Pontiac district in the State of Michigan Mr. Baldwin had been elected a member of this House. Upon the votes cast, including the soldier vote, Mr. Trowbridge had been elected a member of this House; and notwithstanding the fact that that was conceded, and there was no question of fact in the case, it was purely a question of law, this House, by a vote of 108 to 30, held that this man, who was elected not by the legal voters of the State of Michigan, as had been decided by the supreme court, but the man who was elected by illegal votes, was entitled to a seat in this House, and was seated accordingly.

We are not conceding for a moment that Mr. Richardson was not fully and fairly elected by the legal votes of the Fifth district; but we are not required at this time to go beyond the question as presented to the House, namely, which of these gentlemen has the *prima facie* case.

Mr. TURNER. There is no contest in this case.

Mr. WEADOCK. There is no contest in this case. There could be no contest on the part of Mr. Richardson. He had his certificate. He was entitled to be a member of the House; and if any contest could arise, it could only be as to which gentleman was elected. That question could only arise under the Federal statutes, and be taken up and disposed of in this House.

Now, it was conceded that both of these——

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. Was the recount in Ionia County made in pursuance of the mandate of the supreme court of Michigan, and made by the same officers as made the original count?

Mr. WEADOCK. It was.

Mr. HEARD. But did not the supreme court direct how that count should be made?

Mr. WEADOCK. The board of canvassers have the power to reject returns that are not in legal form, and acting under that power they had rejected certain returns. The supreme court directed the county board to reconvene, and also directed them how they should count the votes, and directed them to count the votes they had formerly rejected.

Mr. BRETZ. Who was returned by the original returns?

Mr. WEADOCK. Mr. Richardson.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. Will the gentleman permit me a question?

Mr. WEADOCK. No, sir.

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] states that Mr. Richardson asked for a recount. It is only fair to state that both gentlemen asked for a recount; and in the case presented to the state board no question was made as to the recount in Kent County, where the great majority of the votes of the district lie.

Now, a few words with reference to the powers of the Michigan board of canvassers. That board is composed of the secretary of state, the state treasurer, and the commissioner of the general land office. Any two of these officers constitute a quorum.

Mr. Richardson's certificate is signed by the three officers. The terms of these three gentlemen expired on the 31st day of December, and they went out of office. And now our contention is that when they had assembled and canvassed the votes their duty was purely ministerial. The statutes provide when it shall be done—"on or before the 15th day of December." They met within that time and canvassed the votes. Of course it took some time to complete it and they adjourned from day to day, but it was all completed and the votes were properly canvassed. The supreme court says that "the old board did its duty fully." They issued a certificate to Richardson, and there was an end of the case except so far as a contest before this House might be instituted. No contest was instituted before the House, and Mr. Richardson is plainly entitled to be sworn in.

Now, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] states that this certificate of Mr. Belknap is in the usual form. He certainly does not mean that; because the certificate of Mr. Belknap is partially in the usual form, and then it goes on to say "that a decision of the supreme court of Michigan annulling certificate heretofore illegally issued to George F. Richardson," this "is issued in lieu thereof."

It is dated February 14, 1893, and is signed John W. Jochim, secretary of state; Joseph F. Hambitzer, State treasurer; John G. Berry, commissioner State land office, the officers constituting the canvassing board.

Now, upon its face this shows that Mr. Belknap has not a *prima facie* case, but that some proceedings had been instituted by which a question had arisen between these two certificates, and that, and that alone, as it seems to me, is the question before the House. There can be no discussion and no question, I apprehend, between us as to what the powers of the Michigan canvassing board are. There is no dispute there, but the sole question is whether or not an *ex parte* judgment of the supreme court of the State of Michigan in a suit in which they themselves say they had no jurisdiction shall bind Mr. Richardson or this House in any way, and whether that would be a ruling force in determination of a question which the court agrees belongs solely to this House.

Mr. TURNER. Will the gentleman pardon an inquiry? This mandamus and this subsequent recount by the State board occurred after the whole proceedings had been completed, up to the final certificate; it did not occur in an intermediate way or *pendente lite*, but the action of the constituted authorities had been completed even to giving the certificate to Mr. Richardson upon the original returns.

Mr. WEADOCK. That proceeding on the part of Mr. Belknap was instituted, carried on, and the judgment rendered after the name of George F. Richardson had been placed upon the roll of this House.

Mr. TURNER. Well, that would seem to make it clear that the proceeding of Mr. Belknap here would relate to the merits of the question, and not to the *prima facie* case?

Mr. WEADOCK. Why, certainly. And the question of the validity of the court was one for this House alone.

It is no question of the issuance of the certificate. The court said that the old board had acted properly; but the question was——

Mr. TURNER. And the proper way to annul the certificate was by a regular contest?

Mr. WEADOCK. Certainly; by a regular contest and in no other way. Now, the question of the number of votes either this way or that does not affect this case at all.

If Mr. Belknap had a majority of 1 of the legal votes cast, of course he would be entitled to the certificate. But when Mr. Belknap submits his case, as he must submit it to the canvassing board, and that board decides against him, that is an end of the proceedings under the law, so far as this case is concerned, until it is brought before this House by a regularly instituted contest. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] is right when he says that the question here lies within a very narrow compass.

By all precedents the *prima facie* case lies with Mr. Richardson, and the resolution of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL] ought to pass, and Mr. Richardson ought now to be sworn in as a member of this House.

Mr. HEARD. Will the gentleman permit an inquiry?

Mr. WEADOCK. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEARD. If I understand correctly the statement made by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WEADOCK], Mr. Belknap, the contestant, relies upon the efficacy of a recount in one county and the rejection of a recount in another county, made under the same authority?

Mr. WEADOCK. He does exactly that.

Mr. BURROWS. How is that?

Mr. WEADOCK. Because there was a recount in Kent County, and upon that recount——

Mr. BURROWS. Will my friend allow me to state that Mr. Belknap, after Mr. Richardson had made an application for a recount in Ionia County, made an application for a recount in Kent County, but immediately withdrew it?

Mr. WEADOCK. Yes; and then——

Mr. BURROWS. Wait a moment. Then Mr. Richardson petitioned the board for a recount of the vote at three precincts, whereupon Mr. Belknap asked that the whole vote be recounted if they were going to recount a part of it.

Mr. WEADOCK. The gentleman is correct. The entire vote was recounted and Mr. Belknap lost one vote.

The entire vote was recounted and upon that vote as recounted this canvassing board acted under the mandate of the supreme court.

Mr. BURROWS. Exactly.

Mr. WEADOCK. So that Mr. Belknap evidently wants the vote recounted in one county and not in another?

Mr. BURROWS. But Mr. Belknap did not——

Mr. WEADOCK. And the supreme courts say that if Mr. Richardson is dissatisfied with the recount in Kent County he can have a mandamus to compel the board to count that vote just as it was originally counted.

Now, one word as to the attorneys in these proceedings. I hold in my hand the Northwestern Reporter, in which is reported the case of Belknap *vs.* Board of Canvassers of Ionia County, and the attorneys in that case for Charles E. Belknap, the relator, were the same who appeared for Mr. Belknap in the case against the State board, and the board of State canvassers were represented, not by the Hon. Adolphus A. Ellis, the attorney-general of Michigan, who was the only State officer elected by the Democrats, but by L. B. Gardner and William H. Fraser, neither of whom represented Mr. Richardson in any way. So that this was an *ex parte* application and to all appearances one in which the gentleman who seeks to contest this seat had the advantage of having the counsel on both sides. [Laughter.] The law of the case is clearly with Mr. Richardson, and the resolution offered by the gentleman from Virginia should be adopted.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Mr. Speaker, how much time has the gentleman from Michigan occupied?

The SPEAKER. He has occupied nineteen minutes. He has one minute left.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Does the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] desire to occupy the floor now?

Mr. BURROWS. I do not at this time.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Then I yield twenty minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER].

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I do not know that I shall occupy all the time the gentleman from Virginia has yielded to me. This case is a very clear one. It simply involves the *prima facie* right of a member to a seat upon this floor. There is no doubt but that Mr. Richardson does hold, and has presented to the Clerk of this House, a certificate which upon its face entitles him to be sworn in as a member of this House. I need not argue a question of that kind. The mere assertion, in connection with the facts of this case, is sufficient. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS], who has objected to this certificate, holds his seat on this floor upon a certificate issued by the same persons at the same time. His certificate and the one in question here are in exactly the same terms, except that the one contains the name of JULIUS C. BURROWS and the other the name of George F. Richardson. In all other respects, I repeat, the certificates are precisely the same, issued by the same persons, at the same time, under the same circumstances, and based upon the same general class of returns, the board having jurisdiction of the returns of the whole State.

After these certificates were issued they were presented to the Clerk. The gentleman from Michigan, who has just spoken [Mr. BURROWS], presented his; and the gentleman who is now asking to be seated presented his. The Clerk entered the names upon the roll. The roll was then complete. The persons constituting the returning board in Michigan—the secretary of state, the treasurer, and the commissioner of the general land office—ceased to be officials by the expiration of their terms; and their successors who were elected at the November election, at the same time as this Congressional election, entered upon their duties in January, 1893.

These new officials had no legal jurisdiction to deal with the matter of the returns of members of Congress because their predecessors in office on the day prescribed by the statute of the State had met and performed that duty. And when those gentlemen met they had before them all the returns that were then made; they canvassed all those returns; they discharged their full duty; and every function that the laws of Michigan had vested in those gentlemen as returning officers was completely discharged when they issued their certificate and adjourned without day. From that time forward those officials were *functus officio*. They had no power to reconvene themselves; their successors had no power to reconvene themselves.

Mr. COX. I would like to ask the gentleman this question: Is there any statute of the State of Michigan that authorizes a canvassing board clothed with the same authority as its predecessors, and in law the same board, to revise the action of its predecessors after they go out of office?

Mr. SPRINGER. There is not. The only statute upon the subject is the one which requires the board to meet at the time it did meet; and when it met it had all the returns before it; it discharged all its duties; it counted all the returns; it completed its work, and adjourned without day.

Mr. BURROWS. Do I understand the gentleman to hold that a subsequent board had no authority to make another count, even if ordered to do so by the court?

Mr. SPRINGER. I hold that a subsequent board had no authority to assemble if the predecessors of that board had completed the work which the law required them to perform and had adjourned without day.

Mr. BURROWS. Then the gentleman differs with the supreme courts of several of the States.

Mr. SPRINGER. That is very possible; but I will show the gentleman that I am in accord with the authorities on this subject which will be found in the books generally. I concede that there are several cases in which under circumstances of this kind a mandamus has been issued; but in all such cases the court held that the returning board in the first instance had not discharged its duty; that it had left undone work which had been committed to it; that it had failed to discharge what was required of it by the statute—had either failed to count a portion of the returns or had improperly thrown out returns, exercising jurisdiction which did not belong to it. But in no case, so far as I can find in the books, was the returning board ever reconvened after it had discharged all its duties as required by statute and adjourned without day.

Mr. PATTERSON. The gentleman will allow me a single inquiry. As I understand this case, the canvassing board of Ionia County and the State board had both canvassed these returns and the certificate had been given to Mr. Richardson, and that certificate had been filed with the Clerk of this House before these proceedings in the supreme court of Michigan were instituted at all.

Mr. SPRINGER. Certainly.

Mr. PATTERSON. Now, if that be true is it not also true that this House alone has jurisdiction of the case after the filing of that certificate; in other words, could proceedings be properly instituted in the State of Michigan subsequent to the canvass and after the filing of the certificate here, in that way practically usurping the jurisdiction of this House? Does not the *prima facie* case rest upon the fact that the certificate was filed with the Clerk before any proceedings were instituted in the courts of Michigan?

Mr. SPRINGER. That is just the point I was about to state, that a conclusion having been reached, the certificate having been issued by the canvassing board, and the board having adjourned without day, the statute of Congress prescribes the remedy to be pursued thereafter. If the defeated candidate is not satisfied he can institute an election contest. If you will turn to the United States statutes you will find that within thirty days

after such a count as was had in this case, the defeated candidate may give notice to the other party of his intention to contest the election, and upon the receipt of such notice certain proceedings are to take place. An election contest then arises, and the contest must be pursued as pointed out in the statutes of the United States. The power of the supreme court of any State over the case has ceased. Such a tribunal can no more undertake to override the certificate first issued than it can undertake to override the constitutional power of this House to judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members.

I desire to call the attention of the House to the action of this body itself in a similar case. In the Forty-sixth Congress, at the assembling of the first session, which was a called session of that body, two certificates of election were presented from the State of Florida, one by Mr. Hull and the other by Mr. Bisbee. The Clerk placed on the roll of the House the name of Mr. Hull. It was objected by gentlemen on the floor that a subsequent certificate had been granted, under mandamus proceedings by the supreme court of Florida, to Mr. Bisbee, and a motion was made to seat him on the credentials presented. The supreme court of Florida had declared the certificate of Mr. Hull to be void and ordered the issuance of one to Mr. Bisbee, which was done.

This, as I have said, was in the Forty-sixth Congress, and that body adopted a resolution that Mr. Hull be sworn in, a resolution in the precise terms as that now pending before us, except of course as to the names of the parties. That resolution was considered and adopted by 140 affirmative votes to 136 in the negative. This House, therefore, has decided that a certificate issued under the circumstances which Mr. Richardson presents here can not be annulled by a subsequent action of the State board of canvassers, and that is the opinion in accordance with those cited in the books.

Permit me now, Mr. Speaker, to read an extract from McCrary on the Law of Elections, third edition, page 154, as bearing upon this subject.

Mr. BURROWS. Before the gentleman proceeds will he allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. SPRINGER. I will yield for a question, not for an argument, however.

Mr. BURROWS. I think the gentleman from Illinois makes a mistake in the citation of the last case from the State of Florida. I think he will find on examination that there was nothing to show that another certificate had been issued, by order of the supreme court; but the point was made that there were only some papers before the House.

Mr. SPRINGER. The gentleman from Michigan can examine the case for himself,

Mr. BURROWS. I have done so and think the gentleman from Illinois is in error.

Mr. SPRINGER. On page 154 of McCrary on the Law of Elections it is stated:

A canvassing board having once counted the votes and declared the result according to law, has no power or authority to make a recount. When this duty is once fully performed it is performed once and forever, and can not be repeated.

That is quoted from Bowen *vs.* Hixon, 45th Missouri, page 340, and the case of Gooding *vs.* Wilson in the Forty-second Congress. In the case of Bowen *vs.* Hixon here cited the court say:

To suppose that it could be renewed—

That is a recount—

that the canvass of one day could be repeated the next, and counter certificates be issued to different contestants, as new light or influence was brought to bear upon the mind of the clerk, would render the whole proceeding a farce.

And in Gooding *vs.* Wilson the report of the committee has this language:

On examination of precedents, it does not appear that this House favors the setting aside of official and formal counts, made with all the safeguards required by law, on evidence only of subsequent informal and unofficial counts, without such safeguards. No instance was cited at the hearing where the person entitled by the official count was deprived of his seat by a subsequent unofficial count. On principle it would seem that if such a thing were, in the absence of fraud in the official count, in any case admissible, it should be permitted only when the ballot boxes had been so kept as to be conclusive of the identity of the ballots, and when the subsequent count was made with safeguards equivalent to those provided by law. In the absence of either of these conditions, the proof, as mere matter of fact, and without reference to statutory rules, would be less reliable, and therefore insufficient.

And further:

In Minnesota it has been held, in accordance with the principle just stated, that if the board of canvassers, after canvassing the votes, adjourn without day—

As in this case—

their power in the premises is at an end, and they can not reassemble, neither can a count by mandamus compel them to reassemble or give them any power in case of their so doing.

That case was decided in the contest between Clark *vs.* Buchanan, reported in 2d Minnesota, page 346; and this is the substance of all of the authorities summed up in McCreary on Elections, this being the conclusion of the authorities quoted upon this subject, to the effect that when this duty of canvassing the returns was once performed, as in this case, it was done forever as far as the board of canvassers was concerned, and the board became *functus officio*, and no subsequent act could legally reconvene them or revive their powers.

In order to determine whether the subsequent board had power in the premises, you must consider the question independently of the mandamus subsequently issued; because, if this supreme court could issue the mandamus to the returning board, then in office, to do this work, that returning board had the power to do it without the mandamus; because the supreme court could not give the board a jurisdiction which it did not have under the law. It could only enforce the jurisdiction which it had. And when a returning board performs its duty in November, issues its certificates, and adjourns without day, goes out of office on the 1st of January and is succeeded by newly elected persons coming in at that time, does any gentleman say that the new returning board, composed of those newly elected persons, could go to the returns on file, recount them, and issue a certificate on their own motion?

I think the statement of that proposition destroys every pretense of right in the contestant in this case, Mr. Belknap, to a *prima facie* claim to a seat upon this floor. The returning board, not having the power of itself to reconvene, and not having the power if it did reconvene to go over the work of its predecessors, the supreme court could not give it any more power than it had before.

Mr. HAYES. The gentleman states that if the board had performed its duty and adjourned it could not further act, and that the court could not empower it to act. Now, suppose the board had not performed its duty, but had proceeded on an entirely false construction of the law.

Mr. SPRINGER. In such cases the courts have caused them to reconvene and do their duty, when they have not done it according to law.

Mr. HAYES. Is not that this case precisely?

Mr. SPRINGER. Not at all. There is no pretension that they had not counted all the votes and acted upon everything before them when they were first in session. They did perform their duty in the first instance. I have before me Payne on Elections, the work cited by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS]. There are several authorities in this book cited by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] in regard to the power of the court, and reference is frequently made to the fact that where a board had not performed its duty and had left undone what was clearly its ministerial duty to do, in that case a mandamus issued; but the authorities in Payne on Elections cited by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS], after having been reviewed at length, are summed up in this case on page 764, in an application for a mandamus made to the supreme court of New York.

It was alleged that the board of county canvassers had illegally and unjustly rejected the returns of one precinct, and had illegally and unjustly refused to canvass the votes of that precinct, and, as a consequence, had erroneously determined the result of the election as to one of the county officers, and the court was asked to command the board to make a new canvass for the purpose of correcting the error. The statute contained no provision authorizing adjourned meetings of the board, except for the purpose of obtaining corrections of precinct returns, in which case the adjournment was limited to three days. The court held that, to entitle the applicant to the mandamus, it must appear that he had a legal right to demand that something should be done by the defendants—

That is, the canvassing board—

which they had not done; that it must appear that he had no specific legal remedy for the enforcement of that right, and must also appear that it was still in the power of the defendants to perform the acts required; that after the board of canvassers had met and organized according to law, and had proceeded to estimate the votes of the county, made the statement prescribed by the statute, determined the result of the election, and caused a copy of their determination to be published, filed, and made a part of the record, and had dissolved, its members were *functi officio*, and a mandamus would not be granted to compel them to reorganize and canvass the omitted precinct return, and change their determination of the result accordingly, even though it appeared that they had erred in the rejection of the precinct return in question.

This was decided in the case of The People *vs.* Supervisors, 12 Barber's Reports, page 217.

Now, gentlemen will find that that is the current of all the authorities upon this subject; and there never was a case coming to this House where the *prima facie* right of a member to his seat was more perfectly made out and sustained by the record than in this case.

Now, in order to attack this certificate, it must appear from something on the face of it that it is irregular; and upon the face of it, as I said before, it is precisely the same as the certificate of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS]. It gives just as good *prima facie* right to a seat as that gentleman has.

And if Mr. Richardson is not entitled to be sworn in the gentleman who has made this objection was not entitled to be sworn in, for in all respects they are on all fours and like each other; but

in this case there was an attempt through a partisan court, elected at the same time this election took place, and subsequently came into office, to perform duties which they have no power under the laws of Michigan to perform. Mr. Richardson, in this case, having complied with the law of the State, having presented the credentials to the Clerk of this House, who under the law, as he was empowered to do, fixed his name upon the roll, his functions were at an end and Mr. Richardson's right to a seat upon this floor is perfect.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Now, Mr. Speaker, I would be glad if the gentleman from Michigan would occupy his time now. How much time has been consumed?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee in the chair). The gentleman from Michigan has twenty-five minutes remaining and the gentleman from Virginia twenty-one minutes.

Mr. BURROWS. I wish to occupy a moment. This matter is turning out, Mr. Speaker, as I expected. It will be dragged into politics, and, if possible, induce the members of this House to do an injustice. It is stated that there was an election in Michigan and a change of officers on the 1st day of January. What of it? Suppose there was a change. The canvassing board empowered to canvass the returns was just the same after the election as before. It may be proper in this connection to state——

Mr. WEADOCK. I hope, Mr. Speaker, we will have better order.

Mr. BURROWS. This is better order than we usually have on an election case where members have already made up their minds. The gentleman states that Mr. Belknap asked for a recount in Ionia and Kent Counties. Mr. Belknap had filed a petition for that purpose, but it was withdrawn.

Mr. WEADOCK. And refiled.

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. Richardson selected three precincts in the county of Kent and wanted a recount in those precincts, and then Mr. Belknap insisted that if a recount was to be had of those three precincts the recount should extend to the whole county. That was all there was of that, and that was the only step Mr. Belknap took towards getting a recount of the vote.

But as I was saying, this case, like all cases in the House of Representatives, is at once dragged into the slough of politics, and it will be a happy day in the history of this country when all contests for seats in this House are taken entirely away from the House and decided by an impartial tribunal; and it is for that reason that I suggested, and am hopeful that the Committee on Elections when appointed, or a special committee of the best lawyers of this House, and I do not care to which party they belong, may take these certificates and the documentary evidence and determine the question as to who has the *prima facie* case.

But I am amazed at the position taken by some gentlemen on the other side, and especially by the distinguished gentlemen who has just taken his seat [Mr. SPRINGER], that after the board of State canvassers had canvassed the vote and declared the result and the certificate to Mr. Richardson issues and his name is placed on the roll, that there is no power in the court of the State of Michigan to compel a canvass of that vote. I call his attention to the fact that he differs with the supreme court of several of the States. This canvassing board of the State is not a board created for the special purpose of canvassing the returns, but had other duties under the laws. They are the canvassing board by virtue of their office.

The gentleman read from Paine, and he read about the only case he could find that holds the doctrine which he sees fit to present to this House, namely, that the board of canvassers having once determined the matter, there is no power to reconvene the board, nor can the court order it. I call his attention to page 756, where I read:

> The court will ascertain the contents of the return as delivered to the canvassers, and will by mandamus compel them to canvass such return.

That is a case reported in 65 Mo.

> In a case decided by the supreme court of Kentucky, the canvassers had given the certificate of election to the competitor of the petitioner before the issue of the alternative writ. The court awarded a peremptory writ, compelling the canvassers to grant a certificate of election to the petitioner. The court said: "Nor do we regard it as an available objection that the board has already acted in the matter as in this case. Inferior judicial tribunals can not be controlled in their action by mandamus. They can be compelled to act; but, having discretion in all judicial questions, they must, in such cases, be allowed to determine how they shall act. It is not so, however, with ministerial officers. Until they have performed the exact duty imposed upon them by the law, they must be considered as in default.

And in this case the Ionia board did not perform their exact duty; they did something else—

> Until they perform the exact duty imposed upon them by law they must be considered as in default; and in a case like this it would be a legal anomaly to allow the examining board to rely upon the fact that they had issued the certificate of election to a party who had not received the largest number of votes, contrary to an express provision of the law, as a sufficient reason why they should not be compelled to perform an imperative duty.

Mr. SPRINGER. Will the gentleman allow me now?

Mr. BURROWS. I can not yield. I have only a few moments left, and I shall be obliged if the gentleman will not interrupt me. That case was decided in the State of Kentucky.

> The supreme court of Kentucky has also held—

And I am fearful that this will disturb the position of my friend from Illinois—

> the supreme court of Kentucky has also held that in case the canvassers go out of office pending an application for a mandamus to compel them to issue a certificate of election to the person shown by the returns to have received the highest number of votes, the mandamus, when granted, will operate upon such persons as may, by law, compose the board of canvassers at the time it is granted.

That was exactly this case——

Mr. SPRINGER. No, sir; there was no mandamus pending when the board went out of office.

Mr. BURROWS. My dear sir, there was.

Mr. SPRINGER. Not in the supreme court.

Mr. BURROWS. There was.

Mr. SPRINGER. The supreme court had not issued the mandamus against these officers.

Mr. BURROWS. Not against these officers; but the proceedings were instituted on the 23d of December and the board went out of office on the 1st of January.

> The supreme court of Kentucky has also held that in case the canvassers go out of office pending an application for a mandamus to compel them to issue a certificate of election to the person shown by the returns to have received the highest number of votes, the mandamus when granted will operate upon such persons as may, by law, compose the board of canvassers at the time the mandamus is granted.

Mr. SPRINGER. I have a case——

Mr. BURROWS. I must decline to be interrupted, simply because I have not time to yield.

> In a case decided by the supreme court of Kansas the canvassers had declared the plaintiff's competitor elected to the office of county clerk and had adjourned, and the first question decided by the court was whether, after these facts, the court could, by mandamus, compel the canvassers to reassemble and make a correct canvass. This question was decided in the affirmative. The court said: "The canvass is a ministerial act, and part performance is no more a discharge of the duty enjoined than no performance. And a candidate has as much right to insist upon a canvass of all the returns as he has of any part, and may be prejudiced as much by a partial as by a total failure. The adjournment of the board does not deprive the court of the power to compel it to act, any more than the adjournment of a term of the district court would prevent this court from compelling, by mandamus, the signing of a bill of exceptions by the judge of that court which had been tendered to him before the adjournment."

I might add that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER]—of course unintentionally—picked out about the only case which would sustain his position. I now yield ten minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL].

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Speaker, I shall assume that the facts connected with this case have already been sufficiently discussed to put them entirely into the possession of the House, so that it will be unnecessary now for me to make any recital of them. The question under discussion has no relation to the ultimate right of either of these parties to a seat in this House. The question at present is simply as to a *prima facie* right; or, in other words, as to what the Clerk ought to have done, in making up the roll of this House, with respect to these two applicants for membership.

Now, the Revised Statutes (section 31) provide that "in making up the roll of members at the first meeting of a Congress, the Clerk of the next preceding House shall place thereon the names of those persons and of such persons only whose credentials show that they were regularly elected in accordance with the laws of their States, respectively, or the laws of the United States."

Now, it will be observed that this statute points out the party who shall make the roll, to wit, the Clerk of the House; it designates the parties who shall be put on that roll, to wit, those whose credentials show that they were regularly elected, in accordance with the laws of their respective States or of the United States. It prescribes, furthermore, impliedly at least, the time at which the Clerk of the House shall make up the roll in accordance with the credentials of its members, to wit, upon the assembling of Congress.

I pause here to say that nobody, therefore, can be deceived by the claim that because the Clerk, upon the receipt of an early certificate, put the name of the party presenting that certificate upon his roll, he ceases to have the authority afterward to strike off that name and put on the name of another; for it will be observed the time at which this roll is to be made up is upon the organization of the House; and the parties whose names are to be placed on that roll are the parties who at that time have presented to the Clerk credentials showing that they had been elected in accordance with the laws of their respective States or of the United States.

Now, bearing in mind the time at which the roll is to be made up, and the provisions of law applicable to the making up of that

roll, we come down to the situation as it was presented to the Clerk yesterday when this House met in extraordinary session. What was that situation? He found that he had one more certificate from the State of Michigan than there were Representatives, under the law, from that State; in other words, he found that in a certain district two parties presented each a certificate and claimed a right to a place on the Clerk's roll in the organization of this House. What was his duty under the circumstances? His duty, I take it, was to inquire whose credentials showed that he was regularly elected in accordance with the laws of the State of Michigan. How should he ascertain that fact as between these two certificates? I say he was to ascertain that fact, first, from the certificates themselves; and secondly, if there were any decisions of the supreme court of the State of Michigan that qualified those certificates or either of them in any respect, then he was to take into consideration those decisions.

Now, in what respect did those certificates differ, and in what respect did they agree? They both came from the properly constituted board, legally authorized under the laws of the State of Michigan to issue a certificate under the circumstances. They agree in that respect. They differ in this respect: that one of those certificates which is earlier in date than the other is expressly annulled by the second, and that that annulment is vouched for as valid by the decision of the highest tribunal of the State—the ultimate exponent so far as we know, in an examination of this kind, of the law of the State of Michigan.

But gentlemen on the other side of the House say that the board was *functus officio* when it issued its first certificate. I submit that a board elected for two years is not *functus officio* until the expiration of its term; and I further submit the proposition that a board—even a temporary board—can not become *functus officio* by the nonperformance of a duty, and if it can not become *functus officio* by the nonperformance of a duty it can not become *functus officio* by the illegal performance of a duty.

Now, then, putting ourselves in the place of the Clerk—and what the Clerk has wrongfully done, if he has wrongfully done anything, the House will correct—putting ourselves in the position of the Clerk, we find that on the day when his roll was to be made up it appeared to him by the regularly issued certificate of the duly authorized board of the State of Michigan that Mr. Belknap was entitled to the seat; and it appeared to him further that the certificate was issued not alone upon the authority of this board but in accordance with the decision of the highest tribunal known to these two citizens, Mr. Belknap and his opponent, contesting here for a place on this floor.

What, then, Mr. Speaker, was the duty of the Clerk of this House? Is it not perfectly plain that it was his duty to put on the roll the name of the man whose credentials showed that he was regularly elected in accordance with the law of the State of Michigan—Mr. Belknap?

And, sir, it is too late for Congress to go back upon the proposition that it is bound in the first instance, always, by the decision of the court of last resort in the different States with respect to the construction of their own statutes. It is a rule of the Supreme Court of the United States, and it is the rule of this House.

In the last Congress, many gentlemen here will call to mind the fact that because the supreme court of the State of Pennsylvania had so construed a statute as to give—carrying out that construction—a seat here to a member on that side of the House instead of to a member on this side of the House who held the certificate of election, this House, following the decision of the supreme court of the State of Pennsylvania in the case of Craig *vs.* Stewart, turned out the latter and put in Craig.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Speaker, I hope my friend from Michigan will yield to me just a minute longer.

Mr. BURROWS. Very well.

Mr. DALZELL. I only want to say in addition that over from that last Congress I hear a voice, and it is the voice of my honored friend from Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL], chairman of the last Committee on Elections, in his report to this House in the contested case of Noyes *vs.* Rockwell, from the State of New York, and he uses this language:

> Your committee are of the opinion that the decision of the court of last resort of a State upon the construction of a statute of that State, and in a matter before them involving the construction of a statute of that State, should be binding upon them.

And therefore they held that under the decision of the State court of appeals of New York, affirming the lower court, Noyes was *prima facie* elected. I ask my friend from Virginia to apply to this case the law he laid down then, and in that event he will be compelled to say that Charles E. Belknap's name shall go on the roll of this House as *prima facie* entitled to a seat therein.

Mr. O'FERRALL. I now yield ten minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BROWN].

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that a majority of the questions which have been discussed here, in connection with the pending case, are questions for the House to consider and determine at this time. It seems to me that these questions are such as ought to go with the case to the Committee on Elections after that committee has been appointed, and has been charged with the consideration of this case.

The question as to the validity of these certificates and what action, if any, the supreme court of the State of Michigan has taken with regard to them, is one which, under the rules of the House heretofore, has first been committed to the jurisdiction of the Committee on Elections, considered by that committee, and reported by it to the House, and acted on by the House. But the question as to who should be sworn in as a member of this House on his *prima facie* claim to a seat here is one which the House may act on and should act on at the time the House is being organized, and he presents himself to take his oath of office. But inasmuch as questions have been considered in the course of this discussion going to the merits of the case I will briefly state its status.

The laws of the State of Michigan with regard to elections provide that any candidate for an office, after the close of an election, may have the votes cast at such election recounted by the board of county canvassers, and empowers such board to send for and open the ballot boxes and recount the vote by a committee of its members. Mr. Belknap recognized the validity of this law by petitioning the proper authorities of Kent County for a recount of the vote of that county under this statute. He withdrew his petition the next day, but refiled it a few days thereafter.

Mr. Richardson asked a recount as to Ionia County. The State board made the canvass from the reports certified up from the Congressional district, and ascertained that Mr. Richardson had received a plurality of ten votes, and on the 17th day of December last the State board issued to him his certificate of election as a member of the Fifty-third Congress. The certificate is in due form, valid on its face, and was issued by competent authority.

On the 1st day of January last the State officers of Michigan, constituting the State board of canvassers for that State, who made the canvass of the votes cast at the last Congressional election in the district in question, went out of office, and their successors were inducted into office. On the 23d day of December, shortly before this board of canvassers went out of office, Mr. Belknap filed his petition for a proceeding in mandamus in the supreme court of Michigan against the board of canvassers of Ionia County alone, and his petition was to have the statute declared null and void so far as it was applicable to the election of members of Congress. This petition of his was filed on the 23d day of December, 1892, one day after Mr. Richardson's certificate had been filed with the Clerk of this House.

I will not comment upon the decision now of the supreme court of Michigan, because I think it is immaterial respecting the right of Mr. Richardson to be admitted at once to a seat in this House and sworn in as a member on his *prima facie* case.

Another mandamus proceeding was instituted to compel the State board of canvassers of Michigan to canvass the returns of all the counties in the district, and in doing so to canvass the returns from Ionia County with the recount had on Mr. Richardson's petition eliminated. Whether the supreme court had jurisdiction or not is a question to be considered, in my judgment, more appropriately when the whole contest comes before the House for determination after having been considered by the Committee on Elections. But I think I can safely say at this time, that when a canvassing board has convened and made its canvass and declared the result its duty is ended.

It can not reconvene itself, nor can it be compelled to reconvene and revise or reverse its former action, in the absence of a statute expressly authorizing such proceedings. The new board of canvassers had no duty to perform until after the next general election was held.

But these are questions to be considered later on. Now, I will state briefly the reasons why I think Mr. Richardson should be sworn in at once. Primarily, at the very commencement of the creation and organization of this House of Representatives, it was the American belief and the common law of our people, so to speak, that every district in the United States should be represented on this floor during every moment of time. So it is now. This House has no right to take away one hour of time that any Congressional district ought to be represented here. What right has this House to postpone for any length of time the swearing in of a qualified gentleman who appears with a certificate of election valid on its face?

Therefore I protest against the honeyed words of my friend from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS], who says: "Send both of these gentlemen to the Committee on Elections," to sleep away possibly six months of the right of the people of that district to be represented on this floor. Why shall not Mr. Richardson be

sworn in now? The law of Congress for the organization of this House provides that—

Before the first meeting of each Congress the Clerk of the next preceding House of Representatives shall make a roll of the Representatives-elect and place thereon the names of those persons and such persons only—

Says the statute—

whose credentials show that they were regularly elected according to the laws of the States respectively, or the laws of the United States.

This statute confers authority and jurisdiction on the person named in it, the Clerk of the preceding House of Representatives, and upon him alone, to make up the roll of membership of this House. His jurisdiction is exclusive to make up the roll of the membership for the House of Representatives soon to convene, and in making up such roll I maintain that in a case where a number of certificates of election come to him from the same district, showing different claimants from the same district for a seat in the same House of Representatives, his jurisdiction in such a case is judicial. He is to hear, determine, and decide, and when he does decide, his decision stands until this House, under its own rules, after full investigation, reverses it. And when his decision is made, and in pursuance of it he enters on the roll of membership the name of some person claiming a seat here, he thereby makes a part of the record of this House; and for this reason the claimant, Mr. Richardson, not only has a *prima facie* case, because of the certificate of election he holds, but he has another *prima facie* case, so to speak, because his name is on the roll, and no one can strike it off save this House of Representatives alone.

His certificate of election and his name being entered on the roll of membership of this House by the officer whose sworn duty by law it was to make up such roll of membership, entitles him to be sworn in at once. Otherwise his district will for the time being go unrepresented. I do not mean to say, nor am I understood as saying that his name being on the roll of membership concludes this House from striking it off and seating another person; but during the investigation he is entitled to membership here, and to continue as a member until this House investigates the whole case and decides against him.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. O'FERRALL. Mr. Speaker, I believe I have eleven minutes remaining?

The SPEAKER The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL] has eleven minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] has five minutes remaining.

Mr. O'FERRALL. I understand the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] does not propose to consume his five minutes——

Mr. BURROWS. Oh, yes; I propose to occupy my time.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Will you occupy it now, please?

Mr. BURROWS. Before yielding to the gentleman to whom I shall yield, I wish to state that perhaps, in view of the direction in which this discussion is drifting, it will be of service to the House to know that the opinion of the court in all these cases was prepared and delivered by the Democratic member of the bench. I do not know whether that will have any influence or not. I now yield to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES].

Mr. OATES. Mr. Speaker, I have listened to this discussion with considerable interest, and in the brief time that I have had to look into the case, I have become impressed with the idea that it ought not to be decided upon the discussion and investigation that we have had, which is too slight; and it would make a precedent of too great importance to be established in this sort of perfunctory way. I understand there is no regular contest, and the two gentlemen claiming the seat come here each on a *prima facie* case, and hence it is very important that it should be properly decided.

I agree with my friend from Indiana [Mr. BROWN] in much that he has said, and he said it quite well and with great force. But, sir, by what authority does a member come here and claim his seat? By the authority of his State; and when the certificate of Mr. Richardson was presented to the Clerk of this House the Clerk did right in putting his name on the roll. The Clerk also did right in calling the attention of the House to the fact that he had put his name upon the roll under the peculiar circumstances, and the subsequent certificate of election that came in favor of Mr. Belknap. So that while the Clerk had something to do, something to decide, and decided correctly under the lights before him, it is not conclusive to this House, nor ought it to be accepted in every case. We act rationally, and as intelligent men; and ought we, simply because the Clerk put on the roll the name of a man which first reached his office, determine that he is entitled to the seat? Now, I think not.

Now the State of Michigan speaks, and in two voices—one coming primarily from the State board of canvassers. Subsequently the State board of canvassers speaks again, with the supreme court of the State behind them. Now, which is the true voice of the State? That is the question to be determined. Some gentlemen think the supreme court decided right, and others assail that decision. Have we had time to investigate it and see which stands on the better ground? I think not. Now, sir, no man can undertake to say on this floor, who has not been informed of the case and who has not had time to look into the statutes, whether the decision of the court was right or wrong. It is a grave matter to be determined without investigation, that a supreme court of a State has made a partisan decision or a wrong decision. My understanding is that that court, in respect to its politics, is a mixed court, and that the opinion pronounced in one of these cases was by a Democrat.

Mr. BURROWS. Both.

Mr. OATES. Politics ought not to enter into a question of this character. It is a question of law; and it is far more important that that question should be properly decided than that either of these gentlemen be seated during the brief period that would elapse before a decision could be had.

We can afford to do right, and it always pays men to do right, and we want to avoid the danger of doing wrong in this case; and if I had to vote now I might vote to seat Mr. Richardson; but I want to know that I am doing right, and I wish to offer an amendment——

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

Mr. OATES. As a substitute for the proposition now pending.

The SPEAKER. The previous question has been demanded.

Mr. O'FERRALL. And I reserve all points of order.

Mr. BURROWS. The point of order is made. Can not the point of order be allowed to rest for a moment until debate is closed, so as to see whether the point of order is good?

The SPEAKER. The demand for the previous question would cut off debate. What is the motion of the gentleman from Alabama?

Mr. OATES. My motion is simply to send the case to the Committee on Elections, when constituted, to consider, and that it should report at the earliest opportunity who has the better claim.

Mr. BURROWS. May I suggest, for a moment, that it be considered offered—not pending perhaps, but just offered—and then we will determine the question whether it is in order or not.

Mr. WEADOCK. I raise the question of order that the previous question has been ordered, which cuts off amendments.

Mr. BURROWS. Well, if that is to be the course, I insist that the point of order is not well taken. The previous question has not been ordered.

The SPEAKER. Demanded.

Mr. BURROWS. I think the Chair will find on examination that the previous question has not been demanded.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Oh, yes.

The SPEAKER. If the gentleman will look at the RECORD it seems to be quite plain.

Mr. BURROWS. Does the Chair desire to have the point of order considered?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will hear the gentleman on the point of order.

Mr. BURROWS. I call attention of the Chair to the RECORD of yesterday.

After the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL] had introduced his resolution and I offered an amendment in the way of a substitute I find the following:

Mr. O'FERRALL. Mr. Speaker, I demand the previous question on the original resolution and the amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. BURROWS. Do I understand the gentleman from Virginia to demand the previous question?

Mr. O'FERRALL. I do.

Mr. BURROWS. That will cut off debate.

Mr. O'FERRALL. No, it will leave an hour, I understand, under the rules.

Mr. BURROWS. But we have no rules now.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Well, under the practice that prevails.

Mr. BURROWS. I hope the gentleman will not do that.

Mr. O'FERRALL. I do not desire to cut off debate. What time does the gentleman desire?

Mr. BURROWS. I should like to take the floor in my own right. I think I can get through with a statement of the case inside of an hour.

Mr. O'FERRALL. It seems to me that an hour ought to be sufficient altogether. Would the gentleman not be content with thirty minutes?

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. Speaker, there will be no time occupied on this side that is not necessary for a proper presentation of the case. I presume an hour will be ample for that purpose.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Say thirty minutes?

Mr. BURROWS. It would not be sufficient. An hour on this side will possibly be consumed. But, as I have said, there is no disposition to occupy time uselessly.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Very well, I am content. I shall agree to two hours' debate. One hour on each side, to be controlled on the one side by the gentleman from Michigan and the other by myself.

Now, if the Speaker will observe, when the demand was made for the previous question it was upon the theory that an hour upon each side would be allowed for debate under the rule. I then stated that if the previous question should be ordered it

would cut off debate; whereupon the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL] said, "I do not desire to cut off debate." When I stated the effect of the previous question and expressed a hope that he would not demand it and thus cut off debate he said that he did not desire to cut off debate. I took that as a withdrawal of the demand for the previous question.

The SPEAKER. Of course the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] knows quite well that the effect of ordering the previous question is something further than the mere cutting off of debate. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL] might have desired to cut off amendments, but not to cut off debate. His statement was merely that he had no desire to cut off debate. His object might have been to have the demand for the previous question pending in order to cut off amendment.

Mr. O'FERRALL. That was my desire. I did not wish to restrict debate at all, but I did desire to cut off amendment. That was my object.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I suggest that after the two hours' debate have been exhausted, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL] is entitled to the floor. The two hours were to be devoted to debate and not to amendment. They were granted for the purpose of debate, and when the debate is exhausted, I hold that it is the duty of the Chair to recognize the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL] to control the further parliamentary proceedings in regard to these resolutions. He is now upon the floor for that purpose, and he has the right to control the floor; otherwise the opposition could take the matter out of the hands of the gentleman having charge of it.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make one suggestion in relation to this matter. I understand that the motion of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES] is to commit. I desire to ask whether or no, under the parliamentary law modified by the practice of this House, the motion to commit would not be admissible even after the motion for the previous question?

The SPEAKER. The argument has treated this as an amendment.

Mr. DINGLEY. I understood it to be really a motion to commit.

Mr. BURROWS. I suppose that is the substance of it, a motion to commit to the Committee on Elections; and a motion to commit, even after the previous question is ordered, would clearly be in order under the common practice.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will hold that as an amendment this is not now in order, and when the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL] concludes his remarks the question can be taken as to referring the matter or committing it.

Mr. OATES. Mr. Speaker, I will make the motion to commit it to the Committee——

Mr. O'FERRALL. The gentleman can not take me off the floor. He can make his motion afterwards. I now yield three minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HEARD].

Mr. HEARD. Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask the attention of the House to only one point in this case. It is very clear to my mind that the case should go to a committee for full examination, and that the House should not assume to change the status which we find existing here until the investigation is made before that committee, and which can not be properly made elsewhere. It must be evident to the mind of every member of this House who has listened to the discussion, that the rights of the parties to this controversy can be disclosed only by an examination of the vote cast in Ionia County. Mr. Belknap was elected but for the recount of that vote. That recount was made under a statute which was supposed to give authority to make it. Whether the statute did give such authority or not, that recount was made by the same board which had made the original count, and, being made later, it was presumably made honestly in correction of errors found in the original count.

The recount was not made by a new board coming into office by a political change; it was the work of the same board sitting in judgment upon their own prior action. They found such errors in the first count as to change the result and cause the State board to award the certificate of election to Mr. Richardson. Now, when the supreme court, after a change of administration, orders a recount, how does it do it? Does it order a recount to be made of the ballots there, as from the beginning? Oh, no. It orders that the State board shall be convened in extraordinary session, and when the board is ordered to convene it is by the same order directed not to take cognizance of a recount or to make a new and correct one, but to count the original returns, or to repeat the original count, which presumably contained errors which the first recount had corrected.

I say that the recount asked for by Mr. Richardson was made by the board that made the original count, and if the members of that board were honest men, as we have a right to assume, they but corrected the errors in the first count by the result certified in the second. At any rate the method of counting, the tabulation, etc., adopted by the board in Ionia County should be examined into by the only power now competent to make that examination—this House of Representatives, acting in the first instance through its Committee on Elections. Mr. Belknap has not come here in the regular way; he is not here upon a regular election contest. If he were, all these facts pertaining to the first count and the recount of those ballots in Ionia County, and even the ballots themselves, would appear. He is here seeking the seat upon a technicality. Let him seek his right by the only proceeding that can properly determine the questions affecting the real merits of this case. The right to this seat depends on who really carried Ionia County, and this House can not decide that question without an examination of all the facts involved; and the mandate of the supreme court, relied on by the contestant, not only failed to provide for that, but actually prevented it by ordering the first count to be accepted as final, although the board which made it had subsequently tried to correct errors therein, which errors gave contestant the vote of said county, and therefore his only title to a seat in this House.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Mr. Speaker, unless the House of Representatives proposes to surrender its right to pass upon the election and qualifications of its own members to another tribunal, it must seat Mr. Richardson upon the certificate which he holds. His certificate is regular in form and comes from a board which was duly authorized and empowered to canvass the returns, declare the result, and grant the certificate under the laws of the State of Michigan.

The supreme court of Michigan undertook to annul this certificate upon the ground that the canvassing board had erred in judgment in granting the certificate, and issued a mandamus requiring the board, whose membership had in the meantime been changed, to meet and canvass the returns in a manner prescribed by the court, and to issue a certificate to Mr. Belknap, the competitor of Richardson.

It is not my desire to criticise the action of any court; nor do I intend to criticise the action of the supreme court of Michigan in this case. But I must exercise my own judgment in this matter, and upon an examination of the question involved, with all due deference to that honorable court, I must dissent from its judgment.

I insist that the board of State canvassers having met in pursuance of law and canvassed the returns, declared the result, and issued the certificate of election to Richardson, it was *functus officio*, and there was no power anywhere to reconvene it or require it to reverse its action. Its action was final, and irrevocable so far as it could be affected by any tribunal except the House of Representatives upon a proper presentation of error and upon an issue involving the merits of the case not the mere *prima facie* right.

I insist that when the certificate was issued to Richardson he acquired a vested right which could not be wrested from him by an *ex parte* proceeding, such as was taken in this case against the board of State canvassers.

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] referred to a decision of the supreme court of Kansas. He claimed that under that decision it was within the province of the supreme court of Michigan to reconvene the State board of canvassers in this case and by mandamus require the board to annul its former decision and issue the certificate to Belknap. I have not been able to read the decision cited by the gentleman, but I have here a later decision of the supreme court of Kansas—a decision rendered since the election of last fall—and it is directly opposite to the ruling referred to by him.

The court says:

> Considering all the facts and circumstances of this case presented upon the trial, as no fraud, wrong, or other official misconduct is imputed to the members of the State board of canvassers, or either of them, in receiving and counting the returns complained of, we must hold that they did not improperly reject any returns or refuse to canvass any proper returns. When the board adjourned, on the 1st day of December, 1892, the members thereof had fully discharged all of their duties; and it is too late now to say that they can voluntarily, or by compulsion, meet again, as canvassers, to examine and pass upon the returns of the election of November, 1892.
>
> As a body, the board of State canvassers is *functus officio*—officially dead. It has no power of resurrection, so as to consider the returns of the election of November, 1892, and this court can not animate its dead body with the breath of life. Not only has its power in the premises ended, but its successors have no authority to reassemble, or act again upon the election returns.

Now apply this decision to the case under discussion. It will be found sustaining the position which I take, that the mandamus of the supreme court of Michigan was improperly awarded, or that there was nothing in existence upon which it could operate. The State board of canvassers, in the language of the court, was dead, and the court had no power to resurrect it or animate its dead body with the breath of life.

Let us bear in mind that the only question before the House is the *prima facie* right of Mr. Richardson to a seat on this floor.

If any wrong was done Mr. Belknap, if any error was committed, if any votes were rejected or counted improperly for either party, this House can and will mete out justice. It is true, Mr. Belknap has not instituted a contest in due form, but I will vote for a resolution directing the Committee on Elections, when appointed, to investigate all the facts and make a report upon the merits.

Mr. Speaker, I shall not detain the House longer. I repeat, the only question upon which we are now to pass is the *prima facie* right of Mr. Richardson. As to this there can not, in my opinion, be any doubt. I believe he is entitled to the seat he claims, and ought to be sworn in without delay.

I now demand the previous question on the resolution submitted by me and the substitute offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL] demands the previous question upon the resolution and substitute.

Mr. BURROWS. What has become of the proposition of the gentleman from Alabama?

Mr. OATES. The Speaker, I understand, ruled it out of order.

Mr. DINGLEY. I move to refer the resolution and substitute to a special committee of five, to report within ten days.

Mr. O'FERRALL. Is that motion in order?

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman make any point on the motion?

Mr. O'FERRALL. I raise a point of order upon it. I do not desire to discuss it. Let the Chair pass upon it.

The SPEAKER. The House is now acting without any rules framed by itself, and the Chair is inclined to hold that until the adoption of rules——

Mr. DINGLEY. Before that, Mr. Speaker, I desire to call the attention of the Chair to a ruling of Speaker Carlisle in the Forty-ninth Congress.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has the ruling in question before him and was going to read from it:

Until the adoption of rules, the rules and practice of the House in former Congresses constituted the principal part of the parliamentary law of the House of Representatives.

That is a ruling in the Fiftieth Congress, of Speaker Carlisle. I have the ruling before me, but have not had time to examine it.

The Chair will hold, subject to correction on further examination, if the Chair becomes convinced that it is erroneous, that the motion of the gentleman from Maine to refer this matter to a special committee of five to be appointed by the Chair, with authority to report within ten days, is in order, and the question will be first taken on that motion.

Mr. BURROWS. I suppose the gentleman from Maine means together with the certificates and all the documentary features in the case.

The SPEAKER. With all the papers, the Chair will assume.

The question was taken on the motion of Mr. DINGLEY; and on a division there were—ayes 118; noes 170.

Mr. DINGLEY. On that question, Mr. Speaker, I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 128, nays 193, not voting 33; as follows:

YEAS—128.

Adams,	Fletcher,	Joy,	Ray,
Aitken,	Funk,	Keifer,	Reed,
Aldrich,	Gardner,	Lacey,	Reyburn,
Apsley,	Gear,	Lefever,	Robinson, Pa.
Avery,	Gillet, N. Y.	Lilly,	Russell, Conn.
Baker, N. H.	Gillett, Mass.	Linton,	Scranton,
Bartholdt,	Grosvenor,	Loud,	Settle,
Belden,	Grout,	Loudenslager,	Shaw,
Bingham,	Hager,	Lucas,	Sherman,
Blair,	Hainer,	Mahon,	Smith,
Boutelle,	Hall, Minn.	Marsh,	Stephenson,
Bower, N. C.	Harmer,	Martin, Ind.	Stone, C. W.
Bowers, Cal.	Harris,	Marvin, N. Y.	Storer,
Broderick,	Harter,	McCall,	Strong,
Brosius,	Hartman,	McCleary, Minn.	Sweet,
Burrows,	Haugen,	McDowell,	Tawney,
Caldwell,	Hayes,	Meiklejohn,	Taylor, Tenn.
Cannon, Ill.	Heiner,	Mercer,	Thomas,
Chickering,	Henderson, Ill.	Milliken,	Tracey,
Childs,	Henderson, Iowa	Moon,	Updegraff,
Cobb, Ala.	Hepburn,	Morse,	Van Voorhis, N. Y.
Cooper, Wis.	Hermann,	Murray,	Van Voorhis, Ohio
Cousins,	Hicks,	Northway,	Walker,
Cummings,	Hilborn,	Oates,	Wanger,
Curtis, Kans.	Hitt,	O'Neill, Pa.	Waugh,
Curtis, N. Y.	Hooker, N. Y.	Payne,	Wheeler, Ill.
Dalzell,	Hopkins, Ill.	Perkins,	White,
Dingley,	Hopkins, Pa.	Phillips,	Wilson, Ohio
Dolliver,	Houk, Tenn.	Pickler,	Wilson, Wash.
Doolittle,	Hulick,	Post,	Wooner,
Draper,	Johnson, Ind.	Powers,	Wright, Mass.
Ellis, Oregon	Johnson, N. Dak	Randall,	Wright, Pa.

NAYS—193.

Abbott,	Cooper, Tex.	Ikirt,	Price,
Alderson,	Cornish,	Johnson, Ohio	Reilly,
Alexander,	Covert,	Jones,	Richards, Ohio
Allen,	Cox,	Kem,	Richardson, Tenn.
Arnold,	Crain,	Kilgore,	Ritchie,
Bailey,	Crawford,	Kribbs,	Robbins,
Baker, Kans.	Davey,	Lane,	Robertson, La.
Bankhead,	Davis,	Lapham,	Rusk,
Barnes,	DeArmond,	Latimer,	Ryan,
Bartlett,	DeForest,	Lawson,	Sayers,
Barwig,	Denson,	Layton,	Schermerhorn,
Bell, Colo.	Dinsmore,	Lester,	Shell,
Berry,	Dockery,	Livingston,	Sickles,
Black, Ga.	Donovan,	Lockwood,	Simpson,
Black, Ill.	Dunn,	Lynch,	Sipe,
Blanchard,	Durborow,	Maddox,	Snodgrass,
Bland,	Edmunds,	Maguire,	Somers,
Boatner,	Ellis, Ky.	Mallory,	Sperry,
Boen,	English,	Marshall,	Springer,
Branch,	Enloe,	McAleer,	Stallings,
Breckinridge, Ark.	Epes,	McCreary, Ky.	Stockdale,
Breckinridge, Ky.	Erdman,	McCulloch,	Stone, Ky.
Bretz,	Everett,	McDannold,	Strait,
Brickner,	Fielder,	McDearmon,	Swanson,
Brookshire,	Fithian,	McEttrick,	Talbert, S. C.
Brown,	Forman,	McGann,	Talbott, Md.
Bryan,	Fyan,	McKaig,	Tarsney,
Bunn,	Geary,	McKeighan,	Tate,
Burnes,	Geissenhainer,	McMillin,	Taylor, Ind.
Bynum,	Goldzier,	McNagny,	Terry,
Cabaniss,	Goodnight,	McRae,	Tucker,
Cadmus,	Gorman,	Meredith,	Turner,
Caminetti,	Grady,	Meyer,	Turpin,
Campbell,	Gresham,	Money,	Tyler,
Cannon, Cal.	Haines,	Montgomery,	Warner,
Capehart,	Hall, Mo.	Morgan,	Washington,
Caruth,	Hammond,	Moses,	Weadock,
Catchings,	Hare,	Mutchler,	Wells,
Causey,	Hatch,	Neill,	Wheeler, Ala.
Clancy,	Heard,	O'Ferrall,	Whiting,
Clark, Mo.	Henderson, N. C.	O'Neil, Mass.	Williams, Ill.
Cobb, Mo.	Hendrix,	Page,	Williams, Miss.
Cockran,	Hines,	Paschal,	Wilson, W. Va.
Cockrell,	Holman,	Patterson,	Wise,
Coffeen,	Hooker, Miss.	Paynter,	Wolverton,
Conn,	Houk, Ohio	Pearson,	Woodard.
Coombs,	Hudson,	Pence,	
Cooper, Fla.	Hunter,	Pendleton, W. Va.	
Cooper, Ind.	Hutcheson,	Pigott,	

NOT VOTING—33.

Babcock,	Compton,	Kyle,	Russell, Ga.
Baldwin,	Culberson,	Lisle,	Sibley,
Bell, Tex.	Daniels,	Magner,	Stevens,
Beltzhoover,	Dunphy,	McLaurin,	Stone, W. A.
Brattan,	Fellows,	Newlands,	Wadsworth,
Brawley,	Fitch,	Outhwaite,	Wever.
Chipman,	Funston,	Pendleton, Tex.	
Clarke, Ala.	Graham,	Rayner,	
Coggswell,	Hull.	Richardson, Mich.	

So the motion to refer was rejected.

During the roll call—

Mr. WRIGHT of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, General Lilly, has not been sworn in. He desires to have his vote recorded.

The SPEAKER. In the absence of objection the Chair will administer the oath of office to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. Lilly having appeared at the desk, was qualified by affirmation according to law. His vote was then recorded as above.

The SPEAKER. The question now is on ordering the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

Mr. BURROWS. I ask, Mr. Speaker, that the substitute on which the vote is now to be taken be read.

The substitute proposed by Mr. BURROWS was read, as follows:

Whereas the credentials upon which George F. Richardson claims a seat in the Fifty-third Congress from the Fifth Congressional district of the State of Michigan have been annulled and made void by reason of the judgment of the supreme court of that State: and

Whereas in pursuance and in compliance with such judgment and with the laws of said State, the State board of canvassers of Michigan have determined, declared, and certified that Charles E. Belknap is duly elected a Representative to the Fifty-third Congress of the United States of America from the Fifth Congressional district of the State of Michigan: Therefore,

Resolved, That Charles E. Belknap is entitled to be sworn in as a member of this House on his *prima facie* case.

Mr. BURROWS. On that I demand the yeas and nays.

Mr. BROWN. Will it be in order to strike out the preamble?

The SPEAKER. The previous question has been ordered.

Mr. BROWN. It is a good "whereas."

Mr. BURROWS. It is a truthful "whereas."

The yeas and nays on the substitute of Mr. BURROWS were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 114, nays 199; not voting 41, as follows:

YEAS—114.

Adams,	Apsley,	Bartholdt,	Blair,
Aitken,	Avery,	Belden,	Boutelle,
Aldrich,	Baker, N. H.	Bingham,	Bowers, Cal.

Broderick,	Harmer,	Mahon,	Scranton,
Brosius,	Hartman,	Marsh,	Shaw,
Burrows,	Haugen,	Marvin, N. Y.	Sherman,
Caldwell,	Heiner,	McCall,	Smith,
Cannon, Ill.	Henderson, Ill.	McCleary, Minn.	Stephenson,
Chickering,	Henderson, Iowa	McDowell,	Stone, C. W.
Childs,	Hepburn,	Meiklejohn,	Storer,
Cooper, Wis.	Hermann,	Mercer,	Strong,
Cousins,	Hicks,	Milliken,	Tawney,
Curtis, Kans.	Hilborn,	Moon,	Taylor, Tenn.
Curtis, N. Y.	Hitt,	Morse,	Thomas,
Dalzell,	Hooker, N. Y.	Murray,	Updegraff,
Dingley,	Hopkins, Ill.	Northway,	Van Voorhis, N. Y.
Dolliver,	Hopkins, Pa.	O'Neill, Pa.	VanVoorhis, Ohio
Doolittle,	Houk, Tenn.	Payne,	Walker,
Draper,	Hulick,	Perkins,	Wanger,
Ellis, Oregon	Johnson, Ind.	Phillips,	Waugh,
Fletcher,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Pickler,	Wheeler, Ill.
Funk,	Joy,	Post,	White,
Gardner,	Kiefer,	Powers,	Wilson, Ohio
Gear,	Lacey,	Randall,	Wilson, Wash.
Gillet, N. Y.	Le Fever,	Ray,	Woomer,
Gillett, Mass.	Lilly,	Reed,	Wright, Mass.
Grosvenor,	Linton,	Reyburn,	Wright, Pa.
Hager,	Loud,	Robinson, Pa.	
Hainer,	Lucas,	Russell, Conn.	

NAYS—199.

Abbott,	Cooper, Fla.	Hines,	Pearson,
Alderson,	Cooper, Ind.	Holman,	Pence,
Alexander,	Cooper, Tex.	Hooker, Miss.	Pendleton, W. Va.
Allen,	Cornish,	Houk, Ohio	Pigott,
Arnold,	Covert,	Hudson,	Price,
Bailey,	Cox,	Hunter,	Reilly,
Baker, Kans.	Crain,	Hutcheson,	Richards,
Bankhead,	Crawford,	Ikirt,	Richardson, Tenn.
Barnes,	Culberson,	Johnson, Ohio	Ritchie,
Bartlett,	Cummings,	Jones,	Robbins,
Barwig,	Davey,	Kem,	Robertson, La.
Bell, Colo.	Davis,	Kribbs,	Rusk,
Bell, Tex.	De Armond,	Kyle,	Ryan,
Berry,	De Forest,	Lane,	Sayers,
Black, Ga.	Denson,	Latimer,	Schermerhorn,
Black, Ill.	Dinsmore,	Lawson,	Shell,
Blanchard,	Dockery,	Layton,	Sickles,
Bland,	Donovan,	Lester,	Simpson,
Boatner,	Dunn,	Livingston,	Sipe,
Boen,	Dunphy,	Lockwood,	Snodgrass,
Branch,	Durborow,	Loudenslager,	Sperry,
Brawley,	Edmunds,	Maddox,	Springer,
Breckinridge, Ark.	Ellis, Ky.	Maguire,	Stallings,
Breckinridge, Ky	English,	Mallory,	Stockdale,
Bretz,	Enloe,	Marshall,	Stone, Ky.
Brickner,	Epes,	Martin, Ind.	Strait,
Brookshire,	Erdman,	McAleer,	Swanson,
Brown,	Everett,	McCreary, Ky.	Talbert, S. C.
Bryan,	Fellows,	McCulloch,	Talbott, Md.
Bunn,	Fielder,	McDannold,	Tarsney,
Burnes,	Fithian,	McDearmon,	Tate,
Bynum,	Forman,	McEtirick,	Taylor, Ind.
Cabaniss,	Fyan,	McGann,	Terry,
Cadmus,	Geary,	McKaig,	Tracey,
Caminetti,	Geissenhainer,	McKeighan,	Tucker,
Campbell,	Goldzier,	McMillin,	Turner,
Cannon, Cal.	Gorman,	McRae,	Turpin,
Capehart,	Grady,	Meredith,	Tyler,
Caruth,	Graham,	Money,	Warner,
Cachings,	Gresham,	Montgomery,	Washington,
Causey,	Haines,	Morgan,	Weadock,
Clancy,	Hall, Minn.,	Moses,	Wells,
Clark, Mo.,	Hall, Mo.,	Mutchler,	Wheeler, Ala.
Clarke, Ala.	Hare,	Oates,	Whiting,
Cobb, Ala.	Harris,	O'Ferrall,	Williams, Ill.
Cobb, Mo.	Hatch,	O'Neill, Mass.	Wilson, W. Va.
Cockrell,	Hayes,	Page,	Wise,
Coffeen,	Heard,	Paschal,	Wolverton,
Compton,	Henderson, N. C.	Patterson,	Woodard.
Conn,	Hendrix,	Payuter,	

NOT VOTING—41.

Babcock,	Funston,	McLaurin,	Sibley,
Baldwin,	Goodnight,	McNagny,	Somers,
Beltzhoover,	Grout,	Meyer,	Stevens,
Bower, N. C.	Hammond,	Neill,	Stone, W. A.
Brattan,	Harter,	Newlands,	Sweet,
Chipman,	Hull,	Outhwaite,	Wadsworth,
Cockran,	Kilgore,	Pendleton, Tex.	Wever,
Cogswell,	Lapham,	Rayner,	Williams, Miss.
Coombs,	Lisle,	Richardson, Mich.	
Daniels,	Lynch,	Russell, Ga.	
Fitch,	Magner,	Settle,	

So the substitute was not agreed to.

The result of the vote was then announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. The question now is on the resolution offered by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL].

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. O'FERRALL. I ask that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Richardson] be now sworn in.

The oath of office was then administered to Mr. Richardson by the Speaker.

COMPENSATION OF SESSION EMPLOYÉS.

Mr. HOLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask leave to submit for present consideration the joint resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The joint resolution was read, as follows:

Joint resolution (H. Res. 1) making available appropriations for the payment of session employés of the House and Senate during the first session of the Fifty-third Congress.

Resolved, etc., That the appropriations made in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act for the fiscal year 1894, approved March 3, 1893, for compensation of session employés of the Senate and House of Representatives, be, and the same are hereby, made available from and including the 7th day of August, 1893, until the close of the first session of the Fifty-third Congress; and persons employed under said appropriations shall be paid from the date of their actual employment, without regard to the date of their respective oaths of office, and at the rates per diem or per month as provided in said act.

Mr. HOLMAN. Mr. Speaker, this joint resolution seems to become necessary from the fact that in a correspondence between the Clerk of the House and the First Comptroller, the First Comptroller holds that the appropriations made for the first session of this Congress are not available for the present session. For that reason it seems to be necessary to adopt this resolution.

Mr. DINGLEY. I think the decision of the First Comptroller makes the adoption of this resolution necessary.

Mr. HOLMAN. I ask that the correspondence between the Clerk and the First Comptroller be printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Without objection the correspondence will be printed in the RECORD.

The correspondence is as follows:

CLERK'S OFFICE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES U. S.,
Washington, D. C., August 7, 1893.

To the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

SIR: The act entitled "An act making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, and for other purposes," makes provision, *inter alia*, for the salary of the following employés:

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

"Office of the Clerk: * * * One assistant index clerk, during the session and three months after its close, three hundred and one days, at $6 per day, $1,806. * * *

"Clerks and messengers to committees: * * * For thirty-six clerks to committees, at $6 each per day during the session, $45,144.

"Office of Doorkeeper: * * * Three folders during the session, at $70 per month each, $1,449.84 * * *; thirty-three pages * * * during the session * * * at $2.50 per day, $17,242.50; two messengers during the session, at $70 per month each, $966.56; ten laborers during the session, at $60 per month each, $4,143.20. * * *

"Office of Postmaster: * * * Three messengers during the session, at $800 each, four messengers at $100 per month each during the session, $2,761.76."

Anticipating the meeting of the called session of Congress on August 7, I submitted the following questions to the First Comptroller for his opinion:

"1. Can the clerks, pages, messengers, and laborers, designated as session employés in the act above cited be appointed and placed upon the rolls at the called session without further legislation?

"2. If so, then to what pay will they be entitled respectively for services during that session?

"3. Can the salaries of these session employés for services at the extra session be paid out of the appropriations contained in the act of March 3, 1893, cited above. If not, is there any appropriation available for that purpose?"

The First Comptroller, in his reply, expresses the following opinion:

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT, FIRST COMPTROLLER'S OFFICE,
"*Washington, July 20, 1893.*

"SIR: Yours of the 17th, asking whether certain employés of the House provided for in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act, approved March 3, 1893, can be placed upon the rolls at the called session without further legislation, has been received.

"The employés mentioned in the office of the Clerk are one assistant index clerk and thirty-six clerks to committees. In the office of the Doorkeeper there are three folders, thirty-three pages, two messengers, and ten laborers. In the office of the Postmaster there are three messengers.

"All these employés have attached as a qualification to their payment these words: 'During the session,' except in the case of the assistant index clerk in the office of the Clerk, which has the following qualification: 'During the session and three months after its close, 301 days.'

"The language 'during the session' must be taken to refer to the regular session provided for by law, which would begin on the first Monday in December, to wit, December 4, 1893. That was the only session which at the time the act was passed could have been within the contemplation of Congress, for it was the only session that was necessarily required, and the words therefore, 'the session,' must refer to the session Congress knew would be held. But in the same act there is found the following clause: 'That wherever the words "during the session" occur in the foregoing paragraphs they shall be considered to mean 209 days.' Two hundred and nine days is the exact number of days from December 4, the day of the beginning of the regular session, to June 30, the end of the fiscal year 1894, both days inclusive, and the appropriation made for the payment of these employés is calculated exactly on the basis of 209 days, except in the case of the index clerk, calculated on the basis of 301 days, 92 days in addition to the 209 days provided for the other employés—said 92 days being exactly the number of days in the three months after the close of the fiscal year 1894.

"The conclusion is irresistible that the appropriation to pay these employés of the House was meant to be confined to the regular session beginning in December, and was not to apply to the special or called session, which was not within the contemplation of Congress when the appropriation act was passed.

"In answer, therefore, to your several questions, I have to say that these employés can not be paid out of said appropriation act; that therefore they can not be placed upon the rolls, because there is no appropriation made for their payment, or other provisions of law requiring or authorizing their employment.

"Very respectfully,

"R. B. BOWLER, *Comptroller.*"

"Hon. JAMES KERR,
"*Clerk House of Representatives.*"

It would seem, therefore, that there is at present no legal authority for the appointment of session employés at this extra session of Congress; that

there are no moneys available out of which the salaries of such employés can be paid for services at the extra session. If, however, the appointment of the session employés named in the act of March 3, 1893, be authorized for this session and at the salaries fixed in that act, it will require the following amounts of money to pay such salaries:

Capacity.	Aug. 7-31.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec. 1-3.	Total.
1 assistant index clerk, $6 per day	$150.00	$180.00	$186.00	$180.00	$18.00	$714.00
35 clerks to committees, $6 per day	5,400.00	6,480.00	6,696.00	6,480.00	648.00	25,704.00
3 folders, $70 per month	169.35	210.00	210.00	210.00	20.31	819.66
33 pages, $2.50 per day	2,062.50	2,475.00	2,557.50	2,475.00	247.50	9,817.50
2 messengers, $70 per month	112.90	140.00	140.00	140.00	13.54	546.44
10 laborers, $60 per month	483.70	600.00	600.00	600.00	58.00	2,341.70
3 messengers, $800 per session	287.02	344.43	355.91	344.43	34.41	1,366.23
4 messengers, $100 per month	322.50	400.00	400.00	400.00	38.70	1,561.20
Total	8,987.97	10,829.43	11,145.41	10,829.43	1,078.49	42,870.73

Respectfully submitted.

JAMES KERR,
Clerk House of Representatives.

Mr. BLANCHARD. I wish to ask the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN] if the adoption of this resolution will enable the mileage of members to be paid now?

Mr. HOLMAN. No; it will not. It only applies to the session employés.

Mr. BLANCHARD. I am very sorry to hear the statement of the gentleman. [Laughter.]

Mr. HOLMAN. I ask the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The joint resolution was then agreed to.

JOHN T. CHANCEY.

Mr. HOLMAN. I have another resolution which I wish to offer, to which, I am satisfied, there will be no objection. I send the resolution to the Clerk's desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The resolution was read as follows:

Resolved, That John T. Chancey be continued in the service of this House as heretofore until otherwise ordered, and that he be paid as heretofore.

Mr. HOLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to say in behalf of that resolution that a similar resolution was adopted by this House in the last Congress. Mr. Chancey is the oldest employé of the House, and the minority of the House have requested his appointment. A similar courtesy was extended by the Democrats to the Republicans in the Forty-seventh Congress and in the Fifty-first Congress. I hope there will be no objection to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. HOLMAN, a motion to reconsider the votes by which the last two resolutions were agreed to was laid on the table.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL THURSDAY NEXT.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I move that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet on Thursday next.

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. MARSH. I rise to present a petition to this House.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] has made a motion. The gentleman from Mississippi moves that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet on Thursday next.

The motion of Mr. CATCHINGS was agreed to.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. CHIPMAN, indefinitely, on account of sickness.

COMMITTEE ON RULES, ETC.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I offer the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Speaker appoint a committee on rules, on accounts, on enrolled bills, and on mileage, each to consist of the same number of members as is provided for by the rules of the Fifty-second Congress, and that the rules of the Fifty-second Congress be referred to the committee on rules.

Mr. CATCHINGS. On that I demand the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I hope my colleague from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] will withdraw his resolution so far as it refers to the appointment of a committee on rules, that committee to be constituted of the same number as in the last House.

The SPEAKER. The previous question has been ordered.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. There ought to be a larger committee on rules. My idea has always been that five members of that committee are not a sufficient number, and I do not think the House ought to adopt the resolution in that form without consultation and conference upon the subject.

The SPEAKER. The question is upon the adoption of the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The Chair understands that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MARSH] desires to present a petition.

Mr. MARSH. I desire to present a petition from working people in the district which I have the honor to represent.

The SPEAKER. The petition will go through the petition box.

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, I ask that that petition be read.

Mr. REILLY. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. REILLY] is recognized.

DEATH OF HON. WILLIAM MUTCHLER.

Mr. REILLY. Mr. Speaker, since the adjournment of the House, a few short months ago, Death in his inexorable tyranny has laid claim to one of the most honored and faithful members of this body, and it becomes my painful duty to formally announce to the House the death of our late lamented colleague, Hon. William Mutchler, a Representative in this House for many years from the State of Pennsylvania.

In doing so it is not my purpose or that of his colleagues at this time to indulge in any eulogy on his life, his valuable services, and his high character, but we propose to ask the House at an early day to lay aside its public business and pay such tribute to his life and character as his memory deserves.

On the 23d of June last, at his home in the city of Easton, surrounded by his beloved family, his spirit passed away.

Pennsylvania, that great Commonwealth which he so much honored and so long and ably served, has in his death, as has his country at large, suffered a great, irreparable loss. I think I may say that there never has been shown by the services of a member of this House any higher degree of zeal, fidelity, and ability in the discharge of duty than characterized the life and services of Mr. Mutchler on this floor.

He was esteemed and respected by all, and I think I may safely say, and echo the sentiments of his fellow-members, that he bore that highest test of manhood "that he who knew him best loved him most."

I now offer the resolutions which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with deep regret and profound sorrow of the death of Hon. William Mutchler, late a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That the Clerk be directed to communicate a copy of these resolutions to the Senate and send a duly attested copy to the widow of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to our deceased colleague the House do now adjourn.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted; and accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until Thursday next at 12 o'clock m.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *August 9, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read, corrected, and approved.

PAYMENT OF SESSION EMPLOYÉS.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. Res. 1) making available appropriations for the payment of session employés of the House and Senate during the first session of the Fifty-third Congress; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask that the joint resolution from the House of Representatives be laid before the Senate, and that, after being read, it be referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

The joint resolution (H. Res. 1) making available appropriations for the payment of session employés of the House and Senate during the first session of the Fifty-third Congress was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. GORMAN. I move that the Senate adjourn.

Mr. PLATT. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DAVIS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE]. If he were present I should vote "nay."

Mr. CAMERON (when Mr. QUAY'S name was called). My colleague [Mr. QUAY] is paired with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN]. If my colleague were here he would vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. MANDERSON (after having voted in the negative). I withdraw my vote and announce a pair with the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY]. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BLACKBURN], but I transfer the pair to the junior Senator.

The result was announced—yeas 48, nays 21; as follows:

YEAS—48.

Allen,	Gibson,	McPherson,	Shoup,
Bate,	Gordon,	Martin,	Smith,
Berry,	Gorman,	Mills,	Stewart,
Blackburn,	Gray,	Mitchell, Wis.	Teller,
Butler,	Hansbrough,	Murphy,	Vance,
Caffery,	Harris,	Palmer,	Vest,
Call,	Hill,	Pasco,	Vilas,
Camden,	Hunton,	Perkins,	Voorhees,
Cockrell,	Irby,	Power,	Walthall,
Coke,	Jones, Ark.	Pugh,	White, Cal.
Dubois,	Jones, Nev.	Ransom,	White, La.
Faulkner,	Kyle,	Roach,	Wolcott.

NAYS—21.

Allison,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Sherman,
Cameron,	Hale,	Mitchell, Oregon	Stockbridge,
Chandler,	Hawley,	Morrill,	Washburn.
Cullom,	Higgins,	Peffer,	
Dixon,	Hoar.	Platt,	
Dolph,	Lodge,	Proctor,	

NOT VOTING—16.

Aldrich,	Daniel,	Lindsay,	Quay,
Brice,	Davis,	Manderson,	Squire,
Carey,	Frye,	Morgan,	Turpie,
Colquitt,	George,	Pettigrew,	Wilson.

So the motion was agreed to; and the Senate (at 12 o'clock and 18 minutes p. m.) adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, August 10, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *August 10, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

WILLIAM LINDSAY, a Senator from the State of Kentucky, appeared in his seat to-day.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

Mr. GORMAN. I move that when the Senate adjourn to-day it be to meet on Monday next.

Mr. LODGE. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CHANDLER (when his name was called). On this question I am paired with the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. If he were present I should vote "nay."

Mr. DAVIS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE]. If he were present I should vote "nay."

Mr. QUAY (when his name was called). Previous to the departure of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] for Europe in the discharge of his duties as a member of the Bering Sea Commission a pair was arranged between us covering all questions upon which a vote might be taken except the Nicaragua Canal bill and the Hawaiian business. I therefore withhold my vote. If the Senator from Alabama were present I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. PLATT. I have a general pair with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. HUNTON], who has voted. It is understood that upon this vote I am paired with the junior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY], who has been compelled to leave the city. If he were present I should vote "nay."

Mr. DOLPH. Has the senior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE] voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted, the Chair is advised.

Mr. DOLPH. I am paired with the senior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE], and will not vote.

Mr. CAREY (after having voted in the negative). I should like to inquire if the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. IRBY] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. CAREY. I desire to withdraw my vote, as I am paired with that Senator.

Mr. MCPHERSON. I am paired with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HIGGINS]. If he were present I should vote "yea" and he would vote "nay."

Mr. ALLISON. I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. WILSON] is absent from the sessions of the Senate on account of illness.

Mr. MANDERSON (after having voted in the negative). I find that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BLACKBURN], with whom I have a general pair, has not voted. I therefore withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 40, nays 16; as follows:

YEAS—40.

Allen,	Gordon,	Martin,	Stewart,
Berry,	Gorman,	Mills,	Teller,
Butler,	Gray,	Mitchell, Oregon	Vance,
Caffery,	Harris,	Palmer,	Vest,
Call,	Hill,	Peffer,	Vilas,
Camden,	Hunton,	Pettigrew,	Voorhees,
Cockrell,	Jones, Ark.	Power,	Walthall,
Coke,	Jones, Nev.	Pugh,	White, Cal.
Faulkner,	Kyle,	Ransom,	White, La.
Gibson,	Lindsay,	Roach,	Wolcott.

NAYS—16.

Aldrich,	Dixon,	Lodge,	Proctor,
Allison,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Cameron,	Hale,	Morrill,	Stockbridge,
Cullom,	Hoar,	Perkins,	Washburn.

NOT VOTING—29.

Bate,	Dolph,	McPherson,	Sherman,
Blackburn,	Dubois,	Manderson,	Smith,
Brice,	Frye,	Mitchell, Wis.	Squire,
Carey,	George,	Morgan,	Turpie,
Chandler,	Hansbrough,	Murphy,	Wilson.
Colquitt,	Hawley,	Pasco,	
Daniel,	Higgins,	Platt,	
Davis,	Irby,	Quay,	

So the motion was agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. COCKRELL. I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. CHANDLER. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CAREY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. IRBY], and I withhold my vote.

Mr. CHANDLER (when his name was called). Upon this question I am paired with the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. If he were present I should vote "nay."

Mr. DAVIS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE]. If he were present I should vote "nay."

Mr. MCPHERSON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HIGGINS].

Mr. MANDERSON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BLACKBURN].

Mr. PLATT (when his name was called). I am paired on this question with the junior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY]. If he were present I should vote "nay."

Mr. QUAY (when his name was called). On this question I am paired with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. VEST. I desire to state that the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICE] is detained from the Senate by illness. He is not paired, but can not possibly attend.

The result was announced—yeas 39, nays 18; as follows:

YEAS—39.

Allen,	Gibson,	Martin,	Teller,
Bate,	Gordon,	Mills,	Vance,
Berry,	Gorman,	Mitchell, Oregon	Vest,
Butler,	Gray,	Palmer,	Vilas,
Caffery,	Harris,	Peffer,	Voorhees,
Call,	Hill,	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Camden,	Jones, Ark.	Pugh,	White, Cal.
Cockrell,	Jones, Nev.	Ransom,	White, La.
Coke,	Kyle,	Roach,	Wolcott.
Faulkner,	Lindsay,	Stewart,	

NAYS—18.

Aldrich,	Dolph,	Lodge,	Proctor,
Allison,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Stockbridge,
Cameron,	Hansbrough,	Morrill,	Washburn.
Cullom,	Hawley,	Perkins,	
Dixon,	Hoar,	Power,	

NOT VOTING—28.

Blackburn,	Dubois,	McPherson,	Quay,
Brice,	Frye,	Manderson,	Sherman,
Carey,	George,	Mitchell, Wis.	Shoup,
Chandler,	Hale,	Morgan,	Smith,
Colquitt,	Higgins,	Murphy,	Squire,
Daniel,	Hunton,	Pasco,	Turpie,
Davis,	Irby,	Platt,	Wilson.

So the motion was agreed to; and the Senate (at 12 o'clock and 17 minutes p. m.) adjourned until Monday, August 14, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *August 10, 1893.*

The House met at 12 m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. SAMUEL W. HADDAWAY.

The Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday was read and approved.

RECESS.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House take a recess until 1 o'clock.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. BAILEY. I demand a division.

Mr. SPRINGER. I hope this motion will prevail, as at that time there may be a proposition submitted to the House for immediate consideration.

Mr. BURROWS. It is not debatable.

The question was taken; and there were—ayes 76, noes 127.

Mr. BAILEY. I demand tellers, Mr. Speaker.

Tellers were ordered; and Mr. BAILEY and Mr. REED were appointed to act as tellers.

The House again divided; and the tellers reported—ayes 126, noes 98.

So (at 12 o'clock and 20 minutes) the House was declared in recess.

The recess having expired, the House reassembled at 1 o'clock p. m.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. SPRINGER. Division.

The House proceeded to divide; and when the affirmative vote had been counted

Mr. REED said: We had better save the time of the House. I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 178; nays 138; not voting 39; as follows:

YEAS—178.

Abbott,	Coffeen,	Jones,	Price,
Alderson,	Conn,	Kem,	Rayner,
Alexander,	Cooper, Fla.	Kilgore,	Reilly,
Allen,	Cooper, Ind.	Kribbs,	Richardson, Mich.
Arnold,	Cooper, Tex.	Kyle,	Richardson, Tenn.
Bailey,	Cox,	Lane,	Ritchie,
Baldwin,	Crain,	Latimer,	Robbins,
Bankhead,	Crawford,	Lawson,	Robertson, La.
Barnes,	Culberson,	Layton,	Rusk,
Bartlett,	Davey,	Lester,	Sayers,
Bell, Colo.	De Armond,	Lisle,	Schermerhorn,
Bell, Tex.	De Forest,	Livingston,	Shell,
Beltzhoover,	Denson,	Maddox,	Sibley,
Berry,	Dinsmore,	Maguire,	Sickles,
Black, Ga.	Dockery,	Marshall,	Simpson,
Black, Ill.	Dunn,	Martin, Ind.	Snodgrass,
Blanchard,	Edmunds,	McCreary, Ky.	Somers,
Bland,	Ellis, Ky.	McCulloch,	Sperry,
Boatner,	Enloe,	McDannold,	Springer,
Boen,	Epes,	McDearmon,	Stallings,
Branch,	Erdman,	McEttrick,	Stevens,
Brattan,	Fithian,	McGann,	Stockdale,
Brawley,	Forman,	McKeighan,	Strait,
Breckinridge, Ark.	Fyan,	McLaurin,	Swanson,
Breckinridge, Ky.	Geary,	McMillin,	Talbert, S. C.
Bretz,	Goldzier,	McNagny,	Talbott, Md.
Brickner,	Gorman,	McRae,	Tarsney,
Brookshire,	Grady,	Meredith,	Tate,
Brown,	Gresham,	Meyer,	Taylor, Ind.
Bryan,	Haines,	Money,	Terry,
Bunn,	Hall, Mo.	Montgomery,	Tracey,
Burnes,	Hammond,	Morgan,	Tucker,
Bynum,	Hare,	Moses,	Turner,
Cabaniss,	Harris,	Neill,	Turpin,
Caminetti,	Hatch,	Oates,	Tyler,
Cannon, Cal.	Hayes,	O'Neil, Mass.	Weadock,
Capehart,	Heard,	Outhwaite,	Wells,
Caruth,	Henderson, N. C.	Paschal,	Wheeler, Ala.
Catchings,	Holman,	Patterson,	Williams, Ill.
Clancy,	Hooker, Miss.	Paynter,	Williams, Miss.
Clark, Mo.	Houk, Ohio	Pearson,	Wilson, W. Va.
Clarke, Ala.	Hunter,	Pence,	Wise,
Cobb, Ala.	Hutcheson,	Pendleton, Tex.	Woodard.
Cobb, Mo.	Ikirt,	Pendleton, W. Va.	
Cockrell,	Johnson, Ohio	Pigott,	

NAYS—138.

Aitken,	Bowers, Cal.	Coombs,	Dolliver,
Aldrich,	Broderick,	Cooper, Wis.	Doolittle,
Apsley,	Brosius,	Cornish,	Draper,
Avery,	Burrows,	Cousins,	Durborow,
Babcock,	Cadmus,	Covert,	Ellis, Oregon
Baker, Kans.	Caldwell,	Cummings,	English,
Baker, N. H.	Campbell,	Curtis, Kans.	Fellows,
Bartholdt,	Cannon, Ill.	Curtis, N. Y.	Fielder,
Barwig,	Chickering,	Dalzell,	Fitch,
Bingham,	Childs,	Daniels,	Fletcher,
Blair,	Cockran,	Davis,	Funk,
Boutelle,	Cogswell,	Dingley,	Gardner,
Gear,	Johnson, N. Dak	Murray,	Stover,
Geissenhainer,	Joy,	Northway,	Strong,
Gillet, N. Y.	Kiefer,	O'Neill, Pa.	Sweet,
Gillett, Mass.	Lacey,	Page,	Tawney,
Grosvenor,	Lapham,	Payne,	Taylor, Tenn.
Grout,	Le Fever,	Perkins,	Thomas,
Hager,	Lilly,	Phillips,	Updegraff,
Hainer,	Linton,	Pickler,	Van Voorhis, N.Y.
Hall, Minn.	Loud,	Post,	Van Voorhis, Ohio
Harter,	Loudenslager,	Powers,	Wadsworth,
Hartman,	Lucas,	Randall,	Walker,
Haugen,	Lynch,	Reed,	Wanger,
Henderson, Ill.	Marsh,	Reyburn,	Warner,
Henderson, Iowa.	Marvin, N. Y.	Richards,	Waugh,
Hepburn,	McAleer,	Robinson, Pa.	Wheeler, Ill.
Hermann,	McCall,	Russell, Conn.	White,
Hilborn,	McCleary, Minn.	Ryan,	Wilson, Ohio
Hitt,	McDowell,	Settle,	Wilson, Wash.
Hooker, N. Y.	McKaig,	Shaw,	Woomer,
Hopkins, Ill.	Meiklejohn,	Sherman,	Wright, Mass.
Hudson,	Mercer,	Smith,	Wright, Pa.
Hulick,	Moon,	Stephenson,	
Johnson, Ind.	Morse,	Stone, C. W.	

NOT VOTING—39.

Adams,	Funston,	Hull,	Russell, Ga.
Belden,	Goodnight,	Lockwood,	Scranton,
Bower, N. C.	Graham,	Magner,	Sipe,
Causey,	Harmer,	Mahon,	Stone, W. A.
Chipman,	Heiner,	Mallory,	Stone, Ky.
Compton,	Hendrix,	Milliken,	Washington,
Crisp,	Hicks,	Mutchler,	Wever,
Donovan,	Hines,	Newlands,	Whiting,
Dunphy,	Hopkins, Pa.	O'Ferrall,	Wolverton.
Everett,	Houk, Tenn.	Ray,	

So the motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. Before announcing the result the Chair will announce the Committee on Rules.

The Clerk read as follows:

The Speaker, Mr. CATCHINGS, Mr. OUTHWAITE, Mr. REED, and Mr. BURROWS.

The result of the vote was then announced as above recorded; and accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, *August 11, 1893.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. SAMUEL W. HADDAWAY.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

REGENT OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

The SPEAKER. To fill the vacancy in the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution occasioned by the resignation of Mr. LODGE of Massachusetts, the Chair announces the appointment of Mr. R. R. HITT of Illinois.

RULES COMMITTEE GRANTED LEAVE TO PRINT.

The SPEAKER. The Committee on Rules desire to have an order made that they may have leave to have printed such matter as may be found necessary in connection with the rules, or other subjects that may come before them.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, Mr. FLETCHER was granted leave of absence until Monday next.

SILVER.

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I desire to offer a bill for the present consideration of the House.

The bill was read, as follows:

An act to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

Be it enacted, etc., That so much of the act approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," as directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month, at the market price thereof, not exceeding one dollar for 371.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchases Treasury notes of the United States, be, and the same is hereby, repealed: but this repeal shall not impair or in any manner affect the legal-tender quality of the standard silver dollars heretofore coined; and the faith and credit of the United States are hereby pledged to maintain the parity of the standard gold and silver coins of the United States at the present legal ratio, or such other ratio as may be established by law.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I desire to present to the House an order embodying an agreement as to the mode in which proceedings shall be had in the consideration of the bill just offered, on which order I shall demand the previous question, with the statement——

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. Before that is done——

Mr. BLAND (continuing). With the statement that we shall offer our bill, not as an amendment to the bill just read, but as a substitute for it.

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. Before that is done, Mr. Speaker, I would like——

Mr. BLAND. I do not yield.

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. Well, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois rises to a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. I desire to ask how this bill, if no point of order is made against it, is to be considered. Is it first to be referred to a committee under the rules, or is it to be considered in Committee of the Whole House, or is it to be considered in the House as in committee?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Illinois that, in the absence of rules providing how the bill shall be considered, it is a matter for the House itself to determine. The House can refer the bill if it desires to do so, or can consider it directly, or can dispose of it in any way that it desires.

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. Then I understand that the bill is not subject to a point of order, sending it to a Committee of the Whole House or a standing committee of the House.

The SPEAKER. In the judgment of the Chair it is not.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the resolution that I have sent up be adopted as the order of the House pending the proceedings in the consideration of the bill just offered by the gentleman from West Virginia, and, if the House adopts that order, I have a bill to present as a substitute for the one that is pending.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state the question. The gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON] offers a bill in the absence of any rules of the House, and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] offers a resolution providing for the method in which the House shall consider that bill. The Clerk will report the resolution of the gentleman from Missouri.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Ordered by the House, That H. R. No. 1 shall be taken up for immediate consideration and considered for fourteen days. During such consideration night sessions may be held, for debate only, at the request of either side. The daily sessions to commence at 11 a. m. and continue until 5 p. m. Eleven days of the debate on the bill to be given to general debate under the rules of the last House regulating general debate, the time to be equally divided between the two sides as the Speaker may determine. The last three days of debate may be devoted to the consideration of the bill and the amendments herein provided for, under the usual five-minute rule of the House, as in Committee of the Whole House. General leave to print is hereby granted.

Order of amendments: The vote shall be taken first on an amendment providing for the free coinage of silver at the present ratio. If that fail, then a separate vote to be had on a similar amendment proposing a ratio of 17 to 1; if that fails, on one proposing a ratio of 18 to 1; if that fails, on one proposing a ratio of 19 to 1; if that fails, on one proposing a ratio of 20 to 1. If the above amendments fail, it shall be in order to offer an amendment reviving the act of the 28th of February, 1878, restoring the standard silver dollar, commonly known as the Bland-Allison act; the vote then to be taken on the engrossment and third reading of the bill as amended, or on the bill itself if all amendments shall have been voted down, and on the final passage of the bill without other intervening motions.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I demand the previous question.

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky. I would like to make an inquiry.

The SPEAKER. One moment. The Chair did not understand exactly from the reading of the resolution what the length of the debate is to be. Is the general debate to close at the end of eight days?

Several MEMBERS. Eleven days.

The SPEAKER. The Chair did not clearly understand that. The gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. BRECKINRIDGE), as the Chair understands, rises to a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky. My inquiry is whether the words describing the various amendments which may be offered (which are simply amendments providing for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, then 17 to 1, and so on) are so limited that no amendment can be offered changing the statutes now in force as to the power of the Secretary of the Treasury to issue silver certificates upon the silver dollars if a new ratio be agreed upon.

Mr. BLAND. That will be included in the bill which I propose to introduce.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky. As the law is now those certificates can be issued only upon dollars coined on a ratio of 16 to 1. If we increase the ratio, making it for instance 20 to 1, the assets of the Treasury are instantly reduced nearly $100,000,000. Some members might be in the attitude of being willing to vote for an increased ratio and yet not willing to do so without accompanying legislation——

Mr. BLAND. That is provided for in the bill which I propose to offer.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky. But it is not provided for in this order. It seems to me that the order ought to be broad enough and clear enough and unambiguous enough for us to know when we vote for it that something more is to be provided in those amendments than merely free coinage of silver and the change of the ratio.

Mr. BLAND. There can be no difficulty or dispute about that matter. The only difficulty we had in the conference was as to the particular ratios to be voted upon and the time for debate. The bill which I have ready now to offer, and which will be before the House all the way through, provides for the issue of silver certifiiates on whatever dollars may be coined.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky. Will the gentleman, then, assent to the suggestion that before a vote is taken on the previous question, he send his bill to the table and allow it to be read, so that we may understand its provisions?

Mr. BLAND. I have no objection to that.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky. I think that course would be most satisfactory to the House.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. The resolution speaks of the time being controlled by the two sides. According to an agreement which appears to have been made on the other side, the original bill now before us is introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON], and this proposition for the consideration of a substitute comes from the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND]. This accords with the statement we have seen in the papers that there are two sides to this question on the other side of the House. Are those the two sides referred to in the resolution, or does the language mean the Republican side and the Democratic side? [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state——

Mr. BLAND. We hope to have the gentleman from Iowa on our side in this matter.

Mr. BOUTELLE. Which is "our side"?

The SPEAKER. The Chair understands that under the terms of the resolution the power of recognition would remain in the Chair, and the Chair would understand the "two sides" to mean the opposite sides of any question that might be up.

Mr. GROSVENOR. We are to have before us the bill which has been introduced, and also various propositions by way of amendment. The situation can not be summarized as comprising simply two questions, or one question with two sides. There seems to be one question with a great many sides.

The SPEAKER. The Chair can only say that if the duty is devolved upon him he will try to recognize gentlemen representing all sides of any question which may be before the House.

Mr. SIMPSON. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. Inasmuch as there appear to be so many sides to this question, and inasmuch as the Republicans are unable to distinguish themselves from Democrats any longer, so that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON] has to make an inquiry to find "where he is at," I submit it would be only right that the People's party should have some consideration in the allotment of time——

Mr. BOUTELLE. We propose to put you on the outside! [Laughter.]

Mr. SIMPSON. We have been trying to put ourselves on the outside of the Democratic and the Republican parties; and I think we will put you outside when you give us a little more time. But, Mr. Speaker, I was about to say that I hope, in the division of time upon this question, the People's party, who claim to have twelve members here, will be allotted at least three hours, to be controlled by one of their party. I think that would be right and just. I believe we should not be left at the mercy of either Republicans or Democrats as to the time we are to occupy.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky. I renew my suggestion, Mr. Speaker, that this bill be read first.

The SPEAKER. If there be no objection, the bill will be read.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. One moment, Mr. Speaker. I am not yet quite satisfied with the understanding that seems to be had in regard to the division of time on this matter. I am not going now to stop for the purpose of discussing the suggestion of the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SIMPSON] as to "where we are at." There seems to be considerable trouble on his side and, in fact, all around on that subject.

Mr. SIMPSON. Oh, no; there is no trouble with me.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. But I want it to be distinctly understood that the Republicans are going to control their share of the time; and that there is not going to be two sides to this question, both of them controlled by the Democratic side of the House. For one I want that clearly understood.

Mr. BLAND. There is no disposition to prevent the gentleman, or his side of the House, from having ample time.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has no knowledge of any agreement as to the distribution of time. The Chair understands that the responsibility under the resolution is cast upon the Speaker, as it is ordinarily under the rules, and in pursuance of that responsibility it will be his duty to recognize members in the discussion.

Mr. BOWERS of California. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BOWERS of California. As I understand this question, stripped of all its various excrescences, it comes down to two sides simply; that is to say, those who are in favor of free coinage of silver, and those who are opposed to it. Now, I object to the Republicans, who oppose the free coinage of silver, controlling my part of the time in this discussion. [Applause and laughter.] I am for free coinage.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I insist upon the demand for the previous question.

Mr. REED. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. REED. If the previous question is ordered, will there be any time for debate?

The SPEAKER. The Chair supposes that there would be some time for discussion. How far the Chair would be governed in that respect by the rules——

Mr. REED. But we have no rules.

The SPEAKER. The Chair understands that. But how far the Chair would be required to observe the rules as they have heretofore existed on that subject the Chair is not prepared to state.

Mr. REED. I think the difficulty with the present proposition for the previous question is that we are undertaking to pass a very serious measure without the slightest debate. I should like to have an opportunity myself to say a few words about it. But if the previous question is ordered we are absolutely silenced.

Here is a proposition made by a committee of some sort or other, of the constitution of which and the nature of which the House knows nothing officially at least, and it is proposed to adopt the suggestion of that committee upon a matter of the gravest importance without the slightest discussion.

I recognize, of course, the importance of the situation, and had the proposition been merely one to repeal the purchase clause of the Sherman act, or to not repeal it, I could see the wisdom of the House coming to a conclusion upon it at once. But——

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I did not yield for a speech. The gentleman asked a parliamentary question. I demand the previous question.

The SPEAKER. The Chair was indulging the gentleman from Maine in a suggestion as to time for the discussion of this order of business after the previous question was ordered.

Mr. REED. I had hoped that some arrangement might be arrived at.

Mr. BLAND. I have no objection to debate under the rules of the last House after the previous question is ordered.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will, then, submit that request to the House. The gentleman asks unanimous consent that if the previous question shall be ordered on the resolution thirty minutes' debate, fifteen on each side, shall be allowed, as under the rules of the last House.

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. I hope it will be at least an hour.

Mr. REED. It seems to me that fifteen minutes is entirely inadequate on a proposition so complicated as that presented here.

The SPEAKER. It is merely a method of procedure.

Mr. REED. I should not have the slightest objection if the question which the President has submitted could be put to the House and voted upon at once. But that is not the question now.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. One moment, Mr. Speaker. This is an entirely new proposition, that is not yet even in print, and of which we have had no knowledge until within the last ten minutes. Now, I do not think that the House ought to make an order for the previous question to cut off all debate and amendment, nor do I believe that so short a time as that suggested, fifteen minutes on a side, would be at all ample for the consideration of such a proposition.

A point of order does not lie to send it to the Committee on Rules, as it would if the rules had been adopted. The Speaker holds it to be in order, and I beg that either by unanimous consent we have at least an hour on a side, or that the House refuse to order the previous question. Many of us have amendments which we would like to present——

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I decline to yield further, and demand the previous question.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] demands the previous question; and the Chair holds that if there is no agreement there can be no further debate on this resolution if the previous question is ordered.

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. BLAND. The gentleman does not remember when we had "parliamentary law" in this House——

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. You want to gag the House now so that you can dodge under the proposed rule——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois and the gentleman from Missouri will be in order.

Mr. BURROWS. In the confusion I do not think the statement of the Chair was understood. Do I understand the Chair to state that if the previous question is now ordered there will be no further debate on this resolution?

The SPEAKER. No further debate.

Mr. BURROWS. I hope the previous question will be voted down, then.

The question being taken on ordering the previous question, the Speaker announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

On a division, demanded by Mr. CANNON of Illinois, there were—ayes 184, noes 99.

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The question being taken on the demand for the yeas and nays, the Speaker announced that 32 members (not a sufficient number) had risen to second the demand, and that the yeas and nays were refused. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. I demand tellers on the yeas and nays.

Tellers were ordered; and the Speaker appointed Mr. BLAND and Mr. CANNON of Illinois.

The tellers reported—ayes 53, noes 185.

The SPEAKER. The tellers report 53 gentlemen rising to second the demand for the yeas and nays, and 185 in opposition. A sufficient number having arisen, the yeas and nays are ordered. As many as favor ordering the previous question on the resolution of procedure offered by the gentleman from Missouri will, when their names are called, say "aye," those opposed will say "no," and the Clerk will call the roll.

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BURROWS. If the previous question is voted down, will this resolution be open to amendment?

The SPEAKER. Of course it will.

Mr. REED. It will be open to amendment and there will be an opportunity to discuss it.

The SPEAKER. If the previous question is refused, the House can do with it whatever it chooses.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 219; nays 99; not voting 36; as follows:

YEAS—219.

Abbott,	Cooper, Fla.	Hutcheson,	Randall,
Alderson,	Cooper, Ind.	Ikirt,	Rayner,
Alexander,	Cooper, Tex.	Johnson, Ohio	Reilly,
Allen,	Cornish,	Jones,	Richards,
Apsley,	Covert,	Kem,	Richardson, Mich.
Arnold,	Cox,	Kilgore,	Richardson, Tenn.
Bailey,	Crain,	Kribbs,	Ritchie,
Baldwin,	Crawford,	Kyle,	Robbins,
Bankhead,	Culberson,	Lane,	Robertson, La.
Barnes,	Cummings,	Lapham,	Rusk,
Bartlett,	Davey,	Latimer,	Russell, Conn,
Barwig,	Davis,	Lawson,	Russell, Ga.
Bell, Colo.	De Armond,	Layton,	Ryan,
Bell, Tex.	De Forest,	Lester,	Sayers,
Belzhoover,	Denson,	Lisle,	Schermerhorn,
Berry,	Dinsmore,	Livingston,	Shell,
Black, Ga.	Dockery,	Lockwood,	Sibley,
Black, Ill.	Donovan,	Lynch,	Sickles,
Blanchard,	Draper,	Maddox,	Snodgrass,
Bland,	Dunn,	Maguire,	Somers,
Boatner,	Durborow,	Mallory,	Sperry,
Boen,	Edmunds,	Marshall,	Springer,
Bower, N. C.	Ellis, Ky.	Martin, Ind.	Stallings,
Branch,	English,	McAleer,	Stevens,
Brattan,	Enloe,	McCall,	Stockdale,
Brawley,	Epes,	McCreary, Ky.	Stone, Ky.
Breckinridge, Ark.	Erdman,	McCulloch,	Strait,
Bretz,	Everett,	McDannold,	Swanson,
Brickner,	Fellows,	McDearmon,	Talbert, S. C.
Broderick,	Fielder,	McEttrick,	Talbott, Md.
Brookshire,	Fitch,	McGann,	Tarsney,
Brown,	Fithian,	McKaig,	Tate,
Bryan,	Forman,	McLaurin,	Taylor, Ind.
Bunn,	Fyan,	McMillin,	Terry,
Burnes,	Geary,	McNagny,	Tracey,
Bynum,	Geissenhainer,	McRae,	Tucker,
Cabaniss,	Gillett, Mass.	Meredith,	Turner,
Cadmus,	Goodnight,	Meyer,	Turpin,
Caminetti,	Gorman,	Money,	Tyler,
Campbell,	Grady,	Montgomery,	Walker,
Cannon, Cal.	Gresham,	Morgan,	Warner,
Capehart,	Haines,	Morse,	Washington,
Caruth,	Hall, Minn.	Moses,	Weadock,
Catchings,	Hall, Mo.	Neill,	Wells,
Clancy,	Hammond,	O'Neil, Mass.	Wheeler, Ala.
Clark, Mo,	Hare,	Outhwaite,	Whiting,
Clarke, Ala,	Harris,	Page,	Williams, Ill.
Cobb, Ala.	Harter,	Paschal,	Williams, Miss
Cobb, Mo.	Heard,	Patterson,	Wilson, W. Va.
Cockran,	Henderson, N. C.	Paynter,	Wise,
Cockrell,	Hendrix,	Pearson,	Woodard,
Coffeen,	Holman,	Pence,	Woomer,
Cogswell,	Hooker, Miss.	Pendleton, W. Va.	Wright, Mass.
Conn,	Houk, Ohio	Pigott,	Wright, Penn.
Coombs,	Hunter,	Price,	

NAYS—99.

Adams,	Ellis, Oregon	Lacey,	Reed,
Aitken,	Fletcher,	Lefever,	Reyburn,
Aldrich,	Funk,	Linton,	Robinson, Pa.
Avery,	Gardner,	Loud,	Settle,
Babcock,	Gear,	Loudenslager,	Shaw,
Baker, Kans.	Gillet, N. Y.	Lucas,	Simpson,
Baker, N. H.	Grosvenor,	Mahon,	Smith,
Bartholdt,	Grout,	Marsh,	Stephenson,
Bingham,	Hainer,	Marvin, N. Y.	Stone, C. W.
Blair,	Hartman,	McCleary, Minn.	Storer,
Boutelle,	Haugen,	McDowell,	Strong,
Bowers, Cal.	Heiner,	Meiklejohn,	Sweet,
Burrows,	Henderson, Ill.	Mercer,	Tawney,
Caldwell,	Henderson, Iowa	Milliken,	Taylor, Tenn.
Cannon, Ill.	Hepburn,	Moon,	Updegraff,
Chickering,	Hermann,	Murray,	Van Voorhis, N. Y.
Childs,	Hicks,	Newlands,	Van Voorhis, Ohio
Cooper, Wis.	Hitt,	Northway,	Wadsworth,
Cousins,	Hooker, N. Y.	O'Neill, Pa.	Wanger,
Curtis, Kans.	Hopkins, Ill.	Payne,	Waugh,
Curtis, N. Y.	Houk, Tenn.	Perkins,	Wheeler, Ill.
Dalzell,	Hudson,	Phillips,	White,
Dingley,	Hulick,	Pickler,	Wilson, Ohio
Dolliver,	Johnson, Ind.	Post,	Wilson, Wash.
Doolittle,	Kiefer,	Powers,	

NOT VOTING—36.

Belden,	Goldzier,	Hull,	Pendleton, Tex.
Breckinridge, Ky.	Graham,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Ray,
Brosius	Hager,	Joy,	Scranton,
Causey,	Harmer,	Lilly,	Sherman,
Chipman,	Hatch,	Magner,	Sipe,
Compton,	Hayes,	McKeighan,	Stone, W. A.
Daniels,	Hilborn,	Mutchler,	Thomas,
Dunphy,	Hines,	Oates,	Wever,
Funston,	Hopkins, Pa.	O'Ferrall,	Wolverton.

So the previous question was ordered.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. Speaker, I am paired with the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. HARMER], who is absent from the city. Were he present I should vote "aye."

The result of the vote was then announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. The question now is on agreeing to the resolution.

The question was taken; and the resolution was agreed to.

SILVER.

Mr. BLAND. Now, Mr. Speaker, I offer the bill that I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the substitute offered.

Mr. REED. Is that the bill referred to in the order which has just been passed?

The SPEAKER. The Chair so understands.

Mr. REED. I am very glad that it is to be read—after the order is passed.

The SPEAKER. The Chair understands that is the bill.

The bill was read, as follows:

A bill (H. R. 2) for the free coinage of silver, and for other purposes.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted, etc.*, That from and after the passage of this act all holders of silver bullion to the amount of $100 or more, of standard weight and fineness, shall be entitled to have the same coined at the Mint of the United States into silver dollars of the weight and fineness provided for in the second section of this act.

SEC. 2. That the silver dollar provided for in this act shall consist of 412½ grains of standard silver. Said dollars to be a legal tender for all debts, dues, and demands, both public and private.

SEC. 3. That the holder of the silver dollars herein provided for shall be entitled to deposit the same and to receive silver certificates in the manner now provided by law for the standard silver dollars.

SEC. 4. So much of the act of July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," as requires the monthly purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion, be and the same is hereby repealed.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from West Virginia is recognized.

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield forty minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER].

COMMEMORATION OF THE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LAYING OF THE CORNER STONE OF THE CAPITOL.

Mr. BYNUM. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Maryland yields to me for a minute to ask unanimous consent for the consideration of a resolution. I will ask to have it read.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Indiana, with the consent of the gentleman from Maryland, desires unanimous consent for the consideration of a joint resolution relating to the exercises commemorative of the hundredth anniversary of the laying of the corner stone of the Capitol. The Clerk will read the joint resolution, after which the Chair will ask if there be objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution providing for the appropriate commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the laying of the corner stone of the Capitol of the United States September 18, 1793.

Whereas the one hundredth anniversary of the laying of the corner stone of the United States Capitol by President George Washington, September 18, 1793, is an occasion of national interest becoming the cognizance of Congress; and

Whereas a committee of citizens of the United States, of which Lawrence Gardner, of the District of Columbia, has been elected chairman, have been appointed to make suitable and appropriate arrangements to duly commemorate the important event and for the maintenance of order and decorum in the proceedings and for guarding the Capitol and its grounds from injury: Therefore

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That the use of the Capitol grounds for the ceremonies attending the one hundredth anniversary of the laying of the corner stone of the Capitol for and during the 18th of September, 1893, including processions, literary and musical exercises, and the suitable decoration of the grounds, the Capitol building and its approaches shall be permitted, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives, to insure safety of the building and the grounds from injury.

That a joint committee of fourteen, to consist of seven Senators, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, and seven Representatives, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, be and is hereby constituted to take order in the matter of arranging for the ceremonies at the Capitol to act with a like committee in number to be selected by the said citizen's committee.

Mr. BYNUM. Mr. Speaker, I simply desire to say to the House that this resolution entails no expense on the part of the Government. The funds have been raised by private citizens, and they simply desire the permission and coöperation of the Government.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

SILVER.

Mr. RAYNER. Mr. Speaker, while I have been given forty minutes upon this question I shall not consume over a half of that time. I have but a few remarks that I desire to address to this House, as so much has been said upon this subject, and we have all made up our minds upon the issue.

In fact, from my own standpoint, I can add very little by way of supplement to the views contained in the President's message. I believe there is a unanimity of sentiment in this House in favor of the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. The difference of opinion arises upon the manner in which that repeal should be effected.

Now, with great regard and due respect to the views of those who differ from me, I desire to state my own position, and my own position alone, very frankly upon this subject.

I am in favor of an unqualified repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, without any conditions or provisos whatever. I am not in favor of purchasing another ounce of silver, or of coining another dollar of it, either at the present ratio or at any other ratio that we can practically determine upon. Now, in saying this, I desire to add that I have no hostility whatever to the use of silver upon a proper basis as circulating medium; but with all the careful consideration I have been able to devote to this subject, I am convinced beyond all doubt or question that its recognition by coinage, except upon international agreement, is a financial undertaking utterly impossible of accomplishment except at the risk of ruin and disaster.

The proposition that I had had occasion to maintain in this House before, and that I again assert with all the emphasis I can, is, that in my humble judgment the present ratio is unjust and arbitrary, rendered so by conditions that did not exist at the time of the demonitization of silver, in 1873; and that it lies not within the power of this Government, strong as it is, to corner the silver product of the mines to keep up the price upon a constantly declining market, to impress upon it a fictitious value, and by legislative decree compel the people to take it at a price in utter disproportion to the figure that it bears in every commercial center of the world.

The universal experience of history, the action of every sound and solvent government, teach us that if we continue in this mad attempt to equalize that which is unequal, to appreciate a metal that is continually depreciating, to fix a standard for a coin that for over twenty years never has had a fixed value, but has fluctuated with every new acquisition from a premium in 1873 to a decline at this hour of almost one-half of its coinage value.

If this desperate system of finance, with nothing to justify it, with almost the whole intelligence of the country against it, with nothing in its track except disaster and ruin, is to prevail, then, in my opinion, until the day of a better judgment shall come, we might as well retreat from the lofty position we have occupied in the confidence of mankind, and, descending, lock hands with every bankrupt government of the earth that believes in the manufacture of wealth at government mints, in cheap money, in broken contracts, and in repudiated debts, and so believing have by reason of their faith been excommunicated as heretics from the roll of civilized communities and banished from the field of honor.

I am aware of the fact that many of my colleagues, for whose opinions I entertain the greatest respect, assert, and it has been freely charged, that the decline in the price of silver has been caused by its demonetization at the American mints and by what is constantly called a "conspiracy" to destroy it as a circulating medium among the governments of Europe. I deny this proposi-

tion, and the statistics will not sustain it. It may be true that the free coinage of silver at the mints would tend for a time to keep up the fictitious standard of the coin, but the value of the bullion would always be controlled by the market price, it would fluctuate.

Like every other commodity, it would be governed by the laws of supply and demand, and eventually, according to every principle of reason, according to every cardinal and accepted axiom of political economy, the coinage price would become the bullion price; the unit of value would be the market value; the money basis would be the basis of the cheaper metal; the dearer metal would leave the avenues of trade; inflation would give way to panic; private obligations would be nullified; public obligations would be discredited, and the honor of the nation would be impaired.

Now, it is claimed that what we require in this country is a system of bimetallism, a bimetallic standard—that is to say, the free use of both gold and silver at the Government mints. But, Mr. Speaker, we will never have this until the commercial nations of the earth agree upon a proper ratio, and just so long as the Sherman act remains upon the statute book so long is an international ratio a financial impossibility. So long as we purchase silver and part with gold, so long will monetary conferences result in failure. When we cease purchasing silver and proclaim to the world that the gold dollar is the standard and the unit of American value, then we can bring our rivals to terms, because, in my opinion, there is not a sufficient amount of gold in existence to supply the demands of commerce and the necessities of the world's circulation. [Applause.]

So long as the Treasury continues to act as a pawnbroker's shop for the benefit of the Colorado and Nevada mines, so long will Great Britain and Germany refuse to appreciate the collateral securities that we hold in our vaults; but when a silver certificate can be redeemed at par and a silver dollar is intrinsically worth the inscription that it bears, then we can proudly and defiantly meet them upon the field of finance without the slightest sacrifice of the stability of our currency or the slightest surrender of our honor as a nation. [Applause.]

Now, let us look for one moment at our experience in attempting to keep up the price of silver. What is the truth? Why, that silver, instead of rising, is lower to-day than it has ever been, and instead of the silver dollar being upon a parity with gold, the disparity between them is greater than it has ever been in the history of the world. Not only this, but the Government has lost nearly $40,000,000 in its efforts to "corner" a declining market and the Treasury to-day would not dare to risk the sale of its bullion silver.

Not this alone, but with all our persistent efforts to force silver into circulation, the people have stubbornly refused to take it, so that to-day the overwhelming proportion of it is hidden in Government vaults. I believe that if the people appreciated the actual condition of the Treasury, and that there was not enough gold in the Treasury to redeem the smallest fraction of our outstanding notes there would not be a single one of them that would be worth 60 cents upon the dollar. You ask me, then, what keeps up the parity between gold and silver? I think I can tell you. One thing and one thing alone, the misplaced confidence of the people.

When once that yields and the fuse is lighted, there will be no necessity for repealing the Sherman act; it will repeal itself immediately. Commercial ratios will take the place of legal ratios. Our equation of values will depart. The faithless union between gold and silver will be dissolved. Its spurious offspring will be excluded from the channels of legitimate circulation, and your silver certificates and Treasury notes, instead of passing by sleight of hand at par, will be exhibited as mementoes and souvenirs of the most grotesque system of finance that ever obtained among any intelligent people since the day when political economy first claimed recognition as a science, and the doctrine of fiat money was relegated to the bankrupt governments of the Orient and the revolutionary republics of Central and South America.

I know it is claimed that what we require here is an expansion of the currency; that our trouble has all been caused by contraction of the currency. Mr. Speaker, the Treasury reports will show that there is as much money outstanding now, within a fraction, as there was before the present stringency began. What, then, is the cause of our trouble? Will you permit me to tell you what I think was its origin. The trouble commenced when European capitalists refused to purchase and threw back upon the American market American securities. Why did they do this? Because they became convinced that with a continuance of the Sherman act upon the statute book, gold would be driven to a premium and bonds which were payable in gold would either not be paid at all or would be paid in silver depreciated to its bullion value. The money has not left the country—not a dollar of it. It is all here. It is simply hoarded and secreted. The Treasury reports will show it. It is lying in the calm, afraid to venture out among the breakers in the coming storm.

Mr. Speaker, this is worse than a panic in the stock market, because when good stocks go down they generally recover. The stock market has time and time again rallied from the most ruinous depression. But the trouble from which we are now suffering affects every merchant in the land, high or low, rich or poor. It affects the debtor and the creditor, the lender and the borrower, and has thrown a pall over the business interests of this country from which there is no escape, devise what schemes and adopt what expedients you may, except through the announcement to the world that the purchase of silver must stop, that the curtain must be drawn upon this juggiery, that this system of finance, built up by political tricks and maneuvers, must be stricken from the statute books, and that by the united wisdom of both parties, aside from politics and for the common weal of the land, a new system shall be formulated and adhered to which shall make every dollar of the national coin a dollar all the world over; which shall insure full faith and credit to every obligation that bears the indorsement of the Treasury; which at home shall have equal stability in every commonwealth, and abroad shall restore to us the forfeited confidence of mankind.

How often do we hear statements made about gold and silver being the money of the Constitution. Now, there is no gentleman here who can not get a copy of the Constitution, or remember, without getting it, what it says. I ask anyone where is there a line in the Constitution of the United States providing that this Government shall coin gold and silver? Point it out, gentlemen, if there is any such language in the Constitution of the United States. That is the argument which is constantly addressed to the ignorance of the country—that gold and silver are the money of the Constitution. But where is there a line in the Constitution which obligates the Government of the United States (I am not speaking about ratios) to coin gold and silver at all? There is not one such word. The interdiction is against the States, prohibiting them from making anything except gold and silver a legal tender. Besides the right to coin money, there is not a letter in the Constitution conferring upon the Government of the United States power even to coin gold and silver.

In this discussion we are constantly led astray from the main issue by the persistent clamor about the demonetization of silver in 1873. Not one word is said about the fact that there was, substantially, no silver to be demonetized in 1873, and that at that time standard silver dollars had gone out of existence, because the bullion in them was worth more than a dollar. If silver had gone to a premium not a single protest would we ever have heard against its demonetization at the American and European mints. When it commenced to decline, however, then the startling discovery was made that it was demonetized, and the clamor has increased in intensity and ferociousness in proportion to the decline in price. The lower the price the greater the noise, as if a vital issue of this character, affecting the welfare of every home in the land, could be settled by the angry abuse of demagogues and fanatics, who have nothing to lose and everything to gain by involving the country in turmoil and disorder.

When I speak of demagogues and fanatics, I do not refer to the honest advocates of a bimetallic standard, whose earnest convictions, so far differing from my own, are enlisted in the cause they represent; nor do I mean the mine owners, whose continued prosperity and exorbitant profits are threatened by the repeal of the measure that is now before us. I refer to a set of politicians who prey upon the ignorance of their victims, who veer around with every breeze, who trim with every party, who have no politics because they have no principles, and whose opinions are like the surging tide that ebbs and flows, leaving no landmarks in its track, except the froth and foam it casts upon the surface. This is the element that predominated in the conventions that have lately assembled for the purpose of discussing this subject. Men who have been identified with every crazy movement that has taken place in their generation, who believe in the doctrine that cheap money is king, that inflation means prosperity, that the creditor has no rights that are entitled to respect, that money is a curse when it is good but a blessing when it is worthless, that the man who is bankrupt must always be protected and the man who is honest ought to be sacrificed—men believing in these doctrines have controlled these conventions. Now, from their decision, from their incoherent medley, from their babble of confusion and of clattering tongues I appeal to the sound judgment fo the American people to adjudicate this mighty question.

I appeal to the people for a currency that is uniform, that is stable, that is of intrinsic value, equal to the inscription that it bears, that can be used as a medium of exchange and a standard

of value, and that will be universally recognized throughout the world as the symbol of the honor and solvency of the Government that it represents. Does silver come up to these requirements? I think not. Let us go back about forty years in the history of silver and see how far it falls short of all of these qualities, and let us look at the production of silver. In 1855 the world's production of silver amounted to about $40,000,000. To-day it amounts to about one hundred and eighty millions, and still we are told that the price ought not to have declined, and that this Government, single-handed, can, in the face of this enormously increased production, maintain the present ratio.

Now, how about the production of gold during the same period? In 1855 the world's production of gold was about 132,000,000; to-day it is about 120,000,000, and still in the face of this discrepancy we are told that ratios never change, and parity should be maintained at present prices. In 1855 silver was worth $1.33 an ounce. In 1873 pure silver in an American dollar was worth about 103; that is to say, a premium of 3 per cent. To-day it is worth about 60 cents on the dollar. In 1855 the ratio of market prices of gold and silver was about 15½ to 1; to-day it is about 28 to 1.

Now, with these undisputed figures before us I calmly and dispassionately ask the business interests of the land who want an honest currency whether they believe that the United States, with silver now virtually demonetized in every government in Europe, can alone and with only a hundred million dollars of gold in the Treasury continue to purchase fifty million dollars' worth of silver a year, substantially pay for it in gold, and, at the same time, maintain a ratio for silver almost double the amount of its market value all over the earth and wherever it is used or purchased?

There is another proposition that I desire briefly to advert to. In our effort to maintain a bimetallic standard we stand unaided and alone. We voluntarily take our place with Mexico, Japan, Chile, Peru, and cut adrift from Great Britain and every solvent government on the continent of Europe. Gold has been the standard of England since 1798. In 1816 it was made the standard by an act of Parliament. In 1871 silver was demonetized in Germany. France came to a gold standard in 1873 by her participation in the Latin Monetary Union, which limited the coinage of silver of all countries that became parties to it. Austria is making every effort to reach a gold standard, and even in India we have observed the policy that Great Britain has lately put into operation, which is equivalent to a demonetization of silver. Now, how is it possible for us, in the face of this protest against the further coinage of silver, to keep on purchasing it with gold?

Where is the gold to come from? Will these countries exchange their gold for our silver dollars (worth 60 cents) upon the coinage price? Will they not, on the contrary, exchange their silver for our gold? How long will it be before the Treasury is bankrupt and the gold reserve, which is a mere fiction now, will entirely vanish? The hour has now come for action upon this question. This is as great an opportunity as we will ever have to maintain our credit and hold our rank upon the field of finance. Do not let us surrender it, and with it the greatest boon that we possess—a sound and stable currency for the generations yet to come.

Now, let us look for a moment at the arguments that have been used upon the other side, as it is fair that we should do so. I have already said all I intend to say about the "crime," as it has been called, of demonetization of silver of 1873. I come now to the other suggestions that are made use of. First, it is claimed that the coinage of silver will make money more abundant. How will it do this? Pray, tell me, because I confess ignorance upon this subject. Who will get this money? When a Colorado mine owner sends $600 worth of silver to the mint and the mint returns him a thousand silver dollars for it, who gets a thousand silver dollars? Do the people get it? Does it increase the wages of the miner who has dug the silver from the earth? I expect not. I expect that the only persons who will profit by this iniquitous transaction will be those who sell the silver and control the product. Now, I ask the Democracy of this House whether they are willing to stimulate an enterprise of this sort that deliberately robs the people to enrich a particular class who monopolize the mines. We who have never favored class legislation, are we prepared to lock hands with a few silver States to the utter ruin of the balance of our country? If more money is needed, can we not increase our currency upon a legitimate basis? Is there no method known to the ingenuity of man besides a device of this sort to enlarge the circulating medium of the country?

But it is said if we do this and coin silver at the present ratio, the price of silver will be raised to the coinage value. What a shallow pretext that is. A schoolboy would be ridiculed if he asserted any such proposition as this in any college of the land. If the fiat of the Government can create values, what right have we to select silver and convert it from a commodity into a coin? Well, it is claimed that this should be done because the Constitution says so. Now, we all have a Constitution before us. Point me to the clause that says so. You can not do it because it is not there. Not a word about a ratio, not a word about the coinage of either gold or silver for the Government of the United States. Yes, but it is said it will raise prices. I am not in favor of raising prices, on general principles. But how will cheap money raise prices? Is not the producer a consumer when he sells? Will he not be compelled to buy?

Now, Mr. Speaker, there is only one thing that it will do, and I admit that it will accomplish that. It will allow the debtor to scale his debts. It will be a weapon in the hands of a dishonest borrower to break his contract and pay his creditor in a coin different from the one that was impliedly contracted for. To such an arrangement as this I am unalterably opposed, and I would stand here and let every species of legislation go by default before I would favor any system that would sow dishonor through the land, that would humiliate us in the eyes of mankind, and that would cover us with shame in every portion of the country where justice is respected and honor prevails.

One word more before I conclude. I can go to the Treasury to-day and contract with the Government of the United States to furnish it a better dollar than the Government is coining—a dollar with far more silver in it and better silver in it; and I can make an enormous profit out of the operation. But what would become of me if I should undertake to provide such a dollar. I should be indicted and convicted and sent to the penitentiary. This shows what sort of a system of finance this Government is conducting, when it sends a man to the penitentiary for giving the people a better dollar than the Government itself is coining.

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], for whose integrity of purpose and fearless honesty I have the greatest respect, knows that when he goes to the Treasury Department and in exchange for one of these silver certificates which he has had issued, receives a dollar for which the Government has not paid over 60 cents, that he is deceived and defrauded; and he denounces the iniquity of this operation as I do, and he wants the law repealed that sanctions the iniquity of this operation. The only difference between us is that he wants the law repealed with free coinage, and I want it repealed so that we can force an honest ratio upon the trading nations of the world. I want it repealed, Mr. Speaker, because it stands without an example, without a parallel in the fiscal policy of any solvent nation. I want it repealed because it protects the owners of the mines at the cost, the expense, and the sacrifice of the people.

I ask you, sir, what earthly right have they to haunt these halls demanding protection for their investment? Is the Government bound to guarantee to them a profit upon their enterprise, or upon their investments? Is it under any obligation to make their enterprise a paying one? I deny it. Is the Government in partnership with the mine owners? I deny it. Does the statute bind the Government of the United States to maintain the ratio of 16 to 1 when it ought to be 28 to 1? I deny it. There is no contract which is binding or valid which is not based on consideration and founded on mutuality.

But if there is a partnership, let it be forthwith dissolved, and in the decree of dissolution let there be a clause embodying the cardinal principle of governmental equity that we will never stamp a lie upon our coin to satisfy the greed or avarice of any section of the country or any set of men, no matter what may be their influence or how potent or powerful they may be. [Applause.]

A few months ago the Democracy, then in convention assembled, without a murmur of dissent from any quarter, in the most passionate terms denounced this measure, at the same time emphatically pledging the party to its speedy repeal. I am in favor of keeping this promise according to the strict letter of the instrument.

A MEMBER. All of them?

Mr. RAYNER. Well, every one of them so far as they can be kept. [Laughter and applause.]

A MEMBER. Why not keep all of them?

Mr. RAYNER. Yes; I know that this particular provision of the Democratic platform has been construed as diversely as the various interests of those who interpret them. But I ask the gentleman, if a man owes a debt of a hundred dollars, and he can not pay to his creditor but $50, is it not better for him to pay the $50 that he is able to pay, than to cheat his creditor out of the whole amount?

If we have made promises and can not keep them all, let us keep at least a part of them, as far as we are able to keep them. There was something said, I know, about the parity of the two metals, but you can not keep the two metals, silver and gold, on a basis of absolute parity alone and without an international con-

ference unaided. It is nonsense; it is quibbling with words to say that you can do so. You can not maintain a double standard in the Government of the United States in the face of the action of every other civilized government upon the face of the earth which has adopted the gold standard. That portion of the platform can not be carried out, but you can take a step in the direction of it, and if you can not make your promise good, do as the President has said, carry it out as far as you can.

I am in favor of keeping faith in the promises made. There is no ambiguity about the terms. Our duty is as plain as the language of man can make it; and from the binding obligation that rests upon us there is no escape or evasion except through an absolute betrayal of the confidence of the people. If, Mr. Speaker, we deceive them now it may be, and doubtless will be, a very long time before we will have another opportunity to deceive them again, because if we attempt it they will deride us with broken pledges that we have flaunted in their faces.

In conclusion, sir, I wish to state that as far as I am concerned at this critical era in the history of our country, I am not in the slightest degree disturbed or intimidated by the glittering catchwords of political conventions. I am guided by a purer and a higher faith. No matter what construction may be placed upon the platform, I believe in forever striking from the tenets of our political creed the superstitious folly that a nation grows rich in proportion to the amount of worthless money it can coin. In place of this idolatry I would plant high up on our altars, so that all mankind could read it, the inscription that we cherish our honor as much as our liberty, and that we would sooner fall and perish than dishonor any of the obligations upon which have been imprinted or emblazoned the emblem of the Republic. [Applause.]

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, how much time have I left?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman used twenty-five minutes, and has thirty-five remaining.

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. I yield fifteen minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BROWN].

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Speaker, the President's message, lately delivered to both Houses of Congress, is confined almost exclusively to the question of the propriety and necessity for the immediate repeal of the provisions of the act of Congress of July 14, 1890, commonly known as the Sherman law, authorizing the purchase of silver bullion by the Secretary of the Treasury at the rate of 4,500,000 ounces per month.

The message, with great conciseness and accuracy, gives most potent and conclusive reasons why the repeal should be had; and this it does without suggesting any condition whatever on which the repeal should be had, or any substitute for the provisions of the law proposed to be repealed. The law and its effect on the business interests of the people and the prosperity of the whole country are so well understood by all, and the general demand for its repeal is so well and generally known, that discussion or statement by me why the repeal should be had is wholly unnecessary. What I desire to do in the few minutes allowed me for debate is to speak in reference to the manner in which the repeal should be had—whether on conditions of any kind, or by reason of a substitute being put in its place, or whether the repeal should be outright and on no condition whatever.

It is a maxim in legislating, well to be followed, that the passage or defeat of one independent legislative proposition ought not to be made to depend on the passage or defeat of some other independent proposition, but that each should stand or fall according to its own merits. If this rule is to prevail here, the repeal should be without conditions.

But there are some people throughout the country, and possibly some members of this House, who claim that the President should have accompanied his recommendation for repeal with a proposition that it should be had only on condition that a substitute for the free and unlimited coinage of silver should be passed.

I am for the coinage of silver money, and will willingly and gladly vote for the coinage of silver into money. This I will do even if the provisions to be enacted for silver coinage are made a part of the repeal bill. But how the retention of the Sherman law on our statute books, which has made such sad havoc with all our business and labor interests, and so impeded the progress of all our people, can help or give aid and comfort to an effort to make provision for the coinage of silver money is a mystery to my mind past finding out. I regard the Sherman law so obnoxious to the best interests of the country, and so violative of justice and right, that I will, if opportunity is given me, vote for its repeal in any event, conditions or no conditions.

But why should the President be criticised by any one because he did not make his recommendation for the repeal of the obnoxious provisions of this law dependent on some condition, or on the happening of some event? Because of the high office he holds, and the renewed confidence in him the people have expressed, he is the acknowledged leader of the Democratic party, rightfully and justly so. It is his duty, as it is the duty of every man elevated to official station by the Democratic party, to keep the pledges made and redeem the promises given by that party to the people. This the President thus far has done by recommending the repeal of the purchasing provisions of the Sherman law in the manner he has.

On the 21st day of June, 1892, the President was nominated by the Democratic party and afterward elected by the people to the Presidency on a platform which says:

> We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal.

Mr. FITHIAN. Will the gentleman read the other plank relating to that subject?

Mr. BROWN. I trust my friend will not play the schoolmaster with me just now.

Mr. FITHIAN. I shall not interrupt you.

Mr. BROWN. This is a single sentence of the Democratic platform, complete in all its parts and provisions, and it contains but a single proposition or declaration, and that is for the speedy repeal of the Sherman law. It does not make the repeal of the Sherman law, or any of its provisions, dependent on any condition whatever, but declares for its repeal outright, without condition. It is an independent substantive proposition or declaration of the Democratic platform, supporting itself without any aid whatever from any other part of the platform. The President, by his recent message to Congress recommending the repeal of the Sherman law in the manner he has, has redeemed the pledge he made to the people in reference to that law when he accepted the Democratic nomination for the Presidency and indorsed the Democratic platform, and it now remains to be seen whether others will redeem the pledges they made in this regard.

The declaration of the Democratic platform on the subject of coining money is in nowise connected with the declaration for the repeal of the Sherman law. Neither declaration is in any way dependent on the other. Each is a separate and independent proposition.

On the subject of coining money the Democratic national platform of last year says:

> We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage.

This declaration of the Democratic platform pledged the Democratic party to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country. "To the use of both gold and silver," is the language of the platform. Both metals were to be used as money. The Democratic party, by its platform, promised the people that both metals would be used as the standard money of the country if it came into power. And this promise, as well as the one made to repeal the Sherman law, should be redeemed. The platform also promised the people to coin both gold and silver into money, without discriminating against either metal or charging mintage. There is the express promise to coin both gold and silver money for the people's use, made by the Democratic party, and it must be redeemed.

But this is not all of the promise. The platform, continuing in the same sentence, says:

> But the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts.

By these last words of the platform on this subject the Democratic party not only promised to coin both gold and silver into money, but it promised that when such metals were so coined into money that their dollar unit of coinage would be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or, if not, their parity would be maintained either through international agreement, or safeguards of legislation, so that at all times every dollar coined, no matter out of which metal it is coined, will have equal power at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts.

This platform is the law of the Democratic party, as well as its promises and pledges made to the people. It must coin gold and silver money for the people's use, and it must so coin it that every dollar will be either of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or by reason of resort to one or the other of the methods mentioned in the platform, every dollar will be of equal power at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts.

The platform also declares:

> That all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin.

The Democratic party, by its platform, has expressly declared that all money shall be of equal value. When this is so, all money is good money. According to the Democratic platform,

neither cheap nor dear money is to be provided—only money of equal value—money as good in one man's hands as it is in another's.

That this kind of money only should be furnished to the country is important to people of moderate means, the small dealer and, above all, the wage-earner. The poorer a man is the more he is in need of good money. If there were different kinds of money in circulation here of different values the cheaper grade of such money would find its way into the hands of the poorer class of our people, while the better grade of such money would go to the rich, because the rich can obtain the best of everything, while the poor can not.

I shall not assume that the President is opposed to the coinage of silver money. I know of no one but himself who has the right to utter his views on this subject. I shall wait until I hear from him in some authoritative way what his opinions are on this subject before I proceed to say what he will or will not do in this regard. If I ventured an opinion at all as to what the President's views on the subject of coining money are and what he will do concerning it, it would be that he is in favor of "the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage," and that when he makes his views and recommendations known on the subject of coining money he will redeem every pledge and promise he made to the people in this regard by accepting the nomination to the Presidency on the Democratic platform, as he has done in another regard by urging Congress to repeal the Sherman law.

The Democratic party lately came into power by reason of the pledges and promises it made to the people, which are contained in its last national platform. The people will hold it to a strict accountability for the fulfillment of these promises and the redemption of these pledges. The President, by his last message to Congress, has set the example of doing so, and let all others of the Democratic party who owe duty to the people follow his example. It is a patriotic duty that every member of the Democratic party owes to the whole country to aid as best he can all honest efforts made for the redemption of the pledges and promises his party made to the people.

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I regret to be called upon to discuss this question without previous preparation, when we have just reached an agreement to take it up. I further regret that any gentleman on our side of the House should see proper to read in this presence one part of our platform and to retreat from that part, above all others, which contributed to the vote that gave him a seat in this House. I regret that any Western man should turn his face toward the East and his back to the West.

We understood, Mr. Speaker, what that platform meant. The whole Democratic party voted against the Sherman bill, and so far as I am personally concerned, I did what little my ability permitted me to do to prevent its passage in this House; but the so-called Sherman law passed, and a better law having been repealed by its passage, it is now the only law on the statute books looking to the use of silver as money in this country.

I know, Mr. Speaker, that the gold-standard elements, the very elements that are in opposition to the free coinage of silver, secured the passage of that act. I knew they would demand its repeal the moment they saw the opportunity. A promise to repeal that act was put in the platform at Chicago, I suppose, to satisfy that element of the Democratic party that wants no law upon the statute book for the coinage of silver. But following that, and in the same paragraph, a part and parcel of it at least, was the promise made at Chicago by the Democratic party for the use of both gold and silver as money in this country, with equal privileges at the mints of our Government. And speaking for myself and for the people whom I have the honor to represent, they understood at least that the free coinage of silver, in accordance with our platform, necessarily repealed the Sherman law; and it would. [Applause.]

The two laws can not exist together. They are inconsistent, and that part of the platform that pledged us to the free coinage of silver necessarily meant the repeal of the Sherman law by a free-coinage bill.

I want, Mr. Speaker, to call attention to this phase of the situation. We have here different propositions that will be voted upon, submitted in pursuance of the Chicago platform, if you please to call it so. Gentlemen may choose their ratio. They have an opportunity at least to express their own opinions by their votes in this House and by their speeches, and to state what they mean by the free coinage of silver and the Chicago platform.

It is not my privilege nor my purpose to call in question the sincerity of any member upon this floor or to undertake to criticise his attitude; but I do want to call attention to the fact that we are proposing, as I consider it, to try in good faith to conform ourselves to the platform on which we were elected in legislating upon this question.

Why, it is said we have met here under peculiar circumstances, in the midst of a financial crisis. We are asked by the opposite side to legislate in haste. We are asked to forego a part of our duties. We are asked to legislate by piecemeal, and to take our chances in the future.

I want to say, Mr. Speaker, that the great voting masses of the people of this country may get into a panic themselves when election day comes around. The people will not regard our proceedings in the light that gentlemen wish them to view those proceedings. You may proceed in a panic, you may believe that some legislative act is necessary here to stop a panic, and you may vote for it without due consideration; but every vote cast and every word uttered will be reviewed by our constituencies, not in a panic, but in cool deliberation, and you will be held accountable for what you do, whether you deliberate or not.

It is said that history repeats itself, and it seems that the Democratic party is especially the victim of repeating history in some way. When the people intrusted our party in 1884 with the administration of the Government, when the Democratic House of Representatives was chosen, I remember full well, and I see around me gentlemen who remember it as I do, for they were here at that time, that before the inauguration of the President of the United States whom we had elected, the emissaries of Wall street swarmed the lobbies of the House and this Capitol, just as they did last winter, demanding what? Demanding the repeal of the so-called Bland act.

Precisely the same proceedings that we had here last winter. We were told that it was the wish of the Executive-elect that that act be repealed, as we were told last winter. We were told that it was his opinion and the opinion of his advisers that this country was coming then to the single silver standard if we did not repeal that law. We were threatened with a panic, with gold coming to a premium. That House was forced to a vote upon that subject before we adjourned at that time, as we were practically last winter; but it voted the proposition down by a tremendous majority. During the following summer the New York papers, as they have been this summer, were filled with predictions of gold premiums and panics.

The New York Herald, one of their leading papers, had every day in its columns "We are still coining the 70 and 75 cent dollar" as a standing advertisement of a panic.

Some time in September or October, before the meeting of Congress, these generous bankers in New York, who say that they control the finances of this country, and what they demand must be acceded, made arrangement with the then Secretary of the Treasury by which they were to withdraw $10,000,000 of subsidiary silver coin and to place in the Treasury of the United States $10,000,000 of gold, in order to secure and maintain gold payments, advertising to all the country that the bankers of New York had come to relief of the Federal Treasury with $10,000,000 of gold to maintain the public credit.

It was done, Mr. Speaker, to terrorize the people of this country and, if possible, to bring about a panic such as you have today, and they know it. And we met in something of a financial panic; not so severe as it is now, however. The whole country was stirred on the silver question. We met in Congress and the question was debated. The result of it all was the refusal to repeal the silver law by over a two-thirds vote of that House; and the panic vanished. That was the end of it. When they ascertained that the free people of this country, through their representatives, could not be driven as a herd of buffaloes on the Western plains into a panic, to trample themselves and those depending upon them, they ceased.

The howl against silver and the panic stopped. The country continued in its usual prosperity, whatever that may be. We kept on coining these 70-cent dollars, and no disturbance was made of it, practically, for four years. The Democratic party in the House maintained it against all assaults. But when, unfortunately, our friends on the other side got the power they enacted another law, repealing the law of 1878.

That law, Mr. Speaker—the Sherman law—I denounced in an article in the North American Review, about two months after it was enacted, as a "Janus-faced" statute. A law that provided for the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion per month, on which Treasury notes should be issued at the market rate of the purchases; that these notes should not be kept in circulation in excess of the cost price of the bullion; that the bullion was to be coined for the redemption of the notes, and that it further provided that in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury the notes should be redeemed in gold, in order to keep a parity between the two metals.

The face of the gold part of it was turned to the East—the gold standard; the other part, to redeem in silver, looked to the

West; and in the statute was included with the purchase of bullion and coining it into money and the redemption of the notes in the resulting coin it would in some respects, at least, be in harmony with the idea of ultimate bimetallism. But I predicted in that article, with the Administration then in power, the purchase of silver would probably go on and the law be executed until after the next Presidential election, and if an Administration hostile to silver was elected, gentlemen who gave it their support would be very sick of their bargain.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have no defense to make of that law, further than this: We are told by the Herschel committee that investigated the subject of suspending the coinage in India that the repeal of this act, the so-called Sherman act, would cause a heavy decline in the price of that metal. I will send to the Clerk's desk and have read the portion of that report I have marked.

The Clerk read as follows:

Moreover, a strong agitation exists in the United States with respect to the law now in force providing for the purchase of silver. Fears have been and are entertained that there may come to be a premium on gold, and strong pressure has been brought to bear upon the Government of that country with a view to bring about an alteration of that law.

In December last a bill was introduced in the Senate to repeal the Sherman act, and another to suspend the purchase, under it. Whether any such measure will pass into law it is impossible to foretell, but it must be regarded as possible; and although in the light of past experience predictions on such a subject must be made with caution, it is certainly probable that the repeal of the Sherman act would be followed with a heavy fall in the price of silver.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, there is another portion of that report that I will not have read at present, but it is to the same effect. It predicts a fall in the price of silver when we repeal the Sherman act of probably 6 pence per ounce, and it is said, sir, that it was the apprehension that the Government of the United States would suspend the coinage of silver, would repeal this law that induced the British Parliament to recommend to the Government of India the suspension of the coinage of silver at the mints of India. We understand that India, while it is said to have a government of its own, is simply governed by a council of Englishmen appointed for that purpose. I said the British Parliament, Mr. Speaker, but I made a mistake. The British Parliament had nothing to do with this measure, and they are even now beginning to criticise it. It was the British Council for India.

Now, sir, we are asked here deliberately to repeal this law, and I want to call the attention of my friends on this side of the House, who proclaim themselves to be friends of free coinage at a reasonable ratio—I want to call their attention to this point and to ask them this question: Why do you gentlemen insist that you will repeal this law and send silver down probably 15 cents an ounce before you fix the ratio? Is that an act friendly to silver? Can any gentleman here face his free-coinage constituency and defend his vote subtracting from the value of silver 15 cents an ounce before he votes to fix the ratio? I dare him to undertake it. He can not do it.

It may be convenient to follow the recommendations of the President, but the President does not elect the members of this House. We do not hold our commissions from the Executive, and I am afraid that if some of us undertake to act here upon that line, when our present commissions expire we shall have all the leisure that we want to study the silver question in peace and quietness at home. [Laughter.] For myself I feel it to be a conscientious duty to carry out my convictions on this subject, and I owe it to my constituents to represent what I believe to be their interests. Why are we rushed in here and asked to repeal the only law that sustains, for the moment, at least, the value of silver, before we fix the ratio?

There is no consistency in it; none whatever. The claim is not sincere that the President expects hereafter to recommend bimetallism, for he does not do it in his message, and that claim misrepresents his position. He recommends the reverse. The concluding paragraph of the message means, if it means anything, that after you shall have totally demonetized silver by repealing this Sherman act, you will be required to go further in the same direction; and I make a prediction here and now, and, my friends, I want you to watch the proceedings of Congress in these coming weeks of this extra session, or of the next regular session, to see whether I am right or not.

My prediction is that in order to carry out the recommendations of that message we shall be called upon to sell bonds to procure gold. For what? To redeem all our pecuniary obligations, according to the very language of that message in that money which is recognized by the principal nations of the world. Why did not the President say "gold?" [Laughter.] We know what his language means. [Laughter.] You are asked to load up the Federal Treasury with gold, to redeem every pecuniary obligation of the Government with gold, although the standard silver dollar is the identical dollar on which bond obligations were based when they were issued, because they called for coin of the standard value at the time of their issue, and that was the standard.

But now, I repeat, we shall have to redeem all this bullion, all these Sherman notes, in gold; we shall have to sell bonds to get gold to redeem all our greenbacks, all our silver certificates, and we will be compelled to carry our silver dollars as so much dead weight of bullion in the Treasury, so that we might as well dump them into the Potomac. That is what all this means. In other words, every piece of paper money issued in this country to-day, every silver certificate, every greenback, every bond, every Sherman note, is to be redeemed in gold, and we must procure the gold for their redemption.

What, then, are you to do with your silver bullion and with all your silver dollars, together about $500,000,000? They are to be demonetized as a base metal, and you know it. I am talking to intelligent gentlemen who have read that message, and there is not an intelligent gentleman here who has read it who can misunderstand it. Why should you go on, then, to try to deceive yourselves and your constituents on this subject? There is no silver in that message, and gentlemen on the other side will simply do themselves and the subject justice if, hereafter, in the course of their debate, they will leave silver out of it, because they are proposing a measure in which there is no consideration whatever for silver.

Mr. Speaker, it may be necessary, and probably is, that I go somewhat into the discussion of the silver question on its merits. I have alluded to these preliminary matters which have been thrown in, and have tried to state that no legislation which we can enact here is going to relieve the panic. This panic has been brought about for the express purpose of repealing this law; there is no question about that. We were threatened last winter with a gold premium. I stated then on this floor, and I state now, that there is no gold premium.

On the contrary, I believe the people are now paying a premium for silver and silver certificates. We were urged that we must issue more bonds, that if we did not we were to have a panic. All the newspapers of the East especially were advertising a panic if we did not issue bonds. We did not issue them. The Secretary of the Treasury was threatened with a panic if he did not comply with the demand, and he refused. Those who were interested in getting up this panic began to refuse loans, to cramp, to draw in currency. Many of the banks which had been engaged in booming real estate, or in other questionable transactions, and were consequently weak, began to fail.

Stocks called industrial stocks, that had been watered in Wall street, cordage trusts, lead trusts, whisky trusts, railroad stocks that had been watered, began to tumble down to something like reasonable rates, and you had a panic. Banks which were weak began to fail, and the people began a run on banks which were strong. The whole country became alarmed. People began to take their money out of the banks and put it into safe-deposit vaults or into their safes at home. It is said they ought to let their money remain in the banks. Well, probably they ought to do so; but what is the difference? The banks are afraid to let the money go out if they have it. Now, the panic has come; and those who conspired to bring it about have got more than they bargained for. The idea is that we can relieve this panic by the repeal of the Sherman law.

Why, Mr. Speaker, I say right here (and history will bear me out in the statement) that while there was some alarm in the country before, yet the moment the British Government demonetized silver in India, then the panic began in earnest—not before; that precipitated this panic in its present shape. We all understand that. In this way desolation was brought into many of the States of this Union, and men who had before been prosperous and happy were by the thousands sent as tramps throughout the land.

All parts of the country have felt the effects. It is this fight upon silver that has precipitated this panic; and the repeal of the Sherman law will only intensify it, not relieve it. The panic will be relieved when everything gets so low that people see they can make money by buying; when they begin to buy prices will go up; and when everybody is buying money will come from its hoarding places and you will have some relief. In no other way will relief come.

Gold is coming to us to-day. Notwithstanding we are told the people across the water are afraid to invest here for fear that we will not pay in gold, yet these people are sustaining prices to-day and sending here all the money that they can spare. There was a panic in gold-using Australia that has bankrupted that whole people and sent terror to the banks all over England. We know that gold can not be obtained there except by paying for it; yet it is coming here.

Talk about a premium on gold; here is the Treasury of the United States that is open to the plunder of every speculator in the civilized world. He can take his Sherman note or his green-

back or any other Government currency there and get gold without cost. Did you ever notice the names of these gentlemen in New York who are shipping gold abroad, or bringing it back? Every one of those names that I have seen has a foreign termination; every one of those gentlemen, so far as I am advised, is an agent or branch bank of some bank across the water.

If you go to the Bank of England to get gold for export you must pay a premium on it; if you go to the Bank of France to get gold for export you must pay a premium on it. The case is the same with every other banking house in Europe; no gold can be obtained there without paying a premium. But here is the Treasury of the United States professing to be so helpless that it can not prevent every gold speculator from robbing the Government of its gold. Our Treasury will not pay out the silver which it might pay.

The Bank of France will pay out silver, or will charge a premium on gold if it is wanted for anything but domestic use. But the Treasury of the United States, instead of paying out gold and silver in equal quantities and thus preserving its gold (if it is necessary to preserve it, though I see no necessity of preserving it, for all our money is at a premium to-day), lets everybody go there and get as much gold as he pleases. Why not pay out the silver when we have more of it than we have of gold, or pay out gold when we have more of it than of silver, and thus protect ourselves?

It is because the Administration is hostile to silver; and thus it is surrendering this country to the Shylocks of the Old World who have made war upon it. The aristocracy of western Europe has absolutely tabooed silver in those countries; driven it away from there. Here it finds its only resting place. The last fight for the white metal is to be made here in this country and in this House, my friends. Will you stand by it now, or will you let the Shylocks come and have their way? It is for you to determine.

I think, Mr. Speaker, that we can trust the people of this country on a question of as vital importance as this. The question is now before us. This is its last resort. Will you virtually demonetize the money of nearly 70,000,000 of people, with a vast empire of 3,000,000 of square miles, a people thirsting for money to open up new railroads, to establish new factories, to operate new places of business, to inaugurate new industries; 70,000,000 of people demanding money, twice what we have to day, a new people, a new country, a free people, or they ought to be free whether they are or not?

Are you to give up the fight and let this vast body of our wealth go to ruin? I do not believe it. We know well enough that if we repeal this law and give nothing for it, the people of this country will regard it as a total demonetization of silver, which it will be so far as this Congress is concerned, without any question.

Now, my friends—and I do not care whether you are Democrats or Republicans, or who you are, but I appeal to you, especially as Democrats—when in 1890 in nearly every State of this Union the Democratic party in its platforms demanded free and unlimited coinage of silver, when you embodied it in your great Chicago national platform, when the Democratic party has for years stood before the House and the country as the bulwark in defense of the white metal, in the face of all of these things are you now to desert the cause and surrender the fight? Can you afford to do it? Will you go to your people and tell them that you are not able to carry out the pledges of your platform, the promises upon which you were sent here, or any part of it, except that which resulted in the total demonetization of silver and the sacrifice of their interests?

What does free coinage of silver mean? It means that the holders of silver bullion, at some ratio to be fixed in the bill, may go to the mints of the Government and have it struck into the legal-tender money of the country and deposit the dollars so coined, if the holder so desires, and have a certificate issued to him in place of it. What is the effect of unlimited coinage of silver in this country, and I invite your attention to this particularly, because it is a question of vital importance? It means that the silver coins of the United States at whatever ratio is fixed, and I want the present ratio that we have now, 16 to 1, maintained precisely as it is, it means that the silver of the world can come here in exchange for what we have to sell.

Yes, it means that the silver of the whole world can come here. But they say that we will be flooded with the world's silver, that it will be dumped down upon us. Now, let us see about that for a moment. It means that anyone with 16 ounces of silver can come here from any part of the world, or with 1 ounce of gold, and he can buy your grain, he can buy your house and lot, he can buy your manufactured product, and buy the property and commodities of all sorts that you have to sell with either the one or the other; that is to say, he can buy just as much with his 16 ounces of silver as with his 1 ounce of gold.

With the billions upon billions of property existing in this country to-day, and being produced in this country every year, we simply offer to exchange that which we have in abundance on a basis of 1 pound of gold as the equivalent of 16 pounds of silver. We invite, then, the world to come with its silver and make the exchange. No nation now, it is true, offers in exchange for silver the gold at any fixed ratio; consequently all the silver that is coined is used in the countries where it is coined. And why? Because no great power offers to exchange commodities for one metal or the other at any fixed ratio. That is the only trouble with silver to-day.

Now, it must be remembered that France gave an example to the world in this regard, having kept its silver on a parity with gold for a period of seventy years on a ratio of 15½ to 1. It said to the nations of the world, "Come with your gold and your silver, 15½ ounces of silver or 1 of gold, and you can buy all of our salable property in France and you can pay us in silver or in gold, just as you choose, on that basis." And according to the report of the British royal commission of 1888 on that subject, France was enabled to maintain the parity of the two metals at that ratio, for the reason that she had property enough to effect exchanges on that basis. We are in the same condition.

What is it, then, that you are asked to do? It is that we, the Government of the United States, we as a people say to all the world, especially the silver-using people, all of the Asiatic nations and the Great Indies, come here with your white metal if you choose to come, and trade with us on the basis of 16 to 1 and buy your commodities from us at that ratio. When you do that, will not the silver-using people of the world come to our shores to make their purchases rather than go to the European powers, where they demand a ratio of from 22 to 25? There can be no doubt of the answer to that question.

You at once undermine and sap the prosperity of western Europe. You will divert from them all the trade of every silver-using country in the world, because you offer to sell those people property and commodities here that are better, and on better terms, than they can get anywhere else in the world. You say their silver will come here. Suppose it does. It will go back again, because here is the flood gate that is opened for gold and silver to come and to go with the tides of trade, of free exchange, in this the greatest country the world ever saw. It will come and it will go, and so it will continue; because we have opened up the mint, we have opened a sluice for the dam that now blockades the silver tide.

Do you suppose England could stand that for a moment? Certainly not. What has made the manufacturers in Manchester, England, the strongest bimetallists in the world to-day? Simply the fact that they must sell their commodities in India for the India rupee. They are thus interested in the value of that silver rupee. They want to maintain it; and if all the manufacturing products of western Europe that are sent here and sold to us are sold for silver, as they must be, or gold at our ratio, do you not see how quickly you will convert them all to bimetallism? Thus you will segregate all the industrial inhabitants of western Europe from those who live on fixed incomes, the aristocracy, the bondholders, and the coupon clippers. That is all there is about it, and we want to segregate them.

You see, then, that when we do this in this country western Europe must come to our standard or abandon commerce with all silver-using countries, and with us. Mark that. We are the best market in the world for manufactured European products. They can not live without this market, and they can not keep this market unless they recognize and take our silver at the same value that we take it; and they know it.

I know that the gold owners in that country and this, the bondholders and bankers, those who are living on fixed incomes, and who are living on interest, and whose business it is to loan money and to have that money increase in value from year to year—they fight this proposition as a matter of course; but I do not think they ought to do it, for ultimately I think they would be benefited, as would the industrial people of the world. They ought not to fight it. They know what I state is truth, that if this country gives free coinage of gold and silver at a fair ratio it settles the question for the world and drives the world to bimetallism instead of gold monometallism. They know that, and hence their eagerness and determination to prevent it.

It is a fight between the standards; and this great country must settle it, and you, my friends, must think about settling it here. It is a serious question. It is not only a serious question for the American people, but we are appealed to by the oppressed in the Old World, those who have not the voice that our people in their sovereignty have.

The oppressed of the Old World are appealing to us to settle for the world this great question, and to settle it not for men who are seeking advantages in the stock markets, not for men

who are seeking advantages in bondholding, in interest drawing, in money lending, in seeking to have money increase in value every day and every year, but for the great toiling and producing masses of the other countries as well as our own, for whom it is our proud province here to think about and to legislate. They are in a panic, my friends. I want to remind you of that, and they will remind you of it when you go home if you are not reminded of it now.

The people are watching this thing. They understand that the battle to be fought here is the battle of the standards the world over, and the man who fails now they will brand as a traitor to the cause which is intrusted to his hands.

Now, Mr. Speaker, in this line of my remaaks I wish to have read from the Clerk's desk an extract from the Parliamentary Report to which I have referred.

The Clerk read as follows:

191. The explanation commonly offered of these constant variations in the silver market is that the rise or depression of the price of silver depends upon the briskness or slackness of the demand for the purpose of remittance to silver-using countries, and that the price is largely affected by the amount of the bills sold from time to time by the secretary of state for India in council.

But these causes were, as far as can be seen, operating prior to 1873, as well as subsequent to that date, and yet the silver market did not display the sensitiveness to these influences from day to day and month to month which it now does.

192. These considerations seem to suggest the existence of some steadying influence in former periods, which has now been removed, and which has left the silver market subject to the free influence of causes, the full effect of which was previously kept in check.

The question therefore forces itself upon us: Is there any other circumstance calculated to affect the relation of silver to gold which distinguishes the later period from the earlier?

Now, undoubtedly, the date which forms the dividing line between an epoch of approximate fixity in the relative value of gold and silver and one of marked instability, is the year when the bimetallic system which had previously been in force in the Latin Union ceased to be in full operation; and we are irresistibly led to the conclusion that the operation of that system, established as it was in countries the population and commerce of which were considerable, exerted a material influence upon the relative value of the two metals.

So long as that system was in force we think that, notwithstanding the changes in the production and use of the precious metals, it kept the market price of silver approximately steady at the ratio by law between them, namely, 15½ to 1.

When once the conclusion is arrived at that this was the case, the circumstances on which we have dwelt as characterizing the period since 1873 appear amply sufficient to account for the fall in the price of silver, tending as they all do in that direction; and the fact that on any particular day the supply of silver and of council bills may be large while the need of remittance is small, and *vice versa*, would explain the constant fluctuations in the price of silver which have manifested themselves in recent years.

193. Nor does it appear to us *a priori* unreasonable to suppose that the existence in the Latin Union of a bimetallic system with a ratio of 15½ to 1 fixed between the two metals should have been capable of keeping the market price of silver steady at approximately that ratio.

The view that it could only affect the market price to the extent to which there was a demand for it for currency purposes in the Latin Union, or to which it was actually taken to the mints of those countries, is, we think, fallacious.

The fact that the owner of silver could, in the last resort, take it to those mints and have it converted into coin which would purchase commodities at the ratio of 15½ of silver to 1 of gold, would, in our opinion, be likely to affect the price of silver in the market generally, whoever the purchaser and for whatever country it was destined. It would enable the seller to stand out for a price approximating to the legal ratio and would tend to keep the market steady at about that point.

194. It has been urged that during the earlier of the two periods which we have been contrasting, the conditions which existed from time to time were favorable to the maintenance of the legal ratio; that the great influx of gold towards the middle of this century found France with a large stock of silver, and that this silver, owing to exceptional circumstances, had a ready outlet to India.

But we do not think this affords an adequate solution of the problem without taking into account the existence of the bimetallic system. It may be true that the circumstances referred to were conditions which helped to make the bimetallic system operative. But as we have observed before, circumstances and conditions of a like nature have been more or less operative both before and since 1873, and yet the effect on the relative value of the two metals has been very different.

195. It is said that the altered circumstances since 1873 would have rendered it impossible to maintain silver at the former ratio, even if the Latin Union had not abandoned the free mintage of silver, and that sooner or later the bimetallic system must have broken down and its steadying influence have ceased.

To estimate the force of causes without adequate experience of their effects in the past is a matter of extreme difficulty. But even if it were true that the Latin Union would not have been able down to the present time to preserve silver from falling below the legal ratio, this does not prove that the views which we have propounded as to the causes of the former stability of the gold price of silver and of its present unstable condition, are incorrect.

Whether silver would ultimately have fallen to its present price, and whether the Latin Union could now, by reversing its action and reopening its mints, restore silver to its former gold value, and reëstablish the former condition of stability, are questions very material to another part of the case, but the determination of which is not essential to the particular point with which we are now dealing.

Mr. CULBERSON. Mr. Speaker, as the time of the gentleman from Missouri is about to expire, I ask unanimous consent that he may be allowed to use such time as is necessary in order to chemplete his argument.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. OUTHWAITE in the chair). The gentleman from Texas asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri have such time as he desires in which to complete his argument. Is there objection? (After a pause.) The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Texas and the House for the courtesy.

If the gentlemen have given attention to the statement just read, I think they will attach all the importance to it that it deserves, especially as I say that it has been promulgated by twelve experts appointed by the British Parliament, one-half of whom were gold monometallists and among the ablest financiers of Europe, and I desire to read a brief extract when the document is returned to me.

But I want to call attention to the principle they state. They admit that France was enabled to maintain silver on a parity with gold at the ratio of 15½ to 1. They admit it, state it, and gave the reason why. It is admitted by Herschel, the gentleman who was chairman of this committee that secured the demonetization of silver in India, and it is also admitted by Goschen, both of whom are monometallists.

Now, what was the principle laid down? They say in so many words that France had fixed the ratio at 15½ to 1 and that France had told the nations of the world "you could come here with your gold and your silver and you can buy all that France has, and you can buy as much for 15½ ounces of silver as you can with 1 ounce of gold." France was able to do that because it was an important country. The report cites the Latin Union, but we all know that France is substantially the Latin Union.

It was because it was a country of sufficient power to make those exchanges by which it could keep the parity between gold and silver the world over; because the world could come there and exchange it for property at that rate; and why? Why, they say no matter where anyone had silver bullion, wherever it be in the world, the owner would not take any less at that spot for it than he could get in France, less the cost of transportation, and he could hold it for that value.

Now, we frequently hear it said that if we adopt a ratio of 16 to 1 and coin silver it will have no effect except in this country; but if it is coined at that ratio it will affect silver everywhere, because the world would know that they could take it at that rate and get that amount for it in the United States. Now, I will read from the report of that commission:

The fact that the owner of silver could in the last resort take it to those mints and have it converted into coin which would purchase commodities at the ratio of 15½ silver to 1 of gold would, in our opinion, be likely to affect the price of silver in the market generally whoever the purchaser and for whatever country it was destined. It would enable the seller to stand up for a price approximating to the legal ratio and tend to keep the market steadily about that point.

Why, the gold monometallists here tell us that it will run the gold out of the country. Those monometallists whom I have read from do not say that, and it is not true. They say you will exchange commodities for it, that you will buy commodities for silver and gold at a fixed ratio; and because the holders of the silver anywhere in the world can come here with it and exchange it for commodities, silver will be used as much as gold at a fixed ratio; and it will not matter whether they pay in silver or gold. Then you will see the parity between gold and silver restored and maintained at this rate. France did it, in a territory not so large as the State represented on the floor by my distinguished friend who did me the honor to have my time extended, having 38,000,000 of people.

Now, I say, Mr. Speaker, the contention that we lose our gold, and that we have got to exchange gold for silver, does not hold good. It is put on the broad proposition of a nation which produces enough wealth; and where is the nation under the shining sun that compares with this growing country of ours in population and increasing development? I believe that I may yet live to see this country with nearly 100,000,000 inhabitants, increasing, as it does, at the rate of over a million and a half annually.

Many now born, by the time they are voters, will compose part of a nation containing perhaps 125,000,000 of people, with unsurpassed energies, with a genius nowhere equaled, and with a vast territory upon which those energies and that genius can operate. But a short time ago when you looked across the Alleghany Mountains you beheld the western wilderness roamed only by the savage and the wild beast. To-day it is teeming with its millions of civilized people, the great Mississippi Valley, and when you cross the Mississippi you just begin to enter the great domain of this country of ours, for more than two-thirds of it lies beyond the Father of Waters.

And, Mr. Speaker, it is that two-thirds of our territory, rich as it is in gold and silver, embedded together in the same deposits, in the same mountains, so that you can not extract the one without extracting the other—it is that portion of our territory that would give us the money that we need, the money of the world, good money, hard money, Democratic money [laughter

and applause]—a country that the civilized world must look to for its future monetary supply if it is to continue on what is called the hard-money basis. And yet we are to-day asked to do what? To lay the blighting hand of confiscation upon the millions of people inhabiting that country, to turn them out as tramps upon the land, merely to satisfy the greed of English gold.

Oh, my God, shall we do such a thing as that? [Applause.] Will you crush the people of your own land and send them abroad as tramps, will you kill and destroy your own industries, and especially the production of your precious metals that ought to be sent abroad everywhere—will you do this simply to satisfy the greed of Wall street, the mere agent of Lombard street in oppressing the people of Europe and of this country? It can not be done, it shall not be done! I speak for the great masses of the Mississippi Valley, and those west of it, when I say you shall not do it! [Applause.]

Any political party that undertakes to do it will, in God's name, be trampled, as it ought to be trampled, into the dust of condemnation now and in the future. [Applause.] Speaking as a Democrat, all my life battling for what I conceived to be Democracy and what I conceived to be right, I am yet an American above Democracy. [Applause.] I do not intend, we do not intend, that any party shall survive, if we can help it, that will lay the confiscating hand upon Americans in the interest of England or of Europe. Now, mark it. This may be strong language, but heed it. The people mean it, and, my friends of Eastern Democracy, we bid farewell when you do that thing. [Applause.]

Now, you can take your choice of sustaining America against England, American interests, and American laborers and producers, or you can go out of power. We have come to the parting of the ways. I do not pretend to speak for anybody but myself and my constituents, but I believe that I do speak for the great masses of the great Mississippi Valley when I say that we will not submit to the domination of any political party, however much we may love it, that lays the sacrificing hand upon silver and will demonetize it in this country.

For myself I will not support such a policy here or elsewhere, but will denounce it, and as a Democrat I will denounce it as un-Democratic and un-American, and will ask the people of this country to condemn it as they ought to have condemned the so-called Democrats engaged in it as the agents, the tools—I withdraw that word, but I will say as the representatives, unintentionally, of the money power and the moneyed interests, and not of the masses of the American people. [Applause.]

Gentlemen, you can not hold the Democratic party together on that line. You can not pledge yourselves to bimetallism in your platform and ignore it in your legislation. We pledged ourselves in the first place to tariff reform, and the people had a right to expect us to deal with that first. In my part of the country we were told to let silver alone; that we already had a law on that subject. They said to us: "Do not disturb that question, but take up the tariff; we are united on the tariff [laughter on the Republican side]; let us take up the tariff and reform and reduce it; the tariff is doing us great injury, let us attend to that first." We thought that declaration was sincere and we thought the first thing to be taken up was the repeal of the McKinley bill.

Well, now, my people of the Mississippi Valley believed that you would let silver alone, that you would not try to demonetize it, that you would let it stand where it is; they believed the tariff would be considered first. But when you come to say that you are going to demonetize silver, let me tell you that this is a bigger question than the tariff or anything else. This battle of the standards is a world-wide question. The question is whether we are to be put upon a gold standard; and that question is one which in importance is away beyond the year by year regulation of your revenue.

We voted the ticket in good faith; we expected that the platform would be carried out as was promised—that we would have tariff revision, and that when we came to the money question it would be regulated according to the Chicago platform, that we should have the free coinage of silver, which in itself would destroy this makeshift. But lo and behold, we find that we were tricked, that we were deceived. [Laughter.] And I use that language advisedly. I believe it was not intended by our Eastern Democratic friends that tariff reform should be considered first, but their main, if not their sole, object was to put their hands upon silver and demonetize it and let tariff reform take care of itself afterward. [Laughter.] And here we are, just in that situation. Reduce the tariff 25 per cent, yet make money in gold 25 per cent more valuable, the tariff remains as great a burden as ever. It takes the same quantity of wheat, corn, pork, and cotton to pay it as before.

A MEMBER. That is where we are at.

Mr. BLAND. Yes; we know where we are at now. Now, I tell you I am not going to submit to it. You may pass your bill and do these things; but if you do we are going to cut loose from you. You may go ahead, but you will never trick us again. I am speaking for my people. Do not charge me with being a radical or a fanatic or with indulging in threats. I speak the sentiment of the masses of the people I represent, and they are resolved upon the policy I have stated. I would not say so if it were not true.

Now, Mr. Speaker, as I have already stated, the silver question, as now presented, is not the question we have had presented to us in the past. It is true that in what has been called the Bland coinage act we passed in this House a free coinage bill (I mean not in this particular body, but in the House of Representatives) by a large majority—by a two-thirds vote. But when it went to the Senate there was engrafted upon it a provision requiring the purchase of at least $2,000,000 worth of silver each month and not exceeding $4,000,000 worth and its coinage into standard silver dollars. That was a bullion purchase bill.

But mark the distinction: It required every dollar of that bullion to be coined into money as fast as purchased; and it required the issue on that money of certificates redeemable in silver. To that extent the measure was in the line of bimetallism. The only difficulty was the limitation as to the amount. But the present law repealed that law. You do not propose now to put us back to where we were when you repealed that act, which was adopted as a compromise measure providing for the purchase of from two million to four million dollars worth of silver per month.

You propose to wipe out the act of repeal and to leave us where? You propose to remit us to the demonetizing act of 1873, which in all my section of country the Democratic party on every stump has denounced as the monumental fraud of the nineteenth century. Here is a Democratic House proposing to go right back to that act. When you do so you will be guilty of a greater fraud than that act itself. I speak advisedly when I say that if the Democratic party, after all the pledges it has made in regard to silver in its platforms, national and State, should take the country back to its condition under the act of 1873, you will have consummated the monumental fraud of the nineteenth century, because we never expected much from Mr. SHERMAN or his party; they never made many promises, as we have.

If we now violate in the light of day every pledge that we have made, we shall be convicted of insincerity, of betraying the people who sent us here, of bowing our necks meekly to the yoke of Wall street. If Democracy means anything, it is that those who come here from the people to represent them should carry out their pledges in good faith. It does not mean that we are to pass an act which (though some people say it will stop the panic) will put a yoke upon your constituencies for probably centuries to come.

I spoke of the British royal commission as having laid down the principles by which bimetallism was maintained in France; and I contend that this Government can maintain it upon the same principles, and at the ratio of 16 to 1. Yet the House will have the opportunity to vote on different ratios. My objection to changing the ratio is, in the first place, that the ratio of 16 to 1 is that which now exists. It is the ratio of the standard silver dollar, which is still the standard silver dollar that it always was. It is the law of the land and basis of equities between debtor and creditor.

Some gentlemen say that gold is the unit of value and the standard. What was meant by the unit of value was simply that the dollar was the unit of account from which we should reckon both down and up—down into fractions and up into multiples. It was merely the unit of account for Government accounts and private debts and everything computed in dollars and cents. That is what it meant. And that unit was to be coined in silver. That was the original act. Whether the unit of value as it appeared in the act of 1873 was intended to mean anything more than the unit of account, I do not care. If it was, then, according to that construction, the silver dollar was the unit of value until 1873.

It was the only dollar authorized and coined until 1849, when the gold dollar was authorized to be coined. But the silver dollar was the unit. Now, in the act of 1878, the title reads "An act for the coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character." The context refers to the act of 1837, and the coining of the dollar authorized there with the same superscription, which is the same standard dollar, the silver dollar, that has been identically the same in all of the history of our country. That act restored that standard as the standard dollar, and displaced the gold dollar.

There is no question about that. We do not coin the gold dollar at all to-day. It is prohibited to be done at the mints, and the only dollar that is coined is the silver dollar; and I repeat, sir, I deny that the gold dollar is the standard of value. When we resumed specie payments and came from the midst of the greenback circulation to coin payments, we emerged with a

standard silver dollar coined at the mints, and had been for nearly a year. In all of our business obligations, in all of our contracts since the resumption of specie payments, we refer to the standard silver dollar. We have been coining them, and our contracts rest on silver as well as on gold. But you want to eliminate them altogether and put everything on a gold basis.

But I repeat, sir, I deny the assumption that the gold dollar is the standard. I assert that the silver dollar is now, as it has always been, the unit of value in this country, and therefore that the unlimited coinage of silver will place bullion silver at par at the mints and in the world's markets equally with gold, according to the Chicago platform. It must necessarily do it, and we will comply with the platform and its pledges by coining our silver at a ratio of 16 to 1. For you must take notice that all of the silver in circulation in the world to-day, coined with reference to any ratio to gold, is about 15½, or below that amount. Four billions of silver money is in circulation at a coinage ratio of about 15½, while ours is 16 to 1. We have departed so far from the coinage ratio of the world as to go above 15½. But why? What reason is there for going above 16 to 1.

I say, sir, and the statistics will demonstrate the fact, that if you go back for the last twenty years and compare the production of gold with that of silver, that the ratio of production will be found to be about 15½, or between that and 16 to 1. Of course within the last four or five years the production of silver has increased, but you must take, in making comparisons of this character, long periods and not a few years. Take then for this purpose the production of silver for the last twenty years or since the price of silver has begun to fall, and the comparative production of the two metals is about 15½, or something below 16 to 1.

There is, then, no reason why we should change the existing ratio, except we admit in order to change the ratio that restoring silver to its proper and legitimate function will not restore its value.

Mr. JOHNSON of North Dakota. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. BLAND. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of North Dakota. Can the gentleman name any country of the world, where they have free coinage to-day, where the coin is not debased exactly to the bullion value?

Mr. BLAND. I do not understand the gentleman's question.

Mr. JOHNSON of North Dakota. I say can the gentleman name any country with free coinage where the coin and bullion are not exactly of the same value, and that the bullion value of that country is just the coin value?

Mr. BLAND. There is no country I know of to-day where gold and silver are coined at any fixed ratio free. I am not going on the hypothesis that Mexico or some weak country like that can, by any of its enactments, have any material effect upon the question.

I am speaking of a system for this country where it is proposed to coin the two metals at a fixed ratio, or of a country which, in the language of this report of the British commission, is of "sufficient importance to be considered," where it has property and products and commerce enough to make exchanges, and that country was France. I am not taking a little country like Mexico, that has no fixed relation between the metals, or even India. I speak of bimetallism, having a fixed ratio, and where the country is strong enough in its products to say we will give as much in exchange for 16 ounces of silver as for 1 ounce of gold. This can not be made to apply to single-standard countries. I am speaking of bimetallism, or where a nation of sufficient commerce fixes a ratio of exchange for the two metals with free coinage for both.

Mr. JOHNSON of North Dakota. Can you name such a nation now?

Mr. BLAND. I say that this royal commission, whose report I read awhile ago, admitted that France did it for over seventy years.

Mr. JOHNSON of North Dakota. Any country could have done it then, but no country has done it for the last twenty years.

Mr. BLAND. No country has been trying to do it for the last twenty years, and I want this country to try it. [Applause.]

Here is a country which, in the direction of its resources, is larger to-day than France, England, and Germany thrown together. I say that advisedly. I do not mean that it is larger in population, for we have not got the population. I do not mean greater in its visible wealth, for we have not that; but I do mean in our resources to be developed, in our demands for money as a new people. They are old and effete and worn out, and doomed to particular habits.

We are progressing and demanding money every day. Every new factory that is started in this country is a direct demand upon the monetary supply, and a contraction of the currency to that extent. Every railroad that is built is a demand upon your volume of money, and a contraction of the currency to that extent, as compared to everything else. Every farm that is opened is a new demand for money, and a contraction of the volume of currency; and here we are opening up vast territories, and we ought to open up more still. All these things demand money and must draw upon the present supply, and to that extent the currency is contracted, as compared to everything else.

Now, you can not do business on a contracted currency in this country. So that I say we are not to be compared with those people; and when you compare us, in the way of new demands, new developments, in population to be increased, we are greater than all of them combined; and when a gentleman admits that France and England and Germany, or two of them or all of them, could fix the ratio, they admit that this country can do more than all of them together. [Applause.] There is no question about that. You admit all the argument there is in it when you admit that much; and here is a commission composed of the most eminent experts of the Old World, a gold commission which admits that France did this thing, and practically admits that France could still do it if she wanted to.

We have been befogged upon this subject. We have been misled and misrepresented. It is difficult to get a silver argument into the subsidized press of this country, and it seems that nearly all the metropolitan papers are included in that term. They will talk about nothing but banks and bonds and gold, and they control practically the press; but the great argument is to come at last, and will come unless you settle it here. It will not stop, but it will be settled.

But if you say we are not able to fix the ratio at 16 to 1, we have offered other propositions. I have stated that I will not vote against a free-coinage bill because the House may fix a ratio that I do not like. I do believe, and I admit the proposition, that the fixing of the ratio is a fair question for discussion and debate; but I do assert that, as a constitutional question, free coinage is enjoined by the Constitution, notwithstanding the learned argument of the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER] to the contrary. [Laughter.] The Constitution inhibits any State in this Union from making anything a legal tender except gold and silver, and it confers upon Congress the sole power to coin money and regulate its value.

Now, does that mean that a State shall make nothing a legal tender, and that Congress will refuse to make anything a legal tender? If the States have conferred a power upon Congress, the exercise of which is necessary to the life of the States, I say it is treason to the States to deny that right as a legal proposition. The States have given up the power to coin money and to make legal tender, and have conferred that power upon Congress. If Congress refuses to exercise this power which is necessary to the very existence of the State, it is, so to speak, disunion. We ought to give back, then, to the States the power to coin money and regulate its value and to make legal tender.

Now, Mr. Speaker, here we are. No State in this Union can coin money or make anything a legal tender except gold and silver. We are denying to them a privilege conferred by the Constitution of this country, which says they may make gold and silver a legal tender. Yet we will not coin it, will not conform to the Constitution and do our duty. Not only that, but "coin money" means an automatic supply. One of the arguments that you can adduce in favor of coin money in place of paper money is that coin money can not be overissued, and that is the most important distinction.

Another argument is that it is not so easily burned up. The metals are not so easily destroyed. Many other qualities pertain to it which it is not necessary to explain; but the great thought underlying all is that the supply of gold and silver is limited by nature, that contracts are based upon the stock on hand, accumulated for ages, as the world has grown up in business; that the values of contracts are fixed by the money of the world thus accumulated, and that the annual supply is so small in amount compared with the vast stock on hand—hardly 1 per cent a year—that you can not impair the equity of contracts by largely inflating the volume of money, nor very seriously disturb property values by lowering the value of the money by a large supply.

But here we want to interfere with that automatic supply. When we have free coinage and the mints open, the production of gold and silver supplies the volume in the manner I have stated; for you make all the stocks of gold and silver on hand and all that comes in the future a part of the possible monetary supply. Nature limits the supply, so that we can not overissue it if we want to. Very good; but some wise people about twenty years ago thought that this continuing supply of gold and silver was interfering with those holding bonds and drawing interest, and living on fixed incomes. They thought the production of silver was going to be largely increased, and would probably lower the value of both gold and silver as money, and hence

they undertook by legislation to prevent the automatic supply of money and to inhibit the coinage of one of the precious metals in order to protect the volume of money from that increase.

Now, we had better be on a paper system than a system like that. If we are to regulate the volume of money by prohibiting the coinage of one of the metals, why not abandon the metals altogether and go to paper at once? We are asked to believe that the contention is true that we do not need much money anyhow, because 90 per cent of the business of the world is done on credit. Why not 100 per cent, and get rid of money altogether? [Laughter and applause.]

The time has come, my friends, when credit goes very slow and a little money very much faster. There is always a day of liquidation, and you must have the money. But, as I said before, if 90 per cent is credit money, why not a 100 per cent? Let us print credit money, but let that money rest upon the credit of the Government and not upon the credit of some bankers in London or Wall street. There is about 90 per cent of the American people who do not know anything about credit. They have to do their business on a cash basis. They must have money.

The concluding part of our bill provides that the dollar coined, whatever it may be, may be deposited and a silver certificate issued on it, as now provided by law; so that if you reach a ratio of 18, 19, or 20 to 1, you still have the same right to a certificate that you have to-day.

Mr. HEARD. I rise to a point of order. There is so much confusion in the House that we can not hear the gentleman speak.

The SPEAKER. The House will be in order.

Mr. BLAND. Now, Mr. Speaker, in closing this argument—and as stated, an argument entirely without preparation, not expecting that I would speak to it at all to-day—I wish to say that the time has come when we will have to decide whether or not this country is to come to monometallism or bimetallism. I think it is the duty of this House, and especially of my associates, to settle this money question, and to settle it on the lines I have pointed out, not by piecemeal, and not by a repeal of an act that sustains the value of silver before fixing the ratio, not to demonetize silver and then undertake to restore it afterwards; but we have time now to arrange, according to the principles of bimetallism, a measure in conformity with our promise to the American people; and we ask our friends on the other side of this question—our Democratic friends on this side, who are so eager to get rid of the Sherman law, so called, and which I do not defend upon any other principle than that it is the only law which sustains silver until we can fix the ratio—I ask them to come in all fairness and enable us to carry out our pledges to restore bimetallism to this country. If you do not, yours is the responsibility, not ours. [Loud applause.]

Mr. PENCE Mr. Speaker, were it not for the extraordinary interest of the people who have sent me here, in the solution of this question and in the termination of this discussion, I certainly should not presume, a new member, and here upon the first day of the discussion, to take advantage of the opportunity given me by grace of the Speaker of the House. But there is not a district, saving and excepting only the district of my colleague from Colorado, whose people, old and young, all of them, will watch with as much concern the developments of the next fourteen days.

I was sorry, Mr. Speaker, to note the tone and words of the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER] who opened this discussion; sorry to see him carry here what we have seen carried now so long through the columns of the metropolitan press, a disposition to treat those of us in Western districts who happen to live in the rugged hills where silver is digged, as if we were foreigners or aliens. I do not exactly gather the reason why the gentleman from Maryland should speak of the Treasury Department acting the part of a pawnbroker to the silver miners of Colorado and Nevada. Mayhap the gentleman knows more of pawnbroking than I do; I know but little. Maybe it was because as I thought then, the sign that is hung out is a golden sign, and the strife within is to deliberately, constantly, always, Jew down the men who bring the silver to them.

That that has been the policy of the present Department is now beyond doubt. It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that the gentleman might have passed by any such allusion as he made to those who have builded up the empires of Colorado and Nevada. It is true that the people of Colorado mine silver, and, under the law since 1873, are compelled to sell it and can not coin it. It is true that they must come with it as a commodity, and not as a coin metal, and it is because the people of that section have come to understand that the platform promises were what the gentleman from Maryland called them, "glittering ketch words"—I suppose "catch words" was intended—that within the last twelve months there has been there, not only within the cañons among our hills, but upon all the broad acres of our prairies, an assertion in line with the feeling of political independence which has wiped old party lines and distinctions absolutely out of existence, and not a man there but stands ready to give some reason for his action and for the faith that dwells in him.

Mr. Speaker, some of us in Colorado had been Democrats until, from the gallery of this House, a year ago last March we witnessed a scene in the Fifty-second Congress, a Congress with an overwhelming Democratic majority pledged to the remonetization of silver according to the "glittering catch words" of its platform—until, I say, we saw that House of Representatives assembled in this Hall and saw that it required the vote of the gentleman who was then and is now Speaker to make a tie, to prevent the untimely death of the Stewart silver bill which had passed the Senate.

That was what put to more serious thought those of us who had been Democrats all our lives and had never learned how to scratch a ticket. That, followed by the acts which came later in the year, was what drove us out of the Democratic party. And I am here to bring to the serious attention of the members of this House the reasons of the political uprising which occurred there, and to trace it, if I may in the short time allotted to me, directly and distinctly to this issue. It was not due to the issues that have been mentioned in the Democratic or the Republican press, not to the tariff issue, and above all, not to the issue spoken of by the New York Sun, which claims that the Democratic party came into power because Mr. Reed of Maine had been a Czar! [Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, in 1884, when the silver issue was first formally presented before the people, the Democratic party declared its position in unequivocal terms, and at that time every Democrat in the land, East and West, accepted its declaration as standing for the remonetization of silver. The scene here to-day is strange enough to attract the attention of every thoughtful voter. Is it possible that the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER], uttering the sentiments he does, and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], uttering the sentiments he does, were both elected last fall upon the same identical platform? [Laughter and applause.]

Yes; since 1884 and the departure that was inaugurated between November, 1884, and March, 1885, just such incongruous possibilities have sprung up within the lines of the good old Democracy. When the Democratic party in 1884 met in convention it declared itself in this language:

> We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

That meant the remonetization of silver at its old ratio, and it was so accepted by the producers of this country, and the party that had lost its power and its prestige in 1860 was reinstated at the other end of this avenue; but, before the inauguration of March, 1885, that platform had been deliberately slapped in the face and spat upon. What followed during the four years of the first Cleveland administration? Not one sincere effort, so far as the Administration was concerned, to remonetize silver.

When in 1888 the party convention met, we found that the Democratic party, not being brave enough, not having temerity enough, to go before the American people and again present Mr. Cleveland upon a silver platform, was absolutely silent upon that question, and the Republican party, which it seems to me has been for many years "working" one side of the street, while the other fellows worked the other—the Republican party declared:

> We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that an effort be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

No, Mr. Speaker, I mistake. I have read the language of the Republican platform of 1884; but in 1888 the Democratic platform having been, as I have said, silent on the silver question, the Republicans declared their position in this language:

> The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

[Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Speaker, it is not my purpose here or now to go one step farther in allusion to political parties or to take part in a partisan discussion. Anything like that would be farthest from my purpose to-day. Elected last fall by a people as brave, as buoyant, as hopeful as any constituency which ever in any day has honored any member of this House, I know that now their industries lie prostrate, pinned to the earth by the course of the present Administration; by the course of the past Administration; by the surrender, past and present, of those who had been elected upon silver platforms and silver pledges.

I certainly would be guilty of a violation of my duty to them if I should at this time go into any partisan discussion which might be calculated to alienate from the silver forces one single positive or negative man, one single positive or negative vote. And inasmuch as the Democracy dominates in this House—inas-

much as, according to all reports which we have been able to obtain, the bulk of the vote in favor of silver must come from that side—I desire to recall to them the words of one or two of their own statesmen. Inasmuch as the doubt which exists, exists as to how votes shall be cast by members of the majority of this House who were elected last fall upon the platform adopted at Chicago, I want to remind them of some words of their own people.

May I be permitted to read, without sending to the Secretay, the words of that statesman who, when unfettered and free, standing the manly representative of an independent constituency, uttreed the words of wisdom with which he has always been gifted and which, until lately, have been accompanied by a courage equal to their wisdom and patriotism. Mr. Carlisle upon this floor, in 1878, used the words which I am about to read. And how came he to use them? Let me recite one or two explanatory circumstances. Senator Stanley Matthews had introduced at the other end of the Capitol the resolution known as "the Matthews resolution," which recited the nature of the legislation that governed the issue of various bonds, and concluded with this language:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring therein), That all the bonds of the United States issued under the said acts of Congress hereinbefore recited are payable, principal and interest, at the option of the Government of the United States, in silver dollars of the coinage of the United States, containing 412½ grains each of standard silver; and that to restore to its coinage such silver coins as a legal tender in payment of said bonds, principal and interest, is not in violation of the public faith nor in derogation of the rights of the public creditor.

At that same time this House had under consideration important matters in this same line. The gentleman who so long and bravely has borne the silver standard—the gentleman who preceded me in this discussion—"Silver Dick" BLAND, as we love to call him in our country—was at that time chairman of the coinage committee which had in preparation a free-coinage bill. The Matthews resolution, which had passed the Senate within a few hours after its introduction by a vote of 43 to 22, came to this House, and three days afterward it was passed by this House without debate by a vote of 189 to 79. Mr. Carlisle voted for the resolution, and when a few days afterward, on the 21st of February, 1878, the Bland coinage bill was under consideration in this House, he, then untrammeled and free, a leader and not a follower, a sender of messages, not a bearer, used these words:

I know that the world's stock of precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it will ever become so. Mankind will be fortunate indeed if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry. According to my view of the subject, the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy by legislation and otherwise from three-sevenths to one-half of the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age. The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilence, and famine that ever occurred in the history of the world. The absolute and instantaneous destruction of half the entire movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads, and all other appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of one-half of the metallic money of the world.

At that time the Democratic side of the House applauded these words. Do they stand ready to applaud these words now? Do they believe that Mr. Carlisle uttered a truth, or do they propose, under the use of what one of the gentlemen from the State of New York, in a recent article in the North American Review, spoke of as the "use of all the means in the hands of the Administration"—do they propose, under such pressure now, to follow in the surrender that the Secretary of the Treasury himself has made?

I do not believe, Mr. Speaker, that all the trust that has been placed by the people in the promises of the two great parties has been entirely misplaced. I do not—and shall not until the last moment and under compulsion—accept the declaration now made, that the President having construed the platform of 1892, all those who were aligned with him last fall must accept his construction. It is true that his message was not an entire surprise to the people of the West. We had here and there for some time been noting the signs of the times—trying to determine what the indications were and what must inevitably be the result of this discussion and of the action of the Administration.

While Mr. Harrison was President Mr. Carnegie contributed to the columns of the North American Review his famous article upon the "A B C of money," and seemed to speak for many when he said that, though a life-long Republican and a life-long protectionist, if in the next campaign (that was the campaign of 1892) there should be upon one side a candidate who was a single gold-standard man and a free-trader, and upon the other a high protectionist in favor of the double standard, he, Andrew Carnegie, the owner of fortunes which we had supposed were chiefly gained through protection, should support the free-trade gold-standard man.

Is it any wonder that we were put to thought, to serious thought? But last fall the Chicago platform in our section, as in all of the wheat, cotton, and corn States of this Union, had received that construction which has been placed upon it by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] here to-day, and not the construction placed upon it by the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER], and we still believed that it was possible that the promise was to be kept. Many hesitated and doubted, and those who had been for life allied with the Republican party turned to the Minneapolis straddle of last year and claimed that it must be accepted as meaning the coinage of silver. If that be true, where are the members of this (the Republican) side of the House who used to maintain that construction? What proportion of them are to be found maintaining by their vote to-day the position maintained by their representatives in the corn and wheat States in last October and November?

A little time passed by, Mr. Speaker, and we first took serious alarm this summer. We still had hoped against hope, and even now hope, perhaps, against hope. But last June when from the pen of the gentleman [Mr. COCKRAN] who now leads, as I understand it, the New York Democracy in this assault against silver in this country—when he in the North American Review in his article on the financial outlook said to the world and to us that—

The recent utterances of the President and of the Secretary of the Treasury, however, appear to settle the question that the present Administration is determined to use all the means at its command to maintain a gold standard—

and when further he said—

The question of free coinage of silver by the United States may be excluded from consideration, as nobody deems the passage of such a law within the limits of possibility during the present Administration—

well indeed might those who had hoped as against hope have become terrorized with fear and apprehension. And since that utterance of last June, followed by this construction which Mr. Preston, Acting Director of the Mint, placed upon the Sherman law of 1890, an encouragement thereby was given to the English creditors, who in the nature of things desired a gold standard in this country, little by little the hopes of our people have been cast down, and not, Mr. Speaker, until within the last forty-eight hours have the hopes of any of us been revived. And why?

Because we have found upon consultation with members of this House, upon both sides of it, that they appreciate and realize the fact that the people who sent them here sent them with the expectation that under no conditions and under no circumstances would a surrender on this vital principle be made to such a message as that which has been sent to us by Mr. Cleveland; and that the people—I do not mean the bankers who meet every night and flood us with petitions, nor the committees of boards of trade, but I mean what George Wilson, of Missouri, calls "the fellows who follow the mule in the corn rows under the hot July and August suns"—I mean that these people still believe that this House of Representatives, equal in dignity with the body that sits in the other end of this Capitol, equal in power, closer to the people, fresher from their midst, will not sooner hang out the white flag of surrender than will the gentlemen of the higher body at the other end of the building. And within two weeks the people will have come to know whether that conclusion is well founded or otherwise.

I say, then, Mr. Speaker, that we have renewed our hopes because the members of this House can not fail to recall, when once reminded of it, that nowhere, at no time, at no State convention within the limits of the United States, except once in the State of Massachusetts two years ago, has the Democratic party ever presumed to declare for the single gold standard now urged by the President. No member of the House in the majority, and but few in the minority, and none in the smaller minority to which I belong, came here with any other expectation upon the part of the people who sent them than that silver would be raised, not stricken down; elevated, not made prostrate; and that the standard dollar which has been the Republican dollar, which has been the Democratic dollar, which has been the dollar of all the people, should receive, not the cold shoulder, but the bright and warming and beaming smile of the members on all sides of this question.

Is there any member here from a wheat or cotton State who feels that he can go home and explain to his people that he did a patriot's duty and well fulfilled the commission with which he was intrusted when he suddenly, without notice to his constituents, surrendered to the call of the gold-standard men? It may be that there are those who can. I mention this, not as a threat, but as a simple reminder to the members of this House that the same voters who sent us here last fall by their suffrages certainly have not all of them become forgetful of the conditions upon which we were sent. They have not all of them failed to regard the understanding upon which we were honored and trusted.

Upon what theory, I ask, can a Republican minority, by a pre-

ponderance of its votes or by any considerable number of its votes, find justification before the people of this country in carrying out the behest and command of a Democratic Administration? Upon what line or theory are they to explain when they go home next time that their duty was patriotically performed and that their pledges were fulfilled? It is strange—and we have regarded it as strange since this discussion originally began—that to-day, not perhaps amongst the members of this House, and I will not say so, but in the columns of the metropolitan press, Democratic and Republican, we find the same men who, upon the tariff question, have for years and years besought the American people to stand out against England, and England's pauper conditions, and to maintain here under our own bright Stars and Stripes an American policy, now most active in trying to prevail upon the members of this House, by their editorial utterances, to surrender absolutely any idea of America having any policy of her own upon the money question.

We find this true in the press of both of the great parties, and why does it happen? How does it happen that those who were so jealous of the American plan and the American policy, who have so roundly denounced the attempt of the Democracy to surrender to the Cobden Club and to the free traders of England and to bring our poor laboring men into competition with the pauper labor of Europe, how does it happen that now and here upon this question of greater importance you protest that we must wait upon England, that we must not remonetize until England consents, and that when we remonetize we must do so at a ratio which meets with the approval of England?

What! Wait upon England to fix the ratio for us? With one twenty-fifth of the population of the earth, producing two-fifths of the silver, shall we yield the entire vantage that comes thereby to them? Just as well say to them that by arbitrary law, final and irrevocable, we would go into international commission with England and Germany to determine what should be the price of the wheat, the corn, and the cotton; for, as they need the one they need the other, and like as they must have the one they must have the other.

But we find this condition of affairs: We find, according to the claims that are made, a considerable proportion of the Republican minority standing ready to do that which they never would do for a President of their own selection—ready to surrender.

Let me say to the gentlemen from the West and South that in the East we find no difference. When this vote comes, two weeks from now, unless the political denomination of each member is designated, when you go down the call of the "ayes" who support the message of the President, how are you to tell the Eastern Democrat from the Eastern Republican?

According to prophecies made, you will find them standing together; and I maintain, now and here, to the members from the West and South, that there should be that same degree of vigor and energetic organization for the protection of our people that you find down here, east of the Allegheny Mountains. Regardless of party, Democrats and Republicans alike, you should find a determination and a purpose to redeem now, in Washington, the promises that were made out in Illinois and Tennessee and Iowa last September and October. Unless that is done, the reckoning that must finally come—mentioned now in no sense as a threat—must be one that will call upon the members of those sections for a plain and candid explanation of the reasons for the surrender now contemplated by the bill introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON].

I say, why is it, Mr. Speaker, that, regardless of party, we find the Eastern and Northeastern members of this House united? Because, according to the course of the financial legislation ever since the war, every benefit has been diverted to them and every burden has been shifted upon our Western people. And when I speak of our Western people I allude now only to those who dwell in the mining States. Those who dwell in mining States went into the vastnesses of those hills, into that wilderness upon the very frontier of what you gentlemen in your old-time geographies marked as the Great American Desert, and by their energy and pluck they have there builded up an empire of wealth. They went there under what protection of the Federal law? They went there under the protection of a law that had been upon our books since the days of Washington, Hamilton, and Jefferson. Never once had that policy been interfered with. Never once had any of the people asked that it be revoked. Never once under any circumstances had there been any body, commercial or otherwise, asking for the repeal of that law.

Now, the transaction done in this House in 1873, according to all the testimony from members of both political parties then here represented, was done covertly and secretly by fraud; and the people who had settled that section, who had developed the mines of that country, who had produced the silver necessary for the money uses of this land, had no notice in the world that the doors of the mints at Philadelphia, New Orleans, and Carson were to be suddenly, without notice, without demand from anywhere, closed against their product. It is not necessary now and here, or at this day, to review any of the testimony as to the manner of the demonetization of silver.

We all know to-day that there lives but one man, and he the senior Senator from Ohio, who pretends that the demonetization act was demanded by anybody, or that anybody except himself understood it to be a demonetization act. And from that time, as soon as the people understood that silver had been stricken down or assaulted, an effort has been made by the people of this country to secure from one or the other of the great political parties a promise that has been made in each successive campaign for its remonetization.

Mr. Speaker, I do not know—of course, no man can tell now—how many there will be to follow the course of the eminent gentlemen who but a few years ago stood upon this floor and advocated the remonetization of silver and who to-day are members of the President's official family and seem to be committed against that policy. It is hard and difficult, at this stage of the proceedings to reach any determination; but I have said, and say again, that the people in whose behalf I speak upon this floor still are gathered together to-day in their homes and idly around the furnaces where the fires have been compelled to expire.

In that Commonwealth which possessed but six months ago a degree of wealth equal to any State in this Union, they are bracing each other up to-day with the expression of hope that in this body there will be found enough and more than enough to stand against the message of the President, and to stand for the fulfillment of the promises that have been made, to stand courageously and valiantly in behalf, not of the creditor class but of the debtor class of this land, and here finally to say by their votes that the time has not yet come when one branch of this Government can be compelled by another, or driven by another, or persuaded or cajoled by another into an act which will add to the amount of the indebtedness of every debtor and add to the credit of every creditor, whether on this or upon the other side of the Atlantic Ocean.

Let me ask of the gentlemen from the New England States, while it is to your plain advantage to increase the value of the dollar, while it is to your advantage to make it so that it will take more of wheat and more of corn and more of the products of every kind of the broad acres of the West with which to buy it, whether that product is purchased or taken in the payment of a debt: Can you afford as Americans, can you afford as the fathers of the boys and girls who went into our country and there raised the flag and extended the wealth and the territory over which it waves—can you, because of the pitiful percentage of advantage you will get, vote for a policy which gives the bulk and the majority of the increase of credit to those who have no citizenship or interest in this land?

It is true, as we look upon it in the West, that Boston will get its share of the benefit of sustaining the law which the President seeks. It is true that New York will also; but after all, London, England, will have four-fifths of it. Can you, Representatives from the New England States, afford as patriots, as Americans, for the pitiful share of advantage you will secure, join in the demand of England for the legislation that is here proposed?

Why do I suggest this? Mr. Speaker, only a year or two ago we in the West heard, as you did in the South and East, the proclamation of the "Plumed Knight," who was then upon his visit in France, I believe, and we remember that the cable carried to us and to you the account of the vast increase of the wealth of this land, and we joined and shared in the pride and satisfaction that came to us when that eminent leader of his party pointed out that we not twice more, but five times more than any other nation upon the face of the globe, had increased our wealth from 1880 to 1890; and so we had.

We found an aggregate wealth of sixty billions to sixty millions of people; and a simple arithmetical calculation gave us the average for every man, woman, and child in arms in the country at $1,000. I do not know what the facts were in Massachusetts. The average there may have been all right, but in Iowa, Colorado, and some other States, the average was not found to turn out exactly right. The aggregate was all right, but a further study was had and the same census upon which our pride in the West had been founded, the same sworn returns, reports, and statistics which had filled us with satisfaction and joy, pointed out to us that within that decade the increase in wealth of Massachusetts alone had been $569,000,000.

Five hundred and sixty-nine millions! If that were true, what must be the increase of wealth in the broad, rich acres of Illinois and of Indiana? Well, the same statistics brought us to a realization of the fact that Nebraska, and Iowa, and Illinois, and Indiana, and Louisiana, and Mississippi, and Alabama, and Geor-

gia, and North Carolina, nine empires of rich acres, teeming with industrious men and women, containing fifty-eight times as many acres as Massachusetts, fourteen times as many people to start with in 1880, and twice as much assessed value, the census, I say, brought us to a realization of the fact that the whole nine of these great empire States had gained in wealth in the same period but $559,000,000. Massachusetts alone had gained ten millions more than the entire nine!

These are the facts and figures, gentlemen of the House of Representatives, which have been studied in the humble cottages and homes of the western plains and hills. These are the conditions which the people there will no longer hesitate to rebuke. It is no wonder that Mr. Carnegie, standing not only for a protected class but for the creditor class, for the class that holds the evidences of indebtedness over all the productive sections of this country, the class that holds the State and county and town and city and township bonds of every agricultural State and levies the first tribute as an interest charge that is levied upon the people's toil—it is no wonder that he should say that if he were compelled to relinquish either the dimes which came to him through protection or the dollars which came to him through infamous and imbecile financial legislation, he would hold on to the dollars and say good-bye to the dimes. It is no wonder that he should say that in 1892, if put to a selection between a free-trade gold-standard candidate and a high-protection double-standard candidate, he would support the free trader.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER] spoke of the Sherman law as one that had brought crisis and disaster upon this country by its enforcement. The trouble has been that at no time since its enactment has either the letter or the spirit of that law been enforced.

It seemed very strange to us that any bill which purported to provide for either the purchase or the coinage of more silver should be called by the name of the "Sherman act." It seemed anomalous to us that a bill sometimes called a silver bill should at other times be called the Sherman bill, and it took some time and some research to discover why the Senator from Ohio, whose position on this subject has always been understood, should in 1890 have voted for and supported a measure which provided for the use or the purchase of more silver than was provided for under the Bland-Allison act. It of course was found to be the proviso in that bill, which permitted the Secretary of the Treasury, after a fixed date, in the exercise of his discretion, to practically terminate and cut off all coinage of silver.

It was not because the law provided for the purchase of four and one-half million ounces of silver per month as against $2,000,000 worth under the Bland law that the Senator from Ohio gave it his support. It was because after a fixed time—the 1st of July, 1891—the Secretary of the Treasury, in the exercise of his discretion, was given authority to cut off entirely the future coinage of silver, and that was done. It was that proviso in the bill that secured the support of the Senator from Ohio. Mr. Speaker, it is not, and it has not been at any time, the extent of the use of silver, but the kind of the use of silver, to which our people have objected.

When Mr. Harrison last fall spoke of an enlarged use of silver, in line with his policy of purchasing it at the lowest possible price and as a commodity, the objection upon our part was not to the extent of the use, but to the kind of use. Upon the floor of the Senate in 1850 and odd, when there was a discussion upon the repeal of the Missouri compromise act, Mr. Benjamin, of Louisiana, spoke in feeling terms against an arbitrary law that would prevent him from carrying into the State of Missouri the beloved family servant that had dwelt with him for years; and the Senator from Ohio, Mr. Wade, in answering him, said:

> The law and we do not protest against the Senator carrying with him his colored servant into the State of Missouri. What we protest against is his selling her after he gets her there.

[Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, as I have said, it is the kind and not the extent of the use of silver that we complain of; and we believe, as sincerely as any class of citizens ever believed in a political tenet, that the rehabilitation of silver will be as directly and positively to the advantage of all the producers on all the acres in the West and South and to the laborers in the East as it will be to the advantage of the silver miners in the mountain States.

As to figures and statistics touching this matter, I shall trust to my colleague and others who may follow me in this discussion to advise the House. Without detaining the House further, I thank it for its attention. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to call attention to a portion of the language of the order adopted this morning. That order provides that the daily sessions of the House shall continue from 11 a. m until 5 p. m., and that "night sessions may be held for debate only, at the request of either side." Unless some provision be made for a night session, the Chair, at the hour of 5 o'clock, will declare the House adjourned until to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock. The Chair does not know the disposition of the House as to a night session; that matter the House will determine for itself.

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama addressed the House, but had not concluded; when

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama will please suspend. The Chair will lay before the House some personal requests of members.

[Mr. WHEELER of Alabama withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. SICKLES, for two weeks, on account of sickness.

To Mr. RYAN, until Monday, on account of important business.

To Mr. HAUGEN, for five days.

The SPEAKER. The hour of 5 o'clock having arrived, in accordance with the order heretofore made, the House stands adjourned until to-morrow at 11 o'clock a. m.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SATURDAY, *August 12, 1893.*

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. SAMUEL W. HADDAWAY.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read.

CORRECTION.

Mr. HAGER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make a correction. I was present and voted "no" on the demand for the previous question made by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] yesterday, and I do not find my vote recorded. (See p. 244.)

The SPEAKER. The correction will be made.

The Journal as amended was approved.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee, for ten days, on account of a death in his family.

To Mr. WALKER, for ten days, on account of important business.

PRINTING AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Mr. RICHARDSON offered the following resolution; which was unanimously agreed to:

Resolved, That there be printed 20,000 copies of the President's message for the use of the House of Representatives; the same to be bound in paper and delivered to the Doorkeeper for distribution to Members and Delegates.

SILVER.

The House resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

[Mr. WHEELER of Alabama withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, there comes down to us from mythological times a story that Hercules on his journey once came to a point where there were two roads. He did not know which to take. From one there emerged a maiden in gaudy attire, beckoning him her way. Hercules said to her, "What is thy name?" She replied, "My name is Pleasure, but my enemies call me Vice." And from the other road there emerged another maiden in modest attire, beckoning him her way; and Hercules asked of her, "What is thy name?" She replied, "My name is Virtue. The road to which I invite you is difficult, but the end is joy and peace." Mr. Speaker, we have come to two roads. Sound finance beckons us on to prosperity and national honor; "free silver" and a debased currency beckon us on to financial ruin, dishonor, and disgrace.

Mr. Speaker, I begin my remarks by saying that I am most heartily in favor of the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver bill, but the remainder of that act which declares that the Government shall maintain the metals at a parity is wise statesmanship and should stand.

So much of the President's message as relates to gold, silver, and the currency has my most hearty and unqualified approval. So much of his message is good sound Republican doctrine, and I believe is wise and far-reaching statesmanship, and meets the unqualified approval of a large majority of the people of this country, without regard to party affiliations.

One of the misfortunes of the present situation is that the so-called silver States have a representation in the other end of

this building entirely disproportionate to their wealth, population, or commercial importance.

The great States of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana have an aggregate population of nearly twenty millions; and these great empire States have not as much voice in the Senate of the United States as the little silver States, with an aggregate population of about two millions, and who have sixteen votes in the Senate, and whose Representatives appear to see everything from the mouth of the silver mine.

Mr. SIMPSON. Will the gentleman permit me to ask a question?

Mr. MORSE. I must decline to be interrupted.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts declines to yield.

Mr. SIMPSON. I would like to ask——

Mr. MORSE. I have but twenty minutes, and with my time so limited I am sorry to be unable to yield for the question of the gentleman from Kansas.

Why the State of Nevada, with a population less than one-quarter of the population of my district, has two Senators and one Representative to vote to Mexicanize our currency and put us on a silver basis.

So far as I have been able to gather from the speeches that have been made here, all the propositions before us upon which we are to vote, all the speakers, are monometallists and lead to a single standard, with the difference that the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. BLAND, and his followers, advocate a policy that would most assuredly place the country upon a silver basis, make gold merchandise, and drive the six or seven hundred millions of gold now in the country out of circulation as a basis of currency or as money.

I regard the proposition made upon this floor that this country unaided and alone can fix the value of silver and its ratio to gold, and compel other nations to adopt that ratio, as the veriest folly.

If this proposition is correct and that by an act of the United States Congress we can fix the ratio of the world, why load down the people with a silver dollar so large as 16 to 1? Why not make it one-half or one-quarter that size?

This proposition is so absurd that it answers itself. Some of the speeches that I have listened to on this floor on this subject make me think of the boy whose father was a clergyman, who was asked by another boy if his father ever preached any of his old sermons? "Oh, yes," he said, "but he does not holler in the same place."

The arguments during this debate are the same old arguments which have often been refuted by abler tongues than mine. The only difference is that the Speaker does not "holler" in the same place.

Suppose that these gentlemen can succeed in passing a free-coinage measure, and suppose that the result which I have predicted should come to pass, *i. e.*, that the country should be put on a silver basis; why, what then? Talk about the tariff increasing the price of foreign goods; why, the tariff would be nowhere; tea, sugar, coffee, silk, and ten thousand things, necessities as well as luxuries, which we do not and can not produce in this country, would have to be paid for in gold or its equivalent in our depreciated currency, and would immediately increase in American money 30 or 40 per cent.

The rich would not be the only or principal sufferers. No class of our people will suffer so much from the depreciated currency as the poor and working people, the purchasing power of whose money would be immediately largely reduced.

And not only that, but the workingman's little savings, the trust funds of widows and orphans invested in a railroad security, a bond, or a mortgage, or deposited in a savings bank, would be reduced by one fell swoop the difference between a 57-cent dollar of silver, if the ratio is fixed at 16 to 1 at present value of silver, and a 100-cent gold dollar.

Whenever the great nations of the world, England, France, Germany, Austria, and Russia, agree upon a ratio for gold and silver, then free coinage of silver will be wise and safe, and our currency, either gold or silver, will be the money of the great civilized nations of the world.

It was believed by the advocates of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act that it would have the effect to greatly enhance the price of silver, and place it perhaps on a parity with gold.

How signally and mournfully this prediction has failed is patent to the humblest citizen. The act had the effect to stimulate silver mining, new appliances have been invented like the steam drill, new and more powerful explosives have been used, and the direct effect has been to greatly cheapen instead of enhancing the price of silver, and it is now proposed to jump out of the frying pan into the fire, and pass a free silver bill, by which we give notice to the world to bring all their old silver junk, pots, kettles, and spoons, as well as bullion, to the United States mints and put 57 cents' worth into a patent slot machine and have it come out stamped a dollar of 100 cents.

The wisest man that ever lived forbid this operation, when he said, under divine inspiration, "A false balance is an abomination to the Lord, but a just weight is his delight."

I look upon this proposition to debase and degrade the currency as an effort very largely on the part of the debtor class to repudiate a portion of the debt under the cover and sanction of the Government of the United States.

Existing loans and indebtedness were created in the currency of the world, which the President describes in his message as gold worth 100 cents on the dollar.

And to pay them in a depreciated currency, worth 50 or 60 cents on the dollar, was forbidden on Mount Sinai, when the Almighty said, amidst thundering and lightnings, and commanded Moses to write on the table of stone, "Thou shalt not steal."

There is another important factor in the matter of this silver problem that must not be lost sight of, and that is, the cost of alluminum is being greatly cheapened, it is manufactured from clay, and it is believed by those qualified to judge that it may before long be produced for 10 cents per pound. The peak of the Washington Monument, whose lofty summit pierces the sky, is capped with this beautiful metal.

It is a beautiful white metal, susceptible of a very high polish, and I believe is destined to take the place of silver in the arts, in tableware, and in the thousand uses to which silver is now employed, and if this is so it can not fail to further greatly depreciate the price of silver in the near future, and exaggerate the evils of silver currency.

Mr. Speaker, while I most heartily agree with the financial utterances of the President in his recent message to this House, I can not agree with him that the present appalling business situation is entirely due to the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. It is believed that the personal property in this country has shrunk one and one-half billion dollars since his election last November.

It is idle and preposterous to attribute this shrinkage, solely and entirely, to the purchase of four and one-half million ounces of silver per month.

The Sherman act was passed July 14, 1890, and had been in operation when the result of the election was known last November two and one-half years without apparent injury to business, and the Government purchases of silver amounting in round numbers to about one hundred and ten million dollars' worth since the act took effect.

And had the Government lost the entire amount, instead of the depreciation, it could in no way explain the terrible shrinkage in values to which I have referred, or the slow panic that is now upon the country.

This has been produced by an entirely different cause. The country has discounted the threats of the Democratic platform, which declares all protection as unconstitutional, and proposes to place the country on a free-trade basis, or a tariff for revenue only. And the country has been getting ready for lower prices promised by Democratic speakers in the last campaign. There is no evidence of overproduction, the merchant has bought from hand to mouth, the manufacturer declines to make goods in the face of a falling market, and the uncertainty hanging over values and the tariff has had the effect that every wise business man foresaw when the result of the election was known last November, *i. e.*, to paralyze business and to throw thousands of workingmen out of work, to destroy our home market and principal market for agricultural products, by driving thousands of men, who were formerly consumers, into the business of last resort—agriculture.

Mr. Speaker, it does not take a statesman to see that if the promises of the Democratic platform are to be performed, and if we are going to buy our goods in England or in other European markets, and if all protection is to be wiped out, then we can not at the same time manufacture goods in this country and give employment to American workingmen.

Under similar conditions in 1847, when we had a tariff for revenue and bought all our goods in England, and had no business in this country but agriculture, in the face of an abundant harvest one inhabitant in thirteen and one-half in New York State was a pauper, and soup houses were opened in every ward in New York City to feed the starving poor; and, unless all signs fail, that thing will be repeated in all large cities in the Union next winter.

God only knows how far the hand on the dial of progress was turned backward at the election last November. The country was at that time prosperous and enjoying unbounded prosperity under the wise and far-reaching statesmanship of the McKinley tariff act.

Never in the history of the world would an average day's pay of a workingman buy as much of the necessities and luxuries. Money was abundant for all purposes. All this is now changed. Instead of expansion we have contraction and hoarding of money; instead of confidence we have distrust; instead of progress in business we have stagnation; our factories are closing, and thousands of workingmen are being turned into the streets.

The home market for agricultural products is destroyed by the very threat of a tariff for revenue only, and I call the attention of the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SIMPSON] to this fact.

Confident I am, if the election were to be held to-morrow, in the light of our present experience the Republican party would sweep every Northern State.

There is no school like the school of experience, and if the people of this generation will learn in no other, they must learn what past generations have learned, that a tariff for revenue or free trade means paralysis and death to every material interest of the country.

Mr. Speaker, in 1847, the period I have mentioned, Horace Greeley wrote in the New York Tribune as follows: "Why is it that the skilled laboring men, willing to work, are going to the soup houses to get enough to sustain themselves and family, when we are paying ninety millions in gold to buy the goods that we could produce with our own labor?"

And, Mr Speaker, when the free trade promises of the Democratic platform are performed, that will mean three hundred millions of gold sent to Europe to buy goods we could and should make ourselves.

Mr. Speaker, a great Virginia statesman, Patrick Henry, in his immortal argument in favor of independence, in the Virginia House of the Assembly, in 1775, exclaimed, "Why stand we here idle? The clash of resounding arms is already heard on the plains of Boston." The Virginia patriot was moved with pity for his distressed and oppressed countrymen in the then far distant Massachusetts colony. A national calamity is upon us, the cry of distress goes up from an afflicted country. Why this delay by this Democratic Congress? "Why stand we here idle?"

The situation of the country is appalling; the eyes of the country and the world are upon us as never before.

The President has wisely pointed out a financial danger which threatens us, and the majority of this House should proceed at once to define and declare its economic and financial and tariff policy, especially its tariff policy, that the uncertainty be removed, and that the great business interests of the country may know the worse, and the conditions which will confront them as regards finances and the tariff.

In the words of Patrick Henry "Why stand we here idle?"

Now, one word in regard to the relations of the two parties to this financial question. The preposterous claim is made in Massachusetts by the Boston Herald and other Democratic papers and speakers that the Democratic party is in favor of the gold standard and the Republican party is the party of free coinage of silver. And, say they, "Did not we send a stripling from Massachusetts to the Fifty-second Congress to fight this Goliah?" Any man who would make such a claim on this floor would be laughed to scorn.

One of the Democratic speakers on yesterday called attention to the fact that the Democratic conventions in every State in the Union, save Massachusetts, who had made any expression had declared for free coinage of silver. And I shall be happily disappointed if, when the votes are counted, it is found that the President can command the vote of 20 per cent of his party to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act.

But, did not the Republicans pass the Sherman act? Yes. And did not the Democrats vote against it? Yes; but for an entirely different reason than the Democrats in my section would have the country believe.

The Sherman act was a compromise to prevent the passage of a free-coinage measure by the nearly solid vote of the Democratic party aided by a few Republicans from the silver States. I say the Sherman act was denounced on this floor and in my hearing, in the Fifty-first Congress, by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] and others, as a gold-bug measure, hostile to silver.

Could the Republican conferees have gotten into the bill the provision making the purchasing clause inoperative after two or three years, which we were prevented from doing by the solid opposition of the Democratic party, all would have been well.

Why, Mr. Speaker, the moment you say "honest money," "board of trade," "chamber of commerce," "national bank" on this floor that moment the Democratic party on this floor cries out "Shylock," "gold-bug," "Wall street"—as though the great business of this country could be done without these institutions.

All honor to the President, who has simply taken Republican ground on the subject of finance, and all honor to those Democratic members on this floor, like the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER], who break from their party and vote with the Republicans to sustain the President in his defense of our national financial honor.

The last Democratic campaign in Massachusetts was run on the poor man's dinner pail. In the next campaign the Democratic speakers will please tell him how to get something to put in his dinner pail under the policy of free trade.

The Democratic rallying cry last November was "Retrenchment and reform." In the light of present experience I submit that these words will be a stench in the nostrils of the American people before this Administration closes. Its imbecility is seen not only in the management of the Treasury Department, but in the State Department as well—witness its imbecility with reference to the Sandwich Islands matter, endangering and threatening foreign complications. Witness the same with reference to the Chinese-exclusion act—a hoodlum Democratic measure sprung on the last House of Representatives on suspension day.

The Supreme Court has declared the act constitutional. Why does not the Administration enforce the act? No, the American people are learning in the dear school of experience that the Democratic party is incompetent to run this Government. Until the country shall show, by town, city, State, and Congressional elections, that the country repudiates that party, there can be little relief from the awful Democratic nightmare that now sits upon the vitals of this fair country of ours.

Does the House or the country want proof of the effect of the principles and policy of the Democratic party upon the welfare and prosperity of the country? Read "A deadly parallel," one an extract from President Harrison's message near the close of his administration, and the other an extract from President Cleveland's message six months after his administration began:

A DEADLY PARALLEL.

Opening of President Harrison's message to Congress, December, 1892:

"In submitting my annual message to Congress I have great satisfaction in being able to say that the general conditions affecting the commercial and industrial interests of the United States are in the highest degree favorable. A comparison of the existing conditions with those of the most favored period in the history of the country will, I believe, show that so high a degree of prosperity and so general a diffusion of the comforts of life were never before enjoyed by our people."

Opening of President Cleveland's message to Congress, eight months later, August, 1893:

"The existence of an alarming and extraordinary business situation, involving the welfare and prosperity of all our people, has constrained me to call together in extra session the people's representatives in Congress, to the end that through a wise and patriotic exercise of the legislative duty with which they solely are charged present evils may be mitigated and dangers threatening the future may be averted."

Aaron said to Moses, "Their rock is not as our rock, our enemies themselves being judges." The laboring people are coming to see that they were lied to and deceived in the last campaign and that the prosperity of the manufacturer is their prosperity, his misfortune their loss and misfortune.

Mr. Speaker, I have two minutes of my time remaining. In that time I desire to send to the Clerk's desk the following resolutions of the Boston Chamber of Commerce; I assure you a body of very great respectability and entirely a nonpartisan body.

The Clerk read as follows:

The following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted at a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce held on July 12, 1893:

Whereas since the passage on July 14, 1890, of the so-called Sherman act, this country has fairly tried the policy of purchasing silver bullion, and as a result finds its Treasury depleted by the withdrawal of gold, and filled with silver which it can neither circulate nor sell, and which is rapidly depreciating in value, the confidence of the nation and of all who deal with it greatly shaken, and business everywhere checked; and

Whereas while this policy continues no man feels safe in making contracts, investing capital, or undertaking new enterprises, and unless confidence can be restored the gravest disasters, depriving capitalists of their property and laborers of their livelihood, are likely to ensue; and

Whereas it is the merest folly for this country with its enormous natural resources, its unexampled credit, its annual income of thousands of millions, its magnificent crops which other nations must buy to live, its great and thoroughly organized industries, and everything that can make it rich and prosperous, to allow its whole business life to be paralyzed by suicidal laws: Therefore

Resolved, That the Boston Chamber of Commerce in public meeting assembled hereby calls earnestly upon Congress, which is soon to convene, for the immediate and unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing clauses of said act.

Resolved, That a committee of three members, of which the president shall be one, be appointed by the chair to coöperate with other commercial bodies representing similar interests, at Washington, with power to use all legitimate means for the prompt repeal of the purchasing clauses of the Sherman silver act.

A true copy.

EDWARD KEMBLE, *President.*

Attest:

ELWYN G. PRESTON, *Secretary.*

BOSTON, *July 20, 1893.*

Mr. HARTER. Mr. Speaker, in common with the other members of this House I came here from my home fully aware of the serious condition in which the whole business of the country finds itself. With banks failing daily, with thousands of men discharged from employment every twenty-four hours, with busi-

ness paralyzed, with the largest and strongest banks in the United States in a condition of semisuspension—I came here, I repeat, with the rest of you, cognizant of the agony which the country is undergoing, familiar with the dangers ahead of it, knowing that the people are silent in their anxiety to hear from this House, a silence which to-day is so eloquent that you can easily interpret it.

Under the circumstances there ought to be but very little difference of opinion as to the cause of the difficulty. I felt, Mr. Speaker, that the members of this House would be found a unit in applying a remedy. But I find, unfortunately, there is a wide diversity of opinion as to the remedy and a difference of opinion on the question as to what has caused the present lamentable condition of our country.

I came here, Mr. Speaker, anxious and ready for immediate action. I came here desirous of voting on this question without delay. I would have been glad, for my part, considering the condition of the country and the deep concern of the people of the land, to have sat here day and night to force a prompt decision on a question of such vital importance. I am not one of those who felt it necessary to occupy valuable time in the discussion of the matter. It seemed to me that the House would be able to act at once in the direction of relief; and I am not on my feet now, nor shall I be at any time in the course of the fourteen days it is to be before us, for the purpose of awakening partisan feeling upon it.

I have no wish to secure any personal distinction as a supporter of the measures which will relieve distress in our country. I have no personal nor have I any party interest in the matter. If there is to be party gain by saving the country from its present ruinous condition I for one am willing that the Republican party may have all of it, if as a consequence we can lift the country out of the deep pit into which it has fallen. I am not here to criminate or to recriminate. I am able, I think, to diagnose this case, however, and tell from whence comes the present crisis. I am sure I could say where the responsibility rests for our present condition, but I do not feel that on an occasion like this it is proper to call up, establish responsibility, or to dwell upon a matter of this kind.

The nature of our national disease, acute, painful, and dangerous, we ought easily to agree upon, and it ought to be easy also to unite upon a cure, but it seems from the speeches made here that this is not the case.

Had I in coming to the Capitol this morning found a man in the last stages of inebriety, a man disabled by alcoholism, lying in the gutter, I know that if he had been taken to the hospital that competent surgeons would have had no difficulty whatever in diagnosing his case or in applying a remedy or in fixing the treatment to which he should be subjected. But, sir, in looking over this House it strikes me that had that poor drunken man in the midst of his delirium been set down in this House, and the members here had to apply the remedy, there would have been a wide difference of opinion.

I am quite sure that my friend the doctor from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER] would have diagnosed his case somewhat after this fashion: "Here is a poor fellow suffering from alcoholism. He has too much of it in his system—too great a quantity in his circulation. If you would save his life let alcohol, rum, and strong drink be kept from him. He needs a careful course of medication, good nursing, and great care." In other words, he would probably say that the inebriate needed the gold cure. [Laughter.] But, on the other hand, my friend the doctor from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] would diagnose the case quite differently and look at it from another standpoint and in a totally different light. He would say, "This poor fellow needs more whisky in his system. [Laughter.] Rent a brewery, or buy a distillery for him, and if proof spirits are not strong enough put him on an exclusive alcohol diet."

Here we have, to-day, Mr. Speaker, Uncle Sam in a condition in which he never appeared before among the nations of the world. At a time when he should be erect, at a time when he should control the commerce of the world, favored by good crops while Providence has denied this blessing to other countries, at a time when we should be at the flood tide of prosperity and when all men should have profitable employment, we find a vastly different condition. Instead of this we find Uncle Sam prostrate and almost in a comatose state; we find him in such a condition that he will have to go—and at once, too—into the national hospital for treatment——

Mr. GROSVENOR. Will it interrupt my colleague to ask him a question?

Mr. HARTER. I will not consider it an interruption, but hope it will not be taken out of my time.

Mr. GROSVENOR. In the case supposed by my colleague, of a victim of alcoholism, what opinion would he entertain of that physician who simply suggested the stoppage of the cause of the difficulty, and made no prescription as to the treatment of the victim? [Laughter.] I say, what would he think of that physician?

Mr HARTER. I am, sir, somewhat of a homeopathist, a believer in mild remedies, and I think that a mild remedy will sometimes cure where a radical one will kill.

A MEMBER. You ought not give him more liquor.

Mr. HARTER. I certainly would not give him any more liquor. But we bring Uncle Samuel into this hospital of ours here, we gather the doctors around him, and we discover that the trouble with Uncle Samuel is that, instead of whisky in his circulation, he has too much silver; and yet there are gentlemen on the floor of this House with national and international reputations who say that the remedy for this thing is to fill him up with more silver!

It is, indeed, very singular that men can not understand the situation in which the country now is. They hold to a kind of an antediluvian view of this question. I can imagine these gentlemen alongside of Noah, when Noah was in the ark, when the waters covered the earth and, mounting higher, covered the trees, and reached far up the mountain sides. When Noah said to them, "I think you had better come in, you will get wet," they, in the presence of the water, which was coming up closer and closer, nearer and nearer to their lives and the lives of those dear to them—I can imagine these gentlemen saying, "There is no danger from water, Mr. Noah; what we are afraid of is drought."

I at least expected that the gentlemen who have advocated the kind of measures which have injected into the money circulation of the country more silver than we can digest would, from their places in this House, offer us some remedy. I felt certain they would deal in their speeches with the principles which underlie and which must settle this question; but as I listen to these gentlemen, for all of whom I have great respect and for some of whom I have considerable admiration also, I find that this is not the course which they have pursued. Their addresses on this subject, so far as I have heard them, have not touched principles at all.

It is true they have used denunciation with skill. They have used persuasive eloquence in dealing with the question, but it seems to me, with all due deference to them and to this House, that these speeches have up to this point consisted purely of sentiment, of prophecy, of denunciation, and of threats. It has been said to those who stand upon this floor and who believe the financial salvation of the country depends upon stopping the purchase of pig silver—it has been said to us, "If you pass this measure your places in this House will be vacant."

Well, Mr. Speaker, stop this purchase of silver, give us a standard of value which will be both permanent and honest, which will equally benefit the farmer at the plow, the workman at the forge, the banker in his parlor, and the manufacturer at his desk—give the country such a standard as this, and I say to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] that my place in this House is at his service, and I am willing to go home and shake the dust of Washington from my feet and never enter this House again as a member of it. There is no threat which can move a man when his conscience is engaged in a cause like this.

Mr. BOATNER. Will the gentleman allow an interruption right there?

Mr. HARTER. Yes.

Mr. BOATNER. Did, the gentleman run, and was he elected upon the Chicago platform?

Mr. HARTER. No, sir; I was elected upon a platform which I myself wrote, and which pledged us to a sound money, which would drive neither gold or silver out of general circulation; and I stand upon that platform to-day.

Mr. BOATNER. I would like to ask the gentleman another question. Does he know anything on the silver question now that he did not know ten months ago?

Mr. HARTER. I reply to my friend from Louisiana that I know a little more on the silver question than I did ten months ago, a little more than I did ten weeks ago, a little more than I did ten days ago, a little more than I did ten hours ago, and I expect to know a little more on all other questions than I do now, the longer I live.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. If the gentleman is improving in his knowledge on this subject as he says he is, he will be ready to vote right by to-morrow.

Mr. HARTER. I am ready to vote aright to-day.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. Has the gentleman gained some ideas from the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER]?

Mr. HARTER. I believe I shall always be able to learn something from the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER].

In relation to questions of this character there is altogether too much superstition: too much climbing into the air and into the clouds, instead of recollecting that upon all great questions it is

an easy matter to find the truth. The greater the question the more important it is to mankind; the easier it is to get into the right track.

Examine any great political question involving the welfare of a whole people, and you will find the truth does not lie as deep as does the silver of the silver miner. On the contrary, the truth is easily discovered if you take the trouble to look for it. The difficulty about all such questions lies in the fact that men deal with them as if they were complex and treat them as if it were impossible to get accurate and conclusive information about them.

Let us look upon this question as we look at all the ordinary questions of life. What is money? What is it for? How did it come into use? Away back in the ages men bartered. When a man who owned cattle killed one he took the skin to the shoemaker and traded it for a pair of shoes. The man who grew flax in the field took it to the woman who spun cloth and obtained the goods she made in exchange; but after a little while this was too primitive for an advancing, progressive race. Men wanted to be able to buy from everybody the things they had at a fair value. It suggested itself to them in their peculiar civilization that these things had a commercial value that men should recognize everywhere.

Thus they came to use shells, wampum, tobacco, cocoanuts, and all that kind of media. Mankind advanced to the use of iron, copper, and silver, as the years progressed; and, finally, the most intelligent and enlightened people, whose business transactions involve large sums, desiring that their finances should be based on a safer and a more stable unit of exchange, came to use gold as their standard of value; and yet now, in the year 1893, in the greatest commercial nation upon the face of the globe, we find some of the representatives of an intelligent people, men sent here to vote for the workman, the farmer, the planter, the scholar, the professional man, ranging themselves upon this question alongside of silver. Whom do they stand with? Where, we ask, are their associates upon this issue?

Mr. BOATNER. The Democratic party of the United States.

Mr. HARTER. The Democratic party of the United States has not yet reached a condition where it makes itself a bedfellow with Dahomey and Patagonia on this question. But, whom do they represent? With whom do they stand? Not with India, because even the Hindoos have shown within the last few weeks that the unlimited silver standard is not good enough for them, much less for this intelligent people. But they have China and Japan on their side; they have Dahomey with them, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Peru, and Patagonia, also. What we ask them to do is to support a fair and honest standard of value, such as we advocate, one that neither robs the rich nor poor, but protects all alike, and which will conduct with safety all the business of this country, whether it be great or small.

Where do we stand? What nations are our companions? We stand abreast of all the great and intelligent nations of the world. England, Germany, France, Austria, Scandinavia, and the whole Latin Union, as well as the Peninsular countries of Portugal and Spain, are our associates. We are alongside of and in harmony with all the foremost commercial nations, and in full fellowship with the highest commercial intelligence in the world; while our friends, the advocates of free silver, are proposing to make their beds with the children of Dahomey and the inhabitants of Patagonia on this great question.

But after all I apprehend it is the real wish of men here on both sides, of everybody in fact, to provide a suitable and abundant currency. Our sentiments upon this point at least are parallel. We are equally patriotic so far. This being true, let us spend a little time together and see whether we can not discover where the truth lies, and when we have found it let us pursue it and settle this issue in its light and for the common good.

If in this effort we go down to the primer, or even to the alphabet of the currency question, perhaps we can all learn a little that will prove of value to us. Now, what is necessary in a money? What do you conceive to be necessary in order to make a money desirable? A desirable money must have two qualities. The first quality is volume. It serves as a circulating medium, it facilitates exchange, it helps to move the cotton bale from the plantation to the market, it brings the bushel of wheat from Dakota to New York. But that is not a very important element now or generally. It involves the volume of your currency, but there are so many substitutes for this quality that it is of less importance than the other, which is its use as a measure of value.

Money is so little used now as an instrument of exchange, compared with its former use, that it is comparatively of little importance how much of it you have. Let us reason this out. In the first place, take our own country. I shall not plead the "baby act" for the American people. I hold to the idea that an American can do business with as little money or with less money than any other human being on the face of the globe, and do it better; not to the idea that he needs more than anybody and everybody else. Now, how is it in America? Take one hundred business transactions, in how many of them do you use money as a currency? In just about eight cases out of the hundred. Volume of currency, then, in our country is not of much importance. The relative importance of volume compared with its quality as a standard of value is about as one to ten, or even less than that.

Gentlemen talk a good deal about our circulation per capita. I have very little faith in this per capita claptrap. Let us talk a little about our per capita circulation. They tell us that we have got $24 of circulation per capita, but under our banking methods what have we got? First, the national banks have $27 per capita, as represented by deposits; the savings banks hold $27 per capita; for the trust companies and the private banks $18 is a very small estimate. Add these figures together and you will find what amount of circulation your banking methods give you. They give you $72 per capita. In other words, through this machinery of banking we have increased the currency of the country three times over. But that is not all. Look at the clearing-house returns. They show that for the year ending with the 30th of June last, we had exchanges amounting to $1,000 per capita throughout this country.

Mr. STOCKDALE. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. HARTER. I shall be delighted to answer questions, but I hope that the time so occupied will not be taken out of my allowance.

Mr. STOCKDALE. I want to ask the gentleman how much money there is in the United States?

Mr. HARTER. I trust the House will not deduct this from my time, and I shall endeavor to answer the gentleman's question.

Mr. STOCKDALE. I ask the question merely for information.

Several MEMBERS (to Mr. HARTER). We will give you more time.

Mr. HARTER. All right. I will try to answer the gentleman's question. There is about $1,600,000,000. Now, by way of parenthesis, I wish to say right here, lest I should overlook it later, that if we had never had the Bland-Allison act, nor the act of 1890, sometimes called the Sherman act, the circulating medium of this country would to-day be over $2,000,000,000, and a very large part of it would be in gold coin, or in credits payable in gold. So we have not even gained in volume circulation by this scheme which has brought our country down to her marrowbones, down upon her knees, in the dust and in the mud before every enlightened nation in the world. The very object held in view by our silver legislation since 1878 has been defeated, and it has brought upon us great evil instead.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to say a few words more about volume. I repeat that volume is of no consequence in a country where you keep the standard of the currency sound. You never can lack volume of circulation in a country where this is done. No nation which has maintained a gold standard has ever found itself for any length of time with either too much or too little money; and let me tell you, gentlemen, that it is a difficult question to determine which is worse, to have too much money on the one hand or to have too little on the other.

If my view of this matter is not sound what must be the case? If I am not correct—and a man must test his position by conclusions and results—what must be true? Why, that those countries which have the greatest per capita circulation would be the most prosperous. No man can deny the soundness of this proposition. The country that had the largest circulation would be the most prosperous. Now, I undertake to say to-day that that is not true, that it never has been true, and that from the earliest times of which we have record the nations that have been most prosperous have been those that have had the best quality of circulation, not the largest amount.

How is it to-day with the nations of the world? The nation that has the largest circulation is the Argentine Republic. Will any man say that the Argentine Republic is a model of prosperity, an example of increasing wealth and present rapid growth? Quite the contrary.

Apply to the United States to-day this theory in regard to the abundance of money; apply it to your present condition, if you like. You have been manufacturing money galore since 1878—you have swelled the volume of the circulating medium by every illegitimate means that Congress could devise. And now, at the very culmination of this policy, when you ought to be in the greatest prosperity, if your theory was correct—now, when you ought to be rolling in wealth, when every Lazarus should have become a millionaire and every Dives a plutocrat ten times over, what is your condition?

Your boasted millionaires, your owners of banks, your men who employ thousands of operatives in their manufactories, are begging at the doors of the banks for accommodations as small as

$100 and $200. And here at the capital of this great nation, with everything, according to the theory of the silver men, to make prosperity, if you go with a New York draft to a bank, a good bank—for there are none but good banks in Washington and not very many of any other kind in the United States—if you go to of any those banks with a draft on New York for $40, $50, or $100, you can scarcely get it cashed.

Here, then, is the culmination of your scheme of inflation; here is the fruition of all your doctrine. I hurl this in your face as an everlasting condemnation of every argument that will be brought in favor of a currency which is not fixed in value, and therefore not a proper measure for the business transactions of our people. The fact can not be otherwise. Which are the most prosperous countries on the globe? They are to-day England and Germany. Will any man tell me that the natural advantages of these countries are greater than ours? Do you say that their political situation compares favorably with ours? Are there any conditions of prosperity existing in these countries that rival the blessings which have been showered thick upon us in this land? No; and yet England——

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Will the gentleman allow me an interruption?

Mr. HARTER. I will do so conditionally. I am laboring under the disadvantage of speaking without having had the time to arrange properly my remarks, so that the time I may ask at the hands of the House may be greater than I would want if I had an opportunity to arrange them in a more systematic manner. Assuming that the House will grant me the time I may wish, I will answer the gentleman's question if I can.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. I understood you to say that the condition of England under its financial arrangements and of the English people is better to-day than that of any other country on the globe.

Mr. HARTER. I did say so.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Does the gentleman mean to say that the condition of the laboring classes of England is better than that of the laboring classes of America?

Mr. HARTER. I say that the laboring man's condition in England to-day, compared with the laboring man's condition in the State of Ohio, from which I come, is as much better (owing to the ruin wrought by this same silver question, however) as a berth in Heaven is superior to a cot in purgatory. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Then, if I understand the gentleman, this condition has come about since the election of Grover Cleveland?

Mr. HARTER. I said in the beginning that I was able to trace the source of this legislation to the original sinner. I declared that I did not intend to do so, but since my good friend from Illinois has raised the partisan issue, it obliges me to say in reply, briefly and in the best of spirit, regretting that his question makes necessary such a reply, that the particular law from which we are suffering was passed by a Republican House and a Republican Senate and signed by a Republican President. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Until the Democratic party came into power there was no trouble about the condition of the country; the trouble has all come since the Democratic party has been placed in power.

Mr. HARTER. I ask pardon. I decline to pursue the matter further. It was not my intention at any time in the course of my remarks to raise any issue of partisanship, directly or remotely. The situation is too serious and this question is too great a one for men in their right minds, for the patriotic representatives of a great country, to permit the issue of partisanship to be interjected into a debate which is to decide whether a multitude of people, as deserving as any of us here, shall have food this winter to satisfy their hunger or money to buy clothing or shelter to protect them from the elements.

Under such circumstances I decline to permit the introduction of partisan politics here at this time. [Applause.]

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. I am in strict accord with my friend from Ohio in his suggestion that this is no time for partisanship. It is time for action, for saying things that will be for the country's good. But since my friend has departed from that rule far enough to say——

Mr. HARTER. Only in reply to an interruption.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. Very well; but when the gentleman has gone out of his way to tell the attitude of the Democratic party as a party on the silver question——

Mr. HARTER. Yes, in response to an interruption.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. Will the gentleman not go a little further and tell us what was the attitude of the Secretary of the Treasury, how he stood and voted on that question?

Mr. HARTER. Mr. Speaker, I trust to the good temper of the House——

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. Let us keep a good temper, but let us be honest. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. HARTER. I mean the good temper of the House in this sense, that I may be allowed to complete my remarks.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will take the liberty of interrupting the gentleman from Ohio to suggest that gentlemen on the floor who desire to ask a question of a speaker should first address themselves to the Chair and ask permission to interrupt. This will be conducive to good order during the discussion, and the Chair hopes the rule will be observed.

Mr. HARTER. In referring, Mr. Speaker, to the good temper of the House I did not mean to use the words "good temper" in their ordinary sense. I meant to say that I thought the good temper of the House under the circumstances would be shown by permitting me (because of these interruptions) in case I should overstep my time to go on to the close of the thread of my remarks.

Mr. GEAR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Ohio permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. HARTER. I will yield to you after I have answered the question of your colleague.

Now, the question is asked me as to the position of the Democratic party in 1890 on this question. A little review here of the so-called Sherman bill will not be out of place, and if it justifies a man whose name has been held up to common obloquy by reason of his connection with it, all the better.

This was the situation in 1890. In 1888 a great political party, which had never up to that time allied itself with bad money or advocated a doubtful currency, charged the opposing party (the Democratic party), as a heinous offense, with favoring the demonetization of silver. What happened? It elected a President on that issue. What then? Indiana was in flames, bonfires on all sides, the State from whence this President came; and wherever the Republican party (in convention) met in the President's State it delivered itself of a declaration in favor of the free coinage of silver; and the late President of the United States at that time was the last man in this country before whom it was safe to lay for his signature a free-coinage law.

What happened, however? Now, I am not speaking for any other man. I can not tell whether Senator SHERMAN would say what I have just said or not. The so-called Sherman law was not a good one, but I think that, under all the circumstances, Senator SHERMAN, instead of being abused from one end of the country to the other because of his connection with this law, ought to have the grateful thanks of the people of the country because he got the very best there was for the country out of a bad situation, and that situation was due to the national platform of his own party in 1888 and to the circumstance of his party having elected a President in that year. Had we been successful at the ballot box in 1888, every man knows that with Cleveland in the White House a free-coinage silver measure could have been no more sure of his signature than would the death warrant of the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Mr. GROSVENOR, Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa, and Mr. GEAR rose to ask a question of Mr. HARTER.

The SPEAKER. To whom does the gentleman from Ohio yield?

Mr. HARTER. Mr. Speaker, I am not unwilling to undertake to answer any question, but the difficulty about it is that I feel that the House will become tired of my enforced talking and will feel like declining to allow me to finish my remarks on a question vital to the whole country. I do not mean my remarks are vital, but the question to which they refer is of vital and instant importance to every soul on our soil.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. If my friend will allow me——

The SPEAKER. To whom does the gentleman from Ohio yield?

Mr. HARTER. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON].

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. My friend from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] is a gentleman whom I have always credited with courage and sincerity. I asked a simple question which was capable of a brief answer, but instead of answering it, the gentleman has attempted to discuss the position of President Harrison, and what would have been the position of President Cleveland. My question was a simple one. When the Sherman act, so called, was passed, what was the attitude of the Democratic party on the silver question?

Mr. SNODGRASS. Free coinage; and that had been its attitude ever since its birth.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Free coinage in Congress.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SNODGRASS] says "free coinage." There is an honest answer from the Democratic side. Will the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] be equally fair?

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. The attitude of the Democratic

party was in opposition to the Sherman law. Not a Democrat voted for it.

Mr. HARTER. In answering the gentleman's question I do it purely as a matter of courtesy, and I do it knowing full well that it will interrupt the thread of my argument, for it may be impossible for me to come right back to the point from which I was diverted. Nevertheless, as the gentleman has credited me with fairness in these matters—and when I lack fairness I hope I shall no more thereafter appear upon the floor of this House—I will answer his question.

The national platform of the Democratic party in 1888 was not favorable to the free coinage of silver, nor did it charge the Republicans of the United States, as a crime, with being favorable to the demonetization of silver. To that extent, so far as platforms are concerned, one being placed by the side of the other, the Democratic attitude upon this question was inestimably more patriotic and more in line with your present position than was yours. Now, when we come to the matter of nominations, we nominated a man known all over the country to be irrevocably opposed to circulating any coin whatever, either gold or silver, with the stamp of the United States upon it as 100 cents, which was worth less than that sum. You know the kind of man you nominated, and I have no wish to proceed further in that direction. And I am certain no further answer is necessary.

Mr. GEAR. I would like to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. HARTER. This matter which is before us and before the country is, I think, too serious, and involves the welfare and happiness of too many helpless and innocent people, for us to divert it into anything which will partake of partisan rancor.

Mr. GEAR. I do not wish to interrupt the gentleman——

Mr. HARTER. Therefore, with the consent of the House, and reminding these gentlemen that at no time when I have been addressing this House have I declined to be interrupted or to answer reasonable questions, I may, I think, with perfect propriety, now announce that I will not on this occasion answer any more questions which involve simply partisan politics; but any question involving the great issue of a standard of value or affecting the welfare of the people in connection with the subject upon which I am talking, I will endeavor to answer; but hereafter when we have voted upon and settled this question, if gentlemen upon the Republican side of the House, who seem inclined to give the discussion a direction which I do not think it ought to take at this time, and wish to interrogate me, all they have to do is to hire a hall and I will discuss this question with them until Christmas. [Laughter.] Yes, I will give them a day of grace, and I will discuss it with them until New Year's, but this is not the place nor hour for partisan discussion.

Mr. GEAR. I want to ask the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] a question or two relating to a statement of fact.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. HARTER. I think the good judgment of this House and the patriotism of its members will sustain me in my refusal to be drawn farther into partisan politics to-day.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] declines to yield.

Mr. GEAR. If the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] chooses to make statements on this question which are incorrect, let him go on.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GEAR] is out of order. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] is entitled to the floor and can not be interrupted without his own consent.

Mr. HARTER. Mr. Speaker, unless I have greatly overestimated the fairness and patriotism of the Republican side of this House, and I do not think I have, that side of the House will sustain me almost unanimously in my refusal to be drawn into further party wrangling now.

Mr. GEAR. I did not desire to draw the gentleman into a partisan discussion.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio declines to be interrupted.

Mr. HARTER. I again decline to be drawn into a partisan discussion.

Mr. PICKLER. It is a partisan resolution to begin with.

Mr. HARTER. I remark again, if there is any question germane to this subject of coinage or affecting the currency question that any gentleman desires to put to me I will try to make answer.

Speaking of volume, I remark that if the question of volume should control, then England would be anything but a prosperous nation; Germany, too, which has $17 currency per capita, would be anything but a prosperous nation, and yet these to-day are the two most prosperous nations in the world; and we, swimming, yea drowning, in a redundant currency in this country, are at the last gasp, financially, and in a commercial way.

And then there is another phase of the principle I lay down, and I challenge any man upon the floor of this House to successfully take it up and turn it upon us: If the idea that large volume is necessary to prosperity be true, it would also be true that we should have had the greatest amount of prosperity when we had the largest amount of currency. That notoriously is not true. In 1780 we had any quantity of currency. Continental money had been so increased that it came to be worth less than silver to-day. It fell to 2 cents on the dollar; and yet that certainly was not a period of prosperity. In 1837 we had a redundant circulation. Will any man stand up here and say that 1837 was a time of brightness with the American people, an epoch of prosperity? Again, in 1857 we had a great volume of currency; is there any gentleman who can ransack the chambers of his brain and discover a single ray of prosperity in 1857? In 1873 we had the culmination of inflation, and yet nearly all the great industries of this country went down under it. Unless you can prove these periods to have been not only prosperous, but superlatively so, you must surrender the idea that a great volume of currency is necessary to prosperity.

I am one of those who would now provide for more money safely, because in thus giving way to people who believe we can not have enough money unless you make some provision of the law of the land for its increase you enable them to rest easily and to sleep soundly. But look at Great Britain. Since the bank act of 1844 there has not been a statute or an act passed providing for an increase of the circulating medium of Great Britain; and yet through all this time it has been the only country that has at all times had an abundance of money—gold, silver, and paper. You talk about the country needing money. Now, let me make a comparison, to illustrate the truth of what I have been saying in regard to volume. You have between twenty-four and twenty-five dollars per capita; and what is the rate of interest in this country? Is there any man on this floor who could borrow to-day $10,000 from a bank, even with Government bonds as collateral; and if you can, will anyone tell me what rate of interest you would have to pay?

Mr. GROSVENOR. There is no such man here.

Mr. HARTER. There is no such man on the floor of this House. Here then is the triumph and fulfillment of the final result of your inflation. Nobody on the floor of this House could borrow $10,000 on such collateral; and I say further that there are some men who are actual millionaires who are not able to go to a bank to-day and borrow $1,000 at any rate of interest.

Why is this? But, you say, there has been a panic in the country. Well, there was no panic when you had a smaller amount of money in circulation, and when no man could question the value of your money. We have had a panic, but what kind of a panic? Why, some thirty-eight or forty million dollars of bank capital has gone down—most of it temporarily. Now, what has happened to England? She has only three-fourths as much money per capita as we have, and she does a larger business per capita, and what has happened to her?

A few months ago $500,000,000 of her bank capital and deposits in Australia went to the wall. What effect did that have in England? Was any merchant there unable to borrow money? Were the banks unable to pay gold, or silver, or paper? Not at all. Did the rate of interest go up to 75 per cent? No. The rate of interest in England during the entire Australian trouble never, according to my recollection, reached 8 per cent; and to-day, when you can not in this country, oversupplied with currency such as it is, borrow at all, you can go in Great Britain with her smaller per capita circulation, with her $18 per capita of circulation, and at any bank borrow money for three months on any good merchant or manufacturer's note, at less than 5 per cent per annum.

Mr. GOODNIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I would like an item of information from the gentleman at this point.

Mr. HARTER. I will give it if I can.

Mr. GOODNIGHT. The gentleman has said recent inflation has brought disaster. I wish he would state for the information of the House how many of the certificates that have been issued for silver bullion coin notes remain unredeemed under the Sherman act, and how many of those redeemed have been reissued?

Mr. HARTER. I am unable to answer the question without looking up the facts.

Mr. GOODNIGHT. My question amounts to this: How much has the currency been increased under the operation of the Sherman act?

Mr. HARTER. I personally think, as I said before, that while the intention was to increase the circulation of the country the result was quite different. The result was to actually reduce the circulation below what it would have been but for your action and at the same time to render it far worse in quality——

Mr. GOODNIGHT. Then, does not the argument based on inflation fail you?

Mr. McRAE. But, according to his logic, is not that what ought to be done—that reduction?

Mr. GOODNIGHT. The gentleman from Ohio was arguing that the currency has been inflated. Now, I ask him how much?

Mr. HARTER. I argued that all the machinery of inflation had been used, but that it had proved a boomerang, but nevertheless that the present volume of $25 per capita was, in the eyes of you gentlemen, and of all the world, inflation as compared with the per capita circulation of Great Britain.

Mr. GOODNIGHT. I know that the gentleman desires to be perfectly frank. Now, how can that be, when France's circulation is almost double our own?

I understood the gentleman based his argument upon the ground that the circulating medium had been inflated. Now, I want to ask him if all the certificates issued for silver bullion, with the exception of a little over $2,000,000, have not been redeemed in gold, and how many have been reissued?

Mr. BYNUM. If the gentleman will investigate the last Treasury statement I think he will find that about $140,000,000 of them are in circulation, and only about $2,000,000 in the Treasury, so that they are practically all in circulation.

Mr. HARTER. The answer made by my friend from Indiana covers the question of the gentleman from Kentucky.

Now, I want to speak a little further about volume. England, I say, at no time since 1844 has had any provision for the increase of her currency; and I go further and I say that as long as we keep our currency sound we never can have too little or too much currency. Go out with me, if you please, to the Potomac. Take one of these fans and shovel up the water and make a hole there How long—I ask any gentleman who is in favor of the free coinage of silver—how long will that hole remain? Everybody knows that the water will flow in and fill it up instantly.

So it is with a lack of currency. In a country which keeps its money just exactly what it purports to be, in a country which so acts that it has the confidence of the commercial world, there never can be for any length of time a lack of money. When our money is actually what it purports to be, let the news go by cable to Europe that New York needs money and that the people of this great country are willing to pay a round rate of interest, and you will not have to wait for the slow, or even for the swift, pace of the ocean racer, but the lightning flash of the cable will bring it to you, and it will continue to flow in until the rate of interest is reduced to about the normal level of the world. And you, gentlemen, who live out on the prairies of the West, and on the plantations of the South, ought to remember that when the rate of interest is low in the great city of New York it means lower rates of interest for every borrower in every State in the Union.

The sovereign recipe for having abundant money lies in this nutshell: *Keep your money what it purports to be.* Make every American dollar worth 100 cents all the year round and under all circumstances. Remove from the people of other nations the apprehension which they now have, that you are about to play them a Yankee trick and pay your debts at the rate of 50 or 60 cents to the dollar, and you can all go to your homes and inside of two months there will be plenty of money for you to borrow on good notes in the ordinary avenues of business at the ordinary rates of interest.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. May I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. HARTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. In connection with the gentleman's remarks about the volume of currency, I understood him to say that, so far from nations being prosperous in proportion to the volume of their currency, the contrary was nearer the truth.

Mr. HARTER. I said that.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. And the gentleman illustrated that by reference to England, Germany, and France.

Mr. HARTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Now, I will ask the gentleman whether what I am about to read does not correctly state the per capita circulation of the countries named, and whether these countries are not monetarily prosperous in almost the same order in which they stand in the list:

France, $40.56; Belgium, $28.53; Netherlands, $28.88 (this is the country where the fewest number of people of any country in the world suffer for want of food or clothing); Australia, $26.75; United States of America, $25.15; Great Britain, $18 and some cents.

Now, I will ask the gentleman whether these figures are not correct—whether the country which has the smallest amount of currency is not China, with $1.75 per capita?

Mr. HARTER. China is on a silver basis, such as you propose for the United States.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. I do not care about the basis. Then the country with the next smallest amount of circulation is India, with $3.64; the next smallest Japan, with $4.60; the next smallest Mexico, with $4.91.

Mr. HARTER. Before answering the gentleman's question I will say that I am proceeding on the theory that my time will be extended so that I can finish my remarks.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Inasmuch as my colleague has nearly exhausted his hour, I ask unanimous consent that his time may be extended indefinitely to allow him to finish his remarks.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] asks unanimous consent that the time of his colleague be extended till he finishes his remarks. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. HARTER. Mr. Speaker, I believe it very profitable that such reasonable and proper questions as those which my friend from Mississippi has asked should be answered, and in the same courteous and manly spirit in which they have been presented. If I am unable to answer these questions to the satisfaction of the House, or rather, if an abler man than myself is unable to do so (for I may be unable), then I must abandon that portion of my argument upon which I have just been dwelling. Let me now proceed to answer the question of the gentleman. I say that the nation which takes the lead in the list to which he has referred, France, is not the most prosperous country of the world; and I will show this briefly in two ways.

In the first place, I say that the wages of her people, who work ten and twelve hours a day, are not as large as the wages paid in a number of other countries on the list having a smaller per capita circulation. Therefore the income of her people is decreased rather than increased by reason of the amount of circulation. On the other hand, the expenses of living in France—the cost of the articles necessary for the laborer's support—are higher in France than in some of the other countries named by him. There is a conclusive answer to the gentleman's first question—that wages are lower in France, while living expenses are higher than in countries with a smaller per capita circulation.

I take the next country in the list—Belgium. She suffers under the same difficulties as France, except that the living expenses in Belgium, because of a wiser system of tariff taxation, are somewhat lower than in France.

I next take Holland. In that country wages are not nearly so high as in Germany, though the general prosperity is greater—why? I do not seek to introduce the tariff question improperly, but I can not allow this matter to pass without remarking that the prosperous condition which has prevailed for many years past in the Netherlands is largely due to a tariff system which is, to my mind, more intelligent, more abreast with scientific and practical economics than that of Germany.

What is the next country? Our own land. I say at this time when the American flag might properly be draped in mourning—when crape might fittingly be drawn over the door lintels of the laboring people of this country—in this condition of present ruin (but thank God, prosperity will come in the early future) I can not find it in my heart to say that this hour and this day is one of prosperity in the United States of America. I would like to see the man on this floor who will venture to say so.

I now come to Great Britain. Talk about metallic money. Why, sir, Great Britain, with 20 shillings of metallic money does as much business as the United States does with 58 shillings, as much as France does with 85 shillings, as much as Portugal and Spain do with 100 shillings, as much as Italy does with 40 shillings. And she pays higher wages to her working people, and they have lower expenses, proportioned to income, than any other nation on the globe except solely and alone the United States of America, Canada, and Australia. Now what next?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. There is another point——

Mr. HARTER. Is not that enough? [Laughter.]

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. In connection with what you have said, let me say that these figures show that the coin circulation of Great Britain is $13.47 gold, and $2.63 in silver per capita, which makes $16 and over, while the United States has but $18 and something over. So that this great discrepancy to which the gentleman refers does not exist.

Mr. HARTER. I agree with what the gentleman has suggested. What I have referred to was the silver in circulation.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. I understood you to say coin.

Mr. HARTER. I did say coin, and I accept the correction with thanks, for I should have regretted my statement to have gone into print in that shape. I meant to have said silver coin. Is there anything else?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. You might dwell on India and China.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. And Mexico.

Mr. HARTER. Yes, Mexico; and China particularly, as one of these "silver blessed countries." China has what our friends demand in the way of coinage for this great country of ours. It

has free coinage of silver; and the lucky Chinese mechanic may be able, if skilled, to make as much as 4 cents a day, payable in debased money.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. What as to Mexico?

Mr. HARTER. In regard to Mexico——

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Let me ask what would be the effect, in the judgment of the gentleman, on the Mexican Republic to-morrow, on her alleged depreciated silver currency, if she should demonetize it? What would be the effect on labor?

Mr. HARTER. Fortunately I am able to answer that question absolutely and literally, for we had a forcible example of it within the last four or five weeks. India was just in that position. She had silver in circulation under the same circumstances. She demonetized silver, and what happened? Government securities all advanced, commercial credits advanced, business improved, just as it will do here when you strike down the monstrous theory that we are to be compelled to pay the mine owner one dollar and twenty-nine cents for what is or was worth sixty-two cents only a few days ago.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Did labor go up in India?

Mr. HARTER. Oh, it is too early for that. [Laughter.] As the gentleman knows, if he has studied the subject at all, labor is one of the last things to secure advantages of any kind which may arise from improvement in the condition of governmental affairs, and one of the very first to reap the disadvantages. Those most injured by your purchase of silver under the operation of the so-called Sherman law in this country have been mainly the laboring element, over 500,000 honest men being out of employment in this country at the present time. They are the sufferers first, last, and all the time from unwise fiscal legislation.

Mr. BOATNER. Mr. Speaker—

Mr. SIBLEY. Let me ask the gentleman from Ohio a question.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. HARTER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to make a statement just here. I remarked to the House a short time ago that I spoke under some disadvantages, without having been able to reduce to writing what I desired to say on this question. Under these circumstances in my desire, earnest as it is because the question is vital to everybody—in my earnest desire to make a logical continuous argument on this subject, I find that the interruptions arising from the interjection of questions interfere greatly with my purpose. And yet, sir, I feel I can not refuse to answer a question that is germane to the subject.

Mr. SIBLEY. I wish to ask a question that is germane.

Mr. HARTER. Very well; I will try to answer it.

Mr. SIBLEY. The gentleman has suggested that the demonetization of silver in India has caused government securities to advance. If that be the case, why is there a bill pending now in the English Parliament for the relief of the holders of these commercial securities, in the sum of £200,000,000, because of the depreciation that has been brought about?

Mr. HARTER. I am glad the gentleman asks that question, because it gives me an opportunity to answer it to his satisfaction. My remark was that government securities, railroad securities, and commercial credit had all risen in value or improved. The securities(?) to which my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. SIBLEY] alludes are the holdings of silver bullion controlled by the banks, who were not expecting the demonetization of silver; and these, finding their goods on hand depreciating, have found some men in Parliament willing to offer a bill for their relief. [Laughter.]

Mr. MORSE. Will the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. HARTER. I would rather not. I repeat again, that if I thought this House would be willing to listen to my answers to these questions until night, I should be very glad to allow interruptions without limit; but I think that the patience of the House will, after a while, expire.

Mr. MORSE. I see the gentleman inclines to allow me to ask him the question. My question is this: I entirely agree with the gentleman about the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, so called, but I want to ask him if he does not think that if the country were assured that there would be no tariff legislation, this present incubus and business prostration would at once lift, notwithstanding the Sherman law?

Mr. HARTER. My friend from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] suggests to me an answer to that question by saying that it is in the nature of a motion for a new trial in a case where I think the people of the country, composing the jury, were almost unanimous. [Applause.]

Mr. MORSE. Do you think that if the question were submitted to-day they would be unanimous?

Mr. HARTER. I think that question is scarcely germane to the present discussion. I believe I have demonstrated to the satisfaction of those people who are at all reasonable that the volume of the currency has very little to do with the prosperity of a country, and that the volume of the currency will take care of itself. I think I have also satisfied you that periods of great currency expansion were not periods of great prosperity. I think I have proven that the countries which keep their standard of value secure can get along admirably with a smaller circulation.

Now, I want to go further and say that it is very wasteful to have a large circulation. Suppose I was conducting a farm, and had four teams when one team was enough to do the business. Would you not say I was an extravagant and reckless farmer? You would. Suppose I was carrying on a dry-goods store and selling $100,000 worth of goods a year, and a stock of $10,000 was sufficient for my neighbor across the street to do an equally large amount of business; but suppose I insisted upon having $30,000 worth of stock? As you walked along you would say: "Mr. Harter must be a very poor man of business; he requires three times as large a capital to do a given amount of business as the other man requires to do the same amount."

I would also necessarily pay three times as much for clerk hire, three times as much for general expenses, three times as much for taxes, and all that sort of thing. The same principle applies to money. There is no law for money that does not apply under the same circumstances to other things. Suppose you have a great volume of metallic currency which you do not need. It is costly and expensive. Look at this silver piled up in the Treasury of the United States. Think of it. Five hundred millions of dollars at 4 per cent interest; why you are losing $20,000,000 a year on it in the shape of interest alone. Besides that, it is going down in value every day, creating more debt for the people of the country to pay. Who is it that says that such financiering on the part of the nation is wise? I say that if you will only keep your money good, whenever we need either gold or silver, we will have it and have it in abundance.

Now we come to the subject of silver legislation. What has been our legislation upon this subject? Since 1878 we have gone on buying silver which we did not need, which we did not want, and have been indirectly paying for it with gold which we did want. What would be the result with any business man who could not tax others to maintain himself? He would be bankrupt in a little while. This nation of ours, but for its ability to tax everybody, would be bankrupt now.

What has it cost? I took the trouble to send to the Treasury Department to see what this system which is depreciating your currency, which has brought panic upon you, and which has crippled every industry, has cost directly. I sent to the Treasury to see what this has cost you, and I discovered that the difference, Saturday, two weeks ago, between the market value of the silver which you have been piling up in the Treasury, and the price you paid for it, was, how much do you think? By this experiment you have wasted since 1878, $141,810,980 of the people's money.

Why, gentlemen, this sum alone would be sufficient to complete the Nicaragua Canal, and would pay the debt of one of the Pacific railroads to the United States; and yet, not satisfied with such a result as this, you are asked to dip deeper and deeper into the commercial vitals of your country. Is it not time to stop, put on the brakes to reverse the engine?

Mr. RAWLINS. May I be permitted to ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. HARTER. Remembering that I have to look to the indulgence of the House to enable me to complete my remarks, I hesitate to yield.

A MEMBER. You have unlimited time.

Mr. RAWLINS. Will the gentleman kindly tell us what is the difference between what was paid for the silver now in the Treasury and the par value at which it now circulates throughout the country and the silver certificates in the country?

Mr. HARTER. Owing to the great credit of the United States the silver dollar and the silver certificate circulate at par, but the gentleman ought to know that there are less than 70,000,000 of these silver dollars in circulation. The very people who furnished this pig silver to the Treasury at a price higher by $140,000,000 than it is worth, refuse to take these dollars, and the result is practically that the silver certificate, printed on paper, circulates more freely than the silver coin, and I say that these certificates would circulate equally well if they had no silver bullion behind them.

The whole world, indeed, would have a higher esteem for the credit of this country if you issued the certificates without buying any silver to put behind them. We are a hissing and by-word for the whole commercial world; and they look upon us and say, "The hand of the American people lost its cunning when they entered on the folly of silver buying;" and, moreover,

here we are in the midst of a panic as the result of these purchases.

Nothing can be said in favor of this thing—absolutely nothing. And to-day they come to us and propose that we should have the free coinage of silver at a ratio far below the market ratio, a proposition intrinsically dishonest. Not that the men who urge such a measure are dishonest—I have too high an opinion of the integrity of the members of this House to think so—but I do say that the proposition is nakedly dishonest, and that in the whole history of coinage in the world there never has been a nation, Christian, heathen, or barbarian, that has ever offered to coin silver or any other metal at such a ratio valuation as it is now proposed to put upon silver.

Every nation except this great nation of ours, in making a coinage ratio, has proposed to make it the market ratio, and in 1792 and 1834 we adopted the market ratio, not an artificial and lower ratio. But there is no ratio which can be fixed which ever did, or which ever can, make the two metals circulate alongside of each other as gold and silver have in this country since 1873.

I think I heard it said on the floor of this House yesterday by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] that France was a bimetallic country. The gentleman is mistaken, France is a monometallic gold-standard country; and it is only since it has been that she has had gold and silver circulating freely at the same time. It is almost beyond belief that members of this House, in 1893, should believe in the theory that the two metals can be kept in joint circulation, both a legal tender, and both purporting to be equally a standard of value. Lycurgus, the lawgiver of Sparta, 900 years before the coming of our Lord, knew too much to believe that this was possible.

Mr. BOATNER. Do you regard it as impossible to so regulate by law the coinage of gold and silver that they can be made of the same intrinsic value and safely utilized in the regulation of our currency?

Mr. HARTER. It is not necessary for me to answer that question. All history, from the opening pages of its record, answers that question, invariably in the same way—in the negative.

Mr. BOATNER. Then you differ with the President in his letter of acceptance.

Mr. HARTER. I am not able to say whether I differ with the President on that subject or not, but I do say that all history differs with any man who says any one country can make two or more metals legal-tender money and hold them at a parity with each other, or keep them in general circulation. It is said that no rule is without an exception, but the rule that you can not establish and maintain two standards of value has absolutely no exception in human history. I have spoken of Lycurgus. He concluded that the people of Sparta were too much given to luxury, too anxious to become rich, and had too much of the commercial spirit, and he resolved that he would kill it, if possible; and he did it by making a new standard of value. For that, some hundreds of years gold and silver has been introduced and used in the commerce of the East.

At all events, Sparta and Athens and Phœnicia were then using gold and silver; but Lycurgus concluded that he would break down commerce by making iron a legal tender and at a rate far above the commercial value, and he succeeded admirably, because when a man had to take an ox-team to carry iron enough across the street to buy a cow, commerce was practically blocked, just as you gentlemen will block commerce here by putting a 54-cent dollar into the breach to do the business of a 100-cent dollar. If Lycurgus were alive now and desired to cripple the commercial spirit of our people, to reduce the volume of trading and commerce, he would probably join with our friends, the silver men, and support the free coinage of silver. [Laughter.]

The Romans, six hundred years before Christ, at the time of the Punic wars, understood this principle far better than some members of the Fifty-third Congress of the United States. They refused coinage to gold. They coined silver freely during the Punic wars, but refused coinage to gold. Why? Because those old heathen—and remember they were not distinguished representatives from sovereign States—they were plain, uneducated heathen, but at the same time they knew enough not to imagine for an instant that it was possible to keep two coins in circulation, both having full legal-tender functions.

Gentlemen talk about England. England suffered, as all other countries have suffered, until 1816 from the effort to maintain two or three standards of value at one time; but the late Lord Liverpool, in 1805, proposed what is called a composite currency, that is, such a currency as we would have if we should now stop the purchase of silver, such a currency as France has now, such a currency as Germany has, such a currency as the Latin Union has, such a currency, in other words, as all intelligent nations have to-day. In 1816 England adopted it, and now you who, like myself, earnestly desire to have both gold and silver in general circulation and common use—you, gentlemen, who want to have both gold and silver in circulation, not gold alone, not silver alone—mark the experience of Great Britain from 1816 down to the present hour. Down to that time when Germany, the United States, France, and other progressive nations followed her example, Great Britain alone among the nations of the world had both gold and silver in abundance at all times.

How about France? My friends here who are in favor of free coinage speak lovingly and eagerly of France as a bimetallic country, or as having been one. They have told us that France, when a bimetallic country, maintained gold and silver side by side. Nothing could be further from the truth. France has always been a monometallic country in practice until 1873 or 1874. In theory, I grant you, she was bimetallic. But legal bimetallism invariably produces practical monometallism. France always had either gold alone or silver alone until she demonetized silver. Why, sir, in the course of two centuries, in her efforts to keep gold and silver alongside of each other, she changed her ratio twenty-two times, and after the twenty-second attempt she was no nearer bimetallism than she was before.

But I come back to our own country. Gentlemen talk much about the bimetallism of the Constitution. There is no such thing in the Constitution; there never was, and as long as the people keep their senses there never will be. But gentlemen also talk about bimetallism—about "the dollar of our daddies." I do not know why they should talk about "the dollar of our daddies" any more than about the knee breeches of our daddies, or the frilled shirt of our daddies, or the continental money of our daddies. One has just as much connection with this question as the other.

What is the history of this country in reference to bimetallism? It is true that for a certain period we were legally a bimetallic country. But how did we begin? Did we start out in 1792 with an attempt to give to 50 or 60 cents worth of silver the value of 100 cents? Not at all. We began with an effort to give to the silver dollar its true commercial value. That was an honest effort toward bimetallism, not a dishonest scheme such as we are now proposing to work in 1893, now when we are at the very zenith of the prosperity of the country, when we have a plenitude of resources, when we are rich in everything that makes a nation great, except honesty and economic knowledge.

Now, what was proposed in 1792? Hamilton decided upon a ratio of 15 to 1. That was practically the commercial ratio. Jefferson agreed with him. They said, "If we can maintain the two metals in general circulation at all, we can do it at that ratio." To-day the commercial ratio would be 27.30 to 1. But what was the result of the effort to carry out the bimetallic policy of 1792? The two metals parted company. They were not permanently united; they did not go down the aisles of the century together. Gold and silver did not sleep in the same bed; they were divorced almost as soon as the act of Congress was passed; and for forty-two years—I challenge the advocates of the free coinage of silver to controvert this—for forty-two years we had a silver currency alone. After that, in 1834, a Democratic Congress changed the ratio to 16 to 1.

Again, the effort was to secure to the country an honest ratio, not a dishonest one. As an honest ratio they adopted that of 16 to 1. What was the result? Were both metals kept in circulation? Quite the reverse was the case. From 1834 down to 1873 silver was out of circulation; gold took its place. Why, sir, a gentleman whose business life extended through the whole period from 1834 to 1873 told me recently that during his whole business career he had never seen a full-weight United States silver dollar. You know how it was yourselves. You saw small change; but after awhile a trifling premium on the small change drove that out of circulation. If you went into a store to make a purchase the currency used in the transaction was either a rubbed-off English shilling, or a clipped Mexican or Spanish shilling, or a worn or clipped piece of American money; or else you had to use omnibus tickets, merchants' checks, or postage stamps. You did not have even petty silver for change under your so-called bimetallic system. Silver was at that time undervalued in the coinage of the United States.

Then Congress took action again on the subject and overvalued silver; they gave us about 95 or 96 cents worth of silver in four silver quarters or two silver half-dollars and limited its coinage, just as England had done, just as France has done, just as every country must do in order to keep both metals in circulation. After that, up to the beginning of the war, you had both gold and silver in circulation under that law. Then the law of which I have been speaking, the Gresham law, asserted itself still again. You extended the legal-tender quality to paper. Thus you had three legal tenders—gold, silver, and paper. What was the result? Why the cheapest, the nastiest, the most worthless currency drove out both the others. Both gold and silver were undervalued, while paper retained a legal-tender value above its

market or commercial value—coinage of silver to-day at 27 to 1 would drive gold out of circulation simply because it would undervalue it.

I say to my friend from Louisiana, without a miracle we can not keep both gold and silver coin in circulation at any fixed ratio. It is as much the law of God as if it were written between the covers of the Bible. You can not do it without a miracle, and miracles must originate on high, not on this floor. Your legislative enactments can not accomplish it. I say to-day it would be no more easy for Congress to secure bimetallism under free coinage—that is, keep both metals in general circulation at a fixed ratio, no matter how high or how low the ratio—than to discover perpetual motion.

We could just as easily mix oil and water. We could go out to the Soldiers' Home Cemetery over there and clothe the dried bones of the dead with flesh, put seeing eyes into their sightless sockets, and erect from their remains living, breathing men, as readily as we could keep the two metals in general circulation under free coinage at any ratio whatever. And how, then, can we do it, as proposed here, at 16 to 1? Why, this morning, if the ratio of 16 to 1 were fixed as the basis of your coinage, a dollar of silver would be worth 58 cents.

Is there a man here on this floor, do you know of a man anywhere, who would be willing to exchange 100 cents this morning for 58 cents? Until you can find a people willing to do so you can not maintain any such ratio as that. But you are going to vote on different ratios, and here is the great danger that underlies this question. You may not weigh the effect of the ratio. If you can not adopt 16 to 1 you are going to try to vote for 17 to 1, which will be no better. Eighteen to 1 would not help you. Nineteen to 1 would be of no earthly benefit, and finally you come to a ratio of 20 to 1. Now, suppose you adopt that, what would it be? At the present price of silver a silver dollar at the ratio of 20 to 1 on the day before yesterday would have been worth less than 75 cents.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman from Ohio yield for an interruption?

Mr. HARTER. I yield with pleasure to my friend from Tennessee.

Mr. COX. I have listened with a great deal of pleasure to the gentleman's argument. He has stated that the silver dollar is worth to-day 54 cents.

Mr. HARTER. Fifty-eight cents.

Mr. COX. Well, 58 cents. Now, the question is, do you know of any man in the United States who has silver dollars that he will sell at that price, 58 cents?

Mr. HARTER. Certainly not, under present conditions. But I know every man who has a silver dollar——

Mr. COX. One moment, please. Does not the 58-cent silver dollar buy just as much of the products of this country as any other dollar?

Mr. HARTER. To that I answer, yes. But that is not the point. That is the present condition under limited coinage, but you are proposing to change it. In further answer to my friend from Tennessee, whom I regard as an authority on his side of this subject, I say to him that while that is true to-day, the very morning that you have by your law established free coinage in this country, then it ceases to be true, and that every dollar in existence which is now held up to its full nominal value by our present law will sink to 58 cents, the bullion value, as soon as your law becomes operative.

Mr. COX. That is merely a prophecy.

Mr. HARTER. I beg the gentleman's pardon, it is not. I do not deal in prophecies. I speak of facts. I invite you to step across the border with me into Mexico and I will show you the fact. I found fault with your side of the question for dealing in prophecies, therefore I can not employ them. I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet. I again invite you to go across the border into free-coinage Mexico with me, where the dollar is worth what the United States dollar would be in the event of the adoption of this law which you propose—that is, the exact bullion price of the silver and no more. Suppose you go up to the highest point suggested, which is 20 to 1. It would not even tend to keep one dollar of your silver in circulation on a parity with gold. It will have no more effect than would a ratio of 1 to 10. One to 10 would do just as well as 1 to 20. What would 1 to 20 mean?

Day before yesterday the sixteen-to-one dollar was worth almost 60 cents. Suppose you make the ratio 20 to 1, which is the extreme limit proposed by these gentlemen. Your silver dollar would then be worth 75 cents. Do you mean to say, gentlemen, that any man, woman, or child in this country would be willing to pay out an honest dollar worth 100 cents for a freely coined dollar worth 75 cents?

If you are to keep gold in circulation, you must find people who will exchange a dollar in gold for 75 cents. You would decline to make such a trade, and it is an uncomplimentary thing for you to think that the balance of the people of your district and of the United States are fools. Unless everybody but you are fools, free coinage of silver at 20 to 1 would drive every gold dollar out of circulation.

But, gentlemen, free coinage would bring ruin. You people talk about there not being enough money. A gentleman asked me here how much money there was in circulation in the United States, and I said about sixteen hundred millions of dollars. Call it eighteen hundred millions of dollars. About one-third of it is gold, and you gentlemen say we have not enough money. I think we have, but perhaps I am wrong. But suppose you are right. What kind of a remedy are you proposing?

If this is not enough money, what is your plan for increasing the supply? Your plan is the free coinage of silver at 20 to 1, which would drive every dollar of gold out of circulation. It means that if you have eighteen hundred millions of money to-day to do the business of the country, which you say is not enough, that if you should have free coinage then you would have only twelve hundred millions. That is inflation with a vengeance, isn't it?

Your plan, then, for inflating the currency is to reduce its volume from $1,800,000,000 to $1,200,000,000. If you had three men employed to-day, on to-morrow morning you could then only employ two, and the competition between the three would reduce the price for the two men you could employ to starvation wages. Now, look at the laboring man's side of the free-coinage question. You reduce his wages by cutting off the demand for his labor, and then, after reducing his wages, you pay him in a 75-cent dollar. But you also say your plan will increase the price of everything he consumes.

Why, I have heard in Holy Writ of a son asking his father for bread, and it says "Will he give him stone?" You free-coinage men, when the working men ask for bread, would give them a stone; yes, you give them worse than that; you give them dynamite to try their teeth on. [Laughter.] Again, it is written, "If he ask for a fish, will he give him a serpent?" You would give the workingman not a serpent alone, you would give him a parcel of them, a regular trinity, a boa constrictor, a rattlesnake, and a copperhead, financially, all crowded in one, for the destruction of the man and his family.

What inconsistency! You declare you are the advocates of inflation and yet insist upon a measure which will reduce the present volume and at the same time cripple, if not destroy, its usefulness to the country as a standard of value. If we, on our side, have nothing to propose that is intelligent, wise and meritorious, prompt and efficient, then cast us aside. But see what we propose will accomplish for the country. We advocate the unconditional stoppage of the purchase of silver. Now, what would result from the adoption of this policy? If you pass the law we propose, you would see the morning sun looking down on the country, and would find it in a vastly improved condition. Some gentlemen have been, I am afraid, unfair in trying to give the impression out in this House that stopping the purchase of silver would drive silver out of circulation. Not at all. If you stop the purchase of pig silver every dollar of silver now in circulation will remain in circulation; not 10 cents worth of it would be driven out. Every dollar of paper money would also remain in circulation; all the gold now in the country would also continue in our service. But what else would happen? Its blessed beneficences are far beyond the power of my faltering tongue to present, to describe, or picture to you. I wish I had the power of the artist and the tongue of the orator; I could then properly put before the members of this House and before the country the magnificent prosperity that would come to our country through the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the silver bill.

It would not only, as I have said, keep every dollar in circulation that you have now, but, in addition to that, it would invite from Europe the great stores of capital, seeking more profitable employment, and you men from Texas and the South, who now find yourselves unable to get money enough to move your cotton bales, who have been and are now unable to borrow money at 12 or even at 25 per cent, would then find no difficulty whatever in borrowing all the money you could legitimately use at the legal rate of interest in your respective States.

Why? The passage of this measure would declare to all the countries in the world that you mean to keep our standard of values permanent, safe, and solid. We now offer the best security for money obtainable in any country on earth. Men living in France, Germany, and Great Britain will again invest their money freely in our securities as soon as they feel that they will not be cheated out of a large part of it. Here we are at peace, with the greatest resources of any nation on the globe, without danger from within or without, and our security the most absolute that can be given for capital. Money would flow

here on the wings of the wind for investment; and money would loan within ten days after the repeal at the rate of 2 per cent on call in the city of New York.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. Will the gentleman tell me what would be the effect on time contracts under a law establishing a single standard? Would it appreciate the value of the money on time contracts or not?

Mr. COX. It would depreciate the value of all property.

Mr. HARTER. I will answer that question shortly, for it is a fair and an important question. I have been endeavoring to draw the picture of the prosperity which will follow the stoppage of silver purchases, and have fallen far short of describing the widespread blessings which would come in its wake. The gentleman from Indiana could do it better.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. Oh, no, you flatter me; I wanted to hear your reply to my question.

Mr. HARTER. I have in my eye the president of one of the large financial institutions of the country, and I will ask him to correct me if I err in saying that for the past two or three years Europe has been withdrawing her capital from this country. Why? Simply because she believed that we could not go on buying silver and continue to maintain our dollar at 100 cents, and she had good reason to think so, for we find that a large and intelligent fraction of the members of Congress propose unblushingly to have free coinage at a ratio which would have given us, at the highest, a 75-cent dollar.

Europe, I say, had good reason to suppose that the money which she had invested here, which was bringing an abundant return, and which up to that time she had regarded as more safely invested than it could be at home, was in danger, and to withdraw her capital. If you asked the European capitalist, "Are you not satisfied with the interest?" he would answer you, "More than satisfied." "Are you not contented with the security?" the reply would be, "The security is absolute." "Why, then, do you desire the return of your money?" "Because to-day for every dollar that we have invested in the United States we can now get 100 cents, but if we delay in collecting it we fear that we shall not be able to get more than fifty."

Gentlemen, here is the secret, here is the real cause of the panic from which we are suffering to-day. You need go no further to seek it. If, however, you say and show to the world that the dollar of the United States is and shall be eternally worth 100 cents, you will reverse present conditions and never from that moment will we lack money or credit as a people.

But there are one or two other things that we ought to do after we have stopped the buying of silver. Permit me to state what they are. I think it is the sense of the people of this country, and the consensus of opinion in this Chamber, and in the Chamber at the other end of this Capitol, that we ought to extend to the national banks this privilege of issuing circulating notes up to 100 per cent of their bonds deposited as security for their notes.

This would give the readiest and quickest relief our people could have. Why? Because the money so added to the circulation of the country, amounting to eighteen or twenty millions, would be immediately and thoroughly distributed all over the country. Bring in twenty millions of gold to the port of New York, and it will take some weeks, or even months, to get it out among the people; but the proposed increase of the circulating notes of the national banks would be distributed immediately, and distributed just where it is needed, among the planters, the farmers, the manufacturers, the business men of the country.

The next thing to be done is this: I believe that, as prudent business men, we ought to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, with the concurrence of the President, at any time, in any amount, and at any price, to sell "3-30" year 3 per cent bonds of the United States for two purposes: First, to maintain the parity of all the paper and coined money of the United States, and, second, to meet the debts of the United States as rapidly as they mature. This measure would forever maintain the credit of the United States, and yet I doubt whether, under its provisions, there would be in the next twenty years $200 of United States bonds offered for sale by any Secretary.

After this there are two other things that we ought to do, and then, in my humble opinion, we ought to go to our homes and let the country have a rest until December. We ought next to pass a resolution that when, say, six countries in Europe, including Great Britain, Germany, and France, open their mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver as well as gold, the President of the United States shall be authorized to open by proclamation the mints of the United States to the free coinage of silver at the same ratio. If you are ever going to get free and unlimited coinage that will bring it; but if you undertake to introduce it here in this country without concurrent or antecedent action in Europe you will never have it in the world, and you will but put your country on the basis of Mexico, Dahomey, and China.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. But, according to your argument, as I understand it, a bimetallic ratio throughout the world can not be maintained even by international agreement.

Mr. HARTER. That is my individual opinion.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. Let me state my question. Could we maintain bimetallism by international agreement? You have argued that it could not be done in this country alone. Now, could it be done by international agreement?

Mr. HARTER. I say in the first instance that no man standing in human shoes can answer that question absolutely either one way or the other. But I did not finish what I was saying about the ratio business, and I am afraid, owing to so large a number of interruptions, my remarks may appear in the RECORD in so disordered and unconnected a manner as almost to require an interpreter for the ordinary reader. Even if we were to adopt as the present ratio 27.30 to 1, which would be putting into the silver dollar a dollar's worth of silver, I say unhesitatingly we could not maintain the double standard of silver and gold in this country. While 27.30 to 1 may be, and indeed is, the commercial ratio to-day, the commercial ratio changes constantly.

Why, sir, during the last thirty days we have seen the ratio away up to 30. If we were to attempt to maintain a fixed ratio as that, all the gold would go out of circulation at one time and we would be tramping down the aisles of commerce on silver legs. [Laughter.] Then when the market value of silver changed and it proved to be undervalued silver would be expelled, and you would be traveling on six hundred millions of gold as a basis, instead of doing business with $1,800,000,000 of mixed currency. You could not deceive a child upon such a proposition, provided he understood the rules of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and a very infinitesimal amount in the line of vulgar fractions. Why, then, should you expect to be able to deceive the intelligent people of this country and the world?

However, I will say to my friend from Indiana, that if we are ever to have bimetallic free coinage, it must be by the union of a great many nations. I have sought to speak in a conservative spirit and with absolute frankness, and I say to my friend from Indiana, that with the present methods of doing business throughout the world—when in forty minutes we can send a telegram around the globe, whereas formerly it took fifty days for a letter to go to Berlin and as many days more to get a reply—with these modern methods of doing business I do not believe (this is my personal opinion only, for no man can speak dogmatically upon the question), that we can ever maintain international free coinage at any ratio whatever. But I will be very glad to see the experiment tried. But when you propose to have me adopt a proposition here which would bring ruin to every American hearthstone through an experiment which has failed everywhere else throughout the world, then I cry a halt in the name of the helpless people and of those who are not on this floor to speak for themselves.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. Then I understand the gentleman's position to be that bimetallism, even by means of an international agreement, is, in his opinion, an impossibility.

Mr. HARTER. In my opinion it is an impossibility; but I have said I shall be glad to join hands with the gentleman from Indiana, the gentleman from Texas, the gentleman from Mississippi, and with gentlemen from every other portion of the Union in making the experiment so soon as we can get other prominent commercial nations to take a share of the risk. But I am not willing that my country, under the circumstances, shall take the sole risk of a most dangerous experiment, which, so far as human eyes can see, judging by the experience of nations, must result in ruin and disaster.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. Then the gentleman believes that the prospect of bimetallism by means of an international agreement, as now held out by the advocates of free coinage, is a delusion and a snare.

Mr. HARTER. I know the gentleman will excuse me from answering that question, as I have, within the last few minutes, answered it twice.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. I simply wanted to emphasize the gentleman's position.

Mr. SNODGRASS. I would like to ask the gentleman a question. Does he not think that before we retire from these halls and go home we ought to repeal the fraudulent and unconstitutional tariff laws, giving the people relief from unjust taxation and the payment of improper tribute to the manufacturers?

Mr. HARTER. Introductory to my answer to your question I propose to state a little matter of history personal to myself.

For thirty-one years I have been called a free-trader. I have never believed that any tax should be laid upon a citizen of the United States beyond what was absolutely required by the Government for governmental purposes; in other words, nothing beyond what was just and equitable to the citizen.

Mr. SNODGRASS. But do you not think that in the consideration of the great financial questions which involve the welfare

of the country at this time the most important factor is the tariff?

Mr. HARTER. I will answer the gentleman's question as I proceed if he will bear with me.

I say that I have been a consistent advocate of that kind of taxation for over thirty years. Ever since I have been a boy it has been with me a conviction that the Government should not impose any tax which would have the effect of taking the property of any citizen, not for the use of the Government, but under the name of protection, to be turned over into the coffers of any other man or set of men. But for many years a large number of my Democratic friends thought that Mr. HARTER was a little too far advanced in his views, and they were not particularly anxious to have him help construct platforms or make speeches at conventions or other public places. I am not surprised at that. I am not much of an adept in the art of speaking.

My language is not so pleasant as that of many others, my voice perhaps not so harmonious. I am not keyed up to the flights of oratory which distinguish the utterances of many gentlemen (whom I envy, by the way,) on the floor of this House, and I never was or will be. Therefore, I was not surprised that my Democratic friends were not particularly anxious, were not tumbling over each other, so to speak, in an eager desire to have me make speeches. [Laughter.] But the reason assigned was that Mr HARTER was such a crank on the subject of free trade that he would probably succeed in driving away the mechanics, and that he would certainly discourage the farmers. [Laughter.] Since that time, however, I have discovered that many of these gentlemen who hung back then have got up with me on the tariff question, and some have gone even beyond. [Laughter and applause.] I find some of these gentlemen now members of the House and unwilling to delay even for the coming of the regular session of Congress the consideration of this question. [Laughter and applause.]

I wish to say distinctly, in reply to the question of the gentleman from Tennessee, that I for my part would rather attend to the immediate business which we have before us; attend to it and do it thoroughly, stop the purchase of silver; authorize the national banks to issue up to the par value of their bonds; authorize the Secretary of the Treasury and the President of the United States to issue bonds if necessary; authorize the President to throw the mints open to coinage when the other great nations of the world shall do the same, and then, after a dilatory Senate follows our wise and patriotic course, go home and let the country grow up to the marvelous prosperity that we would see before the assembling of the regular session on the first Monday of December. [Applause.]

I fear the Senate, less sensible than we to the misery of the people, more callous than we to the agony of the nation, will delay and procrastinate. If so, when we have done our whole duty as patriots in this hour of disaster, in this day of dread, let us adjourn for three days at a time and allow the entire attention of an intelligent press and an outraged people to be focused on the men who, some say, are prepared to sit idly at the other end of the Capitol cracking jokes while the entire nation is on the verge of ruin and the majority of American homes in danger of starvation during the coming winter.

If the Senate, then, continues to sit as Nero once sat, fiddling while Rome burned, it must bear the sole responsibility for all the sufferings of the people. I have too much faith in the men who compose the Senate of the United States to believe that body will long withhold the relief which the stoppage of silver purchases will afford.

Reassembling in regular session in December, in the midst of the plenty and prosperity of the people, who to-day sit in their humble homes all over the land in enforced idleness, begging and praying that the next whisper of intelligence they receive from here may be such as will bring to them comfort, the hope of early employment, and the certainty of subsistence for their helpless families—we can come back here in December loaded down with the blessings of all the people of this land, and then we can add to and increase their prosperity by cutting down all unnecessary and unjust taxation upon the people. This is my desire. [Applause.]

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Why would the national banks issue 100 per cent of the value of the bonds, when they would not issue 90 per cent, as the law now authorizes them?

Mr. HARTER. They would, and that would immediately bring an addition of eighteen or twenty millions of circulating medium of the very best kind, and would distribute it, which is still more important, exactly where it is most needed.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. But what would induce the national banks to issue up to 100 per cent, when they will not issue 90 per cent, which they are entitled to issue now under the law?

Mr. HARTER. What was it that induced Shylock to lend money to Antonio? [Laughter.] I am not calling the bankers Shylocks, because I consider the business of banking as honorable as the business of the farmer, the merchant, or the lawyer, and more so perhaps than the occupation of a Congressman: at all events, more profitable than ours. But they already have the bonds, and it would be profitable to them to reach out and gather the advantages to be derived from additional circulation. Do you understand me?

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. But the point is that they have not been taking out 90 per cent of the circulation to which they are entitled under the law, and I can not see, and therefore ask the gentleman to explain, why they should take out 100 per cent unless you could get the price of the bonds reduced. They will not buy the bonds at the present prices.

Mr. HARTER. A word will clear it up. I am predicating my remarks upon the bonds already purchased, owned, and deposited for circulation by the banks. They have them on deposit now. They would not need to invest another dollar, for, if this permission was given, they could enlarge the circulation from eighteen to twenty million dollars without any cost whatever to themselves.

But there is also a negative advantage, and it is this, and I am glad the gentleman asked the question for it brings out this point. It would make circulation profitable to the banks and there would be many millions more bonds deposited at Washington and fresh additional circulation issued upon them.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. Is it not because the appreciation of gold under a single standard would make a scarcity and a contraction, and therefore make it necessary and proper for the banks to make the larger issue to relieve the stringency by an additional circulation?

Mr. HARTER. Here are a few fallacies that lie at the bottom of the entire currency question, and they are fallacies which have deceived and misled very many of the best men in this country.

The first fallacy is that gold and silver have not varied much in actual ratio value for thousands of years. I have heard men on the floor of this House say that gold and silver have gone along for three thousand years with scarcely any variation at all. Now, men believe this. They are honest in this belief, too. They do not intend to deceive anybody. They say gold and silver have not varied in their relative value more than a few cents for three thousand years. Well, even that amount of variation would be more than enough to throw out of circulation the undervalued metal. But, on the contrary, they have varied in three thousand years from a ratio of 1 to 7 to a ratio of 1 to 30.

Mr. MOSES. Who said they had not varied?

Mr. HARTER. You say it in the public prints, and I have heard it said right here on the floor of this House a dozen times within two years, that in three thousand years they have not varied more than a trifle.

Mr. MOSES. We admit that they have varied.

Mr. HARTER. This, then, being your present admission, I will not waste time on it. This admission just made by you is sufficient to give your whole case away as advocates of free coinage at any ratio whatever.

Now, here is another fallacy, that silver was depressed artificially. They say that coincident with the depression of silver, and as a result, other articles have become depressed. They say that wheat is cheaper. They say that cotton is cheaper. They say other things are cheaper.

I observe that these gentlmen, when they are talking on this subject, forget to speak about pork, and overlook beef, and many other things, which are dearer. Why not apply their yardstick fairly? But they tie silver, wheat, and cotton together. Now, why is it that wheat has decreased in price, and why has cotton decreased in price? Why have other things decreased in price? Why has silver decreased in price? It does not require a very wise man to answer, and I am certain I can answer it. It is because the conditions of production have changed. When you used to raise wheat in Iowa without a railroad, you could not get that wheat to the seaboard. When India raised wheat away up in the mountains of Hindoostan, it could not be carried down to the ships, because the freight was too high. But now they have railroads there, and it does not cost a tenth as much to market wheat as it did. This puts vastly more wheat into the world's markets and reduces the price of it. Then, again, you have mowers and reapers and binders. You have improved thrashing machines. You do business now by steam where you used to do it with horses. You now have the whole world in competition with you, and these are all reasons why wheat is cheaper. Apply the same reasoning to almost everything else which has declined in price. Apply it to corn and apply it to silver, and you have the reason for present low prices. You need not go down into the bowels of the earth for some alchemy on the part of Ernest Seyd, whoever he was.

I do not know who that poor man was, except that in this life he was a Hebrew banker, but I hope, in the name of humanity, that you will allow him to rest in peace for the balance of the century, and that you will not continue to shake his dry bones ignorantly before the American people. It is getting to be very monotonous. You need not look for any extraordinary reason for the decline in silver. It has declined for the reason that there is an oversupply of it, and nobody wants it at former prices. This is the trouble. I have a friend who lived in Leadville during the flush times there, and they piled up mountains of débris that they could not use and could not afford to reduce to bullion.

My friend was out there a short time ago, and he found they had made such improvements in the methods of reduction that they are now taking these piles of waste and getting the silver out of them. Silver used to cost perhaps $1.20 per ounce to produce it, and now it costs in some places not over 15 cents an ounce, and in most well located and properly constructed and managed mines it does not cost over 50 cents an ounce. You have here ample reasons for the decline in silver. It can not be because we have not used the silver. The Government has been buying millions of ounces of silver every month for fifteen years past. There has been a greater American market for silver since 1878 than the nation made in all its history before, so silver certainly has not gone down on account of any lack of a fair chance.

The constantly repeated declaration that the act of 1873 was a trick is another fallacy. If it was a trick; who played it on you? It was the gentleman who represents the densely populated and very important State of Nevada in the Senate (Hon. WILLIAM M. STEWART) who did it, by voting for it. And now he comes before the country and pleads the "baby act" in order to cover his own vote. But there was no trick. The measure was discussed in five sessions of Congress. Talk about it not being known. Here is my friend, Mr. BAILEY of Texas, has been here three sessions. Do you believe any man would dare intimate to the people, in his hearing, that such a measure could go through even three sessions of Congress and that Mr. BAILEY did not know anything about it. I would not like to be near his big fist and long arm were I to make such an assertion.

I say there was no trick, the bill was printed thirteen times, a great may reports were made on it, and the reports were under double heads, declaring that you should demonetize the dollar and giving the reasons why. Gentlemen, it was fortunate that the act of 1873 did pass? We resumed specie payment in 1879. Suppose you had not demonetized silver, you never would have had gold and silver as you have had ever since resumption in 1879. But for demonetization you would have gone down to the condition of Mexico and other nations of that character.

Gentlemen should never forget that the act of 1873 saved the country from the evils of a silver standard. Then it is said we have not gold enough. This is another fallacy. Gold is increasing three and one-third times faster in the world than population. The American supply of it is increasing two and a half times faster than the demand for it. A Democratic House, a Democratic Senate, with a Democratic President, afraid to stick to a gold basis, when the world is producing thirteen times as much gold as it did in 1834, when we adopted practically the gold standard!

Then as to the appeal of Colorado and the Western States which produce silver. They say that we should pay $1.29 for silver when it is worth only 76 cents. We grow more wheat in Ohio than the silver miners of Colorado produce in the shape of silver, and it is no more reasonable for the miners of Colorado to ask that the Government through free coinage pay $1.29 for their stuff, which is worth 75 or 76 cents, than to ask the people of the United States to pay a tax so that my constituents might be paid $2.50 a bushel for their wheat.

And now as there is no other gentleman who desires to ask further questions, I thank the House for its long and very kind attention to what I have had to say, and will take my seat. [Applause.]

Mr. HAINER. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question before he takes his seat?

Mr. DINSMORE. If the honorable gentleman will yield, I should like to ask him a question.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. MCMILLIN in the chair). Does the gentleman from Ohio yield?

Mr. HARTER. I do. I am through with all the time I desire to use through the indulgence of the House, but will try to answer any question that may be asked me. I now yield to the gentleman who first asked me.

Mr. HAINER. What use would the gentleman from Ohio make of the silver in our monetary system, and on what basis?

Mr. HARTER. The same large use that we now make of it, the same use that every gold-standard nation of the world makes of it.

Mr. DINSMORE. I understand the honorable gentleman to say that the increase in gold production is much larger than the increase in the business of the world.

Mr. HARTER. I did say so.

Mr. DINSMORE. I also understood him to say that he favored an increase in the bank circulation to the amount of their bonds.

Mr. HARTER. I did say so.

Mr. DINSMORE. And that he favored the increase of the currency. If that be true, as he stated, that the available supply of gold has increased more rapidly than the business of the country, what would be the necessity of increasing the circulation at all?

Mr. HARTER. In the interest of other gentlemen who desire to occupy the floor, I will say that this is the last question I will undertake to answer.

Mr. DINSMORE. I was asking the gentleman for information.

Mr. HARTER. I desire to answer the gentleman's question, but I do not want to occupy any more time than I can help. Here is my answer: I said that I believed that there was no real necessity for an increase of currency, but that I would yield to the sentiments of many gentlemen on this subject to the full extent that we could do so with safety. I am willing to yield that far. I do not plant myself on my position and demand that every man must come to me. I only ask that they come up to my views as far as the safety of the country compels; beyond that I am willing to surrender my own opinion and go with the other gentlemen to the extreme limits of absolute safety in such legislation.

Mr. DINSMORE. Does the gentleman himself believe that there is any necessity for an increase of the currency?

Mr. HARTER. But for the immediate emergency which has been caused by unscientific, unwise, and clumsy mamagement of this silver question—but for the emergency so caused, I would not be in favor of it.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. I had a claim on the gentleman's attention, because I asked him a question which he promised to answer, but failed to answer.

Mr. HARTER. Mr. Speaker, at any other time in the progress of this fourteen days debate I shall be glad to endeavor to answer the gentleman's question; but I know that there is a gentleman upon this floor who desires to speak now, who will speak with great force and clearness, and I do not wish to occupy one second more of his time.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. I simply wished to remind the gentleman that I had asked him a question and that he had failed to answer it.

Mr. HENDRIX. Mr. Speaker, I am exceedingly grateful to the gentlemen of this House, who have given me an opportunity as a new member to say something upon this question at this stage of the debate. I am the first, I believe, to speak from the great city and State of New York. I have come into this Hall as a banker. I am here as the president of a national bank. I have been called a gold bug, but I beg to assure my friends that the only piece of gold that I possess in all this world is a $5 piece that was paid to me the other day for attending a directors' meeting, and that all the money that I have hoarded up is what I have hoarded up in my left pocket, and this was handed me the other day by the Sergeant-at-Arms, in the form of a certificate calling for one hundred silver dollars. So that I trust I am at least free from some of the imputations which are often so ungraciously put upon gentlemen coming from the great center of finance of this country.

Moreover, I have some reason to claim to be a *persona grata* to some of my friends of the West and the South. I was born in the great State of Missouri, from which comes the gentleman [Mr. BLAND] who has offered the pending amendment. I grew up among those people, and I know them and I love them. I have roamed through the land of the persimmon, the pecan, and the pawpaw; I have tasted the water of the Missouri River, and the legend runs that he who tastes of it once thirsts for it ever afterward. [Laughter.]

But I have come by way of the East and I land here in this Hall representing an Eastern constituency. I want to say, to begin with, to this body of gentlemen, for whom I have already gained large respect and some affection, that the opportunity presented to this Congress at this hour to do a great and lasting benefit to this country has never been before equaled under such a combination of circumstances in the history of our legislation. Repeal the Sherman silver law, gentlemen; adjourn and go home; and let the country take care of the rest. That is the programme that is coming up to you from every center of trade. It is not the "gold bugs" of Wall street or the "money sharks" there, or the chambers of commerce throughout the land to whom I would ask you to listen. I ask you to listen to the men and the women and the children who have their money locked up in the savings banks of the country.

I ask you to listen to the employés of hundreds and hundreds of workshops and factories that are idle. I ask you to listen to the expressed fears of the dread penury that will come on with the blasts of winter. I ask you to listen to the spoken fear that proceeds from the minds of men that we are entering upon a period black with sorrow and with woe. The condition of the country about us you well know. It is not necessary for me to tell you of the banks that are tottering, that are falling, that have already suspended. It is not necessary for me to tell you that currency is at a premium in the city of New York to-day, and that it sold there yesterday at from one to four dollars premium. It is not necessary for me to tell this intelligent House that gold is being bought to-day in London and shipped to this country, as pork is bought on this side of the ocean and shipped abroad.

It is not necessary for me to tell you that the clearing house of the city of New York has issued nearly $40,000,000 of clearing-house certificates; that all the banks there have pooled their choicest assets and securities; that this great congeries of banks is holding up the financial system of this country by the neck, and that if you do not take the burden and strain off from them they may fall, and when they fall the whole country will fall. I do not propose to take up any time in the discussion of financial theories; I am for practical, decisive action.

We are confronted by a condition. It is no time to weave a web of theory about it. We have a law upon our statute books which is an irritation to our people in their business and is repellant to foreign confidence. It is a law that has cost like a destructive war. It is a wicked law of vicious parentage, and it has grown up to plague us, rob us, and to threaten our very financial life. We are called here to expel it from the body of our laws. Such is the clean-cut, unquestioned demand of the people. They have all become convinced that the law is a mistake.

If designed to increase the circulation, it has served to contract it. It has put into the channels of business in payment for silver bullion $140,661,694 of Treasury notes, but it has pushed out $141,017,158 in gold. If designed to raise the price of silver, it has served to depress it by threatening the market with the visible supply of bullion which is stored up under it in the Treasury vaults. It is a rank failure, causing us to be ridiculous in the eyes of the world when it was adopted and creating greater surprise because we have maintained it alive so long. It has nested a brood of vipers, and now we are here to kill them off.

Under this law, Mr. Speaker, we have been buying 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion a month, which the Government never needed and can not sell, and we have been paying for it in gold, taking in 7 tons of silver for every working day and yielding up our gold for it. Was ever a nation caught in such a trap before? In the two fiscal years ending June 30, 1892, although the balance of trade was in our favor by over $240,000,000, our net export of gold was $67,000,000. We have been paid for exports in our debts and have had to pay out $67,000,000 more in gold to cancel other debts declared to be due because of the distrust of our ability to pay in as good money as we got. Now no one comes here to defend this law, but there is a variation of its vicious principle under discussion in the shape of a free-coinage measure.

Why, sir, the way primary principles of finance are brought upon this floor, thrashed over and over and twisted one way and another, seems extraordinary to one who comes from the markets of the world. The experience of the world is all in one direction. The slow-moving finger of time has not changed its motion for a single second since 1798, when England made the change in her policy by subordinating silver to gold.

Right along through the ages this process of monetary evolution has gone on. It is going on to-day, and we in this House can not stop it; we can not control it; it controls us. It is no new thing, sir, in the history of monetary evolution for the more desirable currency to dominate. When the Australian used stone slabs as the medium of exchange; when the Fiji Islander used red feathers for his currency; when the Roman used his oxen; when in the early ante-Roman days in Ireland female slaves were a medium of exchange—in the use of eggs, in the use of iron, in the use of tin, in the use of zinc, the process of evolution worked out the inferior and worked in the superior article. One by one have these mediums of exchange been discarded and a higher level reached.

The world has advanced step by step; and the preference of the world to-day, from barbaric Africa to highly civilized England or America, is, as between silver and gold, for the more precious of the two metals. When you gentlemen begin to quarrel, you must quarrel with the forces of evolution; do not quarrel with fifty unknown men, whose names are not in any directory, who can not be identified, but who are named *en masse* as being the men who are bringing about all this panic. Let us be perfectly fair with each other on this question. I do not assert here that the Sherman purchase law is the cause of all the woe from which this country is suffering at this moment. No intelligent man talking to intelligent men would undertake to make an assertion of that kind. The Sherman silver law was not responsible for the failure of the federal bank in Australia in January, 1893, nor for the tumble there of fourteen great banks, nor for the rebounding force of the distress which has gone round the world since that time like a bowlder bouncing down a mountain side.

No; a wave of distress has encircled the globe. The Anglo-Saxon race has overdone the business. It has gone on conquering, populating, and over-booming the far distant isles. In one way only can we fix the responsibility for the primal moving causes of this distress upon this country; that is, we have been guilty of such legislation here as has turned from our shores the golden tide of foreign capital and forced it to go seeking a lodgment in bankrupt, insolvent, irresponsible, and unprosperous countries. In 1878 we began the series of errors, and we would have to-day the same condition under similar circumstances under the Bland-Allison act alone as we have under the Bland-Allison act with the Sherman act superimposed upon it. It is because we have been trying to set ourselves against the tide which is running around the world, the tide that makes toward one single stable standard—a tide which it is as useless for us to try to turn back as it was for old King Canute to attempt to turn back the ocean breakers from the foot of his throne when seated on the beach he ordered the waves to stop.

It is extremely interesting to follow the financial movements that have taken place ever since the effects of the Bland-Allison act began to be felt in this country.

I propose, gentlemen, in dealing with this question, to bring to you facts. We may "monkey," as the phrase goes, with silver; we can not "monkey" with facts. We have the resulting balances of trade to guide us; and when they are made up they form a subject of study for every financier the world round. Let us take up this question and see what the result has been since we started upon this silver course. Our coinage of silver began in 1878; so that on January 1, 1879, when we resumed gold payments, there were only $22,495,550 coined, and of this amount only $6,204,081, counting both the dollars and the certificates, were actually afloat.

Now, at that time we established gold payments; we resumed specie payments; we notified all the world that the United States of America was ready to pay its debts in the money of the world. What was the consequence? Why, the money of the world began to set our way. I have been astonished at the statements made here which would indicate that the money of the world is controlled by a few people. The investment capital that seeks our market from abroad is in the first instance the money of the middle and poorer classes in England, in France, in Switzerland, in Holland, and in Germany. It is not the money of the plutocrats that comes in big blocks. It is the aggregation of small savings.

The rich men use their capital in banking, in looking out for the profit that comes in taking toll as this great amount of money goes through the channels of trade. The money comes from the *hoi polloi*—the proletariat—from the people who have amassed it through hard labor and by the sweat of their brow.

Now, this money in 1879 started our way. We had new supplies of money given to us. There were national-bank notes, which on June 30, 1878, amounted to $319,604,560, increased, so as to reach on June 30, 1882, a total of $360,982,713. Gold began to come in rapidly, more or less each year, until the largest total was in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1881, when it reached a total of $97,466,127. There was great prosperity as you all remember.

The net aggregate for six years ending June 30, 1883, that came into this country to build your railroads, to build water works, to improve your highways, to give the tools of trade to that brave and great people that are developing the resources of the West, was $187,671,027. That, Mr. Speaker, was the high-water mark. The flag of our prosperity was at its highest point then. What happened? The turn of the tide followed. Mark it in your history; put it on your tablets; let it go on record in the archives of this Congress why it was that tide turned then and never came back. It turned away then from us because the silver in circulation, which had been kept at a small figure for the first three of the six years mentioned, on June 30, 1883, when the reports were published, was found to have assumed large and threatening proportions. The aggregate outstanding on that date reached the sum of $123,958,711, and on June 30, 1884, the aggregate had risen to $169,605,000, and on June 30, 1885, to $178,000,000 in round numbers.

Now, what were the results? When the English capitalists saw this rising tide of silver money, when they saw the disposition of the United States towards it, they began to pull out; and

they have been pulling out ever since, and it was only in the last three weeks, when under a state of panic values were broken down as never before in the history of this country, these Englishmen saw their opportunity in the wreckage, and concluded to take some risk. They started in to buy our securities and buy our wheat, corn, and other raw materials—at bargain-counter prices.

If you trace the process right through you will see that as silver money increased foreign capital here decreased. First, the Englishman drew his capital out wherever it was invested on time, giving notice to borrowers that he wanted it back. He wanted it when he could be paid back in gold. The foreign corporations went on drawing out the more permanent form of invested capital—that which goes on mortgages through the Scotch and British investment companies. They pulled in everything they could get at under the circumstances. Then they started in to make some investments in Argentina, and in the panic following that, the other securities remaining in their strong boxes were thrown on our markets. We almost broke our backs here trying to take care of them.

But I want you to keep your eyes on the date, July 1, 1883—the date of the turn of the tide. The next year there was no gold imported. Hard times began. There was a panic in May, 1884. We lost $18,250,640 gold. Nevertheless, the net exports of merchandise were $72,815,916. In the next three years we lost $22,245,678 gold, although our exports netted $281,567,036. You see how, just as soon as silver became troublesome, gold flew away. Ever since 1885 we have had a net export of gold in every year but two, despite a trade situation in our favor.

In 1892 the trade balance was enormous. Nevertheless, in every quarter of that calendar year we exported more gold than we received. Thus from the beginning of the pressure from the silver issued under the Bland law, right along down gold fled before silver, foreign capital smelled danger and withdrew, and when the Sherman law got to work the movement partook of a new energy and it continued vigorously up to the time values began to give way in the present panic.

It has been argued that we were paying our debts, and for that reason gold was leaving us. This is true. We paid not only for all we bought, not only for all that our favorable balances would liquidate, but we had to pay back money which would have remained here to the utmost satisfaction of its owner, had no silver plague come upon us. And recently how ruinous has been our experience! With what are we paying for the fresh supply of gold? Why, Mr. Speaker, and you gentlemen representing farmers here—think of it—we are paying with wheat at the lowest price it has ever touched. The world's wheat crop is short this year. Europe needs our stock. She would have paid for it gladly at living prices. We are throwing it at her, like a spendthrift.

Now, as a further result of this silver foolishness our values have so shrunken and our need for cash is so great that to-day we are happy to find any buyer and to sell back to the Englishmen the very securities that we bought back from them in 1890, and at a rate of interest that will allow them from 13 to 30 per cent.

Mr. Speaker, the whole history of the world tells but one story wherever a nation undertakes to follow the course we have been following; but wherever it follows the procession of the nations and the teachings of sound finances it renders itself financially stable, gives confidence to its people, and keeps money in its ordinary and rightful channels.

Now, what would happen if we should repeal the Sherman silver law outright and put this extraordinary set of amendments not only on the table, but under the table, and down in the cellar? The very next morning after the bill had completed its course through the legislative and executive machinery of the nation the millions of dollars that are now aggregated in the capitals of Europe would start again, as they did in 1879, toward these shores. They would fill all the veins of commerce. They would congest all the channels of circulation. Money would be so cheap in the city of New York that you could borrow it on good collateral for less than 2 per cent per annum, and it would flow all over this broad land, and where a man had good credit or good property on which he desired to borrow money he would find that he would be able to get it.

Why, you remember that in the good days following resumption of specie payments, when we had this gold unit of value in such relation to our currency that the world believed us, money was extremely cheap. Up to the time that silver became troublesome we were importing gold largely. Times were good; money was abundant. As soon as silver and silver certificates got into free circulation the movement stopped. Ever since that time there has been difficulty in getting money for the farmer and the planter. What is the consequence to-day? Your banks which have rediscounts in the city of New York are obliged to pay 12 per cent for them. Can they afford to loan your neighbors and your friends money with which to move their crops under such conditions as these? Will they not use the money which is needed at home to discharge their indebtedness elsewhere? They must do this if they are good bankers.

Gentlemen here say that there is not gold enough in the world. How do you know? There has always been enough and to spare in this country when the world believed in us. This is also true of every other country. It comes in abundance when conditions favor its secure investment and its certain return in kind. It advances with our good faith in finance. It slips away in the night at the first sign of danger. Its presence is the reward of financial virtue. Its absence is the unerring sign of financial vice. Under the conditions which protect it, it is abundant, but on fair warning, it runs to cover like a frightened hare. No one can trace it to its hiding place. No one can explain where it all comes from when it ventures into the open channels of business. It is easily hoarded. Misers love to finger it in secret when the business world hungers for it.

A man died not long ago in this country who had, in fear of your silver legislation, hoarded more than three-quarters of a million of it. The instinct of the squirrel, the bee, the ant, and the natural instinct to hide that which will sustain life in adversity, leads to the hoarding of the most prized money metal when any financial storm threatens. It drops out of trade into old stockings, into the jewel boxes among the keepsakes, is put aside for the baby's birthday pin, or reserved for some other vagary of human fancy. Bank tellers keep what comes in and pay out silver or paper.

The use of gold certificates, which I hope to see abolished under a Democratic administration of our finances, has greatly facilitated the hoarding, for the secreted certificate secretes the gold for which the United States Government provides free warehousing. A savings-bank board will say that there is doubtful legislation afoot or under trial, and decide to hoard gold, and as they have no stockholders in the East, they can retire money from work to idleness without interference. When the yellow tide recedes, the very earth seems to open and swallow it.

The Secretary of the Treasury, who, prior to last March, went ostentatiously into the New York market to borrow gold for the Government in exchange for greenbacks, set every gold-hoarding influence in the land at work, and in a month's time the floating stock of gold was dry docked in vaults, stockings, and strong boxes. Under the sunshine of confidence it all comes out. One yellow piece attracts another, and it all in time returns to the surface, and flows through the circulation like rich, red corpuscles in the veins of a healthy man.

The estimate of the world's stock of gold so often given is pure guesswork. No one has the data. From the dawn of history mankind has held it as precious, and has secreted it to use as money or as ornaments. It is found in nearly every country, and no one can tell either where it all is or how much there is of it. Rest assured that any figures are guesswork. We do know that the production of gold responds to human demand for it, and that it is now increasing. Until a year ago this country was the leading gold producer, but now Australasia is in the lead. Russia, Africa, India, South America, are all yielding gold.

Last year $130,816,627 worth came to the surface. The gold fields are not exhausted. The western slope of South and Central America is yet to be mined. California's output can be doubled if hydraulic mining is permitted. The Chinaman is finding gold in the white man's deserted camp. The unworked gravel of the old river beds, the experts say, is rich in gold, while the foothills along the Yuba and Sacramento rivers are believed yet to contain rich deposits. As the demand for gold increases, the work of men to meet that demand will increase.

Alaska's production last year amounted to $1,080,446, and the largest stamp mill in the world is in operation in that Territory. In South Africa gold mining is booming, and it is predicted that this year's product there will lead the world. There is ample gold enough to ballast the money systems of the great industrial nations, and especially of our own land. We need it only as a standard of value and an ultimate redeemer. If we stop buying silver we will soon see that there is enough for us and to spare.

My friends, I have said that this is, in my judgment, a golden opportunity for this country. You may legislate here as you please, but you might as well legislate against the heat of this August sun; you might as well legislate against the stars by night or the sunshine by day, as to legislate against the preference that is imbedded in the human mind, in human reason, and in human imagination. The world prefers gold. The instinct of every human being is toward it. It is the only metal that contains so much value in such a small body. It is the most portable of metals. While it shares with silver a great many of its features, and while in its onward and upward movement among the nations of the earth it has always had silver as a contestant,

and they have traveled side by side, yet various processes have come into operation which have made them part company. Now gold is in command; silver is its lieutenant.

How have those processes been brought about? Most naturally. In a policy which was entered upon the English statute books in 1816, and which therefore more frequently bears that date, although initiated in fact in 1798, gold was adopted as the single standard of value. Now look at the process as it has gone on from 1816 in England. What was the next step? For a great many years the Latin Union states and Germany and ourselves, silver-using India and the South American republics and Mexico, continued to use silver. For a great many years there was no considerable disturbance. There was steadiness between the two metals. Strong nations were acting in unison. There was no special pressure of fresh silver supply.

Silver mining was not exploited to the high point of perfection that it is at to-day, and the world's supply of silver was not so great as to cause unusual fluctuations. But when Bismarck thought that he could inflict a greater blow on his old enemy, France, than by the mere paying of the indemnity which he compelled her to pay to Germany for the Franco-Prussian war, he decided to make her pay it in gold and to use that opportunity to put Germany upon a gold basis and bring together the various discordant and inharmonious systems of currency which the minor states had, and to put all squarely upon the gold basis. The consequence was that the old German thaler, which originated in that valley down in Bavaria which gives the name to our own dollar, came upon the markets of the world through the melting pot, and they began to feel this extra and unexpected supply.

The next consequence was that silver showed weakness in the markets of the world, and in 1872, Germany having discarded silver in 1871, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, France, and Italy had to give in at once and close their mints to the free coinage of silver. Now, what was the next step? Holland stood out until 1875, when she gave in. Russia stopped in 1876, except the coinage of some silver dollars for the Chinese trade. Belgium, Switzerland, and Greece stopped in 1878. Austria-Hungary stopped in 1879. Roumania stopped in 1890, and now the last tolling note of the funeral bell is ringing over the doom of silver as a money metal as India, the great sink for silver, shuts its mints to free coinage.

And here this great and proud nation of people, who love their citizenship and their sovereignty as a people; this magnificent Christain nation, with its men and its women, beyond any comparison in domestic spirit, in civic spirit, in social life, with any people on the face of the earth; this great nation, where over a greater area of territory than is known on the face of the earth elsewhere one language is spoken, where there is one set of laws and one system of political thought—in this great arena of civilization and liberty we are asked, alone among all the nations of the earth, to go down upon our knees worshipping, like a gibbering idiot, the idol that has been rejected by every other civilized country in God's world.

I protest in the name of education among our people against such a proposition. Was anything ever more absurd in all the history of financial legislation than the proposition submitted to this House yesterday indicating that we are so far at sea upon this question that we can not quite make up our minds which one of the five ratios we are to adopt if we go into the free coinage of silver. Why, in 1834, that great man from my State (and I wish some man from the Mississippi Valley would rise up and make himself great for the next twenty years on the model of his policy), Thomas H. Benton—"Old Bullion"—stood in the halls of Congress facing his own party on the question of whether 15½ or 16 should be the ratio—15½ being the market value at that time, and in a market more stable than it is to-day, yet here we have one of five ratios. The statesmen of that day knew that they must be controlled by the market value at least. They chose to go a little over it for the sake of safety. To-day we are talking about ratios 8 and 10 points below the market.

Here it was 27.33 yesterday, 28 on Monday last, 33 a few weeks ago, and who can tell what it will be to-day, next week, or next month. The market rate changes every few days; but if we were to put any ratio upon our statute books and link it with gold in our laws it would take Congress years and years to undo the work that is now proposed. This is opera bouffe, not statesmanship.

What would be the result if you have your way? Why, my friends, you can not do the impossible. It is as absolutely impossible for us to undertake bimetallism alone in this country as it is to have a stable system of finances under our bullion-purchasing law. Now, if it is coming to a choice between going right along as we are now, buying silver at its market value in gold and storing it up—a vicious and wicked system of finance—or any of these five propositions, I beg of you all to adjourn and go away and leave us in the condition we are now in, for if we change, as you propose, we would be going from bad to worse.

Now, I am an international bimetallist. I believe it would take all the power of all the nations of the earth to keep these two metals working together for any long period of time. I agree with my friend from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] that there is grave doubt about the ultimate success of such a proposition as that; but I am willing to try it because whatever evils will follow will not fall on this generation and would probably be postponed for thirty or forty years.

Now I come to what those bimetallists who have grown old in the consideration of this question have to say. I quote the words of Mr. Henri Cernuschi. Who was he? A great authority in bimetallism. He was an Italian by birth, and Italians always have, next to the Jew, had the keenest financial instinct of any people on the face of the earth. He was driven out of his country through the political events of 1848, and became a banker in Paris. In 1870 he retired from business. He is a recognized authority, and more quoted in the speeches of the people who appear at monetary conferences than any other man. He came to this country, and he testified before the United States Monetary Commission. He was asked by Mr. Boutwell:

In case the United States should resolve to adopt the bimetallic standard at any proportion, say 15½ to 1, and other countries should maintain their present position with reference to the issue of gold and silver respectively, what, in your opinion, would be the effect upon the business of the country? Mr. Cernuschi said: "My desire is that a general agreement shall be adopted by the different nations. In my opinion, no country can coin silver alone; any country that coins only silver will remain alone, and will not have the money for paying abroad."

Mr. BRYAN. May I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. HENDRIX. Well, now, I am a pretty green member on this floor, and I do not know that I ought to yield for an interruption.

Now, in connection with what Mr. Cernuschi has said, if there was any hope that the basis offered by my friend from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] should become the basis of the civilized nations of the earth I would be willing to spend any amount of time in discussing the various ratios with him, but you can not afford to commit the great interests of a people to an absurdity such as a ratio less than the market, and it would be foolish for any nation to try it single-handed. The ratio to be established must be the market ratio between the two metals. You would be laughed out of a conference of the nations of the earth if you went into it with a proposition for less than that. It is the market value between the two metals that must fix the ratio if international bimetallism ever succeeds. What is the market value of silver? I have shown you that it runs now from 28 to 33. You propose to put in law a ratio of 16 to 1. Why, you would not do that. You would not bring disaster to the firesides of your own people that that would cause. You would not be willing to drive out of this country every dollar of gold that could go out of it.

It would be the height of midsummer madness to enact any such legislation as that. But, then you step up a little and say, "If you do not like 16 to 1, how will 17 to 1 suit you?" Oh, gentleman, you would not do that; that is only one little point better; that would not help the situation; that would not start the mills; that would not allow the savings banks to take the embargo off the $373,000,000 belonging to the working people in the cities of New York and Brooklyn; that would not help the farmers to move their crops; that would not restore confidence throughout this country. It would mean that confidence would be shaken again, and that every sterling loan made in this country would be called. "Well, then," you say, "let us try 18 to 1."

Why, my friends, what do you gain by that? Do you want all the silver of all the earth poured into your mints and turned into dollars for the people of other countries to turn around and pay them over to you for your products and take those products away? Why, sir, Germany has not yet got rid of all the silver that she desired to sell when she demonetized it and brought her currency to a gold basis. "Well, then," you say, "let it be 19 to 1." That is no better. How about 20 to 1? That has been the favorite dream of bimetallists through all the past twenty years, that some day or other silver would be at the ratio of 20 to 1, and that it could be kept there. But look at the fluctuations of the market: one day 33 to 1, then back to 29 to 1, then down to 24 to 1, and the next back to a higher figure.

Under such a condition where is your stable basis of value? Why, sir, it would take the whole power of all the nations of the world to establish even the market ratio. Yet you say 16 to 1. You might as well try to take the sunbeams and coin them into legal tender as to take silver at any ratio named in this bill and make a stable basis of values in this country. Every financial center would stagger under the blow. This country would suspend business to-morrow in all its financial machinery from Maine to California, from the Gulf to the Lakes, if the

people believed that it was possible for this Government to enact such a law as that in this time of peril. There is not a ratio named in this substitute bill which would not make us the laughing-stock of every financial center in the world. Every dollar that ought to belong here, every dollar that would come here through the natural laws of gravitation, would be withheld.

Every dollar that belongs to us and that would naturally come to us by reason of our solvency, by reason of our integrity as a people that has never yet defaulted or dishonored an obligation, by reason of the elements of prosperity running in the Anglo-Saxon blood as the race shapes itself under free government, would stay away, and every dollar that is here now for such reasons and under such conditions would begin to take wings and fly abroad. The gold that is being brought here at great expense to-day by our financial institutions to prepare for the hard times which they anticipate; that gold which is bought in London, as I have said, like so many pounds of pig lead, and delivered here at a premium of 1 or 2 per cent—that money would not stay here; it would have to go abroad again in the settlement of balances. Such legislation would mean shipwreck; it would mean ruin; and you do not intend either of those things or anything like them.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that within the next twenty years—and many gentlemen here will live to see that time—we shall see this whole free-silver craze laid out in the same graveyard along with repudiation, along with fiat money, along with every false thing in finance. The evolutionary processes of the world are against you, gentlemen. You may legislate "until the cows come home," but in the morning these evolutionary processes will have gained one night's work, and you will be called back here again and again, as you are called here now, to undo your work. You can not stop it. Gold is bound to be the ultimate redeemer of all the financial systems of first-class nations in this world, and no legislation short of the community of all the nations can stop it. Anybody who stands in the market places and sees the stream of prices as they go by must be forced to this conclusion. And you, gentlemen, are doing your constituents a great wrong, a wrong for which they ought never to forgive you, by continually embarrassing the financial system of this country by weak, lame, halting, sickly propositions, such as have been kicked out of the forum of civilized nations the world over.

My friend from Alabama [Mr. WHEELER] made a most singular statement for an intelligent man—that fifty men in the city of New York, fifty millionaires, were locking up money and keeping it out of the channels of trade. What infernal rot! What complete nonsense! My friend from Missouri makes the extraordinary statement—I took it down from his lips and I expected to find it in the RECORD to-day; you will find it there when his speech appears, if it has not been taken out—"this panic has been brought about for the express purpose of repealing this law; no doubt about that." Why, God Almighty himself could alone bring about such a condition as involves the whole globe to-day. "This panic has been brought about for the express purpose of repealing this law." Can men go about among their suffering constituents talking this way?

Where men of intelligence meet we all know that the present conditions, which no one nation can control, which no one legislature can control, have come upon this world from a number of causes, forming a sort of financial epidemic that is running its course, and that has found us with our body of circulation so weakened by a supersaturation of silver that we are not able to throw it off or turn it back, as we have financial troubles in the past; we succumb to it, fall beneath it, like a man falling beneath a sunstroke. My friends, you may rail against the cyclones that sweep over your Western country; you may accuse them of being the result of a "conspiracy;" you may rail against famine, and accuse it of being the work of Wall street "sharks" and "gold bugs;" you may split your lungs in such senseless talk as this; but the evolutionary process that God has put into the world goes right along night and day, and will go right along after you and the rest of us are laid away under the green sod.

The moving finger of Time down from the days when gold started in the race for first place to this moment has pointed to a single unit of value. It is our destiny. It will triumph in this Hall—perhaps not in this Congress nor in your day; but it is going to become the financial policy of this country just as sure as to-morrow morning's sun will rise. And I will tell you, gentlemen, one thing for your comfort. I believe that nothing disturbs the "Old Lady of Threadneedle Street" to-day so much as the fear that this country is going to be done with this silver foolishness. Three times we have gone to the nations of the earth—this strong and manly people has gone to them and said, "Won't you please come and confer with us about the monetary condition, and let us see if we can not do something to harness the two metals together so that they will travel side by side in harmony?" We have sent our able men; we have sent our most conservative men; we have sent our most diplomatic men; and what has been the result? Three times England has folded her arms and said, "We will have nothing to do with you." She recognized that she was mistress of the seas; she recognized that she was the creditor nation, and that along the avenues which she has created for commerce, radiating from her in every direction like the spokes of a wheel, she could send her goods and the products of the world's labor must come, and that she could demand a settlement for the balances in gold. She occupies this position, and among all the nations of the world that have competed with her up to this time she has had no fear of any rival except the United States of America, and she will fear this country more when it adopts a policy of sanity in its finances.

Let us try the experiment just once and see whether we can not bring this proud old lady down from her perch. I predict to you that inside of three months—before this Congress meets again—if you repeal this Sherman law and adjourn, England will make proposals to this country to come into a monetary conference and see what can be done for the sake of her ward, India. The proposition is already said to have come through financial magnates. Their names are not given, and therefore I distrust the information, because when men are mentioned I like to know where I can find them.

Mr. BLAND. Will the gentleman allow me a question right there?

Mr. HENDRIX. Yes, sir.

Mr. BLAND. I understood the gentleman to say a moment ago that we were evoluting toward a gold standard.

Mr. HENDRIX. Yes, sir.

Mr. BLAND. And now you claim that England is evoluting toward silver. [Laughter.]

Mr. HENDRIX. Oh, no; you will find out how this evolution works, Mr. BLAND, before the evening of your life is ended. You have seen it going on steadily, and it must have made you on your old Missouri farm think the world was sadly out of joint as one nation after another failed to agree with you.

But I say to you the only gleam of hope for international bimetallism is that this country, with its magnificent resources, with its almost unlimited credit, with its grand position among the nations of the earth, shall so draw upon England's gold stock through all her arteries of commerce and trade as to make her seriously doubt whether she can afford to hold aloof longer.

My friends, there is only one view to take of this question. This is a financial war between the nations of the earth. Now, we have no business to have a civil war on our side while a fight of that character is going on. There is on the throne of Germany a mediæval war lord who is maintaining an army at great price; and across the border there is a semibarbarian on the throne of Russia who is piling up idle in his war chest the gold that he has been getting together.

All of the nations throughout Europe are sleeping on their arms, on pillows made of the war chests of gold which they have drawn from other countries.

What are we going to fight that battle with? Our coasts are exposed. We have no financial navy. We have a very small financial army, as I look about among gentlemen here to-day who favor hard-money doctrine. We are in an exposed position, and we propose to fight this war with an old weapon, a wooden "Quaker gun" that has been discarded, left out, thrown aside, made into a football throughout the world.

I say it is insanity, rank, staring, stark idiocy for us to continue in this attitude in the face of a war like this. It is our business to throw our hat in the ring and say to the nations of the earth that we have some credit, that we have some resources, that we have some power in the premises, and that we propose to maintain it. All we have got to do is a very little thing, that is simply to repeal the purchasing provision of the Sherman silver law, adjourn, go home, and let the natural laws of commerce take care of the rest.

A gentleman with whom I am well acquainted, now in the European market studying the situation there, writes home these words:

Many British critics of approved judgment do not think that the approaching called session of Congress can do much, if any, good, but, on the contrary, possibly, and probably, much more harm.

If this body approves any of these proposed ratios there will be an emphasis under that sentence.

I do not think myself that the Congress as at present constituted, and upon the lines it usually works, is just at this juncture a special and beneficent providence for us.

It will not be if it is going to repeal the Sherman law and substitute a proposition containing one of this sliding scale of ratios.

Nor do I think, as many at home seem to, that it is Fate raised to the 8th power, so to speak. They are an aggregation of blundering mortals, and

with far less experience and judgment than many who ought to be there in this emergency. They will discuss causes of which they know very little, and apply remedies of which they know less. These Britons know very well most of the individual parts of that Congress, and are well advised as to their capacity and governing motives, and when they read what many of these people all over the country have been saying with the voice of Stentor and the impudence of Thersites, it is no wonder they unload all American stuff before the Congress meets. They have hastened to do it anyhow. I think this session is going to be a disappointment for many—

I disagree with him in that, for I think it is going to do a great deal and work relief for the people of this country—

and, unlike the life of Achilles, it will be neither short nor glorious.

I think it will be both short and glorious.

The British opinion of the financial acumen of America is not high nor flattering at present. They think, in effect, that the wealth we have so rapidly acquired is destroying the virtues by which we obtained it. I am only giving you the sense of their opinions as I get them without regard to their value. What they fear more than all, and what is really the foundation of all their fear about us, is "Demos," that great unterrified democracy (unterrified because inexperienced and irresponsible) that rises up like an exhalation in the night so to speak, and without sense or reason, or regard to the rights of others, and ignoring and despising all precedents and experience, wants its own headlong way in everything; and from all parts of the country delegates to Congress and other high places its most approved cranks, where, with the brute force of numbers, it overawes, overwhelms, and outvotes the "saving remnant," the minority of brains, judgment, and experience.

All this is no new thing under the sun, and has repeated itself so many times in history that those who are not warned by it must be very ill-informed indeed. It would really seem as if the facts and the present condition of things in our country warrant very much of all these criticisms and opinions. Anyhow, the British, Dutch, and others are living up to those opinions just now, and it does not tend to improve our financial situation at home.

Nor will it if we do not stop seriously discussing the ratios here.

Now, just one word more.

Mr. HUTCHESON. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him just one question?

Mr. HENDRIX. I prefer not to.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. HENDRIX. Now, if we do not like any one of those four ratios, there is a sort of omnibus attached to this proposition where you can all get in and ride. Now, gentlemen, what is that? That is the Bland-Allison law. Now, we are called to come here to-day to repeal the Sherman law. How much longer would it be before we are called back to repeal the Bland-Allison law? And if it comes to a choice between the Bland-Allison law or any of these four different ratios or the Sherman silver law, give me the Sherman silver law and let us stop.

Several MEMBERS. That is right.

Mr. HENDRIX. Let us stop where we are. Do not let us monkey and fool any longer. We are buying silver on a gold basis and piling it up here as a useless asset, and making ourselves ridiculous, creating a sublime act for some writer of opera bouffe in the future. But let us stop and not go any further, for by the Bland-Allison law, for which you provide in this bill, you are going to coin, at the present ratio and at the present market price, $3,653,000 a month, while under the Sherman law at the present price we are only issuing $3,375,000 of money. You are going to add practically $300,000 more money a month at the present price of silver under the Bland act than you are now giving out under the Sherman law.

This whole country is begging of you for God's sake to repeal, and to repeal quickly. Now, these are the propositions that come before this House. In this hour of dire distress, when as good men as ever trod the earth's surface are throwing up their hands in despair and going down under the wave of disaster; when solvent banks that have stood up in pride against all of the winter storms and the summer heat of finance have gone down and their presidents, perhaps, or their cashiers in extreme mortification take their own lives; when humiliation has come upon honorable business men who never disregarded an obligation and never had a dishonest dollar; when all the whole United States is on its knees praying to Congress for God's sake to repeal the Sherman silver law and let us alone, you come here and propose one of five ratios, 16 or 17, 18, 19 or 20 to 1, and you want this Congress, if it does not like that, to take a law which is going to inflate the currency with more silver than the Sherman silver law.

What mockery! What idiocy in finance! What a shame upon a free country! My friends, this country is looking to this Congress for relief. Let us here, as Representatives close to the people, do our duty and do our duty faithfully, and if there is at the other end of the Hall any set of vested interests represented there that would stand in the pathway of progress and of relief to the people, let the pitiless peltings of public opinion rain down there and not here. Let us discharge our duty and go home feeling that we have done what the country expected of us. [Applause.]

Mr. BOWERS of California. Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to detain the House long if I may have attention for a short time. "We have been called together in extraordinary session by reason of the alarming and extraordinary business situation, involving the welfare and prosperity of the people of this country." So reads the message which convenes us. Banks are failing on every side. Manufacturers are closing their doors, hundreds of thousands of people are out of employment. General distress everywhere, ruin stalking in every place, from the farm to the mill, and it would seem that that glorious picture of peace, plenty, and prosperity that was held up before us as the reward of "retrenchment and reform," has been turned to the wall. [Laughter.]

People are looking forward to Congress for some measure of relief, hoping it may come in some way, no one knows just how, although many are certain that their way will bring it. So far as the discussion has gone, it has largely been devoted to the platforms of the two parties, which is unprofitable, because neither means anything or was intended to mean anything. Both were cast in the same mold, although there might have been a little more sand—perhaps, more properly speaking, a little more mud—put into the platform of one than the other. They are both as clear as mud; but no man can tell which is one or which is the other.

The President of the United States, in his message, has shown he will have none of the platform, and he incontinently turns it down. He says "at this stage gold and silver must part company and the Government must fail in its established policy of maintaining the two metals on a parity with each other."

The Democratic national platform of last year says:

We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage.

I intend to talk about the matter in hand, but I presume, like many of you, I shall be betrayed occasionally into a political digression, and as the opportunity offers now, I will proceed to digress now. [Laughter.]

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] in his very able speech yesterday allowed himself to be betrayed into a political digression. Referring to the desire of the people and the hope that this Congress and its Representatives would act wisely upon this financial question, and referring to the Republican party, he said:

Of course we never expected anything from that party in that line.

Well now, Mr. Speaker, if I was so unfortunate as to be a Democrat, which I am not, I would sing very small and very low about the financial record of that party. What is it? After many years of profound peace in this country and undisputed rule of it, when it surrendered this Government to the Republican party what was the condition? An empty Treasury, no gold nor silver in it or in the country; the bonds of the United States, bearing a rate of 10 and 12 per cent interest, sold at a discount of 15 per cent, and this in time of profound peace.

The Republican party took charge of the administration of the Government with its empty Treasury and tottering credit—in this condition confronted by a gigantic war, the greatest war of any time. The Republican party carried the war for the preservation of the Union to a successful conclusion; had issued over two billions of promises to pay, and then started the country on an era of prosperity never equaled in its own history or the history of any nation on earth. We had money to do business with then. What was the condition of affairs between 1840 and 1860 under Democratic rule? You gray-haired gentlemen will remember what it was. What did you have? Neither silver nor gold, but a lot of ragged State bank money, good for nothing in an adjoining State, and good for nothing anywhere after it was thirty days old. [Laughter.]

After nearly a quarter of a century of Republican rule we surrendered the Government to a Democratic President, with hundreds of millions in its treasury; a prosperous country; its bonds, bearing only 4 per cent interest, sold at 12 to 24 per cent premium, a condition of things not before known in any nation on earth. Our bonds to-day sell for more than the bonds of any nation; and yet a day or two ago we received a message from the Democratic President [Mr. Cleveland] to this House which was a twin brother to the last message of the Democratic President [Mr. Buchanan] who preceded him, couched in the same terms, referring to the illimitable resources of this country, which ought to be prosperous, yet told of the disastrous condition; and we have the same disastrous condition here with all these possibilities and resources and wealth which the gentlemen on the other side have talked about; which shows very frankly the incompetency of the management of that party.

It was the Republican party which gave this country honest money in place of worthless State bank rags, and despite all the talk of depreciated money, to-day, when a man is paid a dollar—whether of gold, silver, or paper makes no difference, each is interchangeable, one will purchase as much as the other—

he don't care what bank issued the bill, don't care if the bank is broke or gone out of existence, his bill is just as good to-day, to-morrow, or next year—a condition never known in this country while under Democratic rule, and indeed impossible under Democratic business methods.

I tried to get a gold piece to illustrate this lecture. [Laughter.] I could not get one in the room of the Sergeant-at-Arms, as he had none. I suppose I could have got one in the Treasury. A curious circumstance happened to me yesterday. One of my constituents from California came to me with a $50 check on a New York national bank, drawn in Rhode Island, a few hours from here, and could not get it cashed at the banks in Washington. To day, my friend, Col. COCKRAN, many of you know him, came to me with a check for a hundred dollars, drawn on a New York bank, and he could not get it cashed in Washington. I sent it off for collection. Yet you people of the East, who know little about this country outside your own State, have never been over it, and know nothing about its capabilities, talk about "boom towns and mushroom banks of the States in the wild and woolly west."

Let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, that when this plague came upon this country, and a run commenced on the First National Bank in Los Angeles, Cal., it had demand liabilities of $1,000,000 out. It paid $600,000, or 60 per cent of all its liabilities in money of the United States in three days, and I undertake to say that there is not a bank in New York that can do so. They are paying by the issue of certificates on pieces of paper that have no intrinsic value.

The Bank of Commerce, in my town, a State bank with demand liabilities of $80,000, paid $40,000 before it closed its doors, and they were reopened in thirty-six hours. Gentlemen, the banks in the "boom and mushroom towns" of the "wild, woolly West" pay money while your New York banks pay paper. California favors silver money; Nevada is a silver State. If you go into those States, you will find that the people know what gold is and make use of it, but you people who are shouting for gold do not use it for money.

One speaker said yesterday that the people did not want silver, and would not have it. Ah! Yesterday in New York City, under the very shadow of Wall street, the despised American dollar brought 3 per cent premium. They won't have it, eh! [Laughter.] I had a little experience of my own yesterday. I wanted a glass of soda. It cost only 5 cents, but the man could not change a $1 bill; he had no silver, so I got that free. [Laughter.] I went to buy some newspapers, 23 cents worth, and the man could not change a $1 bill; he had no silver. I got trusted for the papers, but I went around and paid for them afterwards. [Laughter.] I went into a drug store to make a 15-cent purchase; the store couldn't change a $1 bill; had no silver—none of the drug.

I went to the Treasury last year to see if I could get some gold. The clerk opened a little drawer and took out a ten-dollar piece. I asked him how much money of that kind he paid out a day. "Not any," said he; "we do not use it here." Within handy reach was a box containing about a bushel of silver coin, and I asked him, "How much silver do you pay out a day?" "Well," said he, "from three to five thousand dollars." Yet gentlemen say the people do not want silver. I tell you that many of the banks that to-day have their doors closed would be very glad of the despised American dollar of our daddies if they had it, and would have been open and doing business to-day had they been friendly to silver.

Don't want silver! Don't he know that in every civilized and half civilized nation on the globe there is to-day one hundred dollars in silver coin in actual circulation—every day use—as money to one dollar in gold. And in the District of Columbia, the capital of the United States, there is to-day one thousand dollars of silver coin in actual circulation to one dollar of gold coin, and yet we are asked to legislate this money out of existence.

My friend Senator Langford, of California, a wealthy man, a large farmer, went up to San Francisco recently to get some money to move his wheat and to pay his men. The banks could not let him have it. He could not get the money from them although he had fifty dollars real wealth for every dollar that he asked for. That is the condition of things. The railroad company would have taken silver certificates, the same as I have taken them for my salary ever since I have been here. The rest of you gentlemen have done the same thing, and did anybody ever refuse to accept them from you? I guess not. Senator Langford's hired men would have been glad to take the silver dollars and so would the merchants with whom he had to deal; and yet gentlemen tell us that the people do not want silver.

Mr. STOCKDALE. The "58-cent dollar."

Mr. BOWERS of California. Yes, the "58-cent dollar." I will come to that in a minute. I am afraid I have digressed again, but I will come back now to the regular programme. The President thinks that the purchasing clause of the Sherman act is the cause of the present financial distress in this country. I presume to differ with the President. Did the Sherman act precipitate the ruin of the Australian banks, where this plague started? Not at all.

I will tell you what started it, and what has held it in the condition it is in. It was the fear that, at the demand of the President, this Congress would destroy half the money of the country—the silver money—and then would go farther and enact laws compelling the wage-workers of this country, whether in the factory or in the field, to come, in the matter of parity of wages and parity of living, to the standard of the underpaid pauper workmen of Europe. That is what is the matter with the country to-day. [Applause on the Republican side.] This done, the conspiracy is complete, the world subdued; gold is king, and the United States takes its place in the captive train, chained to the chariot of Great Britain. [Laughter.]

Now, that is my opinion about the matter. Theories are very beautiful, but they do not always result as their inventors intend. I remember the story of a man who desired to grow a beard, and who used many recipes without result, but finally a learned man gave him an English prescription, which was to shave twice a day with the best English razors for three months. He followed the prescription, but at the end of the three months he did not have any more beard than when he started; so he quit. This country appears to me to be in the situation of the man who wanted to raise a beard. The nation wants more money, at least more than can be got at at present, and the head physician sends us an English prescription telling us that the remedy for scarcity of money is to destroy half of that we have. [Laughter.] The less we have the more we will have! That is as clear as mud.

It is a favorite charge of the opponents of the free coinage of silver that it is intended for the sole benefit of the silver miners of Colorado, Nevada, and other silver States.

Well, admit for a moment that it is so. There are not (speaking away within bounds) less than a hundred thousand miners at work in the mines and mills and hauling the ore. [Addressing Mr. PENCE.] Am I overstating the number?

Mr. PENCE. Certainly not.

Mr. BOWERS of California. Then another hundred thousand are working in the fields, growing the meat and the bread to support these miners. Now, then, are not these two hundred thousand toilers in the mines and in the fields—men who are producing the gold and silver that you are quareling over and who are raising the sustenance for those miners—have they not the right, as American citizens, to ask this Congress that their interests shall be as fairly considered in national legislation as are the interests of the men of Wall street, the gold and bond traders, and the toll-takers, who never added a dollar to the wealth of the world, except that dollar was first taken out of the palm of the laborer's hand who earned it.

You have often heard of the Secretary of the Treasury taking a trip to New York to consult with the bankers and business men in regard to the financial condition of the country, have you not? I do not think we have ever had a Secretary of the Treasury who has not made such visits many a time, in plain English, for the purpose of consulting Wall street. Have any of you ever heard of a Secretary of the Treasury going to California to inform himself in regard to the interests of those men there who this year have grown 20,000,000 bushels of wheat and barley? You never did.

Did you ever hear of a Secretary of the Treasury going down to the Southern States and consulting your cotton-planters as to their interests in the business affairs of this country? You never did. Did you ever hear of a Secretary of the Treasury going through the country consulting the wool-growers as to the interest they had in the financial legislation of this country? You never did. It is the nonproducers who have demanded, and I am sorry to say have received, the attention and consideration of the Congress of the United States to the exclusion almost wholly of the toilers. When you are making your political platforms and stump speeches you talk about the people in very pretty terms, but when you come to legislate you do not know them.

You did not know them in this House at the last session when I asked that an appropriation of only $5,000 might be made by Congress in order to enable the Attorney-General to defend the titles of men to whom you had sold land and from whom you had taken their money; to whom you had given United States patents, which now, through the exertions of a railroad company, have been overturned by the courts and twelve hundred of the settlers on those lands are to lose their homes. You keep their money and refuse to defend their titles. You talk a great deal about the people. If you would act a little more in their interest and talk less you would appear to a great deal better advantage.

I believe it is time that the legislative department of this Government should consult the wealth producers as well as the nonproducers.

The common people, the wage-earners, the farmers, may not be able to meet any of you gentlemen here and argue this question with you upon theories, but there is one thing that they all understand; they understand a condition when they meet it; they understand a fact when it is forced upon them. And facts are now being forced upon them pretty severely.

The gentleman who last spoke made a remark which I wish to answer now before I forget it. He said, "Why are the farmers throwing away their wheat at a ruinous price?" I will tell him why they are doing it. It is because bankers like him and his associates, because financial operators have "cornered" the money so that the farmers can not get it; and they are forced to let their wheat go into the hands of the speculators who have formed their combinations and can hold this wheat until they, instead of the farmers, realize the profits on it.

That, sir, is the answer. If there was any money which the farmer could get with which to pay the interest on his mortgage without selling his products at ruinous prices, he could be saved this sacrifice. But they must sell their wheat to the great combines at ruinous prices to pay you your interest; thus you get their wheat and realize the profit upon it. That is the condition of this country, and every man knows it. There is no denying it.

Let me tell you another thing. As I have said, these men may not be able to understand theories; they can not argue abstract questions with you; but when the farmer and the miner and the wool-grower and the cotton-raiser see year by year that they must take less for their products; when they see in the progress of the great conspiracy to break down silver, that the prices of their wheat, cotton, and wool keep even pace with silver and have since the conspiracy began, all going down with silver and staying down with it, as if bound to it by an adamantine bond; when the farmer sees his wheat which was worth $1.30 in 1873 when silver was $1.30, now sees both at 60 cents; the planter sees his cotton which was worth 18 to 19 cents, when silver was $1.30, now at 7 to 8 cents, and the price of his wool gone with the cotton and the wheat, he feels that there is something wrong, something wicked in this assault on silver. When the wage-worker sees that the price of his product, his labor, is coming down, down, down all the while, that he is growing poorer while his mortgage grows bigger—when he sees the nonproducer, the man sitting at the gates taking toll on the products of labor, piling up millions upon millions so that sixty or seventy millions are owned by one person—so the per capita of a million people is owned by one person—I tell you the laboring man feels and knows that something is wrong. He knows that he is working hard and working honestly; but he realizes that the conditions somehow are wrong. It is not altogether a question of brains; there is a question of patriotism in the matter; and I tell you these men are going to inquire into this question just as surely as you live.

The gentleman who last spoke said "all the people of the United States were down on their knees begging this Congress to repeal the Sherman act unconditionally."

Now, I want to tell you—and I speak for my constituency, as I suppose every Representative will speak for his own district—that in my district, which has about 170,000 souls, there is neither a man, woman, or child on his or her knees asking any such thing. They ask you to do what is right, to give the country money enough for the transaction of its business. That is all. And they are not on their knees, either. The gold conspirator will be more apt to find them swinging a club.

I want to answer my friend [Mr. HARTER] before I forget it, for I am likely to forget some of these things as I go on. Speaking of these certificates, he says they have only 58 cents behind them. I reply to-day that they come nearer having $1.03 behind them. I ask my friend from Ohio how much gold is behind your promises to pay gold? You have fifteen hundred millions of debt, and a hundred million dollars of gold. You have seven cents on the dollar behind your promise to pay in gold, and seventy-five cents value behind the silver certificate, even by your own showing, and you have this even after the combined assault of Wall street and London to break silver down, ten times as much as there is behind your gold circulation. Answer that if you can, you who say that you do not want silver and talk about "ratios" and about intrinsic values and all that sort of thing.

Now, I do not want to be impertinent at all, but I have my own ideas on this subject, and one of them is that the man who talks of intrinsic value in the articles that we put the stamp of the Government on and use as money does not know anything about the functions of money whatever. [Laughter.] He does not know anything about it. Here is an American dollar I hold in one hand, and here is a Mexican dollar that I hold in my other hand. They are exactly of the same weight, and there are 9 grains more of pure, fine silver in the Mexican dollar than in the American dollar. I bought that Mexican dollar. I traded one of these for it, and I got that (the Mexican dollar), got an American quarter, a 10-cent piece, and a nickel.

In other words, I got the Mexican dollar and 40 cents in American money for an American dollar. Now, gentlemen, if the value of these coins depended upon the intrinsic value of the silver contained in them, such a condition of things would be impossible. It is the fiat of the authority that declares them money by the stamp of the king's signet put upon them, and which declares their value in the king's realms.

There never was a cent of money in the world that was not fiat money, I do not care whether it was gold, silver, paper, or what not. Take away the coinage value of gold, and what is it? It has very little intrinsic value. One pound of fine steel is of more intrinsic value than any 100 pounds of gold ever dug out of the earth. Take all the silver and gold that has ever been dug and throw it into the deepest sea, and who would suffer? Only the rich, and they say the rich never suffer. What would be lost? Nothing. But, on the other hand, take your iron and sink it in the sea, and what happens? In twenty-four hours the world would have gone back into barbarism. There is but one standard of value, but one on earth, and that is the capacity, the measure of anything, gold, silver, earth, water, anything that can be mentioned to contribute to the happiness, the life, the health, the well-being of mankind, and there is no other standard possible.

Mr. RAYNER says in his remarks:

Nor do I mean these mine owners whose continued prosperity and exorbitant profits are threatened by the repeal of the measure that is now before me.

That remark shows he does not know anything about the facts. I speak it with the utmost respect. If he knew anything of the facts he would know that the mines are closed and the miners are asking for work in the streets of Denver and everywhere in the silver States. He talks of market value. What is that? He says the market value changes from day to day. What makes the change? Not intrinsic values. No, but because Jim, Tom, and Jack, who have the gold and the money that is locked up now, combined, and they fix the market price where they see fit; put it down, or put it up, as they can make the greatest profit.

A little while ago I read in a dispatch in the Associated Press which has never been denied, and I suppose, therefore, that it is correct, that the Treasury had one day failed to buy silver—it was on Friday or Saturday—giving as a reason therefor that "the officers of the Treasury believed the London price of silver would be less on the next Monday." Do you not suppose that that telegram was cabled to England in five minutes after it was uttered?

Was it not a substantial request on the part of the Government officials of this country to the bankers of London and to the Rothschilds to fix the price of an American product lower next Monday? That is the way it looks to me. I will tell you what we want, and I am speaking now only for my own constituents. We want men to administer the affairs of this Government who are, first of all, American citizens, proud of their country. [Applause.] We want men who have faith in the ability of our own people to steer the ship of state themselves, without asking Germany or Great Britain which way they shall steer, or what port they shall make. That is my idea. That is what the people ask them to do. They do not ask the Treasury of the United States to practice any economy which destroys any American industry, whether it is raising wheat or corn, or digging in the mines.

What the country wants is a few less partisan Democrats, as few less partisan Republicans, and a great many more American Democrats and American Republicans. That is what we want—[applause]—Americans first and Republicans or Democrats afterward. As for the man who has not faith in the resources or the ability of this country to manage its own affairs, if I was that man I would emigrate to some place that I had faith in. [Laughter.]

Now, there has been the impression manufactured—and I am speaking deliberately—the impression has been manufactured that there has been an enormous yield of silver which has glutted the market, that it lies around everywhere, that we have so much silver in money that we do not know what to do with it, although the banks have not got it and are paying 3 per cent premium for it. Let us look at the report of the Director of the Mint for 1892. For the twenty years beginning with 1873, including 1892, according to the Director of the Mint, the total production of gold and silver in the world is as follows: Of gold, $2,157,000,000. Of silver, $2,246,000,000. This is reckoned at 16 to 1. Therefore, in twenty years there have been but $89,000,000 more of silver than of gold produced in the whole world, or only $4,500,000 per

year. And this in the next ten or twenty years may be changed to an excess in the production of gold.

Mr. SIMPSON. How late is that report?

Mr. BOWERS of California. It is the report for 1892, the last one issued.

In my country they have very large flocks of sheep. Some men own fifteen or twenty thousand head. In shearing time they hire a large force of men, and they pay each shearer by the fleece. When a man shears a sheep he takes the fleece and carries it to the shed, and he receives a little tag for it. That tag shows that he has sheared a sheep. Each man that presents a fleece gets a tag. Many of these sheep-owners have had brass tags made with their names or initials stamped upon them. Some of these tags are of brass, some of zinc, and some of leather, each having the individual mark of the sheep-owner. Whether a tag is of wood, or leather, or brass, or zinc, it represents that a sheep has been sheared and that the man is entitled to his pay, and that is money.

Why, what is the intrinsic value of that piece of paper [holding up a five-dollar bill]? What is the market price of that kind of paper? Nothing ever made this money but the stamp. [Holding up a Mexican silver dollar.] The Mexican Government is behind that piece, and [holding up a United States silver dollar] the American Government is behind that piece. I can take five of these American silver dollars and get just as much for them to-day as for this paper dollar or a gold dollar anywhere. Why should not this condition of things continue? I will tell you why. It is because certain people want bonds issued—and I call your attention to this: I have never seen a newspaper or heard of an advocate of the gold standard yet that did not wind up the argument by saying, "Issue some gold bonds and sell them to foreigners and get in the gold." That is, give a second mortgage for the interest that you owe these people. I do not believe in it. It is not necessary.

Talking about the amount per capita of money, no authority puts the amount as above eight billions of gold and silver coinage in the whole world, which is between seven and eight dollars per capita. That includes everything. As a matter of fact, there are not two dollars per capita in circulation to-day. If there were money would not be so tight. There would be some silver around. You will find by turning to the report of the Director of the Mint and the report of the Treasurer that two years ago England coined sixty-five millions of silver money at the rate of 15½ to 1. Do not forget that—the ratio.

England and all her dependencies produced eleven millions of silver. She bought fifty-four millions of silver of other nations at a price which she herself fixed in London, averaging about 75 cents. She bought millions of that silver from the United States, coined it at $1.29, and with it bought her supplies of wheat and cotton from India, because the Government of the United States did not know how to attend to its business in a businesslike manner, selling this silver at 75 cents, to be coined by a foreign nation, which made from 50 to 60 per cent by the operation.

Now they tell us we must have "the money of the world." The cry has been all along, and you will hear it from every man who speaks on the other side of the question, that the United States can not have silver except by the gracious permission of England, Germany, and France. Oh, we are a weak sister, a very weak sister, in the opinion of some financiers! It is said that there is nothing so cowardly on the earth, above the earth, or under the earth as $1,000,000—except it be two million.

Now, sir, the people of this country can make their own money for themselves, and if England wants to put up the bars and close the doors on us, swear she will not trade with us any more, all right. Which country can stand such nonintercourse the longest? This great nation, that can produce every necessary, every luxury needed for its people, and at the same time raise on its own soil enough to feed half the world beside; or can England, that depends on other nations for its daily bread, and must sell its wares for something to eat, must trade to live? For what single thing must the United States be dependent on any other nation? In such a contest which will be forced to surrender first? I would like to see a little more sand and a little more patriotism, a little more Americanism, put into the legislation, the laws, and the administration of the public affairs of this country.

Gentlemen say there is plenty of money, but there is a want of confidence. A want of confidence is a very general and uncertain term. What produced this want of confidence? I asked a man who was working for me, and who, as soon as he learned of the run on the banks, rushed down to get his money, why he did it. He did not want the money. He replied, "I don't know how it looks to you, Bowers, but to me it looks like corky times ahead. I am afraid of Congress, if it knocks out silver, stops coining it, they have got money cornered sure." And that is what has happened. And when you, gentlemen, ask why you can not get money to do business, it is because it is cornered. That is the plain English of it. It was only necessary to send a few millions out of the country, lock up a few millions in bank vaults, the proper notices in the press, and the stocking could be depended on to complete the corner.

Now, the working people, the toilers, ask you to enact such legislation as will furnish a supply of money sufficient to prevent the speculators from cornering it and defrauding the laboring man out of his just dues—his earned profits.

I do not believe that the free coinage of silver would at once restore this country and give it relief, but it will partly do it. But instantly on the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act the distress is multiplied. There are two things I would do to give relief. The first is, I would set the thousands of idle hands at work.

How would you do it? In the last session of this Congress it was understood that the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds had agreed to report a bill for the erection of a public building for each State, and to make appropriations therefor amounting to something like forty-four buildings; but under a misdirected and disastrous idea of economy, not a single bill was reported and no appropriation was made.

I would start those public buildings and I would double their number; I would commence internal improvements all along the line, and I will guarantee that the American laborer, the American merchant will take the United States promise to pay in legal money of the United States for all the material and all the labor that will be required. Then we shall have some money to relieve the situation, and what we owe we shall owe to our own people and not to foreigners.

It is proposed to sell gold bonds, to borrow of the foreigners, and put ourselves in their power. Instead of that, let us pay our money to our own people, and they will be glad to get it. That is my idea. I would totally disregard the stupid ignorance of small politicians and all this talk of "economy" and set the people at work. Do gentlemen remember the period after the war when we had two billions of paper money out with nothing behind it but the faith of the Government? And with that money we entered on the great era of prosperity.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] said that it would be better if there was not any silver behind the certificates. Well, I think it is better to have 75 cents behind a certificate than to have 7 cents, even if back of both is the faith of the Government. When we issued bonds during the war period, the men who had bought them cheap came to the Government and said, "We want you to say that you will resume specie payment." The Government said, "But we can not resume; we have not got the money." "Oh," said the bondholders, "just say that you will resume; that is all we want. We do not want to return the bonds to you; we want to hold them; they are good security; we only want you to say you will resume, and our fortune is made." So, I say: Let us employ the people of this country instead of leaving our own workers idle and spending our money employing the cheap labor of Europe. It is not the debt we owe ourselves, but the debt we owe foreigners that distresses us. Let us stop borrowing of foreigners.

Now, I want to say a word to my Republican friends who have done me the honor to listen to me to-day. I am quite deaf, but my one ear has not failed to catch certain remarks that have been made in relation to the company that I am keeping in this matter. [Laughter.] As to that, I simply wish to say that I am the judge of my own Republicanism. I was born into the party; my first vote was cast for John C. Frémont in 1856, and I always expect to be a Republican, but the only way for the Republican party and the Democratic party to continue to meet here and confront each other as in the past, and not to be supplanted by other parties, is to do right, and deal with all the people of this country fairly.

I am a pretty good Republican, but this is not a party question. Ill-advised men have tried to make it so, but it is a business question that ought to be dealt with practically, and I exercise my own judgment in dealing with it.

I know, or I have reason to believe, that the majority of my party here are on the other side. They may be as right as I am, and fairly represent their constituencies, I know, however, that I represent not only the Republicans of my district in my attitude on this question, but also the Democrats and the Populists, and they will all tell you so, and I have no hesitancy in saying that on this question I am perfectly willing to train with those Democrats who are first Americans and then Democrats, and I want to say that it ill becomes any Republican or any member of my party, who at this juncture has joined the gold squad led by Grover Cleveland in this fight and are now marching under his banner, to criticise my attitude. [Laughter.] I am representing my people here. I represent their views. They ask this House to do

right, to regard the interests of the people who produce all this wealth which toll-gatherers get rich upon. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The Chair is ready to recognize any gentleman who desires to address the House in favor of the pending proposition. [A pause.] No gentleman expressing a desire to speak in the affirmative, the Chair will recognize the gentleman from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS] for thirty minutes.

Mr. RAWLINS. Mr. Speaker, The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE] who spoke this morning complained that the people from the mining States had an undue representation and an improper number of votes in the Congress of the United States. I speak as the representative of more people, I take it, than are contained in the district from which the gentleman himself comes. My constituency is composed of about 240,000 people. I have no vote upon the floor of this House; neither have my constituents any vote at the other end of the Capitol.

All that I can do here is to speak in behalf of their interests; and I desire to say that while we have a number of people in that Territory engaged in the industry known as silver mining—or rather they were engaged in it, for they can not be said to be engaged in it now—yet I do not speak for the protection of any industry in the Territory I represent. I am not a protectionist. I speak only for those people as their interests are linked with the common welfare of the country. This Congress has been called together to provide a remedy for a great financial disturbance.

In order to intelligently provide something which will operate as a cure for the ills which afflict us, it is first important to inquire what is the cause, and, in seeking for the cause, intelligent men will find it only in something which has sufficient potency to create the widespread effects which constitute the phenomena of distress not only in this, but the other nations of the world. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] who spoke this morning ascribed all these evils to a little act of the American Congress known as the Sherman act, but the gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX] conceded that that was not an adequate cause. He said that the Sherman act could not have caused the general financial wreckage which began in Australia in the early part of this year.

He might have said that it could not have produced the disasters which ensued in England upon the Baring failure. He might have said that it did not cause that continuous and everlasting decline in prices, in the value of all productive industries, which has been going on from the year 1873 down to the present hour.

The Sherman act! Has any gentleman pointed out what there is in any provision of that statute which could have had such a baleful influence upon business in this or any other country—a measure involving only the expenditure of the value of 4,500,000 ounces of silver every month. If such an expenditure were made for the construction of a man-of-war, to lie idly upon the sea at the threshold of New York Harbor, would gentlemen from that city come here and say that expenditure was going to work the ruin of this country?

Silver is not paid for in gold. The terms of the statute, the contract obligation of the Government of the United States, did not provide that silver should be paid for in gold. By the terms of the contract under which every Treasury note is issued, both parties are bound to understand that the option is reserved to the Government to pay either in gold or silver. From no ethical and from no legal standpoint could any gentleman stand on this floor or elsewhere and claim that this Government has broken its obligation or violated its plighted faith in exercising the option which is thus retained.

Every man who originally takes the note is bound to understand the terms of the contract. Every man to whom it is transferred knows the terms. Any Englishman, any American knows that there is a trust in behalf of the people of the United States that the Secretary shall exercise his discretion in the payment either in gold or silver.

Well, when the silver is purchased and the note is issued, it is put in circulation; and why should not our Government have exercised the option which has been not only in theory but in practice exercised by the French Government for about ninety years—which has been exercised a hundred times within the last twenty years by the Bank of France. That institution always exercises the option to pay either in gold or silver. In that country, possessing $700,000,000 of silver and about $900,000,000 of gold, whenever there is an undue demand upon the gold, the Bank of France always exercises the option of tendering silver. France has nineteen or twenty dollars in silver per capita for 38,000,000 of people. When that option is exercised, does it drive gold to a premium?

But it is said that this country, with nearly 70,000,000 of people, with but $7 in silver per capita, either in coin or bullion, in the Treasury, can not, in accordance with the terms of a contract which everybody was bound to understand, offer payment in silver when gold is unduly demanded. It is claimed that this would drive gold in this country to a premium. Yet the gentleman who so declare depict in glowing terms the greatness in commercial power and strength of this young and all-powerful nation—a nation which was described by a distinguished economist, Jevons, as destined in respect to finance and commerce to grow in the future beyond even the possibility of the dream of its citizens. Why, then, can not this nation do what any other nation can do under similar conditions?

The Sherman act is not, then, the cause of the depression and widespread ruin in this and other countries. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive how any rational being can ascribe to it such potency for evil—a little harmless four-million piece of legislation—a very Nemesis of destruction. No rational man does believe any such thing. An ulterior end has been in view of enhancing the value of fixed charges and long loans amounting to more than fifty billions concentrated into the hands of a few. But these few are all-powerful for manipulation and deception. They have caused a false cry to be raised by which to deceive and mislead unwary Congressmen.

It reminds one of the old days of ignorance and superstition. When some calamity had happened, in looking about for the cause a harmless hag was likely to be discovered. Immediately all the misfortunes of the people would be ascribed to her witchcraft, and she would be dragged forth, with manifestations of fiendish delight, to be publicly burned. So with the Sherman act.

The gentleman from New York who last spoke saw fit to cause to be read a message which had been sent from Lombard street across the Atlantic, setting forth the thought and the sneer of bankers over there, as if he expected that we were to legislate in this country with respect to the sneer of Englishmen in Lombard street.

Gentlemen say they are in favor of "a sound currency and an honest dollar." I wish to say to gentlemen who represent that side of this issue, that they can not gain any victory by attempting to beg the question. It is all-important in discussing any question, and especially the question which is now under consideration, that we should speak with accuracy and with clearness. What do gentlemen mean by "an honest dollar"? A dollar is a cold, spiritless thing; it possesses no moral attribute of honesty or dishonesty. It is true that in the hands of him who uses it, it may be an instrument of great evil or of great good.

But it has no moral agency. Why do gentlemen speak of "an honest dollar and a sound currency"? Do they expect to drive men who view this question from the standpoint of research and economy, which are world-wide, and which are based upon the solid foundations of truth, from their position by the sneering intimation that they are seeking to promote their theories by dishonesty? I say that language like that is but demagogic; it does not tend to elucidate the question; it can only tend to deceive the unwary or frighten the timid. No member of this House will be moved from his position by any such consideration or epithet.

Gentlemen say, "We do not want a dollar worth only 50 cents." Well, they have not any such dollar, and if we should have free coinage at any ratio which is mentioned here they will not have any such dollar. What do they mean by "a dollar worth only 50 cents?" The expression is an absurdity upon its face. We might as well say that the Almighty could create a 3-year-old bull in a minute. [Laughter.] In the Constitution of the United States express power is given to the Congress of the United States to coin money and regulate its value.

What is meant by the language, "regulating its value"? Can not the Congress of the United States say that 410 or any other number of grains of silver shall be stamped and designated by any name, a dollar if you please? Of course every nation exercises the control of its own currency and designates it as it pleases. Everybody who accepts that dollar knows just what it means. There is nothing counterfeit about it. It is genuine. Any citizen passing it in payment for any commodity, or in liquidation of any debt, understands exactly the currency he is using.

Why, sir, all debts, all commercial transactions, imply a full understanding on the part of the parties as to the nature and characteristics of the transaction. There is no element of false pretense or fraud in relation to the silver dollar. It is not a dishonest dollar. It is just what it purports to be; it passes for just what it is. Why, sir, suppose this question were brought into a court of justice? There are many men here who understand the rules of evidence, which are supposed to be founded upon the rules of logic and common sense. Suppose the question were, "What is this which we call a silver dollar worth?" A gentleman would not be permitted to answer. Why, if you go into the London market you can buy bullion, and if the Gov-

ernment of the United States would permit you to do so you could coin it in a dollar and make a profit on your transaction, because you could purchase the bullion for 50 cents. But what is its market value? What is it worth in exchange for any other commodity in the country? That is the standard by which you must gauge its value. Any other evidence would be excluded as incompetent. Gauged by that, it is to-day in New York at a premium. It sells at 3 per cent above par.

This shows the extent to which the Government can, by giving to a metal a new function and an increased demand, enhance its value. A coin clothed with the function of money is worth 50 per cent more than the metal which it contains as a mere commodity.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] has a theory. It is that it is dangerous to have too much money. I have heard this classification made, not by the gentleman who spoke on this floor, but to which school of philosophy he seems to belong. It divides property into productive wealth, into consumable wealth and coin—that is, it means that coin is not wealth at all.

The gentleman spoke as though he had traveled all of the road and knew all that had taken place on this subject since the days of Lycurgus down to our time. But I venture to say that in all of his travels, through all the centuries, he did not find an economist or a publicist, who devoted any attention to the question, who did not declare that money is wealth of the very highest power. Why, as with a stroke of magic, it can be transformed into anything which will minister to the comfort or convenience of man or the development of the human race.

They say that every unnecessary dollar is dead capital and an utter waste to the country. Now, if you have money, what can you do with it? You can use it for the purchase of commodities. You can keep it for prospective purchases that you may want to make. You can lend it to be returned with or without interest, or you can give it away. These are all useful purposes. Or, you can destroy it. The last is the use to which the monometallists would devote it. Demonetization is destruction.

Every unnecessary dollar is to be destroyed, especially if it be a silver dollar. Why, Mr. Speaker, according to that logic, if the gentleman had a coat which he had put by, and by which he expected to keep warm in the colder weather, he ought to take it out and burn it. Every unoccupied house ought to be consumed with fire. Every unemployed workman ought to be electrocuted. Indeed the Malthusian is the philosophy of the goldite, "whom he could not use he would destroy." Their battle cry to-day is similar to that of the old Romans in respect to Carthage, *Argentum Delendum est.* Silver must be destroyed.

Up to 1873 four billions of the world's wealth—its metallic money—consisted of silver, an equal amount consisted of gold. That had come down as a bimetallic system from the past ages. All the peoples of the earth, you may call it wealth or what you please, for three thousand years had planted their credit and business on this rock.

In 1873, while our superstructure of productive industry was based on this foundation, a cataclysm occurred which shattered the foundation, and the wealth of the world has been sinking in value ever since.

The index numbers of the Economist show that, during the past twenty years in the London market, the gold value of twenty-two leading articles has declined in the same ratio as silver.

In Hamburg Dr. Soetbeer, the noted statistician and economist, shows that articles there have declined in the same manner. Seven great standard commodities in this country have been affected by the same causes, and the same operation has applied to them. Such has been the effect upon the general range of prices. As gold has appreciated, by reason of the increased work put upon it by curtailment of the use of silver, all other things in their gold prices have suffered a corresponding decline. All forms of wealth and property, except gold credits and fixed charges, have been nibbled away by the ever-increasing demands of the money claims.

A commission was appointed by the English Government a few years ago "upon the depression of trade." You, gentlemen, who are so fond of quoting the English as being *ex cathedra* on all questions relating to finance, when you take up the findings of this impartial commission, which extended its investigation not only into that but into all countries where the matters under consideration could be illustrated by experience, will find strong language upon the subject.

These were the conclusions:

First, that the depression dated from the year 1873 or thereabouts.

Second, that it extended to nearly every branch of industry, including agriculture, manufactures, and mining, and that it was not confined to any one, but had been experienced to a greater or less extent in all the industrial countries of the world.

Third, that it appeared to be closely connected with the serious fall in general prices which, even then, was most observable, though it has been since more strongly remarked, resulting in the diminution, in some cases even to the total loss, of profit and consequent irregularity of employment to the wage-earners.

Fourth, that the duration of the depression has been most unusual and abnormal. No adequate cause for this state of things was discoverable, unless it could be found in the same general dislocation of values caused by currency changes, and which would be capable of affecting an area equal to that which the depression of trade had covered.

Ernst Seyd, a distinguished economist, in 1873, at the time of the proposed demonetization of silver by Germany and other countries, predicted this continuous depression, as the cause for it would be the curtailment of the money, the basic means of value, represented by four billion dollars' worth of silver; that as that was cut down and demonetized values, would be depressed, and you would have all the evils which have since ensued.

How prophetic was his vision!

But they say gold has not advanced in value. It is in the gold prices of things that all things have declined in value. With reference to all those things gold has advanced in value.

Gentlemen, I want to call your attention to the words of Senator JOHN SHERMAN, a distinguished statesman, to whom all the evils growing out of this unfortunate legislation in 1873 have been attributed. I say that he knows to-day, and that he has declared, that by reason of that act gold has advanced, to the detriment of all industrial enterprises, and to the advancement of the wealth of those whose wealth consisted of credits and fixed charges. I will ask the Clerk to read a letter addressed by Senator SHERMAN to Mr. Groesbeck, of Cincinnati, Ohio, July 15, 1878.

The Clerk read as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *July 15, 1878.*

DEAR SIR: To that part of your letter of the 12th instant, in which you ask my view of the matters confided in the monetary commission, I have some delicacy in replying very fully.

During the Monetary Conference in Paris, when silver in our country was excluded from circulation by being undervalued. I was strongly in favor of the single standard of gold, and wrote a letter, which you will find in the proceedings of that conference, stating briefly my view. At that time the wisest among us did not anticipate the sudden fall of silver or the rise of gold that has occurred.

This uncertainty of the relation between the two metals is one of the chief arguments in favor of a monometallic system, but other arguments, showing the dangerous effect upon industry by dropping one of the precious metals from the standard of value, outweigh, in my mind, all theoretical objections to the bimetallic system. * * *

JOHN SHERMAN, *Secretary.*

Mr. RAWLINS. He attributes it to the same cause. Now, there was not a delegate to the conference in 1878 who did not appreciate that the demonetization of silver was the cause. There was not a delegate in the conference of 1881 who did not recognize the same fact. There was not a delegate in the conference of 1892 at Brussels who did not declare the same thing; and we have another prediction here, gentlemen, to which I earnestly call your attention, because in this declaration you find the cause of the distress with which we are afflicted to-day predicted in unerring language. Mr. Rothschild, who is not supposed in any degree to be biased in favor of silver, who is not supposed to be a silver lunatic, used this language in November, 1892. Listen to it, gentlemen:

I need hardly remind you that the stock of silver in the world is estimated at some thousands of millions. And if this conference were to break up without arriving at any definite result, there would be a depreciation in the value of that commodity which it would be frightful to contemplate, and out of which a monetary panic would ensue, the far-spreading effect of which it would be impossible to foretell."

Mr. BLAND. They have got the panic now.

Mr. RAWLINS. That conference broke up without arriving at any definite result. Then came that great decline of silver. Then ensued the financial wreckage and crash in Australia. And let me stop here to call attention to another prediction, one of many made at this conference. It was said there that unless the nations did agree that the next step would be the closing of the mints in India, and what would happen then? Why that would precipitate and cause a decline, an absolute destruction of billions of dollars, represented by silver in its value and all values having relation to it, and that a depression would accordingly ensue.

That has happened. That prediction has been verified by a fall in silver and all other things in one week of 20 per cent. Just think of it! All the wealth in one month has sustained a loss of 20 per cent; and all the accumulation of all the ages of all people to that extent swept away by the fiat of a council of ten men decreeing the closure of the mints in India. But what next was to complete the misfortunes of the human race? Sir Rivers Wilson in that conference said:

What are the results to which this double action of the part of the great purchasers of silver might lead? Certain high authorities believe that the sudden cessation of the purchase of silver in the United States and the closing of the Indian mints, should these events actually occur, would lead to a heavy fall in silver and a disastrous disturbance of commerce.

When I looked into this question, I did so conscientiously for the purpose of arriving at the truth, and as I saw to declare it. I see the destruction of silver bringing disaster. The most distinguished economists throughout the world have declared the

results which would ensue from such action of this Government unfavorable to silver. The mind is driven to the conclusion that those men presaged the truth.

The President has sent a message to this Congress, and in that message he has depicted and portrayed the evil effect of hoarding money. I do not wish to underestimate it. During the time money is hoarded it is, so far as active use is concerned, as if it were demonetized or sunk in the depths of the ocean; because the "quantity," which some gentlemen call immaterial and unimportant, has been diminished. What is demonetization but a more destructive and a more permanent form of hoarding. The hoarder will keep it up until he has sense enough to restore it to the channels of trade.

[Here the hammer fell.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BLAND. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman have time to conclude his remarks.

There was no objection.

Mr. RAWLINS. I thank the gentlemen. I shall endeavor not to weary them by an unnecessary waste of time. I say the money so demonetized is lost until the power which can restore it recovers sufficient knowledge to put it back, or reclothe it with the functions by which it may become useful in the channels of trade. You can have no efficiency, which is the desirable thing, without quantity, can you? And as you increase the quantity you strengthen the efficiency; as you diminish the quantity you weaken the efficiency. If there were in the bank vaults to-day throughout this country 10 per cent more of quantity, there would be a stronger basis on which to restore the confidence of the country.

While the President deprecates hoarding, he recommends the adoption of a policy for its encouragement.

Monetary contraction always leads to a decline in values. As demonetization goes on the purchasing power of the remaining money grows. Hoarding is thus made profitable. Investments can not be safely made without a certainty of loss so long as the decline in values continue. If loans are made upon a good margin to-day, in a short time the security becomes inadequate.

So, ever increasing in value, without risk of loss, the money will be safely stored away and held.

Take the Bank of England. In 1881 it had a reserve of £42,000,000; but with the demonetization of silver and the increased demand for gold resulting therefrom, such an encroachment has been made upon it that the reserve in ten years decreased until now it has about £22,000,000 as a reserve. Sir Samuel Montague, in a recent article published in Littel's Living Age, a man of long experience in Lombard street, portrayed more vividly than the gentlemen who take the opposite side of this question that her financial system was like a pyramid standing on its apex; a great superstructure of credit, which, if people lose their confidence, would be toppled over on account of the insufficiency of the base of gold on which it rests, and he says that such would have happened, and the English bank would have gone to pieces as the result of the Barings failure had it not been able to obtain a gold loan of $15,000,000 from the Bank of France.

Now, the necessity for gold is indicated by its demand for coinage. I can demonstrate, I think, to the satisfaction of any gentleman upon this floor that the gold supply of the world is inadequate. I take the figures for 1889. In that year there was produced $120,000,000 of gold throughout the world. Dr. Soetbeer estimated that there was consumed in the arts in 1886 $60,000,000, and that the amount used for such purposes was gradually increasing.

In the Report upon the Mineral Industries of this country it appears that the amount consumed in the arts in 1880 in this country alone was $10,000,000, and in 1890, according to the estimate of the Director of the Mint, it had risen to $16,000,000. Therefore, it would be a reasonable estimate to say that the amount of gold consumed in the arts throughout the world in 1889 was $70,000,000. Taking that estimate, there remained $50,000,000 for coinage.

Now, what was the amount coined? One hundred and sixty-eight million dollars. After deducting for use in the arts, you find $118,000,000 more gold demanded for coinage than was produced that year. That meant, of course, a recoinage by one nation of the coins of another, so that what one gained another lost. This demand for gold was so insatiate that it overcame the *vim inertia*, the cost of transportation, the expense of a double or triple mintage, and of the premium (which has been spoken of here as being as high as 1 and 2 per cent) which one country charges as a penalty upon the exportation of its gold to another.

Now, shut down the silver mines, from which from one-third to one-half of all the gold produced comes; take one-third from $120,000,000 and you have $80,000,000 remaining, and in but a few years, if not already, the demand for gold for use in the industrial arts will encroach upon your original stock. Then think of the millions, according to the estimate of Jevons, by which the gold stock annually shrinks from wear and loss of coins. And yet men dream of universal gold monometallism.

No wonder that we look with trepidation upon the passing to and fro between countries of a few million dollars of gold. Austria-Hungary sought to get upon a gold specie basis and passed a law to that effect converting her taxable silver bonds into gold bonds. She put them upon the market, though bearing 4 per cent interest, at 90 or 92, and endeavored to get the gold, but she could not get it anywhere in the wide world until she came over to America to filch it from the Treasury of the United States.

That was the reason why last year $87,000,000 of gold left this country. But, notwithstanding the sacrifice which Austria-Hungary was willing to make to get upon a gold basis she could not do it, and only a month ago the news was flashed across the ocean that the time at which such specie payments were to be resumed was to be deferred till 1896. Then there ceased to be such a demand for gold and it was permitted to flow back as it has been doing lately.

Now, it is supposed to take, to get upon a specie basis, enough gold to cover the aggregate of the premium upon gold over the inconvertible paper money. Remember that Austria failed and that the result of her attempt was to create disaster to the business interests of the world, causing a financial crash in England itself, and then suppose that Russia and India, and other countries throughout the civilized and uncivilized world should make the same effort, what would happen?

In 1816, when England adopted the gold standard, such was the increased demand for gold that there immediately resulted a fall in the prices of other things. That led to a general financial disturbance which was depicted by Mr. Clay, most eloquently in 1820, pointing out the dire disasters which had come upon our country.

Why, sir, the idea of universal gold monometallism has been justly described as Utopian. It is an effort to cover the financial bed with a golden blanket which is not big enough. You pull it to one side and the other suffers from the exposure. It is indecent even to attempt it. What is the remedy? We have found the cause. The dream of the monometallist is idle. It is an iridescent dream of fatuity and folly, resulting from ignorance. [Applause.] Why, sir, the remedy is to restore to silver the functions of money which it has possessed in all ages—so universally recognized for three thousand years as to be regarded as almost, if not quite, an arrangement of nature itself.

The real cause of the widespread depression is found in the fact that, during the past twenty years the quantity or supply of primary money has not kept pace with the increase of population, of business production, and the growth of commerce. The use of money has been demanded in new and extensive fields, not only in America, but in Asia and Africa. Moreover, the supply of primary metallic money has been curtailed by the demonetization and inhibited coinage of silver, while the demand for gold for use in the industrial arts has constantly increased and its production has as uniformly diminished. The tremendous loss in silver has in no degree been compensated by any increased supply of gold.

As the value or price of all other things varies directly as the quantity or supply of primary money constituting the standard of its measurement, it follows that as such money contracts prices must fall; or if the supply of money remains the same, but has a wider distribution, is made to do duty in a wider field and in new channels, a proportionate fall in values must ensue. The same result takes place when the articles or objects which money measures are increased or multiplied.

The correlation of these propositions is, that the money and as fixed charges and liabilities, solvable alone in that medium all gauged by other things, undergo appreciation.

Talk about "evolution." That term is only properly applicable in a scientific sense to the animate, not to the inanimate world. You can not make a vicious theory respectable by bestowing upon it a scientific appellation. Evolution—the survival of the fittest—can only be applied to this question upon the assumption that it means the predominance of might over right. Mr. SHERMAN wrote his letter to the conference in 1867 recommending gold. Was that "evolution?" He afterward, in his letter of 1878, said he had made a mistake, that he did not act upon sufficient information. How is "evolution" going on in England? Why, sir, Barclay, Goshen, and many others, all great statesmen over in that country, are falling rapidly into the theories of the bimetallist. The "evolution" is all the other way.

Now, I want to say a word about the single standard. Why, sir, gold and silver have constituted in all the ages of the world a mode of measuring the value of all articles of utility. We may have a measure composed of two metals—a measure of value as well as of distance—and the best measure of distance is that

which is composed of two metals, expanding under the influence of heat or cold both ways, so that the general dimension always remains the same. If you will take the aggregate of gold and silver and put them together, you will find that they have been more stable in this form than when taken separately.

We want a system which shall operate like the compensatory pendulum, so that the radius of oscillation will ever remain the same. That is the bimetallic system. As to the unit, you may call it a dollar, or a shilling, or a rupee, or anything else; the name is immaterial. The unit of account is unimportant; it is the general measure, that which is indicated by the stock of gold and silver and the natural increase growing out of the development of mining industries—growing out of the discovery and production of the metals as God has placed them in the hills.

When men know that their money is based upon this, in making a long-time contract they can measure the stock on hand, and they can estimate the probabilities of production, and they can determine what compensation in the form of interest they should reserve in order that they may not suffer loss. But if the system of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] is adopted, what will be the result? I think the gentleman used somewhat extravagant language; that he spoke somewhat recklessly, though with good will and good nature, and with an eloquence which I highly appreciated. His theory would result in this: when we leave the metallic basis of money, which all the monometallists say is the ulterior end, we shall issue gold bonds which we will place upon the market at a discount, realizing, perhaps, 90 per cent.

Our own bankers will buy these bonds and then issue notes upon them at their par value, thus giving to the bankers of the country the profits arising from a monopoly of making money for the people. Under such a system every contract would have to be made with reference to the caprice of the banks, always controlled by their interest or greed.

Why, sir, gentlemen talk about the bounty or tribute which is to be paid to silver miners of the West. They are not opposed to tribute, but they want its direction to be toward the East, not the West. Where are the votes to come from that will defeat the proposition of justice and right involved in the simple restoration of silver?

Will the votes come from those who are opposed to exactions in the form of bounties, to make profitable unprofitable industries? Will the votes against this proposition come from the West or the South? Or will they come from Pennsylvania, the home of the people who exact tribute; from New York, from Massachusetts, from the people east of the Alleghenies who have built up colossal fortunes upon the accumulations of tribute by means of which the burdens of debt have been multiplied and increased in quantity throughout all this land?

I do not speak in favor of "protecting" mining industries. I want to tell you here one fact in respect to mining in our Territory. The average life of a mine there is about ten years. When a mine is exhausted it is worthless. Within this time the investor must get back, not merely his interest, but his principal. The people in that Territory have invested $100,000,000 in that industry. As the matter now stands, that wealth is confiscated. At 20 to 1, scarcely more than expenses of operating the mines can be realized. In the mining States 12,000 miles of railroad are dependent for support upon the tonnage derived from mineral productions. That is the basis upon which are secured some three hundred or four hundred million dollars of bonds. More than a billion dollars is involved.

Our people who went to that country relying upon the continuance of a system older than history is able to record, which they supposed was built upon the "rock of ages," have risked their all for the redemption of one-third of this continent, under unparalleled difficulties, by the sacrifice of much blood, much turmoil and suffering. Yet, gentlemen from New York laugh and sneer and say that in order to get the monopoly of issuing a little currency to the extent of a small percentage upon the bonded indebtedness of the United States they are willing to confiscate all this wealth and drive those people to misery and financial death. [Applause.]

It may be a beautiful picture for those gentlemen to contemplate—the picture of that country remitted to desolation and famine. It may be that they are willing to see that country, now teeming with wealth, activity, enterprise, intelligence, and patriotism, brought to ruin and desolation; but I invoke the good sense and the common honesty of representatives of the American people to thwart this nefarious object. The work of our hands may generally go to decay, but beautiful structures of stone "more enduring than brass" will stand as the mute and mighty monument of a nation's folly and a people's despair.

Such must be the result if the policy recommended is adopted, and yet it stalks forth, a very demon of destruction, before which any fiend or devil might bow with reverence.

They say we can not do it alone; that we must let Russia start, let England start, let France start, let some other nation start. But, Mr. Speaker, in the name of God, who is more interested in starting than we? We have more than a billion directly or indirectly involved. We produce 28 per cent of the gold and 41 per cent of the world's product of silver. A great industry is involved, as well as the values of all wealth, productive and consumable.

We are the most powerful and capable of all nations and the most interested in starting. We can, as France did for seventy years, by the free and untrammelled coinage of gold and silver, linking the metals together, preserve their parity, standing as we do with two-thirds of the inhabitants of the earth on the silver basis on one side and on the other side only one-fifth on the gold basis.

England had a gold standard for seventy years, and Germany and the rest of Europe were on a silver basis. France during all of these years, by her bimetallic system, preserved the parity of the two metals. Gentlemen may deny it. I assert it to be a fact that the metals during that period did not fluctuate except as the rates of exchange between London and Paris varied. That was conclusively demonstrated in the Brussels Conference, and a table has been attached to the report of its proceedings which illustrates its truth. It shows the extreme variation of the value of silver in the London market did not exceed 5 per cent, and that such fluctuation was wholly due to the rates of exchange between London and Paris and to mint charges in France.

Since that time as silver has been demonetized it has fallen in value, as every man must concede, on account of the unfavorable legislation towards silver, and because of the restriction in its use as money.

Now, gentlemen say you can not remonetize silver or restore it by legislation because it has been depreciated. That is designated by Mr. Goschen as a "vicious circle." Restore it to the condition on which gold is based, with all the privileges of gold, and the two metals will stand together side by side to do the monetary work of the world, as they have done for thousands of years.

But, Mr. Speaker, gentlemen tell us that the test, the crucial test of the silver dollar, is to melt it down in a crucible, and then see what will be its worth after the process. I say to you, first restore to it the privileges that gold has, and then melt it down, and the process will show how it will stand the test. But suppose you apply the fire test to your paper money; put it into the crucible, melt it down, and see what it will be worth after the process.

Now, gentlemen, I have done, and I thank you for your attention. I have no vote in this House in behalf of the people I represent; but I do beseech you that you will so act as to bring heart to the business not only of the people in my own, but in the entire country and throughout the civilized world. The moment we set out in the right direction we shall be followed. We will not go it alone.

A little more than a century ago absolutism and tyranny in government had been evolved, and, as representing the survival of the fittest, dominated the world. Our forefathers did not wait for others to start, but went it alone, and gave evolution a new departure in the direction of individualism and liberty. Let us imitate their example. [Applause.]

Mr. BOATNER. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Louisiana——

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as the hour of adjournment has nearly arrived, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER] yield for that purpose?

Mr. BOATNER. With the understanding that I hold the floor.

Mr. BLAND. Of course.

The motion of Mr. BLAND was agreed to.

Accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 51 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until Monday, August 14, 1893, at 11 o'clock a. m.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *August 14, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

JOHN W. DANIEL, a Senator from the State of Virginia, and WILLIAM P. FRYE, a Senator from the State of Maine, appeared in their seats to-day.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday last was read and approved.

ANNIVERSARY OF LAYING THE CAPITOL CORNER STONE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. Res. 2) providing for the appropriate commemoration of the one-hundreth anniversary of the laying of

the corner stone of the Capitol of the United States, September 18, 1793, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

Mr. VOORHEES. I venture to ask that the Senate consider the joint resolution, and that it be put upon its passage now. For that purpose let it be read. I will merely state that it has been carefully considered and unanimously passed by the other House.

By unanimous consent, the joint resolution (H. Res. 2) providing for the appropriate commemoration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the laying of the corner stone of the Capitol of the United States, September 18, 1793, was read twice, and considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

COURT OF CLAIMS REPORT.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a report from the Court of Claims, transmitting a certified copy of the findings of that court in the case of Isaac Davenport, jr., and other claimants *vs.* The United States; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Claims, and ordered to be printed.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented a petition of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Arizona, praying that an appropriation be made for sinking artesian wells in that Territory; which was referred to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.

He also presented a petition of citizens of Elizabeth, N. J., praying for an investigation of the charges upon which certain American citizens are alleged to be confined in English prisons; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of York, Pa., praying that the Chinese people be treated in the spirit which Christians should show to their neighbors; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church of New York, praying for the repeal of what is known as the Geary Chinese law; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary of Allegheny, Pa., praying for the suppression of the liquor traffic between the United States and the New Hebrides Islands; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented two petitions of citizens of Shawnee, Ohio; petitions of citizens of Boston, Mass., and a petition of The Legal Protective Association of Cigar Manufacturers of New York City, praying for the immediate repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the petition of Amos Cross, of New York, late first lieutenant, United States Army, praying for the passage of certain legislation for his relief; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. PLATT presented a petition of citizens of New Haven, Conn., praying for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the act of July 14, 1890, and the appointment of a committee to devise a scientific plan of currency; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. BUTLER presented the petition of R. S. Lipscomb and 29 other citizens of Gaffney, S. C., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law without substitute legislation, except the appointment of a commission to consider and recommend an adequate plan of currency; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented memorials of the Farmers' Alliance of Orangeburg County, S. C., and of the Barnwell County Alliance, No. 607, of Barnwell County, S. C., signed by W. S. Bamberg, M. J. Pate, and J. C. Miller, remonstrating against the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law unless accompanied by free coinage of silver; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the Farmers' Alliance of Spartanburg County, S. C., praying for the free coinage of silver; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the Columbia (S. C.) Board of Trade, praying that an appropriation be made for the opening up of the Congaree River for navigation from Granby to the foot of Ginais street, Columbia, S. C.; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. CULLOM presented a petition of a large number of business men, merchants, and property owners of Chicago, Ill., praying that the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law be repealed, that no substitutes of any kind whatever be enacted at the present session of Congress, and that an expert commission be appointed to consider and recommend a scientific plan of currency, based on the experience of other countries and adequate to the requirements of a great commercial nation; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the petition of Charles A. Deere and other prominent citizens of Moline, Ill., praying for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the Carpenters and Joiners' Union, No. 300, of Galesburg, Ill., praying for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. HARRIS. I present the petition of Orgill Brothers & Co., hardware merchants of Memphis, Tenn., and quite a number of other business men from different cities in Tennessee, praying for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman act. I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MILLS presented a petition of citizens of Denton County, Tex., praying for the repeal of the Sherman silver law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. HOAR presented a memorial of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Massachusetts, remonstrating against the sale of liquors at the World's Columbian Exposition; which was referred to the Committee on the Quadro-Centennial (Select).

Mr. MARTIN presented a memorial of Topeka Lodge, No. 24, International Association of Machinists, and other citizens of Topeka, Kans., remonstrating against the repeal of the Sherman silver law unless a substitute is provided for the freer and more extended use of silver as money; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. KYLE presented two memorials of citizens of Lake County, and a memorial of Local Assembly, No. 564, Knights of Labor, of Custer City, in the State of South Dakota, remonstrating against the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. LODGE presented petitions of the Board of Trade of New Bedford, of the Chamber of Commerce of Boston, of the Paint and Oil Club of Boston, of the Earthenware Association of Boston, of the New England Shoe and Leather Association, and of citizens of Fitchburg, in the State of Massachusetts, praying for the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the Methodist, Baptist, and Congregational churches of Hyde Park, Mass., praying for the passage of legislation to prevent crimes in the New Hebrides Islands; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of the Legislature of Massachusetts, praying for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. VEST presented a memorial of citizens of Polk, Hickory, and Cedar Counties, all in the State of Missouri, remonstrating against the repeal of the Sherman silver law until it be replaced by an act for the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis, Mo., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman law, and the passage of legislation giving national banks the power to issue notes to the par value of the bonds deposited by them; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. GALLINGER presented a petition of the Southern New Hampshire Bar Association of New Hampshire, praying for settling before trial all jurisdictional questions between the State and Federal courts arising on the ground of diverse residence, and subject-matter upon the merits and final judgment in the Federal courts, with draft of proposed bill; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented the petition of Fred Dietz and 33 other citizens of the District of Columbia, praying for the suppression of a garbage nuisance at the foot of South Capitol street; which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. ALLEN presented petitions of the Board of Trade and Commercial Club of Omaha, and of the Commercial Club of Hastings, in the State of Nebraska, praying for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of Assembly No. 1808, Knights of Labor, of Lincoln, Nebr., praying that the treaty between Russia and the United States be abrogated at the earliest moment; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. STOCKBRIDGE presented petitions of the boards of

trade and sundry citizens of Grand Rapids and Detroit, Mich., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. HAWLEY presented a petition of the Norwich (Conn.) Board of Trade, favoring the immediate and unconditional repeal of all acts authorizing Government purchases of silver; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. PERKINS presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco, Cal., praying for the enactment of a substitute for the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco, Cal., praying for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of bankers and citizens of San Jose, Cal., praying for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco, Cal., praying for the construction of the Nicaragua Canal; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of the Knights of Labor of Los Angeles, Cal., praying for the enforcement of what is known as the Geary Chinese law; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. CALL presented petitions of the Florida Bankers' Association of Jacksonville; of citizens of Gainesville; and of citizens of Fernandina, in the State of Florida, praying for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

PAYMENT OF SESSION EMPLOYÉS.

Mr. COCKRELL. I am directed by the Committee on Appropriations, to whom was referred the joint resolution (H. Res. 1) making available appropriations for the payment of session employés of the House and Senate during the first session of the Fifty-third Congress, to report it back favorably, without amendment, and to ask for its immediate consideration. Under a decision of the Treasury Department the regular appropriations can not be availed of at the present session.

By unanimous consent, the joint resolution was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. HAWLEY introduced a bill (S. 260) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River at the most accessible point between the city of Kansas and the town of Sibley, in the county of Jackson and State of Missouri," approved March 3, 1887; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 261) to authorize the construction of an addition to the public building at Hartford, Conn.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 262) for the relief of the legal representatives of Orsemus B. Boyd; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 263) authorizing the President to place upon the retired list of the Army sergeants Francis Long and Maurice Connell, late of the Signal Corps, United States Army, survivors of the Lady Franklin Bay expedition; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. BUTLER introduced a bill (S. 264) for relief of the Citadel Academy, of Charleston, S. C.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 265) to provide for a May term of the district court of the United States for the eastern district of South Carolina; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 266) providing for the erection of an equestrian statue of Gen. Francis Marion; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Library.

He also introduced a bill (S. 267) to amend section 19 of an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 268) for the relief of Henry E. Young, administrator of Thomas Ashton Coffin, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 269) for the relief of Jacob I. Cohen and J. Randolph Mordecai, administrators of M. C. Mordecai; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 270) to provide for the purchase of lands adjoining the United States naval station, Port Royal, S. C.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 271) for the relief of the heir of Hamilton Slawson, jr.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 272) for the relief of the Mount Zion Society, of Winnsboro, S. C.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 273) for the relief of M. B. Ryan, administrator *de bonis non*, son and only heir at law of John S. Ryan, deceased, late of Charleston, S. C.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 274) making appropriation for the establishment of a national park near Florence, S. C.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 275) for the relief of the legal representatives of John Boyle, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 276) to increase the efficiency of the Engineer Corps of the Navy; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 277) for the relief of certain officers of the Navy; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 278) to empower Robert Adger and others to bring suit in the Court of Claims for rent alleged to be due them; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 279) for the relief of the legal representatives of John Boyle, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 280) to repeal section 3412 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, the same being section 122 of the national bank act; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also introduced a bill (S. 281) to provide for the construction of a public building at Spartanburg, South Carolina; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 282) to amend an act entitled "An act to credit and pay to the several States and Territories, and the District of Columbia, all moneys collected under the direct tax levied by the act of Congress, approved August 5, 1861," approved March 2, 1891; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also introduced a bill (S. 283) for the relief of Mary R. Wilcox, administratrix; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 284) to reimburse George C. Tanner, late consul, etc., the sum of $200, paid by him for rent of rooms; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. HOAR introduced a bill (S. 285) to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 286) for the relief of the owners and the crew of the Hawaiian bark Arctic; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also introduced a bill (S. 287) for the erection of a public building at Brockton, Mass.; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 288) for the relief of Clara A. Graves, Lewis Smith Lee, Florence P. Lee, Mary S. Sheldon, and Elizabeth Smith, heirs of Lewis Smith, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. HUNTON (by request) introduced a bill (S. 289) to secure depositors in national banks; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also introduced a bill (S. 290) for the relief of Isaac Davenport and others, citizens of Virginia; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 291) to authorize the Washington, Alexandria and Mount Vernon Electric Railway Company to construct a bridge across the Potomac River opposite Observatory Hill; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 292) granting the right of way through the Arlington Reservation for electric railway purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 293) to authorize the Washington, Alexandria and Mount Vernon Electric Railway Company to construct a railroad through certain streets and reservations in the District of Columbia; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. VOORHEES introduced a bill (S. 294) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks; which was read the first time by its title.

Mr. VOORHEES. I ask that the bill be read at length.

The bill was read the second time at length, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That upon any deposit already or hereafter made of any United States bonds bearing interest in the manner required by law, any national banking association which has made or shall make such deposit shall be entitled to receive from the Comptroller of the Currency circulating notes of different denominations, in blank, registered and countersigned as provided by law, not exceeding in the whole amount, including circulating notes previously issued, the par value of the bonds deposited: *Provided*, That at no time shall the amount of such notes issued to any association exceed the amount at such time actually paid in of its capital stock.

Mr. VOORHEES. I ask that the accompanying letter of the Secretary of the Treasury be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The letter will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., August 11, 1893.

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 10th instant, inclosing form of a bill "to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks," and asking the views of the Secretary of the Treasury as to the advisability of its passage, is received.

The enactment of such a law as proposed would enable the national banks to issue and put into circulation at once, on bonds already deposited with the Treasurer of the United States, about $19,000,000 in currency in addition to the amount now authorized, and this, in my opinion, would afford a very considerable measure of relief to the country under existing circumstances. I therefore recommend the passage of the bill.

Respectfully yours,

J. G. CARLISLE, *Secretary.*

Hon. D. W. VOORHEES,
Chairman Committee on Finance, United States Senate.

Mr. VOORHEES. I ask that the bill and accompanying letter be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That reference will be made.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana introduced a bill (S. 295) for the relief of Mrs. Mattie S. Holland; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. MCPHERSON (by request) introduced a bill (S. 296) to authorize the construction of bridges over the North or Hudson River, between the States of New York and New Jersey; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also (by request) introduced a bill (S. 297) to refer the claim of Eli Ayres to the Court of Claims and quiet the title to certain lands in the State of Mississippi; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. VILAS introduced a bill (S. 298) for the relief of Anne C. Livingston; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. GALLINGER introduced a bill (S. 299) making an appropriation toward the construction of a dock at the Portsmouth navy-yard; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 300) to provide for the free exchange through the mails between the several States of the United States of America, and between said States and foreign nations, of public printed reports and documents of the several States of the United States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also introduced a bill (S. 301) relating to jurisdictional questions between the State and Federal courts; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 302) for the relief of the administrators of Isaac P. Tice, deceased, and others; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 303) to allow appeals in cases arising under the pension laws of the United States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 304) to increase pensions for loss of the sight of both eyes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. GALLINGER. I introduce sundry pension bills, all of which passed the Senate at the last session of Congress.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Pensions:

A bill (S. 305) granting a pension to Annie M. Greene;

A bill (S. 306) granting a pension to Helen A. Patterson;

A bill (S. 307) granting a pension to Earnest C. Emerson;

A bill (S. 308) granting a pension to Mary A. Wise; and

A bill (S. 309) granting an increase of pension to Harrison De F. Young.

Mr. COKE introduced a bill (S. 310) reconveying to the original grantors the title to certain lands in the State of Louisiana conveyed by them to the United States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 311) authorizing the Rockport and Harbor Island Suburban Railroad to construct a bridge across the Corpus Christi Channel, known as the Morris and Cummings Ship Channel, near its entrance into Aransas Bay, in Aransas County, Tex.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 312) authorizing the Aransas Harbor Terminal Railway Company to construct a bridge over and across the Corpus Christi Channel, known as the Morris and Cummings Ship Channel, in Aransas County, Tex.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 313) appropriating funds for investigations and tests of American timber; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also introduced a bill (S. 314) to provide for an inspector of mines in the Indian Territory, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 315) for the relief of William S. McKnight and James W. Richardson; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 316) for the relief of A. M. Shannon & Co.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 317) for the erection of a public building at Laredo, Tex.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. DAVIS introduced a bill (S. 318) for the relief of the estate of Ramsay Crooks; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 319) for the relief of the estate of Ramsay Crooks; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. MARTIN introduced a bill (S. 320) granting to the Purcell Bridge and Transfer Company the consent of the United States to construct and maintain a bridge over the South Canadian River at or within one mile of the town of Lexington, county of Cleveland, Territory of Oklahoma; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 321) authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to sell the Clements Townsite Company, of Pottawatomie County, Territory of Oklahoma, certain lands in the Territory of Oklahoma, Pottawatomie County; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. PROCTOR introduced a bill (S. 322) to place Dunbar R. Ransom on the retired list of the Army; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 323) providing that appointments in staff corps be made from the line of the Army; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 324) to increase the pay of certain noncommissioned officers of the Army; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. PEFFER introduced a bill (S. 325) to increase the circulating medium by issuing Treasury notes payable in lawful money of the United States; which was read twice by its title.

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President, I desire to call the attention of the Committee on Finance to this particular bill and ask that it may be considered in connection with the bill introduced a little while ago by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES]. I think he will find some suggestions in it which will perhaps be helpful.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will be referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. HARRIS introduced a bill (S. 326) for the relief of C. B. Bryan & Co.; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 327) for the relief of Payne, James & Co.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 328) granting a pension to Mrs. Martha Custis Carter, widow of the late Rear-Admiral S. P.

Carter; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also (by request) introduced a bill (S. 329) for the relief of the estate of William B. Todd, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also (by request) introduced a bill (S. 330) for the relief of D. W. and Minna H. Glassie and Joseph C. Nash; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. PLATT introduced a bill (S. 331) for the erection of a public building at Meriden, Conn.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 332) for the erection of a public building at Waterbury, Conn.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. VANCE introduced a bill (S. 333) for the relief of Margaret Kennedy; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. SHOUP introduced a bill (S. 334) to provide for the purchase of a site, and the erection of a public building thereon, at Boise City, in the State of Idaho; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. POWER introduced a bill (S. 335) to provide for the disposal of the abandoned Fort Maginnis military reservation in Montana, under the homestead and mining laws, for educational and other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 336) to provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Helena, Mont.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 337) to provide for the construction of a public building in the city of Butte, Mont.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 338) creating two additional land districts in the State of Montana; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. BATE introduced a bill (S. 339) to authorize the Chattanooga Western Railway Company to construct a bridge across the Tennessee River near Chattanooga; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. CULLOM introduced a bill (S. 340) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Frederick A. Noeller; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. TELLER introduced a bill (S. 341) to submit to the Court of Private Land Claims, established by an act of Congress approved March 3, 1891, the title of William McGarrahan to the Rancho Panoche Grande, in the State of California, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 342) for the relief of Mrs. Julia A. Humphries; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 343) for the relief of the legal representatives of Royal M. Hubbard; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also introduced a bill (S. 344) for the relief of William M. Keightley; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also introduced a bill (S. 345) for the relief of Horace A. W. Tabor; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. LODGE introduced a bill (S. 346) to remove the bar of the statute of limitation and give the right of appeal in certain cases; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. STOCKBRIDGE introduced a bill (S. 347) for the relief of James and William Crooks, of Canada; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also introduced a bill (S. 348) for the relief of John H. Russell; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 349) for the relief of Thomas Chambers; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. FAULKNER introduced a bill (S. 350) relative to recognizance, stipulations, bonds, and undertakings, and to allow certain corporations to be accepted as surety thereon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 351) authorizing the construction of a building for the accommodation of the United States Patent Office; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 352) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Huntington, in the State of West Virginia; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 353) to punish the carrying or selling of deadly or dangerous weapons within the District of Columbia; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also introduced a bill (S. 354) relating to acknowledgments of instruments affecting real estate within the District of Columbia; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also introduced a bill (S. 355) to prevent fraudulent divorces in the District of Columbia; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also introduced a bill (S. 356) to amend "An act to prevent the manufacture and sale of adulterated food or drugs in the District of Columbia," and transfer the execution thereof to the Department of Agriculture; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also introduced a bill (S. 357) to pension Mary Cunningham; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 358) granting a pension to Thomas Dean; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 359) granting a pension to Catharine A. Sharp; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 360) granting a pension to Mrs. Susan E. Fogg; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 361) for the relief of C. M. Shaffer; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 362) for the relief of William F. Wilson; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 363) for the relief of George W. Craig; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 364) to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Henry T. Woody; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 365) for the relief of the administrator of Andrew D. Coplin, deceased, of Harrison County, W. Va.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 366) for the relief of the county court of Berkeley County, W. Va.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 367) for the relief of Julia Barnet; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 368) for the relief of Asa Kelly; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 369) for the relief of James M. Stout; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 370) to refund to the State of West Virginia the money paid to officers of the One hundred and thirty-third Regiment West Virginia Militia, for services rendered during the rebellion; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 371) for the relief of the legal representatives of Lewis W. Washington, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 372) for the relief of the estate of A. H. Herr, deceased, late of the District of Columbia; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 373) for the relief of Nimrod D. Kenecaster; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 374) for the relief of William M. Morrison; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 375) providing for the payment of the amounts due the employés in, and the contractors who

furnished castings to the United States Armory at Harpers Ferry, W. Va., from January 1, 1861, to April 19, 1861, inclusive; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 376) for the relief of the trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Harpers Ferry, W. Va.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 377) for the relief of Robert C. Murphy; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 378) for the relief of Levi Teets; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 379) for the relief of the trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Springfield, Hampshire County, W. Va.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 380) for the relief of E. C. Trimble; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 381) for the relief of the trustees of Trinity Episcopal Church; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 382) for the relief of Edward Tearney, administrator of William McSherry, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 383) for the relief of the trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Flat Woods, Braxton County, W. Va.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 384) for the relief of M. C. Davis; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 385) for the relief of the trustees of the German Evangelical Church of Martinsburg, W. Va.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 386) for the relief of Nathan Reed, of Barbour County, W. Va.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 387) for the relief of the trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Martinsburg, W. Va.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 388) for the relief of the administrator of Andrew D. Coplin, deceased, of Harrison County, W. Va.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 389) for the relief of the trustees of the Methodist Protestant Church of Middleway, Jefferson County, W. Va.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 390) for the relief of Moses Grathouse, of Harrison County, W. Va.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 391) for the relief of the trustees of St. Joseph's Catholic church at Martinsburg, W. Va.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 392) for the relief of the administrator of Jacob Coplin, of Harrison County, W. Va.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 393) for the relief of Lewis Karrickhoff, of Barbour County, W. Va.; which was read twice by its title, and referred the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 394) for the relief of Elizabeth Mulvehill; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 395) for the relief of John Pickens, of Barbour County, W. Va.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. CHANDLER introduced a bill (S. 396) establishing additional regulations concerning immigration to the United States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Immigration.

He also introduced a bill (S. 397) for the relief of Lieut. Jerome E. Morse, United States Navy; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. PALMER introduced a bill (S. 398) to provide for the erection of a Government building in Chicago, Ill.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 399) for the relief of Bvt. Lieut. Col. J. Martin Cutts; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. PASCO introduced a bill (S. 400) to define divisions of the northern district of Florida, and to provide for holding the district and circuit courts therein, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 401) to provide for the punishment of officers and others who shall select persons to serve as jurors in the courts of the United States with reference to their political affiliations, and who shall conspire to draw or summons such jurrors with a view to their religious, political, or partisan opinions, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 402) for the relief of Salvador Costa; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 403) for the relief of the estate of Sally Sterrett Tate, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 404) granting a pension to Aaron Daniel, of Suwannee County, Fla.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 405) for the erection of a public building at Tampa, Fla.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 406) providing for the completion of the public building in the city of Pensacola, Fla., as originally designed; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 407) making an appropriation for the improvement of the road to the national cemetery near Pensacola, Fla.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 408) for the relief of William H. Atkins, formerly commissary sergeant United States Army; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. QUAY introduced a bill (S. 409) for the relief of Olivia and Ida Walter, heirs and children of Thomas U. Walter, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. WALTHALL introduced a bill (S. 410) for the relief of Stephen Duncan Marshall and George M. Miller, executors of the will of Levin R. Marshall, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 411) for the relief of Samuel Collins; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. HILL introduced a bill (S. 412) to repeal Title XXVI of the Revised Statutes of the United States, known as the Federal election laws; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 413) to refund duties paid by the State of New York on arms imported in 1863; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. VEST. I desire to introduce a bill which has been sent to me by a very eminent financier of New York, to the second section of which I do not agree. I ask that it be read and referred to the Committee on Finance. It is very brief.

The bill (S. 414) to direct the coining of silver bullion for the redemption of silver certificates, and to authorize the issue of circulating notes to national banks at par of their deposited bonds, was read the first time by its title, and the second time at length, and referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That, after setting aside in coin and bullion, as a reserve, such amount of the silver bullion purchased, from time to time, by direction of the act approved July 14, 1890, as shall equal, at the coining value, the aggregate sum of the Treasury notes authorized by the said act, all remainder of the said bullion shall be deemed available for the issue of silver certificates now authorized by law; and the said remainder or surplus bullion shall be coined into standard silver dollars, and the said dollars shall be used for the redemption of silver certificates as now required by law: *Provided*, That this act shall not be deemed to alter or amend any provision of the said act of July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

SEC. 2. That hereafter national banking associations shall be entitled to receive from the Comptroller of the Currency, upon compliance with all other terms and requirements of law therefor, circulating notes of different denominations in blank, registered and countersigned as required by law, to the value at par of the United States bonds on deposit with the Treasurer in trust for the association: *Provided*, That the aggregate sum of such notes for which any association shall be liable at any time shall not exceed the amount of its capital stock at the time actually paid in.

SEC. 3. All acts and parts of acts in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

Mr. KYLE introduced a bill (S. 415) for the erection of a public building at Aberdeen, S. Dak.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. COCKRELL introduced a bill (S. 416) for the relief of J.

C. Irwin & Co. and Charles A. Perry & Co.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 417) to perfect the title of the United States to the tract of land lying on the west side of Lake Pepin and the Mississippi River, in the State of Minnesota, which belonged to the half-breeds or mixed bloods of the Dacotah or Sioux Nation of Indians; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. COCKRELL. To accompany the bill last introduced, I present the petition of Charles D. Mousso and an accompanying letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior. As it is important to have the letter for use and the petition contains only eight or ten lines, I ask that the papers be printed as a miscellaneous document, and that they be referred, with the bill, to the Committee on Public Lands.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That order will be made in the absence of objection.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas introduced a bill (S. 418) referring to the Court of Claims the claim of William E. Woodbridge for compensation for the use by the United States of his invention relating to projectiles, for which letters patent were ordered to issue to him March 25, 1852; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Patents.

Mr. HUNTON introduced a bill (S. 419) for the relief of the Seaboard and Roanoke Railroad Company; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. GALLINGER introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 7) providing for the appointment of a commission to select a site for the establishment of a national sanitarium for the treatment of pulmonary diseases; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Epidemic Diseases.

Mr. MARTIN introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 8) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to cause the settlement of the account of Special Agents Moore and Woodson under the treaty of 1854 with the Delaware Indians, etc.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. HUNTON introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 9) for the relief of the Continental Fire Insurance Company, and others; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. FAULKNER introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 10) to direct the Secretary of the Treasury to pay to the governor of the State of West Virginia the sum appropriated by the act of Congress entitled "An act to credit and pay to the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia all moneys collected under the direct tax levied by the act of Congress approved August 5, 1861;" which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. BUTLER introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 11) providing for the disposition of arrears of pay and bounty due the estates of deceased colored soldiers; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 12) for the restoration of the books of the Beaufort Library Society, of Beaufort, S. C.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Library.

PARITY OF GOLD AND SILVER.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I submit a proposed amendment, which I ask be read and lie on the table. At the proper time I shall offer it as an amendment to Senate joint resolution No. 4.

The proposed amendment was read, and ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon to the joint resolution (S. R. 4) to maintain the parity of gold and silver.

Amend by adding the following words:

"And whereas the American policy of protection to American industries and American labor, under the fostering influence of which the United States has rapidly advanced from the poorest and weakest to the richest and most powerful among civilized nations, should, from tradition and interest, be at all times maintained under a protected system such as exists at present; and

"Whereas the mere probability of a change of our customs revenue laws in accordance with the declaration of the late Democratic platform, that it is 'a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue only,' has operated as a controlling factor in plunging the country into its present unfortunate industrial and financial condition, resulting in closing factories, stopping the wheels of industrial enterprise, ruining credit, creating financial distrust and panic, and throwing hundreds of thousands of laborers out of employment: Therefore,

Be it further resolved, That the American people from tradition and interest favor the American doctrine of protection to American industry and American labor, and believing the existing customs revenue laws on that subject are in accordance with such doctrine and in the nation's best interests, and should in any event be permitted a fair trial, it is the sense of the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled that no change be made in such laws during the Fifty-third Congress.

THE FINANCIAL POLICY.

Mr. GORDON submitted the following resolutions; which were read:

Whereas in this Government of the people the popular will is sovereign in its character, and when clearly expressed should be authoritative with Congress; and

Whereas certain financial reforms are demanded by the people, as shown at the polls, in the formal methods provided by the Constitution and laws for expressing the popular will; and

Whereas bimetallism, as a means for increasing the volume of sound and stable currency is demanded by all political parties in all recent national platforms, and has thus been unmistakably indorsed by a substantially unanimous vote of the whole people: Therefore,

Resolved, That it is the right of the people to expect, and the duty of Congress to enact, suitable legislation for restoring the metals of the Constitution to their coördinate place in the monetary system of the Government, and upon a ratio or plan that will secure their parity or exchangeability with each other.

Resolved, second, That pledges made to the people in order to secure power should be religiously redeemed in good faith and in justice to the people, who, relying upon those pledges, conferred that power.

Resolved, third, That in compliance with these promises made to the people, in recognition of the demand made by the people, and in order to establish confidence among the people, and to bring urgently needed relief to the business of the country, the Committee on Finance be, and is hereby, instructed to report at the earliest day practicable a bill or bills repealing the purchasing clause of the statutes called the Sherman law; and providing for "the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country," and for "the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal," and for making "the dollar unit of coinage of both metals" * * * "of equal intrinsic or exchangeable value."

Resolved, fourth, That under proper guards and restrictions, so as to secure uniformity, the power of chartering and establishing banks of issue may be safely and wisely restored to the States; that to deny this is to deny the capacity of the States for self-government; and that the said Committee on Finance be, and is hereby, instructed to report also a bill repealing "the prohibitory 10 per cent tax on State bank issues.

Mr. GORDON. I ask that the resolutions lie on the table and be printed, and when it is the pleasure of the Senate I shall call them up in order to submit some remarks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolutions will lie on the table for the present. The order to print will be made.

PRINTING OF ACT OF FEBRUARY 28, 1878.

Mr. COCKRELL. I submit a resolution and ask that it may be adopted. It is very short, and simply calls for a reprint of what is known as the Bland-Allison act. The files of the Senate document room have been exhausted and additional copies are frequently called for. The resolution simply proposes that additional copies shall be printed for the use of the document room.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That there be printed for the files of the Senate document room 500 copies of the act of February 28, 1878, entitled "An act to authorize the coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character."

PRINTING OF THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Mr. COCKRELL submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That there be printed for the files of the Senate document room 500 copies of the message of the President of the United States, communicated to the two Houses of Congress at the beginning of the first session of the Fifty-third Congress.

SENATE ELECTION CASES.

Mr. HOAR. I submit a concurrent resolution, to print 4,000 copies of Senate Election Cases; which I ask be referred to the Committee on Printing.

The concurrent resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed 4,000 copies, in cloth, of the first volume of the new edition of the Senate Election Cases; 1,500 copies to be for the use of members of the Senate and 2,500 copies for the use of the members of the House of Representatives, the same to be printed on the back as follows:

Senate Privileges and Elections.
Volume I.
Election Cases.
Taft.

Mr. COCKRELL. Before the resolution is referred, I desire to ask the Senator from Massachusetts if the two volumes that are proposed to be printed will be marked as volume 1 and volume 2. I have already gotten the first, the Election Cases, and have sent the volume to the Printer to be bound. I did not put on the back of it volume 1, because there was nothing on the face of the document to indicate that there was to be a volume 2, and I ascertained only this morning, on inquiry at the Senate document room, that another volume is to be printed.

Mr. HOAR. The plan is to have two volumes. One will be the volume with which Senators are quite familiar, known as Senate Election Cases, which was prepared by Mr. Taft some eight or ten years ago, and is now brought down to the present time, with a new and very much improved index. That will be volume 1. The other volume, which it is proposed to entitle "Volume 2, Privileges," will contain a great deal of miscellaneous matter. As the Senator from Missouri knows very well, there is a great deal we have to refer to very often about the privileges of the Senate, and those matters will be found in volume 2. That

will be a separate volume, but either is a complete treatise in itself, and can be bound in any way the Senator prefers.

Mr. COCKRELL. I had supposed that probably it would be better to have each bound as an individual volume instead of marking them volume 1 and volume 2.

Mr. HOAR. This is merely sent to the Committee on Printing for their judgment. There are a few copies of the Senate Election Cases in sheets, which are now accessible. They came in day before yesterday.

Mr. COCKRELL. Volume 1, that is, the Election Cases, has already been received in the document room in unbound form.

Mr. HOAR. That is merely the first copy, which came from the Printer under the order of the Senate to print the document.

Mr. COCKRELL. I understand. It is the usual number that goes there.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The concurrent resolution will be referred to the Committee on Printing.

MARY IMOGENE SANFORD.

Mr. HAWLEY submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and is hereby, authorized and directed to pay out of the "miscellaneous items" of the contingent fund of the Senate, to Mary Imogene Sanford, widow of Oliver S. Sanford, deceased, late acting assistant doorkeeper of the Senate, the sum of $900, being an amount equal to six months' salary at the rate allowed by law to such acting assistant doorkeeper aforesaid.

BUSINESS OF THE SESSION.

Mr. HILL. I submit a resolution, and ask that it may lie on the table for the present.

The resolution was read and ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that no legislation, other than legislation pertaining to the finances, should be considered at the present extraordinary session of Congress.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. Res. 3) making immediately available the appropriations for mileage of Senators and Members of the House of Representatives; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled joint resolutions; and they were thereupon signed by the Vice-President:

A joint resolution (H. Res. 1) making available appropriations for the payment of session employés of the House and Senate during the first session of the Fifty-third Congress; and

A joint resolution (H. Res. 2) providing for the appropriate commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the laying of the corner stone of the Capitol of the United States, September 18, 1793.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Are there further resolutions, concurrent or other?

Mr. HOAR. Is the morning business concluded?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The morning hour does not expire until 2 o'clock, the Chair is advised.

Mr. STEWART. As there has recently been some discussion of the President's message relating to the silver question, I desire to have read an article from the Recorder upon the subject. It shows that light is dawning in the East and that the Recorder has received that light. If it will not interrupt the Senate too long, I ask for the reading of the editorial, I send to the desk.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to inquire what is the regular order.

Mr. STEWART. I rose with regard to the President's message to ask unanimous consent to have an article read. If the Senator objects I will not do it.

Mr. HOAR. I do not rise to object, except I should like to give notice that I think it is due to the whole country and due to the regular order of business that contested claims to seats in this body should generally have the precedence of all other business. I do not mean by that to imply that the ordinary good nature of the Senate should be departed from, and I do not wish to depart from it; but after the routine morning business is over, without objecting now to the Senator's desire, I shall call up the Lee Mantle case and ask the Senate proceed with it. If what is to be read provokes any debate or adverse criticism I shall interpose to prevent it.

Mr. STEWART. I do not think it will provoke any debate. I have no remarks to make.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Chair understand that there is objection to the request of the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. HOAR. I make no objection.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary proceeded to read the article, and was interrupted by—

Mr. HOAR. I ask that the rest of the article may be printed.

Mr. STEWART. I have no objection, but I should like to have it printed in the RECORD in full.

Mr. HOAR. I call for the regular order. Let it be laid before the Senate now.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let the article which the Senator from Nevada requested to have read be printed as a separate document.

Mr. HAWLEY. Let it be printed in pamphlet form. It is from a very able and a very patriotic newspaper of my own political persuasion, so that I shall not object to it on that account; but I shall strictly object hereafter to the reading of any articles simply because they are thought to be able. We would soon have literature enough to found a national library if all such articles should be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. HOAR. I call for the regular order.

Mr. STEWART. Allow me one word. This is the first of the great papers in the city of New York which has said one word against the annihilation and destruction of half the world's money by contraction to the gold standard. I think public sentiment in New York must be changing, or else that this is a very brave paper. I think, perhaps, it has made sacrifices to come out for the truth, and I appreciate it so highly that I asked to have the unusual course adopted of having the article read, but I shall not trespass again.

Mr. HOAR. I call for the regular order.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Nevada that the communication be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD? The Chair desires to understand.

Mr. HAWLEY. I object to that.

Mr. STEWART. Then let it be printed as a pamphlet.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to printing the article as a document? The Chair hears none, and that order will be made.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

Mr. HOAR. I desire to have the Montana case laid before the Senate. I understand that under the rules of the Senate the body is required to proceed with the question with regard to the title of a Senator to his seat on his credentials, to the exclusion of all other business. Strictly, the routine morning business does not take precedence of it; but I have not undertaken to interpose, supposing that the Senate desired to transact the routine morning business, and do not do so now; but I desire to have the resolution laid before the Senate, if such business is concluded.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution referred to by the Senator from Massachusetts; which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution reported by Mr. HOAR, from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, March 27, 1893, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

Mr. HOAR. I ask if we can not have the vote on the resolution at this time?

Mr. VANCE. There are at least two or three Senators on this side of the Chamber who desire to be heard upon the question, but owing to the fact that we have no calendar of business to give any one notice when this question would come up, and the newness and confusion of things attending the beginning of a session, those Senators are not ready to proceed, and I hope the resolution will be permitted to go over at least to-day. The Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO], who desires to be heard upon the resolution, is prepared to go on, but he is a little unwell to-day, and two others will be prepared in a day or two. Therefore I shall be glad if the Senator from Massachusetts and the Senate will consent that the resolution may go over.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to inquire if we can not have an understanding—I do not mean by that one of those strict understandings which bind all mankind without any possibility of escape—that this matter shall go over until Wednesday, and that it shall be then taken up and disposed of in the ordinary course.

Mr. VANCE. That will suit me.

Mr. HOAR. That will be agreeable to me, if there be no objection.

Mr. BUTLER. I suggest to the Senator from Massachusetts that if the Senator from Florida shall be ready to go on to-morrow, why not allow him then to make his speech? We might in that way make some progress with the matter.

Mr. HOAR. I have no objection.

Mr. VANCE. I shall be very glad to accept the proposition of the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. HOAR. I do not know whether the Senator from Florida may not prefer to speak on Wednesday, as I understand he has some trouble with his throat.

Mr. PASCO. So far as I am concerned, it will meet my convenience very well to take the matter up on Wednesday. I should rather not proceed to-day or to-morrow.

Mr. HUNTON. I had proposed to submit some remarks upon the contested seat from Montana, and I should prefer to submit such remarks as I have to make to-morrow, for the day after I shall have to leave the city.

Mr. HOAR. Very well. Then I give notice that I shall call this matter up to-morrow at the conclusion of the routine morning business, and then, when the Senator from Virginia has concluded his remarks, if no other Senator wishes to speak upon the case, it may go over until the next day. Then I shall urge the Senate, so far as I properly may, to proceed with the question until it is disposed of, to the exclusion of all other business.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will go over.

BUSINESS OF THE SESSION.

Mr. GALLINGER. I submit an amendment intended to be proposed to Miscellaneous Document No. 10, being a resolution offered by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] on the 8th instant. I ask that the proposed amendment be read, printed, and ordered to lie on the table.

The proposed amendment was read, as follows:

Add to the resolution of Mr. LODGE the following:

"And that said committee be also directed to report to the Senate that in its opinion it is inexpedient and unwise for Congress to attempt to radically change the existing tariff laws of the United States prior to March 4, 1897."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The proposed amendment will be printed and laid on the table.

PARITY OF GOLD AND SILVER.

Mr. VEST. I ask that the joint resolution I offered a few days since on the subject of bimetallism be laid before the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a joint resolution; which will be read.

The Secretary read the joint resolution (S. R. 4) to maintain the parity of gold and silver, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the American people from tradition and interest favor bimetallism, and the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver, without discriminating against either metal; that it is also the established policy of the United States to maintain the parity of the two metals, so that the debt-paying and purchasing power of every dollar shall be at all times equal; that it is the duty of Congress to speedily enact such laws as will effectuate and maintain these objects.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to have an opportunity to submit a few remarks upon that joint resolution, and I should like, if it be agreeable to the Senator from Missouri, to submit them to-morrow after the Senator from Virginia [Mr. HUNTON] has concluded his remarks on the election case.

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. I shall take the floor at that time for the purpose.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, before proceeding, I ask the Secretary to read what I send to the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

To quote from the Republican platform adopted at Minneapolis, June, 1892: "The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government, shall be as good as any other. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world."

The Democratic convention at Chicago, June, 1892: "We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets, and in payment of debt; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency."

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I assume that after reading the platforms of the two great political organizations of the country, no one can intimate that there is anything partisan in the joint resolution which I have offered. To vote against this resolution, whether that vote come from one side of the Chamber or the other, is to declare to the people of the United States what is believed already by many of them, that the platforms of political parties are mere traps to catch votes, without sincerity and without honesty. It is time that the people should know whether politics is a juggle and fraud, or whether, when the great political parties which seek to control the destinies of a free people meet in council and make solemn declaration of policy and principle, they are worthy of confidence.

We are told that the repeal of the so-called Sherman act, or the purchasing clause of it, is all that is necessary at the present conjuncture, and that the clouds will be immediately lifted from the business and financial horizon, and the sun of prosperity again beam upon every portion of our land.

I was never the friend of the so-called Sherman act. I voted against it, spoke against it, denounced it as a makeshift, and declared it to be the worst measure for silver and for bimetallism that could be invented and placed upon the statute book. I am in no sense responsible for its enactment. To-day its malign and distorted features look out upon a land staggering and reeling upon the verge of bankruptcy. Its putative fathers have bastardized it, and are falling over each other now in a vigorous attempt to prove that they never favored it, and are not responsible for its existence.

In the report of the Herschell committee, appointed by the British House of Commons to investigate the question of mintage in India, the principal reason given for stopping the coinage of silver by private persons in the Indian mints is that the Sherman act might at any time precipitate upon the world a mass of silver that would probably cause a decline of its value to such an extent as to make free coinage in India absolutely ruinous. So this measure, introduced here ostensibly in the interest of silver, has come home to roost like a young chicken as a curse to silver. That act to-day is like a houseless and homeless legislative dog. There is no one to give it even a bone, and it can not find a kennel in which to hide its dishonored head.

THE PRESENT ISSUE.

Mr. President, if the issue presented now to the Congress of the United States and the American people was simply the repeal of the Sherman act, I take it there would be very little debate and singular unanimity in our action; but the issue has gone beyond the repeal of the Sherman act. It is no longer a question of eliminating that statute, but it has grown into a question so grave and momentous that the Congress of the United States must of necessity earnestly consider it before going any further in the direction which has been indicated to us.

The question now before Congress and the American people is one of bimetallism. Every intelligent man knows it. There is no citizen of the United States to-day, who has given any attention to public affairs, who has read the message of the President of the United States; who has seen the utterances of those who enjoy his especial confidence, who does not know that we stand now face to face with the great question of bimetallism or a single gold standard.

The time for makeshifts and evasions and subterfuges has passed. No man in this country is so ignorant that he does not know that under the circumstances and with the declarations made by its advocates, the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act stamps forever upon our financial policy the single gold standard. Not one silver dollar will ever be coined in this country again if we permit the purchasing clause of the Sherman act to be repealed without a guarantee as solemn as the great necessities of the people, that silver shall continue to exist in the United States as a money metal.

I have been known as a steadfast and unflinching friend of the President. I defended him when assailed in the canvass for nomination; I defended him in the campaign, and in every speech I made to the people of Missouri I declared that Mr. Cleveland, like myself, was a bimetallist, and that we only differed in regard to the ratio at which the coinage of silver should be had. I had the right to make that statement, because he had accepted the nomination upon a platform that pledged the Democratic party to bimetallism. It was as well known that the Democratic party stood upon the doctrine of bimetallism as that it met in Chicago and nominated Grover Cleveland for President of the United States.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

I do not undertake to say now that the President is opposed to bimetallism. I do not undertake to say that he would not give his Executive sanction to a measure that coined silver at the commercial ratio with gold, but I do undertake to say that his message is most significant from what it fails to say. I undertake to say now, with the greatest respect for him and with not the slightest doubt as to the honesty of his intentions, when he fails in this great state paper at such a contingency to say one word in regard to bimetallism, it certainly means that he considers the free coinage of silver at any ratio so impracticable that it does not need Executive notice. If a bimetallist at all, it would be an insult to the intelligence of the President to believe that under the circumstances he would have deliberately sent this paper to us and to the world without having indicated in some way that he

was willing to bring about and maintain bimetallism on some terms in the United States.

When during the last Congress it was proposed to pass a free-coinage bill at the ratio of 16 to 1, although I had repeatedly voted for such a bill, although I had introduced a bill which passed the Senate and went to the House of Representatives identical in its provisions with that which was offered here, I moved to postpone the consideration of that measure until after the November election because our party had met and declared its platform and nominated its candidate, and I believed that in simple justice and in the spirit of fair play, Mr. Cleveland should be permitted to go before the American people upon our platform and that the silver question, as it had been disposed of in that platform, should become an issue and be submitted to the American people; but I did not mean to indicate for an instant that in voting for the postponement of the question at that time I gave up the great doctrine of bimetallism as established by the traditions and policies of our people and enshrined in their hearts to-day. In that session of Congress I took occasion in discussing the financial question to make this declaration, by which I stand now:

> I have supported the free coinage of silver principally upon the ground that I oppose all class legislation. I have never been (perhaps it has been my obtuseness) able to see the justice of permitting a man who owns a gold mine to go to the mints, the common property of the people, and coin his gold without expense, and deny the same privilege to the owner of a silver mine, who is an equal owner in the mints of this country, and who possesses a product which under the Constitution is a money metal. If it is proposed now, and we are rapidly nearing that issue, to strike down silver as a money metal in this country, I distinctly state that I shall be found in favor of bimetallism as established by the Constitution of the United States and by the traditions of the American people.

Mr. President, I am anxious to avoid the slightest misstatement or to make any unjust criticism upon the present administration of my own party, but I do not feel myself at liberty, in view of the responsibilities imposed upon me, to refrain from stating emphatically my conviction that we must determine now the question of bimetallism or the gold standard.

In addition to what I have said in regard to his message, what intelligent man believes that, without the knowledge that the sentiments expressed therein were in consonance with the opinions of the Chief Executive, the head of the great banking department of this Government would have come out in a magazine article, which I have before me, declaring for the single gold standard and announcing to the American people that silver was doomed and must cease to be a money metal in the United States?

I have the right as a public man and as a private citizen to assume that when an officer of this Government, in control of its banks, near to the Secretary of the Treasury and in daily intercourse with him, appointed by the President of the United States and confirmed by the Senate when the President himself knew that there was a difference of opinion in regard to that appointment, and that the Democratic party by a large majority and many Republicans deferred to his opinion in voting for that confirmation—I say that I have a right to assume that with these relations the Comptroller of the Currency does not antagonize the opinion of the President upon this great issue.

THE MONEY POWER OPPOSED TO SILVER.

Mr. President, I do not conceal from myself the desperate character of the contest which has come upon us. I recognize the fact that the money power of the civilized world through its authorized exponents is against silver to-day as a standard metal. I do not attempt to delude myself into the opinion or impression that we are not entering upon a doubtful conflict. It has been the history of finance in all ages of the world that centralization and consolidation managed in one way or another to impress itself upon the destinies of all peoples. It is known as well as the names of the different countries upon the map of the globe that a few men, not exceeding perhaps one dozen, can to-day influence the finances of the whole world and can make and unmake even kings and emperors, obliterate frontiers, and change the destinies of the human race.

England in 1815 overthrew Napoleon I, and to do this the younger Pitt plunged the English people into a vortex, as was supposed then by intelligent men, of absolute bankruptcy. Scarcely had the battle smoke cleared from the field of Waterloo and the shattered columns of the Old Guard been broken in flight, when England, in 1816, went to the gold standard. An enormous debt had been created. To-day the consols of Great Britain govern the Empire; all investment, all trust money, all the financial interests of the country are represented by the consols, and the blood of the body politic ebbs and flows with the rise and fall of its consolidated debt.

England went to the gold basis because deeply indebted to the Rothschilds and others for money which had been employed against the great Emperor. In order to float that debt, in order to consolidate it, in order to keep in hand the finances of that country, a great commercial people, dependent not upon agriculture, but upon trade and commerce and finance, it became absolutely necessary that they should go to the gold standard in order to please the money-changers of the world.

CENTRALIZATION GREAT BRITAIN'S POLICY.

The policy of the English Empire, aggressive and distinct in all its features, can be easily understood by the ordinary student of history, not to say of finance. It is the policy of Great Britain to centralize. Her vast colonial system consists of tributaries that pour their wealth into the great lake of England. The home country is first to be considered, and the colonies held by British arms are made tributary to the commercial and financial interests of the English people proper at home.

Some years ago the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CAMERON] and myself happened to be on a return trip from Alaska at Victoria, the capital of Vancouver, in British Columbia. It happened that we landed there upon the two hundredth anniversary of the Hudson Bay Company, and the superintendent of that company very politely requested us to go through the immense warehouse and inspect the peltries which had been stored there by the hunters and trappers of that company.

My friend from Pennsylvania saw some beautiful peltries that he desired to purchase and bring back to his home, and he said to the superintendent, "I should like to pay you any price for these peltries in order to carry them back as a present." The Englishman expressed the greatest regret, and said there could be no limit but absolute necessity in his courtesy toward so distinguished a visitor; but he said, "Mr. Senator, if I should sell or give you a single coon or mink skin in this warehouse it would forfeit the charter of our company." Since the Hudson Bay Company was organized two hundred years ago, all our peltries must go back to England to be dressed, and they can neither be given away nor sold nor put into any process of manufacture except in Great Britain.

This is an illustration of the policy of the English Government. All its colonies are simply provinces, and the great salient and objective point of all its legislation and policy is to concentrate wealth and power in the home government and with the home people. Is it any wonder, then, that England is to-day and has been since 1816 for the gold standard? It enables her to command the commerce of the world because gold is the money of commerce. Mr. Jefferson declared as the result of his wonderful researches that the money of the American people should be gold and silver. Gold, he said, is the money of commerce, foreign commerce, intercourse between nations, and bankers.

The fact that a large value can be put in a small compass, the facility of transportation, the ease of storage, all give to gold attributes which no other metal can possibly have; but is it to be said that silver has not its uses? Silver has always been the money of the people, not of the bankers and capitalists and usurers, but of the common, plain people, as Lincoln termed them, who, in their domestic barter and everyday business at home, do not need this red despot of gold, but silver, with which they and their fathers have always been familiar.

OVERPRODUCTION.

We are told, Mr. President, that overproduction is the cause of the fall of silver in price, that it has not been legislation, but that natural causes, the law of supply and demand have brought silver to its present value in the markets of the world.

Let me ask my friends, the monometallists, one question. Was there an overproduction of silver in 1873, when it was demonetized in this country by striking the silver dollar from the coinage of the United States? Had there been overcoinage of silver so as to glut the markets and bring down its price under natural rules? We have the authority of the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], of the Secretary of the Treasury to-day, Mr. Carlisle, and of the reports of the Treasury Department that but eight million of standard dollars had been coined in the United States from 1792 to 1873; we put but $8,000,000 in circulation, and not so many, because the reports of the Director of the Mint from year to year show that the coin of the country goes into industrial pursuits and is used by the jewelers and artificers in precious metals, and a portion of that $8,000,000 must have been so used. Yet with this inconsiderable amount coined by this Government from 1792 to 1873, it was deemed necessary in the latter year to strike out the silver dollar from the coinage of the United States.

Mr. President, we have had many explanations of that legislation. If in the heat of discussion I shall use one word to-day either partisan or personal, I withdraw it now in advance. I am not here to indulge in recrimination or to make charges which I do not know to be true. I am here to discuss the greatest question which has come before this country since the States divided in regard to their construction of the Constitution. A

great Scotchman said, "Let me write the songs of a people, and I care not who makes their laws." Give me the money of the people, and I care not who makes their songs. No power can be vested in any tribunal so great as that of controlling money. Therefore I come to the discussion of this question with no idea of indulging in personality. It makes no difference who demonetized silver in 1873. We have had many explanations. The most plausible was that the standard dollar as it then existed was inconvenient. No other reason which has ever been given, in my opinion, afforded one shadow of excuse for that action.

LEGISLATION THE CAUSE OF DEPRECIATION.

My point made here now to be answered is, if overproduction and overcoinage of silver has caused its present depreciated value, how did the coinage of 8,000,000 standard dollars in 1873 justify or cause the action of Congress at that time?

I have here—and will ask to insert it in the RECORD, as from its nature it is impossible to read it—a most authentic statement of the gold production of the world, from the discovery of America down to 1892. Down to the year 1885 this table comes from Dr. Soetbeer, the most eminent statistician known to history. After 1885 it comes from the reports of the Directors of the Mint of the United States. It must be received, then, as absolutely accurate, if the words "absolutely accurate" can be applied to statistics at all. I invite my friends, the monometallists, to examine this table and to prove their assertion that the overproduction of silver has caused its fall, as we hear so often from all the organs of that opinion in the United States.

Statement of the production of gold and silver in the world since the discovery of America.

[From 1493 to 1885 is from table of averages for certain periods compiled by Dr. Adolph Soetbeer. For the years 1886-1892 the production is the annual estimate of the Bureau of the Mint.]

	Gold.				Silver.				Percentage of production.			
	Annual average of period.		Total for the period.		Annual average of period.		Total for the period.		By weight.		By value.	
	Fine ounces.	Value.	Fine ounces.	Value.	Fine ounces.	Coining value.	Fine ounces.	Coining value.	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.
1493-1520	186,470	$3,855,000	5,221,160	$107,931,000	1,511,050	$1,954,000	42,309,400	$54,703,000	11.0	89.0	66.4	33.6
1521-1544	230,194	4,759,000	5,524,656	114,205,000	2,899,930	3,749,000	69,598,320	89,986,000	7.4	92.6	55.9	44.1
1545-1560	273,596	5,656,000	4,377,544	90,492,000	10,017,940	12,952,000	160,287,040	207,240,000	2.7	97.3	30.4	69.6
1561-1580	219,906	4,546,000	4,398,120	90,917,000	9,628,925	12,450,000	192,578,500	248,990,000	2.2	97.8	26.7	73.3
1581-1600	237,267	4,905,000	4,745,340	98,095,000	13,467,635	17,413,000	269,352,700	348,254,000	1.7	98.3	22.0	78.0
1601-1620	273,918	5,662,000	5,478,360	113,248,000	13,596,235	17,579,000	271,924,700	351,579,000	2.0	98.0	24.4	75.6
1621-1640	266,845	5,516,000	5,336,900	110,324,000	12,654,240	16,361,000	253,084,800	327,221,000	2.1	97.9	25.2	74.8
1641-1660	281,955	5,828,000	5,639,110	116,571,000	11,776,545	15,226,000	235,530,900	304,525,000	2.3	97.7	27.7	72.3
1661-1680	297,709	6,154,000	5,954,180	123,084,000	10,834,550	14,008,000	216,691,000	280,166,000	2.7	97.3	30.5	69.5
1681-1700	346,095	7,154,000	6,921,895	143,088,000	10,992,085	14,212,000	219,841,700	284,240,000	3.1	96.9	33.5	66.5
1701-1720	412,163	8,520,000	8,243,260	170,403,000	11,432,540	14,781,000	228,650,800	295,629,000	3.5	96.5	36.6	63.4
1721-1740	613,422	12,681,000	12,268,440	253,611,000	13,863,080	17,924,000	277,261,600	358,480,000	4.2	95.8	41.4	58.6
1741-1760	791,211	16,356,000	15,824,230	327,116,000	17,140,612	22,162,000	342,812,235	443,232,000	4.4	95.6	42.5	57.5
1761-1780	665,666	13,761,000	13,313,315	275,211,000	20,965,591	27,133,000	419,711,820	542,658,000	3.1	96.9	33.7	66.3
1781-1800	571,948	11,823,000	11,438,970	236,464,000	28,261,779	36,540,000	565,235,580	730,810,000	2.0	98.0	24.4	75.6
1801-1810	571,563	11,815,000	5,715,627	118,152,000	28,746,922	37,168,000	287,469,225	371,677,000	1.9	98.1	24.1	75.9
1811-1820	367,957	7,606,000	3,679,568	76,063,000	17,385,755	22,479,000	173,857,555	224,786,000	2.1	97.9	25.3	74.7
1821-1830	457,044	9,448,000	4,570,444	94,479,000	14,807,004	19,144,000	148,070,040	191,444,000	3.0	97.0	33.0	67.0
1831-1840	652,291	13,484,000	6,522,913	134,841,000	19,175,867	24,793,000	191,758,675	247,930,000	3.3	96.7	35.2	64.8
1841-1850	1,760,502	36,393,000	17,605,018	363,928,000	25,090,342	32,440,000	250,903,422	324,400,000	6.6	93.4	52.9	47.1
1851-1855	6,410,324	132,573,000	32,051,621	662,866,000	28,488,597	36,824,000	142,442,986	184,169,000	18.4	81.6	78.3	21.7
1856-1860	6,486,202	134,083,000	32,431,312	670,415,000	29,095,428	37,618,000	145,477,142	188,092,000	18.2	81.8	78.1	21.9
1861-1865	5,949,582	122,989,000	29,747,913	614,944,000	35,401,972	45,772,000	177,009,862	228,861,000	14.4	85.6	72.9	27.1
1866-1870	6,270,086	129,614,000	31,350,430	648,071,000	43,051,583	55,663,000	215,257,914	278,313,000	12.7	87.3	70.0	30.0
1871-1875	5,591,014	115,577,000	27,955,068	577,883,000	63,317,014	81,864,000	316,585,069	409,322,000	8.1	91.9	58.6	41.4
1876-1880	5,543,110	114,586,000	27,715,550	572,931,000	78,775,602	101,851,000	393,878,009	509,256,000	6.6	93.4	53.0	47.0
1881-1885	4,794,755	99,116,000	23,973,773	495,582,000	92,003,944	118,955,000	460,019,722	594,773,000	5.0	95.0	45.5	54.5
1886	5,127,750	106,000,000	5,127,750	106,000,000	93,276,000	120,600,000	93,276,000	120,600,000	5.2	94.8	46.8	53.2
1887	5,093,984	105,302,600	5,093,984	105,302,000	96,189,000	124,366,000	96,189,000	124,366,000	5.0	95.0	45.9	54.1
1888	5,316,412	109,900,000	5,316,412	109,900,000	109,911,000	142,107,000	109,911,000	142,107,000	4.6	95.4	43.6	56.4
1889	5,746,950	118,800,000	5,746,950	118,800,000	125,830,000	162,690,000	125,830,000	162,690,000	4.4	95.6	42.2	57.8
1890	5,473,631	115,150,000	5,473,613	113,150,000	133,213,000	172,235,000	133,213,000	172,235,000	3.9	96.0	39.7	60.3
1891	5,830,107	120,519,000	5,830,107	120,519,000	144,426,000	186,733,000	144,426,000	186,733,000	4.0	96.1	39.2	60.8
1892	6,328,272	130,817,000	6,328,272	130,817,000	152,062,000	196,605,000	152,062,000	196,605,000	4.0	96.0	40.0	60.0
Total			397,191,823	8,204,303,000			7,522,507,716	9,726,072,000	5.0	95.0	45.8	54.2

This table shows that the two precious metals have fluctuated, as they necessarily must, in all ages of the world; first silver being produced in excess of gold and then gold in excess of silver. How is it possible that it could be otherwise? What intelligent man for a moment could advance the idea that two metals, dependent upon the quantity discovered in the bowels of the earth, should be mathematically or logically equal at all times in quantity or ratio?

After Cortez had conquered Mexico and had sent back to Spain the gold which he had taken from Montezuma and his successors and from the provinces of Mexico, even robbing their temple in order to satisfy Spanish greed, all this treasure which we are accustomed to look upon as fabulous, but which in reality amounted to about $30,000,000 a year, failed to affect the markets of the precious metals in the Old World. It was not until a peasant who was herding a flock of llamas at Potosi, in upper Peru, happened to discover a silver mine of fabulous richness that the price of the two metals was seriously disturbed in the markets of Europe. For many years, as shown by this table, gold was produced in the most insignificant amounts, while silver was produced twenty, thirty, and thirty-two times in excess annually of the production of gold; yet the price of silver was not affected and it maintained its place as a money metal.

In order to show that my statement is absolutely correct, I have taken the trouble to make a calculation, based upon the Soetbeer table. From 1833 to 1840 there was produced thirty-two times as much silver as gold in the world; from 1841 to 1850, fifteen times as much; from 1851 to 1855, five times as much; from 1855 to 1860, four times as much; from 1861 to 1865, six times as much; from 1866 to 1871, three times as much; from 1871 to 1875, twelve times as much; from 1876 to 1880, sixteen times as much; from 1881 to 1885, twenty times as much; and from 1886 to 1892, from eighteen to twenty-five times as much.

Now, I assert that these tables show, if they are worth the paper upon which they are printed, that the relative proportion of silver to gold has never been as great as it was in the eras I have named here, from 1833 to 1844 and from 1844 to 1850.

We hear upon every side the assertion that the production of silver which amounted to $74,000,000, according to the report of the Director of the Mint, in 1892 in the United States has caused its decline. There were $33,000,000 of gold produced in this country for 1892, the production of silver being about 2 to 1, and it is said that this accounts for the attack upon silver as a money metal and the attempt now to destroy it throughout the world. From 1832 to 1840, thirty-two times as much of silver was produced as of gold. If it be a logical proposition that the over-production now has destroyed silver, why was it then not blotted out from the face of the earth as a medium of exchange and of standard value?

Mr. STEWART. Will the Senator allow me?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAULKNER in the chair). Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. STEWART. Von Humboldt records that from the discovery of America to 1803 there were 44 ounces of silver produced to 1 ounce of gold.

OVERPRODUCTION NOT TO BLAME.

Mr. VEST. I call the attention of the Senate to the price of silver, which it is said is affected by overproduction. From 1833

to 1840, when there was thirty-two times as much silver as gold produced in the world, silver was worth in this country $1.29 and $1.32 an ounce. From 1841 to 1850, when there was fifteen times as much silver as gold produced, silver was still worth $1.29 to $1.31 an ounce. I quote from the report of the Director of the Mint. From 1851 to 1855, when there were five times as much silver produced as gold, silver sold in the United States from $1.32 to $1.35 an ounce, being an increase of from 3 to 5 cents on the ounce. From 1855 to 1860, when there were four times as much produced, it sold from $1.34 to $1.36 an ounce.

The decrease in the production of silver, as it would appear from this table, in 1850-'51, was not really a decrease in the mining production, but there was a vast increase from 1850 to 1855 in the production of gold on account of its discovery in California and Australia and the reworking of the mines in Siberia. It is absolutely impossible under the rules of logic, if our friends be correct that overproduction is the cause of the present condition of silver, that this enormous overproduction should have existed in the eras I have named and yet not have brought about the same result.

I have said, Mr. President, that it was impossible that these metals should remain logically and mathematically at the same ratio. Many circumstances and facts affect this ratio. Who will undertake to say now, unless he has the gift of prophecy, when the gold mines will cease to produce? There have been times in history—and we have them upon such proof that no doubt can exist—when the production of gold absolutely ceased, at other times when the production of silver absolutely ceased. Is it wise statesmanship for the representatives of the people to put themselves absolutely in the power of any one metal uncertain and precarious in the supply? Suppose to-morrow the gold production of this country should fall off one-half and of the world one-third, what would be the result? The United States, if it had eliminated silver, would be found absolutely at the commercial mercy of the vast hoards of gold which for war purposes have been piled up in the treasuries of continental nations and of England. Should we not rather rely upon both metals in whose production nature preserves an equilibrium?

Mr. STEWART. One-third of the gold comes from the silver mines, according to the best estimates.

Mr. VEST. My friend says that one-third of the gold comes from silver mines, and it is true, because in the alchemy of nature we always find these precious metals associated together. But I can produce, I think, authority much higher than mine in regard to the precarious nature of these metals. The present Secretary of the Treasury said in 1878, when discussing the question upon which I have the honor now to address the Senate:

I know that the world's stock of precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it will ever become so.

Mr. COCKRELL. Is that Secretary Carlisle?

Mr. VEST. Yes. He continued:

Mankind will be fortunate indeed if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry. According to my view of the subject, the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy by legislation and otherwise from three-sevenths to one-half of the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age. The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilence, and famine that ever occurred in the history of the world. The absolute and instantaneous destruction of half the entire movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads, and all other appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of one-half of the metallic money of the world.

Why, Mr. President, for sane men in a country that stands upon the bed rock of independence to put themselves in the hands of the monarchies of Europe, in the hands of the gold manipulators, who at any time can fix the price of the property of the world if they see proper to do so, is not only a crime, as the Secretary of the Treasury has declared it, but a crime so monstrous that no punishment could be adequately inflicted for its commission. Thomas Jefferson dreamed of an ideal republic, and what was it? He said:

"Let us found a government where there shall be no extremely rich men and no abjectly poor ones. Let us found a government upon the intelligence of the people and the equitable distribution of property. Let us make laws where there shall be no governmental partnership with favored classes. Let us protect all in life, liberty and property, and then say to every American citizen, with the gifts that God has given you, your brain and brawn and energy, work out your own fortunes under a just government and equal laws."

THE NATION DOMINATED BY A DOZEN MEN.

If Jefferson could to-day revisit the earth, or if the dead can take notice of the affairs of the living, what would he think of this country which he helped to establish and whose independence he put in letters of living fire upon the pages of history, if he should find sixty-seven million of freemen, with a continent for an inheritance, with the rain and sunshine and dew, the mountains and rivers, with almost illimitable resources, in the hands financially of a dozen men in New York, who make and unmake, and who can in an hour so hoard the currency of the whole country as to produce a money famine, and then exact from the people their own terms?

Mr. President, I desire to enter into no philosophical nor sentimental essay. I am an American, and I trust practical in the consideration of every question; but the genius of our institutions and of our people, the fundamental doctrines upon which we exist as a nation, the instinctive feeling of every true American, no matter of what political belief he may be, must be naturally against the policy that centralizes and consolidates the fearful power of money in the hands of the few against the many. For myself, I would give up every doctrine of my life and every feeling of my nature if I did not stand now to the last against legislation that would further extend this centralization.

But we are told that silver must be demonetized because it fluctuates in value; that gold is stable and silver is the changing child of caprice and circumstance. I have in my hand a pamphlet sent to me by a friend.

Mr. PLATT. We can not hear on this side.

Mr. VEST. I say I hold in my hand a pamphlet sent me by a friend. It is the second edition of an essay on gold and silver money by an Englishman, in which, before the closing of the Indian mints, he pleaded with the people of Great Britain to leave the gold standard and accept bimetallism as the only safe and sure foundation for financial existence. The question of the stability of the two metals is discussed at great length in this pamphlet. I shall not undertake to read it to the Senate, although every word of it is worthy of our consideration at this time.

Mr. GRAY. Who is the author?

Mr. VEST. John Monteath Douglas, a business man in the city of London, who has unquestionably studied this question. I will not weary the Senate by reading all of it, but he says:

Silver has really fluctuated much less than gold. Till December, 1888, and on to end of 1891, it continued to rise in value as compared with the average of commodities, just as gold did, but much less, and keeping a much closer and more uniform relation to the prices of commodities than gold did. See list of prices next page. The gold price of silver was "lower" in 1888 and 1889 than it had been at any time within memory, but the gold prices of commodities were on the average lower still, as explained below in detail, so that silver had maintained its price, or rather risen in comparison with the average of commodities.

A DELUSION OF THE MONOMETALLISTS.

I can not resist saying parenthetically that the fallacy and the delusion of the argument made by the monometallists in regard to the fall of silver is based upon the idea, not of its purchase of commodities, but the value of silver in gold. All the statisticians and financiers of the world whose declarations are worth anything put the criterion as to the value of the precious metals upon their ability to purchase the necessaries of life. Any other criterion is false. When you can take so much silver and buy so much meat and so much bread, although gold may go up and silver still continues to buy the same quantity of meat and bread, it has not fallen. Silver, as this writer says, has not fluctuated under this great criterion of its power to purchase the necessaries of life, and the tables of the most eminent statisticians show it.

The tables of average prices compiled by various authorities and referred to by all parties may or may not continue henceforth to show exactly the same relation between silver and commodities.

Mr. Sauerbeck opportunely had a letter in The Times' money column of October 14, giving an abstract of his results as to prices of forty-five leading commodities, averaged yearly and monthly, taking the average of 1867–1877 as 100, except that for silver 100 represents its old ratio of 15½ to 1, or about 2*s.*—a rupee. All these prices are in his valuable essay, "Prices of Commodities and the Precious Metals" (reprinted from Statistical Society's Journal. Edward Stanford, London, 1886), and his continuation of the tables. These seem to me to show, (1), by the height of commodities in 1873, the effect of the previous twenty-four years' abundance of gold above described; (2), by the fall since, the effect of the subsequent scarcity of gold (artificial and otherwise), and of the German forced sales of silver. Silver averaged above 99½ for years 1867–1872.

Then follows a table showing a comparison between commodities and silver, as follows:

Year.	Commodities.	Silver.	Year.	Commodities.	Silver.
1873	111	97.4	1889	72	70.2
1880	88	85.9	1890	72	78.4
1885	72	79.9	1891	72	74.1
1886	69	74.6	1892 (September)	66.8	62.7
1887	68	73.3	1892 (October)	67.4	64.5
1888	70	70.4			

For convenient reference I will add at the end of my remarks a table prepared by Sauerbeck, showing the average gold prices

of commodities and of silver from 1846 to 1892. [See Appendix A.]

As a matter of course, it was absolutely impossible that these commodities and silver should be mathematically equal. That would be unnatural and impossible, but I make the statement here now and invite my friends the monometallists to disprove it, that the purchasing quality of silver has remained more stable than that of gold. Gold has fluctuated. Gold has gone up and gold has gone down, but silver has remained more nearly equal in its purchasing power from age to age, notwithstanding all the mutations of mining and of commerce, than has the gold metal.

Mr. GRAY. Will it interrupt the Senator from Missouri to ask him a question?

Mr. VEST. Not at all.

Mr. GRAY. Does Mr. Douglas, the writer of the pamphlet from which the Senator is making his most interesting quotation, anywhere attempt to show that those articles of prime necessity, which he compares to the price of both silver and gold, have not themselves fluctuated, or if they have fluctuated, to what extent, owing to causes that have affected the facility of their production, the quantity of their production, and the varying demand at different stages in the world's history for necessities of that kind?

If the Senator will pardon me, in the exceedingly interesting discussion or comparison of silver and gold with articles of prime necessity the difficulty must always be apparent that when you are comparing these three sources of fluctuation, gold and silver and commodities of prime necessity, you have got to take into account the causes which may affect the decline or appreciation of value of the commodities that depend upon supply and demand. The increased facilities, for instance, of the production of food products all over the world may have had, and undoubtedly has had, a most important and enormous effect upon the price of commodities, and they could not very well be compared with either silver or gold.

THE FLUCTUATIONS OF GOLD.

Mr. VEST. As a matter of course, the articles of necessity have fluctuated. It goes without saying that the failure of a crop and other vicissitudes, the law of supply and demand, which is invoked so often, will cause fluctuations in these articles. It would be just as absurd to say that they always remain the same at any standard as to say that gold and silver could always remain exactly equal. But the fact still remains that in the eras which are used by these statisticians the fluctuations in silver have not been so sudden or violent as the fluctuations in gold. Let me illustrate by a statement in regard to France. I saw in the New York Evening Post upon yesterday, I believe, a statement by Mr. Horace White, one of the leading monometallists of the country, to the effect that my colleague in the other House [Mr. BLAND] had made a gross and false misstatement when he said that France had been able to maintain bimetallism from 1803 to 1873, and he quoted from Chevalier on Gold, which I have here on my table, to show that my colleague's statement was incorrect

Mr. President, it is true that in the long period from 1803 to 1873 both silver and gold fluctuated in value, and it is true that during that period gold went to a premium of 1¼ per cent in France, and virtually went out of circulation, as is always the case; but it is also true, as shown by Chevalier, that with the exception of this era, which lasted but a few years, and not for twenty-five or thirty years, as stated by Mr. White, silver was the ruling metal in France. Silver was the standard of value really, although gold was also used. When the great Australian and Californian discoveries were made, gold poured into France and into Europe at such a rate that this whole book, Chevalier on Gold, is devoted to the discussion of the question how to make gold keep its parity with silver. The dread in Europe then was that gold would cease to be a money metal and that all the continental people would be relegated to the use of silver alone for all the purposes of exchange and as a standard.

Mr. STEWART. Will the Senator from Missouri allow me to reply a little more fully to the question suggested by the Senator from Delaware?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. STEWART. Necessarily there will be fluctuations in the price of commodities, owing to a great many circumstances, supply and demand, etc., but what we maintain is that a continual average decline of prices means a shrinkage of the volume of money, or a continual general rise means an increase in the volume of money. That is demonstrated by the fall in prices from 1810 to 1850. The prices, not particular but general prices, were about 50 per cent.

From 1850 to 1875 there was a rise in general prices of about 33⅓ per cent. From 1875 until the present time there has been a fall in general prices of about 40 per cent. It is fully 50 per cent now. In other words, there has been an appreciation of money as compared with commodities of about 50 per cent in twenty years. The general prices depend upon the volume of money. The prices of commodities go up and down, but they always point to this volume. If the volume grows smaller they point to it on a lower level. So the demonetization of silver had precisely the same effect, the effect of reducing prices, that the Spanish-American wars did in cutting off the supply of the precious metals in the beginning of the present century. That is the way it operates upon general prices; but silver has kept pace with commodities, and has pointed to them almost exactly, going down as the value of gold went up, when measured in gold.

Mr. GRAY. I do not want by any means to inject a discussion into the speech of the Senator from Missouri, but if he will allow me to say what I meant by my suggestion a moment ago, it was to ask whether the pamphleteer from whom he was quoting had recognized or taken into account in discussing the relation of the price of gold and silver to certain prime necessities of life the fluctuations of those commodities themselves. For instance, we believe here on the eastern seaboard that the price of wheat has been permanently affected by the cultivation of the great fertile areas in the Northwest and the steam-plowed fields of the Dakotas, which has given a permanent lower plane of value to that important product that is not to be referred at all to the rise or fall of gold or silver.

Mr. STEWART. The same causes have been at work from 1810 until the present time to cheapen production.

Mr. VEST. If the Senator will pardon my remark, I intended of course to discuss the question of the effect of the supply of either metal or of both upon the prices of the world, for that is one of the salient points of this whole issue, but I am almost constrained by the remarks of the Senator from Delaware to read what I consider an exact statement of the effect of the rise or fall in the precious metals, always granted that other causes may affect the price of commodities, for it would be absolutely absurd to deny that fact. We can not control nature, but we can certainly control our own legislation.

EFFECT OF INCREASE ON PRICES.

Let me say to my friend from Delaware, that even if the monometallists could reach their elysium financially of a gold standard there would still be fluctuation in prices of commodities in this and every other country, and, as a matter of course, as gold increased in value, or, to speak more properly, as gold became scarcer prices would go down. Any discussion is imperfect, incorrect, and unsatisfactory that does not admit upon both sides what is known to the whole world, and must be always known to every intelligent human being, that if you increase the volume of money you put up prices, and if you decrease the volume of money you put them down.

I have seen the day in the vicissitudes of my life, when $20 in paper would not buy a loaf of bread, and a five-dollar gold piece would buy a house and lot. It is not necessary for me to say where that was the case, as I do not want to revive war issues. But I want to read now, although I did not intend to do it at this time, the statement of the rule, which is inflexible, as to the precious metals. I read from Chevalier, who is quoted approvingly as a great authority by Mr. Horace White:

> The effects of a rise or fall in the precious metals are displayed in a manner peculiar to themselves, owing to the attribute of money with which they are invested. When it is said that a commodity falls in value, it means that we must give a larger proportion of it than previously to procure in exchange the same quantity of any other article of commerce. The price of that article, whether it be iron, lead, corn, wine, or any other product, excepting the metal or metals of which money is made, falls accordingly; for the price of a thing is its value specially compared with those metals, or, to express differently the same idea, it is the number of monetary units which it is necessary to give in exchange for a certain weight or volume of another commodity. A diminution in the value of the metal from which money is essentially coined is shown differently in this respect, that its price remains the same; but then the price of all other commodities, without exception, rises if its value compared with itself has fallen, and falls if it has risen.
>
> I say that its price as measured by itself remains the same, since for this metal, specially and exclusively, the price is its value compared with itself. If, for example, the value of silver falls one-half as the monetary unit, the franc consists in France of four grams and a half of silver, a kilogram in weight of fine metal will still be worth 222 francs 22 cents, because one kilogram contains four grams and a half, 222 times and a small fraction; but in this case the price of lead, iron, wheat, wine, and all other commodities will be doubled, because, to obtain the same quantity of these articles, it is necessary to give double the quantity of silver.

DEMONETIZATION OF SILVER DOUBLES ALL DEBTS.

There is the inflexible monetary rule. There is no sort of rhetoric or declamation that can do away with it. We had just as well confront this proposition now, and there is no escape from it. If for any cause (and I will leave the causes now to inject this remark) we strike down one-half the metallic basis of value in the world we double the burdens that are resting upon all who owe money; and we beyond computation almost, for no man can foresee the future, put down the price of commodities.

Mr. Horace White says in an article which I have before me that he hopes the day will come, and he wants to see it, when everything will be cheapened because it is to the interest of everybody that everything should be cheap. He disagrees with some of his own party, for it has been but a few years ago, in 1890, I believe, when we were told that the words "cheap" and "nasty" went together, and that cheap clothes made a cheap man. Now we are told by Mr. White that he wants to see the era come when commodities will be reduced in price, when the wheat-growers of the West instead of getting for their wheat delivered at a country depot 35 and 40 cents a bushel will receive 15 and 20 cents, when the mortgaged indebtedness of this country will be doubled, and the man who can to-day pay off his mortgage with a thousand bushels of wheat must add the labor, and the privation, and the mental anxiety necessary to raise 2,000 bushels in order to discharge the same indebtedness.

I resume the reading from which I was diverted when interrupted:

This great and gradually progressive fall of commodities in general as compared with gold does not and can not come from increased production of them, but from the rise of gold, by which shifting standard they are valued. Gold has appreciated or risen in value or buying power; silver has not really fallen or depreciated. Fall of silver is only an ordinary way of mentioning the divergence of price between rising gold and stationary silvery silver. Prospects of divergence continuing and widening, and of its effects.

The appreciation of gold is most fully and admirably proved and illustrated by Mr. R. Giffen, of the Board of Trade, in his long and elaborate essay on "Recent Changes in Prices," etc., dated December, 1888, and published in the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society for that month, pages 713-815.

Unfortunately that precious essay is not included by him in his recent volume, "The Case Against Bimetallism," a reprint of his other and much less valuable papers bearing on this subject. That omitted essay affords one of the best answers to all the others on one of the great leading points of the currency question—the supposed steadiness of gold as a standard of value. I therefore must offer some extracts from this part of its contents, because comparatively few have access to the journals of the learned societies, and ordinary people are repelled by these being too often dry as well as learned.

After mentioning his paper in the same society's journal of March, 1879, on "The Fall of Prices since 1873," in which he suggested that appreciatfon of gold had begun, or soon would do so, and his reiteration of this suggestion in an essay in 1885, he notices the fulfillment of his forecast by the admitted general fall of prices, amountiug to an appreciation or rise in the purchasing power of gold. This conclusion he establishes (pp. 720-722) by detailed references to the tables and index numbers or averages of The Economist, Mr. Sauerbeck, Mr. Soetbeer, the Board of Trade, and the American averages. His conclusions from these as to appreciation of gold are doubtless incontrovertible.

As to silver, he says (p. 740): "If we avoid extreme years, the average fall in commodities measured by gold rather exceeds the average fall in silver measured by gold. In other words, instead of speaking of the depreciation of silver," as compared with gold, "we should be quite justified in speaking of the appreciation of silver when we measure it by the average of commodities," which is the way in which he and all competent persons now and in former times have measured the values of both gold and silver. After stating many interesting facts and arguments he remarks (p. 750):

"We can say positively that the recent change from a high to a low level of prices is due to a change in money, of the nature or in the direction of absolute contraction." And then he shows how the excess of imports of gold into England over exports of it, in the fourteen years 1858-1871, reach sixty-seven and three-quarter millions sterling of net import, or an average of about five millions annually, while in the following sixteen years, 1872-1887, the net import was under three-quarters of a million yearly, or eleven and one-half millions in all; whereas, if it had continued on the same scale as before, it should have approached eighty millions.

Thereupon he proceeds (p. 753): "It is clearly impossible to contend there has been no change in the movement of gold, comparing the one period with the other. If we look at coinage or other details, the result would be the same. The stock of gold in England available for money has not been added to of late years as it was in the period just before. The stock with the additions has had to do more work, and it has only been able to do so because prices have fallen, and incomes have not risen, whereas from 1850 to 1873, when gold was going so largely into England, not only did prices rise a little but incomes a great deal." He adds that he believes the comparison would be still more striking if we could compare the excess of gold imports from 1850 downward.

Now let me read another extract from this paper, and I shall not further weary the Senate. In regard to the effect of the increase in the value of gold upon prices, this gentleman (Mr. Giffen), who is now an extreme monometallist, makes the following statement, as given in the essay from which I am reading:

He then deals with the effects of this appreciation of gold on the distribution of wealth, and says (p. 759): "It is obvious beyond all question that these effects may be important. The debtors pay more than they would otherwise pay, and the creditors receive more. The matter is thus not unimportant to the two large classes of people who make up the community. Appreciation is a most serious matter to those who have debts to pay. It prevents them gaining by the development of industry as they would otherwise gain."

As to the landowners, he shows (p. 760) how appreciation of gold and consequent fall of prices has swept away the surplus value of many estates, especially of land, and also estates of other sorts, and made them insufficient even to pay the mortgages on them; also, he illustrates the same kind of effect on stocks of various sorts.

But, Mr. President, I suppose it is not necessary to read authorities to show that the increase in the value of gold which would follow from the elimination of silver as a money metal would increase the burdens of indebtedness immensely all over the world, and would put down the price of products, thereby taking away from the debtor the ability to pay with the same amount of property a debt which he had contracted upon a different ratio and under a different standard. Even the Herschell committee, in justifying the closing of the mints in India to the private coinage of silver, makes a statement to this effect, to which I ask the attention of our monometallic friends. In giving their reasons and the recommendations they made to the British Parliament, the committee says:

We pass to the objections founded upon the effects on rupee prices, on taxation, and on other fixed burdens. These effects would be such as result from an appreciating currency, namely: first, to make prices lower than they would otherwise have been; then, though more slowly, to lower money wages, and to increase the burden of debts and of all fixed payments. It has been urged in answer to this, that whatever these evils may be, they are not greater than those which have in recent years been experienced from a depreciating currency, namely: prices higher than they would have been but for such depreciation, and debts and other just burdens lightened, to the benefit of the persons who pay, and to the injury of those who receive, including the Government.

It has also been urged that, if future appreciation were due to the act of the Government, past depreciation has also been due to the adoption by the Government of an unstable and depreciating standard. But, even assuming that these answers are true in point of fact, it is no less true that, since the adoption of the silver standard in 1835, the depreciation of the silver currency has arisen from causes over which the Government have exercised no control, whereas any appreciation resulting from the raising of the rupee would be due to the direct action of the Government.

I find no fault with this declaration, coming from this source. If I were a citizen of a Government like Great Britain, with its autonomy and its policy, and sought simply the interest of that country and not of the world, I would have made that report. I would have come out, as these gentlemen have, and said distinctly that we ought to legislate for the creditors and not for the debtors; that more money should be put into the pockets of the multimillionaires, and that the people, the plain, common people of the country, should not be consulted in regard to the matter.

I am not in the habit of appealing to the prejudices of the poor against the rich. I know but one rule in my legislative conduct, to protect all alike and treat all alike, and it is not just to the debtor who has contracted his indebtedness under silver and gold to strike silver out of the currency and take more than one-half in excess of his property to pay a debt so contracted.

No living man can justify legislation like that. If we had the power now to put this country, all obligations being obliterated, to the test whether we should have gold or silver, one standard or the other, it would be a fair issue. But as we are now, with debts contracted to the amount of $8,000,000,000 in the United States, to strike down the ability by one-half of the debtor to pay his obligation is not only unjust and ruinous, but absolutely wicked.

GREAT BRITAIN FOR HERSELF.

Now, Mr. President, another argument is made daily and hourly by the metropolitan journals. It is said we can not maintain a different standard from Europe. We must not put this country in a position of isolation. We must not, to use a much-abused term, put a wall around the people of the United States. I am not disposed to be prejudiced against England. The English are a great people. They understand the chief end of commercial life better than any people who have ever existed, even than the Venetians. I am not here to array the people of the United States against those of Great Britain. We come from the same lineage, and they simply exercise the right that we exercise—to take care of themselves. I can understand how an Englishman would be for the gold standard. The gold standard makes England financially the mistress of the world.

In 1844, after they had demonetized silver in 1816, the British Parliament passed the bank act, in which they made it mandatory on the Bank of England to buy every ounce of gold that came from any portion of the world for all time to come, at the fixed valuation of £3 17*s.* 8*d.* an ounce, a fraction over $20.

ENGLISH LEGISLATION ENHANCES PRICE OF GOLD

What was the inevitable result? All the world except England was on a silver or a bimetallic standard. Germany was on the exclusive silver standard. The Latin Union was on the silver standard. Every country of any importance in the world was championing silver; and yet our ancestors deliberately took up the gauge of battle and said to the whole world, "You shall have gold," as my predecessor here, Mr. Benton said, red gold, and although their first step was challenged to the death, they said, "Every ounce of gold produced anywhere in the world shall be bought by the Bank of England at the price we have named," and that fixed the price of gold in the remotest parts of Asia.

Every man who had an ounce of gold knew what it was worth, taking off the cost of transportation. He knew that the Bank of England was bound to pay that or give up its charter. Their object was to make England a gold emporium and chain the gold standard upon the people of the whole world, and they have almost succeeded in that gigantic endeavor. By fixing the price of gold they enhanced its value and forced the world to take their standard.

GOLD THE GENIUS OF CENTRALITY.

If this country should now surrender silver it becomes like iron or lead or any other metallic commodity, and its qualities as money are destroyed forever. I repeat, if I looked at this subject from the English standpoint I would unquestionably advocate gold. Gold represents the genius of financial centrality. If England can bring the whole world to a gold standard, with her vast carrying trade, with her large colonial system, she is mistress of commerce and finance.

Mr. STEWART. Ten thousand million are owing her from other countries, Mr. Gladstone says.

Mr. VEST. My friend mentions Mr. Gladstone. Who could have stated the matter more succinctly and distinctly than he did in the debate in the House of Commons three months ago on the continuation of the Brussels conference? Mr. Gladstone said, "Why continue the conference? What necessity is there for England to send any more commissioners? We do not intend to go to anything else but the gold standard. We are the creditor people of the world, and we want money to have the highest purchasing capacity, the largest quantity of which can be put in the smallest bulk."

That is an honest statement. He said, "We do not propose to negotiate." Germany has joined England. After Germany had wrested with iron hand from France $1,000,000,000, principally in gold, she looked across the channel and saw England the mistress of the seas, and Bismarck, looking to the splendid future of a consolidated empire, whose commerce should rival that of Great Britain as her armies had conquered France, said, "We will go to the same basis financially: we will adopt gold." Then they took their silver, melted it into bars, carried it over to France across the frontier, and added insult to injury by asking the French, after paying them $1,000,000,000 of war indemnity, to coin their silver in order to help them to get more gold in their rivalry with Great Britain.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. VEST. Of course.

Mr. HOAR. Does the Senator from Missouri mean to say to the Senate that he thinks it is for the best interest of Great Britain to ruin her debtor classes and her rent-paying classes, by having a constantly appreciated and tightening standard of value? I understood the Senator to say that if he were an Englishman he would be in favor of a gold standard. The importance of that declaration is very great to my mind, because it involves the opinion of the Senator from Missouri that England will never consent to an international agreement to the contrary. In that point of view it is of pretty practical importance to the people of the United States to understand whether he is right or not.

I wish to ask the Senator, in reference to the argument he has just made, whether he thinks that the establishment of a single gold standard in England will not ruin her debtor classes, including her rent-paying classes, who are her farmers; and, in the next place, whether he thinks it is for the interest of England to do that?

Mr. VEST. I think the question of the Senator from Massachusetts is very wide of the real issue which I was attempting to discuss, and for this reason: I argued the injustice of our now eliminating silver as a money metal on account of existing obligations. England went to the gold basis in 1816, and no matter how much her people suffered, and they did suffer, she forced them to submit, as she always does. England never hesitates in her career of conquest and power.

Mr. HOAR. I do not wish to interrupt the Senator to thrust an argument into his speech. I would not wish to do it for my own satisfaction, because I am listening with the very greatest interest and in general with the greatest assent to what he says; but as I understand the Senator, he argues it does not make any difference whether England has been monometallist since 1816 or not; but as I understand the Senator, he argues that the adoption of the gold standard to-day by the nations of the world, including England, is to adopt a measure for the payment of debt which is constantly increasing its burden and is constantly to increase its debt in future.

Mr. VEST. I do. I say that emphatically.

Mr. HOAR. That is the Senator's argument?

Mr. VEST. It is.

Mr. HOAR. Now, the Senator says that if he were an Englishman he would be in favor of that. That is a very important declaration coming from the Senator with his present relations to the financial policy of this country, because it is equivalent to a declaration that the circumstances of the future will never induce England to agree with other nations to a reëstablishment of bimetallism. In that point of view my question seems to me very pertinent to the exact point the Senator is making.

Does the Senator believe that it would not be a great increase of the burden of debts and of rents in Great Britain and Ireland to have this monometallic policy continue there and be concurred in by other nations? If the Senator believes with me that it would be a great and increasing burden, then I ask him if he thinks it would be for the interest of Great Britain to do that thing, and to ruin her debtor and her rent-paying classes. If he believes with me that it would not be for her interest, and retracts the statement he has just made, then he leaves us some hope that we may get an agreement with England in the future.

Mr. STEWART. Will the Senator from Missouri let me answer that question?

Mr. HOAR. I should like to have the Senator from Missouri answer it first, if he will.

Mr. VEST. I will answer it, and then yield to the Senator from Nevada. When I used the expression that if I were an Englishman I would favor the gold standard, I was simply emphasizing my statement that it was a selfish policy; that it had been established by England for the aggrandizement of the commercial and wealthy classes——

Mr. HOAR. To that I agree.

Mr. VEST. And that they acted then exactly as they acted with regard to India. The 250,000,000 people in India received no consideration from Great Britain when Great Britain closed the mints to private coinage. The only question was, what is the effect of the free coinage of silver in India upon the English people, and that was all they considered.

Mr. HOAR. That I agree to; but I submit to the consideration of the Senator that an aggrandizement of the wealthy and commercial classes by the ruin of the others is even more ruinous and injurious to Great Britain than it would be to us under like circumstances, for that class is much more defenseless.

Mr. VEST. My argument as to ruin was in regard to the debtor class in our own country, if we now strike down silver; but, I say emphatically, that in my judgment the gold standard even in England, where it has been established since 1816, does oppress the poorer classes, and that it is intended to put money in the pockets of merchants and investors.

I do not believe that England would ruin her producing classes. The English are too wise to do that. When they found they were about to ruin the people of India by an absolute gold standard there they relaxed in their policy and said they would simply go so far as to close the mints to private coinage; and they are now reflecting very seriously as to whether they will not retract that action. The other day, when Balfour and Leonard Courtney attacked the action of the British Government, the most significant speech made on that occasion was by the Parsee member of the Commons who represents India, and who said that if the policy adopted by the Government was continued it would end in the ruin of his constituents.

If England sees that she is about to kill the goose that lays the golden egg she may stop, but just so far as she can go with this centralizing policy, based upon the gold standard that extends her commerce and enriches her wealthy classes, she will go. Against the application of that policy to this country I protest. Now, if the Senator from Nevada wants to say anything I will hear him.

Mr. STEWART. I should like to state that there are two classes in England, the same as here. When England resumed specie payment after the Napoleonic war, after they had had twenty-two years of suspension, they had a debt of four thousand million dollars, which was worth about thirty or thirty-five cents on the dollar. An English pound was worth only seven or eight shillings; they made it worth twenty shillings a pound and created a bonded aristocracy, which has ruled England from that time till now. The debt of the English people of corporation and other bonds is largely more than $4,000,000,000. Added to the national debt of $4,000,000,000 it would probably make seven or eight thousand million.

Mr. Gladstone says that the countries outside of the United Kingdom owe the United Kingdom $10,000,000,000. It is this vast bonded indebtedness which rules England. This bonded indebtedness prevented the royal commission from reporting in favor of bimetallism. Six of them were in favor of bimetallism and six against it. I will quote the substance of the conclusion of the six monometallists. They said:

ENGLAND A CREDITOR NATION.

"We can not close our eyes to the fact that England is a creditor nation of debts payable in gold, and any increase in the volume of the currency would be to her disadvantage."

So long as the bonded debt, foreign and domestic, controls the policy of England, which it has done for eighty years, so long she will refuse to have silver used. She has been making a battle during all that period to enhance the value of money and to increase obligations to pay money.

The bonded debts which control England do not consist of rents, as spoken of by the Senator from Massachusetts; they are bonds, which are supposed to rest on good security. A large portion of these bonds are of corporations of the United States. It is supposed that the United States are indebted to Europe in the shape of bonds of various descriptions to the amount of $3,000,000,000, at least $2,000,000,000 of which are held by England and makes up a part of the $10,000,000,000 which the world outside of England owes England.

The holders of that bonded indebtedness constitute the moneyed aristocracy of England; they have been in control for many years and have succeeded in every contest against the interest of the English people as against the interest of our people. The farmers, the mechanics, the artisans, and all the people of England are bimetallists; nearly all the writers on political economy are bimetallists.

It is the power of the bonded indebtedness which not only controls England but all the balance of the world. That is the power we are compelled to fight. It is commercial England, as they term it; and that is what I understood the Senator from Missouri to mean. He did not mean the English people, who are ground down the same as we are. He meant the colossal, concentrated power that is governing England and is governing the world, which is demanding the repeal of the act of 1890.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I have said that I believe the principal object of the English Government is to concentrate, as far as they can, their commerce, wealth, or the products of it, in the merchants of England, the commercial classes. As to their nobility and the landed aristocracy, their autonomy provides for them; but in the carrying trade, in the extension of commerce and the use of the instrumentalities that are most valuable to commerce, and gold is one of them, they hope by constant accretions to make the British Empire the most magnificent the world has ever seen.

Whenever one of their colonies comes in contact with this system of home accretion the British Parliament immediately takes the province in hand and corrects that mistake. While England ostensibly allows everyone of her colonies to fix its own tariff, she manages most decidedly and absolutely to make that tariff, whatever it is, subordinate to the interests of the English manufacturer at home.

Now, there is a significant fact in regard to the demonetization or attempted demonetization of silver in India, and I read again from this pamphlet:

> Soon after the rise of gold began in 1873 a large cotton-spinning trade, begun previously in India, with English machinery, to supply India itself, felt at once the stimulus supplied by the difference in exchange. It prospered rapidly, grew, and continues growing fast and steadily, and exports to China and other silver countries. Here are comparisons of the English and Indian exports of cotton yarn, in pounds, to China, Hongkong, and Japan, which have for some time been supplied annually to the Economist by Mr. Abraham Haworth, of Manchester. They show how the product of silver wages beats the product of gold wages, and beats them more as the divergence between the metals widens.
>
> The quantities are given in pounds weight. The contrast between the stationary quantities from England and the rapid expansion of the Indian export indicates plainly a sad future for Lancashire trade if gold wages there must continue competing with silver wages in foreign markets. India will on the present footing beat Lancashire everywhere, meanwhile in the large class of goods made of Indian cottons, but ultimately in any material.

Then follow statistics showing that from 1876 to 1881, England exported to China and Japan yearly $38,560,000 in these cotton goods. India then exported only $19,641,000. From 1882 to 1887 England had dropped off to $33,682,000, India having increased from $19,641,000 to $71,319,000. In 1888, one year, England sent to China and Japan $44,642,600 worth, and India went from $71,319,000, the preceding year, to $114,707,300. In 1889 England sent to China and Japan $35,720,200 of these cotton goods, and India $126,766,800 against $114,707,300 the preceding year.

In 1890 England exported to China and Japan $38,057,400. In the meantime, in the same year, the Indian export increased from $126,766,800 to $145,112,800 worth of cotton manufactures, and it was time for the English merchants to stop this rivalry. The child had outgrown the parent. The colonial manufacturers had taken away the market in Japan and China, and it was necessary to do away with silver in order that the monopoly of this eastern trade might go back where it had originally been, in the English manufacturer and the English merchant.

Now, says this author, Mr. John Monteath Douglas, of London:

> Japan has also in the more recent years established a number of mills, which are exceedingly successful and multiplying very fast. The latest news is that the first half of 1892 has produced nearly as much yarn as the whole of any prior year.

Then he goes on to discuss the condition of India, which I shall not delay the Senate by reading, because subsequent events have settled that question to a very large extent.

Mr. President, we are told that the Bank of England controls the finances of the world. It is a poor argument, it seems to me, to a people who in twenty-five years have paid off two-thirds of a war debt of $3,000,000,000, to tell us that England has more financial ability and is a stronger country in a monetary sense than the United States. The Bank of England is not the mistress, financially, of the world; it is not the largest bank in the world. If our friends the monometallists would be more accurate and go to the resources of the large banks of the world, they would find this to be so. The Bank of Germany has $185,000,000 of gold and $100,000,000 of silver.

SILVER IN GERMANY.

I call the attention of the Senate to the fact that we are constantly told that Germany is on a gold basis. Germany has $100,000,000 in silver thalers of full legal-tender quality to-day.

Mr. COCKRELL. And perfectly equal with gold?

Mr. VEST. Yes, perfectly equal with gold.

Mr. PUGH. And at the ratio of 15½ to 1.

Mr. VEST. Yes, 15½ to 1 is the ratio there.

Mr. PALMER. Is that circulating like ours?

Mr. VEST. Every dollar of it is in circulation, answering all the purposes of gold.

I see in a New York paper, carried away by the enthusiasm of the gold standard, a statement that Germany would hail with acclaim, quoting some Amsterdam merchant, if we should go now to the bimetallic standard and continue to coin silver, because Germany would immediately unload her waste silver on the United States. Has not Germany had an opportunity to do that under the Bland act and under the Sherman act? If silver is a drug in the market and they want to sell it at any price, why have they not brought it here?

Mr. GRAY. I suggest that at present under the Sherman act they could only get the market price for it.

Mr. VEST. If they are so sick of it they would take anything for it. If it is the drug that they say is now creating financial dyspepsia in Germany, why do they not throw it out, even if it takes lobelia and ipecac? They have $100,000,000 full legal-tender silver, and yet Germany is on the exclusive gold standard. The Bank of Germany has $185,000,000 in gold and $100,000,000 in silver. The Bank of England, the boasted mistress of the finances of the whole world, before whose fetish we are to bow down now or we shall cease to exist as one of the first nations of the world, has $135,000,000 of gold and no silver, except subsidiary coin. It is true under the law of England—now mark it—that any man from any part of the world can draw gold out of that bank; yet whenever they find that the export of gold is too large, they put up the rate of interest and stop the exportation.

Mr. STEWART. They discriminated in the way of exchange when the Barings failed.

Mr. VEST. Ostensibly they say to the whole world: "We are on the gold standard; come and get all the gold you want, and we will pay you £3 17*s.* 8*d.* for every ounce you bring us." Yet, the minute they find there is too much gold going out, they put up the rate of interest and prevent its exportation and contradict absolutely their pretense.

Spain has $35,000,000 in gold and $20,000,000 in silver. Austria-Hungary has $55,000,000 in gold, and $85,000,000 in silver. The Bank of France has $330,000,000 in gold and $225,000,000 in silver, and Mr. Horace White says in an article which attracted my attention in the last Forum, that the man who says that France is on a bimetallic basis is an idiot, and ought not to be listened to in any part of this country. He says the poor creatures actually believe it when they say it; but they are ignorant, they do not know, they are not numbered with the financial four hundred who understand this question. France not a bimetallic country with two hundred and twenty-five millions of legal-tender silver in the reserve of the Bank of France to-day!

Mr. STEWART. And seven hundred millions of standard silver dollars.

Mr. VEST. And seven hundred millions of standard silver dollars in the whole country, and yet it is not a bimetallic country! Mr. White says in this article that as soon as you refuse coining a metal it is demonetized. I belong to those poor, benighted, and ignorant creatures who think that when you demonetize a metal it ceases to be money. Is not silver money in France to-day, in Germany, in Austria-Hungary, in Holland, and in Russia? Yet he says that denying it free coinage demonetized silver; in other words, that silver is not money to-day in the United States. I must confess that I am benighted if his definition is correct; but I am not surprised at it. Listen to what Mr. White says about this question and about India. Here is the spirit of monometallism. I am not caviling about words, but it shows the genius of this centralizing scheme, to use no other word, which is now being urged upon our people. He says:

> It would be rash for anybody to predict the future course of events in India. We may be pretty sure, however, that the men who have directed it and who are responsible for its consequences have not acted without careful circumspection. If they are censurable at all it is for too great delay rather than for undue haste. But before anybody censures them for too great delay let him put himself in their place. Let him charge himself with the des-

tinies and fortunes of 250,000,000 of people, for the most part very poor and too ignorant to know what is good or bad for them in a financial way.

In this last particular they are not alone among the nations of the earth, but the peculiarity in India is that a handful of men have to decide the most important questions without much, if any, aid from public opinion, and without ever referring them to the hustings. When it comes to questions of high finance this may be an advantage to the governed, but it adds enormously to the responsibilities of the governors and will surely give them pause when such a momentous step is to be taken as a change in the monetary standard.

It is a blessing to have the favored few to determine these questions for you; it is a great boon of Providence that a few gentlemen in New York are to determine this question for the American people, and all of us who decline to follow them and abandon the traditions and policy of the Government and the manifest dictates of common justice are either guilty of a crime intentionally, or else we are put in the role of lunatics. It is a favorite expression now to talk of the "silver lunacy."

Mr. President, I am ready to follow that great lunatic, Thomas Jefferson, on this question. I am willing to follow the men who made the Constitution of 1789, and said that no State should make anything but gold and silver a legal tender for the payment of debts. If they did not mean that silver was a money metal, then the English language has become so nebulous as to be useless.

The Bank of France has three hundred and thirty millions of gold and $225,000,000 of silver. The Russian State Bank has $480,000,000 of gold.

We are told that it is impossible to sustain silver in this country unless we have a conference with other nations of the world and all will agree to it. France sustained the bimetallic standard for eighty years before 1873, with Germany on one side on an exclusive silver basis and England on the other with a gold basis; and to-day the French people are financially the first people in existence. England, the so-called mistress of finance, when the Baring failure took place and the world was racked and tortured with doubt and uncertainty, borrowed $15,000,000 in gold from the Bank of France in order to sustain her credit—$15,000,000 in gold from a country which had $700,000,000 of legal-tender silver and $225,000,000 of it a bank reserve!

FINANCIAL STRENGTH OF FRANCE DUE TO SILVER.

I asked a very prominent monometallist the other day to explain to me why France had not been ruined. "Why," I said, "was she able to pay Germany $1,000,000,000 of gold, and then leap to the front of all other nations in almost a decade, loaded down and weighted with this destructive silver, amounting to $700,000,000 of legal tender?" "Oh," he said, "have you ever been to France?" "Never; I have never had time, because I have not seen my own country." He said, "If you went there it would be explained to you in a minute." "Please give me the benefit of your tour?" "Why," he said, "the peasantry of France hoard their silver; they are like the people of India; when they get a silver dollar they save it; they do not want paper money." "But," I said, "the Bank of France issues paper money that is equivalent to gold everywhere." "Oh, yes," he said, "but they are a peculiar people; they hoard silver." "Well," I said, "are they hoarding something that they do not want, like the people now hoarding silver here? Are they hoarding something that will not purchase anything? Why is it that they take a drug, a poison financially, and put it away to keep?" "Oh," he said, "they are peasants." "Very good," I said, "I will accept your argument on that basis."

Now, look at the South. There are 4,000,000 negro peasants, anxious to get silver. All of us who know them know that they prefer silver to any metal in the world. Why can we not float $500,000,000 of silver in this country, instead of being told that we are shipwrecked if we continue the process another day? Why are we to demonetize it?

Why, Mr. President, if I have heard anything, it was that to go on with the increase of silver metal, even to buy the bullion and issue the bullion notes under the Sherman act, would bring us to bankruptcy.

Why, I asked this gentleman, and I ask now, can we not go to silver coinage with a country increasing in population as no country in the world has ever increased, when we are standing almost sword in hand to keep immigration from our soil? France is a finished country—*acompli*, to use their own tongue—with her population fixed, and yet she maintains this enormous amount of silver, and is to-day the strongest nation, financially, in the world. The Director of the Mint said recently, as to the financial power of France, and it is also valuable as showing the effect of legislation on the price of silver:

The French ratio of 1 to 15½ was a fixed point about which the price of silver moved. The London price fixed the relative value of silver and gold for the commercial world, but the commercial value could never vary very widely from the coinage value as long as the mints of the Latin Union stood ready to transform gold and silver into coin at the ratio of 1 to 15½.

I say that it is not the overproduction of silver which has brought down its value. The reports of our Director of the Mint show that the legislation of 1873 of this country and Germany caused the phenomenal and abnormal fall in the price of silver. How could we expect this metal to hold its own with gold when we had taken away from it its chief value, that of money?

The report of the Director of the Mint for the last year, 1892, shows that we produced in this country $33,000,000 in gold, and $11,376,037 was taken for the arts, leaving a little over $20,000,000 in the United States of gold production and $74,000,000 in silver, out of which $7,209,362 was taken for the arts—$74,000,000 of silver, with a population of 67,000,000, increasing at the rate of from 500,000 to 600,000 each year, and with enormous resources and this increasing population and the negro population of the South anxious to take silver, and preferring it, we are told that we can not float silver if we have free coinage.

In the Brussels Conference I was struck with this statement coming from Mr. Boissevain, the delegate from the Netherlands. He said:

In my opinion the chief cause of the fall in the gold price of silver has been the enormous decrease in the monetary use of silver during the last twenty years, in consequence of the legislative measures which date from the new monetary law enacted in Germany.

THE CAUSE OF SILVER DEPRECIATION.

How could we expect silver to maintain its value when the two largest nations in the world, the two most important nations, Germany and the United States, struck it down and took away from it its money value and reduced it to the basis of silver spoons and forks and plate? We give free coinage to gold, and it goes up and up, and we say to it "*Io triumphe.*" Here is the idol financially of the whole world! Take away the monetary value of silver, and then say, "Here is a metal that is debased and depreciated." What has done it? I have read the tables to show that overproduction did not do it. It was legislation that did it; the settled determination by adverse laws for the benefit of the capitalists and the financial centralizationists of the world to bring us to a gold basis for their own purposes.

Mr. President, it is not my purpose now to discuss the measures that ought to be adopted to relieve the country from its present depression. I have offered the resolution now pending before the Senate because I honestly believe that anything is better than the uncertainty which now prevails in financial and business circles. A great philosopher once said, that in all the affairs of life the moment of uncertainty was the moment of greatest agony. It is peculiarly true as to business, that the moment of uncertainty is the moment of greatest distress. With our resources and our people, we have only to fix our policy and stand by it, and prosperity will come again to this country.

I had occasion to say in the opening of my remarks that we had passed now the stage of experiment and of makeshifts. What is the matter with this country to-day? It is because the opinion has been sedulously inculcated that we were about to go to the gold standard and silver money would be worthless, and men would be paid in it as to contracts that are to be met in the future. It makes no difference to the capitalists whether that be the policy or not. Like men in a panic, every man wants his money if his neighbor wants his, and where one man in the community wants gold all want gold.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. May I ask the Senator a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield?

Mr. VEST. With pleasure.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I suppose the Senator means to say that that opinion is inculcated if we go to a silver standard. He said a gold standard.

Mr. VEST. I meant what I said, Mr. President. I meant that it has been inculcated sedulously that we must go to a gold standard and that silver must be destroyed. If we have heard anything since the commencement of this session and just preceding it was from the metropolitan journals, that all Congress could do was to meet and repeal the Sherman silver act and adjourn, and of course the newspapers know. [Laughter.]

Mr. PALMER. The Senator will allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. PALMER. Would the repeal of the Sherman act be going to the gold standard?

Mr. VEST. I think the unconditional repeal would. Not one single silver dollar will be coined again if we repeal the Sherman law unconditionally. I am no friend of the Sherman law, but it is the ulterior consequences that I am voting on. Let us talk frankly. Suppose we repeal the Sherman act unconditionally and bring in a free-coinage bill, and suppose both branches of Congress should pass it by a fair majority, we have every reason to believe that the President of the United States would veto it and we will not have the constitutional majority to pass it over the veto.

Mr. PALMER. Will the Senator allow me to ask another question?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. PALMER. How does the purchasing clause of the Sherman law aid free coinage?

REPEAL A STALKING-HORSE FOR MONOMETALLISM.

Mr. VEST. I think it does not aid free coinage, and I never thought so, and I voted against it, although I was a free-coinage man. I voted against it and said at the time that I voted against it because it made silver a commodity. I am willing to repeal it, but I am not willing to give up the whole silver question with the repeal. You can not make the repeal of the Sherman act a stalking horse for monometallism.

Mr. PALMER. Does the Senator mean that the Sherman law is to be maintained to compel free coinage?

Mr. VEST. Not to compel. I meant to say that until there is some assurance that we are not to go to a gold standard and that we are not giving up the last muniment of silver and leave it without any legislation, we do not propose to take a step which leads to monometallism.

Mr. PLATT. May I ask a question?

Mr. VEST. Yes.

Mr. PLATT. The Senator says that if we repeal the Sherman law unconditionally, it is highly probable, at least, that no bill for the coinage of silver would be approved by the President. Does he not think the President would approve a bill for the coinage of silver at a commercial ratio between silver and gold, or something near that?

Mr. VEST. I do not know, and am not authorized to say. I only know that the President has sent us a message in which he does not say one word of bimetallism, and I take it for granted that if he had any idea of sustaining bimetallism he would have said something about it.

Mr. PEFFER. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. PEFFER. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Missouri how it would be possible to establish a commercial parity or the commercial ratio between gold and silver without subjecting both of those metals to the same test, the commercial test, involving a repeal of the laws which now protect gold in the market.

Mr. VEST. Well, Mr. President, I am not prepared to enter into a discussion of that question. I have some views of my own in regard to it. I agree generally, if I understand the Senator from Kansas, with what he states, if he means to say that the laws which now discriminate for gold are the laws which are adverse to silver necessarily.

Mr. PEFFER. That is not what I mean at all in this connection. What I mean is this: Under the law since the beginning of our national history gold and silver were both mintable at our mints at a fixed valuation, and the law prescribed the value of both metals for coinage purposes. In 1873 the silver dollar was dropped from our coinage and in 1874 utterly demonetized, throwing silver bullion upon the market as a commodity, the same as wheat and corn and cotton. Now, I ask the Senator—and it was the question asked by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] which inspired this question upon my part—whether it will be possible to establish a commercial ratio, or a commercial parity, between the two metals unless we submit them to the same test by taking away the protection which the law affords to gold, or else restoring the old protection which the law gave to silver?

Mr. VEST. I did not at first understand the Senator from Kansas. I agree with him, and I wish to say I am obliged to the Senator for asking the question.

We are often asked, "How are you going to restore the parity between the two metals"? No man living can tell with any accuracy what will be the effect of giving free coinage to silver. As to the diminution of its value we know—I think I know—what was the result of taking free coinage away from silver. What will be the result if we restore it nobody can tell accurately, but we know it will be very great.

I have been attempting to argue that when you take away from silver its chief value, that of a money metal, you strike it the most deadly and fatal blow possible. Give it free coinage, and then we shall see whether it can hold in the markets of the world its place alongside of gold; but it is unfair and unjust to tell us that silver has depreciated in the face of the fact that it has been degraded and its principal value taken away from it by legislation.

But for one single instant permit me to say another word in regard to the contention that we must have a general international agreement as to the ratio between the two metals.

Mr. HOAR. Before the Senator passes from the point he was just making I should like to ask him a question, if he will yield.

Mr. VEST. Of course.

Mr. HOAR. I understood the Senator to say just now that France was a bimetallic nation, although she has stopped her silver coinage, because he said, I think, that she had $175,000,000 in circulation.

Mr. VEST. Seven hundred million dollars.

Mr. HOAR. Should we not be a bimetallic nation for a great many years to come if we stop all silver coinage?

Mr. VEST. I have alluded to that.

Mr. HOAR. I did not hear the Senator.

Mr. VEST. Of course great stress is laid upon the fact that we could maintain the silver we had already coined. As a matter of course we could do that, but the time must come when that silver, for one cause or another, would pass out of existence, and then this country would be upon a monometallic basis.

Mr. HOAR. How long does the Senator think it would take to get out of circulation our $491,000,000 of silver, which would be largely in excess of our gold circulation?

Mr. VEST. Well, Mr. President, that is a question which nobody can answer.

Mr. HOAR. Does the Senator think it would happen within fifteen or twenty years?

PRESENT LEGISLATION HOSTILE TO SILVER.

Mr. VEST. I think not; but it might happen in less time. In the meantime, if we should stand upon our present basis and keep silver under the ban as it is to-day, and yet undertake to sustain it as money, we are simply increasing the burdens of our own Government. Just so long as we keep silver in its present degraded condition with reference to gold, we make it more difficult to sustain as a money metal.

We are told by the monometallists to let silver alone and issue bonds and bring gold here to sustain our credit. Others have told us that silver ought to be put up at auction and sold to the highest bidder and let the Government stand the loss, whatever it may be.

But there is another consideration, and I did not intend, until the Senator from Massachusetts interrupted me, to allude to it. Argument would be so potential as to amount to demonstration before I would ever agree to strike down one section of this country and prostrate it for all time to come. If we are to destroy silver, there are a million people in the Western silver-producing States whose principal product is destroyed.

THE WEST CRIES FOR BREAD, AND NEW YORK FOR GOLD.

It was said the other day, rather dramatically, by an ex-member of this body, that in the extreme West the people are crying for bread and in New York they are crying for gold. I have letters now in my committee room from friends who went from my State to Colorado, stating that they had given all they could give to the houseless and homeless and hungry, and they could give no longer. Suppose we to-day were called upon to pass a law stopping the factories of New England. Sir, language fails to describe the torrents of eloquence we would hear from that section in protest.

Suppose we were called upon to strike down the wheat product of the Dakotas and the Red River of the North, would we not expect to hear from every man in that section who was able to utter a sentence in protest against this destruction of property and even of life? Mr. President, I know how a Senator feels in fighting against a proposed law that he honestly believes will destroy all the prosperity of his section. When the force bill was here, with my convictions I would have sacrificed life to defeat it; and if I were here from one of those silver-producing States in the West I would fight the demonetization of silver as I fought the force bill, for it involves all that those people can hold dear in the way of property rights and the comforts of life.

I say arguments must be brought here "stronger than proofs of Holy Writ" to make me do this. If I can, by any possibility, by legislation, tentative or otherwise, keep this great disaster from those people, citizens of this Republic, of the same blood and lineage with ourselves, I will take the responsibility of even a mistake on my part rather than perpetrate what I consider such an outrage. I know those Western States, not from description, but experience; I know what their people have endured in leaving the comforts of what was then civilization in the Eastern and Middle States, and going, with rifle in one hand and pick in the other, to blaze the pathway of civilization in the cañons of the Rocky Mountains. They have built up this industry upon the faith pledged to them by the people of the United States in its Constitution and laws that the product of those mines should be considered as a money metal; and we are now asked, because the financial four hundred in New York and the commercial classes in England think they alone intellectually can dispose of this question, to beggar these people and say to them, "Find something else to do; we want gold, gold, gold."

No, Mr. President, I will not do it. If the time comes when I find I have made a mistake, I can at least have the consolation of knowing that both my heart and head approve the action I propose to take on this measure.

A single word about the necessity for an international agreement. I have endeavored as best I could to study this question and I have come to this conclusion: Every civilized country in the world has consulted its own self-interest and established its own basis of money. Take the report of the Herschell committee, that examined into this whole question in order to ascertain what were the financial systems of the different countries of the world before they would make a recommendation as to India to the English Parliament.

I am told that we are to come under a regular rule and that this is a scientific process, which insures unanimity and international agreement. There is Russia, with paper money payable in roubles, which are never seen, and there is neither gold nor silver in circulation, although they have an enormous war chest of $480,000,000 in gold. There is France, as I have shown, on the gold standard, with $700,000,000 of legal-tender silver. There is Austria-Hungary, with gold and silver. There is Holland, with a large silver circulation, though on a gold standard, and so on. But I will read the synopsis, though I can not refrain from giving a crumb of comfort to my friends the Populists. Here is a prosperous country, that has neither gold nor silver, but entirely irredeemable paper. The Herschell commission say in the case of Brazil:

The case of Brazil is perhaps the most remarkable of all as showing that a paper currency without a metallic basis may, if the credit of the country is good, be maintained at a high and fairly steady exchange, although it is absolutely inconvertible and has been increased by the act of the Government out of all proportion to the growth of the population and of its foreign trade. The case, it need hardly be said, is not quoted as a precedent which it is desirable to follow.

The Brazilian standard coin is the milreis, the par gold value of which is 27*d*. A certain number were coined, but have long since left the country, and the currency is and has since 1864 been inconvertible paper. The inconvertible paper was more than doubled between 1865 and 1888, but the exchange was about the same at the two periods, and very little below the par of 27*d*. It had gone down to 14*d*. in 1868, the date of the war with Paraguay, but had risen again, and was, in 1875, as high as 28⅛*d*. In 1889, when the quantity of paper money was increased from £12,468,000 to £18,322,000, the mean rates of exchange showed an advance of about 11¾ per cent. Since the revolution which displaced the empire and established the republic the paper issues of the banks were increased by more than £30,000,000 in less than three years, so that the paper issue in 1892 amounted to £51,372,700, and as the result of this and of diminished credit the exchange in that year ranged from 10½*d*. to 15½*d*.

It is a remarkable fact that Brazil to-day has neither gold nor silver as a basis, but has simply fiat and inconvertible money.

Mr. HOAR. What is the fluctuation in exchange? Will the Senator please read that again?

Mr. VEST. In 1892 it was from 10½ pence to 15½. That was under an issue of £30,000,000 in three years, which, as a matter of course, affects exchange in any country. But I come now to the synopsis and conclusion of the commission after examining all the financial systems of the world:

It is impossible thus to review foreign systems of currency without feeling that, however admirable may be the precautions of our own currency system, other nations have adopted different systems which appear to have worked without difficulty, and have enabled them to maintain for their respective currencies a gold standard and a substantial parity of exchange with the gold-using countries of the world, which has, unfortunately, not been the case with India. This has been effected under all the following conditions, viz—

I ask attention to this extraordinary condition of financial affairs, when it is demanded of us that all the world shall come to one ratio and standard of value—

(*a*) With little or no gold coin, as in Scandinavia, Holland, and Canada;

(*b*) Without a mint or gold coinage, as in Canada and the Dutch East Indies;

(*c*) With a circulation consisting partly of gold, partly of overvalued and inconvertible silver, which is legal tender to an unlimited amount, as in France and other countries of the Latin Union, in the United States, and also in Germany, though there the proportion of overvalued silver is more limited, the mints in all these countries being freely open to gold, but not to silver, and in some of them the silver coinage having ceased;

(*d*) With a system under which the banks part with gold freely for export, as in Holland, or refuse it for export, as in France;

(*e*) With mints closed against private coinage of both silver and gold, and with a currency of inconvertible paper, as has been temporarily the case in Austria;

(*f*) With a circulation based on gold, but consisting of token silver, which, however, is legal tender to an unlimited extent as in the West Indies. The case of Holland and Java is very remarkable, since in that case the gold standard has been maintained without difficulty in both countries, although there is no mint in the Dutch East Indies, no stock of gold there, and a moderate stock of gold in Holland; whilst the currency consists of silver and paper legally and practically inconvertible into gold, except for purposes of export. The case of Canada, which maintains a gold standard without a gold coinage, is also very remarkable.

The case of Austria-Hungary is also interesting, and presents a remarkable contrast to that of India.

It will be seen that a country with a silver standard, and a currency consisting partly of over valued silver but chiefly of inconvertible paper, has been able, by closing its mints against private coinage for a series of years, and whilst still continuing to coin silver on Government account, to maintain a fairly steady rate of exchange with gold using countries for a considerable period preparatory to adopting a gold standard.

In the face of this statement, what becomes of the argument that we can not maintain exchange with the gold countries of Europe if we have silver coinages in the United States? Here I have read the absolute proof that these countries maintain their exchanges, and yet some of them have silver and gold, some have silver alone, others have paper inconvertible into either silver or gold.

I repeat my statement, that this financial question, instead of being one of a great national brotherhood, of which we have heard so much lately, is simply a matter of adjustment according to the self-interest of the countries which are called upon to act for themselves. If, with our resources, we can not maintain any system, I am mistaken in the American people and their history.

We have come to the parting of the ways. We are now at that point when one road leads to the gold standard and the other to the bimetallism which our fathers established, and which the policy and traditions of this country have always favored. That we may consider it with a deep sense of the responsibility resting upon us for ourselves and our posterity is the duty of every legislator. If a Democrat can not be a Democrat in the larger sense of the term, he should not approach it; if a Republican can not be a Republican without looking to his party standard and the narrow signification of nomenclature, let him not approach it; if our friends, the Populists, can not consider this question without antagonism to both the old parties, they have forgotten the meaning of the name of their party, the People's party of the country.

APPENDIX A.

AVERAGE GOLD PRICES OF COMMODITIES AND OF SILVER,

Calculated by Augustus Sauerbeck, esq., of 3 Moorgate Street Buildings, E. C., London, in his long and elaborate paper on Prices of Commodities and the Precious Metals (Journal of Statistical Society, September, 1886), and continuation of it (Journal of Statistical Society, March, 1892). The commodities are the forty-five leading articles of commerce, or thereabouts, valued separately, but classified under six general heads: "Vegetable food," "Animal food," "Coffee, sugar, and tea," "Minerals" (chiefly metals and coals), "Textiles," and "Sundry materials" (such as cotton, flax, hemp, jute, wool, silk, oil seeds, petroleum, chemicals, indigo, timber). The lists and valuations show the greatest care, and are accepted generally as absolutely reliable. Mr. Sauerbeck decidedly recognizes the appreciation of gold. His evidence and statistics in the Report of Gold and Silver Commission and its appendix are valuable.

How these prices are calculated is explained above.

Average gold prices of commodities and of silver.

Year.	Vegetable food (corn, etc.).	Animal food (meat, etc.).	Sugar, coffee, and tea.	Total food.	Minerals.	Textiles.	Sundry materials.	Total materials.	Grand total.	Silver.
1846	106	81	98	95	92	77	86	85	89	97.5
1847	129	88	87	105	94	78	86	86	95	98.1
1848	92	83	69	84	78	64	77	73	78	97.8
1849	79	71	77	76	77	67	75	73	74	98.2
1850	74	67	87	75	77	78	80	78	77	98.7
1851	73	68	84	74	75	76	79	76	75	99.9
1852	80	69	75	75	80	78	84	81	78	99.9
1853	100	82	87	91	105	87	101	97	95	101.2
1854	120	87	85	101	115	88	109	104	102	101.1
1855	120	87	89	101	109	84	109	101	101	100.7
1856	109	88	97	99	110	89	109	102	101	101.0
1857	105	89	119	102	108	92	119	107	105	101.5
1858	87	83	97	88	96	84	102	94	91	101.0
1859	85	85	102	89	98	88	107	98	94	102.0
1860	90	91	107	98	97	90	111	100	99	101.4
1861	102	91	96	97	91	92	109	99	98	99.9
1862	98	86	98	94	91	123	106	107	101	100.9
1863	87	85	99	89	93	149	101	115	103	101.1
1864	79	89	106	88	96	102	98	119	105	100.9
1865	84	97	97	91	91	134	97	108	101	100.3
1866	96	96	94	95	91	130	99	107	102	100.5
1867	115	89	94	101	87	110	100	100	100	99.7
1868	113	88	96	100	85	106	102	99	99	99.6
1869	91	96	98	94	89	109	100	100	98	99.6
1870	88	98	95	93	89	106	99	99	96	99.6
1871	94	100	100	98	93	103	105	101	100	99.7
1872	101	101	104	102	127	114	108	115	109	99.2
1873	106	109	106	107	141	103	106	114	111	97.4
1874	105	103	105	104	116	92	98	100	102	95.8
1875	98	108	100	100	101	88	92	93	96	93.3
1876	92	108	98	99	90	85	95	91	95	88.7
1877	100	101	103	101	84	85	94	89	94	90.2
1878	95	101	90	96	74	78	88	81	87	86.4
1879	87	94	87	90	73	74	85	78	83	84.3
1880	89	101	88	94	79	81	89	84	88	85.9
1881	84	101	84	91	77	77	86	80	85	85.0
1882	84	104	76	89	79	73	85	80	84	84.9
1883	82	103	77	89	76	70	84	77	82	83.1
1884	71	97	63	79	68	68	81	73	76	83.3
1885	68	88	63	74	66	65	76	70	72	79.9
1886	65	87	60	72	67	63	69	67	69	74.6
1887	64	79	67	70	69	65	67	67	68	73.3
1888	67	82	65	72	78	64	67	69	70	70.4
1889	65	86	75	75	75	70	68	70	72	70.2
1890	65	82	70	73	80	66	69	71	72	73.4
1891	75	81	71	77	76	59	69	68	72	74.1
1892 (10 months)	67	84	66	73½	72	56	66	64½	68½	65.4
Average, 1882–1891	71	89	69	77	73	66	74	71	74	77.2
Average, 1878–1887	79	95	76	84	73	71	81	76	79	82.1

In addition to this, I append a table showing the remarkable tenacity with which the prices of wheat and cotton have adhered to the value of silver:

Year.	Wheat.	Cotton.	Silver.	Year.	Wheat.	Cotton.	Silver.
1872	1.47	19.3	1.32	1883	1.13	10.8	1.11
1873	1.31	18.8	1.29	1884	1.07	10.5	1.01
1874	1.43	15.4	1.27	1885	.86	10.6	1.06
1875	1.12	15.0	1.24	1886	.87	9.9	.99
1876	1.24	12.9	1.15	1887	.89	9.5	.97
1877	1.17	11.8	1.20	1888	.85	9.8	.93
1878	1.34	11.1	1.15	1889	.90	9.9	.93
1879	1.07	9.9	1.12	1890	.83	10.2	1.04
1880	1.25	11.5	1.14	1891	.85	7.0	.90
1881	1.11	11.4	1.13	1892	.80	7.3	.86
1882	1.19	11.4	1.13	1893	.67	7.0	.73

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President——

Mr. COCKRELL. Does the Senator desire to proceed this evening?

Mr. LODGE. I shall be very happy to give way if the Senator desires to move an adjournment or to go into executive session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair desires to ask what disposition is proposed to be made of the joint resolution which has been pending?

Mr. COCKRELL. Let the joint resolution still lie on the table.

Mr. VEST. I understand that other Senators desire to speak on it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will lie on the table.

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask that the table which my colleague presented and asked to have printed with his speech may also be printed as a separate document.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. HOAR. What is the request?

Mr. COCKRELL. A table which my colleague requested to be printed, giving ratios, etc., was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, and I ask that it be printed as a separate document, so we may have it without the whole speech. It is Soetbeer's statistical table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Missouri? The Chair hears none, and the table referred to will be printed as a separate document.

Mr. HOAR. I understand the desire of my colleague is to speak to his own resolution, and not to the pending resolution. I had an understanding that I should follow the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], but I have no desire to speak until my colleague has spoken.

BUSINESS OF THE SESSION.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I now ask that the resolution submitted by me on the 8th instant may be laid before the Senate.

Mr. COCKRELL. If the Senator from Massachusetts will yield, I will move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. LODGE. I will yield for that purpose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Before submitting the question on the motion of the Senator from Missouri, the Chair will lay before the Senate the resolution referred to by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], which will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Whereas Congress has been called in extraordinary session on account of the unfortunate condition of business; and

Whereas some measure of relief can be obtained by the immediate and unconditional repeal of the purchasing clauses of the silver act of 1890: Therefore,

Resolved, That the Committee on Finance be instructed to report at once to the Senate a bill to repeal the purchasing clauses of the silver act of 1890, and that a vote be taken in the Senate on said bill on Tuesday, August 22, at 2 o'clock p. m., unless it is sooner reached.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question now is on the motion of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 4 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, August 15, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate August 14, 1893.

SECRETARY OF LEGATION.

Edward C. Butler, of Massachusetts, to be secretary of the legation of the United States to Mexico, vice Charles A. Dougherty, recalled.

ASSISTANT SOLICITOR OF THE TREASURY.

Norborne T. N. Robinson, of Louisiana, to be assistant solicitor of the Treasury, vice Felix A. Reeve, resigned.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

William C. Perry, of Kansas, to be attorney of the United States for the district of Kansas, vice Joseph W. Ady, resigned.

CONSUL.

Otto H. Boyesen, of Grand Forks, N. Dak., to be consul of the United States at Gothenburg, Sweden, vice Charles H. Shepard, recalled.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Bradley B. Smalley, of Vermont, to be collector of customs for the district of Vermont, in the State of Vermont, to succeed George G. Benedict, resigned.

CHIEF ENGINEER REVENUE CUTTER SERVICE.

First Assistant Engineer Edward F. Hedden to be chief engineer in the Revenue Cutter Service, in place of Horace Hassell, deceased.

FIRST ASSISTANT ENGINEER REVENUE CUTTER SERVICE.

Second Assistant Engineer Eugenious A. Jack to be first assistant engineer in the Revenue Cutter Service, to succeed Edward F. Hedden, promoted.

SECOND ASSISTANT ENGINEER REVENUE CUTTER SERVICE.

William E. Maccoum, of Maryland, to be a second assistant engineer in the Revenue Cutter Service, to succeed Samuel B. McLenegan, resigned.

PENSION AGENT.

George W. Skinner, of Big Cove Tannery, Pa., to be pension agent at Pittsburg, Pa., vice Herbert H. Bengough, to be removed.

SECRETARY OF OKLAHOMA TERRITORY.

Thomas J. Lowe, of Guthrie, Okla., to be secretary of Oklahoma Territory, vice Robert Martin, to be removed.

REGISTERS OF LAND OFFICE.

John J. Beavers, of Benton, Ark., to be register of the land office at Little Rock, Ark., vice Patrick Raleigh, resigned.

Edwin P. Harman, of Denver, Colo., to be register of the land office at Denver, Colo., vice John A. McBeth, to be removed.

Wiliam D. Lindsay, of Guthrie, Okla., to be register of the land office at Guthrie, in Oklahoma Territory, vice Thomas J. Lowe, nominated to be secretary of Oklahoma Territory.

Edward G. Spilman, of Huntington, W. Va., to be register of the land office at Kingfisher, in Oklahoma Territory, vice Jacob C. Robberts, term expired.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

James C. Caldwell, of Kingfisher, Okla., to be receiver of public moneys at Kingfisher, in Oklahoma Territory, vice Jacob V. Admire, term expired.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *August 14, 1893.*

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m., and was called to order by the Speaker. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. SAMUEL W. HADDAWAY, D. D.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday was read and approved.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES.

The SPEAKER announced the appointment of the following committees:

On Enrolled Bills—Mr. Pearson, Mr. Russell, Mr. Latimer, Mr. Hines, Mr. Hager, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Gillett of Massachusetts.

On Mileage—Mr. Lynch, Mr. Strait, Mr. Pendleton, and Mr. Mahon.

On Accounts—Mr. Rusk, Mr. Paynter, Mr. Tate, Mr. Mutchler, Mr. Ikirt, Mr. Wells, Mr. Post, Mr. Wright of Massachusetts, and Mr. Marvin.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. COX, its Secretary, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment joint resolutions of the following titles:

Joint resolution (H. Res. 1) making available appropriations for the payment of session employés of the House and Senate during the first session of the Fifty-third Congress; and

Joint resolution (H. Res. 2) providing for the appropriate commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the laying of the corner stone of the Capitol of the United States, September 18, 1793.

MILEAGE OF SENATORS, REPRESENTATIVES, AND DELEGATES.

Mr. HOLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the joint resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN] asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of a joint resolution which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (S. R. 3) making immediately available the appropriation for mileage of Senators and Members of the House of Representatives.

Resolved, etc., That the appropriation for mileage of Senators, Members of the House of Representatives, and Delegates from the Territories made in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act for the fiscal year 1894, approved March 3, 1893, be, and the same is hereby, made immediately available and authorized to be paid to Senators, Members of the House of Representatives, and Delegates from the Territories for attendance on the first session of the Fifty-third Congress: *Provided*, That payments hereunder shall be in lieu of mileage authorized by law for attendance at the first regular or the next session of the Fifty-third Congress.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

Mr. POWERS. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Vermont [Mr. POWERS] objects.

Mr. HOLMAN. I believe it is in order anyhow, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The only reason why the Chair asked unanimous consent was, that an order was adopted by the House in relation to the pending bill which seems to assign all the time to its consideration until the period when the vote should be taken. Therefore the Chair did not feel that, without consent, he could interrupt or take away any part of the time which had been agreed upon for debate.

Mr. HOLMAN. This resolution simply makes available now the appropriation which was made for the next session.

Mr. POWERS. I withdraw the objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there further objection to the consideration of the joint resolution?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOLMAN. I will demand the previous question.

Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania. I would like to ask the gentleman a question. Suppose this called session should not continue very long, as the country hopes it will not. Suppose, for instance, having acted upon the financial question, having repealed the purchasing clause of the Sherman bill, and having given the banks the right to issue circulation up to the par value of their bonds; suppose we should get away by the 1st of October, does the gentleman's joint resolution propose that we shall not have mileage for coming to this extra session, to which we have been called properly by the President of the United States, and not by any act of ours?

Mr. HOLMAN. This measure does not prejudge that subject. It leaves it all open.

Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania. It appears to me that it does prejudge it. I think the gentleman should have offered a joint resolution giving us our mileage and also allowing us the usual amount for stationery.

Mr. HOLMAN. That is provided for already.

Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania. For the extra session?

Mr. HOLMAN. Well, this may not be an extra session. We can not positively answer as to how long we will be in session.

Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania. It was called as an extra session. Now, I do not know but we may desire to have stationery, and we ought to be allowed to have a settlement for that, if we should sit here for a couple of months.

Mr. COOMBS. You can get the stationery allowance now.

Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania. I have seen the same thing done before at a called session, and I simply rise to say that in my opinion the joint resolution ought to refer only to the extra session, and not to apply in anyway to the regular session in December, for the country wants us to get out of this session as soon as we can—to adjourn long before the first Monday of December.

Mr. HOLMAN. If I had thought, Mr. Speaker, that any objection was to be raised, I would not have offered the resolution. The question to which my friend has referred will come before the House for consideration at a later time. For the present this seems to be the safer course to pursue.

Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania. Will not the gentleman consent to amend by striking out the words "in lieu of?"

Mr. HOLMAN. I would not like to do that at present.

Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania. And let the resolution read without that proviso concerning the regular session?

Mr. HOLMAN. That comes up later.

Mr. REED. It always comes up later.

Mr. HOLMAN. I demand the previous question.

Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania. As the question has been brought up, we might as well settle it here.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Indiana demands the previous question.

Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania. I move to strike out the words "in lieu of."

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Indiana demands the previous question.

Mr. HOLMAN. I must insist on the resolution in its present form.

Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania. You can not call the previous question when I have the floor.

Mr. HOLMAN. The resolution gives satisfaction to those gentlemen who have examined it.

Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania. I insist on the amendment.

Mr. HOLMAN. Rather than consume the time of proper debate I prefer to withdraw the measure.

Mr. REED. Withdraw it, then.

Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania. Withdraw it.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Pennsylvania that striking out the three words "in lieu of" would not accomplish the gentleman's purpose.

Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania. I want to strike out all the words necessary to make this really apply to the session that might unfortunately continue until December.

Mr. HOLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I demand the previous question.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will please present his amendment.

Mr. HOLMAN. I had called the previous question, I think.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania has, however, been recognized, and understood that he had the floor.

Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania. I think the gentleman from Indiana had better let this lie over until to-morrow.

Mr. HOLMAN. I submit the resolution to whatever action the House deems proper.

Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania. Then I move to strike out the words which by implication extends this to the December session.

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman please indicate those words?

Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania. I move to strike out the words "in lieu of" and the words following.

The SPEAKER. That does not accomplish the purpose sought. The gentleman will please look at the resolution.

Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania. Let the resolution be reported again.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can examine the resolution.

Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania. I move to strike out the proviso.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution, so that the House may understand what it is.

The resolution was again reported.

Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania. I move to strike out the proviso.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment.

Mr. HOLMAN. I call for the previous question on the resolution and amendment.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment to strike out the proviso.

The question was taken, and the Speaker announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. HOLMAN. Division.

The House divided, and there were—ayes 91, noes 28.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The joint resolution as amended was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent leave of absence was granted—

To Mr. O'NEIL of Massachusetts, for ten days, on account of sickness.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED.

Mr. LATIMER, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled joint resolutions of the following titles; when the Speaker signed the same:

Joint resolution (H. Res. 1) making available appropriations for the payment of session employés of the House and Senate during the first session of the Fifty-third Congress; and

Joint resolution (H. Res. 2) providing for the appropriate commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the laying of the corner stone of the Capitol of the United States, September 18, 1793.

SILVER.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. BOATNER. Mr. Speaker, the gentlemen who have here-

tofore addressed the House on the pending bill and amendments have very graphically described the present condition of the country and the dangers which confront us. The gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX], speaking on the last legislative day, said:

I ask you to listen to the employés of hundreds and hundreds of workshops and factories that are idle. I ask you to listen to the expressed fears of the dread penury that will come on with the blasts of winter. I ask you to listen to the spoken fear that proceeds from the minds of men that we are entering upon a period black with sorrow and with woe. The condition of the country about us you well know. It is not necessary for me to tell you of the banks that are tottering, that are failing, that have already suspended. It is not necessary for me to tell you that currency is at a premium in the city of New York to-day, and that it sold there yesterday at from one to four dollars premium.

The gentleman proceeded in eloquent language to further depict and describe the conditions prevailing in the country at this time. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] also described the condition prevailing in the West, and besought this House to exert its constitutional power to relieve that condition by appropriate legislation. The gentleman from New York, further addressing himself to this subject, denounced as "rot" the statement made by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] that this condition of things had been brought about and precipitated by the action of the members of this House who are demanding the unconditional repeal of what is known as the Sherman law.

The gentleman from New York denounced that statement as "rot," and yet, Mr. Speaker, neither he nor any other gentleman who has spoken upon this subject has been able to show any connection between the Sherman law and the existing condition of things. It is very true that our banks are failing—that is, that they are suspending payment. It is true that enormous sums of money have been withdrawn from circulation and hoarded.

But, Mr. Speaker, what connection has the Sherman law with this condition of things? The Sherman law authorizes and requires the Secretary of the Treasury to buy four and one-half million ounces of silver every month, and to issue the legal tender obligations of the Government in payment thereof. And if any distrust is created by reason of the existence of the Sherman law and of the purchases made under it, that distrust ought to be directed against the currency which the Government is issuing and not against private institutions. Why, Mr. Speaker, if I learn that a debtor of mine is going to fail, I do not go and get his notes and bury them and lock them up in a safety vault; I take his notes and go to court for my money.

Under the existing condition of things it is argued that, because this Government is issuing a class of circulation which is upon an alleged insecure basis, and which men say it will be beyond the power of the Government to take care of, public confidence is destroyed. If public confidence were destroyed or undermined by reason of that fact, it would be public confidence in the Government, and instead of runs upon the banks there would be runs upon the Treasury itself. Men would not have gone to their banks to draw out silver certificates for the purpose of hoarding them when they were told and believed that those certificates were going to fall to their intrinsic value of the bullion they represented. They would not hoard money which they were told and believed would be worth less than its par value.

If they had been alarmed by the legislation known as the Sherman act and by the purchases of silver made under it, they would have gone to the Treasury with those silver certificates, those obligations of the Government, and demanded that "universal money" which the advocates of the pending bill seem to be so fond of. There would have been a run upon the Treasury instead of upon the private banking institutions of the country. But, Mr. Speaker, I charge that the assertion made by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] is no "rot," but is the truth.

I charge, sir, that the advocates of this measure, these thick-and-thin gold men of the Democratic party and of the Republican party who have been endeavoring ever since I have been in Congress to force this Government to an issue of cheap bonds, are responsible for the excitement which has created the destruction of public confidence and has caused a run upon the banks and the withdrawal of large amounts of money from circulation. They are the men who have sown the wind and we are now reaping the whirlwind. There is nothing in or about the Sherman law, there is no deduction that can be drawn from that law, which would justify anybody in making the assertion that the United States Government is not good for every obligation that it has put upon the market.

There is a provision on the Sherman law which declares it to be the established policy of this Government to maintain the parity between the two metals, gold and silver. Everybody knows that the United States Government is behind every single dollar that is issued under the Sherman law. There is not a dollar issued under that law which is not redeemable in gold at the Treasury of the United States. Everybody knows that, and everybody knew that all along, and, if there is not gold enough in the Treasury to take care of those securities, every sensible man in this country knew, every banker knew, every editor knew, every politician knew, that this Government had credit in the markets of the world to buy enough gold to redeem as much money as it could possibly issue under the Sherman law in ten years, that it could sell enough gold bonds in ten days to redeem every one of those obligations, and that it would do so if the necessity arose.

Sir, the people have not lost confidence in the Government. You have heard of no one going to the Treasury and demanding gold for the circulating notes of the Government unless he wanted it for export. No man has gone there and asked for gold to hoard it, or to use it in the purposes of ordinary business. On the contrary, Mr. Speaker, gold has been freely exchanged for the currency of the country—the greenback, the Treasury note, the silver certificate.

In support of the charge that what may be denominated the gold clique of the Democratic party and the gold clique of the Republican party are responsible for this unnecessary scare—for this scare which is without any foundation on earth, except in the fears which have been created in the minds of the people—I call your attention, Mr. Speaker, and the attention of the country to certain significant facts.

During the last session of this Congress a determined effort was made here to obtain the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. Persons came here claiming to represent the incoming Administration, and insisting that we should repeal that provision; they insisted that a crisis would come upon the country unless that should be done. They made this demand, Mr. Speaker, in the face of the following declaration in the platform of the Democratic party, which every man elected on our side of the House is bound in honor and conscience to support:

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall ensure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets, and in payment of debt; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

The President before his election, in reply to the notice of his nomination, said:

The people are entitled to sound and honest currency, abundantly sufficient in volume to supply their business needs. But whatever may be the form of the people's currency, national or State, whether gold, silver, or paper, it should be so regulated and guarded by governmental action or by wise and careful laws that no one can be deluded as to the certainty and stability of its value. Every dollar put into the hands of the people should be of the same intrinsic value or purchasing power. With this condition absolutely guaranteed, both gold and silver can be safely utilized upon equal terms in the adjustment of our currency.

So, sir, in June, 1892, the Democratic party, in national convention assembled had declared that bimetallism was a possibility, and had pledged the faith and honor of the Democratic party to attempt its incorporation into the laws of the country. The nominee on that platform, in commenting upon it, had also declared that it was practicable and had laid down the lines upon which the attempt to carry it into execution should be made. But, sir, the echoes of the election had hardly died away before there was a committee here, before there were Democrats elected to this floor upon that platform, pledged by every consideration of honor and conscience to stand by that platform, demanding and insisting that this House should stultify itself and should stultify the Democratic party in the United States; that before we came into the possession of the Government, before we had the Executive and both branches of the legislative department we should put an impassable barrier between us and the accomplishment of the very purposes for which we were elected.

Why, sir, gentlemen from New York, after having been elected on this platform in November, said in December that it was impossible to execute the pledges contained in the platform, to maintain bimetallism in the United States. They say now it is nonsense and "rot." The whole delegation of the Empire State, Republican and Democratic, standing upon a platform practically similar in every respect, with no distinction whatever in point of principle, come here and say that the platform on which we have gone before the people, and upon which we have carried the country is "rot"—is impossible of execution—is an idle dream; that bimetallism can never be accomplished. And this, I repeat,

Mr. Speaker, after they had pledged their honor and faith and the honor and faith of the Democratic party to make the effort.

Mr. WARNER. Will the gentleman yield for a correction?

Mr. BOATNER. I will.

Mr. WARNER. On behalf of myself, as one member from the State of New York, and I believe on behalf of the whole New York delegation, I want to say that we come here pledged to carry out, and we intend to help in carrying out, every single pledge made in the Democratic platform at Chicago. [Applause.]

Mr. LANE. Now is the time to do it.

Mr. BOATNER. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to hear this declaration. It is the first utterance with any such ring that I have heard since I have been on this floor. Why, sir, those who pose as the friends of the Administration were recognized on this floor to bring in a bill, and what was the bill? It was to repeal the "cowardly makeshift"—no more.

I say that the national Democratic party is pledged to the principle of bimetallism, leaving nothing for the judgment of Congress except the question of ratio. I say that the Republican party is essentially committed to the principle of bimetallism, leaving nothing to Congress except to fix the ratio. But the Republicans are under no responsibility in this matter. We have control of the Government in all its departments, and upon us is the responsibility. The question is, are we going to carry out that platform, or are we going to repudiate it?

The gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON], heretofore considered as one of the soundest men on our side of the House, brings in a bill which seeks to repeal a single section of that legislation which was declared to be a "cowardly makeshift." "A cowardly makeshift" in what? A "cowardly makeshift" because, while it pretended to be a measure in the interest of silver and its restoration to circulation as a money metal, it stopped short of the fundamental principle of free coinage and put silver upon the plane of any ordinary commodity—made it subsidiary and subordinate to gold, and therefore merely accumulated a stock of bullion in the hands of the Treasurer, to be a menace to the general market. Therein consisted, sir, the element of the "cowardly makeshift." But if that was a "cowardly makeshift," what, under the construction these gentlemen would give to the Democratic platform, was the Democratic platform itself? If the Sherman law was a "cowardly makeshift," as has been alleged, what is the Democratic platform, if we merely execute and carry into effect one of the clauses, itself dependent upon the other clauses, the nonexecution of which defeats the intention of the convention and thwarts the will of the people? I say what will be our answer to our constituents? What is to be our response when we are asked why we failed to carry out the pledges that were made by us before election and by the Democratic platform in its declaration of principles?

For my part, sir, I consider that I have come here with instructions. I consider that I have come here instructed by my people to carry out every plank in the Democratic platform from beginning to end, and I shall do so to the letter, as far as my voice and ability will permit me to do. [Applause.]

Now, Mr. Speaker, referring to this question of responsibility for the existence of this scare, I wish to call the attention of the House briefly to an address which was delivered before the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce and published on authority of that chamber on the 20th day of May by Mr. George E. Leighton, in which Mr. Leighton rehabilitates the calamity howl which he had uttered in 1886 about the effects of the Bland law, and in which he predicted as early as the 20th day of May that the country was to go to ruin and destruction because of the existence of the Sherman act. He says:

> I do not claim to have had any exceptional insight. It was simply the statement of a familiar law, as old as the world's commercial history—a law which any monetary system must recognize, or it will break down. Its operation in the United States is as sure as in the Argentine Republic or Australia. To-day we are face to face with the conditions there set forth. The higher law has asserted its authority. Gold has been withdrawn and hoarded for future use. It has been put away in safe-deposit boxes in this city, as in every other, to an extent of which few persons are aware. Balances have been placed in foreign exchange. Foreign capital invested in gold has been and is still being withdrawn from the country before it can be paid back in depreciated silver, and all these causes, operating silently and slowly, have caused the practical disappearance of gold from the ordinary channels of commerce.

And it is a fact that these utterances were printed and spread broadcast throughout the United States; and they are in line with the editorials and utterances of those who were thick-and-thin advocates of monometallism, and demanded that this Government should have the gold standard and the gold standard alone. This was before there was any serious disturbance and when the dangers to result from a continued execution of the Sherman act existed chiefly in the imagination of the crusaders who had undertaken the task of frightening the country into abandoning the policy which the people declared for and adopting the financial system advocated by Wall street and JOHN SHERMAN.

Now, sir, suppose that these political journals and these gentlemen who seem to mold public opinion had immediately replied to such utterances as that by showing that the Government of the United States is amply able to make good every dollar that it pays out, in whatever shape; that foreign capitalists might withdraw gold as they see fit, but that the Government, under existing legislation and legislation to be adopted, can issue bonds if necessary to buy gold and thus to maintain its credit in the most ample manner and that it will do so if necessary; is it not perfectly apparent that such a line of argument would have convinced the people that there was no necessity, no reason, no bottom whatever to the fright which had seized upon them?

Why, if you look at the list of banks which have failed, you will discover the fact that nineteen out of every twenty of them are not only absolutely solvent, but in the ordinary condition of affairs in this country would be held to be in a flourishing state—perfectly sound, perfectly solvent, with abundant assets to meet every obligation. And yet, notwithstanding this fact, by a senseless fright, created by gentlemen who have put monometallism before every other consideration, the country has been frightened into an unwarranted condition of apprehension, a senseless scare, which has brought ruin and disaster in its wake. And I say that it is on these gentlemen, and those who came here last winter who insisted upon the repeal of the Sherman law, and those who have advocated from that time to this the doctrine that bimetallism is an impossibility, who have been demanding the repeal of the Sherman act, on them and on their shoulders alone rests the responsibility for the deplorable condition in which we find the country to-day.

We are told that this is all "rot." But, Mr. Speaker, that it is the truth is my candid, honest, sincere opinion. I do not say—I do not pretend to say—that they expected or anticipated any such results from their utterances and endeavors. I do not say that it was done with any such design or intention. But I do say that it is my firm belief that it was their intention to bring about such an apprehension, such a fear in the mind of the public, and thereby produce such a pressure on this body from the business community, that we would lose the exercise of our calmer judgment, and be compelled, in view of the public demand, to assent to an unconditional repeal of the Sherman act, and thereby leave the country on a gold basis, in line with Great Britain and Germany.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I desire to call the attention of the House to the platforms of all the political parties. I have read the platform of the Democratic party. That is not capable of misconstruction. It commits the Democratic party to the principle of bimetallism, or there is no meaning in the English language. The platform of the Republican party is equally clear and unambiguous. I will ask the Clerk to read the paragraphs which I send to the Clerk's desk, the first being the extract from the Republican platform.

The Clerk read as follows:

> *Gold and silver money.*—The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of value of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers, and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government shall be as good as any other. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

Mr. BOATNER. Now, I will ask the Clerk to read the platform of the People's party upon the same subject.

Mr. REED. Is it not worth while to read that part of the Democratic platform on the State-bank tax? The gentleman from New York [Mr. WARNER] announces that the whole platform is to be carried out.

Mr. BOATNER. If he is serious, that practically settles the question, and futher debate is unnecessary.

Mr. REED. If the gentleman from New York is in favor of the other, the country would like to know about it.

Mr. BOATNER. I will now ask the Clerk to read the paragraph of the platform of the People's party relating to this subject.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Silver, which has been accepted as coin since the dawn of history, has been demonetized to add to the purchasing power of gold by decreasing the value of all forms of property as well as human labor, and the supply of currency is purposely abridged to fatten usurers, bankrupt enterprise, and enslave industry. A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents, and it is rapidly taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once it forebodes terrible social convulsions, the destruction of civilization, or the establishment of an absolute despotism.

Mr. BOATNER. I was not referring to that special plank of the People's party platform, but rather to the one in which it is declared that the People's party favor the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1.

Now, Mr. Speaker, every member on this floor, except one,

was elected either upon the Democratic, the Republican, or the People's party platform. I found during the remarks of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] the other day that he had not been elected upon the Democratic platform. As he is neither a Republican nor a Populist, he is the lone independent in the House, and the only gentleman in the House who is entitled to the freedom of opinion upon this question. It seems that he did not adopt or indorse the Democratic platform, but wrote a platform for himself; so that he alone, I repeat, is entitled to vote as he pleases upon the question at issue without violation of pledges made by himself or his party.

Now, the gentleman from New York, and other gentlemen who claim to represent the views of the President, say that they are in favor of bimetallism; but the question is, when are they in favor of it and how are they in favor of it? How do they propose to carry the principle of bimetallism into effect? They had the opportunity to introduce a bill here reflecting their views, and the way they propose to give us bimetallism is to absolutely repeal all laws under which a dollar of silver can be coined, which, as the gentleman from California [Mr. BOWERS] put it the other day, is a proposition to increase the circulation by destroying one-half of it.

I repeat, sir, that if the gentlemen who are advocating the pending bill are in favor of bimetallism they should have brought us a bill which proposed to execute the provisions of the Chicago platform. They should have given us the wise legislation provided for by that platform, by which the country could have the free use of both gold and silver. They should have conformed to the suggestion of the President in his message of acceptance, and safeguarded the free use of both gold and silver with such wise legislation as would secure the convertibility of the dollar, to carry into effect the views which His Excellency at that time entertained, and which he gave to the country in the shape of a formal letter of acceptance.

I will not, Mr. Speaker, enter upon any discussion as to whether bimetallism is practicable or not. I will not enter upon any discussion as to the effect which the legislation of the world has had on the price of silver. That was fully discussed years ago. The views now presented are ancient history, and the country has declared its wishes. I will not set my judgment against the verdict, and content myself with calling the attention of the House to the fact that we are bound and pledged by the platform upon which we were elected to attempt to carry bimetallism into effect, and that all political parties in this House are pledged to that common purpose. In my judgment the attempt to repeal existing laws without the substitution of other legislation which will conform to the verdict of the people, as given in November, is a betrayal of the people who have trusted us and an abandonment of the principles we profess, and upon which we asked and received their votes. I say that, as American Representatives, we have no right to do this.

I see gentlemen around me elected upon the Democratic platform, elected by Democratic constituencies, elected by people who demand that the Democratic platform shall be executed to the letter, who say that they consider they are executing that platform by destroying the legislation which authorizes the coinage of silver and by not substituting any other legislation to take its place. Of course, if this is satisfactory to the consciences of these gentlemen it is satisfactory to me, but I want to see them face their constituencies.

I want to hear from the country. I want to hear from the Southern States, where we were only able to hold the people in line by pointing to this very plank in the platform and by pointing to Mr. Cleveland's letter of acceptance and by saying, "the Democratic party is bound in honor and conscience to stand by it, that it has never betrayed the people before and will not do so in the future." We have got to go home if this bill passes and say, "Gentlemen, you were correct when you said that the platform of the Republican party was a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. You were correct when you said that the platform of the Democratic party was a mere snare to catch votes. You were right and we were wrong. You understood the situation, and we did not."

I do not believe that a House of Representatives, Democratic by nearly 100 majority, will ever go before the people with any such record. I believe it is a record which can not be maintained, can not be justified, and that we can not give any reasonable excuse on our part and say that we could not repeal the Sherman bill, and by the very same act provide legislation under which the principle of bimetallism provided for by the Chicago platform could be carried into effect and gold and silver coin could be coined by the United States upon equal terms.

I say, sir, that I do not believe we could ever make any explanation to the people of any such betrayal of them, and I for one trust this House will not put us in such an attitude before the country. [Applause.]

I yield the remainder of my time to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LAYTON].

Mr. LAYTON. Mr. Speaker, we are now convened in extra session for the one purpose, above all others, of making such changes in our financial legislation as will best conduce to restore the confidence of the people in the stability of the money of the country. To this end the President, in whom the whole people have confidence, with the approval of his able Cabinet, has said to us in his most admirable and unanswerable message that the first thing to do is to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. Pursuant to this suggestion of the Chief Magistrate of the nation, who was elevated to his high office a second time with such unanimity, at a reasonably early hour, viz, on the fourth day of the session, such a bill was introduced by the distinguished Representative from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON].

Thereupon the equally distinguished gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] gave notice that he proposes to so amend the bill as to provide for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1, or, in any event, not exceeding 20 to 1. Or, in case of the failure of said amendments, then to substitute the "Bland-Allison act of 1878." And then in a proper and commendable spirit it was agreed between the various sides of the question at issue that fourteen days' debate shall be had before voting thereon, so as to give the subject that careful consideration its vast importance demands and all sides a fair opportunity to be heard.

This debate has now progressed many days, and many learned and earnest speeches have been delivered upon substantially all sides of the question, from which, and the conferences going on at the other end of the Capitol, it is made apparent to all that the two great parties, as represented in the Fifty-third Congress, are substantially divided on the question of finance into three classes, who may be appropriately named or called "single gold-standard men," "free coinage or single silver-standard men," and "limited bimetallists."

For the present, until I see my way more clearly, at least, I desire to be classed with the latter, providing always such a thing as bimetallism, limited or otherwise, is longer possible, consistent with the true and permanent prosperity of the country. And while I do not represent, nor am I authorized to speak for any member but myself, yet from many earnest conversations held with my immediate colleagues and other members on this floor and elsewhere, I am convinced that my class is numerously represented here, and hence presents a fruitful field for converts to either the first or second class, providing we can be convinced by fact and argument, calmly and fairly presented, that bimetallism is no longer tenable or maintainable in this country by reason of the present attitude of foreign nations.

And why should not we, permit me to inquire, be friendly to bimetallism? Have not we from infancy, and our fathers before us, been taught that gold and silver is the money of our Constitution, in spirit if not in letter? Has not the big white dollar always been held up and pointed out to us as the "dollar of our daddies?" And above and beyond this, have not the platforms of both of the great parties for years and years recognized both as the money metals of the country? In support of this latter query, suffer me to quote briefly from the last Republican national platform, adopted at Minneapolis in June, 1892;

> The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether silver or gold, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government shall be as good as any other. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

In further support of and answer to the latter query, I now quote from the last Democratic national platform, adopted without a dissenting voice at Chicago in the same month and year:

> We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal.
>
> We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin.
>
> We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

And now in still further support of the same interrogatory I

come nearer home to my beloved State of Ohio, which I have the honor to represent in part on this floor.

The country has abiding faith in the integrity, patriotism, and exalted courage of President Cleveland. True to the people and watchful of their interests, he will enforce honest and economical methods in the conduct of public affairs and secure to every section of the country the blessing of good government.

I next quote from the Ohio Republican State platform adopted at Columbus last June:

We favor honest money, *composed of gold, silver*, and paper, maintained at equal value and under National and not State regulation. * * *

And I next quote from the Democratic State platform very recently adopted at Cincinnati:

We hereby approve the platform of the Democratic party adopted by the National Convention at Chicago, and especially those portions referring *to the tariff and to currency legislation.*

Hence we see from these quotations from the national platforms and our State (Ohio) platforms that both parties are committed to bimetallism in some form or other.

And as a message or guide to my State colleagues on this floor as to what our action should be in this great emergency, I take the liberty of here quoting further from the latter platform:

We congratulate the country upon the early prospect of measures of relief as outlined by the President's late message to Congress, and we have confidence that the Democratic Congress will devise laws to furnish such relief.

I may be permitted to add here that this latter paragraph met with the unanimous approval of the convention, coupled with five minutes continuous cheering. And hence I may inject here also that it does not look very much like an anti-Administration convention, as many newspapers would have us believe.

In saying what I have relative to Ohio, or calling the attention of the House and my colleagues as I have to the platform of the party, I do not mean to be understood as reflecting in the slightest degree upon any of my colleagues, or upon my distinguished colleague [Mr. HARTER], who so ably addressed the House last week in support of a gold standard. I hold my colleague in high personal esteem. I know him to be earnest and conscientious in his views. I know him to be a successful business man of large and varied experience, a good Democrat, a hard student of economics and finance, and hence whatever he may say on this or kindred subjects is justly entitled to earnest and serious consideration. Neither do I propose to censure, condemn, threaten, or abuse anyone for his views upon this complicated question. No converts either way are to be gained by such procedure. In this connection I fully approve what is said in a recent editorial of the leading journal of this city:

First of all, we say, let the antisilver newspapers discard their vicious trade in fiction, and then let antisilver men of all sorts and conditions imbibe a more charitable, considerate, and becoming spirit. The silver men are not fools and traitors and conspirators. They do not belong to an inferior order of virtue and intelligence. They are not here to be disciplined by conceited doctrinaires and snubbed by flabby Mugwumps. They are entitled to their opinions. They represent constituents who honor and respect them. They are American citizens devoted to the nation's welfare. And they must be met as such by those who propose to help or be helped by them in solving the problem of the day.

And, on the other hand, had this same editorial also condemned the silver men and their newspapers for their equally vicious trade in fiction and attacks upon those they somewhat viciously call "gold bugs of Wall street and London," it would have met my hearty indorsement also. In times like these it does not become us to indulge in epithets or hard names, nor will the people in their struggles for relief long endure it. In this same connection I would kindly say to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], whom personally and for whose sincerity, candor, and ability I also entertain high regard, that he can not hope to win votes from my class by any threats as to the dire calamity that will befall us at the hands of our respective constituencies.

I remember well, as does, no doubt, the gentleman from Missouri, that during the discussion of this same question in the Fifty-second Conress a Representative from the State of Tennessee, who was recognized as the able lieutenant and counselor of the gentleman, while earnestly protesting against the opposition of one of his colleagues from the same State, from the Memphis district, most vehemently warned him that his conduct would result in his misrepresented constituency relegating him to the rear when next a candidate. But in looking around this Hall we notice the shoe got on the other foot, for we see here the smiling countenance of the gentleman from Memphis, while it is said these Congressional Halls will know the other gentleman no more forever.

Times and circumstances change, and many good and intelligent men change with them. At one time in the history of this country many of our fathers, and many of the ablest and best men now on this floor, believed that slavery was right. They do not believe so now. At one time many of the best men of this country believed in "Knownothingism," which swept the land like a whirlwind in 1854–'55. They do not believe so now. Later on many of the flower of this land honestly believed that a State had a right to withdraw from the Union and establish a government of her own. They do not believe so now. Still later on many of the bright minds of the country, and a great portion of the masses, believed in fiat money—"Greenbackism," so called. They do not believe it now.

Still later a large majority of the people seemed to prefer protection and the Republican party. They do not do so now. And hence none should be blamed or censured for changing their mind, providing always it is honestly done. It is scarcely necessary for me to say to the "silverites" of the Rocky Mountain regions, for whom I have the warmest sympathy, that neither can our support be secured by any threats of secession, revolution, or riding in blood up to the bridle bits. When I say this I do not refer to the representatives of those small States or Territories on this floor, for I understand they utterly repudiate any such sentiment.

No, gentlemen, all this should be thrown aside, and a friendly, charitable, patriotic spirit manifested here that will best accomplish that which the emergency demands. It is an absolute truism that all important legislation is the result of a series of compromises. If it be within the bounds of possibility then let us throw aside all partisan and sectional feeling, and, rising above all of these, resolve that we will speedily do what all the people say should be done, viz, speedily repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. And to this end we of the third class—the conservative party—beg of you Republicans and Democrats of the first and second class to come together, for the present at least, on some common ground, so that the people's will may be done, confidence restored, and business resumed.

By reason of the fact that this great question has, most unfortunately, to a certain extent at least, well-recognized sectional lines, Ohio, in common with her sister North Central States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, is surrounded on three sides with States favorable to the other classes I have named; on the east with the Eastern States almost solidly for the gold standard, and on the south and the west by States and Territories largely in favor of the white metal. Hence, geographically speaking, if I may be permitted to use the expression and it is entitled to any consideration in this debate, Ohio, by reason of her location and her surroundings, is naturally inclined to be conservative and somewhat undecided upon this question; and if the way can be found, in a spirit of compromise, to vote for the repeal of the obnoxious purchasing clause of the Sherman act, and at the same time retain bimetallism as a part and parcel of the monetary policy of this Government, it should be adopted.

Just now, as indicated by the many able addresses made on this floor within the last few days, the first class say nothing but a single gold standard will do the work; but we conservatives, who are very loth to abandon bimetallism, shake our heads and say, No, that will not do, for it destroys silver as money entirely. On the other hand, the second class say that the only solution is the free coinage of silver at a certain ratio, which means the silver standard only. We say, No, that will not do, either, for it will drive gold from the country. We think there is, there certainly must be, some sort of middle ground that will accomplish the purpose quite as well and preserve both of the money metals, to a certain extent at least. For instance, it has been suggested that we coin all the silver bullion now on hand and many millions more to a certain limit. Why would not this be a happy medium, for the present at least? With something like this, as one of the conservatives I would vote for the bill. Free and unlimited coinage at any of the proposed ratios as we now see it would be but jumping from the frying pan into the fire—would give no permanent relief—and hence we can not vote for it at this time. If some such reasonable compromise can not be reached, in compliance with the wishes of the President and this Administration in whose judgment and patriotism I have the greatest confidence, and in compliance with what I believe to be the wishes of substantially all of the twenty-three thousand intelligent Democratic voters of my district and the will of about fifteen thousand Republican voters as well, I will vote for the bill now under consideration, without the proposed amendment or substitute. I will do this, however, relying upon the good faith, the honor, and the patriotism of a Democratic Administration and a democratic Congress, coming from the East and the West, the North and the South, if they will but signify such intention—that at the earliest reasonable opportunity in the coming regular session of this body some permanant legislation shall be enacted on the lines laid down in our Chicago platform, that will give all our people good, sound, stable money worth dollar for dollar all the world wide.

I would also suggest, as conferring an immediate source of relief to a large extent at least, that in accordance with the third plank of our Ohio State platform, the national banking laws be

so amended as to permit them to issue their currency to an amount equal to the par value of the United States bonds which they may deposit with the United States Treasurer to secure their circulation, instead of but 90 per cent thereof as now, to the end that the volume of currency may be immediately increased.

And while it may not be possible to adopt any tariff legislation at this session, yet it seems to me that in order to fully restore confidence and promote business prosperity, we ought not to adjourn until we have called down the cold, audacious bluff that is now so shrewdly going the rounds of the Republican press—to the effect that we really have no serious intention to disturb the McKinley bill—by passing a resolution in substance that at an early stage of the coming session we expect to, and will reform, revise, and reduce the tariff on the lines laid down in our Chicago platform in accordance with the will of a very large majority of the voters of this land, as expressed at the ballot box last November.

In other words, that we will place substantially all raw material on the free list, reduce the tariff on all the necessaries of life that go to furnish the poor man his food, his home, his clothing, his shelter, and his fuel; increase the tariff on the luxuries, repeal all bounties and subsidies. If this does not produce sufficient revenue, add $1 per barrel on beer and 35 cents on whisky. If sufficient is not yet forthcoming, make up the residue by a fair and well-regulated tax on large incomes and inheritances. [Applause.]

I sincerely believe that this action is due to the business of the country, to the producer, the manufacturer, the consumer, the importer and the merchant, so that they may know on what lines these changes will be made, arrange their business accordingly and thus revive trade and commerce, for tariff reform will surely and speedily come.

All this being done, I believe this extraordinary session could terminate in the sure hope that our action would meet the approval of our constituents, and that in a short time confidence would be once more restored and general prosperity would again prevail. [Applause.]

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, I congratulate the House on its good temper. We are in the midst of a great financial crisis. Not only are the eyes of the American people upon us, but the eyes of the civilized world. On occasions like this we are called upon to test the value, the wisdom, and the safety of our institutions. We are required, in the name of the people, to understand and to rightly solve a most difficult problem. If there was ever a time in the history of the American Congress when the representatives of the people should be cool, dispassionate, patriotic, and intelligent, it is now.

I am no financier. I have not a dollar on earth invested in any moneyed institution; and whatever information I have on this subject has been acquired since I entered public life, and for the sole purpose of enabling me to discharge a duty which I owe to my constituency and the country at large.

In the discussion of every important question there are always points on which the disputants are agreed. On this question I think I can safely say that all intelligent men are agreed on the following propositions:

It is recognized by all enlightened, and especially by all commercial countries, that there is an absolute necessity for a fixed, uniform, and certain standard of value. Gold and silver are recognized the world over as the two money metals. I believe I may say, furthermore, that the double standard of gold and silver, if it can be maintained, is admitted to be more uniform, fixed, and certain than a single standard composed of either metal. Again, it is universally conceded by intelligent men on this subject that the double standard can not be maintained unless the legal ratio corresponds substantially with the commercial or market ratio. They are also agreed that where the single standard is gold in a country it may safely use a large volume of silver as subsidiary to the gold, whereas in a country where silver is the standard gold can not be used at all.

There is not a country on the earth where the gold standard prevails in which there is not a large circulation of silver. The United Kingdom has a circulation of over $100,000,000. The Empire of Germany has a circulation of more than $210,000,000. The Republic of France has a circulation of $700,000,000. This country has silver now in circulation and hoarded in the Treasury amounting to about $700,000,000. Now, there is not a silver country on the habitable globe where gold is not treated as a commodity. It is a commodity in China, it is a commodity in Mexico, it is a commodity in all of the South American Republics. Wherever silver is the standard, gold is eliminated from circulation and silver alone is the medium of exchange.

The doctrine of the monometallist is that no single government or combination of governments can fix a double standard between gold and silver that will so dominate the market as to make the commercial ratio conform to the legal ratio. They therefore insist that the maintenance of a double standard is impossible, and that all governments must eventually adopt either the single gold or single silver standard.

Bimetallists, on the other hand, insist that it is possible to hold the two metals on a parity, and that the double standard insures more volume, safety, and uniformity to the currency of a country. However, they are divided into national and international bimetallists. The national bimetallist contends that for the first eighty years of our national existence we coined both gold and silver until silver in 1873 was demonetized. They say that when you destroy the use of an article you destroy the demand for it and it goes down in price. They insist that following the demonetization of the silver dollar in 1873 there was a rapid decline in the price of silver, and that if it was remonetized the demand for it would be so increased as to restore it on a parity with gold.

The international bimetallist insists that every enlightened country in the world, that every commercial nation on the earth, including the United States, has abandoned the double standard and adopted the single gold standard; and that in view of these facts, and the constant variation in the commercial value of silver, it is impossible for any single government to fix a ratio which will dominate the silver market of the world, and therefore that bimetallism is impracticable and impossible without international coöperation.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the question under discussion is simply this: My friend from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON] has introduced a bill to repeal the purchasing clause of what is known as the Sherman act. My friend from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], under the order adopted by the House, proposes to offer certain amendments to that bill. The first amendment is for the free, unlimited, and independent coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. If that is voted down, then an amendment to coin it at a ratio of 17 to 1. If that is voted down, then at a ratio of 18 to 1. If that is voted down, then at a ratio of 19 to 1. If that is voted down, then at a ratio of 20 to 1; and if that is voted down, then he proposes to offer as a substitute what is known as the Bland-Allison act, passed in 1878.

Should we adopt the free, unlimited, and independent coinage of silver, at either of the ratios named in the amendments offered by the gentleman from Missouri? In arriving at the conclusion that we should not, I have been largely influenced by the facts in our own experience. Before calling attention to them, I invite attention to a few of the facts of history which preceded our first coinage law. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the commercial ratio between gold and silver was 10.75 to 1. At the beginning of the seventeenth century it was 12.25 to 1. At the beginning of the eighteenth century it was 15.27 to 1.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century down to the year 1873, a period of one hundred and seventy-three years, there was unprecedented stability in respect to the commercial ratio between gold and silver. At no time during those one hundred and seventy-three years did silver rise above the ratio of 15 to 1, or fall below the ratio of 16 to 1. The variance in the commercial ratio during the last fiscal year has been greater than it was during that entire period of one hundred and seventy-three years. There has been a greater variance in the commercial ratio between gold and silver since 1873 than there was in all the centuries transpiring from the discovery of America to that time.

In 1792, when Washington was President, Jefferson Secretary of State, and Hamilton was Secretary of the Treasury, our fathers took up this question of the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver. Hamilton found that the commercial or market ratio at that time was almost exactly 15 to 1. He ascertained that for one hundred years prior to that time the ratio had been about 15 to 1, varying only very slightly. The bill which he prepared, and which was enacted into law, provided for coinage of gold at the rate of 24.748 grains of pure gold, and 27 grains of standard gold to the dollar, and 371¼ grains of pure silver, or 416 grains of standard silver to the dollar, the ratio being fixed at exactly 15 to 1.

Now, I desire to impress upon the House the fact that these, the fathers of the Republic, and acknowledged statesmen of the age in which they lived, recognized the fact that the legal ratio had to correspond with the commercial or market ratio, or else the two metals could not be maintained in circulation, and that the ratio fixed by them was made to conform exactly with the market ratio for that reason. What was the result? Within less than five years after the passage of the act of 1792, and before Washington retired from the Presidency, silver began to fall in the market.

I desire particularly to call attention to another fact. Our grandfathers knew no difference between the gold and the silver dollar. They interchanged them on a parity, innocent of any

knowledge that there had been a departure of the legal from the commercial ratio. But our grandfathers discovered before the year 1810 that gold was going out of circulation. Silver had gone down to 15.60 to 1. There was a profit to the brokers and scalpers of about 4 cents on the dollar, and that was a sufficient inducement to buy up the gold in circulation and ship it to foreign parts. By the year 1810 gold had been practically eliminated from our currency.

In 1834, during President Jackson's second administration, the attention of Congress was called to this fact. A change in the ratio was recommended and on the floor of Congress it was declared without contradiction that not a dollar of gold had been in circulation in the United States for more than twenty years. The difference of 3 or 4 cents on the dollar had absolutely driven gold out of the country. The act of 1834 was passed fixing the ratio at 16 to 1. At that time silver was worth about 15.60 to 1, and Congress purposely increased the ratio so as to make gold the cheaper money, in order that it might be induced to flow into the country. This was accomplished by reducing the gold in a gold dollar from 24.748 to 23.2 grains, making the ratio exactly 16 to 1.

By the act of 1837 a slight change was made by adding a fraction of gold to the dollar, making it 23. 22. This act was passed to make both the gold and silver dollar 900 parts fine and 100 parts alloy. Since that time we have had the standard gold dollar of 25. 8 grains and the standard silver dollar of 412½ grains. Now, what was the result of this ratio of 16 to 1? In 1828, when Andrew Jackson was first elected President of the United States, there were coined in the United States only $140,000 in gold. In 1836, when his successor was elected, there were coined over $4,000,000, and in 1847, just ten years after he retired from office, and before the discovery of gold in California, there were coined $20,000,000 in gold.

Now, what was the effect on silver? France was coining that metal at 15½ to 1, and the difference between that ratio and 16 to 1, amounting to less than 4 cents on the dollar, was sufficient to cause silver to take its departure to foreign countries. When gold was discovered in California, silver went up higher. The result was that gold, at the ratio of 16 to 1, became the cheaper money and silver was practically eliminated from our circulation. In 1852 we coined $56,000,000 in gold and only $999,000 in silver. Silver had been so completely eliminated from our circulation that the people were without small change, consequently, in the month of February, 1853, Congress, recognizing this condition of affairs, provided by law for the coinage of half-dollars, quarter-dollars, dimes, and half-dimes in silver at the rate of only 384 grains to the dollar. These coins were made, confessedly cheaper than gold in order that no one would be induced to buy them up on speculation and send them out of the country. They were made a legal tender to the amount of $5. In this way, the people secured small change for their daily transactions.

So it appears that long prior to the war, in 1834, Congress purposely changed the ratio so as to invite gold into the country, thus showing that Andrew Jackson's administration of the Government evinced a decided preference for gold. Again, in 1853, a preference for gold was shown by making silver subsidiary to that metal. From 1853 until the breaking out of the war gold was practically the standard and silver was used as mere token money.

Now, under the act of 1792 silver was overvalued to the extent of 3 or 4 cents on the dollar. This made silver the cheaper metal, and the difference was sufficient to eliminate gold from our circulation and to practically bring the country to the single silver standard. Under the act of 1834 gold was overvalued and became the cheaper money, to the extent of 3 or 4 cents on the dollar, and the result was that the silver dollar was driven out of the country and fractional coins were introduced at a ratio which made them so much cheaper than gold that they remained with the people.

Now, let us come to the amendments offered by my friend from Missouri [Mr. BLAND]. He proposes by his first amendment the free, unlimited, and independent coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. Now, the average bullion price of a silver dollar for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, was 65.064 cents. This shows a difference between the legal and the commercial ratio of 35 cents on the dollar. I put it to every intelligent man on this floor, can we stand that? Can we coin silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 without bidding adieu to every gold dollar in circulation, and bringing this country abruptly and at once to the single silver standard?

Mr. RAWLINS. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. PATTERSON. With pleasure.

Mr. RAWLINS. Did not the gold leave this country upon the fixing of the ratio of 15 to 1 because France had a ratio of 15½ to 1; and did not the contrary effect take place when we adopted the ratio of 16 to 1, France still having a ratio of 15½ to 1? Now, let me ask one other question.

Mr. PATTERSON. I would prefer one at a time, if you please.

Mr. RAWLINS. This is in the same line as the other. If France, with silver to the amount of $19 per capita, a rate which in this country would give about $1,400,000,000 of silver, can maintain a ratio of 15½ to 1, why can not we maintain the two metals at a parity on a ratio of 16 to 1, especially in view of the fact that if we should consume all the silver produced it would take ten years before we could accumulate the same quantity per capita which France now has?

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, I am confining myself to our own experiences here in the United States. I shall not take time to elucidate what may have been the effect of the coinage laws of France or Germany on our currency. That they had the effect described in the question only goes to show that I am right in saying that the double standard can only be maintained through the instrumentality of international co-operation. I say that the fact remains that silver was the cheaper money by three or four cents on the dollar under the act of 1792, and that gold was consequently expatriated. I say that gold was the cheaper metal by three or four cents on the dollar under the act of 1834, and consequently silver was driven out of the country.

Now, in regard to the other question: I desire to say that in order to maintain her silver in circulation France has absolutely stopped the coinage of silver at her mints, as well as the purchase of silver bullion. She has not coined a dollar or purchased an ounce of silver, I believe, since the year 1878, and she has only been able to keep the silver already coined on a parity with gold by excluding that metal from her mints. This question is exactly within my line of argument, because if we repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act it would enable us, not only to maintain on a parity with gold every dollar of silver now in circulation, but to coin every ounce of silver in the Treasury and assimilate it with our currency. But we have got to follow the example of France and maintain the single gold standard, or we can not accomplish that result.

Now, sir, I will pass over the amendments of the gentleman from Missouri, proposing a ratio of 17 to 1, 18 to 1, and 19 to 1, and go directly to the proposed ratio of 20 to 1. How will that result? I have gone to the Director of the Mint and secured the exact figures. Take the averaged bullion value of the silver dollar in the open market for the last fiscal year, and it shows that a dollar coined at the ratio of 20 to 1 would be worth only 81 cents. I put it to the House, can we afford in this crisis to deliberately enact a law for the free, unlimited, and independent coinage of silver dollars of the intrinsic value of only 81 cents each? Is it not just as obvious as that the sun shines in the heavens, if we do it, that silver as the cheaper money will drive gold entirely out of circulation?

If 3 or 4 cents on the dollar in favor of silver drove gold out of circulation under the act of 1792, what would 19 cents on the dollar in favor of silver do at a time when every enlightened nation has demonetized silver and it is constantly fluctuating like iron and copper in the open markets of the world?

But some of my friends may say I am putting silver to an unfair test. They say that for the last twelve months silver has been under fire. Very well, let us concede that. I will go back, then, to the first day of July, 1885, and then I will reckon down to the 30th of June, 1893, a period of eight years, a period embracing a Republican administration, a period embracing a Democratic administration, a period embracing the extraordinary rise of silver after the passage of the act of 1890, and a period which leaves altogether out of the account the extraordinary fluctuations in the commercial value of silver during the month of July last. What do we find? We find that the averaged bullion value, during that period, of a silver dollar, coined at a ratio of 20 to 1, would be intrinsically worth exactly 90.29 cents.

Now, I put the question to the House again: If 3 or 4 cents difference drove gold out of the country under the act of 1792, and if 3 or 4 cents difference retired silver under the act of 1834, what, I ask, will 10 cents on the dollar do in this age of telegraphy, in this age of boards of trade, in this age when the commercial transactions of the world are printed and daily placed on every man's breakfast table?

And now, sir, I desire to especially call the attention of the House to this phase of the question. The gentlemen favoring coinage of silver at a ratio of 20 to 1 discredit silver already coined at the ratio of 16 to 1. They admit to that extent that the legal ratio between the two metals must conform to the commercial. How can any member abandon the ratio of 16 to 1 and go to the ratio of 20 to 1 without recognizing the importance of the market value of silver in fixing the ratio? How can he abandon a dollar of the bullion value of 65 cents and adopt a dollar of the bullion value of 81 cents with any degree of consistency? Why ad-

vance in the direction of the commercial ratio without going the entire way? To do so is an admission of the doctrine for which I am contending. The member who votes for the ratio of 20 to 1 abandons the field and concedes that the two metals can only be maintained in circulation on a parity so long as the ratio established by law coincides with the ratio established in the open market. His only justification lies in the fact that he may hope that the bullion value of the silver dollar may increase until it reaches a parity with gold. It is, however, inconceivable that a member of Congress would take the chance to drive gold out of the country and involve its commerce in the throes of ruin and bankruptcy in order that he might see if his anticipations as to the rise in silver were realized.

Mr. Speaker, very much has been said by some of our friends in respect to the Chicago platform. The men who advocate the views which I entertain are charged with recreancy to the party platform and unfaithfulness to the pledges which the Democratic party made to the people before its accession to power. I will read the financial plank of the platform adopted at Chicago:

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver, without discriminating against either metal, or charge for mintage; but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal, intrinsic, and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

No man on this floor would more gladly welcome the free, unlimited, and independent coinage of silver on the terms proposed in the Chicago platform than I. Gentlemen here propose to coin a silver dollar of the bullion value of only 65 cents. Am I recreant to the Chicago platform because, in my judgment and in the discharge of the duty I owe my constituency, I believe such a dollar has not the intrinsic value of a dollar worth a hundred cents? Am I recreant to the Chicago platform because I rise in my place on this floor and declare that a dollar coined at the ratio of 20 to 1, a dollar of the bullion value of only 81 cents, has not the exchangeable value of a dollar of the bullion value of 100 cents? Am I to be charged with faithlessness to the platform of the party because I am convinced that such dollars, being the cheaper money, would drive $650,000,000 in gold out of circulation and involve the country in a panic which would bring distress and disaster to all our people?

Mr. SNODGRASS. Will the gentleman allow me a question just there?

Mr. PATTERSON. With pleasure.

Mr. SNODGRASS. At what ratio are you willing to allow silver to be coined freely?

Mr. PATTERSON. I will answer my colleague. In view of the extraordinary fluctuations of silver in the markets of the world for the past twenty years, in view of the fact that every enlightened government on earth has demonetized silver; in view of my conviction, after careful investigation and mature reflection that we can not, independently of the balance of mankind, establish a legal ratio between gold and silver that would absolutely dominate and fix the commercial value of silver in the open market and hold the two metals permanently on a parity, I am not prepared to vote for any ratio that you might name. [Great applause.] I would not take the risk of guessing at a matter of so much importance. On the one hand I might do silver an injustice; on the other I might drive gold out of the country and entail disaster on the people I represent. I will go, however, as far as my colleague can go in pursuing a policy and in taking such steps as will bring about international coöperation for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. This, in my judgment, is the only policy we can pursue with safety. I submit to my colleague that such a policy is in entire accordance with the declared principles of the Chicago platform.

Mr. SNODGRASS. Then you favor the single gold standard? Let us understand each other.

Mr. PATTERSON. Well, we are coming to an understanding. The country is now at the gold standard, and the question I am considering is whether we ought to adopt either of the makeshifts embodied in the amendments of the gentleman from Missouri, unsettle our unit of value, and drive gold out of circulation, or retain the gold standard, firmly holding our paper currency and the silver we already have on a parity with gold, in accordance with the principles of the Chicago platform. I am decidedly for the latter policy. [Applause.]

For the benefit of my colleague [Mr. SNODGRASS], I call his attention to the platform adopted by the Tennessee Democracy at its last State convention. The concluding paragraph of the financial plank is as follows;

And we further favor the continued coinage of both gold and silver bullion in such manner as that every dollar so coined shall be equal to every other dollar.

This, I submit, is in accordance with the Chicago platform, and it is in accordance with the views which I entertain to-day. My convictions are that owing to the fluctuations in the commercial ratio of gold and silver that we, the representatives of the people, have not the power, however earnestly we may desire it, to adopt a legal ratio for the free, unlimited, and independent coinage of silver that will dominate, control, and fix the market ratio throughout the world, so as to make every dollar so coined equal to every other dollar. [Applause.]

Now, Mr. Speaker, I come to the Bland-Allison act, which, after all amendments are voted down, is to be offered as a substitute for the bill to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. During the month of July the average bullion price of a fine ounce of silver was 72¼ cents. At this rate it cost the Government in Treasury notes $3,252,500 to purchase under the Sherman law 4,500,000 ounces of silver. Under the Bland-Allison act we are required to purchase not less than $2,000,000 worth per month. Two millions of dollars at the rate of 72¼ cents per fine ounce would purchase 2,758,551 ounces, which, if coined at the ratio of 16 to 1 would make $3,558,530. Therefore, at this rate, under the Sherman law, we would add to our currency monthly $3,252,500 in Treasury notes, whereas under the Bland-Allison act we would add to our circulation monthly $3,558,551 in silver. I agree with the gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX] that if we are to make a selection between the two evils it would be better for the country, for its commerce, and all its people to retain the Sherman law than to reënact the Bland-Allison bill.

Mr. Speaker, let us for a few moments look into the history of silver coinage in the United States. Up to 1873 we had coined only 8,031,000 silver dollars. We hear gentlemen pleading piteously for the dollar of their fathers; but, strange to say, for eighty-one years, including all that period from the inauguration of Washington in 1789 down to the year 1878, when the Bland-Allison law was enacted, we coined only $8,031,000 in silver. During the same period we coined $137,000,000 in small silver coins. In 1878, when the Bland-Allison act was passed, the bullion value of a silver dollar was only 86 cents, and then it was that our friends developed an affection for the dollar of their fathers which their paternal ancestry never had—an affection that was never manifested when a silver dollar was worth a hundred cents, and an affection that was conceived in a passion for depreciated money. [Applause.]

The Bland-Allison act was in no sense a free-coinage act. It provided for the purchase of silver in the open market by the Government just as an ironmonger would purchase pig iron. It provided for the purchase of $2,000,000 worth of silver per month and for its coinage into money at the ratio of 16 to 1. The bullion purchased under the act cost the Government $308,199,262. The same bullion could be purchased to-day for $218,469,014. This bullion was coined into 383,000,000 silver dollars, or into forty-eight times as many silver dollars as our fathers coined in eighty-one years.

Under the Sherman act we have coined $36,087,000, and under the act of 1891 we have coined the trade dollars into over $5,000,000, making a total coinage under the Sherman and Bland acts and the act for the coinage of trade dollars of $419,332,000, or fifty-two times as many silver dollars in less than fifteen years as our fathers coined in eighty-one years. Now, we have 130,465,000 fine ounces of silver in the Treasury, which if coined would make $168,294,000. Add these and it gives us 587,626,000 silver dollars, or more than seventy-three times as many silver dollars as were coined from the 4th of March, 1789, up to the day when the Bland-Allison act was passed, in February, 1878. This does not include the coinage of $186,000,000 in fractional silver currency.

Mr. Speaker, how has all this silver been kept on a parity with gold? This is a question which involves a proper understanding of a situation which has deluded and deceived the people. It has been kept on a parity with gold simply because it has been propped up, held up, and sustained by gold. This Government annually receives revenue through internal and custom-house channels amounting to about $500,000,000. All this silver money is by law not only a legal tender in the payment of debts, but it is receivable for all public dues; by law it has the right to flow through the revenue channels into the Treasury of the United States.

The United States during all these years has been discharging whenever it was required to do so, all its obligations in gold. The holder of Treasury or United States notes can now, and could at all times since the resumption of specie payments

on the 1st day of January, 1879, go to the Treasury and demand gold. The Government has always paid gold, because if it should elect to pay silver, gold would instantly go to a premium and the country would be precipitated to the single silver standard.

My friend from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER] has said that no one has been able to trace the cause of the prevailing financial panic to the Sherman silver law. Now, let us see how it is. We have 419,000,000 silver dollars in actual circulation, 130,000,000 fine ounces of silver in the Treasury, $147,000,000 of Treasury notes outstanding, issued for the purchase of silver bullion, and $346,000,000 of greenbacks in circulation. This makes 912,000,000 of currency and silver dollars already coined which have access to the Treasury through the revenue channels. Now, what is the result? As soon as the country takes alarm, instead of gold flowing through the revenue channels into the Treasury, silver, Treasury notes, and greenbacks take its place; they block the way and gold ceases to fill the Government coffers.

On the other hand, the holder of greenback or Treasury notes, whenever he sees proper to do so, may demand of the Treasurer their payment in gold. Gold the Treasurer must pay; for if he dares to pay silver, the parity is destroyed, the country is precipitated to the silver standard, and gold goes to a premium.

Now, to show the combined effect of the Bland and Sherman laws, let us see what per cent of the money received from customs at the port of New York in the month of June, for the past six years, was paid in gold. In June, 1888, the Government collected $10,996,484, 74 per cent of which was paid in gold. In June, 1889, it received $10,697,716, of which 74.7 per cent was gold. In June, 1890, the Government received $14,992,128, of which 94½ per cent was received in gold. In June, 1891, it received $9,131,418, of which only 12½ per cent was gold. In June, 1892, it received $9,591,270, of which only 8.2 per cent was gold. In 1893, in the month of June, the Government collected at the port of New York, $18,068,560, and not one cent of it was paid in gold. Now, think of it; with no gold flowing into the Treasury, and with obligations outstanding sufficient in amount to absorb five times the amount of the gold reserve, could there be a more proximate and direct cause for want of confidence? That the crisis through which we are now passing was precipitated by this condition of affairs is, to my mind, obvious.

The business communities, I assert, throughout the United States attribute the situation to this cause, and there is a concensus of opinion among business men throughout the country that the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act will arrest the panic and restore confidence. I know there are thousands of people in the country, I might say ninety out of every one hundred of those who are panic-stricken by the financial situation who do not understand these matters; but the shrewd capitalist who has money to lend or invest, or the shrewd business man who is seeking to borrow money, knows the cause.

The capitalist will not loan his money when there is a probability that it will be paid back to him in a depreciated currency; and the merchant, the manufacturer, and the railroad operator, are therefore unable to command money or credit for the transaction of business. This condition of affairs immediately finds its way to the wage-earner, who wants money for his labor, and to the farmer, who wants money for his products. This want of confidence has gone abroad in the land. The rich and the poor, the wise and the unwise, the wage-earner who toils in the field or the workshop, the business man behind his counter, and the manufacturer, the hum of whose machinery is hushed into silence, are all confronted with a situation which it is our patriotic duty to relieve. [Applause.]

Mr. BLAND. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. BLAND. If the occasion of the alarm is what the gentleman states, I would like to ask him how it is that England not only returns to this country our obligations, which are made payable in currency and in coin, but is returning at the same rate of discount, without a particle of difference in the exchange, the obligations which are made payable expressly in gold?

Mr. PATTERSON. My answer to that question, and I believe it to be correct, is this: Gold would come into this country, even if it was at a premium, but the fact that gold returns to this country is no sufficient reason why under present conditions it should flow into the channels of trade and commerce. Our people may hoard gold, they may import it from England, their coffers may overflow with it, but it does not follow that they will put it into circulation on a parity with silver until something is done to relieve the situation.

Mr. ALLEN of Mississippi. Are they not hoarding all sorts of currency?

Mr. PATTERSON. I think so. I know of a gentleman of intelligence who has hoarded $5,000 in silver certificates; I know of a lady who took $13,000 in currency out of a bank in Memphis and locked it up in a vault; I know of a laboring man who hid $500 in currency. These people were frightened, but they do not understand the cause. My friend from New York [Mr. HENDRIX], who addressed the House on yesterday, who is a banker, and who has studied the conditions which environ our circulation, knows the reason. The masses, who toil in the field and the workshop, are the principal sufferers from monetary panics, and yet they have neither the time nor the opportunity to understand the derangement of our monetary system.

Mr. BLAND. I desire to ask the gentleman whether the people are taking the money out of the banks because they are doubtful about the value of the money, or because they are afraid of the banks? [Laughter.]

Mr. PATTERSON. I will answer that question. In the city of Memphis, in which I live, there has not been a bank failure in twenty years, and there is not a man, woman, or child living in that community, so far as my knowledge extends, who suspects any bank in the city. They are perfectly solvent and are esteemed to be so by their patrons. That is my answer to the gentleman's question.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I desire to state that I do not wish to reflect upon the banks. I think it is all a mistake for people to take money out of solvent banks; but some of the banks were not very solvent, and the people got scared and took the money out of them.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. If it be true that the masses who are scared by the causes which the gentleman states, but which they do not understand, and that the capitalist, who does understand this question, is scared for a different reason, why is it that the capitalists are to-day paying a premium for the silver dollar in New York City?

Mr. PATTERSON. Well, that, Mr. Speaker, is a business matter which I have not investigated. [Laughter.]

Mr. BYNUM. They are paying a premium for paper money, too.

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, they are paying a premium, I understand, for other small currency. I can not give the reason for that, unless it be to secure currency to pay wage-earners. The question is outside my line of thought and of my argument.

Now, sir, I desire to call attention to the fact that President Cleveland in December, 1885, sent his annual message to Congress, in which he graphically portrayed the very events which are transpiring to-day. He gave the country warning then. He told Congress that this crisis would ultimately be precipitated upon the people, and just how and why it would occur. Then he was a prophet. Now he comes with his special message, recommending the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, with that prophecy fulfilled.

We have come, Mr. Speaker, to the place where the roads fork. It is perfectly demonstrable that we can not maintain gold and silver on a parity in this country under a free-coinage act. The fluctuation of silver in the markets of the world is too great. Independently and alone we can not take the risk of unlimited free coinage. The time has come when we must take our choice. We must retain the single gold standard, as we have done in the past, or abandon it and go to the single silver standard. This is an alternative forced upon us by the environments of the age in which we live, and we can not do otherwise if we would than to accept it and make our choice.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. COOMBS. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time be extended. We would like to hear him further on this question.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. BOATNER). How much time does the gentleman desire?

Mr. PATTERSON. I can not tell exactly how soon I shall be able to finish my remarks.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from New York (Mr. COOMBS) asks unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. PATTERSON) be extended so as to allow him to conclude his remarks.

There was no objection.

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, I am very much obliged to the House for its courtesy. Now, sir, I was remarking we have come to the time when we must elect. We must retain the single gold standard or we must abandon it and precipitate the country to the single silver standard. That is the crisis now upon the country; that is the alternative which is forced upon us. I beg to say I do not want it that way; I would rather have it otherwise; but my judgment tells me that we must make the choice. Now, which shall we do? We already have the gold standard; we have had the gold standard since the 1st day of January, 1879.

I prefer to retain that standard. I prefer it because the people prefer it. I prefer it because gold is more convenient than silver.

I prefer it because gold is the standard of commerce throughout the world. I prefer it because it is the standard of the nations to which we sell our products, and it is the money with which we must adjust our balances of trade. I prefer it because if we retain the gold standard we can assimilate with our currency not only the silver now coined, but the bullion in the Treasury. But if we abandon the gold standard and drift to the silver standard, then gold will become a commodity; it will no longer be a part of our currency, and we will take our place, not with the enlighted nations of Christendom, but side by side with China, with the Republic of Mexico, with the republics of Central and South America, and every other semicivilized country on the globe.

I desire to say that I am willing to go as far as any member of Congress in the direction of protecting our silver now in circulation. I am willing to do all I can in the way of legislation; in the way of increasing our circulation by the amount of the uncoined silver in the Treasury. In order to bolster up silver I would vote for an act prohibiting the coinage of gold below the denomination of ten dollars, and to refund the gold coins below that denomination into eagles and double eagles. I would vote for an act calling in every Treasury note, every national-bank note, every greenback note under the denomination of ten dollars, and to refund them into denominations of ten dollars and upward. I would be willing to provide by law that the entire circulation of this country below the denomination of ten dollars should be silver or silver certificates. I would go further than that; I would vote for a law requiring the national banks to receive and pay out silver on a parity with gold, and I would forfeit their charters if they refused to comply with it. I would go further, and in order to hold silver on a parity I would make silver redeemable in multiples of ten dollars in Treasury notes. I would retain the ratio of 16 to 1.

By these and similar precautions we could hold in circulation on a parity with gold every dollar of silver now coined, and coin and put in circulation every ounce of silver in the Treasury. This would give us a silver circulation amounting to $700,000,000, about the amount in circulation in the Republic of France. If France, with less population, smaller territory, and fewer resources than we have, can take care of that amount of silver money, I see no reason why we should not do so. But gold, as in France, would be the standard, and silver would be the younger brother, leaning its head upon the shoulder of gold.

Mr. SIMPSON. Will the gentleman permit me a moment?

Mr. PATTERSON. Go ahead.

Mr. SIMPSON. I would like to ask the gentleman whether he still holds to the same views that he announced during the first session of the last Congress. Speaking on the 10th of March, 1892, of the Republican Administration and its policy, he said:

Now, let us trace its legislative history since the close of the war and see how perfectly it has conformed to the bidding of its masters. In respect to the currency it began by the demonetization of silver. At the time silver was disgraced and barred as a money metal it was at a premium and was not in circulation. Coin at this juncture was unknown to the people and consequently the blow at silver was not then felt; and the people, even the wisest of the people in official life, did not realize or even know what had been done. No one but the conspirators dreamed of the far-reaching effects of this secret stab at silver, which had been recognized as a money metal from the earliest dawn of history. Then followed the process of rapid approach to the resumption of specie payment which occurred in 1879. The currency during that period appreciated in value and all property correspondingly depreciated, leaving a vortex in which was swallowed up in large measure the prosperity of the people.

Mr. PATTERSON. I take pleasure in answering the gentleman. In 1873 the people of this country were enormously in debt and we had an enormous national debt. I believe that at that time the coinage of the silver dollar ought to have been continued, and that the people, as well as the Government, ought to have had the opportunity to pay their debts then existing in the cheaper currency, because it was the currency when the debts were contracted. But that has been twenty years ago. The wrong then committed has passed into history. We live now under different conditions. The debts then existing have been practically paid. Nearly three-fourths of the national debt has been paid and the remainder has been funded at a lower rate of interest. The proposition now confronting us is entirely different. We have been at the gold standard since the 1st day of January, 1879. Every contract made since that date has reference to that standard. We can not, independently of international coöperation, adopt the double standard. I am not willing to attempt to secure an impossible double standard and make the United States the laughingstock of Christendom by driving it to the silver standard. [Applause.]

Mr. SIMPSON again arose.

Mr. PATTERSON. The gentleman must excuse me. I have yielded to him once, and I do not wish to get into a colloquial discussion. One word more. I maintain and will always maintain my right to change my opinions upon all public questions, where, on further information and reflection, I am convinced that I was in error. I will never, so long as I am in public life, foolishly adhere to an error when I can correct it. I say very frankly to the gentleman from Kansas that I have modified my views on this subject to this extent: Before I investigated the subject I was of the opinion that we could, independently of the outside world, adopt the double standard. I am as much in favor of free bimetallic coinage as I ever was, but I now believe that that result can only be brought about by international agreement.

I have discussed this subject somewhat freely with the people I have the honor to represent during the last canvass, and I said everywhere to them that on reflection I was inclined to the opinion that our candidate for the Presidency was right in his views on this subject. I have no hesitancy, at any time or place, in the correction of a mistake. Suppose a client should walk into a lawyer's office some evening with a case, and the lawyer should advise him to pursue a certain course, but on reflection he should be of a very different opinion the next morning. Now, that lawyer would be a pretty fool, at the next consultation with his client, to insist that he should pursue the error which he had advised him to adopt the evening before. "Consistency," says Carlyle, "is the hobgoblin of little minds." I do not subscribe to the doctrine, "Once a fool, always a fool." [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. SIMPSON. Then the gentleman is willing to concede that he was in error at that time?

Mr. SNODGRASS. Will my colleague yield for a question?

Mr. PATTERSON. I am speaking now with the indulgence of the House, and am getting quite tired.

Mr. SNODGRASS. Only a pertinent question in connection with what you have just said.

Mr. PATTERSON. Very well, what is it?

Mr. SNODGRASS. I want to know if the lawyer my colleague refers to should advise his client on a very important question at night, and make such a sudden change and confess his ignorance in the morning, if it would not awaken fears in the client as to the ability of the lawyer?

Mr. PATTERSON. My answer to that is that while it might weaken the confidence of the client in the ability of the lawyer, it would at the same time very much strengthen the confidence of the client in his honesty. [Great applause.]

Mr. Speaker, there are certain popular delusions pervading the country to which I desire to call the attention of the House. One of these is, that the situation which has made it necessary for the President to call Congress in extra session, was brought about by means of a conspiracy. It reminds me of the old-time charges that Jefferson Davis was alone responsible for the war between the States; that all of the Southern people were peacefully disposed and wanted to remain in the Union, but Mr. Davis wanted them to go out, and they went out; when the truth was, Mr. Davis appeared only to the public eye on the crest of the storm; whereas the cause which produced the storm emanated out of conditions existing at the formation of our Government. So now, we find on this floor, men in whose intelligence and patriotism I have confidence, saying that this crisis in our affairs, affecting alike every section of our common country, and every class of our citizens, is the result of a conspiracy, and that the banks are conspiring and have conspired to bring it about.

Why, Mr. Speaker, the banks are the first to feel the effects of a financial panic, and the recent decline in the price of bank stocks all over the country shows this. The banks, the manufacturers, and the business establishments of the country are the first to take alarm and the earliest to suffer in such times as these. From them the distress reaches to the toilers in the field and the workshop, and there it remains the longest. This assumption is not only unwarranted, but it is dangerous and foolish to impress such a doctrine on our fellow-citizens. It is much wiser to trace the cause, as the President has done in his message, to vicious financial legislation. Again, it is said that the masses of the people are opposed to the financial policy of the Administration, and that Southern or Western members who entertain views in common with the President on this subject are antagonizing the people who sent them here.

In this connection, let me call attention to recent history. Mr. Cleveland was first elected President in 1884. Soon after his election, and before he was inaugurated, he wrote the letter to the Hon. A. J. Warner, dated February 24, 1885. On the 8th of December, 1885, he sent his annual message to Congress, and on the 10th of February, 1891, he wrote his letter to the Reform Club. In these several papers, Mr. Cleveland, with his usual boldness and frankness, not only took grounds against the Bland-Allison act, but against the free, unlimited, and independent coinage of silver. The position of no American statesman on any subject was ever better known by the people, or more widely discussed, than was the position of Mr. Cleveland on the silver question. It was often asserted through the public press that it precluded his nomination in 1892.

Mr. SNODGRASS. Will my colleague allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. PATTERSON. I hope my colleague will not again interrupt me.

Mr. SNODGRASS. Just one question.

Mr. PATTERSON. Very well.

Mr. SNODGRASS. When Cleveland was a candidate for the Presidency you knew all these things, did you not?

Mr. PATTERSON. I did.

Mr. SNODGRASS. Were you not a strong advocate of the nomination of DAVID B. HILL?

Mr. PATTERSON. I was not.

Mr. SNODGRASS. Did you not talk to myself and others in his interest?

Mr. PATTERSON. I have never said one word against Senator HILL, and have always spoken kindly of him.

Mr. SNODGRASS. Did you not say words for him?

Mr. PATTERSON. I shall not refer upon this floor to any private conversation which occurred between my colleague and myself. [Applause.] I do not recall the conversation he refers to, but my colleague has no right to call me to account for any conversation on this floor, and I shall not refer to it. My attitude on this question was not assumed because I was for President Cleveland or Senator HILL, or anybody else. I am advocating what I believe to be the proper solution of an absorbing public question in the interest of my constituency and the country at large, and any conversation I may have had with my colleague in our daily intercourse is not pertinent or proper for discussion on this floor. [Applause.]

I was going on to say, Mr. Speaker, that Mr. Cleveland, in view of his well-known attitude on this subject, was taken up by the South and West and nominated for the Presidency. Now, my distinguished friend from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], who made the opening speech for his side, threatened with defeat every member from the great Mississippi Valley who sustains the financial policy of the President. In reply, I say the States in the great Mississippi Valley, notwithstanding he did not have the support of his own State, with a spontaniety never surpassed in popular government demanded his nomination and election, and the people of those States have abiding faith in him and will uphold and support his Administration.

Another delusion in the minds of some of our friends of Populist tendencies is that the President's financial policy is in the interest of what they call the money power, and they never tire in their denunciation of the greedy creditors. Mr. Speaker, who are the creditors of this country? The very men which these gentlemen assume to be the creditors are really the debtors. The railway companies, the manufacturers, and the business men of the country, are really the borrowers of money. The wage-earners and those who work for salaries are the real creditors. I do not overestimate the number when I say there are 20,000,000 of people, men, women, and children, who are working for wages. Assume that they earn $10 a week, and they are creditors every Saturday night to an amount exceeding $200,000,000, and the amount of money due them annually by the week, by the month, or by the year, exceeds all the gold and all the silver in circulation on the habitable globe. These are the people who are really most interested in sound finance. Disturb the unit of value, bring distrust, panic, and financial disaster upon the country, and they and their wives and children are the ones who are impoverished and starved in the wreck of commerce, the suspension of manufactories, and the bankruptcy of the business men of the country.

Another delusion is, that cheap money necessarily means plenty of money. The facts which transpired during the civil war exposes this fallacy. National bank notes and greenbacks, being the cheaper money, drove gold and silver entirely out of circulation during the suspension of specie payments. The highest amount of these notes in circulation at any one time was $804,787,480. On the 1st day of January, 1862, it was estimated that we had on hand in gold and silver $250,000,000. During the suspension of specie payments, our mines produced in gold $751,650,000 and $379,000,000 in silver, aggregating a coin production during the period of $1,130,650,000, which, added to the stock on hand January 1, 1862, foots up a total of $1,380,650,000. Our stock of gold and silver on hand January 1, 1879, the date of resumption, amounted to $332,258,031, which, being deducted from the amount on hand when suspension took place and the amount produced during that period, leaves $1,048,391,969 in coin which was driven out of the country by the cheaper money—a sum $243,604,489 greater in amount than the highest aggregate of greenback and national bank circulation that was in use at any time during that period. These figures illustrate what would occur in the event gold should go to a premium in this country. It is true we would have cheaper money, but it is furthermore true that our stock of gold, amounting to $650,000,000, would be forced out of circulation.

Another hypothesis assumed by the other side in debate is, that there has been a very great appreciation of money and depreciation of property, growing out of the scarcity of money. For twenty-five years we have been attributing all the inequalities in the condition of our people, not to the scarcity of money, but to unjust taxation. I am sorry to say that some gentlemen have traveled so far in the direction of the People's party as to attribute the vast inequalities in the distribution of wealth to the absence of cheap money and plenty of money, and they talk about the appreciation of gold and the depreciation of property as glibly as the Populist orator. We have been at the gold standard since the 1st day of January, 1879, and whatever accumulations of wealth we have had in the past ten years have been measured by that standard.

I hold in my hand a statement signed by the Superintendent of the Census. It shows that in 1850 the estimated value of property in the United States was $7,125,000,000. In 1860 it was $16,159,000,000. In 1870 it was $30,068,000,000. The latter estimation was in the inflated currency of the war period. In 1880 it was $43,642,000,000. In 1890 it amounted to the enormous sum of $63,648,000,000. We have had, therefore, a much greater increase in the estimated value of property in this country from 1880 to 1890 than in any other period during our history. The property of all the people, the hut of the poor, the mansion of the rich, are all measured by the same standard of value. If the standard had been too short we would not have had this vast accumulation of wealth. It is true there are vast inequalities in the distribution of this enormous wealth; but this does not grow out of the scarcity of money, but out of unjust and unequal taxation.

In conclusion, I beg to address a few remarks to my Southern colleagues. Those of them who know me know that every pulsation of my heart is in sympathy with the people with whom my lot is cast. I was born and reared in the South. The younger years of my manhood were spent in the Confederate army. For twenty-eight years I have longed for the upbuilding and uplifting of our Southern country. I have, in common with my old comrades, aspired to bring it into such relations with the Union that it could, without taking a single diadem of glory from its brow, maintain its relations in the Union with loyalty, with dignity, and with honor. [Great applause.]

For more than thirty years we have had a fearful struggle. We have had a struggle for local self-government. We have had a struggle for equal taxation. We have had a long and weary march. At last we have won a triumph for local self-goverment and for just taxation. At last both Houses are Democratic and we have a Democratic President. And now, that we are about to achieve peace and prosperity and justice for our people, the Aarons appear to persuade us that we will never see the fruition of our hopes until we secure a cheap dollar. They are breeding distrust among our people. They go out and denounce New York City all over the Southern States as a Sodom and Gomorrah, and call upon their people to cast their lot with the Populists of Kansas and Colorado.

I shall never forget, and you can never forget, my Southern colleagues, that New York City has been the Malakoff of the intrenched camp of the Democracy during all these years of our travail. This great metropolis, predestined by the Almighty when he created the hemispheres to be the metropolis of North America, has alwas been our friend and has always been Democratic. [Applause.] It has always contended for local self-government in the Southern States and held its shield between us and those who would oppress us. Whenever the sky was dark in every other direction, we of the South could always look with confidence to New York City for succor and sympathy. It has from the beginning struggled in common with us against Federal interference in our local affairs, while the Seymours, the Tildens, and the Clevelands of New York inspired the movement for tariff reform, and have brought the American people back to a sense of their constitutional obligations. [Applause.]

Mr. PENCE. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. PATTERSON. No, excuse me. I am in haste to conclude. These Aarons attribute the depressed condition of the people to the absence of cheap money and not to unjust taxation. For twenty-five years, upon every stump and upon every highway in the South, we have preached the doctrine of unjust, unequal, and unfair taxation, and now that we have elected to the Presidency by an overwhelming majority the recognized tariff-reform leader of the country, we are in this crisis, brought about by the fear of cheap money, persuaded to follow that *ignis fatuus* into a wilderness of financial disaster, confusion, and bankruptcy.

They tell our people that they are overwhelmed with debt. It is true that a people absolutely stripped of money and personal property by the ravages of war must necessarily accumulate slowly under the administration of laws by which they are taxed unequally and unjustly.

It is true that, in comparison with other sections of the Union,

our people are still poor; but it is furthermore true, that when compared with them we are practically out of debt. Pennsylvania sustains about the same relation to the North that Alabama does to the South, and it is instructive to introduce a comparison between them. In taking the census there was an estimate made of the mortgage indebtedness on lands in the respective States. The estimate embraces all lands measured by the acre and by the lot. The mortgages in Alabama amount to only $39,000,000, while the mortgages on acres and lots in Pennsylvania amount to $613,000,000.

The mortgage indebtedness of Pennsylvania, a State whose people would gladly see the purchasing clause of the Sherman act repealed, exceeds by $200,000,000 the aggregate mortgage indebtedness of the ten States which composed the Confederate States. My own State of Tennessee has a mortgage indebtedness of only $40,000,000, while your State, general [addressing Gen. BLACK of Illinois], has a mortgage indebtedness on acres and lots amounting to $380,000,000. It amounts in your State to $100 per capita, while in my State it amounts to only $23 per capita. In your State 19 per cent of the estimated value of real estate is mortgaged, while in my State there is only 8 per cent.

Again, in the South we make surplus crops of cotton and tobacco largely in excess of the demand of the American market. These products are shipped across the Atlantic and sold in the open free markets of the world. They are all practically shipped to the countries having a gold standard. After supplying all the spindles of the United States, the people of the Southern States since the war have shipped and sold in other countries, at free-trade prices, cotton which realized $5,000,000,000 in gold. Where has it gone to? Has the want of cheap money dissipated it? Has the want of a 65-cent dollar made it useless? No; it has been practically filched from the pockets of the Southern people by unjust tariff laws, and, so far as I am concerned, I intend to hold, if possible, my constituency to the issue of tariff reform until the system of protection, under which they have been robbed, is abolished. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I regard this as a grave and serious crisis in our affairs. It is a momentous crisis so far as the Southern States are concerned. No other section of the Union is forced to lean on the Democratic party for prosperity, good order, and good government like the South. Should either one of the amendments offered by my friend from Missouri meet with the approval of Congress, it seems to me inevitable that the President will veto the bill as a measure fraught with more mischief than the Sherman law. In that event, in my judgment, the present situation will develop into a condition of confusion and bankruptcy, which will discredit the Administration to such an extent that it may fall short in the accomplishment of the beneficent ends which we all have so much at heart.

I believe there is an imperative necessity for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law. This is the consensus of opinion throughout the business community of the United States. I do not go back to see what I have said here, or what I have said there, under different conditions, or unadvisedly. I am dealing with the living present. I am acting for a confiding and trustful constituency, whose interests it is my highest duty to protect. I am acting for the country at large, whose welfare it is my duty to promote. I do not look forward to the future to see what my personal or political fortunes may be. I would rather be right on this question than to return to Congress. I have given the subject much time and study. I have given those who sent me here my best efforts to solve the problem rightly, and I will answer to them for my vote. I have taken my stand. Others may take the course which duty and patriotism point out as best for their people and their country. So far as I am concerned, I am now, and shall always be, with Jefferson, with Jackson, with Tilden, and with Cleveland, for sound money, for economic government, for fair, just, and equal taxation, and home rule. [Prolonged applause.]

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished friend from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON] might have extended his Biblical history and reminded the House that the leader who had brought the children of Israel in sight of the promised land never lived to enter it. [Laughter.] I have, Mr. Speaker, been not a little diverted by the change in the arguments of our friends on the other side, and, as I heard the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX] on Saturday last describe what he called the "evolution of finance," I could not avoid thinking that some financiers had been undergoing that same process of evolution. [Laughter.] Up to within the past few months it was not common to find a pronounced advocate of the single standard in this country. The men who denounced silver and demanded its demonetization professed themselves to be bimetallists, but insisted that the ratio between the two metals could only be fixed by an international agreement; along this line the argument proceeded until now, and when they think that they have brought the people up to that point, they go a stage further, and beginning with the distinguished gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER], who opened this debate, one after another their leaders have declared that even an international agreement can not preserve the parity of these two metals. If they succeed in destroying silver money in this country now, ten years from to-day not one of them will vote for its rehabilitation under any circumstances.

Mr. Speaker, if the bill and substitute now pending before this House involved the use or disuse of silver as money in this country alone, it would be difficult to overstate their importance, and their importance is intensified many fold when we consider that the effect of our decision here will be practically to decide this question throughout the world, and perhaps for all time to come.

Gentlemen on the other side, at least, will not find it convenient to deny this view of the situation, because their argument of most frequent repetition is that the United States, even with the aid of other silver-using countries, can not maintain our double standard. If this be true, then it certainly must follow that the other countries, without the aid of the United States, can not maintain their single silver standard. And so it is, that whatever the form in which it may be presented, the great issue which confronts us, is the preservation or destruction of silver as a money metal amongst all nations.

I have been puzzled to understand why the representatives of a free people should desire such a result. I am aware, of course, that each of the two schools of monometallists gives us a different reason for the faith which they both profess. One school contents itself with the scholastic argument that the double standard is absurd. But, Mr. Speaker, it appears to me to be assuming very much—more, indeed, than any man in this day and generation is justified in assuming—to stigmatize a policy established by Alexander Hamilton, with the concurrence of Washington and Jefferson, as an absurdity. And especially so, sir, when that policy was continued in successful operation for more than eighty years, and those years, whether tested by the increase or by the distribution of our wealth, the most prosperous in our history. I prefer to receive my instruction on financial policies from that period which brought us peace and kept us in contentment, rather than from a narrow sect of intolerant and "bookish theorics."

The other school votes to establish a single standard because it does not believe that this Government can sustain the double standard against the practice of what gentlemen choose to call the commercial nations. Mr. Speaker, I am very free to say that this argument deserves the most careful consideration, and proceeding as it does from men with whom I agree on so many questions, I shall atttempt to make the best and most dispassionate answer to it that is within my power.

The serious, and I may say the fatal, vice of this argument is, that it overestimates the importance of our monetary system as related to our foreign commerce, and underestimates its importance as related to our domestic transactions. Our imports and exports added together aggregated less than $1,800,000,000 during the last fiscal year, while our dealings with one another in our own country will exceed this sum by more than twenty times, and it therefore appears to me too plain for disputation that we can not in justice to our people ignore the domestic aspect of this question.

Again, sir, in our foreign commerce the usual course of business is that we pay for our imports with our exports. If I send a shipload of cotton to Liverpool and bring a shipload of cotton goods back to this country, I can use the money or the exchange which I receive for my cotton in payment for my cotton goods. And even if I desire to trade with different countries I can still attain the same result. If I send a cargo of wheat to London and bring a cargo of wine from Paris, I can use my London exchange in payment for my Paris wine.

But, sir, there is another, and, as I think, a stronger answer still. It is this: In the settlement of international balances we seldom use either of the precious metals, except when the balance of trade is against us, and this occurs, and ought only to occur, at rare intervals. When we use them at all we do not use them as money. If we use gold or silver coin we use it as bullion and at its bullion value. You might double the amount of silver in your silver dollar or divide the amount of gold in your gold dollar without making any possible difference in the settlement of foreign balances, because they each would be taken then, as now, according to its weight and fineness.

What difference can it make to me whether the London merchant who owes me $6,000 pays me in six thousand gold dollars, worth a hundred cents on the dollar, or in ten thousand silver dollars worth 60 cents on the dollar? It might, indeed, make a very great difference if you would open your mints, because I could then coin my silver into American silver dollars, and the wheat or cotton which I sent abroad would discharge $10,000 of my debts, while to-day it acquits me of only $6,000.

It has become the fashion, Mr. Speaker, in the discussion of this question, to lay great stress upon the necessity of all commercial nations conforming to one financial system. Yet, sir, the history of the very country to which the advocates of this policy most frequently refer unanswerably refutes their argument. England for more than fifty years maintained her single gold standard, while all the countries with which she traded maintained either the single silver standard or the double standard of both gold and silver. Yet it is not averred in all the volumes of English history, nor is it asserted in her parliamentary debates, that the difference between her monetary system and that which prevailed in other countries ever interfered with English commerce. England adopted a single gold standard in 1816 when she was exhausted in blood and treasure by her long Napoleonic wars, but she maintained it alone against all the world. Shall we in the evening of this nineteenth century, with our sixty-five millions of people, with our free institutions, with our measureless resources, and with a wealth surpassing even the dream of Oriental fable, confess ourselves unequal to an easier task? To do so would be an impeachment of the wisdom of American statesmanship and a calumny upon American energy and American patriotism.

OBJECT OF DEMONETIZATION.

Mr. Speaker, great as the temptation is to pursue this argument of the monometallists further, I must desist; and I crave the indulgence of the House while I submit to it what I conceive to be the real purpose which inspires this last and greatest attack upon the silver money of the world. I do not mean to impute such motives to gentlemen on this floor; but I entertain no sort of doubt that the men who are behind this movement are simply striving to double the value of the money which will be left by destroying one-half of the money which now exists.

It is within the knowledge of every member of this body that this question of a standard assumed no special significance until after the gold discoveries in California, followed shortly afterward by those in Australia; and in the earlier stages of the controversy the avowed and only object of demonetizing either metal was to enhance the value of the metal which remained. In support of this assertion I send to the Clerk's desk an extract from the official résumé of the French monetary commission of 1869, which I will ask him to read.

The Clerk read as follows:

There has been a striking coincidence between the rise of prices and the production of the new mines of gold and silver. The annual production of the two metals, which was only $80,000,000 in 1847, exceeds now $200,000,000. It has nearly tripled, and it is easy to see that the real value of the metals has diminished. It is difficult to estimate exactly what the diminution is; but whatever it may be, it demands the attention of governments, because it affects unfavorably all that portion of the population whose income, remaining nominally the same, undergoes a yearly diminution of purchasing power. As governments control the weight and standard of money, they ought, so far as possible, to assure its value. And as it is admitted that the tendency of the metals is to depreciate, this tendency should be arrested by demonetizing one of them.

Mr. BAILEY. The concluding sentences of this paragraph, Mr. Speaker, state the doctrine of the monometallists, which is that whenever the accidents of mining threaten to increase the volume of money, and thus reduce its value, the Government should interfere for their protection.

In 1873 the monetary commission of the Netherlands convened and adopted the same reasoning. Two years after that, and one year after silver had been demonetized in this country, we find Victor Bonnet writing to the French Journal of Economy that—

What the world has to fear is not so much the scarcity of gold as the decline in the value of all money, if we keep both the precious metals in use as money.

It is true that the effort to demonetize gold—and the first effort was in that direction—proceeded upon an exaggerated estimate of the production of gold and silver in the new mines. Mr. Ruggles, who was a delegate from the United States to the International Monetary Conference at Paris in 1867, declared to that body that the production of the precious metals in this country alone, long before the close of this century, would reach three or four hundred million dollars, and insisted that the work of "unification"—which was but another expression for the destruction of one metal—could not commence too soon.

I have here a book which comprises a series of articles contributed to the current prints in 1854, 1855, and 1856, and it was deemed a work of such merit that Richard Cobden, the great apostle of free trade in England, translated it from the French into his own language. It was written by one of the most brilliant Frenchmen of his day, to persuade his countrymen to the demonetization of gold. He urged that course expressly upon the ground that the production of the precious metals in the new mines of the world had so greatly increased the store of metallic money that the only way to maintain its value was to destroy the money quality of one of the metals.

After discussing the effect of the discovery of these new mines, and predicting a continued increase in their production, he closes the chapter in these words:

Under circumstances similar to those which I have hurriedly enumerated, the only way to prevent a fall in the value of gold and a consequent rise in the price of all other commodities, would be the discovery of a new demand equal in extent to the increased supply thrown upon the markets of the western world.

His theory was that gold must be demonetized or a new demand found for it. He preferred its demonetization, and Germany, accepting his theory, actually demonetized it in 1857. England had previously adopted the single gold standard, and as its demonetization would depress the value of all money in her borders, she hesitated. She appointed a commission and sent it to California and Australia for the purpose of examining their mines and reporting on the extent and richness of their deposits. That report was such as to disarm the fear of England about the increase of those mines. Before a final conclusion was reached, however, the discovery of the great Comstock mine, followed by the opening of other silver mines, rendered it certain that the annual supply of silver would soon again exceed the annual supply of gold, and straightway the usurers of the world cried out that silver must be stricken down!

In 1872, the year before the war against silver was inaugurated here, the production of our silver mines reached $28,000,000—a greater sum than ever before in their history, and at the same time the production of gold had fallen lower than during any year since the discovery in California. The same condition prevailed elsewhere as here: the scale of silver production was a rising one; the scale of gold production was a falling one, and with unblushing impudence the men who for twenty years had been demanding that gold should be demonetized at once reversed their position and demanded the demonetization of silver. They were then, however, as their disciples are now, true to the interests of their clients and anxious to demonetize the most abundant metal. The policy which Chevalier taught is still being pursued. England and Germany could not agree in the demonetization of gold, but they have agreed to find a new demand for it, and they are everywhere united in their efforts to destroy silver as money and thus create the necessity of filling that vacuum with gold.

Of course, Mr. Speaker, the present advocates of monometallism in this country disclaim all purpose or desire to increase the value of money by reducing its quantity. Giving them the benefit of that disclaimer, let us judge them by the effect of their conduct, without reference to their motives. There is not one amongst them who will venture to affirm before this House that the amount of money in any country does not largely determine its purchasing power. There is no great writer on the subject of political economy who does not lay it down as a primary law in the science of money that as you increase its volume you diminish its value, and as you diminish its volume you increase its value. This was the doctrine of Ricardo, who declares that by limiting its quantity coin can be raised to any conceivable value. It was the doctrine of John Stuart Mill. It is the doctrine asserted in many places by Mr. Walker in his excellent work on money. Indeed, I do not believe that any writer of respectable authority can be found who denies it. And if it is true, then whatever may be the motives which actuate our friends in advocating a gold standard, the effect of their procedure must be to increase the value of money by reducing its quantity.

RESULTS OF DEMONETIZATION.

But, Mr. Speaker, it is a waste of time to detain this House in arguing that to make money scarcer makes it higher, and I pass to a consideration of the results which will follow the enactment of this bill into a law. An important and practical effect will be that an indescribable scramble for gold will ensue at once. There is not in the world enough gold to furnish France, Great Britain, Germany, the United States, and Austria with as much gold as France has to-day. Where, then, will the other nations of the world procure the gold with which to establish their gold standard? Procure it they must, and will, but in doing so they can neither acquire enough for their own use nor will they leave enough for the use of the nations from which they take it.

Mr. Ricardo asserts that the precious metals will be distributed among the nations of the world according to their commercial needs. He does not contend that each nation will acquire enough for all its needs, but only that the stock of money in each country will bear the same proportion to its needs as the stock of money in other countries bears to their needs. This proposition has passed into the science of money as a fixed law, and according to it, if all countries adopt the gold standard, a redistribution of gold must occur. The dullest man in this House does not need to be told the consequences of this. The operation would manifest itself first in a tendency to limit purchases and increase sales on the part of all those countries which find it necessary or desirable to obtain gold. Nowhere is this tendency exhibited more plainly than in a recent report of the Treasury Department.

which shows that during the last fiscal year our exports have fallen off more than two hundred millions, and our imports have increased over ninety millions, as compared with the previous one. Allowing $50,000,000 for the mistake which is said to have been made our imports still exceed our exports during the previous fiscal year by more than $40,000,000.

We have another and impressive object lesson as to the effect of gold acquisition by other nations. During the past eighteen months the English banks, under the advice of Mr. Goschen, have been increasing their gold reserves. Austria-Hungary has been buying gold to complete the establishment of a gold standard. Under the influence of these two demands we have exported something more than one hundred millions of gold, and the country is threatened with a panic. Yet with a strange infatuation, gentlemen who declare that these evils are attributable to our exportation of gold are advocating a policy which is certain to more than double that exportation.

They tell us that we can go into the open markets of the world with our bonds and buy gold enough to insure the safety of our gold reserve; but if this bill becomes a law you will meet the other nations of the earth in these same markets, with their bonds in their hands, trying to sell them for gold. Not only this; but the individual debtor in every country which undertakes to change its basis will be called upon by his bank to cancel his indebtedness, so that the bank can provide its gold reserve. The waters of every sea will be white with the sail of ships seeking a market in which they can exchange their produce and their merchandise for gold. The great mass of property thus forced upon the markets, coupled with the enormous demand for money, will reduce the price of all property to well nigh the point of confiscation. The combination of these two forces—this unprecedented offer of goods and this unprecedented demand for money—will be followed by a greater and more sudden divergence between the value of money and the price of commodities than has ever before been witnessed in the history of the world.

Under these circumstances the only thing which can avert a universal and destructive panic is that the silver-using nations, perceiving the danger, will undertake the gradual adoption of a gold standard. This, while it will not subtract anything from the total suffering imposed upon the debtor class, will render their misery less acute by distributing it over a longer length of time.

It is not denied, and can not be successfully denied, that a law of this kind works a hardship upon the creditors of any country by requiring more of their property to pay their debts. But we are told that they ought to be willing to suffer this single misfortune, however great it may be, in order to establish a sound and permanent system, and we are assured that these bad effects are only temporary. Mr. Speaker, that is but a partial view of the subject. This bill, if it becomes a law will inflict a great and permanent injury upon all classes of our people except the money-lending class and the class whose incomes are fixed. I mean by this that a contraction in the volume of our currency must be followed by a contraction in the volume of our business. No subtlety about a standard of value and no refinement about the use of credits can convince me against the truth of this proposition. I know there is not an intelligent banker in the United States who would retire one-half of his capital and still attempt to transact his business undiminished in amount. I know that there is not a merchant or manufacturer so mad as to believe that he can withdraw one-half of his capital from his business without contracting his business to answer the reduction of his capital.

Even, sir, if we consider money merely as a medium of exchange, it still must be admitted that the amount of money ought to bear some fair correspondence to the exchanges which it is expected to perform. Of course there are credit devices which economize its use, but they derive their value from the fact that they are promises to pay in the money of ultimate redemption. Take the money of final payment from behind the checks and drafts about which we hear so much, and they would not be worth the clean paper on which they are written. The amount of our money must determine the amount and the value of the credits which we can use. No reasonable man, of course, expects a dollar in money to support every dollar of credit, but every sensible man knows that the more money we have, the safer our credit becomes.

All great writers on political economy affirm that money is necessary in the development of civilization and the extension of commerce; that without it there can be no division of labor, with its resulting skill and other benefits. Concede that proposition, and it follows as a corollary that enough money is necessary to attain the highest development of civilization and the greatest extension of commerce, and when we restrict the amount of money below the requirements of the people we obstruct the progress of mankind.

Gold alone can not furnish a sufficient supply of money to meet the necessities of commerce and civilization. There is not one-half enough of it now, and the supply as compared with the demand is diminishing. During the last year its entire production was about $133,000,000. Of this amount, something like $33,000,000 were produced by the silver mines; this source of supply will be lost when the silver mines are closed and the world will be left with an annual increase of about $100,000,000. Of this amount it is estimated that more than $70,000,000 will be annually consumed in the arts and in dentistry, leaving about $30,000,000 for money uses, and this is not enough to replenish the losses and the abrasion from the present stock.

Mr. Speaker, I shudder to contemplate the effect of this catastrophe upon my race. A stagnation of business and a paralysis of industry must follow it. Another long night of intellectual darkness and political degradation will settle down upon the world; and there is now no new America whose discovery will re-illume the ages and unfetter commerce. An eminent historian, in a passage which can not be too frequently repeated, ascribes the great disasters beginning with the fifth century to a failure in the supply of the precious metals. I send to the Clerk's desk a quotation from Sir Archibald Alison's History of Europe, which I will ask him to read.

The Clerk read as follows:

The two greatest events which have occurred in the history of mankind have been directly brought about by a successive contraction and expansion of the circulating medium of society. The fall of the Roman Empire, so long ascribed, in ignorance, to slavery, heathenism, and moral corruption, was in reality brought about by a decline in the silver and gold mines of Spain and Greece. * * * And as if Providence had intended to reveal in the clearest manner the influence of this mighty agent on human affairs, the resurrection of mankind from the ruin which these causes had produced was owing to the directly opposite set of agencies being put in operation. Columbus led the way in the career of renovation; when he spread his sails across the Atlantic he bore mankind and its fortunes in his bark * * * The annual supply of the precious metal for the use of the globe has tripled; before a century had expired the price of every species of produce was quadrupled. The weight of debt and taxes insensibly wore off under the influence of that prodigious increase; in the renovation of industry the relations of society were changed, the weight of feudalism cast off, the rights of man established. Among the many concurring causes which conspired to bring about this mighty consummation, the most important, though hitherto the least observed, was the discovery of Mexico and Peru.

I have here [exhibiting a book] the earliest treatise written in favor of a single standard, and while the author does not attempt to trace the causes which produced the dark ages, he corroborates Mr. Alison as to the agencies which revived commerce, the arts, and learning. After describing the discovery of America, and tracing the progress of mining up to 1545, he proceeds in the passage which I will ask the Clerk to read.

The Clerk read as follows:

From 1545 the scene changes. In one of the gloomiest deserts on the face of the globe, in the midst of the rugged and inhospitable mountain scenery of upper Peru, chance revealed to a poor Indian who was guarding a flock of llamas a mine of silver of incomparable richness. A crowd of miners was instantly attracted by the report of the rich deposits of ore spread over the sides of this mountain of Potoccho, a name which for euphony the European nations have since changed to Potosi. The exportation of the precious metals from America to Europe now rose rapidly to an amount which equaled, weight for weight, 60,000,000 francs (£2,400,000) of our day, and it afterwards rose even to upwards of 80,000,000. At that time such a mass of gold and silver represented a far greater amount of riches than at present.

Under the influence of so extraordinary a supply the value of these precious metals declined in Europe in comparison with every other production of human industry, just as would be the case with iron or lead if mines were discovered which yielded those metals in superabundance as compared with their present consumption, and at much less cost of labor than previously; just, in fact, as occurs in the case of manufactures of every kind whenever, by improved processes or from natural causes of a novel kind, they can be produced in unusual quantities and at a great reduction of cost. This fall in the value of gold and silver, in comparison with all other productions, revealed itself by the increased quantity of coined metal which it was necessary to give for the generality of other articles, and it was thus that the working of the mines of America had necessarily for effect a general rise of prices; in other words, they made all other commodities dearer.

Mr. Speaker, I could multiply these evidences until I had exhausted my own strength and the patience of the House, but these seem sufficient to establish my contention.

FLUCTUATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO METALS.

Now, sir, upon what theory are we invited to subject our countrymen to these appalling consequences? Upon the inconclusive and unsatisfactory argument that the market value of gold and silver fluctuates. Gold and silver fluctuated, in 1792, when our mint was established, but Alexander Hamilton, after long and careful consideration of the whole question, decided in favor of the double standard, and gave as his reason that—

To annul the use of either of these metals is to abridge the quantity of the circulating medium, and is liable to all the objections which arise from the comparison of the benefits of a full with the evils of a scanty circulation.

I do not deny, sir, that there is, and always will be, some difficulty in adjusting and maintaining any given parity between the two metals; but I regard that difficulty as insignificant when compared with the evils which must result from reducing the world to an insufficient supply of money. Fluctuation in market value is not an insurmountable obstacle. Surely there is wisdom enough in the American Congress to meet and solve these difficulties as they may rise. Free coinage itself will powerfully con-

tribute toward correcting fluctuation and settling the relative value of the two metals.

It is nonsense to tell me that a law which permits me to coin 412½ grains of standand silver into a debt-paying dollar will not greatly enhance the price of silver. It will, at least, render it more valuable in the payment of debts, and while the advocates of gold seem to have entirely overlooked the function which money performs as a standard of deferred payments, many of our profoundest thinkers on the subject regard this function as secondary to none of money's other uses.

Almost every gentleman who has spoken upon the other side, in discussing this phase of the question, has fallen into the curious contradiction of first asserting that this Government, acting alone, can not raise the price of silver bullion, and then in almost the next sentence declaring that if we enter upon a policy of free coinage the silver of all the world will flow into our mints. Both propositions can not possibly be correct, because there could be no inducement for silver to come here unless a free-coinage law had raised it above its present price.

It is beyond dispute, however, that a free-coinage law will increase its price, and it is barely possible that its first impulse may be in this direction. But will it come in any considerable quantities? Nobody now pretends to believe that the silver coin of the Old World will be brought to our mints, because 15½ ounces of their silver coin will buy 1 ounce of gold, while here it will require 16 ounces to buy an ounce of gold, thus entailing a loss of more than 3 per cent, in addition to the freight and the risk which must be incurred in bringing it across the ocean.

The only practical question for us to consider in this connection, is as to silver bullion, and it will help us toward a clearer understanding of that to recall the amount and the conditions of its production. During the last year the world produced about $175,000,000 worth of silver bullion. Of this amount the United States produced about $75,000,000, leaving $100,000,000 produced by all the other countries. Of this $100,000,000 not less than $30,000,000 will be consumed in the arts and as subsidiary coin by gold-standard countries, leaving only $70,000,000 for full monetary uses. Will that $70,000,000 come to our mints? I do not believe it will, because I believe that the silver-standard countries will need it to increase their circulation, and in order to retain it they will find themselves obliged to pay a price sufficient to keep it. It will be the same case as might happen with our wheat. If the wheat crop of Europe fails, the price of wheat advances here, and we are glad to sell our surplus at the advanced price; but when our surplus is gone our sales are practically ended, because whatever price they might offer us for that part of our crop which we need for home consumption we can not and will not sell it. The more the foreigner offers for it, the more our own people would be compelled to pay because they can not part with their bread. So it would be with silver—whatever its price might be, foreign countries which need it to increase their circulation would be forced to retain it for that purpose.

We often hear it asserted that it is not demonetization, but the difference in the amount of their productions, which has caused the displacement of the parity between gold and silver. This can not be true, for if this were the explanation the same cause would have produced the same effect at other periods.

During the nearly fifty years from 1801, when Mr. Jefferson became President, until after the gold discovery in California and Australia in 1848, the production of silver more than doubled the production of gold throughout the world, but their parities were without violent variations. Almost in a single year their relative production was reversed, and for a series of years the production of gold was more than twice the production of silver, and still their ratios were not seriously disturbed.

From 1687, the time when the world began to renew its liberties and its commercial vigor, down to 1873, when the silver dollar was dropped from our list of coins, the ratio between gold and silver fluctuated, but it never fell as low as 14 to 1, and never rose as high as 16 to 1, except in the two years of 1812–'13. They were both full money metals during that period; but since 1873, when one was left a money and the other degraded to a commodity, the ratio has risen from less than 16 to 1 to more than 27 to 1. The market value of gold and silver varies to-day so widely because one is a full money metal and the other is a commodity, and their value will continue to vary so long as this relation continues. The way, and the only way, to elevate and steady the price of silver is to open your mints to its free and unlimited coinage, and thus create, as a great nation like this easily can, an unlimited demand for silver at its coining value.

FOR WHOSE BENEFIT IS THIS DONE?

Mr. Speaker, it may not be improper for me to conclude my part of this discussion with a hasty glance at the classes who are to be benefited or injured by the enactment of this measure, which destroys a portion of the money of the world. The French monetary commission in 1869 declared that demonetization was for the benefit of those whose incomes are fixed. One of the earliest advocates of the single standard, discussing it in a country where the people did not rule and where, therefore, the object of all legislation and its effects could be frankly admitted, declares the same thing in a passage which I send to the Clerk's desk to be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

All commodities excepting gold, and every kind of property excepting that of which the income is from the present fixed, as is the case with the Government funds, ought, from the moment that the monetary crisis is terminated, to have attained in a gold currency double the price which they are at present worth, upon the supposition, quite arbitrarily, I admit, of the depreciation reaching 50 per cent. Thus, a house or a landed estate now worth £4,000, or 100,000 francs, would then sell for £8,000, or 200,000 francs.

The hectolitre of corn or of wine, the quintal of iron, or the meter of calico will undergo the same rise, at least if no change conducive to cheapness be introduced into the conditions of their production or into the relation between the supply and demand. It will be the same eventually with the wages of labor, and with all personal services, whether rendered in the factory or on the farm, or from the liberal professions; we are warranted in believing that their value will have doubled.

Thus, as a definite analysis, the proprietors of lands, houses, and other real estates, manufacturers, merchants, and their auxiliaries of every kind; public functionaries of all ranks; and also those who follow the different learned professions, will all find themselves in the end compensated in the new state of things with advantages equal to those which they now enjoy—all other things being equal. It is another class of persons, whom we have previously defined in a general way, who have to submit to a sacrifice in proportion to the fall in the precious metal.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, the other class of persons whom this writer says he has previously defined in a general way are described on a preceding page of the same chapter as the "income class." The proposition asserted here is, that the increase of money affects all classes favorably except the income class and the owners of government funds. The converse of the proposition must therefore be true, that a decrease in the amount of money affects the income class and the owners of government funds favorably and affects all other classes unfavorably. The authorities are unvarying and unequivocal in declaring that a decrease in the volume of money benefits nobody except the income class and the holders of government funds, and that the increase of money benefits everybody except them.

I do not believe, sir, that legislation ought to be shaped for the benefit of any particular class; but if special privileges must be conferred by law on somebody, they ought to be conferred in accordance with the time-honored maxim of Democracy, which declares the sum of wise government to be comprehended in the motto: "The greatest good to the greatest number."

It is useless to disguise, or to attempt to disguise, the fact that, in a large degree, this is a contest between the debtors and the creditors of the world. The debtors are willing to pay in the money of their contract, desiring, however, to exercise the option which the law has allowed them. The creditors are determined to destroy that option, and thus compel a payment in the more valuable money, rendered more valuable still by the aid of legislation.

We have even been pleaded with in this Hall to preserve the faith of the Government untainted. I trust, sir, that the American Congress needs no such urgence. I do not believe there is a thoughtful American citizen in this broad land, and surely there is not an American Representative in this Hall who does not unswervingly insist that every contract of his Government shall be fulfilled religiously and according to its terms.

But, sir, I am no more willing that Congress should take from the people and give to the bondholders than I am that it shall take from the bondholders and give to the people. It is one of those rules which works both ways, and ought to work either way with equal justice.

Our fathers sold these bonds, and the purchasers had it explicity nominated in the law that they were payable in coin of the standard then existing. Let us pay them precisely as our fathers agreed to pay them, and to the utmost farthing, even if it takes the pound of flesh and the heart's best blood goes with it. This far every honest man should be willing and anxious to go, but not one step farther. The law which authorized the issuance and sale of these bonds provided that they could be paid in gold dollars containing 25.8 grains of standard gold or in silver dollars containing 412½ grains of silver nine-tenths fine. This much I would pay if it impoverished our children, but one scruple more than this I will never consent to give.

It is a principle of both law and justice, sir, that a contract is faithfully kept when discharged according to its stipulations. This principle is as old as this Government—older indeed, because it was cherished and taught by the wise men in other lands before the dream of this Republic had ever glorified a patriot's brain.

OUR PLEDGES.

Sir, I think that, under our form of government, it is just as important that the Representative should keep his faith with his

constituents as it is that the Government should keep its faith with our creditors. We made a formal and a solemn promise last year that we would use both gold and silver as the standard money of this country; and, with the talk of "good faith" upon your lips, are you willing to repudiate your highest obligation?

Sir, the responsibility shall rest not upon us. Neither the bondholder nor the people shall be able to charge us with bad faith. We are not only ready to pay our bonds as we stipulated to pay them, but we are also ready to redeem the pledge which we made to the people at the last election and upon which we sought their suffrages.

We stand for no partial redemption. We go for a full, complete, and perfect performance of both the letter and the spirit of our promise.

I say to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON], and to those who are acting with him on this question, that if they will first join us in reëstablishing the equality of gold and silver, both at the mints and before the law, we will then join them in maintaining that equality in the melting pot as well as across the counter.

In other words, sir, we will coin for them a silver dollar that shall stand the test of fire as well as of commerce. Place gold and silver bullion on precisely the same conditions, and we will bind ourselves to make and keep the gold and silver dollar of the same intrinsic value. There is no Democrat here, and there are no Democrats elsewhere, who demand anything for silver which they do not readily concede to gold. As for my part, I would forfeit the good will of my people, and retire forever from the public service, before I would vote, after having restored the equal privilege of these two metals, to then permit them coined into dollars of unequal value. My constituents desire no such arrangement as this.

But, gentlemen, you deceive yourselves as to the temper of the people on this subject if you imagine that you can pacify them by shallow declamations about a dishonest dollar. If the present silver dollar is not an honest one, the people are willing to make it so, according to any reasonable definition that can be proposed, and all they ask of you to-day is an opportunity to fairly test the matter. Will you deny them this? Dare you do so in the face of your platform? If you do, then when you come again to ask their confidence and their support they may answer you with the bitter words of Macbeth about the weird sisters:

> And be these juggling fiends no more believ'd,
> That palter with us in a double sense:
> That keep the word of promise to our ear
> And break it to our hope.

You may go on, and in a blind obedience to the commands of the rich and powerful, you may strike down the money of the people and destroy the coinage of the Constitution. You may forget the millions who toil in the workshops and fields of this land, but they will not forget you. They are patient and long suffering, but they can not and will not endure all things, and when the heartless exactions of avarice have ground their faces into the dust, and aggravated their burdens beyond their capacity to bear them, they will arouse themselves to a consciousness of their strength, and then, when it may be too late, you will find what it is, having sown the wind, to reap the whirlwind.

If you do this work faithfully and well, the people will bless the memory of this Congress for generations and generations to come. If you do it ill, they will undo what you have done, and they will not only sweep from the statute book the unjust law which you have written there, but they will drive forever from power and place the recreant representatives who have betrayed their confidence and disappointed their hopes. [Applause.]

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I think that this is a question upon which Democrats can very readily differ without being accused of having abandoned their party principles. I know at one time I entertained a very different opinion upon this question from what I entertain to-day. But I am one of those who believe in the lessons of experience, and I am disposed to learn by the tests of prosperity as well as adversity. I am a bimetallist, and shall vote to arrive at the double standard by what, in my opinion, is the only route that will lead to that end. I shall not quarrel with those who prefer another road.

The President of the United States, following the privilege conferred upon him by the national Constitution, has called the Congress of the United States together to meet what he says is a grave and a serious crisis. He has performed his whole duty in the premises; he has taken himself from the city of Washington to his quiet summer retreat, and has left it to this body, united with the Senate of the United States, to determine upon the measures that should be adopted for the benefit of the American people. And I am glad that Grover Cleveland is not here to-day endeavoring to exercise any influence of any kind or character upon the action of the individual members of Congress. He has performed his duty, and he has left it to us to perform ours; and I am willing to assume the responsibility along with three hundred and fifty-five other gentlemen in this House and eighty-eight members of the Senate of the United States.

We are told that we are facing a crisis. The first question that actually comes to us is, what is the crisis, and what has brought it about, and then what is the remedy to stave it off or abolish it?

What has caused the present crisis? Why is it that all over this land we see banks failing in all directions, find great business enterprises coming to a sudden halt, and men by the thousands thrown out of employment? In my opinion there is among many others one great fundamental reason that has more to do with it than anything else, and that is the lack of confidence upon the part of the American people.

The next question for us to consider is, what has brought to pass the lack of confidence that we now find prevailing North, East, West, and South? What is it? My distinguished friend from the State of Missouri [Mr. BLAND], whom I admire as highly as I do any member of this body, tells us that it is because we have failed to adopt the unlimited coinage of the silver dollar at a ratio of 16 to 1. Now, I admire that gentleman's courage. I admire his sincerity, and, above all, I honor and revere the loyalty with which he has adhered to what, under the present conditions throughout the world, must be a failing cause.

A year ago I was disposed to think differently upon this question from what I think now. Then, I am free to confess, I had given it no study, and I was ready to vote as I then thought was right, and I did vote at that time as I thought to be upon the right side of that question. Then I believed that. I believed that the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 was our safest policy regardless of the action of the other commercial nations. I have studied this question, have examined and investigated it to the best of my ability, and I have found that I was in error in former days; and finding now what I believe to be the right course, I for one am ready to pursue and stand by it to the bitter end, whether it lead to my political defeat or political victory at the polls this coming election: and finding how mistaken was my judgment in the past I am not one to stand here and charge other men on the floor of this House with dereliction to their duty to their constituents, or with the violation of promises which they are alleged to have made to their people.

Now, what is the condition of affairs prevailing in this country, which has brought to pass the disasters and misfortunes of which we complain? I attribute that condition more to the use of unsound money than to any other known cause. I believe that nine-tenths of the financial panics, nine-tenths of the business failures that have been entailed upon the civilized world are due to the fact that the world has time and again surrendered itself to the evils of an unsound finance. We have seen in this country every method of finance advocated. We have beheld men of known intelligence advocating every theory upon the subject, whether history has contradicted them or not. All forms of fiat money have found friends, and nearly every financial folly has been greeted with applause.

What of other countries? Carry yourselves a hundred years back, and what do you find to have been the action of France, one of the most enlightened among the nations? At that time the French people were embarked in a great revolution? They thought they needed money to carry on the war that had been declared against them on the part of nearly all Europe. What did they do? They issued an almost unlimited quantity of paper money. They based it on what? Not on the only thing in which paper money could then be redeemable—coin, gold and silver then being the money of all nations but they first confiscated nearly two-thirds of the entire land of France, the land that was held by the nobles and by the priesthood, and said that they would make that land good for the redemption of this currency called the assignat currency of France.

Several thousand millions of francs were issued. In the course of a few years what was it worth? Just what Confederate money was worth when Lee laid down his arms on the 9th day of April, 1865. To replace the assignat came the mandat. Several thousand millions of them were issued, and in a few years more the same thing followed as to them, because the mandat was not redeemable in coin, not redeemable in money that was recognized as money throughout the civilized world. It met the fate that all fiat money has met at all times and under all circumstances, and became absolutely worthless, and was that much waste paper in the hands of the citizens of France.

The lessons of history tell us that a single nation's paper money is only good when there is a promise to pay or redeem it in the money that is current in all commercial countries, and a firm confidence that the nation has both the desire and the ability to keep its pledge. The fiat money of any nation, being redeem-

able in nothing that is recognized as money by other nations, is valueless. And what would money of this kind be? What effect did it have on the prosperity of the French people? It ruined thousands. It left the workingmen stranded in their endeavor to earn an honest livelihood by simply transferring the gold and silver money of the country to the pockets of a few speculators and the men who most thrive when money is necessary and when money in use is unsound.

Mr. DAVIS. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. I will.

Mr. DAVIS. What had been done before that paper money found the people?

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. That is a historical question which I would like to explain to my friend if I had time.

Mr. DAVIS. They were eating grass; they had nothing to eat; they were starving, and the corn failed before the paper was issued.

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. The French Government in 1792 and 1793 confiscated a great proportion of the landed property of the country—in other words, the property of the priesthood and the property of the nobility—and then it passed a law, which you and I know to be in existence to this day, a law of inheritance that has transferred, in the course of time, almost the entire landed property into the hands of the mass of the people, where it is to-day. That money had nothing in the world to do with that law; but that money was based on what? On that land that the French Government confiscated, and they based it on two-thirds of the landed wealth of France and the sacred pledge of the Government to redeem it in land; and in a few years 3,000,000,000 of that money was worth no more than the Confederate promise to pay was worth when Gen. Lee surrendered.

Mr. DAVIS. I will ask the gentleman if two-thirds of that money issued by the French Government was not counterfeit?

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. I can not stop to argue that with my friend. I have read French history one way and you have read it another.

Mr. SIMPSON. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question, for information?

Mr PENDLETON of West Virginia. One at a time.

Mr. SIMPSON. The gentleman from West Virginia admits that at the time of the breaking out of the French Revolution the lands had passed into the hands of a very small proportion of the people?

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. Up to that time it had.

Mr. SIMPSON. And the condition of the people was very bad?

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. Very bad indeed.

Mr. SIMPSON. Had France been running on a gold basis up to that time?

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. Up to that time France had been running on a gold basis.

Mr. SIMPSON. Then you must admit that a gold basis naturally produced that result, and that the property had all passed into the hands of a few people because of the gold standard.

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. No, sir; and I will tell you more about that. If the gentleman will not interrupt me he will find that I am somewhat acquainted with the history of the French Revolution as well as himself. Down to the time of the French Revolution nine-tenths of the lands of France were in the hands of a few people; secondly, nine-tenths of the people in that country, under the laws then existing, were practically in the condition of serfs and slaves. The feudal system had not then been abolished in France, and the gold basis had nothing whatever to do with it, or a silver basis, or any other basis, so far as affected the welfare of the people or the ownership of land. It was the old feudal law of inheritance that maintained property in the hands of the few and perpetuated an aristocracy.

Mr. SIMPSON. The gentleman from West Virginia asserted that the paper currency that they resorted to had put them in a very bad condition.

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. Now, will you let me go on?

Mr. SIMPSON. If what I have said be true, the loss of the paper currency had nothing to do with it.

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. If you will allow me, I will endeavor to give you the history of that matter. When the French Assembly, in 1788, met, it was confronted with laws that had been upon the statute books of that country for nearly a thousand years under the feudal system. They abolished the class privileges, and practically confiscated two-thirds of the landed property of the country, taking it from the aristocracy and the priesthood, conferring it upon the national government.

Several years after that, along about 1792 and 1793, when the French Government undertook to establish a paper fiat money, called assignats and mandats, they drove out the gold and silver that were current then throughout the world from general circulation and use in France. What was the result of that action? Several thousand millions of assignats or mandats were issued, based upon two-thirds of the land in France, and in a few years they were not worth more than the Confederate money was when Gen. Lee surrendered. Those who took it in payment of debts were ruined, and it became absolutely worthless in the hands of the holders, while financial distress and commercial ruin prevailed throughout all France.

The attempt was a signal failure, and in my opinion this experiment should be an everlasting lesson to the advocates of purely fiat money. You ask to what reason I attribute the failure of this paper money. Why? Because the faith of the French Government was not pledged to redeem a franc or a centime of that money in the money of the world at that time known to commercial nations, to wit: gold and silver.

Mr. SIMPSON. Does not the gentleman admit that the result which he describes was owing to the failure of the republican government and the restoration of the old regime, and not to the failure of the money itself?

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. No; it was due to the failure of the money. The Republic of France did not go out of existence at that time, and not until long after this paper had become valueless. The consulate came in on the 18th of November, 1799, when Napoleon was First made First Consul. Then in 1804, in March of that year, Napoleon set aside the Republic and established the Empire.

Mr. SIMPSON. That is what I said; that it was owing to the failure of the republican government.

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. But years and years before that this paper money had become rag money. It was not until April, 1814, that the old regime was restored, and it was re-restored in June, 1815. Now, I trust my friend will please let me alone on those questions. [Laughter.]

Mr. SIMPSON. But the gentleman has practically admitted that the failure of that money was due to the failure of the government that issued it, the same as the failure of the Southern Confederacy rendered its money valueless.

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. The French Government never abolished that money, and never made any effort whatever to do anything with it except to pledge the national lands for its redemption, but long before the Government could carry out its promises the money had become rag money, was thrown away, had passed out of circulation, and had met with a death to which there was no possible resurrection. Yet France was then the most powerful nation on the Continent of Europe, and its armies were everywhere victorious. The republican government of France finally returned to the then money of the world, gold and silver.

Now, Mr. Speaker, take another great illustration or example in the history of the world which occurred a few years before that, and I think it will demonstrate the folly of the gentlemen who are preaching fiat money on the floor of the House of Representatives, which ought to be the most intelligent body in the world, because I am sure that it represents the most intelligent people that breathe beneath God's sun.

Take our old Continental currency. We fought through the war of independence, we achieved our victory and established ourselves as a proud and strong nationality among the nations of the globe. We were flushed with triumph; were strong, and were growing stronger. We had this Continental money on hand. What did we do with it? Not a dollar of that Continental money was ever redeemed, and of what value did it become? Rag money; waste paper. Why? Because the Continental Congress, or the American nation never at any time pledged itself to redeem that money in gold or silver, which were at that time the recognized money of the world.

Mr. DAVIS. If the gentleman will permit me, Mr. Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury in 1818, delivered his opinion of that money——

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia (interposing). Mr. Speaker, I would like to answer all the questions the gentleman may desire to ask, but if I undertake to do so I shall be kept discussing this one point until my time has expired.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. Gallatin said——

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. I prefer to go on and discuss the question that is before the House. What I have been saying so far is merely preliminary to the main question; and let me say to the gentleman, further, that it is very hard work to talk in this Hall in hot weather, and I need whatever voice I have.

Mr. DAVIS. I will not ask the question.

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. Now, Mr. Speaker, I started out with the bold proposition that nine-tenths of the evils

that have prevailed in our country have been due to an unsound, unstable currency, and I believe that whenever this country shall arrive at a period when it will establish for itself a sound and stable currency it will become more flourishing than any other country of which history makes mention—than any other country that to-day exists in the civilized world. Why should it not? We have every resource here, every capacity for the establishment and the maintenance of a glorious, prosperous, powerful country. Why, then, should we not one and all strive to establish a sound currency?

There is one style of argument used here to which I desire to call attention. There are men who argue on the silver question exactly as the Republicans do upon the tariff question. Our Republican friends, those of them at least who proceed to the extreme of a prohibitory tariff, argued last fall that this country was sufficient unto itself; that we could legislate for ourselves and make whatever tariff we chose to make, regardless of other nations. The Democrats took issue with them on that proposition.

We said that all nations grow rich by trade. We proclaimed that Europe wanted the breadstuffs, the corn, the cotton, the bacon, and the hams of America, while we wanted things from them; that if we laid down as a fundamental rule that we did not intend at any time or under any circumstances to pay attention to the wishes of foreign countries, and did not allow their people to sell their products here, they would return to us in kind with retaliatory tariffs of their own, and prohibit the exportation of our products to them. We went to battle with gentlemen on that side of the question who made arguments of this character, and I am glad to say we have prevailed in three successive campaigns.

And now, when the battle is on for sound money, for an upright currency, we are told again by the very gentlemen on this side of the House who fought against that theory of our Republican friends that this country can maintain a currency of its own independent of the action of the other civilized nations of the world; that, trading with them and finding our great markets for our breadstuffs among the nations of old Europe, we can make old Europe take anything for money that we choose to call money, whether it be a money metal with them or no.

There never was a falser theory; there never was a more erroneous doctrine. We can not do it. There is only one ground upon which we can do it; there is only one method by which we can attain that supreme condition—when we can make a currency exclusively our own, when we can establish a currency which will circulate only throughout the United States and be the money of the American people, the balance of the world to the contrary notwithstanding. And what is that condition? To build around yourselves a Chinese wall, and declare that you will not trade with other nations; that you are sufficient unto yourselves and intend to live unto yourselves.

So long, however, as you do not desire to occupy the position of China—so long as you desire to be a civilized nation marching onward in the path of progress and prosperity, moving forward in enlightenment, in culture, and refinement, and enjoying all the blessings of civilization, you are obliged to obey the old biblical injunction—trade with all nations and thereby grow rich and prosperous. These nations all have a money metal that is common with us, and is also a money metal with us, to wit, gold.

While you do this you must have a money to deal with; you must have a circulating medium that is common not only to you, but to the civilized world; because when you begin to pay balances, to make exchanges, you must use the money of the world for that particular purpose. Suppose, for instance, that this Government should carry out the suggestion of a free-silver friend of mine who sits not very far from me; suppose it should demonetize gold—absolutely drive gold out of existence—and make this country an exclusively silver country.

How, then, could we carry on our trade with foreign countries? All other nations having gold for their money metal, the United States having silver for its money metal alone, how could we carry on trade with each other? We would go back to the condition of Asiatic and African savages, and our trade would be trade in kind and by barter; that alone. That is why it is impossible as a fundamental doctrine of political economy for any one nation to establish for itself and maintain for itself exclusively any money which is not on a par with the money used in all the countries of the civilized world. Other nations will demand of us the money that is common to us and them and will leave our own exclusive money for our use alone. It can not be done; you may make whatever ratio you please, and it will not be done. The money that is universal money will leave us and we shall find ourselves solitary, with no medium of exchange that is common to all the world.

Why, sir, to-day, what is the condition of affairs? It is true that I sympathize with the cry that Colorado is sending up to the heavens. I sympathize with the feeling of the people of Nevada upon this question as deeply as their own members on this floor can do. But at the same time they can not come to this Congress and ask us, when the interests of 65,000,000 of people are involved, to legislate exclusively for their benefit, forgetting the interests of every other portion of those 65,000,000 who live under the same flag and are entitled to the same protection as the people of Colorado or Nevada. Why can not we make their money the exclusive money of this country? Why can we not maintain the free and unlimited coinage of their money at a ratio of 16 to 1, as they desire that we should do?

In the first place, I am myself a bimetallist. I believe that conditions can be made to exist by the action of Congress when silver and gold, freely and fully coined at a ratio of 16 to 1 or 15 to 1, or any other ratio that all the civilized and commercial nations may agree upon, can and will circulate in this country, and all other countries, as the money of the world. And that condition, I think, can be brought about by proper legislation on the part of the American Congress.

But why can we not, my friends, maintain this free and unlimited coinage to-day at a ratio of 16 to 1, or at any ratio whatever? In the first place, we might even out of our earnings present Colorado and Nevada yearly a dollar for every fifty-eight cents of their silver, as we are now doing, and yet survive. The other sixty-five millions might do this for a time, and that is what we are really asked to do, and not make use of this product as money at all. When we, however, are asked to make use of their product as a money metal which the other trading nations will not take, we disrupt, break down, disorganize, and steadily damage our whole industrial situation, and leave ourselves at the mercy of all nations, a subject for both laughter and universal plunder.

In 1816 a movement against silver began on the part of England, which movement I think has been disastrous to the world, as I would like to see both metals maintained, believing that the maintenance of both metals is for the greater prosperity of all the nations. England, it is true, in 1816 made herself a monometallic country—decided in favor of gold and suspended further coinage of silver. My friend from Texas [Mr. BAILEY] asks us why it was that England with her wealth and her power was able to maintain gold as her sole money metal, and why we can not maintain silver as our sole money metal if we so desire? I will tell him the reason. England could maintain gold as her sole medium of exchange for one reason, and one reason alone, because gold was money all the world over.

Everywhere—in every civilized nation of the world—the English guinea was good for what it called for. But suppose under the conditions in which silver exists to-day we should attempt to make silver the solitary money metal of this country and make it the basis of all values, could we, with all the wealth, all the power, all the resources of this grand and magnificent country of ours sustain silver upon that basis? I say we could not, because there is no other commercial nation ready to join us to-day in such a movement—because no other nation that maintains any standing in the commercial marts of the world is ready to rally to our support, to uphold our hands in an event of that character.

In 1816 England demonetized silver; in 1871 Germany suspended the further coinage of silver. In 1873 France did likewise, and France was followed by the nations of the Latin Union, by Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, and to-day the same policy obtains in every civilized nation on the continent of Europe. The consequence is there is no commercial country in the world ready to stand by and maintain us in any such situation as is asked by our free silver friends.

But there is another reason, Mr. Speaker, why we can not maintain silver as a money metal without the alliance of other nations, and that is that we are a borrowing nation. Why can not we maintain it at 16 to 1 to-day? The first reason of all is that the United States is a borrowing nation, and has been for a hundred years past. And it is said that while the balance of trade has been against us for some years, that for the past year this balance of trade has been on our side and in our favor. But that is not alone the question to be considered when you take these matters into consideration.

There is something else besides the balance of trade that compels annually the vast flow of American gold across the broad waters of the Atlantic Ocean. One hundred millions are expended every year by American tourists on the Continent of Europe, all of it American gold. One hundred millions more are expended every year by American importers when they pay the freight charges on the carrying trade, nearly all of which is in the hands of England and other European countries. These

two great elements of indebtedness have to be met by this country abroad with gold coin. These make the real balance against us on every annual settlement with Europe.

But what else do you find? Several thousand millions of dollars of foreign capital have been loaned in this country. Why, in my little State of West Virginia I know of two railroads alone that owe fourteen million dollars of gold in London, the money mart of the world, and 6 per cent of interest in gold has to go there every year to meet the obligations of these two roads. The Northern Pacific Railroad is owned mainly by German capital, the Reading by English capital, and the same is true of the Erie, it being also owned by English capital, and other business enterprises are run by foreign capital; until to-day the foreign investments in this country have been so great, so numerous, that it is estimated anywhere from three to five thousand millions of dollars will be required to cover the investments which have been made by foreign capital within the limits of this country. Now, the interest on this vast amount of money has to go abroad every year, and in gold; and that is far more in every respect than any balance of trade, or any possible balance of trade that may be in our favor.

Thus we have to settle annually with Europe. How can we do it? Can we, as some gentlemen proclaim, do so with our products? We can not. In our mutual trading for the year they have already taken all of our products they desire or need for the year. How, then, must this settlement be made? It must be made in money, and in money that can be used everywhere. They will not take our silver, as it is with them only a commodity, like wheat, corn, and cotton, and fluctuates while a commodity, just as other articles fluctuate in value. We must, then, pay in gold. But suppose a policy should be adopted that would compel all nations to coin silver and gold at an agreed ratio. There would then be no greater demand for a gold dollar than a silver dollar, and we could pay our debts and collect our credits in either and be satisfied with either, for the use of both at the agreed ratio would be universal, and there would be no greater demand for the one than the other.

Mr. ALLEN. If it would not interrupt the gentleman, I should like to make a suggestion, with his permission. Does he think it well enough for us to adopt a policy that will enhance the value of these loans, and take more of our labor and products to pay that four or five billions of dollars of which you speak?

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. No, sir; I did not say I favored any such policy as that.

But, Mr. Speaker, we not only have that question to consider, that the balance of trade is really against us, that for years under present conditions, with reference to silver, this country has to settle with Europe large balances, and they have to be paid in gold, in the money of the civilized world; but there are other considerations that are equally important. If we undertake to pay those annually occurring debts in the silver that we take out of our mines, which the nations will now only take from us as bullion, and send it across the water for that purpose, we get only for the quantity of silver in our silver dollar, fifty-eight or sixty cents, yet we coin it to-day, endeavor to stand alone in its maintenance, and someone loses from forty to fifty cents on every dollar. Who sustains this loss? The sixty-five millions of Americans. Who now profit by it? The silver kings of Nevada, Colorado, and Montana, who palm it upon the American people under this Sherman act at nearly double its real value. When we send it abroad, which trade compels us to do as bullion, all that we can get for it is its value as a merchandise in the markets of Europe.

We have to meet that condition; we have to be prepared to face that crisis every year, and how can we do it if we adopt for ourselves in the first place the money of the civilized world, and then adopt for ourselves another money peculiar to ourselves alone? The drain from abroad will come from what direction? Our balances will have to be paid year by year in gold, and gold alone, until the entire gold circulation of the country has been absorbed and evaporated, and we shall be left with silver on our hands which the nations will neither take nor recognize as money.

But what has brought this crisis on the people? Why is it that all through the land capital has become timid, labor doubtful, banks suspending, all business industries at a standstill? Simply the want of confidence and the apprehension which has been engendered in the public mind abroad in the holders of our securities as to our ability to pay these gold balances which we have owed for years. When they find we are making this silver currency a money metal in this country, at a ratio of 16 to 1, equal to gold, they will have none of it; they do not want it; and because, further, while it may be worth a dollar here, there across the water it is worth only 58 cents, and they are hastening to call in their loans in consequence; they are trying to get their investments at home, for they fear they may be compelled to take one-half to two-thirds of the amount they have loaned here, and that we shall in the end pay them this very silver which has so depreciated. There is a wish to get out first while the gold is still to be had.

What has been the effect on American capitalists? American capitalists are governed by the same apprehension, and believe that the same result will come to them. They are withdrawing their money from American enterprises. They are calling it away from American industries, and are endeavoring to loan it abroad and invest it in securities that are payable in gold, which is good from one end of this continent to the other, and from one corner of the civilized world to the other. That has been the cause.

Now, why does such a cause as that exist? Why shall we not do something to restore the confidence both of foreign people and of home people in the faith, in the good credit and the soundness of the American dollar? Here is the greatest field for investment that can be found in the civilized world to-day. We have 3,000,000 square miles of territory, a large portion of it yet uncultivated; magnificent rivers and grand and glorious forests; the finest climate to be found upon the globe; every room for investment; the land calling for capital, farmers calling for capital, manufacturers calling for money, labor calling for the dollars which will give it employment.

Why should not capital come here and why will it not come here when such a grand opportunity lies before it? The rate of interest in London is 3 per cent; in Paris it is 3 per cent; in Berlin it is 3 per cent, and all Europe is overflowing with money; all the great money centers have a superabundance and no field for investment at home. They are all anxious. They are overwhelmed with a desire to invest their money wherever they can receive a reasonable compensation with a good, sound, and safe security. And here we are, giving 6 per cent for money, and in some cases 8 and 10 per cent.

Let the capitalist abroad once come to understand that the dollar he loans here is to be paid him back in the same dollar when it finally comes to his hands again, and just as good as he loaned, and European capital will come over here in overwhelming volumes, to be invested in this country, and to continue to build up and make it great and glorious and grand and prosperous, as it ought to be under our free, equal, and just laws. [Applause.]

Now, my friends, can we by ourselves maintain the free and unlimited coinage, I mean without international agreement, of the silver dollar at any satisfactory ratio, and at the same time have a sound and stable currency and make it equal to the gold dollar?

To be perfectly frank, when I began the consideration of this question I intended to vote for a ratio of 20 to 1, and at that ratio for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. But the more I have studied the question the more I have found that we would just be in the same trouble that we would be in with a ratio of 16 to 1. A ratio of 16 to 1 prevailed when, in this land? When France was coining silver at 15½ to 1. When Germany was making silver her sole money metal. When Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, and all the commercial countries of Europe save England were coining silver at a ratio of 15½ to 1. And how much did we coin in this country? Why did we not coin more than we did? We coined practically none at all, except for subsidiary coinage, down to 1873, because the very moment the silver miner found that he could get an ounce of gold in France or other European countries for 15½ of silver, he naturally went there with his silver instead of coming here, where it took 16 ounces of silver to purchase one of gold.

So I say, when we are asked to return to this old ratio of 16 to 1, under that ratio we never coined any silver money, and we had no silver money, practically, outside of the subsidiary coinage, ever in circulation. Now, with a ratio of 16 to 1 we could not coin it in those days when France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and all continental Europe stood ready to uphold our hands and maintain us in that coinage and accept silver as money. That being so, what can we do to-day, when we alone, practically, among the civilized nations of the world propose to establish a ratio of that character.

Mr. CAPEHART. Would the gentleman be willing to vote for any ratio?

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. No, sir; not now, but will vote for an agreed ratio with three or four of the leading commercial nations.

Mr. CAPEHART. Did your constituents in the convention which nominated you, less than a year ago, give any expression of opinion on that subject?

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. None whatever, except to adopt the national platform at Chicago.

Mr. CAPEHART. I have the platform on which the gentleman was elected, and if he will pardon me I will read it.

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. I yielded to the gentleman for a question. I did not yield for a speech.

Mr. CAPEHART. This was last year, less than a year ago.

Mr. SIMPSON. Let us hear it.

Mr. CAPEHART. (Reading)—

That we are in favor of a bimetallic currency of gold and silver——

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. And so am I.

Mr. CAPEHART. (Reading)—

and the free coinage of both metals, establishing such parity between the two as shall keep both in circulation.

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia. That is what I am in favor of; I want just such a parity as will keep both in circulation, and that is what Grover Cleveland is in favor of, and that is what every bimetallist is in favor of.

Now, I say, how can we maintain any of these ratios when we find there is no other civilized nation with whom we are prepared to deal that will sustain us in any such ratio? We find ourselves again in the situation of having one money that is current throughout the civilized world, and another coin that is current only here. The same old result will follow as followed before. Gold will leave the country and we shall be left here entirely on a silver basis.

So that I can not see how we can maintain any of these ratios. Silver is treated as a commodity by nearly all the civilized world. Its value depends to-day very largely upon the supply and demand of the article, and if we adopted the ratio of 16 to 1 we should find silver worth how much? Fifty-eight cents on the dollar. Suppose we should adopt the ratio of 20 to 1, we should find silver worth 80 to 85 cents on the dollar. Suppose we should adopt a ratio of 50 to 1, then silver might be worth a dollar and a quarter. But my objection would still be the same—the lack of stability, the continual fluctuations of our metal, while the balance of the world would have a stationary currency that was good not only abroad, but also here, and which would give them absolute dominion over us.

That is the great cardinal objection with me to any such proposition as that which is made here. But if we should obey the platform adopted at Chicago and wipe out of existence the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, where would the country stand? Suppose before we plunge into the free-coinage field we make an honest effort to have other nations help us.

Let us not take this step alone and expose ourselves to be fleeced, bled, and plundered by all the nations. If they see us fighting alone, not one will come to our rescue. Some think that we would make debts greater. No at all. We shall, nevertheless, have all our present currency left to us. Not a dollar of silver will be demonetized, and not a debt would be increased the hundredth part of a cent in value. The same currency that we now expect to pay our debts with we would still have.

What would necessarily follow such a course? Simply this would come to pass: As soon as it was found that this country no longer intended to coin the silver of the world, as soon as it was known that continental Europe had ceased to coin the future silver product, and that the United States had joined with continental Europe upon that line of action, what country of all the civilized nations of the earth would be the first to call for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio to be agreed upon by an international convention? Why, the country called Great Britain would be the first to make that demand. Why? Because, with $10,000,000,000 loaned out to the balance of the world, she would find it necessary to devise some means of bringing about, at some time in the near future, the payment of that ten thousand millions, amounting to one-fourth of the entire wealth of the British people.

Where is that money loaned? Mainly to countries that have only silver with which to pay, and as soon as Great Britain found that the gold for the payment of the interest and principal of her vast foreign investments was exhausted she would naturally demand the remonetization of the metal in which alone that indebtedness could be paid. Further, when she found that all South America, with India, China, and other countries with which she carries on trade, and with whom the balance of trade is always in her favor—when she found that those countries had not the gold with which to pay her, she would be down on her knees again calling upon the nations of the civilized world to provide some means by which she could collect her loans and have her balances paid. In that way we should find that she would be knocking at our doors in less than three years, demanding that silver and gold should be again made the money of civilization, at a ratio to be agreed upon by an international convention. In order to have us remonetize she would gladly do the same.

That is the course I favor, and that is what I believe will come to pass if this Sherman act be stricken from the statute book of the United States. [Applause.]

Now, Mr. Speaker, as it is very difficult to speak in this Hall, and as I find that I am growing more than exhausted from the heat, I shall conclude by simply calling attention to one other point to which some of our friends have adverted with a good deal of what I think unjust criticism. I refer to what they call a departure on the part of a certain section of the Democracy from the national platform of the Democratic party. As I read that platform I can not find any other policy in it than the one that I have been attempting to lay down here. Let us read it:

We denounce the legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal.

Its author is anxious for its speedy repeal. Its supporters are anxious for its speedy repeal. Its author was a good Republican, its supporters were good and honest Republicans, and they are, one and all, anxious for its speedy repeal, and so am I, in obedience to the dictates of the Chicago platform adopted by the Democratic party in convention assembled.

Further:

We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of this country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver, without discriminating against either or charge for coinage, but the dollar unit of coinage of these metals shall be of equally intrinsic exchangeable value, and be adjusted by international agreement.

As I understand it, the national convention gave us two roads of obtaining the free and unlimited coinage of the silver dollar; and if we could not do it and maintain a parity of the metals at a ratio of 16 to 1 or that of any other ratio by ourselves, then it left open to every Democrat, every true follower of the doctrines of that party, the other remedy. It left open to us that of international agreement.

I am satisfied that a ratio of 16 to 1, or a ratio of 17 to 1, will accomplish nothing, as well as a ratio of 20 to 1. But I am satisfied, along with Grover Cleveland and other good, honest, sterling Democrats, that the only way in which we can accomplish that full, complete, and ample remonetization of silver is by an international agreement made with three or four of the leading commercial countries of the world. When that is done, and I believe it will ultimately be done, and at no distant date, then the promises of the national platform of Chicago will be kept, the faith of Grover Cleveland will be maintained, and the Democratic party will have fulfilled every financial pledge to the people of this country for the future as well as it has done in the past; and I for one am content to wait for that, expecting we shall see the dawning of prosperity once more come upon this beautiful land of ours. [Applause.]

If we should fail in obtaining international agreement I should then favor an issue of Treasury notes redeemable on demand in gold. A gold reserve in the Treasury of one hundred millions sustains three hundred and forty-six millions of Treasury notes and one hundred and forty-seven millions of silver certificates, and no holder of a Treasury note ever calls for a dollar of that gold because the Government promises to pay in gold and the creditor is satisfied with the promise This is confidence. Issue one hundred millions of bonds for another one hundred millions of gold. Put the gold in the Treasury as a reserve. On that issue $500,000,000 in Treasury notes, the good old greenbacks, and send them into circulation from time to time as they are needed. Get them out among the people just as the first three hundred and forty-six millions were thrown into circulation. Not a dollar of the new gold would be called for as long as our faith was pledged. We would know that we could get the gold when we wanted it. Confidence would be just the same, money would be plenty, and this great old land of ours would march onward in happiness, honor, and long-continued prosperity.

Mr. LACEY. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the minority of this House I can not but complain of the form in which this debate has been brought upon us. The division of the question by the special rule adopted has been left wholly to the members of the majority of this House, and we are called upon to decide simply between two propositions: An absolute and unconditional repeal of the so-called Sherman act upon the one hand, or on free coinage upon some ratio less than the commercial one upon the other. No middle ground is offered; no opportunity to present a new or different proposition has been granted to the Republicans of this House.

I desire at sometime before the vote is taken to submit and ask unanimous consent that the following amendment may be offered to the bill as introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON].

The Clerk read as follows:

To amend the bill by adding the following:

"*Provided*, This act shall not take effect until the silver circulation of the United States shall have been increased to $700,000,000."

Mr. LACEY. Mr. Speaker, it seems that there is a fair ground for an adjustment between these two extremes of the ques-

tion. It is not the mere fact that the Sherman law exists, and is adding about 4½ tons avoirdupois every day to the Treasury stock of silver; but it is the idea that this addition is to continue without limit, that there is no end to it, that has frightened the foreign investors of the world. They fear that we will come to a silver basis under the Sherman act, and they fear free coinage at a ratio less than the commercial ratio. It is not the silver of the Sherman law thus far purchased that they are afraid of, but it is that its purchase will continue without limit. It is the addition of an uncertain volume of silver money that has influenced foreign investors and caused them to withdraw their money while it could be done in gold. And it is to this extent, and this extent alone, that the Sherman act is responsible in any degree for the present condition of the country. The tide of foreign investment has in part only been checked by this law.

We were told when the Chicago convention met that the McKinley bill would destroy the industries of this country, and the Democratic party denounced in its platform "a policy which fostered no industry so much as that of the sheriff." The sheriffs, after the election of Mr. Cleveland, were expected to go out of business, but theirs has been the most profitable pursuit since the 4th of March of any in the country. There has been no contraction of sheriff's deputies.

It is not true, Mr. Speaker, that the Sherman law did excite great fear in this country. No panic ensued until a Democratic Senate became certain at the other end of the Capitol.

I remember well, Mr. Speaker, in the Fifty-first Congress, when this compromise was brought about, that only fourteen Democrats could be found to vote against the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1.

Our opponents have now divided, and have taken charge of both sides of the discussion. Each side is claiming to represent the orthodox principles of the Democracy. "While the cat is away at Buzzards Bay the mice will play;" and the discussion thus far has been between the two wings of the Democratic party. They can not flap together, and their discussion on the meaning of their platform is highly amusing. One wing says it is a gold-standard platform and the other wing says it is a free-coinage document. It was admirably adapted to campaign purposes in either New England or Texas.

What, then, may be asked, is the principal difficulty with which the country is confronted to-day? When it became certain that we were to have a revision of the tariff laws, then loss of confidence came and the business of this country was put into cold storage, where it has since remained, and where I fear it will stay until our brethren on the other side give the country some assurance that the nation is to be left alone to resume the prosperity which it enjoyed when the election of 1892 took place.

You gentlemen on the other side have been returned by a large plurality of the voters of the United States. Your majority in Congress is one of almost unexampled magnitude, chosen upon a mistaken belief as to the effect of your tariff policy; yet the gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX], who spoke the other day, told you that there was nothing the matter with the country except the Sherman act. "Repeal that act," he said, "and go home and let the country alone until December." If the country could be sure that you would spare its industries after December all would be well.

Why was there no difficulty up to the 4th day of last March? This law had been in force for more than two years. Why was there no panic previous to that time? You must recognize the fact that there can be no revision of the tariff laws of a great country like this without unsettling values and demoralizing a great many of its industries; and the sooner you determine what industries are to be spared, the sooner the country will adapt itself to the proposed change of conditions and go about its business.

But to simply repeal this law and give us no proper substitute—to stop the increase of currency under the present statute and provide for no other form of increase, is not, in my judgment, wise legislation. The sailors have a motto to never to let go a rope with one hand until they have taken hold with the other. You ask us to repeal the Sherman law without knowing what is to take its place, or offer only as a substitute free coinage at such ratio as would bring us at once to a silver basis. A majority can repeal that law; but when it comes to passing separately a new law to take its place, a two-thirds vote may be required, because a Presidential veto must be provided against. You ask us now, without any conditions, to repeal absolutely that law.

In the amendment which I sent forward and had read at the Clerk's desk I have suggested a limit of $700,000,000, because the Republic of France with 38,000,000 population has, without any difficulty whatever, maintained her silver coinage up to that limit. We have to-day between five hundred and six hundred million dollars of silver. If you adopt a provision such as I propose, fixing the limit at which this coinage will cease, you assure the people of the world that we are not going to a single silver basis upon a ratio of 16 to 1, and at the same time you do not, in the hour of this nation's greatest need—at a time when banks are failing, workshops closing, and when furnace fires are going out all over the land—stop the issuance of the additional supply of money which the country needs. For, if the Sherman law is repealed some other method must be devised, and you, gentlemen of the Democracy, are responsible and must present some new means of supply to the people. We should know what you propose. We should know what is to take the place of this law. Is it to be State-bank money? Let us know what you have in reserve.

Mr. BLAND. If the gentleman will allow me, I would like to ask him why he proposes to stop at a limit of $700,000,000 if France has that amount of silver coinage? Is not our country twice as populous as France? Why not put the limit at $1,400,000,000?

Mr. LACEY. I thank my friend for that suggestion. France, with 38,000,000 inhabitants, uses more gold and more silver per capita than any other country in the world, because of her peculiar methods of doing business and her custom of hoarding. We have nearly double the population of France, but our mode of business is to deposit our money in the banks and they loan it out; we carry on a credit system and a check system. The bulk of payments are made by checks.

I assume that we can not carry, that we do not need, so large a circulation as a people who do business under the methods adopted by the French nation. But I assume, Mr. Speaker, that we can maintain with perfect safety as large an amount of silver coinage as France. Therefore, I have suggested the idea of fixing the limit at $700,000,000 here and now, and the future can take care of itself, because we shall have the light of additional experience and shall have had time to adjust ourselves to the new policy of the party in power. By fixing this limit we restore confidence to the country upon this question; we tell the people we are not going to a silver basis alone. Then this scare, so far as silver may be to blame, ceases; for there will be a line beyond which we are not to pass without involving an instantaneous cessation of the issue of the currency provided for by the present law.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. I would like the gentleman to state how much gold France has back of the silver.

Mr. LACEY. I am not sure of the exact amount; nor do I regard that as a vital question. Her supply of both gold and silver is large.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. France has $900,000,000 of gold and $700,000,000 of silver.

Mr. LACEY. The question is not so much what amount of gold France has back of the silver, but the extent of her credit—the amount of faith that is given to her financial standing. We have $600,000,000 of gold and can maintain a gold basis upon a smaller reserve than any country in the world. At this very time, when all this complaint is made, the people are hoarding silver in exactly the same way that they are hoarding gold. Silver and silver certificates are being drawn from the banks and locked up in safe-deposit vaults. No distinction has been drawn between the two kinds of currency. Whatever doubt may exist abroad, we see no evidence of any American discriminating between the different kinds of currency. By the proposed amendment we would easily maintain the parity of the two coined metals; by fixing this limit we would be tided over the present difficulty.

This compromise, it seems to me, ought to restore confidence in our ability to maintain the equal value of all our money. The Democratic party, powerful as it is, but divided as it is, owes it to the country to give to those who are not in favor of the proposition of either wing of that party an opportunity to vote for something between those lines. This question is one upon which the people are divided; it is one upon which we have very many different theories. All our silver legislation in Congress since silver started on its world-wide downward march from a parity with gold until it reached 58 cents on the dollar—all our silver legislation has of necessity been the result of compromise.

It is perfectly evident, Mr. Speaker, that neither of the two wings of the party in power has yet been sufficiently clipped by patronage to be certain to be in the minority, and you may have to call upon our side of the House to determine which way this question shall be decided. And yet you have excluded us; you have wholly disregarded us; you have drawn your propositions in such a way as to give to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] as many different amendments as he chooses to propose, and have given to this side of the House not even the little, feeble opportunity to make one single amendment to your proposed measure. And yet you appeal to us, and to our side of the House, bidding us to be patriotic: "Forget your party, forget your past,

and come over to us and help us rescue the country from the deplorable condition it has been in ever since the 4th day of last March."

Now, my friends on the other side of the Chamber, permit me to say that in all justice and in all candor an opportunity to vote on some other proposition, to offer some amendment, some other means of solution than the one which has been proposed by the gentleman from Missouri should be afforded. I do not here or now desire to discuss at length the great question of free coinage on the one hand, or limited coinage on the other. Bimetallism can only be maintained under free coinage by putting a dollar's worth of silver into each coin of that denomination. The form in which this proposition is thrust upon the House, and the utter refusal to give anybody an opportunity to present anything unless it has been agreed upon in the Democratic caucus, is a remarkable specimen of unfairness in partisan politics. And we are expected to listen in silence to the claims that the present condition of business is wholly due to the silver law, and are warned that any claim on our part, indicating that the proposed tariff revision is the cause of depression, will be regarded as an unpatriotic attempt to make political capital.

Mr. Speaker, we are now called upon to decide a question for the whole country. There has seldom been a time when the plain people have looked to Congress in the same spirit that they do at present. They feel that some action is needed, but they are not disposed to dictate what it shall be. The troubled condition of our finances has shaken the confidence of many people upon this question—people who have heretofore entertained very decided views upon the subject. Many have asked for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law. Others have asked for free silver coinage upon the ratio of 16 to 1. But when your constituent asks what you are going to do in Congress, and you respond by inquiring what he thinks you ought to do, there has never been a time when the voters throughout our country have so unanimously conceded that this is too great a question to dictate upon, and they reply by hoping that you will consider it and settle it in some proper way that will be for the good of the country.

I believe that there can be no solution except one which will recognize the views or give proper consideration to the views of all parties in the House. No question of this character can be fairly considered with all right of amendment cut off and ignored.

It is claimed that all that is needed to restore the halcyon days of the Harrison period is to pass this bill.

It is said that then we may go home and give American industries a commutation of their sentence until December. You should be sure, gentlemen, that you have discovered the real seat of the disease. He is a bad dentist who pulls the wrong tooth.

We may return to our homes, sir, but confidence will not follow us unless we take some affirmative action on the other great question which has closed the factories of the United States. That is a question that must be settled in some way. There are industries to-day which are paralyzed, that have suspended business, that will probably not be touched by any legislation this Congress will ever enact; but they fear and dread what may be put upon their shoulders and act upon the theory that the worst is to come. The old cry has been that the tariff is a tax. It is understood now that Democracy is a tax, and the most burdensome one ever put upon the backs of the American people.

Nothing short of some absolute settlement of the tariff question will entirely restore the confidence of the country, reopen the banks, and put the wheels of progress again in motion. And while our brethren on the other side of the House appeal to us to be patriotic, let us appeal to them to lay aside their mistaken principles. They appear to have had little difficulty in doing so up to this time; they have said that their platform means this or that; that it was to go in on and not to stay on after they got in. Kindly give the people the assurance that the platform is to be followed no further. We have heard gentlemen on both sides of the question read the same plank in different ways or repudiate it altogether.

Now, I ask you to lay aside the bold proposition of that platform that protection is unconstitutional. Lay aside your condemnation of that system under which the country prospered for thirty years under Republican rule; resolve to let our industries alone, and the people will rise up and call you blessed, not for what you have done, but for what you have forborne to do when you had the power. [Applause.]

Mr. WARNER. Mr. Speaker, I am so well aware, not merely of the importance, but also of the urgency of this question, that I should not allow its decision to be postponed to permit me to make any remarks upon it, except that I have a duty to perform. I have been so reassured, sir, by the remarks of my new-found friend from Colorado [Mr. PENCE], who broke all precedent and, omitting to attack New York, fired his sharpest arrows at Massachusetts, that I am emboldened to rise for the purpose of presenting a memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of the City of New York, in accordance with its request.

And, sir, to avoid any misunderstanding, I beg to be indulged for a moment while I introduce to this House the gentlemen in whose behalf I speak.

NEW YORK AND NEW YORKERS.

It is a mistaken idea, sir, that there are no institutions at New York other than banks. It is a great mistake to imagine that there are no people in New York other than bankers. It is a fact, sir, although gentlemen from the interior may perhaps be pardoned for occasionally forgetting it, that the reason New York City is where it is is on account of the Almighty having put New York Harbor where He put it; and we are there, not because it is a particularly good place to build banks, but because it is the place which we have selected as the best one at which to do business.

The Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York is, as I know some here will be surprised to learn, not composed either exclusively or mainly of bankers. On the contrary, it is composed of business men who stand in the same relation to banks as do the farmers and the business men of the West and South. We are borrowers from the banks, not lenders to the banks. It is to our interest to have money as easy as possible, in order that we may be facilitated as far as possible in doing our business and yours.

The first man upon the committee named in this memorial is Mr. John Claflin, a man whose business is to find wherever in the broad United States he can sell on credit the greatest amount of dry goods. The next is Henry Hentz, a man who is known as one of the leading, if not the leading, cotton-buyers of America, whose business consists in making as good a market as possible for every pound of cotton that he can find in the South and Southwest. The next is a man engaged in foreign commerce, and whose livelihood consists in the extent to which, by the development of that commerce, a market can be found abroad for the most wheat, the most cotton, the most pork, and the most of the other products of this great country.

Each is engaged in getting from the banks every bit of credit he possibly can, in order that he may be able to extend it to those with whom he deals in every part of the country. Upon your prosperity depends our possibility of prosperity. Whenever there is a State to be developed in any part of the Union it is we who are interested in the prosperity of that State, in order that we may get more trade. Whenever there is an abundance of currency needed to move the crops in any part of the country it is we who are interested in making that currency more abundant. It is we whose business consists in having those crops as great as possible, in order that we may have more business to do with you for your profit as well as ours.

Now, sir, I do not wish to infer that the strictures that have been made against the bankers of the city of New York are in anyway deserved. As a matter of fact, I believe that their interest as well is bound up in the prosperity of the whole country. As a matter of fact, I know that, before the banks of any part of the rest of the country even considered the question, the banks of New York made preparation to advance funds to all parts of the country, in order to keep from coming on—and when it came on, to keep from coming to a crisis—the very situation with which we are now confronted. But at the same time it is not the banks of New York, as such, for which I speak. And if there is any reason why they should be offered up as a sacrifice, not to the golden calf, but to the silver pig, I beg that the Chamber of Commerce at least may be exempted from that condemnation.

THE BUSINESS SITUATION.

Now, sir, we find ourselves in this position. We have exhausted our credit. We can, therefore, no longer extend credit to the rest of the country. We find ourselves unable to sell your merchants dry goods unless they will pay us cash, which they can not raise. We find it impossible to buy your cotton and your wheat, because we can not obtain the funds wherewith to pay for them. We find that, instead of being enabled to do your business to your profit and ours, the situation is such as to enforce a perfect paralysis alike upon the prosperity of the country, upon your opportunities for prosperity, and upon our possibilities in that line.

Now, sir, there have been presented to this House, too ably to leave any excuse that I should repeat them, some of the arguments to account for the present situation. I will omit them. I will only attempt to tell you the facts, with the sense of the responsibility that comes from knowing that upon the correct solution of the situation with which we are faced depends our commercial prosperity—the very existence, indeed, of the business of New York. If we are mistaken, we are mistaken upon a matter which most directly and most vitally concerns our own

interest. If we fail in our efforts, the result will be that we shall be the first and the worst sufferers.

Mr. HEPBURN. If it will not interrupt the gentleman, I would like to ask him a question.

Mr. WARNER. I shall be glad to hear the question.

Mr. HEPBURN. I understood you to say a moment ago that the banks of New York were unable to extend to the country the money to do their business.

Mr. WARNER. They are unable to extend to us, the business men of New York, the funds and the credits which we need to have to discount your notes and give you the credit upon which your enterprises depend, and which will enable us to do your business.

Mr. HEPBURN. Will the gentleman kindly tell us why the banks are unable to do that?

Mr. WARNER. That is what I am going to do.

Mr. HEPBURN. Is it not this, that they have been doing business on other people's money who are no longer willing to trust them with their money?

Mr. WARNER. The gentleman is entirely correct. Now, sir, the situation is not one which has come upon us without warning. Three years ago we began to be questioned by prudent investors in our own country, and more generally by investors from abroad, as to whether or not American investments were entirely safe. With the passage of the Sherman act this uncertainty and distrust increased. We saw signs of it in the growing insistence that all contracts should be made payable in gold. We saw signs of it in the abnormal return of American securities; we saw signs of it in the falling off in investments in those securities in quarters where they had been most favored.

These symptoms have steadily increased from that day to this. Our friends upon whom we depend for the money to enable this country to be developed have grown more and more suspicious and distrustful. Last winter, when they saw the free gold in the Treasury, having already dropped more than $75,000,000, go towards the vanishing point, there came a new wave of distrust; and more and more of our securities were returned. And now, just as we need money to market our crops, just as the solution of this question is forced by the action of India, the crisis has at last come. With a full sense of the responsibility under which the appeal is made, we ask you to repeal the act providing for the purchase of silver bullion.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

Now, sir, there are certain objections made, certain suggestions made in answer to what I have said, which it is proper, perhaps, to note.

THE ACTION OF INDIA.

In the first place, we are told that this crisis has followed the demonetization of silver by India. I myself am not disposed to exaggerate the importance of India. I believe that the effect of the Indian demonetization of silver is exaggerated. But it is a fact that until lately India and the United States were suffering steadily increasing embarrassment in their endeavor to sustain the silver standard against the civilized world.

It is a fact that within the last few weeks, by the act of that Government which rules her destiny, India has been withdrawn from that task. Since that time we have staggered worse and worse toward what seems an inevitable fall. If we attempt to carry that burden alone, such will be our fate.

MONOMETALLISM.

It is also suggested that this repeal involves monometallism. Now, sir, there may be some people in this world, or in this House, who care particularly about the theories of monometallism and bimetallism. But I tell you frankly that the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York do not care anything about either. What they want is whatever system may make money most abundant, currency most sound, confidence most widespread—this to enable them to do the most and most profitable business.

We are perfectly willing to go on under bimetallism, if that is the condition under which there will be most confidence and our currency will be most plentiful and most sound. We are willing to go on under monometallism, if that is the condition which will give us these results. But, sir, what we object to is this: Those among us who are Republicans consider it the most indefensible business policy; those among us who are Democrats consider it an undemocratic use of governmental power to sacrifice the interests of this great country in order to bring about either one system or the other.

We believe, indeed, that bimetallism would be better secured had not our Government put its meddling hand into this business; but we are are perfectly willing to go on with monometallism or with bimetallism, provided our Government does not force upon us an unsound currency, provided our Government does not so intermeddle with the good faith of contracts that business men throughout the world will be led to lose faith in the honesty of American finances and the soundness of American securities.

INDEPENDENCE.

The suggestion, however, is made in answer to this, that we should ignore other nations, and we are twitted with being dependent upon the "money sharks" of the East and the moneylenders of Europe. Mr. Speaker, the one man who is independent in this world is the man who has nothing. Take a man who lives upon a rugged mountain side, which no amount of cultivation can coax into productiveness, and he is independent alike of the money market and of the labor market. There is nothing under heaven that he can do with money, and there is no excuse for any labor to develop his estate.

But take the man of brains, who sees an opportunity for the development of a great, rich, growing neighborhood, and he needs all the money that, from every part of the world, confidence in the future of that neighborhood—confidence in the honesty of that neighborhood—confidence in the security of investments in that neighborhood—can bring. We are the greatest borrowing nation of the world, simply because the star of our promise shines brighter than that of any other nation in the world, and we shall best fulfill our grand destiny by getting as much help as we can from all parts of the world to develop these United States of ours.

Mr. Speaker, I am not one of those who believe that we are, in any strict sense, dependent upon Europe. I have no doubt if we should build a wall about this country that, after a generation perhaps, there would still be found a very large number of very healthy people here. I have equally little doubt that, if we should build a wall about Colorado, that State would find itself, after a generation, still inhabited by people speaking the English language.

But, sir, the folly that would suggest that we repel the investments which Europe has sent to assist in developing this country, if carried to its logical result, would repel from Colorado the investments that New York and Boston and Philadelphia have sent there, with faith in the future of Colorado, to help to develop that State. And, sir, just as, in direct proportion to its present prosperity, no Western State could for one moment afford to have withdrawn from its borders the investment of Eastern capital that is now employed in building it up, so, equal would be the fatuity of these United States if we should break down the confidence of the world and cause the withdrawal of all the foreign capital which, on account of their confidence in us, the people of other nations have sent us for our upbuilding.

FREE COINAGE.

It is suggested, however, by some of our friends on this side of the Chamber that we should try free coinage. One hundred years ago Alexander Hamilton established the free coinage of silver and gold in this country at a ratio of 15 to 1. The result demonstrated that he had made a mistake, and silver being overvalued in our currency, we went right straight to silver monometallism, and we stayed there for forty years. In other words, the fact that our Government was carrying on the coinage of these two metals at a fixed ratio did not suffice to raise the price of silver the 3 or 4 per cent which, during that time, separated it in the market from the price of gold; and under the lead of a Democrat of Democrats, under an Administration than which none was ever more Democratic, in view of the fact I have mentioned, expressly stated as the reason for its action, we changed the ratio in order to drive out silver and bring us to a gold basis.

During the next forty years the free coinage of those two metals at the rate of 16 to 1 did not raise gold the 3 per cent necessary to make it equal with silver. That brought us to 1873. For these last twenty years we have tried one juggling experiment after another, each announced in advance as a grand panacea calculated to keep the two metals together. Yet to-day they are farther apart than ever.

So, sir, when you ask us to accept the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, with the assurance that this will bring the two metals together, we say to you that for forty years we have seen a slight overvaluation of silver in the ratio fail to raise it to the mark of gold; that for forty years we have seen a slight overvaluation of gold fail to raise it to the price of silver; and that now, when the two metals are 40 per cent apart, the last thing that a man of common sense would expect another man of common sense to agree to is an attempt to try again these old experiments under the present aggravated conditions. In other words, you are asking us to justify the fears of the very ones whose lack of confidence in our present situation has brought us to this pass. [Applause.]

OTHER RATIOS PROPOSED.

It is suggested, however, that we compromise; that we adopt some other ratio than 16 to 1; that we try 18 to 1 or 20 to 1. Now, Mr. Speaker, if these gentlemen had not so often and so eloquently

explained to us that it was our duty to stand by 16 to 1, that the power of this Government is sufficient to put the two metals together at that ratio, we might have more confidence in their consistency, even if not in their judgment. But the very moment that they admit it is necessary to bring the ratio of coinage to coincide with or to approach the commercial ratio, they have convicted themselves of fallacy in the very ground of their argument.

If we are going to have any ratio, Mr. Speaker, for Heaven's sake give us 16 to 1. If you put the ratio at 16 to 1 we know exactly what will happen so far as financial prescience can prophesy anything. This ratio is so low that we know that it will immediately depreciate our currency to the present ruling commercial basis of silver; and we shall know how to prepare for it.

But, sir, if you put us on a ratio of 18 or 20 or 24 to 1, or any ratio which in your judgment seems to approach, or which does approach, the commercial ratio, we are then face to face with this dilemma. Should silver rise 3 per cent, or 2 per cent, or even 1 per cent, in its commercial value as compared to gold, it would destroy the efficacy of your ratio and would bring us to gold monometallism.

If silver should fall in value 2 or 3 per cent so as to change to that extent the relation between the market values of the two metals, we would immediately be driven to silver monometallism. We would be exposed to the alternation of silver monometallism and gold monometallism with invariable depreciation. If you are going to break down the present status, if you insist upon breaking up our business and yours, for Heaven's sake let us die in peace with the paralysis from which we are now suffering. Do not first stretch us upon the rack of silver monometallism and then upon the rack of gold monometallism—the two constantly meeting and passing each other—first doubling, and then halving, the metallic currency of the country. If you are going to give us anything in the line of a free coinage ratio give us something that, when we have taken the plunge, will assure us we have struck bottom.

THE CHICAGO PLATFORM.

It is suggested that we must carry out the Democratic platform. I agree to that; but, sir, there appears to be a misunderstanding about that platform. I thought I knew what it was. It was my good fortune to hear it read to the convention which adopted it. I have a copy of it here. I had supposed that it was an authentic copy. I find the pledges in that platform upon the financial matter to be these: First, for a repeal of the Sherman silver-purchase provision; next, the use of both silver and gold as the standard money of the country, and the coinage of them both without discrimination. I think that means free coinage; I will admit that it does.

But it is also provided that the dollar of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, and be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as will insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times.

Then follows a solemn assertion that we do this in order that the farmer and the laboring man may be spared from the evils of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

Mr. Speaker, if there was ever a pledge made by man that was sacred, I think we have it here. But these gentlemen come to us without any pretext that an international agreement has been arrived at, without any suggestion of legislation, except such as has been discredited by the experiments of the past, and ask us to help them to inaugurate a new and worse series of financial experiments than any which have damned their inventors during the last hundred years in the nation's history. Whenever, sir, there shall be made a reasonable international agreement—although in this personally I have little faith—yet as a Democrat I will vote for it for the purpose of trying the experiment. Whenever any legislation shall be proposed which has not already been discredited by the experiments of the past, I will try to sink my doubts as to the probable value of it. But until one or the other condition is fulfilled, the Chicago platform expressly forbids free coinage.

It may be, however, that I have wrongly read the Democratic platform; and my respect for the gentlemen who agree with me in loyalty to the grand old party permits me to assume for a moment that they are right and I am wrong—and either that there is some twist of language that will put an entirely different construction upon that paragraph from what appears on its face, or else that the copy I procured from the national Democratic committee is not a correct one. But, sir, suppose that they are right. They appeal to us to carry out the whole platform; and with their hands on their breasts they appeal to their consciences in behalf of this suggestion.

Now, sir, I find a great many other planks in the Democratic platform, and I fail to appreciate the consistency of gentlemen who stand in their places and say they will fight the Democratic party in behalf of their consciences, and yet do not insist on carrying out the other planks of the platform to which they profess loyalty and allegiance. There is a tariff plank in that platform, which is, as far as possible, the representative of that issue upon which we went to the people; and yet no one on the Democratic side of this question has been so conscientious as to say we have got to have a repeal of the McKinley bill tacked on to the repeal of the Sherman law. There is also in the same platform a proposition for the repeal of the tax on State-bank notes, which my friends seem entirely to have forgotten.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I may have a poor conscience, but at all events it is not of the elastic kind, and if it occurs to me that I must insist on the whole platform being put into a single bill before I will help to carry out any plank of it, I shall be careful not to omit the leading provisions of the platform to which I appeal.

Mr. COX. You will vote for it all, then?

Mr. WARNER. I will vote for it all, altogether, or seriatim.

Mr. COX. I am with you.

Mr. WARNER. Even if we are to pass over for the moment this extraordinary development of conscience, there is another consideration. We have a number of distinct pledges in this platform, none of them more direct than——

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman yield to the gentleman from Tennessee?

Mr. WARNER. Yes.

Mr. COX. I have the promise of the gentleman from New York [Mr. WARNER] that if we will put the entire Democratic platform in one bill, he will vote for it.

Mr. WARNER. Every time.

Mr. COX. Now, your objection at present is, that we have taken a part of the platform but not all of it?

Mr. WARNER. No, sir, I have no objection; I am perfectly willing to vote for this bill. It is the gentleman himself who proposes to object; and my suggestion to him is, that it will be well to take up the planks of our platform just as fast as we can and put them into law without loading up one with another, to the danger of both.

Mr. COX. That is all right. Now, let us be fair with each other. Do I understand the gentleman correctly, that if we will vote for the repeal of the Sherman act he will vote for free coinage?

Mr. WARNER. I will vote for the free coinage of silver either protected by an international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as will keep the metals at a parity; and that is verbatim what the platform promises.

Mr. COX. Will you vote for the free coinage of silver at any ratio?

Mr. WARNER. Yes, under proper legislation, in the very words of your platform.

Mr. COX. What do you mean by "proper ratio?"

Mr. WARNER. There is no reference to ratio.

Mr. HOLMAN. Proper legislation.

Mr. WARNER. The platform says—

or by such safeguards of legislation.

Mr. COX. What do you mean by "safeguards of legislation?"

Mr. WARNER. My dear sir, that is for you gentlemen to propose. [Laughter.] We know what we want and can formulate it.

Mr. COX. Well, we know what we want; but you propose to leave us to work it out, and when we get it done you will say "amen."

Mr. WARNER. Until you find out what you want we are not going to attempt to tell you.

Mr. COX. We know what we want.

Mr. WARNER. Now, sir, I shall detain this House but for a few words more——

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. If I understand the gentleman aright, if this bill passes without an amendment, and if the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman act be stricken from the statute books, then the gentleman stands ready to keep the next plank in his platform and to repeal the tax upon State-bank issues?

Mr. WARNER. I do. I voted for it in the last Congress. [Applause on the Democratic side.] I want to say right here, in answer to the gentleman, that while it is not peculiarly to the interest of the section from which I come—and I am glad he has brought it up just at this time—while we are not particularly troubled with a dearth of circulation, yet we recognize that the present system of currency is a financial straight-jacket into which no free country ought to be pressed. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

And more than that, sir, while my friends, although they are

so conscientious, have forgotten that plank of their own platform, this memorial of the chamber of commerce asks not merely for one thing, but for two. It asks for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, and also that measures be taken for the maturing of a plan for a safe and an elastic currency—an entirely different one from that with which we are cursed to-day.

Mr. McRAE. Are you willing to put that in the Wilson bill?

Mr. WARNER. No, sir.

Mr. McRAE. Why not?

Mr. WARNER. Because I do not propose to load up one plank of the Democratic platform with another plank which a part of the Democratic members in this House repudiated when they refused to join with us from the North in supporting that very proposition in the last Congress.

Mr. McRAE. Since you take the initiative in the one, will your friends also take the initiative in the other?

Mr. WARNER. We will take the initiative in introducing those matters which appeal most directly to our interests, and until we shall have been appointed the guardians of the rest of the country, we propose to leave it to take the initiative in those matters which most directly affect it.

Mr. McRAE. Should you not, then, apologize yourselves for introducing a measure to carry out only a part of one plank of the Democratic platform and not to carry out the other?

Mr. WARNER. My criticism is not that you do not introduce your measure; but that, without doing so, you interfere with the carrying out of the plank of the Democratic platform which we are insisting upon.

Mr. McRAE. Give us a chance and you will see whether we will or not.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. There is no chance now. You have cut us off.

FRIENDS OF SILVER.

Mr. WILSON. Now, Mr. Speaker, I have explained, I hope intelligibly even if not convincingly, that the people of the city of New York, the members of the New York Chamber of Commerce whom I represent, are borrowers instead of lenders of money; that their interests are the same as that of the rest of the country; that their prosperity depends upon that of other parts of the country, and that therefore your cause is theirs.

I ought to mention, sir, that there are others in the State of New York who do not come within that category. They are the people who withdraw their funds from banks, not because they have any doubt as to the soundness of the banks, but in order to ruin the merchants who are straining their credit in order to increase yours, men who are going about damaging the reputation and killing the fame of sound institutions, human hyenas who stab reputations in order that they may fatten upon the ruin they hope to produce. Every one of them is listening with eagerness to every word of my friend, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], who, indeed, does not sympathize with them, but with whom they sympathize. Every one of them is endeavoring to convince the business public of New York and the financial authorities of Europe that the President's recommendation will not be carried out, and that the plans of the gentlemen on the Democratic side whom we oppose here will succeed.

We have such men there—only a few of them, however, and God be thanked for that—the bears of Wall street and the Shylocks of Europe; and we wish you joy of your friends; they are not ours. On the other hand, sir, we are interested in having a plentiful currency of sound money; and, as I called to your attention, we ask not merely for a repeal of the Sherman act, but for a plan to be matured for a sound and elastic currency.

THE TROUBLE AND THE REMEDY.

I believe that there is no need of longer dwelling upon the causes of tight money. Gentlemen in this House have taught for years and years that it depended upon the action of Congress in issuing a few millions, more or less, of silver or of notes. If this country has learned anything from the present crisis so that it has been burned into its memory as with a red-hot iron, it has learned this, that while the currency has been increasing as fast as gold can be brought from Europe, and as fast as Government notes can be printed, money has been getting scarcer than before. Men are beginning to learn that the real money of commerce, the real currency for the transaction of business, does not consist in silver or in gold, but in the confidence of business men.

That, sir, is the matter in which the chamber of commerce is primarily interested. We want the Government, not to help us to do business, but to let us alone, so that we can have facilities to do business. This law is a destroyer of confidence, an interference with the development of this country; and we ask to have it repealed. We want that repeal, not as an end, but as a means; as a means to the reinstatement of the public confidence, so that, as in former flourishing times, every bale of cotton as it reaches the press, every bushel of wheat as it reaches the elevator, every ton of ore as it lies on the dock, shall be a basis of credit and be current money throughout Christendom. If that law, which puts it out of our and your power to restore that confidence, is once repealed we can coöperate with you in helping on what will be the greatest reaction of prosperity that this country has ever seen—in which, from Texas to Maine, from Florida to Washington, all will be blessed, and we with you will share in the benediction. [Loud applause.]

Memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York.

JULY 6, 1893.

Whereas this country has often suffered greatly by reason of hasty and ill-advised financial legislation; and

Whereas it is now suffering from the effect of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman act, which, by creating distrust as to the interchangeability of our currency based on silver with our currency based on gold has caused widespread alarm, and has almost created a commercial panic; and

Whereas in consequence of this alarm money is being withdrawn from circulation, business is greatly depressed, many mills and manufactories are closing or preparing to close, and thousands of laboring men are about to be thrown out of employment; and

Whereas business enterprises will not be resumed nor labor be steadily employed until money can be obtained by manufacturers at reasonable rates; and

Whereas ordinary interest rates can not be expected until confidence in the stability of all the money of the country shall be thoroughly reëstablished, so that the lender may not fear repayment in dollars less valuable than those he lends: Be it

Resolved, That the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman act, which, month by month, renders increasingly difficult the maintenance of the parity of each dollar with every other dollar, is essential to the prompt restoration of national prosperity. This chamber, therefore, urges the speedy and unconditional repeal of such silver-purchasing clause.

Resolved, That in the judgment of this chamber a representative commission should be appointed by Congress, at the special session about to convene, which commission should diligently study the whole body of coinage and currency laws of the United States and other countries and report at the regular session of Congress, to the end that a comprehensive plan for a safe and elastic currency may be carefully matured in the light of the world's experience.

Mr. MEIKLEJOHN. Mr. Speaker, as the hour for adjournment under the special order has nearly arrived, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER. Before putting that motion the Chair would suggest that there is a very large number of gentlemen upon the list of those who are to address the House upon this subject. Generally gentlemen prefer to speak between 12 and 3 o'clock in the afternoon, but it is not possible that all can speak between those hours.

Mr. HUTCHESON. Mr. Speaker, I have only forty minutes, but——

The SPEAKER. There is a motion to adjourn pending, but if the gentleman desires to address the House, perhaps the mover will withdraw it.

Mr. MEIKLEJOHN. I withdraw the motion, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. HUTCHESON. Mr. Speaker, it is with some degree of timidity that, at this time of day and upon a question which has been developed on this floor with so much eloquence, I venture to add anything to the discussion; and, sir, were there involved in this discussion anything less than the integrity of the Democratic party and the best interests of the country I should feel that it was temerity on my part to venture upon any observations before this assembly. But, Mr. Speaker, though this is my first session as a member of this House, yet I represent to-day the Democracy of my State and the interests of my country just as sacredly as gentlemen who have been in this Hall for the last fifteen years, and I feel that I owe to them such suggestions as I can make regarding the question now before us.

Ordinarily in the Congress of this nation we find the parties arrayed in prearranged and definite party lines upon the one side and upon the other, and we draw our arms and bare our breasts, neither asking nor giving quarter. For such a conflict, Mr. Speaker, a spirited man is always ready, and in such a conflict he gives nothing that he is not willing to receive. But, sir, when we come into a controversy like this, where brother stands opposed to brother, the case is different. I do not agree, of course, with the position of the gentleman from New York [Mr. WARNER], but I would not, except in admonition or suggestion, lay my hand upon his shoulder, and when the controversy takes such a shape as that it embarrasses the conduct of the discussion.

Nevertheless, Mr. Speaker, I propose to treat this question as if every Democrat stood where he ought to stand. I believe, sir, that before this contest is over every Democrat will stand where he ought to stand.

Permit me now to review the arguments of gentlemen who have preceded me. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] began the discussion by presenting to this House the inquiry: "If you found a man drunk, would you give him more whisky?"

Now, Mr. Speaker, the very question before this House is: Is this man drunk? [Laughter.] It is the diagnosis of the disease that is first to be determined. I admit, sir, that we find the country sick. The first doctor, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER], pronounced the disease drunkenness. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BAILEY] tells us that the disease is depletion—

the want of substance. Carry out the figure: Is this country drunk with an excess of money, or is it weak and dying from a defect of money? Let us settle this question first, feel the patient's pulse, consult his appetite, and by the ordinary methods decide what the disease is, and then treat it.

If this country is sick from the effects of the Sherman law, then you will discover the fruits of that law rejected. But, Mr. Speaker, this sick country is crying with the agony of starvation for more of the very silver certificates which they say has brought on this panic, and no man doubts that a sufficient supply of them at this moment would allay this panic and set the wheels of commerce in motion. My people and your people are crying, Give us more of all money, including the Sherman certificates. This country is starving for money.

Mr. HENDRIX. About what is the size of the appetite?

Mr. HUTCHESON. Well, sir, if it is to be measured by that of New York, it is measureless and insatiable. If it is measured by the country, 10 per cent. [Laughter and applause.] I am glad the gentleman from New York asked me that question. New York comes and tells this country that she is in a panic, but I wish to tell the gentleman that my constituents have been in the same kind of panic for the last ten years—moneyless—and have had to stand it.

Mr. HENDRIX. I make it 12.

Mr. HUTCHESON. I will accept your amendment, sir. It is the best statement that you have offered to this House. [Laughter.] Mr. Speaker, I admit that it is a little immodest in me to speak during the first or second week of this session, but when I remember that the gentleman from New York has set me the example, not only of making a speech, but of prescribing the entire business of this session—for he told us to repeal the Sherman law and then adjourn and go home—I am encouraged to hope that the House will pardon my presumption. [Laughter.] With these compliments to the gentleman I trust he will let me proceed without interruption.

The other day I asked the gentleman a question while he was speaking, and he said he was unaccustomed to public speaking and declined to answer me. He had stated to this House, as I understood, that the high tide of gold was reached in 1885, and that from that time forth it declined until 1893. Mr. Speaker, I wish to make a point upon that proposition and to show that the gentleman is mistaken in his facts; that the logical truth of the facts when stated is the very reverse of the gentleman's position. The gentleman tells this House that after the passage of the Bland act in 1878, and after the passage of the Sherman act in 1890, gold became timid and did not come to this country. If that were true, the gentleman's argument would be sustained. The truth is, however, that at the time of the passage of the Bland act the amount of gold in this country (I do not undertake to speak with exactness, but only approximately) was $278,000,000.

If the Secretary of the Treasury tells us the truth, we have to-day $650,000,000 in this country. I ask the gentleman why gold, which is so timid, came here, notwithstanding its blushing timidity, and was willing to wed its fortunes to this country?

They tell us that New York and the cities say we are in danger of a financial panic on account of silver; that it does not matter whether we are really in danger, but because New York and the cities say so, therefore we must accept their dictum and vote in accordance with their request. Let me test that proposition a moment. When did this Congress come here to enact the clamors of the country into laws? Congress comes here to enact laws according to the facts. If a clamor were to be started in this House to-day—if there were an outcry that the building was on fire—what would be the duty of every man here? To accept the clamor and rush out like a madman?

No, sir; if the alarm were not well founded it would be the duty of every reasonable man to stand before this House and appease the clamor by denying the alarm cry. That would be the duty of a patriot and a humanitarian. If a certain number of people in this country were to tell you that they were opposed to white dogs because white dogs were assumed to be mad dogs, and then if you found some of the very gentlemen who had undertaken to raise this alarm rushing about the streets picking up the white dogs, taking them in their arms (as they take these white silver dollars), I would say: "It is not hydrophobia you are afraid of; you have gone short on dogs, and you want to create the impression that a white dog is not a good thing for anybody to have." [Laughter.] When you undertake to state a fact I test it by your manifestation of the faith that is in you.

But, Mr. Speaker, the question of the gentleman has led me into a desultory debate when I was undertaking to state a proposition upon which I desired to base an argument. It is this, and I beg the attention of gentlemen to it. In my opinion, Mr. Speaker, this discussion has taken a direction which is unfair to the cause of silver and to the cause of the country. It has been devoted almost wholly to the question of the ratio between the two metals, instead of covering the question of the function of money. This discussion has been devoted to determining whether a fixed ratio can be maintained between the two metals, while in fact the paramount question is, can one or two, or more than two, metals meet the functions of money and discharge the obligations of money in transacting the business of the country? The gentleman from Ohio told us that while the ratio is one thing and while the abundance of money is another thing, yet the volume and abundance of money are the most insignificant and least to be considered of all its elements.

Mr. Speaker, I stand here to maintain the reverse of that proposition; that so far from its being true that the volume of money is its most insignificant element, it is in fact the most paramount and important consideration connected with it. Pardon me if I give you a figure of speech to illustrate this matter. If we stood to-day at the point where time first began, and the question was presented to us what we should fix upon as money, how would you decide that question? You would ask, "What is to be its office?" If I should reply that money is to operate in the buying of every bale of cotton, every bushel of wheat or corn in this country—that such is to be its function and office—what, then, would you determine? You would see what there was in nature or art, in the province of man or in the gift of God, which would answer such a relation to the products of this world as to perform the function for which you were to provide a medium of exchange and insure a fair recompense to labor. Would you not? If you loved justice and your fellow-man you would.

If, Mr. Speaker, you were to divide the world by a river, planting the medium of exchange upon one side and asking those who had products which they wished to exchange to come to the other, what would you require? That the men who stood upon that river with the medium of exchange should have in their possession enough to pay the men who came upon the other side with their products—enough money to defray the expenses of the production. And I care not whether the medium of exchange was gold or silver or diamonds or dirt, if the man coming to that original congress to make a settlement should offer any commodity which would not meet the demand, you would reject that commodity and look for those commodities, one or more, which would answer the requirements.

Why would you do it, Mr. Speaker? Because the moment that river was approached by a bushel of wheat, for which there was no corresponding dollar, the bushel of wheat would be rejected and would perish in the hands of the man who produced it.

Now, let me illustrate this matter so that every man will understand it. I am going to try to make it so plain that even my Republican friends can understand it. [Laughter.]

Mr. CULBERSON (before the conclusion of Mr. HUTCHESON'S remarks). Will my colleague yield for a suggestion? It is now near the hour of adjournment.

Mr. HUTCHESON. Mr. Speaker, my colleague suggests to me that the hour has arrived for adjournment. I would like to proceed in the morning, if it be the will of the House.

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. CULBERSON. With the understanding, of course, that my colleague has the remainder of his hour in the morning.

Mr. BLANCHARD. I understand, Mr. Speaker, that the gentleman from Texas will have his time to-morrow.

Mr. CULBERSON. Certainly.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has an hour under the rules of the House. He has consumed twenty minutes and will be entitled to forty minutes to-morrow.

The motion of Mr. WILSON of West Virginia was then agreed to.

And accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 58 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *August 15, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

WOOL SAMPLES.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury transmitting further information in response to the resolution of February 27, 1893, relative to the report of the commission to select samples of wool for use in the custom-houses; which was read.

Mr. SHERMAN. Towards the close of the last session of Congress the report of the commission called for in the resolution was sent in without the papers. The papers are now communi-

cated, and I submit a resolution to print the report and accompanying papers together.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to, as follows:

Ordered, That Executive Document No. 3, Fifty-third Congress, special session, being a letter of the Acting Secretary of the Treasury transmitting a report of the commission to select samples of wool for use in the custom-houses, be reprinted, together with the additional information on the subject this day laid before the Senate.

REPORT OF VISITORS TO WEST POINT.

Mr. CULLOM. On behalf of the Board of Visitors appointed by the Vice-President and by the Speaker of the House of Representatives to attend the annual examination of the cadets at the United States Military Academy at West Point, N. Y., I submit a report, which I ask to be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Louisville, Ky., praying for the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law, etc.; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. PEFFER. I present a petition of 158 citizens of Osage County, Kans., praying for the free and unlimited coinage of American silver. I wish to state in connection with the petition that the letter of transmittal informs me that the petitioners are composed of men representing all shades of political opinion, so that it may be taken as a fair representation of the views of the people in that section of the State. I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. PEFFER. I present also a telegraphic communication which, while it is not exactly a petition, yet I think is proper to be presented in connection with other petitions. It is a telegram on the same subject from the State executive board of Kansas, the board consisting of all the State officers, in which they instruct their Senators, as far as their power of instruction goes, to vote for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, it being unquestionably practically the unanimous judgment of the people of Kansas. I move that the paper be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MCMILLAN presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Detroit, Mich., praying for the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the petition of John Ederle and 10 other citizens of Battle Creek, Mich., praying for the enactment of legislation looking to the enlargement of the money uses of silver; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. WOLCOTT presented a memorial of citizens of Illinois, remonstrating against the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law without free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a memorial of citizens of Sacramento County, Cal., remonstrating against the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law without the remonetization of silver and praying for the creation of postal-savings depositories; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the General Assembly of Colorado, praying for the passage of a general bankruptcy law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the Master Plumbers' Association of Denver, Colo., and a petition of the Denver (Colo.) Chamber of Commerce, praying for the freer use of silver as money of ultimate redemption, and an increase of the circulating medium of the country by the free coinage of silver; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. CAMERON. I present a large number of petitions of merchants, manufacturers, and other business men of Philadelphia, Pa., indorsing the resolutions of the Trades League of Philadelphia, adopted July 28th last, praying for the immediate repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law. I move that the petitions be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. CAMERON presented petitions of the Foundrymen's Association of Philadelphia; of the Hardware Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association; of the Commercial Exchange of Philadelphia; of the Board of Trade of Scranton; of the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburg; of the Board of Trade of Erie, and of William Connell and other citizens of Scranton, in the State of Pennsylvania, praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the petition of A. V. Bennett and 80 other citizens of Pennsylvania, praying for the appointment of a commission to examine into the evils of immigration; which was referred to the Committee on Immigration.

Mr. QUAY presented a memorial of Corry Grange, No. 55, Patrons of Husbandry, of Corry, Pa., remonstrating against the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law, unless coupled with a provision for the free coinage of silver; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. PASCO presented the petition of Messrs. J. and T. Kidd and 35 other citizens and business men of Fernandina, Fla., praying for the immediate and unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the Florida Bankers' Association, praying for the unconditional repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. WHITE of California presented a petition of sundry iron and steel manufacturers of the Pacific coast States and Territories, praying for the removal of duties upon certain articles; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. DANIEL. I present a petition from the trustees of Washington College, now known as the Washington and Lee University, located at Lexington, Va., praying for compensation for injury to property by troops during the late war. I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on Claims, and that it be printed as a document.

The motion was agreed to.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. BERRY introduced a bill (S. 420) granting the right of way for the construction of a railroad and other improvements through and on the Hot Springs reservation, State of Arkansas; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also (by request) introduced a bill (S. 421) for the relief of the legal representatives of Calvin B. Cunningham; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also (by request) introduced a bill (S. 422) for the relief of Thomas Boles; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. FRYE introduced a bill (S. 423) to amend the act entitled "An act to incorporate the Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua," approved February 20, 1889; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also introduced a bill (S. 424) for the relief of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. HUNTON introduced a bill (S. 425) for the relief of the Potomac Steamboat Company; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 426) for the relief of the heirs of the late Mrs. Mary Ann Randolph Custis Lee, of Fairfax County, Va.; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 427) for the relief of Alexander Stoddart, of New York; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 428) for the relief of Samuel Marsh; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 429) for the relief of George H. Plant, of the District of Columbia; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 430) for the relief of certain citizens of Virginia; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 431) authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Navy to contract for the purchase of a lot of land opposite to the Gosport Navy-yard; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 432) to provide for an American register for the steamship El Callao; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. POWER introduced a bill (S. 433) granting to the State of Montana 5 per cent of the net proceeds of the sales of public lands in that State to support common schools; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 434) to provide for the examination and classification of certain mineral lands in the States of Montana and Idaho; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. ALLEN introduced a bill (S. 435) granting the right to personally inspect and have attested copies of all evidence and

reports filed or used in proceedings to obtain a pension, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. BLACKBURN introduced a bill (S. 436) for the benefit of T. T. Garrard and others; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 437) for the relief of William J. Landrum; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. McPHERSON introduced a bill (S. 438) directing the discontinuance of the purchase of silver bullion; which was read the first time by its title.

Mr. McPHERSON. I desire to have the bill read at length and referred to the Committee on Finance.

The bill was read the second time at length, and referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That so much of the act of July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," as directs the purchase of silver bullion is hereby repealed.

Mr. PUGH (by request) introduced a bill (S. 439) for the relief of David B. Gottwals; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. GEORGE introduced a bill (S. 440) to carry out certain findings of the Quartermaster-General and the Court of Claims; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. KYLE introduced a bill (S. 441) to establish postal savings banks and to encourage the saving of money in small amounts; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. PETTIGREW introduced a bill (S. 442) to ratify the agreement made with the Yankton tribe of Sioux Indians, in the State of South Dakota, for the sale of their surplus lands, dated December 31, 1892; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. McMILLAN introduced a bill (S. 443) to provide for the sale of new tickets by the street railway companies of the District of Columbia; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also introduced a bill (S. 444) making the surveyor of the District of Columbia a salaried officer, and to provide for more efficient service in the surveyor's office; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also introduced a bill (S. 445) supplementary to an act entitled "An act to provide a government for the District of Columbia," approved February 21, 1871, and also an act entitled, "An act for the government of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved June 20, 1874; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also introduced a bill (S. 446) for relief of Catherine E. Whitall; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 447) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue a duplicate of a certain land warrant to Emma A. Ripley; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Private Land Claims.

Mr. VANCE introduced a bill (S. 449) for the relief of Joseph C. Hogan; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also introduced a bill (S. 450) for the relief of Bryan Tyson; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also introduced a bill (S. 451) for the relief of John D. Thorne; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. CALL introduced a bill (S. 452) for the relief of John S. Sammis; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. DANIEL introduced a bill (S. 454) for the relief of Washington College (now known as Washington and Lee University), located at Lexington, Va.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. VOORHEES introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 13) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to remit the 5 per centum penalty on merchandise now in distillery special bonded or custom warehouses upon which the tax is due or about to become due; which was read the first time by its title.

Mr. VOORHEES. I ask that the joint resolution may be read the second time at length and referred to the Committee on Finance.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be read at length, if there be no objection.

The joint resolution was read the second time at length, and referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

Whereas there exists at the present time a great and unusual stringency in the money market; and

Whereas under the operations of the internal-revenue law tax is now due and soon will become due on a large quantity of distilled spirits in excess of the demand for consumption, and which spirits are now in bonded warehouses; and

Whereas said internal-revenue law provides that if the said tax is not paid within three years from the date of entry into bonded warehouses a penalty of 5 per cent, with interest at 1 per cent per month, shall attach: Therefore

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to remit the said penalty of 5 per cent on all merchandise now in distillery special bonded or custom warehouses upon which the tax is due or will fall due within two months, if the said tax shall be paid within six months after the time now provided by law, together with interest at 6 per cent per annum instead of 1 per cent per month as now provided.

PROPOSED SUSPENSION OF STATE BANK TAX.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. President, I have purposely waited until this moment to introduce a bill to which I ask the attention of the Senate. It is not a panacea for all our ills, but I believe that if enacted into law it would end the panic in the South, at least, within fifteen days.

It is a bill not to repeal the 10 per cent tax on State bank issues, but to suspend its operation for six months. If the Senate will indulge me a few moments, I will endeavor to explain the necessity for it and its effect upon the Southern section of the country.

The present cotton crop is to be moved. Only yesterday a telegram was received from a cotton center requesting that something be done by the Treasury to have bills of lading authenticated or cashed or money in some way provided to move that crop. This bill would enable our own banks to move the crop. Take Savannah, for example, which is our leading port, with seven banks, all good and with an aggregated capital of $3,000,000. The programme is this: Bank A, say with $100,000 capital, would sign its own notes or promises to pay to the extent of $20,000 and place in trust abundant collateral to secure these notes or bills of convenient denominations—say for $5, $10, and $20 until they aggregated the $20,000 or 20 per cent of its capital. These would be good notes; but to render them vastly more secure and acceptable to the people, all the six banks would indorse them and thus make them equal in security to any bank bills in the country.

A like process is adopted for each of the other banks and to the extent of 20 per cent of its capital, which 20 per cent of notes or bills will likewise be indorsed by each of the other banks—these notes or bills being also of convenient form and denomination for a circulating medium in the State or locality. When this programme is finished for all seven of the banks, we would have an increase to the extent of least $600,000 in Savannah, which would be received by depositors, by the city authorities, by merchants, and others, because they would be fully as good as any bank bills in the discharge of people's debts—leaving the currency now in the bank vaults to be used in moving the crops. If the objection be urged that this suspension of the tax would permit State banks to organize or permit what is termed wildcat banking, the reply is that it would be utterly impossible, under this provision, to organize any bank within six months. No man with any brains or thought whatever would take a dollar of stock in a new bank of this sort, chartered by a State, which would be wiped out of existence within six months, or taxed out of existence by the expiration of the provisions of the bill.

Only last night, sir, I had a conference with a number of as able bankers as there are in this country. Each of them united in the opinion that the circulation thus provided would relieve our State and Texas and Mississippi and all the cotton States within a few days from the embargo now imposed by the want of currency.

It is a matter of gigantic moment, sir, to us. Our banks are not only without the ability to provide the money for moving this crop, but they are without the ability to command their own money lying on deposit in the city of New York. Their own bills or checks drawn upon their own funds in the city of New York may come back to them in some other shape than in currency. What is promised by this bill is a temporary currency which will pay the indebtedness of any citizen who is so fortunate as to possess it.

There is not a merchant in any of our towns who would not recognize the fact that any bank in good standing in our State which would issue notes thus secured would find them current in every section of the State. There is no better or more secure currency than this would be. It would be equivalent to a ship load of gold emptied into our markets, and would at once relieve the pressure, and make possible the use of present currency for moving the cotton.

I ask the serious attention of the Senate to this measure, and while I know the remark that it would relieve the panic in fifteen days is calculated to provoke a smile from those who oppose State banks and local currency, yet it is true that it would relieve the panic in my State in ten days after its passage. It would do it in every other Southern State. Our people know our banks. They have confidence in them in every city. The City of Savannah has never had a defaulting bank from the days of Oglethorpe to this hour. I beg pardon; I will qualify that statement to this extent: When the war came, some of our banks were, of course, broken; but at no time in our history has a Savannah bank failed to pay its depositors dollar for dollar except during the war.

Now, sir, with that knowledge of our people as to the solvency of our banks, with the indorsement of other banks upon the bills of the particular bank issuing this currency, I undertake to say it would answer all the purposes of gold or silver or Treasury notes of the United States.

This is all I have to say, sir. I ask that the bill be read and referred to the Committee on Finance. I trust the committee will report upon it at an early day.

The bill (S. 448) to suspend for six months the operation of section 3412 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, the same being section 122 of the national-bank act, was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, and referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the operations of section 3412 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, the same being section 122 of the national-bank act, imposing a tax of 10 per cent upon the amount of notes of any person or of any State bank or State banking association used for circulation and paid out by them, be, and the same are hereby, suspended for the period of six months from and after the passage of this act.

INCREASE OF NATIONAL-BANK CIRCULATION.

Mr. VOORHEES. I did not hear the order called for reports of committees, and I ask leave now to report a bill. I will state that I am instructed by the Committee on Finance to report the bill and to ask for its present consideration.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let it be read at length for information.

The bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks was read the first time by its title, and the second time at length, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That upon any deposit already or hereafter made of any United States interest-bearing bonds in the manner required by law, any national banking association which has made or shall make such deposit shall be entitled to receive from the Comptroller of the Currency circulating notes of different denominations, in blank, registered and countersigned as provided by law, not exceeding in the whole amount, including circulating notes previously issued, the par value of the bonds deposited: *Provided*, That at no time shall the amount of such notes issued to any association exceed the amount at such time actually paid in of its capital stock.

Mr. VOORHEES. I desire to say a few words, and a very few. I wish to call the attention—

Mr. COCKRELL. One moment. I do not understand that the bill is before the Senate, because I intend to object to it, after the Senator finished his remarks. I do not want to have it understood that consent is given to take up the bill and consider it.

Mr. VOORHEES. I desire to say in connection with this report that the bill not only has the indorsement of the Committee on Finance and the Secretary of the Treasury, but it has a still higher indorsement. It was passed practically without debate and practically unanimously by the Senate at the last session of Congress, and twice before that. It has had full consideration heretofore. It was passed, I repeat, at the last session by this body, and at that time there was no such requirement, to my mind, as there is now for its enactment.

I have always thought the Government might safely resort to the full faith of its credit to supply the people with a circulating medium. It is no new thought to me, and no new measure. The peril at this time is so much greater that I think the Congress of the United States is far more instructed, as it were, by events than they were then to pass this measure.

Mr. President, I do not proclaim it as a measure of entire relief by any manner of means, but I look upon it as a measure of relief. To some extent it will help the people. The Secretary of the Treasury says that on the bonds now in the Treasury it will authorize an increase of our currency to the extent of $19,000,000. I am advised by others of great experience in financial matters that there is scarcely a doubt but that it will carry an increase of our currency of from $40,000,000 to $50,000,000, which at this time would be a solace and a comfort to our people in every quarter of the United States.

I repeat, Mr. President, if there were reasons heretofore for the passage of such an act by the Senate of the United States, those reasons are magnified now a hundredfold, and I sincerely hope that practically without discussion the Senate may do to-day, in the face of the extreme peril of our situation, what it has done heretofore for an increase of our circulating medium.

I need not say that the national banks are no favorites of mine. I have not been enamored of them and doubtless they have not been of me. They have done wrong and harm perhaps, but that is no reason why we should not seize upon them to bring about a measure of relief if they are capable of doing it. In this instance I believe they have the power to do good, and I desire to authorize them to the extent of the bill at least to render a measure of help to our people.

This is all I desire to say at this time in explanation of the bill and of its motives.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understood the Senator from Indiana to request the present consideration of the bill.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President——

Mr. VOORHEES. I do. I am instructed by the committee to make that request.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. COCKRELL. There is objection.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Missouri objects.

Mr. COCKRELL. There is objection, because there are a number of Senators who desire to be heard upon this proposition, and who will have amendments to offer proposing to give to the masses of the people the same rights that are conferred upon the national banks and stop favorite and proscriptive legislation. There is no objection, so far as the validity of the national-bank circulation is concerned, to allowing the national banks to issue dollar for dollar, because their paper does not derive one particle of its currency and recognition by the masses of the people from its issue by the national banks.

As to whether the national banks are solvent or insolvent is an immaterial question. The masses of the people take the notes upon their confidence in the United States and the United States bonds deposited as security for the circulation. If every national bank in the United States to-morrow were wiped out of existence and declared insolvent, unable to pay a dollar, every dollar of national-bank circulation would be just as good as gold.

To-day, Mr. President, we have various kinds of money in circulation in this country. We have the greenback as full legal tender. We have the gold certificate, we have the silver certificate, we have the national-bank note, and we have the United States Treasury note or notes issued in the purchase of silver bullion; and to-day the honest, toiling millions of the United States know that the honor and integrity of the United States are back of every one of these dollars and they take one of them just as quickly as they take another.

There is no loss of confidence in this country in the money of the country; not a particle of it. The masses of the people will take a silver-purchasing certificate and a silver dollar just as quickly as they will take a gold dollar, and they take them from the bank and hide them away in their stocking and they place them in the vaults of the safe-deposit company. Why? Because they have unbounded confidence that they can let that money remain there one month or three months or six months, or one year or five years, and then take it out and at that time it will be just as good as any other money on God's green earth.

Mr. VOORHEES. If the Senator will allow me, I concur in every word he has said, and I merely wish to authorize more of that kind of money to be put in circulation. That is the object of the bill.

Mr. COCKRELL. I want still more than the measure of the Senator from Indiana proposes. We want still more, and you simply ask for this much. Besides, we do not want to have such a measure rushed through in a minute. The financial systems that are upon us were not created in a day, and they were not created by unanimous consent in a morning hour. I want it distinctly understood that the people of this country want to understand the measures that are passed at this time.

Senators may talk about this bill restoring confidence. Where is confidence lost? I appeal to Senators to stop and think what confidence is destroyed. It is not the confidence of the people of the United States in their currency. Think of it a minute. Is a man who has lost confidence in a silver dollar, a silver certificate, a Treasury note issued for the purchase of silver bullion, going to a responsible bank and draw out that money and hide it away in an old stocking or in a safe-deposit vault, to lie there a week, or a month, or six months, or twelve months? Why will he do that? Because he has no confidence that the money is good? Why, it is farcical. It is idiotic, nothing more, nothing less and nothing else, to talk about the people of the United States having lost confidence in their money. I do not care what kind of money it is, to-day the people of the United States know that the honor and integrity of the whole Government stand back of every dollar that bears the stamp and impress of the Government, and is receivable for all public debts and dues.

Mr. President, I confess that the people have lost confidence;

but in whom? In the financiers, the gold monometallists, who are undertaking to fasten their iniquitous and oppressive and robber system upon the toiling millions of this country.

Confidence has been lost in the banks that made this panic to order, who cut and hedged and rolled it in to suit themselves, and then it escaped from their clutches and is playing sad havoc with them and with all the people of the United States. It passed beyond their control, and the people have lost confidence in them. What is the result? The people go to the banks to draw out the money that is in the banks, and when they have drawn out 10 or 15 per cent of the liabilities of the banks they have absorbed all the money in the United States and there is no money that anybody else can get for any purpose. There is not money enough in this country; as a matter of course there is not; but the whole financial system that the distinguished financiers in the East have been building for years and years is based upon confidence, faith, hope, and charity. Destroy confidence and the fabric falls. That is all there is about it.

We have got just as much money in this country as we ever had. The people have confidence in every dollar we have got, but they have not confidence in the men who have misled them. Now, let the men who are complaining and whose actions produced this panic say to the people of the country, "This money is all good; we are solvent; we have misled you," and then they may restore confidence. Confidence in them is all that is wanted; confidence for the people to take back to the banks and deposit there the money and let it circulate; confidence that the people will take their money there and let the banks pay somebody else, and that person deposit it, and then somebody else can pay it.

You have got to keep the money of this country turning over almost daily or you will have a panic. There is not money enough in the country. I pointed it out here in 1891, and showed the statistics to prove that there was only about 10 per cent of the liabilities of the banks in cash. I then showed (and I shall at some proper time read what I then said) that the whole financial structure was based upon confidence, and the moment you destroyed that you had a collapse. I was called an inflationist then, a silver crank.

"Oh, no; no more money," we were then told. "Oh, do not touch the financial question;" and I have a pile of circulars now from those identical men begging and pleading, "Oh, do not touch the financial question; do not destroy confidence; just let us alone and we will get along splendidly," while they were just going headlong towards the precipice over which they have gone now. We let them alone. We could not help ourselves, we could not get any more money in this country, and they have gone over the precipice, and now they turn around and say, "Give us more money." More money! But how will they get it? Oh, no; they do not want to get it except it comes through their hands and they reap the richest cream off it in a high rate of interest. That is the way they want to get it. They want it first to come into the hands of the national banks that they may be enabled to dole it out to the people at the highest rates of interest that can be extorted in the midst of depression and financial crash.

We need more money in this country; but we have been told always that we were inflationists, that we were dishonest, that we were trying to scale down the public indebtedness of this country; and now what do we behold? We see this honest, this superlatively honest clearing-house of New York, who have the right in their own estimation to call everybody else corrupt and dishonest, issuing $36,000,000 of money. They say they have not enough money. We are exceedingly thankful that, notwithstanding these troublous times, they have demonstrated certain great principles for which the masses of the people have contended. They have demonstrated that this country has not money enough to answer the purposes of money in the transaction of its billions upon billions of business. Had we had in our country twice or three times the amount of money that we have to-day, this panic would not exist.

No man can say that it would. Treble the amount of money we have in this country and it would not give us the amount per capita that France has; and we should have had no panic. It would not have been in the power of a few single gold-standard men to clasp in their grasp the financial veins and stop the circulation of money.

Mr. President, I simply objected to the present consideration of the bill in order that we might have time to examine it carefully and prepare certain amendments to it. It can not be considered in the morning hour. Even if it could be, it is not proper that a measure of such vast magnitude and involving such important principles should be passed in the morning hour.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President——

Mr. COCKRELL. One moment; I am not quite through yet.

Mr. VOORHEES. I beg pardon.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, I wish to state that I shall never give my vote to any policy or principle of legislation which tends to recognize the right of the national banks in the future to issue and control the paper money of this country—never, never. It is not right that the masses of the people should part with their right to control the volume of the money in the United States and place it in the hands of a corporate monopoly.

Mr. President, the Democratic party has stood, time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, opposed to placing the control of the paper circulation of the United States within the dominion and control of a concentrated money power, a corporate monopoly above the reach of the people and the power of law. It declared in its platform of 1840, and in 1844, 1848, 1852, and 1856, this to be a dangerous power to entrust to any monopoly.

I shall not vote for this bill if it gives any encouragement or hope to the national banks to believe that they will be allowed to issue paper currency after the payment of the existing bonded indebtedness of the United States upon which it is based—never. I have no objection to the national banks continuing as banking institutions, but never ought they to be allowed to control the volume of the paper circulation of this country. We know what they will do by what they have done.

In 1881, when we passed a refunding bill here to reduce the interest down to 3 per cent upon the bonds held by the national banks, they came down like a horde of hungry wolves from New York and in one day retired $18,000,000 of their circulation, and came within an ace, as the saying is, of producing a financial panic. That is what they did once, and they will do it again if they have the dominion and control and power over the paper circulation of the United States. Their circulation is perfectly good and nobody objects to it; but if this bill is to be construed as an indication that in the future we shall allow the national banks to issue the paper currency of the United States, then it ought never to pass.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President, of course a single objection makes the bill go over until to-morrow. I give notice that at the proper time to-morrow I shall move to consider the bill, and shall ask to put it upon its passage.

I have nothing to say in reply to the Senator from Missouri, except that this bill has, in the very terms used here now, three times passed this body heretofore. It is queer that I have never heard this speech before in my life. I have heard neither it nor anything like it from anybody; but that is neither here nor there.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will be placed on the Calendar.

FINANCE COMMITTEE.

Mr. VOORHEES. I am instructed by the Finance Committee to ask permission for that committee to sit during the sessions of the Senate. I shall call a meeting of the committee the day after to-morrow. The public seems to be interested in these matters. I give this notice, and ask that the permission be granted.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Indiana, that the Committee on Finance be permitted to sit during the sessions of the Senate? The Chair hears none.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

On motion of Mr. QUAY, it was

Ordered, That Julius M. Bates have leave to withdraw his petition and papers from the files of the Senate.

SILVER COINAGE IN INDIA.

Mr. PLATT submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved, That 2,000 copies of the Herschell report on coinage of silver in India be printed for the use of the Senate.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. Res. 3) making immediately available the appropriations for mileage of Senators and Members of the House of Representatives; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

PROPOSED FINANCIAL LEGISLATION.

Mr. HOAR. Regular order.

Mr. BUTLER. I should like to ask permission of the Senator who called for the regular order to offer an amendment to the resolution of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. The amendment is intended to come in after the word "1890," in the third line of the resolution. I should like to have the whole resolution reported.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. HOAR. I did not mean, in calling for the regular order, to interfere with the routine morning business; but I give notice that as soon as it is concluded, I shall call up the resolution in regard to the seat of Mr. Mantle.

Mr. BUTLER. I ask to have the original resolution and the amendment reported.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution and the amendment will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. LODGE on the 8th instant, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Finance be instructed to report at once to the Senate a bill to repeal the purchasing clauses of the silver act of 1890, and that a vote be taken in the Senate on said bill on Tuesday, August 22, at 2 o'clock p. m., unless it is sooner reached.

Mr. BUTLER. Now let the amendment be read.

The SECRETARY. After the date "1890" it is proposed to amend by inserting:

Also a bill repealing the tax on such State banks of circulation as will support their circulation by approved State or municipal bonds; also a bill for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio to be settled by Congress.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The proposed amendment will be ordered to be printed.

MILEAGE OF SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate House joint resolution No. 3. Let it be read the first time by its title.

The joint resolution (H. Res. 3) making immediately available the appropriations for mileage of Senators and Members of the House of Representatives was read the first time by its title.

Mr. COCKRELL. Now, I ask that the joint resolution be read at length.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be read at length.

The joint resolution was read the second time, at length, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the appropriations for mileage of Senators, Members of the House of Representatives, and Delegates from the Territories made in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act for the fiscal year 1894, approved March 3, 1893, be, and the same are hereby, made immediately available and authorized to be paid to Senators, Members of the House of Representatives, and Delegates from the Territories for attendance on the first session of the Fifty-third Congress.

Mr. COCKRELL. That is a joint resolution of the House of Representatives which makes the appropriation for the pay of mileage, supposed to have been for the first regular session, beginning in December next, available for the payment of mileage at this session. I am requested by a number of Senators, who have great confidence that it will have a tendency to allay any panicky feeling, to ask that the joint resolution may be now considered and passed. [Laughter.]

Mr. FRYE. Mr. President, I shall not object to the consideration of that joint resolution. I suppose that it is pressed because it is very much more important than a provision increasing our currency to about $40,000,000. That should lie over; that should await; but this resolution, by which I am to draw a couple of hundred dollars a month or two earlier than otherwise I should, it is important should receive immediate consideration. The country can wait. It is in no difficulty.

Mr. COCKRELL. I hope the Senator will then object to its consideration.

Mr. TELLER. Why does not the Senator object?

Mr. FRYE. Why should I object?

Mr. TELLER. I would suggest, if the Senator from Maine thinks that this joint resolution ought not to pass to-day, that he should object to it.

Mr. FRYE. I have not intimated that I did not think it ought to pass. I was praising the Senator from Missouri for urging the immediate passage of the joint resolution and simply criticising, to a certain extent, his objection to giving currency to the people and his insistence upon giving it to us.

Mr. PEFFER. I object, Mr. President, to the present consideration of the joint resolution.

Mr. GEORGE. I also object to the consideration of the joint resolution for which the Senator from Missouri asked consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The joint resolution goes over, objection being made to its present consideration.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

Mr. HOAR. I call for the regular order, and ask that the Lee Mantle resolution be laid before the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution referred to by the Senator from Massachusetts, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution reported by Mr. HOAR from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, March 27, 1893, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

Mr. HUNTON. Mr. President, the question of a right to a seat on this floor is not only a question of the highest privilege, but of the greatest importance to the Senate and the States of this Union.

It should be decided without regard to its influence on parties, or the power of any party in this Chamber. Fortunately the decision now (no matter how made) will not affect party supremacy here. Let us, then, consider it calmly and judicially, free from partisan feeling, and make a precedent that will settle forever this vexed question and be a guide to the decision of like questions that may arise in our future history.

The exact question before the Senate is on the report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections giving the right to a seat here to Lee Mantle as Senator from Montana.

But there are two other like cases, one from Washington and one from Wyoming. The facts in these cases are practically similar. They raise the very same question. The determination of one will decide all three. We will therefore consider all at once.

In each of the cases the terms of the Senator elected by the Legislature of his State expired on the 4th day of March. In each of the States the Legislature had met and organized some time prior to the 4th of March, when the seat of one of the Senators from each State was vacated by operation of the Constitution. In each of the States the Legislature, in accordance with the act of Congress of 1866, proceeded to elect a Senator to fill the vacancy, and continued in daily session to elect until the existence of the Legislature was terminated by an express provision of the constitution of each State, and when thus terminated the power of the Legislature in each State expired, leaving the seat of each of the Senators vacated and the three States without their constitutional representation.

In the case of Montana and Wyoming the sessions of the Legislature expired by constitutional limitation a few days before the 4th of March, when the seats of the Senators were vacated. In the case of the State of Washington the Legislature expired by constitutional limitation after the 4th of March. So that in the former two States the vacancy occurred after the termination of the life of the Legislature, and of course during its recess, while in the State of Washington the vacancy in the Senate occurred when the Legislature was in session.

Since this statement of facts was compiled the Senator appointed from Wyoming has resigned, and this leaves only the cases from Montana and Washington for consideration. These facts, undisputed, raise the question whether under the Constitution the governor has the power to fill vacancies in this body which arise by the failure of the Legislature to elect.

There are two general classes of vacancies; one where the Legislature has elected a Senator, and the person elected has accepted the high honor, and a vacancy happens by his death, resignation, or removal; the other where the Legislature has not elected, and the vacancy happens by reason of the failure of the Legislature to elect. In other words, if the Legislature acts and the seat in the Senate is filled, no matter for how short a time, the governor has the right to fill the vacancy which may thereafter happen in any way. This is conceded by all. But if the Legislature has not thus acted, then the question arises whether the vacancy created by this failure to act can be filled by the governor. This is the question involved in this debate. The governor can fill the vacancy happening after the Legislature has elected for a term, but it is maintained by the minority of the committee that he can not unless the term has begun by election.

This construction looks technical, and it seems to me reflects on the wisdom of the framers of the Constitution, who certainly meant to provide for a full Senate and a full representation of all the States. They provided for elections by the Legislature, and for vacancies to be filled by the governor. It remains to be seen if they have failed to accomplish their object to have a full Senate.

There are two classes of rights belonging to the States under the Constitution.

The first embraces all those numerous rights which belonged to the sovereignty of the States and which were not surrendered to the United States, and the surrender of which was not considered necessary to the formation of the Government. The second consisted of those rights conferred upon the States, and were absolutely necessary to the formation of the Federal Government.

In this latter class comes the right of a State to send Senators to represent it on this floor. It is certain that without this provision in the Constitution—this agreement between the States—the election or appointment of Senators would have been unknown. This right of representation of State sovereignty in the Senate was vital to the formation of the Federal Government. Without representation in the two Houses there could have been no Congress and no legislative department of the Government.

In providing for this department the framers of the Constitution ought to have been, and it is maintained were, very careful to provide against vacancies in either branch of Congress. If there may be a vacancy in either House that the State could not fill, then there might, under extraordinary circumstances, be so many vacancies that Congress would cease for the time being to be a body representing the will of the people and States. This subject, the construction of first article and section 3 of the Constitution, should be approached and treated in the spirit which must have inspired its authors. If they failed to provide for the filling of vacancies in such cases as these, it is far better that these States should be in part without representation here than to violate the Constitution by their admission. Did they fail?

The clause of the Constitution involving the right of these Senators to admission is in the following words:

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

There is no other provision that relates to filling the Senate with two Senators from each State. No one can read this provision and fail to find an intention to keep the Senate "full—always full." "The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State." When it is composed of less than two from each State, it does not measure up to the standard prescribed by the Constitution. Its framers intended to provide for a full Senate. If this is so, we should incline to that construction which will more nearly and more certainly keep the Senate full. The Committee on Privileges and Elections, in their report, gives that portion of the Constitution under consideration this construction, which they maintain is authorized by the language of the clause, and enforced by the manifest object which its framers had in view.

The committee maintain under this clause that the governor has the right to appoint in cases where during the term of a Senator, and before it has expired by operation of law, a vacancy happens. No matter how, whether by death, resignation, abandonment, expulsion, or in any similar way "by resignation or otherwise." This is agreed to by the minority of the committee and is not disputed by anyone. The committee go further and maintain that this power to make temporary appointment extends to a case where the full term of a Senator has expired by operation of law, where the Legislature of the State, whose duty it is to elect a Senator, has had opportunity to elect, but has failed to do so. This last position of the committee is combated by the minority. Able speeches have been made on both sides. Which is correct?

The broader view commends itself to my mind. It seems warranted by the language of the clause and is better suited to carry out what must have been the intention of its framers: to keep, as nearly as possible, a full Senate. A full representation of the sovereignty of all the States; that our Government might be in reality, as well as in name, a representative government. The Constitution says the Senate shall be composed of two Senators from each State. This was the object of the framers of the Constitution—two Senators from each State, always in the Senate, to be chosen by the Legislature; vacancies to be filled by the governor. In order to test the value of this view of the minority we must first understand precisely what it is. It is very clearly stated by the distinguished Senator from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL] in his elaborate and able speech on this subject, as follows:

The minority of the committee hold to the view that, inasmuch as the Constitution in plain and specific terms provides in the first instance for certain definite specific terms of Senators, first of six years, then four, then two years, by virtue of the classification to be made immediately after assembling in consequence of the first election, and then provides—

"If vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise during the recess of the Legislature of any State"—

that the vacancy contemplated and referred to is a vacancy occurring by resignation, or otherwise, in one or the other of these fixed and definitely described terms, and that it has no reference whatever to any condition that may exist at the expiration of any of these regular terms, and this is so for a great number of reasons. First, because it is the constitutional duty of the Legislature of a State, not only in virtue of the provisions of the Constitution itself, but doubly so in virtue of the act of Congress of July 25, 1866, to provide by election in advance of such a vacancy for a successor to a Senator whose full term is about to expire. And it was never contemplated, as we submit, that the Legislature, no less than the executive, of a State would fail to perform this great constitutional function.

In other words, we confidently insist for the reasons already fully indicated that the vacancy referred to in the Constitution is a something that must be carved out of a term to which a Senator has been chosen. It is a vacancy that must "happen," not by a predetermined fact, not by the occurrence of something we all know long in advance of its occurrence is absolutely sure to occur at a certain date, but a vacancy which "happens by resignation or otherwise;" that is, which happens in *some such manner* as a *resignation*, in some *like manner*, some unexpected manner, in some manner that we did not anticipate, some manner we did not expect, some like unexpected and unanticipated manner such as death, abandonment, expulsion, or other like unexpected occurrence, and not only by resignation, but otherwise

He maintains that the vacancy must exist by resignation or otherwise, and the broad meaning of the word otherwise must be contracted by the word resignation, and that no other vacancy is meant except of a like character with that proceeding from resignation; that is, the power of appointment of the governor is confined to cases where the regular term had been filled by the Legislature and a vacancy occurred afterwards and before the expiration of the term.

Was this the meaning of the framers of this clause? Let us examine its history in convention.

In the Madison Papers, containing Elliott's debates, at page 377, it will be seen that the Committee of Detail, appointed to submit the form of a constitution, reported through Mr. Rutledge on August 6, 1787, the clause on this subject, as follows:

The Senate of the United States shall be chosen by the Legislatures of the several States. Each Legislature shall choose two members. *Vacancies may be supplied by the executive until the next meeting of the Legislature.* Each member shall have one vote.

If this report had been adopted and if this language was in the Constitution, of course no question like this could have arisen. The power of the governor to appoint to fill vacancies would have been unlimited. But objection was made.

Mr. Wilson objected to vacancies being filled by the executives of the States. It was unnecessary, as the Legislatures will meet so frequently. It removes the appointment too far from the people, and the executives in most of the States being elected by the Legislatures. As he had always thought the appointment of the executive by the legislative department wrong, so it was still more so that the executive should elect into the legislative department.

Mr. Randolph thought it necessary in order to prevent inconvenient chasms in the Senate, etc.

Mr. ELLSWORTH. It is only said that the executives may supply vacancies. Where the legislative meeting happens to be near, the power will not be exerted: as there will be but two members from a State, vacancies may be of great moment.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Senators may resign or not accept. This provision is therefore absolutely necessary.

On the question of striking out "vacancies may be supplied by the executives;" Pennsylvania voted aye, Maryland was divided and could not vote, and New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia voted no. Eight States voted against and only one for striking out.

The Convention by a vote of 8 to 1 refused to take from this clause the unlimited power in the governors to fill vacancies. Of course, if this exact language had been retained no question about the power of the governors in these cases could have arisen.

Mr. Williamson moved to add to the words "vacancies shall be supplied by the executives," the words "unless other provision shall be made by the State." This was objected to by Mr. Ellsworth, and was lost by the vote of four States for and six against it, as follows: Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia in the affirmative, and New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia (6) in the negative.

Mr. Madison, in order to prevent doubts whether resignations could be made by Senators, or whether they could refuse to accept, moved to strike out the words after vacancies, and insert the words "happening by refusal to accept, resignation, or otherwise, may be supplied by the Legislature of the State in the representations of which such vacancies shall happen, or by the executive thereof until the next meeting of the Legislature."

This amendment of Mr. Madison was deemed by him necessary to prevent doubts—what doubts? The doubts whether a Senator-elect could refuse to accept or resign after acceptance. These doubts arose because of the rule in the English House of Commons, which prohibited a member from vacating his office. This rule in the House of Commons was avoided by the acceptance on the part of the member of another incompatible office. To avoid and remove these doubts, Mr. Madison wished to put into the Constitution the American doctrine that a Senator could refuse to accept and resign after acceptance. It was not because he was dissatisfied with the broad language of the clause, as reported by the Committee of Detail, but because he wished to remove these doubts.

It will be conceded by those who sustain the report of minority that the language of Mr. Madison would have given to the governor the right to fill all vacancies as fully as the language of committee of detail. Because the "otherwise" in Madison's amendment, if limited or contracted in its meaning at all, would be limited by refusal to accept and resignation. There the "otherwise" would have referred to cases like either of the two classes—where there was no commencement of a term by election, as well as the vacancy created after the term had begun by election.

Madison's amendment would have borne the same construction as the language of the original report, and its only object, as declared by Mr. Madison, was to remove doubts on another and different point.

It can not be, and probably will not be, denied that this clause, if adopted with Mr. Madison's amendment, would have given to the governor unlimited power to fill vacancies. This amendment was adopted unanimously, and by this unanimous vote the convention declared for the right of the governors to fill all vacancies arising from any cause.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. May I ask the Senator from Virginia a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COCKRELL in the chair). Does the Senator from Virginia yield to the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. HUNTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. The Senator will not claim, however, that the Madison amendment was incorporated in the Constitution as finally adopted?

Mr. HUNTON. I would not do the Senator's able speech the injustice to maintain that, and if he had a little patience he would have found that I do not claim that.

This unanimous declaration of the Convention was never reversed by any vote in that Convention. No other vote of the Convention, as far as I can find, was ever taken on this particular clause.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Was it not reversed by the vote adopting the Constitution?

Mr. HUNTON. It is true, then, that when the Convention unanimously adopted Madison's amendment, it was a declaration for unlimited power to fill vacancies by the governors, and if no other declaration was made by a specific vote on this clause we must look at this declaration in arriving at the intention of the framers of the Constitution. That is the position I take.

But, says the distinguished Senator from Oregon, the clause as framed by Mr. Madison did not go into the Constitution as finally adopted, but with the words "refusal to accept" stricken out, and therefore that class of vacancies embraced in the word "otherwise," which arise from a failure on the part of a Legislature to begin the term by election is not embraced, and the governors have no power to fill such.

I trust I have stated the position of the Senator from Oregon fairly and fully.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. That is correct.

Mr. HUNTON. How was the language of Mr. Madison, unanimously adopted in the Convention, changed? If the Convention went back on its unanimous vote upon Mr. Madison's amendment and deliberately changed the phraseology of that amendment, then the force the Senator from Oregon ascribes to the change would have additional weight; but it was not so.

After the convention had gone through with the report of the committee of detail and satisfied itself as to the various provisions, a committee on style and order was appointed, whose duty was, without altering substance, to improve the language and style of the various articles already passed upon by the Convention.

To prove this, I cite from the Journal, acts, and proceedings of the Convention which formed the Constitution, and I take my citation from a book published in Boston by T. B. Wait, in 1819, which recites as follows:

SATURDAY, *September, 8, 1787.*

It was moved and seconded to appoint a committee of five to revise the style of and arrange the articles agreed to by the House; which passed in the affirmative—

And I beg the attention of Senators to the power and prerogative of that committee on style and order.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. May I ask the Senator a question at that point?

Mr. HUNTON. Certainly.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Suppose it is true that the powers of the committee on detail, so far as the committee was concerned, extended only to improvement in style; suppose as a matter of fact that committee went beyond its powers and inserted language which will not, by any possible rule of construction, bear the interpretation that the original clause bore, and the Convention as a convention, finally adopted the clause as reported by the committee on style, are we in construing that Constitution to take the amendment with which the committee on detail dealt, or are we to take the language as we find it in the Constitution as finally adopted by the Convention?

Mr. HUNTON. There is no trouble in the world in answering the distinguished Senator from Oregon. We have to take the language as we find it in the Constitution as finally adopted; but when we construe that language upon a doubtful point, we have to take the proceedings of the Convention as a lamp to guide the mind of Senators in coming to a conclusion; and I submit to the Senator from Oregon that if he had carefully considered the proceedings of the Convention, as he seems to have considered everything else in connection with this question, he would have found light enough thrown upon the clause as finally adopted to have come to a different conclusion on the subject.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I said if it was a case of doubt, then there might be something in the Senator's argument; but I insist, with all due deference to him, that there is no room for doubt as to the construction of the Madison amendment and the construction of the clause which was finally adopted by the Convention.

Mr. HUNTON. Then the meaning of what the Senator says now is that he frankly confesses before the Senate that there is no particle of room for doubt as to his construction.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. No, I am not contending that. I admit there is room for doubt, or so able a lawyer as the Senator from Virginia would not be found here advocating the other side. As between these two clauses, however, so far as they bear upon this particular question, I undertake to say there is no room for doubt. But these two clauses alone may not decide the whole question.

Mr. HUNTON. But the Senator from Oregon admits that there is doubt upon the construction of the Constitution as finally adopted upon this subject. There being doubt as to how it shall be construed, I maintain that it is the duty of the distinguished Senator from Oregon and all of his colleagues upon this floor to look at the history of the adoption of that clause of the Constitution and, if possible, to solve that doubt. That is all I maintain.

The resolution to appoint a committee of five to revise the style of, and arrange the articles agreed to by the House, was passed in the affirmative, and a committee was appointed by ballot of the Hon. Mr. Johnson, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. G. Morris, Mr. Madison, and Mr. King. Mr. Madison, whose amendment had been adopted unanimously in the Convention, was on this committee on style and order, and yet we have never heard a word in the Convention or out of it that Mr. Madison agreed to recede from the position he took when this amendment was unanimously adopted by the Convention.

Mr. HOAR. Although he himself reported the debates of the Convention.

Mr. HUNTON. Although, as the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts says, Mr. Madison himself reported the debates of that Convention.

The House adjourned. (Pages 346 and 347.)

This committee, under its power thus limited, made the change in the clause and adopted the language as it appears in the Constitution. The Convention did not authorize any change that affected the substance. We must conclude the committee did not intend to alter the substance, and when finally adopted the Convention believed there was no change of substance. That is a legitimate reason. This clause, thus embodied into our Constitution, must be considered in the light of what transpired in the Convention. If we believe, as we must, that the clause as amended on motion of Madison—adopted unanimously by the Convention—expressed the views of the Convention, then in all doubtful cases of construction, at least, we should follow the intention of those who framed the clause.

If this be so, then this clause must receive the broader construction of the committee, and their report must be sustained by the admission of these appointees to seats on this floor.

Lexicographers sustain the committee in the meaning it gives to the word "otherwise."

Webster gives as its meaning, "in a different manner," "by other causes," "in other respects." The Century Dictionary gives similar definitions. But the dictionaries most in use at the time the Constitution was adopted were probably Johnson's and Bailey's, both of which were published not long before the Convention adopted the Constitution.

They define "otherwise"—

Johnson's English Dictionary, London, 1755.

1. In an indifferent manner.
2. By other causes.
3. In other respects.

Bailey's English Dictionary, London, 1764.

1. Or else, by other causes, after another manner.
2. In an indifferent manner.
3. In other respects.

The committee maintain that the true meaning of the word "otherwise" in this connection is "in any other way," and will embrace all vacancies, no matter from what cause they may arise.

The minority claims that it means in any other way similar to resignation: that is, a vacancy happening after a regular term has been begun by election by the Legislature, and rely on some adjudicated cases to sustain this view. The cases relied on give the technical and judicial construction of the word "otherwise" when found in statutes.

It is at least doubtful if the meaning of any clause in the Constitution should be given a technical construction. Many of its members were not lawyers and no doubt looked to the plainer meaning of words like "otherwise" and believed they used the word as synonymous with "in any other manner." The Senator from Oregon in his speech, page 86, says:

But what is the meaning of the word "otherwise" in the connection in which it is employed in the phrase, "If vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise?"

The distinguished Senators from Massachusetts and Alabama, and other Senators who support the majority report, claim that the word "otherwise" in this connection, means "in any other manner," while we of the minority contend that, under the well-settled and universally recognized rules of constitutional and statutory construction, it means "in like manner," or some such manner as resignation.

He refers to the case of Fenwick vs. Schmaltz (L. R., 3 C. P., 315), and uses the following extract:

A general word which follows particular and specific words of the same nature as itself takes its meaning from them and is presumed to be restricted to the same genus as those words; or, in other words, as comprehending only things of the same kind as those designated by them, unless, of course, there is something to show that a wider sense was intended.

"Unless, of course, there is something to show that a wider sense was intended." This qualification will be found in the construction of like phrases in all the cases. This contrary intention does appear here. The unquestionable object of this clause was to "keep the Senate full—always full." The history of the Convention proceedings shows that by a vote of the Convention it was decided unanimously on Madison's amendment that this was the intention of the Convention, that the governor should fill the vacancy when it happened from refusal to accept, resignation, or otherwise; that this intention was never changed by any vote of the Convention, and the substance of the Madison amendment was embodied by the committee on style with the change only in the language expressing it.

It is submitted that there is in this case "something to show that a wider sense was intended," and this wider sense must be applied and the conclusion of the committee sustained. This wider sense given to the words "by resignation or otherwise" should be as the committee maintained "by resignation or in any other manner;" but whether we follow this plain meaning of the word, or the limited meaning placed upon it by the courts, there is enough in the history of the Convention to show that the broader sense and meaning were intended and that "otherwise," as here used, means "in any other way."

The precedents in this body also strongly and nearly unanimously sustain the conclusion reached by the committee. As recited by the committee they are as follows:

April 27, 1797, William Cocke was appointed a Senator from the State of Tennessee by the governor, his term having expired on the 3d of the preceding month. On the 15th of May, 1797, he presented his credentials, and was admitted to take the oath of office without objection or debate.

There is no use to deny or argue out of the precedents of the Senate that the case of William Cocke, in 1797, presented the identical question to the Senate of the United States which is presented in these cases here, and the Senate of the United States, without division or debate, decided that he was entitled to a seat upon the floor of the Senate, although appointed by the governor to fill a term which had not then begun, by election of the Legislature.

March 3, 1801, the seat of Uriah Tracy, of Connecticut, became vacant by the expiration of his term of office. On the 20th of February, 1801, the governor of Connecticut reappointed him a Senator. Objection being raised to his credentials, he was admitted to the oath by a vote of yeas 13, nays 10.

William Hindman, of Maryland, was afterward, on the next day, admitted to the oath on like credentials, without objection.

John Condit, of New Jersey, November 14, 1803, appointed a Senator from New Jersey to fill the vacancy at the beginning of the term, was admitted to take the oath. Mr. Condit's credentials had been presented October 17, previous.

March 4, 1809, Samuel Smith, of Maryland, appointed on that day by the governor of his State to fill the vacancy caused by the expiration of his own term, was admitted to his seat and sworn.

March 4, 1809, Joseph Anderson, of Tennessee, took his seat by virtue of an appointment from the governor of that State.

May 24, 1813, Charles Cutts, of New Hampshire, appointed by the executive to fill the vacancy during the recess of the Legislature, was, without question, admitted to take the oath. This vacancy was at the beginning of the term.

March 4, 1817, John Williams, of Tennessee, appointed a Senator by the executive of the State, to hold said appointment until the meeting of the next session of the Legislature, was admitted. His credentials were filed on the 10th of the preceding February.

March 4, 1825, James Lanman, of Connecticut, presented his credentials of his appointment by the governor of that State, "to take effect immediately after the 3d of March, 1825, and to hold the seat until the next meeting of the Legislature." Mr. Lanman was refused the seat by a vote of 23 to 13. The case was referred to a select committee, who report the facts, but state neither reason nor conclusion.

They refused Mr. Lanman a seat upon this floor, as it is maintained by the committee and sustained by the weight of testimony, not because the governor had not the right to appoint at the beginning of the term, but because the governor had no right to anticipate the vacancy and appoint before the vacancy happened.

The committee say they have looked into the Journals of the Senate, and that the cases of Cocke, Tracy, Anderson, and Williams are the only analogous cases they could find. There is a brief sketch of the debate in Niles's Register, vol. 28, p. 82, but no statement of the reason on which any Senator proceeded. There is no historical evidence from which we can determine whether the Senate rejected Mr. Lanman on the ground that the governor could not fill a vacancy happening at the beginning of the term, or on the ground that the governor could not lawfully make the appointment in anticipation, before the vacancy occurred, and before he could possibly know whether the Legislature might be called together before that time.

All the precedents which the committee cite, except that of Mr. Cocke, were cases where the appointment was made not when the vacancy happened in the recess of the Legislature, but only when the governor thought it might happen. In the case of Cocke, the date of the appointment is not given in the Journals, although in fact it was after the vacancy. The committee do not cite the case of Hindman, Smith, or Condit, nor the then recent case of Cutts, in deciding which some Senators then in office took part, where the appointments were made after the vacancy existed. There is, therefore, nothing to show whether the Senate meant to overrule all the precedents, some of which were not brought to its attention, or only so many of them as recognized the right of the executive to appoint when a vacancy had not happened.

Judge Story (Constitution, sec. 727, note 2) says: "In the case of Mr. Lanman, a Senator from Connecticut, a question occurred whether the State executive could make an appointment in the recess of the State Legislature in anticipation of the expiration of the term of office of an existing Senator. It was decided by the Senate that he could not make such an appointment. The facts were that Mr. Lanman's term of service as Senator expired on the 3d of March, 1825. The President had convoked the Senate to meet on the 4th of March. The governor of Connecticut, in the recess of the Legislature (whose session would be in May), on the 9th of the preceding February appointed Mr. Lanman as Senator, to sit in the Senate after the 3d of March. The Senate, by a vote of 23 to 18, decided that the appointment could not be constitutionally made until after the vacancy had actually occurred." (See Gordon's Digest of the Laws of the United States, 1827; appendix, note 1, B.)

So that the decision of the question of the contested seat of Mr. Lanman, according to Judge Story, was upon an entirely different point from the point involved in these cases; and this recollection of Judge Story was borne out by a report in the National Intelligencer of March 8, 1825. Recollect it was March 4, 1825, when the question came up, and four days later the Intelligencer reported the facts of the case.

Mr. PASCO. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. HUNTON. Certainly.

Mr. PASCO. I should like to ask the Senator from Virginia if Mr. Benton, in his great work on the debates, does not show that it was decided on the other view of the case?

Mr. HUNTON. That is one view of it; but it is not absolutely certain upon what ground the committee based its decision and the Senate based its decision. I said a while ago, and I repeat, that the weight of the testimony coming from Judge Story, from whom I have just read, and the report in the National Intelligencer, made four days after the question was raised in the United States Senate, shows that I am correct. What does that paper say in reporting the case? It says in an editorial note:

An important constitutional question was yesterday decided in the Senate by the refusal to admit Mr. Lanman to a seat in the Senate under a commission from the governor granted before the expiration of Mr. Lanman's late term of service. This is the first time the question has been adjudicated under such circumstances as to form a precedent; and we presume it may now be considered as a settled construction of the constitutional provision that a vacancy must have literally "happened," or come to pass, before an appointment can be made to fill it.

So that the Intelligencer, which had the confidence of the whole country in the integrity of its reports, four days after the question was raised in the Senate of the United States reported the case, and reported the point upon which the case turned and how it was decided. I say, therefore, again, that the weight of testimony is that the point here under consideration was not involved in the consideration by the Senate of the Lanman case.

The State of Arkansas was admitted to the Union in 1836. In October, 1836, the Legislature of that State elected Ambrose H. Sevier and William S. Fulton Senators. On the allotment of the Arkansas Senators to their respective classes, as required by the third section of the first article of the Constitution, Mr. Sevier was placed in the class of Senators whose term of service expired on the 3d of March, 1837. The Legislature of Arkansas had no opportunity to fill the vacancy, and were not in session after the result of the allotment was known in that State. January 17, 1837, the governor of Arkansas appointed Mr. Sevier to fill the vacancy which would take place on the 3d of March. When Mr. Sevier's credentials were presented at the winter session, Mr. Webster suggested a doubt of the validity of the appointment, in which Mr. Sevier himself concurred.

That was an appointment to begin a term, not to fill out a vacancy occurring by resignation or otherwise in the Senate, as understood by the minority of the committee, but an appointment to fill a term which begun by his appointment.

At the March session the credentials were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Mr. Grundy, from that committee, reported in favor of Mr. Sevier's admission, and he was admitted.

Mr. Grundy's report states that it is not intended by the committee to call in question the correctness of the decision in the Lanman case: that that case proceeded on the ground "that the Legislature should provide for all vacancies which must occur at stated and known periods, and that the expiration of a regular term of service is not such a contingency as is embraced in the second section of the first article of the Constitution."

I say, therefore, that the Lanman case is certainly no precedent which can be relied upon to sustain the position assumed on this floor by the minority report of that committee.

Coming down to a later period we find the case of Charles H. Bell, of New Hampshire. He was appointed by the governor to fill the vacancy happening in the Senate by the expiration of the

term of Senator Wadleigh on the 3d of March, 1879, during the recess of the Legislature.

The Committee on Privileges and Elections reported against the right of Mr. Bell and sustained, by their report, the doctrine of the minority report in this case. The report gave rise to an exhaustive and able debate, and resulted in the seating of Mr. Bell by a vote of 35 to 28. The Senate, by a majority of 7, sustained the doctrine of the report of the committee in this case. There was no doubt, and none can be suggested by the able Senators on the other side of this question, that this identical question was not only involved in the Bell case, but was ably debated pro and con upon the floor of the Senate and decided by a majority of 7 in favor of the right of the governor to appoint.

In 1885 Henry W. Blair was appointed Senator by the governor of New Hampshire to fill a vacancy which happened in the Senate on the 4th of March, 1885, and during a recess of the Senate. That was to fill a term which had not begun by election by the Legislature. It was not to fill a vacancy happening by resignation or otherwise, as understood by the minority of the committee, but it was an appointment by the governor to fill a vacancy occurring by the failure of the Legislature to elect at the beginning of the term.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I wish to ask the Senator a question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Virginia yield?

Mr. HUNTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I ask if it is not a fact in that case, as also in the Blair case which followed it, that the Legislature of the State, whose business it was to elect a successor to the Senator whose term expired on the 4th of March, did not meet until the following June, and is it not a fact that it appears from the debates in those cases that many Senators placed their vote upon the simple and sole ground that the Legislature whose business it was to elect a successor had never had any opportunity to elect?

Mr. HUNTON. I certainly concede that.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Therefore——

Mr. HUNTON. No, no; wait a moment.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Very well.

Mr. HUNTON. I want to know now of the Senator if he concedes that if the Legislatures had not met in these three States and the term had not begun by election, the governor would have had the right to appoint?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. No; I do not. With the view I have of the Constitution I think it would make no difference; but I do think and believe that the action in the Bell case and in the Blair case can not with propriety be referred to as a precedent for the position taken by the majority of the committee, from the fact that the Senator has conceded here to-day that many Senators voted to seat those gentlemen for the simple reason that the Legislature, whose duty it was to elect, had not had an opportunity to do so.

Mr. HUNTON. If that be true, the Senator from Oregon will excuse me for saying then the word "otherwise" in the clause of the Constitution means more than the Senator from Oregon concedes it to mean. If "otherwise" in the Constitution means that the governor has a right to fill the vacancies which occur by the failure of the Legislature to elect at the beginning of the term because the Legislature has not met in the meantime, then he concedes a meaning of the word "otherwise" which must be carried out by giving it the meaning contended for by the majority of the committee.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Certainly not. I have already said that under the view I take of the Constitution it makes no difference whatever whether there has been an opportunity on the part of the Legislature to elect or not, but it did make a difference to a great many Senators who voted on the Bell case and on the Blair case, who had gotten the idea, and perhaps hold to that idea yet for anything I know to the contrary, that because the Legislature, whose business it was to elect, had had no opportunity of electing, therefore the governor had the right to appoint. I do not believe it.

Mr. HUNTON. But it is true that in that case the Senate of the United States seated a Senator appointed by the governor of the State of New Hampshire to occupy a seat on this floor and to fill a vacancy which happened at the beginning of a term. The Senator can not escape that.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I admit that.

Mr. HUNTON. Then, that is a precedent even in the admission of the Senator from Oregon, that in that case the word "otherwise" must be construed much more broadly than he would maintain, and it must be construed to mean, according to this precedent, to fill a vacancy occurring by resignation or otherwise; that is by failure of the Legislature to elect at the beginning of the term because it has not been in session to elect. That yields, in my opinion, the whole question as to the construction of "otherwise."

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, if the Senator from Virginia will pardon me for one suggestion, a very much stronger case than the present—because in the present case the Legislature has failed to elect, and there was no fault in the State or the people by not having a majority for any one person—is the New Hampshire case, where the people of the State had deliberately put into their constitution a provision which made it impossible. So that all the arguments which have been made on the other side will apply with much greater strength to that case than the present.

Mr. HUNTON. Certainly, I agree to that. So I maintain that in the New Hampshire case, the Blair case, the Senate of the United States deliberately placed upon the word "otherwise" a construction broader than is admitted by the minority in their report in the present cases, and put upon it a construction which can not be limited by cases where the Legislature had not met. It must be construed, as the majority of the committee maintain it shall be construed, that the word "otherwise" means "in any other way."

In the Blair case the questions involved now were again considered and ably discussed. Blair was declared entitled to his seat by a vote of 36 to 20. In this present Senate this question has been tacitly decided. In March, 1893, before the Senate met in called session, the credentials of the Hon. SAMUEL PASCO were presented and read to the Senate. They showed on their face that he was appointed by the governor of Florida to fill a vacancy happening on the 4th of March, 1893, at the beginning of a new term of six years. This case raised the very question involved here. Senator PASCO was seated without opposition or debate, and the distinguished Senator from Oregon sat in his seat and saw a Senator sworn in upon this floor whose credentials involved the identical question which he has so ably debated in three other cases.

These precedents ought to settle the question. They are, with one single exception, harmonious. Indeed, so strong are these precedents that one of the ablest as well as one of the most candid Senators of this body, while agreeing with the conclusion reached by the minority, asserts positively that he regards the question as settled in favor of the power of the governor to appoint in the cases under consideration. So clearly was he of this opinion that he did not object to the swearing in of the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO], whose case raised this very question. On page 72 of the RECORD, the Senator from Missouri, Mr. VEST, is reported to have said:

> Mr. VEST. If the Senator from Connecticut will permit me, I wish to make a single remark in reply to the Senator from Massachusetts and the Senator from Alabama, who made the same point, and that was, that we sat here silently and permitted the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO] to be sworn in without question. After the decision of the Blair case in 1885, which affirmed the decision in the Bell case in 1879, I have been so well satisfied that the opinion of the Senate was against me upon this question that I have never raised it; not that I ever gave up the correctness of my opinion, but because I considered it useless to bring it before the Senate again. The successor of Mr. Blair, or rather, I believe, the intervening Senator between Mr. Bell and Mr. Blair, was sworn in without opposition.
>
> I have not changed my opinion on the subject, because I did not object to the swearing in of that Senator, and the Senator from Florida himself knows that I affirmed to him privately my opinion that he was not entitled to a seat on this floor, in my judgment, although the ruling of the Senate in the Bell case and the Blair case had been otherwise. I did not raise the question, but I never considered myself estopped from doing it at any time if I saw proper to raise it.

While his judgment was not convinced, he yielded to the precedents in such cases and raised no objection to the swearing in of the Senator from Florida.

It would seem that this long list of precedents, extending from 1797 to the present time, should long since have settled this question, and those who, like the Senator from Missouri, believe that it was settled wrong should have acquiesced in this settlement, and these Senators whose right to seats on this floor is disputed, should have been sworn in without objection.

I have said the precedents from 1797 to the present time are harmonious.

A case of like character came before the Senate in 1794, in which the question under consideration was decided the other way. In that case, George Read, a Senator from the State of Delaware, resigned his seat in December, 1793, at which time the Legislature was not in session. The Legislature met the following January and adjourned in February without electing a Senator. On the 19th of March Kensey Johns was appointed a Senator by the governor. His credentials were referred to the Committee on Elections, and on the 28th of March, 1794, the committee reported the following resolution:

> *Resolved*, That Kensey Johns, appointed by the governor of the State of Delaware as a Senator of the United States for the said State, is not entitled to a seat in the Senate of the United States, a session of the Legislature of the said State having intervened between the resignation of said George Read and the appointment of the said Kensey Johns.

This resolution was adopted by a vote of 20 yeas to 7 nays.

This precedent is very much relied on by the Senator from Oregon and is entitled to great weight, because it followed in quick succession the adoption of the Constitution. It was doubtless decided by some of the framers of the Constitution.

But unfortunately for those who rely on this case, it was reversed in 1797, only three years after, and beyond question by many Senators who had also taken part in the decision of the Kensey Johns case three years before. It is just as probable that as many members of the Convention took part in the decision of the William Cocke case in 1797 as in the Kensey Johns case in 1794. Be this as it may, the Senate, without objection or debate, in 1797 decided this question in favor of the right of the governor to appoint for the beginning of a term, and this precedent has been practically followed ever since.

So strong have been these precedents that the Senator from Missouri has declared he considered this question settled in favor of the right of the governor to appoint where the Legislature has met and failed to make an election.

It is maintained with confidence that the question involved in the cases under consideration has been settled too long to be disturbed now, and that it has been settled in accordance with the true meaning of the Constitution.

I shall vote to seat these Senators, and shall feel assured I am carrying out the spirit which animated our fathers who framed this clause in the Constitution, "to keep the Senate full—always full."

PROPOSED FINANCIAL LEGISLATION.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I ask for the reading of the resolution which I introduced last Tuesday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. LODGE on the 8th instant, as follows:

Whereas Congress has been called in extraordinary session on account of the unfortunate condition of business; and

Whereas some measure of relief can be obtained by the immediate and unconditional repeal of the purchasing clauses of the silver act of 1890: Therefore,

Resolved, That the Committee on Finance be instructed to report at once to the Senate a bill to repeal the purchasing clauses of the silver act of 1890, and that a vote be taken in the Senate on said bill on Tuesday, August 22, at 2 o'clock p. m., unless it is sooner reached.

Mr. GALLINGER. According to notice given yesterday, I desire to submit an amendment to that resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the resolution by adding thereto the following:

And that said committee be also directed to report to the Senate that in its opinion it is inexpedient and unwise for Congress to attempt to radically change the existing tariff laws of the United States prior to March 4, 1897.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I do not propose to detain the Senate at this time with any elaborate financial or economic argument. I desire merely to make a very brief explanation of the reasons which induced me to offer the resolution and of the facts, as they appear to me, on which it rests.

The resolution contains two propositions—one in favor of the repeal of the purchasing clauses of the silver act of 1890, and a second one providing for taking a vote upon that repeal on a certain day. The repeal of the purchasing clauses of the silver act of 1890 is not with me a new idea born of the present condition of business in the country.

More than two years ago I introduced in the House of Representatives a bill for the repeal of those very clauses. Without now going into the abstract merits or demerits of that legislation, I did so because I believed that that legislation contained in itself the seeds of distrust; that it was likely in time to alarm and shake the business world. I thought that the business world would soon come to believe that the tendency of that legislation was to put the United States upon a single silver standard. Whether that belief would be correct or not I shall not pause now to discuss, but I think events have justified me in the fear which I then had of these results. The condition of the country to-day shows that the alarm growing out of those clauses which I anticipated has, in a measure at least, come to pass.

I am very far from thinking that these clauses are the only cause of the present condition of the country. I think there are others, some perhaps as potent as this, in producing the present lack of confidence; but that this silver act of 1890 is one great cause of the prevailing distress, and that it is the one uppermost in the public mind, I have no doubt or question.

I think the practical effect of repeal would be a tendency to lower the rates of interest on money, to make money easier and relieve the existing stringency. We have at least as abundant a currency to-day as we had a year ago, when money could be borrowed at a low or normal rate of interest. Our credit as a nation is as good. Every dollar of our currency is as good as it was then, and yet there is to-day almost a currency famine in the country, and rates of money are panic rates. The currency of the country is locked up. It is a truism; it is a commonplace to say so; we all know it. It is locked up. Why? Because there is no confidence. That is the answer which is always made, and it is the true answer.

The first step, therefore, as it seems to me, toward restoring confidence is to lower the excessive rates of interest which now alarm the small property owner, the man of limited means who has drawn his money out of the bank and put it in his pocket. Money in London to-day is lending at 1½ per cent on call, and at 2½ per cent for time money. There is a cable between London and New York. They are familiar with the worth of our securities and the credit of our Government. Money in New York is lending at anywhere from 10 to 20 per cent, and they are as eager to get a high interest in London as they are anywhere else in the world. Their money does not come in. Why? Because they have the belief (whether rightly or wrongly I will not pause to inquire) that we may at any time go upon a single silver standard, and they do not want the money they have lent in gold paid back to them in a silver dollar. The result is that there is a prohibition that stops English money from coming.

I think the repeal would remove that prohibition, and that foreign money would flow in; rates would decline; and when the rates decline then I think you would again see the hoards that alarm lest we were going on a silver basis has created at home return to the customary channels of circulation; we should have normal rates for money and some relief to our distress.

But I also believe, Mr. President, that there is one still more important effect to be derived from the repeal of these purchasing clauses. The public mind to-day is fixed upon them as one of the great causes of the present condition of things.

The universal belief of the business interests of the country to-day is that if the repeal could come it would bring relief to the country. It is said that this is mere sentiment. So be it. Confidence in business, on which prosperity rests, is a matter of opinion and sentiment. The business interests, which in their extended operation sooner or later touch the welfare of every human being in this country, however they may differ as to remedial legislation, agree that there is relief in the repeal of those purchasing clauses.

Mr. STEWART. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. LODGE. I should like to finish what I am now saying.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts declines to yield.

Mr. STEWART. All right. I should have liked to ask a question, that is all.

Mr. LODGE. It is the sentiment of the business interests, I was saying, that there is relief in repeal. It may be said that there is a panic existing. Suppose there is. If there is, you can not reason with a panic; you must quell it. Repeal will bring a measure of relief because the business world believes it will. It is largely a matter of sentiment. Yes! and if you can restore the tone to the sentiment of business by making this repeal, I believe you will take the first great step towards rescuing the country from the difficulties and distresses in which it is now plunged.

I do not for one moment forget that we must have affirmative and positive legislation in regard to our currency. It is necessary, in my judgment, in order to put that currency upon a firm and sound basis; but affirmative legislation will take thought, consideration, ample discussion, above all, time, and I believe that now it is more important than any financial or economic discussion that we should save time, that we should act promptly, that we should come to some decision here in Congress where we have been called together by the President in extraordinary session to meet this very emergency.

Something was said in the debate that sprung up the other day about politics in this matter. There can hardly be politics in my resolution, which is in direct line with wise and urgent recommendations of the President for immediate repeal. For my part, I do not think it is a question of large or small party politics. There is a great crisis upon this country at this moment. There is an amount of suffering going on and a still larger amount promised, the like of which I, at least, in my life have never seen. In the presence of such a crisis as that I for one believe that the usual arts of politics or party management will be consumed like stubble in the fire. They will not avail; and I think what the people want above everything is to see action, some sort of action here in this Senate Chamber. If we are to have free coinage, let us know it. If we are to have a limited coinage, let us know it. If we are to have an unconditional repeal, let us know it.

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] yesterday said, in referring to the condition of the silver States, that if we were to have legislation to close the mills of New England every Senator

from those States would be here ready to offer the most bitter resistance. Mr. President, the mills of New England are closed now. There is no need of further legislation. At this moment, with the exception of two mills, there is not a spindle turning in the city of Lawrence, and they employ 12,000 hands. There is only one mill going in the city of Lowell, and they employ over 20,000 hands.

There are over thirty thousand people out of employment at this moment in only two of the cities of the Commonwealth that I in part represent. Multiply it by ten and you get some idea of the distress that rests upon the State of Massachusetts. Multiply it by a hundred and you get some idea of the distress pervading the Northern States, and when there is such a blight resting on the industries of my own State, and of all the other great industrial States of the North, for one I have no mind for party politics or for delay. I ask simply for action. I believe it is the highest duty that the Senate can perform to take the quickest possible action.

It seems to me a case, Mr. President, to which I may apply the words of a very distinguished predecessor of mine, Mr. John Quincy Adams, "I would not deliberate; I would act."

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. President, the resolution offered by the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] does not afford proper scope for general discussion of the silver question at this time. When that discussion shall come before the Senate it will be upon broader and upon wider grounds. But I am unwilling to let the resolution upon which the Senator from Massachusetts has spoken so ably and so forcibly pass by without entering my protest as to the preamble which precedes his resolution. It recites that—

> Whereas some measure of relief can be obtained by the immediate and unconditional repeal of the purchasing clauses of the silver act of 1890: Therefore,
> *Resolved, etc.*

Mr. President, I agree with the Senator from Massachusetts that this is not a party question. I feel greatly relieved, in view of some unpleasant relations which some of us have sustained for the past few years on this side of the Chamber, that a question has arisen wherein the Democratic Executive and the Massachusetts Senators may agree. It is a most auspicious and a most significant occasion. It is a most delightful foreshadowing of the days when party rancor shall cease and all notes of discord be blended in one harmonious melody. I believe the next thing in order will be for the President of the United States, who is fortunately untrammeled and unembarrassed by any previous utterance on the subject, to frame some election law which may perhaps meet the views of the Senator from Massachusetts, and then our reconciliation will be complete. [Laughter.]

But, Mr. President, to bring relief by the repeal of a law there must have been some injury by that law. What injury has been inflicted by the Sherman act, and what is to be the measure of relief afforded by its repeal? I have yet to hear a single intelligent man state on his conscience that he believes the Sherman act has wrought the injury under which this country now suffers. I have yet to hear a single man of experience in financial matters or in public affairs say that the unfortunate financial crisis through which we are now passing has aught to do with the Sherman act. Everybody will admit, monometallists and bimetallists, that the Sherman act is vicious in principle and illogical so far as it affects the silver coin of this country.

It is vicious in that it makes of silver a commodity and dethrones it from the pedestal where it belongs. It is illogical and vicious in that it leaves the silver bullion in the Treasury uncoined and leaves this vast mass of silver coin a menace to Europe, which foreign nations that might incline to join with us in the double standard fear may be dumped upon her markets at any time. These are its disadvantages. It has likewise some advantages. It is a quasi recognition of silver. The one strand which yet holds this country back from monometallism has been of infinite value, in the hope for the final and full recognition of silver that it has inspired in the human breast. The fact that it has afforded an enlargement of the currency from month to month, keeping pace with the needs of this country, has been of inestimable advantage during the past three years; and after the Baring failure, if it had not been for the Sherman act, nobody knows how serious the panic might have been, how great the suffering we might have undergone.

Even, Mr. President, in these last few months the Sherman act has saved us from infinitely greater disaster than we would otherwise have encountered. As was ably said by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] in a letter to a New York paper, it has given us a currency backed by the credit of the Government and by silver at its bullion value. That is a pretty good currency. Perhaps it is a little better currency than the $37,000,000 of clearing-house certificates now in circulation in New York backed only by rediscounted paper and held by people who are clamoring for the repeal of the Sherman act.

The only tangible statement I can get from anybody as to the injury which the Sherman act is inflicting, is by people who claim there is a lack of confidence in Europe by reason of the existence upon our statute books of the Sherman act. With such limited investigation as I have been able to give, I do not find that statement borne out by the facts. Our securities were enormously held in Great Britain, perhaps to the extent of $2,000,000,000. Great Britain suffered serious loss in Argentines and in Australia and her other colonies; she was forced to sell, and her securities came over here.

The cheapest came first. It is impossible to state what proportion of American securities held abroad are securities payable in gold and what are securities payable in lawful money; but it is nevertheless true and susceptible of proof that the securities which came back came back irrespective of the material in which they were payable. No better illustration of that can be afforded than the fact that the New York and New Haven Railroad stocks, the Pennsylvania Railroad stocks, and other dividend-paying railroad stocks which have permanent and steady value have not come back. Their dividends are payable in lawful money, and not in gold. Those securities are still largely held abroad. The cheapest and the weakest securities come first, and they come irrespective of whether they are payable in silver or in gold. The great sale of foreign securities, the great liquidation which has been taking place in the last few months in this country, has come not because Great Britain lacks confidence in American financial methods or American finance, but because they were compelled to sell. And it is true that when Europe had a little breathing spell there came again a healthy demand for our bonds abroad, which was checked by the Reading *fiasco*.

Almost every ill that flesh is heir to is attributed in these days to the Sherman law. I do not believe even a Philadelphia banker would accuse the Sherman law of being responsible for the Reading disaster. The whisky trust came next. Mismanaged and fraudulently conducted, it went to pieces and engulfed great fortunes. Was the Sherman law responsible for that? The cordage trust, organized and managed by the select financiers of New York, came up like a mushroom, and was dissipated, and vanished, and with it vanished millions of dollars. Would you say that the Sherman law was responsible for that? And yet the New York press figure up daily the market quotations of a year ago and the market quotations of to-day, and they strike the balance between them, and say that silver and the Sherman law are responsible for the difference.

If, Mr. President, the Sherman act is not responsible for the condition of affairs abroad, still less is it responsible for the condition of affairs here. They tell us, and the Senator from Massachusetts tells us, that if we will repeal the Sherman act there will be renewed confidence in this country. How will it come, and from whom? Will it come from the farmer who sees his grain commanding a lower price than ever before in the history of the United States? When you threaten him with cutting off $4,500,000 a month of increased circulation and bring him face to face with an appreciating currency which must bring in its train lower prices, are you going to bring confidence to him by cutting off the purchasing provision of the Sherman act and putting nothing in its place?

When the papers yesterday and the day before announced that the banks were unable to furnish the farmers of Indiana and Minnesota and the Northwest with even the currency sufficient to move their grain, do you mean to tell us that confidence is to come back if you will only unconditionally repeal the Sherman act? Will it bring confidence back to the railroads, who see diminishing earnings week after week, earnings which will diminish in a still greater ratio in the months to come, with a poverty-stricken people unable to get their currency from the banks, and with the price of their grain constantly decreasing? Is it to bring confidence back to them? Will it bring confidence to the millions of people in the far Northwest, who have seen their principal industry stricken down by the existing condition of affairs, and which the passage of this resolution would entirely obliterate? Will it bring them confidence? Those people, Mr. President, law-abiding and orderly, ask, under the protection of the flag, to be permitted to earn their living and to carry on an industry which the law has recognized since the foundation of the Republic.

The Senator from Massachusetts tells us that we want, first, unconditional repeal, and afterwards some measure will be enacted for the recognition of silver. You say to those people, already almost homeless, with the roof of their cabin gone and poverty before them, "If you let us knock out your foundation stone, and obliterate all trace of your home, and the place of your habitation, in the time to come, after we have had consideration, we will build you a stone-front house." Now, Mr. President, confidence will not thus be brought back.

Will you bring confidence to the banks by the repeal of the Sherman act? The banks do not want confidence; they want

money. They want other people's money. Is the repeal of the Sherman act to bring them confidence? Will the repeal of the Sherman act bring confidence to the laborer or the artisan who had his money in the banks and who has drawn it out? That is where the resolution seeks to hit. They want some legislation that will bring confidence back to that man. And that brings us, Mr. President, to the real secret and cause of the present existing financial panic. It has come partially because of European losses. It has come because Russia and Austria have been buying gold; and it has come because we have had to liquidate large holdings of foreign securities, and we have our money in their securities. It has come because we have purchased more than we have sold abroad.

But all these causes, Mr. President, are utterly independent of and irrespective of silver. If we did not have a dollar's worth of silver in the country and had never had a line of silver legislation, the gold would have gone abroad exactly the same. Silver is not responsible for that. But it is true that for months the financial institutions of the East have been crying out throughout the land that unless the Sherman law was repealed and silver demonetized they would be ruined.

We have heard it from the house tops, and those of us who are debtors have heard it *ad nauseam*, when we have sought to renew our loans; we have been told that unless you repeal the Sherman act we are all going to be ruined. They have raised a hue and cry and clamor they can not still, until finally the people of this country have begun to believe there is something wrong, not with the financial policy of the country, but with the institutions that hold their money, and they are drawing it out. They are not drawing it out because they distrust silver, or because they distrust our country, or because they distrust Congress, for the silver certificate is laid away in the stocking side by side with the gold dollar.

It is distrust of the institutions, and legislation can not help it, for confidence is a plant of slow growth, and it depends upon faith and trust in human action. All the legislation that we may enact will not bring confidence back to the man who has taken the money out of a financial institution solely because he does not believe that the financial institution would pay him his money when he called for it.

What legislation is needed, Mr. President, we are all at a loss to know. For my part, and in the small share I may have in it, I intend to conduct myself, not as a citizen alone of a section, but as a citizen of a great republic. We all seek a common result. We all seek that which shall be of the greatest benefit to our beloved country. Prophecy is futile, but I may be permitted to record my conviction that when prosperity does come back to this country it will be after we have announced to the world that we are a nation of bimetallists, believing in hard money, both gold and silver; when we have announced to the nations of Europe that we propose to have our share of the gold of the world; that we are rich enough to hold it, and are entitled by our resources and our credit to have it, and that at the same time we have opened our mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and have returned to the paths of the founders of the Republic—paths which, so long as we followed them, brought us financial prosperity and happiness, and which, whenever we have diverged from them, have brought us financial disaster and panic.

PARITY OF GOLD AND SILVER.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I desire to speak to the joint resolution of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], if the Chair will lay that measure before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] will be temporarily laid aside and the joint resolution of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] will be taken up, if there be no objection.

Mr. HOAR. I ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the joint resolution (S. R. 4) to maintain the parity of gold and silver, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That the American people from tradition and interest favor bimetallism and the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver, without discriminating against either metal; that it is also the established policy of the United States to maintain the parity of the two metals, so that the debt-paying and purchasing power of every dollar shall be at all times equal; that it is the duty of Congress to speedily enact such laws as will effectuate and maintain these objects.

Mr. PASCO. I should like to ask what becomes of the pending resolution offered by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. Is it the understanding that it goes over until to-morrow without further action?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It goes over for the present, if there be no other Senator who desires to be heard upon it to-day.

Mr. PASCO. It will be understood that it goes over until to-morrow?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There will be no action had upon it.

Mr. GALLINGER. I give notice that to-morrow I desire to address myself very briefly to the resolution submitted by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] and the amendment to it offered by myself.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President——

Mr. STEWART. I should like, before the Senator from Massachusetts proceeds, to give notice that I desire to speak a few minutes on the resolution of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I wish to call attention to the object of the panic and why the panic was created. I will state just a few facts.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution is temporarily laid aside, but may be called up when the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] has concluded his remarks.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, the American people have no reason to be ashamed of their legislative history. Our American constitutions, as well as the great measures which crowd and adorn our statute book, have very often been the product of times of excitement, of depression, and almost of despair. They have been enacted amid predictions of failure, amid taunts and expressions of contempt from foreign critics, and against powerful and angry opposition at home.

It has been the good fortune, as it has been the glory of the American people, that it has ever plucked the flower Safety from the nettle Danger; that it has made times of distress and commotion and evil its great opportunity. From the gloom of the Revolution, from the sorry story of the years which followed the peace of 1783—of feeble government, of disaster, of discontent, of broken faith, of depreciated currency, of stay laws, of suffering debtors, of cheated creditors, of lawlessness, of Shay's rebellion, and popular commotions North and South—came the State constitutions, the ordinance of 1787, the Constitution of the United States, the judiciary act, and the great legislation, State and national, which is at the foundation of all our institutions.

From the abject history of the Jefferson administration came the acquisition of Louisiana, the establishment of sailors' rights, and the great naval glories of the war of 1812. From the unutterable woe of the rebellion came the abolition of slavery, the permanent establishment of national authority, and the legislative achievements of the past thirty years.

I believe that from the present panic, if we will but rise to the occasion, we may yet get an equal blessing, a sound, secure, and stable currency. But we must deal with this great occasion as our fathers, in their time, dealt with like occasions. We must keep the panic out of the Senate Chamber.

In one respect the condition of the United States is peculiar. We settle our financial policy in accordance with the popular vote. The great mercantile nations of the world, in fact, and commonly in form, refer such things to experts. The administration in Great Britain consults the Governors of the Bank of England, the representatives of the chief mercantile houses, a few men who have become recognized authorities in financial circles, and acts upon their advice. Very few members of Parliament would think of thrusting their own judgment into a debate on a financial question against that of the men of their own party who are their recognized leaders on such subjects. I suppose this is still more true of France, of Germany, of Belgium, and of Holland.

But with us the finances of the country have been for a good while the football of parties and of factions. Every demagogue in public office, or seeking public office, every theorist desiring to get notoriety by extravagance, every anonymous and reckless scribbler who escapes contempt only by concealing his personality, every agitator who would marshal class against class, every anarchist who seeks to overthrow all social order, every brawler who would stir the passion of section against section, of labor against capital, of debtor against creditor, of the poor against the rich, prates glibly about the currency, and uses some misrepresentation or sophistry about the currency as his weapon of mischief.

Yet nothing is more certain than that a disturbance of the currency is an advantage only to the classes who are so attacked, and brings nothing but evil and disaster to the classes to whom the appeal is made. As Daniel Webster said nearly sixty years ago:

He who tampers with the currency robs labor of its bread. He panders, indeed, to greedy capital, which is keen sighted and may shift for itself; but he beggars labor, which is honest, unsuspecting, and too busy with the present to calculate for the future. The prosperity of the working class lives, moves, and has its being in established credit, and a steady medium of payment. All sudden changes destroy it. Honest industry never comes in for any part of the spoils in that scramble which takes place when the currency of the country is disordered. Did wild schemes or projects ever benefit the industrious? Did irredeemable bank paper ever enrich the laborious? Did

violent fluctuations ever do good to him who depends on his daily labor for his daily bread? Certainly never.

All these things may gratify the greediness for sudden gain or the rashness of daring speculation; but they can bring nothing but injury and distress to the homes of patient industry and honest labor. Who are they that profit by the present state of things? They are not the many, but the few. They are the speculators, brokers, dealers in money, and lenders of money at exorbitant interest. Small capitalists are crushed, and their means being dispersed, as usual, in various parts of the country, and this miserable policy having destroyed exchanges, they have no longer either money or credit. And all classes of labor partake, and must partake, in the same calamity.

Mr. President, there are subtleties in these financial questions surpassing the subtleties of metaphysics. No theologian, no schoolman, no doctor of the civil law, no writer on contingent remainders or resulting trusts or executory devises was ever called upon to deal with more hair-splitting distinctions and profound speculations, more logical puzzles baffling the human intelligence than can be found in the works of writers on finance in this or other generations. And yet it is not too much to say that there is no subject of legislation which so demands wise and dispassionate consideration, and whose clear understanding and correct resolution is so vital to all the best interests of society. As Alexander Hamilton declared in his famous report:

The general state of debtor and of creditor; of the relations and consequence of price; the essential interests of trade and industry; the value of all property; the whole income, both of the state and of individuals, are liable to be sensibly influenced, beneficially or otherwise, by the judicious or injudicious regulation on this interesting object.

Credit is the life-blood of trade. A sound currency is to the affairs of this life what a pure religion and a sound system of morals are to the affairs of the spiritual life. And we should beware of the men who seek to make of this great interest an instrument of personal or party advantage, or of exciting hatred or discontent, or disturbing social order, wherever such men may be found, whether in high places or low, whether speaking in the Senate Chamber or through the press, as we would beware of those men who have used the religious feelings of mankind as instruments for like purposes.

And, Mr. President, as, in dealing with the great religious problems which concern mankind a few strong instincts and a few plain rules—the lessons of experience—the authority of a few safe guides, are found by the masses of mankind sufficient unto salvation; as all the law and the prophets are summed up in two simple commandments, easily to be understood, and easy to be practiced, so, I believe, the path of safety through the financial difficulties which surround us is in like manner to be discerned.

No man whom the American people have trusted with any share of political power is entitled to be respected who approaches the duty of this hour in any partisan or sectional spirit or inspired by the desire to reap partisan advantage from the public calamity. Our task is to discover and to remedy the great evil under which all classes and all parts of the country suffer. The workshops are closing, the banks are stopping payment, workmen are idle, the homes of the poor are threatened with want, and the property of the rich is in peril.

We may differ in opinion as to the responsibility. But I hope we may find substantial agreement as to the cure. If I can find any opportunity to help save the ship, I care not whether a Democrat or a Republican is in command. Whatever errors President Cleveland or those who follow him have committed in the past—whatever mistaken purposes they may have for the future—I am willing to act with them in the present, if by so doing I can help to restore my country to the safety and the prosperity which she enjoyed up to March 4, 1893.

I can conceive of no better evidence of the prosperity of a nation than that its people are universally well employed at a rate of wages, or other form of compensation, which yields to them the necessaries and comforts of life. Indeed, it is not so proper to speak of this state of things as an evidence of prosperity as to speak of it as the definition of prosperity. That was the condition of the American people, beyond any other known, in the autumn of 1892, and for a long period before. The President himself, in his late message, describes the situation:

With plenteous crops, with abundant promise of remunerative production and manufacture, with unusual invitation to safe investment, and with satisfactory assurance to business enterprise.

Not only did this condition of things exist, but by the confession of our eminent statisticians, free traders, and monometallists, as well as protectionists and bimetallists, it was a condition of things which had been improving year by year. The purchasing power of wages had been increasing for twenty years, although the tendency at the same time had been to diminish the length of the day's work. The problem before us is to restore that condition of things. If there is any law on the statute book which has had the effect to disturb it, or if there be any threat or fear of new legislation which is to affect or disturb it, it is for us to change that law and to make that legislation impossible.

The misfortune of the American people, in regard to this currency question, is the spirit and temper in which it has been debated on both sides of this and the other House of Congress, and in the press. It is difficult to find upon either side an honest statement of the other's position or an honest answer to the other's argument. What bimetallist, what advocate of the free coinage of silver at the old rate can recognize himself, or his opinion, or anything he believes in and stands for, in the portraiture drawn by his antagonist? What man who believes either that we must submit to the standard of value established by the consent of the commercial world, or who even believes that the world's supply of gold is enough to meet its demands for a standard, or a currency, without sensible fluctuation or change of value, entertains any of the opinions or desires that are imputed to him by the press or by public speakers in certain sections of the country?

Mr. President, any man or party in the Eastern States who should desire to have the value or the purchasing power of the dollar increased in order that the value of debts, or that assured and permanent incomes might be increased, or in order that speculation in gold or in credits might be rendered more profitable, would be hurled from power and buried in infamy by the swift and righteous indignation of the whole people of those States. The prosperity, the power, the happiness, the rapid growth of the Northwest and the South are as dear to the people of New England as their own. What they want, what they desire and strive for, is not an appreciating standard of value but an unchanging standard of value, so far as the lot of humanity will admit.

The merchant, the manufacturer, the builder of railroads in the Eastern States is a constant and perpetual debtor. The wage earner, the depositor in savings banks, the holder of the policy of life insurance, the widow and orphan who are living on the spare savings of the husband and father in his lifetime are constant and perpetual creditors. They are alike interested that the obligation contracted to-day shall be precisely the same obligation, no greater and no less, when it is to be discharged, five or ten or twenty years hence, or whenever its annual or semi-annual interest is to be paid throughout that period. The present value of the dollar as a medium of present exchange can be ascertained with reasonable accuracy by the parties to any contract.

Appreciation and depreciation can be ascertained and provided for. But, to use the expressive phrase of Mr. Balfour, "money is the record of obligations extending over long periods of time." And it is an injury, it is destruction to any community which has risen in civilization above the pirate stage, when that record is liable to uncertainty or is the subject of speculation or gambling. If the people of the Northeast seem to the people of another part of the country to be contending for anything likely to bear hardly upon them, it is because they do not see or anticipate such a result, and not because they desire it or are indifferent to it.

So, Mr. President, on the other hand, I do not believe that any large number of the people of the Northwest desire the destruction of property, impairment of credit, or any injury whatever to the people of the Northeast. Their ambition is to acquire property, their hope is in the establishment and maintenance of credit. They always have depended, and for a long time in the future they must depend, for these things on a close alliance and an interchange of advantages with the people whose children they are, with the States whence they came, and with communities from whose institutions they have modeled their own, and with whom in the great and glorious future they must live or bear no life. Chief among the resources of the West is its alliance with a wealthy and prosperous East. The wealth of the East must perish but for its alliance with a wealthy and prosperous West.

There are wild utterances everywhere. They are heard from Boston and New York and Chicago as often as from San Francisco or Denver. But they do not come chiefly from Americans, and they do not represent the prevalent spirit of any American community.

The people of the United States are divided on this question. The two sides are, in my judgment, equally honest and equally intelligent. One believes that the policy of the other leads to an increase of the burden of debt, to the contraction of the world's supply of currency, and to that worst form of fluctuation in the standard of value, the constant increase of the purchasing power of money, with its consequent fall of price and strangulation of business. Another portion of the people believe, with equal sincerity, that the free use of silver, at its old rate, by a single nation alone leads to the destruction of the obligation of existing debts, the impossibility of any secure credit for the future, and turns all fixed business into speculation and gambling.

Each party is equally honest and sincere, and the two parties

desire, in my opinion, the same thing—a currency which shall be sufficiently abundant for all exchanges, domestic and foreign, and a standard of value which shall be as unchangeable through the years and generations as the wit of man can devise. The proprietors of silver mines not unnaturally desire to sell their product to the best advantage. But I do not think they or their advocates on this floor will claim that we shall adopt any policy with regard to the currency merely that they may sell their product at a profit. What they would say, I suppose, is that, believing as they do, the disuse of silver for the purpose of currency to be attended by consequences disastrous not only to the people of this country, but to all mankind, the fact that laborers and capitalists who are engaged in their special industries are likewise to be ruined by it, does not render it any more acceptable to them.

The great and fundamental difference between these two parties is the difference as to two questions of fact.

First. Is the existing stock of gold available for currency sufficient, with the yearly addition to that stock, to maintain prices at their present level and keep the burden of debt from growing heavier year by year in the future?

If it be, then the advocates of silver have no right to demand its consideration when we are regulating the currency, but must, like other producers, stand or fall by the general policies by which we encourage American industries.

But if it be not sufficient, if the cord of indebtedness is to tighten year by year around the neck of the debtor by the rapidly increasing value of the gold dollar, then the advocates of bimetallism are justified in demanding that every lawful resource of the Government shall be exhausted and every energy of the American people taxed to its utmost to prevent such a result.

Now, Mr. President, I can not find that the researches of our statisticians enable us as yet to decide this question to our reasonable satisfaction. The tables which are used by the bimetallists show a constant increase in the value of gold since 1873. As compared with the forty-five principal commodities selected by Mr. Sauerbach, they show a constant increase in the purchasing power of gold as measured in those commodities, and show, on the other hand, a comparatively small falling off in the value of silver. On the other side, the monometallists point out that if you strike out from the list the articles whose production has been greatly cheapened by increased labor-saving appliances, or whose price in the market has been lessened by the vast recent saving in the cost of transportation, there has been very little fluctuation in gold.

I can not myself escape the apprehension that the bimetallists are at least partially in the right. It may be that the appreciation of gold has not yet taken place to the extent of their belief. But there is a large stock of silver still in use in the United States and on the Continent. What has been done as to India, and what is to be done by us, have not yet had an effect which can be measured.

The second question is not so difficult. Is it possible for the United States to maintain a standard of value in separation or isolation from the rest of the civilized world?

Upon this question, if I could see any escape from the reasoning of the President in his message, I find no escape from the lesson of our recent experience. While I do not attribute our present disasters in any part to the legislation of 1890, I do attribute them, to a serious extent, to the failure of the present Executive to assure the country and the world that he would use the power given him to maintain the two metals at par. This, with the prevalent dread of what a distinguished member of this body described as "a war of extermination upon the protected industries of the country," accounts, in my judgment, for our existing condition.

I have been, ever since I was old enough to have an opinion on the subject, a bimetallist. I think that is true of all the American people down to 1873, with a very few exceptions. But it has been the bimetallism of Alexander Hamilton, of Washington and his Cabinet, of the framers of the Constitution, of the members of the First Congress, and of the Constitution of the United States. It always recognized and took for granted that the money standard of the world's dealings must be settled by the usage of commercial nations. It recognized also that if there were a change in the relative value of the two metals the more valuable metal must, in the end, prevail. I do not understand that there is any purpose anywhere to discard the use of silver. It is still, and always must be, a large instrument in the commerce of daily life in all countries. Even when the use of silver is directly confined to that of subsidiary coinage, it is not insignificant or unimportant. We have about $850,000,000 of subsidiary coinage, but every dime of that coinage passes from hand to hand a hundred times where the gold dollar would so pass once.

The lesson of all experience points to the use of gold and silver to effect exchanges and to measure values for the commerce of mankind. From the foundation of the world they have performed this great office. They are known as the precious metals in the universal language of civilized men. They are adapted and they alone are adapted, by permanence, by their capacity for being coined and stamped, for the convenience with which they may be kept and transported, to perform this service for mankind. They are the only complements of each other. If the weight and size of silver, in proportion to its value, be too great for use in large transactions, the size of gold, in proportion to its value, is too small for safety and convenience in the smaller and commoner transactions of life.

Silver circulates everywhere to-day, and will circulate everywhere until time shall be no more, as the money of the common people, whatever may be the action of the Government.

In the countries where gold is the only recognized lawful standard of value, silver is still the instrument of the commerce of man's daily life. Sometimes one has risen for a few years, perhaps for a generation, in value as compared with its companion, and sometimes the other. Sometimes mistaken financial policies, sometimes popular excitement, sometimes the schemes of designing speculators, may have depreciated or exalted one at the expense of the other. But this august and regal pair—the queenly silver and the royal gold—have maintained throughout all ages, and through all time will maintain their companionship and their supremacy. If you undertake to settle this question by driving either from the country, you will have no peace until it is restored. The principle which recognizes both has its foundation in nature, and in the experience of man.

Naturam expellas furca;
Iterum iterumque redibit.

You may drive out nature with your legislative fork, but again and again she comes running back. This doctrine is recognized in the Constitution. "No State shall make anything but gold and silver coin a tender." "No State shall coin money, emit bills of credit, make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts."

That the words "money" and "gold and silver" were regarded as equivalents in constitutional meaning is shown by the fact that the Constitution makes a separate provision as to bills of credit and does not include them in the sentence which applies to money. It is not gold or silver that a State may make a legal tender, but gold and silver, the legal value of which, by another clause of the Constitution, is to be determined by Congress.

Chief Justice Ellsworth and his associate, who represented Connecticut in the constitutional convention, in their report to their constituents of the proceedings of the convention, say that the new Constitution provides that no State "shall make anything but money a legal tender for the payment of debts," showing that, in their judgment, the word "money" and the words "gold and silver" are identical or equivalents.

Alexander Hamilton considered this question in his great report on the mint and the coinage. He gave fullest weight to the arguments of the monometallists. He admitted that the money unit had up to that time virtually attached to gold rather than to silver. But with the fullest concurrence of President Washington and the statesmen of his time, he declared for the principle of bimetallism. His arguments have not lost their original force. They have not been answered in any discussion. The people of the United States, when the tempest has passed, will settle down and be reconciled to the solution of this great problem in which Washington and his Cabinet joined. They never will be permanently reconciled to any other.

To annul the use of either of the metals as money is to abridge the quantity of circulating medium, and is liable to all the objections which arise from the comparison of the benefits of a full with the evils of a scanty circulation.—*Hamilton's Report, Lodge's Edition*, page 243.

Daniel Webster declared more than once, and with great emphasis, that the Constitution requires the coinage of both metals; and it would be a disobedience to our constitutional duty were Congress to discard either.

Mr. President, all our great financial authorities of both parties, from the framers of the Constitution, from Alexander Hamilton, and Jefferson, and Webster, and Calhoun, and Benton, and Chase, and Fessenden, Federalists and Republicans, Whigs and Democrats, down to the disturbed period which followed the war, have agreed upon this policy. There were differences which divided political parties. Whether Congress should authorize a paper currency, under careful safeguards, redeemable in coin, or should leave that to State discretion, or to private enterprise, was a question which divided parties and made and unmade Presidents and administrations. But down to the year 1863 it never was heard in this country that the legal tender and the standard of

value should be anything but gold and silver; nor was it ever claimed until 1873 that both gold and silver could not be relied upon to perform this service.

I have no doubt that the Committee on Coinage, who reported and enacted the statute of 1873, were actuated solely by a conscientious desire for the public good. I would give no countenance to the miserable slander that they were acting in the interest of capitalists or monopolists or of creditors; or that they desired to conceal what they were doing from the American people, or from anybody. They selected for their single standard what was then the cheaper metal, a metal not only then the cheaper, but of which a large and constantly increasing supply was confidently expected. The scheme was proposed in the report of the Director of the Mint, was recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury in his report, was printed in the House of Representatives thirteen times, was called to the attention of chambers of commerce, was the subject of deliberate discussion in some of them, and was well known to leading financiers.

The Senate first voted to request the President to open a correspondence with other countries in relation to the unit of value. That correspondence took place. Then the Director of the Mint proposed, in his report, to adopt a single gold standard. Then the Secretary of the Treasury urged the measure in his report to Congress. Then the matter was referred by Mr. Hooper of the House, to public bodies for their opinions.

I have the pamphlet report made to the New York Chamber of Commerce by Mr. Ruggles on the subject. It was well known to leading financiers. I saw some resolutions the other day, passed in Chicago, in regard to Mr. Ernest Seyd, and I think the honorable Senator from Nevada (Mr. STEWART) denounced him on this floor as an agent who came over here for the bankers of England to get Mr. Hooper to do this mischief. Am I mistaken?

Mr. STEWART. He was here on two occasions. He spent the winter here.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. Ernest Seyd was an authority on all practical mechanical measures connected with coin. Mr. Hooper wrote to England asking his assistance in the matter. Mr. Seyd wrote him quite a long letter early in the year 1872, and he then came here. I have his letter to Mr. Hooper, making the final discussion upon the bill which Mr. Hooper submitted; and after suggesting in that letter various practical reforms, which are of little or no importance in this connection, Mr. Seyd goes on with an able and elaborate argument against monometallism, and says the great fault he finds with Hooper's bill is that he undertakes to bring this country to the gold standard, which he thinks would be destructive, and against which he had written a book at home; and he urges upon him the free coinage of silver at the rate of 400 grains to the dollar.

Mr. STEWART. We never had any doubt that his public writings were to that effect.

Mr. HOAR. I am speaking about the letter, which I think I will bring down to show my friend from Nevada, and which is at my rooms at this moment. Mr. Seyd wrote it to Mr. Hooper after the bill was framed, most earnestly and laboriously urging him not to adopt monometallism and recommending that the standard of silver be 400 grains instead of 415.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PASCO in the chair). Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Delaware?

Mr. HOAR. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. If the Senator from Massachusetts will permit me, I should like to ask, in view of the exceedingly interesting statement he has just made in regard to Mr. Seyd, whether there is anything that would prevent his putting that letter in the RECORD as part of his speech?

Mr. HOAR. I will state very frankly that I wrote to Mr. Hooper's son-in-law, asking him if he had any correspondence on this subject, and stated in the letter that I should treat what he sent me as confidential unless it were otherwise agreed; and although I have given that assurance I feel sure that there will be no objection to the publication. I have ventured to make this statement, and I expect to obtain leave to have the entire letter printed before long.

Mr. STEWART. I should like to see the letter in proof as part of the evidence showing what business he had here at the time.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. Hooper wrote to a gentleman named Alfred Latham, who, I think, was then or had been recently the Director of the Bank of England. Mr. Latham wrote back a letter in which he commends Mr. Seyd, and says he first showed Mr. Hooper's letter to Mr. Seyd, who is the great authority on that matter, except that Mr. Latham thinks that Mr. Seyd is in error in regard to the matter of monometallism. Thereupon this correspondence takes place. This is not a very important matter, but it shows the wild and excited state of mind which worthy gentlemen (some gentlemen, I am afraid, not very far from where I am speaking at this moment) get into in regard to the conduct and motives of those with whom they differ.

Mr. STEWART. If the Senator from Massachusetts alluded to me, I say frankly——

Mr. HOAR. I alluded to the Senator particularly.

Mr. STEWART. I say frankly I believe the bill was by design kept from the Senate.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator voted for it.

Mr. STEWART. I deny that.

Mr. HOAR. I do not want to go into any argument of that kind, but the Senator voted for it himself. It was printed thirteen times.

Mr. STEWART. I deny that.

Mr. HOAR. He did not vote against it.

Mr. STEWART. There was no vote upon it at all. I shall show right here, if the Senator will give me time, that nobody voted for it.

Mr. HOAR. But, nevertheless, it is true that it attracted little general notice. Mr. Hooper, the chairman of the committee, stated clearly to the House the effect of the bill and complained that he could not get the House to listen. Other members of the committee made the same statement.

Now, Mr. President, I suppose the fact is that all mankind, with the exception of a few experts, were very little instructed in regard to that measure.

Mr. STEWART. Has the Senator a reference to the speech of Mr. Hooper?

Mr. HOAR. No; but it has been quoted in debate more than once.

Mr. STEWART. If the Senator has the reference I should like to see it. I have looked over the RECORD and have not found it.

Mr. HOAR. I have read it within three weeks.

Mr. STEWART. I should like to see it.

Mr. HOAR. I do not believe that, in itself, it has ever seriously injured the finances of the country, or that it has had any considerable effect upon the price of labor or upon other prices.

We were not having specie at all and had not any specie circulation for three or four years after that time, and in 1878 in came the Bland act restoring silver and providing for a larger coinage of silver every year than we had had before in the whole seventy-three years of the century put together. I say this in justice to an old colleague [Mr. Hooper], but it has been the occasion and pretext for an agitation which has excited certain communities in this country, and the excitement which it has occasioned has been wholly to their harm.

Now, Mr. President, to return, both the great political parties in this country were of this way of thinking down to the last national election. It is needless to add that in the pledges of all other parties the retention of gold even to bear its part in a bimetallic system has no place. I read the Republican platform and the Democratic platform of 1892.

Mr. PEFFER. I wish simply to state to the Senate in answer to the suggestion of the Senator from Massachusetts, that so far as the Populists are concerned, we demand the retention of gold and silver and ask that whatever deficit there is to meet the business needs of the people shall be supplied with paper.

Mr. HOAR. I shall not detain the Senate very long by reading these platforms.

Here is the Republican platform of 1892:

Silver—The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government shall be as good as any other.

I now read from the Democratic platform of 1892:

Silver— * * * We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver, without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in payments of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

This declaration of the Democratic party is, in substance, the same with that made by them in 1888 and in 1884. In all these years the present President has expressed his full and hearty

approbation of the platform adopted by the convention whose nomination he accepted.

[Democratic platform of 1880.]

Honest money, consisting of gold and silver and paper convertible into coin on demand.

[1884.]

We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

[1888.]

Reaffirms the platform of 1884.

Grover Cleveland says, in his letter of acceptance, August 18, 1884:

I have carefully considered the platform adopted by the convention, and cordially approve of the same.

But the great question, of course, is the question of ratio. Here, too, we must follow—whoever may be disappointed and whatever the cost—

First, the principle laid down by our earlier authorities;

Second, the precedents of our legislation.

Alexander Hamilton declared that if the two metals, at any time, were separated the more valuable metal must be the standard for the reason that the fluctuations would be the more likely to attach to the inferior metal. No respectable American authority, until the recent discussions, can be found to the contrary. We can not establish a contrary policy to-day without entailing upon the country infinite mischief, and disregarding the opinion of the whole commercial world and without a separation from all the leading nations of the world in this matter of the standard. I hold that this is a thing almost as impossible as attempting to exempt our portion of the planet from the operation of the law of gravitation itself.

Everything points to an enlargement of intercourse and to closer relations in the future. The ocean voyage between the two hemispheres has been reduced from an average of thirty days to less than six days, and the time is at hand, in the opinion of the best naval architects, when ocean lines will make their ordinary voyage within a hundred hours. One-half of the population of the United States are within speaking distance of Washington by telephone. The time is undoubtedly at hand when the Atlantic will be no impediment to audible communication between the two continents.

Besides, the precedents of our own legislation, down to the time when the opinion of this country was divided upon this question, all point to the same result. If silver were queen, gold was king.

There is nothing which points to any considerable rise in silver in the near future, unless there may be some brief and temporary diminuation of the product. If it come, however difficult, there must be a new revision of the relation between the two metals. That can only take place by the common consent of commercial nations, and it will be idle and hopeless to expect it otherwise.

Believing, therefore, with Hamilton, that the bimetallic standard is that upon which alone this country can permanently and safely rest, and believing also, with Hamilton, that whenever the two metals separate the standard must be conformed to the more valuable, I am in favor of at once putting a stop to the purchase of silver for coinage. Otherwise it seems to me clear that our gold will take its departure, and we shall be left in that most wretched of conditions, a nation with a single monometallic standard composed of an inferior metal, constantly fluctuating and rapidly degenerating—a condition from which every wealthy commercial nation in the world, now including India, has escaped.

Another course may be suggested which might, under circumstances different from those which now surround us, prove practicable and desirable. That is, to coin a legal-tender silver dollar of a weight sufficient to make it equal in value to the gold dollar; make the gold and silver dollars receivable for all debts, public and private; make them interchangeable at the Treasury at the will of the holder; pledge the credit of the Government to maintain this relation, and provide that if at any time the bullion value of the silver dollar should fall to a point more than 2 or 3 per cent below the gold dollar the coinage of silver shall cease until the ratio be restored. This plan will go far to answer the arguments of those persons who think the stock of gold in the world insufficient to supply the world's need of a currency and dread falling prices, increased burden of debts, and strangulated business. But I fear we can not adopt it now.

First, it would not be accepted by the special representatives of the producers of silver, without whose concurrence it can not be adopted.

But, second and chiefly, because we have on our hands four hundred and twenty million of standard silver dollars, of which three hundred and eighty million are in circulation, either as coin or by the certificates which represent them, not now taking into account upward of fifty million of subsidiary coin. If this policy were to be adopted now, we must either attempt to maintain, side by side, two standard silver dollars of different weight or we must call in and recoin our existing silver currency at a cost to the Treasury of a sum which might not improbably equal 50 per cent of the entire value of our silver coinage. We must, therefore, abandon for the time being an attempt to make our present silver product useful for currency and remit that question to the future. It will be all we can do to support our present stock of silver coin without depreciation.

Mr. President, no man can regret more than I do any temporary distress which may fall upon those young communities which have lately taken their places in the sisterhood of American States. I would go, as I have heretofore gone, to the very limit of public safety, in my regard for their special condition. But they must not expect—I do not believe that their representatives here will seriously claim—that we should be affected, in regulating the currency, by a desire to promote the sale of a particular product. If I recollect rightly, the representatives in this Chamber of the six new States were divided evenly on the question of the free coinage of silver.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. HOAR. I do.

Mr. TELLER. The Senator from Massachusetts says he does not think the representatives of the silver States would insist on that. I wish to ask the Senator if he does not know the representatives have repeatedly declared that they would not insist on it?

Mr. HOAR. Well, I said a little more than that I did not think they would insist on it. I said I did not think they would seriously claim—and I will do justice to the Senator from Colorado, although I do not recollect any occasion in his life when he ever did justice to me—I will do justice to the Senator from Colorado and say he never has put this silver argument upon the grounds which are imputed to him by his Eastern critics. He has never, in my hearing, from the beginning of our financial discussions, stated that his people have a right to sell to the Government a product in the creation of which they are deeply interested, and that we must conform our currency policy accordingly.

Mr. TELLER. I have never claimed that.

Mr. HOAR. I do not think such a policy would, in the end, be of advantage to the silver-producing States themselves. I believe that if this country should be put on what is called a silver basis, and our home supply of coinage could be furnished by Colorado and the other silver States—I believe if the whole world could be put on a silver basis, and these silver States could furnish all the silver, it would be an unmixed evil to them. No nation, no State ever got permanent strength or prosperity from its wealth of the precious metals. There always has been, and there always will be, an element of chance, not to say gambling, in that product. Spain and Mexico and Peru tell their own story. The true prosperity of California began when the great profits of her yield of gold ceased and other industries appeared. I was specially gratified by the note of courage in an utterance attributed to the senior Senator from Colorado, in which he told his people not to be down-hearted—they could be a powerful State without silver. I am not sure that it would not have been better, both for Nevada and for the country if there were not a mine within her borders.

I believe that the idle silver miners of Colorado will find some other employment than shedding blood, and some better leader than their present governor.

I am told that Colorado produced in 1892, fifty-five millions of coal, sixty millions of farm products, thirty-four millions' worth of cattle, and that her manufactures were seventy-five millions, while her silver product was about twenty-three millions. Two hundred and twenty-four millions of these products, the demand for which no legislation can affect, is a pretty good showing for a State not yet twenty years old. Of the wealth she produces even now, her silver product is not a tenth.

I do not think we shall gain much by discussing here the responsibility for the condition of things that exist in this country. It is our duty to agree, if we can, upon a remedy. We shall probably, all of us, have something to say to the people when they are asked to determine to what leaders they shall give their confidence hereafter. But I voted, after the best consideration of the subject of which I was capable, for the much-abused statute of 1890. I have seen no reason to change my opinion of the wisdom of that vote in the light of subsequent experience. That law has been most bitterly attacked. I desire to leave on record somewhere, and the records of the Senate seem to me the fittest place, the reason which governed my action.

The law of February 28, 1878, commonly known as the Bland bill, as it passed the House of Representatives, provided for the free coinage of silver without limit, at the rate of 412½ grains to the dollar. The owner of the silver bullion, under the operation of that bill as it passed the House, could have taken it to the mint and received a legal-tender dollar, coined and stamped, for every 412½ grains of silver. This not only would have enabled the owner of the silver to make a large profit, as the process of its degeneration went on, but it would have been an issue of fiat money, pure and simple, so far as the difference went between the bullion value of the silver dollar and of the gold dollar.

The Senate amended the House bill by limiting the amount to be purchased to a sum which was not to be less than two million and not more than four million dollars' worth a month, at the discretion of the Secretary. The Secretary was to purchase the bullion at its market value and coin from it all the 412½-grain dollars it would make. The bill so amended passed both Houses over the veto of President Hayes. But the fiat money remained, and for twelve years had been accumulating in the Treasury.

For that issue of fiat money the act of 1890 substituted the purchase of silver at the rate of 4,500,000 ounces a month. But it declared it the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain its parity with gold, to do which it would become his duty to use all the powers committed to him by the resumption act of of 1875.

Mr. STEWART. I ask if that is in the law?

Mr. HOAR. That is his duty, and he has the power.

Mr. STEWART. To declare that that is the policy?

Mr. HOAR. Yes, sir; if that is the policy in passing the law it is the duty of the public officer who executes the law to carry out the policy.

Mr. STEWART. Then there are other provisions in the statute which directed specifically what he should do for the purpose of carrying out the law.

Mr. HOAR. I understand that. There are other provisions in it, and there are a good many other reserved powers in the statute of 1890 which have not been very publicly discussed, and which it may be necessary hereafter to discuss; but I am speaking now of this provision.

Mr. STEWART. I will discuss that hereafter.

Mr. HOAR. In other words, instead of the fiat money of the Bland bill, every dollar of the property and the utmost limit of the credit of the people of this country were pledged to the maintenance of our silver currency on an equality with gold.

It is true that the amount of silver to be purchased was increased by the act of 1890 from the limit of from two to four million dollars' worth a month—at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury—to a fixed amount of 4,500,000 ounces a month, without discretion; to be purchased, however, at its market value, so that the profit of the transaction inured to the Treasury.

It is true also that since the Bland bill was enacted but two millions' worth a month had been in fact purchased. But that condition of things could only continue so long as there should be a Republican Secretary of the Treasury, or a Democratic Secretary differing wholly from his party. In the not unlikely accession of the Democratic party to power we had every reason to expect that silver would be purchased to the largest monthly limit permitted by law.

This was not only the opinion of Democrats who might be termed extremists, but of the leaders of the party in Congress, with perhaps, half a dozen exceptions. Certainly no man represented, then or now, what would be called the moderate and conservative opinion of his political associates more than the present Secretary of the Treasury. He had, and deserved, their full confidence, as he had and deserved the friendly regard of all who have been his associates in the public service. If the personal inclination of his party had been followed, without considerations of special availability in one or two States, he would have been preferred to Mr. Cleveland as a candidate for the Presidency itself. It was natural and almost inevitable that, in the case of Democratic success, Mr. Carlisle should be called to the Treasury, and should be clothed with the discretion given by the Bland bill.

Now Mr. Carlisle had voted for the free coinage of silver, of which he was an avowed advocate, although he desired that the profit should go to the Government and not to the owner of the bullion. In his very able speech in favor of the Bland bill, as it finally passed the House, delivered in the House of Representatives February 21, 1878, he gives his opinion on this subject, and especially his opinion as to the proper exercise of this discretion by the Secretary of the Treasury. He says:

> My position upon the subject is briefly this: I am opposed to free coinage of either gold or silver, but in favor of unlimited coinage of both metals upon terms of exact equality. No discrimination should be made in favor of one metal and against the other; nor should any discrimination be made in favor of the holders of either gold or silver bullion and against the great body of the people who own other kinds of property.

He goes on to denounce Mr. Sherman, then Secretary of the Treasury, as well known to be hostile to the purposes of the Bland bill, and to denounce the resumption act of 1875 as a destructive scheme. He says:

> The Senate has declared by a large vote that the coinage should be limited to a sum not less than $2,000,000 per month. If the execution of this measure could be intrusted to a public officer whose opinions upon the subject were in accord with those of the great majority of the American people, and whose sympathies were with the struggling masses who produce the wealth and pay the taxes of the country, rather than with the idle holders of idle capital, the provisions alluded to would be of little consequence, because he would coin the maximum instead of the minimum amount allowed by the amendment.

Let me not be understood for a moment as desiring to cast any imputation either upon the integrity or the wisdom of the present Secretary of the Treasury. I suppose that he has changed his opinion as to what would be a wise exercise of his discretion under the Bland bill, even if he were vested with it. But I suppose that, in common with a large number of his countrymen, his change of opinion has been brought about naturally and honestly, as well as inevitably, by a change of situation. The argument which might have convinced as honest a public officer as Mr. Carlisle in 1878, appears very differently in 1893. In 1878 all parties in the United States expected to continue the coinage of silver. The question was whether it should be limited or unlimited. There was no reason to doubt that if the consent of Great Britain could be had, every other European Government would gladly open its mints again to silver. Many great and conservative British financiers then thought that the way to protect India was not to put her on a gold basis, but that England herself should resume the coinage of silver at a proper ratio.

It is no secret that some of the cabinet of Lord Salisbury and that Mr. Goschen himself inclined to this view and were ready to adopt it as the policy of the Government, if the consent of the business men of London, with anything near unanimity, could have been had. This opinion has within a few days been reaffirmed by Mr. Balfour. I have never agreed with the opinions expressed in favor of the free coinage of silver by Mr. Carlisle, and those who then thought with him; but justice to them requires it to be admitted that the question was a very different one when the policy of the commercial world, outside of this country, was still undecided, from what it is now when that policy is settled.

This then was the condition of things under the bill for which the Sherman bill was a substitute. The Bland bill of 1878 required the addition to our silver coinage of $2,000,000 worth a month, not redeemable in gold, and legal tender for all obligations, public or private. The Secretary of the Treasury was bound to the purchase of at least $2,000,000 worth a month, and to coin from it all the dollars it would make. But he was at liberty in his discretion to purchase and coin $4,000,000 worth a month.

If we had a Secretary entertaining the then opinion of Mr. Carlisle, who favored and voted for free coinage of silver, and who favored the passage of the Bland bill over the veto of President Hayes, we were to have $4,000,000 worth a month, or $48,000,000 worth a year. Now this, so far as the difference between gold and silver was concerned, was fiat money pure and simple.

What would have come if this law had been continued? If we had had a Democratic Administration—if that Administration represented the opinion of nine-tenths of the Democratic party—we were to have forty-eight million dollars' worth of fiat money a year. To what condition would this have brought us, inevitably and swiftly, even if the smaller quantity alone were coined? I will let Mr. Cleveland himself answer this question.

He declares in his message, December 8, 1885:

> This operation will result in the substitution of silver for all the gold the Government owns applicable to its general purposes;
>
> That the—
>
> hoarding of gold has already begun;
>
> That—
>
> the two coins will part company; * * * then will be apparent the difference between the real value of the silver dollar and a dollar in gold: * * * gold, still the standard of value, and necessary in our dealings with other countries, will be at a premium over silver; * * * rich speculators will sell their hoarded gold to their neighbors who need it to liquidate their foreign debts, at a ruinous premium over silver, and the laboring men and women of the land, most defenseless of all, will find that the dollar received for the wage of their toil has shrunk in its purchasing power.
>
> That disaster has not already overtaken us furnishes no proof that danger does not wait upon a continuation of the present silver coinage. We have been saved by the most careful management and unusual expedients, by a combination of fortunate conditions, and by a confident expectation that the course of the Government in regard to silver coinage would be speedily changed by the action of Congress.

In his letter to A. J. Warner and others, members of the Forty-eighth Congress, February 24, 1885, Mr. Cleveland says:

> Gold would be withdrawn to its hoarding places, and an unprecedented contraction in the actual volume of our currency would speedily take place. Saddest of all, in every workshop, mill, factory, store, and on every railroad and farm, the wages of labor, already depressed, would suffer still further depression by a scaling down of the purchasing power of every so-called dollar paid into the hand of toil. From these impending calamities it is surely a most patriotic and grateful duty of the representatives of the people to deliver them.

Mr. President, the representatives of the people did deliver them. With no help from Mr. Cleveland or his political supporters, the Republican party arrested the swift progress of the danger which threatened us, and removed a large part, though not the whole, of the evil of the Bland bill. The act of July 14, 1890, while it for a short time increased the amount of silver which the Secretary of the Treasury might purchase and coin, declared the "established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals at a parity with each other."

By the statute approved January 14, 1875, the act to provide for the resumption of specie payments, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to use any surplus revenues not otherwise appropriated, and to issue, sell, and dispose of, at not less than par, any bonds of the United States described in the act of Congress of July 14, 1870. Those bonds were: A bond bearing 4 per cent interest, running for thirty years; a bond bearing 4½ per cent interest, running fifteen years; a bond bearing 5 per cent interest, running ten years.

So that the act of 1890 substituted for the issue of twenty-four million gold dollars' worth of fiat-silver money yearly the present purchase of silver, with the whole faith and resources of the Government pledged to maintain its equality with gold.

It is said that we had in the Treasury June 30, 1893, $362,000,000 of silver in coin and $118,000,000 in bars; and this is true. But of this four hundred and eighty millions, three hundred and forty millions, or thereabouts, is in practical circulation in the form of silver certificates.

We had, at the same time, in the Treasury, $110,000,000 of gold in coin, and seventy-eight millions in bars. Of this one hundred and eighty-eight millions, ninety-four millions, or about 50 per cent, was in practical circulation in the form of gold certificates.

While the gold certificates in circulation amount to only one-half or thereabouts of the gold in the Treasury, the silver certificates in circulation are about two-thirds of the silver in the Treasury. We have one hundred and fifty millions of silver certificates in circulation against ninety-four millions in circulation of gold certificates.

I suppose it will not be claimed that, so far as the silver is in practical circulation, the most convenient form of that circulation is not the deposit of the bullion, or coin, in the Treasury, and the transfer from hand to hand of its paper representative. I suppose that if all the silver now in the Treasury should be replaced by an equal value in gold dollars, and the silver destroyed or sent out of the country, as large a proportion of the gold as the amount of the silver certificates bear to the entire mass of silver would circulate in the form of gold certificates.

Under the statute of the United States, which differs in that respect from that of some States, the repeal of an act which itself repeals a former act does not revive such former act. So in voting to repeal the act of 1890, or any part of it, we do not revive the legislation from which Mr. Cleveland anticipated such mischievous consequences in the near future. Were the Bland bill now to be revived I, for one, should not consent to repeal the law of 1890, and to vest in Mr. Carlisle the discretion which he is so solemnly pledged to exercise, of purchasing silver and issuing fiat dollars of 412½ grains at the rate of 4,000,000 gold dollars' worth, or at present rate 7,371,428 silver dollars a month.

This discretion, it will be remembered, was vested by law wholly in the Secretary and is beyond the control of the President himself.

Mr. COCKRELL. Will the Senator from Massachusetts yield for just one word of explanation?

Mr. HOAR. Certainly.

Mr. COCKRELL. I simply wish to ask the Senator why he calls the standard silver dollar, now commanding a premium in gold in the city of New York in the hands of the bankers there, a fiat dollar?

Mr. HOAR. It is a fiat dollar for so much of it as is not worth the dollar for which it passes. Of course a fiat dollar may pass at an equality and sometimes at a premium, but it is none the less a fiat dollar in the ordinary definition of the word.

But, Mr. President, there was another reason equally controlling:

One party, the Democratic party, almost unanimously—aided by Republicans enough to make a majority of both Houses of Congress—were well known to be in favor of the free, unlimited coinage of silver at the rate of 412½ grains to the dollar. There were a few exceptions in the Democratic party. But that the friends of free coinage of silver represented its settled opinion and its deliberate purpose is shown by the fact that at its advent to power the Secretary of the Treasury and every Democratic member of the Committee on Finance of the Senate, with a single exception, is a person who was then of that way of thinking.

Now, Mr. President, it is notorious—no honest man who remembers the history of that time will deny—that the alternative presented to us was the passage through both Houses of Congress of a bill for the free coinage of silver or the adoption of the measure of 1890—a measure far better than the existing law which it repealed, on the one hand, and infinitely better than the new law with which we were menaced, on the other. It is true that President Harrison undoubtedly would have vetoed a bill for the free coinage of silver. But it is also true that the passage of such a measure through both Houses of Congress—arrested only by the opinion of the Executive—would have caused infinite mischief in its effect upon the public credit, both abroad and at home.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. HOAR. Certainly.

Mr. TELLER. I should like to ask the Senator from Massachusetts if he has forgotten that the House of Representatives had voted down a free-coinage bill?

Mr. HOAR. I understand it——

Mr. TELLER. And that when the chairman of the conference committee reported the bill, he called our attention to the fact that the other House had determined not to have free coinage?

Mr. HOAR. I understand that very well, but it was because of this compromise law of 1890.

Mr. TELLER. No compromise had been made.

Mr. HOAR. The House of Representatives would have passed a bill for the free coinage of silver by a very considerable majority, in my judgment, if we had rejected the conference report.

Mr. STEWART. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] stated——

Mr. HOAR. I know all about that.

Mr. STEWART. He sated that it was impossible to get a free-coinage bill, and therefore the conference agreed upon this measure.

Mr. HOAR. I do not so understand it. He did not say so. He said they had voted against it.

Mr. STEWART. That is the fact about it.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator does not question my statement that I voted for the law of 1890 under that belief?

Mr. STEWART. Oh, no.

Mr. HOAR. Now, you tell us that the main cause of the present difficulty is that foreigners will not keep our securities so long as they are afraid they will be paid in depreciated silver, although the whole credit of the Government of the United States is pledged to make every silver coin as good as gold coin anywhere. What do you think would have been the effect on our credit of the continuance of the coinage of silver dollars under the Bland bill, there being neither obligation nor authority resting upon the Government to exchange these silver dollars for gold dollars, and the purpose of the American people being learned only from the fact that under its existing law it was coining $24,000,000 worth of fiat money annually, to grow to $48,000,000 worth whenever a Secretary of the Treasury agreeing with Mr. Carlisle should come into power; and that there was a Congress, both of whose Houses were purposing to substitute for that an unlimited coinage of depreciated silver whenever they could get rid of the constitutional restraint imposed only by an individual will?

There has never been a day since the resumption of specie payments until long since the present Administration came into power when, if you had taken a thousand dollars in gold and a thousand dollars in silver into any national bank in the country, the bank would have given a dollar for its choice between the two as a deposit. It may be that a bank—one of whose customers was paying a large body of workmen their wages on a pay day—might have given something for the silver for convenience of making change. The silver currency of the country was maintained practically on an equality with gold.

I believe that if President Cleveland in his inaugural address had declared that every authority vested in him, or in the Treasury Department, would be used to keep every dollar of our currency as good as every other, and had been left at liberty by the pledges of the platform on which he was elected to add as-

surances that there should be no change made in the protective system which should not take effect far enough ahead to allow existing industries to adapt themselves to the new condition of things, the calamity which is upon us would not have come.

The purchase of silver under the act of 1890, in my judgment, is a wasteful and extravagant expenditure of the public money. It never could have been excused, but as an escape from the fiat money of the Bland bill, and from the threat of an absolute free coinage of silver. But we could have maintained our national credit and the integrity of our national currency in spite of it, without disaster or panic, but for the advent of President Cleveland to power.

Mr. DUBOIS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. HOAR. Certainly.

Mr. DUBOIS. I should like very much if the Senator from Massachusetts would make a little clearer his statement in regard to the danger of free coinage at that time. I was a member of the other House then and recall the fact very distinctly. I think we could not pass a free-coinage bill through the House, and I understand that the Senator himself says that President Harrison would have vetoed a free-coinage bill. I should like to have the Senator make it a little clearer why the act of 1890 was passed to save us from free coinage.

Mr. HOAR. I have made it as clear as I know how. I will repeat in substance what I said. Undoubtedly Mr. Harrison would have vetoed the bill for the free coinage of silver. There is no doubt about that whatever; but they tell us—and that is the point I am making and I repeat it—the monometallists or whatever, President Cleveland in his message says, that the panic was caused by the fact that foreign nations are afraid we are going to pay them in depreciated silver currency, which, whatever may be its credit here, whatever it may be maintained at here, they can not take home with them and pass for their dollar's worth, and that is what has caused our trouble.

My proposition is that, if foreign nations take that view of the present law, what would they have taken of the Bland bill? I am going to show in a moment that you could have coined a good many more dollars under it than under the Sherman law. What would be the effect on the credit of the American people? If they are frightened by an existing condition of things which maintains silver on a parity with gold, what sort of fright would they have had when you put out $24,000,000 or $48,000,000 worth of silver with no obligation to keep it even with gold, and that only as an alternative to a condition of things in which both Houses of Congress wanted the free coinage of silver and could not get it over the President's veto. That is the point.

It may be well, before leaving this subject, to point out exactly the extent of the difference in the matter of purchasing silver under the operations of the much-reviled law of 1890 and that of which it took the place. Taking the average price of silver from the time when the Bland bill was repealed and the law of 1890 took its place, down to the first day of August, 1893, at the rate of $2,000,000 worth a month—the smallest amount which the law made it the duty of the Secretary to acquire—it appears that only $23,000,000 more of silver has been purchased under the Sherman law than would have been uttered if the Bland bill had continued in force.

At an expenditure of $23,000,000, therefore, this country escaped from the evil which President Cleveland anticipated as coming upon us in the near future, and which he so vividly and eloquently portrayed; escaped the certain addition of upwards of thirty-seven millions a year, or upwards of one hundred and ten millions in three years of fiat silver currency, and the not impossible addition of twice that amount; and escaped, also, the danger of having both Houses declare for the unlimited coinage of silver. We have also to set against this expenditure the actual value of the bullion received for this twenty-three million so expended.

But this is not all. If the other limit in the discretion of the Treasury Department had been reached—in accord with nearly the unanimous desire of the Democratic party—we should have had about $112,000,000 more of the fiat money, and the balance would have been $89,000,000 in favor of the law of 1890.

Taking the price of silver as it was on the first of the current month (70 cents an ounce), $2,000,000 worth, coined into dollars, would have produced $3,685,714, while 4,500,000 ounces of silver at the same price cost only $3,150,000; showing that the purchase of silver under the Sherman law, at the present prices, is more than a half million dollars a month less than would be coined under the Bland bill.

Mr. MCPHERSON. That is the minimum?

Mr. HOAR. That is the minimum. I have made two tables here to show that very clearly.

The following shows the operation of the Bland bill and the Sherman law compared:

	Minimum.	Maximum.	Absolutely.
Monthly purchases of silver under Bland bill, at 83 cents (estimated average) an ounce, coined into dollars, would have produced, since Sherman law was enacted:			
One month	$3,108,433	$6,216,866	
Three years	111,903,588	223,807,176	
Four million five hundred thousand ounces silver, at 83 cents, cost:			
One month			$3,735,000
Three years			134,460,000
A monthly purchase of silver under Bland bill, at present price of silver (70 cents), coined into dollars would produce:			
One month	3,685,714	7,371,428	
Four million five hundred thousand ounces silver, at present price (70 cents), would cost			3,150,000
Monthly indebtedness under Sherman law less than it would be under Bland bill, at present price of silver	535,714	4,221,428	
Average monthly excess of the amount of silver certificates over market value of the silver (or silver dollars they represented) when coined, which would have been issued under Bland bill since Sherman law was enacted (silver at 83 cents an ounce):			
One month	1,108,433	2,216,866	
Three years	39,903,588	79,807,176	
Monthly excess at present price of silver	1,685,714	3,371,428	

NOTE.—(1) Under Sherman law the coined dollars (and certificates) represent the market value of the silver, when coined, and no more.

(2) Under the Sherman law the entire credit of the Government is pledged to keep silver at a parity with gold. Under the Bland law there was no such obligation.

Or to restate the comparison a little more compactly:

	One month.	Three years.
UNDER SHERMAN LAW.		
4,500,000 ounces of silver, at 83 cents (average)	$3,735,000	$134,460,000
UNDER BLAND BILL.		
$2,000,000 worth of silver a month, at 83 cents	2,000,000	72,000,000
Excess represented by certificates (and the coined dollars)	1,108,433	39,903,588
	3,108,433	111,903,588
Against Sherman law	626,567	22,556,412
$2,000,000 worth of silver, at 70 cents (approximately rate of last purchase)	2,000,000	
Excess when coined	1,685,714	
		3,685,714
4,500,000 ounces of silver, at 70 cents		3,150,000
In favor of Sherman law at present time		535,714

NOTE.—Three hundred and seventy-one and one-fourth grains pure silver (amount in one silver dollar) being by law worth a dollar in gold, 1 ounce of silver (480 grains) is worth $1.29, making the Bland dollar at par when silver is $1.29 per ounce.

We are told by our Democratic friends of sound money in the Eastern States, we are told by the newspapers who are the special organs and supporters of the President that it is our duty in this day of our country's trouble to forget party and to coöperate with the President in renewing public confidence and restoring a sound currency. They tell us we must say nothing and do nothing that will weaken his authority or impair his just influence. They tell us we ought to stand by him in all honest efforts and all lawful and healthy measures. The advice is good. We will take it. When he cries to the Republican party to lend a hand to get him and the country out of the morass in which he and the country are sinking, we will do it. We will neither taunt nor upbraid him till he is safe on dry land out of the swamp, and not then unless he tries to plunge the country into another.

Now let them deal with us in the same way. Let them deal out to us the same measure of justice they ask for him. The weight of this burden is upon the shoulders of Congress where the responsibility for all legislation rests. The President's duties, as he said when he accepted his first nomination, are chiefly executive. He has sent in his message, and his constitutional relation to that whole subject is over until we send him a bill.

Now let him and his organs do justice to the men who have fought this battle. When he or they have occasion to discuss our action in enacting the law of 1890, let them repeat to the people what he said about the condition of things from which that bill extricated the country. When they say that the in-

crease of our silver under the Sherman act hurts our credit abroad, let them tell the people that we should be now purchasing $500,000 worth a month more if the law which it repealed were in force. When they say that our securities are sent home because foreign investors are afraid we shall come to pay them in silver, let them in honesty and decency tell the people how foreign investors would, in their judgment, have felt if, instead of the pledge of the honor and all the resources of the American people to maintain the silver dollar at a parity with gold, no such obligation existed anywhere, and both Houses of Congress had declared themselves in favor of the free coinage of silver into dollars, worth from 60 to 70 cents in gold, and the measure had been kept from becoming law only by the interposition of a single will.

Now, Mr. President, I have but a word or two more to say in regard to the necessity which seems to me to be upon us, and which I regret as much as any man in the country, of temporarily suspending the coinage of silver under the Sherman law. Gentlemen must remember, Senators representing the especial silver interest must remember, what we have got and what we are to have in the way of silver coinage in this country for a long time to come. The stock of gold on the 1st day of January, 1893, in this country of coin was $597,961,390, and the bullion in the Mint $81,826,630 more, making together $679,788,020. At the same time we had a stock of silver amounting to $501,378,706, and bullion at its cost value $99,824,220 more, making $601,202,926.

But if this bullion be coined into dollars under the present arrangement, the money value of the silver bullion to be coined would make in dollars $183,961,740. If you deduct its cost, $99,824,220, and add the $84,137,520 balance, you are to have, as against a stock of gold coins, in this country $679,788,020, and a stock of silver coin and to be coined of $685,340,446. The present gold coinage is only about $30,000,000 a year. Nobody supposes that our silver will leave the country or be melted up at that rate of value in dollars. So it will take two and one-half years to have a stock of gold in this country, of gold coin, equal to the existing stock of silver coin. When you remember that there were but $8,000,000 of silver coined by this country down to the year 1873, I do not think our silver friends are quite warranted in calling us gold bugs, and threatening to wade up to their horses' bridles in blood, when the policy which is proposed maintains for them $685,000,000 of silver, $70,000.000 more than the stock of gold coin in this country, and equality even between the two coins will not arrive for two and one-half years.

There is a great difference between a declaration by this country, in time of panic, of a purpose to establish and adhere to an exclusively gold standard of value and an exclusively gold currency as a medium of exchange, and the declaration that we will adopt the policy to which all the commercial nations of the world have come, until by their consent a bimetallic standard can be adopted. At present, and for a long time to come, our supply of silver in circulation and in the Treasury must largely exceed our supply of gold. Advocates of silver, or bimetallism, can not complain unless they take the ground that we shall establish a currency of our own in order to maintain a market for their product—an avowal which I think no Senator on this floor will have the courage to make.

No candid advocate of silver currency can affirm that the people of the United States have not gone to the extreme limit of public safety in the struggle to maintain silver in connection with gold as the monetary standard. We have purchased this metal and coined it and given it a legal-tender power beyond its value for fifteen years. We have, at the expense of the people, purchased it in large quantities beyond any public necessity and beyond any desire of the people to use it as money. During all this time it has been constantly on the decline. Even India has abandoned it. Certainly the experiment has been fully tried and the Government has gone to the extent of its resources in obedience to their desire.

I suppose, Mr. President, that with the coinage of the silver dollar stopped this country could maintain without difficulty our present volume of silver currency on an equality with gold. Some of our friends are apt to point with dismay to the mass of silver coin in the Treasury. But every coin in the Treasury that is represented by a silver certificate is in practical circulation in the most convenient way. I do not believe that the great commercial nations of the world will long submit to be deprived of the great advantage which seems to me to come from the use of both the precious metals. I look still for an international agreement upon this subject. If that shall come, the relation of the two metals to each other will be carefully reconsidered.

But I believe one can be—I will not say established by law, but I will say—ascertained by experience which, when recognized by law and by the common consent of mankind, can be maintained without substantial change for generations to come. From such a condition of things the communities upon whom the present crisis bears the hardest will reap, in my opinion, the most abundant harvest. They will cease to depend on a single product, fluctuating in price, with its ever-present temptation to gambling and speculation.

I am not unmindful of the opinion of some of the wisest and best financiers that the supply of gold is sufficient for the world's wants for a metallic currency and a standard of value. I do not agree with them; but it may be that the product of gold will increase, at least, to the world's needs in that respect, if not sufficient now. This opinion may, in the end, prevail. I do not think anybody who can be trusted has settled yet what are the wants of the world's business, or has any very clear idea on the subject or knows very accurately what is likely to be the world's product of gold.

Within twenty years silver has been discarded as a measure of value in every country of importance but Mexico. It is not a measure of value in the United States, and has not been since 1834. There is no human probability that it will ever be restored to that function unless some time in the future the supply of gold shall become subject to great fluctuation and the supply of silver become steady. We can not provide for such contingencies and it is needless to speculate about them. But I am utterly opposed to a declaration that we will never use silver again as currency, or will never again coin it for a legal tender.

To make such a declaration by Congress, or to adopt such a policy, would, in my opinion, arm every agitator and anarchist and socialist with an almost irresistible weapon. They would say that by the perpetual adoption of a single standard the world's burden of debt would be constantly growing heavier, and that the prices of the world's product would gradually and constantly be falling. In support of their contention they would point, not only to the opinions of the fathers, but to the recent utterances of nearly every public man of all parties; of candidates for the Presidency; of nominating conventions; and, with scarcely an exception, of every person clothed, or likely soon to be clothed with legislative authority. They would point to the fact that even in England the representatives of the last Tory administration inclined more and more to the bimetallic standard, properly adjusted, and to the policy of giving silver a share in the function assigned to the precious metals. I suppose they adhere to that view now. I do not believe that a policy of eternal monometallism, adopted in a time of panic, could stand.

It is enough for the present occasion to say that there should be no further coinage of silver, except by the unanimous consent of commercial nations. Upon that policy, if we adopt it voluntarily, we can stand. If we decline to adopt it voluntarily, we shall be compelled to it, alike by the loss of trade and by the necessities of all classes; chiefly, however, of the laboring men of the country, who can not live without a stable currency and a steady credit.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I desire to correct a mistake which my friend has fallen into in regard to the condition of the two Houses at the time the compromise bill referred to was passed. The chairman of the committee of conference who reported the bill on that occasion stated the reason for its passage to be a compromise which had been reached. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] explained the situation as follows:

> The House of Representatives after full consideration sent to us a bill, printed in this document precisely as it was passed by the House. It came to the Senate.
>
> The Senate engrafted upon it the principle of free coinage, together with some other provisions, changing the character of the House bill. Indeed, the Senate made a substitute for the House bill, embodying no part of the House bill except a single section relating to the national banks. In this condition the two bills went before the committee of conference. The House of Representatives had by a decided vote, which I need not repeat, determined against the free coinage of silver, and the question then arose whether the two Houses could be brought to an agreement upon a proposition based upon both bills, embodying both, but omitting the free coinage of silver. That was the problem to be solved.

He then went on to say that they solved the problem. The House by a decided majority vote had refused to pass a free-coinage bill, and the conferees on the part of the Senate, being charged with carrying out the views of the Senate, were forced to yield. I take it for granted that the Senate conferees did not yield until they found it was necessary to do so. They were the organ of the Senate, and I take it enforced the views of the Senate.

It was reported by their chairman that they had done the best they could, that the House, by a decided majority, had refused free coinage; and therefore, to carry out the views of the Senate, which was in favor of such legislation, they had made the compromise with the House conferees and brought in the compromise measure. I do not think we should hear any more of the excuse that that was done to avoid free coinage. It seems to me the facts of the record are sufficient to disprove that, and

I hope that we shall hear no more of that excuse, because it can not be doubted that the chairman of the committee reported to the Senate the truth of the case at that time.

Mr. HOAR. I wish to say that, while I perhaps do not know as much about finance as the Senator from Ohio or the Senator from Nevada, I am stating what was my opinion at the time. I suppose the Senator from Nevada does not question that that was my belief.

Mr. STEWART. Not at all, but I hope the Senator from Massachusetts will not question what I stated was my belief that we could not get free coinage, and we were forced to take the compromise bill, as a free-coinage bill could not be gotten through the House.

Mr. HOAR. That is another thing. I think the Senator will come to a different conclusion if he inquires among the persons who were there. It is true that the Senator from Nevada and other Senators who voted with him for the compromise measure did not mean to go away from the coinage of silver, but they knew perfectly well, as we all knew, that President Harrison would likely have vetoed such a bill.

I am speaking of the likelihood of the passage of a bill for the free coinage of silver, for I know that there has not been a time since Andrew Johnson went out of power when such a bill could have passed a President of the United States of either party.

Mr. STEWART. I am not talking about the President.

Mr. HOAR. I was speaking of the two Houses, and I reaffirm, as the result of my information at that time—and I think there were a great many Senators who so understood it—that the House would have passed a bill for the free coinage of silver but for this compromise. If the Senator from Ohio thought otherwise, he was misinformed.

Mr. STEWART. The chairman of the committee of conference is supposed to have done his duty and represented the Senate, and he reported that there was no possibility of getting the bill through the House, because it had been beaten by an overwhelming majority. Therefore the Senate believed it. That is the official record. As to the silver Senators, if they had supposed there was the slightest possibility of getting a free-coinage bill through the House they would not have agreed to this compromise, but they would have allowed Mr. Harrison to take the responsibility. At no time would they recede one step or yield a point which they believed vital to their whole country. That was their position. They were told that this was a compromise, because the House would not pass a free-coinage bill, and the chairman of the committee, who was the organ of the Senate, made a statement that that was not correct.

I believe he made a truthful statement when he told us that we could not get it through the House. There might have been a majority in the House for a free-coinage bill, but under the machinery of the House the majority was not able to enforce its opinion. I wish to say that ever since the act of 1873, if an unbiased vote had been taken in the two Houses, without party machinery, without legislative advantages in any sense, a free-coinage bill would have passed, and the act of 1873 would have been wiped out. The people have sent their representatives here for twenty years asking for the righting of this wrong. There is no doubt about that. But the machinery of the House was such that it was impossible for them to accomplish their object, and it was so reported by the chairman of the committee of conference on the so-called compromise bill.

Mr. HOAR. There might have been a majority for it in the House, as the Senator says, but the machinery there prevented its passage.

Mr. STEWART. We had no hope about it. All these things are done by machinery. The gold men operate by machinery.

There are many things in the speech of the Senator from Massachusetts to which I shall reply at a future time. I shall not do it now. I simply wish to call attention now to the declaration of the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], in which he gave us the cause of this panic, the cause of the distress. He said that our foreign creditors feared that we would pay back to them in silver money that which they had loaned to this country in gold. I wish to inform that Senator and Senators who do not know it that every obligation of the Government of the United States is payable in silver and was so when the contract was made. Where no special contract was made payable in gold, silver has been received, except during a short interregnum, which was soon corrected. It was the legal-tender money of this country when these debts were contracted.

When foreigners invested in our securities they knew the law and they made the contracts in view of the existing law. They invested to be paid in our money. What is wanted now is that our laws shall be changed and that foreigners shall be paid in a different money. That is the demand of the bondholding aristocracy of London to-day. Their demand upon their debtors in this country has made this panic. The three thousand millions which they have invested here they demand shall be paid in a different money from the contract under which the investments were made. They say that we shall change our money and deny our people the right to pay according to the contract; they say we shall repeal the Sherman law and deprive the people of any money but gold, to the end that they may be paid in gold; that there is distrust because the people of this country will not abide by their contracts.

The only object of this panic, the only object of this distrust, is to change the laws of the United States, to change contracts, and convert contracts payable in either gold or silver into contracts payable in gold alone, so as to augment that colossal power in Great Britain which has dominated the world for the last eighty years; that colossal power which, according to Gladstone, holds foreign obligations to the extent of $10,000,000,000. He sneers at the idea of a monetary conference which shall consider the question of restoring silver, and says, "We are a creditor nation; we owe the world nothing, but they owe us $10,000,000,000, outside of the United Kingdom, and we will march on and change their laws and force them to pay in dearer money, so that we can add to the $150,000,000 in interest which we are drawing annually from America." England wishes to add to that largely, doubly if you please, and the desire of the American people to have the money of the contract, to do justice, and not to be absorbed by Great Britain, and their resistance of Great Britain's demands, is said to be the reason why this panic has been brought on.

The fight is not with Wall street. Wall street is simply an appendage of London. It is in London where they hold $10,000,000,000 of foreign obligations, $4,000,000,000 of British national obligations, and $4,000,000,000 of British obligations of other corporations than the Government; $18,000,000,000 or $20,000,000,000 of obligations which call for money; and they want to change them from bonds payable in the money of the greatest country in the world, and compel payment in gold alone. They have obligations enough now to enslave the world for all time on the gold standard, and they know it. It is commercial supremacy which they demand.

When the royal commission sat and considered these questions they did not mince the matter that the demonetization of silver was appreciating gold. Philosophically they all understood it; the twelve agreed until they came where the road forked, then six were for bimetallism and the other six said "We can not close our eyes to the fact that Great Britain is a creditor nation; all debts should be payable in gold, and any addition to the circulating medium of the world would be to the disadvantage of Great Britain." That was the turning point of that royal commission; that was the animus of their report; that is the force which is operating upon this country, and the question is, shall we submit and have no kind of money except what Great Britain dictates?

The President says we shall have the money accepted by all nations. Did we have any say in what kind of money Great Britain should have? We had no voice in that. But still we must submit to their dictation; we have no power under the Constitution to have our own constitutional money, gold and silver!

Why talk about sudden changes; why talk about anarchy? Who ever heard of more violent anarchists than the anarchists of finance, who undertook to destroy one-half of the world's money to enhance the value of the other half? There was about $3,500,000,000 of legal-tender silver in the world and about the same amount of gold, and when legal-tender silver no longer performs any monetary function, except that of subsidiary coin, prices must fall 50 per cent. Contracts have been made on the basis of both metals, and when you require payment on the basis of one, that doubles the obligation.

Senators talk about anarchists. It is the financial anarchists who plot against the liberties of the people and make civil order impossible. It is the anarchists of finance who repudiate the time-honored principle of gold and silver coin at a metallic basis, and who are forcing the world, where contracts have been made on that basis, to pay on the contracted narrow basis of gold. It can not and will not be done.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, I have heard time and again about the noncoinage of more than 8,045,838 silver dollars from the foundation of the mint up to 1873, the date of the demonetization of silver. The charge has been made that nobody wanted the silver dollars, that nobody would take the silver dollars, that nobody would put his metal into the mint and have it coined into the standard silver dollar, because it was not a money that anybody wanted.

That is the inference, that is the intention, that is the impression the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] intended o

leave, that nobody would use a silver dollar from 1792 up to 1873, and that is the argument which has been used here a hundred times; it has been gone over and over.

Why is it that we did not coin any more than $8,045,838 between the organization of our Government and 1873 when silver was demonetized? Let us look at it. What are facts? In the first place, we did not produce any silver in this country, and we had no silver metal to coin, to amount to anything. What is the record on that point on the production of silver? The entire production of silver up to 1834, was insignificant. From 1834 to 1844 it was $250,000, $25,000 a year; up to 1854 it was $50,000, and it never got up to a million dollars until 1861, when it was $2,000,000. Then it ran on up to 1873, when it was $35,750,000.

Let us see what was the coinage. In the five years prior to the demonetization of silver, in 1873, we coined in this country 3,622,498 standard silver dollars, being 45 per cent of our total coinage. In the year 1871 we coined $1,117,136; in 1872 we coined $1,118,600; and in the year just before the demonetization of silver, up to the 12th of February, 1873, in one month and twelve days, we had coined 977,150 silver dollars, more than had ever been coined at any time in the whole history of the Mint.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator state precisely what he understands, if he knows, the amount of the coinage of silver dollars down to 1853, if that is the time when the subsidiary coinage began, and also of the other United States silver coins, half-dollars, etc.?

Mr. COCKRELL. I have not made the calculation. I understand the Senator's point.

Mr. HOAR. I did not mean to mislead the Senator. What I said on that subject was not part of what I had prepared myself to say, but I stated it in answer to some interruptions, and it is quite possible in making my statement of $8,000,000 that I did not include the half-dollars.

Mr. COCKRELL. No, the Senator did not. Seventy-five million dollars of them were coined prior to 1853.

Mr. HOAR. It would not affect the point of the argument the least in the world whether the amount was $75,000,000 or $8,000,000. I was saying that the present amount of silver we have now is enormously larger than all we coined, put together, down to 1873.

Mr. STEWART. There was $160,000,000—I figured it up some time ago—of full legal-tender silver coined in the United States previous to the act of 1873. Then there was a large amount of half-dollars and quarter-dollars coined after 1853, when the amount of silver in them was reduced, but the main circulation in this country during all the time was foreign imported coin.

Mr. HOAR. All I meant to say was that I thought the amount of silver we have got now is going to keep us pretty respectably, considering the amount we had down to 1853.

Mr. COCKRELL. I understand. In 1793 and 1795 we coined $204,000; $72,000 in 1796; $7,000 in 1797. Then in 1799 we coined $423,000, and in 1804 the coinage ceased; and we coined no more until 1836.

Mr. STEWART. We coined no more dollars.

Mr. COCKRELL. I am talking about silver dollars, if the Senator pleases; I am not talking about the other. I will come to that in a minute.

Mr. STEWART. All right.

Mr. COCKRELL. I am talking about the silver dollar that everybody denounced and abused. In 1838 we began the coinage again, and coined a few thousand dollars up to 1859, when we coined $636,500, and in 1860 $733,930. The coinage fell off again until the five years I have mentioned preceding the demonetization of silver, and it began in 1868 at $182,700; in 1869, $424,300; in 1870, $445,462; in 1871, $1,117,136; in 1872, $1,118,600, showing a large and rapid increase.

Before 1853, which the Senator from Massachusetts inquired about, we had coined $75,961,554.90 of standard silver half-dollars, quarter-dollars, dimes, and half-dimes, and every one of those was a full legal tender absolutely in the payment of all debts for all sums whatever. That was our own coinage.

Mr. President, I have shown you the facts in regard to our coinage. What more? I hold in my hand a pamphlet, which the Committee on Finance have just prepared, in which I find the act of February 9, 1793, entitled, "An act regulating foreign coins, making them a legal tender, and establishing their value, etc.," which made foreign coin legal tender in the payment of all debts in the United States, public and private. The law remained on our statute book up to 1857. The Spanish milled dollar and the Mexican dollar and other silver coins were all full legal tender in the payment of debts, public and private, within the jurisdiction of the United States.

Will some Senator please tell me who could be found in America who would take a full legal-tender dollar to the mint in order to have it recoined into a standard silver dollar? Will a Senator from any State answer the question? What sense, what propriety, what necessity was there for anybody to take a full legal-tender coin to the mint in order to have it coined into another full legal tender? There was a risk run. If the coin was worn a little, there would be a loss, because if it were recoined into the American coin it would have to be of full weight, whereas a foreign coin worn somewhat, without being accurately tested, it would still pass as a full legal tender.

What is the use of making a fuss about this? Here were thousands and millions upon millions of Mexican dollars, milled dollars, all over the country, cart loads of them, in the land offices. They were the only things that would be received for land in Missouri for years and years in the land offices. The silver dollars were all over the country; they were full legal tender, and there was then no necessity for coining them. But after we took away from the foreign coinage the full legal-tender power and began to produce silver in our own country, the coinage of the silver dollar began, and was increasing very rapidly up to the very minute the mints of the United States were stopped against its coinage.

Mr. ALDRICH. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. ALDRICH. Will the Senator be kind enough to explain in that connection how it happened, in 1857, when the silver foreign dollars were in circulation and were a legal tender, that a Democratic administration demonetized them? They were only foreign coins.

Mr. COCKRELL. They did not demonetize silver. They never did it.

Mr. ALDRICH. In 1857 a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President took away from the only silver coin in circulation the power of legal tender.

Mr. COCKRELL. They did not do any such thing.

Mr. ALDRICH. They did exactly that.

Mr. COCKRELL. They never did any such thing. It is not worth while to quibble. The Senator has not got his mind covering the whole subject-matter.

Mr. ALDRICH. I have my mind perfectly clear upon that subject.

Mr. COCKRELL. Not at all. The legal-tender quality was never taken away from the full standard silver dollars, half dollars, quarter dollars, and dimes which were of full weight.

Mr. ALDRICH. The facts are exactly these: There was only one kind of silver dollars in circulation in the United States, and those were foreign coins; they were legal tender, and had been from 1792 to that time, when a Democratic Congress and Democratic President took away from the only silver coins in circulation their power of legal tender.

Mr. COCKRELL. I beg pardon. We had free coinage for silver dollars. We were producing our own silver then, and so there was some reason why the full legal-tender power should not be continued upon foreign coins when we were producing silver ourselves and had just commenced the yield of silver in this country, and had the half dollars and the others. No, no, Mr. President, the Democratic party never demonetized silver; never in the world.

Mr. PLATT. They demonetized foreign silver.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Democratic party has always stood for bimetallism.

Mr. SHERMAN. I wish to inform the Senator from Missouri, and the Senator from Rhode Island as well, that in 1853 what is known as the Hunter act did practically demonetize and take away the legal-tender power of silver for amounts over $5.

Mr. COCKRELL. That only related to the depreciated silver half dollars.

Mr. SHERMAN. The Senator is mistaken. We coined them again. We reduced silver at that time. It was worth more than the ratio of gold, and in order to get the circulation of silver coin, the amount of silver in the fractional coins was reduced to about 14 to 1. That was by the Hunter act of 1853. My friend from Rhode Island said 1857.

Mr. ALDRICH. I followed the Senator from Missouri in saying 1857.

Mr. COCKRELL. That was only the subsidiary coin.

Mr. SHERMAN. All the coin under one dollar, half dollars, quarters, and all the rest were reduced in that way.

Mr. COCKRELL. The weight and fineness of the half dollar, the quarter dollar, the dime, and the half dime by the law of 1853 were reduced, and they were then limited in legal-tender power.

Mr. SHERMAN. That is correct.

Mr. COCKRELL. There is no doubt about that. Nobody contends to the contrary.

Mr. HOAR. When did foreign silver cease to be a legal tender?

Mr. COCKRELL. In 1857, but the reduction of the amount of silver in the half dollar, the quarter dollar, the dime, and the half dime was made for the purpose of keeping them in circulation in the country, because the amount of silver in the dollar was more valuable as a metal than the amount of gold in the gold dollar or than the coined gold, just as silver continued to be up to 1873.

Mr. ALDRICH. I hope my friend from Missouri before he sits down will answer my question, why it was that a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President in 1857 took away the full legal-tender power from the only silver dollar which was then in circulation, or had been in circulation from 1792 to 1853?

Mr. COCKRELL. It was not the only silver dollar.

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes, it was.

Mr. COCKRELL. I have stated exactly the years. Here is the record. Is the Senator trying to deny the record? Here is the coinage year by year.

Mr. ALDRICH. Of half dollars.

Mr. COCKRELL. Of dollars.

Mr. ALDRICH. Very few of them.

Mr. COCKRELL. Our population was sparse and small compared to what it is now.

Mr. ALDRICH. As a matter of fact, susceptible of proof, there were none in circulation except the Spanish milled dollars and Mexican dollars.

Mr. COCKRELL. There were American dollars. The Senator has lived in cities all his life and never out in the country among the stalwart people who have built it up and who handle the money itself, and not checks and drafts. I have seen the silver dollar when a boy. I have seen the Spanish milled dollar. My father took silver dollars to the land office, 30 miles off, on horseback.

Mr. ALDRICH. That is an evidence that they were in circulation.

Mr. COCKRELL. They were silver dollars, and we coined them. The Senator certainly knows the record here. I am only reading from what is perfectly manifest, "the report of the Director of the Mint on the production of the precious metals in the United States during the calendar year 1892."

We coined in 1793 to 1795, 204,791 silver dollars; in 1796, $72,920; in 1797, $7,776; in 1798, $327,536; in 1799, $423,515; in 1800, $220,920; in 1801, $54,454; in 1802, $41,650; in 1803, $66,064; in 1804, $19,570; in 1805, $321. In 1840 we began to coin again, and in 1859 we coined $256,500; in 1860, $218,930, and the next year, the war going on, as a matter of course there was no coinage of any consequence of either gold or silver; but we had coined thousands upon thousands of the silver coins. We were then beginning to produce silver in large quantities, and it was only right and proper that we should have that silver go into our mints and be coined into our own dollars. There may have been a patriotic feeling among our Congressmen at that day, as there has always been in the Democratic heart, a feeling that the dollar of the country, the unit of value, should have upon it the insignia of the power and authority of the United States and not of a foreign government.

Mr. ALDRICH. My friend from Missouri must have misapprehended the nature of my question. There has been a great deal of loud declamation on the floor of the Senate about the crime of 1873, and the authors of that act, the Republican party, and everybody else has been charged with a very heinous offense in its passage. Now, I desire to call attention to the fact that a Democratic Congress sixteen years before that time had deliberately demonetized silver and taken away from the only dollar which was in circulation, or could have been in circulation for three-fourths of a century, its full legal-tender power, and I wanted the Senator to explain how it was.

Mr. COCKRELL. They did not take away the coinage. The Senator does not dare say that. They allowed free coinage to the standard silver dollar.

Mr. ALDRICH. I must be very stupid——

Mr. COCKRELL. If they took it away from one, they left it on our own coin.

Mr. ALDRICH. The only dollar in circulation was the foreign coin, which had been legal tender from 1792 to that time, and the Democratic party deliberately demonetized silver and took away from it its legal-tender power.

Mr. STEWART. It is a mistake to charge that on the Democratic party.

Mr. ALDRICH. Let me finish. Now, the Senator from Missouri says, in answer, that it was because we had begun to produce silver. He made a statement a few minutes before in which he said we never had produced silver prior to 1873. There must be some mistake in his argument on one side or the other. We certainly were not producing silver in 1857. There must have been some other reason for demonetizing silver in 1857, and I should be glad if some of the advocates of free coinage will state the true reason.

Mr. COCKRELL. The only additional reason I can give just now is that the House was Republican and passed it, and the Senate had to agree to it.

Mr. GORMAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PASCO in the chair). The Senator from Maryland moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. STEWART. Let me explain what was done. I suppose the debates will show——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland has moved that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business. The question is on that motion.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. STEWART. An executive session while I am on the floor!

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Sergeant-at-Arms will clear the galleries and close the doors.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. STEWART. I have been on the floor all the time.

Mr. GORMAN. I supposed the Chair recognized me to make the motion; but, of course, I shall not insist upon it if the Senator desires to speak.

Mr. STEWART. I was on the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada took the floor after the motion for an executive session had been submitted to the Senate.

Mr. GORMAN. Then I will move to reconsider the vote by which the Senate agreed to proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. STEWART. The Senator may have been previous to me, but I thought I had the floor.

Mr. GORMAN. If the Senator desires to speak, I will move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. STEWART. I desire to correct a false impression.

Mr. GORMAN. I move to reconsider the vote by which the Senate agreed to proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. STEWART. In 1857——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada will pause a moment. The Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] had moved that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business, and that question had been put. The Senator from Nevada desiring to address the Senate, the Senator from Maryland now moves that the vote by which the motion to proceed to the consideration of executive business was agreed to be reconsidered. That will be the order in the absence of objection, and the Chair recognizes the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. STEWART. I have only a word to say. I wish to state the case correctly. The United States simply stopped recognizing foreign coins as legal tender, but kept the mints open for the coinage of our own silver until after the war, when we had a large debt and England wanted to control it.

Mr. GORMAN. I now renew the motion that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, August 16, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate August 15, 1893.

JUDGE OF PROBATE.

Jefferson A. Huff, of Utah Territory, to be judge of probate in the county of Grand, in the Territory of Utah, vice Lilliston B. Bartlett, resigned.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

Owen J. H. Summers, of Florida, to be attorney of the United States for the northern district of Florida, vice Joseph N. Stripling, resigned.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Charles H. Page, of Oregon, to be collector of customs for the district of Oregon, in the State of Oregon, to succeed Edward A. Taylor, removed.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, *August 15, 1893.*

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. SAMUEL W. HADDAWAY.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

SWEARING IN OF A MEMBER.

Mr. Pendleton of Texas, having appeared at the bar of the House, was duly qualified according to law.

CONTEST, FIFTH MICHIGAN DISTRICT.

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. Speaker, I rise for the purpose of asking unanimous consent for the present consideration of a resolution giving Mr. Belknap the right to prosecute his claim to a seat in this House before the Committee on Elections. It will take but a few minutes to pass it.

I will say to gentlemen on the other side that I submitted the resolution to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL], who told me on yesterday that he was compelled to be absent, but I was authorized to state to the House that the resolution met his full approbation, and that he hoped it would pass.

The SPEAKER. The resolution will be read; after which the Chair will ask if there be objection to its passage.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Whereas in the Fifth district of the State of Michigan two certificates of election were issued—one to Hon. George F. Richardson—after which, upon proceedings in the supreme court of the said State, a new canvass was ordered in certain portions of said district, upon which a new certificate was issued to Hon. Charles E. Belknap; and

Whereas each of said parties claimed to hold the proper certificate entitling him to a seat in this House; and

Whereas either party by commencing a contest would have been deemed to have waived his claim under his certificate; and

Whereas the prima facie legality, and sufficiency of such certificates could not be lawfully or finally determined, except by the action of this House; and

Whereas this House have decided that the said Hon. George F. Richardson's certificate entitles him prima facie to the said seat; and

Whereas by reason of the peculiarity of the said facts a contest could not be commenced in the usual form and in the usual time; and

Whereas said Hon. Charles E. Belknap desires to contest the right to said seat: Therefore,

Be it resolved, That said Hon. Charles E. Belknap is authorized and empowered to file his notice of contest and institute proceedings to contest said election. That in making said contest the general statutes and the rules of contest of this House shall apply, the time fixed by the statutes being hereby extended and the right of contest being declared to have commenced at the date of the passage of the resolution seating said Hon. George F. Richardson.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Before consent is given I wish to ask the gentleman if he states that this resolution itself was submitted to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL]?

Mr. BURROWS. On the day before yesterday, or Saturday, I submitted the resolution to Mr. O'FERRALL, who kept it over Sunday and brought it to the House on yesterday, stating that he had examined it and that I was authorized to state to the House that it met with his approval.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, of course I have only the knowledge I have now gained from the reading of this resolution. If it is intended to go fully into the merits of the case, for myself I have no objection whatever. I did not know, however, but that it would be a good plan to leave the matter open for awhile, say until to-morrow, until I can consult with Mr. WEADOCK or some others of the delegation, and see whether the resolution provides for an investigation upon the merits of the case.

Mr. BURROWS. I will have no objection to that. Let it be printed in the RECORD and go over until to-morrow.

Mr. MCMILLIN. It goes over until to-morrow with the same right of objection?

The SPEAKER. Of course.

Mr. BURROWS. Very well; let it go over until to-morrow.

PROPERTY UNDER THE DOORKEEPER.

The SPEAKER laid before the House a letter from the Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, transmitting an inventory of all property under his control on the 7th day of August, 1893; which was referred to the Committee on Accounts.

REPORTS TO CONGRESS.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House a letter from the Clerk of the House of Representatives, transmitting a list of the reports to be made to Congress by public officers; which was laid upon the table.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. CURTIS of New York, indefinitely, on account of illness.

SILVER.

Mr. HUTCHESON. Mr. Speaker, I had begun yesterday to address myself to what I conceived to be the real battle ground to be taken by the friends of silver. I had begun to indicate that the enemies of silver had selected a battle ground and territory upon which we have undertaken to meet them, and upon which territory we stood at a disadvantage. They have undertaken to introduce into this discussion the sole inquiry whether or not a proper ratio between the two metals can be maintained either with or without international agreement. I stand here, Mr. Speaker, to make the announcement that if it were confessed that a ratio can not be maintained, still, upon a much higher principle than a ratio between metals, I stand ready to advocate the cause of silver.

Why do I take this position, Mr. Speaker? It is because the ratio between the money and the commerce of the world so infinitely surpasses the question of ratio between gold and silver that the one is minimized and the other is magnified to its proper importance. I desire, Mr. Speaker, to have the Clerk read the essence of this proposition, contained in the ablest speech upon this subject ever delivered upon either continent, the speech of Mr. JONES of Nevada, before the Brussels conference in December, 1892.

The Clerk read as follows:

But it will be asked, What constitutes a sufficient amount of gold for this purpose? I answer, such an amount as will maintain unchanging the value of the unit of money, or, to state it in another form, such an amount as will maintain at a steady level the general range of prices. If the prices of commodities are to be left out of account—if it be matter of indifference how low those prices fall—then it is of not the slightest consequence how little gold is to be had. No matter how small the amount, it will always be sufficient to exchange at some price all the commodities in the market.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I wish the language to be marked in its entirety. It is not that value of money which will buy commodities at one time or at another time, but it is that power which will maintain for generations the proper price of the commodities for which it is to be exchanged. This case has, like the common law fiction of John Doe *vs.* Richard Roe, been entitled Gold *vs.* Silver. That is not the controversy, Mr. Speaker. The controversy before this House and before this nation is Money *vs.* Credit. I propose to show before this discussion is completed, if men will listen to facts instead of philosophy, instead of assertion, instead of declarations of doctrinaires, instead of the statements and declamations of financiers—I propose to show that credit is the great "Whore of Babylon, the pestilence that walketh in darkness and the destruction that wasteth at noonday. Now, Mr. Speaker, I wish that the gentleman from New York [Mr. WARNER] were here while I expose the freaks of this capricious wizard credit over which he and the opposition so gloat.

To every suggestion upon our part that gold is inadequate to do the business of the country except by so depreciating the price of all commodities and products of labor as to make them unprofitable—they reply that in these modern times credit does all the offices of money and does them much better than money could. Mr. Andrew Carnegie was the first votary to deify credit as the all-sufficing substitute for money.

These gentlemen expressly propose that silver shall disappear from the commerce of the world, and that credit shall take its place. Their reason for urging this proposition I will state farther on, but for the present I wish to analyze credit by definition and exemplify it by its career.

In the conduct of this controversy much has been said regarding gold and silver, and little has been said about the great and real party to the conflict, the priestess of a most unholy worship—credit. The real controversy is, Shall the people multiply money which constitutes actual wealth, possesses material existence, and has substantial staying powers, or shall they trust their industries and prosperity to the mercies of a shadow of money in the form of credit? I am not its enemy, nor would I stifle or repress its legitimate existence and limits within which I recognize its wonderful and beneficent influence.

But a proper definition of what it is, what it should be, and what it does, is the most material task of this controversy.

What is credit? To whom does it belong? What are its offices? How should it be used, and when its limitless use becomes dangerous abuse, are matters worthy of the deepest consideration. Of itself it is without root or branch, without sap or substance, and is a weird, winged spirit of the fancy. It is, in my opinion, the chief element in constituting money and finance the sphinx whose riddle no man can read. If it has any foundation it is the volume of money with which it maintains some mysterious and invisible touch. This substance of which it is the shadow should bear such honest relation and ratio to credit as will make it as safe a factor in the affairs of men as money itself, within the limits of ordinary commercial experience. If this ratio is reasonable and well maintained, it is the light-winged courier which aids the sails of commerce, drives the wheels, turns the spindles, guides the plow, builds palaces, and multiplies industrial force.

But without this circumspect limit and ratio it is the cunning

counterfeit of the money power which, when discovered, gives distrust to all honest dollars whether gold or silver. It is to that power as the jockey to the owner of some splendid race-horse in whose qualities of speed and power of endurance the public put their trust and on which they stake their money, but who rides to win or lose, just as the sordid interest of the owner shall give him secret command to ride or hold.

It is wholly capricious in taste and fearfully irregular in appetite. A year ago, notwithstanding the Sherman bill now so savagely assailed, she was a gay and voracious cormorant greedily devouring all forms of commodity to which she could attach fancy and fictitious values—driving the prices of such commodities at a pace so giddy as to attract universal admiration for this bright spirit which so rapidly and wonderfully "developed" all things which suited her capricious and diseased appetite. And then her hand-maid Speculation went afield in triumphal car sowing hope and projecting enterprises into which honest Industry was led to stake her all.

To-day this same sweet spirit of a year ago, who had encouraged you to vast enterprises on the faith that her appetite would demand still larger store of your industry, comes with hectic flush and halting step, and her taste rejects all the products of your toil and bids them perish on your hands. Ask this gay deceiver what has befallen her, and she replies, with wild eyes, that "I have lost confidence; something" (anything will do for an excuse as occasion may suggest) "scared me since I last saw you to such an extent that I have become very timid." And then she bids you a sad and long farewell with the ventures into which she led you, and which you planted with so much hope, as dead and despised dishes, rejected by this omniverous deity of just one year ago.

Money may be par or depreciated, but it is always substance, not shadow—wealth, not wind—and can not entirely disappear from the face of the earth when industry makes appeal for its support. But credit can inhabit your home in the morning and at noontide bid you final adieu, and you can not tell whither or why it went. It has no staying qualities—goes to the quarter-pole at high speed, but never stays to finish. It has another odious quality to the common people and hurtful to the honest industries of the country—it has a taste for gambling transactions which promise large profits, and can not content itself with the upbuilding of honest enterprise, because its returns of profit are too slow, its methods of operation too prosy, for its aristocratic tastes.

And this, Mr. Speaker, is by no means its least hurtful disposition. It withdraws from actual industrial pursuits vast sums of money to put them into mere gambling ventures that in the swing of a fictitious market it may gather rich and ill-gotten gains, as gamblers do on the turn of a wheel or the throw of a card.

Look over the history of the panics of this generation and you will find that stock-gambling and future-dealing in the products of honest toil have precipitated them all.

And all such transactions are the diseased outgrowth of extravagant credit built up on stilts called margins.

I wish that the gentleman from New York, who comes to this House with a petition to repeal the Sherman law and at the same time to multiply credit forms of money, were in his seat, that I might reply to his advocacy of this latest by-way into which credit seeks to get further Government recognition.

When he tells us that New York is the credit center of this country, I admit it; but, Mr. Speaker, it is for that reason the storm center of this country. There never has been a panic in this land but that it has begun in Wall street. There never has been a panic in this land but that the bear had the bull down upon the floor of Wall street and had destroyed his horns and had its fangs successfully buried in the vitals of the bull. The conflict goes on there: and the country which is in peace and at ease is of a sudden called on to pay for this menagerie.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. WARNER] was kind enough to tell us that Wall street dealt in credits and the commerce of this country. Now, Mr. Speaker, I have been in relation with those banks. I have been in their offices. I have seen the conduct of those institutions; and when you go there to present an industrial enterprise what do you encounter? You present something that is solid against a fiction. You present the industries of the country, and they will touch a button and say, "How is New York Central? Wait a minute, please. How is the last call upon cotton futures? Wait a minute, please." You go out of that bank, Mr. Speaker, and without a dollar for industrial enterprises, because the dollars of these men are piled upon the gambling tables of Wall street, helping credit make a fortune on a turn; and that is the cause of the panic in this country.

How is a panic first indicated? It is indicated by the decline of stocks in Wall street. Let me read to this House the evidence of this fact and show them the philosophy of this case. I read from the New York World, which may be regarded as excellent authority upon this question. Before I do so allow me to introduce a contrast that I wish the members of this House to follow me in. When they tell you that the silver of this country has destroyed values, and that it has receded in price, I propose to show to you that if silver has once receded thirty points or fifty points, credit has descended ten times upon this land and destroyed all the fortunes that the hopes of this country had projected and the industries of this country had builded for years.

The New York World, in undertaking to show how values had declined within a year in New York, attaches a list of bonds on which the declines range from 10 per cent to 55 per cent, reaching hundreds of millions of dollars. Now, mark you, all these bonds are gold bonds of the railroads and other corporations of this country which the Sherman law could in no way affect, because they are by law payable only in gold. These bonds were sold *up* on credit margins and they now sell *down* on cash transactions, because an unrepressed credit, far in excess of the volume of money in this country, had gone at the instance of the speculating holders of money into fictitious values on fictitious contracts. These things fall and with them the industrial world, in no way connected with the reckless gambling.

This is illegitimate credit and these are its fruits.

Ches. and Ohio 4½s	70½	84	13½
Ches. and Ohio 5s	97⅞	104½	6⅝
C. and O., R. and A. 1st com	75	79½	4½
Chicago Gas L. 1st	80	92	12
Chi. and Northern Pac. 1st	59½	81	21½
C., B. and Q. conv	94	109	15
C., B. and Q. 7s	113	123	10
C., B. and Q. 5s deb.	88	102½	14½
C., B. and Q. 4s, Iowa	89	96½	7½
Chicago and Erie 1st	90	102	12
C. and Erie income	20	52½	32½
Cin., Day. and Ir. 1st	94	99	5
Col. M 1st	85	108⅛	23⅛
Cleve. and Pitts. s. f.	115	119	4
Col. and Hock. Val. 5s	80	98	18
Col. and Hock. Val. 6s	85	101	16
D. and H. 1st 7s, 1894, c	102	108⅛	6⅛
Denver and Rio Grande 4s	74⅛	83⅛	8⅛
Dul., S. S. and At. 5s	96	102	6
E. T., V. and G. cn. 5s	85	94	9
Edison Elec. Ill. 1st	102	107	5
Eliz. and Big Sandy 1st	90	98½	8½
Erie 2d cn.	63	105½	42½
Ft. W. and D. C. 6s	78	100½	22½
Fort W. and Rio G. 1st	61⅛	73	11⅞
Gen. Elec. deb. 5s	71	102⅜	31⅜
H. and Tex. Cent. 1st 5s	102	106½	43½
Int. and Gt. N. 1st cpn. off	103½	109	4½
Iowa Central 1st	75	89⅝	14⅝
Iron Mountain 1st	101	104⅜	3⅜
Iron Mountain 5s	79	85½	6½
Kansas Pacific cn	100	109⅜	9⅜
Kansas and Texas 2ds	35½	48½	13½
Kansas and Texas 4s	75½	80	4½
Laclede Gas 5s	75	84½	9½
Lake E. and W. 5s	112	110½	1½
Lake Shore 1st c	113½	120½	7
Lake Shore 2d c	116	124	8
Long Island 4s	93	96½	3½
L. and N. gen. 6s	111½	116½	4½
L. and N. unified 4s	75	80	5
L. E. and St. L. consols 5s	70	87½	17½
Met. Elevated 1sts	114½	117	2½
Met. Elevated 2ds	102½	109	6½
Mil. and Nor. 1st, 1913	109	115	6
M., L. S. and W. conv. ex. 5s	104½	110	5½
Missouri Pac. 2ds	104½	106½	2
M. and Ohio 4s	51½	65	13½
Northern Pacific 3ds	85	107½	22½
Northern Pacific ter. 1st	95	105	10
Northern Pacific cn. 5s	50	77½	27½
Northwest 4s	91	100	9
Ohio Southern 4s	45	64½	19½
Oregon Imp. 1st	96	101	5
Oregon Imp. 5s	44½	68	23½
Oregon S. L. 6s	98	106	8
Pennsylvania 4½s	105	107	2
P. D. and E. 1st E. div.	89	101½	12½
P. and Eastern 1st	66	81½	15½
Phil. and Read. 4s	65½	88½	23½
Phil. and R. 1st pref. inc	23⅞	79½	55⅝
Phil. and R. 2d pref. inc	18	72	54
Phil. and R. 3d pref. inc	13	65½	52½
Rich. and Danville 6s	104	108⅝	54⅝
Rich. and W. P. tr. 5s, t. rec	19½	49	29½
Rock Island 5s	94½	101	6½
Rio G. West. 1st	65	80½	15½
R., Wat. and Ogd. cn.	109½	112	4½
Seattle, L. S. and E. 1st	50	97	47
St. L. Southwestern 1st	56	68⅜	12⅜
St. L. Southwestern 2d	15½	31	15½
St. Paul and Omaha cn	114½	121	6½
St. Paul Ter. 5s	98	107½	9½
St. Paul, Dak. and Gt. South. 5s	101½	104½	3
St. Paul, C. P. W. 5s	107	109½	2½
St. Paul 1st S. Minn.	109½	116½	7
St. Paul Gen. 4s, series A	86	119½	33½
St. Paul, M. and M. con	115	122½	7½
Scioto Valley and N. E. 4	70	82½	12½
Texas Pacific 1st	65	81	16
Texas Pacific 2ds	15½	30	14½
Third Ave. R. R. 1st.	110	113	3
Tol., St. L. and K. C. 1st	55½	91⅜	36⅜
Union Pacific 1st, 1898	104	109½	5½
Union Pacific 1st, 1899	104	111	7
Union Pacific, Den. and Gulf 1sts	50	70½	20½

These are the fruits of a state of business when money is 8 per cent and credit 80 per cent in volume.

But, Mr. Speaker, with this limit of 5 per cent on each hundred dollars it can not sustain the industries of this country or maintain their prices.

My proposition upon this is, that the moment the credit of this country ceases to obtain its exacting recognition, that moment prices retire like the breath of the man who seems in full health but is in the shadow of death. They do not maintain it for a day or for a week, for a year or for a month, but they simply carry the jagged edges up to-day and down to-morrow. You are in the trough in one moment and on the high waves in another, and the wreckers of these high waves catch the fortunes and destroy the industries of this country. Such medium of exchange does not maintain prices, but exaggerates at one time and destroys them at another.

Now, Mr. Speaker, let me illustrate this, as I stated by the present incidence of this panic. We see that the prices of a number of these institutions have fallen 40 and 50 per cent within a week, and that within a year many of them have fallen as much as 70 per cent; and why did they do it? I will give you an illustration. Take the cordage and the whisky trusts. They bought their property at $7,000,000, bonded it at $25,000,000, multiplying credit. You can not multiply money, but the machinations of mankind enable him to multiply credit; therefore these gentlemen have the power to crush; when multiplication is to be counted into division and subtraction they wish the credit system to prevail in this land.

Why, Mr. Speaker, what destroyed £28,000,000,000 for the Barings? Was it silver—over $110,000,000—Mr. Speaker? What struck the Barings down? It was illegitimate credit. What was it that struck Grant and his bank down with $17,000,000? It was illegitimate credit. What was it that destroyed half of the values of this country in 1873? What was it in 1878, in 1884, and in 1890? It was the return messenger of credit. What, then, is this invention of the nineteenth century? It is the bow of promise in the financial sky, which sheds its bright colors on the mere whiff of a wind, condenses into cloud, descends in storm, and ends in deluge. It is the fabled fisherman, who, with lengthy angle and unwinding line, projects but the small bait of a little cash to the unwary tribe of the sea of men and at a moment reverses its cord, fastens its angle in the vitals, and draws its unsuspecting victim from a sea of prosperity to a shore of wreck and death.

It is against the illegitimate multiplication of credit that the country needs protection. It is to anchor it to sufficient substance, so that it can not in fanciful play of fickle confidence burst as a bubble in the hands of the holder, or sink as a balloon from the elevation to which it has carried its votaries to the rocks and hills that underlie its giddy flight. We must either limit its existence or destroy its baneful power. No mother would trust her child to the fond embrace of a reptile, capable by its gambols of giving her offspring great delight, but able when the greed of gluttony or the turn of temper should dictate to rend a child in twain and devour it in its glee. She would at least subject it to the limits of a chain and keep it in the boundary of her control, or drag from its jaws the fangs which might destroy it. So we, in dealing with the people in their relations to this monster, must either confine and prescribe its radius, or we must extract its danger. If we are to give it the wings for limitless flight we must extract from its jaws the fangs and from its feet the claws. If limitless credit is to have unbounded sway, we must by law balk and check its power for destruction of the victims whom it invites upon its cruise of wealth and fortune.

If the opposition will make credit their worship, bow at its shrine, and compel us to become its votaries, then let us by law take away the power to control its debts, and leave them to the force of the spirit which it invokes—voluntary credit. So limited, the monster will keep within his own legitimate lair. As it now is, it is the relentless spirit of the wind, gathering substance where it has sown shadows, and bringing a harvest of blight where it had sown seeds of hope.

But the gold advocates say, with confidence restored foreign nations will buy our securities and gold would return to us; in plain words, it would allow us to get more in debt to foreign nations, to use our credit as a temporary expedient to increase our debt, to add more burdens for the American people to carry.

Now, Mr. Speaker, let me read to this House some few figures as to what credit has done. From 1860 it has multiplied national debts from $10,000,000,000 to $27,800,000,000. It has multiplied State debts up to $288,000,000. It has multiplied the mortgage debts of corporations, $9,000,000,000 to the railroads, and there are supposed to be an equal amount of stock, making $18,000,000,000 of railroad debts. How is this done? Why, the entire money of the world is only $6,000,000,000 or $7,000,000,000 at the outside. Yet these men, who had they commanded every dollar of the world, could have had but $6,000,000,000, by the jugglery of credit have taxed the nations of the world to pay $28,000,000,000 in national debt, commerce $9,000,000,000 in railroad debts, the States of this nation $200,000,000 in State debts, and the private mortgage debts are supposed to be $3,000,000,000.

This is what has created and extended this alarm all over the world. My proposition, Mr. Speaker, is that there is between this mysterious goddess of worship and solid silver, silver recognized at any ratio, the relations which substance sustains to shadow and air; that heart ranks with sap; that the body of the tree ranks with the mere exterior foliage which shed with the storms of the winter.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. WARNER] said that when the worst came to the worst New York would take care of herself. That is true. New York always takes care of herself; and when the country is in a suffering condition she never takes care of anybody but herself.

I do not mean that the gentleman would not, but I mean the bears of New York—and they are not a constant tribe, for you will see the "bull" of one day the "bear" of another. It is said that the Ethiopian can not change his skin, nor the leopard his spots, but the "bear" and the "bull" change with the sunny side of each morning. [Laughter.] These bears and these bulls, as the gentleman said, have this country by the neck. He meant that they were holding the country up by the neck, and I admit it, but they hold it up just as Sisyphus was held above the water; they deny it a drop of water, and when the day of adversity comes they sink it into the deep above which they had held it securely in their grasp, and they take the wreckage as their share of the game.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have a word to say to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON], if he is present. He remarked that we had come to the fork of two roads. I tell him that when he puts that alternative to this House, I may stand where the colored man in the congregation stood. The minister stated that there were two roads, "the one leading to hell fire and the other to damnation," and the negro, catching the mistake, said, "Fo' God! If dat's de case, dis nigger takes straight to de woods." [Laughter.] It may be, Mr. Speaker, that I shall be obliged to take straight to the woods; but if I do I want the Democratic party to be here to hew the way, and I want the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON] to be present to chop along the line and help his party through the wilderness. [Laughter.] One of these roads is the highway of humanity; the other is the by-path of greedy wealth and avarice.

The gentleman remarked yesterday that the people of Israel worshiped the golden calf and that they did not get into Canaan for forty years. I tell him that he is the hero of his own story; that he is worshiping the golden calf, and, by the eternal gods, it will take him more than forty years to make us accept that worship. He tells us, Mr. Speaker, that gold is the Malakoff of the country. He forgets that the Malakoff, while it maintained for a time its bristling front and resisted civilization, finally surrendered to civilization. He is the Malakoff in this case, and we, the Democratic party, who believe in free silver, will make him lower his colors and surrender to the party of free silver in this country. [Applause.]

I come now, Mr. Speaker, to another proposition. If the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. MCCREARY], who represented us on the Brussels commission, is present I desire to cite some of his language there, in which he states that the volume of gold in this broad land of ours is not sufficient to sustain the commerce of the world, and that it would be impossible to depend upon gold alone unless we should break down the nation's honest laboring men to serfdom and subject them to pitiless poverty.

If the gentleman is present now I desire to ask him if he recalls that language to-day: if he is prepared to march on the highway to which he stated that policy would lead the people, and to visit upon them the desolation which he has himself depicted. Nay more, Mr. Speaker, in all that Brussels convention there was not one man from England or from Mexico, from civilization's high dome to the hut of the barbarbian, who contended that gold ever could become the nations' and the world's money. The Baron Rothschild predicted that your "drunken" patient—I address myself to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER]—that your drunken patient would be sick, not if America continued to buy silver, but unless the nations of the world bought silver. He predicted that unless that was done the country, and the entire country, would be sick. Mr. Allon, of Belgium, stated that that would be the inevitable result. Mr. Tirard, of France, stated that that would be the inevitable result except as to France, and that it could not be so in France because she had the reserve of silver to take care of her domestic transactions, and that prophecy is literally fulfilled.

But, Mr. Speaker, my time has nearly expired, and I want to deliver a word or two to my party. I come, sir, in the spirit of the sweet St. Augustine: "In things necessary, unity; in things

doubtful, liberality; and in all things, charity." God knows I hate to suggest to a Democrat a reproof; I hate to suggest a warning. But we are now in the house of our fathers, in the Democratic party. You and I, sir, have come here committed to pledges which, when we made them, we expected to fulfill, and which we had a right to expect every man whose name had been enrolled upon the Democratic record to stand by us in fulfilling. England never expected every man to do his duty any more, Mr. Speaker, than you and I expected every man to do his duty who mustered in the ranks of the Democratic party.

At the Chicago convention you made an overture to the people of this country; you asked them to accept you, not in the dalliance of a day, to be rejected from a satiated couch, but you asked them to join you in honorable wedlock, and the people accepted your pledges in your platform as the sacred vows made at the altar of God, and you dare not repudiate them. I see the tiger of Tammany [Mr. COCKRAN] harnessed with the lion of the antisnappers [Mr. Cleveland], dragging the Democratic car [laughter], and the popular impression is that their destination is the camp of the gold bugs; but I trust that in the final hour of our peril the pibroch of their returning forces to the aid of their party and the best interests of their country will be distinctly heard in this Hall.

Mr. Speaker, the Declaration of Independence was the consecration of mankind to liberty, and it was the sanctification of government to the protection of individual rights; and this is the creed of true Democracy. In the march of events liberty has been extended to the poor man without equality, though liberty and equality were both guaranteed by the compact. We appeal to you now, Mr. Speaker, in the name of a down-trodden and oppressed people, who are poor, indeed, to give them equality as well. When gentlemen tell this House that in order to sustain international trade they must have gold, I deny the proposition. I will tell you how to sustain your international trade—by the products of your farm. That has always been done until the last year. Why was it not done last year? Because, though Europe was hungry for bread, though its peasantry was almost naked, without clothing or shoes, the governments of that country wanted more money, and their people could not command bread and clothing. It was a money famine.

Mr. Speaker, the Waterloo of the claim of the goldites is presented in the $70,000,000 of gold that left your country. Why, sir, let me illustrate this matter by something that will strike the comprehension of a Congressman; and I know we are exceedingly dull. Suppose gold and silver bear for a moment the relation of corn and wheat. Suppose the world had been fed for a hundred years upon the two crops and that they were barely sufficient. Suppose all at once the nations of the world should make an edict that no more corn should be cultivated in the cornfields, and suppose the cornfields were not capable of producing wheat. What would be the result? The world, which had fared upon corn and wheat, would be obliged to subsist upon wheat alone, which would have to be raised within the limits of the same wheat fields which had existed when corn and wheat were both produced.

Suppose that, in addition, a nation like Austria, which had never used wheat, should put in its demand for 100,000,000 bushels. How would that affect the supply of wheat for the maintenance of the people of the world? It would be a reduction of capacity and product and an increase of demand simultaneously, which would make the fulfillment of demand by supply wholly impossible. That is precisely the case in regard to gold and silver. The world has used two crops—silver and gold. A portion of the world not only undertook to shut off one crop, but a nation which had never fed upon gold, Austria, sought $100,000,000 of gold; and in supplying that crop of gold, which had to be subtracted from the stock of the nations of the world, a famine was created, and we contributed our share in the creation of that famine and suffered in consequence, and this panic follows. I attach at this point the remarks of Mr. Foster Higgins before the New York Chamber of Commerce:

I shall not take up your time with any great references upon this matter, but I do feel that as business men, as thinking men, we should look at the conclusions arrived at by men who have made a study on this subject. Therefore I want you to listen to the words which were then declared:

"Further, we are strongly impressed with the conviction that whatever evils may be expected to flow from the return to bimetallism, the evils both of the present and prospective existing situation are evidently more serious. Failing in the attempt to reëstablish the connecting link between the two metals, it seems probable that the general tendency of the commercial nations of the world will be toward a single gold standard.

"Any step in that direction would, of course, aggravate all the evils of the existing situation, and could not fail to have a most injurious effect upon the progress of the world."

The necessity of the world to have a constant yearly increase in money is apparent, and I want to impress this upon you by a few extracts:

In the year 1000 the entire money of the world, expressed in millions of dollars, was of gold $145,000,000; of silver, $510,000,000; of paper, none. Total, $655,000,000.

In 1700 that had increased to $375,000,000 of gold, $1,125,000,000 of silver, and $5,000,000 of paper. Total, $1,505,000,000, from $655,000,000 in the previous century.

In 1800, $638,000,000 of gold, $1,800,000,000 of silver, and $410,000,000 of paper. Total, $2,848,000,000, as against $1,505,000,000 the previous century.

In 1848 the amount was, gold, $785,000,000; silver, $1,940,000,000; paper, $1,300,000,000. Total, $4,025,000,000, as against $2,840,000,000 forty-eight years previously.

In 1880 the amount in the aggregate had increased $5,900,000,000, and in 1890 the money of the world was $1,150,000,000 of gold, $4,005,000,000 of silver, and $3,855,000,000 of paper, or, as you perceive, one-third each, or a small variation from one-third, and the total was $12,010,000,000, an addition in thirty years of $6,000,000,000, while it had taken two hundred and fifty years before that to bring the amount up to the previous sum of $5,900,000,000.

What lessons are we to draw from this? This is not money representing the transactions of the world. It is 8 per cent of the transactions only. Yet this was the amount the world found necessary to create, $200,000,000 per annum, for thirty years in succession. Why, sir, the explanation is that at that period of time the world's communication became passive, and the intercommunication of the world possessed every development of mankind, and with all this there came the demand for money.

Mr. Speaker, I see that my time has about expired and I propose to leave the discussion of this question to older and abler members, feeling at least that I have undertaken to discharge my duty to my party and to my country. I am inspired by the faith that the Democrats, as their name implies, will stand by the people. This is a government of the plain people of the country, because they are in the majority. Wealth may roll in luxury, but the plain people constitute the majority in this land, and they have the right to rule. If you do not permit them to rule to-day, they will rule you and rule this land, and God grant that every man may feel the righteousness of a popular rule, that flunkeyism may lose its force, wealth its inordinate influence, and right may rule this land of God and liberty. [Applause.]

Mr. BLANCHARD. Mr. Speaker, upon a question which has occupied the attention of mankind for thousands of years, and is still open to debate, I might well be distrustful of my own conclusions, and it is with much hesitation that I submit them to-day to the consideration of this enlightened body.

The gold advocates—those who contend for the disestablishment of silver—hold the affirmative of the proposition under discussion. The *onus probandi* is, therefore, upon them; they must make good by fact and argument their case. Have they done so? Let us see. That the act of the 14th of July, 1890, known as the "Sherman act," ought to be repealed, or at least what is called "the purchasing clause" of it, all are agreed.

But the gold advocates demand that this repeal be unconditional, while the bimetallists insist that it should be accompanied by a substitute for the Sherman act, recognizing the principle of bimetallism in some effective form, and enacting substantially into law the declarations of both the great parties, in their national platforms, on the money question.

The adoption of the pending measure, repealing "the purchasing clause" of the Sherman act, would bring the country, in theory and practice, to the gold basis, and would be everywhere accepted as the announcement by the United States of a settled policy to maintain the monometallic gold standard.

Mr. Speaker, the argument of the advocates of the single gold standard may be summarized briefly as follows: The leading commercial nations of the world have closed their mints to the coinage of silver, and thus have practically demonetized that metal; that in consequence the price of silver everywhere has depreciated; that it is now a debased metal, and no longer fit for use as money, except for purposes of subsidiary coinage: and that the United States, making use of silver as money for general purposes, can not, alone, maintain parity between gold and silver upon a fixed ratio.

To all these averments the bimetallists enter a general denial, except as to the first.

It is admitted that the leading commercial nations of Europe have closed their mints to the further coinage of silver as money for general purposes.

Thus is the issue joined. Let us review the contention of the gold advocates.

Going back along the historical lines of this question, we find that bimetallism—the use of both metals as money, maintained at parity on a ratio fixed by law—obtained in this country from the year 1792 down to 1873. In all this time the ratio varied but little.

We find, further, that in 1873 silver was demonetized. It is charged by many that this was done fraudulently. To this I do not subscribe. That it was done surreptitiously, I believe. It was accomplished in a bill which bore the innocent title of "An act revising and amending the laws relative to the mints and assay offices of the United States."

When that measure passed the House of Representatives it did not contain one word or the remotest suggestion changing the law of free coinage or taking the minting privilege from silver. As it passed the Senate of the United States there was, even with the Senate amendments added, not one line which affected silver adversely as a coin metal of the country. In no

debate on, or explanation of the bill, nor in any amendment offered, either in the House or Senate, had one word ever been said or suggestion made that free coinage should be repealed.

On the contrary, the bill contained the following clauses:

That the charge for minting gold bullion should be 5 per cent, and for silver bullion its actual cost.

Also,

That silver coins other than the trade dollar shall be paid out at the several mints and at the assay office in New York City in exchange for gold coins at par. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 673, third session Forty-second Congress.)

The bill as it passed the House had been taken up in the Senate and passed with amendments. It was reported to the House with the Senate amendments.

The House nonconcurred in the Senate amendments, and a conference between the two Houses on the bill and Senate amendments followed. Three managers on part of the Senate and three on part of the House were appointed. This was the usual conference committee, and these six gentlemen, within the privacy of a committee room of this Capitol, added the fateful words which struck down the free coinage of silver and brought this country to the monometallic gold basis.

The words, Mr. Speaker, thus added, which accomplished this remarkable result, were only eleven in number and were these:

And no deposit of silver for other coinage shall be received.

The report of the conference committee was as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the ninth amendment of the Senate and agree to the same, with an amendment as follows:

Strike out the words proposed to be inserted, together with the remainder of the section, and in lieu thereof insert the following:

"That any owner of silver bullion may deposit the same at any mint to be formed into bars or into dollars of the weight of 420 grains troy, designated in this act as trade dollars, and no deposit of silver for other coinage shall be received." (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 1150, third session Forty-second Congress.)

No gentleman in either House who was a member of the conference committee, nor any one else, called attention to this amendment, or stated what its effect would be. The report of a conference committee does not always command close attention. It is rarely supposed that any new matter has been taken up by it. The object of appointing a conference committee is to effect a compromise between the two Houses on matters which have been introduced, explained, and debated, and upon which the two bodies have failed to agree.

In this case neither the House nor the Senate had referred the subject of free coinage to this committee, and consequently no one suspected that their report would touch the question. When the report was read from the Clerk's desk, and the vote was taken adopting the same, it is likely that no one in either House, outside of the committee of conference, knew that the report repealed free coinage.

I venture the assertion, Mr. Speaker, that at no period in the history of any country, in ancient or modern times, was so brief a sentence added to any provision of legislation which has had the momentous effect that these eleven words have had throughout this country and the world. Those words, added by a conference committee, and passed by the two Houses without debate, had more of significance, of importance to the people of the United States than all the enactments of law by that Congress at its two sessions. They were words which revolutionized the monetary system of the Government and affected the welfare of people even in remote lands.

It has always been claimed, Mr. Speaker, that this action was brought about by the "gold" people of the country for the purpose of establishing the monometallic gold standard, making all our debts gold debts, payable in gold coin, and in this way increasing the value of the securities held by those people. A distinguished leader of the Republican party, until recently a Senator of the United States, and one of the most brilliant of the public men of his time, has the following to say relative to the bill referred to. I read from a speech made in the Senate in February, 1878, by Senator John J. Ingalls, of Kansas. He says:

The act was improvidently passed.

The attention of the people was not called to the subject. It was not discussed nor understood. Though it was done at a time when the public mind was intensely interested upon financial subjects, and methods of relief were assiduously sought, the demonetization of silver was never suggested by anyone as likely to ameliorate the pecuniary distress of the nation. But there is strong evidence that the destruction of the legal-tender power of silver was the culmination of a scheme long entertained by the holders of the public debt of this country, devised by them for the purpose of appreciating the value of their investments, regardless of the ruin and desolation which it would bring upon the laboring and productive classes of the nation.

These are strong words from a source that gives great weight to them.

At the time the demonetizing act of 1873 was passed, if the question had been submitted to the American people, if it had been made an issue in any political contest at that time or subsequent, the proposition to eliminate silver from our monetary system would have been voted down by an immense majority.

The enactment of that law was following the example set by England in 1816, and by Germany in 1873.

Germany demonetized silver under the most favorable auspices. The phenomenal success of the German arms in France had just startled the world. France lay bleeding and prostrate at the feet of conquering Germany, and a war indemnity of a billion and sixty millions of dollars in gold had been wrung from her people. The far-seeing policy of Bismarck was about to be consummated; the dream of Germanic consolidation was being accomplished; the Germanic Confederation was giving way to the Empire of Germany; King William of Prussia was now William the First, Emperor of Germany; the moment was opportune for the "gold" people; they took advantage of it; silver had been money in the states and principalities and dukedoms which formed the Germanic Confederation. But these had now been welded into the Germanic Empire; silver was demonetized and the gold of France took its place.

There was reason, sir, for England and Germany to demonetize silver. They were both creditor nations. It is to the interest of the creditor that the obligations he holds be met in the dearest money. Gold is that money. Germany believed that the greatness and power of England was due to her monetary system. It is due, as I believe, to her mines of coal and iron and to the cheapness of her production. But believing as Germany did, she followed the example set by England in 1816, and demonetized silver in 1873.

Then it was, Mr. Speaker, that the United States, a debtor nation, producing 40 per cent of the world's annual output of silver, with conditions essentially different from those prevailing in England and Germany, was seized with the "gold fever," inoculated by the creditor class with the virus brought from England and Germany, and demonetized silver.

But prior to this consummation the first step in the conspiracy had been taken.

This was in the passage, in the interest of the creditor class, of the acts of 1869 and 1870, for "the strengthening of the public credit" and for "the refunding of the public debt."

A large part of the public indebtedness of the United States, incurred in time of war, had been made by the law of its creation and the letter of its contract payable in any legal-tender currency of the United States. But the acts mentioned changed this, and the indebtedness referred to became payable in coin. That meant gold or silver; but with silver struck down, out of the way, demonetized, it left gold as the only "coin" with which to pay the holders of these bonds.

Herein is the secret of the demonetizing act of 1873. The public debt, first payable in any lawful money of the United States, then changed to be made payable in either gold or silver, then conditions produced or created which placed it on a gold basis, to be paid in the dearer money, gold. The additional burden thus imposed upon the producing and taxpaying classes in the United States by these acts of the Republican party is beyond computation.

Forced by the action of Germany and the United States in demonetizing silver, France and the States of the Latin Union in Europe reluctantly closed their mints to the free coinage of silver. And thus it was, Mr. Speaker, that the world was practically brought to the single gold standard.

With the white metal struck down, prostrate in the dust, humiliated by the laws of the leading commercial nations of earth, is it to be wondered at that it depreciated in value? Is it to be wondered at that many now think that if silver is continued in money use, the ratio should be changed from 16 to 1 to 20 or 24 to 1?

Is it fair or just to judge silver from the standpoint of the abyss into which it has been plunged by the deliberate action of the gold adherents?

The "gold" people created the conditions, produced the causes, which had the effect of depreciating silver, and then point to this effect as reason why we should continue in this country the disestablishment of silver.

How preposterous the position!

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman who opened the discussion on the affirmative side of the pending question, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER], took occasion to say in his speech that the contention of the silver people that silver was a money of the Constitution was unfounded in fact. He denied vehemently that there is anything in the Constitution which requires the coinage of gold or silver. To this extent only was he correct: there is no positive, direct declaration in the Constitution that silver shall be coined along with gold. But it is there by the plainest possible implication.

The Constitution declares that Congress shall have power

to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and to fix the standard of weights and measures.

Then it is said elsewhere in the Constitution that no State shall

coin money * * * nor make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts.

We thus find that the Constitution, while denying to the States the power to coin money, also denies to them the right to make anything a legal tender in payment of debts except gold and silver. This plainly implies that the States may make gold and silver a tender for debts. But they can not coin those metals.

In permitting the States to make gold and silver a tender for debt, it was clearly intended that those metals should be coined by some competent authority into convenient form, of standard weight and fineness, for use as money. Who or what is that authority? Congress; the power to coin is reserved exclusively in Congress.

It is thus plain that silver is a money metal of the Constitution, is named in that instrument; and by irresistible inference and implication it is made the duty of Congress to coin gold and silver.

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I will.

Mr. LIVINGSTON. My question is a legal one, and I want to hear you upon it. The Constitution grants to the State of Georgia the right to make silver a legal tender. Suppose Congress demonetizes silver, and yet in face of that demonetizing act the State of Georgia still continues silver as a legal tender and should bring an action in the Federal courts to test her right to make silver still a tender for debt, under the clauses of the Constitution quoted by you would not the Supreme Court of the United States sustain the State?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I am inclined to think so and would like to see the matter tested. But a difficulty suggests itself in this: How far can a State go in declaring, or can it do so at all, a metal a tender for debt that is not endowed with legal-tender qualities by Congress, which alone can coin into money, regulate its value, and determine its weight and measure? Congress may not coin it at all, or if it does coin it, may limit its legal-tender power to a small sum. Would a State have authority to enlarge or increase its legal-tender power, so far as debts enforceable within its limits are concerned? I say these are difficulties suggesting themselves to me which make the question one not free from doubt.

Mr. Speaker, Alexander Hamilton, who was the first Secretary of the Treasury, in his report in 1791 on the Mint, said:

To annul the use of either of the metals as money is to abridge the quantity of circulating medium, and is liable to all the objections which arise from a comparison of the benefits of a full with the evils of a scanty circulation.

Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to Mr. Hamilton in 1792, said:

I concur with you that the unit must stand on both metals.

R. M. T. Hunter, in a report (1852) to the United States Senate, said:

The mischief would be great, indeed, if all the world were to adopt but one of the precious metals as the standard of value. To adopt gold alone would diminish the specie currency more than one-half; and the reduction the other way, should silver be taken as the only standard, would be large enough to prove highly disastrous to the human race.

These are but samples of the unbroken line of opinion, sustaining bimetallism, coming down from the adoption of the Constitution to 1873.

The fathers of the Republic, carrying out the spirit of the Constitution, opened mints for the free coinage of the two metals, and under the bimetallic policy which prevailed the country advanced with astonishing rapidity in population, wealth, greatness, and prestige.

Let me now cite a few opinions from well-known financiers and authors of Europe:

Leon Fanchet, in Researches upon Gold and Silver, written in 1843, says:

If all the nations of Europe adopted the system of Great Britain the price of gold would be raised beyond measure and we should see produced in Europe a result lamentable enough.

Before a French monetary convention, held in 1869, testimony was given by Baron Rothschild, by M. Roulard, governor of the Bank of France, and by others.

Baron Rothschild said:

The simultaneous employment of the two precious metals is satisfactory and gives rise to no complaint. Whether gold or silver dominates for the time being, it is always true that the two metals concur together in forming the monetary circulation of the world, and it is the general mass of the two metals combined which serves as the measure of the value of things. The suppression of silver would amount to a veritable destruction of values without any compensation.

M. Roulard, governor of the Bank of France, said:

We have not to deal with idle theories. The two moneys have actually coexisted since the origin of human society. They coexist because the two together are necessary, by their quantity, to meet the needs of circulation. This necessity of the two metals—has it ceased to exist? Is it established that the quantity of actual and prospective gold is such that we can now renounce the use of silver without disaster?

M. Wolowski said:

The sum total of the precious metals is recouped at fifty millards, one-half gold and one-half silver. If, by a stroke of the pen, they suppress one of these metals in the monetary service, they double the demand for the other metal, to the ruin of all debtors.

Opinions of eminent authorities to the same effect might be cited at great length, but the foregoing will suffice to establish the fact for which I contend, that bimetallism is correct in principle and beneficial in practice.

Mr. Speaker, when the American people realized that silver had actually been demonetized by the act of 1873, that a blow had been struck at one of the money metals, an agitation over the country began at once for the reëstablishment of silver.

It quickly entered politics. The two great parties took it up. They vied with each other in declarations on the subject. Both took silver endearingly to their bosoms, petted it, declaimed against the injustice and wrong done it, and "pledged their sacred word" to do battle valiantly in its cause. Here are the declarations in the national platforms of the two parties. The Democratic national platform of 1880, third clause:

Honest money—the strict maintenance of the public faith—consisting of gold and silver and paper, convertible into coin on demand.

Democratic national platform of 1884:

We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

In 1888 the platform of the party appears to have been silent on the money question, but in 1892 the national Democratic convention at Chicago made the following distinct declaration in its platform:

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets, and in payment of debt; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

On this platform Mr. Cleveland was nominated and elected President of the United States.

The Republican national platform of 1888 said:

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

In its platform of 1892 the same party said:

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal.

You will observe, sir, that the demand for bimetallism, the use and continuance of both metals as money, rang out from all these platform utterances with no uncertain sound.

The two great parties are absolutely committed to this policy, if words mean anything at all. If platform declarations are not mere "glittering generalities," if what they say are not mere "catch-words" to deceive the people, then, indeed, are all of us here, Democrats, Republicans, and Populists alike, pledged to vote for a measure which will maintain the coinage of gold and silver on terms of equality at a fixed ratio.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, the signs indicate that on this [Democratic] side of the House a large number intend to vote for the pending measure, which repeals the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, stops the coinage and use of silver as money, and provides nothing to take its place.

And I am well aware that the great majority of our friends on the other [Republican] side of the aisle intend also to vote to close the mints to silver.

The platforms of our parties, it seems, were well enough to run on before the people when we wanted office, but now it is found convenient to cast them aside.

Mr. HEPBURN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman has read here a portion of the last Democratic platform. There is a clause, I think, following what he read, which by some is claimed to be qualifying. I would ask the gentleman, not captiously, to give the House his views with regard to that subsequent portion of the plank of which he has read a part.

Mr. BLANCHARD. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to be interrupted by my friend from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN], whom I am delighted to see back in the House, with whom I served for years before his temporary retirement, and whom I learned to admire for his ability and his always courteous demeanor as a member of this body. The qualifying words of that plank of the Demo-

cratic national platform—if they be qualifying words, which I do not admit—are these:

—or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in payment of debts.

This language does not commit the Democratic party to bimetallism only on the basis of international agreement. It refers to adjusting the dollar unit of coinage "through international agreement," or "by such safeguards of legislation" as shall maintain the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar in payment of debts.

Let us agree in this House by our votes that we intend to preserve in our monetary system the principle of bimetallism, and I doubt not the details of a measure to accomplish this in some effective form, while at the same time maintaining the parity of the two metals and the equal debt-paying power of every dollar, will quickly follow.

Mr. Speaker, in the canvass of 1892, before the people who honor me with a seat on this floor, in speaking of the platform of the party I put a plain, common-sense construction on the plank referred to by the gentleman from Iowa, and declared that the Democratic party had always sustained bimetallism; that it always opposed the striking down of silver; that the Republican party alone must be held responsible for the demonetizing act of 1873, and that the Democratic party had not yet had a chance to redeem the pledge it had made to the people to reëstablish silver in its place as a money metal.

The argument was made all over the South and West that the Democratic party had lost control of the Government in March, 1861, and that from that time down to 1892 (when the canvass was being made) it had not been in power to the extent of enabling it to enact its pledges to the people into law; that it was true we had had at one time the lower House of Congress, at another the Senate, at another the House and the Presidency, at still another, for a brief period, the two Houses; that it took the two Houses of Congress and the Presidency, concurrently, to constitute in the hands of the party the law-making power; and that as soon as the Democratic party achieved this result it would carry out its pledges, among them the restoration of bimetallism.

On these lines we appealed to the farming classes of our people, who showed a disposition to go off into the ranks of the People's party, to abide in patience within the lines of the Democratic party, and at least to give the party a chance to make good its platform declarations by assisting it to carry the then approaching elections and secure control of the two Houses of Congress and of the Presidency. We urged that the signs of the times gave promise of the accomplishment of this result. Mr. Speaker, it was upon such pleas that many farmers were persuaded from going over into the ranks of the Populists and were induced to maintain their fealty, their allegiance, their loyalty to the Democratic party.

And now, sir, when, as we then predicted, the Democratic party, as the result of the election, succeeded to power in the Government in all its branches, we are met by a measure presented here by so good a Democrat as my friend from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON] which says to the people to whom I spoke and to whom others spoke, as I have stated, that the Democratic national platform did not mean the maintenance of gold and silver as equally the money of the country, and that the pledge of bimetallism was not made to be kept. He has introduced a bill which in effect assumes that the portion of the national Democratic platform which declares for the repeal of the Sherman act is the only one that has any meaning in it.

I should dislike to go to the people I represent and carry that message to them. I would fear for its effect upon the party in the election for member of this House in 1894. And how true that is of many other districts in the United States!

Mr. Speaker, it is said by some of the gentlemen supporting the Wilson bill that if we enact it into law it carries out the first part of the plank in the Democratic platform relating to the money question, and that hereafter, by additional legislation, we can carry out the remainder. But why divide the proposition? The declaration of the party upon the money question is embraced in one clause and is to be taken as a single proposition. In that clause the party declares for the repeal of the Sherman act, and then for the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and for the coinage of both metals without discriminating against either. And if we are going to be true to the platform pledge; if we are going to deal honestly with the people; if we meant what we said in the platform; if the party does not intend to be recreant to its pledges, let us now in one bill enact substantially into law the declarations of the clause of the platform referred to.

Mr. Speaker, some of us have served for a good many years on this floor. Those of us who have so served are well acquainted with the methods of legislation here. We know that even when a majority of members in this House favor a given proposition it is oftentimes within the power of a minority to defeat the enactment of the same into law. How many times have we seen this happen? Let this repeal be accomplished, unqualifiedly and unconditionally as asked, and I venture the prediction here and now that neither at this extra session nor at the regular sessions of this Congress will a "t" be crossed or an "i" dotted in the enactment of any further financial legislation. The best opportunity to redeem the pledge of bimetallism made in its platform by the party will have gone forever.

The same sordid, grasping power, the combined power of the gold people of the world, which encompassed the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act and in this way brought us directly to a gold basis—the single gold standard—will be potent enough to prevent further legislation having the object of the reëstablishment of silver. The predominant trait and chief characteristic, Mr. Speaker, of the Anglo-Saxon race, to which you and I and a great majority of members here belong, is the love of power and the ever restless, relentless, and the oftentimes unscrupulous pursuit of it. This race has never been known to yield voluntarily any atom of power once acquired, nor indeed anything else of value once acquired. Surrender to them now the disestablishment of silver, give to them now the single gold standard, and with it the control of the money power of the world and hardly anything short of revolution will ever again restore silver to its rightful place as a money metal.

Mr. BLAND. Will the gentleman allow me a moment?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BLAND. I think the gentleman's argument may be misunderstood in one particular. He has been assuming that the Wilson bill carries out the Chicago platform in so far as the repeal of the Sherman act is concerned. It does no such thing. The platform demands the wiping out of the Sherman law, while the Wilson bill proposes to repeal only the purchasing clause of that law, leaving the remainder, leaving the gold standard portion of it. I want it made clear that the advocates of the Wilson bill do not attempt to conform to any part of the Chicago platform, even so far as concerns the repeal of the Sherman bill.

Mr. BLANCHARD. My friend from Missouri is correct in his explanation of the scope of the Wilson bill. It does not go to the extent of the repeal of the Sherman law as demanded by the party's platform; it deals only with one clause of that law; it confines itself to repealing what is called "the purchasing clause" of the Sherman act, leaving the remainder untouched, and is, therefore, not a compliance with any part of the Chicago platform.

Mr. BOATNER. Will my colleague allow an interruption for a question?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I will.

Mr. BOATNER. Has any suggestion been made by the other side, or by any of the adherents of the Wilson bill, looking to any legislation providing for free coinage of silver on any basis whatever?

Mr. BLANCHARD. None whatever. Of all who have addressed the House on that side of the pending question, the gentleman from New York [Mr. WARNER] is the only one who even stated that he was willing to vote for any subsequent measure having the object of carrying out the declarations of the platform of the party on this subject.

Mr. BOATNER. But he did not say what he was willing to vote for on that line.

Mr. BLANCHARD. He did not; only expressed a willingness to vote for some subsequent measure.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON], who addressed the House in support of the pending measure with much earnestness and force, declared he could not vote for the coinage of silver on any ratio that might be proposed, for he did not believe the two metals could any longer be kept at parity, and that the inevitable result of attempting bimetallism here, in the absence of an international agreement, would be that the cheaper metal, silver, would drive out of the country the dearer and more valuable metal, gold. The gentleman has not heeded the lesson which the experience of France on this subject teaches.

France for more than a half century has maintained nearly or quite as much silver as gold in circulation at parity on a ratio of 15½ of silver to 1 of gold. She has now in circulation $700,000,000 of silver. She appears to have no difficulty in keeping it at a parity with gold at the ratio mentioned. The presence of so much silver, even at a less ratio than the one adopted by us, does not seem to have had the effect of driving out gold. She has more of actual silver and more of actual gold to-day than any nation on earth. It is estimated that her stock of gold at this time is $900,000,000.

The money circulation of France is equal to $57 or $58 per capita of her population. Ours is only about $23 per capita, and much of this is not in actual circulation, is in the form of reserved funds, etc. France in extent is equal to only about one-seventeenth of our territorial area, and her population is but little more than half as great as ours. She has largely more silver than we have. Our stock of silver for money purposes is placed at about $500,000,000. Is not our ability as great as that of France to keep silver in circulation and on a parity with gold at the same or at a greater ratio? If gold does not run away from the presence of so much silver in France, why should it run away from an equal amount, proportionally to population, in our country?

Mr. Speaker, if we were to coin all the silver produced annually in the whole world, less the percentage used in the arts, it would take us some six or eight years to obtain as much silver coin per capita of our population as France maintains to-day per capita of her population.

And yet the wild cry is raised that we must close our mints to silver, that we must stop its coinage, that the country will be ruined if we do not, and more of that kind of rubbish.

England, since 1816 a monometallic gold standard country, has far less of actual gold than France. If gold is afraid of silver, why does it not run away from France, where there is so much of silver, to England, where there is no silver at all except for subsidiary coin purposes? It is just such questions as this that upset the theory of the gold advocates. A few years ago, in consequence of the withdrawal by the Russian Government of a very large amount of gold on deposit with the Barings, that great English banking house tottered, and apprehension was great it would go down in bankruptcy.

The Bank of England came to its rescue, and in doing so drew so heavily on its gold resources that it was thought prudent to effect a loan of gold. Where did the great Bank of England go for this loan? Did it go to monometallic gold-standard Germany or the United States? No; it went to bimetallic France, and the Bank of France loaned to the Bank of England 75,000,000 francs in gold. Nor was this the first time the Bank of England borrowed gold from France. Twice before, as my information goes, she did the same thing.

Mr. Speaker, what magic power does gold possess that enables it to command the homage of thousands? What subtle influence does it invoke that makes it so potent a factor in the affairs of men? It has no intrinsic value except that which makes it useful in the arts and for ornamentation. In this respect it has no advantage over silver. Its money qualities are not inherent; they are endowed by man. Gold is money because the common consent of mankind makes it so. Silver and gold were chosen over the other metals as mediums of exchange and measures of value because of their limited supply and their greater adaptability for the purpose. In this sense they are precious metals. Gold unendowed with the money quality would be of comparatively little use, and would attract but limited notice from man.

But as money, ah! Mr. Speaker, therein lies its magic power. The subtle influence which quickens the senseless metal with life and energy and force and might—which makes kings and emperors its servants and queens and princesses its handmaids—springs from that quality which enables it to acquire property, purchase talent, learning, and skill, and pay debts.

What it will accomplish as money is epitomized by Addison in the following sentence:

> Gold is a wonderful clearer of the understanding. It dissipates every doubt and scruple in an instant, accommodates itself to the meanest capacities, silences the loud and clamorous, and brings over the most obstinate and inflexible. Phillip of Macedon refuted by it the wisdom of Athens, confounded their statesmen, struck their orators dumb, and at length argued them out of their liberties.

With all its power it is

COWARDLY AND TREACHEROUS.

Senator Ingalls, of Kansas, in a speech in 1878 in the United States Senate, depicted it in graphic language, as follows:

> No enduring fabric of national prosperity can be builded on gold. Gold is the money of monarchs; kings covet it, the exchanges of nations are effected by it. Its tendency is to accumulate in vast masses in the commercial centers, and to move from kingdom to kingdom in such volumes as to unsettle values and disturb the finances of the world. It is the instrument of gamblers and speculators, and the idol of the miser and the thief. Being the object of so much adoration, it becomes haughty and sensitive and shrinks at the approach of danger, and whenever it is most needed it always disappears. At the slightest alarm it begins to look for a refuge. It flies from the nation at war to the nation at peace. War makes it a fugitive.
>
> No people in a great emergency ever found a faithful ally in gold. It is the most cowardly and treacherous of all metals. It makes no treaty that it does not break. It has no friend whom it does not sooner or later betray. Armies and navies are not maintained by gold. In times of panic and calamity, shipwreck and disaster, it becomes the chief agent and minister of ruin. No nation ever fought a great war by the aid of gold. On the contrary, in the crisis of greater peril it becomes an enemy more potent than the foe in the field; but when the battle is won and peace has been secured gold reappears and claims the fruits of victory. In our own civil war it is doubtful if the gold of New York and London did not work us greater injury than the powder and lead and iron of the rebels. It was the most invincible enemy of the public credit. Gold paid no soldier nor sailor. It refused the national obligation. It was worth most when our fortunes were lowest. Every defeat gave it increased value. It was in open alliance with our enemies the world over, and all its energies were evoked for our destruction. But as usual when danger has been averted and the victory secured, gold swaggers to the front and asserts the supremacy. But silver is the money of the people. It is the money of wages and retail. Its tendency is toward diffusion and dissemination. It enters into the minute concerns of traffic, and is exchanged day by day for daily bread. It penetrates the remotest channels of commerce, and its abundance, bulk, and small subdivision prevents its deportation in sufficient amount to disturb or unsettle values. If it retires at the approach of danger, or from the presence of an inferior currency, it still remains at home ready to respond to the first summons for its return.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the adoption of the single gold standard in this country would be disastrous in the extreme to the agricultural interests of the South and West. We do not find, sir, any demand from those classes of our people for the repeal unconditionally of the Sherman law. That demand comes up principally from the Eastern sections of the country, and from the bankers and boards of trade in the cities throughout the country. I believe that the adoption of the single gold standard would mean falling prices continued in this country, and the ruin and impoverishment of the agricultural and laboring classes.

Since 1873, when silver was demonetized, we have had a period of falling prices. We in the South and West know that since 1873 the agricultural interests of our sections have been in their tendency down, down, down. Before the civil war, under a different system of finance, the agricultural interest of the South and West was one of appreciation—a little better, a little stronger, a little higher every year.

In the South, prior to the war, the very best security that could be offered for a loan of money was a mortgage on our agricultural lands. Now almost any kind of collateral is considered better security than the same lands. Prior to the war agricultural lands commanded ready sale in the market at appreciating prices. Is that true of these same lands now? It is not. All of you from the South and West know it. In many localities lands are a drug on the market, hard to dispose of, and oftentimes sacrificed at ruinous prices. The basis of prosperity in the South and West is our agricultural lands, and any national policy that affects their selling value, or their rental value, or the value of their products, strikes a blow at the very foundation of our welfare.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that the adoption of the single gold standard would mean a constantly decreasing value of currency to supply the needs of a constantly increasing volume of business; or a volume of business that would constantly increase if the supply of money permitted. It would mean a volume of money diminishing to the needs of the people in proportion as the number of people to use it increased.

In other words, as our population increased our money supply would decrease per capita, and in proportion as the money supply decreased the value of money would appreciate.

The effect of this would be the perpetuation of the era of falling prices, and falling prices mean the destruction of values and the impoverishment of the people.

On the disastrous results to follow from an appreciation of the currency, I have here the declarations of one of the most distinguished men in the Republican party. From a speech made in the Senate in 1869 by Senator SHERMAN, of Ohio, I extract the following:

> But the distress caused by an appreciation of the currency falls mainly on the debtor class; others suffer only by reason of his inability to pay. What does specie payment mean to the debtor? It means the payment of $135 where he has agreed to pay $100——

I will suggest here that we substitute the word "gold" for the word "specie," for this demonitization of silver, this striking down of silver, this closing of the mints of the country to silver means the bringing of debts to a gold basis. So substitute the word "gold" for the word "specie," and it would read——

> What does gold payment mean to a debtor? It means the payment of $135 where he has agreed to pay $100, or, which is the same thing, the payment of $100 where he has agreed to pay $75. Where he has purchased property and paid for one-fourth of it, it means the loss of the property; it means the addition of one-fourth to all currency debts in the United States. A measure to require a debtor now to pay his debt in gold, or currency equivalent to gold, requires him to pay 135 bushels of wheat when he agreed to pay 100; and if this appreciation is extended through a period of three years, it requires him to pay an interest of 12 per cent in addition to the rate he has agreed to pay.

Again, in the same speech, he made use of this language:

> The debtors of this country include the active, enterprising, energetic men in all the various employments of life. It is a serious proposition to change their contracts so as in effect to require them to pay one-third more than they agreed to pay.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman from Louisiana has expired.

Mr. BLAND. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman have time to conclude his remarks.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

Mr. BLANCHARD. Mr. Speaker, I thank the House for its

indulgence. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], in the same speech, used also the following language, which is all the more significant since he is to-day known as one of the ablest exponents of the monometallic gold standard in this country:

To every person except a capitalist out of debt, or to the salaried officer, or annuitant, it is a period of loss, danger, lassitude of trade, fall of wages, suspension of enterprise, bankruptcy, or disaster. To every railroad it is an addition of at least one-third to the burden of the debt; and more than that deduction from the value of its stock. To every bank it means the necessity of paying $150 for one hundred of its notes and deposits, except so far as the bank may transfer this to its debtors. It means the ruin of all dealers whose debts are twice their capital, though one-third less than their property. It means the fall of all agricultural productions without any very great reduction of prices.

This speech is contained in volume 71 of the Congressional Globe, and was delivered January 27, 1869. It was delivered on a bill which related to the public debt and to the currency. He was arguing, in that part of the speech which I have quoted, against the evils to follow from a reduction in volume of the money of the country, and his statements on that subject are of value in this discussion, since if this purpose of the gold people is achieved our mints will be stopped to the coinage of silver. Nor is it proposed in anyway to replace the money which will thus be stricken down, and of which we will thus be deprived, by any other form of money or currency.

Mr. Speaker, the history of falling prices the world over has been the history of ruin and poverty. Falling prices have been productive of more of disaster to the human race than anything else that has ever happened to it, war and pestilence not excepted.

I have before me a report made in 1877 by the United States Monetary Commission to the Senate of the United States. This commission was organized under a joint resolution adopted August 15, 1876. As pertinent to the points under discussion just now, I send up to the Clerk's desk to be read the extract which I have marked.

The Clerk read as follows:

At the Christian era the metallic money of the Roman Empire amounted to $1,800,000,000. By the end of the fifteenth century it had shrunk to less than $200,000,000. During this period a most extraordinary and baleful change took place in the condition of the world. Population dwindled, and commerce, arts, wealth, and freedom all disappeared. The people were reduced by poverty and misery to the most degraded conditions of serfdom and slavery. The disintegration of society was almost complete. The conditions of life were so hard that individual selfishness was the only thing consistent with the instinct of self-preservation. All public spirit, all generous emotions, all the noble aspirations of man shriveled and disappeared as the volume of money shrunk and as prices fell.

History records no such disastrous transition as that from the Roman Empire to the Dark Ages. Various explanations have been given of this entire breaking down of the framework of society, but it was certainly coincident with the shrinkage in the volume of money, which was also without historical parallel. The crumbling of institutions kept even step and pace with the shrinkage in the stock of money and the falling of prices. All other attendant circumstances than these last have occurred in other historical periods unaccompanied and unfollowed by any such mighty disasters. It is a suggestive coincidence that the first glimmer of light only came with the invention of bills of exchange and paper substitutes, through which the scanty stock of the precious metals was increased in efficiency. But not less than the energizing influence of Potosi and all the argosies of treasure from the New World were needed to arouse the Old World from its comatose sleep, to quicken the torpid limbs of industry, and to plume the leaden wings of commerce.

It needed the heroic treatment of rising prices to enable society to reunite its shattered links, to shake off the shackles of feudalism, to relight and uplift the almost extinguished torch of civilization. That the disasters of the Dark Ages were caused by decreasing money and falling prices, and that the recovery therefrom and the comparative prosperity which followed the discovery of America were due to an increasing supply of the precious metals and rising prices, will not seem surprising or unreasonable when the noble functions of money are considered. Money is the great instrument of association, the very fiber of social organism, the vitalizing force of industry, the protoplasm of civilization, and as essential to its existence as oxygen is to animal life. Without money civilization could not have had a beginning; with a diminishing supply it must languish, and, unless relieved, finally perish.

Mr. Speaker, the great premier of Great Britain, Mr. Gladstone, is said to have made in a recent speech this observation in reference to silver as money—

that to return to free coinage in England would be a move directly in the interest of our debtors in America who owe us, because to do so would be to put in their hands just twice the amount of money with which to pay us, and thereby enable them to pay us with just half the value.

If it be true that that declaration was made to the English people by so eminent an authority as Mr. Gladstone, it would, sir, seem to me the part of wisdom for us to pursue just the reverse of the policy which he there urged upon England. Our public debt is payable in coin, and coin means silver and gold.

I have here a list of the acts, beginning with 1861 and coming down to 1870, authorizing the issuance of bonds and greenbacks and the creation of the public debt. It is all payable in coin—gold or silver.

But if we should adopt the pending proposition to close our mints to the coinage of silver it increases upon us the burden of this national debt. And this applies equally to private debts. We add from one-third to one-half more to the burden which the laboring and producing classes of the people have to bear. And, Mr. Speaker, the great majority of the people of the United States belong to the debtor class. They are not asking that silver be stricken down as a money metal; they are not asking that the mints of the country be closed to the coinage of silver; they are not seeking to take upon themselves a greater burden of indebtedness; they are not asking to put the contracts which they made on a gold basis. It is the East; it is the monometallists of New York, of Boston, of Philadelphia, of the money centers; it is the money classes of Europe, who hold American securities, that are demanding this greater burden be placed upon the laboring and agricultural classes in order that there may be an appreciation of their holdings.

Mr. Speaker, there has been a good deal said in this debate about our having come to the forks of the road; and perhaps we have in more ways than one. It looks like this is an attempt on the part of the money classes to overburden the laboring and agricultural classes of the West and South. Take care that we have not come to the forks of the road where the South and the West will part, politically, with the East. You know that this was predicted as early as 1878, by the same distinguished Western Senator whom I quoted awhile ago, Senator Ingalls, who said at that time:

It is the East against the West and South combined. It is the corn and wheat and beef and cotton of the country against its bonds and its gold; its productive industry against its accumulations. It is the men who own the public debt against those who are to pay it, if it is to be paid at all. If the bonds of this Government are ever paid, they will be paid by the labor of the country, and not by its capital. They are exempt from taxation and bear none of the burdens of society.

The alliance between the West and the South upon all matters affecting their material welfare hereafter is inevitable. Their interests are mutual and identical. With the removal of the causes of political dissension that have so long separated them, they must coalesce, and united they will be invincible. The valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri, with their tributaries, form an empire that must have a homogeneous population and a common destiny from the Yellowstone to the Gulf.

These great communities have been alienated by factions that have estranged them only to prey upon them and to maintain political supremacy by their separation. Unfriendly legislation has imposed intolerable burdens upon their energies; invidious discriminations have been made against their products; unjust tariffs have repressed their industries. While vast appropriations have been made to protect the harbors of the Atlantic, and to erect beacons upon every headland to warn the mariner with silent admonition from the "merchant-marring rocks," the Mississippi was left choked with its drifting sands till the daring genius of Eads undertook the gigantic labor of compelling the great stream to dredge its own channel to the sea. The opening of this avenue of commerce marks the epoch of the emancipation of the West and South from their bondage to the capital of the East. In asking the passage of this bill they are asking less than they will ever ask again. When I reflect upon the burdens they have borne, the wrongs they have suffered, I am astonished at their moderation.

Mr. Speaker, if these words were true in 1878, they are tenfold more true to-day. The West and the South do not want this country brought to a monometallic gold standard basis. They want silver used along with gold as the money of the country. They want it because it means more money and higher prices for agricultural products and agricultural lands. It means less of burdens to bear; it means more people living in comfort and happiness.

But it is said the silver dollar is not an honest dollar, and the changes are rung upon this by the gentlemen who take the gold side of this question. Without admitting this to be true, suppose, for the sake of argument, it is conceded. If it be a dishonest dollar, what made it so?

That is a question which these gentlemen who so glibly advocate the gold standard have not answered. I will answer it for them. It is made so by legislation hostile to silver, secured by interested parties from the leading commercial nations of the world. I would ask my gold friends this question: Would the silver dollar be a dishonest dollar to-day but for this hostile legislation? Clearly not.

If an international agreement were secured to coin the silver dollar everywhere at a ratio of 16 to 1, would it not be an honest dollar even in the eyes of those who now so glibly denounce it; would it not be worth a hundred cents in gold everywhere; would it not be the unit of value along with gold everywhere? Undoubtedly. With this policy of bimetallism universally recognized and adopted, would there not follow an enormous increase in the world's wealth; would not prosperity be more general; would not the hard conditions of life be changed for the better; would not more people live in comfort and happiness; would not poverty be less?

It seems to me so. Well, who prevents this international agreement? Who but interested parties, having a selfish motive to subserve, the money classes, whose greed prompts them to invoke the aid of law to add a fourth, or a third, or a half to the value of their securities by diminishing the world's supply of money by the destruction for coin purposes of one of the metals used for money by all people since the dawn of history?

Will the United States lend its giant aid in this attempt at the destruction of one-half of the world's money supply? Will the United States, which produces 40 per cent of the silver of the world, join the crusade against it?

England leads in this attempt to destroy silver as money. It

is to her interest to do so. She is a creditor nation and levies tribute on all the nations of the earth. She wants her debts paid to her in dear money, and gold is this "dear" money with silver stricken down. England produces two-thirds of the manufactured products consumed in the world, and is, besides, the common carrier of the world. In her bottoms are carried more than half of the transportation business of the world. It is thus that she has become the great creditor nation of the earth and aspires to dictate the kind and character and value of the money of the world, if not its weight and fineness.

But we have nothing in common with England in this. She is in many respects our rival. What suits her does not suit us. A policy that she elects to follow as best for her interests, is likely to prove not best for ours. The conditions with us are different. We are not a creditor, but a debtor nation. Our unwise tariff laws have prevented us from becoming a serious competitor with her as a furnisher of manufactured supplies to the world, and the same condition, together with unwise navigation laws, have deprived us of our fair share of the carrying trade of the world. Great Britain is a compact nation, with population crowded comparatively in a small space.

The United States is a country of vast territorial extent; its sixty-odd millions of people scattered over a wide area; our interests are more complex; our climatic conditions widely variant; our productions more diversified.

Our position is more isolated from the leading commercial nations of earth. We can not make use of credit, as understood in commercial transactions, as easily and readily and to the extent that England does. We need more money than she does, a larger volume to spread over our vast country, to move our more diversified crops, to carry life and vigor into our more numerous industries and enterprises.

Our system of banking is different. We can and do make use of more different kinds of money, are capable of a more complex system of finance. We can use silver to advantage in our money system where England might find difficulty in doing so.

If the United States—one of the greatest nations of earth—makes a stand now for silver, because it means an ever-increasing volume of money for all mankind, will it not have the effect of calling a halt the world over in the crusade against silver? Will it not revive the hopes of bimetallists in all lands, strengthening their hands and confirming their purpose? Even in England the signs portend the development of sentiment favorable to bimetallism.

Mr. Balfour, one of the leaders of the Conservative party in the House of Commons, is an avowed bimetallist, and with him stand many able and prominent men in both political and commercial circles. In the great manufacturing center of Manchester public meetings have been held in the interest of the bimetallic standard, and many things point to a healthy growth of popular sentiment in that direction.

Shall we check this movement by striking down bimetallism in this country, its last refuge and stronghold?

But those who advocate the single gold standard assert the people of the United States can not maintain the parity of the metals at a fixed ratio. They forget the example of France. That nation maintained single-handed for sixty years the free and unlimited coinage of silver in Europe, and that, too, at a ratio smaller than the one which obtains here. But let us set the example of opening our mints to the free coinage of silver, and may we not expect other nations to follow our lead? France and the states of the Latin-Union reluctantly closed their mints to the free coinage of silver, being forced to it by the action of Germany and the United States demonetizing that metal in 1873.

Let the United States reëstablish silver, and the bimetallic sentiment of Europe will compel other countries to do the same. Besides, is the United States in the habit of looking around to see what other people are doing, or of asking their advice before acting on a principle or announcing a purpose? We have reached that point in material and commercial greatness when we should lead, and not follow.

Where is the spirit of 1776? At that time we, a mere handful of people, taking counsel of no one, relying only upon the God of justice and truth and the righteousness of our cause, boldly proclaimed the great principle of civil liberty. In the clash of arms that followed we triumphantly vindicated and established that principle.

We are now a great continental republic, the peer in greatness, glory, and power of any nation on earth, possessed of every variety of climate and production, whose people are as one again, loyally devoted to the perpetuity of the Union, fearing no foreign foe, following the pursuits of peace, and solving practically the great problem of self-government.

Can we not afford to proclaim now the great principle of financial liberty; to take the lead in the emancipation of mankind from the thralldom and slavery of the money power, even as we did in Colonial days in the emancipation of mankind from the slavery and tyranny of political power?

If we do not, Mr. Speaker, then, indeed, have we fallen on degenerate days, evincing a loss in national courage, force, and nerve, and we may well ask ourselves the question: Have we entered on a period of national decadence?

"He who would be free himself must strike the blow."

But, Mr. Speaker, if the silver dollar is not an honest dollar what shall we say of the gold dollar? Is it any more honest?

The gold dollar, under favoring conditions, has robbed its brother silver dollar of part of its value and added it to its own. The present gold dollar, then, is not an honest dollar. It is as much above the fair average of value as the silver dollar is below that average. It has as much surplus of value as the silver dollar has of deficiency of value. It is as much too valuable as the silver dollar is less valuable. In the last twenty years gold dollars have increased in value at the expense and loss of silver. "The restoration of bimetallism is to preserve the old yardstick of value against the revolutionists who have added 40 per cent to the length of gold by the legislation of the past twenty years."

The gold dollar—

says a writer of note—

is a dishonest dollar to the extent that the metal in it exceeds the mean value of gold and silver. The silver dollar is a dishonest dollar to the extent that the metal in it is less in value than the mean value of gold and silver.

It will not, therefore, do for our friends of the gold standard to denounce the silver dollar as a dishonest dollar without casting the mote out of their own eye so as to see the dishonesty which is in the gold dollar of to-day—the gold dollar worth more than it should be worth, made so by legislation; the silver dollar worth less than it should be worth, made so by legislation. There is as much dishonesty in the one as in the other, but the dishonesty in the gold dollar makes itself felt the more because that dollar is so much harder to get by the agricultural and laboring classes of the country by reason of this very excess of value.

Mr. Speaker, on a gold basis we continue of necessity borrowers of money from Europe. The continued coinage and use of silver as money will obviate this necessity and rescue us from paying tribute to Europe in the form of interest.

Under the Bland-Allison act of 1878, the Government undertook to go into the markets of the world and buy silver to coin, not exceeding four millions a month and not less than two millions a month.

This implied another undertaking on the part of the Government, and that was to get this silver money into circulation after coinage.

Therein, Mr. Speaker, lies the trouble; and it is greater, even, under the Sherman act of 1890, for the Treasury requirement of silver under the latter was greater per month than under the Bland-Allison act.

To itself attempt to put money into circulation Government is essaying what, strictly speaking, is not a legitimate function of government. Especially is this true of normal times. Government defines the unit of value, says what shall constitute money, fixes its weight and fineness, puts its stamp upon it to denote weight and fineness, and establishes mints where money is coined for those who have metals from which money is permitted by law to be coined, charging the expense of mintage.

But to get it into circulation is the business of the people who own it. Government, by taxation, collects enough money from the people to meet its expenses, and then puts it back into the channels of circulation when it pays it out to the people it owes. But beyond this Government can not well go in circulating money. It is not the business of Government to enter the markets of the world and become a trader, buying stocks and goods and lands and the products of land, and in that way get its money into circulation.

But open the mints of the country to the free coinage of silver as well as gold. Let those who have these metals go to the mints and have them coined into money, and then enter the channels of trade and barter and commerce and get it into circulation. They will be quick to do it. The man who has his silver coined into money for him at the mint will not hoard it in his treasury, his bank, his vault, his strong box, as the Government has been compelled to do, or has done, in its treasury vaults. Oh, no! He will go out into the markets and exchange it for lands, for mules, for horses, for cattle, for wheat, for corn, for cotton, for houses, for merchandise, for everything he may need or fancy, and that is the only legitimate way of getting and keeping money in circulation.

The Bland-Allison act of 1878 was repealed by the Sherman act of 1890—a worse law. They both forced upon the Government the undertaking of circulating silver. That is not what is

wanted. Let both these laws be wiped out. Instead, open the mints to everybody's silver. Then the Government will have no silver to purchase as now; then it will own no silver except that which comes to it through taxation; then silver will be treated just as gold is now. The Government has no gold except that which comes to it through taxation; it buys no gold for coinage, it opens its mints to everybody's gold, and how quickly it is gotten into circulation!

SILVER THE POOR MAN'S MONEY.

Mr. Speaker, silver is the poor man's money—yes, exactly that; the poor man's money—not in the sense that the poor man should receive his dues in money less valuable than that which is demanded by the rich, or that there should be one kind of money for the rich and another kind for the poor, but the poor man's money in the sense that it is money not so hard to get as the gold money. It means more for the wage-earner for the day's work than if gold alone were money.

But, more than that, it means the more ready employment of labor; and in that sense more than any other it is the poor man's money. There are to-day, Mr. Speaker, thousands upon thousands of our fellow citizens all over this country, especially in the Western States, where the silver mines are—laboring people—who are deprived of employment because of the scanty supply of money in circulation; because the mints are closed to free silver; because the mines are shut down.

The gold standard the world over means contraction, scarcity, shrinkage. It means dear money, money hard to get; so hard to get that, when gotten, it is hoarded. It means diminution in quantity, shrinkage in volume, stagnation in business, paralysis of enterprise, stoppage of industry. It stays the hand of thrift, palsies the arm of energy, and languishes the heart of hope. It make all debts gold debts. It means a greater demand for gold, double work for the volume of gold money to do, and accordingly an undue appreciation of its value. It means the elevation of the gold dollar as a unit of value, and the corresponding decrease in the value of everything else by comparison.

Bimetallism, the free coinage of gold and silver, means more money, an expanding volume. It means a quickening of enterprise, enlarged business opportunities, multiplied industries. It means money not so hard to get, and when gotten invested, not hoarded. It means a market—and I call the attention of our Western and Southern friends to this—it means a market for what we have to sell. Gentlemen in this House know to-day that we have not a market for what we have to sell. Our best agricultural lands are oftentimes a drug on the market; and this is becoming more and more the case under the policy which has obtained since 1873.

The bimetallic standard means a fuller market for what we have to sell, because there is more money. It means better prices for our agricultural lands of the South and West, for our timber, our cattle, our corn, our wheat, our beef, our cotton, our sugar, our rice. It means easier money to the consumer who buys from the retail merchant, and larger transactions by the retail merchant with the wholesale dealer and stock-jobber. It means a revival of trade in both the retail and wholesale lines. It means competition, and the resulting higher compensation, for the services of the bookkeeper, the cashier, the accountant, the salesman.

This comes about by the multiplying of business concerns and houses needing the services of such employés. It means money to pay the doctor, the lawyer, the preacher, the mechanic; to erect and sustain schoolhouses and churches. It means cheap money—cheap in the sense of a low rate of interest—with which to raise, as now, 6 or 7 cent cotton and half-dollar-a-bushel wheat. It means money to meet obligations with, to pay debts. It is fair alike to both creditor and debtor—one gets his just equivalent; the other is not overburdened or crushed.

Mr. Speaker, under the conditions which now obtain, the agricultural classes of the South have to pay, the best of them, 8, 10, 12, and 15 per cent for money to raise 6-cent cotton. And when those who are not able to borrow money directly, go to the stores and get credit for their supplies, they pay often for them what would be equivalent to interest at the rate of from 25 to 100 per cent. Every man here from the South knows this to be true, and I believe it to be true also of the West. And these conditions will be made harder if we are brought absolutely to the single gold-standard basis, as is insisted upon by so many here.

Mr. Speaker, the body politic is sick. "Uncle Sam" is suffering from serious indisposition. Some gentlemen here act as though they believed him to be drunk. They would apply the Keeley gold cure. [Laughter.] They propose a hypodermic injection of that mixture, and insist that it is a panacea for all the ills the country is suffering from. Fifty years ago there obtained in this country a school of medicine which insisted upon bleeding a patient for almost every indisposition. The lancet was applied, and a part of the blood which circulated in his veins drawn off under the pretext and belief that this would contribute to his cure. But as science developed, as experience widened, this old idea was discarded as not only useless but harmful.

The foremost practitioners in the profession now rarely, if ever, resort to bleeding. It is hardly ever heard of. But it would seem that there are quacks on this floor who would return to this discarded practice. "Uncle Sam" being sick, they would bleed him. If they have diagnosed his case with skill, they could not fail to discover he was suffering from a deficient circulation already. Yet they would bleed him anyhow. The lancet must be applied, and the circulation of blood, already scanty, must be lessened.

Mr. Speaker, the money in circulation is the lifeblood of the country. The cry on all hands now is for money, more money. There is a deficiency of it. Yet these lancet-using quacks of the gold-standard theory would cure "Uncle Sam" by bleeding him, by diminishing the already scanty supply of money, by stopping the further use of silver as money.

Out with such charlatanry; such malpractice. Let us adopt the reverse practice: let us infuse more blood into the sick patient; let us maintain a full circulation of this lifeblood—money—in the veins of the body politic; let us maintain what we have always maintained, what was the money of our fathers, what is the money of the Constitution—bimetallism.

Many gentlemen who advocate the gold side of this question admit that on principle bimetallism is correct. But, while they say this, they add that this is not the time to adopt it; that the conditions now confronting us do not admit of our maintaining a bimetallic standard in this country. Their argument is one of convenience. It is the argument of expediency. It is not the argument of principle, and the people of the United States have long since discovered that we have fared best whenever we planted ourselves squarely on principle as the basis of governmental action. We have ever done so as a nation.

In Colonial times, when resisting the encroachments of the mother country, we planted ourselves on the enduring principle of civil liberty, and won. When secession spread over a section of the country and a number of the States separated from the Union, the United States again acted on the principle that the Union must and shall be preserved, went to work on that line and succeeded. They did not in the face of that great crisis give heed to the argument of convenience or expediency.

Again, when in 1812 the right of search of American vessels was insisted upon by Great Britain, America planted itself on the sound principle of exemption from foreign espionage, and though a weak, struggling nationality at that time, the United States went to war to sustain it and again won. And so the American people have ever been greatest and most successful when struggling to establish a principle or to maintain one. A strong, vigorous, aggressive nation always suffers in loss of national character and prestige when, abandoning principle, it takes to expediency.

If bimetallism be correct, if sound in principle, we should plant ourselves on it and make the fight squarely for it in face of the world.

Mr. Speaker, some thousands of years ago, in their exodus from Egypt and the house of bondage, the Israelites of old crossed the Red Sea and wandered forty years in the wilderness on their way to the promised land. Tiring of the rule of God, who communicated His directions to them through His servants, Moses and Aaron, and promulgated His Divine commands amid the thunders of Sinai, rebellious of heart they turned away, made a calf of gold, erected it as a god in the wilderness, and bowed and prostrated themselves before it.

History repeats itself. The people of the United States, wandering in the wilderness of financial doubt and distress, a portion of them have veered away from the teaching of the Fathers of the Republic and from the admonition and spirit of the Constitution, and, under the lead of false prophets, have erected a golden money calf and propose to prostrate themselves before it. Holy Writ tells us that retribution, swift and terrible, followed in the wake of the transgression of the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Let us beware that retribution, equally terrible if not so swift, taking the form of financial thraldom and slavery, of ruined homes and pauperized millions, does not follow the consummation of this attempt at departure from the precept and example of the founders of the nation. [Applause.]

Mr. GROSEVNOR. Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States has seen fit to call upon Congress to convene in extra session, and thereby to discharge a duty which, under certain circumstances, may properly devolve upon Congress under the Constitution; and in doing this the President made a statement of the reasons why, in his judgment, it was necessary in midsummer, in this torrid season, to call the members of the Fifty-third Congress from their homes in all the localities of the country and to compel them, in the discharge of their duty, to come to Wash-

ington and discuss and decide what is necessary to save the country from an imminent impending condition.

In making this call it is to be greatly regretted that the President did not himself occupy the same nonpartisan stand that he has demanded Congress should and ought to occupy in this great emergency. He had a grand opportunity to set an example, which we should have all wisely and gladly emulated; but he has not done it.

It was unfortunate, as will be pointed out a little further on, that the Executive of the country, looking forward as he must have looked, to the condition which we see developing in this House and in the Senate and in the country, a condition which portended violent opposition to his views and determined opposition to his plan of action, did not call upon the country in the exercise and the development of the same spirit in which he has invoked Congress to assemble and act, but that on the contrary he has seen fit to make the first appeal to partisanship, and to unjustly proclaim to the people of the country a condition of things in which his own party will not bear him out.

I refer to his declaration that the peril of the country, the condition of the country, grows out of a certain matter of legislation the responsibility for which he is pleased to lay at the door of the Republican party. And, Mr. Speaker, if it should so happen that in the course of this debate there should be something of partisan politics brought in here, the justification for it is found in the declaration of the President himself. In his proclamation calling this extraordinary session he uses the following language:

> And whereas the present perilous condition is largely the result of a financial policy which the executive branch of the Government finds embodied in unwise laws which must be executed until repealed by Congress—

therefore he calls upon Congress to come forward in special session and do what? Repeal that law. And in his message he has seen fit to further and more certainly fan the flame of partisan politics, and to assuredly bring politics into this Chamber by this language:

> I believe these things are principally chargeable to Congressional legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the General Government. This legislation is embodied in a statute passed on the 14th day of July, 1890, which was the culmination of much agitation on the subject involved, and which may be considered a truce after a long struggle between the advocates of free-silver coinage and those intending to be more conservative.

And now, Mr. Speaker, if, during the course of this debate there shall be something of partisan politics brought in here, the origin of it is in this exceedingly parliamentary and diplomatic language of the President of the United States, which was understood from Maine to California to be a declaration that the Republican party, through its legislation, was responsible for a condition which brought about a necessity for this special session of Congress. If this be so, Mr. Speaker, it is greatly to be regretted that the self-constituted leaders of the Administration wing of the Democratic party, if they be self-constituted, or the authorized leaders of the Administration party, if they be so authorized, should not have seen fit to do that which common prudence would have suggested to wise men, in order that they might avail themselves of all the elements on this floor who are in favor of the President's theory of this question.

But I regret to say—and I speak not in anger, but in sorrow—that these gentleman, whoever they are, for their names are beneath the shadow, have seen fit to assume two conditions of things: first, admitting that without about one hundred votes of the Republican party on this floor the Administration will be driven to the wall and defeated, they nevertheless assume that there are but two parties on this floor—the one, the Democratic party, in favor of free silver, and the other, the Administration, or, as the free-silver party term it, the Wall street party of the President and of the Administration.

And so the negotiation has been brought about and we are precipitated under the iron-clad force of the previous question—a condition of parliamentary procedure that has no written authority to sustain it, and which is but the declaration of the Speaker of this House—following, I will admit, former authority upon that question—into a condition so that the free-silver wing of the Democratic party—and I am afraid it is going to become the free-silver body of the Democratic party—shall have a certain series of rights, immunities, and privileges, and that the "gold-bug" wing—I fear it will become the gold-bug tail of the Democratic party—shall dictate all else, and that the 126 members of the Republican party—who are to furnish 100 votes, without which the Administration is to be beaten in a contest that will be so disgraceful to it that under other forms of government it would relinquish power and go to the people for an affirmation of the judgment, or a vindication of the position of the Government—are to march in the columns of the triumphant Democracy as the trophies of the battlefield. Whether the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], if this Administration measure is passed and adopted, will be on the right of the line of the victims of the overwhelming defeat, or whether the Republican minority will occupy the right of the line of the victims chained to the chariot wheels of this triumphant Wall street Democracy, I know not; but our position is to be that of the hewers of wood and drawers of water, and we are not to be allowed to suggest in what form we will take our water, or in what quantity we will hew our wood. [Laughter.]

Our wishes were not consulted in ordering this long debate and this complicated plan of campaign. We were not permitted to state our wishes as to the debate, or the form of the question. We are not to be allowed to suggest even one amendment. The leaders on this side appealed for even fifteen minutes of debate in order that the country might know our position, but we were denied even so simple a request as that.

The Republicans on this floor have some views on the question here involved, as they have on all important questions of politics. They are charged in the proclamation of the President, and in the message of the President, with being the guilty originators of all this trouble, and it is a most singularly audacious position that the friends of the passage of this bill have assumed on this floor. The Democratic party here, the head of it or the tail of it, I know not which [laughter], come here and modestly suggest that the result of this legislation is to prove to the country that we got the country into all this trouble, and then they call upon us to help gain a great victory for them, and when we are through with it they will go to the country and declare that the Democratic party has rescued the country from the pernicious legislation of the Republican party, and while the process is going on they demand of us that there shall be no partisan politics here.

They demand that the Republican party and its representatives, with elections pending in a large number of important States in the Union, shall sit silently here and from day to day hear the simple, modest, very mild, and gentle assumption made that the Republican party has caused all this trouble in the country, and, lest we should provoke partisan discussion, we are to be silent and this volume of denunciation is to go through the press to the country, not even demurred to by the Republicans on this floor, not even a general denial of the fairness and truthfulness of the statement to be made. I, for one, will not submit to this.

The other day, in the State in which I live, in whose representation upon this floor I bear a part, the following was put forth to the people of that State as the issue upon which the campaign in Ohio in the coming election, on the 7th of November, is to be fought out; and the Democratic press from Maine to California insist that the Republicans must sit and take that and hear that; and if they deny the statement or go into history to show what the facts are they are to be denounced as unpatriotic and trying to have politics drawn in. And it would be a good thing for the Democratic party in this country, the two Democratic parties in this country, both ends of the Democratic party for that matter, to play the end against the middle of the Democratic party [laughter], in that way to have judgment by default upon their utterances here.

I clipped this extract from a leading Democratic paper of Ohio to show exactly what the spirit is; and it is no better in Ohio and no worse than in New York and New England. The spirit is exactly the same. It is the spirit of crimination and recrimination through the public press, and in the action of the political parties. Speaking of the Democratic platform in Ohio, this paper says:

> The platform is short but thoroughly Democratic, and tells in a few plain, direct words, what it is Democracy contends for. The first two planks are especially worthy of deep Democratic consideration. They are as follows—

I commend this plank to both ends of the Democratic party on this floor, and I will have a few words to say about the construction to be given to that plank—

> We hereby approve the platform of the Democratic party adopted by the national convention at Chicago and especially those portions of it referring to the tariff and to currency legislation. We congratulate the country upon the early prospect of measures of relief as outlined by the President's late message to Congress, and we have confidence that the Democratic Congress will devise laws to furnish such relief.

I pause here to know what relief is outlined in that famous message. [Laughter.]

A MEMBER. I give it up.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I read the second plank:

> Second. The financial situation is the unfortunate legacy of Republican administration. It is the natural result of the McKinley tariff, the Sherman silver law, extravagance of the revenue of the party lately in power, and the creation and fostering of trusts and corrupt combinations by that party, all combining to shake credit, to create distrust in the money of the country, and to paralyze its business.

I stop here to inquire of some authorized agent of the Administration—but I want it to be understood that if any Democrat should deign to reply that he must accompany his opening statement with the basis of his authority; I can not allow any deviation from the rule of law that the agency shall not be proved

by the declarations of the agent; the principal must be heard—I should like to have some authorized representative of the Executive of this Government tell me what it is that the Administration proposes as a remedy for the evils which have made it necessary to precipitate this Congress into the middle of this dog-day weather.

He wants Congress to repeal the Sherman act, so called. He wants the truce put an end to; he wants the white flag of 1890 pulled down; and, of course, we all understand that when a truce is put an end to, war goes on. What war? I make this single proposition: That the message of no President of this country convening an extra session of Congress ought to weigh a feather in the estimation of intelligent gentlemen which simply inveighs against an existing evil and does not point out to Congress the suggestion of a remedy. But it is said it is the duty of Congress to provide a remedy; that is to say, that it is in the discretion of Congress to meet this emergency without any suggestion from the Executive.

Very well. Carry that rule backward along the line and it results in this: The existing conditions in this country were to be made known to the people of the country by the Executive, and Congress was then to be called together. Now, if it was not incumbent upon the President to suggest some remedy for the evil, then it was his duty to call Congress together and say nothing about the repeal of the Sherman act; because, for aught he knew, and certainly upon his own suggestion and that of his friends, it was within the discretion of Congress to decide for themselves whether they would repeal that act or not.

If the President dared not trust his party to follow his leadership in the direction of a measure of reform and relief, certainly he ought to have trusted Congress to decide for themselves whether they would repeal the Sherman law or not. Instead of that he makes the issue that the Democratic party demands the the repeal of the Sherman law, but he makes no suggestion as to what should be put in its place.

Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of approaching another branch of this subject and to answer the suggestion that the McKinley law has had something to do with all this—and I think it has had a great deal to do with it—I want to read brief extracts from two Presidential messages. One of them is from the message of the last Democratic President of the United States before the war, who had a Democratic Congress behind him. The present Executive is a man of original ability. Instigated in his use of language by the conditions that surround him, he does not have to copy from somebody else, and yet we find him using substantially the same language that his Democratic predecessor used thirty-five years ago, when he, too, had both branches of Congress.

In 1857 Mr. Buchanan, under the conditions which I have described, sent a message to Congress containing the following language:

> With unsurpassed plenty in all the productions and all the elements of natural wealth, our manufacturers have suspended; our public works are retarded; our private enterprises of different kinds are abandoned; and thousands of useful laborers are thrown out of employment and reduced to want. We have possessed all the elements of material wealth in rich abundance, and yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, our country, in its monetary interests, is in a deplorable condition.

And thereupon Mr. Buchanan asked the Congress of the United States to pass a high protective tariff law.

The panic of 1857 was not so widespread as that of 1893, and yet the paralysis to business was in proportion to the business of the country very similar, and a Democratic President, without condemnation, so far as I ever heard, from the Democratic party, called upon Congress and insisted that the repeal of the protective tariff law of 1842, which had taken place in 1856, was the cause of the breaking up of the industries of the country, and the far-famed panic of 1857.

Mr. Cleveland in his message to this Congress, dated on the 8th of the present month, said:

> With plenteous crops, with abundant promise of remunerative production and manufacture, with unusual invitation to safe investments, and with satisfactory assurance to business enterprises, suddenly financial distrust and fear have sprung up on every side.

And then, for quantity, he goes on and tells the same tale of woe that Mr. Buchanan in 1857 was compelled to tell as the result of the repeal of the protective tariff law of 1842.

Mr. Speaker, the President might have gone a good deal farther. He might have said that there was a condition not only similar in many of its features to that described by his Democratic predecessor in 1857, but also that there were many other striking features of the situation that had not been described by that predecessor. He might have stated that the unemployed men in this country amounted in number probably to millions, I do not know how many; that there is not a paying, remunerative industrial institution in this country to-day; that there are more idle men in the United States at this time than there have been during the whole period from 1861 down to the present time. Labor is for the most part unemployed, and that which is employed is running upon short time and at reduced wages.

The miners of my district, nine-tenths of them, are without remunerative employment, and the great industrial concerns of the country are standing idle, hopelessly looking to a Democratic Congress for relief. Railroad securities, bonds, stocks, and representatives of the interests of the people, in all the manufacturing and industrial institutions of the country, have depreciated in value beyond all former precedent; the real estate of the country can not be sold at any price; the wage-earner is looking forward to a winter in which starvation will stare him in the face upon every hand; the iron furnaces are silent; railroads and other corporations are going into the hands of receivers; business in every direction is paralyzed; prosperity on every hand has fled from the country; ruin stares every business man in the face; there is a widespread destruction of values; and the conditions are such that the business men of the country are looking on the scene of distress and destruction with little hope of the future.

And, Mr. Speaker, we look backward along the line, under this challenge of the President, under this challenge of the Democratic party, to ask what has done all this. It is pertinent to this debate, and I am not here to apologize for bringing it in. The President says that the Sherman law ought to be repealed because of the condition of the country, and it is pertinent to study all these conditions and all the events of past years to see whether or not the Sherman law should be made the scapegoat to carry into the wilderness all these burdens. I want to submit a few propositions, based upon a text of Scripture, and I introduce my subject without reading the text first. [Laughter.]

I am one of those who believe that a very small, meager, infinitesimal percentage of the troubles under which we are laboring are to be justly traced to the existence upon the statute book of the Sherman act, and I believe that the attitude of the Democratic party which supports the Administration to-day is the result of an acute, wise, far-seeing, shrewd, acceptance of the situation, in view of the dangers with which they were threatened the very moment the news flashed over the wires that Cleveland was elected President, and that both branches of the Congress was to be Democratic. From that time to this there has been a steady purpose upon the part of a certain portion of the Democratic party to select a scapegoat upon which to load the burdens that were sure to fall upon the people of this country as a result of Democratic success at the polls. I call the attention of the House to the 16th chapter of Leviticus, which is particularly apropos to this situation. The fifth verse of that chapter reads as follows:

> And he [Aaron] shall take of the congregation of the children of Israel two kids of the goats for a sin offering, and one ram for a burnt offering.
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> * * * * * * *
>
> 7. And he shall take the two goats, and present them before the Lord *at* the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.
> 8. And Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats; one lot for the Lord, and the other lot for the scapegoat.
> 9. And Aaron shall bring the goat upon which the Lord's lot fell, and offer him *for* a sin offering.
> 10. But the goat, on which the lot fell to be the scapegoat, shall be presented alive before the Lord, to make an atonement with him, *and* to let him go for a scapegoat into the wilderness.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> 21. And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions, in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat, and shall send *him* away by the hand of a fit man unto the wilderness.
> 22. And the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a land not inhabited: and he shall let go the goat in the wilderness.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> 26. And he that let go the goat for the scapegoat shall wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh in water, and afterward come into camp.

[Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, when the timber began to fall and disaster began to ensue, following the Presidential election, and the inevitable seemed to be coming, I think I can see the members of the present Administration assembled with the President. He had with him the regenerated free-silver representatives in the Cabinet, disenthralled from their allegiance to free silver, and they consulted together at Buzzard's Bay, or somewhere else, about how to proceed to turn aside the public judgment of the country from the real cause of the coming crash, and they concluded that a scapegoat was necessary; and the member of the Cabinet representing Aaron probably brought before the President two kids, one of them the McKinley act and the other the Sherman silver-purchasing act, and I fancy a deep and prolonged consultation was held as to which one of these goats should be consecrated to the Lord and which one should be dispatched into the wilderness.

After due consideration it was decided that, inasmuch as it would probably be impossible to execute the Chicago platform, as amended by the distinguished resident of my own district—

resident in Ohio—and inasmuch as all New York and all London would join in pointing out the Sherman silver act as the proper scapegoat, it was decided that the silver act should become the scapegoat; and they thereupon dedicated the McKinley law, temporarily at least, to the Lord, and decided to send the Sherman law out into the wilderness. And now the scapegoat was backed up in the neighborhood of the temple, and over its head the high priest confessed all the sins and iniquities of the people; he confessed without qualification that all of the evils pressing upon the business interests of the country were caused by the Sherman silver act, and was the willful and malicious act and purpose of the Republican party.

The Republican party having no representative at this procedure it was an easy matter, and the confession was broad and sweeping, and thereupon it was decided that a "fit man" should be detailed to send that goat "into the wilderness," and I fancy that certain movements going on about this Capitol justify me in saying that the "fit man" selected was the distinguished Secretary of the Treasury, and that he has piloted the goat "into the wilderness," and doubtless on his return, if victory shall crown his enterprise, he will perform the duty made obligatory upon him by the 26th verse of the chapter which I have read. [Laughter.]

I will not pursue this illustration any further, but will simply say that the whole trouble has arisen because the selection, by whatever means it was brought about, destined the tariff law to be dedicated for a short time further to the service of the Lord and the Sherman law was to be the scapegoat. And from that day to this, through all the channels and communications by which the Democratic party console themselves, and encourage the hope that the time has not come when they shall be punished for their sins, and through all the channels in which they rally the people of this country to the support of their party, the people have been taught that the Sherman law is the root of all this evil.

Why, Mr. Speaker, this law went into effect in 1890, on the 14th of July. It was enforced honestly and persistently by the Administration. Four and one-half million ounces of silver were purchased every month. At the end of the coinage period silver certificates were still issued upon the bullion deposited in the Treasury, and nobody ever heard of any injury resulting. I desire at this point to insert in my speech the plank adopted by the Democratic party at Chicago on this subject.

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

The Democratic party see a thing generally after they pass it—sometimes as they approach it; and if it is wise in them to make a denunciation of a measure passed by the Republican party they never hesitate. That law had been in effect for almost two years when the Chicago convention met. It had added to the currency of this country about $40,000,000 per annum. When the Democratic party, with all its wisdom, assembled at Chicago it declared, in a voice that had to be interpreted (as it always does), its opposition to the Sherman silver law. I assume they said about everything that they knew of it at that time.

It was then two years old. Under it there had been four and a half million ounces of silver bought every month. A hundred million ounces or more in the aggregate had been bought. And what did they say? They did not say that the Sherman law had harmed the people; they did not say that it had driven gold out of the country. There was no cry coming up from Wall street that the honor of the American people was being swamped under the purchase of silver—not a word of that kind. They never said that this law was an unwise law, an injurious law, a harmful law—not at all. I assume they embodied in that national platform all there was known of the delinquencies of the culprit up to that time.

I imagine they did not try it for petit larceny when it had been guilty of highway robbery. They said this law was a "cowardly makeshift," and demanded its repeal; and during the whole of the campaign which followed—and from that day to this—the question, what were the objectionable features which caused this law to be thus denominated and denounced? has been the subject of discussion in the Eastern and Middle States, as it has been the ground of the comforting suggestions that have been made to the free-silver men of the West. What did the Democratic party mean when they said that this law was a "cowardly makeshift?" Why, the man of Wall street says the Sherman act is a concession to the silver interests of the country, and is "cowardly;" therefore the people are asked to vote the Democratic ticket.

In the Northwest, where combinations were formed, this question was fully discussed. And I beg to remind my Populist friends that they ought not to feel surprised or dissatisfied. They voted for Cleveland, either directly or indirectly, every mother's son of them. They did it with their eyes open; they knew what they were doing; they knew the grand conspiracy and combination in which they were at work; and when they assisted in the election of Cleveland they knew of the existence of the Warner letter of 1885. They knew there was no more determined antagonist of bimetallism upon the face of the earth than Grover Cleveland. And they voted for him in preference to the gentleman from Indiana, who my accomplished friend from Ohio says stood ready to approve a free-silver law if Congress had passed one.

In the Northwest, and everywhere where the free-silver sentiment prevailed, voters came up and asked, "What is the meaning of this platform; it speaks of a 'cowardly makeshift'; what is that about?" The reply was, "It is cowardly on the part of the Republican party to pass a law to buy 4,500,000 ounces of silver monthly when they ought to have adopted free and unlimited coinage of silver." And without exception from one end of the Northwest to the other, and down in the South, the free-silver men either voted directly for Cleveland upon that construction of the platform, or they voted indirectly for him by defeating the electors for Harrison. And now they come up here and wonder that the man who in 1885 could not wait to be inaugurated President before issuing his fulmination against the free-silver sentiment of the country should now fail to carry into execution a platform on which they themselves say they have put their own construction.

And now comes the very eloquent gentleman from New York, who, as I gathered his language on Saturday, said that while the platform meant a certain thing—while it meant bimetallism under certain conditions which would protect the value of the coin, it was known then and is known know, and always was known, that no power on earth could execute that platform.

Mr. Speaker, why was there not an injurious drain of gold from Wall street during those two years and upward? I admit that a vast quantity of gold went out of the country; but the country was not harmed thereby; and I want some gentleman who is wiser than myself (and there are plenty of them on the other side who are denouncing the Sherman silver law as iniquitous and against all principle) to answer me this question.

The condition of this country when we came together was a condition which had been growing from a period which I will mention a little later and had been becoming rapidly worse; and I ask this question in all good faith: If it was the drain of gold from this country caused by the passage of the Sherman act that brought about the evil condition of the country—the failure of the banks, the closing of industries, the ruin of fortunes—all happening within a very few months, why is it that now, when nearly $29,000,000 of gold has either landed on our shores or is coming, there is not a particle of perceptible cessation to the terrible condition that oppresses the country.

We have lost in gold $58,000,000 during the current year, and have drawn back $29,000,000, leaving $29,000,000 only lost of currency in the form of gold, while we have added $10,000,000 in the circulation of the national banks, and have just before us a prospective large increase in the same sort of currency; and yet there is no practical change in the conditions. Is it possible that when a patient is bleeding to death under the administration of Wall street finance, the stoppage of the flow of blood and the flow of the current back into the system is not to have any beneficial or appreciable effect whatever?

Mr. Speaker, the difficulty lies in another direction entirely. The difficulty lies in the fact that for thirty years in this country—and I am now going to discuss this question from a nonpartisan standpoint [laughter]—for thirty years in our history we have builded the institutions of the country upon a protective-tariff system. There was not a condition on the 8th day of last November in this country that was not due to the protective-tariff system. Right or wrong, wise or foolish, the industrial system of this country was the product of the protective tariff.

Everything had been constructed on that basis. Our manufacturers manufactured the articles for consumption. They used the raw material of our country, the product of our own labor. They borrowed the money of the banks and employed their labor with a view to prices and conditions that had been established by this system, and with which they were familiar. The merchant imported his goods from abroad, and bought from the domestic manufacturer on the basis of this structure of mercan-

tile growth and greatness which has resulted from that system. He bought his goods at a price that he understood, for a market that he understood. The laborer contracted his labor upon the basis of a demand fixed upon the value of the product which he was to produce. The farmer raised his produce with a view to the demand and necessity, and the capacity to buy of the laborer and the manufacturer.

But suddenly there came into existence, at the end of almost the third of the century, a political party that declared to the country by the action of the Chicago convention, by striking out of that platform three great leading propositions by a majority vote; first, that the Democratic party in this country cared nothing about capital invested in manufacturing industries, and would pay no attention to them in the adjustment of the tariff; second, that it declared the question of wages should not be considered in the readjustment of this new condition of things; and, third, that the stocks on hand and the business of the country should not be considered by the Democratic party in the adoption of what? Why the new policy of the Democratic party.

The Chicago platform as it came from the committee on resolutions contained the following declaration:

In making reduction in taxes it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government taxes collected at the custom-house have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject to the execution of this plain dictate of justice.

When the resolutions were presented to the convention Mr. Neal made an out and out free-trade speech, and moved the above paragraph be stricken from the platform and the following plank substituted, which was done by a vote of 564 to 342:

We denounce Republican protection as a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue only.

The plank of the Democratic party that was put there by a large majority of the convention, and which Mr. Cleveland accepted, and the Democratic party accepted, and on which they carried him to a triumphant election, was that all forms of Republican protection were robbery and that it is a fundamental doctrine of the Democratic party that the Constitution confers no power on Congress to levy duties for any other purpose except for revenue and for revenue only.

That party, Mr. Speaker, came into power on the 8th day of November on that platform; that is to say, that the country had notice that on a given day the Executive Departments and the Senate and House of Representatives would be turned over to that party which had declared war on the system upon which our whole industrial fabric had been erected.

Now, sir, it is well for a student of history to go back to last November and take a survey of the situation. I undertake to say, and challenge contradiction, that on that fateful day, when the Democratic party carried this country on this platform, this country was in a condition more prosperous than it ever was before on any preceding date in its whole history, or than was any other country in all the range of human knowledge. There were fewer idle men to be found, and I challenge contradiction of that statement. Labor commanded a higher price than it ever before commanded. There was not an idle dollar in the country, and Wall street itself was more prosperous than even it had ever been before since it was known in business transactions. There was no hoarding of money in the banks. There was nobody who had not full and complete confidence in the system, confidence in the men who had administered the system, and confidence in Providence, that in its wisdom the same party which had done all this would be allowed to continue to administer it.

Prices were remunerative if not high. As compared with present prices they were remunerative. Our foreign trade had grown until it exceeded the wildest dreams of the greatest friends of foreign traffic that had ever been known. We had it run up to more than $2,000,000,000 per annum, trade was being increased and business was being inaugurated everywhere. New lines of steamships were putting out from Pensacola and other points on your Southern coast. Institution after institution was being organized. Railroads were being pushed into the unoccupied territory. Iron furnaces throughout the country were in full blast, and their cheerful light was going up to heaven notifying the people of the United States of existing prosperity and warning them against change of conditions.

Under the operations of the McKinley law, which went into effect in October, 1890, foreign capital had been attracted to our shores and invested in manufacturing industries; a new impetus had been given to the industrial enterprise of our own country, and far and near the signs of speedy and rapid development and growth were heard and seen on every hand; the day of enormous prosperity was approaching, and there was hope and confidence everywhere displayed. Too much hope and too much confidence and too much assurance of the fate of our industries and the prosperity of our country did not depend on the election or the non-election of a political party.

What happened? Bear in mind, now, that this silver law which you are attacking had been in full force and operation for two years and four months. It was not twenty-four hours—the records show it and no man can successfully deny it—it was not twenty-four hours from the moment that the intelligence went over the wires that a complete revolution was ordered in this country until the present condition was inaugurated, and from that day to this the headway and pathway of this Government may well have been described by the maxim, "It is a swift road to hell." [Laughter.]

One by one the furnaces went out, one by one the mines closed up, one after another the factories shortened their time. Why did they do that? Was it a mere senseless stampede? Was it a Wall-street panic? Was it an unintelligent curtailment of the business of the country? I say not. Where is there an intelligent man to-day, if he were a manufacturer, with this threat of the presence of the Democratic party in power; the menace of its presence, the threat of its mere existence under that platform, and confiding as human nature does in the belief that a great political party will do what it says it will do—a violent presumption, I will admit, in the present instance [laughter]—what one of you at the head of an industrial institution would carry on your business?

Let me ask you now to put this question to your constituents: What one of you at the head of an institution that manufactured something, anything, any one of the great institutions of the country employing laboring men, would make anything if you did not have a contract for its reception, and payment on reception? And you would not even dare do that for fear the party who contracted to buy would find himself unable to comply with the contract at the end. What one of you who was a merchant would dare to buy anything to-day; and if so, what? The merchants of the country are buying just what they are compelled to buy from day to day. The manufacturer is making to-day just what he has orders for, from undoubtedly solvent persons who have ordered the goods; and this has worked a revolution from one end of the country to the other.

Bear in mind, now, I am not discussing the tariff question. I am not here to have that controversy now. We shall have a great deal of that, or the Democratic party will go to protest for default of its promises, for the "robber" is at our throat yet, and you are passing away a great deal of valuable time while the robber is taking your substance from you, according to your views of the case. But I am simply pointing out how true it is that it is an entire revolution in this great industrial system, and that it is not by any means the product of this Sherman law.

Mr. Speaker, it is said by the distinguished gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] that the volume of money is affected by the opening of every new industrial enterprise. As I understood his language the other day, he said that the erection of every new industrial institution made an additional call for an increase in the volume of the currency. If that be true, and if there was a fairly adequate volume of currency last November, there ought to be an almighty surplus in the country now; for I take it that the logic of that argument goes both ways, and that if the opening of a new industrial pursuit makes a demand for money, the closing of one will likewise congest the money somewhere: and therefore, rather than be trying to make more money, we ought to be operating upon the industrial organizations of the country.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that the Democratic party will be patriotic——

Mr. BOUTELLE. The gentleman is the possessor of a very sanguine temperament.

Mr. GROSVENOR. The Republican party will always be patriotic; and we have the strongest assurance that the Democratic party will be in the present instance, or they would not dare to launch an Administration measure upon the country and challenge defeat, or battle for success, basing their hopes upon the Republican minority of this House, when that Republican minority have been treated as we have been treated here.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I have a suggestion to make looking to the restoration of confidence in this country. The imperfect organization of the House has been such that I have not had an opportunity to present to the country my remedy, but as a part of my speech, in my time, I ask to have read at the desk of the Clerk a joint resolution which, in my judgment, would have done more than any tampering with the currency of this country to have restored confidence if it could have been introduced and then triumphantly enacted.

The Clerk read as follows:

[Fifty-third Congress, House of Representatives.]

Joint resolution declaring the intention of Congress in the matter of legislation touching the condition of the country.

Whereas the causes that have led to the present deplorable condition of the business of the country are not known so definitely as to present an agreement of opinion, it is nevertheless universally agreed that one of the elements, which has become a potent factor, is the fear everywhere felt that Congress will change the tariff duties upon articles imported from abroad coming in direct competition with American products, and thus unfavorably affect home production; and

Whereas the declaration of the platform of the Democratic convention fo 1892 has caused fear in the country that the provisions of that platform would be carried into execution by Congress, and such fear has caused great reduction of production in all classes of manufacture, thereby throwing out of employment large numbers of workingmen and causing a reduction in the wages of all who remain employed, whereby many workingmen have become dependent upon charity for subsistence; and

Whereas if this condition is not immediately checked and confidence be speedily restored, at least in some important measure, wider spread demoralization in all branches of business will follow, with all the horrors of destitution, idleness, bankruptcy, and all the incidents of such conditions: Now, therefore, as one measure of relief, be it—

Resolved, That it is not the intention of the Fifty-third Congress to make radical or important changes in the principles of tariff taxation, and it is hereby solemnly declared that Congress will not undertake a sweeping revision of the tariff laws, nor will it remove from American products, either of the farm, the mine, or the shop, that protection which now stands between the American producer and the foreign producer; and especially is it hereby declared that Congress will not remove from the products of agricultural industries the full measure of protection now afforded by law, to the end that wages may be maintained at present rates and the producer be rewarded for his labor and capital by adequate prices.

This declaration is demanded by the business interests of the whole country. This declaration by Congress would loosen the crippled wheels of industry. The cry comes up from all over the country, "Let alone the tariff; let the McKinley law stand where it is." The cry comes—

From forges where no fires burn,
From mills where wheels no longer turn,
From looms o'er which no shuttles leap,
From merchants' shops—which sheriffs keep—
From banks gone up, from stocks gone down,
From God-made country, man-made town,
From Wall street men, from sons of toil,
From the bronzed tillers of the soil,
From North, from South, from East, from West,
Business is crying with a zest—
"Don't monkey with the tariff."

Mr. BOUTELLE. Have that passed by unanimous consent.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Under the rules, Mr. Speaker, I am not permitted to ask unanimous consent to adopt this resolution, and I doubt that it ever would be adopted, but would be sent to some committee and be forever forgotten. If it could be passed and this body adjourn without day, the evils which now confront the country would speedily end.

But now, Mr. Speaker, coming to the question more immediately involved in this debate: Asserting, as I have already asserted, that one of the necessary incidents to a cure is to ascertain the causes of the disease, the comments which I have made are directly in line with the real heart of this discussion. All along through this debate it has been said that a great many conspiracies and crimes have been committed by the Republican party in the matter of the demonetization of silver; and the eloquent gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BLANCHARD] has used the same words, which has become a sort of stale utterance by our free silver friends in a great portion of the Union, that the coinage act of 1873 was the result of "conspiracy, fraud, and stealth."

I do not see how it is very pertinent in a debate like the present one to discuss that question. I can not understand how it is important as a step towards relief to ascertain who the man was, or who the men were who were guilty of this great crime. In most States of the Union we have a statute of limitation for great crimes; and I believe under the laws of the United States felonies are barred by a special statute of limitation. But twenty years does not seem to bar the repetition of this stale and untruthful allegation.

Why, Mr. Speaker, there never was such a reflection upon the intelligence of the American Congress uttered by mortal man as to proclaim to the people of this Union that the Congress of the United States dropped out of the coinage of the country the leading item of silver coinage and nobody knew it. I will briefly recapitulate the history of this transaction, and do it only because I want to treat gentlemen who come here, who seem to think that this is an important factor in this debate, with consideration for their zeal, if not for their judgment.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. MCMILLIN in the chair). The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. HARTER. I move that the time of my colleague be extended indefinitely, to allow him to conclude his remarks.

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, in 1870 the Secretary of the Treasury [Governor Boutwell, of Massachusetts,] sent to the Senate of the United States a bill, with a report strongly advocating the passage of that bill, and that bill contained three proposed changes in the coinage of the United States. It was proposed to omit the dollar, the 5-cent piece, and the 3-cent piece. That bill was pending in the Senate of the United States for nearly three years. Whole columns of debate ensued. Document after document from the Director of the Mint, and the leading experts upon the coinage of the country were sent to the Senate, all of them but one, perhaps, advocating the dropping of the dollar, and one of them in strong language advocating the retention of the dollar.

I shall put into my remarks a fuller and more detailed history of this transaction which I myself prepared for the purpose of a discussion on this subject which I have the honor to be engaged in with the distinguished member of this House from Colorado [Mr. BELL], and soon to appear in a newspaper in Ohio.

Away along in 1873 the bill finally came up for its passage and on its passage Senator SHERMAN of Ohio and Senator MORRILL of Vermont voted against the bill, and every Pacific coast Senator, headed by the distinguished Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART], voted "aye" upon the passage of the bill.

That bill was not, as the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BLANCHARD] supposes, a bill without a dollar in it. It was the original simon-pure bill of the Secretary of the Treasury, unaltered, without a Senate amendment being put into it; the bill which had been spread upon the record of the Senate for three years, and which had been discussed in untold pages of discussion; and yet gentlemen stand up and say it was done surreptitiously. Twenty years afterwards there are found in this country men who voted aye upon that bill who declare that they did not know what the bill was about.

There had been no recoinage act, as I understand it, from 1831 (possibly I am not right in the date), and the Secretary of the Treasury thought the changed conditions had rendered it important, and so it was that he recommended this bill. The bill came over to this House, and on the motion of Judge Kelley, of Pennsylvania, the dollar was added to that bill—not the old dollar, not the silver dollar, in keeping with the coinage of the country, but a token dollar, worth four times what the quarter was, ten times what the dime was worth, with 386 and not 412 grains of silver that there had been originally in the silver dollar.

That bill, after a long discussion, and after the whole subject had been considered in this House, went over to the Senate, with the addition of this dollar to the coinage; and then a committee of conference of both Houses adjusted the bill to the original condition, and both Houses of Congress indorsed it. The paper to which I have referred is as follows:

I enter upon the discussion of the questions submitted in this debate protesting that the first question is totally irrelevant to the great issue before the American people, and its decision is absolutely unimportant. The resolution is as follows: First, *Resolved*, That silver was demonetized in 1873 through conspiracy and fraud, for selfish ends.

What can be gained by a discussion of this question? Did Adam procure Eve to purloin the apple and eat it, and thereby entail moral, physical, and spiritual woe upon the human family, or did Eve, with her seductive arts, get Adam and his descendants into this scrape? We are here, and the subject of our environment and who caused it is a matter of no importance.

It is said that something that happened to silver by reason of the action of Congress, in a former period of our history, has entailed financial woe and misery upon us as a people. It has projected bankruptcy and hard times all along the line, and if this be so, it is pertinent to consider a remedy; but it is irrelevant and, in my judgment, absurd, to discuss the origin of, or partition a responsibility. If a man finds his house on fire and his goods being destroyed, he will not prove his distinguished greatness by suspending his efforts to extinguish the fire and save his goods until he can ascertain whether it was the hired girl in the kitchen upsetting a can of gasoline or a flash of lightning from a passing thunder storm which set fire to his property. It would not be a very intelligent physician, in the estimation of men of common sense, on finding a patient suffering with fever, who should refuse to administer remedies and save the patient from impending death until he could investigate the sewerage and plumbing of the residence, and ascertain the original cause of the fever.

What has the question of responsibility for the act of Congress which it is said demonetized silver, to do with the condition of the country to-day? It was either a good thing or a bad thing, and who did it is totally unimportant. There is a large class of our fellow-citizens who differ radically with Mr. BELL as to the whole question, in gross and in detail, of who was responsible; but if it was settled, and settled beyond a reasonable doubt, it would not make a hair black or white in the pending issue before the country. The question is not, Who did it? The question is, What is the condition of the country to-day, and what is wise, best, and effective to relieve the country from the present situation? But this is one of the resolutions which we are called upon to discuss, and I stand ready to discuss it. I do it as a matter of courtesy to my opponent, and in recognition of the terms of the debate; but I protest without qualification that there is no possible good that can come of it.

Now, it will be insisted in this paper that there is not a shadow of proof on earth available to any mortal sustaining any one of the allegations of Mr. BELL. He says, first: "That a certain class was particularly interested in securing the demonetization of one of the money metals." Replying to this, it may well be said that, if it is true as stated, it is a matter of supreme indifference. Selfishness and self-interest are the motives from which a great many valuable things have sprung. Every invention that the wit of man has conceived has sprung from self-interest. The establishment of our early independence of Great Britain was a matter of self-interest to our people. There was a class during the Revolution interested in declaring and maintaining our independence. The suppression of the rebellion and the restoration of the Union found a mighty class interested on the loyal side. Every

good thing done by man has emanated from a class particularly interested in securing the result.

But it is further said, second: "The same class raised a vast sum for this purpose, and had their agents present in conference with the Coinage Committee." This statement is demurrable. The raising of a vast sum is not a crime in this country, nor immoral, although just at this time rather difficult of performance. He does not state in this subdivision that any improper use was made of the money, but in his third subdivision he says "that the agent expended the fund raised for this purpose." If it is herein intended to be charged that any man in Congress was corrupted to vote for the passage of the so-called demonetization bill, the statement is absolutely, without qualification, wickedly and maliciously false. If it is intended to cast suspicion by innuendoes and ask the reader to draw an unfavorable inference, then the act of writing and publishing this statement is not courageous, manly, fair, nor justifiable. I challenge Mr. BELL to the proof of his charge, and if he fail I demand that he withdraw it.

His fourth proposition, that silver was demonetized by a committee and not by Congress; that the purpose to demonetize was shielded from the people, is ridiculous, untrue, and a mere fable. It is a fiction that has been so often published and so often harped upon that some people have actually come apparently to believe it.

His fifth proposition is worthy of discussion, and is the only one worthy of a moment's consideration, and I propose now to show that the act of 1873 was a legislative act, done aboveboard, without anything clandestine; done after a full and elaborate discussion, upon the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury, and done by the procurement and support of the present advocates of free and unlimited coinage of silver. And this will be done by reference to the record and by proofs that no man can gainsay. It will be met by declamatory statements and loud, senseless, and unsupported shouts. The record will not be denied or modified, but the charges will be repeated, as they have been heretofore, in the face of all the evidence and all the facts.

On the 9th day of June, 1890, in the Senate of the United States, Mr. SHERMAN arose to denounce as infamously false the charge that the bill to demonetize silver, as it is called, was passed "surreptitiously, done by stealth, unlawfully." His speech may be found beginning on the 6039th page of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for June 9, 1890, and I will only quote certain authorities presented by him on that occasion, and refer the fair-minded reader to the documents at large as they are referred to by him. And it may here be stated that it is a confession of weakness or stupidity on the part of any member of the Congress of 1871 to 1873 who now states that the American people and the American Congress had no knowledge of the passage of that bill.

The bill about which so much of false statement has been made was sent to Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury on the 25th of April, 1870. It came from the Treasury Department, and the fifteenth section of the bill read as follows: "Sec. 15. And be it further enacted, That of the silver coins the weight of the half dollar piece of 50 cents shall be 192 grains, and that of the quarter dollar and dime shall be respectively one-half and one-fifth of the weight of said half dollar; that the silver coins issued in conformity with the above section shall be a legal tender in any one payment of debts for sums less than one dollar." And the eighteenth section of that act provides as follows: "Sec. 18. And be it further enacted, That no coin, either of gold or of silver, or minor coinage shall hereafter be issued from the mint other than those of the denominations, standards, and weights herein set forth." Thus it was especially provided what coins should be issued, and all other coins were forbidden, and this same act, when passed, repealed all other coinage acts. There was an express provision that no other coins except those mentioned should be issued from the mint. The names of the coins, designs, their weights and measures were fixed and all others were absolutely prohibited by the face of the law of 1873, and on the face of the bill.

Mr. Boutwell, Secretary of the Treasury, accompanied that bill, when it was sent to the House, by one hundred printed pages. The report fully stated the object of the bill and the reasons for the changes, and there were accompanying the bill reports from Robert Patterson, F. Peale, H. R. Linderman, James Ross Snowden, G. F. Dunning, E. B. Elliott, all scientific experts, and the principal officers of the mints and assay offices. The necessities for the revision provided for in this law had been set forth by Secretary Chase and his assistant, Mr. Harrington, by Mr. McCulloch and his assistant, Mr. Chandler. There had been no codification of the mint law for thirty-five years. The sections of the bill which discontinued the coinage of the dollar were elaborately discussed in these reports by all the experts.

Robert Patterson pointed out the propriety of the abolishment of the silver dollar, the half dime, and the three-cent piece, and I quote from his report as follows: "Gold became the standard, of which the gold dollar is the unit. Silver is subsidiary, embracing coins from the dime to the half dollar." The heading of this paragraph was as follows: "Silver dollar, half dime, and three-cent piece discontinued, and coins less than dime of copper, nickel, legal-tender one-cent piece of one gram in weight." In this report was a letter from E. D. Elliott, late actuary of the Treasury Department, headed in capital letters as follows: "The Standard Silver Dollar—Its Discontinuance as a Standard." The bill proposes the discontinuance of the silver dollar, and the report which accompanies the bill suggests the substitution for the existing standard silver dollar of a trade coin of intrinsic value equivalent to the Mexican silver peso or dollar.

The Director of the Mint headed his report as follows: "Discontinuance of Silver Dollar."

Hon. James Ross Snowden headed his report as follows: "The Present Silver Dollar Should not be Discontinued."

This showed that there were two sides to the question. It should be remembered that at this time the silver dollar of our coinage was worth more than the gold dollar, for at the time of the introduction of the bill, to wit, the 25th of April, 1870, the silver dollar was worth $1.0312 in gold in the markets of the world. There was, as I have said, the 100-page document sent by Secretary Boutwell, and the statement of these experts, and there was a letter from the Deputy Comptroller of the Currency who had charge of the Mint, recommending the passage of the bill, with a copy of the bill; and copies of the bill were sent broadcast, omitting entirely the silver dollar, and calling especial attention to that omission in every possible way. With all this before Congress and before the country, the bill was reported to the Senate by the Committee on Finance on the 19th of December, 1870. The members of the Finance Committee at the time of the passage of the bill, and who had charge of the bill, were JOHN SHERMAN, JUSTIN MORRILL, George H. Williams, Alexander G. Cattell, Willard Warner, Reuben Fenton, and Thomas F. Bayard.

The Committee on Coinage in the House having charge of the bill consisted of William D. Kelley, Samuel Hooper, John Hill, Noah Davis, Peter W. Strader, and John A. Griswold. It takes a man with some nerve to charge these men with surreptitiously and fraudulently procuring the passage of the bill. The man who does it ought to have a very large accumulation of good reputation standing behind him to justify him in such a charge.

On the 9th and 10th days of January, 1871, the bill was debated in the Senate, mainly upon other questions than upon the omission of the silver dollar, it is true. Everybody understood the dollar was omitted, and everybody agreed to it. The bill was read in full and a number of amendments made, and finally the bill passed by a vote of 36 yeas and 14 nays, on the 10th of January, 1871. MORRILL and SHERMAN voted against the bill. Casserly, Cole, Corbett, Nye, STEWART, and Williams, being every Senator from the Pacific coast, voted for the bill; and ever since Senator STEWART gave that vote to demonetize silver he has been howling like a maniac that the bill was a fraud, its passage a crime, and its authors scoundrels. It is not the first time that a man has cried "Stop thief!" to divert attention from his own record. He voted for the bill that omitted the silver dollar from our coinage, and that forbade the silver dollar being coined.

The bill was debated elaborately in all its details, and if any man present in the Senate when that bill was passed, and who voted for it, or who voted against it, now says he did not know what it contained, he ought to be compelled to resign his seat in the Senate and apply himself to some position the duties of which he is competent to discharge. The bill went to the House of Representatives, and efforts to amend were made by several gentlemen restoring the old dollar, but with fewer grains of silver. Mr. Kelley did insert into the bill a subsidiary dollar with 385 grains, being 26½ fewer grains than the old silver dollar, but this amendment was not finally agreed to, after full and elaborate discussion. The bill finally became a law on the 8th of February, 1873, nearly three years after it was introduced into Congress.

In the debate in the House Mr. Hooper of Massachusetts, a most distinguished financier, pointed out that it was not only proposed to drop the old dollar, but to substitute a dollar containing 26½ grains less than the old dollar; but when the House bill went to the Senate it contained this 384-grain dollar, but the Senate rejected the amendment, and a conference was ordered, and the trade-dollar provision was put into the bill in place of the 384-grain dollar. The conference report was signed by JOHN SHERMAN, John Scott, and Thomas F. Bayard, members of the Senate, and Samuel Hooper and William L. Stoughton, members of the House. It was read in the Senate February 6, 1873, and in the House the next day, and was agreed to.

Now, it will be seen that it is idle for any honest man to pretend that it was not known what the conference report contained, because the Senators knew that the bill as passed by them omitted the silver dollar, and STEWART and others voted for it, and SHERMAN and MORRILL voted against it. The House knew that the dollar was omitted, for it amended the bill in that respect, and inserted a subsidiary dollar of smaller weight. Both bodies knew that there was a conference report upon the matters of difference between the two Houses. The Senate knew that the necessity for that conference had arisin because the Senate had rejected the House amendment. So everybody had notice, and it is a baby and cowardly and mean act to now set up that they had no knowledge of the facts as they existed. This charge of clandestine work in connection with the passage of this bill is old, stale, and putrid. It has no place now in the financial history of the United States better than that assigned by John Randolph to the dead mackerel—"it is fit to shine and stink, and stink and shine."

The late lamented Senator Beck, of Kentucky, as late as March, 1888, was misled into making this charge, and upon proof he magnanimously withdrew his statement, and acknowledged that he had been misguided.

But in 1876, in the House of Representatives following the act of 1873, somebody made the charge which Mr. BELL has the misfortune now to repeat, and thereupon Mr. Abram S. Hewitt, of New York, a Democrat, who had given the subject a most careful and exhaustive study, in a speech in the House of Representatives on the 5th of August, 1876, said as follows: "The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], on the 3d instant, stated that the coinage act of 1873 'was passed surreptitiously and without discussion, and was one of the grossest measures of injustice ever inflicted on any people.' The honorable Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES] and the honorable gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN] have made similar statements, and these statements have been reiterated by the press of the country and repeated again to-day by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Fort]. In answer to these charges I propose, at the risk of being tedious, but in order to refute them once for all, to give, in a note at the foot of my remarks, the history of the coinage act of 1873, as shown by the records of the Treasury Department and of Congress."

In that speech Mr. Hewitt cites the letter of Mr. Boutwell, dated at the Treasury Department, April 25, 1870, and gives the substance of all the reports to which I have already alluded, and then gave in his speech a complete history of the discussion in both Houses of Congress upon the bill, showing conclusively that every member of the House and Senate and all the officers of the Treasury Department either had full personal knowledge of the character of the bill or had opportunity to know. Thus having exhaustively broken down the whole claim of BLAND'S, he closes his speech with the following fact: "I have felt it necessary to make this weary statement in order to prove that the legislation of 1873 was not surreptitiously enacted, traveling over ground that has been occupied in part by other members who have addressed the House, and in part by the daily press, because there is nothing so unpalatable to the American people as 'tricks' in legislation, of which the Committee on Mines and Mining will be fully conscious when it comes to be generally understood how far they have exceeded the legitimate line of their duty in bringing forward this bill, which could never have been reported from the Committee on Banking and Currency, to which it properly belonged."

Thus it is shown beyond a reasonable doubt that the passage of the coinage act of 1873 was deliberate, above board, and perfectly understood by the men whose duty it was to understand it and to know all about it. A faint, feeble, and shadowy attempt is made to quote Mr. Bright, of Tennessee, who is alleged to have said "that it passed by fraud in the House, never being printed in advance, being a substitute for the printed bill, never having been read at the Clerk's desk. It was passed without discussion, the debate being cut off by operation of the previous question." Now, the record shows that it passed the Senate with the dollar out. The record shows that after a battle in the House the Senate bill passed amended with another dollar in it, and then the matter came again to the House and Senate through the medium of a conference report. Now, Mr. BELL, at the end of two years, will know how silly his position is, and how weak and contemptible is the position of the person who is attempting to cover up his own blunders and misrepresentations to his own constituents by pleading the baby act in regard to this measure.

Accompanying the conference report was a statement made by the conferees, Mr. Hooper and Gen. Stoughton, than whom there never lived more honorable men. Stoughton lost a leg on the battle field, but never lost his honor or integrity as a man or Representative in Congress. The statements of the conferees show wherein they had made concessions to the Senate. In other words, they said, "we have agreed to do so and so and so and so," and among the rest that the House receded from its amendment to the bill providing for a silver dollar, and that the Senate agreed to the same. This report exhibited at once to the House what was pending and what concessions had been made by the House conferees. Thus it was that the coinage act was amended, and years afterwards, when the scheme of the free-silver men was inaugurated, the men who had voted, as Stewart did, to pass the original bill in the Senate with the dollar left out, began to throw filth and dirt and slime and vile epithets and personal detractions against the men who first fought

the measure and afterwards yielded to the weight of opinion in Congress. The statement that the engrossing clerk made an entry in that bill which had not been agreed to in the bodies has been announced as false and ridiculous so often that the author of the statement has even himself ceased to state it.

An apology is due for the space occupied for this defense. It is a very grave charge that has been made, one which involved the integrity, honor, knowledge, wisdom, acumen, and foresight of the Congress of the United States. It was false in its conception, ignorantly false, perhaps. Ignorantly false then and maliciously false now.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, that no member of Congress has the right, in the face of such a history as that, to say that he did not know what was in that bill. Years afterwards, when it was discovered that some people thought they had been injured by the passage of the bill, gentlemen who had promoted its passage, gentlemen who had urged no objection to it, took cover by declaring that it was a "trick" and a "conspiracy," and that they had had no notice of it. And once for all I now proclaim that henceforth I shall as readily be drawn into a discussion as to who it was that performed the seduction act in the Garden of Eden, whether it was Adam who gave the apple to Eve or whether it was Eve who gave to Adam, as into a discussion of the question of how silver became demonetized in this country. [Laughter.]

It is a question of no earthly importance now. Our Democratic friends say the house is on fire, and it is not important to determine whether the servant in the cellar upset the benzine can or lightning struck the cupola. [Laughter.] The important thing is to put out the fire. The whole body politic of this country has become saturated with the idea that it is the Sherman silver law that has caused our difficulties. That was a law, in the first place, not based upon sound financial principles. It was an obstruction placed under the destructive car that was being driven over the credit of this country by almost the entire body of the Democratic members of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The Senate had passed a free-silver bill; the House of Representatives was an uncertain quantity upon that question, as it is now, and fear was everywhere manifested that a free-silver law was to be passed by that Congress. Whether my friend from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] is right, as he thinks, when he says that President Harrison would have approved that bill, or whether he is eternally wrong, as I know, is a matter of no particular importance.

It would have been an unwise act on the part of the majority of the House of Representatives to have permitted such a bill to be passed if, by any honorable means, its passage could be prevented. It was unwise from a political standpoint; it was unwise from a patriotic standpoint, and, in my humble judgment, it was unwise from a financial standpoint. So it was that the Republicans on this floor, to prevent a headstrong, reckless act of the Democratic party, obstructed their forward movement by the passage of a law which was understood at the time to be a makeshift.

It was very much such a "makeshift" as the launching of a lifeboat in a storm when the vessel is about to be wrecked. It was very much such a "makeshift" as the forlorn hope that seeks to explode the enemy's magazine as a desperate, last resort. So it was that the Sherman law was enacted, and the Democratic party stood at that time, as they have always stood as a body in this country, in favor of what we are now told by Wall street is dishonest money. Why, sir, it sounds to me like the echo of an old-fashioned love feast to hear a Democrat announcing himself in favor of honest money!

Away back in 1868, when the "young eagle of the West," Pendleton, came to New York with his followers by the thousand, with greenbacks pinned all over them, flaunting the banner of irredeemable paper money, without the remotest hope that there would ever be any redemption for it, the Democratic party of New York stood paralyzed under the power and domination of that influence, and into the platform on which Seymour and Blair were nominated they refused to put an honest-money plank, but simply declared that they were "in favor of the payment of the public debt with the currency of the country;" and, sir, from that time to this, out from the Democratic and around the Democratic party—as a political excrescence, if you please; as a legitimate outgrowth, if you please—has come every scheme of dishonest money, every scheme of two values for money, every scheme of one money for the laborer and another for the bondholder.

When was it that the Republican party hesitated to declare itself in favor of a proposition looking to the making of the money of this country honest? And yet we find Democrats, constituting themselves leaders of the minority upon the majority side of this House, calling upon the Republican party to stand by honest money. Why, God bless you, we were born honest. [Laughter.]

Way back in 1870-odd, when emerging from the war, we found ourselves with a dishonest paper dollar, with scarcely the hope in the minds of the bravest men that specie resumption could ever be reached, the Republican party, in 1875, proclaimed to the people of the country the unalterable purpose of their party to redeem every dollar of the paper money of the country in gold and silver. The Democratic party opposed resumption. The Democratic party everywhere denounced it as an impossibility; and when, pending the period between the passage of the resumption act, which was a Republican act, and its execution on January 1, 1879, by John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, the Democratic party everywhere, in the press and on the stump, took advantage of the pressure of hard times to proclaim the impossibility of resumption.

The breaking of a bank, the failure of a commercial institution, was heralded from one end of the country to the other, as having been "Shermanized." They danced with ghoulish glee around the prostrate industries everywhere, and when resumption came and every dollar of our paper money became worth its par in gold, the Democratic party laid every possible obstacle in the way of its full fruition. The name of JOHN SHERMAN stood then, as it stands now, the synonym for sound currency, honest money, and unfailing public and private credit; and to no man in this country do the business interests owe so much, and yet no man has been misrepresented and abused by the Democratic party upon this very question in a greater degree than he.

The Republican party does not need to be admonished by gentlemen from New York to be honest.

We have been honest all our lives. For thirty years we have fought the battle of honest money. We have sometimes won and sometimes lost. Standing here as the representative of a sentiment on this side of the House, I am glad that the Republican party has lived. One of its greatest honors, one of its chiefest glories, one of its grandest triumphs is that it has at last brought even a small proportion of the Representatives on the other side of this floor to a consideration of this great question and to a repudiation of the sins of their party and the announcement that they are in favor of honesty at last. We have not lived in vain, my countrymen. [Laughter.] The Democratic party, or rather one end of it, is camping to-night where we camped thirty years ago. To-morrow night, or two weeks from to-morrow night, I trust the whole party will be in line with the platform and principles and declarations of the Republican party—the glorious structure upon which that party has been built.

The Democratic party is responsible now for what is to come. The gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BLANCHARD] said, and he said it with a sort of prophetic utterance, in form so portentous and in voice so solemn that it made a thrill of horror run through me, that if they repeal the Sherman act the Democratic party will never do anything again that is honest and right on this question. If I could only believe that—if I could only realize that his party as such will continue its headlong course to destruction, I would have no hesitation in bringing about the cause of the disruption; for out of the chaos of Democracy would come an element that would fortify the Republicans of the country so that they could march forward to victory in the future.

What sort of an opinion has my friend from Louisiana of his party? Does he believe that they will procure the repeal of the Sherman act by fraud and false pretenses—by dishonestly assuring the people of the country that they are going to take care of this question of bimetallism? We shall never charge them anything on account of any fraud in that line, for we are acting upon our own principles and not upon their promises. We are in favor of the repeal of the Sherman law because it has had the effect in this country, among other reasons, to cause the people of the country to look at it as a scapegoat, when in our judgment it has nothing or scarcely anything to do in fact with the existing condition of things in the country. And because I believe that the Democratic party ought to have in the fullest measure uncontrolled jurisdiction of this mighty question, and because it is the opinion of the Democratic Administration that this law stands in the way of the prosperity of the country, and because of the reasons which I have assigned for the original passage of the Sherman act, I stand ready to vote for its repeal ultimately, if compelled to do so, without conditions.

In this connection, and in further support and explanation of my vote, I here incorporate in this discussion the remaining portion of the paper to which I have heretofore referred, and which was a part of the newspaper debate about which I spoke. The question was submitted to us in the form of a resolution, and that resolution and my argument thereon is as follows:

Now, then, the second resolution is as follows: "*Resolved*, That the United States should immediately pass a law for the free and unlimited coinage of silver on a parity of 16 of silver to 1 of gold." I propose to present a few very simple suggestions in regard to this question, and address those suggestions to the farmer, mechanic, laboring man, business man, and others of the United States not directly interested in the sale of the commodity known as silver ore, and which is mined in enormous quantities from the mines of the State of Colorado and the little spot of earth called Nevada, upon which exist about as many men, women, and children as are in one-third of the city of Toledo, but who are represented in Congress by two

Senators and one Representative, all of them not only owners of silver mines, but one of them one of the largest silver operators in the world, but representative of the special natural monopoly known as silver mines.

The mints of the United States are the property of the people of the United States. They were builded with the money of the people. They are maintained for the purpose of benefiting the people. The cost of their construction, their management, and all other expenses are paid out of the pockets of the people of the United States, and the money therefor is derived by taxation. The existing plan of operation is to meet the wants of the Treasury, and the people, by permitting the owners of silver to sell it to the United States Government at what it is worth per ounce, and have it either coined into silver dollars or deposited in the Treasury, and certificates representing silver upon their face, but redeemable in gold, issued against the bullion. In this way, whatever profit there is in the manufacture of the silver dollar goes indirectly into the pockets of the people to compensate them in a degree for the cost of the mints and their operation.

For the purposes of the Government it becomes necessary to buy of the productions of the people, horses, cattle, woolen goods, cotton goods, powder, shot, shell, guns, stationery, pork, bacon, beef, flour, salt, and more or less of substantially all the products of the people. In purchasing these commodities the people of the country are requested to offer amounts required, and the prices for which they are to sell them. The manufacturer and the farmer and all the producers of the country come in competition, and the commodities of the lowest and best bidder are accepted by the Government. It is now coolly proposed by the owners of these mines that their commodity shall be treated differently; that the product of their mines shall not stand on an equal footing with the iron mines of Michigan or Alabama, or the coal mines of Ohio or West Virginia, but that they shall be permitted to carry anywhere from 56 to 70 cents' worth of crude silver to the mint and take out either a silver dollar backed by this Government, and as good as gold, or take the note of this Government, the note of the farmer, mechanic, and laboring man of this country for a dollar, and speculate to the extent of from 30 to 44 cents on the dollar.

Prices of everything else that we produce are to be regulated by the great law of supply and demand, but the price of silver is to be regulated by a cast-iron measure, and that measure so adjusted as to pay an enormous profit into the pockets of these producers. This is a bird's-eye view of this question. It is the sublimation of impudence. The utterances now going out from the silver States, when they are not threats of blood, carnage, civil war, and anarchy, are statements that the silver-mine owners of Nevada, Colorado, and other localities can not produce silver profitably at 70 cents per ounce. Well, Mr. Editor, neither does the farmer of Ohio produce wheat, oats, horses, cattle, or wool profitably. Shall the Government step in and aid the one and refuse the other? The laboring men of the country are not being compensated as a whole very liberally. Shall the Government interfere and raise their wages? Upon what meat does this Cæsar of natural monopoly feed that he has grown so great in his demands upon this Government, and upon the people of this Government, and upon the taxes paid by the people of this country?

Mr. BELL states that a large portion of our national and other indebtedness was created when silver was money, and asserts that common honesty requires these debts to be paid in silver money At a hasty glance, there seems to be much force in this suggestion, but when we consider that when these debts were contracted silver was worth nearly 50 pence per ounce in the markets of the world, and that it has now managed to fall to about 38 pence per ounce, what does he say to this proposition from the standpoint of honest dealing among honest men? The claim that gold has appreciated and that silver has not depreciated will not bear careful scrutiny, when it is considered we are buying silver at the Treasury Department now and paying for it in silver certificates representing silver dollars, and at par with gold. Nor is it true that the free and unlimited coinage of silver would appreciate the actual value of silver in the markets of the world. It would appreciate silver in the hands of the silver-mine owners and nobody else. It was admitted on all hands, when the Sherman silver bill went into effect, that it was a mighty gain for the silver owners, for it provided a constant market for substantially the entire silver product of the United States. And silver rapidly advanced until, I recollect, an ounce of silver sold for $1.20, within 9 cents of par with gold; then it was claimed on all hands that "fair treatment will bring silver up to an equality, and we shall have no disparity in these coins between gold and silver." But the mine owners began to develop unheard-of reserves of silver wealth, and notwithstanding the Government has furnished a constant market for the American product, silver is a drug on the market at a little above 70 cents per ounce. Why? Simply because silver is a metal and commodity.

At the time of the passage of the Sherman bill the silver production of the world was, in 1889, 125,000,000 ounces, and because of this increased demand the production of 1892 was 152,000,000 ounces. It had been but ninety million in 1885. And the price fell from 42 pence per ounce in 1885 to 38 pence at the end of 1892. So we find that the product of the world rose to an enormous per cent per ounce, and the price dropped as above stated. And everybody knows that the production of silver can be increased indefinitely. The clear-headed men of Colorado, not tainted by anarchy, with no "blood on their bridle reins," and who are not doing any act to encourage and stimulate mobs and threats of violence, know very well that with the present condition of the Colorado mines, silver to an indefinite amount, with such gold product as is found mixed with it, can be produced at a much greater profit to the mine owners than is paid in the markets of the country for the wheat and other products of the farmer. If the prices of silver under the enormous impetus of the Sherman act had remained then at the prices it was bringing when the bill passed, there would have been some ground for the friends of silver to stand upon. But it did not. It fell in the market, and dragged down all the commodities of the country.

The gentleman says there is no country in the world which can come so near existing with a Chinese wall around it as can the American continent, and then closes his argument by a strong inferential appeal to protective legislation by the Government. He should remember that the doctrine upon which he and his party stand is that legislation by the Government to favor one interest above another is unfair. He must remember that it is no more justly the province of our Government to legislate to create value in Colorado metal than to create value in Ohio wool. And it is a poor and contemptible government that will listen to the appeals of men who are simply proclaiming that their profits are not sufficient to justify the production of a commodity, and at the same time refuse to protect the markets of their own country for the benefit of the labor and capital thereof.

But I warn the Democratic party of the country that they must come together upon some issue. The people of this country are aroused on this question as they never were before; they are determined that no party in power shall longer exist if it is divided on this great question. You must have something upon which you can stand. You must have some platform upon which you can agree; you must never again (and I trust I shall be gratified in this respect) issue a platform that can be declared to be one thing in New York and a vitally different thing in another section of the country. I never had any doubt what the legal construction of the Chicago platform was.

I never had any doubt that it was a declaration in favor of free and unlimited coinage of silver. To my mind it was always clear that no intelligent man reading that platform, giving to the English language its due force and allowing to all parts of the declaration their just construction, could avoid the conclusion that it was a declaration in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver. It was so discussed in my part of the country; it was so understood out there; and it seems now that it was so understood by gentlemen who were willing to trust the Democratic party; and it is even now so understood by some of the members of one end of the party on the other side of this House.

The people of this country can rely upon the Republicans in Congress to do their duty. We can not afford to vote to put the Administration of Mr. Cleveland "in a hole." We can not afford to be influenced in our vote upon this momentous question by any desire for partisan advantage or any hope of the disruption of the Democratic party. The criterion of our vote, the basis of our judgment, must be whatever intelligence we have on this subject, and we will be instigated and inspired by our never ceasing love of country and patriotic devotion to that which is her best interest. [Loud applause.]

Mr. HALL of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, in the remarks which I shall make I shall not be led off by the gentleman who has just taken his seat [Mr. GROSVENOR]. We agree with him that the house is on fire; but whether we should flee from the house at the present time, or hunt up the Republican who set it on fire before he escapes, is a matter which we will determine for ourselves so long as we hold a majority on this floor.

There was one revelation which I was glad to hear from the gentleman's lips; and I assure the House that to us of the West it was a revelation. At any rate, it is an assertion that we have not frequently heard in our part of the country—the assertion that the Republican party was born honest. We are pleased to believe that this is true, because all parties ought to have some honest period in their existence.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to bring my discussion at once to the question of the cause of the present depressed condition of our country, and to so state this cause that my meaning may not be misunderstood. I have here a copy of an open letter written by a gentleman, Mr. John B. Henderson, who once served in the Senate of the United States from our State, and who is now setting himself up as an adviser of our Democratic Secretary of the Treasury, a gentleman who in the first instance served from the State of Missouri as a Democratic Senator and then succeeded himself as a Republican Senator. This letter, which the Associated Press took up and published from one end of the country to the other, and that the advocates of a single gold standard have circulated thousands of throughout this country, is now public property, and I propose here, on account of the high positions he has held in the Republican party and his offering himself at this time to guide and direct us in our legislation, to subject his positions to some scrutiny.

I ask the indulgence of the House to read this myself from my desk, rather than send it to the Clerk's desk to be read. It is in the following language:

To Hon. JOHN G. CARLISLE,
Secretary of the Treasury:

DEAR SIR: I promised to give you in writing the substance of my statements made to you in conversation touching the monetary condition of the country.

I then expressed the belief that the present stringency is produced, not by any lack or insufficiency of our currency, but by the loss of confidence produced among business men because of the bad quality or inferior character of a large part of that currency.

1. There is no error of more common prevalence than that the abundance of money issues necessarily adds to the commercial or business energy of a people. Of course, a certain amount of money tokens are absolutely essential with which to effect the smaller exchanges of commodities. These money tokens do not create exchanges, but the exchanges create a necessity for the tokens. Money tokens do not grow wheat and corn, nor manufacture cloth, nor operate railroads, nor sail ships. Labor and skill do these things; and, among a people entirely civilized, over ninety-five per cent of the exchanges necessary in these operations are consummated through the medium of bank checks. Experience demonstrates that this mode of exchange is more convenient, safer, and less expensive; and experience also demonstrates that these bank facilities become enlarged or contracted as money tokens become scarce or abundant. This is a business law as inexorable as the laws of nature. Hence there is less danger in limiting the bulk of circulating money than people generally imagine.

The bank check is better for another reason, to wit: that having performed its office, it ceases to circulate; it is removed from the volume of circulating money and is forever canceled. If the exigencies of business demand another check, it is issued anew, and that, in like manner, is destroyed when its object has been accomplished. We shall never have a perfect currency until every note used for circulation shall be destroyed on its return to the authority issuing it, and no new note issued except for value and only at the call of business demands. England has come to this, and America with England's experience will do likewise.

I desire now, Mr. Speaker, to bring up for consideration the

real causes which have led to our present condition. I lay down as a major premise in a syllogism, that I shall try to make, this statement: The volume of the circulating medium in any government fixes the price of its commodities. I did not say value, but price; for value is determined by supply and demand coupled with the labor cost of production.

My first authority on that subject is from John Stuart Mill, book 3, chapter 5, section 4, and I will state that in the edition I hold in my hand it is found on page 299:

That an increase of the quantity of money raises prices, and a diminution lowers them, is the most elementary proposition in the theory of currency, and without it we should have no key to any of the others.

Also, Walker in The Science of Wealth, pages 132 and 133:

A general rise of prices follows the introduction of a credit currency, because it is always issued in excess of the natural volume of money; and consequently, as prices must, in the average, conform to the quantity of currency, they will as it is increased. It is quite idle to attempt to evade the operation of this law.

The same statement in substance is made by four other writers, which I have on my desk, among the number Adam Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations." But I need hardly quote authorities on so plain a proposition, and only do so because I make this proposition the basis of an argument.

I desire it to be remembered, therefore, that the major premise in the argument I shall make is, "The volume of the circulating medium fixes the price of all the property of a country," supply and demand remaining fixed. I do not say, Mr. Speaker, fixes the value. Value is one thing, price is another. Any man, as Prof. Taussig of Harvard expresses it, must be the merest tyro in political economy who does not keep before his mind a clear distinction between price and value.

Next, I assert that the circulating medium of our Government consists of credit and money alike—credit performing the same functions in fixing prices as money itself does. This to me seems to be a cardinal proposition, and one that must be thoroughly established ere we can go far towards understanding the question at issue—the cause of the present financial crisis. I read from John Stuart Mill, page 327, in this edition:

But a more intricate portion of the theory of credit is its influence on prices; the chief cause of most of the mercantile phenomena which perplex observers. In a state of commerce in which much credit is habitually given, general prices at any moment depend much more upon the state of credit than upon the quantity of money. For credit, though it is not productive power, is purchasing power, and a person who, having credit, avails himself of it in the purchase of goods, creates just as much demand for the goods, and tends quite as much to raise their price, as if he made an equal amount of purchases with ready money.

The same authority on page 336 uses this language:

Money acts upon prices in no other way than by being tendered in exchange for commodities. The demand which influences the prices of commodities consists of the money offered for them.

Again, on page 337, he uses the same language, and continues in these words:

Suppose that, in the expectation that some commodity will rise in price, he determines not only to invest in it all his ready money, but to take up on credit, from the producers or importers, as much of it as their opinion of his resources will enable him to obtain. Everyone must see that by thus acting he produces a greater effect on price than if he limited his purchases to the money he has actually in hand. He creates a demand for the article to the full amount of his money and credit taken together, and raises the price proportionally to both.

The same author, on page 340, continues:

Credit, in short, has exactly the same purchasing power with money; and as money tells upon prices, not simply in proportion to its amount, but to its amount multiplied by the number of times it changes hands, so also does credit; and credit transferable from hand to hand is in that proportion more potent than credit which only performs one purchase.

I could read from this same authority a dozen or more different assertions on the same subject, but I will content myself with reading from Perry on Political Economy, the Professor at Williams College, in which I find this language, pp. 357, 358, and 359:

The cause of commercial crises is, in general, an undue expansion of credit.

Now, money acts upon prices only by being offered in exchange for commodities; but we have seen that commodities may be purchased by credit as well as by money; when, therefore, credit is offered and received for commodities, it has the same influence upon prices as when money is offered and received for them. The form which the credit assumes to effect the purchase is a matter of indifference, whether bank notes, checks, bills of exchange, or book credits; what acts upon the prices is credit, in whatever shape given, or whether it gives rise to transferable paper or not.

It follows from this that whenever there is an extension of credit for the purpose of purchasing there will be a corresponding rise of prices.

He who employs his cash and his credit in purchasing creates a demand for the article to the full amount of his money and credit taken together and raises the price proportionately to both.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I do no violence to the principles of political economy or to any of the lexicographers of this country or England if I lay down this definition of circulating medium, that circulating medium is anything offered in purchase of property, real, personal, or mixed, and that it consists both of the credit and the money by which all goods are purchased. I ask the members of this House to retain this thought clearly in their minds, as very important consequences flow from this proposition, if I am correct in my reasoning.

I will now reiterate: First, the volume of the circulating medium of a country fixes the price (supply and demand being the same); second, any contraction in the volume of the circulating medium contracts prices, and any expansion of the volume of the circulating medium expands prices.

Bearing that in mind, I ask you to tell us to-day the cause of the present financial crisis in the United States. There is but one solution of it, and that is that there has been a violent and tremendous contraction of the volume of the circulating medium. I did not say a contraction of the currency, but I said a contraction of the circulating medium that fixes prices; that being composed of both money and credit.

The next and a most important question arises, What is the ratio between the money and the credit in our circulating medium? John Stewart Mill and our national Comptroller of the Currency say 19 to 1; that is, of every $20 of business done $19 of it is credit and $1 is cash, or as Mr. John B. Henderson puts it, 95 per cent of the business of this country, or nineteen-twentieths of it, is performed by credit. Bearing the foregoing statements in mind, what will result if you frighten the business world? Cause the business world to become panicky, and what do we see? We see a contraction. A contraction of what? Of the one-twentieth—of the five one-hundredths? No, Mr. Speaker, we see the contraction of the credit, the nineteen-twentieths or the ninety-five one-hundredths of our entire circulating medium. What do we mean when we say that there is no credit in this country at the present time? What do we mean when we say you can not borrow money even on the best of security? We mean, Mr. Speaker and members, that nineteen-twentieths of the circulating medium of our country is gone, and that tremendous, violent, and crushing contraction has been operating under that inflexible law that I proved heretofore, "Any contraction in the volume of the circulating medium contracts prices," and this terrible contraction has operated upon every dollar's worth of property of all kinds in the United States and brought the price of it down with a crash. How much money is in circulation at this time in the United States? I will change my wording: How much circulating medium that fixes prices is in circulation in the United States to-day? Bankers in Washington City tell me, the metropolitan press say, the business world all tell us, there is no money in circulation and that there is no credit in circulation. What has followed from it? A violent contraction of that which makes prices, which contraction brings a reduction in the price of every dollar's worth of property in the United States.

Now, Mr. Speaker, what system of finances does the Hon. Jno. B. Henderson advocate? He holds up this credit system as a blessing to our people, and asks us to imitate England in going entirely to a system of this kind of circulation and he tries to explain this financial panic by laying it upon the international balance of trade. I will touch upon the question of balance of trade later on. Let us now see some of the other instances of the terrible effect of this credit system.

In 1890, Baring Brothers, in London, dealing in Argentine securities in South America failed for something like $340,000,000. Wheat went down 5 cents a bushel on every farm in Missouri within a week. What caused it? Was there less money in the United States after the failure of Baring Brothers, who dealt in Argentine securities, than there was before the failure? Not one dollar less. There was just as much money, but there was not as much credit. There was a contraction of the nineteen-twentieths of the circulating medium of our country, a contraction of the credit, which brought down the price of every dollar's worth of property in the United States.

I could give many other illustrations, but I need not take my time to do so now. I wish to say that our present financial system, based upon the fact that the circulating medium of our Government can be contracted whenever a failure occurs, not only in the United States, but in any commercial nation with whom we have dealings, puts us and every dollar's worth of property of the people of the United States absolutely at the mercy of men dealing in large financial transactions in the United States, or in any other nation with whom we hold large commercial relations.

Now, Mr. Speaker, in that connection I ask my brother members of Congress to bear that idea in mind for a moment, that the present financial system of our Government is a system that expands and contracts according to the reverse ratio of what it should expand and contract. When times are panicky and we need money the most, then the circulating medium contracts most violently, and you can not get money or credit anywhere. At the time when we may not need money so much, then we find that the money and credit will expand. Where, now, is the money that should go out into the great wheat belts of our country, out in the great cotton belt of our country to handle these crops? Locked up from fright. Money can not be obtained now to handle farm produce at any price, cost, or sacrifice.

Mr. Speaker, do you see any advantage that any one man has over another at such times as this?

Suppose A holds a note for $300 upon some poor fellow, say B, which note is secured by a deed of trust upon B's home worth $1,500, and that note falls due at this time of financial crisis, and A steps up and smilingly asks B for the money: B has not it, but was relying fully upon getting his note renewed or borrowing from some one else and paying A off, knowing full well that his home was worth five times the debt. He can not borrow a cent of money, even on a Government bond, if he had one. What becomes of his little home? Gone! and with it the little savings of a lifetime of hard work. Who is enriched? The creditor by this most cruel and outrageous system that is so highly indorsed by Mr. John B. Henderson.

Do you think I have drawn a fancy sketch? No, Mr. Speaker, thousands of poor men will, in this terrible rich man's panic, see his little all swept from him, and his wife and little ones made destitute in his declining years. Yet this is the system of so much merit, in the eyes of our millionaire ex-United States Senator.

This can then be said to be the objection to the present financial system of the United States: that it is based almost absolutely on a credit system, that expands and contracts in the interest of the moneyed men, who are making the price of every dollar's worth of property absolutely at the mercy of that class of people, and to subserve their wishes and greed.

What would be the remedy? The remedy would be to give us a volume of circulating medium that would not be based upon the credit of individuals or banks, one that is not capable of contraction when we need expansion, but let us have a flexible volume of currency so that when it is needed to expand it can be expanded and give us a volume of currency that will meet the changing elements of contraction and expansion.

Understand me not to be making an argument in favor of the bill that we are told will be introduced by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. JOHNSON]. I am not making an argument in favor of that bill. It may have objections that would cause me not to vote for it, but I wish to say that the present system that we are laboring under is the cause of the present financial distress of the Government. It is true that any alarm now, no matter how small, may affect the condition. The country is in the midst of plenty, and this plenty should make a prosperous condition of things. We have abundant crops and everything was smiling on all sides, and yet we find a financial crisis come upon this Government caused by the desire of some probably to reduce us to a gold standard or force the issuance of new bonds. These men started a panic which has gotten entirely out of their control, and it has run over and trampled upon some of its originators. Now, Mr. Speaker, in my opinion, that is the cause of this depressed condition, this terrible financial panic now upon us.

I was asked to state the other day what I thought was the strongest point in favor of the free coinage of silver. I have now reached the part of my address where it is proper for me to state that argument, which comes in and dovetails with the other argument I have just made.

I notice in Mr. John B. Henderson's letter to the Secretary of the Treasury that he summarizes the volume of the circulating medium, and gives what he says is the entire circulation from 1873 to 1893, to June 1. In this statement he alleges as true the statements gotten up by Mr. Foster, of Ohio, when he was Secretary of the Treasury, in which he gives the volume of money from 1860 to 1891. I desire to say, with all due deference to the gentleman who gave out this statement, that these statements are not true: and I intend to attempt to prove my assertion of their falsity.

We are told by Mr. Foster that the volume of the circulating medium in 1860 was $13.85 and so on up to 1865, when he alleges that the volume of money in circulation was $20.57 per capita.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I will show this House how he reaches this conclusion. It is obtained, so Mr. Foster says in his report, by giving the whole amount of money ever issued and coined by the United States, then deduct from that the volume in the Treasury of the United States, then the balance, so he says, is in circulation; and therefore, dividing this balance by the population of the United States at that time (which he puts at 34,748,000) gives us the per capita volume of money in actual circulation at that time. He therefore asserts that all of the money not in the United States Treasury is in actual circulation among the people.

I desire to say in my reading of political economy I was always taught that money held in reserve is not in circulation and does not affect the price, and it does seem to me that any tyro in political economy ought to know this. This is what all the authors on that subject say. I will take occasion to read from one or two authorities on the question and ask your indulgence while I do so.

I will read an extract from the work of John Stuart Mill, who is, I believe, a recognized authority upon this subject:

> Money held in reserve by any institution is not in circulation, and does not affect prices.

And again, on page 300:

> Whatever may be the quantity of money in the country, only that part of it will affect prices which goes into the market of commodities, and is there actually exchanged against goods.

The same proposition is laid down by Mr. Perry, page 358:

> Now, money acts upon prices only by being offered in exchange for commodities.

Mr. Jones, in his work upon Political Economy, announces the same proposition as does Adam Smith. It is hardly necessary to state that the only way money can be in circulation is by being offered for goods.

We must, therefore, if we want to honestly find out the amount of money in circulation, deduct not only the amount held in reserve in the United States Treasury, but all the rest of the money held in reserve by all the institutions of all kinds in this country that have treasuries and hold any reserve in them, and deduct this entire amount from the entire amount coined and issued and then deduct from the remainder the amount of lost money and money shipped and carried to foreign countries.

Every national bank in the United States is required by law to hold a reserve. Every eleemosynary institution in the United States holds a reserve. Every State bank holds a reserve. There is not even a Masonic or an Odd Fellows lodge, or any association or society of that kind in this country that does not hold some reserve in its treasury. Every insurance company holds a reserve, every school district, every municipality holds a reserve.

Now, as I have said, all the writers agree, and common sense teaches, that money held in reserve is not in circulation and does not affect prices. And yet, Mr. Speaker, we find Mr. Secretary Foster, in a long series of statements, and Mr. John B. Henderson following him, alleging that the way to ascertain the volume of the circulation per capita is to deduct from the entire amount of money issued the amount held in the Treasury and divide the balance by the population, and that process, they say, will give you the per capita circulation. That is not true, sir, and I defy the Secretary of the Treasury, or any of his friends on this floor, to find any authority for it. No such proposition is laid down by the writers on this subject, nor allowed by common experience.

I come now to the question of the volume in circulation in 1865. The volume given by the report of the Secretary of the Treasury in 1865, from statistical abstract No. 9, is $1,180,197,147.76. That, divided by the population of the United States at the time (I mean the number of people among whom it was distributed and circulated, which does not include the people of the States that were then in a state of war against the United States, for the United States money was not in circulation in the Southern States then)—I speak not of the volume circulating among the whole 35,000,000, but of the volume circulating among the 24,000,000 of people that used the United States money—and I find that it was $50 per capita, and this estimate does not include the 7-30 notes, of which there were $829,992,500 issued July 17, 1861, June 30, 1863, and March 3, 1865, although these 7-30 notes were legal tender, and more than $180,000,000 of them were of the denominations from $100 to $10.

And Mr. McCulloch says in his report for 1865:

> Many of which were of small denominations, went into the circulation as money, and all of which tended to swell the inflation.

Now, if you add those 7-30 notes, the volume of money, according to the statement of Mr. McCulloch, was at that time $80 per capita. But take out those notes and the volume in circulation at that time was, according to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, $50 per capita. Another conclusive and convincing argument on this question is to be found in the high prices and flush times that followed the war, which to any student of political economy is conclusive evidence of a large volume of money in ciculation.

What follows from this, Mr. Speaker?

The rights of the debtor. I have felt at times during this discussion—when gentlemen representing the single gold standard have charged that our people out West wanted to repudiate their debts—like rising from my seat and denouncing this falsehood as an infamous slander and libel upon the people of my State. There is but one class of men who are trying to swindle and defraud in this transaction, and that is the creditor who demands that a debt contracted when we had both gold and silver freely coined should be paid in gold, or on a single gold standard. The volume of the currency and the value of the money at the time of contracting a debt becomes, in morals and honesty, a part of the contract.

I desire to say for my people that we have fought against all wildcat schemes of inflation and repudiation, and ever will fight

against them. All that we ask, and this we demand as a right, is the golden rule of finance, that the debtor shall have the right to pay his debt with the same volume of circulating medium and of the same value of money as when the debt was contracted. This, Mr. Speaker, is my golden rule of finance. We ask for nothing more, and nobody but a coward will dare to take less.

I desire now, Mr. Speaker, to read an extract from the work of Prof. Richard T. Ely, and I hardly think that the graduates of the Eastern colleges will venture to question his authority, especially the graduates of Johns Hopkins University, as he is, or has been, professor of political economy in that institution. In his work on that subject, page 191, he says:

Nothing produces more intense suffering than a decrease in the amount of money, and this is on account of the connection between past, present, and future in our economic life. He who treats every economic question as if every day were a period of time apart by itself, has scarcely taken the first step toward the comprehension of economic society.

Obligations have been incurred in the past, and these are payable in the present or in the future. Now, to decrease the amount of money raises the value of every debt and adds to the burden of every debtor, public and private. It increases the value of notes, mortgages, railway bonds, and local, State, and Federal bonds. It enriches the few at the expense of the many.

An increase in the amount of money does not have the reverse effect if it is small, because, on account of the growth of wealth, the continually diminishing use of barter and the extension of trade into countries formerly outside of international commerce, the opening up of new countries in Africa, Australia, and elsewhere which need a supply of money, the value of money tends to augment unless there is a growth in the supply. If the amount remains stationary the creditors are enriched at the expense of the debtors. When arbitrarily the amount of money is decreased it amounts to virtual robbery of the debtor class.

Amasa Walker, professor of political economy in Amherst College, in his work called the Science of Wealth, p. 134, says:

Contracts made to pay money during the existence of a credit currency, but which mature and are discharged under a value currency, will subject the debtor to the loss of all the difference in the value of the two currencies.

I hardly need read any other authorities on this subject; but as that great political economist, Vethake, has been quoted by one gentleman on the floor here, I desire to read from the same authority. I read from page 151:

To avoid being misunderstood, I wish my readers to note particularly that what has just been stated has had no reference to the inconveniences and losses necessarily experienced by creditors whenever the circulating medium is undergoing the process of being augmented or expanded, or to those far greater inconveniences and losses to which debtors are subjected on the occurrence of every diminution or contraction of that medium. These "evils of change" can only be obviated by rendering the change in every case as *gradual* as possible.

We are not trying to have the volume increased; we are simply demanding that the volume shall not be cut down one-half. We are making the honest debtors' fight.

The word "gradual" is italicized by the writer, not by myself. How gradual would it be if the bill of the gentleman from West Virginia goes through? Untold misery would answer.

On page 173 the same writer says:

On the contrary, when the circulating medium is unexpectedly contracted opposite consequences will ensue. Creditors will then derive benefit at the expense of those who are indebted to them.

Mr. Speaker, it will not be improper for me to use on this question a homely illustration; it may be in keeping with the surroundings. I have used this before to make this point clear. Suppose I should to-day borrow from my friend from Tennessee [Mr. COX] a thousand bushels of wheat and give him my note reading in this way: "One year after date, for value received, I promise to pay to N. N. Cox one thousand bushels of wheat." There is not a word said about money. Now, Mr. Cox goes to the Agricultural Report, saying, "That fellow Hall, of Missouri, owes me a thousand bushels of wheat, and I want to know how much wheat was raised this year from the crop of which I have loaned him a thousand bushels." He looks over the report and he sees that there have been raised 40 bushels for every man, woman, and child in the wheat-consuming world. He then says, "What is my interest what the crop shall be next year? Hall has to pay me back the thousand bushels; and if there should be only half as large a crop next year as this year, wheat will be only half as plentiful and therefore twice as valuable; still he must pay me my thousand bushels of wheat, because it is so designated in the contract." We find him then wishing for a crop of say only one-half the size of last year, or 20 bushels per capita.

On the other hand, I go to the agricultural report to find out the crop of this year, and finding it to be 40 bushels per capita I at once recognize it as my interest that there should be a large crop raised next year; for if the crop should be 80 bushels per capita I shall be enabled to pay Mr. Cox 1,000 bushels of wheat which will be worth half the 1,000 bushels that I received from him. In that way I shall be able to discharge my debt very easily. I wish for 80 bushels per capita.

Now, suppose we should call in some straightforward, honest man, having no interest in our transaction, and ask him, "Which of us is right," what would be his reply? It would be, "Each of you is trying to rob the other." Now, my friends, I assert to-day that the Democratic party is in the position of an arbiter called in to determine this question between the debtor and the creditor. Our party stands as did the Girondists in the French revolution, halfway between Sans Culottes and the royalists—halfway between the men who would flood this country with fiat money and the men who would drive us to a gold standard.

In this situation the Democratic party says, "Gentlemen, that debt should be paid in the currency of the same kind, value, and volume as that which existed when the debt was contracted"—not in a currency which has been subjected to any increase or decrease. Mr. Speaker, that position is backed by every authority on political economy that has been published in the English language; not only that, it is in accord with the plainest tenets of morality and Christianity.

But, Mr. Speaker, I wish to read a little further in this connection. I did not know that so able a man as the gentleman from whose article I have been reading—ex-Senator Henderson of Missouri—would resort to things that I have seen resorted to by our little two-by-four Republican speakers on the stump in Missouri; but I suppose they all imbibe their inspiration from the same fountain. His statement is as follows:

3. Between 1863 and 1873, both inclusive, the balance of foreign trade against us was $1,086,440,587—that is, we imported into this country during these eleven years, over and above our exports of merchandise, this enormous sum of over $1,000,000,000. The balance against us was equal to 13¼ per cent per annum on our total commerce. It began in 1863 by an excess of imports over exports of $39,000,000, and ended by an excess in 1872 of 182,000,000 and in 1873 of 119,000,000. This long and steady drainage, lasting, without a single intermission, for eleven years, brought its legitimate fruit—a loss of a large part of the nation's wealth, and with it the country's entire stock of gold. The only currency left us was the greenback and the national bank note, which latter, being redeemable in lawful money of the United States, could not acquire any higher value than the greenback itself.

Take the period of unbridled State bank issues of paper money between 1848 and 1857, both inclusive, and we find a similar result. In a total foreign commerce in these ten years of only 4,367,000,000 the excess of our imports of merchandise over exports was almost $347,000,000, making an average loss of about 8 per cent per annum. This drainage of wealth resulted in the panic of 1857, whose severity continued until the depreciated State bank circulation was destroyed and substituted by the greenback currency, which, at first, enjoyed the confidence of the people.

When we reflect that from 1863 to 1873 our exports of gold and silver coin and bullion exceeded our imports nearly $674,000,000, it is not at all remarkable that the panic, beginning in the latter year, continued so long and produced so much suffering.

Mr. Henderson in his article attributes the panic of 1873 to the fact that the balance of trade was against us from 1863 to 1873. That reminds me of the hackneyed and worn-out joke in regard to the doctor who, whenever he could not cure a patient in any other way, would throw him into fits, because, as he would say, "I am the devil on fits." Every time I have seen a Republican cornered I have seen him try to turn his case into a question of "balance of trade," and then say that we are safe on that particular point, for so few people understand it.

But, Mr. Speaker, let us examine this matter of international balances of trade for a moment. What do the authorities say about it? I think, in the first place, we ought to apply to them because we recognize them as authority. I will first read from Adam Smith in his Wealth of Nations. I read from Part II of Book 3. I have the edition, I will state, gotten out by Dugald Steward:

In the foregoing part of this chapter I have endeavored to show, even upon the principles of the commercial system, how unnecessary it is to lay extraordinary restraints upon the importation of goods from those countries with which the balance of trade is supposed to be disadvantageous.

Nothing, however, can be more absurd than this whole doctrine of the balance of trade, upon which not only these restraints, but almost all the other regulations of commerce, are founded. When two places trade with one another, this doctrine supposes that, if the balance be even, neither of them either loses or gains; but if it leans in any degree to one side, that one of them loses and the other gains in proportion to its declension from the exact equilibrium. Both suppositions are false. A trade which is forced by means of bounties and monopolies may be, and commonly is, disadvantageous to the country in whose favor it is meant to be established, as I shall endeavor to show hereafter. But that trade which, without force or constraint, is naturally and regularly carried on between any two places, is always advantageous, though not always equally so, to both.

I come now to an objection to an unrestrained trade with foreign nations, the discussion of which has occupied no small portion of the attention of the political economists of the last century; and, even at the present day, we hear it occasionally put forth by some among the more zealous advocates of restrictive regulations in respect to commerce. It is this: that only that foreign trade is a beneficial one where the exports exceed the imports in value, occasioning thereby a flow of specie into a country in payment of the excess or balance. Hence the expression, "the balance of trade," this being held to be favorable when the exports are in excess, and unfavorable when the imports are so.

This whole doctrine was founded on the mistaken notion that the wealth and prosperity of a country depended essentially on the quantity of the precious metals which it possessed; and it, indeed, almost implied the absurdity that those metals alone constituted what should properly be denominated wealth. From this doctrine, too, the important consequences were deduced that government should, in the first place, do everything in its power to increase the whole amount of exports and to diminish the whole amount of imports, and, secondly, that it should positively discourage all persons subjected to its control from trading with any foreign country from which a greater value is imported than is exported to it.

In reading the article of Mr. Henderson's I feel as if I were reading the writings of that school of economists whose sophistries were exploded in the last century.

This whole doctrine, Mr. Speaker, was founded on a miscon-

ception—that is, that the wealth and prosperity of the country depend on this question of exchange of the precious metals. I refer without reading to the following authorities: Mills, Book III, ch. 15; Jones, P. E., pp. 545 *et seq.*

But suppose we use another homely figure. Suppose we get away from this learned nomenclature about international balances of trade and all that, and get down to the plain question of what it means. Suppose two farmers, A and B, have adjoining farms. A has a surplus of 100 bushels of wheat and B is the owner of a surplus of 200 bushels of corn; wheat is worth $1 dollar a bushel and corn is worth 40 cents a bushel. B says to A, "I want to get 100 bushels of wheat to sow this fall?" A says: "Very well; I want to get 200 bushels of corn for the purpose of feeding hogs and corn planting next spring." B then says: "I will trade you my 200 bushels of corn, worth 40 cents a bushel, and give $20 in addition for your 100 bushels of wheat, worth $1 a bushel."

There is a trade made. Mr. Henderson asserts, with a great many other Republican writers who are afflicted with this disease called "balance of trade," that B is $20 poorer, because he gave 200 bushels of corn, worth 40 cents, and in addition $20 in money, and that A is $20 richer, because he gets $20 and 200 bushels of corn for his 100 bushels of wheat, worth $1 a bushel. I say this is not correct, but that both men are better off, if they are good traders and know their business. Both are wealthier and both are in a better condition to prosecute their business. This is a homely phrase, I admit, but by such methods we can make clear and plain questions of this character.

When men get mystified by talking of "international balances of trade" an ordinary man is misled and is probably not able to form any idea as to the nature of balance of trade; but yet this transaction that is carried out between two nations is precisely the same thing in principle as the illustration I have just given, and the plain man can understand "inter-farm balances of trade" or "inter-neighborhood balances of trade" when he may not understand "international balance of trade."

Now, to talk of the great financial crisis that the country is laboring under being brought about by international balance of trade is to me an absurd proposition and does not explain the present condition or the condition that existed in 1873. The condition now is, and the condition then was, that the volume of the circulating medium of our Government, as to nineteen-twentieths of it, is unsubstantial, visionary, fleeting, mythical, vaporish credit, instead of the money itself.

Of all the systems that I have had the time to examine, I am inclined toward the French system. Do not understand me as standing here advocating a great national bank like the Bank of France; but a bank that can deposit $360,000,000 in gold and issue upon that 4,000,000,000 francs, and then, when a panic is threatened, in a period of nine days increase the volume of the currency 1,000,000,000 francs, and send it out to the uttermost parts of France to there meet the increased demands for money with an increased supply, is better than a system like ours, where we meet an increased demand with a shrinking and contracting supply. Before finally leaving this point I want to bring clearly home to the minds of the members of this House that as nineteen-twentieths of the business of our country is being done on a credit system, the contraction of $1 of cash money now means the contraction of $20 of the circulating medium from our people.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to refer briefly, in a few remarks at least, to this gentleman who has assumed the rôle of advising a Democratic Secretary of the Treasury how to run the finances. He is a very wealthy man, and he made his wealth by his knowledge of the law while he was in the State of Missouri. He is now estimated to be worth his millions, and he made that money, as I said, by his knowledge of the law. That knowledge of the law consisted in knowing that bonds that were then being sold or hawked around at 20 or 30 cents on the dollar could be bought up by him and that the Supreme Court of the United States would affirm the validity of those municipal bonds. He therefore invested in them, and he has become a very wealthy man, and now lives in this city. He desires to take a step further, and asks that these bonds that he bought at 20 or 30 cents on the dollar be now made payable to the bondholders upon a gold basis. My friends, it is not fair nor just, either to him or to the debtors. So much for that man.

Now, my friends, come down to this proposition as to what is just and right. Stand as did the Girondists of France—halfway between the two extremes. Is not that right? It is certainly right that the volume of the money of this country should remain unchanged until these debts are paid. I am not going into the wider realms of other nations and the debts existing in other countries, and say that the United States should erect herself as a guard to keep silver from being stricken down in order to protect the debtors of other nations. Those debtors are not our constituents. They live in foreign countries, and we have about all we can do, after thirty years of Republican rule, to attend to the people of the United States.

It is reported by the United States census that has just come out that the municipal bonded indebtedness of the various nations of the world, including their national debt, is the enormous sum of $27,000,000,000. The bonded debt of the United States, when we have added the national bonded debt to our city, State, county, and quasi-municipal bonded indebtedness, is over $2,000,000,000. This debt was contracted when we had the free and unlimited coinage of silver. This debt was contracted at a time when we had 412½ grains of standard silver in the dollar; and we simply ask the right to pay that debt in the same kind, and value, and volume of money: not to repudiate it, but to pay it in that kind and character of money. That is not a tithe of the entire debt of the United States as it is variously estimated. But, my friends, let us put it upon a safe basis.

I make this assertion, and the census shows, that this debt is constantly increasing instead of decreasing, and, therefore, I say to my single gold standard friends, "You can not answer this objection by saying that the creditor of to-day is the debtor of to-morrow." Because this debt has been constantly renewed one year after another, and it shows a constant increase, until to-day the great West, Northwest, and South and Southwest owe the northeastern part of the United States and Europe over $8,000,000,000. This debt we must pay. A great deal of that debt consists of the bonds upon railroads secured by blanket mortgages.

These railway bonds, as some man remarked to me a few moments ago, are payable in gold, "and therefore," he said, "you can give no relief to the debtor by having the free coinage of silver." My friend, do you think that for one moment? If you do, just stop right there and think a little bit. Just take yourself into your room and sit down and give the matter five minutes' thought. You will see that even if these bonds are payable in gold, the debtor is in a far better fix when we have the free coinage of silver than he would be when you destroy silver, because when you destroy silver you increase the value of the gold by increasing the demand for it, and when you do that you will appreciate and increase the value of that debt, and force the poor man to pay that bonded debt in a circulating medium upon a gold basis instead of one upon a silver basis.

Now, let us go a little farther. There is a debt of $8,000,000,000 owed by the people of the South, Southwest, West, and Northwest to the people of the East. You say, "A part of that is a railway bonded indebtedness which we have not to pay." My friends, think for one moment, and not one of you will deny this proposition: Every dollar of railway bonded indebtedness of the people of the United States has to be paid by the people of the United States, by the taxpayers and consumers, just as absolutely as if it was their individual notes, every time a merchant ships a pound of freight over a road.

The passenger and freight rate is fixed by the board of railway commissioners of the State, if there is such a board, or by the tariff rates fixed by the railway companies themselves, which rate enables them to meet the interest on their bonded debt, to create a sinking fund, and then to pay dividends upon their stock, and to pay the running expenses of the road.

Therefore every passenger and freight rate in the United States is a rate that recognizes that the man who buys those goods ultimately and consumes them pays every dollar of that debt. Therefore there is a debt, variously estimated at from three to three and a half billions of dollars, that rests upon the people of the United States, and we must pay it; and it is mainly paid by the people of the West and the South and the Northwest, the regions of corn and cotton and wheat. We must pay it to the people of the northeastern part of the United States and Europe.

My friends, when you gentlemen carry this out and force us to pay on a gold basis, I tell you that we will only do it at the end of the last fight we can make in this House; but if you wish to be fair you will aid us in keeping the volume the same: if you want to be unfair you will try to force us to pay a debt of $8,000,000,000 contracted upon a volume of currency that could not be less than $30 per capita in a volume of currency of about $15 per capita.

I am very sorry to say that our Secretary of the Treasury [Mr. Carlisle] has not been in office long enough to entirely wipe out the Republican methods in making the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, and therefore we have the same old blank form for his monthly reports.

I suppose that Mr. Foster, of Ohio, had a great many of these blanks struck off and the Democratic economy of Mr. Carlisle will not allow him to waste anything. Therefore he uses the old ones. The old one gives us what they say is the volume of the circulating medium of our Government per capita, and in giving that they say, "Take the actual amount of all the money coined

and issued by the United States and deduct from it the volume held in the Treasury of the United States," and they assert that every dollar of the balance is in circulation; and then by dividing by the population of the United States the per capita in circulation is found.

With due deference to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, be he Democrat or Republican, that statement is not true, and is not sustained by any writer on political economy, I care not where you get them; because they all hold, as I stated before, "that money held in reserve is not in circulation, and can not affect prices," whereas money is now all held in reservation and hence not in circulation, and that has affected the price of every dollar's worth of property, real and personal, in the United States, as given by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE], who has probably looked it up, to the amount of $1,500,000,000. Every shrinkage in value which causes a contraction of the volume of the currency in circulation strikes down prices and brings it down until you will have bankruptcy and ruin in its trail.

I make this assertion, and I believe I will be able to substantiate it by the advocates of silver upon the floor, that if the Sherman law is unconditionally repealed and we are forced to a gold basis and the free coinage of silver is stopped, all these debts of the United States that were contracted at an average volume of currency, say of $30 per capita, must be paid by the people of the United States with a volume of currency of $15 per capita. If you drive us to a gold basis it will cause the people of the United States to pay their debts in a volume of currency at least twice as valuable as that when the debt was contracted.

It is not fair, it is not honest, and you can not defend it on any principles of political economy or on the greater and higher plane of morality.

I did not intend to make any other remarks, but we are told what is the cause of the commercial crisis in the statement by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE], and I am forced to pay a little attention to him. He tells us that the financial distress of the United States is due to the agitation of this question of free trade, or threat to come to a free-trade basis, and says in his remarks:

> The effect of this is to paralyze business, throw thousands of workmen out of work, to destroy our home market, the principal market for agricultural products, by driving thousands of men who were former consumers into the business of last resort—agriculture.

Although a young man, I can recollect the time very well, Mr. Speaker, when agriculture was not "the business of last resort." I can recollect the time when the farmers were not only the bone and sinew of the country, but the pride and culture as well.

Then it was that the farmer was the money-loaner, the bank-stock holder, the creditor, the patron of all great enterprises. The culture, the refinement of the land was then on the farms. The farmers then built and owned the fine houses of our country. His children filled the great universities of learning, and carried away their highest honors. But, Mr. Speaker, that was in the glorious old days of uninterrupted Democratic rule.

Then it was thought as fine a position as a man could place his son in was to buy him 160 acres of land and set him down upon a farm to live. In those days, when such a man was asked his occupation, he proudly raised his head and said, "I am a farmer." Agriculture was not then called "an occupation of last resort."

I do not know whether the gentleman from Massachusetts would place it above or below "tramping," for he calls it "a business of last resort." But there has been a time in the history of all great governments when the farmers were indeed the last resort to save their country. They were the people of "last resort" during the days of the Roman nation, when old Cincinnatus was called from the plow. They were the people of last resort to save this country from England when Putnam and Washington, and men of that stamp, were called from their farms to their country's rescue. They were the people of last resort when both sides, North and South, enrolled three-fourths of the bravest soldiers that ever fought upon any battle field from the farms of this land. The farmers have always been the people of last resort to save their country in an hour of peril.

When the voice of liberty, stifled, smothered, and choked by tyranny and oppression, has appealed to the farmers for aid, it has never appealed in vain. Their rough hands and sun-burned faces have ever been seen in the front line battling for the rights and liberties of their country.

Often, in reading of the unselfish devotion of these men of the plow to the cause of liberty, I have wondered whether the gratitude of nations was but a mockery and a sham to lure the brave to destruction, and whether their glorious, blood-stained sacrifices of the past would be soon buried in the grave of forgetfulness. God forbid.

And if there is anything of truth in the predictions contained in the letters written by the great English historian, Macaulay, to H. S. Randal, of Philadelphia, in 1857, in which he predicts the downfall of our Government by anarchy, the great farming class will again be the "last resort" to save American liberty from the red flag and hissing bombs.

And yet, sir, we find this gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. MORSE] who represents a Congressional district of that State and the large Rising Sun Stove Polish Company, somewhere in Massachusetts [laughter], coming forward here and making the assertion that our people are now so desperately poverty-stricken that they are driven into agriculture, "that occupation of last resort." If agriculture is being degraded, what party did it? Four years ago last winter I went into a theater in St. Louis, and knowing that there were no great actors or actresses in town, I did not look at the name of the play until I had gotten my seat, and then I found that its title was "Only a Farmer's Daughter." [Laughter.] I sat it through to find out the drift, and what do you suppose it was? Why, it was a play to try to teach the American people that honesty and virtue could be found even among the daughters of American farmers! [Laughter.]

That play was in line with the remark of the gentleman from Massachusetts, and I charge that it is his party that has brought upon us the occasion for such remarks and that has put such plays upon the stage. Dickens wrote Little Dorrit, Bleak House, Dombey and Son, and Oliver Twist, and the other great works that have secured him a world-wide fame, to show that you could find honesty and virtue even in the slums of London.

But here we find a man writing a play which fills crowded houses one hundred nights in New York, sixty nights in Chicago, twenty nights in St. Louis, the purpose of it being to prove that after thirty years of Republican rule you can still find honesty and virtue among the daughters of American farmers! [Laughter and applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

On motion of Mr. COX of Tennessee, the time of Mr. HALL was indefinitely extended.

Mr. HALL of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, as the time allotted to me has expired, I will come rapidly to a conclusion. I desire simply to say two or three words more, and to make a statement as a member of the farming class who is not ashamed to admit his calling. I wish to say that the great agricultural Samson of this country has lain asleep with his head in the lap of the Delilah of Republican protection for thirty years, but he has waked up, and he has waked up ere his locks are shorn. He is awake and recognizes his enemies. He recognizes the party that has brought him to the condition in which he finds himself to-day, and he sees that that condition has been brought about through the process of closing the foreign markets of the world to his products through retaliatory and hostile commercial legislation, thus cutting down the prices of everything that he had to sell fully 40 per cent and decreasing the demand for his products by $750,000,000 annually. He sees, on the other hand, that it has increased the price of all the necessaries of life that he and his family require fully 50 per cent beyond what they would otherwise be, and that by this negro fox-trap plan of "catchin' him goin' and catchin' him comin'" it has brought him down until his business is called the "last resort." I now serve notice on this House, and especially the "Rising Sun Stove Polish statesman," that as long as I am a member of this body no one on this floor shall ever speak disrespectfully of the farmer without hearing from me on all such occasions. I will have my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth ere I will have one word uttered against this noble band of patriots, defenders of liberty, and feeders of all.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to say to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE] that the farmers have opened their eyes wide enough to be able to know their friends, and that they will never hereafter be caught putting in a vote for any Republican, although he may be polished with every ounce or every pound of the sunrise stove polish that ever came from the factory of the gentleman from Massachusetts. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. SNODGRASS. Mr. Speaker, I approach the discussion of this question with some embarrassment. I can not support the bill presented by my friend from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON] for several reasons. The gentleman who introduced this bill has a national reputation. In my country in the past his name whenever mentioned has provoked an outburst of applause. He has acted in harmony with the principles of the Democratic party. I was astonished, therefore, when the bill to repeal the purchasing clause in the Sherman act came from that distinguished gentleman, for that bill, in my judgment, is in nowise compatible with the platform on which the gentleman himself as well as the President of the United States was elected. That platform declared in one sentence that the Sherman law (not the purchasing clause of it) was a "makeshift" and should be repealed.

Gentlemen come here now and want to take up the Democratic platform by sentences, and the first bill offered is in violation of

the first sentence of the declaration of that platform in regard to the financial condition of the country. Instead of complying with the written instruction of their party upon this question, gentlemen propose to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act and to leave the balance of that law in full force and effect, thereby placing this country upon a single gold standard. I say, therefore, that even if I could consent to take up the declaration of the platform by sentences, I could not vote for this bill, because it is not in compliance with the platform of the Democratic party.

In the second place, I remark that the sentence in question is embraced in the seventh section of the platform; and that section, in its declaration upon this great question, must be taken as a whole. It declares that the infamous Sherman law must be repealed, but it declares also that we should have the coinage of gold and silver upon the same terms. This declaration in favor of the coinage of silver upon the same terms as gold carries with it, necessarily, the repeal of the Sherman law.

More than that, I could not vote for the gentleman's bill because it is in violation of the history and the record of the Democratic party in regard to the demonetization of silver. The Democratic platform—the same upon which gentlemen here ran—declared that the act of the Republican party in 1873 in demonetizing silver was a crime against the American people. If you repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman law and go no farther, then where will you be? You will be in the same category with the Republican party—guilty of the same line of action which you have charged was a crime in the Republican party in 1873.

Mr. Speaker, I favor the substitute offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], because it carries out the pledges and promises of the Democratic party. It proposes to repeal the Sherman law, and in the same measure it proposes to give the people the free and unlimited coinage of silver—a thing that they have been struggling and clamoring and fighting for since 1873.

Mr. Speaker, in midsummer, and at an unusual time, we are called together by proclamation from the President to consider important legislation.

What is it that gave rise to the demands for an extra session of Congress? The reasons are plain and simple. From one end of the country to the other the people are crying for relief. There is, by estimation, in this country to-day two millions of people who are without employment, and many of them without bread. Merchants are failing, banks are breaking, and utter insolvency is threatening most of our people. In the midst of the most bountiful season with which Providence has favored us, and when the barns and granaries of the farmers are loaded to overflowing, we find them without a market for their products, and their wheat will not bring more than 50 cents per bushel.

These are the considerations we are to deal with, and every member in this House should approach the discussion with a fairness and patriotism that will result in a measure for relief to the people. The cry of the people is for more money, and to him who would say the circulation per capita is greater now than in the past, I would reply, that while in the abstract this may be true, this wealth is, by reason of unjust and class legislation and legislation against the interest and welfare of the common people, so unjustly distributed as to make it of no avail in relieving the prevailing distress.

While New York and many of the Eastern States have a per capita circulation of between $150 and $200, the people of my State, who are as thrifty, industrious, and patriotic as any that live, have only a per capita circulation of $6, and it is a sad and solemn confession on my part, but it is true, nevertheless, that my people have a mortgage debt of $23 per capita, nearly four times the amount of money in circulation in the State, and they are better off than the people of any other State thus far tabulated except Arkansas, which has a mortgage debt of $13 per capita; all the other States ranging higher up to Republican Kansas, which has a mortgage debt of $170 per capita. While this is true, our friends propose by this bill to reduce the ability of the people to pay almost one-half by striking down nearly one-half the money of the country and thereby increasing their indebtedness in a like ratio, and have the audacity to argue that this is the mode by which to restore confidence and bring about general prosperity.

To illustrate this: Suppose a man owed a debt of $5,000 and had $5,000 with which to pay it, and the Government should deprive him of $2,500—one-half of it—which the demonetization of silver practically does, would this have the effect to strengthen the confidence of the creditor or the ability of the debtor to pay? Certainly not. It may be sufficient to satisfy the creditor class of England and America to thus strike silver down, but to the debtor class—the men who toil and labor and who pay all the debts, both public and private—they will not be deluded or deceived by such subtle and unreasonable conclusions.

On this great question affecting the interest and happiness of all the people I do not propose to make any one man, though he be the first in power in this Government, my platform. I prefer to take the aggregate wisdom of the Democratic party as expressed in the Chicago platform, upon which the President and all Democrats on this floor were elected.

And here it may not be out of place to remind the Democratic contingent, who are standing here shoulder to shoulder with the Republican party that has brought all this evil and affliction upon the American people, that in 1884, when Grover Cleveland first ran for the Presidency, he did so upon a free-coinage platform, and he was elected by the American people; in 1888, when the platform was silent on that subject, he was defeated; and in 1892, upon a free-coinage platform, he was again elected.

It is my purpose, by my action here, to carry out every pledge made in that platform to the people, one of which was to remonetize silver and give the people coinage of silver on the same terms on which gold is coined; and I never intend to be accused, Judas like, of betraying the people whom I have sworn to serve. I do not now, nor have I ever, indorsed the Sherman act of July, 1890, and am anxious to see it repealed, if the substitute of Mr. BLAND can be adopted by this House, and which is in accord with the platform. But if the purchasing clause is repealed it would leave the balance of the act in full force, and would not be a compliance with the sentence of the platform demanding its repeal.

The platform declared that the demonetization of silver in 1873 by the Republican party was a crime, to which I cheerfully assent. Now, to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman law without going further and complying with the balance of the platform in giving the people a bimetallic standard would be to make us guilty of the identical thing we charged as a crime in the Republicans in 1873. Upon this question, in urging the people of my district to stand by the Democratic ticket, in a speech delivered in August last, I used this language:

By the coinage plank of its platform, adopted at Chicago, the Democratic party pledged itself to coin silver on the same terms on which gold is coined; to maintain the parity of silver, gold, and paper money issued by the United States, and to abolish the existing premium on gold by the repeal of the bullion storage act through which silver bullion is demonetized and the coinage of silver discontinued. The Democratic theory of bimetallism and of the free coinage of the precious metals is clearly elucidated in this clause of the Chicago platform:

"SEC. 7. We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic, and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar, at all times, in the markets and in the payment of debts, and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farming and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency."

This declaration of free coinage principle, without which the bimetallic standard can not be maintained, meets the demands of the bimetallist, and at the same time cuts away the ground from under the feet of the advocates of the single gold standard, who have declared that the silver dollar is dishonest money because by their legislation silver has been demonetized and gold forced to a premium—an altogether artificial and unnatural premium. The Democratic party will not only restore the equality of silver with gold in coinage, but will maintain the silver, the gold, and the paper dollars at par with each other. It has declared a policy that will be satisfactory to all Democrats West and East, and with this declaration of policy it invites the support of all who are opposed to the single gold standard, to the unnatural premium on gold, and to the enforced contraction of the currency. This declaration of our platform has been misconstrued by the enemies of Democracy who charge that it is not for free coinage.

That this construction is false is too apparent for argument. The platform declares for both metals, giving both an equal right to the mints and coinage. But they say because it says they shall be on a parity and of the same intrinsic value that therefore it is a declaration against free silver. This is not true. All that free silver men have ever asked is that it should have the same right of coinage and that when this was given it that it would be of the same intrinsic value of gold or be worth a premium, as it was in 1873, when it was struck down as a money by the Republican party. The ratio will be fixed by Congress, it will not be laid down and measured by the gold bugs of Wall street. Then who can suppose that Congress will make any improper ratio? If the ratio should be slightly increased it would not hurt the people of the South. We have no silver mines. What we want is both metals as money, each the equal of the other, and the right to pay our debts, public and private, with both.

That was my understanding of the platform at that time; it is the way the people understood it, it is the way they voted on it; it is the way I understand it now, and I respectfully insist that it is the only sensible and reasonable construction that can be placed upon the platform.

No man is more willing and anxious to carry out the platform than I am, but I will never cast my vote for a measure that in my opinion absolutely demonetizes silver and establishes a single gold standard and enriches the creditor classes of the world

and impoverishes and enslaves the debtor classes, and to vote for the simple repeal of the Sherman act with nothing more does this, and violates the purpose and obvious intent of the platform. Silver is named in the Constitution along with gold, and the two metals form the money basis of this country. In reply to what the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER] said the other day, I quote the language of Webster, the great constitutional expounder. He said:

Gold and silver at rates fixed by Congress constitute the legal standard of value in this country, and neither Congress nor any State has authority to establish any other standard or to displace that standard.

Silver has been used as money for over three thousand years, and the record of the Democratic party, from the date of its birth, has been to recognize silver equal with gold as the basis of all circulating medium in this country; and it is left to this Congress to say whether or not that record shall be broken by the Democratic party, and that, too, over its solemn promises made from one end of the country to the other, and without which the Government in all its branches would not have been turned over to it by the people.

I warn you here and now that, if these pledges are violated, the man guilty of doing the same will be relegated to private life, and he ought to be. No man in the South or West who subscribes to this doctrine should be ever elected again to any public trust.

Mr. Speaker, I was astonished when my colleague [Mr. PATTERSON] announced yesterday to this House that he would not support the free and unlimited coinage of silver upon any ratio, and that he was a single gold, standard man. Why, sir, he has been one of the oracles of the Democracy in my State; he has been, or has assumed to be, the leader of our party there for years. He has been in accord with the Democratic party upon the great cardinal principles and policies of that party; and when he was a candidate for governor in our State I felt as if it were an honor to give him my earnest, enthusiastic, and hearty support. But it seems that the gentleman has turned a somersault, and in doing so he has fallen from his place alongside of the suffering and distressed people of this country into the arms of the rich barons of England and the "gold bugs" of Wall street. [Laughter.] A feeling of sadness passes over my soul when I look at the downfall. I want to shed a tear over his political grave.

Mr. Speaker, I do not challenge the right or prerogative of any man to change his position upon a public question; but I do think that whenever a man educates his people and secures a seat on this floor by representations that he stands upon the platform of the party—if a change so suddenly comes over the spirit of his dream he ought to go back to his people with that change and say, "I am now upon a different platform; how do you like me?"

I have before me a variety of speeches made by my colleague to the people of Tennessee, and they were made under the same conditions that exist to-day—speeches in which he held out to them as a panacea for all evils, all oppressions, all afflictions, the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Not only that, but at the last session of Congress my friend made a speech in this House in which he said what I will ask the Clerk to read.

The Clerk read as follows:

It is believed by many patriotic men, for whose opinions I have great respect, that the demonetization of silver is the iliad of all our woes. While I agree with them that the demonetization of silver was a crime against the people and contributed to their financial distress, and I shall vote with the friends of silver to restore it to its time-honored place as a money metal when and wherever the opportunity is presented, I do not concur in the opinion that its remonetization will bring the measure of relief which is claimed for it. I am satisfied that a law restoring the free and unlimited coinage of silver would not materially increase the volume of the currency. I do not believe it would materially affect one way or the other the financial and monetary condition of the country. I think it is very clear that we need a larger volume of sound currency than we now have, but I fail to see how the volume of the currency produces the evils which I have described.

* * * * * * * *

Now, let us trace its legislative history since the close of the war and see how perfectly it has conformed to the bidding of its masters. In respect to the currency, it began by the demonetization of silver. At the time silver was disgraced and barred as a money metal it was at a premium and was not in circulation. Coin at this juncture was unknown to the people, and consequently the blow at silver was not then felt: and the people, even the wisest of the people in official life, did not realize or even know what had been done. No one but the conspirators dreamed of the far-reaching effects of this secret stab at silver, which had been recognized as a money metal from the earliest dawn of history. Then followed the process of rapid approach to the resumption of specie payment, which occurred in 1879. The currency during that period appreciated in value and all property correspondingly depreciated, leaving a vortex in which was swallowed up in large measure the prosperity of the people.

In respect to the bonded indebtedness, a policy of favoritism was likewise pursued. Originally payable in any money declared by law a legal tender, it was, at the expense of silver and Treasury notes, converted into bonds payable in gold and bearing interest payable in the same coin. In this way did the Republican party give stability to the currency and glory to the country at the expense of the toiling millions and in the interest of the favored few.

Mr. SNODGRASS. Mr. Speaker, with no change of circumstances, no change of conditions except the tentative action on the part of India, the gentleman made all these speeches to which I have alluded, and voted to promote the free and unlimited coinage of silver. But I suppose it may be proper, as a matter of justice to the gentleman whose seat I see is now vacated, to say that he voted both ways on this great question in the last House.

I propose to read a paragraph from the speech made in Gallatin, Tenn., on July 28, 1891, in which my colleague says:

Democracy attributes these inequalities in the condition of the people to several causes: to a long-continued protective tariff system, to the opportunities given the favored and protected classes to build up and maintain within the tariff walls trusts and combines, which prevent fair competition; and the cutting off of the agricultural masses from the markets of the world. Our exports consist almost altogether in agricultural products. * * * Fourth, to the demonetization of silver, whereby the owners of accumulated wealth in this country, as well as in England, the greatest of commercial nations, have been enabled to realize at the expense of the people the difference between the value of gold and silver.

This is from the Nashville American.

Mr. BOATNER. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SNODGRASS. Yes.

Mr. BOATNER. Has your colleague not admitted that his mental condition is different now from what it was at the time he made that speech?

Mr. SNODGRASS. Yes, sir; and to that I propose to address myself later on.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I am perfectly honest in saying that I am curious to know what has produced this sudden change of sentiment on the part of my colleague. What new light has fallen upon him? What new revelation has broken in on the vision of the gentleman from Tennessee? He has failed to state a single fact or a single reason that satisfies my mind as to the cause of this new conversion. So far as I am concerned, no power can cajole me; even letters from prominent men can not drive me from the advocacy and support of the pledges and promises I made to the people who honored me by giving me a seat in this body.

But my colleague said on yesterday—and he is generally a very accurate man, because he is a warm-hearted, able, enthusiastic man, for whose integrity and for whose manhood and courage I have the greatest admiration; but as we differ diametrically on this question I assume that I have the right to criticise his action on this floor. He said on yesterday:

Smart men change, but fools never.

Mr. Speaker, he ought to know, because he has broken the record more times than any one man I know of in that regard. [Laughter.] But he wound up his statement—and that is the point to which I wish to direct your attention and what I objected to, because I had hoped that at last he would go back to his "first love," and vote for the people and their interests; but he has cut off this hope in the concluding portion of his speech, after stating that he was now fixed and intended to stick there, and the effect of this is that there was no chance for smart men to change now and fools never will. I refer to this conversion and his record to show, not that he has no right to change, for that is a personal matter; not that he is not honest in these changes, not that he does not believe he is subserving the best interests of his people, but simply to show that he was once right and stood for the honest money of the Constitution, gold and silver.

Why, Mr. Speaker, he even tells us that 90 per cent of the people do not understand this question, but adds that the capitalists and bankers do. I tell my colleague that he is mistaken. A little later on he will believe that they do understand the question, and also will understand the record the honorable gentleman has made upon the question. But I will tell you, Mr. Speaker, the fact that he damns a record that has cost him thirty years of labor to make, and eats his words by the thousand, will not excuse him, though he eat two suppers and smoke two cigars every evening from now until this Congress adjourns.

But, sir, I have got another document that I want to send up to the Clerk's desk to have read. The truth is, I am as much astounded at the changes in this regard on the part of my colleague upon the silver question as Lincoln was after the first battle of Bull Run, when he had to pay 50 cents for a drink of whisky; prices are going so high, changes are so common, that no man knows what is to be the result, and nothing seems to be what it used to be. I send some extracts from editorials of the honorable Secretary of the Interior, Hoke Smith, which I desire to have read and placed in my remarks.

The Clerk read as follows:

Such stuff (The Constitution's statement that the President's message does not conform to the Democratic platform) might be expected from the silver-mine owners or their paid lobby at the capital, but when it comes from a Democratic paper it is a symptom of arrogant imbecility.—*Evening Journal.*

What about such "stuff" as this, taken from the Journal no longer than last year, at the time when the Secretary of the Interior "wrote the campaign editorials"?

The repeal of the Sherman law will bring about a contraction of the currency that will be deplorable.—*Journal*, January 4, 1892.

Mr. Cleveland is in favor of letting alone the present silver act, which provides for the coinage of 54,000,000 silver dollars a year.

Governor Hill would have us repeal that law and return to the Bland act, which would give us only $24,000,000 of silver coinage a year. Mr. Cleveland is a better friend to silver by $34,000,000 a year than is Governor Hill.—*Journal*, January 2, 1892.

The Constitution of the United States prohibits any State from making anything else than gold and silver a legal tender. It also empowers Congress to coin money and fix its value, and Congress has fixed the value of the standard dollar at 100 cents, not 67 cents. It correlatively follows that any State has the constitutional right to make silver coinage a legal tender at the value given to it by Congress in payment of all debts which are not expressly contracted to be paid in other money.—*Journal*, April 2, 1892.

This is the act (the Sherman law) which Governor Hill denounces and the repeal of which he says the Democratic party should demand. Its repeal would, of course, throw us back on the Bland bill, which would provide for the purchase of not less than $2,000,000 nor more than $4,000,000 worth of silver bullion a month—an act which, at its best, would decrease the currency at least $14,000,000 a year less than the Sherman act, and at its worst would cut down the increase of circulation by at least $34,000,000 a year.

That's the sort of free-silver champion Governor Hill is.—*Journal*, June 7, 1892.

And this may bring up the pertinent inquiry as to what kind of a free-silver champion the President is. This man who stood near the President in the campaign said these words to the Democratic voters of Georgia. This man who stands near to President Cleveland, now the present Secretary of the Interior, is the same man who gave voice to the sentiments which I have had read from the Clerk's desk. I want to ask the gentlemen here who feel that they are justified in shutting their eyes and violating the solemn promises and pledges of the Democratic party, when they come to speak for themselves, what they understand to be the position of the President upon this all-absorbing question?

My position on this question is not new, but it is precisely the same as that taken by the Democratic party always.

I indorse the patriotic utterances of Secretary Carlisle, made on this floor in 1878, and I quote them for their merit, with the simple comment that out of no changed views of his on this subject can be evolved an answer to what he then said.

He spoke as follows:

I know that the world's stock of the precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it will ever become so. Mankind will be fortunate, indeed, if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry. According to my views of the subject the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy, by legislation and otherwise, from three-sevenths to one-half of the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age.

The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilences, and famines that ever occurred in the history of the world. The absolute and instantaneous destruction of half the entire movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads, and all other appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation, of the metallic money in the world.

These words he spoke when he came directly from and was in touch with the people who sent him to Congress. The calamities prophesied by the honorable Secretary in 1878 may be quoted with approval by every Democrat in 1893, for there has been no change of front in our party on this question, and a simple repeal of the Sherman law with nothing more will give just grounds for such prophecy. What the people need in Congress is men of convictions, with the courage to declare them, and who do not pander to other influences nor listen to the appeal of hired lobbyists, who infest this Capitol, and whose voices have been potent in influencing legislation on this subject in the past; for we had as well understand at the start that this is a fight between the the creditor and debtor classes of this and other countries, and either the people or the plutocrats must triumph in the result.

The former are numbered by the million, while the latter are only numbered by the thousand. This warfare has been going on for ages, and the Shylocks are now demanding the last pound of flesh, while the people piteously appeal to this Congress for relief; and upon a vote on this question in this House the records will show who are the friends of the people and who are the friends of the classes, and who it is that have broken their pledges and violated their most solemn trust, and the men who do this will be branded as traitors to their people and false to their best interests and betrayers of a solemn promise.

Mr. Speaker, we were told on this floor at the last session and during the last campaign by men who claimed to be Democrats that the financial question was of only secondary importance; was only a speck on the political horizon as compared with the great and only constitutional question, that of tariff reform; that it was as a molehill compared to a mountain, and that the only thing that could bring relief to the people was tariff legislation, and that the financial question should be relegated to the baggage wagon. These same parties now stand up and tell us that the tariff is secondary and that the all-important question is the money question. Ah! gentlemen, this will not do. The leopard can not change his spots nor Democracy its principles; what they then said was true, and it is true to-day.

I repeat, that the financial question is no more to be compared with the illegal taxes and the tribute that is being wrung from the American people than a molehill is to a mountain.

I favor the taking up of every question that affects the people and disposing of it, and we can no more give relief to them by piecemeal than the good doctor can give relief to his patient who has divers afflictions by the cure of one of them, and I am in favor of staying here until the needed relief is brought about if it takes until my term of office expires. We have promised the people relief, and our promises were not made to be broken. The people of this country have suffered for thirty years from broken promises and deception, and now that the Democratic party, which has always been regarded as the party of the people, has come into power, each and every promise that we made should be scrupulously complied with, and this we will not do if we vote for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act.

In the same paragraph of the Chicago platform which provides for the repeal of the Sherman law the Democratic party made another pledge that is coupled with it, and which can not be separated from it, which was that we recognized gold and silver as the standard money of this country, and that we should have the coinage of both without discriminating against either, and this clause was inserted "for the protection of the farming and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency." Can it be said that this was inserted as a vote-catcher? Certainly no Democrat will admit this. I insist that under the platform these two things must be taken together, because the coinage of silver on the same terms as gold carries with it necessarily the repeal of the Sherman law.

Suppose the platform had stopped with the single declaration in favor of the repeal of the Sherman law and had made no provision for the free coinage of silver; who in this House will say that Grover Cleveland and the Democratic ticket would have swept the country as they did? It was the West and South that elected Grover Cleveland, and without this declaration he could never have procured their support. Mr. Speaker, the men who desire to demonetize silver and put this country on a single gold standard seek to avoid the force of this by asking us to wait until the people are ruined and until it suits the money barons of England and other foreign countries to have an international agreement as to the ratio between the two metals and the coinage of silver.

This dodge was never heard of until after the crime of demonetization of 1873 had been effected, and its insistence in an American Congress is enough to bring the blush of shame to the face of every American patriot. And whenever the people seem to be in the position to get this relief the emissaries of Wall street and London and Liverpool come here and cry "international agreement." They say we must not move until the British lion has lowered his growl on British soil. Timid, cowards, sneaks? No; but avaricious, determined to appreciate the debts of the people and to depreciate their ability to pay.

This is but a subterfuge of fraud as black and corrupt as the midnight shades of the damned, and a snare to prevent the people from securing their rights. We are told by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BROWN] that they want to keep every promise made in the platform. Oh, what a sweet morsel that is to roll under their tongues—but that we must take it up by sentences! How long would that take?

How long would it take you to get through with the tariff bill in that way? I say, how long would it take? What committee could ever make reports upon the different sentences of that platform? Logic profound! Satisfactory to the gentleman, I suppose, who used it. Empty! We are not to be deceived by this. If they are in earnest about carrying out the platform, why not do both at the same time and in the same bill? Why make two bites of a cherry?

We understand these tactics. We have had a long, painful, terrible lesson in these side-track issues, commencing with the Bland bill and the Sherman act. Mark it down, this is a fight from now until the time when the common people are restored to their rights. Once they succeed in the repeal of the Sherman law and demonetize silver, then they would resort to any and all measures to defeat its being made one of the money metals of this country.

Let us carry out the platform, gentlemen, in toto, and not take it up by piecemeal. The great mass of people composing the Democratic party understand this question, and they understand the promises the party made to them in convention, and I here quote the concluding portion of a letter just received from a plain old farmer in my district, and it appeals to me more strongly than

the resolution of any board of trade or the quacking of paid lobbyists. He says:

I hope that our party will be able to restore confidence and remove the great depression that seems to be almost universal, and that it will through its representatives give us free and unlimited coinage of silver, and in every respect redeem all the pledges it made to the people.

Another says:

Stand by the people and give us free silver.

Mr. Speaker, when the humblest man in the humblest cabin home in the mountains of East Tennessee left his home on the 8th of last November to go to the polls and vote the Democratic ticket he understood that free silver was promised him by the Democratic party, and I declare here and now that it was promised him, and when we fail to give it to him we are recreant to the promises made. When silver was demonetized it was worth $1.29 per ounce. To-day it is worth 75 cents per ounce. Will our single-standard friends tell us why this is? As a circulating medium the value of silver has not changed, and the ratio between gold and silver is the same now that it was in 1873, when it was demonetized. The answer is this: By bribery and legislation bought with a price, silver has been discredited, is why it is worth little more than half to-day what it was twenty years ago.

An act of Congress that would not allow the people to use the raw material that goes to make cloth, flour, machinery, or anything that we manufacture, would be no worse than the present law that forbids the use of silver. Silver bullion is not worth as much as gold bullion, but a silver dollar will buy as much and is worth as much as a gold dollar; then why not carry out the Chicago platform and by equal rights, which the free coinage of both metals will give, bring the price of the bullion of the two metals closer together? If this is done, and silver is coined free, it is bound to come up to the dollar value.

I deny that we must wait for other countries to move in this matter, or that there must be an international agreement for free coinage before we can adopt it. This is a mere pretext on the part of the gold men for delay. England, a large proportion of whose people live upon fixed incomes and are benefited by low prices, in order to maintain low prices established the single gold standard without coöperation with any other country. Germany consulted no foreign power in 1857 when she abandoned gold, nor in 1873, when she threw silver overboard. France threw her mints open to the coinage of both metals in 1803, and acted independently of all other countries.

Then, why is it that we, producing annually more than 40 per cent of the silver of the world, can not stand alone in this matter and act independently when we have a balance of trade in our favor of over two hundred millions with Great Britain and the money of the world coming to us. Yet we are told that the greatest Government the world ever saw must stand awed and cowed before England or any other foreign power before she can establish a monetary basis and system of her own. The sun shines upon no country that is the equal of ours. We have a soil as rich as can be found anywhere, and a climate so varied that it will nurture the growth of anything that comes out of the ground. We have every mineral in abundance of which any country can boast, and with this kept in view there is no reason to suppose—in fact it would be folly to assert—that the balance of trade will not continue in our favor.

The true reason for this combination against silver can be plainly seen. The men who own the gold want a monopoly in its ownership, and they know that if silver is not permitted to compete with it their gold is worth more. The men who own the bonds and debts that the people of this country owe know that if the single gold standard is resorted to it will appreciate their bonds and in like ratio deprive the people of the ability to pay. The wheat-raiser knows that a failure of the corn crop will increase the price of his wheat. A few years since the price of breadstuffs in Germany was greatly enhanced by the passage of a Russian law that prohibited the exportation of Russian rye. Drive out silver and of course gold is worth more.

In speaking of the demonetization act of 1873 in this country, the president of a bank in France used this language:

If by a stroke of the pen they suppress one of these metals in the monetary service, they double the demand for the other metal to the ruin of all debtors.

For twenty years the people have said that they wanted an administration in sympathy with them and with their money, and one that would not do the will of the gold monopolist, as the Republican party had done. I have been taught to believe that a Democratic administration was what they clamored for, and that it was pledged to give the people relief on this subject, regardless of class or section.

I was born and reared a Democrat, and for twenty-five years have consistently voted and worked for that ticket; but if it be Democracy to vote for a measure that can have but one result, the destruction and disgrace of one of the money metals of the country, then I must confess that I have up to this date misapprehended what Democracy meant. But I deny that the Democratic party, as a party, will ever subscribe to such doctrines. It would be to turn completely around on this question. I am no stickler on the ratio between the two metals, and as far as I am individually concerned, I believe that the ratio as at present established is about right; but in a spirit of compromise I am willing to see the ratio increased to whatever is fair and just.

Mr. Speaker, if we stop with the simple repeal of the Sherman law and go no further, it will bring no relief to the people, but instead will bring such ruin and destruction as was perhaps never witnessed in any country.

The war between the creditor and debtor class has been waged vigorously for the last thirty years. Up to this time the debts, both public and private, were made, and were payable in either greenbacks, gold, or silver. The first step taken in this great conspiracy of the creditor class against the masses of the people was to deny them the right of paying the public debt in greenbacks, thus appreciating the public debt, and depreciating the ability of the people to pay.

The second step was to demonetize silver in 1873, and make all their indebtedness payable in gold, by which the people were robbed of millions of dollars and the creditor class enriched a corresponding amount. From 1873 down to the present time the great body of the American people have been struggling for the restoration of silver as money. In 1878, as a compromise measure, and instead of giving the people what they needed and demanded, they were put off with what is known as the Bland act.

In 1890 another step looking towards the further demonetization of silver, the infamous Sherman act, became a law, and in 1893 the enemies of silver are proposing to absolutely destroy silver as money by the repeal of the purchasing clause in said Sherman act. If they succeed in this the next step in the programme or play upon the boards will be to issue Government bonds payable in gold and put them on the market for sale, and with the gold they receive for the same retire all silver and greenbacks from circulation as money. This would fasten upon the people a bonded indebtedness of $800,000,000 payable in gold, and this, added to their already enormous burdens, is more than they can bear.

England demonetized silver in India, and through its American allies is seeking to do the same thing here. What was the effect on the price of silver after it was demonetized there? Why, in three days the price dropped 19 points. What would be the result to this, the greatest country the world ever saw, if this Congress should do the same thing? It would absolutely destroy one of the greatest productions on the American continent, that of silver. It would throw out of employment thousands of willing, earnest laborers. It would leave the country without money to handle the fruits of the farmers' honest toil and produce in the country an army of beggars and tramps.

Mr. Speaker, as the representatives of the people, what should we do to relieve them?

First. We should pass the Bland substitute, repealing the Sherman law, and give to the people the free and unlimited coinage of silver. This would increase the volume of money as our domestic trade expands and be a restoration of the coinage system that existed in the United States for the first eighty years.

Second. We should repeal all class legislation, and, above all, we should repeal the unconstitutional McKinley bill, which illegally takes from the people millions of dollars annually as taxes to the Federal Government, and many millions more as tribute to rich manufacturers, for which the people receive no consideration.

Third. We should impose a graduated income tax upon the millionaires of the country, and thus force the wealth they possess to bear with the common people the burdens of the Government. Let the banking law be so amended as to force the bankers to issue in currency the full face value of their bonds on deposit. This would increase the currency from eighteen to twenty million dollars, which would go at once into the hands of the people and relieve their present pressing necessities.

Fourth. The law in favor of national banks, imposing a 10 per cent tax on other circulating currency, should be repealed at once, and thus destroy the monopoly the national banks now have as to our currency and enable the States upon proper security and under proper regulations to issue a currency which will supply the demands of the people of the several States.

The passage of any one of these acts will not bring complete relief to the people, but the passage of all of them will relieve them; and I, for one, say that it is our duty to stay here until this legislation is accomplished. When it is done we will turn our eyes back to the people and find them prosperous, happy, and contented.

So long as I represent my people here there is no power above, below, or here that can drive me from these positions or into breaking a single pledge or promise that I made to them.

Others can do as they like and answer to their constituents for their action, to whom they alone are responsible. [Applause.]

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I would like to have printed in the RECORD a communication from the Director of the Mint showing the amount of standard silver that a dollar would contain at the different ratios proposed in these amendments.

There was no objection.

The communication is as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., August 14, 1893.

To the Hon. DIRECTOR OF THE MINT:

Please give me the number of grains of standard silver in the dollar at the ratios of 17, 18, 19 and 20 to 1, respectively, and oblige,

Yours, etc.,

R. P. BLAND.

BUREAU OF THE MINT, *August 14, 1893.*

Ratio 1 to 17: Standard grains in a silver dollar, 438.60.
Ratio 1 to 18: Standard grains in a silver dollar, 464.40.
Ratio 1 to 19: Standard grains in a silver dollar, 490.20.
Ratio 1 to 20: Standard grains in a silver dollar, 516.00.

R. E. PRESTON, *Acting Director Mint.*

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent leave of absence was granted to Mr. SCHERMERHORN, for one week, on account of important business.

And then, pursuant to the special order (at 5 o'clock and 1 minute p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow at 11 o'clock a. m.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *August 16, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. VOORHEES presented a petition of citizens of Noblesville, Ind., and a petition of the Local Trades Labor Council of Fort Wayne, Ind., praying for such financial legislation as will secure bimetallism; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. VOORHEES. I present a petition of a number of citizens of Cass County, Ind., praying for relief against the manifold iniquities of the present civil service administration, a prayer in which I heartily concur. I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. PEFFER presented a petition of the Farmers' Alliance of Franklin County, Kans., praying for the passage of a free-coinage bill, and the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the memorial of J. M. C. Miller and other citizens of Hillsdale, Oregon, and the memorial of L. G. Wood and other citizens of Marshall County, Minn., remonstrating against the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law, unless legislation be enacted to fully remonetize silver; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. SHERMAN presented a petition of the Hardware Jobbers' Association of Cleveland, Ohio, praying for the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law and for a short session of the present Congress; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the old soldiers of Senecaville, Ohio, praying that the record of three thousand soldiers taken promiscuously from the pension rolls, be examined by a committee of two members of the Grand Army of the Republic and three citizens, and that where fraud is discovered the pensioner be dropped, and that the records of all such soldiers be published; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. McMILLAN presented a petition of sundry citizens of Elyria, Ohio, praying for the enactment of legislation to investigate the subject of the desirability of legislative action looking to the improvement of country roads; which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. VILAS presented a large number of petitions from members of the Hat Trade Credit Associations throughout the United States, manufacturers of and wholesale dealers in hats, praying for the immediate repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman law; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. PASCO presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Tampa, Fla., praying that an appropriation be made for the deepening of the waterway from Tampa to the Gulf of Mexico; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. FAULKNER introduced a bill (S. 455) to authorize the Secretary of War to cause to be investigated and to provide for the payment of all claims for the use and occupation of church, college, and school buildings for Government purposes by the United States military authorities and the value of any such buildings destroyed during such occupation by the United States, and all claims for repairs to any such buildings and the furniture of same rendered necessary by such occupation by the United States Army; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. DUBOIS introduced a bill (S. 456) for the relief of William H. Rhett; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. TELLER introduced a bill (S. 457) authorizing certain Cherokee allottees or claimants to purchase certain tracts held and claimed by them; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. WHITE of California introduced a bill (S. 458) for the relief of Maurice G. Griffith; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 459) for the relief of B. F. Myres; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 460) granting to the State of California 5 per cent of the net proceeds of the cash sales of public lands in said State; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. KYLE introduced a bill (S. 461) to provide for the time and place of holding the terms of the United States circuit and district courts in the State of South Dakota; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. MANDERSON. I introduce by request two bills that have relation to the present financial condition, which I ask be read by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Finance. I desire simply to say that I send with the bills to the committee accompanying letters from a gentleman of high standing in financial circles, and I think the bills are well worthy of their very careful consideration in connection with the financial question.

The bill (S. 462) directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes therefor, for the appointment of a mint commission, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Finance.

The bill (S. 484) providing for the issuance of clearing-house certificates by clearing-house associations of central reserve cities, and the purchase thereof by the Secretary of the Treasury, the issue of Treasury notes, their redemption, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. MANDERSON introduced a bill (S. 463) to reimburse the State of Nebraska the expenses incurred by that State in repelling a threatened invasion and raid by the Sioux in 1890–'91; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 464) for the issue of ordnance stores and supplies to the State of Nebraska to replace similar stores destroyed by fire; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 465) for the relief of Thomas Fletcher Foley, alias Thomas Fletcher; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 466) for the retirement of John Tempany, veterinary surgeon, Ninth Cavalry, United States Army; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 467) for the relief of Brig. Gen. John R. Brooke, United States Army; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 468) to remove the charge of desertion standing against John W. Wacker; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 469) for the relief of Adolph von Haake; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 470) for the relief of George H. Jewett, of Arlington, Washington County, Nebr.; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 471) to relieve John Friedlin from the charge of desertion; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 472) for the relief of William W. Lowe; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 473) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Jeremiah L. Daly; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 474) for the relief of Wells C. McCool; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 475) for the relief of John Little and Hobart Williams, of Omaha, Nebr.; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompany papers, referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 476) for the relief of John Palmier, of Pine Ridge, Shannon County, S. Dak.; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 477) extending relief to Indian citizens, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 478) to increase the pension of Lila L. Egbert, widow of the late Capt. Augustus R. Egbert, United States Army; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 479) to increase the pension of Isabella Morrow, widow of the late Bvt. Col. Henry A. Morrow, United States Army; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 480) for the relief of Theodore L. Van Doren; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 481) for the relief of A. H. Raynolds; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 482) to make payment to Samuel J. Haynes of money erroneously and by mistake paid on his homestead entry; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 843) to establish postal savings banks, and to encourage small savings; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. PEFFER. I introduce two bills by request. I will state to the Senate that I present them in the form that they came to me. The grammar is not very good, and in some respects I do not agree with the provisions of either of the bills, but they have been sent to me in this form, and it is proper, I think, that they should be cared for, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

The bill (S. 485) to authorize the purchase of gold and silver bullion and to pay for the same in legal-tender paper was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

The bill (S. 486) to authorize the issue of $600 of money, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title, and referred to to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. DAVIS (by request) introduced a bill (S. 487) for the relief of the widow and heirs of Samuel Cramer; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. PERKINS introduced a bill (S. 488) providing for a naval training station on the Pacific coast; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 489) for the relief of Mary A. Swift; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also introduced a bill (S. 490) for the relief of Ames & Detrick, of San Francisco, in the State of California; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. CHANDLER introduced a bill (S. 491) granting a pension to Alice K. Potter, widow of Gen. Joseph Potter, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. FRYE introduced a bill (S. 492) for the relief of F. F. White; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 493) to provide for the punishment of offenses on the high seas; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 494) to amend an act entitled "An act to aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, and to secure the Government the use of the same for postal, military, and other purposes," approved July 1, 1862; also to amend an act approved July 2, 1864, and also an act approved May 7, 1878, both in amendment of said first-mentioned act; and to provide for a settlement of claims growing out of the issue of bonds to aid in the construction of certain of the railroads, and to secure to the United States payment of all indebtedness of certain of the companies, therein mentioned; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pacific Railroads.

He also introduced a bill (S. 495) to establish a marine board for the advancement of the interests of the merchant marine; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 496) admitting to American registry vessels built in the United States and owned by citizens thereof residing abroad, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 497) to amend "An act to amend section 4400, of Title LII, of the Revised States of the United States, concerning the regulation of steam vessels," approved August 7, 1882; and also to amend section 4414, Title LII, of the Revised Statutes of the United States, "Regulation of steam vessels;" which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. VOORHEES introduced a bill (S. 498) for the payment of Sewell Coulson for legal services; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. HALE introduced a bill (S. 499) to provide for the adjustment and payment of the claim of Thomas Rhys Smith for work done and materials furnished for the breakwater at Bar Harbor, Me.; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. DANIEL (by request) introduced a bill (S. 500) to amend an act entitled "An act to incorporate the Washington and Arlington Railway Company of the District of Columbia;" which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. SHERMAN introduced a bill (S. 501) granting a pension to John P. Biehn; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 502) for the relief of John A. Lynch; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. HARRIS introduced a bill (S. 503) for the relief of Mary Ellen Abkinson, administratrix of the estate of Richard Abkinson, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. McPHERSON introduced a bill (S. 504) for the relief of the Berdan Firearms Manufacturing Company; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 505) for the relief of the New York, Lake Erie and Western Railroad Company; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. VOORHEES introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 14) providing for the purchase of historical manuscripts relating to the District of Columbia, and to the public buildings, public institutions, and memorial works of art in said District; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Library.

Mr. CALL introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 15) providing for a survey of the harbor at Canaveral, Florida; which was read twice by its title.

Mr. CALL. In connection with the joint resolution I present a letter of the Secretary of War and a memorial of the Legislature of Florida, etc. I move that the joint resolution be referred, with the accompanying papers, to the Commtitee on Commerce.

The motion was agreed to.

PARITY OF GOLD AND SILVER.

Mr. MORRILL. I expect to be compelled to leave the Senate some day next week, and I therefore shall ask on Monday next, immediately after the morning business, the privilege of addressing the Senate on the joint resolution of the Senator from Missouri, [Mr. VEST]—very briefly, however.

ERNEST ULRICH.

Mr. COCKRELL. On the 8th instant I introduced a bill (S. 188) for the relief of Ernest Ulrich, a bill which had been reported favorably in the Senate in the last Congress and passed by this body. I at that time forgot the fact that the relief prayed for in the bill had already been secured by me through an order of the War Department. I therefore ask that the Committee on Military Affairs be discharged from the further consideration of the bill, and that it be indefinitely postponed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection it will be so ordered.

PAYMENTS TO CHICKASAWS AND CHOCTAWS.

Mr. PLATT. I submit a resolution calling on a Department for information, and ask for its present consideration.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to transmit to the Senate a statement showing the amounts paid out under the appropriation

of March 3, 1891, for the benefit of the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations of Indians, giving copies of the warrants for the payment, copies of the drafts drawn, and of the records of the deposits made in pursuance of said warrants with the Treasurer of the United States or any assistant treasurer, and, in addition, in case the sums paid remained either as gross sums or in subdivisions in the hand of said Treasurer or any assistant treasurer or any depository of the United States, and were subsequently drawn by checks, or drafts, or orders issued by the Chickasaw or Choctaw nations, or the treasurers or any agents thereof; also giving copies of said checks, drafts, or orders, and, further, giving all other information within the possession of the Treasury Department, showing what persons, either immediately or ultimately, received said amounts paid out or any portion thereof.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Let the resolution lie over that I may have an opportunity to examine it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will go over under the rule.

THE MALTBY BUILDING.

Mr. QUAY. I submit the following resolution, the immediate consideration of which I ask:

Resolved, That the Architect of the Capitol be directed forthwith to make thorough examination of the Government property known as the Maltby Building, and to report whether or not the structure is secure and may be occupied with safety to life and property.

I will state in explanation that facts were developed at a meeting of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds this morning which satisfy me that the resolution should be adopted.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

NATIONAL PARK NEAR FLORENCE, S. C.

Mr. VEST. I ask leave to submit two reports from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The reports will be received.

Mr. VEST. I am directed by the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to whom was referred the bill (S. 274) making appropriation for the establishment of a national park near Florence, S. C., to ask to be discharged from its further consideration, and that it be referred to the Committee on Public Lands. It was sent by mistake to our committee.

Mr. BUTLER. I ask that the bill, which I had the honor to introduce, be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. VEST. There is no objection to that reference.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It is so ordered, in the absence of objection.

HALL OF RECORDS.

Mr. VEST. I am instructed by the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to whom was referred the bill (S. 22) making appropriations for the purchase of ground, and the erection thereon, in the city of Washington, D. C., of a building to be used as a hall of records, to report it favorably with amendments, and to ask for its immediate consideration.

A bill similar to this has passed the Senate three times unanimously, but it has never been acted upon for some reasons in the coördinate branch of the National Legislature. A great exigency, an immediate exigency, has arisen for the construction of a hall of records. The great disaster which occurred in the city of Washington during the adjournment of Congress called public attention very earnestly to this question. Since I have been made chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds I have examined personally the buildings which are rented by the Government in the city of Washington. Among them is the Maltby Building, purchased and now occupied by the Senate. I discovered, as Senators will see, that public documents are piled up with such enormous weight upon the first floor of that building as to be now virtually pulling it apart.

It was constructed, as all of us know, for a hotel, and bought from a lady who had received the property from her husband. It was never intended for a warehouse. The officers of the Senate were notified at the time by myself and the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL], who had a great deal to do with the purchase, that it must not be used as a warehouse. Instead of obeying those instructions they immediately proceeded to pile in books and documents until they have injured the building. I took the responsibility of having it repaired the best way possible during the adjournment; I was there a few days ago, and I find that the crack in the building has widened in the last six weeks on account of the enormous weight. The same thing happened at the Busch Building, just in the rear of the Post-Office Department, but the employés were taken out of that building immediately after the disaster to which I have alluded, because it was believed not to be safe. That building had some 40 tons put in it, although it was never intended for a warehouse, and any man of common intelligence and prudence would have seen it.

The folding room of the Senate and the Maltby Building together now have 1,184,000 books and documents belonging to Senators that are not taken out, and a large proportion of which I assume never will be taken out. We are continuing to print them, and we are continuing to deposit them; and there is no place for these documents. The departments are full. The Quartermaster-General's Department to-day is retarded in its business by the files of vouchers in claims of all sorts against the Government, and if a fire should occur there it would cost the Government millions of dollars.

Mr. HALE. Will the Senator, right in the line he is pursuing, let me ask him a question?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. HALE. I think it must be a great surprise to the Senate to learn the facts stated by the Senator from Missouri with reference to the occupation of these buildings by documents, especially the Maltby Building. The Senator will remember that it was only a short time since we purchased that building, when almost new, and it was understood to be for the convenience of the Senate and House in additional committee rooms. I knew something, as the Senator did, at that time as to the intention of the use of that building. To me, for one, it is a great surprise and wonder that anybody has been allowed to fill up the building with books.

I wish to ask the Senator whether it has been filled mainly with books and documents from the Senate, or who has put them there; and further, if the officials about this building have not been able to find places for the storage of books in the large rooms in the terrace? I gave up long ago the idea that those could be utilized for committee rooms, although that was the original intention, but we were told that there was ample and immense space there for the lodgment and custody of books and documents. It would seem as if that has been abandoned, and that this building, taken for another purpose, has been occupied in this way. I should like the Senator to tell us who has done it.

Mr. VOORHEES. If the Senator from Missouri will allow me to answer, having reasonable intelligence on the subject, I will state that I do not think there are any books stored at the Maltby except in the basement. I do not think the building is considered a proper one to put heavy documents in higher than the basement. I do not think it is unsafe as a tenement building, but it would be as a warehouse. I do not think there is any space occupied by documents there that could be utilized for committee rooms. I think the building, as was designed, is in a shape to be used by committees for all that it is worth, and if there are documents there, and I believe some have been piled in there, they are on the ground floor and not in the way of committees.

Mr. VEST. True, they are on the lower floor; yet the weight is so tremendous that it is pulling down the upper stories and affecting the walls. The Sergeant-at-Arms informed our committee this morning that he proposed, in order to save the building from further injury, to remove a portion of those books, if not all of them. I went myself through the basement a few days ago, and found that it is almost impossible to work there.

Mr. McPHERSON. When the Senator speaks of the lower floor does he mean the basement floor or the one above that?

Mr. VEST. The basement floor, I suppose it would be termed, but not down upon the ground.

Mr. HARRIS. Not down in the cellar, but upon the floor above.

Mr. VEST. Yes, the basement floor, it might be termed. If any Senator will go to see it, no question can exist with him that this tremendous weight put upon this floor has injured the upper stories, especially the story immediately above. These books are constantly accumulating. They were put there by the Sergeant-at-Arms, I will say to the Senator from Maine, the predecessor of the gentleman who now holds that position.

Mr. HALE. Did he need to put them there?

Mr. VEST. He could find no other place, I suppose, without renting a house. I will say to the Senator from Maine that the rooms in the annex to the Capitol to which he refers have been utilized as far as possible for storage.

Mr. HARRIS. May I ask the Senator from Missouri if these are books and documents of Senators, or books and documents of the Government?

Mr. VEST. They are books and documents of Senators. For instance, any Senator who will go there will see two or three thousand old maps of the public lands, etc., of the Government, Government publications, RECORDS of preceding Congresses, and the quota of documents issued to Senators, piled up there—all this old worthless débris which is accumulating with us session by session, costing hundreds and thousands of dollars both for printing and transportation.

Immediately after the Senate adjourns, the upper story, the second story, through which I go to my committee room on Public Buildings and Grounds, is piled up seven or eight feet high with bags of books, five to each Senator, making nearly five hundred of these bags. The question with every Senator is what to do with them.

I attacked this abuse four or five years ago, and immediately Senators arose in every part of this Chamber and said the people were crying for these documents like children cry for milk in the night, and they wanted them all, and here are 1,180,000 accumulating now which Senators do not go and get and send to anybody.

The stench from this folding room is terrible—I was about to say enough to produce pestilence. I would not live in it a day at any price. Let any Senator walk down there and open the door, and the old, fetid smell of decaying paper immediately meets him. It affects the whole Capitol. With all our improved sanitary arrangements here we are polluting the air all the time with this nuisance. The employés can scarcely get through the little narrow passages, and they have to climb over piles of books in order to get to those behind. I think Senators will be astonished to go there and find how many of their public documents are there now. There are but one or two Senators who have taken out the quota allowed them. The balance are accumulating day by day, and there is no place to work there.

The great necessity, however, is in the Executive Departments. There are books not needed for immediate reference, but invaluable for contingencies that may occur hereafter, vouchers of all sorts, piled up in the halls. The Patent Office has lately hired a building outside in order to store its valuable papers. The thing goes on from year to year.

Immediately after the great disaster which lately occurred here the newspapers were filled with inquiries as to what Congress had done; why did not Congress make some provision for these papers in order to prevent this terrible weight upon rented buildings never intended for warehouses.

I ask for the immediate consideration of the bill.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I believe there are public libraries all over the country—I know that there are public libraries in the section of country where I live—who would receive all these public documents greedily. They seem to be a mass of dreary and desolate and effete matter—thought, I would say, if "matter" is not the proper word—but there are very few of the public documents of the United States, especially of those published within the last twenty years, which do not contain the result of somebody's hard work—hard work by a good brain, by an industrious man on some subject which has been at sometime very important, and is very likely to be important again. There are investigators all over the country who are studying these matters historically and scientifically, and it is more and more the fashion of our institutions of education, colleges, high schools, and advanced schools to have their pupils instructed, not in ancient or classical history, but in the living topics of the day, or topics which, at any rate, relate to the legislative history of their own country.

I believe if the Committee on Printing or some other committee would make arrangements for sending these documents to some central library in every State in the Union, with the direction that duplicates should be given to other libraries in their neighborhood, we should find in every State some institution that would undertake the office, and these records would be preserved and be accessible to students, and would be of very great importance and value.

Mr. MCPHERSON. In view of the statement which has been made by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], and with the swamping, if I may so speak, of the Ford Building, which happened here a few weeks ago, it seems to me, upon the strength of the notice given this morning by the chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, that there should not be one moment's delay in causing the books or documents referred to, to be removed from the Maltby Building. As I understand, they are now piled up on the basement floor; below the basement floor there is a subcellar, and that the placing of this weight upon an insecure foundation has resulted already in tearing the building apart.

If that be true, in order to escape another calamity such as the one which already disgraces us, I think the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds should take it upon themselves and see that these documents are removed from the Maltby Building—not next week, not to-morrow, but to-day, now—and let us try to avoid further calamities of this character.

Mr. VEST. The Sergeant-at-Arms will attend to that immediately. He can take out enough of the books to remove any danger there is. What we need now is to get this legislation passed here, so as to pass it through the other House as soon as possible.

Mr. HALE. I did not hear the bill read, and I do not know its scope; but I wish to ask the Senator from Missouri, who has great intelligence and knowledge upon this subject, whether he has not in view some scheme that will relieve this immense glut of books, documents, and papers in all the departments?

Mr. VEST. Mr. President——

Mr. BUTLER. If the Senator will allow me one moment, I have a resolution which I think will meet his inquiry in one particular, if he will allow me to have it read.

Mr. HALE. I was going to ask that it be read.

Mr. BUTLER. I do not know whether or not I have selected the proper official, but there ought to be something done. I present the resolution in pursuance of the suggestion made by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR]. I ask that it be reported.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate be, and is hereby, directed to distribute to the public libraries in the United States all public documents found on hand and not claimed by Senators on the 15th day of September next.

Mr. HALE. My inquiry did not lead in that direction, but to what, I hope, is in the mind of the Senator from Missouri, as the chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, for some kind of a building or buildings, built in the firmest fashion possible, plain and unornamented, but roomy and safe, for books and documents that glut all the departments. Neither he nor I can go upon business to hardly any of the departments to-day without being obliged to pick our way through the corridors, which ought to be free and unvexed by a single pile of documents or papers. We can hardly go to the office of the head of a department, certainly not to the offices of any of the subordinates, without finding our way almost blocked. It is unsightly; it is unhealthy, and in some buildings it becomes dangerous.

I hope the Senator will characterize his chairmanship of this committee by giving the Senate an opportunity at an early day to provide for something that shall relieve this difficulty. I take some reproach to this side of the House that we have not done it before.

Mr. VEST. This bill, if enacted into a law, will relieve the difficulty in regard to the Executive Departments.

As to the folding room of the Senate, a bill is now being prepared, in fact I have already prepared it and have had the plans and specifications also prepared, for the erection of a folding room—a warehouse you might term it—for Senate documents upon the vacant ground adjoining the Maltby Building. We already own that ground, 35 feet front, and there is no edifice upon it. We can put up a building there which will last one hundred years, for all the purposes of the Senate, at a cost of $7,500. The building is to be very simple, and it will be strong and very capacious, 35 feet front by 92 feet deep; and such a building, a story and a half high, would give us all the room we need, and would be not only secure, but would relieve the Capitol.

Mr. HALE. And transfer the folding room to that building?

Mr. VEST. Yes; transfer the folding room and take all these documents out of the document room.

Mr. HALE. That would be an admirable thing to do.

Mr. VEST. I shall be prepared to submit that bill to the Senate to-morrow or next day. In the meantime this bill, which has passed the Senate three times already, is intended to relieve the Executive Departments from the very evils which the Senator has mentioned. Therefore I ask for its passage now.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (S. 12) making appropriations for the purchase of ground and the erection thereon, in the city of Washington, D. C., of a building to be used as a hall of records.

Mr. CALL. I wish to say a word. I have been at the Maltby Building, I think, every day—I have had a room there, when I was in the city—for the last two years, and I have never seen any accumulation of books on any floor of that building, except in the basement.

Mr. VEST. That is the floor where they are stored.

Mr. CALL. There is no subcellar there, as I understand the matter, nor am I aware of there being any damage to the building which was not done before its occupation by the Government. Perhaps the building may be unsafe. I do not pretend to say as to that; but I wish to say this much in justification of the late Sergeant-at-Arms.

Mr. VEST. Before that building was purchased, the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL], the Architect of the Capitol, and I went over it from basement to roof, examined every room very critically, and there was not one single flaw or defect in it. Every Senator who cares anything about it can go there now and see the cracks, which, as I say, were repaired partially during the recess, but are now in a worse condition than ever. It is beyond any sort of argument that this enormous mass upon the basement floor has caused that trouble.

Mr. HAWLEY. The pressure upon the foundation of the building is precisely the same, whether the books are stored in the second or the seventh story.

Mr. VEST. Of course.

Mr. McPHERSON. May I ask the Senator from Missouri if the bill now before the Senate is a copy of the bill we passed at the last session of Congress for the purpose of providing a hall of records?

Mr. VEST. Yes, sir; with some slight amendments it is the same bill that was recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury some years ago, and which has been recommended by the Departments at every session for the last seven or eight years. After we had a fire in the Quartermaster's Department—some six years ago, I think it was—which came very near destroying all the public documents there, a special message was sent in on this subject, and our committee then reported a bill which passed the Senate three times, but failed of action in the other House.

Mr. HALE. Let us have the bill read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will be read.

The Secretary read the bill.

Mr. MANDERSON. As there is no copy of the bill within reach, I wish the Senator from Missouri would inform the Senate if the proposed building is to be fireproof, and whether it is so nominated in the bill?

Mr. VEST. That is the statement in the bill.

Mr. MANDERSON. I ask that that portion of the bill be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

That the sum of $300,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be, and the same is hereby, appropriated for the purchase of a site in the city of Washington, D. C., and the erection thereon of a brick and metal fireproof building, to be used for the safe-keeping of such records of the executive, legislative, and judicial departments as are not required in said departments for constant reference.

Mr. HALE. I do not want to hinder the passage of the bill, but I would suggest to the Senator from Missouri that I think he will find, before this important building is finished, that the sum of money proposed by the bill will be entirely inadequate. Unless the Senator has made an investigation which will satisfy him and me, I should doubt whether $100,000 would be enough for the land and $200,000 enough to erect upon it a suitable building.

Mr. VEST. If the Senator will permit me, the amount will be ample. I have the plans and specifications in my committee room, prepared by Gen. Meigs, the same gentleman who prepared the plans for the Pension building, and I think that $200,000 will be more than sufficient. The building will be a very simple one, and the plan is an admirable one.

Mr. HALE. Does the Senator think that suitable land in a convenient, central place can be got for $100,000?

Mr. VEST. I think we can find some ground already belonging to the Government. I think I know of a piece of ground that will be suitable.

Mr. HALE. Is that alternative provided in the bill?

Mr. VEST. Yes, by an amendment which I will ask the Secretary to read.

Mr. HALE. It seems to me that it ought to be. I hope this will turn out as the Senator believes, and that we shall be able to do it inside the amount proposed to be appropriated, but whether that be so or not, such a building should be erected.

Mr. BUTLER. We ought to make a beginning, at any rate.

Mr. VEST. All I can say is, that we have taken every possible precaution to ascertain what it will cost, and I think I am authorized in saying that $200,000 will be ample, and I hope that we can get a site without purchasing an inch of ground. I will say now, so far as I am concerned, that I think it ought to be the policy of the Government to use what ground we have before we purchase any more. I ask that the amendment be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill is before the Senate as in Committee of the Whole, and the amendment reported by the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds will be read.

The SECRETARY. In line 9, section 1, after the word "required," it is proposed to strike out "in said Departments," and insert "in the opinion of the heads of said Departments"; so as to read:

To be used for the safe-keeping of said records of the executive, legislative, and judicial departments as are not required, in the opinion of the heads of said departments, for constant reference.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment reported by the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds was to add to section 1:

Provided, That said building shall be erected upon ground owned now by the United States, if the Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, and Secretary of State shall determine that a suitable site can be had upon Government ground, and agree upon the same.

Mr. HOAR. I think there is an etiquette about these matters which arranges the order in which these officers are named in legislation. The Secretary of State should be named first.

Mr. VEST. I have no objection to that.

Mr. HOAR. The order should be "the Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, and Secretary of War."

Mr. VEST. That is the order of the Presidential succession, I know, but as this relates to a public building, and the Supervising Architect is an officer of the Treasury Department, we thought the Treasury should come first. If it was a matter of succession to the Presidency, I should agree with the Senator from Massachusetts.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the amendment so as to read "if the Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, and Secretary of War shall determine."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I desire to call the attention of the Senator from Missouri to the fact that there is Government ground adjacent to the present building occupied by the Department of Justice. I hope, however, that it will not be expected that this warehouse will be put upon that ground.

Mr. VEST. No, I had not thought of that location.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not know, myself, where there is suitable ground now owned by the Government for such a purpose. If the Senator has it in his mind I should be glad to have him indicate where the Government is in possession of suitable ground for this building.

Mr. VEST. The Government owns 24 acres of ground, known as the Garfield Park, which is not used as a park and never has been so used really. It is within about three blocks of the Capitol. Whether that can be utilized, in the opinion of these Cabinet officers, I will not undertake to say. There are other pieces of ground which I do not know that I can now identify exactly as to locality, nor would I undertake to say that they are large enough; but it seems to me that on the public ground owned here we might be able to find a site. That, however, is a question, of course, in the future, because these three Cabinet officers will have to determine it.

Mr. ALLISON. I mentioned it at this time for the reason that from the phraseology embraced in the amendment the Cabinet officers may feel that they are under some obligation to find public ground upon which to place the building.

Mr. VEST. There is nothing mandatory about that.

Mr. ALLISON. I understand, but I should like to put in at least a little protest against the use of the public ground which I have named for the purpose.

Mr. McPHERSON. I should like to ask the Senator from Missouri what possible objection there would be to locating a building of this kind on Judiciary Square, or upon the large number of acres of ground we have down in the southwest quarter of the city occupied by the Agricultural building, the Smithsonian, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and the Monument. It seems to me there could be no possible objection whatever to such a location. Inasmuch as the records stored are to be old records that will be but seldom used, proximity to the Capitol or to the Executive Departments would be of no particular consequence. With the hundreds of acres of land the Government owns in the city of Washington, without encroaching at all upon any of the parks injuriously, certainly there could be a location found.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, for one I am unwilling to vote for any encroachment upon the public grounds of the Smithsonian Institution or the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. The comfort and the beauty of this city depend on the preservation of the various parks, and as this country increases, if we are to put upon the open spaces all the public buildings that are required they will soon be entirely disfigured and rendered unfit for the uses to which they are now subjected.

It seems to me that this appropriation ought to be made in connection with the building for the Public Printer; that when that building is provided for, arrangements should be made to include in it a proper place for the safe-keeping of the old records and the storage of documents. That would seem to me the economical and just arrangement, instead of an appropriation of $300,000 for an inferior building and an inferior site.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The last amendment proposed by the committee will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 1, section 6, after the word "site," insert the words "owned or;" so as to make the section read:

That the building to be erected upon the site owned or so acquired by the Government shall be constructed under the supervision and direction of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department, on plans and specifications approved by the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of State.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VILAS. Mr. President, I take this opportunity to sug-

gest whether it would not be well for Congress to adopt as a policy in reference to public buildings in this city, and especially buildings of this nature, the selection of sites on the south side of the Avenue. Such a policy has already been indicated by the selection of a site there for the city post-office. It is obvious that the Government must continue to buy more or less ground during coming years for public buildings, and if sites were selected on the south side of the Avenue it need not be long probably before the greater part of the ground lying between it and the public grounds on which the Smithsonian Institution, the Agricultural Department, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the Monument and the park around it, could be embraced by Government purchases, and the whole property lying to the south of the avenue for some distance be made available for a Government reservation, to the great addition of beauty, it seems to me, and to a change in its uses very much in the public interest.

I therefore venture to submit for the consideration of the Senate an amendment. I move that after the words "District of Columbia," in line 6, where it is stated that a site is to be purchased in the city of Washington, D. C., there be inserted the words:

Situate on the south side of Pennsylvania avenue, between First and Fifteenth streets.

Mr. VEST. I am in sympathy with the idea that the public buildings shall hereafter be placed upon the south side of the Avenue. I was upon the select committee of the two Committees on Public Buildings and Grounds of the House and Senate that selected the present site of the city post-office, and I expressed then, in debate here, my opinion upon the subject.

I urged the selection of that site, and have never regretted my action in the matter. But I hope that question will not be injected upon the pending bill. If the amendment of the Senator from Wisconsin be adopted, confining the selection of the site to the limit named, the immediate effect would be to put up the price of the available ground there to such an extent that it would cost the Government a very large amount of money. My experience upon the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds confirms me in one thing, and that is that the smallest possible encouragement should be given property holders to put up prices on the Government. The facility with which they charge enormous prices as soon as they know the Government wants a piece of ground is absolutely marvelous. Jonah's gourd is not a circumstance compared with the facility with which the real estate men in this city put up the price of ground on the Government of the United States.

I say to my friend from Wisconsin that at the proper time I shall unite with him as far as I can in the selection of a site south of the Avenue, but I would not put such a limitation in the bill. We have here the three Cabinet officers to select a site, and it seems to me that we ought to be able to rely upon their discretion in the matter. Therefore I ask him not to press the amendment now.

Mr. VILAS. I am not disposed to urge the amendment upon my own view against the judgment of the committee; but I will make one observation to the distinguished chairman of the committee. We never can purchase a piece of ground which is wanted by the Government in the city of Washington without encountering the particular greed that will seek to get as much as possible from the Government. I had that in view when I wrote the words which I have suggested as an amendment.

There is a space of ground lying between the entire public reservation and Pennsylvania avenue, from First to Fifteenth streets. As to which part of that this hall of records shall be located on entire discretion will be vested in the members of the Cabinet designated, a discretion, it seems to me, ample enough to prevent particular combination in respect to price; and they never can procure the ground or execute this policy without encountering this objection. It seems to me desirable that we should not, for fear of that objection, deprive ourselves of the excellence of the policy which seems to have the approbation of the Senator himself.

I will not insist upon the amendment if there is very strong feeling on the subject; but I think it ought to be adopted.

Mr. MILLS. I desire simply to ask the chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds if his committee has ever considered the propriety of building along the Botanic Garden, fronting on Pennsylvania avenue?

Mr. VEST. Yes; I will say to the Senator from Texas that matter has been discussed in the committee, and we have always encountered opposition from the fact that it would deface the public reservation. I myself think there is not much in the objection. My friend from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] was just suggesting to me that a portion of that ground could be utilized with great benefit to the public.

Mr. MILLS. The business of the legislative department is becoming more and more intimate with the Executive Departments of the Government, and it is a long way for members of the legislative department to go to all the different sites of the Executive Departments all over this city. It seems to me it would be a wise thing to bring some of the public offices closer to the Capitol, and I think it would be a very good thing to put this public building on that reservation.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Chair understand the Senator from Wisconsin to withdraw his amendment?

Mr. VILAS. I withdraw the amendment, at the request of the chairman of the committee.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment is withdrawn. If there be no further amendment, as in Committee of the Whole, the bill will be reported to the Senate.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. BUTLER. I move that the resolution which I offered a few moments ago be referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

The motion was agreed to.

INCREASE OF NATIONAL-BANK CIRCULATION.

Mr. BERRY. If the morning business is concluded, I should like to call up the joint resolution introduced by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] on the subject of bimetallism.

M. VOORHEES. Will the Senator from Arkansas allow me to make an announcement?

Mr. BERRY. Certainly.

Mr. VOORHEES. I gave notice yesterday that I would call up to-day and ask the consideration of Senate bill 453, which I reported from the Committee on Finance, in regard to the issue of additional currency, but I have been appealed to by several Senators who want a little more time, and I in deference, and very proper deference, I think, to their wishes, give notice that the bill will go over until to-morrow. I shall not ask for its consideration to-day.

Mr. COCKRELL. I offer to that bill an amendment which I ask may be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The proposed amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. Add to the bill the following additional section:

SECTION —. That, upon the delivery and surrender of any of the United States bonds known as the funded loan of 1891, continued at 2 per cent interest and payable at the option of the United States by the holder and owner thereof to the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of the Treasury shall receive, cancel, and destroy such bond or bonds, and shall issue and deliver in exchange and payment therefor an amount of United States legal-tender notes, commonly known as greenbacks, in the same form and words of said United States notes equal in amount to the face value of such bond or bonds with the accrued interest thereon.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be printed.

Mr. SHERMAN. As the amendment has been read, I wish to make one or two observations upon it now—not to make a speech, but to call the attention of the Senator from Missouri to the attitude——

Mr. BERRY. I was entitled to the floor and yielded to the Senator from Indiana to give a notice. I yield to the Senator from Ohio, however.

Mr. SHERMAN. I will yield to the Senator from Arkansas. I did not know he had the floor.

Mr. BERRY. I yield the floor to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. SHERMAN. Oh, no; I will yield if the Senator from Arkansas has the floor. Go on.

Mr. BERRY. I have yielded the floor to the Senator from Ohio.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Arkansas yields to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. SHERMAN. I simply wish to make one remark. As a matter of course we all have the same desire to not only relieve the people of the United States but the Government of the United States. I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Missouri to the effect of his amendment. It is a proposition on the part of the United States to pay a bond which is now no burden whatever to the United States, which draws interest at only 2 per cent, and which really can be met without any doubt of our ability to meet the interest; a trifling sum indeed. Now it is proposed by the amendment that any holder of those bonds may surrender them to the Government of the United States and the Government is to pay for them in its promissory notes. Those promissory notes, the very moment they are paid out to anybody, can be presented to the Government of the United States for payment in coin.

Besides that, it is an increase of the amount of Government notes outstanding. They must be new Government notes, new greenbacks. All those notes are in circulation. So we would be engaging in the unbusinesslike operation of paying off a bond

which is not pressing at all upon us, which is not due until we choose to pay it, and giving our notes for it, which may be presented at any time on a demand for gold, and complicate the very situation in which we are placed.

The President of the United States, in clear and forcible language, called attention to the fact that the Treasury notes issued under the act of 1890 were presented for redemption in gold, and that caused the first falling off of the reserve of $100,000,000. I think as a financial proposition it would be the most dangerous that could possibly be proposed. I know that a similar one has been made in the other House. The honorable gentleman who proposed it there is a very clever gentleman and a very good business man, but it is what no business man would do at any time under any circumstances, and what the United States ought not to do, especially at the present time. This is all I wish to say. I will let these remarks go with the amendment, which is to be considered hereafter.

Mr. COCKRELL. Will the Senator from Arkansas permit me to say a word?

Mr. BERRY. Certainly.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senator from Ohio says no business man would pursue such a course. I say any honest business man who had his own solvency at heart would pursue exactly this course. A man would be a very poor business man who could float his indebtedness in a noninterest-bearing obligation and would prefer to float it in an interest-bearing obligation.

The Senator from Ohio says there is danger in issuing $25,000,000 of United States legal-tender notes to the credit of the United States, but there is no danger in allowing the national banks to issue from $17,000,000 to $25,000,000 of their money, not a legal tender in payment of debts, and paid interest upon the bonds, while they are loaning their money out at any rate of interest they can get.

This is no compulsory payment. It is no such proposition. We have heard so much of patriotism recently that I supposed the holders of the $25,000,000 of 2 per cent bonds, redeemable at the pleasure of the United States at any time, and drawing 2 per cent interest, and payable in September, 1891, would rush to the Treasury of the United States and in a patriotic spirit would surrender those bonds to the Government of the United States and take out in exchange United States legal-tender notes, and that they would do it gladly, as the same men are paying 3 per cent premium on legal-tender notes and even silver certificates in the city of New York.

It is said that we want more money, an increase of circulation; but the moment we offer to increase the circulation the distinguished gold monometallist from Ohio, representing the banking interests of this country, comes to the front to repudiate and reject the proposition. Why shall the national banks be allowed to increase the paper circulation of the United States $17,000,000 to $25,000,000, and yet the holder of a United States bond bearing 2 per cent interest not be permitted in his patriotic spirit to help a distressed country and come to the Treasury and give up his bond and accept United States legal-tender notes? Oh, no; it would not be business! No, it is not businesslike for a holder of a bond bearing 2 per cent interest to surrender it and take a legal-tender note, and yet it would be business to allow the national banks to take out dollar for dollar on every one of their bonds and receive the interest on them, and loan out the whole amount at 6, 10, 15, or 20 per cent. That is patriotism, and that is honesty, and that is business, according to the Senator from Ohio!

Mr. SHERMAN. The Senator from Missouri does not seem to appreciate the fact that when a bank takes out its notes the bank promises to pay those notes.

Mr. COCKRELL. Is that promise any better than the promise of the United States?

Mr. SHERMAN. No; but it is a burden upon the bank, and not a burden upon the United States.

Mr. COCKRELL. Is not the United States able to bear a burden of $25,000,000 when it bore a burden of $2,844,000,000 in its depressed and downtrodden condition in 1865, and has removed that burden and stands unequaled by any nation on God's green earth in its financial condition and prosperity?

Mr. SHERMAN. There is no doubt of all that. The United Stated is good for every dollar that it owes; but is it wise for the United States now to raise the question of issuing more greenbacks for bonds that it need not pay except at its pleasure, bearing but 2 per cent interest? When the banks, on the other hand, come forward and deposit the bonds, they assume the burden of payment; they are bound to pay, and they file security in the Treasury to pay. They therefore assume a burden equal to the advantage they gain by having the notes to issue.

Mr. COCKRELL. A wonderful burden! The United States has to be backed by five individual citizens incorporated as a national bank to relieve it from the burden of paying these notes. Oh, Mr. President, what ridiculous stuff that is! The Senator from Ohio knows as well as he knows anything that nobody cares whether a national bank is worth a dollar or a million dollars. Every man, woman, and child in the United States will take the note of a defunct national bank that is not able to pay 1 per cent upon its deposits just as quick as they will take the note of the best United States bank in the world. Nobody pays any earthly attention to the indorsement of the United States of America by a national bank. The ridiculous idea that before we can float money in this country we must have the indorsement of a national bank beats anything ever heard before in a legislative body.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. May I ask my friend from Missouri a question?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I believe there are only about $22,000,000 of those bonds.

Mr. COCKRELL. Twenty-five million dollars.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Is it not the fact that the greater portion of those bonds are now on deposit by banks in order to secure circulation?

Mr. COCKRELL. Twenty-one millions of them—a little over.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Does the Senator think that if his amendment should be adopted any considerable portion of those bonds would be surrendered for notes?

Mr. COCKRELL. I think every one of them would be surrendered.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Those that are on deposit now to secure bank circulation?

Mr. COCKRELL. I suppose when we shall have adopted this amendment we will put another clause in another part of the bill providing that no national bank shall get any circulation on these bonds.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. That clause is not in the bill now.

Mr. COCKRELL. It will be in before we get through with it.

Mr. McPHERSON. Will the Senator from Missouri yield to me?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly. It will be in there. I have guarded all those points.

Mr. McPHERSON. I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Missouri, and the Chair, and the Senator from Ohio, and all other Senators to the fact that the chairman of the Finance Committee asked unanimous consent that the bill to which this is offered as an amendment should go over until to-morrow morning. Really there seems to be nothing before the Senate except the formal offering of the amendment, which is to be considered when the bill comes up.

Mr. COCKRELL. I thank the Senator from New Jersey for explaining what everyone of us knew.

Mr. PEFFER and Mr. ALDRICH addressed the Chair.

Mr. COCKRELL. I yield first to the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEFFER], and then I will yield to the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH].

Mr. PEFFER. I should like to ask the Senator from Missouri whether there is any law now prohibiting a surrender of bonds upon the terms provided in his amendment; whether the Secretary of the Treasury would not be permitted now to pay for any of the outstanding bonds of 1891 at their face in Treasury notes, and if the owners of the bonds ever requested it?

Mr. COCKRELL. I do not understand that there is any law authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to issue and deliver in payment and exchange for any of the United States bonds now outstanding additional United States legal-tender notes.

Mr. ALDRICH. Will the Senator from Missouri now allow me to ask him a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JONES of Arkansas in the chair). Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Rhode Island?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly, with pleasure.

Mr. ALDRICH. I understand the Senator from Missouri to say that in his opinion the credit and resources of the national banks add nothing in value to the notes of the United States. I should like to ask him in that connection whether a deposit of 412½ grains of silver, or any other amount of silver, in his opinion, adds to the value and currency of notes of the United States?

Mr. COCKRELL. We will discuss that when the silver question comes up.

Mr. ALDRICH. It seems to me it is up now.

Mr. COCKRELL. We are now discussing the proposition whether we shall allow the national banks to take out dollar for dollar of their bonds and draw interest upon the bonds, and then

loan the money out at from 6 to 25 per cent, and get interest from the taxpayers en masse—interest on their bonds and then interest from the persons to whom they have loaned their notes. We are now providing an amendment which will authorize anybody who has one of these $25,000,000 of bonds to take it and voluntarily surrender it to the Secretary of the Treasury, and receive in exchange an amount of the United States legal tender notes equal to the face value of the bond, and the interest thereon up to that date.

Mr. GRAY. Will the Senator from Missouri yield to me a moment for a question?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. I understand that the Senator from Missouri objects to the bill reported by the chairman of the Finance Committee on the ground that the notes which are received by the banks upon a deposit of the United States bonds can only get into circulation by being loaned by the banks at some rate of interest to borrowers who need the money. That is the point of his objection?

Mr. COCKRELL. I am not discussing that proposition at all. I am——

Mr. GRAY. Am I misstating the Senator's position?

Mr. COCKRELL. No; I am not objecting on that ground, because I am not discussing that proposition; but whatever the proposition is, I want individuals to have the same rights that banks are to have.

Mr. GRAY. Very well; then I think I am not misstating the Senator's position that he objects to these notes going to banks, because after the banks have deposited United States bonds and received this currency they can loan it at some rate of interest to the borrowers who need it. He much prefers——

Mr. COCKRELL. Not at all. Do not state a proposition and then argue against me on a proposition I have never stated.

Mr. GRAY. Then that is not the Senator's position?

Mr. COCKRELL. I am not saying a word about that.

Mr. GRAY. Then the Senator has been very much misunderstood by those who are around him.

Mr. COCKRELL. I say this bill proposes to do that. Now, I say while that is being done let us do something else.

Mr. GRAY. Very well. Now I was coming——

Mr. COCKRELL. That is the proposition. I am not making it as an argument against the bill, but I am giving it as a reason why something more should be done. That is the point.

Mr. GRAY. If the Senator will allow me, when he has been courteous enough to yield——

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. Then the use of the English language, in the use of which the Senator from Missouri is justly distinguished for perspicacity and clearness, has failed him this time, because not only I, but those who are around me, understood him to object to the fairness of this proposition, and to contrast it with the justice and equity of another proposition which he proposes by way of amendment, that everyone who has United States bonds shall be allowed to take them to the Treasury and receive United States legal-tender demand notes therefor.

Now, I wish to ask the Senator if, when the poor, honest farmer of Missouri—I will say of Missouri, for that condition of things certainly does not exist in my own State or in any other farming State with which I am familiar; I presume it must exist in Missouri from the argument of the Senator—when the honest farmer of Missouri, who is struggling with these hard times, goes to his hair-covered trunk or his tin box and takes out from his pile of United States bonds a certain number which he is willing to change into currency, and goes to the Treasury to get it, will he part with that currency to the borrower who needs it without receiving interest therefor? I ask the Senator whether, if those who are so favored, this favored class who are so fortunate in these times as to have United States bonds, change them for currency, there is any other mode known under the sun by which that currency can get into circulation except by being borrowed from the men who receive it, and, we will presume, unless human nature is entirely changed, upon a contract to pay interest therefor?

If that is the case, how is the burden of the masses of the people who need the money, the borrowers who are now suffering because they can not borrow money, to be lightened by the alternate proposition of the Senator from Missouri? I do not mean that that is the only objection to his amendment, but I ask now on his own statement if there is to be any betterment of the condition of the masses of the people by it?

Mr. COCKRELL. This is a proposition not about United States bonds in general, but $25,364,500 of bonds known as the funded loan of 1891, payable with interest at that time at 4½ per cent. The money not being in the Treasury to redeem them, they were continued at the option of the Government at 2 per cent interest. I do not suppose any farmer has one of them. Nobody was ever so silly as to think the farmers had them We know exactly where they are.

Mr. GRAY. How is that going to help the farmer, then?

Mr. COCKRELL. We will see whether it will help the farmer or not.

I know where the bonds are. I was not disposed to discuss that point, because I supposed that the national banks in their patriotism and devotion to the best interests of this great country would rush with alacrity to our Treasury and surrender those bonds and take out legal-tender notes. They are demanding the right to issue additional money because there is not money enough in the country. We propose to give them that right and we ought to give them an additional right, whether they ask for it or not. We ought to give them $20,000,000 of United States legal-tender notes in lieu of those bonds. Then we will discuss the other propositions about the bonds and the interest.

Now, where is there any inequality in this proposition? Where is there any injustice in it? Why should not the banks be allowed an opportunity to display to the country their patriotism and their devotion to its best interests? Why should they not be given an opportunity to show their anxiety to alleviate the country from its distressing and abject condition and to put into the currency of the country an additional flow of pure, genuine blood that will give it strength and vigor and throw off this nightmare? Why should they not do it? I supposed that the friends of the national banks would come tumbling upon each other, heels over head, to vote for this proposition. I never dreamed that anybody would oppose it. I thought I had accidentally discovered what would be a wonderful benefit to them, and I confess that I am astonished when the friend and patron of the national banks, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], comes in here and offers opposition to it, and my good friend from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] criticises it, and my friend from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH]; I am astonished. I had hoped and expected that the very moment I had it read (and I had it read simply that my friends might see it and be prepared) they would rush to its defense. I am mortified to find that it meets with such resistance.

Mr. GRAY. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. Where does the Senator get the information that the national banks are holding a large amount of these bonds quietly in their vaults without using them for obtaining currency? I ask the question, not in any sense to make an assertion in the face of his superior information, but I think I know that when a United States bank wants to have a circulation or to increase its circulation it goes into the market and buys United States bonds and deposits them in the Treasury. It does not take from a hoarded supply of bonds that it keeps on hand. If you had a United States bank to-day that had either started or had been in operation and discontinued its currency and wanted to resume it, you would find it in the market bidding for United States bonds, in which its circulation would be held.

Mr. COCKRELL. Oh, no. If the Senator will spare the time to read the report of the Comptroller of the Currency for 1892 and go over its tables and analyze the elements of national banks and of banking institutions in this country, he will find out exactly the figures I have given. The national banks have them. They have not issued dollar for dollar, nor 90 per cent even. They have not issued the paper money that they are entitled to issue. I have not made an exact calculation, but it is a considerable amount that they have not issued. They have got more bonds than they have 90 per cent of circulation—largely more. I supposed this would be a golden opportunity for the banks to show their patriotism. I confess that I am amazed that any friend of the national-banking system should come in here with any opposition to my amendment. It gives them cash money better than gold, money that is good the world over, United States legal-tender notes, a legal tender for all debts, public and private, throughout the length and breadth of the Unites States, and receivable for all public dues and demands.

But, Mr. President, I did not propose to enter into this discussion. The Senator from Ohio provoked it, and I had to say a few words. When the measure comes up I shall hope then, when the Senator from Delaware, the Senator from Rhode Island, and the Senator from Ohio shall have calmed down and examined it and seen the patriotism in it, that they will come to its rescue and it will unanimously pass to-morrow.

Mr. GRAY. I think the suggestion of the Senator from Missouri to calm down is always one that ought to be heeded, but if he will allow me, I ask him again for information (and I have no doubt he has studied the report to which he has referred with his usual assiduity) whether he has included in the number of bonds held by United States banks upon which no currency has been issued and owned by them those bonds that are held by them as security for the deposits of the United States?

Mr. COCKRELL. Oh, yes, that is all included.

Mr. GRAY. That accounts for a very large proportion, if not all. They are required by law to hold bonds as security for those deposits.

Mr. ALLEN. I submit an amendment, intended to be proposed to Senate bill 453, which I should like to have read and lie on the table.

The amendment was read and ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

Amend by adding:

Provided further, That the bonds used as a basis for the notes issued under this act shall cease to draw interest during the time said notes, or any part thereof, are outstanding and unredeemed; and the issuance of said notes under this act shall be deemed and taken to be conclusive evidence that the owner of such bonds assents to this proviso; and

Provided further, That nothing in this act contained shall be so construed as to commit the Government to the policy of a permanent national debt, or to prevent the prompt payment of all outstanding interest-bearing obligations as fast as they mature.

PARITY OF GOLD AND SILVER.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. President, I desire to submit some remarks upon the joint resolution introduced by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] in regard to bimetallism. I ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be read by title.

The SECRETARY. A joint resolution (S. R. 4) to maintain the parity of gold and silver.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. President, I think there has never been a time in the history of this Government, except possibly that immediately preceding the war, when the action of the Congress of the United States was awaited with the same interest as that of the present Congress. There has never been a time when so many people of the United States centered their hopes upon the action of a legislative body. This interest is not confined to the cities, the great centers of trade, to the great business world, as it is called, but it extends to almost every workshop and every farmhouse throughout the Republic. It is not alone the banker, the railroad president, the owner of Government bonds, the dealer in stocks, and the merchants who are looking to Congress; but the mechanic and the tiller of the soil have an interest, if not so great in dollars and cents, equally important to them.

The evil effects of long years of Republican misrule are upon us, and the people look to this Congress for relief, when for the first time for more than a quarter of a century the Government is Democratic in all of its branches. It would not only be cruel, but it would be a great crime to disappoint these hopes if it is possible to avoid it, and it therefore devolves upon us to meet the great questions presented for our consideration without passion, and if possible without prejudice; without self-seeking, and with an earnest hope of reaching some conclusion which will give relief to the country.

It is not a time to seek to gratify individual ambition or to seek to gain party advantage; but if a fair and candid consideration of the causes which have produced this unfortunate condition will show that it is attributable to the wrongful action of one of the great political parties of the country, then that party should bear the responsibility, and no party and no individual should shrink from such investigation, or attempt to evade it.

If it has been through the unwise legislation of any party or the unwise leadership of any individual that this distress has been brought upon the country, then it is not safe to trust that party or that leader to relieve us of our difficulties.

The condition of to-day has long since been predicted. It has been asserted again and again upon the floor of this Senate and in the House of Representatives that if the policies of the Republican party were continued sooner or later evil would come. Business depression so universal and widespread as that which exists at present does not come as the sudden effect of one single act, but it comes from a certain defined policy.

A long series of legislative acts, all tending in one direction, all having the effect to foster and promote the interests of certain classes of our citizens engaged in certain pursuits, which have naturally and necessarily had the effect to depress and destroy other interests of other classes engaged in different pursuits, and finally the wrong and injustice so long perpetrated against the interests of the people of the Southern and Western sections of the Union have reacted, and the people of the East, as well as those of the South and West, are reaping the consequences of bad legislation intended to promote the special interests of one section.

The legislation of the General Government since the war has been such as to collect and concentrate the capital and the wealth of the country into one section only, and the time came when that capital and that wealth absolutely dominated the Republican party, and in every contest here between those who controlled that capital and the people at large that party was found upon the side of capital. It was this conviction, gradually forced upon the minds of the people, that had more to do with the Democratic victories of 1890 and 1892 than any other cause.

The injustice of tax laws which were gradually sapping the foundations of prosperity and depleting the resources of one section and building up immense fortunes in the hands of a few individuals, the constant attempts to contract the currency in the interest of creditors and those who owned the capital, and the reckless expenditure of the public moneys most conspicuously shown in the appropriation of nearly $200,000,000 annually for pensions, all tended to show that the Republican party was no longer the friend of the laboring classes, and the people swept them from power; but it was too late to escape the evil consequences of their wrongful acts.

That power so long held by the Republican party has come to the Democratic party, and it seems to me the best way to keep that power and to retain the confidence of the people is not to follow in the footsteps of our Republican predecessors, who have already been discredited, but to keep our pledges to the people, and look to the interests of the great body of our fellow-citizens, whose interests have been so long neglected, and not to seek to promote the special interests of those who were so long the beneficiaries of class legislation.

This extraordinary session was called by the President to pass laws relating to our currency. I believe it to be to the interest of the American people that whatever laws are passed should be permanent in their character, and not merely a temporary expedient. The simple repeal of the Sherman law will not settle permanently the laws of our currency. Permanent settlement can be had now as well as at some future time, and I am therefore in favor of including in the same act which repeals the Sherman law other provisions which will determine definitely our policy.

The Sherman law treats silver as a simple commodity and not as money. I therefore voted against it and am in favor of its repeal. To repeal it and put nothing in its place is to put us at once upon a gold basis. I am opposed to a single gold standard. I therefore favor a bill which repeals the Sherman act and at the same time provides for the coinage of both gold and silver in such way as will cause the two to circulate upon terms of equality, as we promised to do in the Democratic platform at Chicago.

I think it is almost universally agreed that the present law, the law of 1890, known as the Sherman act, is thoroughly bad. There are few if any Senators who will stand on this floor and defend that law. The author of it, the man whose name it bears, the Senator from Ohio himself, has said that it ought to be repealed. We all agree that it is a law which should never have been passed, and I am peculiarly gratified at the fact that not a single Democratic vote was cast for it, either in the Senate or the House of Representatives. In an evil hour for the country the free-silver Republicans parted company with their Democratic friends on this side of the Chamber, and consented to this law and the repeal of the Bland act.

While we are all agreed that the Sherman act should be repealed, we are not agreed as to what should take its place. The simple repeal, without other legislation, in my opinion places us at once upon a gold basis, gives us the single gold standard, prevents the future coinage of any silver, and, in fact, at once and forever practically destroys silver as a money, and will eventually place it upon a footing with lead, iron, tin, and other metals, as a simple commodity. This is the issue, and it can not be disguised. There is no issue upon the repeal of the Sherman act. All agree that it should not remain upon the statute books. But the real issue is, shall we hereafter have the single gold standard, or shall we have a double standard, of both gold and silver, as was clearly contemplated by the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. President, I for one believe in the double standard, and I am not willing to cast my vote for the single gold standard of money; and in this belief I am in full accord with all that the Democratic party has ever taught. From its first existence to the present day the Democratic party has uniformly and without a shadow of turning, insisted upon the use of both gold and silver as money, and has always been a party in favor of bimetallism; and no declaration can be found by any of its conventions, or of the actions of its members in Congress, which would in any way show that it was a gold or single standard party. I can not think that it is possible that this great party has totally changed its views within the short period of twelve months, upon a question of such vast importance, and which has been so thoroughly discussed and debated for so many years.

When the representatives of that party met in Chicago in July, 1892, they declared their position upon this question in the following words:

DEMOCRATIC PLANK.

We denounce the Republican legislation, known as the Sherman act of 1890, as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the

future which should make all its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver, without discriminating against metal, or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts, and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

Now, in the face of this resolution, are we willing to-day to declare that this solemn declaration was a fraud and a mere pretense to catch votes? Does any Senator here to-day believe that when the convention met, if we had declared that when we repealed the Sherman act we would substitute nothing in its place, and that gold alone should be the standard and the only money to be coined, we could have elected a Democratic President, a majority of the House of Representatives, and a majority of this Senate? And if we could not, does any Senator believe that it is just and fair to juggle with the people in this way?

Will the people trust our promises again? Will not all the resolutions hereafter adopted in the conventions be regarded as farces, as promises to catch votes but not to be performed, if we, after deliberately declaring in favor of the double standard, come here and by the very first act of the Democratic Congress declare for the single gold standard? I do not know what views others may take of this, but it seems to me that it would be a violation of faith for which there could be no excuse, and that the party thus disregarding their solemn promise would, to a large extent, lose the confidence of the American people. We not only promised it upon the platform, but upon every rostrum throughout the United States.

Democratic Senators and Democratic Members and Democratic speakers declared that such was the fixed policy of the party, and they pointed to the platform made in Chicago as evidence of it; to the votes cast here and in the other House of Congress in favor of it; to the speeches of our great leaders, and to the letter of acceptance of our standard bearer, the candidate for President of the United States.

We pledged ourselves to the repeal of the Sherman act, and in the same clause and same section of the platform we pledged ourselves to bimetallism; and the pledge there made to repeal the Sherman law is not more binding than the pledge for the double standard, to give both gold and silver equal rights and chances under the law. And all that we ask to-day is that you who are members of the same party as we keep the promises in their letter and their spirit. We are ready to vote for the repeal of the act, but the same law that accomplishes this repeal should also carry out the other promises. The one promise is not more binding than the other. To repeal the Sherman law and put nothing in its place is to keep only a part of the pledge, and to make it impossible that the other part can ever be redeemed.

We who believe that the adoption of the single gold standard would be ruinous to the best interests of the country; we who as members of the Democratic party contributed our part toward the great victory of 1892, ask you as members of the same organization to carry out, not a part of the platform on the question of the currency, but to give full force and effect to all that we jointly promised. It is not a compliance with it to say that we will repeal the Sherman law now and at some time in the remote future, when we can get other nations to agree to it, that we will then vote for a double standard.

This, Mr. President, as I see, without meaning to be offensive to any man, would be an effort to avoid responsibility, and those who attempt it underrate the intelligence of the American people. We all know that under the present condition of affairs, unless the same act which repeals the Sherman law provides for the coinage of silver on some terms, silver as a money is doomed forever, and gold alone will be the money of the United States.

This, Mr. President, is a great issue with which we are confronted. We fully realize the tremendous power of those who are arrayed against us. We know that for a long series of years the owners of Government bonds, the owners of State, county, and municipal bonds and individual bonds, those who have fixed incomes, those who own the principal wealth of the country, have fought for this end—that is, to destroy silver and make gold the one standard of value. They have denied it in the past; they boldly avow it to-day. They have pursued this course with an energy and perseverance worthy of a better cause; and no sentiment of compassion, no sympathy for those whose fortunes would be ruined or for those whose productions would be so largely decreased in value has ever restrained them or caused them to halt or hesitate in the pursuit of a purpose which they believe will largely increase the wealth they already have. They were temporarily successful in 1873, when they stopped the coinage of silver.

But when the people came to fully understand the situation, they became aroused, and in 1878, but for the skillful management of the enemies of silver in the Senate of the United States, the law which had existed for so many years prior to 1873 would have been restored to the statute book. But as it was, it resulted in the passage of what is known as the Bland-Allison bill, a compromise measure which partially, but not fully, restored silver to its original position.

Again in 1890, when the majority of the people demanded the free coinage of silver, its enemies succeeded in thwarting the public will in the passage of the Sherman law, and now, when its evil effects are seen, the very men who are responsible for it take advantage of the disaster entailed by their own act, and, with an assurance that I have never seen equaled, come forward and ask that they shall be granted all that they demand, because of the evil effects of their own law, and which was so strongly opposed by every Democrat on this floor.

Mr. President, I think it may be well to refer to the RECORD to show some of the acts of Congress which have been passed since the close of the war in regard to our currency. These records have been recited before, but they can not be recited too often, and perhaps at this time, when the people are studying and looking to this subject as they never looked before, their repetition may arouse the people to a sense of their danger, and thereby induce them to hold up the hands of all who are here, determined, come what may, to resist at all costs this attempt to destroy the money of our fathers and to force upon us a measure that will still further impoverish the great agricultural States of this Union.

In 1869 the outstanding principal of the Government debt was more than $2,600,000,000. The principal of this debt was clearly payable in legal-tender notes. The bonds issued stated that it was only the interest that was payable in coin while the principal of the bonds was payable in legal-tender notes, commonly called "greenbacks." This no one could deny. The holders of these bonds had purchased them with greenbacks when greenbacks were worth 50 cents on the dollar as compared with gold and silver.

Then the holders of these bonds came to Congress and asked that they be paid in coin, legal-tender notes then being worth 66 cents on the dollar, giving as their reason why an act so unjust on its very face should be passed by Congress, that such an act would tend to preserve the public credit. And Congress, then controlled in both branches by the Republican party, yielded to this exorbitant and unreasonable demand, and over the protest of every Democrat in the Senate acceded to this proposition, and on the 14th of July, 1870, passed a law refunding the debt and making the new bonds payable in coin, and these bonds were exempt from taxation of all kinds.

The following will show the character of the new bond:

Extract from face of United States 4 per cent. bond:

"This bond is issued in accordance with the provisions of an act of Congress entitled 'An act to authorize the refunding of the national debt,' approved July 14, 1870, amended by an act approved January 20, 1871, and is redeemable at the pleasure of the United States after the 1st day of July, A. D. 1907, in coin of the standard value of the United States on said July 14, 1870, with interest in such coin from the day of the date hereof at the rate of 4 per cent per annum, payable quarterly on the 1st day of October, January, April, and July in each year. The principal and interest are exempt from the payment of all taxes or duties of the United States, as well as from taxation in any form by or under State, municipal, or local authority."

It will be seen by this that they were not payable in gold, but in coin, either gold or silver of the present weight and fineness, at the option of the Government of the United States. It would seem that this ought to have been sufficient to have satisfied the avarice of the ordinary man. They had secured the passage of a law giving them a coin bond worth a hundred cents on the dollar in lieu of a bond payable in legal-tender notes worth 66 cents on the dollar, and which they had purchased with legal-tender notes worth 50 cents on the dollar.

But they were not content, and they conceived the idea that if they could destroy silver, stop its coinage, and destroy one-half of the money of the United States, they would thereby reduce by one-half the money in which the bonds were payable, and necessarily the remaining money would appreciate in value to such an extent that its purchasing power would be largely increased and the value of their bonds greatly enhanced. It mattered nothing to them that the result would be to force down the price of all farm products. It mattered not to them that every debtor would be compelled to double his labor in order to meet his obligations.

Disregarding all these considerations, they secured the passage of the act of 1873 stopping the coinage of silver. Whether it was done secretly, as has been charged, or openly, the evil effects were the same, a general distress following its passage.

When the people came to understand the situation and fully realize the wrong and injustice practiced upon them, unorganized as they were, they rallied in such force as to elect a Demo-

cratic House of Representatives, which in 1878 passed a bill restoring the law and providing for the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

But when the bill came to the Senate, under the skillful leadership of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] they succeeded in amending the House bill, and finally the Bland-Allison bill became a law over the veto of President Hayes. It provided for the coinage of not less than two millions of silver dollars per month. The holders of the bonds submitted, and even consented, for the time being, to the passage of this modified act, because they knew it was the only way to defeat the restoration of the law that stood until 1873. But they were not content, and in 1885 they made an effort to repeal the Bland act, but failed.

In 1890 the friends of the people, the friends of free coinage, made a strong effort to restore silver to the position it occupied before the passage of the act of 1873, but they were again defeated by the passage of what was called a compromise measure, the Sherman bill, but for which no Democrat cast his vote. This was not the law of the friends of free silver, and while some of the free-silver Republicans cast their vote for it, yet it was peculiarly and especially the product of the enemies of free silver. This law is so thoroughly bad that the President has been compelled to call us together to repeal it.

But the same act that takes it from the statute book should also provide for the free coinage of both gold and silver in such a way that will cause them both to circulate upon terms of equality. Those who are trying to establish a single gold standard take advantage of the odious character of the Sherman law and try to make it appear that the issue is upon its repeal. But this is not the issue. The issue is, shall we have hereafter a single or a double standard? We say the law was bad when it was passed. We say that it is bad now. We said it ought not to pass; and we say it ought to be repealed. You now agree with us that you were wrong when you passed it, and you agree with us that it ought to be repealed; but you say in lieu of it you want a single gold standard.

We say we want a double standard, both gold and silver, as was provided by the Constitution of the country. Try to disguise it as you may, it is an issue between creditors on one side and debtors on the other; between owners of stocks and bonds on the one hand, and the producers of the country on the other; between those who desire a limited and contracted currency and those who believe in sufficient money to do the business of the country. It is an issue between those whose interest it is to have cheap farm products, and those whose interest it is to secure the largest price for wheat, and corn, and cotton, and other products of the agricultural States.

All outstanding contracts, all obligations of the Government and of individuals, unless it is specifically provided otherwise, are payable in either gold or silver, at the option of the debtor, and it is false to say that it is either dishonest or a repudiation to pay them as the contract provides. It is decidedly dishonest to strike down and stop the coinage of one of these metals, and thereby force the debtor to pay gold only, when he has the right by the terms of his contract to pay in either gold or silver.

It is absolutely certain that, if you make gold the only money, the value of the obligations of all bonds, of all evidences of indebtedness, will be largely increased; and it is equally certain to my mind that all farm products will be still further depreciated in value. How any man residing in an agricultural State, unless he be a banker or a bondholder, can favor a single gold standard is to me utterly incomprehensible.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas will suspend. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, it is the duty of the Chair to lay before the Senate the unfinished business.

The SECRETARY. A resolution providing that Lee Mantle be admitted to a seat in the Senate from the State of Montana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this resolution the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. PASCO. I ask that the pending resolution be temporarily laid aside until the Senator from Arkansas has concluded his speech.

Mr. CHANDLER. It is understood that that will be done by unanimous consent.

Mr. PASCO. I ask unanimous consent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair hears no objection, and the Senator from Arkansas will proceed.

Mr. BERRY. When our population was far less than it is at present, when the business of the country and the exchange of products was far less than it is now, it required all the gold and all the silver that could be procured from the mines of the earth to do the business of the people, and no one ever complained that we had too much of either of the precious metals.

It is admitted that the population and the business of the country have increased more rapidly than the production of either gold or silver; yet you say it required then both gold and silver, while gold alone is sufficient now, notwithstanding the increased population and the increased business. It required both then, and is it possible one alone is sufficient now? But we are told that 95 per cent of the business of the country is done on paper—bank checks. If this be true, this paper, these bank checks, are based upon gold and silver.

Take away the gold and silver, and the paper—the bank checks—is worthless. It is only good because it is based upon and is redeemable in gold or silver. If this is not true, if the bank checks and paper are sufficient in themselves, if they are money, then you admit the theory of our fiat-money friends and both gold and silver are useless as money, because paper is far more convenient than either of them.

So, Mr. President, you can argue the question as you will, you can cover the pages of the RECORD with statistics showing the amount and value of gold and silver at different periods in the history of the world, you can give many theories as to why different nations have adopted the one standard or the other, or both, but after all it comes back to this: that the people residing in the Eastern States who have, under the operation of unjust tax laws, accumulated vast fortunes, who have been enabled to collect into the hands of comparative few individuals the great bulk of the wealth of the country, and who have invested this money in Government bonds, in State, county, railroad, and municipal bonds, who have loaned this money to the farmers of the West and the planters of the South at ruinous rates of interest, are anxious to double their wealth and the value of their securities and holdings.

Mr. MCPHERSON. Would it interrupt the Senator from Arkansas if I should ask him a question?

Mr. BERRY. Not at all.

Mr. MCPHERSON. I have heard it often stated in this Chamber, and I have heard it repeated to-day by the distinguished Senator from Arkansas with emphasis, that the purpose os this proposed legislation, to wit, the repeal of the Sherman law (as I suppose that is the measure to which he refers), is to do away with the silver money of this country, putting us entirely upon a gold basis with a gold currency. Will the honorable Senator tell me where he has ever heard a declaration, either in this Chamber or out of it, in which there was any disposition shown on the part of those who think as I think to do away with one dollar of the silver circulation to-day in this country, amounting to some $650,000,000? The object is to maintain it; and speaking for myself——

Mr. BERRY. I yielded for a question; not for a speech.

Mr. MCPHERSON. Very well. I wish to know, then, where the Senator has ever heard the utterance, either in this Chamber or elsewhere, of any such disposition as he avows?

Mr. BERRY. I assert, in answer to the Senator from New Jersey, as I have already said, that there are men who will vote for unconditional repeal who do not believe in the single gold standard, but I said that such would be the effect of the act that it would stop the coinage of silver; that it would discredit it; that it would have the effect throughout the civilized world to show that one of the greatest nations no longer wants to recognize silver as one of the metals.

I tell the Senator he can find it in Republican papers of the East, many of them, and if I am not mistaken he will find it in speeches in the RECORD, not made in the Senate, where the speakers announced that they were in favor of selling the silver bullion as a commodity and eventually disposing of even the silver dollars now in circulation. I say to the Senator that of course the simple repeal would leave the silver money now in circulation as part of the money, but I have asserted that eventually the effect of such an act would be to put us on a direct gold standard, and I repeat it to-day.

As I was saying when I was interrupted, in speaking of those who said it was to increase the value of their securities, they come to the Congress of the United States and say, while it is true that we agreed to accept either gold or silver in payment of our debts, at the option of the debtor, yet we ask you to stop the coinage of silver, to use the power intrusted to you for the benefit of all, to force our debtors to pay in gold alone. They ask this when they well know that all gold will necessarily become more valuable.

The Senator from New Jersey himself can not deny that if we stop the coinage altogether of one of these metals the other metal will necessarily appreciate in value and purchase more of the products of this country than it would if we coined both gold and silver.

They ask it when they know it will be far more difficult for their debtors to meet their obligations, when they know it will largely decrease the price and thereby largely increase the amount of all farm products required to meet these obligations in this more valuable metal. And the only reason they give for asking it is, that foreign nations demand it; and that by reason

of unwise laws heretofore passed at their bidding, confidence has been destroyed and the people no longer trust the banks, and they ask it with the more assurance because they have never made a demand of a Republican Congress that has not been acceded to, and they hope a Democratic Congress will be equally accommodating.

Mr. President, the monstrous injustice of this scheme is such that it seems to me that it would only require to be stated in order that it might be defeated. But in every paper, in all resolutions passed by boards of exchange, boards of trade, and by bankers' conventions, we are told that it would be dishonest to pay these debts in a depreciated silver dollar. In the first place, the silver dollar is not depreciated. It is as good to-day as a gold dollar and passes everywhere for its full value.

But suppose it were depreciated, how can it be dishonest to pay according to the terms of the contract? The contract says that the debtor may pay in either gold or silver, at his option, and I assert that there can be no dishonesty in forcing the creditors to stand by the contracts. If one of our citizens agrees to pay his neighbor so many bushels of wheat or corn at a stated period, and at the option of the debtor to pay in either wheat or corn as he might choose, if, when the time comes, wheat is high and corn is low, does any man call it dishonest to pay in the cheaper product?

It can not be because that was the agreement, and the creditor took the risk when he made the contract. And so, when these creditors of the Government, and of individuals, agreed to accept either gold or silver at the option of the debtor, they took the risk and they can not complain that they are not paid as the contract provided they should be. If they had the option does any man doubt that they would demand the most valuable metal, and could anyone call them dishonest for so doing?

It is the creditors, the holders of these securities, who are seeking to repudiate their obligations and ask the Congress of the United States to aid them in forcing those who are already overburdened to pay more than they promised to pay. Hence it is, Mr. President, that all the publications, all the resolutions, all the letters with which our mails have been flooded for the last few months, asking for the gold standard only, come from those who hold these obligations, come from those who own the capital of the country, and not one from a farmers' organization or a laborers' union.

Men instinctively know where their interests are, and the profound solicitude of those who demand a single gold standard for the benefit of the laborer and the producer, who they say would be most benefited, deceives no one. The same cry was raised in 1869, when they secured the coin bond in lieu of the greenback bond; the same cry has been urged from year to year in support of tariff laws, which have constantly robbed the laborer and the farmer; the same cry was put forth in support of the act of 1873, and the history of the world shows that whenever capital has sought legislative aid in its unjust schemes; and whenever it has attempted to rob the laborer of the just rewards of his toil it has been done under cover of well-laid schemes of professed solicitude for the laborer—the producer.

But, Mr. President, these are not the only objects sought by those who advocate the single gold standard. Behind these, already avowed by some and will soon be openly advocated by others, stands the scheme to force the Government to issue additional bonds, and, of course, with such bonds comes the chance of large speculations.

We all remember a few months ago what a pressure was brought to bear upon the Secretary of the Treasury to issue additional bonds. If such bonds could be secured the national banks might be indefinitely continued. And those who were pressing the Secretary to issue these bonds were so eager for gain that they well nigh produced a panic throughout the country, regardless of the injury and suffering which would come thereby.

If the gold standard be established as the only money of the country, who can assure us that the next move will not be to retire our greenback circulation and thereby give the national banks absolute control of our paper circulation? By a combined effort of the banks of the country, they can collect together and demand a redemption of a sufficient amount of legal-tender notes in gold to force the Secretary of the Treasury to sell bonds and procure the gold. He will have no choice in the matter and they will be absolute masters of the situation.

The only restraint they have upon them now is the power of the Secretary to pay silver at the option of the Government, and if the Secretary of the Treasury had exercised that power a few months ago in the payment of Treasury certificates issued for the purchase of silver bullion, as so many of his friends throughout the West and South hoped he would do, I firmly believe that the attempt to repudiate the promises of the Chicago platform and force us to a gold standard would have been speedily abandoned.

Repeal this law, Mr. President, and put nothing in its place, as you say you desire to do, and thereby place us upon a single gold standard, and what will be the result? We all know that there is not sufficient gold in the world to do the business of the entire world. Mr. Rothwell, special agent of the Eleventh United States Census, on gold and silver, says, in a recent publication, that the Director of the United States Mint estimates that the business of the world is carried on with $3,632,605,000 in gold and $4,000,000,000 in silver, and that 67 per cent of the population do their business on a silver standard and the rest of the world use both gold and silver.

Let the conviction once become general that silver has to be destroyed, and the action of this Government in adopting a gold standard would largely increase that belief, and what would be the consequences? There would at once commence a general scramble for gold. Each nation would seek to increase its gold reserve, and in their eagerness to obtain it its value would increase enormously, and it would force a universal reduction of wages, and no man can calculate or estimate the suffering and distress that would result from this universal derangement of business and decrease of values. Farm products would fall lower and still lower in price, and it would be impossible to meet the existing obligations in a money so largely increased in value, and universal bankruptcy would follow. And can any man who loves his country and sympathizes with his people look without fear and apprehension upon any bill which promises to be the means of destroying one-half of the money of the world and to still further lower the price of the products upon which our people are dependent to meet their obligations and to retain their homes?

But we are told that while the double standard is right, yet we can not adopt it, for the reason that European nations will never consent to it, that we are not strong enough within ourselves to regulate and direct the character of currency necessary to do the business of the people; that the principal European nations have the gold standard, and therefore we must also have the gold standard. Our forefathers did not so think.

Mr. President, I have no doubt that away back in the days of 1776 many men were found who argued that while a republican form of government was best, yet most European governments had kings for rulers, and we therefore must have a king also. If such argument had prevailed our Republic would not have existed. If Europe is to dictate our financial policy, then the declaration of Mr. Jefferson, that these were free and independent States, is not a true declaration. If we are to wait for Europe to act, if we can do nothing without her consent, then we are not an independent people, but the slaves and dependents of a foreign power. It seems to me we ought to adopt a policy for ourselves and provide that which we think best for our own people, without regard to foreign governments.

We have been told often recently by the Republican press, and doubtless will be told again by Republican Senators, that we should follow in the footsteps of England. They point to England as a guide in this matter, and say that England, by the adoption of the single gold standard, has brought universal prosperity upon her people; yet these same Senators have stood upon this floor within a few years and pictured the inhabitants of England as being in the most deplorable and distressed condition of any people upon the globe, and attributed the poverty of the people of England to her policy of free trade.

When they desire to increase the wealth of the East at the expense of the South and West by unjust tax laws, then they point to the people of England as being in such a helpless and depressed condition as to excite the sympathy of all mankind; but when they seek to rob the South and West by a contraction of the currency, then they point to England as a model of prosperity and a country whose example we ought to follow.

Mr. President, it is the prosperity of the people of the forty-four States of the Union in which I feel the most interest, and it is the distress of the people of the South and West that excites my greatest sympathy. It is for the American people that we are here to make the laws, and I believe this Republic is strong enough to define its own policy and make its own laws without submitting to the dictation of any other power or government.

I have not gone, Mr. President, into statistics at any length to show the use in the different nations of gold and silver, to show the rate of increase as to population, the increase of the business of the American States, nor have I produced figures to show that this increase of population and this increase of business has been far greater than the increase in the production of gold and silver; but this fact is admitted and will not be denied by anyone. Nor have I thought it necessary to show the various prices of cotton, of wheat, of almost every other farm product, getting lower and lower year by year, and dating their fall with the date of unfriendly legislation to silver, attributable, as I believe, in a large measure, to the high tariff and contracted currency.

My reasons for not collecting these figures are that my experience here has taught me that men can juggle with statistics and figures to prove almost any proposition they may desire, and that there is no surer way of confusing and misleading than a long array of figures, often untrue and incorrect. But there are certain great facts that all the world knows and no man ought to dispute; and it is upon these facts that I rest my cause. One of these is, that to destroy one-half of the money in the country will enhance the value of and increase the purchasing power of the remaining half.

Another fact is, to force men to pay their debts in gold alone when that gold has been by unfriendly legislation to silver largely increased in value, when they have agreed to pay in either gold or silver, is legalized robbery. Mr. Beck said in a speech delivered in this body in 1885, and I have never heard it denied, that—

> There is not an outstanding obligation of the United States or of any State, municipality, corporation, or individual, which can not be legally and acceptably discharged by payment of the present standard silver dollar.

Another fact is, that the contraction of the currency, a reduction in the circulating medium, will reduce the price of every farm product throughout the agricultural States.

Another fact is, that if it required both gold and silver to do the business of the country while we had a limited population, and much less business than now, then there is not sufficient gold alone to do that business when both the business and population have increased vastly.

It is upon these propositions that I stand, and if they be true, then the adoption of the single gold standard would be a crime and would result in the most disastrous consequences to the people.

I regret, Mr. President, to differ with some of my Democratic friends upon this question. I believe in the Democratic party, and have followed it with the same faith and devotion that our blind chaplain has followed his God; and whatever may be its acts, as a party, it will receive my loyal support, and I will rally under its banner as long as it floats, as I believe it is founded upon the true principles of free government; and in taking the position I do here to-day, and in voting to substitute in the place of the Sherman law a bill which will provide for the coinage of both gold and silver I know that I am in the exact line with the Democratic platform passed at Chicago in 1892, and upon which we elected the President and both Houses of Congress.

I believe that the President of the United States is a man of the highest, and most patriotic purpose; a man of great ability, thoroughly honest, and absolutely fearless in the expression of his opinions. He has often declared in favor of bimetallism. He stated it in his letter of acceptance, when he was nominated at Chicago, and was elected on that promise; and I am confident, notwithstanding his failure to discuss bimetallism in his message, that he will approve any bill which both repeals the Sherman law and provides for the circulation of both gold and silver, on such terms as will give them equal value.

Give us a chance to try our plan. You have tried yours, first in 1873 and again in 1890—by passing in 1873 a law which demonetized silver, and by passing the Sherman law in 1890. Both have proven disastrous failures. You have by these and other laws in the interest of wealth and capital well-nigh ruined the country. Let us try our plan. It is not a new or unheard-of plan. It was in force in this Republic for more than three-quarters of a century. It worked well then, and prosperity prevailed; why can not it work for the interest and welfare of the people to-day? Give us both gold and silver free coinage; give both an equal chance before the mints. If they will not circulate upon terms of equality at the present ratio of 16 to 1, then we can change the ratio.

I am not wedded to any particular ratio, but I believe at the present ratio every dollar coined would be as good as a gold dollar. I ask that we do as we promised the people when they gave us power, that we will give each of these metals an equal chance at some ratio, and I believe in good faith that we should keep these promises. It is not fair to obtain the votes of the people by definite and specific promises and then violate the promise. As I before stated, I regret that the Democratic party can not present a united front upon this question, and I regret that some of my Democratic associates have different views from my own, but my first duty is to the people of my State, whose commission I hold and whose agent I am; and, believing as I do that their interests will be promoted by the adoption of a double standard, I shall so vote.

The low price of cotton, so long continued, has forced many of the people of the South to borrow money and to mortgage their farms for its payment. To compel them to meet these obligations in gold alone, and pass a law that would further depreciate the value of their cotton, which is their sole dependence, is equivalent to an act of confiscation of their homes. It will be in the changed condition of affairs an impossibility for them to meet their obligations, and the representative from the South who votes for the gold standard assumes the responsibility, as I believe, of forcing the sale of the homestead of many of his constituents—of forcing from the place of his birth the man whose ancestors had occupied it for a hundred years—of forcing him to part with his home, with all its traditions and associations so dear to his heart, and see it pass into the hands of a stranger from another land.

This, Mr. President, I can not do, let the consequences be what they may. The saddest thing to me since the war has been to witness the hopeless struggle of the planter of the South, contending often against floods and the various causes which bring destruction to his crops, but above all weighed down and handicapped by unjust laws, which force the price of his cotton lower and lower, and even below the cost of production, yet manfully contending for the traditions of his fathers, fighting against overwhelming odds and against fate, as it were, to retain the home of his ancestors.

If I should desert him now and violate a promise so often given, and should cast a vote that I believe would add to his burden and make his contest more difficult, as I earnestly believe a vote for the single gold standard would do, I would feel that I had done a deed almost as dishonorable as though I had deserted the flag under which I had enlisted when the tide of battle pressed hardest against it.

Mr. PASCO. Mr. President, I will take the floor on the resolution reported from the Committee on Privileges and Elections in relation to the Montana contested-election case, and then give way to the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], who, I understand, desires to make some remarks upon the resolution offered by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], which was under discussion yesterday. I do this with the consent of the Senator who has the matter in charge.

PROPOSED FINANCIAL LEGISLATION.

Mr. GALLINGER. I ask that the resolution of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] and the amendment proposed by myself may be reported.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire asks that the regular order be informally laid aside for the purpose of taking up a resolution, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. LODGE August 8, 1893, as follows:

> Whereas Congress has been called in extraordinary session on account of the unfortunate condition of business: and
>
> Whereas some measure of relief can be obtained by the immediate and unconditional repeal of the purchasing clauses of the silver act of 1890: Therefore
>
> *Resolved*, That the Committee on Finance be instructed to report at once to the Senate a bill to repeal the purchasing clauses of the silver act of 1890, and that a vote be taken in the Senate on said bill on Tuesday, August 22, at 2 o'clock p. m., unless it is sooner reached.

Mr. GALLINGER. Now, let my proposed amendment be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add to the resolution the following:

> And that said committee be also directed to report to the Senate that in its opinion it is inexpedient and unwise for Congress to attempt to radically change the existing tariff laws of the United States prior to March 4, 1897.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, in common with the junior Senator from Massachusetts, and New England Republicans generally, I favor the repeal of section 1 of the so-called Sherman silver law, and am ready to vote for it at the earliest possible moment. But I do not agree with the Senator that this much-abused law is largely responsible for existing financial evils. I admit that the repeal of the purchasing clause of this statute will undoubtedly do something toward restoring confidence abroad in our financial system, and that as a result we will be benefited by an increased demand for our securities in foreign countries, for which we shall receive gold in exchange.

I do not pretend to special knowledge of the financial question; but after reading innumerable so-called "solutions" of the problem, and listening to the able speeches already delivered on both sides of this Chamber, I am irresistibly led to the conclusion that one might as well attempt to cure bunions with sweetened water as to expect that the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman silver law will entirely remove the existing financial stringency.

Recalling the strong words uttered against introducing political arguments into this discussion, I nevertheless propose to speak plainly what I believe, whether it be political or otherwise, and whether it pleases or displeases my associates on either side of this Chamber.

And in this connection it should not be forgotten that the political gauntlet was thrown down by the President himself, when he charged that the business and monetary disturbances of the country are due to unwise laws enacted by the Republican party.

I believe, Mr. President, that the Sherman silver law has infinitely less to do with business depression to-day than the anticipated onslaught of the party in power on the McKinley tariff law. A prominent newspaper in my State has well said:

Of all the senseless theories ever projected by a desperate party to account for hard times the one now advanced by the Democracy, that banks are suspending, factories closing, merchants failing, and business generally is being paralyzed simply because the Government is adding to the circulating medium of the country four or five million just such coins as have been in use for fifteen years, and are now eagerly taken by everybody at their face value, is the silliest. Hard times are upon us. Harder times than the American people have seen or dreaded since 1857, and they grow harder every day. They are hard and are growing harder because a party which has declared "war to the death upon the protected industries of the country" is in undisputed control of the legislative and executive branches of the Government. They will grow no better until it is certain that this party can be turned from its purpose or forced to stay its hand; until it is settled that the protective tariff is not to be smashed.

It is a singular circumstance that in the history of the country the cry of distress is always uttered by a Democratic President. No Republican President ever found it necessary to tell the people of this country that its monetary and business interests were in a deplorable condition. True, we had something of a panic in 1873, due to overspeculation and the investment of fabulous sums of money in railroad construction, but that was of small account to the industrial interests of the country as compared to the present alarming state of things. In 1857 a like disaster to the present one overtook the country, and the similarity of language then used by a Democratic President to that of the present Chief Executive is strikingly instructive, even to the extent of suggesting plagiarism. Look at the deadly parallel:

BUCHANAN, DECEMBER, 1857.

The earth has yielded her fruits abundantly; our great staples command high prices, and up till within a brief period our mineral, manufacturing, and mechanical occupations have largely partaken of the general prosperity. We have possessed all the elements of material wealth in rich abundance, yet, notwithstanding these advantages, our country in its monetary interests is at present in a deplorable condition.

In the midst of unsurpassed plenty, we find our manufactures suspended, our public works retarded, our private enterprises abandoned, and thousands of useful laborers thrown out of employment and reduced to want. Under these circumstances a loan may be required before the close of your present session, but this, although deeply to be regretted, would prove to be only a slight misfortune when compared with the suffering and distress prevailing among our people.

CLEVELAND, AUGUST, 1893.

With plenteous crops, with abundant promise of remunerative production and manufacture, with unusual invitation to safe investment, and with satisfactory assurance to business enterprise, suddenly financial distrust and fear have sprung up on every side.

Numerous moneyed institutions have suspended because abundant assets were not immediately available to meet the demands of frightened depositors. Surviving corporations and individuals are content to keep in hand the money they are usually anxious to loan, and those engaged in legitimate business are surprised to find that securities they offer for loans, though heretofore satisfactory, are no longer accepted.

Values supposed to be fixed are fast becoming conjectural, and loss and failure have involved every branch of business.

Mr. President, it is well understood that when the last Democratic national platform was constructed the party did not expect to come in possession of all departments of the Government. They hoped for the election of their candidate for President, and expected to carry the popular branch of Congress; but they had no expectation that the Senate would be Democratic. Under that condition of things they made a declaration which they did not themselves believe, expecting to be able to hide behind a wicked Republican Senate, and lay upon that body the blame for failure to legislate on the tariff. Why, Mr. President, if the Democratic party really believe what their platform declared—if a Democratic President and Democratic Senators really believe it—what a spectacle it is for them to allow an unconstitutional law to remain on the statute books for over five months of Democratic ascendancy without an effort to repeal it!

The fact is they do not believe that high tariff laws are unconstitutional; for they know that the Supreme Court of the United States has repeatedly affirmed the constitutionality of such legislation.

My amendment gives the Democratic party an opportunity to escape from their own folly. It puts off tariff legislation until 1897, when the Republican party will again be in power, the only party that has shown a capacity to deal with great economic questions in this country.

Mr. President, we had prosperity for nearly three years under the Sherman silver law, during which time we had a Republican President and a Republican Senate.

But the Democratic party wanted a "change." They induced the laboring men of the country to vote with them, and the change came. It came on the distinct issue that the existing tariff law is a fraud and unconstitutional.

Then came unrest on the part of business men and manufacturers. They were confronted by this astounding Democratic platform upon which the country had been carried. Business operations were curtailed; capital, always timid, began to hide; manufacturers became alarmed, and the small investors clamored for their money. The result is known to all men.

This is a currency panic, not due to a scarcity of money in the country, but due to hoarding, principally as a result of apprehension that the business of the country will be harmed by a repeal of the tariff laws now on the statute books.

Mr. President, the manufacturers of New England are to-day in actual distress, as the junior Senator from Massachusetts has truthfully depicted.

In the last Congress, the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] grew eloquent over a report that reached his ears that the Middlesex mills in Massachusetts had paid a 36 per cent dividend. Of course no such dividend had ever been paid, but it did service in the campaign which followed. To-day, instead of the mills of Massachusetts or of New Hampshire paying 36 per cent or 6 per cent dividends, their doors are closed, their spindles are idle, and there must be some reason for this outside of the silver legislation of the Republican party.

Let me call the attention of the Senate to three object lessons that came to my attention only a few days before I left my home. In the city of Nashua, N. H., is one of the largest boot and shoe manufacturing establishments in the country. It employs almost 1,000 men, and for the months of June and July the books of that establishment show that over $450,000 worth of manufactured goods were sent away and less than $40,000 in cash was returned to that establishment. Does any sane man believe that this condition of things is due to the silver legislation of any party in this country?

Another object lesson is to be found in the great Amoskeag corporation, in the city of Manchester, N. H., employing thousands of men, the largest cotton-manufacturing establishment, I believe, in the entire country. To day, for the first time in its history, the doors of that great manufacturing establishment are closed and every spindle in it is silent.

Mr. PEFFER. Will the Senator permit me to ask him a question for information?

Mr. GALLINGER. With pleasure.

Mr. PEFFER. I ask as to when the particular establishment to which the Senator has just referred was organized and began business? Along in the fifties, was it not?

Mr. GALLINGER. About that time, as I remember.

Mr. PEFFER. How did that establishment manage to get along under the tariff of 1857?

Mr. GALLINGER. I have only this to say, that they did manage to get along under the tariff of 1857, but they were not so prosperous at that time as they have been of late years, and besides, they did not pay one-half the wages under the low tariff of 1857 that they have paid under the Morrill and the McKinley tariff laws. They managed to get along during the troublous times of 1873 without closing their doors, but to-day, for the first time in their history, their doors are closed and their spindles are silent. How long that condition of things will continue I do not know, but I do know that absolute alarm pervades the manufacturing circles of New England to-day, and that they are very fearful that disasters, such as language would be inadequate to portray, are going to overtake the manufacturing industries of that portion of our country.

Now, Mr. President, does anybody suppose that the wholesale dry goods houses are refusing to buy Amoskeag ginghams because they are afraid that when the bills come due they will be allowed to pay them in dollars worth only 60 cents? Is it strange that people do not buy Amoskeag ginghams for future use when the great Democratic party is pledged to practically abolish the duty on them, and open the home market to the stocks that have been accumulating in England since the passage of the McKinley bill?

Is it any wonder that manufacturers hesitate about piling up goods which they may be obliged to sell in free competition with those produced abroad by labor costing only two-thirds what they pay for it here? What is there strange about that, and how will the repeal of the Sherman law help out that condition of things?

Is there anything mysterious in the fact that with an avowed bitter and all-powerful enemy of every protected industry in the White House, and with both Houses of Congress pledged to carry out his destructive purposes, capital goes into hiding, industry ceases, and bankruptcy runs riot through the country? I discover nothing mysterious in this matter. It is the logical outcome of the triumph of a party pledged to the destruction of high protection in this country.

The third object lesson that came to my attention was the fact that the Antrim cutlery establishment in my State, a large manufacturing industry employing several hundred hands, that has built up one of the most beautiful villages in New England and has given steady employment and high wages to an intelligent community, has recently closed its doors for three or four days each week for the first time in its history. Almost at the very moment when that establishment was closing its doors the consul of the United States, Benjamin Folsom, a cousin of the President of the

United States, was making a speech to the operatives in cutlery in the city of Sheffield, in England. What did that officer of the United States, a cousin of the President of the United States, say to the men who are making cutlery in competition with the cutlery manufacturers in this country? Among other things he said to them:

There are many things I should like to say. There are two or three practical things I can say to you which are of more importance than any résumé of our history. England's greatest customer has been the United States; and, in spite of tariffs that have been raised against foreign countries, there is, and must continue to be, a great and gigantic trade flowing from England to America.

And as Mr. Folsom uttered those sentiments to that great meeting, being about to take his leave as consul to Sheffield, his English hearers admiringly cried out, "Hear! Hear!"

You have passed——

Mr. Folsom said—

the worst period; you have crossed the highest barrier that can be raised between the United States and England in the way of trade obstruction. [Applause.] I will tell you why this is. For the first time since the year 1860 the Democratic party, which has been the party of free trade, is for the first time in power, not only in the executive, but in both its legislative branches. [Applause.] During the former term of Mr. Cleveland he was blocked by the Senate standing between him and the House of Representatives, which was Democratic, and therefore no bill could be passed which was not in the shape of a compromise. When the struggle came on for the Presidential election last year the Democratic party, for the first time in its history, took fair and square ground, and made a straight out-and-out issue between protection and tariff for revenue only. [Hear, hear.]

If you will pardon me, I will read to you the two slight planks in the Democratic platform upon which the President of the United States was elected, and upon which the Congress which is now in power, and which is to be convened upon the 7th of next month, was elected, and you will see that so soon as the financial question is disposed of, which is merely a preliminary, and must be disposed of before the regular meeting of Congress, the next great question is the tariff, in which you are interested, and which the President and both Houses of Congress are pledged to reduce. [Applause.] The Democratic platform upon which Mr. Cleveland was elected says: "We denounce Republican protection as a fraud; a robber of the great majority of the American people for a few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purposes of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the Government when honestly and economically administered.

We denounce the McKinley tariff law, enacted by the Fifty-first Congress, as the culminating atrocity of class legislation; and we indorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw materials and the cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption; and we promise its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic party. Since the McKinley tariff went into operation there have been ten reductions of the wages of laboring men to one increase. We deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since the tariff went into operation, and we point to the dullness and distress, the wage reductions and strikes in the iron trade, as the best possible evidence that no such prosperity has resulted from the McKinley tariff.

After reading that platform of the Democratic party, and emphasizing the fact that the Democratic party was the party of free trade, Mr. Folsom, an officeholder of the United States, and, be it remembered, a cousin of the President of the United States, further said to the cutlery manufacturers of Sheffield:

I am not saying one word as to whether protection or free trade, or a tariff for revenue only, is the best thing for the United States or not. I am simply giving you the facts, and you can judge for yourselves. [Applause.] In closing my career in Sheffield as consul of the United States, it affords me satisfaction to think that before another twelve months has rolled by Sheffield will not be subjected to the onerous and oppressive tariff duties that have restricted her trade. [Applause.]

Think of it, Mr. President; think of it, Democratic Senators; what a spectacle it was for an officeholder of the United States, and a cousin of the President of the United States, saying to an English audience that he was not discussing the question as to whether the legislation of the Democratic party would aid the United States or not—that seemed to be of no consequence—but he was congratulating them that it would roll from Sheffield the onerous burdens that are upon them at the present time! Is it any wonder, Mr. President, when that utterance was being made in the great city of Sheffield, that the cutlery manufacturers of New England were alarmed? Is it any wonder that under those circumstances the only cutlery manufactory in my State concluded to close its doors for a portion of the time?

The cutlery manufactured in New Hampshire is protected under the McKinley tariff law sufficiently to enable it to be manufactured in competition with the cutlery made in Sheffield, England. But a consul of the United States, and a cousin of the President, assures our English competitors that that tariff duty is to be removed, and that they will have increased prosperity at the expense of American manufacturers.

Will it be any wonder, under such circumstances, if American cutlery establishments all over the country close their doors? Is it any wonder that American manufacturers refuse to accumulate manufactured goods which they may have to sell in competition with the product of the underpaid labor of English manufacturing towns?

Mr. President, I do not desire to further detain the Senate; Let the bill reported by the Senate Finance Committee, permitting banks to increase their circulation to the par value of the bonds deposited, be enacted into law. Then let this resolution, amended as I propose, be promptly passed. Confidence in our finances will at once be strengthened, both at home and abroad; trade will brighten, and another era of prosperity, possibly equal to the marvelous prosperity of the administration of President Harrison, will speedily come to the people of the United States.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CHANDLER in the chair). The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business; which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A resolution providing that Lee Mantle be admitted to his seat as a Senator from Montana.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, notice was given the other day that on Wednesday this resolution would be called up and the Senate requested to consider it until it was disposed of. It is very obvious that the more important are the public questions which are pending, the more important the right of the States to be fully represented. So I have no apology to make for insisting upon the determination of titles to seats here, even in the presence of the great public calamity which is upon the people.

I understand that the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO], who intended to address the Senate to-day, has some disorder in his throat which makes it inconvenient for him to speak just now, but that he will be ready to go on to-morrow. Therefore I suggest that this resolution shall go over until to-morrow, unless some other Senator is ready to speak upon it.

Mr. FRYE. The Senator from Florida has taken the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the resolution will be passed over.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. HOAR. I now suggest that we have a vote on the resolution of my colleague [Mr. LODGE].

Mr. PASCO. The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] is not in his seat. He yesterday gave notice of an amendment to that resolution, and I therefore suggest that the resolution go over now.

Mr. HOAR. We might have a vote on the amendment of the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] in that case.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. COCKRELL. I think we had better proceed to the consideration of executive business, and therefore I move accordingly.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Missouri.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After ten minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

TREASURY NOTES AND GOLD COIN.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I ask leave at this time to submit a resolution, on which I ask immediate action, if there be no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, directed to report to the Senate what amount, if any, of the Treasury notes issued under the act of July 14, 1890, commonly called the Sherman act, have been during the present month redeemed by the Government, at the request of the holders thereof, in silver dollars, and whether the holders of such notes were advised, at the time of such redemption, that they could have gold instead of silver if they so desired.

The Secretary of the Treasury is also directed to inform the Senate whether gold coin has been recently presented to the Treasury Department, or any subtreasury, and silver dollars asked in exchange therefor; and, if so, if such exchanges have been made, and whether the Department would or could exchange silver dollars for gold coin if requested to do so by holders of gold.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

Mr. HARRIS. I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 12 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, August 17, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate August 16, 1893.

ENVOYS EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTERS PLENIPOTENTIARY.

George William Caruth, of Little Rock, Ark., to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Portugal, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Gilbert A. Pierce, resigned.

Luther F. McKinney, of Manchester, N. H., to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to

Colombia, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice John T. Abbott, resigned.

William E. Quinby, of Detroit, Mich., to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to the Netherlands, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Samuel R. Thayer, resigned.

Thomas L. Thompson, of Santa Rosa, Cal., to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Brazil, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Edwin H. Conger, resigned.

MINISTER RESIDENT AND CONSUL-GENERAL.

Alexander McDonald, of Lynchburg, Va., to be minister resident and consul-general of the United States to Persia, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Watson R. Sperry, resigned.

SECRETARIES OF LEGATION.

George B. Anderson, of the District of Columbia, to be secretary of the legation of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Charles F. Markell, recalled.

Stephen Bonsal, of Baltimore, Md., to be secretary of the legation of the United States to China, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Howard Martin, recalled.

Owen McGarr, of Chattanooga, Tenn., to be secretary of the legation of the United States to Chile, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Fenton R. McCreery, recalled.

Henry C. Stuart, of Denver, Colo., to be secretary of legation in Guatemala and Honduras and consul-general of the United States to Guatemala, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Samuel Kimberly, recalled.

Jacob Sleeper, of Boston, Mass., to be secretary of the legation and consul-general of the United States at Bogota, Colombia, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Jeremiah Coughlin, recalled.

COMMISSIONER.

John Goode, of Virginia, to be commissioner on the part of the United States under the treaty for a claims commission, concluded between the United States and Chile, August 7, 1892, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

CONSULS-GENERAL.

Wendell A. Anderson, of Lacrosse, Wis., to be consul-general of the United States at Montreal, Canada, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Charles L. Knapp, recalled.

Joseph G. Donnelly, of Milwaukee, Wis., to be consul-general of the United States at Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Warner P. Sutton, recalled.

Darius H. Ingraham, of Portland, Me., to be consul-general of the United States at Halifax, Nova Scotia, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Wakefield G. Frye, recalled.

Alfred D. Jones, of Raleigh, N. C., to be consul-general of the United States at Shanghai, China, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Joseph A. Leonard, recalled.

Wallace S. Jones, of Monticello, Fla., to be consul-general of the United States at Rome, Italy, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Augustus O. Bourn, recalled.

Daniel W. Maratta, of Fargo, N. Dak., to be consul-general of the United States at Melbourne, Australia, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice George H. Wallace, resigned.

Frederic C. Penfield, of Hartford, Conn., to be agent and consul-general of the United States at Cairo, Egypt, to which office he was appointed during the recess of the Senate, vice Edward C. Little, recalled.

Irving B. Richman, of Muscatine, Iowa, to be consul-general of the United States at St. Gall, Switzerland, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Samuel H. M. Byers, recalled.

John B. Riley, of Plattsburg, N. Y., to be consul-general of the United States at Ottawa, Canada, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Richard G. Lay, recalled.

Van Leer Polk, of Nashville, Tenn., to be consul-general of the United States at Calcutta, India, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Samuel Merrill, resigned.

E. Spencer Pratt, of Mobile, Ala., to be consul-general of the United States at Singapore, Straits Settlements, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Adolph G. Studer, recalled.

Victor Vifquain, of Lincoln, Nebr., to be consul-general of the United States at Panama, Colombia, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Thomas Adamson, recalled.

SOLICITOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Robert T. Hough, of Ohio, to be solicitor of internal revenue, vice Alphonso Hart, resigned.

ASSISTANTS ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Holmes Conrad, of Virginia, to be assistant attorney-general, vice John B. Cotton, resigned.

Charles B. Howry, of Mississippi, to be assistant attorney-general, vice Leonard W. Colby, resigned.

CHIEF JUSTICE, ARIZONA.

Albert C. Baker, of Arizona Territory, to be chief justice of the supreme court of the Territory of Arizona, vice Henry C. Gooding, resigned.

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE, OKLAHOMA.

Frank Dale, of Oklahoma Territory, to be associate justice of the supreme court of the Territory of Oklahoma, vice John G. Clark, removed.

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE, ARIZONA.

Owen T. Rouse, of Arizona Territory, to be associate justice of the supreme court of the Territory of Arizona, vice Joseph H. Kibbey, removed.

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE, UTAH.

Harvey W. Smith, of Utah Territory, to be associate justice of the supreme court of the Territory of Utah, vice John W. Blackburn, removed.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS.

Joseph N. Miller, of Alabama, to be attorney of the United States for the southern district of Alabama, vice Morris D. Wickersham, resigned.

Emmet O'Neal, of Alabama, to be attorney of the United States for the northern district of Alabama, vice Lewis E. Parsons, jr., removed.

Henry D. Clayton, of Alabama, to be attorney of the United States for the middle district of Alabama, as provided by chapter 220, laws 1893, volume 27, United States Statutes at Large.

Everett E. Ellinwood, of Arizona Territory, to be attorney of the United States for the Territory of Arizona, vice Thomas F. Wilson, removed.

William E. Shutt, of Illinois, to be attorney of the United States for the southern district of Illinois, vice James A. Connolly, resigned.

Charles W. Seals, of Louisiana, to be attorney of the United States for the western district of Louisiana, vice Milton C. Elstner, resigned.

Sherman Hoar, of Massachusetts, to be attorney of the United States for the district of Massachusetts, vice Frank D. Allen, removed.

Andrew Fuller Fox, of Mississippi, to be attorney of the United States for the northern district of Mississippi, vice M. A. Montgomery, removed.

Robert B. Glenn, of North Carolina, to be attorney of the United States for the western district of North Carolina, vice Charles Price, resigned.

Daniel R. Murphy, of Oregon, to be attorney of the United States for the district of Oregon, vice Franklin P. Mays, removed.

Harry Alvin Hall, of Pennsylvania, to be attorney of the United States for the western district of Pennsylvania, vice Walter Lyon, resigned.

Charles E. Gorman, of Rhode Island, to be attorney of the United States for the district of Rhode Island, vice Rathbone Gardner, whose term expired March 19, 1893.

William Perry Murphy, of South Carolina, to be attorney of the United States for the district of South Carolina, vice Abial Lathrop, resigned.

John W. Judd, of Utah Territory, to be attorney of the United States for the Territory of Utah, vice Charles S. Varian, resigned.

A. J. Montague, of Virginia, to be attorney of the United States for the western district of Virginia, vice William E. Craig, resigned.

William H. Brinker, of Washington, to be attorney of the United States for the district of Washington, vice Patrick H. Winston, removed.

Cornelius C. Watts, of West Virginia, to be attorney of the United States for the district of West Virginia, vice George C. Sturgiss, removed.

UNITED STATES MARSHALS.

Judge C. Musgrove, of Alabama, to be marshal of the United States for the northern district of Alabama, vice A. R. Nininger, removed.

Edward R. Morrissette, of Alabama, to be marshal of the United States for the southern district of Alabama, vice Benjamin W. Walker, removed.

William H. Tisdale, of Alabama, to be marshal of the United States for the middle district of Alabama, as provided by chapter 220, laws 1893, volume 27, United States Statutes at Large.

William K. Meade, of Arizona Territory, to be marshal of the United States for the Territory of Arizona, vice Robert H. Paul, removed.

Hewson E. Lannan, of Delaware, to be marshal of the United States for the district of Delaware, vice Henry C. Mahaffy, removed.

Samuel C. Dunlap, of Georgia, to be marsnal of the United States for the northern district of Georgia, vice A. E. Buck, resigned.

William B. Brinton, of Illinois, to be marshal of the United States for the southern district of Illinois, vice Charles P. Hitch, resigned.

Robert L. Luckett, of Louisiana, to be marshal of the United States for the western district of Louisiana, vice John Vigneaux, resigned.

John S. McNeily, of Mississippi, to be marshal of the United States for the southern district of Mississippi, vice Frederick W. Collins, removed.

George M. Humphrey, of Nevada, to be marshal of the United States for the district of Nevada, vice James A. Moore, whose term expired October 12, 1892.

Edward L. Hall, of New Mexico, to be marshal of the United States for the Territory of New Mexico, vice Trinidad Romero, removed.

Evitt D. Nix, of Oklahoma Territory, to be marshal of the United States for the Territory of Oklahoma, vice William Grimes, removed.

Henry C. Grady, of Oregon, to be marshal of the United States for the district of Oregon, vice Louis T. Barin, removed.

Otto Peemiller, of South Dakota, to be marshal of the United States for the district of South Dakota, vice Cyrus J. Fry, deceased.

Stephen P. Condon, of Tennessee, to be marshal of the United States for the eastern district of Tennessee, vice W. S. Tipton, whose term expired March 30, 1893.

Richard C. Ware, of Texas, to be marshal of the United States for the western district of Texas, vice Paul Fricke, whose term expired March 27, 1893.

Nat M. Brigham, of Utah Territory, to be marshal of the United States for the Territory of Utah, vice Irving A. Benton, removed.

James C. Drake, of Washington, to be marshal of the United States for the district of Washington, vice Thomas R. Brown, removed.

Samuel S. Vinson, of West Virginia, to be marshal of the United States for the district of West Virginia, vice Henry S. White, resigned.

JUSTICE OF THE PEACE, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Oliver P. Johnson, of the District of Columbia, to be justice of the peace in the District of Columbia (to be assigned to the city of Georgetown), vice Mathias V. Buckey, deceased.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, *August 16, 1893.*

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. SAMUEL W. HADDAWAY.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

LEAVE TO COMMITTEE TO PRINT.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will lay before the House an order which the joint commission of Congress to inquire into the status of the laws organizing the Executive Departments desire to have made.

The Clerk read as follows:

Ordered, That the joint commission of Congress to inquire into the status of laws organizing the Executive Departments be authorized to have printed and bound testimony taken by it and documents connected with the inquiry with which it was charged during the Fifty-third Congress.

The SPEAKER. Without objection this order will be made. There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

PURCHASE AND COINAGE OF SILVER.

Mr. MEIKLEJOHN. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. MEIKLEJOHN. To offer a resolution.

The SPEAKER. A resolution can not now be introduced except by unanimous consent.

Mr. MEIKLEJOHN. I desire to ask unanimous consent. It is a resolution which is pertinent to the question under consideration by the House.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will send it up.

Mr. BYNUM. Let us have the resolution read, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Nebraska ask unanimous consent simply to introduce the resolution?

Mr. MEIKLEJOHN. I ask for the adoption of the resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman submits a resolution.

Mr. BLAND. With the understanding that it is subject to objection.

The SPEAKER. The right to object will be reserved.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby respectfully requested to communicate to the House the following information relating to the purchase and coinage of silver under the act of July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes:"

First. How many ounces of silver bullion have been purchased, and what has been the highest, lowest, and average market price paid?

Second. What amount of Treasury notes has been issued in payment of the silver bullion, what amount redeemed, and what amount reissued?

Third. What amount of Treasury notes has been redeemed in gold coin and what amount in silver coin?

Fourth. How many standard silver dollars have been coined?

Fifth. How many ounces of silver bullion are now owned by the Government?

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of this resolution?

Mr. TRACEY. Mr. Speaker, I suggest to the gentleman that he can get all the information sought for by addressing a note to the Treasury Department, and as we have an order pending I do not think we should entertain other matters.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The resolution was then agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the bill (S. 22) making appropriations for the purchase of ground and the erection thereon, in the city of Washington, D. C., of a building to be used as a hall of records; in which the concurrence of the House was requested.

SILVER.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized.

Mr. McCALL. Mr. Speaker, I agree entirely with the proposition advanced in this House by most of the opponents of this bill, that the question at issue is monometallism against bimetallism; but I do not agree with those gentlemen as to which side represents monometallism and which side represents bimetallism. To my mind it is as clear as the sunshine that a continuance of the policy of the Government in purchasing 4,500,000 ounces of bullion each month, or the free coinage of silver at any of the ratios in the amendments pending before this House, will result in this country becoming a monometallic and not a bimetallic country, and that metal will be silver, and in our having as our standard of value the amount of silver coined in the silver dollar.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, in bimetallism so far as it can be maintained on the gold standard, which is our present standard. I believe that we should have all the silver we can circulate in this country, and yet adhere to the standard which prevails among the nations of the civilized world; and because I so believe, I am in favor of this bill.

Let us consider what the policy of this Government has been. It would take no very great gift of prophecy to foretell that when this Government must invest in a certain amount of silver each month without any surplus revenue over and above its expenditures, that it could only acquire silver at the expense of its gold. That is what the effect of this policy should be. Let us see what the effect has been.

During the three years in which we have been upon this policy our Treasury has parted with nearly $100,000,000 of its gold, and the reason it has not parted with precisely the amount of gold that it has purchased in silver is, in my judgment, due to the extraordinary measures pursued by it during the last two years to keep it. If we look at the matter from an international standpoint we find this remarkable coincidence, that up to July 1, 1893, we had purchased $140,500,000 of silver bullion, and we had exported from this country $141,000,000 of gold. The effect of this policy then, I say, is precisely what we might expect it

would be—that as we have parted with our gold we have piled up silver.

Mr. Speaker, it will not require any very long time, it will not be a very distant day when this Government, at this rate, will have parted with so much of its gold that it will be compelled to suspend gold payments, and the result will thus inevitably be the expulsion of all our gold from circulation, and the placing of the country upon a silver standard.

And that is the essential question at issue here to-day. What standard do we propose to maintain in this country? What is our dollar? You might infer that a "dollar" was simply a fiat of the Government, an umbra, a piece of that very intangible and unmeasurable thing called the "faith of the Government." You might infer that any other word containing the same number of letters, if it was emitted by the Government, would have the same value.

But there is this significant thing in the situation, this extraordinary coincidence, that what we call our dollar is worth precisely, and has been since the first day of January, 1879, the amount of gold in the gold dollar. That is the striking fact. That means simply that we are upon a gold standard. That means that the gold dollar is, in effect, the dollar of ultimate redemption, and every one of our dollars, whatever may be the intrinsic value of the material of which it is made or upon which it is stamped, whether it is worthless paper or whether it is silver, is worth precisely the value of the amount of gold in a gold dollar.

That results from the fact that this Government has since 1879 declared its purpose to convert every kind of its dollars into any other kind that any person may desire. The consequence has been that so long as it could maintain payment upon the basis of the gold dollar, which is the most expensive dollar, that would be our standard of value. But when we see the gold flowing from our Treasury we see that the Government is approaching the point where, although it may have the willingness, it can not have the ability to redeem its promises, and when the time arrives then it will have to go to the basis of the next most valuable dollar.

So, instead of your dollar being anything intangible or a subject of mere imagination, it will then be the amount of silver contained in our present dollars, or in whatever silver dollar we may hereafter adopt, if we adopt free coinage. Believing, then, that the important question involved in this debate is the question of standard, it seems to me that we ought to consider for a moment whether it is wise to-day for the United States to adopt a silver standard in preference to a gold standard.

What does that involve? It is said that silver was demonetized in 1873 by this Government, by Germany, by France, and by other nations, and that, as a result of that demonetization, there has been a far less demand for it, and, consequently, that it has gone down in value. Now, Mr. Speaker, notwithstanding the reduced demand for silver, caused by the demonetization of 1873, you will find that, in the face of that decreasing demand, the product of silver has constantly increased, and to-day the annual output of that metal is nearly 250 per cent greater than it was in 1873. It has gone up so that to-day silver can hardly be ranked among the precious metals, and the new output of this metal, to say nothing of the stock at present existing in the world, amounts to nearly 6,000 tons per year.

Now, in view of the fact that the mints of all the civilized and of the greater part of the heathen world have been closed to silver, I submit that it would be madness for this Government to-day to go upon the silver standard and, at least, thereby shoulder the new output of silver. But that is not all. I think there is a great deal in the argument, though I do not think it should have the force that has been given to it, that the silver of other nations, especially if there was any rise in the value of the article by reason of our adopting free coinage, would be unloaded upon us. Those nations would seize the opportunity to unload their silver upon us, precisely as Germany did in 1873 and 1874. It is said that the German Government sold its silver at a loss.

Mr. Speaker, it might have sold its silver at a loss as compared with the arbitrary ratio fixed in the German coinage, but there has been no day from that time to this when the German Government could not have purchased back, if it desired, that very silver at less than what it received; so that it would have made by the transaction.

It seems to me entirely clear that the result of our going upon the silver basis would be to expose this country to the great fluctuations in that metal and in the value of our dollar, and that, by reason of our alone attempting to carry silver as against all the rest of the world, we would see a constant shrinkage in the value of our dollar.

We should not have free coinage, simply because Mr. Carlisle is not a pattern of consistency and apparently has seen a new light. I do not agree upon many political questions with Mr. Carlisle, but he possesses the instincts of a statesman; and the effect of the great responsibility of the office he now holds, with his hand upon the throttle of that mighty engine which can start or stop all our wheels of industry, has been to sober him, as it would sober any man who had at heart the interests of his country.

I do not imagine that it is necessary here to repeat any of the old classical arguments about the desirability of the gold standard as against the silver standard; and I may say here that I take no stock whatever in the exploded theory that we can have a double standard. I do not believe you can have any double standard of value any more than you can have a double quart measure or a double pound weight. It seems to me that we must adopt some standard in value; and while, from the nature of the case, we can not get anything that is inflexible, that will never rise or decrease in value, it is our duty to adopt that at least which will put us on terms of equality with the other trading nations of the world, and which will possess, in the highest degree obtainable, the quality of stability.

If we take the value of gold as compared with labor, which I think is fairly the unit of production, we shall see that gold and labor during the last twenty years have maintained their relations to each other, and that wages expressed in terms of gold are at least equal to-day to what they were twenty years ago, if not greater.

But gentlemen say you must take commodities as the measure of value. Now, Mr. Speaker, I submit that commodities do not constitute a proper test. If twenty years ago an article required so much human labor in its production, and to-day that article is produced by the mere automatic motion of a machine at one-third the cost at which it was produced then, I say it should have, with reference to human labor, only one-third the value that it had then. The work of a machine does not count in this matter.

The work of a machine, except as it may involve the ingenuity of the inventor, to whom money is paid for the invention and the cost of labor in producing the machine, should count for nothing whatever in the transaction.

And now let us see what terrible burden is laid on the debtor class in this country. Twenty years ago, for instance, you may have loaned a man $100. That $100 required on your part a certain amount of labor to procure it. To-day that man returns to you $100; and I submit that this sum of $100 should require as much human labor to-day to procure it as was required to procure $100 when you lent him that sum. I submit it would be most unjust if to-day the man should undertake to repay you in any commodity which, by reason of the invention of a new machine, costs to-day only $20 in labor, although at the time the original loan was made the cost would have been $100 in labor.

Consider the improvement in various processes of human labor. Sixty years ago the labor involved in carrying a bushel of wheat from a point west of the Missouri river to New York would have been one hundred fold in excess of the amount of labor involved in the original production of that wheat. But by reason of improved methods of transportation that wheat can to-day be put down in New York for an infinitesimal fraction of what it would have cost then. Shall we select some metal as our standard of value which will go backward and simply record what was the cost of a given transaction sixty years ago—which will keep its par with the obsolete and expensive methods of twenty years ago? I submit that the most nearly correct unit of value you can get is the unit of human labor, which is the unit of production, and as measured in that gold has been the most stable.

Mr. Speaker, there is another reason in favor of the gold standard besides the reason that it is the better standard. The gold standard is the existing standard in this country, and it should require some very potent reason to justify us in changing that standard to another. But it is asked: "Why do you propose to diminish the amount of your money when we are having a money famine; when all our industries are crying out for more money, why should you go to work and practically demonetize a large part of the money of the country"?

Mr. Speaker, there never was a more patent fallacy than that. This country is not suffering from lack of currency or circulating medium. If you will compare the Treasury report of the 1st of August in this year with the Treasury report of one year previous, you will find that there has been an increase in the amount of circulating medium to the extent of at least $10,000,000; and when you take into account the $20,000,000 of gold which since the 1st of August has reached New York, and the increase of ten or fifteen millions more in the national bank circulation, it is entirely clear that our circulating medium to-day is $40,000,000 more than it was a year ago.

Why is it, then, that our business has declined? It may be from a variety of causes. I have no doubt that the fear of a radical change in the tariff has contributed to a considerable degree and has curtailed the operations of our manufacturers. But it is to be observed that this depression did not begin with the stop-

ping of mills and the consequent tightening of money; but when, with the wheels of our mills revolving, with our manufacturing establishments having orders upon which to run, they have had to shut down because of the lack of money, it is clear that there is some cause which affects those who have money, creating a fear which is paralyzing the business of the country.

So long as this Government is able, and so long as the people believe it able, to redeem all its money in gold, people will be entirely controlled in the kind of money they select by considerations of mere convenience. But the moment the point is reached when it appears that the Government may not be able to redeem all its money in gold, but that some holders of its obligations will be obliged to take a less valuable metal, then convenience gives place to fear; the bill holder becomes timid; and from the effect of this impulse of fear there is a locking up of our money from actual use.

Gentlemen call this a conspiracy to tighten the money market; but there never was such a widespread and universal conspiracy since the world began. It does not affect merely the great financial heart of this country, the city of New York, where the bankers to-day see their deposits constantly decreasing, where the national banks have run below their required reserve—$15,000,000—but this distrust has appeared in Boston, in Chicago, in Denver, and in cities beyond the Sierras; and I believe it is due to a fear which can chiefly be traced to the effect of the policy of the Sherman law and the continuance of the purchase of silver upon our circulating medium.

I have said what to my mind are the chief things which should be considered here in this discussion. In the first place, we have in this country to-day about the sum of $650,000,000 in silver. That is all that we can stagger under. But if we stop where we are, I believe we can carry that amount and return to our normal financial condition, but it is necessary to stop there in order to prevent a further contraction of the currency which would result by the demonetization of gold, and in order to keep us from a silver standard.

The only thing for us to do, in view of the policy of the other nations of the world, is to take up the battle and fight, not merely for ourselves, but for the common interests of mankind; and in that view to go into a struggle with the other nations of the world for gold. That is the surest way to fix the international status of silver. We will never get there—to the point desired by those who favor silver—if we are content to load down the energies of the nation with a burden that would swamp the greatest nation that ever existed by attempting to carry the silver of the world alone.

I do not care, sir, whether the Republican party or the Democratic party was originally responsible for the passage of this bill, or what motives or methods were involved in its passage. I will admit that the Republican party was responsible for its enactment. But I believe that they were dealing then with an evil, and this movement was made, as the President of the United States has said in his message, by the conservative financial element, with the intent to solve an existing grave question of finance. But whether the Republican party was responsible originally or not, I believe that it stands here to-day ready to terminate its responsibility.

The Democratic party unanimously voted against the act of 1890. It unanimously voted against that act when it had not been tried, and when it might possibly have been a measure of wise and sound finance. Is it not, then, most extraordinary, Mr. Speaker, that the operation of that act should produce a change, and such a change, in the policy of the Democratic party? I submit it would be scarcely to the glory of the Democratic party if they stood out opposed to that policy when it might be for the financial interest of the country and become converted to its support by the disaster and the ruin which have followed from putting it into practice. And that, Mr. Speaker, would be simply their attitude to-day if they fail to adhere to the position they took when this act was originally before the Congress for consideration and when it originally passed the House—an attitude of uncompromising hostility to it.

Now, sir, to go outside of the two points on which I have been speaking I desire to say that I have listened with somewhat of amazement to some remarks on this floor concerning the bankers of this country. I have no doubt that there are some very wicked men in the country engaged in this business. It is my experience with mankind that while we are all generally good you will find a bad lot here and there, and sometimes very bad men are found in Wall street; and we find also some bad men in Missouri. Under our complicated social system the banker of the country is just as necessary as the farmer. The farmer's crops could not be moved from the place of production to the place of consumption but for the banker.

Great railroad enterprises could not be inaugurated, important industries and interests could not spring up throughout the country, if there was not some place where the business men, the enterprising men of the country could go and get money to carry them into execution. The banker is a necessary part of our institutions, and is entitled to as much respect as any other class of business men in our community. And, sir, when I look at what they have done during the last few months, bearing as they have borne the brunt of this tempest, a tempest that threatened to engulf both them and us, and when I see the courage shown in the face of decreasing deposits and increasing deficits, when I see the ingenuity of the expedients to which they have resorted in order to maintain the vast interests intrusted to their care and prevent the breaking down of the business of the country, so far from speaking of them in terms of derogation as "Shylocks," or "gold bugs," or other epithets of derision, I should say that they are entitled to the admiration and support of the country.

Mr. Speaker, I say, in conclusion, that if we want to maintain the two metals in circulation here, if we want to maintain the gold standard in this country, if we do not desire to drive from our business every drop of the rich, red, golden blood that vitalizes every civilized nation, if we do not wish to continue this paralysis of business, and subject our farmers to the system of exchange that is chiefly responsible for the degradation and practical slavery of the Indian peasant, we will have to repeal the act of 1890 unconditionally. And while we may not restore confidence in the minds of the people at one blow, we will go very far towards remedying the depression which has settled upon all of the industries of the country. [Applause.]

Mr. COOMBS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to preface the remarks I am about to make, with the request that I shall not be interrupted. I shall not expect or ask from this House the courtesy of an extension of the time which has been granted to me. I may not occupy it all; you will all have the opportunity to answer in your own time any statements that I make. I shall attempt to make no discourteous remark, and expect the same courtesy of treatment from this House that I have always received.

I shall try not to cover the same ground which has been so ably covered on both sides of this question.

Although I am a citizen of the State of New York, and one of the delegation from that State, I shall not attempt to defend the city of New York. She does not ask it of me. She does not need it. Her splendid record is her defense. Who ever saw a more magnificent spectacle than is now presented by the banks and the merchants of that great city, with the storm beating upon their heads from all sides, calmly, quietly, consistently holding their ground, and at the same time holding out the hand of help to every section of the country? New York needs no defense against the charge of selfishness, for whenever did humanity call upon her, whether it be in aid of a Southern city stricken by the plague, or of any community impoverished by flood or conflagration, that New York was not the first to respond? Gentlemen, I do not defend New York; she has defended herself; and in speaking of New York I include my own grand city of Brooklyn.

I send to the Clerk's desk, in order to lay a foundation for the remarks I am to make, an editorial that appeared in the Iron Age. The Iron Age is a newspaper devoted to the iron interests of the United States. I may say that it is Republican in politics but it is nonpartisan in its loyalty.

The Clerk read as follows:

THE DISCOURAGING OUTLOOK FOR BUSINESS.

The business situation steadily grows more unsatisfactory. Trade is shrinking in every direction, and all branches of business are participating in the distress which envelops the country like a dismal fog. The wail of the unemployed is heard on all sides. Factories are idle that had not been known to close except for repairs within the memory of the present generation. Towns that have never before felt the blighting touch of adversity are struggling with the problem of feeding the hungry, who almost outnumber the fortunate ones still blessed with employment. In a manufacturing city in the central West, possessing diversified industries in such an advanced state of development that its prosperity seemed founded on a rock-rooted basis, there is at present not a single establishment of any moment in operation, and a loaf of bread is not to be had on credit. The inhabitants have seen paralysis affect one industry after another, and they now understand for perhaps the first time in their experience what is meant by hard times. No relief is to be had by tramping to some other locality where there may be factories in operation, because those are probably running on half time or with a reduced force, and there is no chance for a stranger.

It seems like mockery in such a time as this to say that the country is really in a sound condition and that the distress is of an artificial character. But was there ever seen in the history of the world such a series of financial reverses among really solvent institutions? Manufacturers fail with assets largely in excess of their liabilities. Banks go to the wall with their safes filled with good securities. Merchants close their shutters because they are only in need of a comparatively small amount of cash to discharge pressing liabilities. In the throng of insolvents there are, of course, not a few who had attempted to carry too heavy a load for their capital; but this country can now show the most remarkable collection of solvent bankrupts ever seen under the canopy of heaven. Business men of all kinds have taken refuge in receiverships, that they may secure the protection of the courts in saving valuable properties that would be ruthlessly sacrificed in this crisis. There appears to be no value at present in any kind of property whatever, and to offer it for sale means to instantly depreciate it enormously.

The restoration of values appears to be a simple matter and to lie wholly

with Congress. The early repeal of the Sherman act and the authorization of a bond issue to increase the gold reserve, thereby insuring the maintenance of our silver currency on a par with gold, would impart confidence to the people at once, and the further hoarding of money would be checked. It will, of course, require sometime for trade to resume its wonted course, as the disturbance to business has been very great. There may also be some halting in certain branches of industry and commerce until it is definitely known what changes may be made in the tariff schedules. But the first thing necessary to check the awful demoralization in the business of the country is to reëstablish our currency on a sound basis. To this end all patriots should earnestly work, and partisan cries should be stifled until it is accomplished.

I have been requested by the New York Hardware Board of Trade to present a petition to the same end, which I will ask the Clerk to read. It is signed by the representatives of the iron interests of the United States, the largest manufacturers of hardware in the United States.

The Clerk read as follows:

The following is the petition of the Hardware Board of Trade of New York, with the list of signatures up to date:

"The undersigned, business men and merchants, believing that restoration of confidence is absolutely necessary to avert further disaster, and that it is the duty of our legislators to do everything in their power to bring about such restoration of confidence, respectfully but earnestly urge upon Senators and Representatives at the extra session the following steps:

"First. That the purchasing clause of the Sherman silver bill be repealed.

"Second. That no substitute of any kind whatever be enacted at this session.

"Third. That an expert commission be appointed to consider and recommend a scientific plan of currency based on the experience of other countries, and adequate to the requirements of a great commercial nation."

Now, Mr. Speaker, this is only one of the thousands of petitions representing thousands of sections and interests in this country that have come up to this House. If I should attempt to detail the instances of suffering and of injury to business, it would more than take up the time that is allotted to me. In no section of the country does there seem to be so much ignorance in relation to the suffering and to the actual condition of the country as in this city of Washington, the focal point of the United States. But I shall not attempt to supply what you ought youselves to possess. Understand that this cry comes up not from Democrats or Republicans alone; not only from the banking interests, from the life-insurance interests, from the savings-bank interests, from the exporting interests, from the cotton-growing interests, from the grain-growing interests, but from every interest and from every hamlet in this broad country.

That cry went up to the President. Much against his will, at first, he was forced by the cry so universal to call this extra session of Congress, and in a message which I claim, for simplicity, for patriotism, and for sympathetic interest in the affairs of the people, has not been surpassed by any state paper, he calls our attention to the situation and lays the responsibility upon us. He might have said at the conclusion of that message, "It is a condition, not a theory, that confronts us."

How have we met that responsibility? I agreed, much against my will and better judgment, to the arrangement by which it has been brought before the House. It seemed wise to those who are best versed in parliamentary matters. We had to make an arrangement with those who were not willing that this plain, simple call and demand of the people should be met, by a compromise which permitted a drag-net to be drawn through this House and every phase of the silver question to be canvassed before the real question and demand of the people was answered.

It seemed to me—and I do not want to be discourteous to those gentlemen—that if they had had the confidence in their cause which they profess to have and which life devotion to it seemed to indicate, that they should have removed this evil, which they themselves acknowledged to be an evil, before anything else was done. They do not defend this legislation which is now upon the statute books. It seemed to me that they should have consented at the call of the people to remove this evil and trust to the future to vindicate their position on silver. But they did not take this course, and upon them is left the responsibility.

During the fourteen days of discussion and voting disaster is spreading throughout the land, the canker is eating deeper into the body politic, and the measures which might have relieved, if quickly passed, may be inadequate to restore the depleted patient.

This is all the more inexcusable for the reason that this body did not need more discussion of the silver question; for in the previous sessions the ground had been gone over so often that nothing really was left to be said. Events were speaking to us louder than oratory or logic. The lurid light of the conflagration which was destroying our industries revealed unmistakably the path of safety.

The failure of the last experiment in silver legislation, a failure so apparent that even its friends do not hesitate to admit it and its reputed author turns from it in disgust, demanded a remedy. The demand for repeal came from the East, from the West, from the North, from the South; and from no quarter came a demand for its retention. I do not remember to have seen one petition, except from the silver States, for the retention of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. How has that demand been met? By the suggestion of a series of other silver experiments, and a demand that these shall be considered in this body before the acknowledged evil is removed.

I ask, gentlemen, in all sincerity, throwing aside all prejudice, standing here as representatives of the people, is this treating the people fairly? Would not the manly course have been to remove the evil thing and wait for time and events and the justice of the cause for further opportunities? I say that the whole country is turning to us for relief. The cry for it is agonizing in its tone. Men who have withstood financial storms are holding on, counting the hours; institutions for savings are sacrificing their assets while they wait. Manufacturing industries are perishing; the click of the shuttle, the whirl of the pulley, and the thud of the hammer are dying out; mechanics are tramping by thousands from State to State; the fires of socialism and anarchy are being fed by new material.

The work of building up social organizations and industries which it has taken generations to accomplish is being undermined while you say "Wait!" The cotton fields of the South are whitening with their fleecy contribution to the world's industries; the wheat fields of the prairies of the West are yellowing with rich harvest of food for the world's supply. An appeal for help to gather and market them comes, crying out for the remedy we have proposed, and which they have asked for, and you say, "Wait! Wait until we have discussed for fourteen days some new experiments; wait until we have made new records." "Won't a week be enough?" "No," you reply; "fourteen days." "Won't you make it ten days." "No; fourteen days or obstruction." Upon you, gentlemen, again I say, rests the responsibility for all the danger that occurs in this country, for all the increase of demoralization while this discussion is going on.

The first reply made to this call of the people was that it was a conspiracy.

Now, I sincerely hope and trust that the gentlemen making that claim are honest in their views. I have never had occasion to distrust their honesty; but it only shows how blinded they are by their extreme partisanship for silver. They claim that it is Wall street, the gold bugs, systematically conspiring to bring ruin and disaster on the country in order to discredit that which they have so long worshiped. I take issue with this. The movement—and I will attempt in some measure to repeat what I said in the last Congress in relation to the evolution of this demand for a better currency—the movement of all advanced nations in the direction of a gold standard is a natural evolution made necessary by the evolution of commerce. Financial systems are but the handmaids of commerce, and have through all generations been based upon its requirements.

In the early ages, when nations had very little intercourse with one another, there was no harmony of construction or action. Each nation, having to do only with its own people, could devise and maintain its own independent standard of value and systems of finance. With the increase of commerce and communication began the necessity for a closer approximation, growing closer as centuries advanced, and universally recognized as a necessity. Crude methods and standards were gradually eliminated as the profits of transactions became closer, and a survival of the fittest became the rule.

If such were the case when the world's international transactions were carried on large margins of profit, how much more important now, when by the increase of facilities of communication through steamship and cable the world has been drawn closer together, and profits have been reduced to the minimum, requiring the greatest accuracy and certainty of calculation corresponding in time with decrease of profits. That has been a natural and necessary evolution in the standard by which values are measured. From copper the evolution was to silver, and from silver to a mixed standard of silver and gold. Now from silver the pressure from commercial necessity is in the direction of gold.

Legislation, where it has registered its decrees, has simply recognized what was before decided by the force of events and the great movements of human enterprise—more powerful than the decrees of councils, the enactments of Parliaments, or the laws of Congress. This necessity was first recognized by the European Governments who, on account of their proximity, first felt the necessity for having a precise standard in order to meet the close competition of trade between themselves. They recognized the need of having a single standard, without which all trade was more or less speculation, and could not be carried on upon the prevailing fine lines of margin.

Centuries of experience in commerce had taught them this. If they found it necessary to guard against this in 1873, when the product of gold was as 112 against a silver production of 75, how much more important is it now for us, when the production of gold is as 124 to a silver production of 183. If the demonetiza-

tion of silver was the result of a conspiracy, as is alleged by the silver producers, and echoed on this floor, the "conspiracy" was one in which every nation that recognized the laws of commerce had a part.

No, Mr. Speaker, it was not a conspiracy or a combination, but a natural and proper movement in the interest of order, stability, and safety. Commerce demands, in the present age of the world, instruments of precision. It needs them, and any nation which fails to adopt them will inevitably fall behind in the race. Do you say that my reasoning simply applies to the merchant? I answer you, gentlemen, that commerce and the merchant are only the servants of the producers, whether of agricultural or of mechanical products. It is the merchant's province to look over the world and find markets for the productions, and the more extended the market the more certainty is there of remunerative prices. Competition will never, under normal conditions, permit the merchant to become the master of the producer.

The merchant is, of necessity, bound up with the producer. It is only when abnormal conditions are forced upon commerce, requiring additional risk in its transactions, that the merchant can find opportunity for extraordinary profits, and then he ceases to be a merchant and becomes a speculator. The adventurer, the speculator, the stock-gambler, find advantage in unstable values. That is their business, and the more unstable the conditions the greater are their chances of profit to be gained from the poor, the inexperienced, and the undefended. But to the man engaged in legitimate business, to the poor man, the greatest boon that can be given is stability of institutions and of values.

Another objection that has been made by the opponents of this bill of the people, is that it is a radical departure from the Democratic platform. I do not propose to say many words upon that point, but merely to offer two suggestions. The Democratic party has always found its greatest strength in listening to the voice of the people and in regarding their demands, and should the Democratic party disregard this plain and unmistakable command of the people, it would lose the opportunity of benefiting the people in the future. But, Mr. Speaker, I say that the Democratic party is not recreant to its trust or to the promises that it made in its platform. Conditions have changed, and this change makes it necessary to halt in the course that they had laid out.

The existing conditions did not prevail when the platform was adopted in Chicago. I charter a ship to load and proceed to a certain port. My charter is imperative that she proceed; does the captain of that ship, when a storm comes on and he finds that it means destruction and shipwreck to proceed in a direct course—does he violate that charter when he tacks and goes in another direction? No man would be fool enough to claim that. The Democratic party must to-day say to the silver men, "Wait! Experiments have not succeeded, and until greater security is offered for the results of anything that you propose, we must stop all attempts to go in the direction of bimetallism."

Having answered the cry of "conspiracy," and said a few words in relation to the alleged violation of the Democratic platform, I come now to consider the propositions which the so-called friends of silver seek to attach as a condition to meeting the universal demand for the repeal of the Sherman purchasing law. And now, gentlemen, I make the broad statement, and shall prove it before I get through, that these gentlemen have been careless in considering the immediate consequences of the legislation they propose. It is bad enough that they try to replace a law against which the people rebel, but by which the Government may receive some profit, by another law by the operation of which that profit is given away by the Government into the hands of the silver producers.

But the great and fundamental error of their first proposition—the coinage of free silver at 16 to 1—lies, I believe, in a misconception of the power of the Government. Now, as I read history in relation to coinage, it tells me this—that the Government was not a creator of value in the coin, but an indicator of what the market value of that coin was in the world; and that value was attested by the solemn seal and stamp of the Government. In early history, when the precious metals began to be used, they were paid out by weight.

A little further we find that merchants of respectability stamped the bars with their weight and fineness, and they began to circulate. By and by it was found that the bars of the merchants were not always correct, and the Government itself assumed the duty which had been performed by the merchants and undertook to stamp upon these bars, or coin, or pieces of metal, what was the real intrinsic weight, quality, and value of the metal. Wherever in the history of nations this policy has been departed from—wherever coin has been debased or marked above its value—there have invariably come destruction and disaster.

But gentlemen insist that the Government of the United States, which has always claimed to be honest, shall be a party to a fraud; and they want to make the people a party to the same fraud by forcing them to pay the expense of mintage. Then they turn round upon the people and say, "You have been a party to the fraud; now take this stuff at the price at which you have valued it." The ultimate result, gentlemen, is not to put the profit into the pocket of the poor man whom you seek to benefit, but that profit is diverted ultimately into the hands of the silver producers. And that is the reason why their lobby is so active here in Washington. I am glad to see that there is no affiliation upon this floor with that lobby. They can work outside, but they can not affect the honest vote of this House.

Now, I come to the next proposition, and I ask for it careful consideration. Having made some investigation of the matter, I ask your attention while I undertake to give the result of my inquiry. The second proposition is to increase the ratio to 17 to 1; the next is to fix it at 18 to 1; next, 19 to 1; next, 20 to 1. Now, when I charged the gentlemen who originated these propositions with carelessness as to the immediate result of the measures that they have proposed, I did so advisedly. We have in the Treasury and in circulation over four hundred and nineteen million silver dollars which are now doing service as currency in this country, either in the shape of the silver dollars which are afloat or the certificates for silver dollars which have been deposited.

Suppose for a moment, gentlemen, that action were taken in this House by which the legal standard would be made 20 to 1; would not the immediate effect of that be to discredit every silver dollar of the $419,000,000 now in the Treasury or in circulation? I repeat the question. Suppose that a law of Congress had decided that 20 to 1 was the proper ratio, would it not immediately discredit and drive out of healthy circulation every dollar of the $419,000,000? But you say that can be recoined. Yes, that is so; but I asked the Director of the Mint how long it would take to recoin the $419,000,000, and his answer is this: "It would take ten years to recoin, at a new ratio, all the silver dollars in the Treasury or in circulation."

A MEMBER. We might issue certificates.

Mr. COOMBS. How would you issue certificates against a coin which was not of true value? I leave you gentlemen to devise a means to cover that point. You evidently have not thought of it, and you have exhausted all your amendments. Certainly if you should pass this amendment in the shape you propose you would bring the country into a condition of greater disaster than it was before. Think of the ten years that must pass before this money could be brought again into circulation. Eleven cotton crops, eleven crops of wheat, must be gathered and marketed in the markets of the world, and by unwise legislation you have taken from an insufficient currency $419,000,000.

Now, how can you answer that question? If you make the ratio 17 to 1, or 18 to 1, or 19 to 1, you accomplish the same result. You have discredited the silver dollar that is now in existence, and there is no way that I can see by which you can avoid the result that I have pointed out. Will you dare to try the experiment of a new ratio under these conditions? No, gentlemen; no man is so insane in his advocacy of silver. If he loves silver he will not sacrifice it in that way. It would never recover from the blow.

Mr. MONTGOMERY rose.

Mr. COOMBS. No, I do not yield; you must answer that question in your own time; my time is getting short. I concede that there might be a time in some prosperous period in the country when you could bridge that gap—when by legislation we might accomplish that result; but you have not provided for that in this resolution; you have not thought of it.

I ask gentlemen of this House who are hesitating, to consider how unwise it is to follow the lead of men who are so careless in considering the measures which they propose. I ask these same gentlemen whether they have considered the cost of this measure to the country should it be adopted. There are gentlemen here who are sticklers for economy; they do not believe in spending the people's money unwisely.

Have they counted the cost? What would be the cost to the Government if we should raise the standard to 20 to 1? It would require 81,017,630 ounces of silver to make the difference in that ratio, and the cost of mintage would be $4,651,000, making the cost, independently of the damage to commerce, $65,414,233. If you should adopt a ratio of 19 to 1 it would require 60,763,223 ounces of silver, which, at the present market price with the cost of minting added, would make the expense $50,223,435. If the ratio be raised to 18 to 1 there would be required 40,508,000 ounces of silver, which, with the cost of mintage, would add $35,022,612 to our indebtedness. If the ratio were fixed at 17 to 1 there would be required 20,254,407 ounces of silver, which, with the cost of mintage, would amount to $19,841,801.

Had you made these calculations, gentlemen, those of you who

refuse to listen to the voice of the people—had you made these calculations before you injected these amendments into the bill of the people? During that ten years the savings banks would have failed and gone into liquidation, the poor man would have gone to the poorhouse; for remember that the mechanical part alone which you have provided for, I say again, would require ten years to accomplish.

Then I come to the last clause, the revival of the Bland bill. That, I say, is inadequate to meet the existing conditions. The people have passed upon that experiment once before. It has been repealed. Something has been substituted. That has been found to be a mistake; and now we propose to go back to the original mistake. If the first amendment is correct in principle, the last is a mistake. If the first and the last amendments are correct in principle, the other four amendments are mistakes. There is no show of consistency in the whole situation, gentlemen. They are only fences that are raised here to defeat the wishes of the people and to call a halt in complying with their demands. But, I repeat, it is inadequate, and so were the suggestions of the distinguished ex-Secretary of the Navy.

I asked the Director of the Mint how long it would take to coin $50,000,000 from silver bars. He answered: "It will take a year and a half to coin fifty millions of silver dollars from the bars." That certainly is not furnishing a ready remedy for existing evils.

Mr. Speaker, I shall not consume much more time. I think I have pointed out to you that the changed ratio would be a fatal mistake. I think I have established, by figures and by proofs which you can not deny, that we can not afford to make that mistake.

And now, I may be fairly asked, "What remedy do you propose?" I propose, gentlemen, first of all, if the question remained for me to answer, to do just exactly what the people ask us to do, and put the responsibility upon them. The President has put it upon us. If we perform our duty in answering this demand of the people, we shall have relieved ourselves of the responsibility, and the result must rest with the people themselves.

I believe that it is the universal opinion of the people that the purchases of silver are accountable for this demoralization of our currency. You may not believe that they are correct, but they believe it, and so do I. Acting upon that belief, they have, in anticipation of a storm, hoarded up the currency until there is a painful scarcity of it. Remove the cause and you will quiet their fears; with returning confidence the currency will again come into its ordinary channels.

But I recognize the claim that some gentlemen of the South bring that we need a larger circulation. I do not for myself believe that it needs to be much larger. We should not overdo in our measures of relief. I would feel the way to recovery first, and apply milder remedies. In the first place, I would, as I have said already, pass this bill of the people framed in accordance with their demands. In the next place, I would add some twenty millions more to the circulation of the country by permitting the banks to issue up to the full value of the Government bonds they have deposited; and, in addition, I would suggest another measure, and I ask gentlemen's attention to the subject, for it is worthy of their consideration.

One great difficulty is that we lack the proper distribution of money. Money finds its way to the financial centers, and it demoralizes them by giving rise to speculation. Now, what I would do would be to enact a law to make it illegal for any national bank to deposit its funds in those great commercial centers and draw interest on the same. The banks were established in the various localities in order to furnish aid and assistance in financial matters to the citizens and enterprises of those localities. If they divert the funds which come from their depositors to New York or Philadelphia or Boston, instead of using them to benefit local enterprises, they fail to that extent in performing their duty to the community in which they are established. I would make it imperative that no national bank should pay interest on deposits from another national bank.

I believe that this would remedy one great defect. I believe if you should to-day increase the currency of this country $200,000,000 that Texas would need money, that the prairie countries of the West would also need it, for it would all find its way, whether silver, gold, or paper, to the financial centers, and for the reason that there are greater opportunities there to use large blocks of money. The problem to which we might address ourselves with a great degree of earnestness is this: How to preserve the distribution of money in the localities where it is most needed.

But, Mr. Speaker, I see that my time has nearly expired. I am very much obliged to the members of the House for the patience and attention with which they have listened to me. I can not, however, take my seat before making one more appeal for speedy, certain, and prompt action. You gentlemen who are making your record have made a splendid record as silver champions; your people will not doubt you. You have made all the record you can, and any record, I fear, that you make beyond this will be injurious to you and injurious to your people. Your first duty is to restore confidence in the minds of the people by removing the cause of their fears.

If you would save the savings banks and the savings of the poor, repeal the law. If you would stop feeding the fires of socialism and anarchy, repeal the law. If you would set the wheels of our factories in motion, repeal the law. If you would have our cotton and grain crops made available, you must repeal the law. If you would save the laboring man from suffering during the winter which is approaching and during the coming years, repeal the law. [Applause.]

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. Speaker, I shall accomplish my full purpose if I am able to impress upon the members of the House the far-reaching consequences which may follow our action and quicken their appreciation of the grave responsibility which presses upon us. Historians tell us that the victory of Charles Martel at Tours determined the history of all Europe for centuries. It was a contest "between the Crescent and the Cross," and when, on that fateful day, the Frankish prince drove back the followers of Abderrahman he rescued the West from "the all-destroying grasp of Islam," and saved to Europe its Christian civilization. A greater than Tours is here! In my humble judgment the vote of this House on the subject under consideration may bring to the people of the West and South, to the people of the United States, and to all mankind, weal or woe beyond the power of language to describe or imagination to conceive.

In the princely palace and in the humblest hamlet; by the financier and by the poorest toiler; here, in Europe, and everywhere, the proceedings of this Congress upon this problem will be read and studied; and as our actions bless or blight we shall be commended or condemned. The President of the United States, in the discharge of his duty as he sees it, has sent to Congress a message calling attention to the present financial situation, and recommending the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law as the only means of securing immediate relief. Some outside of this Hall have insisted that the President's recommendation imposes upon Democratic members an obligation, as it were, to carry out his wishes, and overzealous friends have even suggested that opposition to his views might subject the hardy dissenter to administrative displeasure. They do the President great injustice who presume that he would forget for a moment the independence of the two branches of Congress. He would not be worthy of our admiration or even respect if he demanded a homage which would violate the primary principles of free representative government.

TO WHOM ARE WE RESPONSIBLE?

Let his own language rebuke those who would disregard their pledges to their own people in order to display a false fealty. In the message which he sent to Congress in December, 1885, he said, in words which may well be our guide in this great crisis: "The zealous watchfulness of our constituencies, great and small, supplements their suffrages, and before the tribunal they establish every public servant should be judged." Among the many grand truths expressed felicitously by the President during his public career none show a truer conception of official duty or describe with more clearness the body from which the member receives his authority and to which he owes his responsibility.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, it is before the tribunal established by our constituencies, and before that tribunal only that we must appear for judgment upon our actions here. When we each accepted a commission from 180,000 people we pledged ourselves to protect their rights from invasion and to reflect their wishes to the best of our ability, and we must stand defenseless before the bar if our only excuse is "he recommended it." And remember, sir, that these constituencies include not bankers, brokers, and boards of trade only, but embrace people in every station and condition of life; and in that great court from whose decision there is no appeal every voter has an equal voice. That the Democratic party understands the duty of the Representative, is evident from the fact that it found it necessary to nonconcur in a similar recommendation made by the President in 1885.

In the message which he sent to the Forty-ninth Congress, at the beginning of the first session, we find these words:

Prosperity hesitates upon our threshold because of the dangers and uncertainties sourrounding this question. Capital timidly shrinks from trade, and investors are unwilling to take the chance of the questionable shape in which their money will be returned to them, while enterprise halts at a risk against which care and sagacious management do not protect.

As a necessary consequence, labor lacks employment, and suffering and distress are visited upon a portion of our fellow-citizens especially entitled to the careful consideration of those charged with the duties of legislation. No interest appeals to us so strongly for a safe and stable currency as the

vast army of the unemployed. I recommend the suspension of the compulsory coinage of silver dollars, directed by the law passed in February, 1878.

It will be seen that the same forces were at work then as now; the same apprehensions existed as now; the same pressure was brought from the same sources in favor of the debasement of silver; but the members of Congress, refusing to take counsel of their fears, stood by the record of both great parties and by the nation's history and retained the coinage of silver as then provided for. Let it be said to the credit of the Democratic party that in the House only 33 of its members voted to suspend the Bland law, while 130 are recorded against suspension. Time has proved that the members, reflecting the opinions of their people, were wiser than the Executive, and he is doubtless grateful today that they did not follow his suggestion.

THE MESSAGE.

I have read with care the message sent to us last week, and have considered it in the light of every reasonable construction of which it is capable. If I am able to understand its language it points to the burial of silver, with no promise of resurrection. Its reasoning is in the direction of a single standard. It leads irresistibly to universal gold monometallism—to a realm over whose door is written: "Abandon hope, all ye who enter here!" Before that door I stop, appalled. Have gentlemen considered the effect of a single gold standard universally adopted? Let us not deceive ourselves with the hope that we can discard silver for gold, and that other nations will take it up and keep it as a part of the world's currency. When all the silver available for coinage could gain admission to some mints and all the gold available for coinage would find a place for mintage, and some nation like France maintained the parity by means of bimetallism it was of comparatively little importance whether a particular nation used silver or gold or both.

Exchange did not fluctuate and trade could be carried on without inconvenience. But times have changed. One nation after another has closed its mints to silver until the white metal has in European countries been made an outcast by legislation and has shown a bullion value different from its coinage value. India, at last, guided by the misrepresentations of the metropolitan press, which proclaimed as certain what was never probable, has suspended free coinage, fearing that this country would stop the purchase of silver. If the United States, the greatest silver producing nation, which now utilizes more than one-third of the total annual product of the world, closes its mint to the coinage of silver, what assurance have we that it can retain its place as primary money in the commercial world?

Is it not more reasonable to suppose that a further fall in the bullion value of silver will be followed by a demand for a limitation of the legal-tender qualities of the silver already in existence? That is already being urged by some. Is it not reasonable to suppose that our hostile action will lead to hostile action on the part of other nations? Every country must have money for its people, and if silver is abandoned and gold substituted it must be drawn from the world's already scanty supply.

AN HONEST DOLLAR.

We hear much about a "stable currency" and an "honest dollar." It is a significant fact that those who have spoken in favor of unconditional repeal have for the most part avoided a discussion of the effect of an appreciating standard. They take it for granted that a gold standard is not only an honest standard, but the only stable standard. I denounce that child of ignorance and avarice the gold dollar, under a universal gold standard, as the most dishonest dollar which we could employ.

I stand upon the authority of every intelligent writer upon political economy when I assert that there is not and never has been an honest dollar. An honest dollar is a dollar absolutely stable in relation to all other things. Laughlin, in his work on Bimetallism, says:

> Monometallists do not—as is often said—believe that gold remains absolutely stable in value. They hold that there is no such thing as a 'standard of value' for future payments in either gold or silver which remains absolutely invariable.

He even suggests a multiple standard for long-time contracts. I quote his words:

> As regards national debts, it is distinctly averred that neither gold nor silver forms a just measure of deferred payments, and that if justice in long contracts is sought for, we should not seek it by the doubtful and untried expedient of international bimetallism, but by the clear and certain method of a multiple standard, a unit based upon the selling prices of a number of articles of general consumption. A long-time contract would thereby be paid at its maturity by the same purchasing power as was given in the beginning.

Jevons, one of the most generally accepted of the writers in favor of a gold standard, admits the instability of a single standard, and in language very similar to that above quoted suggests the multiple standard as the most equitable if practicable. Chevalier, who wrote a book in 1858 to show the injustice of allowing a debtor to pay his debts in a cheap gold dollar, recognized the same fact, and said:

> If the value of the metal declined, the creditor would suffer a loss upon the quantity he had received; if, on the contrary, it rose, the debtor would have to pay more than he calculated upon.

I am on sound and scientific ground, therefore, when I say that a dollar approaches honesty as its purchasing power approaches stability. If I borrow a thousand dollars to-day and next year pay the debt with a thousand dollars which will secure exactly as much of all things desirable as the one thousand which I borrowed, I have paid in honest dollars. If the money has increased or decreased in purchasing power, I have satisfied my debt with dishonest dollars. While the Government can say that a given weight of gold or silver shall constitute a dollar, and invest that dollar with legal-tender qualities, it can not fix the purchasing power of the dollar. That must depend upon the law of supply and demand, and it may be well to suggest that this Government never tried to fix the exchangeable value of a dollar until it began to limit the number of dollars coined.

DOLLARS RISE AND FALL.

If the number of dollars increases more rapidly than the need for dollars—as it did after the gold discoveries of 1849—the exchangeable value of each dollar will fall and prices rise. If the demand for dollars increases faster than the number of dollars—as it did after 1800—the price of each dollar will rise and prices generally will fall. The relative value of the dollar may be changed by natural causes or by legislation. An increased supply—the demand remaining the same—or a decreased demand—the supply remaining the same—will reduce the exchangeable value of each dollar. Natural causes may act on both supply and demand: as, for instance, by increasing the product from the mines or by increasing the amount consumed in the arts. Legislation acts directly on the demand, and thus affects the price, since the demand is one of the factors in fixing the price.

If by legislative action the demand for silver is destroyed and the demand for gold is increased by making it the only standard, the exchangeable value of each unit of that standard, or dollar, as we call it, will be increased. If the exchangeable value of the dollar is increased by legislation the debt of the debtor is increased, to his injury and to the advantage of the creditor. And let me suggest here, in reply to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MCCALL], who said that the money loaner was entitled to the advantages derived from improved machinery and inventive genius that he is mistaken. The laboring man and the producer are entitled to these benefits, and the money loaner by every law of justice ought to be content with a dollar equal in purchasing power to the dollar which he loaned, and any one desiring more than that desires a dishonest dollar, it matters not what name he may give to it. [Loud applause.] Take an illustration: John Doe, of Nebraska, has a farm worth $2,000 and mortgages it to Richard Roe, of Massachusetts, for $1,000. Suppose the value of the monetary unit is increased by legislation which creates a greater demand for gold. The debt is increased. If the increase amounts to 100 per cent the Nebraska farmer finds that the prices of his products have fallen one-half and his land loses one-half its value, unless the price is maintained by the increased population incident to a new country.

The mortgage remains nominally the same, though the debt has actually become twice as great. Will he be deceived by the cry of "honest dollar?" If he should loan a Nebraska neighbor a hog weighing 100 pounds and the next spring demand in return a hog weighing 200 pounds he would be called dishonest, even though he contended that he was only demanding one hog—just the number he loaned. Society has become accustomed to some very nice distinctions. The poor man is called a socialist if he believes that the wealth of the rich should be divided among the poor, but the rich man is called a financier if he devises a plan by which the pittance of the poor can be converted to his use. [Laughter and applause.]

The poor man who takes property by force is called a thief, but the creditor who can by legislation make a debtor pay a dollar twice as large as he borrowed is lauded as the friend of a sound currency. [Laughter and applause.] The man who wants the people to destroy the Government is an anarchist, but the man who wants the Government to destroy the people is a patriot. [Applause.]

CONFIDENCE MUST BE RESTORED.

The great desire now seems to be to restore confidence, and some have an idea that the only way to restore confidence is to coax the money loaner to let go of his hoard by making the profits too tempting to be resisted. Capital is represented as a shy and timid maiden who must be courted, if won. Let me suggest a plan for bringing money from Europe. If it be possible, let us enact a law "Whereas confidence must be restored; and whereas money will always come from its hiding place if the inducement

is sufficient: Therefore, be it enacted, That every man who borrows $1 shall pay back $2 and interest (the usury law not to be enforced)."

Would not English capital come "on the swiftest ocean greyhounds?" The money loaner of London would say: "I will not loan in India or Egypt or in South America. The inhabitants of those countries are a wicked and ungodly people and refuse to pay more than they borrowed. I will loan in the United States, for *there* lives an honest people, who delight in a sound currency and pay in an honest dollar." Why does not some one propose that plan? Because no one would dare to increase by law the number of dollars which the debtor must pay, and yet by some it is called wise statesmanship to do indirectly and in the dark what no man has the temerity to propose directly and openly.

WHAT DOES A GOLD STANDARD MEAN?

We have been called cranks and lunatics and idiots because we have warned our fellow-men against the inevitable and intolerable consequences which would follow the adoption of a gold standard by all the world. But who, I ask, can be silent in the presence of such impending calamities? The United States, England, France, and Germany own to-day about $2,600,000,000 of the world's supply of gold coin, or about five-sevenths of the total amount, and yet these four nations contain but a small fraction of the inhabitants of the globe. What will be the exchangeable value of a gold dollar when India's people, outnumbering alone the inhabitants of the four great nations named, reach out after their share of gold coin? What will be the final price of gold when all the nations of the Occident and Orient join in the scramble?

A distinguished advocate of the gold standard said recently, in substance: "Wheat has now reached a point where the English can afford to buy it, and gold will soon return to relieve our financial embarrassment." How delighted the farmer will be when he realizes what an opportunity he has to save his country! A nation in distress; banks failing; mines closed; laborers unemployed; enterprise at a standstill, and behold, the farmer, bowed with unceasing, even if unremunerative, toil, steps forth to save his country—by selling his wheat below the cost of production! And I am afraid he will even now be censured for allowing the panic to go as far as it has before reducing his prices.

It seems cruel that upon the growers of wheat and cotton, our staple exports, should be placed the burden of supplying us at whatever cost with the necessary gold, and yet the financier quoted has suggested the only means, except the issue of bonds, by which our stock of gold can be replenished. If it is difficult now to secure gold, what will be the condition when the demand is increased by its adoption as the world's only primary money? We would simply put gold upon an auction block, with every nation as a bidder, and each ounce of the standard metal would be knocked down to the one offering the most of all other kinds of property. Every disturbance of finance in one country would communicate itself to every other, and in the misery which would follow it would be of little consolation to know that others were suffering as much as, or more than, we.

THE SUFFERING CONTINUOUS.

I have only spoken of the immediate effects of the substitution of gold as the world's only money of ultimate redemption. The worst remains to be told. If, as in the resumption of specie payments in 1879, we could look forward to a time when the contraction would cease, the debtor might become a tenant upon his former estate and the home owner assume the rôle of the homeless with the sweet assurance that his children or his children's children might live to enjoy the blessings of a "stable currency." But, sir, the hapless and hopeless producer of wealth goes forth into a night illuminated by no star; he embarks upon a sea whose further shore no mariner may find; he travels in a desert where the ever-retreating mirage makes his disappointment a thousand-fold more keen. Let the world once commit its fortunes to the use of gold alone and it must depend upon the annual increase of that metal to keep pace with the need for money.

The Director of the Mint gives about $130,000,000 as the world's production for last year. Something like one-third is produced in connection with silver, and must be lost if silver mining is rendered unproductive. It is estimated that nearly two-thirds of the annual product is used in the arts, and the amount so used is increasing. Where, then, is the supply to meet the increasing demands of an increasing population? Is there some new California or some undiscovered Australia yet to be explored?

Is it not probable that the supply available for coinage will diminish rather than increase? Jacobs, in his work on the Precious Metals, has calculated the appreciation of the monetary unit. He has shown that the almost imperceptible increase of 2 per cent per year will amount to a total appreciation of 500 per cent in a century. Or, to illustrate, that cotton at 10 cents to-day and wheat at 60 cents would mean cotton at 2 cents and wheat at 12 cents in one hundred years. A national, State, or municipal debt renewed from time to time would at the end of that period be six times as great as when contracted, although several times the amount would have been paid in interest.

When one realizes the full significance of a constantly appreciating standard he can easily agree with Alison that the Dark Ages resulted from a failure of the money supply. How can anyone view with unconcern the attempt to turn back the tide of civilization by the complete debasement of one-half of the world's money! When I point to the distress which, not suddenly, but gradually, is entering the habitations of our people; when I refer you to the census as conclusive evidence of the unequal distribution of wealth and of increasing tenancy among our people, of whom, in our cities, less than one-fourth now own their homes; when I suggest the possibility of this condition continuing until, passed from a land of independent owners, we become a nation of landlords and tenants, you must tremble for civil liberty itself.

FREE GOVERNMENT IN DANGER.

Free government can not long survive when the thousands enjoy the wealth of the country and the millions share its poverty in common. Even now you hear among the rich an occasionally expressed contempt for popular government, and among the poor a protest against legislation which makes them "toil that others may reap." I appeal to you to restore justice and bring back prosperity while yet a peaceable solution can be secured. We mourn the lot of unhappy Ireland, whose alien owners drain it of its home-created wealth; but we may reach a condition, if present tendencies continue, when her position at this time will be an object of envy, and some poet may write of our cities as Goldsmith did of the "Deserted Village:"

> While scourged by famine from a smiling land,
> The mournful peasant leads his humble band,
> And, while he sinks without one hand to save,
> The country blooms—a garden and a grave.

But, lest I may be accused of reasonless complaining, let me call unimpeachable witnesses who will testify to the truth of my premises and to the correctness of my conclusions.

UNIMPEACHABLE WITNESSES.

Jevons says:

> If all nations of the globe were suddenly and simultaneously to demonetize silver and require gold money, a revolution in the value of gold would be inevitable.

Giffin, who is probably the most fanatical adherent of the gold standard, says, in his book entitled The Case Against Bimetallism:

> The primary offender in the matter, perhaps, was Germany, which made a mistake, as I believe, in substituting gold for silver as the standard money of the country. * * * To some extent also Italy has been an offender in this matter, the resumption of specie payments in that country on a gold basis being entirely a work of superfluity; the resumption on a silver basis would have been preferable. * * * No doubt the pressure on gold would have been more severe than it has been if the United States had not passed the Bland coinage law.

The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER] said in the opening speech of this debate:

> In my opinion there is not a sufficient amount of gold in existence to supply the demands of commerce and the necessities of the world's circulation.

Mr. Balfour, member of Parliament, in a speech recently made, said:

> Let Germany, India, and the United States try a gold currency and a tremor seizes every one of our commercial magnates. They look forward, in the immediate future, to catastrophe, and feel that the ultimate result may be a slow appreciation of the standard of value, which is perhaps the most deadening and benumbing influence that can touch the enterprise of a nation.

Mr. Goschen, delegate from Great Britain, said at the International Monetary Conference in 1878:

> If, however, other States were to carry on a propaganda in favor of a gold standard and the demonetization of silver, the Indian government would be obliged to reconsider its position and might be forced by events to take measures similar to those taken elsewhere. In that case the scramble to get rid of silver might provoke one of the gravest crises ever undergone by commerce. One or two states might demonetize silver without serious results, but if all demonetize there would be no buyers, and silver would fall in alarming proportions. * * *. If all States should resolve on the adoption of a gold standard, the question arose, would there be sufficient gold for the purpose without a tremendous crisis? There would be a fear on the one hand of a depreciation of silver, and one on the other of a rise in the value of gold, and a corresponding fall in the prices of all commodities.
>
> Italy, Russia, and Austria, whenever they resume specie payments, would require metal, and if all other states went in the direction of a gold standard, these countries too would be forced to take gold. Resumption on their part would be facilitated by the maintenance of silver as a part of the legal tender of the world. The American proposal for a universal double standard seemed impossible of realization, a veritable Utopia; but the theory of a universal gold standard was Utopian, and indeed involved a false Utopia. It was better for the world at large that the two metals should continue in circulation than that one should be universally substituted for the other.

AMERICAN AUTHORITY.

Thus does an eminent English monometallist denounce the idea of a universal gold standard and foretell its consequences.

But we are not dependent for authority upon foreign advocates of a single standard. Read the words of him who for many years was the guiding genius of the Republican party, Hon. James G. Blaine, and say whether he was a lunatic because he described in emphatic words the dangers attendant upon universal monometallism. He said upon the floor of the House, February 7, 1878:

On the much vexed and long-mooted question as to a bimetallic or monometallic standard, my own views are sufficiently indicated in the remarks I have made. I believe the struggle now going on in this country and in other countries for a single gold standard would, if successful, produce widespread disaster in and throughout the commercial world.

The destruction of silver as money and establishing gold as the sole unit of value must have a ruinous effect on all forms of property except those investments which yield a fixed return in money. These would be enormously enhanced in value, and would gain a disproportionate and unfair advantage over every other species of property. If, as the most reliable statistics affirm, there are nearly $7,000,000,000 of coin or bullion in the world, not very unequally divided between gold and silver, it is impossible to strike silver out of existence as money without results which will prove distressing to millions and utterly disastrous to tens of thousands.

Again, he said:

I believe gold and silver coin to be the money of the Constitution; indeed, the money of the American people, anterior to the Constitution, which the great organic law recognized as quite independent of its own existence. No power was conferred on Congress to declare either metal should not be money. Congress has, therefore, in my judgment, no power to demonetize silver any more than to demonetize gold.

Senator SHERMAN said in 1869:

The contraction of the currency is a far more distressing operation than Senators suppose. Our own and other nations have gone through that operation before. It is not possible to take that voyage without the sorest distress. To every person except a capitalist out of debt, or a salaried officer or annuitant, it is a period of loss, danger, lassitude of trade, fall of wages, suspension of enterprise, bankruptcy, and disaster. It means ruin of all dealers whose debts are twice their business capital, though one-third less than their actual property. It means the fall of all agricultural production without any great reduction of taxes. What prudent man would dare to build a house, a railroad, a factory, or a barn with this certain fact before him?

Let me quote from an apostle of the Democratic faith, whose distinguished services in behalf of his party and his country have won for him the esteem of all. Mr. Carlisle, then a member of the House of Representatives, said, February 21, 1878:

I know that the world's stock of precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it will ever be so. Mankind will be fortunate indeed if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry. According to my views of the subject the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy by legislation and otherwise from three-sevenths to one-half the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age. The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilences, and famines that ever occurred in the history of the world.

The absolute and instantaneous destruction of half the entire movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads, and other appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of one-half the metallic money of the world.

The junior Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] never did the party greater service than when, on the 3d of February, 1886, on this floor he denounced, in language the force and earnestness of which can not be surpassed, the attempted crime against silver. Let his words be an inspiration now:

But in all the wild, reckless, and remorseless brutalities that have marked the footprints of resistless power there is some extenuating circumstance that mitigates the severity of the punishment due the crime. Some have been the product of the fierce passions of war, some have come from the antipathy that separates alien races, some from the superstitions of opposing religions.

But the crime that is now sought to be perpetrated on more than fifty millions of people comes neither from the camp of a conquerer, the hand of a foreigner, nor the altar of an idolator. But it comes from those in whose veins runs the blood of the common ancestry, who were born under the same skies, speak the same language, reared in the same institutions, and nurtured in the principles of the same religious faith. It comes from the cold, phlegmatic, marble heart of avarice—avarice that seeks to paralyze labor, increase the burden of debt, and fill the land with destitution and suffering to gratify the lust for gold—avarice surrounded by every comfort that wealth can command, and rich enough to satisfy every want save that which refuses to be satisfied without the suffocation and strangulation of all the labor of the land. With a forehead that refuses to be ashamed it demands of Congress an act that will paralyze all the forces of production, shut out labor from all employment, increase the burden of debts and taxation, and send desolation and suffering to all the homes of the poor.

LANGUAGE COULD NOT BE STRONGER.

Can language be stronger or conclusion more conclusive? What expression can be more forcible than the "most gigantic crime of this or any other age?" What picture more vivid than that painted in the words, "The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilences, and famines that ever occurred in the history of the world?" What more scathing rebuke could be administered to avarice than that contained in the words of Mr. MILLS?

It is from the awful horrors described by these distinguished men, differing in politics, but united in sentiment, that I beg you, sirs, to save your fellow-men.

On the base of the monument erected by a grateful people to the memory of the late Senator Hill of Georgia are inscribed these words:

Who saves his country saves himself, and all things saved do bless him. Who lets his country die lets all things die, dies himself ignobly, and all things dying, curse him.

If, sirs, in saving your country you save yourselves and earn the benedictions of all things saved, how much greater will be your reward if your efforts save not your country only but all mankind! If he who lets his country die brings upon himself the curses of all things dying, in what language will an indignant people express their execration, if your action lead to the enslavement of the great majority of the people by the universal adoption of an appreciating standard!

BIMETALLISM.

Let me call your attention briefly to the advantages of bimetallism. It is not claimed that by the use of two metals at a fixed ratio absolute stability can be secured. We only contend that thus the monetary unit will become more stable in relation to other property than under a single standard. If a single standard were really more desirable than a double standard, we are not free to choose gold, and would be compelled to select silver. Gold and silver must remain component parts of the metallic money of the world—that must be accepted as an indisputable fact. Our abandonment of silver would in all probability drive it out of use as primary money; and silver as a promise to pay gold is little, if any, better than a paper promise to pay. If bimetallism is impossible, then we must make up our minds to a silver standard or to the abandonment of both gold and silver. [Applause.]

Let us suppose the worst that has been prophesied by our opponents, namely, that we would be upon a silver standard if we attempted the free coinage of both gold and silver at any ratio. Let us suppose that all our gold goes to Europe and we have only silver. Silver would not be inconvenient to use, because a silver certificate is just as convenient to handle as a gold certificate, and the silver itself need not be handled except where it is necessary for change. Gold is not handled among the people. No one desires to accept any large amount in gold. The fact that the Treasury has always on hand a large amount of gold coin deposited in exchange for gold certificates shows that the paper representative is more desirable than the metal itself. If, following out the supposition, our gold goes abroad, Europe will have more money with which to buy our exports—cotton and wheat, cattle and hogs.

If, on the other hand, we adopt gold, we must draw it from Europe, and thus lessen their money and reduce the price of our exports in foreign markets. This, too, would decrease the total value of our exports and increase the amount of products which it would be necessary to send abroad to pay the principal and interest which we owe to bondholders and stockholders residing in Europe. Some have suggested the advisability of issuing gold bonds in order to maintain a gold standard. Let them remember that those bonds sold in this country will draw money from circulation and increase the stringency, and sold abroad will affect injuriously the price of our products abroad, thus making a double tax upon the toilers of the United States, who must ultimately pay them.

Let them remember, too, that gold bonds held abroad must sometime be paid in gold, and the exportation of that gold would probably raise a clamor for an extension of time in order to save this country from another stringency. A silver standard, too, would make us the trading center of all the silver-using countries of the world, and these countries contain far more than one-half of the world's population. What an impetus would be given to our Western and Southern seaports, such as San Francisco, Galveston, New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah, and Charleston. Then, again, we produce our silver, and produce it in quantities which would to some extent satisfy our monetary needs.

[Here the hammer fell.]

On motion of Mr. HUNTER the time of Mr. BRYAN was extended indefinitely.

Mr. BRYAN. I thank the gentleman from Illinois and the House.

Our annual product of gold is less than 50 cents per capita. Deduct from this sum the loss which would be occasioned to the gold supply by the closing of our silver mines, which produce gold in conjunction with silver; deduct, also, the amount consumed in the arts, and the amount left for coinage is really inconsiderable. Thus, with a gold standard, we would be left dependent upon foreign powers for our annual money supply. They say we must adopt a gold standard in order to trade with Europe. Why not reverse the proposition and say that Europe must resume the use of silver in order to trade with us? But why adopt either gold or silver alone? Why not adopt both and trade with

both gold-using and silver-using countries? The principle of bimetallism is established upon a scientific basis.

The Government does not try to fix the purchasing power of the dollar, either gold or silver. It simply says, in the language of Thomas Jefferson, "The money unit shall stand upon the two metals," and then allows the exchangeable value of that unit to rise or fall according as the total product of both metals decreases or increases in proportion to the demand for money. In attempting to maintain the parity between the two metals at a fixed ratio, the Government does not undertake the impossible. France for several years did maintain the parity approximately at 15½ to 1 by offering unlimited coinage to both metals at that ratio. It is very common for some people to urge, "You can not put value into anything by law," and I am sorry to see some proclaim this who know by rich experience how easy it is for the Government to legislate prices up or down.

VALUE CREATED BY LAW.

We were called together to relieve financial distress by legislation. Some propose to relieve the present stringency in the money market by removing the tax on national-bank circulation and allowing banks to issue 100 per cent on their bonds instead of 90 per cent. This legislation would put values into bank stocks by law, because it would add to the profits of the bank, and such a law would probably raise the market price of bonds by increasing the demand for them. I will not discuss the merits of this proposition now. Let those who favor it prepare to justify themselves before their constituents. The New York World of August 3 contained an article encouraging the banks to issue more money under the present law. It showed the profits as follows:

These bonds are selling now at 109 to 110. At this latter period a $100,000 bond transaction would stand as follows:

$100,000 U. S. 4's at 110, less ½ per cent accrued interest, $109,666 net, would cost		$109,666
Less circulation issued on this amount		90,000
Making the actual cash investment only		19,666
On which the bank would receive an income of over 12¾ per cent, as follows:		
Interest on $100,000 4's per annum		$4,000
Less tax 1 per cent on circulation	$900	
Less sinking fund to retire premium to be improved at 6 per cent	464	
Loss expenses	100	
		1,464
Net income		2,536

Already a good portion of these bonds held in reserve are coming into the market and soon find their way into the hands of national banks.

If the proposed law is adopted $900 will be taken from the expense column by the repeal of the tax on circulation and $10,000 will be taken from the cost of investment, so that the profits would amount to $3,436 on an investment of $9,666, or more than 33 per cent. If, however, the increased demand for bonds raised the premium to 15 per cent, we could only calculate a little less than $3,436 on an investment of $14,666, or nearly 25 per cent. This they would probably call a fair divide. The bondholder would receive an advantage in the increased premium of, say, $25,000,000, and the national bank would be able to make about double on its investment what it does now. If the premium should increase more than 5 per cent the bondholder would make more and the bank less. If the premium should not increase that much the bondholder would make less and the bank more.

Let those, I repeat, who favor this plan be prepared to defend it before a constituency composed of people who are not making 5 per cent on an average on the money invested in farms or enterprises, and let those who will profit by the law cease to deny the ability of Government to increase the price of property by law. One is almost moved to tears by the sight of New England manufacturers protesting with indignation against the wisdom or possibility of giving fictitious value to a product, when for the last thirty years they have drained the rest of the country and secured artificial prices by protective tariff laws. [Applause.] Some of our Eastern friends accuse the advocates of free coinage of favoring repudiation.

Repudiatiation has not been practiced much in recent years by the debtor, but in 1869 the credit strengthening act enabled the bondholder to repudiate a contract made with the Government and to demand coin in payment of a bond for which he had given paper and which was payable in lawful money. That act increasing the market value of the bonds gave a profit to many who now join the beneficiaries of the act assuming the District debt in vociferous proclamation that "the Government can not create value." Does not the location of a public building add to the value of adjacent real estate? Do not towns contest the location of a county seat because of the advantage it brings? Does not the use of gold and silver as money increase the value of each ounce of each metal?

PRECIOUS METALS LIMITED.

These are called precious metals because the production is limited and can not be increased indefinitely at will. If this Government or a number of governments can offer a market unlimited as compared with the supply, the bullion value of gold and silver can be maintained at the legal ratio. The moment one metal tends to cheapen, the use falls on it and increases its price, while the decreased demand for the dearer metal retards its rise and thus the bullion values are kept near to the legal ratio, so near that the variation can cause far less inconvenience and injustice than the variation in the exchangeable value of the unit would inflict under a single standard. The option is always given to the debtor in a double standard.

In fact, the system could not exist if the option remained with the creditor, for he would demand the dearer metal and thus increase any fluctuation in bullion values, while the option in the hands of the debtor reduces the fluctuation to the minimum. That the unit under a double standard is more stable in its relation to all other things is admitted by Jevons and proven by several illustrations. Mr. Giffin tries to avoid the force of the admission by saying that the difference in favor of the double standard is only in the proportion of 2 to 1, and therefore not sufficient to justify its adoption. It would seem that where stability is so important—and it never was so important as to-day, when so many long-time contracts are executed—even a slight difference in favor of the double standard ought to make it acceptable.

We established a bimetallic standard in 1792, but silver, being overvalued by our ratio of 15 to 1, staid with us and gold went abroad, where mint ratios were more favorable.

THE DOLLAR OF OUR DADDIES.

I have here a silver coin [exhibiting it] which came from the mint in 1795. It has upon the edge these significant words: "Hundred Cents—One Dollar or Unit." It would seem, therefore, that the weight of the gold dollar was regulated by the silver dollar, and the gold pieces provided for made multiples of it. In 1834 and in 1837 the alloy was changed and the gold dollar reduced in size in order to correspond to the newly established ratio of 16 to 1. The amount of pure silver in the standard dollar has never been changed since its adoption in 1792.

The ratio of 16 to 1 overvalued gold and our silver went abroad. The silver dollar was worth about 3 cents more than the gold dollar, because it could be coined in France at the ratio of 15½ to 1. Thus, during all the period prior to 1873 this country enjoyed bimetallism and, although at one time we used one metal and at another time another, no statesman arose to demand a single standard. We now have three kinds of bimetallists—those who favor a double standard only by international agreement, those who favor independent action at a changed ratio, and those who favor independent action at the present ratio. Those favoring an international agreement might be again divided into those who favor an agreement by a few nations, those who favor an agreement by many nations, and those who favor it only on condition that all nations would join.

INTERNATIONAL BIMETALLISM.

I suppose it would hardly be proper to further divide them into those who really desire an international agreement and those who utilize the possibility of an international agreement to prevent independent action. I am afraid the agreement will not be brought about by those who, like the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER], are willing to try it, but have no faith in its permanency; nor will it receive much aid, I fear, from the gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX], who said on last Saturday:

I predict to you that inside of three months—before this Congress meets again—if you repeal this Sherman law and adjourn, England will make proposals to this country to come into a monetary conference and see what can be done for the sake of her ward, India.

Less than five minutes before he had pierced the veil of the future with prophetic ken and declared:

The moving finger of Time, down from the days when gold started in the race for first place to this moment, has pointed to a single unit of value. It is our destiny. It will triumph in this Hall—perhaps not in this Congress nor in your day; but it is going to become the financial policy of this country just as sure as to-morrow morning's sun will rise.

Any hope of bimetallism there?

What is the prospect for the establishment of international bimetallism? I would be glad to see the unlimited coinage of gold and silver at a fixed ratio among the nations, but how is such an agreement to be secured? The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER] says the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law will bring England to terms. Is it impossible to extract a lion's teeth without putting your head in his mouth? Is it not a dangerous experiment to join England in a single standard in order to induce her to join us in a double standard? International agreement is an old delusion and has done important duty on many previous occasions.

WE ARE STILL WAITING.

The opponents of the Bland law in 1878 were waiting for international bimetallism. Mr. Cleveland mentioned the prospect of it in his message in 1885, and again this year. It was a valua-

ble weapon in 1890, when the Sherman bill was passed and the Brussels conference was called in time to carry us over the last Presidential election. We are still waiting, and those are waiting most patiently who favor a gold standard. [Laughter and applause.] Are we any nearer to an international agreement than we were fifteen years ago? The European nations wait on England, and she refused within a year to even consider the adoption of the double standard. Can we conquer her by waiting? We have tried the Fabian policy.

BOND OR FREE?

Suppose we try bringing her to terms by action. Let me appeal to your patriotism. Shall we make our laws dependent upon England's action and thus allow her to legislate for us upon the most important of all questions? Shall we confess our inability to enact monetary laws? Are we an English colony or an independent people? If the use of gold alone is to make us slaves, let us use both metals and be free. If there be some living along the Eastern coast—better acquainted with the beauties of the Alps than with the grandeur of the Rockies, more accustomed to the sunny skies of Italy than to the invigorating breezes of the Mississippi Valley—who are not willing to trust their fortunes and their destinies to American citizens, let them learn that the people living between the Alleghanies and the Golden Gate are not afraid to cast their all upon the Republic and rise or fall with it. [Loud applause.]

One hundred and seventeen years ago the Liberty Bell gave notice to a waiting and expectant people that Independence had been declared. There may be doubting, trembling ones among us now, but, sirs, I do not overestimate it when I say that out of twelve millions of voters more than ten millions are waiting, anxiously waiting, for the signal which shall announce the financial independence of the United States. [Applause.] This Congress can not more surely win the approval of a grateful people than by declaring that this nation, the grandest which the world has ever seen, has the right and the ability to legislate for its own people on every subject regardless of the wishes, the entreaties, or the threats of foreign powers. [Applause.]

WHAT SHALL THE RATIO BE?

Perhaps the most important question for us to consider is the question of ratio. Comparatively few people in this country are in favor of a gold standard, and no national party has ever advocated it. Comparatively few, also, will be deceived by the promise of international bimetallism annually held out to us. Among those in favor of bimetallism, and in favor of independent action on the part of the United States, there is, however, an honest difference of opinion as to the particular ratio at which the unlimited coinage of gold and silver should be undertaken. The principle of bimetallism does not stand upon any certain ratio, and may exist at 1 to 30 as well as at 1 to 16.

In fixing the ratio we should select that one which will secure the greatest advantage to the public and cause the least injustice. The present ratio, in my judgment, should be adopted. A change in the ratio could be made (as in 1834) by reducing the size of the gold dollar or by increasing the size of the silver dollar, or by making a change in the weight of both dollars. A larger silver dollar would help the creditor. A smaller gold dollar would help the debtor. It is not just to do either, but if a change must be made, the benefit should be given to the debtor rather than to the creditor.

Let no one accuse me of defending the justness of any change; but I repeat it, if we are given a choice between a change which will aid the debtor by reducing the size of his debt and a change which will aid the creditor by increasing the amount which he is to receive, either by increasing the number of his dollars or their size, the advantage must be given to the debtor, and no man during this debate, whatever may be his private wish or interest, will advocate the giving of the advantage to the creditor.

A CHANGE OF RATIO UNFORTUNATE.

To illustrate the effect of changing the ratio let us take, for convenience, the ratio of 24 to 1, as advocated by some. We could make this change by reducing the weight of the gold dollar one-third. This would give to the holders of gold an advantage of some $200,000,000, but the creditors would lose several billions of dollars in the actual value of their debts. A debt contracted before 1873 would not be scaled, because the new gold dollar would purchase as much as the old gold dollar would in 1873. Creditors, however, whose loans have been made since that time would suffer, and the most recent loans would show the greatest loss. The value of silver bullion has only fallen in relation to gold. But the purchasing power of one ounce of silver has varied less since 1873 than has the purchasing power of one ounce of gold, which would indicate that gold had risen.

If, on the other hand, the ratio is changed by increasing the size of the silver dollar, it would be necessary to recoin our silver dollars into dollars a half larger, or we would have in circulation two legal-tender silver dollars of different sizes. Of the two plans it would be better, in my judgment, to keep both dollars in circulation together, though unequal in weight, rather than to recoin the lighter dollars. The recoinage of more than 500,000,000 of silver dollars, or the bullion representing them, would cause a shrinkage of about $170,000,000, or one-third of our silver money; it would cause a shrinkage of nearly one-sixth of our metallic money and of more than one-tenth of our total circulation. This contraction would increase our debts more than a billion dollars and decrease the nominal value of our property more than five billions.

A change in the ratio made by increasing the size of the silver dollar as above suggested would also decrease by one-third the number of dollars which could be coined from the annual product of silver. If, as Mr. Carlisle has said, the supply of metal, both gold and silver, is none too large to keep pace with population, the increase in the weight of each dollar would make the supply to that extent deficient. A change in ratio, whether secured by decreasing the gold dollar or by increasing the silver dollar, would probably make an international agreement more difficult, because nearly all of the silver coin now in existence circulates at a ratio less than ours.

If the change should be made in this country by increasing the size of the silver dollar and an international agreement secured upon the new ratio, to be effected by other nations in the same way, the amount of money in the world, that is, metallic money, would suffer a contraction of more than $1,000,000,000, to the enormous injury of the debtor class and to the enormous advantage of the creditor class. If we believe that the value of gold has risen because its supply has not increased as fast as the demand caused by favorable legislation, then it would be unfair to continue this appreciation by other legislation favorable to gold. It would be a special injustice to the mine owner and to the farmer, whose products have fallen with silver, to make perpetual the injunction against their prosperity.

WHO IS UNSELFISH?

We often hear our opponents complain of the "cupidity of the mine owner." Let us admit that the mine owner is selfish, and that he will profit by the increased price of silver bullion. Let us, for the sake of argument, go further, and accuse him of favoring the free coinage of silver solely for the purpose of increasing the price of his product. Does that make him worse than other men? Is not the farmer selfish enough to desire a higher price for wheat? Is not the cotton-grower selfish enough to desire a higher price for his cotton? Is not the laboring man selfish enough to desire higher wages? And, if I may be pardoned for the boldness, are not bankers and business men selfish enough to ask for legislation at our hands which will give them prosperity? Was not this extraordinary session called in order to bring back prosperity to our business men?

Is it any more important that you should keep a mercantile house from failing than that you should keep a mine from suspending? Are those who desire free coinage of silver in order that the barren wastes should be made to "blossom like the rose" any worse than those who want the Sherman law repealed in order to borrow foreign gold and retire clearing-house certificates? There is a class of people whose interest in financial legislation is too often overlooked. The money-loaner has just as much interest in the rise in the value of his product—money—as farmers and miners have in the increased price of their products.

The man who has $10,000 in money becomes worth $20,000 in reality when prices fall one-half. Shall we assume that the money-lenders of this and other countries ignore the advantage which an appreciated currency gives to them and desire it simply for the benefit of the poor man and the laborer? What refining influence is there in their business which purges away the dross of selfishness and makes pure and patriotic only their motives? [Laughter.] Has some new dispensation reversed the parable and left Lazarus in torment while Dives is borne aloft in Abraham's bosom? [Laughter.]

THE MINER'S JUST COMPLAINT.

But is the silver miner after all so selfish as to be worthy of censure? Does he ask for some new legislation or for some innovation inaugurated in his behalf? No. He pleads only for the restoration of the money of the fathers. He asks to have given back to him a right which he enjoyed from 1792 to 1873. During all those years he could deposit his silver bullion at the mints and receive full legal-tender coins at the rate of $1.29 for each ounce of silver, and during a part of the time his product could be converted into money at even a higher price. Free coinage can only give back to him what demonetization took away. He does not ask for a silver dollar redeemable in a gold dollar, but for a silver dollar which redeems itself.

If the bullion value of silver has not been reduced by hostile legislation, the free coinage of silver at the present ratio can bring to the mine owner no benefit, except by enabling him to pay a debt already contracted with less ounces of silver. If the price of his product has been reduced by hostile legislation, is he asking any more than we would ask under the same circumstances in seeking to remove the oppressive hand of the law? Let me suggest, too, that those who favor an international agreement are estopped from objecting to the profits of the silver mine owner, because an international agreement could only be effected at some ratio near to ours, probaly 15½ to 1, and this would just as surely inure to the benefit of the owner of silver as would free coinage established by the independent action of this country.

If our opponents were correct in asserting that the price of silver bullion could be maintained at 129 cents an ounce by international agreement, but not by our separate action, then international bimetallism would bring a larger profit to the mine owner than the free coinage of silver by this country could. Let the international bimetallist, then, find some better objection to free coinage than that based on the mine owner's profit.

THE PROFITS OF MINING.

But what is the mine owner's profit? Has anyone told you the average cost of mining an ounce of silver? You have heard of some particular mine where silver can be produced at a low cost, but no one has attempted to give you any reliable data as to the average cost of production. I had a letter from Mr. Leech when he was Director of the Mint, saying that the Government is in possession of no data in regard to the cost of gold production and none of any value in regard to silver. No calculation can be made as to the profits of mining which does not include money spent in prospecting and in mines which have ceased to pay, as well as those which are profitably worked.

When we see a wheel of fortune with twenty-four paddles, see those paddles sold for 10 cents apiece, and see the holder of the winning paddle draw $2, we do not conclude that money can be profitably invested in a wheel of fortune. We know that those who bought expended altogether $2.40 on the turn of the wheel, and that the man who won only received $2; but our opponents insist upon estimating the profits of silver mining by the cost of the winning paddle. It is safe to say that taking the gold and silver of the world—and it is more true of silver than of gold—every dollar's worth of metal has cost a dollar. It is strange that those who watch so carefully lest the silver miner shall receive more for his product than the bare cost of production ignore the more fortunate gold miner.

Did you ever hear a monometallist complain because a man could produce 25.8 grains of gold, .9 fine, at any price whatever, and yet take it to our mint and have it stamped into a dollar with full legal-tender qualities? I saw at the World's Fair a few days ago a nugget of gold, just as it was found, worth over $3,000. What an outrage that the finder should be allowed to convert that into money at such an enormous profit! And yet no advocate of honest money raises his hand to stop that crime.

VALUE NOT DEPENDENT ON COST.

The fact is that the price of gold and silver does not depend upon the cost of production, but upon the law of supply and demand. [Applause.] It is true that production will stop when either metal can not be produced at a profit; but so long as the demand continues equal to the supply the value of an ounce of either metal may be far above the cost of production. With most kinds of property a rise in price will cause increased production; for instance, if the price of wheat rises faster than the price of other things, there will be a tendency to increased production until the price falls; but this tendency can not be carried out in the case of the precious metals, because the metal must be found before it can be produced, and finding is uncertain.

Between 1800 and 1849 an ounce of gold or silver would exchange for more of other things than it would from 1849 to 1873, yet during the latter period the production of both gold and silver greatly increased. It will be said that the purchasing power of an ounce of metal fell because of the increased supply; but that fall did not check production, nor has the rise in the purchasing power of an ounce of gold since 1873 increased the production. The production of both gold and silver is controlled so largely by chance as to make some of the laws applicable to other property inapplicable to the precious metals. If the supply of gold decreases without any diminution of the demand the exchangeable value of each ounce of gold is bound to increase, although the cost of producing the gold may continue to fall.

Why do not the advocates of gold monometallism recognize and complain of the advantage given to gold by laws which increase the demand for it and, therefore, the value of each ounce? Instead of that they confine themselves to the denunciation of the silver-mine owner. I have never advocated the use of either gold or silver as the means of giving employment to miners, nor has the defense of bimetallism been conducted by those interested in the production of silver. We favor the use of gold and silver as money because money is a necessity and because these metals, owing to special fitness, have been used from time immemorial. The entire annual supply of both metals, coined at the present ratio, does not afford too large a sum of money.

THE ANNUAL INCREASE OF SILVER.

If, as is estimated, two-thirds of the $130,000,000 of gold produced annually are consumed in the arts, only $46,000,000—or less than we need for this country alone—are left for coinage. If one-sixth of the $185,000,000 of silver produced annually is used in the arts, $155,000,000 are left for coinage. India has been in the habit of taking about one-third of that sum. Thus the total amount of gold and silver annually available for all the people of all the world is only about $200,000,000, or about four times what we need in this country to keep pace with increasing population. And as population increases the annual addition to the money must also increase.

The total sum of metallic money is a little less than $8,000,000,000. The $200,000,000 per annum is about two and a half per cent on the total volume of metallic money, taking no account of lost coins and shrinkage by abrasion. To quote again the language of Mr. Carlisle:

Mankind will be fortunate indeed if the annual production of gold coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry.

An increase of the silver dollar one-third by an international agreement would reduce by 50,000,000 the number of dollars which could be coined from the annual product of silver, which would amount to a decrease of about one-fourth of the entire increase of metallic money, while the abandonment of silver entirely would destroy three-quarters of the annual increase in metallic money, or possibly all of it, if we take into consideration the reduction of the gold supply by the closing of gold-producing silver mines.

Thus it is almost certain that without silver the sum of metallic money would remain stationary, if not actually decrease, from year to year, while population increases and new enterprises demand, from time to time, a larger sum of currency. Thus it will be seen that the money question is broader than the interest of a few mine owners. It touches every man, woman, and child in all the world, and affects those in every condition of life and society.

INCIDENTAL BENEFITS.

The interest of the mine owner is incidental. He profits by the use of silver as money just as the gold miner profits by the use of gold as money; just as the newspaper profits by the law compelling the advertising of foreclosures; just as the seaport profits by the deepening of its harbor; just as the horse seller would profit by a war which required the purchase of a large number of horses for cavalry service, or just as the undertaker would profit by the decent burial of a pauper at public expense.

All of these receive an incidental benefit from public acts. Shall we complain if the use of gold and silver as money gives employment to men, builds up cities, and fills our mountains with life and industry? Shall we oppress all debtors and derange all business agreements in order to prevent the producers of money metals from obtaining for them more than actual cost? We do not reason that way in other things; why suppress the reason in this matter because of cultivated prejudices against the white metal? But what interest has the farmer in this subject, you may ask. The same that every laboring man has in a currency sufficient to carry on the commerce and business of a country. The employer can not give work to men unless he can carry on the business at a profit, and he is hampered and embarrassed by a currency which appreciates because of its insufficiency.

THE FARMER'S INTEREST.

The farmer labors under a double disadvantage. He not only suffers as a producer from all those causes which reduce the price of property, but he is thrown into competition with the products of India. Without Indian competition his lot would be hard enough, for if he is a land owner he finds his capital decreasing with an appreciating standard, and if he owes on the land he finds his equity of redemption extinguished. The last census shows a real-estate mortgage indebtedness in the five great agricultural States—Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska—of more than one billion of dollars. A rising standard means a great deal of distress to these mortgageors. But, as I said, the producers of wheat and cotton have a special grievance, for the prices of those articles are governed largely by the prices in Liverpool, and as silver goes down our prices fall, while the rupee price remains the same. I quote from the Agricultural Report of 1890, page 8:

The recent legislation looking to the restoration of the bimetallic standard of our currency, and the consequent enhancement of the value of silver, has unquestionably had much to do with the recent advance in the price of

cereals. The same cause has advanced the price of wheat in Russia and India, and in the same degree reduced their power of competition. English gold was formerly exchanged for cheap silver and wheat purchased with the cheaper metal was sold in Great Britain for gold. Much of this advantage is lost by the appreciation of silver in those countries. It is reasonable, therefore, to expect much higher prices for wheat than have been received in recent years.

Mr. RUSK'S reasoning is correct. Shall we by changing the ratio fix the price of wheat and cotton at the present low price? If it is possible to do so it is no more than fair that we restore silver to its former place, and thus give back to the farmer some of his lost prosperity. Can silver be maintained on a parity with gold at the present ratio? It has been shown that if we should fail and our effort should result in a single silver standard it would be better for us than the adoption of the gold standard—that is, that the worst that could come from the attempt would be far better than the best that our opponents could offer us.

PRESENT RATIO BEST.

It has been shown that dangers and disadvantages attend a change of ratio. It may now be added that no change in the ratio can be made with fairness or intelligence without first putting gold and silver upon a perfect equality in order to tell what the natural ratio is. If a new ratio is necessary, who can tell just what that ratio ought to be? Who knows to what extent the divergence between gold and silver is due to natural laws and to what extent it is due to artificial laws? We know that the mere act of India in suspending free coinage, although she continues to buy and coin on government account, reduced the price of silver more than 10 cents per ounce. Can anyone doubt that the restoration of free coinage in that country would increase the bullion price of silver? Who doubts that the free coinage of silver by the United States would increase its bullion price?

The only question is how much. It is only a guess, for no one can state with mathematical precision what the rise would be. The full use of silver, too, would stop the increased demand for gold, and thus prevent any further rise in its price. It is because no one can speak with certainty that I insist that no change in the ratio can be intelligently made until both metals are offered equal privileges at the mint. When we have the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the present ratio, then, and then only, can we tell whether any of the apparent fall in the bullion price of silver is due to circumstances over which we have no control, and if so, how much? If this experiment should demonstrate the necessity for a change of ratio it can be easily made, and should be made in such a way as to cause the least injury to society. But we can, in my judgment, maintain the parity at the present ratio. I state this without hesitation, notwithstanding the fact that our opponents do not disguise the contempt which they feel for one who can believe this possible. If the past teaches anything it teaches the possibility of this country maintaining the parity alone. The royal commission of England stated in its report that France did maintain the parity at 15½ to 1, although she has not half our population or enterprise. During the years when her mint laws controlled the price of gold and silver bullion the changes in the relative production of gold and silver were greater than they have been since. At one time before 1873 the value of the silver product was related to the value of the gold product as 3 to 1, while at another time the relation was reversed, and the production of gold to silver was as 3 to 1.

No such changes have occurred since; and the present value of the silver product is only 1½ to 1 of gold. Much of the prejudice against silver is due to the fact that it has been falling as compared to gold. Let it begin to rise and it will become more acceptable as a money metal. Goschen at the Paris Conference very aptly stated the condition when he said:

> At present there is a vicious circle. States are afraid of employing silver on account of the depreciation, and the depreciation continues because States refuse to employ it.

Let that "vicious circle" be broken and silver will resume its rightful place. We believe, in other words, that the opening of our mints to the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at 16 to 1 would immediately result in restoring silver to the coinage value of $1.29 per ounce, not only here, but everywhere. That there could be no difference between the dollar coined and the same weight of silver uncoined, when one could be exchanged for the other, needs no argument.

We do not believe that the gold dollar would go to a premium, because it could not find a better coinage ratio elsewhere, and because it could be put to no purpose for which a silver dollar would not be as good. If our ratio were 1 to 14 our gold would, of course, be exchanged for silver; but with our ratio of 16 to 1 gold is worth more here than abroad, and foreign silver would not come here, because it is circulating at home at a better ratio than we offer.

NO DANGER FROM FOREIGN COIN.

We need not concern ourselves, therefore, about the coin silver. All that we have to take care of is the annual product from the mines, about 40 per cent of which is produced in this country. Under the Sherman law we furnish a market for about one-third of the world's annual product. I believe about one-sixth is used in the arts, which would leave about one-half for all the rest of the world. India has suspended free coinage temporarily, in anticipation of the repeal of the Sherman law. The Herschell report expressly states that the action was necessary, because no agreement with the United States could be secured. The language is as follows:

> In a dispatch of the 31st of June, 1892, the government of India expressed the deliberate opinion that, if it became clear that the Brussels conference was unlikely to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, and if a direct agreement between India and the United States were found to be unattainable, the government of India should at once close their mints to the free coinage of silver and make arrangements for the introduction of a gold standard.

There is no doubt of the restoration of free coinage in India if this Government takes the lead, and with India taking the usual amount, but one-sixth of the annual supply is left for the other silver-using countries. There can be no flood of silver, nor will prices rise to any considerable extent—except the price of silver itself and a few of the staple products of agriculture which have fallen with silver because of India's competition. General prices can not rise unless the total number of dollars increases more rapidly than the need for dollars, which has been shown to be impossible. The danger is, that taking all the gold and all the silver, we will not have enough money, and that there will still be some appreciation in the standard of value.

To recapitulate, then, there is not enough of either metal to form the basis for the world's metallic money; both metals must therefore be used as full legal tender primary money. There is not enough of both metals to more than keep pace with the increased demand for money; silver can not be retained in circulation as a part of the world's money if the United States abandons it. This nation must, therefore, either retain the present law or make some further provision for silver. The only rational plan is to use both gold and silver at some ratio with equal privileges at the Mint. No change in the ratio can be made intelligently until both metals are put on an equality at the present ratio. The present ratio should be adopted if the parity can be maintained; and, lastly, it can be.

THE SHERMAN LAW.

If these conclusions are correct what must be our action on the bill to unconditionally repeal the Sherman law? The Sherman law has a serious defect; it treats silver as a commodity rather than as a money, and thus discriminates between silver and gold. The Sherman law was passed in 1890 as a substitute for what was known as the Bland law. It will be remembered that the Bland law was forced upon the silver men as a compromise, and that the opponents of silver sought its repeal from the day it was passed. It will also be remembered that the Sherman law was in like manner forced upon the silver men as a compromise, and that the opponents of silver have sought its repeal ever since it became a law. The law provides for the compulsory purchase of 54,000,000 ounces of silver per year, and for the issue of Treasury notes thereon at the gold value of the bullion.

These notes are a legal tender and are redeemable in gold or silver at the option of the Government. There is also a clause in the law which states that it is the policy of this Government to maintain the parity between the metals. The Administration, it seems, has decided that the parity can only be maintained by violating a part of the law and giving the option to the holder instead of to the Government. Without discussing the administration of the law let us consider the charges made against it.

FALSE ALARM.

The main objection which we heard last spring was that the Treasury notes were used to draw gold out of the Treasury. If that objection were a material one, the bill might easily be amended so as to make the Treasury notes hereafter issued redeemable only in silver, like the silver certificates issued under the Bland law. But the objection is scarcely important enough for consideration. While the Treasury notes have been used to draw out gold, they need not have been used for that purpose, for we have $346,000,000 worth of greenbacks with which gold can be drawn, so long as the Government gives the option to the holder. If all of the Treasury notes were destroyed the greenbacks are sufficient to draw out the $100,000,000 reserve three times over, and then they can be reissued and used again. To complain of the Treasury notes while the greenbacks remain is like finding fault because the gate is open when the whole fence is down, and reminds me of the man who made a box for his feline family, and cut a big hole for the cat to go in at and a little

hole for the kittens to go in at, forgetting that the large hole would do for cats of all sizes.

Just at this time the law is being made the scapegoat upon which all our financial ills are loaded, and its immediate and unconditional repeal is demanded as the sole means by which prosperity can be restored to a troubled people.

The main accusation against it now is that it destroys confidence, and that foreign money will not come here, because the holder is afraid that we will go to a silver standard. The exportation of gold has been pointed to as conclusive evidence that frightened English bondholders were throwing American securities upon the market and selling them to our people in exchange for gold. But now gold is coming back faster than it went away, and still we have the Sherman law unrepealed. Since that theory will not explain both the export and import of gold, let us accept a theory which will. The balance of trade has been largely against us during the last year, and gold went abroad to pay it, but now our exportation of breadstuffs has increased and the gold is returning. Its going was aggravated by the fact that Austria-Hungary was gathering in gold for resumption and was compelled to take a part from us. Instead of using that export of gold as a reason for going to a gold basis, it ought to make us realize the danger of depending solely upon a metal which some other nation may deprive us of at a critical moment.

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. Will the gentleman permit me to interrupt him?

Mr. BRYAN. Certainly.

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. I am in complete harmony with what my friend is saying now. I ask him if he will allow me to request him not to omit to state that in the twelve months ending June 30 last this same balance of trade that was against us not only took the gold of the United States, but nearly $17,000,000 of silver as well.

Mr. BRYAN. I think the statement made by the gentleman is correct.

The Sherman law fails utterly to account for present stringency. Let me suggest a more reasonable cause for the trouble. Last spring an attempt was made to secure the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law. We had no panic then, but the same forces which have always opposed any legislation favorable to silver demanded that the purchase of bullion should stop. Some who believe that 15 per cent reserve makes a bank safe became frightened lest a 25 or 30 per cent reserve might not be sufficient to make the Government safe, and wanted an issue of gold bonds. The great argument used in favor of both these propositions was that money was being drawn from the Treasury and sent to Europe; that confidence was being destroyed and that a panic would follow. They emphasized and magnified the evils which would follow the departure of gold; they worked themselves and their associates into a condition of fright which did cause financial stringency. Like the man who innocently gives the alarm of fire in a crowded hall, they excited a panic which soon got beyond control.

THE REAL TROUBLE.

The trouble now is that depositors have withdrawn their deposits from the banks for fear of loss, and the banks are compelled to draw in their loans to protect their reserves, and thus men who do business upon borrowed capital are crippled. The people have not lost faith in the Government or in the Government's money. They do not refuse silver or silver certificates. They are glad enough to get any kind of money. We were told last spring that gold was going to a premium, but recently in New York City men found a profitable business in the selling of silver certificates of small denominations at 2 per cent premium, and on the 5th of this month there appeared in the New York Herald and the New York Times this advertisement:

WANTED—SILVER DOLLARS.—We desire to purchase at a premium of ½ per cent, or $7.50 per thousand, standard silver dollars, in sums of $1,000 or more, in return for our certified checks payable through the clearing-house.

ZIMMERMAN & FORSHAY, *Bankers, 11 Wall street.*

About the same time the New York police force was paid in $20 gold pieces because of the scarcity of other kinds of money. How many of the failing banks have obeyed the law in regard to reserve? How many have crippled themselves by loaning too much to their officers and directors? The situation can be stated in a few words: money can not be secured to carry on business because the banks have no money to loan; banks have no money to loan because the depositors have withdrawn their money; depositors have withdrawn their money because they fear the solvency of the banks; enterprises are stagnant because money is not in circulation.

FAMINE WILL NOT CURE HUNGER.

Will a repeal of the Sherman law cure these evils? Can you cure hunger by a famine? I know that there are some who tell us that we have plenty of money. If I may be pardoned for a personal allusion, their attitude reminds me of a remark made by my father-in-law just after he entrusted his daughter to my care. "William," said he, laying his hand affectionately on my head, "While I have, we shall not *both* want." Others say, "What is the use of having more money? We can not get it unless we have something to sell." That is true; but the price of what we sell depends largely upon the amount of money in circulation. How can we pay our debts without selling something, and how can we sell anything without there is money in circulation to buy with? We need money. The Sherman law supplies a certain amount. Will the stringency be relieved by suspending that issue? If the advocates of repeal would take for their battle cry, "Stop issuing money" instead of "Stop buying silver," would not their purpose be more plain? But they say the repeal of the law will encourage foreign capital to come here by giving assurance that it will be repaid on a gold basis. Can we afford to buy confidence at that price? Can we afford to abandon the constitutional right to pay in either gold or silver in order to borrow foreign gold with the certainty of having to pay it back in appreciated dollars? To my mind, Mr. Speaker, the remedy proposed seems not only dangerous and absurd, but entirely inadequate. Why try to borrow foreign capital in order to induce the people in this country to redeposit their savings in the banks?

A SUGGESTION.

Why do not these financiers apply the remedy to the diseased part? If the gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX], to whom I listened with pleasure, and who said, "I have come into this Hall as a banker, I am here as the president of a national bank," desires to restore confidence, let him propose for the consideration of the members a bill to raise, by a small tax upon deposits, a sum sufficient to secure depositors against possible loss; or a bill to compel stockholders to put up security for their double liability; or to prevent stockholders or officers from wrecking a bank to carry on their private business; or to limit the liabilities which a bank can assume upon a given amount of capital, so that there will be more margin to protect its creditors; or a bill to make more severe the punishment for embezzlement, so that a man can not rob a bank of a half million and escape with five years, and can not be boarded at a hotel by a marshal, while the small thief suffers in a dungeon. [Applause.] Let him propose some real relief and this House will be glad to coöperate with him.

Or if there is immediate relief necessary in the increased issue of paper money, let our financiers press the suggestion made by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. JOHNSON], viz, that the holders of Government bonds be allowed to deposit them and draw the face in Treasury notes by remitting the interest and with the power of redeeming the bonds at any time. [Applause.] This will give immediate relief and will save the Government interest on the bonds while the money is out. But no, the only remedy proposed by these financiers at this time, when business is at a standstill and when unemployed men are suffering, is a remedy which will enable them to both control the currency and reap pecuniary profit through its issue.

MORE MONEY NEEDED.

One of the benefits of the Sherman law, so far as the currency is concerned, is that it compels the issue of a large amount of money annually, and but for this issue the present financial panic would, in my judgment, be far more severe than it is. That we need an annual increase in the currency is urged by Mr. SHERMAN himself in a speech advocating the passage of the Sherman law. On the 5th day of June, 1890, he said in the Senate:

Under the law of February, 1878, the purchase of $2,000,000 worth of silver bullion a month has by coinage produced annually an average of nearly $3,000,000 per month for a period of twelve years, but this amount, in view of the retirement of the bank notes, will not increase our currency in proportion to our increasing population. If our present currency is estimated at $1,400,000,000, and our population is increasing at the ratio of 3 per cent per annum, it would require $42,000,000 increased circulation each year to keep pace with the increase of population; but as the increase of population is accompanied by a still greater ratio of increase of wealth and business, it was thought that an immediate increase of circulation might be obtained by larger purchases of silver bullion to an amount sufficient to make good the requirement of bank notes and keep pace with the growth of population. Assuming that $54,000,000 a year of additional currency is needed upon this basis, that amount is provided for in this bill by the issue of Treasury notes in exchange for bullion at the market price.

This amount, by the fall in the price of bullion silver, has been largely reduced. Shall we wipe it out entirely? He insisted that the Sherman law gave to the people more money than the Bland law, and upon that ground its passage was defended before the people. Could it have been passed had it given less than the Bland law? Who would have dared to defend it if it had provided for no money at all?

What provision shall be made for the future? Upon that question our opponents are silent. The bill which they have proposed leaves us with no increased currency provided for. Some

of the advocates of a gold standard, in the defense of their theory, find it necessary to dispute every well-established principle of finance.

We are told that as civilization increases credit takes the place of money and that the volume of real money can be diminished without danger. That recalls the experience of the man who conceived the idea that a fish could be made to live without water. As the story goes, he put a herring, fresh from the sea, in a jar of salt water. By removing a little every morning and adding rainwater he gradually accustomed it to fresh water. Then by gradually removing the fresh water he accustomed it to air, and finally kept it in a cage like a bird. One day, in his absence, his servant placed a cup of water in the cage in order that the fish might moisten its food; but, alas! when the master came home he found that the fish had thoughtlessly put its head into the water and drowned!

From the arguments of some of our opponents we might be led to the conclusion that the time would come when money would not only be unnecessary but really dangerous.

REAL OR CREDIT MONEY?

The question, Mr. Speaker, is whether we shall increase our supply of primary money, as we do when we increase our gold and silver, or whether we shall increase our promises to pay real money, as we do when we increase national bank notes.

Mr. BLAND. Will the gentleman permit a suggestion?

Mr. BRYAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. BLAND. The Treasury notes issued under the law for the purchase of the silver bullion are legal tender for all debts, public and private, and not like bank notes, mere credit money.

Mr. BRYAN. I understand that. I say they are primary money; although if it were construed to mean that they were merely a promise to pay gold, then they would be simply credit money to that extent.

Mr. BLAND. The distinction I wish to draw is this, that those Treasury notes issued in purchase of silver bullion are legal tender, while a bank note is not.

Mr. BRYAN. And the distinction is a very just one.

The larger the superstructure of credit, as related to the basis of metal, the more unsubstantial our system. If we present a bank note for payment we receive a greenback; if we present a greenback for payment, the Treasurer has a right to pay in silver dollars, and now our opponents want it understood that a silver dollar is only a promise to pay a gold dollar. Is that sound money?

No, Mr. Speaker; if metallic money is sound money, then we who insist upon a base broad enough to support a currency redeemable in coin on demand are the real friends of sound money, and those are "dangerous fiatists" who would make the metallic base so narrow as to compel the Government to abandon it for the preservation of its people. If all the currency is built upon the small basis of gold those who hold the gold will be the masters of the situation. [Applause.] We have a right to demand that the future financial policy shall be a part of the repealing act, so that we may choose between it and what we have and reject it if it is less favorable than the present law. And I may add, in the language adopted by the Bimetallic League a few days ago—

> The refusal of the opponents of bimetallism to propose any substitute for the present law, or to elaborate any plan for the future, indicates either an ignorance of our financial needs or an unwillingness to take the public into their confidence.

THE GREAT OBJECTION.

But, sir, more serious than any other objection which can be made to the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law is the incontrovertible fact that a suspension of silver would tend to lower the price of silver bullion and thus make the restoration of bimetallism more difficult. That this will be the effect is proven not only by reason but by the utterances of Mr. Herschell's committee in discussing the finances of India. That report says:

> In December last a bill was introduced in the Senate to repeal the Sherman act, and another to suspend purchases under it. Whether any such measures will pass into law it is impossible to foretell, but it must be regarded as possible; and although, in the light of past experience, predictions on such a subject must be made with caution, it is certainly probable that the repeal of the Sherman act would be followed by a heavy fall in the price of silver.

The first question for us to decide then is, are we in favor of bimetallism or a universal gold standard? If we are in favor of bimetallism, the next question is, will a fall in the bullion price of silver as measured by gold help or hinder bimetallism? We are told by those who want a gold standard that it will help bimetallism; but the query is, if it would, "why do they favor it?" It is sufficient to arouse suspicion when every advocate of gold monometallism favors unconditional repeal, and the more emphatic his advocacy of gold the more earnest his desire for repeal. Is any subsequent legislation in behalf of silver intended? If so, why not propose it now? What money loaner, loaning upon a mortgage, would be willing to let the money go upon a promise that the mortgage should be delivered next week? Or what business man would cancel an obligation to-day on the promise of having the money paid to-morrow? Shall we be more careless in protecting the sacred interests of our constituencies than a business man is in transacting his business?

What excuse can we give to our people for releasing what we have with the expectation of getting something in the future when the advocates of repeal boldly demand, upon this floor, the adoption of a universal gold standard, and predict that its coming is as certain as the rising of to-morrow's sun. Read the utterances of these leaders in the crusade against silver. Read the famous article of the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN]. Read the article in the Forum of last February, from the pen of Hon. George Fred Williams, who, in the last Congress, spoke for those demanding unconditional repeal:

> In the efforts which have thus far been made towards a repeal, a single question has been repeated by the silver men so often as to give a plain indication to the situation. What, it is asked, do you propose to put in place of silver purchases? There never was a time more opportune to answer definitely this question with the single word, "nothing."

Let me join issue upon this question, and say that the time will never come in this country when that word "nothing" will be accepted as a satisfactory answer.

GARBLING.

They tell us that our platform demands repeal, but does it demand repeal only? Shall we take away the "cowardly makeshift" before we restore the real thing for which that "temporary expedient" was substituted? As well denounce one kind of food because it lacks nourishment and then refuse all food to the patient. They shall not be permitted to thus mutilate the platform. No such inexcusable attempt at garbling has been witnessed since the minister took from the sentence "Let him which is on the house *top not come down* to take anything out of his house" the words "topnotcome down," and inveighed against the feminine habit of wearing the hair in a knot on the top of the head. [Laughter.] They demand of us unconditional repeal. They demand that we give up all that we have in the way of silver legislation before we know what we are to receive. Shall we surrender on these terms?

ARE WE CARTHAGENIANS?

Rollin tells us that the third Punic war was declared by the Romans and that a messenger was sent to Carthage to announce the declaration after the army had started on its way. The Carthagenians at once sent representatives to treat for peace. The Romans first demanded the delivery of three hundred hostages before they would enter into negotiations. When three hundred sons of the nobles had been given into their hands they demanded the surrender of all the arms and implements of war before announcing the terms of the treaty. The conditions were sorrowfully but promptly complied with, and the people who boasted of a Hannibal and a Hamilcar gave up to their ancient enemies every weapon of offense and defense. Then the Roman consul, rising up before the humiliated representatives of Carthage, said:

> I can not but commend you for the readiness with which you have obeyed every order. The decree of the Roman Senate is that Carthage shall be destroyed.

Sirs, what will be the answer of the people whom you represent, who are wedded to the "gold and silver coinage of the Constitution," if you vote for unconditional repeal and return to tell them that you were commended for the readiness with which you obeyed every order, but that Congress has decreed that one-half of the people's metallic money shall be destroyed? [Applause.]

They demand unconditional surrender, do they? Why, sirs, we are the ones to grant terms. Standing by the pledges of all the parties in this country, backed by the history of a hundred years, sustained by the most sacred interests of humanity itself, we demand an unconditional surrender of the principle of gold monometallism as the first condition of peace. [Applause.] You demand surrender! Aye, sirs, you may cry "Peace, peace," but there is no peace. Just so long as there are people here who would chain this country to a single gold standard, there is war—eternal war; and it might just as well be known now! [Loud applause on the Democratic side.] I have said that we stand by the pledges of all platforms. Let me quote them:

POPULISTS, 1892.

The Populist platform adopted by the national convention in 1892 contained these words:

> We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1.

As the members of that party, both in the Senate and in the House, stand ready to carry out the pledge there made, no appeal to them is necessary.

THE REPUBLICAN POSITION.

1888.

The Republican national platform adopted in 1888 contains this plank:

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

1892.

The same party in 1892 adopted a platform containing the following language:

The American people from tradition and interest favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, such restrictions to be determined by contemplation of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be equal at all times.

The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or gold, issued by the Government, shall be as good as any other. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure an international parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

Are the Republican members of this House ready to abandon the system which the American people favor "from tradition and interest"? Having won a Presidential election upon a platform which condemned "the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver," are they ready to join in that demonetization? Having advocated the Sherman law because it gave an increased use of silver, are they ready to repeal it and make no provisions for silver at all? Are they willing to go before the country confessing that they secured the present law by sharp practice, and only adopted it as an ingenious device for preventing free coinage, to be repealed as soon as the hour of danger was passed?

THE DEMOCRATIC POSITION.

1880.

The Democratic platform of 1880 contained these words:

Honest money, consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand.

It would seem that at that time silver was honest money, although the bullion value was considerably below the coinage value.

1884.

In 1884 the Democratic platform contained this plank:

We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

It would seem that at that time silver was considered honest money.

1888.

In 1888 the Democratic party did not express itself on the money question except by saying:

It renewed the pledge of its fidelity to Democratic faith, and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives in the convention of 1884.

Since the platform of 1884 commended silver as an honest money, we must assume that the reaffirming of that platform declared anew that silver was honest money as late as 1888, although at that time its bullion value had fallen still more.

1892.

The last utterance of a Democratic national convention upon this subject is contained in the platform adopted at Chicago in 1892. It is as follows:

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discrimination against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

Thus it will be seen that gold and silver have been indissolubly linked together in our platforms. Never in the history of the party has it taken a position in favor of a gold standard. On every vote taken in the House and Senate a majority of the party have been recorded not only in favor of bimetallism, but for the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

SHALL WE REPUDIATE OUR PLEDGES?

The last platform pledges us to the use of both metals as standard money and to the free coinage of both metals at a fixed ratio. Does anyone believe that Mr. Cleveland could have been elected President upon a platform declaring in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law? Can we go back to our people and tell them that, after denouncing for twenty years the crime of 1873, we have at last accepted it as a blessing? Shall bimetallism receive its deathblow in the house of its friends, and in the very hall where innumerable vows have been registered in its defense? What faith can be placed in platforms if their pledges can be violated with impunity? Is it right to rise above the power which created us? Is it patriotic to refuse that legislation in favor of gold and silver which a majority of the people have always demanded? Is it necessary to betray all parties in order to treat this subject in a "nonpartisan" way?

The President has recommended unconditional repeal. It is not sufficient to say that he is honest—so were the mothers who, with misguided zeal, threw their children into the Ganges. The question is not "Is he honest?" but, "Is he right?" He won the confidence of the toilers of this country because he taught that "public office is a public trust," and because he convinced them of his courage and his sincerity. But are they willing to say, in the language of Job, "Though He slay me, yet will I trust Him?" Whence comes this irresistible demand for unconditional repeal? Are not the representatives here as near to the people and as apt to know their wishes? Whence comes the demand? Not from the workshop and the farm, not from the workingmen of this country, who create its wealth in time of peace and protect its flag in time of war, but from the middlemen, from what are termed the "business interests," and largely from that class which can force Congress to let it issue money at a pecuniary profit to itself if silver is abandoned. The President has been deceived. He can no more judge the wishes of the great mass of our people by the expressions of these men than he can measure the ocean's silent depths by the foam upon its waves.

THE MASSES OPPOSE UNCONDITIONAL REPEAL.

Mr. Powderly, who spoke at Chicago a few days ago in favor of the free coinage of silver at the present ratio and against the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law, voiced the sentiment of more laboring men than have ever addressed the President or this House in favor of repeal. Go among the agricultural classes; go among the poor, whose little is as precious to them as the rich man's fortune is to him, and whose families are as dear, and you will not find the haste to destroy the issue of money or the unfriendliness to silver which is manifested in money centers.

This question can not be settled by typewritten recommendations and suggestions made by boards of trade and sent broadcast over the United States. It can only be settled by the great mass of the voters of this country who stand like the Rock of Gibraltar for the use of both gold and silver. [Applause.]

There are thousands, yes, tens of thousands, aye, even millions, who have not yet "bowed the knee to Baal." Let the President take courage. Muehlbach relates an incident in the life of the great military hero of France. At Marengo the Man of Destiny, sad and disheartened, thought the battle lost. He called to a drummer boy and ordered him to beat a retreat. The lad replied:

Sire, I do not know how. Dessaix has never taught me retreat, but I can beat a charge. Oh, I can beat a charge that would make the dead fall into line! I beat that charge at the Bridge of Lodi; I beat it at Mount Tabor; I beat it at the Pyramids; Oh, may I beat it here?

The charge was ordered, the battle won, and Marengo was added to the victories of Napoleon. Oh, let our gallant leader draw inspiration from the street gamin of Paris. In the face of an enemy proud and confident the President has wavered. Engaged in the battle royal between the "money power and the common people" he has ordered a retreat. Let him not be dismayed.

He has won greater victories than Napoleon, for he is a warrior who has conquered without a sword. He restored fidelity in the public service; he converted Democratic hope into realization; he took up the banner of tariff reform and carried it to triumph. Let him continue that greater fight for "the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution," to which three national platforms have pledged him. Let his clarion voice call the party hosts to arms; let him but speak the language of the Senator from Texas, in reply to those who would destroy the use of silver:

In this hour fraught with peril to the whole country, I appeal to the unpurchased representatives of the American people to meet this bold and insolent demand like men. Let us stand in the breach and call the battle on and never leave the field until the people's money shall be restored to the mints on equal terms with gold, as it was years ago.

Let this command be given, and the air will resound with the tramp of men scarred in a score of battles for the people's rights. Let this command be given and this Marengo will be our glory and not our shame. [Applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

Well has it been said by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] that we have come to the parting of the ways. To-day the Democratic party stands between two great forces, each inviting its support. On the one side stand the corporate interests of the nation, its moneyed institutions, its aggregations of wealth and capital, imperious, arrogant, compassionless. They demand spe-

cial legislation, favors, privileges, and immunities. They can subscribe magnificently to campaign funds; they can strike down opposition with their all-pervading influence, and, to those who fawn and flatter, bring ease and plenty. They demand that the Democratic party shall become their agent to execute their merciless decrees.

On the other side stands that unnumbered throng which gave a name to the Democratic party and for which it has assumed to speak. Work-worn and dust-begrimed, they make their sad appeal. They *hear* of *average* wealth increased on every side and *feel* the *inequality* of its distribution. They see an overproduction of everything desired because of the underproduction of the ability to buy. They can not pay for loyalty except with their suffrages, and can only punish betrayal with their condemnation. Although the ones who most deserve the fostering care of Government, their cries for help too often beat in vain against the outer wall, while others less deserving find ready access to legislative halls.

This army, vast and daily vaster growing, begs the party to be its champion in the present conflict. It can not press its claims 'mid sounds of revelry. Its phalanxes do not form in grand parade, nor has it gaudy banners floating on the breeze. Its battle hymn is "Home, Sweet Home," its war cry—"Equality before the law." To the Democratic party, standing between these two irreconcilable forces, uncertain to which side to turn and conscious that upon its choice its fate depends, come the words of Israel's second lawgiver: "Choose you this day whom ye will serve." What will the answer be? Let me invoke the memory of him whose dust made sacred the soil of Monticello when he joined

> The dead but sceptered sovereigns who still rule
> Our spirits from their urns.

He was called a demagogue and his followers a mob, but the immortal Jefferson dared to follow the best promptings of his heart. He placed man above matter, humanity above property, and, spurning the bribes of wealth and power, pleaded the cause of the common people. It was this devotion to their interests which made his party invincible while he lived and will make his name revered while history endures. And what message comes to us from the Hermitage? When a crisis like the present arose and the national bank of his day sought to control the politics of the nation, God raised up an Andrew Jackson, who had the courage to grapple with that great enemy, and by overthrowing it, he made himself the idol of the people and reinstated the Democratic party in public confidence. What will the decision be to-day? The Democratic party has won the greatest success in its history. Standing upon this victory-crowned summit, will it turn its face to the rising or the setting sun? Will it choose blessings or cursings—life or death—which? Which? [Prolonged applause on the floor and in the galleries, and cries of "Vote!" "Vote!"]

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Will not the gentleman from Iowa give way until I can ask a parliamentary inquiry of the Chair?

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. Certainly.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I desire, Mr. Speaker, to call the attention of the Chair to the terms of the order under which this debate is proceeding, and to ask the Chair to say at what time, pursuant to the order and under his construction of the order, the vote upon the first amendment, and the several amendments, and upon the main question, can be taken?

The SPEAKER. The attention of the Chair was called by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] this morning to the question just propounded. The Chair has made some examination of the order, and is of the opinion, from its terms, that the first vote on the first amendment to be proposed would be on Monday week, the 28th.

The order contemplates that general debate extend up to and including next Wednesday, and debate under what is known as the five-minute rule for the three remaining days of the next week. The order also provides for the meeting of the House at 11 o'clock, but is a little ambiguous as to whether that extends beyond next week or not; and if there be no objection the Chair will announce that the House will meet on that day—Monday week—at the usual hour of 12 o'clock, and the vote will be then taken according to the terms of the order.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I think that the most gratifying sound that will reach the people from this Hall will be the cries just heard of "Vote!" "Vote!" "Vote!"

Whatever may have been the purpose of the President in bringing us here, I think the people of this country expect action, and early action, if we are going to act at all. I would have been glad to have come to a vote on the pending questions at once, but could not. Many of us would have been glad to submit some other questions for a vote, but could not. Fourteen days have been set apart by the majority of this House for debate. Whether we on this side talk or not, these fourteen days will run before we can come to a vote. With that fact staring me in the face, I have felt that I would like to make a few observations touching the situation, and may properly do so.

The President has called us to meet in extraordinary session. The last time that the American Congress was called together in extraordinary session, excepting in 1877, was when the dark clouds of the civil war hung over the nation, and its life was in peril. That was a correct construction of the constitutional power vested in the President. The Chief Executive of this Republic, with its teeming millions, should not call us together in extraordinary session except for weighty reasons. In his message he has told us why we are called together—to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, so-called, and for such other relief as the wisdom of Congress may suggest—but without giving us any aid or a single suggestion as to what that relief should be, beyond the repeal referred to.

The President says that this country is in distress. I have heard no dissent from that opinion. The nation is in great distress. Never before since 1837 have the American people felt distress such as we are now experiencing. The financial disturbance of 1873 was like a business boom compared to the distress of this hour. Distress! This nation is convulsed and congested with distress. Laboring men are being stricken from the rolls by thousands. The farmer is looking over his grain fields and looking at the market prices and wondering where he will get money enough to pay his taxes and buy the necessaries of life. Banks are tumbling to the right and left of us. Their doors are closed against the manufacturing industries and all business institutions in our country. Exchange is a thing of the past. We are told by the Government that $177,000,000 within two months have been taken from the national banks of the country, and the Government can not estimate how much more from private, State, and savings banks. To-day, Mr. Speaker the doors are closing in the great manufacturing industries in this country. The spindles are stopping, more having suspended in New England than the entire number now running in the sunny South. We learn this morning that a great continental railroad has passed into the hands of a receiver. Great jobbing houses that used to send their army of brainy commercial men into all parts of the country to invite purchasers for their goods are laying them off, and nothing is being asked in the way of purchases. The country merchants are canceling the orders given earlier in the summer, and the nation stands still. The murmurs of the bread riot can almost be heard now.

It is in such an hour and under such a condition that we are called together. We all admit these conditions; and I tremble when I think that the fever has only just begun. I trust that this may be an error of judgment. What is the cause of all of this? We are asked to come here in a sense as physicians to treat the alarming condition of the country. We can not act wisely unless we act intelligently. I withhold my vote and voice with caution when I come to act, unless I know what is the trouble with my country.

The President in his message gives us to understand that it is the Sherman law. My eloquent young friend [Mr. BRYAN], who has just closed his beautiful peroration, that gifted leader of the Democracy and of the Populists of the nation, who has perhaps no superior in painting in words the conditions that attract his attention, tells us that these troubles do not come from the Sherman law. He has pointed out, as did the eloquent gentleman from New York on Saturday last, the honored Representative from Brooklyn [Mr. HENDRIX], and the same fact was referred to by that sturdy old commoner from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] the day before yesterday, that a long time had elapsed—over two years—after the adoption of the Sherman law before the fever or the paralysis in our country began.

The gentleman from New York pointed out that under the Sherman law we are now adding $300,000 less currency per month ($3,600,000 per annum) than under the act of 1878, known as the Bland-Allison act. This trouble, therefore, is not the result of an undue inflation of the currency. There has been no great failure of crops; no black-eyed monster of disease has swept our continent to paralyze our people. Everything indicated power, vigor, energy in the American people when this blow from some source began to fall.

What is the cause of it, Mr. Speaker? Let us in this debate be honest with each other. I pity the representative of the people who goes back to his constituents having indulged in anything but an honest application of his mind to the situation that confronts us all. What is the cause of it, Mr. Speaker?

In answering the question, in my own way and from my own standpoint—and in the remarks that I shall make this afternoon I shall speak only for myself—I shall not stop to read the declarations of the last Democratic platform in respect to the tariff. Such extracts and references as I deem necessary I shall incor-

porate in my printed remarks, so that my position may be fully understood.

But you all know full well what it was—a broad, ponderous, and yet cutting attack upon the system of protection in America. The President, in the message calling us to meet here this month, says:

It was my purpose to summon Congress in special session early in the coming September—

No clouds of war hanging over us, a court of nations settling the seal controversy, peace on every hand; what was this extra session to be called for in September?—

that we might enter promptly upon the work of tariff reform, which the true interests of the country clearly demanded, which so large a majority of the people, as shown by their suffrages, desire and expect.

Then we were to have had an extra session in September without reference to the Sherman law or to the congested and tottering condition of our business. The President who put that paragraph into that message at that hour forgot his oath of office taken on yonder steps of this Capitol. My God! were there none but clerks in his Cabinet? Was there no patriot there to say, "Mr. President, strike out that attack upon our people at this hour"?

Your platform, gentlemen, did not disturb the country, because we are accustomed and the country is accustomed to your platforms and they always put the several constructions upon them, just as eloquent gentlemen are doing in this debate with the silver plank in your last platform. You are as cunning as some theologians who can make the Bible support any creed. You can make the planks of your platform support any theory on this money question. But here the President, standing under the darkest clouds and behind the shield that he thinks convenient to use in fighting for his party, tells the people that as soon as this is over then will come the attack upon the American policy of protection.

Gentlemen may say that Mr. Cleveland was in power before—I have heard that suggestion made—and that all went well. That is true, but at that time, at the other end of the Capitol, there was still a bulwark that he could not down. [Applause on the Republican side.] But now, sir, the people see the House, the Senate, and the Executive Mansion controlled by men who have made an earnest, savage declaration against our American policy of protection. The mighty industrial engine is to be reversed. The hands of European workmen are to make the things to be consumed here, and American mills and American shops are to be closed while European ones are to supply our markets.

Mr. Speaker, the moment it was seen that the Senate, as well as the other branches of the Government, had gone into your hands the fever began to set in. That was the initial point of this hour of terror. Men who had planned increasing their industries stopped; men who had contemplated new manufacturing plants stopped; men who had invested large sums, to my knowledge, to buy ground on which to rear buildings, where industry would make music to the heavens and our people, went no farther.

I know one plucky little German in my own city who by dint of industry has built up a good, safe business. Last fall, before the election, he had made his plans to extend that business. He gave up his project as soon as it was known that the Democratic party had this country in control. When asked why, he said, "I think the safest thing for me now is to wait to see what they will do." He knew nothing of political economy—a hard-fisted, simple, broken-speeched German, who had worked his way to success, found a party suddenly in control that was striking with a mailed hand at the industries that he had seen growing in his new home.

That little true story contains the key to the situation in this country. Every man began to cut down and wait. Those who had money to loan said, "We will wait; we may strike a better thing," just as Europe is now striking a better thing. My gifted friend from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN] wants to know why $23,000,000 of gold has just crossed the ocean to this country. The Government had nothing to do with it. It is because the best kind of stock and bonds in this country have been pressed down to almost nothing, and the European gold can not resist the temptation of investing. The yellow eagle on that piece of coin has an eye for a good thing, and it comes from mountain or valley or across the sea, wherever it can make a big investment. And the golden eagles of Europe are coming to make purchases here that will in due time double their investment. The persons who had cash to loan held on. Every form of industry began to contract. This does not take place in an hour; but one man gives his ideas and fears to another; they spread and spread until the whole Republic is imbued with one great fear. And now we are in the midst of a panic such as none living probably ever saw before.

Mr. Speaker, certain plans are proposed for the relief of this condition. I believe that none of the pending measures would bring complete relief to this country. I admit that any legislation which will restore confidence among the people will do some temporary good. Now, I am not going to speak in a way to please either my hard-money friends or my soft-money friends. I am talking from my own simple standpoint; and I am no financier. I notice that the financiers of this country, as a rule (there are a few honorable exceptions), stand paralyzed and silent in the presence of this condition; and those who know nothing about it are pouring in propositions so thick and fast that I can not get time to read them. [Laughter.] Only the day before yesterday I received a communication from some gentleman in New York wanting to bet me $1,000 that I could not point out wherein his proposition did not solve the whole trouble. [Laughter.] Each of you gentlemen here, no doubt, received one of those circular letters. [Members nod assent.]

Now, what are the propositions before the House? Here they are:

THE PROPOSITIONS BEFORE THE HOUSE SUBMITTED AND FIXED UPON AUGUST 11, 1893.

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I desire to offer a bill for the present consideration of the House.

The bill was read, as follows:

"An act to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled 'An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes.'

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That so much of the act approved July 14, 1890, entitled 'An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes,' as directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month, at the market price thereof, not exceeding one dollar for 371.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchases Treasury notes of the United States, be, and the same is hereby, repealed; but this repeal shall not impair or in any manner affect the legal-tender quality of the standard silver dollars heretofore coined; and the faith and credit of the United States are hereby pledged to maintain the parity of the standard gold and silver coins of the United States at the present legal ratio, or such other ratio as may be established by law."

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I desire to present to the House an order embodying an agreement as to the mode in which proceedings shall be had in the consideration of the bill just offered, on which order I shall demand the previous question, with the statement——

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state the question. The gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON] offers a bill in the absence of any rules of the House, and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] offers a resolution providing for the method in which the House shall consider that bill. The Clerk will report the resolution of the gentleman from Missouri.

The resolution was read, as follows:

"*Ordered by the House*, That H. R. No. 1 shall be taken up for immediate consideration and considered for fourteen days. During such consideration night sessions may be held, for debate only, at the request of either side. The daily sessions to commence at 11 a. m. and continue until 5 p. m. Eleven days of the debate on the bill to be given to general debate under the rules of the last House regulating general debate, the time to be equally divided between the two sides as the Speaker may determine. The last three days of debate may be devoted to the consideration of the bill and the amendments herein provided for, under the usual five-minute rule of the House, as in Committee of the Whole House. General leave to print is hereby granted.

"Order of amendments: The vote shall be taken first on an amendment providing for the free coinage of silver at the present ratio. If that fail, then a separate vote to be had on a similar amendment proposing a ratio of 17 to 1; if that fails, on one proposing a ratio of 18 to 1; if that fails, on one proposing a ratio of 19 to 1; if that fails, on one proposing a ratio of 20 to 1. If the above amendments fail, it shall be in order to offer an amendment reviving the act of the 28th of February, 1878, restoring the standard silver dollar, commonly known as the Bland-Allison act; the vote then to be taken on the engrossment and third reading of the bill as amended, or on the bill itself if all amendments shall have been voted down, and on the final passage of the bill without other intervening motions."

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I demand the previous question.

Now, coming to these propositions, I shall give you my views in respect to them, stating what I am going to do and why. I have told my people at home to expect no relief unless one of two things should come to pass: First, a declaration in the message of the President to the effect that the revolutionary proposition in the last national Democratic platform should not be carried out. In that I have been disappointed. It is to be carried out. As some one suggested to me to-day, the President says, "Boys, come and help me dispose of this financial matter and then I will give you 'hell on the Wabash' upon the tariff, right afterward."

I told my people, secondly, that if the President gave no such assurance in his message, then this Congress must pass away without revolutionary tariff legislation before relief—full relief—could come to the country.

But men are, after all, animals, and only a short degree removed from the lower animals. It is wonderful how a great body of men can be converted into a flying flock of sheep. There are men here who know that one soldier breaking from the ranks and running has cost a nation a great battle. Under the influence of some little fright men will break and run by thousands in the face of danger, when under other circumstances they would fight like demons even unto death.

This country has cause for alarm. We do not all agree as to the cause. I may be unfortunately constituted, but I give the majority of mankind the credit of being just as honest in their

convictions as I am. The men who have been crossing swords on the other side of this House on this money question are honest about it. Those who differ from me as to the tariff being the cause of our trouble are honest about it. And, my countrymen, it may be that we have got to be tortured in the crucible of experience before some of these problems can be finally solved. But if there is anything now that the popular mind or any great portion of our people believe is working them injury and you can remove that, you may gain some temporary advantage.

Now, what are the propositions before us? I will state, briefly, that first we have free coinage in different forms; then, the restoration of the Bland-Allison act of 1878; and third, the Wilson bill for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act.

I shall not vote for any of the propositions for free coinage. On that I may be wrong; but from my standpoint my conviction is clear.

Like my friend from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN], and others who have spoken upon this question here, I do not want a contraction of the currency. I may be a child in my reasoning, although I will be supported by a good many able men. But I believe that free coinage will bring this country to a silver basis and eliminate from our circulation the $504,000,000 of gold now circulating amongst the people. If I am right in that, I will make no error in voting against it. I will be voting against contraction.

What is the difference between 16 to 1 and 20 to 1? What do you gain when the ratio at this hour is 28 to 1? I would rather if I were to take free coinage, take it at 15½ to 1 than 20 to 1, keeping myself somewhere in line with the other great nations that wrestle on the mighty field of industry in the world. The 20 to 1 ratio is but a bait to catch the unthinking ones. But to make it that ratio which is close enough so that it can not vary from it very much within a given time there might be some reason for the suggestion. But until you do that I see nothing to be gained, and that is not a wise solution.

The value of the silver dollar to-day is but 56 cents, the ratio is about 28 to 1. Look at the fluctuations in silver, as shown by this table, and answer me are you safe, or do you gain anything by adopting free coinage on any of the proposed ratios?

Highest, lowest, and average price of silver bullion, and value of a fine ounce, bullion value of a United States silver dollar, and commercial ratio of silver to gold by fiscal years, 1874 to 1893.

Fiscal years.	Highest.	Lowest.	Average London price per ounce standard, .925.	Equivalent value of fine ounce with exchange at par, $4.8665.	Equivalent value of fine ounce based on average price of exchange.	Bullion value of United States silver dollar at average price of silver, exchange at par.	Commercial ratio of silver to gold.
	Pence.	*Pence.*	*Pence.*				
1873-'74	59⅛	57⅛	58.312	$1.27826	$1.28247	$0.98865	16.17
1874-'75	58½	55⅛	56.875	1.25127	1.25022	.96777	16.52
1875-'76	57⅛	50	52.750	1.15184	1.15954	.89087	17.94
1876-'77	58⅛	50½	54.812	1.20154	1.20191	.92931	17.20
1877-'78	55⅛	52⅛	52.562	1.15222	1.15257	.89116	17.94
1878-'79	52⅜	48⅛	50.812	1.11386	1.11616	.86152	18.55
1879-'80	53⅛	51⅛	52.218	1.14436	1.14397	.88509	18.06
1880-'81	52⅛	51	51.937	1.13852	1.13508	.88057	18.15
1881-'82	52 1/16	50⅛	51.812	1.13623	1.13817	.87880	18.19
1882-'83	52 1/16	50	51.023	1.11826	1.11912	.86490	18.48
1883-'84	51⅛	50 5/16	50.791	1.11339	1.11522	.86115	18.56
1884-'85	50⅛	48⅛	49.843	1.09202	1.09226	.84507	18.92
1885-'86	49 1/16	42	47.038	1.03112	1.03295	.79750	20.04
1886-'87	47⅛	42	44.843	.98301	.98148	.76029	21.02
1887-'88	45 5/16	41⅛	43.675	.95741	.95617	.74008	21.59
1888-'89	44½	41 1/16	42.490	.93163	.93510	.72055	22.18
1889-'90	49	42	44.196	.96883	.96839	.74932	21.33
1890-'91	54⅛	43¾	47.714	1.04195	1.04780	.80588	19.83
1891-'92	46⅛	39	42.737	.93648	.93723	.72430	22.07
1892-'93	40 1/16	30⅛	38.375	.84123	.84263	.65063	24.57
July	34⅛	32½	33.060	.72471	.72037	.56052	28.52

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Bureau of the Mint, August 1, 1893.

As to the Bland-Allison act, that will not secure my vote, because if we are going to have a change I want it to be a radical one. I say to you this afternoon that my conviction is that the time is near at hand when there must be a radical revision of our whole financial system. The conditions will force it upon us, and let none of us have pets or hobbies. If in this debate I see good reason to change my mind I will be swift to do it. I am willing to let go any views of mine if I think they are injuring my people.

When it comes, Mr. Speaker, to the Wilson proposition to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act I shall vote for that; but I will vote for it not with any enthusiasm. I shall not take it down as an agreeable draught. It only skims along the edge of the question and does not enter deeply into it. It will doubtless help to stop the outflow of gold, and, above all things, it will, I believe, tend to restore in some degree confidence amongst the people. It may sometimes be wise to give the patient an opiate to stop the pain, with its terrible effects on the constitution, in order to give the physician time to cure the disease.

I am willing to have this little opiate administered. It may be a good thing to put the patient through that course in order to treat the disease in a comprehensive remedying manner. But that time, I fear, will not come until this nation feels that the great mountain of industry that has been reared in thirty years shall stand untouched, that no fragment of it shall be battered down; and that I fear, Mr. Speaker, can not be done until this nation apprehends its necessities and selects its servants here and elsewhere who will execute its honest mandates and guard its sacred interests.

These propositions, gentlemen, that are before us can not be touched by any amendment known to parliamentary law. Remark the closing sentence of this order:

> If the above amendments fail, it shall be in order to offer an amendment reviving the act of the 28th of February, 1878, restoring the standard silver dollar, commonly known as the Bland-Allison act; the vote then to be taken on the engrossment and third reading of the bill as amended, or on the bill itself if all amendments shall have been voted down, and on the final passage of the bill *without other intervening motions*.

With your 102 majority you have bound and gagged us to only vote on these propositions that I have named. [Applause on the Republican side.]

You say, "Make no partisan speech in this debate." What is partisanship? The contending forces of Democracy on this subject in the House, plus, I presume, their plus quantity, the Populist party, which always stands by them, directly or indirectly, have met together and formulated these propositions to be submitted to the House of Representatives. The Republican side were not thus addressed: "Gentlemen, here is a crisis in our country, one which demands that we all act together as one, forgetting everything but the duty in front of us, not waiting to discuss who is responsible for this law or that law, but taking the law on the statute books of our country as it is. Come in and see if we can not find some remedy." No such suggestions came to the Republican side, but in the star chamber of the combination they formulated these propositions, and we are left to vote for them as we think best. For my own part, sir, no vote of any Republican on this proposition will surprise me. Each man can vote according to his convictions and justify himself very easily before his people.

I have given you the plan that I intend to pursue. My people want me to vote for it, Republicans and Democrats alike. It may act as an opiate. It will not cure the disease. When this Congress with its long and short session has come and gone, then and not until then will this country return to its old activities. That is my prediction. If you have the patriotism and courage, gentlemen, to forget your tariff plank in the national platform; if you have the courage to tell Mr. Cleveland on his second proposition what so many of you told him on the first one, that you will do as you think best, and that you think it best to let the tariff alone, you can set the wheels going again, open the bank safes and vaults, and make the business of the country once more sing its glad songs, and in no other way can you do it. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Some men say, as did my friend from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN], "What! are you going to let England dictate the money policy of this country?" And I was delighted to see with what eloquence and power and vigor they denounce English tyranny over this country. Why do not these gentlemen stop when they invite England to come in here and take the bread out of the mouths of the laboring millions of their own countrymen. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Even my eloquent friend from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN], while spreading flowers of oratory like a heavenly carpet before us, stopped long enough to slap in the face the manufacturing interests of his own country, giving it as a peroration to Brother Folsom, who belongs to the President's family, and who, in his recent speech in Sheffield said: "You are to be congratulated because, for the first time in thirty years, the Democratic party holds complete control of this country," and then he read the Democratic tariff plank and congratulated them because they were to enjoy the markets of the United States. [Derisive laughter on the Republican side.] Uncle Benny and Uncle Bryan and Uncle Grover are all in the same bed. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The following is the full and complete text of the speech of the United States consul to Sheffield, Mr. Benjamin Folsom, a cousin of the Democratic President, Grover Cleveland, as delivered in the Cutler's Hall, Sheffield, England, on the 4th of July,

1893, and reported in the Sheffield and Rotherham Independent of Wednesday, July 5, 1893:

The chairman, Mr. Benjamin Folsom, United States consul to Sheffield, who was loudly cheered, said: "I ask you to fill your glasses for the first toast I have to give you. I ask you to drink to the Queen and the President [applause]—she, the best beloved of Queens; he, the most honest and upright of Presidents." [Applause.]

The toast was enthusiastically honored.

The chairman, again rising, said: "Mr. Mayor, Mr. Master Cutler, and friends, it is customary in my country on this day to inflict an oration upon as many innocent and unoffending people as the orator can get within the sound of his voice. [Laughter.] It is not my intention to bore you with an oration to-day, but I wish to tell you why you are here. ["Hear!" "Hear!"] and laughter.] It is because you are big-hearted, loyal, thorough Englishmen. It is because you love and admire courage and valor whenever and wherever they may be shown. ["Hear!" "Hear!"]

On the 4th day of July, 1776, there was signed by the American representatives gathered together in Congress one of the most remarkable documents that has ever had existence. For more than two years these loyal, faithful British subjects had been beseeching their king to grant them such privileges as to-day would not have to be asked for. ["Hear!" "Hear!"] At length it became necessary that these English subjects should assume the control and responsibility of their own affairs. They signed the Declaration of Independence upon the 4th of July, 1776, and it was followed by seven years of weary, wasting war.

That war would scarcely be considered to-day as more than a skirmish or guerilla fighting, for at that time the population of the thirteen colonies amounted to only a few over three million souls. The fighting force that was placed in the field to contend against the mother country was not so great as the men who were killed on the field of battle in the struggle which took place in the years that followed. To-day we can all look back upon the conflict, and we can all see that it terminated for the best interests of the world. [Applause.] The spirit of enterprise which was given to the United States by this new birth would not have been there had they been separate and dependent colonies.

I need not linger upon the subject. There are many things I should like to say. There are two or three practical things I can say to you which are of more importance than any résumé of our history. England's greatest customer has been the United States; and, in spite of tariffs that have been raised against foreign countries, there is, and must continue to be, a great and gigantic trade flowing from England to America. ["Hear!" "Hear!"] You have passed the worst period; you have crossed the highest barrier that can be raised between the United States and England in the way of trade obstruction. [Applause.]

I will tell you why this is. For the first time since the year 1860 the Democratic party, which has been the party of free trade, is for the first time in power, not only in the executive, but in both its legislative branches. [Applause.] During the former term of Mr. Cleveland he was blocked by the Senate standing between him and the House of Representatives, which was Democratic, and therefore no bill could be passed which was not in the shape of a compromise. When the struggle came on for the Presidential election last year the Democratic party, for the first time in its history, took fair and square ground, and made a straight out-and-out issue between protection and tariff for revenue only. ["Hear!" "Hear!"] If you will pardon me, I will read to you the two slight planks in the Democratic platform upon which the President of the United States was elected, and upon which the Congress which is now in power, and which is to be convened upon the 7th of next month, was elected; and you will see that so soon as the financial question is disposed of, which is merely a preliminary, and must be disposed of before the regular meeting of Congress, the next great question is the tariff in which you are interested, and which the President and both Houses of Congress are pledged to reduce. [Applause.]

The Democratic platform set forth upon which Mr. Cleveland was elected, says: "We denounce Republican protection as a fraud; a robber of the great majority of the American people for a few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purposes of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the Government when honestly and economically administered. We denounce the McKinley tariff law, enacted by the Fifty-first Congress, as the culminating atrocity of class legislation; and we indorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw materials and the cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption; and we promise its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic party."

Since the McKinley tariff went into operation there have been ten reductions of the wages of laboring men to one increase. We deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since the tariff went into operation, and we point to the dullness and distress, the wage reductions and strikes in the iron trade, as the best possible evidence that no such prosperity has resulted from the McKinley tariff. I am not saying one word as to whether protection or free trade, or a tariff for revenue only is the best thing for the United States or not. I am simply giving you the facts, and you can judge for yourselves. [Applause.] In closing my career in Sheffield as consul of the United States, it affords me satisfaction to think that before another twelve months has rolled by Sheffield will not be subjected to the onerous and oppressive tariff duties that have restricted her trade. [Applause.] I further want to thank you each one individually for coming here to-day, for showing your broad-mindedness, for showing your liberality, for showing your friendship, not only to me, but to my country. [Applause.]

I agree with my friend from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN] when he says that it is not a question of the miner. It is a question of what money is best for this country. But I sympathize with him when he says that if in the solution of the question the men in the mountains are to get relief, he will be glad. In that I am with him. I would not for one moment have my voice reach any ear or any heart, to make any man think I have any unkindly feeling toward the men in the mines.

These superb men in the mountains are brothers of all the men in the valleys. I have had letters and appeals from men near and dear to me, now living in the mountains, saying that starvation confronts the miners there. These words fill me with sorrow, and these men appeal to me to know how I would like to have the market taken away from the pork-raiser or the corn-raiser or the raisers of the other products of my State. They do not seem to comprehend the fact, which my friend from Nebraska does comprehend, that an additional and a different law touches the material that enters into the composition of money than the law which governs the products that are simply raised for consumption between man and man. This monetary question must be lifted above the mere question of a commodity, and this I urge upon the attention of my friends who appeal to me in that behalf.

Several times during this debate I have noticed that a portion of the Democratic party—indeed, most of them—find great pleasure in the fact that the Sherman bill was passed by a Republican Congress; and when that announcement was made on their side loud applause followed, as though we had in the Fifty-first Congress committed a great crime. And yet, gentlemen—and I now address the free-coinage members of this House—I predict that if you do not get your free-coinage propositions every one of you will vote to retain the Sherman law upon the statute books and will vote against the pending bill introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON].

But let us see what you wanted to do when the Sherman bill was enacted. I say that the Democracy of this country at that time were for free coinage, and if the Sherman law should be condemned, or those who passed it should be condemned, what should be said of the Democratic party in Congress who asked to go far beyond the Sherman law and enact free coinage?

Let us look at the RECORD. On June 5, 1890, Mr. BLAND moved to recommit the bill H. R. 5381, the Windom bill as amended, to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, with instructions to "report back a bill for the free coinage of silver." The vote stood, yeas 116, nays 140, not voting 71. Democrats for, 102; Democrats against, 13; Democratic majority for free coinage, 89. Republicans for, 14; Republicans against, 127; Republican majority against free coinage, 113.

In the Senate June 11, 1890, the House bill 5381 was reported back from the Committee on Finance by Senator MORRILL. Senator Plumb moved free coinage as an amendment. His amendment was agreed to by the following vote: Yeas 43, nays 24. Democrats for, 30; Democrats against, 3; Democratic majority for free coinage, 27. Republicans for, 13; Republicans against, 21; Republican majority against free coinage, 8.

On June 25, 1890, in the House of Representatives, the motion to agree to the Senate free-coinage amendment was rejected by the following vote: Yeas 135, nays 152. Democrats for, 114; Democrats against, 22; Democratic majority for free coinage, 92. Republicans for, 21; Republicans against, 130; Republican majority against free coinage, 109.

In 1892, in the Senate, the Democratic vote for free coinage was 30; against it, 10; Democratic majority for free coinage, 20. Republicans for free coinage, 14; against free coinage, 31; Republican majority against free coinage, 17. In the House: Democrats for free coinage, 130; against free coinage, 81; Democratic majority for free coinage, 49. Republicans for free coinage, 12; against free coinage, 67; Republican majority against free coinage, 56.

DEMOCRATIC POSITION ON FREE COINAGE BY STATES, 1890.

The following States in their platforms declared for the free coinage of silver in 1890: California, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, West Virginia, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, North Dakota. In the following States the Democratic conventions were silent on the question in 1890: Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Maine, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and Vermont.

With the foregoing facts before us it is apparent that the Democratic party in 1890 was for free coinage, and certainly so in the House and Senate. The Sherman law represented a compromise between the conservative and the extreme elements in the Republican party. The President truly says in his message that it was a compromise by the contending forces over free coinage.

But, Mr. Speaker, I have gone far beyond my purpose when I addressed the House. I only wish to say in conclusion that I want this question dealt with honestly on all sides, without partisanship so far as possible. The only partisanship is in the way we are forced to come up and meet this question, the bars being closed against any Republican having the opportunity to offer any amendment to the pending proposition. That is partisanship stripped of patriotism, and the triumph of gag law without a czar. [Applause on the Republican side.]

I am here and now eager and willing to join with my fellow Representatives in the adoption of any legislation that will touch the root of the disease, and am willing even to administer an opiate. But I want to say this, that no one shall mislead me, the Representative of an agricultural State, by trying to make me believe that the farmers of my State and the laborers of my State are interested in cheap money.

If I know anything about my duty, it is to keep a good, relia-

ble money for the farmers and the laboring men. [Applause on the Republican side.] Strike it down until it becomes worthless, and the worthless money will not turn up in the hands of the bankers and trust companies, but among the simple-minded people, who trust their Government to protect them in their coin and currency. [Applause on the Republican side.] For that people I appeal. Lay aside partisanship, and let us join together as patriots, so far as we can, to meet the trouble that now confronts us. [Applause.]

Mr. MOSES. Mr. Speaker, when the gentleman who has just concluded began his speech by saying that no one who had hitherto spoken knew anything about the question under discussion, we all thought that when he got through we would know something about it, and I want you to-morrow morning to read the RECORD and see how much clearer it is than it was before he threw his great light upon it. He says the reason why gold is coming from Europe is because we are selling our securities there; that the European bankers know a good thing when they see it, and they are buying American securities because they are cheap. A New York banker [Mr. HENDRIX], in his speech upon this floor a few days ago, said that the English holders of American securities are throwing them upon the market through fear that we were going to a silver standard. Surely if Europe were now buying our securities the New York bankers would know it. The truth is, they are mad because Europe will not take these watered stocks.

Mr. Speaker, both the great parties in formulating the silver plank of their platforms state that they favor bimetallism because it is conducive to the interests of the "farmers and workingmen."

Section 7 of the Democratic platform is as follows:

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar, at all times, in the markets and in the payment of debts, and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farming and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

You notice it says:

We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farming and laboring classes.

Why do not you now—

insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers?

I say to you as a practical farmer myself, and representing an agricultural constituency, that we accepted the platform in good faith, and we expect it to be carried out to the letter.

You said you would insist upon it in the interest of the farmer. And our Republican brethren say:

The American people from tradition and interest favor bimetallism. * * * The interest of the producers of the country, its farmers and workingmen, demand this.

All parties were especially anxious before the election to do something for the farmers. Many doctors have volunteered their services to this sick man in our body politic. On yesterday the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] told us the reason why we were not in a prosperous condition was because we had repudiated high tariff. We were poor because we had refused to support the tariff barons of the country any longer.

In olden times the first thing the doctor did when he came to see a sick man was to bleed him, and if the patient turned off one doctor and sent for another he would be bled again; and it often happened that the poor patient was bled to death.

Now, these Republican doctors have been bleeding us for thirty years. We got up and kicked them out and engaged the services of the Democratic party because we favored the treatment they proposed. They now say that treatment would be fatal. Democrats from New York now say to us, "The tariff robber has been bleeding you all these years, and now let us bleed you on the other side."

You promised to secure us from the clutches of the plunderers of the people, and now some of you propose to add 40 per cent to their burdens. Leaving their hands in one of our pockets, you run yours into the other. New York sends one of her bank presidents here [Mr. HENDRIX] to act as the guardian of the farmer! May God pity the ward!

Mr. Speaker, I am not here to say that any man has violated his oath of office, as the last gentleman who spoke said of the President of the United States. I do not propose to say that any gentleman upon this floor has not the same right to his opinions that I have. I concede that every member of this House represents an equal constituency; and I impugn the motives of no man; but we come to you with our contract, we come to you with our agreement made at Chicago, and shall ask you to stand by it.

Some of you propose to repeal the Sherman law of 1890 and go home. Where would that leave us? Just as we stood after the enactment of the Sherman law of 1873. After denouncing that crime for twenty years you now propose to repeat it. In other words, we must, in order to save the country, go back to where the Republican party left us before we had secured either House in Congress. No one can deny that to simply repeal the Sherman act of 1890 would bring us where we were left in 1873.

What could we tell our friends at home? You have during all these years denounced the demonetization of silver as a "cowardly crime," and now you condone that crime. After denouncing the Sherman act as a "cowardly makeshift," you promised the people to "hold to the use of both gold and silver and to the coinage of both metals." You now say it would be dishonest to redeem that pledge.

No wonder my friend from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] was emboldened to claim that the Republican party was the "honest party," when we stigmatize the policy for which we have always contended as dishonest. You abandon your own principles to adopt those of this "honest" party, which in 1869 raised the debts of the American people 35 per cent at the dictation of the bondholders! A party that has stolen everything, from the Presidency down to the dollar which the poor negro intrusted to its keeping. A party that has legalized robbery until a long-suffering and outraged people hurled it from power.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Can I interrupt the gentleman to ask him a question?

Mr. MOSES. I am trying to make a plain statement of the case as I see it, and do not wish to be interrupted.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. The gentleman has spoken about the Sherman law of 1873. I know there is a so-called law of 1890, but he speaks of the Sherman law of 1873. Can he tell the House how the Senator from Ohio voted upon that law?

Mr. MOSES. I refer to the law demonetizing silver in 1873.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. How did the Senator from Ohio vote on that bill?

Mr. MOSES. I do not know how he voted.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Well, he voted against it, and Senator STEWART of Nevada voted for it.

Mr. MOSES. How he voted has nothing to do with my argument.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Then you should not denounce him as having voted for it when, in fact, he voted against it.

Mr. MOSES. I have not referred to Senator SHERMAN. But Mr. SHERMAN is in favor of the demonetization of silver.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. But you spoke of the demonetization law of 1873 as "the Sherman law," while the record shows that Senator SHERMAN voted against it.

Mr. MOSES. That has nothing to do with the argument I was making, that the policy now is, by repealing the law of 1890, to carry us back to just where the country stood after the passage of the act of 1873. Do you deny that proposition?

Mr. WILSON of Washington. We would be upon the same standard as since 1834.

Mr. MOSES. I mean as to bimetallism.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Oh, we are all bimetallists except the free-coinage silver men, who are monometallists—all for silver.

Mr. GROSVENOR. If we repeal the Sherman act it will not revive the Bland-Allison act, under which we lived from 1878. We shall be simply without a law on the subject.

Mr. MOSES. Of course it would not revive the Bland act. It would strike down all Democratic legislation on the silver question.

Mr. Speaker, the Republican party began its career under Gen. Grant in 1869. Congress was convened on March 4 in extraordinary session. New York and London had lost confidence in us, as now. The people then owed billions, a great part of which was payable, according to the contract, in "lawful money." It then took $135 of greenbacks to buy $100 in specie. They demanded that the Government should pay its greenback debt in coin. They rushed this infamous measure through in fourteen days—the same number allotted for the bill now under consideration. Thank God, not one Democrat voted for it in either House. It cost us billions to restore Wall street's confidence.

A MEMBER. They were all for repudiation, were they?

Mr. MOSES. For twenty years you have been raising the standard of values in this country, and when the people cry for relief you add 40 per cent to their burdens by striking down one-half the money of the country. The party that does it will be ground into atoms under the feet of an outraged people. The

way to pay an honest dollar is to pay the same dollar borrowed—not one that has been appreciated or debased. We should see to it that justice is done as between citizens of our own country. Say that a young man borrowed money to buy a farm in 1873. He gave his note, payable in six years. He bought the farm in 1873 with greenbacks, borrowed when gold was at $1.25. Congress passed the resumption act, which made all debts coin debts, and declared that when he pays that debt he shall pay 25 per cent premium, in addition to interest.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Is the gentleman in favor of silver or of greenbacks?

Mr. MOSES. I am in favor of a gold and silver standard, the constitutional money of the country, and a paper currency convertible into either. Then I would expand this currency until we had at least $50 per capita in actual circulation. I would resume the coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1. If then, when both metals are treated alike, silver should remain at a discount, I would increase the weight of the silver dollar.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. I wanted to ask the gentleman, because I am much interested in his remarks——

Mr. MOSES. Here is what I said: I said that our people in your State and mine in 1870, 1871, 1872, and 1873 contracted debts, greenback debts; we bought farms on long credit; we paid high rates of interest; we borrowed greenbacks when it took $125 in greenbacks to pay $100 in specie. When pay day came you had juggled with the currency of the country. You took 25 per cent from the debtor and gave it to the creditor.

Mr. HEPBURN. You paid it in greenbacks, did you not?

Mr. MOSES. I did not hear the gentleman's question.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. I am nearer and will repeat the remark. The question is whether you did not pay the indebtedness in greenbacks, because by Republican legislation adopted in 1879 every greenback was worth 100 cents on the dollar.

Mr. MOSES (addressing Mr. WILSON of Washington). Now, let me ask you a question. Did they not by legislation turn the greenbacks into gold——

Mr. WILSON of Washington. The gentleman will permit me——

Mr. MOSES. Please answer my question now. Did they not turn the greenbacks into gold by the resumption act? Answer "yes" or "no."

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Well, I can not be catechised in that manner. The gentleman, if he asks me a question, must permit me to explain myself in my own way. In 1879 the Republican party, by its legislation, placed $100,000,000 in gold in the Treasury of the United States to make the $346,000,000 of greenbacks worth 100 cents on the dollar. That was all there was of it. But since that time we have gone on increasing the amount of Government notes from $346,000,000 to $830,000,000; without having the $100,000,000 of gold that we originally started with. That is the trouble.

Mr. MOSES. Every member of this House knows the truth of my assertion that we have been going from a cheap dollar to a high-priced dollar—an always appreciating dollar. No one denies it; and you know that when you make the greenback debt a gold debt you added 35 per cent to the debts of the people.

Mr. VAN VOORHIS of New York. In what year was that done?

Mr. MOSES. I refer to the "credit-strengthening" act of 1869, the resumption act, the stoppage of free coinage of silver, and the contraction of the currency.

Mr. HEPBURN. I would like to ask the gentleman whether the greenback is any better now than it ought to be.

Mr. MOSES. Let the greenback be redeemable in gold or silver, and it is no better and no worse than it ought to be. The trouble about our money is there is not enough of it. The silver dollar is to-day selling at a premium in New York. Yet you would destroy it, and the gentleman who spoke last seemed impatient for the sacrifice. No doubt his conscience was like that of Macbeth, who when another historic crime was contemplated, said:

> If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well
> It were done quickly.

But, let me say to you, that when this crime is consummated by this "honest" party, joined by a minority of the party that has always stood by the people, outraged and evenhanded justice will sooner or later commend the poisoned chalice to your own lips.

But, Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to be diverted. I was seeking to show that for twenty years we have been gradually raising the standard of values to the injury of the debtor class. You said you must have gold and silver. We yielded. We borrowed your silver and when we return it in payment you are not satisfied, but you cry in your greed, "Give us nothing but gold," making all debts gold debts and creating an enormous demand for gold which you know will cause an appreciated dollar. This is a fight between the debtor and the creditor class. The people are not asking you to debase the currency, but they appeal to you not to increase their burdens by making the dollar still dearer.

For years the Democratic party has been voting for the free coinage of silver, and we pledged our faith to insist upon it if elected to power.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Will you allow me a question?

Mr. MOSES. Well, if it is on this line.

Mr. GROSVENOR. On that line exactly.

Mr. MOSES. Very well.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Did the gentleman from Georgia read a letter that the President of the United States, prior to his inauguration, in February, 1885, addressed to Gen. A. J. WARNER, a member of this House, on the subject of silver?

Mr. MOSES. I did.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Did you read also the message of the President, after his inauguration in 1885, recommending the repeal of the silver-purchasing act—the coinage act?

Mr. MOSES. I did.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Did you vote for him for President last fall?

Mr. MOSES. I did.

Mr. MONEY. Voted for him on the platform adopted last year?

Mr. MOSES. Certainly. I voted for him because he accepted the Democratic nomination, and in his letter of acceptance he said "both gold and silver can be safely utilized upon equal terms in the adjustment of our currency." The duty devolves upon us to redeem our pledges to the people. Democrats from New York wrote to Southern men, myself among the number, and urged us to go into the disaffected regions of the South; and we pledged these people to give them free coinage, according to the promise of the party for a hundred years, and especially for the last year.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Who wrote those letters?

Mr. MOSES. The managers of the Democratic party campaign.

Mr. GROSVENOR. On this floor?

Mr. MOSES. We carried the country upon the strength of these promises. If you now repudiate the pledges upon which you received the indorsement of the people, then I charge that you have received goods under false pretenses. [Laughter and applause.]

A MEMBER. You ought to give them back.

Mr. MOSES. The Republicans can receive no encouragement from that statement. You have been already condemned and your doom is fixed. This question rises above all parties. It involves the eternal principles of right—that no government has the right to rob one citizen to enrich another.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Let me ask the gentleman——

Mr. MOSES. And you are not in it, my friends. [Laughter.]

Mr. GROSVENOR. Suppose we are not in it——

Mr. MOSES. Indeed, I had almost forgotten you, until the gentleman from Ohio rose in his place here yesterday like the Rip Van Winkle of a past era. [Laughter.] They do not yet realize that they are dead. They remind me of the old negro's terrapin down in Georgia. After cutting its head off the terrapin kept crawling around, and the old man remarked, "That fool terrapin don't know he is dead yet. He keeps crawling around." [Laughter and applause.] My friend from Ohio got up here after a prolonged absence to tell us of benefits of high tariff. You and your high tariff are dead, and still you do not know it. You are crawling around so. [Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, I have not despaired of the Democratic party because of apparent divisions here. We have had divisions before. We were divided upon the tariff. Our tariff reform measures were defeated by a minority of our own party. We have elected others to fill their places, and we have come to Congress finally with a large majority in favor of tariff reform—a united party. I do not believe the Democratic Administration will begin its career as the Republicans did, by striking down the money of the people. We may differ as to the best method to attain bimetallism, but I believe that the ultimate result will be the redemption of our pledges to the people.

Mr. Speaker, the Democratic members from the South and the West who are now denounced as advocates of dishonest money devoted all their energies last year in fighting the men who were advocating the unlimited issue of irredeemable paper currency. We opposed a party. They do not want gold or silver. They would give us rag money and a 50-cent dollar. We contended for the honest dollar, for the dollar of the fathers. Now, when we come here we find men on the other extreme, contending for a dollar worth 150 cents. [Laughter.] The Populists are opposed to both metals. They make no secret of the fact that they desire a currency not redeemable in either metal. They will vote for 16 to 1, and yet they do not want that law enacted.

They do not want silver, they do not want gold, and their idea is to demonetize silver, because they know it will eventually demonetize gold and will put the country upon what they call a basis of "scientific currency."

I warn you, gold men of New York, that you are overreaching yourselves. When you abandon the policy which the party has always adhered to, and go for a sole gold standard, I warn you that if we go down you will not ultimately succeed, but that the rag-money crowd will control Congress. The people are satisfied with the money we have. If you do not want unlimited fiat money stand by the great conservative element of the party. [Laughter on the Republican side.] I will make another prediction. The Republican party has always stood by combines and trusts and monopolies, and to-day it stands by the gold-standard men; and if you were to take away the conservative element represented by the bimetallists of the country and leave the battle to these two parties—the one representing European ideas and plutocracy, the other the socialistic, discontented element of the country—the battle would be sharp and decisive, and the Republic would go down in a drama of blood, just as the Government of France went out in the last decade of the last century.

But, as my young friend from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN] said, "Thank God, Jefferson still lives," and the Democratic party, that for a hundred years has been the guardian of the people's interests and of constitutional liberty, will see to it that the people shall rule and the country be saved.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Did I understand the gentleman to say that Jefferson still lives? If so, he must be a fine old man. [Laughter.]

Mr. MOSES. We know you thought both he and his principles were dead.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. I thought he was dead, but may be he is like that terrapin of yours, still moving around. [Laughter.]

Mr. MOSES. Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to have my time taken up by frivolous questions not asked in good faith, because this question is one of supreme importance to our people. It is no time for jesting. We are debating the question now whether we can ever pay our debts with 6-cent cotton and 30-cent wheat; and God knows if you add to the debts by raising the value of the dollar, we see no hope for our people either in the South or in the West.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to notice briefly the speech of the gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX]. He repeats the solemn assertion that something should be done, in order that the people may be spared from the evils of an unstable and fluctuating currency. I agree with him. It has been fluctuating long enough. Do not juggle with it again. We Democrats from the South join with every lover of honest money in saying that we want a stable and nonfluctuating dollar or unit of value. We oppose monometallism simply because we know that when the whole world joins in the scramble for gold, and all contracts have to be redeemed in gold, there will be such a scramble and a demand for it that, although we may still have a nominal dollar, the debts of the people will be increased. You will double the amount of wheat, cotton, and labor required to secure your dollar.

I am not willing to adjust for all time to come the business of the country upon such a basis. A gold standard dollar means 5-cent cotton and 30-cent wheat. I am opposed to raising the ratio from 16 to 20, though I may vote for it to save the country from a sole gold standard.

Mr. Speaker, we were told by the gentleman from New York that it is "stark idiocy, mockery," and "infernal rot" for Democrats to come to a Democratic Congress and ask Democratic members of the House to vote to carry out the Democratic platform.

Mr. Speaker, eight months ago, when the news flashed over the country that the American people had intrusted full power to the Democratic party, there was joy and hallujahs of praise throughout my section of the country. But now, when Congress meets, throughout that selfsame section the people are asking with bated breath whether it be true that the representatives of the people will fail to carry out the contract made with them.

They are accustomed to defeat. The Democratic party for years, decade after decade, has gone down, but we never despaired. But never did we expect to be told by a Democrat upon this floor that our platform of principles is "stark idiocy, mockery, and infernal rot."

Mr. Speaker, we may trifle with the people one time; we may deceive them once; but I assure you that he who is not faithful to his trust will hear from them in the future. We of the South have come here to redeem our pledges. I challenge our colleagues from the North to state when we have ever failed to keep faith with them. Though we may be slandered, though we may need your missionaries, I challenge any man to say that the South has not always kept faith with its contracts. We have kept faith with you, and we come here to ask you to keep faith us, and let us give to the people the legislation they demand at our hands. But if this fell legislation must be consummated, we will stand by our principles. The South will not repudiate her promises.

> We'd rather be a mourner at the funeral of right,
> Than a king in the carnival of might.

Mr. Speaker, fidelity to trust is the highest duty of a representative. Let the Democratic party do its duty according to promise, and let us strike for a bold American policy, without considering what England's wishes may be.

They are telling us now that the farmers can not sell cotton to England if we do not have a gold standard, because the balances must be paid in gold. We sold cotton to England for 20 to 30 cents a pound when we had nothing but greenbacks, and we can sell cotton and wheat to the nations of the earth, and we can exchange our products for theirs. We have always bought goods in Europe with the money they paid for our products.

We should establish a standard for America, and not wait for the monarchies of Europe to do it for us.

Mr. Speaker, they say that cheapness of transportation and new improvements have made silver cheaper. Why do not the same forces that make silver cheaper make gold cheap? It is because silver is discriminated against. When compared with the prices of the world's products and with the price paid to-day for human labor, silver is as precious as it was twenty years ago. Gold has appreciated and, therefore, all other commodities have become cheap. When silver goes up cotton and wheat go up. In 1890, as soon as you passed the Sherman law, silver went to $1.25 an ounce, and for two years we received 10½ and 11 cents for our cotton. You may tell me that there is nothing in it, when for twenty years the price of silver has represented the cotton price.

But, Mr. Speaker, we have been told that the cause of the low prices of farm products is due to overproduction. Three years ago the farmers of the South and West, seeing that the whole world were combining in different organizations, determined to come together into an organization for self-protection. They were then called "calamity howlers," and when they met in their alliances the people of the cities would say, "You ought not to go to these places, but go home and work, like the merchant, three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, and make more to sell."

Mr. Speaker, we did make more. We made 9,000,000 bales of cotton and a larger crop of wheat, and still there was no relief. They then came to us and said, "You fools, you have made too much." That is the logic. You first tell us, "You do not work enough and do not make enough," and then say to us, "You have made too much."

Mr. Speaker, it is not overproduction. Cotton and wheat will bear world-wide transportation, and there never will be too much of either food or clothing so long as the great majority of earth's inhabitants have not sufficient clothing or food to stave off the pangs of hunger. If overproduction is the evil, then we should pray a merciful God to withhold the rain in its season, and send us the blighting, withering, drought to check overprotion. No, no; the God of the harvest is not the author of our ills.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. May I ask the gentleman a question right here, seriously?

Mr. MOSES. On this question of overproduction?

Mr. WILSON of Washington. I want to ask him a question now, seriously. I come from a Western constituency. I live right in the midst of the silver-producing region. I am interested in the production of silver, and I would like to see it rise in price. Now, I want to ask the gentleman, who says that he is speaking as an American, on behalf of the American people, whether he would be willing to vote for this kind of a measure: First, call in all the one and two dollar notes and let silver go out in their place; second, coin the American product upon such a ratio as may be agreed upon; third, put a high protective tariff upon all imported silver. Would the gentleman be willing to vote for a measure like that?

Mr. MOSES. I would not shut out silver. Like Alexander Stephens, of Georgia, "I would let it come from all the world until we had one thousand millions." For a thousand years men have agreed that in exchanging commodities it would be best to have some medium of exchange. We must have something as a gauge or measure or standard to go by. In this country our fathers thought it was unwise to take one commodity as that standard; that it was unwise to make gold alone the standard. Under true bimetallism gold and silver act together, like the compensating pendulum of a clock, and the average can neither rise nor fall.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Did not Thomas Jefferson suspend the coinage of silver?

Mr. MOSES. As I have said, our fathers thought it unwise to take one metal as the standard, because one metal was more liable to fluctuate in value than the average of two. They thought it wiser to take two of the precious metals and establish a parity between them, so that when there was a scarcity of one there might be a supply of the other. Now, I think it is unwise for us to repudiate the system which has existed for a thousand years, and for more than a hundred years in our own country.

Men talk about putting a price upon silver; how can you put a price upon a thing which itself sets prices? To talk about putting a price upon silver under free coinage is to talk about measuring a measure, about measuring a yardstick. Now, I say it is our duty to our people to keep the standard of value uniform in our country, and I believe that if the American Government will say to the world that we propose to have free coinage of silver, silver will be upon a parity with gold at its coinage value the world over.

My friend from New York [Mr. HENDRIX] quoted Mr. Cernuschi, the great French financier, as a high authority to prove that free coinage by the United States alone is impracticable. I will introduce his own witness. Mr. Cernuschi said:

> France maintained for a century the ratio of 15½ to 1 in every part of the world. A monetary system based on two metals is more safe than it is when based on only a single metal. England has suffered many crises simply because she had only one metal in circulation.

He then goes on to say, Mr. Speaker:

> It is the monometallists who are the authors of the depreciation which they point to as a proof of the unworthiness of the metal they cry down. They resemble the people who, having tied the legs of a horse, call out for him to be killed because he does not gallop.

That is what Mr. Cernuschi says about the reason why silver does not keep upon a parity with gold.

Mr. Speaker, I see that my time is exhausted. I know that no man's vote will be changed one way or the other by this debate. Let us not inaugurate a Democratic Administration by repudiating our past record.

The people will see to this matter; and if you do not stand by your pledges they will send men here who will. I appeal to my colleagues to be faithful to the people; and then, with the Democratic party at the helm of state, we can go back and ask them for a continuance of power, and we shall close the last decade of this century with an era of prosperity greater than we have ever seen before, and we shall show to the struggling peoples of the world that we realize that we stand as the culmination of the hopes of past ages and will not be recreant to the trust committed to our care. [Applause.]

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. WISE, for two days, on account of important business.

To Mr. MARSHALL, for three days, on account of important business.

UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY.

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama, by unanimous consent, presented the annual report of the Board of Visitors to the United States Military Academy for the year 1893; which was ordered to be printed, and laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. As it is now within two minutes of the hour fixed by the standing order for adjournment, the Chair, if there be no objection, will declare the House adjourned until to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock.

There was no objection; and accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 58 minutes) the House adjourned.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *August 17, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D.D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE.

Mr. MCPHERSON. I find in the RECORD that a bill I had the honor to introduce yesterday, the bill (S. 504) for the relief of the Berdan Firearms Manufacturing Company, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims. By some mistake of mine it was referred to the Committee on Claims, when I desired to refer it to the Committee on Patents, that committee having inquired into this matter. I ask a change of reference of the bill from the Committee on Claims to the Committee on Patents.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The change of reference will be made as requested by the Senator from New Jersey.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Tacoma, Wash., praying for the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. TELLER presented a memorial of the Denver (Colo.) Chamber of Commerce, remonstrating against the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law without an adequate substitute therefor; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of citizens of Montezuma County, Colo., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. HALE presented the petition of W. W. Thomas, president of the Canal Bank, and of representatives of seven other national and savings banks of Portland, Me., praying for the passage of Senate bill 453, allowing national banks to issue an amount of circulating notes equal to the par value of the United States bonds deposited as security therefor; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I present a petition signed by 19 business men and merchants of the city of Portland, Oregon, in which they pray that Congress may enact legislation as follows:

> First. That the purchasing clause of the Sherman silver act be repealed.
> Second. That no substitute of any kind whatever be enacted at this session.
> Third. That an expert commission be appointed to consider and recommend a scientific plan of currency, based on the experience of other countries, and adequate to the requirements of a great commercial nation.

All the petitioners are leading merchants and business men of the city of Portland, 19 of them; and their petition comes to me not directly from them, but under the cover of a communication from the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of the city of New York. I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. CHANDLER presented the petition of John P. Goggin, W. A. Nelson, George B. French, and 11 other citizens of Nashua, N. H., praying for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. PERKINS presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Los Angeles, Cal., praying for the construction of the Nicaragua Canal by the Government; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. PASCO presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Tampa, Fla., praying for the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. PEFFER presented the memorial of N. B. Coggeshall, of Eldorado, Kans., remonstrating against the unconditional repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law, and praying for the free and unlimited coinage of the silver dollar of the present weight and fineness; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a memorial of the Chanute Populist Club, of Kansas, remonstrating against the destruction of silver by any legislation; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. WASHBURN presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Minneapolis, Minn., praying for the repeal of the compulsory silver-purchasing section of the so-called Sherman law, and the passage of a bill allowing national banks to issue notes to the full face value of United States bonds deposited to secure circulation; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. FRYE presented a memorial of the Board of Managers of the National Temperance Society, remonstrating against the passage of a joint resolution providing for a six months' extension of the bonded whisky period; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. KYLE presented two memorials of citizens of Clay County, S. Dak., remonstrating against the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. CALL. I present petitions from the boards of trade of a large number of cities in the United States, praying for the construction of a national harbor of refuge in the bight of Cape Canaveral, Florida. I move that the petitions be referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MARTIN presented a petition of citizens of Lyon County, Kans., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law, and for the passage of legislation in lieu thereof providing for the free and unlimited coinage of silver upon a basis of not less than 15 nor more than 16 to 1; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. GORDON presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Atlanta, Ga., praying for the location of a subtreasury in the city of Atlanta; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

SILVER COINAGE IN INDIA.

Mr. GORMAN. I am instructed by the Committee on Print-

ing, to whom was referred the resolution submitted by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] on the 15th instant, to report it with a substitute. I ask for the present consideration of the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAULKNER in the chair). The substitute resolution reported by the committee will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed and bound in cloth 6,000 copies of the report of the commission appointed to inquire into the Indian currency, commonly known as the "Herschell Report on the Coinage of Silver in India," with the accompanying correspondence and testimony, of which number 2,000 shall be for the use of the Senate and 4,000 for the use of the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? The Chair hears none. The question is on the amendment reported by the Committee on Printing.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

Mr. GORMAN. I ask that the report of the Committee on Printing on the resolution may be printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be printed under the rule.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. FRYE introduced a bill (S. 506) granting an honorable discharge to William Pierce; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Commerce:

A bill (S. 507) providing for the collection of fees for furnishing certificates of title to vessels;

A bill (S. 508) exempting American coastwise sailing vessels piloted by their licensed masters or by a United States pilot from the obligation to pay State pilots for services not rendered;

A bill (S. 509) to amend an act entitled "An act to amend section 4178, Revised Statutes, in relation to the marking of vessels' names at bow and stern, and also to provide for marking the draft," approved February 21, 1891;

A bill (S. 510) to protect the wages of seamen; and

A bill (S. 511) providing for the establishment and enforcement of rules and regulations for the use and navigation of United States canals and similar works of navigation, and for other purposes.

Mr. FRYE also introduced a bill (S. 512) to provide for a commission on the subject of the alcoholic liquor traffic; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas introduced a bill (S. 513) granting the use of certain lands in the Hot Springs reservation, in the State of Arkansas, to the Barry Hospital; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 514) for the relief of the Eastern band of Cherokee Indians of North Carolina; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 515) to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for certain expenses and fulfilling treaty stipulations with Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894;" which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Claims:

A bill (S. 516) for the relief of the estate of James Scull, late of Arkansas;

A bill (S. 517) for the relief of Holliday S. Ravell;

A bill (S. 518) for the relief of the estate of J. H. Moseby, deceased;

A bill (S. 519) for the relief of the estate of Samuel J. Jones, deceased;

A bill (S. 520) for the relief of the estate of William B. Pool, late of Jefferson County, Ark.;

A bill (S. 521) for the relief of Henry M. Stone;

A bill (S. 522) for the relief of James R. Lafferry;

A bill (S. 523) for the relief of the board of trustees of the Old School Presbyterian Church of Helena, Phillips County, Ark.;

A bill (S. 524) for the relief of W. Jasper Blackburn;

A bill (S. 525) for the relief of Margaret E. Watkins; and

A bill (S. 526) making an appropriation for the benefit of the estate of William Moss, deceased.

Mr. BATE introduced a bill (S. 527) to construct a road to the national cemetery at Dover, Tenn.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 528) for the relief of A. W. Wills, administrator; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 529) for the relief of William R. Miller; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 530) for the relief of Capt. W. M. Wallace; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Claims:

A bill (S. 531) for the relief of Howard Lodge, No. 13, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, of Gallatin, Tenn.;

A bill (S. 532) for the relief of the book agents of the Methodist Episcopal Church South;

A bill (S. 533) for the relief of J. Kropp, administrator of Christian Kropp, deceased;

A bill (S. 534) for the relief of Caleb Bryan;

A bill (S. 535) for the relief of the heirs of Samuel B. Sparkman, of Nashville, Tenn.;

A bill (S. 536) for the relief of Cummings, Doyle & Co., and Doyle & Co.;

A bill (S. 537) for the relief of the county of Davidson, Tenn.;

A bill (S. 538) for the relief of the city of Nashville, Tenn.;

A bill (S. 539) for the relief of Mrs. Clementine H. Holman;

A bill (S. 540) for the relief of the estate of Andrew J. Duncan, deceased;

A bill (S. 541) for the relief of D. W. and Minna H. Glassie and Joseph C. Nash; and

A bill (S. 542) for the relief of the trustees of Stewart College, Montgomery County, Tenn.

Mr. BATE also introduced a bill (S. 543) increasing the pension of Mrs. Rochie Brien Buell; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. McMILLAN introduced a bill (S. 544) to reclassify and prescribe the salaries of railway postal clerks; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also introduced a bill (S. 545) to provide for a more extended use of gold by the people of the United States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. MANDERSON introduced a bill (S. 546) to reorganize the artillery and infantry of the Army, and to increase its efficiency; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 547) providing for the public printing and binding and the distribution of public documents; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Printing.

Mr. BLACKBURN introduced a bill (S. 548) for the relief of the estate of Pearce Noland, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. CALL introduced a bill (S. 549) for the construction of works to render the Bight of Canaveral, in the State of Florida, available for the use of the Navy; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. TELLER introduced a bill (S. 550) explanatory of an act entitled, "An act to settle certain accounts between the United States and the State of Mississippi and other States," and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. FAULKNER introduced a bill (S. 551) for the relief of Marion Lance, administrator of Henry Lance, deceased, of Barbour County, W. Va.; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. COCKRELL introduced a bill (S. 552) for the relief of Calvin Gunn; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. MORRILL introduced a bill (S. 553) granting a pension to Martha R. Hitchcock; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. HAWLEY introduced a bill (S. 554) for the relief of Lydia T. Hadlock, administratrix of E. C. Hadlock, deceased, of Vermont; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 555) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Peter Buckley; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. LODGE introduced a bill (S. 556) for the relief of the Atlantic Works, of Boston, Mass.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. TURPIE introduced a bill (S. 557) for the relief of George

F. Roberts, administrator of the estate of William B. Thayer, deceased, surviving partner of Thayer Brothers, and others; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas introduced a bill (S. 558) to authorize the loyal Creek Indians, Indian Territory, to bring suit in the Court of Claims for damages committed upon their property; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 559) for the relief of the children and heirs-at-law of Albert Pike, deceased, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 560) to pension Alexander Mackey; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 561) to provide for the improvement of the building and grounds of the United States court and post-office at Little Rock, Ark.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Claims:

A bill (S. 562) for the relief of the estate of J. H. Moseby, deceased;

A bill (S. 563) for the relief of the board of trustees of the Old School Presbyterian Church of Helena, Phillips County, Ark.;

A bill (S. 564) for the relief of W. Jasper Blackburn;

A bill (S. 565) for the relief of the heirs of Mark W. Izard, deceased;

A bill (S. 566) for the relief of the estate of Albert L. Berry, deceased;

A bill (S. 567) authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to examine certain claims of persons who owned or occupied buildings on the Hot Springs Mountain Reservation, which had been condemned by the Hot Springs Commission and afterwards burned, and to fix a reasonable value for each of said buildings from the evidence now on file in the Interior Department; and

A bill (S. 568) for the relief of William W. Burns.

Mr. LODGE introduced a bill (S. 569) for the erection of a public building at Medford, Mass.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. BATE introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 16) authorizing Musidora, Victoria, Ella, and Frank Wasson, of Tennessee, to present their claim to the Court of Claims; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

NATIONAL BANK CIRCULATION.

Mr. KYLE. I submit a resolution which I ask may lie on the table, to be called up hereafter.

The resolution was read and ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

Whereas it is currently reported that certain of the national banking associations organized and carrying on business under and by virtue of the laws of the United States, have heretofore withdrawn from circulation their notes, and subsequently secured an increase of their circulation under existing laws: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be requested to report to the Senate what national banking associations have thus diminished and enlarged their circulation, and the extent thereof, and also whether any and what national banking associations have organized under the banking laws of the United States, and have no outstanding notes in circulation.

ERECTION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

Mr. CHANDLER. I submit a resolution and ask for its present consideration, unless the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], the chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, objects.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to inform the Senate as to the condition of the various appropriations for the erection of public buildings; stating what are the gross sums unexpended of appropriations made and of authorizations of final cost conferred by existing law; what buildings are not begun, and what preparations have been made for beginning them; and whether or not any delay in beginning is occasioned by the nonpreparation of the plans and designs, and if so, what action he is taking and what legislation, if any, he recommends in order to expedite the preparation of plans and designs.

Mr. VEST. I can see no possible objection to the resolution. I have the information as to many of the points named in it, but it will do no harm to have the information as a public document. I have not the slightest objection to its being considered now.

Mr. HALE. I suggest to the Senator from New Hampshire that precisely the information which he seeks in the resolution will be found in the annual report of the Supervising Architect, which is communicated by the Secretary of the Treasury. If the Senator desires the information now on this subject, instead of waiting for that report, of course his resolution would be opportune; but if it is only a general question of information, all of it is to be found in the Supervising Architect's report, which I suppose will come in in November.

Mr. CHANDLER. What the Senator from Maine says is quite true, that this information, with a great deal more, will be found in the report of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury, which will be communicated by the Secretary of the Treasury with his regular report on the first Monday in December. The resolution simply calls for a statement in concise form of the unexpended balances and a statement also of what buildings have not been commenced, with a suggestion as to whether there has been delay in commencing them on account of the nonpreparation of plans. It will not be a long statement, nor one which it will be injudicious to ask the Supervising Architect to prepare before the first Monday in December. If the Senator from Missouri has the information now in such shape that he can present it to the Senate and it can be printed, of course I do not desire to press the resolution, but I do desire to have before Congress the exact information called for by the resolution and as much more as can be furnished at this extraordinary session of Congress.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Will the resolution, if adopted, elicit information as to whether the plans for the new buildings are being prepared in the Architect's office or whether they are being prepared under calls for bids?

Mr. CHANDLER. The resolution asks for a statement of what preparation is being made.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I think the resolution ought to be adopted.

Mr. CHANDLER. I think it calls for all the information the Senator would want.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. It is very desirable that we should have this information before the regular report comes in.

Mr. CHANDLER. I think I will ask for the present consideration of the resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. GORMAN. I ask the Senator from New Hampshire to let the resolution go over until to-morrow morning.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution goes over under the rule.

PENSION INVESTIGATION.

Mr. GALLINGER. I submit a resolution to which I feel sure there will be no objection, and for which I ask immediate consideration.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Pensions be directed to inquire and report to the Senate whether or not the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Pensions have conformed to the provisions of existing law in suspending and dropping names from the pension rolls of soldiers duly enrolled thereon.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. HARRIS. Let the resolution go over and be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will go over under the rule, and be printed.

PAYMENTS TO CHICKASAWS AND CHOCTAWS.

Mr. PLATT. Yesterday I submitted a resolution calling for information, which was objected to for the time being by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES]. I understand from him that he has no further objection to the resolution, and I ask that it be laid before the Senate and agreed to.

The resolution submitted yesterday by Mr. PLATT was read, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to transmit to the Senate a statement showing the amounts paid out under the appropriation of March 3, 1891, for the benefit of the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations of Indians, giving copies of the warrants for the payment, copies of the drafts drawn, and of the records of the deposits made in pursuance of said warrants with the Treasurer of the United States or any assistant treasurer, and, in addition, in case the sums paid remained either as gross sums or in subdivisions in the hand of said Treasurer or any assistant treasurer or any depository of the United States, and were subsequently drawn by checks, or drafts, or orders issued by the Chickasaw or Choctaw nations, or the treasurers or any agents thereof; also giving copies of said checks, drafts, or orders, and, further, giving all other information within the possession of the Treasury Department, showing what persons, either immediately or ultimately, received said amounts paid out or any portion thereof.

INCREASE OF NATIONAL BANK CIRCULATION.

Mr. GORMAN. I offer an amendment intended to be proposed to the bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks, which was reported by the chairman of the Committee on Finance. I ask to have the proposed amendment read and printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAULKNER in the chair). The amendment will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

At end of line 13 add:

Provided further, That hereafter any national banking association, now organized or hereafter organized, desiring to withdraw any part of its circulating notes, shall, in writing, at least sixty days before the time of the proposed withdrawal, make application to the Comptroller of the Currency for permission to withdraw the same, stating in such application the amount of notes which it desires to withdraw, and no such withdrawal shall be made unless such application is approved, in whole or in part, by the Secretary of the Treasury: *Provided, however*, That permission shall not be granted for the withdrawal of more than $3,000,000 of the circulating notes of national banking associations within any one calendar month, nor shall any more than said amount of such notes be actually withdrawn within any one calendar month.

Mr. McPHERSON. I should like to ask the Senator from Maryland, as I was not paying close attention at the time, whether the matter he has had read at the desk is in reality an independent measure limiting the withdrawal of circulation, or whether it is offered as an amendment to the bill now pending?

Mr. GORMAN. It is offered as an amendment to the bill reported by the Committee on Finance.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The proposed amendment will be ordered to be printed, in the absence of objection.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

Mr. HOAR. If the routine morning business is over, I call for the consideration of the case of Lee Mantle.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution referred to by the Senator from Massachusetts.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the resolution reported by Mr. HOAR from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, March 27, 1893; which was read, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as Senator from the State of Montana.

Mr. PASCO. Mr. President, at the commencement of the present Congress, on the 4th of March last, it was found that the States of Montana, Wyoming, and Washington had failed to elect successors to their Senators whose terms had just expired. In Montana and Wyoming the Legislatures had met in January, according to the requirements of their organic laws, entered upon the work of the election, balloted fruitlessly from day to day, and when the term of each ended by constitutional limitation no choice had been made. The final adjournment occurred in these States before the ending of the terms of the former Senators, Sanders and Warren.

In the case of Washington the Legislature assembled later in January, and was still in session on the 4th of March; the balloting was then proceeding and continued after the Senate assembled in extra session, and the final adjournment occurred about the 9th of March, after the actual commencement of the new Senatorial term. The governors of these States attempted to make temporary appointments of successors to the Senators whose terms had expired, and the credentials of the appointees as they were presented and received were referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and the majority of this committee have reached the conclusion that these appointments are regular and valid, and their reports are accompanied by resolutions for the admission to membership in this body of those claiming seats under the governors' certificates.

The reports of this majority in the Montana and Wyoming cases present the following proposition: the Constitution authorizes the governor of a State to appoint a Senator, to enter upon a full term at its commencement, after the Legislature charged with the duty of electing a Senator for such term has regularly met, attempted the performance of such duty and reached no result, and the session of such Legislature has subsequently been ended by a final adjournment before the commencement of the new Senatorial term.

The report of this majority in the Washington case presents this further proposition:

The Constitution authorizes such appointment under like circumstances even when the new Senatorial term commenced, not during a recess, but while such Legislature was actually in session, and the final adjournment occurred subsequently without the election of a Senator.

The Montana case, which is the one actually before us, rests upon the first proposition, and if it is demonstrated to the satisfaction of the majority of the Senate we shall be asked to proceed to consider and accept the second also.

This first proposition involves two important questions:

1. Whether a governor can make an appointment of a Senator at the beginning of a term.

2. Whether a governor can, under any circumstances, appoint a Senator after a State Legislature has had an opportunity to discharge its constitutional duty to choose and has not done so.

Unless both of these questions can be answered in the affirmative the proposition upon which the resolution of the majority of the committee rests is not sustained by constitutional authority.

The records of the Senate present no previous case in which both of these questions are involved.

The Lanman case, from Connecticut, which arose in 1825, involved the first question. It was the first contested case in which the question of the power of a governor to appoint a Senator at the beginning of a term was seriously considered. In a few preceding cases Senators so appointed were admitted to seats without objection or discussion or division, and in one case, that of Uriah Tracy, of Connecticut, in 1801, after discussion but without reference to a committee. In this last-mentioned case there was a yea-and-nay vote, in which it appears from the record that the Senate divided on party lines. The vote on the question of seating Mr. Tracy was—yeas 13, nays 10.

In the Lanman case, after the report of a committee and after consideration and discussion by the Senate, a motion to seat him failed on a yea-and-nay vote, there being 23 yeas and 18 nays. In these cases the State Legislatures charged with the duty of choosing the Senators had not met, and in this respect they differed from the case now under consideration. The Lanman case remained as an accepted authority upon the first question I am considering until the decision of the Bell case from New Hampshire in 1879. Mr. Bell, with a similar title, was admitted upon a yea-and-nay vote, though the report of the majority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections was adverse to his right, and since that decision the practice of the Senate has been in accord with it.

The leading case involving the second question is that of Mr. Kensey Johns, from Delaware, which arose in 1794. I will merely refer to it here, but will state it more at length presently. He was appointed by the governor, after the Legislature charged with the duty of electing a Senator to succeed Mr. George Read, who had resigned, had met and adjourned without final action. The Senate, after due deliberation, decided by a vote of 20 yeas and 7 nays, that Mr. Johns was not entitled to a seat. In all similar cases since then this authority has been followed, as I will show more at length hereafter. The only difference between the case of Johns and the one before us is, that in the former the governor attempted to fill a vacancy occurring in a broken term actually commenced; in the present case the governor has assumed the right to appoint at the beginning of a term; but the cases are alike in this, that in each the Legislature had failed to act after having an opportunity to do so.

It would seem that the governor's right to appoint would be far more doubtful under such circumstances at the beginning of a full term than upon the happening of a vacancy in a broken term.

It is not, however, because no case exactly similar ever before arose in the history of the country that this question has never been presented to the Senate. In the years that have passed other Legislatures have failed to elect Senators, and States have lost their representation here in whole or in part for months, sometimes years, at a time. It was not then contended that the failure of the Legislature cast a duty or conferred a privilege upon the governor of the State whose power here was thus diminished. It was not then contended that other States had constitutional rights as to such diminished representation because of its effect upon the general political situation of the entire country. The chairs remained unfilled until the unsuccessful or defaulting Legislatures or their successors had other opportunities in subsequent sessions to renew their efforts and continue them till finally their constitutional functions in the premises were performed.

With this history before us, it seems unreasonable to ask in the second century of the existence of the Senate that we should enter upon a new line of action. It is too late to change a practice that has been followed so long and uniformly; it is safer to regard the meaning of the Constitution upon this point as permanently and definitely settled.

In cases where a Senator has been elected at the beginning of a term and the Legislature has once entered upon the duty of filling a vacancy occurring subsequently, as has already been shown, the failure to elect has not, up to the present time, been held to warrant a gubernatorial appointment. The authority of the governor as to such vacancy is exhausted. This was formerly regarded as finally and forever settled after the decision of the Kensey Johns case, to which I have already referred, and no governor has since attempted to exercise the power of appointment under such circumstances.

The Johns case was as follows: Kensey Johns was appointed by the governor of Delaware to fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of Senator George Read in December, 1793, at the first session of the Third Congress. The Legislature met in January, 1794, failed to elect a successor to Mr. Read, and adjourned. The Executive appointment was made in February after this adjournment, and Johns was not admitted to the seat.

The committee of the Senate to whom his case was referred submitted the following resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 20 yeas to 7 nays:

Resolved, That Kensey Johns, appointed by the governor of the State of Delaware as a Senator of the United States for said State, is not entitled to a seat in the Senate of the United States, a session of the Legislature of the said State having intervened between the resignation of the said George Read and the appointment of the said Kensey Johns.

The same principle was afterwards fully recognized in the Phelps case, many years later, at the first session of the Thirty-third Congress.

In this case the appointment of Samuel S. Phelps as Senator had been made by the governor, during a recess of the State Legislature, to fill a vacancy caused by the death of Senator William Upham during the Thirty-second Congress. The appointee filled the seat during the closing months of that Congress and during an extraordinary session of the Thirty-third Congress. After the close of the latter session the Legislature met, failed to elect a Senator, and adjourned *sine die* in December. Mr. Phelps again attended the Senate, after this failure, on the 29th of December, 1853; his right to do so was questioned, and the Senate decided against his claim, when the question came to a vote, on the 16th day of March, 1854, there being 12 yeas and 26 nays.

No further appointment was attempted, and the seat remained vacant till the Legislature again met later in the year and elected Lawrence Brainerd, whose term of service here commenced on the 14th day of October, 1854. The Williams case, from New Hampshire, which arose during the first session of the Thirty-third Congress, should also be mentioned in this connection. Upon the death of Senator Charles G. Atherton during a recess of the Legislature, the governor appointed Jared W. Williams to fill the vacancy. His credentials were presented on the 12th day of December, 1853, and he was sworn in. Subsequently the Legislature met, attempted to elect a Senator, failed and, after transacting all the business of the session, adjourned on the 15th day of July, 1854, to a fixed day. This was in effect a final adjournment, and was so regarded and treated by the Senate in the consideration and decision of the case.

Ten days later Senator Mallory of Florida, one of my honored predecessors, submitted a resolution inquiring whether the right of Senator Williams under the appointment had expired. The resolution was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and a unanimous report against Mr. Williams's right was made on the 2d of August, 1854, and a few days later the report was adopted without a division.

Again the governor's power to appoint was regarded as exhausted, and the seat remained vacant till the Legislature again met in the following year and elected John P. Hale to fill the unexpired term of Senator Atherton. The newly elected Senator commenced his term here on the 13th day of July, 1855.

When the question as to the right of a governor to make appointments, after the Legislature had once assumed authority or jurisdiction over the subject, arose incidentally in this Chamber some years ago, during the discussion of one of the later New Hampshire cases, it was generally admitted by the Senators who participated in the debate that the governor had no longer any power under the Constitution to fill a vacancy when the Legislature had had the opportunity to elect and failed to do so. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] has indicated in this debate that his views upon this point have undergone a change since then. His recognized ability as a lawyer entitles his opinions to the highest respect, and his long experience upon the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and his habit of carefully investigating questions of this character, give great weight to his views, but this opinion is not supported by practice or precedent.

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] toward the close of his interesting and able speech in this debate, expresses views similar to those of the Senator from Massachusetts as to the power of the governor to appoint after the failure of the Legislature to elect a Senator. He says:

> There is no mere construction by implication which will justify us in concluding that any vacancy could not be filled by the governor occurring during recesses. We ought to be unwilling to come to the conclusion that any such vacancy could happen from any cause which could not be supplied by a gubernatorial appointment, unless the power is expressly excluded by the terms of the Constitution. For instance, this would be an exclusion: "When the Legislature has been in session and adjourned without choice, the governor shall not in the subsequent recess appoint a Senator." What if that had been offered during the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States? What if it had been read in the presence of the presiding officer, Washington, and in the presence of that great statesman, Franklin, as I have read it here to-day?
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> I think there would have been many members of the Convention who would have sprung to their feet and said: "Why, gentlemen, it is impossible for us to adopt such a proposition as that."

The Senator thinks it incredible that such a proposition could have been entertained, and yet history tells us that the Convention did actually entertain and adopt a proposition which contemporaneous interpretation said meant that very thing which is held up as incredible. This interpretation, too, was by formal action of a Senate which contained in its membership some of the framers of the Constitution, and this occurred during the Administration of Washington, who had presided over the Convention.

The conclusions of these Senators upon constitutional questions will always be listened to with attention and interest by their colleagues, and will generally be accepted as conclusive; but upon this point the great current of authority is against them, and at present the position that the governor's power to appoint is exhausted in such cases may still be regarded as the settled doctrine, and it will remain so unless the Senate gives some new interpretation to this part of the Constitution.

The power of a governor to make an appointment at the commencement of a Senatorial term under any ordinary circumstances was never claimed or recognized after the decision in the Lanman case until the New Hampshire cases arose in 1879 and subsequent years. Lanman, who was appointed from Connecticut under such circumstances, was refused his seat in 1825, after his case had been considered by a committee and thoroughly discussed in the Senate.

As Senators who sustain the views of the majority of the committee insist that the Lanman decision rests upon a different principle and is not decisive upon this point, I will give a fuller statement of the case than I have yet done. The term of Senator James Lanman, of Connecticut, expired March 3, 1825, and no successor had been chosen. An extraordinary session of the Senate was called by the President to assemble on the next day. Lanman appeared and presented an executive appointment dated February 8, 1825, a few weeks before the former term had ended. The Legislature was not in session, and did not meet till May. Exceptions were taken to his credentials and they were referred to a committee. The facts were reported to the Senate on the 7th of March, and a motion was made that he be admitted to the oath required by the Constitution. This motion was defeated by a vote of 18 yeas and 23 nays.

The majority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections in their report say:

> There is no historical evidence from which we can determine whether the Senate rejected Mr. Lanman on the ground that the governor could not fill a vacancy happening at the beginning of the term, or on the ground that the governor could not lawfully make the appointment in anticipation, before the vacancy occurred and before he could possibly [which should, perhaps, be positively] know whether the Legislature might be called together before that time.

They cite the following authorities in support of the view that the case was decided upon the latter ground:

> Judge Story (Constitution, sec. 727, note 2) says: "In the case of Mr. Lanman, a Senator from Connecticut, a question occurred whether the State executive could make an appointment in the recess of the State Legislature in anticipation of the expiration of the term of office of an existing Senator. It was decided by the Senate that he could not make such an appointment. * * * The Senate, by a vote of 23 to 18, decided that the appointment could not be constitutionally made until after the vacancy had actually occurred." (See Gordon's Digest of the Laws of the United States, 1827; appendix, note 1, B).
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> In regard to the same case, the National Intelligencer of March 8, 1825, says in an editorial note:
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> "An important constitutional question was yesterday decided in the Senate by the refusal to admit Mr. Lanman to a seat in the Senate under a commission from the governor granted before the expiration of Mr. Lanman's late term of service. This is the first time the question has been adjudicated under such circumstances as to form a precedent; and we presume it may now be considered as a settled construction of the constitutional provision that a vacancy must have literally 'happened,' or come to pass, before an appointment can be made to fill it."

Certainly the decision is an authority upon this second point, but neither Mr. Story nor the National Intelligencer claimed that the only question decided was that a vacancy could not be anticipated. The other was also in issue, and the fair supposition is that both grounds of objection to Mr. Lanman were sustained.

But the committee, in endeavoring to ascertain the teachings of the Lanman case, did not exhaust the sources of historic information, nor did the Senator from Virginia [Mr. HUNTON] in his recent interesting and able presentation of his views in support of the majority report.

Mr. Benton devotes a chapter of his Thirty Years View (volume 1, page 56) to this case, and he shows that the right of a governor to appoint a Senator at the beginning of a term was one of the questions that was passed upon by the Senate.

I quote the chapter in full, omitting only the names of the Senators who voted upon each side:

> Mr. Lanman had served a regular term as Senator from Connecticut. His term of service expired on the 3rd of March of this year, and the General Assembly of that State having failed to make an election of Senator in his place, he received a temporary appointment from the governor. On presenting himself to take the oath of office, on the 4th day of March, being the first day of the special Senatorial session convoked by the retiring President (Mr. Monroe), according to usage, for the inauguration of his successor; his appointment was objected to, as not having been made in a case in which a governor of a State could fill a vacancy by making a temporary appointment.

Mr. Tazewell was the principal speaker against the validity of the appointment, arguing against it both on the words of the Constitution and the reasons for the provision. The words of the Constitution are: "If vacancies happened (in the Senate) by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments, until the next meeting of the Legislature."

"Happen" was held by Mr. Tazewell to be the governing word in this provision, and it always implied a contingency, and an unexpected one. It could not apply to a foreseen event, bound to occur at a fixed period. Here the vacancy was foreseen; there was no contingency in it. It was regular and certain. It was the right of the Legislature to fill it, and if they failed, no matter from what cause, there was no right in the governor to supply their omission. The reason of the phraseology was evident. The assembly was the appointing body. It was the regular authority to elect Senators. It was a body of more or less members, but always representing the whole body of the State, and every county of the State, and on that account vested by the Constitution with the power of choosing Senators.

The terms choose and elect are the words applied to the legislative election of Senators. The term appoint is the word applied to a gubernatorial appointment. The election was the regular mode of the Constitution, and was not to be superseded by an appointment in any case in which the Legislature could act, whether they acted or not. Some debate took place, and precedents were called for. On motion of Mr. Eaton, a committee was appointed to search for them, and found several. The committee consisted of Mr. Eaton of Tennessee, Mr. Edwards of Connecticut and Mr. Tazewell of Virginia. They reported the cases of William Cocke, of Tennessee, appointed by the governor of the State in April, 1797, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the expiration of his own term the 3d of March preceding; of Uriah Tracy, of Connecticut, appointed by the governor of the State in February, 1801, to fill the vacancy to occur upon the expiration of his own term, on the 3d of March following; of Joseph Anderson, of Tennessee, appointed by the governor of the State in February, 1809, to fill the vacancy which the expiration of his own term would make on the 4th of March following; of John Williams, of Tennessee, appointed by the governor of the State in January, 1817, to fill the vacancy to occur from the expiration of his term on the ensuing 3d of March; and in all these cases the persons so appointed had been admitted to their seats, and all of them, except in the case of Mr. Tracy, without any question being raised, and in his case by a vote of 13 to 10. These precedents were not satisfactory to the Senate; and after considering Mr. Lanman's case, from the 4th to the 7th of March, the motion to admit him to a seat was rejected by a vote of 23 to 18.

Then follow the names of the Senators voting.

And with this decision the subsequent practice of the Senate has conformed, leaving States in part or in whole unrepresented when the Legislature fails to fill a regular vacancy.

We must suppose that this result, upon the ground last stated as well as the other, was generally acquiesced in, for no action was subsequently taken adverse to the authority of this case upon either point, until the operation of the law of 1866, to which I shall refer at some length later on, shut New Hampshire out at times from her full representation in the Senate except through the appointing power. The action in these cases and in the Florida case, which has recently occurred, admitting Senators appointed under such circumstances, has rested, if I understand the matter correctly, mainly upon the idea that these States had never had the opportunity to elect. There was no foundation for any imputation or suggestion of neglect or willful omission in the discharge of duty by the Legislature. This is a broad distinction between these precedents and the cases at bar. New Hampshire and Florida had no opportunity to choose Senators before the new terms began. Montana and Wyoming had the opportunities and failed to improve them.

Several of those who have supported the report of the majority of the committee in the argument regard these later cases as logically following the action taken already in the former ones, and there is force in the suggestion. But if this is the logical result and it is wrong, the remedy is to retrace the wrong step and accept the reasoning and conclusion of the Lanman, case and return to the practice of admitting Senators at the beginning of a term only after the Legislature of a State has actually performed its constitutional functions with reference to filling the seat and securing its representation. The situation of my own State in this regard has pressed this matter upon my attention and justifies me in entering upon it at greater length; which can, however, be done more appropriately later on in the course of these remarks.

Let us examine the Constitution with reference to the respective powers of the Legislature and the governor in filling seats in this body.

The first paragraph of section 3, Article I, declares how States are to be given their representation in the Senate, and the power of filling a whole and entire term of six years is there given to the Legislature, and only to the Legislature. No hint or suggestion is there found that any national legislation or executive action in the State can abridge that power of choosing for six years by a single day. When the Legislature of New Hampshire met in June, 1889, to elect a Senator they found themselves shorn of their constitutional rights and prerogatives because the executive had claimed and exercised the power of appointment and the Senate had recognized and confirmed the action. Instead of choosing a Senator for six years, as the Constitution gave them the right and power to do, they were able to choose the present senior Senator for five years and eight and a half months, only a fraction of a term.

The reasoning of the Senator from Massachusetts, who now claims that the power to appoint is revived in the executive, whenever a Legislature adjourns without action, would make it possible in case of successive failures in a Legislature to fill the entire time by appointing and reappointing, by piecemeal, the same person for a full term in all or by filling the seat for the full term, but with different persons for different parts of the term. I do not find in the Constitution any foundation for such power.

The first part of the second paragraph relates to the establishment of classes, and settles the length of the first term of Senators from a State acquiring representation here, but there is a distinct recognition of the right of choosing them for full terms thereafter, and it is manifestly the legislative choosing referred to in the former paragraph that is meant.

The remainder of the paragraph relates to the subject of vacancies, and even here the Legislature is to act if possible. If it referred again to full terms, why is it necessary to give the Legislature the power to fill vacancies of that character? Such power had been already granted if it referred to the beginning of a new term. Is it not manifest that the vacancies referred to were not such as were caused by the constitutional ending of terms which had already been provided for, but mere fractions of a term caused by some unlooked-for event? These fractional terms even were to be filled by the Legislature if possible. The governor's power was only to be exercised during the recess of the Legislature, the appointment was only to be temporary, it was evident that the executive was expected to exercise it or not at his discretion, the power existed only until the next meeting of the Legislature. If no session of the Senate was to be held before the meeting of the Legislature no appointment was necessary; if the Legislature were soon to meet it might not be desirable to make an appointment that would perhaps terminate at an early day. Therefore, says the Constitution, the executive *may* make temporary appointments.

The latter part of the second paragraph evidently takes up a new subject not already provided for. The provision for filling full terms is ample and complete, but broken terms may occur and an arrangement was necessary to fill them without unnecessary delay, so as to preserve to each State its right of full representation. This was the purpose of the closing part of the second paragraph. The suggestion that the framers of the Constitution in this paragraph intended not only to provide for broken terms, but also to provide for the beginning of new terms in cases where the machinery provided in the former paragraph had failed is not well founded. Attention has already been called by Senators who have preceded me to the presumption that those charged with duties would perform them, and it could not be that in this one matter provision should have been deemed necessary against neglect or default. No such provision against failure was deemed necessary elsewhere, except in cases of failure to elect a President or Vice-President through the machinery of the electoral colleges, and the vital importance of these elections is a sufficient reason for the exception.

There is none to be found in the following instances: Where the President is charged with the duty of appointing public officers; where the governor is charged with the duty of setting in motion the machinery for filling a vacancy from his State in the House of Representatives; where the House of Representatives are charged with the duty of choosing their Speaker and other officers; where the Senate, in the absence of the Vice-President, have to choose a President *pro tempore*. In the two latter cases the difficulty of coming to an agreement because of political differences and individual ambition and rivalry may arise, as in State Legislatures when Senators are to be chosen. The importance of these occasions is greater, the wheels of government are at a standstill while either House remains unorganized, and history affords instances of the danger to our institutions from the failure of an organized Congress. But in these cases patriotism prevailed over selfishness and the Constitution was found to be equal to the emergency. It was as easy to anticipate a difficulty in organizing the House of Representatives, or in choosing a presiding officer in this body, as in electing a Senator, and yet it was not deemed essential to directly provide for a failure, either by naming some other officer to preside after a designated time had been spent in fruitless efforts to elect, or by giving the power of appointing a Speaker or President *pro tempore* under such circumstances to some other authority.

The theory of the Constitution is that the duties charged in it will be performed by those upon whom the different functions of government are imposed, not that they may be neglected and that provision must be made in case of their nonperformance by those primarily charged with them. If this idea that responsibilities devolved upon others in case of the neglect or omission of those to whom they were originally committed were well founded, it would only remove the possibility of failure a single step further, and it was far better to rely, as the founders

of our Government manifestly did, upon the idea that patriotism would be a stronger influence than party strife and personal ambition in the days then to come, when divisions and differences might delay and obstruct the easy and regular movement of the machinery of the Constitution they were framing.

But I claim that the Constitution sheds more and still clearer light upon this interesting and important subject. An object lesson is afforded us by the arrangements for organizing the Senate of the First Congress. Surely we shall be safe if we pursue the same course that was then to be pursued. There was never a time when the importance of a full Senate was greater. The number of States was small. There was indifference in certain quarters as to accepting the Constitution and entering into the "more perfect union." Neglect or refusal on the part of a few States to elect Senators, even after they had ratified it and accepted the new scheme of government, might render the whole plan abortive. These difficulties must have been understood thoroughly and well by the public men of that day, and they soon became realities and actually palsied the efforts of those charged with setting in motion the machinery of the new Government for nearly two months.

When the 4th day of March, 1789, arrived, the day fixed for commencing the operations of government under the new Constitution, but eleven States had ratified that instrument, and it was found that only ten had participated in the election which had made George Washington President. The great State of New York, whose principal city was to be the temporary capital, had not even chosen her Senators. No one was then bold enough to assume that the governor might avoid the delay caused in part by the absence of elected Senators by exercising the appointing power. Only eight Senators, representing in whole or in part five States, were present, and an adjournment was necessary from day to day and from time to time till the appearance of an actual quorum.

After waiting one and two weeks for the absentees to assemble, two circulars were successively issued urging their attendance, and they gradually came in one by one, till on the 6th of April the arrival of a Senator from Virginia made a bare quorum of 12 from eight different States. The electoral vote was then counted. Six more Senators had presented themselves by the 21st of April, when the Vice-President was formally conducted to the chair and assumed his office. The President was not inaugurated till the 28th day of April, and the full complement of Senators was not completed till the Senators from New York presented themselves on the 25th and 27th of July, and on the 28th they drew lots for their classes, and the entire legislative machinery of the new plan of government was only then fully completed and in working order.

Why is the Constitution silent upon the questions of vacancies until after making arrangements for completing the machinery by the division of the Senators into classes? Why was the power of filling them not given in the first instance? The answer must be that the provision for filling vacancies was only intended to include fractional and broken terms, and that no such terms could exist when the Senate first met. If vacant full terms, or original vacancies as they are sometimes called, were to be provided for, the provision for filling them at the first organization of the Senate would have been as important as in subsequent sessions, and I think I have shown that it would have been vastly more important. The Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] recognizes that the vacancies to be filled were such as might occur only after the first organization of the Senate had been completed and the division into classes had been perfected; but his argument avoids the conclusions I have drawn from the absence of any power to fill vacancies at the outset by suggesting that the vacancies meant vacancies in the classes and not in the terms of Senators. This would seem to make it of greater importance to keep the classes full, when they are established simply for convenience in regulating the number of Senators to be elected every second year, than to preserve to each State, as far as practicable, its full constitutional representation.

The foundation stone upon which the majority of the committee rest their conclusions is a requirement which they claim to have found in the Constitution that the Senate must be always full. To accomplish this result of keeping up constantly and without interruption the full complement of Senators, they wrest words from their usual and plain meaning and attach new or unusual signification to them. "Happen" is thus made to mean "occur" and "exist;" instead of relating to some event which could not be foreseen or predicted, it is made to relate to something in the future that is fixed, settled, and determined by constitutional enactment.

If this doctrine of a Senate to be kept always full can be found, then the canons of construction may be invoked to give such interpretation to the language of the Constitution as will carry out its plain and manifest intent, but not otherwise. A careful examination of the instrument from its beginning to its latest amendment discloses no such doctrine, either in direct language or by fair inference. Neither its makers nor its early interpreters claimed the existence of any such a doctrine when they decided the Johns and Lanman cases. Nor had it been discovered by their successors when they decided the Phelps and Williams cases. The Constitution gives to the States the absolute right to a full and equal representation in the Senate, and provides that such right shall never be taken from any State, even by an amendment to the Constitution, except with its full consent, and the necessary means are provided to secure such representation without intermission, except for such brief periods as it may take for the constituted authorities to act. But there is no provision for an absolutely uninterrupted succession, as in the case of the Presidency. As a matter of actual experience we see every second year, except when an extraordinary session intervenes, a break in the terms of about one-third of our number from March to December, if the theory is correct that the choosing of a Senator is not completed till the oath of office is administered.

The correct doctrine with reference to the representation of the States here is that it is a privilege and right given to each, and if there is any protracted lapse in such representation while the Senate is in session it is owing to the failure of the proper authority to act, or to some faulty legislation here.

The deliberate omission of a Legislature to elect at the proper time is a voluntary relinquishment on the part of the State of its privilege for the time being, and during the century of our history such omissions have been rare, and no serious inconvenience or disastrous result has followed in any case.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] lays stress upon an amendment offered by Mr. Madison in the convention of 1787 to the clause or passage relating to vacancies. It seems he wished to add after "vacancies" the words "happening by refusals to accept, resignations, or otherwise," and that he deemed these words important so as to prevent doubts whether resignations could be made by Senators. The Senator suggests that Mr. Madison's doubt was based upon a practice that prevailed in England of denying to a member of Parliament the right to resign. But certainly, if this was his sole purpose, Mr. Madison must have offered this amendment out of abundant caution, and for some reason it was only engrafted in part upon the passage relating to vacancies when the instrument was put in its final shape, before adoption as a whole, under the supervision of a committee of which he himself was a member.

The acceptance of a part of the amendment did not change the right of a Senator as to resignation, but its true effect was certainly to limit the vacancies to a class, and excludes the idea that all vacancies, those occurring by the natural ending of terms according to the provisions of the Constitution as well as those happening by some event which could not be foreseen, could be filled by the executive of a State by temporary appointment. Even if the Madison amendment had been incorporated into the Constitution in full, it would not have settled the meaning of the clause relating to removals decisively in favor of the views of the majority of the committee; for in the case of a Senator-elect refusing to accept, which is the case omitted by the committee on style and arrangement, the Legislature has acted and commenced the term, and in that respect it is like the case of a resignation.

If the part of the Madison amendment relating to resignations had never been adopted, the right of a Senator to resign would still have been clear. Prohibitory words would have been necessary to deny to him such a privilege. The right of a President to resign is referred to only incidentally; it was not deemed necessary to confer it by affirmative words, and there are many reasons why a President should not voluntarily abandon his office which do not apply to a Senator.

Senators have referred to the custom in England which denied to a member of Parliament the privilege of resigning, but they have overlooked the fact that this practice was not followed in the American Congress which existed under the Articles of Confederation prior to the adoption of the Constitution.

In that body, on the 14th day of July, 1786, a report was offered by a committee containing, among other resolutions, the following:

> That a Delegate, having taken his seat in Congress, has no right to withdraw himself without permission obtained either from Congress or the State he represents.

The yeas and nays were called. Each State had one vote and all questions of this character were determined by the votes of a majority of the States. But five of the thirteen States voted aye, and the resolution was defeated.

In this connection it may be pertinent to suggest that if a reasonable doubt existed as to the right of a member of either House to resign, it was as important to remove it in the case of a Rep-

resentative as a Senator; yet there is no mention in the Constitution, even incidentally or indirectly, of the right of a Representative to resign. Still, the right has never been questioned since the first Congress was organized. The practice established and followed prior to that time was continued under the Constitution, and scarcely a session passes without one or more resignations.

If we are to depart from the interpretations of the past and enter upon a new line of practice with reference to States that have failed to elect Senators at the time and in the manner required by the Constitution and laws, it is better to admit, as the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] does, that it is "a new advance." He claims that "three gains over the old prohibitory notions" have been made in the course of modern progress, and he is ready for another forward movement. He takes pride in having "gone on gradually outgrowing the old, the narrow, and the technical construction of the Constitution which prevailed in some minds and in some cases."

This is a dangerous doctrine, but it places squarely before us the real meaning of the majority report. The Constitution as it has come down to us from the fathers does not permit a governor to appoint a Senator when a Legislature charged with the duty of choosing and having had the opportunity to choose has omitted or neglected or failed to do so. This is regarded by the Senator from New Hampshire as illiberal, so we must change it by interpretation. If the irreverent hand of change is thus to be laid upon this instrument whenever those charged with the duty of enforcing it deem that it does not suit the advanced spirit of the age, the end of our form of government is near, its stability is threatened, its permanency is in peril.

But I claim that the power to appoint under such circumstances was wisely withheld from the executive, and if we were making a new Constitution to-day a true conservatism would suggest that the authority of a governor should not be increased in this direction. If it is once understood that the prevention of an election does not deprive a State of any part of its representation, but merely shifts the jurisdiction, it will be to the interest of an ambitious candidate, who is not strong with the representatives of the people, but who is, or thinks he is, in favor with the executive, to delay and hinder and prevent an agreement among the members of the Legislature. In many States the sessions are limited to sixty days, or even less, and men of shrewdness and resource, whether in the halls or lobby, can accomplish much among a lot of inexperienced legislators by pursuing the Fabian policy.

This will soon be regarded as a legitimate mode of political warfare in Senatorial struggles, just as the gerrymander has become a recognized, a convenient, a potential factor in arranging the districts of a State so as to secure the largest possible representation. There are already instances in the history of the country where legislators have abandoned their seats and gone beyond the reach of the power of the body to which they belonged so as to prevent an election. This must have been from some mistaken notion that they had a right to pursue their opposition to some party or some candidate even to this extent. But such instances will rapidly increase and multiply if by our action we say that when such methods are adopted by Senators and Representatives they are not neglecting a duty, but are merely transferring the duty to another constitutional source of power; that they are not preventing the election of a Senator, but are arranging to secure one more acceptable personally, or more in harmony with their views of governmental policy from a source fully sanctioned by constitutional interpretation, in which they have more confidence than they have in the majority of their colleagues.

Nor will it do to overlook the opportunities afforded to a governor in such a contest to carry out his personal or party views. Power is sweet, and it is in accordance with human nature to desire it, to seek it, to extend it to its farthest limits, and the voice of ambition is constantly persuading the possessor to grasp more. When the Legislature is adverse to the executive wish and the votes are close, what a temptation to use the whole power of the office to obstruct and delay and hinder, when, in the event of failure, he is the legatee of the constitutional authority to make a Senator and can bestow the appointment upon whomsoever he pleases.

I myself remember an instance here where the executive of a State assumed the authority to determine the sufficiency of an election of a Senator made by the Legislature of his State. He passed his judgment upon it and decided it to be invalid and void, declared the seat vacant, and attempted to fill it. He claimed that it was his duty to determine whether the situation required an appointment. The judgment of the Senate was never passed upon this action, because the Senator chosen by the Legislature was seated, but it illustrates the dangerous tendency in this direction, if we recognize the governor as the successor of the Legislature to the constitutional authority to fill Senatorial vacancies after they have failed to elect. It is not wise to extend the power of the executive beyond the plain meaning of the language used in the Constitution, beyond the interpretation of that language that has come down to us from the early days of the Republic. The Constitution ought not to be changed in this particular, either by any latter-day interpretation or by any regular amendment.

Those advocating the report of the majority of the committee made frequent reference in the early part of this debate to the fact that Senators had been admitted to seats here upon executive appointments; some after debate and a vote, others without question or division, at the beginning of their terms; and this was deemed a sufficient reason for the adoption of the pending resolution. At that time I was here representing the State of Florida under such an appointment, and my name being thus introduced into the debate, I deem it proper to show why the State, which I have the honor in part to represent, was in this situation, and that if she was not at the time represented by a Senator duly chosen by her Legislature, it was because of the legislation of former years and the decisions of the Senate thereunder.

I am not disposed to find fault with the proposition that Florida should not be represented at the beginning of a full term by an appointee of a governor, any more than Montana. But it is not the State of Florida that has sought or arranged this mode of representation. It has resulted from the act of 1866 and the decisions of this body under its constitutional power to judge of the elections of its own members. But if the logic of the New Hampshire cases leads to the conclusions reached by the majority of the committee, before we decide to follow this logic it may be well to take our bearings, and if we find ourselves away from the right track, let us see where we left the proper sailing lines, and so direct our voyage as to return to them.

In 1866 the Congress, in the exercise of the power given by the Constitution to make or alter regulations as to the time and place of holding elections for Senators, determined which Legislature in each State should discharge the duty, and at what time during the session they should enter upon the work. The main purpose in view was to secure as much uniformity as possible in these elections.

The section of the act which relates to the time of holding such elections is as follows:

> The Legislature of each State which is chosen next preceding the expiration of the time for which any Senator was elected to represent said State in Congress, shall, on the second Tuesday after the meeting and organization thereof, proceed to elect a Senator in Congress, etc.

Each State is entitled to two Senators, and it would seem to be manifest that it was the duty of the Congress in enacting this legislation to keep this fact in view, and give every State the opportunity to keep its representation full, always full. If the statute did not protect every State in this right, I feel no hesitancy in saying that it was in violation of the Constitution, for there is no power to take from a State its equal representation here, without its own consent, even for a day.

There was but one way to do this, and that was to cast the duty of choosing the Senator upon the Legislature which last convened before the close of the Senatorial term and at the latest session of such Legislature before such term ended. Instead of this the duty of choosing was imposed upon the Legislature which was last elected before the expiration of the term.

Two Legislatures were elected in New Hampshire in 1878, one in March, whose term began in June and extended to May, 1879; the other in November, whose term began in June, 1879, and lasted two years. Senator Wadleigh completed his term of six years March 3, 1879. An extraordinary session of the Forty-sixth Congress was called later in the month. The Legislature of New Hampshire elected in March, 1878, treated the law of 1866 as valid, and took no steps to elect a Senator, leaving the duty where the act of 1866 placed it, to be performed by the next Legislature elected in November, 1878. Of course, the duty belonged under the Constitution to the former body, for it only could elect a Senator for the full term of six years; the later Legislature could only choose for a fraction of that time. The governor appointed Charles H. Bell to represent the State in the interim, and after consideration and debate he was seated, by a vote of 35 yeas and 27 nays, on the 10th of April, 1879. In June the later Legislature met and elected Mr. Blair for the residue of the term.

This occurred some years before I became a member of this body, but I remember the debate and the decision very well, and the conclusions reached by the majority did not meet the approval of my judgment then, and my subsequent investigation and consideration of the question have confirmed those views. But the judgment of the Senate was adhered to in the next case that arose, when Mr. Blair's term expired six years later, and he

presented a similar appointment from the governor authorizing him to represent the State from the beginning of the term, March 4, 1885, or from the date of his appointment, till the Legislature met in June, when he was again elected for a fractional term.

This, then, became the accepted way for States thus situated to secure representation. The Senate was the constitutional tribunal to pass upon these elections and these were its judgments.

The members of the Legislature of Florida are elected under its present constitution in October in the even-numbered years, and the two houses convene in the April after the election. The statute of 1866 requires an election by the Legislature chosen next preceding the expiration of the term for which a Senator was elected. The term of the present junior Senator expired in March last, and the State of Florida, respecting the legislation of the Congress and the practice of the Senate in former cases, had not through her Legislature attempted to provide for this expiry before it occurred. There was but one way in which her constitutional right to representation could be secured during the interval before the meeting of the Legislature under the law as established and settled in the New Hampshire cases, and that was by an executive appointment. It was proper under these circumstances that her representation should have been kept full without objection, for she had followed the course determined by the constitutional tribunal having jurisdiction of the question to be proper and lawful. But though Florida is compelled to obtain her constitutional representation in part, at times, in the manner fixed and established as regular by the decisions of this body, which alone has jurisdiction to pass final judgment upon what constitutes a valid right to a seat here, a Senator from that State is under the same obligation as his colleagues to endeavor to change and abandon a practice he believes to be unauthorized, although it is his duty to accept it and respect it as long as it is sustained and continued by the Senate. Whenever the Senate is convinced that the course heretofore pursued is wrong, it is our duty to change the law at such a time and in such a way that no State will lose any part of its representation.

But the law of 1866 produces other results that are incongruous and undesirable. Some States elect their legislators for terms of four years, and although the bodies thus formed may hold several sessions during the years of their existence, they must, upon the second Tuesday after they convene and organize, enter upon the election of the successors to the Senators whose terms expire before another Legislature is elected. In such a case a Senator may be chosen more than three, and perhaps nearly four years before his term begins. The late Senator Gibson of Louisiana served an entire term in the House of Representatives during the Forty-seventh Congress after he had been chosen a member of this body.

In Mississippi, the present Legislature was elected in November, 1891. It met and was organized in January, 1892, and on the second Tuesday thereafter entered upon the choice of its Senators—one to fill a term beginning March 4, 1893, the other beginning March 4, 1895, and ending March 3, 1901. Certainly it would be wise to avoid such results, and the law should be so amended that Senators should be always chosen before the beginning of a term, and as near as possible to the time when the former term expires. A law requiring an election to be held after the term begins abridges the right of a State to choose its Senators for six years.

It may be urged that a State should alter its constitution when the time fixed for the meeting of its Legislature causes these results, but that is no answer to the objections to the present law. States fix the time for electing and convening their Legislatures to suit their convenience and interests; their action is not subject to the supervision of the Congress. It is very natural that these considerations should differ in different States, and there is no reason why any uniformity should be attempted; it is our duty in legislating upon this subject to consider the convenience of the States. We have no power to change their constitutions, and we should conform to them and shape our laws so as to secure to each the opportunity to be always represented by a full representation of elected Senators.

But whether the law of 1866 is continued or not, and whether the precedent established by the Bell case is to be again followed or not, it must still be remembered that the report of the majority of the committee rests upon two propositions, and if either of them fail their conclusions fall. Not only must the Bell case be sustained, but the Johns case must also be reversed. The broad line of demarcation between the point involved, in the Montana case, as to the power of a governor to appoint when the Legislature has had the opportunity to choose a Senator and has failed to choose, and the point involved in the Bell case, where no such opportunity had been afforded to the Legislature, has hitherto been carefully observed by the Senate, and the Senator from Massachusetts clearly recognized this distinction when he participated in the discussion of the Bell case, as he has himself recently reminded us.

The former case is the one before us. In this respect it is like the Kensey Johns case from Delaware, the Phelps case from Vermont, the Williams case from New Hampshire. They all sustain the doctrine that the power of the governor to appoint no longer exists when the Legislature has met and had an opportunity to act. The decisions upon this point are entirely uniform. Not a single decision has been made in the Senate inconsistent with this doctrine, which was settled in the Johns case in 1794. The Montana case rests upon the same state of facts as these precedents, and our decision should be in harmony with them. While the action of the Senate has not been consistent in cases similar to the Lanman case, as the Bell case demonstrates, as to the right of a governor to make an appointment at the beginning of a term, there has been no inconsistency as to its decisions in cases where the Legislature charged with the duty of choosing a Senator has met and finally adjourned without doing so, and this is precisely the case before the Senate. Whatever opportunity there may be to differ as to the first question involved in the proposition upon which the majority report rests, the second question must be answered in the negative if we follow the uniform action of the Senate up to this time.

Mr. President, I have attempted to show that the Constitution confers upon the Legislatures (and only upon the Legislatures) of States the power of choosing Senators at the commencement of terms, and that the power of a governor to appoint is only in cases of broken terms caused by some unforeseen event after a Legislature has acted; that the executive of a State under no circumstances has power to make an appointment, even in cases of broken terms, where a Legislature has once entered upon its constitutional duty of attempting to choose; that these views are supported by the plain meaning of the Constitution and by the action of the Senate when questions arose involving the power of the Legislature and the governor in such cases up to the passage of the act approved July 25, 1866, and included in the Revised Statutes, Title II, chapter 1, page 3; that this act of 1866 encroached upon the constitutional right of some of the States to elect their Senators for six years, and has resulted in a departure from the practice of our predecessors, in the early days of the Republic, of admitting only Senators elected by State Legislatures at the beginning of a term; that instead of treating these cases as proper precedents, and following their logic by taking another step in the direction of changing the Constitution by interpretation, we should retrace our steps and amend the objectionable section of the law of 1866, so as to give each State an opportunity to elect its Senators before the beginning of their terms; that the recognition of a power in the governor to appoint a Senator, after the omission of a Legislature to do so when it has had the opportunity, is not only unwarranted, but such a power is undesirable, and would encourage a spirit of disorganization in Senatorial contests to prevent an election whenever it was deemed desirable to transfer the power of making the Senator to the executive authority.

Believing, as I do, that these views are founded upon the Constitution, and the interpretation of it that was accepted when its makers were still upon the stage of action; believing that the makers of that honored instrument acted with wisdom and discretion in limiting the power of the executive of a State in appointing Senators to the filling of broken terms temporarily until the next meeting of the Legislature, I can not accept the report of the majority of the committee nor favor the adoption of their resolution. And instead of joining the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] in "this new advance," I favor an abandonment of "the three gains over the old prohibitory notions," which he claims that he and his associates have made, and a return to the practice as it prevailed when the Senate first diverged from the right path to make these so-called gains.

Mr. DUBOIS. Mr. President, the question before the Senate as to whether the governor of a State has a right to appoint a Senator when the Legislature fails to elect to provide for a known vacancy gives a splendid opportunity for those who love to deal in legal abstractions and fine technicalities. For myself, I have no taste for either, and I do not intend now to further confuse this question by further refinements of constitutional law. I rise simply to emphasize an answer which has been made to those who say that if the Senate at this time seats these gentlemen who have been appointed by the governors it will pave the way for fraud and corruption in the future and offer a premium to those who desire to betray their constituents.

It is said that a gentleman who goes into the Legislature with a small following and has the governor as his personal friend, will prevent the election of a Senator, knowing that the governor will appoint him if the Legislature fails to elect. Senators have emphasized that point several times. My object in rising now is to say that plainly the effect of the action of the Senate in refusing to seat these gentlemen who have been appointed will be offering a premium to corruption. It has often happened in other

States, and it was the case in the State of Montana now under discussion, that at the time for the election of a Senator there were three parties, neither of whom had a majority in the Legislature. There were the Democrats, the Republicans, and the Populists, neither of whom alone and unaided could elect a Senator.

The members of the Legislature were elected on separate plain and distinct platforms, pledging them to carry out certain principles. As honorable men there was but one course for them to pursue, and that was to vote for a gentleman for the high office of United States Senator who represented the principles which they were pledged and elected to carry out. In the case of Montana, and in similar cases which will arise, there is no way by which a United States Senator can be elected unless some of the members of the Legislature abandon their principles; they must be corrupted either by money or by office or through some other means. It is their duty to sit there and vote their principles; and if they can not elect a United States Senator, then they must return to their people and the governor can fill the position temporarily until, at the next election, the people will again be called upon to decide.

None of the members of the Legislature have a moral right to abandon their candidate, and when they do so they abandon their principles. When you say to these gentlemen they can not get a seat because the Legislature should have elected some one, you say to future Legislatures that they must in some way elect a Senator, even if they have to sell out their party and principles. That answer occurs to me, and I think it is a sufficient one as to the dangers from a moral standpoint, arising from seating the Senator from Montana at this time. If you refuse to seat him, the same Legislature which could not elect will be called together again, with instructions that they must elect or their State will be but partially represented in the United States Senate. Some of the members must betray their constituents and principles in order to elect, and thus the door for corruption is widely opened.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Mr. President, I do not intend to detain the Senate at any length in regard to the pending question, but I rise simply for the purpose of stating a fact or two and introducing in evidence a couple of letters bearing upon this matter.

In 1858 the Legislature of the State of Oregon elected two Senators from that State. This was prior to the admission of the State into the Union. The State was not admitted until the 14th day of February, 1859. On the admission of the State the two Senators previously elected by the Legislature of the embryo State presented their credentials to the Senate of the United States and both were admitted.

Lots were drawn, and under the classification as it then stood one or the other necessarily had to retire on the 4th of March, 1859. Delazon Smith, one of the Senators elected, drew the short time. Consequently his term of service ended on the 4th day of March, 1859, he having served only a few days, perhaps two weeks. Then there was a vacancy in the Senate of the United States from the State of Oregon occasioned by the expiration of a term. The Legislature of the State subsequently met, and although it was the constitutional duty of such Legislature to choose a Senator it adjourned without making choice, and the question presented to the governor of the State was, whether he had the constitutional power to temporarily appoint a Senator to fill that term, the precise question now presented in the Montana case now before the Senate.

Mr. GRAY. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. When did the Legislature which elected both of these Senators adjourn?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. It had adjourned prior to the 4th of March, prior to the expiration of the term, so that the case was free from any question as to whether a recess of the Legislature had occurred.

The question was a new one, of course, to the people of Oregon at that time, to the governor of the State, and the leading representative men of the State. At that time Mr. Lewis Cass was Secretary of State. The Legislature of the State of Oregon and the governor of the State were in accord with the party in power at that time, and it was determined that the opinion of Mr. Cass should be taken upon the question as to the constitutional power of the governor to appoint to fill that vacancy. He was addressed on the subject by the ex-Senator, Delazon Smith, and he gave in his response his opinion against the constitutional power of the governor to appoint. I regret I have been unable to get a copy of the letter of Gen. Cass, but I have a letter from ex-Senator and ex-Governor Grover, of the State of Oregon, who participated in that matter at the time, and who was fully conversant with the whole question then discussed, and had seen and remembered distinctly the contents of Secretary Cass's letter. He has very kindly given me the following letter, reciting the history of the matter at that time and what took place, which I ask the Secretary to read, if there is no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAULKNER in the chair). The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

PORTLAND, OREGON, *July 12, 1893.*

MY DEAR SENATOR: In reply to your favor of the 10th instant, requesting the copy of a letter written by Secretary Lewis Cass to Hon. Delazon Smith, of which I spoke to you, I can only say that after diligent search I have been unable to obtain the letter referred to. But I will give you its purport as I now recall it.

Mr. Smith was elected to the United States Senate in 1858 by the Legislature of the new State of Oregon, prior to the admission of the State to the Union, and took his seat in that body when the State was admitted in the midst of the second session of the Thirty-fifth Congress. He drew a short term, expiring March 4, 1859. Shortly afterwards in the same year the Legislature of Oregon was convened for the purpose of setting the wheels of the new State government in motion and of electing a United States Senator; the Legislature, after having made an effort to elect, adjourned without effecting an election.

Mr. Smith then wrote to Secretary of State Lewis Cass, asking to be advised whether, under the circumstances, the executive of the State could appoint a Senator. Having been consulted in the matter, I recollect the answer of the Secretary very well. It was in effect that the prime duty and power of choosing Senators to represent each State in the Senate of the United States was devolved by the Constitution upon the State Legislature; that the executive of a State could not initiate a term in the Senate of the United States; that his power to appoint was secondary only, and did not attach until there occurred a vacancy in the office, after the term had been occupied by a Senator regularly elected. He said this was the settled rule of the Senate established on full consideration.

He advised against the appointment of a Senator by the executive of the State at that time; and no appointment was made. The State of Oregon was represented by one Senator only in the Senate of the United States from March 4, 1859, to March 4, 1861, in obedience to this rule.

After careful examination of the subject at that time, I was satisfied of the correctness of this doctrine; and, of course, I fully concur in the position taken by you on this question at the last session of Congress, and congratulate you on your lucid and forceful demonstration of it in the debates.

Very truly yours,

L. F. GROVER.

Hon. J. H. MITCHELL, *United States Senator, Washington, D. C.*

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. The then governor of Oregon, acting upon this very sensible advice of Secretary Cass, declined to make a temporary appointment, and from March 4, 1859, until March 4, 1861, Oregon was represented by but one Senator. Having given the opinion of the leading Democrat and Secretary of State of that day, approved by another leading Democrat and able lawyer of my own State, the writer of the letter just read, as to their views of the Constitution on this important question, I now desire to call attention to another case happening in my own State.

In 1885, March 4, the term of Senator Slater, then a Senator from the State of Oregon, expired. Under the law it was the duty of the Legislature of the State of Oregon which met in January, 1885, to elect a successor. That Legislature met, balloted during the whole forty days of the session in a futile attempt to elect a Senator, and then adjourned prior to the 4th of March, 1885, without making an election. There was a vacancy again, precisely on all fours with that now before the Senate, it being the case of the expiration of a term, and the meeting of the Legislature whose business it was to elect, and a failure on the part of that Legislature to elect. Again, for the second time in its history, the State of Oregon was confronted with the question as to the constitutional power of the governor to appoint temporarily at the beginning of a term, and where the Legislature had had opportunity to elect and failed. The Legislature was then Republican. The governor of the State was a Republican. He was at a loss to know what his duties in the premises were. Although one of our most prominent and leading citizens and an excellent business man, he is not a lawyer. Therefore he took advice from a number of lawyers in our State.

Mr. GRAY. Let me ask the Senator before he speaks of the decision in that case, did the Legislature which failed to elect adjourn before the 4th of March, 1885?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. It did. It adjourned before the 4th of March, 1885. Among other leading lawyers, not only in the State of Oregon but outside of the State, the governor addressed a letter to Hon. George F. Edmunds, of the State of Vermont, then a Senator from the State of Vermont in the Senate of the United States. Senator Edmunds responded, and, by the courtesy of Governor Moody, I have his letter here, which I ask may be read, giving his opinion as to the constitutional power of Governor Moody to appoint a Senator under the circumstances just stated.

The Secretary read as follows:

BURLINGTON, VT., *Sept. 1, 1885.*

DEAR SIR: I have yours of the 21st ultimo. The Constitution, as you know, provides respecting Senators that "If vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancy."

It has been held by the Senate, and may now be considered as the settled law of that body, that if a State Legislature has once acted or had an oppor-

tunity to act while a vacancy exists, the governor has no power to supply the failure of the Legislature to fill it up.

Applying this rule to the case of Oregon, a vacancy existed on and after 4th March, 1885, and your Legislature, as I understand it, continued to sit a long time after that date and had the legal opportunity to fill the vacancy, so that the vacancy did not happen during a recess of the Legislature, and it only now exists because the Legislature failed in its duty of keeping its Senatorial representation full. If we construe this clause of the Constitution as some Democratic Presidents have the corresponding clause respecting the President filling vacancies in offices, so as to make it mean that if vacancies happen to exist during any recess the governor may fill them, it would be an indefinite power to be exerted just so long as the Legislature failed, which is not according either to the language or spirit of the Constitution. But, however we may reason about it, the Senate will be obliged to reverse its repeated decisions on the subject in order to admit a Senator appointed by a governor under such circumstances. Trusting that in some way a Republican Senator from Oregon may be preserved to us at a time when the only security for safe and conservative government lies with the Senate, I am,

Very truly, yours,

GEO. F. EDMUNDS.

His Excellency Z. F. MOODY,
Salem, Oregon.

Mr. CHANDLER. I should like to ask the Senator——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Certainly.

Mr. CHANDLER. I should like to ask the Senator from Oregon whether prior to this date in 1885, to wit, in 1879, Mr. Bell had not been admitted to a seat in the Senate under an appointment from the governor of New Hampshire, and whether at that very time, in 1885, Senator Blair was not admitted to a seat in the Senate under an appointment from the governor of New Hampshire, for both of which admissions Senator Edmunds voted?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I believe the statement of the Senator from New Hampshire is entirely correct; but, Mr. President——

Mr. CHANDLER. Now, then——

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I do not yield now. Pardon me. But the vote given then by Senator Edmunds was in strict accordance and entirely consistent with the views given in the letter, where he places the right to appoint upon the ground that the Legislature whose business it was to elect had had no opportunity to elect.

Mr. CHANDLER. I am aware that that was the very question, whether the Legislature of New Hampshire had had an opportunity to elect and had failed to do it, as the Legislature of Oregon had had an opportunity to elect and had failed to do it. I do not myself comprehend the distinction which is made in the two cases by the Senator from Oregon and the Senator from Florida.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. The distinction is——

Mr. CHANDLER. I have never been able myself to see why the case of New Hampshire was any stronger for the allowance of the gubernatorial power of appointment than the case of the States whose Senators are now seeking admission to this floor.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I will state the difference. I decline to yield for a speech. I have not finished my speech.

Mr. CHANDLER. I thought the Senator yielded.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I yielded for a question. I did not yield for a speech.

Mr. CHANDLER. I did not ask the Senator to yield for a question. I asked him to yield to let me make a statement, and I supposed he had yielded to me. However, the Senator so seldom interrupts anyone himself that I do not like to interrupt him further.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I yield to the Senator to finish his statement, if he has not finished it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. CHANDLER. I was about to sit down when the Senator informed me that he did not yield to me to make a speech.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. The Senator need not get testy about it. I said I did not yield to the Senator to make a speech. I did yield to him to make a statement, and I am willing to yield yet if he has any more statement to make.

Mr. CHANDLER. I will wait until the Senator gets through.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. The Senator says he does not see any difference between the present case, the Montana case, and the cases from New Hampshire, his own State. The Senator is too bright a man not to be able to see the difference. Whether that difference makes any odds or not is another question; but the difference is this: In the case of the State of New Hampshire, both in the Bell case and the Blair case, the Legislature of the State of New Hampshire, whose business it was to elect a successor, had not met, had never convened, and therefore had no opportunity to elect a Senator, while in the case at bar the Legislature whose business it was to elect a successor to Senator Sanders from the State of Montana had not only convened in regular session according to law, had not only had an opportunity to elect, but had absolutely endeavored to elect, running through a period of three or four weeks. There is the difference.

Now, I frankly confess that, with the view I take of the Constitution, it does not make any difference. Evidently it did make a difference with Senator Edmunds; evidently it does make a difference with a great many Senators; evidently it made difference enough, when the Bell case and the Blair case was here, to cause a majority of the Senate to vote against the majority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and both of those gentlemen were seated. Seated why? Evidently because the Senate were of the opinion that, inasmuch as the Legislature of the State of New Hampshire had no opportunity to elect, therefore it was no more than right—without going into the constitutional question very deeply—that the governor should have the power to fill that vacancy until such time as the Legislature of New Hampshire met and could fill the vacancy.

But I shall not consume the time of the Senate further. As I said, I think this question should be brought to a close at as early a day as possible. If the gentlemen whose cases are in question are to be seated, they should be seated without any unnecessary delay; and if they are not to be seated, they ought to know it. I gave my views on this subject fully at the extra session of the Senate in April last, and therefore I shall not now detain the Senate further than to say, in my judgment a vote to seat the contestants in these three cases is a vote to overturn the precedents of the Senate, and in plain contravention of the provisions of the Constitution relating to the choosing of Senators.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, it is not my intention to occupy any considerable time in the discussion of the question before the Senate as to the right of Senators to admission here upon the appointment of the governor of a State at the commencement of a term, or where the Legislature has failed to exercise its power. It seems to me that all reasonable construction of the language of the Constitution, and of the theory and scheme of government established by the Constitution, concur in one direction, and leave but little doubt upon this subject. The language of the Constitution is:

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof.

In a subsequent clause it says:

If vacancies happen—

Vacancies in what? In the office of Senator appointed by the executive or in the office of Senator chosen by the Legislature of a State? There seems to be no doubt that the vacancy must be of that character prescribed in the original clause constituting this body, vacancies in the only office known to the Constitution, the office of a Senator chosen by the Legislature of a State.

In this view it is not material how you may define the term "happen," but unquestionably the whole theory and scheme of this Government is a representative one, that this body shall represent the Legislatures, that it shall be chosen by a representative body, the Legislatures, who are themselves chosen by the people of the respective States.

This interpretation is sustained further by the theory of the Government. It is a Government of the people, in which the voice of the people ought to be potential in all its departments; and every interpretation of parts of this Constitution must be made in that direction.

Is it true that this body, constituted by the exercise of an appointive power by a single individual, would be representative of the people? Is it true that there is less danger to popular government, to the proper representation of the ideas of the people, in the exercise of the power to appoint Senators by a single individual, than it is by their being chosen by the voice of men immediately elected by the people and constituting their law-making power?

These days, Mr. President, have justified the wisdom of the provision of the Constitution limiting the power of appointment to vacancies in the office of a Senator chosen by the Legislature of a State. These are days in which the power of money, of men in high social and business positions influence and direct the performance of public trusts, when the money power of the country controls to a great extent those in whom the power of the people is vested.

If we permit the introduction into this body in the beginning of a term of a Senator created by a governor, the interpretation of the Constitution which permits that must permit the exercise of a like power in every recess of the Legislature of a State; and, as was said by my colleague [Mr. PASCO] in his speech to-day, it might be, under this construction of the Constitution, that the entire term of six years, not only of one, but of two Senators, and not only of two Senators, but of a majority of this body might be constitutionally created under the influence and power of corrupt methods.

Sir, it is within my knowledge that in one State of this Union

the great corporations of this country, under this supposed interpretation of the Constitution that the governor would have power to appoint a Senator, has been used to pervert the voice of a Legislature chosen, four-fifths of it, under instructions to obey the will of the people in a particular direction. For the purpose of enabling this power to be exercised, the great corporate wealth and power of the country was brought to bear upon the Legislature, with the understanding that the governor of the State would exercise the power in correspondence with their will; and such will be the case in other States. If any other interpretation of this Constitution shall prevail than that the vacancy must be in the office of a Senator chosen by the Legislature of a State, this evil will have free course, and the way will be opened for the constitution of this body, not as a representative body of the people of this country, but as the representative of particular and special interests.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. What is the pleasure of the Senate? ["Vote!" "Vote!"] The question recurs on the adoption of the resolution reported by the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. HOAR. I call for the yeas and nays.

Mr. VANCE. Do I understand that the Senator from Massachusetts asks for a vote now?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is the understanding of the Chair. The Senator from Massachusetts demands a vote on the passage of the resolution reported by the Committee on Privileges and Elections, on which he demands the yeas and nays.

Mr. VANCE. I hope that will not be done. I wish to say something myself upon the question, and I am not able to do so to-day. There are a number of Senators on this side of the Chamber who were not expecting that the vote would be called for to-day, and consequently they are not prepared to proceed. I hope the Senator from Massachusetts will not insist upon his request.

Mr. HOAR. Of course I shall not insist on a present vote against such a suggestion from the chairman of the committee, but it is proper to say that early in the week I tried twice to fix the time for a vote, so informed the Senate, and stated that I hoped we should proceed to vote on Thursday. I thought there was general acquiescence in that purpose, and I have thought every Senator on both sides of the Chamber understood that there should be a vote, as no one expressed a wish to the contrary. So I am not pressing the resolution unduly. Of course, I shall not object to its going over if the honorable Senator does not desire to speak to-day; but I wish we may have an understanding when he has concluded his speech, or within some short time after, as to taking the vote.

Mr. VANCE. I understood the Senator to say the other day that he did not ask for a binding agreement.

Mr. HOAR. That is true; I did not.

Mr. VANCE. But that it should be understood that we should proceed regularly with the case.

Mr. HOAR. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. We can not hear the interesting dialogue which is going on between the two Senators.

Mr. VANCE. What I have to say on the question I shall submit to-morrow, and it will be very brief. I should not ask the indulgence if I had known the vote was to be had to-day. Other Senators who wish to speak, I suppose, will understand that they must be prepared to speak to-morrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands that the demand for the yeas and nays on the resolution reported by the Committee on Privileges and Elections is withdrawn.

Mr. CHANDLER. I did not understand the Senator from Massachusetts to withdraw the call. I renew the demand, if it is withdrawn, but of course there is no objection to the resolution going over until to-morrow at the request of the Senator from North Carolina. The difficulty is that many Senators on this side of the Chamber could not understand what arrangement the Senator from Massachusetts and the Senator from North Carolina were reaching.

Mr. HOAR. I did not propose to object to the case going over until to-morrow, but I crave leave to say that, by the universal assent of all Senators, the business of this special session of the Senate is of a gravity and importance affecting all sections of the country, affecting every State in the Union, which has scarcely a precedent, and it seems to me that justice to these States requires the prompt determination of their present right to a representation here, and that I ought to press upon the Senate the settling of this question before any other business of importance is transacted. That I propose to do.

Mr. STEWART. Perhaps the Senator from Massachusetts could arrange a time, by common consent, for the taking of the vote, so that Senators may know when the vote is coming off and be here. Ample time should be given.

Mr. HOAR. I ask that we may have a vote to-morrow before the Senate adjourns, say at 5 o'clock.

Mr. STEWART. Let that be done by unanimous consent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts submits a request for unanimous consent that the vote upon the resolution before the Senate be taken to-morrow evening at 5 o'clock. Is there objection?

Mr. VANCE. I object to that.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator from North Carolina state a time at which he will consent to the vote being taken?

Mr. VANCE. I am not prepared to do so until I ascertain precisely what number of Senators on this side of the Chamber desire to speak.

Mr. HOAR. I will ask, then, that we may have an understanding that the vote be taken on Monday at 5 o'clock.

Mr. VANCE. I believe I shall agree to that.

Mr. HOAR. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts submits a request that the vote on the pending resolution reported by the Committee on Privileges and Elections be taken on Monday evening at 5 o'clock. Is there objection to the request? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. COCKRELL. I understand, in consequence of what has occurred and announcements made elsewhere, that the Senate will be very soon called upon to adjourn. Prior to that, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session, the doors were reopened.

PAYMENT OF MILEAGE.

Mr. COCKRELL. I have been requested by a number of Senators to call up the joint resolution (H. Res. 3) making immediately available the appropriations for mileage of Senators and Members of the House of Representatives, which was objected to by the Senator from Kansas (Mr. PEFFER) the other day. I ask that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the joint resolution, with a simple statement. If any Senator does not desire to draw his mileage now, I am perfectly willing to have a proviso inserted by way of amendment which will excuse such Senator from accepting it.

Mr. ALDRICH. I think the Senator from Missouri the other day sufficiently explained the great exigency which demands immediate action upon the joint resolution.

Mr. COCKRELL. There is no exigency about it at all. The joint resolution explains itself. If the Senator from Rhode Island does not want to take his mileage he will be excused from it, and I will thank him to offer an amendment to that effect.

Mr. ALDRICH. I was satisfied with the explanation the Senator made the other day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Missouri, that the joint resolution be taken up for consideration?

Mr. PEFFER. It is not my purpose to interpose any further objection to the immediate consideration of the joint resolution; but I wish to state, in withdrawing my objection, that I do so at the earnest request of a number of gentlemen who have spoken to me about it in this and the other Chamber; and the only reason why, in the beginning I objected was that it seemed to me as though we were acting with undue haste in the premises. When we are called together in view of a depressed condition of things in the country and a general clamor for more money and for relief, it seemed to me to be a hasty proceeding, to say the least, that the first joint resolution we should be called upon to pass is one to provide ourselves with money that is now in the Treasury.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

Mr. VEST. Let the joint resolution be read at length.

The joint resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That the appropriations for mileage of Senators, Members of the House of Representatives, and Delegates from the Territories made in the legislative, executive and judicial appropriation act for the fiscal year 1894, approved March 3, 1893, be, and the same are hereby, made immediately available and authorized to be paid to Senators, Members of the House of Representatives, and Delegates from the Territories for attendance on the first session of the Fifty-third Congress.

Passed the House of Representatives, August 14, 1893.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment.

Mr. VEST. I do not propose to make anything like factious opposition to this measure. I do not like it and I shall vote against it. We know what the law says in regard to the payment of mileage. We are entitled to it at the regular session and not now. We are voting ourselves special favors in a finan-

cial way under circumstances that are not at all pleasant, to say the least. I think it is bad policy on our part; it is acting in bad faith. The amount involved is inconsiderable, but the measure is very objectionable, and I want the privilege of recording my vote against it.

Mr. HARRIS. I wish to inquire of the Senator from Missouri, for I was not a very careful listener to the joint resolution, whether he understands the measure to provide for the payment of mileage to the extraordinary session and also to the regular session.

Mr. VEST. Oh, no. I stated distinctly that we were anticipating our mileage; that is to say, we are changing the operation of the law that gives us the mileage on the first Monday of December, and taking it now. That is what I was speaking of.

Mr. HARRIS. Then I have but to add, Mr. President, that there is no gentleman occupying a seat on this floor who needs the funds more than I do; but I am in full sympathy with the view expressed by the Senator from Missouri, and I think I can wait.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I think the people of the United States understand that a servant, public or private, is entitled to his pay when he has earned it. The arrangement was for this sum to be paid the first Monday of December next, at the beginning of the next session, because that was supposed to be the time when the law was passed that we should do the traveling for which we were to be compensated as a part of our salary. Now we have done it at midsummer, and when we have done it at midsummer we are as much entitled to it at midsummer as any other servant who has done his work.

I do not think that the people of the United States are affected by the small gibes on this subject. The Senators who render this service of legislation to the country, to their States, and to the American people, do it at an immense pecuniary cost. I am one of the least conspicuous in my profession of the law of the members upon this floor, but I could easily earn, working only nine months in the year, never working evenings, selecting only from professional employment offered to me that which was agreeable, without any drudgery, five times the amount of my salary. I could have earned this summer but for this session three times the amount of my salary as a Senator.

There is a great compensation and satisfaction in holding this office of public honor, in the opportunity for large usefulness, in the opportunity to deal with the things which are great and permanent in their importance, which no money can measure; and I am not to be understood as saying that, when any Senator for the living salary with which he can pay his board in Washington, acts as a legislator for 65,000,000 of people, and represents a sovereign State of two or three or five million people, he is making a sacrifice. It is not that the compensation which comes for any useful service here is abundant, but it is not in the line of money. I do not believe that any American citizen whose judgment or opinion is respectable takes any other view of it. When the little hundred or two dollars which is a part of our salary that is assigned under the form of mileage has been earned, I think I am as much entitled to receive it as any workman on a farm or in a mill; and I propose to pursue the same policy in regard to both. I am struggling to bring about a condition of things by which the workmen in our mills and on our farms can get promptly their wages, and that they may have an opportunity to resume their earnings. The same principle applies to me that applies to them.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I did not care to discuss this question. I simply desired to state what my own action upon it would be, and not even to call for the yeas and nays. I am utterly indifferent as to what can be said in regard to my motives in the matter, because I am satisfied with those motives for myself. That is the important matter to me.

At a time of great distress, when the people of the country are looking to us for immediate relief if possible, and when, from circumstances I do not care to discuss, it is almost impossible for us to come to a conclusion, I do not think it is in good taste, to use no stronger expression, to attend to our own financial condition when, to say nothing else, we are unable to give relief to the people.

All that the Senator from Massachusetts says is doubtless true as to his being able to make a much larger amount by his professional pursuits outside of the Senate; and yet the fact remains that none of us are here by coercion, and that whenever coercion is employed it is by the people in relieving us from these responsibilities. We assume them voluntarily and generally hold on to them. That is unquestionable. When we took this office we knew the law or we are not fit to be here. We knew that our salaries and our mileage were payable at a certain time, and to change the time of payment is as much an attack upon the principle of observing the law as it is written by the lawmakers as if we should now vote ourselves back salaries or should change the contract as put in the statute between ourselves and the people in any other respect. If we now vote ourselves this mileage, in advance of the time when it is due to us, we change that contract or use the power the people have given us to take money out of the public Treasury before the time when it ought to be taken out under the established law for our own benefit. I need this money as much as any man living. I think I can safely say.

My friend from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY] asks me what has been the practice. I do not know that there has been any precedent established on the question. I recollect that I attended a called session the first time I ever appeared in the Senate Chamber. It was the session called by President Hayes in the spring of 1879. We did not vote ourselves any mileage then in advance. I recollect distinctly, and the books of the financial clerk in the Secretary's office will show it, that we got no mileage until we met in regular session in December. I do not want to be either sensational, dramatic, or oratorical; but this country is now in a financial condition unprecedented, the people are demanding bread literally and looking to Congress for relief, and we are unable to do anything except to give ourselves our mileage three months in advance of the time fixed by law.

Mr. VILAS. Mr. President, I suppose it will be by this time pretty generally recognized that this is but an extension in advance of the regular session beginning in December; that as we have paid our mileage expenses in coming, we are here to perform the duties which we should perform at a regular session, so far as they may be now discharged; and we are just as well entitled to our mileage as if it were a regular session.

Mr. VEST. How as to the law?

Mr. VILAS. The law is made by Congress and was intended to be applied according to the circumstances, as was well stated by the Senator from Massachusetts. Now, what is the practical point of this matter to the people? If we anticipate we simply have the money three or four months in advance, practically three. We then might impose a burden on the people if the Treasury was obliged to borrow the money at interest in order to discharge this mileage. If it is shown that the national debt will be increased by the payment of this money out of the Treasury now instead of in December we should be imposing some burden upon the people. Unless bonds are to be issued whereby there is interest to be imposed upon the people it makes no difference whatever to them. It seems to me that the reason is so plain that we ought all to agree upon it without any more discussion.

Mr. ALDRICH. I think the semiofficial statement—I say semiofficial on account of the relation which the Senator from Wisconsin recently held to the Administration—that this is to be a continuous session of Congress, will be more unwelcome to the people of the United States than the payment of any sum to Congress on account of mileage. I am very sorry that a Democratic Senator so near the National Administration as the Senator from Wisconsin should have felt obliged at this time in the session to say that we are here to stay permanently. As I have said, that statement will be very unwelcome to the people of the United States.

Mr. PASCO. The Senator from Missouri speaks of the contract and the law. I do not think it is at all well settled by law that the mileage is not payable until the next session. The act of 1856 so regulates it, but there is a later act, the act of December 23, 1857. I will read both. The first says:

Mileage for two sessions only, to be paid in the following manner, to wit: On the first day of each regular session each Senator, Representative, and Delegate shall receive his mileage for one session; and at the beginning of the second regular session of the Congress each Senator, Representative, and Delegate shall receive his mileage for such second session.

But that was changed in 1857. Both these sections are in the Standing Rules of the Senate, under the head of "Compensation of Members of Congress," on the 59th page. The act of 1857 provides that—

On the first day of the first session of each Congress—

Not the regular, but "the first session of each Congress"—

or as soon thereafter as he may be in attendance and apply, each Senator, Representative, and Delegate shall receive his mileage as now allowed by law; and on the first day of the second, or any subsequent session, he shall receive his mileage as now allowed.

That was the act of December 23, 1857. I do not think it is at all plain that this joint resolution is necessary. I suppose, however, it was considered proper to pass it and it is before the Senate. But it seems to me that the last law, passed in 1857, clearly carries out the views of the Senator from Massachusetts by stating the true object, which is to pay mileage as soon as possible after the Senator and Representatives have paid it out of their own pockets.

Mr. VILAS. I merely wish to add, with reference to what the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] has said, that the observation which I made with regard to the continuance of the present session was neither uttered as a friend of the Administration nor as an expression of judgment on my part of what ought to be done, but merely to indicate that it is obvious we have a good deal of business before us.

Mr. ALDRICH. I feel reassured.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, according to my view of this matter the law as it stands—the spirit of the law, its proper interpretation—is that the members shall have mileage for coming to Congress to perform the duties required. What else is it given for? If a man is elected to the Senate or the other House of Congress, and charged with the duty of coming here, the law provides him with the means of coming. It is not at one session or another. The term "regular" is employed, but the object of the law is to bring the servants of the people here to the place of performing their duty, and it is a proper law. The people of this country are not disposed to quibble about small matters for the convenience and necessities of public business; they want to see every Senator here and every member of Congress. They are able to pay them a reasonable compensation, and they desire them to be in sympathy with their needs in earnestly seeking some method of relief.

I am willing, Mr. President, to vote for mileage for every servant of the people to perform his duty when the people require him to do it, and to furnish him with the means and appliances to do it. This is not a body of rich men, or the representatives of the wealthy; they are the servants of the people, with the right and duty imposed upon Congress to furnish them every means and every facility to perform their duty to the people.

Mr. PEFFER. I move the indefinite postponement of the further consideration of the joint resolution, and I call for the yeas and nays upon the motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas moves that the joint resolution be indefinitely postponed; and on that motion demands the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GEORGE (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH]. If he were present I should vote "yea."

Mr. QUAY (when his name was called). I am paired on all such questions with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN]. If he were present I should vote "nay."

Mr. WALTHALL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. DIXON].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. DAVIS. I am paired with the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. BUTLER. I have a general pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CAMERON]. If his colleague will permit me, I should like to vote.

Mr. QUAY. I have no objection. I have no doubt if my colleague were present he would vote "nay."

Mr. BUTLER. I vote "nay."

Mr. HARRIS. I desire to inquire if the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL] is recorded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is not recorded.

Mr. HARRIS. Having a general pair with the Senator from Vermont, and not being absolutely certain as to how either he or I would vote on this question, I withhold my vote. I am inclined, however, to think that if I should vote at all I should vote "nay."

Mr. PLATT. I have a general pair with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. HUNTON], and I therefore do not vote. If he were present I should vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 12, nays 42; as follows:

YEAS—12.

Bate,	Irby,	Mills,	Pugh,
Berry,	Lindsay,	Peffer,	Smith,
Coke,	McPherson,	Perkins,	Vest.

NAYS—42.

Aldrich,	Frye,	Jones, Nev.	Sloop,
Allison,	Gallinger,	Kyle,	Stewart,
Blackburn,	Gibson,	Lodge,	Stockbridge,
Butler,	Gray,	McMillan,	Teller,
Call,	Hale,	Manderson,	Vilas,
Carey,	Hansbrough,	Mitchell, Oregon	Washburn,
Chandler,	Hawley,	Palmer,	White, Cal.
Cockrell,	Higgins,	Pasco,	White, La.
Cullom,	Hill,	Power,	Wolcott.
Dubois,	Hoar,	Roach,	
Faulkner,	Jones, Ark.	Sherman,	

NOT VOTING—31.

Allen,	Dixon,	Mitchell, Wis.	Ransom,
Brice,	Dolph,	Morgan,	Squire,
Caffery,	George,	Morrill,	Turpie,
Camden,	Gordon,	Murphy,	Vance,
Cameron,	Gorman,	Pettigrew,	Voorhees,
Colquitt,	Harris,	Platt,	Walthall,
Daniel,	Hunton,	Proctor,	Wilson.
Davis,	Martin,	Quay,	

So the motion to postpone indefinitely was not agreed to.

The joint resolution was ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE CHIPMAN.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of the Hon. J. Logan Chipman, late a Representative from the State of Michigan, and transmitted the action of the House thereon.

Mr. McMILLAN. I ask that the resolutions of the House of Representatives be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate resolutions of the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

AUGUST 17, 1893.

Resolved, That the House has heard with deep regret and profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. J. Logan Chipman, late a Representative from the State of Michigan.

Resolved, That a committee of nine members of the House be appointed by the Speaker to act with such Senators as may be selected, to attend the funeral of the deceased, and that the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House shall take order for superintending the funeral; and the necessary expenses attending the execution of this order shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That the Clerk be directed to communicate to the Senate a copy of these resolutions.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

In accordance with the above resolutions, the Speaker announced the following committee on the part of the House:

Mr. WEADOCK of Michigan, Mr. WHITING of Michigan, Mr. MCMILLIN of Tennessee, Mr. GORMAN of Michigan, Mr. CARUTH of Kentucky, Mr. CANNON of Illinois, Mr. POWERS of Vermont, Mr. HAUGEN of Wisconsin, and Mr. AITKEN of Michigan.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. President, I offer the resolutions which I send to the desk, and ask for their adoption.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolutions will be read.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with deep sensibility the announcement of the death of Hon. J. Logan Chipman, late a Representative from the State of Michigan.

Resolved, That the Senate concur in the resolution of the House of Representatives providing for the appointment of a joint committee to attend the funeral of the deceased at his late residence in the State of Michigan, and that the committee on the part of the Senate, consisting of five Senators, be appointed by the Presiding Officer.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed as the committee on the part of the Senate, under the second resolution, Mr. MCMILLAN, Mr. PROCTOR, Mr. VILAS, Mr. GIBSON, and Mr. WHITE of California.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, August 18, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate August 17, 1893.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Scott Wike, of Illinois, to be Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, to succeed Oliver L. Spaulding, resigned.

FIRST COMPTROLLER OF THE TREASURY.

Robert B. Bowler, of Ohio, to be First Comptroller of the Treasury, to succeed Asa C. Matthews, resigned.

REGISTER OF THE TREASURY.

James F. Tillman, of Tennessee, to be Register of the Treasury, to succeed William S. Rosecrans, resigned.

SECOND COMPTROLLER OF THE TREASURY.

Charles H. Mansur, of Missouri, to be Second Comptroller of the Treasury, to succeed Benjamin F. Gilkeson, resigned.

THIRD AUDITOR.

Samuel Blackwell, of Alabama, to be Third Auditor of the Treasury, to succeed William H. Hart, resigned.

FOURTH AUDITOR.

Charles B. Morton, of Maine, to be Fourth Auditor of the Treasury, to succeed John R. Lynch, resigned.

DEPUTY FIRST AUDITOR.

Robert M. Cousar, of Tennessee, to be deputy first auditor of the Treasury, to succeed Alexander F. McMillan, resigned.

DEPUTY SECOND AUDITOR.

John C. Edwards, of Illinois, to be deputy second auditor of the Treasury, to succeed J. H. Franklin, resigned.

DEPUTY THIRD AUDITOR.

George W. Sanderlin, of North Carolina, to be deputy third auditor of the Treasury, to succeed A. D. Shaw, resigned.

DEPUTY FOURTH AUDITOR.

Elliott N. Bowman, of Indiana, to be deputy fourth auditor of the Treasury, to succeed Andrew J. Whitaker, resigned.

DEPUTY AUDITOR FOR THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

William G. Crawford, of Louisiana, to be deputy auditor of the Treasury for the Post-Office Department, to succeed John I. Rankin, resigned.

CONSULS.

H. Clay Armstrong, of Auburn, Ala., to be consul of the United States at Grenoble, France, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Newton P. Ashby, of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, to be consul of the United States at Dublin, Ireland, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice John J. Piatt, recalled.

Bennington R. Bedle, of Jersey City, N. J., to be consul of the United States at Sheffield, England, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Benjamin Folsom, resigned.

John P. Beecher, of New York City, N. Y., to be consul of the United States at Cognac, France, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice William S. Preston, recalled.

Frank H. Brooks, of Chicago, Ill., to be consul of the United States at Trieste, Austria, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice James F. Hartigan, recalled.

Francois X. Belleau, of Lewiston, Me., to be consul of the United States at Three Rivers, Canada, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Henry M. Moore, recalled.

George W. Bell, of South Bend, Wash., to be consul of the United States at Sydney, New South Wales, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice William Kapus, recalled.

Charles H. Benedict, of St. Paul, Minn., to be consul of the United States at Cape Town, Africa, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice George F. Hollis, resigned.

W. S. Campbell, of New York City, N. Y., to be consul of the United States at Newcastle, England, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Horace W. Metcalf, recalled.

Jacob T. Child, of Richmond, Mo., to be consul of the United States at Hankow, China, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Henry W. Andrews, recalled.

John W. Coppinger, of Alton, Ill., to be consul of the United States at Toronto, Canada, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Charles R. Pope, recalled.

Edward P. Crane, of Pittsburg, Pa., to be consul of the United States at Hanover, Germany, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Louis S. Delaplaine, jr., of Wheeling, W. Va., to be consul of the United States at Demerara, Guiana, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Philip Carroll, recalled.

James A. Demorest, of Plainfield, N. J., to be consul of the United States at Brockville, Canada, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice James F. Ellis, recalled.

Edward Downes, of New Haven, Conn., to be consul of the United States at Amsterdam, Netherlands, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Theodore M. Schleier, recalled.

Otto Doederlein, of Chicago, Ill., to be consul of the United States at Leipsic, Germany, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Henry W. Diedrich, recalled.

Matthew M. Duffie, of Princeton, Ark., to be consul of the United States at Winnipeg, Manitoba, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice James W. Taylor, deceased.

William C. Emmet, of New York, to be consul of the United States at Aix la Chapelle, Germany, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Johnson Brigham, recalled.

James C. Fox, of Rochester, N. Y., to be consul of the United States at Antigua, West Indies, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice John P. Efrich, recalled.

Eugene Germain, of Los Angeles, Cal., to be consul of the United States at Zurich, Switzerland, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice George L. Catlin, recalled.

Max Goldfinger, of New York City, N. Y., to be consul of the United States at Mannheim, Germany, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice John F. Winter, recalled.

Michael J. Hendrick, of Union Springs, N. Y., to be consul of the United States at Belleville, Canada, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Samuel H. Deneen, recalled.

Norfleet Harris, of Greensboro, Ala., to be consul of the United States at Leeds, England, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Francis H. Wigfall, resigned.

J. Hampton Hoge, of Roanoke, Va., to be consul of the United States at Amoy, China, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Edward Bedloe, recalled.

J. Courtney Hixson, of Union Springs, Ala., to be consul of the United States at Ningpo, China, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice John Fowler, recalled.

George Horton, of Chicago, Ill., to be consul of the United States at Athens, Greece, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Irving J. Manatt, recalled.

Anthony Howells, of Massillon, Ohio, to be consul of the United States at Cardiff, Wales, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Walter E. Howard, recalled.

Theodore Huston, of Macomb, Ill., to be consul of the United States at Paso del Norte, Mexico, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Archibald J. Sampson, recalled.

Pulaski F. Hyatt, of Lewisburg, Pa., to be consul of the United States at Santiago de Cuba, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Albert S. Twitchell, recalled.

Frank E. Hyde, of Hartford, Conn., to be consul of the United States at Lyons, France, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Edmund B. Fairfield, recalled.

William H. Jacks, of Logansport, Ind., to be consul of the United States at London, Ontario, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Hiram Z. Leonard, recalled.

Grenville James, of New York, to be consul of the United States at Woodstock, New Brunswick, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Walter T. Townshend, recalled.

Alfred C. Johnson, of Philadelphia, Pa., to be consul of the United States at Stuttgart, Germany, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Ferdinand C. Gottschalk, recalled.

Harvey Johnson, of Atlanta, Ga., to be consul of the United States at Antwerp, Belgium, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice George F. Lincoln, recalled.

Ralph Johnson, of Buffalo, N. Y., to be consul of the United States at Fort Erie, Ontario, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Ossian Bedell, recalled.

Thomas C. Jones, of Frankfort, Ky., to be consul of the United States at Funchal, Madeira, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice John F. Healey, recalled.

William F. Kemmler, of Columbus, Ohio, to be consul of the United States at Horgen, Switzerland, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Charles A. Vortriede, recalled.

Frederick W. Kickbusch, of Wausau, Wis., to be consul of the United States at Stettin, Germany, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice James C. Kellogg, resigned.

Warner S. Kinkead, of Shelbyville, Ky., to be consul of the United States at Southampton, England, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Jasper P. Bradley, recalled.

John B. Laguaite, of New Orleans, La., to be consul of the United States at Martinique, West Indies, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Alfred B. Keevil, recalled.

Peter Lieber, of Indianapolis, Ind., to be consul of the United States at Dusseldorf, Germany, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Soren Listoe, recalled.

Benjamin Lenthier, of Lowell, Mass., to be consul of the United States at Sherbrooke, Quebec, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice James A. Wood, recalled.

Joel Linsley, of Middlebury, Vt., to be consul of the United States at Coaticook, Canada, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Alfred W. Street, recalled.

Frank C. McGhee, of Meridian, Miss., to be consul of the United

States at Huddersfield, England, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice William P. Smyth, recalled.

C. F. Macdonald, of Massachusetts, to be consul of the United States, at Hamilton, Canada, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice William Monaghan, recalled.

James H. Madden, of Danville, Ill., to be consul of the United States at Smyrna, Turkey, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice William C. Emmet, transferred to Aix la Chapelle.

George G. Mathews, jr., of Santos, Fla., to be consul of the United States at Para, Brazil, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice James M. Ayres, recalled.

William J. Maynard, of Chicago, Ill., to be consul of the United States at Milan, Italy, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice George W. Pepper, recalled.

John R. Mobley, of Waco, Tex., to be consul of the United States at Baracoa, Cuba, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice William B. Dickey, recalled.

James C. Monaghan, of Lonsdale, R. I., to be consul of the United States at Chemnitz, Germany, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice John A. Barnes, recalled.

Julius Muth, of Brooklyn, N. Y., to be consul of the United States at Magdeburg, Germany, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Albert H. Washburn, recalled.

Charles A. O'Connor, of Manchester, N. H., to be consul of the United States at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Grenville James, transferred to Woodstock.

Frederick Opp, of Llano, Tex., to be consul of the United States at Breslau, Germany, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Charles W. Erdman, recalled.

D. J. Partello, of the District of Columbia, to be consul of the United States at Sonneburg, Germany, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice David S. K. Buick, recalled.

John Patton, of Detroit, Mich., to be consul of the United States at Amherstburg, Ontario, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice James W. Hine, recalled.

Lars S. Reque, of Decorah, Iowa, to be consul of the United States at Rotterdam, Netherlands, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Walter E. Gardner, resigned.

Benjamin H. Ridgely, of Louisville, Ky., to be consul of the United States at Geneva, Switzerland, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Roland J. Hemmick, recalled.

William H. Robertson, of the District of Columbia, to be consul of the United States at Hamburg, Germany, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice William R. Estes, recalled.

Alexander S. Rosenthal, of New York City, N. Y., to be consul of the United States at Leghorn, Italy, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Radcliffe H. Ford, recalled.

Andrews A. St. John, of Pennsylvania, to be consul of the United States at Batavia, Java, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Bradstreet S. Rairden, recalled.

George W. Savage, of Rahway, N. J., to be consul of the United States at Dundee, Scotland, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Arthur B. Wood, recalled.

Charles Schaefer, of Sedgwick, Kans., to be consul of the United States at Vera Cruz, Mexico, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Harrison R. Williams, transferred to San José, Costa Rica.

W. H. Seymour, of Livingston, Ala., to be consul of the United States at Palermo, Italy, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Horace C. Pugh, recalled.

Henry C. Smith, of Birmingham, Ala., to be consul of the United States at Santos, Brazil, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Edwin A. Berry, recalled.

Henry M. Smythe, of Graham, Va., to be consul of the United States at Fuchau, China, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Samuel L. Gracey, recalled.

Jesse W. Sparks, of Murfreesboro, Tenn., to be consul of the United States at Piedras Negras, Mexico, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Eugene O. Fechét, recalled.

James B. Taney, of Wheeling, W. Va., to be consul of the United States at Belfast, Ireland, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Samuel G. Ruby, recalled.

Marshall P. Thatcher, of Detroit, Mich., to be consul of the United States at Windsor, Ontario, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Charles D. Joslyn, recalled.

Samuel Thanhouser, of Atlanta, Ga., to be consul of the United States at Matamoras, Mexico, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice John B. Richardson, recalled.

Claude M. Thomas, of Paris, Ky., to be consul of the United States at Marseilles, France, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Charles B. Trail, recalled.

Francis H. Underwood, of Boston, Mass., to be consul of the United States at Leith, Scotland, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Wallace Bruce, resigned.

Lucien J. Walker, of Birmingham, Ala., to be consul of the United States at Cork, Ireland, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Henry G. Kress, recalled.

Wendell C. Warner, of Yorkshire, N. Y., to be consul of the United States at Tunstall, England, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice William Burgess, resigned.

Charles W. Whiley, jr., of Lewes, Del., to be consul of the United States at St. Etienne, France, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Francis B. Loomis, recalled.

John M. Wiley, of Buffalo, N. Y., to be consul of the United States at Bordeaux, France, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Horace G. Knowles, recalled.

Harrison R. Williams, of St. Louis, Mo., to be consul of the United States at San Jose, Costa Rica, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Beckford Mackey, recalled.

COMMISSIONER OF CUSTOMS.

William H. Pugh, of Ohio, to be commissioner of customs, to succeed Samuel V. Holliday, resigned.

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS.

Harry H. Kain, of Mississippi, to be collector of customs for the district of Vicksburg, in the State of Mississippi, to succeed himself. Term expired.

David G. Browne, of Montana, to be collector of customs for the district of Montana and Idaho, in the State of Montana, to succeed Jeremiah Sullivan, whose term of office expired by limitation March 27, 1893.

SURVEYOR OF CUSTOMS.

Richard Dalton, of Missouri, to be surveyor of customs for the port of St. Louis, in the State of Missouri, to succeed James O. Churchill, whose commission expired by limitation April 3, 1893.

CONFIRMATION.

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate August 17, 1893.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Bradley B. Smalley, of Vermont, to be collector of customs for the district of Vermont, in the State of Vermont.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *August 17, 1893.*

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m. The Chaplain, Rev. SAMUEL W. HADDAWAY, offered the following prayer:

Our Father in heaven, we bow before Thee with deep humility of spirit this morning, recognizing that in Thy hands are the issues of life and death. Although we have been here less than two weeks, Thou hast already asserted in our midst Thy right and prerogative by calling away to the skies one of the members of this House. Gracious God! we adore Thee for his life, for his character, for his relations to his State and to his country, for his relations to his family and friends, and his relations to all the various departments of human life and human activity. Wilt Thou graciously regard his family in their sorrow, and comfort them with the comforts of the Holy Ghost. Wilt Thou graciously bless the State and the nation, and grant that his influence may be felt long after he has disappeared from among

us. We beseech Thee, O Lord, our Father, to impress upon our minds that amidst the activities of this life, when we are scheming and planning for the future, in the midst of it we may be suddenly called away. Great God, have mercy upon us and save us for Thy name's sake. Amen.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

SILVER.

The House resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon," and for other purposes.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I shall not undertake to describe adequately the present state of the country, so graphically depicted yesterday by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON]; but I may say, in passing, that no greater contrast has ever been exhibited in the affairs of this nation, or perhaps any other civilized nation, than the difference between the business prosperity of this country one year ago and what it is to-day. No period in our history has been characterized by so great a degree of prosperity and success and such promise of the continuation of prosperity and success as the year 1892. But to-day a far different state of affairs has been precipitated upon the country.

Instead of prosperity we have adversity at every point; business is depressed in all localities; manufacturing has been suspended; and capital, for the fear of the future, has been locked up in the vaults of the banking institutions of the country. Why has this change taken place? The people have said to us in their discussions, in their resolutions, and through the public press, that it is owing to the fact that under the laws of the United States a ruinous system for the purchase and accumulation of silver has been brought into existence. The fear has taken hold of the public mind throughout the business interests of the country that disaster is bound to follow from the accumulation of these purchases and from the amount of silver that is finding its way into the Treasury of the United States.

This has been supplemented and voiced by the message of the President of the United States, who has brought Congress together for the purpose of considering this grave subject that has impressed itself so generally on the public mind throughout the United States; and it has been urged upon the attention of Congress by the press of the country, by the resolutions of public and private bodies, and by the industries generally of the country, that Congress should interpose and give promptly some measure of relief to the people by changing this financial system. That is where the fear and apprehension that stimulates the failure of business interests throughout the land has originated. It is attributed to this circumstance, and this circumstance alone, so far as the discussion and consideration of it have been placed before the public, and the expressions which have been voiced, too, by the business interests of the land on the subject.

This accumulation, of course, as is well known and conceded, has been made during a period covered by the last fourteen years. It originated under the act of 1878 providing that the Government should purchase not less than two nor more than four million ounces of silver per month and coin it into silver dollars. The object of this law, of course, Mr. Speaker, I am aware, was to put this silver into a condition to be circulated in the country. It was expected, upon the parity between the metals then adopted and provided for in that act, that it would circulate; that the silver that should be purchased by the Treasury Department under the law and coined into money would, under the circumstances, go into general circulation and become a part of the money of the country. It was no part of this legislation that the silver should be thus purchased and the accumulation should remain in the Treasury; but the expectation was that it should be used when coined, as silver had been previously used in the history of the country, as a part of the circulating medium.

But in this respect a great disappointment has resulted, and unlooked-for trouble has arisen out of the purchase and accumulation of silver in the Treasury. Instead of going into the general circulation of the country, it has gone into the Treasury and there remains as a cold, useless article, so far as the circulating medium of the country is concerned. Comparatively little of it has gone into circulation. The people have rejected it. They have expected from the fall in the value of silver its depreciating effects, until they have become convinced, and the expressions they have used in calling on Congress to repeal the law of 1890 show the fact that only in this manner can relief from the present condition be obtained. Congress is asked to repeal the law of 1890, which supplemented and succeeded the act of 1878. That has been the history of the country with regard to the purchase and accumulation of silver metal in the Treasury.

I read from a report made by the Secretary of the Treasury for the purpose of giving you the figures which he has given to the country up to the 1st day of July as to the accumulation of these purchases and the condition at that date of the Treasury on that account. From that statement it appears that in the Treasury there was on the 1st day of July, 1893, and probably the amount has not been substantially varied from that time, the sum of $374,158,651. The Secretary states that at that time there was of uncoined silver bullion on hand the sum of $118,173,820, making a gross aggregate amount of silver and of silver bullion coined and uncoined in the Treasury of the United States on the 1st day of July, 1893, $482,282,471.

This has appalled the people of the United States—certainly the people engaged in the various business interests and in the financial operations throughout the United States. They apprehend with these startling figures before them that if this continues nothing but bankruptcy and destruction of business can be expected from the accumulation of silver and the uses which are being made of it. For that reason fear has paralyzed business and they have joined—the people who are concerned in these interests have joined in the appeal to Congress to repeal the law and strike from the statute books the provision under which the purchase of silver is made by the act of 1890.

Now, Mr. Speaker, this is a larger amount of silver accumulated in the Treasury of the United States, notwithstanding all that has been said here during this discussion, than is found in the treasury of any government on the face of the earth with which the United States have any relations of trade or business. Reference has been made to France as a country that maintains a large silver circulation, and undoubtedly that is a fact; but it is all on the basis of the value of the silver as it was valued prior to 1873. But the Bank of France contains no such amount of silver as is found in the Treasury of the United States. The amount of silver in the Bank of France is stated by a circular sent out from a bank at San Francisco to amount to the sum of $232,280,000, making less than one-half the amount of silver that has found its way and has accumulated in the Treasury of the United States under existing law. This sum multiplied by two gives a total of $464,560,000, while we have in the Treasury of the United States of silver, coined and uncoined, the sum of $482,282,471.

Now, while these purchases have been going on at the market prices, silver has been steadily falling step by step until it has reached a point where it is vastly inferior in point of value to the standard of value that prevailed at the time the act of 1878 was enacted, and also when the act of 1890 was enacted, and the consequence is that by the mere fall in market value these large purchases and this vast accumulation of silver in the Treasury entails a loss resulting to the Government, and of course to the people of the United States, of more than one hundred millions of dollars, as this amount has been estimated and stated by public sources and in the public press.

Here is a loss which is of course irretrievable, imposed upon the people by the mere purchase of this useless article of silver, as it has proved, by its continuation in the Treasury of the United States, and by the failure of every effort that has been made to force it into circulation or to induce the people of the country to receive and use it as currency. Even those who are here advocating before this House the continuation of this policy of silver purchases are not, in their localities, receiving the silver dollar for which they express so much admiration, and are not putting and keeping it in circulation in their localities; not a bit of it. They reject it as emphatically, as decidedly, and as determinedly as the people of any other part of the United States reject it. They understand that for the purposes of a circulating medium it has objectionable qualities, so far as value is concerned, and so far as its ponderosity is concerned, which render it really impracticable for a large amount of it to go into the circulation of the country.

If the silver dollar that is coined out of the bullion purchased by the Treasury was so acceptable, so advantageous to the country, we would naturally suppose that these gentlemen who represent silver localities, the silver-producing portions of the country, would be the first to endeavor to put this silver into circulation in their own localities; but there is not one of them who is willing to touch it for this purpose. What they desire, and what they have endeavored to maintain and impress upon the institutions and laws of the country, is to furnish a market for the purchase of this silver, utterly regardless of the interests of the purchaser or the use which the purchaser may make of it.

There has been no enterprise with which the Government has been connected in any form, directly or indirectly, since its foundation, that has involved so great a loss out of the transactions through which it has passed as the loss arising out of the purchase of this silver bullion and the coining of these silver dollars; and if these purchases under the act of 1890 are to be continued and protracted indefinitely of course no one can say

how far these losses are yet to be multiplied or to what extent they may be found to operate as a pall upon the business interests of the country.

But this is not the main reason for which the people have risen in their might, because of the disturbances of their business and the disaster to their affairs, to ask Congress to relieve them from the continued purchase of this silver bullion and the coinage of these silver dollars. It has been because they fear that the time is at hand—if not immediately, that it is near at hand—when this silver will be forced upon the country in the way of redeeming silver certificates and Treasury notes, and in that way depreciating necessarily the circulating medium of the land.

This is the menace that has been made to business. Business has felt the effects that have been indicated in the reports we have received from so many quarters of the country, and the people have appealed to Congress to protect them by the repeal of this act of 1890, which is the successor of the law of 1878, to strike out this purchasing power, or to repeal the act entirely, without permitting the preceding law to be restored, so that business will go on upon the lines on which it has previously been transacted, and so that the confidence of the country shall be restored.

That this is not an unfounded fear will be sustained by the last section of the act of 1890, which authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to go on and coin the silver bullion that may be purchased under its provisions, for the very purpose of redeeming and paying off these silver notes issued by the Treasury Department. The language of the third section is this:

> The Secretary of the Treasury shall each month coin 2,000,000 ounces of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act into standard silver dollars, until the 1st day of July, 1891, and after that time he shall coin, of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of the act, as much as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes herein provided for.

It is true that the executive department, under the preceding Administration, and under the announcement made more recently by President Cleveland, has asserted the determination to redeem these notes only in the gold coin of the United States; but there is a danger, under this authority, although it may be a danger of a remote character, that these bills will be ultimately redeemed in the silver dollars that are coined and to be coined under its provisions; and the greater its increase, the larger the purchases that may be made, the greater the number of these silver dollars that shall be coined for the purpose of meeting this exigency, the more menacing is the situation to the business interests of the country, and the more alarming and the greater the determination therefore of the business interests and of the people generally of the country to resist this possibility, this liability to loss, by asking Congress to repeal this act of 1890.

Now, upon this subject we see by what has transpired during the present year how easily the people are startled by a fear that this silver, debased as it is, deficient as it is in quality, shall be made the basis of paying off these notes. They saw in the early spring it was reported, whether truthfully or not is not a matter to be considered here, that the Secretary of the Treasury had determined to pay off these silver obligations in the silver dollars of the United States under the authority of these two acts; and what was the effect? Why, it startled the business interests of this country throughout its entire limits. It startled the holders of the obligations of the United States in foreign countries, and, upon the assertion that the possibility of this contingency might be reached, our securities were sent home.

Other obligations were placed before the Secretary for redemption to a large amount. Gold was taken out of the Treasury of the United States and found its way into the hands of local creditors and largely into the hands of creditors in foreign countries, until nearly $70,000,000 of gold was taken from the Treasury of the United States, apparently under this fear aroused by this simple statement in the papers that the use of the silver dollar would be made in the redemption of the silver notes and silver certificates of the United States.

It is true that this was followed, very soon afterwards—perhaps as soon as that could be done in the nature of things—by the announcement of President Cleveland that no such redemption of these obligations should take place; that they should be redeemed in the gold coin of the United States, the coin of the business world with which the United States and its people are connected; and, of course, that tended to restore the confidence of the people in the assurance of the Government that there was no immediate danger from this source.

But, after all, it did not remove the fear that had impressed itself upon the minds of the business interests of the country that there would be, or might be, a resort to the silver dollar for the purpose of making these redemptions. A contingency was before the public mind in which that might become necessary—and it is before the public mind to-day—that the gold coin of the Treasury Department may be withdrawn, or withdrawn to such an extent that the Secretary of the Treasury would not feel at liberty to pay out any more of it in the redemption of these silver certificates and silver notes; and then what is the alternative? And it will be remembered that the greater the increase of these accumulations in the Treasury, the greater the circulation of these Treasury notes, the greater must necessarily be the danger.

Why, if this contingency, if this need should occur, then there is nothing in the Treasury by which the Treasurer could pay these obligations except these silver dollars, and necessarily he must resort to them; so that the assurance of President Cleveland, given no doubt in the utmost good faith, for the purpose of sustaining and declaring his own convictions upon this subject, fails to restore the confidence of the people, and fails to restore the prosperity of the business interests of this country. They have continued to be drooping, not simply under the apprehension that a panic might be upon us, but a panic is already here. It has been here for weeks, and it has only been aggravated in its existence from week to week since its inception.

The people are fearful, not of the good intentions of the Executive department of the United States, but fearful that the contingency will arise, that the time will come, when these bills and notes will be redeemed only in silver coin, and the valuation of all merchandise and all property correspondingly diminished in value by the fact that this coin will form substantially the controlling basis of our circulation. It is this fear—no matter what has been said here repeatedly on the floor of this House in this discussion—it is this fear that we may reach this point that prevents the business interests of the country from emancipating themselves from the state of things that have depressed them, and restore confidence to the institutions and finances of the country, by which prosperity would be again assured and the business interests of the country would resume that activity and prosperity that characterized them in some measure in the year 1892.

We have been referred in the course of this discussion to the institutions of other countries—to India, to France, and other countries—that have made silver the basis of their circulation. But there is no country in the world, either ancient or modern, that has been referred to in the course of this discussion that has purshased silver or purchased any other commodity that might be coined into money, and that then coined it at such a ratio and under such circumstances as prevented it from going into circulation and assured its accumulation in the departments of their own government.

These coins are not intended to be purchased for the purpose of accumulating in this manner. They are intended as a basis of circulation, as forming a part of the amount in circulation and exchange in the transactions of the business of the country. But this intention has been entirely frustrated in this instance. These coins have not gone into circulation, with the exception of about 100,000,000, as shown by the Treasury report, which contains the statement in the report to which I have referred. It says:

> The amount of circulation on the 1st day of July was $122,430,011.

And this included not only the silver dollars, but the subsidiary silver which so long has formed a part, and an important part, of the circulating medium of the United States.

Now, it is with this state of facts before us that the people have concluded that the only chance for relief, the only chance for restoring the prosperity of the country, is the repeal of this law that Congress has been called to act in their behalf in this capacity. They look to no other source for relief; they can expect it from no other quarter. If these purchases and these accumulations must go forward the amount of silver that is in the Treasury of the United States must be used, or the property must accumulate as long as this act is allowed to remain in existence.

If this Congress is not disposed to clean it out and arrest these purchases and in that manner terminate, so far as it may be done, this menace to the business interests of the country, other Congresses will be selected by the people of the United States, whose judgment requires this action to be had and the neglect of whose interests may soon exasperate them to such an extent as to bring other Representatives here who, without reluctance, will adopt such measures as will carry out what they believe to be the true policy for the interest of the people and relieve them from this fear that has paralyzed the business of the country.

Now, Mr. Speaker, in view of this state of things what do we see here? Why, the gentlemen who represent the silver interests of the country, or more particularly the silver localities of the country, come here and say to Congress and to the country at large; "We will consent to the repeal of the purchasing clause

of the act of 1890 provided you will permit us to secure a free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, or at some other ratio not exceeding 20 to 1."

What is this but an aggravation of the injury? Is there any ground for expecting that if either one of these proposed expedients should be adopted it would relieve the Treasury or relieve the people? Would the country be better off for having more millions of this silver in its Treasury than it is to-day for having nearly five hundred millions of it there? Would the people be induced to take those dollars after they were coined in this manner, if these expedients or one of them should be adopted, when they have not been willing to take them under the existing conditions and provisions of law?

Clearly not. The same objections would stand good in the public mind against taking this coin and using it in the business of the country that have heretofore prevented its going into that use. There has been no time in the history of this land, in the history of this Government, when the people or when the Congress of the United States have been ready to sanction the coinage and circulation of silver, or any other money, upon a basis of that character, expecting that it was going to promote the business interests and the prosperity of the people.

In fact, I may say that there is no land, no government, no people, that ever has tolerated such an abuse of the purchasing power of the Government as that which has arisen under the laws of 1878 and of 1890. Yet, according to the expedients which have been proposed as a substitute for the repeal of this law, if those expedients or any of them should be accepted by this House, that abuse is to be continued.

It is to be continued by the purchase of more silver, not simply 4,500,000 ounces per month as under the act of 1890, but we are to purchase every dollar of silver that may be brought to the Treasury of the United States, no matter whether it is produced in this country or not; no matter whether that purchase is intended to foster and promote the interests of the silver producers of the United States or not, no matter whether it is to be brought from Mexico or from South America or from European countries, wherever silver may be at hand to be sold upon terms that will render it advantageous to send it to our Treasury.

Instead, then, of having about $56,000,000 of silver purchased a year and locked up in the Treasury of the United States we should, if one of these expedients is to be adopted, have probably at least one hundred millions of silver placed in the vaults of the Treasury, which would be practically and utterly as useless as that which has already found its way there under the existing laws.

Mexico has produced nearly the same amount of silver that we have; it produces nearly the same amount now, nearly or about $50,000,000 a year, and certainly other countries are largely producing silver and would have a sufficient surplus to meet any of the wants or demands for silver of the people of the United States. In that way, if this policy should be adopted of coining all the silver that might be brought to the Treasury of the United States, instead of $56,000,000 worth of silver a year, as we now have under the act of 1890, we should have at least $100,000,000 of silver that would go into the Treasury and remain there as so much useless money, failing, on account of the feeling and the interests of the people of the United States, to find its way as a circulating medium in the transaction of business.

No, Mr. Speaker, our people are mainly honest. They are disposed to stand by the rules and principles of integrity, and not to concede or throw away those principles because their doing so may promote the interests of some particular class of individuals or of some special locality or localities. They stand upon the principles of fair dealing and honesty, and they have a natural repugnance to the use of a dollar, coined in silver or coined in gold, that may not be worth in the markets of the world more than 50 or 60 cents. Such a coin is a fraud upon its face. It stands as a direct contradiction of the statement made upon its face when it states that it is "one dollar," and every person who takes it knows that it is not a dollar, that it is at the most no more than six-tenths of a dollar. Our people, I say, are not disposed to accept or maintain such a currency. They have no admiration for artifices or fraudulent deceptions of this character; they stand in the position of having their public business fairly, squarely, and honestly administered. This was the case throughout the entire history of the country until the act of 1878 was enacted.

Why, when the coinage system was first provided for, in 1792, it was put on a basis of 15 to 1 because silver was then of such value as to render it fair to adopt that basis of parity between the two metals. So it continued down to 1834, and then the ratio was changed by act of Congress, so that the ratio became 16 to 1, and it has remained there from that day to this. But neither in 1792 nor in 1834 was the ratio adopted as a matter of mere arbitrary regulation. It was adopted in each case with due relation to the value of gold, which was even then regarded as the standard of value in this and other countries.

But the parity was declared to be in this proportion because it was the fair value of silver as compared with the value of one ounce of gold. This was the principle upon which this parity was established and has continued—not to bring silver before the country as a circulating medium of less value than gold, but to preserve its precise relation of value upon the commercial basis between the two metals. It was deemed proper, therefore, in 1834 to raise the ratio to 16 to 1, because that represented the commercial value of the metals.

But what are we doing now? We are repealing this old ratio; but for what? Simply to keep, or to endeavor to keep, a debased coinage in circulation—not to carry out the principles of honesty that stood at the foundation of all this legislation of the fathers of the country. What they designed and attempted to do was to preserve a fair balance between the value of the two coins; and it was expected when the act of 1878 was passed that this valuation would continue. But the amount of silver that has been produced in the country has prevented this from happening. It has become impossible that such parity, so far as silver is concerned, can be maintained. And is there any honesty, any fairness, in continuing this ratio when the result of it must be to depreciate a large part of the currency of the country—all that part of it which may find its way into coinage of silver—from the commercial value which in 1834, at the ratio then fixed, gave it an equal value with gold, to little if any more than half such value.

It has been said on the floor of this House that we must not consider this question of gold and the gold standard; that it has nothing to do with our affairs. But it has everything to do with the affairs of the people of the United States. During the history of this Government this metal has been the standard by which values have been measured; and whether they are the products of the agriculturists that find a market in the Old World or the cotton of the Southern States or their rice or their tobacco, they must alike be measured in point of value by gold.

And when silver finds its way into circulation and purchases or sales are made by means of this medium they must, even though the law does not declare that to be the case, be referred to the gold standard. That is the standard of the world. We are dealing with the world. Our agricultural products—our wheat, our corn, our beef, our pork—are sent abroad for sale into the Old World.

Our prices are regulated by the prices of the Old World. The nations of the Old World are expected to take our surplus; and they measure the prices by gold—by no other standard. And the people of the United States, in their dealings, in their accumulations, in their sales and shipments, whether made in Omaha, Denver, Chicago, or New York, make them with reference to the prices prevailing on the other side of the Atlantic. Whether cotton is sold in New Orleans, or Savannah, or Charleston, the prices upon the other side of the Atlantic are looked upon for the purpose of determining what it should bring. In this country it is by the gold standard, the gold standard alone, that these prices and these valuations are measured. We may exert ourselves as far as exertion can possibly be carried through the means of legislation—we may deceive ourselves with plausible theories, yet we can not close our eyes finally to the fact, when we come to look the facts fairly and squarely in the face, that notwithstanding all that may be said or done, it is the gold standard that is regulating and declaring the products of our country.

And silver itself is brought in the minds of the people to the same standard. It has been quoted, as I have already said, down to the year 1878 according to that standard. People have become accustomed to this standard. It is a part of their history. They have looked upon it as one of the essentials or necessities for the purpose of maintaining a fair and reasonable standard of silver coin as a part of the currency of this country, and without such a standard it can be of no more use than so much dead clay deposited in the vaults of the Treasury Department. So that, in my judgment, there is no proposition presented as a condition or inducement or excuse on the part of the silver advocates for the repeal of so much of the law of 1890 that these provisions, one or the other, should be accepted as a substitute, in case this law is repealed, for the provisions now existing.

In fact whatever they may be they would simply aggravate the difficulty. They would increase the amount of dead, useless property in the Treasury of the United States, and increase this menace that has proved to be so effectual in disturbing and depressing the business interests of the country.

Another proposition has been made here on the part of the silver interests of the country: and it is that, in case neither of these propositions shall be accepted, the act of 1878 shall be revived. In my judgment that is the least mischievous of all these propositions, for under that act the Treasury Department may

refuse to purchase or coin more than $2,000,000 of silver per month, while if either of these other expedients should become the law of the country, the Treasury Department would be bound to purchase every dollar in silver that may be taken to its doors—not simply $2,000,000 a month, but whatever amount might be presented, if it should be $200,000,000 a year—in order to satisfy the provisions that are suggested or presented here as an inducement for repealing the silver-purchase clause of the act of 1890.

So that in no possible view is any fair system or substitute offered by the gentlemen who maintain these silver interests as an equivalent for the repeal of the purchasing power under the act of 1890. If they had been desirous of supporting the interests of the country, and if silver could be induced by force or otherwise to form a part of the circulating medium of the country to the extent of taking up these purchases and making the coin a part of the medium of exchange, they would at least have come on here and said to Congress, "If you will repeal the purchasing authority embraced in this act of 1890 and give us the power of taking our silver to the Treasury Department and there having it coined without restriction, we will consent that the parity between silver and gold shall be based upon its commercial value."

But no such proposition has been submitted; no such plan has been suggested. That would to some extent probably be considered a palliation of the injury, of the disaster that might follow the continued accumulation of this silver in the Treasury. But, I repeat, that is not the proposition. It is proposed to limit the coinage to this ratio of valuation, this parity that upon its face stamps the silver dollar, and must stamp it in the judgment of the people of the United States, as a fraud with which they do not desire to have anything to do.

Now, it has been said during the discussion here that the Republican party was responsible for the enactment of this law. I do not design to make politics any part of the observations I shall address to this House. But I say if the Republican party was responsible for this action, the Republican party will be the first party to come up to the necessities of the situation and join hands with any party or any persons to repeal and remove this obnoxious legislation from the statute books of the United States. [Applause.] They are not so wedded to theory, they are not so wedded to any system as to be disposed to maintain a dishonest act of legislation to the injury of the people and the menace of the people's business, and to heap up and continue disasters already connected with the purchase and coinage of silver that must necessarily stand in the way of a revival of business prosperity throughout the land. [Applause.]

The only chance of relief, the only avenue of relief that is presented, is for all persons, irrespective of political parties—and I know from the tenor of the feelings that pervade the minds of the Republican party throughout the United States, as well as from the great principles of that party, that they will be ready immediately and at once to join hands with any party or with any individuals to wipe out from the laws of the United States this provision authorizing the purchase of silver by the Treasurer of the United States, and in that way, as far as they are able to do so, to wipe out the effect that the continued exercise and existence of the authority so given may have on the business interest of the country. It is a final resort, so far as the expectations of the people go. They look to Congress for that relief. They have resorted to experiment after experiment for the purpose of settling it themselves.

There is a want of confidence which can only be removed by proper legislation at the hands of Congress; and if relief in this way is not afforded, disappointment must go back to the people with the impression and the conviction that their Representatives here, the members of this body, are not willing to accede to them such a fair measure of justice as to improve their business and financial interests, and in this manner to build up and restore to a great measure the prosperity that seems to have departed from our land.

I do not say, Mr. Speaker, or mean to say, that the purchase and deposit of this immense amount of silver in the vaults of the Treasury is the only cause of the present disturbance of the business interests and of the confidence of the people in the country. It is enough here to say that the people have made up their minds that this is the essential cause that to-day stands in the way of renewed prosperity, and a cause which must be removed in order to restore that prosperity. There is, then, nobody on earth that they can appeal to or ask for its removal, and the abundant relief which they believe will follow from it, except the Congress of the United States.

And, sir, as we all hope to promote the prosperity and success of the country; to build up its interests on as firm and as stable a foundation as possible; to commend our character, our currency, and our credit to all the nations of the earth with whom we have relations of trade or business, it is our duty, and one which I believe will not be neglected by Congress, to say that this little act should be done of repealing so much of the law of 1890 authorizing the purchase of this silver as tends to create this apprehension in the public mind.

I should in the exercise of my individual judgment go farther than the provisions of the bill already introduced, and would provide a prohibition by which the Treasury should be forbidden to coin another dollar of the one hundred and eighteen millions of bullion now in the Treasury until the silver dollars already coined had gone out and become a part of the circulating medium. Relief is to be found here, however, and here alone; and the question is whether this Congress shall exercise the authority conferred on them and confided to them and shall go down with the commendation of the business interests of the people of all classes—of the laborer as well as the capitalist, of the business man as well as the professional man or the person employed—or whether in consequence of its failure it will receive the execration, not only of this generation, but of all the people of the country who may be affected by this vast, this fraudulent purchase and accumulation of silver in the Treasury of the United States. [Applause.]

Mr. COOPER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I should not intrude for a moment upon the attention of this House, wearied already with the long discussion of what may be called the same question, day after day, if it were not for the fact that I stand here in a position of my own and to some extent with views of my own. Standing as I do as the Representative of a far Southern agricultural district, being as I am a sincere friend of silver, but a sincere believer in bimetallism as well, anxious as I am to vote for any reasonable and practicable measure that would afford to the people of this country from time to time such sound and sufficient increase in currency as their necessities may require, yet in the face of the present situation, exercising my judgment on the facts as I see them, and voting in the interests of my people as I see them, I shall vote for the repeal of the Sherman law as proposed by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON], and shall vote against each and every one of the propositions contained in the proposed amendments suggested by the gentleman from Missouri. (Applause).

Mr. Speaker, I have sat here day after day and listened to abstract discussions of financial theories; and all the time there has been in my mind a question of which I could at no time divest myself; and yet men from my section do not seem to think it worthy of consideration, much less of answer. That question is where, in a few weeks from now, is the money to come from to buy and to move the cotton crop and the other crops of this country? I picked up a paper yesterday, and saw that the merchants and bankers of Savannah are trying to get authority to issue scrip to pay for cotton. Savannah is the cotton market of Florida; and am I to stand here and in the face of the prospects that the farmers of Florida will have to sell their cotton at a depreciated price and for due bills or for scrip, with all that that means to them, with all of inconvenience and all of loss in the shaving of such papers, and am I not even to give them the chance of the only remedy that any one suggests as a means of supplying immediate money?

Mr. Speaker, some gentlemen here have intimated that Southern members who voted for the Wilson bill, and did not vote for any of the specified and limited methods to which they were wedded, of supplying a substitute for the Sherman law, would have an indignant constituency to answer. I say to them that when that day comes I will not be afraid to stand up with them and make my answer while they make theirs. [Applause.] I will say to my people, "I voted to give you the only immediate relief that was possible, at least the only thing which offered a prospect for immediate relief."

Those gentlemen may say to their constituents, what? They may read them their long and more or less learned and more or less eloquent disquisitions upon silver. Perhaps these will be accepted as a sufficient answer, and perhaps those men who have gone down into ruin through their inefficiency and delay will say so them: "We asked you for bread, and you gave us wind." [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, as I have sat here and looked out upon this House my mind has unavoidably wandered to other scenes far distant. I have seen the farmer coming into his country town to sell his cotton, his money crop, and, unfortunately, too often his only money crop, and finding no buyer, because there is no money to buy it with, or having to sacrifice it at a depreciation because of the inadequate supply of money. I have seen the country merchant who had to carry the farmers through the year, pressed by his creditors, unable to make collections, unable to get accommodation from his local bank, the banks unable to make collections, deposits cut off, and all of those men going down into one common vortex of ruin, while we discuss the views of various

financiers, modern and ancient, upon silver and gold and bimetallism, and so forth, and so on. [Applause.]

Now, my friends, what is the cause of this depression, and what is to be the means of relief? As to its cause, in the first place, we have the statements of nearly all the business men of this country, that it is caused by the Sherman purchase law.

I am a lawyer, to some extent at least, and even in a court room where we are limited to absolute proofs of facts, we at least accept the opinions of experts, and we know that all the experts of this country, except a few gentlemen who are immediately interested in the production of silver, agree that such is the cause, and this goes far toward proving it.

Now, my friends, there has been a little suggestion upon the Republican side of this Chamber that this depression is caused chiefly by the prospect of tariff reform. I am not going to get off into tariff reform, but I will say just this about it, that the weakness of that statement is that it is not true. [Applause.] I do not know the affairs of every mill, or every mercantile or banking concern in this country, but I have inquired far and near, and as far as I could obtain information, the concerns that are shutting up in this country and throwing men out of employment are not closing up for lack or orders. They are not closing up because they can not get orders for future delivery, or arrive at any basis of contract with those who desire to purchase. They are not closing up because they are insolvent concerns, but they are closing up for two reasons—one that they can not get the actual cash to run their business and to pay their men, and the other that on account of this financial stringency they fear to fill future orders, lest their customers will not be able to pay for them. That is it.

Now, my friends, these things demonstrate that the immediate cause at least of this depression is a lack of money, and we have a general agreement that this lack of confidence was brought about by this law. Why, no less eminent an authority on the silver side of this question than Senator JONES of Nevada stated, in a magazine article only the other day that you could maintain government money at par so long as the people believed that the Government could redeem it, or did not apprehend that the Government would be unable to redeem it. Therefore, he said, you can not base money upon gold alone, because the people will soon learn that there is not gold enough in the world to redeem outstanding obligations, and they will go below par.

It has been said that the Sherman law was not an adequate cause for this depression; but we all know, who know anything about it, that the business men of this country, and the business men and most of the financiers of every other country, had anticipated and expected this depression; that they have believed that the country can not continue to carry the accumulation of silver under the Sherman law; and, upon even the authority of Senator JONES, that makes the Sherman law an adequate cause for the present depression. [Applause.]

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Will the gentleman allow me to make a suggestion to him?

Mr. COOPER of Florida. I will, with pleasure.

Mr. LIVINGSTON. If the certificates issued under the purchasing clause of the Sherman act have created a burden upon the Treasury, will you explain why it is that these certificates are at a premium in New York and all over the country?

Mr. COOPER of Florida. I think I can. In the first place I never said that the certificates were a burden upon the people. I said that the want of confidence in the business men originated in a belief that the country would not be able to go on continuously accumulating silver and issuing Sherman notes. I believe that the purchase of silver and the issuing of these notes had broken down the public confidence. [Applause.] Breaking down public confidence caused the people to run upon the banks, caused the banks to lock up their currency, and brought about this present stringency. I am going to answer the gentleman's question further. I say to him that the reason that the currency has gone to a premium is that on account of this lack of confidence money has been locked up; and the very measure, therefore, that was expected to make an abundance of money has created a panic, and stringency has driven out gold and locked up the currency, has brought on the contraction and panic and demoralized all the business interests. [Applause.]

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Is the gentleman aware that these certificates are at par in London? You have not answered my question.

Mr. COOPER of Florida. I think I have.

Mr. LIVINGSTON. These certificates are issued under the operation of the very law you are complaining of, and under which you say the confidence of the business interests has been broken down. Now, so long as these certificates are at par in London and are at a premium in New York, will you explain how it has brought depression upon the country?

Mr. COOPER of Florida. In the first place, as I have said before, I have made my statement and not the statement of the gentleman from Georgia; and he can not put his words in my mouth. In the second place, I have already explained that this money is at a premium because of the panic. The stringency locks it up, and it is locked up because of the lack of confidence in financial operations under the Sherman act; and I say to him further, that the reason it is at par in London is because you can draw gold for it in America. [Applause.]

Now, Mr. Speaker, I had almost gotten involved in the tariff when my friend from Georgia happily rescued me. [Laughter.] I do not want to get into any partisan discussion of this affair either, but I can not refrain, with my naturally combative disposition, from saying to my Republican friends—because I have sat down here for a number of days silently while once in a while they gave the Democratic party a prod and suggested that this was the result of turning the country over to the Democratic party—I can not resist saying this: That when the Democratic party had had this country for four years, at the end of Mr. Cleveland's last term we turned this Government over to you with the people prosperous and the Treasury full to overflowing. You gave it back to us in this condition of depression, in this condition of suffering, with a depleted Treasury and with the country already going over the precipice into this financial abyss; and that is all of politics I am going to bring into this speech.

A REPUBLICAN MEMBER. That is enough; you are doing well.

Mr. COOPER of Florida. Now, Mr. Speaker, I said that was all of politics; but I can not go further in my speech without making some reference, at least—to be in the fashion—to the Democratic platform at Chicago. Gentlemen have stood up here and told us that the man who did not vote for each of their particular fads upon the subject of currency was a traitor to the Democratic platform at Chicago. The Democratic platform of Chicago, in the only sentence where it mentions the coining of money, declares for the coining of gold and silver at equal intrinsic and exchangeable values; and the man who comes in here and undertakes to force me, or to limit me, to vote for the coining of silver at certain ratios, each one of which and the greatest of which is far below the market price, undertakes to drive me off the Democratic platform; and he can not do it. [Applause.]

Now, Mr. Speaker, passing from this question of coining at either of the ratios, is there anything in the Democratic platform that declares we shall repeal the Sherman bill and enact another silver-purchase bill? I believe that the Bland bill in its day was a good measure. I believe it did this country no harm, but did it good, because it enlarged our currency at a time when we needed it; but since that bill was repealed we have had more than $150,000,000 of Sherman money added to our currency.

In dealing with these matters we can only look at the facts as each of us sees them. Now, the question of how much of a certain kind of currency a country can successfully carry is a question of fact.

Gentlemen have been fond of referring here to France as the great authority upon coinage and finance. Do they not know that at the late Brussels conference France, through her delegates, declared that she would coin no more silver; that she would not open her mints to free coinage; and further declared when it was proposed to her that France, the United States, India, and the other countries of the Latin Union should enter into an agreement for the free coinage of silver—that she declared, when that proposition was made, that so many countries could not do it? She said, "You have got to include England and Germany, or else it will be impracticable." Do they not know that the representative of France said, "We have got all the silver coin that we can successfully carry, and we can not agree to coin any more, because the attempt to do so would be disastrous?" Mr. Speaker, that is the pronouncement of the highest authority of the gentlemen on the other side.

Just before I was leaving Florida an old friend of mine who had lived for years on the Pacific slope came to me and said, "I do not know how you stand on silver; I have got one advantage over you with reference to it; I have dug silver and I have dug potatoes, and they are each worth what they will sell for." [Laughter.]

Now, Mr. Speaker, if I am to be called upon to give value to any article by legislation, if that, indeed, is demanded of me by the Democratic platform, or any other controlling agency, I want to get some of the benefits of it. [Laughter.] We all know the story of the old darkey down South who was very much taken with the reports which came to his ears concerning the civil rights bill. He heard a great deal about the "provisions" of the bill, and he got an idea that it was something which would be very beneficial to him. So upon a certain day he went to his county town to draw his share of the "provisions," but when he found that there was no hog and hominy in the bill he took no more interest in it. [Laughter.]

Now, Mr. Speaker, if I am to vote for a bill to give an artificial

value to things, if I am to vote for this measure, I want an amendment adopted by which it shall be enacted that my people shall receive a dollar for every 57 cents' worth of their cotton, and tobacco, and oranges, and pineapples, and vegetables, and logs, and lumber, and turpentine. If our friends will put that into their proposition perhaps—I do not say that I will, but I say perhaps—I will manage to hold my conscience in abeyance. [Laughter.]

An acquaintance of mine was cow attorney for a certain railroad. [Laughter.] His duties consisted in going around and resisting claims for cattle that were killed on the track, and he did it very artfully. He resorted to all the arts that were known, the usual delays and everything else, and he continued in that service for about three years, when the railroad company discharged him, whereupon he became a very active and zealous promoter of like claims upon the other side.

One day, as he was addressing the jury in a justice's court, he became very severe, not only upon the company, but upon the attorney on the other side representing the company. Finally the other counsel could not stand it any longer, and he got up and threw his record at him—as sometimes happens to lawyers and to statesmen. [Laughter.] He said: "Didn't you for three years represent this railroad company and resist just such claims as this, doing what I am doing now, only a good deal more so?" Whereupon the indignant cow attorney replied: "Sir, for three long years I held my conscience in abeyance, but now it has broke loose!" [Laughter.]

I have not held my conscience in abeyance, sir, but if I am to do it, I want to see some direct, immediate, palpable, tangible benefit for my people in this legislation. [Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, we may theorize as we please as to the future far distant, but we know in fact that this fall, within the next few weeks, the continuance of the present state of affairs means a lower price for every pound of cotton in the South. If it goes on it means a lower price for every box of oranges in Florida; it means a greater diminution of that great stream of tourist travel which to us is not entirely what the overflow of the Nile is to Egypt—because we deny the charge that we live wholly on fish in the summer and Yankees in the winter [laughter]—but we do admit the fact that it is a very material factor, and if there are hard times at the North and a money stringency, if all the money is locked up so that nobody can get any for business, much less for pleasure, shall the corridors of our hotels (which are palaces), shall the beautiful resorts of Florida, shall the lovely walks on the banks of the St. John and the Indian Rivers remain vacant, and shall all the channels of trade be deprived of that necessary supply of nutriment? The hotels, the transportation lines, the farmer who sells them his products, the merchant who sells them his goods, all will suffer. It is right upon us, and if there is not relief, and that speedily, we are going to have a hard winter in Florida, and if my vote can prevent it it is not going to occur. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Speaker, it has been said to us, "Are you going to be dictated to by England?" That brings up before us one of the most momentous events in the history of finance, or perhaps in the history of the world, during recent years; I refer to the demonetization of silver, or at least the stoppage of its free coinage, in India. When I say I am a friend of silver I am sincere, but I am not ready to vote in this emergency for the free coinage of a short dollar. And I am pinned right down to that or to another silver-purchase bill. I have no other choice or option. I am somewhat in the position of one of those steers that is shipped from Florida; it is put in a kind of runway; one man holds up the bars on one side and another man holds them up on the other, and it must run right along; there is no escape on either side. In this emergency I have made up my mind what I am going to do, and I have declared it. I am not allowed the opportunity to vote for the coinage of silver at its intrinsic value; it is not proposed to give me any such opportunity.

But, Mr. Speaker, I started to speak of the taunt which comes to us as to our being dictated to by England. Why, sir, at the end of the Franco-German war, when France—as proud a nation as exists upon God's footstool—had been overthrown in war; when every feeling of pride and resentment was aroused; in this situation, when Germany demonetized silver, did France say, "We will not be dictated to by any set of Germans. No Kaiser, nor Bismarck, nor any such set of gold bugs can dictate to us. We have maintained the free coinage of silver always; it is the traditionary policy of France, and we can stand alone?" No, sir; France said nothing of the sort. It said, "When Germany has demonetized silver a great fact has occurred which we must recognize and to which we must conform our action;" and they closed the mints of France to the coinage of silver.

So, when the India council demonetized silver, or at least stopped its free coinage, in an empire of more than 250,000,000 of people and destroyed the greatest silver market of the world, thereby depreciating the price of silver, that was a transaction which we can not ignore—which must influence our action whether we like it or whether we do not. For my part I deplore it. If I had come here at any other time than in the presence of this financial depression and in the presence of that action of the Indian government I should be found voting with the men who will now vote contrary to me when this question comes to an issue. But, sir, I always endeavor to look at things as a sensible, reasonable man. And when, so far from the United States accomplishing anything at the Brussels conference, so far from our country getting the aid of any other nation, India demonetized silver, it was a blow that must be recognized; and to say that in the face of this action the United States alone shall undertake so hazardous an experiment as free coinage at a short ratio seems to me neither wisdom nor courage, but foolhardiness.

Mr. Speaker, various gentlemen who have argued this question have referred us to the reports of the India commission. It is a fact that that commission recommended a stoppage of the free coinage of silver in India. It is also a fact that they recommended that, if limited coinage by the government should be carried on, the ratio should be made 20 to 1. But already that is regarded as a most hazardous experiment. Now, what we are here for is not to try experiments, the effect of which would be that while we are awaiting the result months or perhaps years must elapse before confidence is restored. What we are to do is to bring money out of its hoarding places, and then we can devote such time as may be necessary to establishing the currency of this country on a permanent basis.

I shall be ready, I am ready now, to support any measure which to my mind affords a reasonable expectation of establishing our currency upon a sound, safe, sufficient, flexible, expansive basis. But I do not believe that we can successfully establish the free coinage of silver, even at a ratio of 20 to 1. And I do know that such a measure will not restore confidence. I do know that the only means of supplying the country with sufficient money in time to do any good, in time to stop this stringency, in time to market and move the crops, in time to give idle workmen employment, in time to enable the mills to resume their work of industry and their diffusion of values, in time to save the bankers of this country who are struggling against ruin, and the merchants who are fighting from day to day to keep out of bankruptcy, and the farmers whose homes are mortgaged and who must raise the money to meet their interest and their principal—the only measure to do this in time is a measure that will bring out the millions and millions of money that we already have—that are hoarded, locked up in banks or in old stockings—money which is kept out of circulation by the general want of confidence.

Senator JONES of Nevada says that this condition of confidence will return whenever the people believe that the Government can maintain successfully a financial policy. That the great majority of the American people do now believe that the Government can not maintain the policy of the Sherman bill, I shall not argue, because I believe every man in this House knows it. Then, I say, what are we to do but that which at least the people believe is adequate; and if they believe it is adequate, it is adequate. [Applause.]

Mr. GOLDZIER. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of hesitation and diffidence that I rise to address the House upon this momentous question. Much has been said on this question on both sides, and it is necessarily difficult for me, especially as I am a novice in this House, to add anything of value to the discussion. When I recall the eloquent appeal which my friend from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN] made to this House yesterday I can not attempt to vie with him in his rhetoric. When I recall the learned discussions of other gentlemen who have addressed this House, I know that I can not compete with them in the citation of learned writers and in demonstrating my position by reference to such expert authorities, although we all know it is possible to demonstrate by expert testimony each side of a question.

And yet, sir, when I pass in review what has been said in regard to the pending issue, it seems to me there is something lacking, and I shall attempt, to the best of my ability, to supply it, or at least to suggest something which some of the gentlemen on this floor have omitted.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that under the existing circumstances so vividly described by gentlemen on the floor of this House, the orators who have treated both sides of this question seem to have forgotten one thing, and that is this: when a man is disheartened, discouraged, morose, what is the best thing to do for him? The best thing, of course, is to cheer him up; the best thing is to inspire hope in him; the best thing is to talk brightly to him; the best thing is not to speak to him in a pessimistic manner, but to present the brightest side of the subject of which you treat.

I think that has been omitted by the gentlemen who have discussed this subject on both sides of the question. These gentle-

men have evidenced in this House, in all of the discussion, a tendency to pessimism, which to my mind can not encourage the country. If you listen to those gentlemen who have so ably advocated the passage of a free-coinage law, you will find them declare that we are now at a point where this country is either going to flourish and blossom like the rose, if their views are enacted into law, or where this country, if you turn it over to the shining, glittering "gold bugs," is going to the "demnition bow-wows." If you listen to gentlemen on the other side of the question they admonish you: "Do not listen to the siren song of the silverite; do not hearken to what he says to you; follow him not, for he lures you to an abyss." They declare that if you follow the advocates of free coinage the country will go to wreck and ruin.

Now, I do not, for one, believe that that is the case. I, for one, think that the great American nation, this nation with its vast resources, far above those of any other nation in the world, a nation which has survived so many troubles, trials, and tribulations, and like a phœnix has emerged triumphantly with shining plumage, is not going to destruction, no matter what gentlemen on this floor may determine upon this question. I think that the American people who have withstood the crisis that existed at the time of our war of Independence, who have withstood the onslaught of armies external and internal, the domestic troubles that occurred during the war of the rebellion—that the people who have gone through so many trials of war, of treason, and of pestilence, and have come out unscathed and glorious, that this people will survive this ordeal as it has others; that this nation is not doomed to disappear from the face of the earth, and our prosperity is not to be wiped out by anything that Congress may do, no matter how ill advised or how misguided the action of Congress may be.

A gentleman on this floor on yesterday, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN], has likened the present condition of affairs in this country to a panic in a crowded playhouse—to alarm in a house crowded from pit to dome where some man present by inadvertence raises the cry of "Fire." I think the likeness is a fitting one and I gladly adopt the illustration. Suppose, gentlemen, that you were in such a crowded playhouse; suppose the cry of "fire" should by inadvertence be raised, what would you think of the manager of such a playhouse who would step out before his audience and say "Flee for your lives; the roof is falling"? Would he not add to the confusion and to the loss of life? Would he not be guilty and culpable? And what else is it that these gentlemen are doing who are going to the extremes to which we find them going in the discussion of this question before the country to-day?

We want a different policy pursued in this particular discussion. We need a bright policy. We need a reassuring policy. The talk of the members on this floor ought to be in line with what the wise manager of such a playhouse under such circumstances would do. You all know that in numerous disasters of the kind described by the gentleman from Nebraska, the man who had his wits about him, the man who was up to the occasion, ordered his band to play a lively air—not because music could subdue the fire; not because of the actual effect of any such action, but simply on account of the moral effect and in order to stop the panic. We ought to have the kind of oratory here which would be reassuring to the people, which would cheer instead of depressing them.

Mr. Speaker, the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act is proposed as a measure of relief. Let me say at the outset of my remarks that I fully agree with those gentlemen who say on this floor that the workings of the Sherman act are not to the largest extent, are not mainly in fact, responsible for the distressing condition of the country. Let me say further than that, whether right or wrong, the people as a whole, the community as a whole, attribute the condition of affairs in large measure to the existence of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. What under these circumstances and conditions is our duty? What is the first thing that we ought to do? Another gentleman on this floor has likened the condition of the country to the condition of a man who is not suffering from any disease, but who, being continuously told by his friends that he is looking ill, that he shows symptoms of disease, believes himself to be afflicted with such disease; in other words, he likens the condition of the country to that of the *malade imaginaire*.

Now, call in a wise physician to treat this *malade imaginaire*, and what will he do? He will not say, "There is no trouble with you." He will not say, "You are simply suffering from a disease of the imagination." He will not say there is no necessity for doing anything for you, because knowing, as a physician must know, that under such circumstances the mind is affected, if the body is not, he will know that if he can reach the mind he can cure this imaginary disease of the body.

We have this patient before us. He tells us in language that can not be misunderstood, "I am suffering from the effects of the Sherman act." It will not do for us to stand up here and argue from now till doomsday that there is nothing the matter. We can not argue this patient out of the belief that his disease is the Sherman law. And what we ought to do under the circumstances is to give this patient bread pills, to give the imaginary patient an imaginary remedy; and by so doing you will cure the disease.

I mean exactly what I say; because from all the light that I have been able to gather upon the pending question, I feel satisfied that the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act is not a permanent cure of any of the diseases from which we are suffering. At the same time, under these conditions I think that the application of this remedy is as necessary, is as much our duty, as though we were satisfied that it would effect a permanent cure.

A great deal has been said upon this floor in regard to the effect of a possible repeal of the Sherman act. And while I am upon this point, I want to say that I have listened with the utmost attention to the whole of this discussion from first to last, and I have yet to find the first man upon the floor of this House who has had a good word to say for the Sherman act. Those who treat it in the mildest manner, those who are inclined to favor it to the utmost, say that it is harmless. They say "We will admit that it is a stupid piece of legislation, we will admit that it is bad financiering and poor politics," but they deem it to be harmless; while the avowed enemies of the act say that it is the cause of a great deal, if not all, of the present financial trouble in this country.

Therefore, I say, we seem all substantially agreed upon one proposition, and that is that this act is not doing the country any particular good. If it is not doing any good, I ask why in the name of good common sense can we not try to do some good by taking it away, by removing it, by obliterating it? We certainly can not do any harm, according to the theory even of those who say it is useless, and if we adopt the theory of the other side we must do a great deal of good.

I wish to say that I deem a discussion of the coinage question upon the floor of this House at this time entirely irrelevant. As I have stated before, I do not believe that a repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act is a permanent remedy, and because I believe that I stand ready, prepared and willing with all my little ability and with the best of intentions, to aid in formulating that kind of a financial system, that kind of a currency system for this country, which will be found the best, after due consideration, and which will aid us in maintaining the country upon its former level of prosperity.

Now, as to the Sherman act I say, as before, why not start in by doing something? Why not give the country to understand that we are about to do something for the benefit of the people? Why not give the country to understand that we have entered upon the road to putting the country upon a sound financial basis? And what better method can you find for doing that than to remove a law which one side declares to be useless and which the other side declares to be absolutely vicious?

In discussing the currency question I have heard upon this floor from gentlemen on both sides a great deal of talk about the debtor and creditor classes in this country; and if you listen to the ardent advocates of silver you will unquestionably be led to the conclusion that the debtor classes of this country are the millions and that the creditor class is confined to a small section of the country.

In fact, if you follow this discussion to the conclusion you may be led to believe that the creditor class is confined to a little corner in Wall street. I boldly advance the proposition that this is not the case, and that the creditor class of the country, about the rights of whom gentlemen who are eloquently advocating silver seem to be entirely indifferent, is much larger than is generally supposed. Who are the creditor classes? Let me mention one small subsection of the creditor class of this country, and let us see its magnitude, and then talk about the fifty people in Wall street who are depicted as the creditor class juggling with the finances of the country.

The last report of the Comptroller of the Currency, in treating of the savings banks in this country, says:

> The condition of the savings banks of the country is of special interest, owing to the enormous volume of funds in their custody, and to the further fact that these funds are largely the savings of people of limited means. Reports have been received from 1,059 savings institutions, including 416 stock savings banks or associations, which associations do both a commercial and savings business. Of this number 643 are conducted presumably in the sole interest of the depositors, and are classified as mutual savings banks. The resources of the latter class amount to $1,605,415,679, being nearly 82 per cent of the total assets of both classes.

The total savings deposits, in accordance with the report of the Comptroller of Currency, amounted in 1892 to $1,712,769,026. What are these savings depositors? Do they not belong to the

creditor class of this country? Are they the large capitalists of Wall street, or are they the small business man, the artisan, the laborer, "people of limited means," as the Comptroller of the Treasury puts it.

A significant fact, showing what composes this number of the creditor class, is furnished by the number of individual depositors in savings banks. The total number is 4,781,605 depositors; or, in other words, taking the population of the United States, including men, women, and children, every thirteenth person belongs to the creditor class of the land by being a depositor in a savings bank; or, going further, and taking the male population, you find that every sixth and one-half male of the population is one of the much-denounced creditor class, by being a depositor in a savings bank; and, going further and taking the wage-earning portion of the male population, those over 21 years of age, you find that one in every four—that every fourth man you meet upon the streets—belongs to this much-reviled and much-denounced creditor class of the population by being a depositor in a savings bank.

But that is not the only manner in which the small people of this country, in which the laborers and workingmen and the small business men deposit their savings and become creditors. Gentlemen upon the floor of this House know beyond a question the vast proportions that have been assumed in recent years by those well-known institutions, the savings and loan associations, the land and loan associations, in which the small man from his weekly earnings deposits weekly certain amounts—for what purpose? For the purpose that it may be loaned out to others in need of money, and thus the people become a part and parcel of this creditor class.

I have not the statistics at hand as to the amounts of money passing through the building and loan associations, and there is but one city in which I am perfectly familiar with the working of these associations, and that is the city from which I hail, Chicago. In that city there are in existence at the present time over two hundred building and loan associations, and those associations have been loaning to such people as were in need of money over $75,000,000 in the city of Chicago alone. I have no doubt, especially in view of the fact that this system is comparatively new in Illinois and comparatively old in older States of the Union, that the figures with respect to the older cities and the older States vastly exceed in proportion the figures I have mentioned to you.

Who are the people who contribute to these funds? Has anyone every heard of large capitalists going into building and loan associations? Has anyone ever heard of men of large means investing their money in that manner? No, gentlemen, the money put out through the agency of building and loan associations is the money of the small people, the money of the small merchant, of the small business man, of the laborer, which he deducts from his weekly wages, and in that manner the body of the people become a part and parcel of this creditor class.

Mr. SIMPSON. I would like to ask the gentleman a question for information.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. REILLY in the chair). Does the gentleman from Illinois yield?

Mr. GOLDZIER. I yield to the gentleman for a question.

Mr. SIMPSON. It bears upon this question, and I am very much interested in it. Has the gentleman made any calculation as to the amount per capita that the laboring class have deposited in these institutions and in these building and loan associations, divided up by the whole number?

Mr. GOLDZIER. Dividing it among the various classes?

Mr. SIMPSON. Yes.

Mr. GOLDZIER. I have not. The only means I have of judging is by comparing the amounts deposited with the number of depositors, and the figures show upon their face that the deposits are small. There are, as I stated before, in the neighborhood of 5,000,000 of these savings-banks depositors.

Mr. SIMPSON. It has been asserted that it amounts to about a hundred dollars for each one of the depositors, if it were distributed among them.

Mr. GOLDZIER. The figures are before the gentleman and, as he is at leisure now and I am not, I will leave him to figure it out. The amount of savings deposits is $1,712,769,000. The number of the savings-bank depositors is 4,781,605. My colleague [Mr. SPRINGER] has called my attention to the fact that the report of the Comptroller gives the average per capita of deposits; but that is not the point about which the gentleman from Kansas asked me. His inquiry was as to the average amount of the deposits.

Mr. SIMPSON. Yes, per capita.

Mr. GOLDZIER. The average amount per capita of depositors?

Mr. SIMPSON. That is what I want.

Mr. GOLDZIER. Well, the gentleman has the figures. Now, Mr. Speaker, to return to my argument. I spoke of these loan associations. I have no doubt that the amounts which are invested in this manner by the small investors of the country through these loan associations, and by which amounts those people become creditors, is at least as great as the amounts deposited in the savings banks. Now, to what does that lead us? I say to you, gentlemen, that when you make your bold attacks upon the "creditor" portion of the country you are attacking the very bone and marrow of the people. The man who has his few dollars invested in a savings bank, though he may be a small creditor, though the amount, in comparison to the amounts invested by bankers and capitalists, may be insignificant, is deeply interested in proportion to his means. His deposit is to him a matter of great importance. It represents to him all that he has been able to save by hard labor.

It represents to him all that he has been able to lay aside by living in the most economical manner. It represents to him the little mite of savings that he has been able to lay by for a rainy day. It represents to him the means of living in case he should be sick. To the laborer or the poor man it represents his sustenance in case he should become unable to work, from age or disability. It is his life insurance, and provides for his family in case of his death. And, sir, speaking on behalf of that portion of the creditor class—and I shall attempt to show you that it is a very important one—I assert that their rights are as sacred as those of any other class, and that their rights are as much entitled to consideration on the part of the members of this body as are those of any debtor class, I care not how numerous they may be.

I think it is a fallacy to say that the population of this country is divided by geographical lines into a creditor class and a debtor class, the one living East and the other living West and South. The statistics do not bear out that view. They show to you, in language that can not be contradicted, that the creditor class is widely distributed over this great country, and that that class does not consist alone of the Wall street banker and financier, but is composed, at least as largely if not more largely, of the men whose interests should be dearest to our hearts because they are the most defenseless.

Now, Mr. Speaker, another point occurs to me which seems to be important in this discussion. We have been convened here to legislate against the evils under which the country is suffering. We have been convened here to legislate in such manner as to restore the confidence of the people. In this discussion I have heard many sneers upon this floor at this hackneyed expression, this "coy maiden," the "confidence of the people." But let me show you, gentlemen, that it is not an airy fiction but a reality, this confidence of the people, which enters into every one of our daily transactions.

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL] who spoke here the other day, quoting numerous authorities, quoting authorities of men learned upon this subject and of deep wisdom and erudition, stated—and, by the way, it was a silver man who said this—that the circulating medium of any people consists of two things, currency and credit; and he stated the ratio to be as 19 of credit to 1 of currency. I have not gone over his figures but I assume them to be correct.

I assume them all the more to be correct as I think I can show you that the proportion is even a larger one.

Now, which part of our circulating medium is it that has been contracted? Is it the currency, the cash money, or that other vaster, larger, and infinitely more important portion of our circulating medium, the credit of the country? I think I can state without fear of contradiction that the evils under which we are suffering, the financial distress in the midst of which we find ourselves, and which threatens to oppress the country in still greater measure, is due mainly to the contraction of the circulating medium which the gentleman from Missouri has called credit, and which constitutes, as he says, 19 to 1 of the circulating medium. That this is so—that credit is the most important portion of our circulating medium—I think the records of this country which exhibit the banking transactions of the Union will demonstrate beyond a question, and they will demonstrate to anyone who chooses to examine them that, taking into consideration the volume of business done in the country without actual cash, that part of the circulating medium called "credit" is great beyond compare, while that part called "cash" sinks into utter insignificance.

You may theorize and quote authorities fifty, sixty, or one hundred years old from now until doomsday; they will not alter the fact, which is patent, that the bulk of the business of this country—that nine-tenths of this business, ninety-nine one-hundredths of it—is done without the intervention of actual cash. Now, what is the basis of that part of the circulating medium called credit. As necessary as it is that the currency of the country should be reduced to a standard of value as sta-

ble as the possibilities admit—as necessary as it is that everything in the shape of money should be reducible to a standard of value, whatever that standard may be—just so necessary is it that all the credit of the country should be founded upon one standard of value. But that standard of value is known; that standard of value is unchangeable; that standard of value can not be varied; it is the confidence of the people in the institutions of the country.

Mr. Speaker, compare for a moment the business of the country that is done with actual money, with the business of the country done upon credit money—with such money as the people make for themselves—I mean checks and drafts—the people's own money—the money which they make whenever they see any necessity for it, and the money which is stable and is current as long as its basis, confidence, exists. Referring again to the report of the Comptroller of the Currency, it will be found that during the year 1892 the banking business, the check business of the United States—in other words, that part of the business transactions of our country which was done without the intervention of actual cash—was as follows: The total of all the clearing houses of the United States shows the enormous sum of $61,017,839,000 and some odd dollars.

And speaking of an increase in our currency, talking about the beggarly increase which any system we might devise might give to us, these statistics show that within the one year 1892 the people, having need for it, had increased their currency, their circulating medium, by the tremendous sum of $3,836,000,000, that being the increase of the clearing-house business of 1892 over that of 1891. Compare with this, Mr. Speaker, the insignificant volume of our currency; and I think, boiling it all down—coming to the focus of the whole thing—you will agree with me that so far as the actual needs of the business community are concerned, it does not make so great a difference what this Congress may do in the way of increasing the volume of the currency.

I say the impairment in the circulating medium of the country has not been in the shape of withdrawal of cash from the country; this impairment has been in the credit portion of our circulating medium, and has come in the shape of lack of confidence. If you look at the stupendous figures the reason of this must become clear to all. Here we find invested by the small investors of the country—men who do not keep track of the rise and fall of the stocks on Wall street, men to whom the rise or fall of grain or other provisions on the Chicago Board of Trade is of no importance—we find invested by this class of men in the one item of savings deposits the enormous sum of $1,712,000,000. What becomes of this money in case the small investor becomes frightened? He wants his money; he refuses to be a creditor longer; he says, "I have no confidence in the debtor class of this community, and therefore I want my money back." Gentlemen have said on this floor these men are not afraid of the United States, they are afraid of the banks.

It is true; but why are they afraid of the banks? The funds of your mechanic, the funds of the small business man, the funds of your laborer are invested in what? In Government bonds, in bonds of States, in bonds of cities, in securities of all classes; and when you threaten them with legislation which affects those securities you threaten them with legislation which affects their pockets. You make them timid, because they say, "If my bank is injured, if the bonds become more or less worthless, if the securities which my bank holds are not good, then my money is not safe." Therefore the depositor rushes to the bank, demands his money, withdraws it from circulation, and thus creates a condition of affairs such as we see to-day—a state of affairs in which, as has been stated before, without any necessity for it, with business thriving, with factories in full operation, with good crops, with every prospect of success, you are reduced to a condition where New York brokers have to advertise for cash in order to do their business. Whose money is it that becomes timid in this manner?

Do you need to look farther? Is it necessary to go farther if you look at the enormous sum of money held by the small depositors? And who is it who is first seized with the panic? Panic does not break out among the cool, calculating Wall street financier, because, forsooth, he is too small a quantity to create a panic by himself. But when you sow distrust in the minds of the five millions of savings-bank depositors you create a panic greater in extent, more harmful and vicious than any panic brought about through the instrumentality of Wall street.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the question pertinent to be considered is, what is the remedy? I am modest enough to confess that I am not sufficiently versed in finances to be able to state at a moment's notice on the floor of this House the details of a permanent remedy—a remedy which will consist in a stable currency for the country and in a settled financial policy. But that is not the point now. What we must do, what is necessary at the present time, is to bring forth these hidden funds. What we have to do is to open the doors of the safe-deposit vaults and get into circulation the circulating medium of the country there locked up. What we have to do is to restore the standard for the credit portion of our circulating medium by restoring the confidence of the people. Once more, what will do it at a moment's notice? What is it that the people demand most vociferously to-day?

I ask any gentleman here, who does not come from the silver section—I ask any gentleman who comes from a commercial section of the country, who comes from a section where savings-bank depositors are—whether he does not receive twenty petitions asking for a speedy, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act to one which he may receive to the contrary? I know it is my experience, and believe it is the experience of all gentlemen here. Then, gentlemen, whether the people be right or wrong, this is what the people demand. What is our duty as legislators? What is our duty if we want to restore the confidence of the community? Is it not clear that if in the way of the confidence of the people we find an obstable, and more especially if we all agree that this obstacle in the shape of legislation is useless or worse, that our first duty to our constituents is to remove that obstacle without hesitation?

I have heard in this House during the course of this discussion a great many sentences and words, sentiments and songs, the burden of which was "your platform;" and I find gentlemen on one or the other side of this question hesitating, considering, keeping back, admitting, if you please, that a certain line of action is just and desirable, but restrained from following it by fear of a violation of their "platform."

I do not care about entering into a discussion of the question as to whether what we propose to do now is strictly in accord with the declarations of the Democratic platform or not. I do not care about that. I believe that the needs of the country, that the welfare of the country, is a question of much higher consideration, of vastly greater importance, and must be, or ought to be, nearer to the heart of every legislator than any paper platform that ever was devised by man. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, what do you think that the people who are anxiously waiting for this Congress to relieve them care about your platform of 1892? What do you think the laboring man, who is shut out from his work—the artisan, the mechanic who finds himself unable to sustain his family, and has to rely on charity—cares about the paper platform of 1892? We owe a great debt of fealty to our party, and I believe we ought to adhere to our party and its principles as faithfully as we can; but I say to you, gentlemen, that when the question shall confront me, "Here is your duty to your party and here is your duty to your country; they conflict; which road will you follow"? I shall not hesitate for a moment which way to go.

I think that, so far as the present difficulties are concerned, they do not affect the root. I think the country is on a sound basis, and I have beyond all the greatest of faith in the resources of this country. Gentlemen, a country which, like this, has undergone vicissitudes innumerable, has passed through crises of every kind much worse than is the present one, such a country can not be brought to the verge of destruction by a financial flurry like this. I come from a city which shows to you the proud, the unbroken spirit of the American citizen, and which shows to you at the same time that it takes a great deal more than what we are battling with to-day in order to break the spirit of the American people.

On the 9th day of October, 1871, the city of my residence, Chicago, was burned to the ground, countless millions of property were destroyed, and the fruits of long years of toil and labor were wiped from the earth. What was the result? Did the people in that typical American city lie down under the visitation of Providence? Did they lie down and give up? No; for that would have been un-American. In the smoldering ruins of that great city they laid the foundation stones of the present city, and from its ruins arose the typical American city that stands there to-day, a monument to the enterprise, pluck, and perseverance of its people.

And as it was in 1871 with Chicago, so it is, Mr. Speaker, and will be with the American people from this time, I hope, until the end of time. I have abiding faith in the resources of this country; I have faith in the patriotism of the people of this country; and I have faith beyond all in the hard common sense of the people of this country which will deter them from doing anything rash, and which, I sincerely hope, will guide this Congress into the proper path, so that by wise and well-considered legislation the prosperity of our people may be assured. We know what the people want. Let us give it to them. Let us do something to show our good faith in the matter.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, I have already spoken longer than

I intended, and I shall not detain the House much further. I sincerely hope that from the few words I have said may spring at least some small good. In all that I have said my motto has been "Let us quit talking and do something." The people expect us to do something. They expect us to take some means to allay their fears. They expect us to do something to restore confidence; and when we get through with that portion of our task they expect us to go beyond that; and, I for one, am prepared to put my shoulder to the wheel. The people expect us to put this great nation upon a sound financial basis, and they expect that it will be such a basis that the country will not be shaken by every change of administration or by every financial flurry.

Will you close your ears to the appeal of the people? I sincerely hope not. I think such a course would be disastrous and fraught with great suffering for those whom it is our duty to protect. I think it would be fraught with great suffering for those who have placed their trust in us. Let us leave behind us all petty jealousies; let us avoid going to one extreme or the other, and let us join hands and work with each other, and give the people to understand that we are prepared to do something to rescue the country from the deplorable state in which it now is.

It is not necessary to make immediate choice upon the question of free coinage or banking. These questions can well be disposed of hereafter and can be taken up at once after we have disposed of the matters requiring our present attention. We must do something to restore confidence, to allay fears, to give to our people an assurance of the stability of the monetary institutions of the country. The people point out to us what they want. The people show us what it is that has aroused their fears. Now, like patriotic men, true to our trust, let us remove this obstacle to prosperity, and in that manner earn and deserve the gratitude of the country and its appreciation. [Applause.]

Mr. PICKLER. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a friendly question right here?

Mr. GOLDZIER. Yes.

Mr. PICKLER. As I understand the gentleman, he thinks the repeal of the Sherman law will not of itself bring prosperity to the country?

Mr. GOLDZIER. I touched upon that matter before. I do not believe that the repeal of the Sherman act is a radical cure. I do not believe that the repeal of the Sherman act constitutes a monetary system. I believe that the repeal of the Sherman act is simply an anodyne and not a cure.

Mr. PICKLER. Now suppose that Congress does repeal the Sherman law unconditionally. What is the opinion of the gentleman as to whether the President will sign any bill thereafter that will recognize silver in any respect?

Mr. GOLDZIER. Mr. Speaker, a few months ago the people of the United States were called upon at an election to choose between two men, into the hands of one of whom as Chief Executive they would place the destinies of the country. The people of this Union have spoken and have said to the country that they have such confidence, such reliance in the upright, rugged honesty of Grover Cleveland, that they chose to intrust him with the Presidency. There is the answer for the gentleman. I do not know and do not care what the President's action will be. I know that the people who have chosen the gentleman and the people who have chosen me, have at the same time chosen Grover Cleveland as the President of this Republic, and they have chosen him because they have the utmost confidence in him. The question of the signing or the vetoing of a bill is one which affects the Executive. I belong to the legislative branch of this Government; it is sufficient if I shoulder what responsibility rests on me and let the Executive answer for his own acts.

Mr. PICKLER. I was only asking the gentleman's opinion.

Mr. GOLDZIER. I have stated my opinion, which is that the President of the United States will do that which every man in this House is expected to do, namely, his duty; and I believe he knows his duty and will perform it. [Applause.]

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted—

To Mr. LAYTON, for one week, on account of a death in his family.

DEATH OF HON. J. LOGAN CHIPMAN.

Mr. WEADOCK. Mr. Speaker, I offer the resolutions which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with deep regret and profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. J. Logan Chipman, late a Representative from the State of Michigan.

Resolved, That a committee of nine members of the House be appointed by the Speaker to act with such Senators as may be selected, to attend the funeral of the deceased, and that the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House shall take order for superintending the funeral; and the necessary expenses attending the execution of this order shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That the Clerk be directed to communicate to the Senate a copy of these resolutions.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

Mr. WEADOCK. Mr. Speaker, at this time I shall say no more than to make formal announcement of the death of a distinguished member of this House, a member of a distinguished family, who, at the ripe age of sixty-three years, goes to his reward. At a later time we will invite the attention of his fellow members and of the country while those who knew him best will pay tribute to his worth. I move the adoption of the resolutions.

The resolutions were agreed to; and the Speaker appointed as members of the committee Messrs. WEADOCK, WHITING, MCMILLIN, GORMAN, CARUTH, CANNON of Illinois, POWERS, HAUGEN, and AITKEN.

And then, pursuant to the terms of the resolution (at 1 o'clock and 43 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned until to-morrow at 11 o'clock a. m.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, *August 18, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Vice-President being absent, the President *pro tempore*, Hon. ISHAM G. HARRIS, of Tennessee, took the chair.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

TREASURY NOTES AND GOLD COIN.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate the following communication from the Secretary of the Treasury; which was read and ordered to lie on the table and to be printed:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., August 17, 1893.

To the President of the Senate:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the following resolution, adopted by the Senate on the 16th instant, viz:

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, directed to report to the Senate what amount, if any, of the Treasury notes issued under the act of July 14, 1890, commonly called the Sherman act, have been during the present month redeemed by the Government at the request of the holders thereof in silver dollars, and whether the holders of such notes were advised at the time of such redemption that they could have gold instead of silver, if they so desired.

"The Secretary of the Treasury is also directed to inform the Senate whether gold coin has been presented recently to the Treasury Department or any subtreasury and silver dollars asked in exchange therefor, and, if so, if such exchanges have been made, and whether the Department would or could exchange silver dollars for gold coin, if requested to do so by holders of gold."

In response thereto, I have the honor to say that during the present month Treasury notes issued under the act of July 14, 1890, amounting to $714,636, have been redeemed by the Government in silver dollars. While I do not pretend to have knowledge of the degree of information possessed by the holders of the notes so redeemed, I am of the opinion that they were fully advised at the time of such redemption that they could have gold instead of silver, if they so desired. I base this opinion upon the general publicity which has been given to the terms of the act, no less than upon the instructions of this Department to the Treasurer and Assistant Treasurers of the United States, which have been to the effect that such notes were redeemable in silver dollars at the option of the holders. I am also supported in my belief by the fact that in the circular of this Department, issued to the public for their guidance in their dealings with the Treasury, and containing the regulations which govern the issue, redemption, and exchange of the paper currency and the gold, silver, and minor coins of the United States, there is a paragraph which reads as follows:

"4. Gold coin is issued in redemption of United States notes, in sums not less than $50, by the Assistant Treasurers in New York and San Francisco, and in redemption of Treasury notes of 1890, in like sums, by the Treasurer and all the assistant treasurers."

In further response to the resolution, I have to say that recently gold coin has been presented at an office of this Department, and silver dollars asked in exchange therefor, and that the exchange was not made for the reason that all the silver dollars in the Treasury at the time were required under the provisions of the laws relating to the currency to be held in the Treasury to cover outstanding silver certificates and Treasury notes issued under the act of July 14, 1890. At present the Department would not and could not exchange silver dollars for gold coin if requested to do so by holders of gold, for the same reason: but if the condition of the funds of the Treasury were such as to afford a margin of silver dollars in excess of silver certificates and Treasury notes outstanding, such exchanges would be made.

Respectfully, yours,

J. G. CARLISLE, *Secretary.*

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATION.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, showing the necessity for the immediate appropriation of $300,000 for continuing the recoinage of fractional silver coins, and recommending that it be made; which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

PROPOSED ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

Mr. FAULKNER. I move that when the Senate adjourn to-day it be to meet on Monday next.

Mr. HOAR. I ask the unanimous consent of the Senate to make a suggestion to the Senator from West Virginia. I should like to ask the Senator whether he understands that the debate on the Lee Mantle case will be finished to-day, and that Senators

who are to speak on it are ready to proceed. I understand that one or two Senators, including the chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, desire to speak on the question. We have unanimous consent to take the vote at 5 o'clock on Monday. I do not think we ought to adjourn over Saturday and deprive any Senator who wishes to speak on that case of an opportunity to do so. I merely call the attention of the Senator from West Virginia to it.

Mr. FAULKNER. While occupying the chair yesterday I understood from the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE] that he contemplated an adjournment over to-morrow. I understand that but two more speeches are to be made upon the Montana case, and that the vote is not to be taken, by the unanimous agreement, until 5 o'clock Monday evening. Consequently I do not think a failure to hold a session to-morrow would deprive anyone of an opportunity to address the Senate on the Montana case.

Mr. HOAR. I recognize the fact that within the ordinary limits the question of sitting one day or another must be determined by the other side of the Chamber, who have charge of the business, and I do not expect to make any factious opposition to the motion; but I wanted to be sure there was no misunderstanding. I shall insist on carrying out the agreement reached yesterday as to the time of voting on Monday.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I desire to call attention to the fact that the consent of the Senate has been already given that the senior Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL] shall address the Senate on the financial question on Monday next. How far that may interfere with the controversy about the admission of the appointed Senators I do not know. I suppose we can get through by 5 o'clock on Monday.

Mr. FRYE. I should like to ask the Senator from West Virginia what there is to prevent taking up for consideration to-morrow morning the only bill reported by the Senate Committee on Finance up to the present time, a bill authorizing practically the issue of currency to the amount of $20,000,000 or $30,000,000. The people need it, the mines need it, the furnaces need it, the factories need it, the men out of work need it, and yet here it is on the Calendar waiting day after day and nothing is done with it. Why should we adjourn over and let the people suffer when certainly there is to an extent a remedy in that bill?

Mr. FAULKNER. I supposed that that matter would be controlled entirely by the chairman of the Committee on Finance. If it had been the purpose and desire of the chairman to take that bill up to-morrow, and he thinks the Senate is in a condition to do so, he would certainly have indicated it to the Senate. He has not done so. The amendment presented yesterday by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] may need some additional consideration, as it has not been before the committee, and is a very important amendment to that very bill.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. This debate proceeds by unanimous consent only. The Senator from Indiana will proceed.

Mr. VOORHEES. Day before yesterday, when I sought to bring up the bill in question, I was appealed to by Senators whose wishes I could not disregard, and would not if I could, to let it go over for the purpose of perfecting certain amendments, and with a view to their own discussion of it. Yesterday when I expected to call it up I found the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO] on the floor before I reached the point where I supposed I could call it up, and then a very pressing matter took me to one of the Departments for most of the afternoon. I had expected to call up the bill this morning. I should be glad to do it right now, and if there is no objection I will do so. I thoroughly concur in the necessity of action on this measure if we are going to act upon it at all.

I wish to say now, while I am on my feet, I have heard the taunt go around that I was seeking to do something in the interest of the national banks. I am seeking to do nothing of the kind. I am seeking, however, to avail myself of their power and interest—of their cupidity, if you please—to increase the circulating medium of this country and thereby meet the pressing wants of the laboring people. It is not a bill in the interest of the banks, nothing of the kind; there is no feature, no thought, no inspiration of that sort on my part; but I see they have the power, and by appealing to their self-interest, and to no higher or better motive, they will increase the circulation of this country, by virtue of the bonds now on file in the Treasury, about $20,000,000; and by purchasing other bonds I have no doubt the increase will go to $50,000,000—as much needed as the rains are on the parched earth in the midst of a heavy drought. I will ask the Senate to consider the bill now, Senate bill 453.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on the motion of the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. COCKRELL. I call for the regular order of morning business.

Mr. McPHERSON. I ask the Senator from West Virginia to withdraw his motion in view of the statement by the chairman of the Committee on Finance that he intends to call up the bill. Perhaps it will take but a few moments to decide it. If this question is decided, which is by far the most important question before the Senate at this time, and if it should be decided without much debate, as I hope will be the case, then the motion of the Senator from West Virginia may be again presented. But surely if we can not reach a decision upon this question to-day, every consideration of right and justice demands that the Senate shall sit to-morrow until such time as a decision and conclusion are reached upon it.

Mr. FAULKNER. In view of the remarks of the Senator from Indiana, as he seems to have given a pledge to the Senate that the bill will be pressed to-morrow as well as to-day, and as we are all anxious to give any relief as promptly as possible that it is in the power of the Senate to extend, I will withdraw the motion I have made.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The motion is withdrawn. Petitions and memorials are in order.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. WASHBURN presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Mankato, Minn., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law, and for the appointment of an expert commission to consider and recommend a system of currency; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. PEFFER presented a petition of Local Assembly No. 3629, Knights of Labor, of Buffalo, N. Y., praying for the free coinage of silver; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. STOCKBRIDGE presented a petition of the New York Hat Trade Association, praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. TELLER presented a petition of the Pioneer Ladies' Aid Society of Colorado, praying for the free coinage of silver; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of Colorado Springs, Colo., and a petition of certain iron molders of Denver, Colo., praying for the more extended use of silver as money; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the miners of Rico, Colo., praying for an investigation of the labor troubles of 1892 in Idaho; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also presented the petition of Smith G. Ward, of Boulder, Colo., praying that the payment of his pension may be made in silver; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented a memorial of Carpenters and Joiners Union No. 515, of Colorado Springs, Colo., remonstrating against a new treaty with Russia; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. VORHEES, from the Committee on Finance, to whom was referred to bill (S. 50) in aid of the California Midwinter International Exposition, reported it without amendment.

Mr. PALMER, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 126) extending the privilege of bounty land to persons who served in the Indian wars of the United States subsequent to March 3, 1855, asked to be discharged from its further consideration, and that it be referred to the Committee on Public Lands; which was agreed to.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 104) for the relief of Gen. Napoleon J. T. Dana, asked to be discharged from its further consideration, and that it be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs; which was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I am instructed by the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds to report a joint resolution, and if it leads to no debate I should like to ask for its present consideration.

The joint resolution (S. R. 17) providing for the erection of a suitable building for the storage of documents for the use of the Senate was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate of the United States is hereby directed to have erected upon the ground owned by the United States, west of the house known as the Maltby House, situated on the southwest corner of New Jersey avenue and B street, northwest, a suitable building for the folding and storage of documents for the use of the Senate, on plans and specifications approved by the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds: *Provided*, That the expense of erecting said building shall not exceed the sum of $7,500, and which shall be paid from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers to be approved by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair suggest to the Senator from Missouri that the joint resolution must go to the Com-

mittee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. It will be so referred.

SILVER COINAGE.

Mr. VOORHEES. I am instructed by the Committee on Finance to report a bill. I ask that it be printed and placed on the Calendar.

Mr. CULLOM. I hope the bill will be read.

Mr. VOORHEES. I ask that it be read.

The bill (S. 570) discontinuing the purchase of silver bullion was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That so much of the act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," as directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase, from time to time, silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered, in each month, at the market price thereof, not exceeding $1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchases Treasury notes of the United States, be, and the same is hereby, repealed. And it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to continue the use of both gold and silver as standard money, and to coin both gold and silver into money of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, such equality to be secured through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as will insure the maintenance of the parity in value of the coins of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts. And it is hereby further declared that the efforts of the Government should be steadily directed to the establishment of such a safe system of bimetallism as will maintain at all times the equal power of every dollar coined or issued by the United States in the markets and in the payment of debts.

Mr. VOORHEES. Let the bill be placed on the Calendar; and I give notice that after the morning hour on Tuesday next I shall ask the Senate to indulge me in making some remarks in regard to it.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The bill will be placed on the Calendar.

Mr. VEST. On the part of the minority of the Committee on Finance, consisting of the Senator from Tennessee, now in the chair [Mr. HARRIS], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], and myself, I desire to state that we dissent from the report of the majority, and propose as a substitute for the measure reported by the chairman of the committee what I send to the desk.

Mr. CALL. Let it be read.

Mr. VEST. I ask that it be read, and that the same order may be made in regard to it as was made with the bill reported by the chairman.

Mr. FRYE. It is reported as a substitute?

Mr. VEST. As a substitute.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The proposed amendment will be read.

The amendment was read and ordered to be placed on the Calendar, as follows:

Strike out all after the enacting clause of Senate bill 570, and insert:

That from and after the passage of this act the silver coins of the United States shall contain the following quantities of silver, that is to say: Each dollar shall contain 464.4 grains of pure silver and 516 grains of standard silver; each half dollar shall contain 232.2 grains of pure silver and 258 grains of standard silver, and each quarter dollar shall contain 116.1 grains of pure silver and 129 grains of standard silver; the dime, or ten-cent piece, shall contain 46.4 grains of pure silver and 51.6 grains of standard silver.

SEC. 2. That the coins mentioned in the previous section shall have on them the devices and superscriptions provided for coins of like denomination now coined, and shall be legal tender at their nominal value for all debts and dues, public and private, except when otherwise expressly stipulated by contract; and any owner of silver bullion may deposit the same at the mints of the United States at Philadelphia, San Francisco, and New Orleans to be coined into dollars, or into half dollars, or quarter dollars, at the option of the Secretary of the Treasury, of 516 grains, 258 grains, and 129 grains, respectively, for his benefit.

SEC. 3. That any holder of the coins authorized by this act may deposit the same with the Treasurer or any assistant treasurer of the United States in sums of not less than $10 and receive therefor certificates of not less than $10 each, corresponding with the denominations of United States notes. The coin deposited or representing the certificate shall be retained in the Treasury for the payment of the same on demand. Said certificates shall be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues, and when received may be reissued.

SEC. 4. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall, within two years from and after the passage of this act, cause all the silver coins of the United States hitherto minted of the denominations of one dollar, half dollar, and quarter dollar, as well as the Treasury notes issued under the law of July 14, 1890, to be withdrawn from circulation by exchanging the same, or causing the same to be exchanged at their nominal value for silver certificates of like denominations, representing silver coins of the weight and fineness provided for by this act; and the silver certificates thus issued shall be in all respects similar to those provided for in the preceding section, and shall, like them, be receivable for customs, taxes, and public dues, and when received may be reissued; and that on and after the expiration of the two years above mentioned all the silver coins hitherto minted of the denominations of one dollar, half dollar, and quarter dollar, as well as the Treasury notes issued under the law of July 14, 1890, shall cease to be legal tender.

SEC. 5. That all silver coins coined prior to the passage of this act shall be recoined as early as practicable into coins of like denominations of the weight and fineness authorized by section 1.

SEC. 6. That a sum sufficient to carry out the provisions of this act is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

SEC. 7. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to adopt such rules and regulations as may be necessary to enforce the provisions of this act.

SEC. 8. That section 1 of an act entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," approved July 14, 1890, be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. COLQUITT (by request) introduced a bill (S. 571) to provide a postal-card letter; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. MORRILL (by request) introduced a bill (S. 572) for the relief of Samuel H. Sentenne; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. WASHBURN introduced a bill (S. 573) for the relief of Christopher Schmidt; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. PLATT introduced a bill (S. 574) for the relief of Dwight Hall; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. TURPIE introduced a bill (S. 575) for the relief of Sarah K. McLean, widow of the late Lieut. Col. Nathanial H. McLean; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 576) for the relief of Louis Pelham, of Posey County, Ind.; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 577) granting an increase of pension to Thomas M. Chill; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 578) granting an increase of pension to Wells Johnson; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. HAWLEY (by request) introduced a bill (S. 579) for the relief of Robert Carrick, late first lieutenant of Eighth United States Cavalry; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. CULLOM introduced a bill (S. 580) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Joliet, in the State of Illinois; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 581) for the erection of a public building at the city of East St. Louis, Ill.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 582) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Pekin, in the State of Illinois; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 583) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Jacksonville, in the State of Illinois; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 584) for the relief of Goff A. Hall; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. FRYE introduced a bill (S. 585) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to settle the indebtedness to the Government of the Sioux City and Pacific Railroad Company; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pacific Railroads.

He also introduced a bill (S. 586) to provide communication from light-ships and outlying light-houses to the shore; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 587) to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate the carriage of passengers by sea," approved August 2, 1882; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 588) to repeal section 4145 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and to amend sections 4146, 4320; also section 1 of the act amending section 4214 of the Revised Statutes, approved March 3, 1883, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 589) to extend the time for filing claims in the Court of Claims under the provisions of an act entitled "An act to provide for the ascertainment of claims of American citizens for spoliations committed by the French prior to July 31, 1801:" which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. CAREY introduced a bill (S. 590) granting 5 per cent of the net proceeds from the sale of public lands to several of the States for the support of common schools; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 591) to donate to the county of Laramie, Wyo., certain bridges on the abandoned Fort Laramie military reservation, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. POWER introduced a bill (S. 592) to extend the time for making final payments on entries under the desert-land act; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. COCKRELL introduced a bill (S. 593) to permit Anna M. Coleman, a widow, to prosecute a claim; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. WASHBURN introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 17) for the protection of those parties who have heretofore been allowed to make entries for lands within the former Mille Lac Indian Reservation in Minnesota; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

INCREASE OF NATIONAL BANK CIRCULATION.

Mr. STEWART. I desire to give notice that I shall offer the amendment which I send to the desk to the bill S. 453 to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks. If there is no objection, I should like to have it read. It is short. It is the amendment submitted by Mr. JOHNSON of Ohio in the other House.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there be no objection the amendment proposed by the Senator from Nevada will be read.

The amendment was read, and ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

Strike out all after the enacting clause, and insert:

"That any holder of bonds of the United States may, after the passage of this act, deposit such bonds at the Treasury of the United States, or at the office of any assistant treasurer of the United States, and receive therefor their face value in Treasury notes of the United States, as described in the act of July 14, 1890. Such bonds shall be held as a special deposit to the credit of the party depositing them, and during the time they are so held shall draw no interest, and shall be returned on the order of the party depositing them on the payment of their face value in United States currency.

"SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury shall make such regulations as may be necessary to save to the Government the payment of interest on such bonds during the time they are held as a special deposit, and he is hereby authorized to issue Treasury notes to the amount needed, and to provide for the cancellation of an equal amount of such notes on the return of said bonds to their owners, and a sum sufficient to carry into effect the provisions of this act is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated."

"SEC. 3. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed."

PENSION INVESTIGATION.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution coming over from a former day, which will be read.

The resolution submitted yesterday by Mr. GALLINGER was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Pensions be directed to inquire and report to the Senate whether or not the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Pensions have conformed to the provisions of existing law in suspending and dropping names from the pension rolls of soldiers duly enrolled thereon.

Mr. GALLINGER. At the request of several Senators who are somewhat interested in this matter, I ask that the resolution may go over until next week.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolution goes over at the request of the Senator from New Hampshire.

ERECTION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate the following resolution, submitted yesterday by Mr. CHANDLER; and it was agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to inform the Senate as to the condition of the various appropriations for the erection of public buildings; stating what are the gross sums unexpended of appropriations made and of authorizations of final cost conferred by existing law; what buildings are not begun, and what preparations have been made for beginning them; and whether or not any delay in beginning is occasioned by the nonpreparation of the plans and designs, and if so, what action he is taking and what legislation, if any, he recommends in order to expedite the preparation of plans and designs.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled joint resolution (H. Res. 3) making immediately available the appropriations for mileage of Senators and Members of the House of Representatives; and it was thereupon signed by the President *pro tempore*.

INCREASE OF NATIONAL BANK CIRCULATION.

Mr. VOORHEES. I desire whenever it is in order to call up the bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks. If the proper point in the Order of Business has been reached I make that motion now.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Indiana asks the unanimous consent of the Senate to proceed to the consideration of the bill indicated by him.

Mr. KYLE. I believe that the resolution I introduced yesterday, calling upon the Secretary of the Treasury for certain information, takes precedence at this time.

Mr. VOORHEES. I do not see why the Senator from South Dakota should interpose at this time. There is no necessary connection between his resolution and this measure.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair will state to the Senator from South Dakota that his request was that the resolution should lie on the table.

Mr. KYLE. Under the rule until to-day.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The order was that it should lie on the table until called up by the Senator. The resolution is in order. The Chair will lay it before the Senate if the Senator desires.

Mr. KYLE. I wish to have the resolution considered at this time.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution, coming over from a former day, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted yesterday by Mr. KYLE, as follows:

Whereas it is currently reported that certain of the national banking associations, organized and carrying on business under and by virtue of the laws of the United States, have heretofore withdrawn from circulation their notes, and subsequently secured an increase of their circulation under existing laws: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be requested to report to the Senate what national banking associations have thus diminished and enlarged their circulation, and the extent thereof, and also whether any and what national banking associations have organized under the banking laws of the United States, and have no outstanding notes in circulation.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. VOORHEES. Now, Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Indiana asks unanimous consent of the Senate that the bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks be now considered. Is there objection?

Mr. ALLEN. I desire to have that bill passed over for a day or two, as we have not had time to examine it.

Mr. VOORHEES. With all respect to the Senator from Nebraska, I think his request is a little unreasonable at this time. The bill was reported last Tuesday and to-day is Friday. The Senator says he has not had time to examine it. It is a very short bill, and under the circumstances I think I am hardly warranted in suffering any further delay if I can get the favorable action of the Senate. I say this with real regret, that I can not comply with the desire of the Senator, for I am disposed to defer to any wish expressed by a Senator, but I do not feel warranted in making any further delay in this matter unless something more is to be urged in behalf of delay than I have heard at this time. I desire the action of the Senate to know whether the bill is to be taken up.

Mr. ALDRICH, Mr. CULLOM, and Mr. SHERMAN (to Mr. VOORHEES). Move to take it up.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Indiana move to proceed to the consideration of the bill?

Mr. VOORHEES. I do.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. That motion is in order.

Mr. VOORHEES. I make that motion. I undertook to make it at the start, but it degenerated into a request for unanimous consent. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill indicated.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Indiana moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to the consideration of the bill.

Mr. ALLEN. I desire to have the amendment read which I offered some days ago.

Mr. COCKRELL. I gave notice of an amendment——

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Missouri will suspend. Does the Senator from Nebraska offer his amendment at this time?

Mr. ALLEN. I offer an amendment, and ask that it be considered with the bill.

Mr. COCKRELL. I have offered an amendment, to which I hope there will be no objection.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The amendment offered by the Senator from Nebraska will be first reported.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert at the end of the bill the following:

Provided further, That the bonds used as a basis for the notes issued under this act shall cease to draw interest during the time said notes, or any part thereof, are outstanding and unredeemed; and the issuance of notes under this act shall be deemed and taken to be conclusive evidence that the owner

of such bonds assents to this proviso: *And provided still further*, That nothing in this act contained shall be so construed as to commit the Government to the policy of a permanent national debt, or to prevent the prompt payment of all outstanding interest-bearing obligations as fast as they mature.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on agreeing to the amendment. [Putting the question.] The noes appear to have it.

Mr. ALLEN. I call for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

Mr. MANDERSON. I should like to ask my colleague to explain the exact meaning of the amendment he offers in this regard. Does he mean that the stoppage of interest shall apply to the 10 per cent, which it is proposed to increase the circulation, or to the entire circulation based upon the bonds? I confess I am unable to understand, not having heard the whole bill read with the amendment, just what the proposition is, and should be glad to have it explained to the Senate.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, it is quite possible that the amendment is open to misconstruction. It was my intention in offering this amendment to cover simply the new issue under the bill reported by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES]. I had no purpose, although I believed it to be a proper subject of legislation, to cover the question of interest upon issues already before the country.

I may be permitted, Mr. President, to say at this time, without entering into any discussion, at least any lengthy discussion of the question, that, in my judgment, the people of this country are unalterably opposed to anything which looks like the continuance of the national banking system in their commerce and as one of the features of our Government. I know of no reason myself, nor have I heard any offered in the Senate Chamber, why the amendment of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] or the amendment of the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] should not take the place of this measure.

The adoption of the bill of the Senator from Indiana would put it clearly within the power of the national banks to expand and contract the volume of the currency of this country at their pleasure in the future, exactly as they have been doing in the past. We all realize that this is a dangerous power, that it is a power which ought not to be permitted to reside in the hands of the banking corporations of this country. It is a practical abdication by the Government of the power conferred upon Congress, under the Constitution, to regulate and control the volume of money and fix its value.

Why should these corporations be vested with any special privileges in this respect? Why should not the opportunity be given to every person in this country to deposit bonds, if necessary, and to procure an issuance of notes if the measure is to be adopted? In my judgment, the bill of the Senator from Indiana commits this country to the policy of a continued national banking system.

I believe the time has come in the history of this nation when safety requires us to retrace our steps as rapidly as possible in this direction, and when we should undertake to retire the national banks from existence as rapidly as safety to our commerce will permit.

I desire to say that, in my judgment, the second proviso of the amendment offered by me should be adopted, so that the people of this country may understand that the Congress of the United States is not committed to the policy of the national banks, and that it is the design of Congress to retire the national banks from existence as soon and as rapidly as possible.

I did not offer the amendment because I believed in the doctrines advocated in the bill. I believe they are inimical to our institutions. I believe the doctrines of the bill are hostile to the peace and welfare of this country, certainly to the justice which we should extend to our people; but I proposed the amendment upon the supposition that the banking interests of this country had sufficient strength in the Senate of the United States to pass the bill, regardless of whether there was a protest against it or not.

I desire to say that a majority of the people whom I represent, I will say nine-tenths of the people of the State of Nebraska, are unalterably opposed to anything which looks like a perpetuation of the national banks. The time has come when we should take some radical steps to eliminate them from our institutions, and it occurs to me that this amendment, and especially the second proviso of it, if adopted, would give the country warning that we intend, as soon and as speedily as possible, to drive out of existence the national bank as banks of issue.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on agreeing to the amendment, upon which the yeas and nays are demanded.

Mr. CALL. Let the amendment be again reported.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Secretary will report the amendment:

The Secretary read the amendment proposed by Mr. ALLEN.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I do not know that I fully understand the amendment proposed by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN], or to what extent it goes. I think it a little indefinite.

I regret exceedingly that the question of national banks is involved in legislation to relieve the people. I think that some other scheme ought to be devised which will not involve such a protracted discussion as will very probably arise on this bill.

There is a strong feeling, not only in the Senator's State, but throughout the country, against national banks as banks of issue. The proposition which I sent to the desk this morning to be read as an amendment which I desire to propose, I think would relieve the situation. It was prepared by Mr. JOHNSON, of Ohio, a member of the House of Representatives. It provides that any person having bonds may deposit them in the Treasury and receive their face value in Treasury notes. Those bonds are not to draw interest while they remain in the Treasury. That will give immediate relief, will cost the Government nothing, and will not involve the discussion of national banks.

I think that we ought not to pass any bill which would deprive the national banks from receiving interest on the bonds they have on file, because, of course, under these circumstances they take out no currency, and the legislation would therefore fail of the object desired.

While I am on my feet I must ask the indulgence of the Senate for a few moments to call attention to how the present panic arose, a panic which is doing immense harm. I can not, however, refrain from calling attention to the way the act of 1890 has been executed. I believe that all the trouble we have in this country results from the failure to execute that law according to its spirit and according to its letter.

The act of July 14, 1890, requires the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion per month, and pay for them by the issuance of legal-tender Treasury notes. The act declares that "upon demand of the holder of any of the Treasury notes herein provided for, the Secretary of the Treasury shall, under such regulations as he may prescribe, redeem such notes in gold or silver coin, at his discretion."

The third section of the act declares that—

the Secretary of the Treasury shall each month coin 2,000,000 ounces of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act, into standard silver dollars until the 1st day of July, 1891, and after that time he shall coin of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act as much as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes herein provided for.

Two millions a month were coined until the 1st day of July, 1891. The public press representing the banking interest and the gold interest then called attention to the following declaration found in the act:

It being the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law.

It was argued that this general declaration of principle, which enacted nothing, nullified the mandatory portion of the act, which required the Secretary of the Treasury to coin silver bullion and provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes. It was assumed that the only way to preserve the parity between the two metals was to pay out gold, and that the use of silver for the same purpose for which gold is used would destroy the parity.

The President of the United States, Mr. Harrison, in the month of August, 1891, made a speech in Albany, N. Y., in which he dwelt with emphasis upon the necessity of making every dollar as good as every other dollar. He in effect declared that his idea of bimetallism was to buy silver with gold and to maintain the two metals at a parity by keeping silver out of circulation. These vague declarations were not satisfactory to foreign investors in American securities. By law such securities are payable in either gold or silver coin. An intimation from the President that the law would not be executed was not sufficient assurance. On the 17th of November, 1891, the bankers of New York invited the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Foster, to a dinner at Delmonico's, and required him to declare his intentions. Mr. Foster then and there proclaimed that Treasury notes and greenbacks would be redeemed in gold, and gold alone, and assured the bankers that there would be no deviation from that policy. The President of the United States in his message to Congress of December 9, 1891, said:

Under existing legislation it is in the power of the Treasury Department to maintain that essential condition of national finance as well as of commercial prosperity—the parity in use of the coin dollars and their paper representatives. The assurance that these powers would be freely and unhesitatingly used has done much to produce and sustain favorable business conditions.

Austria at that time owed a debt of about $2,400,000,000, which was evidenced by 5 per cent bonds payable in silver. The debt was principally owed in London. A few weeks after this declaration of Mr. Foster, and the assurance given by the President of the United States, the question of putting Austria on a gold basis was agitated, and the administration of Austria resolved

to adopt a single gold standard. No action was taken, however, until after the Presidential nominations were made in 1892. Both candidates were satisfactory to the gold men. This seemed a sufficient guarantee to the holders of Austrian securities that gold could be obtained in this country to put Austria on a gold basis; but they were very cautious, and were unwilling to take any chances of failure to obtain gold in this country.

On the 15th of August, 1892, the firm of Heidelbach, Ichelheimer & Co., of New York, tendered to the subtreasury in that city $1,000,000 in Treasury notes, issued on account of silver purchases, and demanded for them $1,000,000 in gold for shipment to Germany by the next steamer. Assistant Treasurer Roberts was interviewed, and said:

No steps have been taken by the Administration to prevent or obstruct the export of gold. The Government stands ready to meet all its obligations in gold, and will pay them all in gold. Its free gold balances now amount to $112,000,000.

The Washington Post of August 6, 1893, in commenting upon this subject, says:

The truth of the matter is that the gold at that time was wanted on Austrian account. The exporters had to have gold, because no other form of coin would answer their purpose.

Austria then funded her $2,400,000,000 of 5 per cent silver bonds into 4 per cent nontaxable perpetual gold bonds, and the London syndicate, with Rothschild at the head, undertook to place Austrian bonds and obtain sufficient gold to enable Austria to resume specie payments on the single gold standard.

It may be asked why the syndicate would not undertake this scheme until it was ascertained that the United States would redeem its paper in gold, and gold alone. The answer is plain. The scheme could not be carried out and would not have been undertaken unless the gold could be obtained from the United States, because it could not be obtained elsewhere. France has $900,000,000 of gold and $700,000,000 of silver circulating on a parity at the ratio of 15½ to 1. The Government reserves consist of gold and silver. Over $250,000,000 of those reserves are silver. Whenever the paper money of France is presented for redemption to obtain gold for export the Government exercises its option and pays in silver and retains the gold in the country. The paper circulation in Germany is also redeemable in gold or silver coin at the option of the Government.

Germany exercises that option and refuses to redeem her paper by paying out gold for export. Russia has a very large amount of gold in her war chest, said to be $536,000,000. Russia redeems none of her paper in either gold or silver, but maintains in circulation a large volume of irredeemable paper money. The United Kingdom of Great Britain is supposed to have between $400,000,000, and $500,000,000 of gold. About $135,000,000 of this is in the Bank of England and held as a reserve. The largest part of the remainder is supposed to be in other bank reserves. When the Barings failed the Bank of England was forced to borrow $15,000,000 of gold from France. The chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Goschen, then informed the banks that they must curtail credit and increase the reserves or disaster would follow; since which time England has, in effect, paid a premium on gold by favorable rates of exchange, and it is the established policy of the Bank of England to raise the rate of interest whenever an attempt is made to draw out large quantities of gold.

Under these conditions the Austrian scheme, which offered such a magnificent opportunity for a speculation, could not be carried out without the assistance of the United States. The advantage to the bondholders in carrying out the scheme will be appreciated when it is known that by the utter demonetization of silver $1 in gold will certainly be worth more than double its value in 1892. The change of $2,400,000,000 of silver obligations into $2,400,000,000 of gold obligations would be an immense gain.

But that is not all. The gold obligations were put out at a great discount and silver obligations taken in at par. It is now stated by the public press that the bonded debt of Austria has been increased $400,000,000, and that the $2,400,000,000 in silver obligations have been changed to $2,800,000,000 of gold obligations.

The reason assigned by the Administration and by the gold press for disregarding the statute which required the coinage of silver for the redemption of Treasury notes was to maintain the parity of the two metals. It was said that the redemption of any of the paper money of the United States in silver would send gold to a premium and ruin the credit of the United States. The fact that both political parties had declared and continue to declare in their platforms that they are in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money would seem to be a sufficient answer to the argument. It can not be denied that the refusal to pay out silver in the discharge of Government obligations is a refusal to use silver as money.

But suppose that the policy of both political parties was wrong, and that the statute was wrong when it required the coinage of silver for the redemption of Treasury notes; what can be said of the object lessons furnished by France and Germany? Both of these nations have refused for the last three years to pay out gold for export. I am not aware that their credit has been injured by such a policy. On the contrary, they are referred to as models of financial honor and business sagacity.

What would have been the effect upon the finances of the United States if the law of 1890 had been executed in the interest of the United States and according to its spirit and intent? The gold reserves would have remained in the Treasury. The securities held abroad would not have been sold, because such sale would not have enabled them to export gold for speculation in the Old World. Why would not our financial standing be as good as that of France? France, as before remarked, has $700,000,000 of silver coin circulating on a par with gold at the rate of $1.33 an ounce. This silver not only serves all the purposes of money in the business of France, but it serves as a protection against the export of gold. The silver of France is more than double the amount of silver per capita which exists in the United States. If the policy of France had been pursued by the administration of the Treasury Department our finances would certainly have been on as solid a foundation as the finances of France.

President Harrison was willing that silver should be used as money in this country, provided Europe would consent. He procured a meeting of a monetary conference at Brussels in the fall of 1892; but before the conference assembled the Salisbury administration, which represented the landed proprietors of Great Britain and was inclined to bimetallism, was put out of power, and the representative of the moneyed aristocracy and the banking interests of London, Mr. Gladstone, became the ruler of England. He immediately took such measures and gave such instructions as to prevent any action on the part of the conference favorable to silver. After the adjournment of the conference, Sir H. Meysey Thompson moved in Parliament a resolution for the reassembling of that conference. His motion was sustained by such able advocates as Messrs. Goschen, Chaplin, and Montagu. Mr. Gladstone himself was the principal opponent of the motion. The concluding portion of his speech reveals the purpose and the animus of the bondholding aristocracy of England, which has dominated that country and suppressed public opinion for many years. He said:

I suppose there is not a year which passes over our heads which does not largely add to the mass of British investments abroad. I am almost afraid to estimate the total amount of the property which the United Kingdom holds beyond the limits of the United Kingdom, but of this I am well convinced, that it is not to be counted by tens or hundreds of millions. One thousand millions ($5,000,000,000) probably would be an extremely low and inadequate estimate. Two thousand millions ($10,000,000,000), or something even more than that, is very likely to be nearer the mark. ["Hear!" "Hear!"] think under these circumstances it is rather a serious matter to ask this country to consider whether we are going to perform this supreme act of self-sacrifice. I have a profound admiration for cosmopolitan principles. I can go a great length in moderation [laughter], in recommending their recognition and establishment, but if there are these two thousand millions ($10,000,000,000) or fifteen hundred millions ($7,500,000,000) of money which we have got abroad, it is a very serious matter as between this country and other countries.

We have nothing to pay to them; we are not debtors at all; we should get no comfort, no consolation out of the substitution of an inferior material, of a cheaper money, which we could obtain for less and part with for more. We should get no consolation, but the consolation throughout the world would be great. [Loud laughter.] This splendid spirit of philanthropy, which we can not too highly praise—because I have no doubt all this is foreseen—would result in our making a present of fifty or a hundred millions ($500,000,000) to the world. It would be thankfully accepted, but I think the gratitude for your benevolence would be mixed with very grave misgivings as to your wisdom. I have shown why we should pause and consider for ourselves once, twice, and thrice before departing from the solid ground on which you have within the last half century erected a commercial fabric unknown in the whole history of the world—before departing from the solid ground you should well consult and well consider and take no step except such as you can well justify to your own understanding, to your fellow-countrymen, and to those who come after us. [Cheers.]—*The Times*, London, March 1, 1893.

The Sherman act was the great obstacle to the consummation of the policy of the bondholders of England, as declared by Mr. Gladstone. At least $2,000,000,000 of the $10,000,000,000 which Mr. Gladstone said foreign nations were owing the United Kingdom were owed by the people of the United States. The banks of New York were the representatives of the London syndicate of bondholders. The debtors to the London syndicate were the railroads and other corporations organized in the United States. Payment was demanded of the faltering. Threats of ruin and bankruptcy were made against the weak. The Sherman law was denounced as vicious. It was charged by the bankers and the press of London and New York that the financial condition of the United States was precarious; that the money issued by the Government was a depreciated currency, and that there was danger of immediate collapse.

This cry was echoed and reëchoed by the press in every commercial city in the United States, until the people became alarmed. No distrust, however, was created as to the validity or value of any money bearing the United States stamp. The

people withdrew silver, silver certificates, Treasury notes, and gold from the banks, and placed them in safe deposits and other hiding places where they would be within reach when wanted. They were alarmed, not because the money was bad, but because they feared the banks would not be able to give them their money when they wanted it.

When business had been deranged and the country was in a state of panic, Mr. Gladstone suspended the coinage of silver in India.

The President of the United States thereupon joined in the hue and cry against the Sherman act, and attributed every disaster to the existence of that law. He disregarded the fact that all that had been accomplished under the law was the issuance of $148,000,000 of legal-tender Treasury notes, which were absolutely required in the business of the country and without which disaster would have come long ago. He called Congress together for the immediate repeal of the act and for no other purpose. The gold press of Europe and America commended his action, and declared that such repeal would restore confidence in the business community on both sides of the Atlantic. They said all that was wanted was confidence, and the Sherman act was the sole disturbing cause.

The junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] the other day said that the panic was created because our European creditors feared that the gold they had loaned in the United States would be paid in silver. That learned Senator overlooked the fact that foreign investments in this country were made subject to the laws of the United States and payable in the money of the country, and that foreign creditors were now demanding that the laws should be changed and that they should be paid in a different money from the money of the contract. Why should the people be required to pay from 50 to 75 per cent dearer money than they had contracted to pay. The assurance which they desired was that the people of the United States should be compelled to submit to their extortionate demands.

The demonetization of silver in India produced the effect desired. It depressed the price of silver from 10 to 15 cents an ounce, but it produced consequences not anticipated. It stopped silver mining except the working up of ores which had accumulated in smelters. This cut off the supply of silver, and made it impossible for the United States to purchase four and a half million ounces of silver bullion each month without advancing the price of that metal much higher than it was previous to the action of Mr. Gladstone in suspending coinage in India. The dilemma was then presented to the Administration either to disobey the law and refuse to purchase silver, or raise the price of silver and defeat the efforts of English bondholders to force the United States to a single gold standard.

It had been a long time since any sovereign in any civilized country had refused to obey an existing law. The dispensing power is a dangerous power, and was the principal charge against King Charles II when he lost his life. It is a power which no sovereign of England or President of the United States has boldly and defiantly exercised since the revolution in England. The Czar of Russia never exercises such a power. Although he exercises supreme legislative power, yet while the law he has enacted is in force he obeys it. He may change the law in an arbitrary way, but while it is in force he scrupulously adheres to it. The Emperor of Germany does not attempt to disregard the law, but at times exercises the full extent of his imperial power to coerce the legislative department to make new laws.

I do not hold the Secretary of the Treasury responsible, because he belongs to an Administration in favor of the single gold standard, as is manifest by the President's message. He must be in harmony with the Administration or resign.

I do not reflect upon Mr. Cleveland personally. His teachings, surroundings, and associations have led him to believe that the single gold standard is the goal towards which all legislation and administration should tend; that the greatest good to mankind consists not in a measure of value which does justice between debtor and creditor, but in a standard of money which appreciates and constantly grows more valuable. He undoubtedly believes, and honestly believes, that the great concentrated money power of England, controlling the bonds of the world, is wiser and better than all the people, and believing thus he follows with implicit obedience the commands of that colossal concentrated power. It is not the first time that misguided honesty and zeal have inflicted untold misery upon mankind. If there had been no honest fanatics there would have been no martyrs. If there were no honest and zealous advocates of dear money, cheap property, and cheap men and women, there would be no financial distress in the country to-day.

Let no man deceive himself. If the Sherman act is repealed without a substitute, silver is doomed. The money power which repeals that act because silver is depreciated will prevent the use of silver as money when silver is further depreciated by the effect of such repeal.

But let capital take warning. The demonetization of silver and the adoption of the gold standard is a revolutionary movement. Its conception was bold and unscrupulous. The property rights of all the people of the world and their contract obligations were measured and regulated by the volume of metallic money consisting of both gold and silver. The destruction of one of those metals is repudiation of the obligations of contracts, a disregard of the fundamental principles of justice and equal rights which lie at the foundation of civilized society. No socialist or anarchist has ever advocated a more radical, destructive, and revolutionary scheme.

The people of the United States are long suffering and patient. They had faith in their Government and in their trusted servants; but poverty, starvation, and misery will arouse them to action. They will soon learn that the gold standard means want, famine, and misery. They will not submit to its conditions. They may be unable to restore silver, but they will have abundant power to break the chains of slavery produced by gold contraction. They will have money. They can not have gold enough for that purpose. They are refused silver. Their only alternative will be paper, and paper money they will have. The greedy creditor that was unwilling to receive the coin of the Constitution—gold and silver—may, and undoubtedly will, be compelled to receive paper in payment of his demands.

Property ought not to be revolutionary. Its advantage in well-ordered government is sufficient, but when capital enters into revolutionary schemes it must take its chances. It then comes under the maxim "For all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."

The repeal of the Sherman act is the final demonetization of silver. It is our duty to consider it calmly. We are asked to repeal the act and then consider the question. Why kill the patient and then consider your remedy? No, the Sherman act must not be repealed until this question is investigated and discussed, and it is known what is best to be done. I do not believe that the Senate or the other House have any intention of plunging into the abyss of misery which awaits them on the single gold standard, but some may have been led to believe that this question can be taken up again.

I tell you that this is the last call—this is the end; but while this is being discussed I am exceedingly anxious that our suffering country shall be relieved, and that it shall be relieved without involving the vexed question of bank issues or the silver question. Let those who have bonds and come to the Treasury and get money dispense with their interest for the time being. Let the savings banks have money to pay their depositors. Give them currency, and give it at once. Give it freely. Let the whole national debt be cut down if they are willing to forego their interest, and let it stay there as long as they desire. Do not increase the national debt. Do not go into the cruel experiment of selling bonds to buy gold.

Oh, I have heard of that. When the bonds that are now out can be sold for gold at 3 or 4 per cent premium, where will you get the gold? You will be in the same fix, if you attempt that, which the Austrian syndicate was in a year and a half ago. There will be no place to get gold. You can not get it from Austria, because she pays out none. You can not get it from Russia, because that is held for war purposes. You can not get it in Germany, because she will pay you silver. You can not get it in France, because she will also pay you silver. You can not get it in England, because she will pay a higher premium than you dare to pay.

There is no way of getting gold now. With bonds at 10 per cent, to get $50,000,000 of gold to-day is impossible. You can not get what does not exist. The gold which is not hoarded, which is not dammed up, will go where it will sell for most. Commerce will regulate that. The trouble is that the great mass of gold of the world has been put out of existence so far as money is concerned. It is locked up in strong boxes for war purposes, and it can not be given up. Do not attempt such a folly as that. There is no necessity for it. Let us have currency, and have it now without any further talk. Let us have relief, and let us have it at once, and not let the country go on suffering longer.

I hope the bill will be stripped of every objectionable feature. It is no time for national banks to take advantage of the suffering condition of the country and ask further subsidies. It is no time now for anybody to propose a bill for a selfish purpose, or to carry out any theory, until we have made an effort to relieve the country. If that effort is not made in good faith it will not be the fault of the silver men. They will agree to anything that will give relief. They ask no subsidy, they ask no advantage, they ask no change of policy; but if the gold men insist that the national banks shall have a subsidy out of this relief, that they shall make a lot of money out of it, that proposition must be discussed. I will discuss the silver question more fully hereafter.

Mr. McPHERSON. I had intended, sir, not to say a single word upon this question or, in short, upon any question relating to the finances which are now before the Senate or which may come before the Senate. The people of this country are clamoring for some relief. I am in hearty sympathy with the people, and I do not think that I should employ one single moment of time in preventing a vote being taken upon all the propositions presented. However, I can not permit this bill to be acted upon without calling the attention of the honorable Senator from Nebraska to the fact that his amendment renders nugatory and practically useless every effort thus far proposed by the Finance Committee to relieve the depressed condition of business. Whatever may have been the intention of the honorable Senator, he will not fail to see that if the national banks should take out a circulation of 10 per cent they will forfeit the interest on all the bonds they have now deposited while the 10 per cent of increase shall be in circulation.

Mr. ALLEN. I have modified my amendment so as to cover that point.

Mr. McPHERSON. I would then like to ask the Senator a question.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from New Jersey will please suspend and let the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska as modified be read by the Secretary.

The SECRETARY. After the word "the," in line 1 of the amendment, insert the words "margin of the;" so as to read:

Provided further, That the margin of the bond used as a basis for the notes issued under this act shall cease to draw interest, etc.

Mr. McPHERSON. The Senator will not fail to observe from the phraseology of the bill that even the amendment as he now modifies it leaves it equally vicious. Let me read the first line or two of the amendment:

That the bonds used as a basis for the notes to be issued under this act—

What bond? All the bonds. If, for instance, a bank to-day with a capital of $100,000 has $100,000 in bonds, each and every one of those bonds stands for 90 per cent of the circulation now taken out and as well the 10 per cent which we propose to confer upon the bank the privilege of taking out. There is no means of separating them, and if you deprive the banks of the privilege which the bill reported by the Finance Committee proposes to give them, you surely defeat the whole object of the measure. The Finance Committee has in view but one thing. It proposes to offer some inducements to national banks to increase circulation It proposes to give upon bonds already deposited 10 per cent additional circulation, up to the face value of the bonds. There is no reason why this should not be done, because the bonds of the United States are sufficient security for the redemption of these notes. That is all the Senate Committee proposes to do, and to consent to a proposition that will make it nugatory and defeat the whole object and purpose of the bill is simply to contradict ourselves.

Mr. ALLEN. If the Senator will yield for a moment let me ask him why not let the Secretary of the Treasury make the issue direct in lieu of enlarging the powers of the national banks? The power of the Government is behind its issue, and why not issue the Treasury notes or coin the uncoined silver in the Treasury Department at this time?

Mr. McPHERSON. I hope the honorable Senator will excuse me from undertaking to make any answer to either of the propositions, for I distinctly state that my only purpose in rising is to show the Senate how absolutely nugatory his amendment would render the work thus far performed by the Finance Committee, and I further state that I will not be drawn into any debate upon any question outside of the particular thing which I rose to explain.

I do not intend to stand here in my place and occupy one moment of time in reaching a vote upon this question, except to explain it in the briefest and shortest time possible that I can take. I will not be drawn into any debate upon any other proposition than the one before us. If amendments are offered here, as this amendment has been offered, which I think are vicious in the extreme, rendering nugatory the bill itself, I shall simply make that statement.

Mr. ALLEN. If the Senator from New Jersey will permit me, I should like to ask him why we should not issue Treasury notes in lieu of enlarging the powers of the national banks and the bank circulation of this country?

Mr. McPHERSON. I will answer the Senator's question in this way: The Committee on Finance has brought in this measure conscious of the great distress that exists among the business people of the country, with banks closing day after day which were esteemed and considered the strongest in the country, with factory fires and furnace fires out and people out of employment, and even a bread riot reported this morning in the principal city of the United States, and we, the servants and representatives of the people, sit by and talk and talk day after day without offering even this small measure of relief. We are using simply the old and tried instrumentalities, to wit, the national banks, in order that we may be able to obtain some measure of relief and give it to this distressed people who are clamoring for it. This is the only object we have in view.

Mr. ALLEN. What measure of relief will the bill, if it becomes a law, afford in the distressed condition of the country to the laboring people, the people who are to-day clamoring for bread?

Mr. McPHERSON. I will answer that question. I am glad the Senator has asked it. If the bill be passed as reported by the Finance Committee it will increase the circulation on the bonds already deposited to the amount of about $19,000,000. Even prior to the bill having been introduced, I understand that from $18,000,000 to $20,000,000 of new circulation had been asked by the national banks, and that the bills are now being prepared in the Treasury. With the added inducements which this bill will give, in my opinion, it will add $50,000,000 to the circulation of this country, and do it as quickly as the bill passes, or as soon as the Government printing department can print the bills. The $50,000,000 would be distributed to nearly four thousand national banks in this country, giving them 10 per cent additional currency; and then if they desire to increase circulation by a deposit of more bonds, they have that additional inducement, and they can take out circulation to the face value of the bonds afterward deposited.

I do not see how any Senator, it matters not what may be his views touching the repeal of the Sherman law, or any other subject that may be here of a financial character, can delay for a single moment by offering amendments to this bill which have no relevancy to the bill whatever. I do not see how he can withhold from the business interests of this country this needed relief. I have introduced this same bill during my service in the Senate three times. Three times has it been passed, and almost without debate on every occasion. Surely the necessity for its passage was never greater than it is at this moment.

Mr. MANDERSON. Mr. President, my recollection concerning the past history of legislation that is akin to this is quite clear, and I know that the Senator from New Jersey is correct in the statement with which he closes his remarks. This bill, substantially as it is here written, and my recollection is in the identical language that it now presents itself, has passed the Senate of the United States three times, and once surely, I think twice, perhaps, without a word from any source in opposition to its passage. This action was taken by the Senate at times when the financial skies were brighter than now, and when there was not the distress that disturbs the country to-day.

This distress, Mr. President, it seems to be agreed by all, is because of lack of the circulating medium, the want of a sufficient currency with which to do our business. Here is a proposition that proposes to add at once, according to the estimate of the Finance Committee, $20,000,000 of notes that are the equal in value of gold, and with an outlook that there shall be added within a brief space of time perhaps fifty million, making nearly $1 per capita added to the circulating medium of this country. Surely if in times past there was advisability if not to say necessity for this action, that necessity is emphasized by the depressed and the dreadful condition of to-day.

I have voted heretofore for a bill similar to the pending measure. I propose to vote for it again. I propose to vote against any and every amendment to it, even although some of the amendments might commend themselves to my better judgment, because I believe that dispatch is needed, that quick relief is demanded by the people of this country, and the Senate and the Congress of the United States should be quick to act rather than eager to debate.

The inquiry which I made of my colleague was that I might call his attention to the ambiguity of the language of his amendment. I did not believe that he had written that which he intended. I believed that his purpose was to confine the loss of interest upon bonds to the 10 per cent additional that was to be the basis of circulation that was to be permitted to be issued by the banks and not to the whole of the bonds. But surely, as he himself now seems to indicate by the modification of his amendment, if the amendment had been left as it was originally written it would have compelled the banks, if they propose to continue their circulation, to lose interest upon every dollar of the bonds upon which they were based. That surely he did not propose, and it is evident by the modification of his amendment that he did not so propose.

But I suggest to my colleague that even with his modification of the amendment by the insertion of the words "for the margin of the bonds issued," there is still ambiguity that might lead to endless confusion and to uncertainty leading to such dispute between the banks and the officers of the Treasury Department as might render nugatory this provision, even if it was adopted.

But, Mr. President, my desire was first to call my colleague's attention to this, that I believe was a mistake, and next to respond in briefest manner (for I do not propose to go into any discussion or debate as to the advisability of the continuance of the national banking system in this country, nor upon any other matters financial) to the remark dropped by him that he believed that in the State which we together have the honor to represent upon this floor nine out of ten of its citizens were opposed to the national banking system. I have not only great esteem and regard for my colleague personally but respect for his judgment, for his honesty of purpose and directness of manner, but I find myself emphatically disagreeing with him upon that proposition.

Now, Mr. President, what are the facts? Since my colleague took his seat I have sent for the last report of the Comptroller of the Currency that has been printed. Here are the facts that seem to me to show an entirely different condition from that stated by him in the State of Nebraska. In that State there are 130 national banks, and to their credit be it said that in these days of adversity when, because of causes to which I need not now advert, there are practical acts of suspension and of insolvency every day in the great banks of the city of New York, by the repudiation by them of the payment of checks of their depositors, and the practical compulsion upon those depositors that they shall take in lieu of money or currency clearing-house certificates—which are merely another form or evidence of indebtedness—in the State of Nebraska there has not been in any national bank open to-day the repudiation of a single check of any depositor, and that of the 130 national banks which have handled the financial interests of that State but five have closed their doors during the dark days of the last three months, and three of those, I understand from the Comptroller of the Currency, are likely to speedily resume. That, it seems to me, is a record worthy of preservation and worthy to be commented upon and commended.

Now, what else? These banks, I see by this report, have a capital stock of $10,000,000, with a surplus of $1,600,000. Their circulation, with this capital stock of $10,000,000, is $2,000,000, based upon about $2,300,000 of bonds deposited with the Government of the United States for the security of the circulation. The individual deposits in the 130 banks, by the last estimate that I am able to obtain from the Comptroller's report, exceed $20,000,000. That is pretty substantial evidence that nine out of ten of the citizens of Nebraska are not opposed to national banks.

Mr. ALLEN. What is the date of the Comptroller's report?

Mr. MANDERSON. The last report that I can obtain is one that runs up to December 5, 1892.

Mr. ALLEN. May I interrupt my colleague?

Mr. MANDERSON. Certainly.

Mr. ALLEN. In stating that nine-tenths of the people of Nebraska are opposed to the national banking system, I desired to emphasize more especially and particularly that feature of the national banking system which makes them banks of issue. The same thing the Senator says about the national banks of Nebraska, which is true, is likewise true of the other banking institutions of that State.

Mr. MANDERSON. No; not in so marked a degree. Proportionately, far more private banks have closed their doors than national banks.

Mr. ALLEN. We have, I understand, more private banks in the State of Nebraska than national banks.

Mr. MANDERSON. I say a greater proportion of private banks have closed their doors.

Mr. ALLEN. I think I am correct in stating that nine-tenths of the people of Nebraska are opposed to the national banks as banks of issue. They believe that the power to issue money resides in the Government, and that money should be issued directly by it, instead of through the instrumentality of the national banks.

Mr. MANDERSON. Perhaps that is true, and it may be that we will some time meet that desirable result; but this is not a measure that proposes to change the present condition of note issue, and therefore, perhaps, debate upon that question is not what should be had upon the bill proposed by the Committee on Finance which is now under consideration, and to which my colleague offers his amendment.

Mr. ALLEN. Will my colleague permit me to ask him a question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAULKNER in the chair). Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to his colleague?

Mr. MANDERSON. Of course.

Mr. ALLEN. If we pass this bill, when the bonds which are pledged as security for the preceding issue mature, will not the country be confronted with this proposition: The national bank circulation will have become so embedded in the commerce of the country that it can not be retired without injury, and therefore we shall have to continue the bonds in some form or another?

Mr. MANDERSON. There has been already a very great retirement by payment of bonds, and yet that difficulty has not met us. But that is a stream which can be crossed when it is reached. There is now sufficient bonded indebtedness to form the basis of the national-bank circulation that is now imbedded in our financial policy under a system which this bill does not propose to abolish. It may be that when the subject is properly presented I may agree with my colleague that better than a national-bank circulation or issue is an issue of paper money properly and securely based upon intrinsic metallic value, and not based upon wind or upon water; that that will be better than the present national banking currency. But we have not yet reached that question; and with the inability under existing financial circumstances for the Government of the United States to pay off its bonded debt, it looks as though that question was in the dim and distant future and that we need not disturb ourselves about it now.

But, Mr. President, my statement was that the people of Nebraska have emphasized their confidence in the national banks of that State by individual deposits of over $20,000,000, as shown by the last report I can obtain of the Comptroller of the Currency.

Now, a moment, Mr. President, upon the question of the great profit that has accrued to the national banks by reason of the issue of paper money based upon United States bonds. I do not think there is any subject financial that has been more misrepresented—I might almost say more lied about—than that proposition. I turn to this report of the Comptroller of the Currency, and I find there the cold facts and figures, which are better than figures of speech or figments of the imagination, that show exactly what has been the profit on $100,000 of circulation under the existing law, the circulation or issue being based upon the bonds.

The Comptroller takes the 30th day of June, 1892. That period of time was selected because, as he says, it marked the close of an interest period for Government bonds. He takes the sum of $100,000 of 2 per cent bonds, and what is the profit on the $90,000 of circulation permitted under the existing law to the bank to issue?

Mr. COCKRELL. What page is the Senator reading from?

Mr. MANDERSON. Page 8, volume I, Report of the Comptroller of the Currency, December 5, 1892. He finds that the profit on the circulation upon that $90,000 of issue, based upon $100,000 of 2 per cent bonds, is $31.52, being a total profit on the $21,837,000 of 2 per cent bonds forming the basis of 90 per cent on that amount of circulation of $6,194.72, being a percentage on the maximum circulation obtainable of .032 per cent. Certainly that is not very profitable banking.

Now, let us take the 4 per cent bonds and see what an issue on $100,000 of fours at a premium of 16¾ per cent will profit a bank. It is true that the premium is lower now; 4 per cents to-day are quoted at about 12 per cent premium. Let us see what the result was. The profit on circulation upon $100,000 of 4 per cent bonds and $90,000 of circulation is $330.16, making a total profit on $129,759,000 of bonds of $385,571.09, being a percentage on maximum circulation obtainable of 0.330 per cent.

Mr. COCKRELL. Will the Senator permit me to interrupt him, as he is discussing that point, and ask him to explain how the total profit on $129,759,000 of bonds is $385,571.09? Is that reached by taking the whole amount of the bonds deposited by national banks?

Mr. MANDERSON. I presume it is. I did not write the article. I am reading from the report of the Comptroller as it is written. On the 6 percents he gives the same calculation, and he shows what the profit is on 6 per cent bonds. They were at a premium of 114, and the profit on circulation of $90,000, based upon $100,000 of sixes, would be $1,218.58, being a total profit on $11,600,000 of 6 per cent bonds of $127,219.75, being a percentage on maximum circulation obtainable of 1.218 per cent.

Then he gives on page 9 the recapitulation, showing the total of all bonds to be $163,196,000, with $146,876,400 maximum circulation, at 0.353 per cent, $518,985.55. Now, is it to be wondered that with this as the insignificant profit, constituting a practical loss during the period national banks have existed, the circulation has very largely fallen off? Turning to page 7 of this report, I find——

Mr. COCKRELL. Before the Senator leaves that, if he please, the figures on page 9 give what the banks make upon their circulation and on the bonds, which is 6 per cent and over on 2 per cent bonds, 6.33 per cent on the 4 percents, and 7.218 per cent on the 6 per cent bonds.

Mr. MANDERSON. I see it, and will show what is meant by it.

Mr. ALLEN. Will my colleague yield to me for another question?

Mr. MANDERSON. Certainly. I am in a yielding mood. I would always rather hear somebody else talk than talk myself.

Mr. ALLEN. Why should the privilege be conferred on banks with reference to the issue of money? Why would not Treasury notes or the coinage of silver by the Treasury Department supply the demand?

Mr. MANDERSON. Quite likely it would. It certainly would supply the demand. As to the advisability of such course, as I said to my colleague a moment since, we will meet that question when it confronts us. It does not confront us now.

Mr. ALLEN. Let me ask another question. Does not this measure put in the hands of the national banks the power to contract suddenly or suddenly expand the currency of this country to the injury of our business?

Mr. MANDERSON. It will not just now be a power to contract, but a power to expand. It is expansion that we very greatly desire at this particular moment. A safely based expansion.

Mr. ALLEN. Why should our national banks be banks of issue?

Mr. MANDERSON. You can not force a national bank to become a bank of issue under existing law, and I think until very different conditions exist they may well be.

Mr. ALLEN. Would it not be better for the people at large that the power to issue currency should be retained by the Government?

Mr. MANDERSON. Quite likely, and when the proper time comes perhaps we will agree on that as the wisest policy; but that is not the present proposition. The amendment of my colleague to the pending bill is to render utterly useless the legislation proposed by the Committee on Finance. That is a measure of great relief, both temporary and permanent, and I do not propose to lend myself to the cutting of the throat of the bill.

Mr. VILAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. MANDERSON. Certainly.

Mr. VILAS. I simply desire to ask the attention of the Senator from Nebraska to the fact, that in making the calculations to show even the very small per cent of profit the Comptroller appears to have reckoned as constantly and continually at interest for the benefit of the banks the entire amount of the currency issued upon the bonds, less the 5 per cent redemption fund, while it is well known to everyone at all conversant with business that banks never loan to that extent.

Mr. MANDERSON. Of course, they do not, and should not.

Mr. VILAS. That it would be highly imprudent to do.

Mr. MANDERSON. They can not do it. Under the law they must keep a reserve.

Mr. VILAS. They must keep a reserve. Therefore these figures estimate too highly for practical banking the percentage of profit upon the circulation. The fact that the circulation has been reduced by every bank in the country is the most conclusive proof of that result.

Mr. MANDERSON. I was about to call attention to that fact when I was interrupted.

Mr. COCKRELL. Will the Senator yield to me?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. MANDERSON. Certainly; I yield to anybody at any time.

Mr. COCKRELL. In explanation of a partial report read by the Senator from Wisconsin, let us read the whole, on page 9:

> Since the 5-per cent redemption fund counts as part of a bank's reserve as well in hands of the Treasury as in vaults of the banks, it would have been proper not to make the deduction above. This would add materially to the profit of circulation.

Mr. MANDERSON. I will simply call attention to another fact which, it seems to me, is better than speculation, perhaps better than argument. If my friend from Missouri will turn to page 7 he can see that I read correctly.

> Large appreciation of the price——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Senator from Nebraska will suspend while the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business. It will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A resolution providing that Lee Mantle be admitted to a seat as Senator from the State of Montana.

Mr. MCPHERSON. I do not suppose the Senator from Massachusetts intends to press that resolution to-day.

Mr. HOAR. I understand it is the request of the chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, who means to address the Senate on the resolution, and is not well enough to do so to-day, that it shall stand over until to-morrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection the unfinished business will be temporarily postponed until to-morrow without losing its place.

Mr. MANDERSON. I turn to page 7 of the report of the the Comptroller, and I read as follows:

> Large appreciation of the price of United States bonds, the basis for circulation, large depreciation of the rates of interest, and onerous taxation, have made circulation unprofitable, and the volume has fallen from $362,889,134, September 30, 1882—the highest amount in circulation at any one time—to $172,426,610 at the close of the last fiscal year.

I suggest that this enormous decrease of nearly $200,000,000 in circulation in about ten years is the best possible evidence of the fact that the national banks have not had the great boon or the tremendous profit that we frequently hear charged upon them.

Mr. FRYE. Will the Senator from Nebraska allow me?

Mr. MANDERSON. Certainly.

Mr. FRYE. Does not the Senator know it is a fact that the profits made by national banks are made on the deposits and not on the circulation?

Mr. MANDERSON. Certainly. I am speaking simply now of circulation. Of course, where they make their profit is upon deposits.

Mr. FRYE. Does the Senator believe there is a national bank in the United States that would do business on circulation alone?

Mr. MANDERSON. Certainly not. It would be impossible to do it. Its stockholders would become bankrupt very speedily. I suggest, Mr. President, in view of these facts, that no man can explore the national banking system of this country and have knowledge of the workings of national banks who will not conclude that, so far as the issue of notes is concerned, the profit and the great boon is to the people of the United States, the citizens in the communities where the banks exist, rather than in those that own stock in the banks. As suggested by the Senator from Maine, the source of profit to the national banks is the same as the source of profit in private or State banks. It comes from the use of the money of their depositors, deposited frequently with them without interest, and loaned at interest, or deposited at a low rate and loaned at a higher rate of interest.

Mr. VILAS. Will the Senator from Nebraska permit me to call the attention of the Senator from Missouri to the mistake under which he was laboring in respect to the Comptroller's report?

Mr. MANDERSON. Certainly.

Mr. VILAS. The Comptroller speaks only of his deduction of 5 per cent from the circulation that would be loaned because that 5 per cent is counted as a part of the reserve; but if he will turn to section 5191 of the Revised Statutes he will find that national banks in the larger cities—I will not stop to indicate them—are required to hold a reserve of 25 per cent of their circulation and deposits. Therefore the proposition I made is exactly correct. He has included in the loanable currency in this calculation what by law banks are required to hold in reserve except as to 5 per cent of the amount.

Mr. MANDERSON. Now, Mr. President, but one word more and I am through. I would have been through a long time ago had it not been for these very pleasant and profitable interruptions, to which I certainly do not object.

Mr. PUGH. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. MANDERSON. Certainly.

Mr. PUGH. The Senator from Maine stated what seems to be admitted as a fact, that no national bank would do business on the amount of the issue it is authorized to make on the bonds of the Government that it deposits in the Treasury. That being an undisputed fact, I should like to be informed why the banks should object to the Government taking away from them the power of issue and leaving them to the original function of banks of deposit and discount, and why the Government should not resume its power of issuing directly to the people the currency that the Constitution enjoins upon the Government as a duty to furnish the people in sufficient quantity to answer their commercial needs.

Mr. MANDERSON. The inquiry seems to be proposed to the Senator from Maine, and I hope he will answer it in his own way. I have simply to suggest as my answer——

Mr. PUGH. The Senator from Nebraska sanctioned it as a fact, and knowing it to be a fact I draw the deduction that there can be no injury in taking away the power of issue from the national banks.

Mr. MANDERSON. I have no doubt that the national banks in time, or by some gradual process by which they could make the change, would be heartily glad to get rid of the issue of national bank currency. I have never heard any experienced banker who desired its continuance, except because of existing pressure and demand. Would the Senator from Alabama desire now by one fell swoop to retire the national-bank circulation? Certainly not. That hardly needs an answer. I know he would not.

Mr. PUGH. I do not agree that the Senator shall make the answer for me.

Mr. MANDERSON. All right. I hope the Senator will make answer for himself.

Mr. PUGH. I do not believe there is any process we could devise by law that would put them in a state of liquidation and retire their circulation all at once, but I am willing now or any day hereafter to relieve them from the burden of carrying this amount of circulation without profit.

Mr. MANDERSON. So am I, when it is safe so to do.

Mr. PUGH. I want the Government itself to exercise its constitutional duty and not to delegate it to these fiscal agents, who have abused the trust and are abusing the trust to-day. I want the Government to resume that power and to exercise it, so as to furnish the people with what currency they need in their legitimate commercial operations. I am willing to pass a law to-day, or at any time it can be formulated, to relieve them from the burden of issuing this circulation.

Mr. MANDERSON. When a time comes that is proper and safe for such action I think the Senator from Alabama will find me in hearty accord with him in that proposition.

Mr. PUGH. I am glad to hear it.

Mr. MANDERSON. And I hope he will not, when that time comes, depart from my side to substitute for the present safe national banking system a system that will reopen, by the repeal of the 10 per cent tax on their circulation, the State banks as banks of issue. That, I know, is the platform of his party. I know that was advocated very strongly upon the stump. It does not appear to be receiving such strong advocacy now; but I hope my friend from Alabama will not leave my side and enter upon any such dangerous experiment as that advocated by the party of which he is a distinguished member.

Mr. PUGH. If the Senator will allow me a minute, I desire to say that is one plank in the Democratic platform that I should like to see some respect paid to. I am in hearty coöperation with the purpose of repealing what I believe to be an unconstitutional tax and giving to the States the right to bank in their own way. I will say to the Senator that I have no doubt there would be less danger from that kind of circulation than there is to-day from the national banking circulation.

I think if the States could be permitted to exercise that power it would relieve this whole trouble in relation to the stringency in our circulation. Being protected, as I have no doubt their circulation would be, to the fullest extent that the circulation of the national banks is, these banks would be under the eye of the whole country and under the supervision of every capitalist. With the amount of their circulation and the security for it furnished every morning through the press and through the telegraph of this country, the people will be advised of the security upon which these notes are circulating as perfectly as they are to-day of the circulation of the national banks. These banks would relieve the stringency and supply the local want of circulation, and would avoid one evil which I think is inseparable from requiring the National Government to supply a currency—that is, an equal distribution of it among the people.

The great objection I have to letting the Government issue directly to the people is, that it would be almost impracticable to have an equal circulation of money. That evil can be avoided through a State bank system, organized and perfected in each State, with the information we have got in relation to banking.

All the talk and apprehension expressed about wild-cat money I think is merely intended to revive an old recollection of a system that nobody proposes to revive, and the evils of which can easily be avoided.

Mr. MANDERSON. Mr. President, the questions that have been propounded to me during the cursory remarks I have been making upon the amendment of my colleague have the admirable quality of length, and they are remarkable in having lost their interrogation points.

I leave my friend from Alabama, when he shall look up the RECORD in the morning, to reconcile for himself the difference there seems to be in his statement a few moments ago and that which has just fallen from his lips. If it is the constitutional power and the constitutional duty of the Government of the United States to issue money to its people—and that is the only source constitutionally from which it can be issued, and therefore we should not issue through the medium of the national banks, but through the Treasury direct—I leave him to reconcile that idea advanced by him with that other when he said but now he would not only repeal the 10 per cent tax on State bank circulation, but he would open the door to the old condition, where any individual under State laws could open a bank and issue circulation. I venture to tell a story that I heard yesterday from my distinguished friend from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY] that I think well characterizes the old condition.

I do not want to be understood as saying that my friend from Alabama wants a restoration of that miserable condition. He believes that the State bank issue would be carefully guarded by State laws, and that its basis upon State, municipal, and other securities would make the issue better than it was in olden times. That probably would be so as to some States, but as to others, I venture the assertion that a financial Pandora's box would open that would rival successfully the old condition so well described by the story told me by my friend from Connecticut, of a steamboat captain going down the Mississippi River, being out of wood, had his boat hauled up near to a wood station on the river bank, and asked whether they had wood for sale. "Yes, plenty of it." "Well, will you take bank of Grenada money?" "Yes, we will take that money." "How will you take it?" "Oh," he said, "cord for cord." [Laughter.]

That pretty well exemplifies the old state of affairs with its numerous State banks issuing paper, and I do not desire to see a restoration of anything that smacks of it or is at all like it.

I believe that the Government of the United States should issue money to its people. I see no constitutional objection to the national-banking system by which those banks, under carefully guarded restrictions, have become banks of circulation. Think of their safety and compare it with the lack of security that our Democratic friends seem to desire. Since the formation of the national banks in this country, by reason of the careful guarding of their circulation by the United States Government, there has been issued and redeemed, without the loss of a penny to any man who held the paper, $1,521,437,753. Could anything be better or safer? It seems to me not.

Mr. WOLCOTT. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. MANDERSON. Certainly.

Mr. WOLCOTT. The Senator is a compendium of all knowledge upon this as upon many other subjects, and I should like to ask him if he will kindly advise me, for I have been unable to ascertain by an inspection of the law, what authority exists in the national banking act for the issuance of clearing-house certificates? If the authority does exist, as it must, for it met the approval of the Comptroller of the Currency a couple of weeks ago, and the banks in New York have issued such certificates to the extent of $37,000,000, what is the necessity for issuing circulation up to the par of their bonds? If they can discount all their paper and issue clearing-house certificates, what need have they of the issue of additional circulation to the par of their bonds? I ask for information.

Mr. MANDERSON. I do not believe there is any warrant for such circulation in the law. Driven to it by the necessities of the occasion, these banks have made a substitute of clearing-house certificates, which are merely a form of indebtedness, and for them the certificates are practically money. I do not believe there is warrant of law for their circulation as money, but if people are content to take the certificates instead of the cash, which they can not obtain, but are entitled to, I do not see where the remedy is. By common consent these clearing-house certificates seem to be passing as currency. I doubt very much if there is any warrant in law for it. I do not believe it is authorized by any statute, but is in contravention of the law.

Mr. FRYE. Is anyone obliged to take them?

Mr. MANDERSON. No one is obliged to take them.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. Has the Senator from Nebraska any authority for the statement that the clearing-house certificates have passed as currency? I have never heard such a statement before.

Mr. MANDERSON. They are passing or are used in this way, as I understand: If I have a depositor's check on a New York bank, payable to my order, and I indorse it and am known at that bank, or, being unknown, am identified as the indorser of the check, that bank will say to me, "We can not give you the currency for this, but we will give you a clearing-house certificate;" and I can, if I please, accept that clearing-house certificate, which, I say, is simply another form of indebtedness; but they can not compel me to take that clearing-house certificate.

If I see fit to do so I can say to the paying teller, "I do not want the certificate and will not take it; I want the money; I am entitled to currency, and if you do not pay it to me it is an act of insolvency, and I will make complaint to the Comptroller of the Currency and have your bank closed and an examiner put in charge."

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. The fundamental attribute of currency would be the paying in and paying out of these clearing-house certificates as currency by deposit and reissue. That is where the broad line of difference exists. If the Senator knows of any bank taking clearing-house certificates as money and issuing them as money, then his statement would be borne out; but I understand such not to be the case.

Mr. MANDERSON. I do not know how that may be. I am simply stating the fact as I understand it; that is, the clearing-

house certificate is presented to the holder of the check instead of currency, and he takes it if he sees fit.

While I say I can see no warrant of law in the proposition as stated by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. WOLCOTT], I am not sufficiently familiar with the facts as to the clearing-house certificates in the city of New York to be able to state whether the present action of the banks is within or without the law. I have no question from the fact that their action has been received by that great business community in the manner it has, and affording, as it has, very great relief in this dreadful financial distress, that it was one based in wisdom and probably carried out within the purview of the law.

Mr. MCPHERSON. If the Senator will permit me, I have never known clearing-house certificates to be used as currency or any attempt to use such certificates as such, except to expedite and aid clearances in the clearing house or by individual banks. They are used as currency by the banks themselves in making clearances in the clearing house and paying balances.

Mr. MANDERSON. I should almost feel like begging pardon of the Senate for speaking at such great length upon this bill, in which I heartily believe; but I think I am excusable, having had so many interruptions.

Mr. MCPHERSON. Can we not now have a vote, Mr. President?

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President, I desire to say a few words.

Mr. HARRIS. I ask the Senator from Kansas to yield to me for a moment.

Mr. PEFFER. Certainly.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. HARRIS. I desire that the Secretary shall read from the top of the first column of the paper which I hold in my hand, the New York World, and which I shall send to the desk, down to the point I have marked, in order that the Senate may be informed as to the accuracy of the reports of what is done, not only in the Senate, but in the committee rooms of this body.

The Secretary read as follows:

TO FORCE THE FIGHT—AN UNCONDITIONAL REPEAL BILL TO BE REPORTED TO THE SENATE—VOORHEES CASTS A DECIDING VOTE IN THE FINANCE COMMITTEE—SENATOR HARRIS DENOUNCES HIM AS A TRAITOR.

Unpleasant words spoken by all the silver Senators—They are angry and will try to-day to prevent a report—It is not likely that they will succeed—A long step forward for the repealers—Senator GORMAN introduces an amendment to the bank-circulation bill intended to pacify COCKRELL—The Maryland man's policy—Senator JONES of Arkansas declares there must be a compromise—He quotes Henry Clews to maintain a statement that New York bankers are coming around to a compromise—Senators care for themselves.

[Special to the World.]

WASHINGTON, *August 17.*

The Senate Finance Committee decided to-day by a majority of one to report favorably to-morrow a bill repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. The vote stood as follows:

Yeas—McPherson, Aldrich, Sherman, Allison, Morrill, Voorhees—6.

Nays—Vest, Vance, Jones (Ark.), Jones (Nev.), Harris—5.

The deciding vote was cast by Chairman VOORHEES exactly as predicted in these dispatches on the Sunday before Congress convened. The bill explicitly provides for nothing more than repeal. The second section, however, contains a declaration to the effect that the United States has not abandoned bimetallism as a monetary system and that every effort shall be made to effect an international agreement by which silver shall be restored to its proper place as a part of the currency.

The meeting was the most exciting ever held by the Finance Committee. The silver Senators manifested great surprise when Chairman VOORHEES cast the deciding vote in favor of reporting the bill, and Senator HARRIS made a bitter speech, in which he denounced Senator VOORHEES as a traitor, not only to silver, but to his friends. He continued with sarcastic allusions to the effect that the Administration, by the free disposition of patronage, had apparently succeeded in changing the views which Senator VOORHEES had been supposed to hold hitherto.

Senator HARRIS was excited and did not mince words. Language such as he used was probably never heard before in the Finance Committee room.

Senator VOORHEES maintained as much composure as possible and replied that it was neither the time nor the place for such remarks. The other silver Senators then began to make unpleasant observations, and the committee suddenly adjourned in a very disagreeable mood.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I simply desire to say that there is not one single word of truth nor is there a shadow of foundation for the statements contained there as to the methods of proceeding in the committee room. It is due to the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], but more due to myself, that I should say distinctly—and every member of the committee would bear testimony if called upon, but I do not choose to call—that there was not an unkind or a disrespectful word used by any member of the committee. Senators interchanged views in a polite and courteous and orderly manner, voted their opinions, and the matter was ended; but no vote was taken yesterday, and that is an account purporting to be of the proceedings of yesterday. The votes that were taken were taken this morning. [Laughter].

But, as I said, my self-respect, my respect for the Senator from Indiana, and, for that matter, every other member of that committee, would forbid the use of the lurid language which is attributed to me in that report. [Laughter.]

INCREASE OF NATIONAL BANK CIRCULATION.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks.

Mr. PEFFER. I shall oppose the passage of this bill, Mr. President, though believing that it would be greatly improved by the adoption of the amendment proposed by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN].

I wish it to be understood in advance that I am not an enemy to banks nor to bankers, nor are the particular political class of people whom I represent opposed to banks or bankers. What we oppose in modern banking is that banks are permitted to exercise a function of sovereignty in the issuing of paper which is to be used among the people as money, while it is not legal tender for the payment of all debts.

We believe that there is a legitimate field for bankers, as much so as there is for merchants and physicians; that bankers in any and every community can be made available for some of the highest purposes of civilization. We believe that banks and bankers are as necessary to the conduct of business under modern conditions as railways and railway managers are.

While that is all true, we have objections to the manner in which modern banking methods are conducted. To illustrate, we do not believe that it is a proper function of banking to issue notes which are to circulate as money. We believe that the Government, as was so well expressed a little while ago by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PUGH], should issue the money of the people. We do not, however, believe with that Senator that the money should be issued to the people through banking institutions.

That brings us directly to the pending amendment. The national banks were established for a patriotic purpose; they were established at a time when the country was engaged in a great war, at a time when the banks had withdrawn their funds—I mean their gold and their silver—at a time when the Government had no credit except with the people, and the national banking system was established for the purpose of providing a national currency so that the people might have in all parts of the country the same kind of a currency with which to transact their ordinary dealings one with another. No sooner, however, than the banks had an opportunity to make money out of the rise in the value of bonds which they had deposited, did they begin the contraction of their currency. If you will go back to the 30th day of June, 1882, you will find that the circulation of the national banks at that time was $358,000,000 in round numbers. I read from page 39 of the United States Statistical Abstract for 1893.

Mr. PLATT. Was that the highest?

Mr. PEFFER. That was the highest—$358,742,034. There was a period during one or two of the months immediately succeeding when the circulation was a little higher, I would state in answer to the question of the Senator from Connecticut; but, so far as the calendar publication is concerned, this is the highest amount which was ever reached. That was in 1882. Eight years after that time the circulation had dropped to a reported amount of $172,683,850. If you will subtract from that amount the amount which was then in process of withdrawal and for which United States notes had been withdrawn from circulation and placed in the Treasury, you will find that the national-bank circulation on the 30th day of June, 1890, was about $121,000,000.

So, during those eight years the national banks withdrew from circulation money which was then out, which there was only one reason for withdrawing, in the neighborhood of $235,000,000 to $240,000,000 of currency. I understand very well the reason which is given for this withdrawal of money, and it is that to which I wish to call the attention of the Senate as to the dangerous power which the people of the United States have intrusted to this banking system, that at a time when the people needed more money, every day more money, our population was increasing, our business was expanding, our interests were multiplying in every department of industry, and in all the avenues of life the people were needing more money—at that time the banks deliberately began to withdraw their currency, and continued it at the rate of about $32,000,000 a year.

To show that there was no business necessity for doing that I call attention to the fact that in 1879, when resumption was begun, or was said to have begun, until the date in 1882 to which I have referred, the banks had continually increased their circulation at the rate of about nine and a half million dollars a year. If there was any business necessity for increasing the circulation during those four years, there was an added necessity for a continuation of that increase during the remaining eight years and up to the present time.

If a like increase had been continued, we should have had in 1890 an increase from that source alone of about ninety-six or

one hundred million dollars, which, added to what was withdrawn, would have given us largely over $300,000,000 of additional currency. If that had been kept in circulation in connection with the issuing of silver money under the Bland act, as might have been done under that law, there would have been no panic to-day—this extraordinary session of Congress would not have been called in the hottest and most unhealthy season of the year in order to supply the people with money.

Mr. President, returning to the withdrawal of the bank circulation, there was only one reason for it. It was simply the selfishness of the banking people, the selfishness of the bankers. I admit that we are all governed by selfish impulses, and we ought to be. I would not give a farthing for a man or a woman or a boy or a girl who had no love of self and had no disposition to acquire for self. But, as I said at the outset of my remarks, the banking system was provided for the very purpose, and for the only purpose, not of accommodating bankers, but of providing a national currency for the people. At that time the object was largely one of patriotism and devotion to the best interests of the people; but now we find, instead of continuing that policy, when it was to the individual benefit and advantage of the bankers that they might withdraw their bonds and put them upon the open market at 15, 25, or 30 per cent premium, that was done, not to accommodate and benefit the people, but to accommodate and benefit themselves.

So, I repeat that they are a dangerous institution as they are now conducted; they are not a safe depository for either the people's confidence or the people's funds.

But, going on a little—for I shall perhaps have occasion to return to that again before I get through—the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. MCPHERSON], for whom I have the greatest respect, in calling attention to the possible or probable benefits to be derived from the enactment of the pending bill into law, gave us to understand that probably as much as $50,000,000 of additional currency would be given to the people. Mr. President, a few days ago I had the honor to introduce a bill in the Senate providing for the issuance immediately of $300,000,000 of paper money, Treasury notes, just the same as we are now issuing. There is a very simple method of getting money to the people without the intervention of banks.

In addition to that, the bill to which I have referred provides that whenever persons holding Government bonds or any other Government securities desire to exchange them for the money provided under the bill, the Secretary of the Treasury shall have authority to make the exchange. So, if in a spirit of patriotic devotion to the interests of the people, the banks are really anxious to exchange their bonds in order that they may get currency and give it to the people, let us enact this bill which I have spoken of. It is a very short one, and it can be passed in fifteen or twenty minutes. Then we shall have an opportunity to test the patriotism and sincerity of these people as to whether they propose now, as did their predecessors of Wall street in 1861, to prey upon the misfortunes of the people, or whether they are willing to do as the common people of the country did when the President asked for troops, say "Here they are, 100,000 or 300,000 strong, and more if you want them."

But Wall street was ready to come to the rescue of the country by the purchase of depreciated bonds at 12 per cent interest on the loan. That kind of patriotism, Mr. President, at one time surfeited the country, and the people are tired of it.

I am satisfied that I am giving expression to the voice of 75 per cent of the people of the United States at large and 90 per cent of the working people of the country, when I say that the national banks as banks of issue must go, that their time for usefulness has expired, and that they need no longer cumber the earth.

Now, a little further. One friend, a Senator, suggested to me a moment ago that this amendment is probably unconstitutional. I think I have heard that word before. He suggested that possibly if the amendment should be adopted and the bill enacted into a law and bonds were deposited, the interest would have to be paid and the Government would be bound for it. Be that as it may, the banks probably are the only ones who would question the authority of the National Legislature in the premises. All I have to say is, that if they are not willing to accept this new contract which would be provided in the law, they are not obliged to do so. I thank God and the American people that we are able to make our own money, and the people have faith in the Government and the Government's promises, notwithstanding the message we had from the first officer of the Government a few days ago, that the cause of this trouble was that the people distrusted the ability of the Government to make good its promises. Away with such philosophy as that!

But another point—and I wish to impress that especially upon the attention of Senators who are urging this bill—is that there is nothing in the present law to prohibit the banks from increasing their circulation to-day. Under their present capitalization they can, by the bringing in of bonds and depositing them, increase their circulation to somewhere in the neighborhood of $600,000,000. Their capital is greater than that now, and without any action upon the part of Congress, but simply the voluntary action of the banks themselves, if they are moved by patriotic impulses, they can in that way increase their circulation.

Mr. CHANDLER. May I ask the Senator where the banks will get United States bonds on which to base circulation?

Mr. PEFFER. I will answer the Senator as the Oregon man answered the Englishman. You know, Mr. President, that in Oregon there are a great many large, tall pine trees. The whole surface of the earth in some places is practically covered with these immense trees, towering up from 100 to 300 feet in height, leaving interstices perhaps not to exceed 3 feet. After having described one of those wonderful forests to his listening English auditor, an inquiry was put to him as to the game of Oregon, and especially the game that inhabited those forests. The Oregonian began to describe the immense animals in that country, the moose and the elk, whose antlers extend from 10 to 15 feet in width from point to point. When asked how they could manage to get through the forests with those horns, the answer was that that was the elk's business, and not his.

I answer my friend now that that is the bankers' business and not mine. They parted with their bonds when they were not required to do so; they parted with bonds which had cost some of those individual persons in the aggregate not to exceed 60 cents on the dollar. I believe that the average sum which was paid per dollar for the bonds upon which our earlier banks were established was about 60 cents. At any rate, the cost of the bonds at the time I am talking about, when the banks were established, was not to exceed par, but because they could obtain in the markets more for their bonds than par, they sacrificed the interests of the people, sold the bonds on the open market, and used the money for other purposes.

If there is that spirit of patriotism which we are told exists among the bankers of to-day, they can certainly afford to pay a little premium upon bonds which are now out. They can get them somewhere, I do not care where, and supply the people with money.

We are told by the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON] that the capitalization of the banks of the State of Nebraska is about $10,000,000 and their circulation about $2,000,000. Those people could very easily increase their circulation a few millions more with a very slight pecuniary effort; but instead of doing that, they and the other bankers of the country insist that they must be fattened still more at the public crib. Their deposits amount to $20,000,000, but they would rather bank upon the money of their depositors than upon their own.

The true policy, Mr. President, it seems to me, so far as the national banking system is concerned as banks of issue, is to get rid of them as soon as we can, and not only not encourage them, but to discourage them, and to place no more dangerous power in their hands.

The Senator from Nebraska called attention to two points in excusing the bankers for selling their bonds and withdrawing their currency: One was that the bonds had increased in value, rendering the circulation based upon them unprofitable, comparatively, of course, and another was that interest rates had been reduced.

Now, I beg leave to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that interest rates were not reduced, and have not been reduced at any time so far as national banks are concerned. The law prescribes what interest national banks may charge, and prohibits them from charging anything more than that. In States where there is a legal rate established, the banks may charge that rate and no more; and in States where no rate has been established by law, banks may charge 7 per cent, and only that. So they are not permitted to go beyond 7 per cent per annum when not regulated by the State law of interest. There has been no decrease in the rates of interest so far as the national banks are concerned, but in practice there has been relatively an increase in the rate of interest. Seven per cent to-day is higher to the farmer and the wage-worker than 10 per cent was ten or a dozen years ago, by reason of the depreciation of property.

Then, our people have fallen—no; I will recall that word "fallen"—I was going to say that we had fallen into the error, but we have simply continued in the error, of supposing that every dollar of money which is provided for the people by the Government must get to them through some kind of an interest-bearing institution, an interest-charging institution. There is no necessity for that whatever.

Senators ask, why not utilize the banks for the purpose of getting circulation out to the people. For the very reason that the

banks are an intermediary agency, charging the people enormous rates of interest before they can obtain the money, and now in this trying time one of the great difficulties we have is that banks are not willing to lend their customers money.

A little while ago we had a very interesting discussion here upon the matter of the issuance of clearing-house certificates. There is no reason whatever for that sort of business transaction, except that the banks were not willing to let their customers have money. From all over the country comes the cry, "We can not get money." The Senator from Georgia [Mr. GORDON] the other day spoke in eloquent terms concerning the condition of his people. We can not get money from our banks.

I have in a very brief period received letters from my own people. In one case I was asked for pecuniary assistance by a friend, for the very reason that no sort of security would be taken in the banks for money; yet there is money lying idle, millions—I was going to say thousands of millions: that would not do—but hundreds of millions of dollars lying idle in the bank vaults to-day that ought to be out doing duty as money among people who are able to give as good security as four or six months ago, and some of them more able to do so; but because of the selfishness of the bankers, because of their dread of something, the people can not withdraw even the money they have in the banks, in many instances, and the savings depositors are compelled to comply with the provision of law which authorizes the banks to require sixty days' notice before their money can be withdrawn. So to-day it is the banking interests of the country that are bringing about this disaster, and no other interest—not one—and yet we are asked to place more power in their hands, more money in their hands, and they are unwilling to pay out what they have. No, Mr. President, not another dollar to the national banks—not one.

I believe in selecting our own agencies for getting money to the people. I will not discuss that point, but doubtless Senators will ask in their own minds, if they do not openly, "What would you give us instead of the banks? How would you manage this thing if you were not willing to intrust it to the banks?" I would adopt a system as simple as the post-office system. I would get money to the people as easily and with a substantial cheapness equal to the delivery of postage stamps. I would establish Government agencies, I would transform our present national banking system into a Government system, relieving about 90 per cent of them and leaving the business to be done by 10 per cent, and we should save money not only in the transaction of the business, but in the reduction of the rates of interest.

I was asked by a very good friend this morning in reference to the bill I introduced a few days ago—he was once governor of the State of Kansas, a gentleman who stands high in point of intelligence and in every other respect—"How would you get your money into circulation; what provision have you made for that in your bill?" "Well," said I, "knowing the aversion that what is commonly called the business interests have to a scheme that I have proposed, and shall again in due time, I have suggested a very simple proviso—that is to say, that the $300,000,000 of Treasury notes should be covered into the Treasury just as fast as they are prepared and ready for issuance; that they shall be charged to the Treasurer, credited to the available funds for use, and paid out the same as other moneys." If there should be any objection to that when it comes to the test, of course we shall hear it in this body.

But it seems to me, Mr. President, there is one way by which we can get this money into circulation. I, however, would take a different course had I the power. I would establish in every State Government agencies, and I would send the money there to the people who are to use it. I would send it to the capital of Rhode Island, to the capital of Connecticut, of Massachusetts, of California, of Minnesota, of Kansas, of Nebraska, of New Hampshire—to where it is needed, and where it will be used by the people.

I would let them have it upon precisely the same terms, so far as security is concerned, that our present much-vaunted system of national banks lets them have it upon—good security, whether real or personal—and I would let them have it at actual cost, the same as we give them the postage stamps at actual cost, and it does not cost a farthing over 1 cent to prepare and issue money when you do not have to borrow it. The business of lending money does not cost more than 1 per cent if you do a business as large as $2,000,000 a year.

I had the honor soon after I became a member of this body to offer a resolution asking the Committee on Finance to inquire into this very subject in view of what is now before us. I asked that the committee be instructed to inquire what it cost to lend money to the people, what it cost banks, what it cost loan agencies, and what it cost every class of people engaged in the business of lending money to the people, so as to get at the actual cost of the business of money lending. The resolution was very politely but decorously side-tracked, to use a Western phrase. I have never heard of it since, and do not expect to unless in the renewed form in which it will come to the Senate after awhile.

This matter has to be met, I say to Senators. We are now face to face with this very question, and it has to be met sooner or later, and the time is not far distant when the people in self-defense, in defending themselves against the power of corporations, the power of the money-changers, and the insolence of Wall street, will be compelled to take this matter into their own hands, prepare their own money, issue it through their own agencies, and then, in my humble judgment, and not until then, we shall have prosperity in this country. So long as we intrust our business affairs and our business policy to the bankers and speculators, we may only expect the increase of slave conditions from this time on until a salutary change is effected.

I shall not occupy the attention of the Senate longer. I expect when we come to discuss the provisions of the bill reported this morning by the majority of the Committee on Finance, as well as the one proposed by the minority, to have something further to say on pertinent points; but, for the present, my object has been simply to express this thought to the Senate, that it was time to get rid of the national bank as banks of issue.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator yield to me for a question?

Mr. PEFFER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALLEN. If the Government should provide for the issue of a volume of money sufficient to do the money work of this country today—what is demanded by our industries—would not that have the effect of driving the surplus cash in this country out of every banking institution into productive industries, and by that means set the wheels of industry at work?

Mr. PEFFER. Yes, I think it would do that, and I think it would do more. I think it would show to the people of the country that we, as their representatives, have more faith in the whole people, in the power of the Government which expresses the will of the whole people, than we have in a few of the people. It would give to our working people a courage that they will never get until we do take that step, I will say to the Senator from Nebraska.

It is evident this trimming of measures, this evading of the main issue, this disposition to crowd out of sight the interests of the people and pander to the interests of banking corporations, speculators, and gold gamblers, is what, more than any other one thing, has brought this distress upon the country. Nothing would so revive the confidence of the common people of this country—and they are the people of this country, 95 per cent of them—it would show to them that we, their legislators, have faith in them, that we have faith in their power to produce, we have faith in their loyalty, we have faith in their personal and in their communal integrity.

When I use the word "communal" I refer to communities, because I do not want my newspaper friends to quote the word "communal" as the old anti-Quaker quoted the word "abolition." It would give faith to the people in all of their relations that we have confidence in them and in their producing power, and that every obligation we enter into we shall make good.

If Congress will agree at once, or after reasonable debate, to issue even one hundred million of Treasury notes it will go that far toward restoring the confidence of the people.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, before the vote is taken upon the amendment I think the Senate should have some correct apprehension of the law and the practice in regard to national banks, their reserve, and the amount of currency which is required to be withheld. It has been stated, and the impression has been made in debate, that 25 per cent of the circulation of these banks was required to be held as a reserve. The statute upon this subject, it will be perceived, reads as follows:

SEC. 5191. Every national banking association in either of the following cities: Albany, Baltimore, Boston, Cincinnati, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Louisville, Milwaukee, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, St. Louis, San Francisco, and Washington, shall at all times have on hand, in lawful money of the United States, an amount equal to at least 25 per centum of the aggregate amount of its notes in circulation and its deposits.

It will be easily perceived that the deposits of banks exceed in a vast proportion the amount of the notes in circulation—as, for instance, in New York City, on the 30th day of September, 1892, the deposits were $391,038,400, and the reserve required from this was $43,760,700. The notes in circulation, therefore, practically in this great mass of deposits and circulation were an insignificant amount. Really the entire amount of these notes might well have been and probably were in circulation, the deposits furnishing far more than a sufficient amount to complete the entire reserve required by the law.

I have here a statement from one of the most distinguished and brightest young men in the country, who is vice-president of a national bank, but whose sympathies are largely with the Administration and its policy and the interest of the people as

he regards it. Listening to this debate from the galleries he has sent me the following memorandum, which I present for consideration:

At the present price of United States bonds, circulation of 90 per cent, they would yield the banks on actual investment more than 12 per cent.

Say a bank purchases $100,000 4 per cent bonds at 110	$110,000
If the Voorhees bill passes they will receive interest on $100,000 circulation; say interest at 6 per cent	6,000
Interest from $100,000 bonds at 4 per cent	4,000
	10,000
Less interest, 6 per cent on $110,000 actually invested	6,600
Profit	3,400

In cities outside of reserve cities banks are required to keep 15 per cent of their deposits and circulation available in cash, the balance with reserve agent, and 5 per cent redemption fund; or, in other words, if a bank has an aggregate of 15 per cent, including cash and with reserve agent, and 5 per cent redemption fund, the law is complied with.

So, in point of fact, the reserve of the circulating notes is insignificant and is not to be considered as a factor in diminishing the profits of the bank. I submit this statement for consideration without taking further part in the debate, with the remark that certainly some system can be devised by which an interest of 4 per cent upon bonds and 6 per cent upon the credit of the United States would not be exacted from the people in the interest and for the benefit of a few persons incorporated as banks and engaged in loaning money based on the public credit granted by law exclusively to them.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the junior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN], on which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

Mr. GEORGE. Let it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add to the bill the following:

Provided further, That the margin of the bonds used as a basis for the notes issued under this act shall cease to draw interest during the time said notes, or any part thereof, are outstanding and unredeemed; and the issuance of notes under this act shall be deemed and taken to be conclusive evidence that the owner of such bonds assents to this proviso: *And provided still further*, That nothing in this act contained shall be so construed as to commit the Government to the policy of a permanent national debt, or to prevent the prompt payment of all outstanding interest-bearing obligations as fast as they mature.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll on agreeing to the amendment of the junior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN].

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CALL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were here I should vote "yea." I do not know how he would vote.

Mr. GEORGE (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH]. He is absent, and I am not advised how he would vote; but if he were present I should vote "yea."

Mr. MANDERSON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BLACKBURN]. I understood from him this morning that he is in favor of the bill and opposed to all amendments. I therefore feel privileged to vote, and vote "nay."

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS]. If he were present I should vote "nay."

Mr. PLATT (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. HUNTON]. If he were present I should vote "nay."

Mr. VANCE (when his name was called). On this question I am paired with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN]. If he were present I should vote "yea."

Mr. WALTHALL (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. DIXON].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BUTLER. I am paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CAMERON]. If he were present I should vote "yea," and I understand he would vote "nay."

Mr. PUGH. I was requested to state that the Senator from Georgia [Mr. COLQUITT] is absent from the Senate on account of the condition of his health. If he were present he would vote "yea."

Mr. DUBOIS. I am paired with the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. Can his colleague [Mr. MCPHERSON] tell me how he would vote on this question?

Mr. MCPHERSON. My colleague would vote "nay."

Mr. DUBOIS. Then I shall vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. ALLISON. I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. WILSON] is absent from the sessions on account of illness. He has a general pair with the Senator from Georgia [Mr. COLQUITT]. If my colleague were here he would vote "nay." I understand from the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PUGH] that the Senator from Georgia [Mr. COLQUITT] would vote "yea."

Mr. PUGH. He would vote "yea."

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I am authorized to announce that the Senator from Washington [Mr. SQUIRE] is paired on this question with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PUGH].

Mr. PUGH (after having voted in the affirmative). I withdraw my vote and stand paired with the Senator from Washington [Mr. SQUIRE].

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. If the Senator from Washington [Mr. SQUIRE] were here he would vote "nay" on this amendment.

Mr. QUAY. I have a general pair with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN]. If he were present I should vote "nay." I also desire to announce the pair of my colleague [Mr. CAMERON] with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER]. If my colleague were present he would vote "nay."

Mr. PALMER (after having voted in the negative). I withdraw my vote. I am paired with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH]. I do not know how he would vote. If he were present I should vote "nay."

Mr. VEST (after having voted in the affirmative). I voted inadvertently. I remember now that I am paired upon the pending measure and all amendments with the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GORDON]. I do not know how he would vote on this question. I should vote "yea."

Mr. VILAS. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. MITCHELL of Wisconsin] is detained from the Chamber to-day by sickness. If my colleague were present he would vote "nay."

Mr. CHANDLER (after having voted in the negative). I desire to announce that I have a qualified pair with the junior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY], who is necessarily absent. I am, however, at liberty to vote upon this question and have voted.

The result was announced—yeas 11, nays 39; as follows:

YEAS—11.

Allen,	Coke,	Kyle,	Peffer,
Bate,	Irby,	Martin,	Roach.
Berry,	Jones, Ark.,	Mills,	

NAYS—39.

Aldrich,	Frye,	Lindsay,	Stewart,
Allison,	Gallinger,	McPherson,	Stockbridge,
Caffery,	Gibson,	Manderson,	Teller,
Camden,	Gorman,	Mitchell, Oregon,	Turpie,
Carey,	Gray,	Pasco,	Vilas,
Chandler,	Hale,	Perkins,	Voorhees,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Pettigrew,	Washburn,
Davis,	Higgins,	Power,	White, Cal.,
Dubois,	Hill,	Sherman,	White, La.
Faulkner,	Hoar,	Shoup,	

NOT VOTING—35.

Blackburn,	Dolph,	Mitchell, Wis.,	Ransom,
Brice,	George,	Morgan,	Smith,
Butler,	Gordon,	Morrill,	Squire,
Call,	Hansbrough,	Murphy,	Vance,
Cameron,	Harris,	Palmer,	Vest,
Cockrell,	Hunton,	Platt,	Walthall,
Colquitt,	Jones, Nev.,	Proctor,	Wilson,
Daniel,	Lodge,	Pugh,	Wolcott.
Dixon,	McMillan,	Quay,	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. COCKRELL. I now offer the amendment which I have already sent to the desk, and which was submitted on the 16th instant.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the bill by adding as a new section the following:

SECTION —. That, upon the delivery and surrender of any of the United States bonds known as the funded loan of 1891, continued at 2 per cent interest and payable at the option of the United States, by the holder and owner thereof to the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of the Treasury shall receive, cancel, and destroy such bond or bonds, and shall issue and deliver in exchange and payment therefor an amount of United States legal-tender notes, commonly known as greenbacks, in the same form and words of said United States notes, equal in amount to the face value of such bond or bonds, with the accrued interest thereon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment submitted by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL].

Mr. COCKRELL. This amendment simply provides that in voluntary exchange for $25,364,500 of the funded loan of 1891, which was payable in September, 1891, bearing then 4½ per cent, which was then continued at the option of the Government at the reduced rate of 2 per cent per annum, greenbacks, United States legal-tender notes, equivalent to the face value and accrued interest, shall be delivered by the Secretary of the Treasury, and that shall be a payment and extinguishment of the bonds.

There is no compulsion about it; it simply permits the holders

of the bonds to surrender them voluntarily to the Secretary of the Treasury and receive in exchange and in payment and extinguishment of them an equal amount of United States legal-tender notes. The bonds were payable in 1891. There was not money then in the Treasury to pay them, and the bondholders agreed to continue them at the option of the Government at 2 per cent interest.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. Do I understand the Senator from Missouri to say that these bonds are now demand obligations of the United States?

Mr. COCKRELL. Yes.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. Can the holder of the bonds present them and demand payment now?

Mr. COCKRELL. I said, at the option of the Government.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I thought so.

Mr. BERRY. I wish to ask the Senator from Missouri if, in continuing these bonds, the holder can come in at any time and demand payment on the bonds; or do I understand him to say that it is an indefinite option of the Government never to pay unless the Government wants to do so? Is it not the option of the Government to pay them at any time, but at the same time are not the bonds already past due, and can not payment be demanded at any period?

Mr. COCKRELL. I presume there is no question in the world but that the holders of these bonds may demand payment according to the original terms of the bond; but when the bonds were payable the United States arranged with the holders that they should continue to be paid by the United States at any time, at the option or choice or pleasure of the United States. The reason why they were not paid was because there was not money enough in the Treasury. Had there been money enough in the Treasury they would have been paid. Now, if there was any arrangement between the bondholders and the Government that these bonds should not be presented for redemption by the holders of them, I have never seen any notice of it.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. COCKRELL. With pleasure.

Mr. ALLISON. I desire to call the attention of the Senator to his answer made to the Senator from Arkansas. I have not seen the conditions upon which the bonds were extended, but I understand they have stamped upon them a statement that they are payable at the pleasure of the United States, and that is an agreement between the holder of the bonds and the United States. Therefore, it is impossible, as suggested by the Senator from Arkansas, that the bonds shall be paid at the option of the holders of them.

Mr. COCKRELL. I am not advised as to that particular point. The particular arrangement the Secretary of the Treasury then made has never been published so far as I have seen. We know the fact that the bonds were due and payable. We know the fact that they were all paid off except these; that there was not money enough in the Treasury then to pay these bonds, and they were continued at 2 per cent interest, with the right on the part of the United States to pay them at any time. Whether that carried with it an obligation on the part of the holders of the bonds that they should not present them is an immaterial question. It is wholly immaterial to this question, because my amendment does not propose to compel the bondholders to present them. All that we are proposing to do is to extend to the bondholder the privilege to voluntarily surrender his bond and take an equivalent amount of United States legal-tender notes, and his bond to be destroyed.

Mr. McPHERSON. Let me state the exact facts. The holder of the bonds surrendered his option to the Government when the bonds were extended, and gave the Government the option to pay when it pleased. That appears to-day upon the face of the bonds. So it is an obligation of the Government which may be paid at any time when the Government has funds to pay it. The effect of the Senator's amendment, I understand, will be simply to exchange notes for an obligation of the Government which is subject alone to the Government's option, upon which to-day the banks have issued circulation. I think each and everyone of these bonds is held by national banks. There is circulation out to-day upon the bonds to the extent of 90 per cent, and if this bill passes it will give the banks 100 per cent of circulation, or up to the face value of the bonds. The proposition of the Senator from Missouri would simply inflict upon the Government, by changing the bond to greenbacks, another demand obligation; it would exchange a postponed obligation for a demand obligation, and call in the circulation which is already out on the bonds.

Mr. MILLS. If the circulation is issued as proposed by the bill, would not the people of the United States get the benefit of $25,000,000, if that is the amount, at the same time that they continue to pay interest on the bonds? Under this amendment the people would get the $25,000,000 of circulation with the bonds and interest extinguished. That is all there is of it.

Mr. McPHERSON. The Senator from Texas is aware of the fact that this proposition opens anew the long-protracted debate that has taken place in the Senate upon the question of an extension of the greenbacks. That is practically what it is.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, I said about all that it was necessary, I think, for me to say when the pending amendment was first presented. These bonds are now held entirely by national banks. When the Government of the United States had the right to pay them off, when they matured, the banks preferred to continue them at 2 per cent interest, instead of 4, in order to avail themselves of the currency issued upon the credit of the bonds then outstanding.

Mr. COCKRELL. Would it interrupt the Senator to ask him on what authority he says the national banks own them all?

Mr. SHERMAN. Because nobody else in the world except the national banks would do such a thing as that; and they did it because——

Mr. COCKRELL. It is very strange, because in the report of the Comptroller of the Currency it is not put down.

Mr. SHERMAN, I think the Senator will find that everyone was held by the banks.

Mr. COCKRELL. I do not know anything about it, but here is the report of the Comptroller of the Currency. In 1891 there were of these bonds $21,825,350.

Mr. SHERMAN. There were about $24,000,000 outstanding.

Mr. COCKRELL. There were $25,364,500 of these bonds, and they were all registered. Therefore they know where they are, because they have a record of every one of them.

Mr. SHERMAN. As a matter of course I could not say, because I have not inquired where the bonds are, but there is no doubt at all that the arrangement was made to enable the national banks to keep outstanding the circulation that was based upon these bonds. If the Government of the United States had paid off the bonds as a matter of course the circulation of the banks would have had to have been withdrawn and thus reduced the amount of circulation outstanding. Therefore, as a matter of convenience, and it was a very profitable arrangement for the Government, the rate of interest was reduced from 4 to 2 per cent, and the banks were authorized under the law to deposit the bonds and draw out circulation for them.

When I say I have no doubt all these bonds are now withheld by the Treasury as security for circulation, I only say what I believe to be true, because I have not inquired into the matter; but of course no private bondholder would have surrendered the bonds unless he could get some advantage in holding them outside of the interest at 2 per cent. That is very clear. The object of this arrangement would be to relieve the national banks from the necessity of withdrawing about $21,000,000 from circulation; and now the bonds are payable at the pleasure of the United States.

Mr. President, I said the other day that for the Government of the United States, at this time especially, to attempt to pay off these bonds, or to give a holder of the bonds any special privilege, would be a very unbusinesslike transaction. We would save only 2 per cent, and what kind of an obligation would we give in place of that? We would take up the $21,000,000 or $22,000,000, whatever the amount may be. We would have to pay for those, how? By the issue of new greenbacks; by the enlargement of the greenback issue. That raises a question of great difficulty and of great importance, which would have more effect upon the credit and currency of the country than probably almost any other discussion that we could now originate. There are many propositions. The honorable Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEFFER] proposed to issue $300,000,000 of greenbacks.

Now, to increase the volume of greenbacks upon this narrow margin, it seems to me, would be an act of folly. What business man would, in the present condition of the money market, give his note of hand, payable on demand in gold coin, in order to pay off a debt that he is not bound to pay except at pleasure, bearing only 2 per cent interest? Ought not the United States to exercise the same discretion and wisdom, the same care for the public interest, that a private citizen would show in his own affairs? It seems to me the proposition is monstrous. I would a great deal rather vote for the other proposition, that a person owning a 4 per cent bond, bearing interest at 4 per cent a year, twice as much as these bonds bear, shall, upon the demand of the holder of the bond, receive an additional amount of greenbacks.

That proposition, I believe, would be rejected also. It is wrong in principle. The Government of the United States can not now increase its demand liabilities. It is not safe to do it. The very fact that we were increasing our demand liabilities for the purchase of silver bullion which was stored in our Treasury tended somewhat to produce the alarm which was created. It

was the fear, and at one time the announcement, that the United States would pay for the Treasury notes in silver that created the disturbance in the London market and caused the withdrawal of gold and the sending over of our securities. Would it be wise for us to undertake to give our demand liability now for a note bearing only 2 per cent interest, when that note might be presented the next day for payment in coin when it gets into the hands of people, or into the hands of the Shylocks, as they are called, or the bankers or brokers?

Would any prudent man, would any government, would anybody be fool enough to undertake at this period of time, when there is such a demand for currency, to make this exchange, to give current money, which now is at a premium of 2 or 3 cents even over gold or silver, or anything else, for bonds? Sir, they would take these Treasury notes and demand gold for them or sell the Treasury notes at a premium.

Mr. President, I do not think my honorable friend from Missouri, who is generally a very careful man, would do what he has now proposed here to be done by the people of the United States. I am quite sure I would not. Such a proposition as this, by raising the question whether we shall increase the amount of greenbacks in this country at this time of distress, would probably create more distrust, more doubt as to our purpose to maintain all our money at the standard value in gold and silver coin.

I trust, therefore, that this amendment will be promptly voted down, as well as the proposition which I believe originated with my colleague in the other House [Mr. JOHNSON of Ohio], a very worthy member of that body, and which I believe has been offered here as an amendment to the pending bill. It proposes that any holder of the $500,000,000 of bonds outstanding may take those bonds and deposit them in the Treasury of the United States and demand either United States notes for them or Treasury notes under the law of 1890 and convert this interest-bearing bond into a demand liability. Suppose that there was a burden of $500,000,000, or $400,000,000, or even $100,000,000, drawn upon the Treasury of the United States at this time, when currency is scarce. Mr. President, it would shake the foundations of our credit.

It would not be wise to do it. It seems to me that the only way to do it would be to open virtually the issue of greenbacks, to repeal the act for the resumption of specie payments, and to go back to the standard we had after the war, with paper money fluctuating day by day. No one desires that. The Government of the United States is strong, rich, powerful; able to maintain every dollar of its money at par with gold or in silver coin, but it is not able any more than any private citizen is able now to assume new obligations. What manufacturer, what banker, what broker, what citizen will now assume an obligation? Debts are perilous now. No man will contract an obligation who can avoid it, and, therefore, mills are shutting up, all sorts of business is being deranged, railroads are being turned over to receivers. Difficulties of that kind occur on account of debts against parties that they can not pay, or interest which they can not meet.

If the people of the United States should undertake at this time to meet the payment of $500,000,000 of indebtedness and give to the holders of our bonds not now due the option to present them for payment at any moment of time, either in gold or silver coin or Treasury notes, convertible into gold or silver coin, it would be an act of imprudence which could not be measured by money. I think, therefore, that this measure of relief, which I believe will do some good, and a great deal of good, had better be passed just as it is, without any amendment that would embarrass its object. I believe the effect of it will be that immediately $20,000,000 of bank notes will be issued, and very soon $50,000,000.

But my honorable friend from Missouri says we propose to give this privilege to the banks. Ah, but we give it to them under very different conditions. When the banks exercise this privilege, they deposit their bonds in the Treasury of the United States and they get what? Not our notes, not the obligations of the people of the United States, but they get the obligations of banks, secured by these bonds behind them. The banks have to keep them in reserve, and back them with money on hand in the Treasury and with money at home in their safes. They have got to surround them with all the guards and safeties of the national banking system. Then they have got to redeem them. If they are presented to the bank they have got to redeem them. If they fail to redeem them the Government sells their bonds deposited for that purpose and they are redeemed.

It is quite a different thing, therefore, when you propose to banks to issue their own notes upon their own responsibility to pay them on demand from issuing the notes of the Government of the United States on the demand of the holders of bonds not yet due, which they may demand in any form of money now known to be legal tender. There is quite a difference between the two operations. There is no comparison between them. When it is said in a kind of *ad captandum* way that here we are refusing to the citizen that which we grant to the bank, I say we do not grant to the bank the privilege that is proposed to be granted to the citizen. We only grant the banks the privilege to issue their own notes upon their own liability, so as to secure the payment of their notes beyond peradventure, while on the other hand it is proposed that we shall give our note to pay our money for a debt not due, a demand that can not be met by the Government of the United States under the peculiar circumstances by which we are surrounded, a demand that ought not to be thought of being imposed upon the Government of the United States.

It seems to me that amendments which tend to delay this measure and to defeat its beneficial effects ought to be voted down promptly, and I ask the pardon of the Senate for making even so long an explanation about the pending amendment.

Mr. COCKRELL. Will the Senator from Ohio please answer me one question? What does the responsibility of the national bank add to the solvency of the national-bank paper in the estimation of the people of the United States?

Mr. SHERMAN. It is this: The bank is compelled to deposit the debt of the United States, the bond of the United States, and the people of the United States, know that that bond is good, that it is held in the Treasury for the payment of the bank notes, and can be sold in the market at any time for more than enough to pay the notes of the bank. The striking fact exists that although that system of national banking has existed now for more than thirty years the people of the United States never lost one single dollar, but whenever a bank failed the note holder was as safe as he was before, because the United States held the security for the payment of those notes.

Mr. COCKRELL. Has any holder of greenbacks ever lost anything?

Mr. SHERMAN. No, thank God, but he might. For a long period of time the holder of the greenbacks did receive 50 cents, 60 cents, 40 cents on the dollar.

Mr. COCKRELL. Not from the Government; from the money sharks.

Mr. SHERMAN. No, the Government issued its notes and they depreciated more and more day by day.

Mr. COCKRELL. So bonds were sold for 40 cents on the dollar. The Senator knows that bonds were sold for 40 cents on the dollar. The bonds have sold just as low as greenbacks ever sold. The Government is just as much bound for the payment of the greenback as the bond. There is not one particle of difference between the responsibility of the Government for the greenback and its responsibility for the bond.

Mr. SHERMAN. The answer is that we issued the greenback without any promise to pay it then, with the distinct understanding that it was not to be paid until the vicissitudes of the war were over. It was a compliment to my friend on the other side and those engaged with him, that the war was so urged by them at one time, and at other times the future was so dark that the notes of our country depreciated in value, just as the notes of England depreciated in the war with Napoleon, just as the notes of France and of every country in the world which became involved in war and was compelled to resort to paper money. In every instance that history records the notes went down and were measured by the prospect of success. It was a very harsh and a dangerous remedy, but in the war we issued our notes. Unlike our ancestors in the revolution we maintained those notes at par.

During all the war we received those notes for anything that the Government had to buy. We received them for taxes; we received them for everything except duties on imported goods. But the notes fell more and more, because of the doubt that rested upon our success. When the war was over we gradually advanced them to the standard of coin, and now, thank God, for fifteen years they have been as good as gold, and nobody has expressed any want of confidence in them.

But they are a very different liability from a bond the interest of which is paid twice a year. That is a burden which we have been anxious to lift from us, the interest of which we have greatly reduced, until now the bonds and the interest both are practically disappearing. I trust the time is not far distant when our bonds will be paid off and when we may consider with more safety than now the question whether we shall issue more United States notes. If we do that we must provide for additional safeguards; we must back them with gold; we must back them with evidences of our ability to pay them when they are demanded, and make the security so ample that even the timid will not fear their prompt redemption when presented.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, the Senator from Ohio has utterly failed, as everyone will fail, to draw any distinction between the responsibility of the Government for the legal-tender

notes and its responsibility for the bonds. When the greenbacks were largely depreciated the bonds were depreciated. As the greenbacks appreciated nearer the gold standard the bonds appreciated. To-day the 4 per cent bond is probably worth 109 or 110, and these 2 per cent bonds are barely at par. I understood the other day that they were offered even lower than par.

In other words, I am told that you can not go into the market with these 2 per cent bonds and get dollar for dollar for them because of the scarcity of money; but since the bonds were continued they have been rated, according to the report of the Comptroller of the Currency here, at 100½. That is the way they are quoted in the report of the Comptroller of the Currency. Now, the United States is no more strongly, no more morally or legally bound to honor that bond than it is to honor the greenback which I propose to have issued in exchange for it.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. COCKRELL. In one moment. Let me explain this point and then I will hear the Senator. As to the difference in the responsibility for the bond and for the greenback, the Senator from Ohio says this proposition would incur a very large additional responsibility upon the Government. The national banks issue dollar for dollar for these bonds, and what about responsibility for the national banks? The holder of a national bank note takes it into the bank and demands greenbacks, and they are bound to be paid. He takes the greenbacks to the Treasury and gets gold. Now, what is the difference? Not one particle. It is tweedledum and tweedledee, nothing more, nothing less, and nothing else. The Government of the United States is the responsible party, and its responsibility is the only thing in this world that makes the national bank note current as it is. It is not the responsibility of the national bank that gives one iota of value or circulation to the national bank paper. Now, let me read a little. The Comptroller of the Currency explains this, and the Senator from Ohio had incidentally to admit it. The Comptroller says:

When a bank suspends—

Speaking of national banks now, page 16—

the fact that the note is secured and will be eventually paid is poor consolation to the laborer—

He is speaking of State-bank paper—

who needs his money for his daily use. The note of a failed national bank is as good as that of any bank in the system.

Now, the Senator from Ohio pretends that the responsibility of the bank for the national bank notes gives it added value, when the Comptroller says that the note of a failed, bankrupt bank is just as good as that of the most solvent bank in the United States.

Mr. SHERMAN. Does the Senator from Missouri know that when a bank fails it has to deposit the money in the Treasury to the full amount of its circulation outstanding?

Mr. COCKRELL. The bond is always worth more than the dollars issued, and if the money is not deposited, as a matter of course the bond is sold; but it is the Government bond that gives it value.

Mr. SHERMAN. Who owns the Government bond? Does the Government own it?

Mr. COCKRELL. The United States owns it while it is in the Treasury.

Mr. SHERMAN. It owes it, but it does not own it. It is the bank, the bank stockholders.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Government holds it subject to the right of the bank to redeem it by paying the 90 per cent issued, and if the 90 per cent issued is not paid on demand the Government sells it.

Mr. SHERMAN. It holds it simply as a trustee for the owners of the bank. It has no other interest in it.

Mr. COCKRELL. It holds, to secure the 90 per cent of circulation issued, a first lien upon it, and when the national bank fails and goes into liquidation the $100,000 of bonds are sold for $110,000; $90,000 is left in the Treasury to redeem the notes and $20,000 goes to the bank to pay its indebtedness. The Government has a first lien upon it, and I say, and no man can question it, that the fact a bank note is issued by a national bank gives that note no intrinsic value whatever. Not a particle. I challenge any Senator to show wherein any real value is given to a national bank note by the fact of its being issued by a national bank. The value of the bank note is given to it by the responsibility of the United States for it.

Mr. GRAY. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Delaware?

Mr. COCKRELL. With pleasure.

Mr. GRAY. Is not the difference just this: When a national bank is organized under the national banking law, that law requires that the banking association shall give security itself in advance for the circulation which the law permits it to issue, so that in reality the security comes from the bank under a regulation of law, and the Government acts as trustee in holding that security?

Mr. COCKRELL. What kind of security is it?

Mr. GRAY. It is the debt of the United States.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Government debt; the Government obligation.

Mr. GRAY. Whose money buys that Government debt?

Mr. COCKRELL. It is immaterial whose money buys it; the Government accepts its liabilities for the $100,000 of bonds. It says, "These are my private bonds; I owe these; now, you deposit them and I will give you $90,000 of circulation." Everybody knows that a national bank note can not be issued until a Government bond is issued. But suppose the national bank note was based upon a State bank, and there was no responsibility on the part of the United States in anyway, then you would see what value the liability of the bank would give to it.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I should like to ask the Senator a question, if I do not interrupt him.

Mr. COCKRELL. It is no interruption at all.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. The Senator opened his remarks by saying he thought the Senator from Ohio had entirely failed to draw any distinction between the obligation of the bond and the obligation of the greenbacks issued for it. He thought the obligations were identical. That was the Senator's statement. If the Senator owed a promissory note payable at his pleasure, and he owed another payable at the pleasure of the debtor, whilst the obligation to pay might rest upon him, does not the difference in the terms of the obligation make, under the very elementary conception of an obligation, a difference in the obligation itself?

Mr. COCKRELL. Not the slightest in this case.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. But in the case I put?

Mr. COCKRELL. The Government of the United States is not an individual. It is 67,000,000 of freemen, with $71,000,000,000 of property owned by them and liable for every obligation the Government creates.

Mr. VILAS. Do I understand the Senator from Missouri to say that the holders of the circulating notes of the national banks have no security for the payment of those notes except the bonds of the United States?

Mr. COCKRELL. None that the people of the country know anything about or care for.

Mr. VILAS. Let me call the attention of the Senator from Missouri to section 5230 of the Revised Statutes, which provides that—

Whenever the Comptroller has become satisfied, by the protest or the waiver and admission specified in section 5226, or by the report provided for in section 5227, that any association has refused to pay its circulating notes, he may, instead of canceling its bonds, cause so much of them as may be necessary to redeem its outstanding notes to be sold at public auction in the city of New York, after giving thirty days' notice of such sale to the association. For any deficiency in the proceeds of all the bonds of an association, when thus sold, to reimburse to the United States the amount expended in paying the circulating notes of the association, the United States shall have a paramount lien upon all its assets——

Mr. COCKRELL. Does the Senator really think that that is anything?

Mr. VILAS. Let me add—

and such deficiency shall be made good out of such assets in preference to any and all other claims whatsoever, except the necessary costs and expenses of administering the same.

Mr. COCKRELL. I do not think the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin can really believe that that clause of the law adds anything to the value of the national-bank paper. The law simply provided that if the bonds of the United States, our bonds, could not be sold for enough to pay 90 per cent of their value, we would hold a lien against the remaining assets of the poor, defunct bank; in other words, a law which acknowledges apparently the insolvency of the United States and its indorsement of the notes would give the insolvent United States the right to go against other assets of the bank. I can not believe the Senator thinks there is anything but the veriest moonshine in that.

Mr. VILAS. I would just like to ask the Senator, then, to explain what he supposes was the deliberate purpose in Congress in enacting that provision.

Mr. COCKRELL. Infinite wisdom may tell, but no human being can.

Mr. MORRILL. Mr. President——

Mr. STEWART. I should like to have the Senator explain——

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. COCKRELL. Let me yield to my good friend from Vermont.

Mr. MORRILL. I merely want to correct the idea of the Senator from Missouri that the note holder has no other security than that of the United States. There is no bank that takes out

notes to the amount of its capital. This is the case with nearly all the large banks; a bank of $3,000,000 capital may have but $500,000 in notes; yet the whole capital is liable.

Mr. COCKRELL. Will the distinguished Senator tell me whether any holder of a national-bank note since the organization of national banks has ever had to resort or attempted to resort in any shape, manner, or form to the liability of the bank or the stockholders? Has any man, woman, or child ever thought of going back of the bonds to get a national-bank note?

Mr. MORRILL. But will the Senator deny that there is any additional security?

Mr. COCKRELL. I say it is no additional security—not a particle. Nobody pays any attention to it. Nobody ever thought of going upon the directors and stockholders of a bank or its assets for the payment of national-bank notes. They look to the United States, and before the United States parts with the bond it makes the bank deposit dollar for dollar of the entire amount of the circulation outstanding, notwithstanding a large part of that may have been burned up or destroyed. It is dollar for dollar; and under the Sherman silver bullion purchasing law we took $55,000,000 of the money deposited by the national banks for the redemption of the outstanding notes and put it in our pocket and said, "This is our money now; whenever the holders of these notes want them redeemed, just come and we will pay them." So we have virtually assumed by that law all responsibility for outstanding national-bank notes.

Mr. STEWART. Will the Senator from Missouri allow me to make a suggestion?

Mr. COCKRELL. With pleasure.

Mr. STEWART. It is said that the issuance of Treasury notes under the provision of your amendment would be an additional charge upon the gold in the Treasury. I want to know why it would be any more a charge upon the gold in the Treasury than the issuance of bank notes.

Mr. COCKRELL. Not a particle. There is no difference on earth.

Mr. STEWART. But the issue of bank notes is not a charge upon the gold in the Treasury, because they may be redeemed in greenbacks at the bank, and if not, they are redeemed in coin or greenbacks at the Treasury.

Mr. COCKRELL. I explained awhile ago that we issue now dollar for dollar of the national bank notes, and the holders of those national bank notes go and demand greenbacks. They get them. They then go to the Treasury and demand gold and they get it. That is the only liability on earth that the Government is responsible for on account of the greenbacks. Now, as to the idea that anybody at this time will want to present a greenback for redemption, that a greenback will not be valid, I have a letter here that I received from a friend in St. Louis. It is dated the 16th instant, a pretty recent letter, and the writer says:

A gentleman in St. Louis undertook to borrow at one of the banks here $5,000 by hypothecating $35,000 of Government bonds, but was refused the loan on the ground that currency was not to be had. This man should have the privilege of going to the subtreasury here and getting the currency for his bonds, if he so desired.

Mr. President, there is no question about this.

Mr. FAULKNER. I should like to ask the Senator from Missouri whether the bonds mentioned by the writer of the letter were bonds that under his amendment he could present and have exchanged for currency?

Mr. COCKRELL. Oh, I do not know. They were United States bonds, but I do not know whether they were 2 per cent bonds or not. The question now is, do we want more circulation? The Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] has very properly said that we do. I agree with him.

The only question before the Senate is whether the necessary increase in currency shall merely be allowed to be percolated to the people through the hands of the national banks, limited simply to their will and preference. I say to the Senator from Indiana, there can be no objection in the world to allowing the national banks to issue dollar for dollar. We know that the Government is responsible for the bonds, dollar for dollar, and we know when the national bank paper is issued the Government is responsible for that. It is tweedledum or tweedledee as to the responsibility. We know the same thing in regard to greenbacks and the other bonds. Why not, in the name of common sense, decency, and honesty, let the $25,000,000 of bonds be surrendered to the Treasury and let the taxpayers have that additional amount of circulation in the country, and save $500,000 of interest every year?

The national banks will do it as a matter of course. There is no question about that. I say to the Senator from Ohio, I think that is a better business proposition for the taxpayers and the honest yeomanry of the United States than his. Let the holders of these $25,000,000 of 2 per cent bonds, now barely at par, come in and surrender them and take out $25,000,000 United States legal tender notes, for the payment of which the honor and integrity of 67,000,000 people, possessing $71,000,000,000 of property, stands pledged; and then we shall save $500,000 interest upon it ever year and loosen the bands which hold the circulation, and let the blood flow through the commercial body freely and easily.

Mr. HAWLEY. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. COCKRELL. With pleasure.

Mr. HAWLEY. I am curious to know why we should stop in discharging the $21,000,000 of bonds. Why not pay the whole debt, $400,000,000 or $500,000,000, by a practical unlimited issue of our demand notes.

Mr. COCKRELL. That is not the question under discussion.

Mr. HAWLEY. That is the question right here now.

Mr. COCKRELL. It is not involved in this proposition.

Mr. HAWLEY. Gentlemen will not stop at $21,000,000.

Mr. COCKRELL. That is a different question. We are now on a single isolated point, and that is whether this country wants more money or not. The Senator from Indiana says it does. He is right. The Senator from Ohio says it does. He is right. We say let the national banks have additional circulation dollar for dollar; but here are $25,000,000 of 2 per cent bonds, upon which the people of the United States are paying interest. Now, let the holders of these bonds surrender them and take out greenbacks in exchange, and the taxpayers will have saved 2 per cent interest, or $500,000 a year, and $25,000,000 of the obligations of the United States interest bearing will have been exchanged for $25,000,000 of non-interest bearing obligations.

The credit of the United States is ample to sustain ten times that amount at par with anything on God's green earth. The honor and credit of the United States can sustain anything it undertakes. There is no danger on earth about this proposition. There is no harm in it. But the question comes back to the naked one, whether the Senate intends that nobody in this country shall receive any currency in circulation unless it comes through the hands of the national banks.

Mr. VOORHEES. It is obvious that we can not reach a vote to-night.

Mr. MORRILL. I hope so. Let us vote.

Mr. VOORHEES. I know it will be impossible.

Mr. ALDRICH. Let us have a vote.

Mr. VOORHEES. I say it is impossible. Still I will not interfere. ["No!" "No!"] I am told all around that it is impossible to reach a vote to-night, and this is a very close, heavy atmosphere, to me at least. I rose for the purpose of moving to proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. BUTLER. Before the Senator makes that motion, will he permit me to offer an amendment?

Mr. VOORHEES. Certainly.

Mr. BUTLER. I offer an amendment as an additional section to the bill.

Mr. ALLISON. Let it be read.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Secretary will read the amendment.

The SECRETARY. Add to the bill the following additional section:

SECTION —. That section 3412 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, the same being section 122 of the national-bank act, imposing a tax of 10 per cent upon the amount of notes of any person or of any State bank or State banking association used for circulation and paid out by them, be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The amendment suggested by the Senator from South Carolina will be printed, and lie on the table.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. VOORHEES. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After twenty minutes spent in executive session, the doors were reopened.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

Mr. GORMAN moved that when the Senate adjourn to-day it be to meet on Monday next.

Mr. ALDRICH called for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary called the roll.

The following pairs were announced:

Mr. HUNTON in the affirmative with Mr. PLATT in the negative.

Mr. CALL with Mr. PROCTOR.

Mr. MURPHY with Mr. CHANDLER.

Mr. SMITH with Mr. DUBOIS.

Mr. HARRIS with Mr. MORRILL.

Mr. MCPHERSON with Mr. HIGGINS.
Mr. BLACKBURN with Mr. MANDERSON.
Mr. MORGAN with Mr. QUAY.
Mr. GIBSON with Mr. STOCKBRIDGE.
Mr. WALTHALL with Mr. DIXON.
Mr. GEORGE with Mr. DOLPH.
The result was announced—yeas 28, nays 21; as follows:

YEAS—28

Allen,	Gorman,	Mills,	Stewart,
Bate,	Gray,	Palmer,	Teller,
Berry,	Irby,	Pasco,	Turpie,
Butler,	Jones, Ark.	Pettigrew,	Vest,
Cockrell,	Jones, Nev.	Pugh,	Voorhees,
Coke,	Kyle,	Ransom,	White, La.
Faulkner,	Martin,	Roach,	Wolcott.

NAYS—21.

Aldrich,	Frye,	Lodge,	Shoup,
Allison,	Gallinger,	Mitchell, Oregon.	Washburn,
Caffery,	Hawley,	Peffer,	White, Cal.
Carey,	Hill,	Perkins,	
Cullom,	Hoar,	Power,	
Davis,	Lindsay,	Sherman,	

NOT VOTING—36.

Blackburn,	Dolph,	Hunton,	Proctor,
Brice,	Dubois,	McMillan,	Quay,
Call,	George,	McPherson,	Smith,
Camden,	Gibson,	Manderson,	Squire,
Cameron,	Gordon,	Mitchell, Wis.	Stockbridge,
Chandler,	Hale,	Morgan,	Vance,
Colquitt,	Hansbrough,	Morrill,	Vilas,
Daniel,	Harris,	Murphy,	Walthall,
Dixon,	Higgins,	Platt,	Wilson.

So the motion was agreed to.
Mr. VOORHEES moved that the Senate adjourn.
Mr. CHANDLER called for the yeas and nays.
The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary called the roll.
The following pairs were announced:
Mr. HUNTON in the affirmative with Mr. PLATT in the negative.
Mr. BUTLER with Mr. CAMERON.
Mr. HARRIS with Mr. MORRILL.
Mr. SMITH with Mr. HIGGINS.
Mr. BLACKBURN with Mr. MANDERSON.
Mr. MORGAN with Mr. QUAY.
Mr. GIBSON with Mr. STOCKBRIDGE.
Mr. GEORGE with Mr. DOLPH.
Mr. WALTHALL with Mr. DIXON.
Mr. CALL with Mr. PROCTOR.
Mr. VILAS with Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon.
The result was announced—yeas 29, nays 14; as follows:

YEAS—29.

Allen,	Hill,	Peffer,	Turpie,
Bate,	Jones, Ark.	Pettigrew,	Vest,
Berry,	Jones, Nev.	Power,	Voorhees,
Cockrell,	Lindsay,	Pugh,	White, Cal.
Coke,	Martin,	Ransom,	White, La.
Dubois,	Mills,	Roach,	
Faulkner,	Palmer,	Stewart,	
Gorman,	Pasco,	Teller,	

NAYS—14.

Aldrich,	Cullom,	Hawley,	Shoup,
Allison,	Davis,	Hoar,	Washburn.
Carey,	Frye,	Lodge,	
Chandler,	Gallinger,	Perkins,	

NOT VOTING—42.

Blackburn,	George,	McMillan,	Sherman,
Brice,	Gibson,	McPherson,	Smith,
Butler,	Gordon,	Manderson,	Squire,
Caffery,	Gray,	Mitchell, Oregon	Stockbridge,
Call,	Hale,	Mitchell, Wis.	Vance,
Camden,	Hansbrough,	Morgan,	Vilas,
Cameron,	Harris,	Morrill,	Walthall,
Colquitt,	Higgins,	Murphy,	Wilson,
Daniel,	Hunton,	Platt,	Wolcott.
Dixon,	Irby,	Proctor,	
Dolph,	Kyle,	Quay,	

So the motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, August 21, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate August 18, 1893.

GOVERNOR OF ALASKA.

James Sheakley, of Wrangel, Alaska, who was appointed June 28, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be governor of Alaska, vice Lyman E. Knapp, removed.

GOVERNOR OF OKLAHOMA.

William C. Renfrow, of Norman, Okla., who was appointed May 6, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be governor of the Territory of Oklahoma, vice Abraham J. Seay, removed.

SECRETARY OF ARIZONA.

Charles M. Bruce, of Benson, Ariz., who was appointed May 6, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be secretary of Arizona, vice Nathan A. Morford, resigned.

SECRETARY OF UTAH.

Charles C. Richards, of Ogden, Utah, who was appointed May 6, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be secretary of Utah, vice Elijah Sells, removed.

MEMBER BOARD OF REGISTRATION AND ELECTION, UTAH.

Henry C. Lett, of Salt Lake City, Utah, who was appointed June 6, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be a member of the board of registration and election in the Territory of Utah, vice Alvin Saunders, resigned.

INDIAN INSPECTORS.

John W. Cadman, of Jackson, Mich., who was appointed June 7, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be an Indian inspector, vice James H. Cisney, removed.

Clinton C. Duncan, of Perry, Ga., who was appointed June 6, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be an Indian inspector, vice Benjamin H. Miller, removed.

Province McCormick, of Berryville, Va., who was appointed May 26, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be an Indian inspector, vice Arthur M. Tinker, removed.

INDIAN AGENTS.

John F. T. B. Brentano, of St. Paul, Oregon, who was appointed June 19, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be agent for the Indians of the Grande Ronde Agency in Oregon, vice Edward F. Lamson, resigned.

Lewis T. Erwin, of Everett, Wash., who was appointed June 19, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be agent for the Indians of the Yakima Agency in Washington, vice Jay Lynch, removed.

Ralph Hall, of Carrington, N. Dak., who was appointed June 19, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be agent for the Indians of the Devils Lake Agency in North Dakota, vice John H. Waugh, resigned.

William L. Hargrove, of Oakland City, Ind., who was appointed June 19, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be agent for the Indians of the Western Shoshone Agency in Nevada, vice William I Plumb, removed.

W. Leven Powell, of Seattle, Wash., who was appointed June 19, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be agent for the Indians of the Neah Bay Agency in Washington, vice John P. McGlinn, removed.

Joseph Robinson, of Easton, Mo., who was appointed June 19, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be agent for the Indians of the Nez Percés Agency in Idaho, vice Warren D. Robbins, removed.

Thomas H. Savage, of Underhill, Wis., who was appointed June 19, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be agent for the Indians of the Green Bay Agency in Wisconsin, vice Charles S. Kelsey, removed.

Frederick Treon, of Crow Creek, S. Dak., who was appointed June 19, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be agent for the Indians of the Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agency in South Dakota, vice Andrew P. Dixon, removed.

J. Roe Young, of Louisville, Ky., who was appointed June 19, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be agent for the Indians of the Pima Agency in Arizona, vice Cornelius W. Crouse, removed.

Dew M. Wisdom, of Muscogee, Ind. T., who was appointed June 30, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be agent for the Indians of the Union Agency in the Indian Territory, vice Leo E. Bennett, removed.

James P. Woolsey, of Rogers, Ark., who was appointed June 19, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be agent for the Indians of the Ponca, Pawnee, Otoe, and Oakland Agency in Oklahoma Territory, vice David J. M. Wood, removed.

SURVEYORS-GENERAL.

Charles F. Easley, of Corrillos, N. Mex., who was appointed June 28, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be surveyor-general of New Mexico, vice Edward F. Hobart, removed.

Thomas D. Robinson, of Denver, Colo., who was appointed June 15, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be surveyor-general of Colorado, vice Emery C. Humphrey, removed.

George W. Snow, of Salt Lake City, Utah, who was appointed June 28, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be surveyor-general of Utah, vice Ellsworth Daggett, removed.

Joseph C. Straughan, of Boise City, Idaho, who was appointed June 28, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be surveyor-general of Idaho, vice Willis H. Pettit, removed.

PRINCIPAL CLERK OF SURVEYS, GENERAL LAND OFFICE.

Frank Flynt, of Griffin, Ga., who was appointed June 6, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be principal clerk of the surveys in the General Land Office, vice Daniel A. Ray, resigned.

REGISTERS OF LAND OFFICES.

John M. Adams, of Potter, Nebr., who was appointed June 28, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be register of the land office at Sidney, Nebr., vice George F. Blanchard, removed.

John G. Brown, of Pocatello, Idaho, who was appointed May 19, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be register of the land office at Blackfoot, Idaho, vice Perry J. Anson, resigned.

Bushrod M. Dilley, of Hamilton, Mo., who was appointed June 28, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be register of the land office at Oklahoma, in Oklahoma Territory, vice De Forest D. Leach, removed.

John W. Ferguson, of Minden, Nebr., who was appointed June 28, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be register of the land office at Grand Island, Nebr., vice Franklin Sweet, resigned.

Byron Groo, of Salt Lake City, Utah, who was appointed June 28, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be register of the land office at Salt Lake City, Utah, vice Frank D. Hobbs, removed.

David H. Hall, of Eureka, Nev., who was appointed May 6, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be register of the land office at Eureka, Nev., vice John P. Dunkle, resigned.

Joseph W. Jamison, of Versailles, Mo., who was appointed June 15, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be register of the land office at Booneville, Mo., vice William McCracken, resigned.

George E. Kuntz, of Ashland, Wis., who was appointed June 15, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be register of the land office at Ashland, Wis., vice Henry L. Besse, removed.

Louis Marchetti, of Wausau, Wis., who was appointed June 28, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be register of the land office at Wausau, Wis., vice Everett B. Sanders, removed.

Robert A. Miller, of Jacksonville, Oregon, who was appointed June 30, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be register of the land office at Oregon City, Oregon, vice John T. Apperson, removed.

Peter Primeau, of Houghton, Mich., who was appointed May 13, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be register of the land office at Marquette, Mich., vice George A Royce, resigned.

Andrew J. Taylor, of Duluth, Minn., who was appointed June 15, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be register of the land office at Duluth, Minn., vice Monroe Nichols, removed.

James H. Walker, of Raton, N. Mex., who was appointed June 28, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be register of the land office at Santa Fe, N. Mex., vice Alexander L. Morrison, removed.

Benjamin F. Wilson, of Union, Oregon, who was appointed June 28, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be register of the land office at La Grande, Oregon, vice Alonzo Cleaver, removed.

George R. Young, of White Oaks, N. Mex., who was appointed May 19, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be register of the land office at Roswell, N. Mex., vice Winfield S. Cobean, resigned.

RECEIVERS OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Frank P. Arbuckle, of Denver, Colo., who was appointed June 15, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be receiver of public moneys at Denver, Colo., vice Clarence E. Hagar, removed.

Robert W. Banks, of Meridian, Miss., who was appointed May 6, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be receiver of public moneys at Jackson, Miss., vice Mrs. Anita H. McKee, resigned.

Thomas H. Corbett, of Frankfort, Ky., who was appointed June 28, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be receiver of public moneys at Guthrie, in Oklahoma Territory, vice Cassius M. Barnes, term expired.

William H. Cosgrove, of Roswell, N. Mex., who was appointed May 19, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be receiver of public moneys at Roswell, N. Mex., vice Frank Lesnet, removed.

Pedro Delgado, of Santa Fe, N. Mex., who was appointed June 28, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be receiver of public moneys at Santa Fe, N. Mex., vice William M. Berger, removed.

Clarence Dennis, of Ashland, Wis., who was appointed June 15, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be receiver of public moneys at Ashland, Wis., vice Robert C. Heydlauff, removed.

John W. Jones, of Blackfoot, Idaho, who was appointed May 19, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be receiver of public moneys at Blackfoot, Idaho, vice William H. Davidson, resigned.

Enoch Knight, of Los Angeles, Cal., who was appointed June 30, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be receiver of public moneys at Los Angeles, Cal., vice George W. Bryant, deceased.

Jacob H. Robbins, of Pendleton, Oregon, who was appointed June 15, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be receiver of public moneys at La Grande, Oregon, vice Alexander C. McClelland, removed.

Eugene B. Thayer, of Wausau, Wis., who was appointed June 28, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be receiver of public moneys at Wausau, Wis., vice Robert H. Johnson, removed.

Walter C. Wescott, of Amethyst, Colo., who was appointed May 6, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be receiver of public moneys at Del Norte, Colo., vice Elmer E. Johnson, removed.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate August 16, 1893.

PENSION AGENT.

George W. Skinner, of Big Cove Tannery, Pa., to be pension agent at Pittsburg, Pa.

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate August 18, 1893.

SURVEYOR OF CUSTOMS.

Richard Dalton, of Missouri, to be surveyor of customs for the port of St. Louis, in the State of Missouri.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, *August 18, 1893.*

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. SAMUEL W. HADDAWAY.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Platt, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment joint resolution (H. Res. 3) making immediately available the appropriations for mileage of Senators and Members of the House of Representatives.

It also announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with deep sensibility the announcement of the death of Hon. J. Logan Chipman, late a Representative from the State of Michigan.

Resolved, That the Senate concur in the resolution of the House of Representatives providing for the appointment of a joint committee to attend the funeral of the deceased at his late residence in the State of Michigan, and that the committee on the part of the Senate, consisting of five Senators, be appointed by the Presiding Officer.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the Senate do now adjourn.

Pursuant to the foregoing resolution, the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. McMILLAN, Mr. PROCTOR, Mr. VILAS, Mr. GIBSON, and Mr. WHITE of California, members of said committee.

Also:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed and bound in cloth 6,000 copies of the report of the commission appointed to inquire into the Indian currency, commonly known as the "Herschell Report on the Coinage of Silver in India," with the accompanying correspondence and testimony, of which number 2,000 shall be for the use of the Senate and 4,000 for the use of the House; in which the concurrence of the House was requested.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

Mr. PEARSON, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled joint resolution (H. Res. 3) making immediately available the appropriations for mileage for Senators and Members of the House of Representatives; when the Speaker signed the same.

SILVER.

The House resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon," and for other purposes.

Mr. SIBLEY. Mr. Speaker, in common with those who favor bimetallism, I had hoped that, before the consideration of this question should ensue, there would be offered some measure providing for the immediate relief of the business interests of this nation. We have heard from all the speakers that the nation is in a state of panic, and that industry is paralyzed from one commercial center to another can no longer be denied.

I came to Washington before the meeting of this body, in the sincere hope that some financial measure might be provided which should afford adequate relief. Many had been submitted to me by others. I had some peculiar ideas of my own. I found, however, that the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. JOHNSON] had prepared a measure which seemed to cover the entire ground; a measure which, if acted upon by this body, would set in motion all the industries of this country, and cause every

spindle to hum throughout the length and breadth of this great land within ten days of its enactment.

By the passage of that bill we could have provided relief to the amount of $200,000,000 if necessary. I think I am speaking for all the friends of bimetallism when I say we can not be charged with being obstructionists to the business interests of this nation. The welfare of its citizens are as dear to us as to those gentlemen upon the other side. We were ready for the immediate consideration of a proposition which provided in simple and plain terms that the holders of United States bonds might deposit such securities with the Government, in its Treasury or subtreasuries or Governmental depositories, and receive therefor Treasury notes; the interest on the bonds ceasing during the time the notes were in circulation, the Government saving the interest, and the citizens, the business men, being provided with an abundant capital to carry on the industrial enterprises of the United States. Not a dissenting voice against the measure, or against any proper measure of relief, has been offered by those who stand here to-day as the champions of the people in this cause of bimetallism.

I received, and I presume every member of the House has received, a circular sent out from New York. It is a wonderful fact that all our financial wisdom and intelligence has to come from east of the Delaware River. That circular suggests legislation which provides that different classes of securities may be deposited with the Treasury, and when the great clearing houses of New York, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, and some of the other centers, decide that the country is in a state of panic, then the Government is to put up the money on their securities. Gentlemen, in my judgment the time has come in this nation when the clearing houses of these great cities shall no longer dominate and control the financial policy for sixty-seven million producers in this land. Their control has effected enough woe, enough disturbance, and has caused the shedding of sufficient tears.

Mr. Speaker, if the gentlemen on the other side accept the proposition of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. JOHNSON], my speech ends right here. We will come together, not as partisans, but as patriots, and will decide this question of relief at this very moment, and relieve more than three million workingmen. You have told us about the trouble of capital; but there are three million of God's American citizens to-day who are vainly waiting for the opportunity to secure bread for their hungry ones. Winter comes on apace, and you will be held responsible for whatever consequences may occur and not ourselves, for we stand on the pledge made in favor of bimetallism, in favor of the money of the people, against your determined opposition.

Mr. Speaker, it may be well for us to come right down to some of the causes of this panic. They have been hinted at, but it is about time we had them as they are. It is stated upon what seems to be the highest authority, before the close of the last Administration, there were prepared in the Bureau of Printing and Engraving $100,000,000 of 4½ per cent bonds, to be sold to the bankers of New York—at what price? At par. And upon what necessity? The necessity of maintaining the gold reserve at $100,000,000. Everybody well knows that the next day after these bonds had been issued and absorbed by these banks in exchange for their gold, they would have commanded a premium of 14, 15, or 16, thus providing a rake off that these people wanted to relieve you of. The stake was a big one. They had $15,000,000 represented on the board.

I tell you, gentlemen, that is a big pile to have in front of men with the average greed and cupidity of the American citizen, assisted by some who are not American citizens. The Administration of Mr. Harrison refused that issue. Mr. Harrison is represented as having said that he wished his Administration to be known as one in which the debt had been reduced rather than increased; and when the new Administration came into power they found a diminished reserve, a reserve below what was called the legal limit of reserve.

Now, my friends, I do not know much about judicial law, but I do know something about the laws of business. In the conduct of my business I maintain a reserve. I consider that the only safe way for me to conduct my enterprises is to maintain a reserve fund in the bank, but when, in the exigencies of business, my deposit account is reduced down to the limit of that reserve, what do I do? Go and issue a mortgage upon my possessions? No, sir. I use the reserve fund that I have placed in the bank for that very purpose, rather than encumber my possessions with a mortgage. Why should not the Government do the same thing? The Secretary of the Treasury wisely "called" their "bluff." He held "a full hand" and they had "a bobtail." [Laughter.]

Further, we commenced to export gold; we exported it in payment of the balance of trade against us. We exported that gold and it went abroad, in part to pay the expenses of the 24,000 men of this nation who to-day own the half of our total wealth. They lived in sumptuousness and riotousness abroad, and our gold went there in part to pay their expenses. Then there were shipped from New York nearly five millions of gold each week. Any gentleman can take his pencil and paper and figure up that at the rates of exchange prevailing at that time, each shipment of a million involved a loss of $2,000.

We sent out that gold, but who sent it? Were they American citizens? I do not know; they may have become so: but I know it was sent out by Heidelbach, Ickelheimer & Co., and by Lazarus Frères & Co. They were the agents of the Rothschilds, who were exporting this gold. It was needed to refund the Austrian debt and place that country upon a gold basis. These men paid their premium of $2,000 on each $1,000,000 of gold, and then proceeded to get even. How did they do it? They went into the stock market and sold that market one hundred thousand shares short and gained a million. The depreciation of the values of securities traded upon in the city of New York since this "bear" campaign began has amounted to over $1,000,000,000.

Do you fear that gold is not going to come back into this country? I never had a doubt about it. They exported gold in pursuance of their unholy design to transfer the wealth of a continent into the coffers of a few English bankers located in Lombard street.

Let me show you, Mr. Speaker, if possible, how this thing has worked, and how it is working. All over the Continent of Europe the Rothschilds have their agencies. There is not a European capital or town where you do not find a branch of that house, and I take it that if matters go on as they have been going heretofore, it will not be long until you can not find a city or a town in this country where the Rothschilds will not have a branch house.

They have drawn off our gold, and securities have depreciated 50, 60, even 90, per cent in value. Dividend-paying stocks have depreciated, and these gentlemen own them to-day, and have them locked up in their coffers.

Do you not think, then, that they are going to let gold flow back? I hold in my hand a copy of the New York World, which, I fear, comes nearer to being the revelation of the Lord Almighty to some of you than any other document that has been before your vision for the last few years. [Laughter.] This paper contains a cartoon which is entitled, "Wall street waiting for the lamb's wool to grow again." No one can claim that the New York World is a bimetallic paper. It is for a "sound and honest" money. [Laughter.] They are sound, honest men that own and control this paper; they were "born so." [Laughter.] This cartoon represents a distinguished lot of individuals, with their names, and their buttonhole bouquets, "waiting for the lamb's wool to grow again." Here is the Stock Exchange, where the poor lamb is standing, while the line of shearers reaches from the Stock Exchange away up as far as Trinity Church. See the length of their shears! Here is the poor lamb, every particle of his wool shorn from him, and they have even gashed into his hide, so that the blood is streaming from him! Of course they have got to wait for the lamb's wool to grow again! [Laughter.]

Why, Mr. Speaker, I raise Angora goats up in Pennsylvania, and I shear them only once a year. I find it more profitable to wait for a second crop. I cut my grass early in the summer, and I do not keep running the mowing machine over it every few days; but I wait until the fall for the aftermath. So these people will wait. There is no fear about the return of gold. They have got our securities, they have got mortgages upon our possessions, and now what do they want? Why, they want to see the wheels of industry revolve and to hear the spindles hum again, so that they may grow a new crop of wool, and then repeat the shearing process.

I see that my New York friends insist that there is but one remedy for this trouble, and that is the issue of bonds to maintain gold and put us upon a "solid financial basis." Well, gentlemen, suppose we agree to issue the $150,000,000 of bonds that you demand, how long will it be before you will want another $150,000,000? If through your conspiracy you can get this $150,000,000 that you say is necessary now, why can not you, three months hence, present your Treasury notes, your legal-tender notes, to the subtreasury and draw out the gold reserve again, and then come here and demand $150,000,000 more of bonds as an additional mortgage on the industries of the nation? And so, indefinitely, you can carry on this process until the wealth of an entire nation will not suffice to feed the greed of these conspirators.

You ask the cause of the panic. I do not know all the causes; but I know this: for two years the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] has been a missionary in the field. The distinguished ex-member of the House, St. George Fred Williams, of Massachusetts, and the other saint from Ohio, have filled the columns of the Arena, the Forum, the North American Review, the American Journal of Politics, and other papers with their

predictions of disaster to come, if we did not get upon a solid gold basis.

The news and editorial columns of the metropolitan papers have contained the paid advertisements of the gold clique. The country weeklies have been sent tons of "boiler plates," accompanied by courteous and wily letters, asking the editors to use the matter as news, "for the good of the country;" and if they refused they were allowed to publish it at advertising rates. I do not blame the papers. They needed the money in these hard times. I only blame them for not marking their editorials and news "1t., head of column, next to reading matter."

The gold-standard men have howled calamity for two years incessantly. And when a member of this House or a citizen of this nation predicted that this attack upon silver, this decrying of the credit of the nation, this lessening of the value of all products, could but bring disaster, you charged us with being calamity howlers. Yet if there has been more calamity howled than has been howled by our distinguished friends of the other side, I do not know where in the pages of literature to find it.

There have been other causes for this panic. They have been numerous. It has not arisen from any one cause. But I will tell you what in my humble judgment is one thing that was responsible for a portion of it. They have a club over in the city of New York called the Reform Club. I think the Speaker knows something about the Reform Club. [Laughter.] And that club undertook in advance of the assembling of this body to fix up and issue to the world what they called a "tariff" for our adoption.

Why, sir, they make our responsibilities easy and our labors light. But the people of this nation have said that they never elected those men to frame a tariff, that they elected us to deal with that question upon business principles, and with exact justice and honesty to all concerned. They have got a little afraid of your Reform Club over in New York, that assumes, sometimes even with the appearance of authority, to be responsible for the whole conduct of governmental affairs. The members of that club have attempted to name members of committees of this House; they have attempted to tell us what shall be our action on this financial question.

Another reason for your panic has been chargeable directly to the action of your Wall-street gamblers, who have circulated rumors by the wholesale. They permitted one of these gamblers to go into their chamber a few weeks ago and announce that one of the greatest banks in New York had failed. And how did that body punish him for putting in circulation this false report? They suspended him for a year; and it is said his profits through bear operations since this panic commenced have netted him in clear cash over $10,000,000. I think he can afford to stand the suspension.

Another thing, my friends, that is responsible for this panic is your own New York bankers. You may stand here, the whole body of you, from that State, and talk about your patriotism and how you will uphold the business interests of the nation. But he who has eyes and has read current events knows better than that. When the Government refused to issue bonds, and when the banks of California, the banks of Chicago, and the great West came to the relief of the Administration by giving it gold, your bankers in published interviews, which are extant to-day in the columns of the New York papers, threatened to give the South and the West a pinch of hard times. I can show you those threats in your metropolitan papers. Your bankers threatened to give the people of the South and West a taste of hard times.

This conspiracy, which has had twenty years for its hatching, has now reached its culmination; and those who have taken part in it believe the time is now ripe for the consummation of these villainies and the wholesale robbery of the people.

Another thing, Mr. Speaker, which I think is responsible is the character and business pursuits of those who demanded this Congress be called in extraordinary session, or induced the Executive of this nation to call it. What genuine business interest in this nation asked for the assembling of Congress at this time? But the New York bankers and stock gamblers, in their interviews in the columns of their papers, day after day, said, "Let the call for an early session be issued, and at once the panic will stop and the country will be all right; business will find its ordinary channels; prosperity will dawn on every home." Was not that your prophecy? And from the day that the proclamation was issued down to this time we know that the financial situation has been getting worse.

Who made the demand for this extra session? Your boards of trade, your stock exchanges, your wreckers upon the shores of commerce, your gamblers, your vampires upon human industry. [Applause.] No body of agriculturists in this nation asked for a special session of Congress. No body of laboring men demanded that Congress should assemble. No, sir; the demand came not from the producers of a nation's wealth, but from the absorbers of a nation's wealth. [Applause.] This demand came not from the 67,000,000 of American citizens, but from the 24,000 who, through this financial villainy, have taken one-half of your total wealth, and now want to gain as quickly as they can the balance of it. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I have heard much about the evils of a high protective tariff. I realize the force of what is said in that direction. But where tariff Saul has slain his thousands this financial David has slain his tens of thousands, and mutilated, maimed, and crippled his tens of millions. [Applause.]

Another reason for financial distrust and doubt is the fear of the people that the designs of those who have determined to destroy one-half of the metallic base of commercial transactions, may prove successful. Bankers want bonds. Why, my friends, here is a proposition which I make to you bankers in this House and the 240 lawyers who are members of this body. I wish you would get together and illustrate to us how it is that a bond which rests only on the faith of the Government is good, is desirable, is wanted, is howled for, is conspired for; and yet a greenback, a Treasury note, which rests upon the same faith of the people in this Government, you denounce as "fiat money." I want to understand where and how you make your distinction.

Mr. LANE. The interest is the distinction.

Mr. SIBLEY. Yes, as my friend from Illinois [Mr. LANE] suggests, one carries interest and the other does not; one goes to a premium and the other maintains its parity.

My friends, it has been amusing to sit in this House and hear the diagnosis that the different schools of physicians and empirics have given of the malady of the patient. And they have got as many different maladies as there are different schools of doctors for their treatment. Here comes one who says the patient is sick, and the trouble with him is that there is lack of confidence. All he needs is to have confidence and he will soon be well again. Why, up in Pennsylvania the other day a bank closed its doors where I had several thousands of dollars on deposit.

Now, I have absolute confidence in the president of that bank; the people of that community have confidence in him, and he has confidence in me; but neither of us has any money. That is what is the trouble. [Laughter and applause.] I want to tell any man who proposes to heal this disease by administering a dose of confidence medicine that he has got to inject that medicine into every patient at the same time, everywhere in the country, or it will not work. You can not give a dose to a man in this community and another to a man in another community, and hope that your confidence medicine is going to cure.

But another says the difficulty arises from overproduction—overproduction of wheat, of wool, of oil, of coal, of corn, of cotton, and beef. Overproduction of cotton! Why, I drove out through the slums of Chicago four weeks ago and saw men, women, and children in tatters. Overproduction of wheat, and we read that in the West people are starving for the very necessities of life. Overproduction of fuel, and yet they froze to death in Pennsylvania, the land of fuel, last year. Overproduction of oil, and a million of our people roam in darkness this night for want of it. No, sir, it is not because of overproduction. It is because of under-consumption, because of the lack of the necessary money to purchase these absolute necessities of human existence. [Applause.]

But there are other classes of doctors, other schools, who tell us that we are getting down to "hardpan," that we have been going through an era of inflation, and that it is necessary for us to get down to first principles; and they say we are going down to hardpan. Why, my friend, the farmers, the workingmen of this country, were down to hardpan fifteen years ago. [Applause.] They got down to bed rock ten years ago. They went down to where they scorched the soles of their shoes five years ago, and they are getting to-day, in this year of our Lord 1893, down to the point where it is scorching their feet and the fumes and odors of hell come up to meet them. [Applause.] And yet we are told we are getting down to hardpan. I want to know how much further towards sheol we have got to go before we get there? [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I have been told, with others, that I must support this measure because it is a Democratic measure. When did the new prophet of the Lord arise, and when did he receive the last revelation of Democracy? [Applause.] Certainly it must have been since the last national platform adopted by the Democratic party at Chicago. [Renewed applause.] My friends, you can not turn to a platform, with one exception, from the consummation of the crime of 1873 down to the present era that does not denounce that crime, that does not designate the men as criminals who perpetrated it, and that one exception is the old Bay State. Every State and every national platform has stood upon that principle, has declared this to be its judgment, this to be its pledge, that this crime against the laboring peo-

ple, this crime against their happiness, should no longer go unpunished.

I may not understand Democracy, Mr. Speaker. I stand for the Democracy which has regard to the interests of the great masses as well as to those of the privileged few. I revere that Democracy which was taught by the fathers of the Republic, the Democracy of Jefferson, who stood for the rights of the people as against the aristocratic tendencies of New York and New England, which existed in those early days. New York and New England denounced him as a socialist, as a communist, and as a demagogue. He is what I call one of the fathers of the Democracy. Thomas Jefferson once wrote: "I can scarcely withhold myself from joining in the wish of Silas Deane that an ocean of fire rolled between the old world and this." Why, how that utterance would make some of our modern anglomaniac statesmen jump.

I stand by the Democracy of Andrew Jackson; and, my friends from New York and New England, Democrats and Republicans, what did you say of Andrew Jackson? He denounced your national banks and your stock exchanges, and said they were leeches and vampires upon the body politic. [Applause.]

What, I ask, did New York and New England say of Andrew Jackson in those days? They assailed him with every vile epithet that could be found and applied in the English language. Demagogue was your pet name for him. Why, your Democracy of New York made medals portraying Andrew Jackson sitting down behind a rail fence with the epaulettes on his shoulders, smoking his old corn-cob pipe, and his head surmounted by asses' ears. These medals are still extant, and you Democrats of New York issued them. And you people of New England, with your boasted seats of learning—your Harvard College conferred the degree of LL. D. on Andrew Jackson and then passed resolutions regretting such action. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I stand by the Democracy of the old fathers of the Republic. I stand by the men whose voices have been raised always for human liberty; a Democracy that has regard to the cries of the suffering that have been heard in this land in all of its decades and history. I have regard for a Democracy that has respect to the man who toils, as well as to the man who absorbs. I have respect for the Democracy that considers the right of the workers in the busy hive of industry, as well as of the drones who bask on the sunny side thereof.

Mr. Speaker, I stand by democracy as exemplified by the first great democrat who ever walked the face of God's fair earth; who said that he who was naked and hungry and sick was my brother; and that when we ministered to such a one we ministered to the very Christ; a democracy which said that he who had fallen among thieves and was grievously wounded was my neighbor. And yet they crucified and put to death that first democrat of the ages. My friends, did you ever think why they crucified the Lord Jesus Christ? They never crucified Him because of any religious ideas that He possessed different from the masses.

Babylon and Nineveh, Rome and Greece, had erected their altars of Pagan worship under the very eyes of the people without a protest; but they crucified that man because He said, "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites." [Applause.] They crucified Him because He had condemned the extortioner and the oppressor, and had dared to scourge the money-changers from the temple of the living God. [Applause.] And whoever boldly stands to-day in the cause of humanity against the greed and rapacity of the few is a marked victim for crucifixion.

I have been asked repeatedly, since I came to Washington, how it occurred that I, a man of some reputed means, and hailing from Pennsylvania, could ally myself with the disordered ideas of bimetallists? Why, my friends, they still print and read Bibles up in the State of Pennsylvania. [Applause.] And on the page of that good old book the command is just as plain as it was the day it was thundered from Sinai, "Thou shalt not steal!" [Applause and laughter.] Why, my friends, if a man from Pennsylvania shall not stand for bimetallism, from what land shall the man hail to stand for it? William Penn came to Pennsylvania and he dealt justly and honestly with the poor red man; and he still has his followers in that blessed Keystone State who are willing to deal honestly and justly with the poor white man. [Applause]. Pennsylvania is rich in treasures of coal and iron, of oil and wheat, but she is richer still in her millions of sons and daughters who "know the right, and knowing dare maintain." [Applause.]

My friends, you tell us that we can not win this fight. Gentlemen get up here and cite the fact that England is against us, that Germany is against us, that Spain is against us, that France is against us, and they even come to me and tell me that the Administration is against us. [Laughter.] But I tell you, you may league all your forces, but you can not destroy the sparks of liberty on this continent. [Applause.] Switzerland has stood for years, a little gem surrounded by the crowned thrones and monarchies of Europe, and maintained her liberty. But you tell us the odds are against us. Well:

> Granted the odds are against us, granted we enter the field,
> When fate has fought and conquered, broken the sword and shield,
> When then? shall we ask for quarter, or say our work is done?
> Say, rather, a greater glory is ours, if the field be won.
> It is war with the wrong of years, with prejudice, pride, and hate,
> Against the world's decrees and the frown of an evil fate.
> A crown to the one who wins, and the worst is only a grave;
> And somewhere, somewhere still, a reward awaits the brave.
> A broken shield without, but a hero's heart within,
> And grasped with the hand of steel the broken blade may win.

[Applause.]

Why, Mr. Speaker, gentlemen tell us that all our arguments are as rot. I quote their exact language. They meet our arguments with subtle sophistries. They hurl walking encyclopedias, loaded to the muzzle, at us, and they justify their conduct upon any pretext or pretense they please. I remember when a boy reading in Æsop the fable of the wolf and the lamb. A wolf met a lamb, and was determined to devour it; but wishing to justify himself even in the sight of the lamb, held converse thus with him:

> "Sir, last year you insulted me."
> "No," meekly bleated the lamb, "last year I was not born."
> "But you eat the grass out of my pasture."
> "O, no; so far I have never tasted grass."
> "But you drink at my spring."
> "No; so far my mother's milk has been both food and drink to me."

Whereupon the wolf seized him and ate him, saying, "My fine fellow, in spite of all your argument you shall not rob me of my dinner."

[Laughter.]

The moral of the tale is that tyrants never lack pleas to justify their crimes.

But you call us cranks. I have heard that term applied to almost every man who in twenty years has stood out in advance of the common horde. Any man who stands in advance of the present is called a crank. They did not then have the name invented, but I fancy Columbus, Luther, Galileo, Garrison, Lowell, Patrick Henry, and the great men who have made lasting impressions on the pages of the past were all denominated cranks or the equivalent term therefor.

You say that we are weak and obscure, and a lot of fanatics from the West that come from the farms, "and what can such men know about finance?" Why, my friends, I do not know but what these men, while they have been turning the furrow, have had as good opportunities as other people to turn over in their minds these great living problems which so closely affect their own well-being. The mechanic has stood at the lathe, and as the shaft revolved has also revolved in his own mind these problems; and I can not for the life of me understand why he can not attain as perfect an apprehension of them as the man who walks into the stock exchange at 10 o'clock in the morning and stays there till 3 o'clock in the afternoon, goes to his office and balances up his accounts, saunters up-town for a dinner at Delmonico's, goes to the theater, takes a box for the evening, and then sits in with the boys and plays draw poker until 4 o'clock the next morning. [Laughter.]

The very best business men, my friends, you have known in your lives came from the farm, and the only argument that I have seen that all those remaining on it were fools, was from those who had not remained. [Laughter.] Oh, you say, that they are a lot of obscure cranks back in the country. Why, your great New England poet, the champion and herald of human liberty, once said:

> Oh, Truth! Oh, Freedom! How are ye still born
> In the rude stable, in the manger nursed;
> What humble hands unbar those gates of morn,
> Through which the splendor of the new day bursts.

[Applause.]

My friends, I am not going to shoot very much longer into the air, but going to come down to something practical.

I want to say a word, first, about the Administration. Men are told, and men have told me, that I have got to be very careful; that my political future was at stake; that they had grand schemes laid out for me for the future; and I had better be very cautious, or assume, at least, a very conservative attitude upon this great question. My friends, I have not got a particle of principle that is not too dear for me to trade for all the patronage that could ever be given out at the White House. [Loud applause.] And that office has never yet been created for which I will barter away any portion of that moral sense of obligation which I owe to my fellow-man and my God. [Renewed applause.]

I have too much respect, I have too much confidence in the honor and the integrity of the man who occupies that house to believe that such things are true. I believe that when he comes to me for an honest expression of opinion concerning the merits of any man that he would rather take the opinion of one who has stood up boldly and told the truth, as it is given him to know

the truth, than to take the opinion of a milk-and-water, namby-pamby man, who is always willing to

> Crook the pregnant hinges of the knee
> Where thrift may follow fawning.

[Loud applause.]

President Cleveland is an honest man from the ground up; he has the courage of his convictions, and I believe he has sincere respect for others who exercise such convictions. [Prolonged applause.]

Mr. Speaker, we have read of wreckers who, in olden days, giving false lights along the dangerous coast, would lure a stately ship, freighted with a valued cargo, upon the sunken rocks, that in the death and ruin they had by their false signals created they might revel in the spoils and plunder of wreck and ruin. And so we see to-day the grand old Ship of State freighted with the hopes and happiness of sixty-seven millions of human souls, sailing through a stormy sea; the blackness of darkness overhead; even the trusted captain of the craft, bewildered by the false signal lights of the wreckers of Wall street, has given orders for steering the craft upon a false course, and gone below. The underofficers of the ship, knowing the perfidy of his advisors, knowing that death and ruin are not six cable lengths ahead, deem it no disrespect to the honest commander in his absence to thwart the designs of the wreckers, assist in putting the helm hard over, and guiding the ship into a smooth and open sea. The members of this House are the second officers in command of the great Ship of State, and charged with equal responsibility for her safety.

The President knows, and every intelligent man must know, that the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act means a further fall in the price of silver bullion, and its utter destruction as a legal-tender metal in this country and all over the world. What, then, must be the opinion of the President touching the honesty and intelligence of those gentlemen on the floor of the House who, to justify themselves to an outraged constituency, state that they are in favor of free-silver coinage, but shall vote against any substitute to accompany the bill for repeal. You are in the attitude of old Pete Jones who said, concerning a stringent liquor law, "I am in favor of yer law, but agin its enforcement." You are in favor of bimetallism; nevertheless, "tu Brute" art willing to give it the death-stab in the back. All humanity admire positive men and, even though they may deem them wrong, honor those who have at all times and under all circumstances the courage of their conscientious convictions. But for the trimmer, for the time server: Thus saith the Lord:

> 14 And unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans write;
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot.
> 16 So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold or hot, I will spew thee out of my mouth.

Mr. Speaker, that is our idea of about what the President must feel like telling some who hold their convictions as a stock of trading capital, and whatever the opinion of the Executive, I am prone to the belief that, throughout the wheat and cotton belts a year hence, there will be a tremendous spewing of loads which rest heavily upon the stomachs of the producers.

I was in the country the other night, driving, and saw a sign stuck out on the side of the road, "Cash paid for hides." [Laughter and applause.] And along on the fence was a string of them, the tails hung over to the road; and I said to myself: "Are men going to sell not only their hides, but bodies, souls, conscience, moral obligations, and sense of duty, to steal from their families and throw them into despair and ruin, and not even get the cash price for it?" [Laughter and applause.] And I imagined, sir, that there would be seen a year from next November, by those who would ride through the rural highways, on the fences of the different sections of the agricultural communities, the hides of many so-called statesmen who think they can curry favor by fulsome fawning. [Laughter and applause.] I will take my chances of loss along those lines if you are willing to take yours. [Renewed laughter and applause.]

Mr. Speaker, the proposition is to repeal the Sherman act, without any attempt to carry out the other pledges of the platform, which demands the free and equal coinage of both gold and silver. Well, we want the Sherman law repealed. It is acknowledged by its author as a mere subterfuge adopted by the enemies of silver to prevent free coinage, which was demanded for the undoing of the villainy of 1873. Every man has joined in execrating that villainy and the villains, and they believe that along with the names of Judas Iscariot and Benedict Arnold will be placed those who were guilty of that crime; that in a blacker page of American history than that in which any American name has been written will be inscribed the authors of that monstrous crime.

We have denounced it, and yet to-day what are we asked to do? We are asked to say that all the Democrats of the past who drew up such platforms were unwise and unpatriotic; that they were mistaken. We have been told by members of this House, who profess to be Democrats, that this plank was made up of pure catchwords; and we are asked to say that there was one man of transcendent genius, who was twenty years ahead of his fellows, and we are asked here at this time and at this hour to come together and bend our knees and offer an apotheosis to that Senator, who sits enshrined at the other end of this Capitol Building. For one, I never will. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, when the Lord led the children of Israel out of captivity and the prophet, the leader, and the lawgiver had gone up into the mountain to meet the living God, these same people who to-day demand the unconditional repeal of the Sherman bill, these same people whose chief interests lie along in that direction, erected a golden calf and fell down and worshiped it: but the prophet of the Lord ground that calf into powder and spread it out upon the waters; and the Lord was sorely vexed with Israel because thereof. My friends, you can let them fall down and worship at this shrine. There may be many who still will worship at the shrine of Baal and Moloch, but there are still a majority of the citizens who know not these false gods.

I ask you, my friend, if you are a banker, if you are a manufacturer, an agriculturist, if you are a laboring man, if you own interests in railroads and draw dividends, or if you manage and conduct these affairs, when was your greatest era of prosperity? It was from 1866, or after the close of the war, down to 1873, was it not? Your railroad stocks were dividend-payers at that time. You had no strikes; you had no boycotts, and no granger legislation. All classes of the people were at peace with each other. Your factories were not closed, and you did not have to call out armed forces to keep the employé from the throat of the employer.

Since 1873 what has been the history? Disaster has followed disaster as upon the speed of the whirlwind. The conditions have grown more strained every moment, and are growing more and more so with each recurring year. Statesmen and patriots may well ponder this condition. You have had warnings all along the past which show you the natural trend of such conditions. And now the people, the great producers of the world, come to you and ask for justice.

My farmer friend, when was it that you got $1.50 for your wheat, and when did you get 60 or 70 cents for your corn? In 1873 you received 118 cents per bushel, on an average, for wheat, and in 1873 your silver was demonetized. You planters and growers of cotton, tell me in what year was it that you received 23 cents a pound for your product. It was in 1873: but in that year we demonetized silver, and what happened? Why, we turned over the interests of the producers of this nation into the hands of British financiers. Let us look at it. Silver at that time was worth 129.29 cents per ounce; that was its coinage value. And at that time we had the grain markets and the cotton markets of the world; and in 1873 India exported only 735,000 bushels of wheat.

Now, there has never been a time in the history of India when silver has not been its money, and there has never been a time from the day when they commenced raising wheat down to the present hour that one ounce of silver did not measure the value of one bushel of wheat. It makes no difference what the value of the rupee is. The same number of rupees buy the same number of bushels of wheat all the time. But England could not afford to buy an ounce of silver at 129.29 and take it to India to measure the value of her wheat, so she took our wheat from us and paid us a little less, from 120 to 123 cents, in 1873.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. Speaker, as the time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SIBLEY] has almost expired, I ask unanimous consent that he be permitted to conclude his remarks without limit.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

Mr. SIBLEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the members of the House for their courtesy.

In 1874 the shipments of wheat from India commenced. England bought her ounce of silver here at 110 cents, and she could take that to India and exchange it for a bushel of Indian wheat: and in five years after the demonetization of silver, England had increased her shipments from 735,000 bushels to 11,900,000 bushels.

In ten years, with the continuous depreciation in the value of silver, the shipments of Indian wheat had increased from 11,000,000 to 26,000,000 bushels. In fifteen years the shipments of Indian wheat to Europe had increased from 735,000 bushels in 1873 to 41,000,000 bushels, and last year she exported 59,000,000 bushels. The same ounce of silver England could not buy, to develop the grain markets of India, at less than 129 cents, before this demonetization and hostile legislation, she now buys at 70 cents, and takes it to India and still gets the same bushel of wheat for it, as when sil-

ver was worth $1.10. We have played all these years into the hands of England against the prosperity of our own American wheat producers. And yet some gentlemen from the Mississippi Valley and from the great wheat-growing States come here and say that this metal must go lower still in order that their constituents may continue to feed the European nations at even a less price than they are able to command to-day.

Mr. Speaker, let us look at cotton, and see if the analogy does not hold true there also. They established cotton mills in India in 1863, and from that year down to 1874 they were never able to export one pound of cotton yarn; eleven years of attempts to introduce cotton-spinning in India, with abject failure as the result. But in 1874, one year after the demonetization of silver, they shipped 1,000,000 pounds of cotton yarn. The next year they shipped 5,000,000 pounds. With each decreasing quotation in the value of the ounce of silver bullion there was an increase in the export of cotton yarn from India. In 1889 it had gone up to 65,000,000 pounds.

In 1891, the last year for which I have been able to secure figures, the exports of cotton yarn from India amounted to 165,000,000 pounds; the same thing has been equally true of the exports of raw cotton. Mr. Speaker, I have observed that the prosperity of the farmers and the railroads went hand in hand, and are there no lessons that the managers and stockholders of railroads can learn from these conditions above described? Which is better for your corporations, to be able to earn money at the expense of Europe or to be able to borrow it from Europe at your own expense? Permit me to show the position of those in England who are so much opposed to bimetallism. At a meeting of the British and Colonial Chambers of Commerce, held in London in 1885, Sir Robert N. Fowler, a member of Parliament, a banker, and an ex-mayor of London, said—

that the effect of the depreciation of silver must finally be the ruin of the wheat and cotton industries of America, and be the development of India as the chief wheat and cotton exporter of the world.

Russia, another silver nation, and the great competitor of America in the production of wheat, has also furnished to European nations her quota of wheat, paid for in the depreciated ounce of silver that we by legislation have degraded and debased. Oh, I tell you, my friends, it is very fine to hear you talk here about a "degraded and debased dollar;" but I would rather have a degraded dollar than a degraded country—rather have a debased coin than a debased people. You have closed the market to American wheat and American cotton; and yet gentlemen from the cotton States stand here and say that the cotton-planter demands that the Sherman act shall be repealed.

The people of the cotton States, I believe, are equal in intelligence to the people of the wheat-producing States and the other great States of this Union where greed for gain and lust for riches are not the one dominating and controlling force. You have seen your cotton crop increase. I will not take time to go into statistics as to the acreage; but you have planted millions more of acres; you have raised hundreds of millions more pounds of cotton; and your net receipts to-day are not one-half what they were in 1873. Every year a little greater shrinkage in value because of the shrinkage of value of silver bullion.

Now, I want to make my friend from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] a proposition. I know he is out for converts. I know the corridors of this Capitol are thronged with a lobby that are trying to make converts; and the hotels are full of them. Now, I want to tell the gentleman how he can make one convert right here. I make this proposition: That silver has not declined in value one iota from 1873 down to this minute; if it has, I will vote on the other side of this proposition. It has maintained its parity and its ratio with every product of human industry, save one. This ounce of bullion silver which to-day you tell me is worth but 70 cents, measures as much wheat and more than it ever measured in the last fifty years; it measures more pounds of beef, more pounds of pork, more pounds of cotton, more pounds of iron, more barrels of oil, more of every product of human industry, save one, than it ever measured even when it sold at its legitimate value, 129 cents an ounce. If you will show me any other than one exception to this proposition, you have a convert right here. The one exception is gold. The 70-cent ounce of silver will not buy as much gold to-day, but it will buy more of every other product of human industry.

Now, then, inasmuch as silver has maintained its ratio—its parity with your wheat, and your corn, and your cotton, with every product of human labor, why do you say that silver has gone down and that this metal is debased? Why do you not say that gold has gone up and has been deified? You cry out in these Halls for an "honest dollar." You do not want an honest dollar—not one of you that makes this cry. [Applause.] You want a scarce dollar. You do not want an honest dollar; if you do, come over and vote with us, and we will give it to you. [Applause.] We will give you a dollar that is as honest to-day as it was in 1873. But you are not going to force your 150-cent dishonest dollar upon the great producers of the necessities of human existence—not if we can prevent the consummation of that effort. [Applause.] Talk about a dishonest silver dollar, when within the last week they have been so scarce as to command a premium of 2 and 3 per cent to assist in moving the cotton and wheat crops.

I love to hear gentlemen talk about "intrinsic value." That word "intrinsic" has a golden sound. I do not know what it means, and I do not think anyone else does; but I will give you my idea of intrinsic value. The intrinsic value of anything is what it will do for you in your hour of direst need, of supremest peril. What is the intrinsic value of a piece of plank 24 feet long, a foot wide, and 2 inches thick? Gentleman may take out their pencils and commence to figure out the intrinsic value of that piece of plank, and their results will vary according to their methods of computation; but, my friends, the intrinsic value of that plank is a million dollars to the man who is drowning.

Men talk about the intrinsic value of gold. A banker told me the other day that he could not assent to my propositions because he believed the time had come when we must join hands with the other great nations and come down to the use of a metal which had intrinsic value behind it. I said to this gentleman: "I do not know that I can raise the funds just at present; I have serious doubts if I can raise a percentage of the amount; but suppose I can get $20,000 worth of gold bullion. You pay 3 per cent on time deposits, do you not?" "Yes, sir." "Well, now I will get $20,000 worth of gold bullion and bring it to you as a deposit. You would rather have that than paper, because paper has no intrinsic value, while gold bullion has. I will deposit this bullion for six months and draw 3 per cent interest on this time deposit." What do you think he said? "Oh," said he, "I can not give you 3 per cent on that." "Why not," said I? "Well, I could not use it." "Well, then," said I, "I will take the bullion down to the mint at Philadelphia and I will get the people there to put upon it the stamp and superscription of the Government of the United States; will you take it then?" He said: "Oh, yes; I would be glad to." "Well, then," said I, "what has your intrinsic value got to do with the matter? What is it gives this metal its power as money so that you are willing to pay me 3 per cent interest upon it? Is it the intrinsic value of the metal? No; it is the image and superscription of Cæsar that makes it money?"

I have been amused to hear gentlemen talk about the impossibility and absurdity of having two yardsticks. Well, my friends, I believe we have two yardsticks. I believe that when you attempt to appreciate gold we will set silver against it at 129 cents an ounce, and we will hold it so that the gold dollar shall be worth just 100 cents; and the gold dollar shall sustain the silver dollar so that it shall stand at 100 cents; so that we can have two measures for the same thing. Why, sir, 32 quarts of oats make a bushel, do they not? And 32 pounds of oats make a bushel. There you have two yardsticks, have you not?

Now these measures are of the same ratio. But 32 quarts of corn make a bushel, and 56 pounds of corn make a bushel. There is the varying ratio. There are 60 pounds of wheat in a bushel, but only 32 quarts. Is there any great discrepancy in using the two measures? Why, one says the seller shall not take a hoop and scoop out down below the level of the rim, and the other says the man who buys it shall not heap up the measure to running over. That is what it is. That is why we place one coin against the other.

Now, my friends say that silver has gone down all over the nations of the world, and that it can not be maintained at a parity or fixed ratio. No wonder it has gone down. What criminal has ever been pursued with such zealous and malignant fury, such thorough and complete conspiracy? What criminal has ever been followed with such relentless hatred? The energies of the entire money power of the whole world has been concentrated against the white metal. Why has this been done? Because they were afraid it was going to be too abundant. The Creator in his loving kindness to this nation, when the foundations of the world were laid, stored our mountains and our hills with great veins of silver and gold, that ought to make us the greatest, the grandest, the noblest, the richest nation on earth, in order that we might enlighten, civilize, and carry glad tidings of great joy to all the dwellers of the earth. They became afraid of the quantity of silver in this country, just as they were frightened about gold in 1857; the only difference was that they got afraid of a different thing.

The discovery of the gold mines of Australia in 1853, following the discovery of those in California in 1849, made these same gold bugs fear that there was going to be too much gold, and they called their monetary conferences together to conspire against gold. They used then precisely the same arguments against gold that they have directed against silver at the present time, and they had a better argument. They said silver was the money

of the common people, adapted to the transaction of small business as well as great; that the people could use it freely and safely; that its size was such as to make it a safer metal for many purposes, and that the loss by abrasion in silver coin was so little and in gold so much that gold ought never to have been made a money metal at all; and that the gold should be used only as bullion and have a basic value.

Listening to this series of arguments which have been put forth by those men who desire to control all human industries and values, several nations in Europe did demonetize gold and take away its legal-tender value no longer ago than 1857. Austria demonetized it, and every state of Germany demonetized it; and now we are told this debased metal, silver, ought to be demonetized merely because they are afraid of such an abundance of it!

What wonder that it is disgraced when every factor, every power not only of the whole American continent but all the world, has been used against it? Your banks have denounced it. Your metropolitan press, under the control of the gold power, have issued column after column attacking it. Your very Director of the Mint, or Acting Director, has discredited it within the last four weeks. He has wiggled and haggled over the price and value of it, and if the holders offered it at 70.71 cents an ounce he would offer them 70.31 cents an ounce. When still lacking 2,000,000 of ounces to comply with the plain terms of the law he would, when his offer was accepted, take 30,000 ounces instead of half a million. Instead of, as an American, being animated by an impulse to maintain its value at parity if possible, he pursued methods which in this nation seldom obtain outside the second-hand clothing shops of Baxter street. That certain elements have conspired against it to degrade it and take away its value in this country, who can longer doubt?

Mr. Speaker, let us place the responsibility for this panic where it belongs. India closed her mints to the free coinage of silver a few weeks ago; and I want to call your attention in this connection to a reputed interview which had a dominating and controlling force in that direction. A member of the Administration, the Secretary of Agriculture of this Union, ostensibly at the head of the agriculturists of the nation and who is said at times to imagine he hears the Presidential bee buzzing in his bonnet, was interviewed a few weeks ago, and in that interview he is reported to have said: "I have recommended to the Secretary of the Treasury that he condemn all the silver in the vaults of the Government and sell it as old junk, for whatever it will bring." He said, "We have a law which allows the appointment of committees to condemn worthless material lying around the Departments." And three days after that interview silver was demonetized in India.

Whether the Secretary of Agriculture spoke seriously or in jest, we know not. If this was a jest it was one that has cost more closing of banks, more foreclosures upon farms and houses, closed more workshops, put out more fires in happy homes, caused more loss, more hunger, more tears, more misery, more woe, than any jest ever recorded on the pages of the past. The utterances of cabinet ministers are supposed to be those of deliberation, and the result of fullest consideration, and presumptively reflecting and outlining governmental policy.

What wonder in the face of such declarations, made upon the authority of one holding so exalted and dignified a position, that the British ministry was suddenly convened to protect the Indian mints from such an avalanche; and from that moment to this, disaster has trod upon the heels of disaster, ever thicker, ever faster. Such sorry jests should entitle the discoverer of Arbor Day to an indefinite leave of absence, where, beneath the umbrageous foliage of his planting, he may repent his costly folly. Silver fell from 82½ cents per ounce to 70 cents as the result of this man's utterance; and wheat, always following the price of silver, declined from 74 cents per bushel to 54 cents per bushel.

A few days since our worthy Secretary was interviewed again, and this is his latest reported utterance of financial wisdom:

> Agricultural products are lower, but this is rather a blessing than otherwise, for if our products are not taken gold will be exported.

This utterance, if correct, ought to make it all right with the farmers, who care nothing whatsoever about the price of the products of their toil, so that the yellow god may not flee from the presence of his devout worshipers.

Mr. Speaker, the farmers have for years been great sufferers from the ravages of bugs. You of the South have had the cotton bug. You of the West have had the chinch bug. We of the North have had the potato bug, and scattered around promiscuously has been the bedbug; but indigenous to Lombard and Wall streets, thrives and fattens another bug. They even break their way into this Capitol at times, and these bugs—gold bugs—have bitten and annoyed more people than all the bedbug tribe, and their ravages in your fertile fields exceed in damage in a single year the damage wrought by the combined efforts of all other bugs for a century.

Mr. Speaker, I like the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER]. He has got such a frank, manly way of stating things. He states a proposition squarely and fairly, while many others are apt to hedge. He admits the question to-day to be this: Silver is going to be money equal in value to gold in this country and that issue is to be determined now; or silver, its money value, is to be absolutely lost forever. I like the way he states his propositions. He says squarely that to-day we have too much money, and therefore he proposes to take away one-half of it.

Why do not some others stand up on this floor, and say publicly what they say in private conversation? Why do you not announce your intention manfully and boldly from your places here? You have announced privately that your intention is to offer resolutions, after the repeal of the Sherman law, to take away the legal-tender power of silver in all sums in excess of five dollars. Why do you not tell what justification you are going to offer for that? Privately, you say you are going to justify it by the fact that when you have unconditionally repealed this bill, silver will fall to forty cents an ounce or even less, and then you can urge the folly of putting out a twenty-five cent silver dollar and making it a full legal tender.

Why, my friends, the great temple of industry and commerce rests upon two pillars, one of silver and the other of gold. This one of silver has but 6 per cent more strength than the other, and with both these pillars under this temple it is all it can do to maintain its place. Why, every passing financial wind rocks it upon its foundations; and yet you propose to absolutely destroy one of these pillars. There is only 6 per cent more silver on the whole globe than of gold; only $2.58 per capita of silver in the world. Yet you propose to take it away. Over three-fifths of the nations of the world to-day are either upon a silver or a bimetallic basis. Your $3,600,000,000 of gold is inadequate for the use of the nations that are already upon a gold standard, and how are you going to move the wheels of industry when you have destroyed one-half the metallic base of all commercial credits and transactions, the globe around?

But they cite England, old England, and Spain and Germany. Yet they dodge the issue. There is just one country on the face of the globe where they do not have panics, and she has got more money than any other civilized nation on the face of the globe, and that country is France. No financial revolutions or panics or disasters there. The Panama Canal scheme may fail, and it does not make a ripple on the financial surface. It causes great waves to heave and swell upon the political tide, but it never touches the financial situation or affects its stability. They have $54 of money to every man, woman, and child in France. They have an abundance to meet the needs of business in that little nation, smaller than some of our States; and yet in this great nation, whose territory stretches 3,000 miles from ocean to ocean, we are asked to do business with less than half as much per capita. If silver makes panics, why was it that Australia, which is on a gold basis, has a panic worse than ours; a panic in which the bank failures in six weeks amount to over nine hundred millions of dollars? Their panic was only caused, like ours, by Rothschild shearing his sheep.

My friend, let us deal fairly with silver. Supposing that by your legislation here to-morrow you enact a law that no man in this country who possesses wheat shall be permitted to take it to the mill and have it ground. Shut every mill in the land to the grinding of wheat, and what do you think wheat would be worth six months from to-day? Do you think wheat would maintain its value as silver has done? Corn would go up, corn would be king, and wheat would be worth its fodder value for dumb brutes. That is precisely what you have done against silver. You have shut down the mills against it. You have denied it to the public for its use, and yet you cry against it that there are only 53 or 56 cents in the silver dollar.

Now, my friends, I want to make you a little prediction right here, and let us see who tells you the truth, whether it is these people from New York or the friends of free coinage. Oh, I love the New York people! I know them well. It is the State of my nativity. There are grand men and noble women in New York. But I know New York City well, and I know, lying right alongside of New York City, is a place they call Hell Gate, and I think most of you, coming from there, have been through it. [Laughter.] I know our friends from New England, who speak so boldly for the honest dollar, in coming through the Sound, have come through Hell Gate. [Laughter.]

But I want to tell you, my friends, that we have been getting the financial policy of this nation for twenty years from the gates of hell, but we are not going to accept such dictum any longer. [Applause.] Why, did you ever stop to think that when the wise men started out to seek the Saviour of mankind, the Light of the

World, in what direction they traveled? Did they go to the East to look for the light? No; they left the East and came to the West for the source and fountain of all light and truth. [Laughter and applause.]

When Columbus embarked, in which direction did he steer to find a nobler, better, and happier land? Did he turn to the East? No! Misery, woe, monarchs, oppression, crime, and crowns were in the East. He headed his course westward; and so, my friends, to-day you will never find a financial savior who comes up through Hell Gate. [Laughter.] On this rock of justice we have founded our faith, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against us. [Laughter.] They have told us about the great loss that the country submitted to in the purchase of silver, and I want to say right here, my friends, first, that I used to be a monometallist of the monometallists; could not be anything else. All my friends were monometallists. I was a director in a national bank, and they were all monometallists.

Everybody I met in the East was a monometallist. But I one day heard a man talk who astonished me. He read from official documents, and I doubted their accuracy. I said, "That man has the appearance of honesty; he has the courage of truth shining from his soul through his eyes, but he must be mistaken." So I said, "For my part I am going to make a study of this question." And never thinking to be here in political debate and discussion within these Halls, or any other public place, I devoted my time to studying these questions. I sent here to Washington for the reports of your Director of the Mint, Comptroller of the Currency, and Treasurer, and tried to apply business rules and methods to them, and I am no longer a monometallist, because I would rather be honest than be a monometallist. [Laughter and applause.]

My friends, we are told that the Treasury, and the country through the Treasury, has lost vast sums of money in buying 70-cent silver and storing it in our vaults. Now, let us see the facts about that. Maybe we have been driving a better trade than we thought. If that bullion has gone into dollars it will pay the Government's debts. It has done so up to this time, at least, but I do not know what it will do if you succeed in your schemes, but up to this time it will pay a dollar's worth of debt, public or private, anywhere in the nations when it is coined into standard silver dollars.

How much have we lost? Have we lost anything? Every ounce in the Treasury bought below $1.29 an ounce, its coinage value, is so much gain. Instead of issuing bulletins to the people showing the great loss in the purchase of silver, why do not they say that the Government is 50 cents ahead on every ounce of silver that it has purchased, and that the Government is $100,000,000 ahead by the purchase of silver, instead of sending out reports that the Government has been a loser by the transaction.

But, supposing we had been loser. Supposing, Mr. Speaker, that we had as a Government chartered one of the ocean greyhounds sailing from New York and had loaded every ounce of silver in the country that has been produced since 1873 to the present time, had bought that silver for $1.29 an ounce, and had that ship to sail just off beyond the banks of Newfoundland, and gone into sufficiently deep water where you could not reach soundings, and sunk it to the depths of the ocean, where it would have remained forever beyond the reach of man, what would have been the effect on the producers of the United States?

The highest production of silver in any year has been $73,000,000. We will say it is $75,000,000. But we produce 450,000,000 bushels of wheat a year, which, since the demonetization of silver, has fallen from $1.20 to 54 cents per bushel. The American farmers have lost from 60 to 70 cents a bushel on wheat. The price has gone down because England can come here and take 70 cents' worth of silver and measure it against a bushel of wheat in India, just as well as she could do when it was worth $1.29 before we demonetized it by legislation, and degraded and disgraced it by our silly and wicked follies. Now, then, Mr. Speaker, we have a loss of 50 cents a bushel on wheat—I want to make my statement modest. We have a loss of 50 cents a bushel on 450,000,000 bushels of wheat a year, which makes a loss to the American farmer of $225,000,000.

I am not here talking for the silver mine owners of Idaho, Colorado, Nevada, Montana, and Utah. I do not know them. They are only a small factor in this question. I am looking to the producers of wheat and corn, cotton and tobacco, and all the wealth of the nation. We have lost $225,000,000 each year in the value of wheat. Why, if we had bought that 75,000,000 ounces of silver and sunk it in the depths of the sea, so that England could not have got it at 70 cents an ounce, the American wheat-grower would have been a gainer of $225,000,000 annually. We produce 2,000,000,000 bushels of corn, and corn has fallen 26 cents a bushel. Wheat is the great staple, the great leader, and corn is but a follower of wheat among the cereals. Now, then, I will say that we lost 20 cents a bushel on corn; and so our American growers of corn have lost $400,000,000 annually upon their crop of corn, so that if they had bought all this silver and sunk it, the corn-growers would have been $325,000,000 to the good.

We produce 3,212,000,000 pounds of cotton annually, and in 1873 your cotton sold at 22 cents a pound. To-day it is bringing 7 and 8 cents. You have lost 12 cents a pound on every pound of cotton; and if the cotton-producers had bought all the silver and sunk it in the depths of the ocean they would have been each year $210,000,000 ahead on the transaction. In these three leading articles of production in the Union (I will not go through more of them) the loss to the producer each year has been $910,000,000 more than the value of the silver that it would have been necessary to have purchased.

Oh, my friends, they argue against silver. They say that our legislation is for the benefit of a few mine owners. Why, they are the most insignificant factor in the whole problem, although by their industry they have added to our wealth $75,000,000 annually. But this is a drop in the bucket, and yet we can afford to be just, even though they are not a great factor. I sat in Chicago at the Auditorium Hotel a few days ago conversing with a gentleman. I noticed that he was looking rather blue. He finally reached me a copy of the Chicago Tribune, and said: "Mr. Sibley, I want to call your attention to one fact. Here is a statement made, as by authority, showing the cost of production of silver. They have taken the leading mines, and have figured it out here that it only costs 40 cents an ounce to produce it. Now," he says, "I want you to look at that mine, where they say the cost is only 40 cents an ounce. Four weeks ago we took our pumps out of that mine, and the water covers our levels to-day, and there never will be an ounce of silver produced from that mine again. The average cost of mining of silver in that mine is more than $1 an ounce; and we have been running it for the last few years, hoping and praying for better times, until we could get our money out of the production." It is unfair to take four or five of the leading mines in silver producing and, taking the cost of production in those mines, say that that is the cost of the production of silver. It is just as unfair as it would be to come to us in our Commonwealth and take four or five producers of petroleum whose wells yield 300, 500 and even 10,000 barrels a day, and assume that petroleum only costs 10 cents a barrel to produce, because these men who are producing thousands of barrels a day may be making a profit.

To-day the market for petroleum in Pennsylvania is 58 cents, and for two years it has been produced at a loss of not less than 10 cents a barrel. You say, "Then, why don't they shut down?" Why, their case is like that of the fellow who had hold of the bear's tail and wanted some one to help him let go. [Laughter.] If they close down those wells the salt water will flood them, and the oil will never come again; so, in desperation, they have held on to their little wells and pumped them at a loss, waiting and praying for the better times which the Democratic platform promised to give the country. [Applause.]

Now, let us deal fairly with silver. Statistics that are in the hands of gentlemen upon this floor—as authoritative statistics, I presume, as those of the Treasury Department—show that the average cost of production of an ounce of silver has been nearer to $2 than to $1.

Mr. PENCE. If the gentleman will pardon the interruption, I will state to the House, by way of illustrating the point he is making, that the report of the Senate Committee on Mining, which was made to the Senate last March, but is not yet, I believe, generally in the hands of members here, shows that the cost of production of gold and silver is more than its coinage value. Let me say, further, that the verified records show that in the most important silver mining camp in the world, Leadville, Lake County, Colo., where the silver mining industry began in 1879, there were located, recorded, and worked, from 1879 to June 1 of this year, 19,300 mining locations. Upon each of them an average of ten acres, $100 worth of work has been done, at an average cost of $10 per acre. The result has been that but 3,800 of them have been considered of sufficient value to be patented, and for the last twelve months but eighteen of those mines have been worked at a profit. I present these figures as illustrating the gentleman's point.

Mr. SIBLEY. I am much obliged to the gentleman.

Mr. PICKLER [to Mr. SIBLEY]. Will you discuss the ratio before you close?

Mr. SIBLEY. Mr. Speaker, a gentleman near me asks me to discuss the question of the ratio before I sit down. I am not particular about the ratio, but I would rather see it 15½ to 1 than 16 to 1, because I would rather see the people get 11 or 12 cents a pound for their cotton, and $1.10 a bushel for their wheat. I would rather see the ratio 16 to 1 than 17 to 1, because if the people are to be robbed at all I would rather they were robbed of ten cents than of twenty.

I will agree to a ratio of 18 to 1 upon the same principle. I will agree to a ratio of 20 to 1, because I would rather see the farmers get 65 or 70 cents a bushel for their wheat than that they should be compelled to take the price they will get the day you pass this measure of repeal without providing a substitute for the existing law. I will make this prophecy, and we shall see who prophesies correctly: The day you repeal the Sherman act, or within four weeks from that time, if you repeal it without a substitute, silver will strike 45 or 50 cents an ounce and wheat will sell below 45 cents a bushel. When silver strikes 40 cents an ounce your cotton will strike 4 cents a pound.

What had England to gain by stopping the mintage of silver in India? The two great English political parties, the Conservatives and the Liberals, are very evenly divided, and although the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] has talked so eloquently about the happiness and prosperity of England, yet we know that for three years past ruin, distress, and starvation have prevailed there. The Liberal party, in order that it might maintain itself in power, jumped at the occasion to stop the silver mintage in India, depressing the price from 82½ to 70 cents an ounce, and you saw how the wheat market followed it from 75 cents to 53 cents per bushel.

You never saw the day when silver went up that wheat did not go up, and cotton also. We know that after the passage of the Sherman law, which men said was going to remedy the then existing evils, silver bounded to 120 cents an ounce, and wheat bounded up with it. If you give us free-silver coinage at a ratio of 16 to 1 we, as the friends of silver, are ready to-day to pledge our faith to the farmers of the West and the cotton-growers of the South that they will get 11 cents a pound for their cotton and $1.10 for their wheat.

Mr. HICKS. May I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. SIBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. HICKS. If limited coinage has reduced the price of wheat in Pennsylvania to 60 cents a bushel, how does the gentleman make out that free and unlimited coinage will raise it to a dollar?

Mr. SIBLEY. Because of the ability of England to take the ounce of silver which she buys here at 70 cents, and go to India and buy as much wheat with it as she ever could buy at any time with an ounce of silver. As I have said, the ounce of silver still measures the value of the bushel of wheat in India. If she has to pay us, as she will under a free-coinage act with a ratio of 16 to 1, $1.29 an ounce for silver, she can not take it to India to exchange for wheat, but must come to us and pay a dollar or more for wheat.

A MEMBER. Laid down in Liverpool?

Mr. SIBLEY. Yes.

Mr. HICKS. One more question. What was the price of wheat when the Sherman law was enacted?

Mr. SIBLEY. Do you mean the law of 1890?

Mr. HICKS. Yes.

Mr. SIBLEY. Eighty-three cents.

Mr. HICKS. What is it worth to-day?

Mr. SIBLEY. It sold last week at 53 cents in Chicago.

Mr. COX. It has sold in South Tennessee for 38 cents.

Mr. HICKS. Now, will the gentleman please answer this question: If limited coinage has reduced the price of wheat from 83 to 53 cents, how can free and unlimited coinage raise the price?

Mr. SIBLEY. Mr. Speaker, I think that is a fair question. We have not had any coinage in the proper sense; we have not coined our silver; we have denied its money value; we have debased it and degraded it and have made it a tool for England to use to destroy the wheat-growers and cotton-growers of this nation. We have coined only a part. Free coinage will do this: You coin fifty-four millions out of a production of seventy-five millions, and the twenty-one millions of surplus determines the value of the balance.

We have said that $54,000,000 of this is money and the balance pig metal; and it has been the pig metal that has fixed the prices all the time, and not the money. I invite the lawyers of this body to jump on that proposition, if they can. The lawyers and the bankers are standing together here pretty solid. [Laughter.] The lawyers came on one occasion to the incarnate God, and thought to confuse him by asking some questions; and I remember he turned to them and said:

> Woe unto you also, ye lawyers! for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, and ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your fingers.
> Woe unto you, lawyers! for ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered.

[Applause.]

Mr. HICKS. I would like to ask the gentleman another question. He has said, as I understand, that it is the pig-metal silver that has regulated the price of wheat. Am I correct in understanding him that way?

Mr. SIBLEY. I did not catch the gentleman's remark.

Mr. HICKS. Do you say that the price of the pig metal regulates the price of wheat?

Mr. SIBLEY. I say that the price of this disgraced, debased, decried surplus has regulated the value of wheat at all times since 1873. I will maintain that proposition at any and all hazards.

Mr. HICKS. For every bar of silver that has been placed in the Treasury silver notes have been issued, have they not?

Mr. SIBLEY. I do not know that there has been a silver note issued for every bar. I can tell the gentleman the exact amount in a moment if he desires.

Mr. HICKS. I understood the gentleman to say that the silver is lying idle in the Treasury; but I also understand that a note has been issued representing every dollar's worth of silver that is in the Treasury.

Mr. SIBLEY. It is the amount that has not come into the Treasury that has caused the distress to the farmers and producers of this nation.

Mr. HICKS. I am a farmer like yourself, and I am also a lawyer. I farm at long range, just as you do. I am very anxious, however, to know how the repeal of the Sherman law can in any way affect the price of wheat or raise the value of farm lands. If you can convince me that free and unlimited coinage will have the effect that you state, I am ready to vote for it.

Mr. SIBLEY. Well, I am going to convert you right now, if you will stand by your proposition. [Laughter.]

Mr. HICKS. All right.

Mr. SIBLEY. We can only judge of the future by the past and the present. Everything has declined since you demonetized silver, since you commenced hostile legislation against it. Pennsylvania farm lands to-day are not worth 40 cents upon the dollar of what they were in 1873. Is not that correct?

Mr. HICKS. I am sorry to say it is the fact.

Mr. SIBLEY. And none of the products of the Pennsylvania farm—your wheat and corn and beef—bear a higher ratio than that, compared with the price in 1873; is not that the fact? Now, then, we know that something happened in 1873, that permitted England to come here and buy an ounce of silver at 70 or 80 or 90 cents and take it to India and exchange it for a bushel of wheat. And that very fact—that we have not given silver the place that rightfully belongs to it as one of the precious metals of the earth, as one of the foundations of credit, has enabled her to use that depreciated metal—which if we had free silver coinage would at all times be worth 129 cents an ounce—has enabled England to come here and get this metal at 90 cents an ounce, and with it purchase wheat and cotton to come into competition with our products. For the information of the gentleman let me send to the desk to be read an extract from the language of Archbishop Walsh of Dublin:

The Clerk read as follows:

> The classic prediction in this matter is that of the French economist, M. Ernest Seyd. So far back as 1871, two years before the calamitous success of the doctrinaire crusade against the maintenance of the bimetallist system as it was then in operation in France, M. Seyd used the following remarkable words:
>
> "It is a great mistake to suppose that the adoption of the gold (standard of value) by other states besides England will be beneficial. It will only lead to the destruction of the monetary equilibrium hitherto existing, and cause a fall in the value of silver from which England's trade and the Indian silver valuations will suffer more than all other interests, grievous as the general decline of prosperity all over the world will be."

Then comes a singularly noteworthy passage:

> The strong doctrinairism existing in England as regards the gold valuation is so blind that, when the time of depression sets in, there will be this special feature:
>
> The economical authorities of the country will refuse to listen to the cause here foreshadowed; every possible attempt will be made to prove that the decline of commerce is due to all sorts of causes and irreconcilable matters; the workman and his strikes will be the first convenient target; then "speculating" and "overtrading" will have their turn; many other allegations will be made, totally irrelevant to the real issue, but satisfactory to the moralizing tendency of financial writers.

Mr. BRYAN. May I interrupt the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SIBLEY] a moment?

Mr. SIBLEY. Certainly.

Mr. BRYAN. I would like to read in support of the gentleman's position an extract from the agricultural report of 1890, page 8—a report issued by Mr. Harrison's administration:

> The recent legislation looking to the restoration of the bimetallic standard of our currency, and the consequent enhancement of the value of silver, has unquestionably had much to do with the recent advance in the price of cereals. The same cause has advanced the price of wheat in Russia and India, and in the same degree reduced their power of competition. English gold was formerly exchanged for cheap silver, and wheat purchased with the cheaper metal was sold in Great Britain for gold. Much of this advantage is lost by the appreciation of silver in those countries. It is reasonable, therefore, to expect much higher prices for wheat than have been received in recent years.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Will the gentleman from Nebraska answer a question?

Mr. BRYAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Where was this cheap wheat, to which you refer, bought?

Mr. BRYAN. What cheap wheat?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. The cheap wheat that is alluded to in that article?

Mr. BRYAN. In Russia and India.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. What was the currency used in payment at that time?

Mr. BRYAN. Silver. But let me say to the gentleman, the silver price was as high in India then as it is now—that is to say, it was as high in 1873—while the gold price has gone down in this country just as silver has gone down.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. In other words, they got a silver price for silver wheat.

Mr. BRYAN. I was only giving the article as it appears in this report; gentlemen can draw their own conclusions.

Mr. SIBLEY. Mr. Speaker, when I was interrupted first I was about to state the reasons that England desired, especially at that time, to depreciate further the value of silver. Parties were very evenly divided in Great Britain, and in order to maintain a majority Mr. Gladstone found it necessary to feed their people with cheaper food, to be able to put on the markets of England wheat at a lower price, and they accomplished their purpose by shutting up the coinage of silver in the India mint, and made the difference in price between 75 cents and 53 cents per bushel in the cost of wheat.

But you fear that she will not restore the coinage of silver to India. Not the slightest trouble about that. Why did she not put India on a gold basis? She did not allow the gold dollar or an ounce of gold to become a legal tender in India. Let her throw India open to gold coinage, and the whole problem will be solved, and we will not care what disposition we make of this question. Why, it will solve the whole thing in a moment. It will solve itself. There would be no longer a problem as to where India would be.

Mr. Speaker, I have been amused at the attitude of Eastern Democrats on this question. I had to smile the day before yesterday when the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] spoke. If I ever heard the old Democratic party ripped up the back, jumped on, trampled on, shaken up, rolled all over the floor, he did it. [Laughter.] But when he wound up his speech with a declaration that as things were he thought he would vote for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act, I saw one of my Democratic friends on this floor from New York clap his hands long and loud after everybody else had got through; and I could not tell whether he was applauding the first part of the gentleman's speech or the second part. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. BRYAN. May I interrupt the gentleman from Pennsylvania long enough to insert in the RECORD in this connection what that gentleman from Ohio said in regard to the Sherman bill three years ago?

Mr. SIBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRYAN. On the 12th day of June, 1890, the gentleman from Ohio just referred to said on this floor:

> The Republican party, true to its faithful guardianship of the people's interests, has determined to give to the people of the country a great increase in the circulation, and you resist, you refuse to have it.

Mr. SIBLEY. They tell us, Mr. Speaker, that if we adopt free-silver coinage at any ratio, or reënact the Bland bill, gold will go out of the country. Well, now, we are not to be forever frightened by the bugaboo of gold. Suppose it does go out of the country. Nations are merely aggregations of individuals, and are governed by much the same laws, the same ideas, and rules that control individuals. No man gets a dollar of gold out of my pocket that I do not think I get an equivalent for in some way, shape, or form. Other countries will not get the gold from us unless they have something to give us that we would rather have than the gold. They must have something to exchange for our gold. And supposing that it does go out and they take it all. What then? They do not want to do it. They hold too many of our bonds, that under the present law are payable in coin of standard value, which means either silver or gold, to run any risks. They want gold in payment of these bonds, and they do not want all the gold to go from our country. But supposing again, I say, they take it all.

Why, what will happen then? They say gold will go to a premium. Well, it has been to a premium for twenty years, and you did not know it. Let it go to a premium, and when the Ward McAllisters and the other Four Hundred want to go to Europe for their summer outings, it will cost them a little more to make their exchanges, and if they bring home fine clothes, the products of European countries, it will cost them a good deal more money; and we will build a better tariff wall round our industries than that builded by the gentleman from Ohio. Why, if they will not take our money, we will not take their goods.

What trade will we lose? What nations do we wish to trade with? England, Germany and France will not buy a dollar's worth of products of American labor. They take only the necessities of life, our wheat, our pork, our corn and our cotton and beef; those they have got to have anyway, and they must pay us in the money we specify. Now, suppose they will not take our money. We will just stop buying of them, and that will start our own factories running, start our own spindles to humming and our own wheels to revolving.

Why, Mr. Speaker, as a man who is somewhat interested in a bank, and wishing to protect it, I say that for the safety of the small banker there is but one course, and that is bimetallism in this country. And whenever you make the foundation too narrow, whenever you set up the great pyramid upon its apex, and build up thereon, the higher you build the greater will be the ruin when some adverse circumstance runs up against your pyramid. You build it on a single standard, and your foundation is too narrow for safety, and whenever a wave of distrust runs over the country your little savings of a lifetime will be swept away.

The census showed that in 1890 twenty-four thousand people owned one-half of the total wealth of the nation; and since the shaking up you have given us over in New York the probabilities are that about fourteen thousand have got it to-day; and if you carry out your designs, four thousand will have it in the year 1900. We are going to save you from your own folly. We propose to help the people, so that they can have money with which to travel on the railroads, with which to transport their products, and so that your stocks will earn you dividends in spite of yourselves.

We are going to make your stocks in railroad securities, or in every legitimate enterprise, pay you dividends whether you want them or no. Your course is to put them into the hands of receivers. Our course is to put the profits into the hands of the stockholders and into the hands of every man who has put an honest dollar into these enterprises. We have respect for the wisbes and the needs and the opportunities and successes of the rich as well as the poor; but we can not divide and say that one class shall have all and the other class none of the benefits of government.

But, Mr. Speaker, I am told that the Republicans are going to join with the Democrats to repeal this bill. And what Republicans? The Republicans of the East and the Democrats of the East. I tell you, the man who thinks over the situation of this nation to-day is forced to the belief that the salvation of this country, if we are to have a country worth saving, depends upon the men living west of the Delaware River and south of Mason and Dixon's line. [Applause.] You can not longer commit your interests to those whose interests are antagonistic to your own. I find that you gold men agree, and you applaud each other, regardless of your politics; and there comes to my mind a scene that is depicted in Holy Writ, the blackest scene, the most cruel and wicked scene, where truth incarnate was betrayed to the rulers, and which tells us that Pilate, finding no fault in Him, sent Him to Herod; but Herod, not having the power of death, sent Him back to Pilate, demanding His crucifixion; and Pilate delivered Him over to death. And right following that comes this passage:

> And the same day Pilate and Herod were made friends together; for before they were at enmity between themselves.

[Laughter.]

Now I can understand how there are no party lines on this question. When you have the people nailed to the cross you can agree to become friends from that day forward. [Laughter.]

My friend from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] told us about the prosperity of England and the prosperity of every nation that had a monometallic standard. He told you how since the stoppage of silver coinage in India prosperity had dawned over the whole nation. Now, I have not got time to answer the gentleman, but I will just read some headings in the New York Sun of yesterday, a good Democratic paper:

> RAN RIOT IN BOMBAY—FURY OF RELIGIOUS HATRED BEYOND MILITARY CONTROL—GREAT LOSS OF LIFE AND PROPERTY—EUROPEANS FLOCK TO THE GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS FOR SAFETY.
>
> A Cabinet Consultation in London—Late Dispatches Indicate that the Government Hopes Soon to Check the Turmoil— * * * —A Bombay Merchant's Opinion—The Silver Situation has Created a Great Army of Unemployed in India.
>
> Damoder Gordhundas, a merchant of Bombay, who is staying at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, was greatly interested in the reports of the rioting in that city. "I feel that the reports are exaggerated," said he. "The action of the government in suspending the free coinage of silver has closed the mints and the mills until the army of the unemployed in Bombay numbers in the thousands. This great body of unemployed laborers and mechanics may have taken advantage of the occasion offered by the religious riot to make a serious demonstration."

Now, against the gentleman from Ohio I set the gentleman from India. [Laughter.] But I enjoy hearing the Ohio man talk, for he comes out and says just what he wants. He argues that the less money a nation has, the happier it is, and the more prosperous; and by a parity of reasoning, the less money the gentleman has, the happier he is; but I do not believe that. [Laughter.] I believe that the gentleman uses this expression in a Pickwickian sense.

Why, my friends, just consider that proposition for a moment.

If we could draw a line about the city of Washington and erect a wall, do you not suppose if you could take away half of all the money in the city of Washington, that the one-half of the money remaining would still buy all the products of industry that are for sale in the city of Washington, just as effectually buy them as the whole would before?

If you could give three hundred men in the city of Washington $100 apiece, and that was all the money there was in this city, all that could get into it, that money would buy every dollar's worth of property in the city of Washington that was for sale. The price goes down to correspond with the volume. That has been the history of the ages.

Let me state some economic axioms: When you double the money of a nation you divide the debt; and if you divide the money you double the debt. Double the money, you double the price: divide the money, you divide the price.

I learned when a boy at school that old mathematical axiom, that when you double sums you double the differences. That twice two is four and the difference between two and four is two, and that twice four is eight, and the difference between four and eight is four. Apply the same reasoning here, and you see that it does not make any difference whether it is little or much, it will just be the same in result. If a man works for a dollar a day and works for thirty days, he will receive $30; and when he pays $5 a barrel for flour, you will say that if he works for $2 a day he receives $60, and if he pays $10 a barrel for flour he would be no better off. Now, if he worked for a dollar a day and paid $5 a barrel for flour he has $25 left; when he has worked thirty days at $2 a day and paid $10 for his barrel of flour he has $50 left, has he not? Now, in which case is he the better off? Especially if he is a debtor. It would not make so much difference if all men were out of debt and paying cash, but there are $32,000,000,000 of indebtedness in the United States, national, State and corporation, municipal and private.

With $3,600,000,000 as the total gold of the whole world, how are we going to pay off this debt? Do you want to double it? You carry out your designs to make silver a mere legal tender for sums of $5, which are your designs, and which you do not hesitate privately to avow—you divide the money, and just as sure as twice two is four you have doubled the debt of every debtor; you have doubled the income of every creditor.

Anglo-American bondholders wish a gold standard because in 1907, only fourteen years hence, some five hundred and fifty millions of bonds now payable by their express terms in coin of standard value will fall due. If we destroy silver as coin of standard value the bond will then by its terms become payable in gold. These people well know that the Government will have enough silver and gold in the Treasury to pay these bonds at maturity, but never enough gold, and they wish to force a new mortgage upon the industry of the nation and dictate their own terms concerning such mortgage.

Mr. Speaker, the Republican party, who have for over thirty years had control of the finances of the nation, proudly point to their successful management thereof. They cite the fact that the indebtedness of the nation in 1866 was about $2,800,000,000 and that now the bonded debt of the nation is only $585,000,000. With their boasting they forget to tell you that in principal, interest, and premium on the bonds we have paid about $4,000,000,000, and that it would take about as much of the products of industry to pay the little balance yet remaining as it would to have paid the whole debt in 1866. It would take to-day to pay off the little balance 312,000,000 pounds more of cotton than would have sufficed to pay off the entire debt in cotton in 1866. Year after year production has been paying off interest and principal, and all the time the debt, instead of diminishing, has been increasing.

Let me entreat, gentlemen, to fully consider the consequences that must ensue if you, by unconditional repeal, further lower the price of silver. Consider what plea shall justify you to the producers of wheat, corn, and cotton. What plea will be accepted by the toilers of the nation who see by your votes their debts doubled and the opportunities for a comfortable existence forever swept away. Mr. Speaker, my vote shall be cast before you as it would be cast before the great white throne which has decreed that I am my brother's keeper.

How I like to hear the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] bubble over, because he does it in such an easy, pleasant way. He heaves and pitches, and springs a leak here, and springs a leak there. [Laughter.] The only thing that I can think of that reminds me of my friend is Mark Twain's description of the storm on the Erie Canal. Speaking of the canal boat in a storm, he says:

> She heaved and sot, and sot and heaved,
> And high her rudder flung,
> And every time she sot and heaved
> A mighty leak she sprung.

[Great laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, history has built great monuments upon the plains of the past to mark the point where two roads part. She has erected great light-houses along the shores of Time to warn the passing mariner of the sunken rocks and hidden reefs. Let us observe some of these lights. Moses went down to old Pharaoh, in Egypt, and demanded the deliverance of the people of Israel from the house of bondage, and Pharaoh's answer was the same tale "of brick without straw." Charles the First attempted to coerce Parliament, and he lost his head, and human liberties took a long step forward and upwards. When the people of France cried for bread, a flippant queen asked, "Why they ate not cake." Some day, when a complacent De Breze, knight of the bedchamber, shall enter these Halls and intimate the king's pleasure and our duty, there shall arise some modern Mirabeau, who, driving him hence, will tell him we are here by the will of God and the voice of the sovereign people, to whom alone we owe allegiance and to whose mandates alone we bow.

Our fathers in these colonies pleaded, humbly entreated, of old England to stay the hand of oppression, and asked her to remove the hands of greed which plucked from them the fruits of their toil, and the reply of George III was the imposition of heavier burdens. Our reply was the Declaration of Independence; that wonderful document which embraces the rights of man; if I were to read it in this House I fear it would be a strange message to many. Like the preaching of Paul, "to the Jews a stumbling block, to the Greeks foolishness." [Laughter and applause.] It would be held as a communistic production and its authors demagogues [laughter], because it dared to tell England the truth, and that we were independent and existed without caring either for her crowns or favors.

Why, my friends, to-day all over this land the cry of the people is heard, the banks are failing, not from lack of abundant assets; they have got large surpluses, they even hold great quantities of Government bonds, and yet are forced to suspend. Factories are being closed, mechanics are unemployed, stores are without customers, three millions of idle men are walking up and down asking for an opportunity to earn bread for the hungry ones at home.

Why is this? Is it because of too much money? Is it because of silver money? No; for silver will pay a debt, will buy as much bread, will clothe as many naked as any other dollar. These results come because of the lack of a dollar of any kind; they come from the inability of the people to effect exchanges between one commercial center and another. These New York bankers started their little panic in pursuance of their plan to pinch the West and South and coerce the members of this body into their views. I have read of great masses of rock so nicely poised upon a point that a child could set them in motion, but an army could not stay them after they were once started down the declivity.

So it is with this panic. It is like a conflagration, and we are not here to inquire into the cause of the conflagration. It may be a case of arson [laughter] or it may be a case of "logical evolution," for the gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX] told us that we are "evoluting" toward the gold standard. [Laughter.] I agree with the gentleman that the process of evolution has been going on for twenty years, and it has evoluted the wealth heretofore so evenly distributed among the people of this country into the pockets of the twenty-four thousand. While we have been "evoluting" toward a gold basis we have been "evoluting" toward that condition which confronted all the nations of ancient times just before they lost their liberties. Evolution! It has been said that evolution comes from a full stomach, but there is another thing that comes from an empty stomach, and it is called "revolution." [Laughter and applause.]

I warn you, gentlemen, that the people of to-day are aroused. For years the people have demanded more money, and you meet that demand with a proposition to take away one-half of what they already have! Is that your answer? Can statesmen be so blinded to the interests of the people, the rich and the poor alike, as to carry this design further, in face of the protests of the sixty-seven million toilers of this land?

Oh, Mr. Speaker, in 1776 our forefathers, despite the protests of the Tories of that day, declared their political independence of Great Britain, and so to-day, despite the howling of the "Tories" of this House and their friends in the lobbies, the time has come when by the grace of God we can well declare our financial independence of the same power. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, the friends of bimetallism stand here and plead the cause of those who have not easy access to the seat of power, of the men who can not afford to maintain lobbies to throng the corridors of this Capitol building, of the men who can not afford to go to the expensive hotels of this city and sit down to influence the members of this body. But, gentlemen of the other side, you can keep your lobby, if you please, of stock-brokers and

gamblers and *chevaliers d' industrie*. [Laughter.] They can stay here and drink their champagne frappe, eat their canvas-back and terrapin. Very few of those who are back of us are present here, but we have thousands of communications telling us that the people are on their knees in prayer while we are fighting their battles here, and that is more to us than all your packed lobbies.

Mr. Speaker, we have come to the fork of the roads. This means either bimetallism, free silver coinage with 100 cents in every dollar from this time forth, or it means the utter annihilation of silver as money all over the globe. We have indeed come to the fork of the roads. We have traveled the one road before and we have found it safe. It is no experiment. Along this way our fathers saw the nation grow and expand, and from small beginnings become one of the mightiest of the earth. We have been this way before. Along this road our fathers carried to a successful termination two great foreign wars, and on this road was maintained the mightiest conflict of modern ages, which preserved intact the liberties and the unity of the State. This is no new road. This is such a road as was described by the psalmist when he said:

> Her ways are ways of pleasantness and all her paths are peace.

But there is another road that leads, no man knows where. No human foot upon this continent has ever trod its trackless wilds. I am afraid it is the road that old Solomon spoke of when he said:

> There is a way which seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death.

[Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I think this must be the occasion that the prophet Amos had in mind, looking down through the long vista of the future, when he said:

> Hear this, O, ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail: * * * making the ephah small and the shekel great, and falsifying the balances by deceit. * * * Shall not the land tremble for this, and everyone mourn that dwelleth therein?

Mr. Speaker, that is pretty nearly prophecy. Our land is in mourning and trembling to-day because these men have made the bushel small and the shekel great.

Mr. McCLEARY of Minnesota. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. SIBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. McCLEARY of Minnesota. I beg the gentleman's pardon for interrupting at this point, but I could not sooner get the opportunity. The gentleman has been speaking of prophecy. A short time ago he sent a prophecy to the desk to be read; will he please name the gentleman whose prophecy he had read by the Clerk?

Mr. SIBLEY. That was the prophet of the devil. This is the prophet of God Almighty. [Laughter and applause.] That prophet belonged on your side.

Mr. McCLEARY of Minnesota. I did not ask the gentleman to characterize the prophet; I asked him to name him.

Mr. SIBLEY. Ernest Seyd.

Mr. McCLEARY of Minnesota. Is that the same gentleman whom you accuse of having come over here in 1873 as an emissary to "down" silver?

Mr. SIBLEY. I did not utter such accusation. I will append to my remarks what distinguished gentlemen have said—how, sent here as a friend of silver, that man betrayed it—how he came into this House, went with your committees, and showed his dexter hand all through. That will be incorporated in my remarks. I will try to make it plain to the gentleman.

Mr. McCLEARY of Minnesota. My question is, Is this the same gentleman whom you accuse of that "villainy"?

Mr. SIBLEY. No doubt about it, sir.

Mr. McCLEARY of Minnesota. Then I ask that the Clerk read that prophecy again.

Mr. SIBLEY. Everybody has heard it read. If it is the same quotation——

Mr. McCLEARY of Minnesota. The same.

Mr. SIBLEY. Then why have it read twice?

Mr. McCLEARY of Minnesota. If you object to it, then I ask gentlemen to read it in the quiet of their closets, and ask themselves whether the man who used that language could have done the thing you say he did.

Mr. SIBLEY. Yes, sir; I have seen men sell out within the last two months. [Laughter.] From the time he uttered that prophecy two years had elapsed. I have known men to change their minds in twenty minutes. Wise men, it is said, change their minds often; fools, never.

Mr. McCLEARY of Minnesota. What the gentleman says can not be true of a man who died in the cause of silver, as Ernest Seyd did.

Mr. PENCE. When the gentleman speaks of his having "died" does he mean he changed his colors? [Laughter.]

Mr. McCLEARY of Minnesota. The gentleman from Pennsylvania had sufficient regard for Mr. Seyd to quote him as an authority in behalf of silver. Simple justice demands that his memory be treated with fairness. Both before and after 1873 Ernest Seyd was recognized as one of the foremost champions of silver in Europe, a man whose opinion was eagerly sought by the silver commission of 1876, and of whom Mr. Horton, the bimetallist, said, speaking of Mr. Seyd's death, at the international monetary conference of 1881:

> It was the profound interest which he took in the conference which brought him here and hastened his death.

This unfounded charge against the memory of a man now unable to defend himself (and I believe that the gentleman from Pennsylvania would not willingly do anyone an injustice) has nothing to do with the merits of this discussion, even if it were true; and I am glad that the gentleman from Pennsylvania has selected so good a quotation to show the real position of Mr. Seyd.

Mr. SIBLEY. Thank you. In the name of sixty-seven millions of American citizens we plead for more money; and in the name of twenty-four thousand you not only refuse our demand, but purpose the taking away of one-half of what we have left. Prompted alone by our love for rich and poor, by our love for the welfare and peace of our common country, let us warn you that the masses of the people are aroused. All over this fair land they are on their knees in prayer. Their wails have been heard at the throne of the Almighty. My friends, hunger and cold know no philosophy and respect no laws; and when these twin devils are let loose and you force them out upon the world—

> Then woe to the robbers who gather
> In fields where they never have sown;
> Who have stolen the jewels from labor,
> And builded to Mammon a throne.
>
> For the throne of their god shall be crumbled,
> And the scepter be swept from his hand,
> And the heart of the haughty be humbled,
> And a servant be chief in the land.
>
> For the Lord of the harvest hath said it,
> Whose lips never uttered a lie,
> And his prophets and poets have read it,
> In symbols of earth and of sky;
>
> That to him who hath reveled in plunder
> 'Til the angel of conscience is dumb,
> The shock of the earthquake and thunder,
> And tempest and torrent shall come.

[Loud applause.]

The following are the articles and notes to which Mr. SIBLEY referred in his remarks and which he asked to have appended thereto:

Here is what Mr. Hooper, the chairman of the Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures, and who reported the bill, said in regard to the measure, and of Mr. Ernest Seyd, on the floor of the House:

"The bill was prepared two years ago, and has been submitted to careful and deliberate examination. It has the approval of nearly all the mint experts of the country and the sanction of the Secretary of the Treasury. Ernest Seyd, of London, a distinguished writer and bullionist, is now here, and has given great attention to the subject of mints and coinage, and after examining the first draft of the bill made various sensible suggestions, which the committee accepted and embodied in the bill. While the committee take no credit to themselves for the original preparation of this bill, they have no hesitation in unanimously recommending its passage as necessary and expedient." (See page 2304, *Congressional Globe*, April 9, 1872.)

Below will be found a few extracts from different United States Senators and Representatives as they appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Let us take the words of Senator ALLISON, of Iowa, first. They are:

"But when the secret history of this bill of 1873 comes to be told it will disclose the fact that the House of Representatives intended to coin both gold and silver, and intended to place both metals upon the French relation instead of our own, which was the true scientific position with reference to this subject in 1873, but that the bill afterwards was doctored, if I may use the term, and I use it in no offensive sense, of course——"

* * * * * * *

"I said I used the word in no offensive sense. It was changed after the discussion, and the dollar of 420 grains was substituted for it."—*Congressional Record*, volume 7, part 2, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, page 1085.

"In connection with the charge that I advocated the bill which demonetized the standard silver dollar, I say that, though the chairman of the Committee on Coinage, I was ignorant of the fact that it would demonetize the silver dollar or of its dropping the silver dollar from our system of coins as were those distinguished Senators, Messrs. Blaine and VOORHEES, who were then members of the House, and each of whom, a few days since, interrogated the other: 'Did you know it was dropped when the bill passed?' 'No,' said Mr. Blaine. 'Did you?' 'No,' said Mr. VOORHEES. I do not think that there were three members in the House that knew it. I doubt whether Mr. Hooper, who, in my absence from the Committee on Coinage and attendance on the Committee on Ways and Means, managed the bill, knew it. I say this in justice to him."—*Judge Kelley, of Pennsylvania*, in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 7, part 2, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, page 1005.

Mr. BECK. Will the gentleman from Massachusetts [Senator Dawes] allow me to say a word? The Senator from Massachusetts will recollect that I have not said a word about the history of the demonetization bill, except in a response to questions from the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON].

* * * * * * * *

Mr. DAWES. The distinguished Englishman to whom I referred, who was charged with having come over here to do the opposite of what he did, was Ernest Seyd.

Mr. BECK. I observe, if the gentleman will allow me, that on the 9th day of April, 1872, when the bill was read up to its sixth section and laid aside and never taken up again, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Hooper] remarked:

"The bill was prepared two years ago, and has been submitted to careful and deliberate examinations. It has the approval of nearly all the mint experts of the country, and the sanction of the Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Ernest Seyd, of London, a distinguished writer who has given great attention to the subject of mints and coinage, after examining the first draft of the bill, furnished many valuable suggestions which have been incorporated in the bill."

"I suppose he is the same person."

Mr. DAWES. There is no doubt about that fact. (See page 125 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, December 12, 1877.)

Mr. VOORHEES. I want to ask my friend from Maine, whom I am glad to designate in that way, whether I may call him as one more witness to the fact that it was not generally known whether silver was demonetized. Did he know, as the Speaker of the House, presiding at that time, that the silver dollar was demonetized in the bill to which he alludes?

"Mr. BLAINE. I did not know anything that was in the bill at all. As I have said before, little was known or cared on the subject. [Laughter.] And now I should like to exchange questions with the Senator from Indiana, who was then on the floor and whose business, far more than mine, to know, because by the designation of the House I was to put the question; the Senator from Indiana, then on the floor of the House, with his power as a debater, was to unfold them to the House. Did he know?"

"Mr. VOORHEES. I frankly say that I did not."—*Congressional Record*, Feb. 15, 1878, page 1063.

"It passed by fraud in the House, never having been printed in advance, being a substitute for the printed bill; never having been read at the Clerk's desk, the reading having been dispensed with by an impression that the bill made no material alteration in the coinage laws; it was passed without discussion, debate being cut off by operation of the previous question. It was passed, to my certain information, under such circumstances that the fraud escaped the attention of some of the most watchful as well as the ablest statesmen in Congress at the time. * * * Aye, sir, it was a fraud that smells to heaven. It was a fraud that will stink in the nose of posterity, and for which some persons must give account in the day of retribution."—*Mr. Bright, of Tennessee*, in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 7, part 1, second session Forty-fifth Congress, page 584.

"Why the act of 1873, which forbids the coinage of the silver dollar, was passed no one at this day can give a good reason."—*Senator Bogy, of Missouri*, in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 4, part 5, Forty-fourth Congress, first session, page 4178.

"It [the bill demonetizing silver] never was understood by either House of Congress. I say that with full knowledge of the facts. No newspaper reporter—and they are the most vigilant men I ever saw in obtaining information—discovered that it had been done."—*Senator Beck, of Kentucky*, in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 7, part 1, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, page 260.

The coinage act of 1873, unaccompanied by any written report upon the subject from any committee, and unknown to the members of Congress who, without opposition, allowed it to pass under the belief, if not assurance, that it made no alteration in the value of the current coins, changed the unit of value from silver to gold.—*Mr. Buchard of Illinois*, in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, July 13, 1876, page 581.

I have before me the record of the proceedings of this House on the passage of that measure, which no man can read without being convinced that the measure and the method of its passage through this House was a "colossal swindle." I assert that the measure never had the sanction of this House, and it does not possess the moral force of law.—*Mr. Holman of Indiana*, in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 4, part 6, Forty-fourth Congress, first session, Appendix, page 193.

This legislation was had in the Forty-second Congress, February 12, 1873, by a bill to regulate the mints of the United States, and practically abolished silver as money by failing to provide for the coinage of the silver dollar. It was not discussed, as shown by the RECORD, and neither members of Congress nor the people understood the scope of the legislation.—*Joseph Cannon*, in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 4, part 6, Forty-fourth Congress, first session, Appendix, page 193.

Did the people demonetize silver? Never! It can not even be fairly said that Congress did it. It was done in a corner, darkly. It was done at the instigation of the bondholders and other money kings, who now with upturned eyes deplore the wickedness we exhibit in asking the question even, who did the great wrong against the toiling millions of our people? * * *

How will Congress answer these people except to say that the silver dollar weighing 412½ grains was an honest dollar until the 12th of February, 1873, when we destroyed the money in your pockets and left a vast debt hanging over you, since when our bonds have been sold from hand to hand in the markets among stock gamblers. They knew that we had stricken down your rights and trusted to our honor that your rights should be restored. It would be dishonest in us to restore your money to its value and vitality. It is bullion now—mere pig metal—and is no longer money.—*Senator Morgan*, in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, December 12, 1877, page 144.

Mr. President, I now come to one of the most remarkable and to my mind one of the most fraudulent pieces of legislation this or any other country ever saw. I refer to the manner of the passage of the bill demonetizing silver. I will not occupy the time of the Senate by going over the whole history of this most iniquitous transaction. Mr. Hooper, since deceased, was at the time chairman of the committee having charge of a bill which had been referred to his committee, and on May 27, 1872, reported a substitute and moved to suspend the rules and pass the substitute, upon which motion, among other things, the following occurred, which any Senator can find by turning to the CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE, part 5, page 3883, and is as follows:

Mr. HOLMAN. I suppose it is intended to have the bill read before it is put on its passage.

The SPEAKER. The substitute will be read.

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. I hope not. It is a long bill, and those who are interested in it are perfectly familiar with its provisions.

Mr. KERR. The rules can not be suspended so as to dispense with the reading of the bill.

The SPEAKER. They can be.

Mr. KERR. I want the House to understand that it is attempted to put through this bill without being read.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Hooper] move that the reading of the bill be dispensed with?

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. I will so frame my motion to suspend the rules that it will dispense with the reading of the bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts moves that the rules be suspended and that the bill pass, the reading thereof being dispensed with.

Mr. RANDALL. Can not we have a division of this motion?

The SPEAKER. A motion to suspend the rules can not be divided.

Mr. RANDALL. I should like to have the bill read, although I am willing that the rules shall be suspended as to the passage of the bill.

The question was put on suspending the rules and passing the bill without reading; and (two-thirds not voting in favor thereof) the rules were not suspended.

* * * * * * *

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. I now move that the rules be suspended, and the substitute for the bill in relation to mints and coinage passed; and I ask that the substitute be read.

The clerk began to read the substitute.

Mr. BROOKS. Is that the original bill?

The SPEAKER. The motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Hooper] applies to the substitute, and that on which the House is called to act is being read.

Mr. BROOKS. As there is to be no debate, the only chance we have to know what we are doing is to have both the bill and the substitute read.

The SPEAKER. The motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts being to suspend the rules and pass the substitute, it gives no choice between the two bills. The House must either pass the substitute or none.

Mr. BROOKS. How can we choose between the original bill and the substitute unless we hear them both read?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can vote "ay" or "no" on this question whether this substitute shall be passed.

Mr. BROOKS. I am very much in the habit of voting "no" when I do not know what is going on.

Mr. HOLMAN. Before the question is taken upon suspending the rules and passing the bill, I hope the gentleman from Massachusetts will explain the leading changes made by this bill in the existing law, especially in reference to the coinage. It would seem that all the small coinage of the country is intended to be recoined.

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. This bill makes no changes in the existing law in that regard. It does not require the recoinage of the small coins.

* * * * * * *

The question being taken on the motion of Mr. Hooper of Massachusetts to suspend the rules and pass the bill, it was agreed to; there being—ayes 110, noes 13.

And so the rules were suspended, and the substitute passed without its ever being read or any member of that body knowing the contents of it. (See speech of Senator Hereford of West Virginia in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, December 14, 1877, page 206.)

I know that the bondholders and monopolists of this country are seeking to destroy all the industries of this people in their greed to enhance the value of their gold. I know that the act of 1873 did more than all else to accomplish that result, and the demonetization act of the Revised Statutes was an illegal and unconstitutional consummation of the fraud. I want to restore that money to where it was before, and thus aid in preventing the consummation of their designs.—*Speech by Senator Beck*, of Kentucky, page 258, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 11, 1878.

The silver dollar is peculiarly the laboring man's dollar, as far as he may desire specie. * * * Throughout all the financial panics that has assailed this country, no man has been bold enough to raise his hand to strike it down; no man has ever dared to whisper of a contemplated assault upon it; and when the 12th day of February, 1873, approached, the day of doom to the American dollar, the dollar of our fathers, how silent was the work of the enemy! Not a sound, not a word, no note of warning to the American people that their favorite coin was about to be destroyed as money; that the greatest financial revolution of modern times was in contemplation and about to be accomplished against their highest and dearest rights! The taxpayers of the United States were no more notified or consulted on this momentous measure than the slaves on a Southern plantation before the war, when their master made up his mind to increase their task or to change them from a corn to a cotton field.

Never since the foundation of the Government has a law of such vital and tremendous import, or indeed of any importance at all, crawled into our statute books so furtively and noiselessly as this. Its enactment there was as completely unknown to the people, and indeed to four-fifths of Congress itself, as the presence of a burglar in a house at midnight to its sleeping inmates. This was rendered possible partly because the clandestine movement was so utterly unexpected, and partly from the nature of the bill in which it occurred. The silver dollar of American history was demonetized in an act entitled "An act revising and amending the laws relative to the mints, assay offices, and coinage of the United States." (See speech of Senator VOORHEES in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 15, 1878, page 332.)

I wonder that silver is not already coming into the market to supply the deficiency in the circulating medium. * * * Experience has proved that it takes about $40,000,000 of fractional currency to make the small change necessary for the transaction of the business of the country. Silver will gradually take the place of this currency, and, further, will become the standard of values, which will be hoarded in a small way. I estimate that this will consume from $200,000,000 to $300,000,000 in time of this species of our circulating medium. * * * I confess to a desire to see a limited hoarding of money. But I want to see a hoarding of something that is a standard of value the world over. Silver is this * * *

Our mines are now producing almost unlimited amounts of silver, and it is becoming a question, "What shall we do with it?" I here suggest a solution which will answer for some years to put it in circulation, keeping it there until it is fixed, and then we will find other markets.—*Extract from a letter written by President Grant to Mr. Coudry*, October 13, 1873, eight months after he had signed the bill demonetizing silver, not knowing what that measure contained. See page 208, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, December 14, 1877.

Horace Greeley saw what but comparatively few saw as clearly as he did, viz, that the establishment of the British system meant slavery not only to the blacks, but to the whites; and these were the words for which the

bankers of New York drove him from the office of the Tribune with a broken heart to the grave. He said:

"We boast of having liberated 4,000,000 of slaves. True, we have stricken the shackles from the former bondsmen and brought all laborers to a common level, but not so much by elevating the former slaves as by practically reducing the whole working population to a state of serfdom. While boasting of our noble deeds we are careful to conceal the ugly fact that by our iniquitous monetary system we have nationalized a system of oppression more refined, but none the less cruel, than the old system of chattel slavery."

Senator Ingalls said in a speech in this city on February 15, 1878: "No people in a great emergency ever found a faithful ally in gold. It is the most cowardly of all metals. It makes no treaty it does not break. It has no friends it does not sooner or later betray.

Armies and navies are not maintained by gold. It times of panic and calamity, shipwreck, and disaster, it becomes the agent and minister of ruin. No nation ever fought a great war by the aid of gold. On the contrary, in the crisis of the greatest peril, it becomes the greatest enemy, more potent than the foe in the field; but when the battle is won and peace has been secured, gold reappears and claims the fruits of victory. In our own civil war it is doubtful if the gold of New York and London did not work us greater injury than the powder and lead and iron of the rebels.

"It was the most invincible enemy of the public credit. Gold paid no soldier or sailor. It refused the national obligations. It was worth most when our fortunes were the lowest. Every defeat gave it increased value. It was in open alliance with our enemies the world over, and all its energies were evoked for our destruction.

"But as usual, when danger had been averted and the victory secured, gold swaggers to the front and asserts the supremacy."

CHICAGO PLATFORM.

The following is the full text of the resolutions adopted at Chicago:

"Whereas bimetallism is as ancient as human history; certainly for more than three thousand years gold and silver came down through the ages hand in hand, their relations to each other having varied but a few points in all that vast period of time, and then almost invariably through legislation; and

"Whereas the two metals are named together indissolubly united in the Constitution of the United States as the standard of value of this country, placed there by George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Alexander Hamilton and their associates, and subsequently indorsed and defended by Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln; and

"Whereas silver, one of these ancient metals, was, in the year 1873, without any previous demand by any political party or by any part of the people, or even by any newspapers, and without public discussion, stricken down from the place it had occupied since the days of Abraham and the Pharaohs, under circumstances of such secrecy that Allen G. Thurman, James B. Beck, WILLIAM M. STEWART, DANIEL W. VOORHEES, James G. Blaine, then Speaker of the House; James A. Garfield, William D. Kelley, and others present and voting for the bill, as Senators or Representatives, subsequently, repeatedly and publicly declared that they did not know until long afterward that so great and grave a change had been made in the financial system founded by the fathers of the Republic; and

"Whereas the debates in Congress show that the parentage of the measure was in part ascribed by friends of the bill to one Ernest Seyd, a London banker, who, it is claimed, was sent over to Washington by the moneyed classes of the Old World to secure its passage by secret and corrupt means; and

"Whereas President Grant, who signed the bill, declared long subsequently that he did not know that it demonetized silver; and

"Whereas the purpose of this attack upon one of the two ancient precious metals of the world was, by striking down one-half of the money supply, to wit, silver, to double the purchasing power of the remainder, gold, by making it the equivalent of everything possessed or produced by the labor of man, thus reducing the price of all commodities, arresting enterprise, impoverishing the toiler, and degrading mankind; that these results were not only inevitable but foreseen appears by the following language used at that time by the then president of the Bank of France, who said: 'If by a stroke of the pen they suppress one of these metals in the monetary service they double the demand for the other metal, to the ruin of all debtors;' and

"Whereas the awful consequences thus prophesied are now upon the people of the whole world, we stand in the midst of unparalleled distress and in the shadow of impending calamities which are beyond estimate. The ruling industry of the people who inhabit one-third of the area of this republic has been stricken down, property values destroyed, and the workmen compelled to fly as from pestilence. Everywhere over this broad land the honest toilers, numbering hundreds of thousands, have been thrown out of employment and will have to eat the bitter bread of charity or starve. The products of industry, of the farm and the workshop have depreciated in price, as shown by official and public statistics, until production ceases to be profitable; the money in the country, inadequate for the business of the land, has gravitated to the banks; while the people, distrusting the banks, have demanded their deposits to hoard or hide them; mercantile houses are going to the wall by thousands, because the masses have not the means to buy even the necessities of life; to supply the lack of currency, the banks of the great cities have issued a substitute for money, unknown to the laws, called clearing-house certificates; the movement of the great crops now being gathered demands a vast amount of currency, which the banks are unable to furnish; and in the midst of these conditions the daily press is clamoring for the repeal of the act of July 14, 1890, called the Sherman act, although the repeal of that act means the stoppage of the issue of more than $3,000,000 every month; thus shutting off of the supply of funds for the business of the country in the midst of the terrible conditions which surround us, and ignoring the fact that to hold the balance level between the debtor and creditor classes the supply of currency must increase side by side with the increase of population and business, and that in this nation the growth of population is at the rate of about 37 per cent every ten years, while the increase of business is much greater; and

"Whereas the great expounder of the Constitution, Daniel Webster, said: 'Gold and silver, at rates fixed by Congress, constitute the legal standard of value in this country, and neither Congress nor any State has authority to establish any other standard or to displace that standard;' and

"Whereas the Hon. James G. Blaine, quoting this utterance, adds: 'On the much-vexed and long-mooted question as to a bimetallic or monometallic standard my own views are sufficiently indicated in the remarks I have made. I believe the struggle now going on in this country and in the other countries for a single gold standard would, if successful, produce widespread disaster in and throughout the commercial world. The destruction of silver as money and establishing gold as the sole unit of value must have a ruinous effect on all forms of property except those investments which yield a fixed return in money. These would be enormously enhanced in value and would gain a disproportionate and unfair advantage over every other species of property. If, as the most reliable statistics affirm, there are nearly $7,000,000,000 of coin or bullion in the world, very equally divided between gold and silver, it is impossible to strike silver out of existence as money without results which will prove distressing to millions and utterly disastrous to tens of thousands.'

"Again he said: 'I believe gold and silver coin to be the money of the Constitution; indeed the money of the American people, anterior to the Constitution, which the great organic law recognized as quite independent of its own existence. No power was conferred on Congress to declare either metal should not be money. Congress has, therefore, in my judgment, no power to demonetize both. If, therefore, silver has been demonetized, I am in favor of remonetizing it. If its coinage has been prohibited, I am in favor of ordering it to be resumed. I am in favor of having it enlarged;' and

"Whereas the present Secretary of the Treasury, the Hon. John G. Carlisle, on the floor of the House of Representatives, February 21, 1878, said: 'I know that the world's stock of the precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it will ever become so. Mankind will be fortunate, indeed, if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry. According to my views of the subject, the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy, by legislation and otherwise, from three-sevenths to one-half of the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age. The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilences, and famines that ever occurred in the history of the world. The absolute and instantaneous destruction of half the entire movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads, and all other appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of the metallic money in the world;' and

"Whereas Senator JOHN SHERMAN of Ohio, who, more than any other man, is responsible for the demonetization of silver, clearly understood the evil consequences of shrinking currency below the legitimate demand of the business of the country, as evidenced by what he said in the Senate in 1889, to wit: 'The contraction of the currency is a far more distressing operation than Senators suppose. Our own and other nations have gone through that operation before. It is not possible to take that voyage without the sorest distress. To every person except a capitalist out of debt, or a salaried officer or annuitant, it is a period of loss, danger, lassitude of trade, fall of wages, suspension of enterprise, bankruptcy, and disaster. It means ruin to all dealers whose debts are one-half their business capital, though one-third less than their actual property. It means the fall of all agricultural production without any great reduction of taxes. What prudent man would dare to build a house, a railroad, a factory, or a barn with this certain fact before him?"

"Therefore, in view of all these facts, we declare:

"1. That there must be no compromise of this question. All legislation demonetizing silver and restricting the coinage thereof must be immediately and completely repealed by an act restoring the coinage of the country to the conditions established by the founders of the nation and which continued for over eighty years without complaint from any part of our people. Every hour's delay in undoing the corrupt work of Ernest Seyd and our foreign enemies is an insult to the dignity of the American people, a crushing burden on their prosperity, and an attempt to place us again under the yoke from which George Washington and his compatriots rescued us.

"We protest against the financial policy of the United States being made dependent upon the opinion or policies of any foreign government, and assert the power of this nation to stand on its own feet and legislate for itself upon all subjects.

"2. We declare that the only remedy for our metallic financial troubles is to open the mints of the nation to gold and silver on equal terms, at the old ratio of 16 of silver to 1 of gold. Whenever silver bullion can be exchanged at the mints of the United States for legal-tender silver dollars, worth 100 cents each, that moment 412½ grains of standard silver will be worth 100 cents, and as commerce equalizes the prices of all commodities throughout the world, whenever 412½ grains of standard silver are worth 100 cents in the United States they will be worth that sum everywhere else, and can not be bought for less. While it will be urged that such a result would enhance the price of silver bullion, it is sufficient for us to know that a similar increase would be immediately made in the price of every form of property, except gold and credits, in the civilized world. It would be a shallow selfishness that would deny prosperity to the mining industries at the cost of bankruptcy to the whole people. The legislation to demonetize silver has given an unjust increase to the value of gold at the cost of the prosperity of mankind. Wheat and all other agricultural products have fallen side by side with silver.

"3. That while the 'Sherman act' of July 14, 1890, was a device of the enemy to prevent the restoration of free coinage, and is greatly objectionable because it continues the practical exclusion of silver from the mints and reduces it from a money metal to a commercial commodity, nevertheless its repeal without the restoration of free coinage would stop the expansion of our currency required by our growth in population and business, widen still further the difference between the two precious metals, thus making the return to bimetallism more difficult, greatly increase the purchasing power of gold, still further break down the price of the products of the farmer, the laborer, the mechanic, and the tradesman, and plunge still further all commerce, business, and industry into such depths of wretchedness as to endanger peace, order, the preservation of free institutions, and the very maintenance of civilization. We, therefore, in the name of the Republic and of humanity, protest against the repeal of the said act of July 14, 1890, except by an act restoring free bimetallic coinage, as it existed prior to 1873. We suggest that the maintenance of bimetallism by the United States at the ratio of 16 to 1 will increase our commerce with all the silver-using countries of the world, containing two-thirds of the population of the world, without decreasing our commerce with those nations which buy our raw material, and will compel the adoption of bimetallism by the nations of Europe sooner than by any other means.

"4. We assert that the unparalleled calamities which now afflict the American people are not due to the so-called Sherman act of 1890; and in proof thereof we call attention to the fact that the same evil conditions now prevail over all the gold standard nations of the world. We are convinced that, bad as is the state of affairs in this country, it would have been still worse but for the Sherman act, by which the nation has obtained to some extent an expanding circulation to meet the demands of a community in process of colonization, and the business exigencies of the most energetic and industrious race that has ever dwelt on the earth, and we insist upon the execution of the law without evasion so long as it is upon the statute books and upon the purchase each month of the full amount of silver that it provides for, to the end that the monthly addition to the circulating medium the law secures shall be maintained.

"5. That we would call the attention of the people to the fact that in the midst of all the troubles of the time, the value of the national bonds and the national legal-tender money, whether made of gold, silver, or paper, has not fallen a particle. The distrust is not on the Government or its money, but of the banks which have, as we believe, precipitated the present panic on the country in an ill-advised effort to control the action of Congress on the sil-

ver question and the issue of bonds. We invite the bankers to attend to their legitimate business and permit the rest of the people to have their full share in the control of the Government. In this way, they will much sooner restore that confidence which is so necessary to the prosperity of the people. It must not be forgotten that, while boards of trade, chambers of commerce, bankers, and money-dealers are worthy and valuable men in their places, the Republic can more safely repose upon the great mass of its peaceful toilers and producers, and that this "business man's age" is rapidly exterminating the business men of this country. The time has come when the politics of the nation should revert as far as possible to the simple and pure condition out of which the Republic arose.

"6. We suggest for the consideration of our fellow-citizens that the refusal of the opponents of bimetallism to propose any substitute for the present law or to elaborate any plan for the future, indicate either an ignorance of our financial needs or an unwillingness to take the public into their confidence, and we denounce the attempt to unconditionally repeal the Sherman law as an attempt to secure gold monometallism in flagrant violation of the last national platform of all the political parties."

HOUSE COMMITTEES.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that there is no authority at present for the Speaker to appoint the standing committees of the House. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] desires to submit a partial report from the Committee on Rules, designating committees and authorizing their appointment. Without objection, the gentleman will be permitted to submit the report.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Let us hear it read first.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the report.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Before sending the report to the Clerk I desire to make a very few remarks. The only point in which this report in reference to the committees varies from the rules of the last House is that we have raised the membership of the Committee on Ways and Means, the Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on the Judiciary, the Committee on Banking and Currency, the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and the Committee on Agriculture from fifteen to seventeen members; and we have raised the membership of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Committee on Military Affairs, the Committee on Naval Affairs, the Committee on Public Lands, the Committee on Indian Affairs, the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, the Committee on Pacific Railroads, and the Committee on the District of Columbia from thirteen to fifteen members. These are the only changes made by the report so far as the committees are concerned.

Mr. BLAND. Has not the gentleman made a mistake in relation to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures? That committee has heretofore consisted of only thirteen members. I understood the gentleman to say it is now raised from fifteen to seventeen members; he should have said, as I understand, from thirteen to fifteen members, as I believe only two members are added.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I find that I made a mistake. I should have said that the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures is raised from thirteen to seventeen members. Under the rules as now proposed the membership will be seventeen.

There is another trivial change to which I will call the attention of the House. By the rules of the last House, if the chairman of the committee should resign or cease to act as chairman from any other cause than death, the next member in seniority on the committee became chairman, unless the committee itself elected a different member. But in case of vacancy in the chairmanship caused by death the Speaker of the House appointed the chairman. There was no sense in making a distinction between the different causes of vacancy; and if the present rule is adopted by the House the chairmanship will go to the member next in point of seniority, unless the committee elect otherwise.

With these explanations, Mr. Speaker, I send the report to the desk, and ask to have it read.

The SPEAKER. The report will be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. CATCHINGS, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following report:

The Committee on Rules, to whom were referred the rules of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-second Congress, recommend the adoption of the following rules:

1. Unless otherwise specially ordered by the House, the Speaker shall appoint, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees, viz:

On Elections, to consist of fifteen members.
On Ways and Means, to consist of seventeen members.
On Appropriations, to consist of seventeen members.
On Judiciary, to consist of seventeen members.
On Banking and Currency, to consist of seventeen members.
On Coinage, Weights, and Measures, to consist of seventeen members.
On Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to consist of seventeen members.
On Rivers and Harbors, to consist of seventeen members.
On the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, to consist of thirteen members.
On Agriculture, to consist of seventeen members.
On Foreign Affairs, to consist of fifteen members.
On Military Affairs, to consist of fifteen members.
On Naval Affairs, to consist of fifteen members.
On the Post-Office and Post-Roads, to consist of fifteen members.
On the Public Lands, to consist of fifteen members.
On Indian Affairs, to consist of fifteen members.
On the Territories, to consist of thirteen members.
On Railways and Canals, to consist of thirteen members.
On Manufactures, to consist of eleven members.
On Mines and Mining, to consist of thirteen members.
On Public Buildings and Grounds, to consist of fifteen members.
On Pacific Railroads, to consist of fifteen members.
On Levees and Improvement of the Mississippi River, to consist of thirteen members.
On Education, to consist of thirteen members.
On Labor, to consist of thirteen members.
On the Militia, to consist of thirteen members.
On Patents, to consist of thirteen members.
On Invalid Pensions, to consist of fifteen members.
On Pensions, to consist of thirteen members.
On Claims, to consist of fifteen members.
On War Claims, to consist of thirteen members.
On Private Land Claims, to consist of thirteen members.
On the District of Columbia, to consist of fifteen members.
On Revision of the Laws, to consist of thirteen members.
On Reform in the Civil Service, to consist of thirteen members.
On the Election of President, Vice-President, and Representatives in Congress, to consist of thirteen members.
On Alcoholic Liquor Traffic, to consist of eleven members.
On Irrigation of Arid Lands, to consist of eleven members.
On Immigration and Naturalization, to consist of eleven members.
On Ventilation and Acoustics, to consist of seven members.
On Expenditures in the State Department, to consist of seven members.
On Expenditures in the Treasury Department, to consist of seven members.
On Expenditures in the War Department, to consist of seven members.
On Expenditures in the Navy Department, to consist of seven members.
On Expenditures in the Post-Office Department, to consist of seven members.
On Expenditures in the Interior Department, to consist of seven members.
On Expenditures in the Department of Justice, to consist of seven members.
On Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture, to consist of seven members.
On Expenditures on Public Buildings, to consist of seven members.
On Rules, to consist of five members.
On Accounts, to consist of nine members.
On Mileage, to consist of five members.
Also the following joint standing committees, viz:
On the Library, to consist of three members.
On Printing, to consist of three members.
On Enrolled Bills, to consist of seven members.

2. He shall also appoint all select committees which shall be ordered by the House.

3. The first-named member of each committee shall be the chairman of the committee, and in his absence or being excused by the House, the next named member, and so on, as often as the case shall happen, unless the committee by a majority of its number elect a chairman.

4. The chairman shall appoint the clerk of his committee, subject to its approval, who shall be paid at public expense, the House having first provided therefor.

Mr. REED was recognized.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I understand the report which has just been made by a member of the Committee on Rules provides for the number of members who shall constitute the various committees, and in that provision is made for a Committee on Rules to consist of five members. It will be remembered the other day, Mr. Speaker, when a proposition was made to appoint the Committee on Rules, that I interposed an objection to limiting the membership to five.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] has been recognized. The Chair only recognized the gentleman from Mississippi to submit a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I am going to make it now.

The SPEAKER. The House has already fixed the membership of the Committee on Rules, and it is stated here in this report because this deals with the rule which relates to the membership of the various committees.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I beg pardon, Mr. Speaker; I understand, the other day, when my colleague proposed that the Chair should appoint the Committee on Rules, there was only authority given to appoint a committee.

The SPEAKER. But to consist of the same number as under the rules of the last House.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Objection was then attempted to be made that that membership should be increased. Now, the the same membership is repeated here, and if this report is adopted it will become a part of the rules of the House. I do not believe that we should limit ourselves to that number.

The SPEAKER. What is the gentleman's parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. If that resolution passes now, as introduced by the Committee on Rules, will the House be deprived of the power of determining the membership of that committee?

The SPEAKER. Any resolution which the Committee on Rules can present is only presented, of course, for the action of the House.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I understand that, and it is

the reason why I am calling attention to that portion of the report. The Committee on Rules should be increased.

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not understand that to be a parliamentary inquiry.

The gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] is recognized.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Does the Chair say——

The SPEAKER. The House will please be in order.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I ask this further question: Will it be in order to move to amend that report in anyway whatever?

The SPEAKER. If the gentleman gets the floor for that purpose before the previous question is ordered, it will.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I hope the Chair will accord to me that privilege.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maine——

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to interpose any objection to the adoption of the rules in question. All I desire to do is to say a word or two in the nature of a personal objection to some of the changes which are proposed. It has been for some time the custom of the House, as its membership increased, to increase the membership of the committees. It is also a very great relief to the Speaker, in the appointment of the committees, to have the numbers of some increased, especially of the prominent committees; but it has seemed to me that the limit has actually been reached already, and that this report passes the limit of what is reasonable and best for the House.

The object of appointing a committee is to have a set of men who will be free from the complications and difficulties that arise from numbers, so that they may give that careful consideration to the business of the House which is absolutely essential to the right conduct of affairs. The tendency has been of late for each part of the committee to go by itself, and to act entirely by itself, and to allow the minority nothing but the poor privilege of recording its vote. In committee work especially this is objectionable; and the increase of numbers has a tendency to cause that fault to increase.

I do not believe that it is wise to have the Committee of Ways and Means any larger than it is now. I do not believe that it is wise to have the Committee on the Judiciary any larger than it is now; and it seems to me in general that it will be a mistake to enlarge the committees. However, I do not desire to insist upon that at all. I do not desire to call for a vote. I only desire to make these remarks, as indicating my belief that it is a mistake to increase the membership of the committees so much as is done in the rule now presented.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, it is hardly necessary for me——

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] yield to his colleague to offer an amendment?

Mr. CATCHINGS. I did not know that he wanted to.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I did.

The SPEAKER. The Chair understood the gentleman to indicate that wish.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I would ask whether an objection to entertaining this proposition now would carry it over until to-morrow, and whether it would not be better to have this report published in the RECORD, in order that the House may be apprised of the character of the rules it is going to adopt?

The SPEAKER. This adopts no rules. The Chair would state to the gentleman from Mississippi that it has been the uniform custom, for many years at least, to adopt a resolution to authorize the appointment of the committees. Otherwise no single step can be taken in that direction.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I beg the pardon of the Speaker. I should be very glad to have that done, and I think it ought to be done, but I think the House ought to have a vote upon the question as to what shall constitute the number of the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER. That is precisely what the House is now proceeding to do.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, have I the floor?

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I will move——

Mr. CATCHINGS. I have not yielded to my friend to make any motion.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I see the idea is to cut off the making of any motion——

Mr. CATCHINGS. I want a vote, and demand the previous question.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. That is just the game that was played the other day. You will tie your own hands——

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that the Committee on Rules can tie no one's hands. It is for the House to take such action as it pleases.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. How is the House to get a vote upon it?

The SPEAKER. If the House refuses to sustain the demand for the previous question, then the whole question will be open; and it is not a question that the Committee on Rules controls. It is for the House.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I very much hope that the House will do that, in order that we may have the power of amendment.

The SPEAKER. And if not, the complaint is with the House and not with the Committee on Rules.

Mr. CATCHINGS. The gentleman has proposed a similar amendment before, which has been rejected by this House, Congress after Congress. I demand the previous question.

The question being taken on ordering the previous question, the Speaker announced that the "ayes" seemed to have it.

On a division (demanded by Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi) there were—ayes 125, noes 9.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I ask for tellers.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman make the point that no quorum has voted?

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Yes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER] makes the point that no quorum has voted, and tellers are ordered. The Chair appoints as tellers Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi and Mr. CATCHINGS.

The House divided; and pending the report of tellers

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi said: Mr. Speaker, I do not want to interrupt debate any further, and therefore withdraw the point of no quorum.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi withdraws the point of no quorum. The ayes have it, the previous question is ordered, and the question is on agreeing to the report.

The report was agreed to.

SILVER.

The House resumed consideration of the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, under the rule governing this debate I believe it is stated that where either side wishes the House will take a recess from 5 o'clock until 8. I wish that order to be made.

The SPEAKER. In that connection the Chair will be glad to state to the House that unless there are some night sessions and gentlemen are willing to speak at these sessions, it will be impossible within the time fixed to accommodate all gentlemen who have expressed a desire to speak upon this question. The Chair is seeking to equalize the time so far as possible, and in that connection would state that such debate as is had at night sessions will not be charged against either side, as would the debate had in the daytime.

Either side may debate at night, and the Chair will try to have an equality of the time at night, but where the speakers are all on one side at night the Chair would not charge that in such a way to effect the debate as to work an unequal division of the day debate. The Chair understands there are at least two speakers for to-night, perhaps more; and, therefore, on the request made by the gentleman to the Chair, the House will take a recess at 5 o'clock until 8, under the order heretofore made.

Mr. HAINES. Mr. Speaker, it is with the greatest diffidence that I rise to address the House on the great question under consideration. I am not unfamiliar with the unwritten law of the House that a new member "should be seen and not heard." I am not unaware of my deficiencies, my inexperience, and the difficulties involved in a question on which so many able men of the same party, and in both parties, differ. I do not flatter myself that I can add much that is material to what has already been said and written on the subject, or that I can anticipate anything yet to be said by the eminent men whom we are to hear before the close of the debate.

But this question is one of such vital importance to my State, and my own immediate constituents take so keen, so anxious, and so active an interest in its proper settlement that I feel constrained to express myself here in regard to it, however conscious I may be of my inability to fully cope with the great and intricate matters involved in the discussion. While the district I have the honor to represent is not by any means the most populous in the State of New York, yet its population is nearly as great as the aggregate population of three Western States which will have six votes in passing on this bill when it reaches the Senate. It is a district that has given to the country two of the greatest Americans of the nineteenth century—Martin Van Buren and Samuel J. Tilden: it exercises within its limits almost all the industries to which the country owes its wealth—agriculture, manufacture, shipping; interests entitled to every consideration and respect. At the present moment its agriculture and its commerce are languishing, its factories are shutting

down, its mechanics and laboring men are suffering in enforced idleness, and their families are in want.

This distress is the result of the semipanic which has prevailed throughout the country for the past six weeks. It is the universal belief in my State that this panic has resulted largely, if not altogether, from the operation of the law which the bill under consideration proposes to repeal. I was amazed when I heard the distinguished member from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] say that this panic is a factitious panic, manufactured by Wall street for the purpose of having Congress pass a measure that would demonetize silver. These attacks on Wall street are pure demagogism, and are unworthy so eminent and so upright a Democrat as the member from Missouri. These attacks are read with amazement in my State, where the operations of Wall street are known and understood and under constant observation.

An attack on Wall street is an attack on the financial system of the country. Wall street is the savings bank of the nation. It is to Wall street that the various sections of the country send their loanable surplus, and from there that surplus is redistributed throughout the country where capital is needed for the development of every industry. It is from Wall street that the silver men of the West procured the capital with which to open up their mines; and it is there they procured many millions of dollars to open up mines which they afterwards forgot to open up.

It is curious that if Wall street is responsible for the prevailing panic that panic should have commenced in the West. It is in the West that nearly all the great failures have taken place. It is there that great commercial houses, innumerable banks, and bankers have closed their doors; and it is to Wall street that those which still remain standing look for aid to save them from disaster. The greater part of the securities of the railroads of the United States are held in Wall street, if by Wall street is meant the money centers of the East, New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. Within the last three months those securities have constantly been depreciating, until now they are down many hundreds of millions below the values they had last April.

To say that the great financiers, the men most vitally and directly interested in such matters, should deliberately undertake to create a panic by which such vast losses should accrue to them and their clients, seems to me a monstrous absurdity. I think, therefore, that these senseless attacks should be discontinued. They serve no useful purpose; they do not enlighten us in regard to the questions we have to dispose of, and they tend to create a sectional feeling which every honest Representative should deplore.

It makes very little difference, however, what may be the section from which the panic started and what may be the cause of it, except in so far as by regarding the cause we may thereby the better be enabled to consider the wisest way out of it. As I have said, in the East it is considered that the principal cause of this condition of things is the enforced purchase of silver by the United States Treasury, pursuant to the Sherman act, and the consequent decrease in the quantity of gold held by the Government and by the banks of the country to meet our obligations which we have undertaken to pay in gold.

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] admits that every piece of paper money issued in this country to-day, every bond, every certificate, is to be redeemed in gold, and that we must procure the gold for their redemption. How it is possible we can pay these obligations in gold, in view of the rate at which gold has been leaving the country for the last six years, is something which thus far nobody has undertaken to show. Three times more gold has been taken out of the country during that period than has been imported, notwithstanding that in the meantime the average balance of trade has been enormously in favor of the United States.

The expert financiers of the country, men whose whole lives have been passed in studying these questions, who were led to study them not for the purpose of fulfilling the duties of a Representative in Congress, but because their most vital interests are involved in them, together with the interests of their clients and patrons—these men, whose opinions, it seems to me, are entitled to as much weight as the opinions of the most eminent experts in this House, unanimously attribute this condition of things to the operation of the Sherman law.

Statistics show that we will be unable to pay our obligations in gold if that law continues. They also show that the capitalists and investors in Europe who had placed their money in our securities, believe that we will be unable to meet our obligations and pay them in gold; and hence they have been disposing of their securities and getting rid of American stocks and bonds before the time comes when, as it is considered inevitable, the American Government and the American railroad companies will be unable to meet the demands made upon them, to fulfill their obligations by the payment of them in the coin which, among capitalists and investors, is considered the only standard of value.

It seems to me that the first thing for this House to do is to repeal the law which has brought about this distrust of American securities. Whether silver shall be demonetized; whether we shall have a single standard or a double standard; whether the United States shall be monometallist or bimetallist, and, if bimetallist, what shall be the ratio between gold and silver, and how the defects in the currency shall be remedied, are all questions which can be determined at the proper time. This extra session was not called for the purpose of determining all these questions. As the immediate cause of the distrust now prevailing is the operation of the Sherman act, it was for the purpose of considering whether or not the purchasing clause of the Sherman act should be repealed that the session was called, and the country regards that as the principal purpose for which this extra session is pending.

The people of my section of the country are for the repeal of the purchasing clause of that act absolutely and without condition; and all these questions collateral to the main issue which have been raised here can be settled in due time. It may be that the repeal of the purchasing clause of this act is an insufficient remedy, and will not bring the country back to the state of prosperity it was in a short time ago. But inasmuch as, whether rightly or wrongly, the people regard the operation of that clause as the main cause of the present distress, the first thing to do is to restore confidence by stopping its operation, and thereby at least take one step towards bringing the country back to a sound financial condition.

The main objection to the bill now before the House, raised by the gentleman from Missouri and those who think with him, is that the result will be to demonetize silver. That is the burden of their remarks, and they threaten to secede from the Democratic party if the platform of the party in that respect is not adhered to. I have been unable to see upon what ground it is claimed by those gentlemen that the Democratic party seeks to demonetize silver. The operation of the Sherman act has been disastrous. The business men of the country, whether Democrats or Republicans, whether monometallists or bimetallists, are clamoring for its repeal; and it seems to me singularly unfortunate that these gentlemen who are acting with the gentleman from Missouri should involve the simple question of repeal or no repeal by calling upon us to discuss their pet theories in regard to silver and gold as standards of value.

These gentlemen may be right or they may be wrong in their ideas in regard to whether gold or silver should be kept upon a parity, and what may be the ratio of value between them; but this is not the time to consider such questions. The Democratic party is not seeking to demonetize silver because it seeks to repeal an act which both Republicans and Democrats consider unjust and monstrous; and while the country is waiting for relief from this iniquitous measure these gentlemen are taking up the time and bewildering the country by raising questions, some of which are not disputed and all of which are out of place in this discussion, as bearing only slightly or collaterally on the main question to be considered.

There are so many people in this country and so many Representatives in Congress, among both Republicans and Democrats, opposed to the demonetization of silver that the fears of the member for Missouri in this respect are altogether unfounded. That gentleman undertakes to say that if this bill is passed it will be regarded by the people of the country as a demonetization of silver, and that thereby the people of the vast regions west of the Mississippi will be deprived of the money to open up new railroads, to establish new factories, to operate new places of business, and to inaugurate new industries; that they will, in fact, be deprived of money and be ruined.

With all due respect to that distinguished gentleman, this talk seems to me absurd; and it would appear to me to be entitled to no consideration at all, if it did not come from a person of his weight and eminence. The capital necessary to build up the new industries of the West must come from the East, and the East is clamoring for the repeal of the law, the repeal of which the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] thinks will beggar the West. Is not the prosperity of the East largely dependent upon the prosperity of the West? Has not Wall street vast sums of money invested in the West? Is not Wall street affected by financial disturbances in the West? Is not Wall street bound to uphold the West and to aid it whenever it is in financial distress, for its own sake, if not for the sake of the West?

How, then, can it be truthfully said that the Eastern Democrats, who represent the capital of the East, have been guilty of a trick upon the Democrats of the West and Southwest, in presenting the measure now before the House before tariff reform is brought forward for consideration? The business troubles of the country have an apparent cause, visible to every one. This cause should first be removed before other questions are brought up for consideration; and it will be time enough for the gentleman from Missouri and those who think with him to con-

demn the Democrats of the East when they put themselves upon record in this House, by the presentation of measures or opposition to measures presented by others, in contravention of the pledges of the Chicago platform. It does not appear that these gentlemen, who threaten the Democratic party with secession under certain contingencies, are opposed to the measure before the House, in so far as it repeals the purchasing clause of the Sherman act.

The gentleman from Missouri, in his remarks, either directly or impliedly admitted over and over again that the Sherman act is bad in principle. He admits, for instance, that the value of silver, like that of every other commodity, should be governed by the law of supply and demand; and hence a law which compels the Government, without regard to the law of supply and demand, to purchase a certain quantity of a given commodity is radically vicious. He failed to explain upon what principle he claims that we are bowing our necks meekly to the yoke of Wall street because we are seeking to repeal a law which the gentleman himself condemns. His principal argument, and the principal argument of all those who are of the same opinion, is that the demonetization of silver, which they assume will result from the passage of this act, will contract the currency to an extent that the conduct of the business of the West and the opening up of new enterprises in that section of the country will be no longer possible, and widespread ruin will be the result.

In answer to this argument, it is sufficient to point out the condition of things at present in the principal money centres of the United States. At this moment banks in the city of New York of world-wide reputation, possessing assets which even in times like these are valued at from five hundred to a thousand cents on the dollar, have refused to honor the checks of their depositors by paying them in currency, without regard to the accounts of their depositors. In other words, banks of undoubted responsibility, banks whose assets entitle them to claim that they are able to pay dollar for dollar with as much confidence as the United States can claim that they are able to pay dollar for dollar of their bonds, have in effect suspended payment by reason of a lack of currency to meet the demands made upon them.

If this condition of things has taken place at this date, when silver has not been demonetized, when the Democrats of the East have not yet acted in a manner to lead these gentlemen to believe that they are going to go back on their platform pledges, and when this has apparently been brought about by the operation of a law which these gentlemen concede to be unjust, yet place obstacles in the way of its repeal, it is plainly a deduction suggested by common sense, without regard to financial learning, that, assuming, as it seems to have been generally assumed, that the great financial institutions of the city of New York have been restricted in their operation by reason of a lack of currency in consequence of this obnoxious law, no worse condition of things can happen if the law is repealed; and the repeal, if it will at least restore confidence to that section of the country which has in its possession the largest amount of the currency of the country, that much will be gained by its repeal, that confidence will be restored in the East and reflected back upon the West in a manner that must effectually, if it will accomplish nothing else, at least stop the disasters which are occurring in the West from day to day.

The East is suffering from a lack of currency arising from the operation of the Sherman bill. The gentleman from Missouri anticipates that if the bill is repealed without restriction there will be a lack of currency in the West. The East is appealing to Congress to remedy an evil already existing, and this gentleman opposes their demand from an anticipation of an evil that may never exist; and if, instead of attacking the East and the so-called agencies of the "money kings" of Lombard street, this gentleman and those who think like him would comprehend that the United States is not only a political entity but a financial entity too, and that what is injurious to one section must necessarily reflect back injuriously on the other, they must come to the conclusion that it is just as necessary for the prosperity of the West that the East should be contented with the financial condition of things and the laws by which they are governed as the West itself; and they will then find it easy to come to the conclusion that it was necessary to the prosperity of all sections that the East and the West should be in accord on questions of the character now before us. And where a difference of opinion might arise it is respectfully submitted that it is that section of the country which has the money to expend that should be first considered rather than that section of the country which has not the money, but which looks to the other as the source of its capital.

The question which presents itself, therefore, it seems to me, is this: Both the East and the West, with the exception of the few owners of silver mines, agree that the act which the bill before the House in effect shall repeal is a vicious bill, largely if not altogether responsible for the disasters under which the country is suffering. The East asks that the bill shall be repealed. The West concedes that it ought to be repealed, but should be repealed with restrictions and provisos. The East says that it is necessary, in order that we shall recover stability, that the repeal shall take place at once. These gentlemen from the West say: "No; you must consider these other questions at the same time." And in the meanwhile hundreds and hundreds of thousands of mechanics and laborers are obliged to be idle, values are decreasing or are being wiped out altogether, so that widespread distress is suffered by widows and orphans and by institutions whose income is derived from the various industries that are affected by this confusion. While the two parties are haggling, not over principles, but over questions of expediency, the people are suffering losses that they can never recover.

These very gentlemen who raise the cry against Wall street are playing into the hands of professional speculators; they are wiping out the values on the property of permanent investors and throwing their earnings and their savings into the hands of speculators, who will absorb to themselves the results of the beneficial legislation which will ultimately be carried out, but which is now delayed in order that we may listen to the harangues of theorists, of men governed perhaps by principle, but who have no money at stake, and who are playing to the galleries when they ought to take a broad and liberal view of the interests of the whole country, and act in accordance with the dictates of patriotism and common sense.

It may be asked: If this bill is repealed what shall we do with these questions that have been raised by those who are opposed to its repeal without restrictions? These gentlemen provide the answer themselves, viz: The practice adopted by the most experienced governments of Europe, namely, the appointment of commissions composed of the most intelligent and expert financiers of their respective countries, to whom shall be committed the task of finding an answer to the questions presented. This is what should be done here. Let us repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. Let us appoint a commission composed of the most eminent persons in this House and the Senate, and of the various interests outside Congress to be affected by such matters.

Let them investigate and report their conclusions, and thus we may be enabled to get an intelligent idea as to what should be done for the purpose of maintaining the parity between gold and silver, of ascertaining whether or not an international agreement may not be reached by the nations affected, and a currency created and maintained at once staple and elastic, and such as will command the confidence of the country and the world. Thus, at least, we shall restore confidence. We shall bring from the safes and the safe-deposit vaults the currency which has been taken from the banks within the last six weeks, and this money, once more finding its natural course in the channels of commerce, will place our banks in a normal condition, will open up our factories, our mines, and set our various industries once again in motion. And a wise and conservative Congress, without regard to party affiliations, considering the subsequent questions, not in the face of a panic, but under the normal condition of things which the natural prosperity of the country warrants, will find the remedy for all the evil suggested, and find an answer to all the questions raised by those who are to-day presenting obstacles to the fulfillment of the desires of the business people in all sections of this country—that the purchasing clause of the Sherman act shall be repealed. [Applause.]

Mr. ENGLISH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I stand here in a position peculiar and perplexing. I do not quite agree with the parties on either side of the House. I do not agree with the unometallists of the gold stripe, nor with the unometallists of the silver stripe; for I am a bimetallist, and as such I shall vote for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law.

I shall vote for the repeal, because the law is vicious of itself, based on a wrong principle, has defeated the object which its friends assumed it would attain, and is a bar to that international monetary agreement, which, in my judgment, in the condition that England has placed herself by her blundering Indian policy, will otherwise be brought about. Whenever that bar be removed, when the countries of the world agree upon a ratio between gold and silver, then we may safely coin, not the dollar of our fathers, which never was in any great amount, but the silver and gold of our fathers. But when I vote for the repeal of the law I do not vote for it for a moment holding that it will be a panacea for our ills, for its repeal will not restore that confidence which we lack if unaccompanied by other measures.

I have a great respect for the opinion of the President of the United States. I have read his message; but I have read it between the lines. I am satisfied that he is actually and really a bimetallist, whenever we can return to our old system without

injury to the public and without debasing the dollar. I am not in the confidence of the President; I do not know him personally; I have no favors to ask of him, because in my district, happily, there are very few place-hunters; but I have confidence from his record in his sagacity and honor, and I think him sagacious enough to know that the mere repeal of this measure will not reach the causes of the present disaster; and I have such confidence in his honor that I believe at the proper time, so far as he is concerned, he will redeem every pledge of the platform, and these attacks made upon him in this House are ill-timed and unjust.

I have this to say: That not only is the purchasing clause of the Sherman act not the most potent factor in producing the present commercial distress, but, on the contrary, it has been conservative, the only silver lining to the dark cloud, as I shall proceed to show in the few minutes I shall consume of the time of the House.

Look back into the history of this country. Remember that in 1815 we had a panic. We had a lull the next year, followed in 1817 by another and greater panic. Twenty years after, in 1835 and 1837, we had the same. Twenty years later, in 1855 and 1857, we had another. In 1873 it leaped two years, but twenty years after 1873 we have the same condition of things.

The remote occasions which we are apt to lose sight of in these panics are plain enough. They are to be found in the overtrading and overspeculating of the people, and we become optimists: and as Americans, rush into methods and channels of profit which the foreigner does not rush in, or approaches with great caution.

The result is disastrous. We fail to note the remote occasions but merely look at the causes; and you can easily see what are the causes of this disaster—the many causes. The purchasing clause was one, but among the other causes one seems to have been lost sight of in this House. In 1890 our friends, the enemy, created a new tariff policy by regrading the duties on imports. We were told that that would check importation, that it would build up a home market, that it would make American industries prosperous.

The people of the country did not think so, and what has happened has justified them. Mark you, in 1891 there was an increase of importations. That was natural enough. Importers were rushing in to secure the advantage of low duties. But in 1892 it seemed that what the friends of the tariff had claimed for it had come to pass, for in that year there were of imports only $827,000,000, while there were of exports $1,030,000,000. There was a balance of trade in our favor of $203,000,000.

Now, that looked very charming, but in 1893 the importations rose to the enormous amount, unprecedented in our history, of $941,000,000, and the exports shrunk so that there was a balance of trade against us of $94,000,000, making a total in the two years of $297,000,000, change. There is one of the causes of your present distress. But the immediate and the greatest cause lay in the action of the national banks.

In 1882 there were $352,000,000 of national-bank currency. The banks began to contract, to put on the screws regularly year by year, and in 1892 they had contracted their currency $185,000,000. Against that, fortunately, so far as the actual deficiency of currency was concerned, came in the only good result that ever could be credited to the Sherman law; it gave us one hundred and forty-five millions of currency, leaving the actual deficiency only forty millions.

Now, it was this contraction, going on steadily, which the people saw at first without consideration, then with careful thought, and finally with alarm, that produced the hoarding of money. That hoarding withdrew large amounts from the banks and placed them with the safe-deposit companies, and among the masses of the people savings were withdrawn from the banks and placed between mattresses and behind looking-glasses and in other like places of concealment.

That is what has produced the currency famine under which we are suffering to-day, and it is for that reason that the farmers of the West and the South—and I do not blame them for getting wild when they think of it—have lost millions of dollars by the fall of prices, being unable to get currency to move their crops to the seaboard until the prices became so low and beggarly that John Bull began to come in with his gold. Mr. Speaker, what we want are remedies for these evils, practical remedies.

Now that you have thousands and thousands of men out of work, with hunger threatening them and their families, now that you hear the cry of "bread or blood," and when you know that it is based on real suffering and is no mere braggadocio on the part of these desperate men, you have got to resort to some other measures besides the repeal of this law. With it, supplementarily or conjunctively, you have to do it. I am no doctor of finance. There are a great many gentlemen in the country who write D. F. after their names, but I am not ambitious of doing that, because I have sometimes found that the letters do not stand with the populace for "doctor of finance," but are taken to mean two other words which I should not care to have applied to me. [Laughter.]

But, while we have two physicians quarreling over the patient, while the whole country is in the condition of a sick man who is moribund, while Dr. Gold Bug, on the one side, says that the only way to relieve the patient from his sufferings is to administer the gold cure, and Dr. Free Coinage, on the other side, tells us that he never will recover unless he gets large doses of silver—while this controversy between the doctors is going on the patient is dying, or at least his strength is sinking; he needs tonics, and I think that under the circumstances an irregular practitioner may be pardoned for coming in with nostrums. [Laughter]. Therefore, if I may have the privilege, I will suggest what I would do had I the power of controlling the legislation of this House.

In the first place I would not repeal absolutely the tax on the State banks, as has been suggested, I see, in the other House of Congress, but I would make this provision. In my own State of New Jersey, and I believe in New York and other States, recently in Georgia and North Carolina, laws have been enacted by which no bank can issue notes without providing a basis for their redemption in bonds, approved by the governor and the financial officers of the State. From that New Jersey law the national-bank system was borrowed, and it is as good a law to-day as it was then.

Therefore had I the power I would pass a law providing that when banks of any State gave sufficient security for their currency, so as to avoid the danger of inflicting wild-cat or red-dog upon us any more; that when they provided such security to the satisfaction of the Comptroller of the Currency, and it was duly certified and approved by him, the Secretary of the Treasury should be empowered and directed to cause to be paid a rebate of 85 per cent of the 10 per cent tax, thus placing the State banks on a level as to taxation with the national banks.

I would do that in order to hold a rod over the national banks, who are now making the Treasury work night and day in order that there may be brought back some of the money they have withdrawn from circulation. Furthermore, I would have all the bullion in the Treasury that was not there to meet absolute obligations, coined—not into dollars (whose legal-tender power I would not disturb), but into half-dollars of the present weight and fineness. For mark you, there are currencies and currencies.

The currency of everyday life, the currency of trade, is a currency mainly of tokens. Its intrinsic value is of very little consequence. To-day two half-dollars do not contain as much silver as one standard dollar, but do you know any man outside of a lunatic asylum, did you ever find a man anywhere, who when you offered him two half-dollars in purchase of goods would say to you, "My dear sir, there is too little silver in these; give me a standard dollar." These coins come into your hands and they go just as the filthy, disease-breeding notes do; nobody looks at them. How many of you have circulated counterfeited notes without knowing it? I have no doubt I have been within range of the penitentiary unwittingly a dozen times in my life. [Laughter.] But I would also prohibit the issue of any Treasury note or other noninterest-bearing obligation under the denomination of five dollars.

With these measures you would at once bring relief in the way of currency, and you would give confidence by the repeal of this purchasing power. Of course we want in this country, as in every country, a system by which we can regulate the currency according to the needs of the people—expand it as desired and contract it if necessary. I do not know of any better mode of solving that problem than that which was first suggested, I believe, by the late President Garfield, and which has been adopted, I understand, by a distinguished member of this House; that is, that the holder of a United States bond shall be authorized to take it to the Treasury and receive United States notes for it, the interest ceasing from that moment, and when he has no more occasion for the money shall be allowed to come back and buy his bond at the same rate at which he sold it. I think this would be a very excellent thing conjunctively or as a supplement to the other measures.

But I tell you plainly—and you know I have not indulged in crimination or recrimination, because I think with the present distress around us anything of that kind is a very bad thing to do—something like Nero fiddling while Rome was burning—I say plainly that if in the present temper of the public you adjourn this Congress without the repeal of the purchasing clause or repealing it, without supplementary legislation to relieve the wants and distresses of the public and to restore confidence, I tell you plainly you will hear from the people in thunder tones. [Applause.]

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, I wish I could convey to you

and to the House the feeling of profound diffidence with which I rise to speak on this question. I do not envy any man his temper, though I may envy him his courage, who could rise and address the House of Representatives of the United States for the first time with a feeling of confidence and boldness and security in himself. It must be, it can not but be, a frightening and depressing task for the moment. It is not merely respect to my distinguished colleagues who have been here, some of them, for many years—it is not merely the memory of the great men who have spoken actually within these walls that overwhelms me, but there comes to me, Mr. Speaker, the thought of those whose honor and whose fame is dearer to me than my own, who spoke in that old Hall that is now filled with the statues of the illustrious dead, and the fear that I may not say what is worthy of those whom I have known and loved, who spoke there of old, that makes me feel like taking my seat before you in the very instant that I arise.

I ought, as a new member, to ask the indulgence of those around me. But I see how readily it is given. I have already found out in these few days that this House is ready with the utmost generosity and kindness to receive every new member and to make him feel like one of yourselves. And I think in behalf of the new members that this confidence is not misplaced. I think that the new members whom we have already heard from on this question have shown that they are worthy of their position.

The gentleman from Colorado [Mr. PENCE] who spoke second in this debate, my friend from New York [Mr. HENDRIX] who represented the banking interest and who showed in his speech that the genius and enterprise of the bankers are not greater than their honor and their candor, my colleague from Massachusetts [Mr. MCCALL] who represents the district in which Harvard College stands, and who, although not a graduate of Harvard, has proved himself thoroughly worthy to speak for the district in which that college stands—all these new members have shown on this floor that they are worthy of the indulgence that the House has so kindly extended to them.

I have to ask greater indulgence than those members, Mr. Speaker. I have had absolutely no experience in legislative life. This is not only the first time I address this House; it is the first time that I stand at my age to speak to any legislative assembly whatever; and I say fairly to the more experienced gentlemen here, I am not their master or their equal or anything like it in legislative fence. It is perfectly possible for any old member here, by judicious questions and well-thought-out interruptions, to deposit me in a cavity out of which I should find it difficult to rise. [Laughter.] If they will allow me, therefore, to make my first effort without resorting to those entirely parliamentary methods of debate, perhaps I shall be able to learn under their experienced tuition to bother and be bothered as well as the oldest member here.

And I feel another difficulty, sir, which many members, I think, must have already felt—that long before I rose my speech has been spoken a great many times over. The work was begun by my friend from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER], in front of whom I have the honor to have a seat. He made my speech in the first quarter of an hour that he spoke. The work was taken up after him by several friends from New York, by my friend from Ohio [Mr. HARTER], who has the reputation of being almost as great a "crank" as I am myself [laughter]; and finally my friend from Florida [Mr. COOPER] made exactly my speech in exactly so many words. And I was delighted to think of it because he, coming from the orange groves of Florida which my father, when I was a child, taught me to think bore the very best oranges in the world, made exactly the same speech; he pictured exactly the same condition of financial suffering; he showed exactly the same distress among all classes, and he drew from it the same inference that I do, representing the old Bay State.

And I am delighted to find that Massachusetts and the extreme Southern State of Florida, that the neighborhood of Boston and the neighborhood of St. Augustine, are suffering in the same way and see the same remedy for their distress. If the extreme South and the extreme Northeast shake hands over this question, I am sure there can be no doubt that we are both in the right.

Now, sir, these gentlemen and many others have presented in a most eloquent and learned way the entire argument as it is derived from books, as it is derived from financial experience, for the repeal of this clause of the Sherman law; and on the other side the gentlemen who are opposed to the repeal of this section, or who favor the free coinage of silver under one ratio or another, or who favor a return to the Bland-Allison law, have presented their economic views and arguments at great length—at great length, sir, and with great ability, and I doubt not with great honesty. I should be ashamed to contest the honesty of the views of any man who is opposed to me. I only claim in behalf of myself and of those whom I represent that we shall be credited with the same honesty of purpose when we advocate the repeal of these clauses and when we oppose the free coinage of silver that they claim for themselves.

I believe that this argument has been stated too often on both sides for the necessity of repeating it. At all events, sir, no one need expect a repetition of these arguments from me. No one need suppose that I get up here as a master of economic science; that I have studied a great many books on the silver question, and other economic subjects, and can lay them on my desk and turn to the dog's-eared pages. It is nothing of the kind. I pretend to no mastery of financial science. I can only give my views of the immediate necessity from what circumstances, that are open to every man to see, have forced upon me. I can only come here and vote as my constituents tell me, because I agree with them and I believe that they are right.

These arguments are well enough, sir, at certain times. If Congress had met at its ordinary time of meeting, on the first Monday in December; if we were called on then to prepare a plan to settle the question of finances in the United States permanently, or even for many years, the arguments to convince one side or the other would no doubt be in place, for the questions to be considered should be heard and discussed at length. But we have been called together for a purpose; not that purpose. We have been called together for no discussion. We have come here to act. From the moment that Mr. Cleveland began his Administration the financial distress began to prevail throughout the land.

It got worse and worse, and presently a popular demand arose that Congress should be called together earlier than the usual time for the purpose of applying an immediate legislative remedy to the distress that has been pressing upon us. The constituency I represent, the section of country I represent, has heard all of these things discussed before. It has heard the arguments of the free silver men, of the bimetallists, and of the gold monometallists. It has read them, it has pondered upon them; and now, having formed its opinion, it comes and calls on Congress to take hold, an immediate hold, and, in a case of pressing need like this, to apply an immediate remedy; and then, later on, when we have had time for more discussion, we can consider more effectively what is to be the permanent treatment of this great subject.

The President, Mr. Speaker, has responded to the call ably. The President as the great Executive of this great country has come up manfully and nobly to the full mark of his duty, as when did he ever fail to do? And now, having done his duty in a way to call forth the admiring remarks from newspapers of every party, and in every part of the country, he leaves it to us to take hold of this great question, to take hold of it and apply a remedy. Now, sir, I repeat, the people want action and that immediately. But how? Who are the people? Why, sir, as near as I can make it out every Representative in this House is firmly convinced that his constituency is the people, that whatever his constituency want the people want, and that the wish of every other member is a matter of no consequence, but that if he could poll them, the people, they would agree with the very constituency he himself represents.

That is fair enough, sir; I am not angry with any member who thinks that his constituency is the whole people. But this is what I claim, that my constituency has just as much right to be considered the whole people as any other man's constituency in the United States.

It is very easy to call hard names, Mr. President—Mr. Speaker, to be Mr. President. [Laughter and applause.—Mr. OUTHWAITE in the chair.] Most unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, the English language, like every other language spoken, is richer in terms of vituperation than in any other substantives, and if anybody has firmly determined that he will ransack the Bible, and Shakespeare, and Byron, and the variety of anonymous writers for vituperative epithets to apply to anybody who differs with him, it is the easiest thing in the world to find a stock of them.

I am determined, sir, to take no such course. Hard words have been thrown at Massachusetts in this discussion. The old Bay State has been subjected to a great many old and to a great many new taunts; and I have been wondering when the burning of witches was to come in, for I thought it must come sooner or later. [Laughter.] Perhaps the antagonists of Massachusetts have found out by this time that we never burned any witches at all.

But, sir, would it not be nice now to get a Massachusetts man, a supporter of Mr. Cleveland, to reply to the hard things that have been said? Would it not be nice, if a man was elected on the Democratic ticket from Massachusetts, and at the same time was voting with the Republicans of Massachusetts—would it not be nice, by a series of hard names, to compel that man to rise to his feet in sharp reply, and either offend his colleagues in the

Democratic party or else offend his colleagues in New England who were all standing together? There again is another cavity in which I do not intend to be deposited, Mr. Speaker. [Laughter.] Massachusetts can afford not to reply to attacks. Massachusetts has been called hard names for considerably more than a hundred years, and when many of the States that she has helped to settle and to build up and bring forward were a howling wilderness. They are not a wilderness now, but I sometimes think some howling comes from them. [Laughter.]

But we do not intend to reply to these hard names. Massachusetts men intend, in their party or out of their party, to go on and do what they believe is for the interests of the whole country, and they believe that in time the whole country will come around to their opinion.

But, sir, it is not right, in this Congress of the United States, this attempt to set up section against section and quarter against quarter, and to be talking of the South and West as if they were something opposed to New England and the Middle States.

Why, Mr. Speaker, these very gentlemen who use that language appeal to our patriotism. They call upon us to stand for America against Europe. They ask us to maintain pure American independent theories against the opinions of foreign countries. And how are they going to have a united America against Europe or against Asia or against Africa? How are they going to make every American act with his brothers if they proceed in the next sentence to array the South and West against New England, and try to show that the Union is divided against itself? We are not divided against ourselves, Mr. Speaker. Massachusetts is not the enemy of the South and the West. She is their friend and their sister.

Why, sir, the people of my State are crowding to the exhibition at Chicago. They delight to see that that great city has the wealth and the power and the will to attract to her white halls on her new and better Venice the delighted spectators from every country of the world. No State rejoices in that exhibition more than Massachusetts does, and she is proud of it, because she remembers that when Chicago sank in the flames, she assisted the starving citizens with immediate aid; and when Chicago began to arise from her ashes, her capital helped that glorious city to revive; and every man from Boston takes a personal pride when he walks along the avenues of that magnificent city and feels that he is as much at home there as he is in his own New England.

No, sir, you can not make us quarrel with you. We will not do it, no matter how much we may differ in opinions.

Just so, I do not like this trying to set class against class; the poor man against the rich man, the debtor class against the creditor class. It is a cardinal principle of the Democracy that there are and can be no classes in this country.

Most of the gentlemen who have spoken in this debate have informed the House very carefully that they were bimetallists, or monometallists, silver monometallists, or gold monometallists.

I wish to announce, Mr. Speaker, in the beginning of my remarks, and to have it remembered in any remarks that in the future I may have the honor of offering to this House, that I am not an "ist" at all. I am not attached to any "ism." I believe the city of Boston and the country around it is supposed to be rife in "isms." I believe there is a theory that all the "isms" that ever existed in the world sprang up in the neighborhood of Boston. I have the honor to live in the city of Quincy, and that, I believe, has produced more cranks than any other city of the same size in the United States. [Laughter.] And among those cranks it produced two Presidents of the United States, who were born and whose bones are buried there.

But, sir, I am not an "ist." I have no views on the subject of currency that I am not perfectly willing to change if the circumstances of the nation require me to. It is entirely in vain to settle the issues of the present day by appeals to what Mr. Jefferson or Gen. Hamilton thought in 1792, or what Mr. Madison thought in 1816, or what Mr. Webster thought in 1835, or what Secretary Carlisle thought in 1878. The question is what we need now. The question is what the present circumstances require to heal the present wounds, and then at the proper time we will try to restore the patient to health. I should like on that point to remind my friends from the Southern States, all the way from North Carolina and Texas, of certain incidents in the life of John C. Calhoun.

Mr. John C. Calhoun was a great friend of the later United States Bank. He was opposed to the policy of Gen. Jackson on finance, and stood side by side with New England and Pennsylvania in those discussions. In the year 1838, when the great crisis of 1837 had turned men's thoughts as they never had perhaps been turned before to the question of the circulating medium, the bill commonly called the subtreasury bill was brought forward by Mr. Van Buren's Administration and those in his confidence.

Mr. Calhoun, who had hitherto been known as an opponent of that policy, came forward and supported the subtreasury policy of Mr. Van Buren's Administration. It caused profound grief in the hearts of his friends. Mr. Webster, in that ancient Chamber, expressed in terms of affectionate banter his regret that the Senator from South Carolina had changed sides.

Well, sir, time went on. The National Bank of the United States that Mr. Calhoun formerly favored went entirely out of public favor, and is utterly a dead thing, a mere matter of history, at the present day. The subtreasury bill, which became an act, and was then, I believe, repealed and reenacted—that subtreasury system that Mr. Calhoun advocated in 1838—became the law of the land, and is practically the law of the land to this day. The fears and hopes of its enemies and friends alike proved fallacious. Now, was Mr. Calhoun to be taunted with his former views? Will anybody say Mr. Calhoun was not honest, when the fact that he was an honest statesman was proved by the confession of his opponents. Will anybody say that Mr. Calhoun was not an able man? Why, he was a statesman of the first order of genius; but he thought in 1838 that a thing was right that he did not think was right in 1833.

Mr. Speaker, that is the way of every great statesman who has had influence and authority in the United States. It is not by tying yourself down to a particular platform and particular utterance that you will be a great man; it is not by adopting a theory and sticking to it through all the revolutions of time; it is not by tying yourself to the anchor that you will be saved when shipwreck is impending; it is by noting which way the gale blows, and setting your sail and helm like the skilfull mariner, that the ship can be guided in the right direction.

Now, in this case I can only vote as my people say. I can only follow their instructions, I may say their orders, when I agree with them, and I believe they are right.

If the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SIBLEY] is correct in his new census of the United States; if there are 67,000,000 of people who want the free coinage of silver and only 24,000 who wish the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act [laughter]; if it is really true that this overwhelming, this uncounted majority of the people are crying and clamoring for the free coinage of silver at the same ratio, and are opposed to the immediate and unconditional repeal of the Sherman act, I would like to know how in New England we have managed to fill over 20 Congressional districts were all the votes that elected all the members to seats to come from his side of the case? I have heard threats—I can not help calling them threats—from the distinguished gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], who spoke early in the debate, that every member of Congress, every Democratic member of Congress, who voted for the proposition of the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON] would lose his seat in the storm of public indignation, if I understood him correctly. I have not been able to read his speech.

Why, sir, every member from our part of the country, elected by constituencies as large, as intelligent, as thoughtful, as honest, as progressive, and as orderly as any in the United States, would sweep in indignation from his seat every member of Congress who did not vote for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act. Now, sir, the district which I represent, the Seventh Massachusetts, is one that, although it is very small in acreage—and I believe that the acres of Massachusetts are as broad as the broad acres in Colorado of which we heard in the debate; I believe there are just as many square feet in the acre in Massachusetts as there are in Colorado, and yet the population if figured out would show that we raise more men to an acre in Massachusetts—I believe that the population of my district is practically a unit upon this question.

That population, sir, is as varied in its industries and its character as any. It contains the city of Lynn, a city of 60,000 people, the head of the leather industry of the country, and now also the head of the electric manufacturing interest of the country. That city attracts to its works laborers from every part of the world, laborers from every country of the earth, who are attracted by its liberal wages and by the high and generous principles on which its establishments are conducted. There are in that district a comparatively small number of great, rich capitalists; there are a very large number of men who are bettering themselves, who are rising from straitened means to moderate means and from moderate means to wealth, and it contains a vast population of laboring men who depend for their living on their daily wages. These are our creditor class.

If there is a creditor class in this country, it is the day laborers in the great manufacturing establishments, it is the small tradesmen that they employ, it is the physicians they have to send for, it is the salaried teachers, who take care of their children in schools; it is those people who are gradually piling up from day to day with their small daily wages the savings that

they put into the banks, that are the creditor class of the country, and they depend upon sound finances for their living.

The state of the case as presented by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. COOPER] is precisely the case that prevails in my district. The ordinary wages are stopped, the ordinary collections are stopped; the professional men, the small traders, the laboring men, are all as much in want of money as any of the agricultural clients of my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. SIBLEY.] Aye, sir, I shall call him my friend. I will not reply to his hard language about Massachusetts. I received my name from the family of a Pennsylvania lady whose name was Sibley, and I would not for a moment say a hard thing against him. [Laughter.]

But, Mr. Speaker, my manufacturing constituents, my professional constituents, my laboring constituents, my seafaring constituents, are united in ascribing their distress to the purchasing clauses of the Sherman act. They are united, rightly or wrongly, in the belief that Congress has gone beyond its true powers. Congress is given by the Constitution the power "to coin money, to regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin;" but regulating the value does not mean undertaking to create value, or, going beyond sound regulation, to give money a value that it does not possess. They feel that Congress has put our coinage on an unstable base. They feel that they can not depend from day to day on what the value of the silver certificate will be.

It may be redeemable in gold at this moment. It may be, as we are told, at this moment at a premium at certain business centers. But how long that will last, how long the silver certificate will be as good as the gold certificate, my constituents are utterly unable to determine, and they call upon Congress for what they believe is the immediate remedy—not the future remedy, Mr. Speaker; I do not say that. I do not pretend to say, I do not believe, that the repeal of these clauses of the Sherman law will settle this question as to the money of the United States. The financial system of the United States has got to be recast. It has got to be recast carefully and thoughtfully.

But that is not the work for which we are here now. That is work for the regular session of Congress. My constituents tell me that they want these clauses repealed immediately, to see how that will work. They believe that law to be the immediate cause of the distress, and they say that when this repeal shall have been in operation a few months it will then be time to take up the great question and to settle what the future destinies of gold and silver are to be. And why do they believe that, Mr. Speaker? Because they are convinced that the United States—is it "are" or "is?" Justice Fields says it is "are," but others say it is "is"—they are convinced that the United States is only one nation in the sisterhood of nations.

They believe that we are subject to international laws as well as national laws.

Just as surely, Mr. Speaker, as the Gulf Stream, which is warmed by the churning in the basin of the Gulf of Mexico, affects the climate on the extreme coast of Norway, just as surely as the two hemispheres are bound together by physical laws and the climate of one affects the climate of the other, just so surely the productions, the exchanges, the wages, the financial life of the United States are affected by those of Europe, of Asia, and of Australia; and it is no use talking of our standing outside, whatever our independence and our greatness may be. We are told that we must not be the slaves of England, dependent on England in our financial relations. That is just why I want the purchasing clauses of the Sherman act repealed. It is because I do not want to be at the command of English financiers that I do not want the Treasury to get below its gold reserve and be reduced to a condition of silver monometallism, for then we should indeed be the slave of foreign finance.

We can do nothing with the nations until we go into the sisterhood of nations on the common principles which all nations are adopting, one after another, in a sure and never varying succession. When we do that, then, and not until then, can we pretend to be one among them and to work with them. But we are told that this is against the Declaration of Independence. New England, we are told, has forgotten the Declaration of Independence. The gentleman from Pennsylvania says that if that document were read here it would be strange to some of us.

Why, Mr. Speaker, I had an impression that New England had taken some part in forming the Declaration of Independence. I had an impression that John Adams had had a good deal to do with forcing it upon the unwilling representatives from the State of Pennsylvania, who were doubtful of the propriety of the measure. [Laughter and applause.] No, sir; no, sir! It is these gentlemen who have forgotten where the Declaration of Independence put us. It did not put us outside the sisterhood of nations. It did not put us on another planet. It did not explode this earth and make a collection of little asteroids, on one of which the United States should be set, and on another Africa. It put us among the nations of the earth, then as the weakest, destined to be the strongest, but still as one of them.

It begins with an avowal of "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind;" it ends by saying, "We will regard Englishmen as we regard the inhabitants of other nations—enemies in war; in peace, friends." Why, sir, those who wish the free coinage of silver will not regard England as either a friend or an enemy; they will not have either peace or war with her; they want to preserve a sullen sort of armed neutrality, and not have anything to do with her if they can help it in one way or another. That is not the Declaration of Independence, Mr. Speaker; that is not the position that John Adams and Thomas Jefferson and the representatives from the South put us in when we were all East and there was no West, or Center, or Pacific Slope in the country at all.

In the Revolution, Mr. Speaker, were we ashamed of foreign nations? Were we determined to work out our independence by ourselves? Would we have nothing to do with "the effete monarchies of Europe?" My remembrance is that the proud and independent United States were uncommonly glad when a Bourbon king gave them some troops to help them in the crowning victory at Yorktown. No, sir; we are one among the nations, and we must take warning and advice from their example.

It has been said correctly to-day and on previous days that some nations are on a gold basis, that others are on a silver basis, and that others are endeavoring to keep up bimetallism. Be it so. But what has been the historic tendency? What is the road on which nations have generally advanced? Have they not generally been going in the direction of gold? Have they not shown what they regarded as the better way by abandoning silver after they had used it? And suppose there are silver nations, Mr. Speaker; is it with the silver nations that the United States desires to be ranked? Do such nations furnish the model for free and independent countries? China, the Argentine Republic, Peru—are those the nations which we wish to make our models?

Why, sir, we heard to-day in the remarks of the gentleman from Pennsylvania that Russia—silver Russia—had done so much for the cultivation of wheat by her metallic standard, and then in the next breath we were appealed to to consider the condition of the starving poor; and the "gold bugs" and "shylocks" and "robbers" of New England were told that they ought to think more about the poor man. I should like to know if Russia is the model for the treatment of the starving poor? I should like to know if Russia, with her silver and her promotion of the cultivation of wheat, sets New England the example of how the poor man should be treated. I grant that she makes war upon the Jews as badly as the gentleman from Pennsylvania would; but I think that the way Russia treats the Jews is hardly a model for civilized nations at the present day.

Now, if you want to see a nation that does in some respect furnish an example, Austria, with the danger of national bankruptcy staring her in the face all the time, has passed from a paper basis to a silver basis, and from a silver basis to a gold basis, at tremendous sacrifices; and Austria, in the same period, has gone ahead more in constitutional government than one would believe a despotism would. Austria had Hungary rebellious; she has now got her united on terms of loyalty under her ancient constitution; and the internal state of Austria, in respect of education and the other great elements of social progress, is, I believe, improving every day; and I believe that this improvement is closely connected with her financial improvement.

No, sir; we are not outside the nations. We are one with them in a great republic. Think of that magnificent victory achieved the other day. Think how grand it was when five great nations met together to arbitrate peacefully upon a cause of strife that was all but tearing the United States and Great Britain to pieces. And how peacefully and honorably and candidly we acquiesced in a decision that was against some of our claims, but that gave us the main things in which we were interested. And instead of going to war in the old selfish way, we united in that peaceful settlement of difficulties which it behooves great nations to adopt at this advanced period.

It is a definite thing that we have got to do—to repeal these clauses of the Sherman act; and then I would add, and my constituents would add, to go home and wait. However, it may be well to adopt plans at this moment. I confess that the plan of my friend from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] seems best to me at present. And let me say, as that gentleman from Ohio has been declared by authority to be the only independent member on the floor of the House, the only man who is not a Democrat, or a Republican, or a Populist—I beg to announce myself as just as independent as the member from Ohio. I was not elected upon any platform but President Cleveland. That was the platform upon which I was elected; and he is broad enough and strong enough to uphold any patriot in the country. I never quite clearly made out why I was elected.

Mr. TUCKER. We understand it now.

Mr. EVERETT. There was no man more surprised at my own election than I was myself.

There is one point in this debate, Mr. Speaker, and, I regret to say, in the President's message, too, which my constituents never have been able to understand, and that is this attributing of personality to silver and gold—this talk about the "friends of silver" and the "friends of gold"—"striking down silver," and "trampling on it," and treating it as if it were a sentient being that has a soul, and emotions, and eyes, and nose, and mouth. We do not understand that, sir.

We do not understand how a man can be in love or in hate with a thing. We have no animosity to silver; we have no affection for gold. We are perfectly willing—I say again the people of Massachusetts are perfectly willing—to use silver or gold or both whenever the exigencies of the country demand either condition. If some better form of circulating medium were discovered—if some new metal—some new substance were brought to light—if the spectrum analysis should disclose the fact that indium, nebidium, or thallium would be a better medium of exchange than gold or silver, the people of Massachusetts want the best and are determined to have it.

My gallant friend, the member from Alabama, Gen. WHEELER, who lets me occupy his seat while retaining his own opinions, which are quite positive and just the opposite of mine, said in his speech that if the Sherman law were unconditionally repealed there would be no mention of silver whatever in any coinage act of the United States. His remarks have not yet appeared in the RECORD and I may quote him incorrectly. But that is the idea as I understood it.

Well, sir, supposing that was correct. Supposing silver were not mentioned in any coinage act hereafter. It might be unwise, it might be unfortunate, but where would it be immoral? Let me put a case. Supposing we wished to increase our Navy. Supposing that there was a well-known sentiment that we ought to have more ships of war, what would these ships of war be, as the Secretary of the Navy would be ordered to issue proposals for them? What would they be made of? Why, they would be made of iron and steel. Would wooden ships be mentioned at all? Would the Secretary of the Navy be called on to build any wooden ships? Not one. They would not appear in the act authorizing them. Well, then, should we get up and say you are not friends to wood; you despise live-oak. You have forgotten the glories of our Navy, our ancient Navy; you have forgotten the Bonhomme Richard. You have forgotten the Constitution. You have forgotten the United States, and the Wasp, and the Hornet, and the Enterprise.

You are untrue to the memory of John Paul Jones, and Stephen Decatur, and Isaac Hull, and all of the old heroes who led you to victory in wooden ships in the days that have gone by. They were good, Mr. Speaker, in their time; but at the present moment, under immediate pressure, I believe that, as with the wooden ships, the time for silver has gone by. I am perfectly willing to have it revived again when the time shall come, but not now.

A distinguished member at the other end of the Capitol said—although it may not be strictly parliamentary to allude to a Senate debate, but it has been stated here in the course of this discussion—that if this act is passed no silver will ever be coined again in the United States. If that is really true, Mr. Speaker, it is the strongest argument against silver that has ever been uttered here or elsewhere. If silver depends for its use as a coinage metal forever and a day, on the vote that we pass in this Congress; if it requires our vote in August, 1893, to maintain it for all eternity; if, after our vote, it will disappear for all eternity, then it is utterly unfitted for coinage metal, and has nothing to stand on if it never can be coined.

But it will come up again. There will be a time when gold will not be sought for as eagerly, and silver will be more desirable. These things come by cycles. They go up and down at different times. The tendency of things amongst all nations for many years has been rather toward a gold standard, and that it will go back in the other direction by the discovery of new gold fields, perhaps, seems to be eminently probable.

Now, a few words on the subject of bringing politics into this discussion. I am not going to bring in any politics if I can help it, Mr. Speaker. The President of the United States has told us what to do, and as his loyal supporter, who is not afraid to be called his gentleman usher, if my friends see fit so to characterize me, I have no objection; but I will not bring any politics into the discussion. I am amazed at the determination of some gentlemen of all the three parties, Democrats, Republicans, and Populists alike, to find politics somewhere in some part of this discussion. They have a most wonderful nose for the political cat in every bag of meal presented to them.

Why, sir, it reminds me of what happened in a certain very poor religious congregation in England. There was a congregation in England once that wanted to procure new hymn books, but they were very poor and could not afford to pay for them at the ordinary prices. They understood, however, that a certain great advertising house, a business house that made patent medicines, was willing to furnish them hymn books at a penny each if they would allow some advertisements to be inserted in the books. They thought that would be no special harm, that they might have a few pages of advertisements bound up with Watts and Doddridge. Accordingly they agreed to the proposition. The books came, duly printed, and they got down to the church on the 24th of December.

On Christmas morning the model Christians, who had no thought of anything but religion, got up to sing. Their pastor gave out by the first line a very familiar hymn. They all expected that it would be given out. Immediately the congregation arose to their feet and in a few seconds were aghast to find themselves singing—

Hark! The herald angels sing
Beecham's pills are just the thing.
Peace on earth and mercy mild;
Two for man and one for child.

[Laughter and applause.]

No, sir; I am not going to introduce politics into this discussion. There are two kinds of political victories, two ways of making political capital. Men may try by the examination of platforms, by going back on records, by going back as many years as they please to prove some man has been either untrue to his party or to himself.

They may try to win the victory for Democrat, for Republican, for Populist, by proving something wrong against Republican, Populist, or Democrat.

Mr. Speaker, you never can win a game of base ball solely by catching the other side out. That will not give you any positive score. You have got to make the runs off your own bat before you can really win the victory. And so if a great party is to win a victory it must win it by positive and not negative triumph. A great party may find the country in a strait, as the Democratic party finds it to-day, and power has been put into the hands of the Democratic party. It is called upon to meet a great crisis. It has a great leader. It was chosen to support that leader. It intends to rise, as he has risen, to the occasion. It does not mean to be affected or impaired by any stories of old times and different circumstances that may be told against it. We do not cavil who is responsible for the difficulty in which we find ourselves placed. When a great city is on fire we do not care what old woman's cow kicked over the lantern which may have set fire to it. We care only first to put the fire out, then to clear away the débris, and then to erect in the proper time, after the débris is cleared away, the new buildings that are needed.

Now, sir, if the Republican party choose to help us in this crisis, if they are ready to come forward, as I know many of them are, on the lines that President Cleveland has indicated, as so many of them have generously, in the public press and here, intimated that they would do, we accept and are grateful for their support. If they share the risk and the abuse they will share the glory. We are glad to have them meet us. We shall do our work alone as far as we are able to; but we welcome all honorable allies.

Mr. Speaker, I would say to anyone who hesitates to vote as he thinks right, from the idea that some party platform prevents his doing so, from the idea that he may offend somebody—we do not know how—to anyone who hesitates to go with us when his opinions are with us, I would say, as the mother of the Roman said to him:

If it were so that our request did tend to save the Romans, thereby to destroy
The Volsces whom you serve, you might condemn us,
As poisonous of your honour: No; our suit
Is that you reconcile them: while the Volsces
May say, "This mercy we have showed;" the Romans,
"This we receiv'd;" and each in either side
Give the all-hail to them, and cry, "Be bless'd
For making up this peace!" Thou know'st, great son,
The end of war's uncertain; but this certain,
That if thou conquer Rome, the benefit
Which thou shalt thereby reap in such a name,
Whose repetition will be dogg'd with curses;
Whose chronicle thus writ,—"The man was noble
But with his last attempt he wip'd it out;
Destroy'd his country; and his name remains
To the ensuing age abhorr'd."

We have no threats to make. We have heard threats. We do no threatening back; but we mean to stand firm. We have no feeling of ferocity, no feeling of enmity, no wish to arm one section of the country against the other; but we propose favoring the unconditional repeal of these purchasing clauses, and to stand on our consciences, to stand on our convictions, to stand on the instructions of our constituents.

The gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN], in his eloquent peroration, introduced the incident of the battle of Marengo, and told how, when the French army was on the point of retreat, a little drummer boy saved it by beating the charge. I would think of another battle fought by the great Emperor, when his fiery cavalry, under the lead of his own brother and of Marshal Ney, charged, with shout and dash and sabers drawn, up to the hill of Hougoumont, again and again, against the squares of the Iron Duke's army. There they stood, English and Scotch and Irish and Hanoverians, all the loyal subjects of the king, arrayed there for protection of liberty and order, against the common enemy.

There they stood, and charge after charge of the Old Guard and the young guard and the fiery dragoons broke upon them like waves upon the rocks. The French cavalry rode round and round the impregnable squares, and everywhere the steel wall of bayonets was presented against them. At length the charge ended, and those invincible cavalry retired down the slope of the hill. Then at length the "thin red line" arose from the trenches where it had been lying inactive in both sun and rain for ten hours, and charged down the slope in its turn, an unbroken line, and carried victory where victory was never carried before.

Stand firm, friends; do not be dismayed. Maintain your conscience, your opinions, and the directions of your constituencies, and victory will crown our arms too. I thank the House deeply. [Applause.]

PRINTING HERSCHELL REPORT ON THE COINAGE OF SILVER IN INDIA.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas is recognized.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee has a resolution which came over from the Senate relating to the printing and binding of the Herschell Report, which he desires to have considered. The Clerk will report the resolution, after which the Chair will ask if there be objection to its consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed and bound in cloth 6,000 copies of the report of the commission appointed to inquire into the Indian currency, commonly known as the "Herschell Report on the Coinage of Silver in India," with the accompanying correspondence and testimony, of which number 2,000 shall be for the use of the Senate and 4,000 for the use of the House.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the consideration of this concurrent resolution? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and the question is on its passage.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, just a moment. I do not think the resolution provides how they shall be distributed. I take it for granted that they will be pro rated among the members as other documents.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. The resolution, I will say to the gentleman from Missouri, is in the usual form. It provides 4,000 copies for the members of the House, and they, of course, will be distributed in the usual manner.

The resolution was passed.

On motion of Mr. RICHARDSON, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the concurrent resolution was passed was laid on the table.

SILVER.

The House resumed consideration of the bill for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act.

Mr. BAILEY. Will the gentleman from Kansas yield to me a moment of his time?

Mr. SIMPSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. BAILEY. The distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. EVERETT], in his speech, states that Mr. Calhoun was "a great friend of the later United States Bank." That statement, important as it is, and coming from a gentleman of great learning and distinction, ought not to pass unchallenged, and I ask the gentleman from Kansas to yield to me while I have read at the Clerk's desk Mr. Calhoun's own refutation of it. He was replying to Mr. Clay, who had charged him with inconsistency

The Clerk read as follows:

If, said Mr. Calhoun, this was a question of bank or no bank; if it involved the existence of the banking system, it would indeed be a question—one of the first magnitude; and, with my present impression, long entertained and daily increasing, I would hesitate, long hesitate, before I would be found under the banner of the system. I have great doubts (if doubts they may be called) as to the soundness and tendency of the whole system, in all of its modifications. I have great fears that it will be found hostile to liberty and the advance of civilization; fatally hostile to liberty in our country, where the system exists in its worst and most dangerous form. Of all institutions affecting the great question of the distribution of wealth—a question least explored, and the most important of any in the whole range of political economy—the banking institution has, if not the greatest, among the greatest, and I fear most pernicious, influence on the mode of distribution. Were the question really before us, I would not shun the responsibility, great as it might be, of freely and fully offering my sentiments on these deeply important points; but as it is, I must content myself with the few remarks which I have thrown out.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. Speaker, it is an honor at any time to have the privilege of addressing the members of this House and the country; it is also an honor for one as humble as I, representing the farmers and agricultural classes to some extent, to have the honor of making a speech here; it is also a great honor to have the privilege of following the distinguished gentleman from the great State of Massachusetts [Mr. EVERETT]. I am a little afraid, however, Mr. Speaker, that it does not argue well for the progress of human liberty and human rights that from the great State of Massachusetts there should have come a gentleman to advocate the interests of the money power, and that that gentleman should congratulate a gentleman from the far Southern State of Florida [Mr. COOPER] on taking the same position in society.

Kansas and Massachusetts in the past have been somewhat in accord; but history has proven that when Massachusetts was in accord with Kansas it was right, and stood for human progress. But it is not the first time that Massachusetts has gone a little astray. It is not the first time that the majority, even in Massachusetts, stood on the side of aristocracy. If I remember aright, it was in the city of Boston that old William Lloyd Garrison was dragged through the streets with a rope around his neck, and Wendell Phillips, the great apostle of emancipation, was mobbed in the streets.

On those occasions Massachusetts was on the wrong side; and I fear, after hearing the statement of the gentleman from Massachusetts, that there has come another time in the history of this country when Massachusetts is again on the wrong side; and you will note that whenever Kansas and Massachusetts are not in accord Massachusetts is clearly in the wrong. [Laughter.] I want to read a short extract from a speech of a distinguished gentleman from the State of Massachusetts, one of the greatest men that that State ever produced, and I want to read it in contrast to the language of the gentleman from Massachusetts who has taken his seat.

I consider this gentleman the greatest statesman and orator of modern times—one who clearly succeeded in foreseeing the evils which would come to this country if she persisted in her policy of enslaving so many of the human race—and after that battle was fought and won and liberty restored to the black men, true to his instinct, he took up the side not only of the black slaves, but of the white slaves, and here is his prophecy on that subject, and I will read from Wendell Phillips's speech on the labor question:

The great question of the future is money against legislation. My friends, you and I shall be in our graves long before that battle is ended; and, unless our children have more patience and courage than saved this country from slavery, republican institutions will go down before moneyed corporations. Rich men die, but banks are immortal and railroad corporations never have any diseases.

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Our fathers, when they forbade entail and provided for the distribution of estates, thought they had erected a barrier against the money power that ruled England. They forgot that money could combine; that a moneyed corporation is like the papacy, a succession of persons with a unity of purpose. Now, as the land of England in the hands of thirty thousand landowning families has ruled it for six hundred years, so the corporations of America mean to govern; and, unless some power more radical than ordinary politics is found, will govern inevitably. The survival of republican institutions here depends upon a successful resistance of this tendency. The only hope of any effectual grapple with the danger lies in rousing the masses, whose interests lie permanently in the opposite direction.

I put that against the speech of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. EVERETT], who seems to have taken the side of the money power, the power that the great Massachusetts statesman, from whom I have quoted, foretold would try to rule the country. The issue seems to be fairly and squarely drawn. Massachusetts, through the gentleman who has just addressed the House, takes the one side, and Kansas, the child of Massachusetts, stands, as she ought to stand, in defense of the interests and the rights of the people.

Mr. Speaker, it is necessary in the outset in the discussion of a great question like this to have a text to preach from. We ought to understand the true condition of the country and of the people and the causes that have produced that condition. What are the underlying causes? Did these evils come up suddenly, or do they result from the conditions lying far back in the past? This is a question of human progress. The race has been traveling along the same road for thousands of years, history is eternally repeating itself, and we are always fighting over and over again the same old battles.

The story has been told in the history of every nation. It is the old struggle, world-wide and long continued, and which, I fear, will go on until the end of time, if time should ever come to an end. We ought to take a lesson from the past, and where we see like conditions producing like results we should endeavor as statesmen, as patriots, as lovers of our kind, to prevent, if we

can, a repetition of the disasters and catastrophes that have overtaken the human race in every age. I send to the Clerk's desk to have read a short extract from the history of a people who lived many years ago.

The Clerk read as follows:

And there was a great cry of the people and of their wives against their brethren, the Jews.

2. For there were that said, We, our sons, and our daughters, are many; therefore we take up corn for them, that we may eat and live.

3. Some also there were that said, We have mortgaged our lands, vineyards, and houses, that we might buy corn because of the dearth.

4. There were also that said, We have borrowed money for the king's tribute, and that upon our lands and vineyards.

5. Yet now our flesh is as the flesh of our brethren, our children as their children: and, lo, we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be servants, and some of our daughters are brought unto bondage already; neither is it in our power to redeem them, for other men have our lands and vineyards.

6. And I was very angry when I heard their cry and these words.

7. Then I consulted with myself, and I rebuked the nobles, and the rulers, and said unto them, Ye exact usury, every one of his brother. And I set a great assembly against them.

8. And I said unto them, We, after our ability, have redeemed our brethren the Jews, which were sold unto the heathen; and will ye even sell your brethren, or shall they be sold unto us? Then held they their peace, and found nothing to answer.

9. Also I said, It is not good that ye do; ought ye not to walk in the fear of our God because of the reproach of the heathen our enemies?

10. I likewise, and my brethren, and my servants, might exact of them money and corn. I pray you, let us leave off this usury.

11. Restore, I pray you, to them, even this day, their lands, their vineyards, their oliveyards, and their houses, also the hundredth part of the money, and of the corn, the wine, and the oil, that ye exact of them.

12. Then said they, We will restore them and will require nothing of them; so will we do as thou sayest. Then I called the priests, and took an oath of them that they should do according to this promise.

13. Also I shook my lap and said, So God shake out every man from his house, and from his labour, that performeth not this promise, even thus be he shaken out, and emptied. And all the congregation said, Amen, and praised the Lord. And the people did according to this promise.—*Nehemiah*, v, 1-13.

Mr. SIMPSON. Now, Mr. Speaker, the American people are traveling the same road as the Israelites traveled, under the same conditions, and unless there is a change in the policy of this country they will arrive at the same end; that is universal bankruptcy and the loss of the liberties of the people.

I have another short extract which I wish to read. I wish to call attention to another government, another republic that was set up among men and started out with as broad precepts as we did, and traveled for a time the same road with probably greater security to human rights and the liberties of individuals. Yet that republic went down under the same conditions, because it in turn failed to carry out the laws of nature, to secure to the residents of the nation their natural and inalienable rights. Froude, the great English historian, in his sketch of the life of Cæsar, writes:

The struggles between plebians and patricians for equality of privilege were over, and a new division had been formed between the party of property and a party who desired a change in the structure of society. The free cultivators were disappearing from the soil. Italy was being absorbed into vast estates, held by a few favored families and cultivated by slaves, while the old agricultural population was driven off the land and was crowded into the towns. The rich were extravagant, for life had ceased to have practical interest, except for its material pleasures; the occupation of the higher classes was to obtain money without labor, and to spend it in idle enjoyment. Patriotism survived on the lips, but patriotism meant the ascendency of the party which would maintain the existing order of things, or would overthrow it for a more equal distribution of the good things which alone were valued. Religion, once the foundation of the laws and rule of personal conduct, had subsided into opinion.

The educated, in their hearts, disbelieved it. Temples were still built with increasing splendor; the established forms were scrupulously observed. Public men spoke conventionally of Providence, that they might throw on their opponents the odium of impiety; but of genuine belief that life had any serious meaning, there was none remaining beyond the circle of the silent, patient, ignorant multitude. The whole spiritual atmosphere was saturated with cant—cant moral, cant political, cant religious; an affection of high principle which had ceased to touch the conduct and flowed on in an increasing volume of insincere and unreal speech.

That was the condition of the Roman republic about the time it was changing from a republican form of government to an empire. That was the time when the Roman people were losing the last vestige of their natural rights; and I ask any candid member of this House whether he does not see in the condition of society in that Roman republic an exact counterpart of what we have here to-day. If that be the case, is it not time that we should have a new Declaration of Independence? Is it not time that we should develop some statesmen with an understanding of the true causes of our present condition, with intelligence enough to dig deep down below the surface and find out what is the real cause of the present condition of the people?—not attributing it, like some of your bankrupt statesmen of to-day, to the fact that the Government is buying some million ounces of silver and coining it and storing the coin in the Treasury.

To my mind, Mr. Speaker, the causes of the condition of our people to-day are numerous; and they did not begin yesterday or the day before, or last year or the year before. This condition had its rise in the bad institutions of government with which we started out. We began wrong. We have failed to secure to human society and to individuals the rights that belong to them. This great nation in the course of its progress has created enormous powers, and instead of fortifying the rights of the people, has granted these vast powers to a privileged class. Every nation that grants vast privileges to a special class builds up in its midst a dangerous class; for every special class is a dangerous class.

To my mind, Mr. Speaker, while the money question is a great question, and one that demands immediate attention and settlement, one that calls for the best efforts of the statemanship of this country to give this nation a permanent system of finance, yet the lack of this is not the only evil that has produced the present lamentable condition of the country. But inasmuch as this discussion turns upon this one evil, and inasmuch as it is brought before the people of the country for settlement to-day, I will confine my remarks mainly to this one evil. I shall go into it but briefly, because there has been so much said on both sides, particularly on the side of those who stand for the free coinage of silver.

I have been somewhat disappointed at the poverty of the case of the opposition. I had expected greater things from them, inasmuch as they assume, and it has been generally credited, that they have the learning and the philosophy on their side. They have had the great metropolitan dailies of the country championing their cause; and if it were a good one they certainly ought to have set forth some better reasons than any of their members have been able to give us since this debate began.

Mr. Speaker, I am reminded of a story I once heard about a gentleman who built a steamboat on the Missouri River. It was at a time when there was great rivalry to see which could have the louder whistle. This gentleman built a steamboat with a 7-foot boiler and put on it a 9-foot whistle; and when he blew that whistle the first time, all the steam went out of the boiler. This seems to be the condition of the opponents of the free coinage of silver. They seem to have blown off every pound of steam they had in their boiler at the very first start, and I expect that they have drifted into the rushes on the shore to get up steam again.

But, Mr. Speaker, I want to look briefly into some of the arguments that have been introduced in this discussion. I want to go over the case a little as it now stands—the reasons they have given to the public, not only in the House, but outside, for the condition the people find themselves in in regard to money matters at this time. You remember a little over four years ago when Mr. Harrison was running for the Presidency of the United States and when we nearly had a panic in Wall street one day, when there was a great scarcity of money, and the use of money ran up in one day to 80 and 90 per cent on call. They said the trouble with the country was—and that was the burden of their campaign speeches on the stump and elsewhere—that it was scarcity of money; that too much money had been taken from the circulation of the country and locked up in the Treasury of the United States, and that the cure for the great scarcity of money among the people was to get rid of the surplus.

Well, the Democrats promised to do it, and the Republicans promised also to get rid of the surplus, and when the Republicans got in office they very speedily fulfilled their promises. [Laughter.] It did not take the Republicans long to get rid of the surplus in the Treasury. I will not go into details as to the manner of its expenditure, or for what purpose they paid out the money. That is pretty well known already to the country; but they got rid of the surplus, the money went out, and yet it is a matter of fact, that all will bear me out in, that from that day to this times have continued to grow worse instead of better. You gentlemen down East did not feel it quite so soon as we did in the West.

As has been said in both the Republican and Democratic platforms, the laborer and the farmer are the first to feel these evils. The calamity struck us some five years ago in Kansas, and we were the best calamity howlers of the country; but I say now, with all due respect, that we take off our hats in acknowledgment of the superiority of the New England calamity howlers at this time. [Laughter.] I will even take off my hat to Mr. LODGE himself, who now occupies a place in the United States Senate, for he has set up a wail of woe in the other end of the Capitol that surpasses any calamity howl that ever came from the plains of Kansas. And yet the doctors prescribe now another remedy when the condition of the patient grows still worse. Your political doctors, your financial doctors, have new theories and new remedies for the pending disease.

While four or five years ago they told the country that the scarcity caused the depression of industries, at that time they said that it was the money locked up in the Treasury. Now they tell us that the trouble is that there is too much money out. If they do not mean that—and they may deny it—but if that is not what they mean, what do they want to destroy one-half of the currency that we have now for? If they do not say that the way to make the people more prosperous is to take a part of the

money out of circulation, what do you mean by wanting to repeal the Sherman law, which puts it in circulation?

The New York World sent a telegram to a number of men who had failed in business, some of them for millions and millions, recently, and asked a reply to the question which concluded the telegram, as to what was the cause of failure. The answer in all cases was, "The scarcity of money," that there was not money enough in the country, and failures resulted because of the "stringency in the money market." What do these Napoleons of finance stand up here and prescribe for the patient at this time? Why, just the same as your quack doctors used to do not very many years ago. When the patient got sick one of these doctors would come in, lay him on his back, take out his lancet, and bleed him. He would let the blood flow as long as the patient could stand it, and then if he survived that operation, he was in good condition, they said, to be treated with proper remedies.

That is exactly what these financial doctors—these political experimenters—are undertaking to do now with the people of this country. Business failures are existing all over the country, manufacturing industries are at a standstill, and there is a complete collapse of commerce, and yet what do they propose to do? Simply to repeal the Sherman law without putting anything in its place. I take it that it is the gold standard that they want. They want to eliminate silver from our circulation, eliminate all sorts of money except gold, and put us upon a monometallic standard of gold. Gentlemen, if you do not mean that, what do you mean?

Now, the conclusion of the doctors is that we must take one-half of the blood from the patient's body. No, my friend, what you want to do is not only to restore the blood which has already been lost, but to give the patient more, give him something to strengthen his system, give him more blood. Put that blood in circulation and you will find speedy relief will follow. Do not adopt the system which you propose here, else the flow of blood will be congested. It will settle in only part of the body, and paralysis of the entire system will ensue.

Now, although the Sherman law has been made the scapegoat for all the existing ills, although there has been a great deal said about its evil effects on the country, I take it to be a fact, although not intended by the framers of that law, that the effect of it is to put more money in circulation, and if it had been fairly carried out, as it was intended, it would have put in circulation a large quantity of silver, as well as silver certificates.

I understand the law to mean that the Government buys from those who produce silver 4,500,000 ounces a month of silver, and that the law says that after the 1st day of July, 1891, the Government shall coin a sufficient amount of that bullion into silver dollars to redeem the outstanding Treasury notes that were issued to buy that silver bullion. I understand that is what the law means.

Now, gentlemen have been put into power whose duty it was to enforce the law, the mandate of the people, but who have not enforced the law. They have disobeyed the law; they have disgraced their own dollar, the child of their own creation, and they have cried from the housetops that this was a debased dollar. And can you expect anybody else to receive it when its own Government disgraces it?

Now, let them fulfill the law and obey its provisions, and the Government, in the line of getting a revenue, will make a clear profit of 40 cents on every dollar's worth of bullion bought. Who gets the benefit? Why, all the people, the taxpayers; and as between the taxpayers and the mine owner, I do not know but I would rather have the benefit and the increased value go to the people themselves; and I believe that the Sherman law to-day, although it has been decried and abused, is really a better law than any that has preceded it in regard to silver from 1873 until to-day. All you want to do is to give the Sherman law a chance, to put it in force, to obey its provisions, to buy the bullion, coin it into dollars, put them into circulation, and let the Government receive the benefit of the increased value of the silver bullion.

I do not believe anybody will refuse this dollar, because it is a dollar and pays a dollar's worth of debts and transacts a dollar's worth of business, and that is what you want dollars for. My friends on the other side take the position, however, in contradiction of this, that a dollar must have 100 cents' worth of value in it in order to be an honest dollar; that a dollar must be a dollar the world over, must be exchangeable for every other dollar.

Now, the trouble with these gentlemen is that they do not understand what a dollar means. A dollar does not mean a commodity at all. It never did, but those gentlemen have lived under conditions where we have had a system of barter and trade, and those old ideas have taken such firm root in their minds that it is very difficult for them to rid themselves of the idea that when you make an exchange a dollar must have a commodity value in it in order to make it a dollar. A dollar is really a representative of value of all things, and need not have in itself a dollar's worth of commodity value. I do not wish you to take my authority alone. Francis A. Walker, a writer upon the money question of undoubted authority in this country, and who is accepted as a standard writer upon this question in the United States, says:

> Not a little of the confusion which has reigned in this department of inquiry has resulted from the failure of writers to fix their attention persistently on the money function, and to treat that as money, all that and only that, which performs this function. Nearly all systematic writers on political economy allow themselves, at a certain stage in their investigation, to be diverted from the contemplation of the office of money, and begin to generalize what they observe as the common features of those numerous forms of money which appear in a primitive condition of industrial society.

My friends from the down-east section of this country used, in the old times, you know, many different things for money. Society has been driven to adopt those means because of the poverty of other means. Down in Massachusetts at one time they used musket balls for currency, and they were the circulating medium. At another time they used codfish, and codfish was the circulating medium of the realm there; and I would not be surprised if on that foundation they built what we call the codfish aristocracy of that part of the country. [Laughter.]

I realize how difficult it is for men who have been used to barter and trade, and who have been brought up in the belief that a dollar, which makes the exchange of all commodities, should have in itself a commodity value. I can easily see how difficult it is for those who have been subjected to such early prejudices to realize that the human race is advancing, and that one of the greatest discoveries of modern times, as a great French statesman has called it, was the use of money in the place of barter and trade.

A friend of mine who lives on Pennsylvania avenue confessed to me that he could never get it out of his mind that Pennsylvania avenue runs east and west, and that every other street runs on an angle. The trouble with him was, he said, he never could realize it until he got off on the other streets to test his compass. Now, in the same way it is difficult for people who have early prejudices to realize that they do not need a commodity value in their dollar.

Francis A. Walker further says:

> Money is that which passes freely from hand to hand throughout the community in final discharge of debts and full payment for commodities, being accepted equally without reference to the character or credit of the person who offers it, and without the intention of the person who receives it to consume it or enjoy it, or apply it to any other use than in turn to tender it to others in the discharge of debts or payment for commodities.

Now let me repeat—

He says—

> money is to be known by its doing a certain work. Money is not gold, though gold may be money; sometimes gold is money and sometimes it is not. Money is not one thing, no group of many things having any material property in common. On the contrary, anything may be money; and anything, in a given time and place, is money which then and there performs a certain function. Always and everywhere that which does the money-work is the money-thing.

Now, those who believe with me and my party hold the position that it does not matter what material your money is made of. We hold to the proposition that money is the representative of value of all things, and so long as society—and I take it all gentlemen here understand the Government to be a mere cooperative society—so long as society agrees by statute law to select one of these things as money and receive it in the payment of all debts, public and private, it will pass for money. That is what we understand it to mean, and so, whether you select gold or silver, or any other commodity, you are sure to have a fluctuating currency, because the article it is based upon will fluctuate according to supply and demand.

That is the trouble; and that is where we all go astray in reasoning from the standpoint that your money is based upon a commodity value, because the commodity value of the article used for money becomes an article of which the speculator gets hold and holds out of circulation, and therefore it fails to perform its function as money.

Now, then, there is another point, and I think it is possibly one that does not seem to have been settled to the satisfaction of a great many people in this country, and probably will not be for some time, that the amount of money in circulation regulates the value of the money itself; and not only that, but, of course, it regulates the value of everything you exchange for money.

Now, we hold that the amount of money in circulation makes the money dear or makes it cheap in comparison with the value of things that you exchange for money. For in the new system, as we have it to-day, in this new discovery, and under the new arrangement of society, where we have what old Adam Smith called a "division of labor," where one man raises a commodity on a farm and exchanges with a manufacturer in a far distant city, you can not lug the commodity that you produce on the farm and exchange for the commodity produced in the factory, but you must

have something, that you call "money,' that represents all of these values. So, society having made this compact, you can select between any of these commodities you desire. That is what money is for.

Now, it follows that if you restrict the amount of money in circulation, and there is not enough to perform the natural exchanges, you naturally increase the demand for money. That is, if there is a million dollars of business to be done and there is only $500,000 worth of money, the volume of trade or business, or the price of the article which you exchange, which is the same thing, must be scaled down until you bring it on an equality with the amount of money in circulation. So I think the amount of money in circulation practically regulates the value of everything you exchange for money; and if you take half of the money out of circulation, of course the products of labor must be scaled down to meet it.

Now, we have had that practically demonstrated all over this country within the last two or three months. Gentlemen will admit it; and you will hear it asserted on the floor from day to day that there is a general business depression, that business is at a standstill, and that the price of everything has gone down below the cost of production. Why? All because there is not enough money in circulation. Let me read an article from a leading paper. It is the New York World, which I think Democrats will take as a good authority upon this question. Upon the value of wheat in Chicago it says:

THE PRICE OF WHEAT.

Cash wheat sold in Chicago on Saturday at 56¼ cents a bushel, the lowest price ever known.

The price was not determined by any consideration of value. It bears no proper relation to the cost of production or to the ratio of supply and demand. It is a price at which the greater part of the American production of wheat would stop, because wheat costs more than that to grow except in a few favored localities.

The price is an effect of the stringency of money and nothing else. Men sell wheat for 56¼ cents cash because they must have the cash and can not get it in any other way. Men who would like the grain even at a much higher price do not buy it simply because in the present condition of the loan market they can not get the money with which to pay for it.

At the same time that cash wheat was selling at 56¼ cents, September options ranged from 60¾ to 63 cents, and December sales were made at 67 and 69. The difference illustrates the situation. There would be a notable profit for anybody having the money in buying cash wheat and selling autumn options at the rates prevailing for each. The only reason that nobody undertook this speculation on such a scale as to narrow this margin is that nobody could get the money with which to buy the cash wheat.

All the prices are abnormally low. Even at the December rate of 67 and 69 cents, if such prices were established for long, wheat production would cease to be profitable over wide areas, and a multitude of wheat-growers would go out of the business. These are panic prices, and if long continued they mean hard times. They must impoverish the farming community, and indirectly the whole population. They must diminish the consumption of all classes of goods, and hurtfully affect all forms of industry. Fortunately they are not likely to continue.

All these evils grow out of the financial situation. The first duty of patriotism and self-interest alike is to take every possible measure for the betterment of that situation, and particularly for the restoration of confidence in the integrity and stability of our money. Lack of such confidence is the chief source of all the trouble.

What is the remedy that the New York World and the followers of that paper would seek—the gold-standard people? What is the remedy that they propose to the people of the country? It is to demonetize silver by the repeal of the Sherman law, which will lessen the circulation of money in the country. I do not assert that it will take out what is in circulation, I do not mean that they will withdraw the silver coins in circulation and melt them up like old silver. I do not suppose they will do that. But you must remember that we continue to have an increase of population and we have a very large increase in the volume of business, and anything that mars or stops the circulation, or if it remains stationary, or is continued in the Treasury so that it can not get out among the people, then we have an inadequate supply of money to carry on the business of the country.

Now, here is a confession by this champion of the gold standard that if you take out a part of the money from the circulation you thereby reduce the price of wheat and every other product, to fit the amount left in circulation. I want to give the House some more evidence on this point, because it is very important in this discussion, and it ought to be settled beyond a doubt in every man's mind.

I have here a speech made by Senator JOHN P. JONES of Nevada in the Senate of the United States in 1890. It contains a collection of evidence on this subject that has never been attacked or disputed. He quotes from the most eminent writers on political economy the world has ever known, and he shows that, without exception, all the great political economists agree that the amount of money in circulation does regulate the value of the money and, consequently, the value of everything that is exchanged for money. I will read one or two of these extracts and will incorporate others in my printed remarks.

John Locke, in his "Considerations," etc., published in 1690, said:

Money, while the same quantity of it is passing up and down the kingdom in trade, is really a standing measure of the falling and rising value of other things in reference to one another, and the alteration in price is truly in them only. But, if you increase or lessen the quantity of money current in traffic in any place, then the alteration of value is in the money.

The historian, Hume, says:

It is not difficult to perceive that it is the total quantity of money in circulation, in any country, which determines what portion of that quantity shall exchange for a certain portion of the goods or commodities of that country. It is the proportion between the circulating money and the commodities in the market which determines the price.

Fichte says:

The amount of money current in a state represents everything that is purchasable on the surface of the state. If the quantity of purchasable articles increases, while the quantity of money remains the same, the value of the money increases in the same ratio: if the quantity of money increases, while the quantity of purchasable articles remains the same, the value of money decreases in the same ratio.

John Stuart Mill (Political Economy) says:

The value of money, other things being the same, varies inversely as its quantity, every increase of quantity lowering the value, and every diminution raising it in a ratio exactly equivalent.

Ricardo (reply to Bosanquet) says:

The value of money in any country is determined by the amount existing. That commodities would rise or fall in price in proportion to the increase or diminution of money, I assume as a fact that is incontrovertible.

Ricardo further says:

There can exist no depreciation in money but from excess; however debased a coinage may become, it will preserve its mint value—that is to say, it will pass in circulation for the intrinsic value of the bullion which it ought to contain, provided it be not too great abundance.

Torrens, in his work on political economy, says:

Gold is a commodity governed, as all other commodities are governed, by the laws of supply and demand. If the value of all commodities in relation to gold rises and falls as their quantities diminish or increase, the value of gold in relation to commodities must rise and fall as its quantity is diminished or increased.

Mr. J. R. McCullough, in commenting on the principles of money laid down by Ricardo, says:

He examined the circumstances which determine the value of money and he showed that its value will depend on the extent to which it may be issued compared with the demand. This is a principle of great importance, for it shows that intrinsic worth is not necessary to a currency, and that, provided the supply of paper notes declared to be a legal tender be sufficiently limited, their value may be maintained on a par with the value of gold, or raised to any higher level. If, therefore, it were practicable to devise a plan for preserving the value of paper on a level with that of gold, without making it convertible into coin at the pleasure of the holder, the heavy expense of a metallic currency would be saved.

It appears, therefore, that if there were perfect security that the power of issuing paper money would not be abused; that is, if there were perfect security for its being issued in such quantities as to preserve its value relatively to the mass of circulating commodities nearly equal, the precious metals might be entirely dispensed with, not only as a circulating medium, but also as a standard to which to refer the value of paper.

Sir Archibald Alison says:

The suspension of specie payment in 1797 making bank notes a legal tender receivable for taxes, by providing Great Britain with an adequate internal currency, averted the catastrophe then so general upon the continent, and gave it at the same time an extraordinary degree of prosperity. Such was the commencement of the paper system in Great Britain, which ultimately produced such astonishing effects, and brought the struggle (of the Napoleonic wars) to a triumphant close.

Now, if this be the fact, that the effect of reducing the volume of money in circulation is to scale down the price of labor and the products of labor, I say that is the robbery of labor. If a man were to go out in the highway with a pistol and confront his neighbor and take away the half of what the man's labor had produced, no one would call it by any other name than robbery, and this is doing exactly the same thing by law. You rob me of half the value of my labor when you scale down the amount of money in circulation so as to reduce the price of my labor one-half.

Now, Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, there must be a motive behind this proposed action. Nearly everybody moves along the lines of least resistance in his efforts to make a living. Ever since man came upon the earth he has been trying to evade the Divine decree, "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt earn thy bread." He has always been trying to make somebody else earn a living for him, and I suppose that effort will continue through all time. The only way that evil can be prevented or corrected is by an ever-watchful people guarding vigilantly their interests and rights, and, in our system of society, the only way we can accomplish that result is by such legislation as will prevent people from preying on one another.

Mr. Speaker, we never heard until a few years ago that there was any necessity for a "money of the world." Gentlemen talk here learnedly about a money of the world; they want a dollar that will be good all the world over, but I challenge them or any of them to point to a single instance where the money used in one country has ever proved to be a bar to commerce with other countries. There has never been a time in the history of this land when it was claimed or thought by anybody that the difference of our money was any barrier to trade with other nations, and none of the advocates of free and unrestricted trade have ever made the discovery hat a difference in money would pre-

vent that desirable result. Trade between countries is barter. Money is not used, and I doubt if it will ever be used. Yet gentlemen talk here about the "money of the world."

England, the great commercial trader of the world, the country that through her system of unrestricted trade has gathered a great part of the wealth of the world, has traded with every nation, civilized and barbarous; but we never heard until lately that the statesmen of England found it necessary to have a money of the world. Lately, however, they have been clamoring for it, and they have used all their influence to get the United States to adopt gold as the standard of that money. Now, what is the motive behind this? I have here an expression from one of the greatest of English statesmen, Mr. Gladstone.

In the House of Commons shortly after the closing of the Indian mint, and in reply to a question as to the intention of the government in this direction, the prime minister said:

But if there are these £2,000,000,000 of money which we have got abroad, it is a very serious matter between this country and other countries. We have nothing to pay them. We are not their debtors. We should get no comfort, no consolation out of a cheaper money which we could obtain for less and part with for more. But the consolation throughout the world would be great. This splendid spirit of philanthropy would result in our making a present of £50,000,000 or £100,000,000 to the world. It would be thankfully accepted, but I think that the gratitude for your benevolence would be mixed with great misgivings as to your wisdom.

Mr. Gladstone says that England has owing to her $10,000,000,000, while she owes no country anything; therefore, it would be suicidal on her part to adopt any system of finance that would so make money plentiful or cheap as to put England in the position of donating £100,000,000 to the civilized world. That is the way the English look at it. It is a proper way to look at it. As men having fixed incomes from investments in the funds or from investments in various countries, they understand it is their interest to have a single gold standard, which practically increases the value of their money.

Again, Mr. Speaker, the London Economist, on the single gold standard, referring to the increasing purchasing power of gold and the consequent decline in the price of commodities produced by the disuse of silver, says:

Nearly every nation on the face of the earth is indebted to us, and the result of an appreciation of gold is, that we obtain a larger quantity of those commodities in settlement of our claims.

Now, I am a practical farmer; I am not a farmer like Horace Greeley, who raised pumpkins that cost a dollar apiece. But I have for fifteen years worked on a farm, producing everything with my own hands. I have on my farm to-day a crop of wheat, or part of a crop, that was raised during the last three years. I have been saving that wheat—what I could save of it—in the hope that some day I could pay with it the mortgage that comes due on the 1st of next April.

What is the condition I find confronting me to-day? By reason of the understanding, or the threat, that we are to return to a single gold standard and to scale down the amount of money in circulation, you have scared money out of circulation; money has become suddenly dear, and when a thing becomes dear everybody wants it to hoard it. I find that at the present time in the county town where I live a bushel of wheat brings only 30 cents. Under these circumstances I see that when the mortgage becomes due I shall fall a long way short of having enough to meet the debt. This is the condition, not only of myself, but of nine-tenths of the people of this country who are in debt and dependent for the payment of their debts on the products of their labor.

Mr. Speaker, I will, for the benefit of those Democrats who advocate the single standard give them some Democratic teachings:

THE HON. ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS ON THE CRASH OF 1873.

There are two great questions before this people, namely, finance and taxation. As to finance, I must say we are poorer than we have been for fifty years, and there are good reasons for it. The present depreciation dates back to the crash of 1873. What caused that crash? The demonetization of silver in Germany did it first, then the Latin states, and then other countries of Europe. We fell into the error too, nobody seems to know how. At that time the money of the world amounted to $8,000,000,000; of this $4,500,000,000 was silver. Gold and silver had borne definite relations to each other ever since civilization began, but here at one blow these relations were changed and over one-half of the world's wealth put under a blight.

A careful calculator told me the other day that shrinkage of values in this country after the fatal act was more than the whole expense of our war. That fatality was worse than war. There is no remedy for us now except in re-establishing the value of silver and its free coinage. We want $900,000,000 in circulation, at least. We have now only $14 per capita in circulation, including all the hoarded gold and silver. We want at least $25 per capita, or as much as we had before the crash of 1873. People fear the silver flood; I would let it come from all the world until we have a thousand millions in circulation.

On the subject of taxation he said that—

The burdens were borne by the poor, the laboring classes; many a poor man who lives from hand to mouth pays more tax than many a bondholder who is worth half a million. The people are oppressed, and the cause that I labor for, that I am willing to die in, is the cause of the people; but there is hope that within the next two years we shall find relief if we are true to ourselves.

Now, gentlemen, you have no right to take this money out of circulation without providing a substitute. What is the substitute which gentlemen who are in favor of the single gold standard propose? What is their declaration made openly in the press and on the floor of this House? They propose to issue a United States bond that shall be sold for gold—presumably for gold that has been in circulation, thus taking so much gold out of circulation and storing it in the Treasury of the United States—for what purpose? To create a still greater demand for gold; because, I take it, gentlemen all understand that every time you make a new want for anything you increase the value of it.

What follows? Why, it is proposed to grant to the national banking men who have gold the special privilege of buying these bonds and using them as the basis upon which to issue bank notes. Then what do the people pay for the money thus put in circulation? First, the bonds will bear interest; that is the interest charge number one; then when these notes are passed out over the banker's counter they bear interest again; that is interest charge number two; and this is what is paid by the people for having a circulating medium with which to carry on the business of this country.

This is the policy which has brought our country to the condition in which we find it to-day. Under the policy we have pursued the Government has parted with its function of issuing currency, has surrendered this as a special privilege to private corporations, which by means of this privilege have drawn from the productive energies of this country over $2,000,000,000 within the last twenty years as interest upon the currency that we have used in transacting the business of the country. The country to-day ought to retrace its steps; it ought to go back over the ground upon which it has traveled.

At the close of the war we had a large quantity of paper currency in circulation and everybody knew that every dollar of it would be received by the Government for taxes and thus would be redeemed. What, then, did you do in the interest of these money mongers? You put out these bonds which were exchanged for this currency; in place of a currency circulating without interest you put a bond, bearing interest. That is what you did. I believe we should now retrace our steps; we should go back over the ground we have traveled. We should take up the bonds and put currency in their place.

Gentlemen have had a great deal to say about cheap money driving out dear money. They quote to you the old Gresham law; they bring up the fact that Sir Thomas Gresham in the reign of Queen Elizabeth declared it to be a fact that cheap money would always drive out dear money.

Francis A. Walker says:

As it is usually stated, namely: the theory that an inferior money will drive out and replace better money, the theorem is false. It is only when a body of money is thus composed of diverse elements, is itself in excess of the wants of trade, that the better part begins to yield place and retire from circulation.

The great economist and financier, Ricardo, also says that it is a mistaken theory to suppose that guineas of 5 pennyweight and 8 grains can not circulate with guineas of 5 pennyweight or less, as they might be in such limited quantity that one or the other might actually pass in currency for a value equal to 5 pennyweight and 10 grains. There would be in such case no temptation to withdraw either of them from the circulation; there would be a real profit in retaining them.

It is by no means certain, then, as is urgently maintained by the opponents of "free silver," that silver even if overvalued will necessarily leave the country.

France, with $700,000,000 coined at rates of 15½ full legal tender, protects her gold from export by paying out silver to those who would take her gold; the Gresham law does not work over there. Germany, with her small stock of silver, imitates the policy of France.

It is only here where we breed coward statesmen, or worse still, those who are more willing to legislate as the mere puppets of a class, that this so-called Gresham law finds the conditions for perfect working; just as cholera germs find filthy towns the places for successful development.

Everybody knows that during the past year gold has flowed out of this country in profuse streams—everybody knows it has gone abroad and yet everybody knows that the Secretary of the Treasury has not paid out any "inferior currency." The fact is, the present stringency is due to the fact that the people are hoarding all kinds of currency—the plebian as well as the aristocratic, simply because, under this nefarious contraction policy instituted in order to lead to the establishment of a single gold standard, everything is falling in value, and the only secure thing to hold is that which increases in value in the precise proportion in which all other things decrease.

The shout goes up that there is a want of confidence, that this Government is going to pay its obligations in cheap silver, and

authorize its citizens to do likewise, and this lack of confidence sturdily maintains itself in spite of the fact that the Government has done and is doing nothing of the kind, but, on the other hand, its servants are acting in precisely the opposite direction. It is very strange that this fear that payments are to be made in silver and the paper redeemable in silver has led the panic-stricken mob to withdraw from the banks the very kind of money they fear to take.

Mr. Speaker, I do not care how soon dear money is driven out, it is money that enables society to do its business with the least cost that I want. If human beings in obtaining their subsistence move along the lines of least resistance, they undoubtedly wish to avail themselves of that money which is easiest to be got; therefore I think cheap money is the best money. What would you say, gentlemen, of a regiment of soldiers that in the midst of battle would retreat from the field and retire to their barracks? Would you call them good soldiers? No, sir. You would say that the troops that stood upon the field and fought the battle and won the victory were the good soldiers.

Now, then, there never was a time when this country got into difficulties but that gold has retreated from the field of battle, and the cheap money of the people has won the victory for them. People use for tools of trade, or to do anything, those things that will accomplish the purpose they desire in the best way, and that is the reason cheap money is best; has always been found to be the best. It is more satisfactory to the people, and it is the duty of the Government to furnish the people with money to transact their business at as low a cost as possible. They have seen in every age of this country that cheap money has always been the best in times of great need.

Of late another precious piece of information has been given to the country by the poor struggling plutocrats who, from motives of pure benevolence and regard for the poor workingman, have been moving heaven and earth to force this Republic to adopt the single standard; and now it turns out that the workingman is not poor at all, that, in fact, he is the creditor; and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GOLDZIER] said in his speech that there was $5,000,000 of deposits, all, or most of them, by poor people. On examination of his figures I find that it amounts to but about $93 per capita. Now, sir, he reasons, I take it, that their interests as creditors are greater than as debtors or laborers.

Now, while they have $93 in the bank, and to that extent are interested in increasing the value of the dollar, they also have interests, as investors of houses and lands, and often their humble homes, and they also have an interest in holding up wages, that would be scaled down with other values, so we see at a glance that their interest as producers is many times greater than their interests as money-loaners, and the claim that the other side sets up, that these are the creditor class and these influential gentlemen who have the means to pay newspapers and hire lobbyists are the debtors of the poor depositors in savings banks.

Is it not strange, taking into view the facts regarding human nature, human selfishness, that the nineteenth century is witnessing the debtor class struggling to force a double-valued dollar into the fists of the auditors who have now, by a successful revolution of the tongues and jaws of Plutos, become the great bondholding, money-loaning classes? Surely, it passes understanding. The religious or the comfortable classes are an ever-present probate court to take care of him.

The guardians of the poor always distrust the average conscience, the common sense of the millions.

It seems to me that it is at variance with our idea of government, that the principle underlying our form of government is that the average common sense of the masses is the only safeguard of a free people.

Institutions are but pasteboard against the thoughts of the street, the talk of the sidewalk becomes the law of the land, and to-morrow they may change it, for with us law is nothing unless close behind stands a warm public opinion.

The good sense and conscience of the masses are the only title deeds.

We have this fact to deal with, that we are launched on the ocean of a chained democracy, with no safety except the intelligence of the masses and the instinctive love of the right in the popular heart.

Now, sir, there is another thing that I want to look at, for I see my time is nearly out, and that is this: The Republicans tell us—I believe they know better than that, though, a good many of them do I am certain—that the reason of the depression of the times, the breaking up of things generally, is the loss of confidence—the loss of confidence in the money of the country and the loss of confidence in the business of the country; and they fear also the Democrats will repeal the McKinley law.

Now, my good Republican friends I do not think you need have any anxiety about the Democrats repealing any law. I do not think you need fear any trouble about repealing the McKinley law. There is no danger of that. There are too many personal interests represented here; there are too many men representing their own manufacturing industries and business; and when you come to the point of revising the tariff there will be so many conflicting interests that will jump up all over the House, inside of the Democratic party, that they will be unable to repeal any law. [Laughter.] They will not do it. The Democratic party, as constituted to-day, is not a party of progress, as you all know. It is not the Democratic party any more. That is a misnomer. It is President Cleveland's party. [Applause.] So, you need not be under any misapprehension or a bit afraid as to what they will do in that regard.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I was talking of the loss of confidence, which has been assigned as a reason for this trouble. You want to supply them with a circulating medium that you call "confidence." There is enough money in the country and all that, only you want confidence! But that game of confidence has been played a little to long on the people, and that is the reason we are in the condition we are in to-day. [Laughter and applause.] That was played by a very respectable member of the Republican party himself, a gentleman who was Secretary of the United States Treasury a short time ago. He played that little game of confidence on the depositors in his bank a short time ago to the tune of $135,000, for which he gave them confidence. The depositors got all the confidence and Charley Foster got all the money. [Laughter.] His condition is the exact counterpart of the people of the United States to-day. While you have been running the country on a confidence basis, a few, gorged with their ill-gotten gains, got all of the money and the people all of the confidence.

Another distinguished member of the Republican party fell a victim to the same game himself. He had signed notes to the amount of $90,000 and left them lying in his desk. His business partner found the notes, put his name on the paper, and used them as a circulating medium himself, and Mr. McKinley fell a victim to this game to the extent of the $90,000 of notes he had signed.

I mention these two distinguished people, Mr. Speaker, who fell victims to this game of confidence. I know you do not want a system of finance, my friends, that leaves you to the mercy of the speculators and the sharks.

The distinguished member from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] told you the other day in his speech that we were furnished by the banks of the country, in checks, drafts, bills of exchange, and other devices used as money, four billion six hundred millions of credits, and I want to ask this gentleman if it is not true that the people of the country who used their credits for doing business had to pay for it, or did they get it for nothing? Can you not realize the fact that this amount of money cost the people of this country a large sum in interest, and many paid the interest in advance, which was practically compound interest? That is what is taking all the life out of the industrial classes to-day, this piling interest on interest; and the text read from Nehemiah—"I pray you, my friends, leave off usury"—should be remembered.

This system of finance, this banking system which bases itself on a single gold standard, is calculated to increase the value of the gold dollars at the expense of everything else. If you have a single gold standard, you must use that as a basis. Then, in the process of time, you will be found issuing five to one on gold, and may be ten to one, and the difference must be made up in the confidence of the people. That is what you will do if you make a single gold standard the rule in this country.

How did the people come to lose their confidence? Why, it was, as I believe—and I know in these piping times there is a good deal said about a conspiracy—I believe a part of the conspiracy, as much as I believe I am alive to-day—a conspiracy on the part of these money men to so influence the legislative branch of this Government and to bring about the repeal of this law, which means a return to the single gold standard.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I do not know whether the rules permit it or not, but I would ask the privilege of extending my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has that authority under the order already adopted.

Mr. BRYAN. I move that the gentleman's time be extended and that the hour of the recess be extended until he shall have finished his remarks.

The SPEAKER. How much time is suggested in the gentleman's request?

Mr. SIMPSON. I should like to have fifteen minutes.

Mr. COOPER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I think that we

might let the gentleman conclude his remarks in the morning. I have listened to him with a great deal of interest.

The SPEAKER. There is an order for an evening session.

Mr. SIMPSON. Then I will go on to-night, if that will suit gentlemen.

The SPEAKER. If the House gives unanimous consent the gentleman can speak during the remaining five minutes until the hour for the recess.

Mr. SIMPSON. I would not care to go ahead now. I will finish this evening if allowed.

The SPEAKER. That can be done by unanimous consent in the absence of objection.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Chair would like to understand the request of the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SIMPSON]. The Chair understands that he desires his time extended fifteen minutes.

Mr. SIMPSON. Yes.

The SPEAKER. The reason why the Chair asks the question is because there are some gentlemen who are down for speeches to-night, and the Chair would like to know as to the disposition of the time.

Mr. SIMPSON. I will conclude in the morning if it is agreeable, so as not to interfere with the arrangement for to-night.

The SPEAKER. There are assignments for the morning also. That is the trouble.

Mr. SIMPSON. Well, if it is agreeable, then, I will finish to-night.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will be entitled to fifteen minutes at the opening of this evening's session.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask to have printed in bill form, and also in the RECORD, the several amendments proposed to this bill at the different ratios, and the amendment providing for the revival of the old Bland act, so called, so that members may have opportunity to reach the various provisions.

Mr. REED. Are these amendments pending?

The SPEAKER. They are not.

Mr. BLAND. They are to be offered under the rules.

Mr. REED. I should like to hear them read, if there is no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report them.

Mr. BLAND. Let them be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Provided, That all holders of silver bullion of the value of $50 or more, and not too base for the operations of the mints, shall be entitled to deposit the same for coinage at the mints of the United States, and to have the same coined into the legal-tender standard silver dollars of 412½ grains standard silver to the dollar, on same terms and conditions on which gold bullion is now deposited and coined.

That silver certificates shall be issued on such dollars in the manner now provided by law for the issuing of certificates on standard silver dollars.

Provided, That all holders of silver bullion of the value of $50 or more and not too base for the operations of the mints shall be entitled to deposit the same at the mints and to have the same coined into silver dollars containing —— grains of standard silver to the dollar, on same terms and conditions as gold bullion is now deposited and coined. That said dollars shall be a legal tender for all debts and dues both public and private, and silver certificates shall be issued on said dollars in like manner as silver certificates are now issued on standard silver dollars.

Provided, That the act of February 28, 1878, entitled "An act to authorize the coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character," requiring the purchase monthly of not less than two million and not more than four million dollars' worth of silver bullion, and the coining of the same as fast as purchased into standard silver dollars, be, and the same is hereby, revived and reënacted into full force and effect.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, the first amendment is for free coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1. The second is for free coinage with the ratio left blank, to be filled, up to 17, 18, and 19. The third proposition is a revival of what is called the old Bland act, and these amendments are prepared in accordance with the rules adopted.

Mr. REED. They are provided for under the rule which was made by the House?

Mr. BLAND. Yes.

Mr. TUCKER. What about the ratio of 20 to 1?

Mr. BLAND. The ratio is left blank, so that it can be filled in.

The SPEAKER. Without objection these amendments will be printed in the RECORD, and also printed in bill form.

There was no objection.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. SIPE, for two days, on account of important business.

To Mr. HARTER, indefinitely, on account of sickness in his family.

Mr. ARNOLD. Mr. Speaker, I ask indefinite leave of absence for my colleague, Mr. DE ARMOND, on account of sickness in his family.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON] will discharge the duties of the Chair to-night.

In accordance with the order heretofore made, the House [at 5 o'clock p. m.] stands in recess until 8 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

The recess having expired, the House was called to order at 8 o'clock p. m. by Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee as Speaker *pro tempore*.

SILVER.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SIMPSON] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. Speaker, in resuming my argument of this afternoon, wherein I had been addressing myself to the question of a conspiracy on the part of those interested from personal motives in bringing about a single gold standard in this country, I want to say I believe that to be true; that the conspiracy has lasted for a long time, and they but took advantage of events in order to carry their scheme into action. It is a well-known fact that no one has heard any cry against the Sherman law until recently; but as the conditions were favorable to bring about an impression upon the lawmaking body of this country, they sought the opportunity within the last few months to force Congress to repeal the Sherman law.

I want briefly to go over a few of the conditions that I think have brought the people of this country almost to the verge of bankruptcy, a few of the conditions that have produced paralysis of business and thrown the laboring classes out of employ until I suppose to-day there are not less than 4,000,000 men asking for work in this country.

What are these conditions? The foundation for this trouble, Mr. Speaker, was laid far back, as I stated in the beginning. I will show you that the Sherman law is not the real cause of the events complained of. I have cited the complaints of the people when the Israelites and when the Roman Republic were at the height of their power and glory, showing that the same conditions that exist now had produced the same results then. A change in the form of government had enabled a few to repress the people in their rights. Some years ago a man discovered the power and use of steam, and that discovery led to the building of railroads in this country, so that the whole form of society is changed, and instead of the bartering and trading which prevailed in olden times, when men changed commodities in the neighboring village, the agricultural and producing classes change their commodities in a far distant market, and those commodities, passing over these long lines of transportation and these public highways, for they are really the public highways because of the protection that is afforded by the Government, they have passed into the hands of private corporations until ten or a dozen men in this country can to-day control all these public highways, and by getting together they levy a rate of freight that amounts to a tax far beyond the tax that Congress has ever levied upon the people, and by this process a large part of the wealth of the country has been concentrated in the hands of a few.

That is one of the reasons. Another reason is that special interests and class privileges, through a republican form of government, have worked their way to the front and have been so able to protect and foster their interests. In this way the manufacturing interests have worked their way up to the front, until they have so managed that a law has been passed by which all the farmers and agriculturists of this country, and other people who produce anything that other people want, are prevented from trading with the men who will give them the best bargain, and are forced to buy their goods from the manufacturers in this country in order to build up American industries, so that they are robbed of 50 cents on the dollar for every dollar of produce they may so trade.

Now, then, under this condition of monopolies so built up, the men who create these goods and articles so protected come together, and say "Why should there be opposition among us? Let us enter into a combination, and so limit the supply and output that we will compel the people who have to purchase these articles to pay us tribute, and so increase our profits." And thus another special privilege and special interest has been built up at the cost of the people, so that a large amount of money has been drawn from the people.

When these joint stock companies have been organized, stock has been issued on them, and they have gone out among the people and the price has been increased upon the articles supplied until it has reached a very large amount.

For illustration: In my State the 8,000 miles of railroad in operation cost $14,000 a mile. To-day those railroads are bonded at $97,000 a mile, and by fixing a high rate of freight they are

enabled to pay dividends upon those stocks. They have gone on the markets, and men have piled up large sums of money by speculating in them; and so, in the effort to keep up these railroad institutions and enable them to pay dividends, they have placed upon the people these burdens, which have been shifted from shoulder to shoulder until at last they fall upon the shoulders of the agriculturist and the laboring community. These burdens have become so numerous and onerous that they have broken down at last and collapse has come upon them. This has been expected for years. The last snow-flake which made the great avalanche has fallen, the avalanche has started, no one can stop it, and it has brought the whole house in ruin about them.

A few years ago, when the McKinley bill passed, the merchants of this country, expecting that there would be a large increase in the price of goods because of the protection afforded by that bill, went over to England. That country, being a trading nation, found itself with a large amount of goods and a small amount of money; and so its manufacturers held out inducements to merchants to purchase a large amount of those goods on time. They did so. Finally the day for payment came around, when the balance must be settled; and when the day of settlement came, silver not being a commodity in demand by the English nation, the settlement was made in gold. Then it was that the outward flow of gold began.

Then these people who are in favor of a gold standard saw their opportunity; and wanting you to return to a gold standard, they began a scare, until people withdrew their deposits from the banks and put them in their old stockings. The monometallists said that these silver certificates were drawing out all our money and that the gold was going to Europe. How is it, Mr. Speaker, that, with the same condition of scarcity of money, the gold is coming back to this country? I wish that some of my Republican friends and Democratic friends who are asking us to go to the gold standard will explain this before this discussion is ended. And then, after talking about all this want of confidence, and about this cheap money, the bankers got up a bankers' panic. They have got the scare, and they are so panicky that it got away from them.

It has got loose and they can not stop it. It reminds me of a story told about a man in the olden times, when they believed in magic. The man had a magic ring, and when he touched it he could call up a goblin to do his wish. One day his house got on fire. He touched the ring, the goblin came, and he got him to fetch water to put it out. The goblin carried the water and put out the fire; and when the fire had been put out the goblin kept on carrying water, and the man got mad and drew his sword and cut the goblin in two; but in a minute there were two goblins carrying water, instead of one, and then as he kept on killing them he did but increase the number, doubling the force until finally the water flooded the whole country and drowned him and all his neighbors.

That is the way with this bankers' panic, that they started under the conditions I have described. It has broken loose from them; it has not accomplished what they intended; and I fear that before it is stopped it will breed a revolution in this country that will shake this Government to its very foundation. That is the reason I think the hour has struck when every man in this country with any patriotism in his make-up should forsake his party, should take the party collar off his neck, and stand up for the interests of the people and of his country.

Mr. Speaker, why should we trim our sails to fit the breeze of any country? Gentlemen talk about capital not coming from Europe, about our inability to borrow more English capital. I want to ask those gentlemen this question: If we continue to borrow English capital as we have been doing in the past, paying these high rates of interest for it, who will ultimately own the industries of this country? It is said that the English own to-day fifteen-sixteenths of our railroad stock. They own a great part of the great institutions of this country. That is the result of borrowing English capital.

Mr. Speaker, we have in this country all the resources that are necessary to create wealth for ourselves, a great territory stored by nature with all the materials that are needed to supply human wants. We have the most improved machinery; we have steam power which is doing the work each year of 22,000,000 men; we have millions of able-bodied men, willing and anxious to work that machinery and, by their labor, to produce from our own resources all the wealth that we require. Tell me that with all these materials, all these forces, we still should go abroad to Great Britain, the great creditor nation of the world and ask her to lend us money! Why, sir, such a course is suicidal. I think the true financial policy of this country is to have our own currency, issued by the people, directly to the people, without the intervention of banks or other corporations. The issue of money is a public function which should not be delegated to individuals or private corporations.

Mr. Speaker, I see that my time has nearly expired, but before I sit down I want to say a word on the subject of the ratio. I am opposed to a compromise on the ratio. I am opposed to a compromise on anything that is right. I believe that whenever you commence to compromise you are sure to compromise away what is right, and in this matter you will compromise away the interests of the debtor class. We have had too many compromises already intended to secure what gentlemen are pleased to call an "honest dollar." Five or six times already the contract has been changed, and we have to-day the most dishonest dollar that ever any country submitted to.

I am opposed to compromise, first, because it demoralizes the party that compromises; secondly, because it delays justice; and thirdly, because it demoralizes the community. Now, what is the compromise that these people offer on this question? They say: "Let us increase the ratio; let us put more silver into the dollar;" that is, let us make the dollar dearer. The minute you do that you compromise away the principle that there is effect in the law to give value to money. You treat silver as a commodity, and you set gold up as the arbitrary measure of all values. That is what you do. If you but compromise away one single grain, you do that. If you make the ratio 20 to 1, you put so many more pounds in the bushel of wheat, so many more ounces in the pound of pork; you make the dollar dearer, and you compromise away the right of the debtor class. I want to tell these gentlemen that I did not come here to compromise away the rights of my constituency. I received a letter from a friend of mine to-day that expresses my sentiments exactly. He says: "Jerry, you stand by 16 to 1 until hell freezes over, and we will send you a pair of skates to come home on." [Laughter and applause.]

That is where I stand. I want to warn gentlemen that they will get no compromise out of me when right and justice are at issue. We would never have had a rebellion in this country if our statesmen had not been compromisers—compromising away truth and justice and human rights. Webster and Clay and Seward, all the great statesmen of that era, were compromisers; and it finally ended up in a civil war which shook the country to its foundation and left a debt, with an attendant train of evils, that the youngest man in this House will never see entirely rooted out. That was the result of compromise. I am no compromiser.

There is another thing I want to say before I close. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. EVERETT] said to-day that he wanted the idea of confidence carried out. He told us to have confidence in the Government; to have confidence in the President; to have confidence in the Democratic party. My God, Mr. Speaker, this confidence that the average voter has had in the old parties is what has led us up to this volcano that we are now confronted with. Distrust! Lack of confidence breeds liberty; confidence breeds despotism. Confidence and distrust are opposites. Distrust is the nerves of the mind.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. CUMMINGS. I ask that the time of the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SIMPSON] be extended indefinitely.

There was no objection.

Mr. SIMPSON. I do not wish more than a minute. I am anxious not to trespass on the time of gentlemen who are to follow me; I know that a number of gentlemen want to speak, and it would not be right for me to take away their time. Besides, everything has been said on our side of this question and said better than I can say it. These gentlemen who are to come after me can present the question more ably than myself.

I took the floor this evening merely for the purpose of expressing the opinion of the people of my district. It is a large district, embracing about 300,000 population. It is 250 miles long and 120 miles wide. It reaches up to the stars and down as far as land reaches. Those people are as good people as any in the United States, and I do not believe you could find in all that vast district or in the great State of Kansas to-day a corporal's guard that would be willing to return to the single gold standard. Yet gentlemen get up here in the halls of Congress and tell you that the people of the country want this law repealed.

The trouble is that some of these gentlemen do not know where the people of this country live. They have never been out West to see the great country that God in his infinite wisdom has scooped out between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains—a country where in the future, according to my belief, there will rise one of the greatest nations that has ever existed in all the world—a nation that will be a nation of freemen, for I do not believe that men who breathe the air that sweeps down from the Rocky mountains over those vast plains will ever become slaves to any kind of aristocracy, much less to a money aristocracy. [Applause.]

I am sorry that Massachusetts and Kansas find themselves in opposition on this question; but I want to set squarely against

the sentiment repeated here to-day by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. EVERETT], and a sentiment that another Representative from Massachusetts has repeated, the expression of that great statesman, hero, and patriot, Wendell Phillips, who said:

Distrust is the nerve of the mind; let us see to it, then, that those sentinel nerves shall be ever on the alert; and if the Alps, piled in still and cold solemnity, are to be the emblems of despotism, then be ours the ever restless ocean, which is always pure because never still.

That is why I believe in the success of this great Government of ours. These questions are always coming up, stirring the masses from one end of the country to the other. They sweep through the country like the wind, moving and putting everything in motion, quickening the sentiments of these democratic masses and through this quickening and this agitation is the only real road to happiness and the perpetuity of free government. [Applause.]

Thanking you, gentlemen, for the time and attention you have given me, I resume my seat.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, the action of this House in the introduction of the Wilson bill, providing for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, and the Bland substitute, also providing for the same repeal, but coupled with a clause calling for the free coinage of silver at the present ratio of 16 to 1, has made an issue so plain, direct, and simple that it can not be changed, explained away, avoided, or even misunderstood. It is this: Shall we continue the use of silver as money in this country, or shall we abandon it forever, and here, in this present extraordinary session of Congress, adopt the single gold standard system of Great Britain?

Every true friend of silver will vote in favor of the Bland bill, while every true friend of the single gold standard will vote for the Wilson bill. It is possible that a few claiming to be bimetallists will vote against the Bland bill, but such persons will be recognized on this side of the House as gold men at heart, and in the end will be so recognized by their constituents and by the country. All attempts to drag in outside questions to divert attention and confuse the issue, or conceal the real purpose and effect of our action, will fail if tried.

The test vote on this question, showing the real position of the House, will be the vote on the first substitute offered by Mr. BLAND, as that will be the proposition for the repeal of the Sherman law, coupled with the free coinage of silver at the present ratio, 16 to 1.

A short time ago there was no difference of opinion in this country regarding the use of silver as money. The whole people, excepting a few engaged in money-loaning on a large scale, were satisfied with its use, and it responded to their every requirement as a currency; it was, with gold, the money of the Constitution; it had been coined by the Government ever since it became a government on an equal footing with gold, and had received the support of every President and every Congress.

Every political party in every national convention speaking upon this subject had declared in favor of silver money, and never once against it. Every American statesman, living or dead, has ever in his day been a supporter of silver, until within the score of years just passed. The same is true of the press of our country, while the great masses of the people, the farmers, artisans, wage-workers, merchants, and professional men, who are the stay and support of our Government, and whose intelligence and patriotism far surpass that of any nation on earth, not only believe in silver, but have never dreamed that such an idea could be seriously entertained by a Congress of the United States as its destruction for money uses.

When silver was dropped from the coinage act in 1873 it aroused such a storm of honest indignation throughout the entire land that the authors of that infamy sought pardon and obtained it only by pleading ignorance of the effect of their legislation. As late as November, 1892, Senator ALLISON of Iowa, speaking as an American delegate at the opening of the International Monetary Conference held at Brussels, said:

The proposition of the bimetallism put forward by us as our distinct proposition, having the full approval of our Government and the people it represents.

And again in the same address, in speaking of the action of the President of the United States in inviting the nations to that conference, stated that—

He did so in the hope that a method may be agreed upon to secure the enlarged use of silver, if not its full use.

In so doing he has acted upon the opinion of the people of the United States who believe it to be practicable to freely use both metals for monetary purposes, and thus to establish a parity of value between them.

The two principal political parties of the United States are not divided upon this question, and the delegates to this conference represent, not only the party which is now in power, but also that which has been restored to power by the recent election of Mr. Cleveland to the Presidency.

Our view as respects this question is held with singular unanimity by all the people of the United States, as one for the promoting of the common interest of all the nations.

While Mr. Cleveland, now the President, up to the setting of the sun on the 8th of last November—he being a man conspicuous for his honor and courage, incapable of duplicity—must have held the following views:

We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discrimination in favor of either metal.

But to-day we must admit there is a change of sentiment in certain quarters.

The powerful metropolitan press of the country either openly opposes the further use of silver as money or advocates measures the enactment of which would encompass the same end.

American statesmen, in and out of Congress, who have grown hoarse denouncing from the stump the Republican party for the demonetization of silver in 1873 are to-day actively in favor of a like policy, while the President, the Democratic President of these United States, has called Congress together for the sole purpose of repealing the only silver law now upon the statute books of our country, carrying out one part of one section of the Democratic platform and leaving another part of the same section, that declaring for the free coinage of silver, unredeemed and disregarded.

This is a most extraordinary change of front, and its extent and magnitude may well appal the serious minded and reflective; yet we have one hope in this unaccountable transformation.

We turn to the people, the sturdy, patriotic masses; to those who have established this nation and maintained it, giving it all of glory it enjoys; and how do we find them? Unchanged they stand, in spite of every opposition. No argument, however plausible, by whomsoever made; no threat so dire has as yet driven them from their devotion to the constitutional money of the Government—silver and gold.

What has brought about this changed condition in some quarters? I will tell you. It is the influence, widespread and subtle, and the machinations, secret, persistent, and conscienceless, of the security-holders of the world, who are determined to convert their holdings into securities payable in gold alone by the complete demonetization of silver.

As stated by my distinguished colleague from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] on Friday last upon the floor of this House:

You are asked to load up the Federal Treasury with gold to redeem every pecuniary obligation of the Government with gold, although the standard silver dollar is the identical dollar on which those obligations were based when they were issued, because they called for coin of the standard value at the time of their issue, and that was the standard. But now I repeat, we shall have to redeem all this bullion, all these Sherman notes in gold; we shall have to sell bonds to get gold to redeem all our greenbacks, all our silver certificates, and we will be compelled to carry our silver dollars as so much dead weight of bullion in the Treasury so that we might as well dump them into the Potomac.

That is what all this means. In other words, every piece of paper money issued in this country to-day, every silver certificate, every greenback, every bond, every Sherman note, is to be redeemed in gold, and we must procure the gold for their redemption.

I go further and add, every State bond outstanding to-day, every municipal bond, every county bond or debt, every school district bond from California to Maine, in fact all forms of State or municipal indebtedness, whether evidenced by bonds or not, are to be made payable in gold instead of legal tender, as they may be paid under the law to-day.

More than all this, if this attempt of capital to overreach the people succeeds, every railroad bond and every railroad debt in the United States must be paid in gold. And who pays all these debts? Not the railroad corporations, but the people. Those who ship freight and travel over the roads. The Lexington branch of the Missouri Pacific Railroad, passing through my district, is bonded and mortgaged for more than twice the prime cost of construction and equipment. Every cent paid on such indebtedness is paid by the people there in the way of freight rates and passenger rates, and you, the people, by the passage of the Wilson bill, and thereby the utter final and complete demonetization of silver, will be forced to pay this enormous railroad debt, so wickedly augumented, in gold, gold alone.

No wonder that Mr. Gould and every other holder of such securities, twice or three times in excess of the property bonded or of its value to-day or any day in the past, is in favor of the repeal of the Sherman law as provided in the Wilson bill, rather than the repeal of the Sherman law as provided in the Bland bill. Such holders are not in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law on account of its provisions, not because they deem it—as it is, in fact—a most pernicious, undemocratic measure, but because it stands between them and the conversion of their securities, both principal and interest, into gold securities.

And again I reiterate, you, the people and tax payers, are the ultimate payers of every railroad security of this country, whether held here or in Europe, the corporations being the mere collectors and transmitters of the money by them collected to the owners of the securities.

Every other conceivable debt in the United States, public and private, is to be made payable in gold. Every farm mortgage,

note, contract, and debt in the United States is to be made payable in gold by the simple process of the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law as provided in the pending bill.

The last census bulletin shows that we have farm and home mortgages as far east as the State of Maine, in which State the real estate mortgage debt existing January 1, 1890, was $32,627,208, and a per capita debt of $49, and yet Maine makes a much better showing than the other New England States.

On the owned farms in the State of Wisconsin there are liens of $55,304,608, which is 33¼ per cent of their entire value, and this debt bears interest at the average rate of 6.64 per cent.

I will not stop to read, but I will print the farm and home mortgage debt of each State as far as compiled up to date by the Census Bureau, in all estimated to be about $6,000,000,000.

Real estate mortgage debt in Tennessee, January 1, 1890, amounts to $40,421,396, or a per capita debt of $23.

Iowa real estate mortgage debt, $199,774,171, or per capita debt of $104.

Nebraska mortgage debt, $132,902,322, or a per capita debt of $126.

Missouri real estate mortgage debt, January 1, 1890, amounts to $214,609,772, or a per capita debt of $80.

Real estate mortgage debt of Massachusetts, January 1, 1890, was $323,277,668, or a per capita debt of $144.

Total amount of real estate mortgages in Illinois, January 1, 1890, is $384,299,150, or a per capita debt of $100.

Totall amount of real estate mortgage debt in Kansas, January 1, 1890, amounts to $235,485,108, or a per capita debt of $170.

Real estate mortgage debt in Vermont, January 1, 1890, $27,907,687, or a per capita debt of $84.

Real estate mortgage debt of Rhode Island, January 1, 1890, $36,778,243, or a per capita debt of $106.

Real estate mortgage debt of Connecticut, January 1, 1890, $79,921,071, or a per capita debt of $107.

Indiana, $110,730,643; per capita, $51.

New Hampshire, $18,968,259; per capita, $50.

Oregon, $22,928,437; per capita, $73.

Pennsylvania, $613,105,802; per capita, $117.

Minnesota, $197,745,989; per capita, $152.

Arkansas, $14,300,595; per capita, $13.

Mr. DAVIS. Will the gentleman permit me to give him some late information on that subject?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. DAVIS. I notice that according to the table there were in September last $19,000,000,000 and a little over of private debts in the United States.

Mr. MORGAN. Well, the gentleman is doubtlessly correct, but I have here the Census Bulletin obtained since last Monday as far as completed on this question, and going over it with the head of the fourth division of that bureau, we reached the estimate of $6,000,000,000 of home and farm mortgage debt alone.

Will members of Congress knowingly vote to increase the burdens of this vast farm and home mortgage debt by making it payable in gold alone?

It is easily seen who are interested in a contraction of the currency and an unfair increase in its purchasing power by the demonetization of silver, and are to-day actively and aggressively working to secure it, manufacturing public sentiment, and even employing a lobby to influence members on this floor. Who will be benefited by the adoption of the single gold standard and the striking down of silver? I again assert, the holders of securities, the creditors and gold owners of the country.

I solemnly aver that, in my opinion, the Sherman law has had nothing to do with the recent bank panic, and only bears its share with other unwise legislative acts of the Republican party in contributing to the present deplorable condition of the country; nor has it had anything to do with the agitation of the silver question, and if its repeal, unconditionally, would still leave on our statute books a provision for the free coinage of silver at the present ratio, on equal footing with gold, there would have arisen no clamor for its repeal from the gentlemen on the other side, or from those whom you represent, and no extra session would have been called for the specific purpose of its repeal. It is not the Sherman law you are striking at, but through it you are striking what you intend as a death-blow to silver money throughout the world. For so sure as the Wilson bill passes this Congress so sure silver will be demonetized in this nation, and not a member voting for the bill believes for a moment that during this Congress will it be possible to secure the passage of any bill to be approved by the President favorable to silver and its restoration as money.

We are asked why we favor the free coinage of silver at its present ratio. Our reply is, because it is the money recognized by our Constitution—coined and used by the Government since its origin, and because it is a safe, sound, stable, convenient, and honest currency, and to discontinue its use would be a contraction of the currency which would complete the ruin of the producers of this country. And because, as compared with the leading products of the nation, it is less fluctuating than gold—and gentlemen on the other side agree with us that stability of value is one of the essentials of a sound currency—and because, in spite of all the attacks made upon it, it is worth one hundred cents on the dollar or more in every market of every State in the Union.

I have no patience with those who would determine the question of relative stability of values by a comparison of one metal with the other; by such a comparison we may simply ascertain that the value of one metal has fallen or the other has risen.

To properly determine the relative values of two metals we must look elsewhere for tests, and what better test can be made than a comparison of the value of each metal with the value of the leading products of the country during a given length of time. Wheat is the great leading staple of this country, and since 1869 or 1873 compare its price with gold and we find gold has appreciated—wonderfully appreciated. Compare its price with silver for the same time, and we find the white metal has gradually and evenly, but in a much less degree, appreciated also.

The same comparison with corn shows the same result, that the price of silver has remained steady and uniform, while that of gold has radically changed.

This also is true of cotton in the same marked degree; and take the aggregation of all the products of this country, of agriculture, mines, forests, and manufactures, and every conceivable result of human industry for the last twenty years: ascertain the average yearly price of the same, and compare it month after month and year after year with the price of silver, and you will find them side by side, with scarcely a variation or a turn. Institute the same comparison with gold and we will find that metal violently changing, but on the whole rapidly advancing in value; so that as a measure of the values of the world's products it is worthless, so far as stability goes, as compared with silver.

Not only is this true as regards the United States, but if we are to credit the highest authorities it is so the world over; and in this connection I desire to call attention to the fluctuation in the prices of silver and gold and commodities, as compiled by the London Economist, which compares the price of silver and gold with the wholesale prices of twenty-two principal articles in the London market. It will be seen that from 1873 to 1892 the price of silver and these twenty-two principal articles run along side by side, like the gentle undulations of a Missouri prairie, while the price of gold, compared with them, first rises, then falls, then rapidly rises again, like the precipitous heights of the Alps.

I submit the table which was used, and not questioned as to reliability or correctness, at the Brussels Conference.

[See table No. 2, page 496.]

I now refer to the relative appreciation or depreciation of gold and silver since 1873 as measured by the index numbers of the late learned Dr. Soetbeer, whose authority as a political economist and statistician is recognized in America as well as in Europe.

[See table No. 3, page 496.]

These index numbers give the wholesale prices of one hundred Hamburg articles of principal use, together with fourteen articles from England, and include agricultural produce, animal produce, foreign fruits, colonial produce, mineral produce, textiles and miscellaneous articles; and the same remarkable showing is made in favor of the white metal, the price of silver running along evenly with all these productions, while gold, oscillating and erratic, culminates its course by reaching the very topmost heights of appreciation.

I also submit this table and map, which I take from the report of the United States commissioners to Brussels, as published by our Government.

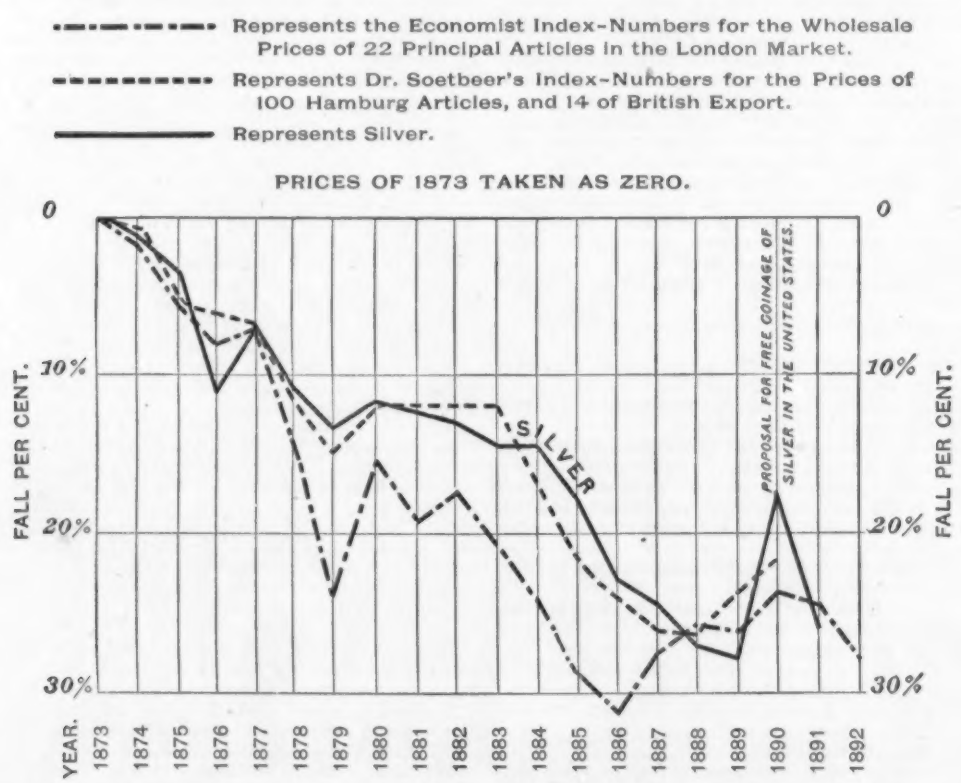
[See table 3A, page 497.]

In view of this showing, the people of the South and West have reached the conclusion that silver has not fallen in value, but that gold, owing to the limit of its production, together with the manipulations of the speculators of Lombard and Wall street, has appreciated.

Does it not follow, then, as the day follows the night, that the honest dollar is the silver dollar?

From the opening of this debate I have heard much about dishonest dollars. I, too, am opposed to dishonest dollars, whether made of gold or made of silver, dishonest to creditor or dishonest to debtor, and in favor of an honest dollar all around, honest to payor as well as payee, and one that does not change in value from year to year, but keeps along in line with the price of common commodities; such a dollar I believe to be the silver dollar of our Constitution. The dishonest dollar I believe to be the gold dollar, whose purchasing power is double what it was twenty years ago, and will be doubled again in the next decade if the present attempt to demonetize silver is successful.

No. 2.—FLUCTUATIONS IN THE PRICE OF COMMODITIES AND SILVER MEASURED BY GOLD.



No. 3.—APPRECIATION OF GOLD MEASURED BY ITS PURCHASING POWER ON THE BASIS OF THE "ECONOMIST INDEX-NUMBERS."

No. 3A.—RELATIVE APPRECIATION OR DEPRECIATION OF GOLD AND SILVER MEASURED BY SOETBEER'S INDEX-NUMBERS* SINCE 1873.

* Soetbeer's Index-Numbers give the wholesale prices of 100 Hamburg Articles, and 14 Articles from England—viz., Agricultural Produce, Animal Produce, Foreign Fruits, Colonial Produce, Mineral Produce, Textiles, and Miscellaneous.

A borrower of 1873, receiving $1,000 in currency under the then condition of finances, paying the same to-day in the same currency, would not only honestly discharge all his obligations, legal and moral, but would in addition deliver to his creditor money of double the purchasing power of that loaned. And yet gentlemen ask for a further increase in the purchasing power of money by striking from the coinage act the silver dollar.

We believe in honest money, and contend that with free and unlimited coinage of silver at the present ratio during the next century the purchasing power of our currency would be no less than it was prior to 1873, when nearly all of the vast indebtedness of our people, public and private, was created, and that it ought to be no less, for we believe in maintaining, so far as it is possible so to do by legislation, the same condition and same prices for all products of labor which existed at the time of the creation of a debt until that debt is paid off and discharged.

This is fair to both sides—creditor and debtor, and therefore honest. What is fair to one side only is dishonest.

A farmer of the West, whose share of the State or Government debt amounted to 50 bushels of wheat, or a given quantity of corn, or live stock, or dairy products, is entitled to such legislation as shall tend to maintain the paying power of such products up to the final day when the debt matures and is paid.

We know that prices are not regulated arbitrarily by legislation, and are largely controlled by the laws of supply and demand—but these laws being the same, he should be compelled to pay no more in labor or in property than he borrowed; nor do I believe he desires to pay less.

It is a mistaken idea, that the Western farmer advocates a financial policy on the part of the Government which will enable him to pay his creditors in cheap money, as partly admitted by Mr. Balfour to be possibly true in some of the States of the West. On the contrary, he would maintain the purchasing power of the currency to its full value, and only objects to such legislation as will compel him to pay his private obligations, or

share of the public debt in money of double or triple the value of that borrowed, as measured by his labor, his sweat, and his sacrifices.

And is it not food for reflection to consider right here that of the vast national debt existing at the close of the war, the people having already paid two-thirds of its principal, as indicated by cold figures, besides paying in interest a sum equal to the entire amount of the principal; and yet under conditions brought about by legislation secured by Wall street and the bondholders, who are again knocking at our doors, there yet remains unpaid, as measured by the labor and products of the people, a greater debt than existed on the day of Lee's surrender at Appomattox, and notwithstanding all the people have paid during these thirty weary years of sacrifice and toil, not one ounce of burden has been lifted from their load.

To pay what exists to-day of this debt will take as many bales of their cotton, as many barrels of their flour, more bushels of their wheat and corn, more head of their horses and cattle, more days of their labor than in 1865, when the debt, as indicated in figures, reached its highest point, and yet we are here to-day pleading only that the load be not further increased, for fear that it may pass beyond the limit of human endurance and suffering.

In the effort of the gold owners of the world to augment the value of their holdings and increase the power of their money, they have sought to and have actually controlled the legislation of Congress. Under their influence the act of 1869, taking from the people their lawful contract privilege of paying the principal of the Government bonds in legal tender was passed, making payment necessary in gold and silver coin. Under the same baneful influence the act of 1873 followed, dropping from the coinage of the country the silver dollar which had been used and recognized through our entire national existence; under the protest of the people silver was partially restored by the Bland-Allison act. An attempt at its full restoration was met by Congress, acting under this same influence, by the passage of the Sherman law and the repeal of the Bland-Allison act, and to-day the same malign influence, the same power, is asking for legislation which will place silver in the same position that it was by the act of 1873—absolutely demonetized.

We look with apprehension at the result of silver demonetization; we are not thinking alone about the recent bank panic, which originated in one of the great banking concerns, Baring Bros., in the great single gold standard nation of England, and extended to her colony, Australia (where no Sherman law exists), and, as many an honest man believes, crossed the waters to this continent only at the dictates of Lombard and Wall streets to take a hand in and to aid in the wicked work of the demonetization of silver; rather are we thinking of the past years of distress which the policy of contraction of the currency, adopted and carried forward by the Republican party, augmented by their so-called protective tariff, has brought us.

The masses of the people to-day are thinking of how they shall save their homes and provide for their children. What may happen by the demonetization of silver I leave to the deliberate judgment of one of America's brightest statesmen, Mr. Carlisle, the Secretary of the Treasury, who, as a Representative on the floor of this House, said in February, 1878:

> I know that the world's stock of the precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it will ever become so. Mankind will be fortunate, indeed, if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry. According to my view of the subject, the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy by legislation and otherwise from three-sevenths to one-half of the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age.
>
> The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilences, and famines that ever occurred in the history of the world. The absolute and instantaneous destruction of half the entire movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads, and all other appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of one-half of the metallic money in the world.

The truth of Mr. Carlisle's prophecy has been partially realized. Demonetization of silver, in a measure, under the Bland-Allison law, perpetuated in a greater degree and in a more objectionable manner by the Sherman law, have produced distress and suffering, as predicted by him, and the total annihilation of silver money would fulfill his prophecy to the uttermost letter.

It is with pride that we reflect upon the conduct of Mr. Carlisle and the other Democratic members of Congress who have hitherto so faithfully fought the battles of silver on the floor of this House.

Under BLAND and Carlisle we stood for free silver in 1878 and under the same leadership in 1890, when the cowardly makeshift known as the Sherman act was passed against a solid Democratic vote in this House.

Upon our plain, outspoken, unmistakable declaration for silver money we made the campaign of 1892 and were restored for the first time since the war to full control.

We have now pending in the bill offered by Mr. BLAND a proposal to carry out in good faith and to the letter the seventh section or plank of the national Democratic platform, upon which we were elected as well as the President and which by every consideration of honor we stand pledged to redeem.

Let me read that plank. It is refreshing reading to this side, but must be gall and wormwood to those who have joined the Republican majority and are struggling to aid what Mr. Carlisle termed a "conspiracy," and which he further and truly denounces as the most "gigantic crime" of this or any other age:

> SEC. 7. We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters as well as its author anxious for its speedy repeal.
>
> We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

This calls for the repeal of the Sherman act and coinage of silver.

The Bland bill provides for the repeal of the Sherman act and coinage of silver, and thus proposes to carry out the pledges we made to the people, on the strength of which we were given power.

Is there a man on the other side who believes for a moment that we could have carried the country on a platform declaring against the monetary use of silver metal? Why, sir, on such a platform we could not have carried Vernon County, Missouri.

Our platform was for silver, and, as I take it, for silver at the same ratio of the old standard dollar—that is, of 16 to 1. That is the only ratio I favor to-day.

To enlarge it is to discredit silver metal, which has maintained its value with less variation than gold.

Some gentlemen there are who claim to be in favor of a double standard, and yet would measure the quantity of silver metal in a dollar by its value in gold. This would not be a double standard, but a single gold standard.

Is it possible for a sincere free-coinage man, who believes in the present ratio of 16 to 1, in order to secure the coinage of silver at all, to vote for a greater ratio?

If it comes to no coinage at all, or coinage at the ratio of 20 to 1, how shall an honest silver man vote on such a proposition? As far as I am concerned, in such an emergency my course is not yet determined, and I can only say, in such a crisis I will vote as my judgment at the moment dictates for what I deem the best interests of my constituents and the cause of silver money.

Mr. Carlisle's opinion of our duty here to-day may be gathered from what he said in closing his speech from which I have already quoted. It is very suggestive, and I will terminate my remarks by quoting it. Let it be remembered that these words were spoken by him in favor of remonetization of silver on the Senate amendments to the bill of the House of Representatives to authorize the free coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character, which afterwards, as amended by the Senate, became a law known as the Bland-Allison law.

> For fifteen years the people have been on the defensive, and although fortified by the plainest provisions of law and the clearest principles of equity, they have been continually driven from one position to another, until they stood at last upon the very verge of financial ruin. Gathering all their energies for this struggle, they have advanced—not very far, it is true—but they have advanced far enough to recover a part of the ground lost in previous conflicts, and, sir, I trust that their representatives will faithfully hold it for them.
>
> Our power of legislation over this subject will not be exhausted by the passage of this measure, and we ought not to halt for a single moment in our efforts to complete the work of relief inaugurated by it. The struggle now going on can not cease, and ought not to cease, until all the industrial interests of the country are fully and finally emancipated from the heartless domination of syndicates, stock exchanges, and other great combinations of money-grabbers in this country and in Europe.
>
> Let us, if we can do no better, pass bill after bill, embodying in each some one substantial provision for relief, and send them to the Executive for his approval. If he withholds his signature, and we are unable to secure the necessary vote, here or elsewhere, to enact them into laws notwithstanding his veto, let us, as a last resort, suspend the rules and put them into the general appropriation bills, with the distinct understanding that if the people can get no relief the Government can get no money.

These are the words of John G. Carlisle. We accept his advice in the spirit in which it was then given. The issue is the same now as then—gold alone—or silver and gold. Men, and patriotic men, are contending on both sides for honest convictions, and he only in this struggle is contemptible who affects to favor bimetallism and who will vote against the free coinage of silver.

The cause of humanity is at stake; let it be decided in favor of humanity, remembering that a question is never finally settled until it is settled right. [Applause.]

Mr. TALBERT of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, no period ever existed in the history of our country in which the duty was more imperative upon each and every one of us here to lay aside all prejudice and all bitterness and look alone as one man to the present unhappy and distressed condition of our country. No time ever demanded more serious and sober thought of the Representatives of this Union than does the present time. We are confronted to-day, not with any vague theories; we are confronted with conditions; and we have arrived at a crisis in the history of the country when something must be done, and done quickly, and done with decision and judgment.

I have sat here and listened with a great deal of earnestness to speeches upon both sides of this question. I have listened seriously and patiently, and I must admit that sometimes I have been somewhat in the position of the little boy whose mother in making him his first pair of pantaloons put the front in the rear. The little fellow started for school the next morning, and walked cheerfully along until he looked down and discovered the situation, when he burst out into a cry, and said, "I don't know whether I am going to school or going back home." [Laughter.]

I have listened to these arguments, I say, until I have been put almost in a similar position. I rise to-night with some hesitation, first, on account of my inexperience in a body like this, being a new member. Possibly common prudence would have forbidden me to undertake to address this House this evening from the fact that looking around me here I see so many members older and with so much more experience, with so much greater gift of eloquence and oratory, than myself.

But coming as I do from one of the rural districts of the sunny South, and representing as I do a constituency as true, as patriotic, as honorable, as high-minded, as any people that ever lived upon God's green earth, nineteen-twentieths of whom I might say are unqualifiedly in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver [applause], I deem that a sufficient excuse for saying at least a few words in their behalf and in advocacy of this measure, which I sincerely believe involves not only the liberties, but the lives of the masses of the people of the United States.

In my remarks I will not rehash what has been already said as to the relative amount of gold and silver in foreign countries, England, France, or Germany, or go into statistics; but will endeavor to prove that it is mere "claptrap" for our opponents to say that the Sherman act is the cause of the depression now prevailing. I shall endeavor to show that it is the monetary system of our country, ending an array of acts culminating in the demonetization of silver.

Although coming as I do from the humbler walks of a farmer's life, having never been anything but a common, plain, practical farmer; representing also as I do the farmers and producers of wealth in common with the other classes of citizens of this great nation; elected though I was upon a platform of principles one plank of which was the free and unlimited coinage of silver—others, Mr. Speaker, can do as they please, but as for me and my house we will serve the Lord, and I shall stand on that platform first, last, and all the time. [Applause.]

Platforms are said to be made to get in on and not to stand on, but it shall not be said of me that I rode in on a platform and deserted it as soon as I got in. And my friends, I contend that here in this House the Democratic party stands pledged to-day by every honest purpose to that plank in the national platform, as well as in twenty-eight or thirty of the Democratic State platforms of this Union in favor of the same system; and not only are the Democrats pledged, but nearly every Representative here is pledged likewise, to bimetallism. And I want to say that I think it is a sad commentary, at least, and can not understand how men who have gone through their several districts all over this nation stumping and promising their constituents to stand by the platforms and the promises of free silver, can now come here and make eloquent speeches against it. I say that at least I can not understand it. And yet I do not impugn their motives, believing, as I do, that the present distressed condition is not chargeable and due to the Sherman act, that "cowardly makeshift," as it has been called.

Mr. Speaker, it is a "cowardly makeshift; when it was passed it was a cowardly makeshift," but it did good. But the trouble is that it is being used in this House to-day as a much more "cowardly makeshift" by these men who want to dodge out of their duty and pretend that they can not stand up to their platform. It is a more "cowardly makeshift" to decry monometallism than it was on the part of those who put it into their platform.

The present distressed condition of our country is due and chargeable to a system of legislation which has been enacted since the beginning of the late war, and is not due to the Sherman act or anything of that sort. And in order to more fully comprehend the situation I want to say that figures enough have been given in regard to what the standing of silver and gold is in England and France and other European countries and all that. But I would ask you to let us go back to the beginning of the war and examine some of the legislation preceding that crowning act of infamy conceived in fraud and brought forth in iniquity, the demonetization act of 1873 that struck down silver, standing to-day as a living monument to the power of money to oppress; that war, which subsequent events have made me believe was not fought to free the negro and save the Union, but to enslave the people of America by a moneyed aristocracy, the most hateful and despotic of all governments possible. [Applause.]

At the beginning of the war the resources of the National Government were taxed to their utmost capacity for the purpose of producing means to carry it on. Vast volumes of money were needed, far beyond the capacity of the mints to supply in coin, and at this time the great Wall street kings and bankers, of whom very much has been said on this floor, came forward and offered to loan the Government sufficient money for the purpose, at what do you suppose? Why, at a rate from 24 to 36 per cent!

They took advantage, Mr. Speaker, of the misfortunes of the Government, and tried to fatten and aggrandize themselves upon its needs and thus saddle upon a nation a debt which, at the end of hostilities, could be used under the European idea led on by English capitalists to make slaves of the American people. These are the same great, "blessed Representatives" that we have heard of to-day who have been talked of so much during this debate as doing so much for the country in its time of need! These are the men who want to take all money out of the country except gold and make you worship the golden calf, the same Wall street kings that took advantage of the needs of the Government to make slaves of the American people. But what did Mr. Lincoln say? Did he accede to their demands?

No, sir. He was not fooled or baffled by them. He said that before he would submit to such a bounty being given to these Shylocks, he would print and issue money until it took a thousand dollars to buy a breakfast! And he did. Reading from the Constitution, he read that Congress shall have the power to declare war. He read again that Congress shall have the power to coin money, issue bills of credit, stamp their value, etc., upon them; and following along after this declaration, on the 17th of July, 1861, and February 12, 1862, there was passed the legal-tender act, and sixty millions of greenbacks were issued with which to pay the soldiers and carry on the war.

My friends, these greenbacks were in the shape of demand notes on which there had been put no exception clause, and this money answered its purpose; and here we have, right here, if you will bear with me, Jefferson's idea of Treasury notes, bottomed on taxes, backed up by all the products of the nation, and secured by the patriotism of the people—the best kind of money that can be issued by any country in the world. [Applause.]

The first issue of greenbacks constituted the demand notes which, unlike all subsequent issues, did not contain the exception clause. Consequently they have always been at par with gold; and this establishes the fact that had it not been for the exception clause on all the subsequent issues they would have always remained at par with gold. Wherever gold went these notes could have gone, even into the coffers of the bondholders. So Congress continued to issue money as necessity demanded, and with an abundance of this money not even could the ravages of war check the prosperity of the country, save in those sections desolated by immediate ravages. Commerce, industry, and education received new impetus, and flourished as never before in the history of the country. In speaking of the war, I do not propose to discuss the right of secession, but in the language of the Supreme Court "the republic that survives the storm is an indissoluble Union of indestructible States." With that motto, let us turn our backs to the past and look to the future. All this talk about hard or soft money is nonsense, when you are talking to a people who have no money at all or a very little at least. Let it be remembered that our forefathers achieved our independence with a continental currency that took a wheelbarrow full to buy a ham.

Now, since Congress had found a provision to supply the people with money, and to supply the Government with money, there was no longer any demand for Shylock's gold. But Shylock did not sleep. It is said that within four days, I believe, after the passage of this legal-tender act there was a bankers' convention held in the city of Washington, consisting of four delegates from New York, three or four from Philadelphia, and three or four from Boston. Shylock was alarmed; he saw in the legal-tender act a friend of the people.

Now, I will not stand up here and pretend to say what was done in this convention, because I am not a banker and was not there. I will not pretend to say what was done, but I suppose they or-

ganized a Bankers' Association of America, and so on; but I will only call your attention to subsequent legislation, and let you do your own thinking in regard to the matter. On February 25, 1862, fifteen days after the legal-tender act was passed, Congress passed an act stipulating that the greenbacks should be a legal-tender for all debts, public and private, except duties on imports and interest on the public debt, which, from that time forward, was paid in coin.

These two sacred things, mind you, greenbacks should not pay. Charity forbids that I should say that Congress was influenced by that convention, but every man can think, if he does not speak, and do his own thinking like the man whose lawyer on one occasion was not talking exactly to suit him in the court room, and he got up to make a few remarks himself. The judge, of course, made him take his seat. He got up again and the judge made him take his seat again. A third and fourth time this happened, and finally the gentleman got up and said: "Well, judge, if you will not let me talk, won't you let me think?" "Why, certainly," said the judge. "Well, judge," he said, "I think you and all these lawyers are a set of grand rascals." [Laughter.]

Now, I do not say that anybody was a rascal, not even a grand rascal, or anything of that sort, but I tell you the time has come for you to put your own construction upon things, and not take the *ipse dixit* of any man, however learned he may be, or whatever profession he may follow, or whatever position he may hold.

This money might pay the soldier for blood, but not the bondholder for interest. Just think of that. This money should be accepted by the farmer, but not for import duties. Thus the greenback was debased from the day of its birth and made a bastard by the edict of its own father. Gold and silver of course retained their normal value as a circulating medium and became the money of the banks, as they circulated between the banks on the one hand and the custom-house on the other. And listen! This debased greenback, falling to 40 per cent of its value as compared with gold, became the money of the people.

Just catch that idea, gentlemen of this House. The bankers, the stock gamblers, and the brokers must have gold, but the laboring people, the servants, the people, must have greenbacks, which they said were good enough for them; and I want to direct your attention to this system as I go along with it. Then followed in one year, February, 1863, the national banking act, it may be, passed with the same influence of the convention in the onward march to attack and strike down silver. Then the 6 per cent nonassessable bonds, whose interest was payable in coin, were sold to the banks, for what? Not for gold. The bankers bought bonds with depreciated greenbacks, which the Government had been compelled to swap with Shylock, almost two for one, as Roark swapped horses with Kilpatrick.

Now, I know you have heard this over and over again, but I am only going to throw this out to you to try to prove to you that it is not the Sherman act that has done the devilment, and that these men who say so do not believe what they say, because they know better when they are telling you that they believe that. Roark was an old Union man that lived up in North Carolina, and after the war, when Kilpatrick came along through there, going home, Mr. Roark, who had a very fine horse, went out to meet Gen. Kilpatrick. He rode up to him and thought Kilpatrick ought to have known him. He said, "Good morning, general." Kilpatrick stopped with his crowd. "Good morning." And before saying anything more, he just said to one of his men, who was riding a very poor horse, "Get off that horse." And then he said to Roark, "Get down off your horse." Roark did as he was told, and then Kilpatrick said, "Change your saddles." Now he said to Roark, "Get up on the poor horse." Roark did as he was commanded, and Kilpatrick started off. Roark said to the general, "Can I speak to you?" "Well," he said, "talk quick; I must be going." Roark said, "I just want to say to you that I have been swapping horses for forty years, but this is the first time I ever traded without I had any say in it." [Laughter].

So it was with the people. They had to swap their money for gold, and they had no say at all because of this legislation which was forced upon them. The Government had no voice in the matter. Bankers paid $40 in gold for $100 in greenbacks. Then they exchanged the $100 in greenbacks for $100 bonds, which paid six gold dollars in interest every year, were subject to no tax, national or State, county or city. So he invested $40 in gold, and he drew six gold dollars in interest, or 15 per cent on his original investment of forty gold dollars.

But this is not all. The banker was allowed to deposit his bond in a vault and draw 90 per cent of its value in money to loan out again at 10 per cent to the people—to loan them their own money. There, gentlemen of this House, is a subtreasury pure and simple for the bondholders; and yet you have heard so much fuss about it when the farmers made a similar kind of a demand.

Mr. DAVIS. Will the gentleman allow me to make an additional statement right there?

Mr. TALBERT of South Carolina. Certainly.

Mr. DAVIS. The banker got his interest in gold twelve months in advance.

Mr. TALBERT of South Carolina. Payable in advance; and sometimes when Wall street got into a scrape, it was anticipated six months in advance. At one time ten millions were paid during Cleveland's former administration; and some time ago, if I mistake not, seven millions were paid out by Mr. Carlisle, the money being sent out to these Wall street gamblers when they got into a scrape. Millions upon the top of millions are appropriated to build navies to rot upon the seas, for railroads and corporations and expositions and all that sort of thing, and a great deal of money paid out for the Indians; but when the white man comes in for anything, why he can not get it. If I am not mistaken, this House did pass at the last term of Congress a resolution of sympathy, not of sincere sympathy, for the farmer, and that is all they got out of the Fifty-second Congress. [Laughter.]

I understand that they actually had the word "sincere" stricken out, so as to give them simply sympathy. Now, I say that the farmers are tired of this kind of sympathy. We have had sympathy from everybody. I am a farmer myself. When the farmer at the end of the year goes to the merchant and pays his bill, the merchant says to him, "I sympathize with you; you are the bone and sinew of the country," but all the time he is poking the money down into the bottom of his pockets, and tells him, as he goes out of the store, "Stay out of politics." Then, when he goes to the lawyer, the lawyer will tell him, as he pays him a nice, big fee, "I hope you will have a better crop next year," and all the time he is poking the money away down in his pocket; and so it is when he goes to the doctor; and finally he goes to the good old minister—and God knows we ought to have more of them; I think this Congress ought to be preached to more from what I have heard and seen—but the good old minister, he, too, will take the contribution, and while he puts it in his pocket he says: "Brother, if you do not get your reward in this world, you will in the sweet by and by." [Laughter.] And that is all we get; but we want something in reality. [Laughter and applause in the House and in the galleries.]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair appeals to occupants of the galleries to preserve order. The galleries are opened for the convenience of the public by the courtesy of the House, and order must be preserved.

Mr. TALBERT of South Carolina. Now, then, starting with forty thousand in gold, the banker gets one hundred thousand in bonds bearing 6 per cent in gold, or six thousand per annum. With this interest flowing on, he draws from the Government ninety thousand, which he loans to the people at 10 per cent, making nine thousand a year; so, on forty thousand he gets fifteen thousand interest, or 37½ per cent. But if this vast harvest of interest that the bankers have been drawing from the people for a quarter of a century were all we could stand it, but it was not all. Other discriminating acts have been passed leading up to the one demonetizing silver, forming the link in the supposed conspiracy of financial legislation systematically impoverishing the people by legalized robbery the most damnable and reprehensible.

In March, 1869, the credit strengthening act was passed, whether by the influence of the same band I can not say; but, like the blind man who received his sight, while he could not answer other questions, said: "One thing I know; that whereas I was blind, now I see." This much I do know, such an act followed along, which act doubled the price of the bonds paid by the bankers at a time when the Government needed no stronger credit; when it had no bonds to sell this act was passed, declaring that the bonds which were payable in currency (the interest only payable in gold) should be paid in coin. This act added over $500,000,000 to the holders of the bonds and that much of a debt was saddled upon the people in addition.

Oliver P. Morton, in a speech on this act, said:

> We should do foul injustice to the Government and to the people of the United States, after we sold these bonds on an average of not more than 60 cents on the dollar, now to propose to make a new contract for the benefit of the bondholder.

The Hon. Thad. Stevens, in speaking of the insatiate demands of the money bond interest, said:

> We were foolish to grant them gold interest, and now they unblushingly demand further advantages. The truth is we can never satisfy their appetite for money.

Ben Wade, in a letter written at Washington, December 13, 1867, expressed himself as follows:

> I am for the laboring portion of our people. The rich will take care of themselves. We never agreed to pay the bonds in gold; no man can find it

in the contract, and I will never consent to have one payment for the bondholder and another for the people. It would sink my party and ought to.

And now I say that the Democratic party, unless it carries out the pledges made when not in power in order to get into power, now that they are in power, will sink their party, and ought to sink it. If that is treason, gentlemen can make the most of it; for one I will stick to the pledges I made. The people are awake, their eyes are open, they are watching the actions of their representatives here, and will no longer submit to broken pledges. I was elected on a platform of principles, as I have said, one plank of which was free and unlimited silver. I intend to stand or fall upon that platform. When we have secured that, as I hope we will, I shall contend for every other plank embodied in the platform on which I was elected. My people expect it; I promised to do it; and I shall do it though the heavens fall.

JOHN SHERMAN said in a speech February 27, 1867:

The bond owner can demand only the kind of money he paid and he is a repudiator and extortioner to demand money more valuable than he gave.

See where JOHN SHERMAN stands to-day. At that time he was a poor man. Now he is a millionaire.

To show, possibly, the hand of conspiracy, shortly after that notable bankers' convention the following circular was issued, signed by their secretary, James Buell. Here is the circular:

DEAR SIR: It is advisable to do all in your power to sustain such daily and prominent weekly newspapers, especially the agricultural and religious press, as will oppose the issuing of greenback paper money, and that you withhold patronage and favors from all applicants who are not willing to oppose the Government issue of money. Let the Government issue the coin and the banks issue the paper money of the country, for we can better protect each other. To repeal the law creating national banks or to restore to circulation the Government issue of money will be to provide the people with money, and will therefore seriously affect your individual profit as banker and lender. See your member of Congress at once and engage him to support our interest that we may control legislation.

This circular is signed by the secretary, James Buell. It speaks for itself, and needs no comment from me.

Connected with this list of acts is also the contraction act of April 12, 1866, and the refunding act of July 14, 1870, a scheme to perpetuate the debt of the nation by funding at a lower rate of interest from year to year, from time to time. To further show the existence of a conspiracy and to show why I said in the outset that this war was not fought to free the negro, but to enslave the white man, I will give here a copy of a circular issued in 1862, after the war had begun in earnest. This circular was issued by English capitalists, who commissioned one Mr. Hazard, a London banker, to propagate its principles among American bankers with a view of having the financial legislation of Congress pave the way for its final adoption as the settled policy of this nation. Here is a copy:

Slavery is likely to be abolished by the war power and chattel slavery destroyed. This I and my European friends are in favor of; for slavery is but the owning of labor and carries with it the care of the laborer, while the European plan, led on by England, is capital control of labor by controlling wages. This can be done by controlling the money. The debt, that capitalists will see to it is made out of the war, must be used as a measure to control the volume of money. To accomplish this the bonds must be used as a banking basis. We are now waiting for the Secretary of the Treasury to make his recommendation to Congress. It will not do to allow the greenback (as it is called) to circulate as money any length of time, for we can not control that.

This circular also speaks for itself. Having established the coin price for bonds, which have not cost their holders more than 60 cents on the dollar, they might have been satisfied; but now here came the silver question, before it was demonetized. They commenced work upon it before it was depreciated at all. To show you that all this talk about depreciation is mere claptrap, they commenced when it was at a premium of 3 or 4 per cent, and to-day it seems that they are making the same cry, looking for a crash to come to the Government, when silver is selling at 2 per cent advance in New York; and I am told that a gentleman went to Secretary Carlisle on last evening (it was so stated in the evening paper) and tried to buy silver with gold, and he would not let him have it.

The rock-ribbed mountains of the West have opened the floodgates of their hidden treasures and poured forth streams of silver that amazed the world and promised abundant money for the country again. Silver then, of course, was coin, and the bonds payable in coin, and had been the money of the world from the time of Abraham. Silver was too base and cheap for Shylock now, and must be demonetized. Then came the act of 1873, passed under a guise and misrepresentation.

It is said that one Mr. Ernest Seyd, of London, was sent over with $500,000 to buy the American Congress. I do not pretend to vouch for this, but ask you to listen and see how easy the act was passed in 1873, which did destroy silver, thus adding the straw to the camel's back by further contraction and increasing the bonded indebtedness, following this with the resumption act of 1879, and fastening upon this nation a financial system which, Mr. Carlisle says, has been productive of more misery and crime to the people of this country than all the wars, pestilence, and famine with which they have ever been afflicted.

The record of the American Congress for the last twenty-five years has been one inimical to the interest of the mass of the people. The acts spoken of completed the infernal machinery by which the money power is crushing out the lives and liberties of the people. Trusts and syndicates have been formed, which have reduced the people to a wage slavery more abject and heartless than any chattel slavery that ever cursed God's green earth. These acts are still upon the statute book; this legislation is still in operation and should be undone, and that is what the people demand.

I refer, Mr. Speaker, to the report of the committee in charge of the bill. The chairman, Mr. Hooper, said:

Mr. Ernest Seyd, of London, a distinguished writer and bullionist, who is now here, has given great attention to the subject of mint and coinage. After having examined the first draft of this bill he made some sensible suggestions, which the committee adopted and embodied in the bill.

The finances of the National Government are so adjusted to-day as to be utilized by one particular class, and a very small class it is, with power to contract and inflate at will, and as they go on with the contraction, of couse it is followed by a corresponding shrinkage in the value of products of labor and everything else in the nature of property. Then the people are obliged to sacrifice their property; they are obliged to sell their products. The speculators get it at the depreciated price; then inflate the currency, and, turning it loose, sell it back at three times what they paid.

This is the system we are living under to-day. It is not the Sherman act. That has done the sick man a great deal of good. If it is a "cowardly makeshift" it has acted like a little quinine. It will cure chills, but they will come back after awhile. The people have been quiet too long. They have stayed quietly at home, trusting to their representatives at Washington to do the nice thing for them, every once in awhile sending up to ask them, "What of the night?" and the good gentlemen here, these great big bushy-headed statesmen, fattening and feasting on the best of the land [laughter], would reply: "All is well. Plow on, boys; we will be down again in the fall; we will want the votes and the fried chickens as usual." [Great laughter.]

That is the way the people have been treated; that is the way I have been treated. I have met these gentlemen on the stump and I have thrown this in their teeth again and again and they could not deny it. I stand here, sir, as a humble representative of my people, and I intend to represent their interests as I promised to do. Every other class can get what they want. The manufacturers can get what they want. The railroads can get what they want. The bankers can get what they want. But as soon as the farmers, the laboring people of the world, the people who make that which feeds and clothes the world, and who are growing poorer and poorer every day of their lives, as soon as they send up a little petition here these great big statesmen sit up and look as wise as owls and say, "It can not be done. It is unconstitutional!" [This was said in a very sarcastic and humorous manner, causing renewed laughter.]

They will appropriate millions to go out into the wild woods to catch Indians and educate them. [Laughter.] They will appropriate millions to take care of the negroes and educate them; but they will do nothing for the poor white men of this country. [Laughter.] I speak here for the poor white people of my country. I want to get something for them, along with the Indians and the negroes, and I am going to stay here until I get it, or know the reason why. [Applause and laughter.]

Now, my friends, these oppressive laws are still on the statute book, and if the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. PENDLETON] loves the people as much as he tells us he does, he ought to be willing to help to remedy them. Why, he almost cried when he was telling us how he loved the people. Many of these gentlemen have talked so much and so earnestly about their love for the people that I almost thought they were in earnest. [Laughter.] That legislation is on the statute book to-day.

Mr. PENDLETON. Put there by the Republican party.

Mr. TALBERT of South Carolina. Yes, and you helped them to keep it there; that is just as bad. A man who receives stolen goods is as bad as the man who steals them. That legislation is on the statute book to-day. The people having slept until this machinery is perfected, have at last awakened from their dream of freedom to find their liberties fettered and themselves in the grasp of a system of monopolies whose satanic engines are crushout not only liberty, but life itself.

No longer may they boast of living in the land of the free and the home of the brave, where every man may worship under his own vine and fig tree; but the fact stares us in the face that a despotism of corporate wealth has subverted our free institutions, and that we are living to-day under a moneyed aristocracy, so to speak. Who does not tremble for the safety of our civilization? The results of legislation are being universally realized, and fears may be justly entertained that we have already passed

the point beyond which our steps may be retraced and our liberties retrieved.

But God forbid! Although our country is hanging over the brink of an abyss that blinds and dazzles the mortal eye, I yet believe that there is a force at work which will neutralize and stop these destructive influences, that finally the great God who rules the destinies of nations will bend down over His people in mercy and in love, and that "Equal rights for all; special privileges for none" will be again the motto of our country, and the republic will be saved and liberty restored.

The demonetization of silver made all debts and taxes harder to pay by cutting off half the means of payment. Cotton was bringing 18 cents per pound when it was done. In a short time it was bringing 10 cents. So with property and labor—all went down in proportion. The remonetization will add back to the means of payment and lighten the weight of all debts and taxes. Is it not right to undo a wrong? I need not go into details, as others have discussed the silver laws ratios.

I submit that what was done in demonetization should be undone. It is a poor rule that will not work both ways. If the lovers of the people—those men who, by the way they speak here are ready, one would think, to take the people in their arms—if they want to do something for the people let them join with us and help to undo this legislation, by which the country will be placed back to the position in which it was in the good old days when it was prosperous. You know that from the time of George Washington, the tobacco planter, up to 1860 this was a great and prosperous country.

Since 1860 this evil has been coming upon us which is now sapping the very foundations of our civil and religious liberty. The people are awakening, and ask that this legislation be repealed. Why not commence by giving us back silver and letting the repeal of other acts follow. Let us bring back that wing of the Democratic party that is to-day upon the mountain worshipping the golden calf, not the true God. Let them come back and serve the only living God.

Thus we stand to-day. Our grand old ship of state is out upon a tempestuous sea amid the conflicting billows of contending parties; and I might say, judging from the late message of the President of the United States, without a faithful pilot. He has left us out in the wide ocean to do the best we can. But, my friends, let us recollect the words of the dying and lamented Lawrence, "Never give up the ship." Let us keep flying at her masthead the flag of retrenchment and financial reform, the flag of the people—the flag of those who follow the plow, who stand at the anvil, and in the workshop. With strong arms and stout hearts we can and will keep the ship afloat and carry her beyond the breakers out in the smooth and level sea.

But, instead of helping to do this, what are gentlemen trying to do? Trying to repeal the Sherman act. The country is already bleeding to death, and they want to inflict another wound and take more blood. Strange doctrine!

Gentlemen say that their position does not mean opposition to bimetallism. It does not mean anything else, and they know it. I say, without fear of contradiction, they know it is nothing else than monometallism. When Oliver Cromwell was besieging a certain Catholic town citizens came out with terms of capitulation. One of the terms was that they would give up the town if he would not disturb them in their worship. "Granted," he said; "I accept the terms; but the first one of you that is caught attending mass shall be hanged." [Laughter.]

That is something like the position of these gentlemen.

Some of the members on this floor have gone away back to the time of Lycurgus. Lycurgus, I believe, left his people, went off and never came back again. He was something like Hoyle, who, having been beaten in a game of cards, went off and was never heard of again. Lycurgus, I believe, wrote his laws upon iron. I do not profess to be familiar with history; and possibly some of you gentlemen representing boards of trade or chambers of commerce may correct me on some of these points. You are so well equipped in your knowledge, and you know so well how to frame resolutions in favor of the repeal of the Sherman act.

There has been a great deal of such talk, which is simply silly. By such language we are reminded of the man who was inquiring of a little urchin standing on the road, the way to a certain house. He said, "Go this way half a mile to another road; then take that and go a quarter of a mile; then follow a blind path, which will lead you to a swamp; then go out into the middle of the swamp until you find a tremendous big tree; go up into the fork of that tree; then if you ain't lost I'm a Dutchman." [Laughter.] That is about like the talk of my friend from Ohio. I tried to follow him, but he first took me into a swamp, then into the fork of the tree, and finally we were completely lost. You can not lose the people.

Then another has gone into ecstacies about the greatness of this country. Well, Mr. Speaker, it is a great country, and I am proud of it. It is the greatest, richest country on the face of God's green earth. It has trebled itself in the last twenty-five years if I amnot mistaken, and yet from talking of all its greatness and richness they tell us that she can not compete with poor little England, or Germany, or some other foreign country! Why, they talk as if she was a babe that could not get out of sight of her mother in finances. It is all foolish talk.

Truly, this is a great nation. With 156,000 miles of railroads, mines and manufactures in abundance, dense cities, population immense, the great hum of musical industry heard on all sides; and when I stand on the portico of this Capitol and look out over this city I am inclined to agree, Mr. Speaker, that it is a great country. But, sir, when I go to the homes of the American farmers, among whom I live, what do I see there? I see and hear nothing but the song of hard times and worse coming. Go into the homes of the working people, the factory people, and what do you see? Nothing but starvation, poverty, and death. The beginning of all this is found in the fact that the wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few, who use it to grind down the laboring people of the country into the dust—to grind them between the upper and nether millstones of want and usury.

True it is, I repeat, a great country, but beneath all the grandeur and greatness is the canker of a disturbed, distracted, and oppressed people, growing poorer and crying for relief every day.

Now, sir, look at some of the further evils of the contraction which the striking down of silver has produced in this country. An orator has stated, and it is true, that the greatest danger to-day to free government in America is the tendency to concentrate the center of political power at the Federal capital. That is all true. But concurrent with this political tendency to-day is another danger equally formidable, equally dangerous, and that is the concentration of the money of the country in the hands of a few men.

There is no man of reasonable intelligence to-day who has noticed the encroachment of the money power on the rights of the individual, but who is forced to the conviction that the issue is an open one between plutocracy and the people. Why, such pilings up of enormous wealth as are every day seen in this country is even more than the human mind can conceive. Aladdin's lamp becomes dim and Monte Cristo but a trifling, commonplace tale when compared to the magicians of finance in their financial transactions under this system, and not under the Sherman law at all.

The Sherman law is not in it. To-day the capitalist is surrounded by luxuries which have not been seen in all the eras of this Republic of ours before, and which far surpass the glories of Rome or Corinth in their palmiest days, and yet even the first fruits have scarcely put forth. As the President says, "He gives twice who gives quickly," and I ask you to think of that in this respect. These are things, Mr. Speaker, to think of, and to think of seriously. Let us give our attention to them.

The same writer has said that a home that costs $3,000,000 and a breakfast that costs $5,000 are disquieting facts to thousands of people in the United States who live in a hut and dine on a crust, when they know their poverty has not come by laziness in the spring and overproduction in the fall, but that it has come by unjust, iniquitous, and infernal laws that have been passed by the representatives of the very Government they are taxed to keep up and which ought to support and help them along. The fact that a man who twenty years ago from poverty to-day has an income of $20,000,000, and his two associates nearly as much from the arbitrary control and pricing of a single article of necessary consumption, with no limit to the greed or daring, falls heavily and strangely on the ears of men who hear it as they sit empty-handed while their children are crying around them for bread, when they know their poverty came by a system of finance fastened upon us by the laws of the land in the interest of the money power. But that is not the height of this thing. Just think of it, my friends: When the agents of a dozen men who have captured and control a single article of necessary use meet the representatives of a million farmers from whom they have robbed millions the year before, with no more moral right than is behind the highwayman's pistol, and insolently give them the measure of this year's capacity and tell these men who live by the sweat of their brow, standing between God and Nature, that they must submit to the infamy because they are helpless, then the first fruits of this system are gathered.

When a dozen men can get together again in the morning, and fix the price of a dozen articles in common use, with no standard but their arbitrary will, and no limit but their greed or daring, and notify the sovereign people of this free republic how much in the mercy of their masters they shall pay for the necessaries of life, then the point of intolerable shame has been reached. Worse than the brigandage of the Middle Ages is the modern system of finances. Instead of robber kings and brigand chiefs,

we have the money king, gold bug, Wall street gambler, and so forth. Instead of the robber bands of the Rhine we have the trust, the syndicate, the corporation.

Shall this shame at which Europe revolted be repeated in free America? Is it not so, when a trust or syndicate can, by adding 25 per cent of the cost of a single article of common use, levy a forced tribute upon the people, from the surplus of which they can put millions upon the top of the millions in their pockets? And is not that the fact under this system? Wherever we turn we see labor idle, and see starvation staring into desolate homes, and strikes against starvation wages.

Now, with the permission of the House, I would like to read, as a further effect of this system, something in addition to what my friend from Colorado [Mr. PENCE] spoke of partially in his speech the other day.

Let us take twenty-one States—Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Maryland, and Delaware. These twenty-one States contain 985,635 square miles. Let us take nine Northern and Eastern States, Maine, Vermont, New York, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Tennessee, New Jersey, and Rhode Island. These contain 168,665 square miles, or nearly six to one in favor of the twenty-one States which I have mentioned in the factor of land. In 1880 the twenty-one States contained 28,242,922 people, and the nine States contained 14,507,407 people, or two to one in favor of the twenty-one States in the factor of labor.

In 1880 the twenty-one States that I have mentioned had an assessed valuation of $6,839,554,628, and the nine States had an assessed valuation of $7,559,928,915. Thus the twenty-one States and the nine States were nearly equal in the factor of capital. That is, the twenty-one States had six times the land to work upon, twice the number of people to do the work, and nearly the same capital with which to do the work. They should have gained nearly twelve times as much, or, say, ten times as much. But let us see. The twenty-one States gained $1,698,195,657, while the nine gained $3,054,762,222, or nearly double for the nine over the twenty-one.

In 1880 the twenty-one States had 56 per cent of the total population, and were able to keep but 23 per cent of the total wealth gained. The nine had 29 per cent of the total population, and were able to save 41 per cent of the total wealth gained. Again, fifteen of these States gained in ten years $1,117,188,213. New York alone gained $1,123,385,932, or $6,000,000,000 more than the fifteen. You have heard a great deal here from New York and Pennsylvania, and you have heard a tremendous amount from Massachusetts this evening. I do not blame gentlemen for speaking up for Massachusetts, considering the way she has fattened and feasted upon these Southern, Western, and Northwestern States. Is it not unfair? Is it not robbery? Has this not been done by means of this financial system spoken of?

Again, twelve of these States gained in twelve years $897,184,160, while Pennsylvania gained $909,382,016, or $12,000,000 more than the twelve States. Just think of that. Nine of these twenty-one States gained $59,441,974, while Massachusetts gained $69,377,924, or $10,000,000 more that the nine States. Now, I just give you that for what it is worth. These facts can not be controverted. Study the question and ask yourself why these nine States have transferred the wealth of twenty-one States into their own coffers.

Again, my eloquent friend from Missouri spoke of the national debt. Before I speak of that, though, I wish to speak of the per capita circulation. In 1866 we had $52.06 in circulation; directly after the war, for each person, that much per capita. Now, I have the list of the per capita circulation all along down, and it is said by some men to-day that there is actually less than $5 per capita in circulation. I know it is contended that there is a larger amount than that; that there is $24; but in order to reach that result they count money held in reserve and which is not in circulation, and there is actually only about $5 per capita in circulation to-day. And I tell you these avaricious men, these gold bugs, will come in and get a part of this, or all of it, if necessary, and take it out of circulation.

It reminds me of the story of the little boy who carried his first sack of corn to the mill to be ground. He carried it to the mill and the miller came out and took the sack and carried it in. He took out the toll and put it into the box. The little fellow did not like that, and he watched the miller, just as the people are watching to-day. Then the miller emptied all the corn into the hopper and put the sack down, and when he turned away for a moment, the little fellow watched his chance, jerked up the sack, and started to run away home. The miller ran him about halfway home, and the little boy reached the house all out of breath. He fell down on the piazza almost exhausted, and the old gentleman said to him, "Why, what is the matter?" The boy said, "Father, that old rascal took every grain of your corn, and he gave me a hell of a race for the sack." [Laughter].

So I tell you these corporations, these gold bugs, have withdrawn all the money from circulation, on the pretense that times are hard. It is no such thing, and I deny it. They have withdrawn the money from circulation, all except $5 per capita, and they are giving us a hell of a race for the $5 [laughter], and if we do not wake up they will get that; but I intend to stay in this House and see that they do not get it from my people, or I will know the reason why.

Mr. SIMPSON. If the gentleman will allow me, I desire to interrupt him at this point.

Mr. TALBERT of South Carolina. Certainly, I will allow the gentleman to do anything.

Mr. SIMPSON. I desire to read a short statement from a New York daily paper, giving a short synopsis of the report of the Comptroller of the Currency, showing the decrease in the amount of currency in circulation. He says that the decrease in the individual deposits in the banks is $193,000,000, on loans and discounts of $137,000,000, and in specie of $21,000,000, of undivided profits of banks of $13,000,000. That is from the 12th of July to the 4th of August, over $300,000,000.

Mr. TALBERT of South Carolina. Worse and worse. [Laughter.]

Now, then, let us go along from these facts to something else. In 1866 there were about $2,000,000,000 in circulation, with a population of only 30,000,000 and with one-fiftieth of the business that is being done to-day. And to-day there is less than one-half of that in circulation, with nearly 70,000,000 of population and business increased to over a hundred-fold from what it was at that time; and yet you see that as business increases, and as we need more money, the money is contracted, so that they cut off circulation, and they "get us," as I believe Mr. Watson said, "a-coming and a-gwine," and get us at both ends; and how are we going to live under such rules and regulations as that?

Now, then, you must all excuse me, for I never wrote a speech in my life, and I never like to be bothered with notes. I undertook to make a speech with notes once, and I got them all stirred up together and made a complete failure. That was like the good old minister, and I hope there are some preachers in the galleries, who told the boys what portion of the Scripture he intended to read for the morning lesson. The boys, finding the place, glued together the two connecting pages. The next morning the old preacher began to read at the bottom of one page:

And Noah, when he was an hundred years old, took to himself a wife, who was—

Then turning over—

A hundred and thirty cubits long and 40 cubits wide, and made entirely of gopher wood, and pitched within and without.

[Great laughter.]

Now, that much puzzled the good old preacher. I hope he will hear it if such an one is in this House. He took off his spectacles, rubbed them again, and read it and verified it. "Well," he says, "brethern, I have not seen it in this book before, but I know it is true, or it would not have been here."

And he said again, "That is an evidence of the assertion that is made in another portion of this book, that man is fearfully and wonderfully made." [Laughter.]

You see his faith. I have faith in what I am trying to do, and in what I am attempting to declare; and I say there are some men who are fearfully and wonderfully made from what we hear them say when they talk about monometallism, and I hope that they will find it out before they proceed much further.

In 1866, if you will excuse me, the Government debt was $2,793,892,000, or thereabout, for fear that some of you will take me up about having the precise figures. Up to this time there has been paid, as the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] said, nearly twice that amount, or nearly $5,000,000,000, of principal and interest, and yet there remains $1,685,281,000 unpaid. Now, what I am trying to bring to the attention of the House is this, that this $1,685,281,000 takes three times as much labor and products to pay it to-day as it did in 1866.

Now, you may take me up on that if you want to. I am a new member, I know, but I will answer any question on that, for I used to answer the shorter catechism in the Sunday school. I do not want to submit to a civil-service examination like my friend from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN] the other day, but I am willing to be questioned on that subject. It is three times as much because of this contraction. As they contract the currency it causes a shrinkage in the value of the products of labor, and so it has caused the shrinkage of three times in the value of the wheat, the corn, and cotton, so that it will take three times as much of those products to make this payment as it would have taken in 1866, and this kind of system bears very heavily upon

the boys who follow the plow on a hot July day. This class I stand here to fight for, and will so long as life lasts and am honored by a seat on this floor.

I have followed it many a day, and I expect my friend from Colorado, Mr. PENCE [putting his hand upon the shoulder of the gentleman who was sitting near him], has followed the plow and knows how it is. It takes three times the labor to pay that debt, and this same rule will apply in the case of private debt. A man having a mortgage on his farm may have paid it over twice, leaving a small balance, which it will now be three times as hard to pay as if he had paid it all at first. So that this system of contraction amounts to confiscating the labor of American workingmen and makes us hewers of wood and drawers of water unless it is checked, nothing more and nothing less.

I will give you an illustration. For instance, by contracting the volume of money it lowered the prices of other property and added that much more to the burdens of the debtor class. For instance, Mr. Burt, a western man, bought a farm for $6,000, when wheat was $2 per bushel. He paid $3,000 cash, and placed upon it a mortgage for the remaining $3,000, which he expected to pay with wheat at $2 a bushel. A part of the $3,000 cash invested in the farm was Mr. Burt's savings from his services in the army. He was a good soldier and bore testimony of having seen active service. He was one of the first to enlist, and stood by the old flag until the last shot was fired, then he returned home, determined to spend the remainder of his days in the enjoyment of that peace so nobly won. Accordingly he purchased his farm, little dreaming of the vicissitudes that awaited him.

Before the first pay day came the money of the country had been contracted 25 per cent, the price of wheat had been reduced in the same ratio, from $2 to $1.50 per bushel. Neither the debt nor interest had in any way contracted, and Mr. B. found it necessary to hire $250 to make up his payment. He had not been disappointed in his wheat crop; it was even better than he expected; but for some inexplicable reason the price was not what he expected. He was told there had been an overproduction of wheat; that the supply was greater than the demand; and yet he knew that one of his neighbors, a day laborer, had never been so hard pushed to keep the wolf from the door. The laborer was sober and industrious. Mr. Burt often employed him, but since the price of wheat had declined he must economize, and the first step in economy was to reduce the wages of his "help."

When the next payment came due wheat brought but $1 per bushel, and Mr. Burt was obliged to hire $500 to meet his payment. In applying to a national banker for assistance, he found that "money was scarce, but he would try and get it for him at 1 per cent a month." Mr. Burt concluded to look farther, and after a long search found a "friend," who decided to let him have the amount at 10 per cent in advance. This, taken from $500, left him $450. The other $50 was made up by selling a few sheep and the best cow. Heretofore the butter had furnished Mrs. B. the means for keeping the children respectably clothed, but now the cow had gone and there was no means of replenishing their clothing. Susan, John, Willie, and even little Mary, were extremely sensitive, and when their clothes began to be shabby their fondness for the Sunday school declined.

Mr. Burt did not renew his church subscription that year, and it was very uncomfortable for him to sit in his pew and hear the minister preach about the worldly-minded man, who thought more about the price of wheat than of his soul's salvation, and who grew so avaricious that he would not subscribe for the support of the gospel. Mr. Burt listened to what the preacher said, but his heart grew hard, his clothes grew shabby, and his attendance at church grew infrequent and finally ceased altogether.

A few weeks before the third and final payment came due, Mr. Burt sold his wheat for 75 cents per bushel; a fine crop, but it failed to meet the requirements of the contract, foreclosure followed, and Mr. Burt and family were turned out penniless into the street. Setting out in search of work, he unfortunately reached Michigan just after a tramp law had taken effect. Wandering from place to place, shabbily dressed and without any visible means of support, he was finally arrested for vagrancy and sent to the penitentiary.

Disheartened and overcome by feelings of disgrace, he soon sickened and died. His friends, ignorant of his whereabouts, knew nothing of his sad fate. Twenty-four hours after his death, on a bleak December day, a rough wooden box was landed at the basement window of a medical department of the Athens of Michigan, and a few days later a subject, with careworn look and locks of prematurely gray, was laid upon a dissecting table. The students jocosely remarked: "The old fellow must have been a soldier, judging from the number of scars upon his person." But there was one student who did not join in the merriment of his companions. He earnestly scanned the features of the dead man, and half an hour after the dismissal of the class a missive was winging its way to the State penitentiary. The next day the expressman brought a little package to the serious student, he opened it with trembling hands; alas, his conjectures were realities.

The package contained a few articles of clothing, and in a little soiled package he found some mementoes from his father's house, among them the picture of a beautiful maiden, his sister Mary, and by her side a young man in a soldier's uniform. The blood curdled in his veins. He remembered when that picture was taken; though only a child the occasion was indelibly fixed upon his mind. It was a day that his sister was married to a soldier—Joseph Burt—the pauper of yesterday, the victim of the dissecting knife, spared from the shot and shell of the battlefield to die a pauper's death, and to suffer a fate that none but criminals ever know. Ah, my country! where is thy gratitude? Through the contraction of the currency Mr. Burt's debt was double, and what is true of this unfortunate death is equally true of the debt of the Government and of every individual.

Many instances of this sort could be given, but I have not time, nor do I wish to take up the valuable time of the House by going any further in this line. Think of this.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may be allowed to continue his remarks until he has concluded.

There was no objection.

Mr. TALBERT of South Carolina. I am much obliged to the House, though not much astonished, for a man ought to be allowed to work in the night in his own time. [Laughter in the House and in the galleries.]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair would remind occupants of the galleries that any approval or disapproval on their part is expressly forbidden by the rules.

Mr. TALBERT of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, do not trouble the boys; they feel good; they are the laboring boys.

Thus far we have been looking at the evil and the effects resulting from the demonetization of silver and the legislation preceding that act; but no good can be accomplished in merely passively looking at results. Our country has been compared by some of the speakers to a drunken man, or rather the financial system has been so compared, and it has already been denied so far as being drunk was concerned, yet all have agreed that the patient is sick and must have relief. A patient whose vitality is daily depleted by lingering diseases, caused by miasmatic poisons of the swamps, may find temporary relief in abundant doses of quinine, but he can hope for no permanent cure until he removes the cause, and the whole cause, either by draining his swamp or removing the miasma, or remove himself to God's beautiful sunlight or blue grass of the highlands.

So, then, in our distress we have had the Bland-Allison bill of 1878, which gives temporary relief, and then the Sherman act of 1890, which also improved the condition of the country to some extent, but only temporarily. What we want is a permanent cure. Let us have a lasting one, and to get it is an undertaking as formidable, as patriotic, and as heroic as its accomplishment will be grand and glorious. A noted writer has said:

> The great money powers, as they think, safely intrenched within their citadel, look out over their countless ramparts of money bags and see their blood-red flag defiantly waving on the parapet where it has waved for more than a quarter of a century, and adopting as their rallying cry the Vanderbilt motto of "the people be damned," they defiantly command:
>
> Hang out our banners on the outward walls;
> The cry is, still They come! Our castle strength
> Will laugh a siege to scorn. Here let them lie
> Till famine and the ague eat them up.

So thought Macbeth; but his castle fell before the resistless march of the outraged and awakened people. So will fall sooner or later, stormed with the ballots of American freemen, the castles of the moneyed powers. The first thing for the representatives of the people to do is to undo the legislation which has brought about this condition of things. The people have asked for it, the people—not the boards of trade, not the chambers of commerce, but the great masses of the people, who pay 80 per cent of every dollar that is appropriated by this august body—the people have asked to have that legislation undone, that they may be better able to bear their enormous burdens. They have demanded it. Let us first have free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1. This they want and this they will have. Nothing less will satisfy them.

As has been well said by a Representative in this debate, anything less than this nobody but a coward will accept. The Democratic party has promised it. Pay off the bonds; stop the interest; call in the national bank notes and replace them by full legal-tender money issued by the Government, and increase this Government issue of greenbacks if necessary; and this money, in connection with free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold,

will furnish sufficient money to the people of this great country to conduct their business on a cash basis. The fate of the pending question on silver will decide this matter. It embodies all the propositions here, as it was the last act of this conspiracy. Silver has been made the battle ground and the bone of contention in this great fight for the liberties of the people.

In deciding this matter, look at it as you will, mystify it as you will, it resolves itself into this, and the great question of the day is whether the dollar or the citizen shall rule this country; whether manhood or money shall control this Government and make her laws. Upon which side will you stand, gentlemen of the House? Wise men may hesitate and patriotic men divide, but there are no middle grounds. It is the dollar and a centralized government on one hand against the citizen and the States on the other. Where will you stand? Will you stand with the people or will you stand with the money power? The people have asked relief of their Representatives; they have demanded certain measures in their platforms of principles and we are in the midst of a mighty revolution, hitherto bloodless. God grant that it may continue to be so and the revolution prove to be a peaceable one; but God alone knows.

But, my friends, this is a contest between the citizen and the dollar. Men may talk about the greatness and the wealth of this country and about carrying on its business on "confidence" and "sympathy," but confidence and sympathy will not help the working people of this country. Some gentleman has told us here of a transaction between two men, each of whom had plenty of confidence and sympathy, yet they were both in a terrible fix without money. [Laughter.]

I want to say here in behalf of the people whom I represent, in common with the mass of the people of the United States, that they need what they ask for; they deserve what they ask for, and they feel that they deserve it all over this great country; and if their voice is not heard and heeded, sooner or later there will come a time when angry people will appear at the gates of justice in person and demand their rights in a mood incapable of reason, for when the flag of retribution is raised it is then too late to reason. Then, gentlemen of the House, in the name of common sense, in the name of right and justice, in the name of right and reason, give the people what they ask for.

Some men may point to our standing Army, with the fluttering flag and rolling drum, as the point of strength, but the citizen, standing in the doorway of his home, as he spends the evening of a well-spent day amid the sounds and scenes that are dearest, satisfied upon his threshold with his family gathered around his fireside—that man will save his country when the drum-tap is futile and the barracks have been exhausted. Let us stand up to that great middle class which, ever since it met the returning crusaders in England with the demand that the hut of the humble should be made as sacred as the castle of the great—that class who have always been the great bulwark of liberty amongst all English-speaking people.

Then, against the dangers of a centralized government let us interpose the approved and imperishable principle of local self-government. Between the rich and poor, now drifting into separate camps, let us build up this middle class, who, neither drunk with wealth nor embittered by poverty, shall lift up the weak and control the strong. Against the jangling of races and creeds of men oppose the home of the citizens and the faith of our forefathers that led them smiling and serene through the valley of the shadow.

Now, my friends, in conclusion let me say, this is the voice of the people that we hear to-day. They have sent us their petitions. Since I have been here I have received hundreds of letters and petitions from the people of my district and people all over the grand little State of South Carolina, asking that we stand up like men for their rights. They are to-day at their homes watching and praying for relief, expecting us to stand up for them and grant them what they ask.

I want to say in behalf of my people—the people I represent, in common with the laboring people all over this country—that it is their fight, their cause. And this fight, my friends, is not confined to the United States. It has crossed the water, and that mighty man, Gladstone, the greatest man, possibly, that has lived since Jefferson died, is standing up, in contradiction of his education and surroundings, and is appealing to the English people to rise up and snatch the last vestige of usurped authority from the crown and place it with the people, where it belongs. Let the people rule. Give us a government "of the people, for the people, by the people."

And let me say, and I repeat it, unless the voice of our people is heard by their representatives and heeded ("if this be treason make the most of it") there soon will come a time when an angry people will appear at the gates of justice in person and demand their rights in a mood that will be incapable of being reasoned with; for when the flag of wrath and retribution is raised it is then too late to undertake to make terms.

In conclusion, let me appeal to you brave men of the North who wore the blue, who stood by the Stars and Stripes with a devotion and a courage that would have added new luster to the splendor of Rome's legions in her brightest days; and to you, the gallant men of the South who wore the gray, who stood by the sinking stars of a doomed cause, while you bore in your manly hearts a more forlorn hope than that which inspired the six hundred at Balaklava—America's heroes—I appeal to you all, now that the war of twenty-five years is over, which resulted in the emancipation of chattel slavery, to stand up like men in the gigantic struggle of to-day between the classes and the masses, involving the stupendous issues of the freedom of honest labor from the degradation and slavery of plutocratic power. Then give the people the relief that they have asked, and they will rise up and call you blessed. Fail to do this, and you will die as you ought, ignobly, unmourned, unhonored, and unwept. [Loud, long, and prolonged applause in the House and galleries.]

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, though I do not intend to speak for more than a few minutes, I would prefer to postpone my remarks until to-morrow morning or to-morrow night.

Mr. McRAE. I move that the House adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and accordingly (at 10 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SATURDAY, *August 19, 1893.*

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. SAMUEL W. HADDAWAY.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. PAGE, for one week, on account of important business.

SILVER.

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, an alarming and extraordinary business and financial situation induced the President to call Congress in extra session. No matter how we may differ as to the causes of the critical condition which confronts us, we all agree that the trouble is widespread, all-pervading, and fraught with peril to the whole country. We all agree, too, that some remedy should be speedily applied. There should be no unreasonable delay when factories, furnaces, workshops, and mines are closing and wails of distress come from the unemployed of every State; when the army of idle men and women is daily increasing, and labor and capital, agriculture and manufactures are suffering; when credit has been strained, and more failures have occurred with larger liabilities in three months of 1893 than in six months of any other year of our country's history.

DUTY AND PATRIOTISM.

This is a time for duty and not for dalliance, a time for patriotism and not for partisanship. It is not necessary now to speculate at length as to the cause of the trouble, distress, failures, and shrinkage of values which are so apparent and appalling in every section of our country. The act of July 14, 1890, called the Sherman act, while it is the main cause may not be the only cause of the present woe which afflicts the country. It may be ascribed, also, to the demonetization of silver by European nations, and to the great demand for money in Europe, beginning after the collapse of the Argentine Republic and the failure of the Baring Bros., assisted perhaps by Austria's policy of establishing a gold basis, and increased by the bursting of so many speculative enterprises in our country and in foreign countries, and by the reduction of our gold reserve and the depreciation of our silver currency which caused millions of dollars to hide.

It matters not what the cause is, it is upon our country like an incubus, like a scourge, and it is believed by millions of people that the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act will restore confidence. The President, in his message, used unmistakable language on this subject when he said:

> Values supposed to be fixed are fast becoming conjectural, and loss and failure have invaded every branch of business.
>
> I believe these things are principally chargeable to Congressional legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the General Government.
>
> I earnestly recommend the prompt repeal of the provisions of the act passed July 14, 1890, authorizing the purchase of silver bullion.

THE SHERMAN ACT AND THE PENDING BILL.

I voted against the Sherman act when it was passed in July, 1890. It has not only been a failure, but a colossal curse to the country.

The bill now pending should be passed. It provides that so much of the act approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," as directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month, at the market price thereof, not exceeding $1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchases Treasury notes of the United States, be, and the same is hereby, repealed; but this repeal shall not impair nor in any manner affect the legal-tender quality of the standard silver dollars heretofore coined; and the faith and credit of the United States are hereby pledged to maintain the parity of the standard gold and silver coins of the United States at the present legal ratio, or such other ratio as may be established by law.

The last report of the Secretary of the Treasury shows that there are 363,000,000 of standard silver dollars in the Treasury, and 57,000,000 of standard silver dollars in circulation, and $76,000,000 of subsidiary silver coin in circulation and in the Treasury, and $120,000,000 of silver bullion in the Treasury, making the enormous amount of $496,000,000 of coined silver and $120,000,000 of uncoined silver now in the Federal Treasury or in circulation, or $616,000,000 in all. When it is remembered that the whole amount of standard silver dollars in our country in 1878 was $8,000,000, the contrast is very plain. And when it is remembered, also, that the excess of gold exports over imports has been in the last year eighty-seven and a half millions of dollars, while in the last three years gold in the Treasury has decreased $132,000,000 while silver has increased $147,000,000, the necessity for action seems plain.

It is important to notice, in this connection, that the pending bill declares that the legal-tender quality of the standard silver dollars heretofore coined shall not be impaired nor in any manner affected, and pledges the faith and credit of the United States to maintain the parity of standard gold and silver coins at the present legal ratio, or such other ratio as may be established by law. I would have preferred that the bill should have provided for the coinage of $2,000,000 worth of silver bullion per month, beginning with the silver bullion in the Treasury, but as there is now an enormous sum of standard silver dollars in the Treasury, amounting to fifty-two times as much as was in circulation or in the Treasury in 1878, when the Bland-Allison act was passed, there is not the same necessity now as there was then for such an enactment, and I will vote for the pending bill, even if the additional coinage is not provided for, as I have no doubt that Congress will hereafter enact a law looking to the further coinage of silver.

When a house is on fire it would not be wise to stop to discuss the question as to whether the fire should be extinguished with buckets of water from the cistern or with water from the lake thrown by the fire engine. Extinguish the fire with every means at hand, then discuss questions afterward. A large majority of the members of this House are in favor of the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. Why not remove this vicious legislation without delay, and then proceed to other important business?

THE SITUATION AFTER REPEAL.

Many reckless statements have been made during the debate as regards the effect of the passage of the pending bill. Some have said the bill demonetizes silver, others have said the double standard will be destroyed; both allegations are untrue. The passage of the pending bill, which repeals the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, will not change the volume or the character of the money in the United States Treasury or in circulation. The gold coins, the silver dollars, the greenbacks, and the Treasury notes will remain as they are now, full legal-tender money.

The subsidiary coin will remain the same as at present. The gold and silver certificates will continue as they are now; the national bank notes, whose redemption is secured by the Government's guaranty upon the pledge of bonds, will remain unchanged. To be brief, the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act will not abolish or retire or reduce the volume of any currency now in our country, or make any change in its character, value, or general acceptability. The only changes it makes is to stop the purchase of four million and a half ounces of silver bullion monthly, for the payment of which currency notes had to be issued, which have been redeemed in gold. It also stops the degradation of silver bullion by preventing its purchase and storage in the vaults of the Treasury like coal, and it stops that brokerage business in silver bullion which the Secretary of the Treasury was compelled by law to engage in, and which, because of the reduction in the price of silver bullion, has made our Government lose about $40,000,000 in a few years and $17,000,000 since July 14, 1890.

BIMETALLISM.

I have always been in favor of bimetallism. I believe in the employment of the two metals (gold and silver) in the currency of the country at a fixed ratio to each other as standard coin and legal tender.

For centuries gold and silver have been recognized as money metals. They are so mentioned in the Bible; they are recognized by the Constitution of the United States, and they were put upon an equality and provided for in the first mint act passed by the American Congress in 1792. There is no inconsistency in supporting bimetallism and also voting for the pending bill, which prevents the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act from impairing or in any manner affecting the legal-tender quality of four hundred and twenty millions of standard silver dollars now in the Treasury or in circulation, and pledges the faith and credit of the United States to maintain the parity of standard gold and silver coins of the United States at the present legal ratio, or such other ratio as my be established by law.

In 1878 Congressmen did not cease to be bimetallists because they supported the Bland-Allison bill, which only required the coinage of $2,000,000 of silver bullion per month and preserved the legal-tender quality of only $8,000,000. France is still a double standard nation, with $800,000,000 of gold and $650,000,000 of silver, although the coinage of silver was suspended in 1878 and is still abridged.

Mr. BOATNER. Will the gentlemen yield for a question right there?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Yes, sir.

Mr. BOATNER. Did not both the bills to which the gentleman has referred sacrifice the principle of bimetallism, in his judgment?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Which bills do you mean?

Mr. BOATNER. The Bland-Allison bill and the Sherman law.

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I think the Sherman act sacrificed bimetallism. I think that the Bland act was the best bimetallism that the friends of silver could get at that time. While it may have been limited bimetallism, it was the best they could get, and I indorsed it at that time. While I would prefer, as I have said before, that the Government should coin silver each month, yet relying on the wisdom of the people and their representatives to provide for the coinage when needed, as was done in 1878, even to the extent of passing the bill over the veto of President Hayes, I can not join those who propose at the time of great financial troubles and supreme business trials to hold the Sherman act as a hostage for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. The sentence of death has been imposed on the Sherman act by its friends as well as its enemies, and it should not now be a hostage.

Bimetallism was indorsed by both the Democratic and Republican parties in their national convention last year, and will necessarily be maintained in our country. The stock of gold now in the world, nor the anticipated supplies from the mines, is not sufficient to satisfy the demand. In the United States, the largest gold-producing country in the world, the products of gold last year was $33,000,000. We produced in 1876 $35,000,000, in 1877, $46,000,000, and in 1878, $51,000,000. We produce now but little over half the amount produced in 1878. The world's production of gold last year was $130,000,000. If from this amount we deduct $65,000,000, which, according to Mr. Burchard and Dr. Soetbeer, represents the annual consumption of gold in the arts and manufactures, there remains but $65,000,000 as the annual and available product of gold.

I presume no candid and well-informed person will claim that this amount is sufficient to meet the increased demands of the world. Mr. Goschen, an eminent authority on this subject, who was chancellor of the exchequer in the Salisbury ministry, said: "If all the nations should resolve on the adoption of the gold standard, would there be sufficient gold for the purpose without a tremendous crisis?" Four nations—France, United States, England, and Germany—have $2,750,000,000 of gold, while all the rest of the world combined has but $900,000,000. These four nations have but $1,600,000,000 of silver, while the balance of the world has $2,350,000,000 of silver. The necessity for the double standard in our country is easily seen.

Mr. BOATNER. Will the gentleman yield to me for one further question?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Yes, sir; with pleasure.

Mr. BOATNER. You express an opinion that is heard on this floor during this debate. Has the gentleman any hope that after the passage of what is known as the Wilson bill a measure could be carried through this House providing for the continued coinage of silver on any terms whatever?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I am unable to answer that question as regards the sentiments of other members. I can say, so far as I am concerned, that there would not be any trouble in getting my vote for a bill to recognize silver by the coinage of at least $2,000,000 per month of the silver bullion, commencing with that now in the Treasury.

Mr. BOATNER. If, fortunately, the gentleman could carry a majority of his colleagues with him to pass such a bill, has he any hope that such a measure would receive Executive approval, in the light of the message of the Executive?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I do not know what the Executive would do, and I do not desire to interrupt my argument by now expressing an opinion; but I will after awhile speak as to what I believe are the wishes of the Executive, although I do not know his views and have no authority to speak for him, and I shall speak also on the requirements of the Democratic platform.

INTERNATIONAL BIMETALLISM PROMOTED.

There can be no doubt but that the passage of the pending bill will help to open the way for international bimetallism on a fixed ratio among the great nations of the world, which is the best remedy of which I have any knowledge for the monetary evils with which all civilized nations are now suffering. Great Britain, Germany, and all the gold-standard countries would be delighted to see our country go to a silver basis so that they might add our gold to their stock. They are now watching with anxiety and interest the Congress of the United States, and on the 3d day of the present month Mr. Balfour, the leader of the Conservative party in England, delivered an address in London in which he forcibly presented the situation in that country. He said:

We are the great upholders of a single gold standard, and yet there is not a man, I venture to say, in the city of London at this moment who would not look with horror and with apprehension at every other nation following so good an example. Was inconsistency ever shown in more ludicrous colors? * * * It is orthodox to have a single gold standard, but let Germany have a gold standard, let India try a gold standard, let the United States go in for a gold standard, and the tremor seizes every one of our commercial magnates.

I earnestly appeal to the portion of my audience whose minds are not yet made up upon this question to reflect whether of all the subjects in the world which deserves international treatment that of currency does not stand in the very first rank.

When I had the honor to address the International Monetary Conference held at Brussels, Belgium, in December of last year, I made no statement which attracted more attention and was more widely commented upon than that both the great political parties of the United States had in national conventions declared opposition to the act of July 14, 1890, known as the Sherman act, and that I was satisfied that act would be repealed.

Mr. STOCKDALE. Will the gentleman from Kentucky allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Yes, sir.

Mr. STOCKDALE. Was the gentleman a member of the International Monetary Conference?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Yes, sir; I was one of the commission who represented the United States at the International Monetary Conference held in 1892 at Brussels, in Belgium.

Mr. STOCKDALE. Will the gentleman give the House his opinion, before he sits down, as to when we shall arrive at the free coinage of silver through an international commission?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I will be very glad to attempt to give what information I have on the subject in answer to the question of my friend from Mississippi.

There have been three international monetary conferences held, two of them by request of the United States, one by the request of the United States and France. The first one was held in 1878, the second in 1881, and the last in 1892.

When the first conference assembled, in 1878, there were but twelve nations represented. When the second conference assembled, in 1881, there were but thirteen nations represented. When the conference was held last year twenty nations were represented and all the delegates were in their seats the very day that the conference was called together. What does that show? It shows the deep interest that all the nations were taking in monetary questions. It shows that that interest had increased as the years had advanced. When that conference assembled at Brussels it was welcomed by the minister of finance of Belgium, Mr. Beernault, who, in his address inaugurating the conference, declared that—

those who will find a remedy for the difficulties and perils of the actual monetary situation will certainly merit well of humanity.

And the able and distinguished president of that conference, Mr. Montefiore Levy, in accepting his high office, said, with much force, "that the delegates had assembled to find, if it exists, a means of palliating by a more general use of silver in monetary circulation the serious inconvenience from which every civilized nation suffers to a more or less degree."

I refer to these statements because when that Conference met the minister of finance of Belgium who greeted us, the president of the Conference who addressed us, and every member who made a statement on that floor, speaking for either of the twenty nations there represented, admitted that there was a serious monetary condition in Europe.

Mr. STOCKDALE. Will the gentleman permit another question for information?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Yes, sir.

Mr. STOCKDALE. Is it true that during this increasing interest in this subject of which the gentleman speaks those nations have been demonetizing silver?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I will show the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. STOCKDALE] that the demonetization of silver by European nations was mainly done twenty years ago. They are now beginning to feel the evil effects of their course and have therefore willingly attended monetary conferences. England legally adopted the gold standard in 1816. Germany, taking advantage of the immense sum of gold paid her as the French war indemnity, started to demonetize silver in 1871, and the law, I believe, was passed in 1873. The Scandinavian states of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway changed to the gold standard in 1874, and the countries forming the Latin Union, consisting of France, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, and Greece, in 1876 were compelled to suspend the coinage of silver, though silver still circulates there in large quantities. Holland and Spain took similar action about the same time, and Austria-Hungary changed from silver to the gold standard in 1872, and India has lately closed her mints to the free coinage of silver, but the Government still has the right to coin silver.

England has always like a lion blockaded the way to international bimetallism, but the feeling among her people in favor of international bimetallism has greatly increased in the last few years, and if England would lead the way I believe there is no doubt but that the Latin Union countries would unite with the United States in an international agreement.

I have great admiration for Mr. Gladstone as a statesman, as a scholar, and as a leader, but he became attached to the gold standard more than a half century ago and he will not modify or change his views now.

The day will come when he will cease to be prime minister of England; then friends of bimetallism, with such leaders as Balfour, Goschen, Houldsworth, Thompson, Chaplin, Archbishop Walsh, and many others, will show to the world that they appreciate the value of international bimetallism, and a new monetary policy will be inaugurated in England which other countries in Europe will follow, and that is the time, I will say in answer to the question of my friend from Mississippi [Mr. STOCKDALE], when the chance for free coinage will come through international action.

There are many persons who believe that the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act will force England to look more favorably on another meeting of the monetary conference and strengthen her desire for an international agreement, and that hereafter it will not be the United States who, with beseeching hands, pleads with European nations, but that Great Britain, with all her prestige and power, will be compelled to be an humble supplicant for an international monetary agreement.

Mr. BLAND. I would like to inquire if the gentleman from Kentucky proposes that the American Government shall wait until England changes her ministry before we legislate on this subject? Are we to be governed by America or by the English Parliament?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. My friend from Missouri was chairman of the Committee on Coinage in the Forty-ninth Congress. When I first had the honor to come to Congress I sat as a member of that committee over which he presided with so much ability; I regard him as one of the ablest exponents of the silver question, and I learned much from him eight years ago. But he was mistaken then in some things, as he is mistaken now.

I am not looking to England for anything at present. I am merely using England as an illustration, and I am referring to the position of her leading men to show what can and what will be accomplished after a while. I do not believe free-coinage of silver is advisable now. I believe if a free-coinage bill is passed it will not be approved by the President. If it was approved it would bring us to a silver basis in less than ninety day. I am not in favor of a silver basis; I am in favor of bimetallism; I want both gold and silver. I am trying to travel the road which will through international agreement give us free coinage of silver and free coinage of gold at a fixed ratio, common among the great nations of the world.

I received this morning the London Times. It has an editorial which begins with these significant words:

The silver question may be said this morning to hold the field alike in the new world and in the old world.

While we are discussing silver in America they are in the House of Commons discussing silver in India; and silver, the great giant of the world, is struggling for proper recognition.

The London Telegraph, also received this morning, contains these significant words:

The monometallic controversy has descended from heaven to earth, and, dry as it is in theory, it forces attention when it involves the difference between prosperity and ruin. The silver question, in President Cleveland's forcible language, "vitally concerns every business calling and enters into every household in the land." It is undeniable that European financiers have hoped that the action of the American Government might possibly prevent the silver question from becoming a burning one in older countries. When America has shown that it does not intend any longer to try to counteract the natural laws affecting the values of the metals, Europe may be more ready to resume the attempt to establish some joint understanding on the question.

Mr. BLAND. Will the gentleman inform this House why the meeting of that conference, which was to reassemble in May, has been postponed?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Yes, sir; I will. The conference adjourned over to meet the 30th day of May. Two or three weeks before that time arrived, many of the leading members of the conference, including the president of the Conference and nearly every bimetallist in it, expressed a desire to have the conference adjourn over until November. June and July are not good months for the holding of a conference in Europe. The cause of bimetallism seemed to be improving in England and in other parts of Europe, and the postponement also gave our country and other countries time to establish through their respective Congresses or Parliaments a definite policy as to monetary questions to be discussed at the Conference.

Mr. BOATNER. Is the gentleman from Kentucky of opinion that the repeal of the Sherman act, without any provision for the unconditional coinage of silver in this country, will facilitate the cause of international bimetallism?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I am of that opinion.

Mr. BOATNER. Will the gentleman in his remarks hereafter kindly inform us how, in his judgment, the repeal of this law will promote international bimetallism?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. As long as England believes the United States will go to a silver basis and she and other gold-standard countries will get the gold of our country she will not agree to international bimetallism.

The very extract that I read from the speech of Mr. Balfour a few moments ago partially answers the question of the gentleman from Louisiana. Mr. Balfour in his speech at London, one of the greatest speeches that has been made on bimetallism in modern times, said:

It is orthodox to have a single gold standard in England; but let Germany have a gold standard, let the United States go in for a gold standard, and a tremor seizes every one of our commercial magnates.

As I said before, there is not gold enough in the world to maintain the gold standard in all countries.

Mr. BRYAN. Will the gentleman allow me a question?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I will yield once more, and then I must decline to yield further.

Mr. BRYAN. If the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law will promote the adoption of bimetallism, will the gentleman explain upon what theory every advocate of a gold standard demands such unconditional repeal?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I can not of course speak for those men, for I am not an advocate of a single gold standard. But I suppose that gentlemen who advocate a single gold standard and who are to-day in favor of the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, desire its rapeal because they have found that it has been a curse to the country, that it has been a failure as a law, and that more than anything else it is bringing about a shrinkage of value, and hard times and depression throughout the country. I am giving that simply as my opinion. I am not one of the gentlemen to whom my friend from Nebraska refers.

Mr. Speaker, I shall not attempt to go into a history of the advance of bimetallism in England; but I want to say to my distinguished friend from Nebraska (and I have thought of it since he asked his question) that I listened with regret two days ago to his statement when he spoke lightly of international bimetallism. I regretted to hear him intimate that the friends of international bimetallism were friendly to the gold standard and were the enemies of silver.

Mr. BRYAN. May I correct the gentleman's statement?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRYAN. I know the gentleman does not desire to do me injustice. My statement was that we are still waiting for international bimetallism, and that those are waiting most patiently who want a gold standard.

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. The gentleman said also that the opponents of the Bland law in 1878 were waiting for international bimetallism. I think the gentleman unintentionally did injustice to the grand army of bimetallists in this country and in Europe.

Mr. PATTERSON. Is it not true that there is a consensus of opinion among the leading bimetallists with whom you conferred in Europe that national bimetallism is impracticable?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. That national bimetallism is impracticable, that bimetallism can not be maintained by a single nation, but that international bimetallism is practicable.

Mr. BLAND. Did they not confine that view to their own little governments, not extending it to ours?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. No, sir.

Mr. BRYAN. Will the gentleman yield for an interruption?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRYAN. I would like to ask the gentleman from Kentucky to insert also in his remarks that portion of the report, signed by all of the commissioners, which states that France did maintain bimetallism at a ratio of 15½ to 1 for a period of seventy years, and then explain why, if France did it, this country, with twice its resources, can not do it now at a ratio of 16 to 1.

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. In 1876 France suspended the coinage of silver, and that coinage has been suspended ever since.

Mr. BRYAN. But if France, of all nations of Europe, maintained alone for seventy years the parity of the two metals on a basis of 15½ to 1, why can not the United States do the same thing?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. The gentleman from Nebraska is mistaken in saying that France maintained the parity of gold and silver alone. At that time bimetallism existed in Germany, in the Scandinavian States, and in Austria-Hungary, and in Italy and Switzerland and Spain, none of which had gone to a single gold standard at that time.

Mr. BRYAN. But does not the gentleman from Kentucky understand that this report to which he refers gives France credit for maintaining the parity at 15½ to 1?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I understand exactly what I have stated. I know the fact that the gentleman is well posted on the silver question, and therefore he is too well informed on the subject to say that France was able to maintain bimetallism alone until 1871.

Mr. BRYAN. I will find the passage to which I have referred and hand it to the gentleman, so that he can use it in his remarks.

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. The gentleman can put anything in his remarks that he thinks fit. I have already occupied more time than I expected to occupy on the International Monetary Conference. I will close on this subject by saying that the gold and silver commission appointed by the English Government to inquire into the recent changes in the relative value of the precious metals, composed of twelve able and distinguished gentlemen, most of whom were members of Parliament, after an exhaustive examination for nearly two years, declared through six members of the commission as follows:

Neither metal alone exists in sufficient quantities to serve as a sole standard without causing such a change in the level of prices as to amount to a financial and commercial revolution. No settlement of the difficulty is, however, possible without international action. The remedy we suggest is essentially international in its character, and its details must be settled in concert with the other powers concerned. The essential features of the agreement to be arrived at are:

Free coinage of both metals into legal-tender money.

The fixing of a ratio at which the coins of either metal shall be available for the payment of all debts at the option of the debtor.

ARGUMENTS OF THE OPPOSITION ANALYZED.

I desire now to refer to arguments presented by the other side, so far as I have been able to hear them. They say that the passage of a free-coinage bill will make money more abundant among the people and restore prosperity. We already have more money in circulation per capita in the United States than in any other country in the world except one, and we now have 363,000,000 standard silver dollars in the Treasury and 120,000,000 of silver bullion also in the Treasury.

Free coinage will add to the stock of silver lying there by bringing to our mints annually seventy-five millions of silver, the product of American mines, and many millions from foreign countries annually, and would, in my opinion, bring our country to a silver basis in sixty days. No man can get this money without he earns it or furnishes the Government something for it. Free coinage will not put money in the pockets of the poor and needy, and the Secretary of the Treasury is not authorized to give freely to all who will take. The only people who may get a bounty that I know of are the silver mine owners. When a mine owner takes $600 worth of silver to the mint, and the mint gives him 1,000 silver dollars for it, does it benefit the mine owner or the people? Does it increase the wages of the miner who delves in the mines? My opinion is that no man is benefited by this transaction except the man who sells the silver. Our country produced last year 58,000,000 ounces of silver, worth at present about $42,000,000. One million ounces of this

was produced in small lots by several States. All the rest was produced in seven States and Territories, as follows:

States.	Ounces of silver.	Population.
Arizona	1,062,220	59,620
Colorado	24,347,017	412,198
Idaho	3,164,269	84,385
Montana	17,405,093	132,159
Nevada	2,244,000	45,761
New Mexico	1,075,000	153,593
Utah	7,762,257	207,905
Totals	57,059,856	1,095,621

Here we have the remarkable and unprecedented situation of 1,000,000 of people, with a total annual production worth at market price $42,000,000, demanding free-coinage privileges which will enable them at the present prices to get for their product 40 per cent more than its present market value, while 64,000,000 of their countrymen must drink the dregs of misfortune and bear the burdens of hard times in order that 1,000,000 may be prosperous and grow rich.

The foreign commerce of this country aggregates nearly $2,000,000,000 per year. The silver product is only about one-fiftieth of this sum, and this commerce must be conducted with money that is sound, and stable, and international, and as good as gold. But how does it affect the farmer? The value of the silver products in only one-sixteenth of the value of the corn product, or one-tenth of the value of the wheat or hay raised every year. It is worth only one-half as much as the wool or the potatoes annually produced, and about one-sixth as much as the cotton produced annually. I do not believe one class should be enriched while other classes are impoverished. As I understand it, the object of government is "the greatest good to the greatest number," and the old Democratic rule is "equal rights to all and exclusive privileges to none."

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. McCREARY] has been frequently interrupted by questions, I ask that he be permitted to conclude his remarks without limit of time.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I am very thankful for the courtesy extended to me.

It is said by opponents of the pending bill if we pass a free-coinage bill *silver will soon be on a parity with gold.* For fifteen years we have tried to accomplish that result. In 1878 we provided for the coinage of not less than $2,000,000, nor more than $4,000,000 worth per month, and that law was in force until 1890; but silver steadily declined.

In 1890 the Sherman act provided for the purchase of nearly the entire output of the silver mines of the United States and required Treasury notes to be issued therefor, yet silver declined to less than 60 cents on the dollar, being lower than it had ever been in the history of our country. I can not see, therefore, how the free and unlimited coinage of silver, with our mints open to the whole world, can restore silver to a parity with gold under existing conditions. In 1878 the pure silver in an American dollar was worth $1.03. The ratio was 16 to 1, and the production of silver in the United States was $35,000,000 per annum, and in the whole world the production was $80,000,000 per annum.

At present the pure silver in an American dollar is worth about 60 cents. The ratio is about 27 to 1, and the production of silver in the United States is $75,000,000 per annum, and in the world $185,000,000 per annum. These are stubborn facts, and I submit as a business proposition, when every nation in Europe has suspended the coinage of silver or demonetized it, and India, who purchased from us last year nearly half we produced, having closed her mints to the free coinage of silver, where can we now find a market for our silver, and how can we expect it will go to to a parity with gold by now making its coinage free and unlimited?

Mr. RAWLINS. May I interrupt the gentleman for a question?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I will permit one more interruption, but will then be compelled, Mr. Speaker, to refuse to yield further.

Mr. RAWLINS. Is it not true that the Secretary of the Treasury has sent to the Senate information that notwithstanding this amount of silver to which the gentleman refers, more silver is demanded than can be supplied by the Treasury; that gold has been offered for silver which can not be furnished? And will the gentleman in connection with that say if the bullion now in the Treasury ought not to be coined?

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I do not know what information the Secretary of the Treasury has sent to the Senate, and I will have to see reports referred to by the gentleman before I will be satisfied.

Responding to his question in regard to coining the silver bullion in the Treasury, I remind him that I have already stated I am in favor of coining the bullion in the Treasury at the rate of $2,000,000 per month.

It is said also that free coinage of silver would raise prices. The lessons of the past fifteen years answer this statement. During this period the amount of money in this country has more than doubled. The circulation per capita has increased nearly 30 per cent, but the general average of prices has fallen.

The demand for money grows with the world's growth of business and trade.

THE PROGRESS OF THE PRESENT AGE.

The immense developments being made, the numerous railways in both hemispheres, the great fleets of ships laden with the commerce of the world, the telegraph lines making all commercial centers convenient markets, and the rapidly growing tendency to international unity, imperatively require large amounts of money; but that money to be useful must be sound, stable, and international, so that when debts are contracted both debtors and creditors will know that payment will be made on the same principle as when the debt was contracted. This is the honest, the fair, the just way of conducting business.

If there is an abundance of money in a country to meet the demands of trade and business and labor, prices will assume a natural and proper position unless there is some other interference. When the monetary systems of the world are examined it will be found, as I have said before, that our country has more gold and silver money than any other country except one, and that no country in the world except one has as large a circulation per capita as the United States. There must then be something else needed to increase prices other than free coinage.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

One of the greatest conventions which ever assembled in the world was held last year at Chicago, and Grover Cleveland and Adlai Stevenson were nominated for President and Vice-President. Those in favor of free coinage say that the Democratic platform should be adhered to, and that they are seeking to comply with the pledges made in that platform. I am as much in favor of keeping the pledges in the national Democratic platform according to the straight letter of the covenant as any man. I know it has been differently construed according to the interests of those who interpret it, but to me there is no ambiguity about it, and I am ready to stand by a fair and just construction of it. I now read from the Chicago Democratic platform:

> We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against metal or charge for mintage; but the dollar unit of coinage must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal dollar of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payments of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin.
>
> We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmer and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

It will be observed that the free coinage of silver and gold without discrimination "or charge for mintage" provided for in the platform is that of coins of equal *intrinsic* value. It is not the free coinage of a 60-cent, or 70-cent, or 80-cent silver dollar, but of a silver dollar of equal intrinsic value with the gold dollar. It is further to be observed that the alternative plan of an "international agreement" or "safeguard of legislation" mentioned in the platform must be such as shall insure "the parity of the two metals" and the equally purchasing power and debt-paying power of the two dollars in the markets of the world. The free coinage of silver upon these terms is just as different from the free coinage of light-weight dollars discredited in every market but our own, as is the purchase of silver bullion not for coining but for useless hoarding in Government vaults. This scheme the platform justly denounces as one "*fraught with possibilities of danger in the future.*"

To those who have charged inconsistency and bad faith, I can only say that Mr. Cleveland was nominated by those who had a full knowledge of his Warner letter and of his views on financial questions; and in his letter of acceptance he said:

> Though much is left unwritten, my record as a public servant leaves no excuse for misunderstanding my belief and position on the questions which are now presented to the voters of the land for their decision.

His record as a public servant made him a platform, and the people had no doubt as to his position. Every national platform of the Democratic party since 1880 has demanded honest money,

consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand without loss. I indorse this fully. I have no right or authority to speak for Mr. Cleveland, but I believe he heartily indorses this time-tried and time-honored doctrine.

THE RATIO OF GOLD TO SILVER.

Many of the opponents of the pending bill advocate a change of the law which has been in force in the United States since 1834 fixing the ratio between gold and silver at 1 to 16—that is, one ounce of gold equal to 16 ounces of silver. They propose that a vote be taken on the ratio of 1 to 17, 1 to 18, 1 to 19, and 1 to 20. The question of the ratio of gold to silver is very important and deserves the most careful and thorough investigation and consideration. Changes in ratio were made in ancient times easily, because there was then but little silver money. In Rome, about the beginning of the Christian era, the relative value of gold to silver was 1 to 9. At the time of the discovery of America the ratio was 1 to 11; in 1600 it was 1 to 13, and it continued to rise until the first mint act of the United States was passed, when the ratio in our country was established at 1 to 15. In 1834 the ratio was changed to 1 to 16, and for about sixty years this ratio has remained unchanged.

When it is remembered that if the ratio of gold to silver should be changed it will take, according to a statement made by the Director of the Mint, ten years to recoin the silver we now have on hand, and if the ratio is fixed at 20 to 1 it will immediately discredit every silver dollar in the United States and cost the Government $89,000,000, as stated by Secretary of Treasury, being the cost of mintage and the additional amount of silver required to make the difference in the ratio, and increase the obligations of debtors millions of dollars and destroy all hope of international bimetallism, the unwisdom of a changed ratio becomes apparent.

MONETARY COMMISSION.

Macauley said "truth is found between two extremes." I have listened attentively to speeches made by members in favor of gold monometallism and by members in favor of free coinage of silver, and I am satisfied that neither will prove to be a remedy for existing financial and business distress. On the contrary, either will aggravate the woes with which our country is at present afflicted.

To continue silver at its present standard as money will not harm the East, but to impair or destroy its value as money would greatly injure the West in its mines and manufactures, and the South in its agriculture and trade. Therefore, I am in favor of an intermediate position. Repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act and then arrange for the coinage at our present standard of $2,000,000 of silver per month, beginning with the silver bullion in the Treasury. This will relieve present financial strain and help to restore confidence. Then a monetary commission could be put to work, and after it reports we could take such further action as is needed.

There are certain great questions in our monetary system, including the ratio of gold to silver, which I think should be referred to a monetary commission, to consist of three Senators, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, three Representatives, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and three experts, to be selected by the President of the United States, who should have authority to take evidence of business men in the South, North, East, and West, before the whole committee or before subcommittees, and to inquire into and report—

First. On the change which has taken place in the relative value of gold and silver, and whether the change is due to the depreciation of silver or the appreciation of gold, and the cause of the change—whether permanent or temporary, the effect thereof upon finance, trade, commerce, agriculture, labor, and other interests of the country, and upon the standard of value in this and other countries.

Second. On the policy of maintaining the double standard in the United States, and what should be the legal ratio between silver and gold when coined, and how many kinds of currency are needed.

Third. On the best means of restoring confidence in commercial and financial circles and promoting international bimetallism.

Such monetary commissions have been appointed in the past, and have always rendered valuable service. The Monetary Commission appointed under an act of the Congress of the United States in 1876 made an able and elaborate report, arousing an interest among the people, and accomplished much of permanent value in the direction of solving the financial difficulties of those times. It opened the way for the remonetization of silver and the passage of the Bland-Allison act in 1878, which took the silver question out of politics until the passage of the Sherman act in 1890.

The gold and silver commission in England, of which Herschel was chairman and Balfour, Holdsworth, and Chaplin were conspicuous members, made favorable and exhaustive reports and furnished much important information to the whole of Europe on financial questions and awakened a feeling in favor of bimetallism which is growing every day.

After the repeal of the Sherman act, conservative and well-advised action is needed, and a few months allowed for the people to recover from the effects of bad financial legislation and for the committee to make a careful examination of questions involving the relative value of gold to silver, the proper ratio to be fixed between the two metals, and the policy of maintaining the double standard and of reducing the number of kinds of currency which we now have, and the best means of promoting international bimetalism will be of immense benefit in aiding Congress to arrive at a proper conclusion on these great questions.

DUTIES WHICH SHOULD BE HEEDED.

Mr. Speaker, some duties stand out so clearly that not to see them is to be blind and not to heed them is folly.

The first I present is that the purchasing clause of the Sherman act should be immediately repealed and the legal-tender quality of the standard silver dollars preserved, and the parity of gold and silver coins of the United States maintained.

The second is that a free coinage bill should not be passed at this time. It would only result in a divided Democracy and the bill will not become a law.

The third is that every patriot should aid so far as he can conscientiously the honest efforts of a patriotic President to relieve the people and restore prosperity to the country.

A heavy responsibility is resting on the representatives of the people at present. We are not here, as some have intimated, to watch the way the wind blows and study only problems that will return us to Congress, but we are here to rise above prejudice and passion, selfish interests and personal ambition, and to legislate in such a way as to benefit the people and promote the welfare of the whole country. We should do what honor and conscience dictate and then submit to the verdict of the people. [Applause.]

[Mr. CATCHINGS obtained the floor.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will announce that there will be a session this evening, at the request of gentlemen who desire to address the House. At 5 o'clock, therefore, a recess will be taken until 8 o'clock, the evening session to be devoted to debate only on the pending measure.

[Mr. CATCHINGS withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

[Mr. LIVINGSTON withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

Mr. HUDSON. Mr. Speaker, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: I am conscious of the fact that it will appear presumptuous on my part to occupy the attention of a body containing so many older and abler men, and my only apology for claiming your attention is the fact that I represent a people as much entitled to be heard upon this floor as those of any other district in our common country, and the question now before this House is of such far-reaching and overshadowing importance to them that I feel that I should be recreant to the trust confided in me should I remain silent. My only regret is that I am not better equipped for the discharge of that great responsibility.

It is the first time in the history of our country that the Congress of the United States has been called together in extraordinary session to pass upon a demurrer filed by the Executive branch against the acts of a former Executive and Congress.

It is a well-established rule of practice that a demurrer leveled at the answer or pleading of a defendant may be carried over to the original complaint or initiatory pleading. I therefore propose, Mr. Speaker, to insist upon applying this demurrer to the so-called Sherman silver-purchasing act, to the act of 1873 demonetizing silver, which was the primary pleading in this case—the provoking cause of the Sherman law.

The wrong does not begin, sir, with the Sherman law, but began with the act of 1873, which stopped the coinage of, and consequently debased silver.

A skillful patient in treating a patient seeks for the primal cause of his disease, and, in eradicating that, cures the patient. Therefore, being called together to prescribe for this dreadful Sherman act, let us like good physicians dispose of the whole question by restoring silver to the place it occupied in this Government prior to the 14th day of February, 1873.

The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BROWN], on the first day of the debate upon this question, made an able appeal to this House for a mere surface treatment of our financial trouble, asking us to ignore for the time being the root of the evil. His plan would

give us no substantial relief, and would leave us, in my judgment, in a worse condition than we are to-day.

I trust, therefore, that we shall not subject ourselves to the criticism of having shirked our whole duty. No, sir; the mere repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, which is all that is contained in the bill now before us for consideration, will not meet the expectations or the demands of the American people. We should, here and now, either adopt a paper standard or firmly and positively re-establish bimetallism by giving silver her old place under our Constitution and laws, equal with gold at 16 to 1.

The people whom I represent in the Third Kansas district are farmers and miners, and those whose interests are directly dependent upon the success of those two industrial classes; and they know that they want more money; that they must have more money or lose all the property they now possess, together with all hope of future success. While they do not believe that the free coinage of silver will give them the immediate relief which is now needed, they believe that it will gradually, but certainly, give them more money and better prices; that the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman act will decrease the volume of the currency by reason of the holders of the coin certificates issued under that act taking them to the Treasury and demanding and receiving gold for them, and result in their ultimate retirement from circulation and the checking of the further issue of such notes.

Give us free coinage of silver and the silver miners will at once resume work, and as fast as bullion is taken out it will be taken to the mint by the miners, coined for them, put in circulation by them in the purchase of food and clothing and in supplying their general demands, thereby rapidly increasing the volume of currency in the country, stimulating labor and prices everywhere, giving employment to the idle and unemployed, and bringing back to the country the prosperous times of 1873.

We are told by the gold-stardard advocates that it is not more money that we need, but more confidence. I hope they will permit me to say to them, without any intention on my part to be humorous, that if they will give us their money we will give them our confidence. We have been confiding in them for twenty years and have constantly grown poorer, and the prices of our labor and our products have steadily gone down, with a spasmodic exception here and there.

Confidence without money has deprived tens of thousands of people of their homes, of their property, and of their employment. The gold advocates have maligned and slandered our people through ignorance or malice, the result being the same to us, and charged us with dishonesty in not paying our debts, the interest and principal of mortgages held by them, thoughtlessly assuming that our people were giving up their homes and all they had of this world's goods as a mere pastime, or for the simple enjoyment of hearing the complaints of the mortgage holders.

No people on earth are more intelligent, industrious, or honest, as a whole, than the people of Kansas; and all this talk and newspaper twaddle about the people of Kansas suddenly becoming law-breakers, anarchists, and criminals is the outgrowth of mendacity and want of information. Can any man possessed of reasonable decency expect an intelligent farmer to remain docile with wheat selling at 35 cents, oats at 13 cents per bushel, cattle and horses at less than one-half that which they sold for in 1873, and all other products at about the same ratio—all at less than the cost of production, with here and there a nominal exception—with land constantly falling in price, while bonds, mortgages, interest, and taxes retain all their elephantine proportions?

Will you be kind enough, my gold-standard friends, to tell me how, under such conditions, our people can pay their debts (the securities held by you), their taxes, educate their children, and provide their families with the comforts of life? No, sirs; they are losing their homes, shortening the terms of their schools, buying fewer manufactured articles, and buying less and less of the necessities of life, not because they want to do so, but because they must.

There is not a supporter of the single standard in the United States, or all Europe, that would suffer as patiently the injustice that has been done them as the people of Kansas, and of the West, and of the South. Instead of being maligned and reviled, as they have been, they should receive applause for their moderation. But, sirs, this condition can not continue much longer. We must have relief, and that speedily, or the mutterings that you have heard from the West and the South will break forth so loud that they can be heard not only in Wall street but at Buzzards Bay.

Men recklessly tell us that we are extravagant, and yet these same men would sneer at the cheap clothing and coarse fare of our Western and Southern farmers and laborers, and of their wives and children—and their sensibilities would be terribly shocked if they were compelled to so dress and live. Our farmers' wives, many of them intelligent and well qualified to grace any station in life, are compelled not only to do their own household work and care for their children, but also to go into the field and aid their husbands in farm work, or in taking care of the stock, and a great majority of them are wholly debarred from the time or opportunity to read and cultivate their minds, or otherwise enjoy the amenities of social life.

In the senseless abuse of our people their traducers frequently say that they do not work enough, and then, when driven from that assertion, they say that our want of good prices is brought about wholly by overproduction. In other words, we work too little and produce too much. What a masterpiece of logic! These charges are untrue and wholly unjust.

The whole truth of the matter is that there is not money enough in the country to give profitable employment to our people and enable us to pay our debts and live. Those who growl about our people in the West failing to meet their expectations remind me of a circumstance that occurred when I was in Montana some years ago. Some highwaymen or "road agents," as they were called there, held up a miner at the outskirts of Virginia City, and on examining his pockets they found only $5, which they relieved him of, and then kicked him soundly because he had no more.

I do not expect paid newspapers to stop abusing Kansas and the people of the West, although every word I have uttered can easily be verified by any honest investigator. If they told the truth about us, like Othello, "they would lose their occupation," and yet, strange to say, nearly every one of these maligners of our Western people are advocates of a gold standard, and doing all they can to take away from us more than half of the money which we now have.

Every step we take widens the space between the holders of gold and gold-bearing securities and those who must pay. We must pay all our debts finally with labor and its products. Silver and farm products are all that America can rely upon. The only leverage we have left us to prevent our creditors from absorbing our property is silver, and that is why they are so clamorous against it. Will some supporter of the gold theory please tell us how we are to get the gold of Europe unless we increase our trade with her and have something to buy her gold with? Do they suppose, or do they expect the people to believe, that gold will flow to this country simply because we favor it? Do they regard gold as a sensate being or a cupid to be won by smiles?

Shylock wanted his pound of flesh, but the gold advocates want three pounds where their bonds call for but one, as $1 will now purchase three times as much of the products of the farm and mines as a dollar would at the time our debts were contracted. The holders of the securities say that it is not our fault, and blandly reply that we want our contracts fulfilled to the letter, and we say, "grant it;" but while you demand the fulfillment of our contract, we demand that you accept without complaint the kind of money we contracted to pay you.

The foundation of all wealth, of all business, and of every industry in this country is farming and mining. Consequently, when we get back to the base, the farmers and miners must pay all debts and all interest, and a burden of any kind cast upon this nation or upon any of its people ultimately reaches the farmers and miners, and they are the greatest sufferers. The American silver mines are now producing $75,000,000 coin value of silver. Close the silver mines (and that is what a gold standard means), and the farmers and miners must not only make up that $75,000,000 lost to us, but must supply the 225,000 miners and those dependent upon them with the necessities of life, and have their farm products further depreciated by the loss of the silver, and the further increase of farm products put upon a falling market, should these miners go into the farming business, as they are advised to do by some of the gold advocates. On the other hand, the miner would be compelled to engage in a business of which he knows nothing, his wages would be decreased by more than one-half, and discontent and crime would have thrifty growth among them.

In the face of all this, where is the boasted protection to American labor? Abandoned by the men who so eloquently advocated it a few years ago, while confidence on the part of the workingmen in their sincerity, has vanished like mist before the morning sun. They say truthfully that your talk about protecting the American laborer was simply for the purpose of misleading him and thereby catching his vote, and I warn you that this bait will not catch him again. In the language of Lincoln—

You can fool all of the people some of the time, and some of the people all the time, but you can not fool all the people all the time.

I may be old-fashioned and out of date, but I believe that under the Constitution and laws of this country the rights of the poorest farmer and most destitute miner are just as sacred and

entitled to just as much consideration as the rights of the men who manipulate "Wall street," corner our money, and declare a panic at their sweet will.

SHERMAN LAW.

I believe, and am not alone in that belief, that had the Secretary of the Treasury given a fair interpretation to the Sherman law silver would to-day be on a par with gold at 16 to 1. Immediately after the passage of the act silver went up all over the world; but the Secretary of the Treasury was opposed to silver and at once began to construe the law unfriendly to the white metal, and systematically did all he could to disgrace and degrade it, and that plan is followed to-day by those charged with the execution of the law.

You ask us to save ourselves from national dishonor, to give our creditors more than the contract, to give them gold only, when we have the right to pay in either gold or silver, and you ask our people to do this at a time when our products are lower in the market even than silver. You ask us to wipe out $70,000,000 annually of our money, and to throw out of employment immediately 250,000 miners. You ask us to cut off five-sevenths of our money metal supply at a time when all business and industries all over this land are prostrate.

Let me suggest to you, my Democratic friends, and to you, my Republican friends, that unless you now renounce the single standard heresy and honestly stand by the silver dollar, the money of the laboring and industrial classes, you may write "closed out" in big letters on your banners.

The temper of the people is not to be mistaken for party pride, and empty promises will not deceive them any longer.

This sham nonsense of an honest dollar for labor and for the workingman has grown stale, and he knows that it means for him no dollar at all.

The people want silver dollars, and they want to see them and feel them. No more confidence for them, but dollars—dollars that always supply their needs when they have them. Confidence will not supply homes, clothing, or food. There can be no confidence in business without money or property. Confidence alone is like unto nothing. Confidence and nothing as a copartnership is bankruptcy already. Give us money, more of it, at least $50 per capita, and confidence will be at once restored.

Gold-standard men say, "How will you get it in circulation?" I reply, "Just as any other money is put in circulation." "If it does not get into circulation, why do you object to it?" "It can not possibly hurt you or your foreign abettors." "It is because it will get into circulation that you oppose it."

LAW MAKES MONEY.

What is gold? A metal, an insensate thing, without action or power.

Clothe it in the royal robe of the law and it springs upright into active life, moves the commerce of all nations, employs all labor, controls the tastes and passions of men, mars or gives victory to all human hope and endeavor, and, in fact, like a mighty magician with magic wand, moves the world.

What quality is it, then, that exercises this almost omnipotent influence? Certainly not the cold, lifeless gold. No, sir. It is the law which sustains the same relation to the metal that life, the soul, does to the human body.

Gold is petted, praised, pushed by "Wall street," by England and other European nations, and by the executive branch of our Government, while silver is slandered, abused, and spurned, and yet some weak-minded people wonder that silver does not hold its own with gold.

Silver, clothed in the same robe, would be equally powerful, command the same respect, and exercise the same influence. Those who attack silver, on this floor and elsewhere, are not only illogical, but have not carefully read the history of money; or, if they have, they have forgotten its teachings. I find the following in Appleton's Encyclopedia, which is an acknowledged authority of the very highest character:

> Money is the currency of the realm or of the country; the standard of payment, whether of coins, circulating notes, or any other commodity. Anything which freely circulates from hand to hand, as a common, acceptable medium of exchange in any country, is in such country money, even though it cease to be such, or to possess any value, in passing into another country. In a word, any article is determined to be money by reason of the performance by it of certain functions, without regard to its form or substance. Money has been termed by Mr. Henry C. Cary "the instrument of association," and the same writer has said of it that it is "a saving fund for labor, because it facilitates association and combination, giving utility to billions of millions of minutes that would be wasted did not a demand exist for them at the moment the power to labor had been produced." Baron Storch terms money "the marvelous instrument to which we are indebted for our wealth and civilization." Mr. Thorold Rogers has said: "Just as the development of language is essential to the intellectual growth of a people, so is a medium of exchange to civilization." Aristotle says of it, "that it exists not by nature, but by law."
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> How true is this doctrine, or, at least, how potent is the law under a civilized government in imparting the quality of acceptability for the payment of debts and the purchase of commodities to that which it recognizes as money, is clearly proved by the operations of the Bank of Venice during several centuries, throughout which time its deposits, which were never payable, but only transferrable on the books of the bank, were at a premium over coins, because they were the standard of payment furnished by the state and used for all large transactions. Indeed, this bank money was that which established the money of account, and in which the value of all coins was expressed. Further, on the testimony of Thomas Baring, we are assured that it was found impossible during the crisis of 1847 in London to raise any money whatever on a sum of £80,000 of silver.
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> During a similar crisis in Calcutta in 1864 it was equally impossible to raise even a single rupee on £20,000 of gold. The former was not a legal tender above 40 shillings, while the latter was not so for any sum whatever. About 1855 Holland adopted silver as the only legal tender at a fixed value, but attempted to coin gold coins having no such value, this only being regulated by the market price from day to day. After 200,000 florins (about $80,000) had been coined the demand entirely ceased.

Some gentleman possessed of a poetical imagination, more accustomed to the drama than practical everyday life, says with a theatrical flourish, "I want an honest dollar, one worth a hundred cents in gold, and good in Europe." This remarkable apostrophy seems to furnish the opponents of silver a battle cry. Let us examine these cabalistic words; they possess no real significance. There is no dollar containing a hundred cents, or honest dollar, or dollar made by the United States that is good in Europe. Three marine leagues from our shore every coin of the United States of gold or silver is bullion, a commodity, nothing more, unless some European state (and I know of none such) has by law made our coin a legal tender. The word "cents" has no signification in Europe as applied to money, and none in the United States except as established by law. Mountains of forensic eloquence have been wasted in the effort to prove that the Constitution of the United States does not confer upon Congress the power to say what shall constitute a dollar unless the thing mentioned by it is worth a dollar as a commodity.

I propose, Mr. Speaker, for a short time to discuss the legal meaning of the word "dollar." The Constitution of the United States declares, Article I, section 8, clause 5, "That Congress shall have the power to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin to fix the standard of weights and measures," and in section 10, "No State shall coin money, emit bills of credit, make anything but gold and silver a tender in payment of debts."

Stripped of all sophistry this is a plain and direct declaration that whatever Congress declares to be money, no matter what the commodity value may be, that declaration fixes its money value. It is claimed by theorists of the gold standard persuasion that the words "regulate the value thereof" means that Congress shall ascertain its value and then declare what it is, but in the same sentence the Constitution also provides that Congress shall have the power to regulate, not ascertain, the value of foreign coin. The men who framed the Constitution of the United States understood our language, and wrote vigorous English, and had they intended to say "ascertain the value of domestic and foreign coin" they would undoubtedly have done so, and I submit that any man of ordinary intelligence who wishes honestly to ascertain what the framers of the Constitution meant by the words "regulate the value thereof" can have no trouble in arriving at a clear-cut conclusion.

The word "regulate," as used in the Constitution, clearly means to adjust, to fix, to establish, to direct precisely as Congress shall will, and the power to coin money granted to Congress by the Constitution is unlimited; but belongs to Congress alone and can not be delegated. It would be next to impossible to use clearer or stronger language, and as applied to gold and silver the true intent and meaning of the Constitution has never been seriously questioned until recently.

Aristotle, the great Greek philosopher and lawgiver, who flourished about 325 B. C., and who taught Alexander the Great, in speaking of money, says "that it exists not by nature, but by law." But why argue this question? If there is anything settled beyond all cavil by the decisions of the courts, it is that Congress, under the Constitution, has power to coin money and to fix the value of it, without regard to the market value of the substance of which it is made.

The supreme court of Pennsylvania, in 52d Pennsylvania State, page 36, says:

> To regulate the value is to declare by proclamation or statute the value of the coin as a currency, and thus essentially, if not necessarily, make it a legal tender in payment of debts.

The court of appeals of New York, the home of "Wall street," in 27th New York Court of Appeals, page 459, uses the following language:

> It is the lawful money of the United States only (made such by its authority) that can be effectually used for payment of debts, without reference to the intrinsic value of the thing tendered or paid.

For those who care to look it up, I cite the following cases, which are to like effect: Taylor vs. Robinson, 34 Federal Reports, page 681; 47 Wisconsin, page 557; 13 Wallace, page 604; 8 Wallace, pages 603 and 639; 12 Wallace, page 457; 14 Wallace,

page 297; 15 Wallace, page 195; 38 Missouri, page 658; 25 New Hampshire, page 434; 27 New York, page 400; 69 Illinois, page 70; 39 Vermont, page 46, and a great many other decisions too numerous to mention here, hold that the power of Congress is complete to say what shall constitute a dollar.

The Supreme Court of the United States, in 12 Wallace, page 445, says:

It was designed to provide the same currency, having a uniform legal value in all the States. It was for this reason the power to coin money and regulate its value was conferred upon the Federal Government, while the same power, as well as the power to emit bills of credit, was withdrawn from the States. The States can no longer declare what shall be money or regulate its value. Whatever power there is over the currency is vested in Congress. If the power to declare what is money is not in Congress, it is annihilated. * * *

Even the advocates of a strict literal construction of the phrase, "to coin money and regulate the value thereof," while insisting that it defines the material to be coined as metal, are compelled to concede to Congress large discretion in all other particulars. The Constitution does not ordain what metals may be coined, or prescribe that the legal value of the metals when coined shall correspond at all with their intrinsic value in the market. Confessedly the power to regulate the value of money coined, and of foreign coins, is not exhausted by the first regulation. More than once in our history has the regulation been changed, without any denial of the power of Congress to change it, and it seems to have been left to Congress to determine alike what metal shall be coined, its purity, and how far its statutory value, as money, shall correspond from time to time with the market value of the same metal as bullion. * * *

But the obligation of a contract to pay money is to pay that which the law shall recognize as money when the payment is to be made. If there is anything settled by decision it is this, and we do not understand it to be controverted. No one ever doubted that a debt of $1,000 contracted before 1834 could be paid by one hundred eagles coined after that year, though they contained no more gold than ninety-four eagles, such as were coined when the contract was made, and this, not because of the intrinsic value of the coin, but because of its legal value. The eagles coined after 1834 were not money until they were authorized by law, and had they been coined before without a law fixing their legal value, they could no more have paid a debt than uncoined bullion, or cotton, or wheat.

As I have said there is no such thing as an honest dollar. There is not now, and never has been, a dollar coined which was made by law or was in fact a standard of value. Value has no standard, it is an ideal thing; it is like faith or hope, intangible.

Therefore, when the words "honest dollar" are used they must mean a legal dollar; if they do not mean a legal dollar the expression is senseless.

If legal dollar is meant, the silver dollar is legal, therefore honest. The silver dollar is a representation of value made so by law.

In the legal-tender cases, 12 Wallace, page 553, the Supreme Court of the United States says:

It is hardly correct to speak of a standard of values. The Constitution does not speak of it. It contemplates a standard for that which has gravity for extension; but value is an ideal thing. The coinage acts fix its unit as a dollar; but the gold or silver thing we call a dollar is, in no sense, a standard of a dollar. It is a representative of it.

Speaking of the idea that gold was a fixed standard of values, Archbishop Walsh, to whom I shall hereafter refer, says:

The popular notion, then, of the sovereign or pound sterling constituting a fixed standard of value is merely a popular delusion.

The sole foundation for that delusion manifestly is that in these countries the values of all commodities are commonly stated in terms of the pound sterling. * * *

The natural result of this method of expressing the values of commodities other than gold, is that, when prices rise or fall, the impression is conveyed to a superficial observer that it is the value of all other things that changes, the value of the sovereign remaining fixed.

DEMAND FOR MORE MONEY.

There are 1,500,000,000 of people on this globe, probably more. The total amount of gold money is $3,600,000,000, and the supply of gold is rapidly decreasing.

Scientific investigation proves that a gold piece in constant circulation is destroyed in twenty years.

Increasing commerce, developments, inventions, civilization, are each and all rapidly expanding the demand for money. The cry is going up to-day in every nation and among all people for more money, and only a few here and there, not to exceed 3 per cent—the very rich and their attorneys—are resisting that demand; but the few are powerful because they possess the wealth and have a mortgage on the 97 per cent.

All kinds of fallacies are put forth, published, and repeated in behalf of gold; their name is legion. Among others it is claimed that the world is now at a gold standard—this in face of the fact that the last report of the Census Bureau, No. 1, 1892–1893, on imports, exports, etc., but recently issued, page 184, shows that of the gold and silver of the world there is of gold stock $3,656,935,000, while there is a full legal tender of silver of $3,401,100,000, and limited tender $543,600,000, making the total of silver money in use $3,944,700,000, or $300,000,000 more of silver money in use than the entire stock of gold.

Thus it will be seen that of silver and gold combined there is sufficient to furnish only $5 per capita if all in circulation. Drop silver and we have only $2.40 per capita. No economic writer has ever up to this time had the hardihood to assert that there was money enough in circulation to properly supply the business demands of the world, and almost without exception it is agreed that there is not sufficient money in existence to properly supply the demand.

Every intelligent person knows that by adopting a gold standard our debts will necessarily be increased and prolonged, necessitating the payment of vast interest. Interest is what our creditors want. We want to pay them the principal. This is good sense and good financial policy; let us use every resource at our command to pay our debts, including every dollar in silver that we can get.

We are told that we fail now because we borrowed too much, and owe too much; that we ought not to have borrowed so much. Suppose this to be true. Is that any reason why this Congress, elected by the people, should add to our burdens by depriving us of more than half the means of paying our debts? Wall street banks are here asking relief for their own acts and their own mistakes, for doing business on confidence and not on capital. It is said that we want a sound money as a basis. A gold standard places this Government absolutely at the mercy of its creditors. Our European creditors could call now—on present outstanding securities—for every dollar of gold in this country.

Are we not as a nation doing a far more reckless business than the people of the West ever did? It is proposed to adopt a gold standard at a time when we owe $50 for every dollar of gold we possess—placing ourselves in the hands of our creditors and the great money centers, giving to them the power to put up the price of gold at will, and absolutely bankrupt all business and all industry.

Does not common sense and common honesty toward our own people require us to protect their interests by standing by our legal right to pay all our debts in silver? If for no other reason we should stand by silver until we have paid our debts—at least every debt which we can legally pay with it—and we should do this at the present standard.

It is claimed, Mr. Speaker, that only the mining States are interested in this question, and I notice that some of the Wall street pictorial papers, Puck, I believe, has a big dog, a very proper illustration of this gold-standard idea, with a small tail. The tail is labeled "Four silver States," and the body of the animal is labeled "All the rest of the States." The illustration would have been much more apt and truthful with a small weasel head labeled "Gold standard," and all the rest of the body, tail and all, labeled "Free silver."

Gentlemen say that they do not see how it can affect the agricultural States, and I am asked, "How can it affect Kansas?" Let me illustrate. Let us suppose that the State of Kansas is indebted to the Eastern and foreign holders, $300,000,000; the sum is greater, sir, and that the amount of interest that sum is drawing annually is at least 7 per cent. Ten years ago wheat was worth a dollar a bushel in Kansas, and had in fact been above that figure almost continuously since the war. The interest on three hundred millions at 7 per cent would be $21,000,000. Ten years ago 21,000,000 bushels of wheat would have paid that interest.

Now, sir, wheat is only worth 40 cents per bushel, but the interest remains unchanged. Therefore, it requires 52,500,000 bushels of wheat to pay that interest. Three hundred million bushels of wheat would have paid the principal ten years ago or previous to that time, but now it requires 750,000,000 bushels of wheat to pay that debt. Kansas is an agricultural State, almost pure and simple, and she can from no discovered process become anything else for generations. The figures I have given you regarding wheat holds good with almost every other product of the farm and of the State. Not only that, but the enormous drain upon our resources to pay our interest necessarily compels us to increase our debt.

Taxes throughout the State average over 3 per cent, and all this great tax upon the energies of our people to pay interest and taxes which I have mentioned, is sapping life and hope. There is in the decline of prices absolutely no prospect of the redemption of this great debt. All the earnings must go to pay interest, and that interest pays no taxes or tribute to the State of Kansas, and leaves but little to defray the constantly increasing burden of tax necessary to carry on our State and municipal governments. And what is true, sir, of Kansas is substantially true of all the agricultural States. It is useless to tell the people of the agricultural States that it makes no difference to them whether we have a gold standard and less money, or whether we have the combined standard and more money.

As I have said, our people want to pay their debts, want to relieve themselves of these enormous burdens, but in order to do this they must have more money that must be accepted by our creditors. We will be satisfied when the volume of money is so increased that wheat will again be restored, on the average, to a dollar a bushel, and we will be satisfied with nothing less.

The mining States will not suffer as much by the adoption of

a gold standard as will the agricultural people, because they are not so heavily indebted, and if their mining interest is closed out they have the consolation of knowing that they owe nothing.

From a financial standpoint the people of the agricultural States must have a larger currency, or absolute bankruptcy awaits them in the near future, and this bankruptcy will recoil upon our creditors because they will be compelled to take our lands in payment of our debts, and put tenant farmers on them. This will result in negligence of the interests of the land-owners, decay of improvements and falling off in the value of the lands, and the burden of local taxation will then begin to be felt and understood by them, and the history of Ireland will be repeated in the valley of the Mississippi.

This, sir, is not an idle vision. I have recently examined with much interest a pamphlet prepared by the Most Reverend Dr. Walsh, archbishop of Dublin, entitled "Bimetallism and Monometallism: What they are, and how they bear upon the Irish land question." Archbishop Walsh is now recognized as one of the most learned and conscientious men in the great church to which he belongs, and it is further well said of him that there is no man living who has at heart the interest of the common people of Ireland to a greater extent than he, and after a careful and thorough investigation of the question, bringing to bear upon the subject all his vast learning and splendid ability, he felt compelled to advise the Irish people not to attempt to purchase the farms upon which they live, under the land laws adopted by England in recent years, because of the constantly and necessarily falling prices of their products on account of the gold standard now sought to be forced upon the civilized world by the English Government.

From the examination of the archbishop by the English commission, I quote:

Q. The connection, your grace, between bimetallism and the Irish land question does not seem very close?

A. (By the Archbishop). Yet nothing could be closer. The adoption of bimetallism, or of some equivalent remedy, if there be an equivalent remedy, is, I am convinced, a matter of imperative necessity; that is, if the agricultural tenants of Ireland—and I do not at all limit this to Ireland—are to be saved from otherwise inevitable ruin.

It is transparently obvious to everyone who has mastered even the elementary facts and principles of the case. But it is disheartening to find that, notwithstanding all this, no interest seems to be taken in this grave question by many of the leaders of Irish opinion.

If things go on as they are, even the excellent land-purchase scheme which is associated with the name of Lord Ashbourne may become, before many years are over, a source of widespread disaster to the tenants who have purchased under it.

And a little further on the archbishop goes on to say:

The principle of the monometallists seems to be that things must become a great deal worse before they can become any better. * * * At all events, they have no practical remedy to propose.

And at page 11 the archbishop continues:

It is indisputably plain that the Irish tenants who have the misfortune to have their rents "fixed" for terms of fifteen years, under the land act of 1881—and, much more so, the Irish tenant purchasers, who have the misfortune to find themselves saddled with the obligation of making annual payments "fixed" for forty-nine years—are simply slipping down an inclined plane, with bankruptcy awaiting them at the bottom of it.

At page 30 the archbishop continues:

Monometallism, as we have it in Great Britain and Ireland, in Germany, and in so many other countries, tends to raise the value of gold, thereby favoring the interests of the capitalists, the interest of all those who have command of gold—money lenders and the like—favoring all such persons at the expense of the general community, and favoring also the interests of all creditors, the interests of all who have a claim to receive a fixed money payment from others, favoring these at the expense of their unfortunate debtors.

The archbishop then goes on to show by statistics that when England only had adopted a gold standard the commercial world was but little influenced thereby, and silver was not cast down as compared with gold until other European nations and the United States, in 1873, adopted a gold standard. At that time the disastrous effect of the gold craze began to make itself manifest, and has continued to grow in importance and increased ruin to the borrowers of money, until now the intelligent people of the world are beginning to understand the monstrous crime that has been perpetrated against them in the effort to wipe out more than half of the money of the world. But in the face of all the history of the last twenty years, monometallists still insist with a dogged resistance that gold has not gone up, but that everything else has gone down.

Suppose we admit for a moment, Mr. Speaker, that their theory is correct. Upon our side we know that it is not; the effect is precisely the same upon the business interests of this country and of the world. That is, that the holder and controller of gold is enriched, while the creditor and the business interests of the country are correspondingly burdened. The necessary result of this increased value of gold is to increase every existing obligation to pay a fixed amount of dollars.

Therefore, sir, if, in the language of Horace White, "We are not called upon to legislate for the debtor classes," let us, to say the least, not legislate against them, and increase their already too heavy burden.

I propose to add to my remarks a few tables of figures, showing that silver has not gone down in value, notwithstanding the legislation of Europe and America against it, any more rapidly in its commodity value than the average products of labor throughout the world.

A PERMANENT CURRENCY.

The President says, and the gold-standard men say, and bimetallists say, and we all say, that we want a permanent and stable currency, and we all agree that Congress has the power to establish that currency. For some years prior to 1792, when the first coinage act was passed, a general discussion had been going on among the founders of our Republic, and an earnest effort was made by the ablest men of that day—and no one will maintain that they have ever been surpassed in this country for ability to do precisely what we now claim we should do—Jefferson and Hamilton taking the leading parts. Finally it was agreed between those great men and thos e associated with them, uninfluenced by England or Wall street, but acting for the best interests of all, that both gold and silver should be coined in the United States at a ratio then fixed.

At that time there were no great security holders clamoring for a gold standard and a high price dollar, nor extensive silver mine owners demanding that silver receive special consideration. But these men, uninfluenced by any motive except the future development of the prosperity and grandeur of the young Republic, at whose christening they had stood godfather, decided on a bimetallic standard, and that bimetallic standard stood the test of eighty-one years without wronging or injuring anyone, and would be standing to-day as a monument of their wisdom and patriotism but for the fact that during the late war an immense debt was saddled upon the people of this country, and the holders of that debt, although a small yet a compact and skillful body, desired to increase the value of their holdings, not by the usual laws of trade, not in the ordinary and fair dealing methods, but through acts of the American Congress; and, among other unjust and wrongful acts, they procured the passage of the law in 1873, known as "the demonetization of silver" law, and from that day to this, sir, they have with organized, systematic, and skillful effort, through the mighty power of untold wealth, labored to maintain that law.

They knew then and they know now that by that legislative act and other acts procured by them the purchasing power of their securities was more than doubled, consequently the burdens laid upon the shoulders of the industrial people of the United States were necessarily more than doubled, and I am, sir, astonished to find the Chief Executive of this nation and a large number of distinguished gentlemen, who owe all they have and are to the industrial people, standing up before all the world to-day and insisting upon a perpetuation of the advantages gained by that act over the masses by the rich few.

Contemplating these wrongs and the position taken by quite a respectable number of distinguished citizens, I am led to exclaim, "Can this be America? Can we be the descendants of the Revolutionary fathers? Can this be the boasted land of liberty, and of equal rights to all?" And I can not refrain from the sad reflection that, notwithstanding our boasted Christian intelligence, we are following in the footsteps of the great majority of empires that have heretofore sprung into existence, flourished, and fallen, almost universally fallen through corruption in high places and injustice on the part of the rulers toward the people.

Let us, sir, to-day, at this extra session of Congress, call a halt, and do our best to restore as far as we may, under our Constitution and laws, to the masses, to the yeomanry, and to all the people the rights which have been so unjustly taken from them: and in doing that, as a first step, let us wipe from the statute books all patchwork on the silver question and restore this country to the bimetallism which existed prior to the 14th day of February, 1873. Do this, and generations to come, whose tiny feet have not yet touched the shores of time, will praise and bless the patriotism of this Congress.

It is charged, sir, upon this floor, and in newspapers and magazines throughout the country, that the representatives and people of the silver-mining States and Territories are unjustly trying to compel this Government to buy their silver at an exorbitant price for their own selfish interests and gain.

The State that I partially represent produces no silver; therefore I think I may answer these charges from an impartial standpoint. I have mingled with the people of the mining States very extensively, and I have never yet heard the demand urged by them, or any of them, that the Government buy their products. On the contrary, sir, all they have ever asked, or are asking now, is that silver be restored to its right of free coinage as

it existed at the time they settled and begun to develop those States and Territories, and this they have a right to insist upon, and only those who prefer England and Europe, and our creditors, to the people of these States and Territories, are objecting to their claims.

It is universally admitted in works of political economy that any such thing as a commodity with absolute stability of value is unattainable.

The most important characteristic of a good monetary standard is that it should preserve comparative stability of value. The principal reason why, of the multitude of commodities that have been used for the material of money at different times, gold and silver has survived as the fittest, is because their great durability renders the total stock extremely large compared with the annual supply, and thus eliminates one element of instability of value. Another special advantage of gold and silver for monetary purposes is that both the weight and purity of the coins made from them may be easily ascertained.

Only fools believe, or can be made to believe, that gold never falls in price or value as a commodity; and even when coined in money, that it does not change in value.

If the world's stock of gold should run low every man of ordinary intelligence understands that the price of gold would go up, not that other commodities or labor would go down.

As I have stated, there can be no absolute standard of value. Value is a sliding scale and changes according to the demand of each and every particular commodity, even though that commodity may be money itself.

The immense production of gold in California was of great benefit to the human race, not because the gold was needed, but because it was generally accepted as a money standard. I use the word "money" standard distinct from "value" standard. Money was needed throughout the world, and the price of commodities and wages went up everywhere because of the discovery of gold in California and Australia. Inventions, improvements, and civilization leaped into new life, and progressed more in fifty years after the discovery of gold in those two countries than it had for a hundred and fifty years previous thereto.

Money and plenty of it is the spirit of all enterprise, of all commerce, and of all development, and no people at any time in the world's history, with a small circulation of money, have ever progressed to any considerable extent.

Adopt a universal gold standard with the small amount of gold that there is now in the world and you place gold absolutely beyond the reach of the many, clip the wings of commerce, close institutions of learning and churches, stop inventions, and reverse the hand of civilization on the world's dial plate and cause it to run backward instead of forward.

Every gentleman who has discussed this question upon this floor, without exception, I believe, admits that we need more money, that we ought to increase the volume of our currency. In fact, the gold standard men are here asking us to issue bonds with which to buy gold, and the bankers of New York are issuing illegal clearing-house certificates to take the place of money. The universal cry is going up all over the civilized world for a larger circulating medium, and the man would be reckless, indeed, who would say to the American people that we have too much money to-day, or even that we have enough.

How then are we to increase our circulating medium? The answer of the gold standard men is logically, whatever words they may desire to answer in, "by cutting off more than half of the supply." In other words, in order to increase the supply, cut off the production.

In some of the Western States crops can only be produced by irrigation, and even the gold standard men in the United States would regard the farmer who must irrigate his farm as a very foolish man, who would during the dry season of the year, and when his crops most need a supply of moisture, cut off more than half of the water which was obtainable; or having two streams flowing into his ditch turned the larger one adrift. And likewise would they deem a man foolish who had a house that was not sufficiently ventilated, who for the purpose of improving the ventilation would close half the windows and doors.

I was astonished the other day to hear the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] say:

> I want to say right here, lest I should overlook it later, that if we had never had the Bland-Allison act, nor the act of 1890, sometimes called the Sherman act, the circulating medium of this country would to-day be over two billions of dollars, and a very large part of it would be in gold coin.

I thought, Mr. Speaker, at the time the gentleman made that declaration that he was jesting, but I afterwards, in private conversation with him, ascertained that he was in real earnest. What a remarkable proposition! What is there to support it? If we had two thousand millions of gold in the United States, all the rest of the civilized world would only have one billion six hundred millions, and think of the desperate condition of the rest of the human race, if, as he contends, gold is the only honest money.

History does not bear out Mr. HARTER'S proposition. England, conceded to be the wealthiest of all nations, has had a gold standard for seventy years, with the rest of the world most of the time using either a silver or bimetallic standard. Not only that; she is the creditor of the nations which deal with her to the extent of $10,000,000,000. So says Mr. Gladstone, and yet, with all those advantages in her favor, she only has $18 per capita in circulation, and that not all in gold.

I was curious to know, Mr. Speaker, upon what theory the distinguished gentleman arrived at his conclusions, and I learned that he based them on the trade balance in our favor for the last twenty years taken in the aggregate. But, Mr. Speaker, that proposition does not hold good, for during those twenty years we have exported silver in excess of our imports to the gross amount of $290,000,000. Even last year, when the balance of trade was largely against us, we exported in excess of our imports over $14,000,000 of silver.

Sir, a few years ago our Western people were told that what they needed was protection, that the McKinley bill was the goose that would lay golden eggs for all of us. What was the result? We got the goose, but we never got the eggs. In the year 1892, as shown by the Treasurer's report just issued, we exported $99,000,000 worth less of breadstuffs, $70,000,000 less of cotton, and $10,000,000 less of animals than for the year 1891. In round numbers, of farm products alone we exported $200,000,000 less in 1892 than we did in 1891, and we sold what we did export at less prices, instead of increased prices.

Now let us see, on the other hand, if we made that up in the increased sale of manufactured articles. I find, on examination of the same report, that we did not; that the increased sale of manufactured articles, if any, was merely nominal, not to exceed $10,000,000.

Now, sir, while I do not charge all this loss to the demonetization of silver by European nations, and partial demonetization upon the part of our own Government, yet the fact remains that ever since the demonetization of silver Europe has been paying less prices for our products, and the price of our products on the average has gone down in the European market more rapidly as a whole than silver has gone down.

I find, sir, in the July number of the Annals of the American Academy of Science, published in Philadelphia, an article by Prof. Lotz, of the University of Munich, a gold standard advocate, and in that article he admits that the demonetization of silver in Germany caused a great falling off in price of German products in Germany, and he also admits that the landowners of Germany are just as much opposed to the gold standard as are the landowners and laboring people of the United States. In fact, sir, I challenge the attention of this House and of the country to the fact that wherever silver has been demonetized by any nation or people it has resulted in an immediate falling off of the price of labor and of the products of the soil, and that it is not the farmers or laboring class of any civilized country that has demanded a single standard, but everywhere, and at all times, it has been the bankers and money-lenders, and the wealthy.

In the face of all these facts how can gentlemen stand upon this floor or go before the country and defend their attempt to force a gold standard upon America?

Germany could afford a gold standard better than the United States can, for the reason that she produces only a nominal amount of silver, and in order to get silver for money she must buy it.

England could afford a gold standard better than any other nation, for two reasons—the principal one, because she is the largest creditor nation in the world, and is not indebted, except to her own people; and for the further reason that her colonies produce four times as much gold as they do silver; and for the further reason that all her trade with India, her largest colony, is carried on on a silver basis. Therefore, it is to her interest to force silver down, so that she can buy it cheap and coin it at a ratio of 15 to 1 for India, thereby making enormous profits on the silver she purchases, and thus enabling her, as shown by Uncle Jerry Rusk, to pay for India wheat in rupees which cost her less than half their money value—two years ago she coined $65,000,000 of silver, as shown by the report of the Director of the Mint—thus enabling her to force down American wheat, which she has successfully done.

England, sir, seems to be legislating for England, and we find none of her statesmen proclaiming against the injustice done her American debtors. In fact, it is her policy to buy our products at as low figures as she possibly can. England, sir, has never at any time said that she wanted a dollar good in the United States, but has attended to her own business and her own interests, and quite successfully, too.

Germany could better afford a single standard than the United

States, for the reason not only that she is not a silver-producing country, but because what she owes as an empire is due her own people. Consequently, whatever interest she pays goes to the Germans, and not to a foreign people.

A sound currency, therefore, must be an honest currency, must be a currency equally fair to creditor and debtor, that will maintain a general uniformity of prices for a long series of years, so that the contracts made this year to be paid in fifty years would require the same amount of labor, and no more, to pay them then than they would if paid now. This definition can not apply to gold. Gold never has been fair. It is a tyrant, taking advantage of necessity. All understand that both gold and silver would make a more flexible currency than gold alone. Therefore the two combined do not answer the true definition of a "sound currency," but they approximate to it more nearly than gold alone, because the two are broader and enable the Government to enlarge and contract as the demands of the people may require.

A "sound currency" means a currency that will give employment to all labor, supply the demands of every industry, and enable every man that strives for a dollar, honestly and industriously, to obtain it. If this is not the definition of a "sound currency," then, sir, I am not in favor of a sound currency.

THE WEST AND SOUTH DEMAND EQUITY.

On the 22d day of April, 1866, JOHN SHERMAN said in the Senate of the United States:

> Before we return to specie payments the debt ought to be funded. It can not be funded on as favorable terms after we return to specie payments. The very abundance of the currency obviously enables us to fund the debt at a low rate of interest; and it is just and right, as the debt was contracted upon an inflated currency, that upon that currency the debt ought to be funded in its present form.

Nearly two years later Mr. SHERMAN pointed with pride, in a speech made February 24, 1868, to the above extract.

Continuing his speech in the Senate February 24, 1868, Mr. SHERMAN said, speaking of the power given the Secretary of the Treasury in 1866 to fund the national debt:

> Within two years he [the Treasurer] contracted the legal-tender currency $160,000,000, and the plain United States notes over $40,000,000 (making a contraction of the noninterest-bearing debt of over two hundred millions).
>
> At the time this law was passed, April 12, 1866, the total amount of 5-20 bonds was $666,000,000, and the great mass of the debt was in what are called currency obligations, the principal of which undoubtedly could have been paid in currency.
>
> Believing, as he did [the Treasurer], that the best way to resumption of specie payments was by rapid and steady contraction of the currency, he entered upon his policy.
>
> Now, what has been the result? Why, sir, in April, 1866, the price of gold was 125. It had steadily declined from the close of the war until it had reached its lowest point in April, 1866, the time of the passage of this law (funding act and resumption acts).
>
> What was the result? From that time to this gold has advanced, varying between 130 and 140, and has never from that day to this reached the price at which it stood at the passage of this act.
>
> Are we any nearer specie payments now than then? Not at all.

Now, sir, what has been the policy of this Government? First, our floating and noninterest-bearing debt has been taken up and funded into an interest-bearing debt, while the interest-bearing debt has been allowed to run and been continued.

Almost every dollar of our war debt was payable in silver, and our Government has steadily, stealthily, and in violation of the rights of our people, year after year, made it a gold debt, and to-day, sir, we are asked to put the finishing touches upon this masterpiece of villainy by stopping the coinage of silver as money.

I will quote a portion of the law under which legal-tender notes were issued:

> Such notes herein authorized shall be receivable in payment of all taxes, internal-revenue duties, excise, debts, and demands of every kind due the United States, except duties on imports; and all claims and demands against the United States, of every kind whatsoever, except for interest upon bonds and notes which shall be payable in coin, and shall also be lawful money and a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, within the United States, except duties on imports, and interest as aforesaid.

I know it will be argued by the opposition that the legal tender there authorized to be issued was limited to $150,000,000, but before the bonds were issued that limitation was removed. By act of Congress, dated March 3, 1863, the legal-tender act of February 25, 1862, was amended and enlarged.

We find in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Chase, published December, 1863, the following:

> On that day, March 3, 1863, the act to provide ways and means for the support of the Government received the approval of the President [Lincoln] and became a law. In addition to various provisions for loans, it contained clauses repealing restrictions, affecting the regulation of the five-twenties, and thus disengaging that important loan from the embarrassment which had previously rendered it almost unavailable.

Almost immediately after this enlarging act was passed the Secretary of the Treasury sold the bonds, and "they were sold under a basis of currency of $450,000,000," says JOHN SHERMAN in his speech to which I refer.

SHERMAN further says, in that speech (see Congressional Globe, part 5, Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses):

> I say that equity and justice are amply satisfied, if we redeem these bonds in the same money, of the same intrinsic value, it bore at the time they were issued.
>
> Gentlemen may reason about this matter over and over again, and they can not come to any other conclusion; at least, that has been my conclusion after the most careful consideration. Senators are in the habit sometimes, in order to defeat the argument of an antagonist, of saying this is repudiation. Why, sir, every citizen of the United States has conformed his business to the legal-tender clause.

SHERMAN was speaking of greenbacks then; they have no intrinsic value.

It will be seen that the entire debt was payable in coin.

I wish, sir, to adopt Mr. SHERMAN'S views as there expressed, as my views now, and to apply them to silver, which is legal money, and when coined a legal tender for all debts.

Gentlemen roar dishonor, repudiation, dishonest dollar, etc. Will you hear our Western farmers and miners when they show that this debt must be paid with labor and products which have fallen more than silver? In other words, silver as a commodity will buy more of the products of the country and more of labor than gold would buy in 1873.

When I hear men talk of national disgrace, dishonor, and repudiation, I feel that I would be more than justified in replying "Shylock!" No, this would be unjust to Shylock, who only wanted his pound of flesh; but extortioner, oppressor, tyrant, robber.

No, gentlemen, stop your rhetoric, stop your lofty periods, stop giving us sentiment, and give us argument; give us justice, allow us the right to pay our debts in both silver and gold.

There is something remarkable, Mr. Speaker, about the radical change of opinion upon the part of our distinguished statesmen and party leaders. And what is most singular is that such changes are always favorable to the money powers.

Such men as SHERMAN and Carlisle, and a number of other distinguished gentlemen not necessary to mention, I trust will be able to explain to their constituents the wherefore of their changes, and I hope I may be pardoned for suggesting to their constituents that they demand a solid reason for their conversion.

There is one other strong point to which I wish to refer before I close, and that is, that our security holders all say that they are laboring for our interests, for the interests of the laborer, yet they seem to lose their temper when the laborer views their action in a different light.

If they really love us, if they are in good faith when they talk of our interests, why do they not give us some real solid evidence of that regard? Why do they not say, "We see that your products and your labor are bringing less and less each year, and in order to place you on a par with us we will reduce the face of our bonds, our mortgages, and the interest on our bonds and mortgages in exact proportion to the reduction of your products?"

Why not bring forward a bill and push it through this Congress, for the purpose of relieving the debtors in this country, that all debts shall be based on the price of leading products at the time of the creation of the debt; and if products and wages go up, more dollars would be required to pay, while if prices went down, less would be required in exact proportion.

Horace White, in his fine literary paper read before the Chicago monetary convention held last June, discloses the dragon's claws when he says "that nobody would be especially benefited by free silver but the debtor class." Mark you, he confesses that it would benefit the debtor class, but he goes on to say blandly, "that Congress is not called upon to legislate for the debtor class."

Now, as the debtor class make up fully 90 per cent of our population, it necessarily follows that we are called upon to legislate for the 10 per cent, or the creditor class.

It was claimed on this floor by the distinguished gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER], and concurred in by a number of gentlemen on that side of the House, that the way to compel England to adopt a bimetallic standard was to adopt a gold standard for the United States. I mean no offense, Mr. Speaker, when I say that this fallacy is too apparent to require serious consideration.

What! Compel England to do what we want her to do by doing as she wants us to do? What would you say of a general commanding an army who would take his army into the camp of the enemy and surrender for the purpose of defeating his enemy? Or what would you think of a Christian church which, for the purpose of converting the Chinese to the Christian religion, would adopt as their creed and articles of faith the Chinese religion? Or what would you think of a navigator who, starting to discover the North Pole, would direct his ships toward the equator?

There is only one theory upon which the argument of the gentleman can be based, and that is the starvation theory. That might in long years win, but in winning in that way we should sacrifice nine-tenths of the American people and send millions

of people throughout the world through starvation to paupers' graves. The way to bring England to our view is to be broader and fairer; gain from her, as we can, the trade of Mexico and the South American states, India, China, Japan, and all the rest of the East.

Let us have more money, all the silver that Europe has, and we will take from England the mastery of the ocean, and the Stars and Stripes will be hailed with delight by the people of all nations, and "Yankee Doodle" and "The Girl I Left Behind Me" will be sung by American sailors in every seaport in the world.

This proposition is not a mere idle suggestion, brewed by me for the occasion of this discussion, but it is concurred in by very able authorities.

I submit a few tables and extracts.

The following table, sets forth, by means of Mr. Sauerbeck's index-numbers, the striking contrast between the relative value of gold and silver in the years preceding and in the years following 1873:

Years from 1873 back to 1854.	Yearly index-numbers of silver.	Year on from 1873 on to 1892.	Yearly index-numbers of silver.
1873	97.4	1873	97.4
1872	99.2	1874	95.8
1871	99.7	1875	93.3
1870	99.6	1876	86.7
1869	99.6	1877	90.2
1868	99.6	1878	86.4
1867	99.7	1879	84.2
1866	100.5	1880	85.9
1865	100.3	1881	85.0
1864	100.9	1882	84.9
1863	101.1	1883	83.1
1862	100.9	1884	83.3
1861	99.9	1885	79.9
1860	101.4	1886	74.6
1859	102.0	1887	73.3
1858	101.0	1888	70.4
1857	101.5	1889	70.2
1856	101.0	1890	78.4
1855	100.7	1891	74.1
1854	101.1	1892	65.4

This table gives, in parallel columns, for the years 1874-'92, the index numbers for the 45 commodities comprised in Mr. Sauerbeck's computation, and the index numbers of silver for the same years:

Years.	Mr. Sauerbeck's index numbers.		Years.	Mr. Sauerbeck's index numbers.	
	Index number of 45 principal commodities.	Index number of silver.		Index number of 45 principal commodities.	Index number of silver.
1874	102	95.8	1884	76	83.3
1875	96	93.3	1885	73	79.9
1876	95	86.7	1886	69	74.6
1877	94	90.2	1887	68	73.3
1878	87	86.4	1888	70	70.4
1879	83	84.2	1889	72	70.2
1880	88	85.9	1890	72	78.4
1881	85	85.0	1891	72	74.1
1882	84	84.9	1892	68	65.4
1883	82	83.1			

It is sufficient to note that in one case the index numbers show a fall from 102 to 68, and in the other a fall from 95 to 65. What more striking evidence could be looked for that the fall, all round, is the result of the rise of gold?

Let us make friendly treaties with the silver nations of the earth. I quote from a very significant editorial from the London Standard of a few days since, which is the leading organ of English finances. It says:

What if the United States should now join Mexico in declaring for the free coinage of silver, and throwing over gold as too dear? What if the two American continents held out the hand to Asia and said: "Let us have the white metal for our standard?" Chile, now hard-hit, would eagerly respond and all the states of South America and Mexico, with Japan and China and Java—in fact the whole mighty East (which cares little for Simla). It is a great danger to which the present outburst of alarm and fear must not render England oblivious.

And again, the Mexican Financier, the leading paper to-day in all financial and governmental affairs of Mexico, says in its issue of July 22:

If Europe demonetizes silver, if it refuses to exhaust every effort to adjust the two money metals, she will find her export trade with the younger nations of the New World and with the older countries of Asia steadily diminishing, and her factories will close down in proportion to her loss of trade, while in China and India, and in all Latin America, manufacturing will become the favored investment for European capital. The nations which can feed themselves will surely begin to manufacture for themselves; while Europe, which can not feed its starving populations, will certainly lose its best customers.

And again a leading daily paper of the city of Mexico says in its issue of this week:

A project is on foot here to unite all Latin-American nations in a monetary league to resist the depreciation in silver. The depreciation, it is asserted, is out of all proportion to what it should be and debtor nations should unite to defend their interests against conspiracy. Public opinion would support a monetary league with the United States, transferring the trade of Latin-America to Americans in return for a freer entrance of raw material.

Let us adopt on the other hand a gold standard and we will become the tail to England's kite for a long period of years, and no gold-standard man can give us any idea when we shall get out from under her dominion.

I fully concur in the proposition that values ought to be measured by more than one standard, but if they are to be measured by one standard, and one standard only, that standard, sir, ought to be labor. All debts, if paid by a fixed standard, should be estimated by the amount of day's labor it required to pay them. It would be fairer to the world to ascertain about how much labor should bring in every department and calling of life, and when obligations are to be met, let the calculation be made of how many days' labor, or the equivalent thereto in money or other commodities, it would require to meet them.

On this basis there could be no cornering or monopolizing of prices. I am well aware, sir, that the money-lenders of the world would fight such a plan to the death. But after all the higher and nobler idea of government is the benefit of the many, and the few must yield some of the advantages that they possess over the many for the common good of all.

We are told that the United States can not maintain bimetallism alone. France and the United States did maintain it for seventy years, and the United States is stronger now than the two together were from 1803 to 1873. In fact, we maintained it independently from 1792 to 1803, if the assertions of the gold-standard men are true. During the late war and for a number of years thereafter we maintained a paper standard, being without both gold and silver, and we suffered no loss but gained by the adoption of a paper standard. We have the power to stop coining money when we have a satisfactory amount of money in circulation for our people, say fifty or sixty dollars per capita, if we should ever reach that amount.

Why, sir, if we coined all the silver, without loss, that comes out of our mines annually, and nobody believes that we would be seriously troubled with foreign silver, and there was no loss of money now in circulation, we would only add about a dollar per capita per annum more money to our circulation, and it would take this continued for twenty-five or thirty years to bring us up to $50 per capita. Besides, much of our silver would go abroad, if we wished to pay our debts with it, and we have a right to do so, at its coined value without any change in the amount the law now places in the silver dollar, and we ought to do that in order to use our own commodities and protect ourselves against the unjust demands of foreign creditors.

Herewith I give a table of the silver and gold products of the world in 1892. [For table see next page.]

This clearly shows that we ought to stand by silver in the interest of American products and industry. I challenge any gentleman to produce in history an instance where any country has been injured by having too much silver, or whose decay has been traced or charged to an overburden of silver. Aye, more, I call upon the gold standard advocates to point out what country has been injured by bimetallism, and in what way it has injured it.

I am radically opposed, sir, to a change in the present ratio, for the reason that all debts and contracts now outstanding have been made with reference to that ratio. Our bonds are payable in coin at the present ratio. The ratio throughout the world is substantially the ratio now existing in the United States, and why should we with our debts payable in silver, and the leading silver-producing country of the world, take the lead in debasing our own products? The mere mention of the fact ought to be sufficient to answer the objections to the present standard.

Senator Plumb, himself a banker, but a patriotic and honest Senator, said in the Senate of the United States, a little more than two years ago, that if the United States adopted free coinage there could be no question but what in a very short time the parity between gold and silver at its present ratio of coinage would be established all over the world.

Judge Perkins, on this floor, in the best speech ever delivered by him, said with emphasis, "that every man, woman, and child knew that if we had free coinage of silver that in less than six months it would be on a parity with gold." And Mr. Carlisle, the present Secretary of the Treasury, made substantially the same statements, at different times, once in this House and once in the Senate.

There is no valid reason given, nor can there be, why the United States should favor her debts being paid in gold where

World's production of gold and silver, calendar years 1890, 1891, and 1892.

[Kilogram of gold, $664.60. Kilogram of silver, $41.56. Coining rate in United States silver dollars.]

Countries.	1890.				1891.				1892.			
	Gold.		Silver.		Gold.		Silver.		Gold.		Silver.	
	Kilos.	*Dollars.*	*Kilos.*	*Dollars.*	*Kilos.*	*Dollars.*	*Kilos.*	*Dollars.*	*Kilos.*	*Dollars.*	*Kilos.*	*Dollars.*
United States	49,421	32,845,000	1,695,500	70,465,000	49,917	33,175,000	1,814,642	75,416,500	49,654	33,000,000	1,804,377	74,989,500
Australia	44,851	29,808,000	258,212	10,731,300	47,245	31,399,000	311,100	12,929,300	50,964	33,870,800	418,087	17,375,677
Mexico	1,154	767,000	1,211,646	50,356,000	1,505	1,000,000	1,275,265	53,000,000	1,699	1,147,500	1,419,634	59,000,000
European countries:												
Russia	35,296	23,458,000	15,021	624,300	36,300	24,125	13,859	576,000	35,439	23,546,000	13,234	550,000
Germany			182,086	7,567,500			190,600	7,921,336			*a*190,600	7,921,336
Austria-Hungary	2,104	1,398,500	50,613	2,103,500	2,106	1,399,648	52,020	2,161,951	*b* 2,106	1,399,648	*b* 52,020	2,161,951
Sweden	88	58,500	4,180	173,700	110	73,100	3,658	152,000	*k* 110	73,100	*k* 3,658	152,000
Norway			5,539	230,200			5,665	235,400			*k* 5,665	235,400
Italy	211	140,320	10,110	420,200	142	94,280	27,583	1,146,370	*k* 142	94,280	*k* 27,583	1,146,370
Spain			*c*51,502	2,140,400			*c*51,502	2,140,400			*c*51,502	2,140,400
Turkey	*d* 10	7,000	*d* 1,323	55,000	*d* 10	7,000	*d* 1,323	55,000	*d* 10	7,000	*d* 1,323	55,000
France	185	123,000	71,117	2,955,600	*e* 200	133,000	*e* 71,117	2,955,600	*e* 200	133,000	*e* 71,117	2,955,600
Great Britain	4	3,000	9,075	377,200	101	67,000	9,075	*e* 377,200	100	66,600	6,156	255,850
Dominion of Canada	2,506	1,666,000	12,464	518,000	1,392	925,000	9,797	407,100	*k* 1,392	925,000	*k* 9,797	407,100
South American countries:												
Argentine Republic	123	82,000	14,680	610,100	*e* 123	82,000	14,918	620,000	*e* 123	82,000	*k* 14,918	620,000
Colombia	5,416	3,600,000	19,971	830,000	5,224	3,472,000	31,232	1,298,000	*k* 5,234	3,472,000	*k* 31,232	1,298,000
Bolivia	101	67,000	301,112	12,514,200	*h* 101	67,000	372,666	15,488,000	*k* 101	67,000	*k* 372,666	15,488,000
Chile	*f* 2,162	1,436,600	73,700	3,063,000	*f* 2,162	1,436,600	70,794	2,942,000	*f* 2,162	1,436,600	*k* 70,794	2,942,000
Brazil	670	*c*445,300			659	438,000			= *k* 659	438,000		
Venezuela	2,512	1,670,000			1,504	1,000,000			*k* 1,504	1,000,000		
Guiana (British)	1,693	1,125,000			2,708	1,800,000			*k* 2,708	1,800,000		
Guiana (Dutch)	668	444,200			816	542,000			*k* 816	542,000		
Guiana (French)	*f* 825	548,000			1,502	998,229			*k* 1,502	998,229		
Peru	104	69,000	65,791	2,734,300	113	75,003	74,879	3,112,000	*k* 113	75,000	*k* 74,879	3,112,000
Uruguay	140	93,500			140	*e* 93,500			*e* 140	93,500		
Central American States	236	*g* 150,000	48,123	*g*2,000,000	246	163,492	48,123	*g*2,000,000	*k* 246	163,492	*g*48,123	2,000,000
Japan	764	507,760	42,408	1,765,000	*h* 765	508,400	*i* 43,282	1,798,800	*h* 765	508,400	*i* 43,282	1,798,800
Africa	14,877	9,887,000			21,366	14,199,600			33,207	22,069,578		
India (British)	3,009	2,000,000			3,754	2,495,000			4,600	3,057,900		
Korea	1,128	750,000			1,128	*e* 750,000			1,128	*e* 750,000		
Total	170,248	113,149,620	4,144,233	172,234,500	181,339	120,518,849	4,493,100	186,732,957	196,814	130,816,627	4,730,647	196,605,184

a Estimate of the Bureau of the Mint. *b* Product of Hungarian mines in 1891. Austrian minesin 1890. *c* Estimated the same as officially communicated for 1888. *d* Estimated the same as officially communicated for 1886. *e* Estimated the same as officially communicated for 1890. *f* Estimated the same as officially communicated for 1889. *g* Estimated the same as officially communicated for 1887. *h* Rough estimates, based on exports. *i* Product of imperial mines, 1891. Private mines, 1889. *k*. Estimated the same as officially for 1891.

they are payable in silver, and saying to the ever-exacting creditor, "We will, as a mere matter of grace, give you more silver than we contracted to give you."

If you increase, sir, the number of grains which shall constitute a dollar in silver, at the same time and to the same proportion as I have shown by tables you will increase the burdens of the debtors throughout this country and throughout the world, because if the United States increases the ratio between gold and silver there can be no question but what Europe will immediately follow.

Europe is awaiting now, sir, to see what the United States will do with silver, and the great mass of the European people, from the best information that I can gain, are hoping that the United States will stand by the silver dollar as it now stands. Aye, sir, more than that. The single-standard men of England and of Germany and of almost all of Europe are becoming more liberal in sentiment; in other words, they are being cured by experience of their gold "fetichism."

There seems to be a studied effort to deceive the people as to the amount of silver coined in the United States prior to 1873. There was coined in round numbers by the mints of the United States prior to 1873 $146,218,000. It is true that of all this amount only a little over eight millions was in silver dollars. But the Government of the United States had coined all the silver that had come to its mints, but it needed the major portion for fractional currency.

Gentlemen of golden opinions who talk about paying cheap money to the widows and orphans who hold mortgages and bonds, even if their claim possessed the merit of truthfulness, are wholly forgetful for the widows and orphans that seek employment and food and clothing, while the latter class outnumber the former in the ratio of a thousand to one in the United States alone. I may be wrong, sir, but I can not help feeling that the rights of the thousand ought first to be considered. The fact that the former class possesses mortgages and bonds is sufficient evidence that they do not require immediate relief.

The true difficulty here and throughout all this broad land is unjust usury, the collection of stupendous revenues on paper, with no real money behind it or honest capital to support it.

If the money on which we are paying interest was all in circulation, there would be, and could be, no panic or financial trouble. Prices would be three to five times what they now are, labor would be employed at remunerative prices, and business would be in holiday attire.

I gather, sir, from the last November's report of the Comptroller of the Currency that there is about $1,000,000,000 of money in actual circulation; $500,000,000 is held by the banks as a reserve, and the banks manage to do $4,500,000,000 of business on that reserve, and charge and collect interest thereon, thereby actually doing business on $4,000,000,000 of confidence.

A few months ago the representatives of these confidence plans had a little meeting in New York, the purpose of which was to bring about a gold standard, and they started the wolf-cry against the Sherman law, and proclaimed a want of confidence and pretended to be scared. The people thought that these representatives of the confidence plan were scared, that they were in earnest, and the people really did get scared and began to demand their money. The $500,000,000 being exhausted, the banks had nothing left but confidence to meet their demands, and the necessary result was failure.

We wonder, sir, that they are asking the Government to restore that $4,000,000,000 of confidence. Yes, sir; they want the Government to go into partnership with them in this confidence game, but the people are opposed to the Government becoming a copartner in any such a fraudulent practice, and are asking for money, asking this Government to do its duty and give them money, currency with which to do business. Now, sir, shall we consult the wishes of the people or of the banks? This is the whole question.

In this crisis, let us first provide for the free coinage of silver. Second, let us direct the Secretary of the Treasury to issue $100,000,000 of greenbacks, which under existing laws we have the power to do. This, sir, will save a large amount of interest, and restore confidence on a sound basis.

I wish to remark, Mr. Speaker, right here, that no party can survive the useless issuing of interest-bearing bonds at this time. The American people are aroused, weary of paying interest, and will not tamely submit to the compounding of interest-bearing obligations, and they ought not to do so.

Let us set our great, big, loyal, national foot down on all foreign and aristocratic influences, and, like men imbued with the spirit of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln, legislate for the common people, America and Americans.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Speaker, while this discussion has dragged along it has seemed to me that, amid the diversities of opinion, there are some things upon which we all agree. In the first place, it seems to be agreed upon all sides that a financial stringency has come upon our land; that the wheels of machinery have been stopped; that men have been thrown out of employment; that there is distress to the merchant and the farmer; and that, all over this broad land, the people are calling aloud for aid at the hands of this Congress.

Is there a single member of this House who does not feel at this moment the awful responsibility that rests upon him? Only two days ago the newspapers chronicled that a procession of laboring men gathered spontaneously, and marched through one of our cities crying aloud, "We ask not for charity; we ask for work." And when in this country the able-bodied, willing man, anxious to toil, can not find employment, it is time for us to look around and ascertain, if we can, the cause.

In the papers this morning we read that away off in the West the laboring men had consulted together about sending an army of unemployed men to Washington to plead with the representatives of the people to relieve the distress that has come upon them.

When I left my quiet home in Ohio only a few weeks ago to come and take my place in this Congress the people there were generally employed. The machinery in our mills was moving as usual, and everything indicated activity, thrift, prosperity, and happiness. The financial distress, of which we had heard so much, had not reached that happy Ohio community where I have lived so long. But only yesterday I received a letter from an old friend, from which I shall read a few lines to the House:

There is not a plant running from Strasburg to Uhrichsville. The brick and tile works below Strasburg; the furnace and rolling mills at Dover; the rolling mills, pipe works, nail works, and roofing-tile works here, and clay and tile works at Midvale are all shut down. No orders, no sales, no collections. I tell you it looks blue.

That is but a picture of the desolation that is now extending throughout the land. We have the anomalous spectacle presented of the farmer in the West being unable to find a profitable market for his wheat, while the laborers in the East are starving for bread. The President of the United States, considering the condition into which the people of the country have been thrown, has called this body together in extraordinary session, to the end that, if possible, relief may be afforded to our people.

And while arguments have been made on the one side and on the other of the questions here under discussion, I have not yet heard the wisdom of our President in convening this extra session once called in question. Gentlemen have criticised the reason assigned by him for the distress that has fallen upon us, but I have not yet heard from the lips of a single member of this House any criticism upon his action in thus convening this body.

I take it, then, to be conceded by the members of this House that distress is abroad in our land, and of such a character that it has become necessary, for the first time in many years, for the President of the United States to convene this body in extraordinary session. Is it not, then, the duty, the sacred duty, of every one of us to examine carefully the situation, and ascertain, if possible, the cause that has produced it? Why and how has this calamity been brought about? And what, if any, remedy will correct the evil?

If we can ascertain the cause, it seems to me, then, that it is the duty, the sworn duty, of every member of this House to endeavor as best he can to provide a remedy. I know that members of the opposite sides, from force of habit, I suppose, seem to act as flint and steel upon each other. And even in a nonpartisan question like this, it seems impossible to overcome this habit unless the question could be made to assume some tangible form and be labeled, "nonpartisan," "nonexplosive," or with some such peaceful device.

It was said long ago that "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet." And I say that no matter whether a man be named Populist or Republican or Democrat, when calamity has come upon his country he can, and he should, forget past party passions and party prejudices in his patriotic efforts.

Mr. Speaker, I believe as firmly as that I stand here that this distress is produced by no other means than by the operation of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law. I have listened attentively to the learned and ingenious arguments that have been made by gentlemen on this floor during their discussion of the pending bill, and yet I believe that the briefest as well as best argument on the subject is the message of the President of the United States to this body. How forcible the concluding clause:

I earnestly recommend the prompt repeal of the provisions of the act passed July 14, 1890, authorizing the purchase of silver bullion, and that other legislative action may put beyond all doubt or mistake the intention and ability of the Government to fulfill its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognized by all civilized countries.

We have all studied, more or less, the subject of finance, of which the silver question is a branch, and are willing to do what we believe is best for the country. I do not believe—I can not believe—that any man possessing the confidence of his people requisite to obtain a seat in Congress would commit the crime of plunging the country into a financial panic, with all its concomitant evils.

But we do not all see alike, and some believe that the free coinage of silver would go a great way in relieving the present financial depression. I am for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of this law, because I believe it to be the immediate cause of our present distress; and I believe if left unrepealed it will be productive, in the near future, of still further distress and suffering to all classes of our people.

Let us go back to the time of the passage of this bill and see if we can not adduce evidence sufficient to prove this point. You are all familiar with the history of this bill, or if anyone is not he can refresh his memory by turning to volume 110 of the RECORD. It was not considered then to be a good thing for the country, but was passed after a struggle and much discussion on both sides. It really was not what either side wanted. The silver advocates wanted free coinage, and the other side were willing to vote for the so-called Sherman act only to save the passage of a free-silver bill.

The clause referred to, as you all know, and have heard so often, provides for the purchase, by the Secretary of the Treasury, of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion every month, to be paid for in Treasury notes redeemable in gold or silver coin, at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury. But this discretion thus vested in the Secretary of the Treasury is annulled by another clause which declares, that it is the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio or such ratio as may be established by law.

Therefore he is forced, in order to keep those Treasury notes from depreciating, and thereby injuring the credit of our Government, to pay for them in gold when gold is demanded. We find from the reports that, up to the 15th of last month, there had been issued in round numbers $147,000,000 of these notes in payment of silver bullion, and that many of these notes had been paid for in gold. The amount of gold paid on these notes from May 1, 1892, to the 15th of last month, a little more than a year, was $49,000,000, and to-day nearly all this vast amount of silver is lying idle as bullion in the Treasury. Upon this point it has been aptly said:

Thousands of people are employed in taking silver out of the mines where it was doing no harm and piling it up in the vaults of the United States Treasury where its enormous bulk menaces the industries and general prosperity of the country.

This paying out gold for Treasury notes not only exhausted the surplus gold in the Treasury, but actually encroached upon the $100,000,000 reserve fund set aside for the redemption of other notes, and which had ever been kept sacred for the purpose for which it had been created.

Our own business men as well as the financiers of other nations had been watching the outcome of this policy, and we are told that from the first passage of this bill our public credit was by other governments considered—well, if not a little "shaky," at least in a condition to bear watching. So they kept their eyes upon us, were not so liberal in investing in our securities, and when our gold surplus had been encroached upon to about the tune of $75,000,000, they began to return our securities and "would none of us."

While gold was thus being withdrawn from our Treasury and finding its way to those of other countries and we were still increasing our silver, it became plain to our people also that we were nearing that point at which we could not maintain a gold standard. Our capitalists, as well as intelligent people of small means who perhaps had never heard of Gresham's law, fearing that we would be forced to the use of a depreciated currency, lost confidence. The former refused to invest their capital, and the latter withdrew their money from the banks.

Although the withdrawing of these multitudinous small sums has caused the suspension of many banks and the refusal of capitalists to invest in public enterprises has thrown a great many men out of work, yet the loss of confidence in the stability of the financial situation does more harm to all kinds of business than is possible to be done by the withdrawal of money from banks and hoarding it. Some one has truthfully said, "Confidence is better than gold," and I think I have plainly demonstrated that this loss of confidence is directly traceable to this purchasing clause of the Sherman law.

Only by the prompt repeal of this law can we gain the confidence of other nations, put into circulation the money that has been withdrawn from the banks, restore public credit, start the wheels of the manufactories, and, which is most important of all, give employment to the thousands that have been thrown out of work, before the rigors of winter set in. There is other and very important work for us to do; but this is preëminently the first thing, and "what our hand findeth to do let us do it with all our might."

Why should we experiment further? This act is acknowledged to have been unwise from the beginning. And the Sena-

tor from Ohio, whose name is wrongfully, he says, attached to this bill, stated a few days ago in the Senate that this act was adopted to defeat a bill for the free coinage of silver. The history of this bill being well known, as I said before, we need not revert to it further, unless to emphasize the fact that at its passage it was considered the lesser of two evils. And now, after finding what an immense amount of evil it contained, and that the people are crying out against it, we are asked to try in its stead what was at that time considered the greater evil. And yet we, as intelligent men, are asked to do this thing!

What great patience—and alas! what short memories we possess. We need precept upon precept. We need to cultivate and refresh our memories by going back into the the history of finance and the evolution of money. Among uncivilized nations we find many articles used as money that were very inconvenient of transportation, such as oxen, hides, salt, tobacco, etc. Some of the Indians, at the time of the discovery of this country, were far in advance of other rude nations, in that they had a real money made from shells, called "wampum."

From these rude forms have been evolved our present gold, silver, and nickle coins. Owing to the fluctuating and declining values of silver in the last twenty years and the greater stability of gold, and the belief that gold will never be produced in quantities sufficient to materially affect its value, have made the latter the standard of value for great commercial nations, while silver became the standard of value of weaker nations. Commerce, independent of any nation, has selected gold as its standard of value and discredited silver.

This irresistible law of evolution alone is responsible for this, and we are powerless to change it. It only remains for us to decide whether we shall stand with the strong, powerful nations of the earth, and adopt gold as our standard, or by adopting silver be classed with such nations as China, Mexico, Argentine Republic, and so forth. For my part I prefer to join hands with the great nations of the earth. Until 1870 the annual production of silver was less than half that of gold (coinage value), and the price, consequently, $1.30 per ounce, the ratio being about 15½ to 1.

Now, although the production of gold has not materially increased, the production of silver is so great that the parity of the two metals is about 27 to 1. The United States coinage ratio being 16 to 1, is about 40 per cent above the world's market price. What does this teach us? Plainly that supply and demand have to do with the regulation of the price of silver, as well as with the price of wheat, cotton, and so forth. As the production of silver far exceeds the demand for it, notwithstanding the four and one-half million ounces per month that the United States Treasury is forced, by this obnoxious law, to buy, the price has necessarily fallen.

Time has shown that this law has entirely failed to restore the position of silver; and yet, after this costly experiment has so utterly failed to accomplish what the silverites desired, and in the face of the great loss the Government has sustained, they ask it, the Government, to do more. They ask it to try the experiment of free coinage. What right has our Government to tax the whole country for the benefit of one industry, or to imperil the business interests of the people? Is not this class legislation? And if the silver advocates can not see it in this light, if they still maintain that free coinage will accrue to the benefit of the whole people, is it not our duty to call a halt to this experimenting?

We have heretofore acted too much on the defensive, but the time has come when we must change our tactics, and, acting up to the courage of our convictions, vigorously attack this law and drive it from our statutes. If we do this, unconditionally, we shall have won a lasting victory over free coinage, and no unlimited purchase act will again trouble us, at least while the history of the Sherman law remains fresh in the memory of the people. But if we compromise with the silver advocates—if we adopt a ratio of 16, or 18, or 20 to one, we only allow this experimenting to be begun over again. For if we give the ratios of the intrinsic values of silver to gold to-day, we are not sure that it will be the correct ratio for next month, next week, or even for to-morrow. We can not do what no other nation has been able to do, make gold and silver circulate together unless we limit the amount of the latter.

According to Gresham's economic law, an inferior money tends to drive out a superior money from the country; and a country persisting in a free or unlimited coinage of silver would soon drive out gold and would be forced to adopt a silver basis. It is claimed by some, who are able to judge impartially, that we have been terribly near this calamity ourselves. "Forewarned is forearmed." Let us see to it that our legislation is such that we will steer clear of this danger in the future. And as it was said in this House last Friday, by an eminent advocate of free silver, that France had been able for a period of seventy years (from 1803 to 1873) to maintain the parity of the two metals at the ratio of 15½ to 1, let us quote what Chevalier, the distinguished French economist, the great champion of silver in his day, says on this subject:

> In the year XI (1803), when the law of seventh Germinal was enacted, which established for a temporary standard the ratio of 1 to 15½ between the two metals, this ratio actually existed in the commercial world; but little by little it changed, and soon gold came to be worth ordinarily a little more than fifteen and one half times as much as silver—it has sometimes been worth a little above sixteen times as much. This discrepancy, which has usually been about 1½ per cent (that is, one-half of that which manifested itself from 1726 to 1785), would have had no effect if the provision of Gaudin had been correct. On the contrary, it had a very considerable effect: it sufficed to retire gold from circulation.
>
> A few years after the passage of the law of the year XI gold became so scarce that people had to buy it of the money-changers when they wanted to carry that kind of cash on their journeys. In fact, the circulation of the two metals side by side, which Gaudin flattered himself that he should establish by means of the coinage of pieces denominated twenty francs and forty francs, had ceased to exist shortly after the year XI, and twenty-five years after that date the circulation consisted of silver only.—*La Monnais.*

And free coinage at any of the proposed ratios would drive out gold and bring us to silver monometallism, creating distrust, danger, and bankruptcy.

Mr. Speaker, I say that this so-called Sherman act is wrong. The silver-producing miners of the West were seeking a market for their bullion; and by this compromise a market was given to them. This Government has no more right to buy up the bullion of those silver producers in the West than to open a market for the fire clay and iron ores of the miners in my region of Ohio, or for the wool and the wheat of the farmers of that State.

If this Government is going to buy up silver bullion, in order to give the miners of the West a market for it, I want it to come into my section of Ohio and give us a market for the iron ore and the fire clay and the wool and the wheat of our people.

Now, it seems strange to me in view of these facts that gentlemen can have any hesitancy in regard to their duty in the premises. In this condition of things—this piling up of silver in our vaults, this draining of our Treasury of its gold, this lack of confidence which has been created by this unwise legislation—how can this country hesitate for a moment to undo that fearful wrong? Our duty to ourselves, our duty to our people, our duty to this nation, it seems to me, demands that this unwise act be speedily repealed.

But, Mr. Speaker, there is another thing that I have noticed in the course of this debate, and it is this: While so many able gentlemen have attacked the wisdom of this act which is now sought to be repealed, while so much has been said against it, while so many logical reasons have been given why it should be removed from the statute book as speedily as possible and without condition, the furthest that gentlemen on the other side have gone has been to attempt to attribute our distresses to other causes.

Who, on this floor has raised his voice in defense of this unwise act which we now seek to repeal? Who is there on this floor that has said it is a wise piece of legislation? Who upon this floor has said that he believed that this act should still remain on our statute books?

Is it possible that we have come to this? That an act of legislation, condemned by so many and defended by none, is still to be retained upon the statute books of this great nation as a law of these United States? It seems to me, sir, that when this act is so universally condemned, and where no voice can be found that will raise itself to tell us of the good that it has done, that that of itself should settle the case in this emergency.

But here is a piece of legislation which no one seeks to defend, which has been productive of at least no good (for if it has been productive of any good gentlemen have failed to point out to us wherein it consists); an act of legislation indefensible, acknowledged to be a makeshift, acknowledged to be wrong, without the spirit if not without the letter of your Constitution, and yet with no apology for it whatever, gentlemen say "unless we can get what we want" this shall remain still the law of the land.

There is a time coming, and that before long, when gentlemen who seek to retain upon the statute books of this country a law productive of so much mischief as that will hear from the people in thunder tones. It will not be the thunder tones so well depicted by a gentleman on yesterday, that came from Mount Sinai amid the thunders and lightnings of the Almighty Himself, but it will be the thunder tones of an outraged people whose rights have been invaded, on whose shoulders wrongful burdens have been imposed, who are groaning beneath the load of calamity and of distress hurled upon them, and these people will speak in thunder tones to the representatives of the people who shall refuse to give them relief in this hour of their sorest trial.

Can it be possible that the Representatives of this great nation shall determine that although they honestly believe this legislation to be unwise, although they honestly believe it is productive of injury to the country, although they honestly believe that this legislation ought to be repealed by this House, yet that

they will take advantage of the distress of the people of this land and refuse to lift this burden from their shoulders unless they can have something else in its place?

I came into this Hall last night to listen to the arguments that should be made upon the other side of this question, and was surprised to hear the argument made by an eloquent gentleman from the State of Kansas [Mr. SIMPSON]. He said that there was a conspiracy to bring about the repeal of this law.

I say, sir, that in my humble opinion if there were a conspiracy abroad in this land against the rights of the people, a conspiracy to put upon the shoulders of the people burdens too heavy to be borne, a conspiracy to make the coming winter one of the worst that the American people have ever seen, and to make its days and nights resound with the wailings of the poor laborer, the skilled mechanic, and the toiling farmer, that conspiracy could be no more effectual to bring about these things than the retention on our statute books of this so-called Sherman act.

I heard it said the other day that the battle cry of silver would be "Home, Sweet Home." But I say that that will not be the cry that will go forth from the lips of the laborers next winter if this act shall remain in force. It will not be the old, sweet hymn that our mothers used to sing and that we loved so well, "Home, Sweet Home," that has for every man an undying attraction, no matter how humble that home may have been; but the cry that will go forth from the lips of the laborer next winter, as he tramps in search of work, if this act shall continue to be the law, will be, "I have no home."

To-day all over this land there are people who but a few weeks ago were in happy homes—everywhere husbands and fathers, willing to work, surrounded by wives and children whom they loved, men with brawny arms that were willing to work to maintain themselves and their loved ones—and to-day, with the mills and the machinery of the country idle, the farmer without proper market for his crops, amid the idleness and desolation that has been brought on throughout all sections of the country, they are at this time standing surrounded by their families wondering to Heaven what they shall do next.

This is the condition, while we are here to-day with so many of these chairs unfilled, so many of us giving but little attention to arguments, and weighing but little the burdens and miseries that are brought down upon our honest, peaceful people. The farmers, the mechanics, the laborers, are wondering this afternoon what this House of Representatives is doing for their relief.

Many are crying for bread, and if we do not give them back a stone, shall we say to them, "We have heard your cry; we know your wants; we know wherein lies the root of all this trouble; we have still our convictions: we have determined that in this grandest nation on God's earth, whose granaries are teeming with grain, whose hills are filled with mineral wealth, whose people are free, and intelligent, and strong, idleness shall continue, misery and want increase, and the credit of our country shall be sunk down to perdition itself.

Mr. TRACEY. Mr. Speaker, it is now nearly 5 o'clock, and I ask unanimous consent that the session be extended until the gentleman shall have finished his remarks.

The SPEAKER. Without any objection that order will be made.

There was no objection.

Mr. RICHARDS. I thank the House for the courtesy extended. When I rose to talk, considering the many arguments that have been made, and knowing from my own experience the patience required to listen to all of these arguments, I had not intended to detain the House at length. From the beginning of this debate I have been promptly in my seat at the opening of the daily session. I have not left the House until each day's session has closed. I have endeavored to hear all that was said, and I know from my own experience the patience it takes to sit here throughout the day and listen to the arguments that are made.

But, Mr. Speaker, this House should have patience. This is an hour when the American people are entitled to patience on the part of their Representatives in this House. The time is now here when members of this House should not seek their own personal comfort. This is a time when members of this House should forsake self for the good of the people of this land.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, believing that the industries of the people of this country, the welfare of all our people, rich and poor—believing that the welfare of the farmer upon his farm, of the merchant behind his counter, of the mechanic and laborer, that the interests of all our people, both high and low, demand the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act—believing this, and that it is for the interest of the people of my district and my State, and the people of this nation, I shall vote against free coinage at any ratio, and for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act. [Applause.]

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted—

To Mr. HENDERSON of North Carolina, for five days, on account of important business.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON] will discharge the duties of the Chair at the evening session.

And then, pursuant to the special order (at 5 o'clock and 7 minutes p. m.,) the House stood in recess until 8 o'clock p. m.

EVENING SESSION.

The recess having expired, the House was called to order at 8 o'clock p. m. by Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee.

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, there can be no excuse for a financial panic in this country, except unwise, or the fear of unwise, legislation.

There can be no other excuse given in this, the richest nation in the world.

The trouble now is the want of confidence in this Administration and the majority of this Congress.

This distrust is not limited to the financial question alone, but to others equally as great; but the silver question being now before the House for settlement, remarks should be limited to it.

Are you surprised at this want of confidence when the President of the United States disregards the platform upon which he was elected; when it is doubtful whether or not members of this House will vote in accordance with the promise made to the people by their party; when members belonging to a party that has pretended to be a friend to silver say, as did the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER], "that he is not in favor of coining another silver dollar?" Duplicity is a deadly assassin of confidence.

I am at a loss to understand how these gentlemen claim to be in favor of maintaining the parity between gold and silver when they support a measure which prevents the further coinage of a silver dollar.

I believe the only way to maintain the parity between gold and silver is to put a dollar's worth of gold in a gold dollar and a dollar's worth of silver in a silver dollar, open the mints to their free coinage and make them a full legal tender; but silver should be measured by its true value, and not by a fictitious value.

There can be no doubt but that both the old parties promised the free coinage of silver at its true ratio with gold.

Should the citizens of Colorado, Montana, Nevada and other silver-producing States be forced to beg for the privilege of coining their silver bullion when it is a right clearly given them by the Constitution of this country?

When it was a promise made them by both the old political parties?

When a large majority of the citizens of this country, outside the silver-producing States, are in favor, yes, demand, the use of silver coins, and the free coinage of silver at its true ratio to gold?

That silver has depreciated in value no one will deny, but there are several reasons for it, namely, the increase in production, improved machinery, and others, but no little of it was due to unfriendly legislation.

The world produced silver of the coinage value of $81,800,000 in 1873, and of $196,605,200 in 1892. It produced gold of the value of $96,200,000 in 1873, and of $130,816,600 in 1892.

The United States produced silver of the coinage value of $39,200,000 in 1880, and of $74,898,900 in 1892. It produced gold of the value of $36,000,000 in 1880, and of $33,000,000 in 1892.

When the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. PENCE] says that "the transaction of 1873 was done covertly and secretly by fraud," and in that way passed the Senate and House, and that the members did not know what they were doing, he does every man who was then a member an injustice, and casts a serious reflection upon the members of that body.

I have nothing to say in defense of the act of 1873; in fact, I believe it was one of the greatest mistakes ever made; but, after examining the records, I am convinced that the Members and Senators knew what they were voting for, but they did not know the effect it would have upon this country.

Then, again, they did not know that there would be such a large increase in the product of silver, they did not know that the silver men would be asking for the privilege of free coinage, for they had refused to take advantage of the law that gave them the right to have their silver bullion coined prior to 1873, because it was worth more in bullion than it was in coins. And the silver men by their conduct, were, to a limited extent responsible for the act of 1873.

But they should be forgiven if they will promise not to be guilty of the same conduct again.

It must be remembered that there had been but about 8,000,000 silver dollars coined prior to 1873, that there was coined,

each year prior thereto, but a small amount of silver half dollars, quarters, and dimes, and that after 1873 there was a large number of trade dollars coined, and a large increase in the coinage of halves, quarters, and dimes, as is shown by the report of the Director of the Mint for 1892. The table on page 245 of said report I ask to be made a part of my remarks.

Silver coinage of the mints of the United States from 1844 to 1892.

[From the report of the Director of the Mint for 1892.]

Year.	Trade dollars.	Dollars.	Half dollars.	Quarter dollars.	Twenty cents.	Dimes.	Half dimes.	Three cents.
1844		$20,000	$1,885,500.00	$290,300.00		$7,250.00	$32,500.00	
1845		24,500	1,341,500.00	230,500.00		198,500.00	78,200.00	
1846		169,600	2,257,000.00	127,500.00		3,130.00	1,350.00	
1847		140,750	1,870,000.00	275,500.00		24,500.00	63,700.00	
1848		15,000	1,880,000.00	36,500.00		45,150.00	63,400.00	
1849		62,600	1,781,000.00	85,000.00		113,500.00	72,450.00	
1850		47,500	1,341,500.00	150,700.00		244,150.00	82,250.00	
1851		1,300	391,375.00	62,000.00		142,650.00	82,050.00	$185,022.00
1852		1,100	110,585.00	68,265.00		196,550.00	63,625.00	559,995.00
1853		46,110	2,439,354.00	4,146,555.00		1,327,301.00	785,251.00	342,000.00
1854		33,140	4,111,000.00	3,460,000.00		624,000.00	365,000.00	20,130.00
1855		26,000	2,288,725.00	857,350.00		207,500.00	117,500.00	4,170.00
1856		63,500	1,903,500.00	2,129,500.00		703,000.00	299,000.00	43,740.00
1857		94,000	1,482,000.00	2,726,500.00		712,000.00	433,000.00	31,200.00
1858			5,998,000.00	2,002,250.00		189,000.00	258,000.00	48,120.00
1859		636,500	2,074,000.00	421,000.00		97,000.00	45,000.00	10,950.00
1860		783,930	1,032,850.00	312,350.00		78,700.00	92,950.00	8,610.00
1861		78,500	2,078,950.00	1,237,650.00		209,650.00	164,050.00	14,940.00
1862		12,090	802,175.00	249,887.50		102,830.00	74,627.50	10,906.50
1863		27,060	709,830.00	48,015.00		17,196.00	5,923.00	643.80
1864		31,170	518,785.00	28,517.50		26,907.00	4,523.50	14.10
1865		47,000	593,460.00	25,075.00		18,550.00	6,075.00	255.00
1866		49,625	698,312.50	11,381.25		14,372.50	6,536.25	681.75
1867		60,325	810,162.50	17,156.25		14,662.50	6,431.25	138.75
1868		182,700	769,100.00	31,500.00		72,625.00	18,295.00	123.00
1869		424,300	725,950.00	23,150.00		70,660.00	21,930.00	153.00
1870		445,462	829,758.50	23,935.00		52,150.00	26,830.00	120.00
1871		1,117,136	1,741,655.00	53,255.50		109,371.00	82,498.00	27.80
1872		1,118,600	866,775.00	68,762.50		261,045.00	189,247.50	58.50
1873	$1,295,000	293,600	1,593,780.00	414,190.50		442,329.10	51,830.00	18.00
1874	4,010,000		1,406,650.00	215,975.00		319,151.70		
1875	6,279,600		5,117,750.00	1,278,375.00	$265,598	2,403,570.00		
1876	6,192,150		7,451,575.00	7,839,287.50	5,180	3,015,115.00		
1877	13,092,710		7,540,255.00	6,024,927.50	102	1,735,051.00		
1878	4,259,900	22,405,550	726,200.00	849,200.00	190	187,880.00		
1879	1,541	27,560,100	2,950.00	3,675.00		1,510.00		
1880	1,987	27,397,355	4,877.50	3,738.75		3,735.50		
1881	960	27,927,975	5,487.50	3,243.75		2,497.50		
1882	1,097	27,574,100	2,750.00	4,075.00		391,110.00		
1883	979	28,470,039	4,519.50	3,859.75		767,571.20		
1884		28,136,875	2,637.50	2,218.75		393,134.90		
1885		28,697,767	3,065.00	3,632.50		257,711.70		
1886		31,423,886	2,943.00	1,471.50		658,409.40		
1887		33,611,710	2,855.00	2,677.50		1,573,838.90		
1888		31,900,833	6,416.50	306,709.25		721,648.70		
1889		34,651,811	6,355.50	3,177.75		835,338.90		
1890		38,043,004	6,295.00	20,147.50		1,133,461.70		
1891		23,562,735	100,300.00	1,551,150.00		2,304,571.60		
1892		6,333,245	*1,652,136.50	2,960,331.00		1,605,365.50		
	35,965,924	425,908,223	124,587,271.50	43,365,893.50	271,000	27,645,852.40	4,880,219.40	1,282,087.20

*Includes $475,000 in Columbian Exposition coins.

Notwithstanding all this, silver has declined in value, and for that reason it would not be fair to open the mints to free coinage at the old ratio.

Let Congress pass a bill, giving the relief promised, upon the silver question in either of the platforms of the two great parties of this country, and confidence will be restored upon this one great, interesting, and vital question. No other measure will satisfy the people. Let this Congress fail to pass a free-coinage measure at what it believes to be the true ratio, and let it fail to take steps to maintain the parity of the value of the two metals, and the people will lose confidence in party promises.

It is surprising that so many good people were "taken in" by the promise of the Democratic party, to be carried out by Cleveland, for he never intended to keep it. Cleveland was never for free coinage at any ratio.

The people will never be satisfied with free coinage at 16 to 1, for that would drive gold from this country. They would not be satisfied with the single gold standard, for that will destroy one of the greatest industries of this country.

Should not this Congress, then, provide for the free coinage of a legal-tender dollar at a ratio that will remove fiat value?

For thirteen years prior to 1892 the average ratio between the two metals was a little over 19 to 1; in 1892 it was about 24½ to 1; but silver has been laboring under too great a disadvantage for the last two years to justify taking into consideration its value for that period.

I request, published as a part of my remarks, the following table showing the ratio of silver to gold each year from 1874 to 1893—table issued by the Bureau of the Mint:

Highest, lowest, and average price of silver bullion, and value of a fine ounce, bullion value of a United States silver dollar, and commercial ratio of silver to gold by fiscal years, 1874 to 1893.

Fiscal years.	Highest.	Lowest.	Average London price per ounce standard .925.	Equivalent value of a fine ounce with exchange at par, $4.8665.	Equivalent value of a fine ounce based on average price.	Bullion value of United States silver dollar, at average price of silver, exchange at par.	Commercial ratio of silver to gold.
	Pence.	*Pence.*	*Pence.*				
1873–'74	59⅜	57½	58.312	$1.27826	$1.28247	$0.98865	16.17
1874–'75	58⅜	55½	56.875	1.25127	1.25622	.96777	16.52
1875–'76	57⅛	50	52.750	1.15184	1.15554	.89087	17.94
1876–'77	58⅛	50½	54.812	1.20154	1.20191	.92931	17.20
1877–'78	55⅝	52½	52.562	1.15222	1.15257	.89116	17.94
1878–'79	52 13/16	48½	50.812	1.11386	1.11616	.86152	18.55
1879–'80	53½	51⅛	52.218	1.14436	1.14397	.88509	18.06
1880–'81	52⅞	51	51.937	1.13852	1.13508	.88057	18.15
1881–'82	52 5/16	50¾	51.812	1.13623	1.13817	.87880	18.19
1882–'83	52 1/16	50	51.023	1.11826	1.11912	.86490	18.48
1883–'84	51⅛	50 5/16	50.791	1.11339	1.11529	.86115	18.56
1884–'85	50 13/16	48¼	49.843	1.09292	1.09226	.84507	18.92
1885–'86	49 1/16	42	47.038	1.03112	1.03295	.79750	20.04
1886–'87	47⅛	42	44.843	.98301	.98148	.76020	21.02
1887–'88	45 1/16	41⅛	43.675	.95741	.95617	.74008	21.59
1888–'89	44⅛	41 13/16	42.499	.93163	.93510	.72255	22.18
1889–'90	49	42	44.196	.96883	.96839	.74932	21.33
1890–'91	54⅛	43¾	47.714	1.04195	1.04780	.80588	19.83
1891–'92	46⅛	39	42.737	.93648	.93723	.72430	22.07
1892–'93	40 5/16	30⅛	38.375	.84123	.84263	.65063	24.57
July	34⅛	32⅛	33.000	.72471	.72037	.56052	28.52

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Bureau of the Mint, August 1, 1893.

With free coinage, silver will increase in value, and under all the circumstances would it not be fair to let the ratio be fixed at 20 to 1 and create a commission, with authority to change the ratio if it shall at any time be found to be too great or too small.

Protect the holders of the silver dollars now in circulation by making them a full legal tender at their face value until redeemed.

To prevent any great loss in recoining the silver dollars now in circulation and those in the Treasury, provide that a sufficient number of them be coined into subsidiary silver coins, at their present weight and fineness, to give this country $150,000,000 of this class of coins.

If the ratio should be found to be too great, then let the silver dollars be redeemed at their face value, but prohibit any individual, company, or corporation from having dollars recoined at a lower ratio.

Let the mints be opened for free coinage, issue coin certificates to be used in the redemption of the silver dollars now in circulation and also, when agreeable to the parties concerned, issue them for the bullion as it is received at the mint.

Direct the Secretary of the Treasury to have coined into silver dollars the silver bullion now owned by the Government as fast as he may deem it expedient (a serious objection to the measures offered is that no provision is made for the coinage of the bullion now owned by the Government);

Provide for the use of silver upon an equal footing with gold, in the redemption of all coin certificates.

Permit the banks to hold 75 per cent of their reserve in silver dollars, and repeal the act of July 14, 1890.

I have prepared a bill upon this line, but as the gentlemen on the other side of the House have arranged that all bills upon this question shall be introduced by them, members on this side can get theirs before the public only by asking leave to print.

Our people are asking for more money, but they want "every dollar, gold, silver, or paper issued, to be as good as any other." They believe gold and silver coins, and paper redeemable in gold and silver, to be the only desirable money of this country.

What objection can there be to free coinage at the true ratio between the two metals? The extreme gold and the extreme silver men can give no valid reason.

Why should we consult the wishes of other countries so long as they will not be fair?

America is perfectly able to take care of herself; she produces more silver than any other nation in the world, and yet we are asking, What India is going to do? What Great Britain is going to do? What Germany and France are going to do?

Their action may affect the price of silver a little, but not much; not enough to justify this country in refusing to use it longer as a money metal.

I was pleased with a greater part of the speech made by the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. PENCE], but think he did an injustice to the producing States when he sent up a doleful wail about their small increase in wealth, and spoke of the great increase in wealth of the Eastern States, and I am glad he left out the State of Kansas, and I am sorry the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. TALBERT] referred to Kansas.

While it is true that the manufacturing States have greatly increased in wealth in the ten years from 1880 to 1890, yet Kansas, with all the falsehoods that have been published against her, made a greater per cent increase in assessed valuation in the ten years above mentioned than any manufacturing State in this Union. [Loud applause.]

The great State of Massachusetts, the State used in the comparison made by the gentleman from Colorado, only gained 35.93 per cent, while Kansas gained 116.58 per cent.

Mr. PENCE. I would like to ask the gentleman if it is not a fact that Kansas has to-day the largest per capita mortgage debt of any State of the Union, or about the top of the list.

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. It was very large, but within a year or two it has been reduced, so that to-day we have not as much mortgage debt as many other States; and I am thankful it is being rapidly paid off.

Mr. PENCE. I thank you for the information.

Mr. WAUGH. I would like to ask the gentleman a question in that line.

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. Certainly.

Mr. WAUGH. Is it not a fact that a very large amount of the indebtedness of Kansas is based on the purchase of real estate and personal property?

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. A large amount of the indebtedness is for the purchase-money of real estate, and also town lots for purposes of speculation, where they tried to spread towns over whole townships.

Mr. WAUGH. I would ask the gentleman if it is not true that the bulk of the mortgages is not on the farms?

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. Yes, sir; it is true. The farms are all right, improving in value every day.

Mr. PENCE. As I understand, the mortgage indebtedness is $1.73 per capita, taking every man, woman, and child in the State.

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. It does not matter if it is. Kansas is amply able to take care of herself. A great part of that mortgage indebtedness can be shown to have been incurred, if gentlemen will take the trouble to advise themselves, on farms in the extreme western part of Kansas, where farms were taken, then mortgaged, and then abandoned.

I am not a representative of the gold bugs, nor am I a representative of silver bugs.

Mr. TALBERT of South Carolina. What kind of a bug are you, then?

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. I am for the common people; something that you are not.

The members from the silver States should be satisfied with free coinage at a new but true ratio, without silver being measured at an untrue value.

The members of this House should not pass a measure that will paralyze the silver industry of this country, but one that will stimulate it.

Let us get together and pass a measure that will restore confidence; that will remove the load from the shoulders of the business men; that will relieve the strain on the banks; that will cause the farmer and laborer to rejoice.

That will convince the people that there is no fight between labor and capital; that there is no attempt on the part of the rich, represented in this body, to crush the poor; but that labor and capital and the rich and the poor are friends and should always be.

That will convince the people that the South and West are not pitted against the East, but that this is one great country, and that the measure passed is as much in the interest of the one as the other.

The citizens of the Fourth Kansas district have no fight to make against the East, but are thankful to Eastern friends for the confidence they have shown in that part of Kansas, and they hope that confidence will never be shaken.

I am ready to support any measure that will give the desired relief, and do not care who introduces it.

This is a business and patriotic question; let us act as business men and patriotic citizens. [Applause.]

Mr. BRODERICK. Mr. Speaker, I assume in the beginning, that which is perfectly apparent, that this is a contest against bimetallism; but the discussion has taken a wide range, and should I depart from the real question it will not be without precedent.

The State I represent, in part, on this floor has no mines of either gold or silver. She has no direct interest in appreciating the bullion value of either metal, but, in common with the great majority in the West, she is deeply concerned in having money enough for the development of the resources of that country and to supply the wants of a new and growing community.

Throughout the Western States, with the people who trade and with those who toil and think, this money problem is the supreme question of the hour. And these people are looking to this extraordinary session of Congress and hoping, not for contraction of the currency, but for expansion. They are not prepared for contraction, for in seeking their suffrages during the late campaign they were not promised contraction. Nor have they had any notice that this was to be the policy of the Government until the recent extraordinary message of the President was delivered in these halls and published to the country.

PARTY PLATFORMS.

The two great national political parties at their last conventions had declared in favor of the continued use of both gold and silver as money metals without any expressions as to how much of either was required. It was further declared that, along with gold, silver should be treated as standard money. But coupled with its declarations indorsing the double standard the Democratic platform contained a clause demanding a repeal of the Sherman law, alleging that it was only a makeshift.

It was not understood, however, during the campaign that the purpose was to repeal this statute without substituting for it some other and better provision. In truth, the very terms of the declaration invited the belief that there was to be a more liberal use of silver as money. The voters generally had no thought, or suspicion, on election day that either of the national parties intended, if successful, to take a backward step on the silver question. There had been no denunciation, or dissent, in either platform from the contention which had been going on for years, having for its object the enlarged use of silver as

money, and the electors had no reason to believe that there was a latent ambiguity anywhere from which the successful party would undertake to justify itself in a movement which would result in contraction or would further restrict the use of the white metal.

When the national parties met in solemn convention to make up the issues for the campaign, there seemed to be no disposition from any source to pronounce in favor of a single gold standard or for a diminution of the currency, because the atmosphere was portentous and every one knew at the time that such a declaration would be followed by inevitable and overwhelming defeat to the party making it.

But when the contest was over, and before the new Administration commenced, the gravest apprehensions were aroused by reason of the demand from high places for the demonetization of silver.

THE EAST AND WEST.

I desire, at the outset, to call attention to certain conditions in this country, which are doubtless understood by gentlemen here, but do not, in my judgment, receive the consideration to which they are entitled. The people of the Eastern States are in the possession and enjoyment of the property accumulations of many generations. They are loaning money, and gathering interest from every other portion of the land. They have resources developed, and have long since established the machine shop, mill, and factory. They are producing and manufacturing everything they consume; hence, the money exchanged for these commodities remains at home.

With these environments the men of large fortunes in the East have not until recently seen the necessity for more money. They desire to secure the largest premium possible, and understand perfectly that the smaller the amount of circulating medium the greater the demand for loans, and the larger will be the income.

In the new West the conditions are essentially different. Her resources are undeveloped. The people, as a rule, began in adversity and have acquired nothing by inheritance. They have builded homes and institutions, but the factory is not yet established. Like the settlers in other new communities they are borrowers. It follows that they must borrow from those who have to loan and give such security as is demanded. The farm, already burdened with taxation, is now encumbered by mortgage. This farm is the source of all income to the proprietor and must produce sufficiently to meet all his demands.

The products of the field are marketed and the proceeds immediately find the way to money centers in the East to cancel coupons and to purchase and supply Western homes with manufactured commodities. There is no just ground of complaint because of this more fortunate situation in the older States. The people everywhere have the right to enjoy the fruits of their rightfully acquired possessions. But in view of these different situations it is not difficult to comprehend why the West wants increased circulation. She wants interest reduced, enterprise stimulated, and new avenues opened to business and employment.

The ratio of increase of money, under existing coinage provisions, compared with the increase of our population is slight, so restricted that prices have not been maintained. But suddenly there is grave apprehension of disastrous inflation by reason of the use of the two metals, and the demand comes to strike one down, and this is not the mutual demand of the two classes, but it comes alone from the creditor class and after the contracts have been entered into on the basis of gold and silver payments. This would change the terms of the contract, be grossly inequitable, unconscionable, and oppressive. And this threat coming from the older States, and supported by the national Administration, is supplanting security and contentment with suspicion and alarm.

But the real question lies beyond this. The capitalists want a system of finance which can be absolutely controlled through the banks, while the masses are contending for bimetallism—for the money of the Constitution. This is the paramount issue before the American people and will take precedence over all others until finally settled.

We have been admonished all through this discussion that our system of bimetallic money is not satisfactory to Europe. There have been many things done here not entirely in harmony with the views of the aristocracy of the Old World. I would not, however, underestimate the history and precedents of these great nations, but the truth remains that the great masses of the people there have had no voice in shaping their institutions or fixing their policy. Their policy was fixed solely with reference to conditions and interests of the ruling classes.

Fortunately for us, the Constitution invests Congress with the authority to coin money of gold and silver and fix the value thereof, and give to it when so coined legal-tender functions. No other power on earth or "among men" can regulate the value of our coins, unless we abdicate the power given by the Constitution. But while Congress has the sole power to regulate the value of silver coins, to destroy its money functions against the judgment of the people would do violence to the spirit of the Constitution and weaken confidence in democratic government. The power is to regulate, not to destroy.

VALUE AND COST OF THE SILVER DOLLAR.

Much has been said and written by the advocates of the gold standard about the "dishonest dollar," and yet it is true the silver dollar is worth its face value from Maine to the Golden Gate. The merchant when offering and selling his goods asks no question as to the kind of money he is to receive. Silver is exchangeable for any other money without discount all over the country, and notwithstanding the efforts to depreciate and degrade, the fact is worthy of consideration that many more people handle silver than gold. Silver is the money of the masses, while gold is the money of the few. But we hear that it is the debtor class who demand the continued use of silver. Debtors have a right to be heard, but they are not alone in this demand. It comes from the producers, from the laborers, from the mines and the mill, but it is not a demand for repudiation.

The people have not the slightest disposition to repudiate their debts. They can and will pay, with interest, that which they owe. What they do most earnestly protest against is the constant appreciation of gold by the disparagement of silver, which results in increasing their monetary obligations. If one-half the basis for our circulation is to be discarded, it follows as a necessary result that the other half will be dearer and easier manipulated and controlled. The threat to do this has brought us face to face with panic. This is the condition with which we are confronted, and this condition is to-day retarding development, stifling enterprise, and oppressing debtors. So generally has this threatened disaster affected all conditions and classes that the cry of alarm has gone out from nearly every household.

For centuries the currency of the civilized world has been based on gold and silver, but the "financiers," always fruitful in suggestions and expedients, demanded a change, first in the Old World, and it was speedily made. That we so readily indorsed this foreign policy and adopted it by legislative enactment has always been a matter of surprise, and has given rise to much criticism.

The law of 1873, omitting the standard silver dollar from the coinage act, was a mistake, but there was little silver in circulation at the time, and judging from the record no one in Congress, or out of it, foresaw the effect it would have on the finances of the country. Since that every effort to restore silver and return to the former system has been met with the argument that gold would be driven out. When partial restoration was made in 1878 dire consequences were predicted. Again in 1890, when the much abused Sherman law was enacted, it was urged that the white metal would soon be supreme. Notwithstanding these prophesies the two metals are here, each performing the functions of money and each still the object of earnest desire.

We hear it said and repeated that silver is so heavy and cumbersome that large quantities can not be put in general circulation. This will most certainly be so if the dollar is materially enlarged. But those who make this objection against silver find no fault because gold does not everywhere freely circulate. Gold does not and has not circulated among the masses to any considerable extent since the beginning of the late war. It is hidden in the vaults and few people think of it when engaged in ordinary business transactions. Paper is growing in use in the commercial world where large payments are required.

But the fact that coin does not everywhere circulate is immaterial in the consideration of this question. It is *the right to the use* of both metals as money which is insisted upon. I believe if this right had been firmly established here that the recent international monetary conference would have reached a satisfactory conclusion and silver would have been placed in business channels side by side with gold. It was the division of sentiment in this country which gave the gold monometallists of Europe hope of permanent disagreement at Brussels and which resulted in the rejection of all overtures from our delegates.

The work of this conference and the position taken by some of our delegates since are serving only to weaken our position abroad. We must adopt a comprehensive and liberal policy for the United States, stand by it, and other nations will soon come to us. The talk of gentlemen in favor of breaking down our policy in order to hasten international bimetallism will not deceive any one. It is not bimetallism they want, but an excuse for destroying it.

Mr. Speaker, it is said that we should no longer try to maintain the double standard because the silver dollar does not represent a dollar's worth of labor. It is admitted here that no one knows the actual cost of the silver product. Until recently there were no statistics which undertook to give the cost of production,

and none now give, or attempt to give, the cost of prospecting and development. The effect has been to show the cost only of taking ore from the productive mines. So far as the aggregate cost of production goes, this is clearly misleading.

Everyone who has been through our great Western mining region knows that every mountain side, where evidence of precious metal has been discovered, is literally honeycombed with prospect holes and driven full of tunnels. These ventures do not by any means cover the entire cost of prospecting. It is the judgment of those who have had best opportunities for observation that the gold and silver ores produced have cost more than 100 cents to the dollar. If the facts could be ascertained and the actual cost determined, the truth of this proposition would be demonstrated.

Superintendent Porter in his Report on Mines and Mining, under the head of "Cost of Producing Gold and Silver," says:

> The actual cost of production of the precious metals varies so greatly at different mines and works that it would be impossible to arrive at any absolutely accurate average. That one of the great gold or silver mines, when in bonanza, earns enormous profits merely means that the cost of production is but a small part of the market value of the metal produced. But the mirage of the widely known if not long lists of millions accumulated by fortunate owners of gold and silver bonanzas induces the investment of millions in the opening and working of prospective bonanzas that never materialize, and encourages and supports the lonely prospector in his wearisome waiting for the fortune that never comes. The spirit of the gambler controls in great measure investments in precious-metal mines, and so far as this class of investment goes there can be no doubt that it is, on the whole, unprofitable; or, in other words, that the gold and silver obtained by it cost much more than they are worth in the market.

This report further shows that when the losses are taken into consideration "that the average cost of all the gold produced is more than $20.67 per ounce troy, and that silver is more than, say, $1 per troy ounce."

Mr. Porter has not attempted to take into account the cost of exploration and of "dead work," and yet he has reached the conclusion that has been reached by every other impartial investigation, that the cost of producing precious metals is greater than the value as expressed by the coins themselves. There is not the slightest doubt but that the silver dollar at its present ratio represents more than 100 cents in labor and necessary expenditures.

THE ASSAULT ON SILVER.

The times of 1873 to 1877, when there was only about $15 per capita in circulation, are not forgotten. Prices went down, business was depressed, and the country was nearing the verge of bankruptcy. Congress was appealed to, and after a struggle, legislation was had which resulted in a partial restoration of silver and a gradual increase of the currency. For the last few years we have had from $20 to $24 per capita, and the country was more prosperous until this last onslaught was commenced on silver.

From this time panics and business failures came one after another, and I can not avoid the conclusion that the men who have forced this issue are wholly responsible for the distrust, suffering, and ruin which is sweeping over the land. The miners in the far West, the producers in the agricultural States, and the laboring people in the factories are alike victims to this unjustifiable assault on half the money of the Republic.

A few weeks ago, when the balance of trade was against us and our people were settling such balances with gold, we were told that the Sherman law was responsible, and that it must be speedily and unconditionally repealed. But the extra session came a month too late. The gold is rapidly returning. The silver law is still in force and the silver dollar worth a hundred cents. Had this Congress been convened forty days earlier the repeal would have been urged here and by the press on the sole ground that the law was depleting the country of its gold coin, and that we were nearing silver monometallism.

As soon as it was known that Mr. Cleveland was elected President the metropolitan press commenced paving the way for an additional issue of bonds and for this crusade against bimetallism and prosperity. Editorials and interviews showing the trend of Eastern sentiment and plainly indicative of this contest appeared from time to time, after the November election, in all the great dailies.

The following paragraph, taken from the New York World of December 21, 1892, was significant:

> The outflow of gold, which Secretary Foster so jauntily dismisses as a thing of no consequence, is very differently viewed by men of greater soberness and more sense. It is a symptom, and there are men of serious minds in Congress who regard it as one needing treatment. Senator WASHBURN sees in it the natural consequence of the fact that a number of European governments are strengthening their gold reserves. That is another way of saying that they are buying and hoarding gold. As there are several of them doing this simultaneously, and as all our financial administrative methods are such as to make the United States Treasury the easiest and most convenient source from which to get it, it is being drawn from us.
>
> There are men in Congress who, in view of the facts and of Europe's refusal to lend us any aid whatever in the solution of the silver problem, think the time has come when we should assert and protect ourselves by dropping all efforts to maintain silver and proceeding at once to strengthen our own gold reserve. It is suggested by a Senator who has not been counted as hostile to silver that we should repeal the Sherman act—for which he voted—and substitute for it a measure requiring the Treasury to accumulate a gold reserve of $200,000,000, and to maintain it intact by the sale of bonds if necessary. Such a suggestion from such a source is, so far as it goes, evidence of a tendency toward conservative reaction. The trouble is that it does not go far enough. It is shared by far too few of our statesmen to give hope that any earnest effort will be presently made to protect the country from that lapse to a silver standard which the conditions of the time seem to threaten.

These two measures were at that early date mutually understood, and should they be consummated another will be deemed necessary and will be speedily devised to dispose of all the silver, including silver dollars, now in the Treasury, or one which will in some way destroy the character of this metal as money.

Before leaving this division of the subject, I desire to refer to the question of ratio, which has been discussed so ably that I need only mention it. The silver dollar is large enough. To essentially increase its weight would be but another form of demonetization. Outside of a few money centers, where they have all along disparaged the use of silver, the silver coin at its present ratio, in limited sums, is preferred to other currency. The masses care little for the ratio. It is a convenient coin for everyday transactions which is wanted. It would partially relieve the situation to retire the one-dollar notes, coin all our silver bullion at 16 to 1, pay it out for the erection of Government buildings and in prosecuting other Government works, and thereby give new impetus to the wheels of industry.

EXPORTATION OF GOLD.

There is no reason why gold should flow out of the country in any considerable sums, except when there is a balance of trade against us and the settlement is required in gold, or when foreign governments holding our bonds desire to convert them into gold. As long as we have bonds outstanding it is possible for either of these contingencies to happen so as to cause slight contraction, whether we have silver or not; but the common mind can not understand how, when some part of the gold flows out, from any cause, conditions are to be improved by striking down any part of the money which remains.

If all these disasters should come upon us, that is, if silver should be destroyed by legislation and gold disappear, there would be but one alternative left—an irredeemable paper currency. For it is well understood that the entire stocks of gold and silver are not now sufficient to serve the purpose of the world's money and have to be supplemented by enormous issues of paper.

The argument that the use of silver will drive gold out of the country is not new. It has been made through the press and stated and reiterated on this floor at every session for years, and yet gold and silver have gone on increasing.

I hold copies from the official records of the Secretary of the Treasury showing the coin in the Treasury and in circulation July 1, 1879, and August 1, 1893, which clearly refute all these prophecies concerning the exportation of gold by reason of coining and using silver. I desire these statements placed in the RECORD with my remarks.

Statement showing the amounts of money in the United States in the Treasury and in circulation on July 1, 1879.

[Population, 48,836,000; circulation per capita, $16.75.]

	General stock coined or issued.	In Treasury.	Amount in circulation.
Gold coin	$245,741,837	$135,236,475	$110,505,362
Standard silver dollars	41,276,356	33,239,917	8,036,439
Subsidiary silver	70,249,985	8,903,401	61,346,584
Gold certificates	15,413,700	133,880	15,279,820
Silver certificates	2,466,950	2,052,470	414,480
United States notes	346,681,016	45,036,904	301,644,112
National-bank notes	329,691,697	8,286,701	321,404,996
Total	1,051,521,541	232,889,748	818,631,793

Statement showing the amounts of gold and silver coins and certificates, United States notes, and national-bank notes in circulation August 1, 1893.

	General stock, coined or issued.	In Treasury.	Amount in circulation Aug. 1, 1893.	Amount in circulation Aug. 1, 1892.
Gold coin	$520,273,567	$103,363,626	$416,909,941	$410,447,360
Standard silver dollars	419,332,450	363,108,461	56,223,989	57,031,862
Subsidiary silver	76,563,878	12,556,749	64,007,129	63,346,937
Gold certificates	87,704,739	93,710	87,611,029	136,861,829
Silver certificates	333,031,504	2,843,114	330,188,390	327,336,823
Treasury notes, act July 14, 1890	148,286,348	4,512,210	143,774,138	101,756,301
United States notes	346,681,016	22,286,612	324,394,404	311,852,278
Currency certificates, act June 8, 1872	8,340,000	485,000	7,855,000	26,720,000
National-bank notes	183,755,147	3,620,150	180,134,997	166,595,935
Total	2,123,968,649	512,869,632	1,611,099,017	1,601,949,325

Population of the United States August 1, 1893, estimated at 67,066,000; circulation per capita, $24.02.

From this data it appears that on July 1, 1879, there were in the Treasury $245,741,837 in gold coin, and on August 1, 1893, there were $520,273,567. To this last sum must be added the gold bullion in the Treasury August 1, 1893, amounting to $78,345,510.

However prophetic the Gresham theory may have been under former conditions, recent history does not support the position our statesmen assumed on this question twenty years ago. In the light of the Treasury record showing the accumulation of gold since 1873, is there any well-grounded cause for apprehension to be drawn from the continued use of both money metals? The increase in population and business demands, and will continue to demand, a constantly increasing circulation. Every ounce of silver produced in the United States could be used without the slightest danger to business or commercial interests: and even should this Congress not so declare, the time is approaching and not far distant when the people will decree that it shall be so used.

PRODUCTION OF GOLD DIMINISHING.

There is a further and more cogent reason why the use of silver should be continued and enlarged rather than diminished. The entire gold-producing regions have been systematically prospected, and it is believed that the earth's great deposits of the yellow metal are almost exhausted.

I have here a paper, somewhat theoretical, but containing so many valuable truths bearing directly upon this question, that I ask to have it read from the Clerk's desk as a part of my remarks.

The Clerk read as follows:

Gold getting scarce—the supply running out all over the world—probable that enormous masses of the precious metal are gathered about the center of the earth—why it is rare. "How is the world going to get along when all the gold has been exhausted?" said a metallurgist to a Washington Star writer, interrogatively. "There is no joke about it. The gold production of the world is steadily decreasing from year to year, and it will not be very long before the supply is practically used up. Not more than $100,000,000 worth of the precious metal is now mined annually, and this is not nearly enough to meet the requirements of expanding commerce. Of course, new deposits will be discovered from time to time, but they will soon be exhausted.

Why is gold so rare? Simply because it is heavy. There are only two metals that are heavier, namely, platinum and iridium. Remember that at the beginning the earth was a body of gas. By gradual condensation it became liquid, while now the whole of its mass, save only an outer crust, much thinner in proportion to the whole bulk than is the shell of an egg, would be a fluid but for the fact that it is held together by tremendous pressure. Naturally, in the course of its formation about a center of attraction, the weightier particles composing the globe gathered about that center. Accordingly we find that the earth, as a whole, weighs five times as much as water, while the rocks forming the crust are only about two and one-half times as heavy as water.

From this it is evident that the materials composing the globe near its center are very heavy, and it is to be presumed that they are chiefly, if not wholly, weighty metals. Gold and platinum being, with only one known exception, the heaviest metals existing, it seems highly probable that enormous masses of these precious substances are gathered about the center of the earth. What a pity it is that such colossal treasures should remain forever inaccessible to greedy mankind! At all events it is unfortunate that more gold is not to be discovered on the surface of the planet, because no other metal is equally available for use as money.

One naturally asks how it has happened that any gold and platinum are found on the surface of the globe. The answer is very easy. Both of these metals are always discovered among rocks which have been upheaved by volcanic or other causes out of the interior of the earth. Platinum, which has only been found in abundance near the Ural Mountains, comes from serpentine, a rock thrown up from the depths. Gold occurs chiefly in quartz veins. When the earth was contracting, great cracks were formed, and these were filled from below by the action of hot springs or otherwise with gold-bearing quartz. Occasionally this quartz contains so large an amount of the metal that the vein is called a "bonanza."

But such deposits are soon worked out and fresh regions must be resorted to for supplies of gold. Thus the available mines of the world are being rapidly exhausted. They are usually discovered at the extreme limits of civilization. In ancient times gold was obtained abundantly from the rivers of Asia. The sands of Pactolus, the golden fleece secured by the Argonauts, the yellow metal of Ophir, the fable of King Midas, all illustrate the eastern origin of gold. Alexander the Great brought nearly $500,000,000 of gold from Persia. Gold also came from Arabia and from the middle of Africa by way of the Nile. But all of these famous sources of supply were long ago exhausted.

Likewise Brazil, which only a century ago was the richest of gold-producing countries, has now ceased to be largely productive. The total output of the metal from that part of the world from the end of the sixteenth century until now is estimated at $700,000,000. All the famous gold coast of Africa does not at present yield as much as $400,000 a year. Yet the dark continent was formerly noted as the country of gold. Mummies have been numerously found in Egypt with massive necklaces and other ornaments of the metal. Herodotus tells us of a king who loaded his prisoners with golden chains, that substance being more common than bronze. Copper was even worn for ornament in preference to gold. The treasures brought by the Queen of Sheba to Solomon's Temple must have been of enormous value. Since the year 1500 Africa has produced about $800,000,000 worth of gold; but the supply is nearly used up now.

The supplies of gold drawn from the United States are steadily diminishing. It is the same way with Australia, which has yielded for the world's use about $1,360,000,000 worth of the metal. Not less than $7,000,000,000 of gold has been dug in all countries since Columbus discovered America, four hundred years ago. The amount is vast, but to produce it seems to have pretty nearly used up the available deposits. The time is nearly approaching when the yellow metal will be hoarded much more than it is at present, and we may reasonably expect that it will attain before many centuries are past a value several times greater than that which it now possesses.

Mr. BRODERICK. Owing to the manifold and wonderfully improved machinery for mining and smelting there has been a slight increase of production of gold for the last few years, but all the authorities concede that there has been a substantial decrease in the world's production since 1860, while its consumption in the arts has been enormously increasing. Indeed, most, if not all, of the annual product is now consumed in the arts.

Some are frank enough to admit that with the constantly expanding commerce there is not sufficient gold to transact business and settle balances. Yet in the face of these facts and concessions the income classes are everywhere exerting themselves to diminish the currency and to increase the value and purchasing power of their money. Should the silver law be unconditionally repealed gold will appreciate and the price of all other properties and commodities will depreciate.

It is impossible to say just how much money should be in circulation because it depends on many conditions. We do know that the volume of money is now insufficient. But it is said that after the repeal of the Sherman law the demands for an increasing circulation will be met by allowing the State or National banks to issue currency. If this is the plan, then you propose to destroy the great mining interests of the country, upon which millions of people are in some way dependent, to help a class that is amply able to help itself. You foster and perpetuate a system which has served its purpose: a system once useful, but for which better methods for supplying the country with paper money have been devised—the issuing of legal-tender notes by the General Government based upon gold and silver.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] said the other day on this floor, with much earnestness, that the Sherman law was passed by a Republican Congress and approved by a Republican President. I am glad the law was so passed, but hardly think the statement of the gentleman will be accepted by the country as a good reason for its repeal. It was the best measure which could then be enacted, and is infinitely better than anything this Congress will do toward bimetallism. The vice is not so much in the law as in the execution. When, a few months ago, the New York bankers organized to deplete the Treasury of gold through the presentation of Treasury notes, had the Secretary of the Treasury redeemed each obligation by paying one-half in gold and one-half in silver, as the law clearly authorized, the run would have been discontinued in twelve hours.

Mr. Speaker, this contest will not be settled here at this time. The question of whether we shall continue the use of the two precious metals as money is one of the most momentous issues now before the country. It is a question in which all classes, especially the industrial and debtor classes, are intensely interested. It was obscured during the last political campaign, except in a few States, but it can not again be thrust aside and hidden from view.

No man could have been elected President in 1892 on a public declaration of the doctrine announced in the late message. The people are in earnest and will not again be deceived. They are now beginning to read and understand the signs of the times, and when they witness, as they may in this land of ours, the setting up of the "golden calf" and hear the edict from the supreme authority to worship at its shrine, discussion will be renewed at every fireside, organization will follow, the golden image will be hurled from its pedestal, and political leaders who have deceived the people will be driven from their places as the money-changers were driven from the Temple. [Applause.]

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, to demonetize or not to demonetize silver is the question that now confronts us. We might as well recognize the truth and look it squarely in the face. There is no good to come of beating about the bush. There is no sense in whipping the devil around the stump.

No subterfuge, no sophistry can delude the people on this momentous subject. The issue is squarely joined. There is, there can be, no misunderstanding about it. From utterances, public and private, here, from articles in current magazines and periodicals, we know that it is the remorseless purpose of a minority of this House to utterly destroy silver as a money metal, while a majority of us are determined to restore it to its place of ancient honor, usefulness, and beneficence in the coinage of the country. [Applause.]

There can be no straddling, no dodging, no foraging between the lines, and no fence riding in this fierce contest.

He who is not with us is against us. [Applause.]

The newspapers say that the monometallists have hoisted the black flag and will give no quarter. Be it so. We double-standard Democrats, knowing that we are standing on the Democratic platform, and all of it—not on one sentence wrenched from its context—and realizing that our cause is righteous, propose to faithfully and steadfastly represent the people who sent us hither.

The Western Democracy says to the legions of the single gold standard:

Come one! come all! This rock shall fly
From its firm base as soon as I.

To demonetize silver is practically to confiscate one-half of all

the property in the United States; to double the difficulty of every debtor in the land to meet his obligations; to cause stagnation in every branch of business except clipping nontaxable gold coupons off of nontaxable gold bonds; to carry ruin, pauperism and misery into one-half the homes between the two oceans. Then shall be fulfilled that scripture which says:

Whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath.

CARLISLE'S EVIDENCE.

I will quote to you words stronger than any my tongue can fashion—words from a man whom from my youth up I had regarded as an ideal statesman—a man whose genius and eloquence to a large extent educated the people of this country into a thorough detestation of the high protective tariff system—a man whose speeches have been used as a text-book to win voters to correct political opinions—a man whom millions of his fellow-citizens had fondly hoped to see President of the Republic—Hon. John Griffin Carlisle, now Secretary of the Treasury. In 1878, when a Representative in Congress, on this floor, on the question of demonetizing silver, he used this remarkably vigorous language:

According to my view of the subject, the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy by legislation and otherwise from three-sevenths to one-half of the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age. The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilence, and famine that ever occurred in the history of the world. The absolute and instantaneous destruction of half the entire movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads, and all other appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the same moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of one-half of the metallic money in the world.

Those were words fitly spoken, and are like apples of gold in pictures of silver. When a monument is erected to his memory there should be inscribed upon it that prophetic utterance as his noblest epitaph.

Shakespeare says:

To gild refined gold, to paint the lily,
To throw a perfume on the violet,
To smooth the ice, or add another hue
Unto the rainbow, or with taper-light
To seek the beauteous eye of heaven to garnish,
Is wasteful and ridiculous excess.

And really to undertake to add anything to the forceful and truthful words of the great Kentuckian is a work of supererogation. They sank deep into the minds of the Western and Southwestern people, and have contributed largely to give hearts of oak to those who under all vicissitudes have loyally fought under the double standard bequeathed to us by the Fathers of the Republic as a portion of our priceless heritage. The people—oh, the people! have wonderful memories, and they still fondly cherish those words as containing a truth of portentous import.

THE PLATFORM.

I am a Democrat. I stand by the platform—by all of it—by every jot and tittle of it; because I believed in it with my whole heart when it was made and I believe in it with my whole heart now. It contains the Democratic gospel pure and undefiled. Over no political utterance did I ever rejoice more than over that, because it was not a Janus-faced, double-dealing, good Lord, good devil, all things to all men sort of document, but was a clear, bold, honest, manly, masterful, comprehensive declaration of Democratic faith. From a hundred rostrums, in the presence of high Heaven and thousands of intelligent, law-abiding, industrious, God-fearing, patriotic people, I pledged myself to stand by it here, and, come what may, I am going to keep my word.

The main planks in that platform are tariff for revenue only and bimetallism, in all which those terms imply. It means that, or the English language has no significance whatsoever. It promised the people unlimited coinage of both silver and gold.

Mr. TRACEY. Not in the platform.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Yes, sir.

Mr. TRACEY. No, sir.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. And that they shall have, if my vote will give it to them. [Loud applause.]

Mr. LANE. We will join you.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, it is an old saying that all things are fair in love or war, and some people appear to believe that anything is fair in politics. I dissent *in toto* from any such immoral doctrine. The people have a right to honest treatment at the hands of those who aspire to be their agents in public affairs, and to the man who betrays them they will send the silken bowstring for his own destruction. [Loud applause.] It is my solemn conviction that the man who will deceive the people to obtain an office will desert them when in office.

I reiterate the proposition—and it can not be repeated too often—that the Chicago platform proclaimed to all the world that we are in favor of cutting the tariff to a strictly revenue basis, and in favor of bimetallism; and let me tell the single gold standard Democrats that if the people west of the Alleghenies had not believed that both of those things would come about there would now be no Democratic Congress to pass a money bill and no Democratic President to sign one. [Loud applause.] The people knew what they wanted, and they thought they knew what they were getting. [Laughter and applause.] Shall they have it, or shall they not?

Will we redeem the solemn pledges made by tongue and pen to the people and be considered their benefactors for ever, or will we violate our vows and have pronounced upon our heads their anathema maranatha? Will we restore happiness and prosperity to the land and read our history in the nation's eyes, or will we be the instruments in creating universal bankruptcy among the people who have committed to our hands a sacred trust?

These questions I press home upon the mind, heart, and conscience of every Democrat upon this floor.

An illustrious statesman once said, and I commend the wisdom of his words to all men of all parties: "You can fool part of the people all the time; you can fool all the people part of the time; but you can't fool all the people all the time."

The seventh section of the Chicago platform verbatim runs in these words:

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

That is the last authoritative Democratic utterance on the subject of finance, and it appears to me to mark out a path so plain that even the wayfaring man, though a fool, can not err therein.

That is the platform; and what is a platform any way? Is it an honest declaration of principles which the framers honestly intend to enact into laws if they attain to power, or is it a dishonest device whereby to entrap the unwary voter? Is it a candid statement of the faith that is in us, or is it a bait to catch gudgeons?

Is it the plighted word of men of honor to accomplish certain things, or is it only "A good-enough Morgan" till after election, which palters with the people in a double sense—which "keeps the word of promise to the ear and breaks it to the hope"?

If the former, then Democrats are thoroughly committed to the same treatment for both silver and gold; if the latter, may God have mercy on us, for a duped and outraged people will not. [Applause.]

When going into the battle of Trafalgar, which was to establish his country's supremacy upon the seas, which was destined to write his name high up on the roll of English-speaking heroes, and which was to witness his own tragic but glorious death, Horatio Nelson, the most puissant spirit that ever rode the watery main, signaled his fleet, "This day England expects every man to do his duty." The world knows the result. As we go into this great financial Trafalgar, the producing sections of this land, bleeding at every pore from stabs of poisoned, protected stilettos, signal Congress, "This day America expects every Representative to do his duty." [Applause.]

If we do we will win such a victory for the prosperity and the happiness of the human race as has not been won since John Sobieski defeated the Turks under the walls of Vienna, and thereby saved this world from the baleful and heartless domination of the Mohammedans. [Applause.]

All this talk about the Democratic party going to pieces on the financial rock makes a lover of his country sick at heart.

With the whole force of my being I believe that it will live up to its promises and redeem its pledges. "Our friends, the enemy," need not lay the flattering unction to their souls that it is about to commit suicide by splitting into two warring factions. It can not, it must not, it will not. [Applause.] It is the great bulwark of civil liberty, and the only hope of constitutional government on the whole face of the earth. In its early days it drank at the fountain of perpetual youth; it will be living in pristine vigor when the youngest of us shall have moldered into dust, and it is destined, under God, to yet give the people centuries of honest, benignant, intelligent, and patriotic administration. [Applause.]

MISSOURI WANTS SILVER.

The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER], who led the advance guard of the single gold-standard cohorts, seems to be har-

boring the delusion that nobody is interested in silver coinage except the silver-producers of the Rocky Mountain States and Territories. He might as well disabuse his mind of that hallucination at once and forever.

Missouri is an imperial Commonwealth. She is one of the greatest agricultural States ever formed by the hand of God. So far as is now known, she has not a paying gold or silver mine within her borders.

These are about the only good things with which she is not bountifully provided. [Laughter.] But she has what is far better than gold and silver mines. She has 68,500 square miles of land, the richest under heaven—on the surface rich in soil and beneath the surface rich in coal, marble, onyx, building stone, and all the baser useful metals. She produces in profusion wheat, oats, corn, cotton, pork, beef, mutton, fruit, and other commodities, which she exchanges for gold and silver, and her people want silver coinage for the following reasons: With all her accumulated wealth and her incalculable natural resources, she is still a debtor State. Her people believe that silver is one of the money metals of the Constitution; they believe that the experience of four thousand years has demonstrated it to be good money [applause]; they believe that it was corruptly and wickedly demonetized in 1873.

Having contracted debts under the double standard, they claim that they have the indefeasible right to pay them under the same standard; they deem it nothing short of robbery committed under the forms of law to have them doubled by act of Congress; they say that when they have mortgaged a farm for $5,000 to some Eastern company, their chosen servants have no right by hostile legislation to practically raise the mortgage to $10,000 [applause]; they believe that the financial paralysis and terror from which the country is now suffering have been produced by the twin evils of the high protective tariff and the constant contraction of the currency; and they declare that the clock has struck the hour when Congress should cease to legislate exclusively for what Mr. Blaine, for some unaccountable reason, denominates the nine industrial States. [Applause.]

AS TO IGNORANCE.

The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER], in his impassioned address the other day, declared that our contention that gold and silver are the money of the Constitution is an argument constantly addressed to the ignorance of the country. That is certainly a refreshing sort of statement. It appears to me that somewhere I have heard before of persons who exploited their superiority over the remainder of mankind, and who stood on the street corners rolling their eyes to heaven and thanking God they were not as other people. [Laughter.] There are unquestionably a great many wise men in the East. [Laughter.]

That proposition can not be gainsaid; for Solomon lived there; Socrates lived there; Cato lived there; Lord Bacon lived there; and the gentleman from Maryland lives there. [Laughter.] But I beg leave to observe that living in the East and being in favor of a single gold standard do not necessarily make a man wise any more than living in the South or West and being in favor of the double standard prove his ignorance. The gentleman's assumption is a gratuitous insult to a majority of his fellow citizens.

I apprehend that if the gentleman from Maryland will pay a visit to the Mississippi Valley and extend his journey to the home of my friend from Colorado he will change his opinion somewhat touching the question of intelligence while he is wearing off his character of a tenderfoot. [Laughter.]

There is no imminent danger that wisdom will die with the men from the East. [Laughter.]

In his Commentaries, Cæsar divided all Gaul into three parts. If the imperial historian were alive and could witness the scenes enacted here, especially the airs of superior wisdom and honesty assumed by some of the gentlemen on the other side, he would change his text so as to read: "All gall is in one concentrated lump, huge, as high Olympus, and is found among the single gold standard Representatives in Congress." [Laughter.]

But I undertake to say that until the chief industry of the East came to be lending money the wisdom of the East was on our side, and that until the senior Senator from Ohio took a trip to Europe in 1867 every great statesman of this country, even in the East, had been a bimetallist. [Applause.]

It was one of the very few propositions ever agreed upon by Alexander Hamilton, the grandfather of the Republican party, and Thomas Jefferson, the chief priest, prophet, and apostle of constitutional liberty.

Let gentlemen think of that. It must furnish the gold-standard men ample food for reflection and give them pause. Whatever else may be said of Alexander Hamilton, he had more brains and more courage than any other man who ever fought democracy on this continent, and Thomas Jefferson possessed one of the most exquisite brains ever housed in a human skull. [Applause.] Anything political advocated by the great Virginian I am willing to swear by now. [Applause.] Hamilton recommended, in his celebrated report to Congress, that the unit of value should rest on both silver and gold, and gave his reason in these words:

> To annul the use of either of the metals as money is to abridge the quantity of the circulating medium, and is liable to all the objections which arise from a comparison of the benefits of a full with the evils of a scanty circulation.

He submitted the report to Jefferson, and that immortal statesman indorsed it in these words: "I return you the report on the mint. I concur with you that the unit must stand on both metals."

Hamilton, who was the original aristocrat in America—who advocated a vote based on property because the rich had, according to his view, the largest stake in the Government—he who furnished Republicans with their theories, their political chart and compass, and Thomas Jefferson, the father of Democracy, who looms up against the sky of history as the typical American President, who was the profoundest original thinker that ever devoted his life to statesmanship, who plowed his name deeper into the hearts and his political ideas deeper into the minds of men than any other man of whom history has preserved an authentic record—these men, antagonists, competitors, and enemies in their lives: antagonists, competitors, and enemies in history and even in their graves—they agreed that gold and silver both should constitute the unit of our coinage. It must have been plain indeed to induce those two bitter rivals and good haters to agree. An ignorant man—or even the distinguished scholar from Maryland—is in pretty good intellectual company when with Thomas Jefferson, to say nothing of Alexander Hamilton. [Applause.]

Aye, more. I state here and now, without the fear of successful contradiction, that until unhallowed greed combined with prostituted ingenuity to discover new ways of despoiling the many for the benefit of the few, no great financier of any age or clime can be named who seriously advocated a single standard, while on our side the roll call includes all the eminent political economists who ever lived. [Applause.]

Even Ernest Seyd repented of his sins and lived to become a bimetallist; but his disciples on this side the water, like Ephraim, are joined to their idol, and still stand by his discarded theory—which is only another illustration of the truth that—

> The evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones.

[Laughter.]

THE DISEASE.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] likens our Uncle Samuel to a patient suffering from alcoholism, and prescribes the Gold Cure. That he is very sick is true, but Dr. Harter makes an incorrect diagnosis. He is suffering not from delirium tremens, but from anæmia—from poverty of the blood—from inanition—from a lack of the circulating medium. The gentleman's remedy for our uncle, who has been bled almost to death by the Shylocks for their pound of flesh, is to still further deplete the tottering and enfeebled old man by more bleeding. Like the horse leech's daughter, he still cries in the dull ears of the illustrious sufferer "Give!" "Give!" [Laughter.] He turns to the attending physicians and commands: "Whet your lance and plunge it into the old man's jugular vein!"

What this country needs is not Dr. Harter's Iron Tonic, but Dr. Bland's Silver Cordial. [Applause.]

THE PANIC AND ITS CAUSES.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX], who acknowledges that he is a Missourian by nativity, who is fortunate enough to be the president of a national bank, and who came to Congress by way of the East, draws a soul-harrowing and tear-compelling picture of the long-suffering and patriotic New York bankers standing in the breach after the manner of Leonidas at Thermopylæ and "holding up the financial system of the country by the neck." [Laughter.]

That is certainly a spectacle for men and angels.

The trouble is that they have had the business of the country by the neck until they have choked the breath of life out of its body [applause and laughter] and until the consuming desire of the great mass of the people is to break that same neck hold of Wall street. [Applause].

Speaking as one having authority, he curtly informs those who have the temerity to differ with him that they are advocating "infernal rot," "gibbering idiocy," "rank, staring, stark insanity," and "the height of midsummer madness."

These are rather harsh charges to prefer against the representatives of great constituencies sent to this Hall to legislate for a free people because they have the courage and fidelity to stand here and contend for their rights, Lombard street, Wall

street and "the old lady of Threadneedle street" to the contrary notwithstanding. [Applause.]

He repeatedly told us that the monetary evolutionary processes which God set in motion had evoluted every civilized nation except ours into the single gold standard, and would in a few days evolute us into the same condition of ineffable felicity. [Laughter.]

Now, I never was much of an evolutionist, and have always preferred Moses to Darwin; but after listening to the gentleman's speech, I believe more firmly in the Pentateuch than ever—for if the summum bonum—the chef-d'œuvre—the ultimate result—the highest product of all the evolutionary process is a Wall street gold bug, then the evolutionary process has been of little benefit to the human race. [Great laughter.]

According to his rather curious theory God Almighty—and not the Sherman law—is responsible for the condition that involves the globe to-day and is therefore presumably in favor of the gold standard.

I have in my time witnessed divers attempts to unload many of the errors, sins, and follies of men upon the Creator; but to ask rational beings to believe that He is the author of the direful calamities now oppressing mankind, and that he is sponsor for the single gold standard is certainly taxing human credulity to its utmost limit. [Applause.] In the absence of a revelation on the subject, and considering all the circumstantial evidence in the case, it looks as though He were on our side; because He is always on the right side. [Applause.] And because in the beginning, in His infinite wisdom, He so distributed the precious metals throughout the world that after six thousand years of ceaseless human endeavor the quantities of gold and silver in circulation are almost precisely the same. [Applause.] Is that a mere accident? or was not the omnipotent finger of Almighty God visible in it from the first? There is, there can be, but one answer. He created man and woman to go in pairs, and bade them "Go forth, be fruitful, multiply and replenish the earth." With alacrity has that command been obeyed. [Laughter.] He also created silver and gold to go in pairs, and sent them forth on the mission of propagating, multiplying, and replenishing the business of the world. Nobly have they discharged that duty, and of them, as of the bride and bridegroom at the marriage altar, may it be appropriately said: "Whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." [Applause.]

But we are dogmatically told that these metals which have been the faithful servants of humanity from a time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary must now, after being lawfully wedded for sixty centuries, be divorced at the behest of England, the bully and freebooter among the nations of the earth.

I beg gentlemen to remember that just so certainly as our mania for divorce between husband and wife is sapping the foundations of our social and moral fabric, just so surely will the divorce of gold and silver sap the foundations of our business fabric and cause the temple of our prosperity to topple to the dust. The gentleman assumes the role of prophet, and exhibits to us the happiness and glory in store for us if we vote with him, and the infamy and execration to which we are heirs if we vote as our constituents desire us to vote. Indeed, all the gentlemen on that side of the question indulge liberally in prophecies. They call to mind what Charles Dickens says of David Copperfield's sitting night after night under the gallery of the House of Commons, "recording predictions that never came to pass, prophecies that were never fulfilled, and explanations that were only meant to mystify." [Laughter.]

He tells us that the panic was brought about, not by reason of the Sherman law, but because the Anglo-Saxon race has overdone the business of production. But he offered no remedy for the evil. The Anglo-Saxons are an industrious, ambitious, thrifty stock; but what would he have them do—stop the plow in the furrow, the sickle in the swath, and the mill in its grinding? That is decidedly rough on people who want to work, who know how to work, and who find their chief delight in work in the sweet hope of making pleasant the lives of their children.

But if the panic in the United States is chargeable to the overproduction of Anglo-Saxons, how does it happen that it came on first in the South American republics, where few Anglo-Saxons find an abiding place, and where Spanish-Americans constitute the bulk of the population?

He draws a graphic picture of how the money kings of Lombard street in London will jeer and hoot at us when they read of the four proposed ratios and what he is pleased to term the omnibus in which all can ride. Let them jeer and hoot till the crack of doom. I thank God my allegiance is not to the money changers of Lombard street, but to one hundred and seventy-eight thousand toiling freemen in the great State of Missouri. [Applause.]

He professes himself an international bimetallist, and wants silver coinage postponed to a more convenient season, ignoring the fact that hope deferred maketh the heart sick. He desires us to wait and follow England, France, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Spain, Holland, Portugal, Switzerland, and all other countries; that is to say, that America, the richest nation under the sun, producing 28 per cent of all the gold and 41 per cent of all the silver of the world, shall patiently and meekly wait, cap in hand, till every eight by ten kingdom and principality in Europe shall give her permission to lift up her lusty voice in the business affairs on which the happiness and prosperity of all her people depend. The masses of the United States—the men who produce the wealth and not the men who grow rich by levying tolls from wealth passing through their hands—do not love the practices or the practitioners of Lombard street.

The day has surely come at last when this Republic should lead and not follow in the procession of the nations, and if that day has not already dawned may God speed it in its coming. More than one hundred and seventeen years ago this country, then a feeble infant, declared its political independence of all the world, and some people have the audacity to believe that she, having grown to colossal proportions, should declare her financial independence and be free indeed. [Applause.]

And suppose that we completely remonetize and rehabilitate silver and England cuts our commercial acquaintance—what then? It would inevitably give us control of the commerce of every silver-using country on the globe—France, India, China, Mexico, the Central American States, and the Republics of South America—which would more than compensate us for the English trade. [Applause.]

Gentlemen talk as though Europe bought our wheat, corn, pork, cotton, and beef because they love us. That is not true. They are hungry and they must eat. They are naked and must be clothed. That is the reason they buy our stuff. [Applause.]

The gentleman lauds Thomas H. Benton for facing his own party on a question of ratios in 1834, and prays for some other man to rise up in the Mississippi Valley and make himself great by imitating the heroic example of "Old Bullion." Thomas H. Benton was a great man and formed one of the quadrilateral of the greatest statesmen who have at any one time appeared together in the Senate of the United States. His splendid fame constitutes one of the most valued treasures of Missouri and of the Republic. I hope some day to see his effigy in Statuary Hall, but it is not advisable for Representatives here to follow blindly his example in all things, unless they would enter the pathway which leads to political death.

Virgil says, *Facilis descensus averno*—easy the road to destruction—and so the haughty, belligerent, imperious Benton found it to his everlasting undoing. The awful catastrophe of his career should be a warning to all who hear me this moment. In an hour fatal to his success he peremptorily refused to obey the instructions of the Missouri Legislature as to his vote on a certain vital measure pending in Congress, and he fell, like Lucifer, never to hope again. I have no sort of doubt that if the departed dead take cognizance of the affairs of this lower world, and Benton could speak to us this day, his advice to Representatives would be, "Stand by your constituents—*vox populi, vox Dei*—the voice of the people is the voice of God." [Applause.]

This panic is a monstrous crime against the prosperity and happiness of the American people. [Applause.] It is purely fictitious—absolutely without foundation, except for the insatiable greed of the men who have planned and manipulated it to fill their coffers with ill-gotten gains. They have overdone the thing. They wanted a scare and squeeze to accomplish their nefarious purposes; but they did not want it to assume its present proportions. They started it, but they could not guide it. They sowed the wind, and they are reaping the whirlwind. They have realized the truth of the old dictum that wicked inventions sometimes return to plague the inventors. They are in the condition of the philosopher who took a few pieces of wood, leather, and iron and made him a devil, and after he had made him discovered that the devil controlled him, instead of his controlling the devil. [Laughter.]

WHY THE WEST WANTS SILVER.

The people of the West want silver money at the old ratio of 16 to 1 [applause], because they want more money; and they want more money because they need it in their business and in the development of their illimitable resources.

There is not enough gold in the world to furnish money enough for its necessities. Everybody admits that. You must use silver or some substitute. You can not get around it.

All the political economists are agreed that the prosperous condition of a country is where the volume of currency is gradually increasing, and that where the volume of money is either stationary or decreasing, business stagnates and the wheels of progress cease to revolve.

David Hume puts it this way:

It is certain that since the discovery of the mines in America industry has increased in all the nations of Europe. * * * We find that in every kingdom into which money begins to flow in greater abundance than formerly, everything takes a new face; labor and industry gain life, he merchant becomes more enterprising, the manufacturer more diligent and skillful, and even the farmer follows his plow with more alacrity and attention. * * * It is of no manner of consequence with regard to the domestic happiness of a state whether money be in greater or less quantity. The good policy of the magistrate consists only in keeping it, if possible, still increasing; because by that means he keeps alive a spirit of industry in the nation and increases the stock of labor, in which consists all real power and riches. A nation whose money decreases is actually at that time weaker and more miserable than another nation which possesses no more money, but is on the increasing hand.

William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, in a report to Congress, dated February 12, 1820, says:

All intelligent writers on currency agree that when it is decreasing in amount, poverty and misery must prevail.

Mr. R. M. T. Hunter, in a report to the United States Senate in 1852, says:

Of all the great effects produced upon human society by the discovery of America, there were probably none so marked as those brought about by the great influx of the precious metals from the New World to the Old. European industry had been declining under the decreasing stock of the precious metals and an appreciating standard of values; human ingenuity grew dull under the paralyzing influences of declining profits, and capital absorbed nearly all that should have been divided between it and labor.

But an increase of the precious metals, in such quantity as to check this tendency, operated as a new motive power to the machinery of commerce. Production was stimulated by finding the advantages of a change in the standard on its side. Instead of being repressed by having to pay more than it stipulated for the use of capital, it was stimulated by paying less. Capital, too, was benefited, for new demands were created for it by the new uses which a general movement in industrial pursuits had developed; so if it lost a little by the change in the standard, it gained much more in the greater demand for its use, which added to its capacity for reproduction and to its real value.

The mischief would be great, indeed, if all the world were to adopt but one of the precious metals as the standard of value. To adopt gold alone would diminish the specie currency more than one-half; and the reduction the other way, should silver be taken as the only standard, would be large enough to prove highly disastrous to the human race.

I could pile up authorities for a week; but they are all to the same effect and these must suffice.

Why will we not accept the conclusions of men who have probed financial problems to the bottom? It is said that experience is a dear school, but that fools will learn in no other.

Gentlemen on the other side admit that there is not enough money in the country, for they rejoice with us that gold is now returning to this country; they try to make us believe that the annual output of gold available for coinage is constantly increasing, and they ask us to join them in passing a law authorizing the national banks to issue bills up to the full limit of the par value of the bonds on deposit.

The first source of increase which they suggest—the return of gold from abroad—may or may not be permanent: the second source of increase, the growing annual output of gold available for coinage, is without basis of fact, as conclusively demonstrated by the gentleman from Utah last Saturday; and as to the third source of increase—the leave to the national banks to issue more bills—we are not particularly enamored of the idea of placing ourselves absolutely at the mercy of the national banks and give them power to expand and contract the volume of the currency at will. [Applause.]

And at best this proffered increase of the national bank circulation is a delusion and a snare, because it is a historic fact known of all men that they will not issue notes up to the 90 per cent limit as they can now do under the present law.

These gentlemen stand here day after day and assert that nobody wants silver money, and that nobody will have it. Nothing could be further from the truth. The people take it; the people use it; the people love it. All that ever was the matter with silver is that people could not get enough of it. [Applause.] A silver dollar will buy as much of the necessaries or luxuries of life as a gold or paper dollar, and if it had been fairly treated by the Secretaries of the Treasury it would be this day at par, and even above par, as it was in 1873. Give us unlimited coinage of silver even at the old ratio of 16 to 1 and it will at once jump to its old position, side by side with gold. If France, with a much smaller population, territory, and business than we have, can sustain and uphold seven hundred millions in silver at the ratio of 15½ to 1, certainly, with our growing population, with our expanding business, with our undeveloped territory, we can maintain at the ratio of 16 to 1 all the silver we are likely to have.

THE CRIME OF 1873.

The history of silver can be briefly told. From the days when Abraham fed his flocks and herds on the plains of Palestine gold and silver both had been the money of commerce and of civilization until 1873, when the silver dollar was surreptitiously struck from the coinage of the country by legislative legerdemain, by a Machiavelian trick, by a confidence game that would put to blush the boldest three-card monte man upon the plains, by a species of juggling that would cause the most expert Japanese artist to turn green with envy. [Laughter.]

From that day to this there has been nothing but trouble, turmoil, vexation of spirit, crimination and recrimination on the money question. There never will be until the people get their dues.

That was the most astounding piece of legislation ever enacted in any civilized country since the morning stars first sang together. So far as can now be ascertained, nobody demanded it, and only a small and select coterie knew that the silver dollar was demonetized until some months after the fell deed had been accomplished. Such men as Allen G. Thurman, James G. Blaine, WILLIAM M. STEWART, James A. Garfield, DANIEL W. VOORHEES, William D. Kelley, Ulysses S. Grant, and others of high character must be believed when they solemnly asseverate that they did not know that that infamous bill, with the innocent title of "Regulating the Mint," struck down one-half the money of the world.

To this day no man has ever given a cogent or satisfactory reason for that unparalleled act of confiscation—for that is precisely what it was—bald, heartless, wicked confiscation; for, let it never be forgotten that at the identical moment when that bill was passed the silver bullion in a silver dollar was worth 103 cents in gold. [Applause.]

It was not a "dishonest dollar" then, it was not a "fiat dollar" then, it was not a "60-cent dollar" then, as the gentlemen claim it is now. Pass a law to put it back where the conspirators of 1873 found it, and it will rise to par again, and constitute the mainstay of the Government and the people in every crisis of their fate.

True, silver has apparently gone down since then, but everything else that our farmers have to sell has gone down with it. In 1872 wheat sold at $1.47 per bushel, and now it sells at about 50 cents per bushel. And the following table tells the remainder of the sad, sad story:

Year.	Wheat.	Cotton.	Silver.	Year.	Wheat.	Cotton.	Silver.
		Cents.				*Cents.*	
1872	$1.47	19.3	$1.32	1883	$1.13	10.8	$1.11
1873	1.31	18.8	1.29	1884	1.07	10.5	1.01
1874	1.43	15.4	1.27	1885	.86	10.6	1.06
1875	1.12	15.0	1.24	1886	.87	9.9	.99
1876	1.24	12.9	1.15	1887	.89	9.5	.97
1877	1.17	11.8	1.20	1888	.85	9.8	.93
1878	1.34	11.1	1.15	1889	.90	9.9	.93
1879	1.07	9.9	1.12	1890	.83	10.1	1.04
1880	1.25	11.5	1.14	1891	.85	10.0	.90
1881	1.11	11.4	1.13	1892	.80	8.7	.88
1882	1.19	11.4	1.13	1893	.50	7.2	.75

All other farm products have gone down in about the same proportion. Whatever the farmer has sold he had to sell in the open markets of the world in competition with the pauper labor of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea, and whatever he bought he was compelled to buy at prices fixed at abnormally high figures by our stake-and-rider tariff. No wonder he is discontented, disconsolate, and determined to find a remedy.

But, as a matter of truth, has silver actually fallen, or has gold been forced up to a premium by skillful manipulation? Unquestionably it is the latter, for every product of farm, mine, shop, or factory that has been unaided by friendly class legislation has kept pace with silver, and the bullion in a silver dollar will purchase as much of almost anything as it would when it was dishonored in 1873.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] asked the other day, "What about pork?" I think I can answer that. A year or two ago, as gentlemen from Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska, and Missouri will bear me witness, the corn crop was such a failure throughout all the corn States that the farmers had little or nothing on which to winter their swine, and they shipped nearly all their hogs, including even their breeding stock, whether fat or not, to market, and ever since the country has been decidedly short on hogs. That is all there is of the exception to the rule of downward prices, so far as hogs are concerned, and which the gentleman paraded here as an argument to prove that silver had lost its purchasing power. But let him make a note of the fact that a silver dollar will buy as much pork as a gold dollar any day in the week.

The demonetization of silver helped nobody except those owning Government funds, and it injured everybody else.

The act of 1873 produced incalculable bankruptcy, suffering, and sorrow throughout the land—particularly in agricultural States. The people were aghast at the sudden and awful ruin which so unexpectedly came upon them.

For example, a man who owned $25,000 worth of property and owed $10,000 on it and was therefore worth $15,000, went to bed at night happy in the belief that he was comfortably fixed financially and awoke next morning to find himself a pauper—for so

great had been the fall in prices that his $25,000 worth of property when sold under the hammer would not bring enough to pay the ten thousand of his debt.

Hundreds of thousands of as honest and industrious men as ever lived found themselves beggared and their wives and children homeless and shelterless by the most diabolical act ever placed upon a statute book. And though twenty long, wearisome years have rolled over their heads since then, tens of thousands of them suffer from it yet, and will continue to suffer from it until they are placed under the sod.

The wasting by fire and sword of the Palatinate, the black ruin wrought by the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, the devastation of the Napoleonic campaigns, the Thirty Years' War in Germany, the seven years' war which the mighty Frederick waged against all Europe in arms for the possession of Silesia, the Crusades for the redemption of the Holy Sepulchre, the wars in which Marlborough broke the power of Louis XIV—none of these singly, nor all of these combined, caused as much loss of property and entailed as much suffering on the children of Adam as the crime of 1873. It laid its paralyzing hand on every human being throughout the whole civilized world who was not possessed of a fixed income or who was not loaded down with gold-bearing government securities.

There has been no era of genuine prosperity in this country since. The Bland act helped a little, and the energy of the American people, being unconquerable, has sometimes forced a seeming prosperity; but the trend of prices has been constantly downward, which, according to all political economists, is an infallible sign of the sinking fortunes of a nation; and there will never be any substantial, permanent prosperity in this country until the people are furnished a volume of money adequate to their commercial wants, growing with our growth, increasing with our population.

An old legend ran:

> While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand;
> When falls the Coliseum, Rome shall fall;
> And when Rome falls—the world.

To this poetic prophesy, long since fulfilled, I will add in sober prose: "When the American farmer is impoverished and the American laborer can not find remunerative employment, the very lifeblood of the Republic is being sucked from its veins." [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

On motion of Mr. BRYAN, Mr. CLARK'S time was indefinitely extended.

Mr. CLARK. I thank the gentleman and the House.

WHO ARE THE REPUDIATORS?

The gentlemen of the single gold standard melt and dissolve in tears when they consider the bare possibility of bondholders being paid in what they flippantly denounce as the 50-cent dollar; but they have no bowels of compassion for those who, if the single standard prevails, will be compelled virtually to pay two dollars for every one which they promised to pay.

The truth is that we are advocating honesty and justice, and they are advocating rank injustice and extortion committed under the guise of law. [Applause.]

They declaim grandiloquently about upholding national honor and about the sanctity of contracts. They charge us with being repudiationists. Now, who repudiated the contract, the bondholders or the people? What was the contract? How was it nominated in the bond? It was expressly provided that they should be paid in "lawful money"—which meant gold, silver, or paper; and this was just, for their owners paid for them in paper money worth 40 cents on the dollar. Then, after the war was over, and they had the bonds securely locked up, under the pretext of "strengthening the public credit"—that is the way they put it—not of "strengthening the bank account of the bondholders" [laughter], which is the way it ought to have been put—they induced a supple Congress to repudiate the contract with the people and to make the bonds payable in coin. That was step number one to rob the people. That was bad enough in all conscience sake. But worse was to follow. They by fraud induced Congress to pass the act of 1873 demonetizing silver, thereby making payment in coin mean payment in gold.

Again, I ask who broke faith? Who repudiated the contract? The people or the bondholders?

What was the result of these changes? It meant that it took from the people in way of taxes two horses, two cows, two sheep, two hogs, two bushels of wheat, corn, oats, barley, or flax, where one was taken before; it meant two blows of the axe, maul, sledge hammer, or pick where one sufficed before; it meant two drops of sweat wrung from the brow of labor where there was one before; it meant less food, fewer clothes, less time for study, poorer shelter, less leisure, and less enjoyment to every man, woman, and child in this broad land who works for a living. [Applause.]

It means that after the people have been taxed nearly to death for thirty years to pay the public debt, and after paying two-thirds of it, they practically owe more of it than they did when they began to pay it. It is only a repetition of the story of the Sybilline books.

Solomon says:

> There are three things that are never satisfied, yea, four things say not, It is enough: the grave; and the barren womb; the earth that is not filled with water; and the fire that saith not, It is enough.

If he were writing his Proverbs now he could add a fifth thing that is never satisfied—the holder of American bonds.

If we obey their behests and enact the additional legislation, in a hundred years the people will be reduced to the wretched condition of Russian serfs or Mexican peons, and the bondholders will have all the money in the country; for, as old Jim Craig, of St. Joe, was wont to say: "When a dollar goes down into their capacious pockets the eagle on it sings, 'Farewell, vain world, I'm going home!'" [Laughter and applause.]

The national banks are heard here and get what they want. The tariff barons are heard here and get what they want. The self-constituted and multiform boards of trade are heard here and get what they want. The bondholders are heard here and get what they want. The great corporations are heard here and get what they want. The Army and Navy are heard here and get what they want. The subsidized steamship mail companies are heard here and get what they want. These can always offer a reason which carries instant conviction with it. But when the farmers of the country, through their representatives, prefer a request that they be not totally ruined, they are told to work more and talk less. When millions of honest laborers ask Congress to so order things as to give them the poor privilege of having a chance to toil, they are denounced as tramps and vagabonds. [Applause.]

For thirty-two years the legislation of this country appears to have had one end in view—that of building up a moneyed aristocracy, the very danger which the fathers of the Republic foresaw, against which they warned us, and from which Jefferson thought he had saved the country, when he abolished the law of primogeniture. This course bodes no good to the Republic. Truly did Goldsmith say:

> Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates, and men decay.
> Princes and lords may flourish or may fade—
> A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
> But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
> When once destroy'd, can never be supplied.

AS TO POPULAR DELUSIONS.

We have during this debate heard many sneers at "popular delusions." The single standard advocates roll that phrase as a delicious morsel under their tongues. They may learn to feel the power of popular fury.

At the beginning of the French revolution the people sent up a cry for bread that has sounded down the ages. An upstart aristocrat responded: "Let the people eat grass!" Then came the *dies iræ*—the day of wrath—at whose awful scenes the world still shudders. May a merciful God lead us into more pacific and prosperous paths! [Applause.]

"Popular delusions!" Those are sonorous words. We are gravely told by the single-standard gold men that the people do not know what is the matter with them, can not understand what is destroying them, do not know what they want, and must rely for information entirely upon the leaders of the other side. That would certainly be repeating the ancient and futile performance of going to a goat's house for wool.

Now, the average American citizen may not be much of a political economist or logician. He may not know a syllogism when he sees it, and can not, in technical terms, distinguish a major premise from a minor; but nevertheless, in his own homely way, he reasons a great deal more than he gets credit for. He knows when he is hurt and when his business is crippled. [Applause.] He understands that when, after toiling sixteen hours a day through summer's heat and winter's cold, and after practising the severest economy, he can not at the end of the year make buckle and tongue meet, there is something radically wrong and that "something is rotten in the state of Denmark."

He may be afflicted with "popular delusions," but when he can not, in 1893, sell for $50 per acre a farm which in 1872 cost him $100 per acre, he will search for the authors of that unpleasant phenomenon, and punish them when found. His weapon is the ballot, which, in the hands of resolute men, is more effective than shot and shell and Krupp's big guns. [Applause.]

And it is the toilers of the country—the farmers, the mechanics, the merchants, the shopkeepers, the wage earners—rather than the boards of trade that finally make up the sum total of that public opinion against whose "pitiless peltings" the gentleman from New York warned us last Saturday. The bulk of the people are not much in the habit of memorializing

Congress, but they are much in the habit of thinking and of voting. [Applause.]

The leaders in the cities express their opinions through the metropolitan press by resolutions of all sorts of boards and by pamphlets galore. The great body of the people, the wealth creators, are not heard from in any such way; but as certain as God reigns in heaven, they will discover a way to make their voice penetrate even to this Hall.

"Let the people eat grass!" quoth the pampered lackey of Louis XVI, who lost his head upon the block.

"The people be damned!" shouts William H. Vanderbilt, whose father laid the foundations of a more than princely fortune by selling root beer at 3 cents per glass.

"Popular delusions!" exclaims the gentleman from Tennessee, whose sudden conversion eclipses that of Saul of Tarsus, as he journeyed down from Jerusalem to Damascus. [Laughter and applause.]

Over against these ejaculations I would place for our instruction the words of the foremost man of all this world. On a celebrated occasion Queen Victoria thought to overawe William E. Gladstone by saying: "Do you know who I am? I am the Queen of England!" To which the great commoner answered: "Madam, do you know who I am? I am the people of England!" [Applause.]

No wonder he is universally known as the Grand Old Man.

If gentlemen do not believe that the people have opinions and know how to make them effective, let them recall the consequences of the act of 1873 and the financial crash which it precipitated.

The first political fruit was the election of William Allen to the governorship of Ohio in 1873—the first Democratic governor that Ohio had had since 1853. The resurrection of one from the dead would not have astonished the country more. So unexpected was it—so utterly impossible did it seem of performance—that the morning after the election all the Cincinnati papers announced in a perfunctory sort of way that Governor Noyes and the entire Republican ticket were elected by the usual majorities; but when the rural districts were heard from, "Old Bill," as his followers loved to call him, was found to have won the great handicap by a length.

Then followed the tidal wave of 1874, which sent a Democratic majority to this House, which landed Michael Kerr, of Indiana, in the chair where you now sit, Mr. Speaker, and which for the first time in a generation gave Massachusetts a Democratic chief magistrate.

Then, in 1876, came the election of Samuel J. Tilden to the Presidency; twice since then Mr. Cleveland has been sent to the White House; and finally, after the lapse of thirty-four years, we have an Administration Democratic in all its branches. [Applause.]

All these things found their mainspring in the protest of the people against the unpardonable sin of 1873.

In addition to these, the country has witnessed the rise and fall of the Greenback party, which was nothing more than an extreme protest against the foul performance of 1873.

We behold to-day another extreme protest in the Populist party, which at the last election polled a million votes, which returned eleven Representatives to this House, which sent four United States Senators to the other end of the Capitol, and which stands here, vigilant, alert, courageous, and aggressive, ready to take advantage of any blunder we may make.

The "pitiless pelting" of public opinion has been doing its perfect work, and will continue to do it until the wrong of 1873 is completely righted.

We have been repeatedly told by the single-standard men that this Congress has a golden opportunity. Verily, verily, it has. I thank them for that word. I profess myself an opportunist. One of the best beloved of my teachers was forever repeating to his pupils: "*Carpe diem*—seize the day!" This Congress has the opportunity to redeem the pledges solemnly made to the people, thereby placing the country upon the broad highway to lasting prosperity and of preserving Democratic honor bright as the spear of Achilles or the plowshare of Cincinnatus.

The great Irish orator, Charles Stewart Parnell, once said:

Opportunity is a horse, saddled and bridled, which stops at each man's threshold once in a lifetime. Be ready, mount, and he carries you on to success and honor. Pause but a moment, he is gone, and the clatter of his iron hoofs, echoing down the corridors of time, will forever remind you of what you have lost.

My Democratic brethren, the magnificent silver-white steed stands pawing impatiently at our gates. Let us vault into the saddle and ride him into the realm of unfailing prosperity amid the benedictions of a grateful people. [Prolonged applause.]

Mr. McLAURIN. The hour is now so late that I do not think it would be proper to have another speech to-night. I move, therefore, that the House adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and accordingly (at 10 o'clock and 25 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *August 21, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The VICE-PRESIDENT resumed the chair.

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday last was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had agreed to the resolution of the Senate to print 6,000 copies of Herschell's Report on the Coinage of Silver in India.

The message also communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of Hon. William Mutchler, late a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania, and transmitted resolutions of the House thereon.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce, of Cincinnati, Ohio, praying for the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the petition of R. A. Vance, of Cross Timbers, Mo., praying for the submission to the States of an amendment to the Constitution providing that gold and silver dollars shall be made of equal value as legal tender; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. PLATT presented the petition of W. L. Folsom, of New Haven, Conn., praying for the passage of legislation providing fenders on wheels of railway cars; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. PLATT. I present a petition of citizens of Meriden, Conn., praying for the construction of a public building in that city. A bill for that purpose has already been introduced and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. I move that the petition be referred to that committee to accompany the bill.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. LODGE presented a petition of the Boston (Mass.) Hardware Association and the petition of T. H. Buck & Co. and 14 other citizens of Chelsea, Mass., praying for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. CAMERON. I present a large number of petitions of business men of Philadelphia, Pa., indorsing the resolutions of the Trades League of Philadelphia, praying for the immediate repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law. I move that the petitions be referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. CAMERON presented a petition of the Grocers and Importers' Exchange of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a memorial of Corry (Pa.) Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, remonstrating against the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law unless provision is made for the free and unlimited coinage of American silver; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. PEFFER. I present a petition, somewhat out of the usual order but yet perfectly respectful, coming from a body of men in the State of Illinois. The ages of the petitioners are here given. There are 85 persons whose names are on the petition and their ages range from 19 to 76; I should think the average is about 40 years. If the Senate will permit me, as the petition is quite brief, I will read it:

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

Your petitioners, citizens of Pleasant Ridge, Douglas County, Ill., and vicinity, are opposed to our present financial laws, and petition your honorable body to revise them. Please hear us: We are opposed to the issue of any more interest-paying bonds; we demand gold, silver, and paper money issued by the Government, and a sufficient amount for the best interests of the Government; gold to be a legal tender to amount of $300, after that 1 per cent discount; silver to be a legal tender to amount of $50, after that 1 per cent discount; paper money to be a legal tender for all debts in the United States. (If gold-worshippers want gold, let them buy it.) We demand a revenue and tax on all wealth to share the burden of expenses of the Government; we indorse our honorable ex-Presidents—Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, and Abraham Lincoln—as honest advisors; we advise a mark to be put on all traitors that are opposed to honest and just laws, and have them to take warning before it is too late.

Then follow the subscribers' names, their occupations, and their ages. I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. PEFFER. I present a memorial of the Farmers' Alliance, of Cherokee County, Kansas, and a memorial of citizens of Marshall County, Minnesota, remonstrating against the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law, unless a bill is passed providing

for the free coinage of silver. I move that the memorials be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. PEFFER. I present a petition from a number of farmers who are engaged in the business of growing beets to be used in the manufacture of sugar. The petitioners reside at Anaheim, in Orange County, in the State of California. As the petition relates to so important a subject in connection with this new industry, and there are just two pages of it, I ask that the Secretary may be permitted to read it, and then that the petition be referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. MORRILL. The rule about petitions is that a brief statement shall be made, and I think that nothing more is expected in any case. I therefore object to the reading of the petition because it would go into the RECORD and occupy a large space.

Mr. PEFFER. I did not understand the remark of the Senator from Vermont.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There is objection on the part of the Senator from Vermont to the reading of the petition.

Mr. PEFFER. My request is that it be read, not that it shall go into the RECORD.

Mr. HARRIS. Everything goes into the RECORD that is read from the Clerk's desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair so understands.

Mr. HARRIS. The objection is fatal to the Senator's request.

Mr. PEFFER. Then let the petition be printed as a document, without reading. I want it in print for the information of Senators.

Mr. MORRILL. I do not object to its being printed as a document.

Mr. PEFFER. It contains some very valuable information.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, the petition will be printed as a document, and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. CULLOM presented a petition of the Lumbermen's Association of Chicago, Ill., praying for the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. PASCO presented a petition of the Fernandina (Fla.) Chamber of Commerce, praying for the speedy repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the Jacksonville (Fla.) Board of Trade, praying for the immediate repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law, and providing for the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and also praying for such legislation as will insure the parity of the two metals at all times; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. SQUIRE presented petitions of citizens of Seattle and of the Chambers of Commerce of Tacoma and Everett, in the State of Washington, praying for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. DUBOIS presented a memorial of the Shoshone Assembly, No. 3810, Knights of Labor, remonstrating against the enactment of a law providing for the coinage of silver at a ratio to gold of less than 16 to 1; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. ALLEN presented petitions of the State committee of the People's party of Wyoming, and of the People's party county central committee of Hall County, Neb., praying for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 of gold; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. HANSBROUGH presented a petition of 44 citizens of Fargo, N. Dak., praying for the immediate repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. POWER presented a petition of citizens of Cold Springs, Mont., and vicinity, praying that the Sherman law be not repealed unless a free-coinage bill be passed; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. KYLE presented two memorials of citizens of Grant County, S. Dak., remonstrating against the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. CALL. I present a communication from the Jacksonville Board of Trade, of Florida, reciting that the board has passed a resolution requesting Senators and Representatives in Congress to vote for the immediate repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law, and to support such measures as will enable the people of this country to use both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and the coinage of both gold and silver without discrimination against either metal. I move that the paper be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon presented a memorial of Pomona Grange, of Mulino, Oregon, remonstrating against the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law unless a law providing for the free coinage of silver be enacted in lieu thereof; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. TURPIE presented a petition of citizens of Richmond, Ind., praying for the extended use of silver as money; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. MILLS presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Texas, remonstrating against the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Texas, praying for the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. STEWART presented memorials of citizens of Scranton City, Iowa; of citizens of Missouri; of citizens of Cass County, Iowa; of citizens of Scio, N. Y.; of the Transmississippi Commercial Congress of Ogden, Utah; of citizens of Austin, Nev.; of the Silver Club of Tuscarora, Nev.; of the Silver League of Mason Valley, Nev.; and of citizens of Osceola, Nev., remonstrating against the unconditional repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law, and praying for the free and unlimited coinage of silver; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. VILAS presented a petition of the common council of Eau Claire, Wis., praying for the unconditional repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. ALLISON. I notice that all these petitions are referred to the Committee on Finance. I suggest that that committee has already reported upon the subject of the petitions, and it seems to me, as the matter is now pending in the Senate, the petitions ought to lie on the table. I have no wish about it, but simply make the suggestion.

Mr. SHERMAN. The petitions ought to lie on the table.

Mr. ALLISON. They ought to lie on the table, so that the Senate may have access to them, if it so desires, in the debate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. PERKINS introduced a bill (S. 594) to provide for the purchase of a site for, and the erection of, a public building at Oakland, in the State of California; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. PEFFER. I introduce a bill as a substitute for the bill (S. 453) reported by the Committee on Finance, to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks. I ask that it may be read and lie on the table for action when the bill reported by the committee is taken up.

The bill (S. 595) to provide for the immediate issue and circulation of Treasury notes was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, and ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to cause to be prepared immediately Treasury notes to the amount of $250,000,000, said notes to be in form, dimensions, and general appearance similar to those which have been prepared under the provisions of the act of July 14, 1890; they shall be of the denominations $1, $2, $5, $10, and $20, one-fifth part in value of the total issue to be in each of said denominations; they shall be made payable in lawful money; they shall be received by the Government of the United States and the officers thereof for taxes and all public dues, and they shall be lawful money and legal tender, at their face value, in payment of debts to any amount whatever.

SEC. 2. Said notes shall be printed on paper of the same character, quality, and grade as that now used for United States notes; they shall be prepared in accordance with laws, rules, and regulations now in favor applicable to such work, and as fast as they are ready for delivery they shall be deposited in the Treasury and treated as so much available cash, and they shall be paid out the same as other public moneys.

SEC. 3. When any of said notes are received in the Treasury in the course of business, they shall be reissued, and thus kept in circulation.

SEC. 4. This act shall take effect immediately after its passage.

Mr. LODGE introduced a bill (S. 596) for the establishment of a light and fog signal station near Butler Flats, New Bedford, Mass.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. CAMERON introduced a bill (S. 597) for the relief of the legal representatives and devisees of James W. Schaumburg; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. KYLE introduced a bill (S. 598) to authorize the erection of post-office buildings, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. HUNTON introduced a bill (S. 599) for the relief of the residuary legatees of Mark Davis, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. SQUIRE introduced a bill (S. 600) providing for the erection of a public building at the city of Tacoma, in the State of Washington; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 601) providing for the erection of a public building at the city of Wallawalla, in the State of Washington; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 602) to extend to Alaska the benefit of the laws encouraging in the several States and Territories instruction in agriculture and the mechanic arts; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also introduced a bill (S. 603) providing for the manufacture of steel high-power rifled guns, under the designs of R. J. Gatling, for coast defenses; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Coast Defenses.

He also introduced a bill (S. 604) for the purpose of increasing the efficiency of the coast defenses; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 605) for the relief of J. M. Lyon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. SQUIRE also introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Commerce:

A bill (S. 606) establishing a ship channel in the Columbia River near Vancouver, Wash.;

A bill (S. 607) to increase the number of light-house districts, and for other purposes; and

A bill (S. 608) to amend section 4414 of the Revised Statutes relating to inspectors of hulls and boilers.

Mr. SQUIRE also introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands:

A bill (S. 609) to provide for the survey of public lands in the State of Washington;

A bill (S. 610) granting to the State of Washington certain lands therein situated for the purpose of fish hatchery;

A bill (S. 611) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to reserve from public sale or entry certain lands within the States admitted under act of Congress of February 22, 1889;

A bill (S. 612) authorizing citizens of that part of the State of Washington eastward of the Columbia River to fell and remove timber on the public domain for mining and domestic purposes;

A bill (S. 613) granting to the county of Clallam, State of Washington, certain public lands in trust, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 614) for the relief of John C. Smith, Milton Evans, and others;

A bill (S. 615) to confirm title to eighty acres of land in the State of Washington to Jesse W. Finch and his grantees;

A bill (S. 616) for the relief of David Dealy and Moses Younkin;

A bill (S. 617) for the relief of the purchasers from the United States of land in even-numbered sections within the forfeited portions of railroad grants;

A bill (S. 618) to confirm title to certain lands in the State of Washington; and

A bill (S. 619) granting to the State of Washington 5 per cent of the net proceeds of the sales of public lands in that State.

Mr. SQUIRE also introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Pensions:

A bill (S. 620) granting an increase of pension to Eddie Powers;

A bill (S. 621) to increase the pension of Cyrus J. Van Laningham;

A bill (S. 622) for the relief of James J. Wheeler;

A bill (S. 623) to increase the pension of Benjamin Brink;

A bill (S. 624) granting a pension to Lizzie Wright Owen;

A bill (S. 625) granting a pension to Ida Button and May Button;

A bill (S. 626) granting a pension to Jasper N. Warren;

A bill (S. 627) for the relief of William R. Munroe;

A bill (S. 628) granting an increase of pension to James R. Lewis;

A bill (S. 629) for the increase of pension of Farnham J. Eastman;

A bill (S. 630) granting arrears of pension to P. Q. Healy;

A bill (S. 631) granting an increase of pension to John C. Brown; and

A bill (S. 632) granting an increase of pension to Augustus T. Pintler.

Mr. SQUIRE also introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

A bill (S. 633) for the relief of Emile B. Weishaar;

A bill (S. 634) granting a right of way across the Scarboro Hill military reservation to the Ilwaco Railway and Navigation Company;

A bill (S. 635) for the relief of Louis B. Kopp;

A bill (S. 636) granting the use of certain lands in Wallawalla County, State of Washington, to the city of Wallawalla, for the purposes of a public park;

A bill (S. 637) making appropriation for the improvement of the military reservation known as Fort Wallawalla, in the State of Washington; and

A bill (S. 638) to provide for the construction of a wagon road through the military reservation of Fort Canby, in the State of Washington, and for other purposes.

Mr. SQUIRE also introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Claims:

A bill (S. 639) for the relief of Thomas J. Miller, of the State of Washington;

A bill (S. 640) for the relief of Henry L. Tilton and Isaac S. Kaufman;

A bill (S. 641) for the relief of Thomas Wright; and

A bill (S. 642) for the relief of George A. Barnes.

Mr. SQUIRE also introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs:

A bill (S. 643) to grant to the Seattle, Tacoma and Courtland Railway Company a right of way through the Puyallup Indian Reservation, in the State of Washington;

A bill (S. 644) to ratify and confirm agreement between the Puyallup Indians and the Northern Pacific Railroad Company for a right of way through the Puyallup Indian Reservation;

A bill (S. 645) to give the consent of Congress to the removal by the Legislature of the State of Washington of the restrictions upon the power of alienation of their lands by the Puyallup Indians;

A bill (S. 646) for the relief of John O'Keane, of the State of Washington; and

A bill (S. 647) for the relief of Robert Williams, sergeant of ordnance, United States Army.

Mr. GALLINGER (by request) introduced a bill (S. 648) for the relief of Maj. William M. Maynadier, a paymaster in the United States Army; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also (by request) introduced a bill (S. 649) for the relief of Mrs. Sarah Elizabeth Holroyd, widow and administratrix of the estate of John Holroyd, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Patents.

He also (by request) introduced a bill (S. 650) for the relief of Frank Della Torre and Susan F. Della Torre, heirs of Peter Della Torre, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. POWER introduced a bill (S. 651) for the relief of George A. Norton; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. PASCO (by request) introduced a bill (S. 652) to authorize the purchase of a site for the Government Printing Office; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 653) to open certain parts of the Fort Jupiter military reservation, in the State of Florida, to entry under the homestead laws; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. On the 8th of the present month I introduced a bill (S. 116) explanatory of an act entitled "An act to settle certain accounts between the United States and the State of Mississippi and other States," and for other purposes. The purpose of the bill is to extend the provisions of that act to the State of California and all the States admitted into the Union since March 3, 1857. I find upon examination, however, that through some mistake the States of California, Wyoming, and Idaho were omitted from the bill. I now introduce a bill which I intend to take the place of Senate bill 116.

The bill (S. 654) explanatory of an act entitled "An act to settle certain accounts between the United States and the State of Mississippi and other States," and for other purposes, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon introduced a bill (S. 655) to extend the jurisdiction of justices of the peace in the District of Columbia, and to regulate the proceedings before them; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. SQUIRE introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 19) authorizing the Secretary of War to correct the military record of Capt. Edward Wheeler, Fifty-sixth New York Volunteers; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

On motion of Mr. HUNTON it was

Ordered, That all papers relating to the allowance by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia of $1,000 per month for the daily collection of

garbage during the months of May, June, July, August, and September of the year 1893, be withdrawn from the files of the Senate, or Committee on the District of Columbia, and referred to the said Commissioners.

INTERIOR WATER COMMUNICATION.

Mr. CHANDLER submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce:

Resolved, That the Committee on Commerce be instructed to inquire into the expediency of the construction in the immediate future, by the aid of the Government, of an interior coast line of water ways across the head of the peninsula of Florida, along the coast from Florida to Hampton Roads, between the Chesapeake Bay and the Delaware, and through Cape Cod; for the purpose of securing the combined commercial and military advantages which these avenues for merchant and naval vessels would afford.

SENATOR FROM KANSAS.

Mr. CHANDLER submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections:

Resolved, That there was no lawful election of a United States Senator from Kansas by the Joint Assembly which met on January 25, 1893; and that JOHN MARTIN is not entitled to a seat as Senator from the State of Kansas.

PURCHASES OF SILVER BULLION.

Mr. STEWART submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he hereby is, directed to furnish the Senate with a statement giving the aggregate amount of silver bullion purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, during the month of July, 1893, together with the cost thereof; the amount, date, and price of each purchase, and the name of the vendor. Also the aggregate amount of silver bullion offered for sale during the said month of July, the amount, date, and price of each offer, and the name of the person making such offer.

STATISTICS OF MORTGAGE INDEBTEDNESS, ETC.

Mr. TELLER. I have received a communication from a statistician of this city, Frederick C. Waite, that I think is of sufficient importance to ask that it may be published as a document. I do not care to ask that it go into the RECORD, which is cumbered with so many things, but I desire that it may be published as a document. It is a statement of the increase of indebtedness in the United States between 1880 and 1890. It occurs to me that it has a very great bearing on the question which has come before the Senate on the bank bill and the bill reported from the Committee on Finance a few days since.

I should state that I of course have not had an opportunity to go over all these statistics to ascertain whether they are entirely accurate or not. This gentleman was employed in the Census Office for sometime. He came to me with his facts and figures, and as far as I could I went over them, and I believe they are in the main accurate; and if they are thought not to be accurate, he is a gentleman of sufficient character and standing that any Senator who objects to the statement or who contests in any way its correctness will find a foeman worthy of his steel, I think, when Mr. Waite comes to defend his figures. He shows that the mortgage indebtedness of the United States increased from $2,500,000,000 in 1880 to at least $6,300,000,000 in 1890. He shows that the total private indebtedness of the people of the United States has increased from $6,750,000,000 in 1880 to $19,700,000,000 in 1890. He shows that the railroad indebtedness increased from $2,792,000,000 in 1880 to $5,463,000,000 in 1892; and he gives various other statements bearing upon the questions under consideration.

Mr. CHANDLER. I should like to ask the Senator from Colorado a question about the paper. He wishes it printed as a document?

Mr. TELLER. I wish it printed as a document, for the information of the Senate and the country.

Mr. CHANDLER. May I ask whether it is a paper prepared by a private citizen containing statistics as to the amount of indebtedness of the country?

Mr. TELLER. It was prepared by a private citizen.

Mr. CHANDLER. Now, can the Senator tell us from what sources this private citizen gets the information, whether he gets it from the permanent records of the Census Office or whether he has made private inquiries?

Mr. TELLER. It is taken, with the exception of the use, perhaps, of Poor's Railroad Manual, from the Census Office reports. While I suppose all those reports are to be had by Senators, I know from my experience that only a very small percentage of Senators will ever look to see what such a report contains.

Mr. CHANDLER. I understand the Senator to say that it is a statement prepared by a statistician of the United States or the United States statistician. Did the Senator state that?

Mr. TELLER. I did not say he is an official of the United States. He has been, but he is not now.

Mr. CHANDLER. He has been in Government employ?

Mr. TELLER. Yes, before the recent change of administration.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator wishes the Senate to print this private compilation by this private citizen?

Mr. TELLER. I ask the Senate to do what we have been in the habit of doing when anything was thought of sufficient merit to preserve it, but not to print it in the RECORD, which I could readily do by reading it, were I so inclined. I thought it would encumber the RECORD, and I asked that it might be printed as a document.

Mr. CHANDLER. Certainly; I do not object. I merely wanted to understand exactly what the Senator is asking to have printed as a document, and I learn that it is the statement of a private citizen and not of a United States official.

Mr. TELLER. It is the statement of a private citizen, and if the Senator from New Hampshire thinks it is not correct I will guarantee that he will have full opportunity to raise objection to it.

Mr. CHANDLER. I take the word of the Senator from Colorado that it is correct; but that does not make it a document prepared by a statistician of the United States Government.

Mr. TELLER. I have never stated that it was prepared by a statistician of the United States Government. That is the statement of the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. MCPHERSON. If it will throw any light on the question under consideration it certainly ought to be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to printing the paper as a document?

Mr. ALLISON. I do not object to its being printed; I rather think it ought to be printed; but I should like to ask the Senator from Colorado if he is in possession of information as to the condition of the report made by the Superintendent of the Census on this subject. I remember that we appropriated a million and a half or two million dollars for the purpose of securing accurate statistics as respects the mortgage indebtedness in the United States. It seems to me that would be a valuable contribution to the debate we are about to have, and if it is not already printed I hope some means will be taken to possess the Senate of that important information. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] is, I see, on his feet. He is familiar with these details, and I hope he will inform the Senate, if he knows, the status of that report.

Mr. COCKRELL. If it has been published I have not been able to get it.

Mr. TELLER. It has not been.

Mr. COCKRELL. I telephoned only a day or two ago to the Superintendent of the Census to send me all the publications in regard to indebtedness, and I got one relating to foreign nations and one of the others, but it is not complete, I understand.

Mr. ALLISON. The amount of the indebtedness of the people of the United States is a very important question, and we have expended a large sum of money to secure an accurate return of that indebtedness. I hope that we shall have a full statement at an early day, so as to compare it with the suggestions made by this gentleman, who is vouched for by the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. TELLER. I will state that the census reports on this subject are not yet ready. They are not printed.

Mr. COCKRELL. That is correct.

Mr. TELLER. I am rather inclined to think that they will not be printed for some little time.

Mr. CULLOM. May I inquire of the Senator if it is not true that a number of bulletins on the subject have been published relating to the indebtedness of different States and giving the condition in those States?

Mr. TELLER. Yes.

Mr. ALLISON. The reason why I make the suggestion to the Senator from Colorado is, that I have no doubt Mr. Waite, late an employé of the Census Office, must have gathered his information from official sources, if it is at all accurate, because in the nature of things it would be impossible for any one citizen of the United States to ascertain, with any degree of accuracy, the amount of indebtedness of the people of the United States. So, if Mr. Waite has not had access to those papers in order to furnish us an abstract, I trust that in some way we shall have an official abstract covering the same information and giving it more in detail if practicable.

Mr. MORRILL. Does the Senator from Colorado present this as different from what will be presented by the Census Office?

Mr. TELLER. Not at all, but simply as showing what will come out. I will simply add that Mr. Waite does not touch certain States, but he makes an estimate. Having been an employé in that very portion of the Census Office, and having dealt with this subject as an official, he states that as to certain States they are estimates, which may not be accurate, of course, as to the States concerning which he could not get full information.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to printing the paper presented by the Senator from Colorado? Without objection it will be so ordered.

Mr. PLATT. I do not make any objection to the printing of this specific matter, but I think it is rather a dangerous precedent for us to establish, that whenever any private citizen of

the United States thinks he has some statistical information that is valuable all he has to do, to get a general circulation for it, is to bring it here and have a Senator ask to have it printed. I think it is a practice which has perhaps sprung up of late and is growing, and it is one which in the end is very likely to be abused. That is all I want to say about this matter.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paper presented by the Senator from Colorado will be printed as a document.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. MORRILL. Mr. President, I ask an indefinite leave of absence after to-day. I am here now against the advice of my physician.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Vermont asks an indefinite leave of absence. Is there objection to his request? The Chair hears none, and the request is granted.

SILVER COINAGE.

Mr. MORRILL. Mr. President, I should be glad to have the bill which was reported by the chairman of the Committee on Finance laid before the Senate, for the purpose of allowing me to address the Senate this morning upon it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The title of the bill will be reported, in accordance with the request of the Senator from Vermont.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 570) discontinuing the purchase of silver bullion.

Mr. MORRILL. Mr. President, the effervescence of speeches on silver, as we all know, by those, like myself, who always have one on tap, is not unlike that of champagne yesterday uncorked—gone and very flat. I can only vouch that this one of mine has never before been uncorked.

Let me frankly avow that I do not yet abandon all hope of bimetallism, and, accordingly, I shall gladly vote for the repeal of so much of the act of 1890 as requires the purchase of silver, which originally did not receive any favor from me, and the wide distrust it has excited should be speedily removed.

But, after its repeal, we shall not be dependent upon gold alone for currency, as there will be in the Treasury much more of silver than of gold, more of paper currency than ever before, and the silver dollar will not be demonetized. Whenever more silver can be coined and utilized without crowding gold to a premium, it will be done by universal consent; but the Treasury of the United States should be relieved from its embarrassment of furnishing gold to pay for silver bullion. We may not ever be able to keep as much silver afloat as has been done by France, because our people prefer something lighter, of equal nominal value, and more portable to handle; but we can easily carry enough of both silver and gold for all the business of the country, if the mastery is not wholly surrendered to silver.

I shall have more to say on this branch of the subject after some preliminary remarks upon the general subject, as well as some commentary upon the pitiful failure of our costly Populistic attempts to raise the value of silver by the action of the United States single-handed.

To maintain silver, with our present standard, on a parity with gold, while increasing our public debt by the daily purchase of over five tons of silver bullion, for which Treasury notes must be issued, practically redeemable in gold, imposed a task upon the Treasury Department, in the face of an almost total disappearance of gold in the receipts of revenue, too great for even an unclouded Administration to bear; and it was wise for the present Administration to seek relief, if so to be found, by an appeal to Congress. It is a time when the leaders of States where silver most abounds should do something more than in figures of speech to take up the pickax and spade to dig rifle pits from which to assail others, or build up earthworks behind which to merely protect themselves. The declaration that "the silver question was of equal and greater importance than the question whether the country should remain united or divided," was an utterance that will go unclaimed and unrewarded by any State.

The Democratic party, once distinguished for its intrepid hostility to all cheap substitutes for legal-tender money, having successfully pushed gold to the front during the Jacksonian era, with Missouri then in the lead for gold and now in the lead for silver, more recently, though not fully, accepting the fantastic fiat theories of those who claim for the Government omnipotent power to keep an unlimited circulation of either silver or paper on a parity of 16 to 1 of gold, it has in various latitudes, with a knowing wink, played off tolerance to any delusive financial absurdities that fished for and promised to catch votes.

Unfortunately, the bait, being pungently perfumed with debt repudiation, proved attractive, and more votes were caught than may be conducive to its political health. Now, the old leaders clearly see that if these fresh and undisciplined recruits are permitted to lead, and that is likely to be their demand for any further party allegiance, the country may be ruined. It is to be hoped, however, that these new local recruits, before they are allowed to lead the majority of the people in the various States, will be permitted to tarry at Jericho a little longer.

Very recently an excellent Democratic friend related to me a conversation he had with a witty Southern member of Congress, known to be a full-blooded silverite at home, but at heart, like many other Democrats, wholly destitute of faith in the silver panacea for all financial maladies, when remonstrated with for occupying such a parlous position, replied, "What would it matter to me were I to save the whole country and lose my own *deestrict?*"

I am glad to believe that even such embarrassed statesmen as this will finally conclude, if the whole country can be saved, no part of it will be lost.

The Silver League here in Washington of the revolutionary propagandists recently began to be desperate. Losing confidence in their logic, as they well might, they appear to have thought it easier to win by threats of violence, and called a convention of the faithful to meet at Chicago, where the lately pardoned anarchists no doubt were ready to participate and to be assigned to any forlorn duty. Colorado was to contribute largely to a national campaign fund. One of the members of the league from Colorado predicted that "the convention at Chicago would be a call to arms." Another diligent student of reigns of terror was reported to have said, "The people are ready to shoulder the musket in real earnest," adding, "They will accept no quarter." The peace-loving governor of Colorado, knowing that he was great, and overestimating his hideosity, believed that by showing himself as governor he could scare all the very devils of Wall street to death, but instead the martyrs proved to be nearer to him in Denver.

The silver-mine owners declare that they will not consent to the repeal of the act of 1890 without a satisfactory substitute, notwithstanding that in every month's delay the value of silver plunges downward with increasing velocity. The only satisfactory substitute indicated by them is free coinage—the very measure that has been most feared by the country—which, when established, would at once bring with it the single silver standard, and on this standard the producers of silver, in less time than one year, would get no better money than that made of silver. Such money, when no longer supported by the privilege of exchange for gold, or its equivalent, would be current at its commercial value only, no matter what the ratio. The coin would be legal tender and receivable for demands due the Government—by no means a measure of value—and that would be the only redemption ever to be offered. The coins of no monometallist nation were ever current, and never will be, at a single fraction above their intrinsic value. No man outside of an insane asylum would receive the silver coins of Mexico, India, or Peru for more than their weight value in bullion.

The coining value of silver produced from mines in the United States in 1892 was $74,989,900, or more than double what it was in 1873, and the product of the world was ten millions more than ever before, with a coining value of $196,608,200, or $115,000,000 more than in 1873. For twenty years Germany, France, and all the Latin nations have ceased from the coinage of silver, and every year the annual surplus, beyond consumption for the arts, has glutted and cloyed all markets. Other metals are meeting the same fate, and from no other reason than that of an excessive production. The vast and abnormal overproduction of silver can no more escape from depreciation in price than iron or copper, or than cotton, corn, or wheat, with a redundant production. Even ostriches and ostrich feathers at the Cape of Good Hope have not been relieved by any precious miracle from the same law. As soon as this royal bird began to be domesticated there was a mania there to win the fabulous profits of ostrich farming, as there has been for silver-mining in Colorado. The doctor and the lawyer, the baker and the barber, all went into it, and a pair of ostriches could be sold for a thousand dollars or more. To restrain their export to California and Australia, an export duty of $500 was imposed on each ostrich and $25 on each egg; but the supply of ostrich feathers has now so largely increased that, like silver, they have sunk in value about one-half. But the government there has not been asked to buy and hoard ostrich feathers at the old standard price.

The extreme partisans of silver claim that all the facts support their ill-begotten theories, and muster them like conscript soldiers to combat on their side; but when they will not stay there, so much the worse for the facts, and they are then straightway consigned by these partisans to the Wall street of the bottomless pit. It is well known that for several years there has been a downward tendency in the prices of food products and of many other materials, and the silver extremists claim this to have arisen solely from demonetizing silver. But here it is not demonetized. It is manifest that so far the silver dollar here, though now distrusted, has rarely had a larger purchasing power, but is as barren of influence as to the depreciation of the price of cotton or wheat as copper or tin, or as the winding sheet

of an Egyptian mummy. Wherever depreciation of the price of any article has occurred all the world knows, save the unfortunate dupes of silver extremists, that it has arisen from redundance or from a cheaper cost of production.

In such cases the supply is greater than the demand. For many years there has been a prodigious annual increase of silver bullion, and the downward tendency of its price has followed step by step. So tempting were mining profits that over one thousand mines, according to the Census reports of 1890, were being worked, though producing neither silver nor gold, and apparently exhausted; but all the same they still kept on barking, like Mr. Bucher's dog, at the old hole, long after the disappearance of the squirrel. But the labor lost in such mines creates no claim to be included in the average cost of labor in successful silver mines.

Even if our good intentions to bull the market for silver had been in the slightest degree successful, as they have not been, there is another law, as universal as the law of gravitation, which inexorably determines the value of silver, as it does of other products, and that is the cost of its production.

The average wages of all persons, foremen, miners, and laborers, employed in our gold and silver mines, according to the Census report of 1890, were $729 a year, and the average output per man amounted to $1,732 a year. In any other business these facts would indicate no stinted half-rations as the measure of profits. Certainly it far exceeds the profits of wool-raising in Oregon, of cotton-raising in Texas, and even of corn-raising in Kansas.

This statement includes 1,610 mines for each of which the bullion product was less than $1,000, and 1,408 mines where the product of each was over $1,000 and not over $10,000. The great bulk of silver bullion comes from a very limited number of mines, and their rich ores have afforded some silver kings large profits, surely higher returns than capital invested and labor employed in any other industrial occupation.

It is not to be assumed that all silver mines now, like the Consolidated Virginia years ago, with an assessment on stockholders of only $411,209, are paying dividends of over $1,000,000 per month; nor that any other mines now equal the Mollie Gibson mine of Colorado, which was claimed to have produced up to December 31, 1891, 2,000,000 ounces of silver at a cost of 4.8 cents per ounce; but it should be claimed that the average cost of the production of silver within a few years has been greatly and radically diminished by improved machinery, by new processes of treatment, and by much cheaper transportation.

Mr. William H. Beck, as quoted by Cowperthwait, says:

> When I went to Montana, in 1886, it cost us to transport ores from Dillon to Omaha $24 per ton. That transportation now costs $10 a ton. It cost us then to treat ores $17 a ton. Now it costs $8 and $10. Mining powder cost 50 and 60 cents a pound. We can buy it now for 20 and 22 cents a pound. It cost then to board a man $1 a day and more. We can do it now for a less sum. Machinery is better and improvements in mining machinery are being constantly made.

He also states that when he went to Colorado, in 1878, he was told that they "could not treat ores that assayed less than $20 to the ton. Ores can now be profitably handled that yield as low as $5 a ton."

It can not be doubted that the cheaper cost of mining silver has had the natural effect of reducing its value. If by any means the product were now to be considerably increased, an equal or greater reduction in value would be likely to follow. With no greater consumption of silver than now exists, the interest of no part of our country can be promoted by stimulating work in the poorest mines or in the tailings of the richest.

The generosity and large concessions to producers of silver by the Government of the United States have been unparalleled in the history of the world, although it had a low seat at the table during the Administration of Gen. Jackson. Silver was originally put into our coinage at nine hundred and twenty-five thousandths fine, then changed to nine hundred thousandths fine, and our dollar had 2 to 3 per cent less of silver than the Spanish milled dollar, or than the Mexican dollar. In 1834 the dollar was practically demonetized by a reduction of over 6 per cent of the gold in our gold coins, which served to exclude the silver dollars from coinage or circulation. This was the condition of the dollar, as recognized in 1873, and clearly and fully explained in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury (Governor Boutwell). Those who claim to be ignorant of the act passed must also seek absolution for ignorance or indolence in not reading the report of the Secretary of the Treasury.

In 1853 our half-dollar and other minor silver coins were made with a less amount of silver, mainly to prevent their exportation. In 1873, to make an Asiatic market for silver and to promote its exportation, the trade dollar, of 420 grains of standard silver, was coined, but becoming unmarketable it was at length redeemed by the Government, which bore the loss. In 1878 we tried to make an American market for silver by making the Government a purchaser and coiner of not less than two million nor more than four million dollars per month, for which our silver certificates are now outstanding, and only kept on a parity with gold by redemption in gold whenever demanded. The silver so purchased has depreciated in value to the extent of $89,730,248. This Bland speculation was bad for the Government and worse for the people, who ultimately can not escape the loss which has accrueor may accrued.

At last the law of 1890 was passed, by which we have since purchased silver bullion to the amount of over 154 tons per month, for which Treasury notes are outstanding, greatly embarrassing the Secretary of the Treasury by threatening to absorb with an open-mouthed appetite his slender stock of gold. This latest speculation in silver, it was loudly claimed, would raise the price to $1.29 per ounce or to the parity of gold; but this midsummer night's dream ends with silver flat at 75 cents per ounce, leaving the silver dollar at the value of 58 cents. The value of the silver bullion purchased under the act of 1890, at the present market price, is $29,543,335 less than was paid for it.

From 1878 to 1893 there were 419,332,450 silver dollars coined, with a difference between their face value and present market value of $176,086,829, a depreciation of over 40 per cent. The stock of bullion and silver dollars now on hand, if placed in the hands of a receiver, would exhibit a melancholy loss, but a loss that would be more cheerfully endured if we "could trammel up the consequence," and it were to be all and the end-all of portending future suffering of our people in all the business relations of life. The desperate remedies administered for the congestion of silver everywhere prevailing have not only aggravated ugly symptoms but have started a wide suspicion that the plethoric condition of silver was more dangerous perhaps to the United States Treasury than the facts would warrant, so long as the present Administration appeared pledged and willing to preserve the parity between gold and silver.

These delusive efforts, made by all the power and prestige of the National Government to enhance the value of silver, show that the universal law of supply and demand is still invincible, and can not be set aside even by the dynamics of legal-tender laws. Every milestone along the dreary track of these unsuccessful experiments marks a step downward in the depreciation of silver.

It has been too obvious that our nominal consumption of silver did not consume. Its swollen bulk of over 15,000 tons, ever visibly increasing, perpetually suggests that it may be too great to be forever held above and away from all contact with the world's markets, and that, like an Alpine avalanche when jostled by some thunderbolt, it may ere long be let loose, and by its fall finally and forever crush out its own life as a precious metal.

The futile attempt also for fifteen years to force silver dollars into circulation by the unending woe, grief, and trouble of all the Secretaries of the Treasury, in repeating the stubborn task of Sisyphus of rolling a stone daily uphill that daily rolls down again, has resulted in the unstable distribution of no more than $57,000,000, though delivered to any place near or remote, however great the cost to the Treasury of its transportation. Yet even this slender allotment so frets the pockets of the people that they swiftly unload it through the custom-house at the earliest opportunity. Constantly diminishing in value and somewhat in weight, silver dollars, though strutting with the outstretched wings of an eagle, are known to be pushed through the world for more than they are worth, and are beginning to be regarded as base intruders in all markets. Their deepest degradation, however, would seem to be that they are passed by on the other side by Levites, or shunned even by the owners of silver bullion.

Foreign nations will not be persuaded to adopt any measure in favor of silver by the fact that it might afford some relief to the United States, but they will do much for their own relief. Too ready to believe whatever may be derogatory of the American people, they have confidently believed that, with Boeotian stolidity, we should be contented with silver only, and that the stock of gold now in America and all future productions would easily be transferred to their possession. Four of the great powers of Europe are training soldiers possibly to make famous other fields than Waterloo and Sedan. Their success, as they believe, requires not merely the heaviest artillery, but the heaviest stock of gold; and this they are financially maneuvering to acquire. Nations, as well as men, often get gold and yet fail to keep it. We, very well, have learned how recklessly destructive martial glory is to treasures of gold, whether that of the victors or the vanquished. These ambitious powers have regarded America, not as a formidable competitor for gold, but as one of their unfailing sources of its supply, as well as an unfaltering and hungry market for silver.

America, however, can be a competitor for gold, and by far one of the strongest, for the reason that it is a home producer of gold as well as of silver, and will use both only for all the be-

atitudes of peace and prosperous commerce. By the great cost of large armies, and greater loss of labor in domestic industries, European nations are really crippling their financial resources, while our small army and our peace-loving habits relieve our people from such excessive burdens, and will surely in the end give us the primacy in financial power. A repeal of the silver-purchasing clause in the act of 1890 will give us a practical force, so long manifestly disregarded, in the final determination of the silver problem, and Europe, after all, to provide for its own financial necessities, is most likely to reach the conclusion that silver should not remain obsolete and useless only as a commodity.

The magnificent colonial possessions of Great Britain have been no doubt immensely profitable, but the query is now often suggested, even by the Queen's subjects, whether they will much longer largely contribute to her wealth and power. If Great Britain could fetter them to the free-trade conditions of a Cobden Club revenue tariff and be relieved from the risk and cost of their defense, no serious objections would be offered to their prompt independence; but unstaggering unbelief in free trade reigns supreme among their colonies, big and little.

India, unquestionably, with 250,000,000 of population controlled by British revenue laws, still affords splendid advantages to British trade. India, however, has suddenly declined to bear the whole burden of silver depreciation, and refuses to receive silver on the old standard for its domestic products and then pay gold in return for British merchandise. India is also heavily in debt for its railroads and other internal improvements, upon which annual interest in gold must be paid in London, and this has to be met by the sale of silver rupees at a ruinous reduction from the nominal value. The exports of India exceed imports to the extent of $100,000,000, for which gold instead of silver is now wanted. No remedy will now be satisfactory unless the currency of gold and silver shall be more equitably employed by Great Britain in all of her financial relations with her Indian Empire.

The interest of colonial people in monetary questions can not be forever ignored, even by an imperial government. Great Britain might be happier and stronger if there were less bankruptcies in Australia, less United States annexationists in Canada, and less Irishmen in Ireland. She may have no apprehensions elsewhere, so long as her neighbors have all the quarrels they like among themselves, but it would be opportune and perhaps sound policy for her to begin the cultivation of better political and financial relations with her kin across the Atlantic, and fairly consider whether or not international bimetallism is destitute of all merits.

I can not, however, favor bimetallism without an increase of silver in silver coinage, as without an increase it would be impossible to maintain any parity between gold and silver, even with the coöperation of many nations. Nor can I favor the free coinage of silver by the United States alone were the ratio between the two metals to be advanced from 16 to 25 to 1, or even to 28 to 1, for the reason that the present colossal output of silver can not be annually absorbed by any single nation, and a preposterous attempt to absorb it on our part might win a smile from the governor of Colorado, but would provoke the ridicule of the commercial world, and inexorably cause its further depreciation. No remedy will have a prosperous ending which does not squarely and fully recognize the existing extraordinary magnitude of the amount of silver which must be furnished with a new market.

Mr. Cernuschi, by far the ablest bimetallist that has yet appeared, has always insisted that it was only necessary for the United States for the time to cease from coining or from purchasing silver to bring European nations to a proper and just international arrangement by which the general use of silver as an integral part of the money in use among leading nations would be speedily consummated. Delay may have made this more difficult. The Bank of France now most unwillingly hoards 250,000,000 of 5-franc silver coins, which are there appreciated much as the $363,000,000 hibernating in the United States Treasury are appreciated here. If we tamely assume the burden of a monopoly of silver here, a burden quite large enough for the whole world, it may induce France and other nations also to join the gold monometallists of Europe.

I well understand that it will be necessary to enlist in any international agreement a considerable number of nations that will each take their just proportion of the present enormous annual production of silver, or it must necessarily be a failure. Nevertheless, an international agreement is the best hope of a permanent resuscitation of silver, and after proper national action here on our part, the chances of resuscitation will be greatly multiplied. Other nations will have an equal if not greater responsibility. It may be called a bitter remedy to stop purchasing silver, but without it the case is hopeless. If in all the world we are now the only purchaser of silver, to cease from it might temporarily cheapen its price, but to open our mints to its free coinage would permanently cheapen its value, as its solitary accumulation in our hands has already sufficiently demonstrated. In the language of Burke, "a wise and salutary neglect" is the highest service we can now render to silver.

After the repeal of the silver-purchase law of 1890 the United States will not wrestle alone with the overproduction of silver, as the question will equally confront foreign nations and can not be shirked. There is no statesman among such nations that does not know the United States can fix and carry a currency on the gold standard, if necessary (though I do not now believe that it will ever be necessary), with greater ease than any other nation on the earth. We produce enough of the metal ourselves to supply any needful annual increase of currency in gold coins, much more than equal to our annual increase of population.

There is little now of the necessaries of life for which our people are dependent upon any foreign country in peace or war, and much of what we produce to sell, like cotton, petroleum, and provisions, can not so readily be obtained elsewhere in equal abundance or on terms equally satisfactory. There is no possible combination of circumstances that can deprive the United States of its large and natural share of the world's gold, unless by free coinage we go directly to the silver standard, or unless our revenue laws shall be so framed as to permanently fasten upon the country an excess of imports over exports, and of this no party in our country can ever afford to take the risk.

With a sound currency foreign gold capital will flow into our country by millions for investment, but with any cheap or uncertain standard of money panics will be an everyday occurrence, and foreign capital would stand aloof and foreign creditors would demand a prompt return of all investments.

It is well understood that the great hindrance to bimetallism in our international conventions has been the fixed opposition of Great Britain. The leaders, however, of one of the great British parties have recently declared themselves ready to respond favorably to the popular opinion and to the business petitions in behalf of bimetallism. The demand for silver in India has annually been from forty to seventy million dollars. To all this the mints of India have suddenly been closed. The British trade with India is very large, and Great Britain, with that trade confused if not paralyzed, can not there safely abandon a large use of silver, and it must be used in such manner as will not subject the Hindoos and the Mahometans to the whole loss on bills of exchange. Nothing short of bimetallism would therefore seem possible.

There are some persons who wish to figure as one-string bimetallists by our country only. I have been told by a distinguished astronomer that the coal of the entire coal fields of Pennsylvania, which he had laboriously computed, would produce a heat equal to that of the sun for the 900-millionth part of a second. These one-string fiddlers, it may be computed, would maintain bimetallism for an equal length of time.

It has been absurdly charged that to repeal the law of 1890, which requires the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase 154 tons of silver bullion every month, would at once establish here the gold standard and nothing else; but that is untrue and comes here as a scarecrow that will scare nobody who does not want to be scared. Not a Senator who will vote to repeal that law will do it as a gold monometallist. The purpose and effect of the repeal will be to keep in circulation as much silver as ever, and to have enough gold keeping company with it to maintain the parity of the two metals. The repeal is the only lever by which bimetallism internationally can be secured. Americans should have the courage to use this lever and take a stand that will at once relieve our financial condition from foreign dictation, and secure the stock of gold which must naturally find a home in the United States, and which should not be deprived of that home without our consent.

I would not be personally offensive to anybody, but I think it could with more propriety be said that this charge of gold monometallism is a subterfuge to conceal an organized purpose of precipitating silver monometallism upon the American people. I think they will not fail to so understand it. Among all those who will refuse to discontinue the purchase of silver not one will consent to any purchase of gold.

The repeal of the silver-purchasing part of the act of 1890 will at once unlock millions of gold now hoarded, as well as millions of the old United States notes, to redeem which gold has long been held in the Treasury, as it would satisfy the public that Congress, as well as the President, propose to maintain every dollar of our currency as good as every other dollar, of no greater and no lower value than we have had, and so just and sound as to give assurance of being just and righteous for both the debtor and creditor to-day as well as years hence.

We cannot afford to take the risk of a silver dollar that may curtail the usual reward of wage-earners nearly one-half and cause an epidemic of strikes. Merchants might possibly shirk

or transfer to others a large share of their losses from a depreciated dollar; but farmers, for what they have to sell, would be compelled to accept whatever legal tender might be offered. Indirectly the duties on all imported dutiable merchandise, if paid in depreciated silver, would suffer a reduction that would more than satisfy even the exterminators of protection.

With the present rate of annual accumulation there would be piled up in the Treasury within ten years over a billion in pig silver bullion, and its depraved value fluctuating with the daily market when sold for use in the arts and manufactures. Certainly no prudent Senators can be expected seriously to propose that this expensive accumulation of silver and of public debt shall go on forever, bringing, as our experience has already shown, no benefit to producers of silver, but untold disasters upon our common country. Alone, and without international coöperation, if the United States would take its annual purchase of silver and give it a fatal plunge over the Falls of Niagara, so that it would be irrecoverable while wood grows or water runs, we might somewhat advance the market price of silver; and by no other less heroic measure, nor by any cunningly contrived compromise, while the supply is great and the demand down to zero, can the United States by itself lift silver out of the mire of overproduction.

Thirty-three years ago the yearly production of silver in the United States amounted to only $150,000; but in 1892 it amounted to five thousand times that sum. The silver extremists now demand that the United States shall not only take and pay for the whole of this vast increase, but at the valuation of thirty-three years ago, and will not even aid in opening the way for largely increasing the demand for silver by making it the interest of many nations to coöperate in a bimetallic standard for its use.

Probably, with one-half of all our iron furnaces closed, and one-half or more of all woolen and cotton mills idle, we have rarely required so small an amount of currency for actual business purposes. The difficulty is that currency, to an extraordinary amount, is being hoarded by millions of depositors in savings banks, who have feared they would have to wait sixty days if they were not drawn out at once Only one country in the world has a larger per capita circulation of money than the United States. We shall have plenty of money whenever distrust goes out of circulation.

According to the great Roman orator, "a commonwealth should be immortal," and I can not suppose that any Senator would willingly limit the life of our Government to any briefer period. In all the advantages of power and wealth, of natural and industrial productions, of coal, iron, and copper, of food products, and of territory and climate, no other people will dispute the superiority of the American Republic. Nor will they dispute our primacy as the producer of gold and silver. They dispute only our capacity for self-government, and deny the wisdom of universal suffrage. They believe we are to stumble on silver.

The crucial test is whether we are or not to drop from the bimetallic standard of gold and silver, maintained on a parity, to the dangerously crippled standard of silver only, and thereby limit to an inferior currency the foremost business nation of the world. The grave responsibility rests upon a Democratic Administration now in full control of both branches of Congress, as well as of the Executive department. No government can be sustained which does not fulfill its pledges in good faith. The public debt, national and State, and all other contracts, by our recorded pledges, are payable in legal tender on a parity with gold. The honor of the country may be in peril. Whatever policy will relieve the public distress will be my policy. Whatever party favors the public credit will have my favor. Whatever measures support public honor will have my support.

COST OF CHANGE OF RATIO.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President, though I am aware that the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE] is entitled to the floor at this time, I ask his indulgence to present a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury on the subject just now being discussed, which I conceive to be of great importance. I shall ask that it be read, and printed for the use of the Senate. It is not long, and I conceive it to be my duty to lay it before the Senate and the country in that way.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, it becomes the duty of the Chair to lay before the Senate the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, which will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE] is entitled to the floor. Does he yield to the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES]?

Mr. VANCE. Yes, sir.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The letter referred to by the Senator from Indiana will now be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., August 19, 1893.

SIR: Referring to our conversation relative to the probable cost incident to the change from the present coining ratio between gold and silver (1 to 16 for the standard silver dollars, and 1 to 14.95 for subsidiary silver) to a ratio of 1 to 20, you are respectfully informed that the number of silver dollars coined since 1878 aggregates 419,332,450.

Without any allowance for abrasion and loss incident to melting the same, the coinage value of these dollars at a ratio of 1 to 20 would be $333,222,162, or $84,110,228 less than their present face value.

To recoin these dollars at a ratio of 1 to 20 would require the addition of 81,376,700 ounces of new bullion, which, at the average price paid for silver under the act of July 14, 1890 ($0.93¼), would cost $75,883,700.

In addition to this I estimate that there would be a loss from abrasion and in the melting of these dollars of at least $3,000,000, which amount, together with the difference in the face value of the coins ($84,110,288), would have to be reimbursed to the Treasury by an appropriation for that purpose.

From the fact that the silver dollars are distributed throughout the country it would be necessary, as they are redeemed at the several subtreasuries, to transport them to the mints, and the expense of transportation for $300,000,000, the amount outside of the stock on hand at the subtreasuries and mints at Philadelphia, San Francisco, and New Orleans, would average at least 1½ per cent, or $4,500,000.

I therefore estimate the cost of recoining the silver dollars already coined, as follows:

New bullion to be added	$75,883,700
Loss by abrasion and melting	3,000,000
Cost of the coinage (labor, materials, etc	6,230,000
Copper for alloy	68,200
Transportation of dollars to mints	4,500,000
Total	89,741,900

The stock of subsidiary silver coin in the country is estimated at $77,000,000, which at full weight would contain 55,699,875 ounces of fine silver. This amount at a ratio of 1 to 20 would coin $55,843,892, or $21,156,197 less than the present face value.

To recoin $77,000,000 of subsidiary silver into an equal amount of fractional coin at a ratio of 1 to 20 would require the addition of 18,797,625 fine ounces, which, at 93¼ cents per fine ounce, the average price paid for silver under the act of July 14, 1890, would cost $17,528,785.

There would be a loss of about 2½ per cent by abrasion from the face value, or about $1,925,000.

I would, therefore, estimate the cost of recoining the subsidiary silver in the country, at a ratio of 1 to 20, as follows:

New bullion	$17,528,785
Loss by abrasion	1,925,000
Cost of coinage (labor, material, etc.)	2,500,000
Copper for alloy	15,636
Cost of transportation	1,155,000
Total	23,124,421

RECAPITULATION.

Estimated cost of recoining silver dollars	89,741,900
Estimated cost of recoining subsidiary silver	23,124,421
Total	112,866,321

Very respectfully,

J. G. CARLISLE, *Secretary.*

Hon. DANIEL W. VOORHEES,
United States Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the letter will be ordered to be printed as a document.

CALIFORNIA MIDWINTER INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION.

Mr. VOORHEES. I desire to call attention to Senate bill No. 50, in aid of the California Midwinter International Exposition. I wish to state that I reported it by authority of the Committee on Finance, and that the matter of time is of importance. I trust the Senate, upon the request of the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE], who will explain it in a moment, will take up the bill and pass it.

Mr. STEWART. Is that the California Exposition bill?

Mr. VOORHEES. Yes; I reported the bill. It was carefully considered and examined by the committee, and there can be no objection to it.

Mr. STEWART. I hope the bill will pass.

Mr. VANCE. Does the bill carry an appropriation?

Mr. VOORHEES. There is no appropriation whatever with it. I promised the Senator from California that I would ask the Senate to consider the bill.

Mr. WHITE of California. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate bill No. 50. It is entitled "A bill in aid of the California Midwinter International Exposition."

The circumstances of the matter are briefly these: We have made extensive preparations in California for a midwinter fair. We have prepared to expend a large amount of money, and have made partial arrangements with three or four thousand of the exhibitors at Chicago, who will transfer their exhibits to California; but before they are willing to definitely enter into contract they desire an act of Congress permitting them to remove their goods to California under the same arrangements made in the law in reference to the World's Exposition: that is to say, they desire that goods may be taken in bond to California under

the restrictions of that act of Congress, with which Senators are all familiar, and also desire that the laborers imported who are used at the Chicago Exposition for the purpose of putting things before the public in proper condition may go to California and be there with the goods.

No appropriation of money is asked, and there are a great number of unemployed persons in our State who expect to receive employment when this work is begun.

I have in my possession two telegrams, one from the mayor of San Francisco and the other from Mr. De Young, who is the director-general of the exposition, stating that the work will commence immediately upon the passage of this bill, and that a number of people, reaching into the thousands, will be given employment. As there is no imposition to be placed upon the Government or any of the people, and as the exposition is solely designed to benefit that portion of the United States so far as employment goes, and the whole country in a general way, I conceive that there can be no opposition to the passage of the measure.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from California asks for the immediate consideration of a bill, the title of which will be read.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 50) in aid of the California International Midwinter Exposition.

Mr. WHITE of California. I ask that a communication personally addressed to me by the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in relation to the terms of the bill, and approving of the same, may be read for the information of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. FRYE. Let the bill be read at length.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will be read at length, subject to objection.

The Secretary read the bill; and by unanimous consent the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to its consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The accompanying paper will be read, in pursuance of the request of the Senator from California.

The Secretary read as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *Washington, D. C., August 16, 1893.*

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have had the accompanying draft in aid of the California Midwinter International Exposition carefully examined, and am of the opinion that there is no objection to its becoming a law in its present form, so far as the interests of the revenue are concerned.

It appears to be identical with the act providing for the admission of goods for the World's Columbian Exposition, except that it allows the transfer of the articles on exhibition at Chicago to San Francisco, and this transfer could be safely made under regulations to be prescribed by the Department.

Very respectfully yours,

CHARLES S. HAMLIN.

Hon. S. M. WHITE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the preamble.

The preamble was agreed to.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the resolution reported by Mr. HOAR, from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, March 27, 1893; which was read, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

Mr. VANCE. I have a request to make as representing Senators of the Committee on Privileges and Elections. I find such a number of Senators wish to be heard on the proposition as to contested seats, that I have been requested to ask that the vote which was to have been taken to-day at 5 o'clock should go over until the same hour to-morrow.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. VOORHEES. Of course I do not object; but I wish to say that it would be convenient for me to deliver some remarks to-morrow, of which I gave notice, and it would be very inconvenient for me to postpone them. I should like to take the floor after the morning business to-morrow, if that will not interfere with the purpose of the Senator from North Carolina. I shall, of course, make no objection to the change he proposes.

Mr. VANCE. Of course we can not resist an appeal of that kind. It is in consequence of having granted such an appeal to-day, the time expected to be consumed in debate on this question having been otherwise disposed of, which causes me to ask for an extension; so that, if it will not be inconvenient to the Senator from Indiana in the slightest degree, I ask that the vote be postponed until Wednesday.

Mr. VOORHEES. I should very much prefer that the Senate would indulge me to say what I have to say upon the financial situation to-morrow.

Mr. VANCE. It is not possible to refuse a request of brother Senators who have special business and who trespass upon the time which has been given for the discussion and consideration of the question of the admission of Senators. Therefore, as I do not like to refuse a request of that kind, I think it necessary that we should be given a little more time for this discussion.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I hope, then, that the chairman of the committee will ask that the question in relation to the contested seats of Senators go over until Wednesday at 4 or 5 o'clock, or some other hour on Wednesday.

Mr. VANCE. That is what I intimated.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. That will give the chairman of the Committee on Finance an opportunity to occupy whatever time he wishes to-morrow.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state the request of the Senator from North Carolina, which is that the vote on the pending resolution be taken on Wednesday at 5 o'clock. Is there objection?

Mr. HOAR. I wish to say that, having made the report in this case, having expressed my views in its favor, and pressed it at this session, I consider that my duty has been performed, and the question of a special hour, whether the vote is to be taken on one day or another, is a question which must be determined by the convenience of the Senate; so that I have no personal duty about that.

Mr. STEWART. Is the time for a vote fixed for Wednesday?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair hears no objection to the request of the Senator from North Carolina that the vote on the pending resolution be taken at 5 o'clock Wednesday next.

Mr. VANCE. Mr. President, the question involved in this case, briefly as I can state it, is this: The term of Mr. Sanders, the late Senator from Montana, ended March 3, 1893. The Legislature of that State, whose duty it was made to elect his successor, by the act of 1866, adjourned on the same day without an election. On the next day, March 4, 1893, Mr. Mantle was appointed to succeed Mr. Sanders. Is he entitled to a seat in this body? In other words, the regular term of a Senator expiring by law on a certain day, the Legislature being in session, which by law should have elected his successor, and failed to do so, shall the governor appoint? The minority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections say he shall not. The majority say he may. That depends upon Article I, section 3, of the Constitution of the United States, which is as follows:

SEC. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

I want to say, *imprimis*, that I deny there is any specially imposed constitutional obligation upon us to keep the Senate full, greater or more binding than there is in regard to any other department or offices of the Government. It is made our duty, in common with other officials, to keep them all full, so that the people may be served. To this end the manner of the filling is prescribed by law, and we and all other officers are sworn to observe that law. In regard to the filling of some, two methods are provided—the one to be adopted only after the other has failed; as in the election of a President and Vice-President.

In executive and ministerial offices which are elective, the common-law principle of holding over until after the election and qualification of a successor helps to keep the offices full. It is not so with legislative officers. If a member of the House dies or resigns or is expelled, or if there be no election at the appointed time, there must be another election. In offices appointive by the President, when the concurrence of the Senate is required, the President shall appoint in the recess of the Senate, which appointment shall hold good until Congress has convened and adjourned. But there are no means of forcing the President to appoint, other than the same official oath which binds us to the performance of our duty.

If there be any duty specially imposed as to keeping the Senate full, it is imposed upon those who are charged with the creation of Senators by the Constitution and not upon us. We sit here only to judge of the election and qualification of those who come to us claiming to be Senators; it is in no sense our duty to supply the defects and cure the failures of constitutional Senator-makers to perform their sworn functions.

Now, how are the Senators to be chosen? That is set forth in Article I, section 3, of the Constitution, as quoted above. Before applying the technical rules of construction to the words there-

in contained, let us look at them in a plain, common-sense light, as they would appear to any unprejudiced citizen of ordinary intelligence; and to aid us in that view, let us consider the circumstances under which this article of the Constitution was adopted.

We may suppose that the members of that Convention had assembled and organized and digested a skeleton outline of the form of government which they wished to establish. We will suppose that they had determined upon dividing its powers into three branches—the executive, legislative, and judicial—that the Legislature should consist of two Houses or bodies, a Senate and House of Representatives; that the Senate should consist of two Senators from each State with one vote each. That was brief and simple. The question next arose, how should they be chosen? It was decided that they should be chosen—that is, elected—by the Legislature of each State for a term of six years.

When and how? This was also prescribed. When first assembled they should be divided into three classes, the term of the first to expire in two years, that of the second in four years, and that of the third in six years; so that one-third of the members should be elected every two years. Thus far they had provided for a Senate as a part of the lawmaking power, prescribed of how many members it should be composed, how they should be elected, how long they should serve, how they should be divided so that their terms should not all expire at the same time, and how their successors in regular course should be elected.

This was the programme for establishing a complete continuous body called the Senate of the United States, with a single exception—no provision had been made so far for the casual interruption of a term, such as by death or resignation or expulsion, or any other change in the condition of a Senator which rendered his service impossible. Naturally these accidental and unlooked-for circumstances were considered. The question was asked, should any of these things happen to a Senator when the Legislature of his State was not in session, what then? Should that State have no representation in that body for no fault of its own?

Surely not; and so they provided that in such a case the governor of such a State may appoint temporarily, until the Legislature meets, which shall then fill the vacancy. In all these contingencies it will be observed that the Legislature was treated as the primary source of power in reference to the selection of Senators; the appointing power conferred upon the governor was only in case of accident or some mischance happening to the occupant of a term once filled which would deprive the State of a representative in the Senate.

It seems impossible to reasonably conceive that at this point there was anything else to provide for except these contingencies attending human life and the conduct of human affairs. They had already provided for the election of the first Senators, fixed their terms, and how and when their successors in regular course should be chosen; and it is a reflection upon their intelligence to say that they in the same breath added a clause giving the governor power to fill these identical vacancies without even the averment that the Legislature had failed or refused to do its duty. To make sure, they give a sample of the kind of vacancy which might "happen."

There was death—no member doubted that was something which might happen to a Senator, and need not therefore be named. There was expulsion, which might also happen to a Senator—there was no doubt about that; but there was a doubt whether a Senator could resign his office on account of the doctrine which governed the British Parliament. To establish the contrary doctrine they mentioned "resignation" as one of the vacancies which might "happen," and added the words "or otherwise" to include other contingencies, as death, expulsion, and the like, not needed to be named.

Surely in the face of their express provisions for filling regular terms by the Legislature, if they had intended to include the filling of such terms in the powers granted to the governors, they would have said so in plainer terms than the words "or otherwise," and would not have left so important a grant of power to depend upon a construction—and a doubtful construction at that, and one in the face of the ordinary meaning of the words used and of well-established law. Nor can the plea of ignorance of the meaning of these words, or the usage of the law in the construction of them, be for a moment considered.

The Senator from Virginia [Mr. HUNTON] says technical rules ought not to be applied in construing the language of those who framed the Constitution, because many of them were not lawyers. If this be true, it is also true that most of them were lawyers, and as eminent as any in America. Mr. Madison himself was a member of the Committee on Style or Revision, and, we may assume, carefully scrutinized and corrected the language of the clauses as they were adopted. As they put it, it seems to me language could not be plainer.

If they had intended that the words "or otherwise" should include every possible vacancy, they would not have used the words, "which happened by resignation or otherwise," at all, but would have simply said "if vacancies occur," the governor shall appoint, etc. Nor would they have used the word "happen" as applied to a vacancy created by law on a given day, which had no element of chance about it; nor would they have used the word "if" vacancies happen, because a regular term was sure to expire on a day certain, and create a vacancy. There was no contingency about it as is implied by "if." They would have simply said "when" vacancies occur. As, one would not say "if the sun rises to-morrow I will do so," but "when the sun rises I will do so."

I do not admit that in construing a constitution the rules which govern contracts between parties do not apply. On the contrary, it seems to me that in a government of limited powers, the instrument in which the powers are specified and limited should be strictly construed according to known rules of the law. I can not agree to the statement that there is here any such manifest and overruling purpose as the language of the committee would imply, as to justify a construction opposed to the clear meaning of the particular words and phrases; nor can I agree to the statement inferentially made by the committee, that its manifest purpose would justify the elimination and absolute ignoring of a whole sentence in the Constitution; as is contended by the committee when they say "that the language of the Constitution is quite as well suited to confer the power upon the governor of appointing to a vacancy occurring at the beginning of a term, or to a vacancy which began to exist when a Legislature was actually in session, and continued after the adjournment of the Legislature, as any language likely to be used."

In order to seat this applicant, Mr. Mantle, they, therefore, would override the plain and obvious meaning of words according to the legal rules of construction. They would eliminate a word in one case and a large part of a sentence in another; and make the latter clause of section 3 read as follows: "And if vacancies occur, the executive of the State may make temporary appointment until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancy." They would strike out the words "happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the Legislature of any State."

It can not be sustained in reason or in law. To sustain the committee it is necessary also to adopt the secondary and not the primary meaning attached to the word "happen" by all the lexicographers of authority to-day. For instance, the primary definition of the word "happen," according the Century Dictionary, is, "to occur by chance" or "occur unexpectedly or unaccountably;" secondary, "in general to occur," "to take place." This term the committee adopts, whereas common usage would invariably take the first and ordinary meaning of the word. But even there, the illustration used explanatory of the second meaning are words implying pure chance, as "I happened to be there"—"this happens often."

The definition of the Imperial Dictionary, primarily, is to "chance," "to be brought about unexpectedly, or by chance." So of all of them.

The truth is, there is no paramount purpose impressed or implied in relation to keeping the Senate full in the Constitution. It is the dictum of those who wanted to seat a Senator. The main purpose of the Constitution, if we are to infer that any such exists from the language used, is that the Senators shall be elected by the Legislature. The secondary purpose is, that if the Legislature be not in session when the vacancy happens, the governor may appoint until such time as the Legislature can act.

The Constitution provides that each State shall have the right to be fully represented in the Senate, and it is the business of this body as a part of the lawmaking power to see that that right is jealously preserved to each State. Whether that State shall in fact have its full representation here or not depends upon the State itself. If it sees proper to withhold a Senator by failing to select him in the constitutional way, it is the sole business and lookout of that State; and to speak of depriving the State of her representative in the Senate because she does not see proper to comply with the Constitution in choosing him, is an abuse of terms.

In answer to the argument made by the minority report and so ably sustained by the speech of the Senator from Oregon, that the rule of law is "that a general word which follows particular and specific words of the same nature as itself takes its meaning from them, and is presumed to be restricted to the same genus as those words; or, in other words, as comprehending only things of the same kind as those designated by them, unless there is something to show that a wider sense was intended," the Senator from Virginia [Mr. HUNTON] contends that there is something in this case which shows that a wider sense was intended. He says: "This contrary intention does appear here.

The unquestionable object of this clause was "to keep the Senate full—always full;" and that "the history of the Convention's proceedings shows that by a vote of the Convention it was decided unanimously on Madison's amendment that this was the intention of the Convention, that the governor should fill the vacancy when it happened from refusal to accept, resignation, or otherwise."

Again the assumption is made that the object of that clause was to keep the "Senate full—always full." Yet, he admits that Mr. Madison's amendment was not incorporated in the Constitution itself, and denies that Mr. Madison's amendment was ever reversed by a vote of the convention. It seems to me, Mr. President, that the report of the committee on style, changing the language which necessarily and under the rules of construction changed the meaning, and which report was adopted by the convention, was a reversal or abandonment of Mr. Madison's amendment. And it is new to me that the use of words in an amendment which was not adopted by the convention should be held up as the guiding light to the meaning of words which were adopted.

In other words, it is a new species of logic to undertake to prove what a set of men did do by setting forth what they did not do.

Mr. Madison's amendment was as follows, as cited by the Senator from Virginia [Mr. HUNTON]:

To strike out the words in section 3, after "vacancies," and insert the words "upon the refusal to accept resignation or otherwise, may be supplied by the Legislature of the State in the representations of which such vacancies shall happen, or by the executive thereof, until the next meeting of the Legislature."

This would make the clause in the third section read as follows:

And if vacancies happening by refusal to accept, resignations, or otherwise, may be supplied by the Legislature of the State in the representation of which such vacancies shall happen, or by the executive thereof, until the next meeting of the Legislature.

Here was another opportunity for inserting the words "or by expiration of a regular term," but it was not embraced. In fact, it is noticeable that nowhere, either in the debates which preceded the forming of the Constitution, or in the Constitution itself is there any authoritative mention of filling a seat which had become vacant by the mere efflux of the constitutional time, except in connection with the Legislature.

To base an argument that it was the intention of the Constitution-makers to confer such power upon executives of the States, in the face of the absence of any attempt to do so in any enumeration of possible vacancies, seems to me absurd. The lawyers of that convention must have known all the principles of law which qualified their general word, "otherwise," after their particular enumerations, and as men of common sense, to say nothing of legal knowledge, they could not have left their intention so obscure as to be groped after by strained construction and overruling of the principles of law.

But, granting that the meaning of the convention was expressed by Mr. Madison's amendment, and that it had been incorporated entire, the case would not have been altered one particle. A refusal to accept is an unexpected thing, an unlooked-for event, as is a resignation; and those specific words "refusal to accept" would still further qualify the general word "otherwise," and exclude with still stronger force the possibility of its applying to all vacancies whatsoever. It was only the addition of one more specific word, and, beyond doubt, the more specific words which are mentioned of the same genus, the stronger becomes the qualification of the general word which follows, limiting it to things of like genus.

One thing must be conceded by all, that the power delegated to the Legislature to elect Senators is a primary power, while the power conferred upon the governors to appoint in certain contingencies is supplementary. It is by no means coextensive with the power conferred upon the Legislature.

I will not weary the Senate or myself by referring again to the cases where the courts have decided the principle of construction on which the minority depend. They have all been cited in the views of the minority and are upon the desks of Senators; nor will I again go over the precedents of this body, with which by this time almost every Senator must be familiar.

In the opinion of the minority, sustained by the leading precedents in the case, as well as by the opinions of most of the great lawyers who have ever sat in this body, Mr. Mantle is not entitled to hold a seat here for the reason that the Legislature upon whom was devolved the duty of electing Mr. Sanders' successor, both by the Constitution and the act of 1866 passed in pursuance thereof, and equally binding upon us, failed to discharge its duty.

For a still stronger reason is Mr. Allen, appointed from the State of Washington, not entitled to a seat, without a clear violation of the expressed words of the Constitution; for the vacancy neither happened within the meaning of that word, nor did it occur during the recess of the Legislature of that State.

I can not better close my remarks on this head than by quoting from the speech of Geo. E. Badger, of North Carolina, delivered in the Phelps case in 1854. He was perhaps the greatest lawyer my State has ever produced, and was possessed of an intellect profound as that of Bacon, analytic as that of Fearne, and acute as that of Pascal:

The vacancies which the executive of a State is authorized to fill are never vacancies that happen by the efflux of time. They are not foreseen vacancies; they are vacancies that happen by resignation or otherwise. Mr. President, from an exceeding desire to give this clause of the Constitution such a construction as would keep the Senate always full, I labored hard a year or two ago, when we had questions of this kind before us, to find out some method of supporting in my own mind a construction that a vacancy happening by efflux of time, and not filled beforehand by the Legislature, might be brought within this limited power conferred on the executive.

But, sir, I have been obliged to abandon it. "By resignation or otherwise," is the language. We must expound the word "otherwise" to apply to vacancies happening by similar events: that is, unforeseen events—death, resignation, appointment to an office which disqualifies; but it can not be applied to the expiration of a term of a Senator which leaves a seat vacant on this floor. My opinion, therefore, is that the governor of a State has no power to fill a vacancy in this body which is brought about by the expiration or efflux of the time for which the Senator was elected—in other words, at the termination of his term in the Senate. It must be a vacancy in the term happening during the recess of the Legislature; it must be a vacancy in the term happening by resignation or other casualty. That I understand to have been the express and solemn decision of the Senate in Lanman's case in 1825, overruling one or two earlier decisions which had passed, perhaps, without full consideration.

The danger or the inconvenience supposed to arise from the Senate not being "always full," is not to be compared for a moment with the danger which would ensue if the practice were followed of filling the Senate with members who are not entitled by the prescriptions of the Constitution to sit here. Into this temple of our liberties no man should be permitted to enter except by the door of the Constitution.

Doubtless, when providing the way by which it may be entered, our fathers had in mind the Divine wisdom, which saith:

Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber. But he that entereth in by the door is the shepherd of the sheep.

There should be no politics in the decision of this question. No other consideration should enter into it but that of a sincere desire to maintain the letter and spirit of the Constitution. Doubtless many of the complicated decisions which this body has made have arisen from the pressure of temporary circumstances of one kind or another. It is a great question which should be decided with proper solemnity. The ambition of men which leads them often to the obstruction of the proper and legal election of Senators to this body in the hope of securing favor from a single man—the executive—should be rebuked, and they should be taught to know that this great tribunal will not make itself an accomplice in their schemes and combinations, if we wish to avoid scandals and to preserve the character and dignity of the United States Senate.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, as I listened to the very able argument just made by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE], although I promised him to take part in this debate, I felt that I could not meet the promise, except so far as an argument upon the words of the Constitution is concerned, as there is nothing left to add to what has been said by that Senator. I shall, therefore, confine my remarks to a brief statement of the argument as based on the words of the Constitution itself. There are precedents both ways. They have been brought to the attention of the Senate, and we are at last left to decide this very solemn and important question upon the meaning of the Constitution as expressed in that instrument.

The case before the Senate is the expiration of the regular term of a Senator, the meeting of the Legislature required by law to elect his successor, the failure of that Legislature to elect, and then on that failure an appointment by the governor of the State. The question is, has there been a constitutional appointment of the successor now applying for his seat? The question seems very plain on the very words of the Constitution itself. The provision as to filling vacancies by executive appointment is in these words:

If—

As was well remarked by the Senator from North Carolina. Not "when," but "if;" the very word of all others to express a contingency.

If vacancies happen—

Not "if vacancies occur;" not "if vacancies exist;" but "if vacancies happen." How?

by resignation or otherwise—

When?

during the recess of the Legislature of any State the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

It would seem too plain for controversy, at least, that the vacancy must happen during the recess of the Legislature. If it does not happen during the session of the Legislature the *casus* does not exist in which the power to appoint is conferred. But it is argued that the Constitution means as if it read, "If vacancies happen to exist during any recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive may appoint." And thus it is insisted that the Constitution means that all vacancies, occurring in whatever mode and at whatever time, may be filled by executive appointment.

There are conclusive reasons against this view. It requires us to read the language of the Constitution by striking out what is in it and inserting other language of different import.

That is the true *casus*. To give this clause of the Constitution the meaning claimed for it by the majority of the committee, you must take your pen and strike out four words in the Constitution. The phrase "if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise" must mean less than all vacancies whatever, or the four words "by resignation or otherwise" are utterly without meaning, and the Constitution must be read as if they were stricken out.

When you read the Constitution and interpret it by leaving out the meaning of four words, you do the same thing exactly as if you were to physically erase those words from the Constitution itself. We can not construe the Constitution in that way. We must construe the language as used and according to a rule of law recognized by every respectable court in the world; we must give force and effect to every word in it.

This is true of all instruments, however trivial and unimportant they may be. In private contracts parties are not presumed to have used words without attaching to them any meaning or force. But the rule which applies to all instruments, whether of a private or public nature, is the more binding when we come to construe constitutions. Such instruments are necessarily brief, and therefore they do not contain unmeaning words. The fewest possible words are used to convey the meaning of the framers. Constitutions are framed with the utmost care, and words are selected to express the exact meaning and intent of the framers, and for no other purpose.

How strange it would be if men called together to form the framework of a great government should indulge in idle, loose, and unmeaning language. Hence instruments are carefully prepared, and the words undergo careful revision before final adoption, in order that they may be perspicuous—plainly giving the meaning of the framers. The style of these instruments is fixed to attain clearness only; there is no effort at anything else but to express the plain meaning of the framers.

Such instruments are not intended to be eloquent, to excite the emotions of those who read them; they are framed solely as guides, and as guides they must be construed. Hence there are no pleonasms, no amplifications, no unnecessary adjectives, and none in the superlative degree, except "greatest," "highest" in connection with numbers—as "highest" in greatest number of votes. It is true we have "supreme law of the land," but this is essential to express the necessary supremacy of the Constitution. There is not a word in the Constitution that is superfluous, much less a phrase.

When "all vacancies" are meant the words "all vacancies" are used, as in clause 3, section 2, Article II, or the word "vacancies" alone, but in a connection which manifestly means all, as in clause 4, section 2, Article I.

In the clause first cited it is said "the President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate." Not a part of them, nor is it left to argument or conjecture whether all is meant. The word "all" is used.

In the clause secondly above cited it is said, "When vacancies happen in the representation from a State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies." There the context shows that "vacancies," unaccompanied by any word of qualification, means all vacancies, and necessarily so.

When, then, we have two instances of provisions for filling vacancies, and both using the appropriate language to designate—"all vacancies"—without question, we are bound to conclude that in the other instance, the language, if intended to embrace "all vacancies," would have been equally explicit.

When the framers of the Constitution had been so particular in one instance as to say "all vacancies," and in the other instance to say "vacancies," which manifestly by the context means all vacancies, can any one suggest a reason why, having thus adopted the language necessary and appropriate to express the idea of all vacancies, they would, when they came to this particular place, employ other language when they meant the same thing.

If the proposition propounded by the majority of the committee be true, the language of this clause of the Constitution must mean all vacancies, for that construction embraces all. So, then, the framers of the Constitution having thus in two instances in providing for filling vacancies used words which rendered it impossible to mistake their meaning, that they intended to include all vacancies, it seems to be manifest if they meant all vacancies in this clause they would not have forgotten the proper phrase to express the idea, and they would have been equally explicit.

But in this case vacancies of a particular kind are mentioned, namely, "by resignation or otherwise." If by "otherwise," and the whole strength of the argument is based on that word "otherwise," it was meant to embrace all vacancies, however occurring, then the framers of the Constitution were guilty of a gross departure from the right use of language in using the words "by resignation or otherwise" to designate what in other parts of the Constitution they had expressed by "all" or by "vacancies" generally in a connection which necessarily meant "all." When they meant "all" they had expressed the idea by "all" or by "vacancies" generally without qualification.

We must conclude, therefore, that the introduction of these four words were for a purpose—to give a meaning to the phrase which it would not otherwise have had if vacancies alone had been used—this purpose being to make the "vacancies" less than all vacancies.

The framers of the Constitution, as shown, would not have used those four words if they had meant "all vacancies."

These were appropriate words if they meant to restrict the appointing power to vacancies—less than all—occurring unexpectedly or from an unanticipated cause. So they specified "resignation," which means vacating in that mode a term already commenced and already completely filled by election by the Legislature, whereby, through an unlooked-for event a place once filled in accordance with the Constitution had become vacant.

If the language had stopped there at the words "by resignation," the most reckless disputant would have admitted that it was not an original vacancy that could be filled, but only one occurring outside of the usual order, by the act of the incumbent. But "resignation" would not cover all the vacancies happening unexpectedly—there might be death, expulsion, abandonment of the office, the failure of the Senate to admit to a seat on account of a constitutional disability, want of age or inhabitancy, alienage, or willful failure to qualify by taking the oath. It was necessary to provide for all these and possibly others of a like character.

This provision was rightfully made and properly expressed by the word "otherwise," which, according to a well-settled rule of law—when associated with resignation—means other vacancies *ejusdem generis*, that is, occurring unexpectedly in a place once filled. Hence the provision was designed to cover that class of vacancies. Vacancies occuring in the regular order, normally, by expiration of a term, had already been provided for in the first clause of the same section, wherein it was provided that they should be filled by being chosen by the Legislatures for six years.

There can be no controversy that this provision covers the case of an original vacancy for a full term. And this view is, if possible, made still more clear by the provision in the second clause, providing for a classification of the Senators; that is the word used when the Legislature elect; the word "appoint" is used when the governor fills the term, so that one-third thereof should "be chosen" by the Legislature, not appointed, "every second year."

These make complete provision for filling vacancies occurring by expiration of the term. They must be filled by being chosen by the Legislature for six years, and under the classification by one-third of the Senators being chosen every second year. This seems to place, in my judgment, the matter beyond controversy as to how the Constitution required vacancies for the full term to be filled. This mode of selection so required by the Constitution is:

First. By election for six years by the Legislature.

Second. By a classification which would require the elections to take place every second year.

With these provisions immediately preceding the clause in controversy—provisions full, complete, plain, and certain—it is impossible to conclude that the language "by resignation or otherwise" meant by resignation expiration of term, or otherwise. It is absurd to suppose that the Constitution, having provided for filling full-term vacancies by election every second year for terms of six years, immediately afterwards provided that the same full-term vacancies might be filled by executive appointment for an indefinite and undefined part of the six years by a mere "temporary appointment," to use the language of the Constitution.

The Constitution can not mean that original vacancies in the Senate shall be filled by election, one-third every second year for a full period of six years, and at the same time mean that

the same original vacancies may be filled temporarily by executive appointment. To justify such a conclusion, to infer such a plain contradiction or exception, if that term be preferred, very explicit language should be employed, language admitting of no other meaning. This reasoning seems to be conclusive on the language of the Constitution.

This construction is, moreover, demanded by the scheme of the Constitution itself as plainly developed in reference to the legislative department. Two Houses are provided for, one with a short term—two years—to be elected directly by the people. By this part of the scheme, representative responsibility and accountability is fixed at short intervals, so that the public will should be fairly represented and that will should be expressed frequently.

This was an essential idea in a free government, founded on the popular will; yet it was apprehended that if both branches were elected biennially the policy of the Government would be subject to frequent changes, to sudden vacillations, coming sometimes from passion and excitement without due reflection and sometimes from want of time for the influence of the sober second thought. To obviate this other provisions were made in reference to the Senate, all securing exemption from sudden popular changes.

The Senators were to be elected by the Legislature, not only that they might represent the State as a distinct political organism—itself a very important idea—but that, as was supposed, greater care might be exercised in their selection. It was supposed then (whatever may be the real facts as shown in the outcome) that the Legislature would be more solicitous to secure the services of the best men. The Legislature, too, was the real representative, more than any other functionary, of the sovereignty of the State, and also of the people of the State, in their organized political capacity.

But more than this, it was deemed that whilst the Senators should be representatives of the will and of the matured judgment of the people of their several States, and should be accountable to the people, yet, with the longer terms provided, the Senate would be more conservative and would represent the popular will when it was matured and made up upon full consideration and deliberation; that they would make with these long terms the policies of the Government more stable.

And to secure this stability and at the same time give a proper influence to the people's will the provision about classification was inserted. In this way the influence of the popular will throughout the United States would be made manifest in the Senate as in the House, at least to the extent of one-third of its members, who were required to be elected every second year. No better scheme could have been devised for uniting conservatism with progress—for giving effect to the people's will without violent fluctuations and changes.

The scheme is utterly overthrown by the construction contended for by the majority of the committee.

The constitutional scheme is not only abandoned, but reversed. For, by substituting for the Legislature the executive, Senators are not chosen for six years, as the Constitution requires, but selected for an indefinite and undefined part of six years—mere temporary appointments, as the Constitution calls them. A Senator thus chosen is not that representative of the State which the Constitution provides for. He has not the tenure given to secure his independence and to secure the country from violent and immature popular changes. On the contrary, he is what no member of either branch of this Legislature should be, a mere creature of the executive of the State, subject to his will as to his tenure, because the executive may call the Legislature together at any time and terminate his office. He is not chosen under the constitutional rule of classification as to election of one-third every second year, since the executive, being under no constitutional obligation to appoint at all, having only permission to do so, may make the appointment at any time during the recess of the Legislature, however long that recess may be—and in some States the recess is four years.

The foregoing seems to be fatal to the pretensions of the applicant. But there is another view equally conclusive. As to the Oregon case, the vacancy did not occur during a recess of the Legislature, but when it was in session. It will be kept in mind that the provision relating to filling vacancies in the Senate substitutes a different agency for filling the office than the one primarily fixed in the Constitution, and, as has been shown, essential to the scheme fixed by the plain language of the Constitution. This is not so in the two other instances before mentioned providing for filling vacancies.

In the case of vacancies in the House the same constituency—the people—fills them that fills the office for the full term. In the case of appointments to office, the same agency—the President—is the appointing power in both instances. The only difference is that in sessions of the Senate he must have their advice as to some offices. There is no revolutionary change in the constitutional method of filling the office; for even as to the advice of the Senate it is within the competency of Congress to dispense with it in such offices as the Congress shall deem to be inferior.

When we come, then, to consider the language used in the clause under consideration, we would err fatally if we neglected to consider this change in the fixed and determinate scheme of the Constitution—as to the agency to select a Senator—a change from the Legislature to the executive. And the more so, since the very language of the clause in question marks with emphasis the change.

The language is, if vacancies happen, etc., "during the recess of the Legislature"—the plain meaning being that the vacancy shall then happen in order to be filled by the executive. Can we discard this language and adjudge that the governor may appoint, though the vacancy happen whilst the Legislature is in session? It seems impossible to do this without in effect annulling that part of the Constitution and framing a new one. I do not know how to make the meaning plainer than it is on its face.

But the plain meaning of the Constitution as expressed in the words of the instrument itself is asserted to be subordinate to and subject to control by what is called the policy of the Constitution.

This policy is said to be:

That the States are equal in the Senate, and to preserve this equality each State must always be represented by two Senators; not that each State shall have the right to be represented by two Senators. The argument goes to the point that to preserve this equality the State must actually have the two Senators.

It is asserted that this policy is manifested by that provision in the Constitution which forbids, even by an amendment of that instrument, that any State shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate without its own consent. The answer to this is:

First, no such policy is expressed in the Constitution. We can impute no policy to the Constitution in construing it than its plain meaning as shown by the language used. If we are authorized to go outside of the language and frame a policy for the Constitution, such as we may fancy is right and proper, and then use the fancied policy to change the meaning of the Constitution itself, then we in effect alter the Constitution as framed and make a new one. We substitute for the Constitution what we think the Constitution ought to be. We amend it by construction instead of in the mode provided for by that instrument itself.

The policy of the Constitution is, and can be, rightfully nothing else than the meaning of the Constitution as expressed in its words.

That meaning is that each State is entitled to two Senators chosen by the Legislature thereof for six years, and that the Senators shall be so classified that one-third of the number shall be chosen by the Legislature every second year. I say entitled, that is, may have two Senators if the State will select them in the mode provided for in the Constitution. It is a privilege and a right, nothing more. This is conclusively shown by the provision above referred to, that the State may be deprived of its equal suffrage by its consent.

In no other sense can it be said truly that it is the policy of the Constitution that each State shall have an equal suffrage in the Senate. To give it any other meaning we must go further, as the committee do, in effect, and say that the Constitution means that the Senate is not legally organized to transact business on any particular day unless there be present in the Senate two Senators from each State. For if it be the policy, that is, the meaning of the Constitution, that each State shall at all times and under all circumstances exercise its equal suffrage in the Senate, it is unconstitutional to enact a law without this equal suffrage. That shows how absurd the position is.

On the contrary, if the policy of the Constitution and its meaning be that each State is only entitled to have two Senators, then the State's failure to select the two Senators in the mode prescribed in the Constitution is but a failure on the part of the State to claim a right, and of course concerns only the State itself.

Then, if, as has been conclusively shown, the plain meaning of the Constitution is that the executive shall appoint only in case of a vacancy happening during a recess of the Senate, that can not be affected by the failure of the State to fill the office in the manner provided for in the Constitution.

A State has no right of representation in either House of Congress except by Senators and Representatives selected in accordance with the mode prescribed by the Constitution. The mode prescribed is as essential as the right to representation itself. They are both parts of the Constitution—the supreme law of the land.

But this idea of a policy which is so overpowering as to change the Constitution in its plain language in order to have representation in the Senate at all events, is disproved by the very language of the clause in question; for, if that policy had been such as it is claimed to be, it would have been mandatory on the governor to appoint. Certainly it would be the strangest thing in the world that the framers of the Constitution deemed the actual representation of each State by two Senators so absolutely important as to authorize a departure from the scheme of the Constitution, as therein plainly expressed, whereby the Senators are required to be chosen for six years—one-third every two years, by the Legislature of the State—certainly, I say, if they deemed such continuous representation in the Senate so important, they would have so provided in express words by imposing a duty upon the executive of the State to make the appointment.

But they did not do this. They provided only that the governor shall have permission to make a "temporary appointment," leaving it absolutely to his own judgment or caprice whether he should make the appointment or not. The language is, "may make a temporary appointment," not "shall make."

Mr. COKE. I ask the Senator whether the word "may" might not mean "shall" in that connection.

Mr. GEORGE. Well, Mr. President, that is a suggestion which I can only answer by saying, No, sir. There is not one place in the Constitution where "may" imposes obligation, and, especially, it can not mean that in this clause. No duty is imposed, only a power to be exercised or not, as the executive may determine. It is impossible to conceive that the overruling policy of the Constitution to have the Senate always full could be said to exist if it only provided that it shall be full or not at the discretion of the executives of the States.

Note how different—I call my friend's attention to that—is the the language in reference to filling vacancies in the House of Representatives, where the provision is that the vacancy shall be filled by the constituency authorized in the first instance to elect. There it is said, "The executive authority shall issue writs to fill such vacancies." And also, note the language in the same clause where it is said after the Legislature meets they "shall then fill such vacancies."

I may say here, if the framers of the Constitution in the very same clause and sentence use "may" to impose a duty and "shall" also to impose a duty, they were playing at odd and even with the English language; they were using it at random, and giving us no guide by which to form a conclusion as to the meaning, except conjecture.

Another answer to the question of the Senator from Texas is, that in construing statutes and constitutions and other instruments, we are bound to give to every word in them, not its possible signification, but its primary and proper signification, and you are only authorized to depart from it when the context shows that the framers of the instrument intended to use it in another sense. No such meaning is here shown by the context.

But it is admitted that it is the duty of the Legislature to fill original vacancies and all others when in session, however they may happen. The language of the Constitution is plain, that such is the duty of the Legislature, a duty which it can not evade or avoid without declining to comply with the Constitution. It is the failure, therefore, of the Legislature to do its duty which, in the view I am answering, gives rise to the power of the executive to fill a full term.

This view requires a total reconstruction of the clause in question. It should read, then, "if vacancies happen to exist in the recess of the Legislature in any State, and the Legislature shall have failed to discharge its duty in filling them, then the executive may appoint." Of course we can play no such tricks with the Constitution. Besides, there is no single instance in the Constitution where a power is conferred on any officer to do a thing required by the Constitution to be done, and on failure of the officer to do that thing another officer or tribunal is substituted to made good the default.

The Constitution requires all officials charged with any duty, or clothed with any power under it, to take an oath to support it, and does not contemplate, in any event, that any such officer will not discharge the duty, and hence has made no provision for a devolution of that duty on another. The provision in the Constitution for dealing with derelict officers is impeachment, not substitution. The new construction now contended for overthrows the whole scheme of the Constitution by substituting an idea not contained in it anywhere, that the Constitution itself presumes neglect on the part of its agencies, and provides for other agencies to supply the neglect.

It was said in debate in answer to that view during the last session that there was an instance of that kind in the case of a devolution on the House of Representatives of the right to elect a President. Let us see how that stands. The case of a devolution on the House of Representatives of the duty to elect a President, and on the Senate of the duty to elect a Vice-President, constitute no exception to the rule as I have stated it. For, in the first place, the persons charged with the duty of electing these officers in the first instance are not officers of the United States, but the people at large. In the second place, the failure to elect does not arise from a failure to hold the election at the only time and place in which it can be held, but from the fact that the Constitution prescribes a rule necessary to make the election effective, which, without fault of any elector, may not be complied with.

Each elector has a right to vote for his choice for President, and it is his duty to vote for his choice for President without reference to the possible contingency that the person for whom he votes may not receive a majority of all the votes cast, and in that case the Constitution, whilst refusing to the electors another opportunity to elect, makes the election already had good *pro tanto*, that is to the extent that one of the three highest candidates shall be selected by the House of Representatives as President.

In that case, there is no substitution of power, but a provision that the election shall be good if made in either one of two ways, one by a majority of the electors, and the other by a concurrence of the House of Representatives with the electors in selecting one of the three having the highest number of votes. The House can not select whom it will. The scheme of the Constitution is simply that, first, the election shall be held by the people, and, if a majority agree, it shall be good, but if a majority do not agree, then the concurrence of the House of Representatives with the electors on one of the three highest candidates shall make the election good.

It is but a provision to unite the House of Representatives with the electors in selecting one of three persons, if none of the three has a majority of the electors. The same is true in principle as to the action of the Senate in selecting a Vice-President from the two having the highest number of votes for that office.

But, sir, it was also contended that there was another instance in which power and duty were devolved from one officer of the Government upon another on account of the failure of the first to perform the duty. The case mentioned at the last session of an adjournment of Congress by the President is not an exception to this statement, but a confirmation of it; for, as to the necessary adjournments from day to day, each House acts for itself, and no power in reference to it is given to the President or to the other House.

In the case of an adjournment of both Houses of Congress as a body, there is no duty imposed by the Constitution upon that body to adjourn. So it is not a case of a duty imposed by the Constitution on an officer, and on his failure to perform it devolving it upon another.

Congress performs its constitutional duty by being in perpetual session, if that be their wish, as much as it does by adjournment when an adjournment is deemed proper. There being, then, no duty on the part of Congress to adjourn their session, a failure of the two Houses to agree is not a failure to perform a duty. The interposition of the President in case of such failure to agree is not, therefore, in consequence of the failure of Congress to perform a duty prescribed by the Constitution, but is a new and independent power conferred on the President in the contingency named—disagreement of the two Houses.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. HARRIS. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After fifteen minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 4 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, August 22, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate August 18, 1893.

SECRETARY OF OKLAHOMA TERRITORY.

Thomas J. Lowe, of Guthrie, Okla., to be secretary of Oklahoma Territory.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate August 21, 1893.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Scott Wike, of Illinois, to be Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

REGISTER OF THE TREASURY.

James F. Tillman, of Tennessee, to be Register of the Treasury.

FIRST COMPTROLLER OF THE TREASURY.

Robert B. Bowler, of Ohio, to be First Comptroller of the Treasury.

SECOND COMPTROLLER OF THE TREASURY.

Charles H. Mansur, of Missouri, to be Second Comptroller of the Treasury.

DEPUTY AUDITOR OF THE TREASURY.

William G. Crawford, of Louisiana, to be deputy auditor of the Treasury for the Post-Office Department.

DEPUTY FIRST AUDITOR OF THE TREASURY.

Robert M. Cousar, of Tennessee, to be deputy first auditor of the Treasury.

DEPUTY SECOND AUDITOR OF THE TREASURY.

John C. Edwards, of Illinois, to be deputy second auditor of the Treasury.

THIRD AUDITOR OF THE TREASURY.

Samuel Blackwell, of Alabama, to be third auditor of the Treasury.

DEPUTY THIRD AUDITOR OF THE TREASURY.

George W. Sanderlin, of North Carolina, to be deputy third auditor of the Treasury.

FOURTH AUDITOR OF THE TREASURY.

Charles B. Morton, of Maine, to be fourth auditor of the Treasury.

DEPUTY FOURTH AUDITOR OF THE TREASURY.

Elliott N. Bowman, of Indiana, to be deputy fourth auditor of the Treasury.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *August 21, 1893.*

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. SAMUEL W. HADDAWAY.

The Journal of Saturday's proceedings was read and approved.

SILVER.

The House resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

The SPEAKER. There is a desire on the part of members of the House for a session to-night for debate on the pending bill; so that, without objection, an order will be made that at 5 o'clock the House take recess until 8 o'clock, the evening session to be devoted to debate on the bill now under consideration. The gentleman from Vermont [Mr. POWERS] is now recognized.

Mr. POWERS. Mr. Speaker, I am not vain enough to suppose that anything I may say, nor credulous enough to believe that anything that anybody else has said, touching the pending proposition, will change any single member's vote or shade his belief. But animated by that common impulse of mankind which prompts us to talk of those blessings we do not enjoy, I propose to talk a few moments about money. The President of the United States has convened Congress in special session for the avowed purpose of repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. At the very outset of this very laudable undertaking we are confronted with a condition. The friends of the administration on this floor find themselves torn with dissension and divided into factions. Each faction, claiming itself to be orthodox, accuses the other of disloyalty to the party platform of 1892. Both factions ignore the inherent sin and quarrel over the doubtful syntax of that composite document. And conformably to a well-settled rule in law that where the terms of a written instrument are ambiguous, and especially if they are made so intentionally, the construction of the parties interested in the document is always resorted to to understand its meaning, several gentlemen have taken the confessional and advised us of the manner in which they explained this instrument to their constituents during the late campaign. Gentlemen from the North and the East say that the dear people were informed that it was an honest-money document, while gentlemen from the South and West say that it sanctioned and favored free coinage of silver. So that from this Babel of tongues it is perfectly evident that the Chicago platform, like nature, speaks a various language.

There is one notable exception, however, and that is the case of the accomplished Representative from the Seventh Massachusetts district [Mr. EVERETT]. He confesses that he could not understand the intricacies of that instrument. He wanted something more vicarious; so, unlike the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SIBLEY], he does not select the Saviour of the world, but takes what many people think is a greater personality, Grover Cleveland, as his platform. And so, as he tells us, he went up and down his district during the campaign, singing at the top of his voice, "Oh, isn't he a dandy!" [Laughter.]

But the true construction of this platform, Mr. Speaker, depends altogether upon how you read it, where you put the accent—whether upon the penult or the antepenult. Why, many years ago up in my State it was the custom in the churches, when any member undertook any great and important business, for his friends to request the prayers of the congregation; and on one occasion when Mr. Jones was about to go to sea, his wife penned a request which she handed to the clergyman and asked him to read on the following Sabbath. It ran like this: "Mr. Jones being about to go to sea, his wife desires the prayers of the congregation." But the minister—like many gentlemen on the floor of this House when reading the Chicago platform—having no clear conception of the meaning of that request, delivered it in this way: "Mr. Jones, being about to go to see his wife, desires the prayers of the congregation." [Laughter.]

But, sir, is there no good thing to come out of this Nazareth? Yes, sir. Each of these factions assures us in unqualified terms, and with the greatest sincerity, and with the most probable truthfulness, that if the views of the other are adopted the Democratic party will "go where the woodbine twineth." Mr. Speaker, the country at large is less concerned with party platforms and more anxious for party patriotism. This is not the time, nor here the place, to play politics. The question demands a play of statesmanship.

The purchasing clause of the Sherman act, in my judgment, ought to be repealed not only, first, because it is vicious in principle, but, second, because it is dangerous in application. It compels the Secretary of the Treasury peremptorily to buy four and a half million ounces of silver each month, and to pay therefor in Treasury notes an equivalent amount in dollars. These notes, although in form payable in silver dollars, yet under another provision of the act requiring gold and silver to be kept at a parity, have always been redeemed in gold. The effect of such redemption has been to strengthen the credit of the Government and to assure the people that the silver certificates in their hands are as good as any other kind of money. But what can justify this compulsory purchase of silver? Why should the Government be compelled to buy silver or any other commodity that it has no use for? Silver and gold are commodities sold in the market by weight as butter is. The mine owner takes his silver out of the earth as the marble owner takes his marble out of the earth, and both have a commodity for sale in the markets of the world.

Now, if the Government has occasion to buy either silver or marble, it ought to stand as a voluntary bidder in the markets of the world for such commodity. But this law does not permit it to stand as a voluntary bidder. It must buy *nolens volens;* no matter whether the currency is unduly expanded it must buy; no matter whether silver is depreciated in price and unfitted for the currency of the country, it must buy.

The viciousness of this law is the compulsory requirement to buy. It is not a proper function of the Government to be a dealer in commodities. The Constitution nowhere requires it to own any kind of money. It never ought to own any, save such as it collects by some form of taxation for its own administrative needs. It can coin money and regulate its value, but this constitutional power implies that it is to exercise supervision only over other people's property. Congress may regulate interstate and foreign commerce, but it can not properly buy ships to carry on commerce. It may say to the mine owner, the people need fifty-four million ounces of silver for their use as money. Now you may have that much of your silver, which otherwise you would sell to the silversmith to make into tea sets, coined, free of expense, into silver dollars with our certificate stamped upon them attesting their purity and weight, and then do what you please with them. This is all the function that the Government can properly exercise in the transaction. But the Sherman act goes further and says in the supposed case, the Government shall not only coin this fifty-four million ounces into dollars, but shall certify that these dollars are honest dollars—each worth one hundred honest cents, and, top of all that, shall be obliged to take them at their face value and pay for them, dollar for dollar, in gold. This is the net result, for the Government issues a certificate to the mine owner on which he can demand the gold to its face value. Take a concrete case. The mine owner takes to the Government enough silver bullion to make ten silver dollars. The Government coins the bullion for him, free of expense, into ten silver dollars, which are piled up in the Treasury vaults and a Treasury note for ten dollars which is paid in gold is handed over to the mine owner. The silver dollars, however, are to-day worth less than six dollars in gold, and thus the people are robbed the difference.

The proposition for free coinage is merely an enlargement of the robbery of the people which is now accomplished by the Sherman act. It proposes that the mine owner may compel the Government to coin into money, at the same relative loss to the people, not the insignificant fifty-four million ounces assured him under the Sherman act, but the hundreds of millions of silver that he may offer. Not only what he secures from his own mine, but all he can buy from the Old World, all he can secure by melting down his tea pots and silver spoons—all, in short, that he can buy, beg, or steal. No wonder that the mine owners are in favor of the Bland amendment. It means to them untold millions of profit. But how about the peo-

ple? Every dollar of net profit that goes into the pocket of the mine owner under this scheme is taken out of the pockets of the people.

If these gentlemen proposed to put into their dollars one hundred cents' worth of silver, no objection to the scheme could be made, except that it would unduly expand the currency, and thereby lead to reckless speculation. But the money would be good.

The Bland amendment to the pending bill provides that anybody having silver bullion may have it coined into dollars having 412½ grains of standard silver, and may have these dollars deposited in the Treasury and receive silver certificates therefor "in the manner now provided by the law for the standard silver dollar." The "manner now provided by the law," as it now is and has been heretofore construed, enables the holder of silver certificates to have them redeemed in gold. The privilege to do all this is accorded to "all holders of silver bullion." It will be noticed, and herein is the great danger in the proposition, that the American holder of bullion is no better off than the foreign holder. The output of American mines is from 60 to 64 million ounces per year. The Sherman act takes up 54 million ounces, so if the scheme were limited to the product of American mines the country would be but little worse off than we are under the Sherman act. The proposal, however, is not so limited. On the contrary, it opens the door to the whole world. France, with her six or seven hundred millions of silver, England, Germany—all Europe—India, Mexico, South America, everybody from everywhere is invited to dump his silver dollars into our vaults and load himself down with gold-bearing currency at the rate of ten to every six dollars of intrinsic value in the silver dollars.

The scheme makes this Government the highest bidder for silver in the known world. There is in round numbers four billion dollars' worth of silver in the world within reach of our bid, and we are compelled to buy all that is offered. How long does any sane man suppose that our Government would remain solvent? The silver certificates that are to be issued on deposit of this silver are in form and fact a debt against the United States. The silver collateral we hold to pay this debt amounts, at present prices, to six-tenths of the debt. The remaining four-tenths of the debt is for the people to pay. It is but fair to say that these certificates can only be issued upon the deposit of silver dollars coined at our mints, and it may be argued that their capacity will not permit a sudden swell of the output of silver dollars and by consequence the volume of certificates, but that the increase would be gradual year by year, and the increase in population, industries, and wealth would fairly demand this increase in the currency of the country. The answer to this pleasing assurance is that our mints can turn out dollars practically as fast as the holders of bullion can supply it—if not, new mints will be established—and the increase of paper currency in the form of silver certificates is not regulated by the Government under the Bland amendment, but is wholly at the mercy of the bullion holder, and so long as he is making over 60 per cent on his investment it is probable he will crowd the business for all it is worth.

Suppose, however, that only a moderate quantity of silver dollars are coined each year, say one hundred millions, how will the Treasury stand at the end of ten years?

We have, in round numbers, about eight hundred millions of paper money in circulation, not counting the bills of national banks, nor gold certificates.

To redeem this eight hundred millions of paper in gold, as has been our policy, and, as to some of it, is our duty, we have say, one hundred millions of gold in the Treasury, and some two hundred and fifty millions in silver at its gold valuation. Three hundred and fifty millions of collateral to eight hundred millions of debt, when we start into the paper business under the Bland amendment, to say nothing about our large liabilities for other obligations. Now, it is proposed to increase our silver paper currency one hundred millions per year, or in ten years one billion dollars, with nothing added to our collateral but unsalable silver dollars. How long will the credit of the Government be kept good.

But gentlemen say that the United States is the richest nation on the face of the globe; that it stands behind its currency, and that makes it good everywhere. I am perfectly willing to hear these gentlemen boast of our country and its resources in all the fervor and with all the latitude of a Fourth of July oration, but these things come far short of proving that our credit will be good when pay day comes, or even before it comes. A little more than thirty years ago we were the greatest nation on the face of the globe and the fervor of Fourth of July talk was then as glowing as now. Still we had to pay 12 per cent interest on our paper when the ratio of assets to liabilities was even greater than to-day. This talk about the potency of a Government fiat is a delusion and a snare. The creditor wants to see collateral instead of promise. This was demonstrated in France a hundred years ago when she issued her assignats. It was demonstrated here during the late war when we were throwing off paper issues very much as the boy blows off soap bubbles with a clay pipe, that went to a discount of 60 per cent. We are a great nation, but after all we are only a small part of the world. We are compelled to recognize this fact, unpalatable though it may be.

As long as we remain in the world we are forced to adopt a standard of money that our neighbors count as good. That standard, to-day, the world over, is gold. Silver would be just as good if the rest of the world would only think so. But we can not make them think so. We have tried five times within the last twenty-six years, through the instrumentality of an International Monetary Conference, at which from twelve to twenty of the leading nations of the world were represented by their ablest thinkers, to persuade the world that silver was just as good as gold, but our efforts have been fruitless. It follows then that paper issues based on silver collateral are less marketable than paper issues based on gold. This brings me to the very root of the trouble with the Sherman act. It has seriously threatened the credit of our Government. A very large fraction of the investors in American securities—our railroad and other corporate bonds—are foreigners. They watch our fiscal legislation as sharply as the individual creditor watches the business methods of his individual debtor. They discover that our legislation tends toward a silver standard. They think they are confronted with a probable payment of their debts in silver. They don't want silver. They lose confidence in our Government as a debtor and in our people as debtors. Our home investors imbibe the same distrust, and the result is the money-lending class, at home and abroad, withholds its offerings. The vaults of every bank in the land are locked, simply because the Government is indulging in a little dalliance with silver.

It does not help the matter to say that this condition of things has been brought about by the gold bugs of Wall street. If free coinage be adopted those bugs could corner the market as easy as they now have. It does not mend the matter to say that the Republican party is responsible for the passage of the Sherman act. The practical question is, what are you going to do about it? Both of the political parties have said that they are in favor of bimetallism. We are all in favor of it to-day. We are all blessed with it to-day. We have in the Treasury 540 millions of silver and less than 200 millions of gold. Is there any discrimination against silver shown in this fact? We have in the hands of the people, in active circulation, twenty-five times as much silver as gold. Where is it, or how is it that the people have not done their full duty to the white metal?

The trouble is not with the people, it is with the metal. Gold and silver are commodities, salable in all the markets of the world, either for money or in the arts. Their market value is necessarily established by the prices paid in the markets of the world. In those markets gold is worth par and silver is below par; and our nation alone can not change this fact. If we were the only silver-producing nation in the world, we could set our own price on silver; but, unfortunately for this purpose, we are not. Consequently silver, for the time being, is cheapened in price, and dollars made of silver have gone down 40 per cent.

Now, if we open our mints to the free coinage of silver and issue upon the coined metal an illimitable quantity of paper currency redeemable in gold, we are carrying our Treasury to the verge of insolvency and bankrupting our national credit. No nation can afford to tolerate an impaired credit. No nation can safely indorse an impaired currency. Every dollar, whether of gold, of silver, or of paper, must be intrinsically worth 100 honest cents, yesterday, to-day, and forever. Every scheme that threatens to impair the value of any one of our dollars is a scheme that impairs our national credit, and with that, and in consequence of that, the credit of our people.

Our national credit is now second to that of no nation on the globe. We can float our gold-bearing securities at 2 per cent. Our greenbacks, because they are payable in gold, as freely circulate in the Old World as they do at home; our national-bank bills, because redeemable in gold-bearing bonds, are current the world over. Nothing can change this confidence in our currency but the persistent clamor, that has prevailed for the last twenty years, for legislation in the interest of silver-mine owners and the unfortunate surrender to that clamor which has been made.

No currency of any kind can circulate at par unless the holders have faith in the government that issues it; not the blind trust that friend places in friend, but that more discriminating trust that the intelligent creditor places in his debtor.

If our circulating medium is distrusted all our securities, individual and national, will be distrusted. If we persist in coining silver dollars worth 60 cents, stamping on their face our certificate that they are worth 100 cents, we are guilty both of fraud and falsehood. If the Government should begin to-day to redeem the silver certificates already issued, in silver dollars, as it has a right to do, those certificates would drop 40 per cent in value in the pockets of the people. The silver dollars might, from their legal-tender quality, be used to pay existing debts; but no new engagements could be made upon their credit. If the Government should refuse gold redemption to one kind of its paper money, every other kind would at once be under the ban of public distrust. The only solution of the problem is to at once suspend the purchase of that metal which the world has discarded, until such time as we can bring the world to its senses, even though to do this the governor of Colorado will be obliged to stain the head-gear of his frothing Bucephalus with the blood of heretics.

It will not help the matter to increase the ratio which silver now

bears to gold. We are bimetallists; we desire to bring the metals to a parity. The world must have both in circulation. Nearly all the nations with whom we have dealings of any considerable amount have said they do not want silver. Now, if we at once reply that we do not want it, we will, in the near future, be asked to join them in the effort to restore it to its old position in the monetary system of the world. But to do this you must keep the ratio where it is. Put it at 20 to 1 and you at the start dishonor the metal you are anxious to elevate to an equality with gold.

If, as our friends contend, the demonetization of silver is the work of the gold bugs of Europe, the quickest way to counteract this villainous scheme is for our nation to put itself on a gold basis. Our resources are ample enough to enable us to get our share of the world's gold, and what we get they must lose.

With the permission of the House I will append to my remarks a table showing the aggregate gold and silver in the world, with their per capita and relative distribution.

The stock of gold in the world, as shown by this table, is a little over $3,500,000,000, and it is now divided not very unequally between the nations of the world. But all nations are bidders for it and each will get what it can. Now, it is a well-known fact that American securities—our vast corporate bonded indebtedness, our public securities of every name and kind—bear a higher rate of interest than like foreign securities, and all things else being equal the foreign investor prefers them and will buy them and pay in gold. If, therefore, we keep this temptation alive by so shaping our legislation as to dispel the fear that we are coming to a silver basis, is it not as clear as sunlight that we shall outbid other nations for gold and equally clear that they will be short of that metal?

When they discover this fact and see that it is a vantage ground that we shall always have in the future they will discover that their supply of gold is inadequate and will then see that silver must be recognized as a basic metallic standard.

Thus bimetallism will come about by natural causes, and when once established on such basis it will come to stay. How much better, wiser, and surer this plan than the bold, defiant, reckless, and illogical scheme of free coinage of silver by our nation alone.

But it is said that we must continue the purchase of silver, in order to expand our currency to the needs of our growing population. Suppose that this is true: can we not do it and still keep the expanded currency good in every market on the globe?

Strike off the 90 per cent limit affixed to the circulation of our national banks, and you will at once expand the currency about twenty million dollars. Not only this, you will tempt capital to invest more freely in such bank stocks, and the number of national banks will be largely increased and the currency still further expanded. Coin the surplus silver, now in the Treasury vaults and you put into circulation forty millions of silver. If the currency then needs further expansion, authorize the Secretary of the Treasury from time to time to issue 3 per cent gold-bearing bonds, to a limited extent, to be used as a basis for the circulation of new or old national banks that may desire them.

But whatever be the character of supplemental legislation, the pressing command of the people to-day is, "Stop buying silver."

But, Mr. Speaker, silver is not alone the cause of our business depression. The money investor, at home and abroad, is out of business because we are rapidly approaching to a silver basis for our currency. This brings untold disaster to all business enterprises. It touches the wheat farmer of the West and the cotton farmer of the South, who must have money, or their crops will rot on their hands. It touches every tradesman in the land, who can neither buy nor sell, for there is no money. It has depressed the value of our securities in every market in the world.

But alongside this business paralysis lies another that has overtaken every manufacturer or tradesman who deals in articles affected by a change in tariff legislation.

It is not my province to advise the dominant party in the House what its action should be in respect to tariff legislation; if it were, my advice would hardly be followed. For present purposes, the country cares less what the policy is ultimately to be, and more for an immediate announcement of what it is to be. Don't ask us to study the Chicago platform to learn your purpose. You will probably be as much at loggerheads youselves over the tariff plank as you are over the silver plank. Don't give us that conundrum. But in the name of the hundred thousands of workingmen and working women of this land, who are already thrown out of employment and who in their hunger for bread, before the rigors of winter shall set in, will storm the Walhalla Hall of every important city and town in the land unless something be done to give them work, I implore you to tell us, and tell us now what the "reform" you have promised is to be. The manufacturer will shape himself to the emergency whatever it may be.

But action! action! action! should be the eloquence and the watchword of to-day. [Applause.]

APPENDIX.

Monetary systems and approximate stocks of money in the aggregate and per capita in the principal countries of the world.

Countries.	Monetary system.	Ratio between gold and full legal-tender silver.	Ratio between gold and limited tender silver.	Population.	Stock of gold.	Stock of silver.			Uncovered paper.	Per capita.			
						Full tender.	Limited tender.	Total.		Gold.	Silver.	Paper.	Total.
United States	Gold and silver	1 to 15.98	1 to 14.95	67,000,000	$604,000,000	$538,000,000	$77,000,000	$615,000,000	$412,000,000	$9.01	$9.18	$6.15	$24.34
United Kingdom	Gold		1 to 14.28	38,000,000	550,000,000		100,000,000	100,000,000	50,000,000	14.47	2.63	1.32	18.42
France	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	39,000,000	800,000,000	650,000,000	50,000,000	700,000,000	81,402,000	20.52	17.95	2.09	40.56
Germany	Gold		1 to 13.957	49,500,000	600,000,000	103,000,000	108,000,000	211,000,000	107,000,000	12.12	4.26	2.16	18.54
Belgium	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	6,100,000	65,000,000	48,400,000	6,600,000	55,000,000	54,000,000	10.66	9.02	8.85	25.53
Italy	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	31,000,000	93,605,000	16,000,000	34,200,000	50,200,000	163,471,000	3.01	1.62	5.27	9.91
Switzerland	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	3,000,000	15,000,000	11,400,000	3,600,000	15,000,000	14,000,000	5.00	5.00	4.67	14.67
Greece	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	2,200,000	2,000,000	1,800,000	2,200,000	4,000,000	14,000,000	.91	1.82	6.36	9.09
Spain	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	18,000,000	40,000,000	120,000,000	38,000,000	158,000,000	100,000,000	2.22	8.78	5.56	16.56
Portugal	Gold		1 to 14.08	5,000,000	40,000,000		10,000,000	10,000,000	45,000,000	8.00	2.00	9.00	19.00
Austria-Hungary	do		1 to 13.69	40,000,000	40,000,000	90,000,000		90,000,000	260,000,000	1.00	2.25	6.50	9.75
Netherlands	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 15	4,500,000	25,000,000	61,800,000	3,200,000	65,000,000	40,000,000	5.55	14.42	8.89	28.88
Scandinavian Union	Gold		1 to 14.88	8,600,000	32,000,000		10,000,000	10,000,000	27,000,000	3.72	1.16	3.14	8.02
Russia	Silver	1 to 15½	1 to 15	113,000,000	250,000,000	22,000,000	38,000,000	60,000,000	500,000,000	2.21	.53	4.42	7.16
Turkey	Gold and silver		1 to 15.1	33,000,000	50,000,000		45,000,000	45,000,000		1.52	1.36		2.88
Australia	Gold		1 to 14.23	4,000,000	100,000,000		7,000,000	7,000,000		25.00	1.75		26.75
Egypt	do		1 to 15.68	7,000,000	100,000,000		15,000,000	15,000,000		14.29	2.14		16.43
Mexico	Silver	1 to 16½		11,600,000	5,000,000	50,000,000		50,000,000	2,000,000	.43	4.31	.17	4.91
Central America	do	1 to 15½		3,000,000		500,000		500,000	2,000,000		.17	.67	.84
South America	do	1 to 15½		35,000,000	45,000,000	25,000,000		25,000,000	600,000,000	1.29	.71	17.14	19.14
Japan	Gold and silver	1 to 16.18		40,000,000	90,000,000	50,000,000		50,000,000	56,000,000	2.25	1.25	1.40	4.90
India	Silver	1 to 15		255,000,000		900,000,000		900,000,000	28,000,000		3.53	.11	3.64
China	do			400,000,000		700,000,000		700,000,000			1.75		1.75
The Straits						100,000,000		100,000,000					
Canada	Gold		1 to 14.95	4,500,000	16,000,000		5,000,000	5,000,000	40,000,000	3.56	1.11	8.89	13.56
Cuba, Haiti, etc	do	1 to 15½		2,000,000	20,000,000	1,200,000	800,000	2,000,000	40,000,000	10.00	1.00	20.00	31.00
Total					3,582,605,000	3,469,100,000	553,600,000	4,042,700,000	2,635,873,000				

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I desire to say, Mr. Speaker, before proceeding to say anything on the financial question now before us, that this Congress of the United States has been called into existence by virtue of the power which the Constitution lodges in the hands of the President of the United States on extraordinary occasions to convene Congress at the capital. The participation of the President in the legislation of the country, which pertains under the Constitution to him, is limited to a very few and well-defined occasions. Under the Constitution the President of the United States possesses certain powers, and certain powers only. He is clothed with the power to convene the Congress in extraordinary session, but he possesses no power to indicate what the subject-matters of legislation shall be.

This Congress has been convened, it is said, because of the calamity which has fallen upon the country by reason of the passage of what is known generally as the Sherman law of 1890, authorizing the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month. Who passed that law? What party is responsible for it? I see in the metropolitan paper of this city this morning that the Democratic party is to be held responsible unless they yield relief to the people. Relief from what? Relief how?

The President has convoked us together, and in his message

recommends the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, and stops without recommending what other or further legislation shall be had. That law was passed by a vote in the Senate, which is recorded in the volume before me here, showing that not a single Democrat in the Senate voted for it.

The vote in detail in the Senate was as follows:

YEAS—39.

Aldrich,	Edmunds,	McMillan,	Sanders,
Allen,	Evarts,	Manderson,	Sawyer,
Allison,	Farwell,	Mitchell,	Sherman,
Blair,	Frye,	Moody,	Spooner,
Casey,	Hawley,	Pettigrew,	Squire,
Cullom,	Higgins,	Pierce,	Stewart,
Davis,	Hiscock,	Platt,	Stockbridge,
Dawes,	Hoar,	Plumb,	Washburn,
Dixon,	Ingalls,	Power,	Wolcott.
Dolph,	Jones of Nevada,	Quay,	

NAYS—26.

Barbour,	Colquitt,	Jones of Ark.	Turpie,
Bate,	Daniel,	Kenna,	Vance,
Blackburn,	Faulkner,	McPherson,	Vest,
Call,	Gibson,	Pasco,	Voorhees,
Carlisle,	Gorman,	Pugh,	Walthall.
Cockrell,	Hampton,	Ransom,	
Coke,	Harris,	Reagan,	

ABSENT—19.

Berry,	Chandler,	Hearst,	Stanford,
Blodgett,	Eustis,	Morgan,	Teller,
Brown,	George,	Morrill,	Wilson of Iowa,
Butler,	Gray,	Paddock,	Wilson of Md.
Cameron,	Hale,	Payne,	

It was purely and absolutely and unqualifiedly a Republican measure. Every Republican in the Senate who voted at all voted for it, every Democrat voted against it. And in this same volume I have the page marked which indicates the vote in this House when the bill came here. It was as follows:

YEAS—122.

Adams,	Dalzell,	Laidlaw,	Rowell,
Allen, Mich.	Darlington,	Laws,	Russell,
Anderson, Kans.	Dingley,	Lehlbach,	Scull,
Atkinson, Pa.	Dolliver,	McComas,	Simonds,
Atkinson, W. Va.	Dorsey,	McCord,	Smith, Ill.
Baker,	Dunnell,	McCormick,	Smith, W. Va.
Banks,	Farquhar,	McDuffie	Snider,
Bartine,	Featherston,	McKenna,	Spooner,
Bayne,	Finley,	Moffitt,	Stephenson,
Beckwith,	Flick,	Morey,	Stewart, Vt.
Belknap,	Flood,	Morrill,	Stivers,
Bergen,	Frank,	Morrow,	Stockbridge,
Bliss,	Funston,	Morse,	Sweney,
Bowden,	Gear,	Mudd,	Taylor, E. B.
Brewer,	Gest,	Niedringhaus,	Taylor, Ill.
Brosius,	Gifford,	O'Neill, Pa.	Taylor, J. D.
Brower,	Grosvenor,	Osborne,	Thomas,
Buchanan, N. J.	Haugen,	Owen, Ind.	Thompson,
Burton,	Henderson, Ill.	Payne,	Townsend, Colo.
Caldwell,	Henderson, Iowa	Payson,	Townsend, Pa.
Cannon,	Hermann,	Perkins,	Vandever,
Carter,	Hill,	Peters,	Van Schaick,
Caswell,	Hitt,	Pickler,	Walker, Mass.
Cheadle,	Hopkins,	Post,	Wallace, N. Y.
Cogswell,	Houk,	Quackenbush,	Williams, Ohio
Coleman,	Kelley,	Raines,	Wilson, Ky.
Comstock,	Kennedy,	Ray,	Wilson, Wash.
Conger,	Ketcham,	Reed, Iowa	Wright,
Connell,	Kinsey,	Reyburn,	Yardley.
Cooper, Ohio	Lacey,	Rife,	
Cutcheon,	La Follette,	Rockwell,	

NAYS—90.

Abbott,	Cothran,	Lester, Va.	Quinn,
Allen, Miss.	Crain,	Lewis,	Reilly,
Anderson, Miss.	Crisp,	Maish,	Robertson,
Bankhead,	Culberson, Tex.	Martin, Ind.	Rogers,
Barwig,	Davidson,	Martin, Tex.	Rusk,
Bland,	Dibble,	McAdoo,	Sayers,
Blount,	Dockery,	McClammy,	Shively,
Boatner,	Dunphy,	McClellan,	Stewart, Tex.
Breckinridge, Ark.	Elliott,	McCreary,	Stockdale,
Breckinridge, Ky.	Ellis,	McMillin,	Stone, Ky.
Brickner,	Enloe,	McRae,	Stone, Mo.
Brookshire,	Forman,	Mutchler,	Tillman,
Brunner,	Forney,	Norton,	Tracey,
Buchanan, Va.	Goodnight,	Oates,	Venable,
Bullock,	Hayes,	O'Neall, Ind.	Wheeler, Ala.
Bynum,	Heard,	O'Neil, Mass.	Whitthorne,
Candler, Ga.	Hemphill,	Owens, Ohio,	Wike,
Carlton,	Henderson, N. C.	Parrett,	Wilcox,
Catchings,	Holman,	Paynter,	Williams, Ill.
Chipman,	Hooker,	Peel,	Wilson, W. Va.
Clancy,	Kerr, Pa.	Penington,	Yoder.
Clunie,	Lanham,	Pierce,	
Cooper, Ind.	Lawler,	Price,	

NOT VOTING—116.

Alderson,	Browne, T. M.	Clark, Wis.	Dickerson,
Andrew,	Browne, Va.	Clements,	Edmunds,
Arnold,	Buckalew,	Cobb,	Evans,
Barnes,	Bunn,	Covert,	Ewart,
Belden,	Burrows,	Cowles,	Fitch,
Biggs,	Butterworth,	Craig,	Fithian,
Bingham,	Campbell,	Culbertson, Pa.	Flower,
Blanchard,	Candler, Mass.	Cummings,	Fowler,
Boothman,	Caruth,	Dargan,	Geissenhainer,
Boutelle,	Cheatham,	De Haven,	Gibson,
Brown, J. B.	Clarke, Ala.	De Lano,	Greenhalge,
Grimes,	Magner,	Pugsley,	Taylor, Tenn.
Grout,	Mansur,	Randall,	Tucker,
Hall,	Mason,	Richardson,	Turner, Ga.
Hansbrough,	McCarthy,	Rowland,	Turner, Kans.
Hare,	McKinley,	Sanford,	Turner, N. Y.
Harmer,	Miles,	Sawyer,	Vaux,
Hatch,	Milliken,	Scranton,	Waddill,
Haynes,	Mills,	Seney,	Wade,
Herbert,	Montgomery,	Sherman,	Walker, Mo.
Kerr, Iowa	Moore, N. H.	Skinner,	Wallace, Mass.
Kilgore,	Moore, Tex.	Smyser,	Washington,
Knapp,	Morgan,	Spinola,	Watson,
Lane,	Nute,	Springer,	Wheeler, Mich.
Lansing,	O'Donnell,	Stahlnecker,	Whiting,
Lee,	O'Ferrall,	Stewart, Ga.	Wickham,
Lester, Ga.	Outhwaite,	Struble,	Wiley,
Lind,	Perry,	Stump,	Wilkinson,
Lodge,	Phelan,	Tarsney,	Wilson, Mo.

It was voted for by every Republican upon the floor of the House, when the Republican party was in control of this House and in control of the Senate. Not a Democratic vote was registered in favor of it, and every Democratic vote was registered against it. How, then, can it be said that the Democratic party is responsible for the condition in which the country is to-day? If the country is in financial disaster and disorder, if trade and commerce are impeded and stagnant, if the wheels of the manufactory are stopped and the toiling laborers have no vocation, and if it is to be attributed alone to the passage of the Sherman law, the Republican party in the House and Senate are responsible for it.

It is said by the President in his message that you are convened here for the purpose of considering this question, and that the only method of consideration is an absolute, unconditional, unqualified repeal, without a substitute in its stead. Is that so, Mr. Speaker? Will relief come to the country if to-day you repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act? How? In what way? Why, they talk about restoring confidence. Who is it that lacks confidence? Where is confidence lacking?

Sir, it is not lacking with the great masses of the people. It reminds me of a reply that I heard my witty and logical and humorous friend from North Carolina [Senator VANCE] make in a speech at a banquet given by a commercial organization in Baltimore some time ago. One of the officers of the Treasury had spoken of the wonderful banking institutions of this country, and of the confidence the people had in it; and when Senator VANCE came to respond to the sentiment he said, "I have no doubt the people have confidence in your banks and in your currency. The trouble with me has always been to find a bank that had confidence in me." [Laughter.] And so it is with the great masses of the working people to-day.

The difficulty is to be found in the fact that the great moneyed institutions of the country have locked up, not only the coin, but the currency also; and if trade and commerce are paralyzed and checked, if labor is bearing additional burdens, it is attributable to the action of the Republican party and not of the Democratic party.

It is said that this measure was passed as a truce between the two parties who were quarreling upon the question of silver. That is the language of the President. A truce usually means a benefit to both sides, at least during the suspension of hostilities. Where has the benefit come to the silver men in this measure? I do not mean by that the producers of silver, for they occupy an insignificant position in reference to this question. I mean the users of silver, the great masses of the people who use it as a standard money value. Where is the advantage to them unless the Government intended, in deed and in truth and in fact, to carry out the Sherman law, as it is termed, in the spirit in which it was expressed and adopted?

I have the law before me, and will read some paragraphs of it to show what its purpose and object was. It provided in its second section—

That the Treasury notes issued in accordance with the provisions of this act shall be redeemable on demand in coin at the Treasury of the United States, or at the office of any assistant treasurer of the United States, and when so redeemed may be reissued; but no greater or less amounts of such notes shall be outstanding at any time than the cost of the silver bullion and the standard silver dollars coined therefrom, then held in the Treasury, purchased by such notes; and such Treasury notes shall be a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, except where otherwise provided, etc.

I will quote other sections.

I will read the third section, in order that my idea may be taken by the House. Section 3 provides:

That the Secretary of the Treasury shall each month coin 2,000,000 ounces of silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act into standard silver dollars, until the 1st day of July, 1891, and after that time shall coin, etc.

Now, sir, the object and purpose of the act evidently was that these silver certificates should be redeemed in silver. No child can read the bill and not see that that was its purpose and its object. You are imposing upon the Secretary of the Treasury the duty to coin enough of that silver into standard silver dollars to

pay for the whole monthly purchases of the bullion. Is not that the act?

Has it been executed? Where was the benefit to the men who believed in the standard silver dollar in this truce between the parties effected by the Sherman bill? It was not there, and the great advocate of the free coinage of the standard silver dollar, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], knew very well that it was not there; for when he came to speak of it in a speech which he made in this House, he characterized the truce in the language which it deserved to be characterized. I quote now the language of the gentleman from Missouri when the bill was reported and before the House on the report of the committee of conference:

> Now, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Iowa says this bill is the result of a free and fair conference. I deny it. We had but one meeting of the conference committee in which all the conferees were represented. That was the meeting appointed for last Thursday. We were to have another meeting of these conferees, but before the date of that meeting arrived I was notified that my presence was no longer needed, and that when my services were required I would be notified. In the meantime secret meetings or caucuses were held by the Republican members of that conference, and this bill was concocted and prepared by them; and I never received a notice to attend another meeting of this conference until this bill was agreed to and the report ready to be signed, and I was simply asked whether I agreed to it or not. That is all I had to do with the conference. Is that a free, a full, and a fair conference?
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> I say the financial history of this country is that we never have coined the two metals at an absolute par, and now this bill undertakes to incorporate into a statute the false doctrines of the Secretary of the Treasury and the gold men that we should not use silver or pay it out unless at par with gold, a thing which the bimetallists of this country have contended against from the beginning, a proposition that I have never assented to and that no bimetallist, so far as I know, has ever assented to. Rulings and constructions of the Secretary of the Treasury are ingrafted into this bill to fix us on the gold basis and the gold standard.

And that such was the case you now see by the disasters which have been brought about.

Now, what are the powers of the Government in reference to coinage, and in reference to silver?

The Constitution of the United States, Article I, section 8, page 5, provides the Congress shall have the power—

> To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

Section 10, page 1, Article I, of the Constitution provides:

> No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

Article II, section 3, of the Constitution clothes the President with the power to which I have adverted:

> He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them.

Paragraph 2, section 7, of Article I, clothes the President with the power to veto any legislation passed by both Houses of Congress, and provides that if he should veto such bill he shall return it to the House in which it originated, with his objections, and that it may be passed by both Houses by a two-thirds vote of both Houses on a call of the roll by a yea-and-nay vote; and then it shall become law.

In the language of that great interpreter of the Constitution, Mr. Calhoun of South Carolina, this power was vested in the President of the United States only by its exercise to strike another keynote in the popular voice, and bring it out in more full and perfect harmony. It was not in order to oppose the wishes of the people that he was vested with that power, but expressly in order that the sentiments of the people might be expressed in a larger, broader, and a wider sense. Under the provisions of the Constitution it was intended to effect this object.

These powers, therefore, are the only powers that the President has with reference to participation in legislation. He has a right to suggest to the Congress of the United States what he believes will relieve the present condition; but it is our office, our function, representing as we do the people by direct election, to come here and cast what we believe to be a proper vote, expressing their views in accordance with the wishes expressed by them in the canvass.

The President of the United States may recommend, but he can not ask that the Congress of the United States be bound by his recommendation, but must leave to the conference between the Senators and Representatives the determination of the proper remedy.

Now, sir, I hold that the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act would not restore confidence to the people, would not restore trade and commerce to their wonted activity, would not give relief to the wage-earners of our country. If you repeal that law you must put something in its stead. What shall it be? The President of the United States does not intimate what it should be.

Are you convoked here simply for the purpose of repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, and are you limited to doing that and nothing more? Will you have performed the functions for which the people sent you here if you simply repeal the purchasing clause of that law and go home? Is that all that the people have sent you here for? Sir, we think that there was involved in the contest brought to an issue last November a grave question as to whether or not we should have the coinage of the silver dollar in this country.

But even that was not the question of prime importance in that canvass. If you have occasion to call in a physician you do not want an empiric who will simply cauterize the wound in the body politic and give temporary relief, while he leaves the poison to prey upon the vitals. It is not the purchasing clause of the Sherman act that has produced the condition in which the country finds itself to-day. The cause of that condition lies deeper. The disease is a more serious one than any that could be produced by that provision of the Sherman law, improper, idle, foolish as that provision was. There is another cause for the condition in this country.

I think, sir, that cause is to be found in the fact that for a great many years we have been laboring under a tax law which in its operation has been onerous, unequal, unjust, and oppressive. In the canvass last year we had an important issue upon that subject. In fact upon that issue the President of the United States was elected to fill the high office which he now occupies, and you gentlemen were elected at the same election to represent here the sentiments and wishes of the people.

The Democratic party assembled in convention in one of the great cities of the West and made a solemn declaration of its principles. In one of the sections of that declaration, in relation to the question of taxation—that question which is always more important to the people than any other—is to be found set forth the cause of the present disastrous condition of public affairs. The second section of the platform adopted by the Democratic party at Chicago on the 22d of June, 1892, contains the following language:

> We denounce Republican protection as a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the Government when honestly and economically administered.
>
> We denounce the McKinley tariff law enacted by the Fifty-first Congress as the culminating atrocity of class legislation; we indorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive feature in the direction of free raw materials and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption, and we promise its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic party.
>
> Since the McKinley tariff went into operation there have been ten reductions of the wages of the laboring man to one increase. We deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since that tariff went into operation, and we point to the dullness and distress, the wage reductions and strikes in the iron trade as the best possible evidence that no such prosperity has resulted from the McKinley act.
>
> We call the attention of thoughtful Americans to the fact that after thirty years of restrictive taxes against the importation of foreign wealth, in exchange for our agricultural surplus, the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real-estate mortgage of over $2,500,000,000, exclusive of all other forms of indebtedness.

It was relief from the burdens there described that the people asked relief, and those burdens are the cause of the present disastrous condition of our public affairs. The power of taxation was conceded to the Federal Government, coupled with the condition that it should be used only for the purpose of paying the debts and providing for the general welfare of the country. The power of taxation as used by the Federal Government has been a very different power from that exercised by the States.

In every State in this Union taxation is levied according to the value of the real and personal property of the citizen: but under the laws of the United States taxation is laid not upon the value of what you have, but upon the value and amount and cost of what you consume. It is a tax on consumption; and, being a tax on consumption, the poor man with a family of ten pays for all the absolute necessaries of life which he requires for himself and his family to eat and to wear, as large a tax as a man who is worth a million, with an equal number in his family. It is a tax upon consumption alone, and such a tax ought not to be imposed except where the needs of the Government absolutely demand it.

Mr. Speaker, what was the effect of the McKinley bill? There were a great many agencies that carried the knowledge of that bill all over this land almost immediately after its enactment, but I know of no one which operated with more celerity, with more efficiency, with more accuracy, in conveying to the great masses of the people an idea of the character of the tax laid by the McKinley bill than that great body of intelligent men known as commercial travelers, who traverse this country from end to

end, going into every valley, upon every hillside, through every city, through every town, through every village.

In less than thirty days after that bill became a law its practical effect upon the great necessities of life was demonstrated, especially in those of its schedule which related to the hardware and culinary ware used by the masses of the people. In that way a knowledge of the character of the McKinley bill was carried abroad throughout the country. And what was the effect of that law? In the two schedules to which I have referred prices instantly went up 50 per cent all over the country.

And, Mr. Speaker, it is because of that taxation, and like taxation under that and similar laws preceding it, that the present state of things has come about. That taxation prevents you in the West, who produce oats, wheat, corn, pork, beef, and it prevents us of the South, who make the great product of cotton, which clothes the world, from having access for our surplus products to the markets of the whole world. In that way it has operated to shut off your revenue, so that, when the Republican Administration went out of power and the Democratic Administration came into power, the result was, under your McKinley law, that you had bankrupted the Treasury, and you had no power under that law to replenish it.

These are the causes of trouble in this country. When you undertake to say you are going to remedy this trouble by repealing the law authorizing the purchase of silver, you undertake to say that you will apply a remedy in this matter which does not touch the disease at all.

Now, while it is true that the full coinage of silver, in my opinion (and I want to be frank about this), would not give us absolute relief, it would give relief to a very great extent; it would restore the double standard of value that we had in this country for over eighty years. And I do not know of any political convention that has assembled for many years that has not said that this ought to be done. My friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. SIBLEY], who made an exhaustive speech on this subject the other day, stated that, upon examination, he found that every State convention, except possibly Massachusetts, and every national convention had adopted resolutions in support of this proposition.

Sir, from early history silver has constituted one of the money metals of the world. From the day when Abraham paid his five hundred shekels of silver, "current money with the merchant," for the field in which he buried his wife Sarah, down to 1873, silver had constituted one of the money metals of the world. And it remained so, unchallenged even by monometallic Great Britain—unchallenged by any country in the world—until that strange scene occurred in these Halls in 1873, when simultaneously with the demonetization of silver by Germany an act of similar effect was passed in this House and in the Senate, and became a law.

You passed it without notification to the people, and your then President of the United States, six months after its passage, said he did not know of such legislation. You passed it, and one of the most prominent men of this House, with whom I served in former years, said he did not know it. You passed it in the Senate, and as that grand old representative of Ohio, Allen G. Thurman, very truly said, you passed it without cutting the tape strings that bound the volume of the Revised Statutes that made it the permanent law of the land in 1874.

Simultaneously with the action of Germany this act was accomplished in the United States, and one-half the money metal of the world was stricken down. And that was made a permanent law by the passage of your Revised Statutes in 1874. Mr. Spofford, in speaking of this subject in the American Almanac, gives the reason for this. I read from the American Almanac of 1878:

> In addition to these general considerations urged by the advocates of both sides on the silver question, there is another branch of the argument, based upon considerations peculiar to the United States. It is alleged by the advocates of the double standard that this country had the silver dollar as a full-valued currency and legal tender to any amount until the year 1873; that for nearly eighty years the silver dollar of 371¼ grains of pure silver (412½ grains standard silver) went side by side with the Mexican dollar of equal value and weight, as the real monetary unit; that though this dollar was never coined to any great amount——

There being only, as has been stated by Mr. Carlisle, our present Secretary of the Treasury, about 8,000,000 standard silver dollars coined, while there were $109,000,000 of silver in halves and quarters—

> that though this dollar was never coined to any great amount it was none the less the standard measure, while half dollars of equal proportional value were coined to the amount of $109,000,000 and were everywhere in circulation; that the legislation of 1873, under the guise of amending the Mint statutes, prohibited the coinage of the silver dollar and limited the legal-tender power of other silver coins to $5 in any one payment; that this act, while it did not take away the value of the existing dollar coinage, practically effected demonetization by prohibiting the further coinage of the silver dollar; that the demonetization was actually completed by the revision of the whole statute law enacted in bulk June 22, 1874, in which it was provided, in section 3586, that the silver coins of the United States should be a legal tender to the amount of $5 only in any one payment—these silver coins, by section 3513, having been specified so as expressly to exclude the silver dollar; that this legislation was effected without any public discussion in the country, with very brief debate either in House or Senate; that it was during a suspension of specie payments, and before the resumption act of 1875 was passed, when there was no silver coin in circulation, and public attention was not drawn to questions of coinage or of currency; that the act thus passed, revolutionizing the entire metallic money system of the country, was in effect without the consent of the people, and ought to be rescinded; that its effect was, coupled with the subsequent legislation for resumption of specie payments, to change the measure of all obligations, public and private, to make debts before payable in gold or silver at option, payable in gold alone; that thus an enormous enhancement of indebtedness was effected, alike unjust to the debtor class while unduly favoring that of the creditor, and prejudicial to public policy and to private welfare; that the United States is, of all nations, the one most interested in maintaining the value of silver as money, being the largest producer of silver metal; that upon the market for this one of the precious metals depends a very large share of our national prosperity; that the present as well as the prospective value of our silver mines closely approaches, if it does not exceed, that of our gold mines; that the discrediting of silver, and its banishment from use as a legal tender currency, implies nothing less than the almost entire destruction of the market for American silver; that for us to enter into the designs of those who would make the gold standard universal would be to enhance, not only all public and private obligations, but to throw away one of our most efficient sources of national wealth; and that Congress is bound, by considerations of public equity, as well as by those of national interest, to restore the money measure to what it was before the legislation of 1873, as perfected by the enactment of the Revised Statutes.

So much, therefore, for what was accomplished by the demonetization of silver. And when you passed the Sherman act clothing the Secretary of the Treasury with power to issue Treasury notes, and empowering and compelling him to coin enough money to redeem those silver notes, did you expect them to be paid in silver or did you expect them to be paid in gold? Is there any man who voted for that measure in the House or in the Senate who will say that he expected those notes to be paid in gold. If you had any such expectations you used most unfortunate language in the passage of this law.

The history of the country, from the passage of the first coinage act, in the Administration of President Washington, down to the demonetization of silver, in 1873, shows the uniform expression of the leading minds of each generation that there must be a coinage of silver as a money metal; and that the double standard ought and should prevail in our country.

The report of R. B. Taney, Secretary of the Treasury, to the Committee on Ways and Means of the Twenty-third Congress expressed the then opinion of the country in these words:

> We need a circulating medium composed of paper, and gold, and silver, in just proportions, which would not be liable to be constantly disordered by the accidental embarrassment or imprudencies of trade, nor by a combination of the moneyed interests, for political purposes.
>
> The value of the metals in circulation would then remain the same, whether there was a panic or not.
>
> If a broad and sure foundation of gold and silver is provided for our system of paper credits we need not hereafter apprehend these alternate seasons of abundance and scarcity of money, suddenly succeeding each other, which has marked much of our history, and irreparably injured so many of our citizens.

Mr. Windom, Secretary of the Treasury, in his annual report for the year 1889, said:

> He is a dull observer of the condition and trend of public sentiment in this country who does not realize that the continued use of silver as money, in some form, is certain.

Now, I say every political convention, national and State, that has assembled in this country, that has spoken on this subject, has declared in favor of the double standard coinage of silver and gold. Allow me to refer briefly to the language of the Democratic national convention at Chicago. In the seventh section of that platform, on which President Cleveland was elected, on which you, my fellow Democrats, were elected, I find the following language:

> SEC. 7. We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in payments of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.
>
> SEC. 8. We recommend that the prohibitory 10 per cent tax on State bank issues be repealed.

Upon that declaration our present President of the United States stood when he accepted the nomination of the Democratic convention in 1892; you Democrats of this House who were nominated by Democratic conventions and voted for at the polls by Democratic constituencies stood (did you not?) upon that declaration.

Is there anything ambiguous in that? Is there anything doubtful in that language? Can a child read and misconstrue it as being in favor of gold alone as the standard metal of value in this country? I say that the declaration is explicit and emphatic, and that there can be no mistaking it.

Mr. Speaker, every single convention in every State in this country that has declared on this question at all has expressed itself in favor of it. The national convention has done so, and ever member on this floor elected on that platform stands pledged to the double standard. If you do not so understand your constituents certainly think that you do, for they voted for you with that understanding. I know that I said it myself in my canvass, and I think every man who was elected on that platform made the same pledges. I know that it was the sentiment of the people of Mississippi, and they have spoken very lately their convictions upon this question.

That State had a convention in 1891 in which it made a very clear and explicit declaration upon the questions of government generally and particularly upon this one. On the 15th day of July, 1891, the State of Mississippi, in her convention, made this declaration. And if my colleague, Gen. CATCHINGS, is on the floor, I ask his particular attention to this declaration, which he then favored:

JACKSON, MISS., *July 15, 1891.*

The State Democratic convention met pursuant to call in the hall of the house of representatives, and was called to order at 12 o'clock, by Hon. J. S. McNeily, chairman State Democratic executive committee.

Hon. T. C. CATCHINGS, from the committee on resolutions, made the following report:

PLATFORM.

1. We are Democrats, and as such, without equivocation, evasion, or mental reservation, we proclaim our steadfast devotion to the principles of the Democratic party, and pledge ourselves to labor in season and out to secure its efficiency.

2. We believe that no permanent prosperity can be assured to the American people until this Government is administered, in accordance with the doctrines of this great party, which demands equal rights for all and denounces all class legislation as hurtful and wicked.

3. We believe that the depression now bearing so cruelly upon the agricultural interests of this country is largely caused by unjust discriminations against them in behalf of favored industries, whereby the few have been enriched at the expense of the many. Monopolies have been created and robbery made lawful, and we believe that this depression will continue until all legislation has been made equal and a tariff laid with no other purpose than to raise the revenue needed to defray the expenses of the Government economically and honestly administered. We believe that individual prosperity can only come from individual industry, intelligence, and frugality, and that all schemes for the enrichment of the people by legislation are chimerical.

4. We take pride in the fact that the Democratic party has always been the opponent of class legislation, the greatest evil of the times in which we live, and of all the paternal and centralizing tendencies of the Republican party. We are opposed to the subtreasury scheme as violative of the time-honored principles of the Democratic party, and as violative of the Democratic idea of the proper construction of the Constitution, and regret that the discussion of the same has been thrust into the politics of our State. We regard it as not only not being Democratic, but impracticable and not calculated to furnish the relief claimed for it.

The policy of the United States Government for the last thirty years has been and is now especially destructive to the agricultural interests of the country. The farmers have been unduly taxed. They have been made the bearers of the burdens imposed for the benefit of the manufacturers, while the prices of their chief products are fixed by the prices in Europe.

The protective system has been so arranegd as to restrict the markets and thus reduce the price of such products, and at the same time enhance the price of what the farmer has to buy. We declare it to be the highest duty of the Government to render due justice to the agriculturists and laboring classes, the real producers of wealth. To this end we favor a repeal of the heavy tariff taxation on the necessaries of life, and the extension of our foreign commerce.

In this connection it will not be forgotten that, although the Democratic party has not for thirty years had entire control of the Government, and therefore has not been able to give relief to the people by repealing class legislation and enacting just and honest laws, yet it has manifested its purpose to give relief when it shall have the power to do so, and it is the part of wisdom to hold up its hands and not coudemn it until it has had opportunity and failed to take advantage of it.

We believe that gold and silver should be coined upon the same conditions, and that when the Government shall cease to discriminate between them they will freely circulate side by side and be equally useful and acceptable to the people.

We also believe that there should be an additional issue of Treasury notes, interchangeable with coin, sufficient to transact the business of the country and to relieve the present financial depression.

I call your attention, Mr. Speaker, to this declaration made by the great State of Mississippi, in this report submitted by my honorable colleague, Mr. CATCHINGS, to the convention, which, I believe, was adopted without a dissenting voice, and which I still believe represents the sentiments of that people:

We believe that gold and silver should be coined upon the same conditions, and that when the Government shall cease to discriminate between them they will virtually circulate side by side and be equally useful and acceptable to the people. We also believe that there should be an additional issue of Treasury notes, interchangeable with coin, sufficient to transact the business of the country and to relieve the present financial depression.

These, I repeat, were the sentiments adopted, and unanimously adopted, by the State convention of Mississippi, its last expression of opinion upon the subject; and I venture the assertion that that opinion still holds with the same people; that they are in favor of the free coinage of both metals; that they do not ask the exclusive coinage of silver, or the exclusive coinage of gold, but the coinage of both metals.

They believe that the prosperity which existed among our forefathers for over eighty years, when we had a double standard of coinage in this country, would come again if the double standard were reënacted now. They believe that the act of 1873, which demonetized silver, had the effect to strike down one-half of the purchasing power of money metal throughout the world. It was attempted to be restored by my friend the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], when he introduced what is known as the Bland coinage act of 1878, to the extent of coining two and a half millions of dollars a month.

Mr. BLAND. If the gentleman will permit an interruption, the bill I introduced, and secured the passage of in the House, was a free-coinage measure.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I know; but it was finally changed to the Bland bill, as it is now known and generally called, which provided for the coining of two and a half millions of silver a month. But that was supplemented by the Sherman act.

The conspiracy against silver enacted in 1873 finds its legitimate sequence in the Sherman bill, for that strikes down the Bland bill, which provided for this coinage of two and a half millions a month, and allows no coinage whatever to take its place. And yet the Sherman bill, you all say, and rightly say, ought to be repealed.

Now, if it ought to be repealed, should there not be something provided in its stead? Is the voice of the people of the United States, as expressed at the ballot box in November last by such an overwhelming majority, and as exhibited by the membership of this House at the present time—is that voice to be hushed because any set of men, no matter how lofty their office, no matter how powerful in the councils of the nation, believe that it should be stifled?

I tell you, Mr. Speaker, that the sentiment of the American people on this subject can not be hushed or quieted by any such action. They have demanded action, and prompt action, at the ballot box on the part of this Government to establish a double standard of money in this country, a standard of silver as well as a standard of gold; this is the voice of the people themselves. The verdict of the jury is unquestionable, and no man is so high that he can escape it. There are no class of men so exalted in official positions that they can escape the responsibility to the people who demand the enactment of the double standard in this country.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to say upon this subject that we have some very strange bimetallists in the United States, and the strangest of whom I have read is my distinguished friend from New York [Mr. COCKRAN], who, in an article published in the North American Review for the month of June, 1893, on this law, has treated on the financial question, and particularly of the relation silver bears to our finances in this country; and before he concludes his address to the people in favor of monometallism in this country he uses these expressions, which I beg leave, with great respect for him and respect for his opinion, to quote, as showing what his conclusions are. He says:

The full tender metallic money of the world consists in round numbers of about $7,000,000,000, of which very nearly one-half is silver. If silver be universally demonetized the metallic money of the world will be reduced one-half, and the problem which would then confront all commercial countries would be the possibility of maintaining the business of the world with one-half the existing stock of metallic money.

If actual experiment proved that 3,632,605,000 gold dollars formed a sufficient money basis on which to transact the whole business of international exchange, the demonetization of silver would undoubtedly be a salutary measure. If, on the other hand, experience proved that this tremendous reduction in the stock of metallic money tended to unsettle credit and paralyze enterprise, silver would be recalled into coinage by the concurrent demand of the people of the whole world.

Any country which enjoys the benefit of a single monetary standard will be very unlikely to experiment with a double standard, merely to simplify the domestic politics of some other country. England will maintain the gold standard so long as the total volume of metallic money throughout the world is helped out by the silver circulation of countries that maintain the double standard or the single silver standard. What she may do when confronted with such a reduction in the volume of metallic money in the world as would be caused by a general demonetization of silver no man can say.

But it is certain that if the United States join this general movement towards a gold standard, she will occupy the strongest position of any nation in the world. She is not an exporter of luxuries, but of necessaries. The things which she has to sell are the things which are essential to the support of life. Whatever may be the prevailing currency of the world, a large proportion of it must necessarily flow to her shores.

In a previous portion of this article the gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] says:

It must not be inferred from what has been written that those who believe that this Government should go immediately to a gold basis are opposed to bimetallism. The writer of this article believes that the business of the world will never be on a stable basis until the free coinage of silver shall have been restored throughout the world.

It will be very hard to get our people to comprehend an argument in favor of monometallism and the gold standard as it is now presented by my friend from New York [Mr. COCKRAN], who proposes that they shall be driven to desperation, and that all trade and commerce shall find itself with only one-half of the money metal of the world to do business, and then there will be a clamor for silver. And in order that free coinage may return throughout the world, the gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] proposes to strike it down in his own country, the

second greatest money power in the world. He believes that prosperity can not return until silver is coined, until bimetallism comes again, and he proposes to point the way to it by putting his own country on the side of monometallism.

To plain people, like those who live in my country, this sort of argument would not stand for a minute. It would not do. Why should this, the next to the greatest financial country in the world, take side with England in favor of monometallism? The gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] says that is the road to bimetallism. I beg to say I can not travel in that direction: I can not vote in favor of putting this country on the side of monometallism, as was done surreptitiously by the destruction of silver coinage in this country in 1873, which surreptitious demonetization was sought to be consummated by the Sherman act, and now by the repeal of the Sherman act, which itself repealed the Bland bill, and by means of which process you leave the country with a single gold standard.

You can not fool the people about it. "You can fool a part of them all of the time, and all of them a part of the time, but you can not fool the whole of them all of the time." They understand that you mean to depart from the declaration made in your national platform. They understand that you mean to be in favor of monometallism, and to say that gold should be the only thing to be coined.

Now, I have seen expressed in a paper to which I am going very briefly to call your attention, if I have the time, views upon this question which strike me as presenting more perfectly than I have seen anywhere the condition of affairs in this country; and I will say just in this connection that I intend to embody in my speech a portion of the platform which refers to the striking down of the 10 per cent tax on State banks. That tax ought to be struck down. That tax never should have been put on. It was a monopolistic measure, intended to give the national banks power over everything. It should be struck down as soon as possible.

A singular fact was mentioned to me by one of the most intelligent and astute bankers of Mississippi, Mr. Millsaps, president Capital State Bank, the day before I left home. You will be astonished when I tell you that he says the State bonds of the State of Mississippi, the county bonds of the State of Mississippi, and the municipal bonds of our cities and towns are to-day more eagerly sought for than the bonds of the United States, and are regarded as an equally safe investment.

And why not? They are predicated upon the taxable property, real and personal, of the State. Every dollar of real and personal property is pledged for their redemption. They constitute, therefore, as a basis for banking, a foundation as solid and as stable as that which you find in the national banks when they deposit the bonds of the Government of the United States in the Treasury as a basis of their circulation.

But in 1907 every bonded debt of this country will be paid, and there will be no bonds remaining. You must resort, therefore, to some other financial system than the system of national banks, because there will be no bonded debt upon which to predicate their issues, unless the intimation of the metropolitan papers is to be taken that it is your duty not only to repeal the Sherman act, which repealed the Bland act, and leaves silver no longer a money metal in this country, but that in order that you may restore confidence and bring about universal prosperity, you must issue $300,000,000 of bonds of the United States payable in gold to perpetuate the national banks and create the necessity for the continuance of the present onerous taxation.

I for one, as an humble Representative, raise my voice against that proposition, and I would rather resign my seat and go back to my home than to stand here as a Representative, if I am at the behests of anybody to be required to vote another dollar of bonded indebtedness upon the people of the United States. [Loud applause.]

If I have time, Mr. Speaker, I would like to read very briefly from an article from a journal of the metropolitan city of New York, which I think presents the facts of the case in a shape easy to comprehend, very exhaustive, and absolutely unanswerable. I read now from an article that appeared a few days ago in the Recorder, of the city of New York, treating of the very things for which we are assembled by the President to consider:

GIVE US FREE SILVER.

The Recorder believes that the time has come when the will of the people must be enforced alike upon Congress and the President, and the mints of the United States be thrown open to the free coinage of silver.

The financial and business situation is admittedly bad. There is no need to exaggerate it. It might be worse. It will become worse, much worse, unless Congress and President Cleveland can get together and relieve the existing commercial congestion by prompt and adequate legislation.

The President admits in his recent message that the repeal of the silver-purchase law of 1890 will not fully meet the exigencies of our situation. It is confessed on all hands that to simply repeal the Sherman act and stop there will not leave our currency upon a satisfactory basis, or provide for a safe and sufficient circulating medium.

The business of this country can not be done upon a purely gold basis. There is too much business to be done, and too little gold to do it with, to justify the experiment of a currency based wholly on one metal, and that one the scarcer and dearer of the two. The total disfranchisement of silver as a money metal, which seems to be the aim of the gold extremists at Washington, means a violent and ruinous contraction of values. The mere threat of it has already given the first sharp twist to the screws of contraction.

To persist in the total elimination of silver from our currency is madness. The lead of the gold monometallists has been followed far enough. It is time to call a halt and demand that silver shall be put back in the place it held for eighty years, from the formation of the Government down to 1873, and be made again one of the two main pillars of the American system of currency and coinage.

It is evident that his party in Congress is not fully with the President, and will not act upon his initiative unless he will assent to a provision by which silver shall be retained as a partner with gold on a just and fair ratio in the metallic basis of a nation's money. Congress is not ready and willing to repeal the act of 1890 until the President on his side is prepared to give his assent to a new law based on bimetallic principles, restoring silver as a money metal and reëstablishing the double standard.

This is the perilous feature of the situation at Washington. If the President and Congress can not harmonize their views and act together without long debate and delay, the crisis through which the trade and industry of the country are passing must and will grow more acute. Is there any way of bringing them together? Only, as the Recorder thinks, by putting such a pressure of public opinion upon them both as will compel them to meet on middle ground and take decisive action.

The President is not justified in asking for the unconditional repeal of the present silver law. To postpone the definite readjustment of our currency laws, leaving silver demonetized and its use as a standard money metal wholly prohibited, would, in the Recorder's opinion, precipitate a financial and business catastrophe compared with which all past panics would seem to have been mere bugaboos.

Absolute gold monometallism spells ruin, universal and unsparing ruin, for the people of this country.

Congress is right in demanding securities for the silver already coined and represented in our paper circulation, and a guarantee for the permanent retention of both metals and the historic double standard, at a ratio to be fixed with a due regard to the existing conditions of the currencies and coinages of the world. Congress stands for the American people in this matter. It is their dearest interests which it is defending in defending their constitutional currency—gold and silver.

The single gold standard has never been sanctioned or desired by the people of this country. Their will has been over and over again expressed to the contrary at every election and in every Congress for sixteen years past. Their determination that silver shall not be outlawed at the mints has been clearly and forcibly shown by overwhelming majorities in both branches of Congress. It never was stronger than it is to-day.

The clamor of the money-changers, the usurers, and the stock gamblers, inspired by the English influences that radiate from Lombard street, and which represent the organized rapacity of the world, has not shaken the faith of the American masses one iota in the honesty, the justice, and fairness, and, above all, the vital necessity of maintaining silver side by side with gold in their national money system.

There may have been a change in the relative measuring values of the two metals. That has often occurred in the course of history. But that change, whatever it may be, can be corrected by a change in the ratio of coinage from the present 16 to 1 to, say, 19 or even 20 to 1. It does not justify the total abolition of silver as a standard money metal. England is reported to be at this moment exchanging her gold for Indian silver on the basis of 22 to 1, showing that even the leading gold-standard country recognizes that silver possesses an exchangeable value with gold at some ratio that can be fixed. And we may be sure that the Bank of England, in fixing it at 22 to 1, has been as unfair to silver and as partial to gold as it has dared to be.

The Recorder earnestly calls for a general expression of the popular will, loud and clear, and general enough to make the President and Congress understand that the people demand immediate relief from the stifling and stagnating currency conditions from which they are now suffering; and that, while they want the act of 1890 repealed, they also want the free coinage of silver restored at such new ratio as the wisdom of Congress may see fit to fix.

The money power has spoken for gold monometallism, and Mr. Cleveland seems to be its executive echo. Now, let the people be heard, and Mr. Cleveland be clearly informed that Congress, and not he, represents the national will on this matter of admitting silver as well as gold to the mints.

Gen. Grant once said, speaking from the same chair now filled by Mr. Cleveland: "I have no policy to enforce against the will of the people." The Recorder recommends Mr. Cleveland to adopt the same attitude on this money question, for it is the only one that is worthy of an American President. Congress is the repository of the people's lawmaking power, and it correctly represents them in resisting the single gold standard crusade, at whose head Mr. Cleveland has apparently placed himself. He can do the nation no better service at this grave crisis in its financial and business history than to yield gracefully and say with Grant: "I have no policy to enforce against the will of the people."

It is of the very first importance that the present state of affairs should not be long continued. Business is benumbed in every branch; currency and coin are alike in hiding; exchange is difficult to effect for want of money to do it with; perfectly sound banks are embarrassed themselves and can not give ordinary accommodations to their depositors; trade is clogged and hampered at every turn; mills and workshops are closing in large numbers, and even the most solvent and flourishing firms find it hard to draw on their deposited moneys in such form as to meet their weekly pay rolls in the usual way.

How much time have I remaining, Mr. Speaker?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. DOCKERY in the chair). The gentleman has two minutes of his time remaining.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Then I have not time to conclude the reading, but it proceeds in the same vein.

Mr. VAN VOORHIS of New York. Mr. Speaker, I move that the gentleman have such time as he needs to conclude his remarks.

There was no objection.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I will not abuse the confidence of the House, Mr. Speaker, though I will finish the reading of this paper, as there is something in it to which I desire to call attention:

This is the situation, and it is not improving but growing worse with every day's delay at Washington.

Bad as it is, it would become infinitely worse if Congress were to yield to the single gold standard movement and surrender the cause of silver. Such

a surrender would mean disaster to all classes except the vultures that always flesh their beaks deepest and gorge themselves fullest on a field that is strewn with the victims of a vast commercial and industrial calamity. The merchant and the manufacturer, the big business man and the small tradesman, the great mass alike of employers and employed, the professional man, the brain-worker and the brawn-worker, and, more than all, the laborer and the wage-earner in every occupation, will all be drawn down together in the vortex of contraction if silver is outlawed.

To make gold the sole standard and the only currency, is to diminish the volume of our money by one-half. That is contraction; and contraction means the complete paralysis of all enterprises, the utter collapse of credit, the complete prostration of trade from New York to California, and the consignment of myriads of working people in every city and State in the Union to idleness and starvation.

The Recorder pleads with all its power that this whirlpool of contraction may not be opened. President Cleveland and Congress must get together and prevent it. The people must raise their voices now and demand their own salvation. If silver be not restored quickly to free coinage, the most optimistic man can not look forward six months without fear. Millions of unemployed, wageless men, with their wives and children crying for bread that can not be earned for them, will be hard to reason with. But they will have to be reasoned with if silver is outlawed from the mints. And it will be idle to tell them that it was thought best to starve them in order to place the country on the same gold-standard footing as England.

Repeal the act of 1890, readmit silver to free coinage at a new and reasonable ratio, and do it quickly. That, and nothing less than that, will put the business of the country firmly on its feet again, give new heart to capital, new hope to labor, and restore good times throughout the land.

If this be not done and the antisilver madness prevail, the prosperity of the country can not be recalled, and its peace will soon be in serious peril.

This, I think, is a clear, full, forcible expression of the situation, and of what is necessary to relieve it, so far as Congress has power.

I have, Mr. Speaker, occupied a longer time than was my purpose.

I have long been convinced that there could be no settlement of the money question in this country until we have the recoinage of silver, with its capacity to pay as good as the capacity of gold, and its recoinage in the same way, at the same mints, for the same charge.

Give silver a fair chance. It has never had it since 1873. It has never had it by law. We have the right now to give it to it by law, and do it in terms so clear and explicit that there can be no double construction. It has had an unfair construction by the different Secretaries of the Treasury from the time of demonetization in 1873 down to the present time. Pay out the silver coin as the gold coin is paid out, and coin it up and pay it out as gold coin is. Give it the same power as gold has to pay debts all over this land.

It is a very remarkable fact that gentlemen say that they do not want a 50-cent silver dollar; but it is a still more remarkable fact that there is not a silver dollar coined and has the impress and stamp of the Government upon it to-day that can not, from Maine to California, buy as much provisions and pay as much of debt as any gold dollar will. It is a remarkable fact; and yet you say that silver has no intrinsic value and that the silver dollar can not be a coin of the United States unless you have a gold dollar behind it to redeem it.

I have no objection to the gold coinage. I want both; I believe in both. It is the standard metal of the Constitution; the money of the Constitution; and it is a money to which the people are devoted, because it is the money of the Constitution and because for eighty years of long experience we have had them at a parity with each other. How does France preserve the parity between the two metals? She preserves it because she has $700,000,000 of gold and $600,000,000 of silver, and directs her financial officer to pay in gold or silver as he shall please.

You may enact a law for the purpose of preserving the parity if you please; and that is the argument that is made—that you must preserve the parity. Give us the coinage of both metals first, and we will take care of the parity. Coin the silver dollar and the half and quarter, and we will take care of their maintenance. Do not frighten us with the idea that silver may be depreciated. When they demonetized silver in 1873 it was worth more than gold. That was one of the arguments for its demonetization—because it was worth more than gold; and now one of the arguments is that its bullion value is worth less than gold.

When you coin silver—and you have refused since 1873 to coin silver, when it was worth more than gold; and now you refuse when it has declined, and you say that silver is not equal to gold—I say that every single ounce of silver that is coined by the mints and has on it the stamp of the Government to-day possesses the power that the gold dollar possesses in its capacity to purchase and its capacity to pay debts.

Therefore give us free coinage and we will fix the ratio, we will preserve the parity. They preserved themselves for eighty-odd years; and what was good enough for our fathers and our forefathers is quite good enough, I take it, for us. As I said before, I have no hostility to the coinage of gold. Let our friends who are worshipers of the yellow metal drink of the golden sands of Pactolus if they will, but do not deny to we poorer mortals the right to slake our thirst in the shining silver rills that come bounding down from our own mountain side, carrying peace and plenty, hope and happiness to many an humble household. [Applause.]

STANDING COMMITTEES.

The SPEAKER announced the appointment of the standing committees of the House, as follows:

Committee on Elections—Messrs. O'Ferrall, Brown, Paynter, Lockwood, Lawson, Hayes, Patterson, Denson, Woodard, Taylor of Tennessee, Waugh, Daniels, McCall, Thomas, and Wheeler of Illinois.

Committee on Ways and Means—Messrs. Wilson of West Virginia, McMillin, Turner, Montgomery, Whiting, Cockran, Stevens, Bryan, Breckinridge of Arkansas, Bynum, Tarsney, Reed, Burrows, Payne, Dalzell, Hopkins of Illinois, and Gear.

Committee on Appropriations—Messrs. Sayers, Breckinridge of Kentucky, Dockery, Compton, O'Neil of Massachusetts, Livingston, Washington, Robertson of Louisiana, Brookshire, Williams of Illinois, Coombs, Henderson of Iowa, Cogswell, Bingham, Dingley, Grout, and Cannon of Illinois.

Committee on the Judiciary—Messrs. Culberson, Oates, Stockdale, Goodnight, Boatner, Layton, Wolverton, Fellows, Lane, Bailey, Terry, Ray, Powers, Broderick, William A. Stone, Updegraff, and Childs.

Committee on Banking and Currency—Messrs. Springer, Sperry, Cox, Cobb of Missouri, Culberson, Ellis of Kentucky, Cobb of Alabama, Warner, Johnson of Ohio, Black of Georgia, Hall of Missouri, Walker, Brosius, Henderson of Illinois, Russell of Connecticut, Haugen, and Johnson of Indiana.

Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures—Messrs. Bland, Tracey, Kilgore, Epes, Stone of Kentucky, Allen, Bankhead, Rayner, Harter, Coffeen, McKeighan, Charles W. Stone, Johnson of North Dakota, Dingley, Sweet, Hager, Aldrich, and Rawlins.

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce—Messrs. Wise, Price, Brickner, Geary, Houk of Ohio, Mallory, Patterson, Caruth, Durburow, Brawley, Bartlett, O'Neill of Pennsylvania, Randall, Stoner, Belden, Hepburn, and Fletcher.

Committee on Rivers and Harbors.—Messrs. Blanchard, Catchings, Lester, Clarke of Alabama, Jones, Page, Alderson, Causey, Caminetti, McCulloch, Barnes, Henderson of Illinois, Hermann, Stephenson, Hooker of New York, Grosvenor, and Reyburn.

Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.—Messrs. Fithian, Magner, Berry, Robbins, Pigott, Cooper of Florida, Cornish, Bratton, Perkins, Boutelle, Gillett of Massachusetts, White, and Phillips.

Committee on Agriculture—Messrs. Hatch, Alexander, Shell, Forman, Moses, Capehart, Sibley, Marshall, Schermerhorn, Williams of Mississippi, Simpson, Funston, Waugh, Funk, Apsley, Hainer, Baker of New Hampshire, and Flynn.

Committee on Foreign Affairs—Messrs. McCreary of Kentucky, Hooker of Missouri, Fitch, Rayner, Geary, Price, Tucker, Dinsmore, Everett, Hitt, Harmer, Stoner, Blair, Draper, and Van Voorhis of New York.

Committee on Military Affairs.—Messrs. Outhwaite, Wheeler of Alabama, Lapham, Gorman, Pendleton of West Virginia, Bretz, Sickles, Black of Illinois, Morgan, Bowers of California, Hull, Curtis of New York, Marsh, Gillett of Massachusetts, Woomer, and Joseph.

Committee on Naval Affairs.—Messrs. Cummings, Geissenhainer, Meyer, McAleer, Clancy, De Armond, Money, Talbott of Maryland, Tyler, Boutelle, Dolliver, Wadsworth, Randall, Robinson of Pennsylvania, and Hulick.

Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads—Messrs. Henderson of North Carolina, Dunphy, Kyle, Hayes, Turpin, Sipe, Cabaniss, Burnes, Swanson, Caldwell, Wilson of Washington, Loud, Smith of Illinois, Houk of Tennessee, Gardner, and Flynn.

Committee on the Public Lands—Messrs. McRae, Hare, Magner, Kribbs, Hall of Minnesota, Crawford, Gresham, Somers, Latimer, Davis, Lacey, Wanger, Moon, Meiklejohn, Ellis of Oregon, and Smith of Arizona.

Committee on Indian Affairs—Messrs. Holman, Allen, Turpin, Lynch, Hall of Minnesota, Maddox, Hunter, Pendleton of Texas, Bower of North Carolina, Kem, Wilson of Washington, Hopkins of Pennsylvania, Pickler, Sherman, Curtis of Kansas, and Smith of Arizona.

Committee on the Territories—Messrs. Wheeler of Alabama, Kilgore, Branch, Donovan, Kribbs, Arnold, Hunter, Simpson, Boen, Perkins, Scranton, Le Fever, Avery, Smith of Arizona, and Joseph.

Committee on Railways and Canals—Messrs. Catchings, Beltzhoover, Cobb of Missouri, Gresham, Ryan, Bower of North Carolina, Hudson, Cannon of California, Hull, Chickering, McCleary of Minnesota, Wanger, and Aiken.

Committee on Manufactures—Messrs. Page, Warner, Harter, Crawford, McLaurin, Gorman, Cornish, Conn, Chickering, Scranton, and Linton.

Committee on Mines and Mining—Messrs. Weadock, Sipe, Tate, Ikirt, Richardson of Michigan, McDannold, Cockrell, Baker of Kansas, Stephenson, Shaw, Newlands, Cousins, Lilly, and Rawlins.

Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds—Messrs. Bankhead, Abbott, McKaig, Campbell, Bretz, Cadmus, Grady, Berry, Davey, Milliken, Sweet, Morse, Wright of Pennsylvania, Wever, and Mercer.

Committee on the Pacific Railroads—Messrs. Reilly, Snodgrass, Boatner, Caruth, Kyle, Lockwood, Weadock, Bell of Texas, Hendrix, Harris, Blair, Smith of Illinois, Powers, Hepburn, and Cooper of Wisconsin.

Committee on Levees and Improvements of the Mississippi River—Messrs. Allen, Tracey, Stockdale, McDearmon, Johnson of Ohio, Sperry, Talbott of Maryland, Woodard, Ray, Haugen, Marsh, Joy, and Hicks.

Committee on Education—Messrs. Enloe, Grady, Pearson, McLaurin, Arnold, Williams of Mississippi, Stallings, Haines, Wever, Thomas, Van Voorhis of Ohio, Murray, and McCall.

Committee on Labor—Messrs. McGann, Capehart, Dunn, Erdman, Wells, Ryan, Talbert of South Carolina, Pence, Apsley, McCleary of Minnesota, Phillips, Gardner, and Kiefer.

Committee on the Militia—Messrs. Forman, Meyer, Haines, Baldwin, Bratton, Burnes, Cannon of California, Bell of Colorado, Wright of Massachusetts, Adams, Aitkin, Baker of New Hampshire, and Wright of Pennsylvania.

Committee on Patents—Messrs. Covert, Lapham, De Forest, Tate, Hutcheson, Strait, Robbins, Neill, Bowers of California, Draper, Hicks, Joy, and Hulick.

Committee on Invalid Pensions—Messrs. Martin of Indiana, Fyan, Hare, McEttrick, Baldwin, Graham, McDannold, Erdman, Fielder, Taylor of Tennessee, Pickler, Lacey, Apsley, Meiklejohn, and Strong.

Committee on Pensions—Messrs. Moses, Henderson of North Carolina, Jones, Houk of Ohio, Snodgrass, Taylor of Indiana, Lisle, Clark of Missouri, Baker of Kansas, Loudenslager, Lucas, White, and Tawney.

Committee on Claims—Messrs. Bunn, Cox, Campbell, Russell of Georgia, Hutcheson, Richards, Mutchler, Clark of Missouri, Hammond, Loud, Cooper of Wisconsin, Settle, Heiner, Kiefer, and Cousins.

Committee on War Claims—Messrs. Beltzhoover, Stone of Kentucky, Enloe, McLaurin, Cooper of Texas, Goldzier, McNagny, Ritchie, Houk of Tennessee, Hermann, Mahon, Avery, and Wilson of Ohio.

Committee on Private Land Claims—Messrs. Pendleton of West Virginia, Crawford, Edmunds, Fithian, Cockrell, Conn, English, Hudson, Bell of Colorado, Funston, Marvin, Lucas, Shaw, and Rawlins.

Committee on the District of Columbia—Messrs. Heard, Richardson of Tennessee, Rusk, Cobb of Alabama, Meredith, Cadmus, Abbott, Cooper of Indiana, Cooper of Florida, Harmer, Post, Cogswell, Belden, Hilborn, and Babcock.

Committee on the Revision of the Laws—Messrs. Ellis of Kentucky, Magner, Branch, Mallory, Neill, Pigott, Maguire, Maddox, Goldzier, Johnson of Indiana, Wheeler of Illinois, Hager, and Settle.

Committee on Reform in the Civil Service—Messrs. De Forest, Brawley, Meredith, Hooker of Mississippi, Branch, Everett, Hines, Taylor of Indiana, Hopkins of Illinois, Russell of Connecticut, Brosius, Sherman, and Van Voorhis of Ohio.

Committee on Election of President and Vice-President and Representatives in Congress—Messrs. Fitch, Tucker, Crain, Compton, De Armond, Donovan, Lawson, Stallings, Johnson of North Dakota, Curtis of New York, McDowell, Northway, and Hainer.

Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic—Messrs. English, Barwig, Reilly, Layton, Livingston, Cooper of Texas, McEttrick, Morse, Daniels, Hainer, and Kiefer.

Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands—Messrs. Cooper of Indiana, Lisle, Paschal, Maguire, Richardson of Michigan, Pence, Newlands, Sweet, Doolittle, Hartman, and Tawney.

Committee on Immigration and Naturalization—Messrs. Geissenhainer, Epes, Fyan, Brickner, Davey, Paschal, Maguire, Gillet of New York, Bartholdt, Wilson of Ohio, and McDowell.

Committee on Ventilation and Acoustics—Messrs. Shell, Durborow, Hammond, Graham, Walker, Heiner, and Linton.

Committee on Expenditures in the State Department—Messrs. Lester, Breckinridge of Kentucky, Covert, Alexander, Charles W. Stone, Caldwell, and Dolliver.

Committee on Expenditures in the Treasury Department—Messrs. Barwig, Hendrix, McNagny, Sibley, William A. Stone, Wadsworth, and Grosvenor.

Committee on Expenditures in the War Department—Messrs. Montgomery, Bunn, Sickles, Black of Illinois, Hitt, Hooker of New York, and Loudenslager.

Committee on Expenditures in the Navy Department—Messrs. McMillin, Dockery, Abbott, Clancy, Milliken, Robinson of of Pennsylvania, and Northway.

Committee on Expenditures in the Post-Office Department—Messrs. Oates, Paynter, Richards, Haines, Wright of Massachusetts, Ellis of Oregon, and Doolittle.

Committee on Expenditures in the Interior Department—Messrs. Turner, Somers, Swanson, Talbert of South Carolina, Grout, Hopkins of Pennsylvania, and Bowers of California.

Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Justice—Messrs. Dunphy, Clarke of Alabama, Brown, O'Neil of Massachusetts, Ritchie, Payne, and Reyburn.

Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture—Messrs. Edmunds, Hall of Missouri, Cockrell, McDearmon, Kem, Hartman, and Funk.

Committee on Expenditures on Public Buildings—Messrs. Crain, Cummings, Dunn, Boen, Moon, Gillet of New York, and Lilly.

Committee on Rules—The Speaker, Messrs. Catchings, Outhwaite, Reed, and Burrows.

Committee on Accounts—Messrs. Rusk, Paynter, Tate, Mutchler, Ikirt, Wells, Post, Wright of Massachusetts, and Marvin of New York.

Committee on Mileage—Messrs. Lynch, Strait, Pendleton of Texas, and Mahon.

JOINT COMMITTEES.

Committee on the Library—Messrs. Fellows, O'Ferrall, and O'Neill of Pennsylvania.

Committee on Printing—Messrs. Richardson of Tennessee, McKaig, and Broderick.

Committee on Enrolled Bills—Messrs. Pearson, Russell of Georgia, Latimer, Hines, Hager, Adams, and Gillett of Massachusetts.

ORDER OF DEBATE ON SATURDAY.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the special order heretofore made for the conduct of this debate be modified so as to provide that after two days of this week, Thursday and Friday, have been consumed in debate under the five-minute rule, giving an opportunity for 140 or 150 members to be heard, probably a larger number than will desire to speak, Saturday be assigned for general debate; the time on that day to be divided equally between the two sides without regard to what shall have gone before.

Mr. STOCKDALE. I suggest an amendment, so as to make that apply also to Saturday evening.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will submit the proposition as he understands it. Under the order of the House, as it now stands, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of this week would be devoted to debate under the five-minute rule. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] now asks unanimous consent that the debate on Saturday, instead of being had under the five-minute rule, may proceed under the rule for general debate, and that on that day the time be equally divided between the two sides.

Mr. BOUTELLE. Mr. Speaker, what will be the practical effect of the change proposed by the gentleman from Missouri?

The SPEAKER. Under the order as it stands, Saturday, as well as Thursday and Friday, would be devoted to debate under the five-minute rule. The proposition of the gentleman from Missouri would devote Saturday to general debate.

Mr. BOUTELLE. Then the practical effect would be that, if the gentleman's proposition were agreed to, fewer people would have an opportunity to speak on Saturday than could speak under the five-minute rule?

The SPEAKER. Undoubtedly.

Mr. BLAND. Thursday and Friday will be devoted to debate under the five-minute rule, and doubtless that will give as many members as will desire to speak an opportunity to be heard.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the proposition of the gentleman from Missouri?

Mr. HATCH. As I understand it, that proposition does not interfere with the general debate on to-day and to-morrow.

The SPEAKER. Not at all. It only changes the order in so far as next Saturday is concerned, and provides that debate on that day shall proceed under the hour rule instead of under the five-minute rule.

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. But the five-minute debate is to proceed on Thursday and Friday, as previously ordered?

The SPEAKER. It is.

Mr. TRACEY. And it is understood, Mr. Speaker, that we shall commence voting on Monday at 12 o'clock.

The SPEAKER. The Chair so understands. In the absence of objection, the change in the order proposed by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] will be made. The Chair hopes that gentlemen representing the respective sides will make some agreement among themselves as to who shall occupy the time on

Saturday, and the order in which the several speakers shall address the House, and thus relieve the Chair from pressure.

Mr. BLAND. We will undertake to do that, Mr. Speaker.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed a bill (S. 50) in aid of the California Midwinter International Exposition; in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested.

[Mr. COOPER of Indiana withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, being by profession a farmer and being a member of the Committee on Agriculture of this House, I desire to present that side of this question which addresses itself especially to agriculturists.

In regard to the call of this extraordinary session, the condition of the country warrants it; but I can not agree with the view announced by the President in his recent message or with that announced by my friend from West Virginia who presided over the Democratic convention at Chicago, that the Sherman silver law is the cause of all our woes. I admit that the Sherman silver law is the occasion of this panic, but it is not the cause. I will even go farther and maintain that but for this same Sherman silver law this panic would probably have come a year ago.

Now, this panic, to my mind, has been caused by vicious legislation, not vicious at the time it was adopted, because it was enacted during the war to save the country. But it has been kept upon the statute books for a course of years during which we have been passing through an industrial revolution. Let us look back a moment at the days beyond the war and see what was then our condition, when the city people and the country people seemed to be upon an equality. In that day we had in every township and county mechanics of all classes, shoemakers, wagon-makers, hatters, weavers, tailors, blacksmiths, all classes of laboring men. At that time this Government issued only gold and silver coin. At that time the paper money circulating among the people was the issue of the State banks. The railroad was then a local corporation, and whatever it made in transportation was paid to the stockholders living along the line. At that time the whole country alike seemed prosperous and happy. But the war came, and the roads have forked; the country people have been traveling one road and the city people another. Now I desire, not in a spirit of antagonism to the cities, to present this view; but it is just that gentlemen living in our cities should see how hard have been the times upon the farmer.

After the war, when cotton was high, when all commodities commanded war prices, there came upon us a system of banking extending from New England to the Rio Grande, which was totally unsuited to us. Money was scarce; it flowed freely from the North to buy our cotton, and at such large prices that we thought we would soon get rich. But here came the national bank system—a system which, if you will examine it, you will find can not run a single year without the deposits of the people. Our people believing that the Government was strong and would protect them, placed their deposits in those banks. These same national banks became competitors with the people for money. Why, sir, after the war, many of those institutions did not hesitate to pay 8 or 10 per cent per annum for money to be loaned out at 1¼, 2½, and even as high as 3 per cent per month.

Now the farmers had a hard, hard time. They had no money. They were forced to raise money by some means, and it took more money to run the farm after the war than before, because the mechanics had left the country and everything had to come from the stores, and they were forced to get money and pay an enormous interest to the bankers, or to the few who held money, for its use. And not only that, Mr. Speaker, the railroad system, and I wish to impress this on the minds of members present to show how they have minimized the price of the farmer's products in this country. Before the war they had no great connections. But after the war the great railroad system of the country was developed, extending from one side of the country to the other. If the wheat crop failed east of the Alleghenies it made no difference in the price, because the railroads would bring the wheat from the Dakotas and other sections and place it in the cities of the East; so that they got it at a minimum price, and the farmer realized no increase in price by reason of a short crop in his locality. They have carried this system to such a degree of perfection that there is not a farm product in this broad land but has to be marketed in this country at the minimum price on account of this very fact.

To illustrate the effect of the railroad system on farm products more fully, let us take beef cattle for an example. They are bought in the western country and shipped here all along the mountain ranges from here to Alabama. True it is dressed beef as a rule, but it is so cheap—that is to say, it is shipped at such a low rate—that the minimum price is preserved all along the entire line wherever it is received. Not only that, sir, but take even cotton: the mills in my part of the country can receive it, brought from any point in the State of Texas, delivered at the mills, for less than half cent a pound—and the cost of production must be 2½ cents per pound in favor of Texas.

Now with the crops being marketed at the minimum price, with a greater demand for money than was ever before known in this country, with no chance to get money at a reasonable rate of interest, we find the farmers falling, one after another, in every part of the country, until they become what is known as "time price" men. Now these time price men are unable to get money in their localities. Their land and their stock is their entire collateral to offer for it. But the banks will not take the stock, and they are prohibited by law from taking the land as collateral security. In this condition of things they have to go to the merchant, and the merchant having to run risks in carrying so many of them, not only the risk whether the man will live to carry out his contract, but the risk of the seasons, have to charge exceedingly high prices; so that you find that the "time price men" have paid from 40 to as high as 300 per cent for the use of money, for they all have to use merchandise to a great extent instead of money.

Mr. Speaker, they have a term (I believe it extends from here to the Rio Grande) known as "running a man." When a man can not borrow any money from a bank or the few who have it, he is compelled to go to the merchant and be "run" by him, as the term is. Now, whoever started that word was as fortunate in the selection as the man who started the term "carpet-bagger" in the South Because the man is actually run. It runs him all the entire year and when the year ends he finds, when he settles up, nothing to go on, and he is ready to start in on another year's "run." This condition of things, this usurious interest that they are compelled to pay, has brought the entire farming population of the country, from here to Texas, almost to the verge of ruin. It is indeed a very serious condition. Now let us see how it affected the cities.

The national banks got most of the money—that is, the money of the city people and the money of all such country people as would put it into them and the people that could be induced to lend it to them at 4, 6, or 8 per cent. Not only that, but there was a system of bank checks by which the currency of the cities was augmented to an unlimited amount. This system of bank checks aswered the city people as money. Many a time when I would go into the city I could see every man paying his debts with checks, and no money was needed even in traveling here and there. The check book was all that was wanted and no money was required. Consequently, they could more than double or treble the capacity of the volume of money, or its equivalent for use. But the man who knows the worth of money knows well that the largest volume controls those who have the least.

Now, sir, not only that, but it enabled them to double up their securities and use them as money. Take, for example, a man who had $100,000 worth of railroad bonds. Say he went and borrowed $75,000 on the bonds, he did not receive any money. He simply had $75,000 entered in his bank book, and received a check book, and when he wanted to put that money in circulation he did not pay out actual money; he gave his check, which passed instead of money. Now in this way they doubled up the amount of securities, the amount of money, or that which served as money, until the term "prosperous" for cities seemed to lose its meaning, and there came in a new term, "boom."

The great cities were on a boom, and they prospered as they never prospered before. They controlled everything, and the cities that had the greatest amount of securities to hypothecate, under this system of bank checks, controlled the greatest amount of property; and hence you see that in the great cities they own all the railroads and all the interest-bearing bonds and almost all other interest-bearing securities. Now this gives them a most wonderful advantage. This system has broken down, and that is what has caused this panic. It very nearly came before. Have gentlemen forgotten that only a few years ago they had to telegraph the Secretary of the Treasury to go to New York for consultation, and that he had to purchase bonds in order to relieve the pressure? Have they forgotten that from $40,000,000 to $60,000,000 of the people's money were kept in the national banks in order that the people might not be distressed for currency? In any one of those years if a single bank had failed another one possibly would have failed, and another, and this crisis would have come.

Now, I can not see how the Sherman law, issuing one hundred and forty-odd millions of dollars, should have anything to do with this panic. In other words, if the situation was relieved in New York by the Secretary of the Treasury buying the bonds of the Government and the deposit of money in the national banks, it was just simply the want of currency that threatened the panic, and how could the $140,000,000 of currency issued under the Sherman silver bill have produced the panic? That is one thing that I can not really understand.

As my friend from Indiana [Mr. COOPER] says, 90 per cent of the business of the country was done by checks and evidences of credit. Now, that system having broken down, it resolved itself just into this condition: Suppose you had a water mill that only had 10-horse power, and you supplemented that by an engine of 90-horse power, in order to do the work of a mill that required 100-horse power. Suppose that 90-horse-power engine broke down or

collapsed, could your water power of only 10-horse power keep all that machinery in motion? Why, certainly not. It would be bound to stop, and that is just what has clogged the wheels of this country.

Go to your own internal-revenue offices and you will find the collectors will not take a single check. They want currency. Go to every railroad or corporation of any kind and you will find they will want currency. Go to your hotels and they ask for currency. The system by which we could do business with checks has failed; and when it collapsed we were thrown back upon the little power remaining, and that has clogged the wheels of commerce.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the only way I can see to relieve this panic is by currency. It prevented it several times in previous years. One of the wisest of our Secretaries of the Treasury once called attention to the fact that the financial system, with which we are now dealing, had its severest strain in the months of August and September; and the reason he assigned was that there was no elasticity in the system, and that currency was demanded at that time to move the crops. The money had to leave the money centers, and as the crops of the country increased, the necessity for more money becoming so great, there was not elasticity enough to furnish the money by which they could move the crops and transact the business in the cities. Now, if that is true, there can be no question but what it will take currency to relieve the situation; and I would no more hesitate to vote for one hundred or two hundred or three hundred millions of legal-tender notes, and get them into circulation among the people at once, to relieve the pressure of this panic, than I would hesitate to vote for it for the defense of this country if it was invaded by a foreign foe. The amount of property that may be destroyed may even exceed that which would be destroyed by a foreign enemy.

The condition that confronts us is really sad and serious. We find the crops of this entire country ready to move and not a dollar to move them. I see in a paper that in my own State, where a man has brought into a town a bale of cotton; he could not sell it, because there was no money to buy it. Now, under the present condition of things, if this Congress does not relieve this country at once, and if the farmers of the country are robbed of their year's labor, there is going to be trouble. The mechanics in great cities are already thrown out of employment, by reason of the fact that there is nobody to buy the goods which they make. Probably some of them are now suffering for the breadstuffs of life. So that it is a serious condition that confronts us, and it is urgent, immediate relief that this country demands. It reminds me of an old Methodist minister who tried to organize a church. They met in March, and while discussing what salary they would pay, one brother rose and said: "Why, brethren; we can't tell what kind of crops we are going to have. Let us postpone this thing until next August and let us see then." The old minister rose up and said: "My brothers, that old gray horse that is hitched to that hickory tree is mine, and if we can get along without your assistance till next August we will not need it."

And it is pretty true of the condition of the farmers. If they do not get this relief by the middle of October, they will be so virtually ruined that all you will have to do will be to pass the Torrey bankruptcy bill that was offered in the last House. The necessity for immediate relief is pressing. In the bills before me I can see no immediate relief. If there is any relief at all, it is that which is offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND]; but if you would run your mints and run them night and day, you could not coin enough silver dollars in time to relieve the present condition. So that I would like to have seen offered to this House a bill which would immediately relieve this country and start the wheels of commerce and trade in motion.

While I am on the floor I want to call attention to a financial system that we probably ought to adopt. I have studied over this question of how the farming classes might be relieved. I have tried to show to you that they had no means by which they could pool their assets and use them as money, as city people use checks. I have tried to show that they required more actual money in their farming operations now than they did before the war, and the only system that I can see by which they could be relieved after this pressure has passed is by State banks, a repeal of the tax upon State bank circulation. Most people urge as a reason why the tax on State bank circulation ought not to be repealed is because it is not good everywhere—that a bill from North Carolina will not pass in Ohio or in Indiana.

Mr. Speaker, that is the very reason I advocate it. If that bill was good everywhere, we could no more keep it than we can keep these national bank bills. It is the very fact that it is not good everywhere that makes it return to its place of issue; and as the people who know the banks know whether it is good or not, they are the ones for whose benefit it remains, and they are the ones to be benefited by it, and they will take it and it serves them as money. Rather than see that fail, I would urge that the 10 per cent tax on the State bank circulation be amended so that it would place a tax on the bill in a State different from that in which it was issued. That would keep these State bank bills from going into States where they were not wanted.

Many gentlemen who have not been engaged in farming do not know how important it is for the farmers to have money from May to August, which is the time in which the crop is made. If, by reason of drought or any untimely circumstance, they are out of money, $20, $30, or $50 is a big thing to them; and when they can not get that, and have to go to the store and buy goods to exchange for labor, it makes the interest too high. Now, if they can get this old banking system the farmers can pool their assets in the State banks; they can put their money in there as they have done before in this country. In North Carolina over 80 per cent of the stock of the State banks before the war was owned by the farmers of the State, and to-day there is less than 10 per cent of the national-bank stock owned by farmers. Another fact I would like to call attention to, and it is that, no matter what system the United States Government might adopt, it can not fit every section of this country alike. There would be some who would be benefited more than others. Now this local circulation that would go only among the people in the State in which it was issued would relieve that condition. I am satisfied that it would give satisfaction upon a trial.

In regard to silver, Mr. Speaker, money according to the definition where I come from, is simply a medium of exchange. We recognize that this Government can not give to money more than four powers—the power to represent value, the power to exchange value, the power to measure value, and the power to accumulate by interest. Now, the question is, what will the Government make that money out of. That may be a matter of policy, or it may be a matter of necessity. But our people have been taught that gold and silver was the best to make money out of. They know that gold and silver has seen empire after empire go down; that there is no nation that has survived its use; and then many of them recollect that during the late war, when the Confederacy first issued its notes, they were as good as gold, and exchangeable for gold, but as the war proceeded and the fortunes of the Confederacy commenced to waver, they knew that gold and silver would survive the wreck of the Confederacy and everyone would prefer money made of gold and silver.

All country people prefer it, for the reason, among others, that if a house is burned down the money is not totally destroyed, the bullion may still be recovered, and because rats can not destroy it as they can destroy bills. Recognizing that gold and silver money as being stronger than the Government itself, they feel that it is good enough for them. But the most pressing question at this time is not what kind of money there shall be, or what it shall be made of, but how much of it is to be issued and kept worth a hundred cents on the dollar? That is the great question with them. They prefer gold and silver, but they want enough of it to do the business of the country and to relieve this pressure. Mr. Speaker, I have not time to describe to this House the true condition of our farmers.

It would take too long, but if I had the time I know that the remarks that I would make about the farmers in my part of the country would apply as well to those of New Hampshire, New York, Minnesota, or other States. The same condition is extending everywhere. I have seen in agricultural papers accounts of abandoned farms in Rhode Island, abandoned farms in New Hampshire and other States, with complaints of the difficulty of making both ends meet.

Now, as this financial policy has been kept in force all these years by the Republican party, there having been no change of law permitted, the people are looking to the Democratic party for a new and more equitable system; and I say here to-day that if the Democratic party comes up fully and squarely to the requirements of the situation, there will be no question whatever as to their remaining in power for all time to come, because the true habitat of democracy is among the people of our country who labor in production.

Mr. Speaker, as I may not have another opportunity to discuss the measures that are brought forward here for the relief of the existing distress, I will call attention to some of them now: The bill of Mr. Johnson of Ohio is good, as far as it goes, as a means of getting out more money at once among the people.

The next bill that I hear of is one which proposes to authorize an increase of the issue of the national banks to 100 per cent of their bond deposits. To that our people are opposed. We do not like that system. It is the system that has accumulated the money of the country at certain centers and has come in competition with everybody by borrowing money.

Not only that, Mr. Speaker; when the Farmers' Alliance met in St. Louis in 1889 and promulgated the demand known as the subtreasury plan, I do not suppose there were a half-dozen men in that body who had any idea that that plan would ever be enacted into a law, but it was simply used to educate the people, and especially to educate them in regard to the national banks, because the farmers regarded those banks as no more than subtreasuries.

Why should five gentlemen who owned 3,000 bales of cotton, or 100,000 bushels of wheat, why should they not be allowed to warehouse it and draw 90 per cent of currency upon it as well as five gentlemen who own $100,000 in United States bonds? The subTreasury suggestion of the Farmers' Alliance was directed purely and squarely at that system, and I must confess that our farmers can not see the difference between the two cases. The bonds are

private property, the Government has nothing to do with them except to pay them as they become due. In like manner the cotton and the wheat are private property.

Not only that, Mr. Speaker, even this Sherman silver law creates a subtreasury. It brings the product of the mine and warehouses it, and pays for it dollar for dollar at the market price. In making that fight we simply desired to educate our farmers so that they will be able to protect themselves, because we believed that this very kind of situation was going to come about very soon. We did not think it would be quite so extensive as it seems to be in the cities, but we saw that the condition of the farmer would be just what it is. We can not see any reason why the United States should pay a man, simply because he calls himself a banker, 100 cents on the dollar, and interest on the bonds besides. We want money that is not tampered with by the corporations. We want money direct from the Government, and if corporations are to have anything whatever to do with the issue of currency, let them be governed in their own States so that no influences can be brought to bear by which such a state of affairs as we now have can be made to recur.

Now I do not want to believe that the bankers have had anything to do with this panic, because bankers are the last men in the world to want a panic. A capitalist engaged in legitimate business is one of the last men in the world who would want a panic. But this state of affairs does exist, and it strikes me with peculiar force that if the Sherman law is repealed and confidence is restored to the country, and money comes out from its hiding places, and business starts up again—if these things come to pass, I say, it will seem to me very much as if the forty men described by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. WHEELER] who, he said, could stop the wheels of trade and commerce, had got together and decided to start it up again. [Laughter.]

In conclusion I simply urge this House to take into consideration the present condition of the country. The people need relief at once; and we should lose no time whatever in furnishing this relief. Afterward we can settle these other questions. I hope that the House will not delay longer the passage of that measure which will bring to the people the relief that is needed. [Applause.]

[Mr. SPERRY withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

[Mr. COX withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

Mr. SETTLE. Mr. Speaker, In common with many members on this floor I represent a constituency divided in opinion upon the questions now pending in this House; divided, I believe, not along party lines, but along the line of honest difference of opinion as to what is the best remedy that can be offered for the present unfortunate condition of our country. Something has been said on this floor in the course of this debate about financial "evolution."

I refer to that simply as a basis for the remark that I believe there is no State in this Union whose citizens have felt the effects of that "evolution" more than have the people of North Carolina. In the recent contest the Democratic party formed its line of battle on this subject with two distinct utterances in its State platform, the first of which was that—

We especially favor the free coinage of silver and an increase of the currency.

Not content with the enunciation of their position there made, further on in the platform we find the statement that—

We demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

Every Democratic organ in the State of North Carolina advocated that financial policy throughout the campaign. Every distinguished speaker of that party who enlightened his audiences on the subject of finance, committed himself and his party, State and national, in unequivocal terms to the advocacy of the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

The Republican party fought that campaign with the declaration that it was not in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver under existing conditions, and that never would it come to that point until there was an international agreement fixing the ratio upon which the two metals should be coined; that the furthest they could ever go was to the enactment of some law looking to the coinage of the American product only.

In my campaign, on every stump from which I spoke, I took the position that I was opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver under existing conditions, and that the furthest I could go was, as I have already stated, to favor the coinage of the American product. The Democratic party, with its line of battle formed otherwise, was successful in the nation as in North Carolina.

In less than four months after the inauguration of the Democratic President the Democratic press of North Carolina, almost without exception, certainly without important exception, had reversed their machinery, repudiated the doctrine of the free coinage of silver, said that it was unsound finance, and that they were opposed to it. Nearly every speaker that had participated in that campaign, in conversation and in public utterance said that it was unwise and that he was opposed to it.

This condition of things, Mr. Speaker, continued to exist until quite recently, when the distinguished representative from North Carolina, who occupies a seat in the other Chamber, addressed a letter to one of the Farmers' Alliance orders in North Carolina, in which he said that he was for the platform which declared for the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

The Democratic speakers to whom I have referred joined issue with him. The Democratic press of North Carolina repudiated his utterances, said that they regretted exceedingly that that distinguished gentleman could not follow his party, and denied the fact that the Democratic platform adopted at Chicago committed the party to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. That has been the utterance, Mr. Speaker, of nearly every Democratic paper in North Carolina since the publication of Senator Vance's letter.

I quote two utterances of the Charlotte Observer, the leading Democratic paper of the State:

There is to be no free coinage of silver under this platform declaration, because it has been amply demonstrated since it was adopted that under a system of free silver coinage parity demanded could not be maintained, the two metals being now, under a system of limited coinage of silver, on the verge of parting company. Neither is the country to be reduced to a monometallic basis, gold being the only recognized money, but the two metals are to be coined and made to circulate together upon terms of equality—or, as the platform has it, "of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value."

We have no words with which to express our regret on account of the attitude taken by Senator Vance in his letter published in yesterday's Observer. We had much hoped that he would see his way clear to take a position with his party in favor of the repeal of the Sherman law, and of such further financial legislation as the national Democratic platform suggests—the coinage of silver upon such basis as will insure its circulation upon a parity with gold.

We can not but think, in view of recent events, that either the free coinage of silver or the Sherman law will defeat the very object the silver men have in view. And again, while nothing could possibly be further from the purpose of this patriotic and illustrious citizen, we can clearly foresee that the general tenor of his letter will greatly embolden the Third party and add immensely to its strength. In view of the certainty of a combination next year between the Republicans and Populists, this is to be particularly deplored, for at best the contest in North Carolina is to be close and doubtful, the disappointments following the accession to power of a party which has been out, rendering the maintenance of its position, in the first election thereafter, always uncertain. It would be idle to deny that Senator Vance's public and deliberate avowal of sympathy with the financial policy of the Farmers' Alliance complicates the situation immeasurably.

What has been the fruit of that publication? To-day there is an ominous silence on the part of the majority of the press of that State. Leading and prominent politicians are silent as a grave without a tombstone when called upon for a direct utterance as to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. They have reefed their sails and put themselves in shape to catch any breeze that may come along, so that after the action of Congress is had they may be able to say, "I told you so."

I believe that in North Carolina the opinion which I express is not confined to any one class of her citizens. Regardless of party, regardless of vocation, there is an honest difference of opinion as to what Congress ought to do upon these pending questions. Numerous boards of trade and chambers of commerce have passed resolutions asking for unconditional repeal of the Sherman silver law. I believe that I voice almost the universal sentiment of the business interests of North Carolina when I say that they call for the repeal of the Sherman silver law.

What weight, Mr. Speaker, should the opinions of men engaged in business interests, whose lives have been devoted to the study of financial and economic questions, what weight, I ask, should their opinions have upon the questions pending now before Congress? I respectfully submit that the honest opinion candidly expressed of such are worth more, when we are seeking an intelligent solution of these questions, than the opinions of persons whose lives have not led them into that line of thought or research.

Something has been said upon this floor to the effect that the message of the President was inspired not by the voice of the toiling masses, the honest yeomanry of the land, as they are sometimes called in political campaigns, but that it had its inspiration from the banking institutions and the capitalists of this country. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that the voice of the toiling and laboring masses of my State call not for the free and unlimited coinage of silver; simply do they ask for an increase in the circulating medium of this country.

We are not wedded to the free coinage of silver. That is but one way suggested to increase the currency. Our demand is for an increase of the currency, and, as a Republican from the State of North Carolina, I voice the sentiment of the Republicans of that State when I say I am not willing that there shall be any increase of the currency that does not increase it with sound and good money [Applause]—money that is equal in debt paying and purchasing power in Maine and in Florida, on the shores of the Atlantic and on the shores of the Pacific. In every part of this country of ours must that money which increases the circulation be equally good and sound—not money which is shaved and discounted when it crosses a State line.

I believe, further, Mr. Speaker, that there is nothing so unwise as to advocate an increase of the currency of this country by the issue of a depreciated and ever-changing form of money. In my humble judgment we are not subserving the interest of the laboring classes when we increase the currency in that manner; for I believe firmly that the cheaper money, the fluctuating money, is always the money that finds the pockets of the poor man.

The laboring man receives pay for his work in the depreciated coin; the farmer sells his products and receives in exchange depre-

ciated coin; the fixed and stable currency of the country, constantly appreciating, is and always will be, by the inflexible laws of trade and commerce, hoarded in banks and under the control of the capitalists of a country that issues various forms of currency that can not be maintained upon a parity.

So far, Mr. Speaker, from believing it to be in the interest of the toiling masses to increase the currency of this country with free silver, I believe no greater curse can befall them than a constantly-changing, ever-fluctuating money for the poor man, a fixed, permanent, constantly-appreciating money for the rich man.

Mr. Speaker, I had not intended to ask the attention of the House in this debate, thinking I would content myself with the opportunity of recording my vote, which would explain my attitude before my constituents. But we are summoned here to a feast by the proclamation of the President; and the majority of this House have prepared a bill of fare without consultation with us or inquiry of us as to what our appetites called for. We are bidden to eat what is put before us.

No opportunity is afforded any member of the minority here to offer a single amendment to the pending propositions. The order of debate, the bill of fare, is all prepared in a committee or conference, the selection of which was without consultation with the minority. Our opinions have not been consulted. Our views are disregarded. We are brought up here and our hands are attempted to be tied; and we are to vote simply upon the propositions which they submit. In debate even, we as the minority are not allowed to control a portion of the time.

I do not agree with those gentlemen who say that a vote for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman silver law now means the establishment of a single standard in this country. I believe that under existing conditions it is wholly impracticable to coin the world's silver at any of the ratios suggested by the gentleman from Missouri without utterly revolutionizing our financial system, and instead of blessing, cursing the agricultural and laboring classes of our people.

Mr. Speaker, I have sat in this hall listening to these debates; loud, long, earnest, and appealing have been the utterances of the advocates of free silver in behalf of the "toiling masses" of this country. They speak as though they were shedding tears of sympathy which would cause the rivers to rise or wash gulleys in the mountain's side. "Great blessings," they say, "shall be laid at your door if you will only be blessed in the way we say; but if you will not, then be damned."

Nothing short of the free coinage of silver will they agree to. Even those who advocate the free coinage of silver admit that the purchase clause of the Sherman silver law should be repealed. But they say, "If you once repeal the purchasing clause of that law the advantage which would thereby be given to the advocates of the President's financial policy is such that they could not be induced or compelled to surrender at a later stage of this game."

That argument, it seems to me, proceeds upon an assumption of great virtue and wisdom on their side and an accusation of turpitude and ignorance on the side of all who differ with them. They have made, according to their argument, a "corner" on patriotism, and all who differ with them have none of that article about them. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that no lasting financial policy can be enacted at this time in one bill. It is a cherry of such dimensions that we must take more than one bite at it. And I do not agree with the idea that if the purchasing clause be repealed no further financial legislation will follow at this session.

One reason assigned for the condition existing in this country at present by the Democrats who have spoken on this subject is what they call want of confidence. I had a vague idea of the meaning of that term before I came to this hall; but thanks to the members of the majority I have an enlarged and expanded idea of its significance now; and it seems to me that they have the disease in a more violent form than any other part of our country. They undertake to restore confidence.

They are the physicians ministering to our wants; they assume the responsibility of taking the initiative, and properly so, as they are in the majority. But how can they expect to restore "confidence" to the sick patient when they fall out among themselves, and each physician accuses the other of prescribing medicine which will not build up and restore the patient, but which will kill him? Yet, the free-silver men claim that it is the object and aim of all who differ with them to establish a single gold standard and bring forth a train of disasters which I have not words to picture. The gold advocates in that party charge the same motive upon the silver advocates. It does seem to me, Mr. Speaker, that the condition in which the majority of this House finds itself to-day is one which they have brought upon themselves with their eyes open.

When the President of the United States received their votes—when they argued in his favor during the campaign—they had before them the letter which he had written just prior to his inauguration in 1884. They went to the polls with their eyes open and cast their ballots; and it does seem that the principle of law which declares that a juror shall not be permitted to impeach his verdict should estop them from the utterances they make on this floor. [Laughter and applause.]

I stand here, Mr. Speaker, certainly not endeavoring to correct any inconsistency on the part of the President, because in this matter, it seems to me, he is consistent and that his critics are inconsistent.

I listened to the gentleman from Colorado, I think it was, as he spoke advancing the ideas of his party, the Populists, when he said that, in comparison, this question of finance towered above the tariff question; that Wall street had its fingers on the throat of this country and was tightening its grasp; that Wall street's power over money and men was without limit, and they were in touch with the Executive of the country in favor of a single gold standard. I could not help thinking, when listening to him, that if all that were true we may reasonably conclude that with the immense power attributed to the street Wall street might at least control the State of New York.

How was it, then, that in the convention at Chicago New York stood solidly opposed to the President throughout all of the ballots? If its interests are so selfish as they claim, if it has no heart that sympathizes with the masses of the people, why should we find the influence of that street steadily opposing the nomination of the President? It simply carries to my mind this fact, that the argument advanced in favor of the free coinage of silver is an argument like the straws at which drowning men are said to catch.

Now, sir, in the limited time allotted to me to express my views on this pending question I can say but little else. I wish it to be distinctly understood that I am in favor of bimetallism. I am not in favor of striking down silver entirely as money in this country, but I stand now, as I stood during the last campaign before my constituents, unalterably opposed to the free coinage of the world's silver in the absence of an international agreement fixing the parity between the two metals. [Applause.]

I stand now, as I said then, unalterably opposed to the inflation of the currency of this country with a fluctuating and changeable money, believing that in that position I am on the side of the business interests of the country, and also on the side of the toiling, laboring masses of our country. Because, Mr. Speaker, the laboring masses above all others need a fixed, permanent, and stable currency.

I know not how my friends on this side of the Chamber are going to vote on this question, but for myself, favoring an increase of the currency with good money, I shall record my vote in opposition to all the scheduled variety offered to us by the gentleman from Missouri and in favor of the only digestible part of the bill of fare that has been presented—that offered by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON]. [Applause.]

Mr. ALLEN. If the gentleman has time I would like to know what is his scheme to increase the currency?

Mr. BOUTELLE. The gentleman from North Carolina can hardly go outside of the present schedule that has been offered here by that side.

Mr. SETTLE. I do not recognize the responsibility of suggesting the road that leads out of this wilderness as resting with the minority on this floor. [Applause.] But I say that had you not tied our hands and cut us off from offering an amendment I have no doubt that many amendments would have been presented by members on this side of the Chamber looking to an increased currency with good and sound money. [Applause.]

One remedy that might be suggested, and the proposition I would like an opportunity to vote upon, would be the free coinage of the American product, protected by a tariff on any foreign silver that might be brought in. [Applause.] Another amendment I would like to vote on would be the plan suggested by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. JOHNSON] of private holders of Government bonds in the United States hypothecating them with the Treasury and receiving Treasury notes to the full value of the bond, said bond to draw no interest while so deposited, with power at any time subsequently to redeem the bonds. [Renewed applause.]

That far I would go, I will say in answer to the gentleman from Mississippi, not recognizing the responsibility as resting upon this side, under the circumstances, for proposing any plan in this emergency. [Applause.]

Production of gold and silver in the world, 1792–1892.

Calendar years.	Gold.	Silver (coining value).	Total.
1792–1800	$106,407,000	$328,860,000	$435,267,000
1801–1810	118,152,000	371,677,000	489,829,000
1811–1820	76,063,000	224,786,000	300,849,000
1821–1830	94,479,000	191,444,000	285,923,000
1831–1840	134,841,000	274,930,000	409,771,000
1841–1848	291,144,000	259,520,000	550,664,000
1849	27,100,000	39,000,000	66,100,000
1850	44,450,000	39,000,000	83,450,000
1851	67,600,000	40,000,000	107,600,000
1852	132,750,000	40,600,000	173,350,000
1853	155,450,000	40,600,000	196,050,000
1854	127,450,000	40,600,000	168,050,000
1855	135,075,000	40,600,000	175,675,000
1856	147,600,000	40,650,000	188,250,000
1857	133,275,000	40,650,000	173,925,000
1858	124,650,000	40,650,000	165,300,000

Production of gold and silver in the world, 1792–1892—Continued.

Calendar years.	Gold.	Silver (coining value.)	Total.
1859	$124,850,000	$40,750,000	$165,600,000
1860	119,250,000	40,800,000	160,050,000
1861	113,800,000	44,700,000	158,500,000
1862	107,750,000	45,200,000	152,950,000
1863	106,950,000	49,200,000	156,150,000
1864	113,000,000	51,700,000	164,700,000
1865	120,200,000	51,950,000	172,150,000
1866	121,100,000	50,750,000	171,850,000
1867	104,025,000	54,225,000	158,250,000
1868	109,725,000	50,225,000	159,950,000
1869	106,225,000	47,500,000	153,725,000
1870	106,850,000	51,575,000	158,425,000
1871	107,000,000	61,050,000	168,050,000
1872	99,600,000	65,250,000	164,850,000
1873	96,200,000	81,800,000	178,000,000
1874	90,750,000	71,500,000	162,250,000
1875	97,500,000	80,500,000	178,000,000
1876	103,700,000	87,600,000	191,300,000
1877	114,000,000	81,000,000	195,000,000
1878	119,000,000	95,000,000	214,000,000

Production of gold and silver in the world, 1792–1892—Continued.

Calendar years.	Gold.	Silver (coining value.)	Total.
1879	$109,000,000	$96,000,000	$205,000,000
1880	106,500,000	96,700,000	203,200,000
1881	103,000,000	102,000,000	205,000,000
1882	102,000,000	111,800,000	213,800,000
1883	95,400,000	115,300,000	210,700,000
1884	101,700,000	105,500,000	207,200,000
1885	108,400,000	118,500,000	226,900,000
1886	106,000,000	120,600,000	226,600,000
1887	105,775,000	124,281,000	230,056,000
1888	110,197,000	140,706,000	250,903,000
1889	123,489,000	162,159,000	285,648,000
1890	113,150,000	172,235,000	285,385,000
1891	120,519,000	186,733,000	307,252,000
1892	130,817,000	196,605,000	327,422,000
Total	5,633,908,000	5,104,961,000	10,738,869,000

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Bureau of the Mint, August 16, 1893.

APPENDIX.

Monetary systems and approximate stocks of money in the aggregate and per capita in the principal countries of the world.

Countries.	Monetary system.	Ratio between gold and full legal-tender silver.	Ratio between gold and limited tender silver.	Population.	Stock of gold.	Stock of silver.			Uncovered paper.	Per capita.			
						Full tender.	Limited tender.	Total.		Gold.	Silver.	Paper.	Total.
United States	Gold and silver.	1 to 15.98	1 to 14.95	67,000,000	$604,000,000	$538,000,000	$77,000,000	$615,000,000	$412,000,000	$9.01	$9.18	$6.15	$24.34
United Kingdom	Gold		1 to 14.28	38,000,000	550,000,000		100,000,000	100,000,000	50,000,000	14.47	2.63	1.32	18.42
France	Gold and silver.	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	39,000,000	800,000,000	650,000,000	50,000,000	700,000,000	81,402,000	20.52	17.95	2.09	40.56
Germany	Gold		1 to 13.957	49,500,000	600,000,000	103,000,000	108,000,000	211,000,000	107,000,000	12.12	4.26	2.16	18.54
Belgium	Gold and silver.	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	6,100,000	65,000,000	48,400,000	6,600,000	55,000,000	54,000,000	10.66	9.02	8.85	25.53
Italy	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	31,000,000	93,605,000	16,000,000	34,200,000	50,200,000	163,471,000	3.01	1.62	5.27	9.91
Switzerland	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	3,000,000	15,000,000	11,400,000	3,600,000	15,000,000	14,000,000	5.00	5.00	4.67	14.67
Greece	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	2,200,000	2,000,000	1,800,000	2,200,000	4,000,000	14,000,000	.91	1.82	6.36	9.09
Spain	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	18,000,000	40,000,000	120,000,000	38,000,000	158,000,000	100,000,000	2.22	8.78	5.56	16.56
Portugal	Gold		1 to 14.08	5,000,000	40,000,000		10,000,000	10,000,000	45,000,000	8.00	2.00	9.00	19.00
Austria-Hungary	do		1 to 13.69	40,000,000	40,000,000	90,000,000		90,000,000	260,000,000	1.00	2.25	6.50	9.75
Netherlands	Gold and silver.	1 to 15½	1 to 15	4,500,000	25,000,000	61,800,000	3,200,000	65,000,000	40,000,000	5.55	14.42	8.89	28.88
Scandinavian Union	Gold		1 to 14.88	8,600,000	32,000,000		10,000,000	10,000,000	27,000,000	3.72	1.16	3.14	8.02
Russia	Silver	1 to 15½	1 to 15	113,000,000	250,000,000	22,000,000	38,000,000	60,000,000	500,000,000	2.21	.53	4.42	7.16
Turkey	Gold and silver.		1 to 15.1	33,000,000	50,000,000		45,000,000	45,000,000		1.52	1.36		2.88
Australia	Gold		1 to 14.28	4,000,000	100,000,000		7,000,000	7,000,000		25.00	1.75		26.75
Egypt	do		1 to 15.68	7,000,000	100,000,000		15,000,000	15,000,000		14.29	2.14		16.43
Mexico	Silver	1 to 16½		11,600,000	5,000,000	50,000,000		50,000,000	2,000,000	.43	4.31	.17	4.91
Central America	do	1 to 15½		3,000,000		500,000		500,000	2,000,000		.17	.67	.84
South America	do	1 to 15½		35,000,000	45,000,000	25,000,000		25,000,000	600,000,000	1.29	.71	17.14	19.14
Japan	Gold and silver.	1 to 16.18		40,000,000	90,000,000	50,000,000		50,000,000	56,000,000	2.25	1.25	1.40	4.90
India	Silver	1 to 15		255,000,000		900,000,000		900,000,000	28,000,000		3.53	.11	3.64
China	do			400,000,000		700,000,000		700,000,000			1.75		1.75
The Straits						100,000,000		100,000,000					
Canada	Gold		1 to 14.95	4,500,000	16,000,000		5,000,000	5,000,000	40,000,000	3.56	1.11	8.89	13.56
Cuba, Haiti, etc	do	1 to 15½		2,000,000	20,000,000	1,200,000	800,000	2,000,000	40,000,000	10.00	1.00	20.00	31.00
Total					3,582,605,000	3,489,100,000	553,600,000	4,042,700,000	2,635,873,000				

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *Bureau of the Mint, August 16, 1893.*

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. MAHON of Pennsylvania, for two days, on account of important business.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON] will preside at the session of the House this evening.

The hour of 5 o'clock then having arrived, the House was declared in recess until 8 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

The recess having expired, the House, at 8 o'clock p. m., resumed its session (Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee in the chair as Speaker *pro tempore*).

SILVER.

The House resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

Mr. MCLAURIN. Mr. Speaker, being a new member, I had intended to leave the discussion of the silver question to more experienced heads. I can not hope to add much that is new, in figures or statistics, to a question which has been so exhaustively discussed, nor do I propose to weary the House by the attempt. The gravity of the situation demands that every section should be heard from, and I think that, in what I shall say, I voice the sentiments not only of those I have the honor to directly represent, but that I voice the sentiments of the great masses of the Southern people.

The President tells us that we are in the midst of a panic. That—

Our unfortunate financial plight is not due to any of the afflictions which frequently check national growth and prosperity. With plenteous crops, with abundant promise of remunerative production and manufacture, with unusual invitation to safe investment, and with satisfactory assurance to business enterprise, suddenly financial distrust and fear have sprung up on every side.

This depicts a strange condition of affairs to produce a panic. Whose panic is it? Can it be, Mr. Speaker, that we have advanced to that high state of civilization where we not only produce artificial rain and make artificial eggs, but when a few financial wizards can precipitate an artificial panic. This is not the people's panic; they disown it; it is preeminently the rich man's panic.

MR. GOULD EXPLAINS THE PANIC.

Mr. George Gould, the other day, upon his return from a trip to Europe, gave the New York World some information upon the subject of the panic. Mr. Gould said:

To sum up briefly, I should very much dislike to be compelled to raise $10,000,000.

Well, so should I, gentlemen.

I doubt very much if I could do it by Monday or Tuesday.

I am sure I could not.

Mr. BRYAN. He has got down to a common level.

Mr. MCLAURIN. Yes; has got where the balance of us have been all the time.

The situation—

Said Mr. Gould—

is extremely bad. There will not be any improvement either until the Sherman law is repealed or so modified as to restore confidence; and the financiers of the country completely lack confidence just now, and it is natural, too, that they should. You do not want silver. I do not want silver. Gold is the only honest and equitable currency for the people, and gold we want.

It is not the people who want gold. I deny that. It is not the people who lack confidence. I know men just as patriotic as he, and who add infinitely more to our material wealth than Mr. Gould, who yet have confidence in their country and her institutions.

There have been some of the most remarkable arguments adduced upon the floor of this House in favor of a gold standard that I ever heard. But the gentleman from Florida [Mr. COOPER] capped the climax, the other day, when he said that we must destroy the gold which enabled these men from the East to go down to Florida, for in Florida they depended for their support upon a winter's crop of Yankees. [Laughter.]

In other words, Mr. Speaker, if you want to pluck the goose, you must feed him. Our staple crops in South Carolina are cotton and corn. We have no Yankee goose feathers for our winter supply; but from my experience, brief though it was, with the Florida hotels, they need not only a goose with plenty of feathers, but one that lays a golden egg, and the gentleman from Florida [Mr. COOPER] was right. [Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, I charge that even under this so-called makeshift silver has not had a fair chance. I say that silver has been stabbed with a Brutus dagger in the house of those who, if platforms amount to anything, ought to be its friends.

A BRUTUS DAGGER FOR SILVER.

The President says that under the operations of the Sherman act between May 1, 1892, and July 15, 1893, $54,000,000 of Treasury notes were put out, and $49,000,000 of them were redeemed in gold. Is it any wonder that the gold reserve is depleted? The law provides for the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion each month, and for an issue of legal-tender Treasury notes against the same. These notes are redeemable in coin, and certainly coin is either gold or silver; yet silver was kept locked up in the vaults while the notes were redeemed in gold. And this in the face of the provision of law that "no greater or less amount of such notes shall be outstanding at any time than the cost of the silver bullion and the standard silver dollars coined therefrom then held in the Treasury purchased by such notes."

PANACEA OFFERED.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] says:

That we ought to extend to the national banks this privilege of issuing circulating notes up to 100 per cent of their bonds deposited as security for their notes.

* * * * * * *

The next thing to be done is this: I believe that, as prudent business men, we ought to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, with the concurrence of the President, at any time, in any amount, and at any price, to sell "3-30" year 3 per cent bonds of the United States for two purposes: First, to maintain the parity of all the paper and coined money of the United States, and, second, to meet the debts of the United States as rapidly as they mature. This measure would forever maintain the credit of the United States, and yet I doubt whether, under its provisions, there would be in the next twenty years $200 of United States bonds offered for sale by any Secretary.

It is not hard to discover why this lack of confidence on the part of these financiers. An issue of gold bonds payable in gold is the panacea offered; or else they propose to authorize the national banks to increase their circulation to the full value of their bonds. In either case the remedy is at the expense of the producer, and there will be no increase in our currency except as these national bankers see fit. No money outside of national-bank notes and gold. In other words, as one of the speakers so forcibly said, "put the gold of the world upon the auction block and sell it to the highest bidder." Throw away as worthless for money our own silver that we may build up a system of credit money based upon gold and entirely within the control of the holders of gold.

The farmers and laborers of this country have done their duty. The President says, "Crops were never more plenteous," and yet financial statesmanship of the party proposes to borrow gold from abroad to keep the governmental machinery in motion.

BONDS PAYABLE IN GOLD.

In less than fourteen years about five hundred and fifty million of our bonds became due. Our bonded debt was contracted upon a currency basis, many of them costing the original holders from 40 to 70 cents on the dollar in gold. In the Fortieth Congress Senator SHERMAN said:

Every State, without exception, has made its contracts upon a currency basis since the legal-tender clause.

And again:

If the bondholder refuse to take the same kind of money with which he bought the bond, he is an extortioner and repudiator. No bond or other Government obligation was made payable in gold. The interest upon the bond was payable in coin, the principal of the original bond in "lawful money," and of the refunding bonds in coin.

Can it be that the astute holders of these securities, looking fourteen years ahead, through the demonetization of silver, propose to become the "extortioners and repudiators" spoken of by Senator SHERMAN. There are two kinds of repudiation—one by the debtor, the other by the creditor. When gold becomes the only legal-tender coin, and its representative the only lawful money, then all public and private debts become payable in gold.

POOR WORKINGMAN.

It is refreshing to note how wonderfully tender these advocates of monometallism are of the poor "workingman" who has to buy in this "depreciated coin." As long as it buys $1 worth of meat and flour, why is it not just as good as any other dollar? If they are sincere, and think it is such an injustice to the workingman, why does one of the gentlemen propose that silver shall be legal tender for all sums under $10? In other words, this "poor workingman" they shed such tears over shall receive his Saturday night's wages in this despised silver, but the interest and principal of their bond shall be wrung from the sweat of the same workingman in gold. [Applause.]

I have been amazed to hear gentlemen attempt to justify the demonetization of silver in 1873 and eulogize those who were responsible for it. Truly, it is a pretty sight: a sight to make devils laugh. The lion and the lamb lie down together; their swords are beaten into golden pruning hooks. The senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], the archetype of Republicanism, spokesman of a Democratic Administration in the other end, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER], the high priest of tariff reform, excusing Republican infamy in this end! The story of how this was accomplished has been told too frequently upon the floor of this House for me to now rehash it. I will simply say that the masses of the people believe that it was done by fraud, and that President Grant did not know when he approved the bill that it struck down at a blow one-half of the money of the country; that at a stroke of the pen he doubled the debts of the people, with a corresponding increase in the wealth of the creditor class.

DEMONETIZATION IN 1873.

Last summer there went the rounds of the press the affidavit of one Fred. A. Luckenbach, setting forth the part Ernest Seyd played in the drama of demonetization; which I give as follows:

STATE OF COLORADO, *County of Arapahoe, ss:*

Frederick A. Luckenbach, being first duly sworn, on oath deposes and says: I am 62 years of age. I was born in Bucks County, Pa. I removed to the city of Philadelphia in the year 1846, and continued to reside there until 1865, when I removed to the city of New York. In Philadelphia I was in the furniture business. In New York I branched into machinery and inventions, and am the patentee of Luckenbach's pneumatic pulverizer, which machines are now in use generally in the Eastern part of the United States and in Europe. I now reside in Denver, having removed from New York two years ago. I am well known in New York. I have been a member of the Produce Exchange and am well acquainted with many members of that body. I am well known by Mr. Erastus Wyman.

In the year 1865 I visited London, England, for the purpose of placing there Pennsylvania oil properties in which I was interested. I took with me letters of introduction to many gentlemen in London—among them one to Mr. Ernest Seyd, from Robert M. Foust, ex-treasurer of Philadelphia. I became well acquainted with Mr. Seyd, and with his brother, Richard Seyd, who, I understand, is yet living. I visited London thereafter every year, and at each visit renewed my acquaintance with Mr. Seyd, and upon each occasion became his guest one or more times—joining his family at dinner or other meals.

In February, 1874, while on one of these visits, and while his guest for dinner, I, among other things, alluded to rumors afloat of parliamentary corruption, and expressed astonishment that such corruption should exist. In reply to this he told me he could relate facts about the corruption of the American Congress that would place it far ahead of the English Parliament in that line. So far, the conversation was at the dinner table between us. His brother, Richard, and others were there also, but this was table talk between Mr. Ernest Seyd and myself. After the dinner ended he invited me to another room, where he resumed the conversation about legislative corruption. He said: "If you will pledge me your honor as a gentleman not to divulge what I am about to tell you while I live, I will convince you that what I said about the corruption of the American Congress is true." I gave him the promise, and he then continued: "I went to America in the winter of 1872–'73, authorized to secure, if I could, the passage of a bill demonetizing silver. It was to the interest of those I represented—the governors of the Bank of England—to have it done.

"I took with me £100,000 sterling, with instructions if that was not sufficient to accomplish the objects to draw for another £100,000, or as much more as was necessary." He told me German bankers were also interested in having it accomplished. He said he was the financial adviser of the bank. He said: "I saw the committee of the House and Senate and paid the money, and staid in America until I knew the measure was safe." I asked if he would give me the names of the members to whom he paid the money, but this he declined to do. He said: "Your people will not now comprehend the far-reaching extent of that measure, but they will in after years. Whatever you may think of corruption in the English Parliament, I assure you I would not have dared to make such an attempt here as I did in your country." I expressed my shame to him for my countrymen in our legislative bodies. The conversation drifted into other subjects, and after that—though I met him many times—the matter was never again referred to.

(Signed), FREDERICK A. LUCKENBACK.

Subscribed and sworn to before me at Denver, this 9th day of May, A. D. 1892.

(Signed) JAMES A. MILLER,
Clerk Supreme Court

But this is foreign to the merits of the question, and is only alluded to in order to show what the people think.

HONEST DOLLAR.

The advocates of the gold standard are fond of the virtuous, the "honest dollar." We, too, believe in an "honest dollar." The "honest dollar" is the silver dollar, the only metal through all these twenty years which has retained relatively the same proportion to the commodities which it would buy, through the manipulations of a dishonest gold dollar, which is always rising in value while the prices of the products of this country have steadily fallen and the debts steadily increased.

The dollar is nothing but the representative of so much cotton or so much wheat, and the dollar of debt which was contracted when one bushel of wheat equaled a dollar is a dishonest dollar when it takes two bushels to pay the debt. [Loud applause.]

The House has been wearied with statistics, and I will give none, but content myself by appending to my remarks tables demonstrating the truth of these statements:

TABLE 1.—*Showing relative values in years named.*

Year.	Silver, per ounce.	Wheat, per bushel.	Cotton, per pound.
1873	$1.29	$1.17	$0.20⅛
1876	1.14	1.05	.12
1879	1.11½	.83	.10⅛
1890	1.09	.92	.11½
1891	1.01	1.01	.07½
1892	.83	.73	.07½
1893	.75	.63	.07½

January 1, 1873.—Cotton in New York was 20⅛ cents per pound; $1 in gold bought 4.93 pounds.

August 16, 1893.—Cotton was worth 7½ cents per pound; $1 in gold would buy 13⅓ pounds.

Our people remember the flush days when cotton was high and they had plenty of money. They have pondered over these figures, showing that wheat and cotton have gone down with silver, and have connected the two in their minds. They have seen that in 1873, wheat, cotton, and silver steadily fell together, while gold staid at the high-water mark. They remember that in 1873, when silver was $1.29 an ounce, wheat was $1.17 a bushel, and cotton, the king, was 20 cents a pound. They have connected these things in their minds, and have seen it take 4 pounds of their cotton to buy a dollar in 1873 under the double standard, and they see now that it takes 15 pounds of the same cotton to buy the same thing.

The statistical abstract for 1892 fails to give the figures upon cotton for the years mentioned, but the figures on corn will illustrate the point; and surely a man from South Carolina and Marlboro County may even speak of corn in the presence of the Representatives of the great corn countries of the West, when in my county Mr. J. Drake had the honor of making the largest yield of corn that was ever made in the world and was awarded the prize of $1,000 for raising 255 bushels on a single acre.

In 1873 South Carolina had in corn 973,158 acres, and raised thereon 9,245,000 bushels, the value thereof being $8,690,300.

In 1892 South Carolina had in corn 1,591,677 acres and raised thereon 16,713,000 bushels, the value thereof being $9,526,000. Thus we have as between 1873 and 1892 an increase of over 63 per cent, an increase in bushels of over 80 per cent, with an increase in value of less than 10 per cent.

Mr. Speaker, no people ever bore with greater fortitude their burden than the Southern people since the war. They recognized that as a conquered people, like the children of Israel, to "make bricks without straw" was a part of their fate. We can stand it no longer. By the eternal justice of an omnipotent God, we will stand it no longer. [Loud applause.]

IT IS ENGLAND'S SCHEME.

When silver is worth 80 cents per ounce, it takes 600 grains of it to buy 23.32 grains of pure gold, the amount in an American dollar, or 25.84 grains of silver to one of gold. Now, suppose the United States under present pressure establishes a ratio of 25 to 1, then she fixes the value of silver at 80 cents per ounce. England can buy it at that price, send it to her mints, and coin it into rupees at $1.46¼ per ounce, and use the rupee to pay for wheat, cotton, rice, and jute, thereby fixing the price of these products. I affirm, and will demonstrate mathematically, that with free coinage, and the United States keeping silverat $1.29 per ounce, our cotton would to-day be at 15 cents per pound.

A GRAND EXPOSÉ.

A pound of cotton or a bushel of wheat of the same quality is of equal value to the English whether they lay it down from India or America. Suppose a Manchester cotton spinner wants some cotton for his mill and wheat for flour on which to feed his operatives. He writes to his London broker to buy him, say, 10,000 ounces of silver and to ship it to his broker at Bombay. At 85 cents per ounce it costs him $8,500 in gold. He writes his broker in Bombay on the arrival of the silver bullion to take it to the mint and have it coined into rupees and invest the product in cotton and ship it to him.

His Bombay broker, on the arrival of the silver, obeys instructions, and, after paying 2 per cent seigniorage for having it coined, received in rupees $14,374 worth, which he invests in cotton and ships to Manchester. On its arrival, counting first cost of silver, freights, brokerage, insurance, etc., say it costs 10 cents per pound in gold to lay it down. An American offers him cotton, and, if he buys it from him, he will have to pay for it in gold; so he says:

"I am laying my cotton down from India at a cost of 10 cents per pound in gold, and, other things being equal, I would prefer to patronize our own colonies."

Therefore, if an American sells, he must offer the same quality at a lower price, or a better quality at the same price. And the price at which the Englishman can lay his cotton down from India is what enables him to fix the price on our cotton.

FREE COINAGE WOULD STOP IT.

We will assume for the present that if we had free coinage of silver that an ounce of it would be worth $1.2929, and if it was, then 10,000 ounces of it would cost $1.2929 in gold, and when sent to Bombay and coined into rupees and seigniorage was paid, would only give $14,374 worth in rupees, the same as when the first cost was $8,500, and there being no more rupees it would pay for no more pounds of cotton or bushels of wheat; the freight, insurance, seigniorage, and brokerage being the same in both cases, the difference in the cost of the same amount of cotton would be the difference in the first cost of the silver; $8,500, at 10 cents per pound, would buy 85,000 pounds of cotton, but 85,000 pounds of cotton, the cost of the silver to pay for which was $12,929 would make it cost, laid down in gold, 15⅛ cents per pound, and if wheat can be laid down from India at $1 per bushel, when silver costs 85 cents per ounce, when it would cost $1.2929 per ounce wheat laid down from India would cost $1.52 per bushel, and if it costs 15⅛ cents a pound, and $1.52 per bushel to lay cotton and wheat down from India, then American cotton and wheat would certainly be worth 15 cents per pound and $1.50 per bushel.

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ASTONISHING STATEMENTS.

A pound of cotton yarn of the same quality is of equal value to the inhabitant of China or Japan, whether spun in India or England, and as the same money that would pay for 100 pounds of cotton yarn in England would buy and pay for 136 pounds of yarn of the same quality in India, the Chinese and Japanese merchants, being sensible men, bought their goods where their money would go farthest to pay for them. (Will some patriotic Democrat bar the doors of the White House to the office-seeker until President Cleveland can get this idea into his mind? The perpetuation of the party in power and the commercial supremacy of the nation depends upon it.)

The result is that India in 1892 had in operation 88 cotton mills, running 2,380,000 spindles, and built 8 more cotton mills during that year, so that there are now 96 cotton mills in operation in India, as against 18 when silver began to decline. These mills are all spinning Indian cotton with Indian labor, fed upon Indian products, and the markets they supply take the place of that much of the products of the English mills. The result is that while 8 new cotton factories are being pushed to completion in India, the English cotton mills were closed in a lockout for six months, and were it not for the cheap cotton and wheat that low silver enables them, at our expense, to supply themselves, their condition would be much worse.

What is the imperial Anglo-Saxon blood to do? Commerce, when free, does not examine the color of the skin of those who best serve her wants. Great Britain in 1890, after supplying her own 40,000,000 of home people with cotton goods, sold to the rest of the world $352,529,975 worth of cotton products. Is she going to sit still and see these yellow sons of Shem rob her of this her greatest industry, that has taken her more than three hundred years to develop? Great Britain, who, when she first began the manufacture of cotton goods, passed a law that prohibited all of her citizens from wearing any cotton goods not manufactured in their own country, and as soon as she captured India levied a tax on all cotton looms there, which taxed them out of existence and gave the trade to her own people, and never removed the tax until the discovery of the use of steam and Arkwright's invention enabled them to manufacture better and cheaper goods than any country in the world?

Oh, no; it is not to the tunes of retreat that the British banner has been placed where it is first to kiss the rising sun on every meridian of the earth's face. Something must be done to retain this supremacy. The English money lenders, while controlling the government, and successfully plotting in their own interests, are bankrupting her farming and cotton manufacturing industries, and "a house divided against itself can not stand." How can all her industries be made to strike the chord of prosperity in unison is the question. And let us see how the ingenious English mind approaches the subject:

Parliament appoints a commission, of which Lord Herschell was chairman, to investigate and report. This commission has been gathering information and studying the subject for more than eight months, and has recently reported, recommending:

First. That the mints of India be closed to the coinage of silver for individual account.

Second. That the Government buy silver bullion and coin it into rupees at the mints of India, and sell the rupees at 32 a piece in gold.

Third. That a tariff be levied on the importation of all silver into India not introduced by the Government.

A TERRIBLE RAID.

Now each of these measures has a special service to perform. First, the stoppage of the free coinage for individuals is to depress the value of silver bullion and give the Government the control of the supply of rupees. At 31 pence an ounce for bullion, the price quoted yesterday, the silver in the rupee would cost the Government 20 cents, and if sold at 32 cents would give the Government 12 cents profit on each rupee, or about 38 cents profit on each ounce she coined into rupees. Sixty per cent profit should certainly be satisfactory to the Government. Having made this sum herself, she hands the rupees over to her customers with a stamp on them authorizing said customers to pay their debts due her Indian subjects with these rupees at a valuation of a fraction more than 47 cents per rupee. The aggregate ravages upon India of the three invasions of Alexander, Pompey, and Lucullus did not cost India one-half the treasure that this measure will, if submitted to without a revolution.

A tariff on the imports of silver shipped by individuals to India will force Chinese and Japanese merchants to quit the India mills and buy their cotton goods and yarns in England. This will bankrupt every cotton factory in India, and build up the British factories. It will force India to export all of her cotton, and every bale that is so exported takes the place of an

American bale. Unless America comes to the rescue, it makes England mistress of the commercial world for the next century. She is accustomed to large transactions and unscrupulous where her financial interests are concerned, as shown by her legislation in reference to factories in the American colonies, Ireland, and India. Were we disinterested spectators, we might catch our breath at the enormity of the scheme and plod on, but when all of our giant industries are bowing their towering heads, and being stripped of their green leaves and vigorous shoots, we cannot fold our hands and idly float with the current.

These figures are studied at every humble fireside in the South and every eye is turned upon this Congress, and gentlemen who advocated free silver and so suddenly changed front will have to answer how these figures lie. They are not sending petitions like the boards of trade, but are doing some quiet watching and thinking on their own account. We understand that the difference between the price of cotton in 1873 and 1893 represents the difference in a large degree between bimetallism and monometallism. That in the last cotton crop it represented the difference between five hundred and twenty and two hundred millions of dollars. Yes, gentlemen, our people understand that destroying one-half of our money doubles the purchasing power of the other half always at the expense of the producer.

VOLUME OF CURRENCY.

Now, Mr. Speaker, as to the volume of currency, a word: The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] said that "the volume of currency was of no consequence when you kept the standard of currency sound;" and cited the nations with a small per capita circulation as examples of greatest prosperity. The gentleman told us all about Lycurgus [laughter] and seems profoundly versed in classic history, but I will read a page to him. From the report of the monetary commission, on pages 49 and 50, it says, in regard to contraction:

CAUSE OF THE DOWNFALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

"At the Christian Era the metallic money of the Roman Empire amounted to $1,800,000,000. By the end of the fifteenth century it had shrunk to less than $200,000,000. During this period a most extraordinary and baleful change took place in the condition of the world. Population dwindled, and commerce, arts, wealth, and freedom all disappeared. The people were reduced by poverty and misery to the most degraded conditions of serfdom and slavery. The disintegration of society was almost complete. The conditions of life were so hard that individual selfishness was the only thing consistent with the instinct of self-preservation. All public spirit, all generous emotions, all the noble aspirations of man shriveled and disappeared as the volume of money shrunk and as prices fell.

"History records no such disastrous transition as that from the Roman Empire in the Dark Ages. Various explanations have been given of this entire breaking down of the framework of society, but it was certainly coincident with a shrinkage in the volume of money, which was also without historical parallel. The crumbling of institutions kept even step and pace with the shrinkage in the stock of money and the falling of prices. All other attendant circumstances than these last have occurred in other historical periods, unaccompanied and unfollowed by any such mighty disasters.

"It is a suggestive coincidence that the first glimmer of light only came with the invention of bills of exchange and paper substitutes, through which the scanty stock of the precious metals was increased in efficiency.

"But not less than the energizing influence of Potosi and all the argosies of treasure from the New World were needed to arouse the Old World from its comatose sleep, to quicken the torpid limbs of industry, and to plume the leaden wings of commerce. It needed the heroic treatment of rising prices to enable society to reunite its shattered links, to shake off the shackles of feudalism, to relight and uplift the almost extinguished torch of civilization.

"That the disasters of the Dark Ages were caused by decreasing money and falling prices, and that the recovery therefrom and the comparative prosperity which followed the discovery of America were due to an increasing supply of the precious metals and rising prices, will not seem surprising or unreasonable when the noble functions of money are considered.

"Money is the great instrument of association, the very fiber of social organism, the vitalizing force of industry, the protoplasm of civilization, and as essential to its existence as oxygen is to animal life. Without money civilization could not have had a beginning; with a diminishing supply it must languish, and, unless relieved, finally perish."

Our people are centuries ahead of the gentleman in his financial theories, for they understand that a contracted volume of currency means a few very rich men and a nation of paupers. [Applause.] Well does the historian say:

The conditions of life were so hard that individual selfishness was the only thing consistent with the instinct of self-preservation.

It is easy to see that after a man has made his fortune the less other people have the more highly prized and valuable are his accumulations. One can well imagine in those days preceding the Dark Ages some learned and wealthy Roman senator entertaining his colleagues with the same argument. Human nature is ever the same, and "when self the trembling" balance holds interest, conscience, and judgment run near together. [Applause.]

DANGER TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

For the first time since the war, the Democratic party is in full possession of every department of the Government. The people recognize the fact that we are not responsible for thirty of Republican misgovernments, and are willing to give the Democracy a fair trial.

But, Mr. Speaker, they will stand no deception upon the silver question. The recent revolt against the Republican party, as the party in power, will be a gentle zephyr to the cyclone which will occur in 1896 if we are unfaithful to the pledges contained in the platform upon which we were elected, and you might just as well attempt to twist a Western cyclone round the wrong way as to stem the tide.

That plank of the platform was as follows:

SILVER PLANK.

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets, and in payment of debt; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

In South Carolina we accepted in good faith this plank, pledging the party to maintain the parity of metals. Had Mr. Cleveland then announced that "silver and gold must part company," the solid South would have been a thing of the past, and he would never have been elected President of these United States, and you know it. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT SURRENDERS TO WALL STREET.

Mr. Speaker, some of the press are doing, I fear, the President a great injustice. I read:

[Special Dispatch to the Traveler.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 14.*—President Cleveland has determined to apply his most heroic influence to bring about the speedy adoption of the silver repeal bill.

He has issued instructions to all of his cabinet officers that there shall be no more appointments made upon the recommendation of men in Congress about whose vote upon the silver problem there is any doubt.

He has gone even further, and has directed that there shall be extended no official courtesy whatever to any one in Congress until it is known how his vote is to be cast upon the silver question.

Two Senators from the far West called upon Secretary Hoke Smith the other day, and asked to have enforced certain laws adopted by the last Congress relating to Indian reservations, and they were surprised to be informed by the Secretary of the Interior that the Department would take no action upon the request of men in Congress until after the Sherman law was repealed.

The Senator attempted to explain to Secretary Smith that there was not the slightest partisanship or personal favor to them in the request made, but the Secretary of the Interior replied that he was carrying out instructions, and there would be nothing done except the routine of the Department until after the silver question was disposed of.

Mr. Speaker, if heroic treatment is to be applied, let it be met by heroes. Let us teach Mr. Cleveland that we and not he are the representatives of the people. [Loud applause.]

THE PROBABLE RESULT.

Mr. Speaker, if the great influence and power of the Executive is to be used to strike down one-half of the metal money of the country, it is too dear a price to pay for a party triumph, and can only be regarded in the light of a national calamity.

In 1878 John G. Carlisle, now Secretary of the Treasury, said:

The movement to totally demonetize silver is a stupendous conspiracy conceived by the moneyed interests of all countries to increase the value of one-half of the world's metallic money by destroying the other half. The successful consummation of that conspiracy would be more disastrous to the people of this world than war, pestilence, and famine.

That eloquent tongue is silenced by a Cabinet office.

Representatives like the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON] have suddenly found out that "consistency is the hobgoblin of the fool," and gone to the other side. We are gravely told that the silver plank means nothing—"catch-words and glittering generalities."

"Platforms are a good thing to get in on," and I would remind the gentlemen that the late Republican party found platforms a good thing to get out on. Let us be brave; let us be honest. The message of the President is a bitter disappointment—a complete surrender to Wall street. The issue is plainly and sharply drawn. It is well that it is so.

Necessity will force the West and South to unite, and then the domination of the East in national affairs is gone forever. The people can not be again deceived with "catch-words and glittering generalities." The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON] reminds us how much we owe to New York for help in reconstruction times. We are profoundly grateful to our brethren of the East for the help rendered in freeing us from negro domination and carpet-baggism, but we can not show our gratitude by becoming industrial serfs, to manufacture more Goulds and Vanderbilts.

For thirty years we have tackled our car to Eastern Democracy; but this straw will break the camel's back, and you will force us to the great West, whose soul is fashioned in the likeness of her boundless prairies and mighty mountains—not confined within the narrow rim of a gold dollar.

It was the great common people in 1776, with "confidence" in their country, who secured our independence from Great Britain.

The same people to-day are ashamed and humiliated at the admission of the right and power of England to force upon us a financial policy which enriches foreign security holders at the expense of our own people. The next thing in order is for some one to propose that these United States be annexed to the Dominion of Canada. We are in exactly the same condition we were in 1876, except that now we seek to eliminate the tyranny of King Gold, instead of King George. Fifteen-sixteenths of our railroad lines are owned by British capitalists, and we have even more cause for discontent than we had then. Millions are drained from us annually in interest and rents, and what England failed to do with her sword she accomplishes with her money. Are we to be forever a tributary province, a puny, sickly baby, with spasms every time mother England has hysterics? Let us rather clip the umbilical cord with a pair of silver shears, and assume the proportions of full manhood. One thing more, and I am done. I will not repeat the words of Mr. Ingalls concerning silver, so frequently quoted upon the floor of this House.

Ex-Senator Ingalls, in a speech in the Senate February 15, 1878, said:

No people in a great emergency ever found a faithful ally in gold. It is the most cowardly and treacherous of all metals. It makes no treaty it does not break. It has no friend it does not sooner or later betray. Armies and navies are not maintained by gold. In times of panic and calamity, shipwreck and disaster, it becomes the agent and minister of ruin. No nation ever fought a great war by the aid of gold. On the contrary, in the crisis of the greatest peril it becomes an enemy more potent than the foe in the field; but when the battle is won and peace has been secured gold reappears and claims the fruits of victory.

In our own civil war it is doubtful if the gold of New York and London did not work us greater injury than the powder and lead and iron of the enemy. It was the most invincible enemy of the public credit. Gold paid no soldier or sailor. It refused the national obligations. It was worth most when our fortunes were the lowest. Every defeat gave it increased value. It was in open alliance with our enemies the world over, and all its energies were evoked for our destruction. But as usual, when danger had been averted and the victory secured, gold swaggers to the front and asserts the supremacy.

The present situation is no exception. Gold has hidden its head in time of trouble and silver is at a premium instead of gold, as they predicted. I read an extract from the New York World, which certainly can not be accused of being friendly to silver. The occurrences were so exceptional that it may be well to recall some of them by way of illustration.

It is not so long ago that apprehension was felt that the continued purchases of silver by the Government would send gold to a premium. A hoarding of the yellow metal resulted in consequence. Last week, however, gold was actually worth less than the Government promises to pay, or paper money, and even the discredited silver dollars commanded a larger premium.

There was also witnessed during the week the anomaly of unprecedentedly heavy imports of gold with the rates of sterling exchange practically on the same basis as when Europe took millions from this country. Bankers were enabled to import at the high rates simply because of the premiums commanded by currency for local purposes. In a comparatively short time between $20,000,000 and $25,000,000 gold have been contracted for, no less than $13,000,000 having arrived during the week just closed. Far and beyond everything else was the premium on silver dollars, which served to bring out clearly the seriousness of the currency famine. It was not a pleasant thing to contemplate.

Mr. Speaker, I favor the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1. I am opposed to increasing the ratio, first, because we can maintain the parity at 16 to 1 as easily as at a larger ratio. I despise compromise. Brazen, impudent wrong and timid virtue are the parents of compromise. Second, because it would result in a shrinkage of probably $200,000,000 in the coin now in circulation, which would all have to be recoined. Third, because just to the extent that the size of the dollar was increased there would be a contraction in the money metals of the world, and a corresponding increase in the debts. In other words, every man now owing a debt would be forced to pay in a dishonest dollar, one that had appreciated in value, since the debt was contracted, in proportion to the increase in ratio.

DUMPING GROUND.

Unfortunately, we would not be the dumping ground for silver. India coins at $1.37½, France at $1.33½, and the United States at $1.29 per ounce. Therefore, it would cost from 4 to 8 cents per ounce to ship silver here, besides depleting the circulation of the countries from which it came.

But suppose that silver did come here. Would not our competitors, India and Egypt, be driven out of the wheat and cotton markets of the world? Every buyer would come here to buy with silver, and how long could these countries stand a contracted currency, with the markets of the world closed to their products? Would not the price of every American product be enhanced even in this debased coin, which is now selling at a premium in New York? Would not the clamor from their colonies force England and Germany to us, hat in hand, and we then realize that "iridescent dream" of international bimetallism, with which the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN] taunted the advocates of monometallism.

Mr. Speaker, I am glad the time for debate has nearly closed. The country has its eyes turned anxiously upon Congress, and it wants us to do something or else adjourn and go home. What we do we should do promptly, and let the country know what to expect. There can be but one thing worse than inaction, and that is the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act. I for one am prepared to stay here the balance of my term before I vote for unconditional repeal.

Mr. Speaker, these times are not without their compensating advantages. Discontent and agitation are the parent of progress. The very air we breathe bears upon its bosom the restless discontent of the masses.

Our beautiful capital city has its wide avenues, its grand marble palaces.

Back down the dim corridors of the past lie the ruins of other great cities, the wrecks of mighty nations, perishing upon the shores of time because of the destruction of the homes of the people. The homes of our people are now at stake. Oh, ye money kings and wise financiers, I appeal to you, heed the warning. Belshazzar—feasted and intoxicated with the subtle essence of power, the golden goblets from the temple of the Lord were polluted with the lips of the harlot. Belshazzar is a type. When the beautiful night came down over Babylon, and he delighted himself with music and feasting, there were strange lights on the horizon line, but none noted them save the gloomy seers, and these called them the watch fires of the army of the great Cyrus. There are strange lights now upon the horizon line. The deep mutterings of a mighty storm, the fierce discontent of a hungry people, come to us like a cry for help from out of the night. Oh, my friends, will you heed the warning, will you listen to the voice of the people, or will you wait until a Daniel strides into the judgment hall, and reads the doom of a great nation and a mighty people? My friends let us rise above section, above party. In this hour of a nation's supreme need let us forget self and the fleeting present. Let us build wisely, so that generations yet unborn will rise up and call us blessed. [Loud applause.]

Mr. MCDANNOLD. Mr. Speaker, there is but a single excuse needed for my intrusion into this debate. For many days I have listened in this House to speeches for and against certain governmental policies, and have yet to hear a single member of the dominant party take that stand upon the burning question which has caused this midsummer gathering which I believe is due both to the people from whom we receive our warrant and to that brave and courageous Executive from whom issued our call. It may be that we of the Western prairies have lacked something of the education which prevails in circles more dominated by foreign culture.

It may be that the eminent statesman and orator from Maryland has gained through contact with older civilizations that insight into governmental policy denied to men who draw their inspiration from cornfields and prairies of grain. But, sir, I should do injustice to my own convictions and to the earnest beliefs of my constituents did I fail to make stern condemnation of the sentiments by which one wearing the garb of my party seeks to discredit the organization, and I make this at the opening of my remarks that it may be taken as my text.

The gentleman says:

In conclusion, sir, I wish to state that as far as I am concerned at this critical era in the history of our country, I am not in the slightest degree disturbed or intimidated by the glittering catchwords of political conventions. I am guided by a purer and higher faith. No matter what construction may be placed on our platform, I believe in forever striking from the tenets of our political creed the superstitious folly that a nation grows rich in proportion to the amount of worthless money it can coin. In place of this idolatry, I would plant high upon our altars, so that all mankind could read it, the inscription that we would as soon fail and perish as dishonor any of the obligations upon which have been imprinted or emblazoned the emblem of the Republic.

Now, sir, I presume that such assertions may please the ear and tickle the fancy of liberal paymasters of older lands. It may serve to excite laughter and derision of American institutions in circles where the divine right of kings is recognized. But I say for the benefit of the gentleman who uttered these words, and for the benefit of certain editors who have echoed them, that they do not represent the opinions of that vast aggregation of triumphant Democrats who reversed political conditions in this country last November. These sentiments smack of that spirit which tempted the Democracy in national convention to worship the discredited fetish of protection.

Let my answer stand for that better wisdom which yielded to the popular demand for reform and gave no recognition to the infamous policy of robbing the masses for the benefit of the classes. And as last fall the victory of right in convention was followed by a logical success in the national contest, so to-day there should be better possibility of Democratic service to the people by calling to the attention of their Representatives certain facts which can not be gainsaid.

I am of those who believe absolutely and unreservedly in the capacity of this people for self-government. I am of those

who rejoice in the fact that cliques have twice met with signal rebuke when seeking the overthrow of a statesman who dared to be right, and to serve the people through the Democratic organization, even when timidity cast before him the possibility of defeat. Believing this, I ask Democratic Representatives on this floor to examine the credentials they bear from their constituents. I spurn the insinuation that the Democrats of the nation indulge in "glittering catchwords." [Applause.]

I know no higher and purer faith for a Democratic Representative than can be drawn from the expressions of their party platform. Nor do I believe, if it may be asked that those platforms, speaking the voice of the people, shall be construed solely by the representatives of national banks on this floor. We have had too much of that sort of construction from our friends on the other side of this House. They made a contract between the people and the bondholders, specifically promising that a bond should be paid in "coin," and then the modest national banker came forward with his construction that "coin" meant only gold. And now representatives of the same class come here and ask that we show our patriotism and Democracy by allowing national bankers to be once more our schoolmasters, and teach us the meaning of the simplest terms.

No, sir; I come from a section where national bankers are not recognized as the most learned or patriotic men of the land. I have been sent here by a constituency who would resent the imputation that they went to a national banker for the double purpose of being fleeced and then educated. We have no hostility to national bankers, as bankers. But our gorge rises when a national banker turns pedagogue and talks about evolution and human progress. Gentlemen have a tender regard for the proprieties on this floor when speaking of their associates. They carefully place a bit on their tongues when alluding to members of a coördinate legislative body. But when referring to that higher power vested in the people, all restraints are cast aside and naught recognized save the right to indulge in sarcastic reference to all the people hold dear, and in sneers at expressions which stand for the supreme deliverance of the nation's electorate.

We are in this House representing the Democratic party of the nation. I do not believe there is a single member on this side of the House who would have been victorious at the polls had he been so bold as to denounce either the candidate or the platform of the Chicago convention. Holding this position we have at our hands a simple statement of our duty. We are commanded by the Chicago platform to repeal the Sherman law. We are called together in extra session for this purpose by a statesman who has never known an inclination to denounce the solemn expressions of his party as "glittering catchwords." There is no chance for evasion of this duty save at the expense of the personal honor of each Representative thus guilty.

The people have demanded that the Sherman law be repealed, and I am ready now, as I have been since the first day of the session, to vote unconditionally in accordance with these instructions. But I ask those who signify their approbation of this sentiment to withhold their expressions until they shall have had occasion to determine whether or not they will follow to the logical end of this argument, and make that full performance of their obligations, than which less will be disobedience to the people's demands. I can not sympathize with those gentlemen who quiet their consciences by a recognition of one portion of the command of the Chicago convention and tickle hostile influences by ignoring an equally binding clause in the same platform.

I say I am willing to vote this moment for the absolute repeal of the Sherman law. But, though I will do this asking no promise of future legislation, I am forced to confess that I take this ground firm in the conviction that other legislation will be thus made more easy because of the union of men who look to the people, rather than to their personal employers, for a rule of conduct.

I believe there is a fundamental principle underlying the demand of the Chicago convention for the repeal of the Sherman iniquity. I do not believe that demand rested on the belief or thought that the present money stringency might or could be produced by this single cause. There have been scrambles for gold ever since Moses left the original monometallist at the foot of the mountain to build the golden calf for a perverse and ignorant generation. There were panics in the money market even while the wonderful financier of Republican legislation was still obscure in the wilds of Ohio.

There was no Sherman law in 1873, nor had there been in 1857. Nor was it due to the nonexistence of a Sherman law in 1866 that this people escaped the consequences of an abnormal raising of the rate of interest by the Bank of England upon the occasion of the panic resulting from the failure of the banking house of Overend, Gurney & Co. But, sir, there was a fundamental truth underlying this demand nevertheless. We of the West have not been heedless of the discussion of the fiscal question since Grover Cleveland dared lead his party aright in 1888.

We have been instant in season and out of season in following that lead and in presenting to the people the ground of the faith that was within us. We have demonstrated to the entire satisfaction of a majority of the people of my State that unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. We have insisted that the Government had no just power to exercise its fiat for the purpose of distributing the products of human activity applied to natural opportunities. We have denied the just power of the Government to place wealth or value of any kind in the pockets of one class by the exercise of its fiat. We have gained the people's assent to the affirmation that whenever by its fiat the Government adds to the wealth of an individual or class it by that act takes unjustly from another individual or class an amount equal to the improper gift.

Standing upon this ground, the people dominated the Chicago convention. There was no terror of a financial panic. They were not actuated by fear lest their banks might break and leave them with no means of paying their board bills. They were not a flock of geese terrified by one of the Ohio financier's scarecrows. [Laughter.] They were rather an educated people demanding the return of the Government to its original principles and the assumption by the Democracy of a leadership logical as the teachings of Democracy's founder. To-day, sir, there are none so poor as to do reverence to this silver law to which our opponents pledged their continued support during the entire campaign which resulted in a Democratic victory last November.

The charge of the Democratic platform has been confessed and Republicans vie with those who have never supported the infamous measure in demanding its repeal. But there is this difference: Democrats ask that this law shall be repealed because it is fundamentally opposed to the principles of their party. They believe it as wrong and unjust for Congress to purchase the entire product of silver mines as to pile in Government warehouses the product of field and farm that their price might be enhanced thereby. Many also understand that all such senseless efforts to influence trade and production will inevitably work ruin to the people. It required little study or knowledge of economic truths three years ago to prompt the prediction that the effect of the Sherman law would be to diminish the relative value of the white metal.

The same unvarying law governs in all things. Let it be enacted that the Federal Government will purchase 90 per cent of all the wheat produced in this country and place it in Government warehouses, and the immediate effect would doubtless be an advance in the selling price of the commodity. There would have been created a new demand for which no immediate supply would be available. But the contrary would appear when one harvest had passed and the Government purchases were piled upon last year's crop. The visible supply would be constantly increasing and the selling price as constantly diminishing.

This, however, is not the fundamental principle upon which we base our opposition to the Sherman law. We understand that, under its provisions, the Government is doing for one class of producers in this country what it neither does nor can do for all others. It gives by its fiat value to one class in offering an extended market for their commodities. It is no answer to this proposition to say that the effect of the law has been contrary to this. That was the intent of those who accepted the law in place of another from which they sought the same result. And the effect upon the general prosperity is the same, since every dollar lost by the Government in the continuing decline in the relative value of silver must be borne by the people at large.

It is only an illustration of that principle, which must be iterated here perhaps for years, that the Government which gives by its fiat wealth to one class by that act robs all other classes. Nor is it an answer to this proposition to say that we are not to be influenced by whatever may be the indirect result of our action regarding the finances. I have been surprised to hear from men known all over the country as opponents of protective tariffs—and they argue that all tariffs are protective—that although it may be true that by reëstablishing the free coinage of silver we by that act bestow wealth upon the mine owners, it does not follow that we must refrain from the act because this is an incident to a necessary exercise of the legislative power.

Let me tell these gentlemen so arguing that they are on the wrong side of the House. They should join their friends in the ranks of protection. And let me remind them that the discussion of the principles of protection has gone so far as to have created a strong demand all over the country for the entire abolition of the system which forces such absurdity into our legislation. It is for those thus arguing to demonstrate the necessity for the addition of the legal-tender element to either of the so-called precious metals.

But I am asked if I am opposed both to the purchase of silver by the Government, and—if my argument is to be followed to its logical conclusion—am also opposed to its admission to the mints upon any ratio, how shall we who accept the Democratic faith and bind ourselves as the accredited agents of the people do anything to restore or maintain the parity of the two metals? The answer is revealed in a simple statement of existing conditions.

There was signal failure attending the attempt to coin a certain amount of silver per month. The added use did not compensate for the rapidly increasing supply, and silver decreased in relative price. The attempt to bull the market under the Sherman law was equally a failure. We have come to a parting of the ways. It might have been difficult to attract public attention had the relative value of the two metals been maintained within a small fraction. With but 4 or 5 per cent difference between the value of the commodity in the gold and silver dollars it might have been held by some with a show of truth that the people could well afford to be robbed of that difference in favor of the mine owners because of the advantages to arise from a steadily increasing volume of circulating medium to keep pace with increasing production. It might have been argued with much force to those who appreciate the constantly increasing command of accumulated wealth over future production that by this act the producers of the country would be in a large degree protected against the encroachments of combinations of capital.

But, sir, that argument falls to the ground in the face of the silver market of to-day. It fails to convince thoughtful men when it demands that mine owners shall receive 100 cents for less than 58 cents. It has, in my judgment, been one of the happy incidents of the operation of an unjust law that the people have received an object-lesson well worth all its cost. Therefore, sympathizing, as I do, with those who demand that the people be furnished by the Government with a larger volume of money, I am as sternly opposed to the further coinage of silver as a means of maintaining its parity with gold as I am to its further purchase under the Sherman law. I find warrant for this position in the simple fact that every principle of sociology is opposed to this scheme. Nor are we left to a continuance of old methods whose failure has led to present conditions.

I understand, sir, that value resides largely in use. I hold to the unvarying action of the law of supply and demand. That this law applied equally to money as to commodities was fully appreciated by the friends of "honest money," whose spokesman confessed from his seat in the United States Senate, "It was our policy as the war progressed to depreciate the value of United States notes," and who then proceeded to show that the dominant political party at that time understood the operation of this law by explaining that they did the most natural thing—they simply took away one of the uses of the greenbacks issued at that time. And the same gentleman afterwards showed once more that he fully appreciated the value of this law as applied to finance when he led his party in the opposite direction and "appreciated" the greenbacks after the war had closed by securing to them even more than their old functions.

I make this reference, not because there is necessity to demonstrate the existence and universality of this law, but that the gentlemen on the other side of this House need not challenge the acumen of their patron financial saint by denying that such a law can apply to money, which is not a commodity but merely a creation of law.

And in passing it may be well to offer still another proof that this law is always appealed to when the people are to be defrauded by those gentlemen who avow themselves the sole defenders of "honest money." The world has seen of late the result of depriving silver of one of its former uses. Concealed in the cunning compromise devised by the same gentleman who avowed that it was his party's purpose to depreciate the value of the money paid to the nation's defenders "as the war progressed," the complete demonetization of silver as a money metal under the Sherman law destroyed one of its uses.

The price of the white metal temporarily rose during the first months, but more rapidly declined when the true inwardness of the scheme had become patent to the people. Silver had been deprived of one of its uses and its value, and selling had declined in accordance with the law of supply and demand. There is no ground upon which these acts may be defended by attributing to the gentlemen responsible for them a lack of knowledge. Their spokesman has told the world in a single sentence that ignorance can not be made a cloak for his actions. These men will never be sent by an enlightened and conscientious jury to a lunatic asylum.

Having, then, destroyed the parity of the two metals in the very act in which it was pharisaically pretended that the parity was to be maintained, and having done this by a cunning following of an economic law once before employed for the plunder of the people and the enrichment of monopolists, why may not the same law now be put into operation for the purpose of restoring the destroyed parity in the only possible way open to intelligent legislators by taking also from the yellow metals its money function, leaving both on a parity of use as mere commodities?

I would coin for all who desire metal money both gold and silver upon any ratio that may be acceptable—and it makes no possible difference—and would then remove from all coins after a fixed date the legal tender quality. Contracts made in "lawful money and legal tender" should be discharged in the same way the nation discharged its obligations to the soldiers and sailors during the war. Contracts made in other terms should be discharged in accordance therewith. [Applause.]

From and after the date named no coin should be received by the Government in payment of any dues; none should be paid by the Government for any debts and demands. But I would ask one single exception, that the Government shall have the privilege of paying every dollar of its interest-bearing obligations in coin. No Republican friend of "honest money" shall ever raise the finger of ignorant scorn at me and say that I would violate the conditions of a contract. That crime shall, so far as my action is concerned, always remain affixed to the Republican party of the nation, and to it alone. It has well earned the distinction. Let no one compete for the infamy. [Applause.]

No, sir; I would pay every dollar of the nation's interest-bearing bonds in coin. That is the language of the existing contract. True, it was a contract made *ex post facto* for the benefit of the bondholder, as was also confessed by the Republican financial saint. And it is well to remind those gentlemen here who so glibly mouth the words "honest money" that the greatest political crimes of the century have been those which lie at the door of their class. They devised the infamous legislation which gave the soldier rags while providing refined gold for the greedy money lord. [Applause.]

It was their crime that paid a million soldiers the money of the country, and then depreciated its value by act of Congress. It was their idea of political and financial honesty under which the people saw an army, returning victorious, forced to pay three times the amount of the debt contracted in the conduct of the war. And yet, sir, I would pay this debt in coin. We will hold them to the contract, and heartily enjoy their ravings as we tender them the coin of the bond, and refuse them that for which they even now exchange the yellow metal at a discount. [Applause.]

Snap cameras will be in demand when Mr. Pluto finds himself denied the derided greenback if the country should, for once, insist upon the full performance of a contract made for his benefit. Possibly the time will come. It most surely will if we pursue the only possible method of restoring the lost parity between these two metals. And then, possibly, the country may discover that something better is expected of the members of Congress than an attempt to interfere with laws of trade or to substituteth eir enactments for the law of supply and demand in determining the exact ratio of any two or more commodities with each other.

Of course, the friend of "honest money" will now be alarmed lest we lose all chance of settling that most senseless of humbugs, the balance of trade. He will demand, "How will you settle the balance of trade"? The answer would be comprehended by an intelligent boy in a primary school. It may have to be illustrated to the frightened defender of "honest money." It will not make it any more difficult to export gold for these alleged balances if we cease to hoard it as a false basis for our circulating medium. If that pile of idle coin in the Treasury were cast out into the channels of trade it might flow to foreign countries and back again in a constantly moving tide and never disturb the relations of commodities in this country if it possessed no legal-tender quality here.

It is the most absurd of all propositions that we are enabled to export gold by a policy which locks up the entire product of more than three years in the vaults of the Treasury. It passes comprehension that sane men should propose to increase this hoard at a time when the money market is in such a state that laws are broken every day with impunity lest their execution increase the panic caused by an attempt to maintain a system of "honest money," under which the Government promises the impossible and then wonders that the people are periodically panic-stricken when they discover the fact. [Applause.]

And I shall be confronted with still another cry from the caverns of the bankers. They will declaim against the danger of being reduced to the level of silver-using countries. Sir, the people of this generation have learned lessons in finance that have not come from men with bank accounts. They recall the fact that the most gigantic war of history was carried to a successful conclusion without the use of coin. They remember that thus were established the words of Democracy's founder, "Treasury

notes bottomed on taxes will carry the country through the longest war."

I know there will be those who will bring up the ghosts of the old French assignats and ask us if we would imitate that example and court the fate of the southern republics whose credit money has so recently failed. To all such I reply that history does not furnish an instance when the paper money of a solvent government, receivable by that government for all debts and demands, has been below par in coin. Never since Venice ruled the world, under similar conditions, has this test been applied in vain.

Gentlemen have risen on this floor and demanded another attempt to perform the impossible. Yet the cry of all is that confidence sh ll be restored. They ask that the people shall have immediate relief. They know that relief shall only come as the result of restored confidence. I look upon this people as capable of self-government. That assumes their capacity to determine the right from the wrong, the attainable from the unattainable. I believe the people have learned that the Republican prophet spoke correctly when he said in the United States Senate, "No coin reserve, however large and carefully guarded, can resist the stress of adverse trade and panics." Knowing this, they look with disfavor upon the proposition to make them once more face panics and their resulting horrors in a vain attempt to perform the admittedly impossible.

I have not sought to delay this discussion by flowers of speech. I have simply pointed to the easiest possible way out of the present difficulties. Long ago a Democrat, honored in his time and revered in ours, said: "Smite the rock of public credit and there shall flow a stream that will give life to all your industries." I appeal to this House, controlled by men revering the heroes of the past, to legislate in the interest of the people, even if for a moment they hurt the feelings of some banking legislator. There is no necessity for increasing the volume of the circulating notes of the banks. Those notes are the evidence of a banker's debt. They draw interest so long as they are in the hands of the people whose indorsement makes them acceptable.

Now, sir, we ask that the people be allowed the same privilege. Let them have the same privilege that has been so freely accorded to one favored class. Read the provisions applicable to the notes of national bankers. Accord them to the people and there will be little difficulty in settling economic questions. For myself I would say, sir, that if you will pass a law that will enable me to draw interest on my debts you may pile the tariff mountains high, and I will call you blessed. [Applause.] The more you make the coat cost that my tailor will charge to me, the greater will be my debt and the larger my revenue. But does someone say that privilege can not possibly be enjoyed by everybody. Then I answer that it should not be enjoyed by anybody, nor can it be without a resulting burden on every other producer in the land.

To one other objection that will likely be urged against the plan outlined in my remarks and to be presented to this House by my friend from Ohio, I will address my closing words. It will be said that the notes thus issued will rest solely on the faith and credit of the Government. It will be said that they will be simply fiat money and with no "intrinsic" value. Standing here where thirty-one years ago greed higgled for the price of patriotism and produced one money for the bondholder and another for the soldier, I freely admit the assertion.

I want nothing in this life that shall be stronger or outlast the authority of this Government. I believe that what was good enough and strong enough to protect the flag and preserve inviolate this nation, is strong enough and good enough to transfer our commodities in times of peace as well as of war. I look for no hand to shake if its owner desires to provide against the possible disruption of this Government. For I believe that flag will float through all time and greet eternity at its coming. [Applause.] If we shall be guided in wisdom towards an advance step in the evolution of economic science it shall float over no land in which subjective slavery has taken the place of objective slavery.

We fought a long war, and at its close the shackles fell from the hands of 4,000,000 of black men. That was a war in which bullets sped and blood flowed. We are on the eve of a greater contest. It is ours to see that ballots take the place of bullets, and that the only quickening of the flow of human blood shall be that which warms the hearts of 65,000,000 of freemen relieved from the intolerable burdens of a financial system in which are imbedded the absurdities and follies of ages. [Applause.]

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, it had not been my intention to address this House at so early a day in the session, but the exigency of the hour, the emergency of the situation, must be my excuse, if any be needed.

The second article of the Federal Constitution, in its third section, provides that the President shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient: and in accordance with this constitutional mandate the Chief Magistrate of the nation in his message, conveyed to us at the beginning of this extraordinary session, has recommended the prompt repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman act of July 14, 1890; and that other legislative action may put beyond all doubt the intention of the Government to fulfill its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognized by all civilized countries.

The Executive has in clear and direct language sketched the financial and material condition of the Union, and has outlined the legislation deemed essential, and with that message I am in thorough accord. In my opinion, to follow the adjectives used in the Constitution, it is not only most expedient, but vitally necessary, to repeal at once and without compromise, without condition, without bargain or compact, the clause ordering the purchase of silver bullion; and I regard the amendments providing for the free coinage of silver at various ratios, from 16 to 1 to 20 to 1, as remedies more fatal than the disease—like deadly poison given to hasten the moribund patient to his death.

To pass any free-coinage measure would be like digging the spurs deep in the flank of the steed already rushing madly towards the brink of a precipice.

And why should the free-silver men seek to extort from us the passage of a law we believe to be iniquitous, as a condition to the repeal of an act which they admit from even their own standpoint is pernicious? The words of the gentleman from Missouri, who now leads the van of the white-metal men, are memorable, for at the time of the passage of the Sherman bill, in July, 1890, he said:

> The whole bill is in the interest of the gold standard. The whole bill is a murder of silver.

The gentleman from Missouri should not make himself an accessory to the continuing murder of silver by refusing to vote for the unconditional repeal of the law he once pronounced so destructive.

I represent an agricultural county, Richmond County, or Staten Island, and the great water front of the city of New York, extending from Peck Slip on the east side, to West Houston street on the North River, and containing within its limits all the great exchanges—stock, consolidated, produce, cotton, coffee, real estate, and maritime, and that famous street which is the object of almost daily attack upon this floor. I am proud, Mr. Speaker, to represent Wall street; for, conceding that all the primitive virtues exist in the mining gulches of the silver States, it is nevertheless true that there is no place in the world where there is a higher standard of integrity and honest dealing than in Wall street. And, sir, I assert that the animadversions and attacks made upon the financial center of this country spring from unthinking and unintelligent prejudice, and are based upon a defiance of the elemental principles of political economy and an entire misapprehension of the relations of capital and labor.

Of course, in a district such as mine, although the wealthiest in the Union by virtue of the aggregation of capital in its trust companies and banks and in the vaults of its exchanges, the great body of constituents is made up of poor men or men of moderate means; and yet they are all united on this question, and they all demand, in accents as fearless as those of the orator from Nebraska, that the purchasing clause of the silver bill be repealed, and that no free-coinage substitute be enacted.

Bankers and brokers, merchants and clerks, mechanics and farmers, sailors and the longshoremen and the laborers on the docks, all, irrespective of party, urge the repeal of this fatal statute. And, sir, I should be recreant to the trust reposed in me were I to allow my voice to be silent at this momentous time.

The gentleman from Colorado, who opened the debate on the free-silver side, said:

> When this vote comes two weeks from now you will find the Eastern Democrat and the Eastern Republican standing together.

His prophecy was only half correct, for you will find all the men, from North, South, East, and West, who believe in honest money and the honest payment of debts, and the restoration of credit, and the maintenance of this country as one of the great solvent nations of the world, united in this battle for the right.

The issue is above and beyond a partisan or party question; it is an issue of patriotism; and every man who loves his home and country, and the Constitution of his fathers should hasten by his vote to check the tide of impending ruin, and to relieve the pent-up agony of the land.

And, sir, I am glad that I shall see every member of my native State—Massachusetts—side by side and shoulder to shoulder in the fight with every Representative from the State of my adoption—New York.

The gentleman from Colorado said that the dwellers in the

mining States went West "under the protection of a law that had been upon our books since the days of Washington, Hamilton, and Jefferson." The gentleman, it would seem, supposed that the act of 1792 remained in force until 1873, and he overlooked the act of 1834.

The invocation of the names of our Revolutionary patriots is as out of place as the constant allusion to the dollar of the daddies. He had forgotten, too, that the framers of the Federal Constitution were hard-money men. The power given to Congress in the great written instrument of 1787, "to coin money," means, as I interpret it, the power to coin honest money, money which will stand the test of the melting pot, money which is worth as much after it is melted into bullion as its face value stamped upon the coin represents it to be worth. The words "to coin money" were not intended to grant the right to coin silver dollars worth 50 cents in silver, supplemented by 50 cents of fiat money.

I listened to the speech of the silver orator, the gentleman from Nebraska, with admiration and regret, for I admire his charm of utterance and the courage of his convictions while I regret that eloquence and ferver, fancy and the imagination should supply the lack of logic and the cold substratum of fact.

We have had graceful applications of the stories of the Punic hostages, and of the drummer boy of Marengo who could not beat a retreat, but nothing is said of the calmer, colder side of history which deals with the rise and fall of prices, and the increase or decrease of wages; that greater branch of history which treats of the progress of civilization rather than of the warrior and the tented field, and from which are derived many of the inductions of political economy. I do not blame the silver advocates, as the cruel logic of experience is against this visionary scheme, and they would have scanned the pages of the Past in vain.

If a bimetallist be, as defined by the president of the American Bimetallic League, one who wants the unlimited coinage of gold and silver, then I am not one.

Without an international agreement bimetallism becomes simply silver monometallism, and, believing such international agreement impossible, I am in favor of a single standard of value, and that standard gold. I believe that there can be but one universal measure of value, but one ultimate medium of exchange.

I agree with the report of the special commission of the Austrian upper house, wherein it is said:

> In every age there is some metal dominant in the history of the world, which forces its way with elemental strength in the face of any public regulation, and in our day gold is that metal.

And it was so as far back as the reign of King Solomon, for we are told in the Book of Kings—

> And all King Solomon's vessels were of gold and all the vessels of the house of the forest of Lebanon were of pure gold; none were of silver; it was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon.

And again:

> And the King made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones * * * for abundance.

The commercial price and the coinage value of the standard metal must coincide, and gold fulfills that test.

Gold is a proper standard by reason of its intrinsic value and its light proportionate bulk. It is, as Andrew Jackson said in one of his messages, both sound and portable. But silver, on the other hand, is so cumbersome and bulky that the people do not want it and will not use it for large payments, and because of its constant fluctuation and enormous overproduction it is no longer fitted to be a measure of value at any ratio, be it as 27 to 1, 28 to 1, or even 33 to 1.

Our people, when needing actual cash, prefer gold and paper symbols, either representative of gold or backed by the credit of the Government. They have no use for heavy silver coins, as is shown by the fact that only 56,223,989 silver dollars are in circulation, while $363,108,461 lie untouched in the vaults of the Treasury. Were silver dollars coined of intrinsic value they would be about twice as heavy as our present cart wheels, and in quantity could be carried by the ordinary citizen only in handbags and handcarts. [Laughter.]

The proposition to coin silver dollars at the ratio of 20 to 1 is untenable. It is no more right to call 70 cents 100 cents than it is to call 50 cents 100 cents. The dishonesty and deception are there in both cases. There is but a slight difference in the grade of the offense.

The Chicago platform declares that—

> The dollar unit of coinage must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts.

At that time, in June, 1892, it looked as though an international bimetallic agreement were possible. The result, however, of the Brussels International Monetary Conference demonstrated the impossibility of coming to such an agreement in face of the opposition of every great European power; and since the defeat of the bimetallists at that conference their prospect of final success has been dimmed by the secession of the last great remaining silver-standard country—India.

An adjustment through international agreement is, therefore, at least for many years to come, out of the question. The dollar unit of coinage is not of equal intrinsic value, and can not be until the proper ratio be adopted—27.74 to 1 to-day—and be altered with each fluctuation of the market value of silver.

Every dollar is of equal exchangeable value with every other dollar, as is demonstrated by the continuous and rapid exchange for gold of the Treasury notes issued against the silver bullion. Of course, the plank must be read as a whole, and, interpreted in that way, it pledges the party to maintaining the equal power of every silver dollar with every gold dollar in the markets and in payment of debts. Strictly speaking, at the present rate of production, it is beyond the power of any legislation to maintain silver at parity, or, in other words, at $1.29 an ounce.

To maintain by trusts or other artificial means the price of any commodity, says Ottomar Haupt, it is an indispensable condition of success that overproduction be avoided. Excessive production is not avoided by the mine-owners, and this furnishes an additional reason why international bimetallism is impracticable. With improved machinery the annual output of silver is increased at a lesser outlay, and this, too, with a continuously falling market. Figures do not lie, and they prove that concurrent with the fall in the market price of silver there has been a large increase in production. The product of 1892 was some 157,535,000 ounces, as against an annual average of 78,766,000 ounces for the quinquennium from 1876 to 1880.

Although it is sought to discount the action of India by railing at the administration of Mr. Gladstone, and by the assertion that Mr. Balfour will some day come into power and undo all that has been done, we may, I think, learn profitably one or two object-lessons from the experience of England in the East.

The great lesson taught is the absolute necessity of a fixed or stable rate of exchange, and that with silver there can be no permanent rate of exchange. A fall of 1 penny changed a surplus in the Indian budget to an alarming deficit.

Owing to the fluctuations in exchange, taxation could not be adjusted. The merchants of India complained bitterly of the injury to trade. The European officers whose salaries were paid in rupees were in distress because of the loss on their remittances. And driven to extremity, Sir David Barbour, the financial adviser to the Indian Government, and a staunch bimetallist, was forced to advise the stoppage of free coinage.

Delay was ruining India, and the silver standard introduced into her subject country by Great Britain before the days of Clive and Warren Hastings was forever abandoned. And it must be noted that this course was found imperative in a country where the whole of the great internal trade of 300,000,000 of people is carried on by the actual transfer of coin from hand to hand, there being no system of payment by check or draft.

Let us take the experience of another silver country. In Mexico the shifting from the silver to the gold standard in exchange makes the consumer pay 10 per cent more than he ought to pay for imported goods, while the exporter of Mexican products loses about 5 per cent through the charge made by the banks for converting the exchange into Mexican currency.

On the other hand, to use the words of Mr. Robert Hardie—

> Between effective gold standard countries there is a fixed par of exchange which does not vary beyond the narrow limit of the cost of transport of money from one country to the other.

"But," say the silver leaders, "never mind about exchange. We do not care for England or Germany or France. What, wait upon England to fix the ratio for us? Let us build a Chinese wall around our country and defy the outer world." These gentlemen, Mr. Speaker, do not seem to understand that we have any foreign trade or commerce. They do not know that in point of fact the great bulk of the world's commerce is conducted by seven ports, of which New York stands second, coming between London and Liverpool. We can not consume our wheat or corn or cotton, and unless the crops of our farms and plantations decay and diminish beyond conception we must continue to rely in part upon the export of our cotton and breadstuffs.

London is the settling house for our foreign trade, practically the clearing house of the world, and it will so remain in spite of allusions to the Cobden Club and the battles of the Revolution. Were free coinage to be established, the eventual loss through fluctuating exchange to our planters and farmers, to our meat-packers and manufacturers, would amount to millions of dollars, not for one year alone, but annually for all time. [Applause.]

What would happen upon the passage of a free-coinage act? We should lose all our gold at once. The $187,000,000 in gold coin and gold bullion in the Treasury would be immediately drawn out, and gold payments would be stopped. Many, if not

all, the banks in the country would suspend payments. All our securities held abroad would come tumbling back. Every one would rush in panic-stricken haste to exchange silver for gold. Coined silver would be poured in from India, where a billion five hundred millions have just been turned loose; from Mexico, where it has already dealt its paralyzing blow, and the uncoined silver would pour in from every country of the civilized or semi-civilized world; we should be compelled to buy gold to settle our balances, as we did during the civil war—and instead of having lost some forty or fifty millions of dollars within three years, we should lose hundred of millions of dollars within a few weeks. The silver men would destroy at one fell blow all our present system of finance, and they have no other scheme to present beyond the free coinage of silver. Nor have they any thought of the morrow. They seem to think:

> The present moment is our own;
> The next we never know.

For the sake of trying a new evolution in the way of experimental finance, these admirals of the white would sink the whole ship of state.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to call attention to only two acts in the somewhat complex history of our coinage legislation—the gold bill of 1834 and the coinage bill of 1873—for I consider those measures the most creditable and the wisest of our financial legislation. Prior to 1834 gold had been undervalued by the over-valuation of silver, and as a consequence much of the more precious metal had fled the country. The then situation was summed up by Senator Benton of Missouri:

> A great amount of gold, both foreign and domestic, is now waiting in the country to see if Congress will raise gold to its fair value. If so raised, the gold will remain and enter into circulation; if not, it will immediately go off to foreign countries, for gold is not a thing to stay where it is undervalued.

And Mr. Benton submitted a resolution for the appointment of a committee to report what alterations were necessary to be made in the value of the gold coined at the mint, so as to check the exportation of that coin and to restore it to circulation in the United States.

Mr. Benton believed in the axiom of Sir Thomas Gresham, the money broker of Edward VI, that—

> Bad money drives out good money.

In the following June the famous gold bill fixing the ratio of 16 to 1 was passed by overwhelming majorities in both Houses, and Mr. Benton thus happily pictures the result:

> The good effects of the bill were immediately seen. Gold began to flow into the country through all the channels of commerce; old chests gave up their hoards; the Mint was busy, and in a few months, and as if by magic, a currency banished from the country for thirty years overspread the land and gave joy and confidence to all the pursuits of industry. * * * The instinctive feeling of the masses told them that money which would jingle in the pocket was the right money for them; that hard money was the right money for hard hands, that gold was the true currency for every man that had anything true to give for it, either in labor or property; and upon these instinctive feelings gold became the avidious demand of the vast operative and producing classes.

Practically this law was the establishment by the United States of the gold standard after its initial trial of silver for forty years. Silver then went out of general circulation—from 1853 to 1862 there were no silver dollars in circulation—and so it remained until the coinage act of 1873 made the law conform to the existing state of things by formally and explicitly demonetizing silver.

This much-abused law of 1873 has, ever since 1876, been denounced as a conspiracy against silver, but in my judgment there never was a charge more absurd and unjust. A conspiracy is a secret combination to effect an evil purpose. Here there was no combination save the union of able and expert minds on the wisdom of the measure, and there was no wicked or sinister purpose, but merely the intent to do that which was for the good of the nation. A conspiracy is committed in secrecy, covertly, by stealth, not in the broad light of the noonday sun, openly, and with full publication and on due notice, as was passed this salutary law. The simple truth is that the silver dollar was then at a premium of 3 or 3½ cents, and no one cared whether it was demonetized or not.

Secretary of the Treasury Boutwell first drafted the bill omitting the silver dollar in April, 1870, and sent it to the Senate, where it was passed in the next session, in January, 1871, by a vote of 36 to 14. The House Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures reported the bill favorably, but no action in the House was then taken.

Gen. Warner has recently denounced the act of 1873, and has stated that Mr. William D. Kelley, then on the Coinage Committee, knew nothing about it; yet, in fact, Mr. Kelley introduced in the next session a bill similar to Secretary Boutwell's, and omitting the silver dollar, and in debate Mr. Kelley said:

> I again call the attention of the House to the fact that the gentlemen who oppose this bill insist upon maintaining a silver dollar worth 3½ cents more than the gold dollar, and that so long as these provisions remain you can not keep silver coin in the country.

Mr. Thomas W. Stoughton, of Michigan, another member of the Coinage Committee, said:

> The time has come in this country when the gold dollar shall be distinctively declared to be the coin representative of the money unit.

The bill was passed in the House on May 27, 1872, with a silver dollar of limited-tender quality.

The Senate substituted the trade dollar, and a conference was ordered. A long debate, in which Senators Cole and Casserly of California and Senator SHERMAN of Ohio were most conspicuous, took place on two occasions, the debate being principally upon the recoinage of abraded gold and the charge for the original coinage of gold: But in this debate, in which Senator James W. Nye, of Nevada, also took part, Senator Casserly used this language:

> We have more silver than we want. Nevada appears to be getting ready to deluge the world with silver. I see that her silver product last year was probably over $20,000,000.

The conference report was signed by Senators JOHN SHERMAN of Ohio, John Scott of Pennsylvania, and Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware, and by Representatives Samuel Hooper of Massachusetts, and Thomas W. Stoughton, of Michigan—men of national reputation, clear-sighted and strong-headed. Their report was concurred in by the Senate, agreed to by the House, and finally the coinage act became a law on February 12, 1873. The bill had been passed in the House by a vote of 110 to 13, and in the Senate unanimously. In bringing up the bill in the Senate on January 17, 1873, Senator SHERMAN stated, "It passed the Senate two years ago, after full debate," and thereupon the bill was read by the Chief Clerk of the Senate. And the Senator from Ohio, in a speech in 1891, said:

> The act of 1873 was not the act of the party then in power, but it was the act of all parties. It was voted for by Republicans and Democrats alike, after full consideration for three years in Congress. It was voted for by every representative from the silver States.

Were any further evidence needed, we might look at the sworn testimony, before the Indian currency committee, of Mr. Robert Giffen, the distinguished writer on finance:

> This act (that of 1873) has been objected to by the bimetallic people in the United States ever since, as a thing that was done *sub rosa*, without sufficient notice and discussion. I may say that so far from this being done *sub rosa*, I was one of the people at the time who knew about it, and there was really no mystery about it. It was openly discussed in the Economist at that time.

As to the mare's nest discovered by a gentleman in this House the other day, that the words "and no deposit of silver for other coinage shall be received" were surreptitiously added to the section providing that any owner of silver bullion could deposit the same to be formed into bars or trade dollars, it is sufficient to say that, according to a familiar principle of statutory construction, the alleged sinister words added no force to the provision.

The record and the testimony thus make it manifest that the only conspiracy in connection with the act of 1873 has been that of the silver men to distort, pervert, and falsify the history of its enactment.

The law itself was sound in finance and right in commercial morality. It needed then—it needs now—no apology, and had our coinage legislation stopped right there the country would to-day be prosperous.

Enough has already been said by others about the fatal laws of 1878 and 1890. It was declared by a well-known writer that the clock of Europe went back fifty years after the battle of Waterloo. The clock of this country, sir, turned back a quarter of a century upon the passage of the Bland-Allison act of 1878.

We have heard, Mr. Speaker, a great deal of solicitude expressed in this House for the miner and the agricultural laborer, who, we are told, cry for free coinage of silver. But, sir, I believe and I know that the farm laborers of the country taken as a whole are on our side, and I feel certain that the miners would be with us were they permitted to understand the issue.

It would be a narrow view to assume that the only laborers in our vast territory are upon the farms of Nebraska or in the mines of Colorado or Montana. The blacksmith at his forge, the mill hand at his loom, the carpenter, the mason, and all the higher classes of mechanic, artisan, or artificer, the banker, the merchant, the clerk, the clergyman, the doctor, the lawyer, the editor, the reporter, in fact, everyone who is not an idler, all are laborers in the broad, generic sense of the term; all earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, and they are entitled to just as much consideration as the miner who drills the hole for the dynamite cartridge, or swings the pick in the mountains of the far West.

The relations, too, of capital and labor are misunderstood by some of these gentlemen. Capital and labor are not antagonistic; they are supplementary the one to the other, for without the coöperation of both, nothing can be achieved. All industry is limited by capital; and without the new investment of capital there can be no increase of industry. So, the capitalist, or large

employer of labor, who, instead of spending his money in selfish pleasures, consumes his capital in the purchase of machinery, or a plant, and in paying the wages of his employés, receiving in return the interest on his money and a fair compensation for his risk and his own labor—is, in reality, a great benefactor.

And yet, Mr. Speaker, the other day the gentleman from Colorado attacked Massachusetts because she had largely increased her wealth. There are, sir, in many States statutes against vagrancy, but I know of no community in which the honest acquisition of wealth, the outcome of industry and thrift and economy, is held to be a crime.

In this country there is great divisibility of ownership. We are a nation of small landowners, of small householders in the main, a nation of taxpayers, not a country of insolvents and bankrupts, and most of our people desire the full and honest payment of their debts, to pay and to be paid one hundred cents on the dollar. And it was with astonishment that I listened to the strange theory advanced by the gentleman from Nebraska last week, that the debtor can select the mode of payment of his debts, and that he can pay back the gold he borrows in the way which shall inure most to his own advantage without regard to the creditor.

Let us see how this system would operate with the miner, who at the end of his week's work, when he, the creditor, appeared for his wages before his employer, his debtor, should be told, if not in words in substance, "Here, take your pay in this silver which is worth in purchasing power 50 per cent of gold. Take it because I am your debtor for your labor and to me belongs the choice of mode of payment. I know that the purchasing power of our currency has been so scaled down that you can not now buy half the food and drink and clothing for the same nominal amount of wages, and that your wife and children are on the verge of starvation, but remember that you are a wage-earner and that wages are the last thing to advance, although the cost of living has been much enhanced. Do not complain, for the great cause of free coinage has triumphed." [Laughter.]

The mine owner himself, however, when he becomes the creditor, will not yearn for the depreciated metal, as is illustrated by the story that the billheads of a prominent silver Senator bear the legend, "All bills payable in gold."

This is an issue between a small section of the country, the silver States on the one hand, and the great body of the federation on the other. Out of 66,000,000 of people but a small proportionate number ask for free coinage, and sordid self-interest is arrayed against the common weal of the Republic. It is an effort to protect the silver industry at ruinous cost to the whole people, and it is, therefore, as asserted in our Chicago platform, unconstitutional and undemocratic.

When we reflect that Colorado last year produced $31,000,000 of silver out of the total product in the United States of $74,989,000, we can understand why the governor of that State desires that his horse should wade in blood, and why a clergyman at Aspen the other day impiously announced that the silver men were on the side of God, although it is a marvelous creed which asserts that the All-wise Creator is in favor of any but the highest standard of intrinsic worth.

The attacks, Mr. Speaker, upon the banks of New York and the East are as wild and frantic as is the assertion that New York and Boston and London would gain an undue advantage by the defeat of free coinage. London and our own cities would gain no more and no less than the full, honest payment of the moneys due them. And this is what the silver men do not wish, for, as one of them confessed a few days since, they want to pay their debts for fifty cents on the dollar. The sale at a fancy price of the output of the silver mines, which can be produced at a cost of 30 cents an ounce, and the evasion of just debts would seem to be the cardinal objects of the silver crusade.

And I ask the silver leaders if it be not somewhat ungenerous to use Northern and Eastern capital to build your railways, lay your water pipes, open your mines, and in every way develop your country, and then to assail the money-lenders because they expect simply the honest fulfillment of the bond.

Why do they attack our banks? Do they not comprehend that it is for the interest of the banks and of Wall street that the market should be full, fair, buoyant, and elastic, that their success depends upon the general prosperity throughout the country? Their interest is the common welfare; they are trustees for the citizen in the preservation of his money, and money-lenders to the producer in time of need; and without the aid of our Northern and Eastern banks the enormous cotton crop of the South could not be moved, for millions of dollars are advanced by these banks every summer and autumn. Without the great central reserve cities of our national banking system and its twenty subordinate reserve cities the commerce and trade of the Union would become so retarded and clogged as to languish and decay, and yet, while the banks of one of the great central reserve cities (New York) are frequently attacked in this House, those of the other two, Chicago and St. Louis, which are engaged in exactly the same business, are never criticised. Is this because some outlying votes are hoped for in the West?

I apprehend, Mr. Speaker, that no legislation can at once restore the country to complete prosperity, but as the causes of the money famine which now afflicts the land are, first, the withdrawal of confidence, and second, the hoarding of money consequent upon such failure of confidence, it is clear that any measure which restores confidence will bring forth all the money we need, and such a measure is that introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia, repealing absolutely the silver-purchasing clause.

The wide-spread hoarding of our money would indicate that with all our boasted civilization we are no more intelligent than the natives of India, who hoard the gold ingots which come out from England. While there the disposition to hoard is dying out, here within the past few months the disease has shown an extraordinary development.

Let the Sherman law be repealed and coin no more silver except as subsidiary coin; at least no more for the present. Our circulation per capita is $24.02, which is sufficient, and nearly twice as great as in 1860. In gold and silver, in paper representatives of gold and silver, such as certificates and Treasury notes, in greenbacks, and in national bank notes we have a circulation of $1,611,000,000; and as 95 per cent of our business is done with checks, and drafts, and notes we need in reality no largely increased volume of money. Repeal the law, and gold will pour in from Europe, confidence both at home and abroad will be renewed, money in hoard will come forth, and foreign capital once more will seek investment on our shores.

At an appropriate season I should favor, Mr. Speaker, the bill introduced by the Senator from Indiana, authorizing national banks to issue circulating notes up to the par value of their bonds deposited, and I can see no objection to a law permitting the issue of notes equal in amount by the Comptroller of the Currency to anyone who shall deposit United States bonds, thus giving direct relief in time of stringency without the necessity of applying to a bank. Since July 1 the circulation of our national banks—in notes issued or ordered and to be issued—has been increased by some $34,000,000, and it will soon be over $200,000,000.

Owing to the mistakes of the past our system of currency is not perfect. Like France and Germany, we have the "*étalon boiteux*," or limping standard. That is to say, we have in reality a gold standard, but with a large, although not unlimited, amount of silver circulating at gold value.

"One leg," as Dr. Ludwig Bamberger, a high German authority, expresses it, "which is the gold currency, has a free and healthy motion, while the other, the silver currency, is lame and drags behind and thus proves more or less of a hindrance to its healthy brother." Our silver in the Treasury, like the thalers in the German Reichsbank and the five-franc pieces in the Bank of France, serves only to appeal to the imagination as a last reserve. In reality the only security we have is our gold and the faith of the Government or its pledge to redeem its obligations. We must stop right here and not go on increasing them beyond the possibility of redemption.

The gentleman from Colorado asks: "Can you afford to vote to increase the value of the dollar?" I answer: We do not vote to increase its value; but we vote not to degrade or depreciate it. We can never afford to do that which is wrong; we can always afford to do that which is right.

The silver men all tell us that they are but following the behests of their constituents. It is true that this is a representative government, and that we are the representatives of the people—but our sense of responsibility to our constituents would not justify obedience to the dictates of selfishness or folly.

Any other view would be to reduce the function of constitutional government, indeed, to a very low level.

I say, therefore, in answer to these gentlemen, "It were far better to forfeit your renomination, to lose forever all chance of reëlection, than to vote for any scheme of dishonest finance. The unanimous suffrage of your district, the mad plaudits of all the miners in your State, could not excuse or palliate the injury done to the whole country. Cast back the dread of your constituents. Vote right; vote for repeal, and so shall ye die not at your death, but shall live in the glad hearts of the people saved. [Applause.]

Mr. STOCKDALE was recognized.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. Speaker, as it is getting quite late, and after the eloquent address of the gentleman from New York who has just taken his seat, I think the members have all they can well digest to-day, I move that we now adjourn. That is, of course, with the understanding that the gentleman from Mississippi will have his time to-morrow.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Mississippi has been recognized. If the gentleman yields, the Chair will submit the motion.

Mr. STOCKDALE. With the understanding that I will have the floor in the morning.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The present occupant of the chair has no power to decide that. The gentleman from Mississippi can proceed now, unless he yields the floor for the motion.

Mr. STOCKDALE. I think I will proceed to-night.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman has the floor for that purpose.

[Mr. STOCKDALE withholds his remarks for revision. [See Appendix.]

A SOUND AND STABLE CURRENCY.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. Speaker, I bring to you a bit of news. It is reliable and important. I received it in an open letter written by the President of the United States, and addressed to the members of Congress. It is in effect, this: "The stone which the builders rejected has become the head of the corner!" There *is* a money question! Our presence here in this Hall, in extraordinary session, proves that the money question is paramount. The tariff has been relegated to second place. The patriotic little party which I, in part, represent has been vindicated and our statements and positions approved. President Cleveland very justly attaches great importance to "a sound and stable currency."

In his inaugural address last March, President Cleveland said:

While every American citizen must contemplate with the utmost pride and enthusiasm the growth and expansion of our country, the sufficiency of our institutions to stand against the rudest shocks of violence, the wonderful thrift and enterprise of our people, and the demonstrated superiority of our free Government, it behooves us to constantly watch for every symptom of insidious infirmity that threatens our national vigor.

The strong man who, in the confidence of sturdy health, courts the sternest activities of life and rejoices in the hardihood of constant labor, may have lurking near his vitals the unheeded disease that dooms him to sudden collapse.

It can not be doubted that our stupendous achievements as a people and our country's robust strength, have given rise to a heedlessness of those laws governing our national health, which we can no more evade than human life can escape the laws of God and nature.

Manifestly nothing is more vital to our supremacy as a nation and to the beneficent purposes of our Government than a sound and stable currency. Its exposure to degradation should at once arouse to activity the most enlightened statesmanship; and the danger of depreciation in the purchasing power of the wages paid to toil should furnish the strongest incentive to prompt and conservative precaution.

In dealing with our present embarrassing situation as related to this subject, we will be wise if we temper our confidence and faith in our national strength and resources with the frank concession that even these will not permit us to defy with impunity the inexorable laws of finance and trade. At the same time, in our efforts to adjust differences of opinion, we should be free from intolerance or passion, and our judgments should be unmoved by alluring phrases and unvexed by selfish interests.

I am confident that such an approach to the subject will result in prudent and effective remedial legislation. In the meantime, so far as the executive branch of the Government can intervene, none of the powers with which it is invested will be withheld when their exercise is deemed necessary to maintain our national credit or avert financial disaster.

Mr. Speaker, I am frank to say that I agree with every word and sentence here quoted. Words can not exaggerate the importance of the question of the finances among a commercial people like ours. There is a power in money which no human agency can resist. There is no engagement, national or individual, which is unaffected by it. The enterprises of commerce, the profits of trade, the arrangements in all the domestic concerns of life, the wages of labor, the transactions of the highest and lowest amounts, the payment of debts and taxes are all affected by the quantity or quality of money in circulation. There resides in money the most enormous power known to man. It is the tide in human affairs upon which all things must rise or fall. It is as irresistible as the wings and wheels of commerce on the high seas and the broad continents. More powerful than the thunder blasts of armadas that throb upon the ocean, or the tread of continental armies; and this mighty force is self-acting in all the large and small transactions of men. This is the concurrent testimony of the ablest writers.

The United States Monetary Commission of 1876 mentions the importance of money in modern society as—

The great instrument of association, the very fiber of social organism, the vitalizing force of industry, the protoplasm of civilization, and as essential to its existence as oxygen is to animal life. Without money civilization could not have had a beginning; with a diminishing supply it must languish, and, unless relieved, finally perish.

Sir Archibald Alison, England's great historian, speaks of money as—

This mighty agent in human affairs.

Mr. Alexander Del Mar, formerly director of the Bureau of Statistics of the United States, member of the United States Monetary Commission, an able writer on the finances, describing the operations of this factor in the affairs of nations, says:

Unheard, unfelt, almost unseen, it has the power to so distribute the burdens, gratifications, and opportunities of life that each individual shall enjoy that share of them to which his merits entitle him, or to dispense them with so partial a hand as to violate every principle of justice and perpetuate a system of social slaveries to the end of time.

The late Senator Plumb, speaking of the money question in 1888, said:

We are dealing with a question which has more to do with the welfare of the people of the United States, which is of more concern to them, than any other thing that is pending, or that can be pending, etc.

Mr. Speaker, I have not overestimated, and it is impossible to overestimate the importance of "a sound and stable" money system to the people of the United States. Having agreed upon this, the paramount question now arises, which, among the many systems which have been tried by commercial nations, or among the several systems, either tried or untried, proposed by the various currency doctors of the present day, is the one which is preëminently "sound and stable."

Is it gold only?

Is it silver only?

Is it gold and silver combined?

Is it a paper system founded on gold only?

Is it a paper system founded on gold and silver?

Or, is it a paper system founded on receivability in the Government revenues, and the quality of general legal tender?

In the discussion of a vital question like this, involving the material and moral interests, the prosperity and happiness, or the poverty, ruin, and death of so many millions of people, untried theories must have no place. Only the facts of history and the experiences of commercial nations and peoples should be considered. We can not afford to admit any new system as an experiment. In my opinion it is not necessary. In searching for "a sound and stable" money system, in my judgment it is only necessary to follow the examples of the greatest and most successful nations of history at those times when they were most prosperous.

THE GOLD STANDARD.

From the beginning of history gold has been used as money, but during the whole of that time it has never proven itself a safe or satisfactory money. Being a commodity of commerce, it has always been subject to the fluctuations in price common to commodities. Worse than that, its weight and volume are such that it is easily collected and hoarded by the gamblers in money. By this means it is rendered subject to greater fluctuations and more frequent changes in value than most other commodities.

The intrinsic value of gold is not great. Its commercial value arises from an artificial demand created by law; and, by reason of its being manipulated through the whims and devices of usurers and gamblers, the fluctuations of the value of gold are greater, more sudden and irregular than any other known substance. Unless one can foresee all the demands of commerce and all the means of supply; unless he knows the potency of all the schemes, intentions, and devices of the money gamblers of the world's great financial centers, he can not guess with any certainty the price of gold even for a single day. If a merchant buys goods to be paid for in gold on sixty days' time, his business is a game of chance, as uncertain as the winds, and quite as subject to destructive fluctuations.

In ancient Peru gold was plentiful, but it was not used as money. There was no artificial monetary demand created by law. It passed from man to man on its commercial value only. When thus left to itself, on its own merits, it had very little commercial value. Mr. Prescott, in his Conquest of Peru, tells us that on one occasion, in the open market of Cuzco, the capital of Peru, it required gold bullion of the weight of $116 to buy a quire of paper. A bottle of wine sold for the weight of $690 in gold bullion. A sword was worth $500; a cloak $1,160; a pair of shoes $400 or more; and a horse about $30,000 weight of gold bullion. Between that low price of gold and the high charges for it by the gold gamblers of our time, there is room for ten thousand stages and degrees of fluctuation. And, Mr. Speaker, the experiences and observations of all men in business prove that gold is equal to any and every emergency of that sort. It is the loaded dice of the gamblers who rob men and nations. It is the jumping-jack of the shylock revelry, when the gamblers and bandits hold high carnival in celebration of their greedy and merciless achievements. Long experience and observation have proven that gold is about as safe and reliable for the foundation of "a sound and stable currency" as is a powder keg or a plug of dynamite for a steady corner stone under a family residence. It is liable to explode at any moment, whenever it is to the interest of prowling thieves to touch it off that they may rob the house during the confusion.

Mr. Speaker, I do not and I will not speak at random on this important subject. The ablest writers agree with me as to the experiences of nations and the facts of history. An English economist has written of the gold-standard finances of England as follows:

England is the peculiar seat of monetary crises, just as Egypt is of the

plague and India of the cholera. These monetary plagues are the bane and opprobrium of our country.

Prof. Vissering, of Holland, explained the troubles of England and objected to imitating her money system, as follows:

Because England, which then almost alone had the standard of gold, was subject to frequent monetary crises, and that, by adopting the same rule, we should run the risk of being involved in those crises.

The United States Monetary Commission of 1876, the ablest of all American authorities on this subject, says:

In addition to the irregularities of its production, gold lacks sufficiency of mass to give it steadiness. It is necessarily so subject to "jerks and changes," that to use it as an exclusive standard must reduce all business to gambling. No merchant can buy goods with gold to be sold for gold a year afterward, or even a few months afterward, without being subjected to a heavy risk. If he covers the risk by extra profits in the nature of insurance, he must impose a heavy tax upon those who deal with him. Whoever enters into a contract to pay gold in one, two, or three years can not, by any possibility, foresee what its value may be when the contract matures. Gold, when unsteadied by silver, is as unstable as water. The long experience of England has shown it to be one of the most fluctuating, treacherous, and dangerous currencies ever devised. The present head of the British ministry said, three years ago, that England did not become rich by adopting gold, but adopted gold because it was already rich. He might have added that it was only the great wealth acquired by England under a sounder and better system which has enabled it to endure the mischiefs of a currency which has made it "the peculiar seat of monetary crises, just as Egypt is of the plague and India of the cholera." If England was not the creditor of all the world on gold contracts, and if that consideration did not really dominate everything else in determining its policy, it would abandon a system which is its "bane and opprobrium."

The report of the United States Monetary Commission further says:

With a currency of gold, or of paper convertible into gold, we should feel instantly every change in Europe, and especially England. We should not altogether escape that influence with the double standard of gold and silver, but at any rate, with such a standard, one part of our currency would be secure from European perturbations.

Mr. John J. Ingalls, for eighteen years United States Senator, and part of the time acting President of the United States Senate, has recorded the following correct opinion of gold as a currency:

No people in a great emergency ever found a faithful ally in gold. It is the most cowardly and treacherous of all metals. It makes no treaty it does not break. It has no friend it does not sooner or later betray. Armies and navies are not maintained by gold. In times of panic and calamity, shipwreck and disaster, it becomes the agent and minister of ruin. No nation ever fought a great war by the aid of gold. On the contrary, in the crisis of the greatest peril, it becomes an enemy more potent than the foe in the field; and when the battle is won and peace has been secured, gold reappears and claims the fruits of victory. In our own civil war it is doubtful if the gold of New York and London did not work us greater injury than the powder and lead and iron of the enemy. It was the most invincible enemy of the public credit. Gold paid no soldier or sailor. It refused the national obligations. It was worth most when our fortunes were the lowest. Every defeat gave it increased value. It was in open alliance with our enemies the world over, and all its energies were evoked for our destruction. But, as usual, when danger has been averted, and the victory secured, gold swaggers to the front, and asserts the supremacy.—*J. J. Ingalls's speech in the United States Senate*, February 15, 1878.

A nation using gold money, or gold-basis money, has no control over the volume of its circulating medium. It is in the power of the holders of gold to make money scarce or plenty as suits their own convenience and interests, regardless of the public welfare. Mr. Garfield once stated, most truthfully, that—

Whoever controls the volume of the currency is absolute master of all industry and commerce.

Senator Thomas H. Benton, speaking of the same dangerous class of men, said:

All property is at their mercy.

We thus see that according to the experience of nations and the testimony of the best writers, gold is not "a sound and stable currency." It has but little value, except through an artificial demand created by law. It is subject to very great fluctuations in value, because it is a commodity of commerce, and it is utterly unfitted for the basis of a monetary system because it is the handy tool of the money gamblers, by the use of which they are able to rob men and nations at will.

But, Mr. Speaker, if it were a fact that gold is a safe basis for "a sound and stable currency," there are still other considerations. The people of the United States are now staggering under a burden of some thirty billions of dollars of monetary obligations. That burden is in the various forms of national and State debts, railroad debts, municipal debts, and private debts secured by real-estate mortgages. On three great central States of the Union the private debts of the people are frightful. The people of my own State, ranking among the most industrious, intelligent, and enterprising, are mortgaged to the amount of $235,000,000; the people of Illinois $384,000,000, and the people of the great State of Pennsylvania, with their rich mines and their protected (?) manufactures (which are said to insure a prosperous agriculture), are mortgaged to the amount of $613,000,000.

Mr. Speaker, it is hardly necessary for the statement to be made to an intelligent statesman like yourself that, on the low level of gold-basis prices for the products of labor, the debts of this country can not be paid. In order to reach and to maintain the low level of gold-basis currency it has required and still requires a contraction of money and falling prices, ruinous to the prosperity of our people, dangerous to their liberties, and a menace to the peace of the country. Already the homes of the people are passing into the hands of foreign and domestic landlords with frightful rapidity. Already the wealth of our rich men, acquired from the earnings of labor through the manipulations of money and the conquests of the purse, rivals the opulence of the Roman patricians, when that great empire entered the dark shadow of its decline and fall. Already the great estates of our home and foreign landlords rival those of France when that unhappy country was dashing headlong into the abyss of the bloodiest revolution of history. Every indication of the times and all the facts of history prove most positively, with no shadow of doubt, that the public and private monetary obligations of the people of this country can neither be paid, nor much longer carried, with property and products at gold-basis prices. Such a policy of finance leads to bankruptcies and foreclosures for the workers, resulting in a change of ownership of the soil, whereby it passes into the hands of the rich. It means the establishment of universal landlordism, and the serfdom and slavery of the American people. Gold is the most fluctuating and unstable of currencies, and, in quantity, it is entirely inadequate as a money basis in America. Its use as such is incompatible with the preservation of popular liberty in this country.

Mr. Speaker, we are said to have had in this country a practical gold basis since January 1, 1879. Yet no one is satisfied with our financial condition. President Cleveland says:

In dealing with our present embarrassing situation as related to this subject, we will be wise if we temper our confidence and faith in our national strength and resources with the frank confession that even these will not permit us to defy with impunity the inexorable laws of finance and trade.

Now, with these timely and truthful words in mind, let me call attention to a few facts of history which we are now copying, vainly hoping, it would seem, that "the inexorable laws of finance and trade" which have ruined other nations defying them will not harm us.

At the close of the wars of Napoleon in 1815 England stood at the front among the victors, in a blaze of glory unequaled in modern times. She was mistress of the ocean, had acquired an empire which encircled the earth, and dictated the policies of Europe. Her people were prosperous, happy, and jubilant. Ignoring or defying the lessons of history and the "inexorable laws of finance and trade," the British Parliament enacted a law restricting the use of silver, in order to establish the famous single gold basis for money. This checked the prosperity of the country by decreeing falling prices for agricultural products and the commodities of commerce.

Then were heard the first murmurs of distress among a people that for twenty years had uncomplainingly paid the troops which met Napoleon on so many bloody fields, a people that had carried victory on their bayonets throughout the Peninsula, on the Rhine, and on the field of Waterloo; a people whose cannons had won the victories of Trafalgar and the Nile and maintained the glory of British arms and British power as only Anglo-Saxons could. These people were now to be sacrificed by the millions to the false god known as gold-basis money. In 1819, in pursuance of this murderous policy, the British Parliament enacted a law for the retirement of the paper money which had conquered Napoleon—that money which Mr. Alison, the great English historian, said had saved England from becoming "a province of France." The process of contraction, bringing falling prices, began in 1816; it was accelerated in 1819. By the year 1862 four-fifths of the landholders of England had lost their lands and the laboring people of the country were in such a condition of suffering that troops were necessary to compel men, women, and children to starve in peace. Landlordism was greatly extended, the relative number of the serfs and tenants of the realm was greatly multiplied, and the public distresses among the innocent people were such as no tongue can adequately describe.

Mr. Speaker, ignoring that recent and notable example of history, and defying "the inexorable laws of finance and trade," we are at this moment copying the baleful example of England in our efforts to reach and maintain a gold-basis currency.

Our experiment commenced in 1866. The American Congress passed a law at that time to contract the currency of the country. It was enacted that interest-bearing bonds should be sold for currency, and that the currency which had saved the nation should be burned. This was, in effect, a copy of the English law of 1819. In 1873 the American Congress passed a law which demonetized silver. This was, in effect, a copy of the British law of 1816. Through these laws England destroyed the currency which had prevented that country from becoming "a province of France." We have destroyed a currency which saved the life of the Republic when gold was snugly hidden in the vaults of its unpatriotic owners. England demonetized silver for amounts above 40 shillings. We did the same for amounts above $5. In both na-

tions that metal which had been good money, "current with the merchant" since the days of Abraham, was abolished, and that dollar of the United States, which had been the standard of value and the unit of account since the days of Washington and Jefferson, was dethroned and branded as base metal.

The results in both countries were alike disastrous. In England came falling prices, the closing of the shops, mines, and factories, the idleness of labor, the bankruptcy of business, the loss of homes by all land-owners who were not also bondholders. And the public distresses were so great that troops were on duty day and night to preserve the peace. It is estimated that more than a million men, women, and children in England died of starvation. That is, were sacrificed to the wicked gold-basis fallacy. No such wholesale sacrifices are recorded of heathen peoples in their worship of idols made of wood, stone, clay, or metal.

The President has rightly said that "the inexorable laws of finance and trade" can not be defied with impunity. So, having copied the financial policy of England, is it strange that we must suffer the same penalties? In 1865 the people of the United States emerged from the greatest war of modern times. They had been successful. They had saved the best Government on earth. Money was plenty, times were good, the national debt was not large, and, as individuals, we were "out of debt and prosperous." We felt as did the British people after their great victory at Waterloo, and the banishment of Napoleon. The British system of contraction, inaugurated here in 1866, began to tell on the clearing-house transactions in 1870. In 1873, the same policy struck down silver. This was at once followed by a disastrous panic, distressing the entire country, as had never before been witnessed. According to Senator Logan, it was a "money famine;" and it has continued ever since with only temporary abatements.

I have now shown the similarity of the British and American financial policies instituted for the same general purpose, under similar conditions. Ours was and is a substantial copy of theirs. To show that similar crab trees bring forth the same bitter fruits, I call attention to the testimony of eyewitnesses as to the results in the two countries.

Mr. Thomas Carlyle has pictured a period of monetary stringency in England in the following language:

British industrial existence seems fast becoming one vast prison-swamp of reeking pestilence, physical and moral, a hideous living Golgotha of souls and bodies buried alive. Thirty thousand outcast needlewomen working themselves swiftly to death, and three million paupers rotting in forced idleness, helping the needlewomen to die.

Col. Robert G. Ingersoll has drawn a picture of society in this country during contraction, as follows:

No man can imagine, all the languages of the world can not express, what the people of the United States suffered from 1873 to 1879. Men who considered themselves millionaires found that they were beggars; men living in palaces, supposing they had enough to give sunshine to the winter of their age, supposing they had enough to have all they loved in affluence and comfort, suddenly found that they were mendicants with bonds, stocks, mortgages, all turned to ashes in their hands. The chimneys grew cold, the fires in furnaces went out, the poor families were turned adrift, and the highways of the United States were crowded with tramps.

Mr. Speaker, the inexorable laws of finance and trade can not be defied with impunity. We have copied England's financial policy, and we have suffered her disasters. We are still copying her policy and also continue still reaping the same results. It appears to be impossible for our public men to learn anything from history, or even from their own experiences, with the well-known facts thrust into their very faces.

It was said by the contractionists that when we reached a specie basis, in January, 1879, no further contraction would be necessary, and that then we would again have good times. The promise was false, and the hope delusive. Standing in his place in the United States Senate on two occasions, the late Senator Plumb, himself the president of a national bank, explained the question under discussion very fully. In 1888 Senator Plumb said:

But this contraction of the currency, by the retirement of national-bank circulation, has been going on for more than ten years, and all the committee has to say now is that it has considered some bill, but it is not completed. If the committee will not complete some measure the Senate must. If the Senate will not, and the other House will not, then the country is going upon the breakers of financial disturbance. As a Senator says in my hearing, "It is there now." I think it is there now.

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The retirement of the national banking circulation during the past twelve months has been 5 per cent of the total amount of the currency outstanding. There has been during that period a phenomenal depreciation of the prices of property. There has been the greatest depreciation of the price of agricultural products the country has ever known.

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The contraction of the currency by 5 per cent of its volume means the depreciation of the property of the country $3,000,000,000. Debts have not only increased, but the means to pay them have diminished in proportion as the currency has been contracted. Events based upon nonlegislation have proved of advantage to lenders, but disastrous to borrowers.

According to that statement, the contraction of the currency still proceeded long after the date of resumption of specie payments. And two years later (1890) the same Senator repeated the fact of the continued contraction of the currency by the banks and by hoarding in the Treasury. He described the devices of the false Treasury reports which are monthly made by the United States Treasurer, with apparently no other purpose than to mislead the people. He claimed that much gold was counted in the reports as circulating in this country which had long ago gone to Europe; that $46,000,000 of greenbacks were counted as in circulation which did not exist, and that hundreds of millions of money, said by the official reports to be in circulation, were locked up as reserves in the banks and in the United States Treasury. In his speech of June, 1890, the Senator said:

If I were deciding this case upon what I consider the best evidence, I would be bound to say that I believed the money in actual circulation did not much, if at all, exceed $500 000,000. Upon this narrow foundation has been built the enormous structure of credit of which I have spoken. It is the greatest of the kind that was ever built, because it was built by the best people that ever built anything. Over twenty thousand millions of debts, the enormous and widely extended business of 65,000,000 of people, all rest upon and must be served by a volume of currency which must seem to the veteran financier as absolutely and dangerously small.

Mr. Speaker, this gold-standard specie-basis policy has now been in force for over twenty years. During all that time the administration of that policy has been in the hands of its friends. The war on silver has been unrelenting. That ancient money has been, in practice, reduced to a commodity. The gold-basis advocates brand it as "base metal," and with every opprobrious epithet. Although by law and contract the silver dollar is legal tender to bondholders, yet for twenty years we have not had an Administration with courage or patriotism enough to tender silver dollars to bondholders. The practical discriminations are all against silver and in favor of gold as money metals.

In that respect we are copying the policy of England. The two most powerful commercial nations on earth, with the German Empire and all northwestern Europe to help, have united and cooperated for twenty years to perfect the gold-basis system. No experiment ever had a more auspicious birth and more thorough trial at the hands of its friends. What is the result? Banks everywhere on the brink of ruin. Boys on the streets of Chicago, peddling newspapers, are forbidden to announce the contents of their goods, lest the news of recent bank failures will cause other failures and precipitate a panic. The rulers of the greatest nations of Europe and America have been for twenty years working at the absurd experiment, trying to balance a pyramid on its apex—trying to rest the billions of business of two hemispheres on a handful of gold for which everybody is grabbing. So delicate is the experiment, that the police officers of great cities hiss through their teeth, "Silence!" "Hush!" lest the breath of a street gamin may start an avalanche which will cause national or international bankruptcy and ruin on two continents.

Verily, gold is "a stable currency." Have not the Shylocks said so? And do they ever lie—except for their own purposes? And have not a thousand eminent statesmen and "financiers" sworn to the lies, as the agents, attorneys, and puppets of the Shylocks? Of course. In years agone an equal number of scientists and eminent men for centuries testified to the geocentric doctrine of the universe, when all the facts were as much against them as well known facts are now against the doctrine of the stability of a gold-basis currency. This is the absurd position of the gold-basis theory and practice in the hands of its friends, and among the banks and bankers who profit by the system. The condition is so precarious that we are having an extra session of Congress in the dog-days of August to redress the situation.

Mr. Speaker, is a gold-basis currency "the stable (?) currency" which we seek? If so, we have it now in all its glory. We are now in the paradise of the Shylocks and the money gamblers. To prove this I need only refer to the condition of its victims—the people. The Census Reports of 1890, which are just now being published, show that the people who were "out of debt and prosperous" in 1866 are now in debt and distress beyond the power of the imagination to comprehend.

Over $3,000,000,000 have been paid on the national debt. This has reduced it over one billion. That is something of which we never cease to boast. But through the fall of the prices of commodities, it will now take as many bushels of wheat or as many pounds of cotton to pay what remains of the public debt in 1893 as it would have taken to pay it in 1866. So, then, there has been no progress in reducing the burden of the national debt by the payment of over $3,000,000,000. Contraction of the currency and falling prices has neutralized the entire payment. Besides the national debt, we have over a billion of interest-bearing State, county, and municipal debts, which, with present gold prices of the products of land and labor, can be paid only through the greatest sacrifices of the people. These are but the beginning

of our burdens. The private debts of individuals, brought on by currency contraction and falling prices, are high up in the billions.

These burdens which have been heaped upon the shoulders of the people are the price of our present sound (?) and stable (?) gold-basis currency. So "stable" and reliable is this famous system that the breath of a child may topple it down and bring untold ruin on all the world. Our billions of debts and the inevitable serfdom and slavery of our people are a big price to pay and a terrible sacrifice to make, but the system is a famous one, and the Shylocks are patting our backs and telling us, "Bravo! good dog, Bose!" while we weld the chains on ourselves and our children!

Mr. Speaker, it is safe to say that our people can not pay their present debts with constantly declining gold prices for the products of land and labor. Our lands are already passing from the people into the hands of the money lords as fast as time can move and the courts can grind. In passing through the courts our farms usually pay the court expenses and part of the mortgages. The rest of the debts hang over the homeless debtors in the form of judgments. When the mortgages were executed the lands were worth twice the loans placed on them. The shrinkage of values came through currency contraction. Senator Plumb placed this shrinkage in a single year, through the retirement of bank currency, at three billions of dollars. That loss cost the people through shrinkage of values, in a single year, nearly as much as the war of the rebellion cost the country in four years.

Hon. JOSEPH H. WALKER, of Massachusetts, stated on the floor of this House in May, 1892, that farms in New England are selling to-day at about half the cost of the improvements on them. This statement means that the lands go for nothing, and half the improvements thrown in. This is the cost to New England of our stable (?) gold standard, which may be so easily toppled to the ground. It comes high, but the "eminent financiers" of New York and London, who have the ear of our rulers, say we must have it.

During the twenty-five years of our currency contraction the bankruptcies of business men have averaged about ten thousand per annum. The public and private debts of the people have grown beyond the remotest hope of payment, and the capitalization of our railroads, on which the people must pay interest and dividends, is now above ten billions of dollars. At present prices this burden (mostly water) is simple robbery. The corporations, like the military barons of the Middle Ages, stand between the people and their markets, and extort from them "all the traffic will bear." This burden grows annually at the will of the corporations. The people have no word nor voice in the matter. The officers of the corporations boldly publish that it is an "impertinence" for the people to discuss the subject. When it has been intimated that the railroads should be managed for the public benefit a leading officer of a great corporation has said, "The public be damned!"

It may be denied that our railroad capitalization came through contraction of the currency. I do not claim that it did; but, Mr. Speaker, all must admit that the burden of carrying it from year to year is greatly increased by currency contraction and the continued falling prices of products. The charges for travel and traffic are sometimes reduced through the clamoring cries of a distressed people, but seldom in proportion to the decreased prices of commodities and means of payment.

THE SILVER STANDARD.

Is silver a steadier basis for a money system than gold? If facts prove anything, it most assuredly is. During all the fluctuations of the two metals since 1873, as compared with general prices, gold has continually fluctuated, usually bounding upward by large jumps and subsiding by smaller ones. Silver has not done this, but has steadily remained "stable" as compared with the prices of commodities. This is especially true as compared to wheat and cotton, the leading agricultural products which are exported to foreign countries. The advocates of a single gold standard never tire in asserting that silver has fallen in value since 1873. This is not true. The bullion in the silver dollar will buy as much of the average products of land and labor now as in 1873, if not more. If there has been a change in the value of silver bullion since 1873, it has risen in value rather than fallen. This is proven beyond a doubt by comparing the commercial value of silver bullion with the commercial values of commodities in general. It can not be proven by a comparison with gold, as that fluctuating metal agrees with nothing with any reliable certainty. It is subject to every demand of the gold centers of Europe, and to every whim of the great gold gamblers and speculators of the world. Such a standard must necessarily fluctuate. It agrees with nothing, and is consistent with nothing except that it is usually going up, as is proved by the constantly falling prices of commodities as measured in gold.

Gold and silver have each made a record in history. Silver bought the field of Machpelah where Abraham laid to rest his beloved Sarah. Gold was the tool and ally of Philip of Macedon, when he overthrew the liberties of Greece. Silver was the only coin in the pockets of poverty during the struggle for American independence. Gold was the coin of the enemy, for which the first American traitor sold himself and his country's liberties. Silver, in all its history, has been the money of the common people—the money of liberty, the money of the Constitution, the money of four-fifths of the population of the world. Silver is steady and reliable, constituting the favorite hoards in the pockets of industry and serving as a balance wheel on the approach of panics. Gold has ruined Germany, covering 80 per cent of the people's homes with irredeemable mortgages. Silver and paper were the money of France in the days of anguish and adversity. They have raised France to be the most prosperous and independent nation of Europe. Gold is the fluctuating tool and ally of the gambler and thief, the tyrant and the traitor, and at this moment is driving the entire gold-basis world into the dishonor and crime of repudiation, through falling prices, making the payment of honest debts impossible.

Mr. Speaker, I do not speak at random on this important subject. It would be treason to the American people to do so. I call your most candid attention to the positive testimony of the highest and most respectable authorities. Hon. JOHN P. JONES, United States Senator, and formerly chairman of the United States Monetary Commission of 1876, in his late speech in Brussels, before the international conference, says:

Since its demonetization in 1873, silver has lost none of its command over commodities, and therefore none of its value. Even as bullion to-day it has the same power in exchange for commodities that as full legal-tender money it had in 1873.

Index numbers printed in a late number of the London Economist show that the fall in gold prices from 1869 to 1892 was 33 per cent.

The same authority shows that on twenty-two leading articles of commerce the fall in gold prices since 1869 has been 67 per cent. On the other hand, the same authority shows that silver prices during all that time have scarcely changed at all. In this way it is easy to show which is the "stable currency," and which the unstable.

The philosophers tell us that—

By measuring two things, one against the other, you can never arrive at any determination as to which has changed. Instead of disputing as to whether one clock has lost or another gained, would it not be well to consult the sun and stars and ascertain exactly what has happened?

The commodities of commerce are the "sun and stars" of the commercial and monetary world. By this test the golden clock has gained twelve hours in the twenty-four, and at midnight tells us that it is noon, while the silver clock still keeps step with the "sun and stars" of the commercial world as from the beginning. The same in 1869 as in 1892. Silver then is "the sound and stable currency" of the world.

The London Bankers' Magazine, in 1881, deprecated the attempt of Italy to resume specie payments, upon the ground of the scarcity of gold, and said:

There has thus been created a new demand for gold, of considerable magnitude, and that at a time when the supplies of the metal are barely adequate for existing wants. For years past there have been complaints of a gold scarcity. The addition of Germany and the United States to the body of nations using a gold currency has greatly increased the demand for the metal in the production of which there has been no corresponding increase, but on the contrary, a slight diminution. The international competition for gold has therefore been keener, and the fear now is that the advent of Italy as a buyer will still further intensify this competition and thus cause a general enhancement of the value of money.

In November, 1873, Mr. Benjamin Disraeli (afterwards Lord Beaconsfield) said:

I attribute the monetary disturbance that has occurred, and is now to a certain degree acting very injuriously to trade—I attribute it to the great changes which the governments in Europe are making in reference to their standard of value. Our gold standard is not the cause of our commercial prosperity, but the consequence of our commercial prosperity. It is quite evident we must prepare ourselves for great convulsions in the money market, not occasioned by speculation or any old cause which has been alleged, but by a new cause with which we are not sufficiently acquainted.

Six years later this same statesman, Lord Beaconsfield, further said:

Gold is every day appreciating in value, and as it appreciates in value the lower prices become.

In January, 1876, speaking of the demonetization of silver, the Westminster Review said:

One of the things involved we hold to be the probable appreciation of gold; in other words, an increase of its purchasing power, and that, consequently, unless fresh discoveries are made, prices have seen their highest for many a long day, and that debts contracted in gold will, by reason of this movement, tend to press more heavily on the borrowers, and that it will be well if this pressure does not become so intolerable as to suggest by way of solution something like universal repudiation.

Mr. Bagehot, editor of the London Economist, in 1877 said:

If Germany and America, and, let us say the Latin Union, were to adopt the gold standard, the supply of this metal would scarcely suffice, and the money markets of the world would in all probability be seriously affected by this scarcity.

Prof. Thorold Rogers, of Oxford University, in 1879 accounted for the fall in prices as follows:

The principal, the most general, and in all probability the most durable [cause] is the rapid rise in the commercial value of gold. At the moment when the domain of civilization is enlarging in every way, and as a consequence the want of media of exchange is correspondingly increased, one of the great states of Europe [Germany] has expelled silver and at the same time adopted gold. She believes herself to be able to do so, thanks to the indemnity imposed upon France, but she has done the greatest harm to her population and industries.

Mr. Speaker, monetary history is bristling and blazing all over with facts proving that the commercial value of gold, exposed not only to the laws of supply and demand, as other commodities are, but to all the whims and devices of the money gamblers, is as unsound and unstable as the winds. As a standard of value it is the "dishonest dollar" the world over. To deny this is to ignore the universal experience of mankind. To attempt to build "a sound and stable currency" on a single-standard gold basis is to "defy the inexorable laws of finance and trade," which all agree can not be done with impunity. We are, then, driven by the logic and results of these researches to further inquiry after a better and safer money system than the gold standard.

SILVER AND BIMETALLISM.

A money system based on a single commodity, as already shown, must fluctuate with the demand and supply of that commodity. Such a system also gives the owners or holders of that commodity complete control over the volume of money afloat. It makes the holders of that preferred commodity complete masters of the monetary system, and, through this, masters of all industry and commerce. Senator Thomas H. Benton, discussing this subject and referring to the men or corporations who control the volume of our nation's money, said:

The Government itself ceases to be independent.

And further along in the same argument he said:

All property is at their mercy.

This shows the very great danger of basing a money system on a single commodity. The ease with which gold is handled, hoarded, cornered, and hidden away, makes it the most dangerous of all commodities. Silver is less easily cornered and hidden; less easily stolen and carried away. It is more likely to be in the pockets of the people. It is more difficult to collect into the great money centers; and far more difficult to manipulate in the interest of money-gamblers; hence, it is a safer foundation for "a sound and stable currency" than gold.

But as two is better than one—as a man on two feet possesses a broader and safer means of walking than a man on one foot—so a money system based on both gold and silver is broader, sounder, and safer than a one-metal system. With a moment's thought the bimetallic system will also be seen to be the essence of simplicity. And the maintenance of parity between the metals is so easily accomplished that in friendly or impartial hands it is self-acting. The commercial value of all things, including the money metals, is controlled by demand and supply. With a given fixed ratio between the money metals the loaner always exercises his option and loans the more plentiful and cheaper money. No one disputes his right to do this. This is a demand for the cheaper metal which tends to maintain its commercial value.

Now, if the debtor is permitted in like manner to exercise his right of option in choosing the money of payment, he will seek to pay with the more plentiful and cheaper money which he borrowed. It is only justice that the debtor be allowed this right. This double demand for the cheaper metal or money establishes its parity with the scarcer metal, which can not remain scarcer and dearer when relieved from the demands of both creditors and debtors. If, then, through the vicissitudes of supply and demand the metals change places, the disparity is at once checked, and parity is restored by the change of demands on the part of loaners and debtors, both uniformly choosing to use the cheaper money when permitted to do so. Disparity can only continue by depriving one or both parties in commercial transactions of their right of option to use any lawful money which they may prefer. The gold men who justify the loaning of cheap money utterly refuse the right of option on the part of debtors to pay in the same lawful money which they borrow. The gold men claim that loans of cheap currency, secured by real estate mortgage, can only be paid honestly with gold coin. This doctrine, in practice, compels an unnatural demand for gold coin. It creates and perpetuates the disparity of the metals which is so loudly complained of.

Bimetallism is like a man walking on two feet. The demand for action is always on the hindmost foot. This brings it up to the other and insures the continued parity of the two. Monometallism is like the man on one foot. He makes no progress except by jerks and jumps, which shock and derange the entire system. At the present moment in this country we are testing the qualities of monometallism. Gold coin is the lawful standard, and the prices of all commodities are rated by the fluctuating standard of the least "stable" of all standards. By this fluctuating standard, on which all demands are made, the prices of all property are fluctuating and falling. Nothing is fixed, because the standard of value is unfixed. The rocks of Gibraltar, with the same treatment—measured by the rolling billows and changing waves and tides of the ocean—would be as fickle and unstable as gossamer.

In our present experiment, all demands for payments are made on gold. That raises its price. All demands for monetary exports are made on gold. That raises its price still higher. The Secretary of the Treasury ignores and repudiates laws and contracts, and all the rules of common justice, swelling the demand for gold, and, by comparison, depreciates the price of silver. With our present unfair administration of the Treasury, we are like the man with two feet trying to make progress by the exclusive use of that foot which is already in advance of the other. His position is extremely awkward and absurd: such defiance of natural law is physical anarchy. Our Secretary's disregard for the rights of the people in the payment of coin obligations is very unjust toward the people. If the present Secretary of the Treasury would use both silver and gold coin on coin contracts, making the heavier demands on the cheaper metal—always exercising the right of option in the interest of the people—in all coin payments, the parity of the two metals would immediately be restored and maintained.

Gold can never meet the double demand for exportation and for home use as money. The man with two feet can not walk on one with the other tied to a post. His active foot may be a golden one, but he is paralyzed and helpless, as our country is to-day. Every interest is suffering. Business is bankrupt, labor is not employed, debtors are losing their homes, men, women, and children are unemployed and starving, the padlock of silence is placed on the mouths of children in the streets, lest their announcements of our bad condition may precipitate a revolution; and the Congress of the United States is called together in the "dog days" to redress the situation.

All this, Mr. Speaker, in my judgment, is occasioned by the Secretary refusing to pay out silver coin on coin contracts, and because of his continual demand on gold for every monetary purpose, with the certain practical result of increasing the disparity of the money metals, in the interest of the gold gamblers and money lords of London and New York, and against the interest of the American people.

It is said by some that the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces per month, by the United States Government, prevents the rise of silver bullion, and that, if this demand would cease, bullion would rise. Mr. Speaker, does not this position presume a little too much on the lack of intelligence among men? Does it not reverse the self-acting laws of demand and supply? Have we not said that the laws of finance and trade can not be defied with impunity? Sir, is not the Secretary of the Treasury, by ignoring the spirit of the law and the rights of the people, venturing upon an absurd and dangerous experiment? The logic of the situation is this:

If there were fewer buyers of wheat, wheat would rise; if there were fewer buyers of cotton, of corn, or of silver, then those respective commodities would bear higher prices.

That is the argument which is made in favor of repealing the silver-purchase law of 1890.

Mr. Speaker, I beg of you let us relieve the American people of this scandal. Let us not be guilty of harboring such unwisdom at the head of our financial affairs. It is bad to be robbed, as our people are now being robbed through currency contractions and falling prices. It is bad to be bankrupted, as our business men are being driven to the wall. It is bad to be idle and starving, as our miners, railroad employés, and other workers are out of work and starving, but it is unbearable, Mr. Speaker, to add to all of these distresses of the people the scandal and humiliation of financial idiocy! Let the Secretary, sir, pay out silver coin on all coin contracts—require him to increase his demands on silver, under the present laws and the present contracts—and silver will at once rise to a parity with gold.

It is said that the present silver-purchase law drives gold from the country, and hence must be repealed. The law does not do this. The law provides for the putting into circulation of about $40,000,000 per annum of United States Treasury notes. Those notes, besides being legal tender for most purposes, are redeemable "in coin," and the law provides for the coining of silver to redeem them, but gives the Secretary his option as to which coin he shall use. He chooses to use gold coin. This increased demand for gold raises its price, increasing the disparity of the two metals. It also robs the gold reserve by permitting the gold to be exported. It is not the law which robs the reserve and sends gold abroad, but it is the Secretary. It is obvious that the

Secretary's wrongful ruling needs "repealing" much more than the law does. If the spirit of "Old Hickory" Jackson were in the executive chair now, that Secretary would, in my opinion, be dismissed so quickly that it would make him dizzy, and there would be no extra session of Congress in August to relieve the gold gamblers from their troubles.

If any man capable of opening his eyes desires positive evidence as to the superiority of silver over gold as a stable money basis he has but to observe the stable finances of Mexico at the present moment. That country is not a strong one financially, yet with her silver standard she sits serenely amid the storm which is rending the gold countries, viewing their trepidation and distresses with pity and complacency. With her mints turning out silver dollars at the rate of $14,000,000 per month, her finances were never in sounder condition nor her commerce more flourishing. The following dispatch explains the Mexican situation:

CITY OF MEXICO, *July 5.*

Published opinions of foreign bankers that Mexico will be bankrupted through the recent fall in silver are not taken in earnest here. Nothing approaching a business crisis is apprehended. The credit of the great commercial and financial establishments of this city continues unquestioned. The crop reports are excellent, and this is regarded by local bankers as a most hopeful feature of the situation. If Mexico is able to feed herself she can afford to play a waiting game in the matter of silver.

That example ought to teach enlightened and patriotic men an important lesson. If the Mexican finances were on the fickle gold basis, that country would be compelled to enter the general scramble for the delusive yellow metal. Every gold standard nation must, inevitably, be shaken by every cyclone in the great gold centers of the world. There is no escape from this conclusion. This great country of ours, struggling to maintain a gold standard, is compelled to call an extra session of Congress to doctor the finances and save the country; while "poor old Mexico" sits firmly and calmly on her basis of white metal without a tremor. It appears, Mr. Speaker, that wisdom and common sense are worth more than gold.

Mr. Allard, of Belgium, delegate to the International Monetary Conference in Brussels, last winter, made the following general statement as to the silver standard:

What is the state of things we see at present? We see that in those countries which have a gold standard, prices have fallen enormously, and that, on the contrary, in the countries which have a silver standard, in spite of the unfavorable treatment of silver in Europe, and in spite of the diminution in its uses, the relation of value between money and goods has remained almost exactly what it was twenty years ago. They try to frighten us by pointing to the dangers which ensue from the abundance of silver, and yet I repeat that in spite of the unfavorable position in which silver is placed, we fail to observe in silver standard countries any of the evil results which ought to flow from that abundance.

I call attention to another historic lesson which should be of value at the present time. The finances of England are on the single gold basis, long established and skillfully managed. France, just across the channel, on the Continent, bases her finances on both gold and silver, and on the quality of legal tender. During the last fifty years the bimetallic Bank of France has not been shaken with the fears of bankruptcy. Even the unusual demand on its resources to pay the German indemnity of $1,000,000,000, caused but a temporary tremor. On the other hand, on two or three occasions, we find the gold basis Bank of England, on the verge of ruin, applying to the bimetallic Bank of France for help, which was promptly given. The fact is, the payment of the German indemnity of France caused quite as much alarm in London as in Paris.

In proof of what is here stated, I call attention to the testimony of the very highest authorities. Mr. Allard, of Belgium, already quoted, stated in the Monetary Conference at Brussels, last winter, as follows:

Mr. de Rothschild appears to me to have forgotten that not long ago the bimetallic Bank of France came—for the third time, I think, and at any rate, for the second—to the assistance of the monometallic Bank of England, and was obliged to lend to that bank 75,000,000 francs in gold, in order to spare it the difficulties which might have ensued from a fresh suspension of the act of 1844. Is the system of the bank which confers the benefit, or of that which receives it, to be preferred by us? I do not hesitate to give the preference to the Bank of France, which conferred the benefit, although that bank is absolutely bimetallic, and my conclusion is that of the two banking systems I prefer that which is based upon the two metals. (Page 93.)

Sir Guilford Molesworth, delegate for British India, in the International Conference last winter, stated:

During the seven years, 1883-1890, the Bank of France only changed its rate of discount seven times, whilst the Bank of England changed it sixty-two times, the variations in France only amounting to 2 per cent, whilst those in England amounted to 4 per cent. (Page 143.)

Mr. Molesworth quotes Mr. Goschen as follows:

I feel a kind of shame on the occasion of two or three millions of gold being taken from this country to Brazil or any other country [that] it should immediately have the effect of causing a monetary alarm throughout the country.—*Page 143.*

Mr. Molesworth then says:

Then came the Baring failure, and our weakness was shown by having to call France to our aid. The currency of France had weathered without difficulty storms to which the Baring failure was mere child's play; for example, the Prussian war, the communistic struggle, the war indemnity, the failures of the Panama Canal, of the metal ring, and of the *comptoir d'escomte.*

* * * * * * *

Mr. Giffen has stated that in almost every year since 1873 there has been a stringency of greater or less severity, directly traceable to or aggravated by the extraordinary demands for gold and the difficulties in supplying them.

And, finally, we have the declaration of Mr. de Rothschild which threatens us with a monetary panic, "The far-spreading effects of which it would be impossible to foretell."

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I repeat, "it is gold that is sick, not silver," and unless this fact be recognized by the members of this conference it will be impossible to apply the proper remedy to the crisis which menaces us.

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I beg also to lay before the conference the accompanying diagrams which I have prepared; and in doing so I would draw particular attention to diagram No. 3 A, because it shows at a glance the instability of gold and the stability of silver.—*Pages 143, 144.*

"A SOUND AND STABLE CURRENCY."

In order to arrest great national danger—to ward off impending ruin—I have shown the superiority of silver and bimetallism over gold, as a safe, sound, and stable basis of currency, under the present conditions and tendencies of the monetary world. I have appealed to the facts of history and the experiences of mankind. I have avoided untried theories. I think I have made out my case. Of course the gold gamblers will not yield. You can not reason with Demetrius; and the prostrate worshipers of Juggernaut would rather be crushed than face the anger of their idol. Yet the people may be convinced and saved.

But, Mr. Speaker, to merely escape sudden ruin is not a very high ambition for a great, glorious, and progressive people like ours. We should have higher aims than that. Money is the blood of our civilization. A single gold standard is a disease in an acute form. It is delirium. It is neither a healthy nor a plentiful blood. It is both paucity and impurity. Add to it silver, and you have a safer and more bountiful circulating medium. With this improved and increased supply of the "protoplasm" of commerce and civilization our people will stand on a higher plane and the nation will live longer. But our position in the world justifies higher ambitions than mere existence. The examples of the statesmen and heroes of our history beckon us onward to higher attainments. Our opportunities as an enlightened nation, and the moving, industrious, and enterprising characteristics of our compound American people forbid mere commonplace achievements. To reach our most cherished and reasonable destiny as a commercial and civilized people we must have a sound, stable, pure, and plentiful currency. To find and draft such a system we need seek for nothing new or untried. Although the most important of all questions, the money question is not difficult. Any common mind can easily comprehend and understand it when stripped of the glamour and mystery sought to be thrown around it by the gamblers.

The circulating medium of our industrial and commercial life must be pure, plentiful, and permanent. We must not subject it to the phlebotomy of the money gamblers, nor even to the uncertain supply of the costly money metals. Gold and silver coin must be continued:

1. Out of respect to the traditions and usages of mankind for forty centuries;

2. Because we have agreed to pay some billions of monetary obligations, which, per contract, are to be paid in coin of a given weight and fineness;

3. Because our country is the largest producer of the money metals in the world, and we should not demonetize and depreciate the value of our own products; and

4. Because we can not discard them without industrial and financial ruin.

Let me illustrate: By the laws of 1873-'74 silver was demonetized. That act created a disparity between the coin and bullion values of silver. It created and now perpetuates a rich field for the great speculators of the world. Taking advantage of the disparity thus created, the British speculator goes into the London market, where he buys silver bullion at a discount. This is coined for him into East Indian rupees. The coin is more valuable than the bullion. With the new coin the speculator buys East Indian wheat and cotton for the European markets in competition with American wheat and cotton. The British speculator can sell his eastern wheat and cotton at the same low price at which he bought them because of his profits on silver. And Americans must sell in those markets at the same low prices, or abandon the European markets for our two great staples of export.

This explanation shows why American wheat and cotton rise and fall with silver bullion. It also proves that the cotton and wheat growing States have a greater direct interest in the silver question than the silver States themselves.

The same policy and the same speculations practiced in India in the handling of wheat and cotton are practiced in the South

American silver-using countries in connection with wool, hides, and the cheaper grades of grass-fed beef. This shows that not only the wheat and cotton growing States, but also the cattle and wool growing States, are quite as much interested in the silver question as are the silver-producing States. Restore the parity between the bullion and coin values of silver by free and unlimited coinage of silver, and we raise the prices of our great agricultural staples in foreign markets at least 40 per cent.

It will thus be seen that this silver fight is comprehensive and one in which we are all deeply interested. Demonetization destroys our European markets for many of our leading commodities of export. That is one aspect of the question. Then, besides that, it closes the American silver mines, shuts off our supply of metallic money, and destroys our great and increasing mountain market for agricultural products. The western third of the American continent, rich in everything except agriculture, under normal conditions would be a better market for all agricultural products and for the products of our great manufacturing establishments than all the rest of the world.

By the demonetization of silver this best side of the Republic is made a desert. The mines are closed. Great and rich States are depopulated and changed into deserts. Their purchasing power is destroyed. Agriculture and manufactures are without a market, business is bankrupt, and laborers by the millions are changed into mendicants and tramps. We can not discard silver money if we would. The subject is far reaching, and afflicts all men with unbearable evils except the Shylocks of London and their American allies, agents, and attorneys.

In connection with this statement I call attention to a prediction made by the present Secretary of the Treasury, then a member of this House. It is not the first time in history when a prophet has become the willing agent of the evils which he opposed and predicted. In 1878, discussing this silver question, Mr. Carlisle said:

I know that the world's stock of precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it will ever become so. Mankind will be fortunate indeed if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry. According to my view of the subject, the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy by legislation and otherwise from three-sevenths to one-half of the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age. The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilence, and famine that ever occurred in the history of the world. The absolute and instantaneous destruction of half the entire movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads, and all other appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of one-half of the metallic money of the world.

Mr. Speaker, we can not change the present ratio of 16 of silver to 1 of gold without great inconvenience and loss. It would involve the recoinage of our present stock of silver money now in the hands of the people. It would require a change of contract in connection with many millions of monetary obligations which are by their terms payable in coin of the standard weight of July 14, 1870. On this subject the joint resolution of the two Houses of 1878, known as the Matthews resolution, reads as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring therein), That all the bonds of the United States issued under the said acts of Congress hereinbefore recited are payable, principal and interest, at the option of the Government of the United States, in silver dollars of the coinage of the United States, containing 412½ grains each of standard silver; and that to restore to its coinage such silver coins as a legal tender in payment of said bonds, principal and interest, is not in violation of the public faith nor in derogation of the rights of the public creditor.

A change of ratio or a change of the weight of the silver dollar creates a lawful excuse for the bondholders to refuse the silver dollar in coin payments, which they will use to their own advantage.

In this silver matter we are all, except Wall street, in the same boat, and must sink or swim together. Our only course is to rehabilitate the old silver dollar as it was prior to 1873, and to maintain the full and free coinage of both gold and silver as money metals at the present ratio of 16 to 1. If the people are left alone, and the laws of supply and demand are permitted fair play, the parity of the metals, at that ratio, will be assured and perpetual.

Mr. Speaker, both sides in this discussion admit that neither of the metals, nor both of them combined, are a satisfactory currency for actual use in the channels of trade and business. Both sides propose a supplemental paper, either in the form of Treasury notes or bank notes. And in one of these forms we are expected to find that "sound and stable currency" which is to meet the necessities of the people. I now call the attention of the House to a discussion of these two forms of paper currency.

THE UNITED STATES TREASURY NOTE.

Mr. Speaker, money, strictly speaking, is not a material thing. It is a function created by law; and by law this function may be attached to any proper material. It is an office or function, as is the office of sheriff. A man naturally is not a sheriff or other public officer, but when the office or legal function is attached to the man, he is then a public officer, and as such can do many things and perform many acts which he could not do or perform in his individual capacity. When the money function has been legally attached to a material thing, then that material thing becomes tangible money. In rude societies the money function may grow up by custom, and by common consent may become attached to a material thing. In this way cattle, copper, gold, silver, tobacco, and various articles of commerce have become tangible money by reason of their endowment by custom or law with the money function. The various commodities of commerce have never proven themselves entirely satisfactory money, because of their unwieldiness and frequent scarcity.

All things considered, no material seems so well adapted to practical business purposes as well-executed paper notes. The material is easy of procurement, reasonably durable, and easy to transport, count, and handle in large or small amounts. It is easy to conceal about the person, being small of bulk and light of weight; and, above all, when executed in the highest style of art, it is the most difficult to counterfeit, perhaps, of all moneys. On this latter point, Mr. Alexander Del Mar, in hisable work on The Science of Money, says:

The silk-threaded, distinctive-fiber paper, the water marks, the printing in colors, the highly artistic vignettes, the geometrical lathe work, the numbers, signatures, and other mechanical safeguards of the modern paper note, render it far more difficult to imitate than coin.

The importance of having a money above the arts of the counterfeiter is seen when we contemplate a few facts of history. All agree that money is valuable in proportion to limitation, and that an unlimited money must be ultimately a worthless money. A money that is easily counterfeited is practically an unlimited money. As examples in point, I mention the Continental currency of the American Revolution and the assignats of France. Both were largely counterfeited by the British Government. In each case the counterfeits are said to have far exceeded in amount the genuine notes when the point of worthlessness was reached.

The issuing of money is an act of sovereignty, and as such ought not to be delegated to individuals or to corporations. All money should be issued by the sovereign power of the nation. When so issued it is in effect a check on society for value, and like all checks, it must be redeemed. All money, whether metal or paper, must be redeemed. That is what money is for. It rests on the value that is behind it. But let us not be mistaken; let us not be misled by terms. Swapping dollars is no redemption. The first and primary redemption of money is receivability by the issuing power. It must be receivable in the revenues of the issuing government. That is primal redemption. A money so received in the United States and Great Britain has been and is uniformly good money. This primal redemption is like a man accepting his own checks in payment of dues to himself when he transacts business.

But there is a wider and more general redemption, which arises from the quality of legal tender. All perfect money is endowed with this necessary quality; and when so endowed all men advertise their eagerness to redeem such money with value. In effect, this is basing money—not on gold, not on silver, nor on any single commodity, but on all commodities. A money so based is precisely as good as the issuing government—no better, no worse. A money so based, though made of paper, never falls below gold while the issuing government remains intact and continues to collect and disburse revenues.

This rule has no exceptions. A paper money so founded and redeemed is always preferred to gold. Intrinsic or commercial value in the material which is endowed with the monetary function is not only unnecessary, but it should be further stated that such intrinsic value is a great and sometimes fatal objection to the money material. It gives the owners of the valuable money material a monopoly of the money of the country. If gold alone is used as money, then the amount of money in a given country can not exceed the amount of gold available in that country; and the holders of gold, by making money scarce or plenty at will, become masters of the situation. They occupy the position described by Mr. Garfield when he said: "Whoever controls the volume of the currency is absolute master of all industry and commerce." In the words of Senator Benton, speaking of the same dangerous class of men: "All property is at their mercy."

Money has been defined as a "measure of value." This is not strictly true. Values are measured by the combined judgments of the parties concerned, influenced by surrounding circumstances and conditions. In other words, "values are measured with brains." But money is a unit of account, and values are expressed in the money units. In the United States the dollar is the unit of account, and values are expressed in dollars and fractions of a dollar. Values having been fixed by the combined judgments of the parties in interest, then it is the office of money

to settle the account between the parties as a medium of exchange or means of payment. When I pay a man money for service I give him a general check on society for value. So far as I am concerned, he is paid, but in fact he has not yet received anything which satisfies his ultimate wants. He has only received a check on the general wealth of the country for what he desires. This check must be redeemed, and society is eager to redeem it with all the values of the country that are for sale. Hence the man to whom I paid the check is better paid than if I had given him some form of value which he did not specially need. If I had given him a horse or a cow, when he needed a suit of clothes, it would have been less satisfactory to him than the money, though of the same or even greater value. Though money may be without intrinsic value in itself, and should be so, yet, when fairly treated by law, it stands for all values; and the holder of it has a check or order on the entire country for his choice of all property that is for sale, to the extent of the value mentioned in his check or order, and all men are eager to accept or redeem his check, and give him choice of the values in their possession.

Money is a labor-saving machine. It is a bookkeeper and accountant, saving much time and expense when it floats in proper volume. For this purpose the material of money need not have value. If A owes B $10, and B owes A $10, the accounts balance, the parties shake hands, and the transaction is ended. If A owes B $10, B owes C $10, and C owes A $10, the parties, if brought together, may still see through the matter. The case is more complicated than before, yet the opportunity for cancellation exists, and the parties may shake hands, as before, without money payment. But suppose fifty men are involved. Then money must be used in some form, either to pay the entire debts or to settle the balances. Each owes another $10, but all are not aware of the facts. Let the parties be together with no money in their pockets, but, looking on the ground, one of them finds a $10 note. He asks for a claimant or owner of the money, but finds none. He then pays a debt of $10 to his neighbor standing near. His neighbor pays the money to another, to whom he is indebted. Debt-paying is the order of the day until fifty debts have been paid, when the money finally stops in the hands of the finder, who, owing no one present, puts the note in his pocket. I inquire, are those debts paid? Plainly they are. But suppose the holder of the money should drop it into the fire, and it should be consumed. Would that make any difference? Surely not. Whatever may become of that note, the debts are paid. But let us suppose that the holder of the bill, instead of dropping it into the fire, should carry it to a bank for deposit, and there find it to be a counterfeit. Now, are the debts paid? Let each reader decide for himself. Evidently it was a case of cancellation; and if the parties had known of the facts and relations of each to each, they might have clasped hands and the debts would have been settled, canceled, or paid, without the use of money.

Now, let us suppose that fifty men are present in a clearing house. The first man, A, hands his personal check to B, his creditor. (This is not final payment, as money is. A personal check may be called money of conditional payment.) The second man, B, owes C $40. He hands to C a $10 check, received from A, and his own personal check for $30. And so the payment continues until all are paid with these checks of conditional payment. Then comes cancellation and the payment of balances. In practice it is found that checks do not balance and cancel each other in full, as men do not owe each other the same amounts, but that there must be used in every clearing house some money of final payment; that is, money, or general checks on society at large, issued by the sovereign government or society in the concrete, which all are willing to accept as money of final payment. By the records of clearing-house business for long periods it is found that, on the average, the amount of money of final payment necessary to settle balances is about 5 per cent of the business done.

This is not much, but it is absolutely necessary to prevent bankruptcies. Ninety-five per cent of the business is done with individual checks and drafts, 5 per cent with money of final payment. In view of these well-settled facts some flippant writers and speakers have taken the ground that all business may be done with individual checks and drafts, and that the volume of actual money cuts no figure. This is not correct. The 5 per cent of actual money is small, but it is absolutely necessary to prevent bankruptcies. The entire business is based on this 5 per cent; and for every dollar of this money which may be withdrawn from circulation $20 of business must stop. This shows the importance of watching closely the volume of money of final payment. Even a small contraction deranges business, causes bankruptcies, and reduces the volume of the business of the country.

Money is a war power. There are two great war powers known among civilized nations—the sword and the purse. By the sword is meant that physical force which overcomes the enemy in the field. The purse is that power which equips, subsists, recruits, and pays the fleets and armies. Among savages there is much of the sword and little of the purse. As a rule, the purse power increases among nations as civilized methods are adopted, until ultimately most of the purposes of war may be attained with only a show of physical force. Money, as a war power, need not have intrinsic value. It has been proven time and again that modern wars can not be prosecuted with intrinsic money as a support to the armies.

I call attention to the following examples of money as a war power:

1. The history of the Republic of Venice is a history of continual war on land and sea. The Republic of Venice was the great commercial nation of the earth for centuries, and its maritime wars were necessary for the protection of its extended commerce in every quarter of the known world. In the year 1171 intrinsic money utterly failed to meet the monetary requirements of the republic, and a book credit or inscription money was adopted. This inscription money had no material value whatever. It was not redeemable in coin or bullion, and there was no pretense that it would be so redeemed; but it was receivable in the revenues of the Government, and legal tender for all debts. The legal-tender quality, in the language of Dr. Franklin, was "greater advantage" than coin redemption. For six hundred years that paper-credit money ruled 20 per cent above coin. During all that time there was not a money panic in the country. Venice became and remained the center of commerce and the clearing house of the world. There is not a line on record that any citizen of Venice was dissatisfied with their financial system. This is the longest and most satisfactory continuous financial experiment recorded in history, and it proves very conclusively the superiority of functional, or fiat money, over intrinsic money in times of war.

2. At the beginning of the American Revolution coin, or intrinsic money, failed to materialize. It was not to be had. It was an utter failure. Our fathers had no resources but paper. They had no government capable of issuing a proper money of any sort, but they did the best they could. They could print paper and call it money, but they could not receive it in the revenues of the Government, because the old Confederacy did not collect revenues. They could not endow it with the quality of legal tender, because the old Confederacy was not a sovereign government. They could not even make it redeemable in coin, as there was no coin to be had. Coin is always absent when most needed. But the patriot fathers had wit as well as patriotism, and they issued the best money they could. It was rudely executed and easily counterfeited, hence in practice must be unlimited in amount. People were expected to take it as a matter of patriotism. This was the only foundation of that Continental money; yet for five years it met the requirements of the country, and Mr. Albert Gallatin afterwards spoke of it as follows:

> The paper money carried the United States through the most arduous and perilous stages of the war, and, though operating as a most unequal tax, it can not be denied that it saved the country.

If the American Colonies had depended on coin money as a war power they would have remained subject to the tyranny of King George. American liberty would never have been born.

3. In the year 1797 money of intrinsic value failed in England. The bank paid out its last silver sixpence, and the nation was on the verge of ruin. A paper money not redeemable in coin was adopted, which met every monetary requirement for twenty-five years, through all the terrible trials of the wars of Napoleon. It carried the country triumphantly through every crisis, conferring on the empire a prosperity and glory unequaled in ancient or modern times. On this subject Sir Archibald Alison says:

> It is in these moments of public and private suffering that the paper circulation steps in to sustain public and private credit during the interval when national industry has been paralyzed by the disappearance of the precious metals from circulation. * * * But for its aid the empire would certainly have been destroyed. * * * Had bank notes been rendered scarce when gold disappeared, the nation and all its trading classes would have been bankrupted, and we should long since have been a province of France.

4. In the year 1813, during the wars of Napoleon, gold utterly failed to meet the needs of the allied armies on the Continent of Europe. England, Russia, and Prussia issued a joint paper money, which supported the armies, broke the power of Napoleon, and saved the Continent. The late Judge Martin, in his work on The Money of Nations, says:

> It met the emergency as coin could not.

Mr. Alison says:

> It passed as cash from Kamchatka to the Rhine, and brought the war to a successful issue. * * * Without this paper money the vast armaments of the allies would have been dissolved for want of funds for their support.

5. During the war of the rebellion, when gold left the field,

there were three kinds of nonmetallic war money, which stood the shock of arms to the end. The revolutionary government of the South issued the best paper possible for such a government. It was precisely as good as the issuing power—no better, no worse. It was a brave money—far better than cowardly metal. It staid with the armies, and fought with them to the bitter end, and went down with them on the field of battle. That paper money of the South was rudely executed and easily counterfeited. This, of course, made it practically impossible to limit the volume in circulation; and, as already stated, an unlimited money is a worthless money.

Money is valuable in proportion to limitation. If it is possible, the counterfeiters will inflate the money to the point of worthlessness, as in the case of our Continental currency and the French assignats. In the North there were two sorts of paper money. The first sixty millions were receivable in the revenues of the Government the same as coin, and legal tender for all debts. That money was preferred to coin during the war, and as long as it circulated. Another class of paper money issued during the war, known as greenbacks, was not receivable for duties on imports nor for interest on the public debt. It was like any other useful machine with a number of important bolts left out. It went below par as compared with coin, or as compared with paper without these legal disabilities. It sometimes went below 50 cents on the dollar because of its legal disabilities, and from no other cause. Yet such as it was, all the Shylocks and the armies of the South were beaten by it at one and the same time. All agree that the greenback saved the life of the nation. With gold only, the armies would have been paralyzed and anarchy would have prevailed. It would have been a contest of swords after the manner of savages, with little union or adhesion on either side.

Money is the instrument of association. Without money there is no cohesion, and disintegration must ensue. A perfect money will remain at its post in times of danger. Gold money will not do this.

Mr. Speaker, I have shown that gold is not a "sound and stable currency." I have shown that silver is less fickle and far safer than gold. I have shown that bimetallism is a better basis for "a sound and stable currency" than either gold or silver alone, and, finally, I have shown you a still safer, sounder, and more stable money system, not based on gold alone, or silver alone, or even on gold and silver combined, but on all commodities of commerce. Money does not depend on the value of the monetary material, but on the value that is behind it—a value always plentiful and ready for redemption purposes, not in the hands of unwilling Secretaries, nor in the vaults of banks of doubtful solvency, but in the hands of the people themselves, anxious and desperately eager to redeem all lawful money with all the values of the salable commodities of this great nation. Such a money, founded on all commodities, is like a pyramid standing on its base, instead of on an apex composed of a single, scarce, and dear commodity, subject to theft, and to all the fickle and wily devices of the gold gamblers. Such a money is precisely as good as the issuing government, no better—no worse. Such a money will stand by the people in times of peace and prosperity, and will fight for the government in time of war. Gold will not do this. While the Roman people used a numerary money printed on copper, without intrinsic value, they maintained their liberties, and Rome was a republic. When they adopted intrinsic money, of shrinking volume, the republic gave place to the empire, and the nation entered the thickening shadows of its decadence.

A nonlegal paper based on coin is never reliable, but is always subject to discount or failure when the strain comes. Between the years 1812 and 1860 the United States Government authorized twenty issues of Treasury notes, receivable in the revenues of the Government, but not otherwise a legal tender. Those Treasury notes were uniformly preferred to coin. During those same years (from 1812 to 1860) numerous experiments were made with nonlegal coin-basis bank paper, with an average of failures about once in seven to ten years. In 1860 the failure of gold-basis paper was universal and complete. Gold itself left the field, and legal-tender Treasury notes were necessary to meet the crisis and save the country.

The Treasury notes, receivable in the revenues, was the favorite money of the early leaders of your party, Mr. Speaker, and all I have said or shall say on this branch of the subject was formerly good Democratic doctrine. I am not proposing a new and untried scheme.

In the years 1837-'38 John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, discussed this matter of government paper very fully in the United States Senate. Mr. Calhoun said:

> I now undertake to affirm positively, and without the least fear that I can be answered, what heretofore I have but suggested—that a paper issued by government, with a simple promise to receive in all dues, leaving its creditors to take it or gold and silver, at their option, would, to the extent to which it would circulate, form a perfect paper circulation, which could not be abused by the Government, that would be as steady and uniform in value as the metals themselves. I shall not go into the discussion now, but on a suitable occasion I shall be able to make good every word I have uttered.
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> We are told there is no instance of a government paper that did not depreciate. In reply I affirm that there is none, assuming the form that I propose, that ever did depreciate. Whenever a paper receivable in the dues of a government had anything like a fair trial it has succeeded.
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> It may throw some light on this subject to state that North Carolina, just after the Revolution, issued a large amount of paper, which was made receivable in dues to her; it was also made a legal tender, but which, of course, was not made obligatory after the adoption of the Federal Constitution. A large amount—say between four and five hundred thousand dollars—remained in circulation after that period, and continued to circulate for more than twenty years at par with gold and silver during the whole time, with no other advantage than being received in the revenues of the State, which was much less than $100,000 per annum.—*Money of Nations*, pages 64, 65.

Mr. Speaker, I offer no new experiment. This subject is too important for the permission of expiricism. New experiments are hazardous. They may fail. Old experiments which have uniformly failed are criminal. Gold-basis paper is an old experiment which always fails when the strain comes. Government paper, legal tender and receivable in the revenues, is an old and well-tested system. It is preferred to coin, and never fails while the issuing government stands.

Mr. E. G. Spaulding, a banker in Buffalo, N. Y., in time of the war, chairman of the Subcommittee on Ways and Means in 1861, 1862, and 1863, and known in financial history as "The Father of the Greenback," has discussed commodity redemption of money as follows:

> Every time a hundred-dollar bill passes from one person to another, it is a practical redemption of it by the person who takes it. Every time a merchant at Chicago pays to a farmer $500 in national currency for a carload of wheat, the farmer by the operation redeems such national currency, not in greenbacks, nor in gold, but in a commodity better than either, namely, wheat, a staple article useful to all. So every merchant in New York that sells a bale of cotton goods and receives his pay for it in currency, redeems such currency, not in the way that banks redeem it, but in cotton goods, which is far better, because it performs the true functions of money by facilitating the legitimate sale of commodities. So every time that a merchant or manufacturer pays his internal-revenue tax to the United States collector in national currency, the Government redeems such currency by receiving and discharging such tax. So every mechanic or laborer that receives national currency for his services, redeems such currency by the labor performed. So it will be seen that just so long as the national currency is practically redeemed every day in its passage from hand to hand in the payment of commodities and services, and in the ramified operations of trade and business both with the Government and the people whose operations it greatly facilitates, there is not the slightest necessity for resorting to the expensive and risky operation of assorting and sending it home for redemption.—*Spaulding's History*, Appendix, page 10.

Mr. Speaker, we all favor a "sound and stable currency," and believe that the life of the nation depends on the creation and maintenance of such a circulating medium. Now, sir, in the light of the facts of history and uniform human experience, I propose such a currency. I propose a currency of gold and silver coin, "of the standard weight of July 14, 1870," said coin to be supplemented by United States Treasury notes, all to be coined and issued by the General Government, and made legal tender for all debts and taxes. That, sir, is a simple, "sound and stable currency," old and well tried, and when submitted to the severest tests it has uniformly proven successful. We must retain the coins of gold and silver, because they are necessary to pay all monetary obligations which call for coin. These should be supplemented with Treasury notes, because of the convenience of paper, and because the coins can not be relied on to furnish the proper volume of currency needed by a prosperous and growing nation. "A sound and stable currency," like the one I propose, would not require the services of the "extra session" doctor to "restore confidence."

With such a system in operation, our finances would cease to be as now—a mere "confidence game," set up by the Wall street gamblers to entangle and rob the people. Men would do business with money instead of confidence—commerce would become more of a certainty and less a game of chance.

The supplemental paper herein advocated is necessary to insure the prosperous employment of the people. The full employment of labor, the encouragement of enterprise, and the prosperity of industry, trade, and commerce depend very largely on what are known as time contracts. These in their turn depend for their success on a steady money market; otherwise trade and industry become games of chance, in which timid capital will not venture—the result being that labor is not given profitable employment.

The merchant who buys goods on time makes a time contract. If the money volume declines and prices fall, his profits are reduced or cut off entirely. The farmer who plants a field of corn enters into a time contract, investing labor and capital. If prices are falling through currency contraction, his expenses may prove greater than the market value of the crop when grown. If the stock-raiser invests his money in a herd of young

animals, which require one, two, or three years to fit them for market, he incurs extra hazard in his enterprise, unless he is sure that the country has "a sound and stable currency," which will endure until the day of sale. The manufacturer who invests his money in any industry does so with greater confidence and certainty if he can depend on a safe, full, and even flow of money, insuring reasonable and stable prices.

If the enterprises I have named are safely pursued and reasonably profitable, wage laborers are usually employed and well paid. But, if these enterprises are rendered unprofitable or extra hazardous, by reason of an unstable money volume and declining prices, they must cease, and labor must remain unemployed.

Now, all history proves, from the days of the Roman Augustus to the present time, that metallic money alone can not maintain full and equal prices in a great and growing nation. The experiment was tried by the Romans. It failed and the Empire fell. As the gold and silver mines of Greece and Spain failed in productiveness, prices in Rome fell, lower and lower. Every industrial enterprise was a failure, laborers were out of work and starving; turbulence and rapine, the strong preying upon the weak, became the only means of life. Society became disintegrated. The population of Europe fell off one-half, and the suffering of mankind was greater than the imagination of man can conceive. It is not possible for a great and growing nation to depend with certainty on the irregular and declining productions of the gold and silver mines of the world for "a sound and stable currency," which shall maintain a full and even flow of prices, subject only to the supply and demand of commodities. A metallic currency, for the sake of argument, may be reckoned sound, but if it can not prevent the perpetual decline of prices it can not be rightfully considered stable. However sound the timbers of a ship may be, if in a sinking condition, inevitably carrying down with it all on board, it can not be called a safe or "stable" vessel.

For twenty years the financiers of this country have been seeking a gold basis. During these same years we have had declining prices. In spite of the indomitable energy and industry of our people, business has not grown in proportion to the increase of population. The New York clearing house shows more business in 1869 than in 1892; more in 1881 than in any year since. Bankruptcies and debts have increased, and at this moment men in financial circles are in distress, crying out for help. The Secretary, in imitation of his Republican predecessor, in his monthly reports, tries to cover up the fact of shrinking money, and in so doing deceives the unsuspecting; but among intelligent men he is covering himself with infamy. A recent dispatch says:

A. R. Chisholm & Co., bankers, New York, state in their bank circular dated May 29, 1893:

> We quote that Right Hon. Mr. Lidderdale, of the Bank of England, agrees with our views, so often expressed during the past ten years in our market letters, that this country needs more legal tenders. France, a stationary country, has $60 per capita. The Director of the Mint places the per capita in the States at $22, but two hundred millions of gold have disappeared and no estimate is made of the loss of paper and coin during the past twenty-five years. It is known that silver wears out and is renewed once in thirty years. We claim that, deducting amounts in the United States Treasury and banks held as reserve and losses in paper currency and coins, gold exports and hoardings, this country is down to the actual famine circulation of less than $6 per capita, counting our population at sixty-five millions.

This statement corroborates the estimates of the late Senator Plumb, who was president of a national bank; and Mr. N. A. Dunning, statistician, in Washington, D. C., and others. And on no other ground can the present financial distresses be accounted for. "It is a money famine and nothing else." Gold can not be relied on to furnish "a sound and stable currency." Both the metals together can not do it, the "eminent financiers" of New York to the contrary notwithstanding.

Mr. Speaker, the only hope for the industrial and commercial prosperity of this country is a full and even flow of legal-tender Treasury notes, to supplement and to take the place of the coins when the money metals are drawn off to other countries through adverse balances of trade.

No Democrat should object to the legal-tender Treasury note. That was the money of Jefferson, Jackson, and Calhoun, and of the long line of Democratic statesmen from 1812 to 1860. During those years of Democratic ascendency twenty issues of Treasury notes were authorized and sent out. They were receivable in the revenues of the Government, and were uniformly preferred to coin. In 1846, in the heart of Mexico, the United States Treasury note was valued at 6 per cent above coin. For fifty years this Democratic paper money was deemed good money (as good as coin, or next to coin) by all good Democrats. On various and sundry occasions it has saved the Government from difficulties and pending bankruptcy when coin failed. In the sixties, though badly treated by law, it saved this great nation from disintegration. And, at this moment the United States legal-tender Treasury note, if used to supplement the coins and maintain prices, will prove a sure means of financial, commercial, and industrial salvation. This is the doctrine of "the inexorable laws of finance and trade," which can not be defied with impunity. No political party can long stand in opposition to these laws. Even the gold gamblers of Wall street can not long resist them.

The American people are kindly, good-natured, and long suffering. In the language of the great Jefferson, they are not disposed to right their wrongs as long as their wrongs are sufferable. But, sir, with all due respect toward those who differ, candor compels the statement that with twenty to thirty billions of monetary obligations hanging over their heads in various forms, largely resting as mortgages on their homes, the people of these United States will never submit to perpetual decline in the prices of the products which they must sell for money to pay debts. Such decline now in progress must continue if the vain effort to reach and maintain a single gold standard is persisted in. In Europe, with half the able-bodied men under arms to coerce the others, the attempt may be feasible, but in a great and free Republic, unaccustomed to physical coercion, with the ballot box in reach, the single gold standard can hardly be reckoned as a permanent possibility.

This money question may be made very plain by a simple statement of an arithmetical example. Thus:

Divisor,	Dividend,	Quotient,
Commodities)	volume of money	(prices.

The people and their commodities are the divisor in the problem which we are solving in this country. The volume of money afloat is the dividend. The quotient is the general average of the prices of property. The divisor is continually increasing, through the increase of population and the energy and enterprise of our people. The dividend decreases through the various devices of the gamblers in cornering and suppressing money. Is it any wonder that the quotient is less and less from day to day, in the form of declining prices? There is but one practical remedy, namely, add money to the circulation as the people and their transactions increase. Increase the dividend as the divisor increases, that the quotient may remain the same. This can only be done by supplementing the coins with legal-tender Treasury notes.

THE BANK-NOTE SYSTEM.

Mr. Speaker, the gold men, as I understand them, do not claim that gold shall be the only circulating medium in the hands of the people, but that it should be the basis of a bank-paper system redeemable in gold. In other words, they desire to supplement the gold coin with bank paper, and for this purpose very generally favor the present national banking system in preference to the old Democratic Treasury-note system, which I have been discussing and advocating. Let me call the attention of the House to this gold-basis paper system known as the national banking system. And, first, I desire to say that President Cleveland has wisely and earnestly warned his party and the country against the evils of "paternalism." In his inaugural address last March Mr. Cleveland said:

> Closely related to the exaggeratd confidence in our country's greatness which tends to a disregard of the rules of national safety, another danger confronts us not less serious. I refer to the prevalence of a popular disposition to expect from the operation of the Government especial and direct individual advantages.
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> The verdict of our voters, which condemned the injustice of maintaining protection for protection's sake, enjoins upon the people's servants the duty of exposing and destroying the brood of kindred evils which are the unwholesome progeny of paternalism. This is the bane of republican institutions and the constant peril of our government by the people. It degrades to the purposes of wily craft the plan of rule our fathers established and bequeathed to us as an object of our love and veneration. It perverts the patriotic sentiments of our countrymen, and tempts them to pitiful calculation of the sordid gain to be derived from their Government's maintenance. It undermines the self-reliance of our people, and substitutes in its place dependence upon governmental favoritism. It stifles the spirit of true Americanism and stupifies every ennobling trait of American citizenship.
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> The lessons of paternalism ought to be unlearned and the better lesson taught, that while the people should patriotically and cheerfully support their Government, its functions do not include the support of the people.

The above sentiments, fully and fairly interpreted and energetically enforced, would place Mr. Cleveland's administration alongside of the administration of President Jackson, and inaugurate a policy which formerly embalmed in the hearts of the American people a love for Democratic principles, and which gave to that party five national victories in seven political campaigns prior to 1860.

That condemnation of "protection," which means the taxing of one man or class of men for the benefit of another, is just and timely. But, sir, I am of the opinion that, in full justice to our people, it should have a wider meaning than a mere reference to the tariff. The wildest tariff protectionist seldom asks for a protection of more than 100 per cent. To ask for 200, 300, or 600 per cent protection, and for freedom from local taxation

besides, on the bulk of the investment would excite derision and special condemnation. That being so, I desire to call attention to one particularly favored calling in this country, which is the special pet of the Government—a business devoted almost entirely "to pitiful calculation of the sordid gain to be derived from their Government's maintenance."

I refer, Mr. Speaker, to the national banking system. The investment of capital in United States bonds is considered a good and safe one; so much so that competition for their ownership has carried them to a premium. When these bonds have been purchased by a banking corporation, they are used as security for currency to the amount of 90 per cent of their face value. In doing this the owner of the bonds does not sacrifice any part of his interest income from the bonds. His semiannual interest is regularly anticipated and paid to him in gold, usually one year in advance. The currency advanced to the corporation costs the corporation 1 per cent per annum as an offset for the cost of printing the notes, for renewing them as they become mutilated, and "in lieu of all other taxes." That is the entire cost of the notes to the corporation. The banks are authorized to loan the currency at the legal rates of the respective States in which the banks are located. These rates vary from, say, 6 to 12 per cent per annum, compounded every thirty to ninety days. The gain by compounding will partly or wholly balance the idleness of the lawful reserves required under the law. So, then, the net result of the operation is approximately this:

The currency which the Government furnishes to the banks costs them 1 per cent per annum. They loan it at six to twelve times that rate, through favor of the Government. This is a practical protection to the important monopoly of furnishing currency to the people at from 600 to 1,200 per cent.

No man in any legitimate business has such an enormous "robber tariff" protection as that! It can scarcely be doubted that such paternalism "degrades to the purposes of wily craft the plan of rule our fathers established and bequeathed to us as an object of our love and veneration."

This important matter can not be viewed too carefully from every standpoint. Suppose that, under the laws as they now exist, five men shall become organized into a corporation for business purposes. They unite their funds and purchase $50,000 of United States bonds with the intention of borrowing money from the United States Government at 1 per cent per annum, on twenty years' time. Their agent proceeds to Washington, and having found the office of the Secretary of the Treasury, the following dialogue might naturally occur:

Agent: "You have money to loan, I believe, Mr. Secretary, on United States bonds at 1 per cent per annum?"

Secretary: "Plenty of it. How much do you want?"

Agent: "I have $50,000 in Government bonds which I desire to deposit as security for a loan of $45,000 in currency to be used by our corporation in opening and operating its farming lands."

Secretary: "Stop! Stop! You need say no more. This Government has no money to loan for farming purposes. That would be 'paternalism,' such as President Cleveland condemns in his inaugural address."

Agent: "I am surprised, Mr. Secretary, that I can not borrow money for agricultural purposes; but, since the lands our corporation owns are underlaid with valuable mineral deposits, if I may be allowed to use the money for the purpose of opening and working our mines it will answer our purpose quite as well."

Secretary: "You can not, sir. The Government has no money to loan for mining purposes."

Agent: "Can we have this 1 per cent money, then, for the purpose of operating the plant in which our ores will be refined by the use of coal from our mines? If not, by your leave, we will take the loan for the purpose of building a steamer in which to transfer the products of our mines and farms to distant markets."

Secretary: "You can not have the money for any such purposes. A law authorizing such loans as you mention would be one of those class laws, 'the unwholesome progeny of "paternalism"' which is 'the bane of Republican institutions.' The doctrines of paternalism, which you seem to have imbibed, 'ought to be unlearned, and the better lesson taught, that while the people should patriotically and cheerfully support their governmen, its functions do not include the support of the people.'"

Agent: "Thank you, Mr. Secretary, for your kind advice. I know that I and my people are not very wise, but by keeping ourselves in a receptive frame of mind, we may learn something. Perhaps I may venture to assert that just now I am learning very fast. The information you have just imparted gives me a wonderful insight into the philosophy of government. The members of our corporation knew of an instance wherein a certain banking corporation was granted a loan of $45,000 in currency for twenty years, at 1 per cent per annum, on deposit of $50,000 in United States bonds as security, and we innocently supposed that our corporation, for the same security, would be granted an equal sum to be used in industrial pursuits which will give employment to labor and develop the resources of the country."

Secretary: "That is entirely a different matter, sir. For banking purposes you can have all the money you desire (up to 90 per cent of the bonds you deposit) at 1 per cent per annum, on twenty years' time. I will pay you gold interest on the face value of your bonds, while they are on deposit, one year in advance, exempt your currency from all State or local taxation, and renew your currency when old bills become mutilated, without extra charge. Your bonds are already exempt from all taxation. Your currency, which costs you 1 per cent here, can be loaned in most of the Western States at 10 per cent, compounded from four to twelve times per annum. Your taxes will be light, and the profits on the cost of your currency will be approximately ten dollars to one; or, a protection of about 1,000 per cent. No business in this country is guaranteed by the Government such profits as banking."

Agent: "Again, Mr. Secretary, I thank you. But is there no paternalism about this?"

Secretary: "You will get all needed information regarding details of the loan from the Comptroller of the Currency, who will, in due time, forward you the money. I will be much pleased to see you at any time you are in Washington. Good day, sir."

Mr. Speaker, do you see any "paternalism" in the national banking system? Do you see in it any "bane of republican institutions, and constant peril of our Government?" Do you see anything in it which "undermines the self-reliance of our people, and substitutes in its place dependence upon governmental favoritism?"

I ask these questions with the greater freedom because prominent Democrats, in times past, have had decided opinions on this banking question and have freely recorded them, although these institutions in their day were less powerful and far less dangerous than the banking system and institutions of the present.

Thomas Jefferson, the first great Democrat in this country, expressed himself on various occasions substantially as follows:

Bank paper must be suppressed and the circulation restored to the nation to whom it belongs.

The power to issue money should be taken from the banks and restored to Congress and the people.

I sincerely believe that banking establishments are more dangerous than standing armies.

I am not among those who fear the people. They, and not the rich, are our dependence for continued freedom. And to preserve their independence we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt.

Put down the banks and if this country could not be carried through the longest war against her most powerful enemy without ever knowing the want of a dollar, without dependence on the traitorous class of her citizens, without bearing hard on the resources of the people or loading the public with an indefinite burden of debt, I know nothing of my countrymen.

The first real contest with the bank power occurred under the administration of President Jackson, who in one of his messages described the case as follows:

It being thus established by unquestionable proof that the Bank of the United States was converted into a permanent electioneering engine, it appeared to me that the path of duty which the executive department of the Government ought to pursue was not doubtful. As by the terms of the bank charter no officer but the Secretary of the Treasury could remove the deposits, it seemed to me that this authority ought to be at once exerted to deprive that great corporation of the support and countenance of the Government in such a use of its funds and such exertion of its power. In this point of the case the question is distinctly presented, whether the people of the United States are to govern through Representatives chosen by their unbiased suffrages, or whether the power and money of a great corporation are to be secretly exerted to influence their judgment and control their decisions. It must now be determined whether the bank is to have its candidates for all offices in the country, from the highest to the lowest, or whether candidates on both sides shall be brought forward, as heretofore, and supported by the usual means.

Thomas H. Benton, in the United States Senate, declared himself as follows:

The Government itself ceases to be independent, it ceases to be safe when the national currency is at the will of a company. The Government can undertake no great enterprise, neither war nor peace, without the consent and coöperation of that company: it can not count its revenues six months ahead without referring to the action of that company—its friendship or its enmity, its concurrence or opposition—to see how far that company will permit money to be scarce or to be plentiful; how far it will let the money system go on regularly or throw it into disorder; how far it will suit the interest or policy of that company to create a tempest or suffer a calm in the money ocean. The people are not safe when such a company has such a power. The temptation is too great, the opportunity too easy, to put up and put down prices to make and break fortunes; to bring the whole community upon its knees to the Neptunes who preside over the flux and reflux of paper. All property is at their mercy. The price of real estate, of every growing crop, of every staple article in the market, is at their command. Stocks are their playthings—their gambling theater, on which they gamble daily with as little secrecy and as little morality and far more mischief to fortunes than common gamblers carry on their operations.

The sad experiences of the country in its struggle with the bank power in the earlier days of the Republic, and the bold and patriotic teachings of the great Democrats of those times, instilled into our people a just and prudent jealousy toward the

banks, which usually insured the success of the Democratic party at the national elections. President Jackson began his memorable contest with the bank power during his first term. His second election was on the bank issue. His signal and glorious victory showed that the people were with him. He declared in his fight that a national bank is unconstitutional and dangerous to liberty. And at the polls the people declared that Jackson was right.

Martin Van Buren was elected in 1836, because it was understood that on this bank question he would "walk in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor." Seven times the people voted on this bank question, with the expressed or implied understanding that the Democratic party was in deadly hostility to the existence of a national bank, and was opposed to the mixing of the Government money with the funds of banking institutions. Five times at those seven elections the people elected the Democratic ticket on the antibank platform. In 1860 and since that time, the Democratic platforms have expressed no hostility to national banks. Since 1860, the Democrats have been beaten seven times in nine. And a new antibank party is organizing and coming to the front to renew the fight of the old Democrats on the money question.

To show the form and nature of the contests in the national elections referred to, I quote from the Democratic platforms of 1852 and 1856, the following resolutions:

Resolved, That Congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and that above the laws and will of the people; and that the result of Democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety, and utility in all business pursuits.

Resolved, That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the Government and the rights of the people.

Mr. Speaker, that was the emblazonry on the proud and victorious banner of the ancient Democracy hoisted by the immortal Jackson at the close of the most memorable political contest in our history. Through seven Presidential campaigns it was carried aloft to almost certain victory, winning the day by the approval of the people five times in seven. All this, the ancient leaders of your party and their followers did, with that hydra, chattel slavery, gnawing at their vitals, and on their shoulders that pile of tigers—the moneyed institutions of the East.

Speaking of Jackson's victory over the national bank and its branches, Senator Benton said:

She is not dead, but holding her capital and stockholders together under a State charter, she has taken a position to watch events and to profit by them. The royal tiger has gone into the jungle; and, crouched on his belly, he awaits the favorable moment of emerging from his covert and springing on the body of the unsuspicious traveler.

During the late war, when this country was in a death struggle to avert dismemberment, and while the minds of the people were intensely occupied with that contest, the "favorable moment" came; and for thirty years the progeny of that "royal tiger," in the form of 3,000 whelps, have had this great nation by the throat, fattening on its lifeblood. All the experiences and teachings of the ancient Democracy on this subject have been ignored and forgotten. Millions and millions of public moneys have been placed in the banks without interest, to be handled and loaned by them at a profit, from the people's earnings. Hundreds of millions of dollars of national currency have been furnished the banks at mere cost of printing, by means of which they have fattened from the labor and business of the country. Bankers and bank presidents, and bank stockholders have occupied the highest positions in the Government; and so haughty and powerful have they become, that they now make money plentiful or scarce at will, as described by Senator Benton. The Government itself ceases to be independent and every man's fortune and property is in their hands. They can make a special session of Congress necessary at any moment they please.

The President of the United States must not only obey their insulting commands, but he must do it in haste. If the banks say a special session in September is too late, it must be in August, then the Chief Magistrate of this Republic, cap in hand, calls the session in August.

But why should Congress meet at all? Have not these, our masters, long ago published that—

The machinery is now furnished by which, in any emergency, the financial corporations of the East can act together on a single day's notice, with such power that no act of Congress can overcome their decisions.—*New York Tribune.*

Of course it is in the interest of temporary peace for Congress to enact the present will of the banks into law, but it is seldom long until new demands are made. In case Congress should prove refractory and should desire to enact laws in the interest of the people, the banks usually coerce compliance with their wishes.

Mr. Speaker, should it be claimed that our present highly protected banking system is unlike the old national bank of Nicholas Biddle fame, and hence is harmless, I ask attention to the testimony of some of our later statesmen on the subject. Hon. D. W. VOORHEES, United States Senator from Indiana, and a leading Democrat of the nation, on June 19, 1892, said:

A brief glance at the conduct of the banks during the last year and a half is all that I can indulge in at this time, but it is sufficient to prove the truth of what I say.

In the closing days of the last Congress and of the last Administration the banks precipitated an issue upon the people which ought not to be forgotten on an occasion like this: an issue so full of danger to constitutional liberty that it ought to be faithfully remembered now that they are asking a new and indefinite lease of power.

It is now twenty years ago that this Government first engaged in building up, fostering, and encouraging the present vast and overshadowing system of national banking.

No favor ever demanded by the banks has ever been withheld, no privilege denied, until now they constitute the most powerful moneyed corporations on the face of the globe. Congress has heretofore on nearly all occasions abdicated its powers under the Constitution over the finances of the banks, except when called upon to legislate in their favor. They have demanded the violation of legislative contracts with the people, and the demand has been granted, whereby their own gains and the people's burdens have been increased a thousand fold beyond right and justice. They have demanded the remission of all taxation on their bonds, and it has been conceded, thus leaving the poor to pay the taxes of the rich. They have been fortified in their strongholds of moneyed caste and privilege by double lines of unjust laws, supplemented with here a redoubt and there a ditch, to guard them from the correcting hand of popular indignation, until now, deeming themselves impregnable, they bully and defy the Government.

* * * * * * *

Sir, with full and unrestricted power over the volume of the currency and, consequently, over all values conceded to the banks, together with ample machinery by which in an emergency they can defy the passage of any act of Congress, what is left to the Government except an abject submission? This Government could not, to-morrow, go to war in defense of its flag, its honor, or its existence without first asking permission to do so of the great financial corporations of the country. If there was an invading force on our soil this hour, Congress could not with safety or show of success declare war to repel it without first supplicating cowardly and unpatriotic capital, engaged in banking, not to contract the currency, withhold financial aid, and leave the country to starve. In fact, there is no measure of this Government, either in peace or in war, which is not wholly depending on the pleasure of the banks.

This Government is at the mercy of its own creatures. It has begotten and pampered a system which is now its master. The people have been betrayed into the clutches of a financial despotism which scorns responsibility and defies lawful restraint. * * *

The methods adopted by our present national banking system are also similar to those pursued by the United States Bank in its rebellion against the Government. The contest between the United States Bank and the United States Government commenced in 1829 and terminated in 1836, covering a period of seven years, as long as the American revolution, and involving results as important to the rights and power of the people to govern themselves. The charter of the bank was to expire in 1836, and Andrew Jackson, who was a magnanimous foe, gave notice in 1829 that it should never be renewed with his consent. The war at once opened. A torrent of incessant abuse was at once poured on General Jackson and his supporters by the bank and its stipendiaries. The newspapers of that period show that he and his followers were all stigmatized as hopelessly ignorant on the subject of the finances and bent on destroying the public credit. These charges have a familiar sound and are in daily use now, as they were fifty years ago, against all who dare oppose the insolent pretensions of the banks.

Senator Benton has told us the manner of the fight of the bank on President Jackson and his supporters:

Both he and they during the seven years that the bank contest in different forms prevailed received from it, from the newspapers and periodical press in its interest, and from the public speakers in its favor of every grade, an accumulation of obloquy only lavished upon the oppressors and plunderers of nations—a Verres or a Hastings. This was natural in such an institution.

CONCLUSION.

Mr. Speaker, I must now close with some thoughts arising from the foregoing discussions, and with a cursory touch on a few of the points not mentioned.

In all seriousness, my dear sir, can we not see that our hidebound, fluctuating, costly, and insufficient gold-basis system is "an insidious infirmity that threatens our national vigor?" Is it not the "unheeded disease" which may doom our country "to a sudden collapse?" The President wisely suggests that we have grown "heedless of those laws governing our national health, which we can no more evade than human life can escape the laws of God and nature."

That is a bold, strong, and true statement. We are defying those laws which Rome defied when she adopted a metallic system of shrinking money and falling prices and entered the dark shadow of national decay and ultimate disintegration. We are defying those laws which England defied when she adopted gold-basis money with declining prices, bringing distress and starvation on the common people, and compelling four-fifths of her happy freeholders to abandon their hearthstones. We are defying the same laws which Germany defied when, at the close of the Franco-German war, intoxicated with a thousand millions of indemnity money, she adopted the gold-basis system. Consequent falling prices doomed her people to serfdom intolerable, with irredeemable mortgages resting on 80 per cent of the German real estate. We indorsed the policy of defying "the laws of God and nature" twenty years ago when we adopted the gold standard, producing shrinkage of money and falling prices. Our

finances have been in the hands of the currency doctors ever since, constantly growing worse, until now the surgeons are crying out for help to save themselves, amid the death struggles of their prostrate victim. Our farm mortgages mount into the billions: business is everywhere bankrupt, and labor is starving, as in England when troops were required to compel men, women, and children to starve in peace.

We all agree that "a sound and stable currency" is "vital to our supremacy as a nation." That being true, Mr. Speaker, how can we favor the most fluctuating and insufficient currency known in all history? The President condemns class legislation and "paternalism," yet I nowhere find him condemning that national banking system, than which no more glaring example of paternalism can exist—that system which was condemned by all true Democrats and by the people of this great country five times in seven elections prior to 1860.

The President expresses himself as very solicitous in regard to the degradation of the money "paid to toil." He expressed very earnestly the same just solicitude in his letter of February 27, 1885. I am glad to know that this is an abiding sentiment with him. Every patriot should be solicitous to do justice to the laboring people, because they are the very foundation of the life and prosperity of the Republic. Let me mention to him a bit of news:

For twenty years it has been the custom to furnish for the particular use and payment of honorable labor a specially light and cheap coin.

While the President and his advisers deprecate and condemn the standard silver dollar of 412½ grains as inconvenient, "dishonest," and dangerous, labor is furnished a light subsidiary coin of 385 grains of standard silver. This is supplemented by a token coinage made of nickel, having a commercial value of about ten cents on the dollar. The great Government creditors spurn the standard silver dollar of the fathers, which, as bullion, when fairly treated by the laws, has been usually worth more than gold; but the humble and helpless boys of toil, who black the boots of the Government creditors must doff their ragged hats and bend the fawning knee in order to obtain 10 cents on the dollar for their labor. I do not thus speak in jest nor carelessly. There has been a special effort made by the moneyed classes that labor shall be thus paid in cheap money.

On July 20, 1885, the associated banks of New York issued a circular in which they expressed themselves very fully as to the circulation of cheap money, which usually pays the wages of toil. This circular of the associated banks of New York in part says:

> It is an undeniable fact that a silver coin of the size and denomination of the dollar is not in popular demand, and is not a convenient form of money for ordinary use, but that the fractional coins may more largely circulate. For this reason the committee cordially invite all banks and bankers throughout the country to unite with them by lending their aid in disbursing as far as they are able the fractional silver coins, of which there are now lying idle in the Treasury some $30,000,000. Whatever portion of this amount can be put in circulation will so far relieve the present exigency.

To the common reader that looks very much like a "conspiracy" of the associated banks to disburse for the use of men unable to own and carry a whole dollar, a light-weight silver money, legal tender for $5 only in any one payment. And if some richer man should become the fortunate owner of four quarters or two halves he would have the consolation of knowing that his load was 27½ grains lighter than if he were compelled to lug around the common standard dollar, which the banks say is not in popular demand. I wonder the Executive or his Secretary, in July, 1885, did not detect this combined effort of the New York banks to circulate a "degraded currency" into "the hand of toil."

When we hear from the platform, and read in the great state papers, what solicitude legislators and other officers of the Government have for the rights and equties of "toil," the wonder is that laboring people are not all rich! One would hardly suspect that those speakers and writers, after the sermon is over, would spend their time devising, enacting, and enforcing systems of taxation and finance specially designed to filch from toil every dollar it earns beyond the cheapest possible living. It is words for the humble to tickle the ear. It is acts for the rich and powerful to add to their wealth and power.

Mr. Speaker, the committee of the associated banks strongly intimate that President Cleveland agreed with them in their efforts to force a degraded currency into the hands of labor. Their circular says:

> This committee can not better serve the purpose of their appointment than by reproducing the letter of the President of the United States, written just before his inauguration, wherein he expresses his own views upon the silver question with great clearness and force, and in doing so he also reiterates the opinions of his predecessors in office.

Can it be possible that the then President of the United States was friendly to the policy of the bankers in forcing a degraded currency into "the hand of toil;" and that, in so doing, he agreed with "his predecessors in office?"

It has often been charged that, on the finances, there is no difference between the Democratic and Republican leaders. Here is a clear statement by a high and friendly authority that the charge is true. I have watched in vain for years to see or hear an authorative act or word in favor of paying "into the hand of toil" gold only, as is paid to wealth, sometimes in violation of contracts and against the interests of the laboring people.

Mr. Speaker, the rulers and high officers of leading nations can not escape history. It is something to transmit to our children great wealth, but it is far better to bequeath to them free institutions and the bright and glorious examples of patriotic statesmanship in the service of our common country. The hero who defends his people with the sword does much. He who defends them against the wily and merciless oppressions of the purse does more. Gen. Jackson was a hero on the battlefield whom we all admire. His heroism in the Cabinet was incomparably greater, and his victory over the money power embalmed him in the hearts of the people, and impressed itself on the policy of the country beyond comparison in modern history. That other great and glorious Democrat, Thomas Jefferson, stands preëminent among the earlier statesmen of this country, because he planned the field and began the battle which Jackson victoriously won. The salvation of this Republic and the perpetuity of human liberty in America is now in the scale waiting for other patriots to gloriously continue the fight. The battle is between God's people and the worshipers of the golden calf.

The people of this country have had a struggle with the black demon of chattel slavery. There is another slavery. Slavery is a means by which the master enjoys the earnings of the man. If its requirements are enforced by the lash and the bloodhound, it is called chattel slavery. If the robberies are enforced by means of bonds and mortgages created through the manipulations of taxation and finance, it is slavery all the same. Chattel slavery is a system of physical force, after the manner of the lion and the tiger. The slavery of the purse is after the manner of the serpent. It is mildness itself in the beginning. It charms, entices, and slimes. Then it crushes and devours by slow processes, through the mortgage, the bond, and other devices, but the day of judgment finally comes with merciless certainty and relentless savagery. We have beaten the lion's process on the fields of Lexington, Yorktown, and New Orleans, and at Appomatox. The God of battles inspired the people with patriotism, and sent us leaders worthy of the great occasions. Our history has been a proud one, surpassing that of the greatest nations. The lion is beaten on American soil.

Next, we encounter the serpent. He has his bonds and mortgages about our institutions and our people. It is said that men can not see, but they can feel. First, they feel in their pockets: they are empty. Then they feel in their stomachs; they are hungry. Next they feel the grip of the sheriff on their shoulder: it is an eviction. Then they see and hear as they never saw and heard before. The world looks dismal. Women and children weep and cry. Brave hearts melt. There is another convert to the people's cause. The enemy makes all our converts. There are millions of them now, and the number is increasing. They have no hope for relief except through the ballot box. This is a contest, not of swords and guns, but of brains and ballots. God and his people against Shylock and his gold! Every man must take sides. We can not escape the responsibility of action, nor the verdict of posterity upon our acts. Either we will stand with Jefferson and Benton and Jackson and a long line of noble patriots, or we must be classed with Nicholas Biddle, the defaulter and corrupter of men. Mr. Speaker, let each for himself make such a record that the muse of history will speak kindly of us, and that our children may read the story of our deeds with enthusiastic pleasure and not with shame!

The House then, on motion of Mr. PENDLETON (at 11 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) adjourned until to-morrow at 11 a. m.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *August 22, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

THE MALTBY BUILDING.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following communication from the Architect of the Capitol; which was read, referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and ordered to be printed:

ARCHITECT'S OFFICE, UNITED STATES CAPITOL,
Washington, D. C., August 21, 1893.

To the Vice-President:

SIR: As directed by the resolution of the Senate, passed August 16, requiring the Architect of the Capitol to make a "thorough examination of

the Government property known as the Maltby Building, and to report whether or not the structure is secure, and may be occupied with safety to life and property," I have the honor to state that, upon examining the building, I find that some of the cracks in the walls which were formerly closed by patching with plaster have slightly reopened. This, in my opinion, has been caused by the heavy weight stored upon the floor of the basement story.

The foundations of this structure, I understand, were built upon comparatively newly filled earth of unequal depth. The weight imposed upon the floor of the basement would naturally compact the earth and cause further settling of the walls.

This weight is now being removed, and when accomplished I consider the occupation of the structure entirely safe for committee rooms and offices, provided care be taken to prevent the accumulation of heavy matter as heretofore.

Very respectfully,

EDWARD CLARK,
Architect, United States Capitol.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. HARRIS presented a petition of citizens of Morristown, Tenn., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law, and the appointment of an expert commission to consider and recommend a scientific plan of currency based on the experience of other countries and adequate to the requirements of a great commercial country; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PEFFER presented a petition adopted by a convention of citizens of Butler County, Ky., held in Morgantown, Ky., praying for the free coinage of silver and gold, as was allowed from the foundation of the Government up to 1873, etc.; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. CHANDLER presented the petition of John L. Farwell, and 45 other citizens of Claremont, N. H., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. CAMERON. I present 136 petitions of business men of Philadelphia, Pa., indorsing the resolutions of the Trades League of Philadelphia, praying for the immediate repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law. I move that the petitions lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. CAMERON presented a petition of the McKean County Central Labor Union, of Bradford, Pa., praying for the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law, provided free coinage of silver is substituted in its place; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Tobacco Trade Association of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for the repeal of the compulsory silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. WASHBURN presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Minneapolis, Minn., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. VANCE presented a petition of the Evening Star Farmers' Alliance, No. 1895, of Washington County, N. C., praying for the free coinage of silver and the increase of the currency; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. GRAY presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Wilmington, Del., praying for the speedy and unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. SHERMAN. At the request of citizens of Northeast Washington I introduce a bill which I ask to have read the first and second time, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

The bill (S. 656) to define the route of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. SHERMAN. I also present a report of a committee appointed by the Northeast Washington Association of citizens on proposed legislation by Congress, setting out the grounds for the passage of this bill. I move that the paper be printed and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. McPHERSON introduced a bill (S. 657) for the relief of Mary H. Noonan, of Jersey City, N. J., for the payment of her claim for rent and occupation of property in the city of New Orleans by the military forces of the United States as reported by the Court of Claims, under the provisions of the "Bowman act;" which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 658) for the relief of the Samuel L. Moore & Sons Company, of Elizabeth, N. J.; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. SQUIRE introduced a bill (S. 659) for the relief of the heirs of Martha A. Dealy, deceased, widow of David Dealy, deceased, and Mary Younkin, widow of Moses Younkin, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. LODGE introduced a bill (S. 660) to regulate the appointment of fourth-class postmasters; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

Mr. SHOUP introduced a bill (S. 661) for the relief of the Shawnee tribe or nation of Indians; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. BLACKBURN introduced a bill (S. 662) for the relief of Leo L. Johnson; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. PEFFER (by request) introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 20) to diminish the public expenses by reducing salaries of officers and employés of the United States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

SILVER COINAGE.

Mr. ALLEN. I submit an amendment intended to be proposed to the bill (S. 570) discontinuing the purchase of silver bullion. I ask that the amendment be read, lie on the table, and be printed, and at some future time I desire to address the Senate upon the subject.

The amendment was read, and ordered to lie on the table and to be printed, as follows:

Amend by adding after the repealing clause the following:

"*Provided*, That hereafter standard silver shall be coined at the several mints of the United States into dollars, half dollars, quarter dollars, and dimes, at the present ratio of 16 grains of standard silver to 1 grain of standard gold under the same conditions as to mintage and other charges that are now or may hereafter be in force with reference to the coinage of gold. And it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury, without unnecessary delay, to cause all uncoined silver bullion owned by the Government of the United States to be coined into standard silver dollars. All money coined under the provisions of this act shall be a full legal tender for all debts public and private."

INCREASE OF NATIONAL BANK CIRCULATION.

Mr. STEWART. I desire to give notice that to-morrow morning, after the routine morning business, I shall ask leave to submit some remarks on the bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks.

Mr. PLATT. To-morrow is the day fixed to vote upon the admission of the Senators appointed by governors. I know that some Senators desire to be heard, though not at very great length, upon that subject, to-morrow.

Mr. STEWART. I shall not speak at length. I do not expect to occupy more than twenty minutes.

Mr. PLATT. There will then be plenty of opportunity to discuss the question of privilege to-morrow.

Mr. STEWART. If it will interfere with the order of business, I shall not insist upon speaking to-morrow.

Mr. HOAR. I suppose if the bill to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks, to which the proposition for the abolition of the tax on the circulation of State banks is an amendment, is the order when the Senate adjourns, it will come up in its regular course, to be laid aside when Senators desire to speak on the question of seating the appointed Senators.

Mr. STEWART. I shall not antagonize anyone who desires to speak on the admission of the Senators, but to-morrow morning I will submit a few remarks on the bill I have indicated if there is time.

MR. SEYD'S VIEWS ON COINAGE.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, if the routine morning business is over, I understand the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] is about to proceed, but I have his leave to ask the Senate to have printed in the RECORD a letter from Ernest Seyd, an Englishman, a celebrated writer on political economy, to Samuel Hooper, formerly a member of Congress from Massachusetts and chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency in that body.

The letter is dated London, the 17th of February, 1872. It begins by saying that Mr. Hooper has forwarded to Mr. Alfred Latham, who I think was a governor of the Bank of England, a copy of the coinage bill proposed for the United States, and requested to have it sent to Mr. Seyd for his criticism. The writer of the letter discusses, as a master of the subject, various practical questions, among them the question of the proper size of gold pieces, their value and denomination, questions relating to mintage, the question of mint charge, the question whether the coin should be milled or should be surrounded by a rim cast separately, all of which are very instructive.

But Mr. Seyd then goes on to say that the fifteenth section of the bill is the part which after all is of the greatest importance. He says it is a matter of gigantic importance; that it is the great question of the century. He avows himself earnestly in favor of the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 14 to 1, a little less than the rate then existing in the United States, if I am not mis-

taken. He implores Mr. Hooper to reconsider the subject, and says the great fault of Mr. Hooper's bill is that it abolishes the coinage of the silver dollar with the full legal-tender quality; and he says that America being a producer of both metals is the nation upon whom the world must depend to resist the enormous danger which menaces mankind by the threat of adopting a single gold standard. He says that although many of the English writers are monometallists, several English and continental writers whom he names have recently, he thinks, come around to his own views.

No advocate of the doctrine of bimetallism, if that doctrine means the coinage of both metals on an equality freely at the old rate, could express more earnestly, more powerfully, more persuasively the importance of that doctrine to the interests of mankind.

I ask that the letter be printed in the RECORD as part of my remarks. I suppose the Senate would not wish to have me read it in full at this moment. It covers 28 or 30 foolscap pages. I also ask that it be printed as a document.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The letter is as follows:

I have the bill before me, and Mr. Latham kindly sent me a copy of your remarks respecting my book and inviting my suggestions.

I cheerfully respond to this invitation and beg to submit to you the following remarks. (I shall pass over those sections in reference to which I have no remarks to make, and point to others requiring notice.)

IA PRINCES STREET BANK, *London, February 17, 1872.*

DEAR SIR.—You were kind enough to forward to Mr. Alfred Latham a copy of your coinage bill for the United States, to be sent to me, and you expressed a wish to receive criticisms on its provisions.

SEC. 14. The issue of a variety of gold coins, such as the twenty, ten, five, three, two-and-one-half, and one dollar pieces, is injudicious. True, the twenty-dollar piece is a magnificent coin, but for ordinary purposes in obtaining change it is less useful than four five-dollar pieces; for large transactions connected with international trade the twenty-dollar pieces are the most convenient coins for melting down, and that is the fate of the majority of them. The one-dollar gold piece, on the other hand, is much too small. Its wear is excessive, and it soon becomes totally unfit for a standard of value. The French five-franc gold piece has already been condemned for this very reason.

A variety of coins must also be objected to for another reason, viz, that connected with the handling of the pieces it prevents the use of the "weighing scales." On pages 164, 165, of my book, Suggestions in Reference to the Metallic Currency of the United States, I speak of this matter at length, and I think the remarks therein made are worthy of attention.

I can quite understand that Americans, accustomed to see their splendid twenty-dollar piece and the one-dollar, do not fully appreciate the weight of these objections, but it mu-t be borne in mind that the American public have only had a short period, say from 1849 to 1861, in which they had anything like dealing in gold money, since which time, through the war, they have been so much habituated to paper money, whereas we in England, accustomed to vigorous dealings in gold, have learned experience, and are better able to appreciate these distinctions and their importance from practical and economical points of view. And from these points of view the question of a variety of gold coins is not an English or an American one, but one of cosmopolitan importance also, for there are principles involved in it.

In England, we only issue sovereigns and half sovereigns; but we complain, and with just reason, of the latter piece (see X's letter in English, page 40, of German pamphlet which I send herewith, wherein the issue of the one-half sovereign is fittingly called a legislative error). The German new coinage will consist principally of the 20-mark piece and only a limited number of 10-mark pieces will be issued. The French have coined 100 franc and 40-franc pieces only as "show pieces," and the 5-franc gold pieces will be given up.

I think that America ought to coin only ten and five-dollar, or five and two-and-one-half dollar pieces, certainly not more than ten, five, and two-and-one-half dollars, and that the twenty, three, and one dollar pieces ought not to be coined, excepting as show pieces, in limited quantities. The suggestion that twenty-dollar pieces can be coined cheaper has no foundation worth mentioning.

The question of a variety of coins has also a most important bearing on the abrasion of the pieces and their consequent lightness. In the bill I find nothing whatever making provision for this; and I may perhaps be pardoned for charging this omission to the account of the general want of thorough experience made in America in reference to gold coin.

Where are the provisions for limiting the current weight of gold coins? May they be abraded or light to any extent and still continue legal tender? And if not, who is to bear the cost of their reinstatement?

In England the individual holder must bear the loss; if the sovereign is under weight by three-quarters of a grain, it is cut up and the owner loses the difference. In France the state has hitherto withdrawn light gold, but sparingly; on the rest the coinage is young, and the question will now be postponed because of the paper issue.

In Germany the new coinage bill provides for the reinstatement of worn coins by the state; but the question is open, for, as the state has conquered the gold and issues it at its own option, it can afford such a liability. It is, however, acknowledged that the business "of making coins light" and obtaining new ones for them may become extensive.

The English system, in regard to light coins, is the only true one. Attempts were made by Mr. Lowe to levy 1 per cent mintage, so as to provide a fund from which the recoinage loss on old pieces by the state might be recouped. The proposal, however, as it deserved, fell through as absurd. The controversy on that score has been published by the Bank of England. The letters in English (printed in the German pamphlet) again refer to the matter.

The allowance for light coin, made here, is 3½ grains, *i. e.* the mint weight of the sovereign being 123.274 grains, it ceases to be legal currency when below 122½ grains. The public offices and the Bank of England's issue department weigh out light pieces and cut them by a machine. The owner can receive the pieces so cut back again, or sell them to the bank as standard bullion, at 77*s.* 9*d.* per ounce. Some people complain of this, but all who have fully studied the subject agree that it is the only true way of settlement, and that the coinage can thus be kept in fair order.

The twenty-dollar piece ought not to be allowed to lose more than 2 grains; the ten-dollar, 1¼ grains; the five-dollar, three-quarters grain; the three and the two-and-one-half-dollar, one-half grain; the one-dollar, one-quarter grain; and you will now at once perceive how very necessary it is that the variety of the pieces should be as restricted as possible, so as to save trouble to the public departments and the Treasury.

I do not know how you intend to treat this matter, and whether this plan of keeping the gold coinage in order may not excite much opposition.

The favorite idea of those opposed to this system is that the state itself should pay for light coins, either by a direct appropriation from the revenue or by applying the "profits" of the mint on the token coinage for this purpose. In this country it has been shown that the state has no such obligation—that by so doing it would only encourage the sweating of the coin—and as for the profit on the minor coinage, you will find that it can not be brought into accord with the wear and tear of the gold coin.

We look upon all these suggestions as "hocus pocus." I think, therefore, that your public departments ought to check the gold received by them, taking out the light pieces and defacing them by a stamp, but that the mint should undertake to buy these pieces by weight, giving new ones for them.

And if the mint does not charge the one-fifth per cent brassage on such light coin, but makes the exchange by weight gratis, it makes a sacrifice in the matter which is already beyond its immediate functions, and this policy may be adopted as a compromise between the holders of light coin and the state.

It can not be asserted, for instance, that gold pieces of one-half or one-quarter dollar could be used; hence the idea of a limit in size must be maintained, and there can only be *one true* limit, so to speak. This true limit excludes the one-dollar piece at once. Indeed, the two-and-one-half-dollar piece is somewhat below it, and all European mint masters agree with me that a gold piece of about three and three-quarter dollars should be the smallest. Unfortunately, almost all the monetary systems are committed to smaller pieces. Bearing in mind, however, that the one-dollar piece is absolutely away from this limit, it would seem to be injudicious to select it as "unit of value;" it would be like starting with an "imperfect" thing.

In section 14 I find the expression "of the one-dollar piece or unit of value." The term "unit of value" (rather vague wherever used) might best be taken as implying a standard of value. Now, the one-dollar gold piece is not a suitable piece, as experience shows, and such experience does not rest on mere practical results, but on principles connected with metallurgy and fixed mechanical laws, having reference to the difference between the resisting power of the metallic structure of the piece and the extent of surface exposed.

Indeed, I do not see why any coin of "denominational" value should be selected as a special valuator. The true valuator is the bullion itself by weight, irrespective of its division into pieces, and as the weight of the latter is led off from the divisions of the ounce, the ounce itself is the proper starting point. This practice is pursued by all the large states; thus in England, 480 ounces standard gold = 1,869 sovereigns (these figures are so given because they are without fractions); in France, a kilogram 900 fine gold = 3,100 francs; in Germany (new law) the mint pound fine gold (one-half kilogram) = 465 thalers or 1,395 marks, and so might the United States do, say, 43 ounces of standard (900) = $800 (this gives correct proportions without fractions).

Hence section 14 might commence: "That the standard weight of gold coins shall be in the proportion of 43 ounces of standard gold to $800, viz: The weight of the double eagle, etc.," leaving out "or unit of value" in line 8. And if in addition thereto you could introduce, "*Provided*, That the double eagle, the $3 and the $1 piece be manufactured and issued only by an express order from the Secretary of the Treasury." Thus, you would not abolish these three pieces, but give liberty to try the more restricted variety.

The policy of using the ounce of bullion as the standard of value can best be appreciated by those who are fully acquainted with vigorous dealings and holdings in bullion and the necessity and economy involved in acquiring and retaining it. In this respect America fails signally; the want of a suitable "re ervoir" for holding bullion during the phases of international exchanges, without coining it, leads to unnecessary mint operations and to losses, direct and indirect, in American commerce. In Europe we have large central banks (banks of England, France, and Prussia), which, by their note-issue, thus hold uncoined bullion, receiving and parting with it. In my book (Suggestions, etc.) I have endeavored to make this clear.

It is very possible that Americans are opposed to such a central bank for a national issue based on bullion, as I have proposed it, and that as long as the Treasury must continue its policy of selling gold in the market against greenbacks, the way is not clearly seen.

Nevertheless, that is no reason why some such system of "reservoir" for bullion should not be established by the Treasury through the mint or *vice versa*. I know what your usual mint certificates are which carry with them the time taken by the mint in making the coin. I think that the system can be made to go further. Supposing, for instance, that such a clause as this were introduced into the bill:

"SECTION —. That it shall be lawful for the Secretary of the Treasury to issue through the Director of the Mint bullion certificates (payable to bearer) of gold bullion deposited at the Mint, such certificates stating the value of the bullion so deposited upon the owner of such bullion paying the coinage charge thereon in United States gold coin; and if the value of such deposit exceeds the sum of $20,000 the Director of the Mint, at the option of the owner, shall have the right of paying the fractional sum above the last $1,000 in coin, issuing the certificate for a round sum in thousandths, and deducting the coinage charge therefrom; and if the amount deposited be below $20,000 the owner of such bullion shall pay such additional sum in United States gold coin as will complete a round sum in thousandths: *Provided*, That at the option of the Director of the Mint such certificates shall be paid on presentation either in bullion or coin, or in such proportions of bullion and coin as he may deem fit: *And provided also*, That if the owner of such bullion chooses to be paid in coin he shall receive in exchange thereof a mint certificate specifying the time when such coin will be ready for delivery."

I do not know whether I have worded this section in American bill style, but I think I can show you its advantages:

1. It will entirely do away with the necessity of keeping a special mint fund, as provided by section 50.

2. It relieves the state of uselessly coining the gold, for the greater portion of American coins go to European melting pots (see Suggestions, pages 24 and 25), and the monthly sales of gold are absorbed that way.

3. The Government will make the profit of one-fifth per cent coinage charge, without having coined (a similar profit is made by the banks of England and France, which buy gold less the supposed coining charge and sell it at mint value).

4. The owners of such bullion certificates will be paid at once, and for shipment to Europe bullion is more profitable to them (see Suggestions, pages 197 and 198).

5. If coin is insisted upon by the holders, they can get it on the usual terms by the ordinary coin certificates.

6. The provisions for the "rounding off" of the certificates in thousands I think are very useful and necessary in order to make these instruments convenient and popular, and the provisions as to the right of the mint to insist upon a balance of coin to make up a round sum below twenty thousand (or less) is, of course, expedient. For sums above that amount the mint might keep a small reserve of coin.

7. The United States Treasury would, of course, hold the gold instead of the mint, and might also hold the certificates so as to maintain its control over the gold market as long as requisite.

I am convinced that this system will enable the Government to effect great saving in minting gold, lead to regular operations in supply, retain bullion in the country, and be much more satisfactory to the exchange market and the public.

Superior to this policy I hold the establishment of a large central bank (Suggestions, page 68), but in the mean time I think that the above clause might well be included in the mint bill.

SEC. 25. Assayer. It is essential in every mint law that the inspector of bullion should know "how the assay of gold" is to be stated. Is the assay to be in 1,000 parts or one-half of thousandth parts, or in ten-thousandth parts? The importance of this will at once be apparent to you when I state that by the thousandth assay an importer would obtain, say, $9,990 for a certain parcel of bullion, whereas if the ten-thousandth part was stated he might obtain $9,999, or $9 more.

In the United States, assays are stated at two-thousandth fine; in France, at ten-thousandth fine. Why should the United States assayers not state the assay in the same way as the French?

I am perfectly well aware that the American assayers assert (in print and in speech) that they can not assay so fine, and that the liability to error ranges between one and two ten-thousandths. If the American assayers were subject to the same competition as ours are here, *they would soon learn how to do it.* I underline these words in the hope that you will not allow yourself to be jostled out of the wish to promote accuracy.

We have made numerous experiments here in Europe, and find that, although divergencies will occur of one-tenth per mille, and occasionally two-tenths per mille, yet that, on the whole, the assays agree, and that, at all events, the purchaser of bullion can not lose, because he has an almost entire one-ten-thousandth part as a margin. In France the tariff for qualities of gold is at one-ten-thousandth fine, and the assays at the Bank of France corresponded with the independent assays of the mint, for a coinage of 100,000,000 of francs (gold), within 132 francs, and that in favor of the bank.

French assayers pretend to go to one-hundred-thousandth fine, and I am satisfied that it can be fairly done; yet in America the one two-thousandth is still maintained. Even the British mint has always assayed to one-thirty-second grain fine, equivalent to $\frac{1}{1000}$ fine, and the Bank of England, in consequence of a pamphlet which I wrote (see Suggestions, page 174) altered its assay system to $\frac{2}{1000}$ fine, although it is not a government concern. All our British and continental assayers state assays to one-ten-thousandth fine; several go to one-hundred-thousandth parts (in half .005).

I think that the least Americans can do is the adoption of the one ten-thousandths part; rely upon it—all opposition in this is captious. I trust that there are really scientific men in the States able to make such accurate assays; but I maintain that if even they are unable to vindicate the rights of scientific accuracy and if they continue to insist upon errors between one and three ten-thousandths, the system should nevertheless be adopted, because, as said before, the mint or the purchaser of bullion can not on the average go wrong, and above that he has an entire one ten-thousandth reserved. So in section 25, at the end of line 2, there should be the words: "in tenths of millièmes"—a technical term perfectly understood.

SEC. 26. In my book, Suggestions, etc., I recommend a coinage charge of one-tenth per cent, and if the organization and machinery of state mints were perfected (see "Improvements in the Process of Coining" in the Society of Arts Journal sent herewith) that rate would cover the actual working expenses. I am opposed to the so-called absolute free coinage, and I am glad to observe that you propose one-fifth per cent at all events as an installment, and I hope it will not be increased. The charges for refining, melting, etc., ought to be put at as low a figure as possible, or even at a sacrifice to the mint.

SEC. 36. The "allowance" or remedy for gold of only one one-thousandth in the fineness is an improvement; in England and France it is two one-thousandths. This advance in favor of accuracy in America strengthens my demand for assaying to one ten-thousandth part fine, as remarked in section 25.

SEC. 39. The allowance for deviation in the weight of the half eagle is in accordance with the practice here, but for the two and a half and one dollar pieces it is far too large; the two and one-half dollar piece ought to have but one-eighth or one-sixth the dollar, say one-tenth of a grain.

SEC. 46. Allows to the melter and refiner one-thousandth part of weight for gold, and one and one-half-thousandth for silver waste, and to the coiner one-half-thousandth for gold and one-thousandth for silver waste. These are enormous allowances, which, in my opinion, are tantamount only to "legalizing pilfering" to that extent.

I altogether repudiate the suggestion that any material can be absolutely lost in the melting or coining. I admit that during the process of melting, copper may oxidize, but in that case the gold or silver alloy becomes finer, as the assay by one ten-thousandth would show. Careful manipulation and proper heating lessens this liability, and if, after all, the melter thoroughly knows his business, he can find out the average oxidation, and should be allowed to make a slight surcharge of copper, say one-tenth per mill, to counterpoise it.

The "evaporation" of pure gold and silver only takes place when the metal is much overheated and particles of it, by stirring, go up the flue, where they can be found. This subject has been well tested here and elsewhere, and the evaporation has been found so infinitesimal that one one-hundred-thousandth part will cover it over and over again, notwithstanding all the assertions and statistics of other mint officers.

Supposing, then, that the above-mentioned surcharge of copper is so that a loss of weight to one-tenth per mill becomes possible, and making a liberal allowance for so-called "evaporation," I maintain that a loss of one-eighth per mill ought to cover the whole; yet your bill allows eight times as much for gold and twelve times as much for silver.

But it will be said, "there are spillings in casting, and traces of metal adhere to the pot, etc." I know all that; but they can all be got out of the "sweepings;" they can not disappear, and if I allow another one-eighth per mill, *i. e.*, one-fourth per mill for absolute (?) loss in melting, all those contingencies are covered; the rest, the three-fourths and one and one-fourth per mill are simply stolen.

Under melting and refining, I presume that you understand the melting and bringing to standard of gold, but not the process of "parting" by acids, here called refining; for these "parting" operations, properly speaking, are separate from the business of the mint, and conducted by private refiners. The parting process does not give any loss; on the contrary, as the assay is always higher, it yields more gold. (The spilling and dropping about of metal can be altogether avoided if the plan of casting plates be adopted, as recommended in my paper in the Journal of the Society of Arts, page 178, for the whole melting-pot can be emptied at once into the mold.)

You are, no doubt, in possession of a book on the British Mint, written by Mr. G. F. Ansell, wherein you will find this business of losses well laid open. On page 101 of that book is a condensed statement showing that the highest loss ever made by that mint in melting is not quite four-tenths per mille (in 1868-'69) while in the years 1857-1866 it was as low as $\frac{1}{10}$ per mille (Mr. Ansell then managing the mint), and the high loss of four-tenths per mille is clearly owing to the fact that the work is badly done, and that frequent spillings are "purposely" made. Yet you would give them permanent authority to lose one-tenth per cent. I assert that a conscientious melter, one who looks well after the men, does not require such an allowance.

In the coining department no loss whatever is possible unless the work is done bad purposely. Slight traces will sometimes color the rollers, or the oil may carry with it small atoms, but any bits or strips, no matter how small, must be found in the sweepings. The statement on page 101 of Mr. Ansell's book shows that from 1851 to 1857 the losses in the coining department of the British mint were very high (when several prosecutions for pilfering were instituted); since then, as the statement shows, they have been very trifling, and during Mr. Ansell's time there were slight gains, as there should be, for the 1,000 sovereigns (previously weighed singly) may be short only by 5 grains to produce the average of grains stated on one million pieces.

The lowest total loss in melting, standarding, and coining in England since 1857 is 140 per million and the highest 330, yet your bill allows a margin of 1,500 per million. And if you take into account that the assay at the mints in the United States is stated at only one half-thousandth, giving an average surplus of one-quarter or 250 against the British mint margin of one thirty-second grain fine, one-eighth, or 125 average, the total allowed by you would be 1,650 per million.

This is so extravagant and extraordinary that I must protest against it, notwithstanding all the experience and statements of the mint authorities.

Compare this allowance, for instance, with the French mint law. The French contractors receive 6.70 francs for coining 3,100 francs, 2,170 per million. They are credited and debited with over and under weight. They take the metal at one ten-thousandth part of assay, and in the trials of their coins they are rigorously credited and debited with fineness over or below the one ten-thousandth part; *i. e.*, if the coin assays, say, 900.2, they are credited with the 2; if, say, 899.7, they are debited by 3. They are, consequently, bound hand and foot, and dare not allow any waste. If they conceded 1,650 per million out of the 2,170, they would only have ½ per mille left.

It may be alleged that pilfering by the men can not be prevented. Let me assure you it can. The French contractors do it, and turn out their men if they find any unusual discrepancy, and the men know that they must not rob the employers. In the British Mint there is no such guard, and if in the United States you actually legalize the allowance of 1,500 per million, you may depend upon its being made use of.

The best plan is to make no allowance at all, but let the published returns speak for themselves, or if limits be thought advisable, let them be fixed at no more than one-third of the rates named by the bill, with the understanding, if the losses exceeds these rates, that an inquiry shall take place, which, if not clearing up the matter, will lead to the discharging of the men. I maintain that if the responsible melters and coiners earnestly take the trouble to show the men how to melt, cast, and coin (and no one should be so appointed unless by his own hands he can show and train men) they may prove "how gold and silver can not be lost," and that must stand as a precedent for future proceedings. The discharge of men should not be feared; a working chief melter and coiner can always train new hands if he has a mind to do so.

I know very well that in enlarging upon this subject I touch upon an often discussed chronic mint sore, but I know that I am right.

In pleading, then, for legal enactments in favor of the one ten-thousandth part assay, far better machinery, and the avoidance of "legalizing" waste, I request you to recognize my wish that the United States may succeed in vindicating the principles of "accuracy" in their mints.

SEC. 50. I think that if the suggestion in reference to the bullion certificates alluded to before be adopted, the fund in question will be but a very moderate one.

SEC. 15. I now come to the most important part of the bill that of the valuation, which according to section 15 omits the coinage of the silver dollar, and confirms the debased silver coinage of half dollars and below, under the tender limit of $5. I am aware, of course, that through the amendment of 1853, the same debased coinage was already established, but although the actual coinage of the silver dollar had practically ceased, still that piece was not abolished by law. As this new bill presumably repeals all previous enactments, I suppose that the total abolition of the silver dollar is contemplated.

In my book (Suggestions) I enter fully into the discussion of this matter and show the gigantic consequences to international as well as national trade through the demonetization of silver, to which the United States would thus lend a helping hand, and for a number of years this subject of the abolition of silver as tender coin has occupied the attention of European economists. It is the question of the age and takes precedence of every other matter involved in monetary science.

Unfortunately the subject requires not only a thoroughly practical knowledge of exchange matters, the principles of valuation, for which very few people have inclination, and so it happens that even the framers of mint bills do not grasp its importance, as I have found before. You yourself, in your letter to Mr. Latham, referring to my book, make the remark, "As to the theory of the double valuation, I do not understand it." I infer from this that you have remained a stranger to the controversy; that you have not as yet formed an opinion as to the merits of it, and that you have framed your bill in favor of the absolute gold valuation according to that which has been of late the practice in the United States, if not the law.

Permit me to beg that you will first investigate the question of double vs. single valuation. Chapter 3 of my book, "Suggestions, etc.," opens the question; appendix, notes 8 (page 291), the consequences of the gold valuation and 9 (page 212) the injustice of the gold valuation. Treat the matter in their international and national aspects, and they may furnish you sufficient materials for reflection.

Other writers, such as Mr. Wolowski, in France, and several other French, Dutch, and German authorities, defend the double valuation on the same grounds.

The great portion of English economists defend the gold valuation, but several of them have lately come over to my views; and one them, the most important and a staunch defender of English institutions, to whom I shall presently allude, has agreed with me as to the advisability of modifying the English gold valuation, which is even less strict than that adopted by your bill for America. These pages do not afford room for the whole discussion of the subject, therefore I beg you will read the parts of the books quoted, so as to form an opinion of it.

Apart from the theory, why should America have given up her silver dollar? The cause of its disappearance from circulation is due to the original error of there being too much silver in the piece (see page 52 of Suggestions); that cause would have been removed if the dollar weighed 400 grains, that being the true proportion of 1 to 15½ gold to silver, instead of 412½ grains, as by the old law.

Why should it not be reintroduced at its true full weight of 400 grains and become again one of the active agents of commerce? The charge of weight as against the individual piece does not hold good when two half-dollars are of nearly equal weight and same value. Railways and steam transport large masses with great facility when compared with previous times.

Do you fear its undue exportation? If so exported, America will get its equivalent for it, and the rich silver mines of the country can give any fresh supply of it; therefore, the more it is exported the better it is for America.

I think that the United States, with both her gold and silver mines, is in the eminently favorable position of upholding the full use of both gold and silver, and that the double valuation (as it existed before) would be of great benefit to the country; but you may, nevertheless, giving way to the one-sided arguments of English economists, incline to the gold valuation and express the fear "that if America adopts the silver dollar and lays itself open to the coining of these pieces for the public to whatever quantity of silver may be sent in from coinage from abroad, and if full legal-tender value is given to such pieces, it may be placed in danger of losing gold and obtaining too much silver currency."

That is the only fear to be apprehended, and certainly as long as England and other countries are in conflict as to the systems of valuation this may be the case.

France, however, by her system of double valuation, accumulated more gold bullion than any nation has ever had; having within the last twenty years coined two and a half times as much as England, and if the universal valuation was the double one, *i. e.*, both metals in equal use, these fluctuations would altogether cease.

Against this danger of too much silver America can guard itself without the total abolition of the full valued silver dollar. It is but necessary so to modify the severity of the gold valuation as to admit of a reasonable use of silver dollars. Supposing that a certain amount of silver dollars of full value (400 grains) were issued, coined for the owner at a charge of, say 1 per cent mintage, and that the limit of tender for such pieces were fixed at, say, fifty to one hundred dollars, would this in any way interfere with the supremacy of the gold valuation? I contend that the gold valuation would remain supreme with either of these restrictions, viz, either a certain limited issue and giving full tender weights to the coin, or with unrestricted issue limiting the tender value.

Both restrictions combined will undoubtedly prevent any excess, and if under them certain amounts were so issued and used the issue of more might be made dependent thereon; so that while for the present the gold valuations were maintained in full force the door would not be shut abruptly and forever on silver; and pending the future international settlement of a universal system of valuation the pure double valuation might be found not only practicable, but necessary. I urge this upon you not only on cosmopolitan grounds, but also in the interests of American silver mines; for if America, so important a part of the world, rushes blindly and irrevocably into the gold valuation, and thus contributes to the general terrible error, the value of silver must fall greatly (see appendix, note 8, the consequence of the gold valuation), and all the arrangements made even with the debased silver coinage fail to please.

You, therefore, should hesitate to enter upon this course without a full knowledge and investigation of the immensely important considerations appertaining to the case.

Some proper issue of silver dollars might be provided for in the bill by the introduction between sections 14 and 15 of some such—

"Section 2. That of the silver coin the weight of the one-dollar piece shall be 400 grains, which coin shall be legal tender at its denominational value to any amount not exceeding one hundred (or fifty) dollars," and this would have to be followed between stations 21 and 22 by—

"Section —. That the charge for converting standard silver into silver dollars whenever the mint is ready, according to section —, to coin such silver dollars shall be 1 per cent."

The object of these clauses will be apparent to you. The Secretary of the Treasury may commence, for instance, by authorizing the coining of one million of silver dollars. The holders of the silver bullion would gladly pay the 1 per cent charge, rather than send the bars to Europe. What risk would the holders of these dollars run? Even supposing that the public positively refused to take these coins, the holders could sell them as silver to Europe; but I believe that they would be welcomed, even without the law of tender. And if you succeed by the force of legal tender in compelling people to take in payment coins debased by 4 to 5 per cent to the amount of $5, why should not you succeed in placing coins of full and honest value into healthy circulation?

So, if the first million succeeded, the Secretary then might authorize more, encouraging it even, while at any time, by ceasing his advertisement, he could foreclose the mint against an excessive importation of silver from abroad.

You will also perceive that the reintroduction of the silver dollar is a necessity, seeing that the one-dollar gold piece is an unsuitable coin, and that it can take place without disturbing clauses 14 and 15, the latter providing for the issue of debased half-dollars, quarters, and dimes as they are now.

Indeed, I must wish also that the half dollar should be of full value, so that the issue of those pieces should not be guided by the more or less faulty human judgment of the Secretary of the Treasury, but by the pure action between supply and demand. I put the "supply" first as the active "demand-creating" element in all matters of commercial intercourse. But as the debased half dollar is already in use it may be best not to disturb it now, whilst the whole silver dollar can be introduced again without any disturbance in the other coinage.

I quite recognize the necessity of giving the character of tokens to copper coins and to lower class silver coins. What I contend is that "enough is the evil thereof," and that it is wrong to extend this character of tokens to coins which, like the dollar and half dollar, are so important in social intercourse and where supply should not be restricted by unfavorable laws.

I may now mention that Mr. William Newmarch, F. R. S., who as president of the economical branch of the Social Science Congress, lately delivered an oration on the advantages which he supposed England had derived from the gold valuation, nevertheless agrees with me that we in England might with advantage issue a full-valued four-shilling piece without disturbing the gold valuation, and that we might thereby militate against the evil of a constant or periodical scarcity of silver coin in the hands of the lower classes and a correspondingly constant or periodical sole surplus in the hands of bankers.

In a lecture delivered before the Statistical Society in February, 1871, on "Currency Laws and Pauperism," I showed that excessive poverty and idleness in England among the lower classes was due to the restricted supply of mediums of exchange suitable for their wants as means of intercourse between themselves, and that the scarcity of silver coin was the consequence of the severe laws oppressing the use and debasing the value of this kind of money. (The substance of this lecture is contained in appendix, note 9, "Injustice of the gold valuation," in Suggestions, etc.) I there proposed, as a mitigating measure, the issue of full-valued four-shilling pieces, and I have, from many well-informed quarters, received sufficient encouragement to anticipate that in spite of the strong prejudice and want of spirit of inquiry prevailing in England in reference to such questions, it will be seriously considered. Now, the United States gold valuation is even more severe than in England, for whilst here the limit for silver is £2 or $10, it is but five with you.

I venture, therefore, to recommend to you the introduction of these clauses in favor of the silver dollar. At all events, I hope you will fully investigate this subject before you commit America to this course of the one-sided gold valuation.

Men like yourself, on framing a coinage bill, undertake a gigantic responsibility, which strongly affects not only a whole nation's welfare and happiness, but also that of the world at large. Pray do not despise this language: the deep study of all the principles and interest connected with the organization of social life warrants it.

Obscure as this subject is to many people, they succeed in establishing their work, and when it once stands it is like a fate decreed, to which all must bow because they do not see its evils clearly, and it is difficult to amend it. Nay, as an existing thing it is defended and elevated into a principle, although the original principles on which it was founded were quite at variance with the subsequent facts.

In this respect the English legislation of 1816, which established the gold valuation, furnishes a striking example. At that time nobody dreamed of California and Australia, and, as the literature of the time shows, a comparative scarcity of gold was anticipated, and England urged to secure a share by its new system. But how completely have the conditions been reversed!

So with Michael Chevalier in 1850; first he wrote down gold and recommended its demonetization; then he turned the table upon silver; now he is in doubt, inclining to Wolowski's views.

From England, of course, you will for some years to come yet hear views in favor of gold valuation, and altogether you must expect from here the tendency of making tokens of all the lower classes of coin. Our esteemed mutual friend, Mr. Alfred Latham, even goes so far as to declare that the half sovereign might be made a token. Where are the principles which justify such a view? Do they lie deeper than the natural sense of equity, or is the suggestion one arising from surface experience? I imagine that there can be but one truth, and that this truth can not be supplanted by mere expedients, which, in violating it, draw consequences after them of which their authors can not give an account, because, forsooth, they mistake a certain degree of prosperity, as brought about by these very measures, whereas that prosperity rests on quite different grounds, and would be greater if these unjustifiable violations of truth did not irrevocably damage the interests of certain sections of the community.

The whole question of token currency, or rather that of the "portion of token currency," in any monetary system is as yet in its infancy. Historical experience and plain common sense have, however, established the fact that the levying of seignorage on all descriptions of coins is impossible, and that the so-called standard coins, at least, must be of full value.

On the other hand, experience has shown that copper coins and the lower class silver coins can be issued with a heavy seignorage without any apparent damage to the interests of those who use them principally. Yet that this damage does nevertheless exist is plainly shown. The conversion of the masses of copper coin into standard coin, for instance, is very difficult.

In the brewery business here there are firms who sometimes hold £5,000 or £6,000 in copper and small coins, and can not pay them away. The loss of interest and working power on capital thus accruing must be charged on their manufacture, *i. e.*, the consuming poor must pay more for it, and are thus unduly taxed. Again, as the issue of such copper coin is more according to the good and bad judgment of the authorities, the large sums thus accumulating withdraw a portion of the means of exchange supposed to be measured out for the intercourse of those who require them.

I will, however, concede that the issue of such debased copper coin can not be avoided, and that the evil must be borne; and here I must remark that section 33 of the bill which authorizes the United States mints to redeem copper coin in national currency is a proper measure, for it will prevent the accumulation of copper coins in private hands, and give the holders, though in a roundabout way and not without charges of forwarding, etc., the chance of converting it. In Europe, we follow a different policy; the mints undertake no such obligation, and do not redeem copper coin for this reason: the stamps of their copper coin can be so well imitated that the mint itself, especially if the coin appears to be a little worn, can not distinguish false pieces from their own, and as the manufacture itself leaves about 60 per cent clear profit, forgers would set to work provided that they could freely dispose of such pieces.

Fortunately, it is impossible here to dispose of copper coin by way of tender value for more than a few shillings at a time, hence the thing does not pay—nevertheless false copper coins are known to exist. But if, as you contemplate by section 33, the mint is to redeem copper coins in sums above $50, *i. e.*, giving them, so to speak, their tender value, you may be sure that false coins will soon take advantage of this facility. So that, although I call it a proper measure for one purpose, it will bear its penalty in another way, and I am, on the whole, inclined to favor our European policy, provided that the evil of seignorage be not attached to the higher class coins, viz, the full-valued standard of gold pieces and large silver coins and confined to only the copper and lower class silver coins. For in this extreme extension of the application of seignorage lies the whole error.

When those who favor a full-valued silver coinage plead their cause on the ground that the principles of justice and logic demand that a whole thing (say a standard coin) can only be divided into parts of equal value, and that those parts ought again to give the whole in substance or in true equivalent value they are told: Why, then you must include the copper coin as a standard and permit anybody to make payments of, say, $50,000 in copper coins, and that would not do.

We quite agree with this, but we allege, on the other hand, that "enough is the evil thereof," and that the necessity of thus limiting the tender value of copper is no justification for also and entirely limiting the tender value of silver, for if it be maintained that no interest can suffer when the coin concerned is of the value of 2 or 4 shillings, we have the right to say that you might extend seignorage to pieces of 10 or 20 shillings in value, which, we have all agreed, can not be done.

The question, then, between these two views is one of degree, and the thing to be determined is, where is the right point of value below which token currency may be admissible, and above which the medium of exchange must be of full value?

What should govern this decision?

The advocates of the gold valuation say "gold;" *i. e.*, they decide the point in question according to the usually recognized proportions of value between gold and silver as 1 to 15½, and say thereby "we also gain a unity of value." Now, the basis of pieces as between commodities and the precious metals has nothing to do with the proportionate value of gold and silver. It is so far immaterial whether a measure of value of 4 shillings (or more or less) be made of gold or silver or any other material, and so these proportions between gold and silver can not furnish the principle upon which the question is to be decided.

We, on the other hand, say the decision should be governed by the idea that this evil of token currency must be suppressed as much as possible, and that, as a thing essentially bad, contradictory, and unjust, it must be kept under even at the sacrifice of the supposed advantage of a unity of standard. And this includes the idea that, whereas those who are able to deal in gold complain of silver as too heavy for the pocket, they must, nevertheless

less, bear with this inconvenience for the sake of those who deal principally in silver.

As to the idea of unity of standard, although we dispute its validity, inasmuch as we allege that for the maintenance of the just value of gold silver is a necessary adjunct whose value must not be suppressed, we might for a moment admit this consideration. If there were gold enough in the world to furnish all the means of exchange required for money, this unity would be possible, and so even the lower kinds of money could be made from gold; in which case, however, the value of gold must have fallen so very much below what it is now that the objection of weight would arise again with greater force.

If a two-and-one-half-dollar piece or a one-dollar piece were worth in commodities but 50 or 20 cents, all the trouble for effecting payments in large quantities would be revived.

Without this fall in the value of gold, all the coins, which can not (on account of their smallness in gold) be made of that material, must thus, under the single gold valuation, be forever condemned to the position of tokens. And when all other nations, in self-defense, following the examples of England and America, are compelled to demonetize silver, the inevitable fall in the value of that material must be added to that of gold, so that the rise in the value of gold will increase the baneful effects of the debased silver coinage.

But you may ask again, "Where is the mischief?"

A half dollar, though debased, passes for a half dollar, and no one seems to complain.

The mischief is this: A token currency, as part of a system combined with full-valued coins, must be kept within very narrow limits as to issue. Whilst the full-valued coin can be issued freely, and finds, by its very nature, free ingress and egress, the token currency can not be issued excepting for what appears absolute necessity; its issue must be restricted, its export must be prevented by debasement.

Whereas, for instance, if the mintage of the whole set of coins were left free to the action of international and national trade, there might be in any country, say, two hundred millions of coins of larger value (such as gold coins) and sixty or one hundred millions of coins of lesser value (say silver coins), so as to suit the intercourse between all the stages, and in the mutual intercourse of each stage of society. No such proportion can possibly be arrived at where such lower coins are condemned to be tokens. It has been ascertained that we in England can not use more than 10 per cent of tokens, and even with that limit we find a surplus in the hands of bankers, and consequently so much short for the wants of the people. Hence the proportion to the above supposed two hundred millions is but twenty millions of tokens or coins below ten in value. And these twenty millions, despoiled of their metallic value, and placed under severe restrictions in payment, may be called the scanty offal of the monetary system, with which the less wealthy must be contented.

That the rich do not complain of this state of things is explicable; it does not directly affect them; on the contrary, it makes the lower classes more dependent. "Then, why do not the poor complain?" may be asked. Is it to be expected that Dick, Tom, and Harry, the workmen, should study social economy so as to be able to propound the doctrines of truth and the practical value of their applications to a subject so obscure as that of money is to most men? Enough that, in vague terms, they complain of a scarcity of money, of idleness, and want of work; and that this idleness and want of work are in direct relationship with the available means of exchange for intercourse you may admit if you lend an ear to the arguments in the following passages:

Money is the absolutely necessary element in the effecting exchanges in commodities—*i. e.*, for carrying on intercourse, *i. e.*, the consumption as well as the production of commodities; hence the numerical presence of money to a great extent guides the number of transactions in either direction. In this sense a supply of money encourages, a diminution of money lessens, the number of transactions.

So well is this rule recognized in all schools of national economy, that we in England pride ourselves specially upon the freedom which we give to gold, for its import, export, and free coinage. We know that by exhibiting a "demand" for gold, and acting accordingly, we can obtain it; but we take great care not to bar its supply in any way; we do everything in order to encourage it, recognizing that in the theory of supply and demand the former is the really active, positive, and productive agent; whereas the old theory contented itself by adhering to the false doctrine—"the demand rules the supply."

We feel and know that this free supply does not only encourage our international trade, but also (and what is more important) our own inland intercourse between ourselves, as it encourages consumption and production; the universal presence of sovereigns increase the demand for consumption.

It is evident, however, that the benefit of this enhanced consumption can, in the first place, be enjoyed only by those who can afford to deal in sovereigns—*i. e.*, by those who are wealthy enough to consume twenty times as much as others; those to whom the sovereign is no more than a shilling to others.

For the purposes of this latter class (those to whom the shilling is as important as the sovereign to the wealthier) it would thus seem reasonable that the shilling should also be supplied with the same freedom, so that the consumption pro rata should be guided by the same rules, encouraging, in its turn, production and labor. A very large section of our poorer community is benefited, no doubt, by the supply of gold coin coming into this country, as also the industrial classes laboring for the international trade, and the inland consumption of the wealthier; but this is, so to speak, only a partial matter, for by far more important is the consuming power of the people themselves.

More than three-fourths of the inhabitants of this country, for their daily or weekly transactions, use silver coin, must give silver coin, because the amounts involved can not be paid in gold. True, if an individual in that class receives a sovereign, he can get it changed (though not without trouble, and even at times with the tax of a glass of beer as an excuse); but that is not the point, for this question of change for one or more sovereigns stands apart from the great question of the universal supply of the less valuable mediums of exchange for the purpose of encouraging and developing consumption and production between this three-fourths of the nation themselves.

Thus, whilst for the reasons given we supply gold coin freely, we in England follow the directly contrary course with regard to the less valuable mediums of exchange; we debase them, limit their tender value, close ingress and egress, and thus confine the whole of this great national intercourse between the majority of our people to within a narrow compass or cage, in which it becomes crippled. Hence the want of supply limits consumption, the want of consumption limits production; hence idleness, poverty, demoralization, and crime. Tom, Dick, and Harry, with their wives and families, stand idle and become demoralized, not, forsooth, that there is want of food in this country, for there is enough to eat, but because there are not mediums of exchange sufficient to set the one going to produce something for the other, some of those many things, beyond meat and drink, which, made from cheap and abundant raw material, assist and comfort in bearing life, keeping the one as well as the other to God-ordained modest labor and morality, and profiting both. And for the prevention and violation of these sacred rights, I hold responsible the men or soi-disant economists who have framed our monetary laws, who insist on saying and try to prove by all the sophistry in their power that a despoiled shilling is nevertheless not a despoiled shilling, and that they may rob Peter to pay Paul with impunity.

Men of that class, who have made their fortunes in international trade, have no other eye for anything else than custom-house statistics or the rules of competition in our manufacturing districts; they overlook altogether the minor and far more important life of the people themselves, and say to them, "Here, we want gold; you must be content with bad silver, and we can not give you much because it is inconvenient to us," and with this offal, which even in that sense is not supplied freely and is kept within very narrow and unnatural limits, the people must be satisfied."

A curious feature in connection with this matter is the often repeated saying, "There is no demand for silver." Blowing hot and blowing cold. First praising supply of gold, then calling for a demand of silver before it is supplied. I say the demand for silver has been destroyed, the strength to use it is gone. Pauperism is too great to make a demand such as would satisfy the authorities. And what kind of form must the "demand" take in order to force a supply? How far must the agony go in order to burst its bounds? Some time ago a general cry arose throughout the country on account of the scarcity of silver. There were people who ascribed this to Col. Tomlin's efforts to agitate the subject, as if that gentleman had bought up and hidden many millions of silver. But the demand seemed genuine, for it was impossible in some parts of England to find silver. The authorities took care to show that the demand was accidental, and promised that as soon as the mint had finished coining gold in a few months it would coin silver.

Yet, during this time the demand had to wait, and many hundred thousands and millions of modest transactions between the poorer and industrial classes, from which they might derive comfort and sustenance, could not take place. This accidental demand for silver was a mighty effort of the crippled intercourse, caused by offers for mutual exchange, which exchange could not take place because the means were absent. The sick man tried to rise, and had a craving for nourishment; he fell down again because it could not be given him when he wanted it. Since then the mint has coined much silver, but the demand is gone again and our bankers will soon cry out and complain of too much silver. Lessons like these are lost upon our economists.

Who can wonder that they utterly failed to recognize the silent suffering of our poor classes less versed in social economy than themselves when they refused even to profit by such manifestations which so completely bear out all that we, the advocates of the double valuation, have brought forward. And if you bear in mind the great gulf that exists in Europe between the ruling classes and the people, the deep root of prejudice against their rising, the peculiar kind of charity and charitable social economy whose stock arguments rest on abuse of the lower classes, with just so much effort for elevating them as "caution" may admit, you might come to the conclusion that scarcely anything short of rebellion will be found strong enough to serve the authorities as sufficient manifestations of demand for "silver."

To this point, I am certain, we must ultimately come. Grave political questions may occupy the world for some years to come, but this question will be one of the rest. Rebellions for similar objects have happened before in the present age, when international commerce and more "refined" trading reduces margins to more mathematical precision, and thus leads to a more definite and clearer appreciation of differences in theory and practice; and the glaring injustice perpetrated by such proceedings as here laid bare will be recognized with unerring force.

And although England has been prosperous, and though her prosperity is vaunted as a truth in opposition to what I have here said, yet it will be recognized that this prosperity is due to other causes and is not due to the monetary laws, but that her excessive pauperism can be traced to their injustice; and although I hope that England will continue prosperous, yet I anticipate that this prosperity will be enhanced by a reform in her monetary laws, *i. e.*, by the adoption of the double valuation. It may be alleged, indeed, that as a universal trader, England would have done much better with the double valuation.

You may, or may not, be disposed to attach some value to these remarks respecting the systems of valuation, but you may think that America, so favorably situated as regards emigration and resources, need not regard the delicate distinction in the matter. But if the remarks here made are true, and if you bear in mind that in many matters of social truths we look to America with great hopes and watch her example, you may feel disposed on cosmopolitan grounds to consider the matter. On national grounds you may also come to the conclusion that inasmuch as many of the most thickly populated and industrial districts of America resemble districts in Europe, and have before them an extensive future, the effects here set forth are worth guarding against. I may call upon you to do so when I remind you that the system of valuation proposed in your bill is more severe than the English one, because you limit the tender value of silver to one-half of what it is here: hence the supply of this coin must be more unnaturally restricted.

Permit me also to call your attention to another matter connected with this controversy in your bill.

Section 33 authorizes the mint to redeem copper coins. Why should not silver coins be thus redeemed? Section 29 says, "it shall be lawful to transmit parcels, etc., under regulations." Why is not that as clearly stated as with copper? Both descriptions are tokens, and the fact that silver coin contains comparatively more value than copper coin is of little consequence, for in its character as mere token it might, indeed, contain less. I have no doubt that here you are in a quandary, and fearing that silver "privately coined" or artificially abrased, "might be presented in large quantities to the mint, you guard yourself by the indefinite regulations to be proposed by the Director of the Mint."

The thing is a sort of Gordian knot, a consequence of the whole unjust system of the gold valuation, which can all be avoided if you take the course previously recommended by me, viz: "That of issuing a full-valued silver dollar as the piece to stand between your gold coin and your debased silver coinage.

I am myself, as you will perceive from my writings, and others with me, in favor of the full and complete adoption of the double valuation, giving full legal tender to coins as low even as one-fourth dollar in value, believing that this is the only true system upon which a future universal system of coinage can be based (see suggestions, page 167), nevertheless recognizing the difficulty of carrying this point at present; and in order to enable you to uphold the essential features of the gold valuation, I limit my recommendation to the issue of this single full-valued dollar piece, under the proposed restriction of tender value to $50 or $100, partly for enabling you, without drawback or inconvenience whatever, to widen or to close the valuation question at any time, and partly in order to relieve you of the unsuitable obligations of the mint to redeem a surplus of either the token silver or the token copper coinage.

For, if such a full-valued silver dollar is issued, there will be no need of so many half and quarter dollars. The sordid consideration that the mint would thus make less profit will not, I trust, interfere with this consideration; the matter should be left to its natural development, and if more half dollars are wanted, it might be found suitable to convert the whole dollars as they are presented for the purpose to the profit of the mint.

I think that such a whole dollar would be the bridge, and that if it were issued the Government might (like we do here) altogether drop the obligation of redeeming silver tokens (whatever regulations may be contemplated), except such as are worn light and defaced, and the equalizing tendency of the issue might even compensate for the dangerous necessity of redeeming copper coins, which, as here, might be left to be dealt with by the public.

I trust these lengthy remarks will not be tedious to you. The frankness with which you asked for criticism on the bill has induced me to make them; and when a man's life has been passed in the study of and the practical handling of a matter like this he can not well help in bringing forward as much as he hopes may be useful; and in the case of the United States, where I have lived many years and where I have studied social economy from an American point of view, and am now able to extend this view, I imagine that that which I have proposed to you is not contrary to American habits and customs. The national currency has no doubt changed some of the conceptions in reference to money; but the original truth that solid, full-valued currency is the best will ultimately assert its authority.

I am, dear sir, yours, very obediently,

ERNEST SEYD.

To SAMUEL HOOPER, Esq., M. C.

P. S.—I have sent to you in parcels by bookpost, addressed "Samuel Hooper, esq., M. C.," Bullion and Foreign Exchanges, Suggestions on American Coinage, Demonetization of Silver, several pamphlets, reference to which is made in this letter.

SILVER COINAGE.

Mr. PEFFER. I desire to give notice that on Thursday morning next, immediately after the conclusion of the routine business of the morning hour, I shall ask the Senate to indulge me while I submit some remarks upon the bill (S. 570) discontinuing the purchase of silver bullion, reported by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] from the Committee on Finance.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed without amendment the bill (S. 50) in aid of the California Midwinter International Exposition.

The message also announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. Res. 4) to make the provisions of the act of May 13, 1890, which provides for town site entries of lands in a portion of what is known as Oklahoma, applicable to the territory known as the Cherokee Outlet, and to make the provisions of said act applicable to town sites in the Cherokee Outlet; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

SILVER COINAGE.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the bill (S. 570) discontinuing the purchase of silver bullion; on which the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], according to previous notice, is entitled to the floor.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President, Congress has been convened in extraordinary session and under extraordinary circumstances. It is undoubtedly true that the calm, unbiased public opinion of the great body of the American people, irrespective of parties, justifies the action of the Executive in assembling the legislative branch of the Government at this time, and yet the causes which have made such action necessary are, I think, widely and dangerously misunderstood, and by certain classes purposely and persistently misrepresented. I have conceived, therefore, that a few plain words in this connection, embracing a careful and candid look at the present financial condition of the country in its general as well as in its special features, and spoken in no spirit of strife or controversy, may not be unfit for this striking occasion.

For the last five months and a little more, the cry of the pessimist, the voice of the prophet of financial evil, and the wail of the apostle of national bankruptcy have all been heard in the land. These sounds of warning and menace against the authorities of this Government have gone up from all those financial centers where money, its gains and its power, constitute the chief objects of human worship, and from those centers have also emanated the cruel edicts of great financial corporations, commanding a stern contraction of the currency, a sudden and harsh shrinkage in its circulation, and the consequent inauguration of a panic, a distress period in the public mind.

Sir, no candid observer of existing public facts can believe that this attempted panic and business distress has been inspired by any real fear, or genuine want of confidence in the credit of the Government or in the soundness and stability of its various kinds of currency. It is true that amongst the ugly assets of a former Administration which came over on the 4th of last March were an empty Treasury and the record of a billion-dollar Congress in its expenditures, but despite so heavy a handicap the public credit of the United States has not faltered for a single moment, nor has the faith of the civilized world been lessened by the breadth of a hair in American honor and American resources, in this year of 1893, and in the custody of the Administration now in power.

The national credit of the American Republic, tried by every test which can be applied, is better and stronger to-day than the credit of any other government on the globe. Her bonds, her promissory notes to pay her debts, as they may be called, bearing a low rate of interest, stand at a premium in the money markets of the whole earth, and even the cold, cowardly instinct of hoarded, inactive, interest-hunting capital, in its cautious search for permanent investments, seizes upon them with swift greed wherever they can be found. The safety of the security appeases somewhat even the usurer's highly-seasoned appetite for richer profits.

Not only do the traffickers in money and the permanent investors of capital hunger and thirst after all the Government bonds now in existence, but their chief complaint against the present Administration is that the President and his very able Secretary of the Treasury have refused their demand to issue at least three hundred millions more. This additional block of national indebtedness, increasing in a time of profound peace the interest-eating burdens of American labor, would be hailed with the keenest delight and swept with miser enjoyment and avidity into unpatriotic vaults by the very parties who have most loudly and continuously declared, ever since the present Administration came into power, that the credit of the Government was in deadly peril and its Treasury practically bankrupt.

Sir, there are many and powerful reasons, plain to the thoughtful mind, why at this time our financial credit as a nation is stronger, more permanent, and freer from future danger than ever before, and far safer than that of any other of the great powers of the world. The mighty rock on which American credit now rests is the absolute unity of purpose on the part of the American people that it shall be upheld. For the first time since 1820, when sectional discord startled the country like a fire bell ringing in the night, there is a perfect union of design and of patriotic effort between the people of all the States in behalf of the honor, the power, the dignity, and the glory of the Republic. Peace, content, repose, and fraternal confidence have taken the place of sectional strife and distrust forever.

There are no mental reservations now, not the slightest friction of interest or of feeling, as we move forward in the pathway of public duty. All eyes are bent in the same direction; all prayers ascend for the welfare of a common country; all the ends and aims we have are bound together and linked to a single destiny. No one now but a political madman could deem a political contest in this country ever again possible on lines of sectional animosity; nor does there linger in the public opinion of the world the slightest trace of doubt that the people of all the sections are the same in their pride as American citizens and in their jealous love for the name and fame of their Government, for its unsullied honor and high bearing among the nations of the earth.

Let those who are looking with anxiety on this extra session of the Fifty-third Congress, whether they are here at close range or at distant points in the United States or in Europe, dismiss their unfounded fears, banish the imaginary dangers and evils which they have conjured up, and rest thoroughly assured that the financial credit of this Government was never quite so secure as at the present hour. The task of its maintenance ought not to be a difficult one. The public credit of every Government on the map of Europe is unceasingly threatened by the shadows of coming wars, and financial resources there are constantly weakened by vast standing armies and permanent navies.

We are not only a united people among ourselves, but throughout all the wide earth there are none to molest or make us afraid of war or rumors of wars. Nothing within the range of reasonable conjecture can be more improbable than war between this Government and any foreign power. In Europe there are none but antagonistic and distrustful neighbors; the natural and inevitable selfishness of nations makes them so. The providence of history, the conformation of continents, the geography of the earth and seas, have all combined to give the American Republic a widely different and more fortunate career.

None but friendly neighbors will ever touch her tremendous boundaries. The two oceans on the east and on the west are her gigantic and unsubsidized allies in the world's advancement, and those who dwell on her northern and southern borders have no desire to break the peace to their own overthrow. Alone, as it were, the Colossus of the Western Hemisphere, and towering up in isolated power and glory, her limitless material resources are sometimes overlooked in summarizing the elements of her

financial strength. Nature has here endowed a free people with wealth more prolific, more infinite in variety, and more inexhaustible than was ever before disclosed in the annals of the human race. We hear at all times of the boasted commerce of Great Britain and other European powers engaged in carrying the productions of the entire world.

Sir, it may be stated as a fact that the interstate commerce of the United States alone is greater in value than all the foreign commerce and carrying trade of Great Britain, Germany, France, Austria, Holland, Russia, and Belgium put together. With absolute freedom of trade between the States, an equitable exchange of their productions has taken place according to the wants and necessities of producers and consumers. Developments of wealth on the farm lands, in the manufactories, in the rich cañons of the mountains, on the mighty rivers, along the vast ocean borders, and on the inland seas of this favored country have consequently followed in such profusion and magnificence as to dwarf into insignificance the achievements of every other age, race, or nation.

If our foreign trade has not kept pace with our domestic commerce, the reason is open before us in our statutes. Legislation, avowedly unfriendly to trade with foreign countries, placing their productions under the ban of our displeasure, ordering them away from our ports by prohibitory tariffs, can have but one result on the foreign commerce of the United States. Ungracious and forbidding to others, we have no right to expect others to be gracious and friendly in trade to us. We have not to-day a commercial friend in the world. Nobody abroad seeks our trade unless under some sort of compulsion. Nobody in Europe, Asia, or Africa will buy a bushel or a pound of our breadstuffs or our meats if they can get what they want anywhere else.

Human nature governs nations as well as individuals, and for every law we enact denying to foreign productions a place in our markets on fair terms, and announcing that we decline all commercial friendships, we may be certain of an injurious blow in return from every trading people in the world. But I have abundant faith that the giant evil which has restricted and crippled our foreign commerce and closed foreign markets, or made them hostile to the productions of the American farmer, will be removed with other evils which challenge our consideration and action.

In the meantime, if farmers, mechanics, merchants, intelligent bankers, and even Wall-street brokers and stock gamblers, will study the true greatness and the inevitable and invincible future of their country in the light of the last census, they will learn that financial panics and alarms can have no real foundation here, and must pass away, like vapors before the sun, notwithstanding a vicious law may now and then temporarily disturb the public mind.

But there is yet another, and an exceedingly sensitive and powerful test of our Government credit, which, in this connection, asserts its claim, not only to the trust and admiration of the American people, but also to the business confidence and respect of every civilized nation beneath the sun. Money is simply a medium of exchange of values, furnished in this country by the Government for the business transactions of its people. Money has no other origin or power to exist in the United States than is to be found specifically granted by the Constitution.

Let all the vague and chimerical delusions which in some minds always haunt this subject with mysterious and intangible talk about the source and derivation of money be dismissed at once and forever. Neither in the heavens above nor in the earth below is there any power to make a dollar for the American people, whether it be in gold, silver, or paper, except the power of the American Congress. Money is the creature and Congress its creator. Gold and its alleged intrinsic value goes for naught as a circulating medium unless the coin bears the stamp of the Government—a stamp more powerful than the grasp of the lion's paw or the eagle's claw in bestowing life and activity on a dead and otherwise useless material. The same official stamp on silver, or on paper at once ennobles them to an equality with gold in purchasing power, no matter how debased, how degraded, or how valueless the silver or the paper may have become as commodities by sinister and unwise legislation.

Sir, I hold in my hand the Government's official statement, made July 1, 1893, of its various kinds of currency now circulating by its authority as money in the hands of the American people. It will doubtless sound strange to some ears that there are nine different currencies here described as now engaged in transacting the business of this country, and to a large extent the business of the world. The amount of each kind coined or issued is here put down, how much remains in the Treasury, and how much of each is in circulation. This table carries with it a lesson of profound importance and is entitled to the gravest consideration.

Statement showing the amounts of gold and silver coins and certificates, United States, notes and national bank notes, in circulation July 1, 1893.

	General stock, coined or issued.	In Treasury.	Amount in circulation July 1, 1893.	Amount in circulation July 1, 1892.
Gold coin	$513,743,623	110,109,923	$403,633,700	$408,767,740
Standard silver dollars	419,332,459	362,305,707	57,026,743	56,799,984
Subsidiary silver	77,256,212	11,855,944	65,400,268	62,386,518
Gold certificates	94,041,189	1,071,170	92,970,019	141,235,329
Silver certificates	330,957,504	4,468,339	326,489,165	326,880,803
Treasury notes, act July 14, 1890	147,190,227	6,528,583	140,661,694	98,051,657
United States notes	346,681,016	25,805,333	320,875,683	311,814,840
Currency certificates, act June 8, 1872	12,365,000	430,000	11,935,000	29,830,000
National-bank notes	178,713,872	3,982,733	174,731,139	167,305,957
Total	3,120,281,093	526,554,682	1,593,726,411	1,603,073,328

In it will be found, circulating at this time, a currency of gold amounting to over $400,000,000, and a currency of silver dollars and of subsidiary silver amounting in the aggregate to nearly $500,000,000; a currency of gold certificates and a currency of silver certificates; a currency of Treasury notes authorized by the act of July 14, 1890, and a currency of certificates authorized by the act of June 8, 1872; a currency of national bank notes, and a currency of United States notes, or, in other words, the well-known greenbacks created more than thirty years ago, and protected and preserved at $346,681,016 by the act of May 31, 1878. So uniform in purchasing and debt-paying power are all these currencies, so in harmony with each other, and so interchangeable at even and equal rates, that hardly one-half of them are generally known to exist.

If one kind of our circulating, purchasing, and debt-paying mediums ranked below the others in practical use, there would be friction and confusion at once in every channel of trade and business. The creative power of Congress, however, as defined by the Constitution, underlies and supports every American dollar in existence, and it has proved impossible for the most determined assaults of interested and powerful classes, on any one of our currencies, to shake the faith of the American people in the credit and honor of their Government. National credit has been tested by the smooth and harmonious circulation of our nine separate currencies, and has met the ordeal in a manner to awaken the pride of every patriotic American heart.

It is, indeed, a historical fact, fraught with extreme significance and importance, that no branch or part of our national currency was ever at a discount, or stood below a parity with the best in circulation, except it was first discredited and dishonored by the Government itself. This happened once, and only once, in American history, and it will never happen again. Provision was made in the memorable year of 1862 for the purchase of Government bonds with a depreciated currency for the benefit of capitalists seeking investments, and who could be induced in no other way to support their Government in the hour of its deadliest peril. The greenback currency was authorized, and everybody required to take it in payment of debts except the Government which created it.

The bar sinister was written on its escutcheon when it was made nonreceivable for customs duties and interest on the public debt; when it was stripped of the highest functions of money in the hands of the citizen, and stood in open disgrace before the world. In that condition it became an instrument of gigantic wrong and oppression on the laboring masses of the American people. For every dollar received by the Government an obligation was issued to pay in the long run more than two, and the people of the United States are still engaged in carrying out this unjust and dishonest arrangement. What a striking contrast to American statesmanship in 1862 was presented by the statesmanship of France when crushed to the earth in the Franco-Prussian war in 1870.

France issued her assignats with full legal-tender power for all kinds of debts, and based them on national honor and national resources. They never wavered in the storm; they never sunk below gold, and France maintained, as she has ever since, the strongest financial credit in Europe. The American greenback, however, has had its full revenge for all the indignities once heaped upon it. In the midst of obloquy, opprobrious epithets, threats of total destruction wherewith its interested enemies assailed it fifteen years ago, the greenback currency was again touched by the power of the Government, this time with respect; and by the authority of law it has remained in circulation ever since, always on an easy level with the best money in existence, whatever that might be.

This once despised and slandered currency is now in the pockets of the people, perpetuated by act of Congress, guaranteed by the public credit, and defying the impotent rage of its enemies.

I have referred to its well-known career and to its present useful and honorable existence in order to still further illustrate and emphasize the power and the duty of the Government in furnishing a sound, reliable, and constitutional money for the use of the people.

But, sir, at this point we are confronted by a law without precedent or parallel in American history, a law which for months past has been the theme of all tongues and pens, and in whose name financial panic, alarm, and distress have been invoked, and for whose repeal this Congress has been convened. The origin of the Sherman act, its motives, and the object it was designed to accomplish, claim especial consideration in reaching a conclusion as to its merits. Its author, the distinguished Senator from Ohio, has repeatedly and quite recently explained the end he had in view in its enactment.

A bill for the free coinage of silver had passed the Senate by the great majority of 16, and then the measure, since known by the name of the Senator from Ohio, was brought forward and tendered to the representatives of the States having silver bullion to sell as a compromise in lieu of the great victory they had just obtained. In an evil hour, the worst and darkest that ever befell the cause of bimetallism or the honor and existence of silver money, this pernicious compromise was accepted and fastened on the country. The Senator from Ohio, it is true, now claims credit for his repeated assertion of late that there has never been an hour since the compromise was effected that he has not stood ready to violate it by voting for its repeal.

In other words, having induced the producers of silver to surrender their right to its free coinage at the mints in exchange for the right to sell 4,500,000 ounces per month of bullion to the Government, the Senator from Ohio and his followers on that side of the Chamber have been willing and anxious ever since to break the compact, repeal the consideration on which the compromise was made, and leave their victims of misplaced confidence from the Pacific coast and mountain ranges empty-handed, without either the privilege to coin their silver or even to sell it as a mercantile commodity to the Government.

The dog in the fable, letting go the meat he already had for the shadow which looked larger, made no greater mistake than did the silver States when they supported the Sherman act as a substitute for legitimate free coinage. The act was not intended in good faith for the coinage of silver at all. On the contrary, it emanated from the enemies of silver money, and its purpose was to degrade, dishonor, and disgrace this one of the precious metals until it could no longer hold its place with gold as a part of the specie basis of this country and of the world.

In reducing silver to a merchantable commodity, placing it on a level with corn, wheat, cotton, tobacco, and other productions of the field and farm, issuing Treasury certificates on it according to its market value, there could be but one effect on the rank, dignity, honor, and stability of silver as one of the great money metals. It reeled and staggered under the blow, until now its enemies predict with joy its speedy and total destruction. Sir, I speak in no partisan vein to-day, and yet it is with great satisfaction I find from the record that not a single vote on this side of the Chamber was cast for the act which bears the name of the Senator from Ohio to such a peculiar eminence. The vote by yeas and nays, by which this most dangerous makeshift ever known in our financial history passed this body, appears as follows:

YEAS.—Aldrich, Allen, Allison, Blair, Casey, Cullom, Davis, Dawes, Dixon, Dolph, Edmunds, Evarts, Farwell, Frye, Hawley, Higgins, Hiscock, Hoar, Ingalls, Jones of Nevada, McMillan, Manderson, Mitchell, Moody, Pettigrew, Pierce, Platt, Plumb, Power, Quay, Saunders, Sawyer, Sherman, Spooner, Squire, Stewart, Stockbridge, Washburn, Walcott—39.

NAYS.—Barbour, Bate, Blackburn, Call, Carlisle, Cockrell, Coke, Colquitt, Daniel, Faulkner, Gibson, Gorman, Hampton, Harris, Jones of Arkansas, Kenna, McPherson, Pasco, Pugh, Ransom, Reagan, Turpie, Vance, Vest, Voorhees, Walthall—26.

Let the grave responsibility for the violation of every sound principle of finance which such measure creates be met before the American people by those who are shown by the record to have assumed it. As a firm, unfaltering believer in bimetallism, and as an undeviating supporter of the coinage and use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, without discriminating against either metal, I voted against the passage of the Sherman act, and for the same reasons I shall vote for its repeal. The outcry in certain quarters at this time that those who vote for the repeal of this measure are enemies of silver as money, and in favor of its demonetization, is not only false, so far as I am concerned, but, in the light of what has happened in the past, it is absurd.

Beginning with the first speech I made in this body, and down to the present hour, I can recall no vote or word on the subject of the coinage and circulation of silver which I would now change or blot from the record if I could. And now in this, the darkest day ever known for silver amongst civilized people since Abraham, the Hebrew prince, paid 400 shekels "current money with the merchant" for a resting place for the beloved Sara, I avow my unshaken faith that it will remain forever one of the world's great and potential factors of finance, commerce, traffic, and daily business transactions.

It will neither be demonetized nor driven away from the habitations of the laboring masses of mankind. It has come down to us from immemorial ages, and it will continue to exist as one of the precious metals, upholding the credit of nations and bringing blessings to the sons and daughters of toil when the scenes through which we are now passing have grown dim in the light and progress of distant centuries. I shall vote to repeal the Sherman act as I would remove a dead fly from a box of sweet ointment, as I would abate a nuisance, and wipe out an obstruction to rational, wholesome legislation. It taints and vitiates our entire financial system, and destroys confidence in all business transactions every hour it remains a part of our laws. Often the question has been asked whether a vote should be given for its unconditional repeal, or whether, before it goes, something in the way of a substitute must be agreed upon to take its place.

Sir, I would at once eradicate this confessed evil, this universally condemned enactment, from the body of our laws, with no other condition than my right and free agency to support and to secure in connection with its repeal—or afterwards by an independent measure, as the success of its immediate repeal, the primary duty of the hour may at the time dictate—a sound financial system, embracing the coinage of silver on an equality with gold. In making this statement I only repeat the declaration of the Democratic party in national convention at Chicago in June, 1892, and on which the American people restored to the Presidency one of the strongest, ablest, purest, and most patriotic characters ever known in American history. That declaration, containing as it does the consensus of Democratic opinion from every State and Territory in the Union, may be heard at this time again with profit and advantage:

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift—

That is no reflection on the courage of the Senator from Ohio, for that is too well known: but we go on to say—

fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal, or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage for both metals must be of equal intrinsic or exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

It will here be seen that the united Democracy of the country, fourteen months ago, in formal convention assembled, denounced the Sherman act which had degraded silver to a commodity, demanded its repeal, and declared in the strongest language in favor of the coinage of both the precious metals on fair and honest terms of absolute equality. But the record made on this subject in the momentous year of 1892 does not stop at this point. Grover Cleveland, the great leader of his party then and the great Chief Magistrate of the whole people now, in accepting his nomination, addressed the public in well-remembered terms, which have been in nowise changed, modified, or contradicted by the singularly able message delivered a few days ago to this body. His language was as follows:

The people are entitled to sound and honest money, abundantly sufficient in volume to supply their business needs. But whatever may be the form of the people's currency, national or State, whether gold, silver, or paper, it should be so regulated and guarded by governmental action, or by wise and careful laws, that no one can be deluded as to the certainty and stability of its value. Every dollar put into the hands of the people should be of the same intrinsic value or purchasing power. With this condition absolutely guaranteed, both gold and silver can be safely utilized upon equal terms in the adjustment of our own currency.

Mr. STEWART rose.

Mr. VOORHEES. I shall have to decline in advance. I can not be interrupted to-day. This is not the kind of a speech for interruptions, and I shall have to appeal to the Chair.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Indiana declines to be interrupted.

Mr. STEWART. I should like to ask the Senator a question.

Mr. VOORHEES. I will say to the Senator now that he will have plenty of chances at me. I shall be a naked object here. I expect to remain for some time, and will answer all questions as far as I can. I hope I may have a little peace to-day for about an hour.

Sir, this statement of President Cleveland of the duty of the Government toward the American people is embraced in four brief sentences, and yet it contains every sound, wholesome, enduring principle of finance ever known in the history of the most prosperous nations of the earth. "Sound and honest money, abundantly sufficient in volume," "gold, silver, and paper," "regulated and guarded by governmental action," "by wise and careful laws," "securing certainty and stability" in the people's currency, guaranteeing that "every dollar put into the hands of the people should be of the same intrinsic or purchasing power," and then upon these sure and everlasting foundations the use of both gold and silver in the adjustment of our currency is squarely indorsed and recommended.

Where in the annals of financial legislation can be found a wiser, a stronger, a more comprehensive monetary system, or one more richly freighted with blessings to the laboring masses of mankind, than is here so briefly and so powerfully depicted? Who dares in the face of the clear and explicit words which I have just read to charge that their author is a monometallist in disguise, a believer in the use of gold and gold alone, but wearing, for the sake of an election to the Presidency, a bimetallic mask?

Sir, who has the hardihood to assert or to insinuate that Grover Cleveland is a dissembler, a man who conceals his opinions or dispositions under a false appearance, a hypocrite, practicing deception upon his countrymen in order to gratify his personal ambition? On the contrary, his fearless frankness in the expression of his views on all public questions without regard to their effect upon himself has long been conceded by friend and foe to be the leading characteristic of his mind. Lord Bacan says:

It is the weakest sort of politicians that are the greatest dissemblers.

I think it will be admitted by all that Mr. Cleveland belongs to the strongest and not the weakest school of political thought and action. The secret of his immense strength with the plain masses of the American people has long since been solved. By his bold, clear utterances, followed by his manly and direct action, he has inspired universal and absolute confidence, from one ocean to the other, in his perfect integrity of purpose, in his unfaltering patriotism, his supreme love of country, as well as in his stalwart and commanding ability.

If I am reminded that he did not repeat his letter of acceptance in his recent message, recommending the repeal of the Sherman act, my answer is, that while such a reassertion of his well-known views would have gratified many worthy and well-meaning people; yet it was not necessary on his part in order to retain the confidence of the people that he was in favor of the coinage and use of both gold and silver on terms which would insure a parity in their values. He has never recalled, retracted, or explained away a single word of his letter accepting the nomination for the Presidency. His assurances in that letter are to-day alive and in force, and as binding this hour as they were when first given to the world; and I hereby declare that I am willing to stand or fall by my faith in the truth and honor of Grover Cleveland and in his well-known fidelity to pledges when once they are made. [Applause in the galleries.]

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair desires to remind the occupants of the galleries that a repetition of this offense will cause the galleries to be cleared instantly.

Mr. VOORHEES. Sir, I also invoke in this connection the honored name of the Secretary of the Treasury. John G. Carlisle is the peer in intellect and spotless integrity of any of the illustrious statesmen who have held the folio of finance since the Treasury Department was created, including Alexander Hamilton, its first Secretary. I make no mistake in placing him as a bimetallist, concurring fully with the President in support of a bimetallic system of coinage.

As a Democrat, as an American citizen, as a man loving and believing in justice, fair play, and common sense, I appeal to those around me, and to the great body of the people, to know whom we can trust, whom we can believe, if we are to turn our backs, at such a time as this, on such men as Grover Cleveland and John G. Carlisle?

Sir, the terms, conditions, and ratios fixing the intrinsic or interchangeable value of these two metals have always from the earliest ages been matters of detail, and will so continue; but the great, paramount fact has been declared and established in the most solemn and overwhelming manner by the voice and votes of the American people within the last year that silver shall not be demonetized, that one-half the specie basis of the world shall not be destroyed, that the volume of paper money now in circulation for the payment of labor and the products of labor shall not be contracted, with their consent, to the basis of monometallism, and to the standard and the existence of gold alone. It is not my purpose at this time to discuss the details of coinage, or the number of grains of each of the precious metals which should go into the different coins of silver and gold.

Let it be distinctly understood, however, not only by the American people of every class, calling, and condition, but also by the people of every nation with whom we have commercial relations, that a fair and honest ratio will be established and maintained by the American Congress, and that neither the one nor the other of the two metals will be dismissed from the public service. We will omit no honorable effort to induce foreign governments to unite with us in achieving, by international agreement, this great and gigantic blessing for the human race; but let it be distinctly understood now and for all time to come that the laboring, debt-paying masses of this country, constituting nine-tenths of the people, will never, under any circumstances, consent to double the debts of debtors and double the claims of creditors by destroying one-half the money authorized by the Constitution with which debts may rightfully be paid.

It is well also to remember that the American Republic is a government of the people, whatever may be true of other nations, and that here on American soil no system of public policy can stand, or ought to stand, which does not rest on the consent of the governed. Nor will I hesitate to say to those who are now urging the adoption of monometallism, with gold alone as a standard, and a specie basis for all our currency, to the exclusion and extinction of silver money, that by virtue of their great powers of self-government the people at the very earliest opportunity will tear down and utterly annihilate such an oppressive and destructive system of finance, should it ever be established.

Sir, the peculiar relations which the silver-producing States and Territories of the country bear to the question now under consideration can not be overlooked, and ought not to be misunderstood. Not less than five States and three Territories are richly endowed with the precious metals, and, indeed, all that vast and magnificent region of wealth and power from the Rocky Mountains and the upper waters of the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, and from our Mexican boundary to the British possessions [illegible] in close affinity of interest as well as of feeling on this subject. Every American heart swells with pride in contemplating the gigantic progress and development there accomplished.

Under the guidance of that supreme and overshadowing Providence which shapes and dictates the history of nations, the discovery of gold and silver, those mighty talismans of the human intellect and of human energy, was not to take place in their full strength and glory on this continent until the hour came, in the fullness of time, when their presence would not only round out the boundaries, but also fix the destiny and complete the colossal greatness of an ocean-bound Republic.

Early in the sixteenth century, more than three centuries and a half ago, the foot of the gold-hunting Spaniard was on the soil of California; and his covetous eye scanned in vain her plains and mountain slopes in search of the tremendous treasure which had laid hidden there since the morning stars sung creation's hymn of praise in the beginning of time. Spain, at that time the most powerful government on the globe, was engaged in discovering, subduing, and colonizing the countries of the western hemisphere, and a look now at her ancient boundaries on the map of the United States is full of instruction to the thoughtful student of history.

She owned and possessed, when at the zenith of her power, the treasure-laden lands of California, Nevada, and nearly all of Colorado, together with New Mexico, Arizona, and the most of Utah. She was the mistress of more wealth than was contained in all the world besides, but she knew it not. She hungered and thirsted for the precious metals; she sent forth fleets and armies, and squandered life and treasure to find them; she was a pirate on the seas and a robber and murderer on every shore in their search, but she passed over them on the Pacific coast with blinded eyes, while the years and the centuries moved on, waiting for a different people and a higher dispensation of human affairs.

Not only the map of the world, but the destiny of the human race would have been changed, marred, and blotted had the discovery of gold and silver on our western shores been given to Spain; to such as Cortez, Pizarro, and other ferocious, red-handed Spanish adventurers, then engaged in wholesale pillage and slaughter. That peaceful region would have been transformed at once, as if by an infernal magic, into the very similitude of hell.

The uproar of avaricious strife, the enslavement and destruction of unoffending native tribes, the shock of contending armies representing the frantic greed of every nation, the desolation of fire and sword, the hideous riot of vice in all its dark and bloody forms, marking the downfall of the kingdom of peace, love, and mercy, would have prevailed like inextinguishable fires throughout all those vast realms, from San Francisco to Denver and to St. Louis, and blighting and blackening for centuries to come everything of value, and every hope of resurrection, on the sun-

set side of the Father of Waters. A ruined land, rifled and plundered of all its treasures, worn out, seamed, and wasted in its substance by the nonlaboring, warlike marauders of the whole earth, and at last abandoned, like a miner's claim when it ceases to pay, or held in the clutch of some victorious European power for further diggings—such would have been the condition of the trans-Mississippi country when our fathers struck for independence, in 1776, if the providence of history had permitted the Spaniard to see gold and silver when he was walking over them.

Sir, may I not be pardoned for the faith I cherish, that the mighty revelation which burst upon the world in 1849 from Sutter's Camp in California, and from the cañons and gulches of the mountains, was reserved for a people of wisdom and patriotism, and came at the right time to draw the best energies and intellects of this country, and of the world, into the development of the wilderness and the waste places of the Republic, and to assist with the power of invincible cement in holding together the American Union, and in making it the pride and wonder of the earth and of the ages yet to come?

Let no man lightly consider or put aside what God hath wrought. The States of the Pacific, of the Sierras, of the towering peaks of the Black Hills, and all others bearing in their bosoms the precious metals, are the treasure houses of American riches, power, and glory. They have been preserved to us, and placed in our hands as a trust and a blessing to the present and future generations. With the discovery of gold and silver forty-four years ago, and their coinage and use on free and equal terms by the American people, came such an abounding prosperity, such an increase of national life and force, and such help to individual exertions as were never before known in the history of nations.

We bounded forward with such impetuous force that even the calamity of a tremendous interstate war hardly checked the speed of our progress, and has not even left a scar visible to-day on the material advancement of the country. The aid of both metals was invoked, without discrimination against either, and the result was a financial strength equal to the severest emergencies that can overtake a nation whether in peace or in war. In fact, no disturbance in business circles or in the channels of trade, in connection with silver, ever took place in this country until after the stealthy and treacherous attempt to stab it to death in 1873.

While silver has been honorably coined on proper terms, while it has been treated with dignity and respect as money and not discriminated against and dishonored as an ordinary product, a commodity to be hawked in the markets, it has never failed to do its duty and to stand the peer, at all times and under all circumstances, of gold. I appeal on this subject with great respect, and with full confidence in the ultimate result, to the silver-producing States themselves. The very able and distinguished Senators from those States need no assurance of my warm personal regard, nor of my keen and anxious desire for the welfare of their constituencies. May I not, therefore, submit to them, without offense, that the safety, the stability, the honor, and the very existence of a true silver currency in this country require the fair and legitimate coinage of silver rather than its sale as bullion? Must we not, at once and without delay, get back of all makeshifts, subterfuges, and insincere compromises, and place ourselves, after the financial deck has been cleared, on the plain constitutignal right to coin gold and silver into money? Why should any friend of silver money from the Pacific, or from any of the other States, vote to retain the Sherman act a day longer as a law?

The worst calamites that have ever befallen the cause of silver money have come since its enactment and in its name. What hope is there that silver will rise from the degradation inflicted on it while that enactment remains? Who supposes for a moment that the present financial condition of the country can be improved by simply clinging tenaciously to a law which forces a low, reluctant, grudging market for silver as a commodity? Who in this Chamber or elsewhere is willing to remain responsible for such an enactment a single day longer than its repeal is possible?

Sir, the people of Indiana own no silver mines; they have no silver bullion to sell; their only interest is in the silver dollar itself with which to do business; but had it been my destiny to represent on this floor a State inlaid with silver and threaded with veins of gold, I would have resented and resisted to the utmost any and every attempt by legislation to cast contumely and reproach on either one of these great metals or to discriminate between them in their coinage, even down to the point of a charge for mintage.

Were I a Senator from a silver-producing State, as I am from a great industrial State simply desiring the use of silver in the shape of a sound currency to help in the daily transactions of her business, I would vote with even increased zeal and pleasure for the repeal of the ill-omened and bad-odored act now under discussion. I would then, as I will now, hail the hour in which to cast such a vote successfully as one of the most auspicious of my life.

But there are still further features of the present financial situation which, in my judgment, demand consideration, and which do not result from the Sherman act, except in so far as its unsoundness in principle and its outlawed character as an instrument of finance are seized upon to shake public confidence and create business distress, thus advancing the ends and aims, not yet openly avowed, of certain vigilant and powerful moneyed classes in this country and throughout the world. The bitter and determined assault which we have witnessed on the present Administration to compel an enormous issue of Government bonds has not gone unheeded by the American people, nor have the authors of this assault, and those interested in its success, escaped widespread and intelligent observation.

Motive is the surest trail on which to find the perpetrator of a deed, and, tried by this rule, the authors of the money stringency during the last five months, and of the incessant demand for a large increase in our bonded debt, stand plainly revealed. By virtue of a Treasury regulation, rather than by explicit provisions of law, a gold reserve of a hundred millions has been held for years past in the Treasury for the declared purpose of redeeming a branch of the currency which has never yet been presented for redemption. By breaking this reserve, by reducing it below its fixed amount, it was supposed the Secretary of the Treasury would be under immediate legal necessity to issue and sell bonds, with the proceeds of which the gold reserve was to be kept at its maximum.

The attack, therefore, on the head of that column was swift and strong. With intervals of delay for ample and skillful preparation, these attacks have been repeated again and again, and have only slackened in their frequency and force since it has been found that the executive department of the Government can not be coerced in that way.

But the campaign of capitalists seeking a new supply of interest-bearing Government bonds did not confine itself to any one point of assault. While they operated with unrelenting vigor to break down the reserve of gold in the Treasury, and to that extent impair the public credit, they also startled this country and filled the world with the cry that American gold was running away from this silver-blasted country, chased out by silver money, and that there was no way to lure it back except to bait plentifully with Government bonds. It is in this connection also that the Sherman act has been made to do double duty. It has been held to answer not only for the inherent and ineradicable vices which it does possess, but it has been charged with grave offenses in which it has had no part.

Sir, I do not believe for a moment in placing this country on a silver basis any more than on a gold basis. I have never advocated such a policy. The two metals together on a parity and in harmony with each other must constitute the broad and ample specie basis required by the vast and progressive character of American trade and industry. Nor have I the slightest faith in the pretense that our silver coin or our silver certificates have been driving our gold to foreign shores, where our creditors are said to be sitting in fear and trembling lest the silver itself should come, or something worse.

My experience on this subject leads to a totally different conclusion When in 1878 the attempt was made to check the torrent of bankruptcy and ruin occasioned by the demonetization of silver in 1873, and the consequent contraction of currency which followed, there went up such a wail of dismal prophecy in these Halls over the proposed restoration of silver as will never be forgotten. An inspection now of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that date is full of entertainment, and indeed of instruction. It will there be seen how able and learned men can grow eloquent in predicting what never comes to pass: how they can disregard the traditions and the Constitution of their fathers, as well as the teachings of all the ages known to human history.

Much indeed may be learned by recourse to the debates of fifteen years ago on this subject. I could occupy the time of the Senate, hour after hour, in reading the prophetic visions of dire disaster which then appeared to certain distinguished Senators, if the Bland-Allison act, remonetizing silver, and providing for its partial coinage, should become a law. One of the first and most certain evils predicted was the hurried departure of gold from beneath the folds of the American flag; that it would take to itself wings and fly to the uttermost parts of the earth, in order to escape the contamination of base, ignoble silver.

It is true the two metals had been for four thousand years the twins of the financial world, the Gemini of nations, compeers and co-factors in the development, the advancement of the human race; but a new light seemed suddenly to burst upon cer-

tain minds to the effect that gold would no longer abide the companionship of its kindred metal, its old-time, and long-tried ally. The alarming measure, however, was enacted into law, and the believing disciples of false prophets stood gaping in awful anticipation of coming ruin. What was it that did occur?

The Government proceeded in orderly and constitutional methods to coin $24,000,000 per annum of silver money for the use and benefit of the American people, and continued so to do for the next twelve years, during which time the increase—not the decrease, but the increase—of gold in the United States was at the rate of about forty millions a year. At the date of the passage of the Bland-Allison act the estimate of gold money in this country was $230,000,000, and when coinage ceased under that act the estimate was more than $700,000,000. And such was the fulfillment of the prophesies of 1878, and yet I am now expected to believe that the fair and legitimate coinage of silver, its free coinage upon a properly ascertained and determined ratio, will banish all our gold and put us on a single silver basis.

I must be pardoned for believing nothing of the kind. The shipments of gold which have taken place from this country in the last four or five months must be accounted for, to my mind, in a different way. They were a part of the same plan which attempted to sack the Treasury of its gold-reserve fund, to create distrust, fear, agitation, panic, and a withdrawal, as far as possible, of all money in circulation; and all this to be accompanied by a concerted outcry from terror-stricken business circles and from the whole national banking system that nothing can restore public confidence and save the public credit except the issuance of at least three hundred millions of interest-bearing Government bonds.

Sir, I have no desire to assail the national banks, nor any feeling to gratify in doing so. As a general rule, they are under the management and control of gentlemen standing high for ability and integrity. It is the system which I arraign, and not the individuals who conduct it. Eulogies on the national banks as a system of finance are very familiar to us all; they have many merits, some which I desire to avail the country of at this time, as is well known; and yet it may be replied to every word in their praise that the good the banks have done in handling a safe and reliable currency, has come alone from the power of the Government which pervades them, while the evils they accomplish have arisen from the fact that far too much power has been left in the hands of men to tempt their avarice and ambition.

The merits possessed by the national banks are created and upheld, every one of them, by the official hand of the Government, by the bonds on which their notes are issued, by their official engraving, and by a vigilant and efficient administration of their affairs at the hands of the Comptroller of their currency. On the other hand, the unrestricted, unrestrained, and unbridled power which is permitted to the management of these banks, whereby the circulation of money in the hands of the people can be, and often has been, suddenly fluctuated from a prosperous maximum to a stunted and distressful minimum, constitutes a standing and a frightful menace against the safety, the welfare, and the happiness of the great and most useful body of the American people—those who have labor and the products of labor to exchange for money, and who have a right to expect steady and remunerative rates of pay.

The idea here presented is an appalling one. No other government within the boundaries of civilization, as far as I can learn, has ever committed to private parties the power to make money plenty, or money scarce; times easy, or times hard; business prosperity, or business bankruptcy; the power, in fact, to circulate the Government's own currency, or to withhold it from circulation, at such times, and under such circumstances, and in such amounts, as will inure to the benefit of private speculation and personal gain, rather than to the public interests. Yet, such is exactly the terrible power now possessed by those engaged in national banking, and such the power they have called into disastrous action.

If it be asserted and admitted that some of the banks have themselves suffered and fallen by the overthrow of public and private confidence which has taken place, it only adds one more illustration to the well-known fact that a demon of destruction once raised sometimes escapes the control of its masters and turns and rends them. If panic-stricken depositors make sudden and unexpected runs for their money, catching now and then a bank less prepared for such an emergency than its better managed kindred, it is because the policy of the banks has first inspired them with distrust and finally filled them with terror.

In their attempt to force the Government into the attitude of a borrower to escape bankruptcy, the banks have endangered their own credit, and in many instances totally lost the confidence of those who have trusted them most. Without a single trace of unkindness towards them in my heart, still I must say, the consequences be on their own heads. Those who sow to the wind need not complain if they reap at least a portion of the whirlwind, in the destruction of the weaker ones of their own species.

Who has not seen the boast in the great organs of banking capital, that the managers of national banks have such a complete understanding among themselves, such harmony of interests, and such a perfect system of concerted action, that the whole of their overwhelming and destructive power can be brought to bear on the sensitive business nerves of every State in the Union on a week's notice, and that they can bring the Congress of the United States itself a suppliant at their feet. For months past all legitimate business pursuits have staggered as if from a sudden and unexpected blow, and are brought at this time to a confused and bewildered sort of standstill, while wondering how it has all happened and what will happen next.

While in the midst of a fair and reasonable degree of prosperity, the volume of our circulating medium, even while the people were looking at it, suddenly shriveled away, and practically vanished from their sight. As if by some infernal enchantment, money disappeared, as it were, in a single night, and left the people in mourning and deep trouble when the morning came. Have the men of active business, and the toiling millions who suffer most, been tempted in their distress to say that there is no longer any money in this country?

On the contrary, the records show that $2,120,000,000 and more of currency, coined and issued by the Government in various forms, are now in existence. Of this vast amount, it is true, over $500,000,000 are held by virtue of different provisions of law in the Treasury; but, even allowing for this retention, it is made by the books of the Government to appear that something more than $1,500,000,000 were in circulation within the past year and should be in circulation to-day. It is claimed that this aggregate circulation, when estimated per capita, amounts to nearly $24 for each man, woman, and child in the United States.

Never were wilder or more unreliable fictions rehearsed in romance than these estimates of our circulation, when they come to be compared with the hard, realistic experience of the plain masses of the people. Not the exploits of Sinbad, the sailor, nor of Lemuel Gulliver, the traveler, nor the exquisite skill and fancy of the story-teller of the Arabian Nights, can surpass the results sometimes accomplished by what are called, in the irony of history, cold facts. According to the official estimates of money now in circulation, a family of seven—father, mother, and five children—stands entitled to $168 as their per capita proportion, not for one day only, but for every day the year round.

When we reflect how many millions of people there are in this country who never at any one time, nor even during the whole year put together, see or touch that much money, we may well pause a few moments to consider the obstructions which prevent money actually in existence, with authority to circulate, from being found in actual circulation. The trouble is that there is an intermediary, a middleman, between this Government and its own people in the matter of the Government's duty to furnish them with a sound and stable currency. The Government is not in direct and proper contact with its citizens on this subject.

The national banks are between the Government and the people, and in their vaults to-day lie hidden millions and hundreds of millions—not less than two-thirds of the whole amount designated for circulation on the books of the Treasury—held there by the cowardly, unpatriotic fear which has always haunted great earthly possessions; which would rather see the business of the country overwhelmed in ruin than to risk the loss of a hundred dollars loaned on gilt-edged paper.

Can anyone be blind to the fact that the banks have not only and without cause except their own interests, turned their keys on all business prosperity, but that they have also attempted to seize the Government itself by the throat, and to play bully and master towards those highest in authority? Well might the accomplished Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER], in his very able and instructive speech on this floor in June, 1892, exclaim:

> These complaints of the people are not imaginary. They are well founded and based on a deep-seated cause. Our financial system and policy is defective, unjust, ruinous to large classes of the people. It enables a few centers and a few persons to get possession of the currency and hold it from millions of their fellow-citizens upon their own terms. It enables them to hoard the money of the country, and to say how much of it shall go out and upon what terms. You may say that this will be true under any system, but the financial history of this country does not sustain the proposition. It was never true prior to 1863—when the national-banking system went into operation, and the national Government delegated to a few persons the power to issue the currency for all the people—except such as it reserved to itself the exclusive right to issue.

But, sir, at this point, and in this connection, another great evil, arising from the selfish and greedy instincts of the money power, whether engaged in banking or in other avaricious pur-

suits, demands thoughtful attention. On general principles the contraction of the currency throughout the whole country is an object eagerly sought and a consummation devoutly to be wished, by that limited but powerful class of people who own or control four-fifths of the wealth and nearly the entire volume of the circulating medium of the United States. The greater the scarcity of money in the hands of the many, the greater its power in the hands of the few who have gathered it in and hoarded it away.

In the business world the man who has a thousand dollars will have the best of the man who has only a hundred; the man who has a hundred will dictate to the man who has only ten; while the man with $10 in his pocket will absolutely dominate the man who has no money at all. The power of the millionaire to-day over the property, the labor, and the very lives of the people depends not merely on the great sums in his own coffers, but equally as much, and indeed far more, on the fact that the great industrial classes have scarcely any money at all at this time in their hands and are deprived of every reasonable chance to obtain more.

The two extremes of vast consolidated wealth on one hand and absolute poverty on the other, both very dangerous, not only to each other, but to social safety and to liberty regulated by law, are rapidly culminating in this country. Every proposition here or elsewhere to aid the people in their distress by putting more money in circulation, and within the reach of their daily toil, is always fiercely denounced by those who are interested in minimizing the wages of labor and the exchangeable value of property. Every source of financial relief to the plain people is scanned in certain quarters with hostility, and every dollar which tends to make them independent of the banks, and of usurers and taskmasters, is looked upon with aversion.

Even the pension rolls of the Government, those records sacred to the blood and tears of millions shed for the existence of the American Union, have not escaped determined and vindictive assault. The fact that the amount of money in circulation is largely increased every three months of the year by the payment of pensions, that it is done without the agency of the banks and beyond their control for fluctuation or speculation, has excited the open and bitter opposition of the great money centers from the very beginning of our present pension system.

The charges now made of fraudulent pensions are simply a continuation of what we have heard from the start, and they have the same inspiration as in former years. That frauds are sometimes committed in the Pension Office is undoubtedly true, and they should be investigated and exposed; but the same can be truthfully said of every other office or institution known among men. Would you denounce an entire church and impute rascality to all its members because here and there a hypocrite and knave pollutes the altar and defiles the sacrament of the Lord's Supper by his presence and participation?

Fraud is incident to human affairs, and from which there can be no complete escape; but better far that even a fraudulent pension should be granted than an honest, well-earned, well-merited pension should be denied. It is the question of money, however, and not the question of fraud, which provokes the greatest wrath in certain quarters on the subject of pensions. Who that lived at that time will ever forget the storm of invective which broke on some of our heads because of the passage of the act of January 25, 1879, granting arrears of pensions to disabled soldiers? Speaking on that subject three years later, I said:

> The columns of the leading newspapers of the country have teemed with the most envenomed denunciations of this act and reeked with coarse and ignorant abuse of all who sustained it. It would, indeed, be impossible to exaggerate the tone of malignant animosity which has prevailed, and which more than ever now prevails, on this subject in the most prominent journals, from the north end of New England to the Pacific coast. I can recall but two enactments which have called forth such rancorous literature. The passage of the fugitive slave law and the repeal of the Missouri compromise are the only measures within my recollection which provoked such an explosion of intense wrath as we have heard against the arrears of pensions act. If it had been a measure to disseminate pestilence, breed famine, or provoke war, it could hardly have been stigmatized with greater bitterness. If, instead of being, as it is, a law to fulfill a plain, honest obligation toward those who, in sober fact, bled and died for their Government, it had been a measure to reward highwaymen and enrich pirates, it could not have been assailed in terms of baser meaning than have been used against it and against all who support it.

Sir, it is true that the amount of money carried to the soldiers of the country, by the act paying them arrears, was large and imposing; but I held then, and I hold now, that every dollar paid for pensions does good and not harm; that it is not merely a blessing to the pensioner himself, but also to all the active business interests and laboring classes of the entire country. On the 16th of January, 1882, I used the following language on this floor, and I can do no better than reproduce it now, as the candid expression of my mature convictions:

> The money paid to this blind soldier passed on at once from his hands into a hundred different channels of trade. With some of it he paid for a humble home in which to pass his benighted old age, and in which at last to wake, by the touch of death, with eyesight cleansed, to a brighter morning than earth can ever know. With the remainder of his pension arrears he paid his little debts, and added something to the comfort of those about him. And such is substantially the history of all the money expended under this beneficent law, so basely and so insanely vilified. It goes at once into circulation; it pays debts; it passes from hand to hand; it is not hoarded as coupon-cutters hoard their interest; it makes money plentier among the people where it ought to be plentiest.
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> Sir, it is dead money which does no good to the people, money which is packed away in bags, crammed into iron vaults, there to corrode and eat into the labor of the people with an immense, never-ceasing, cancerous interest account. Public expenditures which go in that direction are indeed a curse; but not so with money which is alive and active in the daily transactions of life.
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> But it is in connection with this very idea, and in fact almost solely on account of it, that the principal assaults have been made on the law for the payment of the pension arrears. The leaders of this crusade are inspired with a frenzy of rage at the sight of poor people obtaining any considerable sum of money from the Government, no matter how precious the consideration upon which the payment is based. Money, in the estimation of this class, should not be diffusive or general in its movements among the people; it should be contracted within a narrow circle and exclusive in the bestowal of its benefits on themselves.
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> But a little while ago they were declaring through the same columns which now denounce our system of pensions that the hard times then upon the country were due to the fact that the laboring classes lived too well; that they had too many luxuries, and that they must learn to regulate their wants according to the cheap wages paid for labor in Europe. And now the great moneyed corporations, and all such as live on the interest of money, are exasperated at the spectacle of money flowing freely among the common people. The scarcity of money is their harvest, and a full circulation is their bane and grief. They feel, therefore, that every dollar expended for pensions is hostile to their interests. The sight of a penniless soldier obtaining a few hundreds of dollars, or thousands, perhaps, fills their sordid souls with fury. On the other hand, the plain people hail such money coming into their midst as a general blessing.

Sir, the payment of pensions in this country has become so important a feature in our financial situation that no apology is needed for the reference I have made to the subject on this occasion. It is clear to my mind that pension money amounting to over $160,000,000 per annum perhaps, and going everywhere, is one of the greatest sources of relief now left to the people in the way of currency, independent of the contracting, retiring power of the banks. There were paid to pensioners in Indiana last year the sum of $11,880,117—an increase to the circulating medium of that State without the aid of which the condition of her trade and business may be imagined, but not adequately described.

The amount of money in circulation in many of the other States has been increased even to a much greater extent than in Indiana by the redistribution, as it were, of the people's own money back into their hands, in the payment of pensions: and there is not a State nor a neighborhood in the American Union which has not felt the relief of this system. For my own part, and speaking for myself, I shall take no step backward on the subject of pensions.

Turning at this point, however, to a more explicit consideration of the motives which govern the national banks in their present policy, I reach the next matter I wish to present and to consider. The banks are entering on their final fight for a prolonged future existence; they are engaged at their Quatre Bras, preliminary to their Waterloo. They intensely realize that the present supply of Government bonds for banking purposes must be very largely increased within the next five years, or they will be forced to commence winding up and retreating from the theater of action on which they have so long appeared.

The American people are steadily engaged from day to day, and from year to year, in paying their national debt as it falls due, and in 1907, only fourteen years hence, the last bond on which the banks have issued their currency will have been redeemed and canceled. But long before these fourteen years expire the amount will be so much reduced by constant payments that the question of the perpetuation of the national banking system will be pressed peremptorily upon us. Indeed, we are face to face with it now, and in view of the recent action of the banks, we can not too soon consider, calmly and frankly, what system the Government will adopt, in the near future, in furnishing a circulating medium to the people.

Is there a friend of the national banks bold enough to announce his belief that the tax paying American people will consent to the continuance, indefinitely, through generations, perhaps through centuries, of an immense interest-bearing bonded debt merely for the sake of upholding such a system as we now have? That is the exact question looming up just before us. Without such a continuing, interest-gathering national debt, with no limit as to duration or time for payment, except as to interest coupons, the national banking system of the United States will pass away forever, and the resources of statesmanship will be called upon to establish another and a different fiscal agency in its place.

I take my stand now against the existence, the increase, or the perpetuation of a national debt for purposes of national banking, and I call upon the millions who toil for their bread, and who constitute the great army of labor, to take notice of this

issue, from this time on. It is an issue that will not down at any man's bidding. On one side is arrayed the most powerful and best organized syndicate of money on the globe, and on the other side the sunburnt masses of productive industry. The end of the contest just now beginning I may not live to see, but I have not a doubt of the result.

The present national banking system, with its acknowledged virtues, which I would take advantage of in the present emergency, as I remarked awhile ago, but with great and grievous faults, will go down, and in its place and stead will come a better, wiser, and safer financial dispensation. The people, I believe, are ready for the change which I think I foresee. May I not be pardoned if I briefly question the future as to what that change is likely to be? Those who desire and expect old things to pass away should have something in lieu to propose, and I am willing to abide the rule.

The political campaign of last year was, in fact, as it was claimed, one of education, but the awakening and teaching of the public mind was not confined alone to any one question. Various branches of learning were taught in that great popular school of polemics. A lesson was given in history, wherein more instruction was imparted on the subject of a past and extinguished system of State banking than the present generation ever before received.

When the Democratic party declared in its national platform for the repeal of the Government tax on the issues of State banks, and on all the currency put in circulation by them, a hue and cry was raised by Republican leaders, as if a public enemy, under arms, was about to invade the country. State banks belong to a former generation, and the subject was a new one for debate, and very fertile in material for the rank imagination of the campaign orator.

The ghost of every dishonest and defunct scheme of bank swindling that ever had its brief day in the United States, and of every short-lived, rotten, wild-cat concern, was invoked from the charnel house of the dead past, with which to alarm the financial souls of men. Smutty printing machines were called into requisition, and did a rushing business in flooding the country with facsimilies of poor, cheap-looking trash which once circulated for a brief space as the notes of a few long since forgotten banks.

In the midst of all this spectacular display, however, there were other and far more important matters of information conveyed to the public mind. Everybody was put upon inquiry, and it was speedily ascertained that no man, woman, or child had ever lost a dollar by the depreciation of the notes of a regularly chartered State bank, or its failure to redeem its currency in gold or silver when called to do so. This, I have been assured on the very highest authority, is true of even the banks of the Southern States when closing their business amidst the opening scenes of the war.

I know it to be true of the State Bank of Indiana—not of those called free banks which were purely individual concerns, but the chartered bank of the State, subject to the control of State authority. This institution, in closing its long and honorable career, after redeeming in specie, or specie equivalents, all its currency that was presented, placed and left on deposit at Indianapolis the sum of $60,000 for the further redemption of such portions of its currency as might yet be in existence and outstanding.

Under proper restrictions and safeguards, therefore, against abuses arising from a general law under which individual banks of issue were permitted, I do not think the people of Indiana would be at all alarmed by the reappearance of a State bank currency, such a currency as the honored name of Hugh McCulloch sanctioned in that State forty and fifty years ago. It was this kind of a circulating medium, resting on a specie basis, and always redeemable, that was driven out of existence by a spurious, insincere method of taxation for the benefit of the national banks. It is impossible for me to conceive the constitutionality of the 10 per cent tax on State bank circulation, even though a majority of the Supreme Court reached such a conclusion.

I can not escape the conviction that the law of the Constitution in the case of Veazy Bank *vs.* Fenno is to be found in the great dissenting opinion delivered by Justices Nelson and Davis. The power of the States to create banks for the issue of a circulating medium, not as legal tender, but resting on a legal-tender basis of gold and silver, has been conceded from the very foundation of this Government. On this point I can not refrain from citing a short passage from the unanswerable opinion to which I have just referred:

> At the time of the adoption of the Constitution there were four State banks in existence and in operation—one in each of the States of Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, and Maryland. The one in Philadelphia had been originally chartered by the Confederation, but subsequently took a charter under the State of Pennsylvania. The framers of the Constitution were therefore familiar with these State banks and the circulation of their paper as money, and were also familiar with the practices of the States that was so common, to issue bills of credit, which were bills issued by the State exclusively on its own credit and intended to circulate as currency, redeemable at a future day. They guarded the people against the evils of this practice of the State government by the provision in the tenth section of the first article:
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> "That no State shall * * * emit bills of credit," and in the same section guard against any abuse of paper money of the State banks in the following words: "Nor make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts." As bills of credit were thus entirely abolished, the paper money of the State banks was the only currency or circulating medium to which this prohibition could have had any application, and was the only currency, except gold and silver, left in the States. The prohibition took from this paper all coercive circulation and left it to stand alone upon the credit of the banks.
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> It was no longer an irredeemable currency, as the banks were under obligation, including, frequently, that of its stockholders, to redeem their paper in circulation in gold or silver at the counter. The State banks were left in this condition by "the Constitution, untouched by any other provision. As a consequence they were gradually established in most or all of the States, and had not been encroached upon or legislated against, or in any other way interfered with, by acts of Congress, for more than three-quarters of a century—from 1787 to 1864."

The reserved right of the States to provide their people with a circulating medium through the agency of State banks being thus explicitly shown, and always admitted as an incident of domestic State sovereignty, the idea that the Federal Government can constitutionally, by a pretended tax law, paralyze such a power of the States, and render it void and of no effect, is a total contradiction of every sound principle on which the American Union was formed and now rests. When I speak of the act as "pretended tax law," I do so advisedly.

A genuine tax law, to be in harmony with the Constitution, can be enacted for the purpose of revenue only, while the law now in question was never intended for the collection of a single dollar of revenue, and was never administered or executed a single day or hour for such a purpose. The sole purpose of the Federal Government by such legislation was to drive out of existence all State currencies, and to give the entire and lucrative field of finance to the bond-buying, bond-speculating, and bond-holding managers and stockholders of the national banks.

No one, I think, will have the hardihood now to deny this fact. The blow aimed at the currency of the States was administered with deadly aim and force. It was intended to be fatal, and no half-way work marked this high-handed job of Federal usurpation. In addition to the 10 per cent tax on the notes of a State bank, and on the notes of any person or other State bank in its possession and used for circulation, after a certain date there was also authorized and created a tax of 5 per cent per annum on all dividends to State bank stockholders, besides a monthly tax of one twenty-fourth of 1 per cent on all deposits and on the capital of the bank, making an aggregate annual Federal imposition on all State banks of over 16 per cent.

The extinction of life in the banks of the States, and in everything to them appertaining, was as complete and almost as sudden as that which follows the charge of a thousand volts of electricity through the human frame. Once more I recur to the words of wisdom contained in the opinion of the great justices from whom I have already quoted:

> This taxation of the powers and faculties of the State governments which are essential to their sovereignty and to the efficient and independent management and administration of their internal affairs is, for the first time, advanced as an attribute to Federal authority. It finds no support or countenance in the early history of the Government, or in the opinions of the illustrious statesmen who founded it. These statesmen scrupulously abstained from any encroachment upon the reserved rights of the States, and within these limits sustained and supported them as sovereign States.

And now, Mr. President, let us for a few moments suppose that "this taxation of the powers and faculties of the State governments which are essential to their sovereignty and to the efficient and independent management and administration of their internal affairs," has been repealed, and the States once more left free to exercise their clear, unquestioned right to establish banks and provide for the circulation of a constitutional currency. In the event of such action on the part of Congress, should it take place, wherein would lay the danger to the public welfare, and from what quarter would it come?

I do not expect the Government ever to abandon a national currency, though it will abandon the system of national banks; but I do expect at no very distant day that United States notes, such in principle and in fact as are now in existence and in circulation, and have been for thirty years past, their payment guaranteed by the honor of the Government, will supersede all other national money except gold and silver, and that without jar or friction they will circulate in the hands of the people alongside of the well-guarded, safely secured currencies issued by the States, and guaranteed according to the Constitution by both the precious metals.

To my mind, there are no reasons why these two monetary systems may not work in harmony together for the well-being of the American people. There is nothing in the history of the American States to lead me to believe them less capable of cre-

ating and maintaining a sound currency, or less honorable or reliable in the exercise of their legitimate powers under the Constitution, than the Federal Government.

We are far advanced beyond the days when it was possible for a bank of issue to be authorized in any State of the Union without ample and indestructible security and a strict compliance with rigid laws. Business men and business committees today, 2,000 miles apart, are nearer together and better informed about each other, for business purposes, touching the credit of banks, the character of their currency, the value of municipal bonds, and the solvency of individuals than when they were separated by only an hour's walk fifty years ago. The lightning of the telegraph and the still greater mystery of the articulating wires of the telephone have made the world an open book, and we read it through every morning.

There are no hidden things any more, and the faintest attempt of any State in the American Union to establish a banking system on an insecure basis would be known and treated with scorn in every quarter of the business world before a single note of her currency could get ten miles from its place of issue. But the great value of State-bank money is, and ought to be, mainly local. It will increase the home circulation and the home accommodation of every agricultural community on American soil. It will be in use with people who know each other in every respect, and it will stimulate industry in the raising of crops, make trade more active, and the development of plantations and farm lands more rapid and profitable.

And while all these great results, with consequences beyond limit or calculation, are being accomplished by the States in the exercise of one of their greatest and most undoubted prerogatives, the wisest policy as well as the plain duty of the Federal Government will be to issue its own unassailable notes and put them in circulation by calling in and retiring much of its present outstanding currency, and also by the payment of its debts and in meeting its enormous current expenses; to issue them in amounts equal to the requirements of trade as nearly ascertained as possible, bearing within them the breath of national life, honored in every village and hamlet in the American Union, uniform in value from Maine to Alaska, and their faces as well known as the flag wherever flies that emblem of the power and glory of a united and fraternal people.

Those who live to witness the adoption of the policy here outlined will, in my judgment, look upon the safest, strongest, and most beneficial system of finance ever before known in American history. It has in it the elements with which to accomplish the following paramount and indispensable features of all sound financial legislation:

1. A sufficient volume of currency at all times, State and national, on practically a specie basis, guaranteed also by public honor, with which to transact the growing and expanding business developments of the country.

2. The absolute denial and destruction of all power in the hands of individuals, corporations or syndicates to cause fluctuations in the amount of the different currencies in circulation, thus rendering panics and periods of business distress impossible for the future.

3. Every dollar in circulation, whether gold or silver, State bank paper or United States notes, on a strict parity and interchangeable with every other dollar, thus securing to the people the benefits and advantages of both a State currency and a national currency, circulating in harmony and uniformity and performing all the functions of money at home and abroad.

4. The settlement of the vexed question of silver money at once and forever, by authorizing it to form its proportion of the specie basis required by the Constitution of the United States for every chartered State bank in the Union; by recognizing it, as it is recognized by the terms of the Federal Constitution when defining the power of the States to make legal-tender money, thus making the use of silver, coined into money, as imperative as it will be useful to the great body of the people.

5. The total and complete overthrow of the dangerous centralization of the money power now existing at a few money centers and in the hands of a few individuals, by giving to the people of the States the right of home rule on the subject of money, and thereby securing to them a reliable, nonfluctuating home circulation.

Sir, to the foregoing five propositions I will at this time add but one more. A tax upon incomes, carefully adjusted and graded, has always been, to my mind, a most equitable and upright measure in providing Government revenue. While laying taxes on the necessities and wants of laboring men, women, and children, and from which there is no escape for them, justice—eternal, old-fashioned justice—demands that those who have incomes beyond their necessities, and as a surplus over their expenditures, should be required to contribute from their abundance, and at fair rates, to the support of the Government under whose care and protection they have prospered and grown rich.

And now, in the meantime, and in view of the present crisis, full of peril as it is, let the whole people of the United States, of every Commonwealth and of every neighborhood, cast out their fears and abide in an unshaken faith that present disasters will pass away, and be followed, as soon as much-needed reforms can be accomplished, by the unbroken sunlight of prosperity, and that He who determines the destiny of nations will cause the Republic of their fathers to win, and not to lose, in the transcendent mission to which it was dedicated more than a hundred years ago.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A resolution reported by Mr. HOAR, from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

Mr. DUBOIS. I ask that the regular order may be laid aside temporarily. I desire to address the Senate on the measure which has been under consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Idaho requests that the pending resolution be laid aside for the present that he may be permitted to address the Senate on Senate bill 570.

Mr. COCKRELL and others. No objection.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair hears no objection, and the Senator from Idaho will proceed.

Mr. DUBOIS. Mr. President, more than three years ago, when I was a Delegate in Congress from the Territory of Idaho, I commenced a speech in favor of silver in these words:

> The silver question, as we understand it in the West, is a very serious one. With us the contention for its restoration is not one of policy or expediency, but of justice and absolute necessity. We look upon the conspiracy which culminated in the demonetization of silver as the most gigantic robbery of modern times. We think the injury that it has already inflicted upon the nation is more terrible, so far as mere property is concerned, than would have been an exhaustive war with some first-class foreign power. I do not stand here to-day to speak in the interest of silver mines. They can bear the loss that the unrighteous robbery inflicted upon them, but the people at large, and more especially the producers of the East, can not much longer stand up under the shrinkage which has already driven all profit from the farm and shop.

I will allow those remarks to stand as the preface to the observations I have to make to the Senate on the very serious question and condition which we are now called upon to meet. Time has strengthened, not weakened, my opinion.

The current of debate has turned swiftly and sharply at this session of Congress. Those who have opposed free coinage in the past have always insisted that they were bimetallists, notwithstanding the fact that they opposed vehemently every proposition brought forward by the friends of silver which was designed to cause true bimetallism, and ridiculed as the veriest nonsense every effort of the silver men to stop falling prices. They arose in their places, each and every one of them, and proclaimed in loud and plain terms that they were bimetallists and favored the use of both gold and silver as money. During all the discussion (up to this session) I do not recall a single instance when any Senator or Member has avowed himself in favor of gold monometallism.

But lo and behold, all of a sudden a change has occurred upon the face of the bimetallic moon. Silver disappears, and from the great prophet, President Cleveland, down through the ranks to the latest convert in Congress, all are satisfied that it is hopeless to keep up the fight any longer; that our only safety lies in a gold standard. It is a most sudden, strange, and unanimous transformation. They evidently think the time is auspicious to throw off the mask. They must believe that they can shackle the people before they can strike.

I should like it if these honorable Senators who are now so earnest and anxious to fasten a gold standard upon the people of the United States would tell the country from whom they receive their instructions. As I understand the spirit of our Republic the people rule, and the representatives of the people carry out their wishes as expressed in conventions and at the polls. What convention or what vote of the people has instructed Congress to abandon bimetallism and adopt the gold standard? There is not a Senator on this floor who was not elected on a platform which pledged him to bimetallism. Certainly their instructions do not come from the people; for the Republican party and the Democratic party, in their national conventions last summer, declared in favor of bimetallism.

The Populist party declared in favor of gold, silver, and paper, and not for gold alone. No national party, in any convention, at any time in this country has declared in favor of the gold standard, and in my judgment they never will. I most earnestly insist that no representative of the people has a moral right by

his vote to bind the country to gold monometallism on his own hasty judgment. It is a betrayal of the people which will be bitterly resented by them. You were not elected or sent here for that purpose. On the contrary, each and every Senator is bound by every sense of honor to secure and continue forever the use of both gold and silver as money unless otherwise directed by the people. It will not do to resort to the transparent subterfuge that you are not contending for a gold standard, nor will it avail to try to fool the people by saying you will discontinue the purchase and coinage of silver and continue to coin gold, and if this does not bring relief you will return to the coinage of both metals.

I am quite familiar with the line of argument of those who say that they are still in favor of bimetallism. The distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], for whose ability I have the most profound respect and for whose integrity I entertain the highest opinion, told us that there are about $600,000,000 of gold and about $600,000,000 of silver in the country, and if you pass the proposed law you would still be on a bimetallic basis, because the Government would continue to keep the metals on a parity.

The venerable Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL] reiterated this statement, and I have no doubt that every one of our opponents will repeat it, for it is their last straw. But if you now stop the coinage of silver, as silver is lost through abrasion or other causes you come nearer and nearer to a gold standard, and it is simply a question of a short time when you reach it. You are not bimetallists when you repeal the act of 1890. Other countries besides our own float different moneys; they are on the gold standard, and so you will be. You will still outlaw silver. There can be no true bimetallism until you open your mints to the coinage of both gold and silver, until you treat both metals equally under the law. I say I am familiar with their only argument, and it is not worthy of serious consideration and is untenable.

President Cleveland's message, which you heard read in this Chamber on the 8th of this month, closed in these words:

> I earnestly recommend the prompt repeal of the provisions of the act passed July 14, 1890, authorizing the purchase of silver bullion, and that other legislative action may put beyond all doubt or mistake the intention and the ability of the Government to fulfill its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognized by all civilized countries.

As a matter of fact no money is universally recognized by all civilized countries. Money, whether it be gold, silver, paper, or what not, is recognized only in the country which makes and supports it. When gold or silver money gets beyond the borders of its own country it is a commodity and is valuable only as such. The President might have been a little more exact in his language in a state paper, but what he meant by "money universally recognized by all civilized countries" was gold. The message could not have been plainer, and those Senators who indorse it indorse a gold standard without equivocation.

It has been admitted time and time over by Senators who helped to pass the act of 1873, which demonetized silver, that they were ignorant of the fact that it did demonetize silver. There was no sentiment in the country at that time for the demonetization of silver, and had the question been discussed and submitted to the people the act of 1873 could not have become a law. All admit this; all agree that the people were cheated and wronged, yet for twenty years they have vainly struggled to undo this wrong.

If in the broad light of day you follow the President's message, repeal the Sherman act, strike down the last prop of silver, and announce that you intend to put this country on a gold basis, double the debts of the producers, double the value of money, and reduce by one-half the products of labor, how long will it take the people to right the wrong and how will they do it? In contemplating financial legislation in this country since 1873 I do not know if they could ever emerge from their thralldom by peaceable and legal methods. It is quite evident that they would get no relief from this Administration unless they secured a two-thirds majority in both branches of Congress.

Prices have been falling in the United States since 1873. Wheat, cotton, corn, oats, all the products of labor and the daily rewards of labor itself have gone down until there is no longer universal prosperity. There has been individual prosperity among those who have fixed incomes and large accumulations of money. It has never been successfully controverted, nor can it be, that silver measures the value of all commodities. While on account of unjust and vicious legislation silver has fluctuated in value as compared with gold, it has yet served as a perfect measure of value of the products of labor.

If you strike it down still further, as contemplated by the President's message, refuse to purchase or to coin it, and make it bring in the market what it is worth to make spoons of, you will take a fearful risk and responsibility. It is a new proposition to put the United States on a single money basis, and before it is done the people should be consulted. They were called upon to decide in regard to the tariff. Their decision does not meet my judgment as to what is for their best interests, but after repeated discussions, conventions, and elections, they decided practically in favor of free trade, and the Democratic party has their indorsement to remodel the tariff so that it shall be a tariff for revenue only.

I believe in the protective doctrine of the Republican party, and think the country will desire a return to it after trying a tariff for revenue only; but no one who believes with me has just cause for complaint because we were beaten, for the issue was fairly made and presented to the people, who in this Republic are and should be the judges. It is not so with this financial question, however. If it should be submitted to a vote of the people whether they would adopt bimetallism or monometallism, nine-tenths of them would decide in favor of bimetallism. I am of the opinion that the monometallists would not carry a single State in the Union.

It is urged that there is a scarcity of money and lack of confidence in the country, which is destroying business of all kinds. While we of the West point to our idle mines and closed stores, the New Englander says that the hum of their factories has ceased; that the thousands of men and women dependent upon them are out of employment; the men of the South aver there is no living price for their cotton; that they can not even get the money to move it in order to keep actual distress away. So the complaint comes from all quarters. None escape; not even the bankers in the cities. The President of the United States gravely tells us to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, and go home in peace. Having said this to us, he informs the country that his duty is done, and it now remains for the members of Congress to do theirs—whereupon he takes a rest and recreation.

Senators stand up in this Chamber and declare that this era of panic and disaster must be stopped by the immediate repeal of the Sherman act. No one says what is to be done after it is repealed, and no one tells us how its repeal will make more money or restore confidence. Through the Sherman act over $3,000,000 of currency is added to our stock of money each month. The average individual can not see how you will relieve the scarcity of money by stopping the issuance of $3,000,000 each month.

The junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] did inform us, I think, that the repeal of the Sherman act would restore confidence in London, and that the English money-lenders would then buy up some of our most valuable stocks and bonds, and thus money would flow in. The people in this country who need money most and who have lost confidence are not those who have valuable stocks and bonds to sell.

The gold monometallists, ever since trouble began last spring, have charged all of our ills to the Sherman law, and now they urge that peace will be restored by its repeal. They do not specify how. Perhaps they are loth to prophesy, inasmuch as their prophecies in the early spring are shown to be idle in middle summer. With one accord they proclaimed that gold was leaving us on account of this poor and friendless and fatherless piece of legislation. Gold is now returning, despite the fact that the act is still with us. I do not claim that gold is returning because we still have this law, but I might so assert with as much reason as they insisted that it was leaving us because we had it.

If the monometallists are determined to put us on a gold basis it would be manlier to say so plainly and give their reasons than to thinly disguise their intentions by such weak inventions. They themselves know that the Sherman act is not responsible for the present crisis. If they much longer continue this masquerade they will have to do as the priests of old did. In early days it was customary for the priests to offer up lambs and oxen to appease the wrath of offended deities. The sacrifices were made in the presence of the people, with great pomp, ceremony, and high-flown language.

All went well and solemn for some time, but long before the folly and hypocrisy of the ceremony dawned upon the people the priests had laughed in their sleeves and at the masses. Finally it became such a joke that, to avoid detection, they agreed among themselves that when invoking the Deity to spare them His wrath, they would turn their backs upon one another to avoid laughing at the absurdity of the performance.

The junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], in his interesting speech the other day, said that there were 300,000 people out of employment in Massachusetts and 3,000,000 in the Northern States, and intimated so that the masses of the people at home would understand him, that this was due to the Sherman act. I think, perhaps, he got his figures a little high; but no matter. He did not say plainly to the Senate that these millions of people were out of employment and in distress on account of the Sherman act, for he was facing us and would have been compelled to laugh. I agree fully with the distinguished

Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], that the uncertainty as to what the dominant party will do with the tariff is the prime if not the sole cause which blighted the industries of Massachusetts and the Northern States.

The gold monometallists are not very explicit in stating their reasons why they wish to take away the money function of silver. If they were, it would be easier to argue with them. As a rule they content themselves with abusing silver and silver advocates.

I will endeavor briefly to answer some of the objections which they urge against silver as I recall them.

We hear much of the dishonest silver dollar which is worth but 51 or 65 or whatever cents the bullion it contains will sell for. I am pleased to bear witness to the intelligence of the Senate that such nonsense is seldom uttered in this Chamber. A silver dollar will buy as much as a gold dollar and is as highly prized. If, through unjust, unwarranted, persistent, and indefensible legislation, a silver dollar has depreciated in value as compared with a gold dollar, the gold dollar, through this same legislation, is more dishonest than the silver. Just so much as the silver dollar has depreciated, the gold one has appreciated. The silver dollar, as always, most nearly measures the value of commodities. It is the dollar of the farm, the factory, and plantation, and goes hand in hand with the results of labor. Just so much as it is depreciated and is dishonest, just so much is the toiler injured and just so much the gold dollar is appreciated and dishonest and the creditor benefited.

The gold advocates express fear that we can not maintain bimetallism on account of the overproduction of silver. I call their attention to the very exhaustive and carefully prepared statement of the distinguished Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], who proved conclusively that when the production of silver exceeded that of gold more than thirty times, silver was worth more than 129.29. Unless silver is legislated against, and when it has been treated equally with gold as a money metal, no matter what the disparity in production between the two, their relative value on the agreed ratio has varied but a trifle.

In addition to the facts presented by the distinguished Senator [Mr. VEST], it must not be overlooked that for centuries gold and silver have been the money metals of the world. Both metals have, in consequence, been struggled for, hoarded, and preserved by the nations of the earth, until now there is an enormous accumulation of each. I do not know that anyone could give the amount of each now in the world. It is known that there is about as much of one as of the other, and that there is somewhere near $4,000,000,000 of each.

The world's output of gold in 1892 was $130,816,627, and of silver $196,605,184. About two-thirds of the gold production is used in the arts, so that but $43,605,542 of the output of 1892 was used for coinage. About one-tenth of the silver production is used in the arts; so, assuming that all of it was brought to the mints which were open for its coinage, there was of the production of 1892 but $176,944,666 coined into money.

In considering the effect of the production of the precious metals on their value you can not overlook the amount of these metals now doing service as money. The product as it is accumulated year by year is added to the general stock, which it can affect only in the slightest degree. The further fact in this connection, that the business of the world is constantly increasing in every avenue of trade and carries with it a demand for more money which is stable and certain, can not be ignored.

Almost all of the known world has been explored and prospected by seekers for the precious metals. It is altogether unlikely that any new worlds remain undiscovered, so that it is a fair assumption that while through improved machinery the gold and silver output may increase some for a few years, it is almost certain that the increase will not be such as to unduly affect prices, when such increase is considered in connection with the uses of gold and silver in the arts and the swelling volume of business resulting from the constantly increasing population.

It has sometimes been urged by the opponents of the free coinage of silver that its cost of production has been so cheapened that its ratio of 16 to 1 to gold should be enlarged, and that it ought not to be worth 1.2929. This charge is usually made by those far removed from the mining countries and who have no practical knowledge on the subject. As a rule they take some of the highest grade and greatest producing mines which are in full operation and base their calculations upon them. The consensus of opinion of those who have studied and followed the business of mining is that it has required and now requires more than a dollar to dig out a dollar's worth of silver.

Be this as it may, for I will admit that it is somewhat conjectural, if their argument is good as applied to silver why is it not equally so as applied to gold? Silver has always been found in conjunction with gold, lead or copper, granite, porphyry, and other refractory substances, so that the process of extracting the silver is and always has been expensive. Nine-tenths of all the gold has been found in the sand and in streams, in the shape of nuggets, and has cost in labor and expense but a trifle as compared with silver.

While it is true that most of the placer mines have been exhausted the fact yet remains that a very respectable percentage of the gold output still comes from placer diggings. That which is found in quartz costs no more in its separation than does silver. I do not think the cost of production is a pertinent argument, but, inasmuch as I have heard it used in this Chamber against silver, I submit, in fairness, that it should also be applied to gold.

The contention of bimetallists that there is not enough gold in the world to serve as a safe basis for money can not be avoided or put aside. The gold-standard men seem to dodge this dilemma. The distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] in his very able and ingenious argument admitted that he was not clear on this point. He tried to save himself in his advocacy of a line of policy which, it seems to me, must put this country on a gold basis, by saying that he would not consent to the passage of any law which would forever close our mints to the free coinage of silver. The doubt in his mind as to the adequacy of gold to serve as a basis was evidently so great that he is not willing to go farther than an experiment.

The output of gold in the United States in 1892 was $33,000,000. The gold product varies but little from year to year, so that we can safely calculate on $33,000,000 for sometime to come as the annual yield. When you refuse to purchase and coin silver, you cut off 40 per cent of this annual yield, for 40 per cent of the gold comes in conjunction with silver. It is a rare thing when a sufficient amount of gold is found in this combination to make it profitable to mine for the gold alone. This will leave your annual gold yield $19,800,000. Two-thirds of this is used in the arts, which leaves but $6,663,333 each year for coinage.

When you stop the coinage of silver gold will be more valuable, and, in consequence, more and not less of it will be used in the arts, leaving even less for coinage. It will not be surprising if all of the $19,800,000 is so used. The more precious gold becomes the more anxious the rich people will be to have it for ornaments, tableware, etc. They will pay more for it in bullion than the owner of it can receive by having it coined, and, in consequence, he will not take it to the mint. But even should no greater amount be used in the arts than at present, does anyone contend that the addition of $6,663,333 a year is a sufficient increase of the money basis to satisfy the demands of our constantly growing business and our ever-increasing population?

I have already adverted to the fact that the world's output of gold in 1892 was $130,816,600, one-third of which, or $43,605,533, was coined, the balance being used in the arts. If $6,663,333 yearly addition to our own money basis is not sufficient for our wants, surely forty-three and one-half millions is not sufficient for the entire civilized world. You will be compelled, almost at once, to institute some other kind of money. What sort will you choose? The silver advocates will never consent to fiat money. They have no patience with those who favor irredeemable paper money. They wish all forms of money based on the precious metals.

There is not enough of gold alone to serve as a safe basis, and all of the honorable Senators who are now striving to put us on a gold standard know it. Is their hostility to silver so great that they prefer to run the risks of fiat money rather than hold to bimetallism, which has been tried and found so successful in this country? By this legislation which you would now enact you strike down silver, which is one-half of our money. When you do that you make gold twice as hard to get as now. It will require twice as much of all products to secure a dollar then as it does now. There can be no cessation in the struggle for money. All the people must have it. The more you curtail it the harder it is to get, and when you contract it to such narrow limits as you propose, such a demand will go up from the people for an enlarging currency as will force recognition.

In my judgment, you should pause now and consider well whether, if at this time you stop the coinage of silver, you will not lay the foundation for such misery and unrest as will result in an agitation among the people the culmination of which will be fiat money.

I am opposed to any change in the ratio. I voice the sentiment of all the representatives of the silver-producing States when I say that "we have inscribed on our standard the old and time-honored ratio of 16 to 1, and will make our fight under that banner".

Our mines are now closed, our business stagnant, and we realize that a ratio of 20 to 1 would make our canons resound once more with the joyful sound of the pick and shovel, would quicken

the arteries of trade and partially restore prosperity, because it would make silver worth about $1 an ounce; but while we may not be versed in the science of finance or the arts and polish of the more civilized and luxurious East, we are a game people who will stand by our friends the wage-earners and the producers of the world, who are making this fight on principle. The proposition to alter the ratio is a compromise of principle.

The legislation of 1873, which demonetized silver, and the persistent attacks which have been made upon it since, have depreciated the value of wheat, cotton, and all the products of labor, and have appreciated the value of gold. A larger ratio means a surrender of a portion of this advantage which has been gained by the bondholders. It means that the depreciation of commodities and the appreciation of securities shall be unalterably fixed upon the people.

Mr. MCPHERSON. Would it interfere with the Senator if I should ask him a question?

Mr. DUBOIS. Not at all.

Mr. MCPHERSON. I do not know but that the information may be contained in a statement which the Senator has already made, and which I did not correctly hear or understand, but do I understand him to say, speaking for the interests which he represents, and, I suppose, the interests of the silver States very largely, that he would not agree to a ratio of 20 to 1?

Mr. DUBOIS. I said that while I live in a silver-producing State, which would be benefited by a ratio of 20 to 1, I and those who live in that section of country would stand by the wage-earners and the producers who are making this fight, not, as even the Senator himself would say, for silver, but for principle.

The gold monometallists are in the habit of prophesying as to the direful results of all silver legislation. Their prophecies have not been fulfilled in the past, and it is likely they will not be in the future. They say that silver can not maintain itself at a ratio of 16 to 1; that it will drive gold out of the country, and put us on a silver basis. How do they know this? It did not do it before 1873, and it is simply a guess on their part that it will now. The bimetallists are willing to stipulate that it will keep its place firmly if you establish the ratio at 16 to 1. They are willing to further stipulate that if it does not, they will then agree to a higher ratio. It is mean and unjust to establish a ratio now, based upon the bullion value of silver as compared with gold.

Gold has been given every opportunity; has had the especial care of legislation, while silver has been battered down and legislated against for twenty years. Now, when silver is weakest, through unjust legislation and at the end of a long struggle, you condemn it for being weak. Remove the restrictions; put it back where it was; give it the sanction of the same laws which you give to gold, and if it does not maintain itself then we will talk to you about increasing the ratio.

Mr. President, I represent, in part, a State which has been a subdivision of the United States for but little over thirty years. Idaho was created a territory in March, 1863, and a State in July, 1890. In this brief time it has given to the world $150,000,000 in gold and some $75,000,000 in silver. It is entitled to some consideration for this contribution. It is peopled with Americans who are your kin. The young, the strong, the brave and ambitious from the New England, the Northern, the Southern, and the Middle-western States make up her citizenship. They have redeemed the deserts, have compelled the reluctant hills to yield up their treasures, and have braved hardships which you know not of, that the world might be enriched. They and their neighbors have laid deep and strong the foundations for mighty commonwealths which will be the pride and bulwark of American institutions in years to come.

When you strike down silver, when you say to the Rocky Mountain region that you will neither purchase nor coin any more of this precious metal, you strike a blow at your kindred which is as cruel as it is unjust. I would say to you that there should be no doubt in your mind as to the wisdom of your action before you commit this deed. You should be very certain that the result will justify the sacrifice. You should remember, also, that all of our supplies except those for food are purchased from you, and that all of our debts are owing to you. Either yourselves or your allies in this legislation own our railroad, State, county, and municipal bonds and other securities. You can not paralyze us without injuring yourselves. We can survive. Men who have conquered the frontier will neither starve nor beg, nor cease to be law-abiding, law-preserving, and patriotic Americans.

I ask leave, Mr. President, to embody as a portion of my remarks some resolutions passed by the State convention held in Idaho a few days ago. I shall not take up the time of the Senate by reading them, but ask that they be made a portion of my remarks. They are worthy of careful perusal.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PLATT in the chair). Without objection the request will be agreed to.

The paper referred to is as follows:

AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

The committee on resolutions presented the following memorial, which was adopted unanimously:

To the People of the United States:

The National Congress is now assembled in extraordinary session, having been summoned to meet for the purpose of providing a remedy for the extraordinary business conditions which have for weeks convulsed the country. The financial question is the absorbing theme of discussion, and a multitude of plans are being put forth for changing the status of silver in our monetary system. In this crisis of our financial history the people of the State of Idaho, through their duly accredited delegates assembled in State convention, promulgate to the world their abiding belief that no final settlement of this great question can be effected until Congress shall restore the law providing for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, at the ratio to gold of 16 to 1.

In support of this belief we submit the following facts for the consideration of our fellow-citizens, asking that they be carefully weighed by all who desire that the principles of right and justice shall be stamped upon the fiscal legislation of the country. We know we are right, and we believe that every sincere man who will clear his mind of prejudice and examine the subject logically will eventually share our belief upon this all-important issue. The question before the country is whether its business shall be established upon a basis of bimetallism or be finally made to conform to a single gold standard.

GOLD ALONE INSUFFICIENT.

It is very generally admitted that gold alone does not constitute a sufficiently broad basis to sustain the vast structure of credit which represents the trade and industry of the world. This point is so well established that no argument is needed to sustain it; it is voiced all over our Eastern States, and even by the great financial and political leaders of the United Kingdom; and yet, strange as it appears, multitudes of the American people, rendered desperate by a situation which they do not understand, are willing to follow the lead of the bondholding class in the attempt to finally establish the single gold standard in this country.

MOTIVES OF THE MONOMETALLISTS.

Why was the policy of monometallism inaugurated, and what have been its results? It was devised for the purpose of enhancing the value of money and securities. The purchasing power of gold has been appreciated very nearly 100 per cent, and the appreciation has doubled the actual value of the world's thousands of millions of dollars of interest-bearing securities. It has been enormously profitable to the holders of those securities; it has been dreadfully disastrous to all whose labor contributes to the fund from which those securities, principal and interest, are paid.

Here in the West we have been led, by reason of the direct and disastrous effect upon our leading industry, to give this subject that careful thought necessary to arrive at correct conclusions. The people of the East have not given it such thought; they have carelessly accepted the explanation that the price of the product of human labor has declined because of overproduction. That is a monstrous assumption. We tell you prices have shrunk because of the appreciation of basic money, as a result of the application of the principle of monometallism. You will agree with us in this proposition when you have given the subject that independent study and investigation to which its importance entitles it.

ALL VALUES SHRINK.

We want to tell you again, that this rule of monometallism, if it be finally fixed upon us, must apply to all classes of property. Values must all shrink. The value of your lands, the value of your buildings, the value of your factories, the value of your railroads, must all be pared down. You can not escape from it; neither the efforts of financiers nor the intervention of clearing-house associations can prevent the fall. When the process of shrinkage shall have been finished, 75 per cent of our stocks will have been entirely wiped off the board of the exchanges. Thousands of millions of dollars of your investment securities will not be worth as much as the paper upon which they are printed; they represent only an equity; the bondholder comes first, and the value of the property will not be sufficient to more than pay the bond when finally measured by the single gold standard.

BENEFITS OF FREE COINAGE.

Free coinage of silver will enlarge the volume of basic money; it will stop the fall of prices and establish them upon a much higher plane; it will add to the rewards of all who toil; it will increase wages; it will make the burdens of life easier in the homes of the masses; it will lighten the sky of industry; it will make music among the spindles; it will put thanksgiving in the hearts and songs on the lips of millions; it will overturn the bondholders' conspiracy and take the yoke of hopeless poverty from the necks of those who have been ground into the dust beneath the wheels of this juggernaut of gold. Moreover, we want to say to those who own factories that are standing idle, that free and unlimited coinage of silver would at once create a new and almost boundless market for them.

In Mexico and the other Latin-American countries, business has suffered to such an extent that the shelves of the merchants are empty. Free coinage in the United States would at once bring a flood of orders for goods; such fluctuations in exchange would be done away with. This trade would amount to tens of millions of dollars annually; it would permanently turn the general balance of trade in our favor and would oblige Europe to send its balance to us in gold, aye, in gold. While drawing the silver of Mexico we would draw the gold of England, and the bimetallic United States would become the money center of the world.

Our trade with all the silver-using countries would become direct, thus building up our merchant marine.

MR. SEYD'S PROPHECY.

The remarkable prophecy of the French economist, Mr. Ernest Seyd, is well worth quoting in this connection. So far back as 1871, two years before silver was demonetized in the United States, Mr. Seyd used these words: "It is a great mistake to suppose that the adoption of a gold standard of values by other states besides England will be beneficial. It will only lead to the destruction of the money equilibrium hitherto existing and cause a fall in the value of silver, from which England's trade and the Indian silver valuations will suffer more than all other interests greviously. There will be a general decline of properties all over the world.

"The strong doctrinairism existing in England as regards the gold valuation is so blind that when the time of general depression sets in, then will be this special feature: The economic authorities of the country will refuse to listen to the causes here foreshadowed. Every possible attempt will be made to prove that the decline of commerce is due to all sorts of causes and irreconcilable matters. The workingman and his strikes will be the first convenient target. Then speculation and overtrade will have their turn. Many other allegations will be found convenient by the financial writers. The great danger of the time will be that among all this confusion and strife England's supremacy in commerce and manufactures may go backward to

an extent which can not be redressed when the great cause, the demonetization of silver, becomes recognized and the natural remedy is applied."

The last clause expresses the only portion of this prophecy unfulfilled, and clearly presents a way by which the United States may again obtain commercial supremacy.

THE ADVOCATES OF SOUND MONEY.

In advocating this course we claim to be the real conservative champions of sound money. The advocates of the gold standard well know that there is not enough of their favorite metal to sustain the system throughout the world, and yet are so prejudiced against the use of silver that they prefer fiat money as a necessary assistant. We have been on a gold standard since 1873. It has brought stagnation and ruin, and yet, so far from turning to silver to help pull through the trouble, they issued fiat money, good among bankers only, in defiance of the United States statute, which imposes a tax of 10 per cent upon such circulation. The bankers of various cities have already issued $50,000,000 in clearing-house certificates in accordance with this scheme. We condemn this evasion of the law as an attempt to avert the necessity of free coinage by doubtful financial expedients. We earnestly recommend that Congress make certificates issued upon deposit of silver coin full legal tender as the coin so deposited.

Recent events emphasized the fact that the restoration of silver to free, unlimited coinage at a ratio of 16 to 1 is the paramount issue before the American people, and the people of Idaho hereby record their conviction that if Congress shall fail to pass a free-coinage law at this session it will be necessary for all bimetallists, laying all other issues aside, to unite in a political organization whose sole aim shall be to rectify the disastrous error committed in the demonetization act of 1873.

AN AMERICAN POLICY.

There is a very large and respectable class of our fellow-citizens who would be glad to see silver restored, but who do not think the United States could maintain the parity of the two metals in the absence of an international agreement. We would call the attention of all such to a statement made by the late Mr. Blaine, that those have always been most successful in dealing with the financial affairs of our Government who have had the greatest confidence in the resources and credit of the country. We believe the United States is strong enough, and that its wealth and credit are so great that it can decree what the position of silver in the business world is to be. We know that England for eighty-seven years has maintained a fixed value upon gold; we know that Spain fixed the ratio of silver and gold throughout two centuries; we know that the little Kingdom of Portugal at a later date fixed that ratio and long maintained it, and we believe that what England has done with gold and what Spain and Portugal at different times did for silver can now be done by the great United States of America for the latter metal.

We ask that it be tried. We are not asking that a depreciated currency be established. If, under a free-coinage law, the parity of gold and silver should, after a fair trial, fail to be sustained, the people of Idaho would be first to support such other legislation as should be shown to be necessary. Compromises may be offered; we are opposed to any and all compromises. We know that the gold-standard conspirators will try any experiment as a compromise proposition; and we challenge them to try the simple plan of the constitutional free coinage of both metals. We throw down the gauntlet to them; we know that they will not take it up, because they are aware that we are right and that this method would hopelessly wreck all their carefully laid plans; so we appeal to the people of the country, asking them to unite their voices with ours in demanding the adoption of the one plan which the logic of the situation suggests.

NO OVERPRODUCTION OF MONEY.

There are those who fear we might have too much silver, although the same persons would not entertain such a fear in relation to gold. There could be no such thing as too much metallic money. The history of the world proves that those periods which have witnessed the greatest production of the money metal have been the most prosperous that the human race has known. Great production of these metals enriches the arteries of commerce, stimulates every department of human industry, and spreads smiling prosperity among a busy, happy people. But there can be no hope of phenomenal production. The life of a mine is limited. The largest properties become exhausted in a very few years, and new mines come forward now no faster than old producers are closed. The mining territory of this country has been well explored, and but few bonanza districts can remain to be discovered. The production may reach somewhat higher figures under favorable conditions, but it will fluctuate and can not permanently be much larger than during recent years.

A FOREIGN FOE.

In conclusion we would point out the fact that the headquarters of the bondholders' and antisilver conspiracy against the people is in Great Britain. Within a few months the British premier, when interrogated in Parliament upon the attitude of his Government in regard to a larger use of silver, stated that Great Britain would not assent to such a policy. "All the world owed England," he said, and the debts were payable in gold. It might be philanthropic to talk about making payment easier through an enlarged use of silver, but that would not be in harmony with British business principles. So we say to our fellow-citizens, the contest is primarily against a foreign foe; it is in the interest of the homes of the masses of our people; we simply ask of every patriotic citizen that he investigate the subject independently of the influences that his surroundings may throw around him, for we know that such an investigation must, in every instance, lead the inquirer into the ranks of the supporters of constitutional free coinage.

Mr. PALMER. Unless some Senator desires to address the Senate on the pending question of privilege, I ask that it be further postponed in order that I may address the Senate briefly on the financial question which has been under consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois requests that the pending business be further temporarily laid aside in order that he may address the Senate upon the same bill upon which speeches have been made. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from Illinois will proceed.

Mr. PALMER. Mr. President, it has been said on this floor that every Democratic Senator present at the time voted against the passage of the act of July 14, 1890; the Chicago convention in terse and vigorous language denounced the measure and demanded its repeal, and the Presidential candidate, nominated by that convention and elected by the people of the United States, concludes his last message to Congress, saying:

I seriously recommend the prompt repeal of the act passed July 14, 1890, authorizing the purchase of silver bullion, and that other legislative action may put beyond all doubt or mistake the intention and the ability of the Government to fulfill all its pecuniary obligation in money universally recognized by all civilized countries.

Thus it will be seen the act of July 14, 1890, was opposed by all the Democratic Senators when it was passed, was denounced by the Democratic national convention in 1892, and the President, acting in the strictest accordance with the declaration of the convention, impressed with the measureless evils inflicted upon the country by the measure, has convened the Congress, in which the Democratic party has complete ascendency, and urges upon that body the "prompt repeal of the provisions of the act passed July 14, 1890, authorizing the purchase of silver bullion."

This manifest concurrence of Democratic opinion would seem to justify the expectation of the country that the so-called "Sherman act," or at least its objectionable parts, would be repealed at once after the meeting of Congress and the business of the country relieved from evils so forcibly depicted by the President. The expectation of the early repeal of the provisions of the act that authorizes the purchase of silver bullion was, before the meeting of Congress, so firmly fixed in the public mind that the people of the country, who are suffering the evils brought upon them by this vicious legislation, expected that Congress would act at the earliest moment for their relief.

They expected that a Democratic Congress would promptly respond in the spirit of the Democratic platform to the urgent recommendation of a Democratic President and repeal the law so destructive to the public interests and so generally and justly condemned by public opinion. I admit that it was feared by many and predicted by a few that Republican members of Congress, and especially Republican Senators, would in some way labor to embarrass Democrats in their efforts to repeal a measure passed by a Republican Congress and approved by a Republican President; and it was reported that certain Senators, who are considered by the country to be preëminently the champions of the silver interests, had "given out in speeches" that they would resort to all the parliamentary methods allowed by the peculiar rules of this body to delay final action upon the question of repeal. But it is gratifying to find that the conduct of some leading Republican Senators warrant the belief that the fears of the many and the predictions of the few were unfounded.

The junior Senator from Massachusetts, fresh from the other branch of Congress, where he had distinguished himself as a party leader, at an early day in this session proposed the absolute repeal of that part of the act of 1890 which provides for the purchase of silver bullion. The senior Senator from the same State, without defending the act, only justified its passage as necessary to the defeat of another measure which he regarded as far more objectionable, and the distinguished Senator from Ohio, whose name is connected with the act, explains his vote in its favor upon the same grounds, and both of these eminent leaders avow their readiness to vote for the repeal, and there are reasons for believing that a majority of the Republican Senators are ready to coöperate with them in the same end, and the Senators from the so-called silver States have shown no disposition to hinder or obstruct an early consideration of the recommendation of the President.

Mr. President, like the distinguished Senator from Missouri, to whose eloquent speech we listened a few days ago with so much pleasure, I supported the President, and urged others to do so upon the distinct ground that in his letter accepting the nomination offered to him by the Democratic convention, he avowed his devotion to Democratic principles as defined by the party platform, and I maintain, in opposition to the criticisms of the Senator from Missouri, that the recommendations contained in the late message of the President are not only in accordance with the Chicago platform, but practically cover the whole financial policy outlined in the Chicago resolutions.

To make this point clear, I quote from the platform:

We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the market, and in payment of debts and a demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin.

We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and of fluctuating currency.

And for the same purpose, and to make the comparison easy, I again quote the recommendation of the message:

I seriously recommend the prompt repeal of the act passed July 14, 1890, authorizing the purchase of silver bullion, and that other legislative action may put beyond all doubt or mistake the intention and the ability of the Government to fulfill all its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognized by all civilized countries.

Nothing can be more emphatic or clear, as will appear by the platform, than its denunciation of the Republican legislation

known as the "Sherman act of 1890," and the demand for its repeal is equally emphatic. It was denounced as so fraught with possibilities of danger that all its supporters as well as its author should be anxious for its repeal.

The President, as will be seen, recommends its prompt repeal. The platform further asserts, speaking to the whole Democratic party:

> We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver, without discriminating against either metal, or charge for mintage.

And the President, without reiterating the language of the platform, affirms, in substance, that the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, and, in effect, recommends to Congress such legislation as shall "insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the market and in the payment of debts, and that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin." And the President, without specific suggestions as to methods, after recommending the prompt repeal of the act passed July 14, 1890, urges "other legislative action (and he means undoubtedly in the line of the platform) that may put beyond all doubt or mistake the intention and the ability of the Government to fulfill all its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognized by all civilized countries."

It certainly requires no argument to prove that all civilized countries recognize the American dollar unit, of both gold and silver, when of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value and of equal power at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts, and all civilized countries recognize a paper currency at all times kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. As the convention specifically denounced the act of July 14, 1890, as fraught with future danger, the President might well specifically urge its prompt repeal now that the anticipated danger of evil results are realized, and the country may reasonably expect that a Democratic Congress will promptly respond to the Executive recommendation.

Nor can it be ground of just complaint by the supporters of the Chicago platform who are committed to the proposition that "the dollar unit of coinage, of both gold and silver, must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, and of equal power at all times in the markets, and in the payment of debts," that the President submits it to the wisdom of Congress to devise and adopt "legislation that will put beyond all doubt or mistake the intention and the ability of the Government to fulfill all its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognized by all civilized countries."

But the Senator from Missouri says:

> We are told that the repeal of the so-called Sherman act, or the purchasing clause, is all that is necessary at the present conjuncture, and that the clouds will be immediately lifted from the business and financial horizon, and the sun of prosperity again beam on every portion of our land.

It may be that there are some who believe that the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman act is all that is necessary at the present conjuncture—but it is obvious from the language of the message that the President is not one of those who so believe; that he regards the repeal of the purchasing clause as essentially necessary to the return of prosperity is manifest, not only from his specific recommendation that it be promptly repealed, but from the overwhelming proofs he furnishes that the dangers with which it was fraught are now realized, and though the President makes no specific reference to the coinage of silver, it can not fairly be urged by anything said by him in the message that he does not now, as he did in his letter accepting the nomination made at Chicago, hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal, nor does it follow that, because he fails to say one word in regard to bimetallism, he would disapprove of legislation which would provide that the unit of coinage of both metals should be of equal intrinsic value at all times, in the markets, and in the payment of debts; and I will add the expression of opinion that the great majority of the American people would not only approve but would rapturously applaud legislation which would establish and maintain the bimetallism of the Chicago resolutions.

I do not now pause to inquire whether bimetallism as defined by the platform is attainable by either of the methods suggested in that paper, an "international agreement," or the safeguards of legislation, or by a combination of both; but I assume that no loyal adherent to the Chicago platform will consent to the coinage of either gold or silver, unless the dollar unit of coinage of both metals be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, and with the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in payment of debts, for it is declared by the platform that this policy is especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and fluctuating currency.

Mr. President, the Senator from Missouri no doubt favors bimetallism and free coinage as defined in the Chicago platform, and I think I may venture to say that he holds to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal, insisting, however, that the dollar unit of coinage of both metals shall be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, with the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in payment of debts.

If I am correct in this statement of the views of the Senator from Missouri I most cordially concur with him, and am ready to follow his lead in promoting legislation which will secure that result to the country. Mr. President, the purchasing clause of the Sherman law does not aid the free coinage of silver. I make this statement upon the authority of the distinguished Senator from Missouri, and if anything more was needed to establish the truth of that assertion, it will be developed by the origin, object, and history of the law, and by a reference to the facts which illustrate its influence upon the financial situation of the country.

The act of July 14, 1890, originated in the councils of the Republican party; its object and purpose was to defeat the free coinage of silver upon the then existing ratio. That object and purpose is avowed by the Senator from Ohio, its putative author, and whose name it bears, and his avowal is confirmed by the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts whose means of knowledge are equal to those possessed by the Senator from Ohio himself, but there can be no doubt but that the measure was favored by Senators from the silver-producing States for the reason that it provided for the monthly coinage of two millions of silver dollars until the 1st day of July, 1891, and made perpetual provision for the monthly purchase of four and a half millions of ounces of silver bullion. They abandoned the free coinage of silver, which seems to have been within their reach, for the sake of a market for a large proportion of the silver product of the United States for the preceding year.

Whatever may have been the object of the authors of the act, or the combination of interests that secured its passage, it is the belief of its authors that its passage defeated the measure of free coinage, which was then impending, and I believe that its effect has been to render the coinage of silver upon the bimetallic plan of the Chicago platform exceedingly difficult, if not impossible. Bimetallic coinage is not possible while the purchasing clause of the act of July 14, 1890, remains in force and is executed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

The only power possessed by Congress with respect to the purchase of gold or silver or other metals results from the grant of power to "coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coins." In the exercise of this power Congress may provide for the purchase of any of the metals used for coinage purposes in whatever form they may be found. Millions of avoirdupois pounds of silver bullion which we can not coin upon a ratio yet ascertained or established, and which from its volume is a menace to the silver market, and is so worthless as a fund for the redemption of the Treasury notes issued for its purchase that, though they are nominally payable in gold or silver coin at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, and made by law a legal tender for all debts, public and private, except when otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract, and are receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues, and when held by any national banking association may be counted as a part of its lawful reserve, their parity has only been maintained by the established fixed belief in the public mind that no Secretary of the Treasury would dare exercise his discretion to redeem them in silver coin, and yet Senators who voted against the act of 1890, and were then fully impressed with the dangers to the business interests of the country with which it was fraught, and who adhered to the Chicago platform, now refuse to vote for its unconditional repeal.

The reasons given by Senators for their refusal to vote for the repeal are quite as surprising as the refusal itself. The Senator from Missouri, in his speech from which I have already quoted, and the Senator from Arkansas, who uses nearly the same language, and speaking of the act in question, said:

> I am willing to repeal it, but I am not willing to give up the whole silver question with the repeal.

And after an interruption he added:

> I meant to say that, until there is some assurance that we are not to go to a gold standard and we are not giving up the last muniment of silver and leave it without any legislation, we do not propose to take a step which leads to monometallism.

Mr. President, how can the repeal of the act amount to giving up the whole silver question? To whom does the Senator look

for an assurance that we are not to go to the gold standard, and who has authority to give to the Senator such an assurance, and in what sense can the Sherman act be called the last muniment of silver; and if a muniment of silver, what is its value; and as it deals with silver (which until its passage was a money metal) as a mere commodity, how can its repeal be a step which leads to or is in the direction of monometallism?

The passage of the act of July 14, 1890, gave up the whole silver question, as it expressly provided that the coinage of the standard silver dollars should cease on the first day of July, 1891, and that silver bullion should be bought in the open markets without making any specific provisions for its coinage. Under its operation the price of silver advanced to the average ratio to gold of 19.76 in 1890, but it was so ineffectual that in 1893 the ratio to gold increased to the disadvantage of silver to 28.52.

Mr. President, the country is now at the gold standard. There is no use in attempting to disguise this fact. Silver, the only rival of gold as a money metal, was made by the act before us, and is regarded in the world of commerce and trade, as a mere commodity, to be priced in gold. Silver coin now performs but a mere subsidiary office, and can never reach a higher plane of usefulness until the dollar unit of silver be made of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value to the dollar of gold, and be impressed with equal power in the markets and in the payment of debts. In order to this end the act of July 14, 1890, which at once operates to increase the glut of silver and the already overcharged Treasury, and disturbs the silver market by subjecting it to unnatural conditions, must be repealed.

Mr. President, I do not despair of bimetallism as defined in the Chicago platform, but I do believe that in the present state of the silver market it is beyond the power of any finite mind to fix a ratio of silver to gold that will produce that result. The market value of silver bullion is in a state of chronic fluctuation; it is affected by constantly disturbing conditions, of which the continued operations of the act of July 14 is one of the most potent. The country is committed to the present ratio, not only by law, but by the fact that there is a stock of silver coin in the United States estimated on the 1st day of January, 1893, at $492,903,266, all of which would be practically converted into bullion by an alteration of the ratio, for it would be necessary to recoin the silver coined in the Treasury and to redeem that in the possession of the people.

I repeat that it is impossible now, by any agency that has been suggested, to find and fix upon a ratio which will afford or produce the essential conditions of bimetallism, which is that the dollar unit of coinage of both metals possess equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, and the dollar of both metals to possess equal power at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts. The coinage of silver upon any other ratio than one which would certainly produce bimetallism would be but to introduce a new element of uncertainty and confusion which would not only continue but aggravate the condition of financial distress which has not only ruined the silver-producing States but threatens all the industries of the country.

Mr. President, the country is now upon a gold basis, and the values of all property and of all commodities, including as well silver as all the products of the farms and of the factories, are now fixed and regulated by gold.

Mr. President, ours is a country of marvelous resource. It is increasing in population and wealth and power with a rapidity unexampled in the history of nations; and at present, in my opinion, there are but two lines of policies which can offer the least possible hope for escape from our present situation of embarrassament and distress.

One of these lines of policy is to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, and then by legislative action put beyond all doubt or mistake the intention of the Government to fulfill all its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognized by all civilized countries. This course should be consonant with the character of the great, manly American people. We are not, as might be inferred from some of the speeches made upon this floor, timid mendicants, trembling in the presence of the financial power of England. We are, or will be, when we recover our natural courage, the rivals not only of the little Island so often mentioned, but of the greater Britain which includes so large a portion of the globe.

Mr. President, with commerce unshackeled by useless restrictions, and a mercantile marine which an unshackeled commerce will create, the United States will meet our English rivals in every port and demand and obtain its fair share of the money recognized by all civilized nations.

I once saw my country torn by contending armies; one portion of it desolated by war, and its industrial system overthrown; the other, which represented the existing Government, often defeated and on the very verge of bankruptcy, but never yielding to despair. When it was threatened by the England who is now so much dreaded, with armed intervention and possible dismemberment, still I never faltered in my hope of restored unity, increased national strength, and of a measure of national prosperity unequaled in our previous national life.

I do not now doubt the firmness and courage of my countrymen. They will not consent to take refuge from the financial power of England by the adoption of a mere timid, interterritorial system of coinage, established and enforced by a ruthless law, which, disregarding intrinsic values, isolates them from the world and its commerce, which they hope at no distant day to dominate and control, and will deprive them of the lead in enlightened civilization which they may now fairly claim to hold.

The American people will not now adopt the cast-off systems of India and of the least civilized peoples of the world, and no middle ground is possible.

The gold standard is upon us; bimetallism, as defined by the Chicago platform, is still possible, after all obstructions to its adoption are removed. But we can not now enter upon the doubtful experiment of new ratios. We can relieve the business of the country by resolutely repealing the Sherman act, and in that way withdraw the Treasury from the silver market. We should adhere to the present ratio, and by laws judiciously framed encourage the use of silver coin, and then calmly watch the influence of events upon the relative values of the two metals, ready to take advantage of circumstances, with the hope that by the use of effective means the country will at no distant day reach the point when both gold and silver can be coined and used without discrimination between them, and the dollar unit of both metals be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, and at all times possess equal power in the markets and in the payment of debts.

TRANSACTIONS OF NATIONAL BANKS.

Mr. PEFFER. I submit a resolution which I ask may be read and lie on the table for the time being.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to inform the Senate—

First. Whether and in what respect the national banks, or any of them, in the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia are being now conducted in violation of law.

Second. Whether said banks are paying depositors' checks promptly in lawful money.

Third. Whether said banks, or any of them, are demanding rates of interest higher than those provided by law for the loan of money or in discounting notes and bills.

Mr. HOAR. Let the resolution go over. I object to its consideration at this time.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will go over under the rule.

TOWN SITES IN THE CHEROKEE OUTLET.

Mr. BERRY. I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate at this time the joint resolution passed by the House of Representatives in regard to town sites in the Cherokee Outlet.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the joint resolution (H. Res. 4) to make the provisions of the act of May 14, 1890, which provides for town-site entries of lands in a portion of what is known as Oklahoma, applicable to the territory known as the "Cherokee Outlet," and to make the provisions of said act applicable to town sites in the "Cherokee Outlet;" which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senate resumes the consideration of the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. HOAR), from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, proposing to admit Lee Mantle to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

Mr. McPHERSON. Do I understand that it is the purpose to proceed this afternoon with the privileged question? I am not aware that any Senator is now ready to speak upon that question. I know that it has the right of way in the Senate, but in case no Senator is ready to speak upon it, I should like to call up the bill reported from the Finance Committee, known as the bank-increase bill. If no Senator is ready to speak on the other question—and no one seems to take the floor at present—I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 453.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from New Jersey ask unanimous consent to take up the bill?

Mr. McPHERSON. I ask to again lay aside informally the pending measure, which has been laid aside three or four times, in order to enable Senators to speak upon the bill I propose to call up; but if it is the disposition of any Senator to proceed on the pending measure of seating a Senator in this body, which is a privileged question, of course I can not trespass. Therefore, I ask that the pending question be laid aside for the present, in order that I may call up Senate bill 453, reported by the Senate Committee on Finance.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, at the request of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], who is not now present, the Senate agreed to permit the postponement of the question of the admission of Mr. Mantle until to-morrow evening at 5 o'clock, with the distinct understanding that it would probably be disposed of at that time to-morrow; that it would require all the time between now and then; that it was the purpose then to press the main question, and that after the disposition of that question we should take up the other important questions pending before the Senate.

I suggest to the Senator that to now postpone the resolution before the Senate would lead to another delay to-morrow afternoon, and I understand one or two Senators are prepared to speak on the contested case to-day.

Mr. MCPHERSON. The Senator will observe, however, that when I gave notice of my intention to call up the bill to which I have referred, I expressly stated that if any Senator was ready to proceed on the question of the contested seat, of course I would not interpose the bill. I supposed, however, that I was carrying out the injunction of the chairman of the committee. In his absence from the Chamber temporarily, I felt that it was enjoined upon me, in case no other subject was before the Senate, to ask for the consideration of the bill reported by him from the Committee on Finance.

I am ready to give way for the continuation at this time of the privileged question before the Senate. If, however, no Senator is ready to proceed, I believe that I shall be carrying out the wish of the chairman of the committee, who, as the organ of the committee, has especial control and charge of the bill, in asking for its consideration.

Mr. PLATT. I expect to speak at some time very briefly on the Lee Mantle resolution, if there be an opportunity, but I could not justify myself in occupying the attention of the Senate when the Senator from New Jersey says he is ready to proceed now with what I conceive to be the most important measure before this Congress. If he is ready to proceed, I shall give way, even if I lose my opportunity to speak on the Lee Mantle resolution.

Mr. MCPHERSON. I am also aware that the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE], the chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, yesterday morning gave notice that a vote is to be taken upon the pending question Wednesday afternoon.

Mr. VANCE. It was so agreed by unanimous consent.

Mr. MCPHERSON. Yes, unanimous consent was, I think, obtained for that purpose. Now, I suppose it is the intention of the Senate to vote on the question at that time, and it had better be settled, so as to dispose of everything in the way of cumbersome questions before the bank bill is called up. If Senators are ready to proceed upon that question, let them go on; if not, I assume that some Senator is ready to proceed upon the question for which I have asked consideration. In order to get the matter properly before the Senate I move that the pending resolution be laid aside informally in order that we may proceed with the consideration of the bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from New Jersey to proceed to the consideration of the bill indicated by him. [Putting the question.] The Chair is in doubt.

Mr. WASHBURN. I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. HOAR. It seems hardly worth while to take a vote on a motion which requires unanimous consent for its adoption, I submit to the Senate.

Mr. SHERMAN. It is in order to move to proceed to the consideration of any bill.

Mr. HOAR. That is not the motion. The motion is to lay the pending resolution aside informally, and that requires unanimous consent. The Senator from New Jersey can move to proceed to the consideration of the bill.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that there is objection to laying aside the resolution informally.

Mr. HOAR. I do not myself object, but I do not want time wasted in calling the yeas and nays on the motion.

Mr. HILL. If no one desires to speak upon the pending question, what becomes of the pending question? Must we wait until to-morrow afternoon at 5 o'clock before we can vote? What are we going to do with the pending question in the meantime? I think the question ought to be disposed of by the Senate. No matter which way the Senate intends to vote upon it, let us dispose of the question.

Mr. CULLOM. To which of the two questions does the Senator refer?

Mr. HILL. I refer to the admission of Mr. Mantle.

Mr. CULLOM. I think that ought to be disposed of, myself.

Mr. HOAR. I understand the Senate has given unanimous consent that the vote shall be taken upon that question Wednesday at 5 o'clock, and that the vote must then be taken unless unanimous consent be given to change the order of the Senate.

Mr. HILL. Suppose nobody desires to speak upon it, what are we to do in the meantime?

Mr. HOAR. I do not see why, if no one desires to speak, the Senate may not lay the matter aside informally.

Mr. GORMAN. As I understand the situation—and I want to be entirely frank about it—unanimous consent was had to take the vote yesterday at 5 o'clock. Then by an agreement of the body the hour was postponed until 5 o'clock to-morrow afternoon to enable Senators to discuss the question who are now prepared to go on. The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] has announced that he is prepared. I want to say to the Senator from Connecticut and others that there can not be unanimous consent to postpone the question again after to-morrow at 5 o'clock.

We have reached a point in the discussion and consideration of matters of graver importance where they must take precedence of everything else. Therefore, if there is to be any further discussion on the question of the admission of Mr. Mantle it can go on only between now and to-morrow afternoon at 5 o'clock, when the Senate is to vote, by the unanimous agreement. Hence I suggest to the Senator from Connecticut, and other Senators who are prepared to discuss the question, that this is the only opportunity they will have for unanimous consent upon that subject, and I trust we shall proceed with its consideration.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Maryland, who is an experienced parliamentarian, if he does not understand that if this matter is displaced now by laying it aside informally by unanimous consent, or by taking up something else by a majority vote, either of which would be in order, still at 5 o'clock to-morrow it will come back again to be voted on?

Mr. GORMAN. So I think, beyond question.

Mr. HOAR. That is the way I understand it. So the only question now before the Senate is whether the Senate will insist on debating this subject, when nobody wants to debate it at this moment, or whether we shall talk about something else. Nothing which can be done, as I understand it, can displace the privileged question from its right to a vote to-morrow at 5 o'clock, except the unanimous consent of the Senate. Of course, if the Senate were to vote to adjourn over to-morrow it could do so, but that would be a violation of our unanimous agreement, and no Senator would vote for it.

Mr. GORMAN. I do not think there is any question about the statement of the Senator from Massachusetts. It is merely a matter of convenience for Senators.

Mr. HOAR. Although I mean to stand by the report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections as faithfully as I can, if any Senator would like to speak on the bank question and not on the privileged question, the latter will not lose the position which it has under the unanimous agreement.

Mr. WASHBURN. I should like to make a parliamentary inquiry, and that is, whether it is in order to move to lay aside the pending resolution and take up a bill. I understood the Senator from New Jersey to make that motion.

Mr. HOAR. Yes; he moved to lay it aside informally.

Mr. MCPHERSON. The Senator is mistaken. He is aware of the fact that on two occasions, to suit the convenience of Senators, the pending privileged question was laid aside informally. The Senator from Idaho [Mr. DUBOIS] made his speech upon the silver question, and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PALMER] has also done so upon a motion to lay aside the pending question. When the Senator from Illinois took his seat, I extended the invitation long and loud to all Senators, that if they wished to proceed with the privileged question I would make no motion toward taking up the bank bill, as it is called, and as no Senator wished to speak upon the question of privilege, I then moved to take up the bill.

I did not suppose that I was violating any unanimous agreement or anything of the kind. When unanimous consent was not given to take up the bank bill I then moved to take it up. Certainly I was violating no agreement in that motion. Now, if the Senate is ready to proceed with the pending privileged question, well and good. If the Senate is not ready to proceed with it, then I would like to have it proceed with the bank bill, as there are several amendments pending to that bill upon which we can perhaps reach some decision this afternoon, and certain Senators want to speak upon the bill.

Mr. WASHBURN. I understand that no Senator desires to speak to-day on the pending question, and certainly a large majority on this side of the Chamber would like to proceed with the bank bill.

Mr. MCPHERSON. Then I move again that the pending question be laid aside informally, and that we proceed to the consideration of the bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks.

Mr. HOAR. I understand, though it makes very little difference, that it is not in order to move to lay aside the pending resolution informally; but all the Senator has to do is to move to take up the measure he wants to bring before the Senate, and if that motion carries it accomplishes all he desires.

Mr. McPHERSON. I am not particular as to how it is done.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the rule upon which the Chair sustains the motion of the Senator from New Jersey to proceed to the consideration of the bill he has indicated.

The Secretary read as follows:

RULE IX.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

* * * * * * *

Immediately after the consideration of cases not objected to upon the Calendar is completed, and not later than 2 o'clock, if there shall be no special orders for that time, the Calendar of General Orders shall be taken up and proceeded with in its order, beginning with the first subject on the Calendar next after the last subject disposed of in proceeding with the Calendar; and in such case the following motions shall be in order at any time as privileged motions, save as against a motion to adjourn, or to proceed to the consideration of executive business, or questions of privilege, to wit:

First. A motion to proceed to the consideration of an appropriation or revenue bill.

Second. A motion to proceed to the consideration of any other bill on the Calendar, which motion shall not be open to amendment.

Mr. McPHERSON. In order to simplify the whole matter I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks.

Mr. WASHBURN. On that motion I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Debate is not in order except by unanimous consent. The Chair hears no objection, and the Senator from Indiana will proceed.

Mr. VOORHEES. I understand the matter concerning the seating of a member of this body is a privileged question, and if those who have in charge the right of a Senator to a seat in this body insist on going on with it, that is a matter of the highest privilege, which can not be set aside. Am I right about that?

Mr. HOAR. I understand nobody desires to speak on that question this afternoon, and therefore there will not be any speaking on it to-day. If it is laid aside in accordance with the motion of the Senator from New Jersey it will come back to-morrow; it does not lose anything by going over until to-morrow.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the Senator from Indiana that an opportunity has been given Senators to speak on the privileged question to which he refers. None have availed themselves of it, and the Chair entertained the motion of the Senator from New Jersey under the rule which has been read; upon which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

Mr. RANSOM. Pending this little talk about a point of order, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. VOORHEES. We had better settle what we have before us. Subject to a privileged question which involves the seating of a member here, I am in favor of going on at once with the matter contemplated by the motion of the Senator from New Jersey, and I shall vote accordingly. I did not understand the situation when I first came in; but I am extremely anxious to transact the business for which we were called here, and the motion of the Senator from New Jersey to proceed to the consideration of the bank bill I shall support.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from North Carolina insist on his motion?

Mr. RANSOM. Yes, I think that is the easiest way to get out of the parliamentary confusion we are in. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Pending the motion of the Senator from New Jersey, the Senator from North Carolina moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. JONES of Nevada. On that I demand the yeas and nays.

Mr. RANSOM. Pardon me a second. I will withdraw my motion if the Senator from Nevada will withdraw the demand for the yeas and nays. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] tells me earnestly and seriously that he wishes to make a speech on the bank bill and we all desire to hear him.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the withdrawal by the Senator from North Carolina of his motion to proceed to the consideration of executive business? The Chair hears none, and the motion is withdrawn.

Mr. VOORHEES. I ought to have stated when I was on my feet before, but neglected to do so, that, subject to a privileged question which has the right of way independent of everything else, I desire to press action upon the matters that brought us together in the dog days of August. I give notice now that if the bank question is to be made the pretext for long debate and delay I shall ask the Senate to sidetrack it for the purpose of considering and acting upon the bill proposing to repeal the Sherman act, which is the reason why we were convoked here on this extraordinary occasion. We had better be frank with each other and understand the situation.

As a matter of course the seat of a member is a privileged question at all times; we need not discuss that: but I give notice now that while I much desire the passage of a bill giving banks the right to increase circulation, there may come a time, it occurs to me, when it is made the pretext for delay, and I shall move to sidetrack it, if I may use such an expression here, for the purpose of going at once to the heart of the situation and considering and acting upon the matter that brought us here at this time.

I want to have it distinctly understood that the committee having charge of the right of a member to a seat on this floor have the precedence over all of us; but subject to that the first duty is action upon the repeal of the Sherman act. However, while waiting, as it were, or while the matter is pending in another branch of Congress, if we can give some relief to the country, partial though it may be, by speedy action on the bill reported from the Finance Committee (which is no more my bill than that of any other member of that committee; it is the bill of the Committee on Finance), I shall be glad to have it done. In fact, I supposed it could be done at once practically without delay.

A similar bill has passed this body three times before, and I suppose it can be passed again. It is not a question whether a man approves national banks or disapproves them. It is a question whether appealing to the powers of the banks, to their cupidity, and to their self-interest, we can make them beneficial to the people of this country at a peculiar period and in a dangerous crisis. If we can, I am in favor of doing it. However, if that is going to occupy the time of the Senate and eat up, as it were, this extra session, to the exclusion of the business we are called here to consider, I give notice now that I shall move to displace it and to take up the bill for the repeal of the act that bears the name of the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN]. I think it is proper we should be frank in the Senate, and this is a frank statement.

Mr. RANSOM. I beg leave to state to the Senator from Indiana that I withdrew the motion to proceed to the consideration of executive business in order to give the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] an opportunity to be heard.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll on the motion of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. McPHERSON] that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 453.

Mr. TELLER. I have no doubt if the Senator from Massachusetts says he wants to make a speech on the bank bill nobody will object to laying aside the pending resolution. I do not suppose anyone would care to vote against taking up the bank bill after that statement.

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator from Colorado will pardon me one moment, I expect to speak about three minutes upon the question of remitting the tax on State-bank currency, and I expect to do it when that matter comes up in its order. I have not anything to say which would deserve or which I would desire should have the special assignment of the Senate or be a departure from its ordinary course, and I made no such request of the Senate. I said to the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. RANSOM], in a whisper, when he made his motion, "I am ready to speak on this matter when it comes up;" that is all.

Mr. RANSOM. I knew how we all long to hear the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. WASHBURN. I wish to inquire if discussion is in order.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Discussion is not in order except by unanimous consent. No objection has been interposed by any Senator. An objection being interposed, the Secretary will call the roll.

INCREASE OF NATIONAL BANK CIRCULATION.

Mr. ALLEN. There has been so much confusion in the Chamber that I do not understand what we are to vote on.

Mr. VOORHEES. Let the Chair state what we are to vote on.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will again state that the pending motion is that of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. McPHERSON], that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks. The Secretary will call the roll on agreeing to the motion.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. VANCE (when Mr. BUTLER'S name was called). The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] has been called home by a domestic affliction, and requested me to state that he is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CAMERON].

Mr. CAMERON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] on all ques-

tions during his absence. Not knowing how he would vote on this question, I will withhold my vote. I should vote "yea" if he were here.

Mr. CAREY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. IRBY]. If he were present I should vote "yea." I do not know how he would vote.

Mr. GEORGE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH]. If he were present I should vote "nay."

Mr. FRYE (when Mr. HALE'S name was called). My colleague [Mr. HALE] is absent, and is paired with the senior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. RANSOM]. If my colleague were here he would vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL], who is necessarily absent. If he were present I should vote "yea."

Mr. SHERMAN (when his name was called). I wish to announce that my colleague [Mr. BRICE] is detained from the Senate by serious illness. I consider myself bound to pair with him upon a question on which I know we differ. As I do not know how he would vote on the pending question I will vote "yea," and simply enter the notice of the absence of my colleague.

Mr. VANCE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN]. If he were present I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HARRIS. I am informed by the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR] that his colleague [Mr. MORRILL] would vote "yea," and I therefore record my vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. PUGH. I was requested by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. COLQUITT] to state that he is paired with the Senator from Iowa [Mr. WILSON], and if present would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 40, nays 10; as follows:

YEAS—40.

Allison,	Gray,	McPherson,	Smith,
Blackburn,	Hansbrough,	Manderson,	Squire,
Caffery,	Harris,	Mitchell, Oregon.	Stockbridge,
Chandler,	Hawley,	Murphy,	Turpie,
Cullom,	Higgins,	Pasco,	Vilas,
Davis,	Hill,	Perkins,	Voorhees,
Dixon,	Hoar,	Platt,	Walthall,
Faulkner,	Hunton,	Proctor,	Washburn,
Frye,	Lindsay,	Roach,	White, Cal.
Gorman,	Lodge,	Sherman,	White, La.

NAYS—10.

Allen,	Call,	Mills,	Vest.
Bate,	Coke,	Peffer,	
Berry,	Martin,	Pugh,	

NOT VOTING—35.

Aldrich,	Dolph,	Jones, Nev.	Quay,
Brice,	Dubois,	Kyle,	Ransom,
Butler,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Camden,	George,	Mitchell, Wis.	Stewart,
Cameron,	Gibson,	Morgan,	Teller,
Carey,	Gordon,	Morrill,	Vance,
Cockrell,	Hale,	Palmer,	Wilson,
Colquitt,	Irby,	Pettigrew,	Wolcott.
Daniel,	Jones, Ark.	Power,	

So the motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks, the pending question being on the amendment of Mr. COCKRELL to add to the bill the following as an additional section:

SECTION —. That, upon the delivery and surrender of any of the United States bonds known as the funded loan of 1891, continued at 2 per cent interest and payable at the option of the United States, by the holder and owner thereof to the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of the Treasury shall receive, cancel, and destroy such bond or bonds, and shall issue and deliver in exchange and payment therefor an amount of United States legal-tender notes, commonly known as greenbacks, in the same form and words of said United States notes, equal in amount to the face value of such bond or bonds, with the accrued interest thereon.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I shall have some suggestions to make upon this bill on a future occasion. I now rise to present a judicial precedent for the remarkable speech of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], which I think sustains his otherwise seemingly contradictory attitude.

During the fifties, when the slavery agitation was at its height in California, a young man from Missouri brought to California, a free State, a negro slave by the name of Archy. Some of Archy's abolition friends procured the issuance of a writ of habeas corpus for the purpose of securing for Archy his liberty. The case was finally taken before Judge Burnett, of the supreme court of California.

The proceedings and decision are contained in the California Report which I now hold in my hand. The case is entitled "*Ex parte* Archy." The learned judge wrote an elaborate opinion, which is fully reported, in which he decided, as a matter of law, that Archy was entitled to his liberty. But he did not stop there. He considered what in the California parlance of that day was called the "raw equity" of the case, and on the "raw equity" he found that the owner of Archy was a young man in feeble health; that he had brought the negro slave to a free State in good faith and in ignorance of the law; and on these considerations he remanded the slave back to his master. The case excited a great deal of interest on account of the political question involved.

Ned Marshall, of Kentucky, then and now of California, on learning of the decision defended it in the strongest possible language as a compromise between the two sections. He said: "The judge has given the law to the North and the nigger to the South, and everybody ought to be satisfied." [Laughter.]

The press throughout the State in numerous editorials concurred in the views of Mr. Marshall, namely, that the law had been given to the North and the "nigger" to the South.

Why should anybody complain of the speech of my friend from Indiana? He has given his speech to the friends of silver and his vote to Lombard and Wall streets. Why should anybody complain? Perhaps other authorities may be found in the books to sustain the doctrine of the Senator from Indiana; but the Archy case is the only judicial decision which has come under my observation which is on "all fours" with the position of the learned Senator.

There is still another matter I wish to notice, which is rather in the nature of a personal explanation. It has been stated here and elsewhere that in a speech in 1874 I advocated the gold standard. In 1874 a financial bill, which was pending, provided for the organization of national gold banks. The people on the Pacific coast desired to organize on a coin basis, and they were willing to put up an investment of $20,000 for the circulation of $100,000, instead of an investment of $10,000, as allowed for currency banks. A bill was reported for that purpose by the chairman of the Committee on Finance, and it was composed of two sections. The first section read as follows:

Associations may be organized in the manner prescribed by this title for the purpose of issuing notes payable in gold; and upon the deposit of any United States bonds bearing interest payable in gold with the Treasurer of the United States, in the manner prescribed for other associations, it shall be lawful for the Comptroller of the Currency to issue to the association making the deposit circulating notes of different denominations, but none of them of less than $5, and not exceeding in amount 80 per cent of the par value of the bonds deposited, which shall express the promise of the association to pay them, upon presentation at the office at which they are issued, in gold coin of the United States, and shall be so redeemable. But no such association shall have a circulation of more than one million of dollars.

The next section provided that—

Every association organized under the preceding section shall at all times keep on hand not less than 25 per cent of its outstanding circulation, in gold or silver coin of the United States; and shall receive at par in the payment of debts the gold notes of every other such association which at the time of such payment is redeeming its circulating notes in gold coin of the United States, and shall be subject to all the provisions of this title: *Provided*, That in applying the same to associations organized for issuing gold notes, the terms "lawful money" and "lawful money of the United States" shall be construed to mean gold or silver coin of the United States; and the circulation of such association shall not be within the limitation of circulation mentioned in this title.

The bill was simply a proposition to issue a currency redeemable in coin instead of a greenback. The notes were redeemable in coin of either gold or silver. They were called gold notes but they were redeemable in either gold or silver coin. When the bill came up, I made some remarks in the Senate in which I explained the desire of the people of the Pacific coast to adopt a specie basis. They were on a specie basis then. No question of the coinage of silver or the demonetization of silver was involved in the proceeding. No mention was made of it, and nothing in the act or in the debate had any squint in that direction. I will read my remarks. I then said:

I do not rise to discuss this bill, but simply to say that I should like to see the provision to permit banking on the gold basis adopted. I think it would be effectual on the Pacific coast. I believe men would undertake to establish banks on the gold basis there. I believe that is the opinion of those most conversant with the question on that coast. I believe a great many persons there are anxious for an opportunity to make this experiment. Of course, banking on a specie basis and issuing paper, there must be much more of paper than there is of gold, or the paper circulation amounts to nothing. That depends upon the confidence the community has in the circulating medium as a matter of course. The gold basis, as I understand, will a good deal affect it any way. It can be sustained in any country only so long as confidence can be kept up in the ability of the banking establishments to redeem.

I have no doubt if the business men of California, Nevada, and Oregon undertake to proceed to establish banks on a gold basis they will be able to float a large amount of these gold notes among the people as a circulating medium. They will not be in the hands of brokers in New York. They are very discreet, and will not go beyond their capacity. They can float some, and I think they will relieve a portion of the gold that might float East. They can certainly float some. I have great confidence that they will not attempt to float more than they can conveniently, so as not to embarrass us. I think they ought to have an opportunity to try that experiment.

I am very confident that they will not go into it rashly, because they are very much attached to a sound currency. I do not think they will be very rash and float more than can be floated with safety. I think some can be floated, and if it can be done elsewhere the experiment there will do no harm. I do not think there is any danger of its being abused or doing harm. I am very anxious that they should have an opportunity to try the experi-

ment and see if they can float some of these notes. It will be for the convenience of the community. I believe there will be great confidence there in a gold note secured in the mode that national-bank notes are secured, with only 10 per cent of notes issued and 100 per cent of bonds behind them.

I think there would be great confidence in such notes, and there would be a disposition on the part of the community to float them. It might work a great deal of good. There is no general disposition on the Pacific coast to adopt the currency at present and there has not been; but there appears to be a feeling in favor of trying this experiment; and as I can see no harm that will be produced by it, I should like the people to have that opportunity.

The object was to adopt a national-bank system and issue gold notes by depositing bonds and receiving 80 per cent of circulation. The notes were redeemable in gold or silver coin. It had no reference to any distinction, nobody at that time knew of any distinction between gold and silver, and no allusion was made to it.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to ask the Senator from Nevada for information if the whole business of the Pacific coast in 1873 and 1874 was not conducted on a go.d basis?

Mr. STEWART. Entirely so, and unfortunately so. I made many speeches against it. It was a great disadvantage to the Pacific coast, because people from the East would not go there and stand the discount; it absolutely kept out immigration and almost all travel for fifteen years while the difference between the money of the East and California remained. The coin basis was established. I was willing at the time they should try the experiment of issuing currency on a specie basis. That is all there was of it. If my critics would make the same effort to inform themselves with regard to the silver question that they do to misrepresent me, they would advocate free coinage. If not, they would at all events be better able to conceal their own ignorance.

Mr. FAULKNER. Mr. President, it is not my purpose in rising at this time to detain the Senate by a discussion of the policy and wisdom of the national banks and their origin, or the policy and wisdom of extending the time of their life. I do not think that either of those questions is involved in the discussion of this bill.

I am heartily in favor of the relief which is proposed to be given by the bill as reported by the committee, and only desire to obtain some information in reference to the amendment submitted by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL]. I think, unless it can be demonstrated before the adoption of the amendment that the relief it will afford will be immediate and considerable, the precedent which it will establish is one which should not be established.

The information I first desire is as to whether I am correct in the understanding that there is about $25,000,000 of those 2 per cent bonds outstanding, and of that $25,000,000, $21,300,000 are already filed with the Secretary of the Treasury, with a view of securing circulation for national banks. Under the first section of this bill that amount of circulation would be increased to the extent of about $2,000,000, so that it would leave only about two and a half millions of those bonds which could be surrendered to the Government and upon which the Treasury notes provided for in the amendment could be issued.

If that is a correct statement of the condition of those 2 per cent bonds, I can not see the advisability of entering into such legislation as is contemplated by the amendment simply for the purpose of procuring an additional circulation of $2,500,000; in other words, I can not appreciate those high business qualities in the proposition suggested by the Senator from Missouri which will change a present demand of the Government as to the payment of these obligations into a demand at any time by the creditor for gold out of the Treasury, which would be the result of the issue of these notes.

I am in favor of the bill as presented by the Committee on Finance, and I am also warmly in favor of the amendment submitted to the bill by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN], because I think it is a wise provision. If we are now to give additional privileges to these banks, we should also impose some restrictions which are not now imposed, to limit the right to retire their circulation to the amount stated in the amendment submitted by him. With that exception, I am opposed to the pending bill being delayed by adding a number of amendments to it and discussing them, for the simple reason that if there is anything in the bill, if there is any benefit we can derive from its passage, it is an immediate benefit and no other. I would suggest, unless the purpose is delay, that we try to reach a vote as promptly as possible upon these amendments.

I am in favor of it for the additional reason that it does spread the circulation throughout the entire country. It would give to the national banks of my State, on the amount of bonds already deposited in the Treasury by them to secure circulation, not less than from $70,000 to $80,000. In the financial condition of the industrial enterprises of that State it is very important to get even that small amount of currency.

I know the fact that, unless we relieve this situation as promptly as possible in the State of West Virginia—a State which during the last twenty years has, I suppose, progressed in its industrial prosperity more rapidly than any State either in the Central, Western, or the Eastern sections of our great Republic—unless we relieve the tightness of the money market, which is now universal in the country, three-fourths of the mines of that State will be closed during the month of September, not because there is any want of solvency on the part of the owners of those mines, not because they have not the ability to deposit any amount of security, and the best gilt-edge security, to obtain a sufficient amount of currency in order to pay the ordinary liabilities incident to the working of those mines, but simply because, with all of that, the owners of those mines have gone from city to city and presented to all the great money centers these gilt-edge securities, and they have found it absolutely impossible to secure one dollar of currency to even pay last month's wages of 25,000 men.

That is a fact, within my personal knowledge, and one which I think we ought to consider in a measure of this character, and act upon it as promptly as possible.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, the funded loan of 1891 now outstanding is $25,364,500. Some $21,000,000 of those bonds are now deposited with the Treasury. Those bonds are to-day selling in the market at 95 cents on the dollar; and the proposition is to allow a $95 bond to be deposited and $100 of circulation taken out, to be loaned by the national banks to the taxpayers of the United States, and at the same time the national banks draw 2 per cent interest upon the bonds.

My proposition is to exchange for these bonds legal-tender greenbacks, if they are desired, save to the taxpayers of the United States $500,000 a year in interest, wipe out an indebtedness of $25,000,000, and let the holders of the bonds have this amount, which will increase the circulation just as much and more than the bill reported from the committee, which would only give 10 per cent upon the present $21,000,000. That amount goes out, and two or three millions more, $500,000 a year is saved, and an indebtedness of $25,000,000 is wiped out of existence.

Mr. FAULKNER. If the Senator from Missouri can demonstrate to me or the Senate that by issuing these greenbacks, $25,000,000 of indebtedness will be wiped out, then I shall vote for his amendment without a minute's hesitation; but I understand that, instead of wiping out the indebtedness, he simply transfers it into a demand obligation upon the Government.

Mr. COCKRELL. Oh, Mr. President——

Mr. HAWLEY. Will the Senator allow me?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BERRY in the chair). Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. COCKRELL. In a moment. There is plenty of time for full and fair discussion of this question.

Instead of continuing a bond-bearing interest, we give to the people of the United States $25,000,000 of full legal-tender money, which can be used as money in the payment of every debt and obligation of the country. You can not issue bonds on that. The question is whether the people shall have full legal-tender money in lieu of those bonds, or whether the national banks shall be permitted to retain these bonds, issue dollar for dollar, take $500,000 out of the tax-payers of this country every year, and whether money shall only go to the people percolating through the power of the national banks.

Mr. FAULKNER. If the Senator will permit me, I am really seeking information, and have great confidence in his judgment in this matter; but is there any real difference in the interest the people have as between the uses of a Treasury legal-tender note and a national-bank note as a matter of currency?

Mr. COCKRELL. A great deal of difference.

Mr. FAULKNER. I mean as a matter of currency, not as to the question of interest on the bonds.

Mr. COCKRELL. There is no difference as to the currency simply, but every man who handles a bank note knows he is paying interest upon it in the bond which secures it, and double interest. He has to pay interest to the bank from whom the money is borrowed. Some man is paying interest to a bank on every solitary dollar of national bank notes that are in circulation, and all the people of the United States are paying interest upon all the bonds which secure that money.

Mr. FAULKNER. The Senator will permit me on that point. If he is correct in that view, and if he desires to save interest to the Government, and that is the real motive of the amendment, had he not better make his amendment apply to $25,000,000 of four, or four-and-a-half, or five, or six per cent bonds, if there are any outstanding?

Mr. COCKRELL. There are none of them, as a matter of course. I thought the Senator knew that.

Mr. FAULKNER. Would that not be better than to take the very lowest interest-bearing bonds we have, and apply the amendment to them?

Mr. COCKRELL. Does not the Senator know how many bonds we owe?

Mr. FAULKNER. Yes.

Mr. COCKRELL. Why, then, does he talk about some other bond. This is the only bond the Government has any right to tender payment for; it is the only bond that does not command a premium of 12 per cent. Does the Senator want to go into the market and undertake to buy bonds at 12 per cent premium—for they are worth that, except $64,000,000 of Pacific Railroad bonds, and some of them are due in 1895. They are selling at 103 on the dollar, and they are drawing 6 per cent interest; but they can not be paid now. We have no right to call them in for payment because they are not due, while the 2 per cent bonds are now due.

If we issue this kind of money we shall save to the taxpayers of the United States $500,000 a year, we shall have extinguished an interest-bearing indebtedness of $25,000,000, and give to the people of the country more full legal-tender money than they would get by the bill as it now stands.

Mr. FAULKNER. I ask the Senator whether, as it is legislation that we need in order to secure circulation, we could not make the same proposition as to the other bonds—carry out the principle which governed the last Administration and the present—and pay off those bonds by the voluntary act of the holders of them at an amount which would justify the Government looking to the future redemption of those bonds?

Mr. COCKRELL. That is another question, which does not come up on this, but which may come up before this bill is disposed of. It does not, however, arise now. I hope the Senator will support it when it comes up.

Now I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. HAWLEY. I shall wait until the Senator gets through.

Mr. COCKRELL. I am ready to stop at any time. I want to get light on this question. I want to know why it is that Senators are objecting to paying off $25,000,000 of bonds and substituting for them a noninterest bearing obligation.

Mr. HAWLEY. I will tell the Senator as plainly as I can, he would save money by buying at market rates the four-and-a-half per cent. bonds, and he would get a better reduction of interest in that way than by buying the two per cent bonds, would he not? The premium is not extravagant upon the four-and-a-half per cent bonds. If his object is to reduce interest, let him buy the bonds which bear a high rate of interest and are low priced in the market.

I am troubled by another thing. I do not understand exactly what the Senator means by giving out legal tenders for 2 per cent bonds. Have we got $25,000,000 in surplus revenue this year to apply to our bonded debt? I want to know whether we have a surplus revenue. I understand it is the other way, that there is likely to be a deficit; and the Senator proposes to print an additional sum of legal tenders. Is that it?

Mr. COCKRELL. That is it exactly; a new issue of $25,000,000 of legal-tender notes, precisely as the present United States notes have been issued.

Mr. HAWLEY. The Senator proposes to violate the policy of the Government for thirty years in the matter of its debt and to issue a forced loan, compelling the holders of these bonds to take a note without interest. Whatever bonds are offered, as I understand, are to be taken by the Treasury. The Treasury is then to pay in that way for whatever is brought there by the banks for their circulation. It is perfectly obvious that the Senator is proposing to change a debt payable at the will of the Government at the low rate of 2 per cent for a demand note.

There are a good many of us who have had a little experience in changing loans in the last few months. I had a little affair of that kind to negotiate, but I did not attempt to change my long note for a demand note; but that is exactly what the Senator designs to do.

These $25,000,000 of legal-tenders are presentable the day they are issued to these bondholders for gold at the Treasury, if they demand it. The Senator is departing from the absolutely uniform policy of the Government in the matter of these legal-tenders. They were issued during the war as a war necessity; they were payable in gold, and unquestionably the world would not otherwise have touched them. They were receivable for all Government indebtedness, except customs duties. That seems to have troubled some Senators, and I am not sure but the distinguished Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] was bothered about it, and thought it was a discrimination.

The reason for it was perfectly obvious. The reason was founded upon absolute necessity; the reason was patriotic. We could not have borrowed of the world the money on our bonds without making the world believe that they were payable in gold. That is an incontrovertible fact. No mere promise of ours that we would get the gold at some time when the bonds were to be paid would have been of any use. We showed the world, by making the distinct provision that customs duties must be paid in gold, that we would have the interest ready, and would probably be ready to pay the principal in gold in due time.

I will not attempt to run over the Supreme Court decision, but the upshot of it was that when the war was over the Supreme Court decided that the issuing in war times of legal tenders was all right, but that it was not legal in time of peace. That is the substance of the decision, that it was a matter in the discretion of a great government to issue in war times a forced loan in paper of that kind.

The Government did adopt, and steadily pursued for years, the policy of reducing the volume of the greenbacks or legal tenders, and when we came to the famous resumption act this provision was inserted:

> And whenever, and so often, as circulating notes shall be issued to any such banking association, so increasing its capital or circulating notes, or so newly organized as aforesaid, it shall be the duty of Secretary of the Treasury to redeem the legal-tender United States notes in excess only of $300,000,000, to the amount of 80 per cent of the sum of national bank notes so issued to any such banking association as aforesaid and to continue such redemption as such circulating notes are issued until there shall be outstanding the sum of $300,000,000 of such legal-tender United States notes, and no more.

That is to say, in extending the circulation of the country $100, we were at the same time reducing $80 by canceling legal tenders in pursuance of the steady and wise policy of the Government to pay off those notes, given in war times under great stress.

Public sentiment finally said, "we will not reduce those legal tenders any more at present; the people like them, and we will stop reducing them."

The clause which I have just read in the resumption act was repealed by public act No. 65, approved March 31, 1878.

In 1878 the greenbacks had got down to $347,000,000. Everybody says $346,000,000, but it is $347,681,016, and there they have stayed to a dollar and a cent ever since.

Mr. TELLER. A million of them were burned at Chicago.

Mr. HAWLEY. It is said $1,000,000 of them were destroyed at Chicago, but their owners could not prove it. There they have stayed from that time until this, and outside of all the kite-flying and imaginary financiers we have from all parts of the West, and some from the East also, the first distinct and respectable proposition to go back to a supposed necessitous war condition and force upon the country a legal-tender bill, a forced loan to change a 2 per cent loan of $25,000,000, payable at the pleasure of the Government, to $25,000,000 of newly-printed paper money, not in war times, and in defiance and entire reversal of thirty years' policy of the Government. That is what the proposition of the Senator is. We might just as well print any other kind of notes.

I asked the Senator the other day a question about what was to come next, and he said it was time enough for that. I said the question was there and then, and it is right here now. You are simply drifting along to a time when it will be thought to be patriotic and wise finance to comfort the people with an enlarged paper circulation and an immense debt. We will have this question argued within two years. We are going to discuss fiat money, and this is the respectable leading step in the direction of a fiat-money discussion. We have no surplus revenue, and no excuse whatever for reducing our bonded debt.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, I have been interested in this discussion and enlightened by the suggestions made by the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. FAULKNER], as also those made by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL]. I understand both Senators to have the object of enlarging the circulating money of our country, which is just now in a state of congestion.

The Senator from West Virginia calls attention to the fact that about twenty-one and a half millions of 2 per cent bonds are now owned by national banks, upon which currency has already been received by them to the extent of 90 per cent. If we add 10 per cent, of course that will give an additional currency of two and a half millions, as stated by the Senator.

Mr. PLATT. How much?

Mr. COCKRELL. Two million one hundred thousand dollars.

Mr. ALLISON. I am speaking now of the addendum proposed by the Senator from Missouri. Under the plan of the original bill, as reported by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], and so well sustained by him to-day, the additional currency on this $21,000,000 will be about two and a half millions.

The Senator from Missouri, as I understand, proposes to substitute in lieu of that a proposition that the holders of the 2 per cent bonds shall present them to the Treasury and secure greenbacks. There is only one way whereby that can be done under existing law, and that is for them to surrender these bonds to the Comptroller of the Currency and deposit 90 per cent of the value of those bonds in greenbacks for the redemption of the notes.

So the process of the Senator from Missouri will only result

in enlarging the currency, at the best, about two millions and a half, or perhaps three million dollars, and will subject all the national banks, which are scattered about in every part of the country, holding here $100,000 and there $50,000, to a disarrangement of their entire business, in order to get out two or three million dollars more of currency. They will have to come to Washington, deposit their bonds, and then go to another part of the Treasury, get out the greenbacks, and redeposit them there, where they must be held naturally and logically for the redemption of these notes.

In view of the suggestion made by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY], that here is a great question of public policy, whether or not we shall at this moment, in this stress, properly delineated by the Senator from West Virginia, give immediate relief, the Senator from Missouri, for the sake of adding two or three millions to the currency which is in circulation, proposes to establish a new policy, which has not been seriously suggested, or at least has not been supported since war times, which would disarrange the existing situation of the national banks who hold the 2 per cent bonds.

I submit to my friend from Missouri—and I have high respect and regard for him and for the suggestions he makes—that the game is not worth the candle at this time. At some time hereafter when we get into a debate as to what shall be the future currency of our country, whether it shall be greenbacks or national-bank notes or State bank notes, or all of them, I think it will be a proper and legitimate subject of discussion for us to divide up and debate this question; but it seems to me that in the great pressure which now exists, my friend from Missouri ought to be persuaded—and so far as I can I wish to persuade him—to withdraw this impediment which we now find to the relief proposed, in order that we may get a vote upon the main question, especially as that which he proposes is but a little drop in the bucket, to the extent, at most, of a few million dollars, and which will be absorbed in a single day in the city of New York or elsewhere.

Let us give this substantial relief for the present, and afterwards discuss the question of what shall be the currency of this country. I admit that is a great question, and I want to see it thoroughly debated; but I think it would be wiser and better for us to postpone that discussion until we can reach the question more at large than we possibly can now, if we are to relieve the distress which all seem to agree exists at this time.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, I knew the Senator could not look me in the eye and make the statement he did without a smile. When the Senator talked about the national banks having to redeem their bonds, and all this and that, and put into the Treasury 90 per cent of the amount which must remain there just as if that amount was to be retired, he turned his back and pleasantly smiled.

Mr. ALLISON. I did not distinctly say that they must remain there, because I know perfectly well the law of 1890; I submit that they come into the consideration of the Treasury as a part of the present debt of the Government, and therefore must remain in great part.

Mr. COCKRELL. If the Senator will examine his words in the RECORD, he will see the impression was evidently left upon the minds of the Senate that this money went into the Treasury and stayed there. The act known as the Sherman act found $55,000,000 of bank-note redemption money in the Treasury, and turned it all over into the Treasury. It was there a separate fund, not a part of the assets of the Treasury. Then it was that every Senator on the other side, including the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], headed by the distinguished leader from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], came in solid phalanx, and said to the national-bank creditors, the holders of these bank notes, "We, the people of the United States, are above suspicion in our standing financially; we will embezzle, we will convert to our own use $55,000,000 of your trust fund, and when you want it, come to us and we will pay it."

That was practically that law. We put into our own pockets the whole amount of it and said to the holders of these $55,000,000 of national-bank notes, "we, the United States, will use this $55,000,000, we will prevent a deficit under this Administration, and when you present the notes we will redeem them." There were $20,000,000 of them outstanding on the 31st of July. If my amendment becomes a law they will be covered into the Treasury and added to the surplus in the Treasury and a double benefit will come from it.

Let us see what the surplus in the Treasury was on the 1st of August by the last financial debt statement:

Gold reserve, $99,202,933.
Net cash balance, $18,684,634.57.

If the old form of debt statement had been observed there would have been a deficit of over $2,000,000, because the $20,364,878.25 of national-bank note redemption fund would have been deducted from it, and that would not have been considered.

My amendment is a simple proposition. It authorizes the issue of $25,000,000 of legal-tender United States notes to be exchanged for that amount of interest-bearing 2 per cent bonds, the bonds to be canceled. The taxpayer is saved thereby $500,000 a year, $25,000,000 will be added to the circulation of the country permanently, and $20,000,000 added to the surplus in the Treasury; yet the Senator from Connecticut says we are departing from the established policy of the Government, and he quotes the law of 1878, which was passed in this body at my instance, prohibiting the further contraction of greenback circulation, and holding it stationary at that sum.

My good friend from Connecticut, I think, ought to remember his own deeds. He opposed the issue of Treasury notes and opposed the issue of greenbacks. Oh, what a horrible crime it would be, now, in the estimation of the Senator from Connecticut, in the year of our Lord 1893, when the country is in ruin because there is not money enough in it to issue $25,000,000 of greenbacks, but in 1890, not three years ago, the distinguished Senator voted to issue over $100,000,000 in United States Treasury notes.

Mr. HAWLEY. With the precious metals behind them.

Mr. COCKRELL. Oh, no; not with silver coin behind them, but with bullion, a mere commodity, merchandise; no better than wheat. The Senator then voted for issuing United States Treasury notes, payable in coin, for the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion every month in the year. It was not a crime then, but now it is a crime when we ask to issue $25,000,000 of noninterest-bearing legal-tender notes for the extinguishment of an obligation of $25,000,000 which bears interest Then there was no harm in it.

Mr. CAREY. Will the Senator from Missouri please answer the question how he proposes to redeem these new notes?

Mr. COCKRELL. Redeem them! Just as we redeemed the $346,000,000 of greenbacks outstanding, which no man, woman, or child wants to have redeemed, or would have redeemed.

Mr. CAREY. Does the Senator propose to increase the gold reserve?

Mr. COCKRELL. There is enough gold in the Treasury now; an abundance. Who has ever presented any greenback for redemption?

Mr. CAREY. That kind of money is being presented to get gold.

Mr. COCKRELL. I beg the Senator's pardon. Silver certificates are being taken as quickly as gold; silver dollars are being taken as quickly as gold dollars. The Senator has not heard of a man, woman, or child on this earth demanding one specified kind of money in preference to another, unless it be some gold shark and Shylock in New York. [Laughter and applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Order must be preserved in the galleries.

Mr. CAREY. I should like to ask the Senator to consider whether it would not be entirely proper to have such legislation as would protect this Government against sharks in case of emergency?

Mr. COCKRELL. There is no danger. The gold reserve can not be exhausted. They have tried it, they have moved heaven and earth to exhaust it, and they ran it down to $89,000,000, but now it has gone back.

Mr. CAREY. Does the Senator know what has driven it back?

Mr. COCKRELL. The Sherman law, as a matter of course, your law, the law you are turning somersaults to get repealed. Your friends say it drove the gold out of the country. Now it is bringing it back. If it drove the gold out of the country, it has brought it back.

Mr. CAREY. How does the Senator know that?

Mr. COCKRELL. How does the Senator know it drove gold out of the country? He knows the Sherman law drove gold out and in the same way it has brought it back, because conditions have not changed.

Mr. CAREY. I wish to ask the Senator from Missouri what is bringing the gold back to this country?

Mr. COCKRELL. The same law under which it went out.

Mr. CAREY. As an actual fact—there is no use to be dishonest about it—the gold which is being brought back to this country is being bought and brought back by the bankers of this country, who are loaning their securities in order to obtain it.

Mr. COCKRELL. How was it taken out? Did we give it away? Does the Senator pretend to say that the people of the United States gave away their gold and it went to Europe? Did not somebody buy it?

Mr. CAREY. No one suggested that the United States gave it away.

Mr. COCKRELL. Then why does the Senator say the gold has been bought and brought back here if it was not bought in the first place to be taken from here?

Mr. CAREY. I say the gold was shipped out of this country and it is now being shipped back, for the simple reason that the banks of this country are taking their best securities, sending them abroad, and getting loans on those securities.

Mr. COCKRELL. The English banks were doing the same thing when they took the gold away from here. It is the difference between tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee. Precisely the same cause which took the gold out of the United States is bringing it back. The Senator says it is the Sherman law. I say that if it was the Sherman law that took the gold out, the Sherman law has brought it back.

Mr. CAREY. I never said anything about the Sherman law. I have not mentioned the Sherman law.

Mr. COCKRELL. I mean those who hold the same view the Senator does.

Mr. TELLER. Will the Senator from Missouri allow me to say a word for the benefit of the Senator from Wyoming?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. TELLER. In the spring of 1891 seventy-odd millions of gold went out of this country in four months. I have the authority of the Treasury Department for saying that every dollar of it, except $9,000,000, went out at a premium, which was paid in the city of New York. If the Senator will take the pains to look and see when the gold was going out last March and April, and during last winter, he will find that during all that time, or practically all that time, it went out when the rates of exchange were such that it is morally certain a premium was then paid on it. So, if it is being bought now and coming back, it is coming back under the same law, under the same rule, and under the same conditions that it went abroad.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, I am astonished, I confess frankly, when the Senator from Wyoming talks about people wanting gold. Does the Senator not know that gold has been taken to the Treasury by people who beg to get silver for it?

Mr. CAREY. I do not deny that that has been done. The Secretary of the Treasury has so reported. But I should now like to ask the Senator from Missouri how it was that at the close of the last session the then prospective Secretary of the Treasury was in a stampede, and the whole Democratic party was in a stampede, to increase the holdings in the Treasury of the United States so far as gold was concerned?

Mr. COCKRELL. That was only a prolongation of the fear which had existed under the Republican Administration. It was the shadow extending over it.

Mr. CAREY. Not so. That was instigated by the incoming Administration. The Senator's party changed about on it.

Mr. COCKRELL. Here is the report of the Secretary of the Treasury of August 17, 1893, showing that gold was brought to the Treasury and offered there for silver. This is not the first time in the history of this country where gold—the precious, cowardly gold—has been brought to the Treasury in exchange for silver. In 1882 and 1883, either seventy-eight or eighty-four millions—I am not certain which——

Mr. TELLER. In 1880 and 1881, commencing in November, 1880, and running on.

Mr. COCKRELL. In 1881 about $80,000,000 of gold were deposited in the Treasury to be exchanged for silver certificates, and that process was continued until the Treasury refused to take any more, just as the present Secretary refused to take gold and give out silver.

Mr. President, the people of the United States know that their greenbacks are money, that they are perfectly good, that they are as good as gold, as good as silver, as good as anything on this earth. Nobody is afraid of them; nobody is going to take them to the Treasury and present them for redemption in order to get gold.

Nobody but a few speculators, who might get together in New York, would attempt such a thing as that. Then, if our Secretary of the Treasury does what is done by the secretary of the treasury of every nation on earth which has gold and silver and where silver is a full legal tender, when notes are brought to the Treasury in order to produce a contraction and a panic, shovel out legal-tender silver dollars to them, there never will be any trouble.

It was the coinage of the standard silver dollar in 1878 which made resumption a fixed fact beyond any question. There was not then gold enough in this country to have prevented a corner being made on it and taking it all out of the Treasury. But when the silver dollars were coined and placed there they were the watch-dogs of the yellow cowardly metal that was back in the rear; and it was known that if a run was made to exhaust the gold and create a premium upon it that they might speculate off of the wreck and ruin of the masses of the people, that the silver would be paid out to them, because we had just then declared it a full legal tender for everything.

It has remained there and it has made a run upon the Treasury in greenbacks impossible. As long as legal-tender silver remains there, there is no danger of a run upon the Treasury. It is the merest imagination; it is a baseless fabric; there is no possibility of it. No man will do it; no combination of men will do it. Now, we come to the simple proposition, and it is not a new thing. The Senator from Connecticut has eased his conscience heretofore by voting for hundreds of millions of United States Treasury notes; and these are just as good.

Mr. CAREY. Will the Senator from Missouri allow me to ask him another question?

Mr. COCKRELL. With pleasure.

Mr. CAREY. I understood the Senator to say a few moments ago that the Government has no right to make any offer for any of these bonds except the extended bonds.

Mr. COCKRELL. Oh, no; I did not say it has no right to make any offer.

Mr. CAREY. The Senator used the term——

Mr. COCKRELL. Practically we have no right, because it might be compulsion. But these bonds are now redeemable at our option, and I think it is but just and right that we should let the holders of the bonds have the greenbacks, add twenty-odd million to the surplus in the Treasury, save $500,000 interest every year, and wipe out $25,000,000 of bonded indebtedness.

Mr. CAREY. I wish to ask the Senator whether he would consider it advisable to pass a law permitting the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem in greenbacks any of the interest-bearing bonds of the United States if they are presented; not to compel the holder—I do not claim that we have any right to do that—but if they are offered to the Secretary of the Treasury would the Senator consider it advisable to permit the Treasury Department to redeem them in greenbacks?

Mr. COCKRELL. I am glad the Senator has asked that question. Yes; we have outstanding now $559,605,250 of 4 per cent bonds, maturing in 1907. If I had my way, I would pass a law providing that the holders of those bonds might come to the Treasury and surrender them, and receive dollar for dollar of the face value and the interest accrued up to that time, when they would make a deposit of a percentage of gold with the bonds to form a reserve.

Mr. CAREY. My friend from Missouri upsets his whole argument now. Only a moment ago he said that we did not need any more gold and do not want it.

Mr. COCKRELL. I do not think it is needed at all.

Mr. CAREY. Now, the Senator says——

Mr. COCKRELL. Wait a moment. I do not think it is needed, but just to stop the senseless howl that would come up from gold monometallists I would provide for an increase of the reserve.

Mr. CAREY. Then it is necessary.

Mr. COCKRELL. Not that it is needed, but simply to check such distinguished gentlemen as my friends from trying to scare the people of this country. That would be the only reason in the world why I would do it. There is no necessity for it. The people would keep that $559,000,000 of currency legal tenders in circulation, and keep it at par with gold—there is no doubt about that—upon our present gold basis. I have not a particle of doubt about it. But in order to allay the idle apprehension and midnight dreams of my distinguished friend from Wyoming and my friend from Ohio I would provide an additional reserve.

Mr. CAREY. How much percentage would the Senator provide?

Mr. COCKRELL. I should think from 15 to 20 per cent.

Mr. CAREY. Why does not the Senator require from 15 to 20 per cent on this other class of bonds?

Mr. COCKRELL. Because we have already got a greater percentage. We have got nearly 30 per cent already.

Mr. CAREY. Does the Senator mean to say that we have 30 per cent of gold to redeem the outstanding greenbacks and other circulation of this country?

Mr. COCKRELL. On $100,000,000 how much is the per cent now?

Mr. CAREY. We have about 4 per cent of actual gold.

Mr. COCKRELL. My good friend is a great mathematician. What is the per cent of $100,000,000 gold on $346,000,000 of greenbacks? If it is not more than 4 per cent I have forgotten my arithmetic. That may be Wyoming arithmetic, but it is not old Ray. [Laughter and applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri will suspend a moment. It is the duty of the Chair to notify occupants of the galleries that no applause is permitted. If it is repeated the Chair will direct the galleries to be cleared. The Chair hopes it will not be necessary to call attention to it again. The Senator from Missouri will proceed.

Mr. COCKRELL. Unless some of my friends want to catechise me a little further, I do not know that I have anything more to say just now. I have stated the matter fully, I think.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. GORMAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After thirteen minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 7 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, August 23, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate August 22, 1893.

APPRAISER OF MERCHANDISE.

Walter H. Bunn, of New York, to be appraiser of merchandise for the district of New York, in the State of New York, to succeed Marville W. Cooper, resigned.

ASSISTANT APPRAISER OF MERCHANDISE.

R. Loper Baird, of Pennsylvania, to be assistant appraiser of merchandise in the district of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, to succeed William Gaw, jr., removed.

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS.

James T. Kilbreth, of New York, to be collector of customs for the district of New York, in the State of New York, to succeed Francis Hendricks, resigned.

George S. Weed, of New York, to be collector of customs for the district of Champlain, in the State of New York, to succeed Stephen Moffitt, removed.

SUPERINTENDENT OF MINT, NEW ORLEANS.

Overton Cade, of Louisiana, to be superintendent of the United States mint at New Orleans, in the State of Louisiana, to succeed Andrew W. Smyth, removed.

ASSAYER OF THE MINT, NEW ORLEANS.

R. L. Schroeder, of Louisiana, to be assayer of the mint of the United States at New Orleans, in the State of Louisiana, to succeed Frank F. Claussen, removed.

MELTER AND REFINER OF THE MINT, NEW ORLEANS.

Lewis Guion, of Louisiana, to be melter and refiner of the mint of the United States at New Orleans, in the State of Louisiana, to succeed J. Cecil Legaré, removed.

COINER OF THE MINT, NEW ORLEANS.

H. Gibbs Morgan, of Louisiana, to be coiner of the mint of the United States at New Orleans, in the State of Louisiana, to succeed Arsemus R. Burkdoll, removed.

COLLECTORS OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

William H. Doyle, of Pennsylvania, to be collector of internal revenue for the first district of Pennsylvania, to succeed William H. Brooks, removed.

Edward P. Kearns, of Pennsylvania, to be collector of internal revenue for the twenty-third district of Pennsylvania, to succeed George W. Miller, resigned.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

General officer.

Col. William P. Carlin, Fourth Infantry, to be brigadier-general, May 17, 1893, vice Carr, retired from active service.

Medical Department.

Lieut. Col. George M. Sternberg, Deputy Surgeon-General, to be Surgeon-General, with the rank of brigadier-general, May 30, 1893, vice Sutherland, retired from active service.

Pay Department.

Capt. William H. Hamner, Twentieth Infantry, to be paymaster, with the rank of major, May 17, 1893, vice Candee, promoted.

Quartermaster's Department.

First Lieut. Frederick Von Schrader, Twelfth Infantry, to be assistant quartermaster, with the rank of captain, April 24, 1893, vice Williams, promoted.

Medical Department.

Maj. Johnson V. D. Middleton, surgeon, to be deputy surgeon-general, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, May 8, 1893, vice McClellan, deceased.

Maj. John H. Janeway, surgeon, to be deputy surgeon-general, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, May 31, 1893, vice Sternberg, appointed surgeon-general.

Capt. Henry S. Turrill, assistant surgeon, to be surgeon, with the rank of major, April 7, 1893, vice Happersett, deceased.

Corps of Engineers.

Lieut. Col. George H. Elliot, to be colonel, May 18, 1893, vice Houston, deceased.

Maj. Amos Stickney to be lieutenant-colonel, May 18, 1893, vice Elliot, promoted.

Capt. Thomas Turtle, to be major, May 18, 1893, vice Stickney, promoted.

First Lieut. Harry F. Hodges, to be captain, May 18, 1893, vice Turtle, promoted.

Second Lieut. William V. Judson, to be first lieutenant, May 18, 1893, vice Hodges, promoted.

Cavalry arm.

Capt. Joseph M. Kelley, Tenth Cavalry, to be major, April 15, 1893, vice Moylan, Tenth Cavalry, retired from active service.

Capt. Thomas C. Lebo, Tenth Cavalry, to be major, July 26, 1893, vice Tupper, Sixth Cavalry, retired from active service.

First Lieut. John Bigelow, jr., Tenth Cavalry, to be captain, April 15, 1893, vice Kelley, Tenth Cavalry, promoted.

First Lieut. Robert D. Read, jr., Tenth Cavalry, to be captain, July 26, 1893, vice Lebo, Tenth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Letcher Hardeman, Fourth Cavalry, to be first lieutenant, April 15, 1893, vice Bigelow, Tenth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Edmund S. Wright, Ninth Cavalry, to be first lieutenant, June 30, 1893, vice Robertson, First Cavalry, resigned.

Second Lieut. William H. Hay, Third Cavalry, to be first lieutenant, July 21, 1893, vice Clark, Tenth Cavalry, deceased.

Second Lieut. James E. Nolan, Fourth Cavalry, to be first lieutenant, July 26, 1893, vice Read, Tenth Cavalry, promoted.

Artillery arm.

First Lieut. Charles Humphreys, Third Artillery, to be captain, June 30, 1893, vice Knower, Third Artillery, retired from active service.

Second Lieut. Richmond P. Davis, Second Artillery, to be first lieutenant, March 23, 1893, vice Towers, Second Artillery, deceased.

Second Lieut. George O. Squier, Third Artillery, to be first lieutenant, June 30, 1893, vice Humphreys, Third Artillery, promoted.

Infantry arm.

Lieut.-Col. Robert H. Hall, Sixth Infantry, to be colonel, May 18, 1893, vice Carlin, Fourth Infantry, appointed brigadier-general.

Maj. Harry C. Egbert, Seventeenth Infantry, to be lieutenant-colonel, May 18, 1893, vice Hall, Sixth Infantry, promoted.

Capt. William H. Bisbee, Fourth Infantry, to be major, May 18, 1893, vice Egbert, Seventeenth Infantry, promoted.

First Lieut. Henry E. Robinson, Fourth Infantry, to be captain, April 4, 1893, vice Neide, Fourth Infantry, retired from active service.

First Lieut. William W. Wotherspoon, Twelfth Infantry, to be captain, April 28, 1893, vice Hurst, Twelfth Infantry, retired from active service.

First Lieut. Charles W. Mason, Fourth Infantry, to be captain, May 18, 1893, vice Bisbee, Fourth Infantry, promoted.

First Lieut. Arthur Williams, regimental quartermaster Third Infantry, to be captain, May 18, 1893, vice Thompson, Third Infantry, retired from active service.

First Lieut. Stephen Y. Seyburn, Tenth Infantry, to be captain, May 19, 1893, vice Stiles, Tenth Infantry, retired from active service.

First Lieut. Edmund K. Webster, regimental quartermaster Second Infantry, to be captain, July 26, 1893, vice Ames, Second Infantry, retired from active service.

Second Lieut. Frederick C. Kimball, Fifth Infantry, to be first lieutenant, April 4, 1893, vice Robinson, Fourth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Frank L. Winn, First Infantry, to be first lieutenant, April 28, 1893, vice Von Schrader, Twelfth Infantry, appointed assistant quartermaster.

Second Lieut. Charles C. Ballou, Sixteenth Infantry, to be first lieutenant, April 28, 1893, vice Wotherspoon, Twelfth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Erneste V. Smith, Third Infantry, to be first lieutenant, May 18, 1893, vice Merriam, Fourth Infantry, retired from active service.

Second Lieut. George B. Duncan, Ninth Infantry, to be first lieutenant, May 18, 1893, vice Mason, Fourth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Robert C. Williams, Fifteenth Infantry, to be first lieutenant, May 18, 1893, vice Brumback, Second Infantry, resigned.

Second Lieut. Lucius L. Durfee, Seventeenth Infantry, to be first lieutenant, May 19, 1893, vice Seyburn, Tenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Charles G. Dwyer, Twenty-first Infantry, to be first lieutenant, May 22, 1893, vice Buttler, Third Infantry, appointed regimental quartermaster.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate August 22, 1893.

SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF COLORADO.

Thomas D. Robinson, of Denver, Colo., who was appointed June 15, 1893, during the recess of the Senate, to be surveyor-general of Colorado.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

William C. Perry, of Kansas, to be attorney of the United States for the district of Kansas.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Frank P. Arbuckle, of Denver, Colo., to be receiver of public moneys at Denver, Colo.

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE.

Edwin P. Harman, of Denver, Colo., to be register of the land office at Denver, Colo.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, *August 22, 1893.*

The House met at 11 a. m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. SAMUEL W. HADDAWAY.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

SILVER PURCHASES, TREASURY NOTES.

The SPEAKER laid before the House a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury; which was read, as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., August 19, 1893.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of the following resolution passed by the House of Representatives on the 16th instant:

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby respectfully requested to communicate to the House the following information relating to the purchase and coinage of silver under the act of July 14, 1890, entitled 'An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes:'

"First. How many ounces of silver bullion have been purchased, and what has been the highest, lowest, and average market price paid?

"Second. What amount of Treasury notes has been issued in payment of the silver bullion, what amount redeemed, and what amount reissued?

"Third. What amount of Treasury notes has been redeemed in gold coin and what amount in silver coin?

"Fourth. How many standard silver dollars have been coined?

"Fifth. How many ounces of silver bullion are now owned by the Government?"

In reply, I have the honor to state:

First. The number of ounces of silver bullion purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, from August 13, 1890, to August 16, 1893, inclusive, was 161,521,000 fine ounces, costing $150,669,459. The highest price paid was $1.20¼, August 20, 1890, and the lowest price, $0.696, July 24, 1893—average price, $0.9328+

Second. Treasury notes to the amount of $150,115,985 have been issued to date, August 16, 1893, in payment of the silver bullion, and that amount is still outstanding, the redemptions having been replaced by issues, with the exception of $714,636, which have been redeemed in standard silver dollars and retired from circulation since August 3, instant.

Third. Up to August 1, 1893, $49,184,160 in Treasury notes have been redeemed in gold, and since August 3, 1893, $714,636 in Treasury notes have been redeemed in silver dollars, this being the first redemption of these notes in silver.

Fourth. The number of standard silver dollars coined from bullion purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, to August 16, 1893, has been 36,087,185.

Fifth. The number of ounces of silver owned by the Government, purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, on August 16, 1893, was 133,161,375 fine ounces, costing $121,217,677.

Very respectfully,

J. G. CARLISLE, *Secretary.*

Hon. CHARLES F. CRISP,
Speaker, House of Representatives.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I presume that this letter, having been read, will be published in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. It will be ordered printed in the RECORD, if that is the desire of the House.

Mr. BLAND. And in pamphlet form also.

The SPEAKER. That will also be ordered, if desired. There is no rule on the subject.

Mr. BLAND. I ask unanimous consent that this letter be printed in the RECORD and in document form.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the letter just read will be printed in the RECORD and also in ordinary document form, and it will lie on the table.

There was no objection.

Mr. BLAND. I presume the usual number will be printed?

The SPEAKER. The usual number.

CALIFORNIA MIDWINTER INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the bill (S. 50) in aid of the California Midwinter International Exposition; which was read a first and second time.

Mr. LOUD. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of this bill.

The bill was read, as follows:

Whereas there will be held in the city and county of San Francisco, State of California, from and after January 1, 1894, an exposition to be known as the California Midwinter International Exposition, in which foreign nations and foreign exhibitors have been invited and have agreed to participate; Therefore,

Be it enacted, etc., That all articles which shall be imported from foreign countries for the sole purpose of exhibition at said exposition, upon which there shall be a tariff or customs duty, shall be admitted free of payment of duty, customs fees, or charges, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe, and all articles which have been imported from foreign countries and which are now on exhibition at the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, upon which there is a tariff or customs duty, and which have been heretofore admitted free of payment of duty, customs fees, or charges, may, under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, be removed to the city of San Francisco, in the State of California, for the sole purpose of exhibition at said California Midwinter International Exposition.

SEC. 2. That it shall be lawful at any time during such exposition to sell for delivery at the close of the exposition any of the goods or property imported for and actually on exhibition in the exposition buildings or on its grounds, subject to such regulations for the security of the revenue and for the collection of the import duties as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe: *Provided*, That all such articles when sold or withdrawn for consumption in the United States shall be subject to the duty, if any, imposed upon such articles by the revenue laws in force at the date of the importation; and all penalties prescribed by law shall be applied and enforced against such articles and against the persons who may be guilty of any illegal sale or withdrawal thereof.

SEC. 3. That all of the provisions of public resolution No. 30, entitled "Joint resolution authorizing foreign exhibitors at the World's Columbian Exposition to bring to this country foreign laborers from their respective countries for the purpose of preparing for and making their exhibits," approved August 5, 1892, are hereby extended to and made applicable to said California Midwinter International Exposition to the same extent as if said California Midwinter International Exposition was therein specifically named.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California [Mr. LOUD] that this bill be immediately considered?

Mr. BAILEY. I am not inclined to object to the consideration of this bill if the gentleman from California [Mr. LOUD] will give us the assurance that its passage is not to be made a predicate hereafter for asking from the Government an appropriation in aid of this exposition.

Mr. LOUD. It has not been the intention of the city of San Francisco to ask Government aid for this exposition to the extent of one cent; and so far as I am concerned (and I think I can speak for all my colleagues on this floor) we will not ask for one cent of Government appropriation in aid of the exposition.

Mr. BAILEY. That is entirely satisfactory.

Mr. COOMBS. I would like to inquire in reference to this California exposition whether there is to be the same provision of law now applicable to the exposition at Chicago as to the holding of imported goods in bond, under regulations of the Secretary of the Treasury?

Mr. LOUD. The same provision will apply in this case.

There being no objection, the House proceeded to the consideration of the bill; which was ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

EXCHANGE OF UNITED STATES BONDS FOR TREASURY NOTES.

Mr. JOHNSON of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the bill which I send to the Clerk's desk be printed and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, with leave to report at any time after the pending special order is disposed of.

The bill was read, as follows:

A bill to permit the exchange of United States bonds for Treasury notes.

Be it enacted, etc., That any holder of bonds of the United States may, after the passage of this act, deposit such bonds at the Treasury of the United States, or at the office of any assistant treasurer of the United States, and receive therefor their face value in Treasury notes of the United States, as described in the act of July 14, 1890. Such bonds shall be held as a special deposit to the credit of the party depositing them, and during the time they are so held shall draw no interest, and shall be returned on the order of the party depositing them on the payment of their face value in United States currency.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury shall make such regulations as may be necessary to save to the Government the payment of interest on such bonds during the time they are held as a special deposit, and he is hereby authorized to issue Treasury notes to the amount needed and to provide for the cancellation of an equal amount of such notes on the return of said bonds to their owners, and a sum sufficient to carry into effect the provisions of this act is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

SEC. 3. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the introduction of this bill as requested by the gentleman from Ohio, and its reference to the Committee on Banking and Currency? The Chair hears none.

The bill (H. R. 2) was accordingly read a first and second time, and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Mr. JOHNSON of Ohio. The Speaker omitted to put to the House a part of my request, which was that the committee have leave to report this bill at any time after the disposition of the pending special order.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to that request? The Chair hears none.

Leave was accordingly granted.

TOWN SITE ENTRIES IN CHEROKEE OUTLET.

Mr. McRAE, by unanimous consent, introduced a joint resolution (H. Res. 4) to make the provisions of the act of May 14, 1890, which provides for town-site entries of lands in a portion of what is known as Oklahoma applicable to the territory known as the Cherokee Outlet, and to make the provisions of said act applicable to town sites in the Cherokee Outlet; which was read a first and second time.

Mr. McRAE. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of this joint resolution.

The joint resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all the provisions of an act of Congress, approved May 14, 1890, which provides for town-site entries of lands in a portion of what is known as Oklahoma, be, and the same are hereby, made applicable to the territory known as the Cherokee Outlet, and now a part of the Territory of Oklahoma; and that all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with this joint resolution be, and the same are hereby, repealed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of this joint resolution?

Mr. TRACEY. I think we ought not to go into the consideration of any measures of this kind until we get through with the pending special order. I dislike to object.

The SPEAKER. As the Chair understands, the gentleman from New York [Mr. TRACEY] objects.

Mr. McRAE. The passage of this resolution is recommended by the Interior Department; and I hope that the letter of the Commissioner of the General Land Office transmitting the resolution will be read. If, after that, the gentleman from New York objects, he will do so with a full knowledge of the facts. It is no favor to me, but a matter of public importance.

The SPEAKER. Unless the objection is withdrawn——

Mr. TRACEY. I have no objection to the reading of the letter.

The SPEAKER. In the absence of objection, the letter will be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

GENERAL LAND OFFICE, *Washington, August 21, 1893.*

MY DEAR SIR: Inclosed please find draft of joint resolution, which I talked with you about this morning. I have submitted the same to the Secretary and he has approved the same. If necessary the Secretary will so state to the committee. Its passage is recommended, as by a mistake in the drafting of the original act of March 3, 1893, it was inadvertently left out. This resolution should be passed at once, which will really make it a part of the act of March 3, 1893.

Very respectfully yours,

S. W. LAMOREUX, *Commissioner.*

Hon. THOMAS C. McRAE:

Mr. SPRINGER. Will the gentleman from Arkansas explain this proposition?

Mr. McRAE. With the leave of the House, I will.

The act of May 14, 1890, providing for the town-site entries of lands in what is known as Oklahoma, used these words of limitation as to the territory to which it should apply:

The Territory of Oklahoma now [then] open to settlement.

And the act of the last Congress which provided for the opening of the Cherokee Strip makes no provision for the use of this act in that Territory. The Attorney-General has decided that there is no provision of law by which the act of 1890 can be used in that portion of the public lands which is to be opened to settlement within the next month. The Interior Department has no authority to appoint town-site boards in the Strip. It is thought that the Department should have such authority. This resolution makes that act applicable to the public land which will be opened to settlement by proclamation within the next few weeks, so that the necessary boards can be organized and have a uniform town-site law in all of the Territory of Oklahoma.

Mr. FLYNN. Does this provide for the appointment of town-site boards by the Secretary of the Interior?

Mr. McRAE. This makes applicable the provisions of the act of May 14, 1890, to the "strip," which act allows the Secretary to appoint the boards.

Mr. FLYNN. Since the passage of that act the town-site boards have been appointed in Oklahoma by the probate judges. What is the object of this resolution?

Mr. McRAE. This resolution simply makes the act of May 14, 1890, of general application in that Territory. That is all.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas for the present consideration of this joint resolution?

Mr. TRACEY. Mr. Speaker, I do not object, but I will give notice that in future I will object to any discussion being brought before the House pending the argument on the silver bill. We can not get our speakers in now. I withdraw my objection.

There being no further objection, the joint resolution was ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. SHELL, on account of sickness.

SILVER.

Mr. BRICKNER. Mr. Speaker, this question is to my mind a purely commercial one—a matter of supply and demand. Having been engaged in commercial pursuits for over 40 years, having passed through several periods of commercial depression, and remaining in active business up to the present day, my experience has tended no doubt toward shaping my views on the silver problem. The condition of affairs to-day demands from every Representative upon this floor an expression of opinion on this vital question, and I would be neglectful of my duty to my constitutents and to this House did I fail to make known my sentiments.

It is not my purpose to arraign any party for the enactment of this unfortunate so-called Sherman law. While my vote was cast against it in this House at the time of its passage, and I feared evil results instead of beneficial, as was claimed for it by its framers and advocates, yet I have no right to assail the other side and say they were not sincere at the time in their claims that this law would be of great benefit to the country.

It has proved a grave error, and is now acknowledged so to be by those who were most active in securing and who voted for its passage. A large majority of them will, I am informed, now vote for the repeal of the purchasing clause, and their courage and devotion to the welfare of our common country can not be too highly praised. It is to the honor and glory of this great country that upon such grave questions of national character partisanship is brushed aside and patriotism rules.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I expect we shall all be manly and honest in dealing with this purely commercial question. The country is in sore distress, and it is no time for trifling or quibbling. Commerce is at a standstill. The majority of our workshops are silent, our factories closed, our railways do poor business, mines are shut down, and our harbors are crowded with ships with sails furled. Steamers with their fires out are moored idle and unfruitful at their docks, and sailors are lounging about the great cities in enforced idleness. No fierce fires burn in the rolling mills, and our great furnaces are cold.

Even in the great wheat fields of the Northwest I am told much grain is wasting for the lack of currency to pay the laborers, who would otherwise gather up and thresh a bountiful harvest. Doing business in over twenty States I find the same distress is everywhere—there is no exception—whether you go to the manufacturing States of the East or the grain and cotton raising States of the West and South. And all this at a time when the country's granaries are full to overflowing with the products of the soil.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the men who control these industries, as well as the laborers employed therein, are looking to this Congress for some wholesome legislation. They do not want long-winded speeches, made up largely from extracts taken from old musty books in the library reiterating what some one said ten, twenty, forty, or one hundred years ago. They demand action. If the men who first uttered the sentiments that have been paraded here time and again, since this debate began, as original with the orator could be awakened from their everlasting sleep and hear some of the statesmen of to-day in their endeavor to turn back the dial of time and progress, they would gaze at each other in amazement and say wonderingly: "Are these our posterity?"

The country is suffering, and yet these silver-tongued orators want to feed the unemployed laborers on platforms and theories that may have been suited to a former day and need, but are certainly not applicable to the present situation. They seem unable to comprehend that conditions have changed since then, and that methods of years gone by will not meet the changed and changing conditions of to-day. Are they patriots, or are they trying to prejudice one section of the country against the other, or men in one pursuit against those in others?

Advocates of silver now opposing the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, so-called, admit it is bad law and harmful in its effects, and yet nearly every member who opposes repeal now and who was in the Fifty-first Congress condemned it then, and cast his vote against its passage. They now boldly proclaim that unless the House amends the Wilson repeal bill (which amendments I propose to show later on would make matters worse than to leave the Sherman law remain as it is) they

will resist its passage and defeat the repeal of the purchasing clause. They admit the purchase clause is wrong and yet charge that those in favor of its repeal are controlled by Wall street; that Wall street only and its hirelings and dupes are for repeal. I for myself brand that statement as uncalled for and untrue. I am not the dupe of Wall street, neither am I the hireling of the silver kings. Nor do I want class legislation in any form for either.

Mr. Speaker, there are but two questions to consider in this whole matter. How much silver can we float in addition to the amount we already have? And what effect will repeal have on our currency and on the country? If we can float more silver, then let us have more at the same ratio as the silver now in circulation. Let the Secretary of the Treasury be authorized to purchase silver bullion at its market value, or, better still, use the seigniorage bullion now in the Treasury, coin into dollars all that can be paid out to those who will accept them, and stop there. Turn the profits into the United States Treasury and the whole country will have the benefit and not the bullion holders alone. It is my opinion, however, that we can not at this time use to advantage any more silver than we have now. If it were possible to float more silver it would not be necessary to issue certificates to represent it.

It is said repeal of the purchase clause would demonetize silver in this country and reduce the circulating medium about one-half. I can not see how it would do that. The Government has already guaranteed coined dollars to the amount of $58,917,196 and certificates issued upon the coined silver in the Treasury to the amount of $331,019,178, all now in circulation. I will oppose the retirement of this amount of circulating medium should its retirement be attempted.

The condition of the country requires more circulating medium, but we can not pay the premium that would be required to procure it through free coinage. The nonsilver-producing States are not willing to pay the enormous premium the silver States are asking in the proposed amendments to the Wilson bill. In other words, 65,000,000 people are not willing to pay tribute to 1,000,000. It would be far cheaper to pension them all or board them in our most fashionable hotels. When a boy, my father gave me what appeared to be a penny. Its inscription was: "Not one cent for tribute, but millions for defense." That was the principle of patriots in those days. Has that spirit died out in our land?

I have had prepared from the report of the Director of the Mint for 1892, page 51, a table showing the amount of silver produced in the four great silver-producing States of Colorado, Montana, Idaho, and Nevada, which I shall ask leave to print in the RECORD. The table shows the population of those four States according to the census of 1890, and probably does not vary largely from the population of to-day. The table is as follows:

Silver product, in ounces, in 1891, of the four great silver-producing States; also, population in 1890.

State.	Product.	Population.
Colorado	21,160,000	412,198
Montana	16,350,000	132,159
Idaho	4,035,000	84,385
Nevada	2,520,000	45,761
Total	45,065,000	674,503
Total for balance of United States	13,265,000	61,946,757
Total for United States	58,330,000	62,621,260

NOTE.—It may be well to state that of the 13,265,000 ounces of silver produced in the United States outside of the four States named, 11,555,000 ounces were mined in the three Territories of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah; so but a small fraction of all the silver bullion comes from the remainder of the States and Territories.

From these figures it is easy to ascertain just how much premium the people of the United States would have to pay to the people of these four States every year if we entered upon the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the present ratio. This is based upon the products of 1891; but should a free-coinage bill pass there would be no telling whether this product would be doubled or trebled or quadrupled.

Calculating the value of bullion at to-day's figures, 73 cents, and at its price under free coinage, $1.29, gives us the difference, or premium, called for by free-silver advocates, in each of these States, as follows: Colorado, $11,961,200, or $21.01 for every man, woman, and child in the State. And remember this premium would be paid every year, varying only with the price of bullion and amount produced. Montana's premium would be $9,319,500, or $70.51 per capita each year—nearly three times that of Colorado. Idaho would get $2,319,950 premium, or $27.45 per capita, and Nevada $2,006,400, or $43.84 per capita.

But not all the people in these States are engaged in them in-

ing of precious metals. From the census of 1890 I have again gathered statistics showing the number of people engaged in mining in these States, which includes not only those who dig the metal out of the ground, but also the laborers and mechanics employed above ground. Those who desire to substantiate these figures may find them in the Report on the Mineral Industries of the United States, pages 59 and 60. This table also I should like to have appear in the RECORD.

It is as follows:

Average number employed in gold and silver mining according to census of 1890 in the four great silver-producing States is as follows:

	Above ground.	Below ground.	Total.
COLORADO.			
Foremen	330	396	726
Mechanics	781		781
Miners		9,585	9,585
Laborers	1,505	569	2,074
Boys	16	14	30
Total	2,632	10,564	13,196
IDAHO.			
Foremen	128	163	291
Mechanics	354		354
Miners		2,566	2,566
Laborers	964	318	1,282
Boys	2		2
Total	1,448	3,047	4,495
MONTANA.			
Foremen	96	65	161
Mechanics	207		207
Miners		2,552	2,552
Laborers	2,613	254	2,867
Boys	5	5	10
Total	2,921	2,876	5,797
NEVADA.			
Foremen	83	84	167
Mechanics	261		261
Miners		2,003	2,003
Laborers	779	214	993
Boys	1	1	2
Total	1,124	2,302	3,426
Grand total			27,004

NOTE.—Above figures are taken from Mineral Industries of the United States, pages 59 and 60.

In addition to the 45,065,000 ounces of silver mined by these 27,000 men, the census of 1890 gives the following statistics about the output and value of lead, copper, and gold product in the four States named, as the results of the labor of the same workmen who mined the silver:

LEAD.

States.	Tons.	Value.
Colorado	70,788	$2,100,014
Montana	10,183	456,975
Idaho	23,172	1,042,627
Nevada	1,994	72,653
Total	106,137	3,673,271

COPPER.

States.	Pounds.	Value.
Colorado	1,170,053	Not stated.
Montana	98,222,444	Do.
Idaho	156,490	Do.
Nevada	26,430	Do.
Total	99,575,407	Not stated.

GOLD.

States.	Fine ounces.	Value.
Colorado	169,312	$3,500,000
Montana	169,312	3,500,000
Idaho	96,750	2,000,000
Nevada	145,125	3,000,000
Total	580,499	12,000,000

NOTE.—The above figures are taken from the Mineral Industries of the United States Census of 1890, pages 48, 155, and 163 respectively.

These figures give a still more startling exhibit than the others. Of the 674,503 population in these four States, but a trifle over 4 per cent, or 27,004, are engaged in mining. The other 650,000 really would not get their per capita yearly premium in the event of free coinage, but like the rest of us pay their share over to the ones engaged in the industry. What percentage of the 27,000 are mine owners is hard to tell, but it is safe to say it is not large.

It is also probably safe to say that very few of the real workers in the mines would ever realize any premium after all. It would be gobbled up by their employers—the silver kings. But supposing every one was to get his share, what would it amount to? Why, for Montana the premium would be $1,580.19 each year, and for Colorado, $907.11 each year; for Nevada, $588.88 yearly, and for Idaho, $516.11 a year for every miner in the State.

These figures are based upon the population of 1890 and the product of 1891, but since they were compiled I have been reliably informed the product of 1892 exceeded 75,000,000 ounces, or an increase in production of about thirty per cent over the previous year, unquestionably caused by the enforced purchase on Government account of 4,500,000 ounces per month. So that while the figures I have stated are correct as to 1891, for 1892 they would be much larger.

Let us see what they really are. Now, as is shown in the tables I have presented, the production of silver is confined in a large measure to the four States named, only 13,000,000 ounces out of 58,000,000 ounces being mined in all the other States and Territories—but 22 per cent of the entire output. So we can assume that the proportion will hold good as to the increase. This would make the premium that would be paid to the miners in the several States as follows, presuming, of course, that the number of miners had not varied greatly from 1891:

	Per miner.
Montana	$2,054.24
Colorado	1,179.24
Nevada	765.54
Idaho	670.94

And as the mine owners would appropriate the lion's share, how long would it be before billionaire silver magnates would take the place of the millionaires already made under the present restrictive silver laws? And how long would it be, too, before nearly all the wealth of the country would pass into their hands? Will the American people pay this immense tribute? Dare the members of this House assume the responsibility of placing such a burden upon the people?

Mr. Speaker, silver is a product, the same as gold, copper, iron, coal, wheat, or cotton. By aid of improved machinery it is now more cheaply and rapidly mined than formerly, and the supply has overtaken and passed the demand. The result has been a decline in the market. The same holds good with wheat. This commodity can now be produced for less than half the price possible before the invention of labor-saving machinery and the introduction of improved methods. The same applies to all these products in a greater or less degree.

The law of supply and demand fixes prices. This principle is as unchangeable and as fixed as the north star. There is no government large or strong enough to turn aside the effect of this natural law any more than it could change the course of the sun. It is thought by some people that we can fix the price of our own products. That idea is erroneous. What do we do with our surplus? Do we not depend upon Europe to buy it? Let there be an advance or a decline in the price of cotton, wheat, or silver in Liverpool, London, Paris, or any of the market centers of Europe and its effect is felt in ten minutes in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, in fact, in hundreds of our purchasing markets, and prices are adjusted according to the change.

The seller has invariably to submit to the purchaser. You can not compel a purchaser to buy your products if he does not need them, neither can you make him pay more than the current price without his consent. There may be exceptions sometimes in seasons of great scarcity and exorbitant prices can be obtained, but it is generally of short duration. This applies to all commodities. It applies to money as well as to the products of the soil, the mines, or mills.

I have heard bankers very much abused by some of the speakers on this question.

I have no sympathy with the Shylock, whether he speculates in money or the necessaries of life, or if he be one of the robbers in the several professions; but an honorable banker is entitled to consideration. He is part of the machinery of commerce, and is as necessary to commerce as the driving-wheel to a machine. He is as essential a factor as the merchant or miner. If he is eliminated trade, will suffer and in time the whole machinery of commerce be ruined.

The Government can assume the right to stamp anything and call it money, whether it be gold, silver, rags made into paper, or what not, place its stamp upon it, and compel its citizens to accept the same in payment of debts; but you take our silver-dollar across the borders of our country and try to pass it upon one who has no direct interchange with our people, and he will tell you that your dollar is only worth to him 63 cents, more or less, as the bullion price varies. No one claims we can use our silver dollars abroad for more than bullion value. Our silver-producer ought to take his chances as all other producers do, and sell where the highest price can be obtained, and not come to Congress asking that a market be created for him where more must be paid than the product is worth in the open market.

I am told that a new city in one of our silver-producing States has more millionaires, according to its population, than any city in the world. And yet they come to Congress asking to be made richer still. In the face of all this, we are told that we are the creatures of the gold-bugs. Why should a premium not be given to the grain-raiser, the cotton-planter, the stock-grower, and others as well? No, Mr. Speaker, I can never agree to such legislation.

The amendments proposed providing for free coinage at the ratio of 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20 to 1 would make matters even worse than to leave the Sherman act remain as it is. I understand the strongest fight will be made on the last amendment, the 20 to 1 ratio. Let us see what free coinage at, say, 20 to 1, means; how it affects commerce, and how much it will cost the people, *i. e.*, the Government, to recoin at that ratio the silver dollars we already have. According to the latest obtainable reports from the Treasury Department, we have in round numbers $419,000,000 now in the Treasury and in circulation. The loss, if this is to be recoined at 20 to 1 ratio, will be over $100,000,000.

According to the Treasurer's statement, also, it will require five years' labor, five years' running of the mints, to recoin all our silver dollars into new dollars at the proposed weight. And as the loss would be over $100,000,000, our circulating medium would be contracted that amount, just at a time when we need expansion. We would have the bad end of a barter in a commodity of uncertain value. This new coin would not pass in Europe, for it would be too light, even at the increased weight, to contain one dollar's worth of bullion.

They would serve no better purpose than the 16 to 1 dollar, as the ratio of bullion prices to-day to gold is over 28 to 1.

We would have no use for it in this country, for our people would rather have the paper certificate representing the coin than the coin itself. The effect might be to advance the price of bullion by reason of the Government being compelled to purchase in order to make up the deficiency in weight. The Government could be compelled to buy from the Shylocks (who are, and rightly, too, denounced by the free-silver men), who would surely corner the market if so large an amount of bullion was to be purchased.

They would buy up our silver certificates, and, having cornered the metal in the market, would compel the Government to pay them their own price for it, so as to be able to redeem the certificates with the new and heavier dollar. Now, after all this vast sum has been coined into dollars, no agreement being in operation with other countries as to uniform weight in coinage, silver bullion would go back to present prices or less.

Now I ask, in all candor, have we a right to attempt this? Is it necessary? I certainly say no. It is a dangerous experiment, upon which we have no right to enter, and it is fraught with the possibilities of absolute and permanent injury to the country.

One other point, Mr. Speaker, I wish to touch upon before leaving this part of the subject, and it is in support of my statement that we can not float our silver coin in foreign countries. Last year there was exported twenty-three million dollars' worth of silver bullion and only ninety-four thousand dollars in United States silver dollars, which goes to show that foreigners will not have it for use as a circulating medium.

These are the figures for 1892, as furnished by the Treasury Department. But in 1891 there was imported of foreign and domestic coins over seventeen millions, of which over $6,000,000 was in domestic coin, so that it is apparent all our exported coin is shipped back to us at the very first opportunity. Probably the silver men do not stop to think that our silver dollars can not be used abroad, even as fine bullion is used, for it is one-tenth alloy, and other nations, having a different percentage of alloy, find our coins unfitted for coinage in their own standard; therefore what little gets out of the country soon finds its way back again.

Now, Mr. Speaker, we come to the consideration of the second proposition I laid down at the beginning of my remarks as one of the two into which is resolved the whole silver problem. It is: What effect will the repeal of the purchase clause have on the currency and on the country? The primary effect, of course, will be to stop piling up silver bullion in the Treasury at the rate of 4,500,000 ounces a month. Back of this is the salutary effect of restoring public confidence that has been gradually under-

mined, and now all but destroyed through the distrust created, since the so-called Sherman law went into effect, by the large and continued purchases and constant accumulation of piling up of silver bullion under its provisions. People will know that the policy of depleting their Treasury of gold must cease.

Confidence in commercial lines and among manufacturers will again prevail when our policy shall have ceased to give cause for apprehension at home and abroad, when our finances shall be maintained upon a solid basis, and the Treasury no longer be made the dumping ground for a debased metal of uncertain value. The country can use and has use for the silver heretofore coined and the certificates issued thereon, and it is just and right that their legal-tender quality be kept unimpaired and the parity of our gold and silver coins maintained.

But the free and unlimited coinage of silver can not but injuriously affect the value and usefulness of the amount we already have and also render it impossible for the Government to maintain their parity at this time. Should, however, an international agreement be made at some future time, which I hope is not far distant, then will it be possible to have free coinage of silver, and the parity will take care of itself.

Additional circulating medium is urgently needed, but it must be provided for in some other way than by free coinage of silver under present conditions. Neither will it do to enact into laws hasty, ill-advised, and crude systems of finance and banking. Let us pass this bill repealing the purchase clause of the Sherman act, and thus in a measure restore lost confidence. Then take up the question of amending our banking laws or formulating new ones. Let them be elastic, so the circulating medium can be increased or diminished according to demand, and let it be provided that the liability of bank stockholders to their depositors shall be unlimited, as a guarantee for deposits. Then will the people have renewed faith in the soundness of our financial policy, our currency will be ample in volume and unquestioned in value, and our banks deserving of the fullest confidence.

If our country was a creditor nation, Mr. Speaker, instead of a debtor, it would make but little difference how we legislated or what we had for a circulating medium. But we are a debtor nation. We owe largely to Europe, and are liable at any time to have our securities returned to us and payment demanded, it may be through mistrust or scarcity of money in their own country, and our railway and other bond swill be sent over here and collections enforced when payment is due, working severe hardship in many cases. To some extent this appears to be the situation to-day. Mistrust due to the fear that the Sherman law will remain unrepealed and that this nation is drifting toward a silver standard is largely the cause of the present crisis, and liquidation of our industrial indebtedness held abroad is being enforced to an extent never before known.

As a nation we must have a form of money that will cancel our obligations held in other countries—our bonds must be paid in the money that represents to the holders a standard of value the world over. Were the balance of trade always in our favor we would not need to worry about gold, for the balance of trade would bring it to us without difficulty. But when our crops are short, or we overtrade, or should there be a great stringency in the money market in Europe, then we must be prepared to meet our obligations honestly and in the recognized money of the world.

An individual may be dishonest and not fulfill his obligation. The distress it will bring will be felt and borne only by individuals. But when a nation is dishonest and loses its credit there is no telling where the distress ends. Instances are numerous in the history of the world where nations had not fulfilled their honest obligations, and war, bloodshed, and untold misery ensued. Let us not add a black page of strife and destruction to our nation's history by becoming dishonest, too.

I ask this House in all sincerity to pass the Wilson repeal bill now under consideration. Mark the prediction: Unless it is done ruin and distress will stalk through the country hand in hand, and woe follow after woe in swift succession until we shall all be swallowed up in financial chaos. The peril now threatening the welfare of the country will come full upon us, and disasters multiply a thousandfold. Bread riots, with all their bloody and ghastly results, will strike terror to the hearts of the people in our great cities, and starving mobs will overturn all semblance to law and order in their mad strife for food.

Winter's awful cold will drive thousands upon thousands of the unemployed into the workhouses, prisons, and reformatories, and Necessity will be the recruiting officer that will add hundreds to the ranks of the pauper and criminal classes. Business will be paralyzed, commerce brought to a standstill, and many industries wiped out unless we give some measure of relief.

A great deal has been said by the advocates of free silver depicting the terrible condition of affairs in the great silver States and the distress that prevails among all classes, and especially among miners. The pictures are doubtless not overdrawn, and they are entitled to some measure of relief. It may be noted, however, that all the speakers for the white metal claim this condition is due to the shutting down of mines through fear of repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman law, and the consequent closing of a great market for their product.

Now, the other side of the picture is still darker, and I think my assertion will be sustained by the observations of many representatives from the nonsilver producing sections of our country, that far more wide-spread and far-reaching in its effects is the apprehension and consequent business stagnation and suffering among our business men and laboring classes that exists everywhere throughout the great manufacturing and industrial States of the Union. And this apprehension is caused by the fear that the nation is drifting toward a silver standard and that the present ruinous policy relating to silver will not be changed for the better, if changed at all. Free silver to them under present conditions means untold misery and suffering.

Of what consequence to the nation is the shutting down of the silver mines of the West and throwing out of work the 27,000 men employed therein compared to the general shutting down of factories, mills, workshops, furnaces, and the great industries of the country, and to the closing to millions of workmen the means of earning their daily bread?

Mr. Speaker, I will not detain the House any longer. I have endeavored to avoid personal allusions in my remarks, and hope they will not be so construed. I am not prejudiced against any industry. I am not an enemy of silver and would be only too glad to see the way clear to use more of it as the money of our country; but that seems to me impossible at this time and be just to all sections and all classes. I hope a sufficient number of the members of this House will look at this question unbiased by prejudice and vote for the pending bill without amendment. [Applause.]

Mr. MALLORY. Mr. Speaker, I regret that this question which is presented for the House to determine is narrowed down to two points, which preclude those who entertain views lying between the two extremes from following out these views to a practical conclusion.

I am free to say, sir, that I am opposed to the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law, and I am also opposed to the coining of silver in this country further, on the basis of 16 to 1; and it has been only after very careful consideration and reflection that I have been able to bring myself to vote affirmatively upon any of the propositions that are presented to the House for its determination.

But, sir, whatever may be the result, whatever may be the conclusion which the wisdom of this body shall bring us to, I must say that under no circumstances, under no conditions, can I bring myself at this time to vote for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. While disaster may come upon us from other sources, while the predictions of those gentlemen who have told us that financial ruin and disaster that is threatened by further continuance of the coinage of silver may be verified, I do not believe they will bring upon us one tithe of the lasting injury, the inevitable ruin, that an affirmative vote by both bodies of this Congress on the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act would entail upon us.

Sir, we are told that the purchasing clause of the Sherman act is the only obstacle in the way of the rehabilitation of our disordered finances. We are told that the repeal of that act and the consequences resulting therefrom, will restore confidence to the country, and we have heard it predicted on the floor by a number of gentlemen, very able men, who have given the subject much thought and consideration, that the country, by that single action on the part of the House, will be once more launched upon a sea of prosperity and the dark cloud of distress which is now threatening us will be dissipated.

I confess, sir, that I have given the subject very careful examination, and have failed to see in any particular wherein the Sherman act is responsible for all these woes.

I am not here, Mr. Speaker, to defend that measure. I agree with the assertion that it was a makeshift, and would gladly join with the rest of this body in voting for its repeal if I could do so under conditions which I thought would not bring disaster on the country.

I, sir, have given a little investigation, I have said, to the matter, and in looking over the condition of the country for several years past find some facts brought forth by the figures which I have thought may be of possible interest to this body, and possibly throw a little light on the pending question. I have taken the fiscal years of 1890, 1891, and 1892, ending on June 30th of each year, respectively, and find that the balance of trade in these three years was decidedly in favor of the United States. In 1890 the excess of merchandise exported from the United States amounted to $55,983,419.

In 1891 the excess of merchandise amounted to $27,354,088, and

in 1892 it amounted to $188,329,549. The aggregate excess, therefore, of merchandise exported during those three years was $271,667,056.

During that same period, while the balance of trade apparantly was on our side, I find that in 1890 we exported an excess of gold and silver over our imports amounting to $18,172,094.

I find that in 1891 we exported an excess of gold and silver over our imports amounting to $72,685,205.

In 1892, that year of grace in which we were blessed with abundant crops and which brought the excess of our exportations of merchandise over our importations of merchandise up to over $188,000,000, we still had to send out gold and silver in excess of what we exported, to the amount of $11,391,346.

Thus we find that in these three years we exported an excess of gold and silver over our importations, amounting to $102,238,645; and during those three years that I have mentioned, as I have already shown, we exported an excess of merchandise of over $271,000,000.

During those three years I find that in 1890, of gold alone, we exported $4,331,149 in excess of gold imported.

In 1891 we exported $68,121,087 more of gold than we imported. In 1892, that year of grace that I have referred to, wherein we exported of merchandise $188,000,000 more than we imported, I find that our gold imports exceeded our gold exports by $1,474,127 only, making the excess of gold exports over gold imports for those three years $71,178,109.

There, Mr. Speaker, we have presented to us an exhibit which, it seems to me, calls for reflection on the part of those who are contending that the Sherman act is responsible for the present prevailing distress.

Here we find, that in three years—one of those years closing on June 30, 1890, and the Sherman act having been passed July 14, 1890—we find that in those years we were paying out millions and millions more of money than we could possibly take in. We have been doing a business upon a losing basis. It is true it has been a large and thriving business, but at the same time our expenses have been so heavy that when we come to balance our accounts, we find that we have been putting out large quantities more of money than we have taken in.

I do not think there can be any question about the truth of these figures. They are derived from the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury; and if they state the facts correctly, it is surprising that this country has at last reached a point beyond which she can not go?

Is there anything else which accounts for this state of affairs? It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, without trenching upon the forbidden ground of politics, without leaving for any length of time this momentous subject of the finances, if we cast our eyes toward the other field, which has occupied the attention of the people of the United States for many years past; if we examine into the revenue system of this country, which has, by its rules, almost compelled us to do business on a losing basis, we will find that under the pretense of forcing foreign nations to buy from us, it has placed us in a position where we have antagonized every friendly nation on the face of the earth.

I say that to my mind, if this thing is investigated and examined more carefully, we will find that that subject has more to do with the prevailing discontent and distress in this country than anything that the Sherman act has ever done.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I claim that I do not see any reason that has been urged by the gentlemen who are advocating this unconsidered, hurried repeal of the Sherman act unconditionally, to influence me to change my views upon this subject, or to vote with them.

But, sir, there are other reasons why I can not vote for this measure. I think it has been conceded that the unconditional repeal of this purchasing clause will serve to contract the currency of this country. I think it has been conceded that it will render it more difficult to pay certain debts at least that are now in existence in this country.

The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr CATCHINGS], who spoke the other day—and who to my mind threw more light upon this subject than has been cast upon it by any speaker in the House—stated that there were exceptions to the application of the measure he advocated to the debtor class of the country. (I do not undertake to quote the gentleman's language, because I have not read his speech, and only heard it.) He said that there was an exception of debts that would be affected by the action proposed by Congress; that long debts, debts having a long time to run before payment, will be materially affected, and that it will be more difficult for the debtor under the new condition of affairs to make a settlement.

I have given an imperfect and hasty examination of some of those debts referred to by the gentleman from Mississippi—the long-standing debts of this country. I have taken the census reports and undertaken to compile a few figures from those interesting documents. I have taken three of the representative agricultural States of the country—Iowa, Illinois, and Kansas.

I have examined into the existing mortgage debt on real estate as was shown by the census on January 1, 1890. I find in the State of Iowa an existing mortgage indebtedness on lands to the amount of $199,034,956. I find that in the State of Illinois, on same date, there existed of recorded mortgage debts $384,299,150. I find that in the State of Kansas, at the same date, there there were recorded $235,485,108 in mortgage indebtedness.

Now, sir, I find further, that in Illinois the mortgage debt averaged per capita $100; in Iowa it averaged per capita $104, and in the State of Kansas the average per capita is the enormous sum of $170.

I find, according to the calculations of the Census Bureau, a system of calculation which I do not vouch for as being correct in all respects, but one which meets the approval of the statisticians of our country, the average life of a mortgage in Iowa is 4.93 years, or practically five years; that in the State of Illinois it is 4.02 years, and in Kansas 3.38 years.

I do not know what the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. CATCHINGS) or what other gentlemen who agree with him in his views on this subject, mean by a long debt, but it seems to me that a debt that lasts three years—that one who has a mortgage debt for three years can be said to have a long debt hanging over his head. Now, sir, the total for these three States, out of forty-four States in the Union, figures up a total mortgage indebtedness—and when I say mortgage indebtedness, Mr. Speaker, I call attention to the fact that there are not included in this anything but mortgages on real estate, no deeds of trust, nor chattel mortgages, nor anything but a mortgage that is recorded in the clerk's office—I find that the aggregate in these States upon the lands held by the farming class and real estate owners amounts to $818,819,214.

Now, if it is an admitted fact that here in three States of the Union property valued at $818,000,000 (we will say nearly a billion of dollars) is to be radically affected by this legislation (and it is practically admitted by the gentlemen on the other side); if the difficulty in the way of these unfortunate farmers, the men mentioned in our Democratic program, and the men so pathetically referred to in the Democratic platform at Chicago, is to be increased—if we throw in their way in addition to the burdens they have been contending with for the last twenty years another and greater burden, they will be unable to rid themselves of this incubus that is resting on their shoulders, and what can we say to our constituents, what can we say to our friends of the Democratic party?

After making this declaration as to the Sherman act, our platform goes on, and it has been read so often before that I feel a little delicacy in reading it, but I will read this paragraph:

> We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets, and in payment of debt; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

Yet, by the admission of some of the leading gentlemen upon the opposite side of the question here, it is proposed by this legislation to throw in the way of these people whom we profess to protect an almost insurmountable obstacle, and anyone can see how it will be almost impossible for them to throw off the load of debt that is almost crushing them to the earth.

I confess, Mr. Speaker, I have been surprised at the ready acquiescence in this project which has been given to it by some gentlemen who in the past have agreed with me in their views upon this subject. I say "ready acquiescence" because I have seen gentlemen who, without listening to arguments on this floor, before this debate began had already made up their minds and turned their backs upon principles which, until a year ago, they most ostentatiously professed.

It reminds me, Mr. Speaker, of an old colored brother down in my part of the country, who figured more or less conspicuously, in a limited sort of manner, on the banks of the Suwanee River. Old "Uncle Eph." was his name—a most disputatious, contentious, and dogmatical old colored man, who, among the young men of his color, allowed no contradiction or attempt at refutation of any of his assertions. One day one of the young gentlemen of the plantation happened to meet him coming along apparently absorbed in thought, and hailed him and said: "What are you thinking about, Uncle Ephraim?" "Oh," he says, "me and old marse just bin having quite a big argyment down in the old field." "Oh! What about?" "Well, old marse he 'lowed that a open, sandy soil is de bes' for de cultivation of de water-

million." "What did you say?" "Oh, me? I 'lowed that I thought so, too." [Laughter.] And that, Mr. Speaker, seems to be expressive to some extent of the frame of mind of some of our friends upon this floor who last year were so emphatic in their advocacy of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and who, without any apparent argument having been brought to bear, have suddenly turned and joined with old marse, and say, "I think so, too." [Laughter.]

My time is limited, and I certainly can not do justice to all the various phases of this question as they present themselves. I listened with a great deal of interest the other day to the argument of the distinguished gentleman from Kentucky [Governor MCCREARY] who, by reason of his connection with the International Commission that endeavored to bring about some uniformity of action among the nations of the earth with regard to bimetallism, I inferred was well acquainted with the subject and well qualified to discourse upon its merits.

I listened to him with careful attention, and I heard him proclaim time and again that Great Britain was the only obstacle in the way of an international agreement for a bimetallic currency all over the world. But, after making that declaration, he turns and appeals to this House to join with him in voting to put a stigma upon silver, to join with Great Britain in doing that which she has just done in India, where she has struck silver the most severe blow, perhaps, that it has ever received, crushing it into the dust. He called upon this great country, with its sixty-seven millions of people, to practically demonetize silver and to proclaim to the world that it was the policy of the United States Government to relegate silver to the past, and never again to incorporate it into our standard coins.

There may be something in that argument, Mr. Speaker, but I have failed to see it. In my experience I have encountered men so passionately vindictive that they would lift a fallen enemy from the ground and set him on his feet for the pleasure they took in knocking him down again; but it has remained for the bimetallic single gold standard school of Democrats to illustrate a degree of charity that is too sublimated for my comprehension. They are willing to knock down a friend and trample him in the dust for the tender, devotional pleasure it gives them to set him on his feet again. [Laughter.]

That is practically the position occupied by gentlemen who proclaim their devotion to a bimetallic currency, and who at the same time tell us that now is the time to demonetize silver and to proclaim to the world that we will have nothing more to do with it.

I think, Mr. Speaker, that there are symptoms to which we can not close our eyes, indicating what is to be the result of this vote. I have no idea or hope but that the majority of this House will vote for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act and stop there. I am sorry, because I believe it portends more to us than any of us can now adequately predict.

I fear it, sir, because I think it is only one link more in the chain which is being welded to separate the two classes of people in this country. There is nothing more dangerous to the future of a republic than disparity in the wealth of its people, and I can see plainly, to my mind at least satisfactorily, that the demonetization of silver means a still wider separation of what are known as the wealthy classes from the laboring and other classes of people in this land.

Under a system of tariff that has built up nabobs, and enabled them to live in a style that rivals the magnificence of royalty, these distinctions have grown and flourished, and now, beyond that, it is proposed to add to the gains which they have accumulated during twenty-odd years past, and to put upon the shoulders of the laboring masses, the toilers, and the delvers the additional burden caused by the appreciation of gold which will necessarily come from adopting the single gold standard in this country.

For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I shall not make any prognostications. I can only say to my brethren on this floor that while we may be defeated in this first effort, while we may be crushed for the present, still I am hopeful of the intelligence of the people of the United States, and I believe the time will come when the wrong which is about to be perpetrated will be righted, and when we, who represent what I believe to be the sound money policy of the country, will be able to look back upon our record with pride. [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in the message which the President of the United States submitted to Congress at the opening of this session he used this language:

> The existence of an alarming and extraordinary business situation, involving the welfare and prosperity of all our people, has constrained me to call together in extra session the people's representatives in Congress, to the end that through a wise and patriotic exercise of the legislative duty with which they solely are charged present evils may be mitigated and dangers threatening the future may be averted.

And after speaking at some length of the peculiar and forlorn condition in which the country is placed to-day, he said:

> I believe these things are principally chargeable to Congressional legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the General Government.
>
> This legislation is embodied in a statute passed on the 14th day of July, 1890, which was the culmination of much agitation on the subject involved, and which may be considered a truce, after a long struggle, between the advocates of free silver coinage and those intending to be more conservative.

This language of the President clearly indicates what to his mind should be the subject of legislation at this extraordinary session of Congress, and it also expresses the sentiment that party considerations should not enter into the deliberations of either of the great political parties in determining the remedies for the evils portrayed in his message.

I had hoped, Mr. Speaker, that the Democratic party, as represented in this House, would accept of this message in the spirit in which it was given by the Chief Executive, and would embark upon the consideration of the legislation that is proposed to relieve the country from its present financial distress, on broad and patriotic grounds. The Republican Representatives in Congress were ready and willing, and even anxious, to meet their Democratic colleagues, not as partisans, but as patriots, to confer together, and from such conferences to evolve some kind of legislation that would meet the demands of the public in this great emergency, and that would show to the country that in a crisis, such as is now experienced by the people, sectionalism and partisanship would not dominate and control either of these great political organizations.

This wish and hope that I have expressed was indulged in not only by the Republican members of this House, but by the country generally. That we were fated to disappointment is now known to all. On the 11th of this month the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] presented the following resolution for adoption in the House:

> *Ordered by the House*, That H. R. No. 1 shall be taken up for immediate consideration and considered for fourteen days. During such consideration night sessions may be held, for debate only, at the request of either side. The daily sessions to commence at 11 a. m. and continue until 5 p. m. Eleven days of the debate on the bill to be given to general debate under the rules of the last House regulating general debate, the time to be equally divided between the two sides as the Speaker may determine. The last three days of debate may be devoted to the consideration of the bill and the amendments herein provided for, under the usual five-minute rule of the House, as in Committee of the Whole House. General leave to print is hereby granted.
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> Order of amendments: The vote shall be taken first on an amendment providing for the free coinage of silver at the present ratio. If that fails, then a separate vote to be had on a similar amendment proposing a ratio of 17 to 1; if that fails, on one proposing a ratio of 18 to 1; if that fails, on one proposing a ratio of 19 to 1; if that fails, on one proposing a ratio of 20 to 1. If the above amendments fail, it shall be in order to offer an amendment reviving the act of the 28th of February, 1878, restoring the standard silver dollar, commonly known as the Bland-Allison act; the vote then to be taken on the engrossment and third reading of the bill as amended, or on the bill itself if all amendments shall have been voted down, and on the final passage of the bill without other intervening motions.

This resolution was the result of a conference or caucus between the Democratic members of the House representing the extremes on the silver question. No Republican member had any voice or vote in determining any of the propositions embodied in the resolution which I have just had read at the Clerk's desk. It is the result of Democratic partisan consideration. When it was presented and its passage demanded by the Democratic Representative having it in charge, by authority of the caucus of the party, various members on our side protested against its adoption because they believed, as we all believed, that, in a great emergency like this, no Representative should be limited to either of the extremes presented in this resolution.

I say either of the extremes, because the bill itself calls for a repeal of the purchasing clause of what is known as the Sherman law unconditionally, and without any legislation accompanying it tending to the increase or expansion of the currency of this country to meet the wants of a constantly increasing population and a constantly increasing volume of business, while the amendments which are proposed in the resolution limit the vote to the free coinage of silver upon some ratio varying from 1 to 16 to 1 to 20, not one of these ratios being in accordance with the commercial difference that to-day exists between the two metals.

Republicans have a right, Mr. Speaker, to be justly indignant, as they are, at the treatment which has been accorded them by their Democratic colleagues on this floor in forcing the adoption of this resolution, and the consequent limitation of the consideration of this great question, which is affecting every section of our common country, without any privilege of suggesting any amendment, or embodying any proposition in the way of a substitute, that in the judgment of the Republican members of this House will aid in lifting this pall from the business of the country.

No political advantage can be gained by such partisanship. The people of this country are too intelligent, and their attention is directed too strongly to the consideration of this question

in Congress now to be misled by any of these limitations which have been imposed upon the representatives of the people in this resolution on which we are called to vote on the 28th of this month. What they demand now is legislation that will relieve the country from its present stagnation of business. They wish to see legislation that will restore confidence to the business men and to the manufacturers in this country. They wish to see the wheels of industry again started, the factories thrown open and the unemployed men who are to-day crying for bread or for work, given their old employment, with the remunerative wages to which they have been accustomed during the many years that the Republican party has been in control of this country.

What is the remedy that is offered by Mr. BLAND of Missouri and the majority of the Democratic party as represented on this floor? It is the free and unlimited coinage of silver on a ratio of 16 to 1, or some ratio intermediate between that and 20 to 1, including the latter number; and in case of the failure of any of these propositions to receive the indorsement of this House then the proposition is to reënact what is denominated the Bland bill of 1878.

These, and these alone, are the propositions which are presented by the members of the Democratic party, as represented on this floor, as a panacea for the ills under which the country is suffering. It will require, Mr. Speaker, more than the faith of the early Christians for any person to believe that a remedy can be found in the adoption of any of them. When they are subjected to cold analysis, in the light of historical facts, they fail utterly in furnishing the relief that is needed by the people of this country.

I have noticed in all the speeches that have been made by the friends of the white metal that they are more powerful in declamation than logical in reasoning, and that glittering generalities are substituted for substantial reasons to lead the public to a silver basis. Each speaker who has followed Mr. BLAND, the great apostle of free silver in this country, on that side of the question has prefaced his remarks with a statement that he is a bimetallist, and has assumed, without any reason therefor, that those who are not prepared to adopt any of these ratios submitted in this resolution under consideration are enemies of bimetallism, if indeed they do not belong to that despised class denominated by our Populist friends "the Gold Bugs of Wall street."

Bimetallism can not be had in this country by arbitrary legislative enactment. The commerce and trade of the world can not be commanded or changed by the American Congress alone. It would be as easy to change the flow of water over the Falls of Niagara by bill in Congress as to create practical bimetallism of the two metals—gold and silver—in this country by legislative enactment, without taking into consideration the commercial value of the two metals and their condition and use in the other civilized countries of the world.

These so-called friends of free silver are misleading the people, if not themselves also, when they insist that the adoption of any one of the ratios proposed in the pending resolution will restore practical bimetallism in the United States. They say with truth that gold and silver are recognized in the Constitution as the money metals, and that in 1792 we established bimetallism in this country by recognizing both gold and silver at a certain fineness on the ratio of 15 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold, and that from that day to 1873 we were committed by acts of Congress to bimetallism.

In all these statements, Mr. Speaker, I find myself traveling the same road with the so-called friends of free and unlimited coinage of silver. These are historical facts that are known even to the school children of this country, but it is equally well known that never for three consecutive days, from the adoption of the ratio of 15 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold in the laws of 1792, up to the present time, have these two metals traveled in company upon the ratio fixed by law. The commercial values of gold and silver have invariably controlled their legal value, and the enactments of Congress upon this subject have been a dead letter.

Whenever legislation interferes with the natural laws of trade it becomes inoperative. You can no more fix and determine by legislation adopted in this Congress the relative value of the two metals than you can change and modify the laws of nature. The laws of trade and commerce are as inexorable as the law of gravitation.

These principles were well known to the founders of the Republic, and it was for that reason that Robert Morris, the great financier of the Revolution, was opposed to the double standard. He believed from the wide experience that he had had in financial matters, and from the profound study which he had given the subject, that the two metals, gold and silver, could not by legislation be held at a certain ratio for any length of time, and hence in his discussion on the adoption of the laws relative to this subject, and the establishment of a standard of value and medium of exchange, he favored one metal.

It is true at that time he favored the silver metal. And why? Because at that time silver was used as a standard of value in all civilized nations of the world. It was before the discovery of gold in California and Australia, and before gold had become the standard of value of the great civilized nations, as it is to-day.

Alexander Hamilton himself, while recommending, as he did in his celebrated report to Congress, the adoption of the bimetallic theory, did it with grave doubts and many misgivings. He saw with almost prophetic eye, that if the ratio established by law of the two metals did not conform strictly with the commercial value of the two metals, that it would be utterly impossible to have them interchangeable in the channels of trade in this country on the ratio fixed by act of Congress. He stated, and it is a well-known fact, a fact that will not be disputed by any intelligent member of this House, that he held to the belief that if but one metal should be adopted as the standard of value and the medium of exchange, that metal should be gold, because of its less variable value.

What is the result, Mr. Speaker, of the adoption of bimetallism in this country at the ratio of 15 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold? The records from the Treasury Department, together with standard financial works treating of this subject, show clearly that the two metals never for one day traveled in company under that ratio. Gold was undervalued, and refused to keep company with her white brother.

At that time the legal ratio between the two metals in France and other European countries was 15½ grains of silver to 1 grain of gold, and hence the silver that was coined drove out of the channels of trade the yellow metal, and we were practically a monometallist country on a silver basis from 1792 up to a revision of these laws, under the leadership of the great Senator from Missouri, Thomas H. Benton, who, in 1834, secured a change of ratio, making 16 ounces of silver the legal equivalent of 1 ounce of gold.

This ratio did not conform to the commercial difference in the two metals, but at this time England had established the gold basis for her standard, and gold was coming into more general use as the great money metal of the world. The country at the time of this change felt the need of more gold in the channels of trade in the American States, and this change in the ratio was for the purpose of inducing gold to leave foreign countries and seek our shores for investment. By the establishment of this ratio of 16 ounces of silver to 1 of gold, silver was undervalued, and it, in its turn, refused to circulate as a money metal on that ratio with the yellow metal.

The commercial difference of the two metals at this time was only 3 cents on a dollar. In other words, a silver dollar, on this ratio, was worth 3 cents more, intrinsically, than a gold dollar, and this difference was sufficient to send it abroad for investment, and leave gold as the sole metal for trade and commerce in this country. The mints of the United States were open equally to both metals on this ratio; yet, as a matter of fact, silver was practically unknown as a money in use. Whatever was coined at the mints was immediately shipped to other countries, and there melted into bullion and sold at its market value.

At this time, Mr. Speaker, there was no cry raised in favor of this white metal. By the establishment of this ratio this country was placed upon a gold monometallic basis as firmly and as securely as it would have been had silver been demonetized. Gold was the standard of value and our only medium of exchange, and was the circulating medium of this country up to the time of the outbreak of the civil war and the issue of Treasury notes such as are now known as the greenback.

The crime of the demonetization of silver, if crime it be, antedated the legislation of 1873. It is true that up to the revision of our coinage laws in 1873 the silver dollar was known upon our statute books, but it was practically demonetized, as I have before said, in 1834, when the ratio of the two metals was changed, and the legislation of 1873 was but recording what commerce and trade had already done for this white metal.

On the ratio established in 1834 between the two metals, of 16 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold, the legal value of an ounce of silver is $1.29. Under the old ratio that was established in 1792, of 15 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold, the ratio was fixed upon the basis of silver being worth $1.38 an ounce. At this time, as I have already said, all of the civilized countries of the world had their mints open to the free and unlimited coinage of silver; and yet, Mr. Speaker, because the legal ratio fixed in 1792 of 15 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold did not correspond with the commercial ratio, the two metals refused to circulate together; they varied in their commercial value from year to year, but slightly, it is true, but in a sufficient amount to drive silver from our shores and cause it to seek investment, not as the coin of our country, but as bullion, in foreign markets.

In 1819 the commercial value of an ounce of silver was $1.35. This, you will see, was within 3 cents of par, or the legal value fixed upon an ounce of silver when bimetallism was established in this country.

Now, bear in mind the fact that the mints of all the civilized nations were open at this time to the free and unlimited coinage of silver; bear in mind, also, the fact that every country in the then known world was using silver as a money metal, and yet, with a 3 per cent difference between the commercial and the legal ratio, the friends of silver were unable to bring it to par with gold, and unable to keep it in the channels of trade.

In view of these facts, which are as plain and clear to the members of this House as the king's highway, I ask in the name of common sense, I ask in the name of justice to the great laboring masses of this country, I ask in the name of the great producing classes of this country, when to-day there is a difference of more than 57 per cent between the legal and the commercial value of an ounce of silver, and it has been demonetized in all the civilized countries of the world, how is it possible for the friends of silver to hope that by the reëstablishment of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, as proposed in the pending amendment now under consideration, it will come to par, and that an ounce of silver, which can now be purchased in the market for 72 cents, by a stroke of the Congressional pen can be made of the value of $1.29?

The very statement of the proposition is its best refutation. As well might you say that an act of Congress would cause the waters of the Mississippi to stop their flow, or the rocks of the Sierras to burst asunder at Congressional dictation, as to contend that under present conditions the reëstablishment of the free and unlimited coinage of silver in this country, on the ratio proposed, will bring the commercial value of silver up to its legal value.

Let us consider for a moment, if you please, Mr. Speaker, this subject a little further in order to demonstrate the utter absurdity of the position of the so-called friends of bimetallism who advocate the free and unlimited coinage of silver on any of the ratios that are proposed in the pending amendments. There are in the world in round figures $4,000,000,000 worth of silver. This to-day is worth about 72 cents an ounce.

Now, these free-silver advocates, the followers and supporters of Mr. BLAND of Missouri, in their efforts to force this legislation upon Congress, and its results upon the people of this country, tell us that by the very magic of free coinage by the United States, standing separate and alone from all the other civilized nations of the world, it is going to raise this $4,000,000,000 worth of silver from 72 cents an ounce to $1.29 an ounce. In other words, that by the enactment of this proposed amendment for the reëstablishment of the free and unlimited coinage of silver in this country on the ratio of 16 to 1 they are going to add a value of more than $1,500,000,000 worth to the world's supply of silver.

Was ever a more astounding proposition presented to any legislative body or to any intelligent, sane men? Does not the simple rehearsal of these facts demonstrate to those who are least familiar with this subject the fact that the position they assume is utterly untenable, and that if it were carried out it would instantly put this country upon a silver basis and would drive the six hundred and odd millions of dollars of gold that are now in circulation in this country into safe-deposit vaults, and to other secret places where trade and commerce would know it no more forever?

Mr. Speaker, it does not lie with the gentlemen who are advocating the free and unlimited coinage of silver upon this ratio, or even upon any of the ratios that are suggested in the amendments, to claim that those who are opposed to their propositions are the enemies of bimetallism in the United States. These men, while they are professing to be desirous of carrying out the provisions of the Constitution and the principles of the early fathers in establishing and maintaining the two metals at a parity, know when they make these professions, that if their propositions are adopted that this country will become a monometallic and not a bimetallic country, and that it will be a silver monometallic and not a gold monometallic country.

I have not the time nor the inclination to stop here and portray to the members of this House or the country the direful results that would follow from their successful efforts in this session of Congress. The first result would be to contract the currency to the amount of the six hundred and odd millions of gold which are now in circulation.

We are to-day, Mr. Speaker, experiencing the sad results of a contraction of the currency. This legislation, instead of proving a relief, would still further aggravate the disease that it seeks to remedy. Whenever this country substitutes a silver for a gold basis our stocks and bonds and other obligations held in European countries will be immediately sent over here for liquidation, and what we are now experiencing in the way of a practical cessation of all business will become complete, and this country would go into general bankruptcy.

I shall take no time to demonstrate the impracticability of adopting either of the other ratios proposed in the pending amendments. Neither of them conforms to the commercial ratio between the two metals. The commercial ratio, as shown by the report of the Director of the Mint, dated August 1, 1893, is as 1 to 28.52. How long that ratio will remain it is impossible for any man to state.

If the legal and commercial ratio should be made identical in this legislation by the adoption of 28.52 of silver to one ounce of gold, a week after the adoption of the law the commercial ratio would be different. The report which I hold in my hand, made by the Director of the Mint on the 1st of this month, shows that there has been a steady decline in silver since 1873, and that it has been more rapid since 1890 to the present date than for any like period in the history of our country.

Some gentlemen may say that this decline is attributable to the demonetization of silver in 1873; but I would ask all such to bear in mind the facts which I have stated already, that the demonetization of 1873 was only recording in a legal way what had been practically a commercial demonetization of silver for a period of nearly forty years prior to that date.

The chief reason, in my judgment, that silver has steadily declined in value is the fact that during this period its annual production in this country has more than doubled, and its use as a money metal has been destroyed in the leading countries of Europe. In 1871 Germany suspended the free coinage of silver and adopted a single gold standard. In 1873 the German Empire provided for the retirement of silver coins in circulation and the sale of its silver bullion. This threw about $140,000,000 of silver bullion upon the market and still further depressed the market price of silver.

France also, in 1873, by a Treasury order limited the amount of silver to be accepted; and in 1874 silver was demonetized in Sweden and Norway. In 1875 Holland suspended free coinage of silver and established a gold standard. In 1876 France discontinued the further coinage of silver, and Russia, in the same year, suspended free coinage of silver and adopted the gold standard; and in the same year Spain, by her royal decree, stopped the further coinage of silver.

In 1892 Austria-Hungary adopted the single gold standard and discontinued the use of the white metal as a money metal. Then in 1893, just previous to the assembling of the members of Congress in this extra session, India, the great silver country of the world, suspended the free coinage of silver.

Under these circumstances it requires no metaphysical arguments and no philosophizing to show to the people of this country that silver has constantly and steadily fallen in its commercial value in the great countries of the world; and these facts, too, must demonstrate to all alike the utter futility of any effort upon the part of this Congress or any subsequent Congress, while the other countries which I have just named maintain a gold standard, to attempt to establish free and unlimited coinage of silver in this country on any ratio whatever

It is a practical impossibility, and, as I have said, the men who advocate it upon this floor or in any other place, in the limits of our broad Republic, are not the friends of bimetallism, but for selfish motives, or from misguided reason, they have adopted this theory with the knowledge, unless they are blind to all the facts, that the adoption of it upon any ratio whatever will place the greatest Republic of all times upon the silver basis of our sister Republics in Central and South America.

Mr. Speaker, I would not be representing the intelligence of my district were I to vote, under these conditions, for any of the amendments proposed by the honorable member from Missouri [Mr. BLAND]. Not only, sir, would I be misrepresenting the intelligence and the interests of my immediate constituency, but, in my judgment, I would be false to the best interests of our common country if I yielded to any of the seductive arguments which have been portrayed in such eloquent terms by members who have spoken on that side of the question, and vote in favor of any one of the propositions which they present. This is a crisis which calls for intelligent action; not only intelligent action, but for prompt action, if we would benefit our country in this its hour of commercial peril.

The reasons in part assigned for my objection to the indorsement of any of these ratios for the free and unlimited coinage of silver lead me also, Mr. Speaker, to vote against the proposition, which is suggested in the last amendment of the gentleman from Missouri, for the reënactment of the so-called Bland-Allison act of 1878. That act, Mr. Speaker, provides for the purchase by the Government each month of not less than $2,000,000 worth of silver and not more than $4,000,000 of silver bullion for

coinage into silver dollars, at a rate of 412½ grains of standard silver or 371¼ of fine silver for each dollar.

It was left in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, between these limits, to determine the amount of silver bullion that should be purchased under that act from month to month. It was upon the statute books of our country until the enactment of the so-called Sherman law on the 14th day of July, 1890. That it was a menace to the continuance of our maintaining our paper currency and silver on an equality with our gold currency is evidenced by the letter of President Cleveland, in 1885, to Gen. Warner of Ohio, a letter which has become somewhat celebrated in the consideration of the silver question, and which affirmed, in substance, that the continuation of that act upon the statute books would lead this country to a silver basis.

This agitation, Mr. Speaker, of the silver question was begun by the opponents of the resumption of specie payments, which, under the act of 1875, was to take place on the 1st day of January, 1879. It was, in one sense, a demand for more money. That demand for more money first found expression in what is called the inflation bill, which was passed by both Houses of Congress in 1874, and was subsequently vetoed by President Grant.

When the friends of an inflated currency were foiled in their attempt by our great military chieftain, who was then the President of the United States, they took up the subject of the demonetization of silver under the act of 1873, which agitation continued with varying success until 1878, when, as a compromise with the friends of free and unlimited coinage of silver, the Bland-Allison act was proposed, and finally enacted into a law. It never met the hearty approval of the able financiers of the country, but was then regarded and has since been treated as a temporary makeshift between the advocates of sound money on the one hand and the inflationists on the other.

There was nothing in this act, Mr. Speaker, when it became a law, that pledged this country to maintain the silver dollars which were to be coined under that act at a parity with gold, and that is one of the reasons why President Cleveland, as early as 1885, believed that it was a pernicious law, and that the continued coinage of silver dollars under that act would drive gold to foreign countries and place us upon a silver basis.

The much-abused Sherman law, in my judgment, is in many respects preferable to the adoption of the proposed amendment for the reënactment of the so-called Bland-Allison act; because, while it authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month, and issue silver certificates for the market value of this bullion, it also pledges the property and the credit of the Government to maintain these silver certificates at a parity with gold.

And it is that pledge, and that pledge alone, which has been faithfully carried out by each Republican Secretary of the Treasury, which, in my judgment, has enabled this Government to maintain this vast sum of silver dollars and silver certificates at a parity with gold. You divorce these silver dollars and silver certificates from gold, and allow them to circulate upon their own merits without the pledge of the Government's property and its credit to maintain them at a parity with gold, and they would sink instantly to their commercial value.

At the present price of silver more silver dollars would be coined under the Bland-Allison act per month than would be by the purchase of silver bullion under the Sherman act of 1890. As I have already shown, under the Bland-Allison act the Secretary of the Treasury is to purchase not less than $2,000,000 worth of silver per month and coin the same into dollars. At the present price of silver, which I estimate at 72 cents per ounce, $2,000,000 worth would produce $3,685,714, while 4,500,000 ounces of silver at the same price cost only $3,150,000.

Thus you see that the purchase of silver under the act which it is proposed to repeal, at the present price, is $515,714 a month less than would be coined under the so-called Bland-Allison bill. Under the present condition of the Treasury the reënactment of the law of 1878 would put us upon a silver basis as quickly as the enactment of a free, unlimited coinage bill on any of the ratios suggested in the pending amendments. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, the facts and figures which I have here presented furnish a sufficient reason, for me at least, to vote against all of the propositions that are contained in the proposed amendments to the pending bill for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act.

This leads me to a consideration of that act. I remember well the discussion which took place in this Hall, and in the Senate, which resulted in this legislation. My friend from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] was then contending, as he is now, for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. His party associates then were not, as now, divided upon this question. We then had a Republican President, and men who to-day on that side of the House denounce the free and unlimited coinage of silver as a menace to the maintenance of our commercial prosperity, were then agreed to follow him in his efforts to secure legislation of this kind.

Whether since that time, by a careful study of this subject, they have abandoned the heresies which they then professed to believe in, or whether they permitted partisanship and their desire to embarrass the Republican party to control their voices and votes, I shall leave to them to say. In the discussion of this question at present I shall not stop to indulge in any partisan debate or to array unnecessarily the Democratic party for its peculiar position upon this question in the years that have gone. The impending crisis is too grave and the necessity for prompt action too great to stop in the midst of this effort to relieve the country from this condition to indulge in crimination or recrimination.

It is due to the facts of history, however, to state that by an almost united vote the Democratic members of the House of Representatives voted for the free and unlimited coinage of silver on the ratio as proposed in the first of the pending amendments. It had passed the Senate by a combination between the Democratic Senators and the Republican Senators from the silver States. The Republican members of the then House of Representatives believed then, as they believe now, that the true interests of this country would be imperiled if such a bill were enacted into law, and they refused to approve of the bill that was sent to the House from the Senate and sent a substitute to the Senate therefor.

This resulted, as those who are familiar with legislation will understand, in a conference committee, composed of a certain number of members selected by the House and another number selected by the Senate. After mature deliberation it was deemed by a majority of this conference committee that this act, as it is now found on the statute book, would be better for a temporary measure than to adopt the then Democratic idea of free and unlimited coinage. No man who had favored this measure believed that it was to long remain on our statute books.

The hope was then indulged that time and experience would lead a sufficient number of Democratic Representatives and Senators to understand that the prosperity of our country must depend upon sound financial legislation, and that under the facts that exist in the world to-day regarding silver it would be utterly impossible for us to maintain it at any ratio on a parity with gold, and these considerations would induce them to desist from their efforts to secure the legislation that has always been championed by Mr. BLAND of Missouri.

That hope, Mr. Speaker, has been partly realized by the firm stand that has been taken by President Cleveland upon this question. Many members of this House who three short years ago were loud in their declamation in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver are now arrayed on the conservative side, under the leadership of their President, a position which has been held for so many years alone by the Republican party.

I am not one of those, however, Mr. Speaker, who are willing to confess that nothing but unmixed evil has followed from the adoption of the Sherman law. That legislation, as I have shown, was an improvement over the legislation that was given to the country in 1878, known as the Bland-Allison law. The question may arise, then, why should I vote for the repeal of the purchasing clause? The answer, to my mind, is clear and simple. The President of the United States, by his message to Congress, has said, in substance, that he is unable to maintain the parity between the two metals because of the constantly increasing amount of silver that is stored in the Treasury under this law.

There is no doubt in my mind that the attitude of his party as a free and unlimited silver-coinage party has added to the complications of this question. The people of Europe who have been in the habit of purchasing our bonds and stocks have seen a party placed in power by the votes of the people whose cardinal principle for many years upon the financial question has been the free and unlimited coinage of this white metal, and with this legislation upon the statute book, and that party in power, they have felt that the President himself would not be able to control his party on this subject, and the result has been an effort upon their part to dispose of all obligations in this country that might by legislation be required to be paid in silver instead of being paid in gold.

The President's message to Congress, as it is interpreted by the Republicans, is an appeal to them to come to his aid and assist him in reëstablishing the finances of this country upon the stable basis upon which they had been maintained for more than a generation by the Republican party, and as lovers of our country we are willing to respond by our voices and votes, and repeal this clause, thus placing it beyond the power of this Democratic political organization, committed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver, to destroy the equality between the metals as they have been maintained under Republican administration.

Not only that, Mr. Speaker, but the bill by which we repeal

the purchasing clause of the act of July 14, 1890, reaffirms a determination upon the part of this Government to maintain the two metals at a parity. We have a vast amount of coined silver dollars and a large amount of silver certificates, aggregating in round numbers six hundred million dollars. Those silver dollars and those silver certificates must be maintained at their par value. This bill, as I have said, pledges the property and the credit of the Government to that policy.

I am reminded, however, by gentlemen who sit around me, that the repeal of the purchasing clause of this Sherman law as is proposed under the pending resolution gives no legislation for the future of silver, and leaves us without an expanding circulating medium to meet the wants of the country.

I appreciate that to its full extent, Mr. Speaker, and am one who believes that this country should have legislation that will utilize both of these metals for the benefit of the people. It will not do after the Republican party, through its members in the House and the Senate, have aided in securing the repeal of the purchasing clause of the act of July 14, 1890, thus enabling the President of the United States to maintain our present volume of silver and silver certificates at a parity with gold, for him and his party to stop there.

The people of this country expect the President and the Democratic party, by proper legislation, to present some scheme of finance that will utilize these metals, and will furnish to the country a sufficient supply of money to meet the wants of trade and commerce; and if they fail in that the people will condemn them as false to the interests that they pledged themselves to protect and maintain when they were placed in power.

Now, sir, had this resolution that has been adopted here not limited us to the amendments upon which I have spoken, I should have been glad for one to have suggested proper and germane amendments to this bill looking to an increased circulation, expanding and elastic in its character, to meet the wants of a constantly increasing population in this country, and the needs of a growing commerce and trade. My views might not meet with the approval of all this House, but a discussion along this line would certainly lead to the adoption of some proposition that would meet the requirements of this occasion.

As I have said, Mr. Speaker, the great cry that is made by the friends of the free and unlimited coinage of silver in this country is that if it is treated simply as a commodity, and its money qualities taken away from it or limited or impaired in any manner, that the people will suffer because of a scarcity of a circulating medium, and have argued with a good deal of justness that the prices of all commodities will fall if there is a contraction in the standard of value and medium of exchange.

In my judgment their objections can be met by legislation that will continue the gold dollar as established by the law of February 12, 1873, as the unit of value of the United States. Instead of from this date coining gold at the mints, I would use the gold bullion as a basis for the issuing of gold certificates. That could be managed, Mr. Speaker, in this manner: Whenever the holder of gold bullion in an amount of $100 or more should deposit that in the Treasury of the United States, or at any mint or assay office, that the Secretary of the Treasury might designate the depositor should receive, instead of gold coins therefor, registered Treasury notes, of such denominations as the Secretary of the Treasury might designate, called Treasury notes, for an equal amount to the number of dollars of the bullion deposited.

Upon these notes I would have certified by the Secretary of the Treasury that there had been deposited in the Treasury of the United States an amount of gold equal to $100, or the amount that the depositor had placed in the Treasury of the United States, and then have the notes certify that they are redeemable in an amount of gold equal to $100, or whatever was deposited, on demand of the holder thereof.

I would treat silver in precisely the same way, and whenever the holder of silver bullion in quantities aggregating a hundred dollars' worth or more deposits that bullion with the Treasurer of the United States, or at any assay office of the United States that might be designated by the Secretary of the Treasury, I would permit him to receive therefor a Treasury note certifying that the depositor had left in the Treasury of the United States an amount of silver equal to $100, or whatever sum the silver bullion was worth according to our standard of value on the day of its deposit, and then have that silver note certified by the Secretary of the Treasury that it is redeemable in an amount of silver equal to $100 or whatever amount was deposited at the time it was issued, on the demand of the holder thereof.

You will see, Mr. Speaker, from this that neither the gold nor the silver certificate is redeemable in any number of dollars, or at any specified time. The unit of value in this country, as fixed by the law of 1873, is the gold dollar of 23.22 grains of pure gold; and these gold and silver certificates would be measured in the market by that unit of value. Under this plan, as it seems to me, properly elaborated and carried out by well-considered legislation, both of the great money metals can be utilized by the Government of the United States to furnish a suitable and elastic and constantly increasing currency to the people of this country.

There is no danger under legislation of this kind of a silver certificate depreciating in the market—that would be utterly impossible. It would be as valuable in the markets of Europe as a gold certificate. It would be as valuable in any section of the United States as the gold certificate. Why? Because it evidences upon its face that it is good for a quantity of silver equal to its face value.

I would make these certificates legal tenders for all public and private debts.

Under this system, as I have said, there can be no question but what those silver certificates would circulate as money in the country as readily as gold coin or gold certificates.

In this manner the product of the American mines can be utilized for the benefit of the whole country, and at the same time the certificates that are issued upon bullion that is deposited with the Treasurer of the United States will circulate in New England or through the Middle States or in any section of the country as well as the greenback of to-day or as gold coin.

It has been demonstrated, Mr. Speaker, I think, by experience, that gold and silver coins do not circulate among the people. They seek places of deposit in our banks and subtreasuries, and there is a demand among the people for a paper money. It is more convenient. It is easier to handle. It is cheaper to transport from one point to another, and in every respect, almost, the people of this country have shown that they prefer this kind of money, where they can be satisfied that it is as good as gold coin. And when they are assured that back of each one of these certificates there is gold or silver bullion of sufficient quantities, so that that bond can be taken to the Treasury of the United States, or any of our subtreasuries, and redeemed at its par value, there will be no question about the people of this country receiving it in all the channels of trade.

If a bill could be prepared and passed in this Congress, embodying this idea, it could be elaborated, Mr. Speaker, so as to meet any objections arising from the fluctuations in value of either of the metals. I shall not take the time here to demonstrate to the House and the country how that can be done. From the study I have given this subject, and from the opinions of the men who are well versed in the science of finance, this is one of the most feasible plans that can be adopted by the people of this country to utilize both gold and silver as money.

By the adoption of this we shall avoid all the troubles and inconveniences and hardships of a single gold standard, that have been so picturesquely and so eloquently portrayed to the people of this country by the gentleman favoring the free and unlimited coinage of silver. By the adoption of this method we will also escape the equally dangerous ground of placing this country upon the single silver standard, and thus from a monetary standpoint place us on a par with the second-class powers of the earth.

No friend of either of the metals can object to a method of the character here suggested, because it takes the metal that he specially favors and utilizes it to the full extent of the needs of the Government. It makes no distinction between gold and silver, but treats both alike.

I am confident, Mr. Speaker, that with the growing demands for paper circulating medium in this country and a standard of deferred payments, that the time will come when gold and silver will have to be treated in the form here suggested, and a paper money based upon the intrinsic value of these metals will take their place; and it seems to me now is the proper time for Congress to consider this great question. Early action is called for, not only by the President of the United States, but by the people.

The picture of the condition of this country, as portrayed in the message of President Cleveland, is one that should challenge the attention of every thoughtful man. It is in such marked contrast to the condition of this country as presented by President Harrison in his last annual message that I can not refrain from quoting a few of the opening sentences in the last message to Congress from that Executive:

> In submitting my annual message to Congress I have great satisfaction in being able to say that the general conditions affecting the commercial and industrial interests of the United States are in the highest degree favorable. A comparison of the existing conditions with those of the most favored period in the history of the country will, I believe, show that so high a degree of prosperity and so general a diffusion of the comforts of life were never before enjoyed by our people. * * * There never has been a time in our history when work was so abundant or when wages were as high, whether measured by the currency in which they are paid or by their power to supply the necessaries and comforts of life.

This, Mr. Speaker, was the condition of the people of this country under the last Republican Administration, and has been

the condition of the people practically for nearly a generation, during which period the Republican party has been in actual continuous control of the Government.

I trust, Mr. Speaker, that by wise and conservative action the President of the United States will be enabled to restore to the people of this country the happy, contented, and successful condition that they were in under the last Republican Administration. The Republicans, certainly in this great emergency, will rally to his support, and whenever he indicates, by message or otherwise, that owing to divisions in his own party, or for other causes, he needs the support of the Republican party to protect the best interests and welfare of our people, he will find them unitedly and patriotically responsive to his call.

[Mr. LANE withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. Speaker, I am the sole representative on this floor of the State of Nevada, a State which has suffered more than any other portion of the Union from the discriminating legislation against silver. I am also the sole representative on this floor of my party. The people in Nevada, recognizing the fact that the platforms of both the old parties were intended to mean one thing in the East and another thing in the West, and feeling assured from the record of the candidates that the election of either meant disaster to the cause of bimetallism, formed an independent organization, called the Silver party of Nevada.

Their hope was that the contest between the two old parties would be a close one, and that the independent vote of the silver States, united with the third-party vote elsewhere, would hold the balance of power in the electoral college and would either secure the election of a new candidate favorable to the silver cause, or secure from one of the existing candidates substantial concessions to that cause. The overwhelming victory of the Democratic party in States hitherto uniformly Republican rendered that hope futile; but their expectations were realized and are realized to-day, so far as the party platforms are concerned; for we find members in this House construing these party platforms in different ways, according to the interests of their section, their locality, or their individual views of the monetary question, without regard to party discipline or the unity of party faith.

I, therefore, can not take a partisan view of this subject. There are no members of my party here whom I can call to task for straying from the straight path, and I certainly can not call to task the members of other parties for recreancy, for that is a right which belongs only to those of the true faith.

I shall take simply a general view, in the interest of this entire country, taking it for granted that an enlightened self-interest will determine the action of this country as it does that of individuals.

There are two aspects to this question, one the industrial and the other the financial, and you will pardon me if I refer to the industrial aspect first, as it concerns the progress, the development, and the destiny of that great section of the country which I represent, and as the determination of this question is freighted with either beneficence or disaster to it.

But, whether we consider the industrial or financial aspect of this question, it is necessary to bear in mind the relation of this country to other countries so far as its material interests are concerned; for the rule obtains, in national as well as individual affairs, that life is a struggle for existence in which individual effort for individual success and advancement leads to the highest development of the race and of the world.

So far as the relations of debtor and creditor and the ownership and production of the precious metals are concerned, England and the United States may be taken as the two representative nations of the world. England is the greatest creditor nation; the United States is the greatest debtor nation. England is the greatest owner of the accumulated gold of the world. The United States is one of the greatest owners of accumulated silver. England, through its African discoveries, is fast becoming the greatest producer of gold. The United States is the greatest producer of silver. They are the only money metals sanctioned through the ages by custom and law.

Both metals depend for their value upon an artificial demand created by law. The laws of the various countries giving each the privilege of coinage at the government mints, providing for the weight and fineness of the coins, and declaring them a legal tender for debt, create the use of and the demand for these metals, and give them their value, and to the extent that the laws shall deny either of these metals recognition, to that extent the demand for and the value of such metal is diminished.

Leaving out the financial view of the question, it is self-evident that, if America is the greatest owner and producer of silver and England the greatest owner and producer of gold, the legislation of this country, so far as it affects the question at all, should be in favor of silver rather than gold, for silver mining sustains the life of six States, in whole or in part, and three Territories. It is the vital industry of one-third of the area of our entire country, constituting the field of exploit, of endeavor, and of hope.

It is true silver mining is not the only industry in that region; but all the other industries are built upon and dependent on it. Silver mining stands at the base of every industry in that region. I deal in no exaggeration when I make that statement. It is true we have other industries—lead, copper, and coal mining, commerce, banking, and transportation—but you will find that they are all allied to and dependent upon this great industry. In lead mining, silver is a by-product, and often constitutes the only element of profit.

So also, but in a more limited degree, in copper mining. Coal mining is prosecuted, not with a view of supplying distant markets already supplied with coal, such as Illinois, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, but for the purpose of supplying the smelters, the population of the mining camps, and the cities and towns dependent upon them, and also for the purpose of supplying the motive power for the transportation of that region.

Agriculture is pursued not for the purpose of seeking distant markets—transportation would be too expensive for that—but for the supply of the local markets of the mining regions. The lands there are not moistened from the heavens as in the East. Artificial irrigation is necessary and vast irrigation schemes, involving large expenditure, necessitating the storage of water in the mountains for the period of drought and its transportation through long and expensive canals over vast areas of what had been an arid waste, have been inaugurated and carried out for the purpose of reclaiming that country from the desert. The farmers of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys little know under what difficulties and at what expense agriculture is pursued in the intermountain region.

What will become of this vast interest when silver mining and the kindred industries are destroyed? What will become of the commerce of that region, having its sources of supply in the great commercial cities of the East and West, dependent upon local industries for its support, realizing great profits out of the most generous markets in the world; for it is well known that the most liberal market is the mining market? All the expenditures are on a liberal scale, and a mining community will spend much more per capita for supplies, for transportation, for all the necessities, conveniences, and comforts of life than any other community of a like population.

The transportation companies in this great region are also dependent upon silver mining. Did you ever reflect how many hundreds and thousands of miles of railroads have been built for the purpose of tapping the silver mines? All the transportation companies have endeavored to reach them directly or by extensions and branches, all the transcontinental railroads are dependent upon silver mining and the allied industries for their traffic—the Northern Pacific, the Union Pacific, the Central Pacific, the Oregon Short Line, the Great Northern, the Colorado Midland, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe—the transcontinental business of these roads gives little profit because of the keenness of competition. It is the local transportation in the mining regions which is profitable. The only exception to this rule is the Southern Pacific, which is entrenched in and draws its support from the rich and fertile valleys of California, yielding, as they do, products of such high value as to sustain high rates of transportation. The capital stock and bonds of these railroads are owned largely in the money centers of the East.

The money centers of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia have a direct monetary interest in the prosperity of that section. I recall that several months ago I saw it stated in the papers that Mr. Villard, of the Northern Pacific, was present with others during the last Congress, urging the repeal of the Sherman act. I wondered whether the newspapers had correctly reported the fact. I could not believe that the president of that great railroad, passing through Montana, Idaho, and eastern Oregon, more dependent upon silver mining for its business than upon any other industry, gaining more profit from it than from its through transcontinental business, which is subject to extensive competition, could be here directly antagonizing that sustaining industry.

Upon inquiry I found that he represented not the stockholders, but the German bondholders, who were insistent that this country should be kept on a gold monometallic basis. Their position was that of a man holding a gold mortgage upon a silver mine, and yet they were aiding in the destruction of the very industry which stood at the basis of their bonds and gave them value.

So it is you will find throughout these monetary centers of the East—men largely interested in these great transcontinental railroads who do not know the danger which threatens their property in the destruction of silver mining. I remember when I heard that Mr. Villard was advocating the repeal of the Sherman act, I predicted that within sixty days after the repeal of that act the Northern Pacific would be in the hands of a receiver. That prediction has been prematurely vindicated. That road is already the victim of the decline in silver caused by the action of India, and is now in the hands of a receiver. The market value of the stock and bonds on the mileage of railroads actually located in the mining regions amounts to between six hundred and a thousand million of dollars. All these transcontinental or intermountain roads running throughout that country with the exception referred to will be in the hands of a receiver within sixty days after silver mining is suppressed by legislation.

You can not strike a great interest and predominating industry

of any section of the country without involving other sections. The East has a great monetary and proprietary interest in the West, a greater monetary interest than the West itself. The people of the mining region are the workers employed mainly by Eastern capital. You will find in Denver, built up by Eastern capital, magnificent buildings owned by Eastern capital, a building owned by the Equitable Insurance Company of New York which has cost between $1,000,000 and $2,000,000, and others of equal character; and yet you propose to destroy the industry, the development, and the civilization of that great region, comprising one-third of our country, and to bring additional disaster to Eastern stock markets and capital.

Ah, you say, it will not be destroyed; but I have already shown you that all the industries there are allied to silver mining, and depend upon it—lead mining, copper mining, commerce, agriculture, transportation—and after you destroy those what is there left? What is there left for that region but a return to the arid waste from which capital and civilization have wrested it?

Now, if this were the only feature of the case to be considered, I think that we all, as Americans, would agree that the great industries of that vast region should be sustained. But we are told that the industrial view of the question is a narrow one; that finance knows no boundaries of section, State, or nation; that the entire civilized world is drifting to gold; that it is fashionable to adopt the gold standard, and that we, the greatest nation of the world—I have heard that vainglorious expression very often in this debate—must be in fashion.

Let us consider that. Let us consider where our financial interest lies and ascertain whether it does not lie with our industrial interest. And here comes in the distinction between debtor and creditor nations. England is the representative of the creditor nations and is herself the greatest creditor nation in the world. She has swept the seas with her commerce, has made gain from every nation in every part of the globe, and has taken it home in the shape of gold, and loaned it to the nations of the world upon gold-bearing obligations. She has her tentacles upon every nation. She owes none but her own peple, while every nation owes her.

America, on the contrary, is the greatest debtor nation of the world. She needs such large quantities of money for the development of this great country that she can not produce enough to satisfy the demand. Hence she has to borrow from other countries and she has borrowed largely from England upon bond obligations, national and State, and upon the obligations of private corporations and individuals. It is estimated that those obligations amount to about $4,000,000,000, and yet we have in this country only $600,000,000 of gold to respond with, and only $1,500,000,000 of all kinds of money.

England, then, is the great creditor nation, America the great debtor nation. England is the greatest owner and producer of gold, America the greatest owner and producer of silver. And when we bear in mind that silver is the only metallic competitor of gold, the only metal which has been dignified through the ages with gold as one of the precious metals, I ask whether it is our policy to discredit that silver, to destroy its value, to increase the value of English gold by the destruction of its only competitor, American silver?

I wish to indulge in no declamation whatever against England. I admire the power and wisdom of that great people, infinitely more powerful, infinitely more wise than we, because they exercise their power in international affairs, and they are wise enough to legislate in their own interest, and not in the interest of other countries. [Applause.] Self-interest constitutes the prevailing motive of the governmental and political action of that great nation, while we are spending our energies in building up other nations, in appreciating the value of their accumulations and their productions and neglecting our own.

But we have another interest in this question, and that is connected with Mexico, which lies next to us. Mexico has been built up and developed by American capital, and you will find that the basis of every industry there is silver mining. It has promoted the building of railroads throughout that entire region, which are largely owned and controlled by Americans. President Diaz, the Gen. Grant of that country, has pursued a most liberal policy, and has welcomed Americans, and the country has witnessed an unprecedented development.

We have in it a monetary and a proprietory interest. Now what do we propose to do with that country? To sink its only currency to 25 cents on the dollar, to destroy the value of the product upon which its interests are based, to destroy the value of the product upon which the value of the transportation interests of that country, which are owned by us, are based. We propose to repeal the Sherman act. We propose to withdraw from silver the prop of "the greatest nation in the world," so our friends on this floor tell us. And yet, Mr. Speaker, it is a question with me whether we are the greatest nation in the world. We are constantly asserting it on this floor, but England is acting it. We deal in assertion; they deal in action.

We propose to destroy silver, for it will be destroyed by this action. If, under the influence of progressive adverse legislation, silver has fallen from $1.29 an ounce to 73 cents an ounce, I ask where will it fall after America has struck the final blow, and how, then, will you be able to restore it? Silver will then be simply the material in which promises to pay gold are written. We say that we will keep in circulation in this country this vast amount of silver, five or six hundred millions, but it will be simply the material in which promises to pay gold are written, and would it not be cheaper to write those promises on paper.

Where will we, then, get the gold with which to do our business? We may rest assured that we can not remain satisfied with only a hundred millions in our Treasury. We shall have to issue the bonds of this country and draw in more gold and thereby increase further the value of England's gold and diminish the value of American products. And when we have got that gold it will be subject to be withdrawn at any time when the desire or the caprice may seize England; so that we shall be in the position of a debtor on "call," responsive to the demand of his creditor at any time and liable to have his securities sacrificed.

We will place ourselves in the merciless grasp of the gold contraction, destructive not only of the value of silver but of the value of all our products—wheat, cotton, and all the products of labor—destructive even of the value of labor itself, for its unions can not withstand the withering effects of poverty and distress.

What are the lessons of the past twenty years as to the effect of monetary contraction? We have been through three monetary panics during that period—the monetary panic of 1873, that of 1890, and the present panic.

Toward the close of the war we had added to our population by the surrender at Appomattox 12,000,000 of people without a currency; yet we started at that time and destroyed the greenbacks, the only currency of the country, and at the same time we took steps toward the resumption of specie payments, which meant resumption in coin, either gold or silver. And though nature, as if intending a special benefaction, had exposed its riches in the silver mines of the West, we passed laws denying our people access to them. That legislation denying us the right to resort to the silver mines for one of the precious metals of the world, and the legislation diminishing the greenback currency, the only currency in use when our population had been increased in the manner I have described, started the panic of 1873. And you all know the distress, the insolvencies, the bankruptcies of the period from 1873 to 1878.

Again, in 1890, England had some difficulty with her debtors in the Argentine Republic, for all those debtors who have promised to pay in gold are coming to bankruptcy. The English bank reserves had fallen low, not because England had not an abundance of money but because she had loaned her money to other nations of the world and could not quickly recall it. She looked around, surveyed the field to see which one of the debtor nations of the world could best respond to her demand; and she fixed upon America.

Within a period of five months she called from us between eighty millions and ninety millions of dollars, constituting one-fifteenth of the currency of this country. The withdrawal of ninety millions of dollars from this country almost landed it upon the shore of bankruptcy. The banks of New York were in suspension; they issued clearing-house certificates which were taken as money, though under the law they were not legal tender; a wave of contraction swept across the country, and it was only the return of the gold, by reason of the sale of our products to Europe, that saved us from universal bankruptcy.

During the present year, when Mr. Cleveland was about to come into power, when the metropolitan press of New York, aiding the banks of that city, saw a favorable opportunity of forcing the repeal of the Sherman act, the newspapers of that city, particularly the New York Herald, the New York Times, and the New York Evening Post, joined in a clamor for its repeal, predicting every kind of calamity if it should not be repealed immediately.

A single issue of the New York Herald would embrace five or six editorials to every column, italicized and double-leaded, calling attention, in the most inflammatory and alarming language, to the danger of the situation, stating that our gold would be exported, that our foreign investors would lose confidence and sell their securities, that we were drifting on a silver basis, that our gold reserve was in danger, that our savings-bank depositors would meet with loss, that our dollar was a 58-cent dollar—editorials well calculated to excite alarm both at home and abroad. Those papers were read in England, and the owners of our securities there, thinking there was something in this senseless clamor, commenced to send their securities to this country for sale. They changed what was a natural drain from this country abroad, in the first part of the year, into a forced demand. Then came the withdrawal of deposits from the banks, and so England's withdrawal of eighty or ninety million dollars from this country has placed it in its present condition, involving the sacrifice of every kind of property, aggregating hundreds of millions—wheat, cotton, all the products of labor.

And now to-day, having sold their securities in this country two or three or four months ago, those same English investors are taking those securities back at 30 cents below what they sold them for, and so the English gold is being coaxed back by the sacrifice of American securities and products.

This presents an object lesson of what our condition will be when our financial dependence upon England becomes further assured, subject as we will be to her call whenever caprice or disaster may prompt her. We shall be subject to the storms that sweep every one of her financial seas—whether in India or South America or in Africa. We shall be obliged to sacrifice our securities and products in order to pay her back whenever she calls for her gold. If she disapproves of our policy she can withdraw her gold; if we contemplate war she can arrest prompt and decisive action; if aggression upon her part arouses us to appeal to the god of battles she can paralyze our energies upon the very threshold of war. Is it wise or patriotic to so place ourselves in the power of our great rival?

Do you say that these bonds are time bonds, and that immediate payment can not be demanded? That is true; but England can at any time force their liquidation by putting them upon the American market, and we will be obliged to absorb them. There are too many and too vast values dependent here upon the maintenance of the price of those bonds to permit us to allow their value to be sacrificed.

Now, we all admit that we must go to England for our gold. The total gold product of the country is, I believe, only $30,000,000 per annum; and one-half of that will be lost when silver mining is destroyed. We must go to England for our gold. We are in debt upon call. We shall have to store a large amount in order to be prepared to respond to every disaster that may affect that country, or to her forced demand in case of caprice, disapproval, or war.

But it is said that credit is a good thing, that there is no need of a large per capita, that credit satisfies all the demands of money. This may be true of a creditor nation, but it is never true of a debtor nation. Gentlemen refer to the per capita of England or Germany as being somewhat less than ours. That means simply that the actual coin in either of those countries is somewhat less per capita than in ours. But those countries, when the bank reserve falls below a normal standard, can recoup, can restore their reserve by calling upon the debtor nations, the nations that owe them money, whilst we have no debtor nations upon which to call. We must, therefore, preserve a larger amount of money subject to call.

Now I ask what is the lesson of the panics to which I have referred; three panics within twenty years? Why, sir, the lesson is that in all cases the volume of money here has been too small. The lesson is that the metallic money of the world is not sufficient for its demands; and this has always been proved by the existence of a large amount of paper money uncovered either by gold or silver. One-third of the world's money to-day consists of paper money not covered either by gold or silver. Yet we propose to destroy one-half of the metallic money.

We, who have suffered in this way, propose to join England as a creditor nation in a crusade against the only resource, the only salvation of the debtor nations of the world.

I ask, Mr. Speaker, where will we get gold? Austria is clamoring for gold. She has got about a hundred or a hundred and twenty-five of the one hundred and eighty millions she desires. She has been looting our Treasury in order to secure what she has. Almost all of her gold bears the stamp of the American eagle. We are the only country on earth that has not protected its gold. If Austria should go to Germany and attempt to get it, the great Imperial Bank says, "No; we have no gold for export." If she goes to France, with its seven hundred millions of silver circulating side by side with an equal quantity of gold, and presents to the Bank of France a note or check and asks to be paid in gold, it would not be given for such a purpose.

France exercises the option which we ought to exercise for the protection of her gold. If the Bank of France has a surplus of gold and desires to pay it out on check against it or in the redemption of its notes it does so. If not convenient, it pays in silver. But yet we hear no talk there about a 5-franc piece being worth only 3 francs. Suppose the great press of the city of Paris should unite in a clamor against the coinage of that country, such as has disgraced the metropolitan press of this country for some time past. Suppose they declared that the 5-franc piece was worth only 3 francs, and dinned in the ears of the people the danger of its silver currency. I would like to know how long France could resist a monetary panic? Ah, but before that exigency could arrive the editors of the papers would be behind the bars serving a sentence for sedition. [Applause.]

Look also, Mr. Speaker, at the condition of Russia. She has accumulated 500,000,000 of gold, and see how she protects it. She puts it in the war chest, locks it up for emergency, and issues against it fiat money, paper money, which circulates at par or nearly so. No one can get gold for the paper money of Russia; but we—the greatest nation in the world, the most powerful nation in the world, the wisest nation in the world (so our song goes)—allow our Treasury to be looted by every foreign speculator who so desires, by the failure to exercise the option which the law and the contract give us.

Why, a year ago we heard the announcement that a firm of New York bankers had presented $1,000,000 of Treasury notes, payable in terms in either gold or silver, to the United States Treasury for redemption in gold, and the Treasury determined it must pay gold. What did it mean? It meant that the Rothschilds, in connection with the great syndicate of bankers in Paris, Berlin, and Vienna, who control the finances of the great nations of Europe, were preparing to undertake changing Austria from a silver to a gold basis.

This syndicate of bankers who held Austria's silver bonds were preparing to arrange for their funding in gold bonds. The profits can be imagined. Silver bonds bought at a discount exchanged for gold bonds taken at a discount, with all the probabilities of a great rise in value. But where could they get the gold for the reserve fund necessary for the adoption of the gold standard?

They knew that England would not give it, for the Bank of England would raise the rate of discount. They knew that the Imperial Bank of Germany would not let them have the gold. Neither could they expect to get it from the Bank of France, and therefore they fastened on the country, protected by a similar option under the law, and made a test case by presenting $1,000,000 of United States Treasury notes, and then having ascertained that they could take the gold out of our Treasury, they entered into a binding contract which proposed to place Austria on a gold basis. And behold the result—our gold has gone to Austria and we are on the shores of bankruptcy.

Now, Mr. Speaker, if we go on a gold basis we will have to be wiser than we have been. We will have to pull the gold here and lock it up in our war chests and surround it with sentinels, and issue against it fiat money; or else we will have to go to fiat money alone, for when we destroy one-half of the money of ultimate redemption, metallic money is doomed in this country. I say that the consequences of this act are too awful to be contemplated in their effect upon our own values, upon our own securities, upon our own products, upon that vast mining region now threatened with depopulation, upon the country at large.

The civilization of the future depends upon the restoration of silver, and if we withdraw our support it may be lost forever. I do not believe in the specious suggestion that we now give silver its final blow and kill it in the hope that international action will resurrect it. I believe rather in nursing what remains of life in the hope that health and vigor may be restored. The task has grown in difficulty as time has advanced. We the greatest silver-producing nation in the world, we the greatest debtor nation of the world, we who required both gold and silver for the resumption of specie payments closed our mints against the product of our mines, in February, 1873, and proposed to throw it on the world for absorption.

Germany responded by demonetizing silver within two months after. France and the Latin Union, finding that Germany was pouring into their mints her accumulated silver coin, and that the United States was pouring into their mints the products of her mines, closed their mints finally about 1876. The Latin Union abandoned silver reluctantly, and yet during that period of agitation in this country the metropolitan press and the bankers in the money centers prevented its restoration. When the Bland act was passed it would have been easy.

The task would have been easy in 1890 when silver had the great sustaining power of India, which absorbed one-third of the product of the world. It is of course made more difficult now. But let the support which America affords be withdrawn and silver is destroyed and lost, and there is no hope of international bimetallism. We had the assurance of that in the language of Sir William Harcourt, chancellor of the English exchequer, the other day, when he said that the action of India was the death of bimetallism.

If my time permits, I hope to dwell upon the importance of America assuming courageous leadership on this subject, and as she was the first great nation, within the last half century, to demonetize silver so she should be the first to restore it. I should like to present my views upon the prospect of international bimetallism, as well as to this alleged danger of silver monometallism and with reference also to the unification of our currency and the retirement of the five or six kinds of paper money now in existence and the substitution in their place of one form of United States Treasury note, payable in coin and backed by ample reserves in both gold and silver in the Treasury.

But before doing so I wish to express my regret that Congress has allowed itself at this time of public danger and excitement, when imagination and alarm are enthroned and reason is unseated, to enter upon the discussion and consideration of a great subject requiring careful consideration and deliberate action. It would be better in my judgment to immediately take hold of some measure that would relieve the situation. But the controlling minds in this attack on silver have insisted that the existing panic should be made use of as a weapon for its destruction and they will not allow the consideration of any remedial measure.

We are suffering now from the want of legal-tender money, and the only thing to do is by prompt action to provide the people with money which will take the place of the money exported and hoarded, under provisions which will automatically force its retirement when the emergency is over. Such an increase of money could be easily made by legislation which would not contain the word gold or silver in it. Remember that the settlement of the silver question now either by the repeal of the Sherman act or by an act providing for the free coinage of silver will not give the full and adequate relief

which the situation demands. The repeal of the Sherman act will not restore the confidence of those who are now hoarding money.

This debate will instruct them that we are about to enter upon a period of contraction greater than any ever yet experienced, and the people will know that at such times the value of money increases and, just as when property is high people hold on to property and resist offers of purchase, so when money is scarce and correspondingly high they will clutch their money in the hope that the future may bring them better bargains. On the other hand, the free coinage of silver would add to the circulation of this country only $5,000,000 or $6,000,000 per annum, a sum entirely inadequate to meet the contraction caused by export and hoarding. I hope that at some stage in these proceedings instead of engaging in a Greco-Roman contest over this silver question, whose determination either way will not bring immediate relief to the country, we will enter upon the consideration of some emergency remedial legislation that will meet the requirements of the pending crisis.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. TARSNEY in the chair). The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MONEY. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman have leave to continue his remarks without limit. That courtesy has been extended to others, and I have been very much interested in the gentleman's remarks.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the request that the gentleman's time be extended without limit, until he shall have completed his remarks?

Mr. TRACEY. How much extension is asked?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Without limit.

Mr. TRACEY. I shall have to object to that.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM] is recognized.

Mr. BYNUM. Mr. Speaker, I am free to confess that I assume to address the House on the measure under consideration with some degree of diffidence. Having entertained and expressed views different from those I shall present to-day, I deem it but just to myself as well as my constituents, especially those who still believe that the free coinage of silver would be a great blessing to the country, to give the reasons that shall control my vote.

The condition of the country, as stated by the President in his message, is in many respects without a parallel. With an abundant harvest; free from pestilence; at peace with all nations; our manufactories spreading over the country; our railroads penetrating every corner, and our wealth rapidly increasing, we find ourselves in the midst of a panic the like of which we never before experienced.

There must be some cause, or combination of causes, some one of which was a prime factor in producing this disastrous condition of affairs.

Unquestionably a great majority of all classes believe that the silver law enacted on the 14th of July, 1890, is responsible for the evils with which we are afflicted. In order to discuss this measure to the comprehension of those not familiar with its provisions, I shall briefly outline its main features. It requires the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion at the market price each month, and issue in payment therefor Treasury notes. These notes are made a legal tender and are redeemable in gold or silver coin, at the discretion of the Secretary.

The authors of this measure were of the opinion that to enlarge our purchases of silver bullion would increase the demand, and thereby appreciate its price. The monetary value of an ounce of silver being $1.29, while its commercial value was only $1.05, our silver dollar was intrinsically worth but 81 cents.

The results of the operation of the act of 1890, called the Sherman law, were directly opposite to what was anticipated by its friends. With the exception of a sudden and, no doubt, speculative rise immediately after its passage, the price of silver has gone steadily down. The average price per ounce in 1890 was $1.05; in 1891, 99 cents; in 1892, 87½ cents, and in July last, 72½ cents. Up to July 1 last the Government, under the provisions of this law, had purchased 156,575,000 ounces of silver and issued in payment therefor Treasury notes to the amount of $147,215,000.

The constant fall in the price of silver bullion, notwithstanding the large purchases by the Government, began to excite apprehension in the minds of financiers. The rising volume of silver bullion, being stored away, unless coined by the Government into money would result in a great loss.

Had the Secretary of the Treasury been required to dispose of the bullion on hand on the 1st day of July last it would have brought at the market price but $114,828,500. To have redeemed the obligations of the Government outstanding therefor would have required the Secretary to have taken from the revenues the sum of $32,390,500; in brief, by the constant fall in the price of silver bullion the Government was loosing, under the operations of the Sherman law, over $10,000,000 a year. During the operation of this law, whether as a result of the same, I shall not now attempt to prove, gold was being exported in large sums. From July 1, 1890, to January 1, 1891, our net exports of gold amounted to $624,771. In 1891 they aggregated $33,885,571, and in 1892 they reached $58,570,536. During the present year to July 1, they were $70,815,096.

Thus we see that during the existence of the present law our net loss of gold has been $164,098,975. This was not the only alarming symptom. The gold reserve in the Treasury on the 1st of August, 1890, two weeks after the passage of this measure, was $184,092,075. One hundred million dollars of this sum had been treated as a reserve for the security and redemption of the greenback notes. The excess of the total reserve, above the one hundred millions, was known as the free gold in the Treasury, subject to whatever use the Secretary might have for it in the due administration of his department. The reserve began to diminish until the free gold was about exhausted. We finally reached the limit and the Secretary was driven to encroach upon the hundred millions in order to meet the demands and preserve the credit and standing of the Government. On the 1st of the present month, of the $184,092,075 of gold in the Treasury on August 1, 1890, there remained but $95,485,413.

Under such conditions it was but natural that our own as well as the people of other countries holding our securities should become alarmed lest they would be compelled to take payment in depreciated silver money. It was natural that American securities should begin to return home in anticipation of a collapse; and that our own people should begin to hoard gold in anticipation that the same would soon go to a premium.

While this was going on the channels through which the Treasury received its supply of gold were running lower and lower. In July, 1890, there was paid into the Treasury, through the custom-house at New York $17,173,016. Of this sum 95 per cent was paid in gold certificates. In July, 1891, the payments aggregated $11,303,169, of which 2 per cent was in gold coin, 14.9 per cent in gold certificates, 44.6 per cent in United States notes, and 28.9 per cent in Treasury notes, issued under the provisions of the Sherman law.

In July, 1892, the payments amounted to $12,295,908, of which 1 per cent was in gold coin, 13.8 in gold certificates, 28.4 in United States notes, and 42.2 in Treasury notes. In June, 1893, the payments reached the sum of $18,068,600, not a cent of which was paid in gold coin or gold certificates.

Thus the supply was cut off, and the stock on hand rapidly being exhausted. The Secretary of the Treasury was powerless to do anything. The law required him to maintain the parity between our gold and silver coin and to do this it was essential that he should redeem the Treasury notes in whatever character of money the holders demanded. To have refused to do so would have been an acknowledgment that one was preferable to the other, one more valuable than the other—an admission the Government could not afford to make. To have refused payment in gold would have been to put gold to a premium and increased the excitement and aggravated the stringency.

In my judgment the Secretary, Mr. Carlisle, during the ordeal through which he has conducted the financial affairs of the Government, has not only sustained his high reputation, but has achieved a name that will compare favorably in history with those of the great men who have preceded him. That there was a great pressure to force an issue of gold-bearing bonds there can be no question. To have issued bonds would simply have been a restoration of the reserve by enlarging the demands to be made upon it.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Sherman law has no friends; that it has been disowned by its reputed father. Every person condemns it as wrong in principle and vicious in practice. The singular fact, however, is that while the friends of free coinage admit that it has worked great harm, they insist that it must remain in force unless something is adopted in its stead. The only excuse assigned for its maintenance is that it increases the volume of money and keeps down the appreciation of gold.

We have already seen that since its enactment $164,0.8,974 in gold has been driven out of the country. Nor is this all, during the same period the circulation of national banks was reduced $7,370,623, making a reduction in the volume of money in circulation of $171,469,597.

The entire amount of Treasury notes issued under the provisions of this act to August 1, 1893, was only $148,286,234, showing a net reduction in circulation during its existence, if there had been no accessions from other sources, of $23,183,249. Why, then, should this measure, productive of such dangers, be maintained a single day? Why should it be used as a club to drive the representatives of the people into the adoption of some other measure which their judgments do not approve? [Applause.]

We have witnessed its operation for three years. It has failed to meet the approbation of anyone. It is condemned not only as pernicious, but as dangerous. It has not only failed to arrest

the fall in the price of silver bullion, but has driven from our shores more than $170,000,000 in gold. It has reduced the circulation of the people nearly $25,000,000. It has closed the channels of the Treasury to the further ingress of gold. It has pulled down the pillars of credit that support and sustain our trade and commerce. It has frightened all classes and driven into hiding every character of money, including its own offspring, and yet we are told that we must wait till we get something better in the way of affirmative legislation before it can be repealed.

The cry of distress comes from every quarter. Business is at a standstill, factories closed, labor idle, but no helping hand is to be extended by those who favor free coinage. While the country is prostrate, helpless, and unable to resist, they propose to dose it with their remedies or let it suffer for fear that when restored it will reject their treatment. We who favor unconditional repeal have been warned again and again that if we support the measure that we will lose our seats on this floor.

It may be that there are those here whose sole ambitions are to be returned, and are ready to sacrifice their convictions upon great questions to secure the same, but I scorn to believe it. My confidence is not unbounded, but I am loth to believe a single vote, for or against this measure, will be cast from such base and unprincipled motives. These threats, if not in bad taste, are exceedingly untimely. The people are excited. They feel that something is radically wrong, and they are in a frame of mind that should not be inflamed or misguided. The time has come when cant and subterfuge must be driven from the councils of men and nations, and reason and judgment enthroned in the minds and in the hearts of the people. [Applause.]

Gentlemen who are demanding that something shall be enacted in the place of the Sherman law know that that can not be done now. They know it is unconditional repeal or nothing. If they succeed in grafting upon the measure for repeal a single one of their proposed amendments they know that the same can not be enacted into a law. Your alternative, therefore, is to accept repeal or nothing, and upon that issue you must return and answer to your people.

If this measure should fail, you gentlemen who will have defeated it can return to your constituents and say to them that you knew they were in desperate straits; that the Sherman law was a bad measure; that it had shaken confidence until there was not a sufficient amount of money in circulation to carry on the business, but that you thought it best to keep it on the statutes till you could get what you wanted.

Go home to your merchants who are unable to make collections to meet maturing bills, and say to them that you knew they were being pressed, but you could not secure just what you wanted, and that they will have to bear it the best they can. Go back to the farmers, who are unable to market their wheat at any price, and tell them that you admit there was and is great stringency in money; that the repeal of the Sherman law would probably have relieved the situation, but that you feared that if that was done you would be unable to get something in its stead in the future.

Go to the idle workingmen, against whom the doors of the mills and factories have been closed because their managers could neither collect nor borrow a sufficient sum to meet their pay rolls, and tell them that you knew they and their families were suffering, but that you felt it was better for them to bear their afflictions till your views should be incorporated into a new law, and if they do not denounce your conduct in words of condemnation, bitter and burning, I am mistaken in their character and temper.

Mr. Speaker, I might conclude and submit the question at this point, but my argument would be incomplete without a discussion of the amendments proposed by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND]. The substitute offered by him proposes that the mints of the Government shall be opened to the free coinage of silver, first, at a ratio of 16 to 1; if that should be voted down, then at 17 to 1; if that should fail, then at 18 to 1; if that should be defeated, then at 19 to 1, and if that should not be successful, then at 20 to 1, and if the above amendments should be defeated, that the Bland-Allison law, in force from 1878 to 1890, be voted upon.

As has already been argued in this debate, the number of different ratios proposed by the gentleman from Missouri is a full surrender of his position. Why is the ratio of 20 to 1 any better than that of 16 to 1? If the Government can maintain one it can maintain the other at a parity!

At the average price of silver bullion during 1892 the commercial value of the silver dollar at the ratio of 16 to 1 was 65 cents; at the ratio of 17 to 1 it would have been 69 cents; at the ratio of 18 to 1, 73 cents; at 19 to 1, 77 cents, and at 20 to 1, 81 cents. I do not give these as exactly correct, but approximately so. Could we safely open our mints to the free coinage of silver at any of these ratios?

It requires no argument to demonstrate that one of three results would inevitably follow the moment we did so: Either the commercial value of silver bullion would rise to its monetary value, the monetary value would fall to the commercial value, or one would go up and the other down until they came together. The instant the silver dollar and the bullion contained in it became convertible at the pleasure of the holder, they necessarily would command the same price. This, then, is the important question to be considered.

In order to logically present the question, it will become necessary for me to repeat in some measure facts and arguments which have already been presented.

By the act of 1793, first establishing a mint and providing for the coinage of both gold and silver, our fathers adopted the ratio of 15 to 1. There was considerable discussion as to the correct ratio between the two metals, but from the best evidence that could be obtained this was ascertained as about correct.

For one hundred years prior to that time there had been a remarkable stability of the ratio between the two metals, silver never having risen to 14.14, except during the year 1760, or fallen below 15.50 but once, and that in 1702. Shortly after the ratio was fixed at 15 to 1, within the next three years, silver fell to the ratio of 15.65.

It is a striking fact that silver never, since our mint was first established, has reached the ratio it then had. The slight fall in the value of silver destroyed the parity. Gold was worth more than its coinage value; not very much—only 3 or 4 cents—but enough to make it profitable to export it. Our gold, therefore, left the country. Recognizing the fact that gold was undervalued by the act of 1793, and that so long as that measure was continued in force it would be impossible for us to retain any gold in circulation, in 1834 the ratio was changed by Congress to 16 to 1. At that time the true ratio was 15.73, so that by the latter act silver was slightly undervalued, and the result was the very opposite—gold coming from abroad, while silver took flight.

A mistake was made in the act of 1834 in making our subsidiary coins contain equal proportions of the silver in a dollar. There was as much profit in exporting the minor coins as there was in shipping away our silver dollars, and although nearly all of our silver coin was in fractional pieces, the people were left without small change. So, in 1853 the quantity of silver in the subsidiary coins was reduced, so that a loss, instead of a profit, would be incurred by exporting them.

From the action of Congress in 1834 in purposely undervaluing silver, and in 1853 overvaluing our subsidiary coins, we are driven to the conclusion that our fathers purposely adopted the gold standard in 1834. That we were upon that standard from that time until the suspension of specie payments during the war there can be no controversy. The silver dollar, about which we have heard so much, was practically no part of our circulation up to 1873. From the time we first opened the mint to 1873 there was coined but 8,031,000 silver dollars, while there was coined $137,000,000 of minor coins and $852,214,507 in gold.

When the question of a change of ratio was under consideration in the Senate Mr. Benton said:

He did not think it necessary to discant and expatiate upon the merits and advantages of a gold currency. These advantages had been too well known from the earliest ages of the world to be a subject of discussion in the nineteenth century; but, as it was the policy of the paper system to disparage that metal, and as that system in its forty years reign over the American people had nearly destroyed a knowledge of that currency, he would briefly enumerate its leading and prominent advantages.

1. It had an intrinsic value, which gave it currency all over the world, to the full amount of that value, without regard to laws or circumstances.
2. It had a uniformity of value, which made it the safest standard of value of property which the wisdom of man had ever yet discovered.
3. Its portability, which made it easy for the traveler to carry it about with him.
4. Its indestructibility, which made it the safest money the people could keep in the houses.
5. Its inherent purity, which made it the hardest money to be counterfeited, and the easiest to be detected, and, therefore, the safest money for the people to handle.
6. Its superiority over all other money, which gave to its possessor the choice and command of all other money.
7. Its power over exchanges; gold being the currency which contributes most to the equalization of exchange, and keeping down the rate of exchange to the lowest and most uniform point.
8. Its power over the paper money; gold being the natural enemy of that system, and, with fair play, able to hold it in check.
9. It is a constitutional currency, and the people have a right to demand it for their currency as long as the present Constitution is permitted to exist.

Not only was gold recognized as the standard from 1834 to 1860, but it was so recognized after the war and even after the act of 1873, about which so much has been said. On the 11th of February, 1874, Senator STEWART of Nevada said:

I want the standard gold, and no paper money not redeemable in gold; no paper money the value of which is not ascertained; no paper money that will organize a gold board to speculate in it.

On the 20th of the same month, on a resolution to instruct the Committee on Finance to report a bill providing for the convertibility of the Treasury notes into gold coin or bonds, he said:

By this process we shall come to a specie basis, and when the laboring man receives a dollar it will have the purchasing power of a dollar, and he will not be called upon to do what is impossible for him or the producing classes to do, figure upon the exchanges, figure upon the fluctuations, figure upon the gambling in New York, but he will know what his money is worth. Gold is the universal standard of the world. Everybody knows what a dollar in gold is worth.

On the 1st of April of the same year, Senator JONES, of the same State, said:

Does this Congress mean now to leave entirely out of view and discard forever a standard of value? Did any country ever accumulate wealth, achieve greatness, or attain a high civilization without such a standard? And what but gold can be that standard? What other thing on earth possesses the requisite qualities? Gold is the articulation of commerce. It is the most potent agent of civilization. It is gold that has lifted the nations from barbarism. So exact a measure is it of human effort that when it is exclusively used as a money it teaches the very habit of honesty. It neither deals in nor tolerates false pretenses. It can not lie. It keeps its promises to the rich and poor alike.

Mr. Speaker, if the slight undervaluation in 1793, not more than 3 or 4 cents on the dollar, drove gold out of the country prior to the act of 1834, and the latter drove silver out afterwards, what might we expect if we should open our mints to the free coinage of both metals at a ratio that would undervalue gold at from 23 to 52 per cent, when the people of the civilized world are on the alert for opportunities of speculation and advised as to markets and quotations in every financial center on the globe on the morning of the succeeding day?

We are told, however, that silver has not fallen in value, but that gold has risen, and that if we will but open our mints to the free coinage of silver, as we have to gold, that silver will again take up its position by the side of gold. Silver, it is said, has appreciably fallen in price because it has been under fire for twenty years. There is some force in this argument. No doubt if silver had not been demonetized by so many nations it would not have reached its present low price. Eleven nations, I believe, have closed their mints to the free coinage of silver since 1873. But what difference does this make? They will not open them at our bidding, and we are powerless to compel them to do so.

We must face the facts as they exist, not as they ought to be, or as we would like to have them. No one who has read the debates of the Brussels conference but has come to the conclusion that all efforts at international bimetallism under present conditions will fail. It is patent that Great Britain is satisfied with her monetary system, and that no other European nation will unite in any agreement to which she is not a party. It is further evident that none of the European governments will change their monetary systems unless it be toward a more perfect gold standard. Whatever action, therefore, we may take we must take alone.

Can we, without the aid and coöperation of other nations, carry this great burden? The coinage values of the world's product of gold and silver from 1873 to 1892, inclusive, were as follows:

Years.	Gold.	Silver.
1873	$96,200,000	$81,800,000
1874	90,750,000	71,500,000
1875	97,500,000	86,500,000
1876	103,700,000	87,600,000
1877	114,000,000	81,000,000
1878	119,000,000	95,000,000
1879	109,000,000	96,000,000
1880	106,500,000	96,700,000
1881	103,000,000	102,000,000
1882	102,000,000	111,800,000
1883	95,400,000	115,300,000
1884	101,700,000	105,500,000
1885	108,400,000	118,500,000
1886	106,000,000	120,600,000
1887	105,775,000	124,281,000
1888	110,197,000	140,706,090
1889	123,489,000	162,159,000
1890	113,149,600	172,234,500
1891	120,578,800	187,733,000
1892	130,816,600	196,605,200

It will be seen from the foregoing table that while there has been a large increase in the production of both metals; that of silver has more than doubled in the last twenty years. Silver has not only suffered because of the large increase in the production of gold and its own relegation to the position of token money by the civilized nations of the world, but because of the enormous increase in its own production.

In view of the fact that all civilized nations have closed their mints to the free coinage of silver; in view of the great increase in its production, and in view of the recent action of the Government of India, heretofore the largest consumer of silver, could we for one moment uphold, much less appreciate the price of silver by opening our mints to free coinage, even at the ratio of 20 to 1. It may be asked, if we could open our mints to free coinage at any ratio? I answer emphatically, No, not under present conditions.

With the mints of all the great commercial nations of the world closed to free coinage; with a redundancy in many parts of the world, and with a rapidly increasing production, I unhesitatingly say we could fix upon no ratio that would give stability to the price of silver, so that it could be used independently as a standard or measurement of values.

The moment we opened our mints to free coinage to the products of the world a wild rush would be made upon us by the people of all the gold-standard nations and a veritable scramble would ensue in the contest to get possession of some of our gold before it was all exhausted. There would pour in upon us in one year more silver than our mints could coin in ten. What would be the result? Does any one seriously believe that silver under such circumstances would rise in price? In my judgment it would be the worst blow that could be given to silver.

Mr. Speaker, for the sake of argument I will suppose for a moment that my reasoning is fallacious and that my conclusions are erroneous; that silver will not go down, but that with our mints open to it freely its commercial value will go up from 73 cents an ounce, its present price, to $1.29, its parity or monetary value. In brief, I will suppose that after we shall have adopted free coinage the silver dollar will contain 100 cents' worth of silver bullion. Would the farmers of the country derive any benefit from this change? Would the workingman be in any better condition? Their dollar in silver would be just what it is now; worth no more nor no less. What advantage would it be to any class except the silver producers? They alone would reap the profit.

It may be interesting to the farmers of the country to know what profits the silver producers have been making during the last few years while they have been striving to keep their taxes paid and make ends meet. The Daily mine in Utah in 1891 paid in dividends $450,000. The Ontario mine in the same Territory and year paid in dividends $900,000. The Granite mine in Montana in 1892 paid in dividends $1,020,000. The Barrier Range (Broken Hills mines) in New South Wales last year paid dividends to the amount of $5,805,000. That the farmers may get a more perfect knowledge of the profits enjoyed by the "silver kings," I will give the results of an investigation made by the Director of the Mint in 1887 as to the cost of production of an ounce of silver.

From estimates from 155 mines, producing 43 per cent of the domestic product, it was ascertained that the cost of production was 52.4 cents per ounce. What advantage will it be to the farmers and wage-workers of the country to pay to the producers of silver, in the way of products and toil, $1.29 per ounce for silver that they can now purchase for 73 cents and which costs the producers but 52 cents? It may be answered that that will not be the result. If the theory of those who favor free coinage be correct, that silver will rise in value, it is exactly what will be the result.

While I do not think for a moment that silver will rise in value, I have presented this to show how untenable is the position of the free-coinage advocates and how fallacious their arguments.

That the result of free coinage would be that the value of the silver dollar, now at a parity with gold, would drop to its commercial value, now about 56 cents, I have not the least doubt. There is not a government in the world to-day where the mints are open to the free coinage of silver that the coin is worth more than the bullion it contains.

This was true in India before she closed her mints. Mexico has free coinage of both gold and silver; her silver dollar contains 6 grains more of silver than ours, and yet to-day you can buy Mexican dollars in New York at 59½ cents a piece and pay for them with our own silver coins.

The free coinage of silver means here, as it has everywhere, silver monometallism. Of all the enemies of bimetallism none are laboring so industriously and earnestly to destroy it as the advocates of free coinage. It can result in nothing else.

The gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN] in eloquent terms portrayed the glorious results that would accrue to the debt-ridden farmers of the West and the unemployed wage-workers of the whole country when we shall have reached the silver standard. The mistake the gentleman makes, slight though somewhat serious, is in assuming that we would have a standard. There would be no more stability in the price of silver than there is now. When we reach that blissful state it would be necessary for every man with a silver dollar in his pocket to daily ascertain, if he could, what it was worth. As well said by Senator STEWART, the producing classes do not want "to figure upon the exchanges, figure upon the fluctuations, figure upon the gambling in New York," to ascertain the value of their money.

Let us investigate for a moment and see what the real condition of the farmers and the wage-workers will be when the gentleman's silver millennium is reached. I will suppose that next year, and I hope my supposition will come true, Providence will smile upon the people of Nebraska; that rains will descend in copious showers and at seasonable times; that the storms and cyclones will be confined within their caves; that the grasshoppers will not come to devour their fair fields; that their crops will be so abundant that the sun at his zenith will stop and linger in admiration and wonder a moment on his ceaseless course to the Pacific; yea, more, I will suppose that the farmers of the whole country have been similarly blessed, and that the yield of wheat will be 600,000,000 of bushels.

Four hundred millions will amply supply the home demand; where will the other 200,000,000 bushels find a market? In the gold standard countries of Europe!

Tariff reformer as he is, I presume that the gentleman from Nebraska has not neglected to impress upon the minds of his constituents that the market for the surplus regulates the price at home. The glories of that silver standard are rapidly disappearing. The constituents of the gentleman from Nebraska would still be in the clutches of the "gold bugs."

This is not all; if the transaction ended here the results might not be so serious, but look to the final outcome. We are upon a silver basis. The price of wheat in Europe will be fixed upon a gold basis; exchange will rise and fall in this country as the price of silver falls or rises. Here will be a new element of uncertainty, which will enter into trade. The buyers, knowing this fact, and that there will likely be a fall in the value of their exchange by the time their deal is perfected, will not only calculate against the farmer the risks of handling his wheat or his cotton, but they will also calculate against him a sufficient amount to insure against any risk of loss in money.

The producers will have to bear all the risks and burdens of a fluctuating standard. No nation, as Senator JONES aptly said, "will ever accumulate wealth without an invariable standard."

It was stated by one of the presidents of one of the great produce exchanges of the country that margins were so close that 1 penny a bushel often determined the source of supply of millions of bushels of grain, and yet with our great and growing commerce, we here have seriously presented to us a proposition that will throw into trade an element of uncertainty against which no man can calculate. To abandon the standard fixed by the great commercial nations of the world is to demoralize and damage our trade beyond comprehension.

Mr. Speaker, there is another class to which I desire to address a few thoughts—the wage-workers of the country. I have received petitions from some of the assemblies in my State protesting against the repeal of the Sherman law and requesting me to support free coinage. My relations with organized labor has been close, The laboring men of my district have always given me a loyal support, and I know that they believe I would not knowingly cast a vote that would in the slightest degree oppress or harm them. Whatever else may have fallen in price as compared with gold, it is an acknowledged fact that wages have not only been maintained, but have increased. It is not, therefore, to be reasonably assumed that under any circumstances there will be an increase in the rates of wages.

How then will the workingmen be affected? To my own satisfaction, and I believe to the satisfaction of every unbiased mind, I have demonstrated that the only effect of free coinage will be a fall in the value of our standard. A fall in the value of the money in which the workingman receives his wages is in effect a reduction of his pay. If silver money should fall to the commercial value of silver bullion it would result in the reduction of the purchasing power of the workingman's dollar nearly one-half. Believing that I could not cast a vote that would so directly and injuriously affect the laboring classes, I shall follow the dictates of my judgment. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, it requires no stretch of imagination to see, at a glance, that by the free coinage of silver the whole machinery of trade, of commerce, and of exchange, domestic as well as foreign, because they are so intimately interwoven as to be inseparable, would be thrown into such inextricable confusion and disorder as to completely paralyze all our industries and destroy our prosperity. Think but a moment of the result, and the mind recoils at the conception. This great country, with her matchless resources, inhabited by the most enlightened and progressive people on earth, with a commerce, domestic and foreign, surpassing the wildest dreams of her pioneers, deliberately abandoning the measurement of values recognized by all the civilized nations of the world and chaining herself to the systems of those still lingering in the shades of barbarism.

There is another question which deserves our serious consideration before we take this leap into darkness. A fall in the value of our money, a reduction in the standard of values means a deficiency in the revenues of the Government of at least $100,000,000. We have outstanding large obligations payable in gold; these must be met according to the terms of the contract, and to do so would require us to raise the additional sum necessary to purchase gold at whatever premium it might command over silver money.

Not only would we need more money for this purpose, but the rise, apparently, in the price of products required to equip and maintain the different departments, especially the War and Navy, would call for an increased amount, and it is safe to say there would be needed not less than one hundred million more. The revenues of the Government are now barely sufficient to meet our expenditures. If we are to open the doors of our Mints to free silver, we may bid farewell to any reduction of taxes, but prepare to seek additional sources of revenue. This is the very question that drove India to close her mints against free coinage; her money had depreciated until she was no longer able to meet her expenditures, a large part being payable in gold.

The friends of repeal have been charged with being the representatives of the moneyed powers and "gold-bugs" of Europe. It has been said that a conspiracy has been formed to "down" silver. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] was heard to raise his voice in the far-off West when India closed her mints. He was certain that the British Government had forced India to the extremity, and that the Congress of the United States would be the next subject of her attack. Unfortunately for Mr. BLAND'S assumption, it turns out that India wanted to close her mints against silver, but Great Britain would not permit it.

What reasons Great Britain may have for desiring that we should cease coining silver has not been explained. What advantages would accrue to her have not been stated. We have heard nothing but the bare assertion of the fact. Great Britain produces neither silver nor gold in quantities worth mentioning. Her entire product in ten years, I venture, would not amount to a half million dollars. She is upon the gold standard, and has been there for three-quarters of a century. She is content with her monetary system, and is apparently indifferent as to what other nations may do. She pays all of her obligations in gold, notwithstanding the balance of trade is nearly five hundred millions of dollars against her every year.

Why should we fear the gold standard? Above all nations on the face of the earth we should be benefited by it if any would. We produced last year $33,000,000 in gold, and coined in the same period $34,787,222. During the past one hundred years we produced $1,969,693,945 in gold, a sum greater than one-half of the world's supply of gold coin at the present time. If Great Britain and Germany, which practically produce no gold whatever, can adhere to the gold standard, why can not the United States, that produces one-fourth of the world's supply. Not only do we produce gold enough to supply ourselves, but over all nations we produce an abundance of supplies that draw gold from the farthest corners of the earth.

The products of our farms, our breadstuffs and provisions, will command gold when nothing else will secure it. The balance of trade in our favor against Great Britain is more than three hundred millions every year. England and Ireland paid to our farmers in 1891 over two hundred millions of dollars in gold for breadstuffs and provisions. Great Britain has an interest in the result of our action, but we are not her servants; that distinction is enjoyed by others.

In the Brussels conference her delegates had but one proposition to offer, and that was that the European nations should purchase £5,000,000 in silver for five years if the United States would continue to purchase 54,000,000 ounces annually. She was willing to go down into her pocket and assist in purchasing between thirty and forty million ounces of silver if we would but continue the operations of the Sherman law for the same period. It was a shrewd proposition. Her representatives no doubt calculated that if they could get us into an agreement for five years they would at the end of that time have all our gold, including the balance of the reserve in the Treasury. We not only repel the insinuation but denounce the action of the advocates of free silver with striving to accomplish what the British Government would give a handsome bonus to have done.

It has been argued that the Democratic platform of the last national convention declared in favor of the free coinage of silver, and that the President and his supporters were untrue to their pledges. It is the right of each and every Democrat to construe the platform for himself, and in doing so I acknowledge no authority save my own judgment and conscience. The platform favors the use of both gold and silver as money, but demands that they must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value. The convention voted down an amendment proposed by Mr. Patterson, of Colorado, to insert the word "free" before the word coinage. The convention, if it had favored free coinage at all hazards, could easily have said so in a few words.

Whatever may have been the intentions of the convention, there was one act it performed which removed all doubt, and that was the nomination of Mr. Cleveland on the first ballot by a two-thirds vote. His oft-repeated statements, his well-known views, his bold and courageous declarations in the presence of the most alluring temptation placed a construction upon that platform, and thereafter no one could have been deceived. If there is one principle in the Democratic creed for which the party has stood firmly through the storms of criticism and defeat over and above all others, it is the one in favor of sound money.

Mr. Speaker, gentlemen upon the other side of this question, apparently, through the whole of this debate have been unable to distinguish the difference between the gold standard and gold monometallism. Great Britain has a gold standard, but maintains $100,000,000 of silver money, and coins from eight to ten millions every year. Germany has the gold standard, but maintains $100,000,000 of full and $100,000,000 of limited tender silver. France maintains the gold standard with $700,000,000 of silver.

There is not a nation on earth with a gold standard but what has more or less silver to supply the needs of its people in domestic trade. This cry about destroying silver is all sham. There is a large and useful field for silver, and no warfare is being made upon it. We are told that there is not enough gold in the world to supply the different nations with sufficient money upon which to transact their business. Most assuredly there is not, nor could the business be transacted with gold if there was a superabundance. But there is plenty of gold by which to fix and measure values and adjust the balances between nations. Were it not for the clearing houses in our great cities, the exchanges there could not be transacted with any kind of money, much less gold, to say nothing about silver. They wholly ignore the fact that a standard must first be established; that after that is done an indefinite number of aids and substitutes may be used as measures.

The gold standard does not mean that gold alone shall be used, but that all measures must conform to that standard; silver, paper, drafts, checks, clearing-house certificates, or any other device may be used, but they must be used in such a way as to give exact measure by the standard. We who are contending for the preservation of the gold standard do so because it is the most stable that has ever been discovered and because all the civilized nations of the world have adopted it. I am in favor of the use of all the silver that we can coin and maintain at a parity with gold, of providing for the issue of all the currency that can be floated at par, but not another dollar.

I have no faith in that character of prosperity which comes with cheap money. Money to be of value to the people, to protect the weak against the strong, must honestly measure the results of human toil. I fully agree that the medium of exchange should be ample to enable the people, at the least cost and in the briefest time, to exchange their productions, but an oversupply of money stimulates wild speculations, unsettles credit, and, sooner or later, brings on a collapse.

In my opinion there is not a scarcity of money in the country to-day. We have transacted a much greater commerce and enjoyed the highest prosperity with far less money than we have in circulation now. Our exchanges are made upon a different basis from those of other nations. We could not do business as France does with her $40 per capita. We have been driven to the use of greater conveniences. Necessarily ours is largely a system of credits based on confidence, hence the greater the importance that we should at all times and under all circumstances maintain a true standard of value.

I have been amused during this debate at the remarks of some gentlemen who have so indignantly scorned the idea that our standard of values should conform to that of the civilized nations of the world. We are a free and independent nation, they say, and therefore should cut loose from the monarchies of the Old World and establish one of our own. We can do this, but it would be well to know that our parachute is in good working order before we try the experiment.

Mr. Speaker, I am not a pessimist, but I look into the future with some forebodings. The minds of the people in many sections seemed to have been turned from the paths of true wisdom. The seeds of paternalism that have been sown broadcast through the land seem to have taken a firm hold in some localities. From every quarter comes the cry, "What is Congress going to do for the people?"

The belief that Congress, by legislation, can produce unlimited wealth, and distribute the same among the people, seems to prevail in every quarter. There is but one way in which a nation can become rich and her people prosperous, and that is by the productions of toil and not by the inflation of values by enlarging the volume of money. We should do our duty fearlessly and the people must do the rest. [Applause.]

Mr. HEPBURN. Mr. Speaker, this debate presents some novel features. It presents some gentlemen in new characters and playing new rôles. There are some gentlemen of this House, more noted perhaps for their intenseness of party love, of party zeal, than anything else, who are now assuming a condition of absolute nonpartisanship and urging all other men, especially Republicans, to get into that same happy frame of mind, notably a gentleman who has recently taken his seat [Mr. BYNUM], who tells us that "the time has now come when cant and subterfuge should be driven from this Hall, and patriotism be permitted to take its place."

Are we to understand that in the esteem of that gentleman, in his experiences, cant has been the rule, and that now he is turning over a new leaf? Or does he, as a measure persuasive, to induce his opponents to adopt the new régime of nonpartisanship, suggest to them that heretofore they have been indulging in cant and in the hypocrisy of partisanship? A lecture of that kind seems strange to those who have memories and who remember a scene in which a distinguished member of this House marched down the aisle, shaking with violence his fist in the face of the organ of this House, its Speaker, and denouncing him in all of the bitterest terms of vituperative declamation; a man conducting himself so that the censure of the House was placed upon him because of the extreme, indecent partisanship that he then was manifesting.

It is noticeable, Mr. Speaker, that those who most exhort Republicans to rise above party and aid the monometallists of the Administration to repeal the Sherman law, are those who on all occasions are most intense and indecent in their assaults upon everything that Republicans hold to be most sacred in their creed; those who are least fair to their opponents and who most strenuously labor for party advantage. They are partisans always, save now, when they want Republican votes. The President exhorts us to sink party, and then, setting us an example—showing us how the thing ought to be done—proceeds to shift responsibility justly belonging to his own party and throw it upon the shoulders of Republicans, where it does not belong. Intensely partisan in his nonpartisanship, he seeks to utilize a condition of public distress and by its use persuade Republicans in aiding his party to take the first step toward the permanent disuse of silver as one of the money metals of this country. Note, if you please, Mr. Speaker, the unfair and partisan methods adopted by the majority in the presentation of this question.

It is known that there is vital difference of opinion between the wings of the Democratic party, but for the purposes of a vote agreement is reached by them. The free-silver wing is placated by permitting a vote on six propositions. Five propositions as to ratio, and the Bland-Allison bill, are to be voted on to appease that wing and to suppress filibustering. Then follows the vote on the repeal bill. This is all agreed to among themselves by these patriots who sink all partisanship in their godly efforts to secure the nation's good. But what do they offer to the Republicans who are abjured to be patriotic and come up to the help of the Democracy? Why, sir, they bind them hand and foot by the tyranny of the previous question, and refuse them the poor privilege of making one single amendment—not one amendment can any man on this side of the House secure a vote upon. We are invited to take your propositions of relief and that only. You want "the patriotism" of our votes, and not "the patriotism" of our suggestion. Do you think, gentlemen, that we can be patriotic in our votes, and that we can not be in the plans we might offer to relieve the distress? Many of my colleagues on this side of the chamber have plans to offer—amendments to offer—but by the tyranny of your previous question you debar us from this and tell us that while you want us to be patriotic, yet we must exemplify that virtue on your lines, and in manner that you prescribe.

In this great emergency why did you not treat us as copatriots? Why did you not invite us upon terms of equality to aid in relief measures, giving us the opportunity to suggest method and remedy? But, no; this did not serve your purpose. You thought by this cant and twaddle about our being nonpartisan and patriotic you could cajole certain Republicans to vote with you, thus making good the loss of votes the silver Democrats would not furnish, and in this way start the Cleveland party on its march toward a single gold standard and aid it in its effort to destroy silver as one of the precious metals.

I am sick and tired, for my part, of all this nauseating talk about nonpartisanship. I am a Republican because I believe Republicanism to be right to-day as in other days. I am a Republican because I believe in the doctrines announced in its platform as the best of all theories and principles to carry this Government and the people to the highest mark of civilization and their greatest good; and I am not to be driven from these ideas and from the doctrines of my party because it suits some man's purposes now to urge aid from the Republican party. I believe I am most patriotic when I adhere closest to the doctrines of my party. I know of no sufficient reason why this extraordinary action, the repeal of the act of 1890, should be taken.

I remember that the Democratic convention when it last assembled had no words in its platform pledging the party to the repeal of this measure that it is now said must be repealed in order to avert the direst of all disasters. In its last national convention the Dem-

ocratic party contented itself with this deliverance upon the subject: "We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters as well as its author anxious for its speedy repeal." This is all. No pledge for its repeal; no declaration that it has done harm—simply the rhetorical flourish, that it is "fraught with possibilities of danger." And yet when this declaration was made the Sherman law had been in operation nearly two years, and nearly one hundred millions of Treasury notes had been issued under its provisions. Four national conventions met last summer, and no one of them thought to pledge itself to the repeal of this law.

We know that the Republican party, with that measure in force for two years, bringing as I believe benediction and beneficence to this land, had no word of rebuke; but, on the contrary, impliedly indorsed it. It and every measure of the then administration received the approval of that convention of more than 800 Republicans, representing all parts of the party and every section of this land. It was approved; and the measure that is now suggested as a precursor of another—the establishment of a single money standard of gold—was condemned by every Republican there assembled. [Applause.]

If there was any one utterance plainer than all others made by that convention it was the declaration that the Republican party of this country was in "favor of gold and silver as standard money." Those were the words used—"standard money." [Applause.] That money "proclaimed by authority as the measure of value," and when anyone asks me to follow his leadership, be he Democrat or be he Republican, and vote for the repeal of this act, a vote here proclaimed on every hand to be the first step toward the discarding of silver as a standard money, I want to ask him where does he get his authority to reform the Republican platform and the party. [Applause].

In view of the extraordinary absence of partisanship certain Democrats are talking so much about, I want to call attention to the remarks made by my friend from Louisiana [Mr. BLANCHARD] the other day. I regret that he is not at this moment in his seat. He was assuming to give the history of the passage of the act of 1873, that is said to have demonetized silver—that act of "great iniquity" as we sometimes hear it called. The gentleman gave its history. He traced it down into the hands of the conference committee, and then he tells us that "by the surreptitious," and I understood him to say "fraudulent," but I find in looking at his revised remarks I was in error, and that he did not say it was fraudulent; but "by the surreptitious action of six men the important words, eleven in number, were injected into that law, which gave it all of its harmful and pernicious characteristics," and made it demonetize silver. These words are:

> And no deposit of silver for other coinage shall be received.

The gentleman tell us that in the 21st section of the act the interlineation of these words, with the knowledge of no other men in this land save six, this great crime against the nation and the age was perpetrated; and he tells us this in the face of the fact that the 15th section of the act was unchanged, and that section provided that "the silver coins of the United States shall be a trade dollar, a half dollar, a quarter dollar, a dime."

And then he tells us this in the face of the further fact that the seventeenth section was not changed by the committee of conference, which reads:

> That no coins, either of gold or silver or minor coinage, shall hereafter be issued from the Mint other than those of the denominations, standards, and weights herein set forth.

He makes this declaration of surreptitious crime in the face of that other fact that section 15, unchanged by the committee, provided "that silver hereafter shall be legal tender only in sums of $5."

What becomes of the force and value of that charge in the presence of these other broad declarations with regard to the office that silver is hereafter to accomplish in the financial economy of the United States?

This is only important because it ought to stop forever this rot and trash about the surreptitious character and the fraudulent character of that legislation, and because when charges of that kind are made by gentlemen against a great political party they are not in the best possible position to urge nonpartisanship. They say they want to allay strife, contention, zeal for party, and then charge their adversaries with the gravest of crimes.

Mr. Speaker, nine months ago the condition of this country, while perhaps not what every man would have desired, was certainly in a most prosperous condition. The labor field was well filled, and there were places everywhere where the toiling men of this land could receive a fair wage. There were no idle mills; there were no fireless forges; there were no silent looms; there were no untilled fields. Everywhere the business of the country was satisfactory in the main to those who were engaged in its conduct.

About nine months ago there was an announcement made. It was announced that for the first time in very many years the Democratic party would have an opportunity of making good its promises and establish as the law of the land the theories of its platform. It was the belief of men everywhere that when the Democratic party announced that there was to be a radical change in the industrial system of the country that there were to be very radical changes in the revenue laws of the country, that the tariff of 1890, the McKinley tariff, was to be repealed, that those men who made the declarations, with authority, were honest of purpose and meant what they said.

Immediately, over all this land, there came paralysis. The mills stopped; the fire of the forges died out; everywhere there was a swarming multitude of idlers clamoring for labor but finding no places in the great labor field. Its changed condition was the legitimate result of that menace to the interests of this country that the Democratic party, with purposes such as it had announced, will always present when it is found to be in power. [Applause on the Republican side.] Gentlemen, there is no escape from this. You had declared there was no warrant in the Constitution for any element of protection to the industries of this country. If you were honest men you meant what you said when you declared that the McKinley bill, the sum of all infamies, should be repealed if the people trusted you with power.

They have done that. They have placed you in the situation where you said you would exert yourselves as legislators on these lines. It is true that we in the North did not have much belief in the sincerity of the Northern wing of the Democratic party, but we did believe in the integrity, no matter how we might have doubted the wisdom, of the Southern wing. We believed that you gentlemen of the South had Constitutional convictions. You had given earnest of it in the past. In support of views that you announced as your Constitutional convictions you had risked all that honorable men could risk.

We knew that, and when you said that, in your judgment, there was an inhibition upon every man who had sworn to support the Constitution of the United States from engaging in legislation that would stimulate and protect the industries of this land we believed you meant it, and so did the manufacturers. Hence, after you came into power—controlling the Executive and Congress—as soon as contracts then existing on the part of the manufacturers were filled, as soon as existing obligations expired, came the difficulties of inaction, because men of business could not be apprised of what lay in the future. Wool, in the country where I live, fell in price from 22 cents a little while before to 10 cents, and there was a general business paralysis all over the country.

This condition must be disastrous for the Democratic party. But the President of the United States, with an adroitness that was wonderful, a political skill and sagacity that mark him as the great Democratic politician of his age, determined to shift the responsibility from the Democratic party to the one that had just ceased to be in power, and he discovered that the evils under which the country groaned from the dangers of Democratic legislation were not, in fact, attributable to that cause, but existed because the Republican party, three years ago, had passed the Sherman bill. [Laughter.]

And, Mr. Speaker, strange to say, there are within the sound of my voice Republicans who have extolled upon the stump every provision of that law, who have called it beneficent in all its operations, who have pointed to it with pride as the only method known to legislation whereby there could be that increase of the circulating medium which was necessary to keep pace with the growth of population and business—there are, I say, such Republicans here who propose to aid the President in this shifting process of legerdemain designed to place the responsibility upon Republican shoulders, who propose to aid that attempt by voting "aye," a confession that the Sherman act contains in itself all the iniquities that the Democrats in their enthusiasm have charged that it does.

They tell us that we should vote for the repeal of this law because the whole country clamors for it, because the business interests of the country demand it. Gentlemen, where are the petitions that have been sent to your desks from the people of this country demanding the repeal of the Sherman law? I am not disposed to take aught from the importance of the place that boards of trade and banking associations and chambers of commerce hold in our business economies. I recognize them as essential to the successful conduct of business upon our methods. I have no assault to make upon the gentlemen who compose them. They are necessary factors in the general business of the country and have their legitimate place. But they are not of first importance. They are not "the people," and they may have interests opposed to the true interests of the great mass of the people. They are as selfish as other men, and often intent upon securing legislative measures that confer special benefits upon themselves that are not shared in by all of the people.

And I want to remind you, gentlemen, that boards of trade and chambers of commerce and bankers' associations do not do the real business of this land. Their business begins where the great business of production ends. [Applause.] They simply levy toll upon that which the real business men of this country create. [Applause.] They are necessary, but they are not all. The banks, for purposes of their own, desire the repeal of this act. I have known but few bankers who were not monometallists. They are nearly all such. They see that the President of the United States is one.

They remember his letter to Mr. Warner eight years ago, in which he took grounds against silver coinage. They remember his first message to the Congress, and his letter of last summer, and his recent message. In all, he is the enemy of silver, and they can now recall the closing sentence of this last message, in which he urges the repeal of the Sherman law and hopes "other legislative action may put beyond all doubt or mistake the intention and ability of the Government to fulfill its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognized by all civilized countries." They know that this money is gold. They know that all of the earnest friends of the Administration who have spoken in this debate tell us that the repeal of the Sherman act is the first step to the demonetization of silver, and they know that the act for the repeal and their declarations and arguments in favor of a single gold standard should be construed together.

They believe that now is the favored time when this great "step in advance," as they call it, can most successfully be undertaken. The men who compose the boards of trade and chambers of commerce are creatures of the banks. They are the borrowers. When they find that accommodations no longer come, and when they are gravely told by the bankers, who are supposed to be financiers, that the reason why they can not have discounts is the presence of this obnoxious law upon the statute book, and that the only way of securing relief and new accommodation lies in the direction of carrying this repeal, they pass at once the resolutions that are prepared for them, and which, later, find their way to our desks. Then, too, the great metropolitan press, representing home interests, the interests of the men who support them, assume to speak for the country, and to say that the people make a demand for the repeal of this law.

There are 2,000,000 of people in the State of Iowa, but I know of only one of my colleagues who has received a letter or petition requiring or asking him to vote for this measure. In the district in which I live there are more than 180,000 people; agriculturists, all of them. There is not an important manufacturing industry in the whole district. And yet, Mr. Speaker, not one word has been said to me in all of the days while at home I was inquiring, nor has anything come to me here in the shape of a petition, asking me to vote for this repeal. I believe sir, there is no such public opinion as is asserted demanding this action.

But they tell us that it is "absolutely necessary to repeal this law in order to restore the confidence of the people." The confidence of the people in what? Not in the money that you propose to strike down. What is there in all the varieties of money that we have that equals in all the elements of value this same derided Treasury note of 1890? Behind that Treasury note lies the pledge of a nation, never dishonored, that its notes shall be redeemed in coin, and, as the Secretary of the Treasury has interpreted his duty, it is redeemed in gold. In addition to that, and behind it, it has, as a collateral, its bullion value in silver. What other money have you got that is as good? Not the greenback. It has but $100,000,000 in gold to redeem $346,000,000. Not the silver certificate. It is just the promise to return a silver dollar. But the Treasury note of 1890 has the same pledge for its redemption that the greenback has, and in addition, its full value in bullion silver. It is the best form of money that we have.

There is no distrust of that money on the part of the people. Time and again your attention has been called here to the fact that a day or two ago it was selling at a premium in the markets of New York for gold. No matter what the cause may be, there is something in the way of evidence in that fact. It shows that the people who are pledged to its redemption have not lost faith in their pledges or in their power. There is no trouble with the money.

The distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] a few days ago gave the true key to the whole difficulty. In extolling the beneficent action of the banks he told us that we had $24 per capita of money furnished by the Government, but the banks by their processes and their methods had enlarged that volume until there was $72 per capita in circulation among the people. Twenty-four dollars of it was the cash capital on which business was done—it was supplied by the Government; $48 of $72 per capita was the credit capital supplied by the banks—the debts of the banks, and on which they were doing business. The want of confidence is not in the money of the Government, it is in this substitute for money furnished by the banks. [Applause.] There is where the trouble is, gentlemen—not with the Treasury notes.

Gentlemen tell us that the presence of this Treasury note of 1890 is a menace to the money interests of the country; that it drives the gold out of circulation. How is that? Every dollar of our Treasury notes, treated as they are to-day by the Secretary of the Treasury—redeemed at the pleasure of the holder in gold—is in effect a gold dollar added to the circulation. Does the presence of a newly issued gold dollar drive out the present gold dollar? Will the dollar that we have become alarmed because its brother is brought up as a reënforcement to stand side by side with it in the battle of commerce? To my mind there is an absurdity about this that only needs to be stated in order to show its folly.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that this law has been beneficial in its operation at all times and that it is not harmful to-day. A million and a half is added to the population of the United States every twelve months. The business of this country increases rapidly every twelve months. Ever since 1861 there has been a demand for the addition of about $63,000,000 annually to the circulation. To the four hundred and forty-odd million dollars that we had in 1861 we have made such additions that now we have in the Treasury and in circulation more than twenty-three hundred million dollars. There has been since 1861 an average increase of about $63,000,000 each year. This increase is necessary for the future. If you repeal the Sherman act how do you propose to get it?

There is not a law upon the statute books, save the Sherman act, that enables you to get more. You can not have more silver certificates. You can not have more gold certificates, because the tendency is to decrease them. You can not have more greenbacks, because of the pledge of the nation. You can not have more national bank notes under present legislation, because the period for ultimate redemption of the bonds grows so near. The only hope of meeting this demand for an increase of currency, as the statutes are framed to-day, is in the maintenance intact of this much-abused act of 1890. It gives us more of circulation. It gives us a most desirable circulation. It gives us the best form of money that we have. It is our only hope for expansion.

A gentleman who recently spoke on this floor announced as one of the reasons why this act should be repealed that under its operation there was a constant exodus of gold from this country. Does he assume that this act has aught to do with that? I remember that from 1849 to 1860 more than $600,000,000 of gold fled from our shores to other lands. Why? Because the balances of trade were against us; because we were a debtor nation and because we paid in gold, not because gold was then the only standard, but because commerce so elected. No Sherman act was in existence then, gentlemen; but there was a free-trade tariff; and it gave the balances against us and made it necessary for us to ship something that other nations would accept in payment, and that was gold. These balances are against us now.

A gentleman quoted a little while ago from the Treasury a statement to show that the balance was in our favor. Seemingly this is so; but that is the custom-house balance from which he read, that is made up from the aggregate of the invoices of incoming merchandise on the one hand and the aggregate of manifests of outgoing vessels on the other hand. It simply shows the custom-house transactions of this country. To that aggregate of invoices it is necessary you should add the undervaluations of the port of New York, estimated at from twenty-five million to forty million dollars each year. In addition you must add the sum that represents the cost of foreign travel of this country. The year before last 99,000 cabin passengers landed at the port of New York. Ninety thousand of them were American citizens. It is estimated that each one of these in journeying abroad expends a thousand dollars, making an aggregate of $90,000,000 more which you must add to that balance against us.

You must remember that the foreign commerce of this country is carried on in foreign bottoms—all but 12 per cent. Its cost is estimated at from $130,000,000 to $200,000,000. Eighty-eight per cent of either sum (whichever may be correct) must be added in order that you may find what the true balances are. Then to these sums you must add interest and dividends every year paid to foreigners. I undertake to say that in no year during the last fifty has the true balance, taking into account all transactions between ourselves and foreign nations, ever been in favor of the United States.

This simple fact does away with the value of all illustrations drawn from England, from France, from Germany, for our guidance. They are creditor nations; they can have whatever money they choose. All that is needed in such a country to give efficiency to money is to give it the legal-tender quality. They have no balances to settle beyond the jurisdiction of their own laws where the preferences of other persons must be heard. They are the dictators; and so they can make whatever money they please. This is important here for the purpose of suggesting that this vast fund of illustration given to us for Godly example perhaps is not so valuable as in the minds of some gentlemen it may seem.

The true way for us to solve this financial question, gentlemen, is to compel, by wise, judicious legislation, the balances of trade to be in our favor. [Applause.] That will do it. I hear gentlemen who seem to think that this financial question is important above all others inveighing against the only means within our power to effectuate that which they assert they want. Let us buy less abroad; let us patronize less the labor fields of other lands, and more our own.

Let us by judicious measures increase the merchant marine of this country and conduct our own foreign commerce and thus save more than $100,000,000 each year. Let us encourage by proper methods, by subsidies or bounties, the production of all the sugar that we need and save $130,000,000 to our own people. [Applause.] Let us pursue such courses and secure the industrial independence of America, and then all the other things that you gentlemen have been extolling as most desirable, and praying to God that you may have, will be given to you. It will not be absolutely necessary that you should then resort to prayer, because you could help yourselves; and the Allwise One encourages and commends this self-help. [Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, I have heard with very great regret gentlemen on

this side of the House, whose opinions I have regarded as valuable, and whose example I wanted to follow, indulging in a line of discussion which seems to me, for them at least, is unwise. There is no party that has ever lived that contains multitudes of men but which, in order to secure unity of action and maintain the purpose of the organization, does not need the coercive or cohesive influences of party declarations. [Applause.] I want to suggest to gentlemen who have much at stake, because of party lines and party declarations, as well as party aspirations—I want to suggest to these gentlemen the impolicy of weakening the cords of cohesion found in the platforms that bind us together. [Applause.] I want it to be remembered that while it may be of interest to you just now to lose sight of party declarations on the money question, that there are coming up other questions; and you ought not, and you can not afford later on, to let other men exercise the same discretion and set at naught the declarations of the party that you are exercising in the present case. [Applause.]

The declarations of the Republican party in favor of the protective system are no stronger, they are no less subject to hypercriticism, and to the possibilities of interpretation, than are the declarations with regard to the double standard. We believe in them as a party in their entirety. We mean to stand by them in all their parts, and it appears to some of us most unwise and unseemly, where there may be such advantage to all, when all are observed, that men should take upon themselves to set aside a part that is just as dear to the Western heart as any in the entire declaration to be found, from first to last, in the platform. [Applause.]

We are here, Mr. Speaker, asked by the President of the United States by voting for the repeal of the act of 1890, to cast a vote of want of confidence in Republican statesmanship and Republican methods. I will not do it. [Applause.] We are asked to admit by a vote in this House, when all we have said in the way of prophecy is now fulfilled; when all that we said would come upon this country, when the Democratic party armed with the full power of the Government and the authority of the people has happened, and we are asked to say that these prophecies are not true, but are requested to declare by our action here that all of the evils that the country now labors under come solely from the Sherman law—from Republican legislation. I repeat, I will not do it. I do not believe it to be true.

I may as well state now that the Democratic party has either to go back upon its pledges with reference to the tariff made a year ago or else it is going to bid farewell to the prosperity of this land. And I want to hold you gentlemen to that issue. You took it upon yourselves and I don't propose, so far as my humble voice is concerned, to allow you by any kind of legerdemain or political trickery to get away from the issue as you presented it and the conditions as they are. [Applause.]

The Republican party has taken its position on the question of the free coinage of silver. It has said that it was in favor of the use of the two metals as money and that it would pledge itself to maintain them at a parity that now exists. But it proposes to do so in a statesmanlike way; and I for one desire that there shall be no variation from that purpose. It proposes that through an international convention an agreement is to be secured from the nations of the earth controlling in this matter that will fix the question without possibility of disturbance. How is it possible, gentlemen, you who have said that two standards can not exist—how is it possible for your pet theory to be true when all the nations of the earth use them in commercial transactions within their borders and jurisdiction? What becomes of your theory? Many gentlemen have referred to the situation prior to 1834 and subsequent to 1834, and the experiences of those periods—that gold and silver could not be kept in uniform value.

They forget that at first we adopted a ratio of 15 to 1 while the European ratio was 15½ to 1, and that when we made a change it was to 16 to 1. First we valued gold too highly, and then went as far in the other direction. We had not then attempted to secure this object through international agreement. That was the reason that there was this fluctuation once in favor of gold and once in favor of silver. Had other nations agreed there would have been no trouble. And now, in the midst of the pendency of these negotiations, while we are asking others to come to our position we are invited to change radically that position and assume another. Let us wait until after we have made every honest effort to secure bimetallism by means of international agreement. I want both gold and silver. I want them at the parity of 16 to 1. But I do not want to complicate the present situation. I want the Brussels conference to have time to act. Mr. Speaker, in my judgment this Administration has shown its hostility at all times to the use of silver.

When the Administration came into power there was in the vaults of the Treasury two hundred and seventeen millions of gold—one hundred and three millions of redemption fund and one hundred and fourteen millions on which gold certificates had been issued. Ah, says one, but that gold must remain there. Why? Simply because of the statutory direction to the Secretary of the Treasury to retain it; not because of the existence of a contract between the depositor and the Government of the United States that it shall remain. And, gentlemen, a resolution passed in the last hour of the last Congress repealing that clause of the law would have placed in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury two hundred and seventeen millions of gold for immediate use in redemptions; more than one-third of all the gold in the United States and more than one-fifteenth part of all the gold in the world.

That same resolution might have placed in his hands more than $300,000,000 of silver. Here was the astonishing spectacle of this administration coming into power with more than $500,000,000 of coin in its vaults, each the equivalent of the other—more coin than any government in this world has ever owned at one time—and yet pleading the baby act, and crying about its inability to meet the obligations of the Government, when there was no obligation of this Government outstanding, save the gold certificates, that might not have been met with either form of that money.

Ah, but, says the objector, if the Secretary had paid out silver we would at once have been placed upon a silver basis and gold would have gone to a premium. Who would have paid a premium for gold, when the Secretary of the Treasury had $217,000,000 of gold with which to flood the market at any moment? Men buy gold and pay a premium to make money. They do not pay a premium for it when they know that to-morrow it may be given without price to their neighbor in the ordinary current payments of the Treasury.

But the President saw fit to say that he would maintain the parity by the use of gold alone and by degradation of the other metal, by declaring in advance that silver was unfit for use and by the sole use of the gold. This was like the athlete who would start out to give strength alike to the muscles of both of his arms by tying one of them securely to his person.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. HEPBURN. If I was right sure that I knew what that question was, and that I could answer it with great credit to myself and with perilous discomfiture to my friend, I would; but as I am not advised as to the nature of the question I will decline to yield.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. HEPBURN. I want to be courteous to my friend, and I will listen to the question.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I want to ask you whether it would not be repudiation for this House to pass a resolution permitting the Secretary of the Treasury to use for any other purpose whatever the gold which is in the Treasury for the redemption of Treasury gold certificates?

Mr. HEPBURN. Undoubtedly it would not, and the question put by the gentleman shows me that he has never read that act. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.] There is no sentence in it that has the semblance of a contract. All that the creditor can demand is dollars of gold when he presents his certificates. His gold is not kept as a special deposit, and it is not a special deposit. Every dollar of gold goes into the general gold fund of the Treasury Department—that is, that general account. One man's gold is not specially held for his payment, or for return to him. He is entitled to gold dollars, but not to any particular or specific dollars.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Why did not Secretary Foster apply that gold in such a way instead of proposing to sell bonds?

Mr. HEPBURN. I don't know. Secretary Foster is an Ohio man, and perhaps you know more about him than I do. [Applause and laughter on the Republican side.]

Mr. OUTHWAITE. He is an Ohio man, but he belongs in your class of people, your party.

Mr. HEPBURN. I heard it suggested the other day by a friend of mine in whom I have great confidence generally, that while he did not believe the repeal of this act would result in any benefit, in any certain benefit, yet he proposed to vote for it; that, operating as a possible opiate, it might do some good. I think that is not wise. It is too much like putting the plaster on the well leg, it seemed to me, a kind of remedial effort that I did not want to follow him in. [Laughter.]

I believe that this repeal ought not to be had. I believe that neither one of the amendments providing for the free coinage of silver ought to be adopted. But I do not care to argue that question now. I want the situation of silver to remain unchanged until we know the result of the international conference. Certainly, at this time, while we are striving to secure an agreement between the nations upon propositions that have been made by us and have not yet been acted upon, I am not willing to change the status in any way until we know of failure; and then I am willing to do those things that are within the limits of judicious conduct, that will give to us the two metals on the best terms possible for all to perform the same kindly office for the commerce of this country that for more than a hundred years they have been able to perform. [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. JONES. Mr. Speaker, the pending proposition to repeal unconditionally the purchasing clause of the Sherman act is, in my judgment, fraught with the gravest peril to the American people. Nothing short of this deep-seated conviction would induce me to occupy the attention of the House, at this late stage in the discussion, with a brief statement of some of the reasons which satisfy my mind that no more vicious and unjustifiable

measure than this, considering the ultimate object had in view by those who are behind it, has been seriously considered by Congress within the present century.

We have been told that the exceptionally heavy exportation of gold during the first six months of the present year is the result of the pernicious effects of the Sherman law, and that the apprehension, whether well founded or not, that the Government will not be able to maintain its silver currency at a parity with gold if the Sherman law is longer kept upon our statute books, has brought upon us the monetary crisis which has of late enveloped the country and paralyzed its business interests.

In other words, that the monthly purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver by the Government and the issuance of coin certificates to the amount of the market value of that silver in payment thereof is driving gold out of the country, and has so shaken the confidence of the people in the ability of their Government to meet its obligations that a wild panic has seized upon them for which the unconditional and immediate repeal of the Sherman law is the only panacea.

Mr. Speaker, with the utmost respect for those who may have been imposed upon by these baseless assumptions and who have honestly accepted them as true, I shall endeavor to demonstrate from figures that are incontestible and facts that are indisputable that there is no earthly connection between these shipments of gold and the much-denounced Sherman law.

The Sherman law has now been on trial a little over three years, and under its operations $180,000,000, in round numbers, have been added to our circulating medium, every dollar of which is of full legal tender, and as good as any other dollar in our currency. To be entirely accurate—for varying statements have been made upon this floor and elsewhere—the Government has coined 36,087,185 standard dollars and issued coin notes to the amount of $148,286,348, there being in actual circulation of these notes $143,774,138.

According to a calculation made by the Director of the Mint, taking the depreciated value of silver bullion on the 17th day of this month as its true value, about which I shall presently have something to say, the Government has lost on its silver purchases under the Sherman act just $33,387,108. Admitting this to be a fair calculation, does anybody believe that the total destruction of that amount of the currency of this great country could possibly shake the confidence of any sane man in the ability of this Government to meet its obligations? Does anybody believe that such a loss, if real, could have had the effect of driving gold abroad? A government whose income is half a billion of dollars a year and which gives away in charities two-fifths of that amount could hardly be embarrassed by the loss of eleven millions a year for any number of years.

The Sherman bill was approved on the 14th of July, 1890, and the gold export movement, as everybody knows, commenced more than two years prior to that date. Although we lost by exportation $87,506,463 in gold during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, the bulk of that amount has gone abroad since January 1, and in the preceding year, when the Sherman law was in like full force, the excess of our exports over our imports of gold was only $495,873. If the Sherman law drove gold abroad in the fiscal year 1892-'93, why did not the same cause produce like effects in that of 1891-'92?

But under the operation of the Bland law of 1878, denounced as a more vicious piece of silver legislation, and more menacing to the business interests of the country than even the Sherman act, by the very people who are now laying all of the present business depression at the doors of that act, and in almost the same breath—for they dread its restoration more than they do a continuance of the Sherman law—the Government coined 378,166,793 standard dollars, all of which, either in that form or in the shape of silver certificates, is practically in circulation to-day.

Was the effect of the Bland law to drive gold out of the country? So far from it, during the period from June 30, 1878, to June 30, 1890, there was imported into this country $186,088,510 more of gold than was exported during that period. If it be just to charge the Sherman bill with the gold that has been sent abroad since its passage, must not the Bland act be given credit for bringing to our shores the far larger sum?

It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that this is logical. But again, for the first fifteen days of this month the importations of gold have exceeded the exportations to the amount of $16,250,000, and by the end of the month may reach $25,000,000 or more. How is this turn in the golden tide to be accounted for? Shall we set it down to the credit of the Sherman law? We are still purchasing silver bullion and increasing the circulating medium by issuing notes against it, and the silver dollar is daily becoming more and more dishonest in the estimation of those who seek to debase it, and who yet belie their words by paying a premium for it.

I can not, in the time allotted me, Mr. Speaker, enumerate the causes that have led to the unusual exportation of gold during the first half of this year. For the purposes of my contention it is enough to know that the Sherman law was not one of them. But reasons in abundance are not far to seek, and it is not necessary to go back more than a few months to find them.

I may instance the bank failures in Australia, which caused a rude shock throughout the financial world, when England, the largest holder of American securities, threw large quantities of them upon the market, thus drawing from us gold that otherwise would have remained here. Austria, as all know, has recently undertaken to refund her debt and to go to a gold basis. To do this required a large amount of gold, and she has necessarily drawn heavily upon our supply.

India, at the dictation of Great Britain, has been driven to suspend the coinage of silver on private account, and the enemies of silver have not been slow to seize upon that fact as a weapon with which to beat down the market value of silver and to still further appreciate the value of gold. But in my opinion, Mr. Speaker, the McKinley bill, that iniquity of iniquities, that crowning piece of Republican robber-legislation, which the people by an overwhelming majority condemned at the polls, and the repeal of which they then were told and believed would be speedily accomplished once the Democratic party was in full control of the Government, is far more responsible than all these causes combined for the recent ebb in the golden stream as well as the stagnation of trade and commerce, the depression of agriculture, and the want and distress that has been entailed upon labor.

It may be said that the McKinley bill became a law three years ago and that it would have earlier affected, if at all, the exportation of gold; but, Mr. Speaker, we must remember that our enormous exportations of breadstuffs served to postpone the day when the balance of trade should be against this country, and that we have suffered from that cause alone to the extent of $50,000,000 during the past year.

I might go on almost indefinitely and regale this House with the forbidding story of the many failures and suspensions that have inflicted inestimable loss and injury upon the legitimate business interests of this country, but I forbear. The Reading disaster, the whisky, cordage, and other trust failures have added immensely to the financial woes that have afflicted the country and involved in the blackest ruin thousands of innocent victims.

But, Mr. Speaker, it must be apparent to every unprejudiced and dispassionate mind that the present deplorable condition of our monetary affairs is due to a great extent to the determined and persistent attempt of the money power to dictate the financial policy of our Government. This has been most aptly described as the rich man's panic. If the people have lost confidence and withdrawn their hard-earned savings, or such of them as they have been permitted to withdraw from the banks, it is because the banks have by their wicked attacks upon the people's money created that want of confidence.

But, Mr. Speaker, these attacks have proved a veritable boomerang; they have recoiled upon their inventors. Instead of precipitating a run upon the Treasury, they have awakened in the minds of the people a deep distrust in the banks themselves, which the sequel has unfortunately proven in many cases was only too well founded. Instead of driving gold to a premium, they have placed a premium upon all money—silver as well as gold—and to-day the dishonest silver dollar can not be procured, save at a premium, by the very men whose insatiable greed and unconquerable lust for money have hurled the country into the throes of a financial panic and involved thousands of their fellowmen in disaster and ruin.

The Rand-McNally Bankers' Monthly, for August, exclaims in pitiful tones:

> In 1873 it was the toiler's panic; this is the rich man's turn.

Will the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law give the relief that even the bankers must now desire? Will aggravating a famine relieve hunger, as has been said upon this floor? That there is a scarcity of money must be apparent to everybody, although some people even now profess not to believe it. The workingman who discounts his employer's duebills in order to secure the cash with which to supply the daily needs of his family is thus taught by a sad experience what before he had never appreciated, and the bank president, whose doors are besieged by a howling mob demanding the money which belongs to the panic-stricken depositors and which they can not rescue from the iron safes in which it is securely locked, may never have, and doubtless never will, experience the terrible pangs of actual, biting hunger, but he at least has a realizing sense of what a money famine means.

According to the last Treasury statement the total amount of money in circulation in the United States on the 1st of August,

1893, was $1,611,099,017. This amount would make the circulation per capita $24.02. As a matter of fact, it is much less; for when the Treasury officials speak of the money in circulation they mean the general stock of money less the amount held in the Treasury, which is, of course, misleading, and must be, accurately speaking, incorrect; for bank reserves and the contents of safety boxes can in no sense be said to be in circulation. France, the freest country upon the globe from panics and other monetary disturbances, has a per capita circulation twice as large as our own, and she has a silver circulation of $700,000,000, which she easily maintains at a parity with gold, and that, too, at a ratio of 15½ to 1.

The total silver currency of the United States is, in round numbers, $625,000,000, including standard dollars, subsidiary silver, silver certificates, and coin notes. With twice the population and three times the resources, commerce and trade of France, we are told that we can not maintain an equal amount of silver currency at par with gold, even at the greater ratio of 16 to 1. It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that the bare statement of such a proposition carries with it its own refutation, and is a reflection upon the American people.

It is impossible to speak accurately, but it is within reasonable bounds to say that prior to the civil war there was at least half as much silver in circulation here as there is to-day. We often hear it stated that free coinage of silver had practically ceased when the demonetization act of 1873 was passed, and that only $8,045,838 had up to that time been coined. Let us examine this matter, Mr. Speaker.

The reports of the Director of the Mint show that in addition to the eight million of standard dollars coined, there was coined from 1792 to 1853 of full legal-tender fractional silver $76,735,015. From 1853 to 1873 there was coined $60,361,032, which, however, was not of full legal-tender quality, except in small sums, since it had become necessary to lessen its weight in order to keep it at home, a process which might perhaps be applied with advantage to our present gold coinage.

But these sums by no means represent the silver in circulation prior to 1873. Everybody knows that previous to the late war Spanish milled dollars and Mexican dollars circulated more freely than any other money, and that the Mexican dollar was by law a legal tender up to 1857. It is also an indisputable fact that the Mexican dollar continued in general circulation up to and through the war, and it was received in Texas and the Southwestern States up to ten years ago.

Mr. Speaker, I venture the assertion that when we take into consideration the vast amount of our annual productions, our prodigious wealth, and the enormous volume of our interstate commerce, the country was better supplied, according to its then needs, with silver currency before 1873 than it has ever been since.

With the war our stock of gold and silver vanished, and the act of 1873 was deliberately planned to prevent the acquisition of silver currency to supply the place of that lost. The unconditional repeal of the Sherman law means that this country is to be hereafter on an exclusively gold basis. It means that henceforth monometallism is to be the fixed policy of the United States, as it has long been of creditor England, unless the people, reduced to want and goaded to desperation by the merciless exactions of a moneyed aristocracy, whose greed is insatiable, throw off the intolerable yoke of oppression and secure through revolution what their representatives have denied to them.

The total amount of money in the civilized world at present is placed at $3,582,605,000 in gold, $4,052,700,000 in full and limited tender silver, and $2,635,873,000 in paper. The world's production of gold in the year 1892 was $130,817,000, larger by several millions than that of any other previous year since 1857. It is needless to say that the gold of the whole world is totally inadequate to do the business of the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and the United States, which countries now hold the bulk of it.

They tell us that if we will only discontinue the coinage of silver that gold will come in to take its place. From whence, pray, will it come? England, Scotland, and Ireland have only $550,000,000; less by more than fifty millions our present supply. Germany, also on a gold basis, has less than we have, and Austria-Hungary, which is desperately striving to adopt the single gold standard, has only $40,000,000 of gold with which to accomplish that financial feat. Her needs have already served to largely reduce our stock. The average yearly production of gold for the past hundred years has been $56,339,080. There is no prospect of any future increase, and the larger part of what is mined will be consumed in the arts and in the uses of dentistry.

With these facts before our eyes, Mr. Speaker, I ask again, can we afford to debase and to destroy the money value of the only metal that can supply the monetary needs of the world? There is none too much of both metals produced in the world, the total production of each for the past century being, gold, $5,653,968,000, and silver, $5,104,941,000. Mark how nearly together the production of these two precious metals has remained, and that, measured in dollars, the production of gold has been larger than that of silver.

Who can doubt but that silver as well as gold was created to supply that medium of exchange by which every other product of human exertion and industry shall be measured? To demonetize either of these metals, which by the consent and usage of mankind regulate the volume of the world's money, is to destroy one-half of the money now in existence; and when you blot out one-half of the money of the world you double the purchasing power of the other half. To do this is to cheapen by just one-half the price of property and labor. This is a proposition that can not be successfully disputed. The effect of the unholy war that has been waged against silver has not, as one might imagine, depreciated silver; it has merely appreciated gold. Every product of human industry and skill has shared the fate of silver.

Just as silver has gone down in the scale of prices, in the same proportion the products of labor have been cheapened. This is no baseless theory, no wild figment of the imagination. In 1872, the year before silver was demonetized, its market value was greater by 3 cents an ounce than its mint value, and that year the average price of a bushel of wheat was $1.47. From that day to the present moment silver has declined in value, and each year there has been a corresponding decline in the price of wheat, until to-day silver is worth only 70 cents an ounce and wheat 69 cents a bushel. When they started upon the down grade the year following—a year that will long be memorable in the financial history of America—silver was worth $1.29 an ounce and wheat $1.31 a bushel. Every honest and intelligent man knows that this was no mere coincidence.

But we are told that whilst the free coinage of silver will make money more plentiful it will also cheapen it. Granted; but cheap money does not mean dishonest money. It does mean higher and better prices: it does mean that the products of the farm shall command higher prices and that the wages of the laborer shall be correspondingly increased. Dear money means cheap products and cheap labor. The scarcity of money is always indicative of falling prices, and the reverse is equally true.

If you repeal unconditionally the Sherman law—and that is the naked proposition of Wall street—you will not only put an abrupt stop to all increase in the volume of your currency, but you will utterly degrade silver; you will drive it down further and further in value, and you may depend upon it that wheat and corn and tobacco, and every other product of the farm and factory, will keep pace with its downward, and deathward march.

This may not be the immediate effect of repeal. It will, however, be the inevitable and certain result. We who stand here and declare that we will resist the perpetration of this crime are denounced as the advocates of fiat money and a "dishonest dollar." But the bankers, with few exceptions, in and out of Congress, the men who pretend to believe only in money that possesses intrinsic value, are demanding the passage of an act authorizing the issue and sale of from $150,000,000 to $300,000,000 of gold bonds.

The credit of the Government is strong enough to float its bonds upon the markets of the world, but not strong enough to maintain its silver currency at a parity with its gold currency! The silver in every dollar coined by the Government, we are told, is only worth 60 cents as measured in gold, and that therefore it is "a dishonest 60-cent dollar;" but when it receives the stamp and impress of the Government it has behind it at least 60 per cent of intrinsic value and only 40 per cent rests upon the faith and credit of the Government. The bonds that we are asked to issue and sell for the purpose of increasing our currency and placing us upon a gold basis will have nothing behind them but the bare faith of the Government.

Mr. Speaker, I believe in "an honest dollar," and I pray that the time may speedily come when there will be none other in our currency. The only "dishonest dollar" is the gold dollar. Through legislation its value has been greatly appreciated, until the purchasing power of gold, as I have shown, has actually been doubled.

I favor the repeal of the Sherman law, and I shall vote to repeal it by a substitute that will provide for the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1. I believe that the remonetization of silver will make its market value equal to its present mint value, and that the market value of wheat and corn and labor will be correspondingly increased. I believe that this Government is strong enough and rich enough to maintain gold and silver at a parity at the present ratio, even as against the rest of the world.

Great Britain, through her dependencies, produces four times as much gold as she does silver, whilst we produce nearly double as much silver as we do gold. Why, then, should England domi-

nate the policy of the United States as she does that of wretched India? It is to her interest to cheapen silver; it is to ours to protect it. Practically the only currency that India possesses is silver. The cheaper England can purchase silver, the more Indian wheat she can buy, and the more cheap Indian wheat there is brought into competition with that produced by the American farmer, the more wretched will his condition become.

I have shown from official figures that more gold than silver has been produced within the last hundred years, according to the money value of each at the present ratio between the two; in other words, that not more than 16 ounces of silver have been produced for every ounce of gold produced, and if the production continues relatively the same, no sound reason for a change of ratio can be adduced. If in the future twenty times as much of silver as of gold should be produced through any considerable period, then it will be time enough to change the ratio to 20 to 1. An increase of ratio does not necessarily involve the recoinage of the silver now in circulation.

If the $346,681,016 United States notes, or greenbacks, now in circulation can be maintained at a par with the gold dollar, with only a gold reserve fund of $100,000,000 behind them, then surely we need apprehend nothing for our present silver currency. Besides, the repeal measure we are now considering does not propose either to retire or to recoin the present silver dollar, but on the contrary, proposes to maintain by law its parity with gold. It takes more than the addition of a few grains of silver to give to a silver dollar the purchasing power of a hundred cents. It requires the stamp and superscription of the Government to do that. We can each of us remember when the trade dollar, with more grains of silver in it than the standard dollar, was worth only 85 cents.

I have said, Mr. Speaker, that I wished to see the Sherman law repealed, and I repeat it. It was not passed to promote free coinage, but to serve as a stumbling-block in its path until the enemies of silver the world over could rally their forces and strengthen the conspiracy hatched twenty-five years ago to strike down silver. I thank Heaven that no Democrat in either House of Congress voted for it.

It was the last expiring act in that financial legislation of the Republican party which began with the credit-sustaining act of 1869, through which the bondholders robbed the people of $1,120,000,000, and which had well-nigh bankrupted the Government and had brought want and destitution into the homes of the producing and laboring classes, when the Democratic party came into power on the 4th day of March. Having served the purpose for which it was designed, I trust it may now prove a stumbling-block in the way of a single gold standard.

Those who stand with me would remove it in the interest of the great mass of struggling humanity; those who are on the other side of this question would remove it at the dictation of the money power and to subserve the interests of greed and avarice. It is not difficult to predict on which side our Republican friends will array themselves.

I appeal to my Democratic associates to take the side of toiling, down-trodden, helpless humanity. The bankers can take care of themselves, we are told upon high authority, and I believe it. Gold and silver have constituted the money of the world for six thousand years. Every national Democratic platform that I have read has declared in favor of the use of both metals and upon equal terms. Some gentlemen who will vote for unconditional repeal, and who do not wish their Democracy questioned, pretend to find in the Chicago platform warrant for such course. I do not read that instrument in that way. It is idle to talk of "holding to the use of both gold and silver as the standard of money," and voting to make one the only standard.

It is worse than idle to talk of resorting again to international conference. Five times have we done so, and to-day we are vastly further from an agreement than ever before. But there are other gentlemen here who, though elected as Democrats, yet hold their own judgments in higher esteem than that of their party, and who have more faith in their own wisdom than in the aggregate wisdom of a Democratic convention. One of them boldly declares that he will not be bound by the glittering catchwords of platforms, and another has affirmed that he wrote and ran upon his own platform. I give them both credit for honesty and candor.

If absolute bimetallism is ever to be the policy of this Government Congress must make it so. It has the ability and power to do it—has it the courage and patriotism? Neglect not the opportunity now presented, I beseech you, for if you do silver is doomed. It is the knowledge born of this fact that has encouraged the despoilers of mankind to concentrate all of their powerful forces in the one mighty effort which we are to-day witnessing within these Halls. Tighter and tighter is becoming the grasp which the money power has laid upon the nation's throat, and year by year the power of resistance on the part of the people is becoming weaker and weaker. Upon every succeeding Congress a stronger hold is being exerted.

In 1878 the unequal contest waged in behalf of the wealth producers and the wage-earners of our land was almost won, but twelve years later, instead of the promised enfranchisement of silver, the Sherman law was thrust bodily down the unwilling throats of a long-suffering and patient people. If now the slight barrier which bars, to some extent at least, the way of greed and avarice is broken down, I tremble at the thought of the dire results that must inevitably follow.

Starvation is already stalking abroad in the land, and the heartrending cries of countless thousands of unemployed men and women are hourly borne in upon us from the fields and shops of the West. But greed, insatiable greed, hath neither ear nor conscience. Desolation and ruin are impending. Despondency and actual want have entered many a happy home, and the darkest gloom pervades many once prosperous sections of our beautiful land.

Mr. Speaker, as I reflect upon the perils that environ us upon every side, and behold the helplessness of my people, I realize as never before the truth of the words of that great apostle of Democracy, Thomas Jefferson, that "banks are more dangerous than standing armies." [Loud applause.]

Mr. ABBOTT. Mr. Speaker, an opportunity was tendered me in the early part of this debate to address the House on the pending bill, but, being unable to do so at the time on account of illness resulting from a severe cold, I avail myself of the privilege extended to all members by order of the House to print in the RECORD the remarks I would have made.

I am not vain enough to suppose that they will change the opinion of any member of this body on the important subject now under discussion, but I feel that it is a duty I owe to those whom I have the honor to represent, as well as to myself, to place my views before the country.

By the act of February 12, 1873, silver was demonetized. I deem it unnecessary to recur to the facts and circumstances connected with the passage of that most infamous act. President Grant and Speaker Blaine afterwards declared that they did not know, when they signed the bill, that it contained provisions which demonetized silver.

It seems that months had elapsed, even before many members of Congress knew what had been done. As soon as it became generally known that silver had been demonetized and half of the metallic currency had been destroyed, the voice of the people—especially of the laboring and producing classes—came in thunder tones from every part of the country demanding the restoration of silver. Members of Congress, of both of the great political parties, were elected, pledged to the restoration of silver as a money metal.

In obedience to that demand, seventeen years ago the battle was begun in this Hall by the Democratic representatives of the people against the gold combination of this country and Europe. The battle raged fierce and bitter until it culminated in what is generally known as the Bland-Allison compromise act of 1878, by which not less than two nor more than four millions of silver dollars should be coined per month. Under that act about $425,000,000 have been placed in circulation and are now in the hands of the people, either in the form of silver dollars or silver certificates.

During that great contest that eloquent and distinguished statesman who now holds the portfolio of the Treasury Department, Mr. Carlisle, in referring to the ruin and disaster which would follow the permanent destruction of silver as a money metal, said:

> I know the world's stock of precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it will ever become so. Mankind will be fortunate, indeed, if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry.
>
> According to my view on the subject, the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy by legislation and otherwise from three-sevenths to one-half of the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age. The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilence, and famine that ever occurred in the history of the world. The absolute and instantaneous destruction of half the entire movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads, and all other appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly, at the same moment would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of one-half of the metallic money in the world.

This eloquent and forceful language only voiced the unspoken sentiment of the producing and laboring clases. While they approved of the compromise made, they were aware that it gave them only partial relief. They were not fully satisfied with results, and therefore urged their representatives to renew the fight and never cease the struggle until the citadel of the enemies of silver should be stormed and captured and gold and silver placed on an equality.

Unfortunately, however, for the country and silver, the great

contest at the polls in 1888 resulted in the temporary defeat of the friends of silver and the placing of all the branches of the Government in the hands of the Republican party—the party that demonetized silver in 1873, passed the Sherman act of 1890, and will now vote to strangle its offspring.

The act of 1890 repealed the Bland-Allison act of 1878, and provided that the Secretary of the Treasury should purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver at the market price, in payment of which he is required to issue Treasury coin notes, which notes may be redeemed in either gold or silver, at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury. Something more than $146,000,000 of these Treasury notes have been issued and put in circulation.

I have now given a very brief statement of the silver legislation since 1873.

The President has thought proper to call us together in extraordinary session and has asked us in his message to repeal the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman law, attributing, as I understand the message, the distrust and fear existing in banking and commercial circles as well as the money stringency to the Sherman act.

With due deference to the President, it seems to me to be our duty, as well as his, to ascertain the true cause or causes which have led us to the impending financial crisis, and to discover the proper remedy to be applied to remove the causes, restore confidence, and reëstablish a healthy condition of business and trade.

We see from the papers that the same financial troubles that exist here exist in England and in all the European states, as well as in India and other Eastern countries. Certainly the Sherman law can not be so far-reaching in its effects as to produce these results.

Why, Mr. Speaker, we have had in circulation for more than fifteen years $346,000,000 of Treasury notes, usually called greenbacks, based on $100,000,000 of gold deposit, and for nearly the same time $330,000,000 of silver certificates, based on silver deposits. These currencies have not produced a panic! How, then, can it be possible for the issuance, during the past three years, of $146,000,000 of Treasury coin notes, based on silver purchases and redeemable in either gold or silver, at the pleasure of the Secretary of the Treasury, to create a panic, disturb business relations, and produce a stringency or scarcity of coinage?

This proposition seems to me to be so illogical as to be unworthy of serious consideration. The amount of coin Treasury notes issued under the Sherman act is so insignificant when compared with the whole amount of money in and outside of the Treasury that it seems almost absurd that anyone would ascribe the present financial depression and money stringency to such a cause.

If these notes were to be called in and canceled, thus reducing the volume of money in circulation, I can see very well why the banks might complain of hard times and the scarcity of money; but when they go to swell the volume of currency and add to the amount of the circulation, to say that they produce a scarcity is equivalent to saying that one added to five makes four.

But we are told by some gold bugs that it is not because of the $4,000,000 which are monthly added to our circulation under the Sherman law, that has produced the scare and uneasiness which have caused the depression and influenced depositors to withdraw their deposits from the banks and put the money in hiding places, but because if the Sherman act is not repealed it will eventually lead to the free coinage of silver and the establishment of silver as the standard of value. This sort of argument, Mr. Speaker, exposes the whole secret. It is a fight for gold and against silver.

But it will be remembered that such was not the declared purpose of those who favored and supported the Sherman bill when it passed this House in 1890. We knew then that its supporters did not intend to advance the cause of silver, but to destroy it. It is well known that it was a "cowardly makeshift" resorted to to prevent the passage of a free coinage bill.

Nearly every Democratic member of Congress voted against that bill. They charged then the friends of that measure with the deliberate purpose and "intention of destroying silver and preventing its future coinage," for, by the terms of the bill, the further coinage of silver after July 1, 1891, was left to the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, who was known to be hostile to that metal.

The truth of the charges then made against the supporters of the Sherman bill are being verified to-day. They have turned against their own offspring and are holding it up to the world as a great monstrosity, and charging it with all the woes and evils which now threaten the business of the country.

Mr. Speaker, while I do not intend to defend this child of the opponents of silver, I do not believe that it is in anywise responsible for the fear and distrust now existing in commercial circles.

I voted against that bill because it repealed the only silver-coinage act on our statute books. I voted against it because I thought it would delay the passage of a free-coinage bill and because I thought it would eventually result in contracting our currency by destroying silver, which is the basis of one-half of our currency, which is now sought to be done.

I am aware that the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law will not affect the silver already coined or the Treasury notes issued under this law, but it will stop the coinage of any more silver in future and the issuance of any more Treasury notes based on silver. The question then arises, how can the Government increase the supply of currency to meet the rapidly increasing business and commerce of the country? If this law be unconditionally repealed, there are left only two ways by which the supply of currency can be increased—one is by the yearly product of the gold mines and the other is by issuing and selling bonds—unless we repeal the tax on State banks and look to the States to supply the demand.

The Director of the Mint shows, in his last report, that the gold product of this country for the calendar year 1892 was only $33,000,000—$175,000 less than for the year 1891. That during that year $16,000,000 were used in the industrial arts, by jewelers, dentists, and plate-makers. Thus it will be seen that we can not rely on the output of the mines to supply the increasing demand for money after deducting the amount consumed in the arts. It follows, then, as a matter of course, that the Government must issue and sell bonds to get money to meet the demands of industry.

Now, I think I have arrived at a point from which the depression and distrust in business circles may be explained. The Sherman law has evidently had nothing more to do with present conditions than the laws of the Medes and Persians.

From a careful study of the subject I firmly believe that there exists a conspiracy, entered into by the money powers of this country and Europe, to destroy silver as money and force an issue of interest-bearing bonds; and to this end they have created doubt and fear in the minds of the people in almost every part of the country as to results which will follow the refusal of Congress to repeal the Sherman law and destroy silver as money.

In support of this opinion, I desire to refer to the fact that boards of trade, banking houses, and wholesale merchants of New York and other great cities have flooded every part of the country with their printed and typewritten letters, inveighing in bitter terms against said act, and predicting dire calamities to the business interests of the country if said act is not unconditionally repealed.

I do not think that I would exaggerate to say that I have received five hundred letters, sent out alone by one firm of dry goods merchants of the city of New York, and which were sent to me by constituents, who felt alarmed at the representations made therein of a threatened crisis if the Sherman law was not unconditionally repealed. These letters, which are merely duplicates, appeal to the party addressed to use his influence with his Senators and Representatives to immediately vote for the repeal of the law, and indirectly suggest that the proper solution of the matter is to issue bonds, payable in gold, with which to buy gold from abroad.

It is a fact which no one can deny, that these letters which have filled the mails and flooded the country for the past four months have created distrust and fear among the people, as well as retail dealers and country bankers. Many of these people have not had the facilities for, or the time to study the questions involved, and consequently they became alarmed and began to hoard their money, when in truth there was no cause for fear. If they would have reflected for a moment they would have understood that these representations were made for selfish motives—to make money by destroying silver, thus increasing the value of their gold. It is not surprising, however, that distrust should exist in the country, and that depositors in banks should withdraw their money and hoard it, when the daily mails informed them that a crisis was impending.

The way I interpret the signs of the times is, New York undertook to scare the people and force them to demand of their representatives in Congress the repeal of the Sherman law and the demonetization of silver. They have succeeded in scaring the people, who in self-defense have raided the banks and forced them to pay a premium for cash, whether of silver or gold or of greenbacks. My sympathy is with the depositors, but I do not have the slightest sympathy with the banks in this fight. They have brought it on themselves. They "sowed the wind, and have reaped (and are reaping) the whirlwind."

My opinion is they did not expect to force a crisis, but they gave the people such a fright they could not stay the tide that

set in against them. I hold them responsible for the existing condition of things, believing they brought it about for no other reason than to secure the demonetization of silver and the issuance of gold bonds.

We are told by the friends of gold that a large volume of currency is not necessary to do the business of the country—that over 90 per cent of all the business is done on the credit system by checks and drafts. This may be so, and in commercial circles it is a convenient method of transacting business, but when confidence is broken down, when the country becomes panic-stricken, as it is to-day, the check system is a failure.

It requires a visible circulating medium, actual cash to meet the demands of the times. Messrs. Chisholm & Co., bankers and brokers, Broadway, New York, in their circular letter of August 14, say there is a currency famine in that city, that the silver dollar is at a premium. So, we see it is performing its functions as money in that great city where it is despised, and if the impending crisis be averted it will, in my opinion, be due to the silver dollar and the currency based on it.

The Government must preserve a larger volume of currency to meet such an emergency as exists to-day and prevent a combination of bankers and bondholders from bringing ruin and disaster upon the country by the destruction of silver as attempted by this bill.

I contend that the only way a reliable and stable currency can be established and maintained is to reënact in substance the coinage laws which were in force before the demonetization of silver in 1873, and provide that the holders of either coin may deposit the same and in lieu thereof receive Treasury coin notes, such as are now issued under the Sherman law, and make it compulsory on the Secretary of the Treasury, when such notes are presented for redemption to pay the same out of that coin, whether silver or gold, which may be in excess of the other at the time the notes may be presented.

By the enactment of such a law as I have outlined a parity of the two metals would necessarily be preserved, as the holder of the notes could not dictate the coin in which they would be redeemed and, therefore, these semiannual raids on the Treasury to secure gold would be stopped.

Mr. St. John, president of the Mercantile National Bank, of New York, gave the proper solution of the trouble when he said:

> If the United States will provide itself a monetary system it will be found that there are inducements enough for the outside world to trade with us to make our system satisfactory to all concerned.

To talk of "money universally recognized by all civilized countries" is a solecism and utterly meaningless.

Everybody knows that gold and silver coins, as well as paper currency, are money, in the proper meaning of that word, only in the country where the coins are stamped or the paper issued. The coins of no civilized or uncivilized country are money outside of the limits of their own country. They may have value, but it is merely a commodity value like that of wheat or cotton.

I think that the time has come when Congress should legislate for the people of our own country and not for the outside world.

Twice in our history we have declared and maintained our independence of Great Britain, but it seems, after all, that we are to become the slaves of the gold jugglers of London; and what is most surprising to me is that Democratic statesmen will rise on the floor of this House and endeavor to maintain the financial supremacy of England, the greatest creditor nation on earth and into whose coffers more than $500,000,000 annually flow from other nations which are her debtors.

England, Germany, and France, as well as all other nations of the world, have established their own financial systems. They regulate, by law, the coinage of the metals and their value, and the issuance of paper currency to suit themselves. They do not consult each other or the people of any other nation. Then, why should we, who claim to be the freest, the greatest, and most enlightened people of earth, shape our financial system to please the kingly governments of Europe, and thereby pauperize the masses of our people?

France, which occupies a territory less in extent than the State which I in part represent, in the face of all the gold nations of Europe maintains her $700,000,000 of silver at the ratio of 15½ to 1. With a population nearly double that of France, with natural advantages and resources infinitely superior, why we can not maintain a silver circulation, or currency based on silver, equal to that of France is incomprehensible to me, especially so when our ratio is 16 to 1.

The Director of the Mint, in his report for the calendar year 1890, shows that the total amount of silver coin of the world, outside of the United States, is in round numbers $3,340,000,000. If the whole amount of this silver was brought to this country and coined into dollars at the existing ratio it would be less than $50 per capita, estimating our population to be 70,000,000.

But, Mr. Speaker, I do not see how anyone can honestly believe that any considerable amount of foreign silver would be imported into this country. Certainly France would not part with her $700,000,000, which is on a parity with gold at 15½ to 1, and coin it at our mints at 16 to 1, or at a higher ratio. Nor would India and other Eastern countries bring their $2,000,000,000 of silver to this country to be coined at a greater ratio than their own, which is 15 to 1.

This war on silver does not spring from a belief that such would be the case, and no one knows it better than the bankers themselves.

The simple, plain truth is, that within the next fourteen years all the Government bonds will have matured, and will be paid off and canceled unless some provision be made for refunding them, or for the issue of new bonds. When the bonds, which are deposited in the Treasury to secure the national-bank notes, mature and are paid off and canceled, the banks go with them, as their life depends on the length of time the bonds run. Their fight against silver is not because they fear the free coinage of silver will produce a redundancy of currency, but because it will render unnecessary the further issuance of bonds.

This fight by the banks against silver means a fight against the people, a fight for more bonds, a fight for their own existence, a fight for dear life, for they know that their death is inevitable within fourteen years unless new life is given them by the issuance of more bonds. They denounce Treasury notes which are based on the credit and good faith of the Government and also on gold and silver, yet they demand bonds, bearing interest, which rest solely on the good faith of the Government.

By this nefarious scheme they tax the people to pay interest on the bonds, and charge them usurious interest on a loan of their notes.

The gold bugs and bankers on the other hand charge the friends of free coinage with a desire to force upon the country a dishonest dollar, a 70-cent dollar. This charge is not only misleading, but absolutely false, as I will show. The coined silver dollar will purchase to-day in any part of the United States as much as the gold dollar. It commands as high a premium in the markets as gold and is as earnestly sought after by all classes. But they say silver bullion has declined in all the markets of the world, and it is now only worth 70 cents as compared with gold. This is true; but any one capable of reasoning from cause to effect readily understands why this is so.

The money powers which have dominated and controlled the financial legislation of Europe and, for the past thirty years, of this country have resorted to all known methods to debase and destroy silver as a money metal. They have been, year by year, strengthening their forces, and if they gain the great battle now being fought they will have accomplished their purpose, and silver will go still lower for a time.

It is remarkable, almost phenomenal, that silver has maintained itself as well as it has against the combined gold powers of this country and Europe. The only explanation is that silver is the money of the people. They want it, they demand it, and will never cease to fight for it until their victorious banner floats aloft from the national Capitol.

The reason that silver bullion has depreciated in value is because the principal use to which it has heretofore been applied has been destroyed.

Gold is used in the fine arts and for coining money free. When silver was thus used it was at a premium above gold, but since unfriendly legislation has denied it mintage, and thus destroyed its principal use, it has necessarily depreciated, as there is no demand for it except in the arts; but if the Bland substitute to the bill now pending should become a law, that very moment silver at 16 to 1 would be equal to gold.

The value of everything depends on the use to which it is applied. This was illustrated by the eloquent and distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SIBLEY], whose speech is not yet published, who said if it were possible for the Government to close all the wheat mills of the country and prevent the further grinding of wheat into flour its principal use would be destroyed, and therefore of no value except for forage.

When the gold bugs talk of the intrinsic value of gold as a fixed, inflexible, unchangeable value, they talk of a myth or something that never existed, and never will, as a fact.

There can not be an intrinsic or inherent value in anything independent of its use. Corn, cotton, wheat, and bacon have intrinsic exchangeable values as well as gold and silver; but the value of each depends on the demand for its use. All values are comparative and must necessarily be so.

When the wheat and cotton crops are short and insufficient to supply the demand, their relative value to gold is increased; but when these crops are superabundant and the supply greater than the demand, their relative value to gold is diminished. So, therefore, the value of gold, intrinsic and otherwise, depends

on the amount it will buy, or its purchasing power. Suppose that Congress and the other nations of Europe should destroy gold as a money metal and prevent its future mintage, as they are trying to do with silver; every one knows that it would immediately decline in value, as its purchasing power would be destroyed. It would cease to be a medium of exchange, and consequently its value would depend on the demand for its use in the arts.

It seems to me to be impertinent and in bad taste for bankers and gold-holders, who have secured the debasement of silver by questionable methods, to now come before Congress and the country and assert that, because silver bullion is below gold bullion, we should not coin it at the existing ratio, because it would be a dishonest dollar. Let us pause a moment and inquire on which side of this question stands the dishonest dollar. Was it honest to destroy the silver dollar in 1873, when it was at a premium of 3 per cent above gold?

After the money quality of silver was destroyed, was it honest for the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. SHERMAN, to receive $80,000,000 gold deposit for silver certificates?

Was it honest treatment of silver, after this question had been settled at the polls by the people who elected Representatives from both of the great political parties pledged to the restoration of silver, for an unfriendly President and Senate to force an unsatisfactory compromise limiting its coinage, as was done in 1878?

After its coinage was suspended by the act of 1890, is it honest to contend that the silver dollar is a dishonest dollar because its bullion value is less than that of gold?

Treat silver as gold and it will be its companion and its equal. Take one of your horses, abuse him, maltreat him, turn him out on the commons to gather his food, will he be as useful, as serviceable, and as salable as his well-fed companion whom you protect from cold, hunger, and want?

The fact is, the silver dollar is the only honest dollar this country ever had, and I may go further and say that the bullion value of the silver dollar, though beset with enemies on every hand, is still an honest dollar. This statement, I know, will not be accepted by the gold bullionaires, but I will establish its truth by incontrovertible evidence. I appeal to the farmers, the producing classes in every part of the country, to bear witness to the fact, that the bullion value of a silver dollar will buy as much or more of the products of the farm than it ever did before.

By an examination of the following table, compiled from the official reports by the Bureau of Statistics and the Directors of the Mint, the truth of my proposition will be shown.

I used this table and substantially the same argument I now make in a speech I delivered in Congress March 23, 1892. I have added to the table then used the bullion value of the silver dollar for the years named.

Anyone doubting the correctness of the table can find its verification by referring to page 8, Bureau of Statistics, Foreign Commerce, for the year 1891, and Director of Mint Report on Production of Metals for 1890, page 223, and for 1892, page 30.

Year.	In the home markets.			Bullion value silver dollar.	Silver per fine ounce.*
	Cotton per pound.	Corn per bushel.	Wheat per bushel.		
	Cents.	*Cents.*			
1872	19.3	70	$1.47	$1.03	$1.32
1873	18.8	62	1.31	1.00	1.29
1874	15.4	72	1.43	.98	1.27
1875	15.0	85	1.13	.96	1.24
1876	12.9	67	1.24	.89	1.15
1877	11.8	54	1.17	.92	1.20
1878	11.1	56	1.34	.89	1.15
1879	9.9	47	1.07	.86	1.12
1880	11.5	54	1.25	.88	1.14
1881	11.4	55	1.11	.88	1.13
1882	11.4	67	1.19	.87	1.13
1883	10.8	68	1.13	.85	1.11
1884	10.5	61	1.07	.86	1.11
1885	10.6	54	.86	.82	1.06
1886	9.9	50	.87	.70	.90
1887	9.5	48	.89	.75	.97
1888	9.8	55	.85	.72	.93
1889	9.9	47	.90	.72	.93
1890	10.2	49	.83	.80	1.04
1891	6.9	41	.85	.76	.90
1892				.67	

*The coinage value of an ounce of pure silver is $1.29.

As silver depreciated in value a corresponding decrease in the value of farm products followed, as shown by the above table.

It will be further seen from the above table that in 1873 the value of the bullion in a silver dollar was of the value of $1. It was then on a parity with gold. Cotton was then worth over 18 cents a pound. Therefore the bullion value of a silver dollar would buy 5¼ pounds of cotton, about 1⅔ bushels of corn, and about two-thirds of 1 bushel of wheat.

In 1880 the bullion value of a silver dollar had dropped down to 88 cents; still it bought as much or more of the products of the farm than in 1873. It bought about 7¼ pounds of cotton, 1¼ bushels of corn, and a fraction over two-thirds of a bushel of wheat. The bullion in the silver dollar again went down. In 1885 it was 82 cents. It bought, however, nearly 8 pounds of cotton, 1½ bushels of corn, and 1 bushel of wheat, lacking 4 cents. The bullion value continued to drop and with it all farm products. The bullion value of the silver dollar in 1891 was 76 cents. Still, at this value, it bought 12½ pounds of cotton, nearly 2 bushels of corn, and nearly 1 bushel of wheat.

By a simple calculation it can be seen that during all the years from 1872 to 1892, as the bullion value of silver as compared with gold declined, the farm products also declined in nearly the same proportion. This shows that silver is a better measure of value of the products of labor than gold. In other words, it is an honest dollar. It is gold that is the dishonest dollar, as by corrupt legislation it has been made to buy more of the product of labor than it did when it was on a parity with silver, to which free coinage would again bring it. It is just as accurate to call the gold dollar a 155-cent dollar as to call the silver dollar a 70-cent dollars. As before stated, all values are comparative.

The relative value of silver and farm products have been nearly uniform. It is not silver that has depreciated, but it is gold that has appreciated. To repeal the Sherman law without restoring the coinage of silver establishes the single gold standard, which means to still further reduce the value of silver and the products of the farms, the shops, and the mines.

Heretofore Democratic orators have justly and truthfully denounced the high protective tariff laws, especially the McKinley law, as legal robbery, because they taxed the great masses for the benefit of the few. Is it any less robbery to strike down half the money of the people, and thereby enable the gold-holder to purchase the products of labor at half their value?

How the representatives of honest laboring people can vote to do this is not plain to me. Nor is it plain to me how Democrats and Republicans can stand on the declarations of principles contained in their respective platforms, as both declared for bimetallism, and vote to do this.

The Democratic party is by its declaration of principles committed to bimetallism. It declared in its platform of 1880 that it was in favor of "honest money, consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand."

The Democratic platform of 1884, on which Mr. Cleveland was elected, as well as a Democratic House, declared that—

> We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

In 1888, when the Democratic platform, made no specific reference to money, but only reaffirmed the previous platform, the party was defeated.

In 1892, when the party boldly spoke out in favor of the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, the party was again successful. Here is what the platform says. After denouncing the Sherman law and demanding its repeal, it says:

> We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discrimination against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

I repeat, therefore, that the Democratic party is committed to the free use of both gold and silver. It is as well known now as it was fifteen years ago, or as it will be known fifteen years hence, that we can never secure bimetallism as long as we allow Europe to dictate our financial policy. If we expect "an international agreement" to be tendered to us on a golden plate we will be mistaken.

We must force Europe to respect our financial system, as it is dependent on us, to a great extent, for the material for bread and clothing. Whenever we establish a sensible financial system based on bimetallism and will cease to make war on silver we will have all the "safe goods" necessary to maintain the parity of the metals. We never hear any talk of an international agreement to restore a parity of the metals until an effort is made to remonetize silver, but the moment such an effort is made a howl is raised about an international adjustment.

Our domestic commerce is about fifteen times as great as our foreign commerce. Why, then, do we permit one-fifteenth of the business of the country to control the whole and dictate what shall be our medium of exchange?

If the Bland substitute be voted down, and the Wilson bill to repeal the Sherman law be passed, I see nothing but ruin and bankruptcy for the people of the South and West. We will be left in the hands of merciless bankers and gold holders.

While I do not now intend to express any opinion in regard to the establishment of State banks, I think the 10 per cent tax on such banks should be repealed, and the question left to the people of the States to determine what they will do.

The States are sovereign, and Congress has no constitutional power by taxation to prevent the States from supplying their people with a medium of exchange when Congress fails to do so.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent leave of absence was granted to Mr. ABBOTT, until Monday next, on account of sickness.

CHANGE OF HOUR OF MEETING.

Mr. TRACEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the session to-morrow morning may commence at 10 o'clock, instead of 11.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that to-morrow morning the session may commence at 10 o'clock, instead of 11. The Chair will state that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CHARLES W. STONE] is willing to occupy the floor, beginning at 10 o'clock in the morning. So that, if there be no objection, the session in the morning will begin at 10 o'clock. [After a pause.] The Chair hears no objection.

Mr. TRACEY. Mr. Speaker, it is suggested by some gentlemen on my left that during the remainder of the week the sessions had better commence at 10 o'clock.

The SPEAKER. If there be no objection, the session, then, for the remainder of the week will begin at 10 o'clock. [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. It being nearly the hour for recess, without objection, the Chair will now declare the House in recess until 8 o'clock this evening, the evening session to be devoted to debate on the pending bill only, and the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON] will discharge the duties of the Chair.

Accordingly the House (at 4 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.) was declared in recess.

EVENING SESSION.

The recess having expired, the House, at 8 o'clock p. m., resumed its session (Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee in the chair as Speaker *pro tempore*).

SILVER.

The House resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

Mr. ELLIS, of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, There appears to be no conflict of opinion that some pernicious influence is seriously affecting the business and financial interests of the country. It is equally agreed that this malady, whatever it may be, has spread to almost every community and threatens, unless speedily arrested, to culminate in the bankruptcy and ruin of many enterprises and industries upon which the country largely depends for prosperity. If we were to look abroad we would discover, I think, conditions quite similar to those which affect our own domestic affairs. But it is with reference to our own interests, and with a view of arresting evils that pervail at home, as far as that may be done by mere legislative enactment, that this body has been convened in extraordinary session.

The good temper which has prevailed throughout this discussion justifies the belief that this body, without reference to political bias, is in a frame of mind to deal with the question submitted to it in the manner best calculated to relieve not only the business interests of the country from what appears to be a perilous situation, but in a manner that will be best calculated to benefit all classes and to benefit them all alike.

Although entertaining strong convictions and fixed opinions of my own, I do not hesitate to say that I am both willing and anxious to concede much of my own individual judgment in order to meet in a spirit of fair and just compromise the views and opinions of those who may differ from me as to what the true financial policy of the United States should be. I am all the more willing to do this that the purpose for which this body was assembled may be accomplished, and that whatever relief is to result from our action may be promptly granted.

It is assumed by the advocates of the bill introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON], the object of which is to repeal the purchase clause of the so-called Sherman act, that our present financial stringency and business depression is due exclusively to the operation of that law. While I do not concur in that view, but dissent from it in the most unqualified manner, and while I find no trouble in believing that the Sherman law has had very little to do with bringing about the situation from which we desire to be relieved, I am quite ready to coöperate with those who seek its repeal, if any fair or reasonable substitute providing for the continued use of silver is adopted in its stead.

Believing silver, equally with gold should be treated as a money of ultimate payment—a legal tender for every debt, public and private, and that gold and silver ought to be coined at the present ratio of 16 to 1, I am still willing to agree with those who do not share that opinion, on some other ratio—on any ratio that will make and keep the silver dollar as good as the gold dollar. But while being willing to make the concessions already indicated, I may state here and now with all the emphasis I possess that I can not, under any state of case, support the pending measure, unless some amendment authorizing the future coinage of silver is now engrafted upon that bill.

The bill before us and which will pass into the legislative history of the country as the Wilson bill, while it looks on its face as innocent and as genuine as its author, will be far more reaching in its consequences, if it succeed, than might at first blush be supposed. Its passage means more than the simple repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman act. If that were all it meant, and if that were the only effect it would have on the financial affairs of the country, its passage would not be calculated to provoke serious opposition in any quarter. But that is not what it means. It means to strike out bimetallism; it means an outright abandonment of the double standard, a system to which the Government has adhered for a century; a system which has the sanction of many centuries.

When the Wilson bill becomes a law this Government will be on a single gold basis; we will as effectively and as completely have demonetized silver as England did more than fifty years ago, and as Germany did twenty years ago. No such proposition as that can have my support or sanction, and while it is no part of my purpose to question the motives or challenge the good faith of others, I can not refrain from expressing the belief that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] was entirely accurate the other day when he said, in his speech, that the members of this House who voted for any proposition having for its purpose the demonetization of silver, especially those representing agricultural districts in the South and West, would have abundant leisure to study the financial question at home after their present commissions had expired. If the object of the pending measure is not to change our system from a bimetallic to that of a monometallic system and to discontinue the future use of silver as a coin of ultimate payment, what valid reason exists why some suitable provision for the future coinage and use of silver should not be inserted into the bill; why should the bill not be perfected so as to settle once and for all the financial question, at least so far as we are concerned.

The Sherman law repealed the Bland act, or so much of it as required the monthly purchase and coinage of not less than $2,000,000 or more than $4,000,000 of silver per month. If we are going now to repeal the only law which provides for the use of silver in any form, ought we not, at the same time, to provide by suitable legislation for its future coinage if the use of silver is to be further continued? With those who criticise the Sherman law I have no controversy; I was among the number who voted against its passage; but bad as I believe that law to be, vicious in principle, as I am quite sure it is, it is the last fragment left of bimetallism in this country, or more properly speaking, it is the last obstruction that stands in the way of those who are bent upon the destruction of silver and the establishment of a single standard of gold.

Under the present law we have been able to add something like $4,000,000 monthly to our volume of currency, and while bimetallists are in no manner responsible for the presence of the Sherman law on our statute book, they can not afford, in order to get rid of it, to vote for a bill that demonetizes silver and establishes a single standard of gold, as the present bill proposes to do. But we are invited to support this bill and to trust to the future for such silver legislation as may be proper and necessary. This is advice which no prudent man, who conscientiously believes that this country needs all the gold and silver it has or can get as its circulating medium, would be likely to heed.

When the bill under consideration becomes a law, if it ever does, the last hope of bimetallism for many years to come in this country will be gone, and we had as well understand and appreciate that fact now; and those professing to be the friends of bimetallism who vote for this measure, much as they may dislike to do so, must assume the responsibility of having demonetized silver and of placing our monetary system in line with England and Germany, whose systems are a single standard of gold. For no man who reads this bill can doubt, for a moment, what its effect on silver will be; in fact it seems to have been conceded throughout this discussion that the purpose of the bill is to discontinue the further coinage and use of silver as a standard money of the country.

Though believing that this country is amply able to maintain the two metals on a parity at the present ratio of 16 to 1, and while believing that the best interests of all classes of people demand the adoption of that policy if it shall be insisted that ratio can not be maintained, I am ready, as already observed, to agree upon some other ratio which would "insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all

times in the markets and in payment of debts." But if all propositions to agree upon a fair and just ratio are rejected by the advocates of the pending measure and all efforts of compromise refused, I am unable to perceive how the friends of bimetallism can do otherwise than conclude that the fixed purpose of those who oppose the use of silver as a legal-tender money is to cast it out as a base metal no longer worthy of a place in our financial system. Believing such to be the object of the bill, convinced that its passage would accomplish the results I have indicated, it can never become a law with my sanction nor by my vote.

I had supposed, Mr. Speaker, when my colleague [Governor McCREARY] arose to address the House the other day that he would adhere to the position he had uniformly occupied here and elsewhere. I had always regarded him not only a friend of the coinage of silver, but one of the ablest defenders of the bimetallic standard; and you may imagine my surprise, Mr Speaker, when my colleague declared that he had so far lost faith in the doctrine of bimetallism that he was unwilling to vote for the further coinage of silver.

Mr. McCREARY, of Kentucky. Will my friend allow me to interrupt him?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman from Kentucky yield?

Mr. ELLIS of Kentucky. I do, of course.

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. The gentleman is mistaken in saying that I have lost faith in bimetallism or changed the position that I had taken before. In 1884, in this House, I voted to stand upon the Bland-Allison act, which required the coinage of not less than $2,000,000 worth of silver per month nor more than $4,000,000 worth per month. That is the way I voted in 1884. I stated distinctly on last Saturday that I was a bimetallist; that I believed in the double standard; that I believed in gold and silver, and the proposition now for the free coinage of silver, in my opinion, when all the countries of Europe had demonetized silver or suspended its coinage, and India, had closed her mints, it was not advisable for us at this time. If we adopt free coinage of silver now, there is danger of leading to a silver basis, and I am opposed to coming to a silver basis because I am in favor of gold and silver both.

I wish to call attention to the fact that a gold and silver commission, consisting of twelve able men, was appointed to look into the change that had taken place in the relative values of silver and gold, and into the question of bimetallism, and that, after that commission in England, consisting of six bimetallists and six monometallists, had considered the subject, they reported that—

Neither metal alone exists in sufficient quantities to serve as a sole standard without causing such a change in the level of prices as to amount to a financial and commercial revolution.

No settlement of the difficulty is, however, possible without international action. The remedy we suggest is essentially international in its character, and its details must be settled in concert with the other powers concerned. The essential features of the agreement to be arrived at are:

Free coinage of both metals into legal-tender money.

The fixing of a ratio at which the coins of either metal shall be available for the payment of all debts at the option of the debtor.

Mr. ELLIS of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I certainly have no desire to misrepresent the position of my friend or to do him the slightest injustice. But he has announced his purpose to vote for this bill which discontinues the coinage of silver and to vote against the amendments offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND]; that is his present position, and it is, I insist, hostile to silver. My colleague says he voted for the Bland-Allison act, but that act was repealed in 1890, and one of the pending amendments proposes, if all propositions for free coinage are defeated, to substitute the Bland-Allison act for the present law, and my colleague will vote against that. I fail to discover anything friendly to silver in that position. On the contrary, it is precisely the position occupied by those who do not hesitate to say that they are opposed to bimetallism and in favor of a single gold standard.

Mr. McCREARY. When we pass the bill now pending it will not change in any respect the $700,000,000 of gold that we have in the United States or the $600,000,000 of silver, or any of the other currencies. In other words, when we pass the bill known as the Wilson bill we still leave gold dollars and silver dollars and Treasury notes and other money exactly as they are now, neither reduced in value nor impaired in legal-tender quality. On the contrary, the bill pledges that we will maintain the legal-tender quality of the silver in the United States, and that we will preserve the parity of gold and silver.

I desire to make the further statement that conditions have changed.

Mr. ELLIS of Kentucky. Will my friend mention the changes, especially the changes that have taken place since 1892, when our party pledged itself to the free coinage of both gold and silver?

Mr. McCREARY. In 1884 the whole product of the world's silver was only $90,000,000. The world's product of silver last year was $190,000,000. The product of silver in the United States in 1884 was $40,000,000. Last year the product was $75,000,000. Now, I hold that as the product last year of the world's silver has more than doubled, and as the product of silver in the United States has about doubled, and as all those countries that bought silver from us have either suspended its coinage or demonetized it, there is now no market for our silver, and, therefore, if we adopt free coinage the silver of the United States and of the world at large will come to our mints, and the result will be that we shall be put upon a silver basis, which I am opposed to.

I want to say again that I am as much the friend of silver now as I ever was. I am in favor of both gold and silver, and, while I know that my friend from Kentucky [Mr. ELLIS] is honest and sincere in his views, I know that I am as honest and as sincere as he is. I believe that the path I marked out, or tried to mark out, when I addressed the House last Saturday is the true one. I believe that in order to have free coinage of silver we must have an international agreement, or several of the leading nations of the world must agree upon free coinage at the same ratio and then it may be established and maintained. I believe that the United States with France and the countries that constitute the Latin Union can maintain that system, and whenever they agree to it then we shall have free coinage.

In 1884 I was in favor of coining $2,000,000 of silver monthly and I am now in favor of coining this amount monthly. I believe that unemployed labor, shrinkage in values, closed banks, depressed condition of trade, and the hard times prevailing all over the country demand the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. We should do this quickly.

Mr. ELLIS. Mr. Speaker, my colleague fails to point out wherein conditions have changed, but seems to have unlimited faith that an international conference can alone solve this financial problem for us, he evidently has no faith in the ability of Congress to do it. If an international conference is my colleague's only hope for the free coinage of silver, it is a hope which he will never realize unless this country takes the initiative, which it is able to do and ought to do, as I will try to show before I conclude.

Mr. McCREARY. How many of your colleagues are with you in your present position?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman yield to his colleague?

Mr. ELLIS. I decline to yield further, but will reply to the inquiry of my friend by saying that I do not know how many of my colleagues stand with me on this question now, but I do know that ever since I have been a member of this body, all of my colleagues on this side of the House have uniformly voted for the free coinage of silver whenever that proposition has been submitted; and much as I would regret to part company with them now I am prepared to do it if they vote for this bill.

I have seen nothing in supposed changed conditions that would authorize me now to cast my vote for any proposition having for its purpose the demonetization of silver, and glad as I always am to be able to agree with my colleagues I can not afford to agree with them when to do so I am required to surrender a principle which I believe is right. I am glad I have the courage to stand for what I believe to be right, even though I should be obliged to part company with all my colleagues.

I am content to trust my course in this matter to the manhood and patriotism of my people, absolutely sure that they will justify it. [Loud applause.]

WHY SHOULD SILVER BE DEMONETIZED?

What fact has transpired, or what change in condition demands that the further use of silver, as money, should cease? Just a little more than a year ago it was the unanimous judgment of the Democratic party assembled in national convention that silver, equally with gold, was a valuable money metal, and as such entitled to coinage on equal terms with gold. I have not heard of any change in the situation since, that would either justify or excuse the Democratic majority of this House now, if it should disregard the solemn pledges and promises made in its party's platform last year.

One of the reasons assigned by my colleague and those who think with him why we ought to abandon the further use of silver seems to be based on the belief that the United States can not maintain bimetallism except as the coöperation of the countries of Europe can be first obtained, and that an attempt to do so would result in putting this country on a silver basis. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON] in his remarks the other day assumed the rôle of a prophet, and predicted that if we attempted to maintain bimetallism the result would be that our gold "would take wings and fly away." If he had examined the record he would have discovered that precisely the same prophecy was indulged in by those who opposed the passage of the Bland-Allison act, of 1878. They said then that the coinage of fifty millions of silver dollars would have the effect to drive all the gold out of the country.

There was coined under the Bland act about $378,000,000, and yet our gold failed to seek more favored clime; on the contrary we steadily accumulated gold. From $312,199,979, the amount of gold on hand in this country at the passage of the Bland act, it increased until, on the 1st day of January, 1889, according to the report of the Director of the Mint, the amount of gold, coin and bullion, in the United States was $704,608,169, an increase of $392,408,190, in ten years. The average annual product of gold in the United States since 1878, excluding the amount used in the arts, is estimated at $20,000,000. It thus appears that under the operation of the Bland law, we not only kept

at home all the gold we produced, but got from other countries about $152,408,190 in addition to the amount we produced.

The gentleman from Tennessee, and those who agree with him now, must rely on something more trustworthy than prophecies which have already been demonstrated to be false if they expect to convince the judgment of others. Of course, it is the height of folly to attempt to maintain silver and gold at a parity as long as the former metal is deprived of the monetary functions accorded to gold. While gold is protected by the Government and as long as silver is boycotted and outlawed, the most hopeful bimetallist would hardly expect that the parity of the two metals could be maintained at any ratio.

This discrimination in favor of one and against the other metal is precisely what bimetallists complain of; what they insist upon is that both gold and silver shall be placed upon an equal footing before the law, and until that is done there can be no reasonable hope that the silver dollar will be equal in its commercial value to the coin value of a dollar in gold. But with a fair and equal chance, silver, if its past history proves anything, would at once come into use as money in the true sense and would prove as efficient and as powerful in quickening the pulse of commerce as gold. It would set in motion as many wheels, turn as many spindles, and move as many bushels of corn and wheat, as many bales of cotton, and give as much employment to labor dollar for dollar as gold.

Recent declines in the market value of silver bullion are also pointed out as additional evidence of the folly of any further attempt to maintain the parity between silver and gold. But those who rely upon this circumstance as justifying the character of legislation proposed by this bill ought not to overlook the fact that these declines in the market value of silver bullion are largely, if not exclusively, due to the unfriendly and discriminating character of the legislation which deprives silver of its function as a money of ultimate payment; for it must be remembered that under the present law silver is no longer money in fact, but only the representative of gold. But those who insist upon the use of silver claim and what they are justified in insisting upon is that if silver is restored to its legal-tender status and made by law a coin of ultimate redemption its commercial value would become its coin value, and that value would be equal to the commercial or coin value of gold.

It has been repeatedly stated here that any attempt on the part of this Government to maintain bimetallism and to keep silver at a parity with gold would require the United States to take all the surplus silver which other nations would certainly bring to our mints; and while professing great solicitude for silver and sincerely desiring to continue its use, these gentlemen tell us that the only hope for bimetallism is an international monetary conference, which may or may not be held at some indefinite period in the future, and that in the meantime the only wise policy we can adopt is to discontinue altogether the use of silver and join with the countries of Europe in a general scramble for gold. If gentlemen are in earnest about the use of silver and candidly believe an international conference is the only channel through which we may reasonably hope to reach a satisfactory solution to the financial problem, I ask them whether or not, as the speediest and surest means of bringing about such a conference, it is not incumbent on us to take the initiative and thus demonstrate in good faith our attachment to bimetallism and our purpose to maintain it by at once entering upon that policy.

How can we, having a larger interest in the silver question than any other nation, reasonably expect to secure the coöperation of others in the use of silver money as long as we refuse its free use ourselves? We must first make an honest effort by placing silver on an equal footing with gold before we can consistently ask other people to adopt a similar policy. Until we do this it is idle to talk about solving this problem by an international monetary conference. When we have acted in the matter ourselves other nations will be glad to treat with us.

In support of the correctness of this I cite the following:

A recent speech of Lord Balfour's, late prime minister of England, indicates clearly that other nations are hoping for our action in this direction. Surely we, who have a stronger interest than any other nation in sustaining the value of silver, ought to take the initiative in our own behalf. An international monetary conference can only be asked for with self-respect when the United States shall have shown other nations that she has the courage to act for herself in her own interest before asking their coöperation to help her help herself.

It is a trite old adage that "He who would be free himself must strike the blow." But we have appeared in three international monetary conferences as a party self-maimed; committed to an illogical policy of duplicity; asking help to steer toward a harbor of financial safety, after having sailed away from it of our own volition, and while continuing to sail away from it. No ability of our delegates, exceptionally able as they were, could extricate our Government from the humiliating position they occupied in such conferences. American ears have tingled with shame to hear from foreign representatives—"If your Government believes in bimetallism, why does not your Government vote for it and adopt it? None so much interested as yourselves in doing it."

But whether we secure the desired coöperation of others or not, this country is able to maintain bimetallism without the aid of outside influence, and this is the opinion of many of the ablest economists and best financiers of the country. Being able to do so, a refusal on our part to at least make an honest effort in that direction indicates either a fixed purpose on the part of the Government to abandon bimetallism, or exhibits an absence of that independent spirit which has always characterized us as a nation. In the first place, all the dread apprehensions of those who profess to believe that an avalanche of Europe's silver would bury us beneath its ruin are without foundation. Those who express or entertain such fears are in dread of evils that will never occur.

The stock of foreign silver consists almost exclusively of coin and circulates freely at home, while silver abroad is coined at a less ratio with gold than it is here. To melt all this silver into bullion and bring it here to be recoined would entail ruinous loss on its owners, which fact is in itself a sufficient guaranty that none of Europe's silver would seek recoinage at our mints, if we should now throw them open to the world. Mr. William P. St. John, president of the Mercantile National Bank of New York, a gentleman of great learning and financial ability, discussing this very question in an address to the American Bankers' Association at New Orleans, 1891, clearly demonstrated how groundless were the fears of those who believed a flood of foreign silver would deluge us, should we establish bimetallism. He said:

Europe's only stock of silver is her money. Europe's primary silver money is the unlimited legal-tender equivalent of her gold. As such it circulates in settlement of every day's transactions. As such it constitutes a liberal share of the coin reserves which Europe's great banks accumulate for the liquidation of their vast liabilities, including the redemption of their circulating notes. This European standard coin values silver at 259.91 grains to the dollar. Our mints exact 371.25 grains of pure silver for our standard dollar. Thus, 11.34 grains would be Europe's first sacrifice, with loss of weight and transportation costs additional, in every dollar for dollar exchange of Europe's standard silver coin for ours. Or, more intelligibly: Europe's silver money which circulates at home at 100 cents would recoin at our free mints into less than 97 cents.

Next, if Europe's pursuit is presumed to be our gold, let it be understood that equally free coinage for gold and silver is only a promise of gold coin for gold, and of silver coin for silver. Therefore in order to obtain our gold for silver Europeans must bargain with the owners of our gold, after the recoining of their silver into our standard silver dollars. In this contemplation, and in words now memorable: "Unless the Yankee has lost his quick scent of danger and forgotten his cunning * * * probably before the swiftest ocean greyhound could land her silver cargo in New York, the last gold dollar within reach would be hidden safely away * * * to be brought out only by a *high premium* on gold." Upon experience of high premiums on gold in the United States, 10 per cent would appear to be moderate, as a high premium. Add 10 per cent, as premium on gold, to over 3 per cent lost in the exchange of silver at our mints, and 13 per cent will be the premium first cost which Europe is to contemplate. Thirteen per cent of $1,100,000,000, or $143,000,000, will be Europe's sacrifice in contemplation, therefore, if she will thus exchange her silver for our gold.

If Europeans are to pursue our gold so ardently, our proposed measure, if enacted, will enable our Secretary of the Treasury to defeat them. He need only follow the course by which the Bank of France maintains the parity of their gold and silver coins acceptably in France. He need only exercise the option we propose for him, and redeem the United States notes in silver only, refusing gold, upon every slightest proof that foreign silver money threatens our reopened mints.

But unless these Europeans differ altogether from Americans, they will not make the estimated necessary sacrifice, or any sacrifice at all, in order to exchange their equivalent silver money for our gold. Yet, if I may tax your patience with details, note further:

England will not seek our reopened mints with her coined silver, all of it subsidiary coin. She has increased its volume recently, to the profit of her Government, substituting silver coin for light-weight gold half sovereigns. This English subsidiary coin values silver at 348.3 grains to the dollar. One hundred cents of it would, therefore, yield only 93.8 cents of our standard silver coin.

Germany does not threaten our mints with silver. She too is minting subsidiary coin. Her only other stock of silver are thaler pieces, in all about $107,000,000. These silver thalers are unlimited legal tender in Germany at about the French valuation of silver; at which 100 cents would recoin into less than 97 cents at our free mints. About $55,300,000 of these silver thalers, together with about $118,400,000 gold, constituted the legal-tender coin reserves of Germany's Imperial Bank at a recent date. When Germany sold silver it had been received as a part of a vast indemnity from France during 1871 to 1873. All except about $5,000,000 of it, *i. e.*, about 85,200,000 ounces, was sold before the end of 1879. The remaining sales, in driblets, were made to clean up. Within two years after Germany's selling was completed it was reported that Bismarck sighed, repiningly, that "gold has become as scarce as a coverlet too scant for two persons, so that each must struggle for a share."

Spain does not threaten us with her silver. The Bank of Spain, whose charter was extended last July for thirty years, was then authorized to enlarge her issue of circulating notes to the gross sum of $300,000,000, but under the requirement that her coin reserves are to be maintained strictly at not less than 25 per cent. Spain is now coining full legal-tender silver liberally, at the French ratio, on Government account. One hundred cents of it would recoin into less than 97 cents of our standard money.

The Netherlands and Belgium reported recently the following reserves of coin in bank: Netherlands, $29,800,000 of silver, with $17,700,000 in gold; Belgium, $7,200,000 of silver, with $14,500,000 of gold. Switzerland is not feared. Her difficulty is to keep a sufficiency of both gold and silver at home, as against the natural gravitation of both toward France in trade. Belgium suffers similarly in less degree.

Italy does not threaten us with silver. Her treasury and banks combined, showed a total stock of silver barely exceeding $20,300,000, while her stock of gold exceeds $88,200,000. The sum of her notes outstanding exceeding $283,000,000. In 1883, under an act of 1881, Italy sold bonds for gold and silver, and redeemed with both a total of $107,000,000 of her notes. Failing thereafter to complete her note redemption, or to maintain sufficient coin reserves to assure redemptions on demand, she has subsequently continued under a suspension of specie payments. She will need all her gold and silver, and more of both, in order to resume.

Austria-Hungary has been suspected of desiring to sell her silver. For answer, note that, while we are usually debtor to Austria in trade, Austria is invariably debtor to India. Her settlements range between $9,000,000 and $16,000,000 for a year. Yet Austria does not recoin her suspected "surplus silver" in British India; but settles in the equivalent of gold by purchasing council bills in London or kindred gold exchange. A recent press dispatch reported: "There is little prospect of the speedy establishment of a gold currency in Austria-Hungary. Dr. Steinbeck, the new Austrian finance minister, is opposed to any course that would tend to weaken or impair the confidence of trade."

The altogether safer dismissal of our fear of Austria's silver, however, is her financial condition reported recently as follows: Her bank's resources, against all its vast liabilities, were $27,300,000 of gold with $81,500,000 of silver. Her total note issues were $229,500,000. No pretense is made of redeeming these paper is-

sues on demand. They are accepted for Government revenues, and are legal tender for private debts.

Russia is not threatening us with silver. A million dollars will cover her accumulated stock of silver; $162,300,000 was her recently reported stock of gold. And Russia does not pretend to redeem her $807,300,000 of rouble paper in either coin.

Lastly, France does not threaten us with silver. And yet the estimated sum of silver in bank and afloat in France exceeds $700,000,000, together with $900,000,000 gold. Her population is almost stationary at about 38,000,000. Her traders establish such relations to the foreigner that France is the accumulator of the money metals among nations generally, in her international trade. Unless M. Leon Say has blundered, France has adopted "a waiting policy * * * being committed to the bimetallic standard." France can afford to wait and contentedly permit her merchants to establish title to foreign gold. If, by our legislation, supported by the aid assured us elsewhere, the United States enhances the market price of silver to a parity of value for the gold and silver contained in our gold and silver dollars, the inducement to continue a waiting policy on the part of France is made to disappear. The act of France will dictate the policy of her neighbors.

* * * * * * *

The stock of silver in the Bank of France has occasioned some concern. About $25,000,000 of it is Italian coin and about $20,000,000 is Belgian coin. Circulating in France by treaty it is accepted as French money, but is subject to demand upon Belgium and Italy, at the end of any year, for the redemption of it in gold at par. Our mints can not attract it at a discount; a discount of 3.05 per cent, and loss in weight additional. The total stock of silver in the Bank of France approaches $251,300,000. Her stock of gold exceeds $262,900,000. But if reasons, not evident, exist to necessitate the exchange of silver for gold by this Bank of France, or by the French people generally (the Government owns no silver), India's mints are open to their silver money at a premium. As remarked, 137.8 cents is India's mint price per ounce, and 129.3 cents is our mint price (stated in terms of our primary money).

France, too, is debtor in trade with India, invariably. Sometimes, to an amount exceeding $40,000,000 for the year. During this current year, 1891, due to her short crop of wheat, France may establish a trade-debt to India exceeding $50,000,000, or $5,000,000 more than the total sum of Belgian and Italian silver in the bank of France.

But the entire stock of silver in the Bank of France is money. As such it is not governed as bullion is, by market price. As unlimited legal-tender money, it is as serviceable to that bank as her stock of gold is for the liquidation of vast liabilities. It has been accumulated to constitute, together with her gold, the coin reserves maintained to assure the liquidation of her liabilities, including redemptions of her circulating notes. Thus available for the liquidation of her debts at par, her stock of silver is not a burden but a buttress to the bank of France. With her total sum of circulating notes exceeding $609,000,000, and a total stock of silver barely exceeding $251,200,000, and all this silver applicable to redemptions of these notes at par, the Bank of France is not more concerned about the "bullion value" of her "lawful-money" silver, than the national banks of the United States are concerned about the paper value of United States legal-tender notes.

A vain search, therefore: The impending flood of Europe's silver at our mints!

But if imagination is still unsatisfied that Europe's silver will not denude us of our gold, recollect that Europe's money is deficient by 3.05 per cent for an exchange with us of silver coin for silver coin. Remember, too, that Europe's silver circulates in coin, and her coin is old. It will therefore shrink importantly in melting. The very moderate total shrinkage of 5 per cent of $1,100,000,000 of Europe's silver would contract her currency by $55,000,000. Think of this minimum contraction of her currency as Europe's entirely voluntary sacrifice in rejecting silver to obtain our gold. Remember that this sum exceeds by $25,000,000 the entire world's aggregate annual increase of money, if gold is the only acceptable coin. Allot to Europeans about as little sagacity as we modestly accord ourselves. And, finally, if I mistake not, "The Impending Avalanche of Europe's Silver" will rank, hereafter, with "Alibaba and The Forty Thieves."

But assume, for the sake of argument, that all the silver of Europe, in the case of reopening our mints, should pour in upon us, what would be the result if we got it all? It is estimated that all the silver of the world, reckoned on the ratio at which it is coined here, is worth $3,800,000,000. The population of the United States at present estimate is about 67,000,000, so that if all the silver, saved from the minings of all ages were suddenly turned loose upon us it would be only about $54.28 per capita, just about the amount of money constantly in use in France. But the business of the countries of Europe can not be carried on without silver, and I do not suppose that even the most timid would estimate the amount of silver which could possibly come in any event at over one-half of that which is held abroad, but there is no foundation for the belief that any of it would come.

Whenever it is enacted by law that 371¼ grains of pure silver shall command $1 at our mints we insure the use of that metal in our rapidly developing domestic trade, which is by far of more importance to us than our foreign trade, and this domestic use of our silver, it is confidently asserted by those who are in a position to know, would maintain the money parity of our gold and silver permanently. It is a familiar doctrine in which the highest authorities all agree, that the value of money does not depend upon the intrinsic value of the material of which it is composed. This fact understood and appreciated, much of the confusion that exists and much of the argument against the coinage of silver, on account of its alleged depreciated intrinsic value, is disposed of.

The value of money, as such, is not in the metal, but in the stamp.

"The logic of the situation and the reasoning of all the leading authorities on money lead irresistibly to the conclusion that its value does not reside in the metal, but in the stamp; in other words, on the legal-tender functions imposed on that material. It is an order for services." (Speech of Hon. JOHN P. JONES.)

Another high authority defines money as follows:

Money by itself * * * has value only by law and not by nature; so that a change of convention between those who use it is sufficient to deprive it of all its value and power to satisfy all our wants.

Another authority of recognized ability defines money as follows:

Anything which freely circulates from hand to hand as a common acceptable medium of exchange in any country, is in such country money, even though it cease to be such, or to possess any value in passing into another country. In a word, an article is determined to be money by reason of the performance by it of certain functions without regard to its form or substance.

If the foregoing definitions of money correctly define it, both debtors and creditors ought to be satisfied that silver money, equally with gold, if placed upon the same basis, would be "good money." Creditors who insist that their obligations should be paid in "the best money" would at least find no room to complain that they were not paid in the money of the contract, for both gold and silver being a legal tender the one would be as good as the other and neither a cheap or a bad money.

It has also been suggested in the course of this discussion that the increased production of silver has rendered it impossible to further maintain the parity between gold and silver. We have already seen that mere intrinsic value is not the standard by which good money is measured. But the increased yield of our silver mines furnish no grounds for the apprehension that we would have an overstock of money if we coined and put into circulation every dollar of silver and gold bullion our mines yield. The increased production of the mines has not been in advance of the increase in population and business, an increasing population and developing business enterprises demand a corresponding increase in the volume of money.

When population and business are taken into account, it will be found that there is no foundation for the much talked of overproduction of silver, as illustrating this I quote from a paper recently prepared by Mr. St. John, of New York, in which the subject of overproduction of silver is exhaustively discussed and disposed of.

ALLEGED EXCESSIVE PRODUCTION OF SILVER.

Indisputable records prohibit the assumption of an excessive production of silver in the world. The entire world's coinage of silver during any period of five years, counting our Treasury absorption as coinage, has exceeded by average the annual production of silver. For the five years ending with 1889 the average annual coinage of silver has exceeded the annual production of silver by $30,700,000. In 1889 the production exceeded the coinage; but in 1890 (for which I have not figures) our required Treasury absorption was enlarged. The world's records thus manifest a recoinage of foreign moneys by one or more nations, for which a sufficient explanation is India's and China's absorption of Mexican dollars.

Estimates, too moderate to be disputed, of the world's annual gross requirement of silver by average of the five years ending 1889 (ending 1890 for India), are as follows—all at our coin value:

Art consumption in Europe and the United States	$32,500,000
Art and money use of silver in China, Japan, Ceylon, and Africa	17,000,000
Retained at home, of their annual production, by Mexico, Central and South America, exceeding	8,000,000
Spain and Austria's full-tender and subsidiary, and the subsidiary coinage of the other continental states	12,500,000
British India's net absorption, exceeding	35,000,000
United States mint absorption prior to 1890, about	32,500,000
World's average annual requirement of silver prior to our purchase act of 1890	137,500,000
Increase of United States requirement now 54,000,000 ounces, coin value $70,000,000, less $32,500,000	38,500,000
Total average requirement	176,000,000
World's greatest annual production of record	165,000,000
Average shortage of annual production of silver for present requirement	11,000,000

This present yearly excess of gross requirement over the largest production of silver in the world seems to be verified by the record of the United States imports and exports of silver for 1891. During the nine months to October 1, our exports of silver have exceeded our imports of silver by $5,526,846. It seems further to be confirmed by the year's decrease of about $7,000,000 in the supply of silver bullion accumulated in New York. The New York accumulation of silver had been caused by fluctuations in the price occasioned by speculations upon the predicted legislation, and was greatest in amount before the act of 1890 became a law.

Although the present relative production of gold and silver is in great disproportion, the disproportion is nothing like so great as it has been at various periods in the past; and experience has shown that the two metals can be maintained at a parity when the yield of each more widely differs than at present. The yield of silver today in proportion to the yield of gold is about 23 to 1. In 1803 and thereabouts the yield of silver was 50½ times the production of gold, and at that time we had no difficulty in keeping gold and silver at a parity at even a less ratio than the present.

As to the cheapened cost of producing silver it is hardly necessary to add anything further on that subject, except to say that the cost of production of a money metal is not and never was a material factor in determining a correct opinion on the subject. If either gold or silver could be produced in unlimited quantities, at a moderate cost, then the cost of production would cut an important figure, but with the fact of a limited production of the two metals admitted, the relation of supply to demand and not the cost of production will always govern the market value of both metals. This is the settled judgment of those who have bestowed the carefulest consideration on the subject.

CAN THE UNITED STATES MAINTAIN BIMETALLISM WITHOUT THE CO-OPERATION OF OTHER COUNTRIES?

I do not hesitate to express my entire confidence in the ability of this Government to inaugurate and successfully maintain its own financial system regardless of what other countries may do. Richer and more powerful than any other civilized nation it is the sheerest nonsense to argue that we are, so far as our financial system is concerned, at the mercy of the shrewd and selfish governments of Europe. Such an admission is enough to touch the pride of any

man calling himself an American citizen. As illustrative somewhat of the opinion which others have of our ability to adopt and maintain our own independent financial system, I quote the following extract from Sir D. Barbour, British financial secretary of India, in his official report for 1891–'92:

No doubt the people of the United States are warned in some quarters that the adoption of free coinage for silver would lead to the loss of their gold (reduce us to a silver standard) and end in financial ruin. But the same authorities not infrequently warn India that her prosperity depends on her retaining the silver standard. I know no reason why such different results in the case of the two countries should spring from the same cause. * * * The foreign trade of the United States is but a small fraction of its total trade, and there is no nation in the world that is more independent of the foreigner.

France has been often referred to in this discussion and her financial system much discussed. In support of the contention that we are amply able to adopt a financial policy of our own, the following extract, setting forth the success with which France independently of all other nations successfully provided for both the coinage of silver and gold, is not without interest:

During the sixty-nine years following 1803, while the mint laws of all nations differed independently, the mint law of France provided equally unrestricted coinage for the world's spare gold and silver, valuing the silver required for our dollar at 103 cents in gold. In the sixty-nine years $1,447,329,208 of gold coin and $917,735,863 of silver 5-franc pieces were emitted from her mints. By voluntary act of the owners of gold and silver France thus obtained so great a volume of coined money in circulation that embarrassments were not possible from occasional flights of either metal in settlements of her international trade. Thus in the period 1811 to 1820, while the world's aggregate production of gold and silver showed 75 per cent silver, $110,907,676 of gold and $149,752,376 of silver were coined in France. (In the world's present aggregate production of the money metals only 59 per cent is silver.) During 1841 to 1850, with the aggregate production showing 48 per cent silver and 52 per cent gold, only $35,157,480 of gold with $175,845,263 of silver were coined. In 1866 to 1870, with production showing 31 per cent silver and 69 per cent gold, $227,777,130 of gold and $51,954,842 of silver were coined.

A conspicuously noteworthy result of such an automatic operation of her mints, under the equally unrestricted coinage law of France, was that in the face of widely varying proportions in the world's relative production of gold and silver, the relative market price of both was thereby maintained at an average of between 1 to 15.48 and 1 to 15.80, her mint valuation being 1 to 15.50. Thus effectually by France alone, the value possessed by either metal in its scarcity was bestowed upon the other in abundance, by decree. Such were the means and the achievements by which France "put a dollar's worth of silver in the dollar," and for sixty-nine years maintained it independently at 100 cents.

With this historic experience of France, who was not producing either gold or silver, for the assurance of the United States—we producing now about 40 per cent of the world's annual output of silver and over $30,000,000 worth of gold a year—I venture to predict success to the United States if we imitate her example.

What France has so successfully accomplished the United States should not hesitate to attempt. It is an example on which we can rely; a precedent we can not safely afford to ignore. Already we have had too much tinkering with the silver question. To prevent its complete restoration as a money metal, the creditor class, without regard to the interests or rights of debtors, have succeeded in blocking the way for years with mere makeshifts and experiments. The demand now comes from those who have toiled much and sacrificed much for the complete restoration of silver to its rightful place in our monetary system and from which it has been excluded for twenty years. It will not do to redeem a part only of the pledge contained in the Chicago platform and ignore the rest.

It will not do to simply repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, which is demanded by banks and commercial industries, and refuse to keep the promise made to those who toil in the shops, in the mines, and on the farms. We ought to redeem the whole promise in good faith, and no time so fitting in which to do that as the present. I represent a constituency largely engaged in agriculture, a constituency as intelligent and patriotic as any represented on this floor. In their name and on their behalf I protest against the passage of this bill which, while proposing a repeal of the Sherman act, not only fails to provide for the further coinage of silver on equal terms with gold, but which strikes it from our system as unfit for further use and as unworthy of a place in our financial system. [Applause.]

[Mr. MCKAIG withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

Mr. COOPER of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in the opening prayer of the Reverend Chaplain-elect of this House he said: "That this body had assembled in extraordinary session, had devolved upon them extraordinary duties, and had assumed extraordinary responsibilities."

The Chief Magistrate in his message advised us that "an extraordinary business situation, involving the welfare and prosperity of all our people, had constrained him to call us together."

For days, upon the floor of this House, I have listened to extraordinary men, logically and illogically, but always learnedly and eloquently, discuss the situation and offer a solution for the vexed problem that has presented itself for our consideration. The conditions that confront us are, indeed, alarming, and demand the wisdom, sagacity, and patriotism of this body. We find business stagnated, finances congested, values declined, confidence gone, and bankruptcy, ruin, and distress fast following each other; and an epidemic of doubt and distrust pervading every section, every vocation and business pursuit in this country.

There can be no effect without a preceding cause. The philosphy of present conditions must be inquired into, and the cause must be ascertained, if possible; and, when made known, it is the unconditional duty of this body to immediately remove the cause, if it is within the province or power of national legislation so to do. If the disease with which the country is to-day afflicted is beyond the reach of legislative remedies, then there is no balm, save in the virtue, integrity, industry, and patriotism of our citizens, and in these remedies I have much confidence. [Applause.]

The remedy prescribed by the pending bill I do not believe can effect the result hoped for by its friends unless it acted upon the principle of the medical practitioner who prescribed medicine that would throw his patient into fits, a remedy for which he had a certain cure. [Laughter.] This remedy, I fear, will throw this nation into such convulsions that it will linger long upon a bed of sickness, if dissolution does not eventually occur.

The importance of the question can not be overrated. In its ramification its tendrils touch every interest of industry in this country, and seductively tempts and plays with every avaricious and selfish passion that, as individuals, we possess. It is a question upon which patriots may divide, and I approach its discussion and the mention of objections to the pending bill with trepidation and some doubt. I confess that my education and experience have not been in that line that should prepare me to speak authoritatively or prophetically upon questions of finance, and I concede that a partiality for bimetallism, superinduced by association, as well as the logic of truth, may cause me to unwittingly resolve every doubt in favor of the free coinage of gold and silver.

Reading the Constitution according to its print and letter, and construing it according to the teachings of the masters of the political school to which I belong, I find no express command that gold or silver should be coined, or that the coinage of either or both is inhibited; but I do find that our Constitution recognizes both metals of equal dignity and equal standard, and that, following and in obedience to or conformity with the Constitution, both metals went to our mints free until 1873; and I further find that if we are to put a construction by implication or intendment upon that instrument, and infer what its framers contemplated, we could fairly say, and prove it by the almost contemporaneous actions of the builders of the instrument, that they intended no discrimination between gold and silver in the coinage of currency for this country.

I am warranted in this conclusion because the Constitution expressly says that "no State shall make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts," and expressly reserves the right to "coin money and regulate the value thereof." Following these declarations expressed in the Constitution in 1792, but a short while after its promulgation and adoption, Congress passed an act establishing a mint and regulating the coin of the United States, and this act provides for the free coinage of both gold and silver, and so continued the free coinage laws upon our statutes until 1873, when silver was outlawed and debased.

To place a different construction upon the language and meaning of the Constitution would imply and argue the possibility of a conflict of power and authority between the States and the United States. By the Constitution the States may make silver a legal tender in payment of debts, and if Congress destroys the money-bearing capacity of silver, and inhibits its use in a debt-paying capacity, it follows as a consequence that the provision of the Constitution would be meaningless and of no effect.

Therefore, am I not borne out in the assumption that gold and silver is the money of the Constitution, and was so intended by the builders of that sacred instrument? In my legislative action, at its shrine I first bow; by its commands and injunctions I expect to be directed. I revere the memory of those enlightened men who constructed it, and believe that inspiration controlled the pen that wrote it, and it shall be the cloud by day and star by night that shall direct my vote and voice in this assembly. [Applause.]

Next, most persuasive in affecting my action on pending legislation is the combined wisdom of the party to which I belong, expressed in their political pronunciamentos and party platforms. The pending question is one which should rise above partisan politics and sectional bias, and be considered only from an American patriotic standpoint. It is a policy, not necessarily a political principle, that is involved; and I am willing to surrender my partisan bias, save only that, all things being equal, the wisdom of the party with which I am aligned shall turn the scales in favor of my political bias.

Since this question has played a part in the history, policy, and political agitation of this country, the Democratic party has champanioned and advocated the free coinage of silver. Our recent national Democratic platform demands, in letter and spirit, "the coinage of both gold and silver, without discriminating against either metal." The Democratic platform of the

State from which I hail demands the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver on the ratio of 16 to 1.

In my canvass before the people of my district for nomination and election, I stood squarely and unequivocally upon these platforms, and gave to the people no uncertain expression as to my position on the free coinage of gold and siver; and, relying upon these platforms and my declarations from the hustings, the people chose me as their servant, and I would be faithless and recreant to duty as an honest servant if I failed or refused to obey the behests of my party and my sovereign—the people.

It is now claimed by some of the Democrats on this floor that the free-silver plank in the national platform is ambiguous and is a conditional and not an absolute free-coinage plank. In my canvass I interpreted it differently, and proclaimed it certainly as a free-coinage demand; and if it is susceptible of a construction now placed upon it by my Democratic friends who differ with me, I could not yield obedience to their construction, because my State has made no equivocal declaration touching this matter, and where there is a conflict of opinion or authority my duty is a plain, as well as a pleasant one, to stand by the wishes and commands of my own State and my own people.

I know that the platform demands that both metals be of "equal intrinsic and exchangeable value," to be adjusted through international agreement or legislative safeguards. The construction that I place upon the platform makes the repeal of the Sherman law and the free coinage of gold and silver handmaids compatible and capable of ripening into consistent laws. The construction placed upon it by Democratic adversaries makes the platform antagonistic, incompatible, and incapable of ripening into consistent laws. They know this, and acting under the law of the survival of the fittest, and believing the repeal of the Sherman law is the fittest, they are giving succor to that at the expense of free coinage of silver, and, I believe, the substantial interest of the people.

But, Mr. Speaker, eliminating all constitutional and partisan objections to the proposition, let us consider it from a just, equitable, and humanitarian standpoint, and test its value and soundness in the crucible of common sense, reason, and experience, and weigh it in the balance of justice. We know that money is a measure of value, a medium of exchange, and it is the equivalent of the thing for which it is given. It performs the further important office of being the representative of the basis of all credit, and credit is but the postponement of the delivery of things exchanged. If the value of money declines or increases, all contracts for future delivery are changed, and this change affects the debtor and creditor corresponding with the value and volume of the money of the country.

A contraction of the currency of the country injuriously affects the debtor class, and an expansion of the money of the country injuriously affects the creditor class. To adopt the single gold standard will contract the currency (the purchasing and debt-paying medium of exchange) from 20 to 50 per cent, and, this being done, it follows as the natural sequence that the debtor will have his burden increased from 20 to 50 per cent and the creditor will receive from the debtor from 20 to 50 per cent more than was stipulated in the contract creating the debt.

To adopt the bimetallic free-coinage standard the creditor can not be so injuriously affected, because by so doing the volume of money can not be so violently expanded. The bowels of the earth and the hillsides can not yield the bullion for coinage as rapidly as it can be destroyed and struck down by legislative action after having been coined.

But, for argument's sake, suppose the demonetization of silver or the free coinage of silver should equally affect the debtor and creditor, as the one or the other may be done, then the result of such action, unavoidable, however, would result for the benefit of a class, and, to that extent, would be class legislation; and, if class legislation is the only result that will be attained from any legislation on this subject, then what class of our fellow-citizens shall be the beneficiary of our action? Men become creditors always for the hope of profit or benefit. They become debtors sometimes for the hope of profit; but the rule is, they become debtors from necessity or through untoward and adventitious circumstances.

While it has been asserted upon the floor of this House that the poor and middle class are the creditor class in this country and that they will be the sufferers by the free coinage of silver, my experience and observation do not bear out this assertion. In the section from which I hail nineteen-twentieths of the poor are debtors, and there is not one out of a hundred that has deposits in savings banks; and I believe this condition of affairs will be found to exist in all the Southern States.

A large proportion of my constituents are agriculturists, and among that class of citizens are rarely found political or social agitators. The anarchist and communist find no encouragement there. The confusion and corruption of mercenary and selfish political agitation does not exist among them. Their bosom at all times is the lodgment of virtue and patriotism. Their allegiance to their country; their cheerful support of their government; their patient and uncomplaining endurance of its burdens, and their heroic defense of its institutions, is a record that may be read in all history. They have been taught, and they have heretofore believed, that this is a "government for the people."

As a class, they are the largest element of our population, and are the producers of more surplus products than any other calling, and are the most numerous debtors of any other class of our citizens, and especially are they so in the South at this season of the year; and whenever and wherever I have talked with them on this subject I have found nine out of ten in favor of free coinage. They will not have the currency of this country contracted if they can prevent it. Their cribs are now bursting with corn; soon their sheds will be filled with bales of cotton. The willing hands of industry have filled this land with plenty, yet distress is everywhere. Would you add to misery another pain? Will you not stay the hand that gives the hurt?

The total outstanding indebtedness of the United States on the 1st day of December, 1890, was $1,549,296,120, a per capita indebtedness of $24.70. The total indebtedness of the States and Territories in 1890, as shown by the Census reports, was $1,135,210,442, a per capita indebtedness of $18.13. I have no means of ascertaining the indebtedness of individuals and private corporations in this country; but I think I can safely assume that, in the aggregate, it will equal, if not exceed, the indebtedness of the States and Territories, and I will place it at $1,135,210,442. Add to this the mortgage debt of this country, which amounts to over $2,500,000,000 (and remember this mortgage debt is principally upon the homes and farms of this country), and you may realize and appreciate the burdens that are upon the shoulders of the people of this country.

To recapitulate:

Debt of United States Government in 1890	$1,549,296,120
Debt of States and Territories in 1890	1,135,210,442
Mortgage debt of United States	2,500,000,000
Individuals and corporations (estimated)	1,135,210,442
Total	6,319,717,004

Per capita, about $100.

As hereinbefore stated (and I think it will be conceded), the demonetization of silver would increase the value of gold not less than 20 per cent, and, possibly, as much as 50 per cent. I will, therefore, make an estimate upon the basis that the value of gold will be increased 25 per cent, and I think this low estimate will be accepted as conservative. An increase of 25 per cent on the indebtedness that I have heretofore stated will increase that indebtedness the sum of $1,579,929,251; that is to say, that at the value of gold and silver now in relation to commodities, it will take in value $1,579,929,251 more of commodities to pay said indebtedness than it can now be paid with.

Upon whom will this increased burden most heavily fall? Upon the money lenders? No. Upon the bankers? No. Upon those who are so circumstanced that they need not work upon a rainy day? No. It will fall upon the brawn and sinew of this country, the yeomanry of our land. The debt owing by the United States must be paid by the citizens, and how? By a system of unjust taxation. By a tax that is neither equitable nor uniform, a tax that is vicious in its methods and its exactions levied upon the consumers of this country.

The wealth of this country is protected by the valor and patriotism of all the citizens; but it yields no tribute to the United States to liquidate the debt incurred for its care and protection. The balance of the indebtedness is paid by the skill, industry, and sweat of the face of the people of this country; and, my Democratic friends, I again invite you to listen to the voice of your party, and I conjure you to heed its commands. I find in our national platform the following:

THE MORTGAGE BURDEN.

We call the attention of thoughtful Americans to the fact that after thirty years of restrictive taxes against the importation of foreign wealth in exchange for our agricultural surplus, the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real estate mortgage debt of over $2,500,000,000, exclusive of all other forms of indebtedness; that in one of the chief agricultural States of the West there appears a real estate mortgage debt averaging $165 per capita of the total population; and that similar conditions and tendencies are shown to exist in other agricultural exporting States. We denounce a policy which fosters no industry so much as it does that of the sheriff.

If you contract the currency of this country you abridge the means and opportunity to satisfy this indebtedness, and you indeed foster the sheriff's industry.

My friends from New England and the Eastern States, this indebtedness is largely due to you. My people are remotely, if not immediately, your debtors. You built our railroads, opened

our highways, constructed our factories, and started the wheels of mechanical and manufacturing industries in the South. When the briers cumbered our grounds, and our fields were waste places, and lone chimneys stood like monuments to mark the places, where once were happy homes, you came with your money and lent it to us.

With this money we rebuilded and removed the briers that cumbered the waste places, felled the virgin forests, and opened new fields of production. This money is still due you. We have only paid the interest and renewed our note. Will you vote to increase the principal and compound the interest upon us? Will you produce bankruptcy and ruin, and kill the goose that has been laying the golden egg? If so, your support of a measure that will contract the currency of this country will tend to do it.

Aside from the immediate injury that will result from the contraction of the currency by the demonetization of silver, an injury equally as hurtful, but one step remote, will ensue. When silver is stricken down to a commodity there will not remain sufficient coin to meet the demands of commerce and the business of the world. The population of the world to-day is estimated at 1,218,000,000 people, and the amount of gold is estimated at $3,632,600,000, about $2.99 per capita; and this estimate of the quantity of gold in the world, we have no assurance approximates accuracy, and the probability and better opinion is that it is overestimated.

If this gold is equally distributed throughout the world, will it be sufficient to do the business of the world on, or will it furnish a sufficient basis upon which the business of the world can be carried by exchange or otherwise? Strike from the population of the world the people of the countries that have no commercial relations with the balance of the world, and have no productive industries and follow no productive pursuits, and you have remaining a population of about 800,000,000 people. Distribute the gold of the world among these people, and it will be inadequate to supply the demands of commerce and trade.

Our population is increasing at the rate of about 2 per cent annually, and our gold production that has been minted into money for the past twenty years has annually increased about 1½ per cent. Basing our opinion on the belief that the same ratio of increase will continue in the future, we find that our gold diggings are not keeping pace with our increase in population, and there not being sufficient gold in the world for the needs of commerce and business, and gold relatively decreasing as compared with our increase in population, consequently the value of gold must increase and commodities must correspondingly decrease. And, as commodities in general are but the result of labor, then the toiling masses can not be remunerated for their energy, industry, and skill, and as the hands move forward on the dial of time, such a monetary system will undoubtedly make servants of the children of freemen, unless revolution should turn back the hand that now points to such a destiny. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, it is urged upon this floor that by the laws of evolution the destiny of silver is fixed, and that neither man nor human agencies can prevent its being discarded as a money metal by the enlightened nations of this globe. If, in this country, such a change must come, will not some economic scientist, some political seer, some monetary evolutionist, devise some means by which the hurt to the debtor may be averted? I believe I would be willing to experiment with the single gold standard if the bimetallic system would be continued and the volume of money permitted to increase *pari passu* with the increase in population, until all existing contracts had been performed and discharged, and let all new contracts for future payments be based upon the single gold standard.

One of the chief virtues that the gold monometallists claim for their system is, that it will give a fixed and stable standard of value. In all contracts for future payment, justice is only attained when the purchasing power of the money paid the creditor by the debtor is of the same value as at the making of the contract. Will the single gold standard produce such a condition or cause such a result? I deny it. Gold is only money in the country in which it is coined or by law adopted. Elsewhere it is a commodity.

There is no universal money, and there can be no more invariable standard of value in gold than in both gold and silver; and, possibly, the variance will be as great in the one as in the other, for the consequences are dependent upon future conditions and circumstances. Gold possesses no attributes that make it sacred and invariable in value. When it is plentiful, it is cheap; when it is scarce, it is high. It is controlled by the same laws that govern other commodities, and varies and changes in value according to the forces that operate upon it.

This proposition is borne out by the experience of our own country within the last half century. When the gold mines of California were discovered and opened up, gold became plentiful, and more gold could be purchased with our products and commodities than could have been done before that, when gold was scarce. It is probable, and I think nearer the truth, that the standard becomes more uniform and stable under the bimetallic than the monometallic system.

Prof. Laughlin, a strong gold monometallist and an author on this question of distinguished ability, said "that the intimate connection of the two metals causes reflex changes upon each other;" though he further says, in the same connection, "that the action of silver upon gold is not the same as the action of gold upon silver." But his concession that the two metals cause reflex changes upon each other argues that a more certain and uniform standard of value can be obtained by the bimetallic than monometallic system.

There is much force in the argument that the two metals act as a balance wheel one for the other. They are handmaids, fixed by nature for joint and separate medium of exchange, and, when both are not actually on duty, one stands guard as a reserve, while the other fights the battles, and so they alternate in action as prejudice, bias, or circumstances may determine, and, by so doing, they preserve their joint and separate strength and unity.

It is asserted by those who favor the single gold standard that the object and effect of the free coinage of silver is, and will be, to enable the debtor to scale his debt, and to cheat and defraud his creditor, and that it is dishonest legislation. Can it not, with equal force, propriety, and truth, be asserted that to strike down silver as money and contract the currency of this country is a desire and effort on the part of the creditors to enhance the value of their debts and assets, and, by law, wring from the debtor payment of a larger sum than is due by the contract? Can you find excuse for such action? Maybe you can.

Nearly two thousand years ago that Christman said: "To him that hath shall be given, and to him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath." Strike down silver and you fulfill this inspired statement.

Mr. Speaker, the weight and force of the argument of the gold monometallist is: 1 That the free coinage of silver will drive gold out of this country; (2) that the United States can not force the other countries of the world to adopt bimetallism. If perchance free coinage of silver would drive gold out of circulation, where would it drive it? It would drive it into the vaults of the banks of this country, where it would act as a reserve fund and basis upon which the business of this country is done, and by doing this the basis of our credit would be expanded with stability.

For three-quarters of a century we had bimetallism, and periodically the metals slightly alternated in purchasing value; but whenever this occurred and there was a displacement of the metals there was not a contraction of the currency. The one would temporarily serve and perform one function of money, while the other would perform another equally as important function, and the two metals are peculiarly suited to perform functions joint, separate, and variant.

Small transactions constitute the great bulk of the dealings, trade, and transactions of mankind, and silver is specially suited for this purpose; and these small transactions, when aggregated, compose more volume than all the banks, and demands the actual tangible use of more money than all the banks. It is the poor man's money, and the poor are largely in the majority in this country, and the inspired man said the poor will always be with us.

Can gold ever leave us as long as the balance of trade is in our favor? What the gold advocates here have been pleased to call the enlightened nations of the earth, such as England, Germany, Austria, Portugal, and others contiguous to them, single gold standard people, can not increase their agricultural productions one acre or one bushel. They can not feed their own people from their own soil. They are fed by us, by India, and other nations. They live by sending us articles of manufacture made from our raw material. Their people must eat or die. We need not dress in "purple and fine linen."

The world's product of gold last year was $130,816,000, and the world's product of silver was $196,000,000. Our exports of agricultural, manufactured, and other products from this country for the year ending June 30, 1892, was $1,075,814,429, more than three times as much as all the gold and silver produced in all the world. For the same year we imported $897,057,000 worth of merchandise and miscellaneous matter.

The difference between our exports and imports was $216,227,032. So the balance of trade was in our favor, and for that year it would have taken about two-thirds of all the metal, gold and silver, produced in the entire world to pay for our surplus products, and there lacked in gold over $86,000,000 being enough to pay for our surplus products. While in the last, and some other years, the balance in our favor has been less, there is no cause to believe or suspect that future ages will change the balance of trade against us. Our resources are seeming almost inexhaust-

ible. Our vast territory has a soil rich and productive. Buried beneath its surface and bursting from its hillsides are the greatest variety of the richest minerals. Standing and growing within our extended confines are vast virgin forests of the finest timber. On our immense plains vast herds of cattle grow fat without cost, and within these limits are millions of honest toilers, plowing the fields, delving in the mines, turning the spindles, and revolving the wheels of all character of industry.

With such resources, such industrious people, and abundant products, is it possible that by the free coinage of gold and silver gold will be driven out of this country? Such a suggestion is fatuitous, illusory, and improbable.

Again, history gives us a precedent upon which we can safely base a conclusion. France has been carrying for years seven hundred to nine hundred million dollars of silver, and her gold has annually increased, and her money metals, gold and silver, upon a ratio of 15½ to 1, has been maintained at a parity. Silver did not and could not drive gold out of France, and I do not believe it will drive it out of this country. Next, Mr. Speaker, can the United States force the other countries of the world to adopt bimetallism? This is problematical and experimental, and can not be determined until it is tried; but I assume the affirmative. The future may be forecast by the events of the past.

In 1816 England demonetized silver and adopted the single gold standard. Anterior thereto all the commercial nations of the world, by law, recognized silver as money. Fifty-seven years after England had demonetized silver the United States outlawed the white metal. Following close on this act of the United States, many of the other nations of the earth actually or virtually demonetized silver. They either prohibited or suspended its free coinage.

Now, if it took England over fifty-seven years to induce or force the other commercial nations to adopt or follow her system of monometallism, and the United States by her action could drive into line so many other nations in so short a time, it certainly strongly argues the power of the United States over the nations of the world; and if she has the power to produce such results by the policy she has recently adopted, does it not follow that if she returns to the system of bimetallism, with her growing industries and wonderful resources and her commercial prestige, can she not force the other countries to reverse their policy, and stand side by side with her? [Applause.]

Now, let us follow this argument to its logical conclusion from the premises laid down by the monometallist. They say that a half a century ago no nation of any commercial importance had adopted the single gold standard, and that England, then the monarch of all commercial nations, launched out upon this uncertain sea, and by force of her commercial power, coupled with her ingenuity, brought almost all the commercial nations of the world to the actual or virtual single gold standard, and that such nations now being opposed to bimetallism, the United States can not return to it without an international agreement.

What has been done may be done again; and what one nation has accomplished another may accomplish, conditions being similar. If this be true, the United States, standing upon the commanding height she does, possessed of the forces, active and reserve, that she has, and being in the front rank of nations, can not she do for silver what it is claimed England has done for gold? Since silver was demonetized in this country, the gold countries of Europe, with England in the lead, to gratify their cupidity and greed, have turned their battering-rams upon the walls of bimetallism in America, and to-day the temper of this Congress indicates that they will be victorious. But if the fight is lost this year, the serried ranks and solid phalanx of the American people will be found in line of march later on, and the voice of the people will order a charge that monometallism can not withstand.

If the little sea-girt isle on the eastern shore of the Atlantic Ocean can accomplish so much, what might not the United States do if she had the courage to try? Representatives of America, behold the picture that is presented to us to-day: The United States again petitioning and supplicating at the throne of England, begging Europe for conferences and concessions! Such obsequious and servile conduct is enough to make the cheek of an American mantle with shame. [Applause.] It is enough to make the ashes of Henry and Washington and the patriots of the Revolution cry out from their hollow tombs.

This Government that placed the Goddess of Liberty upon her high perch, holding the scales of justice in equal poise; this Government that smote the rock of the science of government and let the living waters of equal rights, personal liberty, and national independence fill the channels that flowed to all the nations of the earth; this Government that traced power to its lodgment and found it in the voice of the people, now begging tottering monarchies to suffer it to adopt a financial policy. American manhood must be waning and our national independence and institutions fast decaying.

"Gresham's Law" has been held up to us to show the consequences that will follow bimetallism. The philosophy of the law, I predict, will find no application in this country with bimetallism. Money, monetary transactions, and speculative greed regularly obey no law and follow no rule. It is constantly affected by extraneous causes and changing conditions and forces. Money follows no fixed orbit. Like the erratic comet, it defies law and order. The bankers of the United States, if they desired, by concert of action could place silver at a premium in the face of any law. The eloquent financial economist from New York [Mr. HENDRIX] said that—

> The banks of New York were now holding up the financial system of this Government by the neck.

I fear this is too true, and it may be that if the banks would loose their hands from the neck of our financial system this Government would breathe easier and this agitation would not have occurred. If the banks of New York are temporarily holding up the financial system of this Government, suppose the banks of the world should surrender their patriotism to their greed, then, indeed, would the future be cloudy with calamitous consequences.

Upon the question under discussion we daily have the opinions and advice of hundreds of successful and distinguished financiers throughout the United States. Bankers, boards of trade, chambers of commerce, *et id genus*, are earnestly importuning us to follow the English policy, and by so doing they say that we can still the troubled waters, speak peace to the dissatisfied and disturbed, restore confidence to the doubters, heal the financial afflictions, avert dangers, and restore prosperity to this country. This is a desideratum wished for and prayed for by every member of this body and every patriot within the confines of this Government.

I have an exalted respect for these people and their opinions. I am unwilling to believe that they are prompted by selfish and mercenary motives. They are a great, useful, and important factor in the country, and are American patriots and liberty-loving people. But they possess no peculiar prescience and are gifted with no superior sight-seeing into the future, and are not authorized and accredited prophets.

In the past they have made glaring mistakes, and their prophecies have not been fulfilled. When we were in the throes of a fratricidal strife, and a financial policy and system were inaugurated to carry on the momentous contention, the financial system then adopted and followed by the Government was condemned and derided by this same class of our citizens, and the direst prophecies as to its consequences and effect were then made. Time developed that they were in error, and were not good counselors.

Fourteen years after the close of the unfortunate struggle another financial policy was inaugurated by this Government. We found ourselves with seven hundred millions of paper currency—promises to pay—that were depreciated in value. By one stroke of the legislative pen we lifted this vast quantity of paper from its degraded bed and placed it on a parity with gold and silver, and did so with a depleted Treasury, or an apparent insufficient coin reserve. Like the other policy, we did this in the face of the adverse opinion of the financiers of the world; in the face of predictions and prophecies of chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and bankers' associations. We did it without the advice or aid of England, and we did it without international conferences or agreements.

Mr. Speaker, we are in the midst of a distressing panic. Like Coleridge's ancient mariner, who found "water, water everywhere, nor any drop to drink," we find money, money everywhere, nor any dime can get. In the South we are hungering for markets of money to purchase our surplus products, that we may pay our matured debts or exchange it again for the necessaries and comforts of life. If this money agitation has produced this panic, our duty to our country is to at once remove the cause. But I can not admit that the cause, mediately or immediately, rests solely with this.

I do not believe any man can trace this panic to any single cause. Money panics of momentous proportions and disastrous results may arise from the slightest circumstances. Money is timid and is easily affrighted, and the slightest disturbance affects its most remote limit. Like the ocean's calm, a pebble dropped in the center of its surface produces a wave that touches the farthest shore; so a financial agitation once began may swell in volume until its force wastes itself upon the immeasurable sea of time.

It is charged that the position of the bimetallist tends towards class legislation, and is for the protection of silver, and that we are undertaking to pass a law for the especial benefit of silver mines and silver money. The reverse of this statement is more

nearly true. It is gold and gold owners that are asking for protection. Our law would be equal and uniform upon all the people of this country, while your law would strike down a large part of the people and a large part of the wealth and industries of this country.

The silver States are an integral part of this Union, and have rights, and vested rights. A few years ago, the now silver mines were rock-ribbed hills and barren wastes. Our people went there, and they underwent privations and hardships to develop that country. By their self-denials, courage, and energy, millions have been added to the wealth of this country, and thousands of our laborers have found renumerative employment. The wealth they produced percolated all avenues and flowed to all the States. The corn, wheat, and cotton alike shared the benefits of this development. And now it is undertaken to be said that this energy shall be wasted, these industries and investments destroyed, and their prospective growth in wealth shut off. I can not go with the advocates of such a policy, because it is protective and sectional legislation, and is not just and right.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] points us to the single gold standard nations, as the progressive, enlightened, and prosperous nations of the globe, and relegates the bimetallist to the pagan and heathen nations of the earth. He may be right; but the question is, what is progress, prosperity, and enlightenment? When the scales of paganism and heathenism dropped from the eyes of England in 1819, and she adopted the single gold standard, she had 165,000 land owners; now she has 30,000 land owners. This may be enlightenment, progress, and prosperity for her people, but I can not so understand it, and I am unwilling to believe it

You take away from the people their debt-paying money, abridge their opportunities to lift the mortgages from their farms and homes, and you do it that they may become civilized, enlightened, and prosperous. What a travesty upon justice and what a commentary on enlightened humanity. In 1873 the light of prosperity went out from the homes of the agriculturists of this country. If you would again wreath their brow with the smiles of prosperity, again restore to them that which was wrongfully taken from them in 1873. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, I say that the Democratic party demands the repeal of the Sherman law and the enactment of a law establishing the free coinage of gold and silver. The Constitution contemplates the existence of such law; justice demands it; humanity demands it, and the American people demand it. Gold and silver have been the universal money of the world as far back as history or tradition carry us. Silver was the money of Abraham, and Solomon "made gold and silver plenteous in Jerusalem."

History records no country on the face of this globe to have pained or perished because they had too much gold or silver, or too much gold and silver. Gold will not leave us. Untrammel our commerce with other nations, break down the barrier raised by a vicious protective tariff, then our whitened sails will empty our bursting granaries into the laps of the hungry nations of the earth, and our fleecy staple will thread the spindles and feed the looms of the factories of all countries, and be the warp and woof of the wear of all people, and gold and silver will be our pay. [Applause.]

Mr. DE FOREST. Mr. Speaker, that there should be any opposition from any source whatever to the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman act under existing circumstances is, to me, the subject of profound astonishment.

The necessity for that repeal is so clearly written on the face of public distress, the demand for it is so distinctly heard in the voice of general calamity, that it would seem that no partisan rancor, no individual hobby, no speculative theory, no merely selfish personal scheme or sectional interest would dare to obstruct it by the slightest obstacle or the least delay.

The cry for this relief comes up to us not so much from the rich and powerful; not so much from the brokers and the bankers and the capitalists, whose names and occupations are harped upon here by the opponents of repeal as though in justification of their conduct; not so much from them as from the humble poor, from the worthy and industrious masses, upon whose patient shoulders are upheld the pillars of all our material progress and prosperity; from those men and women to whom the cessation of industrial activity through the operations of this Sherman law means the loss of employment, the sacrifice of hard-earned savings, the extinguishment of fondly cherished hopes—yea even cold, hunger, and nakedness, and all that penury implies.,

Not from the ranks of any one occupation, not from any particular section, but from all pursuits and from every quarter of our territory the cry comes up to save these suffering countrymen of ours from a winter of unparalleled misery, not by any mere gratuity, not by any extraordinary or unconstitutional expedient, but by a simple act of justice, by rescinding a law that ought never to have been enacted, that almost every one admits to be loaded with disaster, and that hardly any one to-day seriously attempts to justify.

In response to this appeal the President has convened us in this special session of Congress for this special purpose. All the vast business interests of the Union, tottering on the verge of destruction, believing that from us and by this means alone they can be rescued, are imploringly holding out their hands for succor. Why should it not be granted immediately, unconditionally, without hesitation, and without debate?

But, sir, we find there is opposition, and what are the reasons assigned for it? Does any one question the vicious character of the silver-purchasing law or the disastrous consequences that have resulted and are now resulting from it?

No one, I had almost said; but I do remember that the honorable, learned, and eloquent gentleman who first from the State of Louisiana the other day addressed the House upon this subject seemed to be contending that the Sherman act has not been so much as the least factor among the causes of the present crisis.

What—

Said he—

has the Sherman law to do with this condition of affairs? If men had been alarmed—

He argues—

by the legislation known as the Sherman act, and by the purchases of silver made under it, they would have gone to the Treasury with those silver certificates, those obligations of the Government, and demanded that universal money which the friends of the pending bill seem to be so fond of. There would have been a run upon the Treasury instead of upon the private banking institutions of the country.

But does not the honorable gentleman very well know that this is precisely what has occurred? Does he not know, is it not a matter of record, is it not laid before us in the message of the President itself, that there has been a run upon the Treasury, and of that exact character? That of the fifty-four million of silver certificates issued by the Government in the period between the 1st of May, 1892, and the 1st of July, 1893, $49,000,000 have in fact been presented to the Government for payment and have, in fact, been paid in that same universal money, so far depleting the Treasury and impairing the ability of the nation to meet its ultimate obligations?

The argument of the honorable gentleman appears to refute itself. It seems to resolve itself into a conclusion predicated upon a false hypothesis. The testimony of all experience is against him. The testimony of the financial and business judgment of the world, based upon practical tests, and springing from wide observation and long familarity with the subject, is against him; and, sir, in the light of all the evidence that comes to us from far and near, from high and low, from every rank and condition of life, I think I am justified in the assertion that in his skeptical interrogatory, "What has the Sherman act to do with it?" the honorable gentleman from Louisiana stands almost unsupported and alone. Now, is there anything in this law that commends it to our particular affection, that ought to prevent or postpone its abrogation?

I have listened patiently to hear some suggestion to that effect, but none has been presented. No one appears to be willing to befriend the act. The Democrats in Congress all voted solidly against it. Our Republican friends who contrived it and passed it now with commendable contrition acknowledge the error and stand ready so far as in them lies to make all suitable reparation. The Democratic party throughout the country has denounced it and promised its repeal. The boards of trade and exchange, the bureaus of commerce, the foremost men in financial, commercial, and manufacturing circles condemn it, the whole body of our laboring population, whether artisan or agricultural, arraign it as one of the chief causes, if not the only cause, of the present widespread, far-reaching, and ruinous monetary stringency. Why, then, should it not be repealed?

But opposition there is, and it comes in the form of proposed substitutes, containing provisions that no friend of sound finance or of fair dealing in public or private transactions can, from our standpoint, for a single moment favorably consider—provisions that, instead of quieting distrust, creating confidence, and reviving business activity, would in our judgment but aggravate and prolong the very evils we are seeking to escape.

There shall be no repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman act, they tell us, unless we will consent to the free and unlimited coinage of silver at ratios ranging from 16 to 1 to 20 to 1. And we are told that the principles and pledges of the Democratic party require it.

Again and again, sir, upon this floor during this debate and in the discussion of the silver question in the last Congress, have we listened to this and similar assertions, made by honorable gentlemen with great persistency, great emphasis, and all apparent sincerity. It is even intimated that our unwillingness to

concur in that proposition amounts to a species of party treason, which will ere long bring down upon our devoted heads the scathing wrath of disappointed and indignant constituents. "To vote for the repeal," they say, "and to refuse to vote for these substitutes is in violation of the pledges of the Chicago platform."

Now, what, sir, do these assertions amount to, and how much truth is there in them? Why, the platform is easily understood. It is clear, positive, and unambiguous, and I undertake to say—and say it without the slightest fear of successful contradiction—that there is not a syllable of the pending bill that is inconsistent with, and not in direct pursuance of, that platform, and that there is not a single substitute for that bill offered here that is not directly in conflict with that platform and with all the principles, doctrines, and traditions of the Democratic party.

Let us us see if this is not so. The bill repeals the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman act, which the platform denounces and promises to repeal. The substitutes propose free coinage of silver at ratios not exceeding 20 to 1. The platform contains no such doctrine and no such promise. The platform, on the contrary, while declaring in favor of the free and equal coinage of silver with gold as the money of the country, at the same time and with equal emphasis declares that it shall be done only upon a ratio which coincides with the commercial value of the metals.

Now, it is a fact which no gentleman can fail to know, which no gentleman who is not disposed to quarrel with the laws of gravity or the axioms of mathematics will attempt to controvert; a fact as well established and as well understood as the existence of the building in which we are assembled, that not one of the ratios of coinage in any of these proposed substitutes expresses or fairly approximates to the commercial value of the metal.

There is not one of these proposed ratios that would give us (in the language of the platform) "a dollar unit of both metals of equal intrinsic and interchangeable value."

If the advocates of these substitutes were so concerned as they profess to be about the platform and the fulfillment of its pledges they would have offered us something themselves that would have complied with that platform, and that would not have been, as all these propositions that they have given us are, in distinct and flagrant violation of those solemn pledges.

What then, sir, I again inquire, is the motive that underlies this opposition? Gentlemen tell us with an air of great virtue and philanthropy that they desire to make money cheaper? But why do they desire it? What patriotic, humane, or honorable object is to be subserved by making money cheaper? If the phrase means anything it means that the dollar these gentlemen are praying for would have a smaller purchasing power than a dollar to-day; that it would take more of the silver to purchase a given amount of any other commodity than it takes to-day; that more weight of coin should be required to conduct the same commercial transaction than it required to-day.

If a man has a horse to sell which at the present value of silver dollars is worth $100 to-day, and he desires to purchase with the proceeds of that sale a reaping machine which also is at the present price of silver dollars worth $100. These gentlemen would so legislate that it should require $200 in silver to effect the same exchange. That is cheap money. The man would then sell the same horse and would obtain the same machine, the only difference being that in the latter case he has the inestimable privilege of handling twice the quantity of silver. [Laughter].

If there would be any advantage in such a change, by precisely the same process of reasoning it would be an advantage to go back to barbarous usages and again adopt the ponderous and inconvenient media of exchange which were employed in the very infancy of society. [Applause].

It is utterly inconceivable to me that any constituency represented on this floor can fail to perceive that for all legitimate uses and for all honest purposes preciousness rather than cheapness is desirable in a circulating medium, and that so long as enough is in use to answer the purposes of commerce the more valuable the money is, the more economical, the more convenient, and every way better it is both for those who use it and the government that provides it.

Now, then, the gentlemen who ask for cheaper money do not, I think, contend that we have not enough already issued to meet all the usual requirements of business. The present stringency is not due to any deficiency in the volume of our currency, but to a paralysis that has fallen upon its circulation, a paralysis that no increase of that volume would relieve, but rather aggregate; a paralysis that owes its origin to a distrust occasioned by the improvident issuance of currency under the Sherman act. That the volume under normal conditions is now, as it has been in the past, adequate for all commercial purposes I do not think is seriously questioned.

No, sir, this demand for cheap money does not arise from any feeling that the necessary exchanges of commerce can not be effected safely and conveniently with the amount now on hand; it does not arise from any belief that either the people or the Government are made any richer or more prosperous by being obliged to employ a larger bulk and weight of coin in the same business transactions. Not at all, sir, but when we have looked the matter all over and have heard all that can be said, the invocations and the imprecations, the prayers and the tears, the graphic and the touching portrayal of the contest between riches and poverty, and of the conspiracy of Wall street and Lombard street, it all comes down to this, that the advocates of free coinage at the various ratios proposed desire cheaper money for debtors to discharge their obligations in, cheaper money in order that those who owe may free themselves from the claims of their creditors by the payment of less than is honestly due.

That appears to be the laudable object which elicits all this eloquence, which stands in the way of the relief that the country sorely needs, that legitimate industry on every hand is perishing for want of, and that we have been summoned here to furnish.

The advocates of cheap money have chosen the means best adapted to their purpose. They say they will have the Sherman law or free coinage of silver at ratios not higher than 20 to 1.

There is no doubt that either course, if followed out, would give them cheap money. Let the Sherman law continue in force without amendment and we shall soon have a 60 or perhaps a 50 cent dollar for the accommodation of these unfortunate debtors; or, on the other hand, let free coinage of silver be established at any of the ratios proposed, and a currency will speedily be produced sufficiently depreciated and debased to answer the expectations and gladden the hearts of all who have borrowed money and prefer not to pay it.

No argument is needed to establish these propositions. Any intelligent student of political economy is well aware of their truth; and certainly no argument is needed in this debate when the gentlemen who oppose us, with all their knowledge of the subject and with their consummate ability in adapting the means to the end for the accomplishment of their cherished purpose, and with the object of cheap money and the shielding of the debtor as against the creditor, openly avowed, have deliberately chosen for that purpose the continuance of the silver-purchasing law as it now stands or free coinage at the ratios proposed.

This, then, is the situation and such is the issue; and, sir, it is somewhat astonishing as well as amusing to listen to the floods of denunciation poured out upon the creditor class, as though the possession of property and the ability to furnish capital to those who need it, especially with the expectation of repayment, were an unpardonable crime against society. [Laughter.]

The holders of Government bonds appear to be the object of special detestation. The original purchasers of those bonds, most of whom are now under the sod and most of the survivors of whom have long since parted with all the interest they ever had in those obligations, are paraded before our vision as though in actual being they now stood at the Treasury like so many Shylocks demanding their pounds of flesh. It is said that they paid for those bonds in a depreciated currency and that Congress, by subsequent legislation, arbitrarily enhanced their value.

I shall not attempt to discuss the justice of that transaction. If such discussion had any relevancy to the present issue it might with some reason be said that those original bonds were issued by the Government in an hour of supreme peril, when no human intelligence could foresee the end of the awful contest for the prosecution of which the money was imperatively needed, and that the men who in that great national emergency stood in the breach and furnished the funds for the preservation of the Union were, perhaps, in the hour of victory, not entirely unworthy of some favorable recognition. But whether it were right or wrong, just or unjust, it has no bearing upon the present inquiry.

It must be remembered that these bonds are negotiable instruments; that their ownership is changing every hour; that long since all Congressional action upon them, long since the credit of the Government was solemnly pledged to their ultimate redemption in gold or its equivalent, and their market value was thus established at the figures that have since prevailed, they have passed from hand to hand at established quotations; they have been purchased by charitable and humane institutions; they have been selected by trustees and guardians of the fatherless and the dependent; and the debt-repudiator, who fancies that by the creation of cheap money these obligations of the Government can be scaled down, must not forget, and he must not expect the people of the country to forget, that it is upon the funds of such deserving institutions and the slender patrimony of such defenseless persons that he is proposing to lay the hand of wanton confiscation. [Applause.]

I have heard honorable gentlemen here descanting somewhat at length on the alleged grinding and avaricious propensities of the people of my section of the country.

New England and the adjoining territory seem to be regarded by them with particular aversion.

Well, sir, so far as I know, whatever success we have attained has not been due to accident or assistance. We have enjoyed no extraordinary natural advantages. We have not the spreading prairies of the West, with their inexhaustible fertility, which the settlers in that quarter have had bestowed upon them for a nominal consideration. We have not the mines of gold and silver with their incalcuable treasures. The founders of New England came over a stormy sea to an inhospitable shore, and there, amid the dreary and dangerous surroundings of a wintry wilderness and a savage foe, they kindled those beacon fires of liberty that have enlightened the world and laid the foundation and devised the formulas for those institutions of freedom that have preserved and transmitted its practical fruits to all succeeding generations.

By hard labor and frugal living their children have wrought out from what seemed most unpromising conditions some moderate degree of material prosperity. Not so much by the aid of horse-power and improved mechanical appliances, which are poorly adapted to uneven surfaces, as by strained muscles and stiffened bones and hardened hands, the rugged hillsides have been subdued to the uses of agriculture. The returns of this labor they have economically, but wisely, administered. The church and the schoolhouse have never been forgotten. Highways and bridges have been adequately provided, the poor have been furnished with necessary support, and the laws have been fairly and decently executed without the aid of mobs.

And after all this has been accomplished some little money has, in many cases, been laid up as a provision against reverses of fortune or the infirmities of age. The people of the West have borrowed these savings for the improvement of the farms that the Government has given them, borrowed them when they were as good as gold, used them to very great advantage, and now the cheap-money crusaders are proposing that they shall pay it back to us in a currency worth 60 cents on a dollar.

Mr. BRYAN. I want to ask the gentleman from Connecticut what reasons he gives for the greater increase in the proportion of wealth in the New England States during the last ten years than in the Western States? Does he attribute it——

Mr. DE FOREST. I have not assigned any.

Mr. BRYAN. Will the gentleman be kind enough to assign a reason?

Mr. DE FOREST. That is a matter of opinion.

Mr. BRYAN. Is it the greater industry and greater frugality of the people?

Mr. DE FOREST. I do not wish to enter into a discussion of that kind. I might have my opinion about it.

Mr. BRYAN. Will the gentleman please state it?

Mr. DE FOREST. That is a question of industry and frugality; it is a question of good management, too.

We have another class of alleged wicked men in New England, men who to-day by the thousands are walking the streets of my city and other manufacturing centers, out of employment for want of the relief which this Congress is asked to give them by the repeal of this silver-purchasing statute, men who at the benches of our workshop have patiently toiled from morning till night, year in and year out, supporting their families, educating their children, discharging faithfully all the duties of good citizenship, and who by self-denial and prudent management have been enabled to deposit in the savings banks small sums of money to their credit. Every dollar of it was as good as gold when placed there. Every dollar of it represents honest toil.

Every dollar of it stands for some pleasure sacrificed for which it might have been expended, and every dollar of it will be needed when the rainy day comes round. The cheap money crusaders are proposing that when the hour of necessity arrives these depositors shall receive their money back in a currency worth 60 cents on a dollar.

We also have people in New England who have not been so prosperous. There is many a farmer who, with all his efforts, has not been able to keep even with the world, and who perhaps in his declining years is haunted by the specter of mortgages upon his property. We have many in other walks of life who have been overtaken by misfortune and find themselves in debt.

The inconvenience, the apprehension, the discomfort of that thraldom I have no doubt are as keenly felt by them as though they resided in Kansas or Nebraska; but, sir, I am proud to say that I do not know of a man within the confines of my district, nor have I heard of one in all New England who would not hang his head in shame and feel that he was dishonored by his Representative in Congress if he heard that he advocated or voted for a law that would defraud a public or a private creditor out of 40 per cent or 30 per cent or any portion whatever of his just dues.

When warned by honorable gentlemen that we shall hear from our constituents to our disadvantage unless we vote for cheap money, I am proud to say, sir, that, so far as I know, I have no such constituents; and, sir, if there is one lurking anywhere in the dark, sharpening the knife of his vengeance because of my course upon this question, I improve the present opportunity here and now publicly to notify him that I do not desire his vote.

But, sir, there is another influence in the opposition to the repeal of this silver-purchasing law; an influence that moves in the dark and conceals its selfish designs under a profession of regard for the down-trodden masses and the general welfare: an influence that, vociferously declaiming against the demands and encroachments of the money power, is itself the most grasping and the most unscrupulous of all the agencies and forces that power has brought to bear in recent years on Federal legislation.

I refer, sir, to the vast, consolidated, organized, indefatigable, ever-watchful and ever-active forces of the silver-mining interests of America; a power that has flooded the mails with its preposterous literature and filled the land with its emissaries; that has laid its potent hand on primaries and conventions, on the organization of Territories, the admission of States, and the choice of legislators; and that, surrounding and pervading the walls of this Capitol to-day, is seeking again, as it has sought—and not unsuccessfully sought—in the past, to lead the lawmaking department of this Republic an humble tributary to its avarice.

It asks the Government to continue its purchases of silver, not that it is needed for purposes of coinage; not but that we already have on hand tons upon tons of it which we can not use and upon which we have already lost many millions of dollars, not that anyone believes it to be needed for any public use whatever, but only to help out these gentlemen in their private speculations, to furnish them a market which they otherwise would not have, to pay them a price which they otherwise could not obtain, and to add, at the general expense, to the stupendous fortunes which they have already acquired a larger increment than the laws of trade and production would justly entitle them to.

This is a power to-day that lays its murderous hand upon the throat of honest industry, and that in response to all the prayers of the people, and the patriotic call of the President, and the effort that is made by the friends of this repeal to save the whole country from financial ruin, says: "No; we will not consent. Banks may fail, factories may close, the wheels of commerce may stand still, the revenues of charity and dependence may be cut off, homes may be sold at the auction block, the products of the farm may mold in the fields, labor may starve in the streets, and incalculable loss and misery invade and shake the whole framework of society before the Government shall be allowed to withdraw for a single hour the bounty which we have already so long enjoyed."

This was the threat that was given out almost from the day the President issued his message. It is the threat which here in Congress at the present time, too cunning to disclose its real object, is seeking to accomplish its aim under other more humane and plausible pretenses.

Shall we yield to this impudent demand? Not, sir, I conceive, unless we are deaf to all suggestions of reason, blind to all considerations of justice, and recreant to every trust.

I do not know in the platform or principles of what party the silver-mining interest will pretend to discover the promise of its claim, this proposition that the powers of the State should be exercised for purely private purposes.

It may be Populistic, I am sorry to say that I think it is Republican, but one thing I am certain of, it is not Democratic. Very sure I am that the shades of Jefferson and Jackson, to whom such eloquent and pathetic allusions have been made, would find themselves shuddering with a strange surprise if invoked to subscribe to any such doctrine as that. It will not be found in the Chicago platform. It will not be found in any authorized declaration of Democratic belief, it will not be discovered in the teachings of the illustrious founders of the party.

Democracy stands for simplicity in public affairs. It insists that the powers of the state shall be confined within the narrowest possible limits and exercised only for strictly public purposes. Bounties, subsidies, class legislation, governmental favoritism of every kind it uniformly denounces as hostile to the spirit and foreign to the purpose of free institutions. It holds that these truths were the inspirations of our independence, the keynote of our declaration and our Constitution, the vertiable foundation stone of this grand structure of our civil liberty.

In the neglect of these truths it sees the pathway of national decadence, public functions indefinitely multiplied and extended,

the continuous growth of the office-holding army, the strife for party supremacy a thousandfold intensified, the danger of its tyrannous exercise a thousandfold increased, and, finally, upon the ruins of a once popular system the settled and perpetual domination of a governing class from which there would be no escape save through the portals of fiery revolution.

It is by a departure from these first principles of safe government that all the dangers of the past have been encountered. It was through such a departure that the law which now afflicts us was enacted, and it is only by a penitent and obedient return to them that we can hope to dispel the cloud that now hangs over us, and for ourselves and our children after us to preserve this, our sacred temple of human rights, from all the invasions and pollutions of despotic power. [Applause.]

Mr. ARNOLD. Mr. Speaker, I come from a district, the largest in area and population of any within the Empire State of the Mississippi Valley, and from its plains in the east to its mountain tops in the west comes to me but one voice, that of earnest, solemn protest against the passage of the bill introduced by the distinguished gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON].

I should be untrue to myself, Mr. Speaker, untrue to the constituency I represent, and untrue to the people of that great State, did I not, here and now, oppose this measure which so vitally affects their interests.

Sir, I do not believe, in the entire history of our Government, a question so important has ever engaged the attention of Congress. The discussions of 1860, indeed, had their full and momentous space, but after all they related simply to a contest which was to be decided by the sword, and the result of which in no event involved Anglo-Saxon slavery. But to-day we are confronted with a proposition, in the far-reaching effects of which, as I stated in the last Congress, may be seen the financial serfdom of the American people.

All history shows that individual and political bondage follows financial subjection. The debtor is the slave of the creditor, and where conditions are created by law that make impossible the abolition of such relation, then indeed is despotism supreme and perpetual.

We had as well look this question squarely in the face. The people will not, this time, be deceived by any catch phrases and glittering generalities. Whoever shall in this contest by his vote strike a blow direct or indirect against silver, will be branded as a monometallist in letters that will stick to him as long as he lives. In season and out of season, in the darkness and in the light, in the populous city and the lonesome forest, he will feel and know that he has arrayed himself against silver as a money of final redemption.

Mr. Speaker, for more than eighty years prior to 1873 we were on the bimetallic standard. Silver was as good as gold. Hand in hand marched the two metals on their beneficent mission. Gentlemen have undertaken to show that during this period sometimes silver was worth a little less, sometimes a little more, than gold, but all their herculean efforts have simply resulted in demonstrating that the relative value of the two was not only practically equal, but that the standard was automatic and equilibratory.

Why it seems to me as plain a proposition as can be, that the value of money is determined entirely by the demand for it, and if for example the value of gold should rise superior to that of silver, there would then be no demand for it, but for the other metal, and *vice versa*. This is that constant automatic action which tends to form an equilibrium between the two metals at the ratio fixed, spoken of by Sir Guilford Molesworth.

On the other hand, a single standard is an impossibility. How shall a thing measure itself by itself?

But it is not my purpose to theorize. A few plain facts and practical suggestions are worth more than all the systems of finance in the world. This bill proposes a simple and unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. It proposes not only to stop further silver purchases, but also further silver coinage. No substitute or measure of relief is offered in its place. Indeed, its open and avowed advocates plainly tell us that its intention is to place the country upon a single gold standard. That this is the full determination of the President is clearly gathered from the message he has sent us.

True, gentlemen on this floor, whose sincerity I do not question, and whose acumen I certainly recognize, have told us that the President is a bimetallist and the fast friend of silver. He was elected upon a bimetallic platform; he could have been elected upon no other; but this message, I repeat, is an unequivocal declaration of war on silver. It is an Executive pronunciamento that the time has now arrived when this Government should adopt the monetary system of Europe. A more straightforward document in the interest of gold as the sole monetary standard could not have been penned and sent out from Lombard or Wall street. It will bring joy and gladness to the financial vampires that are ever sucking the life blood of the people, and sorrow and despair to the toiling and producing millions.

Mr. Speaker, the provision in the measure retaining the present silver circulation in our currency will deceive nobody. Gold will be the sovereign standard to which all other values must bow. The tremendous power now lodged in Wall street at its pleasure to contract the volume of money, thereby proportionately decreasing all property and labor values will be multiplied many fold. Push but the veil aside, and the abyss meets our vision.

Mr. Speaker, I have before me a statement from the Treasury Department showing the amount of gold and silver coins and certificates in circulation in the United States up to the first of the present month, from which it appears that our stock of gold is $604,000,000 and our stock of silver $615,000,000. The per capita circulation of gold and silver combined, therefore, is in round numbers $18, and of gold alone $9.01. It is, then, proposed to put this nation, with a population of 67,066,000 upon a per capita circulation of $9. For again let me repeat, all other kinds of money will be measured by gold. There will not then be even a Sherman law to protect silver from utter annihilation.

Mr. Speaker, I will not lend myself to this unholy scheme. To the already fast-moving march of the classes over the masses I will not by my vote add the momentum of law. Sir, I am no defender of the Sherman act. It is, indeed, as characterized in the Chicago platform, "a cowardly makeshift." But, sir, it is the only law within the statute books that at all recognizes silver as money.

Sir, I shall vote for all of Mr. BLAND'S substitutes; first, for the ratio of 16, and then on to 20. These all failing, I shall vote to restore the Bland act. Still failing, I shall vote first, last, and all the time against unconditional repeal, believing that the President will veto any subsequent measure favoring silver, and shall rely in confidence for approval upon my constituents, to whom alone I owe allegiance.

Sir, what reasons are given for this tremendous change in our monetary system?

Gentlemen glibly tell us that this step has become imperative by reason of the excessive silver production relatively to gold. It is on a par with other statements sent out by the enemies of silver. The silver production of last year was less in this country than in the preceding year, and the commercial value of all the silver produced in the whole world last year was only $2,000,000 greater than the value of all the gold produced.

Here are the figures:

Gold production in 1892, $130,816,600.

Silver production in 1892, $133,054,000.

Where is that cataclysm of silver which is to bury the world deeper than plummet ever sounded? But this is hardly half the truth. The production of silver, relatively to gold, is now smaller than it was at any time from 1801 to 1840.

The following is the average production of both metals for each year of the present century:

1801-1820, 4 of silver to 1 of gold.
1821-1840, 2 of silver to 1 of gold.
1841-1860, 2½ of gold to 1 of silver.
1861-1880, 2 of gold and 1 of silver.
1881-1889, ½ more silver than gold.

Or, to put it in another form, for the first twenty years of the century we had in this country 300 per cent more silver than gold; the second twenty years 100 per cent more, and now only 16 per cent more. Let us not be blind to facts. The crusade that has been waged in the interest of gold has been a crusade of slander and misrepresentation.

But we are told, Mr. Speaker, that our silver coinage is becoming every year relatively greater than gold. This also is a misrepresentation. For thirty-three years after 1806 we coined more than $47,000,000 in silver and less than twenty-three millions in gold. We had then more than $2 in silver for every $1 in gold. To-day we have less full legal-tender money in silver than in gold, and counting all kinds of silver money, including the seventy-seven million limited tender, our silver stock is only eleven millions greater than our entire gold stock. Thus this claim of the monogold metallist falls to the ground.

But it is said, sir, that the silver is a debased and depreciated dollar. In 1873 silver was worth more than gold. It commanded a premium in the money markets. What struck down its value? The fiat of law, the demonetization act of 1873, a measure that was passed clandestinely through Congress, that was signed by President Grant in ignorance of the poisoned chalice contained in the cup, and that received the careful revision and supervision of Ernst Seyd, a London banker, as evidenced in the report submitting that bill to the House. The law can create a demand for

money and thereby give to it a value, or it may destroy that demand and thereby destroy its value as money.

Sir, who does not remember, when the clouds hung dark and threatening in 1860, gold, true to its cowardly and unpatriotic instincts in all times of need or peril, fled and deserted the country, and the mighty power of law created a money which furnished the sinews of war in the most gigantic internecine strife of history. No; it was the act of 1873 that first depreciated silver as money. Afterwards, when the Bland-Allison and Sherman act respectively sought, as it was then supposed, to restore it to partial coinage, its price immediately rose, but almost as immediately fell when it was discovered that those measures were being executed in a way to discredit silver.

Mr. Speaker, I have no disposition here to quote the free-silver utterances of the present Secretary of the Treasury; they are a part of our history; they are recorded in the official proceedings of Congress, and they will stand there to confront him as long as he lives. But I want to say right here, from the day Mr. Carlisle entered upon the duties of his great office down to the present time, no act of his has been friendly to silver, or has varied in the least from the policy of his Republican predecessor. Our silver dollar is selling to-day at a premium—not because it is redeemable in gold, because there is not enough of that commodity in the world to redeem one-tenth of the tokens behind which it impudently pretends to stand.

No, that silver-dollar valuation is not based upon gold as its redeemer, nor, Heaven knows, upon any confidence in bankers, but upon something stronger, greater, and more honest than all these, the wealth and credit of the people of the United States. Had Mr. Carlisle recognized this fact, and known, as he must have known, that every dollar coined from the bullion purchased under the Sherman act could and would have maintained its parity with gold, if paid out for such purchases, by reason of the pledged faith and credit of the nation, we should never have heard of a gold scare. That mysterious gold reserve would not have been rising and falling like a thermometer with every pulsation of Lombard and Wall streets.

Mr. Speaker, remove the restrictions from silver coinage, make it a full legal-tender, debt-paying money, and it will immediately bound into new life and give relief to a people who are now suffering from a circulation contracted simply because under our suicidal policy we permit a few gold gamblers to bring on panic and business depression at their own sweet will. You can not relieve the people by making money still scarcer. You would strike down one-half our money metal; what, then, would follow? You increase twofold every form of indebtedness. Where the debtor now owes $100 under this policy he would have to pay $200.

Sir, the load of indebtedness is already weighing down the farming and laboring classes. How much greater do you intend to make it? Will nothing but the absolute ownership of the earth satisfy you? Take heed you do not go too far. The gradual absorption of all wealth in the hands of the few presaged the fall of Assyria, Egypt, and Rome. But remember we are an Anglo-Saxon race, who can not and will not be enslaved.

But, Mr. Speaker, as I have shown, the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act means a ruinous contraction of our currency and a fall in the price of all products of labor. Since 1873, since silver has gradually fallen in value, the staple products of the farm have kept pace with it in its downward course.

The following table will show the relative depreciation of silver, wheat, and cotton since that period:

Year.	Wheat.	Cotton.	Silver.	Year.	Wheat.	Cotton.	Silver.
1872	$1.47	$19.3	$1.32	1883	$1.13	$10.8	$1 11
1873	1.31	18.8	1.29	1884	1.07	10.5	1.01
1874	1.43	15.4	1.27	1885	.86	10.6	1.06
1875	1.12	15.0	1.24	1886	.87	9.9	.99
1876	1.24	12.9	1.15	1887	.89	9.5	.97
1877	1.17	11.8	1.20	1888	.85	9.8	.93
1878	1.34	11.1	1.15	1889	.90	9.9	.93
1879	1.07	9.9	1.12	1890	.83	10.1	1.04
1880	1.25	11.5	1.14	1891	.85	10.0	.90
1881	1.11	11.4	1.13	1892	.80	8.7	.86
1882	1.19	11.4	1.13	1893	.50	7.2	.75

These figures are eloquent. Let every farmer in the land study them. He will understand why it is that he is now selling wheat, corn, and cotton at ruinously low figures. He will find the reason to be in the steady appreciation of gold. What will the future of the farmer be if this system shall long continue? Gentlemen, these are the bread-winners, the hope and salvation of our country; destroy them and you destroy the country.

But, Mr. Speaker, it is said that we are lagging behind in the race of nations, that all the civilized governments have adopted the gold standard, and that we should adopt it as a means of self-preservation. Sir, this is an insult to the American people. We have the greatest country on earth; our resources are practically inexhaustible, and our independence unquestioned. Buried in our mountains lie more silver and gold than in any other country on the globe, and yet, withal, we must receive our financial lessons from Europe. Could toadyism go farther?

Why, sir, we are no more dependent on England, France, or Germany than we are upon the Sandwich Islands. What is there, Mr. Speaker, in the economic conditions of England that we should envy? True, they have a landed aristocracy, privileged classes, and gilded royalty. There may be seen in its full perfection the extremes of wealth and poverty. But let us for a moment, if we can, withdraw our attention from her money center in Lombard street to her rural population. Let us see how the single gold standard has bestowed its blessings on that class. I read from report of Consul Howard, Miscellaneous Document No. 109, for the months of January to April last, inclusive, page 82:

Of all the industrial classes in Great Britain the tenant farmer is the most worthy of consideration and sympathy. Incredible as it may seem to American farmers, who are paying from $18 to $25 per month, with board, to a common farm hand, the agricultural laborer in England is paid on an average about $12 per month, out of which he boards himself, shelters and feeds his family, and provides them with the alleged comforts of life. The rate of wages has saved the farmer from bankruptcy hitherto and made it possible for him to till the soil and pay the rent, but it has at the same time driven, and is driving, the agricultural labor to city and town, where it swells the constantly increasing current of common labor to a disastrous flood.

While the English farmer and laborer are thus striving to keep soul and body together, a gentleman of the same realm, not entirely to fortune and to fame unknown, Mr. Alfred de Rothschild, in his speech at the International Monetary Conference at Brussels, says:

I hold that wheat at thirty a quarter instead of forty-five is rather a blessing than otherwise.—*Senate Executive Document* No. 82, page 69.

Here is a man with the courage of his convictions. This Napoleon of Napoleons of finance boldly and characteristically states the desires and purposes of the money power to be financially to enslave the laboring people in order that the drones may live at their expense.

Let us look for a moment at Germany, another gold-standard country. I read from the same consular reports, pages 96 to 98:

The earnings of the average wageworker are pitiably small. It is certain they do not allow him any luxuries; it may well be doubted whether in many cases they are sufficient for the barest necessaries.

It will be seen that the wages paid weavers and those engaged in the textile industries are among the lowest in the scale. The condition of this class is indeed most hopeless. Long hours in ill-ventilated and close quarters, and a minimum allowance of the plainest food, have so reduced the majority of artisans as to make them physically incapable of outdoor work of any kind. The usual fare for a weaver is a breakfast of thin coffee, with dry bread broken into it. Dinner consists of potatoes, potato soup, or meal soup, with dry bread. For supper there is either thin coffee, with dry bread, or soup. Meat is purchased in small quantities on Sundays and holidays by the better paid; for the great mass it is a luxury beyond reach. The character of the food never varies from year to year; winter and summer, it is always the same.

From two-thirds to three-fourths of the incomes of small wage-earners is spent for food—food little in quantity and inferior in quality. In a community of 8,000 factory hands the weekly expenses for food in a family of two (man and wife) were apportioned thus: Bread and meal, 181 pfennigs; potatoes, 35 pfennigs; vegetables, 13 pfennigs; biscuits, 12 pfennigs; milk, 6 pfennigs; butter, 110 pfennigs; bacon, 6 pfennigs; meat, 30 pfennigs; herrings, 8 pfennigs; salt, etc., 7 pfennigs; sugar, 11 pfennigs; chicory, 5 pfennigs; total, 426 pfennigs, or 60¾ pfennigs per day.

This is cited as a typical case among those whose average income is 400 marks—about 42 per cent of the entire population. In another instance the average yearly income of twenty-four families was 295.37 marks. Reckoning two children and one adult dependent upon this amount, the share falling to each would be 98.46 marks—in other words, a daily allowance of 27¼ pfennigs. Less than 7 cents a day is thus represented to be the limit to be expended by 46 per cent of the weaving population.

But, as abject as is the misery and privation revealed by such figures, the privations imposed upon those working in their own garrets are still greater. These unfortunates are for the most part women and young girls. In Leipsic, according to a recent monograph on social studies, the wages paid for a week's work of from eleven to thirteen hours daily in making paper lanterns is 4.50 to 9 marks; men receive from 10 to 12 marks. Women working for umbrella factories get from 5 to 8 marks weekly.

The week's wages of a man and wife working together twenty-four hours daily in the making of felt shoes amounted to 12 marks. Sewing girls working for dressmaking establishments receive from 4 to 8 marks per week. Instances of this sort might be multiplied. In many cases the average annual income is not over 150 marks by reason of the enforced idleness at certain periods. The very lowest weekly sum required to exist is estimated at 6.50 marks. This affords a suggestive commentary.

One more instance—that of France, which since 1873 has been under the single standard. From the same authority, page 11, I read as follows:

In spite of what official statistics may state, I am able to say that in this very large and important industrial community the average skilled workman earns less than $400 per year. In round numbers 1,800 francs is what an expert weaver owning his own loom can earn. Unskilled labor is paid by the municipality 58 cents per day, and it is no uncommon thing to find scores of skilled laborers out of regular employment seeking work from town to town at 58 cents per day.

How can a man support a wife and two or more children when his total earnings, assuming that he works three hundred days in the year, amounts to $174 per year? Yet this is the task thousands of human beings are called upon to face annually in France.

When one considers that in a population of 38,000,000 the number of people

engaged in agriculture, commerce, and other industries exceeds 30,000,000, and that there are only about 2,000,000 persons of independent means, it is not difficult to see how the majority may get the impression that they are oppressed by a very small minority.

These instances, Mr. Speaker, will give to the farmers and laborers of America an idea of what their condition, already bad enough, will be when they are placed upon this great commercial plane of the civilized nations of the earth. Evidently, so far as they are concerned, the monometallic gold standard is not a dispenser of all blessings and the all-in-all savior of nations. What would gentlemen have? Would they relegate our agriculturists of the West to the condition of those in England? Do you want still further to reduce the prices of agricultural products, and, therefore, all labor in that department of industry? Do you, with Mr. Rothschild, clamor for still cheaper wheat and cotton?

Sir, these are the natural and inevitable results of a monometallic gold standard, because the quantity of gold in the world, being confessedly insufficient to do its business, it follows, as a matter of course, that such scarcity appreciates its value, and that therefore they who control its supply likewise control the value of all labor or property and can depreciate it at their pleasure.

Now, under the bimetallic standard such a condition of affairs is not so easily brought about. Where you have the free and unlimited coinage of both metals, silver ever has been and, from the nature of things, ever will be the people's money, and will circulate among them, and thus make it harder for those who desire to corner the gold to do so, and thereby to control all other values. But we are told that this will be cheap money. I want to repeat, that whenever the law creates a use for a given article, thereby causing a demand for its use, value is added to it by reason of such use and demand.

That is just as plain as anything on earth can be. Take, then, your silver bullion, if you please; stamp it with the Government stamp, declare that it is a dollar, that it is 100 cents, that it is a legal tender for the payment of all debts, and that silver dollar will march on side by side with your gold dollar, and hold its own in the race of business in this country. [Applause.]

I want to call attention to another point. We are told that the Sherman law is the cause of the present panic. I have just about come to the conclusion, sir, that the people who assert that hardly believe it. If they do, I am almost tempted to say that they are not only monometallic men, but that they certainly must be monoidea men. You had read to you, gentlemen, the other day, a passage in which was depicted the fall of the Roman Empire by reason of the contraction of the currency. Did the Sherman law have anything to do with that? [Laughter.] Again, in 1816, England adopted the single gold standard. The same merciless depression that has always followed the effort to conduct the business of a country on a gold basis, followed there. It is graphically described by Alison, as follows:

The effects of this extraordinary piece of legislation were soon apparent. The industry of the nation was speedily congealed, as a flowing stream is by the severity of an Arctic winter. The alarm became as universal and widespread as confidence and activity had recently been. The country bankers, who had advanced largely on the stocks of goods imported, refused to continue their support to their customers, and they were forced to bring their stocks into market. Prices, in consequence, fell rapidly; that of cotton, in particular, sank in three months to half its former level. * * * The effects of this sudden and prodigious contraction of the currency were soon apparent, and they rendered the next three years a period of ceaseless distress and suffering in the British Islands. * * * The effect upon prices was not less immediate or appalling. They declined in general within six months to half their former amount, and remained at that low level for the next three years. Distress was universal in the latter months of 1819, and that distrust and discouragement were felt in all branches of industry, which are at once the forerunner and the cause of disaster.

Did the Sherman law have anything to do with that? Again in 1836 was the currency contracted in England. The same historian describes its consequences, as follows:

On, however, the tempest came, and fearful was its violence. With the steady "contraction of the currency" by the Bank of England, which began in July, 1836, prices fell during the whole of the ensuing winter, and in the spring of 1837 the panic was universal. Many bankruptcies took place, though fewer in Glasgow than might have been expected from the severity of the pressure, owing to the amount of solid wealth which had been made in the preceding five years. But as prices of all sorts of manufactured produce had sunk nearly a half, the manufacturers were under the necessity of lowering wages; and this soon induced strikes in nearly all the branches of skilled industry.

Why, sir, to contract the currency of a country is opposed to even the teachings of Alexander Hamilton, the father of the Republican party. He says to annul either of the metals as money is to abridge the quantity of circulating medium, and is liable to all the objections which arise from the comparison of the benefits of a full with the evils of a scanty circulation.

And, coming down to 1873, De Lavelaye tells us that prices fell, and industry, losing money, limited its operations. Why, sir, in 1873, the criminal period of the centuries, almost universal depression reigned over England, the Continent, and the United States. Mr. Bright, in 1879, referring to the condition of England, said, "I believe the agricultural owners and occupiers of land have lost more than £150,000,000." He attempted to attribute the misfortune to poor crops and seasons.

But, sir, those poor crops and seasons have been lasting for many years, with no signs of abatement. Deeper with each succeeding year has sunk the farmer in the scale of poverty, while the mortgage, daily growing more gigantic, swoops down upon his devoted home, and, like the bird of evil omen, "casts its shadow on the floor." Ah, the Sherman law had nothing to do with these depressions. Only the other day the Australian bank failed. So dire was the distress resulting that the newspapers stated, in order to preserve existence itself, the crown of womanhood was placed on the auction block and sold to the highest bidder. Why, we are beginning now to find out the whole truth about this panic. It belts the civilized globe. The Continent is not exempt from its baneful touch. Only a day or two ago nine stockholders failed in London and two in Liverpool.

It is criminal in such a calamity to falsely assign the existing evils to a cause in no wise responsible for them, simply as a pretext to place the country upon a gold standard. It is that and nothing more. A cruel, heartless conspiracy on the part of the banks. They have the country by the throat, and refuse to loosen their grip, unless they are given still further power over the people. But the Sherman law is responsible for it all. Why, Banker Clews sings a different tune in his financial review of August 5:

He gets up off of the Sherman law and the "fool people who are hoarding their money," and jumps on the Chicago speculators. He says their "withholding of grain and other kinds of produce from the usual course of export for several months was largely the cause of the heavy drain of gold." He says "the stringency which they so largely helped to create has at last compelled them to realize at ruinous losses."

The distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX], a national banker, to whose able speech I had the pleasure of listening the other day, says in relation to it, "Why, God Almighty himself could alone bring about such a condition as involves the whole globe to-day."

No, this war on the people's money commenced in 1873. The present attack is the final onslaught of the enemy. It is Plutocracy *vs.* Democracy. It is Lombard and Wall street united for a common purpose. For my part, as a humble Representative on this floor, I shall cast my lot with the common people. To all influences that would hold me back, I say with the Seminole, "Blaze with your serried columns, I will not bend the knee."

Mr. Speaker, for years and years has Congress legislated in the interest of the select few. The creditor alone receives attention. Let us now do the debtor justice. Let us not add to his burdens. One more word and I have done.

We have been told, Mr. Speaker, that this question rises superior to party. If by that declaration it is meant that the issues involved in this discussion will reach to every fireside in this land, then, indeed, it is true. If it is meant that we are brought face to face with a proposition to impose the financial slavery of Europe upon the American people, then, again, is it true.

But if by that declaration it is meant that it is the duty of Congress to legislate upon these lines, then it is not true, but beneath party. For, Mr. Speaker, the behests of the money power are seldom tempered with mercy or with justice. From the day when Dives lifted up his eyes in hell, down to the present time, has this unrelenting oppressor of mankind marched steadily on, crushing, as a modern Juggernaut, all within his reach. And he is marching on now over mercantile and manufacturing interests and even over his allies and confederates, the banking institutions. Nor would he halt here appalled at new fields of conquests. He would invade every home in this fair land: yes, he would trample upon the prostrate forms of despondent fathers and weeping mothers, woman in her beauty, man in his strength, budding childhood and prattling infancy, on all, to accomplish his end.

But it may be well, Mr. Speaker, for these men to remember that there is a time when forbearance ceases to be a virtue. They should not become oblivious of the fact that a new light has dawned upon the western world. The spirit of intelligence is there abroad. As the children of Israel in their weary march of old were guided by a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night, so we in this struggle of the centuries shall have as our pillar of cloud by day the Constitution of our fathers and our pillar of fire by night the patriotism of the people. Nor shall we reckon without our host. We are not representing Old World constituencies, but a people brave, intelligent, and patriotic, who have solved this problem, and who will be quick to act upon the maxim, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Mr. Rothschild, at the international monetary conference at Brussels, said:

So far as agreeing upon a universal standard is concerned, no two nations are alike as regards their individual wealth, resources, and expenditure;

and therefore no universal agreement can be made with respect to a general currency.

Then, sir, let this Congress declare, when this discussion shall have ended, that Mr. Rothschild for once at least in his life spoke the truth. Let it legislate upon the same independent line of policy and action. Let it declare, in language unmistakable, that the United States, the central star of the nations of earth, shall not be plucked from its proud eminence to become a satellite of England; but rather, on the other hand, moving along its appointed course, aloof from the jarring elements beneath, it shall continue to perform its great revolutions within the orbit of national independence.

Now, Mr. Speaker, in conclusion let me say this, and in no spirit of threat or of prophecy: If the highest duty of this Congress shall consist simply in repealing the Sherman law, then let the tidings go forth, as assuredly they will, that on this proposition the Republican party and the Democratic party are one. If the issue upon which the last campaign was fought and won be a delusion and a snare, again and again let the tidings go forth, as assuredly they will, that on these two propositions the Democratic party and the Republican party are one. If the condition of the tariff, as suggested, is by no means critical, and in the sweet by and by it may possibly receive homeopathic treatment, again and again, and again let the tidings go forth, as assuredly they will, that upon these three propositions the Democratic party and the Republican party are one.

But if, as I believe, the Democratic party is still the party of the people, if it would remain true to its traditions and its teachings, if it would go beyond the narrow confines of the money-changer's office and listen to that voice, deep toned as thunder, coming from the teeming millions of this broad land, then indeed shall it re-write, but this time in letters imperishable as our mountains of silver and gold, resistless as our rivers rolling down to the sea, and majestic as the grandeur of our free institutions, that old, old Democratic doctrine, "The free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1." [Prolonged applause.]

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I feel keenly the ridiculous attitude in which I am placed of undertaking to speak here and now, and I feel, as other gentlemen have perhaps felt before me upon their first plunge into the political world at Washington, like rising in my seat simply to thank the Speaker sincerely for the magnificent opportunity which he has given to me, as sixth upon the night list, to speak to a lot of pages and empty benches. [Laughter.] And I felt, in justice to the dignity of the district I represent, the largest in the State of Mississippi and the most Democratic, inclined to decline with thanks the honor. But, sir, upon second thought, it occurred to me that all of us were very small people in the city of Washington, and that it was best to be submissive to the will of the House; and besides that there was a duty due to the people I have the honor to represent; that it was due them not alone to publish in the RECORD, but to stand on the floor of this House and to voice the eternal warfare which they now inaugurate and will never end against a policy the ultimate result of which would be to reduce the free farmers who constitute nine-tenths of the population of that district to the condition of German Bauern, of Scottish crofters, or of Irish tenant farmers.

It struck me that I would not be doing my duty to them to allow even the ridiculous situation which surrounds me to prevent me from expressing their voice and views. Therefore, without apology, which will necessarily consume time, and with the modesty which is becoming in one who has had no legislative experience here or elsewhere, who, furthermore, has had no official experience of any sort, never having held or sought an office in my life, coming here from the people, fresh from the agricultural people of the country, voicing the wishes of the great agricultural Democracy, which, I submit, is as respectable and just as much entitled to weight as are boards of trade or the commercial exchanges in this broad land, having no vantage ground at all, unless it be one (and I hope for the sake of the American people and the honor of Congress that it is not)—unless it be one to occupy the ground of entire sincerity of conviction and honesty of purpose, I shall undertake to plunge into this great debate.

The first step that I shall take will be to request the Clerk to read an extract from a paper which I now send up—the Boston Traveller.

The Clerk read as follows:

[Special Dispatch to the Traveller.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 14.—President Cleveland has determined to apply his most heroic influence to bring about the speedy adoption of the silver repeal bill.

He has issued instructions to all of his Cabinet officers that there shall be no more appointments made upon the recommendation of men in Congress about whose vote upon the silver problem there is any doubt.

He has gone even further, and has directed that there shall be extended no official courtesy whatever to anyone in Congress until it is known how his vote is to be cast upon the silver question.

Two Senators from the far West called upon Secretary Hoke Smith the other day and asked to have enforced certain laws adopted by the last Congress relating to Indian reservations, and they were surprised to be informed by the Secretary of the Interior that the Department would take no action upon the request of men in Congress until after the Sherman law was repealed.

The Senator attempted to explain to Secretary Smith that there was not the slightest partisanship or personal favor to them in the request made, but the Secretary of the Interior replied that he was carrying out instructions and there would be nothing done except the routine of the Department until after the silver question was disposed of.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Now, Mr. Speaker, I have had that article read and I desire to make no comments save to say two things: First, that I do not believe a word of it. I believe that it is a base calumny upon the leader of the Democratic party and the President of the United States. I do not believe and can not believe that an administration headed by a man whom I have reverenced and admired, and taught the people whom I represent to reverence and admire, headed by a man who has made himself dear to the American people not alone by saying that "public office is a public trust" but by acting it; who has carried that principle farther than I would have carried it, so far that he has declined to use official patronage for the purpose of rewarding the men who have carried the cause of sound political principles to a successful issue or of punishing the common enemy, the Republican party; I decline to believe that an administration headed by that man for whom I have demonstrated my respect and reverence now for three Presidential periods, by advocating his cause to the best of my humble ability, not alone after nomination but before it, could change its position and sink to the base and contemptible littleness of using official patronage to disrupt the Democratic party, for that is the purpose if it were to be done. [Applause.] For, Mr. Speaker, men ought to be affected with the natural consequences of their acts.

That is one thing that I wanted to say. The other is this, in behalf of the Southern men who sit here: Even if I believed that, it would demonstrate to my mind but one thing, and that would be the woeful lack of knowledge of human nature which must exist in the mind of the author of such a policy.

You, a Southern man, Mr. Speaker, just think of the attitude in which this places you, for a moment. For ten long years we, the gentlemen of the South, bore on our lances the cause of local self-government and civil liberty on the American continent, with no aid from any quarter except now and then a random shot from old New York (God bless her; although she is wrong now on this question) and the persistent musketry of little New Jersey. But can it be that any man of common sense believes for a moment that that magnificent cohort of Southern gentlemen, who stood out manfully for self-government, with the charge of treason palsying every nerve and oppressing them in every effort, could be controlled and cajoled at this late day by a few pitiful post-offices. [Applause.]

During that entire period, amid darkness and clouds, with no break in the monotony of the gloom, save now and then a lightning flash accompanying a thunderbolt hurled from Washington; when legislatures were dissolved at the point of the bayonet and good men torn from their wives' sides at dead of night and hurried to Sing Sing—without so much as one ray of the gentle sunshine of official favor in nation, State, or county—we fought fiercely on and at the end conquered a peace and renewed position.

And I take it, Mr. Speaker, that the men of the West, free born and manly, are as courageous as we are, and are as firm in their convictions; and I know that the magnificent race from which we spring, armed with the sense of mastery that it has always been able to exert, with the spirit of domination that has made it master wherever it went, is not to be controlled in that sort of style, whoever else may be.

And, Mr. Speaker, if there were a man upon this floor so contemptible as to be induced by such reasons to take a position contrary to his convictions, I would ask of his constituents, if they be a Southern constituency or a Western one, that when he goes home they may meet him at the border, and kick him in a westerly direction through the northern tier of counties, then in a southerly direction through the western tier of counties, then in an easterly direction through the southern tier of counties, then in a northerly direction back to the point of beginning; and then give him one grand boost and land him in the town of Quincy, Massachusetts [applause], where there exist gentlemen who are willing to rise upon this floor and say "Put me down as one of the President's gentleman ushers." [Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, in the old country, where maids of honor, amid the scented perfume of the court, are glad to be prostituted to the pleasure of the executive, and are not ashamed of the bastards which result, there are men who yet consider it an honor to be gentlemen "flunkeys." [Laughter.] In God's name, may the taste not spread in America!

Mr. Speaker, I wish in the next place to insert in my remarks in the RECORD an article from the New York Recorder which expresses so nearly my opinion in certain respects that I shall make it a part of the RECORD, because I believe that a record is now being made, and partially even by as humble an individual as myself, which in 1896 shall be made a part of the war material of the battle, a part of the war material necessary then. The article from the Recorder is as follows:

GIVE US FREE SILVER.

The Recorder believes that the time has come when the will of the people must be enforced alike upon Congress and the President, and the mints of the United States be thrown open to the free coinage of silver.

The financial and business situation is admittedly bad. There is no need to exaggerate it. It might be worse. It will become worse, much worse, unless Congress and President Cleveland can get together and relieve the existing commercial congestion by prompt and adequate legislation.

The President admits in his recent message that the repeal of the silver purchase law of 1890 will not fully meet the exigencies of our situation. It is confessed on all hands that to simply repeal the Sherman act and stop there will not leave our currency upon a satisfactory basis, or provide for a safe and sufficient circulating medium.

The business of this country can not be done upon a purely gold basis. There is too much business to be done, and too little gold to do it with, to justify the experiment of a currency based wholly on one metal, and that one the scarcer and dearer of the two. The total disfranchisement of silver as a money metal, which seems to be the aim of the gold extremists at Washington, means a violent and ruinous contraction of values. The mere threat of it has already given the first sharp twist to the screws of contraction.

To persist in the total elimination of silver from our currency is madness. The lead of the gold monometallists has been followed far enough. It is time to call a halt, and demand that silver shall pe put back in the place it held for eighty years, from the formation of the Government down to 1873, and be made again one of the two main pillars of the American system of currency and coinage.

It is evident that his party in Congress is not fully with the President, and will not act upon his initiative unless he will assent to a provision by which silver shall be retained as a partner with gold on a just and fair ratio in the metallic basis of a nation's money. Congress is not ready and willing to repeal the act of 1890 until the President on his side is prepared to give his assent to a new law based on bimetallic principles restoring silver as a money metal and reëstablishing the double standard.

This is the perilous feature of the situation at Washington. If the President and Congress can not harmonize their views and act together without long delate and delay, the crisis through which the trade and industry of the country are passing must and will grow more acute. Is there any way of bringing them together? Only, as the Recorder thinks, by putting such a pressure of public opinion upon them both as will compel them to meet on middle ground and take decisive action.

The President is not justified in asking for the unconditional repeal of the present silver law. To postpone the definite readjustment of our currency laws, leaving silver demonetized and its use as a standard money metal wholly prohibited, would, in the Recorder's opinion, precipitate a financial and business catastrophe compared with which all past panics would seem to have been mere bugaboos.

Absolute gold monometallism spells ruin, universal and unsparing ruin, for the people of this country.

Congress is right in demanding securities for the silver already coined and represented in our paper circulation, and a guaranty for the permanent retention of both metals and the historic double standard, at a ratio to be fixed with a due regard to the existing conditions of the currencies and coinages of the world. Congress stands for the American people in this matter. It is their dearest interests which it is defending in defending their constitutional currency—gold and silver.

The single gold standard has never been sanctioned or desired by the people of this country. Their will has been over and over again expressed to the contrary at every election and in every Congress for sixteen years past. Their determination that silver shall not be outlawed at the mints has been clearly and forcibly shown by overwhelming majorities in both branches of Congress. It never was stronger than it is to-day.

The clamor of the money-changers, the usurers, and the stock gamblers, inspired by the English influences that radiate from Lombard street, and which represent the organized rapacity of the world, has not shaken the faith of the American masses one iota in the honesty, the justice, the fairness, and, above all, the vital necessity of maintaining silver side by side with gold in their national money system.

There may have been a change in the relative measuring values of the two metals. That has often occurred in the course of history. But that change, whatever it may be, can be corrected by a change in the ratio of coinage from the present 16 to 1 to, say, 19 or even 20 to 1. It does not justify the total abolition of silver as a standard money metal. England is reported to be at this moment exchanging her gold for Indian silver on the basis of 22 to 1, showing that even the leading gold standard country recognizes that silver possesses an exchangeable value with gold at some ratio that can be fixed. And we may be sure that the Bank of England, in fixing it at 22 to 1, has been as unfair to silver and as partial to gold as it has dared to be.

The Recorder earnestly calls for a general expression of the popular will loud and clear and general enough to make the President and Congress understand that the people demand immediate relief from the stifling and stagnating currency conditions from which they are now suffering; and that, while they want the act of 1890 repealed, they also want the free coinage of silver restored at such new ratio as the wisdom of Congress may see fit to fix.

The money power has spoken for gold monometallism, and Mr. Cleveland seems to be its executive echo. Now let the people be heard and Mr. Cleveland be clearly informed that Congress, and not he, represents the national will on this matter of admitting silver as well as gold to the mints.

Gen. Grant once said, speaking from the same chair now filled by Mr. Clelelland: "I have no policy to enforce against the will of the people." The Recorder recommends Mr. Cleveland to adopt the same attitude on this money question, for it is the only one that is worthy of an American President. Congress is the repository of the people's lawmaking power, and it correctly represents them in resisting the single gold standard crusade, at whose head Mr. Cleveland has apparently placed himself. He can do the nation no better service at this grave crisis in its financial and business history than to yield gracefully and say with Grant: "I have no policy to enforce against the will of the people."

It is of the very first importance that the present state of affairs should not be long continued. Business is benumbed in every branch, currency and coin are alike in hiding, exchange is difficult to effect for want of money to do it with, perfectly sound banks are embarrassed themselves and can not give ordinary accommodations to their depositors, trade is clogged and hampered at every turn, mills and workshops are closing in large numbers, and even the most solvent and flourishing firms find it hard to draw on their deposited moneys in such forms as to meet their weekly pay-rolls in the usual way.

This is the situation, and it is not improving, but growing worse with every day's delay at Washington.

Bad as it is, it would become infinitely worse if Congress were to yield to the single gold standard movement and surrender the cause of silver. Such a surrender would mean disaster to all classes except the vultures that always flesh their beaks deepest and gorge themselves fullest on a field that is strewn with the victims of a vast commercial and industrial calamity. The merchant and the manufacturer, the big business man and the small tradesman, the great mass alike of employers and employed, the professional man, the brain-worker and the brawn-worker, and, more than all, the laborer and the wage-earner in every occupation, will all be drawn down together in the vortex of contraction if silver is outlawed.

To make gold the sole standard and the only currency is to diminish the volume of our money by one-half. That is contraction; and contraction means the complete paralysis of all enterprises, the utter collapse of credit, the complete prostration of trade from New York to California, and the consignment of myriads of working people in every city and State in the Union to idleness and starvation.

The Recorder pleads with all its power that this whirlpool of contraction may not be opened. President Cleveland and Congress must get together and prevent it. The people must raise their voices now and demand their own salvation. If silver be not restored quickly to free coinage, the most optimistic man can not look forward six months without fear. Millions of unemployed, wageless men, with their wives and children crying for bread that can not be earned for them, will be hard to reason with. But they will have to be reasoned with if silver is outlawed from the mints. And it will be idle to tell them that it was thought best to starve them in order to place the country on the same gold-standard footing as England.

Repeal the act of 1890, readmit silver to free coinage at a new and reasonable ratio, and do it quickly. That, and nothing less than that, will put the business of the country firmly on its feet again, give new heart to capital, new hope to labor, and restore good times throughout the land.

If this be not done and the antisilver madness prevail, the prosperity of the country can not be recalled, and its peace will soon be in serious peril.

Think of it! A few years ago there was a sort of nondescript known as a protection Democrat. Do you remember him? Where is he now? At home or on the other side of this chamber.

And I will tell you, in the name of the agricultural classes and in the name of the yeomanry of America, who do not live in cities of a hundred thousand population and over, that four years from now they are not going to step out and beat the old Democratic party because a minority here join hands with an almost solid Republican party and defeat the will of the people, but they are going to capture and hold the machinery of the Democracy; and the "monometallic Democrat" will be where the protection Democrat is to-day. [Applause.]

Now what strange posture are we in, gentlemen, politically speaking? A majority of the Democrats in the Senate, nearly a two-thirds majority, and a majority of the Democrats in this House stand here in favor of carrying out that plank of the platform at Chicago which said:

We hold—

Mark the language—

to the use—

Not the certification—

of both gold and silver—

As what? not subsidiary coin—

as the standard money of the country, and we believe in the coinage of both metals without discrimination or charge of mintage.

I was surprised to hear my learned friend from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON] the other day liken his position here as a representative of the people to that of a lawyer who had misadvised his client. We occupy no such attitude. I know not what he may have said to his people upon the stump. I know not what you may have said to yours. Your contract is there. I have no criticism to make of it so far as that is concerned; but a man does not occupy toward his constituent the attitude of an advising counsel. He is a public servant, sent here to obey their mandate, a servant in the truest sense, where it is an honor to serve, but still a servant, and he stands in the attitude of one of two contracting parties who have entered into a covenant.

I am in favor of the free coinage of silver from honest convictions, and so told my people; but if I had changed my mind now I would not change my vote. As a gentleman, I would not until I had first resigned and gone home to my people and given them the pitiful opportunity to answer the question, "Have you changed yours?" [Applause.] It is a covenant, a bargain, a contract, and an honorable man keeps it. I understand in the particular case of the gentleman from Tennessee that he told his people upon the stump that he did not know whether he was in favor of free coinage or not, and they sent him here anyhow. I want everybody to understand——

Mr. TRACEY. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman yield to the gentleman from New York?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Yes, I will yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TRACEY. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?—and as he is the last speaker he will have the time—when the gentleman from Mississippi refers to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON] is he not aware that the gentleman from Tennessee in the last Congress did vote against the free coinage of silver.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Just a moment ago I stated that I understood that on the stump the gentleman from Tennessee told his people that he was not in favor of the free coinage of silver.

Mr. TRACEY. He voted in this body against the free coinage of silver before he appeared on the stump before his people.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. I do not care for that. I was simply stating that what I had said would apply to the attitude which I would occupy if I changed position, and that the gentleman from Tennessee I understood did not occupy the same attitude, because he told his people before he came here that he was not in favor of the free coinage of silver.

Mr. TRACEY. Now, you do not care whether he told the House or not?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman yield to the gentleman from New York?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. You know I have only thirty minutes.

Mr. TRACEY. You are the last speaker and have plenty time.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Very well, then.

Mr. TRACEY. I wished, in the absence of the gentleman from Tennessee, to call the attention of the gentleman from Mississippi to the fact that in the last Congress the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. PATTERSON) voted against the free coinage of silver, on the floor here, and then went before his people and was sustained.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from New York evidently has not understood me. I have just undertaken to explain that, although that what I have outlined would be the attitude which I would occupy were I to vote against the free coinage of silver, I understand that was not the attitude occupied by the gentleman from Tennessee, because he did tell his people, as I understand, upon the stump, that he was not in favor of the free coinage of silver, and, if so, that is his covenant and contract, with which I have nothing in the world to do. I threw it out generally for fear it might be thought I was impugning the motives of an old and valued friend.

Mr. TRACEY. Well, now, Mr. Speaker——

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. He might be, furthermore, justified by his people, and I will admit that as a fact.

Mr. TRACEY. Now, the gentleman from Mississippi has spoken about the minority of the Democratic party being in accord with the Republican party on this question, I would like to ask the gentleman from Mississippi whether, in the event of the majority of the Democratic party voting for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman act, that will satisfy him, and if the members of the party on this floor will then be justified in having favored the unconditional repeal, and whether they would be justified before the people for so voting in case, on Monday next, the majority of the Democratic party vote in favor of unconditional repeal?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. I will answer that question by saying that if a man said to me, "Suppose the moon was made out of green cheese?" I would answer by saying, "But it is not made out of green cheese, and never will be." [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. TRACEY. I will predict that on next Monday the majority of the Democrats in this House will vote for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. [Applause.]

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Never, sir, while the world holds.

Mr. TRACEY. You will see.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Now, Mr. Speaker, what else do we see when we take notice of the peculiar posture of things. That nearly 100 votes will be found on the other—the Republican—side, which are looked to by the gentleman from New York and by the President, as necessary to carry this legislation through. But, I find another thing. I find, Mr. Speaker, that the entire Southern and Western delegation here, except a few gentlemen who are the representatives of large metropoles in which strong banking and creditor interests control, are on one side, and I find upon the other side the representatives of the money-lending and creditor interests of the Northeast.

The exceptions on our side are gentlemen who represent Memphis, Tenn., New Orleans, La., Vicksburg, Miss., Jacksonville, Fla., etc.

Mr. Speaker, I think that things have come to such a point that it is not unparliamentary for me to give a definition of Congress. Congress, in the new dictionary which I propose to write, shall be defined thus: "A court of appeal from the decision of the common people, the appeal being always preceded by a motion for a new trial upon the alleged cause of newly discovered evidence." [Laughter and applause.]

Now, I will go further in answering the gentleman's question and say, that even if it were possible that a majority of the Democrats on this floor can be cajoled or coerced into voting as he predicts, if the alleged representatives of the great Democratic party of this country should so vote, they would not reflect the will and wishes of a majority of the Democracy, and I propose to stand by the majority of the Democracy. [Loud applause.]

Why, gentlemen, why was it that the pressure came to call this House together a month earlier than originally contemplated, do you suppose? Why do you suppose they got up this great pressure all at once? It was for fear the panic would cease of itself before they could get their work in. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. BRYAN. So stated by a New York banker.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. It was stated by Mr. Clews, the great banker; and Mr. Yacob Strauss or Isadore Strauss came right along down to see the Chief Executive; and although representatives of the people had been writing time in and time out from April last, trying to get an extra session of Congress in order to stop the infernal robbery of the McKinley tariff bill, and could never get even so much as the courtesy of a reply to their letters, yet when Yacob Strauss came in the game was up and the thing was settled. [Laughter and applause.] In other words, gentlemen, you have reached the point where you have got the debtor and the farming classes on the one side and the banking and creditor classes on the other. We can carry the war into Africa but you can not. [Laughter.] You can not come down into Mississippi and get any converts who are interested as you are, because, thank God, I live in a State where there is not a millionaire nor a pauper. [Applause.] We have neither the one nor the other, and you can not convert any of your class down there because they do not exist there. But, gentlemen, I do not thank God for the opposite state of affairs which exists where you and your brother banker, the gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX] who first addressed us, lives. By the way, on looking into the Congressional Directory I find that he is not a banker, he is the president of a Trust Company, the very kind of thing that the Democratic party says it wants to put down. [Laughter.] I repeat, you can not make any converts in our part of the country; but when we get up just within the shadow of your palaces in New York we can, with perfect ease, find the men whose interests lie on our side of this question. [Laughter.]

Now, my friends, there are two classes of people who have been discussing this issue. I admire the courage and consistency of the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. SPERRY] who spoke to us the other day, and who said: "I want for my people the best money, the most valuable money." That means, if it means anything at all, the money which will purchase the most of service or of commodity; and very relevant indeed was the interruption of the gentleman from Louisiana, [Mr. BOATNER] when he asked him:

But, sir, you do not desire that your people shall be paid back in better money than they lent, do you?

And, Mr. Speaker, that question was not answered, and it never will be answered satisfactorily to the people, nor at all until the crack of doom, unless gentlemen on the other side should be brave and bold enough to come out like that grand old man in England, Mr. Gladstone, who stated the other day that he represented a creditor nation. That is where you really stand and you had better come out and take your position like men. Do not pray "Good Lord; good devil." [Laughter.] Do not say "Good President," and in the same speech "Good people;" but come right out and tell what the interests of the people on your side are. [Laughter.] And, gentlemen, if your constituents have that interest, I do not blame you a particle for representing their interest. Not at all. On the contrary, I admire Mr. Gladstone, who, when he was interrogated on the floor of the House of Commons the other day as to whether he was going to send the delegates back to the monetary conference, replied:

What is the use? What do we want with a bimetallic convention? I am afraid—

Said he,

to undertake to state what the amount is, but a very large amount of money is due to people who live within the United Kingdom from people who live without the United Kingdom. I should estimate it at not less than two billions of sterling—ten millions of American dollars. I admire the philanthropy of gentlemen who would make a gift to our debtors of that amount, but I do not see what cause we would have to congratulate ourselves, though I may perhaps see some reason why the rest of the world should congratulate itself.

Now, my friends, I have referred to this incidentally, but understand me, I take no part in these flings at the mother country. Grand old mother country, who sits there in her islands and rules the world, as she is ruling it to-day financially, and ruling you New York people amongst a good deal of the rest of the world. Had I stood in Mr. Gladstone's place I would have taken the position that he took, because it was for the interest of his people. It is no reason why we should do a thing because England desires us to do it. Neither is it any reason why we should not do it because she desires us to do it. Her interest may be ours in any given matter, or it may not. To say that England wants a thing is no argument for it or against it; and I believe in my heart than anglophobia is just as stupid as anglomania. I want gentlemen to understand, therefore, that I am taking no stock in any arguments of that sort. Nor am I taking any stock in another argument that has been used here, the theory that there has been a conspiracy; because I believe that there are a large number of people who are as honest as I am and far more intelligent than I am, who sincerely believe with all their souls that if this country adopts the free coinage of silver it will sink to a monometallic silver basis—people, I say, who are just as honest as I am, and among them chief stands Grover Cleveland. I do, however, believe there has been a combination, not a conspiracy, but a combination, and that combination has been formed by those people in their own interests. Nor do I blame them, the world being so full of selfishness, for combining in their own interest. The natural trend of the banking business is in the direction of dearer, or as they call it, "better" money—a money which will buy more when they get it back than it would have bought when they lent it out.

From a purely selfish "business" standpoint, and they do not pretend to be ruled by other than business motives—they do not assume to be philanthropists—they would be stupid not to operate to the best of their ability with that end in view. Why should they not want the principal to grow as well as the interest? Why should not their great and intelligent chieftains in England, Germany, France, and America coöperate to that end? They would do it unconsciously. And thus there came about "combination" everywhere without "conspiracy" anywhere—without need for "conspiracy."

Mr. Speaker, gentlemen speak of silver having been demonetized because of its overproduction; yet until the year 1881 there never had been a single year since the American and Australian discoveries of gold in which the production of silver measured by weight was sixteen times the production of gold measured by weight; in other words, there never had been a year up to 1881 when the basis

of the real comparative value of the two metals, which is their comparative rarity, equaled the American ratio of 16 to 1. So that, when gentlemen say that silver has been demonetized by the civilized countries because it was getting too cheap and too abundant they either show great ignorance indeed or they assume great ignorance on the part of their auditors.

I am not going back to England's initiative in 1816, because England at that time adopted a gold standard for the avowed reason that gold was the cheaper of the two metals, not because it was the dearer. England had come out of a great war with a great amount of debt upon her shoulders; she was not then the great creditor nation of the world that she is to-day; and when after coming out of that war she consummated the resumption of specie payments she did it in gold, because gold was then the cheaper of the two metals at a ratio of 15½ to 1, which was the ratio in England.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. TRACEY. As I interrupted the gentleman, and as he is the last speaker this evening, I ask unanimous consent that his time be extended so long as may be necessary to enable him to finish his remarks.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from New York [Mr. TRACEY] asks unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Mississippi be extended indefinitely. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Now, Mr. Speaker, what I intended to say was this, that the facts in regard to demonetization disprove the theory that the cause was the overproduction of silver. Watch the dates while I run over them quickly. Germany took the initiative in 1871; Scandinavia followed in 1872; the United States came along in 1873; then there came limited coinage in France and the Latin Union in 1874; then there came an entire cessation of coinage in France in 1876 or 1878. Now, Mr. Speaker, at the time the United States demonetized silver it was worth four mills more than gold in the dollar at our ratio. Germany consummated the demonetization in 1873 by putting her silver coins upon the market (I am not mistaken about the date), but she took the initiative legislation in 1871. At that time the amount of silver in a silver dollar was worth 3 cents more than the amount of gold in a gold dollar. Silver was not demonetized because there was overproduction. In those countries where demonetization took place there were two motives leading to it, one peculiar to Germany, the other common as to Germany and all the other countries. The motive peculiar to Germany was that it was thought demonetization would cripple her old enemy, France. It was a military measure for Germany to go to a gold basis and dump her silver into France. It turned out to be foolish, because France upon her bimetallic basis stood there solid and paid out one billion of gold dollars—five milliards of gold francs—and when she got through with this payment she was in a more prosperous condition than her neighbor who had received the money.

Mr. TRACEY. Will the gentleman permit me——

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Certainly.

Mr. TRACEY. The gentleman will allow me to suggest that he is inaccurate in the statement he has just made as to the quantity of gold paid by France to Germany. The indemnity paid by France to Germany after the Franco-German war did not include the quantity of gold which the gentleman has stated. A great portion of the payment was made in silver——

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. That is not my recollection.

Mr. TRACEY. Only a small percentage of the payment was made in gold. A very large percentage was paid in silver and paper.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. My recollection, Mr. Speaker, is that the payment was made entirely in gold and in paper, and that paper was paper for which gold was afterward given; so that, in fact, the entire payment was made in gold.

Mr. TRACEY. I will ask the gentlemen to refer in his published speech to the data in support of his assertion.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. I understand that the gentleman's recollection of the matter does not accord with mine. I am frank to say that very possibly he may be right and that some of this amount was paid in silver; but that is not my recollection. I was in Europe about that time and I heard it constantly said in Germany where I was a student that there was five milliards of gold francs to be paid by France. I do not get my view from any historical account, but from my recollection of then current events. The other reasons common to all governments were that such a course was to the interest of the ruling or so-called better classes, and that the people had really nowhere a voice in it.

Now, Mr. Speaker, another thing that strikes me as peculiar about this situation (if you will excuse me a moment) is the air and bearing of my friends who take the position that the only sensible thing is a gold monometallic currency. You all heard the first gentleman who spoke from New York [Mr. HENDRIX]; you marked his manner; his eyes "in a fine frenzy rolling" from gallery god to gallery goddess; his brow arched over his eye; his chest thrown out; his head thrown back, overlooking this House as a set of comtemptible pigmies, whose opinions were not worth consulting. [Laughter and applause.] His *ipse dixit* comes like a Papal bull—*ex cathedra*.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I submit that nobody in the world, except an assistant Secretary of State, the negro that stands guard at the Postmaster-General's anteroom, or a sleeping-car porter, have a right to that sort of bearing. [Laughter.] The first two have it by the customs of the city of Washington and the last has it by the common law of America. [Laughter.]

But it struck me, gentlemen, that perhaps this gentleman, coming from the same State, thought he had fallen heir to the manner and bearing of the late distinguished Roscoe Conkling. If so, I could tell him two things in that connection; first, that the manner was not that of Mr. Conkling, for although Mr. Conkling was a man who spoke his mind, he at all times treated his opponents, both in word and deed, with the utmost courtesy. He never called his enemies or his opponents in debate "jibbering idiots." He never put them in lunatic asylums. [Laughter.] He never told them that they were afflicted by "midsummer madness" and all that sort of thing. Although he might have thought that all the rest of the world (in his own mind) were fools, he never allowed them to see that that was his opinion. Another thing: even if it were the manner and bearing of Mr. Conkling, which the gentleman from New York assumes, I can tell him that it would require the superb eloquence and the magnificent intellectuality, the keen, cutting sarcasm, the wit and the incisive logic of Mr. Conkling to carry it off, here or elsewhere, outside of a counting house. [Applause.]

But, Mr. Speaker, if you will excuse me for a few moments longer, the gentleman from New York made some allusion to the evolution business before he got through with his remarks, and I want to tell you a little about that matter. He said this was a process of evolution, and that we might as well bare our breasts to the avalanche, I believe it was, and try to hold it back as to stand athwart the path of the world's evolution. Now, I take it from what I see of the gentlemen—I find that he was a newspaper editor first and later on the president of a trust company—I take it that it never fell in his way particularly to study the scientific theory of evolution, and that he needs information as to what it really is. I will take the liberty of informing him. Evolution, as I understand it, is the gradual consummation of a natural end by or through a process of the survival of the fittest and the extinction of the unfit. To illustrate: An acorn drops from an oak tree and a magnificent oak under peculiarly favorable circumstances is grown. It spreads its boughs and its shade in every direction over the adjacent country. Owing to its favorable environment it grows up a better oak than that from which the acorn originally fell. Acorns drop from this second oak and these are better than the acorns from the parent tree, and oaks continue to grow under the new and more favorable environments, and these also continue to improve until we have at the end of a period an improved oak, not much like the parent tree from which the acorn originally fell, and the acorn from that oak is different from the acorn of the parent oak, just as the Irish potato is now superior to and different from the original plant discovered in Peru.

But another illustration, Mr. Speaker. It is said that the monkey was the father of the man, and that he lost his appendage because it ceased to be useful. Not being needed it was not used, and therefore an extinction of the unfit followed. You know it takes use to develop the muscles of the arms and the legs, and so, too, a prehensile appendage or attachment of that sort requires use to develop its growth. [Laughter.] But there being no use for it, the monkey under new environments, not having to use this part of his anatomy, it became weaker and weaker and less and less in size and usefulness as a tail, until finally it dropped off and left nothing but a rudimentary appendage. [Laughter.] That is evolution. But if a man had gone and got a monkey out of a menagerie and taken a broadax and cut his tail off little by little, that would not have been evolution. That is just what has been done with silver. There has been a creditor broadax at work, first in Germany, then Scandinavia, then France, and then the United States, and then the miserable wielder of the instrument declares that he believes that this broadax is God's principle of evolution. [Laughter and applause.] As the gentleman has evidently never had evolution explained to him I thought it best to give this information.

Now, gentlemen, there is one argument that has been made in this Congress in the trial of this great cause before the people which I want to notice. Gentlemen say, O, well! Repeal the Sherman act now—repeal it now and trust to the common sense of Congress for a future remedy. I am with you. I am a bimetallist. I will vote for a free-coinage bill later, but not as a condition to repeal the Sherman act. My reply is this: If that magnificent, sturdy, and very honest gentleman who is Chief Executive of this nation will trust the common sense of Congress we will trust it, and you can repeal the Sherman act, gentlemen on the other side, in an hour, by the watch, whenever you are ready to give us assurance of his willingness to trust us and approve our future action.

If there is any sincerity in that argument, bring us here a pledge from the Executive that he will not veto a free-coinage bill later on, and then I will be with you. But you are not going to get the pledge. Why? Because the President is too honest a man to pledge himself to do a thing which he is not going to do. And, to be perfectly plain—I do not understand parliamentary usages, but I hope I am not unparliamentary—to be perfectly plain, you will never get from him the approval of a free-coinage bill unless it goes as an adjunct to the repeal of the Sherman law. You may not get it in that way, but you certainly will not get it in any other.

And I find it hard to believe in the sincerity of gentlemen who appeal to me to throw aside the only vantage ground we have. Why, Mr. Speaker, when I was a boy, if I undertook to run and catch-as-catch-may with another boy, and wrestle it out, if I got the underhold I thought it was ridiculous for him to turn and say: "Well, here, let us quit and give me the underhold and then call it a fair wrestle!" [Laughter.]

Now, gentlemen, I come to the discussion of this question first by stating what I favor. I favor the repeal of the Sherman law, the purchasing clause of it or all of it—I do not care which. I favor that, because that bill was never anything and is not now anything except a miserable silver bullion subtreasury scheme, and no more respectable from the standpoint of sound governmental practice than the subtreasury scheme which was advocated by our friend from Kansas here, which was to issue certificates of the Government to pass as money, upon the deposit of cotton, corn, and tobacco. I favor the repeal of the Sherman bill because it was a Trojan horse cunningly intruded into our fair city of Bimetallism, from which the enemies were to come, as I thought then and as the event has since shown, to try to overcome the city.

I favor the repeal of the Sherman law because I have had love for its enemies and hatred for its friends; but I favor the free coinage of silver because I think we have come now to a plain issue, and that there is no use trying to dodge it; that for this House of Representatives the issue is, Shall we have gold monometallism or shall we have bimetallism? And the thing to be argued is, "Is bimetallism practicable or possible?"

Now, Mr. Speaker, in that connection, let me say this: Gentlemen say bimetallism will necessarily bring us to silver monometallism. I do not really believe it, but if I did believe it, and if I were put to the choice and had no other choice, if the sole alternative which faced me was to accept either gold monometallism, a dishonest gold dollar, or silver monometallism, a dishonest silver dollar, the former dishonest to the debtor of the country and the latter dishonest to the creditor of the country, if I could conceive of being placed in the attitude where I had no other possible alternative but to put my hands into the pocket of one or the other and rob him, I would ask heaven's forgiveness for the deed, but I would rob the richer, so help me God. [Applause.]

But I do not take it there is any such issue as that. I take it that we have got to come down and get a right money. Now, gentlemen, starting off at that basis, I want to give a definition of money. It is not my definition, or it would not be worth a copper cent. There is nothing new in finance. When you have found anything new it is not worth talking about. It is like religion in that respect. Mr. Edward O. Leech, the last director of the mint, in an article in the North American Review in April, 1891, I believe, gives a definition of money which he has boiled down from the best authorities, and it is this:

> Money is an instrument used in the exchange of services or commodities, which is at one and the same time a measure of values and an equivalent of values.

It must be both; and all the money fallacies, the two extreme fallacies which have grown up in this country, have come about by the disregard of one or the other necessary attribute of money. The fiat money man totally disregards the equivalency attribute of money, totally disregards the fact that money in order to be right money must be something beyond human control, beyond the control of politicians to increase or decrease at their sweet will, because, gentlemen, after all, government is a government of politicians. There are three hundred and fifty odd in this House and eighty odd I believe in the other, but it is a government of politicians. The fiat money man loses sight of the fact that money must be made out of something which can not be controlled, infinitely increased, or largely decreased at mere human will; that it must be a something which God has *naturally fitted* to act as money, just as God has fitted wheat to be turned into bread, or cotton to be turned into cheap clothing; that in order to possess the attributes which are necessary, it must be a something found within the storehouse of nature, which even human industry and human invention can not produce at will by increased human exertion, a something which must be *found* and in limited amount and with tolerable constancy. It must be something which will grow in production *pari passu* with the growth of population and wealth and transportation, and all the other instrumentalities of civilization.

On the opposite extreme is the gold monometallist. He loses sight entirely of the measure of value feature in his sole contemplation of the equivalency feature. He forgets that it must be sufficient in volume to answer the purpose of a measure; that it must be sufficient to measure things with the assistance of other things redeemable in it, and not too much of the other things to be currently redeemed in it. He loses sight of the fact that it must be something not too precious, but which can be divided and brought down, so that it will measure the smallest commodity. Both lose sight of the fact that gold and silver were money many years, not by law, but before there ever was a law, and that they were money because they were precious metals, and became more precious metals because they were money.

The question has been frequently asked, "Are gold and silver precious metals because they are money, or are they money because they are precious metals?" The question is a stupid one. They became money because they were rare and precious, and they became still more precious because of the increased demand for them in use as money. They were money, as I said, before ever law or statute book made them such, before a mint or coinage existed, and if you were to-day, all over the world to rescind every coinage law upon every statute book in the world they would both remain money. The only difference would be that they would pass by weight and assay instead of by tale. Why? Because God made them—not legislation, not government, not man's ingenuity fitted them for it. And how did He do it? He gave them the attribute of rarity and preciousness; the attribute of infinite divisibility, and the attribute of comparative indestructibility and that of malleability; the quality of easily taking and permanently retaining stampage; so that men came to use them just as they came to use oats to feed horses with, and wheat to grind for bread, because they were naturally adapted to that purpose. It was a natural use. There is evolution; not the broadax sort of evolution, but the right sort of evolution—nature's Entwickelung.

Now, all that the silver men ask you in the world is, to "take the law off of silver;" treat the two natural money metals alike; that is all. They ask me, "But can the United States cure an evil which has been existing, if by demonetization at all, then by the demonetization of other nations besides our own?" I answer them entirely and completely, "No." But we can undo our part of the wrong and set the example for other people to undo their part. In proportion as the wrong is undone, the divergence now existing between the two metals, instead of widening, will close up to some extent, but to what extent we can not say.

But gentlemen say there is a large intrinsic-value difference. My reply is, you do not know what intrinsic-value difference there is; and when you use the expression in connection with gold and silver you use a double middle. When you speak of the intrinsic value of gold metal, you mean the intrinsic value and bullion worth, its use as money considered and accounted for; and when you speak of the intrinsic value of silver you mean its value as bullion, independent of its use and any prospective demand for it for that purpose. Intrinsic value, gentlemen, is value in use. You can not, as the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] said, fix the price of things by legislation. You can not pass a law saying that wheat shall be worth 50 cents, or a piece of paper shall be worth a dollar, and then make it so; but you can fix the value of things by any law which increases or decreases either demand or supply.

If I believed, as some gentlemen do here, that if there is to be bimetallism it must be had by international agreement and that this is attainable only by our joining western Europe in further demonetization, and thus convincing ourselves and them by a great "object lesson," I still would not be in favor of doing what they wish as the first step. They say that you must convince the world that gold is not to be had in sufficient quantity to carry on the business of the world. That was the argument of the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER]. How will you convince the world? How will the world receive the demonstration in this way or any object lesson be sufficient to convince the world? What would bring about this demonstration? It would be a knock-down argument indeed! An "object lesson" of universal bankruptcy, suffering, misery, accompanying tumult and riot. As much as I love bimetallism, I do not want to reach it that way. But I furthermore hold that that is not the best way to reach it. I say there exists not upon the face of the globe to-day one single institution or law which came about as the result of international convention unless some great and strong nation first set the example or unless the "convention" came about as the result of war. Gentlemen on the other side may delve in all the history books and find not one instance.

Now, think a moment. Away back yonder, over one hundred years ago, people thought it would be useful to try to get a given point of longitude for universal use. Nobody was concerned in the matter; no vested interests were at stake. You could take the very point on which I stand now as your starting point, and it would do just as well as Washington or Paris or London, and it is a great convenience to science and to mankind that there should be a single point of world-wide acceptance. But mere national jealousies and inertia have prevented it, and to-day England starts her longitude from Greenwich, America from Washington, Russia from St. Petersburg, France from Paris, and Germany from Berlin, and the State of Massachusetts would start it from Boston if it was not too small a part of the Union. [Laughter and applause.]

Take another matter. There is no man of common sense in this wide world but agrees that a metric system is the best for weights and measures, and ever since Thomas Jefferson undertook to bring it about, and had some influence upon the statesmen of the French Republic in bringing it about there—I do not know how much—scientific congress after scientific congress have sent out their pronunciamentoes urging it; yet the two most intelligent peoples of the world, the head and front of civilization, the one civilizing the islands of seas and the other civilizing the continents, England and the United States of America, still measure molasses by the gallon and wheat by the bushel, and subdivide them not into tenths and hundredths, but into quarters and eighths and thirty-seconds, to the confusion of youth and old age. [Laughter.]

Now, my friends, I learned when I was a boy that it has been a

truth ever since the day when the woodman dropped his axe into the stream and prayed to Hercules to recover it, ever since the day when, as we are told in another fable, he prayed to Hercules to lift his wagon out of the rut, and Hercules told him to first put his own shoulder to it, ever since that day it has been true that in national as well as individual undertakings you can never accomplish anything until somebody makes the start. [Applause.]

There is no consummation without an initiation. All are not going to complete what each in turn is afraid to begin. You can't inaugurate a great industrial enterprise on the credit of a wish to see it succeed. You must "show your faith by your works," and first take stock yourself.

And who is better fitted to take the start than we? All the nations now see the bad effects, but each one is standing waiting for the others, as we are. Each one says: "If I throw myself into the breach I must take the risk of not being followed and the responsibility on behalf of the nations of the world must rest on me."

Now, Mr. Speaker, I began by saying that I felt the ridiculousness of speaking at all under the circumstances, and I find, to my astonishment, that I have made it still more ridiculous by making a serious speech to a row of still half empty benches. [Cries of "Go on!"] No; I shall stop now, with that degree of forbearance and politeness that has always characterized me. [Laughter.] If there is anything in the world that I am, it is a sympathizer with the sufferings of mankind [laughter], and, in deference to that feeling, I shall stop now and load the people of my district with the remainder of this speech through the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. [Laughter and prolonged applause.]

I had just said that we must take the initiative. Are we in a condition to do so? Can we afford to coin more silver? If so, at what rate and for how long a time can we persist in it? The best argument is always an inductive one—one drawn from our own experience or from the experience of others.

Our own situation first, then.

It is not true that "we have too much silver," nor that "the people do not want silver," nor that "silver is driving out gold," nor that the certificates under the Sherman bill are driving out gold, nor, in fact, that gold is being driven out at all now. These statements made, or assumed, as the base of arguments are simply false in fact, and that is the long and short of it. A premium is being paid to-day at New York for the despised silver dollar, and gold is pouring by the millions daily into this country, there having been forty millions to come within twenty days.

Listen to the following statement of Watson & Gibson, brokers, of the condition of things in Wall street. It is not the utterance of politicians, but of business men for the guidance of their clients:

The Clerk read as follows from the St. Louis Republic:

[Special to The Republic.]

NEW YORK, *August* 13.

The following is a carefully prepared statement of the situation in Wall street by Messrs. Watson & Gibson, brokers, 55 Broadway, New York:

"Where is all that fear of our 65-cent silver dollar? We were told only a few months ago, by the urgent advocates of the abandonment of silver by this country, that the preference for gold would lead to its hoarding and withdrawal from circulation, and that everybody would want to pass his silver dollars on quickly to his next neighbor, as they used to pass 'wild-cat' currency from hand to hand lest it depreciate in the keeping. There is a hoarding of gold, but only by those who can not get the more convenient form of legal-tender paper money.

"Further than this, more gold is now paid into the custom-house and more paid out by the Treasury and the banks than in years. Instead of leaving our shores, gold is coming this way by every steamer; and, since its loss by export last spring so greatly disturbed the public peace of mind, conversely the return of this gold ought to, and indeed does, encourage the financial community. But why not go further and say that, if the gold critics were right last spring in attributing the outward movement of gold to the silver law, they should now ascribe the return flow to the same measure? The silver bill is a nondescript, but it is the neutral ground between free coinage and the introduction into this country of the sole gold standard, which would have a cramping and contracting influence, and, therefore, it is a sort of ark of the covenant.

* * * * * * * *

"No man can gauge the probable measure of legislation on silver. Congress was called together to rule silver out by what President Cleveland and the ultra-gold men would do—namely, to unconditionally repeal the silver bill. One man's guess may be as good as another's, but that is no reason why we should be so modest as not to guess at all. Our guess is a long struggle, a great many speeches, parliamentary moves and rumors, with the final result of a free-coinage bill on a changed ratio, say 20 or 24 to 1, possibly with a provision for a gradually descending ratio, if the open market price of bullion shall rise.

"The presentation of such a bill to Mr. Cleveland would be a curious picture of the whirling of sentiment and events. Things do not often come out as they are planned, they "gang aft agley," and those who are so sure of a repeal of the silver bill without substitute may come to realize this very effectually.

"On Tuesday everything went down after the President's message appeared, except silver, which was 74½ bid, but not offered below 75½, as against 73 bid Monday. On June 30, the day Mr. Cleveland issued his call for a special session of Congress, silver sold as low as 67 and as high as 69, and on Thursday it sold at 78½, or 11½ cents per ounce higher. This shows the inherently strong position of silver in the market."

These gold shipments are continuing. I will read these extracts from the commercial reports of 17th and 18th from great metropolitan journals:

[Washington Post.]

MORE GOLD FROM EUROPE—LARGE CONSIGNMENTS OF THE YELLOW METAL COMING TO THIS COUNTRY.

LONDON, *August 17.*

Gold to the amount of £314,000 was withdrawn from the Bank of England to-day for shipment to the United States.

The Hamburg-American line steamer Columbia, which sails to-morrow from Southampton for New York, will take consignments of gold valued at $1,440,000.

SOUTHAMPTON, *August 17.*

The Trave, from Bremen, sailed hence for New York at 4 p. m. to-day. She carries $910,000 in gold for American houses.

NEW YORK, *August 17.*

The steamer Lahn, which arrived last night, brought $672,055 gold from Southampton and 1,047,500 francs from Paris. There is £37,370 consigned to the Canadian Bank of Commerce in transit to the Bank of Nova Scotia of Chicago.

[New York Press, August 19.]

The gold stream does not seem to be interrupted in the least. The Spree made the record for a merchant steamship carrying gold with its cargo of £805,000, which arrived last week. Now the Fuerst Bismarck comes in with $4,200,000 to fourteen different consignees, and it is evident that some of it will go to Chicago.

As there is no attempt to report with accuracy the shipments from the other side, it will be noticed that every steamship brings more than is reported. The Etruria, which is due to-day, has, it is reported, $1,850,000, which will bring the total for the week perhaps up to $10,000,000. La Touraine also has a considerable amount. The Trave, from Southampton, on Thursday had $910,000; the Columbia, from Southampton, yesterday, $1,440,000; the Campania, from Liverpool, to-day, $800,000 that is known of, and the Elbe, from Bremen, to-day, $300,000. In addition to all this, Chicago engaged yesterday $950,000, and Kidder, Peabody & Co., $50,000. Then the Bank of England yesterday paid out 302,000 sovereigns for shipment to this country, and 60,000 more for Toronto, whence they will quickly find their way to Chicago. There is little wonder that this makes the stock market flat abroad.

And notwithstanding all this, people have been wanting silver and needing it so much more than gold that they have been demanding silver in preference to gold at United States subtreasuries in exchange for the Treasury notes issued under the Sherman bill. In proof whereof listen to this statement of Secretary Carlisle, made officially in response to inquiries of the Senate:

[August 18.]

Secretary Carlisle sent to the Senate yesterday the following communication in reply to a resolution passed by the Senate on Wednesday requesting certain information as to the redemption of Treasury notes issued under the Sherman act:

In response thereto, I have the honor to say that during the present month Treasury notes issued under the act of July 14, 1890, amounting to $714,636, have been redeemed by the Government in silver dollars. While I do not pretend to have knowledge of the degree of information possessed by the holders of the notes so redeemed, I am of the opinion that they were fully advised at the time of such redemption that they could have gold instead of silver if they so desired. I base this opinion upon the general publicity which has been given to the terms of the act, no less than upon the instructions of this Department to the Treasurer and assistant treasurers of the United States. I am also supported in my belief by the fact that in the circular of this Department issued to the public for their guidance in their dealings with the Treasury, and containing the regulations which govern the issue, redemption, and exchange of the paper currency and the gold, silver, and minor coins of the United States, there is a paragraph which reads as follows:

Gold coin is issued in redemption of United States notes in sums less than $50, by the assistant treasurers in New York and San Francisco, and in redemption of Treasury notes of 1890 in like sums by the Treasurer and all assistant treasurers.

In further response to the resolution, I have to say that recently gold coin has been presented at an office of this Department and silver dollars asked in exchange therefor, and that the exchange was not made for the reason that all the silver dollars in the Treasury at the time were required under the provisions of the laws relating to the currency to be held in the Treasury to cover outstanding silver certificates and Treasury notes issued under the act of July 14, 1890. At present the Department would not and could not exchange silver dollars for gold coin if requested to do so by holders of gold for the same reason; but if the conditions of the Treasury were such as to afford a margin of silver dollars in excess of silver certificates and Treasury notes outstanding, such exchange would be made.

So much for the actual condition; that we need more silver, or else something equally good in its stead.

Now how much more can we usefully absorb, even granting for the sake of argument that the contention of our opponents is correct in this that free coinage at any given ratio would neither close up nor materially diminish the existing difference between the bullion value of the two metals? How much silver can we support even as token money—discredited and virtually redeemable in gold? The answer to these questions must be drawn from the experience of other nations.

Let us see how far we can go, even treating silver thus unfairly, and presuming beforehand for the sake of argument, that not a nation on the globe will join us in the step we take—how far before our silver could or would drive out gold? It will be admitted that no country is on a sounder monetary basis than France. With its constant political upheavals—its Wilson and Panama scandals, everything to betoken uncertainty, it seems impervious to panic or monetary disturbance.

It has not been long since France saved England from crash, and that Gibraltar of financial institutions—the Bank of England—from suspension. The figures which I shall use, as a basis of computation, are taken from an article written by Edward O. Leech, late director of the mint, and published in the April number of the North America Review for 1891.

They would be, of course, slightly different to-day, but not enough so to affect conclusions.

France had $700,000,000 of silver with a population of 38,000,000, or a per capita allotment of $18.42. It is true, that France is now coining no silver. But she did not stop coining until she reached the above figures, and has never had the slightest trouble or question even about maintaining parity between her gold and her silver. The United States had, at the date of Mr. Leech's article, $469,262,000 of silver and 64,000,000 of population, making a per capita allotment of $7.33. Population and coinage have both increased since and about equally. The difference is $11.09 per capita. We must still issue, say, $11 for each man, woman and child in the United

States to be on an equal footing with France, as to silver currency, or a gross additional sum of $704,000,000 silver.

But has not all this silver driven gold out of France? Not a whit, for France has, in round numbers, $200,000,000 more of gold than we, and it is increasing, having $900,000,000 as against our $700,000,000, in round numbers.

But you say "can we be expected to stand as much silver circulation as France can and does?" Answer me frankly, why not? There are, indeed, two reasons why the "danger line" for us would be farther to seek than for her, first our coinage ratio is 16 to 1, and hers only 15½ to 1, and, second, France must make her calculations for virtually stationary figures, she is at a standstill as regards population, and her growth in commerce—in money needs—from decade to decade is very slight. We grow in population about 25 per cent (or one-fourth) each decade, and industrially, and in opportunities for the use of money, very much more. If we should happen for awhile to overshoot the danger line, which may be somewhere beyond where France stands, we would soon, like Topsey, "grow up to it." A coinage of $288,000,000 the decade, or $28,800,000 each year, or $2,400,000 each month, would barely keep pace with the increase of population at the rate of $18 per head of increase for the next decade, even if we did not coin the $704,000,000 to establish the French allotment for our present population.

How long would it require to coin $700,000,000 of silver, in dollars, quarters, halves, dimes, keeping in mind and coining each month $2,400,000 to keep up with the increase of population and business?

The present full capacity of United States mints, working day and night, and coining nothing but silver, is $5,000,000 (five millions) per month. Working regular hours, $3,500,000. If run day and night, full time, it would require of the $5,000,000 possible monthly coinage the sum of $2,400,000 to keep pace with population, leaving $2,600,000 to go on the count as part of the proposed $700,000,000. This would require two hundred and sixty-nine months or twenty-two years. If present mint capacity were doubled it would require eleven years. To make the calculation differently—this time leaving the growth of population and commerce out of the count—to issue $700,000,000 silver would require running the present mints day and night and coining nothing but silver the period of eleven years eight months, by which time the population of the country would have increased 18,000,000 of souls, requiring for them $324,000,000 more of silver to be coined in order to put us on equal footing for the then existing population as to silver with France, leaving us $200,000,000 behind her in gold.

Stating it differently yet—doubling the mint capacity—working day and night, coining only silver, we could coin the $700,000,000 in five years ten months, and the population having increased in that time say eight millions of souls, we would still require $144,000,000 of silver and $200,000,000 of gold to be on an equal coin basis with our sister Republic.

Either of these periods—twenty-two years, eleven years or even the shortest five years ten months—would give them ample time for negotiation with foreign powers.

Moreover, it would be an admonition to our Government and an invitation to others to negotiate seriously.

Hitherto "negotiation" has been a pretext to side track free coinage.

We have either not negotiated at all or else with hope of failure, or at best with fear of success on the part of our negotiators.

All these calculations are made with a view to the context of the "Bland substitute" for the "Wilson bill," now before the House.

The substitute is a coinage act pure and simple—"first come, first served," with no provision for certificates on deposit of bullion. The only certificates provided for in it, or contemplated by it, are certificates on the deposit of coin.

There must first be the actual coinage, before a single certificate can issue.

There is not now and there never was any just fear of danger to the monetary system of the United States from too much coin of any sort. There has been in the past, and there is now, impending danger from too much uncovered paper, which is money only in so far as the "measure of value" side of money is concerned, in no sense as an "equivalent." Pure "measure of value" money is worth as much as either gold or silver in times of peace, prosperity, and universal confidence in the giver out of the promises to pay. But in days of gloom, public distrust, or war, an approximation to an "equivalent" money will be needed.

It is curious how people howl about an "honest dollar"—"only 80 cents" and all that, when they regard complacently a circulation of $500,000,000 of uncovered paper—rich man's money. Where, pray, is its value as an "equivalent?" It is merely good as peace and prosperity money. But they say "faith in the Government" is behind it. So it is; but nothing else. That is behind the silver dollar, too. Besides that there is at least 65 cents behind it, even when demonetized, in actual use, and used chiefly for spoons and waiters.

Fully one-half of this enormous sum of $500,000,000 of uncovered paper had best be put into gold or silver, or both. Even then we would have more uncovered paper afloat than any other solvent nation, except Belgium and The Netherlands, than any other government on the face of the globe that pretends to maintain specie payment, except the two named above; for England has only $64,000,000, France but $96,000,000, Germany only $160,000,000, insolvent Italy only $211,000,000, and worse insolvent Austria only $260,000,000.

But they say paper money is so much more convenient. Convenient to whom? To the man who has to carry it, I suppose. The average citizen is not bothered with over $10 at a time. The statistics, which would show how many men had ever handled a $50 bill would be a miracle of astonishment to most people who have never seriously thought of it. I am no epemy to a sound paper currency. The Government's note is just like anybody else's. Just so long as there are not enough of them out to arouse suspicion of nonpayment with those who have dealings with it, it is good. But need rich men, who for their own convenience or to prevent the actual circulation of cheap money (for most paper money being in large denominations does not actually circulate at all) bring all their influence to bear to discriminate against silver on the ground that it is worth only 65 cents as an "equivalent" and to favor national bank notes, treasury notes, and other "rich man's money," which possesses no value as an "equivalent" at all, need these men be astonished, when poor ignorant men are deluded by their example into fiat money crazes and into demanding an issuance of "Treasury certificates" on the deposit of cotton, corn, onions, or green peas, as well as on the deposit with the Government of silver bullion? Can you expect them to make the distinction? To be frank about it, do you not find some trouble in making it yourself sometimes when your head is not over clear?

So I say we can stand $700,000,000 more of silver, $2,400,000 per month, on top of that $200,000,000 more of gold on top of that, and $200,000,000 more yet of gold and silver to take the place of fully that much uncovered paper.

Before we shall have coined enough to approach the danger line, as historically and inductively demonstrated, coining, if you choose, day and night with double our present capacity of mintage, and coining nothing but silver—a ridiculous supposition—we shall probably have a monetary convention with the states of South and Central America, through Great Britain with India, with France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Italy and Austria-Hungary, and Roumania—all naturally bimetallic countries, and, possibly, even with Germany and Russia—not naturally hostile to bimetallism. But they say we will be the dumping ground for all the world's silver. What country on the face of the globe which has coined silver now floating at par at the ratio of 15½ to 1 (the universal ratio except with us and Mexico) would go through the folly of recoining at 16 or 20 to 1, at our mints? Remember, under the substitute the Government buys no silver; it merely coins it and hands it back to the owner.

But, even if it came, it would come in exchange for something we had to sell.

The silver would be worth more to us than the product or else we "wouldn't trade." If it was worth more, we would trade and would make our profit. There is no very serious danger, I take it, of somebody's *giving* us their silver. And, if they did, "need a body cry?"

Mr. Leech says that the entire value of all the silver mined in the world's mines, in 1889 was $161,318,000 and estimates that of the product of 1890, not then fully reported, at $168,000,000. This being the case, then, if all the silver from the world's silver mines came to us, it would require us, in order to coin $700,000,000 at the rate of $168,000,000 a year (the world's product), as estimated by him, considerably over four years. The administration would still have ample time "to negotiate"—four years—before we could possibly be on the ground that France has demonstrated not to be dangerous. But, of course, such a supposition is absurd. Not over half of the world's product could possibly come to us. All nations, even monometallic ones, use silver as fractional currency; much is still required for "limited legal tender" silver in quasi bimetallic countries. India and China, the great "silver sinks of the world," would want and get their share, for no English legislation can change the hereditary and traditional attachment of the Hindoo for silver. Mexico, Central and South America, which have virtually no coin but silver, would want and get their share. Silver spoons would not cease to be used as wedding presents, nor would dudes and dudesses cease to hand around cigars, tooth picks, and green apples on silver waiters. The Connecticut watchmakers would still inclose the right or wrong time of day behind silver cases, to hide it from "curious mortal eyes." We could not, as a fact, receive over $120,000,000 per annum of the annual output, at the outside; $96,000,000 would be a safer estimate. With the first figures we could give very nearly six years and with the last considerably more than seven years "to negotiate," without approaching the danger line. If there is anything wrong about these figures, it is the fault of Mr. Leech or of the North American Review. Mr. Leech was director of the mint; the North American is, I believe, monometallic and Republican.

I have thus far argued the question on the monometallist's assumption that silver is and must remain mere token money, subsidiary coin relying upon a backing of gold for its value.

This is an unwarranted assumption, however.

I have a little doubt, very little, however, about the power of the United States, conjointly with the other silver-using and bi-

metallic countries of the globe, being able to maintain the bullion parity of the two metals at a ratio of 16 to 1. I have no doubt whatsoever about our ability to do so at an increased ratio, 20 to 1, that being, if anything, too high.

Free coinage will not have so much effect on the bullion value of silver, because of the present increased demand, though much in that way, as because of the status of silver prospectively. I lay down the proposition that silver answers every end of money as well as gold. As an "equivalent" of values it is the equal of gold. As a "measure of values" it is superior, because more stable and less liable to violent fluctuations of production.

Mr. Leech says in the article in the North American, which I have already referred to:

> Time was when silver possessed the conditions necessary to fit it to serve as such a "measure" and "equivalent." It does not possess them to-day.

If it does not, and if, furthermore, its inadaptability to one or the other end has grown out of the nature of things, that is, if it has not been produced or brought about by legislation, by human interference, then the author has made a strong argument against any effort to cure the defect by repeal of legislation or counter human interference. His own article, however, furnishes proof positive that the so-called depreciation of silver has not been altogether, nor even mainly, the result of natural laws, but, on the contrary, is the direct result of human interference. If the series of total and partial demonetizations which have decreased the demand for and thereby depreciated the value of silver had taken place in the case of gold, does any one doubt but there would have resulted a great depreciation of gold as an "equivalent?"

Does any one doubt, that if all this legislation had had its genesis in Great Britain too long ago for one of my age to remember distinctly, in Germany as far back as 1871, in the United States in 1873, and if such a combination of the creditor nations and creditor classes had been consummated fifteen years ago and was being daily urged further now, does any one doubt that in 1893 the subject of discussion with the American people would be "is gold fit to serve for money," is it or can it be made (which is the right statement) at once a "measure" and an "equivalent?"

Does any one believe that the demand for gold for plate, jewelry, gilding, etc., could possibly have kept the metal up to its present value, the great demand for it as money, its chief natural use, being thus curtailed? It must be remembered that, if coin is an "equivalent," it is because of its intrinsic value. This intrinsic value is due, as in all things, to its value in use, its capacity for being used for valuable purposes, its present and prospective use.

It is peculiar capacity for use in subserving certain purposes which gives value, "intrinsic value." If gold and silver were not limited in production, indestructible and yet malleable and infinitely divisible, capable of receiving and retaining stampage, not easy to rust, in a word not peculiarly adapted to use as money, neither would have ever been used as money and neither would, for other purposes solely, be so useful and hence would not have the intrinsic value, as mere metals, of either copper, nickel, or iron.

What I have supposed as happening in the case of gold is actually what did happen in the case of silver. The history of the happening, the how and when and the where of it, you all know.

We know that in 1873, the year of silver demonetization by the United States, the value of the silver in a silver dollar was one dollar and four mills. This was after England and Germany had done their worst, but before the United States had struck the fatal blow.

To answer the purpose of a measure of value, especially with a view to deferred payments, the chief essential is stability of value in the measure itself. That means—taking a series of years—stability of supply, relatively to the supply of other things. The measure must be something which increases approximately at a pace with the average of commodities.

Deductively reasoning you would naturally expect less fluctuation in the production of silver than in that of gold, because silver comes from deep mining, and is somewhat dependent upon steady industry, gold from surface findings, a matter chiefly of pure accident; and historically and statistically you find just what you might have expected to be a fact. •

I hand to the Clerk, to be printed in the RECORD two tables, marked A and B.

Table A is a table of variations or fluctuations from year to year in the production of each metal from 1849 to 1891, inclusive. You will note that the greatest fluctuation in the production of silver from any one year to the year succeeding was in 1861, when it increased 10 per cent. You will find gold decreasing one year 18 per cent, increasing in other years by bounds of 16, 55, 63, even 96 per cent.

I have said that a right "measure of value" metal ought to increase gradually from year to year *pari passu* with population, trade, transportation, etc. Note from Table A that while silver has done just this thing with tolerable uniformity, gold has positively decreased in production during nineteen out of the forty-two years. You will also note that there is being less gold produced yearly now than there was yearly from 1852 to 1860, inclusively—the entire amount of gold produced in all the world's mines in 1891 being 125,000,000, and over half of this, as a matter of fact, being used in the arts.

But the monometallists say there is a new and different order of things now. "There is an unheard-of overproduction of silver." Examine table B.

TABLE A.—*World's yield of gold and silver, with percentage of annual variation in supply.*

Year.	Gold, in millions of dollars.	Variation from previous years.	Silver, in millions of dollars.	Variation from previous years.
1849	27	.....	39	0
1850	44	63	39	0
1851	68	55	40	2
1852	133	96	41	2
1853	155	16	41	0
1854	127	−18	41	0
1855	135	+ 7	41	0
1856	134	− ½	41	0
1857	134	0	41	0
1858	133	− ½	41	0
1859	130	− 2	41	0
1860	127	− 2	41	0
1861	122	− 4	45	10
1862	119	− 3	46	2
1863	119	0	49	6
1864	122	+ 3	52	6
1865	126	+ 3	52	0
1866	127	+ ½	52	0
1867	127	0	54	4
1868	126	− ½	57	6
1869	125	− ½	61	7
1870	123	− 2	64	5
1871	119	− 3	68	6
1872	113	− 5	71	4
1873	112	− 1	75	6
1874	111	− 1	79	5
1875	111	° 0	82	4
1876	111	° 0	88	8
1877	116	+ 4	93	4
1878	120	+ 3	97	4
1879	114	− 5	99	2
1880	108	− 5	101	2
1881	104	− 4	106	5
1882	100	− 4	111	5
1883	97	− 3	115	4
1884	100	+ 3	120	5
1885	106	+ 6	125	4
1886	106	+ 0	130	4
1887	106	+ 0	136	5
1888	110	+ 4	146	7
1889	120	+ 9	159	9
1890	120	0	174	9
1891	125	+ 4	186	7

TABLE B.—*World's production of gold and silver.*

Period.	Mean annual product.		Ratio of silver to gold (weight).	Ratio of gold to silver (value).
	Gold.	Silver.		
	Kilos.	*Kilos.*		
1545–1560	8,510	311,600	36.6	11.30
1561–1580	6,840	299,500	43.8	11.50
1581–1600	7,380	418,900	56.8	11.80
1601–1620	8,520	422,900	49.6	12.25
1621–1640	8,500	393,600	47.4	14
1641–1660	8,770	366,300	41.8	14.50
1661–1680	9,260	337,000	36.4	15
1680–1700	10,765	341,900	31.8	14.97
1701–1720	12,820	355,600	27.7	15.21
1721–1740	19,080	431,200	22.6	15.08
1741–1760	24,610	533,145	21.7	14.75
1761–1780	20,705	652,710	31.5	14.73
1781–1800	17,790	879,000	49.4	15.09
1801–1810	17,778	894,150	50.3	15.61
1811–1820	11,445	540,770	47.2	15.51
1821–1830	14,216	460,560	32.4	15.80
1831–1840	20,289	596,450	29.4	15.75
1841–1850	54,759	780,415	14.3	15.83
1851–1855	193,388	886,115	4.4	15.41
1856–1860	201,750	904,200	4.5	15.29
1861–1865	185,057	1,101,150	5.9	15.41
1866–1870	185,026	1,339,085	0.9	15.50
1871–1875	173,804	1,969,425	11.3	15.98
1876	165,956	2,323,779	14.0	17.88
1877	179,445	2,388,612	13.3	17.22
1878	185,847	2,551,364	13.7	17.94
1879	167,307	2,507,507	15.0	18.40
1880	163,515	2,479,998	15.2	18.05
1881	158,864	2,592,639	16.3	18.16
1882	148,475	2,769,065	18.6	18.19
1883	144,727	2,746,123	19.0	18.64
1884	153,193	2,788,727	18.2	18.57
1885	159,289	2,993,805	18.8	19.41
1886	159,741	2,902,471	18.2	20.78
1887	159,155	2,990,398	18.8	21.13
1888	159,809	3,388,606	21.2	21.99
1889	185,809	3,901,809	21.0	22.09
1890	181,256	4,180,532	23.1	19.76
1891	189,824	4,479,649	23.6	20.92
June, 1893 (average)	.....	.....	18.6	30.18

NOTE.—The figures for 1493–1862, both years inclusive, are Soetbeer's; those from 1882–1891 are from the reports of the Director of the Mint.

From it you will see that in 1891 there was by weight 23.6 times as much silver as gold produced from the world's mines; and our friends, the enemy, say you can not have bimetallism with such a huge disproportion of production.

Their ignorance is only equaled by their assumption of wisdom.

Go back further with your dates on that table and you will see that for three hundred years (from 1545 to 1840) the disproportion was greater than now. And this was when so-called "evolution" had not produced a single gold bug. You will note, that in one twenty-years period, from 1581 to 1600, there was over fifty-six times as much silver produced as there was of gold. In the ten-year period, 1801–1810, the weight of silver produced was over fifty times that of gold; in the next decade over forty-seven times; and yet, during all that time, we had bimetallism at a less ratio than the present one. Note also, that when silver was demonetized in 1873 there was no relative overproduction, nor did the production after that year exceed 16 of silver to 1 of gold until 1881.

Note another thing in connection with the new proposed ratio of 20 to 1, viz, that the average comparative production from 1881 to 1891, inclusive, has been less than 20 to 1, has been 18.6 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold. How a few plain facts and figures dispose of asinine expert assumptions! I hold in my hand a little pamphlet compiled by Mr. H. Emerson, of Germantown, Pa., in which he has collocated, from Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics, the Encyclopædia Britannica, and the Engineering and Mining Journal, some instructive tables of comparative statistics. As far as I have been able to verify them they are exact in every particular. I shall make a part of my remarks the portions of the pamphlet and the tables under the respective headings: Fact one, fact two, fact three, and fact four.

FACT ONE.

The total production of silver between 1871 and 1892 relatively to gold is little more than half what it was during the three hundred years preceding the California gold discoveries.

Period.	Years.	Gold.	Silver.	Ratio of weight.
		Kilos.	*Kilos.*	
1545–1850	306	4,427,900	146,347,000	33.12
1871–1892	22	3,727,966	63,764,534	17.14
1561–1660	100	796,200	38,024,000	47.75
1661–1780	120	1,944,800	53,031,700	27.27
1781–1840	60	1,650,360	67,420,000	40.86
1891	1	190.000	4,480,000	23.6

FACT TWO.

The fluctuation of silver supply between 1545 and 1892 has been less than that of gold.

Annual production of silver.

	Kilos.
Minimum, 1561–1580	300,000
Maximum, 1891	4,500,000

Increase, 15 fold.

Annual production of gold.

	Kilos.
Minimum, 1561–1580	6,840
Maximum, 1853	234,000

Increase, 34 fold.

Sudden fluctuations in gold.

Ten-year interval:	Kilos.
1831–1840	20,289
1851–1860	201,138

Increase, 10 fold.

In dollars, increase, $120,000,000.

Four-year interval:

1849	$27,000,000
1853	155,500,000
Amount	128,500,000

Increase, 5.8 fold.

Sudden fluctuations in silver have not occurred in the last three hundred years.

Ten-year interval:

1801–1810	$894,000
1821–1830	460,000

Decrease to one-half.

In dollars, decrease, $10,117,600.

Four-year interval:

1887	$136,000,000
1891	186,000,000
Increase	49,000,000

Increase, 1.4 fold.

At a ten years' interval, 1881–1891, the increase of silver was $80,000,000, the increase in gold 1841–'50 to 1853, was $122,000,000, or one-half more in dollars.

At a four years' interval, 1887–1891, increase of silver $49,000,000, and of gold 1849–1853, $128,000,000, almost three times as much, and for a one-year interval, 1889–1890, increase of silver is $15,000,000, while 1851–1852 shows a gold increase of $55,000,000.

Whether, therefore, we take intervals of time long or short, remote or recent; or whether we consider percentages, or absolute amounts, or value in dollars, the production of silver has been incomparably less fluctuating than that of gold.

FACT THREE.

The added stock of silver since 1872 (twenty years) to the total world's supply of both metals to the world's money has been neither absolutely nor proportionately as large as the added stock of gold to the previous world's supply of both metals in the twenty years 1850–1870.

Total amount of gold and silver mined, in million dollars.

	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
1492–1850	3,160	6,000	9,160
1852–1871	2,573	.....	.....

Increase through *gold* to previous supply of gold and silver, 28 per cent.

UNPARALLELED PROSPERITY.

	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
1492–1872	5,836	7,000	12,836
1873–1892	2,362	2,430	.....

Increase through *silver* to previous supply of gold and silver, 19 per cent; increase through gold *and* silver to previous supply, 27 per cent.

*Stock of precious metals in the world.**

	Gold.	Silver.
1850	$2,535,000,000	$4,880,000,000
1890	6,175,000,000	6,065,000,000

Percentage of increase: Gold, 142 per cent; silver, 24 per cent.

*Mulhall, page 306.

FACT FOUR.

The annual increase of gold *and* silver since 1860 has not been as great as the annual increase of population, of commerce, of railroads, of cotton, of grain, of pig iron in the United States for the same period.

	1840.	1860.	1870.	1889.	1890.	Increase.
						Per cent.
Gold and silver (world's supply)	.....	$167,000,000	.....	.....	$311,000,000	86
Population	.....	31,400,000	.....	.....	62,600,000	100
Railroad mileage	.....	30,626	.....	.....	166,702	444
Leading railroads of the United States:						
Mileage	.....	.....	15,501	.....	63,477	309
Freight movement	..... tons.	.....	396,000,000	.....	4,938,000,000	1,147
Passenger movement	.....	.....	1,732,000,000	.....	6,421,000,000	277
Banking power	$450,000,000	.....	$2,200,000,000	.....	$5,150,000,000	*389 / †134
Grain product	..... bushels.	1,240,000,000	.....	3,454,000,000	.....	178
Cotton	..... pounds.	1,836,000,000	.....	.....	3,623,000,000	98
Pig iron	..... tons.	821,000	.....	.....	9,200,000	1,208

*First period. †Second period.

The table published under the head of fact four is especially important, as showing the danger of relying on one metal only when both put together do not keep pace with the world's growth in population, nor transportation, nor banking power, nor grain, nor cotton, nor pig iron.

Assertions that silver fluctuated violently and is depreciating rapidly from natural causes grow out of the fact that the assertors have reference to the price of silver in gold.

But in addition to the fact that necessarily silver does not fluctuate any more in terms of gold than gold does in terms of silver, it is a fact that the price of all commodities, as expressed in the amount of silver bullion for which they would at given times exchange, has varied less than their price, as expressed in the amount of gold bullion for which they would exchange.

Here is a table compiled by Mr. Sauerbeck, the eminent statistician, giving in one column the average price for each year of forty-five principal articles of commerce in the London market, and in the second column the average price of silver for each year 1874–1892, inclusive.

It shows that the price of silver as expressed in gold has been

steadily going down, but also that the prices of the forty-five articles, as expressed in terms of gold, have been steadily going down all the time, and almost, if not quite, at the same pace with silver. This shows the comparative stability of value of the two metals as compared with the value of commodities, and also demonstrates an appreciation of gold gradual, growing, and constant, everything becoming cheaper and cheaper in terms of gold, which means that gold is becoming dearer and dearer in terms of everything, which means, in turn, that it is becoming yearly more and more difficult to obtain a given amount of gold in return for service or products—more and more products must be given to get the given amount of gold.

If the use of silver as money is still further curtailed and the demand on gold to perform that function still further increased, this movement will of course be accelerated and its already grinding effects accentuated.

Mr. Sauerbeck's index numbers.

Year.	Index numbers of 45 principal commodities.	Index number of silver.
1874	102	95.8
1875	96	93.3
1876	95	86.7
1877	94	90.2
1878	87	86.4
1879	83	84.2
1880	88	85.9
1881	85	85.0
1882	84	84.9
1883	82	83.1
1884	76	83.3
1885	72	79.9
1886	69	74.6
1887	68	73.3
1888	70	70.4
1889	72	70.2
1890	72	78.4
1891	72	74.1
1892	†68	‡65.4
1893*		

*Lowest price of wheat on record; lowest prices of stocks since 1884.
†June and July, lowest price of wool in its history.
‡Lowest price of silver on record.

Between 1850 and 1870 there was a slight rise in the value of commodities, and during the same period silver was at a slight premium compared with gold.

The still more eminent statistician, Mr. Soetbeer, has published a table of comparative gold prices of silver bullion and of one hundred and fourteen articles in the free port of Hamburg, leading inevitably to the same conclusion and demonstrating the same facts.

I shall also insert this table in the RECORD as a part of my remarks:

Year.	Index number of general prices.	Price of silver per ounce in gold.
1871	127.03	$1.326
1872	135.62	1.322
1873	138.28	1.298
1874	136.20	1.278
1875	129.85	1.246
1876	128.33	1.156
1877	127.70	1.201
1878	120.60	1.152
1879	117.10	1.123
1880	121.89	1.149
1881	121.07	1.138
1882	122.14	1.136
1883	122.24	1.110
1884	114.25	1.113
1885	108.72	1.065
1886	103.99	.995
1887	102.20	.978
1888	101.98	.939
1889	106.13	.935
1890	108.13	1.046

And yet in the face of facts and figures like these gentlemen will continue parrot-like to repeat the stereotyped cry taught them by the money-lenders, that bimetallism would lead to a silver standard and the "dishonest silver dollar."

In the first place it would not lead to the single silver standard, and in the second place, if it did, the dollar reached would not be as dishonest as the gold dollar, which is now the measure of value.

But our opponents say, the general fall in prices and the universal depression which set in in 1873 and still continues is due to improved processes cheapening production, and not to the appreciation of gold.

That this is in many things to a great extent, and in all things partially, true, I do not doubt.

Listen to the voice of the celebrated monetary commission of Great Britain, twelve illustrious men, one-half gold standard and one-half double standard advocates. They unanimously report as follows:

We are of the opinion that the true explanation of the phenomena which we are directed to investigate is to be found in a combination of causes and can not be attributed to any one cause alone. The action of the Latin Union in 1873 broke the link between silver and gold, which had kept the price of the former as measured by the latter constant at about the legal ratio, and when this link was broken the silver market was open to the influence of all the factors which go to affect the price of a commodity. These factors happen since 1873 to have operated in the direction of a fall in the gold price of that metal.

And futher on in their final report, on p. 95, I find these words:

In India, in the opinion of nearly all the witnesses whom we have examined, the purchasing power of the rupee continues unimpaired and the prices of commodities measured in silver remain practically the same. We have no evidence to show that silver has undergone any material change in relation to commodities, although it has fallen largely in relation to gold; in other words, the same number of rupees will no longer exchange for the same amount of gold as formerly, but, so far as we can judge, they will purchase as much of any commodity or commodities in India as they did before.

And six of them, in a separate report, use this unanswerable language, which I find published by Mr. David A. Wells in his incomparable work, Recent Economic Changes, on page 190, at bottom.

We are not insensible to the fact that facilities for production are habitually increasing, and the cost of production is constantly becoming less. But these factors have always been in operation since the world began; and while we recognize their tendency to depress the prices of commodities, they are not, in our opinion, sufficient to account for the abnormal fall in prices, which has been apparent since the rupture of the bimetallic par, and only since that time.

My friend from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] in one breath accounted for the fall of silver by the diminished demand for it as money, caused by the series of demonetizations which have taken place, and in the next breath denied that anyone could show that there had been any appreciation of gold!

A given cause will produce a given effect, but the reverse cause has no tendency to produce the reverse effect!

Such is the absurd and illogical position. Just in proportion as the demand for silver, in present and prospective use, has been lessened by legislation, just in that proportion has the demand on gold for present and prospective use to fill up the vacuum been increased. The demand increased, the supply remaining the same or less, and yet no appreciation of price!

The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER] went further, and in the heat of debate and paucity of thought absolutely denied that there had been any appreciation of gold. In this connection I quote from a very valuable work, published by the Appletons in 1886, with the title "Class Interests," p. 68 *et seq.*:

Now, what is the fact in regard to the relative value of the gold and silver dollars for the last eight years? The production of gold has steadily fallen off, its consumption in the arts has steadily increased, its function as money has been weighted by the demonetization of silver, and prices have steadily declined. These facts conspire to show that the value of the gold dollar has increased—how much, it would be difficult to say. I will quote J. Barr Robertson, in the Economist, February 23, 1884: "Mr. Goschen's select committee, all of them gold-standard men, produced a large volume, in which they satisfied themselves that they had shown the causes of the "depreciation in silver," but the Indian government immediately produced incontrovertible evidence to prove that silver had not depreciated in purchasing power, and last spring Mr. Goschen gave a long and able address at the Institute of Bankers to show what the bimetallists had abundantly shown for the previous seven years, namely, that the disturbance in the gold price of silver was chiefly due to the appreciation of gold; so that Mr. Goschen, by no means a very courageous investigator, has come over to the bimetallic view, that the monetary troubles of the past ten years have been mainly caused by the rise in the purchasing power of gold, while silver has remained comparatively stationary in purchasing power, and has therefore been during that time far more completely a standard of value than gold."

Later, Dr. Giffen, the statistician, has come to the support of the same view.

The prevailing opinion is that silver has depreciated because it has been demonetized; but this very act of demonetization of silver has caused a greater demand for gold and raised its value. Mr. W. Westgrath says in the Economist: "As gold has been (in the United States especially) so largely substituted for paper as well as for silver, I agree with your correspondent (Robertson) that the result has been decidedly more an appreciation of gold than a depreciation of silver, and that the effects upon our trade, and, I may add, upon the incidence of our public debt, have thus far been very serious indeed." In speaking of the efforts to get silver out of the way, Mr. H. R. Greenfell, ex-governor of the Bank of England, says: "By these processes the states of England, Germany, and France have created an artificial demand for gold, which has upset all prices, enhanced the property of all creditors, and diminished the means of all debtors." (The Economist, March 1, 1884.)

Now, what is there to show that, since 1877, the divergence in the bullion values of gold and silver has been wholly due or mainly due to the depreciation of silver? I am somewhat conversant with current references to this subject, and I know of nothing except the eternal reiteration, "the fall of silver," the "dishonest silver dollar," and "the danger of getting down to the debased silver standard." If the bullion in the silver dollar will buy as much now as it would in 1877-'80, while the gold dollar will buy more, which is the more honest dollar? Or, even if silver has depreciated as much as gold has appreciated to make the difference that has taken place between them within the last few years, and the silver dollar is, therefore, dishonest, is not the gold dollar equally dishonest? Herein appears the assumption of these who are shouting so lustily about the dishonest dollar. The trouble with this business is that the creditor class, the money-owners, and the fixed-income class, are the people whose views are mostly voiced in our great journals and it is the bias of these classes to regard the dear dollar, constantly growing dearer, as the truly honest dollar, simply because it is growing heavier in their pockets. A few years ago an eastern journal had a heavy editorial to prove how much more honest the people are in the East than in the West, in this country. We can not censure classes for seeing to their own interests; they have done so from the beginning, but none the less is it the duty of the great body of the people, whose real interests are thus threatened, to organize for the encouragement of a higher sort of "honesty" than that which has been so fulsome of late in its own praise. I have no doubt that there are editors, South and West as well as East, who reiterate the catch phrases of the monometallists without having given any careful attention to the real points at issue. Gold appears to be fixed in value and central in importance, as the earth appears to be fixed in the center of the heavens; and, giving the matter no careful thought, they are altogether sincere in assuming that the gold standard is uniform and silver fluctuating, and they join in the chorus, "the dishonest silver dollar!" With them it is as if the earth stood still and the heavens moved.

I also quote from the same work, as bearing on the general effect of the monometallic policy, beginning on page 64, as follows:

The mines are adding nothing at present to the stock of gold for money purposes. Its consumption, as well as that of silver, in the arts and manufactures is very great and rapidly increasing. It is now three times as great as it was twenty years ago, four times as great as it was thirty years ago. On the other hand the production of gold is steadily falling off. From 1856 to 1860, the annual production of gold was 137 millions; in 1879, 107 millions; in 1888, 94 millions. It is estimated that the annual consumption of gold in the arts is steadily increasing; so it is to be expected that in a short time, taking the last twenty years as a guide, the consumption of gold will be greater every year than its production. This, together with the wear and loss of coin, will draw upon the present stock of money gold, and draw upon it largely; and yet, in the face of these facts, known to all who have given the subject study, we have classes in the community who want gold alone to be the measure or denominator of values.

If this movement were to be carried out, how would it operate on the various classes in society? In the first place it would increase the relative wealth of certain classes, and diminish the relative wealth of other classes, with no corresponding merit in the one class or demerit in the other. All whose property consists in credits and moneys, all whose incomes are fixed annuities and Government salaries, and salaries not readily adjusted to the changed conditions, all these would gain directly by the general adoption of gold monometallism. What they gain others would lose. All prices would fall, all property would be bought and sold at lower figures; and all who own such property, all producers, would have to do with less than before. All indebtedness would be increased. Enterprising business men who had borrowed a part of the capital they used, would be crippled. The farmer still having payments to make on his home would be weighted. The same number of dollars having in all cases to be paid, and those dollars having increased in value, the debtor would have to pay more, and the creditor would receive more value than he loaned or sold. And yet we have classes in society that are laboring in season and out of season to establish monometallism. But this form of insidious and unjust redistribution of wealth is not all we have to look out for. Our monometallists are quite concerned for the poor laboring men. They say, if we get too much silver—and we are always right on the eve of getting too much—prices will go up, and wages will not buy as much, greatly to the disadvantage of laborers. Usually, however, pretty soon after prices go up, wages rise, and laborers are quite sure to have all the work they can do. A good deal of unnecessary alarm is shown about the high prices work-people may have to pay. One would suppose that a little of this alarm might be reserved for the contingency of loss of employment and lower wages under the crushing operation of constantly increasing scarcity and dearness of the gold dollar. But this is precisely the side of the shield that our Argus-eyed monometallists never see.

Under advancing monometallism, if the movement can not be arrested, money must become constantly dearer and prices constantly lower; with what results? With a steady discouragement to business. When prices are falling business is always dull. Buyers hold off, and the competition of unsuccessful sellers sinks prices even lower than would be indicated by the reduced volume of money. As purchases made on falling prices are always small and consumption economical, production has necessarily to be limited, and there is a constantly diminishing demand for labor. Workingmen are thrown out of employment or have to work on reduced time or reduced wages, so that, even on falling prices, laborers are worse off than they were before. Under progressive gold monometallism, with the lessening supply of gold all consumed in the arts, with the wastage and loss in coin going steadily on, and the stock on hand absolutely diminishing, this depression of business is not merely a temporary thing; it must continue from year to year with the effect of casting down the great middle class relatively lower and lower, and sinking employés to the borders of beggary and slavery. Monometallists never discuss these permanent features of their system; they merely refer in a partial way to what can only be immediate and temporary results, relying, like advocates, on the safe mental inertia of those they mean to influence.

The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER], wrapped in a cloak of monometallic self-sufficiency, went further still and positively denied that the depreciation of silver had been caused by demonetization, denied that demonetization had any effect on the price of silver, and as an inference from that position denied that remonetization would have any effect.

Refer to tables and prices of silver.

But no reference to statistics ought to be necessary. The gentleman is old enough to remember that in 1890 the prospect alone of a free coinage bill becoming law in the United States sent silver up 20 cents on the London market (from 43.625 pence to 54.625 pence).

He is also old enough to remember that two months ago, in June last, merely closing the mints of India to private account caused silver to decline in one day nearly 10 cents (from 77 to 68¼ cents) and caused a fall before the decline ended of nearly 20 cents. "None so blind as those who will not see."

The greatest curiosity in the way of an argument came from the lips of the gentleman from Florida [Mr. COOPER]. He said, "that as a lawyer he had learned the value of expert testimony and that all the 'experts,' the 'financiers,' were opposed to free coinage and wanted unconditional repeal."

I can tell the gentleman two things; first, that though courts avail themselves of expert testimony, a man is not called to testify in his own behalf as an expert; he might be too expert. Second, that the world, with its finances, commerce, and religion, would have gone to the "demnition bowwows" long ago, had it been guided by experts and their biases.

When Adam Smith created the science of political economy he found in existence the so-called "mercantile theory" of trade and finance. It was held by all traders, bankers, and experts. Not a merchant belonging to a London guild but laughed at the Scottish professor. They did not answer him, but laughed at and ignored him. And for many years the world imitated them, for surely "the trade" knew "business" better than anyone else.

When Andrew Jackson and Thomas H. Benton reformed the finances of this country and emancipated the people from the National Bank thralldom, they found not only the United States Bank, but successful bankers everywhere and all the commercial classes in all the large cities, everybody, in short, except the "common people" (who, if the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON] is to be believed, "do not understand these things"), against them.

Leading statesmen of "national reputations," also of every party, including Clay, Calhoun, and Webster, and the "Metropolitan press," with scarcely an exception, were against them, because forsooth they thought too "surely the experts know."

But the horse sense of "Old Hickory" and the plain common sense of the "common people" triumphed and to-day there is not a reader in the United States fool enough to say they did not triumph deservedly.

Later on when we wanted to reform the tariff all the "experts" in that line cried out against it.

Again for a season they fooled the people.

But we are here now with the power and the will to do just what the experts don't want done.

And the ultimate effect of our doing it will justify its having been done.

When Luther came, theological "experts" were against him; when Christ came, theological "experts" crucified him.

The expert intellect runs now and has always run in grooves; the "present status," whatever it is, having been long studied and being intimately understood by the "expert," and his mind having become molded to the clay he works in, is precious to him.

Of all forms of government, the most ridiculous and unfortunate would be "a government of financiers by financiers," which would also be a government "for financiers." The *bourgeoisie* understands its own interest with a view to the immediate future. All history shows that beyond that it is incompetent.

What is the condition confronting us? First, scarcity of money in actual use. How do gentlemen propose to remedy it? Make it scarcer.

Second. A divergence constantly widening between the two metals. How do gentlemen propose to remedy it? Make it still greater by increasing the demand for that one whose price is already too high and by lessening the demand for that one whose price is too low.

That is "expert" statesmanship!

There is no lack of confidence among the people of the Union in any form of its currency.

Lack of confidence in currency makes it go out and get about, each man getting something in exchange for it as soon as he can.

People do not hoard things which they fear will become valueless. The trouble is lack of confidence in investments.

And this has come about because men see nothing in which they can put their money which has not been falling in price with more or less constancy for twenty years and which does not threaten to continue indefinitely to fall. Men do not like to buy on a falling market.

And what, in turn, has produced this?

For twenty years the world has been madly and uselessly endeavoring to get on a gold basis, thereby making gold more and more valuable and other things, as expressed in terms of gold—the only metal recognized as real money—cheaper and cheaper.

And now we are requested not to throw our great power and influence abreast the current to try to stem and check it, but to accelerate the movement!

I will not join the "expert" movement of still further grinding the masses, robbing the debtors, and depreciating the agricultural produce of my country.

Coin both gold and silver, or else deprive both of governmental aid. As I have said, they would both pass as money, only by weight and not tale. Of course nobody is seriously in favor of having no coinage laws.

Coinage is convenient if all can have access to it, if government will confine itself to its legitimate functions, which are to declare the weight, the fineness, the ratio, and the device.

But when Government goes further and attempts to restrict the supply of coin, it takes from money its most desirable quality and attribute—its elasticity; and moreover depreciates the intrinsic value of the bullion whose coinage is restricted. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] said that the volume of money makes no difference—that nations are not prosperous in proportion to their volume of money.

If he had used the word currency instead of money I should have agreed with him.

But the proposition as laid down by him is absurd. Real money, gold and silver, have intrinsic value, and a country is richer and more prosperous for every ounce of gold and silver it has, as it is for every additional pound of iron or bushel of wheat.

Moreover, the richer a nation is the more money it will have. If it has no mines, it has valuable products and precious energies, and these will draw gold and silver. All that is needful is that Government should not hamper the operation by preventing coinage and use as coins.

The countries which have the most money, *real money*, are to-day the most prosperous, and those which have the least are the least prosperous.

In interrogating the gentleman from Ohio the other day, I did not use the word currency, as the RECORD makes me do, but money.

In support of the drift of my question then and of my assertion now, I insert the following names of countries and amounts per head of money and paper currently redeemable in money, *i. e.*, on demand at any hour.

In the order of greatest volume.

France	$40.56
Netherlands (Holland)	28.88
Belgium	28.53
Australia	26.75
United States	25.15
Great Britain	18.42

I have dwelt upon the monetary prosperity of France. It has long been an axiom among men of information that Holland is the country of the world where prosperity among the common people is greatest, distribution of wealth most nearly even (except in France), and where the smallest percentage of people either hunger or shiver.

In the order of least volume.

China	$1.75
Turkey	2.88
India	3.64
Japan	4.90
Mexico	4.91
Russia	6.63

Comment is needless. The figures are from the World Almanac for 1893, p. 142.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX] calls it "gibbering idiocy," "stark midsummer madness," to believe what we believe, viz, that the two metals can be maintained as money on a parity with each other at a ratio to be fixed by law, with due regard to intrinsic values.

Did this gentleman, who says he was born in the West and left there, and who, in my opinion has been getting further and further away ever since, until now he thinks the western boundary of the United States is the Hudson River, did this gentleman believe that when he consented to run and be elected on a platform which asserted that this very thing could be done and promised that it should be?

If not, he should be more charitable to us, who but stand where he a short while since stood. If he did so believe, however, how can he successfully plead "not guilty" to the charge of obtaining a thing of value—to wit—an office, under false pretense?

Now to address myself to this absurd proposition that the Sherman bill, vicious, silly, as it is, is the cause of the present condition of things.

The only undeniable fact and sound utterance in the speech of the gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX], is contained in these words, the italics are mine:

> I do not assert here that the Sherman purchase law is the cause of all the woe from which this country is suffering at this moment. *No intelligent man talking to intelligent men would undertake to make an assertion of that kind.* The Sherman silver law was not responsible for the failure of that Federal bank in Australia in January, 1893, nor for the tumble there of fourteen great banks, nor for the rebounding force of the distress which has gone round the world since that time like a bowlder bouncing down a mountain side.
>
> No; the wave of distress has encircled the globe. The Anglo-Saxon race has overdone the business. It has gone on conquering and populating the far distant isles.
>
> (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 13, 1893, page 63.)

The gentleman "gives away" the whole case now before the court, but he is right. I will not join him in the utterance: "No intelligent man talking to intelligent men would make an assertion of that kind." The President "makes an assertion of that kind" in his message, and I am not willing to deprive him of the quality of intelligence, nor am I willing to believe that the Congress of the United States, to whom he addressed that message, are not a body of "intelligent men."

This trouble has been brewing for long. The crash in Argentina, the Baring Brothers' failure, the Bank of England on the verge of temporary suspension, and only saved by $15,000,000 of gold from silver-using France, the widespread wreck of Australian banks and industries, all these things are current history. English capitalists then found it necessary to draw in their business—to sell their securities to get money for liquidation at home and in the colonies—ours among the first, and chiefly for obvious reason.

Extensions could not be offered, securities must be protected and be taken, as they came over by millions, requiring the gold.

Unfortunately just at that moment Austria-Hungary was trying to get $75,000,000 of gold for resumption. What condition did this unprecedented coincidence find us in?

Why, we had been "overdoing it," like our English cousins. Boom towns every where; inflated "industrials," overcapitalized and sometimes fictitious, doing business on a basis of 6 per cent money and currency and 94 per cent credit appliances; boasting of it even as an evidence of civilization, forgetful of the fact that credit and credit appliances are only necessary evils of commerce and civilization, and not things whose growth requires or should receive encouragement. Added to all this, it found us, owing to the operation of the McKinley bill, which had made the cost of imports greater and the price of exports less, with a balance of trade against us, requiring shipments of gold on our own account.

To it all and more than it all, add that it found us sharing our part of the evils accruing from the slow pressure of a twenty-year effort on the part of Western Europe, and partially on our part too, to do business on a still narrower cash basis by making gold the sole standard and measure of value. This had sapped our energies and left our financial constitution open to attack.

I think the only wonder is that we have stood it so well. But we did stand it, until agricultural exports came to draw back our lost wealth.

What did the Sherman bill have to do with all this?—a bill under which 50 millions of paper certificates are issued in a country which collects and spends 500 millions a year?

The Sherman bill had but one effect: It enabled the gold exporters to draw their gold from the Federal Treasury, instead of from the banks. It *had to go*, and I don't see that it makes much difference to the country whether it was taken from the Treasury or from the banks.

But I think the Treasurer ought to be armed with power to protect the gold in the Treasury.

Give him the power which the Bank of England has, of controlling export movements by rate of exchange, or, better still, let him, like the Bank of France, pay out the metals half and half. My constituents want the Sherman bill repealed, but they do not want its repeal used as a club in the hand of "financiers" to drive us to gold monometallism.

Its repeal is well enough, but more must be had.

Do not listen to the siren voice of international bimetallism. Its voice is always raised when a free coinage bill is about to become law. It is the voice of the Lorelei. We will have it in time. But we must first have national bimetallism. The South and West will never rest until we get it.

Even the East, it seems to me, might see that the country can never have rest from the agitation of this question until the functions of money—coequal money—have been restored to silver. It is the only thing which will prevent a worse panic than this—a world panic.

On motion of Mr. BRYAN, the House then (at 11:40 p. m.) adjourned until 10 o'clock a. m. to-morrow.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *August 23, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. FAULKNER presented a petition of the West Virginia Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, praying for the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. STEWART. I present resolutions adopted by the Franklin Club of Cleveland, Ohio, and the Central Labor Union of Cleveland, Ohio, with a membership of over 17,000, and a mass meeting of ten or twelve thousand unemployed citizens of Cleveland, remonstrating against the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act and the issue of bonds, favoring the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, and urging the passage of Senate bill No. 3, to supply the deficiency in the currency, a bill introduced by myself a short time since. I move that the resolutions lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. CAMERON presented a petition of sundry business men of Philadelphia, Pa., indorsing the resolutions of the Trades League of Philadelphia, praying for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. POWER presented a petition of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Montana, representing 2,340 members, praying for the repeal of the Geary Chinese exclusion law; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. VOORHEES. I present the petition of John Overmyer, who is the president of the Second National Bank of North Vernon, Ind., and a very prominent citizen of that State. He petitions Congress to enact a law to levy a moderate tax on the average deposits of national banks, to be collected by the Treasury Department at Washington, for the purpose of providing a fund out of which the depositors in any national bank that may fail shall be paid in full any residue that may be due them, after exhausting all the assets of such bank, including the individual liability of the stockholders; and that the present tax on the circulation of national banks be repealed. I move that the petition be printed as a document, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. DAVIS presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Mankato, Minn., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Minneapolis, Minn., praying for the repeal of the law requiring the Government to purchase silver; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. TURPIE. I present sundry petitions from citizens of Indianapolis, Ind, one praying for the establishment of the single gold standard, one praying for the unlimited coinage of both gold and silver, one praying for the free coinage of gold and silver at a ratio of 16 to 1, and one in the following language:

We, the undersigned, want the denomination dollar represented by the gold dollar, the silver dollar, and the paper dollar, that each and all three be legal tender for all debts public and private and exchangeable one with the other, dollar for dollar

I move that the petitions be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. VOORHEES introduced a bill (S. 663) for the benefit of Mrs. Anna C. Supplee, of Harrison, Ohio; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Patents.

Mr. BUTLER introduced a bill (S. 664) for the relief of Agnes and Marie De Leon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. HUNTON introduced a bill (S. 665) making an appropriation for improving the public road in Alexandria County, State of Virginia, connecting the District of Columbia by way of the Government bridges, known as the Aqueduct bridge, Chain bridge, and Long bridge, with the National Cemetery at Arlington, Va.; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. HUNTON. In a bill that I introduced for similar purposes to the one I hold in my hand one of the names was printed wrong. I reintroduce the bill for the purpose of correcting the mistake.

The bill (S. 666) for the relief of Isaac Davenport and others, citizens of Virginia, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. BATE introduced a bill (S. 667) for the relief of C. B. Bryan & Co.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. CALL introduced a bill (S. 668) for the relief of William W. Webb; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana introduced a bill (S. 669) for the relief of Catherine M. Pritchard, her heirs, administrators, executors, or assigns; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 670) for the relief of C. Augusta Urquhart; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 671) for the relief of Cora A. Di Brazza; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 672) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to refund certain moneys collected by the United States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 673) for the relief of Mrs. Mattie S. Holland; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 674) for the relief of the estate of Marcus Walker, deceased, late of Franklin, in the State of Louisiana; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 675) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to refund certain moneys collected by the United States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 676) for the relief of certain employés of the United States mint at New Orleans, La.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 677) for the relief of the heirs of Joseph Nicholson Chambers, late a resident of the parish of East Feliciana, in the State of Louisiana; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 678) for the improvement of Southwest Pass, Mississippi River; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 679) to provide for the location and satisfaction of outstanding military bounty land warrants and certificates of location, under section 3 of the act approved June 2, 1858; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 680) conveying to Rafael Seguro, of Iberia Parish, La., the right, title, and interest of the United States in and to certain lands in said parish of Iberia; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. PALMER introduced a bill (S. 681) granting a pension to William Emerson; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. WHITE of California introduced a bill (S. 682) to repeal an act entitled "An act to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies," approved July 2, 1890, and to define, punish, and restrain acts, contracts, and combinations in restraint of trade and interstate commerce; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. PEFFER (by request) introduced a bill (S. 683) to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors within the District of Columbia; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. PROCTOR introduced a bill (S. 684) for the relief of Mrs. Evalyn N. Van Vliet; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. MANDERSON (by request) introduced a bill (S. 685) to amend the general land law of March, 1891, by making ceded Indian lands free to five-year homesteaders; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. HANSBROUGH introduced a bill (S. 686) to amend an act entitled "An act to divide the judicial district of North Dakota," and to provide for the fees and compensation of the officers of the circuit and districts courts of the said judicial district; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. TELLER introduced a bill (S. 687) for the relief of the legal representatives of A. C. Boone; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. BLACKBURN introduced a bill (S. 688) for the relief of Theodore R. Timby; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. HUNTON introduced a bill (S. 689) to authorize the Falls Church and Potomac Railway Company of Virginia to extend its line of road into and within the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. VANCE introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 21) for the relief of the aged and infirm colored people of the District of Columbia; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

COINAGE OF SILVER.

Mr. PASCO. I submit several amendments to be proposed to the amendment of the minority of the Committee on Finance to the bill (S. 570) discontinuing the purchase of silver bullion. I ask that the amendments may be read and lie on the table and be printed.

The amendments were read and ordered to lie on the table and to be printed, as follows:

Amendments intended to be proposed by Mr. PASCO to the amendment introduced by the minority of the Committee on Finance to the bill (S. 570) discontinuing the purchase of silver bullion.

Strike out section 1 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That a commission, to be composed of three citizens of the United States, shall be appointed by the President, to ascertain and determine by the 1st day of January next the fair and just ratio between the actual and intrinsic values of silver and gold, as a basis for the future coinage of silver, as herein after provided, without discrimination against either metal or charge for coinage, so that the dollar unit of coinage of both metals may be of equal intrinsic value. And the said commission shall report to the Secretary of the Treasury the result reached by them as soon as practicable after the date hereinbefore named, and he shall thereupon fix and determine the weight of pure and standard silver to be contained in the silver dollar, the half-dollar, the quarter-dollar, and the dime authorized to be coined by this act, according to the said report, and the said coins so authorized and thereafter coined shall be of the standard and weight thus fixed and determined by the Secretary of the Treasury."

In section 2 strike out all after the second "of" in line 10, and insert in lieu thereof the following: "The fineness and weight fixed in accordance with the provisions of the first section of this act."

In section 3 insert after "may," in line 2, "from and after the 1st day of March, 1894."

Mr. HILL. I desire simply to give notice that if agreeable to the Senate I shall address it on Friday next, at the conclusion of the routine morning business, upon a subject about which the Senate has heard very little—the silver question.

TRANSACTIONS OF NATIONAL BANKS.

Mr. STEWART. If the morning business is through I should like to submit some remarks.

Mr. PEFFER. There is at least one resolution which comes over from yesterday.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate

the resolution submitted by the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEFFER], coming over from a previous day. It will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted yesterday by Mr. PEFFER, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to inform the Senate—

First. Whether, and in what respect, the national banks, or any of them, in the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia are being now conducted in violation of law.

Second. Whether said banks are paying depositors' checks promptly in lawful money.

Third. Whether said banks, or any of them, are demanding rates of interest higher than those provided by law for the loan of money or in discounting notes and bills.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. HOAR. I move that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. PEFFER. Is the motion to refer debatable?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair so understands.

Mr. PEFFER. I hope the Senator from Massachusetts will not insist upon a reference of the resolution. It is a very important matter, and we ought to have the information immediately.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Massachusetts that the resolution of the Senator from Kansas be referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I once heard President Grant say that the worst subordinate a military officer could have is one who always obeys orders. In a time of popular distress and panic it is utterly impossible to get along without the greatest trouble and suffering if every man and organization charged with a public function is compelled to drive everybody it has to deal with up to the strict letter of the law.

I understand that the President of the United States appointed a Comptroller of the Currency who had not been a banker, who had not been a speculator, who had not been a dealer in credits or exchanges of any kind. He took a man whom he believed, and believed on good evidence, was a clear-headed, capable man, able to deal, with energy, force, impartiality, and honesty, with any public subject upon which his faculties should be turned, and to discharge any responsibility that should be committed to him. As to whether the President was right in his estimate of that gentleman I have, of course, no personal means of pronouncing an opinion, but I suppose the Senate thought he was right because they confirmed him.

I understand he has not thought it best to bring everybody right up to the rack whenever any national bank in this country has failed to comply with the strict and extreme letter of the law in dealing with its customers, and has tried to get along and have the communities and business men supplied with credit as well as currency; and I think it would be well to wait a week or ten days and see what we are going to do about things in general before we go to poking into that question too much.

The Comptroller of the Currency is acting under the direction and the constant supervision of an eminent gentleman familiar with these subjects, lately a member of this body, who is acting under the direction and constant control of the legally constituted President of the United States. I do not believe it is well to pass this resolution just now. If the Committee on Finance look at it and by to-morrow morning or the next day say that it is not going to do any harm, or that there is not any more information they want to ask at the same time, they will report it back.

Mr. VOORHEES. I think it would be much safer to have the resolution printed and referred to the Committee on Finance; so as to let us see exactly what we are doing in these critical times.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the Senator from Indiana that the resolution has been printed. The motion of the Senator from Massachusetts is that it be referred to the Committee on Finance. That is the pending motion.

Mr. VOORHEES. That is the correct motion.

Mr. HARRIS. May I ask that the resolution be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be again read.

The Secretary again read the resolution.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President, I noted what the Senator from Massachusetts said in regard to the present Comptroller of the Currency. I think at a time of great peril and difficulty that officer is giving the country evidence of signal ability and signal integrity, and that he can be most fully trusted in the discharge of his duties.

I trust that the resolution may be referred to the Committee on Finance. It will not be buried there by any manner of means, but it will be examined, and we can then act more intelligently and more safely than we can by adopting it this morning.

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President, I know that we are all out of order in this discussion.

Mr. HOAR. Not at all.

Mr. PEFFER. I understood that the discussion of the resolution is not in order at this time.

Mr. COCKRELL. It is a legitimate subject of debate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Kansas is recognized on the resolution.

Mr. PEFFER. I am surprised, Mr. President, to witness the sensitiveness of Senators upon this point at a time of peril such as we are now passing through, when the people of this country are looking to the men who are congregated in the national Capitol as their lawmakers for counsel and advice. When it comes to our ears that one of the institutions which the Government has established for the purpose of supplying currency to the people is not obeying the law, and that instead of supplying currency they are refusing it, they are hoarding it, it is time that the people should know the truth about it. Hence I have asked for an official answer from the Secretary of the Treasury.

My information is, as the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] kindly suggested a moment ago, that the banks are being run to-day in open violation of law, that the lawful reserve in New York City alone has been diminished some $19,000,000 below the lawful amount. I am informed reliably by what has been said on this floor, by private correspondence, and by word of mouth, that not only in Boston, in New York, and in Philadelphia, but in other portions of the country, the national bankers are refusing to pay even depositors their own money, and yet we are asked now, in this condition of things, to refer the resolution to the Finance Committee, for no other reason in the world, I am satisfied, with due respect to the integrity of the Senators, but to delay this proceeding and to shield the banks from the consequences of an exposure before the American public.

We are now discussing the pending measure, which I understand is the regular order, to supply to the national banking institutions an additional currency by extending to them the benefit of the margin of 10 per cent upon their bonds now deposited, and while we are discussing that measure, a measure of relief, a resolution asking whether the banks are now being conducted according to law is to be shelved and side-tracked by being sent to a committee and kept there. I have no idea that the resolution will be reported favorably until, as Senators have kindly suggested, the storm has passed over.

I am tired of the delay of public officers, Mr. President. These banks are public institutions, and I propose, so far as I and those I have the honor to represent are concerned, to hold them to a strict accountability.

Mr. KYLE. Mr. President, I hope the Senate will not at this time refer the resolution to the Committee on Finance. It means, if it is not buried there, that the resolution will be reported back adversely by the majority of the committee.

I believe in the right of the Senate of the United States to ask for information from the Secretary of the Treasury whenever they see fit. It is right that the members on one side of this discussion should receive the same courtesy and the same treatment on the part of the Secretary of the Treasury as the other party receives. I noticed the other day that when the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] spoke upon his measure, the silver bill, that the Secretary of the Treasury was immediately upon hand to furnish gratuitously information for the benefit of the majority of the Committee on Finance.

I claim now the right, as one of those who are interested in knowing the condition of the national banks, to have this resolution considered.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. May I ask the Senator what he means by information being gratuitously furnished by the Secretary of the Treasury?

Mr. KYLE. I mean that he is ready to anticipate the wishes of the majority of the Committee on Finance.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. Does the Senator mean to state on this floor that the Secretary of the Treasury was not requested in writing for the information which he furnished?

Mr. KYLE. Privately, I presume.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. Has the Senator preferred any request to the Secretary of the Treasury for information which has not been responded to?

Mr. KYLE. Does the Senator refer to myself?

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. Yes, sir.

Mr. KYLE. I have not, unless denied at this time.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. Then the Senator has been denied no information by the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. VEST. If the Senator from Louisiana will permit me, in the communication from the Secretary of the Treasury to which the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. KYLE] refers, Mr. Carlisle himself says, "referring to a conversation had with the Senator from Indiana." There it is [exhibiting], showing that there was no written communication and no official demand from the Fi-

nance Committee or from the Senate for that letter. It grew out of a private conversation, as the Secretary himself says.

Mr. VOORHEES. I was in search of light and knowledge that morning, and I went as chairman of the Committee on Finance, as a Senator from Indiana, and as an humble individual, to a man who I thought, and still think, knows far more on these questions than I do, or than even does the Senator from Missouri, for whose ability I have great respect. I asked the Secretary of the Treasury in regard to the feasibility of coining at the rate of 20 to 1, and he stated to me the points of objection. I then requested to have them put in writing and sent me. That is the history of it.

I have very great respect for the Senator from Missouri, for his bill, for his work, and for anything he does, but I wanted to know whether there were objections to the recoinage of the silver now in existence in this country, and, if so, what they were, and I asked the Secretary to tell me, and then asked him to put the information in shape so that I could use it publicly.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I have no issue with the Senator from Indiana, and made no statement that there was any irregularity in regard to that communication. I referred to the remark of the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. WHITE], who asked the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. KYLE] if he meant to say that that communication did not come from an application in writing?

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I do not think I said that. I beg the Senator's pardon. I stated, or meant to state, that the information had been "requested," and did not intend to use the words "in writing." The statement of the chairman of the Committee on Finance entirely bears out what I said, and, in my judgment, makes it perfectly manifest that the application of the word "gratuitous" to the Secretary of the Treasury in discharge of his great functions of sending a communication in answer to a request of the chairman of the Finance Committee of this body, whether verbally or in writing, is utterly unborne out by the facts and unjust.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I think the Secretary of the Treasury had a perfect right to send the letter in question to the distinguished chairman of the Finance Committee of this body, and that it makes very little difference to anyone whether it was sent gratuitously or otherwise. He had a right to furnish that information to any Senator, either upon request or otherwise. That is not the question, however, now before this body.

The distinguished Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEFFER] has seen fit, in the discharge of his duty as a member of this body—entitled as much as any other member to full rights as a Senator here—to introduce a simple resolution of inquiry with reference to the public conduct of an officer of this Government. Such resolutions have been passed here time and time again upon the bare request or suggestion of a member of the Senate.

I am not here to make any accusations against the officer referred to. I do not assume that he has violated the law. Possibly there might have been no suggestion of the reference of this simple resolution to the Committee on Finance but for the fact that the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] was understood to say that it was likely or probable that that officer might have in some slight or trivial respect violated the law of the land.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator will pardon me. I said nothing of the kind. I was speaking of the national banks, and said I did not believe they should be brought right up to the rack when they were doing the best they could, and I spoke of the Comptroller of the Currency not being in a hurry to prod and drive them to the strict letter of the law. I think he is, so far as I know, absolutely within his legal discretion and legal duty. I preceded what I said by stating that I understood that he was selected for his office under the belief, on the part of the President and the Senate, that he was a man of large common sense and not interested in any of these institutions, as he was engaged in another profession.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I assume that the Comptroller of the Currency is bound by the law of the United States, and if it is his duty to prod the national banks, then he ought to perform that duty. I do not know whether he has discharged his duty or not, but I assume that he has, and I assume that he can make a proper and respectful reply to the resolution of the Senator from Kansas.

I think a principle is involved here. It is not customary to refer to the Finance Committee resolutions asking for information, for the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. MCPHERSON] less than six months ago offered a resolution for information which would enable him to make some remarks upon the tariff question, and the resolution was promptly passed. How frequently have such resolutions been passed here upon the bare request, or even the bare suggestion, of the most humble member of this body?

What is there in the resolution that it should be suppressed? What is there in the resolution which requires that it should be examined by the Finance Committee? I make no reflections upon that committee. I have the greatest respect for its distinguished chairman and for each member of it. That is not the question. The question simply is that we have before us a resolution asking for information in reference to the discharge of duty by an officer of the Government in reference to financial matters to which the eyes of the country are now directed. I think courtesy requires that we should allow the Senator from Kansas to have the resolution passed in order that he may make such suggestions or remarks on the subject as may seem to him proper.

I have heard no suggestion why the resolution should go to the Finance Committee. I do not share in the opinion of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. KYLE] that a reference would be the last we would hear of the resolution. If that be true, it ought not to go to the committee; but I do not believe it. I simply say that similar resolutions have been passed heretofore upon a bare suggestion for information, and why make an exception with the Senator from Kansas now? That is the question I present to the Senate. I think we ought to pass the resolution. I think we ought to give an officer of the Government an opportunity to vindicate himself, and I think he can give this information quickly and there will be no trouble with regard to it. Therefore I think the resolution ought not to be referred to the Finance Committee.

Mr. MANDERSON. Mr. President, a few days ago in a debate upon the bill to increase the issue of currency by the national banks to the extent of 10 per cent of their bonds and up to the par thereof, the question arose as to what was the course which had been pursued during this time of great financial distress by the banks of the city of New York, and there seemed to be a difference of opinion and a lack of full knowledge in the Senate upon that proposition. I think that since that debate the press of the country has somewhat relieved the Senate's ignorance. There seems now to be no question but that the banks of the city of New York, when checks of their depositors are presented to them, decline to pay the currency upon such checks and demand of the depositor that for the check thus presented he shall receive a clearing-house certificate. That has been frequently stated of late in the press of New York.

I am not ready to say but that that course, which is a technical violation of the law and for which there is perhaps no warrant in the statutes, is probably justifiable under the present deplorable conditions; but I do not agree with the Senator from Massachusetts that it is well we should cover up from the knowledge of the people exactly what is the course that is being pursued by the national banks of New York and elsewhere. If the existing facts justify such action outside of the pale of the law, the people of the United States are intelligent and patriotic enough to appreciate that that strain of the law is needed at this trying time.

I have in my hand the Sun, which, it is said, "shines for all," and rises daily in the city of New York, of date Monday, August 21, issued since the debate to which I refer, and I find therein an article signed Matthew Marshall. I have no personal acquaintance with him, but I understand that he is one of the trusted financial editors of the New York Sun, who every Monday morning gives to the public an article on the monetary situation. I read from this article the following statement of the facts as they now exist in the city of New York:

> Notwithstanding the large arrivals of gold from Europe and the increase of their reserves, the banks of this city still refuse to pay their depositors in currency, and will do no more than certify checks as good through the clearing-house. Consequently currency can be had in considerable amounts only by paying, as it is said, a premium upon it, which is now about 3 per cent, but the transactions are really sales of claims against the bank at 3 per cent discount. That is to say, the money which a depositor had to his credit on a bank's books a month, and which was then worth par, will now bring only 97 cents on the dollar, with the prospect of a still further depreciation. Many depositors, therefore, instead of buying currency with their checks, pay out the checks themselves to their creditors, who pass them on in turn to other creditors, and thus a new kind of currency has been added to the miscellaneous varieties of it already in circulation. We had: 1, gold coin; 2, silver dollars; 3, silver fractional coin; 4, gold certificates; 5, silver certificates; 6, old legal tenders; 7, Sherman-act Treasury notes; 8, national-bank notes; and now we have a ninth kind in certified bank checks, the issue of which on an extensive scale by the banks of the South and the West is proposed as a means, in the absence of other money, for moving the crops to market. How grievously our whole currency system needs reorganization and reform this bare statement of its chaotic condition sufficiently testifies, but we seem to have no financiers competent for the task.

I quote further from this interesting article:

> The question is, how much longer our banks can, without bringing on a catastrophe, continue in their course of increasing the volume of clearing-house certificates and of denying to their depositors payment in lawful money of their checks. Thus far depositors have been very patient, and have good-naturedly submitted to the enforced scaling down of their dues; but they can not be expected to submit to it forever. A bank that can not or will not pay claims against it in the regular course of business is, by the decisions of our State courts, insolvent, and, if the bankrupt act of 1867 were now in force, a refusal by a bank for forty days to pay checks on demand would be a commission of bankruptcy.

This extract from the article shows the situation in the city of New York. There can be but little doubt about the truth being as stated by this writer, but the exact facts as they exist are called for by the resolution of the Senator from Kansas, which

I hope either by its immediate adoption by the Senate or its speedy report by the Committee on Finance, if it shall be thought best to send it to that committee, will be procured for the use of the Senate.

I do not take kindly to the suggestion of the Senator from Massachusetts that it is well for an officer of the Government of the United States to step outside of the law that creates the duty of his office. It may be that Gen. Grant said that a good subaltern officer is one who disobeys orders. I have been taught, on the contrary, that the highest duty of a military subaltern is obedience to the order of his superior. I think one of the most unfortunate results that obtained during our war in the way of distress, of outrage, of riot, and rapine was when an officer in the northern part of Alabama, reaching a section of that State, said to his command that he proposed to close his eyes to their actions for two or three hours.

I do not believe in officers of the Government closing their eyes to that which is in violation of the law, either civil or military. If they do so, it certainly should be done in such open manner as to challenge the criticism and, if the facts justify or demand it, justify the support of the people of the United States.

I do not see how any harm can come by a full exposé of the present condition, believing, as I do, that what has been done has been for the best. I hope the resolution of the Senator from Kansas will speedily pass, and that we may obtain the information called for by it.

Mr. McPHERSON. Mr. President, since I have been a member of this body in all the mutations of party politics I have never visited a Department of the Government and asked for information upon any subject that it has not been promptly given me. With one single exception, to which the Senator from New York has referred, I think I have never offered a resolution in this body calling for information from any of the Departments, because of the fact that it was infinitely easier for me to obtain it by visiting the Department and simply preferring the request.

Now, sir, the resolution offered by the Senator from Kansas evidently has at least one object. The desire for information is a very proper one, but the Senate has an organ in this body in the person of its Finance Committee. It has been the universal practice of this body when important matters of a financial character came before it to refer the subject of the resolution to the Finance Committee, and, if necessary, have the committee bring the officer of the Government, who has been criticised in the country, before the committee and investigate each and every matter involved in the criticism.

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President——

Mr. McPHERSON. No, I do not yield to the Senator at this moment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from New Jersey declines to yield.

Mr. McPHERSON. Mr. President, as long as we have that organ constituted as it is, made up of both political parties, and composed of gentlemen representing every idea with respect to the bills and resolutions that may be now pending before this body, surely no Senator will for a moment believe that there would not be a fair and a proper investigation of the whole subject and such a report made to this body as is proper for the committee to make.

Now, as to the alleged technical violations of law. The people of this country are in a suffering condition. A condition of panic exists everywhere in this country because of want of money. If there has been a technical violation of law, the Committee on Finance will investigate it and report, and then the Senator from Kansas will make such criticism upon it as he pleases. But to arraign before the people of the country at this particular time an officer of the Government charged with the great responsibility of preventing a worse panic existing among the industries of the people, and to do it in this manner, seems to me to be very unseemly. I do not think it is improper.

The resolution should go to the Committee on Finance. I have no doubt the honorable chairman of that committee would immediately set about an investigation, and when the investigation is made it will be reported. No Senator has a right to complain of any dilatoriness on the part of the Committee on Finance in reporting back to the Senate measures which have been submitted to it, either with one recommendation or another.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. President, I think if we want this information it is rather important that the resolution be not referred to the Finance Committee. I think the course of the Finance Committee as shown in the last report which we had manifestly foreshadows what would be the fate of this resolution. We would undoubtedly have a report from the Finance Committee to the effect that it is of the utmost importance we should have this information, but owing to the existing condition of affairs and the necessity of inspiring confidence we ought not to press it. I suggest that if we want the information the call for it had better go direct from the Senate.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, I am aware that it is the custom of this body to pass any resolution asking for information from a Department of the Government that any Senator may think he requires in the discharge of his public duty, but I submit that there are exceptions to all rules. There comes a time, as it has come before, when patriotic duty would require nonaction if action were to bring further distress upon the people of this country. There are some things, Mr. President, that we are bound to take note of. They are as public as if they were in the written law. For the third or fourth time during our present monetary system we have reached a period when the national banks of the country are powerless to furnish sufficient currency to provide for the current business.

Mr. President, it is not a new case. The same thing occurred in 1873, 1877, and 1890, and now, in 1893, when it was impossible for the banks to literally comply with the law. They violated it by refusing to pay checks when presented, though the amount was on deposit. They issued clearing-house certificates by the millions, as they are doing to-day. They did it openly. The Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency, whose sworn duty it is to enforce the law, may not have had official information of it; but they must know that the strict enforcement of the law would close the doors of many of the best banks in the country. Such action would not only impair the usefulness of the banks, but would affect injuriously every commercial interest. Mr. President, never during the existence of the national banks has a period arrived half as threatening as the one which confronts us now.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator from Maryland allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. GORMAN. With great pleasure.

Mr. HOAR. Suppose the Comptroller of the Currency shuts up the banks, will not the result be that everyone of them will have to be put into the hands of a receiver and nobody will get any money until the receiver pays it out?

Mr. GORMAN. Why, Mr. President, the Senator states the law. He knows that is the law; and the mover of this resolution, and every gentleman of intelligence in the United States, understands that that is the fact. There is not a man I know of outside of this Chamber, no matter what his views may be as to the remedy, who does not know that there is a technical violation of the law, and that it is the patriotic duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to forbear and not add to the distress, but wait until we shall act and give relief.

Now, Mr. President, heretofore on each of the occasions when there was such action as the banks are now taking, there was but one remedy. There is but one remedy under the system of finances by which the country is operating. The banks are powerless to act except as they have done. No relief ever has been given the country except through the Treasury Department, which came to their relief by the sale of bonds and the deposit of the currency in the national banks, or anticipating the interest on the public debt, thus increasing the currency in circulation. That was the action on each of the occasions of congestion and panic during Gen. Grant's Administration, and afterwards by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] during the Hayes Administration. When he was Secretary of the Treasury, he was criticised for placing hundreds of millions in the possession of the national banks.

Under Mr. Cleveland's former Administration, Mr. Manning, Secretary of the Treasury, deposited sixty-odd millions within a few months in the national banks, because the banks were then helpless as they are now. They could not then honor all demands. The relief given by the deposit of Government funds stayed the panic. But now Mr. Carlisle, the Secretary at the head of the Treasury Department, is powerless to give relief for the reason that the money is not in the Treasury and bonds can not be redeemed. You have left nothing there to redeem them with. No deposit can be made in the national banks, because the money is not in the Treasury.

And now, Mr. President, by the action of this august body, by the passage of a resolution of inquiry so drawn that it would be understood by the country—and I take it it would be understood by the Executive—to mean an expression of opinion by the Senate that he must enforce the law. To do this, without first having provided the Treasury with money to relieve this distress, means increased embarrassment. Congress had better never have assembled than that such action should be taken.

As I understand this matter, we have met here not to add to the embarrassment of the people of the country, not to bring further distress upon financial institutions or to throw more labor out of employment, but we have met for the purpose of giving relief. In whatever form it comes, divided as we are on both sides of the Chamber as to the details of the bill to be passed, I do not

doubt (as I never have doubted the wisdom of any Congress) that we can rise above our own views, our own partisanship, sink it all in this hour of distress—a distress greater than any which has occurred from 1861 until now. Mr. President, under such circumstances the rule of the Senate, the custom of the Senate, more binding than law, that every member shall have what information from a Department he may deem necessary for his public duty, ought, in my judgment, to be set aside in the interest of the common weal.

Mr. President, I trust the resolution will be referred to the Committee on Finance for its consideration.

Mr. HILL. I am as anxious, sir, as the Senator from Maryland can possibly be to relieve the financial distress of this country. I will go with him as far as he will go in the effort to keep out partisanship in the disposition of the financial question. From the hour we first met in this body my efforts have been toward bringing about a proper solution of the question; and my efforts have been just as zealous, just as earnest, as have been the efforts of the Senator from Maryland. My position upon this great financial question has not been misunderstood. I spoke upon this subject last February when I thought I saw the danger coming to the country. I did not hear the eloquent voices of some other gentlemen aiding me in that contest.

What is the precise question? Gentlemen do not understand one another upon the other side of it. I thought I heard an intimation that there had been something wrong somewhere. I judged that much from the suggestion of the Senator from Massachusetts. He disavowed any intention of saying that there had been any wrong anywhere. Then the Senator from Maryland steps forward and says, "Yes; there has been a violation of the law, a conceded violation of the law, on the part of national banks, winked at by officials." That is the idea we get from his remarks. I do not know whether that is true or not. I think, whether it is true or not, it ought to be investigated.

What do you want to refer to this committee? Is it a committee of investigation to investigate the acts of the Comptroller of the Currency? No. For what purpose is the resolution to be referred? As I understand the Senator from Maryland, the only object of a reference to the committee is for the purpose of not acting upon it, for the purpose of suppressing it in the interest of the public welfare. That seems to be the idea. There has never been a cause so bad in the history of the country that its advocates have not always felt that they acted in the interest of the public welfare.

The resolution is a simple one. What is it? It simply asks the Comptroller of the Currency to give us certain information in his possession as to what has been done in his office, or by the national banks of the country, so far as he understands what has been done. The details of the resolution I do not propose to give. What is the objection to it? Is it a proposition to try the Comptroller of the Currency? Is it a proposition to arraign the national banks for a violation of their duty? No; it is a simple, ordinary, and proper resolution; and I say courtesy to the distinguished Senator from Kansas entitles the resolution to be passed here and now. What reason can there be given against it?

The Senator from Maryland says there are great times in the history of the country when we must rise above partisanship. I agree with him. What has that to do with this question? There are great times when we must be equal to the occasion. What has that to do with suppressing an ordinary resolution of inquiry? The resolution does not provide for the appointment of a committee to investigate anybody. The resolution does not provide for making charges against anybody.

Are you afraid of the facts? This very debate will cause inquiry into what has been done. This debate in the Senate of the United States will direct attention to the question, and every person will be apt to inquire to-morrow morning what has been done by national banks, and what has been done by the Comptroller of the Currency, that the Senate of the United States dare not pass a simple, ordinary resolution of inquiry? What are you afraid of? Are we not trying to quiet the existing panic? Is the panic to be quieted by such proceedings as this? Are resolutions calling for information to be suppressed, put down, shelved, put into a committee and there pigeonholed? Can we not stand the light of day on this subject? Can not the acts of our officials, whoever they may be—and I myself make no charges against them whatever—stand a simple inquiry?

What will this committee do? The Senator from New Jersey says that the committee will look into the matter, and the fair inference from his remarks is that if they find anything wrong they will not report the resolution, but if they find everything has been right, then they will report the resolution. Why can we not make that inquiry now? I appeal to the Senators around this Chamber that there is no reasonable, tenable objection that is presented why the resolution should not be passed. Why should not the distinguished Senator from Kansas be treated the same as every other member of this body? He has the same rights to offer a resolution and have it passed.

How long is it since a resolution of inquiry has been referred to a committee before being allowed to pass? I have not heard it in the last year and a half that I have been here. Therefore, I say to you it is not a question of patriotism. It is not a question as to what should be done in this great hour of distress. It is a simple, ordinary question of Senatorial courtesy; and I have heard no reason yet presented why the resolution of the Senator from Kansas should not be passed. I do not agree with him in his peculiar notions of finance. I do not belong to his party. He has his own views upon these questions, but he has a right to have any proper, legitimate information spread upon the records of the Senate, and there can be no objection to it.

Mr. WASHBURN. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from New York a question before he sits down. Supposing that this resolution is passed and these inquiries are made of the Secretary of the Treasury, and, in response, he states to the Senate what every intelligent business man in this country knows to be the condition of things in the city of New York, so far as the national banks are concerned, and supposing the Secretary answers in the line of exact truth, what does the Senator propose to do about it? What does he propose thereafter that the Senate shall do?

Mr. HILL. I have made no proposition as to what we shall do. That is for the Senator from Kansas to say. In acting under his oath of office, he must be the judge of what it is his duty to do under those circumstances. Possibly I shall do nothing but listen to the debate, as I have done most of the time since I have been here, but the Senator from Kansas will have the right to judge for himself what he will do. It is not for me to judge for him.

Mr. WASHBURN. It seems to me if the resolution is passed and we receive the reply which is inevitable, that it will be notice to the Comptroller of the Currency to administer the law literally and technically: the result of which will be to close almost every bank in the country and place it in the hands of a receiver. That is a calamity which, it seems to me, we should look forward to with great hesitation. I do not believe it is the duty of patriotism, of party, or of good common sense to inject anything of that kind into the present deplorable condition.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I desire to call the attention of the author of the resolution and the Senate to its phraseology. If it were a resolution merely calling for certain facts, then I should be disposed to agree with the Senator from New York [Mr. HILL] and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEFFER], who offered it; but a careful examination of the resolution will show that something more than that is involved and implied in the resolution. For instance, take the first clause, which reads as follows;

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to inform the Senate—

I call especial attention to this—

First. Whether, and in what respect, the national banks, or any of them, in the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, are being now conducted in violation of law.

That calls for no fact whatever; it calls simply for a conclusion, an expression of opinion on the part of the Secretary of the Treasury as to whether the banks in these three several cities are or are not being conducted according to law. There is in this first resolution, I respectfully submit, an implication, first, that the banks are proceeding in violation of law; secondly, there is an implication in the request of the Secretary of the Treasury that that violation of law is being winked at or carried on with the approval first, of the Secretary of the Treasury, and, secondly, with the approval of the Comptroller of the Currency—an implication which I do not think ought to be cast upon any public officer by any simple resolution calling for information.

It is the privilege of the Senate, desiring information, it seems to me, to specify the facts in reference to which it is desirous of being advised, and then to call upon the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish the information. But to adopt a resolution calling upon the Secretary of the Treasury to state whether certain banks are proceeding "in violation of law," is a resolution for which I do not like to vote.

I am no defender, of course, of the Administration; it has its defenders here; but I believe in the honesty and integrity of both the Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency. I believe the present Comptroller of the Currency to be a very able, dignified, and honest man, thoroughly capable of conducting the business of his office. I believe he is earnestly and faithfully wrestling with the condition of the country to-day in his official capacity, and doing the best he knows how, and as well as any man could. I should not like, therefore, so far as I am individually concerned, to vote for the first clause of the resolution, which carries with it an implication of wrongdoing,

first, upon the part of the banks, and secondly, upon the part of the Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency.

Now, let us see the second request. It is objectionable, also, although not to the same degree as the first:

Second. Whether said banks are paying depositors' checks promptly in lawful money.

Mr. HILL. What objection is there to that?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I should think a resolution in this form would be infinitely better:

Second. Whether the national banks or any of them, are paying depositors' checks promptly, and in what kind of money.

Then we shall get the facts.

Mr. HILL. Is there any difficulty with the Secretary of the Treasury determining what is lawful money?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. The Senate of the United States is just as capable as the Secretary of the Treasury of determining what is lawful money and what is not lawful money. What we want to know is as to the kind of money which is being dealt out for those checks.

Mr. HILL. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Yes, sir.

Mr. HILL. When the Secretary tells us what kind of money is being paid out, he can describe it as lawful money or unlawful money, or he can describe it in any way he pleases so that the Senate can tell.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I think that would be as objectionable as the part to which I attract attention. What is the third request?

Third. Whether said banks, or any of them, are demanding rates of interest higher than those provided by law for the loan of money or in discounting notes and bills.

There we again apply not for a fact, but for an opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury. The resolution ought, in my judgment, if we desire to be advised as to the facts, to read something like this:

Third. What rates of interest said banks, or any of them, are demanding for the loan of money or in discounting notes and bills.

We shall then be calling for a fact, not a conclusion; and it would be for the Senate to determine whether the kind of money that is being proffered in liquidation of checks is lawful money or not.

I shall cheerfully vote for a resolution calling for the facts, but I do think the resolution should be amended so as to leave no implication at the outset of wrongdoing upon the part of the Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, if I took the view of these resolutions which the Senator from Oregon evidently takes, I should certainly not vote for them; but as I understand the English language, I can not, for the life of me, understand how any Senator or anybody else can discover in the language of the resolutions the slightest purpose to reflect upon the Comptroller of the Currency or the Secretary of the Treasury. They are resolutions couched in the usual language, purely and simply of inquiry.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I beg pardon. If the Senator from South Carolina will allow me, I do not think he can point to a single resolution ever proposed, much less adopted, by the Senate of the United States, in which the head of any Department was called upon to say to the Senate whether a certain law was being violated or not.

Mr. BUTLER. The resolution does not ask him whether he is violating the law. The first clause says:

Whether and in what respect the national banks, or any of them, in the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia are being now conducted in violation of law.

Not that the Comptroller of the Currency is violating the law; not that the Secretary of the Treasury is violating the law; but whether, from his official position, he can inform the legislative department of the Government that any of these banks is conducting its business in violation of law. I can not understand what harm or injury is to result to anybody from that information. On the contrary, I do understand why very great good may result.

The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. WASHBURN] informs us that everybody knows the national banks have violated and are violating the law. Well, if everybody knows it, what harm can result if the Senate should be informed officially of that fact?

Mr. WASHBURN. Harmed in what respect?

Mr. BUTLER. If it is such a grave matter—if we are right on the verge of a precipice—if there is an abyss just in front of us, and we are in danger of going over that precipice by the publication of this information, we can consider it in executive session.

But the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] has informed us that the Comptroller of the Currency has not prodded the national banks, has not held them up to a strict accountability under the law. He does that upon his official responsibility. I have no complaint to make if he has done the best he can; but what harm is to result to the country if the Senate is informed officially of that fact? That is all that is asked.

I suppose I stated in the outset that if there was any purpose or design to arraign the Comptroller of the Currency or the Secretary of the Treasury I would be the last man on this floor to vote for such a resolution; but, as the Senator from New York [Mr. HILL] has stated, it is the ordinary, every-day resolution of inquiry for information; and if it should turn out that these banks have been violating the law, if it should turn out that they are responsible for the present condition of affairs, instead of the Sherman act, it seems to me we could legislate more intelligently if we knew that fact.

I make no accusations against the national banks. I have my own individual opinion as to the causes of the troubles which are upon us; but I do not understand that these institutions are hedged about by any special protection or divinity which would protect them against the inquiries which the Senator from Kansas has very naturally made.

For one, I shall vote against referring the resolution to the Committee on Finance. There is nothing for the committee to investigate. The resolutions do not call for an investigation; they simply call for information which the legislative department of the Government has a right to have, and without which, possibly, it may not be able to legislate intelligently.

I suppose, from what I have heard, that the Comptroller of the Currency has done the best he could, and is doing the best he can; the Secretary of the Treasury has perhaps done the best he could under the circumstances; but I have yet to understand why any contingency, however grave and serious it may be, can protect anybody for violating the law when the balance of the country is held to a strict observance of it. There is no justification for any such imputation. If these institutions have flown in the face of the law, and are continuing to do so flagrantly and violently, this body ought to know it, and know it promptly, in order that they may apply the proper remedy and prevent the repetition of the offense.

I would state one fact which comes within my own personal knowledge. I met a gentleman on a train last night, who informed me that, as president of a large manufacturing establishment in the South, he had deposited in one of the banks of the city of New York a large amount of money, and had telegraphed and written to that bank to send him $5,000 of currency with which to pay his laborers on Saturday night.

Mr. ALLISON. A national bank?

Mr. BUTLER. I am not prepared to say that it was a national bank—I do not know about that—but it was one of the banks of the city of New York. He said that that bank at first declined to do it, but finally sent him $5,000 in currency and charged him 1½ per cent for sending him his own money. I said to this gentleman, "You certainly did not pay it?" "Why," said he, "I was obliged to pay it." "To pay 1½ per cent for sending you your own money?" "Yes, sir." That is one instance. As has been stated by some Senator, I believe that a check on a man's own deposit has to be discounted at 3 per cent.

I have heard a great deal about the want of confidence in the country, brought about by the Sherman act. The Sherman act had about as much to do with that want of confidence as a pebble in a mill pond has to do with stirring the waters. It is, unless we are all misinformed, a want of honesty—and we may as well speak plainly—and the sooner the country finds it out the better it will be for everybody.

There are a good many things, perhaps, which might be said in this connection, but I shall defer, and shall content myself with saying and repeating substantially what has fallen from the Senator from New York—that this is an ordinary resolution of inquiry submitted by a Senator upon this floor, we must assume in good faith, for the purpose of procuring information to enlighten the legislative mind.

Mr. HARRIS. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. BUTLER. Certainly.

Mr. HARRIS. I ask the Senator if he is sure that this is the ordinary resolution of inquiry? In view of the criticisms made by the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL], the first inquiry is, have certain banks executed the law in the performance of their duty? That is an inquiry for a legal conclusion.

I think the resolution ought to be modified in form. I have no objection to inquiry being made of the Treasury Department for any fact within its keeping, but why should we ask that Department for a legal conclusion? Let the Senator from Kansas modify his resolution, asking for any number of facts he wants, and I will go with the Senator from South Carolina to enable him to obtain them; but why should we make the inquiry of that

Department? If the Senator wants legal conclusions, the resolution ought to be addressed to the law department of the Government, the Attorney-General. Therefore, I do not think it is quite the ordinary resolution of inquiry.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, that is a criticism of the language of the resolution in which, of course, the Senator from Tennessee may indulge. I take a different view. I think this is simply a resolution of inquiry addressed to the proper officer of the Government. If legal conclusions are requested, that officer can very easily refer the resolution to the Attorney-General for his judicial opinion as to whether the banks have violated the law; but the reply of the Attorney-General, I think, to an inquiry of that kind would be, "I have no information upon which to base a judgment and, therefore, I am unable to answer the inquiry."

I am not at all particular about the phraseology of the resolution, but, I submit, in common fairness not only to the Senator from Kansas, but to this whole body, that the resolutions ought to be passed, and the information, if possible, ought to be furnished to the Senate.

My experience in resolutions of inquiry has been, in days gone by, that the executive officers send to the Senate just such information as they please, and we have no means of compelling them, which I have yet discovered, to disclose facts which they choose to conceal. I do not mean to say or intimate that this official would do that, but I do say that within my knowledge it has been done in the past. I take it if the Comptroller of the Currency or the Secretary of the Treasury should conclude that the information would be incompatible with the public interests—I believe that is the stereotyped phrase—the chances are that he would decline to give it, and perhaps give the reasons for his refusal.

Mr. FRYE. That phraseology is never used with the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. BUTLER. I do not say it ever has been done.

Mr. HOAR. I merely wish to suggest to the Senator from South Carolina, as he will recollect in a moment, that we do not put that phrase into any request, except requests made of the President.

Mr. BUTLER. I understand that that phraseology is only used in requests sent to the President, and sometimes in requests to the Secretary of State in reference to matters relating to foreign governments. But the Secretary of the Treasury will send just such information as he pleases. If he gives it all, so much the better.

I have not been able, however, to share with other Senators in the belief that we are on the eve of such a great and solemn crisis, as the expression is, that this body may not be informed of a public fact with which it may have to deal.

Mr. CULLOM. Mr. President, when the resolution came up this morning it occurred to me that possibly it ought to be referred to the Committee on Finance, and I believe that I made a remark of that kind in the hearing of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR]. I do not see, however, that there is any probability whatever that any information will be given by the Secretary of the Treasury or the Comptroller of the Currency which will disturb public affairs, because I am not one of those who believe that there is any information to be given which would do so.

I believe, in the first place, that the Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency will state the exact facts, and all of them, for that matter, and that when they are all stated nobody will be hurt, in my judgment.

Mr. COCKRELL. Would it not inspire confidence on the part of bank depositors?

Mr. CULLOM. On the contrary, if the facts should be stated as I have indicated, and it is found that the banks of the country and the business of the country have been going on in a legitimate, lawful way, instead of doing injury, the information will do good.

Whatever difficulty may have existed in New York, in Boston, and in Philadelphia as to the manner of doing business by the banks of those three great cities, I desire to say in behalf of the banks in my own State, I believe in the whole West, and in the great city of Chicago particularly, there has not been an hour at any time during this panic, as it is called, when, if a man had the money in a bank and presented his check, he could not get the money for it, and that is the case to-day.

While I am not disposed to criticise the action of the New York and other Eastern banks upon the question of issuing clearing-house checks, because there may possibly be a condition there which justifies it, yet I am inclined to believe that if the banks of those cities had gone straight along, as did those of Chicago and St. Louis, they would have been paying checks to-day, instead of using these other instruments of writing as a mode of settlement. Whatever be the case, however, I desire to appeal to my friend from Kansas to put his resolution in a plain, straight manner, asking for the facts; then I shall be ready to vote for it, and I am inclined to think other members of the Senate will do the same thing.

Mr. HILL. Will the Senator allow me a moment?

Mr. CULLOM. Certainly.

Mr. HILL. With the consent of the Senator from Kansas, I offer the following as a substitute for his resolution:

First. What facts may be within his official knowledge which may show that any national banks in the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia are now being conducted in violation of law, if any such are so conducted.

Second. Whether such banks are paying depositors' checks promptly, and in what kind of money.

Third. What rates of interest said banks, or either of them, are demanding or receiving for the loan of money or in discounting loans and bills.

I think that will accomplish the object the Senator from Kansas has in view.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. The first clause, I think, is about as objectionable as the original.

Mr. HILL. The first clause asks an officer of the Government for any facts within his official knowledge showing a violation of the law. If that does not accomplish the object, then I do not know how to frame a resolution.

Mr. PEFFER. Will the Senator from New York again read the first clause?

Mr. HILL. It reads:

First. What facts may be within his official knowledge.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I suggest that the Senator insert "if any."

Mr. COCKRELL. Say "What facts, if any."

Mr. HILL. I will modify it so as to read:

First. What facts, if any, may be within his official knowledge which may show that any national banks in the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia are now being conducted in violation of law, if any such are so conducted.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the Senator from New York that the amendment offered by him can be read for information. The Chair understands, however, that the proposed amendment is not in order during the pendency of the motion of the Senator from Massachusetts to refer to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to make a suggestion to the Senator from New York.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM] has the floor.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair so understands.

Mr. CULLOM. I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts for an inquiry.

Mr. HOAR. I beg the Senator's pardon. I suggest to the Senator from New York that, instead of the phraseology which he uses, he use some such language as this:

Tending to affect the question whether any banks have complied with their legal obligations.

It seems to me quite clear that if it should turn out that any bank in the country has violated the law, if there be any fact bearing upon that question, it ought to come to us, and with it the excuse or apology or otherwise, that that should come in also and should not be excluded.

If the Senator will allow me to put a simple illustration. We will suppose that there is a bank in the city of Boston where the Senator and I each have a deposit. That bank has $10,000 in currency, and that is all it has. Of course I do not mean to state an extreme case of that kind as probable, but I put it in that way to illustrate my meaning. Suppose I send in a check for $10,000 and the Senator from New York sends in a check for a like amount, and the Senator from New York is asked by the president of the bank, "What are you going to do with that money?"

Mr. HILL. I think I should not tell him.

Mr. HOAR. I think you would. The Senator from New York replies, "I am going to pay 1,000 workmen $10 apiece, on which they can support their families for the next week." Suppose the president would say, "Mr. HOAR, what are you going to do with that money," and I replied, "I am going to take my family to Europe, and want to make a deposit of $10,000 with the Barings," and the president of the bank would say, "I can supply but one of your demands, and I think the demand of the Senator from New York is the one which public interest requires me to comply with." That is in principle and substance what some of the baks are doing. I do not know how many. Will not the Senator so modify his request for the information that the attendant explanatory facts may come in, and not merely the bald, naked refusal to pay the check?

Mr. HILL. In regard to the instance which the Senator from Massachusetts gives, I simply say that while the transaction may be a perfectly proper one, and I should appreciate the favor of the cashier of the bank in permitting me to get my money, yet,

nevertheless, the Senate is entitled to know precisely what the transaction was.

Mr. HOAR. That is what I want.

Mr. HILL. And it does not change it in any form to call it a violation of law or anything of the kind. I do not think it is offensive in the slightest degree to ask an officer whether any bank in the country has violated the law.

I do not care about the precise phraseology of the resolution. The criticism was only made when the Senator from Oregon rose. It had not been criticised before. The Senator from Kansas is entitled, and we are entitled, to the information, whatever form of language may be adopted.

Mr. CULLOM. I had about concluded what I had to say, but I yielded to my distinguished friend from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] because he seemed to be very anxious to make extended inquiries.

Coming back to the question, it is not very material as to what language is used in connection with the subject. The country knows what is desired; and the resolution in any form will procure, I have no doubt, the information. I think, as a matter of criticism, the resolution of the Senator from Kansas might be modified with great propriety, but, so far as I can see, it is not going to hurt anybody if it stands as it is.

Mr. FAULKNER. I should like to ask the Senator from Illinois a question, if he will permit me.

Mr. CULLOM. Certainly.

Mr. FAULKNER. I should like the Senator from Illinois to state a single instance which has occurred in the Senate—certainly none has occurred since I have been one of its members—where a resolution of inquiry has been presented in this form, and the chairman of the committee having jurisdiction over the subject-matter of the resolution has asked its reference to the committee, so as to determine whether it were necessary to enlarge its terms or otherwise, that the request has ever been denied?

Mr. CULLOM. In response to the Senator from West Virginia, in the first instance, I will say the reference of the resolution to the Committee on Finance was not asked by the chairman of the committee, but by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], and the chairman of the Finance Committee subsequently indorsed the request in about as mild a way as it could be done.

I agree with the Senator from West Virginia that, ordinarily, when the chairman of a great committee asks that any resolution of inquiry shall be referred to his committee, it is proper and right that it should be done; but there does not seem to be enough to this resolution to justify any long debate about it in the first place, or its reference to any committee, because it is a resolution, if it be in proper form, similar to resolutions offered by Senators almost every day during a session.

Mr. FAULKNER. The Senator will permit me again. Has not the importance of the action which the Senate has uniformly taken been demonstrated in this very case, in which we find that the Senator from New York, in order to reconcile his views upon this question with the views of other Senators, has materially and essentially modified the language of the resolution as originally proposed by the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. CULLOM. Generally it is wise to refer important resolutions to the committee having the subject-matter in charge. I agree to that; but, as I said before, this is a simple resolution of inquiry, and most of the information asked for, I have no doubt, is already in public documents. There seems to be a desire to find out a few additional facts, and it is rather magnifying the consequence of them by referring the subject to a committee. If anything is calculated to disturb the public mind, it is the effort on the part of the Senate to make this a great question. So far as I am concerned, I am willing to vote either way without discussing it further.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, as an ordinary rule, I believe, when a Senator desires information upon any matter in any of the Departments of the Government, he is clearly entitled to have that information, and as a general thing we pass resolutions *nem. con.*, asking for information; but an examination of the resolution of my friend from Kansas, I think, shows it to be a resolution of very wide scope. I do not know that it is wise to pass it without some modification—even, perhaps, a further modification than that suggested by the Senator from New York. The first inquiry contained in the resolution is:

> Whether, and in what respect, the national banks, or any of them, in the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia are being now conducted in violation of law.

Manifestly the Secretary of the Treasury has no information in his office that any or all of these banks are being conducted in violation of law. It will be necessary, therefore, for him, before he can answer the resolution, to make inquiry of each and every bank in the cities of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia as to what they are doing, in order to know whether or not they are acting in violation of law.

I do not know how many banks there are in the city of New York, but I understand there are fifty-four national banks associated together in what is known as the clearing house. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] can probably inform me how many national banks there are in Boston. I should say there must be thirty or forty of them, and probably a like number in the city of Philadelphia.

The pending resolution requires the Secretary of the Treasury to give us information as to each and all of these banks—because he must inquire of each and all of them before he can give us information—upon the topic whether or not they are conducting their business in violation of law. That, I submit, is a pretty extensive inquiry to be made by the Secretary of the Treasury, and he might possibly inform us that he had no appropriation which would enable him to make such a careful investigation.

The second inquiry is:

> Whether said banks are paying depositors' checks promptly in lawful money.

With all deference to my friend from Kansas, who sits near me, I do not like that phraseology. It is an implication in justification of the conduct of the national banks of the city of New York, which I think has been, and probably is now, reprehensible. Those of us who were here some years ago remember very well that the national banks of the city of New York refused to take upon deposit silver certificates issued by the Government, and in 1882, now eleven years ago, we were compelled by law to say that no national bank should be a member of any clearing-house association which did not receive on deposit silver certificates; and it is a matter of fact well known—at least, very well known in this body and elsewhere—that those national banks from that hour to this have, wherever they could, discriminated against silver certificates.

They have pushed them out and out into the remote regions of our country and held, where they could, the greenbacks and the gold certificates. Much of the currency famine that has recently existed in the city of New York arises from the fact that the banks have not held in their vaults as a part of their reserve the silver certificates issued under the authority of the United States, nor have they held there any silver dollars. The silver certificates and silver dollars have been pushed out into the remoter regions of our country.

By implication at least, the Senator from Kansas says the banks in these great cities ought to pay all their depositors in lawful money of the United States, when we know that silver certificates are not lawful money. Therefore, for one, I do not wish by implication to sanction, in this body, the idea or suggestion that for a moment we here condone the banks for discrediting the silver certificate of the United States which calls for lawful money and which is a legal tender in the payment of debts and in ordinary transactions.

The third inquiry made by the Senator from Kansas is pertinent and proper. If any national bank in the city of New York, or Boston, or Philadelphia, or anywhere else, is exacting from the people of this country who do business with it unlawful interest, it is a violation of law which should subject it to the severe scrutiny of the Comptroller of the Currency, and, if need be, impose upon it such penalties as the law has provided against the payment of unlawful interest.

Mr. President, I criticise in this way the resolution, for the reason that I fear it will not accomplish in detail what the Senator from Kansas may have in his mind. I confess I have not heard him explain in detail precisely what he wishes to reach. If it is that the banks are receiving unlawful interest, they should be condemned for it. If it be that they are paying out silver certificates instead of lawful money to their depositors, they should be commended for it. Therefore I would not condemn them even impliedly for not paying their depositors in lawful money.

If the Senator from Kansas and other Senators who support the resolution desire merely to raise the question whether the system adopted by the associated banks in the city of New York, and in the cities of Philadelphia and Boston, are issuing their certificates and that those certificates ought not to be issued, then let us make that the issue directly and squarely with the banks and with the Secretary of the Treasury. Let us inquire whether the banks are issuing certificates of the associated banks and whether the certificates are being circulated as money in violation of law, and then, if we choose, let us deal with it by prohibitions or by condemnations as we may determine.

So I would prefer that we should go even beyond the suggestions made by the Senator from New York, and make specific inquiries, in order that we may know what the banks are doing in violation of law. If that is the point aimed at (and I suppose

there is something of that kind aimed at in the resolution) I am willing to pass the third proposition without debate and without suggestion, because no national bank, especially in this stress of our country, should be permitted for a moment to act as a miser and Shylock, in exacting unjust and usurious interest in violation of law.

Therefore I am in sympathy with my friend with respect to that inquiry. I should be glad to know whether the national banks are paying their depositors in the currency of our country, including silver certificates as well as lawful money. That part is a pertinent inquiry; for if I am a depositor in a national bank, whether in the city of New York or elsewhere, I have a right when I call for my deposit that I shall be paid in the current money at the time, and that I shall not be paid in anything else. If that is aimed at let us inquire whether the national banks in these cities are failing to pay their depositors in the current money of our country. As to the certificates of the associated banks, I confess myself that I have regarded them as somewhat irregular, and yet I am told that they do not circulate as money, and are not so intended, and if that is the case they may be within the letter although without the spirit of the law.

So, Mr. President, I would be glad to have the Senator modify his resolution to meet the criticisms which I have made and which others have made, if he will do so; and that perhaps would avoid the necessity of referring it to a committee. But if it shall be referred I do not regard the Committee on Finance now, whatever it may have been in the past, as a tomb for the burial of resolutions and propositions that may be presented to it by the Senate.

I know it has been criticised in the past in that way, but now we have a living, active, energetic committee, composed of a majority of our friends on the other side, and for us to assume for a moment that the resolution would be consigned to the tomb of the Capulets in that committee I think would be an unjust imputation. As an humble member of the committee I shall endeavor to secure whatever information the Senator desires within the fair purview of the law and make a report as early as possible if the resolution shall be referred, but I would prefer that there should be a fair modification of the resolution in order to secure whatever information we want and that is available, and that then we shall pass the resolution without debate.

Mr. McPHERSON. Mr. President——

Mr. CULLOM. If the Senator from New Jersey will yield to me, I have a letter from the Comptroller of the Currency in reference to deposits in national banks, etc., which it might be well just now to put in the RECORD.

Mr. BUTLER. Let it be read.

Mr. CULLOM. It is very brief.

Mr. McPHERSON. I yield for that purpose.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The letter will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY,
Washington, D. C., August 16, 1893.

SIR: In reply to your inquiry of this date, the following is the information requested:

Amount of capital stock of national banks at the close of business August 15, 1893, $698,638,165.

Amount of bonds deposited in United States Treasury to secure circulation at the close of business August 15, 1893, $197,040,400.

Amount of surplus belonging to national banks at the close of business July 12, 1893, date of last report of condition, $249,138,300.

Amount of net undivided profits July 12, 1893, $89,051,877.

Amount of individual deposits in national banks July 12, 1893, $1,556,761,230.

Very respectfully,

JAMES H. ECKELS,
Comptroller.

Hon. S. M. CULLOM,
Senate Chamber, City.

Mr. HOAR. I call for the yeas and nays on the pending motion.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. McPHERSON] has the floor.

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator from New Jersey will allow me—I do not propose to cut off debate—I merely want to have the yeas and nays ordered on the pending motion.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Massachusetts to refer the resolution of the Senator from Kansas to the Committee on Finance. Upon that question the yeas and nays are demanded.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. McPHERSON. Mr. President, I would not rise to say another word with respect to this matter except that I have a deep and abiding feeling that it is one of supreme importance, which should have careful, and calm, and deliberate consideration by the Senate. I should like to inquire of any Senator who takes the opposite view what the Comptroller of the Currency is to report. Under the provisions of the resolution is he to report from day to day the examination of each of these banks so far as progress has been made, or is he to delay until such time as he obtains all the information required by the resolution and then make a single report?

Does the Senator from Kansas propose day after day, in the absence of a report, to rise in his place in the Senate and demand to know what amount of information the Comptroller of the Currency has received? We stand here, Mr. President, in the midst of great peril, in a time of great danger. It seems to me that the Senate should view this matter with composure and should not take some new and untried method of bringing the question before the Senate. The Senator from New York [Mr. HILL], in the observations which he made to this body, said that if the resolution did not suit the views and judgment of the committee, probably it would not be reported.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair is compelled to interrupt the Senator from New Jersey. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, it is the duty of the Chair under the rule to lay before the Senate the unfinished business coming over from yesterday, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President——

Mr. McPHERSON. I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts, knowing very well——

Mr. HOAR. No, I have the floor in my own right. If the Senator wishes to continue his speech I will yield myself. I understand the pending resolution goes over under the rule, and I take the floor on the unfinished business; but I will yield to the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. McPHERSON. Oh, no.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield the floor to the Senator from New Jersey to conclude his remarks?

Mr. HOAR. I do not understand that the Senator from New Jersey desires to conclude.

Mr. PEFFER. I ask that the pending business be temporarily laid aside in order that the Senator from New Jersey may continue his remarks.

Mr. McPHERSON. I do not insist on that. I shall not interfere with the pending order.

Mr. PEFFER. Then I ask that the unfinished business may be laid aside temporarily.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Kansas that the unfinished business be laid aside temporarily?

Mr. HOAR. I have the floor, I understand. I object.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There is objection, the Chair will state to the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. BUTLER. The Senator from Massachusetts perhaps did not hear the request of the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. HOAR. I did. He asked that the unfinished business be laid aside to continue the consideration of the resolution which has been before the Senate.

Mr. BUTLER. He desires to have it temporarily laid aside in order that he may submit some remarks.

Mr. HOAR. I did not so understand him.

Mr. BUTLER. That is what I understood the Senator from Kansas to propose.

Mr. PEFFER. That is what I was trying to say, but I will not speak more than five minutes.

Mr. HOAR. I wish to speak about five minutes on the bill now before the Senate. I propose to be absent to-morrow, and I should like to say what I have to say now.

Mr. COCKRELL. I suggest that there be unanimous consent that the Senator from Massachusetts be heard, and then that the Senator from Kansas follow him.

Mr. GORMAN. Certainly.

Mr. STEWART. I proposed to address the Senate this morning, but gave way for morning business.

Mr. WASHBURN. I think it is more important to go on with the unfinished business than to continue the consideration of the resolution of the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. VANCE. I wish to inquire what has become of the privileged question which is before the Senate and is to be voted on at 5 o'clock.

Mr. PEFFER. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Kansas asks the attention of the Chair for a moment.

Mr. HOAR. I have the floor, I understand, and the Senator from Kansas rises to a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. PEFFER. It is a mere parliamentary inquiry whether, as the situation now is, the further consideration of the resolution which has just been laid aside will be in order to-morrow morning or whether it is now disposed of?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that the resolution goes to the Calendar under the rule.

INCREASE OF NATIONAL-BANK CIRCULATION.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks.

Mr. HOAR. I ask that the amendment to the pending measure offered by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add to the bill the following as an additional section:

SEC. —. That section 3412 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, the same being section 122 of the national-bank act, imposing a tax of 10 per cent upon the amount of notes of any person or of any State bank or State banking association used for circulation and paid out by them, be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

Mr. HOAR. I wish to have the attention of the Senate for only about five minutes upon the amendment offered by the honorable Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER], and upon the general question of the various amendments which have been offered to the pending bill.

Mr. President, I am opposed to removing the tax on the circulation of State banks, because I am opposed to restoring to those banks the power of issuing, circulating, and furnishing currency which it was the object of that tax to take away from them. I think the people of this country entitled to have a currency of which every dollar shall be equal to every other, and which shall be unchanging in value so far as the wit of man can bring that to pass.

That currency should be national. It is the function of the National Government to see that it is provided. It never has been and never will be provided by the States.

Mr. Madison declared that "it is the duty of the Government to establish a national currency."

Whenever the National Government has undertaken that duty it has been well performed. Whenever it has left it to the States, the result has been most disastrous. In 1814, 1837, and in the period from 1853 to 1860 the people of this country were compelled to use a circulating medium which fluctuated 10, 20, 50 per cent in different States. The result was the great financial suffering of those years and the years which followed. They were times in which, as Daniel Webster well described them, "the only uncurrent property in this country was money."

Mr. President, there is a spirit abroad which seems to desire that the American workingman, the farmer, and the business man shall have at their command two kinds of money only: the first, money that will not pass current in any nation but ours; the second, money that will not pass current in any State or neighborhood but his own.

We are asked why we will not trust the function of regulating this matter to the States. I answer very frankly that I am unwilling to trust the matter of regulating these matters to the States. We have tried the experiment, and it failed. The money of the Bank of the United States, as long as it was supported by the Government and until it became a private institution, and the money of national banks from 1863 to the present day, has circulated without distrust and without the loss of a penny to any holder. The money of our national banks to-day will pass all over this continent and all over Europe, I suppose, without discount.

The States have tried their hands at this business, and have failed. Some of them have a strict and some of them have a loose system of banking. But I think in every one of them there have been instances—where the banks have failed—of great loss to the holders of bank bills. I remember myself, in 1853, waiting for ten or fifteen minutes at the ticket office at the station in Baltimore, where there was a crowd, while the railroad official consulted a book to know the value of the different bills which were offered him to pay for tickets, and made a reduction of 3 per cent on one man's bill, of 5 per cent on another, and 10 per cent on another. I was somewhat gratified when I held out to him a $20 gold piece in one hand and a $20 Massachusetts country bank bill in the other, and he preferred the bill to the coin.

There is no use mincing these matters. Some States will yield, in times of panic, to the demand for loosening the restrictions on the issuing of currency; some States will establish their systems originally on false principles, and the result will be that while their own people will be the chief sufferers, the people of the whole country will suffer more or less. Every dollar, whether of paper or coin, which a workman, or woman, or child may be induced to take should be as good as any other dollar the world over, and that can be accomplished only by the Government of the United States.

Mr. President, the great crises, the times of suffering and financial distress in this country have not been times preceded by a scarcity of currency. Undoubtedly when the panic came money was hoarded and took to cover. But the panic has been caused primarily by a want of public confidence in the medium of exchange, and that want of public confidence has been caused in its turn by other issues, an irredeemable and ill-regulated currency. In the great crisis of 1837, Mr. Webster described this condition of things as follows:

And as to the soundness of the currency, how does that stand? Are the causes of alarm less now than in 1829? Is there less bank paper in circulation? Is there less fear of a general catastrophe? Is property more secure, or industry more certain of its reward? We all know, gentlemen, that during all this pretended warfare against all banks, banks have vastly increased. Millions upon millions of bank paper have been added to the circulation. Everywhere, and nowhere so much as where the present Administration and its measures have been most zealously supported, banks have multiplied under State authority since the decree was made that the Bank of the United States should be suffered to expire.

Look at Mississippi, Missouri, Louisiana, Virginia, and other States. Do we not see that banking capital and bank paper are enormously increasing? The opposition to banks, therefore, so much professed, whether it be real or whether it be pretended, has not restrained either their number or their issues of paper. Both have vastly increased.

When the present panic came on, like a clap of thunder from a clear sky, while I do not attribute it wholly or chiefly to any legislation affecting the currency, yet it has come on at a time when the currency was more abundant in this country, both in absolute volume and per capita, than at any other time in its previous history. It is not a want of currency, but a want of confidence in it that impairs the credit and brings panics.

I desire to relieve the distress of the people by authorizing the additional issue of national-bank notes which are secure and safely guarded, every dollar of which will be as good as a gold dollar in the pockets of the people, and by a prompt repeal of the provision which, if it stands and continues, will have a tendency to increase our silver coinage to an amount far above the existing gold coinage of the country, far above our existing supply of gold, and far above its reasonable proportion to gold under present circumstances. I am willing to take measures, in concert with other commercial countries, for restoring silver to its proper and permanent place in the service of mankind. But with this measure I desire to stop.

Mr. President, it has been said a dozen times—it can not be said too often—that the profit of debased currency, of a fluctuating standard of value, of insecure paper money, goes to the bankers and dealers in credit whom the repeal of this provision will multiply in every part of the country. It has been said that to argue for a safe circulation, regulated by the States, needs a humorist and not a financier. The loss, the sorrow, the suffering is to fall upon the laborer, the farmer, the person unacquainted in business, the woman, and the child.

There is one consideration specially applicable to this matter, which ought to be stated here. That is the vast and dangerous multiplication of counterfeiting which always existed, and which always must exist under State regulations. The loss by these communities falls upon unskilled persons and upon communities far from centers of business. The colored people of our Southern States, those of them who are now endeavoring to become honest, industrious American citizens, will be the class, most of all others, to be the victim of this crime. If there were no other objection to this amendment this would be enough, in my mind, to condemn it.

Mr. BUTLER. Would it interrupt the Senator from Massachusetts if I should ask him a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAULKNER in the chair). Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. HOAR. Certainly.

Mr. BUTLER. I understand the Senator to state that in 1837, when the State-bank circulation was in operation, great harm, and injury, and wrong were suffered by the laboring classes.

Mr. HOAR. I read Mr. Webster's testimony to that effect, given at the time.

Mr. BUTLER. Will the Senator be kind enough to account for the present suffering which is going on among the laboring classes of the United States when the State-bank circulation is not in operation?

Mr. HOAR. They are now suffering, as I have just observed, from the want of an abundant currency.

Mr. BUTLER. I understand from the newspapers that there are about a million laborers out of employment.

Mr. HOAR. The currency is hidden now. Then it was bad.

Mr. President, it is the fashion nowadays to make bitter attacks on our banking system. I do not suppose that system to be perfect. I have no doubt experience has taught us, and will hereafter teach us, many improvements in the conduct of these institutions, some of which may, I dare say, be profitably brought about by legislation. But it is the best we ever had. In my opinion it is the best we are likely to get. I think it is of immense importance to the people of the United States to se-

cure the strictest supervision, under national authority, of the institutions which furnish currency and the institutions which lend credit. Neither private responsibility nor State supervision will, in my opinion, be sufficient to secure this needed scrutiny.

What is the main function of a bank? It is that which enables the working people of this country, whose labor is at the foundation—alike of all agriculture and all manufacture—to receive the pay for their work in cash, while all other persons engaged in production must do their part upon credit and wait for their share until the consumer is ready to pay for the finished product.

As has been often said, 90 per cent of all the vast manufactured product of this country—the greatest manufacturing country in the world—is labor. That labor, when the process of manufacturing begins, and until it ends, receives its daily, or weekly, or monthly stipend in cash. The employer, unless he has accumulated a fortune, must get credit both for his material and for what he pays to his workmen until the time comes for him to dispose of the finished article. Even then, in the ordinary course of business, he sells to the purchaser on a future credit until the article is finally disposed of to the consumer.

This credit it is the function of the bank to supply. It is a function more important even than the function of supplying currency. This function must be performed by institutions whose integrity, financial soundness, careful conduct, and moderate gains are, in part, regulated by law, and in part secured by the blazing light of publicity upon their every transaction, or the function will be discharged by irresponsible private speculators, against whom the public and business men of the country have no security whatever.

There are exceptions. But the gains of our banking institutions for the last twenty years have been moderate and not at all out of proportion to the difficulty and risk of their business. It will be a bad day for the people and the United States when the business of their exchanges and their credits ceases to be conducted by well-regulated banking institutions, and private speculation takes its place.

How is it that this thing operates? It is the simplest of matters, as it is the commonest of occurrences. The man who has become the master of some manufacturing business, who has been a journeyman, or a foreman, until he has become fitted by experience and by public confidence to be the master of an establishment, either alone or in company with some owner of capital, builds and starts a mill. Very likely he borrows one-half the cost of his plant. The plant is worth a hundred thousand dollars, and he has to borrow fifty or forty thousand dollars of that amount. He goes to a savings bank, where the earnings of wage-earners and of poor people have been deposited and gets the money.

When he is ready to start he assembles 100 or 200 workmen, everyone of whom must be paid cash down daily, or weekly, or fortnightly, or monthly. If he can not borrow the money to do this, these workmen must remain unemployed, or his business must stop or must be transferred to some large capitalist who can advance the money. He gets the money at a bank of discount. Now, Mr. President, I appeal to the experience and observation of every man who knows anything about the subject that these two places—the savings bank and the national bank—are the places where this money, if the security be good, can be had at the cheapest rate and on the most favorable terms as to prospect of renewal, if necessary.

Suppose the national bank is shut up and the private moneylender has taken its place. Does anybody believe that the business of this country can be conducted, as it has been in the main for the past ten years, at 5 per cent or 6 per cent, and in many places at 4 per cent or 4½ per cent, as the ordinary rate of discount?

But for this banking system the workman must go unemployed or must work on credit and sell his claim against his employer to sharpers and speculators, and the employer must in turn resort to the private speculator, subject to no Government supervision, subject to no restraint and no law, exposed to no publicity and to no restraint of public opinion, or the manufacturing business of the United States must stop.

Is there any doubt that under these circumstances the ordinary rate of interest on business paper would at least double? Is it not true that wherever the banks are most abundant the rate of interest is the lowest? Is it not true that whenever the ordinary condition of things is disturbed the remonstrance and the cry of alarm comes first to us from the banking centers of the country?

The notion seems to prevail in some quarters—I sometimes think it has penetrated the Senate Chamber, and, indeed, I sometimes think it has taken possession of the Finance Committee, or some of them—that the managers of our Eastern banks are a set of harpies, delighting in the misery of the people, reaping a harvest from their distress, and expanding and contracting the currency, seizing business by the throat, and "bulling" and "bearing" the market in order that their institutions may reap a benefit from the people's sorrow.

Mr. President, there is no truth whatever in the notion. Wherever there is an actual or a threatened departure from the path of steady business, conducted under general and permanent rules, limited to moderate gains, and conducted by safe processes, the first and the most emphatic remonstrances that reach us come from our banking institutions. I can speak for the conductors of these institutions in my own State. Their stockholders are, as a rule, persons of moderate fortunes, whose savings have been invested in the banks with the desire not so much for large profit as for permanent safety.

Men buy a little bank stock that they may leave it to their widows or their children as a permanent and secure resource, which is to stand and abide through long terms of years. And the directors of the New England banks are, as a general rule, the class of persons whom men select for integrity and wisdom and prudence in the conduct of such trusts. They are not the speculators, they are not the rash and daring investors; they are not, as a rule, men whose own property is at stake in the hazards of speculation or in the hazards of ordinary business. They are men who have retired, many of them, from other active duties, and are advanced in years; men who are known by their prudence in the management of their own affairs to be fitted for the office of stewards and managers of the property of others that may be intrusted to them.

There are exceptions in this branch of business, as in other branches of business. But in the main, and as a general rule, if you wish to find men on the bed rock of whose integrity you would be willing to rest a confidence which should endure and not fail—when the infant just born shall become of age after twenty-one years—or when the girl just made a widow shall be an aged woman of fourscore—you may seek them and you will find them among the managers of the banking institutions of New England, with as much certainty as anywhere on the face of the earth.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President——

Mr. VANCE. I call for the regular order, the privileged question which is before the Senate, and upon which it was agreed that we shall vote at 5 o'clock. Several Senators are prepared to address the Senate on the subject, and if the financial debate goes on they will not have time. Hence I call it up now.

Mr. STEWART. If any Senator desires to speak I do not wish to interfere with the matter which is to be voted on at 5 o'clock. I gave notice that I would submit some remarks on the bank bill immediately after the morning business. The time seems to have been consumed, and I renew the notice for to morrow. Immediately after the morning business to-morrow shall ask leave to submit a few remarks upon the bank bill.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled bill (S. 50) in aid of the California Midwinter International Exposition; and it was thereupon signed by the Vice-President.

PURCHASES OF SILVER BULLION.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the Senate of August 21, 1893, a statement prepared by the Bureau of the Mint, giving the aggregate amount of silver bullion purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, during the month of July, 1893, together with the cost thereof; the amount, date, and price of each purchase, etc.; which, with the accompanying papers, was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the resolution reported by Mr. HOAR from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, March 27, 1893, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as Senator from the State of Montana.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, if sentiment or feelings of friendship governed in the matter under discussion, I would find no difficulty in voting to sustain the report of the majority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections. The gentleman who comes here by appointment of the governor of Montana has won friends on all hands, while the late Senator from the State of Washington [Mr. Allen] is a man for whom I entertain feelings of profound regard and admiration. But we are not dealing with sentiment or friendship, but with the Constitution of the United States, which we are sworn to uphold.

Interpreting that instrument as I do, and after having listened patiently to the debate; having studied both reports, investi-

gated the precedents, and carefully read the proceedings of the Convention which framed the Constitution, I am reluctantly constrained to cast my vote against the admission of the gentlemen appointed by the governors of the States which are now partially unrepresented in this body.

Had it not been that my own State has furnished an unusual number of contests of this kind I would have contented myself with casting a silent vote, but as it is I will ask the Senate to bear with me a few minutes in the closing hours of this debate.

In the debates on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, Mr. Ellsworth said:

> It is only said that the Executive may supply vacancies. When the legislative session happens to be near the power will not be exerted.

And that view seemed to be generally accepted by the Convention; certainly it was not combated by anyone.

The Constitution says, Article I, section 3:

> If vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

That language is certainly free from ambiguity to the ordinary mind. Shrewd lawyers may contort it; special pleaders may give it a meaning not intended, but I submit that a fair interpretation of it absolutely destroys the claim that is set up in behalf of the appointed Senators from Montana, Washington, and Wyoming.

Let us, Mr. President, briefly look at the precedents directly bearing on this question. I hold in my hand the recent publication entitled "Compilation of Senate Election Cases from 1789 to 1885," and I select the cases under the head of "Cases concerning the power of executives of States to fill vacancies." Some of these cases were decided in the early history of our Government and when the purpose of the framers of the Constitution was presumably understood.

The first case on record is that of Kensley Johns, of Delaware, in 1794, a case which the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], in his exceedingly able report, inadvertently, no doubt, omitted from the list of cases he submitted. Mr. Johns was denied his seat on the ground that a session of the Legislature had intervened between the vacancy and the appointment.

Case 2. Uriah Tracy, of Connecticut, in 1801: Mr. Tracy's credentials set forth that he was appointed "from the 3d of March until the next meeting of the Legislature." Mr. Tracy was given his seat, but it will be noted that the Legislature of Connecticut had not been in session between the date of the vacancy and the appointment.

Case 3. Samuel Smith, of Maryland, in 1809: This case simply involved the question whether a Senator holding a seat by appointment could continue to sit after the State Legislature had convened.

Case 4. James Lanman, of Connecticut, in 1825: Mr. Lanman was refused his seat, notwithstanding the State Legislature had not been in session. This case is peculiar, and it is unfortunate that the grounds on which the Senate proceeded are not given.

Case 5. Ambrose H. Sevier, of Arkansas, in 1836: In this case the committee of the Senate reported that, as the time when Mr. Sevier was to go out of office was decided by lot, and as the Legislature, not being in session after this decision (mark the words) could not supply the vacancy, it came fairly within the provision of the Constitution. Accordingly Mr. Sevier was given his seat.

Case 6. Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, in 1851: His case simply involved the question as to the time when the term of service of a Senator appointed by the executive of a State, during the recess of the Legislature thereof, rightfully expired. It has no application whatever to the present contest.

Case 7. Archibald Dixon, of Kentucky, 1852: This case involves only the question of tenure, and, like the preceding one, has no relevancy to the question at issue.

Case 8. Samuel S. Phelps, of Vermont, in 1853: This is an interesting case, inasmuch as Mr. Phelps was denied his seat for the distinct reason that the Legislature of Vermont had been in session and failed to elect. A majority of the Senate committee reported in his favor, but the report was rejected by a vote of 12 yeas to 26 nays.

Case 9. Jared W. Williams, of New Hampshire, in 1854: This is a case where the Legislature met and failed to elect. Mr. Williams was denied his seat, and the State was only partially represented for a time, as has happened to other States at different times in the history of our Government.

Case 10. Charles H. Bell, of New Hampshire, in 1879: In this case the Legislature did not convene until June following the vacancy on March 4. The governor appointed Mr. Bell, and by a vote of 35 yeas to 28 nays Mr. Bell was seated.

The only two remaining cases are those of Henry W. Blair, of New Hampshire, in 1885, and Horace Chilton, of Texas, in 1891. The Blair case was identical with that of Bell, just considered, while the Chilton case did not involve any of the questions pretaining to the case under consideration.

It will thus be seen, Mr. President, that in all the cases involving the power of the executives of States to fill vacancies under circumstances where the State Legislature has been in session, not one case similar to the one under consideration has been decided affirmatively. The precedents are all against it, and the contention of the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts that it was the intention of the framers of the Constitution to always keep the Senate full does not appear to have been seriously entertained in the early years of our history.

The New Hampshire cases of Bell and Blair have been cited to sustain the views of the majority, but it should not be forgotten that the Legislature of New Hampshire did not have an opportunity to elect in either one of these cases.

But, notwithstanding this fact, I never believed that the Senate acted wisely in either the Bell or the Blair case. By an amendment to our State constitution changing the time of election and not changing the date for the legislative session, the people of my State deliberately deprived themselves of the power to choose a Senator at the proper time, so as to keep the Senate full, and I know of no constitutional provision authorizing the governor to appoint under such circumstances.

And again, Mr. President, while a portion of our people felt and believed that Messrs. Bell and Blair should be admitted from March 4 to the assembling of the Legislature, in June, I never heard a man in New Hampshire, Republican or Democrat, suggest that if the Legislature failed to elect in June the governor could again appoint. That is a new gospel, so far as the people of my State are concerned.

Mr. President, I am opposed to the views of the majority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections (1) because they are, as I conceive, in conflict with the spirit and intent of the Constitution, which provides that the terms of Senators shall be for six years, and that they shall be elected by the Legislatures of the several States and not be appointed by the executive, except in cases where the legislative branch can not exercise its constitutional duty of choosing a Senator because it has not had an opportunity so to do.

2. I am apposed to the proposition because it leads to the absurd and dangerous conclusion that if in this instance, because of the failure or neglect of duty on the part of the Legislatures of three States to elect Senators, three Senators are to be seated by appointment, a larger number may be seated in the same way in some future Congress, so that we may reach the time when a majority of this body will be here, not as the choice of State Legislatures, but as the appointees of governors.

3. I am opposed to seating these men because the Legislatures of the States from which they came, whose duty it was to elect, adjourned without discharging the function imposed on them by the Constitution, thus voluntarily and absolutely relinquishing their right to full representation in this body.

4. I am opposed to seating these men, because such action on the part of the Senate will be in the nature of a premium on disloyalty to party, and will give encouragement to ambitious and unscrupulous men to exert their influence to nullify the constitutional method of electing Senators. If a political obstructionist, disowned and repudiated by his party, can gather around him a few men, controlled either by honorable or venal means, prevent a choice of the Legislature, and secure his own appointment by the governor—I say if this can be done once, what is there to prevent it being done by the same man a second or third time, and thus the representation of the State be kept full by the choice of a man selected not by the Constitution, by a man not the choice of the people of his State, by a man not the choice of his own party, but by a man who, either by political trickery, by corrupt means, or by disloyalty to party, perpetuates himself in the Senate in opposition to the wishes of his own people, and under a strained and extraordinary construction of the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. President, I do not mean to assert that any one of the gentlemen seeking admission at the present time did anything dishonorable in the contest in his State Legislature; on the contrary, we know he did not, but it is clear to my mind that the admission of these gentlemen will inevitably lead to unnecessary discord and trouble in many future contests. Safety lies in the direction of a close adherence to constitutional methods. Neither a strained construction nor a loose construction of the organic law should govern our action. Let us insist that the Legislature shall perform its duty, and not attempt to transfer power to the executive which belongs to a coördinate branch of the State government. The refusal to seat the men now knocking at the door of the Senate will be a salutary lesson to State Legislatures, and will put an end to an evil that we can not afford to indorse or encourage.

Mr. President, I have heretofore held to the view that the election of Senators by popular vote was not to be desired, but if the choice is to come between that method and the appointment of Senators by governors of States there would seem to be every reason for submitting the matter to the people for their determination. But better and safer than either of those methods is the one contemplated by the Constitution, and notwithstanding prophecies to the contrary on this floor and in the public press, I have faith to believe that the vote to-day will sustain the views of the minority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, in support of which I have so imperfectly argued.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President, if the Senate were ready to proceed with the bill to increase the circulation of national banks up to the par value of the bonds deposited to secure circulation I should not venture to say anything upon the subject which is now before the Senate. I should much prefer now to occupy the short time which I propose to occupy by entreating Senators to act promptly on that bill. But this question, which we must decide at 5 o'clock this afternoon, is a very important one. Its importance is only overshadowed by the fact that the financial situation engrosses all thought and attention at present.

What is the exact proposition before the Senate? It is to admit to a seat in the Senate a person appointed a Senator by the governor of a State after the Legislature which could have elected had been in session, had an opportunity to elect, attempted to elect, and failed to elect. There is no precedent in all our hundred years of Senatorial history for such action. The proposition is entirely and absolutely without precedent. Indeed, no such case has ever been presented to the Senate in all the hundred years of Senatorial history, but it is not because instances have not occurred where a governor might have made or attempted to make the appointment under precisely the same circumstances in which the governors of these three States have attempted to make the appointment, namely, that the Legislature which could have elected had met, attempted to elect, and failed to elect.

There are many cases in our history where those have been the facts, and never was it supposed that a governor under those circumstances could make a temporary appointment. There is no reconciling the fact that until the governor of Montana, the governor of Washington, and the governor of Wyoming, in the three cases before us, attempted it, no governor ever supposed that such an appointment would be within the meaning or spirit of the Constitution, with the claim made here that it would have been the proper course to have pursued for executive appointments to have been made in such cases. No Senator upon this floor, in the discussion of a contested-election case, from the time of the formation of the Constitution, has ever made the claim until this report of the majority of the committee, that, under such circumstances, the governor's appointee should be admitted. It has been stated over and over again in the discussions, which have been had by the best lawyers in the Senate, that the governor could not appoint under such circumstances; it has been universally conceded and never denied. That is the statement.

I said that cases had not been wanting in which a similar appointment might have been made by the governor, and I desire to refer to some of them. But first I wish to refer to the case in which a State at the time of its admission attempted by its Legislature to elect, and was unrepresented here for, I think, three years after its admission because its Legislature had failed to elect. Senators may say that that is not precisely this case, but the logic of the case carries the majority of the committee and Senators who propose to vote for the admission that far, as has been admitted in the discussion of this case.

The act for the admission of the State of Iowa was passed in 1845, and the State was fully organized and in operation by January, 1846; and yet she had no Senators for nearly three years. She was represented in the House of Representatives during 1846, and at least one Legislature met and endeavored to elect Senators and adjourned without electing Senators. She had no representative in the Senate until the middle of December, 1848, when Senators Dodge and Jones took their seats, they having been elected by the Legislature chosen that fall.

If the governor can appoint in this case he could in that. If the contention of the majority of the committee is true, that the Constitution must be so construed, its language and its meaning to the contrary notwithstanding, that the Senate shall be always full, the State of Iowa and its governor made a great mistake in that the governor did not appoint two Senators so that the State might be represented in the Senate during the first three years when it was a State.

Now, let me cite some Senatorial cases:

In Maine there was a vacancy in 1853. The Legislature, which met in the January previous, and which under the Constitution was charged with the duty, if it may be called a duty, of electing a Senator, after repeated efforts adjourned without electing a Senator, and the vacancy was not filled until the next regular session of the Legislature of the State. That was a case like the one before us. The Legislature met and attempted to elect, failed to elect, and never even thought (and I venture to say that in that day, in 1853, there could not have been a lawyer found in the United States who would have advised it) that the governor had a right to appoint.

In Connecticut, my own State, a vacancy occurred March 4, 1851. The Legislature then convened annually in May. The Legislature which sat in the May previous, namely, in 1850, was the Legislature charged with the election of a Senator. At that May session an attempt was made to choose a Senator, and after several ballotings the whole subject of the election of a Senator was, upon motion, indefinitely postponed. The governor did not appoint. In the May session of 1851, the next year, the seat having been vacant from March 4, 1851, until the May session of the Legislature of 1851, the matter came before the Legislature and the Legislature took 22 ballots in its endeavor to elect a Senator; and, becoming convinced that it was impossible to agree, again, on motion, indefinitely postponed the election of a Senator.

No action was taken by the governor, and in 1852, in May, the Legislature again met and elected a Senator, who took his seat, Hon. Isaac Toucey. So from May 4, 1851, until some time in May or June, 1852, the State of Connecticut had only one representative in the Senate, because it supposed, and because everybody supposed that the governor could not under those circumstances appoint, and because it had never been claimed that the governor under such circumstances could appoint.

In Pennsylvania a vacancy occurred March 4, 1855, and the Legislature of that State, at its session beginning January, 1855, prior to the time when the term expired, made repeated attempts to elect a Senator, but failed to do so, and adjourned May 8 without effecting a choice. At the next regular session of the Legislature, January 14, 1856, Senator Bigler was elected and took his seat. So the State of Pennsylvania was a year without representation as to one of its Senators upon this floor. We had good lawyers in those days, but nobody rose to say that the purpose of the Constitution was to keep the Senate full, always full.

In Maryland, a vacancy occurred March 4, 1843. The Legislature assembled December 26, 1842, and remained in session till March 10, 1843, after the time when the vacancy occurred, when it adjourned without electing a Senator to fill the vacancy. The house of delegates, on several occasions, passed a resolution fixing a day for the election of a Senator, but the senate refused to concur therein. Want of action on the part of the senate prevented an election. The vacancy was not filled until the next regular session of the Legislature, and the State of Maryland was a year without representation in this body.

In North Carolina a vacancy occurred March 4, 1853. The Legislature assembled in November, 1852, and made repeated efforts to elect, but adjourned without an election. As the sessions of the Legislature of that State were biennial it did not meet again until November, 1854, when Daniel S. Reid was elected. Thus the State of North Carolina had one vacant seat in this Chamber for eighteen months.

In Indiana a vacancy occurred March 4, 1855. The Legislature of that State met January 4, 1854, and there were repeated attempts for both houses to go into joint convention for the purpose of electing a Senator; but the senate refused, the practice having been to elect in joint convention. The Legislature of the State failed to elect until February, 1857, when Mr. Fitch was elected and admitted to his seat in 1858. So, from 1855 to 1858 Indiana had only one Senator on this floor, nobody supposing that the governor could make a temporary appointment to fill the seat in that time. For two years the State of Indiana had only one representative in the Senate. The present Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] had not then risen to instruct his people that the object of the Constitution was to keep the Senate "full, always full." The people of the State of Indiana in those days believed that the governor had no power to appoint.

In Missouri a vacancy occurred March 4, 1855. The Legislature met in the January previous, within two or three days commenced balloting, and continued to do so in convention forty-one times. It adjourned March 5, 1855, without effecting an election. The Legislature met again December 29, 1856, and on January 13, 1857, elected Mr. James S. Green Senator. So the State of Missouri went almost two years, to phrase the language of the minority, without its equal representation on the floor of the Senate, because it was supposed the governor of the State had no power to appoint a Senator under those circumstances.

In California a term expired March 4, 1855. The Legislature assembled January 1, 1855, and had numerous ballotings for United States Senator, but adjourned May 7, 1855, without hav-

ing made any choice. It assembled again January 7, 1856; repeated attempts were made to elect a Senator; and it again adjourned April 21 without having done so. The Legislature assembled January 5, 1857, and on the 13th of the same month elected William M. Gwin, two Legislatures having attempted to elect, balloting as did the Legislature of the State of Montana, failed as the State of Montana has failed, and the seat of one Senator in the Senate went vacant nearly two years because there had not then arisen a man in the United States to claim that under those circumstances the governor could appoint.

I put that strongly, Mr. President, for in all my reading of the debates until this case I have never found that the claim was made that under such circumstances the governor could appoint; and it has been repeatedly asserted and universally conceded in the Senate that he could not.

In Oregon a vacancy occurred March 4, 1859. At the extra session held May 16, 1859, the question of the election of United States Senator was considered, but the Legislature adjourned June 4, 1859, without filling the vacancy. At the regular session held September 10, 1860, repeated attempts were made to elect, but on October 10, 1860, a motion was made to postpone the election of United States Senator, which motion prevailed. The authority which I am reading does not state when the Senator was finally elected, but there were three sessions of the Legislature balloting for Senator, failing to elect a Senator, and the seat remaining vacant here until the Legislature should fill that vacancy.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. In this connection, if the Senator will allow me, I will state that there was another precisely similar case in the State of Oregon, where there was a vacancy in the representation of that State in the Senate from the 4th day of March, 1885, until the 19th day of December, 1885, the Legislature whose business it was to elect having met and attempted to elect and failed to elect, and the governor declined to appoint because he believed he had not the power.

Mr. PLATT. The same thing occurred in New Hampshire, and the governor of New Hampshire did not attempt to appoint. New Hampshire had but one Senator from August 4, 1854, to July 30, 1855—nearly a whole year. The Legislature which met in June, 1854, attempted to fill the vacancy by election, but after numerous attempts adjourned without making an election.

Now, it would seem, Mr. President, as if a statement of the universal practice and universal understanding of the Senate upon this subject ought to be enough. There is no necessity of going further; but a new departure is proposed and some Senators have had new light on the subject; and therefore I propose to discuss the question very briefly to see whether there is anything in the Constitution which warrants the views taken by the majority of the committee. But first I wish to advert to a rather remarkable circumstance. In the report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections it does not appear that the State of Montana ever made any attempt to elect a Senator.

Neither in the report of the majority of the committee nor in the views of the minority can that fact be ascertained; and it has to be stated here on assumption that in this case, as in all the cases I have read, or most of them, the Legislature of the State of Montana met and commenced to vote at the time prescribed by statute, and continued voting until the end of the Legislature without electing. Of course it was an oversight on the part of the committee, but it affords an opportunity upon the record to connect this case with several cases where the Senate has without discussion seated persons who were appointed by governors, after an election by the Legislature was possible, to a seat at the beginning of a term.

Mr. President, I can not go over fully, as I would do if this case had not been so thoroughly discussed, the constitutional argument or the precedents; and yet I apprehend it is true that no person who ever read for the first time the clause of the Constitution which provides for the election of Senators—without a preconceived idea of what he wished, or without specially desiring to seat some one—ever supposed that when a Legislature had had an opportunity to elect and failed to elect, the governor could make a temporary appointment. To test this supposition of mine I have taken occasion to ask some of the best lawyers of my acquaintance who had not considered this question to read that clause for the first time and tell me what it meant, and they have uniformly said that it was the meaning of the Constitution that whenever the Legislature had an opportunity to elect it must elect, and only when it had no opportunity to elect could the governor make a temporary appointment.

I submit that that is the plain common-sense meaning of the Constitution, the provision of which relating to the election of Senators is as follows:

ARTICLE I.

SEC. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

I do not see how it is possible that any Senator who has studied the evolution of this provision of the Constitution by consulting the history of the Constitutional Convention, can suppose that the words "happen in the recess of the Legislature, by resignation or otherwise," were intended by the framers of the Constitution to cover a vacancy occurring at the commencement of a term.

Mr. HOAR. If it would not disturb the Senator, before he passes to that point, I should like to ask him in regard to the statement he just made about the opinion of eminent lawyers. Does not my honorable friend think that all the eminent lawyers who were consulted used language in a loose fashion, which implied that they were not very accurate men?

Mr. PLATT. No, sir.

Mr. HOAR. Was not that the case if they stated to him that when a Legislature had an opportunity to elect it must elect? Is it possible for a body to say that a tribunal consisting of two artificial persons, a senate and a house who might disagree, must agree, or a tribunal consisting of a large number of persons who might be divided into three parties must agree? The Senator's statement was that every lawyer whom he consulted said the United States Constitution meant that when a Legislature had an opportunity to elect it must elect. This is not merely a little quibble or a careless phrase; it is the very substance and marrow of this argument; that is, that the most honest, conscientious, devoted State Legislature may be in a position where it can not elect.

Mr. PLATT. If I used language exactly like that which the Senator from Massachusetts attributed to me, speaking extemporaneously, that is not precisely what I intended to say. What I intended to say is, that their opinion, coinciding with mine, was that where the Legislature had an opportunity to elect, the election must be by the Legislature, if there was one.

Mr. VANCE. If there was a Senator elected?

Mr. PLATT. If there was a Senator elected. I do not know whether I stated it in that way before, but that is what I intended to say. However, the proposition that no duty is laid upon the Legislature to elect comes with rather queer grace, not to say poor grace, from the Senator representing the majority of the committee, for we have heard all through the discussion that the Constitution put a duty upon a State to be represented, a doctrine to which I do not agree. The Constitution lays no duty upon any State which does not rest within the discretion of the State as to whether it shall be performed or not. I believe I am correct about that.

Now, to return to the evolution of this clause of the Constitutional Convention. The first proposition in relation to the election of Senators was in the fifth resolution presented in the famous Randolph resolutions:

5. *Resolved*, That the members of the second branch of the National Legislature ought to be elected by those of the first out of a proper number of persons nominated by the individual Legislatures; to be of the age of — years at least; to hold their office for a term sufficient to insure their independency; to receive liberal stipends, by which they may be compensated for the devotion of their time to the public service, and to be ineligible to any office established by a particular State or under the authority of the United States, except those peculiarly belonging to the functions of the second branch, during the term of service and for the space of — after the expiration thereof.

Mr. Pinckney submitted a draft of a constitution at about the same time, in which the following article occurred:

ARTICLE 4. The Senate shall be elected and chosen by the House of Delegates—

A name which had been proposed for the lower house of Congress. Mr. Pinckney's plan, as was Randolph's, was that the Senators should be elected by the lower branch of Congress.

ARTICLE 4. The Senate shall be elected and chosen by the House of Delegates; which House, immediately after their meeting, shall choose by ballot—

Specifying unequal numbers from different States. I leave that blank.

The Senators chosen from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, shall form one class; those from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, one class; and those from Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, one class. The house of delegates shall number these classes, one, two, and three; and fix the times of their services by lot. The first class shall serve for —— years; the second for —— years, and the third for —— years. As their times of service expire, the House of Delegates shall fill them up by elections for —— years; and they—

That is, the house of delegates—

shall fill all vacancies that arise from death or resignation for the time of service remaining of members so dying or resigning.

It has been a query why, in the completed Constitution, which

says, "when vacancies happen during the recesses of the Legislature by resignation or otherwise," the word "death" should not have been included, the most obvious case in which a vacancy might occur. I think that anyone who will read the debates of the Constitutional Convention taking this draft of Mr. Pinckney's and see that the original idea was the Senators were to be appointed by the lower house, which would have the opportunity to fill all vacancies, and see that he mentioned vacancies by death or resignation, the two most obvious methods, will come to the conclusion that the vacancies spoken of afterwards in the Constitutional Convention were understood to be the vacancies which were spoken of in the first draft of the Constitution, and that the word "death" was omitted because it was universally understood that it was unforeseen vacancies which were to be filled by the governor making temporary appointments.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. The word "resignation," the Senator will allow me to suggest, was used because there was a question about the power to resign.

Mr. PLATT. I am coming to that in a moment. Later in the Convention the whole subject was referred to the committee on detail, and they, with their known desire to condense, used the language which I shall read. In the meantime there had been very much discussion in the Constitutional Convention on the constitution of the Senate and the method of appointing the Senators, and it had been decided by vote that that appointment was to be made by the Legislatures of the several States. Then the committee on detail phrase it in this way:

Article 5, section 1. The Senate of the United States shall be chosen by the Legislatures of the several States. Each Legislature shall choose two members. Vacancies may be supplied by the executive until the next meeting of the Legislature. Each member shall have one vote.

SECTION 2. The Senators shall be chosen for six years; but immediately after the first election, they shall be divided by lot into three classes, as nearly as may be, numbered one, two, and three. The seats of members of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year; of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year; so that a third part of the members may be chosen every second year.

Senators who wish to carry out the idea that the Constitution provides that all vacancies may be supplied by the executive where the Legislature has failed to elect, as in this case, jump to the conclusion that if the language had remained as it was in the report of the committee on detail it would have meant all vacancies. I deny it. I say the whole proceedings in the Constitutional Convention are against that assumption, and that the probable reason why they said only "vacancies" was that they never supposed there could be a vacancy occurring by the expiration of a term which the Legislature would not fill up, and because they had reference to the very vacancies which were mentioned in the Pinckney plan, "vacancies by death and resignation." For brevity of speech they left out "by death and resignation," and said "vacancies," meaning the vacancies which had been alluded to in the Pinckney plan.

Then Mr. Madison said the word "resignation" was necessary because it was not certain that a Senator could resign. That is the way the word "resignation" got in and the word "death" was left out. The vacancies referred to were vacancies by death or resignation, which were the only vacancies which when the committee on detail drew their report were anticipated, and the word "resignation" was reinserted, so to speak, as it had been in the Pinckney draft, because there was a question about whether a Senator could resign or not.

The amendment of Mr. Madison was to supply after the word "vacancies," the words—

happening by refusals to accept, resignations, or otherwise, may be supplied by the Legislatures of the States in the representation of which such vacancies shall happen by the executive thereof until the meeting of the Legislature.

Can anybody tell me that Mr. Madison in his modification omitted the word "death," which had already been used in the Pinckney plan, unless it was supposed by every member of the Convention that the vacancies referred to in the report of the committee on detail were the vacancies which had been spoken of in the Pinckney plan by "death or resignation?"

It will be observed that in the final draft the question of vacancies is transferred entirely from the place which it occupied as left by the action of the convention upon the report of the committee on detail and put in as the last clause in which the subject is treated.

Article I, section 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof for six years, and each Senator shall have one vote.

It seems as if in the final draft it was intended once more to emphasize the fact that the Senators were to be chosen by the Legislatures of the States; and I shall show before I get through that it was only *ex necessitate rei* that there could be an appointment by a governor, namely, to fill an "inconvenient chasm," to prevent the inconvenience of a Legislature assembling in extra session when it would soon meet probably in regular session.

Now, showing that the committee on style, which put the draft of the Constitution in formal shape, determined to emphasize once more what had been so struggled for in the convention, that is, that these appointments should be made by the Legislatures, they include all matter relating to the election or choosing Senators in a single sentence, and then they transpose the matter relating to temporary appointments by the governor, placing it after the provision relating to classification. Now, listen:

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof for six years.

The Senator from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL] well said, that means the Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, who shall be chosen by the Legislature thereof for six years.

Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year; so that one-third may be chosen every second year—

Now comes the clause about vacancies, the whole scheme as to the mode of choosing Senators having been completed—

and if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

It did not give the governor power even to fill a vacancy so far as the language was concerned. It insisted upon it that the Legislature alone should fill the vacancy. The governor, to be sure, to avoid an "inconvenient chasm" might make a temporary appointment. Yet Senators to-day say it is not of the slightest consequence how a Senator gets in here, so the Senate is "kept full, always full," and they propose to construe the Constitution so as to read out of it the clause "chosen by the Legislature thereof for six years."

Upon the construction proposed here it is possible, nay, it is probable, that instances will occur when, for the whole Senatorial term of six years, the Legislature will not elect, or, in the language of the Constitution, choose; but the governor will appoint from time to time. I say any construction which reads out of the Constitution the vital part of a clause can not be the correct construction. Any construction which makes it possible—for the Senatorial term of six years may be occupied by one or more Senators under gubernatorial appointment here—is not a correct rendering of the Constitution of the United States. With all deference to all Senators who claim it, I say it is absurd; and it is hard to reason against absurdities.

Now, Mr. President, I have shown that this case is without precedent absolutely. It is without an opinion or a dictum until the report which is before us was made. It is against all precedents. There never has been a case where the Legislature has attempted to elect and failed to elect and a man has come here by gubernatorial appointment. The reason of that is because it was universally understood, universally conceded, that the governor had no right or power to appoint.

I now ask Senators if they have any doubt on this question as to the construction of the Constitution to do what I will not stop to do, take the debates, read them through so far as they appertain to this question, from the submission of the Randolph resolutions and the Pinckney plan to the final adoption of the Constitution, and if they can so read it and still hold to their opinions that a governor can appoint when a State has had the opportunity and availed itself of its opportunity, but failed either by deliberate action, by neglect, or inability to elect, that the governor may appoint, then I will simply say that I can not understand such logic, such reasoning, such construction.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator allow me a moment?

Mr. PLATT. Certainly.

Mr. CHANDLER. The time is running toward the hour to which the debate is limited, and I wish to ask the Senator, who is going over the ground with which we are all familiar, and asserting a construction of the Constitution which undoubtedly prevailed down to 1879, whether at that time a different construction of the Constitution was not adopted, beginning with the first New Hampshire case and ending with the last New Hampshire case, in which new construction of the Constitution the Senator himself participated? That is what I should like him to give a larger portion of the time to, than I fear he will do, if he does not reach the point pretty soon.

Mr. PLATT. It was not necessary that the Senator from New Hampshire should remind me of that matter. I had no intention to avoid that proposition. I shall come to it in due season. I want to say right here that it was said over and over again in the debate on the first New Hampshire case—the Bell case—that in such a case as this the governor would not have any right

to appoint, and nobody contradicted it. Do not call that case a precedent for this.

Mr. President, this whole argument for the admission of the appointed Senators rests upon two grounds, the one an assumption that the main purpose of the framers of the Constitution in choosing this language was to "keep the Senate full, always full," and the second that the Bell case is a precedent; both of which I deny. I say there is nothing in the Constitution itself, either in its language or spirit, there is nothing in the debates of the Convention, there is nothing in any previous plan or resolution of the Constitutional Convention which for a moment gives countenance to the idea that it was in the minds of the framers that they would keep the Senate always full, whether a State exercised its right to elect or not.

It could not have entered into their minds, it could not have been supposed, that a State would ever deliberately refuse or neglect to avail itself of the privilege which the Constitution gave it to be represented in the Senate of the United States: and the Constitution provided in another place that a State should not be deprived of its equal representation in the Senate except by its consent. It plainly intended that if a State did not avail itself of the right and the privilege which was given it to be represented in the Senate, and chose to go unrepresented here, there was no power on the part of the Senate and no way in which it could be represented here; and it was the right of the State to go unrepresented here if it desired.

Mr. President, I can not answer this new assumption—I will not say it is entirely new in this case; it has grown up—any better than by——

Mr. HOAR. I should like to ask the Senator, before he passes from the point he has been considering, if he denies the constitutionality of the legislation of 1866? He says the Constitution goes on the ground that if a State desires to go unrepresented it may. Does he not understand that it was the very purpose of that Congressional legislation to prevent the Senate from going unrepresented whether the State would want to do so or not?

Mr. PLATT. I do not think I am called upon to answer that question. I have heard it argued over and over again by the best lawyers in the Senate, including Mr. Edmunds, that that law is unconstitutional. I have no desire to pass upon it at this time, and until the Supreme Court passes upon it I desire to consider it constitutional.

Mr. HOAR. I thought the Senator's argument denied the constitutionality of that law.

Mr. PLATT. I do not think it follows at all. That was to prescribe a method.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. It was to facilitate the chances of election.

Mr. PLATT. Yes; but if you hold that that law places an obligatory duty upon the State, I do not believe the Constitution ever intended to place duties upon the States. I understand that they intended to leave them free to act as States. So far I am in accord with my State rights friends.

Now, I can not answer the first assumption, on which this argument rests, any better than to answer it in the words of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] himself, who, in this report, says:

> What is the great and leading purpose which the provision now under consideration was designed to accomplish? It is that the Senate of the United States shall be full, always full.

I listened with great pleasure, agreeing with the Senator, to the speech which he made on the election of Senators by direct vote of the people. He had an idea when he made that speech as to what the great purpose of the Convention was. He said:

> Fourth. The Senate was to represent deliberation in the expression of the popular will by the length of the term of office of Senators, and by its removal from the direct popular vote in the method of choice.

That is what he thought was the great purpose of the founders of the Constitution in providing for the Senate and the method of the election of Senators when he made his speech against the election of Senators by the people, and I believe he was right then. I go through these debates and I find that idea everywhere prevailing; it being the central idea of those debates that the Senate should be so constructed as that by length of term of service and by removal from popular elections the Senate should be free from the possibility of being influenced by temporary public clamor.

That was the great idea which controlled. It was around that standard, how the States should be represented and how Senators should be elected, that the battle of that Convention raged. It was a discussion of these questions and a division upon these questions which came near wrecking the Convention. To say now in the year 1893 that the great purpose of that Convention in framing this portion of the Constitution was to keep the Senate always full, even by appointment by governors, to say nothing of the popular will, it seems to me shows the desperation of the argument to which the majority is driven in this case. The Senator from New Hampshire is afraid I am taking up too much time, and therefore I will not stop to read.

Mr. CHANDLER. Too much time without reaching the point, I meant.

Mr. PLATT. I have reached that point now. I should like to hear the Senator answer it without stopping to read from the debates of the Constitutional Convention what is known to all Senators. There were members there who wanted the Senate to resemble the House of Lords, and I do not think they would have thought that it would much resemble the House of Lords if a Senator had to go into a truck and dicker bargain with a governor to obtain a seat in the Senate of the United States. They would have men of high character here. Well, a man of high character may be appointed by a governor, and a man who can intrigue and, therefore, has not high character can be appointed by a governor. No, the idea of the character of the Senate and it sconstitution, so as to preserve the character of the ideal Senate which the members of the Convention had in mind, was the great thought which influenced them and directed them in framing and wording this provision of the Constitution.

Mr. President, I said in the opening of my speech that no person had come here before claiming a seat in the Senate upon the appointment of a governor under similar circumstances. Why have we here three at the opening of this particular session? Because advice was given from the Senate, before the Legislature adjourned, that if there was no election by the Legislatures, and persons were appointed by the governors, they would probably be admitted. I have a right to say that, because the question was asked me by interested gentlemen from those three States, and I gave my opinion to the contrary. I was told by them that other Senators believed such would be the case, and that they would be admitted.

But it is said the Bell case is a precedent for this. I deny it *in toto*. It is said that the Bell case broadened the Constitution by construction. A single word about that, Mr. President. I do not want to broaden the Constitution by construction and I do not want to narrow it by construction. I want the Constitution as it fairly reads and fairly means; and when I am accused of being illiberal and narrow and strict in my views of the Constitution, a charge which I do not think lies at my door, I reply by saying that it is just as bad to attempt to expand and broaden the Constitution by construction as it is to attempt to narrow it by construction.

The question which a Senator should ask is, what is the meaning of the Constitution derived from its language and from all the circumstances surrounding its adoption?

What was the Bell case? It was not this case. That is certain. It was not a case in which the Legislature of the State of New Hampshire had met previously to the expiration of an old term and the commencement of a new term and voted for Senator and were unable to agree, or, as in the old case of the State of Connecticut, indefinitely postponed the election. It was not a case where, as in the case of Montana, they met on the day appointed, balloted clear up to the last day, and failed to elect; but it was a case where the Legislature of the State of New Hampshire, though it was believed by many members of the Senate to have had the opportunity to elect, itself believed it had no opportunity or right to do so.

Let me state exactly what that case was, if I can. I am sorry to take up so much time as to deprive the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] of the opportunity to make another speech on the subject, and I do not think I shall. This was the New Hampshire case, the Bell case:

> Two Legislatures were elected in New Hampshire in 1878, one in March, whose term began in June and extended to May, 1879; the other in November, whose term began in June, 1879, and lasted two years. Senator Wadleigh completed his term of six years March 3, 1879. An extraordinary session of the Forty-sixth Congress was called later in the month. The Legislature of New Hampshire elected in March, 1878, treated the law of 1866 as valid, and took no steps to elect a Senator, leaving the duty where the act of 1866 placed it, to be performed by the next Legislature, elected in November, 1878.

The Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO] says—and I may go back to that argument—that the duty belonged under the Constitution to the former body, but the Legislature of New Hampshire, believing that it was obeying the law of the United States passed in 1866, and that the Legislature last chosen before the expiration of the time should make the election, let the election go until June after the vacancy occurred, believing that that was right. They had still more than that upon which to postpone the election till the next meeting of the Legislature. The question had been submitted here to the Senate previously, and there had been a report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections that it was the Legislature which was to meet subsequent to the expiration of the old term and the commencement of the new which was entitled to elect.

They had the voice of the Senate, through its Committee on Privileges and Elections, if it was never acted upon formally by the Senate, that it was the Legislature which was to come in after the expiration of the old term and after the commencement of the new term which had the right of election under the statute, and the statute was supposed to be and presumed to be constitutional. It was argued by the then Senator from Pennsylvania in the Bell case to be constitutional. So the Legislature of New Hampshire, not intending to neglect any opportunity which the Constitution gave it, not intending to forfeit any rights conferred upon it by the Constitution of the United States to elect a Senator for six years, acting upon the advice of the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate, omitted to proceed to the election.

That case was decided by a vote of 35 to 28. I was then here, Mr. President. I came into the Senate at that extra session in 1879, and I have a very distinct and vivid recollection of that case and its discussion. I know what influenced my vote. I know that my opinion then, upon an examination of the Constitution, was that the Constitution meant that when the Legislature had had an opportunity to elect, and failed to elect, the governor had no power of appointment, and I know I reasoned in the New Hampshire case that the State ought not to be held up to that construction of the Constitution, when the Legislature really believed fairly under the statute of the United States that the Legislature preceding the term of expiration had no power to elect, and when the Committee on Privileges and Elections had so advised it. That is the ground on which my vote went.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President——

Mr. PLATT. Let me get through with this point. I can, by turning to the RECORD, give the reasons for the votes of two other Senators—James G. Blaine and Henry L. Dawes, the former colleague of the Senator from Massachusetts—and I believe I shall. Mr. Blaine said:

My judgement now is that the Senate of the United States, having by their action prevented the Legislature of New Hampshire which ought to have elected from exercising that privilege, it would be rather hard for the Senate to turn around and say that the man who comes here now under the appointment of the governor, the only possible way left open by which the State can now have full representation on this floor, should not be received. That is the only way in which the Senatorial seat may be filled for that vacancy, and it would be rather hard, I think, looking at it in an equitable point of view, if equity can be pleaded, for the Senate to prevent the appointee of the governor from taking a seat.

Mr. Dawes said:

If any Legislature of New Hampshire has been prevented from undertaking to make a choice of a Senator, it has been prevented by an act of Congress. The Legislature which met last June could not have filled the vacancy according to the law of Congress, because the letter of that law says that the Legislature which shall make this choice shall be the one chosen next preceding the expiration of the term for which any Senator has been elected. That Legislature was not such a Legislature. If the act of Congress had used the words "the Legislature of each State at its last regular session next before the expiration of said term shall proceed to make a choice," it would have left the matter without doubt, and would have intended what I have no doubt Congress intended to enact when they used the words "the Legislature of each State which is chosen next preceding the expiration of the time for which any Senator was elected."

But Congress used words which happen, in their application to the case of New Hampshire, to deprive the Legislature of the State of New Hampshire of the power of electing a Senator according to the letter of their own law. It is the act of Congress and the words they unfortunately selected in that act which prevented the Legislature of New Hampshire from following its letter and choosing a Senator by that Legislature, which otherwise would have done so.

* * * * * * *

That the State of New Hampshire should be deprived of its representation here because of this unfortunate phraseology does not seem to me to be sound policy.

Mr. HOAR. I was going to ask the Senator if he himself thought that was a sound constitutional argument?

Mr. PLATT. No matter whether it is a sound constitutional argument or not——

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator is making his argument regardless of whether it is a sound constitutional argument or not, I have nothing to say.

Mr. PLATT. The Senator can address no *ad hominem* argument to me in this matter. I know what influenced my vote. If I was not right then, if my vote was not properly influenced, the Senator has the right to comment upon it and to say so; but the vote seating Bell never proceeded upon the ground of this case, and there were votes enough given to the seating of Mr. Bell, to my own personal knowledge and reading from the RECORD as well, to have changed the result if it had been supposed that it would be cited as a precedent in a case like this.

Mr. GRAY. May I ask the Senator, if it will not interrupt him—I think he has already stated it, but to emphasize the distinction between the Bell case and this—if the Legislature which met in June and actually did elect was chosen before the vacancy happened?

Mr. PLATT. The Legislature was chosen in November before, to meet in June. It was the last chosen Legislature according to the requirements of the statute. The then Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Carpenter] tried very hard to argue that the other was the last chosen Legislature; but I think he was alone in that view of the case. Let us see, however, whether the Bell case is a precedent for this case or not.

The Bell case was discussed elaborately by good lawyers, and no one of them intimated that in such a case as this would Mr. Bell be seated; but it was stated over and over again, and acceded to, that if the Legislature, having the opportunity, had attempted to elect and failed to elect, the governor could not appoint. The Senator from Massachusetts himself admitted it then.

Mr. GRAY. So that, if the Senator will excuse me again—and I think he is putting it very strongly—the Bell case was a case in which there was literally, in the words of the Constitution, an appointment by the governor in the recess of the Legislature, as we understand it.

Mr. PLATT. Yes. The opinion then expressed by the Senator from Massachusetts has been alluded to in this debate, and I allude to it, not for the purpose of showing that the Senator from Massachusetts has changed his opinion, but for the purpose of showing what the universal opinion then was. Mr. Carpenter asked the Senator from Massachusetts this question:

Take the case of Wisconsin. Our Legislature assembles on the first Monday of January. It has to elect to fill up the vacancy that is to occur in March. The Legislature generally sits until about the last of April.

Now, pay attention to this:

Suppose they begin on the day fixed by the act of Congress to ballot for Senator; they make no choice; they ballot up to and past the 4th of March without making an election. A vacancy then occurs; by the Constitution the term expires, and the Legislature sits still, with that vacancy running on, balloting for thirty days and unable to make a choice, and finally adjourns without making a choice. Could the governor then appoint a Senator upon the ground that that was a vacancy happening in the recess of the Legislature?

Mr. HOAR. I think not.

It is not to the discredit of the Senator from Massachusetts that he now thinks the governor can appoint, and if he has changed his mind or if he replied hastily then, it is entirely proper that he should maintain his present view. But he was at that time at the head of the minority of the committee making the report, which report was adopted, and he was then willing to admit in that case that a person appointed by the governor, as in this Montana case, could not be admitted, for that was perfectly described in Mr. Carpenter's question.

There was another member of that committee, Mr. Cameron of Wisconsin, who took charge of the case in the absence of the Senator from Massachusetts. The Senator from Massachusetts having gone away and left the case in the charge of Mr. Cameron of Wisconsin, Senator Garland was arguing against the admission, and speaking of a Pennsylvania case, said:

The same question arose in Pennsylvania in 1855. During the winter of that year the Knownothing Legislature got into a factious wrangle over Cameron and his rivals, and failed to elect a Senator. The State was thus unrepresented from the meeting of Congress in the fall until the middle of January, and Governor Pollock, after an exhaustive examination of the question, decided that the vacancy was not one that he could fill by appointment.

And I believe that he so advised the Legislature in a message.

In that opinion the leading lawyers of the State concurred, and Pennsylvania was without a Senator until Governor Bigler was chosen in 1856.

That is a piece of history.

* * * * * * *

Mr. CAMERON of Wisconsin. I suggest that the reason why he did not have power to appoint was that there had been a session of the Legislature and the Legislature had not elected.

Mr. GEORGE. Who said that?

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Cameron of Wisconsin, who then had charge of the Bell case, the Senator from Massachusetts having gone.

Mr. President, I could cite other expressions from the Bell case, of which there are plenty, showing it to have been conceded then that an appointment under the circumstances of this case would be inadmissible. I have the references to them. I will cite one more from Senator Cameron of Wisconsin, because he was in charge of the case. That was when Mr. Garland was speaking about the Kensey Johns case. Mr. Cameron of Wisconsin interrupted him to say:

Will the Senator allow me to suggest that a session of the Legislature of Delaware was held after the vacancy happened and before the governor assumed to appoint Mr. Johns; and if I understand that case—it was examined by the committee although not referred to in either report—the refusal to admit Mr. Johns was put upon the ground that the Legislature met and had a session after the vacancy happened and did not elect; and, consequently, the Legislature having met, and having had an opportunity to elect a Senator, and having not done so, the governor had not authority to appoint.

Though the Johns case was not precisely like the present, there is no difference in the argument, because the contention of Senators now is that, no matter under what circumstances a vacancy or a want of occupancy of the seat exists, the governor

can make a temporary appointment in the recess of the Legislature.

How it is possible to claim the Bell case as a precedent for this case I am unable to discover. I am not going over all the precedents. They have been referred to by other Senators. I think the great lawyers of the country have been pretty uniformly of opinion that under no circumstances could a governor fill a vacancy happening, if you choose to use the word, by the expiration of the term of office at the commencement of a term.

Mr. HOAR. I wish——

Mr. PLATT. Allow me one word. Certainly, as I read the Lanman case, that was the decision in the Lanman case; certainly, as I read the Sevier case, it was acknowledged in that case to have been the decision in the Lanman case; certainly, as I read the debate, it was Daniel Webster who suggested that in the Sevier case there was no constitutional vacancy, and he voted against the admission of Mr. Sevier. So all along through our history, without disparaging in the least the ability and the character of the lawyers who in the Bell case contended that a governor might make an appointment at the commencement of a term, the great weight of authority and opinion is on the other side. That case has always been distinguished from a case where the Legislature, knowing that it had the power to elect, deliberately declined or refused or failed to elect.

Mr. HOAR. I wished to ask the Senator before he passed from his discussion of the Bell and Blair cases if he was willing to state whether, in the course of his argument, he admits the decision in those cases to be sound or unsound? Were the Bell and Blair cases decided rightly or wrongly, in the judgment of the Senator?

Mr. PLATT. I think they were decided wrongly, if decided only on the ground that the governor might appoint at the beginning of a term. I think I will read a single extract from Senator Conkling, for he puts the case strongly. Senator Hill of Georgia was discussing that case; and I want to compliment that Senator, now that he is gone, by saying that as I listened to the argument I thought it was one of the most admirable arguments which I ever heard from the mouth of a lawyer. While Senator Hill was arguing against the admission, Senator Conkling interrupted him for a question, and said:

> I am listening with great pleasure and great satisfaction to what seems to me a very clear and able presentation by the Senator from Georgia, but to enlighten myself I venture to ask him a question. Suppose the design of the framers of this instrument was to deposit with the Legislature, as has been done, the power to fill original terms in the Senate, but in order that there might be no chasm in the Senate, or that the Senate might be kept full, to commit to the governors of the States the power to give temporary commissions in all instances when temporary vacancies occurred, either by death, resignation, expulsion, failure to accept, or, as in the present case, a change in the fundamental law of a State bringing on a hiatus. Suppose, now, that was the design of those who framed this instrument. My request to the honorable Senator is that he tell me what words they should have employed different from those which we find in order to vest that power and accomplish that object?

The Senator from New York, it will be seen, held that the change in the fundamental law of the State brought on the hiatus, and that it was, therefore, one of the classes of vacancies which were to be included under the words "happen by resignation or otherwise." Senator Hill said, "I see," and then Senator Conkling said:

> The Senator will see that the distinction I take is not technical or formal; it is substantial; and I will prove that by a single illustration. If it should be the established law that wherever a Legislature decided not to elect the power to fill the vacancy should revert to the executive of the State, the Senate and all of us must see how exposed the whole process of filling seats in the Senate would become; because the governor and his friends by cabal, intrigue, maneuver, might so arrange that the Legislature would decide not to elect or would fail to elect in order that the governor might gather to himself the power to fill the vacancy. The next Legislature might decide not to elect, and so indefinitely within the six years the executive power of a State might usurp that which the Constitution deposits with the legislative power.

Mr. President, that was no idle fear which was expressed by the Senator from New York, and I venture to-day the prediction—I will not call it a prediction—but I want to express my belief and opinion, that if we to-day violate all the precedents of the last hundred years, if we override the opinion of all the constitutional lawyers of this country up to the time of the bringing out of the report which seated the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO], if we admit the Senators from these three States, where the Legislatures have tried to elect and failed to do so, it will be but the beginning of this business.

The great Senator from New York foresaw clearly what would be the result. Senators, who were to be removed from the possibility of being influenced by popular clamor, will be dependent for getting their office upon one man; Senators, who the Constitution insists shall be elected by the Legislatures for six years, are to come here appointed by one man in piecemeal terms of one or two years to serve out the six-year term. There will be enough of it in the country, Mr. President.

I close by saying that such a construction destroys what has been understood to have been the character intended to be conferred upon the Senate by the framers of the Constitution. It affords every opportunity for intrigue, cabal, and corruption. I am sorry to say that the tide of corruption about Legislatures is rising in this country; but the opportunity to buy a seat in the Senate of the United States is tenfold greater where a governor only is to be dealt with than it is where a Legislature is to be dealt with.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to ask the Senator a question.

Mr. PLATT. Let me finish.

Mr. HOAR. I wish to ask if the Senator knows of an instance in this country where it has been said or suggested, or insinuated, that a governor has been bribed; and if he does not know a great many instances where others have been?

Mr. PLATT. It is not so easy to determine the influences which are brought to bear upon one man.

Mr. HOAR. I will ask my friend if he believes there was ever such a case in this country?

Mr. PLATT. There have been but three cases in this country where a Legislature has deliberately failed to elect with the expectation that the governor would make an appointment. I am not to impute any corruption to either of these three governors or to the Legislatures, but I am speaking of the tendency of things as they were spoken of in the Constitutional Convention. I tell you that any construction of the Constitution which makes it possible for a six years term to be filled here either by one or more Senators under appointment, by the will or whim of one man, is a dangerous construction of the Constitution, and will bear its bitter fruit if the Senate adopts it.

Mr. TURPIE. I wish to say, Mr. President, that the honorable Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] is laboring under a misapprehension. The Senator from Indiana, to whom he alluded, did rise up. I was not silent; was not inactive. I advised our governor at the time that he had the right to appoint. I even urged the appointment; and many gentlemen of that State, older than myself in the profession and in public service, gave the governor the same opinion. So it was not from any lack of authority or of judgment that there was power in the executive to make the appointment that he failed or declined to make it.

It happened at that time that the governor of Indiana was a candidate for a seat in this body, well known and avowed. He afterwards did occupy a seat here. Being governor, he could not with much propriety appoint himself; he was afraid to risk in public opinion that sort of promotion. The gentleman who held the second office in the State at that time was in well-known, recognized, intense hostility to the governor. There was then no method by which the governor could in a regular manner reach a membership of this body, and he preferred that the vacancy should run two or three years, taking the chances of the legislative preference, rather than violate good taste or morals by an appointment which would be very questionable in the public view.

The failure to make an appointment was *de facto*, not *de jure*. It was founded upon circumstances of political pressure, not of any defect or of any thought of defect of authority in the governor to have made one, if he had seen fit to do so.

I may be allowed to remark—although I wish to confine this entirely to what I think was a misquoted history of Indiana, a portion of it—that three or four of the *lacuna* instances by the honorable and learned Senator from Connecticut, where vacancies existed in other States owing to the failure of the governor to appoint, are just as likely to have arisen from similar causes as the one the history of which I have now given.

Mr. PLATT. May I inquire who was the governor of Indiana at that time?

Mr. TURPIE. Joseph A. Wright.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President, the Senator from Indiana has unconsciously made one of the strongest arguments in the world, the strongest possible argument, why temporary appointments, where a Legislature has failed to elect, should not be committed to the governor of a State. If a governor, believing that he had the power to make the appointment, desiring himself to be a candidate, and not willing to appoint because he thought he would prejudice his own chance of election, for that reason failed to appoint, when he supposed he had the right to do so, it is as strong an instance as can possibly be adduced to show that a governor may not properly exercise the power of appointment to vacancies of this kind.

Whenever a governor has made a temporary appointment which he was entitled to make, the newspapers have generally teemed with suggestions that he was going to make that appointment by some agreement with somebody who would disappear at the end of the temporary appointment, and allow him to become a candidate for the place himself. If there is no corruption to be feared, there is that bargain always to be feared.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, having expressed my

views briefly on the resolution before the Senate on a former occasion, I should not have taken the floor again at this time, in view of the fact that there are other Senators who wish to speak, who will easily consume the remaining time allotted to the discussion before the vote is taken, but for the reason that the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL] the other day introduced into the RECORD a letter from the late Senator from Vermont, Mr. Edmunds, in which letter, written to the governor of Oregon on the 1st day of September, 1885, he advised the governor not to make an appointment of United States Senator to fill a vacancy then existing in consequence of the failure of the Legislature of Oregon to make an election.

This opinion, brought in here by the Senator from Oregon with considerable exultation, is, as I can conceive, not in accordance with the speech of the then Senator from Vermont in March, 1885, in the case of Senator Blair, who was admitted to a seat under appointment from the governor of New Hampshire.

In making this statement I am not asserting that there may not be a distinction made between the three New Hampshire cases and the present case; but I desire to call the attention of the Senate to the extremely strong and positive arguments in favor of seating Mr. Blair made by the then Senator from Vermont. His remarks are contained in the RECORD of March 10, 1885. Senator Edmunds took occasion to quote the first draft of the original Constitution:

ART. V, SEC. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be chosen by the Legislatures of the several States. Each Legislature shall choose two members. Vacancies may be supplied by the executive until the next meeting of the Legislature. Each member shall have one vote.

Thereupon he said:

There, as it stood in that final report in detail, final at that time, but changed afterwards, you will see that there was no limitation or qualification or restriction except "vacancies." They might occur during the sitting of a Legislature. Whenever they occurred the executive was to fill those vacancies until the Legislature should elect, not until its next meeting even; but in order to keep the representation of the States full, in order to create a national government which should have all its faculties and all its members in place to perform their duties, this draft reported by the committee of detail provided for a universal filling of a vacancy by the executive, and provided for his filling it if a vacancy happened or occurred or existed, whatever it was, even if the Legislature were sitting.

Senator Edmunds, having read this first draft, and having put the construction upon it that it provided for a "universal filling" of vacancies, proceeded to consider what the convention subsequently did, without for a moment conceiving that the convention intended when they made their final draft to so construct the clause in the Constitution that it would not be as broad as the clause in the original draft.

Mr. Edmunds next argues, first, that the word "resignation" was put in not as an exclusive word, but, as has been frequently shown, for the purpose of recognizing the right of a Senator once elected to vacate his seat if he chose. He said "the words "resignation or otherwise"—

were put in expressly for the purpose of recognizing the power of a Senator to refuse to hold on to the office to which he had been appointed.

Then Senator Edmunds proceeded to give the broadest kind of construction to the meaning of the words "resignation or otherwise," and to scout the idea, which has been so many times advanced in the debate upon this question, that the word "otherwise" meant "likewise." He said:

If Mr. Madison by proposing, or the convention by adopting, the words "resignation or otherwise," had meant to classify a series of cases like resignation, why would not Mr. Madison, eminent in his knowledge of the English language and clear in its expression, have said "likewise?" That is the adverb which would suit the class of cases to which my friend from Missouri refers. "Other things happening in like manner" is the definition of "likewise," while "otherwise" means things happening in any other manner than by resignation. That is the dictionary and the common sense and the universal knowledge of everybody who knows the English language.

Senator Edmunds appealed to the Senate of the United States not to try to put a narrow and limited construction upon the Constitution. He demanded that they should not seek out some class of vacancies which the executive of a State should not be allowed to fill. He said:

Wherefore, then, upon any principle of patriotism, or law, or justice, should we endeavor by construction to narrow down the franchise of a State, if I may call it that, and endeavor to find some class of cases where for some period of time a State shall go unrepresented? I am unable to see it.

The Senator from Vermont lastly entreated the Senate to stand by the precedent which had been set in the case of Mr. Bell, and not to continually embarrass and disarrange public affairs by changing a rule of decision once deliberately adopted after full discussion.

So, Mr. President, I appeal from the Senator from Vermont when, at the suggestion of the Senator from Oregon, in September, 1885, he was writing to the governor of Oregon advising him not to appoint a Senator, and expressing to him the hope that in some way a Republican Senator might be obtained; I appeal from Senator Edmunds, expressing this opinion in a letter written for a particular purpose, to Senator Edmunds making his deliberate and careful speech in the Senate, followed by the vote which he gave in favor of the admission of Mr. Blair.

In this decision the Senator from Vermont was joined by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT], who has so eloquently and forcibly addressed the Senate this afternoon. Twice the Senator from Vermont and twice the Senator from Connecticut have struggled in the Senate to prevent the adoption of a narrow rule of construing the Constitution and have urged the Senate to adopt a construction which would tend in the direction of the avowed purpose, as Senator Edmunds put it, of the founders of the Constitution to keep the Senate always full: and yet now the Senator from Connecticut comes forward and penitently confesses that the opinion which he then held and the votes which he then gave were wrong and that those votes ought not to have been given. Next he proceeds to tell the Senators who differ from him that it is an utterly absurd proposition which those Senators now make in conformity to the votes which he gave on that former occasion.

Mr. President, the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO] also places himself in the position of asserting that the rule in the New Hampshire cases ought not to have been adopted by the Senate. In full view of those two cases, and notwithstanding he himself sat here from the 4th of March last until the expiration of the extra session under an appointment from the governor of the State of Florida without making any objection to his own title, he now frankly says that the decisions in the New Hampshire cases were wrong, and also that the governor of Florida ought not to have appointed him to take and hold the seat which he so lately held in the Senate.

Mr. PASCO. Mr. President, I will suggest to the Senator from New Hampshire that he has not read my speech, or he would not make that statement.

Mr. CHANDLER. I must beg pardon of the Senator from Florida for not having read the whole of his speech, but the Senator will correct me if I am wrong when I say that he does, in the closing summary, assert that the decision in the New Hampshire cases was wrong. If I am mistaken, then I will withdraw what I said.

Mr. PASCO. Mr. President, it is so late in the afternoon that I dislike very much to consume the time of the Senate by entering upon this subject again now, and I regret that the Senator has not read over the very carefully prepared remarks I made on this subject so as to know exactly what my views are.

The position I took in reference to the Florida case briefly is this: That the decisions in the Bell case and in the subsequent New Hampshire case of Mr. Blair were upon the law of 1866, that those decisions were made by a tribunal which had authority under the Constitution to pass upon the election of Senators; that this tribunal sustained the law of 1866 and sustained the appointment of Senators in cases where Legislatures under it had not had an opportunity to act; that this law and these decisions settled the law and the practice before the Florida case arose.

The law of 1866 requires the election of a Senator to be made by the Legislature last elected before the term expires, and the decisions of this body sustain elections made under that law as regular, the Legislature so elected is the proper one to choose a Senator. When the State of Florida acted under that law, she was simply obeying the decisions of this body. As long as those decisions remain unchanged, it was the duty of the governor of the State to appoint to a vacancy at the beginning of a term occurring before the Legislature had an opportunity to choose a Senator. It was the only way in which the State could get representation in this body at the extraordinary session.

I stated, however, that my own opinion was that the Bell case had been decided improperly. But the Senate has hitherto treated cases like the New Hampshire and Florida cases as differing from the Montana case in this, that in the latter case the Legislature had the opportunity to choose a Senator.

Mr. CHANDLER. I did not misapprehend the Senator, and I agree with him.

Mr. PASCO. I will state further that in my judgment the law of 1866 is faulty in requiring the Legislature last elected to choose a Senator instead of the Legislature which last meets before the Senatorial term expires. That is briefly the statement of the case I made.

Mr. CHANDLER. I agree with the Senator from Florida that it was the duty of the governor of Florida, in view of the precedents, to make the appointment which he did make; but I correctly stated that the Senator from Florida expressed the opinion that the decision in the New Hampshire cases was an erroneous decision, according to his construction of the Constitution.

Mr. PASCO. If the Senator had simply said that, I should not have interrupted him.

Mr. CHANDLER. That was all I intended to say.

My colleague [Mr. GALLINGER] has also frankly stated to the Senate that, in his judgment, the decision in the previous New Hampshire cases was erroneous. It is true he stated that he made the distinction, which other Senators undertook to draw, between the New Hampshire cases and the present case, but he further distinctly said that, in his judgment, the decision in the New Hampshire cases was erroneous.

Whether that decision was erroneous is the whole question, as I conceive, before the Senate. It is not whether in the early days of the nation there was a construction placed upon the Constitution which was technical and narrow, and would not allow the appointees of governors to sit in this body, but the question is whether we have liberalized that construction by the precedents as they now stand at the end of one hundred years under the Constitution.

In the beginning it was held that there could be no appointment at the beginning of a term, but that rule was violated in 1797, and from that time down to this hour we have numerous cases where appointments have been made by governors of Senators to take their seats at the beginning of terms.

And at last, Mr. President, we come to the New Hampshire cases, and from the New Hampshire cases to this case, when the question is, whether we shall continue this late and liberal construction of the Constitution, or whether we shall go back to the old and technical construction of the Constitution.

I say that it is impossible to draw a line of principle which distinguishes the New Hampshire cases from this case, for, as has been stated by my colleague [Mr. GALLINGER] and as clearly appears from the facts, the State of New Hampshire deliberately disabled herself from bringing a Senator here at the beginning of the Senatorial term, and notwithstanding this action of hers the power of gubernatorial appointment was allowed, and three appointees, Mr. Bell in 1879, Mr. Blair in 1885, and Mr. Marston in 1889 were allowed to take and retain their seats under the power of appointment.

It was upon the strength of these cases that I felt constrained to give my adhesion to the report of the majority and to speak in behalf of the gubernatorial power of appointment in the present case. I can not make the power of the Legislature and the power of the governor either inferior or superior the one to the other. The one power is conditional; the other is unconditional, but the two are of equal dignity. The Legislature, under a correct construction of the Constitution, may keep a Senator here if they choose to make, and succeed in making, an election. If they fail to keep a Senator here, then the governor may fill the vacancy.

I hold, notwithstanding the woeful predictions of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] that by the Senate the governor of the State, exercising this conditional, but when the occasion arises, absolute power of appointment, is to be respected as a portion of the government of a State as much entitled to be allowed to exercise the power which the Constitution confers upon him by its express language as is the Legislature of the State in accordance with the Constitution.

Mr. PUGH. I desire to ask the Senator from New Hampshire a question. Is it not conceded, and will any Senator deny, that the power of the governor to appoint and the power of the Legislature to elect are both delegated powers of equal dignity in the Constitution? There is nothing of the character of a reserved State right or State power in the power of the Legislature to elect a Senator. The one power is just the same as the other; they are both delegated, and both are of equal dignity and importance.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. President, I have been surprised, I confess, at the breadth and strength of the differences among Senators upon this question. It comes, I think, partially from a difference in our general theories concerning the relations of the States and the Federal Government, and from what I respectfully think to be a misapprehension of the designs of the founders of the Constitution.

If you will take up this book and read the Articles of Confederation, it will surprise you again that they were able to carry on war, to establish their independence, to call themselves in Constitutional Convention, to do anything, in short, as a united body. It is the loosest possible agreement. There is not a sanction given to any power reposed in the provincial congress. It is substantially a respectful request in every respect. During the war of the Revolution, the marvelous wisdom, patience, and patriotism of those wonderful men and the gracious favor of Almighty God carried them along; but after the war everything tended to a condition of utter and hopeless ruin.

But everyone here knows well the state of feeling that led to the calling of the great Constitutional Convention. If there was any great and underlying purpose in that Convention at all, it was to form a union, to create a great central, national, protective government, representing the great masses of the people to the rest of the world in such a manner that nobody from within could destroy it; that it should not be shorn of its locks, like Samson; that it should not be hamstrung, taken by surprise, or ever found at a disadvantage; that there should never be a branch of the Government without somebody occupying it, or never be a function of government where there was not a person to discharge that function. That is the underlying purpose of the whole instrument.

When you come to what is ordinarily called a discussion of State rights and the respective powers of the State and the national governments, I am, in a general sense, a very strict constructionist upon the State rights side; but when I come within what is the unquestioned field of the Federal Government, then I exult in its imperial power, and demand for it every ounce that belongs to it.

They went into that Convention with that purpose. Let us see what they did. They took absolute control of the election of Representatives in Congress. The States may make their rules, select their times, place, and manner. They long ago selected the time for choosing their Representatives, but if the times, place, etc., are not acceptable to the great Federal Government, it may alter or make all the regulations for the choosing of Representatives. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] calls my attention to the fact that they may not elect on one ticket, as they used to do. So that provision is made that we shall never be without Representatives in what we sometimes call, disrespectfully, the lower House of Congress.

How, then, about the Senators? We have the same power in the Federal Government of regulation over the times and manner of choosing United States Senators, but we have nothing to do with the place. For some reason, while regulating the time, the manner, etc., the framers of the Constitution excepted the place at which the election of Senators may be held.

To those gentlemen who are scrupulous about interference with State dignity and power I commend the well-known statute which provides for the election of Senators. No man ever questioned the entire jurisdiction of the Federal Government over that subject; and in comes the Federal Government into the legislative body of a sovereign State and practically orders it, on a certain day after its organization, to meet in separate houses and take a vote upon the question of the election of a Senator; then to meet in joint convention the next day and compare their votes, and if there be a coincidence of choice, then the election shall be declared, but if there shall not be they shall take one vote every legislative day thereafter until they shall have come to a choice.

Does anybody see anything in that to raise the question that that interferes with the dignity and majesty of a sovereign State? Will anybody say that there were not abuses which called for the wise exercise of just such a power? Some of the State Legislatures used to do just what some people fear they will do now, and what they occasionally do now; but it was then a common occurrence that factions broke up, nullified, delayed, dissipated the power of the Legislature; and there was no Senator chosen, or he was not chosen until toward the end of the long session, when innumerable combinations sometimes brought on corrupt bargains.

So far as the Federal Government could do it, it put an end to that, and provided to the best of its ability for a speedy choice.

Some one made the remark here that the Constitution gives the States no command. Well, I think it does, very distinctly. I recollect one that made a great deal of trouble at one time in the history of the Government:

> No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.
>
> A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

Before a member of a Legislature in either house can take one step in the discharge of his duties, he must obey the following command in this book:

> The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution.

There are commands enough; and the restrictions, the delegations—the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PUGH] makes a wise distinction—found elsewhere in the Constitution make the objection that the Constitution imposes no commands a merely technical one.

Now, when we come into the Constitutional Convention, as I read Elliott's Debates and Madison Papers I find these distinguishing great purposes running throughout: A great jealousy of undue influence with the autonomy, with the wise individ-

uality and local self-government of the States, and, on the other hand, an equal desire that the great government they were forming should be eternal; that it should be an indestructible union of indestructible States.

Mr. GRAY. Will the Senator from Connecticut allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. HAWLEY. Oh, with pleasure.

Mr. GRAY. If the great underlying purpose of the framers of the Constitution, which the Senator, with some others, has discovered, was that the Senate shall be always full, and if the provision in regard to temporary appointment by the governor be a carrying out of that great underlying principle, why was it that those framers who knew so well how to use the word "shall" in the instances the Senator has just read, say, when it comes to temporary appointment by the governor, that he may make a temporary appointment, and do not say that he shall make it?

Mr. HAWLEY. I will answer in the language of one of my great predecessors from Connecticut, Mr. Ellsworth:

It is only said that the executives may supply vacancies. Where the legislative meeting happens to be near, the power will not be exerted.

It is not necessary to say "shall;" it is not necessary that it should be imperative. We trust something to the people.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. May I ask the Senator from Connecticut a question?

Mr. HAWLEY. Certainly.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I understand the Senator to be arguing that all vacancies in the House of Representatives, no matter how created, shall be filled in the manner pointed out in the Constitution; and following that up, that whenever a vacancy exists in the Senate——

Mr. HAWLEY. Excuse me, I never said a word about vacancies. I spoke of the general choice, the regulation of the times, places, and manner of choosing Representatives.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I understand the general scope of the Senator's talk to be, that whenever a vacancy exists in the Senate of the United States, no matter how it occurs, or when it occurs, then, until the Legislature shall fill that vacancy, the governor may appoint, and that appointment confers just as good a title as though the title came from the Legislature itself. The question I wish to ask the Senator from Connecticut is this: Why did the framers of the Constitution, in defining vacancies in the House of Representatives and vacancies in the Senate, use different language? In other words, why did they use the words "when vacancies happen," in reference to vacancies in the House of Representatives, whereas when they come to refer to vacancies in the Senate they use entirely different language? "When vacancies happen," of course, means any vacancies, all vacancies, but the language referring to vacancies in the Senate is entirely different from that employed in defining vacancies in the House. Referring to the Senate, the Constitution says, "if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise." Wherefore the necessity or the propriety, or the common sense, if you please, of putting in those four words of qualification, "by resignation or otherwise," if it were intended that the governor had the power to appoint whenever a vacancy occurred, no matter how it occurred?

Mr. HAWLEY. I understand the question, and I will answer the Senator by simply reading two lines and a half from the Constitution, which provide for filling vacancies in the House of Representatives:

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

There is no intervening legislative body. We speak directly to the people there; but with regard to the election of a Senator, the time for the appointment of a Senator may be within a week of the meeting of the Legislature, and that is precisely the reason Chief Justice Ellsworth, of Connecticut, gave for using "may" instead of "shall." Otherwise, doubtless, the Constitution would have used "shall" in regard to Senators also.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. That is simply drawing a distinction between a command and a permission.

Mr. HAWLEY. The Senator asked me why there was a difference between the two clauses, and I have told him all I know about it. It is so near 5 o'clock that I can not permit my remarks to be cut into slices. Now they had before them the following:

The Senate of the United States shall be chosen by the Legislatures of the several States. Each Legislature shall choose two members. Vacancies may be supplied by the executive until the next meeting of the Legislature.

That is complete. I understand there would have been no question if that had been left as agreed upon at one time. They discussed it. I omit the discussion. Then a motion was made to strike out the words "vacancies may be supplied by the executive." There was the broad, general issue clearly made. One single State voted for it, eight voted against it, and one State was divided and lost its vote, and the question was never raised again. There is no record of there being another vote and another contest on that subject.

When the Constitution came away from the committee on style it had been changed a little; but there was another vote that I must call attention to. That might have been left just as it was, and it would have been so left, undoubtedly; you can read the report and see—it would have been left just as it was, "vacancies may be filled by the executive," if Mr. Madison had not thought of a possible matter of difference. In the House of Commons the right is denied to a member to resign. They keep up a ridiculous old fiction in the House of Commons that a man can not resign, like that of fines and recoveries and all that sort of superannuated and scrubby nonsense in the common law.

So, when a member wants to resign, he accepts the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, a government office, which is incompatible with his holding a seat in the House, and then he gets out of that body. They do not allow him to go out of the big open door, but if you go into that cloakroom you can get out through it. It occurred to Mr. Madison, the analogy being so strong between our House of Representatives and the House of Commons——

Mr. LINDSAY. Will the Senator from Connecticut pardon me?

Mr. HAWLEY. Certainly.

Mr. LINDSAY. If the Senator believes that to have been the real reason, why was the language qualified in the Constitution?

Mr. HAWLEY. I do not know; that is one of the conjectures.

Mr. LINDSAY. Why was it not also provided that a member of the House of Representatives might resign, the House of Representatives being analogous to the House of Commons?

Mr. HAWLEY. I do not know, I am sure. I have only got what Mr. Madison said here, and I can not think of any other reason for putting that clause in, except that the report says:

Mr. Madison, in order to prevent doubts whether resignations could be made by Senators, or whether they could refuse to accept, moved to strike out the words after vacancies, and insert the words "happening by refusal to accept, resignation, or otherwise, may be supplied by the Legislature of the State in the representations of which such vacancies shall happen, or by the executive thereof until the next meeting of the Legislature."

Vacancies "happening by refusal to accept, resignation, or otherwise;" and the words "refusal to accept" were stricken out because I suppose they thought that clause was entirely unnecessary. So it finally came out, "vacancies happening by resignation or otherwise." It differs in no respect from what it originally was when nobody disputed the appointing power to the governor. It differs only in the insertion of the words "resignation or otherwise," and there was sense in using the word "resignation," as I have shown by this historical reference.

There is no escape in my judgment from the conclusion that it is right to seat Mr. Mantle unless you can find it in the construction of the word "otherwise." That is the only escape. Otherwise the governor has a right to appoint. So it is of some consequence to know what "otherwise" means. It is of no consequence in dealing with 999,999 out of the 1,000,000 of the common people because they know what "otherwise" means, but it takes a lawyer to find out that "otherwise" means "likewise." It takes a lawyer to find out that "otherwise" is simply one of the species of "other;" that it is only practically equivalent to "likewise;" that "otherwise" is something right along in the direction of what you have been at all the while.

Now, let us see if "otherwise" means anything of that sort. It may amuse you to have a little more of this read than you have heard from anybody else. Here is the great Century Dictionary; and do not let any man tell me that it is merely a modern dictionary, because these men give you all the old Scandinavian, all the old Danish, and Celtic, and Norwegian, and Icelandic, and everything else that there is to be dug out of it. "Otherwise" is defined:

In a different manner or way; differently.

That is to say, in another manner or way, by resignation, or in another method or way. "Any other manner or way" is the common sense of it. So it ought to read, and it does read practically thus. "If vacancies happen." What does "happen" mean? Is there a broader word than that? It means to come to pass, in the common language of the scriptures. If we find it here, whether it came up, or down, or any way; whether it flew here, walked here, was thrown here, grew here, anything to make it happen, there it is. If vacancies happen, if they come to pass in any manner, resignation included. That is what is meant. If vacancies happen in any manner, resignations included during the recess of the Legislature, the executive may appoint, etc.

Now, let us see what is the meaning of the word "wise." Wise is a noun as well as an adjective. It means:

Way; manner; mode; guise; style; now seldom used as an independent word, except in such phrases as in *any wise, in no wise, on this wise.*

* * * * * * *

IN ANY WISE, in any way; by any means.

* * * * * * *

IN NO WISE, in no way; on no account; by no means.

Therefore, when I say "otherwise" I mean "in any other way under the sun, resignation included," That I think is very clearly what is meant. Of course, there is a temptation to follow up this kind of speculation, but that is enough for me. I do not care, for my vote here, what A B or C D or any distinguished man said, except that it throws more light and appeals to my reason, for I have a theory of the Constitution, and I can read the English language, and I think I know what "otherwise" means. There is the great underlying pervading theory of the Constitution. Like nature, it abhors a vacuum. There is no want that is indispensable to the existence of a great imperial nation that is not in the Constitution; and it is one of the first duties of this Congress to see that there are no empty places where there is work to be done.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I desire to say a few words—probably I shall not desire to occupy more than ten minutes—in conclusion of the debate.

Mr. CHANDLER (at 5 o'clock p. m.). I ask unanimous consent that the time for taking the vote may be extended fifteen minutes.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New Hampshire that the time for taking the vote on the pending resolution be extended fifteen minutes?

Mr. VANCE. I have none.

Mr. HARRIS. Does the Senator from Massachusetts need that much time?

Mr. HOAR. I shall not take so much, I hope.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair hears no objection to the request of the Senator from New Hampshire, and the time for taking the vote is extended until a quarter past 5 o'clock.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, this seems to me as simple and plain a question as ever was confused by metaphysics or clouded by legal argument. The Constitution of the United States says that when there is a vacancy in this body by death, resignation, or otherwise——

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. It does not say that. The word "death" is not in the Constitution.

Mr. HOAR. Well, "resignation or otherwise," then. It may be filled when caused by resignation or otherwise. As my friend says, "death" is not mentioned, and if the word "otherwise" means "in the same way as resignation," you can not fill the vacancy when a Senator dies, according to his suggestion.

Mr. President, one of two things is true: either when the framers of the Constitution said "otherwise" they meant "in any other way," and intended to provide for all cases of vacancy, or the framers of the Constitution meant to provide that there should be certain cases, naturally to be expected, easy to be foreseen, impossible not to have been thought of by them, in which the States should not be equally represented in the Senate.

Will anybody doubt that those circumspect and wise and experienced men knew very well that State Legislatures, bodies who, if their two branches acted separately, were to record the action of two artificial beings who were very likely to differ, and if they acted as they have done only since 1866 in joint convention were to be composed of a number of men who might be divided into three or four parties, and so could not agree—is there a member of the Senate who will stand up here and say that he doubts seriously that the framers of the Constitution did not mean to anticipate and provide for that condition of things?

If they did mean to provide for it, is there a man bold enough to justify his vote on this question by announcing that he believes in that case our fathers did not mean to have the Senate filled? They provided that ninety-nine one-hundredths of the American people could not for ninety-nine hundred or ninety-nine thousand years, if this nation should endure so long, under any conceivable circumstance or for any conceivable reason, have two Senators for forty-three States and the forty-fourth State have but one. Th eone constitutional impossibility, so far as the wit of man could devise, and the power of a national Constitution could enact, was that when this Senate was to act on the important questions affecting the rights of the States and the people two voices should answer for each.

Now, that is the whole of it; and when there is a vacancy by resignation or "otherwise," a word comprehending every possible or conceivable case, the governor, if the Legislature has not done it, is to appoint. Upon the meaning of the word "otherwise" and upon the truth of these two simple propositions this whole debate has, in fact, turned. There have been winding and turning and searchings of precedents and splitting of hairs; but when any Senator objecting to the admission of Mr. Mantle is asked, Do you admit that the decision in the New Hampshire case was right? he is obliged to answer as the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] answered, "I voted for it because I thought it would be a hard case, but I have now concluded it was wrong." That is the substance of what the Senator says.

Why, Mr. President, the Senator from Connecticut and, I think, one other Senator sought to convict me of an inconsistency because when in the middle of the debate, the question not being before the Senate, when we were discussing something else (as he thinks, when we were discussing the New Hampshire case), Mr. Carpenter, of Wisconsin, asked me if I claimed or thought that if the Legislature met and separated the governor could then appoint. It was such a case as every lawyer in this body is familiar with. Somebody comes up to you when your head is full of something else, in the street or in the town meeting, and says: "Squire, how will it be, supposin'?" I never heard of the lawyer who admitted that the opinions he gave under such circumstances were of much value. Almost as soon as I took my seat after that speech, on reflection, I came to the conclusion that I had made an erroneous answer, and I have acted on another principle in the Senate ever since.

If my honorable friend thinks I am to be held in law, or in morals, or in consistency, or in responsibility to public opinion by the answer which I gave to that shrewd question put by that shrewd gentleman at that time, what is his condition, who comes in here to take back four solemn votes of his own on cases before the Senate and in issue—the Bell case, the Blair case, the Marston case, and the Pasco case, two of them cast after the most deliberate and solemn debate, a debate participated in by the great constitutional lawyers of the country?

Mr. President, if there was nothing else in this case but these four great and recent precedents, I should argue both to the understanding and the conscience of the members of this body to stand by them. No court, no legislative body, no tribunal can maintain the respect of the people long that does not maintain its own consistency and that does not regard its own solemn judgments.

He and I struggled for half a winter to maintain that principle in the case of Mr. Kellogg, of Louisiana, against the gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber, angered, possessed with the feeling that Mr. Kellogg had been improperly admitted; and when the majority changed and the Democrats came in, they still held (and held fast, under the lead of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GORDON], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Hampton], and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. Bayard], now in honorable service abroad, and the great jurist from Mississippi [Mr. Lamar], who recently went to his reward to the grief of all his countrymen North and South) to the doctrine of sustaining the deliberate judgments of the Senate.

My honorable friend from Connecticut speculates about the possibility of a Legislature being influenced by corrupt reasons and refusing to elect a member of this body in order that the governor may appoint some ambitious person who is in league with him; and he thinks there may be a very bad result from our adhering to the solemn judgments of the Senate on that account. I should like to know what possibility of corrupt influence bringing popular liberty and republican government itself into discredit can be greater than the influence which, if this disregard of our precedents is established as a policy, will be brought to bear on the minds of the members of this body to seat or unseat men who have a rightful title to seats here according as they expect they will vote one way or the other on some exciting question pending.

I think that the attitude of my honorable friend from Connecticut, who has voted four times for this doctrine and now seeks to reverse it (honest as every man who knows him knows everything he does and thinks is honest), is still an attitude more fraught with a graver public danger than any he has suggested as flowing from one or the other exposition of the Constitution in this matter. My honorable friend says that although he thinks the New Hampshire cases were wrong still there is a distinction between those cases and the one before the Senate.

Mr. PLATT. I have not said that I thought the New Hampshire cases were wrong.

Mr. HOAR. I asked the Senator whether he thought it was a sound constitutional decision, and he said no.

Mr. PLATT. I understood the Senator's question to be on the point as to whether, if the case was admitted to be decided on the question that a governor could appoint at the commencement of a term, I thought it was wrong.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator thought it was wrong.

Mr. PLATT. I did not say that.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator said he did not think it was right on any ground; but if he thinks so, on what ground?

Mr. PLATT. I do.

Mr. HOAR. On what ground?

Mr. PLATT. On the ground that the State of New Hampshire had not had an opportunity to make the election.

Mr. HOAR. Now, just let us look at that a moment and see where the true principle comes in. The Senator says if a State legislature has tried its best to make an election, as in the case of Montana, where the Legislature met and balloted at the time fixed, and balloted day after day and week after week, and failed because the members of that Legislature could not find a man on whom a majority could conscientiously agree, an inability which to every just and honest man is absolute in the conduct of the affairs of life, he will keep the man out; but when the whole people of a State deliberately put it into their constitution that their Legislature shall not meet at the proper time and shall not elect at the proper time, so that not only there has been no attempt on the part of the Legislature to do its duty, but the people say that the Legislature shall not try to do its constitutional and lawful duty, then in such case my honorable friend from Connecticut says of course he will let the man in.

The Constitution then, according to my honorable friend from Connecticut, is this: When the framers of the Constitution, Oliver Ellsworth, James Madison, and their associates, said if there is a vacancy "by resignation or otherwise," they did not mean in any other way but in the same way as resignation, if any other same way could be conceived of; that they intended that in a certain easily to be foreseen condition there should be vacancies in this body, and then further they provided that if a State Legislature tried its best to elect and could not, the governor should not have any power to appoint, and the State should go unrepresented, but if the people of the State put it into their constitution that their Legislature should not even try to elect a Senator, then it is such a hard case that the man ought to be admitted.

Mr. President, that is the whole of it. You may discuss and refine and bring into this matter the subtlety of dialectics and split hairs, if when the framers of the Constitution said "resignation or otherwise," they meant "resignation or any other conceivable case," then this case belongs to Mr. Mantle. If they meant to narrow the provision to the case of a vacancy by resignation or something like it, to the case of the abandonment of his post for a good or evil reason by the Senator, and in the great field of other possibilities, and intended that the State should lose its equality and its sovereignty, that it should not be represented here, then the case is not with Mr. Mantle.

If the words "happen by resignation or otherwise" include the case at the beginning of a term where the State has sent nobody here and it was impossible to send any body here, then this case belongs Mr. Mantle upon the precedents; but if it be sound doctrine that it is a hard case and the State shall be excused and the governor shall appoint when it does not try, and the people say the Legislature shall not try to elect its Senators, then the case is not with Mr. Mantle upon our precedents. If the case be that upon precedent, upon principle, upon authority the people of these three States have a right to have their constitutional voice uttered, then for one—other gentlemen will do as they please—I should feel myself degraded and man-sworn if I voted to keep them out because I do not like the votes they are expected to give.

The VICE-PRESIDENT (at 5 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.). The Chair reminds the Senator from Massachusetts that the fifteen minutes' extension of time has expired.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator from Massachusetts is through.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The pending resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution reported by Mr. HOAR, from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, March 27, 1893, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

Mr. VANCE. I offer the following as a substitute:

Resolved, That Hon. Lee Mantle is not entitled to a seat in this body as a Senator from the State of Montana.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is upon agreeing to the substitute offered by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE] to the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR].

Mr. VANCE. On that I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ALLEN (when his name was called). I am paired on this question with the Senator from Georgia [Mr. COLQUITT]. If he were present I should vote "yea."

Mr. ALLISON (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. GORDON], and therefore withhold my vote. I should vote for the admission of Mr. Mantle if I were not paired.

Mr. FAULKNER (when Mr. CAMDEN'S name was called). The junior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. CAMDEN] is necessarily detained from the Senate to-day. If he were present he would vote "yea" on the pending resolution. He is paired with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW].

Mr. CHANDLER (when his name was called). Upon this question I am paired with the senior Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL]. If he were present he would vote "yea" and I should vote "nay."

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon (when Mr. DOLPH'S name was called). My colleague [Mr. DOLPH] is detained from the Senate by illness. He is paired with the senior Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES]. If my colleague were here he would vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL], who is necessarily absent; but, he and I agreeing in opinion upon this question, he asked me to allow him to pair with another Senator. That pair has already been announced. I vote "yea."

Mr. PETTIGREW (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. CAMDEN]. If he were present I should vote "nay."

Mr. CAMERON (when Mr. QUAY'S name was called). My colleague, Mr. QUAY, is paired with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN]. If my colleague were present he would vote "nay."

Mr. RANSOM (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]. That pair has been transferred to the Senator from Iowa [Mr. WILSON], and I vote "yea."

Mr. TURPIE (when Mr. VOORHEES'S name was called). My colleague, Mr. VOORHEES, is paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH]. If my colleague were present he would vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. ALLISON. My colleague, Mr. WILSON, is paired on this question with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE].

Mr. CALL. I am paired with the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN]. If he were here I should vote "yea."

Mr. DUBOIS. I wish to inquire of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PUGH] if he knows how his colleague [Mr. MORGAN] would vote on this question.

Mr. PUGH. I am satisfied that if my colleague were present he would vote "nay;" that is, in favor of the appointment by the governor.

Mr. DUBOIS. The Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] is paired for the pending proposition.

Mr. PASCO. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The debate is proceeding by unanimous consent. The Chair hears no objection, and the Senator from Florida will proceed.

Mr. PASCO. I will state that in the list of yeas and nays on the Bell case, which is regarded by many as the same case as this, the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] was among those who voted "nay." Those who voted in the negative on the Bell case were the following Senators:

Messrs. Bailey, CALL, Carpenter, COCKRELL, COKE, Conkling, Davis of Illinois, Eaton, Farley, Garland, Grover, HARRIS, Hereford, Hill of Georgia, Houston, Johnston, Jonas, Kernan, Lamar, Maxey, MORGAN, Pendleton, RANSOM, Slater, VANCE, VEST, Wallace, and Withers.

That is the official record in the case.

Mr. PUGH. There are a good many who voted that way then and vote differently now.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I object to discussion.

Mr. DUBOIS. I submit that it is customary in this body when a Senator announces how his colleague would vote that his word is taken.

Mr. STEWART. And he is paired accordingly.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. This is a matter over which the Chair has no control. The announcement of the pair was made when the name of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY] was called.

Mr. MANDERSON (after having voted in the negative). I desire to change my vote. I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 35, nays 30; as follows:

YEAS—35.

Berry,	Gibson,	Mitchell, Oregon	Smith,
Blackburn,	Gray,	Mitchell, Wis.	Stockbridge,
Caffery,	Harris,	Murphy,	Vance,
Coke,	Kyle,	Palmer,	Vest,
Cullom,	Lindsay,	Pasco,	Vilas,
Dixon,	McMillan,	Peffer,	Washburn,
Faulkner,	McPherson,	Platt,	White, Cal.
Gallinger,	Manderson,	Proctor,	White, La.
George,	Mills,	Ransom,	

NAYS—30.

Bate,	Daniel,	Hansbrough,	Hoar,
Butler,	Davis,	Hawley,	Hunton,
Cameron,	Dubois,	Higgins,	Irby,
Carey,	Frye,	Hill,	Jones, Ark.

Jones, Nev.	Power,	Squire,	Walthall,
Lodge,	Pugh,	Stewart,	Wolcott.
Martin,	Roach,	Teller,	
Perkins,	Shoup,	Turpie,	

NOT VOTING—20.

Aldrich,	Camden,	Gordon,	Pettigrew,
Allen,	Chandler,	Gorman,	Quay,
Allison,	Cockrell,	Hale,	Sherman,
Brice,	Colquitt,	Morgan,	Voorhees,
Call,	Dolph,	Morrill,	Wilson.

So the substitute submitted by Mr. VANCE was agreed to.

Mr. MANDERSON. I enter a motion to reconsider the vote by which the substitute was agreed to.

Mr. VANCE. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Nebraska moves to reconsider the vote by which the substitute was agreed to, and the Senator from North Carolina moves to lay the motion on the table.

Mr. MANDERSON. I ask unanimous consent to say a word. Of course I understand that the motion to lay on the table is not debatable.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from Nebraska will proceed.

Mr. MANDERSON. My purpose in changing my vote was that I might put myself in a parliamentary position to enter the motion to reconsider.

Mr. VANCE. I think I shall have to object.

Mr. MANDERSON. I did so simply because of the fact that there seemed to be a dispute as to pairs. That dispute certainly can not be ended now. I think that common fairness to those who have objected to the disposition of the pairs should prompt the Senate to let the vote go over until another day, so that the question as to the pairs can be properly disposed of.

Mr. VANCE. I object to debate, Mr. President.

Mr. MILLS and others. Question.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that debate proceeds only by unanimous consent. The Senator from North Carolina interposes an objection.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Pending the motion of the Senator from North Carolina to lay on the table the motion of the Senator from Nebraska to reconsider, the Senator from Colorado moves that the Senate do now adjourn. [Putting the question.] The Chair is in doubt.

Mr. VANCE. I demand the yeas and nays.

Mr. HARRIS. I ask the Senator from Colorado to withdraw the motion to adjourn in order that I may move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I withdraw the motion for that purpose.

Mr. HARRIS. Then I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Tennessee. [Putting the question.] The Chair is in doubt.

Mr. HARRIS. Then let us have the yeas and nays on the motion to proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The yeas and nays having been ordered and taken, the result was announced—yeas 57, nays 6; as follows:

YEAS—57.

Allen,	Dubois,	Jones, Nev.	Roach,
Bate,	Faulkner,	Kyle,	Shoup,
Berry,	Frye,	Lindsay,	Smith,
Blackburn,	Gallinger,	Lodge,	Squire,
Butler,	Gibson,	McMillan,	Stewart,
Call,	Gray,	McPherson,	Stockbridge,
Cameron,	Hansbrough,	Manderson,	Teller,
Carey,	Harris,	Martin,	Turpie,
Chandler,	Hawley,	Mills,	Vest,
Cockrell,	Higgins,	Mitchell, Oregon	Vilas,
Coke,	Hill,	Peffer,	Walthall,
Cullom,	Hoar,	Perkins,	Wolcott.
Daniel,	Hunton,	Platt,	
Davis,	Irby,	Proctor,	
Dixon,	Jones, Ark.	Pugh,	

NAYS—6.

Caffery,	Palmer,	Vance,
Mitchell, Wis.	Pasco,	Washburn.

NOT VOTING—22.

Aldrich,	George,	Murphy,	Voorhees,
Allison,	Gordon,	Pettigrew,	White, Cal.
Brice,	Gorman,	Power,	White, La.
Camden,	Hale,	Quay,	Wilson.
Colquitt,	Morgan,	Ransom,	
Dolph,	Morrill,	Sherman,	

So the motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, August 24, 1893, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, *August 23, 1893.*

The House met at 10 o'clock a. m.

The SPEAKER. The Chaplain is absent this morning, the reason being, as the Chair assumes, that he did not know of the change in the hour of meeting. The Clerk will read the Journal.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

CONTESTED ELECTIONS.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following letter from the Clerk of the House, which was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Elections:

CLERK'S OFFICE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., August 7, 1893.

SIR: I have the honor to lay before the House of Representatives a list of contests for seats in the House of Representatives for the Fifty-third Congress of the United States, notices of which have been filed in the office of the Clerk of the House, and also to transmit therewith all original testimony, papers, and documents relating thereto, as follows, to wit:

STATE OF ALABAMA.

Fifth district—Martin W. Whatley *vs.* James E. Cobb, three packages.

STATE OF CALIFORNIA.

Third district—Warren B. English *vs.* Samuel G. Hilborn, two packages.

STATE OF GEORGIA.

Tenth district—Thomas E. Watson *vs.* James C. C. Black, two packages.

STATE OF ILLINOIS.

Eighth district—Lewis Steward *vs.* Robert A. Childs, two packages.

STATE OF KANSAS.

Second district—H. L. Moore *vs.* Edward H. Funston, five packages.

STATE OF MISSOURI.

Eleventh district—John J. O'Neill *vs.* Charles F. Joy, two packages.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Fifth district—A. H. A. Williams *vs.* Thomas Settle, two packages.

STATE OF TENNESSEE.

Eighth district—P. H. Thrasher *vs.* B. A. Enloe, three packages.

STATE OF VIRGINIA.

Fourth district—J. T. Goode *vs.* J. F. Epes, three packages.

The Clerk has also received a notice of contest from F. D. Koonce *vs.* B. F. Grady, Third Congressional district of North Carolina, but said notice has been unaccompanied by any testimony, and consequently the original notice is laid before the House for such action as it may deem proper to take.

The Clerk has also received notice of contest and answer thereto in the case of Frank Baltzell *vs.* J. F. Stallings, Second Congressional district of Alabama, but it was unaccompanied by testimony; all of which papers are laid before the House for its action thereon.

In compliance with the act approved March 2, 1887, entitled "An act relating to contested elections," such portions of the testimony in the above cases as the parties in interest agreed upon, or as seemed proper to the Clerk, after giving the requisite notices, have been printed and indexed, together with the notices of contest and the answers thereto, and such portions of the testimony as were not printed with all the original papers have been sealed up and are ready to be laid before the Committee on Elections.

Two copies of the printed testimony in each case have been mailed to the contestant, and the same number to the contestee. The law in reference to the briefs of both the contestee and contestant in each case has been complied with as far as possible upon the receipt by the Clerk of said briefs. Owing to delays in this matter, over which the Clerk has no control, all of said briefs have not yet been returned to him by the parties to these contests; but so far as the briefs have been furnished to the Clerk they are also ready to be laid before the Committee on Elections upon the order of the House.

Very respectfully,

JAMES KERR,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Hon. CHARLES F. CRISP,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

PAYMENT OF CLERKS TO MEMBERS.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House a letter from the Clerk of the House, explaining the insufficiency of the contingent fund for the payment of clerks to members; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

EXCUSED FROM COMMITTEE SERVICE.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House the request of Mr. BOUTELLE to be relieved from service on the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries; which, without objection, was granted.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT.

A message from the President, by Mr. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had approved and signed joint resolutions of the following titles:

Joint resolution (H. Res. 1) making available appropriations for the payment of session employés of the House and Senate during the first session of the Fifty-third Congress;

Joint resolution (H. Res. 2) for the appropriate commemoration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the laying of the corner stone of the Capitol of the United States, September 18, 1793; and

Joint resolution (H. Res. 3) making immediately available the appropriations for mileage of Senators and Members of the House of Representatives.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. PEARSON, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled the bill (S. 50) in aid of the California Midwinter International Exposition; when the Speaker signed the same.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. COX. I ask unanimous consent for the introduction of a bill, that it may be referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency under a similar order to that made yesterday, on the bill introduced by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. JOHNSON].

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill.

Mr. PAYNE. I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The demand for the regular order is equivalent to an objection.

SILVER.

The House resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

Mr. CHARLES W. STONE. Mr. Speaker, the condition in which we are placed to-day is, inmy judgment, too serious and the issues involved too grave to justify an appeal to passion, prejudice, or partisan feeling, or to be controlled by the varying interpretations which may be put upon the Democratic platform, which has played so large a part in the discussion of this question. What party platforms may have said, or what parties may have done in the past, is a matter of minor importance, in the anomalous and unprecedented condition in which we find ourselves. What may have been entirely wise and proper in an emergency in 1890 may be unwise and injurious in another emergency in 1893. Conditions change; new occasions teach new duties. Time makes ancient good uncouth. The matter of importance to us now is present duty morethan past history.

The drowning man, as he buffets the waves, is much more concerned to know how he can get out than to investigate how he happened to fall in, and the spectators on the bank do not need to quarrel as to who shall reach to him a helping and a saving hand. The important thing is to save the man, not who shall do it. Hence, however, much we may be inclined to deprecate or even resent that policy of the dominant party which has denied to this side of the House the least voice or possible agency in molding the pending legislation, that fact should not prevent our giving to it that fair, unprejudiced consideration and action which its merits and the startling and serious emergency confronting us both require.

What is the proposition before us? Why, simply to stop the compulsory monthly purchase, on a falling market, of tons of silver bullion, for which we have no earthly use, and the giving therefor of notes which investors seem to doubt our ultimate ability or disposition to pay in the standard money of the civilized world. Why should we continue to accumulate this bullion? What use can be made of it? Let me answer in the words of my valued friend from Missouri, the distinguished champion of the free-coinage cause, whose language always possesses the merit of candor and courageous, straightforward earnestness. He said on this floor on the 22d day of March, 1892:

> The law of the last Congress, July 14, 1890, provided for the purchase of silver at its market rate, measured in gold, and for the use of bullion for what purpose? As mere dead capital in the Treasury, which might as well be at the bottom of the Potomac.

Why now insist on continuing this senseless proceeding? If it were iron or steel, the nation might some time have some use for it in the construction of its Navy or the armament of its forts or vessels. If it were coal, it might sometime be consumed in the operations of the Government on land or sea, but silver can not be consumed or used except for the single purpose of adding to the three hundred and fifty million of idle dollars now clogging the Treasury vaults, and which can not be forced into circulation.

The real purpose of the act, to sustain and enhance the price of silver bullion by furnishing a large and certain purchaser, has not been attained, and if attainable such purpose can not be defended. As well may you ask the Government to bull the market for wheat, cotton, coal, oil, copper, or iron, by making enormous and unnecessary purchases of those articles.

But, sir, more than that, out of this purchase has arisen, in the process of time, positive and serious danger. The purchases under the Sherman law are entirely paid for in Treasury notes, payable by their terms in coin, and by fair inference and the interpretation of the Government, in such kind of coin as the holder thereof may desire. They have been issued to the amount of $148,286,348, and have gone into our circulation, and the volume is increasing from month to month. They have materially swollen the amount of our paper currency; they represent a practical reserve of silver in the nation's Treasury; they call attention to the increasing preponderance of silver in our currency, and now we are told in rotund tones, and with all the graces of polished oratory, by the gentleman from New York and others, that distrust pervades financial circles and reaches the nations of Europe, and that as a result money is withdrawn from the channels of trade and hoarded in banks and vaults.

Why this distrust? Is it senseless and baseless, the mere whim and impulse of a panic-stricken public? The gentlemen have not told us. In eloquent tones they have pictured the existing condition of affairs and implored us to repeal the Sherman law. Why? How is this condition traceable to that law? The gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN] tells us that an alarm like a cry of fire in a crowded hall has been sounded, and the whole nation is panic-stricken. Who gave this alarm, which my friend terms a false alarm, and what was its character? Who precipitated this panic? The gentleman says it was "the same forces which have always opposed any legislation favorable to silver." Let us see.

On the 12th of April, 1892, from his seat in the Senate, Senator STEWART of Nevada, the great apostle of free coinage, uttered the following words:

> It is manifest that gold can not be obtained to redeem the Treasury notes issued and to be issued under the act of 1890 under existing law. There is no possibility of accumulating gold for that purpose, or for the purpose of sustaining the other denominations of paper and silver, above mentioned, in circulation. Silver must be coined and used for the redemption of paper or the Government must repudiate its obligations.

And again on the 2d day of June, 1892, replying to Senator SHERMAN, he uses the following language:

> He tells us that free coinage will bring us to a silver standard just as he predicted the Bland act would do. Now, our present law will do worse than that. The present law on the statute book, which he approves to-day (he may not approve it to-morrow) will do worse than that. It will inevitably bring us to a paper standard or the market value standard of silver, because it is going to be utterly impossible—there is no use in our deceiving ourselves upon this subject—to maintain gold payments under existing laws.

These are not the words of a Wall street alarmist. They are not the utterances of quaking capital. They come not from any of the gentleman's baneful forces which have always opposed silver. They are not even the timid utterances of the raw recruit in the silver ranks. They come from the general of those forces; from the grim veteran of many a hard-fought battle.

Such expressions from a Senator of the United States of long service, an acknowledged student of financial questions, and the spokesman and representative of a large element in our population, could not escape the attention of the investors in our securities at home or abroad. They would naturally produce uneasiness if not apprehension.

Then comes the widespread newspaper report, whether well founded or not I do not assume to say, but going out to the public, that the Secretary of the Treasury in the early summer, when the gold reserve dropped to a hundred million dollars, contemplated silver payments of Treasury notes, and it seemed to give substance to the people's apprehensions and fulfillment to the Senator's prophecy that we were drifting to a silver basis.

This is followed up by the President of the United States, who makes formal and official public announcement of the impending danger in his message, as follows:

> Between the 1st day of July, 1890, and the 15th day of July, 1893, the gold coin and bullion in our Treasury decreased more than $132,000,000, while during the same period the silver coin and bullion in the Treasury increased more than $147,000,000. Unless Government bonds are to be constantly issued and sold to replenish our exhausted gold, only to be again exhausted, it is apparent that the operation of the silver-purchase law now in force leads in the direction of the entire substitution of silver for the gold in the Government Treasury, and that this must be followed by the payment of all Government obligations in depreciated silver.

Whatever may have been the situation before this authoritative proclamation of danger, coming from the head of the Government and going through all business circles and to all financial centers, distrust and apprehension are now unavoidable.

Said a distinguished Secretary of the Treasury, when a financial crisis was threatened, on being asked if he was not alarmed? "No, it would never do for the Secretary of the Treasury to get scared when everybody else is," and there was solid wisdom in the utterance. Would that the President of the United States had realized it.

If, instead of the timid, halting, and irresolute policy of this Administration, ending in the loud proclamation of the serious danger of the payment of all Government obligations in a depreciated currency, there had come from the Administration at all times and upon all occasions, from the inaugural utterances forward, the uniform, unhesitating, and bold expression of a determination that the integrity of every dollar of our currency should be maintained by the exercise to the utmost limit of every power of the Executive, express or implied, the distrust and danger aroused by injudicious utterances of leading silver advocates and by the character of our currency, would have been largely allayed.

Do not misunderstand me. I do not believe that the condition of our currency was the primary or principal cause of our financial distress or business prostration. I agree with my friend from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN] that the underlying cause of our business paralysis, first operating and continuing to operate, was and is the threatening attitude of the Democratic party toward the productive industries of this great nation, and this, with blinded judgment and partisan temerity, the President emphasizes in his message. In other words, the President alike threatens capital already invested and alarms capital seeking investment, and nothing but business paralysis can result. In short, the nation is suffering from an attack of Democratic statesmanship.

This fact does not, however, diminish the obligation of every patriot, rising above the limits of party feeling, the pride of personal opinion, and the irresponsibility of lack of power, to cooperate in every measure which by any possibility may bring returning prosperity to our suffering country.

The Sherman law, whether originally so or not, is now undoubtedly a factor in this business depression. Let us repeal it. Let us take the President's panacea. If it cures the disease, and returning prosperity follows, we shall all rejoice. If it does not, the fact will be made clearly and indisputably evident that the trouble is deeper than the Sherman law, and rests in the threatening attitude of the Democratic party toward the protection of American labor and American enterprise.

But the President's remedy is not the only one proposed. Our free-silver friends say, "Oh, yes; the ship of state is foundering in a rough and troubled sea and steering straight for the breakers, but you shall not use the pumps or change her course unless you let us load her down with the world's stock of silver, produced and to be produced. That will give her steadiness of motion and help to reach the unruffled sea of plenty and prosperity."

I do not concede the fairness of this position. I have no faith in such seamanship.

Their views, however, are urged with earnestness and undoubted sincerity, and are entitled to candid consideration. What are they? What do they propose? Simply, that the owner of silver bullion, no matter who he is, American, Englishman, or Egyptian—no matter where it was produced, whether in the United States, Mexico, or Australia—may deposit at any mint of the United States 412½ grains of standard silver, costing him to-day and purchasable anywhere for less than 60 cents, and have it coined into a dollar for his benefit and without cost to him. This 60-cent dollar the Government agrees to receive and forces all its citizens to take for 100 cents.

Whatever may be the underlying principle of this legislation, its practical operation, so long as the Government can sustain this dollar at par, is to give through the agency of the stamp and credit of the nation a substantial bounty of over 40 cents on the dollar, at present prices, to every holder of silver bullion—a species of class legislation that is entirely indefensible.

On the other hand, if the silver dollar can not be maintained at par, then the laborer's wages, the price of the farmer's crops, and every debt and obligation not by its terms specifically payable in gold, will be paid in a debased and depreciated silver currency. Gold will disappear from our circulation, and we shall reach an exclusively silver basis. Silver and gold can not both be circulated one moment after the Government ceases to be able to sustain their full and free interchangeability, dollar for dollar.

I do not propose to discuss these propositions, which have been often stated and fully elaborated during this debate and on other occasions, but rather to consider briefly some of the reasons advanced for adopting a system which must produce such results.

Why, it is claimed as a constitutional right, and the expression "gold and silver, the money of the Constitution," is rolled as a precious morsel under the tongue of every silver advocate; and in the very able, lengthy, and elaborate report from the Committee on Coinage, made by the distinguished gentleman from Missouri in the last Congress, a prominent heading in capital letters is in these words: "Free coinage required by the Constitution."

What justification is there for this? Is it provided anywhere in the Constitution that gold and silver shall be coined without limit and without cost? No sir, there is not one word to justify that assertion. Why, sir, neither gold nor silver is mentioned anywhere in the Constitution except in the tenth section of the first article, and then only in prohibiting the individual States from making anything else a legal tender. Is there anything in this prohibition from which an inference can be drawn of an obligation on the General Government, and an obligation different from the prohibition?

In the same section and paragraph the States are prohibited from impairing the obligation of contracts or granting titles of nobility. Can any inference be drawn from such prohibition of an obligation on the General Government to do the things prohibited to the States? The inference at most would be one of power only, and not of obligation, and would be only coextensive with the prohibition, namely, to make gold and silver a legal tender, and that has been done and the silver dollar is to-day as full and complete a legal tender as the gold dollar. Nowhere else in the Constitution are either gold or silver mentioned, and the claim of constitutional recognition of the silver dollar is the thinnest and flimsiest pretense. It may be proper to coin it, but it is not a constitutional requirement.

But, it is argued, a great wrong was committed and a serious outrage consummated in 1873, when the silver dollar was demonetized. Men talk flippantly and furiously, and even threateningly, of the demonetization of the silver dollar, and yet it is not demonetized, and has not been for the last hundred years, except for a brief time between 1874 and 1878. It is full legal tender and possesses all the money qualities and uses it ever did. Its coinage has simply been limited. In other words, the Government has assumed to decide for itself, instead of leaving it to the cupidity of the bullion producer to determine, how many of these silver dollars the people need and can safely use in the convenient transaction of their business and the conduct of their exchanges; and if any profit is to be made from its coinage that it shall be for the benefit of the whole people, instead of the few silver owners and speculators.

Finding over 350,000,000 idle dollars in the Treasury which can not be forced into circulation, and finding that by the continuous operation of natural forces the intrinsic value of the silver dollar has been reduced nearly one-half and that serious danger of depreciation is believed to exist, it determined to stop the coinage until the conditions change, but the legal-tender or money qualities of the dollar are in no wise impaired.

But, gentlemen reply, we are not talking simply of existing dollars, but of silver in general, and that was discredited in this country and in the eyes of the world in 1873, and they did not discover it for years afterwards. Why, the discredit of silver in this country came in 1853, and gentlemen apparently have not discovered it yet. It was then that the right of free coinage was denied to the greater part of your silver used for coinage. It was then that the full legal-tender quality was taken from all your silver coins in actual circulation. It was then that, by order of a Democratic President, the Government refused to take even your standard silver dollars in payment of impost duties due to the Government; and this refusal continued for twenty years.

Talk about the wrong of the act of 1873, which simply dropped from your coinage the silver dollar, which was not in circulation and which had been discredited for twenty years by the refusal of the Government to receive it in payment of debts! The blow at silver was struck in 1853, when you debased your halves, quarters, and dimes, closed your mints to their free coinage, and took away their legal-tender quality. How is the right to have silver coined into a dollar any more sacred than into two halves? What is the difference in principle? The question is certainly not one of degree, for up to 1853 we had coined over $54,000,000 in halves and only $2,500,000 in dollars. Why, we had coined 50 per cent more in value and fifteen times in number of the insignificant dimes than of the grand old "dollar of the daddies," which only the daddies of very modern times ever saw.

Why not be frank about these things? Why not give us the facts? Why not tell us that by the order of Thomas Jefferson the mints were closed to the coinage of the silver dollars in 1805 and for thirty years thereafter not a single silver dollar was coined?

Do you forget that the entire coinage of silver dollars, in the whole eighty years prior to 1873, only amounted to a little over $8,000,000, and that we have coined since then over $400,000,000, an average every year of nearly three times the entire aggregate coinage of the first eighty years, and that even last year we coined more standard silver dollars than in the whole eighty years before 1873?

The act of 1873 was passed in accordance with the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury, thrice repeated in his annual reports, commencing in 1870. It was considered with more than ordinary atttention in both Houses, its discussion filling 144 columns of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and was carefully examined by committees of both Houses and by a conference committee. It was pending for over two years, and printed thirteen times by order of Congress, and it can not be impugned now because some members can be found to say that they did not know what was in it. They had abundant opportunity to know, but the fact is that the dropping or retaining of the silver dollar seemed a matter of little importance then, as we were on a paper basis, and no silver was in circulation.

Let me quote from Secretary Manning's report, made in 1886:

The act of 1873 has been denounced and praised for demonetizing silver, which it did not do. It retired no silver from circulation; it caused no coin to be sold as bullion; it withdrew the full legal-tender quality from no silver coin. * * * The arguments that anything really injurious to silver was done by the act of 1873 are arguments offered only by those who are not quite familiar with the subject.

From the report of Secretary Windom, in 1889:

As a matter of fact, the act of 1873 had little or no effect on the price of silver. The United States was at that time on a paper basis. The entire number of silver dollars coined in this country from the organization of the mints in 1792 was only $8,045,838, but they had not been in circulation for over twenty-five years.

But we are told that, by reason of some mysterious sympathy between all other commodities and silver, prices from 1873 forward, of everything except gold, have gone down continuously and regularly as the price of silver has fallen, and that adversity and distress have followed in the wake of these falling prices, and all for the lack of the vitalizing current of silver in our national currency. Gentlemen would have us understand that prices were lower in 1878 than in 1872, as the value of silver was less, and yet we poured into the currency twenty-two millions silver dollars in 1878 against one million in 1872; that prices were lower in 1879 than in 1878, and yet we added twenty-seven millions of coined dollars to our currency in 1879.

We are told that prices continued to fall from year to year, but our additions to the currency of coined silver dollars increased just as regularly, until in 1890 we coined over $38,000,000.

Gentlemen tell us that prices were falling and the market weak for want of silver sustenance, and yet we were administering the coined silver dollars in allopathic and progressively increasing doses of thirty-odd millions a year, and the more silver we coined the lower prices went. Yet in the face of this indisputable fact, and of the fact that the greatest depression in prices occurred during that period when we were coining most silver dollars and coining them fastest, the only prescription which gentlemen offer for better prices is more silver coinage.

But is it a fact that prices of all articles except gold have fallen regularly as silver has fallen? It may be true than an ounce of silver will buy as much wheat to-day as it would twenty years ago; as much cotton, as much corn. An ounce of silver is worth a little over one-half what it was twenty years ago, and the same may be true of a bushel of wheat. The area of production has been largely increased, the methods of cultivation vastly improved, and the cost of transportation to market greatly lessened, and the same may be substantially true of silver, but I will not stop to discuss causes. Will gentlemen who urge this argument say that a day's labor—the basis of all values—is worth only half what it was twenty years ago?

Have wages fallen as silver has fallen? Can the laboring man buy no more wheat or flour for his day's work now than twenty years ago? No more cotton cloth or clothing? Why, sir, wages have not fallen as silver has fallen; and if you show the millions of wage-earners of this nation that silver has dragged down with itself the price of the food he eats and the clothes he wears, and has left his wages untouched, will he regard that system as an unalloyed evil? And if other influences have operated to affect the price of labor, and they have, is it not also possible that other causes may have operated to affect the prices of other articles, as, for instance, of sugar, of iron, or of oil? This question of prices, however, is too intricate and too remotely connected with the question here for further discussion in the brief time allowed.

But, sir, my friend, the eloquent gentleman from Pennsylvania, asserts, and to be logical he must so maintain, that from 1873 on to this time we have been constantly sinking deeper and deeper in the slough of national disaster and distress, but no proof of this assertion is offered and none can be found. On the contrary, the concurring testimony of all observers, as well as the proof of census statistics, will sustain the assertion I now make, that there has been no period in the history of this or any other nation, from the beginning of recorded time, of such marvelous growth and general prosperity as in this country between the years 1880 and 1890.

Other causes operated to produce this result, and I will not discuss them, but I want to emphasize the fact that we were prosperous to a wonderful degree, and that in all this time the lack of free coinage did not operate to stay this progress.

Gentlemen picture to us France as to day the utopian home of peace and plenty, and attribute that condition to her financial system. Will they be kind enough to tell us in what essential particular that system differs from our own?

She uses both gold and silver as currency. So do we, except that we use a smaller proportion of silver than France, and are increasing that element of our currency and she is not. Her standard coins of both gold and silver are unlimited legal tender, and so are ours. Her minor coins are of limited legal tender, as are ours. Her mints are closed, and have been for years, to the coinage of silver on private account, and so are ours. There is no essential difference in the financial systems of the two nations. We have in our currency more silver than gold, while France has more gold than silver. We have to-day $664,573,320 of silver to $603,723,903 of gold, while France has $700,000,000 of silver and $900,000,000 of gold.

Will any one be kind enough to tell me what there is in this comparative composition of the currency of the two countries on which to base an argument for the unlimited use of silver? But, they say, France maintained the free coinage of silver for seventy years. Granted: but she abandoned it fifteen years ago because she could no longer maintain it. While she continued it she was in the exceptional position of having England and Portugal on a gold basis on the one side, and Germany and the rest of continental Europe on a silver basis on the other side. Between the rivalry and the counteracting forces of the two systems, and with the relative production of silver and gold not out of proportion, an equilibrium was easily maintainable. No nation to-day stands in that position, and neither France nor any other nation can now, alone, open her mints to the unlimited coinage of silver and continue on any other than an exclusively silver basis.

But, we are told that the silver dollar will buy 100 cents worth of any commodity, and hence is an honest dollar; that an inert piece of silver bullion, worth yesterday but 57 cents, by the potency of the Government stamp is worth to-day 100 cents. Yes, and the piece of paper worth yesterday one one-hundredth of a cent, by the potency of the same stamp is worth to-day a dollar. The process of transformation is essentially the same, by which has been infused the element of the nation's faith and guaranty, but because the piece of paper is now worth a dollar, dare you open the Government's printing presses to anyone who will bring paper 3 inches wide and 7¼ inches long?

Why not, if the mints are to be opened to anyone bringing 412½ grains of silver? The difference is not one of principle, but simply of degree, and where will you draw the line? If you make a dollar out of 57 cents worth of silver, why not out of 50, 40, 20 or 10? Why waste 57 cents worth of material when one one-hundredth of a cent's worth will do as well? The safety in each case is the limit of the issue, and that limit must always be within the limits of the nation's credit and of its ability to meet all its obligations and guaranties.

Issue paper money without limit, and it will have only the value of the paper on which it is printed. Coin silver without limit, and it will have only the value of the bullion of which it is composed.

I agree with you that the silver dollar is worth 100 cents to-day, for the same reason that the greenback is, viz, because the Government will give you 100 cents for it, and while the Government does that everybody else will, and when the Government ceases to do that nobody else will; and the Government must inevitably cease to do it when you remove the limit to its coinage and leave it to be flooded with the accumulated silver of the world for coinage into money at a profit of 40 per cent to the owner.

I want every silver dollar worth 100 cents, now and always, and I want that hundred cents made up of silver, and not 56 cents' worth of silver and 44 cents of argument, for argument is cheap; and it would be no consolation to the people when the dollar of unlimited coinage declined to its bullion value, that eminent gentlemen had argued long and earnestly and eloquently that it never could so decline.

We may declaim about what ought to be, may theorize about what would have been, may speculate as to what will be or would be, but must not shut our eyes to the controlling facts of actual and potential present existence. We have got more silver in our currency to-day than gold, and more proportionately than any other civilized nation of the world. Their mints are all closed to silver, and they have long since stopped such additions to their currency. We have not.

The value of silver has diminished about one-half, while its production has much more than doubled in the last twenty years, and is now nearly twenty-four times that of gold, and its relative value has dropped to one twenty-eighth that of gold.

The strongest and richest nations of Europe, after a persistent struggle, have given up the attempt to sustain free coinage as hopeless. The greatest silver using and absorbing nation of the world has abandoned that basis, and the nightmare of the competition of India and the delusive puzzle of selling for gold and buying for silver is eliminated from the situation.

In the face of these facts, and of the warning of careful students of financial laws and observers of financial movements in this country and all over the world, dare we attempt alone the task from which other nations have recoiled? Dare we place the obstacle of another national failure in the only way that leads to the full restoraton of silver, viz, by international coöperation?

Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of the fullest possible use of silver as money, consistent with the certain maintenance of its value in the hands of the people. They must, however, be protected from all danger of loss and depreciation, and this can only be done by confining its coinage within the limits of the nation's ability to redeem it on demand at 100 cents on the dollar, or by putting into the coined dollar 100 cents worth of silver at its market value.

That a measure can not be drawn that, while enlarging the uses of silver, shall do it on safe lines and with due precaution against depreciation and loss in the hands of the people, or its being made an instrument of injury to one class for the benefit of another, no man can safely assert. And opposition to this bill, which contains no such safeguards, and which, under the order adopted by the majority of this House, we are powerless to amend or change, does not imply opposition to any measure which does contain such safeguards, if presented.

I desire, in conclusion, to call attention to the fact that this pending bill is radically different from the laws existing prior to 1873, for it does not contemplate putting into actual circulation a single additional dollar of silver. It practically provides for the unlimited issue of paper money, based on and secured by the deposit of silver worth to-day in the markets of the world only 56 or 57 per cent of the face value of the paper issued, and this percentage may any day be further reduced.

Is this a safe and rational business proposition? Will this tend to restore confidence? Will it tend to diminish the distrust of our ability to meet all our paper on demand in the standard money of the world?

Mr. Speaker, we have been told again and again that we stand at the parting of two roads, and must determine which we will travel; that the one leads by free silver to the bright and blossoming fields of prosperity and plenty; that the other, by gold monometallism, leads to narrow streets and the stifling atmosphere of general want and misery. Gentlemen do not read the inscriptions on the guideboard aright. The one leads surely to an exclusively silver basis, with its constant fluctuations of values, by which the poor and honest and simple-minded always suffer and the shrewd, crafty, and rich always are benefited.

The beautiful view that rises up along that route is but the unsubstantial, enticing, and delusive mirage which covers and obscures the tempestuous sea of a silver basis with its high waves, deep depressions, and stormy winds. The other road leads to the rough, rugged, barren, and forbidding mountain height, which stands as a barrier in the way of industrial development and true progress, and up and over its sharp crags and dangerous heights only the strongest and the boldest can climb, while the weak and timid languish and starve at its base.

But, gentlemen, there is a middle road which you have failed to mention, which leads along the level plain between the mountains and the sea, through green pastures and beside still waters, where all may walk and none need faint. It is built on the safe and solid middle ground of a judicious union of gold and silver, and it is molded by the intelligence, honesty, and faith of a great nation. It leads by fruitful farms and peaceful homes; by teeming mines and humming mills; through busy marts of trade and commerce, and to the safe grounds of national honesty and prosperity; and that is the road for this nation to travel.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with what I believe to be the earnest wishes of the majority of my constituents, as well as with my own conviction of what is right, I intend to vote for the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchase clause in the so-called Sherman bill and against the substitute or series of substitutes therefor offered by the gentleman from Missouri.

Perhaps, having made this statement, it were better that I should refrain from any further claim on the attention of the House at this time; and it was my intention at the beginning of this debate not to say even this much, but to let the record of my vote on the too-long deferred roll-call alone express my convictions and the desire of my district on the pending measures.

But, sir, in view of some statements that have been made during the discussion, I should like to briefly express some thoughts that have occurred to me while listening to the eloquent speeches delivered on these all-important subjects.

It has seemed to me, sir, as if the people of the United States are presenting at this moment for the consideration of mankind two simultaneously panoramic views of the present condition of their country; the description of which by future historians as cotemporaneous photographs of the same subject must tax to the utmost the credulity of their readers.

The one is an exhibition of strength more than gigantic; of widsom almost Godlike; of plenty beyond the power of even prodigality to consume; of wealth immeasurable, and of genius but little less than that of a creator.

The other presents the same subject with the weakness of infancy, lacking power to reach the hand for the acceptance of proffered necessary life-giving sustenance; lacking even the comprehension necessary to loosen its hold and let fall the burden which it is conscious is dragging it to destruction: afflicted with poverty so pinching and so debasing that it cries aloud from hunger and flaunts unashamed its nakedness in the public places; while its perception of cause and effect is so rudimentary that it stands helplessly bewailing the agony produced by wounds its own folly continues to inflict.

At the head of the grandest system of land-locked seas on earth, within the borders of the central city of the future American Republic—that city herself one of the prodigies of the age—we behold, outrivaling in realistic splendor the brightest creations of fancy's fairy dreams, a vision from the contemplation of which no American citizen worthy the name can retire without feelings of increased love and admiration for his country.

In that materialized fairy land, the White City of the Lake, where are collected from all times and nations the choicest gems of the product of human genius, the most signal triumphs of mind over matter, specimens from all lands and waters of the bountiful offerings of mother earth for the maintenance of her children, from her mines, her forests, her soil and her seas, there, where man's progress is traced from a plane hardly above the level of the brute to his present elevation but "little lower than that of the angels," where is shown how the means of existence have increased, from the scanty need that nature unassisted gives, to the bounteous plenty that is more than the ample reward she returns as the wages of toil—there the citizens of our country have shown, in friendly competition with all other peoples, that their favored land is, in the closing decade of the nineteenth century, as to whatever contributes to the material comforts and to the elevation of humanity, incontestably first, let what nation may be second.

Now, sir, for another exhibition of the condition of the same country at the same time.

Within the walls of this Capitol, from every portion of the nation, within whose broad borders at this time, thank heaven, is neither plague, pestilence, nor other unusual providential affliction, more than sixty-five millions of people assemble through their representatives and daily, before God and man, bewail, "in all the matchless eloquence of woe," their unhappy condition, their almost unbearable miseries—miseries all the more poignant and galling in that they are admittedly unnecessary, even self-inflicted, and removable at will.

Professing fear lest they die of starvation in the granaries their own labor have filled with food to the bursting, or perish with cold on the steps of the storehouses their own looms, spindles, and strong arms have filled to overcrowding with fuel and fabric.

And all this suffering, present and impending, caused by lack of intelligence to secure a measure that shall justly and properly divide the united products of their various labors.

Surely, Mr. Speaker, these are most contradictory exhibits of coexisting conditions, and it will be scarcely credible, in future years, that they faithfully depict concurrent conditions of the same people. Certainly, the proud notes of exultation with which we are in one place celebrating our wonderful triumphs and progress should be stilled until we prove ourselves equal to the solution of what should be among the simplest of all questions in domestic economy, or at least until we shall have found a remedy for the present deplorable situation to which our own folly and stupidity have led and are leading us.

The President of the United States in his message conveying to Congress his reasons for convening this extraordinary session, after a most clear and vivid description of the financial situation, and after offering advice as to the proper remedy, called to our attention the proverb that "He gives twice who gives quickly." And, Mr. Speaker, if ever there was a time in the history of the country when that proverb was trite and applicable, when the nation's hopes were centered on her representatives, when she begged for action prompt and immediate, it was on the day when the message containing that admonition was delivered at the opening of the present session.

Perhaps, sir, as those versed in parliamentary procedure assert, we are moving with commendable celerity, or as fast at least as is consistent with careful and considerate legislation, and with due regard for all the vast interests involved. That may be the fact, sir; but there is no doubt whatever of another fact, which is that the country's hopes have been cruelly deferred and disappointed, that untold misery has accrued, and unknown millions' worth of the people's substance has vanished through this alleged necessary procrastination.

Mr. Speaker, should these remarks of mine delay, even for an instant, action on the questions now before us, I should have remained silent; but the House having appointed the hour for recording its decision, which may be neither hastened nor hindered, I desire to indicate some of the reasons why I shall vote

as I stated in the beginning of these remarks. First, because the silver-purchase clause of the Sherman act of 1890 has proved a disappointment even to its authors. It is admitted on all sides to be a failure in securing what it was designed to accomplish, that is, to maintain the price of silver; it is therefore impotent for good, productive only of evil.

In the second place, I am satisfied that the passage of the bill offered by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON] will help to restore public confidence in the financial policy of the Government, and, notwithstanding all that has been said in derision of "confidence" during this debate by the gentlemen who hold the opposite view on the pending measure, there is nothing that is of more importance, either to the individual or to the Government.

Sir, but for confidence in the ability of the State to maintain order, chaos and anarchy would speedily ensue. But for confidence among neighbors, society would speedily disintegrate; but for confidence within the family circle domestic bliss would be an unknown quantity; but for self-confidence how long could we individually maintain successfully the battle for existence? From a financial standpoint we have an example to-day of the value of confidence. The city of Boston, as we learn from the newspapers, finds no difficulty in floating, at or above par, its 4 per cent bonds at this time when money is in demand on time loans at 10 to 12 per cent in the money markets of the United States. This shows, sir, the value, even from the low plane of a dollars-and-cents point of view, of the much-derided "confidence." Yes, that which we understand by confidence is the most potent factor in the advancement of the human family that the world possesses. Again, I shall vote for the repeal bill for the reason that I am opposed to a contraction of the currency. I am not a monometallist. If I thought the effect of repeal would be to drive silver and silver certificates out of circulation, with my present information I would oppose it.

But I am firmly of the opinion, that so soon as we terminate our present most unwise financial course of exchanging our gold for silver, and with our declared purpose to maintain silver coin at a parity with gold, we shall be able to keep in circulation from six hundred millions to eight hundred millions of silver and silver certificates at the present ratio. France is able to keep, relatively to population, even a much larger sum than the greater of these, at par, with a lower ratio than ours; and I see no valid reason why we, with a rapidly increasing population, and with a probability of continued development, should not be able to maintain, at least, as large a silver circulation as she.

Now, if we adopt gold as a standard, for, except by international agreement, it is generally conceded that we can not have two standards, we shall have in this country the use of both gold and silver, and we shall be, as we ought to be, financially on a par with the most advanced commercial nations; while if we attempt the free coinage of both metals only the cheaper will remain in circulation, the dearer will go to a premium; half the money of the country will disappear; the very condition which our free coinage friends are striving to avert will be brought about by their success, and universal bankruptcy will ensue. Assertions have been made here with much vehemence and patriotic fervor that we should manage our finances in our OWN way and without reference to, or rather to show our independence in opposition to well-ascertained laws and principles of finance as illustrated by the experiences of other peoples.

But, sir, in my humble opinion we shall just as effectually, and much more advantageously to ourselves, manifest our complete freedom from foreign domination by showing that we have learned from the experiences of others, by avoiding their errors, and by following, wherever practicable, along the lines that lead them to success. To refuse to avail ourselves of the experiences which the nations of Europe have proved to be beneficial, simply because we dislike to follow where Europe leads, were unworthy a youth in his teens, much less a nation well along in its second century.

Mr. Speaker, our people desire to have, deserve to have, and can have, if they will, the best of everything, including currency. I believe we shall eventually return in some way to a free bimetallic basis and a currency based thereon, and I believe the speediest way to produce that desirable result is for the United States to adopt the single gold standard and let the effect be felt, as it will be very quickly, by those nations which have been swift to avail themselves of our mistakes in the past. In fact, I believe in that way alone lies the path to an international agreement as to a standard of value.

And here let me say, Mr. Speaker, that as necessity is the mother of invention and of evolution, I believe there will be evolved from this, or from one of the regularly recurring monetary stringencies, some practicable idea of a system of exchanges, or of a measure of values, which will practicably eliminate both of the so-called precious metals as necessary elements of currency—of course, this only by international agreement.

Finally, I shall vote for unconditional repeal of the silver-purchase clause of the Sherman bill, because my constituents undoubtedly desire me to do so in their interests, and in that of the whole country, including, as we believe, even the silver States themselves. This alone, sir, would be sufficient warrant for my action, for I am here only to express the desires and obey the wishes, so far as in my power lies, of those by whose favor I am permitted to speak within this Hall. [Applause.]

And here, Mr. Speaker, let me say a final word in answer to some bitter things that have been said of us on this side of the question during this debate by gentlemen whose reasoning has not led them to the same conclusions at which we have arrived. I believe, sir, that of all times this is the occasion when we should, if possible, avoid anything like recriminations and appeals to passions, whether of classes or of sections. It seems to me that the man who at this trying hour appeals to the baser passions and seeks to arouse animosities between our people of different occupations gives good ground for questioning the sincerity of his devotion to the supreme welfare of his country.

For this reason I have listened to some of the brilliant speeches delivered here during this debate with delight, surprise, and regret. Delight at their charming and fascinating eloquence, surprise that their able authors should manifest such apparently willfully contracted views and sympathies, and regret that American legislators of deservedly high reputation for learning and ability should at this time and on this occasion season their speeches with bitter sectionalism and spice them with blistering class vituperation.

Mr. Speaker, I have the honor to represent a district whose interests and industries are as varied, I venture to say, as any other district represented on this floor. Among its quarter million people every species of industry or occupation of which our climate profitably permits has its following, and among them are many bankers and brokers, even those having offices in Wall street, and millionaires, and multimillionaires (but I believe not so many of these latter as a few months since), and I know that I reflect faithfully the wishes of the great majority of my constituents, regardless of conditions or of occupations, when I say that what they desire is that we pass this bill, pass it quickly, go home and stay there until the time arrives for the regular session. Now, from many of the speeches delivered here it would be inferred that we from and near New York are the special representatives and champions of Wall street. But I can say for myself that were the suffrages of these gentlemen to decide an election I certainly should not be allowed to speak in this Chamber.

I am permitted to appear here, sir, by favor of the farmers alongside some of whose fathers I labored in the fields in my childhood days, by the suffrages of the laborers and mechanics of my district with many of whom I have been a fellow toiler, whose confidence I enjoy and hope to merit as long as I live. These constituents of mine, Mr. Speaker, and their interests are as dear to me as can possibly be those of any other member of this body, whether he comes from Pennsylvania or from Kansas, from Georgia or from Nebraska. Their home is my home; their interests are my interests; their destiny is my destiny. I may say in the words of old, "Their God is my God." But I am proud to pay a deserved tribute to their intelligence and their patriotism by saying that the entrance to their favor lies not through denunciation of their fellow citizens of any honest calling or occupation.

But this is no hour, Mr. Speaker, in which to hurl stinging epithets or indulge in recrimination. Let us, from whatever section we come, heed only the voice of public opinion, calling aloud to us to give the country the relief it needs, and to give it quickly. Let us, as was so generously said on the 4th of March last by the distinguished leader on the Republican side of this Chamber, "place patriotism above partisanship," and whether we were sent here as Democrats, Republicans, or Populists, accept equal responsibility for the present deplorable situation, join hands to repair the present and avert impending disaster to our common country, and show that we regard the whole of it as of greater importance than any part; all its people more than any portion; and so, by drawing an irremovable veil over the condition of the United States as now reflected at this Capitol, cause the dark picture to become only as the memory of the reflection of a lowering but transitory cloud, and transmit for the contemplation of future ages our country as now portrayed in the Magic City by Inland Sea. [Loud applause.]

Mr. COVERT. Mr. Speaker, this debate which has been participated in so earnestly and so eloquently, is rapidly drawing toward its close. I desire to congratulate the House and the country upon the character of this discussion. It has disclosed a depth and extent of research, a close and logical reasoning, and a fairness and completeness of presentation on both sides rarely reached in the discussions of any lawmaking body on earth. It has been in the fullest sense an educational debate, and as

such has been carefully watched and followed in every section of the land. While this discussion has been eminently fair in every material respect, yet gentlemen have on occasion indulged in references to the people of my own State which might call for reply did we who have been assailed believe in the sincerity of those who have indulged in these references.

No imagination, unless abnormally vivid, could in the face of established facts conceive the existence of "a gold combination" in the State of New York, powerful enough to reach its ends through any possible system of legislative action. Almost all of my colleagues who have spoken on this question, have been at great pains to explain the character and methods of our people who favor the repeal of the existing purchasing clause. My colleague [Mr. COOMBS] has spoken of the matchless generosity exhibited by New York toward other communities and States in seasons of misfortune and distress. My other colleague [Mr. WARNER] explained at length in presenting the memorial of the Chamber of Commerce, that that body was constituted not alone of bankers, but of business men generally.

My other colleague [Mr. HENDRIX] did not "boast" of his bank presidency, as stated by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. LANE], but rather apologized for it. He intimated that he had nothing but his salary to his credit; that he was born and brought up in Missouri; and that, therefore, even though he was now a New York bank president, he was "only a little one." [Laughter.] I submit that New York has no need to be even semiapologetic in any explanation that may be given of the attitude of her people on this question.

The people of that sovereign State have in the strongest and most forceful way declared their sentiments upon all questions affecting the rights of the many as against the demands and encroachments of the few.

Upon the statute books of the Empire State stands the recorded voice of her people upon the vital question of the preservation of their interests as against corporate aggression and the excessive demands of a money power. Years ago her Legislature by formal enactment lessened the legal rate of interest on loans and advances of every character. In no one State of this Union can money be secured at so low a rate for any legitimate business or industrial enterprise.

Mr. Speaker, your own State of Georgia knows this. Alabama knows it. Florida knows it. Scarcely a Southern State whose business and industrial interests have prospered since the war but is glad to make acknowledgment of this fact. Capital for the development of mines, the building of railroads, and the furthering of internal improvements has gone to the Southland for all these desirable and beneficent purposes. Do not, I beg you, Mr. Speaker, misunderstand the spirit in which this is said. The obligation was not upon one side alone. Our business men have been glad to make these investments—as glad, perhaps, as the people of the South were to receive them. To-day the bond of union, the community of interest between the people of the New South and the people of the Empire State of New York is closer and stronger than that which exists between the South and any other one State in the whole Union. [Applause.]

What else has New York done in the interests of the many as against the few? The tax laws of New York have been characterized as drawn and enacted for the protection of poor and even delinquent taxpayers rather than for the fair protection of prosperous property owners. The drift of legislation in the State of New York during all the late years has been in the direction of the restriction of the powers of corporations and the suppression of all manner of syndicates and trusts.

Our State laws even follow the wealthy property owner beyond the grave, and compel his estate to pay a percentage of its value in the way of succession and inheritance taxes into the public treasury for the benefit of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Speaker, what State of all this grand sisterhood can point to stronger and more uniform laws against the encroachment of capital and its undue aggregation, and in the direct interests of what gentlemen on this floor sometimes refer to as the "plain, common people?"

The terms "leeches," "vampires," and "Wall street bandits" have no application to a body of people who have placed upon the statute books of their State laws of the nature of those to which I have made but brief and general reference.

Coming up from every section of the Empire State, from the body of the people who have made insistance upon the enactment of these measures—from merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, wage-earners, from Montauk to the Lakes—is the demand, peremptory and emphatic, for the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing enactment.

This enactment as it stands is more and very much more than a "cowardly makeshift." It is absolutely wrong as matter of principle. It has been demonstrated by the saddest experience that it is disastrous as matter of policy.

During the debate on the free-coinage bill in the last Congress, from my place on this floor, I argued for the immediate and absolute repeal of this measure; and I do not purpose to repeat now the reasons advanced at that time in favor of its unconditional repeal.

That this measure, which has been tried in the balances and found to be so grievously wanting, should be repealed upon some proper basis, has grown to be the sentiment, the almost common sentiment, of thoughtful minds in every section of this land.

Why do the people of New York who have framed the laws I have mentioned, laws strengthening the hand of labor and the cause of the "common people"—why do they demand the unconditional repeal of this enactment?

Frequent reference has been made during this discussion to the "debtor class" of our people. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL] has devoted the greater part of his speech to a defense of this body as against the creditor class of the community, and has argued that unconditional repeal would weigh heavily against their interests.

Mr. Speaker, I do not like the term "the debtor class," as applied to the great bulk of the people of this Republic. If I am employed to try a law suit or to examine a legal question for a client, and am to receive my pay when the work is done, from the very moment that work is completed my client is my debtor, though his possessions are ten times more than mine. The man who sells a ton of coal or a barrel of flour on credit to a customer, though the latter be a modern Crœsus, holds him as his debtor until the obligation is discharged.

The great bulk of the people of this land are wage-earners, getting their pay at the end of the week or the month, as the case may be.

Until the end of the week or of the month, until the stipulated pay day, though the one may live in a palace and the other in a hovel, the employer is the debtor, the employé the creditor.

I submit, sir, that the legislation we frame shall be in the interest not alone of the debtor class, as that term is applied by many gentlemen on this floor, but that it shall have a wider, broader scope, and shall be in the interest of the wage-earners, for this class, happily, makes up by far the greater number of the people of this Republic.

These wage-earners, and large numbers of them are wage-savers, are entitled to the very best and soundest money in existence anywhere as the fruit of their labors. It should be the aim of Federal legislation to secure for them this kind of money and absolutely nothing short of it. [Applause.]

And now, Mr. Speaker, can there be any definite assurance of safety in this regard, if any one of the pending amendments shall be adopted as a condition of the repeal of the existing law? Suppose that any one of the various and varying propositions seeking to establish a ratio of value between gold and silver upon the basis of 1 to 16 or 1 to 20, shall be adopted, can there be any definite assurance that the great bulk of our people who are wage-earners, and those among them who are wage-savers, will be protected in their right to receive the best kind of money that can be paid to them?

The financial history of the world has shown us that the value of silver has been gradually but surely decreasing. Time was when 1 ounce of gold would buy only 8 or 9 ounces of silver. To-day, in the markets of the world, it requires about 25 ounces of silver to obtain 1 ounce of gold. And this condition has not been brought about alone by legislative action. The opening and development of extensive silver mines, and the labor-saving processes by which the cost of production has been lessened, have been most potential agencies in bringing about this result.

What assurance can any man give, expert though he may be in all questions of finance, that the variance in value between the two metals may not be still further increased in the immediate future?

Will legislation sustain the value of silver? Why, it was imagined that the very act which we are now called upon to repeal would at once send up the price of silver and sustain its increased value.

Here was the Government of the United States a regular purchaser of the metal to the extent of 4,500,000 ounces each month. These conditions have been in operation for the past three years, and yet the value of silver as compared with gold stands to-day at about 25 to 1 in the markets of the world.

Mr. Speaker, the people of the State of New York, and I, as one of their representatives here, believe in the coinage of silver.

I believe in the declaration made in this regard in the last Democratic platform. I believe there can be no uncertainty in the construction to be given to that declaration. If there was any doubt or any ambiguity about it, that doubt or uncertainty was removed, and the platform was revised and corrected when the

same men who adopted it made Grover Cleveland their nominee for the Presidency. Early in 1892 he had hazarded his chances for the nomination by a bold, manly, and courageous declaration of his position on the financial question. His views, clearly and emphatically stated, were known and understood by all men. His views then, are his conclusions now. The people who were his advocates then should be his strongest and staunchest supporters at this juncture, when legislation is invoked in affirmance of these conclusions.

Neither the President nor any considerable number of the American people stand to-day opposed to the coinage of silver. The American people as a whole have an affection that can not be alienated for the metal that has served them so faithfully and so well. If, by international agreement, or by any other plan that can be devised, we can safely continue the free coinage of silver the whole people will say, "Let the work go on." It is the money to which we have for long years been accustomed, and we have for it all the affection we entertain for an old friend and faithful servitor.

But we must face conditions as they are, and not as we might wish them to be. Silver has become like an old and faithful servitor who has fallen unfortunately into unsteady habits. It has been abandoned for this reason by many of its former friends among the nations of the earth, and its usefulness has been largely diminished. The duty on our part is to reform it, if we can, and to restore its former usefulness if this restoration can be accomplished. Heroic measures are invoked in extreme cases, and in the existing emergency nothing, in my judgment, will accomplish the desired reform except a resort to the "gold cure." [Laughter and applause.]

I believe fully, Mr. Speaker, in the maintenance of the independence of this Republic in all material ways. I believe in its being, so far as possible, self-sustaining, just as I believe in its being in all ways self-respecting. And yet no man can doubt that we would lose in power and prosperity if through the use of a debased currency our credit as a nation should in any way be impaired. The American people are not to be persuaded to a wrong course through any cry of subserviency to the practices of European powers. They believe in the widest and freest trade with the nations of the earth by the honest and honorable methods which, being best alike in principle and in policy, will best subserve the interests of the whole people.

Reference has very ingeniously been made to the fact that Great Britain having, so far back as 1816, adopted the single gold standard as her measure of value, thereafter for years carried on trade with foreign nations using a double or even a single silver standard without friction or embarrassment.

I have no doubt that there was perfect freedom from either, so far as Great Britain, with her single standard, was concerned. Statistics have not been given, but that Great Britain profited by the transactions thus conducted may very readily be assumed when we know that the most potential of the civilized nations abroad with whom she thus traded, one after the other abolished all other systems and adopted the single gold standard as the only measure of value.

Every pound of English money, every French franc, every German mark which comes to this country adds to the wealth of the nation. Every foreign investment here brings us into closer contact and communion with our sister nations across the seas. Every investment of foreign money here, every business transaction with foreign nations, is in the direction of the casting away of the sword, and the invocation of the gentler mediation of the pen in the adjustment of all international complications.

We have heard very much during this discussion as to the dangers and difficulties which would follow a contraction of the currency; and this, in the face of the known fact that over 90 per cent of the entire business of the country is conducted upon a credit system. Whatever evils might follow currency contraction, I insist they would be but slight in comparison with those which would come to us from loss of national credit, as a resultant of a debased currency.

One of the most able and distinguished of the advocates of free coinage, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART], has said that the credit of the world is based on standard money, and the same statement is repeated by those who stand with him for free coinage.

It is with nations as with individuals. Credit is a complex quantity, constituted of various elements. Knowledge of the abstract honesty of the debtor and the desire to repay the creditor, faith in the debtor's integrity, these are elements entering into the composition of what the world calls "credit." Senator STEWART himself gives denial to his own theory that credit is based on money alone by a sketch of his own life as found in the Congressional Directory. I read only a line or two from page 72:

He attended Lyons Union School and Farmington Academy. Was teacher of Mathematics in the former school while yet a pupil. With the little money thus earned, and the assistance of James C. Smith, one of the judges of the supreme court of New York, he entered Yale College.

This bright and brainy young man had not money enough, "standard" or otherwise, to enter college, but he had what was better—he had credit—which secured him what he most desired—a liberal education; and the distinguished Senator makes manly and grateful acknowledgment of the fact even after more than forty years of time.

As with individuals, so with nations. The same elements enter into the formation of what individuals and nations alike call credit—the preservation of which is and always should be the primal obligation resting upon this Republic.

Mr. Speaker, I have said that the debate upon the pending measure has been close and logical, and eminently educational in its character. It has had its other distinguishing features, which have given it more than ordinary interest. Heroism is by no means confined to the tented field, where devoted patriots have bared their breasts to receive the shock of battle.

There have been exhibitions of the highest order of heroism on the floor of this House during discussion and attempted legislation on this silver question. I remember, and those who served here during the last Congress will readily recall the intense excitement which prevailed while the consideration of the free-coinage bill was under discussion—excitement which reached its climax when the final vote was taken. There was a district in the State of West Virginia where the sentiment at the time was strongly in favor of free coinage.

The member who represented that district had given careful and studious consideration to the proposition, and could not conscientiously bring himself to its support. He had attained a high, a very high, measure of distinction in national politics, and an adverse vote might mean for him political destruction, swift and absolute and certain. With all of his political future thus in possible jeopardy, firm and loyal to his convictions of duty as a member of the American Congress, the cause of free coinage received a negative vote when response was made to the name of WILLIAM L. WILSON of West Virginia. [Applause.] That he has since been returned to this Congress is to the infinite credit of his home district, and it is to the credit of my friend from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON], and a number of other gentlemen on this floor, that they have, in a brave and manly way, during this discussion, announced that while they favored free-silver coinage in the last Congress they stand opposed to it as conditions present themselves to-day. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, with all the American affection for silver as currency, there is yet a deeper American feeling for abstract honesty in governmental and business affairs. The people of this country are honest people. They will never consent to coin silver upon any other basis than that of its actual, commercial, and intrinsic value.

They will make insistence that all metal money, be it gold or be it silver, shall be worth as much when uncoined as it is when coined. The American people have a proper national pride as well as a proper national honesty. They will make insistence that every dollar, whether of gold or silver, coined in this country, and having upon it the stamp of the American Government, shall be received, without demur and without suspicion, at its full face value, in whatever country across the seas an American citizen may make a tender of an American dollar. [Loud applause.]

Meanwhile, with the conditions which confront us—conditions, in my judgment, based rather upon existing fears than existing facts—it seems to me, sir, that we have but one duty to perform. One of the most philosophical of modern writers has said that the most useful and important of all legislation in the world's history has been legislation in repeal of existing obnoxious law. The prompt and unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing enactment will add another illustration to the truth of this statement. [Applause.] Let us leave for further and more deliberate consideration affirmative legislation for the strengthening and building up of silver as currency.

I repeat, in conclusion, Mr. Speaker, that the first, the greatest, the most imperative duty on our part as a self-respecting people, is to preserve at all hazards our national credit at home and abroad, and to maintain now and for all time our national honor unspotted and unstained. [Applause.]

Mr. FITCH. Mr. Speaker, this has been an exhaustive debate. I have no desire to add to the tables of figures which made the RECORD for the last week look like an old arithmetic, or to the passages of poetry which have made it resemble a Fourth Reader. The Old and the New Testament, and the works of Shakespeare and Sir Walter Scott, of Goldsmith, Whittier, Pope, Dickens, and Mark Twain have all been quoted, and as it seems to me quite as fully as is necessary in the discussion of a financial measure. All the text-books in the library of the House have been cited with approval by gentlemen on both sides

of the debate, and the most opposite views sustained by each of them.

It is true that the lines—

> Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates, and men decay—

which are always read several times with great effect in these debates, have been quoted but twice in this discussion. [Laughter.] But to make up for this accidental omission my friend, Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas, who is soon to be the leader of the gentlemen who are too wise and too patriotic to follow Grover Cleveland, John G. Carlisle, and WM. L. WILSON, embroidered his most instructive essay with quotations from Wendell Phillips, and the Prophet Nehemiah; from Froude, the English historian, and from the New York World; and from Francis A. Walker, John Locke, Hume, Fichte, John Stuart Mill, Ricardo, J. R. McCullough, Sir Archibald Alison, Mr. Gladstone, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, and Mr. HARTER of Ohio. [Laughter.]

I regret very much to notice, Mr. Speaker, that most of these persons so honored were Englishmen, and that my friend from Kansas seemed to consider them safe and sufficient authorities on finance. [Laughter.] I trust that the time will soon come when the gentleman from Kansas will cease to look to England for inspiration, and as a true American to disregard the teachings of the prime minister of England and the works of Sir Archibald Alison, and find such support as he needs for his theories from the financial authorities at Topeka and Medicine Lodge. [Laughter.]

What I do desire to consider are the reasons which are given by Democrats on this floor why the earnest recommendation of the Democratic President, who has just been elected, should not be carried out by the Democratic majority in this House. There seem to be three of these reasons. The first of them is the wording of the Democratic platform. It is admitted on all hands that the platform demanded just what the President has recommended; but it is argued with great seriousness that as the platform contains some other provisions, these must also be carried into effect, or else it is impossible for us to act at all.

I am frank to say, Mr. Speaker, that in such an emergency as this, an emergency unforeseen at the time when the platform was made, and for the occurrence of which it did not provide, that the wording of a platform would never frighten me out of giving relief to the hundred of thousands of people who are unexpectedly drifting toward bankruptcy or are deprived of the chance to labor. As between the demands of a political platform and the united demands of the workingmen and the business people, who are in sore distress and serious danger in my district, if I had to make the choice I should let the platform go. [Applause.]

Knowing, as most of us do, a little of how party platforms are made and why, I decline altogether to believe that any of them are of inspired origin, or that they can lay down for us any line of conduct or rule of legislation to which there can in no case be any exception. [Applause.] A platform, for instance, which declared that we desired to be at peace with all the world would not prevent me from voting, in a sudden foreign war, the money for guns to be aimed at the defenses of Liverpool or for men to hold the forts at Sandy Hook. And I sincerely doubt very much whether any foreign war could injure our industries or cripple our commerce any more than this state of affairs, to which the President has earnestly called our attention.

But, aside from all this, it seems to me that the real platform on which the Democracy carried all of the doubtful States, including the decisive State of New York, in the late election was the character and record of Grover Cleveland. [Applause.] What did the people who elected him know of his character? They knew that he had, in as marked degree as any man who was ever in public life, the rarest and finest of political virtues—I mean the virtue of political courage and consistency. They knew he would stand or fall by his convictions. He lost the Presidency once because of this trait of character. Because of this trait of character the people gave back to him in 1892 the splendid gift which he had lost in 1888 because on account of his fidelity to principle. [Applause.]

What did the people who elected him know of his record on this subject? They knew that from the beginning, in public and private life, whenever he had the opportunity to do so, he had steadfastly pointed out the dangers which have now come upon us, and earnestly advised against the further purchase of silver bullion and its enforced coinage by law. [Applause.]

I read what Grover Cleveland said before he took the Presidential office; when he wrote that famous letter from Albany on February 24, 1885. After reciting the conditions in regard to the coinage of silver, he said:

> These being the facts of our present condition, our danger, and our duty to avert that danger, would seem to be plain. I hope that you concur with me, and with the great majority of our fellow-citizens, in deeming it most desirable at the present juncture to maintain and continue in use the mass of our gold coin as well as the mass of silver already coined. This is possible by a present suspension of the purchase and coinage of silver.
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> Such a financial crisis as these events would certainly precipitate, were it now to follow upon so long a period of commercial depression, would involve the people of every city and every State in the Union in a prolonged and disastrous trouble. The revival of business enterprise and prosperity, so ardently desired and apparently so near, would be hopelessly postponed. Gold would be withdrawn to its hoarding places, and an unprecedented contraction in the actual volume of our currency would speedily take place. Saddest of all, in every workshop, mill, factory, store, and on every railroad and farm the wages of labor, already depressed, would suffer still further depression by a scaling down of the purchasing power of every so-called dollar paid into the hand of toil. From these impending calamities it is surely a most patriotic and grateful duty of the representatives of the people to deliver them.
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> * * * * * * *

In his first annual message he said:

> Nothing more important than the present condition of our currency and coinage can claim your attention.
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>
> Those who do not fear any disastrous consequences arising from the continued compulsory coinage of silver as now directed by law, and who suppose that the addition to the currency of the country intended as its result will be a public benefit, are reminded that history demonstrates that the point is easily reached in the attempt to float at the same time two sorts of money of different excellence, when the better will cease to be in general circulation.
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> * * * * * * *
>
> There is certainly not enough silver now in circulation to cause uneasiness, and the whole amount coined and now on hand might, after a time, be absorbed by the people without apprehension; but it is the ceaseless stream that threatens to overflow the land which causes fear and uncertainty.
>
> The so-called debtor class, for whose benefit the continued compulsory coinage of silver is insisted upon, are not dishonest because they are in debt: and they should not be suspected of a desire to jeopardize the financial safety of the country in order that they may cancel their present debts by paying the same in depreciated dollars. Nor should it be forgotten that it is not the rich nor the money-lender alone that must submit to such a readjustment enforced by the Government and their debtors.
>
> The pittance of the widow and the orphan and the income of helpless beneficiaries of all kinds would be disastrously reduced. The depositors in savings banks and in other institutions which hold in trust the savings of the poor, when their little accumulations are scaled down to meet the new order of things, would, in their distress, painfully realize the delusion of the promise made to them that plentiful money would improve their condition.
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> * * * * * * *
>
> That disaster has not already overtaken us furnishes no proof that danger does not wait upon a continuation of the present silver coinage. We have been saved by the most careful management and unusual expedients, by a combination of fortunate conditions, and by a confident expectation that the course of the Government in regard to silver coinage would be speedily changed by the action of Congress.
>
> Prosperity hesitates upon the threshold because of the dangers and uncertainties surrounding this question. Capital timidly shrinks from trade, and investors are unwilling to take the chance of the questionable shape in which their money will be returned to them, while enterprise halts at a risk against which care and sagacious management do not protect.
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> * * * * * * * *
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> I recommend the suspension of the compulsory coinage of silver dollars, directed by the law passed in February, 1878.

I ask your special attention to this language.

Again, in his third annual message he said:

> I have seen no reason to change the views expressed in my last annual message on the subject of this compulsory coinage; and I again urge its suspension on all the grounds contained in my former recommendation, reenforced by the significant increase of our gold exportations during the last year, as appears by the comparative statement herewith presented, and for the further reasons that the more this currency is distributed among the people the greater becomes our duty to protect it from disaster; that we now have abundance for all our needs; and that there seems but little propriety in building vaults to store such currency when the only pretense for its coinage is the necessity of its use by the people as a circulating medium.

The following letter was addressed to the Reform Club, February 10, 1891:

> E. ELLERY ANDERSON, *Chairman:*
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> DEAR SIR: I have this afternoon received your note inviting me to attend to-morrow evening the meeting called for the purpose of voicing the opposition of the business men of our city to the "free coinage of silver in the United States."
>
> I shall not be able to attend and address the meeting as you request, but I am glad that the business interests of New York are at last to be heard on this subject. It surely can not be necessary for me to make a formal expression of my agreement with those who believe that the greatest peril would be invited by the adoption of the scheme, embraced in the measure now pending in Congress, for the unlimited coinage of silver at our mints.
>
> If we have developed an unexpected capacity for the assimilation of a largely increased volume of this currency, and even if we have demonstrated the usefulness of such an increase, these conditions fall far short of insuring us against disaster if, in the present situation, we enter upon the dangerous and reckless experiment of free, unlimited, and independent silver coinage.
>
> Yours, very truly,
>
> GROVER CLEVELAND.

They knew all these things before the election.

Gentlemen, you may argue about the platform as learnedly and as long as you please, the fact remains that you did not vote in the dark. There is nobody in this country, intelligent enough to know anything about politics, who does not know that your pretense of having been deceived is absurd; who does not know that Mr. Cleveland has long predicted the state of affairs which he described in his message, and that the vast majority of the people who voted for him did so because they knew what his views were and knew that he would never be afraid to reiterate them and to act on them if the emergency came.

In connection with your claims that the Democratic party was committed at the Chicago convention to free coinage of silver, look at the official record of the convention. When Mr. Patterson, of Colorado, failed to get his resolution for free coinage embodied in the party platform, the question was decided. When he offered the same resolution in the convention and it was beaten the decision was affirmed on appeal. You can find in the action of that convention no excuse for your refusal to sustain the President in the measure of relief which he recommends, and which the interests of the country so earnestly demand. [Applause.]

The second argument which gentlemen make use of as a reason why this proper and necessary request of the Democratic President can not have their support seems to consist generally in a long account of various alleged crimes against silver perpetrated by Democrats and Republicans alike, and the allegation of a conspiracy in England by which the votes of all the Democrats and Republicans in favor of the Wilson bill are controlled. This is alleged to be a conspiracy in which we are all engaged, which is directed against our own countrymen, the object of which is the financial ruin of a large portion of our own country. With the historical part of this discussion it seems to me we have little concern.

What Mr. SHERMAN ought or ought not to have done twenty year ago, or what the Democratic or Republican party did or omitted to do ten years ago, is not the question. The question is, What shall we do now and here? [Applause.] The conspiracy argument has two defects. In the first place it is not believable; in the next place it is not original. We on the Democratic side, in the manufacturing States, have heard it all before a great many times. [Laughter.]

Whenever we proposed to change a line in a tariff bill in the interest of our people, as it seemed to us, we were promptly charged by some of our friends, the Republicans, with being in a conspiracy in the interest of England against the country in which we lived and the business interests with which we were identified. I do not know whether this old scarecrow has been used much in the States of Missouri or Nebraska. But we in New York have seen it very often, and it ceases to have any terrors for us. Our people know, for instance, that England has about as many adherents in Harlem as has China.

Besides this, I desire to say to my friends, who urged the conspiracy issue, that they do not do it half as well or half as strongly as it can be done. If you can enlist our friend Porter, late of the Census, now of the New York Press, and two or three other editorial writers of the Republican party, you will be able to improve vastly on the "British gold" arguments which we have had in this debate. [Laughter.] There is a fullness of detail, a particularity of statement, and a deep enthusiasm in their allegations against us which you have not yet reached. [Laughter.] They have had experience in three Presidential and six Congressional campaigns.

It is true that they have not had much success with this argument, but that is, perhaps, no reason why you should not unite with them in trying it on us once more. Of course, if you have the imagination necessary to believe in it, argument on the question will be useless. Anybody who will believe, for instance, that all the Democrats and all the Republicans in Congress from the State of New York could be induced to vote together against what they thought to be the true interests of the whole of their country would believe anything that even Mr. Thomas Watson, late of the House of Representatives, might charge against us. "*Gegen Dummheit Kampfen Götter selbst vergebens.*" [Applause.]

The third argument which is given as a reason why repeal can not be voted seems to be that it will be unpopular in the districts which gentlemen represent, and that a vote for it will result in the defeat for reëlection of some of those from the South and West who, but for this, would be willing to sustain the President. This is an argument which everybody can understand and appreciate. There is, of course, nothing so valuable as a seat in Congress, and there is no instinct higher than that of self-preservation. [Laughter.]

There are, however, several things to be said even about this argument. In the first place, it is sometimes the unexpected that happens. We all remember distinctly with what certainty my distinguished friend, Mr. Pierce, of Tennessee, predicted the defeat of his colleague, Judge PATTERSON, of that State, when the latter manfully voted against free coinage in the last Congress because he thought that the right course. Somehow it happened that the prophet was mistaken, and he is practicing law, with great success, I hope, in Tennessee, while Judge PATTERSON, after a triumphant reëlection, is here with us. [Applause.]

In the next place, the success of this argument depends something on how this strange and eventful situation may operate to affect the people in your own district. It is easy, and it may be popular, sometimes to denounce New York; but the list of the securities in which our money is invested is substantially a list of all your cities and towns. You can not injure the great business interests of this country without injuring yourselves any more than these interests can help themselves without helping you. The misery and disaster which this legislation, which you refuse to repeal, is causing in our homes and workshops will inevitably reach to your farms and plantations. When that time comes you may find that the phantom popularity which you have sought has, after all, evaded you. Why not join with us in sustaining our own President? [Prolonged applause.]

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Speaker, when the President of the United States, in the exercise of a constitutional right, recently called together the representatives of the people, he assigned as a reason for his action the existence of an extraordinary and alarming business situation, not to be accounted for by natural conditions. That situation he charged to the existence of unwise legislation on the money question.

Almost every gentleman who has taken part in this discussion has announced his disagreement with the President as to the cause of the present deplorable condition of things. In my judgment the want of confidence that underlies the present depression is due in large measure to the declared hostility of the party now in possession of all branches of the Government to that great economic system by whose agency the country during the last quarter of a century has marched to unexampled prosperity.

There is, however, to some extent, a popular impression indorsing the President's views, and the remedy for fancied, as for real evils, is a removal of the supposed cause. And whether the President be right or not, his summons brings us face to face with the necessity of legislating with respect to the immediate future financial policy of the United States, and places upon our shoulders the grave responsibility of determining what that policy shall be.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Speaker, it was to have been expected that every reasonable facility would be afforded for debate, and the largest liberty accorded for suggestion, to the end that whatever should be finally determined upon might be the ripe fruit of the mature judgment of all the representatives of the people, and not the preconceived scheme of any one man or set of men.

Unfortunately, however, the majority party in this House did not adopt this view. Separated by an impassable gulf of opinion, as the two sections of that party are upon the main question, they were agreed on this: that no suggestion should be allowed from this side of the Chamber, no opportunity offered for amendment; no chance given to vote, save and except upon certain alternative schemes formulated by them in advance of deliberation and debate. If the country can be saved only in such way that the Republican party shall be entitled to some share of credit in its salvation, the Democratic programme seems to be that it would be preferable to let the country go to ruin.

The majority of Republicans, however, careless in the face of danger of the personnel of their leadership, are found to-day, and will be found when this vote is taken, where the Republican party always has been found in the presence of national peril, following along the pathway that leads to national safety and national honor. [Applause on the Republican side.]

What, now, Mr. Speaker, are the questions to the deliberation and discussion and decision of which the arbitrary action of the majority limits us? They are these: Shall we inaugurate the policy of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at some legally defined but not commercially accurate ratio, or shall we return to the policy of the Bland-Allison act and monthly emit a limited number of fiat silver dollars; or, lastly, shall we unconditionally repeal the purchase clause of the so-called Sherman act, approved July 14, 1890?

Now, I assume in the first place that almost every one, except the free silver men, who are really monometallists, is desirous of seeing both gold and silver the standard money of the commercial nations of the world: that almost all are in favor, in other words, of international bimetallism. But as we can not now at this time have that, it is material to be borne in mind in this discussion that we are here not to legislate internationally; we are here to legislate simply for the United States of America. And it is material to be borne in mind also that our existing monetary system does not conform to the monetary system of any other commercial nation at the present time.

The year 1873, when silver was demonetized, marked a revolution in monetary history. In the results of that revolution all the commercial nations of Europe acquiesce. We alone dissent. Except in silver standard countries, ours are the only mints that are open to the coinage of silver.

Now, whether it was wise to demonetize silver, how silver was demonetized, whether surreptitiously or openly, are questions which have no pertinence in this discussion except for the pur-

poses of declamation. "It is a condition, and not a theory, that confronts us." The question is, can the United States, single-handed and alone, remonetize silver under existing conditions?

And this brings me naturally to the first question, Shall we repeal the purchase clause of the Sherman act? Now, what is that act, and what have been its results? By its terms the United States Treasury is made a storehouse for silver purchased at the rate of 4,500,000 ounces per month, at its market price, and paid for in legal-tender Treasury notes, there being a provision in the act that these notes shall be payable in gold or silver coin, at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury.

But by the terms of this same act the important declaration is made that it is the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals, gold and silver, on a parity with each other at the existing legal ratio, or at some other ratio to be defined by law.

As the President of the United States says in substance, this second clause is really a control of the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, so that these Treasury notes are practically payable in gold. The consequence is that the gold obligations of the Government are being increased each month to the extent of the value of 4,500,000 ounces of silver.

In other words, we are paying each month gold for silver. This act has been in operation since the 13th day of August, 1890, thirty days after its passage.

Mr. WALKER. It was passed on the 14th of July.

Mr. DALZELL. The act was passed on the 14th of July, and went into operation on the 13th of August. And what has been the result? I have here a statement from the Treasury Department showing the amounts of gold and silver coin and certificates, United States notes and national bank notes in circulation August 1, 1893. How many of our obligations are payable in gold? These: first, gold certificates, amounting to $87,704,739; second, Treasury notes under act of July 14, 1890, amounting to $148,286,348; third, United States notes, amounting to $346,681,016; in other words, there is now payable in gold by the United States $582,672,103. These are our gold obligations, and how much gold have we to pay them with? Only $100,000,000 in gold.

Why, my friends, if you put aside the immense resources and the credit of the American people, the national Treasury is to-day, according to legal definition, bankrupt. Such being the state of our accounts, what does it mean to continue this policy? It means simply to widen the breach between our liabilities and our assets, and the time must ultimately come when our gold reserve, in proportion to the burden it has to bear, will be simply an insignificant bagatelle. Do we want to continue that policy indefinitely? Do we want to continue to buy 54,000,000 ounces of silver each year without limit as to time, and pay for them in gold?

How long do you suppose that even the imperial resources of our magnificent domain, the energy and interprise, the honesty of purpose of the American people, will persuade the world of our ultimate solvency measured in the world's standard of value—gold? It is not the monthly addition for a few months of silver purchases under the act of 1890 that has shaken confidence; so far as the money question has anything to do with the existing depression its influence is derived from the dreary prospect of the indefinite continuance of such violation of the laws of sound finance.

We were told when the Sherman law passed that the effect of it would be to put up the price of silver. We were told that silver and gold would approach each other towards the legally defined ratio of 16 to 1. What has been the result? I have here from the Treasury Department, Bureau of the Mint, under date August 1—this present month—a statement of the highest, lowest, and average price of silver bullion, and value of a fine ounce, bullion value of a United States silver dollar, and so on.

I find that in 1878 the value of the fine ounce, based on an average price of exchange, was $1.11; and I find, coming on down the list, that in the month of July of this present year the value of the same quantity of silver was 72 cents.

The schedule showing fall in values is as follows:

1878-'79	$1.11616	1884-'85	$1.03226	1890-'91	$1.04780
1879-'80	1.14397	1885-'86	1.03295	1891-'92	.93723
1880-'81	1.13508	1886-'87	.98148	1892-'93	.84263
1881-'82	1.13817	1887-'88	.95617	July	.72037
1882-'83	1.11912	1888-'89	.93510		
1883-'84	1.11629	1889-'90	.96839		

In the meantime, while the price of silver has been going down from day to day and from month to month and week to week, the production of silver has been increasing until this precious metal is every day getting to be less and less precious.

I have also, here, issued by the Treasury Department, a schedule showing the production of gold and silver in the world, and I find that whereas in 1873 silver was produced to the extent of $81,800,000, it was produced in the year 1892 to the extent of $196,605,000. The schedule showing the increase in production is as follows:

1873	$81,800,000	1881	$102,000,000	1889	$162,159,000
1874	71,500,000	1882	111,800,000	1890	172,235,000
1875	89,500,000	1883	115,300,000	1891	186,733,000
1876	87,600,000	1884	105,500,000	1892	196,605,000
1877	81,000,000	1885	118,500,000		
1878	95,000,000	1886	120,600,000		5,104,961,000
1879	96,000,000	1887	124,281,000		
1880	93,700,000	1888	140,705,000		

The production of silver has quadrupled within the last three decades; it has more than doubled within the last two.

When this bill was under discussion, gentlemen advocating the free coinage of silver talked to us glibly about the double standard; how, under the double standard, silver went up and gold came down, until they got exactly together. They read to us, and gentlemen on the floor now read to us, from books, quoting axioms and illustrations and experiences that have no relation to the experience of the present time, nor any conformity to existing conditions. They read to us axioms founded upon the experience of the world prior to 1873, when it was in the practice of bimetallism. I put against their theories, their axioms, and their maxims our own actual experience, and quote to them the maxim, the homely maxim, that "example is better than precept."

Now, how much has this experiment with silver cost us? I have a letter from the Acting Director of the Mint, Mr. Preston, in which he says:

> The amount of silver purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, aggregated 161,521,000 fine ounces, at a cost of $150,663,000.

The value of the same at to-day's market price, 73 cents and a fraction, would be $118,714,000. In other words, we have lost by this experiment, or rather paid for this experiment, the sum of $31,955,000. Who pays that money?

Who but the people of the United States, including the poor people, whose self-vaunted champions on this floor threaten us with war if we do not break down the dikes and welcome to our mints the disasterous flood of European silver. Think of it—adding what the Bland act cost us, it amounts to $2 apiece, and more, as a tax upon every man, woman, and child within all our broad domain. This is the price that we pay for our experience with limited free coinage of silver. "If these things be done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?"

But this policy which we have been pursuing is dangerous in another direction. It is dangerous in the possibilities that it offers for the contraction instead of the expansion of our currency. Pour good money and bad money together into the channels of trade, and the bad money will drive out the good, in pursuance of a law as inexorable as the law of gravitation.

What is good money? Henri Cernuschi, one of the ablest and most distinguished of bimetallists says:

> That only is good money that will stand the test of fire, and which is worth as much as bullion when melted as it had been worth in the coin itself.

Take a gold dollar, for example, and subject it to the furnace, destroy every vestige of the Government stamp, and the bullion left is worth just 100 cents. Take a silver dollar and subject it to the furnace and destroy every vestige of the Government stamp, and the bullion left is worth 56 cents or thereabouts to-day. In this latter case you have destroyed the Government's promise to pay the other 44 cents.

Mr. BROSIUS. We "trust in God" for that.

Mr. DALZELL. Yes, as my colleague from Pennsylvania suggests, we "trust in God" for that.

Mr. BROSIUS (handing Mr. DALZELL a silver dollar). The legend on that dollar, "In God we trust," is supposed to sanctify the theft.

Mr. DALZELL. Now, if the proposition that I laid down a moment ago, that bad money will drive out good, be true—and it is an admitted axiom in political economy, and is known as Gresham's law, but it is the law of human nature, of selfishness, and of self-defense—if that be the law, then to continue this policy is to bring us to the situation where, as sure as pitiless fate, we shall part company with the leading commercial nations of the world and take our place beside Mexico, China, and Peru.

Let me call attention to a matter that has been referred to many times upon this floor—some of the facts of our own financial history. Because of what was afterwards proved to be an error in fixing the ratio of silver and gold in our original mint act of 1792, gold was undervalued and silver overvalued. Silver then was bad money and gold was good, and from 1805 until 1834 this nation was on a silver basis. Then the ratio was changed from 15 to 1 to 16 to 1. A mistake was then made in the other direction; silver was undervalued and gold was overvalued; gold became bad money and silver good; and from 1834 down to this present time, substantially, we have been on a gold basis.

Two standards, our free-coinage friends say. Impossible! as impossible as two yardsticks, two bushels differing in capacity, two pounds differing in weight. You can not have at the same time two measures of value, one of which is money, like gold, and the other of which is a commodity, like silver. You may have them, it is true, but you can not use both at the same time. One or other will prevail. That is the uniform and universal lesson of all monetary history. One other thing let me say. This silver that we are laying away in our Government storehouse is practically of no use for redemption. In times of panic no man who has a certificate payable in gold will take silver for it, and yet while you are paying out gold in redemption of those certificates you can not sell a single solitary ounce of that silver for the purpose of getting the gold required for the redemption.

I say, Mr. Speaker, that the purchase clause of the Sherman law ought to be repealed. That law has failed to raise the price of silver. It has a tendency to contract rather than expand the currency. It leads the way to an ultimate loss of credit. It is costly, and it violates fundamental principles of sound finance.

Mark you, I hold that they are deserving of credit who passed that law in the first instance, because it then offered to us the lesser of two evils, one of which we were bound to endure. It was passed to meet an emergency. It was passed as a temporary measure, and ought, for that reason, to be now repealed.

But, aside from that, I want to say here that the Sherman law on the statute book, with a Republican Administration in power, pledged by its party platforms, its party history, and its traditions to the cause of sound money, is one thing, and the Sherman law on the statute book, with a Democratic free-coinage Secretary of the Treasury in power, is another thing. Still another thing deplorable, but possible, would be the Sherman law on the statute book with a Democratic free-coinage Secretary in the Treasury Department and a Democratic free-coinage President in the White House.

Mr. BOWERS of California. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. DALZELL. No, my time is too short. I can not yield to anybody.

And, Mr. Speaker, in that possible contingency I very much fear that many Democratic Senators and many Democratic Representatives would reflect only the opinions of the White House.

But, if the Sherman act is bad in principle and in practice, the Bland-Allison act is worse. Under the provisions of that act the Secretary of the Treasury was bound to purchase not less than $2,000,000 nor more than $4,000,000 worth of silver each month, and coin it into dollars of 412½ grains each of standard silver.

The Bland dollars are fiat dollars. Unlike the act of 1890, the act of 1878 contained no pledge of gold redemption, and for every cent in a Bland dollar in excess of its intrinsic value up to one hundred the holder has nothing but the honesty of purpose and the resources of the American people, and as the value of silver goes down the final draft on the honesty of purpose and the resources of the American people goes up.

And, more than that, the Bland-Allison act was a more expensive act than the Sherman act. In this same letter from which I quoted awhile ago from the Acting Director of the Mint, Mr. Preston, he says:

> The amount of silver purchased under the act of February 28, 1878, aggregated 291,292,000 ounces, costing $318,119,000. The value of the same at to-day's market price, 73 cents, would be $213,371,000.

We thus have a loss of $104,748,000.

But more than that, suppose we had been operating under the Bland-Allison act instead of under the Sherman act since 1890. In that event we would have purchased up to date 368,341,000 ounces of silver at a cost of $380,000,000; in other words, even the disadvantageous provisions of the Sherman law saved to us the enormous amount of $61,881,000. So that I conclude that the Sherman act must be repealed; but I conclude also that we can not go back to the provisions of the Bland-Allison act.

But, mark you, unconditional repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman act means simply that we shall cease to pay out gold monthly for four and one-half million ounces of silver. All this that we hear about driving silver from our money system, destroying one-half of the people's money, as some put it, and one-half of the world's money, as others put it, and all that sort of thing is so much rant and fustian. Not a dollar of the existing silver in the currents of the world's trade will be eliminated nor a scintilla of its value affected. No existing American dollar will be less a good dollar according to the gold standard than it was before. Every American dollar, whether gold, silver, or paper, will be the equal of every other American dollar wherever the flag flies.

Now, only one other proposition remains, and that is the proposition for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at some one of several suggested ratios. I shall not stop to discuss rations for this reason: If you can fix the commercial ratio of that which is a commodity in the world in relation to gold by law you can fix it at anything you please. If you can not by law fix its real relation because it is a commodity, then it does not make any difference what ratio you put in your law. Now, what is this proposition for free and unlimited coinage of silver? Reduced to terms of plain English it is this: That every man who has 56 cents' worth of standard silver may go the United States mint and have it marked a dollar. "Resolved," it is proposed we shall say, "by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled, that 56 is equal to 100; that 1 is equal to 28.52."

But, you say, that is not a fair statement for the reason that gold has gone up instead of silver going down. You rail against the gold dollar as a "dishonest dollar;" and one gentleman here even went to the trouble of bringing in a book to quote from, as an authority to show that gold was not an absolute measure of value. He might have saved himself the trouble. Nobody claims that gold is an absolute stable measure of value. What we do claim and what is true is that it is the most stable measure of value.

Mr. WALKER. And the world has agreed on it.

Mr. DALZELL. And, as the gentleman from Massachusetts suggests, it is the measure of value all over the world. It fixes the value even in silver-standard countries. Now, on what basis do you assume that gold has gone up and that silver remains stationary? Because, you say, there are so many commodities that have fallen in price and silver has fallen in price with them, and, therefore, gold has gone up and silver has not moved. Was there ever a more patent *non sequitur*?

Why, you do not need to imagine a scarcity of gold to account for falling prices. New processes, improved machinery, inventive genius, new facilities for intercommunication—these and not the scarcity of gold are the causes of falling prices. The records of the Patent Office, the roll of the great captains of industry whose genius has wedded usefulness and beauty and cheapness, and made the luxury of the past the convenience of the present, refute your silly claim that gold is the only factor in fixing price.

Raw materials, food products, have fallen in price upon the same principle. New fields have been opened, their soil put under the plow. Civilization has pushed its resistless march into new territory, discovered new secrets of nature, opened new mines to the sunlight, bridged new streams, built highways to the hitherto inaccessible; introduced electricity and steam; annihilated time and space.

Why, sir, the history of our trunk-line railroads furnishes the key to falling prices. Let me show you just for a second. In 1865 the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and its lines west of Pittsburg, the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad, the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, the Michigan Central, Boston and Albany, the New York, Lake Erie and Western, carried 11,151,701 tons of freight, or to express it in another way, moved of tons 1 mile 1,654,324,000. And how much did each ton cost for carriage? It cost 2.9 cents per mile. In 1885, twenty years afterwards, this same system of railroads moved of tons at the rate of 1 mile 11,331,306,000, at a cost of six-tenths of a cent a mile.

Now, these railway lines carried somewhat less than one-fourth of the tons moved 1 mile in 1885; yet they saved on the difference between cost of carriage in 1885 and the cost of carriage in 1865 $256,500,000. I might pursue this line of argument, to show the same results, with other roads, but it is not necessary. And yet, in the face of incontrovertible facts like these, you get up ingenious schedules to prove that silver has remained stationary and that gold has gone up.

Why, Mr. Speaker, the characteristic feature of this day is low price of necessaries and high wages. If the low price of necessaries is due to the scarcity of gold, why have not wages gone down also? And how comes it that the poor man's friend on this floor denounces a system under which the poor man gets the necessaries of life for less than they ever cost him before, and gets as a wage more money with which to buy them? [Applause.]

The fall in the price of silver is easily accounted for on the very simplest of economic principles. Increase the supply of any commodity, decrease the demand, and prices go down. Now, since 1873, when silver was demonetized, the production of silver has increased 150 per cent, and the demand has decreased by the amount theretofore called for by the mints of Europe, since that time closed against it like our own, except since 1878.

Mr. WALKER. And the cost of mining is not more than half what it was.

Mr. DALZELL. Yes; there is a difference in the cost of mining.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I am not going to stop to go into the question at any length of the scarcity of gold. I will merely state the facts and put the proof in the RECORD. Since 1873, when silver was demonetized, gold production has constantly increased,

and is increasing to-day. The probabilities are that it will continue to increase to a much greater extent in the future. Here are the figures as stated by the Bureau of the Mint of the Treasury Department:

1873	$96,200,000	1880	$106,500,000	1887	$105,775,000
1874	90,750,000	1881	103,000,000	1888	110,197,000
1875	97,500,000	1882	102,000,000	1889	123,489,000
1876	103,700,000	1883	95,400,000	1890	113,150,000
1877	114,000,000	1884	101,700,000	1891	120,519,000
1878	119,000,000	1885	108,400,000	1892	130,817,000
1879	109,000,000	1886	106,000,000		

In 1887 the Queen of England appointed a royal commission to inquire into the recent changes in the relation of the precious metals to each other. In the same year President Cleveland appointed Edward Atkinson, a distinguished statistician, to inquire as to the feasibility of bimetallism by international agreement. Mr. Atkinson states the results of the investigation of that royal commission as follows. He says:

I find in it abundant evidence sustaining the positions which I have taken, to wit:

1. The mass of gold in existence has been sufficient to enable Germany to adopt the gold standard of legal tender, the United States and Italy to resume specie payment substantially on a gold standard, the Latin Union to cease silver coinage and to maintain their existing stock of legal-tender silver at par in gold, without creating any apparent scarcity of gold and without any special influence in depressing the prices of commodities or services.

2. The reduction in the price of commodities has been no greater than would be warranted by and might have been expected from the improvements in the processes of production and distribution. This reduction, having been accompanied by a general maintenance or rise in the price or rate of wages, has been almost wholly beneficial, temporary hardship to special classes being admitted.

I have said that the probabilities are that the production of gold would increase. Let me read you some information contained in a recent edition of the Washington Post:

OUR GOLD PRODUCT.

The chief risk of dependence on gold as a standard is that the supply may not be sufficient, but the gold fields of South Africa now being developed promise to bring relief in that direction.—*Philadelphia Ledger.*

But what about our own gold fields? Wherever gold has been produced before in years gone by prospecting has been renewed with most encouraging results. New discoveries have been made in Oregon and other Western States that are reputed to be very valuable. Even in Colorado, the very heart of the silver industry, the outlook for gold is brightening daily. Says the Denver Republican of August 14:

"Already there has been a notable increase in the gold output. The gold deposits at the Denver mint in July exceeded by $60,000 the deposits in any previous month in the history of the mint. It shows that Colorado miners are not completely at the mercy of the men who are endeavoring to strike down silver as a money metal. There are promising gold districts in both Gunnison and Pitkin Counties. Telluride is one of the best gold camps in the Rocky Mountains, and during this summer a large amount of work has been done there in the development of gold claims, which, during the time of active silver mining, were more or less neglected. Gilpin County keeps up its reputation as a gold producer, and the camp on Yankee Hill, near the edge of Clear Creek County, is a very promising place."

The San Francisco Examiner of the 11th instant reports that gold is coming down from the mountains at the rate of $1,500,000 a month; that "the corner of the hard times" has been turned; that money enough is to be had for saving the bulk of the fruit crop, and that wheat is rushing to market, every cargo shipped yielding $50,000 to $100,000 in "English gold" as soon as it is cleared.

There is no cause of alarm because of a probable scarcity of gold for a currency reserve. What the country dosn't produce the Government can easily buy.

Now our friends on the other side say, "discontinue the use of silver; take it out of the world's money, and you necessarily appreciate gold to that extent."

What I have already said refutes the assertion. We have seen that the gold supply has kept pace with the gold demand, and promises to continue to do so in the future. This has been proven by the statistics of gold production, and by the evidence taken before the Royal Commission.

But in addition to this the free coinage argument wholly ignores the function of credit in our modern business life. The volume of money consists not simply of gold and silver and authorized issues of notes, but of credit also. This is an expanding and contracting instrument as the necessities of trade and commerce demand. It serves to conduct from 90 to 95 per cent of the world's business. It has been well said, the progress of civilization is towards diminishing instead of increasing the requirement of large amounts of bullion.

Much stress, Mr. Speaker, has been laid by our friends on the other side on the injustice of making the debtor pay in dearer money than that which he borrowed. If I have proven anything so far I have demonstrated that the only method to prevent such injustice, so far as it can be prevented, is to abide by the most stable of all measures of value, gold. And mark you the injustice to the debtor of paying his debt in dearer money than he borrowed is no greater than the injustice of making the lender take his loan in money which is less valuable than that which he loaned.

That aspect of the question seems not to have presented itself to our friends on the other side at all. They assume that all lenders are rich, millionaires, goldbugs, corporations, and that all the borrowers are poor farmers, and that such being the case it is no narm for the latter to cheat the former. Is there one rule of honesty for the rich man and another rule of honesty for the poor man?

Why, Mr. Speaker, I have been amused here listening to the self-styled champions of the poor man, advocates of the millionaire mine-owners of the West, denouncing millionaires; in one breath denouncing all moneyed institutions, aggregations of wealth, and corporations—the indices of national prosperity—and in the next demanding a market for the product of the Western mines and for the surplus silver of the world. Why not the same kind of legislation for the steel billets from the mills of Pennsylvania, for the pig iron from the furnaces of Tennessee, or the wheat from the fields of Dakota?

Mr. Speaker, I want to say to my friend who spoke here yesterday, representing what we call the "State" of Nevada, that there is not a silver-producing State in this Union, California excepted, that has as large a population as the county in which I have the honor to live; and all of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, in Nevada do not equal the number of voters in that county.

It seems to me, sir, that this indiscriminate denunciation of wealth, this arraying of the rich against the poor, is nothing more nor less than incipient anarchy. Whence can it lead but to a war of classes and the eventual overthrow of the State? And is not he an incendiary, against whom society has a right to protect itself, who raises the banner of rule or ruin and appeals to the basest passions of mankind?

Sir, the silver men pretending to be bimetallists are monometallists. What they would have is not a double, but a silver instead of a gold standard. This is plainly to be gathered from the speech of the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN]. I quote him:

If a single standard were really more desirable than a double standard, we are not free to choose gold and would be compelled to select silver. * * * If bimetallism is impossible, then we must make up our minds to a silver standard.

And then he paints the glories of a silver standard. He says:

A silver standard, too, would make us the trading center of all the silver-using countries of the world, and these countries contain far more than one-half of the world's population. What an impetus would be given to our Western and Southern seaports, such as San Francisco, Galveston, New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah, and Charleston.

That is to say, let us cut loose from England and France and Germany—from European civilization—and cast in our lot with India, China, the Straits, Japan, Mexico, and South and Central America.

Truly a suggestion worthy the mind that conceives it to be in the power of legislation to reverse the rules of arithmetic.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have not time to discuss some other subjects that I had intended to discuss in this connection. But I want to say that the moment you declare that 56 cents' worth of silver is equal to a gold dollar, that moment you open your mints to all the silver of the world. You bid it welcome to come, and it will come; and when it comes gold will go, go into silver purchases, go into hiding, go abroad. With what result? With the result to defeat the very purpose for which free and unlimited silver coinage is urged; with the result suddenly and violently to contract instead of increase the circulation. The American dollar will buy in foreign exchange just as much as and no more than the bullion in it is worth. The United States will be on a silver basis.

Two things, I grant you, the free and unlimited coinage of silver will accomplish. First, debtors will be enabled to scale their debts to the extent of from 40 to 50 per cent and cheat their creditors to that extent; and, secondly, you will furnish a market for the silver mines of the West. But these results will be accomplished at the price of justice and to the eternal disgrace of the American name. [Applause.]

Now, sir, I believe in bimetallism, the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the world, and I expect to see that system come in time. I believe that bimetallism is possible, however, only by international agreement, and I am in favor of every honest effort to bring about that agreement. The United States having been on a gold basis substantially for sixty years past, debts have been contracted on that basis, and prices fixed all over the world on that basis. I am opposed to any measure that would either suddenly or gradually put us on a silver basis. I am in favor of any needed measure for the expansion of the currency that will put behind every dollar issued the guaranty that it shall be equal in purchasing and in debt-paying power to every other dollar.

I believe, with the President of the United States, that this is a question which rises above the plane of party politics. Good men will laugh to scorn threats of party outlawry and treat with the contempt that they deserve low appeals in party interest. This question can be settled, but it must be settled by each man in the domain of conscience enlightened by patriotism. The interests at stake involve the financial future of this great people;

they are the interests of country, and country is above all. [Applause]. This is a proposition that will meet with commendation wherever patriotism is regarded as a virtue. But it is especially true with us.

Why, sir; with a pomp and circumstance of peace more glorious even than the pomp and circumstance of war, all nations and peoples and kindreds join to-day to celebrate the discovery of this western continent. In a city whose marvelous growth, wealth, and enterprise outrun the extravagance even of an Oriental imagination, the first fruits of the ripest civilization have been gathered to do honor to the name and rejoice in the achievement of the courageous mariner whose sublime faith carried him across unknown seas to unlock the gateway of the globe's richer half.

In this, the harvest of four hundred years of American history, it is not hard to discern the richest amongst all the golden sheaves. From the treasures of art and science and literature, from the charms of music, from the glories of architecture, from the gathered wealth of genius and labor, with thanksgiving in our hearts, we turn to the colossal Republic, that, founded in self-denial, maintained by struggle, purified by blood, sanctified by the graves of brave men, first and alone in all the annals of time, has demonstrated man's capacity for self-rule and in which under the folds of that flag all men are equally entitled to enjoy the blessings of liberty under law. [Prolonged applause.]

Mr. HATCH. Mr. Speaker, no representative of the American people can approach the discussion of the pending measures with a keener sense of appreciation of the responsibilities resting upon him, or can be more profoundly impressed with the far-reaching and grave consequences to follow the determination of the momentous issue involved in this legislation than myself. In my judgment, the results to follow can not be measured by finite man, nor can they be exaggerated by the most sanguine and enthusiastic supporter of either proposition now pending.

I feel that the prosperity of my country and the welfare and happiness of all the people are involved in this proposed legislation.

As I am permitted to see the truth my convictions are deep-seated and unalterably fixed. In the light of my own judgment, aided by twenty years of thoughtful study and business experience, I would be derelict and recreant to every obligation resting upon the Representative of an intelligent and honorable constituency, if I did not declare my convictions frankly, and courageously enforce them by my vote and action.

Involved in this duty is the obligation I owe to the great political organization with which I have been identified almost a lifetime. My personal convictions and the principles of my party as declared in national convention are identical. I am loyally following the last authoritative utterance of the Democratic party, in the Chicago national convention of 1892, on this subject.

This is a case of political history hastily repeating itself.

We had barely achieved a signal victory over the Democratic enemies of tariff reform, after twenty years of entreaty, education, and discipline, until we have on our hands another insurrection on the part of the minority against the plain and honest declaration of the platform on the subject of silver as money. The issue is squarely made and sharply drawn. It is monometallism, which has no part or lot in the Democratic platform, on one hand, or the plain declaration for a constitutional Democratic "coinage of both gold and silver," on the other.

Upon one side or the other each gentleman on this floor must ally himself. He can not escape by legislative subterfuges or homeopathic doses to his conscience. In the light of history and of his own pledges and explanations during the last campaign he will be judged. To the minority now in insurrection against the Democratic platform, I say mark well the lesson of the history I have alluded to.

The defiant minority surely and rapidly disappeared from public life and from the councils of their party, and to-day their voices are no longer heard in the land, and all, all save one, have disappeared even from the memories of their contemporaries. Randall alone lives in Democratic minds and hearts, because of the grandeur of his character, and of his great legislative achievements when in accord with the majority of his party.

It will not be many months or years before this part of our history will be again exemplified by experience, and the places that now know the insurrectionists will know them no more forever.

If there is any one thing that I admire in the members of the Republican party it is their absolute faith and loyalty to their own flag. I never saw a better exemplification of it than we had a few moments ago by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL] when he won his first round of applause from his Republican brethren by asserting in the most eloquent terms that whenever the nation was in peril the Republican party could always be depended on for such legislation as would insure safety and prosperity to the people.

And the Republican party stands here to-day in almost solid ranks, swollen by a minority from this side of the House, to tear down the law that the Republicans put upon the statute books a little more than two years ago, a law which was passed by a unanimous Republican vote in this House and in the Senate, and signed by a Republican President! Always to be depended on for wise legislation that will bring the nation to safety and prosperity!

And there is not a gentleman on this floor who has spoken, not one who has uttered a single sentiment in regard to the pending legislation, who has not exhausted all his eloquence and his power in denunciation of this Sherman act, a child of Republicanism, fashioned after its own methods and denounced by the great Democratic party of the United States as a makeshift and a fraud; and yet the Republican party can always be depended on to legislate for the safety and the prosperity of the country! [Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, I shall discuss this question from the standpoint of my own earnest and honest convictions, the result of twenty years of careful study, twenty years of experience; and not only from my standpoint of individual conscience and duty, but involved in it is the duty I owe to that political organization with which my entire life and manhood have been identified.

There is a test by which all of us can determine as to that question. If I am not on the Democratic platform to-day I want to get on it, for I have never been off of it in my life. Its last decisive utterance was in the Democratic platform of 1892, which I will read:

> We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets, and in payment of debt; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

There is a difference of interpretation as to what that platform means. I do not believe that it is susceptible of more than one earnest and honest construction. I never have believed that it was Janus-faced, or that it was made with the intent to deceive the people of the United States. But we can easily determine what construction the majority of the representatives of the people, elected by Democratic constituencies, place upon that platform.

Let us have a caucus of the members of this House and of the Senate who are Democrats, and let a majority of that caucus determine as to the interpretation to be placed upon that platform, and as to what our action shall be, and let every Democrat in the House pledge his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor to abide by that caucus action, and move such legislation as will carry it out. [Applause.] For one, I am willing to take that pledge here and now.

Mr. REED. Of course you are.

Mr. HATCH. I have no pride of opinion that I will not yield to a majority of my peers. If we were taught in that platform that the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act was all that was involved in our duty to our party, say so and I will join you.

No living man in this House or out of it has a more supreme contempt for the Sherman act, from the first word in it to its close, than I have. I denounced it on the floor of this House before it passed. I voted against it. I have never upheld one single one of its provisions from the time it was introduced in this House until this hour.

But here is a united Democratic party, not one single one among us who wants to retain the Sherman law upon the statute book, and the only difference between us at all is as to whether that other language of the Democratic platform shall be carried out at the same time—to give such legislation as will place gold and silver upon a perfect equality as to the coinage of bullion, and not only that, but to place the two metals upon a perfect equality as to the friendliness of the Treasury Department of the United States.

THE PRESENT FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE WORLD AND ESPECIALLY OF THIS COUNTRY.

It is distressing and deplorable beyond expression. It is widespread and universal; it reaches every section, and embraces in

its folds all classes and conditions of men. It has shattered fortunes that were estimated by millions; it has invaded the homes of millionaires and money kings, the offices of bank presidents and railway magnates, the counting-houses of great importing firms and domestic trades-people, the retail dealer, and small distributer of the necessaries of life. It has stopped manufactories and paralyzed great enterprises.

In the East it has thrown out of employment thousands of operatives, mechanics, artisans, and skilled workmen in every conceivable industry, and turned from the mines of Pennsylvania an army of men whose sole occupation is suspended, and who must wait, and wait, perhaps for work, possibly for bread. In the Middle and Western States it has entered the peaceful and contented homes of over half our people and turned the contentment of the modest returns for labor which agriculture has produced in the past ten years to one of absolute despair and almost ruin. In the far West it has done its completest work; it has fulfilled its direst mission.

States bankrupted, whole communities idle, multitudes facing the coming winter with apprehension and dread, and men, women, and children already on short or insufficient daily rations of food. Is it any wonder that the entire country is profoundly impressed with the calamitous conditions and imploringly, prayerfully, and excitingly pleading for relief? And to meet such a condition of things, with famine both of money and food, the paralyzation of industries and destruction of credit and confidence, amid the tempest of all this comes the single admonition from the throne of political power—

"Repeal the Sherman act!"

Repeal the miserable makeshift, wipe out the legislative fraud which nobody defends, destroy the only source of an increase of our currency now being executed by the present Administration; administer one more blow to silver coinage, increase the purchasing power of gold, make money scarcer and harder to get, pull the millionaire and the bondholder out of the dilemma brought upon them by their own folly, and in thunder tones say to the multitudes of idle and hungry bread winners throughout the length and breadth of the land, "Let the people be damned."

I can not better express my own views on the magnitude and importance of the present controversy than by quoting from a recent editorial published in the Toledo Journal:

SILVER AND GOLD.

The great fight for honest money, now being waged at Washington in favor of honest money and rights of the people, is justly attracting attention of the civilized world.

Attempting to introduce a new standard of value; to strike down at once the larger half of the coin of ultimate payment, to double every debt and immeasurably burden the debtor class in the interests of those in power; the battle is the most important waged for centuries. Blinded and deceived by the specious pleas of those who hope to reap large gains by the crime; urged on by men who wish to retain their grasp on the sole coin of general use and recognition, many are joining in worshiping the golden calf, forgetful that to make any single commodity the sole arbiter of fortune places it within the power of a few to combine in hoarding that article, and, by withdrawing it from circulation, to retain their grasp on the throat of enterprise and effort.

None wish money to keep. Its sole use is to measure values in exchange. Those enjoying fixed incomes are not molested, except their position vanishes. But all others suffer incalculable loss from the debasement of the currency. Silver and gold provide a basis for currency which will satisfy the most insistent. Gold alone offers opportunity for scheming and corners. Cut off from its long-time continuous use as a basis for currency, silver has of necessity fallen in value, as would gold were it dethroned from its position. Gold alone serves well the wealthy, but leaves the poor man at the mercy of schemers at any time. It would be impossible to corner silver; gold is at the mercy of the gambler because of its inferior volume.

This latter fact alone supports the demands of the people that bimetallism be maintained. Shorn of its power, silver, in its downfall, has pulled down many a strong institution; restored to its honorable position by the United States, the nations of the world must follow our footsteps; else every silver-using nation of the globe will turn to us for trade, and without this England would soon follow our line of action. The struggle is a mighty one, and in it the entire world is deeply interested. What the outcome shall be lies in the womb of the future. Nations move by inexorable laws, whose force and direction we little understand. If reason and judgment prevail, we shall presently be out of our troubles; if the anarchy of gold wins we may look for darker times and greater woe and sorrow than we can now imagine.

What has produced, brought about, or contributed to this condition?

This question has been asked and answered one thousand times or more during this discussion, and always satisfactorily to the gentlemen who furnished the answer. I have studied this problem in many of its phases for the past twenty years. Writers, statesmen, legislators, and financiers have written and spoken volumes upon this subject during that time. Their convictions, arguments, and conclusions are multifarious and divergent to the extremest degree.

But they can be divided into two great classes—those who believe in making money scarce and hard to get, and keeping it below such a volume that the favored few, the select, the anointed of the Lord Mammon alone can possess and control it; and the more intelligent, patriotic, and numerous class, who believe that money should be kept at such a volume that all the people, from the humblest citizen to the wealthiest nabob in the land, could receive its benefits in proportion to his ability to work for it with brain and muscle.

I belong to the latter class. I believe in both gold and silver money without discrimination against either metal, and the parity between them to be maintained by the adoption of such ratio as Congress may agree upon from time to time under the mandate of the Constitution; and as no country on earth within a hundred years has had enough of such coin to meet the requirements of its domestic trade and foreign commerce, I believe in supplementing this inadequate supply by the issue of paper money by the Government, based on such coinage, in volume sufficient to meet all the requirements and demands of our vast internal and domestic trade and ever-increasing and vital foreign commerce, the volume and extent of this currency to be measured by the ability to keep it at an absolute par with our gold and silver coin throughout the Union.

As long as it can be thus maintained it can never reach the maximum. But what a spectacle confronts us to-day! With all our laws and efforts to maintain a circulating medium based on the integrity and unparalleled resources of the Government, the New York City and other bankers of the country are daily issuing an absolutely illegal fiat currency known as "clearing-house certificates," based alone on such securities as they now possess and which they have found absolutely inadequate and insufficient to maintain their own credit abroad or the confidence of their associates and co-conspirators.

Let me read from a circular letter of a New York banking house, under date of August 18, what they have to say about this wonderful exploit in banking:

The New York city bankers have $37,380,000 certificates outstanding. Boston has $11,100,000. Other bankers in the South and West perhaps have enough more out to make fifty millions of bank certificates. Adding these various amounts together, we find a possible increase of about one hundred millions since July 1 to replace the unknown amount of currency and gold drawn out of the banks and hoarded in vaults and other places since May last, "where it resembled the one talent more than the ten talents."

Currency commands 3 per cent premium, and has sold as high as 5 per cent. Exchange on this city from many Western cities has recently ranged from five to fifty dollars per $1,000. Many Western people claim the degree of credit desired by Eastern bankers is shown by their willingness to pay depositors. Eastern banks appear to have no sympathy for Western methods in not issuing bank certificates. Many individuals have sold their checks on the street for funds to meet maturing obligations or make needed purchases. Credit seems to have been strained from here to the Pacific coast, and attacked on all sides and benefiting but few.

Fifty dollars on a thousand dollars in exchange on New York! Why, sir, usually in the West New York exchange is at a small premium or at par. I received a few days ago a letter from the cashier of a bank in which I do my business at Hannibal, Mo. He informed me that he could not take New York exchange for anything less than $1 on the hundred dollars or $10 on the thousand dollars.

I thought that enormous; but here it appears by this New York circular that there are other cities in the country that have not as much confidence in the New York banking system as the bankers in my own town. In some of these other cities they will not take exchange on New York at less than $50 on $1,000.

What have the banks of New York been doing to keep up confidence? Nobody ever lost confidence in the banks of New York until after they entered into that conspiracy in April last to produce a panic in this country—a money famine and a panic. But they lost confidence in each other.

Let me tell my New York friends right now that, in my judgment, the most herculean task ever attempted in any legislative body on the face of God's green earth since the creation of Adam down to the present time will be to restore confidence between the New York bankers. They know each other too well. [Laughter.] And there is such a splendid minority of them that have embellished the pages of New York financial history in the last few years by moving across the line into Canada that I suppose the next step would be to establish confidence between the bankers of New York on this side and those on the other side of the Canadian border.

Mr. Speaker, I offered on yesterday evening to give my distinguished friend from New York [Mr. FELLOWS] part of my time, and I intended if he accepted it to make but one condition, because we all know him to be a splendid lawyer; but I wanted some legal ability to blaze the road along that way so as to point out in a clear manner the use of and the character of what is called "clearing-house certificates."

I ask the gentleman, or any other gentleman from New York when he gets the floor, to please tell us what a clearing-house certificate is, and how it can be used as money without violating the laws of the United States? Do you pay any tax on it? What is it? The promise to pay of a class of men who will not take even their own promises to each other! And tell me another thing. Why is it every national bank in the city of New York to-day, and for the past thirty days, has been doing busi-

ness in open and notorious violation of the law, absolutely refusing to pay its checks when presented at the counter? Why is that?

The financial object lesson of the world to-day is France, with the largest circulating medium both of gold and silver and paper money in the world, larger in proportion to her population; larger in proportion to her territorial limit; larger in proportion to the amount of business they do than any other nation of the earth; who stood within the last few years at the close of the Franco-German war a shock that would have bankrupted any other nation except the French nation, when it paid that indemnity fund; it never stopped their prosperity a month. They paid it in gold and used the silver that was left, supplemented by paper money, and in a few short years gold came back to the vaults of the banks of France and they have it there to-day. Every nation that has been in trouble financially from that day to this has had to draw upon France if it wanted gold.

I have no patience with the argument that has been gone over here and thrashed and thrashed from one day to another and during every hour of our session about a "dishonest dollar." The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL] has declared to-day that the silver dollar is only worth 60 cents, and he says there is no test for money except that of fire. Fire! Well, my friends, the Republican party in its financial system has come pretty near firing this whole country. What becomes of the silver or gold certificates and the greenbacks when you talk about fire?

It will not stand the furnace. It can be burned until you can not take the ashes to the Treasury and have it redeemed, and it is good so long as you can keep it out of the furnace; and so long as you can keep it out of the furnace a hundred dollars of it is as good as any hundred dollars in gold ever stamped on the face of the earth. The silver dollar dishonest! Is it true? If so, who made it dishonest? The Republican party dishonored it first. They dishonored it in 1873, when they demonetized it.

But the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS], whom I do not see in his seat, says "they did not demonetize it." No, they simply annihilated it. He says "to demonetize silver would be simply to take away from it its legal-tender quality." He says they did not do that. They simply crushed it, annihilated it, dropped it out of coinage. Why, he says, that is not demonetization; that is not demonetizing it. That would be merely maiming it. They have done worse than that, they have killed it.

From my standpoint I now answer the question, What has produced or largely contributed to the present condition throughout the world? In my judgment, more than any one or all causes combined, it was the tyrannical, unholy, and damnable conspiracy that demonetized silver in 1873. But certain gentlemen say there was no conspiracy in 1873, and that this declaration is "rot." My reply is equally emphatic and unchaste in expression. The gentleman who has read the history of nations for the past twenty-five years and is capable of understanding what he reads, and so characterizes the charge of the wide-spread conspiracy to demonetize silver, is either a knave or an ignoramus.

Against his prejudiced and random, inconsidered statement I place the declaration of the painstaking student, the close and logical historian, the judicial and courteous controversialist, the intrepid and candid representative, John Griffin Carlisle, of Kentucky. Here is what he said on the floor of this House on the 21st day of February, 1878, when he represented an independent, fearless, and honorable Democratic constituency:

> I know that the world's stock of precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it will ever be so. Mankind will be fortunate indeed if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry. According to my views of the subject the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy by legislation and otherwise from three-sevenths to one-half the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age. The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilences, and famines that ever occurred in the history of the world.
>
> The absolute and instantaneous destruction of half the entire movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads, and other appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of one-half the metallic money of the world.

The flippant denials made here now can not overturn the solemn declarations of such a representative.

It has since been proven by facts and declarations and arguments that embrace volumes of testimony to sustain Mr. Carlisle's then position. But, has the conspiracy been broken? Or have the conspirators against the use of silver as money ceased from their labors? I answer, no. The conspiracy still exists, and the conspirators have increased in numbers and influence.

And if you desire to know the present, direct, and most potential cause of the present panic and money famine, it can be traced directly to the action and declared purposes of the bankers of New York City and other large money centers of the Government. And shrewd, astute, and able as they arrogantly claim to be, their babbling and bullying declarations furnish the most damaging testimony against them.

I will read some extracts from a great New York paper, one which is at the very head of New York journalism—my friend from New York [Mr. CUMMINGS] will not controvert that statement—a paper that claims to have the courage of its own convictions, a paper independent in all things, consistent in but few [laughter], though claiming to be in the main Democratic. I read from the New York Sun of Friday, April 28. After reciting some of the incidents of the enjoyable conference between Secretary Carlisle and the bankers, it says:

> As the Secretary outlined the policy of the Government, it was that nothing would be done that in any way would retard or check the determination of the Cleveland Administration concerning the repeal of the Sherman law. The Secretary went over the currency laws of the country, and said that they were in bad shape, and needed revision. He said the revision should start with the Sherman law. There is a determination, also, to show to the miners of silver the evil effects of the Sherman law on their fortunes.
>
> President Cleveland's advisers have told him that the only way to induce the Western and Southwestern Senators and Congressmen to consent to the repeal of the Sherman law, is to demonstrate to their constituents that they are losing money every day that this law is in operation. The missionary work in that direction has been started by a number of the banks in the solid communities of the East. They are daily refusing credits to the South, Southwest and West, fearing the effects of the Sherman law.
>
> The Chicago bankers, it was said, are carrying out the same line of policy. Secretary Carlisle, in his talk with the bank presidents, made his stand very clear. It is to be heroic treatment all the way through on the Sherman law, and possibly by the next session of Congress the silver mine owners and the adherents of silver in the Senate and House will be ready to consent to a repeal of the law.
>
> The bank presidents, replying to Secretary Carlisle, cordially informed him that they would be ready at all times to coöperate with him in the successful administration of the financial policy of the Government. Everybody shook hands, and there was harmony all round.

[Laughter.]

The New York Sun of Saturday, April 29, in its financial column, says:

> The conference yesterday between Secretary Carlisle and a number of the bankers of this city was of great value in that it resulted in a definite understanding of the financial policy of the Administration, as indicated in this column last Tuesday. That policy is to interpose no obstacle to the natural operations and logical results of the Sherman law. In a word, the Administration proposes to allow the people to reap the rewards of their own folly.

Was my friend from New York [Mr. CUMMINGS] in the city of Washington on the 1st day of May last?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I was.

Mr. HATCH. I thank the gentleman for giving me that information, because it furnishes a key to the whole situation. The New York Sun, in its Washington letter, published May 1, 1893, says——

Mr. CUMMINGS. Will the gentleman permit an interruption?

Mr. HATCH. Yes, sir.

Mr. CUMMINGS. The gentleman's statement is correct, but his assumption is erroneous. [Laughter.]

Mr. HATCH. That remark is simply evoked by the gentleman's modesty. [Laughter.] I will read this statement:

> The statement of Mr. Carlisle to the New York bankers makes it clear that, while Mr. Cleveland works in Congress, the bankers will be expected to work, not in New York only, but throughout the country, doing their utmost to pinch business everywhere in the expectation of causing a money crisis that will affect Congress powerfully from every quarter. There is an explicitness in these declarations and a boldness in making them that would be astounding were not the country too familiar with Mr. Cleveland and his methods to be astonished by anything from him.

The circulation and importance of this paper warrant the assertion that Mr. Carlisle read these statements. I have watched in vain for any denial or even modification of them. On the contrary, proofs as strong as Holy Writ are accumulating to justify and prove their correctness.

Now, my friends, there is the beginning of this money crisis. It was determined by the New York banks, in aid of the policy of the Secretary of the Treasury to secure repeal of the Sherman act, to create a money panic, to make the shoe pinch down South, and out West, and all over the land; but when they had set the ball in motion they found its velocity such that they could not stop it for a moment, and they have not been able to do so up to this time.

Therefore we are to-day plunged into a money panic the most deplorable that has been seen in the past century. Fortunes that were counted by millions have been partially or wholly wiped out, business is prostrated everywhere, manufactories and great enterprises all over this land have been stopped, small tradespeople have been ruined, the prices of everything that the people have for sale have been almost destroyed because there is no circulating medium in the country with which to buy them. And these gentlemen under these conditions, to "restore confidence," have brought in the little bill proposed by the gentleman from West Virginia simply to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act!

Amidst the ruin of the industries of our people, brought about

by this panic, we in this Hall can not get higher than that. We can not reach above the plane of simply repealing the purchasing clause of a makeshift and a fraud that stands on our statute book. Not a single word is said, in connection with this proposition about any measure for the relief of the general distress; nothing about any measure to enable the people to move the crops which are now languishing in the fields and the barns of the producers because there is no circulating medium. Restore confidence!

Why, my friends, I cut from that great daily, the Post of Washington City, of Sunday morning last, a "bill to restore confidence," drafted by a distinguished satirist of this city, and I pledge myself to-day that if this were offered as a substitute in this House for the Wilson bill I would vote for it in preference; for it would be just as feasible a way for restoring confidence as the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. Here is the bill as published in the Post:

A bill to restore confidence and relieve the country of its financial panic.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

SECTION 1. That confidence in the financial condition of all business affairs throughout the domain of the Republic is hereby declared to be fully restored—

[Laughter.]

And all persons are commanded to forthwith conduct their financial and commercial transactions in conformity with this enactment.

SEC. 2. That any person whose business is in any way injured or embarrassed by reason of the neglect or failure on the part of individuals, associations, or corporations to maintain implicit confidence in the responsibility and business integrity of such person, such offending party or parties shall be liable for all damages resulting therefrom by judgment rendered in any of the courts of the United States.

[Laughter.]

SEC. 3. This act is to go into effect immediately.

If you only want confidence restored, why not pass an enactment of that kind? Do you expect to restore confidence simply by lessening the whole volume of the currency, when there is not enough in the city of New York or in any city of the United States to keep up credit among themselves for a day or a week?

My friends, I would not care about the details of this money question just at this time if I did not believe that it is impossible to establish a money system in this country based upon gold alone without destroying the industries of every agricultural class in the United States from the lakes to the Gulf, including the producers of all of our great staples.

I have here a chart, which I have received the permission of its author to use—one of the best and plainest I have ever seen; and, strange to say, the distinguished gentleman who is the author of this chart is a New Yorker. That fact ought to give it weight with the other side. I refer to Jones's Chart and Tables, No. 5, published by George O. Jones, of the State of New York. This chart embraces a table, which I have compared carefully with the one which was laid before my committee during the last Congress by a distinguished gentleman from Louisiana—a table coming from the royal commission of Great Britain, held three or four years ago, showing the prices of silver in the world and the prices of all the great agricultural products imported into England from America, such as cotton, wheat, etc.

[For chart see next page.]

But I want to read a few of the figures from Mr. Jones's chart. Beginning in 1872, before silver was demonetized, the average export price of wheat was $1.40 per bushel; the average price of silver was $1.32 per ounce; the average export price for cotton was 18 cents per pound.

Then during President Grant's second term (for as the headlines show these exhibits are made by Presidential terms), from 1873 to 1876, the average export price of wheat was $1.24 per bushel, while the price of silver was $1.21 per ounce; cotton, 13¾ cents per pound. Under the Administration of Mr. Hayes from 1877 to 1880, the average price of wheat was $1.19 per bushel; the average price of silver was $1.12⅝ per ounce; cotton, 11 cents a pound.

I will not run through the whole of these figures, for I do not want to weary the House; but under Harrison's Administration, from 1889 to 1892, the average price of wheat was 90 cents a bushel: silver, 98 cents per ounce; cotton, 9⅛ cents per pound. On the 20th of March last the price of silver was 84 cents an ounce; wheat at Chicago on the 20th of March sold for 74⅛ cents per bushel, on August 1st at 55¼ cents per bushel; on August 20th cotton sold for 7¼ cents a pound.

From 1872 down to the present hour the average prices of cotton, wheat, and all farm products have kept pace with the price of silver per ounce; I do not refer to the money value of silver, but the price of silver bullion. This has controlled the price of every farm product that has been sent from this country to Europe. This is as demonstrable as any mathematical proposition that ever was submitted.

Now, my friends, we can discuss this question here for a month longer; you can absolutely exhaust it day after day; and you can not drive the average farmer from the knowledge that he has acquired in the last twenty years, that it is silver, not gold, that fixes the value of his commodities. And not only that, but in every emergency that has arisen in the United States, in every panic, you have got to depress the price of his products to induce Europe to take them in sufficient quantities to ease the money market in New York.

My friend from Kentucky here on the right suggests that I ought to tell the price of wheat now, not at New York, but the price in the West. When I left my home, on the 2d of August, I saw farmers, men whom I know, some of them personal friends, my own neighbors, driving up into the city of Hannibal and selling their wheat to our mills at from 30 to 45 cents a bushel, 45 being the highest price paid. We not only had a very short crop, but its quality had been damaged by rust just before harvest, and the mills were grading it down to absolute rejection up to No. 3. But none sold higher than 45 cents. Just think of it now, 35 cents a bushel for wheat to keep up public confidence and restore credit!

My distinguished friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. SIBLEY] read the names of some of the exporters of gold the other day, the men who have aided largely in producing this panic, these bankers who held this distinguished conference with the Secretary of the Treasury in New York, and amongst the whole list I can pronounce but one of the names, and do not know that I can get that correctly—Ickelheimer, I believe—and the average farmer in the United States has not money enough, after paying his taxes, to keep his children long enough at school to learn how to pronounce perfectly the names of all of them. Not an American name amongst the whole list.

But how easily this spelling of names and the pronunciation of the names of men is made when we look to the men who have brought the gold back from Europe when we needed it. They are the names of the American farmers, citizens of the United States. It was our wheat and our cotton, our tobacco and meat products that brought back gold in sufficient quantities to retain the balance of trade in our favor once more.

In my judgment the greatest conspiracy that ever existed against silver has culminated in this present crisis. The Treasury Department has done more to dishonor and degrade it than all other causes combined. It has used the power of a great and beloved Government to discredit the money of its own people.

With all these adverse conditions the wonder is not that silver is depreciated in value, but that it has any value whatever. The fact that it passes current to-day throughout the land, that the people still accept, and that its slanderers and oppressors are paying a premium for it, is the greatest tribute ever paid to any circulating medium on earth.

Let me read the last justification of these serious and terrible charges that a conspiracy has existed from the statement of Mr. Carlisle himself, in his reply to a resolution of the Senate which is found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 19, page 246:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., August 17, 1893.

To the President of the Senate:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the following resolution, adopted by the Senate on the 16th instant, viz:

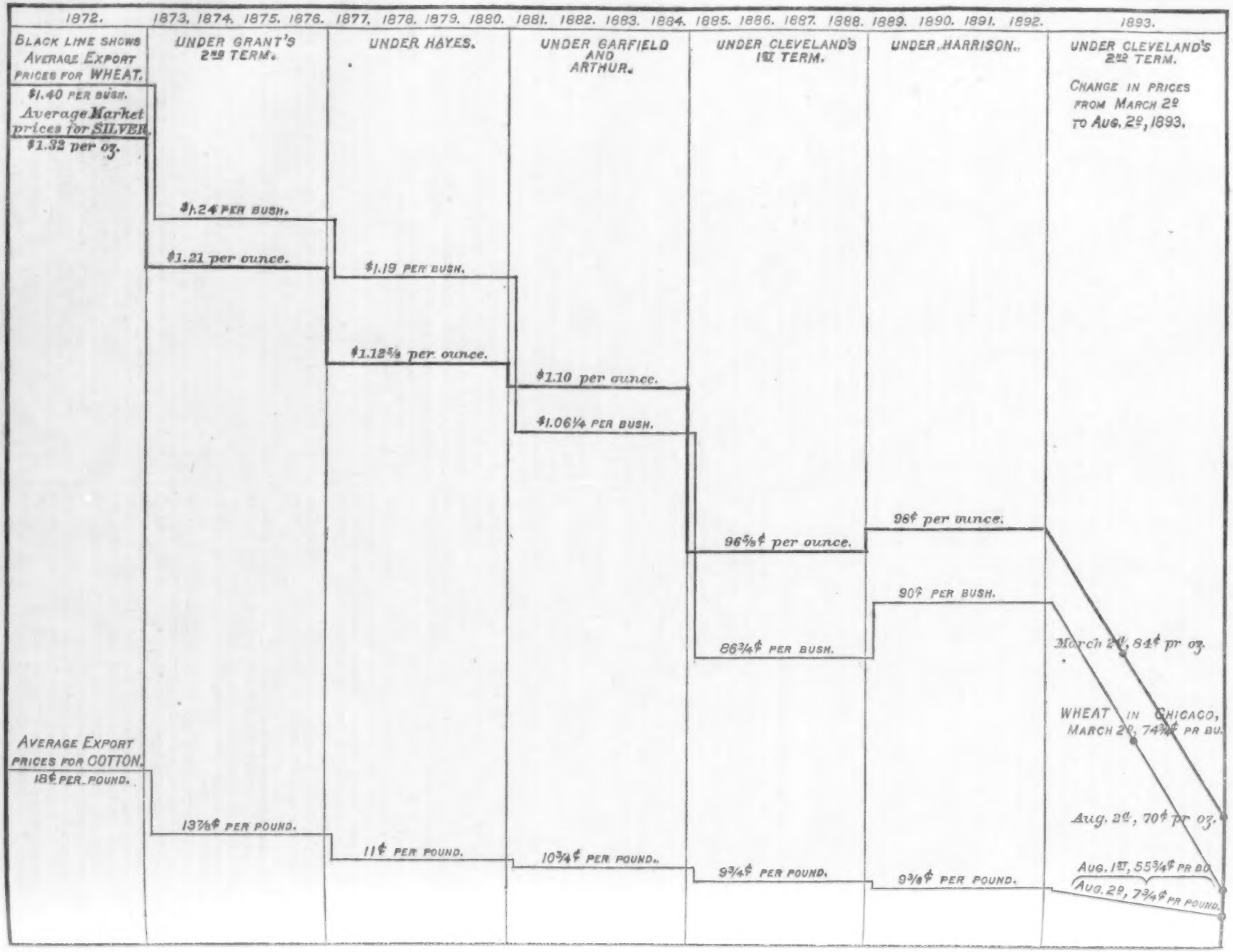
"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, directed to report to the Senate what amount, if any, of the Treasury notes issued under the act of July 14, 1890, commonly called the Sherman act, have been during the present month redeemed by the Government at the request of the holders thereof in silver dollars, and whether the holders of such notes were advised at the time of such redemption that they could have gold instead of silver, if they so desired.

"The Secretary of the Treasury is also directed to inform the Senate whether gold coin has been presented recently to the Treasury Department or any subtreasury and silver dollars asked in exchange therefor, and, if so, if such exchanges have been made, and whether the Department would or could exchange silver dollars for gold coin, if requested to do so by holders of gold."

In response thereto, I have the honor to say that during the present month Treasury notes issued under the act of July 14, 1890, amounting to $714,636, have been redeemed by the Government in silver dollars. While I do not pretend to have knowledge of the degree of information possessed by the holders of the notes so redeemed, I am of the opinion that they were fully advised at the time of such redemption that they could have gold instead of silver, if they so desired. I base this opinion upon the general publicity which has been given to the terms of the act, no less than upon the instructions of this Department to the Treasurer and assistant treasurers of the United States, which have been to the effect that such notes were redeemable in silver dollars at the option of the holders. I am also supported in my belief by the fact that in the circular of this Department, issued to the public for their guidance in their dealings with the Treasury, and containing the regulations which govern the issue, redemption, and exchange of the paper currency and the gold, silver, and minor coins of the United States, there is a paragraph which reads as follows:

"4. Gold coin is issued in redemption of United States notes, in sums not less than $50, by the assistant treasurers in New York and San Francisco, and in redemption of Treasury notes of 1890, in like sums, by the Treasurer and all the assistant treasurers."

In further response to the resolution, I have to say that recently gold coin has been presented to an office of this Department, and silver dollars asked in exchange therefor, and that the exchange was not made for the reason that all the silver dollars in the Treasury at that time were required under


1872.
1873. 1874. 1875. 1876. 1877. 1878. 1879. 1880. 1881. 1882. 1883. 1884. 1885. 1886. 1887. 1888. 1889. 1890. 1891. 1892.
1893.
BLACK LINE SHOWS AVERAGE EXPORT PRICES FOR WHEAT.
$1.40 PER BUSH.
Average Market prices for SILVER.
$1.32 per oz.
UNDER GRANT'S 2ND TERM.
UNDER HAYES.
UNDER GARFIELD AND ARTHUR.
UNDER CLEVELAND'S 1ST TERM.
UNDER HARRISON.
UNDER CLEVELAND'S 2ND TERM.
CHANGE IN PRICES FROM MARCH 2D TO AUG. 2D, 1893.
$1.24 PER BUSH.
$1.21 per ounce.
$1.19 PER BUSH.
$1.12⅝ per ounce.
$1.10 per ounce.
$1.06¼ PER BUSH.
98¢ per ounce.
96⅝¢ per ounce.
90¢ PER BUSH.
86¾¢ PER BUSH.
March 2d, 84¢ pr oz.
WHEAT IN CHICAGO, MARCH 2D, 74¾¢ PR BU.
AVERAGE EXPORT PRICES FOR COTTON.
18¢ PER POUND.
Aug. 2d, 70¢ pr oz.
13⅞¢ PER POUND.
11¢ PER POUND.
10¾¢ PER POUND.
9¾¢ PER POUND.
9⅜¢ PER POUND.
AUG. 1ST, 55¾¢ PR BU.
AUG. 2D, 7¾¢ PR POUND.

the provisions of the laws relating to the currency to be held in the Treasury to cover outstanding silver certificates and Treasury notes issued under the act of July 14, 1890. At present the Department would not and could not exchange silver dollars for gold coin if requested to do so by holders of gold, for the same reason; but if the condition of the funds of the Treasury were such as to afford a margin of the silver dollars in excess of silver certificates and Treasury notes outstanding, such exchanges would be made.

Respectfully, yours,

J. G. CARLISLE, *Secretary.*

Just think of it, the Government of the United States so poor that it has not got silver dollars enough to exchange for gold coin at any subtreasury in the United States, and yet this dollar is "debased and degraded," and called a "54-cent dollar." It is the most ridiculous position that any people ever occupied in the history of any country. Here are these New York bankers doing everything to beat it down and debase it for the last twenty years, and yet they have been paying a premium of from 3 to 7 per cent for these despised and debased silver dollars to keep them from going to protest week after week.

Coin the bullion in the Treasury. If the Wilson bill was changed now to a plain mandate on the Secretary of the Treasury to coin that bullion and treat silver with the same friendliness that you do gold, there would not be any question about the parity of the two metals.

But, no, my friends, not a single action will be taken by the present Secretary of the Treasury in the interest of silver. They intend to keep the ban of the Treasury Department on it until, driven almost to death, the people of the United States will rise in their wrath in such numbers as never before under political banners, until they clean out this House and the Senate of every man who is opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. [Applause.]

The Secretary of the Treasury, as we have seen, comes before Congress declaring that he has not got silver dollars to exchange even for gold, and when he was offered gold dollars for silver he could not permit his subordinates to make the exchange, because, he says, we have not got the authority to exchange silver dollars for gold coin. Then, let us give him the authority and issue more silver dollars at once.

But I will tell you what will put a stop to this thing quicker than anything else. Coin your silver bullion in the Treasury at this time, and let the Secretary of the Treasury, the moment he issues that order to the Mint, receive the seigniorage of $50,000,000 that would accrue to the Government of the United States by virtue of the coinage of the bullion. There would be $50,000,000 at once. It was pointed out in a letter of the ex-Secretary, Mr. Tracey, from New York, which was published widespread throughout the country a week or ten days ago, a bold, manly, incisive statement of a man just out of the late Cabinet, who knows what he is talking of:

The Administration has ample power to relieve the currency famine in forty-eight hours by exercising authority with which it is clothed by statute. The act of July 14, 1890, known as the Sherman act, directs the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion monthly, and in the third section provides that the Secretary of the Treasury shall each month coin 2,000,000 ounces of silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act into standard silver dollars, until the 1st day of July, 1891, and after that time he shall coin of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act as much as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes herein provided for, and any gain of seigniorage arising from said coinage shall be accounted for and paid into the Treasury.

The amount of bullion purchased, but not coined, under the above provision, prior to July, 1891, was about 30,000,000 ounces. At that date President Harrison's Administration suspended the coinage of silver dollars. The accumulated purchase of bullion since that date amounts to 110,000,000 ounces, making a total of 140,000,000 ounces of uncoined silver in the Treasury to-day. Against this silver Treasury notes have been issued to its bullion value, but no standard silver dollars have been coined with which to redeem them. The Secretary of the Treasury is therefore at liberty to direct that all or any portion of these 140,000,000 ounces be coined into silver dollars.

The profits of seigniorage for the coinage of this bullion would make upward of $50,000,000 if the whole amount was coined. The moment the Secretary of the Treasury decides to coin this bullion, and puts it at the Mint for that purpose, he can treat the gain of seigniorage thereon as already secured. The profit is so much additional cash in the Treasury. To coin the whole amount would, therefore, set free, not only for circulation, but for disbursements, $50,000,000 of the silver coin now held in the Treasury for the redemption of silver certificates issued against it from time to time, and would set it free immediately, for the coin so held would be replaced by the bullion in process of coinage at the mint.

The coin thus made available could be immediately deposited at national depositories, and being there deposited would at once enter upon the circulation of the country. The present falling off in the receipts of the Government indicate that unless the step is taken of increasing its resources by the profits to be derived from the coinage of the bullion now in the Treasury, it will be under the necessity of selling bonds if it would escape a deficiency of at least $50,000,000 at the close of the current fiscal year.

I am not attempting to indicate what the present Administration should do, or to express an opinion as to what it may be wise for it to do; I limit myself to suggesting what it may do if it chooses to exercise the powers vested by the statutes in the Secretary of the Treasury.

If the Secretary of the Treasury really desires to break the conspiracy against silver and relieve, to a great extent, the present money famine, let him comply strictly and honestly with the law of 1890 and execute all its provisions in a spirit of fairness and patriotism. I contend that the parity between the two metals has never been broken, in fact, the disparity is only in name, not in fact. Silver dollars pass current throughout the country as readily and in a thousandfold larger numbers than gold. They have the same purchasing power and the same legal-tender quality. It is as sound and honest a dollar as was ever issued by any country on earth, and our people demand that it shall be maintained.

As to the ratio that shall be adopted by this Congress, I shall vote for 16 to 1. If that fails I shall vote steadily for each succeeding amendment of the substitute offered by my colleague [Mr. BLAND]. I believe that the ratio of 16 to 1 is the fairest and surest of any other proposed, and can be maintained by this Government as perfectly as any departure from it. It is not an "experiment." It has been tried and never found wanting. Our people have grown accustomed to it, and demand it. I quote from a letter of recent date sent to me from Denver, and which I think most admirably and fairly states the position as to ratio, and the dangers and hardships of changing it:

If we change the present legal ratio of silver to gold, which is 16 to 1, and make that ratio more favorable to the purchasing power of British gold, how much more cotton and wheat would our cotton-growers and farmers have to give for 1 ounce of gold? Granted that we had free coinage of silver to-day at 16 to 1, 1 ounce of gold would buy 16 ounces of silver, or $20.67 worth of wheat or cotton.

At 17 to 1, 1 ounce of gold would buy 17 ounces of silver; and as England buys her wheat and cotton in silver-using countries, notably India, with silver, she is thus enabled to buy one-sixteenth more wheat and cotton with 1 ounce of gold; or, in other words, that $20.67 in gold buys one-sixteenth more of wheat and cotton.

At the ratio of 18 to 1, England buys two-sixteenths more wheat and cotton with 1 once of gold bullion or coin.

At 20 to 1 England buys four-sixteenths, or 25 per cent, more wheat and cotton in India and other silver-using countries with 1 ounce of gold bullion or coin. So that we must produce 25 per cent more wheat and cotton to get the same amount of gold. Although that standard ounce of gold is worth $20.67, the instant we change or lessen the purchasing power of silver that ounce of gold will buy one-sixteenth more of wheat and cotton for every one part you increase the ratio against silver in silver-using countries. At 20 to 1 England can take 1 ounce of gold and buy 20 ounces of silver. This ounce of gold, in the shape of 20 ounces of silver, taken to a silver-using country, such as India, will buy 4 more ounces of silver's worth of wheat or cotton.

Thus, you see, gold is appreciated in purchasing power 25 per cent, and so we must raise 25 per cent more wheat and cotton to compete for that ounce of gold. Tell this to the wheat and cotton growers. What will they say about ratio? The difference in the ratio of 16 to 1 and 20 to 1 enables England to produce her manufactured goods 25 per cent cheaper at 20 to 1, because her raw material costs her 25 per cent less in India and other silver-using countries, and she can feed her factory hands 25 per cent cheaper. Yet we legislate for England's benefit against the interests of our own producers and manufacturers.

Mr. Speaker, as my time is nearly up, I have one lesson to commend to this House. I would like the undivided attention of every Democrat. I may not know exactly what is the matter with the financial system of the country, because I admit I am not the best expert on finance in the world, by any means, and while I have studied this question for years very carefully, I do not pretend to know all about it. But I think I know the House of Representatives well enough to tell the men on this side of the House what we lack.

I can count upon the fingers of my two hands in this House of 356 members the names of those gentlemen who have served with me continuously through seven consecutive terms. By reason of my age and long experience in this House I think I have the right to say a kindly word to my Democratic brethren. I never have forsaken you in my life in any political struggle or in any legislation in which this side of the House was involved, and I am going to give you a lesson that comes in my judgment from a member of one of the grandest bodies of men on the American continent.

Of all the organized bodies of men on the earth to-day I believe that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers stands as high for magnificent character and courage as any men who ever lived—the coolest and the bravest of us all. It is composed of men on whose magnificent nerve and splendid courage and on whose devotion to duty rest the lives and the property of our people every hour of the day and of the night. There is no body of men to-day for whom I have a more profound admiration than I have for that body of men. Here is what one of them said, Mr. Speaker, in a great emergency:

At a recent convention of religious workers among railway men the chairman stated that the proceedings would terminate with prayer by two railway workers, a conductor and an engineer. The conductor led off in an earnest appeal for the Divine blessing, and was followed by the engineer, a man of strong convictions and great determination, and possessed of moral courage to an unusual degree. He is as earnest and active in serving the Lord as formerly he was in the service of Satan, and prayed with great fervency, after this manner:

"We are here, O Lord, to ask thy blessing on this work. The obstacles have been removed. The locomotive is on the track, the water is in the boiler, steam is up, but, O Lord, give us more sand; it is sand we want, sand in going up hill to keep us from slipping; sand in coming down hill to make us hold. What we want is more sand, O Lord!"

[Applause and laughter.]

What we want is more sand. O Lord, give it to the Democratic members of the House of Representatives. [Applause and laughter.] Give us sand enough, O Lord, to hold us on to the

Democratic platform and to our pledges to the people in 1892. [Applause.]

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, first I desire to thank my colleagues [Messrs. FITCH and COVERT] for their kindness in reserving ten minutes of their time for me.

Sir, I recognize the fact that the people of this country demand action and not talk. I had not intended to trespass upon the indulgence of the House until I heard the arraignment of the New York Democracy by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. STOCKDALE], night before last. Silence is no longer golden. The New York Democracy need no vindication. Their fealty to the party is proverbial. But the Southern Democracy need vindication before the people when they arraign the New York Democracy for their support of Grover Cleveland in this House.

Mr. Speaker, I represent a district in which there are very few banks—fewer, perhaps, than in any other Congressional district in the United States. I represent one of the centers of the teeming and toiling millions of New York. It has in some of its precincts what you find nowhere else on the face of the earth, a population at a ratio of a million to the square mile. No farmer in the land, however poor, lives in the squalor and the misery of some of these men. Over six thousand working men and women are crowded into one block. Some of them have raised the black flag—not the red flag—with the yellow flag in the offing at quarantine. It has been inscribed with the words, "Work or bread."

In standing here and speaking to this House I represent that cry for bread, for work. The only work these people can get is from the manufacturers and merchants of New York City, and they tell them they can not give them work until this purchasing clause of the Sherman law is repealed. President Cleveland, in consonance with the plain letter of the national Democratic platform, has asked for its repeal, and the New York Democracy unanimously sustains him in his request. This is the sole head and front of their offending. [Applause.]

But, sir, I return to the arraignment of the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi, born and reared in the Republican State of Pennsylvania, but representing a Mississippi district. Sir, the country is suffering in more senses than one. It seems to be suffering from a fearful surplus of statesmen and from a dearth of politicians. [Applause.] The gentleman from Mississippi went back to the Chicago convention in his assault upon the New York Democracy. I am loth to follow in his footsteps, but justice to the New York Democracy, in my opinion, demands it. He said that two-thirds of the votes from the South were given for the nomination of Grover Cleveland at Chicago. He might have made it four-fifths, and still have been within the limits of truth.

These votes were cast in the face of letters from Grover Cleveland defining unqualifiedly his attitude upon the propositions before the House. [Applause.] I will not quote them. You all recognize them. They were against free coinage.

You men of the South have ears to hear, and eyes to see. You have at least common-school educations. You understand Grover Cleveland's attitude. No man, friend or foe, has ever accused him of being untrue to his convictions. He is as firm here as the rock of Gibraltar. He abates not a jot or a tittle of them. Yet, sir, in the face of a repeated protest of the New York Democracy, over two-thirds of the Southern delegates to the Chicago convention forced Mr. Cleveland's nomination for the Presidency. Missouri voted solidly for him; Arkansas voted solidly for him, and other Southern States in due proportion.

A committee sent from the New York delegation tried in vain to obtain a hearing from the Arkansas delegation, and on that committee, sir, were two delegates who had voted for free silver in the Fifty-first Congress to preserve the South from the horrors of a force bill. [Applause.] Yet they failed to get the poor courtesy of a hearing.

Now, sir, the time for these gentlemen from the South to enter their protest was then, not to-day. [Great applause.] The time for you men from Missouri to say that you would desert the standard of the Democracy unless free coinage was accepted was then, not to-day. [Renewed applause.]

The New York Democracy, sir, bowed humbly to the will of that convention. They loyally accepted its candidate and its platform. They did more. I say to you men of the South here to-day, that it was their vote that gave you the plank for tariff for revenue only. [Applause.] They have never deserted the South in her hours of trial. They stood by her years ago even to the brink of rebellion, and they were among the first to extend the right hand of fellowship after the war. They stood by you in crucial moments in the Fifty-first Congress; but they will not stand by any man in a treasonable attitude toward the Democratic party. Common honor, let alone chivalry, requires that the South shall not desert them after placing them in the situation which they occupy to-day. [Applause.] We are supporting your candidate and your President honestly, loyally, and proudly. We merit praise, not denunciation. [Renewed applause.]

I will except one Southern State from the list, Mr. Speaker—the plucky little Commonwealth of South Carolina. Her delegates at Chicago, apparently awake to the realities of the situation, cast every vote but one against the nomination of Mr. Cleveland. They ought to bow to the will of the convention, as New York has done; but they, unlike the most of the Southern States, have at least the shadow of an excuse for their attitude to-day, if they desire to avail themselves of it. [Applause.] South Carolina in this House to-day occupies the same attitude. All but one of her representatives in this Congress refuse to accept the recommendation of the President's message.

But, sir, the New York Democracy obeyed the mandate of the Chicago convention. They went to the front in line of battle. They led a charge like that of MacDonald at Wagram. They pierced the enemy's center, and the Democrats of the West and South closed in upon the flanks and routed them. Sir, the New York Democracy to-day stands by the pledges that she made at Chicago. She accepted not only the nominee, but the platform, and——

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. BROOKSHIRE in the chair). The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BOATNER. I move that the time of the gentleman be extended.

Mr. CUMMINGS. They do not——

Mr. KYLE. I object to the extension of time.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, mark that a distinguished gentleman from Mississippi made this unprovoked attack on the New York Democracy, and a gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. KYLE] objects to any reply.

Mr. TURNER. How much time does the gentleman from New York desire?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Three minutes.

Mr. TURNER. Mr. Speaker, if I may be recognized I will yield to the gentleman the three minutes he desires. [Cries of "Good!" and applause.]

Mr. CUMMINGS. I heartily thank the gentleman from Georgia. Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to say that New York, in accepting the nominee, accepted the platform. She stands by its letter and its law. She finds no "glittering catchwords" in its construction. She stands by the nominee and platform loyally. What is the platform? Did it declare in favor of the repeal of the Sherman act, with free coinage at 16 to 1 or 17 to 1, or any other ratio? No, sir; a free coinage amendment was lost there by a decisive vote. Then, why is it that gentlemen here who advocate this qualification of the President's recommendation, under a threat of betrayal of the party, are to-day accusing New York Democrats of repudiating the platform?

Mr. BOATNER. Because you would not agree to give us free coinage at any ratio.

Mr. CUMMINGS. The National Democratic Convention refused you, and we humbly bow to the will of the convention. The convention almost unanimously refused to give you free coinage. You yourselves are the repudiators of the work of the convention, and not the New York Democracy. You yourselves are confessedly responsible for the selection of the President of the United States, and you yourselves, in view of his letters before the nomination, ought to have the manliness and the common honesty to stand by the Democracy of New York in carrying out his recommendations. We accepted your choice, and you ought to stand by it. [Loud applause.]

Mr. BOATNER. After you have got off the platform.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Are you on the platform, my friend?

Mr. BOATNER. I think I am.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Can you show where the platform declares for the free coinage of silver at any ratio at all?

Mr. BOATNER. No; because you are all against free coinage, and will not give us free coinage at any ratio.

Mr. CUMMINGS. We stand by the platform, but you are not willing to trust the President you selected in the face of the protest of the New York Democracy. We trust him. You do not. Is this honorable? Sir, I thank the Southern Democracy, who after reading the New York Democracy a lesson, are teaching themselves the lesson they are learning here to-day.

Mr. BOATNER. We will try to give you a better one next time. [Laughter.]

Mr. CUMMINGS. He is a poor doctor who refuses his own medicine. Take it like men. Stand by your party. Never desert your colors. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HATCH] had something to say about sand. Save your sand. You need more of it. Follow the example of the engineer, and pray for it. Don't get up here, as we have seen Southern Democrats do, day after day and night after night, coached by guerrillas from Colorado and Populist Jayhawkers from Kansas, arraigning and condemn-

ing the Democratic President of the United States for standing by the people on the platform of the national Democracy in convention assembled. [Loud applause.] Stand by the New York Democracy as the New York Democracy stands by your President and its President and our President, and the black financial cloud will soon roll away and the nation resume the road to prosperity.

Mr. TURNER. Mr. Speaker, it is quite apparent from remarks which have been delivered on this floor within the last hour that there exists within the Democratic party a serious difference of opinion upon currency questions. That difference of opinion has existed for the last twenty years, and yet during that long period the statesmen of the Democratic party, in view of their great responsibility to the country, have been able to mold these discordant elements into an invincible host, which has in eight out of the ten last elections carried the country, and in November last seized upon all the citadels of political power by an unprecedented majority.

I am one of those, Mr. Speaker, who hope that the genius which has been adequate to this great task may not forsake my party associates in the face of the great emergency which confronts us in this crisis. There is due from each member of this great organization towards every other the toleration which has hitherto characterized the deliberation of our great conventions. In 1892 there met in the city of Chicago delegates representing every shade of Democratic opinion. There was formed the committee on the platforms and resolutions, who undertook to make the treaty on which we should appeal to the country.

The delegate from New York sat side by side with the delegate who represented Colorado. The Democrat from Maine sat side by side with the Democrat who represented Nevada. All these extremes of opinions met together to arrange a common basis on which all Democrats could stand, and upon which Grover Cleveland could be elected President, and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] as well as the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER] could be elected to the Congress of the United States. Are we inadequate to the high trusts which have been reposed in us by the people of the United States under that platform?

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that an adjustment of this matter can be made which will enable the Democratic party to step up on a still higher plane and to add to the list of its triumphs an achievement unparalleled in the history of American politics. How is that to be done, sir? By the simple lesson of fidelity to our pledges, by keeping faith with the people who have elected us.

Our platform, Mr. Speaker, requires that we should regard the party to which we belong as having denounced the Sherman act as a "cowardly makeshift, fraught with perils to the country." Who is there, whether he stands on the one side or the other of this great question, who does not know that that scheme called the Sherman act was a device to tide over a popular election?

Who does not know that that act makes of silver a mere commodity and converts the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of the Mint into mere traffickers in transactions which might as well be conducted in corn or wheat or cotton so far as the conversion of the commodity into money is concerned?

And the redemption of the notes issued in payment for the silver purchased was imposed, under another clause of the act and under the practice of the Treasury, on the gold reserve.

I feel sure, sir, that there is no one who occupies a seat on this floor who does not know that that act has not only disappointed its friends but has fulfilled the predictions of its enemies. It is a "subtreasury" scheme. It ought to be stamped out without delay. It ought not to exist longer on our statute books. But, sir, I am constrained to believe that there are other provisions of the platform adopted at Chicago which require fulfillment on our part. Nobody contends that it requires the free coinage of silver on the ratio of 16 to 1, for at that time silver had been depreciated in the market, and its commercial value was only from 74 to 72 cents on the dollar as compared with gold.

That charter of the Democratic faith, on which we all went to our constituents, requires a dollar of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value with every other dollar. Nobody on this floor doubts that that provision was put into the platform in order to allay the fears of those members of the committee, of the convention, and of the Democratic party who thought that the existing ratio was not a sufficient basis on which to conduct the currency of the country. I believe that the special order now pending confines us within too narrow a range of ratios. I believe in a sound currency for laborers and farmers as well as for capitalists. I believe that these silver dollars should be made equal with every dollar in the country, and for that reason I shall vote for the highest ratio proposed in the amendments offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND].

But gentlemen say that that is impracticable, that it is absurd, that it leads to inconveniences and difficulties. Mr. Speaker, there is no way out of this situation which does not present great difficulties. Men can not affright us from doing our duty by the suggestion that this way or that way leads to inconvenience. The first question is, what is right, what is our duty? After that we will inquire what is practicable. Mr. Speaker, the mints of India to-day are coining silver at a ratio of 22 to 1, and is there any reason we, here in the United States, should not recognize the existing conditions and conform to the declarations with which we appealed to the country last year?

It would take time, it would take a great deal of silver to make this change, and the silver dollars would be large. These things are admitted. But after a somewhat careful study of this matter I beg to say that no country in the world ever undertook to recoin its silver as England did under William, or to recoin any of its currency, under conditions so favorable as those which exist to-day in the Treasury of the United States. Nearly all our silver dollars are in the Treasury; and they are represented by certificates which circulate from hand to hand.

What is there to prevent us from making a declaration by statute that each of these certificates shall represent a dollar of the requisite weight and shall, so fast as the business of the mints will permit, be redeemed in the larger and more valuable coin that we propose at this increased ratio? I am one of those who believe that such a declaration would make the present silver dollars and the certificates which represent them circulate side by side at complete parity with the new silver coins which would be authorized under this increase of ratio.

It is said that it will cost over $80,000,000. According to the arguments of my friends on the side of the single gold standard, that loss has already overtaken the Treasury. And we already have in our Treasury, according to the coinage value of the silver, somewhere about $50,000,000 of free bullion, which might be coined either into new dollars or added, by recoinage, to outstanding dollars. This would put silver into actual use and consumption, as it were, instead of storing it like cotton, as a menace to the market value of that metal. As to the inconvenient size of such new silver coins, neither gold nor silver coins at the present rate circulate from hand to hand. The people prefer the paper representatives of these coins, for the sake of convenience.

Mr. Speaker, we have assembled here under extraordinary conditions. The pecuniary stringency which has existed for years at the South now infests the North in even a worse form. There is not in all the world at this time a single prosperous community. The sun in his course looks not down upon a single prosperous city or state or nation. Every industry is prostrated. What are the causes which have led to this state of depression? In Chile it is attributed to the bad consequences of a disastrous civil conflict. In Buenos Ayres hard times are supposed to result from undue inflation under certain forms of credit. In Brazil hard times exist on account of the evil consequences of a hasty and ill-considered revolution, followed by extravagance.

In France the pressure of hard times is felt on account of the collapse of that great enterprise, the Panama Canal. In eastern Europe the hard pressure of adversity is felt, along with famine and pestilence. In England there is the vacuum caused by the extraordinary failure of the Baring Brothers. And when we reach our own shores conditions exist which every one admits indicate the greatest distress.

Mr. Speaker, no single one of these causes has brought about these conditions throughout the world and made hard times encompass all mankind like a new plague and pestilence.

It is because all the currents of financial woe, under the inscrutable law of panics, have united their forces, sweeping every shore and engulfing all the people. The mere repeal of the Sherman act, or, on the other hand, the free and unlimited coinage of silver at any ratio, will not, in my opinion, completely and at once obliterate these hard conditions. We can do our part towards the restoration of confidence; but I infer from my study of our situation there is necessary, on the part of the people, and on the part of the bankers, not only a great deal of patience, but a little patriotism. But I believe that the country will slowly emerge from this storm and enter on a new era of prosperity.

Mr. Speaker, I am one of those who believe that for every emergency the genius of our public men will in some way or other be competent. I have no epithets to-day for those who differ with me. I have no denunciations for those who devised this mischief. But, as a citizen, desiring not only the welfare of my party, and its unimpaired adequacy to the great tasks which lie before it, but as a citizen desiring the prosperity of our common country, I ask that we shall meet together in a spirit of concession and forbearance, and, like men, settle these difficulties as become us. [Applause.]

I regretted profoundly to hear my veteran friend from Missouri

[Mr. BLAND], who bears on his front the scars of many a hard campaign, say that in a certain contingency he would come to "the parting of the ways." I would welcome rather the declaration of my other friend from Missouri [Mr. HATCH], who proposes that the Democrats of this country as represented in Congress shall, if need be, meet apart and settle these differences which have existed within our ranks, so that we can not only relieve the country of its present pressure but go forward with a united front to relieve the people of the burdens of unjust taxation, so that it will take less of the unprotected products of this country, and in our scant currency, to buy the protected products whose cost enhanced by statute measures in these hard times the oppression of the poor. [Loud applause.]

Mr. COFFEEN. Mr. Speaker, it is with no great degree of assurance that I arise to address this body, and I should not have ventured at all, perhaps, if I had not observed the uniform courtesy and good humor with which all speakers are received.

And I can say of the gentlemen who have preceded me that some of them have brought to this question great and convincing arguments. Some have brought carefully prepared and elaborate statistics; some have brought wit and invective and anecdote; some have brought brilliant oratory.

I do not know that I shall be able to bring any of these things. I know I shall not be able to bring some of them.

Yet in behalf of an honorable, intelligent, and patriotic constituency in the State of Wyoming, which I have the honor to represent, I wish to talk with you plainly and yet earnestly on this, the greatest of all questions that concern the people of my State at this present time.

Our people, with their varied experiences and practical common sense, are not willing longer to be deceived by such catch words and phrases as "honest money," "sound money," "money of the world," and other boastful terms used constantly by those who favor the confiscation of the property of the debtors through schemes of demonetization and contraction; and they realize, as I do, also, that before this Congress are pending questions fraught with far-reaching consequences and involving no less than the freedom and prosperity of the workers throughout the nation.

The power that controls and establishes the money of a people controls the people themselves.

If we are suffering the agonies of monetary starvation the legislation that will provide a prompt and sufficient money for circulation and investment to add to the too scant and insufficient circulation now existing and acknowledged by all, will be the legislation that will redeem the people and revive their hopes, their industries, and their prosperity.

But a scarcity of debt-paying money can not be cured by taking away and destroying a large portion of the present supply.

We are not, therefore, Mr. Speaker, in favor of the bill of unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman act, as offered by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON].

This again would complete the demonetization of silver and cut off the supply of full legal-tender Treasury notes that now, even though an inadequate supply, is yet furnishing good money to the people at the rate of nearly $40,000,000 per year.

Even this scant supply of Treasury notes, with the silver purchased uncoined, is far better than an unconditional repeal that makes no provision whatever for supplying any kind of money to the people in their hour of need.

But on the other hand we are in favor of the substitute offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] which provides for the coinage of all the silver offered at our mints into safe, honest, and reliable dollars; not the highest and dearest dollars, for they are often and always too great in their purchasing power and force down prices and rob the debtors, but into safe and standard dollars of 412½ grains of standard silver.

The following is the full text of the free-coinage and repeal bill for which I shall cast my vote.

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act all holders of silver bullion to the amount of one hundred dollars or more, of standard weight and fineness, shall be entitled to have the same coined at the Mint of the United States into silver dollars of the weight and fineness provided for in the second section of this act.

SEC. 2. That the silver dollar provided for in this act shall consist of four hundred and twelve and one-half grains of standard silver; said dollars to be a legal tender for all debts, dues, and demands, both public and private.

SEC. 3. That the holder of the silver dollars herein provided for shall be entitled to deposit the same and to receive silver certificates in the manner now provided by law for the standard silver dollars.

SEC. 4. That so much of the act of July fourteenth, eighteen hundred and ninety, entitled, "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," as requires the monthly purchase of four million five hundred thousand ounces of silver bullion, be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

We must not misunderstand the issue nor the elements engaged in this conflict.

The measures before the House clearly bring before us the question of bimetallism or gold monometallism. I favor the use of both gold and silver freely coined into the standard money of our country, as before the enactment of that other Sherman law which in 1873 accomplished the unlooked-for demonetization of silver.

This present attack on silver is by the same forces practically—the gold power—that invaded our halls in the interest of money dealers before, in 1873, although now they come not stealthily as then.

The monarchies and monetary agencies of Europe, as well as their allies in Wall street, are now back of this effort here and trying to fasten upon our people the gold standard and force the prices of all products down still lower, impoverishing our industries and enslaving our people forever if they can do so.

THE TREACHERY OF GOLD.

It is truly said that silver has been the money of the common people in every age and country, and that gold is the money loved and hoarded by the rich.

But in this Republic, where there is to be no distinctions between the rich and the poor, we must have free coinage of both metals on equal terms, and thus have an American system and basis of money broad enough and sure enough within the reach of all. Gold is the money of kings and aristocracies; silver and the double standard is the money of republics.

Monometallism and the centralizing gold standard is the choice weapon of monarchies.

Bimetallism is the money basis of free countries and their protection against the tyrannies of shylocks and toll-gatherers.

And now, an attempt is made boldly in this House to fasten upon this, the greatest of all republics, a monarchial system of money—a centralized, narrow, and contracted money basis, through which a centralized plutocracy or a subtile sort of monarchical power, can manipulate and control the lives, the labors, and the destinies of a subjugated people.

If the famous Hazzard circular had not been sent into this country, as now verified by living testimony to have been done, still by other means it is not difficult to detect the European plutocratic idea of controlling labor, not by owning slaves bodily, as in chattel slavery, but by securing the fruitage of enslaved labor by control of prices and wages through financial measures.

THE HAZZARD CIRCULAR.

I ask to read a printed copy of the contents of that secret and confidential circular sent to bankers in this country in 1862 from Europe.

Slavery is likely to be abolished by the war power and chattel slavery destroyed. This, I and my European friends are in favor of, for slavery is but the owning of labor and carries with it the care of the laborer, while the European plan, led on by England, is capital control of labor, by controlling wages. This can be done by controlling the money. The great debt that capitalists will see to it is made out of the war, must be used as a measure to control the volume of money. To accomplish this, the bonds must be used as a banking basis. We are now waiting to get the Secretary of the Treasury to make this recommendation to Congress. It will not do to allow the "greenbacks," as it is called, to circulate as money any length of time, for we can not control them. But we can control the bonds, and through them the bank issue.

PLUTOCRACY AGAINST DEMOCRACY.

Be not deceived, gentlemen; the system of money, the gold standard which our opponents urge for the adoption of this Congress, is a monarchical system used in Europe to prop up the thrones and empires and aristocracies against the progressive spirit of the half-subdued democracies of those countries.

So I hold (and I believe I comprehend the situation) that this is another struggle between the plutocracies of the Old World and the democracies of the New. The crisis is imminent, the dangers involve not less than the overthrow of the essential elements of good government. The plutocracy is against the democracy. All America and the financial freedom of our people and of the republics of the world are involved in this present struggle.

They have, unfortunately for our cause, caught us at a disadvantage, as the gold power always seeks to do; chiefly in this, that our own Executive has not yet seen proper to declare for the people against the plutocracy on this question.

But shall we stop by the mount of human freedom wherein shall dwell the hopes of mankind and from whence shall descend the law of justice? And turning away from our onward march toward the industrial and financial emancipation of mankind shall we bow down before the golden calf with the descendents of those same ancient votaries who builded themselves false gods out of the gold stolen from the Egyptians, whom they had despoiled? And who here and now, true to their instincts, with strong and subtle alliances, hope to use this nation also in building their new Empire of Wealth, and by methods of diplomacy and monetary legislation gather in the wealth of the world by enthroning gold and making all other things to bow down before it.

Choose you this day whom you will serve.

If the single gold standard and the money of oppression and the petty idols mounted on this car of Juggernaut, pushed on over the hopes and lives of our own people, shall command your worship, then bow down, bow down.

But we believe there is a power and a virtue greater than your golden idols in the strength and intelligence and patriotic hearts of an unpurchasable people.

In regard to the treachery of gold compared to silver, I call attention to the very able characterization on this subject in the speech

of Senator John J. Ingalls on February 15, 1878, which I ask leave to insert in my remarks:

THE TREACHERY OF GOLD.

Senator Ingalls, of Kansas, in a speech in 1878 in the United States Senate, depicted it in graphic language, as follows (Congressional Record, Volume 28, page 1052):

The original American idea was a single standard of silver. Gold was an innovation, and, in my judgment, a grave mistake. * * * If we are to have a monometallic standard, I believe silver to be immeasurably preferable to gold. It is less subject to fluctuation; its production is more steady; its cost more uniform.

No enduring fabric of national prosperity can be builded on gold. Gold is the money of monarchs; kings covet it; the exchanges of nations are effected by it. Its tendency is to accumulate in vast masses in the commercial centers, and to move from kingdom to kingdom in such volumes as to unsettle values and disturb the finances of the world. It is the instrument of gamblers and speculators, and the idol of the miser and the thief. Being the object of so much adoration, it becomes haughty and sensitive and shrinks at the approach of danger, and whenever it is most needed it always disappears. At the slightest alarm it begins to look for a refuge. It flies from the nation at war to the nation at peace. War makes it a fugitive.

No people in a great emergency ever found a faithful ally in gold. It is the most cowardly and treacherous of all metals. It makes no treaty that it does not break. It has no friend whom it does not sooner or later betray. Armies and navies are not maintained by gold. In times of panic and calamity, shipwreck and disaster, it becomes the chief agent and minister of ruin. No nation ever fought a great war by the aid of gold. On the contrary, in the crisis of greater peril it becomes an enemy more potent than the foe in the field; but when the battle is won and peace has been secured gold reappears and claims the fruits of victory. In our own civil war it is doubtful if the gold of New York and London did not work us greater injury than the powder and lead and iron of the rebels. It was the most invincible enemy of the public credit. Gold paid no soldier or sailor. It refused the national obligation. It was worth most when our fortunes were lowest. Every defeat gave it increased value. It was in open alliance with our enemies the world over, and all its energies were evoked for our destruction. But, as usual when danger has been averted and the victory secured, gold swaggers to the front and asserts the supremacy. But silver is the money of the people. It is the money of wages and retail. Its tendency is toward diffusion and dissemination. It enters into the minute concerns of traffic and is exchanged day by day for daily bread. It penetrates the remotest channels of commerce, and its abundance, bulk, and small subdivision prevent its deportation in sufficient amount to disturb or unsettle values. If it retires at the approach of danger or from the presence of an inferior currency, it still remains at home ready to respond to the first summons for its return.

THE DEMOCRACY AGAINST THE PLUTOCRACY.

In the same speech in 1878 Senator Ingalls foresaw the coming alliance between the creditor classes of New England and the East with the gold power of Europe, and said with boldness:

It is the East against the West and South combined. It is the corn and wheat and beef and cotton of the country against its bonds and its gold; its productive industry against its accumulations. It is the men who own the public debt against those who are to pay it, if it is to be paid at all. If the bonds of this Government are ever paid, they will be paid by the labor of the country, and not by its capital. They are exempt from taxation and bear none of the burdens of society.

The alliance between the West and the South upon all matters affecting their material welfare hereafter is inevitable. Their interests are mutual and identical. With the removal of the causes of political dissension that have so long separated them, they must coalesce, and united they will be invincible. The valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri, with their tributaries, form an empire that must have a homogeneous population and a common destiny from the Yellowstone to the Gulf.

These great communities have been alienated by factions that have estranged them only to prey upon them and to maintain political supremacy by their separation. Unfriendly legislation has imposed intolerable burdens upon their energies; invidious discriminations have been made against their products; unjust tariffs have repressed their industries. While vast appropriations have been made to protect the harbors of the Atlantic and to erect beacons upon every headland to warn the mariner with silent admonition from the "merchant-marring rocks," the Mississippi was left choked with its drifting sands till the daring genius of Eads undertook the gigantic labor of compelling the great stream to dredge its own channel to the sea. The opening of this avenue of commerce marks the epoch of the emancipation of the West and South from their bondage to the capital of the East. In asking the passage of this bill they are asking less than they will ever ask again. When I reflect upon the burdens they have borne, the wrongs they have suffered, I am astonished at their moderation.

FUNDAMENTAL MONETARY PRINCIPLES.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I propose to point out some features of the question that are too often left obscure.

You can not use any piece of money for any other general purpose without first destroying its monetary quality. In other words, to use it as a commodity and manufacture it into anything valuable as an article of merchandise, it ceases to be money.

Money is not commodity or merchandise, and should not be so treated; except it might be regarded possibly as a form of stored commodity.

A gold eagle ceases to be money when it is manufactured into a finger ring or into other useful article.

A silver dollar ceases to be a dollar when it is useful as a spoon or a watch chain.

Again, the money of one nation ceases to be money when it is passed over to another without a special law legalizing the coin or money in that other country, which is rarely done.

The importing nation receives the coins of any other as commodity, not as money, and estimate their weight and quality, and hence their value within and for their own nation, as they would the weight and value of wheat, wool, coal, cotton, or any other commodity.

Gold and silver, then, let us understand, when monetized and coined, are in the form and force of money within the nation coining there only, and is entirely a matter of local concern within that nation alone, not for the market place as a commodity, but for use in the market and elsewhere as a measure of values of all other things and for the legal settlement of debt.

But gold and silver, let me state again, whether coined or not, when exported to any other nation at once cease to be money and at once become property to be bought and sold and valued in the money of the receiving nation as any other commodity.

Hence we affirm that there is no such thing, properly speaking, as money of the world.

No nation has power or authority to coin such money or to enforce it if it were attemped, and no nation has been so foolish as to attempt it.

The advocates of a gold standard who talk sonorously of the "money of the world" are liable therefore to deceive others if they be not themselves deceived by such a term.

PARITY.

Again, the word parity should not be used in reference to the value of things used for different and dissimilar purposes.

The parity between silver and gold used in legal-tender coins, that is, as money, is one thing.

The parity between them used as commodities is another and entirely different thing.

Hence, keeping this distinction clearly in mind when we are talking of the parity between silver and gold in relation to coinage, it must apply to their value as money, not property.

Now, I assert that the only way to secure the parity between the metals for use in legal-tender money is to coin them by law on a fixed ratio, and they can not be otherwise when so coined, than at a parity on that ratio. But by the use of these metals outside of money, that is, as commodity, they are subject to fluctuations as all other commodities, and variations in the demand may cause a variation in the ratio every twenty-four hours.

If, however, it is desired to secure a parity between the money metals as money, and at the same time as commodities, there is only one way possible in which it can be done, and that is by free and unlimited coinage at the mints.

This will do it, and this only, for this reason: There is a universal or boundless demand for money in any great nation like ours, and from this boundless demand the commodity value of silver must and will rise at once to its coinage value at the mints, saving only the trivial expense of transportation to the mints, if all the supply offered is freely coined at a fixed ratio of 16 to 1, as in this country, or 15½ to 1, as in Europe.

I trust I have made this sufficiently clear to all.

Free coinage of the two great and reliable money metals at a fixed ratio by law into legal-tender dollars at once brings silver up to the value of that dollar and all other legal-tender dollars without regard to the material of which they are composed.

This, let me repeat again, arises surely from the fact that while the *supply is limited* to the product of the mines, added to the unimportant item of uncoined silver bullion that may be offered, the *demand will be unlimited and universal* throughout the nation, as is always the demand for money if the mints are opened freely to coinage of silver.

THE SO-CALLED DECLINE OF SILVER.

All important fluctuations, therefore, in the bullion value of silver, measured in the terms of gold prices since 1873, the time of demonetization, have been caused by limitations on the use of silver for coinage at the mints.

I present extracts from evidence in the report of the Select Committee on the Depreciation of Silver, made to the British Parliament in 1876.

In the testimony before the committee given by Ernest Seyd, who was called as one of the most notable experts on the subject, I quote the following questions and answers:

By Mr. HUBBARD:

Q. The depreciation in the price of silver was an event which was acknowledged throughout the world and not peculiar to the United States?

A. Yes; it is an international matter, it is a question of international value.

Q. Has not silver fallen all over the world?

A. All over the world it has.

Q. Therefore it has fallen in the United States as well as in Germany, France, and England?

A. Quite so.

Q. Why, therefore, do you reproach the United States with wantonly debasing silver? Silver has fallen because it was more abundantly produced, and the demand for it was not equal to the improved supply.

A. That would raise the entire theory of the case, *which you are anxious to avoid*, i. e., what caused or who started the debasement of silver? The United States have contributed towards the fall in the price of silver; they were the first, at all events, who contributed officially to the fall in the price of silver. The Germans merely demonetized it, but the Americans deliberately adopted a lower price by their mint law. It is for that reason, I think, I am justified in saying they practically were the first to debase its value.

By Mr. FAWCETT:

Q. Using the word debased as applying to the conduct of the United States, although that word usually implies censure, when you say the Government has debased the coinage, you do not mean in this case in the slightest degree to censure the United States, do you?

A. I do mean to censure them.

Q. Why?

A. The question asked is, what was the object of the United States in making this change? There is a legitimate object and there is an object not legitimate, but that is a matter of opinion.

I consider that the United States did wrong in first lowering the price of silver by their mint law.

In the group of very able papers by Ernest Seyd, the French expert, placed before the British commission in their report on the deprecia-

tion of silver, he sums up with the following report, page 9 of appendix:

The true cause of the depreciation in the value of silver is its *demonetization by law* and *that only*.

England took the initiative in 1816, but as long as Germany maintained silver the equilibrium was maintained. Germany having followed England's course that equilibrium was lost.

An appeal to the natural laws of supply and demand as likely to settle this matter, or as tending to show that the depreciation must be due to an increased natural supply can not be made in this case; for it is the *demand* which, not by any natural cause, but by *deliberate legislation* has here been forcibly restricted to a very narrow limit. In all questions where the natural law of supply and demand are invoked, that of the demand is as important, if not not more so, than that of the supply. Under the force of legislation a matter under direct human control or intelligence, it is the case of the demand which here has precedence. If the demand had not been so influenced by an agency apart from the natural laws of supply and demand and the status quo hitherto existing had not been forcibly changed thereby, it follows—

Firstly. That there would be no surplus stock of silver to dispose of.

Secondly. That the fresh natural supplies of silver would be absorbed, as together with those of gold they have always been absorbed before.

Figuratively speaking if the abolition of the demand for silver for the purposes of legal tender money contributes 50 per cent of the decline in its value, the secondary causes, that of the surplus stocks, contributes another 25 per cent; and that of the fresh supplies yet 12½ per cent to such decline; but the two latter causes would have no *raison d'être* but for the first.

This represents, in my opinion, the true order of the causes of the depreciation of silver, in total independence of all matters of theory or practice involved in the general problem.

It is with a sort of irony of fate that the very man who was employed by the gold power to accomplish the demonetization of silver in America in 1873 should become so strong a witness against the crime of demonetization in 1876.

Restricted coinage and demonetization of silver have broken the old-time parity between gold and silver as articles of commerce.

But the parity between gold dollars and silver dollars in legal-tender coin is not broken, and can not be, for every legal-tender dollar is a dollar, and worth one hundred cents, whether gold or silver—always has been, always will be, while the authority of our Government endures.

NO SIXTY-FIVE CENT DOLLARS.

There are no 65-cent legal-tender dollars. The term is a misnomer and misleading, and I fear often used for the purpose of deceiving.

You can not buy legal-tender silver dollars of any of these gentlemen who seem to be so wroth against silver at 65 cents, nor 75 cents, nor 95 cents, nor any other price below 100 cents on the dollar.

They are even now, in the extreme scarcity of money in circulation, paying a premium, in certified checks on the strongest banks in New York, for silver dollars, that they may obtain what they try to make the people believe nobody wants.

Legal-tender silver dollars, then, as well as legal-tender gold dollars, are always at par and worth, as the law directs, 100 cents on the dollar.

But may not one kind or other of these metallic dollars be worth more than 100 cents on the dollar?

I answer without hesitation—as money, no; as commodity, yes; for the distinction between money value and commodity value must always be kept in mind to avoid confusion.

The value of legal-tender coins as money never goes above or below par. As commodity either one may go above par, but not below par under free coinage.

From this fact arises the statement, which is in part correct, that the dearer metal hides away or is exported, while the cheaper metal stays at home.

The cheaper metal stays at home solely because it is just as good, as sound, as valuable, for money as the other. The dearer metal is more liable to export simply because it is worth more as a commodity abroad than it is at home as money.

MAKE FOREIGNERS PAY THE PROFIT.

If gold is at a premium of 25 per cent it goes abroad because it brings 125 cents worth of property in exchange from the foreign countries for every 100 cents in gold money exported. Here is a profit of 25 per cent on gold exported. I have no objections. Let our people make all the profit they can out of foreign countries on gold or any other commodities.

What I object to is that the gold and bullion dealers seek to make that 25 per cent profit out of our own people multiplied by as many millions as their credits and the credit holders generally hold against us and at the same time making nothing out of the foreigner. They even divide with him the millions they make and gather from us in the operation. Indeed, the foreign money dealers are in the scheme.

By forcing up or appreciating all money in our country to the gold standard, which is their purpose, they have already increased the power of money, even by the admissions of some of their own advocates, 25 per cent, and will appreciate it 25 to 50 per cent more if they shall carry their policy through this Congress and fasten upon us the gold standard.

It is estimated that the creditors in Europe and America hold against our people in various forms of indebtedness $20,000,000,000.

The rise of 25 per cent in money is a sure and unfailing demand for $5,000,000,000 more of our property required to pay them than justly belongs to them. This is injustice, this is dishonest, this is robbery under the form of law, and I shall stand against them and plead with my people in and out of Congress to fight them by every means honorable and creditable to patriots, and when once aroused, as now seems the fair promise they shall be, our country shall never surrender to the unjust tributary demands of the European gold power.

We lift the warning voice and catch up the patriotic words of our fathers and answer them "Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute."

The operations and methods by which the money power seek to accomplish, and do too often accomplish their purposes of spoliation and financial robbery, are so subtle and unobserved in their workings that it is not easy for some people to understand. Yet I shall undertake to make one or two points plain and comprehensible.

The chiefest wrongs are not accomplished against the debtor classes by changing the terms or words of the contract, payble in so many dollars, but by changing the power of the contract and changing its effect by changing the standard. It is done by changing the value of money, appreciating the dollar of the contract or greatly increasing its purchasing power.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

If you owe me 1,000 bushels of wheat, payable next year, when the time comes around and you deliver me the wheat I am satisfied, or ought to be, and you are satisfied. I have what equitably belongs to me, and you have what equitably belongs to you, being that which is left after paying me. Perhaps you have another thousand bushels left. But, in the meantime, while the payment of the debt is pending, if I can prevail on Congress to change the standard of measurement, not the name but the power of the bushel, so that a bushel is twice as great, and will contain say 8 pecks instead of 4, as it was when you entered into the contract, is it not clear that when I call on you to deliver the 1,000 bushels of wheat with the measuring capacity appreciated and doubled I will get all your wheat? I will get the 1,000 bushels that belonged to me and the 1 000 bushels that belonged equitably to you, and yet the words "1,000 bushels" in the contract has not been changed. The bushel has been appreciated, its measuring power increased. I have robbed you under the form of law.

Do you think you would be soothed and quieted for the advocates of the appreciated bushel to come and tell you that the new bushel was a sound, safe bushel—the bushel demanded by commerce, the bushel recommended by the great boards of trade, the honest bushel, the bushel of the world?

Do you think I could keep you voting the same old ticket for Congress by telling you the purpose was to make the poor man's bushel of beans and the farmer's bushel of wheat twice as great as it was, so that when his crop was good it would be twice as good?

O, no; you would vote to turn out that set of Congressmen and that administration, and elect one that would preseve the standards of money and measure uniform, and protect the debtors against the robbers of the people.

ROBBERY UNDER FORM OF LAW.

Such is the money question. Such is the scheme to force upon our people the gold standard of payment.

Such is the demand of the gold power and such would be the effect to again demonetize silver, give up the fight for bimetallism and allow the most gigantic step to be taken for the appreciation of the dollar and doubling its power over property that the world has ever seen.

And if the longing hope of the oppressed peoples of all the earth shall behold the accomplishment of such a far-reaching and measureless iniquity in this the greatest parliament of man, it shall work a double iniquity, retard progress for half a century, and cause despair to settle down upon those who seek for liberty and light, and give boldness to those who hope to see free government perish from the face of the earth.

It is too great a calamity to believe possible.

APPRECIATION VS. DEPRECIATION.

As in payment of debts in bushels, so in payment of debts in dollars.

We are beginning to comprehend everywhere among my people this simple axiomatic principle or monetary law.

The appreciation of the dollar insures the depreciation in price of everything the dollar measures.

And since the dollar measures or values or prices all things produced or manufactured or owned by man, to show the bearings of this principle on the interests of all we say, in general terms, that the appreciation of the dollar is the depreciation of all property.

As the purchasing power of money goes up the purchasing power of property goes down.

And the converse of these propositions is also true, although the terms for expressing the converse are not so popular nor so frequently used. Let us not, however, run away from the truth—it is not courageous nor profitable.

The appreciation of property (the rise in prices) is the depreciation of the dollar. This is the unpopular part of it, to talk or even whisper in the presence of the gold advocates about the possibility of benefits to arise to all the holders of property, all labor and wages, all productive industries, by a depreciation of the dollar.

They fear even that the people, if they once realize the probability,

aye, the certainty of the facts that benefits can arise and will arise to the owners and producers of property by holding the dollar down or even bringing it down when it gets too high, then the people might insist, if the ratio is to be changed and gold kept at home for purpose of strengthening the metallic basis for our paper-money circulation, they might insist in taking a little of the commodity out of the gold dollar and making it thereby less valuable for export in relation to its monetary value, and at the same time cut off its too great and increasing purchasing power over wheat and cotton and manufactures and productions generally.

So they, in advocating the gold standard, do constantly rail against silver as *"cheap money," "dishonest money," "depreciated money," "sixty-five cent dollars,"* and so on.

I call attention here to the words of one of the great Senators from Illinois—Logan—regarding cheap money:

Senator John A. Logan, in his great speech of March 17, 1874, discussing the hard times and the panic of 1873, said:

But, sir, that the panic was not due to the character of the currency is proved by the history of the panic itself. * * * No, sir; the panic was not attributable to the character of the currency, but to a money famine, and to nothing else. In the very midst of the panic we saw the leading bankers and business men of New York pressing and urging the President and the Secretary of the Treasury to let loose twenty or twenty-five millions more of the same paper for their relief, the very same men who to-day denounce it as a disgrace to our Government. It was good enough for them when they were in trouble.

He also quotes approvingly from Hon. Isaac Buchanan, of Ontario, Canada, as follows:

It is seen that the question of money and the question of labor are one question, the solution of the one being the solution of the other, plentiful and therefore cheap money being a convertible term for plentiful and well-paid employment.

He then goes on to say:

Why is it that Representatives forget the interests of their own section and stand up here as the advocates of the gold-brokers and money-lenders and sharks, the same class of men whose tables Christ turned over and whom he lashed out of the temple of Jerusalem. * * * Carry out the theory of the contractionists and what must be the inevitable result? Every enterprise and industry must be dwarfed in like proportion.

Speaking of the progressive contraction of the currency then going on, Senator John Sherman, in 1869, said:

The contraction of the currency is a far more distressing thing than Senators suppose. Our own and other nations have gone through that process before. It is not possible to take that voyage without the sorest distress. To every person except a capitalist out of debt, or a salaried officer, or an annuitant, it is a period of loss, danger, lassitude of trade, fall of wages, suspension of enterprise, bankruptcy, and disaster. * * * To attempt this is to impose upon our people by arresting them in the midst of their lawful business, and applying a new standard of value to their property, without any deduction of their debts, or giving them any opportunity to compound with their creditors, or to distribute their losses, and would be an act of folly without example of evil in modern times.

We state this converse proposition again, not to flaunt it as a red rag before the bulls of Bashan and the bears of Wall street, but to assist in familiarizing the people and this Congress with an economic law that is not denied by any competent authority, but clearly set forth by the noted authors and monetary commissions expressly appointed to examine into such questions.

The appreciation of property (indicated by a general rise in prices) marks the depreciation of money—not the unsoundness of money, but the decrease of its purchasing power.

As prices go up, money comes down.

As property appreciates, money depreciates.

VALUE OF MONEY DEPENDS ON VOLUME.

Now we pass to the brief consideration of another economic law and one well understood and generally acknowledged by all competent authorities.

The value of monetary units, as, for instance, the dollar, in relation to prices is dependent not on the material of which they are composed, but on the volume or number in circulation.

To increase the volume of money in circulation diminishes the value or purchasing power of money, depreciates the dollar, if you please.

To diminish or lessen or contract the volume in circulation, on the other hand, increases the purchasing power or appreciates the dollar.

These principles are in perfect accord with what is frequently mentioned as the law of supply and demand.

Increase the supply of any commodity or decrease the demand and prices go lower. Decrease the supply or increase the demand and values go up.

Money is no exception to the rule.

Those whose business is to make the greatest profit possible out of money or credits on hand are interested on the side of scarcity of money and generally favor policies of contraction. To enforce the importance of keeping in view the volume of money in circulation, and above all things the avoidance of a shrinking and declining volume, let me read in your hearing extracts from the very able report of the silver commission, appointed in 1876, for the purpose of investigating questions in regard to the demonetization of silver. And I charge here and now that the advocates of unconditional repeal of the silver purchasing act of 1890 are either wittingly or unwittingly aiding the foreign and domestic extortioners to force again and for ever, if possible, a scheme of demonetization, contraction, and confiscation upon this country.

We read the first paragraph on page 10, and also a paragraph beginning at bottom of page 49, and then a short paragraph on page 38:

The philosophy of the double standard is that a rise in the value of money and a fall in general prices are the greatest evils which can befall the world, and its object is to prevent, as far as possible, the occurrence of these evils.

It takes no precautions against a fall in the value of money, because in the whole history of the human race not a single instance can be pointed out of a fall in the value of either or both of the metals which has not proved a benefaction to mankind; while, on the other hand, during every period and whenever a rise in the value of metallic money has occurred it has been attended by financial, industrial, political, and social disaster.

An increasing value of money and falling prices have been and are more fruitful of human misery than war, pestilence, or famine. They have wrought more injustice than all the bad laws ever enacted. Under the double standard these evils could never occur, except by a rise in the value of both metals, while under the single standard they might be caused by a rise in the value of one of them.

* * * * * *

At the Christian era the metallic money of the Roman Empire amounted to $1,800,000,000. By the end of the fifteenth century it had shrunk to less than $200,000,000. During this period a most extraordinary and baleful change took place in the condition of the world.

Population dwindled, and commerce, arts, wealth, and freedom all disappeared. The people were reduced by poverty and misery to the most degraded conditions of serfdom and slavery.

The disintegration of society was almost complete. The conditions of life were so hard, that individual selfishness was the only thing consistent with instinct of self-preservation.

All public spirit, all generous emotions, all the noble aspirations of man shriveled and disappeared as the value of money shrunk and as prices fell.

History records no such disastrous transaction as that from the Roman Empire to the dark ages.

* * * * * * *

In the whole history of the world every great and general fall of prices has been preceded by a decrease in the volume of money. There never has been a decrease in the volume of money, nor has there ever been a stationary volume of money, unless accompanied by a stationary population and commerce, which has not sooner or later resulted in a general fall of prices, and there has never been a recovery therefrom except through a preceding increase in the volume of money.

The findings of this commission are in general accord with evidences appearing in the reports of nearly all the monetary commissions, whether European or international. But the recommendations of creditor nations you may well expect will frequently be different, as their interests lie in the direction of gold appreciation.

FREE COINAGE THE REMEDY.

Then what must be the remedy for existing evils? What the cure for the scarcity of money and its attendant evils? What the relief from the sudden and general fall of prices which so clearly mark the rise of money.

The enemies of our welfare and commercial prosperity in Europe and the enemies of silver on the floor of this House tell us we must repeal the last fragment of law that looks toward a larger use of silver, stop the issue of between three and four millions of legal-tender Treasury notes—good, safe Government money—now furnished the people every month and lower our prices and bow our heads to the yoke of the gold standard and do it immediately by voting for an unconditional repeal.

They acknowledge that our country is crippled and our commercial and financial affairs panic stricken, but they propose to cure the crippled patient at once by cutting off another one of his arms, and taking the right foot that they have bruised and hobbled for many years and cut it off close to the hips, and then they say he will be sound and perfect and beautiful to behold.

We say let him stand sound and perfect on both feet—gold and silver—and have the right and proper help of both arms, greenbacks and silver certificates, and then he can run toward victory with great assurance in the race for commercial and industrial prosperity. We want no one-sided and one-legged monetary systems here in America.

And we will take no further prescriptions from European sources.

GOLD EXPORT.

Bimetallism best prepares us to maintain our independence among the commercial nations of the world.

If we have the broad and doubly sure foundation of both gold and silver as the basis and standard of our monetary system we are in a position then to meet all probable demands for export of either metal with ease and safety. We are doubly sure that we can maintain a coin basis for ultimate redemption of any reasonable amount of paper circulation. If there is a scramble for gold in the gold-using monarchies of Europe and they will give enough to satisfy our people in other commodities, they can have our gold, a hundred millions of it, or more, enough to double the central stock of England or the entire stock of Austria, and we are safe. We still have silver, which, under free coinage, will answer every purpose. But if we are on a gold standard we, too, must then enter into the general scramble which so appreciates gold again that our prices drop and our debtors are robbed of their property, even if we succeed in outbidding Europe for gold. If, as some argue, our gold will all leave us for a time, still we have a compensating supply of silver, and gold will be at once cheapened throughout Europe and the world and therefore return when specially needed.

RATIO.

I had intended to discuss the question of ratio, but time will not permit further than for me to say that Europe is now maintaining $1,500,000,000 in silver coin at a parity with gold on a ratio so low as 15½ of silver to 1 of gold. That overvalues silver nearly 100 per cent, yet gold men do not protest. Germany, that was pointed out by one of the advocates of a gold standard, the gentleman from Ohio

[Mr. Harter,] as a sort of Eldorado and model in the workings of her monetary system, maintains over a hundred million dollars in legal-tender silver at a ratio of only 15½ to 1, and over another hundred million dollars in silver-limited tender at a ratio of less than 14 to 1, and yet no one of these gold advocates has urged upon Germany the importance of changing her ratio to 28 to 1, nor have I heard them calling their European friends dishonest or base, or charge them with endeavoring to cheat their creditors or the poor of their lands by palming off $1,500,000,000 of cheap silver upon them at a ratio of 15½ of silver to 1 of gold. It seems that their only attack is on our own country.

Our legal-tender silver is already at a better ratio, that is, more favorable to gold than theirs, for we have coined at the ratio of 16 to 1 for over fifty years. Let us not then foolishly change our ratio. Let us in the matter of ratio take our opponents at their word for one time and await till Europe changes her ratio before we change ours, and crowd more silver into the dollars for the benefit of creditors and creditor nations than was in the old standard dollar promised them when the debts were made and bonds given. I will present in proof of my remarks the recent Treasury Department table of the monetary systems, ratios, and stocks of money in the leading countries of the world.

Monetary systems and approximate stocks of money in the aggregate and per capita in the principal countries of the world.

Countries.	Monetary system.	Ratio between gold and full legal-tender silver.	Ratio between gold and limited tender silver.	Population.	Stock of gold.	Stock of silver.			Uncovered paper.	Per capita.			
						Full tender.	Limited tender.	Total.		Gold.	Silver.	Paper.	Total.
United States	Gold and silver.	1 to 15.98	1 to 14.95	67,000,000	$604,000,000	$538,000,000	$77,000,000	$615,000,000	$412,000,000	$9.01	$9.18	$6.15	$24.34
United Kingdom	Gold.	.....	1 to 14.28	38,000,000	550,000,000	.....	100,00,0000	100,000,000	50,000,000	14.17	2.63	1.32	18.42
France	Gold and silver.	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	39,000,000	800,000,000	650,000,000	50,000,000	700,000,000	81,402,000	20.52	17.95	2.09	40.56
Germany	Gold.	.....	1 to 13.957	49,500,000	600,000,000	103,000,000	108,000,000	211,000,000	107,000,000	12.12	4.26	2.16	18.54
Belgium	Gold and silver.	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	6,100,000	65,000,000	48,400,000	6,600,000	55,000,000	54,000,000	10.66	9.02	8.85	25.53
Italy	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	31,000,000	93,605,000	16,000,000	34,200,000	50,200,000	163,471,000	3.01	1.62	5.27	9.91
Switzerland	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	3,000,000	15,000,000	11,400,000	3,600,000	15,000,000	14,000,000	5.00	5.00	4.67	14.67
Greece	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	2,200,000	2,000,000	1,800,000	2,200,000	4,000,000	14,000,000	.91	1.82	6.36	9.09
Spain	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	18,000,000	40,000,000	120,000,000	38,000,000	158,000,000	100,000,000	2.22	8.78	5.56	16.56
Portugal	Gold.	.....	1 to 14.08	5,000,000	40,000,000	.....	10,000,000	10,000,000	45,000,000	8.00	2.00	9.00	19.00
Austria-Hungary	....do	.....	1 to 13.69	40,000,000	40,000,000	90,000,000	.....	90,000,000	260,000,000	1.00	2.25	6.50	9.75
Netherlands	Gold and silver.	1 to 15½	1 to 15	4,500,000	25,000,000	61,800,000	3,200,000	65,000,000	40,000,000	5.65	14.42	8.89	28.88
Scandinavian Union	Gold.	.....	1 to 14.88	8,600,000	32,000,000	.....	10,000,000	10,000,000	27,000,000	3.72	1.16	3.14	8.02
Russia	Silver.	1 to 15½	1 to 15	113,000,000	250,000,000	22,000,000	38,000,000	60,000,000	500,000,000	2.21	.53	4.42	7.16
Turkey	Gold and silver.	.....	1 to 15.1	33,000,000	50,000,000	.....	45,000,000	45,000,000	.....	1.52	1.36	.....	2.88
Australia	Gold.	.....	1 to 14.28	4,000,000	100,000,000	.....	7,000,000	7,000,000	.....	25.00	1.75	.....	26.75
Egypt	....do	.....	1 to 15.68	7,000,000	100,000,000	.....	15,000,000	15,000,000	.....	14.29	2.14	.....	16.43
Mexico	Silver.	1 to 16½	.....	11,600,000	5,000,000	50,000,000	.....	50,000,000	2,000,000	.43	4.31	.17	4.91
Central America	....do	1 to 15½	.....	3,000,000	.....	500,000	.....	500,000	2,000,000	.....	.17	.67	.84
South America	....do	1 to 15½	.....	35,000,000	45,000,000	25,000,000	.....	25,000,000	600,000,000	1.29	.71	17.14	19.14
Japan	Gold and silver.	1 to 16.18	.....	40,000,000	90,000,000	50,000,000	.....	50,000,000	56,000,000	2.25	1.25	1.40	4.90
India	Silver.	1 to 15	.....	255,000,000	.....	900,000,000	.....	900,000,000	28,000,000	.....	3.53	.11	3.64
China	....do	.....	.....	400,000,000	.....	700,000,000	.....	700,000,000	.....	.....	1.75	.....	1.75
The Straits	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100,000,000	.....	100,000,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Canada	Gold.	.....	1 to 14.95	4,500,000	16,000,000	.....	5,000,000	5,000,000	40,000,000	3.56	1.11	8.89	13.56
Cuba, Haiti, etc.	....do	1 to 15½	.....	3,000,000	20,000,000	1,200,000	800,000	2,000,000	40,000,000	10.00	1.00	20.00	31.00
Total	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,582,605,000	3,489,100,000	553,600,000	4,042,700,000	2,635,873,000	.....	.....	.....	.....

From this table (the most recent official table published) we can at a glance see—

1. That there is more silver money in the world than there is gold.
2. That the gold standard countries are all in Western Europe or in provinces subject to the rule of England, except West Indies.
3. That they are all under monarchical form of government.
4. That France, whose government is Republican and whose people seem always prosperous, has more silver money of full legal-tender quality than there is of gold in either England or Germany, the leading gold standard countries, and at the same time has more gold also than either of them and a larger per capita circulation of either gold or silver than either of them, and more than double the per capita circulation counting paper money as well.
5. That there is over $1,500,000,000 in silver in circulation at a ratio of less than 16 to 1 (that is 15½ to 1) in Europe and indeed nearly all the silver in the world is coined on a smaller ratio (that is, a higher valuation for silver) than our old standard ratio of 16 of silver to 1 of gold.
6. To change our ratio, therefore, to anything above 16 to 1 would be to depreciate silver by mint law lower than any other nation of importance in the world.
7. To again demonetize silver would be to furnish England with cheap silver to trade with silver countries and deprive our own people of their best money.
8. To remonetize silver with free coinage would at once give us the trade advantages with all silver-using countries, embracing over 800,000,000 people, or two-thirds of the trading people of the world.

APPRECIATION OF GOLD.

As to there being serious fluctuations in the market between gold and silver bullion and a great fall in silver and all other property when measured in the highly appreciated gold prices, the facts accord with what bimetallists have taught for years and still teach.

Doubling the demand for gold, that ensues by requiring it alone to serve as money of ultimate redemption and take on the additional use of filling the place of demonetized silver, while yet doing duty also in its own place as a money metal, *must appreciate gold.* On the other hand, cutting off the demand for silver by demonetization or restricted coinage would tend to lower the bullion price of silver. Hence the rise of gold, the fall of silver and the variation of ratio price between them as commodities is thus brought about. If all the conditions were reversed no one need doubt that silver would rise and gold would go down, and the variation would probably be even greater, for silver has always been more stable and constant in relation to property values than gold. Free coinage of both metals on the old ratios will cure all these evils and keep them substantially free from fluctuations.

SILVER THE RELIABLE STANDARD.

To prove beyond serious question that silver is the more reliable measure of values, and that, measured in gold prices, all other prices on staple products have fallen with silver, keeping almost constant ratio to silver prices, we introduce the following tables giving in parallel columns the American computation on prices and the foreign, prepared by Mr. Sauerbeck, and covering a range of forty-five leading articles of commerce which he also compares with silver.

This proves beyond all doubt that gold has appreciated while silver, measured in the prices of commodities, which is the only scientific method of testing the question, has kept a substantially uniform value with all other leading commodities.

We conclude, therefore, that silver and not gold is the world's truest measure of the world's values and moving commodities.

Year.	American computation, price of—			European computation—Mr. Sauerbeck's index numbers.	
	Silver.	Wheat.	Cotton.	Index number of 45 principal commodities.	Index number of silver.
1872	1.32	1.47	19.3	.....	99.2
1873	1.29	1.31	18.8	.....	97.4
1874	1.27	1.43	15.4	102	95.8
1875	1.24	1.12	15.0	96	93.3
1876	1.15	1.24	12.9	95	86.7
1877	1.20	1.17	11.8	94	90.2
1878	1.15	1.34	11.1	87	86.4
1879	1.12	1.07	9.9	83	84.2
1880	1.14	1.25	11.5	88	85.9
1881	1.13	1.11	11.4	85	85.0
1882	1.13	1.19	11.4	84	84.9
1883	1.11	1.13	10.8	82	83.1
1884	1.01	1.07	10.5	76	83.3
1885	1.06	.86	10.6	72	79.9
1886	.99	.87	9.9	69	74.6
1887	.97	.89	9.5	68	73.3
1888	.93	.85	9.8	70	70.4
1889	.93	.90	9.9	72	70.2
1890	1.04	.83	10.1	72	78.4
1891	.90	.85	10.0	72	74.1
1892	.86	.80	8.7	68	65.4
1893	.75	.68	7.2	.....	.....

Sir William Houldsworth, deriving his information chiefly from the United States mint authorities, has recently stated in the discussion at the Manchester Chamber of Commerce that from 1687 to 1873, the year of silver demonetization, a period of nearly two hundred years, there was only a variation of 1.8 in the ratio between silver and gold, while in the next nineteen years, under the period of demonetization, 1873 to 1892, there was a variation of 8.1 in the ratio.

ACTION OF COUNCIL OF INDIA.

Now, since the demonetization or limited coinage act forced upon helpless India by England, through the Indian council, we have another violent fall in silver; another violent fall in prices of all other staples, or in other terms, a still further appreciation of gold, and a still further variation in the commercial ratio, and a financial panic and a period of enforced liquidation, as it is mildly termed throughout the civilized world. What can you call a period of liquidation in times of panic but a period of giving up and transferring the property of debtors to creditors at a ruinous sacrifice to the debtors and an enormous gain to the creditors?

While on this subject of the recent action of the British India council in closing her mints and precipitating such great losses upon her subject peoples, how, I wish to ask you, do they excuse themselves for it? Do you not know that their excuse was that they feared the United States might do so also and complete the demonetization of silver by unconditionally repealing the Sherman law? And now you seek to do that similar act in this country, to strike down silver again, and excuse yourselves to your constituency by pointing to what the council of India have done. Does not this look like conspiracy with England? Do you not, gentlemen of the gold standard, fear that you may yet have to meet the scorn and ridicule of your constituency? Why, sir, the very tramps your panic-breeding processes have forced from the paths of happy industries into the public streets and highways, when they once comprehend the legislative sources of their misery and degradation, are liable to turn away from you and your flimsy excuses, and thank God they are not yet so low as to have purposely brought ruin and starvation upon their fellow men.

But I hope yet, in the midst of all discouragements, to see this country rescued from the intolerable grasp of the great conspiracy.

The songs and salvos of my fellow countrymen redeemed—even though sung and sounded above my grave—shall be sweeter to me than any division of spoils that your proposed empire of wealth can give.

BIMETALLISM THE ONLY SAFE BASIS.

On the necessity of bimetallism as the only safe basis of maintaining a proper superstructure of paper currency, I ask leave to insert my remarks on this subject before the World's Fair Congress of Bankers and Financiers in Chicago last June.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN: As representative of the State of Wyoming in this world's congress of bankers and financiers, I can bring to you but little of interest regarding the special features of banking in our State.

Wyoming is the youngest of the States, and has accepted nearly all of its features in banking from the older States.

Regarding its resources, much might be said, as they are prospectively very great. In iron, soda, petroleum, and coal our resources are marvellous. In precious metals we are midway between the more largely developed mines of Colorado and Montana, and no one is daring enough to deny but that the resources of Wyoming, when extensively prospected and developed, may be found to contain the same mineral wealth that enriches our bordering States.

But a more interesting and vital question to the people of Wyoming is this:

If money of intrinsic value qualities is to be the money of ultimate redemption, if the specie basis of paper money is to be maintained in the future as in the past by the great banking interests of the world, then shall we strengthen or weaken that base, shall we broaden or contract the metallic foundations of the currency of civilization? Shall we eliminate and demonetize one-half of the metallic and specie basis of paper money and then expect the people of our State and country to have the same confidence in the integrity of our national finances as they could if the old standard foundations were maintained?

It is all very well to cry out to the people, "Have more confidence," but if at the same time you seek to take away from them the half, and more abundant and sure half, of their specie basis and intrinsic value foundations of money, how can you expect them to maintain confidence in you or the monetary system you advocate?

Confidence in any system of financial legislation among a free people must have an intelligent basis. The principles of finance must be clear and well grounded in the convictions of the people, and the people of Wyoming are no exception to the rule.

We know in Wyoming that the appreciation of a dollar, our national monetary unit, is the depreciation of every species of our products and property, excepting that little item of gold.

We do not have to guess at this, for money measures the price of all things else, and to appreciate the standand of measure must necessarily depreciate all that is measured.

If you lengthen the yardstick you shorten the number of yards in any piece of cloth measured by it.

Again, to discuss the appreciation and depreciation of gold and silver, he is not yet qualified to discuss the question before such an intelligent body as this who ignores the element of demand and only considers the element of supply.

To demoralize silver and cut off all demand for it as a money metal is at once to seriously derange and lower the price, and then to turn around with the argument that the low price of silver as a commodity, with its chiefest demand cut off, is a reason for cutting off its use, a reason for perpetuating its demonetization, is a folly that would not be indulged in any body of American citizens where self-interest is subjected to reason and fairness.

Again, that European countries have discarded the use of silver in part is no reason why the American Government should do so any more than that a creditor should seek to bind a debtor to a more extensive form of payment is a reason that the debtor should clamor for the same thing.

The true and just relation between creditor and debtor is maintained by keeping a uniform volume, and, therefore, a uniform value of currency in circulation.

Whoever seeks to interfere with this is either ignorant or intentionally seeking to interfere with the equities of the contracts of the world, and, therefore, substituting injustice for justice.

How can this body, then, favor striking down half the money metal of the world, which necessitates, to be consistent, cutting down also one-half the superstructure of paper money resting thereon. And to shorten the money supply of the world one-half if to force an injury upon the industrial interests that is greater than any other calamity that can befall civilization.

To accomplish this by slow gradations may induce mankind to submit to it with less danger of successful resistance, but the aggregate of injustice is the same in the end. But to speak more particularly to Americans and of America.

As a national policy, when we find our resources in silver mining very great, how foolish indeed it must seem for us to enter upon a policy of cutting off silver as a money metal.

In ancient days great armies have been collected and wars carried on to obtain possession and control of mines of the precious metals. And behold here in our country a crusade organized for the exact opposite, a crusade to destroy the value of our own mines. This crusade would not be so dangerous to the American people if it did not interfere with the supply of good legal-tender money, and, therefore, depress prices, discourage industries, and destroy the hopes of prosperity among the people.

The bankers of our country should be slow to place themselves in opposition to the general welfare.

Every great institution in the world's history that has allowed its self-interests to carry it forward in direct antagonism with the prosperity and wellbeing of society, has ultimately been overthrown, and it is one of the necessities of mankind's existence that it should be so.

The people must live, and justice must live, too. I warn you, therefore, not only from the standpoint of equity and patriotism, but also from the standpoint of ultimate maintenance of your own self-interest, that you do not too far press the fight against either of the old standard and reliable money metals of the world.

There is an awakening of the people throughout the civilized world to the necessities of a broader basis and fuller volume of legal tender money with which mankind can carry forward the work and obligations of this enlightened age, and feed and clothe itself with both the material and spiritual comforts requisite to its highest existence. Let us not plant ourselves in the way of the world's progress. Let us, on the other hand, show ourselves, too, in the great march of civilization, worthy of both confidence and honor for the bold stand we take for absolute equity between the world's workers and the world's money dealers.

Mr. TRACEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the session this evening be extended until half-past 5 o'clock. It s done by agreement between the two sides.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. BROOKSHIRE in the chair). The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that the session be extended until half-past 5 o'clock this evening. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, with all proper respect for the opinions of some distinguished Republican leaders in the House and in the Senate, I coincide with my friend from Iowa [Gen. HEPBURN] who so eloquently addressed the House on yesterday, in the belief that the safest position for Republicans to occupy, in this emergency, is to stand on the Republican platform; and I wish to place on record, as briefly as I can, my reasons for this view and the vote I shall give when the voting is reached.

Some of us on this side of the House desired to introduce a bill, or an amendment to the pending bill, looking to the settlement of this question on some middle ground, but we are deprived of the opportunity of offering such a bill, or such an amendment, or any amendment whatever, by the special order under which the subject is being considered, dictated by the Democratic caucus and adopted by the Democratic majority of this House. In other words, the imperial Democracy has commanded us to "eat what is set before us, asking no questions for conscience' sake"—not for its conscience' sake, however, for it has already crucified its conscience on its own platform, and is now holding power under false pretenses. [Applause on the Republican side.]

If the bill introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia, providing for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, passes Congress without amendment and is approved by the President, and no legislation follows, I understand that, so far as this Congress is concerned, excepting that which is already coined, which, of course, will not be disturbed, silver will be destroyed as a money metal of the future, and that the unit of value will hereafter be attached to gold. It is true that we are assured that silver is not to be "discredited," and that further legislation is to follow.

If the destruction of silver was not intended, why did not you embody in this repeal bill some provision for its liberal use as money in the future? What reliance can be placed in promises now made by a party whose leaders regard the declarations of the platform on which they were elected as glittering "catchwords of politics?" And this is the remedial legislation insisted upon by the unconditional-repeal advocates, in the interest of a restoration of confidence and a return to better times.

With my friend from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER] and my friend from Iowa [Gen. HEPBURN], I do not believe that all our ills are traceable to the operation of the Sherman law, for we know that under it, for two years prior to November last, the country prospered as it had never prospered before. Commerce and manufactures marched hand in hand with the thrift and prosperity of the mechanic arts. Labor reaped its reward and the country was happy in the possession of peace and plenty.

To show that this is not a false picture and that another question has played some part in bringing about the crisis which is upon us, I desire to read some Democratic authorities. The first is an admission from the New York Sun, and reads as follows:

Last year, in a season of general prosperity such as never blessed a nation living in the light of civilization, the prevailing industrial system was condemned with an almost revolutionary show of disapproval. All visible facts argued for a popular verdict directly opposite to that deliberately recorded by the immense majority.

The next is from the New York World, and is as follows:

Until the financial question is settled, and in the present condition of business, there must be no tariff agitation. It is vitally important that no new issue should be raised that will increase the apprehension already felt.

The third is from the New York Evening Post, and reads as follows:

We are willing, in the first place, to admit that anticipation of tariff changes may have had its influence in inducing caution among manufacturers. Expectation of such legislation, whether slight or radical, must in a measure operate thus.

Whatever may be the action of Congress in this matter, for one I do not believe that a full and substantial restoration of confidence and return to permanent prosperity can take place until it is known, with certainty, throughout the length and breadth of the land that our industrial system is to be let alone and not disturbed by hostile legislation.

Notwithstanding there is every reason existing for the expansion instead of the contraction of the currency—for we know that as the business and population of a country increase, its volume of currency should be increased in like proportion—it is now proposed to contract the currency by abolishing silver and adopting the single gold standard, thereby making money still dearer, the wages of labor still lower, and the price of every species of property still cheaper, and the ability to pay debts absolutely out of the question.

Mr. Speaker, I am unalterably opposed to the remedy offered by the gentleman from West Virginia. It means the demonetization of silver. I will never vote to demonetize silver. It means the establishment of the single standard. I will never vote to make gold the sole unit of value.

Such a policy, in my judgment, would not only contract the currency, would not only leave the volume of money insufficient to meet the demands of commerce and trade, thereby paralyzing enterprise and crushing the millions who are in debt, but it would annihilate one of the greatest American industries and reduce to starvation rates the wages of labor everywhere.

Mr. Hamilton, who will never be questioned as an authority in this country, in his report in 1791 on the establishment of a mint, declared that:

To annul the use of either gold or silver as money is to abridge the quantity of the circulating medium, and is liable to all the objections which arise from a comparison of the benefits of a full circulation with the evils of a scanty circulation.

Arguing in the same report in favor of a double standard, Hamilton drew his conclusions as follows:

On the whole it seems most advisable not to attach the unit exclusively to either of the metals, because this can not be done effectually without destroying the office and character of one of them as money, and reducing it to the situation of mere merchandise.

He who was nearest the heart of the American people has spoken on this subject.

The weighty words of James G. Blaine are as pertinent to-day as they were the day they were uttered on the floor of the Senate, February 7, 1878. Advocating a bimetallic standard with all the strength and vigor of his great mind, he said:

I believe the struggle now going on in this country, and in other countries, for a single gold standard, would, if successful, produce disaster in the end throughout the commercial world.

The destruction of silver as money and the establishment of gold as the sole unit of value, must have a ruinous effect on all forms of property except those investments which yield a fixed return in money. These would be enormously enhanced in value, and would gain a disproportionate, and therefore unfair advantage over every other species of property.

In the same great speech Mr. Blaine declared that—

It is impossible to strike silver out of existence as money without results which—

would—

prove distressing to millions, and utterly disastrous to tens of thousands.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the double standard of gold and silver ought to be maintained, because the striking down of silver, as Mr. Blaine has argued, would enormously enhance the value of gold and destroy a world of wealth in our own country. Gold is already enhanced beyond the reach of business and labor—the bulk of it is hid away in vaults—it is the natural inclination of those who have it to hoard it; besides, its volume is not great enough to make it the sole basis of our circulation: there is not a sufficient amount of it in existence, if it were all coined into money, to meet the demands of the commercial world. Above all other people I think the American people can least afford to join in the effort to rob silver of its equality with gold as a money metal—for America produces at least one-third of the world's supply of silver.

If we have millions of bushels of wheat and millions of pounds of cotton, let us thank God for the rich fields that produced them; if we have millions of bushels of corn and millions of bushels of oats and rye and barley, let us rejoice that we live in a land that yields such abundant harvests; if we have gold mines—let us coin the shining metal to increase our national prosperity and happiness—and if streams of silver flow from inexhaustible fountains in the mountains of America, let us coin it, too, and be thankful that we can supply the world with the silver half of the double standard. [Applause.]

Why should we enact law that will impoverish the farmer and stop his plow because he raises more grain than we can use? Why should we enact law that will shut down the furnaces and factories of America because they produce more goods than we can consume? Why should we enact law that will close our silver mines and at a single blow bring poverty to the doors of thousands of our people who but yesterday were contented and happy, and leave them without bread to eat, because we have more silver in America than is compatible with the financial ideas of England and Germany?

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, we should approach this grave question with reverential care, since it involves that which should be most sacred to every public servant—the welfare of the American people.

Sir, this Republic is a grand mosaic work of empires, the last triumph of the genius and wisdom of the ages. Every State of this Union, itself a superb mosaic, was joined to every other State on the straight, smooth lines of one common and harmonious destiny. Every block inlaid in this glorious picture is the embodiment of some American interest. If you destroy one you disturb the relations of each to each, and you destroy the harmony of the whole. If you assume the right to destroy one, you may assume the right to destroy the whole.

Mr. Speaker, I have hitherto voted in the Fifty-first and Fifty-second Congresses for protective laws which have made New England rich. With my distinguished friend from Maine [Mr. REED], who sits near by me here, I have never faltered in my loyalty to the American system of protection; I have always voted for measures, as a representative of the people, which I thought would encourage the development of the untold wealth of my own native State of Tennessee. Whatever may be the course of others, I will never be guilty in the Fifty-third Congress of the inconsistency of aiding in the destruction of Colorado, and Montana, and Nevada, and their sister States and Territories, by the wiping out of their greatest industry and the impoverishment of their people. [Applause.]

I believe that the protection and maintenance of the double standard of the two money metals of the world, which have come down to us from Abraham through forty centuries, with a fair and honest ratio existing between them, will give more business, more wages, more contentment, more happiness, more wealth, and more power to our country than any other legislation that can be enacted.

I believe that the wisest statesmanship is that which protects American labor, American industries; and every American interest. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. How much time have I, Mr. Speaker?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman has twenty minutes.

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in twenty minutes' time I can hope to do little more than briefly to give some of the reasons for my vote as it will be cast on Monday next. We are in extraordinary session. The country is in an extraordinary panic. The President convened the Congress, and, as in duty bound, sent to us his message, in which he gave his reasons for calling us together, and told us, what we all knew, that there was panic and depression abroad in the land.

The disease all recognized, he told us the cause of the disease as he understood it, and stated it to be the purchase of silver under the so-called Sherman act. He gave no uncertain sound, and the remedy that he recommends is the immediate repeal of the purchase clause of that act. If the President has diagnosed the disease properly and advised the proper remedy, then, without respect to that side of the House or this side of the House, patriotism demands that we should apply that remedy. But if he is not correct in his diagnosis and we apply the remedy, not understanding the real cause of the disease, we shall but aggravate it. The President has performed his duty; we are now to perform ours. I do not agree—and I say it with respect and modestly—I do not agree with the President in his diagnosis of the disease.

I do not believe that the purchase of silver under the Sherman act or its coinage under the Bland act is responsible for the pres-

ent depression throughout this country; and, not so believing, I am not ready to help in giving the medicine which the President recommends. I may be mistaken. If so, I honestly mistake.

We are told that this cheap silver money is driving gold out of the country. Is that true? I think not. True, we lost a large amount of gold from the 1st of January last to the 1st of July; but the silver did not drive it out; we paid our debts with it. Great Britain, under depression almost as great as ours (and while ours has lasted but three or four months, hers has lasted for three or four years), needed the money; we were in debt to her; and she said "Pay"; and we did pay. And here is proof, strong as that of Holy Writ, that I am correct in this statement, because while eighty odd millions of gold journeyed to the other side to pay our debts, side by side with it went $17,000,000 of silver for the same purpose.

Now, did the gold drive the silver out or did the silver drive the gold out, or did they both go to pay the balance that was against us? I need only to ask the question; the answer is obvious.

Again, within the last month nearly $30,000,000 of gold has returned to the United States from abroad. What brought it back? It came in payment for our exports, largely wheat and provisions.

It is said that good money hides because of the cheap Treasury note issued under the Sherman act. I deny it. You can not find with a search warrant amongst capitalists or laborers anywhere in this country anybody who is afraid that his currency will not be as good as gold, is not as good as gold now. I measure my words when I so speak. Why? Because under the law, the United States is bound to, and does day by day when demanded, give the gold for any currency that we have. There has been but very little of redemption—why? Because, first, the people are satisfied of the honesty of the United States; and, second, they are satisfied of its ability in the premises.

Think a minute. We have a panic the like of which I have no recollection of (and I am on the wrong side of fifty). We have a President (and I speak of him respectfully) that for eight long years in office and out of office has followed the silver currency of the country with as great ferocity as Herod followed the infant Savior when he commanded that all children under two years of age should be put to death in order to make sure of the destruction of the Infant King.

By letter, by message, in season and out of season, before the Chicago convention and after the Chicago convention—all the time he has been against it. He is charged with the execution of the law. We have a Secretary of the Treasury who, whatever he may have done himself, was reported in the public prints throughout the length and breadth of the country as having said that he would redeem Treasury notes under the Sherman act in silver alone. He does redeem them in gold. But that report begat doubt and fear.

Yet in the midst of all these surroundings, without the sale of one dollar of bonds with which to obtain gold to maintain the parity of our money, although there was full power in the premises, with an unfriendly administration, in the height of panic—all this money—$1,600,000,000, nickel, copper, silver, paper, gold—is all good; and from one ocean to the other you can not find anybody who has any fear with regard to the ability or honesty of the Government in so maintaining this money according to the pledge of the law. [Applause.] I submit that in view of these facts the President's diagnosis of the disease is not correct.

What are we called upon to do? To repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. I wish I had time to talk about that much-abused act. It is not perfect. I have rarely seen any legislation that was perfect. Now, the Democrats are fully in power. I expect to see soon some legislation that is absolutely perfect. [Laughter.] Yet that Sherman act is a good act; it serves a good purpose. Under the Bland act, so much condemned, and the Sherman act, there has gone into the currency of this country since 1885, when Grover Cleveland was first elected, $300,000,000 of money as good as gold and redemable in gold and circulating side by side with it.

But, asks somebody, are you in favor of "cheap money?" No; God knows I am not in favor of cheap money. The little record I have made in the Congress of the United States shows that I am not in favor of cheap money. I am not here to abuse people who have money. I frequently wish I had more of it myself. Abuse of that kind is no argument. I am here in view of all the interests of all the people, to "cry aloud and spare not" in favor of good money.

Why, think of it. The total deposits in the banks, according to the last official report, were over $4,600,000,000; in the saving banks alone the deposits were over $1,700,000,000, with nearly five million depositors, representing nearly twenty-five million beneficiaries, counting each depositor as representing a family. Think of it! The life insurance companies (stock and mutual) are under obligation to pay their policy-holders this day over $3,000,000,000.

Those policy-holders represent 1,000,000 families, scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country. The assessment life-insurance companies are bound under their agreements to pay their policy-holders nearly $5,000,000,000 to 5,000,000 of people. These men are to be paid in good money; and in the aggregate the credits and property of the common people of the United States by the side of the credit and the property of the capitalists are as the mountain to the molehill. If there is anybody in God's world who is interested in stable and sound money it is the people who live through the sweat of their face. The people who are in the mine, on the railway, on farm, and in factory produce annually in the United States products to the value of $12,000,000,000. Oh, no.

I am not here to degrade the currency; but, while that is true, I am not here to obey the command of the extreme people who want gold and gold alone for currency; that means contraction and wrongs the debtor. Nor am I here to obey the command of the extreme people who want silver and silver alone for currency, and only 60 cents' worth in a dollar; that would wrong the creditor. One would bring us to the yellow metal alone for money; the other, in the name of bimetallism, would bring us to the white metal alone for money. I want both metals. My party, in a national platform, pledges me to both metals. Good politics pledge me to both metals. I believe it is entirely practicable to have them.

What would I do in the meantime? I would let the purchase clause of the Sherman act stand until the other side of the House can meet this side of the House calmly and cooly; not under the influence of panic or excitement or prejudice; not without power even to offer an amendment, but with the full power of amendment and debate, and after full consideration enact a provision that would utilize all the silver that may be offered for use as money at its commercial value. In my judgment this can be done by allowing any and all owners of silver bullion to deposit the same in the United States Treasury at the world's market price and receive therefor certificates or Treasury notes redeemable on demand, in sums of $100 or any multiple thereof, in silver bullion at the market price, or gold coin, at the option of the Government, making the Treasury notes a legal tender for all debts, public or private.

I believe it can be done. But why do you not offer the amendment, says some one. Because, Mr. Speaker, the extreme silver and fiat money men in this House met and shook hands with the extreme gold men on the Democratic side of the House, and adopted the rule under which you are now proceeding, that says I shall not have, as the representative of my people, the poor opportunity of offering a single amendment of any character on this subject. [Applause.] That is the reason. I am powerless. The ship is at sea, and I can not help it. Sixty-five millions of our people are on board ship, and we stand here to-day without power to help man a boat or unfurl a sail.

I listened with much interest to one of Georgia's favorite sons [Mr. TURNER], strong on that side of the House and strong always, a few moments ago, when he proceeded to exhort the Democratic party to come together and unite upon a proposition that would solve the question and be just to all. Oh, how my ear was inclined, watching and waiting for that proposition. But, Mr. Speaker, he hid his proposition under a bushel. If he had proposed it, the House could not consider it under this cast-iron rule, made by the Democratic side of the House, cutting off all amendments. What does wisdom counsel us to do? I will answer in a sentence. There are six hundred millions of gold and about that much silver in this country; we have over 65,000,000 of people; the population is increasing at the rate of 2,000,000 every year; we now have power to sell bonds to maintain all the money at a parity.

Without the sale of one dollar of bonds, I am satisfied that during the Administration of Grover Cleveland under existing law we can go on and have an increase in the currency of nearly $40,000,000 a year, and that all the money will be as good as gold after four years of the Democracy under President Cleveland. I think the people, having tried a new experiment, will turn back to their first love. [Applause on the Republican side.] In any event I will not help change existing law unless you put something better in its place.

Gentlemen say there is a congestion of the currency. Yes; but the great trouble is a congestion of credits. Nine-tenths and over of the business of this country is done on credit. That credit being destroyed, that much more work is thrown on the currency. Of course, then the currency is scarce and inadequate. But with all that—with this scarcity of currency, with money all good and millions to follow just as good, under the operation of the present Sherman law—it is gravely proposed to stop that increase of the currency by a repeal of the purchasing

clause of that law which puts it in circulation and substitute nothing in its stead. Mr. Speaker, for one, my judgment from every standpoint is against it, and I will vote against it. [Applause.]

But, says somebody, will you vote for free coinage of silver? No; not under existing conditions unless you put a dollars' worth of silver in a silver dollar. And I will tell you why. With the nonuse of silver by the principal commercial nations in the world, and the late action of England with regard to the India mints, I do not believe that the free coinage of silver on the ratio of either 16 to 1 or 20 to 1 will assure us both gold and silver.

My judgment is that such coinage of silver would drive the gold out of the country, and we would have silver in cheap dollars alone for money. In the fullness of time I believe the coinage ratio of gold and silver will be settled by agreement between the principal commercial nations of the world. When that is done, we can safely have free coinage of silver. In the meantime it is our duty to utilize silver at its commercial value for currency. Silver always has been, is now, and in my opinion always will be, one of the money metals. [Applause.]

"Ah! but," says somebody, "we want to repeal this act to strengthen our credit." Strengthen it where? I ask; in Europe or at home? Mr. Speaker, the Government's credit does not need strengthening at home. You can not find any citizen of the United States who does not believe that the credit of the United States is now first class; in Europe the credit of the United States is first class. I put it to you, Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen present, when the obligations of your and my Government, standing side by side in London, are worth as much money as is the English consol, that our credit is as good abroad as their credit is at home.

Oh! But says somebody, They are afraid they are going to be paid in cheap silver. Oh, no; the laws of this country can be read of all men, and the construction given to those laws by both Democrat and Republican administrations, tells everybody everywhere that all the money Uncle Sam has in his hands, and all his obligations, as well as all the circulating medium, is to be gold and that which can look gold in the face and say, "I am as good as you are." [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. WALKER was recognized and yielded five minutes to Mr. CANNON of Illinois.

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. My friend is always very kind to me. I do not know that I can enlighten the House in five minutes much further in addition to what I have already said. There are many things to strengthen my position in my own mind, that, given time and opportunity, it seemed to me I might have urged. But to conclude in that five minutes the matter of which I was talking when the hammer fell. They say, repeal the Sherman law in order that you may strengthen our credit abroad.

I repeat, it is already as good as that of any nation on this earth. "Well," but say some of these gentlemen, "repeal the Sherman law and we will give you something to go in its place." Will you? Is there a man on that side of the House who can say that any proposition touching the utilization of silver as money can be written upon the statute book with the approval of your President, Grover Cleveland? I pause for an answer; if anybody is authorized to speak for him let him answer here and now.

The gentlemen from New York [Mr. WARNER] and from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] both stand pledged to repeal the tax on the circulation of the State banks. The last Democratic national platform pledges such legislation. That would give us old-fashioned Democratic wild-cat money. Mr. Speaker, for myself I am free to say that if I have to choose between silver at the ratio of either 16 to 1 or 20 to 1 of gold on the one hand, or the revival of the wild-cat currency that cursed this country up to 1860 on the other, I will be found for silver every time. [Applause.]

To my Republican friends, in conclusion, I say, to what feast are we invited? To the repeal of this act that we wrote upon the statute book, and that has been beneficent in its operation; and when it is repealed, with a contracting currency and an increasing population, we have full notice that there is to follow fast and furious upon its track the performance of the pledge made by the Democracy, upon which they say they won full power, namely, to strike down the last vestige of protection to American industries and American labor, and place upon the statute books in lieu thereof a tariff that will yield revenue only, but no protection to any American citizen who walks upon our soil and breathes our air.

In full competition with labor abroad, importing that which we heretofore made, with a contracting currency instead of an expanding, safe currency—that is the feast to which we are invited by our Democratic friends. For one I will go hungry before I dine at such a table, for that matter I would go hungry if I dined at such a table. [Applause on Republican side.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, my friend from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] has just asked, to what feast are we as Republicans invited? Let me say to him that we have been complaining for many years, and are now complaining, that the feast the Democratic party provides is not a feast fit for our attendance; but if they have now provided a feast fit for our attendance, I am willing to go, and to go joyfully, and propose to go; and they certainly have done so in their proposition to repeal the purchasing clause of the silver act of July 14, 1890.

The great complaint which is made against our monetary system is the lack of currency. That is the burden of the song of my friend [Mr. CANNON] who has just taken his seat. Let me say to this House that it is impossible to have "enough" currency unless the currency is flexible. We have now $1,100,000,000 of currency of various denominations, ring-streaked and speckled.

We have a financial system that is a disgrace to the United States, as is our currency. Our bank exchanges are about $400,000,000 a day. Three and a half per cent of these exchanges are made in currency and we are short of currency. Yes! And we would be short of currency, and just as short, and suffer from it still more by the law that governs all finance, if every dollar of this $400,000,000 a day was transacted in currency.

Were a law passed to-morrow that forbade the use of any check, draft, or bill of exchange, or any personal paper money of any name or nature, except paper money issued either by the Government or by the banks, so that every merchant had to keep in the form of currency in his safe what now he keeps to his credit in a bank and draws upon with his check, and if we had one hundred billions of paper money instead of one billion, we still would be short of currency in times like these, and suffer more, for the lack of currency in such times than we do today. No currency is sufficient, or can be sufficient, that is not elastic.

Why are we short? Because all the currency in circulation, be it more or less, will be used in the normal trade of everyday life. No man now gives a check for $1,000 who has a thousand dollars in bills in his safe, that he wishes to dispose of, because he does not wish the trouble and risk of keeping it.

REORGPNIZE THE BANKING SYSTEM

Therefore our remedy is to reorganize our whole banking system of shreds and patches. Pass the banking bill that your Democratic committee reported to the House at the close of the Fifty-second Congress, reported by that staunch Democrat, the gentleman from New York [Mr. BACON], and your financial ills will be cured. Under that bill the currency of the country, as such, would not cost the people one farthing, and it would give you a leeway of from $100,000,000 to $200,000,000 that might be used in any crisis or when any exceptional demand was made upon it. What makes us short of currency? Is it that the banks lock it up?

We are told on this floor, out of the same mouths that tell us that the banks lock up currency to injure the people, that the banks are paying anywhere from 1 to 3 per cent premium for the use of currency. Who then is locking it up? It is the man who is thrown out of employment by this financial crisis, who, drawing his wages, locks the money up in his pocket. And when you count these cases by the hundreds of thousands, you account for the disappearance of the currency.

The pocket becomes his place of deposit instead of the bank. The moment these men have employment this currency will again flow into the channels of trade. I have no especial objection to the bill of my friend from Ohio [Mr. JOHNSON], allowing bonds to be deposited and money to be taken out when the interest on them stops for the time they are allowed to lie in the Treasury. That would be paying interest on the currency taken, but it is an expedient that never would be availed of to any great extent, and I do not think it would be particularly a valuable addition to our banking statutes. But one additional patch to our present patch banking system will do no particular hurt if not positively injurious.

THE DUTY OF THE HOUR.

Mr. Speaker, we are called together to legislate in the midst of what threatens to be one of the most serious seasons of liquidation the country has ever seen. I shall not, at this time, stop to consider what has caused it. At another time and on the appropriate theme, I shall have some observations to make upon it. The duty of the hour is so plain that no serious-minded man can fail to see it and bend his utmost effort to the task of relieving the country from its trouble.

That the purchase clause of the silver law of July 14, 1890, is a menace to the best economic conditions of our people and ought to be at once repealed is practically unanimously agreed to by all. None see its uneconomic provisions or are more earnest to wipe them from the statute books than those who framed it. They see them now no more clearly than they did on the day they framed it and secured its passage.

As I said in this House on July 6, 1890, of a similar bill, it was not in itself wise financial legislation. It was pure politics. Not party politics, but wise statesmanship. In the then condition of financial opinion in the country it was one of the wisest pieces of statesmanship ever accomplished to stay impending calamity.

The situation that confronted us was that of one political party voting nearly unanimously for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, with a few of the other party. Not an additional one could then be saved to honest money in the Democratic party, and a majority of the constituents of scores of the Republican Congressman, who had been voting against free coinage, were determined to force their representatives to vote for free coinage against their personal convictions, as too many others had done. They must have some safe delivery from the free-silver majority in their districts, or free-coinage Republicans or free-coinage Democrats would take their places. Had two or three score more of such Congressmen gone home from the Fifty-first Congress to defend their votes for free coinage, instead of defending their votes for the silver act of July 14, 1890, and to condemn the free coinage of silver, the next Congress was about as sure to pass a free coinage of silver bill over a veto, by a two-thirds vote in both Houses, as it was to assemble.

The sensible financial men in the country did not then believe free coinage of silver was imminent. No begging or pleading could induce a single banker or economist to render the slightest assistance to the friends of sound money on the Coinage Committee in the first session of the Fifty-first Congress, while the free coinage of silver men confessed to spending thousands of dollars on a powerful lobby during the whole session. Time to arouse the country was absolutely necessary. That, and more, we safely got in the so-called Sherman bill. That bill gave the silver miner all the advantages he could possibly get from the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and all others all they could justly get from free coinage, while fully maintaining the existing measure of value. It was our deliverance through a truce, with its advantages almost wholly with the sound money side, and fatal to the free coinage of silver. Never was any legislative act more fully justified by the results.

It was framed and passed to repeal the far worse Bland-Allison act of 1878, and to break up and defeat the free-coinage forces of 1890; to be itself destroyed, after having done its work, which is already accomplished. It now stands as the last fortress of error, in which are massed all the forces of unsound financial theories. When its walls are leveled to the ground the enemies of sound money, who were skillfully allured within its walls in 1890, will be dispersed, never again to win another strategic position.

CLAIMS OF FREE COINAGE ADVOCATES NOT BASED ON FACTS.

Never did any party fight its battles on such an array of statements for truth that were utterly without foundation in fact. Never did any party so completely rely upon figments of the mind. Never did the devotees of any cause know so many things that are not so as the advocates of the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Nothing that they can conceive of as damaging to the cause of sound money do they fail to assert. They never stop to ask whether they are true or not, or seem to care to prove any of them by sober facts.

The demand for the free coinage of silver is a rebellion against human progress. Progress is possible from savage to barbarous conditions, or from barbarism to civilized man, excepting as man commands more in kind, quantity, and quality of commodities for each day's labor, and this is impossible unless nominal wages rise or prices of products fall, or both.

For centuries man remained stationary. No progress was made in material things, and therefore no progress was possible in intellectual or moral things. It is as impossible for nations to make intellectual and moral progress, excepting through material progress, as it is for a man to get broader views from a greater height while chained on the plains below.

Again, one of the prime conditions of progress is the certainty to man of his having personal possession of and a personal advantage for the things he produces. And the greater personal advantage a man can get from exchanging the things he produces, as well as the more things he can produce, acts and reacts to send him forward to happier conditions.

It is because of the greater volume and better quality of products that a day's work will buy, alike on the farm, in the shop, as well as in the silver mine, the gold mine, coal and iron mines, that this rebellion against the "world's measure of value" was begun and has gained such a momentum. Man has advanced in social well-being since 1860 as 168 of 1891 is to the 100 of 1860, as shown by his average wages. Mature manhood, and more especially the young, just entering on life's work, have in that proportion a brighter future before them than their fathers had. The struggle for free coinage of silver is a struggle to put man back from a condition represented by the 168 of 1891 to the conditions represented by the 100 of 1860.

We have the highest authority for believing that "he that oppresseth the poor to increase riches, and he that giveth to the rich shall surely come to want;" and the free coinage of silver will do both.

THE QUESTION NOT ONE OF COINING SILVER.

This question is not one of simply coining silver, or of coining gold. Never have so many silver dollars been actually coined in this country, relatively or in number, as in the last fifteen years. It is purely a question of continuing our present measure of value.

For forty years, from 1834 to 1873, there were only 6,591,713 silver dollars coined, an average of 164,793 each year, while we now have more than $400,000,000, not one of which will be made any the less "full legal-tender money" by repealing the purchase clause of the silver law of July 14, 1890.

It is purely and only a question as to what shall be the "money of account," and what shall be the metal in which banks shall pay to each other the balances due; and whether we will continue to exchange commodities, at the international world's measure of value, or whether we will descend to the monetary condition of Mexico, India, and China. Not a member of either House of Congress can be found who favors an "all gold coinage," but every one of them protests against an "all silver coinage," which is what free silver coinage means. Every member who favors the repeal of the silver-purchase clause of the law of July 14, 1890, favors the use of silver as "full legal-tender money" to the last dollar that can be economically used.

The silver coinage men wholly mistake the nature and work of money. None but misers ever borrow gold or silver money, excepting to immediately exchange it for other commodities they desire, and every other form of money is only an order for products as a deed is an order for the delivery of the farm.

Gold stands in precisely the same relation to trade and commerce that the regulator to an engine does to the steam that moves it. A desire for and the exchange of products, not money, is what moves the world. Importing or exporting gold is never done except as a corrective to bring trade back to its normal and safe condition.

It has no more relation to, and affects trade no more than, the increased radius of the balls of the regulator on the engine has to the work accomplished in the factory by the means of the steam. Coin, excepting that carried in the pockets of the people and doing only the work of currency, and doing it no better or safer than paper money, is purely a regulator. First, products are shipped: secondly, stocks; third, bonds; and lastly and infinitesimally, like medicine to man to correct disease, gold, and only in abnormal conditions. No nation can long ship or receive anything but consumable products.

SILVER WAS NOT SECRETLY DEMONITIZED IN 1873.

The most universal and blood-curdling statement made and reason given for the demand for the free coinage of silver is, that in 1873 silver was demonetized secretly and fraudulently. Not only is this without the shadow of foundation in fact, but the very opposite is true, as has been shown a thousand times. Never has there been more pains taken to make the country thoroughly familiar with an act than in the rearranging and codifying the coinage laws, which were completed in 1873 and passed unanimously. It was then thoroughly understood that gold and gold only was to continue to be our measure of value metal, as it surely has been since 1834. Silver dollars were then at 3.22 per cent premium and had been for forty years.

I ask to have read from the Clerk's desk an extract from the speech of the Hon. JOHN P. JONES of Nevada, made in the Senate April 1, 1874. Senator JONES was then, as now, as much interested in silver as any man in the United States.

The Clerk read as follows:

Does this Congress mean now to leave entirely out of view and discard forever a standard of value? Did any country ever accumulate wealth, achieve greatness, or attain a high civilization without such a standard? And what but gold can be that standard? What other thing on earth possesses the requisite qualities? Gold is the articulation of commerce. It is the most potent agent of civilization. It is gold that has lifted the nations from barbarism. So exact a measure is it of human effort that when it is exclusively used as a money it teaches the very habit of honesty. It neither deals in nor tolerates false pretenses. It can not lie. It keeps its promises to rich and poor alike.

Mr. WALKER. I will read an extract from a speech of Hon. WILLIAM M. STEWART, of Nevada, made in the Senate February 11, 1874. Senator STEWART was then, and is now, as much interested in silver as any man in this country.

I want the standard gold, and no paper money not redeemable in gold; no paper money the value of which is not ascertained; no paper money that will organize a gold board to speculate in it.

Also, on February 20, 1874, he said:

By this process we shall come to a specie basis, and when the laboring man receives a dollar it will have the purchasing power of a dollar, and he will

not be called upon to do what is impossible for him or the producing classes to do, figure upon the exchanges, figure upon the fluctuations, figure upon the gambling in New York; but he will know what his money is worth. Everybody knows what a dollar in gold is worth.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Will my friend allow me to make an inquiry of him?

Mr. WALKER. Certainly.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I understand you to say that the coinage act of 1873, in the revised code, they had passed the law. Is it not the fact that the act of 1873 never passed into the codified laws of the country at all until 1874; and that it then passed in the House and Senate without discussion?

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, that bill passed with the unanimous consent of the House and Senate, and was subsequently referred to repeatedly upon this floor and in the Senate as establishing a gold measure of value, without objection from any man in either body, having passed unanimously, and not only passed unanimously, but received unanimous assent. It was explained time and again, not on the day of its passage precisely, because it was as thoroughly understood at that time as nine-tenths of the legislation of Congress without discussion.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Without discussion?

Mr. WALKER. Without discussion on that day. I can not yield further.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. That is the fact.

Mr. WALKER. In 1873 these men, and every other man in the country who discussed coinage or finance, excepting the advocates of fiat money, knew that only by reversing the natural laws of the universe could the commercial ratio of value between the two metals be changed or influenced to the smallest degree by law or by coinage.

ERNEST SEYD A BI-METALLIST.

Another reason given for free coinage is, that one Ernest Seyd was brought over from Europe by the "gold bugs of Wall street" with an immense corruption fund which he freely spent in lobbying through Congress the codified coinage laws of 1873. Like every other pretended fact against that law, the very opposite is true. Ernest Seyd was one of the most earnest, honest, self-sacrificing, determined believers in silver as money, and one of the most persistent workers against the action of Germany, France, and the United States on silver that ever appeared in Washington from this or any other country.

I ask to have read a paragraph from a writer on finance concerning Ernest Seyd.

The Clerk read as follows:

Who was Mr. Seyd? Mr. Seyd was an English banker, a man of means and widely known as an author on finance. He was a bimetallist, and the most zealous champion for and the best friend of silver that England has produced in this century. Long before 1873 and until his death, in 1881, he earnestly preached to the European nations the necessity and the advantage of opening their mints to the free coinage of silver. At the Paris International Conference of 1881 the United States was represented by Mr. Evarts, Mr. Thurman, Mr. Howe, and Mr. Dana Horton. At the fifth session of that conference Mr. Horton, after commenting on the death of the eminent Swiss financier, Mr. Feer-Herzog, said:

"I can not, however, now pass to our discussion without having mentioned another occurrence of a similar nature. I speak of the death of Mr. Ernest Seyd, the monetary writer, whose works are well known to you, and which took place at Paris since the convening of our conference. It was the profound interest which he took in the conference which brought him here, and which, I believe, hastened his death. How intense that interest was may be well understood when we remember that but a very few years have passed since the day when there was no serious opposition to the general adoption of the gold standard, except on the part of Prof. Wolowski, at Paris, and of Ernest Seyd, at London." [See letter of Ernest Seyd, Senate, *Congressional Record*, Aug. 22, 1893.

WALL STREET CAN NOT CORNER GOLD.

Mr. WALKER. Another reason given is that Wall street corners and controls gold. Here, again, a thing impossible to do is charged, and the exact opposite of the fact. How, I ask, is it possible to corner gold? It is as free to every man, rich or poor, wise or ignorant, if he has a dollar of paper money, as the air we breathe is to anyone who has lungs to breathe it. Corner and control a thing which every man, who owes a debt of any kind, must deliver for the asking, or deliver a greenback that will surely command it? Any man who talks such nonsense does not compliment his own intelligence or those he addresses. Periods of liquidation, attended with more or less of fear, and disorganized business are inevitable in highly civilized countries, and are dreaded by, and do more injury to, the men of Wall street than to any other class in the community. They do not have them in China, or in Korea, or among the Comanche Indians. They are an evil attending highly civilized conditions.

Another reason given on a par with the others is that Wall street makes money scarce and causes panics to enable it to rob the Western and Southern farmer. What a compliment to the great American nation that there are men in Congress to repeat such utter nonsense, and constituents to believe a thing that would seem incredible to the dullest mind! It is patent to every man who will give a moment's serious thought to it that the men of Wall street are more interested in having money plenty and payments sure and prompt than any other men on the face of the earth. Their destruction is in money stringencies and in panics. To illustrate their extent, and how Wall street suffers by panics, I present a table showing the prices of only thirty-three of the leading securities on the 7th of November last and on the 1st day of the current month, with a computation of the shrinkage of values in that period:

	Shares.	Prices.		Shrinkage.
		Nov. 7, 1892.	Aug. 1, 1893.	
Atchison	1,020,000	39¼	13¼	$26,775,000
Bos. and Alb	250,000	204½	196	4,175,000
Bos. and Maine	187,384	175	133	7,870,068
Ches. and Ohio	601,842	23½	13¾	5,717,499
C., B. and Q	764,070	103⅝	72	24,138,713
C., M. and St. P	460,272	81	50½	14,383,512
Chi. and Northern	390,542	116	90½	9,958,846
C., R. I. and Pa	461,560	83½	55	12,866,985
C., C., C. and St. L	280,000	64½	30½	9,520,000
Den. and Rio. G	380,009	16½	9½	2,660,000
Illinois Central	500,000	103⅛	89½	7,062,500
Lake Shore	494,695	134	108½	12,490,291
Louis. and Nash	528,000	70	52⅝	9,353,142
Mich. Central	187,382	110	75	6,558,370
Missouri Pacific	474,305	61¼	18¾	20,397,605
N. Y. Central	1,000,000	111	97½	13,250,000
Erie	774,275	27½	10½	13,065,860
N. Y. and N. E	198,090	45	18	5,347,430
Northern Pacific	490,000	18½	7	5,512,500
Old Colony	137,676	178½	172½	826,056
Oregon S. Line	262,448	23	7½	4,033,556
Reading	798,500	58½	12½	36,231,937
Pullman	360,000	198½	135	22,500,000
Union Pacific	608,685	40½	18½	13,619,226
Wisconsin Central	120,000	16½	6½	12,000,000
General Electric	300,672	115¼	40½	22,560,400
Ch. Junction	65,000	108	54	3,510,000
Bell	175,000	207½	173	6,037,500
Sugar	350,000	111½	65½	16,000,000
Sugar Preferred	350,000	103⅜	70	11,681,250
Calumet and Hecla	100,000	283	245	3,800,000
Western Union	948,198	98	73⅜	23,374,374
Southern Pacific	651,353	36¼	17	12,598,876
Total, 33 stocks				400,408,616

Here we have in only thirty-three Wall street properties, out of many hundreds, a shrinkage, on the basis of market quotations, of more than $400,000,000 to persons included in the term "Wall street," in these few months of liquidation.

How much have the farmers lost, or will lose, against these millions upon millions already lost in Wall street, and many more millions that it will surely lose before the present crisis ends?

Who does not remember the liquidation attending the long agony of redemption of 1873 to 1878. Scarcely a man in Wall street survived the shock. These disturbances in financial circles trouble the farmer less than any other citizen. He reposes under his own vine and figtree on the mountain side and in the valleys, watching the pomp of gaudy wealth and the show and vanity of the thousands passing by him to the mountain top. He also sees its return, dusty, worn, sick, poor, and in rags, cursing the day it was born, bequeathing nothing to the children in its train, while the farmers average to leave more property, a better training for life, and a promise of higher position for their children, than any other American citizens.

THE WORLD'S MEASURE OF VALUE.

Their next reason for the free coinage of silver is of like character with the others, and is that there is no "par of exchange" between countries; that there is no "world's price level" for the commodities of commerce; that there is no "world's, or international, measure of value," therefore this country can as well make silver bullion the measure of value as gold bullion; that the use of gold by other nations is a "notion," and our notions are as good for us to act on as their notions are for them. These wild assertions dispute every fact of the relation of money to the internal and external commerce of every country on the face of the earth. Again, the facts are the exact opposite of what the advocates of free coinage say is true.

A grain of gold is now the "par of exchange" of every country in its internal commerce and between all countries of the world, and has been, without a single exception, for a hundred years. Never in the history of the world has any coin of any nation been regarded. Everywhere it has been the single grain of gold. For eighty years the "money of account" in exchange has been the aggregate of 113 grains of pure gold, called a "pound," to insure the full weight of 113 grains, which is coined in England as the "sovereign."

Not the slightest attention was ever paid in a single instance in the world's history, or is now paid, to the coinage of England or any other country, excepting as it is a guaranty of the weight

and fineness of the piece of gold offered. England is as helpless to influence values of metals by coinage laws as the weakest potentate in the South Sea Islands. Take the four richest, most prosperous, and powerful nations to illustrate this statement:

The five-dollar gold coin of the United States contains 116.-09985 grains of gold; the sovereign of England contains 113.0016 grains of gold; the 20-mark piece of Germany contains 110.6268 grains of gold; the 25-franc piece of France contains 112.006 grains of gold.

Not one of these pieces passes in its own country or anywhere else in buying commodities for the slightest percentage over its bullion value, and never has since the world began. Take a French 25-franc piece or an English sovereign or an American five-dollar gold piece into any shop in Brussels, or the smallest hamlet in Germany, and they will give you the difference in its bullion value over the German 20-mark piece in change.

Take the 25-franc piece, the 20-mark piece, or the sovereign into any store in this country to pay the price of $5, and the difference in gold bullion value between either and the $5 American gold coin will be demanded and paid as a matter of course. Every dollar of silver that is current here, or in any country not a "monometallic silver country," is current as paper money, is current because, like paper money, it can be exchanged for a gold dollar, and for that reason only.

INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE ON A GOLD BASIS FOR ONE HUNDRED YEARS.

Again it is said there is not gold enough to do the business, as "measure of value money," of the world. Here again they draw upon their imaginations for their facts. How do they know there is not enough? Every dollar's worth of the international commerce of the world is now done on a gold bullion measure of value, and has been so done for a hundred years.

What reason has any man to think that prescribing by law that existing customs and habits shall be legal will cause men to change their desire or doings—desires which are embedded in them by a hundred years of universal custom?

If there is any one thing, in finance, more certain than any other, it is that if every nation should make gold the "money of account," by making it the "measure of value," at 1 of gold to 28 of silver, the present price, and stop the free coinage of silver, stop issuing silver certificates, and then every government should thereafter buy and coin every silver piece, of any denomination it could induce its people to use, as all European governments and the United States are now doing, while it would require some slight adjustment in national holdings of gold, it would not increase the world's demand for gold coin or increase or diminish the prices of a single commodity in any country by the smallest fraction.

Neither would it diminish the legitimate demand for or use of silver coin. We know such action would at once add to the available gold coin an immense sum from the hoards now secretly held in every "silver measure of value" country probably hundreds of millions, and many times more, than the added demand for it. It would have the same effect of immensely increasing the quantity of money in those countries, and from gold hoards that resumption of specie payments had in this country, when hundreds of millions of gold coin that had been held as merchandise for years went immediately upon resumption into the channels of trade as money.

THE INCREASE IN THE COMMERCIAL EFFICIENCY OF GOLD.

What are the facts? First, we know the commercial efficiency of each dollar in gold increases a hundred-fold faster than commerce increases, by means of the railway, the steamship, the telegraph, the telephone, and still more, by the improved commercial methods of 1893. We know that $1,000 to-day is as efficient as $10,000,000 would be by the methods of sixty years ago, and the amount of gold coin alone, as coin is now used, is many times larger in amount proportioned to the commerce of to-day, measured by its efficiency, than four times the total silver and gold coinage of the world was to the methods of commerce of 1860.

We say we know this, because we believe that what has been, without a single exception for a hundred years, will continue to be. The fiat-money men, and those who advocate the free coinage of silver, assert that by the breath of their nostrils they can instantly change opinions and habits that have been ingrained by universal custom of a hundred years and reaching back to the beginning of time—customs that are imbedded in the natural laws of the universe.

1. Every international exchange of a hundred years has been made in gold.

2. In not a single case in that time has the coin of any country been regarded. The gold coinage of every country has been valued and figured by the 113 grains in the English pound, and accepted in payment in exact proportion to the grains of pure gold in each. Silver coins have been accepted in payment by the value of the grains of pure silver in each at its gold bullion price in London. Coin carried in the pockets is never counted; only visible coin is available for commerce.

As to quantity of gold: France maintains a gold standard of accounts and measure of value on visible gold, $264,000,000; Germany with only $206,000,000; England has of visible gold only $125,000,000; while the United States has of visible gold $337,-000,000.

Only foreign commerce tests the "measure of value coin" strength of the financial system of any country. England's foreign trade is $25 to each $1 in visible gold. Our foreign trade is only $2.20 to each dollar of visible gold in this country. The utmost limit to which the whole power of the United States Government has been able to force the actual use of gold and silver coin, in our internal commerce, is six millions a day, with a daily exchange of $400,000,000, while we have a total of over eight hundred millions of visible coin. We now have more than double the coined dollars we can possibly economically use, and the free coinage of silver men are frantically calling for more. We are not a nation of barbarians, restricted to metal money, and the utmost power of the advocates of free silver coinage can not force us into barbaric monetary conditions.

The tide has turned, never again to overwhelm the sound sense of the country.

THE EXPERIMENT HAS TWICE BEEN TRIED IN THIS COUNTRY.

But, says the free silver coinage advocate, we have never tried it, and therefore we can not tell what the effect would be. This again is wholly untrue, and there is no other country that has not tried it in some form. France tried it from 1873 to 1876 as efficiently and as determinedly as any experiment was ever tried by any nation, and was compelled to abandon it when silver was at only 10 per cent discount, while now it is at 28 to 1 of gold, a discount of 43 per cent.

This country tried this identical experiment twice, once with silver and once with gold, once from 1793 to 1834, by overvaluing silver, not at 43 per cent difference, but at only 3.22 per cent, and every gold dollar disappeared for the whole forty years. Again we tried it by overvaluing gold, not 43 per cent, but only 3.125 per cent, and every silver dollar disappeared up to 1873, at which time silver dollars were 3.22 per cent premium in gold, and we have had only a gold measure of value for sixty years.

To-day every dollar's worth of goods imported into a silver-standard country from Europe costs the people of the silver country 75 per cent more than they cost citizens of this country. What will your people say to you, free-trader advocates of free coinage, when you tell them you have taken the duty off European goods to make them cheap, and have voted for free coinage of silver to make them dear by adding 75 per cent to their free-trade cost? They will surely find that the $10 they receive at the end of the week will buy less than $6 now buys. That is what they surely will find, unless every habit, every custom of merchants and traders, and every element of the known law of internal and international trade abrogates itself at your command.

PRODUCTS NOT A SAFE "MEASURE OF VALUE."

But the free-coinage advocate comes back again with the statement that while the prices of products, reckoned in grains of gold, have gone down, if reckoned in grains of silver, prices have not depreciated, adding, further, that products are the true measure of value, and because products will command nearly the same number of grains of silver they would thirty years ago, when the market price of silver was 15½ to 1 of gold, they are justified in demanding that every farmer, every wage-worker, every savings-bank depositor, every member of a benevolent order, every holder of a life-insurance policy, and every creditor of every name and nature, shall be compelled by law to take 16 grains of silver for every grain of gold they actually gave or its equivalent into the custody of some man or institution of their little capital or labor savings when silver has gone down from 15½ to 1 of gold to 28 to 1 of gold. This is exactly what free coinage of silver means if there is the slightest hint of the future in the past.

We know that large as are the holdings of the Vanderbilts and the Jay Goulds in railway bonds, their holdings are mostly in stocks. We know, also, that nearly all bonds of all kinds are held in trust funds, savings banks, etc., largely for widows and orphans, or by old people to support their declining years. These silver-standard men propose to oppress millions of the poor, in their small savings, by changing their value, by changing the law under which every dollar of this money was loaned, and making the returning, to them, the value of more than $57 for every $100 of value they surrendered to their trustees impossible. The other $43 they propose to give to the Jay Goulds, the Vanderbilts, to rich corporations of all kinds, to the United States Government, State governments, county, city, and town governments, and to men rich enough to own farms, corner lots, stores—the richer men in the country. If such action is not both "op-

pressing the poor to increase riches and giving to the rich," then language has no meaning.

To substitute silver at 28 to 1 of gold in the United States, when every payment is now made and every existing obligation was contracted for a given number of grains of gold or its equivalent, seems to me as base as it would be for Mexico to substitute gold at 1 to 16 of silver in payment of every obligation in Mexico, or India and China, where every obligation was entered into with the full knowledge of the creditors that payment was to be made to them in a specified number of grains of silver, as payments are agreed to be made in this country in a specified number of grains of gold or its equivalent. This would no more surely disorganize the whole economic condition in Mexico or India than the free coinage of silver here at 16 to 1 would bring chaos into every business interest in this country.

But this claim for silver and products not only does violence to every equity of the situation, but, like all their other assertions, is contrary to the fact.

Products are not the true or safe measure of value. Products were only suggested by any economist as such because, for centuries, there was no improvement in methods of utilizing human labor, either in the shop or in agriculture, and products were the economic expression and equal of economic man, as expressed in a day's work. Now, it is clearly seen that a day's work of the average worker is the true measure of value. Man has assumed his true place in economics, as in nature, as the most valuable created thing, and if this is true of man in nature, it surely must be true in economics, for true economics are but the records of natural law.

GOLD AND SILVER AS MEASURE OF VALUE METALT.o

All economists agree that 1860 is the dividing line of the century. In 1860 the same average day's work that commanded 100 in gold, now commands 168 in gold. The relative decrease in the use of gold in commerce before mentioned and the increased efficiency of more modern chemical and mechanical appliances, has so cheapened gold that where an average day's labor commanded 23.22 grains of gold in 1860 now, in the shop, in the factory, in the gold mine, the silver mine, coal, and every other mine, the same day's work will command 39.15 grains of gold. Not only is this true of the United States but the same percentage of increase in gold wages holds in every leading country in the world.

The wages men get to-day, being 68.6 per cent more in gold measure than they received in 1860 in every leading nation, clearly shows that gold has depreciated 40.69 per cent, measured by the labor of man. A day's work in 1860 commanding 359.91 grains of silver, the increase in wages, in grains of silver, at 25 to 1, would be 618.18 more than in 1860. This clearly shows that silver has depreciated 63.23 per cent, measured by the labor of man. If gold has not depreciated, then silver has not depreciated. Admitting the one, candor compels you to admit the other.

Gold has averaged to fall steadily and absolutely without fluctuation, 1.22 per cent each year on its price of thirty years ago, while silver has constantly fluctuated and averaged to fall in the same time 2 per cent, all of which, however, is since 1873. Since 1873 silver has averaged to fall 3.15 per cent each year, fluctuating in price like the waves of the sea. Within three years silver has been 82 per cent higher than it is to-day. Such a decline takes it out of the realm of a "measure of value metal," but its fluctuation is tenfold more damaging than its decline. This fall in silver could not possibly come from any affirmative action of this country, for we did not use a silver dollar in trade from 1834 to 1878. During that whole forty years we had simply continued on in the even tenor of our way.

The increased income, from the labor of the farmer, when figured in gold, as shown by the income he derives from a day's work on the farm, shows very nearly the same proportional increase, in income, to the farmer, as to the wage-worker. Prices in a year of panic, like the present, furnish no basis for comparison, and the whole period of inflation, and its influence after, must be passed over. Taking 1891 for comparison, precisely the same leading farm products taken together, wheat, corn, oats, cotton, barley, hemp, rye, tobacco, and meats, selling at the farm, that sold for 100, in 1860, sold for 98.4 in 1891.

THE EFFECT OF MODERN MACHINERY ON PRICES.

While some of the modern farm machinery was invented before 1860, none of it came into common use until after that date. It is conceded that, taking all these farm products together, a day's labor plus modern machinery will produce double what it would produce in 1860. Of course meats are represented in grain. If labor on the farm represented 100 in 1860, labor would represent in 1891 one-half, or 50; wear and tear of machinery, 5; total, 55. Price, 98.4. Gain over 1860 is 43.4. Cost, 55. Shows a gain in income to the farmer of 64 per cent for each day's labor done.

Why should not farm products, in the production of which machinery has made each day's labor twice as efficient as formerly, producing 2 bushels or pounds where it produced 1 before, go down in gold price as well as the products of the shop and the factory? The labor cost in farm products, because of machinery, is reduced one-half.

Take set screws, one-half inch diameter, 2 inches long, for illustration. They cost $4.40 per hundred in 1870; they now cost $1.20. A few years ago these same set screws were made in a lathe, and cost $20 per hundred. Take nuts that were formerly made in blacksmith's shops, and are now made by ingeniously constructed machines. It would cost to make the 2-inch square nut $10 per 100 pounds; made by machinery they sell for $2.90. One-inch square nuts made by hand would cost $20 per 100 pounds; they now sell for $3.70 a hundred pounds. One-half-inch square nuts, hand made, would cost $50 per 100 pounds; machine made, they now sell for $8.50 per 100 pounds. It is as irrational to attempt to prove that silver has not gone down, but gold has risen by these things as by farm products.

It is plain there is no valid reason why farm products should be taken as the real measure of value, rather than the products of the factory, since machinery has increased and made cheaper and as variable the labor cost of farm products, as the average of most other products.

Do the advocates of free coinage claim that the act of 1873 caused the price of the farmer's plow to go down from $6.50 in 1873 to $2.75 in 1890, or gold to go up at that rate; the two-horse plow from $13 in 1873 to $8 in 1890; mowing-machines from $90 to $50; a reaper from $120 to $75; shovels from $20.50 per dozen in 1873 to $9.50 in 1890; and so on through the whole list of farmers' supplies? Will they tell us how it is that these prices went down fully 50 per cent on the average, every cent of which price represented labor; and the men who produced them from the ore out of the ground, and trees out of the forest, to the completed article, received the same or increased wages from those of 1873, if it was not by the use of improved machinery and improved methods, and not by the appreciation of gold? The depreciation of silver had no more to do with it than with the eclipse of the moon.

No man, living or dead, has ever shown that this country, or any class in this country, has ever suffered a farthing by our using a "gold measure of value" rather than a "silver measure of value." No; man is the primary measure of all economic values by the unit of the average day's work expressed in gold, and gold is the "money of all account" and exponent of all economic values.

There seems to be no fallacy in economics that free-silver coinage men do not seize upon. They insist that the more money a nation coins the richer it is, with Mexico before their eyes, that has coined more money, proportionately, than England, France, Germany, and the United States combined.

THE VALUATION OF THE NEWER STATES TO THE OLDER.

It is also boldly proclaimed on this floor, and especially from the newer States of the West, that this contest for the free coinage of silver is a contest between the debtor and the creditor classes; as though the accumulation of property was robbery and the permitting of a neighbor to use one's property was a crime, and every facility and encouragement was to be furnished the borrower to rob the lender. Such statements only serve to reveal the enormity of the injustice proposed in the free coinage of silver. Look at some of these States. Many of them had no existence, even, in 1860. They have been filled up with some of the best blood and brawn of the older States and of foreign countries. Most of their people went into them with only their bare hands. Had they not been assisted by the earnings of the wage-workers of the older States in loans their wealth, even after paying every debt, would not now be one-quarter what it is.

Capital was what they needed and what the people of the older States furnished them. Their citizens are too honorable to rob their benefactors of half that was loaned them, under the guise of honestly paying that debt in silver which has depreciated nearly one-half. Every one of these debts was contracted in values of gold standard measure. The United States census shows that the total wealth of New York State has increased less than two and three-fifths times since 1860. That of Kansas has increased more than fifteen-fold, and that of Nebraska twenty-fivefold. The wealth of Massachusetts has increased threefold in thirty years; that of Washington forty-six fold, and that of the Dakotas has increased fifty-eight fold in only twenty years, and is now $170,000,000.

I believe every advantage should be conceded by the strong to the weak, by the wise to the ignorant, and by the creditor to the debtor, that can be justly given, and that fiscal law should be so framed as to favor the weaker party; but to go beyond this, as is now proposed in silver coinage, corrupts right and justice and poisons the springs of all right action at their very fountain-

head. It is sure to bring him who suggests such things and him who acts upon them down in a common ruin.

Finally, the free-coinage men most untruthfully charge the defenders of the existing measure of value with being determined to force an "all-gold coinage," with being determined to prevent the use of silver as money. They ought to know that the adoption of the free coinage of silver law would surely and at once throw gold out of circulation and make this a silver monometallic country, and they ought to know that the repeal of the purchase clause of the act of July 14, 1890, would not make us a "monometallic gold country." We would still have a larger proportion of full legal-tender silver dollars in circulation than France or Germany think safe to bimetallism.

HONESTY TRUE ECONOMY.

The defenders of the existing standard of value and the integrity of all existing money and all existing contracts are determined to provide for the people, through the Government, every silver dollar they wish to use. They are equally determined, if possible, to prevent the confiscation of nearly half the savings of the plain people of the country, and nearly half the daily pay of the wage-earner and half the pay of every man in the country with a fixed salary. Exact justice is true economy for each one of us as it is for our country and for each section of our country. [Loud applause.]

Mr. MAGUIRE. Mr. Speaker, this extra session of Congress has been called upon the theory that the industrial and commercial depression prevailing in this country has been caused by the silver-purchase provision of the so-called Sherman act of 1890, and that good times can be restored by the repeal of that provision.

I have carefully read and reread the President's message on that subject, and I have patiently listened to all of the arguments thus far presented by the advocates of unconditional repeal, without finding anything in them to justify a belief that the act in question has materially contributed to produce the deplorable condition in trade and industry now unquestionably existing.

It is undoubtedly our duty to discover, if possible, the cause of the widespread ruin which has overtaken our commercial and industrial interests, and if we find that such cause has its root in Federal laws we should promptly repeal or modify those disaster-breeding laws. But it is equally our duty to legislate intelligently, and to fully measure, before acting, the necessity for our action, and the consequences which will flow from it. Impatience cries out again and again, "Let us stop talking and *do* something. Let us act! act! act!"

We should remember that safe action is infinitely better than hasty action; that there are times when "doing something" is infinitely worse than the delay necessary to secure the best possible information. A stranger in a powder magazine should not be told to "do something" until the danger of doing particular things has been very thoroughly impressed upon his mind. We are in a veritable powder magazine, and in the darkness that enshrouds us hasty action may cause an explosion which will be extremely disastrous.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] compares Uncle Sam's disorder to a case of alcoholism. I do not know why he selected that simile unless it was to justify his proposed "gold cure." Assuming his diagnosis to be correct we should be careful in applying the remedy not to use fulminate of gold instead of bichloride of gold. [Laughter.] Their effects, I am told, are quite dissimilar. To my mind Uncle Sam in his present situation might better be compared to a man suffering the excruciating pains of a severe toothache rushing to his dentist and eagerly demanding that the offending tooth should be hastily pulled, without giving the dentist time to examine the tooth charged with the mischief. Such hasty dentistry has very often resulted in the pulling of the wrong tooth, leaving the patient in a very much worse condition than he would have been in if the dentist had rationally declined to "do something" in the matter until he had satisfied himself what should be done.

The danger of action by half-informed doctors in the present case is that we may pull the wrong tooth, and leave Uncle Sam in a worse condition than that in which we found him. We are not only asked to legislate hastily on the *ipse dixit* of men who display little better knowledge of the situation than our own, but we are asked to legislate in such a manner as to violate the platform pledges on which we were elected less than one year ago.

THE PARTY PLATFORMS.

The last national Democratic platform contained two distinct pledges on the question of finance. First, to repeal the silver-purchase provision of the Sherman act. Second, to establish the coinage of gold and silver upon equal terms, without discrimination against either.

The President's message recommends the immediate execution of the first of these pledges, and clearly intimates that no legislation for the extension of silver coinage will thereafter be favorably considered by him, unless an impossible international agreement shall be reached. We are therefore forced to the alternative of coupling such legislation as we are pledged to adopt for the extension of silver coinage with the act of repeal or to abandon the fulfillment of our second promise.

The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER] admits the obligation of the platform, but from the pedestal of a higher law, discovered by his inward light, declares that he will not hold himself bound by "the glittering catchwords of political conventions."

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] when called upon to reconcile his gold-standard position with the bimetallic promise of the Chicago platform, upon which it was then supposed that he had been elected to Congress, declared that he had refused to run for Congress on the money plank of the Chicago platform, and had made for himself a single-standard platform upon which he was elected. This was his complete justification, but it only increases the embarrassment of those who ran for Congress on the Chicago platform, and now attempt for the first time to stand on the Harter platform.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. COOMBS] acknowledges the obligation of the Chicago platform, but justifies his departure from it on the ground that the interests of his country, according to his judgment, require him to break the promise.

The President in his message tells us, too, that the proposition to repeal the silver-purchase act "rises above the plane of party politics." If, by that expression, the President means that this question ought not to be settled according to the grand and eternal principles of equity among men, upon which the Democratic party was founded, and the promotion of which is her only justification for existence, he has certainly underestimated the grandeur and universality of those principles. [Applause.]

But I assume that by his suggestion he meant only to admonish our Republican brethren to abandon their bushwhacking for small political advantages (exemplified in the speech of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON] on Wednesday last) in face of the national calamity which made this extra session of Congress necessary.

Some gentlemen on the other side of the House have, upon this floor, questioned the good faith of that suggestion in the President's message; but we should all be quite willing to credit the President with sincerity in that declaration, because we have had frequent occasion to realize that, with him, all public functions rise above party considerations. [Laughter.]

The Republican national platform contained a pledge substantially identical with the second pledge, on the question of finance, in the Democratic national platform. But the Republicans represented in the national convention saw no occasion to declare in favor of repealing the silver-purchase act, so that the Republicans here stand pledged to the second promise of the Democrats only, but not to the first. They may, therefore, be expected to vote in favor of the extension of silver coinage, but not for the Democratic proposition to repeal the silver-purchase act.

THE QUESTIONS AT ISSUE.

Is the silver-purchase act the cause, or the principal cause, or a materially contributing cause of the present industrial depression and financial crisis? What would be the effect of its unconditional repeal? Before deciding that it is our duty to our country to violate a solemn pledge made to our constituents in order to secure our election, we ought to determine to the satisfaction of our minds and consciences that the silver-purchase act is at least a materially contributing cause of the present crisis, and that its unconditional repeal would be of substantial benefit to the country. The effect of repealing the act in question without making provision for the extension of silver coinage has been very ably discussed by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN], and by other eloquent and logical speakers on this floor. I shall, therefore, devote but little time to that phase of the general question, and will proceed as speedily as possible to a discussion of the causes which have led to the present crisis, and to consider the relation of the silver-purchase act to those great primary causes.

EFFECTS OF CONTRACTION AND INFLATION OF CURRENCY.

It is laid down by political economists, as a well authenticated if not an absolutely established principle that the *media* of exchange required for the business of a given country bears a certain proportion to the entire value of the exchanges of such country, and that the volume of the *media* of exchange will always bear the same proportion in value to the entire value of such exchanges. According to this principle, if the value of *media* of exchange required for business purposes be one-fiftieth of the value of all exchanges within a given period, that proportion will be maintained, whether the volume of the *media* be

increased or diminished; that is to say, if the volume of the *media* be doubled, the purchasing power of the whole volume is not thereby increased, and the purchasing power of each unit of the *media* is diminished one-half. If, on the other hand, the volume of the *media* be contracted one-half, the purchasing power of the whole volume is not thereby diminished. It bears the same proportion to the value of the exchanges which the double volume of *media* did before, but the purchasing power of each unit would thereby be doubled.

The simile suggested by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] when he compared the silver advocates to a wasteful farmer employing four plows, with horses and equipments complete for each, to do the work of one plow, fairly illustrates this rule. Let us assume that the plowing of a certain quantity of land is worth $100, and that one plow is sufficient for the work. Clearly, it will not be worth any more to have the same ground plowed by four plows, and if four plows be used they will be worth just the value of the service, and no more.

Multiplying the investment in plows does not increase the value of the service which they perform. So, if one horse instead of two should be employed to plow the same ground, the value of the service would not be diminished by lessening the number of horses engaged in doing the work. From this principle the rule is deduced that an inflation of the currency of the country diminishes the market value of each unit of such currency, while a contraction of the currency correspondingly increases the value of each unit with reference to the average price of all other commodities. Contraction of the currency in which debts are to be paid correspondingly increases the burden of such debts and enriches the creditor at the expense of the debtor, while an inflation of the currency has the opposite effect upon debtors and creditors.

For these reasons the creditor classes have always, and everywhere, been on the alert to bring about contractions of the currency in order that the value of their credits might be increased, while the debtor classes have always manifested the same interest in bringing about inflations of the currency in order that the burden of their debts might be made less oppressive. No government should ever legislate with a view to accomplishing the purposes of either the debtor or the creditor class. But if the interest of either class is to be made the care of the Government, the debtors are entitled to first consideration.

The debtor classes are, as a rule, the producing classes, whose debts have been contracted for the purpose of enabling them to carry on their productive enterprises while the creditor classes; as such, are nonproducers, entitled to the return of what they have loaned, with its accretion of interest, but nothing more. To award them anything more, either directly or as an indirect result of legislation, such as that now contemplated, is an outrageous and indefensible robbery of the debtor. The unmistakable effect of the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchase act is to practically limit the metallic coinage of this country to gold, because the powerful interests which favor the contraction of our currency will always be able negatively to prevent legislation, while they might be wholly unable to bring about affirmative legislation favoring their own interests upon the same subject.

I do not question the sincerity of the advocates of a single gold standard. A scarcity of money will tend to their enrichment, and the human mind is so constituted that it generally conceives the public interests to be in harmony with its personal interests.

THE SCARCITY THEORY.

To the hoarders of gold and the monopolists of the sources of gold production any law which will create a scarcity of money will tend to make them rich, and they are therefore easily persuaded that what will serve their interests must be the best thing for all citizens. This is the theory upon which the tariff legislation of this country has been conducted for thirty years.

The timber-land monopolist saw in a scarcity of timber his own enrichment. The coal-land monopolist saw in a scarcity of coal the same advantage to himself. So they combined with the monopolists of other resources to create, by tariff barriers, a scarcity of all of the commodities in which they were interested. They saw in those laws their own aggrandizement, and failing to see the general impoverishment of the rest of the people through their operation, they did not hesitate to use their powerful influences to maintain the barriers which created the scarcity, and actually convinced a majority of the people of this country, for nearly thirty years, that a scarcity of the articles required by the people for general consumption was a better thing for those peopeople than an abundance of such articles.

The effect of the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act will be to contract the circulating medium of this country about $40,000,000 per annum and enrich the creditor classes and gold-mine owners at the expense of the debtor classes of our country, leaving the country afterwards with a circulating medium confessedly insufficient for its business necessities.

The volume of the private indebtedness of our people is about $17,000,000,000, while our national, State, and municipal debts bring the grand total considerably above $20,000,000,000. On all of these debts the people are obliged to pay interest, amounting to more than $1,000,000,000 per annum, while their net savings amount to only $2,000,000,000 per annum.

This enormous indebtedness, increasing in volume and in proportion to population year by year, in spite of all efforts of industry and frugality to reduce it, is to be affected by our legislation. We should pause before voting to increase its burden.

SILVER-PURCHASE ACT WRONG.

I do not justify either the principle or the purpose of the silver-purchase act. It was an attempt to create an artificial market for the product of silver mines, and was intended to give profit to a class of producers in our country at the expense of the masses of the people. It has involved the contemplated expense to the people without bringing the advantages to the silver-mine owners which its promoters expected. But it has increased the circulating medium of the country to the extent of about $150,000,000 beyond what it would have been if the act had not been passed. And it will continue to provide us with a greater volume of the circulating medium than will be afforded in case of its repeal.

It is not a good law, but it is better than the contraction of our currency to gold coinage. But, say the advocates of unconditional repeal, gold is the standard coin of the first-class nations of the earth, and we can not rank with them unless we use gold coin as our medium of exchange, and have gold coin with which to pay our trade balances. The laws of trade recognize no such difficulty. It is not necessary for us to use gold as our coin in order to trade with England any more than it is necessary to use cowrie shells as coin in our country in order to trade with the tribes of Central Africa. If our coin were silver only, the laws of trade would instantly fix its price relation to gold in the market, and we could buy gold with which to pay our trade balances to England just as readily and just as easily as we could buy cowrie shells with which to pay our trade balances to the tribes of Africa.

THE BEST SYSTEM OF FINANCE.

Indeed it has long appeared to me that in the matter of finance, as in most matters relating to production and exchange, the world is governed too much; that governments in attempting to fix the values of commodities, whether they be gold or silver, or wheat or potatoes, always create more confusion and inconvenience than their efforts were intended to avoid. The establishment of *media* of exchange is purely a commercial function, and should be left to the jurisdiction of the flexible and unerring laws of trade. If commerce selects gold and silver as the most convenient commodities to serve as *media* of exchange, the only function of the Government, with respect to such *media*, should be to freely coin the pieces of either metal, placing upon each coin a stamp indicating its weight and fineness, leaving the laws of trade to determine when and where and in what proportions and at what ratios the metals should be used in exchange.

The Government should have no money but its own Treasury notes, issued to the extent of its annual requirement for revenue, receivable in payment of its taxes of all forms, and made legal tender in the course of business, on an equality with the kind of money in which such taxes are levied. This would do away with all the struggles for business advantages to debtors and creditors and mine owners, by the alternate contraction and inflation of currency through acts of Congress. It would do away with the periodical appeals on the part of business this year to contract the currency in order to strengthen securities and establish confidence in the stability of our money; next year to inflate the currency, in order to afford a sufficient circulating medium to meet the requirement of commerce. It would leave the regulation of all those matters to the wiser and more certain laws of trade, which arise naturally out of the business relations and transactions of men, and do not depend for their correctness upon the information or the prejudices or the fears of arbitrary legislators.

CAUSES OF INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION.

For temporary relief in the present crisis, the plan of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. JOHNSON] to issue Treasury notes to the par value of all United States bonds deposited by any and all holders of such bonds is the best that has been suggested.

The advocates of a single gold standard have made a desperate attempt to convince the people that the prevailing hard times are due to the disposition manifested on the part of our Government to favor an extension of silver coinage, and to the fear that the displacement of gold in our National Treasury by silver bullion, under the provisions of the silver-purchase act, will naturally and necessarily force our Government to a largely extended coinage of silver, and thus enable the debtors of this country to

pay their obligations in a depreciated silver currency. But the evidences of history and of contemporaneous events are all against that claim. They show as conclusively as human evidence can show that our present industrial and commercial condition is not due to any legislation in this or any other country subsequent to the year 1837.

They further show that our deplorable industrial condition, with all its symptoms of crisis and panic, is very like the periodically recurring industrial depressions of the last sixty years. They show that the social upas tree, whose bitter fruit is now spreading ruin and desolation throughout our fair land, had its root and origin in laws or conditions which have existed in this country for at least sixty years. Our industrial depressions may be increasing in intensity, but they are not all changing in kind.

This is the seventh industrial depression through which we have passed in this country within sixty years, and each of these depressions has extended to all of the leading civilized nations of the earth. They have become a feature of modern civilization, and recur at intervals of from eight to ten years, with almost the regularity of changes in the moon's phases. They produce greater havoc and misery than the periodical wars and pestilences of the earlier civilization. They were unknown in the earlier stages of our civilization, and they are growing more frequent and more severe with the development of all that is considered good and glorious and useful in this era of unexampled progress. In earlier ages they had no hard times, except when crops failed, resulting in famine, or when wars or pestilences interrupted the industries of the people.

But industrial depressions come upon us now when nature smiles, when our harvests are most prolific, when we are at peace with the world, in the enjoyment of general good health, and when every natural condition seems radiant with the promise of prosperity and plenty. Suddenly thriving industrial and commercial enterprises become unprofitable. The capitalists who conduct them find that when their rents and wages have been paid out of their production they are not getting interest upon the capital which they have invested. They call a halt. They economize. They demand that labor shall share the loss which they are suffering. A conflict between capital and labor ensues, with its incidents of strikes, boycotts, and lockouts, unhappily sometimes attended with bloodshed and destruction of property. Compromises are from time to time reached, which are in turn broken as new conditions offer advantages to either of the contending parties.

The waste of the conflict takes away whatever return might otherwise come to business. Production is checked in that quarter and the producing laborers are thrown out of employment. The purchasing power of the laborers thrown out of employment is destroyed. Their demand for other commodities is checked by the destruction of their purchasing power, and the production of such other commodities is likewise checked. These effects of the great primary cause speedily communicate their influence through the whole network of the world's productive agencies, diminishing profit by checking demand for productive effort. With the cessation of production in one quarter or in one line comes a corresponding suspension of demand for commodities of other kinds. The merchant can not sell his wares because his customers have lost their purchasing power. He can not collect the obligations due him for the same reason, and he can not pay his debts to the wholesale merchant because he can not collect his dues from his customers.

The wholesalers have arranged for commercial credit on a basis perfectly safe so long as sales continue and payments are made within the periods of ordinary trade credit, but wholly unsafe when collections from retail merchants fail. The wholesaler is pressed for the payment of his obligations. He in turn presses the retail merchant. The retail merchant presses his customers, but his customers are out of employment, not only unable to make further purchases according to their necessities, but unable to pay their comparatively small debts for past purchases.

Universal stagnation ensues. Merchants and manufacturers continue nominally to carry on business, although profits are gone. They pay rent out of their capital for the sole purpose of saving their locations, which have become an important part of their business. The glimmering taper of hope allures them even to the vortex of general bankruptcy. Financiers become alarmed for the safety of their investments and for the sufficiency of securities. They insist upon the sacrifice of securities for the satisfaction of their claims. The millions of small depositors in savings banks are forced to draw upon their bank savings to meet their obligations and to pay the expense of living, which in good times are paid out of their daily wages.

Those who do not need their deposits for such immediate use begin to feel that the risk of the bank's stability is too great for the interest which the deposits yield. They attempt to withdraw their deposits, panic seizes upon the minds of depositors generally, and run after run is precipitated upon such banks, which, having the bulk of the deposits loaned upon securities on which they can not immediately realize, are forced to the wall. Their suspension of payment increases the panic and adds to the general distrust. Credit, upon which nine-tenths of our business is done in good times, is entirely withdrawn.

Every firm, corporation, and individual is employed in gathering and hoarding such money as can be obtained to meet the exigencies of his or its own business, for in the best of times our industrial and commercial systems are honeycombed with debt, and a capital of $10,000 floats a credit of at least $30,000. This enormous contraction of the instrument of exchange is fatal to what remains of business. The business of the whole country finally collapses under the strain. Then a new adjustment of rent, interest, and wages is made, and the wheels of industry and commerce revolve again, bringing the blessings of prosperity and peace. This is the history of every industrial depression, and the present depression is not in any respect exceptional.

Russell Sage, a distinguished financier, is reported as saying that this depression is exceptional because it has "touched bottom," as he expresses it. But every industrial depression of which I speak has "touched bottom;" that is to say, it has ultimately reached the land-owning class and has compelled that class to largely reduce its ground rent in order to give business a chance to pick up again. That is "touching bottom." Then by some process, as mysterious to the general observer as the beginning of the depression, times improve, business gets better, credit grows stronger, and an era of prosperity ensues which gives promise of perpetuity. For four or five years it continues to rise, then it is changed again, and the history of the former depression, through the course of another three or four years, repeats itself with marvelous exactness.

It is idle to attribute these depressions to local or temporary causes. Their cause must be as general as its results. A cause affecting this country alone will not explain an industrial depression existing at the same time in England, France, Germany, Belgium, and in all of the English colonies that girdle the world. Neither is it reasonable to attribute one of these depressions to a cause which manifestly did not contribute to any of the other precisely similar depressions occurring before it. During the past fifty-six years there were six of these industrial depressions in the United States, extending with equal virulence to Great Britain, including her colonies, to France, to Germany, and to Belgium.

A brief history of all of these depressions will be found in a volume entitled "Industrial Depressions," published by Hon. Carroll D. Wright, our National Commissioner of Labor Statistics, in 1866. The first of these depressions reached its climax in 1837; the second about the year 1847; the third about the year 1857; the fourth in 1866; the fifth commenced in 1873 and continued to 1879, reaching its climax about the year 1877; the sixth reached its climax about the year 1884. All of these depressions swept over all of the countries which I have named. The present depression likewise prevails in all of these countries. It commenced in the latter part of 1889, and has, we may reasonably hope, reached its climax at this time.

Indeed, while we have been discussing this bill the telegraphic columns of our daily papers show that industrial, commercial, and banking institutions all over our country are resuming business operations. The Washington Post of this morning contains the following editorial notice of the manifest change for the better in our situation:

> Yesterday's dispatches from all parts of the country show a most gratifying change in the commercial tide. The number of business failures was comparatively small, and the number of resumptions among the banks and manufacturing establishments was so large as to warrant the belief that the worst has been experienced and that the country is gradually but surely making its way out of the wilderness.

Let this fact never be forgotten in future discussions of the effects of our legislation.

It has been stated by gentlemen on both sides of this discussion that the present industrial depression did not commence until after the passage of the Sherman act in 1890; the advocates of unconditional repeal claiming that the relation of the passage of the act to the depression, being prior in time, is some evidence that the prior act was the cause of the subsequent depression, following so soon after its passage. The silver advocates point to the fact that the crisis did not come on for more than two years after the passage of the Sherman act. In truth, the industrial depression through which we are passing had commenced and was perceptibly advanced before the passage of the Sherman act, although the financial crisis was not reached until the summer of 1892.

In the discussion of the bill for which that act was a substitute, Senator JONES of Nevada reviewed the commercial and in-

dustrial situation existing at that time, and, in summing up his review, said:

Instead of finding, as we should find, happiness and contentment broadcast throughout this great domain, there are heard from all directions, even in this Republic, resounding cries of distress and dissatisfaction. Every trade and occupation exhibits symptoms of uneasiness and distress. The farmer, the artisan, the merchant—all share in the general complaint that times are hard, that business is dull; the farmer is in debt, and is not realizing on the products of his labor the wherewithal to meet fully his deferred or his current obligations. The artisan when at work finds himself compelled to share his earnings with some relative or friend who is out of employment. The merchant who buys his goods on time finds little profit in sales and difficulty in making his payments.

There was no denial of Senator JONES' statement concerning the conditions existing at that time. We were then entering the depression of which the crisis is the natural and inevitable culmination; but the crisis was not reached for two years after the passage of the Sherman act, and it is doubtful if the silver-purchase clause of that act hastened in the least the crisis which was inevitably coming.

The silver-purchase act has not created any distrust in the integrity of this nation. It did not cause any doubt to arise anywhere concerning the soundness of any money which this nation has put forth. It has not discredited any of our Government obligations.

The distinguished Senator from Indiana [Mr. VORHEES], the acknowledged leader of the repeal forces in the Senate, said in the course of his great argument yesterday:

Sir, no candid observer of existing public facts can believe that this attempted panic and business distress has been inspired by any real fear or genuine want of confidence in the credit of the Government or in the soundness and stability of its various kinds of currency. It is true that among the ugly assets of a former administration which came over on the 4th of last March were an empty Treasury and the record of a billion-dollar Congress in its expenditures, but despite so heavy a handicap the public credit of the United States has not faltered for a single moment, nor has the faith of the civilized world been lessened by the breadth of a hair in American honor and American resources in this year of 1893, and in the custody of the Administration now in power.

The national credit of the American Republic, tried by every test which can be applied, is better and stronger to-day than the credit of any other government on the globe. Her bonds, her promissory notes to pay her debts, as they may be called, bearing a low rate of interest, stand at a premium in the money markets of the whole earth, and even the cold, cowardly instinct of hoarded, inactive, interest-hunting capital, in its cautious search for permanent investments, seizes upon them with swift greed wherever they can be found. The safety of the security appeases somewhat even the usurer's highly seasoned appetite for richer profits.

Not only do the traffickers in money and the permanent investors of capital hunger and thirst after all the Government bonds now in existence, but their chief complaint against the present Administration is that the President and his able Secretary of the Treasury have refused their demand to issue at least three hundred millions more. This additional block of national indebtedness, increasing in a time of profound peace the interest-eating burdens of American labor, would be hailed with the keenest delight and swept with miserly enjoyment and avidity into unpatriotic vaults by the very parties who have most loudly and continously declared ever since the present Administration came into power that the credit of the Government was in deadly peril and its Treasury practically bankrupt.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, the whole argument in this House in favor of unconditional repeal has proceeded upon the theory that the silver-purchase act has destroyed our national credit.

The securities which have been depreciated are private securities, and they have fallen because the financial soundness of the institutions behind them has been doubted. The industrial depression would have caused all this, as similar depressions have frequently heretofore caused financial crises. I do not say that the crisis was not in any way accelerated by the Sherman act; but I do say that, with or without the Sherman act, it was inevitable. A much more important factor in intensifying the depression and hastening the crisis was "the culminating atrocity of class legislation" known as the McKinley tariff law, for the prompt repeal of which the people put the Democratic party in power.

I quite agree with our Republican friends, that it is the duty of the Democratic party to get through with this question of finance at the earliest possible moment, not for the purpose of adjourning and going home, but in order that we may proceed to the more important work of tariff reform with all possible dispatch. Our great manufacturing interests expect the Democratic party to give them free raw material and free fuel for the prosecution of their industries, and other great interests are largely concerned in knowing the exact basis upon which their investments shall hereafter be made. We should not willingly consent to any delay in the fulfillment of our pledges on the tariff question, but neither the tariff nor the silver-purchase act, nor both of them, can be said to account for the prevailing industrial depression.

The McKinley tariff came into effect shortly after this depression began, but it did not cause the depression. We had similar depressions under the low tariffs of 1847 and 1857, and under the high tariffs of 1866, 1877, and 1884. At most, the McKinley act has intensified the present depression. The cause of these depressions must be immediately associated with the primary factors in the production and distribution of wealth, and it must pervade the whole system of wealth distribution throughout the civilized world.

SPECULATIVE GROUND RENT THE PRIMARY AND UNIVERSAL CAUSE OF INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSIONS.

Philosophers, faithful in the pursuit of truth and daring to follow her wherever she may lead, have traced to their primary and universal cause these periodical calamities which blast the happiness and desolate the homes of half the people of the civilized world once in every decade. That cause is the constantly recurring pressure of ground rent, as a factor in the distribution of wealth, against the profits of capital and the wages of labor.

The factors of all production are land, labor, and capital; land being the passive factor, freely provided, with all of its potential elements, by the Creator. Labor and capital are the active factors, contributed by human energy.

The factors of distribution are landlords, laborers, and capitalists, and their shares are called rent, wages, and interest.

It is manifestly of the utmost importance that the distribution of the wealth produced among these factors should be equitable.

If the distribution be inequitable it will certainly discourage the productive effort of the factor which receives less than its share.

For example: If labor should insist upon taking the entire product in wages, landlords and capitalists would not assist it in production, because it would cease to be profitable to them.

If capitalists should insist upon taking the whole product, landlords and laborers would not assist in production because it would cease to be profitable to them.

If landlords should insist upon taking the whole product as rent, laborers and capitalists would not further assist in production, because it would be unprofitable to them. And, as labor and capital are the only active factors in wealth production, productive effort would thus be brought to an absolute standstill.

These, of course, are extreme suppositions, but they bring strongly into view the universal rule that whatever tends to make wealth production unprofitable to any of the active factors in such production, tends to check and finally to stop productive effort on the part of that factor.

Laborers will work as long as they can get for their labor the standard wages fixed by competition, although they know full well that such wages are greatly less than their equitable share.

Capitalists will invest in productive enterprise and will continue such enterprise just as long as it yields, with ordinary security, the standard interest fixed by competition among capitalists.

Ground rent is the margin which production in any locality yields above the standard wages and standard interest necessary to induce laborers and capitalists to carry on the productive enterprise. When production yields no such margin there should be no ground rent. This law of rent, as accepted by all political economists, is thus stated by Ricardo, the illustrious economist by whom it was formulated:

The rent of land is determined by the excess of its produce over that which the same application can secure from the least productive land in use.

This law is universal and applies to the locations or sites of stores and factories on which wealth is produced, as well as to rural lands from which wealth is produced.

If ground rent at any time rises above the margin of production, it is manifest that it must do so by eating into the standard wages of labor, or the standard interest (sometimes called profit) of capital, or into both wages and interest.

It is a matter of common observation that rent always advances in good times; that it keeps advancing while times are improving, and that it is always very high when times begin to get hard.

Ground rent is a tide that rises with prosperity and as high as prosperity, absorbing its fruits, without in any way contributing to their production, and it finally strangles the productive forces upon which it feeds. It takes such a large share of the wealth produced by labor and capital that it makes production unprofitable to the factors—labor and capital—which produce all wealth.

Labor and capital struggle with each other in vain attempts to shift the burden of excessive rent. The land monopolist who exacts the rent tribute is so strongly intrenched that neither labor nor capital thinks of trying to beat down the speculative rent tide which is strangling them both. Soon the wasteful struggle between capital and labor ceases by the abandonment of production. In the midst of conditions which ought to make production uncommonly profitable, excessive toll in the form of ground rent has made it absolutely unprofitable. The laborer, willing to work, is forced to stand aside with his arms folded in unwilling idleness, consuming the small savings of his short period of prosperity, and trembling for the fate of his once happy family when his little store shall be exhausted.

The capitalist, with his investment idle, paying the exorbitant rent out of his wasting capital in order to save his location,

stands half hoping, half despairing, waiting for the uncertain issue of bankruptcy or a return of good times.

The prior prosperity has brought the same pressure home to every other commercial and industrial enterprise in the civilized world. The checking of production at one point reacts upon the wages and profits of industry and commerce at all other points.

This destruction of the purchasing power of producers of one commodity lessens demand for other commodities, and consequently lessens the profits of their production; while the speculative rent, or toll, for the privilege of producing remains undiminished.

Production, by reason of this unnatural pressure of speculative or excessive rent, gradually becomes unprofitable everywhere. Stagnation ensues, and labor and capital, in utter helplessness, await the inevitable hour of their universal bankruptcy—the hour when landlordism, having absorbed their substance, driven thousands to suicide, hundreds of thousands to pauperism, and ruined and dismembered untold numbers of families whom God had blessed with love and happiness, finally reduces ground rent to the economic line and thus gives another breathing spell to the wealth-producing classes.

The moment that rent is reduced to the economic line business of every useful kind becomes profitable again, because every industry can, at all times, afford to pay, as rent, the margin of its production, while no business on earth can afford to pay more than that margin.

I have now given you, in general outline, the history and the philosophy of our industrial depressions. There is no mystery about them. They have been accurately prophesied upon scientific principles. They have been watched and studied in their courses. They have all disclosed the same symptoms, and have all produced the same results.

Their first outward symptoms are conflicts between capital and labor (natural allies in production), and they all end in financial panic—the natural and reasonable outcome of the prospective or present general bankruptcy of the debtor classes.

Amid the desolating depression of the last three years, rents have been collected at the rates prevailing during the prosperous year 1889. Every merchant and producer in the land (except the insignificantly small number of land owners among them) has been paying more than the margin of his production in ground rent.

Gentlemen upon this floor have called attention to the splendid and inexhaustible natural resources of this country as an unquestionable guaranty of permanent prosperity to our people.

Our natural resources are indeed ample. They are sufficient, in the present state of the arts of wealth production, to support in uninterrupted comfort a thousand million of people. Yet, with a population of less than 70,000,000, we are half the time suffering the horrible privations that are supposed to result only from overpopulation.

Gentlemen forget that our splendid and inexhaustible natural resources are all monopolized, and that nine-tenths of our people are obliged to pay tribute to less than half of the other tenth for the privilege of living in this country.

The small percentage of land monopolists, who own this country, exercise an absolute despotism over the masses of the people of this country and fix the conditions upon which they shall live. [Loud applause.]

The census of 1890 shows approximately that the land of this great country is owned by about 10 per cent of our people. That about three-fourths of that 10 per cent own no land but their homes, upon which there is an aggregate mortgage indebtedness of $6,000,000,000. The present crisis will bring about the foreclosure of thousands of these mortgages, and will largely reduce percentage of land owners in this country.

This is a terrible showing for our new country "of inexhaustible resources." It speaks ill indeed of our land system, which, intended to secure an independent home to every American citizen, has really reduced us to a nation of landlords and tenants.

We have placed our entire industrial and commercial systems under the absolute dominion of an irresponsible landlord class, who are legally clothed with powers over them more absolute and destructive than the powers of any political rulers in the civilized world.

We speak of our country, and we deplore the decline of patriotism among her citizens, but we forget that love of country has its root and its strength in the deeper sentiment—love of home. Love of home is graven on the heart of man. It is the mother of patriotism and the handmaid of courage.

We forget that our country consists of the splendid natural resources within her borders, and that those resources are absolutely owned by a few monopolists. The owners of those resources are in fact the owners of our country, and to the rest of the people it is a mere boarding house to which, fortunately, home sentiments are still attached.

Not the silver-purchase act, not even the still worse Republican tariff, but land monopoly, is the curse and canker of modern civilization.

To cure and prevent industrial depressions it must be stricken down. Its robbery of labor must be stopped. The constant policy of this country—the only policy which can long maintain her free institutions—must henceforth be to secure to all of her citizens independent homes.

The land of this country belongs of natural right to the people of this country, and the Creator's will is their inalienable title.

God did not make the land for landlords. He made it for His people, and the greatest and truest function of this Government is to preserve that natural heritage to the people.

REMEDY FOR INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSIONS.

Not in legislation for the contraction or inflation of our currency, but in legislation to prevent and destroy land monopoly, lies the cure of industrial depressions and the salvation of our free institutions.

In the term "land monopoly" I include the rights of way of railroad and telegraph lines. These, like all other really great monopolies, are special privileges in land.

It would be irrelevant to the present discussion to treat at length of any remedy for the deplorable calamities, in the form of industrial depressions, which periodically fill our land with distress, other than the one now before the House.

It is enough at this juncture to show that the silver-purchase act is not the cause of, and that its repeal will not even tend to cure, our country's present malady.

Briefly stated, the true remedies for the evils arising from the present unjust distribution of wealth are these:

First. Take for public use, by the forms of taxation, all of the unearned increment which attaches to land as a result of the presence, industry, and virtues of the general population of every community leaving to landlords only such values as result from their own improvements upon the land.

Second. Nationalize all railroads, telegraph lines, and such other necessary public conveniences as in their nature must become monopolies if left to private control.

The adoption of my first proposition would absolutely do away with the monopoly of land, by taking away the only incentive to its monopoly. That incentive is the right of the landowner to appropriate to his own use the ever-increasing value which is given to land by the growth, industry, intelligence, inventiveness, and virtues of the whole people.

That increment of value produced by the whole people and attaching to the natural, God-given earth, which is their inalienable heritage, belongs to the whole people, who have produced it, and who continue, year by year, to produce it by the same sacred natural right of property which gives everything of value to him whose labor produces it, and without whose labor it would not have existed at all.

There is no such thing as an accrued rental value attaching to land. Next year's rental value will be entirely produced by next year's people.

If the people should disappear, or should lapse into idleness, rental values would disappear with them, or would shrink in exact proportion to their cessation of industry.

Landlordism is a mere privilege of collecting toll from the producers of wealth. It has never contributed the value of a farthing to the wealth of the world, yet it has caused nine-tenths of the miseries of the laboring classes ever since it was substituted for the grosser forms of extortion and robbery which preceded it.

The time has come, in the order of social evolution, when this system must pass away.

Then, and never until then, can we satisfactorily "vindicate the ways of God to men."

Then will repentance come to those who blasphemously attribute to the will and design of a just and merciful and bountiful Creator the human miseries that flow from unjust special privileges, created and supported by human laws, as well-meaning gentlemen have done in this debate.

The change may not come at once. It may not come in time to prevent another industrial depression. But it is coming, and the morning of the twentieth century will bring to us an era of justice and liberty, and peace, and permanent prosperity, such as the world has never known.

In that era mere privilege shall cease to collect toll from the producers of wealth, and service alone shall command a distributive share in the wealth produced by labor.

In speaking of the nationalization of railroads, I do not wish to be understood as advocating the operation of the rolling stock of railroads by the Government.

The monopoly lies in the roadbeds and rights of way. They should be owned and controlled by the Government, and private capitalists should be allowed, under Government regulations, to freely compete with each other in the transportation of passengers and freight.

This would secure at once the greatest possible competition in the railroad carrying trade and the least possible governmental interference with the proper functions of private business.

The telegraph monopoly seems to have no solution but in making it a public function, as a part and parcel of our postal system.

But, enough of this digression from the proper subject of our present discussion.

I believe I have satisfactorily shown that the silver-purchase provision of the Sherman act, unsound as it is in principle, is not a materially contributing cause of the present crisis, and that the mere repeal of that provision, without other legislation looking to the extended coinage of silver, would result in more harm than good.

I am not satisfied that the free coinage of silver at any fixed ratio can be so maintained by this country alone as to secure the general use of both gold and silver coins at a parity. But I prefer such an experiment to the legislative elimination of silver from our currency.

I am opposed to any change from the present ratio in the coinage of gold and silver, because such a change would involve infinite confusion and great expense.

I shall, therefore, vote:

First. For the amendment of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], providing for the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

Second. That amendment failing, I will vote for the extended coinage of silver according to the terms of the "Bland-Allison act" of 1878.

Third. If both of these propositions fail, I will, as a choice between evils, vote against the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchase act.

I have no idea that we shall be able to do anything at this session of Congress to relieve the existing depression.

Laws wiser and more universal than ours will cause a reaction to better times, as the same laws brought the reactions after the crises of 1837, 1847, 1857, 1876 and 1884.

This reaction will come regardless of what we may do or fail to do.

Some day it will be the province of this Congress, and of our State Legislatures, to remove the primary cause of these periodical scourges of our country and of our civilization.

In that day the triumph and the vindication of Democratic principles, of the principles of Thomas Jefferson and his illustrious disciples, will be complete, and equal rights and natural justice will be irrevocally established among men. [Applause.]

Mr. BROOKSHIRE. Mr. Speaker, the subject of our inquiry is worthy of the best thought and the fullest investigation by the representatives of the people. It is fair to say that upon one side in this debate are arrayed those who argue that the Government should, at least for a time, perhaps forever, refuse to use any more silver as a basis and foundation for its circulating medium, and upon the other side are arrayed those who contend that much silver should be used from time to time for the purpose of making money for the people. Upon one side are those who believe that our monetary system should rest upon a gold foundation alone. Upon the other are those who believe it should rest upon a foundation of both gold and silver, upon a bimetallic base.

Speaking for myself, I desire to say that in this contest, as in the past, I have taken a stand with those who are friendly to silver; and in doing so, I feel that I will faithfully represent the preference of a very large majority of my constituents and fellow-citizens. Shall we strike down and demonetize silver and further enhance in all the world the value of gold coin, and thus increase the burdens of our indebtedness, both public and private? To use the language of Alexander Hamilton—

> Let us compare the benefits of a full, with the evils of a scanty circulation.

The two countries on the continent of Europe where the masses of the people are said to be best housed, best fed, and best clothed, are France and Holland. The circulation of France is $40.56 to each person, and Holland nearly $29. The Treasury statement, bearing date of the 16th of this month, which gives the amount of money in circulation to each person in the twenty-six leading nations of the world, shows that those two countries have the fullest volume of money in the world. Not only are the people of the countries named the most prosperous on the continent, and have the largest circulating medium, but they have more wealth to each person:

WEALTH IN EUROPE.

France to each person	£218
Germany to each person	140
Russia to each person	53
Austria to each person	95
Italy to each person	82
Spain to each person	93
Portugal to each person	86
Belgium to each person	145
Holland to each person	240
Denmark to each person	198
Sweden to each person	152
Greece to each person	107

If all the wealth of France and Holland were divided equally among their people, each person would have about $1,000. No other nationalities in all Europe, according to statistics, can make such a favorable showing.

When we strike down silver as a commodity out of which to make money, we have taken a step toward the destruction of one-half of the money of the world; and right here let me ask what do we mean by a standard of value? I understand a standard of value to be a common measure of commodities.

The two commodities which the nations of the world have generally used through all the period of civilization to measure the value of other commodities, are silver and gold. When these commodities have been coined into money, they are given a new use. The value of a thing depends upon its use; the value of any commodity is increased by being put to additional and more important uses. Thus silver and gold, when coined take on an additional value, which can only be measured by the strength and the power of the government which coins them into money, and the confidence which the people have in their government. I believe the way to use silver for monetary purposes is to coin it into money, and thus raise it above the plane of a mere commodity.

This is the principal reason why I voted against the bill of July 14, 1890, commonly called the Sherman bill. I believed then, as I believe now, that the principle of that bill was bad and vicious. It empowered the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase four and one-half millions ounces of silver bullion each month and stack it up in the Treasury vaults, and to issue to the market value thereof Treasury notes. Believing that this so-called Sherman bill was both wrong in practice and in theory, and would ultimately prove injurious to the cause of bimetallism, I voted against its passage on the 12th day of July, 1890.

But again returning to my thread of argument, I want to say that the great majority of the people whom I have the honor to represent do not have fixed salaries, do not have bonds or money in large amounts to be enhanced in value by a contraction of the circulation. The majority of them are engaged in the production of those commodities such as are produced at the coal mines, on the farms, and in the shops and manufactories.

Sirs, what is the effect of destroying one of the commodities out of which coined money is made? Is it not to increase and enhance the price of the other commodity, gold? Let us illustrate this proposition by its apparent effect upon the commodities produced in the mines and on the farms of our country. Four of the principal commodities which are produced in my district are coal, corn, wheat, and pork. Suppose farmer A should sell farmer B 100 bushels of wheat worth $50, and 100 bushels of corn worth $40, and 100 pounds of pork worth $10.

What would constitute the most perfect standard of value with which to pay for these commodities? The same quantity and quality of these commodities? Mr. B says to A, "Ten years from now, if you do not desire money, I will pay you for these commodities in 100 bushels of wheat, 100 bushels of corn, and 100 pounds of pork of the same quality." When the ten years have rolled around B comes to A and says, "I am ready to pay you for the wheat, corn, and pork." A says, "I would prefer the money; my taxes are due." "Very well," says B, "here are $50." A says, "At the time I sold you these commodities they would have brought $100;" but B says, "Do you not know that silver is no longer used in the world as a commodity out of which to make money? Silver money is no longer used; all nations of the world are using and demanding gold. It has been placed upon the auction block, and all the nations of the earth are bidding for it. Gold coin has greatly enhanced in value; in fact its purchasing power has doubled, and now it only takes half as much money to pay debts as it did ten years ago." Sirs, you say this is an overdrawn illustration; but might it not occur in the course of human events if mankind were to set about to accomplish such a result: but of this I will have more to say further on in the course of our remarks. I am simply giving this illustration to show the possible effects of contraction.

Mr. Speaker, the great majority of the people whom I have

the honor to represent are engaged in the production of those agricultural commodities, with many others, to which I have adverted, and any legislation which would reduce the value of those commodities will meet their heartiest and severest disapproval. But the gold monometallist says that we want an honest dollar, and that the only honest dollar is a gold dollar. I am frank to say that I believe the gold dollar is the most cruel, not to say dishonest, dollar the world has ever seen. The increase of the purchasing power of the gold dollar has brought upon the masses of the people of the world more wreck and ruin and debt and loss of homes than can ever be comprehended or described by the genius of man.

The increase in the value of gold has no doubt produced riots, bloodshed, and murder in many periods of the world's history. That is what I believe concerning the so-called honest dollar, and the commodity out of which it is made. If I had my way about it I would send along with every gold dollar coined by our Government a silver dollar to act as a sort of policeman to keep the gold dollar from terrorizing and oppressing the poor; and while I am permitted to occupy a seat in this body I shall never knowingly cast a vote for any proposition which will tend to enhance the price of gold. I think I know where the interests of the masses of my people lie, and I am sure I would be unfaithful to their interests if I should cast their vote in favor of any proposition which would tend to decrease the price of the products of their farms, mines, and shops.

We can but dimly and imperfectly comprehend the gravity and consequences of the destruction of one-half of the money of the world, or of measures which will tend to reduce its volume. Mr. M. L. Muhleman, Acting Assistant Treasurer of the United States at the subtreasury in New York, is credited with saying that on January 1, 1893, there were $3,900,000,000 of gold in the world, and $3,900,000,000 of silver. But then, it is argued that volume is not important, provided the circulating medium be sound.

On last Saturday one week ago the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] said:

> England at no time since 1844 has had any provision for the increase of her currency; and I go further and say that as long as we keep our currency sound we can never have too little or too much.

Our friend seems to have his heart set upon the financial policy of old England. Why has England had no provisions for the increase of her circulating medium for nearly fifty years? I will let Mr. Gladstone answer this question. Mr. Gladstone, when discussing in the English Parliament a motion relative to the monetary conference at Brussels on March 1, 1893 (as reported in the London Times), said:

> The complaint is a complaint of low prices. The desired condition which it (bimetallism) is sought to bring about is a state of rising prices; the means to be adopted are to supply the people who require money for the payment of debts or the purchase of commodities with a currency to which they will have access on easier terms. They are to get that currency cheaper. Very well, the consequence of that will be if that currency is to be obtained cheaper, that any given normal amount will be worth less in that currency than it is in the present currency. * * * I think Mr. Giffen, the highest living authority—though there are many living authorities well acquainted with this subject—estimates that the sum out at call is about six hundred million pounds ($3,000,000,000), and I want to know what is to be the effect of saying to the owners of that six hundred million pounds, "allow your money to remain where it is, and you will have to take ninety or ninety-five pounds for every one hundred pounds; but before a given date you could get one hundred pounds." * * *
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> I am almost afraid to estimate the total amount of property which the United Kingdom holds beyond the limits of the United Kingdom. But of this I am well convinced, that it is not to be counted by tens or hundreds of millions. One thousand millions probably would be an extremely low and inadequate estimate. Two thousand million pounds ($10,000,000,000), or some thing even more than that is very likely to be nearer the mark. I think under these circumstances it is rather a serious matter to ask this country to consider whether we are going to perform this supreme act of self-sacrifice.

What lessons are to be drawn from the words of Mr. Gladstone: He says that by bimetallism it is sought to bring about a state of rising prices. Are the people of the Mississippi Valley and of the South and the great Northwest interested in rising values? I submit that that is what they are now contending for. He says bimetallism proposes to give the people more money upon easier terms.

Are the people we represent entitled to more money upon easier terms? Then, if the use of silver in making money means cheaper money, the destruction of silver means dearer money, and dearer money means lower prices for the commodities of our mines, shops, and farms. He gives us a reason why money should not be made cheaper, that England is the great crediting nation of the world. He says, in the event of bimetallism, that any given normal amount of the currency which we have to-day will be worth less then than now. He says that there are three thousand million dollars on call in England liable to be collected in a day, and that, in the event of bimetallism, the persons to whom this large sum of money is due would demand its payment at once. He says, furthermore, that the people in the nations outside of the United Kingdom owe the people of England ten thousand million dollars. He closed his remarks by saying, "Shall we perform this supreme act of self-sacrifice."

Mr. Speaker, the supreme act of self-sacrifice to which the great English statesman refers, is a proposition looking to an enlargement of the circulating medium of the nations of the world. In a word, the old English statesman does propose that English creditors shall receive the largest possible amount of the commodities, and labor of mankind, in payment of debts due them. It is said that bimetallism is impossible without the assistance of England, and I would ask, in all seriousness, Mr. Speaker, what hope can we have of the assistance of England in the light of the condition of her people and the judgment of her public men?

The statisticians of our own country estimate that the people of the United States owe the capitalists abroad from two to four thousand million dollars. If this were all the indebtedness this proposition would not seem so appalling, but when we comprehend that there is an indebtedness existing among the citizens of our own country which amounts to many billions, we begin dimly to understand the probable misfortunes that would attend the adoption of a gold currency. Are the people who live in the vast agricultural empire known as the Mississippi Valley prepared for such a change?

Sirs, I declare to you that in my judgment they are less prepared to-day than at any time in the history of the United States. That part of our common country has substantially seen its development within the last fifty years. Our fathers moved there because they were too poor to live in the East. They went there to procure homes for themselves and their children. They have developed the country with amazing rapidity; ditches, roads, fences, houses and cities have been constructed upon almost every hill and in almost every valley.

The people along the Atlantic seaboard were the first in our country to amass large fortunes; they own the railroads, the stock of the insurance companies, express companies, telegraph companies, which are doing the business for our people. When we insure our property, ship our freight, send our telegrams, express our goods, the money gravitates to the East and to the homes of those who hold the mortgages and bonds and stocks. Thus our people are enormously in debt, and they now feel that there is an insufficient volume of money necessary to the transaction of business. The report of the Comptroller of the Treasury shows that the available assets held by the banks and trust companies exceed $300 to each person in some of the Eastern States, while there are only $3 to each person in the State of Arkansas; and this dearth of money generally obtains in the Mississippi Valley.

The consequences which are liable to follow upon the heels of a further contraction of our currency, or a cessation of its legitimate expansion, fill me with the apprehension of great discontent, and the further destruction of values. As long as I am permitted to remain here I shall persistently insist in faithfully representing those who have been kind enough to intrust me with their confidence. This much, Mr. Speaker, I have seen fit to say with reference to the volume of money and the standards of value.

Mr. Speaker, much has been said in this debate about the finances of the Old World, and especial reference has frequently been made to the manner in which silver is used in France. The finances of the French Republic, as well as the finances in the other nationalities of the Old World, are very largely controlled and directed by large banks. To illustrate, the Bank of France is controlled by the Government of France. It became essentially a government institution in 1843, and in 1857 the charter of the bank was extended to 1897. The bank has power to issue bills of credit to the extent of 4,000,000,000 francs. A franc on exchange is equal, I believe, to about 19.3 cents of our money. The bank furnishes a paper circulation now of about 3,488,000,000 francs.

This paper currency amounts, when the bank has issued to its full capacity, about $21 to each person in the Republic of France. To redeem this paper issue of currency there was held on the 3d of this month in the bank, as a metallic reserve, 1,720,000,000 francs gold, and 1,277,000,000 francs silver. The bank redeems its notes with either gold or silver at its option.

In consequence of the Franco-German war, the notes of the Bank of France were declared to be legal tender in August, 1870. The largest depreciation of the notes of the bank was 2½ per cent, as compared with gold in November, 1871.

There were, as measured by our money, in the Bank of France on the 1st of this month about $332,000,000 of gold coin and $247,000,000 of silver coin, and the paper currency of the bank in circulation at that time amounted to about $671,000,000. Therefore the paper currency not covered by the coin reserve in the bank amounted, in round numbers, to $92,000,000. So the uncovered paper currency of the Bank of France amounted to a little over $2 to each person living in the French Republic;

but the whole paper currency of the Bank of France, covered and uncovered, amounted to between seventeen and eighteen dollars to each person in that country.

The circulation of France consists of the paper currency of its bank and such an amount of gold and silver coin as is not absolutely held in the vaults of the Bank of France as a gold and silver reserve. As I have said before, on the 1st of this month such reserve amounted to about $580,000,000.

France, with her full volume of currency, stands as fair before the world as any other nation, and when any of the nations of the Old World have been involved in trouble within the last few years they have drawn upon France for financial assistance. This tends to illustrate the benefits of a full volume of money as compared with the evils of a scanty circulation. In the Bank of Holland there were recently $34,000,000 of silver and $15,000,000 of gold coin. The two banks of the two most prosperous countries in Europe—France and Holland—hold the largest silver reserves of almost any national banks on the continent of Europe.

Mr. Speaker, I can see no reason why the Government of the United States should not so arrange its financial policy and so administer it that every paper dollar issued by the Government could be redeemed in either gold or silver coin at the option of the Secretary of the Treasury. Sirs, in this regard, I think that our Government could imitate with profit the financial management of France, as administered by her national bank.

But that I may not be misunderstood, I desire to say with emphasis that I do not approve of the policy of our Government, or any other, in permitting a bank or banks to control the issue and volume of the circulating medium. The issue of money should be controlled absolutely by the Government itself. Generally speaking I think that all our money should be issued by the Federal Government directly to the people, and that all our money should be made legal tender.

The Bank of France not only exercises the option of redeeming its circulating notes in either gold or silver coin at its pleasure, but it carries the option to the extent of paying silver coin to those persons who are threatening to take the coin abroad, when such a course will best subserve the interests of the financial policy of France. That bank also, out of its gold and silver coin reserve, redeems its notes ordinarily in that coin—gold or silver—of which it has the largest amount. How very different is the policy of our financial management as made manifest by the action of the Secretary of the Treasury.

We now have in the Treasury and in circulation about $1,100,000,000 of paper currency—six kinds of paper money—consisting of gold certificates, silver certificates, Treasury notes of the act of 1890, currency certificates act of June, 1872, United States notes commonly known as greenbacks, and national-bank notes. We have a sort of mixed paper currency of numerous denominations and divers series. While looking at the face of this paper currency we would take it that at least a part of it was redeemable in silver coin, but under the rulings of the Secretary of the Treasury it is redeemable in gold coin.

Thus, every advantage and option is given to the creditors of our Government instead of being exercised by the Secretary of the Treasury. It has frequently occurred to me that all our paper currency should be of one kind of money, and redeemable by the Secretary of the Treasury at his option in either gold or silver coin, in such a manner as would best subserve the convenience and prudent management of our financial system. It is insisted that we have silver coin enough now. Let me submit this inquiry, for to my mind it comes with great force:

If the French Republic—not over five times as large in area as the State of Ohio, impoverished as it was and tramped into the earth not over twenty-five years ago by the invading armies of Germany, paying as it did an indemnity of $1,000,000,000 to the German Government—a little nation with two-thirds the population of the United States and only two-thirds the estimated wealth, can carry along on a parity $700,000,000 of silver, $800,000,000 in gold, and nearly $700,000,000 of paper currency, redeemable in either gold or silver coin at the option of the Government, why can not the United States, standing in strength and power the superior of any nation in the world, maintain on a parity with gold a thousand millions of silver, even at the ratio of 16 to 1?

The Franco-German war was begun in the middle of the year 1870, and was fought in 1871. The amount of the indemnity, at the time of payment in 1872 was $1,060,000,000. France was credited with the value of certain railroads in Alsace and Lorraine. This reduced the amount of the indemnity to be paid to $998,000,000. Of this amount $182,000,000 was paid in gold, and $816,000,000 in silver; and the enterprising, patriotic people of France raised this sum of money by a loan in less than six months from the time the Government appealed to them for help. The fact that the French Government has such high financial standing among the nations of the earth, in the light of her numerous reverses, certainly makes her financial system worthy of study and high consideration.

I have before me a statement sent out from the Treasury Department which shows that France has in circulation and in her bank $20.52 in gold per capita and $17.95 in silver. According to this same statement we have in the banks and in circulation in the United States $9.01 in gold and $9.18 in silver per capita. If we had as much coin silver in this country in proportion to our population as France has, we would have now nearly $1,200,000,000 of silver in our banks and in circulation, instead of about $600,000,000, as we have. But it is said that we do more business with checks and drafts through the banks than is done in France.

It occurs to me that the masses of our people would be benefited if more of the business were done with money. It is claimed that nineteen dollars in twenty of the business of the United States is done with drafts and checks. During a period like this, when there seems to be a lack of confidence, the business of our country is in a large measure done upon this one dollar in twenty. Therefore, does it not follow that a full and ample volume of money at least tends to prevent a lack of confidence, and to keep the wheels of business going, even in the face of panicky conditions?

Mr. Speaker, it does occur to me, all things considered, that no nation in the world has a population better adapted to the absorption and assimilation of a full and ample volume of money than the United States. In many sections of the country the population is very thin. In fact, in France, there are over one hundred and eighty-seven people to the square mile, while in the United States we have but twenty-one. Therefore, in a country largely agricultural, new and sparsely settled, it would seem that there are great opportunities for the assimilation of a full volume of currency.

Mr. William P. St. John, president of the Mercantile National Bank of New York, in an article upon silver, recently said:

> The increase of our population in the brief period of ten years, from 1880 to 1890, exceeds the entire population of Mexico; an increase of population in the United States in ten years of more than 30 per cent of the entire population of France, more than 40 per cent of the population of Italy, nearly 70 per cent of the population of Spain; an increase equal to twice the population of Belgium, three times the population of the Netherlands or European Turkey, four times the population of Switzerland, and six times the entire population of Denmark or of Greece.

Mr. Speaker, the increase in population of the United States from 1880 to 1890 was 12,234,000 people. This is more than twice as many people as there are in the Dominion of Canada, and five times the present population of the State of Indiana.

Nations upon nations are thus being added to our population each decade, and that there should be a gradual and prudent expansion of the volume of our currency there can be no doubt.

Mr. Speaker, what I am contending for is a financial policy which will make every dollar issued by the Government equal in value to every other dollar. I believe in a sound and stable currency, which increases in volume as the population and business interests of the country expand and grow. In the report of the Director of the Mint, which gives us the last information with reference to the world's coinage of silver, I find that of the forty-four leading nations in the world but fourteen coined silver in the year 1891, and that in the year 1891 there were coined in the world 135,000,000 silver dollars, as against $119,000,000 of gold, as measured in our own money.

In the year 1890 there were coined in the world, as this report shows, $149,000,000 of gold, and $151,000,000 of silver. Now, nearly all of this coinage, as I am informed, was in a ratio below 16 to 1. In no instance has there been a coinage of silver anywhere which has any considerable influence upon the monetary system of the world in a ratio exceeding 16 to 1.

In a word, I do not believe that if our mints were thrown open to coinage of the product of the silver mines of the United States at a ratio of 16 to 1 there would be coined at our mints a sufficient amount of silver to increase the volume of silver coin in our Republic to $1,000,000,000 within the present century. It is scarcely necessary for me to state that the product of our silver mines is only sufficient to provide silver enough to coin fifty or sixty million dollars per year, and I am not impressed with the idea that silver will be brought from abroad in considerable amounts for the purpose of coinage.

Secretary Windom, in his report to the Fifty-first Congress, stated that there is no known accumulation of silver bullion anywhere in the world, and that all the silver coined in Europe is needed and employed there for money purposes. And it is also true, as I have just shown, that more money is being added to the world's volume each year by the coinage of silver than by the coinage of gold.

It has been argued with very great force, especially by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON], that silver is being

overvalued under our coinage system and will drive gold out of circulation. It is the duty of the friends of silver to meet every argument advanced by their adversaries in an open field with the weapons of reason. My friend from Tennessee stated that under the coinage act of 1792 silver and gold were coined in the ratio of 15 to 1; that silver was overvalued under the act, and that the cheaper money, silver, drove the dearer money, gold, out of circulation; that is to say, that silver drove gold out of active circulation. He also stated that in 1834 the size of the gold dollar was decreased; that the ratio between silver and gold was then fixed at sixteen to one; that by this act gold was overvalued and became the cheaper money, and in turn drove silver out of circulation.

My friend seems to have overlooked the fact that his argument has its real application to our monetary system as it existed prior to the war, when the whole volume of our Federal money consisted solely of gold and silver. I claim that it has been substantially demonstrated that the rule to which he refers, and to which he called our attention with such a show of learning, is not applicable to the financial system of any country having a large paper currency circulation which is being redeemed in either gold or silver coin at the option of the government. But that my remarks may not be prolonged, I shall now pass to a brief consideration of the effects wrought upon our financial system, due to the late war.

It is now over thirty years since our Government first issued circulating notes with the legal-tender quality. The effect of introducing a paper currency at the beginning of the war was to drive both gold and silver out of circulation. There was so little silver in circulation in 1873 that the demonetization act had no perceptible effect on silver, so far as the general public could observe, and it was not until about the year 1876 that the people began to fully realize that the silver dollar of the fathers had been mercilessly and secretly struck down.

If gold had been demonetized soon after the war stealthfully and quietly as was silver in 1873, it would no doubt have taken the general public a considerable length of time to have fully realized the fact, because gold was not in circulation for a long time during and after the war. No doubt many people believed, during the period when these legal-tender promises to pay seemed to be the basis and foundation of our circulating medium, that the Government would, at no distant time, return to a specie basis for its whole circulation.

During the period when gold and silver were out of circulation the people became so much accustomed to rely upon a currency with no coin behind it that it awakened in the minds of a very large number of our fellow-citizens the belief that a coin reserve was wholly unnecessary to the successful maintenance of our circulating medium. In fact, it gave rise to that idea commonly known as the fiat money idea. Before the war, when the debtor and creditor classes were small, and when the masses of our people were but little in debt, changes with reference to the character and volume of our circulating medium were not attended with such great and far-reaching effects as have attended changes since the war.

In 1860 the whole public debt was but $65,000,000, and in 1836 it was but $37,513. It is certainly fair to say that the Government of the United States was but little in debt prior to 1860, and that the Government's creditors were not numerous.

The Government's creditors prior to the war had but little to do, if anything, in shaping its financial policy. The war came, and by the year 1866 the public debt amounted in round numbers to $2,700,000,000.

By 1866 the national creditors had become a powerful and influential class; they were the first people in our country to discover that our circulating medium and all the Government issues should be made payable in gold. They insisted that the principal and the interest of their bonds should be paid in gold, and it was done; and from that hour there has been a persistent and never-ending night-and-day fight by the wealthy money-lending, mortgage-holding classes of our own and of foreign countries, where our bonds and securities have gone, to have all bills of credit, both public and private, made payable in gold, and thus a most momentous effort has been made to enhance the price of gold coin decrease the volume of our currency, and greatly increase the indebtedness of our people.

Mr. Speaker, I am a bimetallist, and I think nineteen men out of twenty in the district which I have the honor to represent are bimetallists. They are bimetallists because they know that one-half in value of the coin money of the world is silver. Can any man be anything less than a bimetallist when he knows financial history? The gold monometallist cites the fact that England demonetized silver in 1816, Germany in 1871, the United States in 1873, Belgium in 1875, and Austria in 1879. And he also argues that India, the greatest silver-consuming country in the world, has recently discontinued the coinage of silver. He forgets the fact that, notwithstanding these acts, which affect the silver coinage of the world, the world goes on, and that more silver is being coined in each succeeding year than gold.

I have just shown that more silver in value was coined in 1890 and 1891 than of gold, and I see from the last report of the Director of the Mint, which I have before me, that the world's gold production for 1892 was $130,800,000 and the silver production was $133,000,000, commercial value, and, while I have not the figures for the last calendar year, I take it that it is reasonably sure that more silver was coined the whole world over during that year than there was gold. The average production of the metals, one with the other, for each year of the present century is indicated in the following table:

1801–1820, 4 of silver to 1 of gold.
1821–1840, 2 of silver to 1 of gold.
1841–1860, 2½ of gold to 1 of silver.
1851–1880, 2 of gold to 1 of silver.
1881–1889, ½ more silver than gold.

Therefore, does not all history and all experience teach that the supply of gold in the world is largely insufficient, in fact scarcely half sufficient, to supply the nations of the world with necessary metallic money? It would seem from the last report of the Director of the Mint that of the forty-four leading nations on the globe, twenty-six coined no gold in the year 1891, and in the same year all of the said forty-four nations coined silver except fourteen. Why should the United States cease the coinage of silver, when we produce annually two-fifths or 40 per cent of the silver output of the world? Great Britain, with all of her resources, produces less than a half million dollars' worth of silver bullion each year, as this report shows. We produce annually about $33,000,000 worth of gold bullion and over $70,000,000 worth of silver bullion.

The Director of the Mint, in his last report, says:

> The estimated stock of our own gold coin, which should exist in the United States on the first of the present year (1893) was $567,951,000, and of silver $492,903,000. Of the latter, $417,876,000 were silver dollars, and $75,026,000 subsidiary coins.

For the nine years ending in 1891 the annual coinage of gold at our mints amounted to less than $26,000,000 a year. Mr. Speaker, in the light of the facts which I have detailed, I feel that there is more reason for the coinage of a large amount of silver each year in the United States than in any other country in the world.

I can see no reason why I should not vote for the amendment providing for the coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. And my investigation and research have led me to believe that there is no real occasion for changing the ratio that has existed since 1834. In the light of the coinage laws of other countries, I think we can as well coin silver in the ratio of 16 to 1 as at a higher ratio. In England and in the leading nationalities on the continent of Europe, silver is coined in the ratio of 15½ to 1.

I am unable to discover any good and satisfactory reason why the old ratio, so long established and recognized, should be changed. I have before me the statement recently sent to members of Congress by Secretary Carlisle, in which he estimates that the recoinage at the ratio of 20 to 1 of our present volume of silver money would cost about $113,000,000. I shall vote for the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] providing for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, and shall vote against the amendments which provide for a change of the ratio.

Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, if the House shall see fit to vote down these several amendments proposing the free coinage of silver at various ratios, I shall vote for the amendment which will be offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] providing for a restoration of the Bland-Allison bill of 1878, which empowered the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase not less than $2,000,000 nor more than $4,000,000 worth of silver bullion each month, and have the same coined into standard silver dollars at the ratio of 16 to 1. What I am contending for, and what I hope to see, is the opening of the mints to the coinage of silver, and when they are opened, I think they ought to coin silver at the ratio of 16 to 1; at least, that is my present judgment.

I think the present law ought to be repealed, but it is unnecessary for me to state why I think it ought to be repealed in the light of the able message of the President of the United States to the people. He has pointed out in a more epigrammatic and sensible way the reasons why the Sherman law should be repealed than it is possible for me to give in the brief time now at my disposal. I always believed that that law would prove both wrong in principle and practice, and it has certainly been demonstrated that such is true. While I am very desirous to see it repealed, I would be very glad, indeed, to see some good substitute take its place.

I believed when the Sherman law was passed that it was a menace to the cause of bimetallism, and, as I have before re-

marked, I voted against its passage in July, 1890, and at the same time voted to keep in operation the Bland-Allison bill, passed in 1878, which was repealed by the passage of the Sherman act. My feelings and judgment, Mr. Speaker, at this time, in the light of present conditions, are in a measure expressed in the words of my dear old deceased friend, Senator Joseph E. McDonald, than whom I never know a kinder, a fairer, a more conservative, a more intelligent, a wiser.

Senator Joseph E. McDonald, on the floor of the Senate, February 12, 1878, said:

I do not think that the free-coinage feature of the House bill should be retained or the principle of free-coinage applied to the coinage of the silver dollar until the market value of silver bullion shall equal the money value of the legal-tender coin, and that whatever seigniorage or profit accrues by its coinage should be covered into the Treasury for the benefit of the whole people. Unlimited free-coinage seems to be a popular idea in connection with the remonetization of the silver dollar, but it must be because the operations of the measure are not clearly understood.

I can see no reason why the holder of the bullion should be entitled to receive the profits that would accrue from the difference between the market value of the bullion and the money value of the coin so long as there was any difference, and when the market value of the bullion should equal the money value of the coin have in its power to either stop the coinage of the silver dollar or throw upon the Government the expense of its coinage.

I think also that we should guard, if possible, against the imposition by the holders of foreign silver coin in those countries where silver has been either in whole or in part demonetized. It is very important to us as a people that, while we are laying anew the foundations of our money system, we should make them as secure and stable and as free from fluctuation as possible.

Yet, Mr. President, if a majority of the Senate should differ with me on these questions, I shall vote for the bill as it came from the House, and shall trust to future legislation to adopt such safeguards as may be necessary, believing speedy determination of the question in favor of the principle to be more important than the perfecting of its details.

Senator Beck of Kentucky, who was one of our greatest and best Democrats, in the same debate in which Senator McDonald uttered these words, said:

As long as silver bullion is 6, 8, or 10 per cent below gold, I do not want Congress to so vote as to give any private citizen, or any foreign nation, or any foreign corporation that seigniorage.

Mr. Speaker, here are two great Senators, either of whom was fit to be President of the United States, when speaking upon this subject in 1878, said that the Government ought to have whatever of profit there is from the coinage of silver. In other words, that the Government should have the difference between the market value of the bullion necessary to make a silver dollar and the coined dollar.

In order that we may appreciate the amount of this seigniorage, I will read a letter from the Acting Director of the Mint, which will explain itself, and ask that the same may be inserted in my remarks at this point:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF THE MINT,
Washington, D. C., August —, 1893.

SIR: In answer to your telegram of even date, regarding seigniorage, I have to refer you to "Director's Report, 1890," page 19, a copy of which I forward you to-day.

As will be seen, the seigniorage on the coinage of silver from 1878 to 1890 was $65,098,057, a yearly average of $5,474,838.

The seigniorage on $2,000,000 worth of silver bullion bought at the present market price—74 cents per fine ounce—would be, monthly, $1,494,402, and for the year $17,932,824, as the following will show:

2,702,702 fine ounces can be bought for	$2,000,000
2,702,702 fine ounces will coin	3,494,402
Monthly seigniorage	1,494,402
	12
Yearly seigniorage	17,932,824

Very respectfully,

R. E. PRESTON,
Acting Director of the Mint.

Hon. E. V. BROOKSHIRE,
House of Representatives.

This profit has been constantly increasing since 1873. The following table gives the average value during each fiscal year (ending June 30) since 1873 of the silver bullion necessary to make a coined silver dollar at the old ratio of 16 to 1. In other words, the following table gives the average bullion value in each fiscal year since 1873, of 371¼ grains of fine silver, the amount used in making the coined silver dollar since 1834:

Fiscal years.	Bullion value of silver in dollar, at average price of silver.	Fiscal years.	Bullion value of silver in dollar, at average price of silver.
1873–'74	$0.98865	1884–'85	$0.84507
1874–'75	.96777	1885–'86	.79750
1875–'76	.89087	1886–'87	.76029
1876–'77	.92931	1887–'88	.74008
1877–'78	.89116	1888–'89	.72055
1878–'79	.86152	1889–'90	.74932
1879–'80	.88509	1890–'91	.80588
1880–'81	.88057	1891–'92	.72430
1881–'82	.87880	1892–'93	.65063
1882–'83	.86490	July	.56052
1883–'84	.86115	August	.5600

Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that a very large number of our fellow-citizens who are friendly to silver, and who are bimetallists, are desirous that the Government shall receive the profit or seigniorage when silver is coined. Now, the free and unlimited coinage of silver is the proposition upon which we have ordinarily voted in this House. It contemplates giving this seigniorage to the producers and owners of the silver bullion. I feel reasonably sure that the sentiment of the country is against this.

There is another reason why some people friendly to bimetallism are not inclined to vote for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. They believe that some limitation ought to be placed upon the amount of silver to be coined at recurring intervals, so that the people and the Government could know in advance what the increase of our circulation would be from time to time. This idea was, no doubt, in the mind of the President when he put these words into his recent message addressed to Congress:

Possibly if the undertaking we have in hand were the maintenance of a specific known quantity of silver at a parity with gold, our ability to do so might be estimated and gauged, and perhaps in view of our unparalleled growth and resources might be favorably passed upon. But when our avowed endeavor is to maintain such parity in regard to an amount of silver increasing at the rate of $50,000,000 yearly, with no fixed termination to such increase, it can hardly be said that a problem is presented whose solution is free from doubt.

Mr. Speaker, this brings me to a direct discussion of some plan which would tend in a measure to meet these objections. I think of two plans, either of which would secure to the Government the seigniorage. If free and unlimited coinage is desired in the ratio of 16 to 1, and it is desired to secure to the people the seigniorage, why not require the owner of silver bullion presenting the same at the mints for coinage to first pay the seigniorage; that is to say, if he brings to the mint 371¼ grains of fine silver, which is the amount that we have been putting in a silver dollar for nearly sixty years, let him pay into the Treasury 45 cents—the seigniorage—and then let him receive a legal-tender paper dollar or a coin dollar.

By this plan we could secure to the Government the profit, and at the same time have the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. But if a still more conservative course is insisted upon, then the Government could fix the amount of silver to be coined each month, as was provided in the Bland-Allison bill. The Government could also require those offering silver at the mints to pay the seigniorage in advance, or it could buy the bullion outright and coin the same, as was done under the Bland-Allison law.

What I am contending for is the opening of the mints to the coinage of silver. I am a bimetallist, and I want to see much of our silver used in making coin money for the people. In a word, Mr. Speaker, I think that the true friends of silver and of bimetallism are not those who insist upon the unattainable, but are rather those who favor legislation which will secure the Government against loss, and send forth to all our people a steady flow of coined silver money, to be used in the remotest ramifications of trade and commerce. I also think it would be a good idea to dispense with the use of paper currency in less denominations than $10, and let the whole volume of money in denominations less than $10 be coined silver, silver certificates, and gold.

Mr. Speaker, what I would like to see is a thorough revision and readjustment of our whole financial system. I would be glad to see some vigorous financial reform inaugurated by the present Congress. I know it is a task of great difficulty, and that any changes in our financial system tend to create distrust; but at the same time it does seem to me that some changes are so apparently necessary that the whole country ought to approve of such a revision as would simplify our confused and complex system of finance. And right along with this work of reform we ought to have our mints opened to the coinage of silver; for I am very desirous, indeed, that we have a prudent expansion of our money volume sufficient to meet the business needs of our country. I am a firm believer in that divine declaration which says that "a feast is made for laughter, and wine maketh merry, but money answereth all things."

Mr. BELL of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I had not expected to have an opportunity of addressing this body on the pending question, and would not have done so but for the fact that there are certain points which have been frequently alluded to, but which, I think, have not been amplified and elucidated with that degree of care and detail which their importance justifies, and indeed demands.

The discussion has taken a very wide range, and the speeches of the gentlemen who have addressed us have been both instructive and entertaining; but it has seemed to me that the issues upon which we are to vote have not, at all times, been clearly stated, and perhaps not always thoroughly understood. I shall endeavor to restate the real issues.

In 1873 the use of silver as a standard of values was discontinued in the United States. In 1878, by a law known as the

Bland act, silver was made again a legal tender in payment of debts, and a certain quantity of it was required to be coined monthly. This law was repealed in 1890, and the act known as the Sherman law took its place. If the deplorable state of affairs, which we all recognize to exist, was brought about by this legislation, then, I think, it is the duty of every Congressman and Senator to vote to remove every vestige of it from our statutes, regardless of party platforms and ante-election pledges.

But if, on the other hand, the hard times which are upon us have been postponed by what is known as the silver legislation; and if there is a reasonable ground for believing that a return to prosperity can be brought about by a more extended use of silver as a standard of values, then I take it to be the duty of every Congressman and Senator to assist in restoring it to the position which it formerly occupied in our monetary system. I will consider these propositions in the order in which they are stated.

First, then, let us see what was the cause of our present troubles. For several years prior to the fall of 1890 the whole civilized world was enjoying what appeared to be an unexampled degree of prosperity. Money could be obtained in almost unlimited quantities for all purposes, regardless of the prospects of its being repaid. In our country this caused an unwarranted degree of inflation. Fields which should have remained in the possession of the husbandman were divided into town lots; industrial enterprises of all kinds were capitalized for many times their cost, and at figures at which it was impossible that a reasonable return for the money invested could be realized. Speculation of all kinds was rife in the land; and the man was not only wise, but extremely fortunate, who avoided being drawn into the devastating whirlpool.

If these enterprises, wild and senseless as many of them were, had been conducted on home capital, the result would not have been so disastrous when the bubble burst, for it would only have eventuated in a change of the ownership of that capital. But much, if not most, of the means on which these undertakings were conducted had been directly and indirectly borrowed from the money centers of Europe. As long as the principal was not called in, and as long as the speculators could borrow money with which to pay interest on the principal, all went as merry as a marriage bell; and it seemed as if man had at least solved the problem of making a dollar without earning it.

History repeats itself, and as all previous periods of abnormal inflation have been followed up by a corresponding period of liquidation and depression, so must the one I have been describing. However, bad as was the overinvestment of borrowed capital in unproductive enterprises, still it may be that we would have safely passed the crisis if the same misfortune had not overtaken others upon whom we were compelled to rely for assistance. Unfortunately, the people of all the other civilized nations of the earth had been and were recklessly treading the same paths, utterly oblivious of the fact that the day of reckoning and settlement was near at hand.

In staid and sober England, where they had no inflated currency to act as an unhealthy stimulus, the corporate capital brought into existence in 1889 was £189,000,000, as against £98,000,000 in 1887. The French had put millions into the Panama Canal and similar schemes on which no returns could be realized.

The Germans were straining every nerve to maintain their immense army which yielded no revenue in return.

Just at this time, while credit was expanded far beyond the danger limit, and when the people of the United States were indebted to Europeans in an amount variously estimated at from two to six billion dollars, the failures in the Argentines occurred, and those who had loaned money in that Republic were unable to call in their principal or interest. This caused lenders to lose confidence in the security of their loans elsewhere, and also compelled many who could live on their interest when it was paid to call for the principal of the loans which they had made to others.

The old and well-established banking house of Baring Brothers, which was supposed to be one of the most reliable and safe institutions in existence, was closed. The Bank of England appeared to be on the verge of bankruptcy. Consternation and fright took possession of financiers and business men. Deposits were withdrawn; uncertainty prevailed; debts must be collected; securities must be realized upon, or disaster would become universal.

Under these circumstances, the eyes of the people of Europe were turned upon the young republic. Our creditors demanded payment of their debts; and such are the wonderful resources of our country, and such the wonderful recuperative energies of our people, that we met their demands with a promptness which challenged the admiration and excited the envy of the world. The process of paying our debts and absorbing our securities, which is the principal means of paying them, has been continued and still continues. But, just as the financial skies were clearing and the dawning of a better day could be seen on the business horizon came the disastrous failures in Australia.

In that single-standard gold country, in six weeks, banks whose capital exceeded the aggregate capital of all the banks in our great metropolis were compelled to suspend, and there was a complete collapse in all business enterprises. This would not have effected us in the least if it had not been that Australia had borrowed money in the markets where we still owed so much. The holders of our securities, who were also creditors of Australia, were compelled to sell whatever they could realize upon; and the return of our securities continued with accelerated speed, and so rapidly that we could not absorb them in a healthy manner.

With securities as with everything else, when the supply exceeds the demand prices depreciate; and hence, there was a great shrinkage in value. This caused some to market their holdings, and compelled others to do so. Overcapitalized enterprises were unable to pay interest on their mortgages and stocks. Insolvent banks failed; some solvent banks suspended; depositors withdrew their deposits, and the banks were consequently unable to extend the usual accommodations to their customers, and the necessary result was stagnation in all kinds of enterprises. This is the history of the financial trouble from which we are now suffering.

My first proposition is, that our silver legislation has not brought about our financial trouble nor contributed to it, and in support of this I wish to submit a few facts and figures. It has not been contended that we have, or have had, too much money. The complaint has been that the trouble was occasioned by the fear of the quality of the money. There are several complete and perfect answers to this assertion. In Australia they have had reverses, in comparison with which we have been, and are, in the enjoyment of unbounded prosperity. Yet, in that country, the gold circulation of full legal-tender quality is $25 per capita, and the silver circulation only $1.75 per capita, and all of that of a limited legal-tender quality. Now, I ask, if the fear of our coming to a silver basis has caused all or any of the distrust which prevails in this country, what has been the cause of the trouble in Australia?

Again, in Great Britain they are affected with the same paralysis of trade and the same stagnation in manufacturing industries from which we are suffering. The papers tell us that on last Saturday in Wales alone there were 500,000 unemployed men. The suffering at Manchester and other manufacturing centers in England is said to be without a parallel, and yet it is to these single-standard gold countries we are pointed as the ones upon which we should model our financial system.

But it is said that the evil is not that we have a bad or depreciated money but the fear that it will become so. Then, I ask, when did this fear begin? The laws complained of, as has been stated, were enacted in 1878, and the bill was vetoed by the President, who predicted then, as those who entertain the same views have predicted ever since, that gold would leave the country, and that we would soon be on a silver basis; that our people would not invest, and that foreigners would not loan, where they would be liable to be paid in a depreciated unit of values. By the report of the Director of the Mint, from which I read, I find that in 1879, there was in this country, including what was in the Treasury, $245,741,837 in gold.

This amount has been augmented since until on the 1st day of July of the present year, it amounted to the sum of $513,743,623, and this is true, although for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, the exports of gold exceeded the imports by the amount of $86,000,000, and the balance has been against us since 1890, to the amount of $196,000,000. The reasons for this I have already explained. We have been paying our debts, absorbing our securities; and, so far as I can see, it would be a good thing for us if nearly all the remaining gold coin was put to the same use. But it may be said that now that the tide has turned, the yellow metal will leave us.

This statement might have frightened some persons a short time ago; but, as I am informed by Mr. Preston, who is the present Director of the Mint, from the 1st to the middle of the present month the importation of gold has amounted to the enormous sum of $16,500,000; and the daily press informs us that it is still coming. If our silver legislation accounts for the shipment of gold to Europe from 1890 to the 1st day of July, 1893, what accounts for the return of gold after the 1st of August for the same year, while the laws remain unchanged? But we were not only told that gold would leave us, but that silver would come to us.

By the table from which I now read, and which I wish incorporated in the RECORD as part of my remarks, it appears that since 1878 we have exported the enormous sum of $126,000,000 more of silver than we have imported; while at the same time our importations of gold have exceeded our exportations, and

our importations of gold have exceeded our importations of silver for the same time in the enormous sum of $221,000,000.

Statement showing the imports and exports of gold and silver into and from the United States by fiscal years from 1878 to 1893, inclusive.

Fiscal years.	Gold.		Silver.	
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
1878	$12,976,281	$9,204,455	$16,491,099	$24,535,670
1879	5,624,948	4,587,614	14,671,052	20,409,827
1880	80,758,398	3,639,025	12,275,914	13,503,894
1881	100,031,259	2,565,132	10,544,238	16,841,715
1882	34,377,054	32,587,880	8,095,336	18,829,599
1883	17,734,149	11,000,888	10,755,242	20,219,445
1884	22,831,317	41,081,957	14,594,945	26,051,426
1885	26,691,696	8,477,892	16,550,627	33,753,633
1886	20,742,349	42,932,191	17,850,307	29,511,219
1887	42,910,601	9,701,187	17,260,191	26,296,504
1888	43,934,317	18,376,234	20,514,232	28,146,510
1889	10,372,145	60,033,246	24,682,380	36,716,782
1890	13,097,146	17,350,193	27,524,147	36,069,602
1891	18,516,112	86,462,880	26,278,916	23,533,551
1892	50,162,879	50,305,533	28,764,724	32,800,562
1893	22,069,380	108,663,116	34,292,011	41,100,491
Total	522,831,031	507,589,423	301,145,371	427,320,431

BUREAU OF THE MINT, *August 16, 1893.*

The net imports of gold from August 1 to August 15, inclusive, was $16,250,000.

In view of these facts, I think the fear of this country being placed on a silver basis could not have frightened even timid foreigners, who have been informed by our Eastern friends that we are on the eve of repudiation and the brink of ruin. Again, we are told that the amount of gold in this country is so small in comparison with the amount which we might have to redeem with it, that our ability to maintain a parity between gold and silver is questioned.

Let us examine this statement. In 1879 the stock of gold in this country was $245,741,837, and the money which this gold might be called upon to redeem was $805,779,704; that is, there were three and one-third times as much money of other kinds as there was of gold. In 1893, although we had in the previous five years exported $196,000,000 more gold than we had imported, there was in this country, in gold, $513,743,623; and the money which this might be called upon to redeem was $1,506,537,470; that is, there was two and nine-tenths times as much money of other kinds as there was of gold. Is it possible that any man, who would have trusted us at any other time, would be afraid of our money now?

Another matter of great importance to be considered in this connection is that our courts have always held that a contract for the payment of gold dollars could be enforced, and that the debtor could be compelled to pay in the coin of his contract. If the European money-lender fears that he might get back a less valuable money than that which he loaned, all he would have to do to make himself secure on this score would be to take his note payable in gold. This has been done in many cases. Most of the industrial stocks and railroad and other bonds are payable in gold; and yet, as if to show the absurity of the statement that any one fears that our money is not sufficiently stable, the highest priced stocks and bonds on the market are payable in currency.

Having, as I think, by a mere recital of these undisputed and well-authenticated facts and figures demonstrated the correctness of the first proposition laid down, I will proceed to a consideration of the other—that is, that our silver legislation has materially assisted in enabling us to weather the financial storms. As stated before, no one claims that the volume of money is too great. In 1878 we had a circulation of $766,253,576, or $15.32 per capita. This amount was made up principally of $346,881,016 United States notes, which have remained in circulation ever since, and of $324,514,284 national-bank notes.

At the present time the volume of the national-bank notes has been reduced to $172,683,850, while the silver and silver certificates have supplied the vacuum occasioned by their retirement, and, together with the increase in gold, has swelled the circulation up to $24.47 per capita. Does any man suppose that if we had not added to our circulation we could have received and absorbed the immense amount of securities which have been returned to us from Europe, moved our enormous crops, supplied our increased population with the necessary circulating medium, and continued to develop our resources during the past three years?

But it has been said that if we had not inflated our currency with silver more gold would have been shipped to us. My reply to this is, that the table from which I have read shows that each year since the resumption of specie payments, when the international financial balances have been in our favor, the difference has been paid to us in gold, except for the year 1891, when we imported less than three million dollars more of silver than we exported. But why should we want to import gold? If owing to a scarcity of money in this country which would have prevailed but for the increase of our silver circulation, we had drawn from across the waters more gold, in what way would that have benefited us?

In Europe, as elsewhere, the price of commodities is affected by the volume of the circulating medium, and if we take from those people their money, to that extent we decrease their ability to buy, and thereby lower the price of the surplus products of our industries which must find a market in foreign countries; and would anyone contend that the satisfaction of having a larger amount of gold than we have or need would compensate us for this deplorable result? As it was, instead of being compelled to take their gold, which we did not need, we bought from them things which we did need; thus affording them a market, which in turn enabled them to buy from us. After all, the only commercial need of gold as applied to this country is in the settlement of adverse international balances. Our other forms of currency, which are a full legal tender in all domestic transactions, are more convenient and more acceptable to our people so long as their parity with gold is maintained by the Government. That we have sufficient gold to do this I think I have shown.

The remaining proposition which I desire to discuss is, that silver ought to be restored to its former condition as a money metal and placed on an exact equality at the mints of the country with gold. The justness of this has not been questioned by anyone, and the only point at issue seems to be. Is it practicable; and if so, at what ratio? I shall endeavor to show that it is practicable, and at the present and long-established ratio of 16 to 1. The contention of those who take an opposite view is that if free coinage of silver prevails, silver now in foreign countries would be shipped into the United States, coined into dollars, exchanged for gold, and the gold shipped out of the country, and this process repeated until we would have no gold left. This is a very important matter, and a point that must be carefully examined.

The first thing to be considered is the supply of silver and the use it is being put to. Manifestly, if an article is being used in any other country more advantageously than it could be here, it will remain there. I am informed by the Director of the Mint that outside of the United States there is practically no bullion silver in existence, and very little in the United States besides that which is in her vaults; that nearly all the silver, except that which is owned by this Government, has been used in the arts or coined into money. No considerable part of that which is manufactured into the various articles for which silver is used will be presented at our mints, because it would then only be worth the number of dollars it would make; and hence the owner would have to lose the additional value which the article possesses, owing to the work that had been done upon it. How would it be, then, with the silver in use in other countries as coin?

In this connection I wish to digress long enough to refer to that supremely ridiculous expression which we hear used so much—the 60-cent dollar. Why not refer to the greenback dollar as the 1-mill dollar, as that amount would cover the cost of producing the bill. The truth is, that since the Government maintains the parity between the dollars by redeeming the one in the other, at the option of the holder, a gold dollar is worth just one silver dollar and no more, and the silver dollar is worth just one gold dollar and no less, and the greenback and the bank-note dollar is worth just the same as either.

But it is said that in the foreign markets the silver dollar is worth only about 60 cents, as that is the value of the metal in it. Then, according to the same reasoning, the greenback dollar is worth in a foreign market nothing. The truth is that our silver dollar and our greenback dollar are each worth, in any part of the world, just 100 cents in gold, less the interest on the money while in transit to and from the United States, plus the cost of transportation, and the same thing applies to the money of all other countries.

Mr. BYNUM. Will the gentleman answer a question right there?

Mr. BELL of Texas. I will try to.

Mr. BYNUM. Why is it that the Mexican dollar does not sell for the same amount in London as the United States dollar? It contains 6 cents more silver.

Mr. BELL of Texas. I have just explained that. It is because you can send a silver dollar back here and get a gold dollar for it, and if you send it back all anybody would be out would be the interest on it for two weeks and the cost of getting the silver dollar over here and getting the gold dollar back. So we must remember that while there is in use in the world silver coin to

the enormous amount of $4,000,000,000, all of it is worth in the countries where it is coined, not its bullion value, but its coin value.

Let us then see where the silver which is to flood our country and drive away our gold is to come from. France has silver coin of the value of $700,000,000. It is on an exact parity with gold: it pays debts, serves as bank reserves, and in every other way is just as valuable as gold; and yet the ratio between gold and silver in France is 15½ to 1, while the ratio in this country is 16 to 1. To express it in a different way: The equivalent of an American dollar in French coin contains 359.91 grains of silver, while the American dollar contains 371.25 grains. Would any one be so silly as to think that French silver coin would come to this country when the owner of it would lose 11 grains on each dollar's worth, regardless of the loss from abrasion; and if it did, and the owner offered to have it recoined in our country, would not some one inform him that by returning it to France it could be utilized in payment of debts or in exchange for gold at a ratio of 15½ to 1, while here he could only exchange it at the ratio of 16 to 1?

Exactly the same thing applies to all the nations of Europe which have any silver; the ratio being in each of them 15½ to 1, while in India, which has nearly one-fourth of the coined silver in the world, the ratio is 15 to 1. This, I think, shows very clearly that we can, without driving gold from our country, maintain the free coinage of silver at the present ratio of 16 to 1, as long as other people have a lower ratio, and there will be plenty of time for us to adopt a higher ratio than we now have when the other nations of the world change their coinage laws.

Mr. Speaker, the benefits which would flow to the people of the United States from the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and the evils which would result from its less extensive use as a money of the country, have been so fully explained by other gentlemen on this floor that it is impossible for me to add anything to what has been so well said. However, I deem it but proper to state that even if our views do not prevail, I do not indulge in the gloomy forebodings so often and so sorrowfully expressed by the gentlemen with whom I am associated on this measure.

It is not recommended by the President, or suggested by any one here, that we should destroy the silver dollar we have, or take away from it its legal-tender character. Hence, there will be no contraction of our currency. The trouble is, that while our population increases, and our business expands, our circulating medium will remain stationary, except so far as it may be augmented by the importation of gold or the issuance of national-bank notes. I think I have shown that the former method of adding to our supply of the precious metal is not promotive of the substantial welfare of the American people; and my fondest political hope is to see the day when it will not be in the power of any number of our private citizens to increase, diminish, or in any way regulate the volume of the nation's money.

Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to be misunderstood on this point. I am no enemy to banks or bankers. I recognize their business as being just as legitimate and fully as honest and honorable as any other secular calling. The idea expressed by so many, that our financial difficulties were brought about by a conspiracy of bankers, I repudiate utterly. I believe that but for the assistance which has been rendered, and which is being rendered, the business public by the bankers, many times at the jeopardy of their private means, the collapse in our land would have been complete. In their good work I bid them Godspeed.

Mr. Speaker, I am not one of those who think that the free coinage of silver will prove a panacea for all, or much of, our ills. I believe it would be the least beneficial of any of the economic measures to which the party of which I am a member is committed; but, because I regard it as a step in the right direction, I shall cast my vote for every proposition which is calculated to promote a return to the system founded by our fathers and under which they lived and prospered.

I am aware that many others wish to explain their views on this absorbing question, and will therefore bring my remarks to a speedy close. In doing so, I desire to express the hope that we may be guided by wisdom, as I am sure we will be prompted by patriotism, in whatever course we may adopt, and that our action will turn back the tide of adversity, revive confidence, restore credit, and cause the country of our pride, like a young giant refreshed by slumber, to shake off her lethargy, and stand proudly up at the head of the nations of the universe. [Applause.]

The table referred to is as follows:

Monetary systems and approximate stocks of money in the aggregate and per capita in the principal countries of the world.

Countries.	Monetary system.	Ratio between gold and full legal-tender silver.	Ratio between gold and limited tender silver.	Population.	Stock of gold.	Stock of silver.			Uncovered paper.	Per capita.			
						Full tender.	Limited tender.	Total.		Gold.	Silver.	Paper.	Total.
United States	Gold and silver	1 to 15.98	1 to 14.95	67,000,000	$604,000,000	$538,000,000	$77,000,000	$615,000,000	$412,000,000	$9.01	$9.18	$6.15	$24.34
United Kingdom	Gold		1 to 14.28	38,000,000	550,000,000		100,000,000	100,000,000	50,000,000	14.47	2.63	1.32	18.42
France	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	39,000,000	800,000,000	650,000,000	50,000,000	700,000,000	81,402,000	20.52	17.95	2.09	40.56
Germany	Gold		1 to 13.957	49,500,000	600,000,000	103,000,000	108,000,000	211,000,000	107,000,000	12.12	4.26	2.16	18.54
Belgium	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	6,100,000	65,000,000	48,400,000	6,600,000	55,000,000	54,000,000	10.66	9.02	8.85	25.53
Italy	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	31,000,000	93,605,000	16,000,000	34,200,000	50,200,000	163,471,000	3.01	1.62	5.27	9.91
Switzerland	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	3,000,000	15,000,000	11,400,000	3,600,000	15,000,000	14,000,000	5.00	5.00	4.67	14.67
Greece	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	2,200,000	2,000,000	1,800,000	2,200,000	4,000,000	14,000,000	.91	1.82	6.36	9.09
Spain	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	18,000,000	40,000,000	120,000,000	38,000,000	158,000,000	100,000,000	2.22	8.78	5.56	16.56
Portugal	Gold		1 to 14.08	5,000,000	40,000,000		10,000,000	10,000,000	45,000,000	8.00	2.00	9.00	19.00
Austria-Hungary	do		1 to 13.69	40,000,000	40,000,000	90,000,000		90,000,000	260,000,000	1.00	2.25	6.50	9.75
Netherlands	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 15	4,500,000	25,000,000	61,800,000	3,200,000	65,000,000	40,000,000	5.55	14.42	8.89	28.88
Scandinavian Union	Gold		1 to 14.88	8,600,000	32,000,000		10,000,000	10,000,000	27,000,000	3.72	1.16	3.14	8.02
Russia	Silver	1 to 15½	1 to 15	113,000,000	250,000,000	22,000,000	38,000,000	60,000,000	500,000,000	2.21	.53	4.42	7.16
Turkey	Gold and silver		1 to 15.1	33,000,000	50,000,000		45,000,000	45,000,000		1.52	1.36	.....	2.88
Australia	Gold		1 to 14.28	4,000,000	100,000,000		7,000,000	7,000,000		25.00	1.75	.....	26.75
Egypt	do		1 to 15.68	7,000,000	100,000,000		15,000,000	15,000,000		14.29	2.14	.....	16.43
Mexico	Silver	1 to 16½		11,600,000	5,000,000	50,000,000		50,000,000	2,000,000	.43	4.31	.17	4.91
Central America	do	1 to 15½		3,000,000		500,000		500,000	2,000,000	.....	.17	.67	.84
South America	do	1 to 15½		35,000,000	45,000,000	25,000,000		25,000,000	600,000,000	1.29	.71	17.14	19.14
Japan	Gold and silver	1 to 16.18		40,000,000	90,000,000	50,000,000		50,000,000	56,000,000	2.25	1.25	1.40	4.90
India	Silver	1 to 15		255,000,000		900,000,000		900,000,000	28,000,000	.....	3.53	.11	3.64
China	do			400,000,000		700,000,000		700,000,000		.....	1.75	.....	1.75
The Straits						100,000,000		100,000,000					
Canada	Gold		1 to 14.95	4,500,000	16,000,000		5,000,000	5,000,000	40,000,000	3.56	1.11	8.89	13.56
Cuba, Haiti, etc.	do	1 to 15½		2,000,000	20,000,000	1,200,000	800,000	2,000,000	40,000,000	10.00	1.00	20.00	31.00
Total					3,582,605,000	3,489,100,000	553,600,000	4,042,700,000	2,635,873,000	.....	.....	.....	.....

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *Bureau of the Mint, August 16, 1893.*

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, I desire before commencing my prepared remarks on the subject under consideration to answer a question that was asked by the learned gentleman who preceded me, in which he stated this proposition: Why is a silver dollar an honest dollar? It is because it has the broad seal of the Government of this country that stamps it as honest; and without that seal it would not be an honest dollar. Just here I will relate a little incident that proves what a silver dollar or a certificate that calls for a silver dollar is worth in Germany as compared with the greenback money. I had a friend who, about two months ago, offered a $5 note in Bremen, Germany, as payment for some purchases that he had made. It was immediately discovered by the person to whom he offered the note that it called for five silver dollars, and my friend was compelled to take the actual value of the silver as it was in Germany on that particular day.

Mr. HEINER. The bullion value?

Mr. HICKS. The bullion value; and on the same day he offered a five-dollar greenback note in payment for a purchase that he had made, and it was taken at its gold value. That is the difference, I take it, between silver money and the money that we call gold money, if you choose; and it would be foolish and useless for this Government, in the face of all the nations

with whom we deal, to undertake to maintain the parity between gold and silver, unless those nations with whom we do business will agree with us.

Mr. Speaker, the question and the substitute under consideration is in no sense a question that appeals to party spirit or party prejudice, but one which concerns the business interests of the entire country—East, West, North, and South. Whether or not the so-called purchasing of silver has caused the present stagnation of trade and financial distress, reports of which reach us from all parts of the country, is directly chargeable to the Sherman law must necessarily enter more or less into the intelligent discussion of the question, and of this one fact we may rest assured, that no matter how much we may differ as to the causes of the present distress, the most of us agree that at least a part of it is chargeable to the distrust and uneasiness caused by the purchasing of silver in the quantities that are directed by law.

There are none of us but understand that what is called money is that which passes freely from hand to hand throughout the community in final discharge of debts and full payment for all commodities, and the most important function which it discharges is that of facilitating exchanges and of affording a ready means of establishing the comparative value of different commodities. Indeed, the idea of general value can not be fixed without the existence of money; and as a medium of exchange and measure of value it acts as a standard in the regulation of contracts. Its three functions are, first, as a medium of exchange; second, as a measure by which the comparative values of exchange can be estimated; third, as the standard by which obligations are determined.

Money must be a fixed and unchangeable measure, and must be so recognized by all countries which exchange commodities or enjoy commercial relations with each other; and any changing of its value, or debasement of it that causes a reduction of its value as a purchasing power, destroys public confidence and causes distrust. If the legal money is debased, he who has services to sell, or is the owner of property, can raise the price to suit the occasion. But legal debts and legal money go side by side. These are well-established principles governing money and its uses upon which we all agree.

By the Constitution of the United States Congress has power to coin money and regulate the value thereof. Hence Congress has full command over all the legal debts of the nation, and any abuse of this power, like the debasing of money, causes distrust. This same power that can debase or enrich the legal tender of the country also has the power to increase or decrease all legal debts. From 1794 to 1873 there was no change in our silver dollar, except in 1837, when the ratio was reduced from 416 grains to 412½ grains. In 1873, silver coinage not being provided for, its legal-tender power was taken away. In 1878 it was restored to its former condition as full legal tender for all debts, except when otherwise stipulated in the contract.

Mr. John A. Grier, of Pennsylvania, in his pamphlet—a little book written a few years ago, entitled "Our Silver Coinage," in which he ably reviews the subject as an advocate of silver—says the demonetization of silver in 1873-'74 was a huge blunder, and in the law restoring silver to its old place in 1878 the law of 1873, wherein gold is recognized as the unit of value, remained unchanged and was not repealed in that particular, therefore the restoring of silver creates a new unit of value; hence he claims that we have two units of value—the gold dollar and the silver dollar. And one of the principal reasons urged for the enactment of the law demonetizing silver by the gentleman who had charge of the measure in 1873-'74 [Mr. Hooper] was that the Government could get gold at that time 3 per cent cheaper than silver, and as we then had heavy coin obligations to meet it was wise to provide for the coinage of gold alone.

This, we must remember, was at a time when our people had nearly forgotten that there was such a thing as gold and silver money, as it was then distinctively an age of paper money. So that from 1793 to 1873 we were under a double standard, and from 1873 to 1878 we were under a single or gold standard, and the law of 1873 distinctly states that the gold dollar shall be the unit of value.

Mr. Grier argues with great clearness and force for the continuance of silver coin as money, and, indeed, the overwhelming sentiment of the entire country is, we believe, to-day for the use of silver as a part of our currency; but by reason of the cheapness of silver the difficulty of maintaining it on a parity with gold presents itself, especially so in our dealings with foreign nations who do business only on a gold basis, and to do this, it is contended, a new ratio must be established, and there must be no compulsion upon the Government to purchase it for the purpose of creating a market for the owners and producers of silver. But even a new ratio with a constantly changing market will not cure the evil so long as we stand, almost alone, among the nations of the world to maintain both gold and silver as money on a parity with each other.

The heaping up of large quantities of bar silver in the vaults of the Treasury can not impress any one as a proper measure, and its enactment into law was one of those peculiar compromises that at times have to be resorted to, to bring extremes together, or to prevent, as was the case at that time, the enactment of what was claimed to be a worse measure.

This part of the law, *i. e.*, the purchasing clause, having caused so much adverse comment and distrust, it is now sought to repeal, first, by those who deem the legislation unwise; second, by those who think it responsible for our money stringency; and third, by those who believe that gold alone should be our standard of money; and those who favor silver legislation have offered as a substitute a measure providing for free and unlimited coinage. Neither of these measures, it is claimed, seek to discard silver as a legal-tender money.

The one law, however, contemplates a stoppage, temporarily, of the coinage of silver, except possibly the coinage of what we have on hand. The others claim in their measure, that is, the free-coinage measure, that those who urge the repeal of the Sherman act are in the wrong, and that our present financial disturbances are not chargeable to this, but to some other cause (which other cause they fail to give us), but contend that a more liberal measure of coinage and treatment of silver is demanded instead of the present law; and this new measure will, they claim, at once restore confidence and cure us of all our present ills.

One gentleman [Mr. GOLDZIER] in his address against the free coinage of silver upon the floor of this House likens the country to a sick patient, and says: "We," meaning the Democratic party, of course, "are the doctors," and as such, and he as one of them, prescribe a remedy. I fear, Mr. Speaker, if the remedy proposed by the gentleman, to wit, the repeal of the Sherman law, depended on the Democratic party, the patient would die before the doctors could agree.

The fact is, Mr. Speaker, the Democratic party can not administer the proper medicine to this distressed country, for the reasons, first, they have not properly diagnosed the case; second, they do not have the proper medicine in store; and third, they are hopelessly disagreed as to the remedy needed, and it is against their school of medicine to administer the only remedy that can restore suspended animation to the great body politic of this country that now exists; but, sirs, call in the other school, the old tried and reliable Republican doctors, and in a few days time you will see such a change in the appearance of things that will astonish you. Why, the very presence of the old doctor, the old familiar family physician, will at once act as a stimulant and as a restorer, without applying a remedy. [Applause.]

The question of what is the proper thing to do is now before us for action. Patriotism demands in this crisis its careful consideration and an honest and conscientious vote, for the best interests of the whole country, as we understand it, and each for himself must answer to his constituency if he is in error in his final judgment. The agricultural community and the entire business interests of the country, including the manufacturing interests, and especially the latter, are at a standstill, and individuals and parties are divided as to which is the right thing to do; and there are many of us who believe that if a free-coinage measure would add one cent additional to the value of a bushel of wheat, or any additional value to farming lands, or would in any way relieve the present distress that pervades the entire country, we would cheerfully vote for it, and no one would be more willing to vote for such a measure than myself.

Yet, after careful consideration and a patient and careful as well as considerate hearing of all that has been urged by the gentlemen who have advocated the free coinage of silver, I am free to say that, although open to conviction and anxious to learn and do the right, I have been unable to come to a conclusion that will favor the measure offered by Mr. BLAND: and if the limited coinage that has been tried as an experiment since the enactment of the Sherman law has brought about so much distrust and financial distress as is claimed, by the same process of reasoning we must conclude that free and unlimited coinage would cause greater distrust, greater depression in business, and greater financial distress, with its attendant consequences.

The President of the United States has chosen to say to Congress that the so-called Sherman law is responsible for the present condition of affairs. With this position assumed by the President—and we all accord to him honesty and sincerity of purpose—a great many of the distinguished gentlemen on the floor of the House have taken issue, and in the excellent and learned discussion of the subject as given to the House a few days since by Gen. GROSVENOR, of Ohio, that distinguished gentleman said, in language that was unmistakable and to my mind unanswerable, that the Sherman law had very little to do with the present condition of affairs.

Indeed, it was but a subterfuge and a scapegoat, so to speak, on which those who have the direction of affairs choose to place our present depressed condition, and the real cause of the difficulty was the disposition on the part of the President and his advisers to tamper with the well-known protection policy [applause] that has been the distinguishing feature of the Government of this great country for the past thirty years, and under which it has so wonderfully progressed, and that by the attack that is intended to be made upon this policy, which has done so much to make this the greatest country on the face of the earth, the manufacturing interests of the country have become alarmed, and the fear of their business being ruined and the product of their manufactures being depreciated in value, has compelled them to suspend work and discharge their labor, and the smoke of the stacks that was so welcome during the year 1892, and the music of the spindles and looms, the hum of which meant work for the laborer and means of support to his family and happiness and contentment everywhere, is now heard no more, and instead from all our manufacturing districts comes up the complaint that the wheels of industry have stopped. And in all these idleness reigns supreme.

In the city af Altoona, where I reside, in the month of August, 1892, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company paid to its employés about $460,000, and in the month of August, 1893, they paid about $160,000.

A MEMBER. For wages?

Mr. HICKS. For wages. In the month of September, 1892, the same corporation paid out $498,000, within $2,000 of half a million: while for the month of September of this year, the estimate they have upon their pay roll is about $140,000; and in the city of Johnstown the Cambria Iron Company has been compelled to suspend from 7,000 to 10,000 of its employés.

What has caused this depression in business? The President has said it is the Sherman law; but, sir, it is the threat of the Democratic party, and the belief of the business and manufacturing people of the country that they intend to interfere with the protective policy that for so many years has done so much to build up the manufacturing interests of our country, and which protective policy has been fostered by the great Republican party. [Applause.]

And in this connection, Mr. Speaker, I desire to have the Clerk read an extract from the New York Press, which very vividly portrays the condition of the country in 1892 and the condition of the country at its present time.

The Clerk read as follows:

DARE DEMOCRATS DENY IT?

One year ago the prosperity of this nation was at high-water mark. Eighteen hundred and ninety-two was the banner year of American industrial progess. During the twelve months ending at midnight on the 31st day of last December the American people produced more and consumed more than in any year of their history. Our foreign trade broke all records by its magnitude. The volume of our industrial production and our exchange of products among ourselves went far beyond all precedent. We produced a million tons more of pig iron than in 1891, and 2,000,000 tons more than Great Britain. We produced 200,000 tons of steel rails more than in the preceding year. We consumed 59,000,000 pounds more wool than in 1891.

Capital and labor were alike fully and profitably employed. The factory wheels revolved unceasingly. Wages were higher than ever before. Confidence was universal. Credit was freely extended. The integrity of the currency was assured. There were fewer commercial failures than in any year since 1882. The creation of wealth for the nation and competence for the toiler went on apace under the shield of America's second Declaration of Independence, the McKinley law.

Until the Bourbons and the Socialists elected Grover Cleveland there was every prospect that the same conditions would prevail during 1893. The capital of the nation, the executive ability of its leaders of industry, the enterprise of its merchants, and the skill of its trained workers were at the highest point on November 8, when the Democratic party triumphed on a platform that declared war on every American interest.

With the election of Cleveland manufacturers and merchants began to trim their sails in anticipation of the coming storm. With the inauguration of Cleveland the storm burst. Confidence vanished. Credit fled. Capital hid itself. Securities in which a large proportion of the country's wealth was invested rapidly dwindled in value till the loss to the people exceeded $1,000,000,000. Bank after bank went to the wall. The liabilities of commercial failures for the first six months of the year were more than double those of the corresponding period of 1892. Menaced by revolution, American industries ceased to expand and began to retrograde. Production has fallen and wages have fallen with it. Every plate-glass factory in the country has shut down. The great iron mines of the Northwest have suspended operations. Blast-furnace fires are being banked. Trade balances are against us. Textile mills are everywhere closing, or restricting their product. The prices of wool and wheat have sunk to a ruinous figure. The farmer suffers with the merchant and the manufacturer. Tens of thousands of American workingmen who last year were busy and prosperous are idle and facing destitution to-day.

The Press asserts explicitly and directly that the prevailing conditions of disaster have been brought about by the threat of Democratic free trade. It asserts that the loss of the people through the depreciation of securities, the paralysis of credit, and the stagnation of industries would not have taken place had Benjamin Harrison been elected instead of Grover Cleveland. The Press challenges Democratic newspapers to deny this statement. Is there one Democratic organ that dares to assert that the disaster which has come upon the country since March 4 would have occurred if the Republican party had continued to control the Government?

Mr. HICKS. In all that is said by the New York Press, in the article just read and in the discussion of this question by the many distinguished gentlemen on the floor of this House—in nothing that has been said has an explanation been made that denies the statement asserted therein.

And to those of us who can remember what has frequently been referred to by some gentlemen on the other side as to the good old Democratic days before the war, we beg to remind the gentlemen that about the same condition of affairs existed from 1856 to 1860 under Democratic administration that exists to-day: and the message of President James Buchanan to the Congress assembled in 1856, in describing the condition of the country at that time, used language very similar to that which was used by the present President of the United States in his recent message to this Congress.

Indeed, one of the most flagrant acts of betrayal of public trust by the Democratic party that led to the condition of affairs referred to by President Buchanan was the act of George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania, when he in opposition to the interests of his State, and in violation of the pledges of his party, cast his vote as Vice-President of this country, and as the representative of the Democratic party against the tariff of 1842, thereby bringing about its repeal, and the sufferings and distress that culminated from 1856 to 1860 were directly chargeable to the report of that measure.

The student of history who will take the pains to examine will discover that when this country was working under a policy of protection instead of a policy of tariff for revenue only it was in a far more prosperous condition. The Democratic party has always been, at least for the past thirty years, the pessimistic party of this great nation, and, as a Republican, I point with pride to the success and prosperity of the country during the days of Republican administration, and am willing at any time to have its policy contrasted, by any fair-minded person, with the policy of the Democratic party (if it has a policy).

Mr. Speaker, many of us well remember the so-called good old Democratic days of 1856 to 1860, of low wages, scarcity of work, and greater scarcity of money. The old rag-paper currency of State banks, dishonored and worthless, and the distress and suffering then existing, especially in the winter of 1857, was without parallel, before or since, especially in the iron districts of Pennsylvania, excepting, possibly, the present time. The great Cambria Iron Works, of Johnstown, with its army of from 7,000 to 10,000 workers, is almost at a standstill.

The miners of coal and manufacturers of coke on the Alleghanies have nothing to do; the great repair and machine shops of the Pennsylvania Railroad at Altoona are working only about one-third of the time, and instead of the pay roll for the month of August reaching the munificent sum of $450,000 (almost half a million), as it did in August, 1892, it did not reach half that amount; and it will be far less in September.

Is this the change that was desired and urged by the Democratic party? It is, sir, an additional and most convincing argument against the principles enunciated in their deluding platform. It is at variance with the best interests of, and is directly antagonistic to, the prosperity of the laboring man, as well as the manufacturer. Wheat was then, as now, at a very low price; but with no labor and no means of earning money, little does it matter how cheap are the necessaries of life.

Those good old Democratic days may well be boasted of, except to those who know the sad experience of those days and the misery and destitution then existing; and may God forbid that the working people of Pennsylvania, yea, of the whole country, may ever again see such a winter as the winter of the "good old Democratic days" of the winter of 1857.

Since the election the people have stopped to think, and are examining what was promised them by the Democratic party in order to induce them to make a change, and they have discovered that that party itself, which promised so much for the public good, is hopelessly divided, except in their desire for public office, and that to-day, instead of unanimously working for the best interests of the country, they are upon the floor of this House charging each other with bad faith; and you have the piteous spectacle of the President and the acknowledged leader of his party pointing out one line of policy, while many of its most distinguished leaders in the Senate and on the floor of this House take issue with him and say that if that line of policy is followed as he recommends it will be most ruinous and work far greater injury to the country than any other measure he might possibly suggest.

The fact is, Mr. Speaker, if this Congress would by resolution to-day declare that the protection policy which was fostered by the great Republican party should continue untouched, and would then adjourn without any action whatever upon the Sherman law, confidence would be at once restored, and the busy hum of the hives of industry would be heard again from ocean to ocean, and from North to South, and happiness and contentment would again reign supreme in the homes of our people.

This hopeless division of the Democratic party on the financial question of to-day proves the incapacity of that party to di-

rect the affairs of this great country, and demonstrates the fact that by the promise of too much they have succeeded in getting into power. What has happened since that time and is now pervading the entire country needs no further reference on my part, as it is too well known to even require repetition.

Nations, like individuals, must be honest, and the Democratic party, by reason of its dishonesty as a party and its failure to redeem its promises, has sown the seeds of distrust from which we now suffer.

Its hopeless division already referred to on the financial question proves its inability to keep its pledges and contracts to the people. They were made to be broken, and we say here, Mr. Speaker, without fear of successful contradiction, that another matter which has not yet been referred to by any gentleman on the floor of this House has also tended largely to create distrust in the minds of the people of the ability of the present Administration to properly conduct the business of the country; and that, sir, is the disposition manifested to violate the contracts which have been entered into on the part of the Government with the men who saved this country from eternal ruin.

The country loves its old soldiers and they want their contracts with them honestly observed. I speak, sir, with due regard for what I am about to say when I assert that Mr. Cleveland has not, either by his own personal acts or by the acts of the gentlemen whom he has called into his counsels, in any way proven himself or themselves to be friendly to the Union veterans of the country, and they have shown no disposition, either by word or act, to live up to the contracts of the Government to care for the old soldier and his family when old age and disease should overtake him.

Indeed, Mr. Speaker, it is to the disgrace of this great nation that we find a condition of affairs existing such as never before existed in this country, nor has its like existed in any other country. Claims against the Government upon a solemn contract, proven in due form of law, considered by a proper court after careful and patient hearing, and a judgment entered in each case, and the money justly due and owing, partly paid on account of said judgment, have, by the act of one man, been entirely overturned, and judgment reversed without a hearing and without notice, until after the decree of reversal was entered against the plaintiff in the case.

The present Secretary of the Interior has, by the stroke of his pen, decided that the solemn judgment entered by legal and proper authority and in accordance with law, in thousands of pension cases, by his honored predecessors, was entered, as he now declares, without authority of law, and he has reversed decrees for the payment of pensions that were granted in the manner indicated, and pensions have been stopped, and pensioners have been notified by thousands that they must again go through the forms prescribed by law and present again their claims before an unfriendly court, acting as judge and jury, to prove themselves entitled to the small pittance which the Government had already granted them upon cases heard and adjudicated.

Such a wholesale overturning of precedents was never before heard of, and the Union veteran who has had his pension stopped is held up before the community in which he resides as a fraud, impostor, perjurer, and cheat; and he is humiliated before his neighbors, and made to feel as though he has acted an unworthy part in securing for himself that which was his right; and thus in his old age the Government he faithfully served has turned its back upon him and has attempted to disgrace him. This violation of contract upon the part of the present Administration has been felt all over this land, and, in my humble judgment, it has had as much to do with sowing the seeds of distrust as any other act either omitted or committed by the present Administration.

I appeal to the gallant soldiers of the Confederacy who sit upon the other side of this House, and with whom the boys in blue at Appomattox divided rations and broke the bread of eternal fellowship and brotherhood, and as one of that army who wore the blue who helped to make it possible for these soldiers of the Confederacy to occupy the distinguished positions they now hold in the halls of Congress, and the many other places of honor and preferment in the gift of this great and generous people, and in the name of these thousands of men who have been denied this small pittance by the Government, and who have been held up as targets for public condemnation, I ask for fair play and justice.

It has never been in the heart of the Union soldier, and I challenge proof of it, to gloat over the defeat of our Southern brothers; but, trusting to their honor, we have aided so far as we could in restoring to you, my soldier friends on the other side, the right of the ballot; and by the exercise of that right, which grew out of our confidence and generosity, we ask you to see that fair play and honest dealing shall be given to the thousands of now old and infirm men who suffered in saving this country, the benefit of which you reap, which is represented in this most solemn obligation of the Government—the pension roll—that the Secretary of the Interior is now trying to make dishonorable.

In doing this I say it is but reasonable and just, Mr. Speaker, to expect that the gallant men who wore the gray will remember the debt of gratitude which is due the Union veteran—a debt which they in common with every other citizen of the Union, and their prospering section as well as every other section of the country, owes to the old blue soldier, now in the days of the sere and yellow leaf of old age.

As these pensions have been stopped in many homes all over this nation, the grocer has failed to receive his due, and he in turn would fail to meet his obligation, and thus it has extended from hamlet to town and from town to village and from village to county seat and from county seat to the cities and the great centers of trade until every artery of the great financial fabric of the nation has responded to this outrage. This is one of the many causes that have led the people to believe that their interests are not safe in the hands of the men who are now attempting to control the affairs of this great nation.

Mr. Speaker, I desire briefly to refer to another matter that is causing much anxiety and concern to the business interests of the country; that is, sir, the declaration in the platform of the Democratic party favoring the repeal of the tax upon State banks; this is a threat and menace to our present system of national currency, the system now in use by this Government, and which, barring the cheap silver dollar, is pronounced to be the best ever devised by man, and while it may be improved and strengthened, any serious changes made in it must work and cause serious disaster and confusion, and the threat as promulgated by the Democratic party is already bearing evil fruit and has aided to create the present prevailing distrust.

During the protective Administration of President Harrison the business of this country so prospered as to warrant an increase of 26,000 new business concerns. But notwithstanding this unprecedented increase of our mercantile institutions, the failures during the last year of Mr. Harrison's Administration were 335 less than the last year of President Cleveland's first Administration, and the total amount involved in such failures was less by $9,786,000.

Immediately after the election of President Cleveland in 1892 came the speedy contraction of business already referred to, and preparation was at once made, and sails were taken in by business men and manufacturers to be prepared for unknown impending dangers, and the amounts involved in commercial failures increased over 200 per cent in six months, comparing the first months of 1893 with the first months of 1892. From all parts of this country to-day we hear of idle men, most of whom are anxious and willing and ready to work, and no work to do. In New York but a day or two ago a riot was imminent, and unless something speedily be done the cry will soon come from all quarters of this great nation, "Give us bread."

Says a distinguished authority and writer in the New York Tribune:

> Financial distress and ruin must always follow the change from doing business with poor money to good money; hence, no nation should ever adopt a depreciated currency, and in the end the use of a depreciated or debased currency will inevitably result in disaster to any nation that adopts it, and so far as history discloses no nation has ever yet changed from a depreciated currency to a sound one whose people have not suffered.

This was primarily the cause of the panic in 1873, and our friends in the South can well take this picture home with them, and they can cite to you the fearful struggle that they have had to rebuild their beautiful country since the ravages of war and from the effect of their worthless money. Yet notwithstanding this lesson we are face to face with a currency (our silver coinage) that is not what it pretends or claims to be, but is of less real value than a dollar.

This fact causes distrust, which means and is soon followed by disaster. Yet notwithstanding these undeniable facts, which cause us to realize our present condition, we are asked by the gentlemen who are urging the enactment of the measure proposed by Mr. Bland to agree to the free and unlimited coinage of these same debased and dishonest dollars.

Mr. Speaker, if the Sherman act has one good feature above another, it is the limit fixed in its purchasing clause in which the Government is permitted to purchase a certain amount of silver. And, as we have already been informed by the President, this is in a great measure the cause of our present disturbed financial condition. If we do not choose to vote for its repeal, we must vote for the substitute presented by the gentleman from Missouri, which will continue the coinage of these same dollars for anyone who wants them, without stint or limit. And herein a great wrong has been done to the Republicans of this body; we are not permitted to suggest a remedy, but must choose between the two propositions submitted by the Democratic party.

Surely to vote for free coinage at this crisis would be a great mistake, and, if to purchase silver in a limited amount has caused the present distress (and the President says it has) and an almost total stagnation of business, what will be the result, sir, if we, in the face of this condition, declare for free and unlimited coinage? Public confidence has become impaired; distrust reigns supreme; every owner of money places it in his pocket and keeps it there; currency is sold as a commodity at a high rate of premium—and all this is caused, so we are informed by financiers, by this purchasing of silver, and from all parts of this great country comes the demand from farmers, from bankers, and from business men, for the repeal of this law by which they claim they will have relief.

Are the requests and demands of these men of experience and practical knowledge to be treated as unworthy of consideration, and are we to be led by men of no experience and who have no means of knowledge of the real situation except their own theories, and shall we, in disregard of the requests of practical men, do away with one experiment that has proven a failure merely to try another on the same line on a larger scale, and thus by the failure on our part to aid in restoring public confidence place ourselves in a much worse condition than we now are?

What can be urged, Mr. Speaker, and what has been urged by the advocates of free coinage that is better than the law we now have? The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SIBLEY] who has advocated free coinage upon the floor of this House failed to state in what way the enactment of that measure would enhance the value of farm products, or increase the value of a day's labor, or start again in operation a single manufacturing establishment or branch of industry. The same gentleman claims to represent the farmers of Pennsylvania, and in their name demands the continuance of the coinage of these debased and dishonest dollars.

I take issue with the gentleman right here, and assert that if there is one principle above another that the farmers of Pennsylvania are noted for, it is their honesty, integrity, and their belief in a sound currency; and they will authorize no man, here or elsewhere, to urge for them the coinage of a dollar that is intrinsically worth but little more than 50 cents. The farmers of Pennsylvania do not believe in fiat money. "Thou shalt not steal," says the gentleman. Is he not violating his own command when he robs the people by coining dishonest dollars to enrich the owners of silver mines? He further says, in advocacy of free coinage, that when silver goes up in price, wheat follows it, and when it goes down, wheat likewise goes down. Is not the gentleman by his own argument proving that such an unstable article as silver is not a fit standard upon which to measure values?

Therefore, in the absence of facts and in the face of the result of a well-tried experience, will not the theories of free coinage lead us to greater disaster and more extended financial distress than we are now suffering from? And must we in answer to the petitions and opinions of men of wisdom and experience turn a deaf ear and listen to and act with theorists only? Does not our best judgment dictate the immediate repeal of a law or that part of a law that is supposed to contribute in any way to our present distress, and by this action restore, or at least assist to restore, confidence?

This being done, it would be wisdom for us to then stop and give time for thought and further examination of the subject that is so potent for weal or woe to the country at large. Would it not be best for our friends who are so clamorous for the free coinage of silver to await the result indicated, and for the general good step aside from selfish and personal ends and personal upbuilding?

I respectfully contend, Mr. Speaker, that the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act does not impair the use of nor the value of silver as a money metal. The two great parties of this country alike promise the people that they favor bimetallism. As a Republican, sir, I say without fear of contradiction, that it is to the pride and credit of that great party that they have always adhered to the promises made in their party platforms, and many wise and wholesome laws attest the truth of my statements; and from the birth of the party in 1856 down to the present time it has always stood for a free ballot, fair elections, a protection policy, and an honest currency.

And are we not bound to keep faith and maintain silver on a parity with gold as per present ratio or standard, and doing that which honesty and fair-dealing demands must be done? In the maintenance of this double standard our Populist friends can also fall in line with us, and the only manner in which they and the silver advocates generally are restrained, is in suspending the purchase of the precious metal by the Government.

Patriotism demands that some sacrifice shall be made; and while the great iron, coal, cotton, and other manufacturing industries of the country generally are either stopped or largely affected by this depression, is it more than fair, or is it asking too much to say to the owners and producers of silver that they too must stand back and give the country time to recover its wonted condition and take breath for a new start; and by thus aiding to restore confidence, the time will soon come when with a proper ratio of a new standard established, and the new order of things that must ensue by a reëstablishment and renewal of confidence and business, the coinage of silver can again be resumed in such a manner, aided by the light of experience, as to avert ever again the loss of public confidence by reason of making a depreciated dollar, that in the end causes distrust, disaster, and financial ruin.

No, Mr. Speaker, the thing to be done to-day is to repeal the purchasing clause which compels the Government to buy silver. Whatever the material benefit of repealing may be will be far surpassed by the effect upon the restoration of confidence. The situation is such that something must be done. The stupendous piles of the manufacturing and banking establishments, leaning against and upon each other, depend upon confidence. An avalanche seldom begins suddenly. Here a piece comes away and there another, and between the last fallings of fragments and the stupendous crash there is often but an instant. There is money enough in the country, and it will pour out the moment something is done to restore confidence.

In the present situation the abstract question of bimetallism or monometallism must be postponed. The several conferences of delegates upon that subject have as yet brought forth nothing. Our methods are out of harmony with those that prevail in the world. That we can make silver other than an article of merchandise, circulating at its worth in grains in the market, without the help of other nations, none can suppose. If we could, we could not do it soon enough for the needs of the present situation.

There is but one way, Mr. Speaker, out of this difficulty. The eyes of the entire nation are directed toward these Halls. People have been led to believe, whether rightfully or not, that their present distress is chargeable upon the purchasing clause of the Sherman silver law. As patriots and as representatives of a great people it is our duty to repeal that law; and, as I have before stated, this is not the time to argue bimetallism or monometallism. We have but one plain duty, and that is not done until the purchasing clause of the Sherman silver act is erased from our statute books.

These other questions which must necessarily be considered in connection with the use of silver as money can be postponed, and with a restoration of public confidence these matters can be worked out in the future to the satisfaction of ourselves and to the satisfaction of the people whom we have the honor to represent. [Applause.]

Mr. ALDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I am a Democrat, and a bimetallist.

The platform of the Democratic party adopted at its last national convention, declares:

> We denounce the republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets, and in payment of debt; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

Mr. Cleveland, in his letter of acceptance of the Democratic nomination last year, uses this language:

> The people are entitled to sound and honest money, abundantly sufficient in volume to supply their business needs. But whatever may be the form of the people's currency, national or State—whether gold, silver, or paper—it should be so regulated and guarded by governmental action, or by wise and careful laws, that no one can be deluded as to the certainty and stability of its value. Every dollar put into the hands of the people should be of the same intrinsic value or purchasing power. With this condition absolutely guaranteed both gold and silver can be safely utilized, upon equal terms, in the adjustment of our currency.

On the faith of these declarations the Democratic party has been intrusted with power by the American people. Our party is committed to bimetallism, as well as to the repeal of the Sherman silver law, passed by a Republican Congress over the solid vote of the Democratic members of both the Senate and House of Representatives.

The Democrats in the Fifty-first Congress stood as one man against this measure, and in repealing it we but follow in the footsteps and voice the sentiments of those of our own political faith who were members of that Republican Congress which not only wronged the people by enacting this "cowardly makeshift," but by its lavish and extravagant appropriations and the passage of a McKinley tariff bill increased the burdens of an

oppressed and tax-ridden people, and attempted to add to its unenviable record by placing Federal bayonets around the voting places where freemen are expected to exercise unrestrained and untrammeled the right of franchise.

The Democratic party is not responsible for the Sherman silver law, and we are opposed to it, as we always have been. Even the Republicans themselves, smarting under the sanguinary defeat which but lately overtook them, and in fear of future chastisement for their political transgressions, assert that they are anxious to be rid of their own production, although they differ widely as to the motives which prompted them in fastening upon the country the ridiculous and ruinous policy emanating from their act of 1890 and its attending evils. Mr. SHERMAN, who gave his name to this measure, in his remarks in the Senate on the 8th instant, in excuse of the passage of this act, used the following language:

> I do not myself wish to enter into a political debate, but there is one fact I must impress upon my friend from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], and that is that the passage of the act to which he has referred was caused by the imminent danger of the two Houses of Congress agreeing to the free coinage of silver.

Mr. TELLER, another distinguished Republican Senator, replying to Mr. SHERMAN on the same day, said:

> I want to refer to the very subject mentioned by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], who has just taken his seat; that is, to the statement made by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] that the Sherman law was passed to save the country from a free-coinage act. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] was the chairman of the conference committee which framed that act, and on the floor of the Senate, when he made the report, he stated in the most emphatic manner that the House of Representatives had determined in a very positive way that no free-coinage bill could pass that body.
>
> Mr. President, I say here now, with all due deference to the honorable Senator, and trying to keep as closely within the rules of Senatorial decency and courtesy as the circumstances will admit, that that statement is an afterthought. The records will not support it. The matter was brought here in that shape for the reason that it was supposed it would quiet the agitation and would maintain intact in the Northwest the Republican column of States. We were told in plain, unmistakable language that this might be a sop to our people, which would save us and save our political organization in that great section of the country, and that we could get nothing better.

I care not, Mr. Speaker, whether the Sherman silver law was enacted to avoid the passage of an act providing for free coinage silver, as claimed by the Senator from Ohio, or whether it was placed on the statute books as a "sop" to the people of the West and to induce them to vote the Republican ticket, as averred by the Senator from Colorado; but this we do know, as is known of all men, that the Sherman law and other laws enacted by a Republican Congresses have carried ruin and disaster to the commercial interests of the country, and brought poverty and distress to our people; and at the door of the Republican party the responsibility and the blame must rest.

I do not understand that any Democratic member of this House favors the continuation of the Sherman act as the law of the land, and I do understand that we all favor its repeal.

The differences which exist among us relate solely to the questions: First, shall there be unconditional repeal of this law, or shall we provide at the same time for further coinage of silver? And, second, if silver is to be continued as one of the money metals, at what ratio shall it be coined?

That a most serious condition of affairs existed in this country was admitted in all quarters; financial depression, uncertainty, and uneasiness prevailed everywhere; ruin and disaster confronted the business interests of the country. The Executive gave heed to the demand which came up from all quarters, and exercised the prerogative vested in him by the Constitution to convene in special session the Congress of the United States "on extraordinary occasions." The representatives of the people have assembled; the eyes of the people are upon them; they are expected to enact such laws as will restore confidence, and to repeal or amend the laws enacted by Republican Congresses, and to which must be attributed the present deplorable condition of affairs existing throughout the country.

We are called upon to meet the situation for which the Democratic party is not responsible, and one which affects the whole people. I trust, Mr. Speaker, that in dealing with it we may be able to rise above party, and that in this hour of emergency we may be more of patriots than partisans, and in a conservative spirit unite in a common effort to relieve our common country of the unfortunate conditions now surrounding us.

The President, in a message bold and fearless, and couched in language characteristic of the man and of his every public utterance and expression, has recommended the repeal of the Sherman silver law—and there the message stops. He does not, as is claimed by many gentlemen, declare in favor of the unconditional repeal of the law in question. Gentlemen infer and argue that he favors unconditional repeal. After a careful reading and study of the President's message, I believe that it is unfair to him to assume that he would veto any measure which might pass Congress relating to the subject under discussion except such a measure as that introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON].

In the face of a platform which flatfootedly and unqualifiedly commits his party to the use of both gold and silver as money, and upon which he was elected; in the face of the language employed by him in his letter of acceptance of the Democratic nomination, it is far fairer to the President to presume that he is ready to carry out the pledges his party has made to the people, and that he would not interpose the veto power to prevent the people's representatives from placing among the laws of the land a conservative and reasonable measure which would furnish to the country the money necessary in the transaction of the business of the people.

Mr. Speaker, Grover Cleveland is not the man to remain silent upon any public question in respect to which he has formed an opinion. The people of this country admire him most for his devotion to the right as he sees it, his fearlessness in the discharge of duty, and his boldness of expression upon public questions; and I again assert that it is unfair to the President to assume in advance that he would veto an act providing for the free coinage of silver at a safe and reasonable ratio.

But, Mr. Speaker, while I am a Democrat and a partisan, and have as strong a disposition as any other Democrat to support, sustain, and uphold a Democratic Executive, I must say for myself, in all frankness, that I will vote upon this question as I deem to be right, and in accordance with the best interests of the people, as I understand them. I will carry out the pledges my party has made to the country; I will keep faith with the people who have elected me, regardless of future results.

I have before voted for the free coinage of silver; I have in good faith told the people of our district that I favored the use of both metals as money; they have elected me understanding my position upon this question, and I will not now lay myself open to the charge of treachery and deceit, or that I have secured their suffrages by false pretenses. I have seen no cause to change my opinion upon the question at issue, but, on the contrary, the present scarcity of money convinces me more conclusively than ever before that any law which will retard an increase in volume of currency would have a most injurious effect, and to pass it would be bad policy in the extreme.

The bill introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia will stop the further coinage of silver—the only means now provided by law for an increase of the money of the country; and in my judgment there should be substituted for it some safe and conservative measure to insure to the people an increase in their circulating medium, commensurate with the increase in population and the requirements of increased business, traffic, and trade. It may be that some of us feel embarrassed and hampered in our action here by the rule which has been adopted confining the vote to certain ratios, and to a single other question, but we must meet the situation as it is presented and vote in accordance with our conscientious convictions.

The Wilson bill, so called, provides for the repeal of so much of the act approved July 14, 1890 (the Sherman act), as directs the Secretary of the Treasury "to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month, at the market price thereof, not exceeding $1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchase Treasury notes of the United States," but, curiously enough, leaves intact that portion of the act of July 14, 1890, which declares it to be "the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law."

In other words, it is proposed to repeal the only law in existence which authorizes the coinage of silver, and leave as a part of the statute, after they have amended it, the provision which commits our Government to the maintenance of both gold and silver on a parity with each other.

Gentlemen demand immediate action upon the bill to repeal the Sherman law and inveigh against delay. Mr. Speaker, this demand loses its force when we remenber that this House has already fixed a date when we take a vote upon every amendment and a final vote upon this bill. Gentlemen say they are bimetalists, and yet they notify us that they will vote against every amendment looking towards free coinage of silver. Under the rule adopted we can without delay repeal the Sherman law, and at the same time provide for further and free coinage of silver. Why not, then, provide for repeal and for silver coinage at one and the same time?

It does seem to me that if gentlemen are sincere in the claim that they are bimetallists, they will unite with us in dealing a blow which will both rid the people of an obnoxious and dangerous law and relieve the country by providing for further coinage of silver. Both can be done at one and the same time.

Why not then vote to accomplish both desirable ends? I see no good reason for a different policy.

Mr. Speaker, I will not impugn the motives of any gentleman, but I call the attention of the House and of the country to the fact that the battle against silver has never been an open warfare, and that every attack made upon the white metal, since it was by fraud and collusion demonetized in 1873, has been a covert assault, concealed under a pretense of friendship for its coinage; and we to-day find Representatives upon this floor, who in one breath declare they favor the preservation of both metals on a parity with each other, and in the next they declare themselves in readiness to vote for the repeal of the only statute in force which authorizes the coinage of silver. They are ready to strike down silver and stop its coinage, and at the same time insist that they favor bimetallism. Deplorable indeed is the condition of the money of the Constitution and of the people when it is left to the tender mercies of such uncertain friendship.

The question of free coinage of silver is not a new one for consideration by the people of my State, or of the district which I represent. The question has been discussed before our people in the past and will be discussed and considered in the future. The Democrats of West Virginia have time and again in their State, Congressional, District, and County platforms declared for free coinage, and Democrats have been united upon that question. Our late and lamented Senator Kenna, one of the ablest and most eloquent men our State has ever produced, as far back as May 16, 1879, when he represented upon this floor the people for whom I now speak, in discussing the subject now under consideration expressed himself in the following vigorous and eloquent language:

Mr. Speaker, I have no desire to discuss this particular amendment. I am and have always been in favor of every honest proposition to supply to the people of this vast country the currency which their business and welfare demand. I desire, however, to take advantage of this brief opportunity to state in a general way the reasons which actuate me in giving to the pending bill my hearty support. An epitome of the financial legislation enacted by the Republican party in the last sixteen years presents a singular and a heartless chapter of financial wrong.

In 1862 the bond system was inaugurated. In 1863 the national-bank system was adopted. By the legislation of that period the greenbacks were issued. The public debt, under the burdens of war, grew to over two billions. Of this immense sum three-fourths were represented by 5-20 bonds, payable in currency. In 1869 and 1870 the acts were passed which changed the nature of this immense debt and declared every dollar of it payable in coin. In 1873 silver was demonetized, and thus this debt was made payable in gold alone. In 1875 the resumption act was passed, and the work of destruction has been going on with relentless vigor.

Sir, it is due to the truth of history to say that these measures exempting the bonds from taxation, creating national banks, declaring currency bonds payable in coin, striking down silver and forcing the resumption of specie payments without regard to the consequent forced contraction of the currency, destruction of values, and suffering of the people, were Republican measures, matured and adopted by the Republican party in the face and in spite of the opposition of the Democratic vote in Congress. Thus, in 1865, the country had gold, silver, and greenbacks in which to pay its great debt, though the greenbacks themselves were eventually redeemable.

But the payment of the 5-20 bonds in greenbacks according to the contract would have saved to the taxpayers of this country the interest on fifteen hundred millions of their debt, which they are now paying on the bonds issued in funding the five-twenties, and this, sir, without any violation on their part of a contract as binding on the bondholder as on them. It can not be objected that this would have been excessive inflation, for the process could have been regulated by the demands of business. To put at rest this righteous agitation by the people to pay these bonds in currency, as agreed in the start, John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, has announced to the country that the last dollar of that class of bonds has been taken up and destroyed, and another bond, bearing interest, exempt from taxation, and payable in coin, issued in its stead! And all this has been done under pretense of lessening the burden of the people!

The act of 1873 demonetizing silver was in further pursuance of that Republican policy which in effect struck down the means of payment in the hands of the people and enhanced their obligations in the hands of their holders. I do not agree exactly with the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ewing] in the statement that no man could be found who could be shown to be directly or indirectly the author of that act. The record of that period shows that while the act was pending and under consideration the question was asked by Mr. Merriam, of New York, whether it had been submitted to the then Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Hooper, of Massachusetts, a Republican, having the bill in charge, answered that it had been submitted to that Republican official, and he not only approved, but strongly urged its passage. I believe, therefore, and avow here that the striking down of silver was a matured policy of the Republican party to which—the evidences are abundant all around—they stoutly and persistently adhere.

No man can measure the damage to the business, the property, and the labor of this country which this mischievous system inflicted. Why, sir, it may be truly said that the resumption act of 1875 was at the bottom of the financial panic of 1873. Coming events cast their shadows before, and two years in advance is a short period of time for information to reach Wall street of the course of action to be adopted in Washington under the past Republican financial rule. I have briefly run over these prime facts in the history of the financial legislation of the last sixteen years. The veto, which stands in the way of free elections, fair and impartial juries, and the inalienable right of a free people to vote untrammeled by bayonets and by bullets, stands ready to confront this bill. It was exercised to defeat the silver bill of the last Congress.

But these issues can not die. When the Democracy goes to the people demanding free elections, fair juries, the banishment of troops from the polls, and the restoration of an honest financial policy to the masses of this country, the rally will be great and the triumph grand. I am in favor of this bill because it represents one of these great issues; I am in favor of this bill because it restores to the people one of the means for the payment of their obligations, which was accepted as such by the holders of the obligations when they were created; I am in favor of this bill because it allows every holder of silver bullion to present it to the mints to have it coined free and returned to him in coin for general use.

Our product of silver is from thirty to forty millions annually. This bill will therefore put that amount in circulation instead of hoarding it in the vaults. I am in favor of this bill because it will increase the currency of the country, contribute to the relief of its people, and vindicate, at least to some extent, the right of the masses to hold even the bondholder, in his assumed lordly estate, to the sacred obligation of his voluntary contract.

It will not do for gentlemen to tell us that times, conditions, and circumstances have so changed since these eloquent words were uttered by our dead representative that we must reverse our past action and wipe out the record left behind us. The same battle which was fought by Kenna and the other friends of the people with whom he was associated is again upon us, and the same warfare will go on until the people of this country shall have accorded to them what they need and what they desire, what they demand and will have in the end—an honest dollar sufficient in volume to meet their necessities and conditions.

Many of the prominent and leading spirits of the Republic have given expression to their views respecting the demonetization of silver, and the use of silver as a money metal. The great Kentuckian, Hon. John G. Carlisle, then a Representative in this body, in a speech delivered upon this floor as far back as 1878, expressed himself upon this subject in language strong, eloquent, and logical. He said:

I know that the world's stock of the precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it will ever become so. Mankind will be fortunate, indeed, if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry. According to my views of the subject the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy, by legislation and otherwise, from three-sevenths to one-half of the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age.

The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilences, and famines that ever occurred in the history of the world. The absolute and instantaneous destruction of half the entire movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads, and all other appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of the metallic money in the world.

Sir, the conspiracy to which Mr. Carlisle referred is still in existence, and the conspirators have never turned from their original purpose; and the reasons now existing why they should be thwarted are even stronger than they were in 1878.

It is agreed by all candid persons, whether they advocate a single or a double standard, that the gold supply is inadequate and insufficient to furnish to the world a basis for values and for a circulating medium; and yet it is suggested that the only way to secure for our people a double standard is absolutely to wipe out the use of silver in so far as its coinage in our mints is concerned.

As well, Mr. Speaker, can you expect the patient to recover to whom the physician daily administers doses of poison, or the pig in the pen to grow fat if his food is kept from him, as to suppose that silver coinage can be secured by the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law. To adopt a single gold standard places the gold of the world on the block to be sold to the highest bidder. When we bid highest we will have the gold until next sale day, when some other country offers more for it, and then it goes to the purchaser and away from us.

The gold then would first be owned by one country and then by another, and would constantly increase in value, driving down continually the prices of all productions and of all commodities, making larger the debts of the debtor class, and increasing the business and purses of the "Shylocks" of the country. It is neither desirable, feasible, nor practicable for a single gold standard to be adopted for the whole world.

We are told that silver can not be maintained at a parity with gold without an agreement among the nations of the earth as to the ratio at which it is to be coined—without an intermonetary conference.

Mr. Speaker, I do not suppose there is an intelligent citizen of the Republic, except such as are the owners of dollars which would be valuable in proportion as the dollars in the world would be scarce, and whose selfish interests would prompt them to oppose an increase of circulation from any source, who would not favor an intermonetary conference; and everyone of our citizens knows that time and again our country has proposed and sought without avail such a conference, and that we now have no assurance that such a conference will ever be held, or if held that it will be prolific of results.

The emergency upon us is one that can not be satisfied with eloquent and theoretical appeals in behalf of intermonetary conferences which may never come. The danger is imminent, and it is our duty to meet the situation as it is presented—now, not next year or at some other uncertain period in the future. The business interests of the country are starving for want of a medium with which to carry on enterprises for the development of the richest land on the face of the earth; our workingmen are in want because they can not find employment for their labor; our agriculturists can not find sale for the products of their farms.

Let us authorize the holders of silver bullion, as we do those who own gold, to coin it into dollars and place them in circulation and relieve the distresses of the people by giving employment and comfort to the unemployed and destitute and a market for the products of the farm and of manufacture.

It will not answer their expectations or necessities, or fulfill the promises we have made, for us to tell the business man whose enterprises are paralyzed because he can not obtain money; the laboring man whose family is in want because he can not secure employment; or the farmer who can not meet his obligations for want of a market for his product, that they must wait for an intermonetary conference, dependent upon the whims of the rulers of the other countries of the globe.

Mr. Speaker, the people have not asked us for stone, but for bread, and they should have it now. The people are not afraid of the Government or of any money—gold, silver, or paper—to which the Government's faith is pledged. The time has not been for a century, and it will never in the future occur, that our people, and those of the whole world, will not rely upon and have faith in any money of any kind which our proud Government may agree to make good for its face value.

Mistakes may be made in providing ratios and securities for money coined, but the faith and credit of the American people will always be regarded and respected. The people have not taken their money out of the banks and have not made banks of their stockings because they feared the stability of the Government or of its money, but because they were afraid of the banks, some of which were so recently engaged in a scheme to force the Government to issue bonds, so that they could speculate in the bonds. I repeat it, the people have not been afraid of the money in circulation, but of the banks; hence the "runs" made upon banks and attending results.

The argument is made that we can not maintain silver at a parity with gold because there has been an increase and overproduction of silver. Mr. Speaker, there has not been an overproduction of silver. The report of the Director of the Mint for 1892 shows that 50,000,000 ounces were produced in the United States in 1889, 54,000,000 in 1890, 58,330,000 in 1891, and in 1892 58,000,000. The same authority says the whole world produced, in 1889, 125,420,000 ounces; in 1890, 133,212,600; in 1891, 144,426,200, and in 1892, 151,061,800. It is estimated that 27 per cent of the silver is used in the arts, which would to that extent reduce the quantum which can be used for the coinage of silver and absorbed in the commerce and the traffic of the world.

The increase in the population, wealth, and trade of the world has been and will continue to be much larger in proportion than the increase in silver production, and it is idle to claim that there has been or will be in the future an overproduction. If, sir, all the silver of the world should be "dumped" into the United States alone, it would not more than meet the increased demand for money incident to increased population, wealth, and business requirements, and would prove a blessing rather than a curse to our population if coined at a reasonable and safe ratio.

Sir, the French Republic, with its 39,000,000 of people, who have but recently paid so heavy a tribute to the German Empire, is able to maintain at a parity with gold $700,000,000 of silver coin, and yet we are told that proud America, with her boundless area and matchless resources and 65,000,000 of population, will commit a mistake if her lawmakers provide for any increase in our $600,000,000 of silver coin. There is neither reason nor logic in such contention.

Sir, it is an inexorable rule of finance and reason that the prices of products, whether of the farm or of the workshops, are high or low in proportion as money is scarce or plentiful. The protectionist has undertaken by means of a protective tariff to control the prices of products of manufactories, but the people of this country need more money and it will not do to cut off their supply.

A paper recently prepared by Mr. Preston, Acting Director of the Mint, shows that the gold stock is distributed among the principal countries as follows:

United States, $604,000,000; Great Britain, $550,000,000; France, $800,000,000; Germany, $300,000,000; Russia, $250,000,000.

The silver stock of these same countries is given as follows: United States, $515,000,000; Great Britain, $100,000,000; France, $700,000,000; Germany, $211,000,000; Russia, $60,000,000.

The per capita circulation of gold is: United States, $9.01; United Kingdom, $14.47; France, $20.52; Germany, $12.12; and Russia, $2.21. The per capita of all classes of money is: France, $40.56; Cuba, $31.00; Netherlands, $28.88; Australia, $26.75; Belgium, $25.53; United States, $24.34; United Kingdom, $18.42; Russia, $7.16, and Germany, $18.54.

Thus we see that France has more of gold than any other of these countries; more of silver, and a larger per capita circulation than any other of the countries named; and there are no happier or more prosperous people than the French. These figures, sir, speak in unanswerable argument in favor of increased circulation; in favor of free coinage of silver.

We are told that England controls the money markets of the world, and that we must needs enlist her concurrence and assistance before we adopt any financial policy; and this claim is made most persistently by gentlemen who but so recently charged those of my political faith with "aping after hateful English ways and English methods," when we insisted that the barriers should be stricken down which have crippled American trade and have driven the American flag from every sea.

Our Republican brethren have even charged us with lacking in the spirit and patriotism which animated our fathers at Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, and Yorktown, when we have dared to point to the commercial prosperity of England, resulting from its lack of restrictions upon trade. They have declared "for America and American institutions" as against the world; but when they come to adopt a financial policy for the American people they cringe before the British lion and on bended knee ask his advice, permission, and concurrence. We invoke the spirit of consistency, that it may find an abiding place in the public acts of our friends in the Republican party, to which it has so long been a stranger.

Sir, the American people are patriotic enough, and strong enough, and can afford to select for themselves a financial policy which the necessities of the hour invite and demand, and can and will maintain and support it, without dictation from any other power on the face of the earth.

We find engaged in the controversy now going on two opposite and extreme elements. On the one side is the "silver king," who is personally and pecuniarily interested in the free coinage of the white metal of his own production, at as low a ratio as possible, whereby the value of his product is increased, and his profits made larger.

On the other side we find arrayed the gentlemen who are designated as "gold bugs"—the men who have money which they know will be increased in value in proportion as money is scarce and hard to procure. They understand as well as we that when dollars are scarce dollars are high, and that when dollars are high they will purchase and pay for more of labor, sweat, and brawn, more of farm products, more of anything, more of everything than when dollars are plentiful and cheap.

Mr. Speaker, there is a middle stand to take, a conservative position to occupy upon this question as well as upon all others. There are other classes whose interests must be considered in all legislation, and these other classes make up the great masses of our population; there is another subject to be considered than the mere question of furnishing to the people a circulation sufficient in volume to meet the requirements of business and trade. We must establish our financial structure upon a fixed, fair, and equitable basis, having in view at all times the rights and best interest of all our citizens.

To the silver producer we say, "We must meet the conditions which are now presented and not those confronting our country twenty years ago, when your silver at a ratio of 16 to 1 was at a parity with gold. Your silver has depreciated in value from unfriendly legislation and increased production, and it is unfair to the people to allow you now to take 60 cents' worth of silver bullion and have a dollar manufactured from it, whereby the Government would give you 40 cents in each dollar, without consideration, at the present value of your silver bullion.

"This would, most certainly, be unfair to the taxpayers of the country, already burdened beyond measure, under a system which taxes the necessities of our people and not their wealth. You must furnish to the Government silver of the value approximately of $1 for each $1 coined, if you expect the Government to make dollars out of your product."

To the "money kings" we will say, "We are not here representing your interests exclusively. We will protect you in your rights and property, but we will not by legislation make your hoarded wealth more valuable. We will furnish to the people sufficient money, and will protect them as far as we can against your avarice and unreasonable demands."

The question with me, then, to be considered is, at what ratio should silver be coined? It is claimed that financial legislation is an experiment; a leap in the dark. Be this as it may, we can only now act in accordance with our experience in the past and the best lights before us. When a tax is levied upon subject of taxation, we can estimate very closely the revenue which will be derived, but when we come to enact legislation relating to the finances of the country, we can not find a safe, certain, arbitrary, and defined rule to govern us.

I have given to this subject all the thought and investigation of which I am capable, and have evolved from this study these two principles, to my mind incontrovertible, viz: Our country must have an increased circulation; and, second, there should be in or behind every dollar a dollar of intrinsic value. In 1873, when silver was demonetized, the quantum of silver, ascertained by the ratio of 16 to 1, was on a parity with and equal in value to the gold dollar. Because of intervening and un-

friendly legislation and increased production silver has become greatly depreciated, so that now the bullion value of silver in a silver dollar is estimated to be worth but about 60 cents.

While I favor free coinage of silver, I must take into consideration its reduced value, the surrounding circumstances and conditions. This I have done, with the result that I am led to favor free coinage at a ratio of 20 to 1, which, I believe, in the light of the past experience of the country, will place in or behind every silver dollar a dollar of intrinsic value. If unfriendly legislation has increased its value, legislation friendly and of a permanent nature will increase its value, but can not and will not enhance its value so as to make it feasible, proper, or fair to go back to the ratio of 16 to 1. To this extent, at least, silver and gold have parted company.

It has been stated by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON] that to increase the ratio to 20 to 1 would increase the value of bullion in a silver dollar to 81 cents. Is it not fair to estimate and assume that if we fix and keep the ratio at 20 to 1 that the value of silver in a dollar would increase so that it would be of the value of 81 in gold? I think it but a fair presumption. I am free to admit that I believe it would be more desirable to have free coinage at a ratio of 16 to 1 than to discontinue entirely the coinage of silver, and I would vote for free coinage of silver at that ratio in preference to a measure to absolutely demonetize silver; but I think it will be admitted that if silver coinage is now preserved it will be at an increased ratio. All indications and circumstances surrounding us point in that direction.

Mr. Speaker, I can not see any good reason why the silver coin now in existence would have to be recoined if there was a change of ratio. The laws of Congress promise for the Government that all silver coin shall be protected and made good, and it is adequate and all-sufficient that the silver now coined has the pledge of the Republic behind it, and that pledge will make it good as it now is held to be and considered good.

Entertaining these views, I will vote for the amendment providing for free coinage at a ratio of 20 to 1; and while I favor an amendment looking to the free coinage of silver, yet I am also opposed to the Sherman law, which I deem to be injurious in its operation to the whole of our people, not excepting the silver producer himself. If all amendments proposed are voted down, and I am driven to vote on the naked question of the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, I will vote "aye," because we thereby carry out one of our pledges, and will with discouragement, trust to the future for legislation providing for free coinage of silver. If I can not here and now procure free coinage, I will not therefore vote to preserve as the law of the land a statute infamous in character and operation, and which all parties and classes unite in condemning.

Sir, I am not one of those who believe the Sherman law to be responsible for all the ills which have come upon us. We have among our people what some designate as "lack of confidence," and for this "lack of confidence" the Republican press and politicians are in a large measure responsible.

Sir, the smoke of battle had hardly cleared away from the battle fields of last year's election until the Republican press and politicians, for political purposes, began to prophesy ruin and disaster to the country and her institutions because of Democratic success, and every Republican, high and low, from their defeated and soured candidate for President to the cross-roads politician, united in a common effort to breed uneasiness and distrust among the people, and their continued "calamity howling" has had much to do with creating "lack of confidence" among the people, many of whom have been influenced in their action by these prognostications of evil.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, it should not be forgotten that the balance of trade was against us until quite recently. We bought more than we sold, which sent out of the country more of money than was brought back to us, which naturally reduced the volume of our currency and affected our commercial interests.

We have had a system of tariff taxation which has paralyzed our trade and crippled the industries of the country beyond measure; and last, but not least, let me, in the language of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON], used in a speech delivered at Gallatin, Tenn., on July 28, 1891, attribute a part, at least, of the present deplorable condition—

to the demonetization of silver, whereby the owners of accumulated wealth in this country, as well as in England, the greatest of commercial nations, have been enabled to realize at the expense of the people the difference between the value of gold and silver.

While the Sherman law has hastened the end and is in part blamable, the present situation is not the result of one, but of many laws enacted by Republican Congresses, and the natural culmination of a vicious system of taxation and finance. Many things have combined to bring about the present condition of affairs.

It is claimed that all amendments to the "Wilson bill" will be voted down, and that there will be an unconditional repeal of the Sherman silver law, in so far as this House is concerned. Certain it is, if this result is achieved, it must be accomplished because the proposition for unconditional repeal secures practically the solid affirmative vote of the Republican members of this body; and yet the Republican party has said in its platform last year, viz:

The American people from tradition and interest favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, such restrictions to be determined by contemplation of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be equal at all times.

If the Wilson bill passes this House without amendment, Republican votes will pass it, and the Republican party will again go on record as the friend of the money power and as opposed to such legislation as will benefit the great masses of our people.

Mr. Speaker, let us keep faith with the people: let us sacredly conform to the promises we have made to those who have elected us; let us furnish to the country money sufficient for the transaction of business in this, the hour of the country's need: let us tear down the wall of protection which has crippled our trade and retarded our prosperity, which has made princes or paupers of our people; let us wipe from the statute books the last vestige of every law which stands as a menace against home rule and the right of the people to control their own elections; let us conform to Democratic pledges and platforms; let us fearlessly and speedily do the work for which we have been commissioned, and then will each of us deserve and receive the grateful thanks of those to whom we are responsible for our public acts, and we will have that satisfaction which comes to those who have been responsive to every demand of duty and faithful to every trust.

Mr. DENSON. Mr. Speaker, under the constitutional authority conferred upon the President, he has called Congress together in extraordinary session.

The reasons that moved the President to this act, are set forth in his proclamation, as follows:

Whereas the distrust and apprehension concerning the financial situation which prevade all business circles have already caused great loss and damage to our people, and threaten to cripple our merchants, stop the wheels of manufacture, bring distress and privation to our farmers, and withhold from our workingmen the wage of labor; and

Whereas the present perilous condition is largely the result of a financial policy which the Executive branch of the Government finds embodied in unwise laws which must be executed until repealed by Congress.

In the opening of his message the President characterizes the condition now hanging over the country as "an alarming and extraordinary business situation, involving the welfare and prosperity of all our people."

Proceeding, he says:

Numerous moneyed institutions have suspended because abundant assets were not immediately available to meet the demands of frightened depositors. Surviving corporations and individuals are content to keep in hand the money they are usually anxious to loan, and those engaged in legitimate business are surprised to find that the securities that they offer for loans, though heretofore satisfactory, are no longer accepted. Values supposed to be fixed are fast becoming conjectural, and loss and failure have invaded every branch of business.

The President then says:

I believe these things are principally chargeable to Congressional legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the General Government.

He then states that such legislation is embodied in the law of July 14, 1890, and which is known as the Sherman law.

The message contains the following language:

Suddenly financial distrust and fear have sprung up on every side.

The President further says that the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces per month of silver was regarded by those interested in silver production "as a certain guaranty of its increase in price," but this has been a failure, and such disappointment "has led to renewed and persistent effort in the direction of free silver coinage."

The President states in his message that the declared policy of the United States "to maintain two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio or such ratio as may be provided by law," so controls the action of the Secretary of the Treasury as to prevent his exercising the discretion nominally vested in him, to redeem said Treasury notes issued under the Sherman law in gold or silver, "if by such action the parity between gold and silver may be disturbed."

Manifestly—

Says the President—

a refusal by the Secretary to pay these Treasury notes in gold, if demanded, would necessarily result in their discredit and depreciation as obligations payable only in silver, and would destroy the parity between the two metals by establishing a discrimination in favor of gold.

I have quoted thus freely from the message, because I dissent from the conclusions of the President that the Sherman law is the source from which springs the financial distress and business paralysis that now seizes the energies and enterprises of all our people. I have given the President's reasons for concluding

the Sherman law is the Pandora box of our depression and stagnation.

Is he borne out by the facts in the case? He demands an unconditional repeal of this law, and finds hope for a settlement and stability in our financial affairs simply in the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law. So wedded is he to this idea that he fails to suggest any other remedy or point out any other legislation. His panacea is unconditional repeal of the Sherman law.

The Sherman law undoubtedly declares for bimetallism, and the President so admits in his message, when he states the enactment of the Sherman law, "may be considered a truce after a long struggle between the advocates of free-silver coinage and those intending to be more conservative."

Here were two parties that took part in enacting the Sherman law, the advocates of free coinage, and the bimetallist, that favored the use of silver but opposed a free coinage.

The free-coinage party certainly looked forward to the use of silver as money for final redemption under the Sherman law, and the President states a fact in his message showing it. He says:

> Undoubtedly the monthly purchases by the Government of 4,500,000 ounces of silver, enforced under that statute, were regarded by those interested in silver production as a certain guaranty of its increase.

No one knows better than the President that for silver to be deprived of its most valuable and extensive use, to wit, coinage into money, and used as such on a parity with gold in settling all governmental transactions would depress its price more than another single cause. I have made this argument to show that bimetallism was the intent of the Sherman law, and was so considered "as a truce" reaching to that end by both the opposing parties that enacted the law.

I state that any execution of the Sherman law that ignores silver as a fund or money for redemption of the Treasury notes issued under said law for silver bullion, and fails to make an effort to use silver as such, as a palpable and flagrant violation of the letter, spirit, and intent of the law, and a total disregard of the will of the people expressed in the law enacted by their representative.

I will more fully discuss this point in a subsequent part of my speech.

I mention this fact here to show that the bare judgment of the President, that the mere refusal to redeem said silver certificates or Treasury notes in gold when demanded by the holder, is at war with the letter, spirit, and intent of the law itself, and contrary to the effect of the practices of the French Government to-day, that redeems her obligations in silver at her option, regardless of the demand of the holder. There has never been a trial of such redemption by the Harrison or Cleveland Administration.

Congress did not believe the Sherman law would cause distrust, that the financial affairs of the Government would be embarrassed by an execution of the Sherman law.

Can it be said that Congress believed such a result manifest when it enacted such a law? To allege such would be to charge Congress with folly and tampering with the hopes, expectations, and the most potent and vital means of the people's prosperity and happiness, and charge it with being guilty of practicing a fraud and delusion upon the public and arousing hopes and expectations it knew could never be realized.

There has been no change in the financial and commercial affairs of the country, and none in the world, to affect this question since Congress enacted the law up to the minute the President penned his message. To accept the President's conclusions on this matter as true is to make the broad and very apparent implication that when Congress enacted the Sherman law they intended to practice a deceit and fraud upon the people and disappoint them in the belief that the Sherman law would secure to the country silver money and that it could and would be used as money in the redemption of the Government's obligations, and there would be no disturbance in the parity between gold and silver as money.

Everything upon this matter was as apparent to Congress when it legislated, as was apparent to the President when he wrote his message. The payment has never been tried, and there is nothing to support the President's conclusion, save his judgment.

In a subsequent part of this speech I will show the combination between the money power, the national banks, and the Treasury of the United States to destroy silver as money, and defeat the laws of the country and disappoint the people.

In a statement given by Secretary Carlisle to the public press, June 14, 1893, the following appears:

There was coined at the Mint of the United States from 1792, the time when the mint operations commenced, to 1873, when silver was demonetized	$8,045,838
Coined under Bland act, from 1878 to July 14, 1890—date of Sherman law	389,886,374
Coined under the Sherman act	29,408,461
Total	427,390,673

The Secretary's statement also shows that there was in actual circulation of silver money on the 1st June, 1893, $58,016,019.

According to the Secretary's statement, there was in the Treasury $369,324,654 of silver, or it was in the Treasury, or other places of deposit, national banks and subtreasuries, for instance. The people can only get money under our system as it comes through the banks. The cry is, there is no money. All business is depressed; industry is paralyzed; the prices for the products of the farm are so low that farming is unremunerated: "the people are starving, *yet the brigands are thriving.*"

Three hundred and sixty-nine million three hundred and twenty-four thousand six hundred and fifty-four dollars in the the public Treasury and under the control of the fiscal agents of the Government, and yet the cry comes up from the laboringman, the farmer, "Give us this money for our labor, for our products, that we may live and support our wives and little ones, and preserve our homes from the mortgage foreclosure." "No," says the Administration, the national banks, and the money power, "we intend to destroy silver as money, and if we do this we are to starve you, then you must starve."

The Government is in no way embarrassed because of the purchase of silver under the Sherman law; it has a clear balance-sheet on this account. The purchase and coinage of silver under the Sherman law certainly expanded the volume of the people's money, and while the people and country are prostrate because of the want of money it is now proposed to cut off this means of increase and expansion.

In September, 1892, when Grover Cleveland wanted the votes of the sturdy and honest farmers and laborers of the South and West, confiding and trusting in their nature, and patriotic in all their impulses and intentions, he did not believe the Sherman law was any cause for a want of confidence or alarm, and that the coinage and use of silver as money would in any manner jeopardize the financial matters of the Government or of the people. Here is the language of his letter of acceptance:

> The people are entitled to sound and honest currency, abundantly sufficient in volume to supply their business needs. But whatever may be the form of the people's currency, national or State, whether gold, silver, or paper, it should be so regulated and guarded by Governmental action or by wise and careful laws, that no one can be deluded as to the certainty and stability of its value. Every dollar put into the hands of the people should be of the same intrinsic value or purchasing power. With this condition absolutely guaranteed, both gold and silver can be safely utilized upon equal terms in the adjustment of our currency.

The representatives of the Democratic masses who assembled in Chicago in 1892 in convention, and nominated Mr. Cleveland as our standard-bearer, did not believe it "was manifest" that to pay out silver in redemption of Government obligations would depreciate silver. That convention adopted as one of the planks in its platform the following:

> We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890, as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal.
>
> We hold to the use of both gold and silver, without discriminating against either metal, or charge for mintage; but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equality of every dollar at all times in the markets, and in payment of debt; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

The denunciation of the Sherman law "as a makeshift" was not because the use of silver as a redemption fund would depreciate Government obligations. The cause of its denunciation was that it was a limitation upon the coinage of silver, and inhibited free coinage. This is clearly shown by the remainder of the plank in the platform.

Mr. Carlisle did not believe in 1878 that the use of silver as money on a parity with gold would cause silver obligations to depreciate and the credit of the Government to become involved and of doubtful integrity. Speaking in advocacy of the Bland bill, he said:

> I know that the world's stock of precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it will ever become so. Mankind will be fortunate, indeed, if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry.
>
> According to my view of the subject, the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy, by legislation and otherwise, from three-sevenths to one-half of the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age. The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilence, and famine that ever occurred in the history of the world.
>
> The absolute and instantaneous destruction of half the entire movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads, and all appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of one-half of the metallic money of the world.

The farmers, wage-earners, laborers, and plain people of this country entertain no such thoughts upon this matter as the President expresses in his message.

There is no evidence that anywhere in this extensive land there has been a meeting of the farmers, laborers, and workingmen of this country called to denounce silver and decry against the Sherman law and demand its unconditional repeal.

No meeting of merchants and manufacturers has been called to condemn the Sherman law and demand that it be expunged from the statute book, save in the larger cities, whose boards of trade and welfare are dominated and directed by the banking interest.

The brain and muscle, the bone and sinew, and the sweat and energy of the farmers, laborers, and producers of this country have in no way, manner, or form expressed any want of confidence, any distrust, or any fear of embarrassment or injury arising to them because of the purchase and coining of silver under the Sherman law.

They demand this silver money; they are anxious for its issue, and their distress and embarrassment arises alone because of its absence. They are willing to sell their toil, their products, and their commodities for this silver money, berated by the banks and the money power.

I desire to state in this place and I desire the country to know it, that it is not the Democratic party of the country that is demanding the repeal of the Sherman law unconditionally and fighting free coinage of silver; the Democratic party is not responsible for this delay in bringing that relief to the suffering thousands of this country, but it is an unholy alliance between the Eastern Democrats, and now and then a lonesome brother from the South and West, with the Republicans in this House to carry out the demands and orders of the national banks and money power of the East.

Baal may succeed for a while, and may scatter ruin, suffering, and starvation throughout the land, but the day of reckoning is near at hand. The outraged and indignant people of the South and West, as well as many in the East, will rectify this evil, more terrible than famine, pestilence, and war, in the language of the Secretary of the Treasury.

The people are the masters of this country yet, and they have not and will not consent to turn it over to the privileged classes, the banks and money power.

The courage and patriotism of their ancestors still courses through their veins and they will call to a terrible account those men who have betrayed the platform and pledges on which they were elected. The people are not defeated or whipped, they have only been misled and deceived: but next November you will hear the results coming from the South; from the golden shores of California and the Pacific slope; from the West; aye, even from the "dark and bloody grounds" of Kentucky, that the masters of this country, the plain, common people have risen up in their power and authority, relegated the deceivers and hypocrites to private life and sent men to this House who will scourge the money-changers from this Hall with scorpion-stripes and carry out the will of the people and establish the free coinage of silver and declare it money and place it upon an equality with gold.

Section 3 of the Sherman law is in the following language:

That the Secretary of the Treasury shall each month coin 2,000,000 ounces of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act into standard silver dollars until the 1st day of July, 1891, and after that time he shall coin of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act as much as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes herein provided for, and any gain or seigniorage arising from such coinage shall be accounted for and paid into the Treasury.

Here is a section of this act, as mandatory as the English language can express any law, any thought, any purpose to convey the intention and desire of any law-making body that ever assembled under the sun. The language is plain, the words unambiguous, and no doubt lurks around the meaning of this simple English sentence.

The words are the language of command no discretion is left, no option allowed; but absolute obedience is demanded aud required. The auxiliary "shall" is used—"shall each month coin," until 1st July, 1891, "two millions of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act into standard silver dollars." And after the 1st day of July, 1891, the act says:

"He shall coin of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act as much as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes herein provided for.

All lexicographers and grammarians agree that the auxiliary "shall" when used in speaking or writing of a third person, expresses a command or threat. Surely no one will contend that the duty and obligation placed upon the Secretary of the Treasury by said act was to be executed as a means to secure the circulation of said silver bullion as money among the people and in the channels of business. Such circulation had already been provided for by the first section of the act by directing the issue of the Treasury notes in payment for said silver bullion, and by the said law declaring in the second section that such Treasury notes "shall be a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract."

To secure and provide the mode by which this silver bullion should be represented, and its value circulated as money in the channels of trade and as a circulating medium among the people, coinage of the silver bullion was not deemed necessary; the Treasury note was improvised as an instrumentality for this purpose. But when the law-making power came to consider the question of the redemption of said Treasury notes, and how and in what coin the same should be redeemed, and what part silver should play in our monetary affairs, commands the Secretary of the Treasury to coin the silver bullion purchased under said act into standard silver dollars, to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes provided for in said act.

To coin the silver bullion into standard dollars is and was an imperative and an absolute command by Congress, and the coinage of said bullion was for only one purpose: the redemption of the Treasury notes issued under said act in payment for said silver bullion; and that the redemption of said Treasury notes in said silver dollars is as imperatively and absolutely commanded by said act as the coinage of the silver bullion is. The coinage of the silver bullion is the principal, and the use of the coinage is the incident. How can anyone, by any process of logic, separate the incident from the principal? It can only be done by a flagrant and palpable violation of the law expressly laid down, and obedience to which is expressly commanded.

Section 5 expressly repeals the Bland-Allison act, which required the monthly purchase and coinage of so much silver bullion into silver dollars.

The records of the Treasury Department and the President's message show that the silver bullion has never been coined as provided for in the Sherman law, and that silver money is not used in the redemption of said Treasury notes issued under said Sherman law.

There can not be any question among any intelligent and honest people at this late day that in construing a statute and interpreting its meaning, the grand, central, and controlling purpose is to arrive at the intention of the lawmakers in enacting the law. The intention of Congress in enacting the Sherman law is the great polar star, around which all other ideas and policies may cluster, but none can overturn, or substitute themselves in the place of such ascertained intent.

Another rule of construction that is of universal application in interpreting the language and ascertaining the meaning and intention of the lawmaker by enacting a law is, that every word, phrase, and sentence must be so construed as to give to each some operation and force in directing the mind in ascertaining the intention of the lawmaker from the language used.

Another rule of equal universality and force is that the meaning of the lawmakers must be made and derived from the whole bill or act, and not from disjointed parts of it: in other words, the whole law, each and every section of it, each and every sentence, each and every clause, and each and every word of it must be taken and considered and construed together to ascertain the meaning and intent of the lawmakers.

Another rule equally as important and equally as forceful is, that the meaning and intent of the lawmaker must be derived from and be generated and grow out of the language used in the act.

It would lead to unsuspected and disastrous results for those executing laws to adopt a policy not authorized by the law, or to exercise a discretion that brings ruin to the people when not clearly authorized by the law and contrary to its avowed policy. It has ever been the idea and principle controlling the people under a free government, with a written constitution and laws, to deny as firmly as possible and to limit as far as practicable all discretion in officers in administering government. Discretion of officials is but the beginning of tyranny and the downfall of free institutions.

The old law that existed prior to the Sherman law, upon the matter of silver coinage, was the Bland-Allison act. This act is expressly repealed by the Sherman law. The Bland act secured the free coinage of silver bullion to a limited amount per month, silver having been demonetized by the act of 1873.

Now it can not be contended successfully that the Sherman law, properly construed, in any manner intended to destroy the coinage of silver or the use of it as money. The Sherman law more than doubled the amount of silver to be coined each month, and made the Treasury notes issued in payment thereof legal tender in the payment of all claims, debts, and dues, both public and private. The Sherman law further required the coinage of the silver bullion so purchased with said Treasury notes to redeem the said notes.

In the construction and execution of this Sherman law, the Harrison Administration adopted the policy of using and paying out gold alone in the redemption of said Treasury notes.

This same policy has been taken up, adopted, and is now the rule of the Cleveland Administration.

The grounds and reasons upon which this policy is based, so far as the public can judge, are not very apparent. The Sherman law declares it to be "the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other."

This is a declaration of bimetallism without any ambiguity, any doubt, or any room for cavil between the advocates of monometallism and bimetallism. Congress, it seems, ex *industria*, intended to leave no doubt about this matter. With strong, terse, and simple words it declares it to be "the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law."

The fact that the law requires the coinage of the silver bullion to redeem the Treasury notes issued for its purchase, and makes a positive appropriation of the silver dollars so coined as a fund to redeem said Treasury notes, conclusively establishes the intention of Congress that both metals should be used as a redemption fund; that they should be actively employed in redeeming the obligations of the Government. Neither one of the two metals should be ignored and left in a passive condition, but both should be employed actively in carrying out the redemption of the Treasury notes.

The verb "maintain" operates upon and predicates action as to two metals, and the words "to maintain" is in the infinitive mode, which mode is always employed to denote action without limitation as to person or number. To maintain the two metals as money, not as bullion, not as a commodity: If gold is used as money and silver is not, then the established policy to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other is evaded, is ignored, broken, and destroyed. If silver was not to be used as money, why command the coinage of the silver bullion into silver dollars to redeem said Treasury notes?

It is plain to my mind from reading the law, and considering the old law and the evil to be remedied by the new law, that the policy of the Government is to maintain the two metals as money on a parity with each other; and when the statute is construed as a whole, giving effect and operation to each word, clause, phrase, and sentence, the policy of bimetallism, pure and simple, is established in the United States.

The trick in the law that the single-standard people have induced the Administration to believe is a controlling authority and limits the operation of the whole law, and is sufficient to overturn the established policy of bimetallism as declared in the Sherman law, is that the law says that the Secretary of the Treasury can redeem said Treasury notes in gold or silver at his discretion.

It is true, the law intended that silver should never be used as redemption money; and can it be maintained that because discretion is given the Treasurer to redeem said notes in gold or silver that such discretion can be used in an arbitrary manner, merely at the independent views and uncontrolled will of the Secretary without attempting the use and employment of the silver dollars provided for a redemption fund in said law.

Whenever discretion is conferred upon a public officer in the performance of a public duty it means a legal and judicial discretion in view of all the facts and circumstances surrounding the matter, and the adoption of such a course of conduct as will carry out the policy of the United States as declared by its laws, as prudence, sagacity, sound and cautious judgment will suggest to one desirous to execute the policy of the United States to protect, secure, and defend the rights and privileges of all the people of all localities, of all labor and industrial pursuits, of all enterprise, and to promote the general welfare.

This discretion was conferred upon the Secretary to maintain bimetallism, as such is the declared policy of the United States, and not to evade or destroy it, and neither to suspend it.

Congress never intended any such execution of the law as now interpreted and administered, until silver should be tried and used at its present ratio and found antagonistic and destructive to the policy of maintaining the two metals on a parity with each other, "upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law."

If after the use of silver to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other it could not be established and preserved, and the inequality should arise from the use of the silver, then it would be time enough for the Administration to discard silver and the discretion of the Secretary to be exercised.

The Secretary has the same discretion to discard gold if he discovers by the use of the gold it destroys and antagonizes the policy of the United States as to the establishment of bimetallism.

We all know that the maintenance of the two metals on a parity with each other has been destroyed by the practice and policy employed by the Secretary in the use of the gold alone as a redemption fund. Why does not the Secretary execute and administer the law in good faith to the United States, which means all the people, all interests, all employments, all pursuits, all localities, and all sections, and commence the use of silver in connection with gold as a redemption fund, as France does, and ascertain if this does not secure and maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such rates as may be provided by law?

It is now demonstrated the two metals can not be maintained on a parity by the use of gold alone. Let the Secretary make an honest effort to carry out the policy of the United States by the use of silver in connection with gold, and if after this the policy can not be carried out, then, as the single use of gold and the joint use of gold and silver has failed to preserve the established policy of the United States, let him try silver by itself and see what effect it will have as to maintaining the two metals on a parity with each other.

If after such trial there is a failure to maintain the two metals on a parity, then the policy has failed, so far as the present ratio is concerned, and as the law establishing the policy provides for some other ratio to be fixed by law, and as Congress alone has the power to fix the ratio between the two metals, then the time has arrived and the contingency has occurred when Congress should take the matter into consideration and enact such laws as will meet the public and general interests of all the people and of all sections and localities of our broad and extensive territory.

This is the policy laid down in the Chicago platform, and this is the policy established by the Sherman law. And it is useless for any one to conceive of the idea that a manly and courageous, honest and patriotic member of Congress, and a Democrat faithful to the Chicago platform and the history and teachings of the Democratic party and its policy, will vote for an unconditional repeal of the Sherman law until it has been given a full, fair, and honest trial on the lines indicated, and in the Sherman law itself, and failure is the result, or unless the law proposing to repeal the Sherman law itself provides for free coinage of silver.

It is the policy of the United States, that is of the people of the United States, that is established by the Sherman law and the Chicago platform, and by the election held on the 8th of last November, and not the policy of an administration or of an officer of the Government, it matters not how high, exalted, and powerful he may be in the execution of the laws of the land.

How can the Administration escape from its apparent partial policy in the administration and execution of the Sherman law, when it is manifest to everybody that the sole use of gold as a redemption fund has destroyed the maintenance of the two metals on a parity with each other, depreciated the value of silver and enhanced the value of gold, overthrew the development of the country, the advancement of the people, the prosperity of the laboring and industrial classes, paralyzed the industrial and manufacturing establishments of the country, and buried the hopes and energies of individuals in one devastating ruin and desolation?

Discretion was never conferred upon an official to destroy, but to build up, support, and maintain the policies of the people.

Congress intended that silver should be employed as a redemption fund for said Treasury notes, and that the Secretary should not arbitrarily ignore such provisions of the law providing for the use of silver dollars for such purpose.

What force and operation is given to the third section of the act that absolutely and imperatively commands the coinage of the silver bullion into silver dollars to provide a redemption fund for said notes by the course pursued by the Secretary?

None whatever. Yet the law must be so construed as to give some operation to every word, phrase, clause, and sentence of the act.

These silver dollars, when coined, became a trust fund under said law for the redemption of said Treasury notes, and the Secretary can not use them for any other purpose. They are directly and plainly appropriated for such purpose by Congress. Their money value was already in circulation in the shape of said Treasury notes, which are made a legal tender. The idea that said silver dollars are a trust fund and appropriated by Congress for the redemption of said notes is strengthened by the language of the second section of said act, which provides that the Treasury notes issued under the act shall be redeemed in coin.

And when so redeemed may be reissued, but no greater or less amount of such notes shall be outstanding at any one time than the cost of the silver bullion and the standard silver dollars coined therefrom then held in the Treasury purchased by said notes.

This language conclusively establishes the idea that the amount of silver bullion and silver coin in the Treasury should always be no greater or less than the amount of Treasury notes outstanding.

Is it not a fact, now, and the President's message declares it, and no honest man will deny it, that there is a greater amount of silver bullion and silver dollars now held in the Treasury than there is of Treasury notes outstanding, caused by issuing gold alone in the redemption of said Treasury notes? Does not this language of the law place beyond controversy that it was the intention of Congress that the amount of silver bullion and silver dollars procured under this act and held in the Treasury should never be greater or less, but always equal to and on a parity as to amount with, the outstanding Treasury notes issued under this law?

The employment of the use of gold alone and discarding silver as a redemption fund for said Treasury notes has caused a flagrant and palpable violation of the second section of the Sherman act, and the results of which violation could have been foreseen by the most simple intellect in America.

Surveying the provisions of the law, each and every word, clause, phrase, sentence, and the whole law together, it is manifest that Congress intended silver dollars to be used as a redemption fund for said Treasury notes.

At the arbitrary discretion of the Treasurer? No. But they should be used in the incipiency of executing the law, and continued until by such conjoint use of gold and silver it should become manifest that such conjoint use would tend to destroy the parity between the two metals. And when the parity was disturbed, then the Secretary of the Treasury should investigate and consider which metal by its use was disturbing such parity; after such discovery then the facts would have manifested themselves that would authorize and justify the Secretary in the use of his discretion as to which metal should be discarded, and which metal should be used solely as redemption money.

But no such intention grows out of the language of the whole act that Congress clothed the Secretary of the Treasury with an arbitrary discretion to discard silver money as a means to redeem said Treasury notes before an honest effort had been made to carry all the provisions of the law into operation, and silver money had been given a fair, equal, and just trial as a redemption fund for said notes.

Can any man, fair minded and unprejudiced, be convinced that in this free, representative Government of ours, the people's representatives would enact a law regulating their most vital interest, authorizing some of its most vital and important provisions to be ignored and discarded without any effort at executing them, merely upon the bald assumption of some official, whose intelligence, honesty, and patriotism were unknown at the time of enacting the law, that it was unwise to attempt to execute such provisions?

Such an idea is opposed to the very genius of our free institutions, and makes the interests of the people to depend merely upon the arbitrary discretion of an official. It would clothe the official with authority to suspend or nullify the operation of the laws merely at his individual will.

No such power is conferred or established under our constitutional form of Government.

The experience and observation of the country conclusively show that the sole use of gold has destroyed the parity between gold and silver. So far as the law is concerned, it is as much interested and anxious to preserve the unit value of silver, or its equality with the value of gold, as the monometallist is anxious to enhance the value of gold and depress the value of silver.

The statute does not say it is the "policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other," alone as to the value and purchasing power of the two metals without giving each an equal and fair trial under the law; but the phrase in the statute is, "maintain the two metals on a parity with each other," there is no limiting, qualifying, or modifying descriptive attendant upon the word parity. The word must be taken in its broad and comprehensive sense. It means parity in the operation of the law upon both metals—equality in manipulation and use by the officers of the Government.

No embarrassments or suspicions thrown around the one and not around the other—equality before the law in all things. This is the established policy of the United States toward gold and silver declared in the Sherman law, a bimetallic law pure and simple. If this equality before the law, this equality in use, in manipulation and freedom from embarrassments and suspicions that might be produced by law or officers of the Government as regards both metals, tends to and does destroy the parity between the two metals, then the time has arrived, and the circumstances present themselves, and not until then, when the Secretary of the Treasury may use his discretion as to which metal he will use alone as the fund of redeeming these Treasury notes and other obligations of the Government.

To show that the violation of the law was predetermined, and that gold alone should be used and silver discarded as redemption money, regardless of all surrounding circumstances and the welfare of the masses, the silver bullion has never been coined into silver dollars, as required by the law. The means pointed out—and the President so states in his message by the law—were never provided, and no effort made to do so. Have the Democratic masses been consulted about the continual execution of the Harrison policy by the Cleveland Administration? The Democratic platform, made and promulgated by the representatives of the Democratic masses, declares for bimetallism and a parity between gold and silver, as provided by the Federal Constitution.

These Democratic hosts exalted the present Administration into power on this platform. Will it obey the voice of the people?

A fearful responsibility rests upon it. Let it keep faith with the business interests and masses of the South and West, as well as with the East.

It is not amiss to here state the great body and masses of the Western and Southern people are more thoroughly aroused, and more determined in their action as to their financial matters, than they were as to their course toward the institution of African slavery and secession.

They know and they feel—the very want of their wives and their children and the peril of their homes give them the unerring knowledge—that the laws and administration of the Government is partial and oppressive upon them; that they are denied the aid and blessings of fair, honest, equal, and just government; and that they are burdened with high and heavy taxes to support this miserable and false administration of our laws, and to maintain this travesty upon honest and fair government. They are determined to resist it, and they will change it, or overturn it; so help them, Heaven.

No officer of this Government need take the flattering unction to his soul that he is more powerful than the people, and that they do not understand every act and motive being taken and manifested by every official in the Government in the administration and execution of our laws. No Democrat need be flattered by sycophants and office-seekers that he is greater and more respected than the Democratic party, and anything he may do will meet with approval and obedience from the masses.

The Democratic party has a history and a record to defend and maintain. It is the party of the people, the vindicator of popular rights, and the exemplar of "equal rights to all and special privileges to none."

Whenever these fundamental principle, guaranteeing freedom and happiness to the people, have not been observed and enforced, when the Democratic party was in power, was because the officials placed in power by the Democratic hosts have proved themselves recreant and unfaithful to the sacred trusts confided to them by a brave, patriotic, and confiding people.

This is the sum total and end of the whole affair; argue and consider it as you may, it is a breach of faith, pure and simple.

The success of the business and enterprise of the people, and the general welfare is more important and nearer their hearts than the splendor and success of any administration of the affairs of the Government.

An Administration is but a means to an end, and that end is the peace, content, and prosperity of all the people of all localities and sections of our great country.

The people support an Administration when such Administration supports the people and cares for and defends their interests. The rights of great financiers, powerful banks, and millionaire gold bugs and money kings must not alone be observed and their interests considered and respected. These great characters should not alone be the advisers around the council board. The views of the laborers, the wage-earners, the farmers, the people from the interior, should be heard and their advice sought, and their interests considered and respected.

An unconditional repeal of the Sherman law would wipe out of existence six hundred millions of the people's money, and nothing is offered to fill its place.

The misery and suffering that is now going on in the land, the bankruptcy and ruin of all industrial and manufacturing enterprises that surrounds us, the wants and necessities of the laborers that come up from all quarters, the desolation in our midst, each and all would be intensified and increased a hundredfold.

I confess that I have no particular respect for the Sherman law. It is truly a "makeshift," but makeshift as it is, it is a formidable bulwark against the destruction of silver coinage, and a redoubt under cover of which the friends of the people can rally and resist to the bitter end the march of imperialism that is seeking to overturn our institutions, and its advocates, the gold kings, banks, usurers, and sycophants following in its majestic train. We will not unconditionally surrender; we will have some consideration adequate to what we are asked to give.

This matter is one of impending trouble to our country, and should be settled, but it will never be settled until it is settled right. The Constitution of our country and the history and ad-

vancement of our people for eighty years suggest the basis of a settlement.

It is claimed, if the knowledge of the fact that gold is behind these Treasury notes was obliterated and banished from the minds of the people, that then they would depreciate.

For the sake of the argument I admit it, and then this conclusively establishes the fact that the Sherman law has nothing to do with our troubled and distressed condition.

We have been using gold since January 1, 1879, alone as our money of redemption, and as gold alone is so used under the Sherman law, how can the expectation of silver being used as a redemption money, have any force whatever in so far as the Sherman law is concerned? The demand for gold is to settle our balances with foreign governments, and the demand is promptly met, and we are informed by the public press that in the next ten days from twenty-five to forty-five millions of gold will return to America from foreign countries, yet the stagnation in business grows worse and the collapse o fbanks is becoming more frequent and widespread.

All our trouble arises from some internal disorder, disconnected with the use of gold and silver, and without any fear of the country being rid of its gold by the operation of the Sherman law. We are now in the rising tide of an influx of gold, and the Government is in no embarrassment whatever as to gold; the Government seems serene. The message admits that the solvent people and institutions of the country are hoarding their money.

The history of human affairs teaches, whenever there is an inferior and suspected currency in the land, people do not hoard it, but they seek immediate investments of it in property.

But in this instance the people of the South and West are clamoring for this suspected and dishonest silver dollar. They are ready to sell all the fruits of their labor and the product of their farms and any of their property for this dishonest silver dollar, but these Christian and disinterested philanthropic gold advocates say, "Oh, no; you shall not sell your products and your property for this dishonest dollar. We will keep it and hoard it, and if any loss is to occur we will suffer it, not you. We are too paternal, too generous, to let you lose anything on this silver that we consider a dishonest dollar. We are too honest for this."

Here are some of the inconsistencies the gold advocate is bound to admit that meet him on every corner in his tirade against the Sherman law.

But it is said that the continuance of the Sherman law will deplete our Treasury and the country of gold, because of foreign demands for gold.

Such is not the experience of this country prior to 1873, the date of the demonetization of silver; and such is not the experience of the present in France, that in the administration of its fiscal affairs is bimetal. We are informed forty millions of gold will arrive in the United States in the next thirty days. Silver has not been treated fairly and equally with gold since its demonetization in 1873, either by the banks or the Government.

From the outset of the passage of the Bland act in 1878 the national banks in the Middle and New England States have been shy of silver money and have been loth to receive it. They have been unwilling to use large quantities of it or allow large quantities to accumulate on their hands.

There can be no doubt this disposition arises from the banks' close connection with the creditor and money-lending class, to whom the lowering of the standard of the abnormal value of gold by putting silver on a parity with it, is very objectionable.

The banks are great money-lenders themselves, and credit transactions result largely from the banks' business and they deal largely in foreign exchange; hence they desire all money transactions and the business affairs of the country to be placed on a gold basis, and eliminate silver as money from our circulation.

This will make money scarce, create a great demand for gold, enhance its value, and raise the rate of interest, and all this manipulation is done alone for the interest of the banks and money kings to the detriment of the masses.

Shortly after the passage of the Bland act in 1878 the banks of New York, members of the clearing-house, adopted a rule—and the United States subtreasury at New York is a member of the clearing-house—prohibiting the payment of balances between banks at the clearing-house in silver certificates or silver dollars, except for change, say $5.

It is public history that this conduct on the part of the New York banks and the subtreasury at New York was a fatal strike at silver.

When Congress, in 1882, extended the corporate existence of the national banks, to break up this baneful practice, this debasement of silver, and secure its circulation, a law was enacted that no national bank should be a member of a clearing-house at which silver certificates were not receivable in payment of balances.

This forced the New York banks to drop the rule, but the enemies of silver could not be downed in this way. They have continued this baneful practice and it remains unaltered, despite the energy and authority of Congress was employed to prevent it, and the national banks, aided by the United States subtreasury at New York, one of the people's institutions, aided the banks in "boycotting" silver, the people's money.

Congress can compel a national bank to receive silver certificates, but can not compel it to offer them in settlement of balances.

The banks and the United subtreasury avoided this law of Congress by entering into a tacit understanding that none of them would tender silver in payment of balances. And thus it stands to-day, silver currency is not allowed to enter into any transactions between the New York banks and the United States subsubtreasury at New York, and so is the rule in all the controlling money centers of our country.

It is true the banks will receive silver currency on deposit, and will receive it in tender of debts when offered. But they endeavor to hold as little of it as possible, and employ all diligence to get rid of it at once.

They pay it out over their counters upon presentations of checks, and if this does not relieve them of it they get rid of it in another way. Silver dollars and silver certificates are each legal tender in payment of all public dues, custom or import duties included, and when they accumulate in the banks they are gotten rid of by turning them over to importers and custom-house brokers who carry them to the Treasury in payment of custom dues.

And now, under the policy adopted by Secretary Foster under the Harrison Administration, in executing and administering the Sherman law, and accepted and enforced by the Cleveland Administration, the banks, and any person else, can take any obligation of the Government and go to the Treasury and draw gold, although the certificate may declare on its face it is payable in silver dollars, and although the Sherman law declares for bimetallism, and that "the established policy of the United States is to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other."

To further show the wicked results of the practices of the clearing houses to destroy silver, aided by the United States subtreasuries at New York and Boston, it appears from the history of the times that in May, 1885, the reserve of gold in the Treasury declined to $116,000,000, the lowest point reached since the resumption of specie payments, January 1, 1879, until the present time.

The Government paid out all the silver certificates that would stay out and strengthened its gold reserve.

At the subtreasury in Boston silver was paid out in abundance, as there were no such rules there at the clearing house as in New York, that obligated the banks and subtreasury not to offer silver in the payment of balances; and it is thus seen that when there has been a fair chance, and there was no conspiracy to destroy it, it has circulated freely. In the transactions between New York and Boston the balance of payments fell in New York's favor. Under the tacit understanding with the New York banks and our subtreasury there, Boston's silver was unavailable to settle such balances.

Exchange on New York at once went up to a premium, and the Boston banks appealed to the Secretary of the Treasury to cease paying out silver at the Boston subtreasury, which appeal was granted, and the Boston banks at once adopted the New York banks' rule, and refused to tender silver in payment of balances at the clearing house.

The Philadelphia banks have adopted the same rule as New York and Boston. Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, and Denver banks, as well as other Western banks in the large cities, pass and receive silver certificates in all transactions between each other, as freely as any other currency and money.

From this history of the action of the banks in conjuction with the United States treasuries at New York and Boston, and at all other treasuries, and the policy of the Administration to discard silver as a money for final settlement and retain silver bullion in the Treasury as a debt against the people, is shown a most powerful and conclusive reason why silver does not circulate to any larger amount, and why it has declined in price.

This combination is of itself sufficient to destroy the circulation of any kind of money, even gold itself. One can not fail to discover that it is a combination between the banks and the money power to plunder the people and raid the public treasury of all its silver, that has been the best and most satisfactory money the people ever used.

One can not fail to be impressed with the fact that it requires the combined active and diligent energies of the banks of the great money centers of the Middle and New England States,

reënforced by the Federal Administration itself, to make any assault that can leave an unfavorable impression upon silver; and even then silver, handcuffed by this gigantic combination and irresistible power, still lives, and gives great hope and relief to the people against this unholy and unlawful alliance between the banks and the Administration.

When we compare the value of silver with the price of cotton, corn, wheat, iron, meat, and all the staple articles the production of which employs the largest majority of human skill and human activity, and learn as the value of silver decreases the prices of these staple articles decline in the same ratio almost, it is but logical and natural that one should be forced to the irresistible conclusion that in discarding silver as money the Administration is overturning the peace, happiness, and prosperity of the people, and burying all their enterprises, their energies, their hopes, and their expectations in one terrible vortex of ruin and desolation.

If the free coinage of silver should be restored and be placed on the same plane before the law, and as our Constitution intends, and as the Chicago platform demands, as gold; and the Administration would use, manipulate, and treat it as money as it does gold, and take the subtreasuries of the United States out of the partnership with the money power, the banks, and clearing houses of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia; make the banks and millionaire gold bugs transact their business in a fair, honest, legitimate, and patriotic way, then the past history of our own people for eighty-one years prior to 1873, and the history of the French people past and present, teaches us unerringly that silver would at once be on a parity with gold in all things and would circulate the same as gold.

The banks would aid in using and circulating silver, the subtreasuries would do so, and when a money king or bank should go to a Government subtreasury with silver certificates, Treasury notes, or greenbacks to raid the public Treasury of gold, silver could be paid out, the Treasury would be relieved from the dictation of the gold bugs, and soon the whole business and money power of the country would be coming to the aid of the Government and relief of the people, all our financial matters would be settled, business disturbances would be adjusted, labor would be rewarded, property would be in demand, hope would be revived, energies aroused, contentment and prosperity would spread over the land, and the great mass of the American people would be seen marching on as a band of brothers inspired by one thought, controlled by one sentiment, and directed by one purpose—the grandeur and glory of the American people.

Gold is the money of the king, the basis of imperialism; silver is the money of the people, the source of the thrift of the masses, the harbinger of liberty and happiness. Under these hostile conditions, these combinations of the money kings, national banks, and the United States Treasury itself, the wonder is not that only fifty-odd millions of silver was in circulation on the 1st of June, 1893, but the amazing astonishment is that there was one dollar.

Again, it is known of all intelligent persons that the banks and money interest made a desperate effort last February to have a law enacted to permit the Secretary of the Treasury to sell bonds to supply the Government with gold. Congress refused to do this, and there can be no reasonable doubt but a combination was then formed between the banks, the money owners, and monometallists, to bring on a panic and depress all business and ascribe it all to silver, and hence secure its destruction as money.

I know of my own knowledge that circular letters were sent South to national and other banks telling them unless the Sherman law was repealed that they could get no more accommodations, and they would be embarrassed in their business, and they must insist upon their representative voting for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law. Was ever such diligence and efforts put forth in the history of this country by the New York press to ascertain the position of Congress on the silver question?

This was not undertaken as a mere matter of news, but it was for a purpose. Failing to receive such answer as accorded with their purpose, the panic has intensified until depositors have become frightened, and the panic is recoiling upon the banks, the authors of the panic, and at last they realize, as "they sowed to the winds, they are reaping the whirlwind."

My own judgment is that this distress does not owe its existence to the Sherman law, but to a combination between the money powers and the banks, aided by the Government, to destroy silver as money.

The passage of the bill introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia will not relieve the country unless some legislation immediately takes place to secure free coinage of silver.

We have no assurance such will take place. If such is intended in good faith to be effected, then the passage of the substitute of the gentleman from Misiouri [Mr. BLAND] which positively repeals the Sherman law in so many words, is a much more effective and ready measure to carry out such purpose and obey the Chicago platform than the bill of the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON].

The President's message has brought distrust to the two-thirds of the Democrats on this floor and who propose to still remain Democrats and carry out the Chicago platform and obey the voice of the people as expressed in the election of the President on the 8th of November last, that there is no purpose on the part of the advocates of the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law, and of the President himself, to observe the Chicago platform, or to obey the will of nine millions of the voters of this country, and who elevated him to the Chief Magistracy of this country.

The President has departed from his own letter of acceptance and from the Chicago platform. In this act of infidelity to the Democratic party, and this trampling of the interests of the farmers and laborers of this country under foot, I can not maintain or follow him.

Gold and silver metal since the dawn of civilization, aye, from the time of Abraham, has been the metallic money of all nations.

England, after she had grown rich and powerful on the double standard of both gold and silver, after the white sails of her commerce had penetrated every waterway, and her flag was saluted with respect by every nation on earth, upon every sea and ocean, in every harbor and station, when she became so opulent and powerful that the London Exchange dictated rates to the world, and the maritimal and commercial laws of all nations were more or less subservient to British interests, and she had become the creditor of all nations, and where her arguments ceased her battleships and artillery forced irrevokable conclusions—in 1816 this island in the sea, our mother, demonetized silver, pulled the ladder upon which she had mounted to such opulence and power up after her, and declared gold the only metallic basis of issue, the only money that she would respect or receive in final payment.

From the foundation of our Government up to 1873 gold and silver, the double standard, was our basis of issue of paper money, the money we respected and received as money to be paid and received in final settlement and payment of all claims, demands, and debts of all and every character whatever.

In 1873 silver, by act of Congress, was demonetized, was declared not to be any longer metallic money in the United States, and not such money as should be a legal tender in settlement of any claim, debt, or demand.

No one to this day can tell with positive assurance who was the author of such an iniquitous measure. Its author, if living, refuses to honor his bantling; if dead, he has failed to leave any evidences of his paternity.

That demonetization is a bastard, is a crime, is conclusively established, because it is without acknowledged paternity and the father is ashamed of the child.

What public necessity demanded such an act? What condition in our trade and finance required such a revolution in our system? What industrial enterprise, what labor pursuit called for such an upheaval in values and disorganization of our settled modes of business? What crime had the American farmer, the American laborer, aye, the American people, committed as to call forth such a sentence?

Who constituted the author the judge to pronounce such a sentence? That he was a dishonorable man, a character more despicable than the youth who fired the Ephesian temple, and more to be derided and anathematized than Nero, who burned his magnificent capital, is believed by the present generation, and posterity will be convinced of the fact?

If so much benefit is to be derived from the act; if it is a truth in the settlement of financial difficulties; if its results are to redound to the general good and to the benefit of mankind, it is passing strange no man will step forth and claim authorship of the act.

Authorship is denied, paternity is disavowed, and responsibility disowned as cautiously as one shuns the leprosy or avoids the exudation of the upas tree. It seems to me such a want of authorship, such a disavowal of paternity, would cause a fair-minded and unselfish mind to hesitate to accept or attempt to defend the boasted results of good to arise from its existence.

What revolution was going on, that amid the clash of conflicting forces our laws became silent and our Federal Constitution became waste paper, its principles effete, and its plain provisions disregarded, disobeyed, and perjury became a fit instrument to defend the safety of the people?

I am surprised. I am astounded that men professing to be honorable and patriotic will attempt to defend such a confessed infamy, because no one will assume responsibility for its existence.

Prior to the year 1873 silver was a coördinate and equal metal for basic money in the United States. With this double stand-

ard, with this derided metal, silver, as an equal constituent element of our money, American liberty and American freedom were established.

A government was founded that has challenged the admiration of the world, and has presented a prototype for the advocates of liberty, the defenders of free representative government throughout the world, and for all ages. With it we have conquered the savage, cleared up the wilderness, established Christianity, and developed civilization until we are the equal of any people, the pride of nations throughout the world.

With it we purchased Louisiana, we overturned the imperious laws upon the sea of our haughty mother, England. We conquered Mexico and took from her the territory from San Diego and the line of the Rio Grande northward and eastward, embraced in the State of California, the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico.

We made the richest and happiest people, the most moral and religious citizens that the annals of man give any account of.

Thus it performed its duty, a faithful servant of the masses, until its legal death in 1873, and at that minute it was worth a premium in our markets, and has been and remained the equal of gold in all our financial transactions from the foundation of the Government to the date of its legal death. And yet we find men proclaiming themselves great moralists, immaculate patriots, agonizing as it were over the depressed condition of the people, yet attempting to defend the lynching and the unholy and monstrous assassination of the main and most efficient instrumentality of our former prosperity, content, and happiness.

With no feeling of animosity, no disposition to offend any, I can not otherwise regard him who indorses this assassination of silver, this demonetization scheme, as an enemy to the public welfare, a foe to the masses, and an adversary to popular interests, and hostile to the sweat, muscle, and brawn of the land.

All the arguments they use to sustain their cause are one-sided, contracted, and unfair, and are suggested alone by selfishness, greed, and avarice, and inspired by opposition to the agriculturist and wage-earner.

Silver needs no vindication or eulogy from any source, and the execration of the banks and millionaire gold bugs and the extortioners and usurers of the land will not be sufficient to destroy it. The voice of the great majority of the American people stand back of silver, and they will set up and defend the money of the Constitution and will demolish the cohorts of usury and extortion on every alignment and secure to themselves, their children, and their posterity that peace, that content, that happiness, and that success in the struggle of life vouchsafed unto them by the fathers of freedom and independence.

No argument is necessary to support silver as one of the essential metals of final payment, and upon which to erect a paper money. The progress of the ages attest the truth of this statement.

All history demonstrates that when gold and silver are equally and fairly treated by the law, that in the very nature of things, and under the laws of trade and business, a parity between the two metals will take place, and will be maintained and preserved.

The enemies of free coinage of silver are without any political organization. No political party in these United States that is organized with a hope of success, and will submit their claims and doctrines to the masses for their support at the ballot box, will dare engraft in their platform the ideas, arguments, and doctrines of the monometallists.

In the platform of every political party that struggled for success in 1892 there is an absence of every argument of the gold bug and usurer, and no such platform has ever been presented to the American people for their support and adoption.

On the contrary, in every platform of every party in 1892 there was a demand for the restoration of the free coinage of silver.

The Constitution of the United States expresses and declares for the doctrine of bimetallism and demands its enforcement.

The monometallist has no political party in this country, and no constitution upon which to erect his fabric of government.

What argument does the gold-bug employ to destroy silver?

He contends that gold being scarcer than silver, and being the single standard of the commercial world, it is more valuable than silver, has a greater purchasing value, and its monetary mint will always be stable as compared with itself; that stability in the monetary mint is essential to any financial system, and silver being cheaper than gold and more plentiful, the cheaper money will drive out the dearer money, and the country will be forced to a silver standard, and we will have to purchase gold at a great premium in settling our foreign debts, demands, and balances.

The monometallist says that in the use of one metal alone the monetary mint is always stable as compared with itself.

He who owns the gold is always in favor of the gold standard, because he lends money, and the one standard makes money scarce, and gold being scarcer than silver, it is therefore dearer than silver, and the rate of interest will be higher as the gold is scarcer.

But the usurer, the money lender, the extortioner, are not the only persons engaged in business, and the name Shylock does not include every family and individual of the community.

He who would meet the necessities of humanity, he would fill the demands of a Christian philosophy, he who would play the part of a wise statesman and engage in the business of making laws to direct and control human conduct, to secure human happiess and human prosperity, when employed in creating a financial system and regulating the money question of a people and country, must not circumscribe his vision, bound his intellect, or contract the impulses and inspirations of his heart alone upon the wants, necessities, and demands of the gold bug and money-lender.

The money-lender produces no wealth. Money is not wealth; it is a representative of values and a medium of exchange. The money-lender makes his gain by demanding and collecting interest for the use of his money; this interest is paid in money, and by his process of business he is always employed in concentrating the money of a country under his control and getting it into his possession and ownership.

As scarce money always raises the rate of interest, the money-lender is always the advocate of any system that makes money scarce and interest high. He always favors the gold standard, and will argue with some vigor, little humanity, and less of statesmanship, about the retaining of the stability of the monetary unit as compared with itself. The retention of the monetary unit stable as compared with itself is the argument alone of the gold advocate, the money-lender, as it builds up and sustains his interest as offering greater avenues for the enhancement of the rate of interest.

But we must remember that there are other avenues of business among a people by which they live and produce wealth than the business of money lending, and the interests of all these must be considered as well as those of the usurer.

In addition to the business of lending money, there are three other avenues that men engage in to secure a livelihood and gather wealth.

Profits that are earned by buying and selling, manufacturing, transportation, and commerce generally.

Rents, the money realized upon renting lands, houses, and other property.

Lastly, wages, the reward the laboring man receives for his daily labor, either by the day, the week, the month, or year, and is called in political economy a wage-earner.

These last three are dependent for the successful prosecution of their business upon the supply of money or capital as it is called in this connection, and money being the creature of law, money should be so managed and so distributed as to benefit all. In establishing any financial system, in enacting laws to regulate and control money, the interests of all the persons engaged in these four avenues of gathering and producing wealth should be considered.

Those engaged in the last three avenues of securing wealth are not so much concerned about the stability of the monetary unit as compared with itself, but they are seriously interested in its stability in its relation to everything else that is in its purchasing power. That is, they are interested in having such an amount and volume of money as will secure to each and all of them, regularly and with stability of value, a full and fair reward for all their products, for all their enterprise, and for all their energies.

This can be obtained and secured only when the supply of money is equal to all demands for which money is or can be used.

Contraction of the currency, scarcity of money, the increase of the rate of interest, are each and all antagonistic to the welfare and advancement of all those engaged in the three last-named avenues of producing and gathering wealth, and operate alone in the interest of the money-lender.

Hence, as the free coinage of silver increases the means and basis of expanding the currency, and doubles the volume of money as the means of final settlement of all debts, demands, claims, and balances, and decreases the rate of interest, appreciates values, elevates prices, and arouses the energies and hopes of the people, and incites to enterprise, the people engaged in the three last-named avenues are interested, and to advance their own interests should be firm and aggressive advocates of the double standard, of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, made a legal tender on the same basis as gold.

By restricting the coinage of silver, debts contracted at one time will be enhanced in value when paid in the future, and it will require the production and sale of more of the products of labor to secure the money to liquidate the debt than at the time

the debt was contracted. Hence restricted coinage or demonetization of silver, or contraction of currency, always operates in favor of the creditor and to the detriment of the debtor.

There is not enough gold in the world to meet the demands of trade and to secure to labor the just rewords of its toils. Any demonetizing of silver, a metal that the ages show has held a parity with gold when treated fairly and equally by law as gold is, is a crime against humanity and a violation of every principle of free, equal, and constitutional government.

The monometallist, or single gold-standard advocate, is a destroyer; he offers no remedy to meet the lack of gold, yet insists on the demonetizing of silver which meets the deficiency of gold.

VALUES.

An ideal standard of value is unattainable, the affairs of man are too varied, too complex and resting upon too many contingencies, the products of labor too unequal in quantity and quality, too liable to deterioration for such a standard to be obtained.

Our inability to reach such standard, does not relieve us from the duty to approximate it as near as possible.

The volume of money in circulation among any people is a most potent factor in receiving such an approximate standard.

Money is the representative of value of all the products of labor, of all the enterprises of man, and of all the human energies employed in temporal advancement; then, that the volume of money should always be kept at such an amount as to meet all the requirements of trade, the necessities of business, the demands of labor, and the wants of the people, is but the suggestions of the most ordinary intellect, of common sense, and of common justice.

A change in value is not created alone by the character of the article, or the conditions that surround and affect it, but the change may be caused by conditions affecting the dollar itself.

To illustrate: A bushel of wheat is of a certain grade and in a certain condition to-day and is worth a dollar; it may continue of the same grade and remain in the same condition and the supply and demand remain the same, and to-morrow, next week, next month, or the next year, and at each of the periods named it may be exchanged for more or less money than to-day. In this case the price of the wheat is not at all affected by conditions affecting the wheat, but it is affected alone by conditions affecting the dollar or currency given in exchange for the wheat.

The conditions affecting the dollar may be those of supply and demand.

If the supply of money is limited, contracted, and is scarce, and the demand for it great, then the price of the wheat will fluctuate; it will become less in price as the supply of money is lessened or contracted.

On the other hand, if the grade and condition of the wheat deteriorates and changes, then the price will decline and change, and these result from conditions affecting the wheat.

Or if the grade and condition of the wheat should remain the same, the supply is good. Yet there is no demand in such case; the price of the wheat would be affected by its condition. Another illustration: the volume of currency is normal; that is, it is equal to the necessities of trade and demands of the whole community, property will then reach its fair and intrinsic value.

A farmer contracts a debt, say, by purchasing 40 acres of land fors$200, payable in twelve months. All things being normal, the land is well worth the $200. In the mean time, before the debt is due, the volume of currency is contracted, the demand for money is great, the supply is small, the monetary unit is changed, prices decline, and values deteriorate and go down 50 per cent; and when the debt is due the land will only bring $100 because of conditions affecting the money of the country.

To pay off the debt the farmer is compelled to produce one-half more cotton, or if he fails in this, he will have to sell his other 40 acres of land he bought and for which he contracted the debt, and thus he has lost his 80 acres of land, his home, his all, to pay a debt he contracted to pay for 40 acres of land.

The destruction of the farmer in this case is caused alone by no act of his, but by conditions affecting the currency, over which the farmer has no control.

Another illustration, and it exemplifies the condition of many of my constituents:

In the regular and legitimate pursuit of his business a farmer contracts a debt and secures the same by mortgage on his 80 acres of land, embracing his homestead. At the time of contracting the debt the volume of currency is normal; that is, it is sufficient to meet the requirements of trade and the demands, needs, and business of all the people.

Every suggestion of prudence says to him, if money remains as it is, he can reasonably count on getting so much per pound for his cotton, and at such price he can easily pay off the debt but when the debt becomes due, the currency is contracted, there is not enough money to meet the demand, and the farmer will have to make twice as much cotton to pay the debt as he would have required had the currency remained as it was when he contracted the debt. Not having the cotton, the land and his home is sold, and the farmer loses all.

Thus you see the woes and injury resulting from a contraction of the currency, the creation of law, intended for the benefit of all the people.

But in this case the creditor's wealth is doubled and the debtor is ruined.

No wonder the money-lender desires a scarcity of money, and that the rate of interest should be increased. We hear much talk these days about the dishonesty of law that will allow a debtor to pay his debt in silver at 64 cents on the dollar.

This is considered by the gold-bug money lender as an unanswerable argument against silver and the double standard. But does this Shylock tell you anything about the dishonesty of a law that requires the debtor to pay 130 cents in the dollar to discharge a debt contracted at a hundred cents in the dollar? In other words, to pay $130 to discharge a $100 debt. This results under a contraction of the currency and demonetization of silver.

Oh, says the gold advocate, the farmer is not injured by this single standard, this demonetization of silver, because a gold dollar will now purchase almost twice as much as a silver dollar would when you had silver money as a legal tender. Admit it; but Mr. Shylock does not tell you that the farmer has to produce and sell twice as much cotton to get the gold dollar as he formerly did to get the silver dollar. Oh, he says, the silver dollar under the present condition will purchase as much as a gold dollar.

Admit it; but, as all prices are on a gold basis, our money all on the gold basis or standard, the farmer has to produce twice as much cotton to get this silver dollar as he would have to produce to get the silver dollar under the double standard, or the gold and silver standard. Yet, during all this time the farmer's power of production has not increased, but remained the same; in all probability it has decreased. The cotton farmer of the South certainly can not produce any more cotton to-day or since 1873 than he could in 1850, when we had the gold and silver standard. His occupation and mode of production is *sui generis*, unlike that of any other farmer, and unlike that of any other industrial pursuit.

The advance of machinery, causing one to produce as much as four or five before, has not and can not reach the Southern cotton farmer. Cotton can not be chopped out by machinery, and it can not be gathered by machinery. As to these, the same process is now in vogue as was employed fifty years ago. And there can not be any change; it must continue to the end of time as it now is, and must remain to be accomplished by the hand. His soil is impaired in its strength, in its power of production, and he is compelled to go into the markets and purchase each year fertilizers to put on his land. He makes but one crop a year, and by the laws of nature it requires the whole year to make and gather a cotton crop.

Hence all discussion about improvement of machinery and increase of the power of production to affect the decline in prices because of a gold standard, has no application and is of no benefit to the Southern cotton-farmer.

To all this the creditor and the gold-bug throws up his hands and cries out robbery and dishonesty!

Hold on, do not cry thief yet; find out who the thief is; maybe you are the man, and an investigation of the case will place the guilt at your door.

First, you enhanced the volume of your debt and reduced the price of the farmer's cotton by demonetizing silver; and it requires the farmer to produce one and a half times more cotton to pay his debt now than when he contracted it.

Second. The value of the silver is the market or bullion value and not the coin value; the ratio of silver in the dollar is still 16 to 1, an amount greater than any other nation puts in the silver dollar; more than France, that sustains a parity between gold and silver, an equality in value and purchasing and debt-paying power.

Now, if you, American creditor and gold-bug advocate, will restore the free coinage of silver and put it on the same footing and plane before the law and the world as you have placed gold, you will at once realize that there will be a demand for silver; it will enhance in value, its purchasing and debt-paying power will be in all things, at all times, and under all circumstances equal to gold, and the 16 ounces of silver is in truth and in fact equal in value to the 1 ounce of gold.

The history of the ages show this, and in our own country and in our own times, when silver was on the same plane with gold before the law, silver has in every instance and at all times maintained a parity in value and as sound money with gold, and has been oftener at a premium than gold.

FARMERS NOT ALONE INTERESTED IN SILVER.

There seems to be an impression abroad that only the farmers are interested in the silver question, and that the people who dwell in the cities and towns are freed from the depression of demonetizing silver.

It is true the demonetizing scheme has robbed the farmer of untold millions for the British traders and the American gold-bugs and national banks, yet he has got used to the process; the robbery can not go any further; it has reached its limit, and the farmer would not care a cent for the machinations of the oppressors if he was not in debt.

If he can get a little money to pay his debts, at a low rate of interest, so as to keep his land and home, the devil can take the gold advocates and national banks if he will have them. The farmer can fall back upon the balmy sun, the generous soil, the refreshing rains, the invigorating winds. These are the gift of God, that Wall street and the devil can not control; and in them lies the peace, independence, and happiness of the farmer.

Debt is his only master, and it should be the anxious and diligent care of all men to so arrange and direct the legislation of the country that he will be relieved of this tyrant at the earliest moment.

The farmer can compromise with the gold advocate more advantageously than any other business or industrial class.

He can say to the money-lenders: "Let me have money enough to get out of debt, and then you can proceed with your unholy and depressing schemes; I am now independent of you."

The finances of all gold-standard countries are in a most unsatisfactory condition, there is unrest and dissatisfaction among the producing and laboring classes. France, sandwiched between England, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Spain, all gold-standard countries, maintains her double standard of gold and silver, her industries are all prosperous, and her people are happy and contented.

Now, the merchant and manufacturer are less able to stand the depression in prices, the stagnation in business, and the paralysis of enterprise than the farmer. If one will only look around him he can see storehouses filled with goods; no trade, and the merchant in debt, and bankruptcy threatened. Furnaces are blown out, mills closed down, and foundries stopped, and factories still. No hum of industry, but silence of death reigns throughout the whole space.

What is the cause of all this stagnation and ruin? A want of money, contraction of the currency, demonetization of silver, the gold standard, fall in prices, and all the evils of legislation that oppress the trading and industrial classes for the benefit of the money power.

The cry against silver and its denunciation by the gold advocates that it is of less value than gold is unjust and unfair, when the Government has turned its mighty power against it and degraded it.

The apparent fall in the value of silver, maltreated and debased as it is by the Government, is more a rise in the price of gold.

The increased demand for gold caused by the action of Germany, the Latin Union, the Scandinavian states, by Austro-Hungary and the United States in demonetizing silver, causes a rise in the price of gold and a fall in the price of silver.

The decline of silver has not been the result of natural laws, but alone by the destroying and debasing laws of government.

This fact is clearly established by the fall in the price of silver commencing with the act of 1873, demonetizing silver, and has been four times as great in the twenty years since 1873 as it was for the twenty years prior thereto, although the changes in the relative production of the two metals has been less since 1873 than prior thereto. This is shown by admission in the report of the English gold and silver commission.

Facts, not theories, should control and direct the lawmaker and statesman; the doctrinaire has but little weight and influence when he argues against facts and the experiences of a people.

The decline in prices can not be charged to the agitation of the silver question in the United States, this decline is almost universal throughout the world. While prices have not materially risen in silver-using countries, yet they have remained steady and free from fluctuations, as compared with gold prices in the gold-standard countries.

The fact is notorious that prices have largely fallen in all gold-using countries, and this indicates the fact that the change has taken place more in the value of gold than in the value of silver.

If one will compare the prices for twenty years before 1873, when we had free silver, and it was on a parity with gold before the law, and the prices for twenty years since 1873, the year silver was demonetized, it will be ascertained that prices have been lowered since the demonetization of silver than before. This conclusively establishes the fact that the gold or single standard produces the decline in prices.

It is said the low prices do not injure the wage-earner, because his wages will buy as much or more at the present time than ever before; and the improved machinery and modes of production, increasing his power of production, prevent the decline of prices injuring the wage-earner.

It was at one time thought, and the idea was maintained, that a rise or fall in prices was indifferent to all except the creditor and debtor class.

But this idea is now exploded, for investigation and reason has discovered that a fall in prices so affects men's spirits, their hopes and expectations, so depresses their energies and dwarfs their enterprise, all of which are connected with money, exert a depressing influence over all labor and industrial enterprises, and is exceedingly baneful and harmful, while rising prices stimulate hope, arouse energies, secure confidence, and excite to more active exertion and more plentiful production.

The manufacturer, the active manager of industry, is always in debt. He has to buy labor, material, implements, machinery, etc., and must sell his products on short time, and sales must be full and regular in order to enable him to conduct his business with profit; prices falling, business is stagnant, money being scarce, trade is dull and depressed, the manufacturer can not dispose of his products, can not pay his debts and liabilities, and bankruptcy takes place, and the business goes to the wall and laborers are thrown out of employment.

I have shown that this improved machinery, this increase in the power and capacity of production does not apply to the cotton farmer, and does in no way benefit him.

We must not forget that our population is increasing rapidly, our wealth has doubled rapidly, and our production of commodities to be exchanged for other commodities has multiplied rapidly, and the demand for money increases proportionably, and any contraction of the supply leads to ruinous results.

English and Irish tenants are demanding bimetallism, or both silver and gold coinage. The tenants find that while the rate of their rents is fixed for years in advance, yet it is becoming more difficult each year to pay the same because of the fall of prices of the articles they have to produce to sell to obtain the money with which to pay the rent.

Germany and England are each creditor countries, and they desire to destroy silver, enhance the value of gold, make money scarce, and thus raise the value of interest.

The masses of the people all over the world desire the gold and silver standard, yet the lawmaking power in all countries is to some extent dominated by the money kings and gold advocates, and the people are embarrassed. But the march of financial and industrial freedom has commenced; it is gathering strength as it wends its way, and the deluge will soon come; the money devil must disgorge, and freedom and equality must prevail as the directing spirit in all our laws and in the administration of our Government.

An increase in the quantity of money leads to higher prices, arouses the energies, excites to enterprise, suggests development, and gives hope and confidence to labor and industry. A permanent increase in the coin forming the basis of the machinery of exchange will be followed by an increase in the volume of money, and prices will rise and the rate of interest decline. Restore the free coinage of silver, make it legal tender for all debts and claims, put it on an equality with gold before the law, then the price of silver will advance, all prices will rise and appreciate with the advance of silver.

Take the financial and industrial history of the world and there can not be found an exception to the rule, that low and falling prices and declining values produce stagnation in business and a depression in the energies, enterprise, spirit, and hopes of men.

The root and basis of all our trouble is found in the fact that gold is constantly increasing in value.

The disturbance in Wall street, London, in Germany, and wherever the single gold standard prevails conclusively marks another step in the upward movement of the price of gold and the downward movement of all other values.

Take France, where the double standard prevails, both gold and silver is a legal tender, and both are placed and used by the Government on a parity, and you do not find any such disturbance in business matters and no such discontent among the laboring classes; but the producing classes are all thrifty, and energy and enterprise are making their grandest and mightiest strides.

Is not this conclusive evidence that the cause of such universal depression arises from the appreciation in the value of gold, and is not referable to the agitation of the silver question? The countries that use silver are quiet and progressive; their people are prosperous, happy, and contented.

You hear these gold advocates and money-lenders say that the restoration of the free coinage of silver will benefit the silver-miner at the expense of the people. We have shown it will not.

But can not the same be said about the gold-miner—when you

destroy silver, that he will be benefited at the expense of the people in enhancing the value of his gold? Have I not shown this to be true?

You hear the money-lender and the gold advocates complaining about the profit made by the silver-mine owner, but you never hear him complain about the profit made by the owner of the gold mine.

How transparently inconsistent are the money devils! The gold advocate says that, as the majority of the world use gold, if silver should be restored, then gold will flow out of the United States and we will soon be without gold and on a silver basis and single standard. This did not take place for the eighty years that we had the gold and silver standard prior to 1873. It has not taken place in France, that has a gold and silver standard.

Indeed, the agitation of the silver question does not cause the outflow of gold, because we are on a gold basis.

We produce too much to sell abroad to be embarrassed by the outflow of gold.

A silver dollar is now the equal of the gold dollar in the measure of values.

Let there be free coinage of silver, and let the silver dollar be made a legal tender as gold is, and a general demand will be made for silver by both creditors and debtors. From debtors, because they can always employ it to pay their debts, and from creditors because they can use it in making all their payments of every kind and character.

We will use one illustration to answer all the arguments that free silver will drive gold out of the country by foreign nations demanding payment of all balances of trade in gold and all the balances due us will be paid in silver.

A cotton broker in Liverpool buys a lot of cotton in New York from a cotton broker. Silver is a legal tender in America, and the Englishman proposes to pay for the cotton with silver. Where will the Englishman get the silver? It is not in Europe, and he will have to come to America to purchase it. He will have to buy it with gold, and in America silver is on a par with gold, so he will swap gold dollars for silver dollars, and pay the exchange or cost of transportation of the gold from Liverpool to New York to do it.

Does any sane man believe the Englishman will do this? No; he will pay the gold directly.

Here is a demand for silver, and thus a parity will be kept up with gold even in Europe.

Suppose the balance of trade is against the United States, does it force us to pay in gold? Not at all. We would pay in silver, because the Englishman would have a use for silver in his continued trade with America. Suppose, however, the American should have to pay in gold, then he would have it, as we produce thirty-five millions of gold each year, and now have in our country about five hundred millions in gold. France maintains her double standard; why can not we do it?

It is error to assert that gold is the universal standard of value. Two-thirds of the people of the world use silver as money, and over one-half use silver as the standard of values.

If England demands gold in payment of all balances, and continues her single gold standard, she will have to manufacture on a very small profit and sell at low prices, as the gold standard reduces all values, and this will disorganize and dissatisfy her whole industrial system, and revolution will be inevitable.

Heretofore England has been the largest producing country as well as the richest and most powerful nation on earth, and thus she has been able to dictate her policies to the world and force the world to accept them. But the United States, yet in its puling infancy, is the largest producing and manufacturing country, the richest, most opulent, and most powerful nation on earth; and while she does not propose to dictate the policies to be pursued by other nations, yet she does not propose to allow other nations to prescribe her policies. She does not propose to consult other nations as to what standard or principle her economic interests shall be placed under.

CHANGE OF RATIO.

Many persons advocate an increase of the ratio, and then they accept the double standard.

I am opposed to any change in the ratio. Let it remain as it is, 16 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold. This is the highest ratio in the world.

A change of the ratio now would be unjust to the farmer, as the products of the farm have declined in price since the appreciation of the value of gold and the fall of silver, and a change would fix the farm products at the present low rate and double the amount of his debt. It would be unfair to change the ratio now, because we are the largest silver-producing people in the world, and we should not, unless for the very best reasons, debase our own product and embarrass our laborers. To change the ratio now would necessitate a recoinage of all our silver dollars at a loss by shrinkage of $100,000,000.

If the change should be made by all nations the loss by shrinkage would be near a billion dollars.

A change of ratio is not necessary. France for seventy years, with only half of our population, has kept both gold and silver substantially at par with a ratio of 15½ to 1, less than our ratio.

A change of ratio can be made either by adding to the silver dollar or by taking from the gold dollar. If you change the ratio by adding to the silver dollar, you increase the debt and embarrass the debtor in favor of the creditor. To change the ratio by lessening the gold dollar would benefit the debtor at the expense of the creditor.

Our Government made a change in the ratio in 1834, by reducing the gold dollar, and the fact that the change now demanded is to increase the ratio of silver indicates that the change of ratio is demanded by the creditor class, and that the Government is more nearly under the control of the money power than it was in the early days of 1834.

The question is asked, Do you want a double standard? I answer, yes.

It is an admitted fact by all men that there is a scarcity of metallic money even under a gold and silver standard. What would be the consequences, then, under a single or gold standard?

Well, every man here sees and feels the consequences. Utter stagnation and paralysis. Can a country have a double standard unless the actual value of the metal is the same in each dollar in the world markets?

I answer, the history of the ages of the commercial world shows that when silver is put on the same plane with gold by law, and the Government treats it in such way, the market value of silver is about equal to gold, and sometimes the coinage value is a premium over gold. It is not so much the stability of the market value of silver as a commodity to sell, or the equality of the two metals as to the monetary unit, that the industrial and producing classes are interested in, as we have before shown in this argument, but it is the relationship between the metals as monetary units and the value of all other commodities, the products of industry and labor, that concerns the business and industrial community.

The money-lender, the usurer, is alone of all the community concerned about the relation of the two metals to each other as monetary units.

This question is propounded by gold advocates and money-lenders. Does not the demand for any commodity, gold or silver, taken in connection with the supply, fix the price? I answer, that ordinarily, all things being equal, it does. But when you decrease the demand, or do away with the use of any commodity by an arbitrary act of law, I do not care what the supply may be, great or little, the price of the commodity will decline.

As to silver money, if the coinage should be restored free and equal with that of gold, and silver made a legal tender, the history of all peoples and the experience of mankind and the experience of the people of these United States for eighty years prior to the demonetizing of silver in 1873 show that the silver will sustain its value as a monetary unit and its value as a medium of exchange on a parity with gold.

Here is, in this reply, an answer to every argument made by the gold-bug and money-lender against the double standard of gold, unlimited coinage of silver, put on a parity with gold before the law.

And the depressed condition of our laboring and producing classes, the stagnation in business, the paralysis of all enterprise, and the decline of prices that has been gradually going on since 1873 show conclusively that the demonetization of silver has been a national calamity, a sin against God, and a cruel and diabolical conspiracy against the industrial freedom and the labor prosperity, as well as the developing and producing advancement of the people of this country.

Another question is asked: Does not the United States purchase more silver and coin it in one year now than was issued by the United States prior to 1873? I answer, yes.

And the rapid increase of her population, almost doubled since 1870, the expansion of her industrial and producing power, the development of her mineral, commercial, and agricultural resources, the building of her railroads, the opening and cleaning out of her highways, the advancement and refinement of her people, the civilization and progress of the age, each and all justify and demand such purchase and call for its continuance until the handcuffs that the gold bugs, national banks, usurers, and money kings have bound and riveted upon the energies and enterprise of the masses are taken off, and a full, open, and untrammeled sweep shall be given to the grand genius and heroic spirit of young America, a lion in the struggle of life, a giant in opportunities and growth, a Crœsus in wealth, a Hercules in power, a Christian in religion, and a free man by birth,

possessing and occupying a country that is an asylum for the oppressed of every land.

Another question is asked: Since the United States buys more silver for use as money than ever before, why is not the falling price of silver checked?

The Government buys the silver, but does not use it as money, and this is the very evil we silver men complain of, the Government refusing to use silver as a money of final payment; and this very refusal is the sole cause of the uneasiness and disturbance now going on in this country.

If the Government would use silver as money, restore it to free coinage, and make it a legal tender, the decline in price would stop, and in a short while it would be on a parity with gold.

By what I have stated in this argument I have shown—

First. That since the formation of our Government up to 1873 silver has been a part of the debt-paying money of the people.

Second. I have shown that the act demonetizing silver has robbed the people of more than half of their debt-paying currency.

Third. Demonetization of silver increased the value of gold. Such increase in the value of gold has caused a fall in the prices of all commodities that are the products of human labor and industry and a depreciation in the value of all kinds of property, as well as depressed the value of silver.

I have shown that a restoration of silver to free coinage and made a legal tender on a parity with gold will cure all the evils created by the enhancement of the value of gold.

Fourth. I have shown that low prices create depression among the people, stifle enterprises, and retard the energies and enjoin the development of industrial pursuits.

Fifth. I have shown that the gold or single standard is devised to increase the profits of the usurers, money-lenders, national banks, and millionaire gold sharks in lending money.

Sixth. I have shown that the demonetization of silver is an invention growing out of the partnership between the European monarchies and the millionaire bankers to plunder the people, ob labor of its profits, to make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

The banks, money-lenders, and gold advocates are squeezing us, frightening the Government, unsettling the finances of the country, alarming the people, stagnating the labor, industry, and business of the country, all to coerce the Government to issue the bonds mentioned, generate a demand for gold, establish a gold basis, all to plunder and rob, to put gain in their pockets.

If the letter of the Sherman law, to say nothing of its spirit, was observed, this depression and distress would at once be relieved, and labor and business would realize the rewards of its toil, and the producers would get a fair price for their cotton, wheat, and other commodities, and all things would be relieved.

Shall silver notes or certificates be redeemed in silver as the Government contracted to do when it issued the note, and let silver be used as a currency for the people, and swell the volume of money, or shall silver purchases be charged as a debt against the Government, and the people taxed to raise gold to pay for it?

The voice of the people was expressed on this matter last November. The present system was inaugurated by Republican administration, and at the last election the people condemned it.

It seems the present Administration has not heard the sentence of condemnation yet. The gold bugs have conquered, and the people are chained to their triumphal car as victims of their avarice and greed and slaves to their will.

If the present Administration will pay out silver in redemption of all these demands, as it has power to do under the law, then all this commotion will be stilled these disturbances settled, business revived, energies aroused, enterprise excited, industry renewed, trade buoyant, producers receiving legitimate profits, and labor requited with the gain of its honest toil.

Under the Sherman law, properly administered and fairly to the people, silver is money and should be treated in the same manner and on a parity with gold. But under the Harrison Administration, and thus far under Cleveland, silver, the money of the people, is no more than a poker chip, it is evidence against the Government for the payment of gold.

If this mode of administration is to continue, the stagnation and paralysis of all business, trade, industry, and labor will be intensified and increased; prices will go lower, gold higher, and the rate of interest increased, and woe and lamentation will be heard throughout all trade and industrial centers. Merchants bankrupted, manufacturers despoiled of all profits, railroads in the hands of the receivers, and country banks in liquidation; and the money kings, usurers, and extortioners will be seen riding in their golden chariots, cracking their whips over the heads of an outraged and indignant people.

Let us be true to ourselves, stop our bickerings, and put on the whole armor for the great political battle. Let us marshal ourselves in one line, firm and steadfast, in defense of our liberties as freemen. Do our whole duty, be brave, be courageous, and leave the consequences to God.

Mr. PICKLER. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. PICKLER. To a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. PICKLER. To-morrow, I understand, the House commences consideration of the bill and amendments under the five-minute rule. I desire to inquire whether the debate will be had on the bill and amendments as a whole, or whether the amendments will be taken up for consideration separately?

The SPEAKER. As a whole. When the gentleman gets the floor he can debate any amendment he desires.

Mr. PICKLER. Or all.

The SPEAKER. Or all. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON] will perform the duties of the chair at the evening session. The House will now take a recess until 8 o'clock, the evening session to be devoted to debate only on the pending question.

Accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 28 minutes) the House was declared in recess.

EVENING SESSION.

The recess having expired, the House, at 8 o'clock p. m., resumed its session (Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee in the chair as Speaker *pro tempore*).

SILVER.

The House resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, it may be somewhat immodest for me at this time to address the House, but the gravity and the importance of the measure introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia is my apology. I am here to-day to take a humble part in presenting and expressing the wishes of the people of the great empire State of the West. Illinois, with her vast agricultural and commercial wealth, at the center of the Republic, surrounded by every interest common to a free and enlightened people, demands that her representatives may be permitted to give their reasons for the strange unrest and demoralization that now obtains in every branch of business. The Republican platform reads:

> The American people from tradition and interest favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with restrictions, and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of value of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government shall be as good as any other. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

I now quote from the Democratic platform:

> We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver, without discrimination against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the famers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

Mr. Speaker, does the man who claims to be for the pending bill—gold alone—stand by that platform? One gentleman said to-day that his own convictions are his platform, and that he votes as he pleases; that platforms do not bind him.

A contrariety of reasons has been assigned by the gentlemen on this floor for the unhappy condition of the country; but I have not heard any satisfactory explanation of how the purchase of 54,000,000 ounces of silver each year and issuing thereon fifty-four millions of silver certificates, and passing them out to the people to do business with, where they purchase just as much of the necessaries of life as gold, can bring on a panic. That is beyond my comprehension. How can this produce a panic? The less money there is in the hands of the people the greater the probability of a panic, seems to be the theory of some men in

this House. The Secretary of the Treasury sent a statement to this House to-day which I will read:

In reply, I have the honor to state:

First. The number of ounces of silver bullion purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, from August 13, 1890, to August 16, 1893, inclusive, was 161,521,000 fine ounces, costing $150,060,459. The highest price paid was $1.20½, August 20, 1890, and the lowest price 89.696, July 24, 1893—average price, 89.9328+.

Second. Treasury notes to the amount of $150,115,985 have been issued to date, August 16, 1893, in payment of the silver bullion, and that amount is still outstanding, the redemptions having been replaced by issues, with the exception of $714,636, which have been redeemed in standard silver dollars and retired from circulation since August 3, instant.

Third. Up to August 1, 1893, $49,134,109 in Treasury notes have been redeemed in gold, and since August 3, 1893, $714,636 in Treasury notes have been redeemed in silver dollars, this being the first redemption of these notes in silver.

Fourth. The number of standard silver dollars coined from bullion purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, to August 16, 1893, has been 36,087,185.

Fifth. The number of ounces of silver owned by the Government, purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, on August 16, 1893, was 133,161,375 fine ounces, costing $121,217,077.

Very respectfully,

J. G. CARLISLE, *Secretary.*

Hon. CHARLES F. CRISP,
Speaker, House of Representatives.

It will be seen from this statement that more than $150,000,000 has been placed in the hands of the people by this act known as the Sherman law. Had we established the principle three years ago that we are attempting now to enact on this money question, there would be $150,000,000 less in the hands of the people.

It was said with considerable vehemence by the gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX] that all panics come from the common people. That I believe to be true; that is, from the depositors. The oldest financiers of this country stand in amazement when asked to define the cause of the present panic. No failures of crops; no wars or threatened difficuly in overtrading; no convulsions of nature or of men. How did this panic come about? The philosopher and the soothsayer have retired from the field. No gentleman speaking for the gold standard alone has been kind enough to tell us the real cause of this great panic.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] tells us the remedy is to destroy one-half the money of the country, reduce the circulating medium to the gold standard alone. This is the panacea for all ills. It will bring happiness and prosperity, and will gladden every home. There is not a member upon this floor but who would be glad to see this enchanting picture. Does strong declamation unfold the mystery or enlighten the issue? Who has learned from the advocates of the gold standard the cause of this panic now in our country? Does any man of investigation believe that the one-hundredth part of our present trouble has grown out of the Sherman law? We will agree, however, that the Sherman law is inconsistent with every principle of sound monetary business, and ought to be repealed, and must be rejected.

The great cause of the present financial difficulties seems to be a perfect enigma, so far as the public mind is concerned. Almost every individual and every member upon this floor has a different view of the case. You have yours; I have mine. I hold that the laws of taxation which have been enacted during the last quarter of a century, discriminating against the wealth-producers and in favor of those who have large holdings, and who now have control of the wealth after it has been created, are the men who have brought about the present difficulty, and now hold the reins which are guiding the legislation here in favor of gold alone.

More than $600,000,000 have passed from the producers of wealth into the hands of the protected few, under the tariff laws, annually, for the past twenty-five years. This wealth thus obtained has been loaned back to the people who are impoverished by these discriminating laws; and now if these men who hold this vast wealth can go into this legislative assembly and secure the passage of a law that would demonetize silver and destroy its use as a commercial medium of exchange, they are thus enabled to double their claims against their debtors, and in the end become the owners, as it were, of the entire wealth over which they hold these mortgages.

Mr. Speaker, I was gratified to-day to hear my colleague on the other side [Mr. CANNON of Illinois] declare in forcible terms that he is in favor of both gold and silver as the true standards of value, and that we should coin these metals as the money of the people.

We are told by many of the ablest men upon this floor that this Government can not maintain a double standard or foster bimetallism unless England or Germany takes the initiative or some other of the foreign nations lead off: and when they have, we may follow. Such a confession of servility is, to my mind, inconsistent with the spirit, the enterprise, and the patriotism of the American people.

The United States stands to-day substantially at the head of all nations: with her 65,000,000 of people, her vast area of productive soil, her wide and deep forests, her inexhaustible mines, and her commercial relations with all the nations of the earth that we should now, to-day, admit our inability to do that which is the best for our people, unless we humbly go before some of the nations of the Old World and ask them to do that which we might do for ourselves—I do not think that the people will be content with this idea, that we are not able to sustain ourselves as a Government, not only in our monetary affairs, but in all the commercial relations with the nations of earth.

We have always been jealous of the patriotism and the sagacity, the foresight and the ability of our fathers, who molded and fashioned the institutions that have blessed this nation for more than a century. They in their wisdom laid as the foundation-stone of our financial system that gold and silver should be the money of the people. Under that system of bimetallism we have prospered and grown from the beginning of this Government to the present time, surviving all the vicissitudes and changes wrought by war and failure of crops and all the contingencies that could come upon a nation growing up successfully under a double standard. We feel to-day that we should not disregard and lay aside all these precedents; that we should take a new departure in the regulation of the finances of the country and destroy one-half the commercial medium of exchange and adopt monometallism, while every man must know that it is impossible to transact the business of the country upon that basis alone.

There is not enough gold in the world for the people to successfully transact the business of the world. There should always be enough money in the country to transfer the products of industry from the producer to the consumer, within the coming and the going of the seasons, without stagnation or waste. It must be admitted that on account of the enormous increase of population and of business transacted throughout the world, that gold is wholly inadequate to serve the purposes of a commercial medium of exchange.

Being the sole standard, and on account of its scarcity, its value is consequently appreciated, causing depreciation in the value of all articles and the impoverishing of a large part of the people, and silver is the only metal that can be called to its aid. There is but one way to give this metal a fixed value that will be recognized throughout the world, and that is for a government as strong and powerful as ours, representing large silver-producing interests, to coin all silver and gold that may be offered at the ratio of 16 to 1. I believe that to be the only remedy. I may be at fault.

There is claimed to be a knowledge on the part of some of the people, especially those people who have large accumulations of money to loan, that silver is being produced so rapidly and so fast that it should be discarded as a money metal. This is an error. It is a very grave mistake for men to fall into innocently. Some of the best mining experts now state that the mines of this country are being rapidly worked out, and as every section of the country has been surveyed, there is very little probability of the quantity of silver being increased. The greater probabilities are that it will commence to decline, as to quantity, in a very short time.

Should we take the production of gold and silver during the past sixty or six hundred years, the relative production has not been far from 13 to 1. In fact, if we are to be guided by the productions of the mines for the past eighty-eight years, it would be found to be wiser to decrease the ratio to 13½ to 1. Here are the figures: The world has mined of gold 7,042 tons, and of silver 95,550 tons in the past eighty-eight years, or just exactly 13½ of silver to 1 of gold.

All the figures that I shall present upon this question are from official reports of the Directors of the United States Mint or from Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics. This authority, I apprehend, will not be questioned.

Specie and bullion holdings of leading European banks.

June 1, 1893.

Bank of—	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
England	$130,508,740	.....	$130,508,740
France	342,754,200	$256,247,000	599,001,200
Germany	165,813,750	55,271,250	221,085,000
Austria	51,870,000	87,350,000	139,220,000
Spain	38,570,000	32,000,000	70,660,000
Holland	15,430,000	35,600,000	51,030,000
Belgium	13,633,335	6,816,665	20,450,000
Total	758,580,025	473,374,915	1,231,954,940

Specie and bullion holdings of leading European banks—Continued.

June 2, 1892.

England	$129,553,830		$129,553,830
France	311,674,410	$258,382,125	570,056,535
Germany	187,143,750	62,381,250	249,525,000
Austria	28,470,000	82,750,000	111,220,000
Spain	37,980,000	23,180,000	61,160,000
Holland	16,025,000	33,135,000	49,160,000
Belgium	13,856,665	6,928,335	20,785,000
Total	724,703,655	466,756,710	1,191,460,365

Germany does not report the silver separately, but is included in the total specie. It is calculated, however, that 25 per cent of the total is silver, and it is put down at that figure.

Specie and bullion holdings of the United States Treasury.

	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
June 1, 1893	$197,669,428	$487,503,042	$685,172,470
June 1, 1892	271,563,291	443,891,436	715,454,727

Every reading man knows that a crisis has been forced in our financial matters; that the ratio between the metals has been disturbed. I claim that the whole cause of this difference in the parity of the two metals is the result of preconcerted legislation on the part of England and this country to force gold as the only standard, consequently reducing silver to a commodity and depriving it of its money quality.

All persons who have carefully studied this question from a statistical standpoint know that between the years 1849 and 1861 California alone produced more than six hundred millions in gold, and the United States during the same twelve years produced but $1,300,000 in silver. Gold was continually at a discount, as compared with silver, at this time, from 3 to 7 per cent. Many of the foremost financiers of the Old World, including the great French advocate, Chevalier, insisted upon demonetizing gold and making silver the only standard.

It is perfectly plain to me, and it seems it should be to the whole world, that it is not prejudice against silver which is making the present trouble. It is a desire upon the part of the money-changers of this country and of England to guard the interests of the money-loaners, so that as loaners they may have advantage over the borrowers. I am, so far as this question is concerned, as much in favor of gold and its free coinage as silver, and that they should be coined upon a perfect equality. I believe in an honest dollar, and I believe that we will be able to so legislate that our coin, both gold and silver, will be recognized as honest.

I do not believe that the gold standard can or will be adopted by this Congress, as it is such a great removal from the lines of legislation that have come down to us from the fathers. But I shall hold that the good sense of the people will maintain the standard of 16 to 1. The Sherman law should be repealed, and bimetallism should take its place, in such form as will meet the demands of business and relieve the country. The Sherman law impoverishes the wealth-producers, and brings misery, degradation, and shame to every home. More than sixty-five millions of dollars, of money metal annually produced by the people of the United States, will be as useless for purposes of money as clay in the pottery under a law of monometallism.

I believe that the only method by which this panic can be checked and placed under control and confidence restored is to stand inflexibly by the law which existed prior to 1873. France fixed her standard ratio between gold and silver more than seventy years ago at 15½ to 1, and she has been able through all panics and convulsions of war and of nature and failures of crops of every kind to sustain both gold and silver standards, and to-day she is the most prosperous nation of all western Europe. The most independent nation financially of all the countries of earth to-day is France. She has maintained an independent, unyielding, bimetallic position without reference to what other nations may have thought or done.

I believe that the United States should always be in readiness to join the other nations of the world for the purpose of adjusting the metals so that we would be enabled to have a uniform ratio with all the nations with whom we trade. The French people in having a decided policy of their own, and a disposition to maintain it without changing her coinage laws, and standing by them with a determination to maintain them, is worthy of our emulation. The discrimination by the laws of this country against silver as money has closed the silver mines and has wrought as much injury to the gold interests as to silver, and must very soon be felt in the production of gold, as we all know that 45 per cent of the gold produced in the United States is extracted from the silver-mine ores, most gold being found in combination with silver, not separately, as was originally the case in the placer mining of California. This is a danger which the gold advocates ought to consider with some care.

The United States is substantially a bimetallic nation, and is made so by the laws of nature more than any other nation upon earth, and it is very short-sighted to be afraid of producing too much good money. It is a strange condition of affairs that a nation like ours should be averse to the use of silver metal when we are its greatest producers. If the citizens of this country will but take a comprehensive view of this matter and be true to their own interests in both precious metals we will remain what we are to-day, and by natural laws are entitled to be, the wealthiest nation on the face of the earth, and our safety lies only in the direction of an honest maintenance of both metals as money upon an equality. The credit of this Government is always good for any changes or differences in the production if the Government will only take the position and maintain it firmly, as France has done.

The pending bill asks us now to repudiate the traditions of the Democratic party from the foundation of the Government to the present time, to take a new departure, and undertake to establish a new principle upon which the medium of exchange should be made for our people. I hold that this should not be done. There is no demand for such a step. We are treading upon dangerous ground. We are stepping upon the thin crust of a volcano, which is ready to engulf us at any moment. We can not be too careful and steady. To strike down one-half of the money metal of this country is to destroy one-half the property of the people and leave the creditor as the supreme ruler and governor over all the debtors.

We should legislate so that no extreme calamity could come to either, and thus we should pledge the complete and eternal credit of this Government to the maintenance of both gold and silver upon the present basis and let the coinage be entirely free to both. We should, if we look to the highest interests of our country, maintain a bimetallic standard, have gold and silver standards, and separate and distinct gold and silver dollars, each forever exchangeable with the other, and both legal tender for all debts, public and private, in any and all amounts.

The safest and most progressive nations to-day are the bimetallic nations—no better proof of which need be given than to refer to the United States, France, Russia, Italy, Switzerland, Greece, Belgium, and Japan. The single silver standard nations are at least as independent and self-sustaining in their relations to the balance of the world as the single gold standard nations, China, Mexico, Holland, Peru, Ecuador, India, Brazil, Central America, and others, with a silver standard. Germany, though acting at present under a gold standard alone, has a very large minority party earnestly in favor of returning to a bimetallic basis, and if the United States Government takes a firm position in the intended action, there is little doubt that Germany will soon follow our lead. I believe that there is but one course left for the people of the United States, and that is to declare in favor of bimetallism, although other nations may not join us in the near future, or at any time.

A significant fact, showing the enormous loss to this country from our foolish legislation demonetizing silver in 1873, and only partially reinstating it in 1878, and then insulting it again in 1890 with the Sherman law, the practical effect of which has simply been to keep it all the while the football for England, shows the dire results, which can not be misunderstood by the man who thinks. Let us compare the price of wheat, cotton, and silver for twenty years, or since the demonetizing of silver, and leave each person to figure for himself the amount of loss to the United States. These prices show a steady decline for twenty years in the commodities mentioned:

WHEAT.

Year.	Average price.	Year.	Average price.
1872	$1.47	1887	$0.89
1878	1.34	1892	.80
1883	1.13	1893	.60

While again the same is shown in cotton as follows:

COTTON.

Year.	Average price.	Year.	Average price.
1872	$0.198	1887	$0.095
1878	.111	1892	.073
1883	.108	1893	.064

Then let us note that silver, degraded by law, has been the thermometer, and represents this enormous loss in the same ratio (bullion value):

SILVER.

Year.	Average price per ounce.	Year.	Average price per ounce.
1873	$1.32	1887	$0.97
1878	1.15	1892	.86
1883	1.11	1893	.56

Honest money, sound money, is always as honest as the laws creating it. Dishonest legislation in 1873 and later laws make the dishonest dollar.

Soundness of money is the basis of bimetallism. The purchase of metal is a question of trade, not of money. Government ought to let it alone severely, as it ought to let other private business alone. The fundamental proposition with which the free coinage argument begins, is that a rise in the value of money, in comparison, with the values of commodities produced and traded in by the people, is a manifest evil. The evil is of such disastrous consequences that every nation should exert its power to prevent the continuous fall in the prices of articles of common production.

By using the two precious metals which the world has habitually used for centuries a double safeguard is provided against progressive decline of prices. When one metal becomes scarce in a country the demand upon the other restores the equilibrium. Neither gold nor silver varies beyond the slight premium charged for exchange when there is free coinage. The money supply is not limited to one metal, and the movements of either from one country to another excite no apprehension, since they foreshadow no abnormal scarcity.

This truth will not be kept in sight if a struggle is made to retain the Sherman act, which is not money legislation at all. When the act is repealed, as it must be sooner or later, those who have tried to keep it in operation will be defeated and their cause with them. The Sherman act is only buying bullion on a gold basis. It is a vicious violation of bimetallic principles, and a disregard of the Democratic theory of governmental powers. The evil consequences of its operation are an illustration of the correctness of bimetallism, and the soundness of the Jeffersonian doctrine.

Had the purchasing power of the silver dollar been maintained on a parity with the gold dollar, the difference in these standards would not have reached the point it has. By our legislation we have surrendered to England the control of the price of silver bullion. It seems to me that the time has fully come when our Government should look after its own interests, based upon our own productions and ability to sustain ourselves as an independent Government and nation and give less attention to the threats and defiant actions of England and Germany. If our dollar is not satisfactory to Europe, the result will be less intercourse in business. We have repeatedly called upon the nations of Europe to join us in adjusting an international standard of money, but without decent recognition.

Shall we stand here from year to year and do nothing to relieve our own people, unless some foreign nation takes the initiative? Such a confession of weakness and imbecility is un-American and undemocratic. This country would soon go into decay under such servile policy, although we have many English allies who call themselves American, to advocate the British policy of the money-holders. What have we to fear if we but stand by the measures of value fixed by the Government which has blessed this nation with prosperity and property for more than a century.

I submit the following table showing the distribution of gold and silver:

GOLD.

France	$800,000,000
United States	700,000,000
England	650,000,000
Germany	600,000,000
Total	2,750,000,000

All the other combined nations have but $900,000,000 of gold under their control. Now, observe the distribution of silver coin:

France	$700,000,000
United States	600,000,000
Germany	200,000,000
England	100,000,000
Total	1,600,000,000

And the balance of the world has the vast sum in silver of $2,350,000,000.

If you will carefully study these figures you will readily discover that the United States is in a position to sustain bimetallism, and thus have the good will and support of more than two-thirds of all the people of earth. I think we hold the key to the situation, and if we are but firm and true to the standards of both gold and silver, England and Germany will be forced to establish bimetallism or lose the trade of the silver countries. All the nations of the world that have any considerable trade are well supplied with silver, with the exceptions of England and Germany. Silver is almost the only money metal in use in China and India. It may be said the same is true of Korea, Japan, Cochin China, and throughout the Orient. These countries after long centuries have reached a final conclusion in regard to the silver question, and our best financiers in this country and in western Europe have no hope or anticipation of any change on their part.

We should always remember that the money loaner, in this country and throughout the world, is found in all legislative bodies asking for laws that will make the world's money dearer. It is to his interests to have such legislation, and who can blame the capitalist for his efforts in behalf of his own gain? Every country, too, is expected to look after its own best interests, and I am proud to say that in this country, for more than one hundred years, the Democratic party has been recognized as the friend of the masses, and they have always kept their pledges to the people.

England, powerless to sustain her own existence by her own products, must needs live upon her interest and dividends from the world at large. She wants the world to pay her in the dearest money possible. She wants this country to adopt the dearest money, which would be worth to her hundreds of millions of dollars. Why should she not have her advocates upon this floor? No nation has ever been able to devise such far-reaching schemes of plunder as she. A few years ago she demonetized her own silver, melted it into bullion, and put it upon the market. Germany, supposing that she, too, could make money for her own people by demonetizing her two hundred and fifty-seven millions of silver, placed it in the melting pot, reduced it to bullion, and threw it upon the market. In the fullness of time England brought her power to bear upon India; and without notice or consideration, stops the free coinage of silver there. So you see, step by step, this peculiar method of financiering, which might be denominated robbery, is consummated.

We find, now and here, her agents advocating her cause and saying to us, in not the most polite language, "Look at your fifty-cent dollar, a dishonest dollar: the unhappy condition of your country, falling prices, men out of work, mines closed, the fires of your furnaces drawn, and the stagnation of business general throughout the land;" and then, as a remedy, they propose, "Let us establish a gold standard, and march side by side with England, and sustain the English policy of a gold standard."

I have no complaint to make against these insidious encroachments that are sought to be carried out by the capitalists of Europe as well as our own. It is to their interests to make all the money they can, and if we are so stupid and ignorant as to permit them to prey upon our country and surrender our manhood and independence to their domination and suggestion, they are not to blame but we are and the people will hold us responsible, not them.

The British people have never wasted any love upon us since the days of the Revolution, and I presume they never will. However, we are compelled from day to day to buy our bullion fixed by the market of London. I recognize the fact that it is to our interest to hold the most close and intimate commercial relations not only with England, but with all the nations of the earth. Yet I think this is the opportunity of the century for the American nation to assert its dignity and character financially. The English gold advocates in the United States beg for a gold standard, because it is apparent to England that should we maintain or establish the free coinage of silver she would be compelled to trade with us upon a double standard, and that in the redemption of more than one hundred and eighty millions of securities now held by her we would be enabled to pay them in the same money that we pay our own people.

She bought most of her bonds at less than 50 cents on the dollar. She has already received more than 100 cents on the dollar for all of them, and can get a premium to-day. Pass this bill repealing the Sherman law without a substitute for the free coinage of silver and you enhance the price of those bonds more than $50,000,000. Should we establish bimetallism in this country and maintain it we would be enabled to redeem every outstanding security according to the contract, and be free from the annoyance of the debt.

It seems to me that it is time Congress took thought of our own people and our future, and let England look after her own business. The expression that we must adopt a gold standard because it is the recognized money of the civilized world, means simply that it is the money of England; and if she can, by adverse, unfair, and determined warfare, here and now destroy silver as money, she will have the financial world at her feet. It is equivalent to saying that France and the United States are not civilized because they insist upon coining money in either metal upon a just ratio, and refuse to recognize gold only.

England has, by all the power of legislation and trade, destroyed as far as she can the money value of silver, and now we must surrender our dollar, or fight her for their joint use. The

cheap silver dollar is simply like cheap wheat when the bears have broken the market, and nothing else. We have the ability to force both England and Germany to recognize silver as money if we will adopt a liberal and reasonable ratio. I think we should adhere to the old standard of 16 to 1, as it would take millions to make the change.

Mr. Speaker, with reference to this new departure in finance which we are invited to pursue by the friends of the gold single standard, I know full well that there is not a sufficient amount of gold in the world to supply the countries now demanding a gold standard. I would be pleased to know from whence all this gold is to come? If equalized among the nations of the world, after the gold standard shall have been adopted, this country would have to surrender more than one-half of its money. But our friends of the gold standard are quick to respond, that we could issue bonds and buy gold to maintain our currency and thus supply the people. But would not all other nations issue bonds and enter the market to do the same thing? In that case could we hope to secure all the gold that we must necessarily have without paying a higher price than any other nation? So the necessity of having a sufficient amount of gold in each country makes it a mere article of merchandise to be shifted from one country to another as a mere commodity, in order to have a gold basis.

This new doctrine of a single gold standard, if carried out, will bring into full play among gold countries Zimri Dwiggins's plan of financiering. During the past four months we have been experiencing something of that system of finance.

Austria is now issuing bonds; in the market buying gold in order to establish a gold basis for her Government. As soon as she secures seven hundred millions of gold then she can declare she has established a gold basis. Then the Empire of Russia concludes that she must have a gold basis, and she commences issuing bonds to purchase a sufficient amount of gold for her purposes, but finds that the only gold in the country has been purchased by Austria. Austria, unwilling to sell her gold without a profit, demands eight hundred millions for it, sells it, and it is carried over to the vaults of the Czar. Then Russia announces to the world that she has established a gold standard.

And England, too, concludes that she must establish a gold standard, and commences looking around for gold. She finds that Russia has the only gold to be had, and she issues bonds in order to purchase it for her country. Finding that Russia will not sell her gold without a profit, England is compelled to pay nine hundred millions for the necessary gold for her country. Then England becomes a single gold standard nation. Should we pass this bill, then we, too, must have gold. How shall we obtain it? We are compelled to borrow, to issue our bonds, bearing interest in gold. Then we will be upon a gold basis, but we have had to pay England $1,000,000,000 for $700,000,000 of gold. France discovers that she is surrounded by countries that are gold alone and where silver is of no value in commercial exchange, and she must have gold. France issues bonds to the amount of $100,000,000, comes to this country, buys our gold, and then France is upon a gold basis.

So this new Dwiggins system of establishing a gold basis may be extended to all the nations of earth. Can it be said that Austria, Russia, England, and the United States are upon a gold basis under such a system? They are, according to the modern system of banking and the advocates of the gold standard, alone upon this question. This international contest for gold, in order that all countries may attempt to establish a gold standard, will in time bring about a disturbance in the intercourse and business relations that no good citizen wishes to see. The coined gold and silver—mined and minted throughout the world for circulation—controls all prices and values.

It is no concealed fact that unfriendly legislation against the free coinage of silver has reduced every bushel of wheat, oats, corn, and barley, every ton of hay, every pound of beef and pork, and the price of labor more than 30 per cent throughout the country. It has increased the value of every bond, mortgage, note, and every dollar in money, and it has added 30 per cent to all national, State, county, and municipal indebtedness; and this burden is also laid upon private debts. It has also stopped the mines and forced labor to stand idle at the threshold of the shop and the mine while in need of bread. It has thrown out of employment 2,500,000 laborers, inflicting a direct loss to the wage-earners in this country of $1,500,000,000 yearly.

Our best financiers estimate the amount that we pay annually as interest to our foreign creditors at the enormous sum of $240,000,000. This money must and does come from the wealth producers alone. This vast sum has to be raised by those who sustain thirty per cent loss on their products, under a gold standard, and there is no reduction in the amount of interest that has to be paid.

Suppose, by way of illustration, that a man buys ten horses at $100 apiece and gives his note to-day for $1,000, payable in ninety days. Those horses were valued, upon a gold and silver basis of equality as money, at $100 apiece. This bill becomes a law, striking down silver, which is one-half the measure of value. Then, I ask, how much are those horses worth in the market? They would be worth only one-half what they were before, $50 each, or $500. Does this bill liquidate one-half the face of the note? No. It still leaves the note $1,000. So you see the debtor is compelled to surrender and lose one-half the value of his property, not only his horses, but other pieces of property he may own, and labor as well, while the creditor sustains no loss.

Then this whole question may be summed up in a single statement, that the creditor class, which is less than one million people, shall have 50 per cent advantage in all money transactions over the debtor class of sixty-four million people. Or that they shall have the power under the present scheme of legislation to reduce the money of the people from $24 per capita to $12 per capita without reducing the debts one cent.

Mr. Speaker, whenever we are told that silver must be demonetized to prevent the depreciation of the poor man's money we must be on guard against such men, and not allow the trick of 1873 to be repeated. Who gets the money? Surely not the poor man. This pathetic and heartrending solicitude of the millionaire is the old story of the wolf and the lamb. If we adopt the substitute for this bill introduced by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] establishing free coinage the downward tendency of values will stop.

Give us back the coinage law which existed prior to the demonetizing act of 1873, and 98 per cent of the people of the United States will approve the act and enjoy its benefits. The farmer, the laboring man, the mechanic, all the wealth-producers of this nation, will call every man blessed upon this floor who stands by the money of the people. Let us have such an enactment as will be fair to all parties, including the Government and the producers of bullion. I hope no man, nor any class of men, wants this Congress to legislate in his or their special interests. If we intend to be fair, let us take the experience and the precedents of the past. Take the Constitution, that blessed torch which has given light and encouragement upon this question for more than a century, and follow its plain teachings of equity and justice.

And to all those who would strike down the plain requirements of the Constitution, and trample under foot the platform of the party for the sake of gold, I ask them to pause and let us take counsel from the experience and knowledge of some of the best writers upon political economy. Ricardo, one of the most eminent of this class, says that—

> Commodities would rise and fall in price in proportion to the increase or diminution of money. I assume it as a fact incontrovertible that such would be the case. The most celebrated writers upon political economy are agreed. The value of money does not wholly depend upon the absolute quantity, but upon the quantity relative to the payments it is to accomplish. And the same effect would follow either of two cases, from increasing the uses of money one-tenth or diminishing its quantity one-tenth, for in either case its value would increase one-tenth.

The world's greatest astronomer, Copernicus, in on[e] [of] his political works, dedicated to the King of Poland, used th[e] [words]:

> Numberless as are the evils by which kingdoms, principalities, and republics are wont to decline, these four are, in my judgment, the most baleful: civil strife, pestilence, sterility of the soil, and corruption of the coin. But the fourth, which concerns money, is considered by few, and those the most reflective, since it is not by a blow, but little by little, and through secret and obscure approach, that it destroys the state.

John Stuart Mill, in his treatise upon money, says:

> That an increase in the quantity of money raises prices and a diminution lowers them, is the most elementary proposition in the theory of currency, and without it we should have no key to any other.

Again he says:

> If the whole money in circulation were doubled, prices would double. If it was only an increase of one-fourth, prices would rise one-fourth. The very same effect would be produced on prices if we suppose the goods (the use for money) diminished instead of the money increased, and the contrary effect if the goods are increased or money diminished. So that the value of money, all other things remaining the same, varies inversely as its quantity, every increasing quantity lowering its value, and every diminution raising in ratio exactly in an equivalent.

Senator Sherman, in his letter to Mr. Groesbeck, of Cincinnati, of July 15, 1878, in the concluding portion of his letter says:

> During the monetary conference in Paris, when the silver in our country was excluded from circulation by being undervalued, I was strongly in favor of the single value of gold, and wrote a letter, which you will find in the proceedings of that conference, stating my views. At that time the wisest among us did not anticipate the sudden fall of silver or rise of gold that has occurred. This uncertainty of the relation between the two metals is one of the chief arguments in favor of the monometallic system, but other arguments showing the dangerous effects upon industry by dropping one of the precious metals from the standard of value outweigh in my mind all theoretical objections to the bimetallic system.

Not only Senator SHERMAN, but every member of the commission, entertained the same views, and regarded the demonetization of silver as the cause of depression.

Baron Rothschild, who is regarded by our people as not favorable to silver in any way, used this language in November, 1892:

I need hardly remind you that the stock of silver in the world is estimated at some thousands of millions, and if this conference were to break up without arriving at any definite result, there would be a depreciation in the value of that commodity which would be fearful to contemplate, and out of which a monetary panic would ensue, the far-spreading effect of which it would be impossible to foretell.

I am pleased to quote from ex-Senator Ingalls's speech, delivered some years ago in the United States Senate upon this question. He said:

The assertion of Senator SHERMAN that the single gold standard was an American idea is so singularly incorrect that it seems almost like a premeditated preliminary to the fatal error of 1873. No doubt there must be a money unit which should have a standard value regulated by law. This unit should be established in the precious metal which is least subject to fluctuation, which is most abundant, and has the widest uses. That metal is silver. If we are to have a monometallic standard I believe silver to be immeasurably preferable to gold. It is less subject to fluctuation, its production is more steady, its cost more uniform.

No enduring fabric of national prosperity can be builded on gold. Gold is the money of monarchs; kings covet it; the exchanges of nations are effected by it. Its tendency is to accumulate in vast masses in the commercial centers and to move from kingdom to kingdom in such volumes as to unsettle values and disturb the finances of the world. It is the instrument of gamblers and speculators and the idol of the miser and the thief. Being the object of so much adoration, it becomes haughty and sensitive, and shrinks at the approach of danger; and whenever it is most needed it always disappears. At the slightest alarm it begins to look for a refuge. It flies from the nation at war to the nation at peace. War makes it a fugitive. No people in a great emergency ever found a faithful ally in gold. It is the most cowardly and treacherous of all metals. It makes no treaty that it does not break. It has no friends whom it does not sooner or later betray.

Armies and navies are not maintained by gold. In times of panic and calamity, shipwreck and disaster, it becomes the chief agent and minister of ruin. No nation ever fought a great war by the aid of gold. On the contrary, in crises of greatest peril it becomes an enemy more potent than the foe in the field; but when the battle is won and peace has been secured gold reappears and claims the fruits of victory. In our own civil war it is doubtful if the gold of New York and London did not work us greater injury than the powder and lead and iron of the rebels. It is the most invincible enemy of the public credit. Gold paid no soldier nor sailor. It refused the national obligations. It was worth most when our fortunes were lowest. Every defeat gave it increased value. It was in open alliance with our enemies the world over, and all its energies were invoked for our destruction. But as usual, when danger had been averted and the victory secured, gold swaggers to the front and asserts the supremacy.

But silver is the money of the people. It is the money of wages and retail. Its tendency is trade diffusion and dissemination. It enters into the minute concerns of traffic, and is exchanged day by day for daily bread. It penetrates the remotest channels of commerce, and its abundance, bulk, and small subdivision prevent its deportation in sufficient amounts to disturb or unsettle values. If it retires at the approach of danger or from the presence of an inferior currency, it still remains at home, ready to respond to the first summons for its return. During a late visit to a remote portion of Arkansas, I was surprised at the great amount of old silver in circulation, including Mexican and pillar dollars and American halves and quarters coined half a century ago.

Seeking an explanation, I was told by the merchants that upon the withdrawal and retirement of the fractional paper currency these old coins immediately appeared in sufficient quantities to supply all needs of trade, conclusively showing that when silver vanished at the beginning of the legal-tender paper period it had been hoarded among the people and had promptly returned to circulation when its presence was required. I have no doubt that the two hundred and fifty millions of silver would be thus readily absorbed among the people of the United States, forming a vast, permanent, stable accumulation, which would be an enduring basis of prosperity, less liable than any other currency to the mutations and vicissitudes of financial panics and disasters.

Repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, without a proper substitute providing for the coinage and use of silver in its place as money, and what will be the condition of the country? Fifty-four millions of dollars will be taken out of circulation every year. The coinage and use of silver as money will cease. One-half of the basis of our circulation will be stricken down. Shylock will emerge from his hiding place and demand that bonds be issued by the Government to buy gold to sustain our credit. Interest will advance. The debtor and laboring classes will be completely under the control of the money power. Mines will be closed. Labor will be without employment. One-half of the business of the people will be paralyzed.

Capital and labor standing face to face as enemies; the farmer without hope, and the laboring man in distress. Silver, which has been the handmaid and the servant of the toiling masses for centuries, is stricken down as money at the command of cupidity and avarice. The Congress of the United States has been the arena where the venal and vicious have always come to secure by law advantages and control over the wealth produced by the laboring people. These men expect to make money through the tricks of legislation, and not by honest toil.

I think the good sense of this Congress stands ready to defeat all such schemes. I confess my inability to understand this revolutionary departure on the money question. We are told by the monometallists with all the grace of fairness that all they want is to stop the purchase of silver, the issue of silver certificates; stop the coinage of silver as money, make gold the only standard. Then they are in favor of bimetallism. This is a paradox I can not understand.

We now have a panic upon us that these men all predicted, and it has been the result of the laws destroying one-half the money metal of the country. Mr. Carlisle, the Secretary of the Treasury, said, when discussing this same question in 1878:

I know that the world's stock of the precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it will ever become so. Mankind will be fortunate, indeed, if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry. According to my view of the subject, the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy by legislation and otherwise, from three-sevenths to one-half the metallic money of the world, is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age.

The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilence, and famine that ever occurred in the history of the world. The absolute and instantaneous destruction of one-half the entire movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads, and all other appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of one-half the metallic money of the world.

Mr. Jefferson, who is recognized as the leading character at the head of the Democratic party, said more than a century ago:

Let us found a government where there shall be no extremely rich men and no abjectly poor ones. Let us found a government upon the intelligence of the people, and the equable distribution of property. Let us make laws where there shall be no governmental partnership with favored classes. Let us protect all in life, liberty, and property, and then say to every American citizen, with the force God has given you, your brain and brawn and strength, work out your own fortunes under a just government and equal laws.

Mr. Cleveland said, in reply to the notice of his nomination:

The people are entitled to sound and honest currency, abundantly sufficient in volume to supply their business needs. But whatever may be the form of the people's currency, national or State, whether gold, silver, or paper, it should be so regulated and guarded by governmental action or by wise and careful laws that no one can be deluded as to the certainty and stability of its value. Every dollar put into the hands of the people should be of the same intrinsic value or purchasing power. With this condition absolutely guaranteed, both gold and silver can be safely utilized upon equal terms in the adjustment of our currency.

[By cable to the Herald.]

LONDON, *August 8, 1893.*

The Post, commenting on President Cleveland's message, says:

"America can not well stop at the mere repeal of the Sherman act. The President throws out no suggestion, but some action is certainly necessary. It is probable that the problem which the United States has to solve may lead not to bimetallism, but to more mature and unbiased consideration of the possible uses of silver. As a part of the world's currency the metal can not be demonetized with safety, and if through America some method for its more extended employment were devised the benefits to the world would be of supreme importance."

Cable despatches from Bombay, Calcutta, and other Indian ports agree in stating that the export trade there has almost ceased. Every English industrial center which has had commercial relations with India is feeling the unfavorable effects of the general suspension of orders. The expectation is that in time trade will be adapted to the new conditions; meanwhile the bankers and traders most concerned view fearfully the immediate future.

FRAUGHT WITH UNFORESEEN PERILS.

The most ardent advocates of monometallism and currency reform in India are beginning to discover that the changes ifraught with unforeseen perils. This week, out of 500,000 rupees offered for tender, the Government succeeded in placing only 80,000. This sum was placed, moreover, at 15$\frac{1}{4}$*d*, or one eighth of a penny below the minimum of 16*d*.

ANOTHER UNWELCOME RESULT.

The fall in the price of opium has been another unwelcome and unexpected result of India's action. The report of the currency committee did not predict any considerable diminution of the rupee value of opium exports, yet this week's opium sales in Calcutta showed not only an immense decrease of the quantity bought, but also a reduction of 17 per cent in price. If the loss of the Indian government's opium revenue become permanent the budget will be seriously disturbed.

[By cable to the Herald.]

LONDON, *July 8, 1893.*

The developments in the silver market during the last week have intensified the anxiety caused by the action of the Indian government. The committee of bimetallists in Parliament have issued a manifesto, signed by Sir William Houldsworth and Mr. Henry Chaplin, to protest against the closing of India's mints to the free coinage of silver.

In view of the comparative changes in the value of gold and silver growing out of its discovery, and the fluctuations that have occurred since their use has been recognized as money, it seems to me that we should be exceedingly conservative in making any changes at this time. There not being time to call the attention of the House to some of the money acts of the principal governments of the Old World, I shall content myself by restating the fact that England and India to-day are not satisfied and content with the effect that the demonetization of silver in India has had on the business interests of those countries. I will have the Clerk read an extract from "Empire of Finance and Trade," a document published in New York.

Precisely the same contest upon the subject of remonetizing silver is to take place in England that is now taking place or will hereafter be carried on in this country. The thing which produced a change of opinion and disposition to open the question in that country was the act of the Indian Government in refusing free coinage in India. The disastrous consequences of the act have sharpened the minds of English financiers, and brought the Government to a full consideration of the subject again, and before the banking population expected it several very competent members of Parliament began to debate upon the subject, and some of them have found faith in the worship of silver as well as gold.

Mr. Balfour has actually discovered that the world can not get along in its business without silver money, and some other worthy minds are coming to him in this small beginning of what will be the fearful destruction of gold supremacy and the Bank of England in the money affairs of the world

within the present period. Let us suggest, for the purpose of startling the friends of gold in this country, that there will be no cessation of the agitation of the subject in the English Government, in Europe, and all British colonies, until the whole problem is solved, and silver is converted into money, so far as it is not employed in the arts and manufacturing of the nations.

The bare beginning of discussion of this subject in England is the certain assurance that the agitation of the question will pass over all such parts of the world, and bring all nations to their senses upon the subject of metallic money. Those of our friends who are pleased with what they suppose is a prospect of the further demonetization of silver have only to look to the few things spoken by English officials at the present time to find another great nation becoming wholly enwrapped by the discussion of such subject, and in a way to presage a whirlwind of change in the money and present opinion of the financiers of that country.

All the pleasure arising from the expectation that our Government will put a stop to further discussion of such question, and settle the fate of silver for the world, is to be put to flight by a few more utterances by British officials in Parliament and elsewhere. The jubilant feeling of gold worshipers of the present moment will be of so short a period, it will be little better than a dream of the sleep.

You may look for your hopes to be blasted, and also for the whole world's discussion of the silver problem, before Congress has been in session a month, and eventually you may look for a complete restoration of silver to money in all parts of the world.

The following recent utterances from England are both relevant and interesting:

The January number of the Forum contains a very able article, entitled "The Crisis in Silver," from the eminent financier, the Hon. Henry Hucks Gibbs, ex-governor of the Bank of England. He speaks strongly in favor of bimetallism, deprecating the attitude of the English Government in defense of her old single standard, which he considers now inadequate for her large wants, industrial as well as commercial, which have been suffering greatly for years, owing to a great extent to this short-sighted policy, and urges the Government most earnestly to take an active interest in favor of the general use of silver at the coming international silver conference.

Lately another distinguished statistician, the Hon. William Lidderdale, also an ex-governor of the Bank of England, was interviewed by the London correspondent of the New York World, and the correspondent cables thus:

His views are encouraging to us, but he nevertheless thinks that America has to face "a very, very serious financial problem." He does not believe that the repeal of the Sherman silver law is all we need. Mr. Lidderdale's opinion is that in view of our rapid increase in commerce and population the output of properly guarded legal tenders has not been sufficient to keep pace with the demands of the country. He does not feel so encouraged, however, about his own country so far as relates to the near future.

As an evidence of the growing popularity of bimetallism in England, it may be said that after this article was written a motion was made in Parliament by Sir Henry Thompson in the interest of bimetallism. Although this was strongly opposed by Mr. Gladstone personally in a long speech, 148 votes out of 377 were cast in its favor, many of them from Mr. Gladstone's own party. A change of 41 votes would have resulted in a victory for bimetallism. Lord Salisbury, Hon. A. I. Balfour, and many other distinguished statesmen favor it. England has been working under the single gold standard for over seventy years, but is now finding it oppressive.

Mr. Speaker, there has been but few periods in the history of our country when more care, consideration, and patriotism was enjoined upon the people's representatives. To radically change and disrupt our whole monetary system, that more than three generations of our people have been taught to revere and defend, is a momentous question and worthy of the highest consideration. No section, no man, no class, or business should be taken as the basis of our action, but the whole country, embracing every interest and every business of our people. Any act short of this is inconsistent with the broad principles upon which our fathers founded our institutions.

Had the candidates of the Democratic party gone before the people in the last campaign and told them that the platform adopted by the national Democratic convention at Chicago meant that silver was to be stricken down as money and the standard of gold alone was to be enacted, how many electoral votes would we have polled? How many States would we have carried? And how many Democratic members would there be on this floor? Mr. Harrison would have had a much larger electoral vote than Mr. Cleveland. Ten States that we carried would have been lost, and the Republican majority upon this floor would be greater than we have to-day. I feel assured in saying that, instead of carrying the great State of Illinois by 25,000 majority, we would have been beaten by more than 50,000. I have great doubts if the State of Texas could have been carried for Mr. Cleveland upon such a construction of the Chicago platform.

Mr. Speaker, had this docrine of the gold standard alone been made the issue in the West and South upon the lines sought to be carried out by the bill now before this House, the Democratic party could not even have been organized, or have made a fight. I do not believe there is a district in the great State of Illinois, outside of Chicago, which could have been carried upon that issue by the Democratic party.

CONCLUSION.

Every member of the Democratic party who is true to principle should carry out the platform upon which he was elected. The question is: Shall we redeem the pledges that we made to the people, or shall we stultify ourselves? Shall we follow the traditions of the fathers, or shall we launch out into unknown political seas, which have always stranded the men who betrayed the people? I for one shall never do so. I know no creed but the platform of my party. I know no leadership but Jeffersonian Democracy.

We are here to-day in full possession of every branch of the Government. We are here by the virtue of the doctrines that were advocated by us and their ratification by the people. This is no accident. The people will always sustain true Democracy when they are fully advised. The Democratic party, under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson, imbedded in the Constitution the principle that gold and silver should be the only real measures of value, and the ages fully attest this conclusion. The Democratic party took its stand upon gold and silver at the inception of the Government, and it has marched through the century as its only defender. And it stands here to-day, as Andrew Jackson stood more than fifty years ago, as the defender of the people against the money power.

We are here to-day to do battle for the money of our fathers, not as partisans, but as patriots. From the camp fires of the Revolution come the principles for which we struggle. In this day and hour let us be heroes. Let us vote from influence of reason and right, and not from brutal instincts of prejudice. With our eyes upon the Constitution and with our hearts reaching out to every home that is suffering under the black cloud of monometallism, let us have the courage of honesty and vote for the best interests of all the people. I hold that every vote upon this floor should be the incarnation of correct principles, that it should be the outline of a blessed hope, and that it should bear to struggling humanity the consummation of our promises. [Loud applause.]

Mr. DUNN. Mr. Speaker, after listening to the various speeches on the subject and the arguments advanced on both sides of the measure before the House, and being somewhat green in legislative matters of this kind at this time, I may subject myself to severe criticism when I say I do not think that any member who has yet spoken has taken the same views that I do, at least upon one point, which is, in my judgment, a vital one. Our form of government is the result of the wisdom of all the ages of the past analyzed by the founders of our Constitution, and the best effects derived from the experience of all former governments has been molded into that which we now live under.

There are two principles upon which the whole structure is built. The first is that all men are born free and equal, entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and the second, protective of the first, is that all just powers of government must be derived from the consent of the governed. The last proposition being true, I put it that if this question of the repeal of the Sherman act were to-day submitted to the people of this country there can be no question in the mind of any intelligent person at all conversant with the situation but that the purchasing clause would be at once repealed, by such a sweeping majority (and in this country majorities rule) as would astonish the defenders of private interests on the floor of the House, and satisfy them, beyond doubt, that the act has not the consent of the people. But legal consent is engrafted and embodied in the Constitution of our country.

Now, I will make this proposition to the defenders of the silver interests on the floor of this House: that is, to vote against the repeal of the Sherman act, provided they will furnish me a brief before the vote is taken, that would satisfy even a third-rate justice of the peace, that the Constitution of our country has in a single sentence, line, or word given the power to the Congress of 1890, or to any other Congress, to enact a law such as the Sherman purchasing clause; a law that compels the Secretary of our Treasury to furnish a market for an already debased product, to compel him to coin it into money at a rate from 35 to 40 per cent above its commercial value in the markets of the world, and to force upon the many for the benefit of the few, the mine-owners, that debased coin whereby a robbery, under the pretense of law, is committed upon the people to the extent of the difference between the commercial and the coin value fixed upon the silver by the fiat of the Government. I find no portion of the Constitution that can be in any way construed to give that fearful and dangerous power, though there are some who claim that under the first clause of the eighth section of the Constitution the words "provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States" justifies the act.

It is well, however, to remember that this power, by construction only, was used in such a manner, soon after the adoption of the Constitution, that the implication of power led to many difficulties and to much distrust. The result was that a limitation clause was afterwards adopted in the ninth amendment, which says that "the enumeration of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or to disparage others retained by the people," and in Article X of amendments the powers of the Constitution before adopted were limited and defined as follows:

The powers not granted to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

So clear is it fixed in my mind that the purchasing clause of

the Sherman act is unconstitutional, that I do not believe there is a lawyer in this country to-day of respectable ability who will not agree with me when I say that if this bill was submitted in proper form to the Supreme Court of the United States it would end the debate on the subject in this House at once. That body would declare it utterly unconstitutional, and say that the act did not come properly within the constitutional power of Congress. First, because there is no grant of power in the Constitution to warrant the passage of such an act; second, because it is against the genius and intent of our Constitution, which is rigidly against the grant of special privileges or special immunities to individuals or corporations.

In its inception it was clearly enacted, and meant to be in the interest of a single product, that is, the product of silver, to which it granted special privileges, under the plea of its being necessary to stamp it into coin, when in fact it was utterly unnecessary, and has proved to be dangerous and against the public welfare, as is now shown by the misery, desolation, and want that this unfortunate, unjust, and unholy measure has brought upon our country.

I need go no further for arguments to satisfy my mind that my duty, under my oath, can have but one direction, and that is immediate, unconditional repeal of the act, as that seems now to be a quicker method of disposing of it than by taking it before the Supreme Court in regular form and having it declared null and void. I am at a loss, however, in view of these facts, to see how so many men can entertain the views they appear to hold with reference to the repeal of this law.

I can not for my life see what reason they can give to their own consciences, in view of their sacred obligations when they called God to witness that they would maintain the Constitution; and yet, with this bill clearly unconstitutional, condemned by all, acknowledged to be an excrescence, denounced and denied by its fathers, they refuse upon one pretext or another, private or public, to vote for the repeal of this bill forthwith unless they can force a bargain in favor of a private interest as a condition of their performance of their public duty.

The real and proper object of a Government such as ours is to maintain the peace and to execute justice between its citizens, leaving to each a choice of occupation without favoring one at the expense of another; and what is true of the individual is true of every interest, whether individual or corporate, and wherever the Government obtrudes itself into private enterprise as it has done in furnishing a market for the silver industry, it makes not only a constitutional usurpation, but a fateful mistake, because as in this case it has cramped and dwarfed every other industry in the land to benefit this one.

The province of government is to secure the liberty, the properties, and the possessions of its citizens by wise and wholesome laws, and there can be no civilization where there is not security for life and property; and any law which makes property less secure, unsettles and throws down established values as the Sherman act has done, is not only unconstitutional *per se* and against the spirit of our Government, but is a menace to civilization and an injury to mankind.

The poorest judgment at all familiar with political economy must be satisfied that it is impossible for any Government to maintain and circulate in the same business community two dollars, one worth 100 cents anywhere in the world, and the other worth but 57 cents, yet each purporting to be value for the same amount of product. The proposition is so absurd that I am astonished that any man or set of men with good sense can for a moment entertain it. The most valuable coin will at once disappear from the channels of trade and the baser be circulated, and then only at its real or bullion value, as prices will vary to meet the debasement of the coin; for no man will part with a dollar's worth of his product for a 57-cent coin, although the Government fiat had stamped it as worth a dollar, unless the Government says that it will redeem it with $1 of standard gold on presentation for redemption at the Treasury of the United States. The conclusion arrived at by the best business minds of the country, is that the unlimited flood of cheap and debased coin which free coinage of silver would impose upon the country would prevent the Government from redeeming in gold.

Now, why should we keep this law upon our statute books? I do not believe that there is a silver man in this House who does not feel it to be his duty to repeal it at once, but they argue against repeal while admitting it to be an evil. Why? Simply because they want to force an unholy bargain with those who favor repeal—a bargain that their special interest, silver, and not the public good, may be conserved. What would you think of a burglar who, when caught stealing your silverware, admitted that he was wrong, but, under the threat of a pistol, wanted to make a bargain for his escape from the punishment he deserved by restoring only a part of his plunder.

It seems to me that the silver kings having already plundered the people, having been caught in the act, the power about to be denied to them to plunder any longer, they are bargaining, as it were, through their mistaken friends, to retain a part of the power which they have so long unjustly held, to keep a portion of their plunder before they will permit justice and right to prevail. This is strong language, and I am sorry that I am obliged, in accordance with my views of duty, to give it utterance.

Now, what is the excuse offered for the conditional retention of this measure? I have admired the speech of my friend from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN]. There is no doubt that it is molded in a cast of eloquence that is rare indeed; but when it comes to argument, and he attempts to make a bargain in favor of bimetallism as a first condition under the plea that there is not gold enough in the world, etc., he lays down a platform which is a mistake of fact. He says that if bimetallism is not adopted we will go to ruin, and that there is not gold enough with which to transact the business of the world.

Let us see whether that is true or not. He forgets that the world has progressed, that bimetallism is not only unsafe but unnecessary under present conditions. Let me put this proposition before you. If silver was a product of Nova Scotia, in which this country and no man on this floor had an interest, I ask him would he still retain the same views that he now holds? I can not believe it.

In the matter of "the insufficiency of gold coin with which to transact the business of the world," the one potential argument set up by the advocates of bimetallism, I now quote from the work of Hon. J. H. WALKER, in his address before the World's Congress Auxiliary at the Columbian Exposition. His facts and his figures taken together with what I have gleaned from other sources are to my mind conclusive as against this theory of insufficient gold with which to transact business.

According to his statement the average daily transactions of banks are about "$400,000,000."

I believe that to be a correct statement; we have had sufficient money right along to meet the business demand and we have now. We do not propose in the repeal of this bill to have any less, as we stand by the redemption of the silver already coined and also the bullion in the Treasury, and I for one flatly and absolutely refuse to be a party to increasing that amount at the risk of our Government's ability to redeem it with the standard coin of the world. "The loanable fund held by the national banks in this country is shown by the report of the Comptroller of the Currency to be in round numbers $2,800,000,000. Of this sum $1,800,000,000 are deposits of customers and the balance belongs exclusively to the banks. The loans and discounts are $2,200,000,000, and the other $600,000,000 are held as a reserve."

This means that the banks hold titles, mainly in the notes of their customers, to $2,200,000,000 of the consumable wealth of the country; that there is now in the hands of the farmers, merchants, and manufacturers title to $1,800,000,000 of the funds now in banks by way of deposits. As the deposits are $1,800,000,000, and the daily transactions are $400,000,000, it is evident that the average time each deposit remains in bank is four and one-half days. This $1,800,000,000 of deposit capital in the banks can only be made available to the community for use in our daily needs by a proper system of banking; and here let me say, that I have no sympathy—I have nothing but condemnation—for those uncalled-for and unintelligent assaults upon the banks of our country at this unfortunate period.

I do not believe in those gold-bug cries or those assaults on the banks. They are simply the stock catchwords of demagogues who appeal and pander to the ignorance, the passions, or the prejudices so likely to be awakened in the hour of distress, to divert the minds of the suffering artisans and laborers of our country from the silver blight, the true cause of our misfortune, to the goblin held up by the silver interest and shaken in their faces by the wild, unreasoning spirit of self-interest and demagoguery.

If we had to-day a sound currency, good money, absolutely redeemable in coin of a standard value all over the world, the distress that surrounds us would disappear like the mists of the morning before the noonday sun, all this sophistry uttered upon this floor to the contrary notwithstanding. Let it be known to the world that we have a sufficient amount of the best reserve coin in the world ready at all times for redemption purposes, and the demand would be only sufficient to meet the daily wants of exchange.

The people would not rush for gold, as they do not want it in the daily business of life. This demand may be made and answered ten or a thousand times in a day, as the case may be, during a given time, in every instance almost immediately to be returned to the bank from which the gold is drawn. But where two coins of different commercial bullion value are legal tender, sure redemption means that it be instantly done in the coin of the highest bullion value, which is hoarded at banks as is the case to-day.

To doubt money is to discredit it, and that portion of our money, silver, which to-day is doubted and discredited, would drive every dollar in gold coin from the country because the drafts made on the banks for gold would never be redeposited, while obligations could be paid with a cheaper money, and we would be obliged perforce to rest all our financial transactions upon a silver basis, which means a debasement that would be death to the financial life of the country and mean poverty to its working people.

As all values depend upon supply and demand and the cost of production, so all values would be regulated upon a silver basis according to the amount of production of silver each year, as the supply or demand of the market required it. As silver fluctuated, so would every value, and no man would want to engage in business, thus depriving labor of its looked-for reward.

In England, the visible gold upon which all her transactions and her foreign exchange rest is $125,000,000. Every dollar of that represents a foreign commerce of at least $25, while the gold in our country—the visible gold—is rated at $337,000,000, with a foreign commerce of only 2⅔ dollars to each dollar of visible gold.

The actual daily need of coin for the business of our country is not a speculation; the daily bank exchanges are about $400,000,000, and we know with absolute certainty that only 1½ per cent of those exchanges are made in coin. Now, the efficiency of each $1,000 in coin to-day, in making the exchanges of the world, has increased a thousand-fold faster than have exchanges of any other country in the world.

This efficiency has increased faster in the last ten years, and is now increasing faster than ever before by the use of railways, steamships, telegraphs, telephones, and, above all, in improved commercial methods and economies. In trade between Boston and Canton or New York and Canton as one instance, the efficiency of each $1,000 in gold coin has increased thirteen thousand times since 1830, $1,000 now being the equivalent of $13,000,000 under the methods and appliances of commerce and exchange in 1830. Then a ship loaded for a six months voyage to Canton took its supercargo to trade for a return cargo, and with him took the coin needed to make up the difference

The gold is not sent there now; it is simply placed to the credit of the factor until the exchanges are made. Then thirty days were consumed in going from Boston to St. Louis. Now money is transferred in one minute; so that you will see that coin—I speak now of the coin recognized by the business world—is ten thousand times more efficient in trade. One thousand dollars in 1893 in the exchanges of the world is the equivalent of ten millions in 1830. This is a startling proposition, but it is an undisputable fact.

To prove this the returns made by the Comptroller of the national banks in our own country show that each day's transactions is about 1½ per cent of coin and 4½ per cent of bank notes and other currency, and 94 per cent of checks, drafts, bills of exchange, and other tokens of property. The banks of our country, and especially of the metropolis and the clearing-house at New York, deserve not the assaults made upon them, but the lasting gratitude of the country for the honorable manner in which they have stood together and stemmed the tide of financial misfortune, which would have spread to a much greater extent but for them. Had they been what they are represented to be by some of the advocates of a debased currency, financial wreck would have been much greater from one end of this country to the other than it is to-day, such a financial wreck indeed as the world has never yet seen.

Money is in the commerce of the world a token of value, whether in coin or in bullion, but you would not of yourself be able to determine the real value of a bullion token given you in exchange for something that you had produced and offered for sale, and consequently you might give a much greater amount of your product than was fair for a given amount of bullion. Coinage has therefore been fixed as one of the most important functions of government; that is to say, the Government at its Mint assays the gold and silver, purifying them and marking each coin with its fineness and weight, that you may know exactly what you are getting for your produce.

The Government certifies that the coin has a fixed amount of grains of the metal required by law to be put in the particular coin, and it is bad money unless when it is recoined it is worth in bullion what it represents itself through the Government stamp to be in coin. The Government can not in the process of coining the bullion into a money token give it a greater commercial value in the coin than it has in the bullion. If it does, by its own act it debases the coin and is, to all intents and purposes, a forger of false coinage. It does that of itself which false coiners do, and for which it decrees a severe penalty. It cheats the people with a false measure of value, and the Government has no more right to rob the people than a forger has.

The money of circulation should be of such value that no matter what I hold as its representative, whether it be a piece of paper, a piece of leather, or a piece of silver, those who issued it to me, having my money or my property, should, at my demand, return to me what is mine, not 57 cents worth of silver for a dollar, but the value of 100 cents or $1. It is the fear of the Government's inability to make this redemption on my demand or the demand of the business world, in view of the immense flood and consequent debasement of silver, that has caused the panic, and those who believe the panic to be unreasonable do not understand the keen intelligence of the business world.

When the Government coins money it does not create gold or silver; it never owned gold or silver; it has no constitutional right to own it for the purpose, and never pretended to own it before the passage of the Bland act in 1878 and a still later one of 1890, since when it exercises an unconstitutional power to purchase for currency purposes. The business interests and intelligence of the country are keen enough to see that the Government is filling up its vaults with an unredeemable or fluctuating metal that is becoming cheaper and cheaper each day. Whenever it coined money before the acts named it coined, not the Government's metal; it coined the metal of John Jones or John Stewart and fixed its stamp of value upon it.

Now, while it had the power to stamp the gold or silver bullion of John Jones or John Stewart and to make it a legal tender if it chose to do so, it had no right and has no power to make even gold a legal tender for more than its actual or real value. It does not, and can not from its very nature, create a value where a value does not exist, or rightly give a fictitious or a greater value to an existing one than it is worth in the markets of the world.

It does none of the things of itself which creates value and out of which values grow. It neither produces nor saves, neither toils nor exchanges; it only expends or destroys what is given to it by society. Like a pauper, it exists by the contributions of the citizens paid into its Treasury by way of taxes. And therefore to attempt to create a value where no value exists, and can not exist, is as vile as it is dangerous and criminal, and is a usurpation.

We who believe in an honest token of value, having within itself the intrinsic merit which makes it exchangeable for its face value of any other commodity of a like value, are told by the adherents of the silver fallacy that with them we have come to the parting of the ways, if we do what under our oaths of duty we are obliged to do by the repeal of this bill. That is to say, a portion of the great Democratic party threatens it with dire destruction if it attempts to carry out that which it is pledged to do in its platform. And this threat is held over the friends of honest money to compel them for party's sake to bow their heads to the Moloch of silver.

I want to say to those men here and now, that I am a Democrat by nature, training, and instinct, that I believe the Democratic party will live while the Constitution of our country lives notwithstanding those threats; that when the Democratic party dies, as an effective protector of the principles of our Government, the Government will die with it; that the principles of our party are as indestructible as the eternal hills of God, and I would rather see it buried out of the sight and sound of men forever by the forces of nature or revolution rather than that the party should abandon a single one of its principles under the threat of a private interest which seeks to dominate this House and overthrow all principle of right and justice amongst men to serve their own aims and interests.

There are men on the floor of this House to-day, both older and younger than I am, who remember the threats made in the Charleston Convention "that we had then come to the parting of the ways." Do those men remember what that parting meant? Have they forgotten the flaunting of the bloody shirt? Have they forgotten the dreadful sacrifice that their parting of the way brought about? Do they undertake to-day, when the common sense, the intelligence, and the patriotism of the American people has covered the bloody shirt in the oblivion which it deserved, to establish in its place at the parting of the way the bloody bridle of the silver king? If they do persist in that course, it will be history repeating itself, and they will be the first to suffer.

The men who are first to step off the broad platform of the Democratic party and the principles of right and honest government will be the first to fall into the mire and the last to be relieved from the predicament in which they have placed themselves.

There are measures of relief in the direction of an elastic currency which I might present at this time, but I believe it is somewhat irrelevant to the matter upon which we are called to act. I will, however, offer it later on.

The American gold dollar contains 25.8 grains of gold, 900 fine. One ounce, or 480 grains, 1,000 fine—that is, pure—would mint in this coin $20.68. This coin has a standard value all over the world equivalent to 4.86\frac{65}{100}$ for the English sovereign, and $3.86 for the French piece of 20 francs. It is to-day the basis of value of all descriptions of United States notes, by reason of legislative mandate and the ability of the United

States Treasury to draw from its reserve the gold coin which may be required to meet any exchanges or redemption.

The full legal-tender silver dollar contains 412½ grains of silver, 900 fine, sixteen times the quantity contained in the gold dollar, and, with pure silver selling at 70 cents per ounce, has a bullion value of only 54 cents, but a currency value equal to a gold dollar, so long as the Treasury can, by free exchanges, maintain the parity of the two coins. The mint rate between gold and silver is 16 to 1, but the coinage value of an ounce of gold being $20.68 and the market value of an ounce of silver being 70 cents, the commercial ratio is then over 29 to 1. How can the Government maintain it at a parity; only by a loss of the difference?

The value of a silver dollar and the paper notes which it represents can thus plainly be seen to now depend upon the ability of the Government to maintain a sufficient gold reserve to make all necessary exchanges at the established ratio.

The standard silver dollar has always been a full legal-tender coin, but it has never filled a prominent place in the business transactions of the people. Its bullion value for a long time prior to resumption being greater than the gold dollar, it was coined in but small quantities and was soon exported or consumed in the arts, and in the coinage act of 1873 no provision was made for its use.

This often-named conspiracy or demonetization of silver has been much discussed since then; but at the time the omission attracted very little attention, as the bullion required to make a silver dollar had a market value of about $1.03. A few years later silver began to decline, and has continued ever since to do so, by reason of its abandonment by leading nations as an unrestricted money metal, and also in consequence of a great increase in its production and a diminution in the expense of obtaining it.

Great efforts have been made to induce the United States to protect the interests of the producers of silver. The free coinage of standard dollars has been vehemently urged, and many times rejected by Congress. The Bland act of 1878 required the Government to purchase silver and to coin not less than two million nor more than four million silver dollars every month. This experimental measure was, even by its authors, admitted to be a failure, having been based on the expectation that the people would readily accept and circulate those coins. "The dollar of their daddies."

But the day for a popular demand for such coin had passed. The use of Government and national-bank notes of uniform appearance, and therefore easily recognized and difficult to counterfeit, of certain redemption and universal acceptance, had become more acceptable to the public than any use of silver except for subsidiary coin for small change, and this feeling applied to gold as well as to silver coin. The new coinage of silver dollars was highly unpopular, and the silver interest hastened to placate the people and preserve the continuance of the coinage and consequent absorption or market for silver, by the creation of certificates based on it, circulating as currency.

In 1890 $297,556,238 of this sort of currency had been put in circulation. It was useful for the time being as money in the transaction of business, and somewhat obviated the difficulty that seemed to threaten because of the reduction in the amount of national bank notes caused by the redemption of United States bonds which had been issued to secure those issues. But the value of the certificate really rested upon the value of the gold reserve behind it, and not upon the hoarded silver coin which it represented, and which no one wanted to either store or handle.

This coin, which at first was below the mint standard in value, declined more and more each year in bullion value. The resumption of specie payments had been effected with about $350,000,000 United States legal-tender notes outstanding, for which a gold reserve had been by law provided. It is sufficient now to say that this $350,000,000 of United States notes, supported by a reserve of $100,000,000 in gold coin, has had a use the benefit of which it would be hard to deny while the law so rigidly restricted the issue of ordinary bank notes.

A glance at official figures shows some remarkable changes in the volume of United States currency and money as well between 1878 and 1892. The amount in circulation had increased from $729,132,634 to $1,601,347,187; the per capita, from $15.32 to $24.40. United States notes secured by the $100,000,000 gold reserve remained at the same figure, $346,681,016. Of gold, there was, in 1878, only $25,000,000, circulating in California. In 1892, in Treasury, bank reserves, etc., there were $664,275,335. The amount of national-bank notes had been reduced to $172,683,850, a decrease in this kind of circulation of some $150,000,000, while circulating notes based on silver purchases had been created to the extent of upwards of $430,000,000.

The growth of this currency issue was regular up to 1890, and at the beginning of President Cleveland's term had reached $208,538,967, but the free gold in the Treasury was about $150,000,000, and having this new Government paper issue to take care of, as well as nearly $350,000,000 of legal-tender notes, the policy was adopted under Mr. Cleveland's Administration of building up the Government's supply of gold, which was done to the extent of over $200,000,000. The large surplus then existing permitting this line of action and also great stability in Government credit as a result, although some distrust was felt in consequence of the continued decline of the price of silver, of which there was so large a stock being carried.

Under the Harrison Administration the surplus in the Treasury disappeared, and a large part of the Government's gold reserve was, in consequence of the mad extravagance practiced, necessarily used in the payments of debts, but the purchase of silver kept right on and, indeed, was greatly increased by the act of 1890. In 1888, in addition to an amount of $120,888,448 of gold, for which there were certificates outstanding, the Treasury held $203,885,218 (in December) of free gold as a reserve, with only $308,000,000 legal-tender notes and $200,759,657 of silver certificates outstanding—about 40 per cent of gold reserve.

July, 1892, the gold reserve had diminished to $110,444,391 of free gold, with $309,559,904 legal-tender notes, $326,693,465 silver certificates, and coin notes (act of 1890) $98,258,692, a total outstanding of $734,512,061, while the percentage of gold reserve was only about 15 per cent. A year later, July, 1893, the notes based on silver purchases had increased some $50,000,000, and the gold reserve declined to $95,000,000, and doubt and distrust seemed to have taken possession of the public mind, until now we are in the midst of the direful consequences of a discredited and doubtful currency.

In order that a silver dollar should have the same bullion value as a gold dollar it would be necessary that the price of silver be as high in commercial value as $1.29 per ounce, but this has not been the case since before the passage of the Bland act of 1878, and the decline has been steady in spite of the extraordinary and unconstitutional efforts made to check it, until as low as 70 cents per ounce has been reached. And with recent events in Germany, Austria, and India, tending to a still further depression of silver, the public is becoming aware of the lack of confidence arising from the fact that this Government is carrying so large a part of its bullion reserve in this unstable metal, and therefore the business world doubts its ability to carry out its promise to redeem in gold, and hence the panic.

We have parted with $60,000,000 in transactions on foreign account in a single six months, and the return of part of this when the present depression began would have done much to have checked the tide of destruction, but the menace of a debased silver standard supplanting the gold basis in this country has prevented this usual and natural relief. As the buying of silver affords only an unstable basis for the issuance of United States notes, this feature of the Sherman act should be at once absolutely and unconditionally repealed. [Applause.]

The following comparative table from the last report of the Secretary of the Treasury would seem to show that there was circulation enough in this country if confidence was restored:

Countries.	Gold.	Silver.	Uncovered notes.	Totals.	Per capita.
United Kingdom.	$550,000,000	$100,000,000	$50,000,000	$700,000,000	$18.42
France	800,000,000	700,000,000	81,000,000	1,581,000,000	40.56
Germany	600,000,000	210,000,000	107,000,000	917,000,000	18.54
United States	654,000,000	575,000,000	405,000,000	1,634,000,000	25.15

This table shows a per capita of $25.15, the greatest per capita of currency ever before in circulation in this country. The largest in the flush times before 1888 was only $16, or thereabout; the present circulation being a fraction more than a third greater than it was then, and yet we are told by the silver men that there is not enough of currency, and they offer this as one of the arguments against the repeal. It is idle and vicious, because it is untrue.

Gold coin is not any longer as desirable for a currency as its representative in paper, except occasionally when needed to settle foreign balances. The stoppage of silver purchases and the decision by the Government to maintain the gold redemption at all hazards, for the sake of the national credit as well as the national honor, should be arrived at without loss of time. The measures for the increase of the gold reserve require economy in the Government, and, if taken with care and judgment and a sound discrimination, will at once restore confidence and impart stability to business affairs from the moment of their adoption.

The return to specie payments was accomplished in 1878 by the issuance of United States bonds to create a gold reserve of about 30 per cent of the notes then outstanding. A similar expedient would seem necessary now to increase the reserve in a fair proportion to the increased issues of currency, and thus maintain the

credit of the United States, though the issuance of interest-bearing bonds should be the last thing resorted to.

There are some suggestions, however, that I desire to offer at this time, though they are hardly pertinent to the matter of the repeal of this bill, except in so far as they would supply the place of an elastic currency, which is the real thing the bimetallists want, though they hardly seem to know it. At no time since the ending of the civil war and the unexampled development and increase in prosperity that followed has the country been free from the lurking danger arising from the use of a large volume of unelastic Government paper, which has constituted a chief part of the circulating medium of the country. The rigid restrictions connected with the issuance of notes by national banks have caused this very serviceable kind of currency to decrease, while the rapid growth of business and population required constantly more and more circulation.

No other nation than ours is more given to the habitual use of banking privileges, and the free use of checks and drafts in the transactions of ordinary business and the settlement of the normal expenses of daily life. Under ordinary circumstances a person of good repute can travel where he wishes, buy what he wants, and settle his indebtedness by a check on his home bank without difficulty. The amount of current money most people have to hold and carry about compared with their total expenditure is a mere trifle, but to avoid delay and the trouble of identification a person will require a larger amount of currency when he passes outside of the locality in which he is thoroughly known.

Just as a fair portion of gold held as a reserve is able to impart a standard of value to a much larger amount of paper issued, so the currency reserves of the banks can in ordinary times sustain a cash indebtedness three or four times as great. When there is no adequate provision for the issue of circulating notes by the banks there will come from the people an irresistible demand for governmental issues of some sort, and if these are made in paper or in coin not having full value abroad to an extent sufficient to meet the full tide of active business and exchange, there will be times of stagnation in the movements of the products of the country when the supply will be redundant and the accumulation of money at the financial centers will be such that it can only find employment in speculative transactions injurious to the people at large, and from which it is difficult to withdraw the capital they have absorbed and restore it to the regular channels of trade in times of panic.

In times of distrust and contraction there often arises a demand from many solvent merchants for an increase of bank credit to tide them over a temporary depression, and at the same time there is likely to be an increased demand from all classes of persons on their deposits of currency, whether in ordinary banks of deposit or in institutions for savings.

A reduction in the cash resources in the banks has the effect of enforcing a contraction of its loans, and thus it comes about that at the very time of a demand for increased discount the ability to extend this accommodation is taken away by the reduction in the reserve due to the demands of customers for the payment in currency of their accounts. When adverse conditions produce a demand for currency and a bank is required to pay out $100,000 of legal-tender money, then in order to maintain its reserve on a 25 per cent basis it must call in $400,000 of its loans, and the embarrassment becomes great when this curtailment of credit is coincident with a demand for an increase in its line of discount.

If under these circumstances a bank could freely emit its own circulating notes in exchange for the checks of its depositors, its total liabilities would not be changed by the operation; it would owe more on account of circulation but less to the depositor whose check had been exchanged in this way, and the percentage of reserve to liabilities would remain the same, and the demand for currency would have been met without a reduction in the amount of legal-tender money held by the bank. In times of financial stringency and distrust there will always be, as there is now, some hoarding of legal-tender money by persons of small means, and the aggregate of their collections and withdrawals of customary deposit accounts is enough to seriously affect the cash reserve of many banks. Actual suspension is then only escaped by avoiding the payment of large checks except through the clearing-house exchanges with other banks, where clearing-house certificates can be used, and a premium on currency becomes an established feature of the situation.

In my opinion the business demands for currency, which cause this premium, could be readily met if the bank in which the depositor has a credit balance could exchange for the individual check its own promises to pay lawful money in convenient amounts for the settlement of small transactions. Amongst the legal restrictions which now cut off this method of relief is to be found the Government tax of 10 per cent on State bank notes. This tax, designed to protect national banks and promote their purchases of Government bonds, had a war origin, and, like the revenue stamp on checks and promissory notes, was submitted to with patriotic resignation. It should have been abolished when the others were.

In the light of experience, it is the duty of every State to regulate the issues of bank notes so that no loss attending upon their use shall fall upon the people through whose hands they pass. This can readily be done, and it would be preferable that action by the State Legislatures of uniform character and in harmony with the currency legislation of the General Government should be taken before the present restrictions are entirely removed. A State-bank issue can be made just as secure to the people as any other circulating note by the enactment of wise legislation. Banks of issue should be under governmental control and examination at frequent intervals of time.

The stockholders should be held liable to an amount equal to their stock, and notes of circulation should be a first lien on all assets of the bank in case of failure. All the banks in any State made liable by a percentage on the circulation they have issued, for any possible loss on the bills of any one of their number which may fail. This, of course, while, as I said before, not pertinent to the issue before this House, is offered as a suggestion which I invite the bimetallists and those who desire a safe and elastic currency to think over.

I have not examined this matter in the light of constitutional reflection, but if power can be found in the Constitution to work out such a measure it would supply an elastic currency, the one great need of the commercial and industrial interests of our country. This matter, of course, is and ought to be an after consideration. The one great want of this country to-day is the repeal of the Sherman act, and if good sense, patriotism, and the obligations of public duty are to prevail there ought not to be a single moment of unnecessary delay in reaching that end.

Mr. HALL of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, "The times are out of joint." A country richer than all others in the variety and extent of its resources, stronger than all others in the intelligence, enterprise, and ingenuity of its people, greater than all others in its opportunities for individual effort and success, finds its resources stagnant, its enterprise clogged, its progress stopped by an impending financial crisis, dangerous in its present severity and terrible in its possibilities.

These wise men, if I understand them, find nothing in the present alarming condition of the country except an all-pervading fear of the early demise of McKinleyism. The financial distress, the suspension of banks, the hoarding and almost total disappearance of money, the failures of jobbing and commercial houses, the closing of factories, the bankruptcy of railroads, and the universal stagnation of all kinds of business are, in their judgment, mainly due to the fear that this Democratic Congress will in good faith carry out the tariff reform it promised the people.

We are summoned in extraordinary session not to prescribe a remedy for all the ills which afflict the people's business, but to check—to stamp out the financial epidemic which is carrying distress and ruin to every threshold in the nation. Gentlemen tell us that before we can do this we must diagnose the disease. Over the writhing, dying patient these learned doctors consult, quarrel, and disagree in approved professional manner. The venerable practitioner from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] and his boisterous associates from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON and Mr. HEPBURN] and from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] have diagnosed the case with great relish and self-satisfaction, and have reached the profound conclusion that the patient is suffering from too much fright and too little nourishment.

"Madam," said an eminent specialist, "your husband is afflicted with a complication of disorders which we are utterly unable to understand. But I assure you, my dear madam, everything will be made clear and satisfactory at the post-mortem." [Laughter.]

"To this lame and impotent conclusion" does all their skill, wisdom, and experience lead them.

What quackery it is! If these doctors had but looked into the eyes of the suffering patient, seen his coated tongue, felt his throbbing, feverish pulse, they would not have had the hardihood to speak as they have.

The Almighty has so constructed humanity that in every age and in every country there are men whose patriotism is so diminutive and partisanship so intense that even in a nation's distress and a people's suffering they can see nothing but an opportunity for factional gain and personal profit. To them and of them I can only say in the language of the venerable Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR]:

> No man whom the American people have trusted with any share of political power is entitled to be respected who approaches the duty of this hour in any partisan or sectional spirit or inspired by the desire to reap partisan advantage from the public calamity.

But let us diagnose the diagnosis of these wise men.

Sherman's silver law was passed in July, 1890. For twelve years prior thereto, under the Bland-Allison act, this country had been annually coining $24,000,000 worth of silver into silver dollars of the average market value of 73 cents each. Over 400,000,000 of these coined dollars were then directly or indirectly in circulation as a part of the money of the country. The Sherman differed from the Bland-Allison law about as two drinks differ from one. It doubled the dose. It compelled the purchase and compelled, substantially, the coinage of twice as much silver as the Bland-Allison act. The shrewd financiers of the world at once comprehended the ultimate effect of the law. They knew that it inevitably accelerated our speed on the down grade to silver monometallism. The wiping out of the magnificent surplus which Mr. Cleveland left in the Treasury was additional cause of alarm.

I can not give you statistics, but every intelligent man knows that the great and rapid development of this country has not been solely due to our people. It is the British pound sterling and the Dutch florin in the hands of the enterprising Americans which has set this country spinning on the highway of development, to the astonishment and admiration of the world. Foreign capital borrowed at low rates of interest has created our railroads, opened our factories and mines, and developed our resources. No undertaking involving the use of large amounts of money could be successfully carried on without the aid of foreign money. Our own capital was too limited, our rates of interest too high to admit of this. But in the cheap markets of Europe we found cheap money. This we borrowed in untold millions and utilized it for our own profit and advancement.

To the people who lent us this money—to the Rothschilds, to the Jews, that marvelous race who are the bankers of the universe, Sherman's law came as a threat of repudiation, an act of partial bankruptcy, an attempt to pay back the money we had borrowed in a debased currency, in clipped shillings of inferior value. They began to draw in their loans, to unload our securities, and, worst of all, they refused to loan us more money.

At once upon the enactment of Sherman's law, gold began to go out of this country in large quantities. In the first fiscal year ending June 30, 1891, our net export of gold was over $68,000,000, and in addition we sent a net export of $44,000,000 of crops and merchandise, in all, over $112,000,000 to pay our called-in indebtedness.

In the next year ending June, 1892, we had a net export of only a half million of gold, but we added to it from our magnificent crops of that year an export surplus of nearly $216,000,000. Did McKinley's law or the fear of its repeal have anything to do with this? Why this enormous payment of our called-in indebtedness occurred while McKinleyism was triumphant; before the American people had rendered their verdict and passed sentence upon the felonious measure?

This distrust and lack of confidence on the part of European money-lenders speedily communicated itself to our American capitalists. They began to prepare for the coming storm by hoarding gold. The banks did likewise. All this time gold was flowing out of the Treasury, and only silver going in. It was apparent that the $100,000,000 of gold held for redemption purposes must soon be encroached upon. Early in the fall of 1891, scarcely a year after the passage of Sherman's law, Ohio's magnificent plunger, then Secretary of the Treasury, announced that he stood ready to use the reserve "upon a pinch." For the first time since 1879 that reserve, the sheet anchor of all our currency, of silver as well as paper, was in danger. All this occurred before the Presidential election. How, then, doctors, could the fear of the repeal of the McKinley law have produced it?

When the people discovered that the bankers and capitalists were scared, they became scared themselves, and began to draw out their money from the banks and hoard it. They got but little gold, for the capitalists had already taken that. But they got currency and hoarded that, until it is almost literally true that there is no money in circulation. Whatever business is carried on consists of small transactions requiring currency of small denominations, and we consequently have the seemingly mysterious phenomenon of small currency at a premium.

From the New York Press, a leading Republican newspaper, I have clipped a column of disasters reported in a single issue—twenty-six in all. They comprehend a variety of business establishments, protected and unprotected. This record of a single day tells of the failure of six banks, three railways, one packing-house, five mercantile houses, two board of trade brokers, one Chicago hotel, one large creamery, and only seven establishments which, by the wildest stretch of imagination, could be in anywise affected by a reduction of the tariff.

It is absurd to say that the banks are dependent upon tariff taxes; equally ridiculous to claim that a fear of the reduction of the cost of steel rails has bankrupted the railways; or of the tax on hog's bristles has closed the packing-house; or of that upon eggs has sent the hotel into the hands of a receiver. The mercantile houses, the brokers, and the creamery were not included in McKinley's distribution of illegitimate profits. And as this day's record is, so has the daily record been for two months past.

Probably the most reliable commercial journal in the United States is Bradstreet's. In a very recent number of that journal I find a list of 800 manufacturing establishments, employing one-half million of people, which have closed since June 1. A large part of these are protected industries. Many of them, such as wagon factories, brick yards, common potteries, sewer and drain pipe works, and others of similar character are in fact wholly unprotected by tariff duties. Of these 800 establishments, according to Bradstreet's, 79 per cent were closed by reason of financial stringency, only 1 per cent claimed that its suspension was due to "a fear of impending tariff changes," and the others were closed for repairs, taking of invoices, or by reason of fire, etc.

If these learned doctors had looked into the columns of a daily newspaper or glanced at the commercial reports of any trade journal, they would not have had the temerity to submit to us a diagnosis so frivolous and absurd.

Here and there doubtless are a few vicious protectionists, enriched by tariff favoritism and reluctant to surrender the special privileges of profit which McKinleyism has given them, who are reckless enough to attribute the embarrassment which comes from a financial panic to a fear of tariff reform. But such men are few in number and worthless in character.

Later on, when we approach the great work of tariff revision, we shall have a howling wail from every protected cradle in the country. All the infants will scream in unison, and tears will flow by prearranged schedule. [Laughter.] The calamity-shriekers from Pennsylvania will outdo their modest brethren from Colorado and Nevada. But it is too early for that now. They are not yet in politics. I do not regret that gentlemen upon the Republican side of this House have endeavored to make partisan capital out of the present distress. It is well that we have them, their diagnosis, fears, and predictions upon record.

In my judgment the unconditional repeal of Sherman's silver law will afford relief to the business of the country so swift and decisive that when this Congress enters upon the great work of tariff reform these prophets of protection will be so discredited by the failure of their present diagnosis that all the fears, prophecies, predictions, and threats they may then utter will be received with universal derision as "full of sound and signifying nothing." [Laughter.]

The undeniable truth is that our present financial distress is universal; that it penetrates every corner of the land and lays its paralyzing hand upon every industry, protected and unprotected. Wherever there is a business which depends upon bank deposits or borrowed money it has gone to the wall.

Such, Mr. Speaker, is the epitomized history of our greatest financial crisis. It commenced—the hoarding of gold, the money famine began—immediately upon the passage of Sherman's law. It was, in a measure, tided over and relieved by our unusual and enormous crops of 1891; it has now reached its culmination.

Doubtless many minor causes have contributed to it; I believe that our protective policy has so debauched and enfeebled our business system as to render it particularly sensitive to such attacks. I believe that the financial disturbances existing in South America, Australia, and to some extent in Europe have more or less contributed to our own distress. But none of these, singly or combined, are sufficient to account for our present condition. It is self-evident and universally acknowledged that the direct cause of our distress is distrust and want of confidence in our ability to maintain the money of this country at a par with the international money of the commercial world.

The vaults and coffers of Europe are bursting with unusable money. It is worth only 1½ per cent in London. Cheap as it is, it lies idle awaiting safe investment. Driven out of South America, frightened out of Australia, it has accumulated in mountainous hoards awaiting the call of him who will give good security for its repayment. Here in the United States, in spite of our past financial idiosyncracies, Europe has found the best and safest field for investments.

But she loans us no money now, and is withdrawing that which we already have as fast as possible. True, within the two weeks past we have imported much gold. We are not borrowing it; we are buying it—sacrificing our securities and surplus crops at forced sale for gold. As it comes here it disappears as effectually as though the ship which brought it had gone to the mid-ocean's bottom.

Never has there been such an opportunity for the immediate development of our railways, our manufacturing, mining, and industrial interests and the funding at low rates of our corporate and individual indebtedness. The cheap money of Europe—

cheaper than ever before—is ours to hold and to use if we will but guarantee its repayment in the same kind of money in which it is loaned to us. But the financiers of the Old World will never send us gold and accept 53-cent silver tokens in payment. [Applause.]

I come from beyond the Mississippi, modestly representing one of the undeveloped States of the Northwest, a marvelous empire with almost boundless resources still slumbering in her virgin soil. Our lands are mortgaged; we need cheap money, not a depreciated currency, not clipped shillings, not a bankrupt's dollar, but low-priced, honest, cheap money to renew our mortgages and render agriculture profitable. We have growing manufactures; we need cheap money to operate and develop them. We have inexhaustible mines; we need cheap money to open and work them. We have large cities and prosperous villages; we need a network of railways over the State, connecting with great trunk lines, which will carry our surplus products at low rates to the seaboard. We stand at the fountain head of two great waterways connecting us with the Atlantic and the Gulf; we need steamboats and enlarged canals. Cheap money builds railways, canals, and steamships.

I have not the courage, Mr. Speaker, to look my intelligent constituency in the face and tell them by my vote that we have locked out the cheap, low-priced money of Europe. For years I have been preaching to them the gospel of free trade. They sent and resent me here, because they believed in that gospel. Having challenged the right of the Government by its tariff legislation to exclude foreign competition from our home markets, I can not now aid in shutting out the low-priced money of Europe in order that the capitalists of Boston and New York may have a monopoly of the home money market. My political economy knows no such paradox as this. If anywhere on this round globe there is money to be had at lower rates of interest, I want my farmer constituents to get at it and to get it.

Sherman's law shuts the door in the face of every foreign investor; it warns him that if he sends gold into this country he will only receive depreciated silver in return. It shuts him out and leaves the great borrowing West and the borrowing South to the tender mercies of the Shylocks of Wall street and the bloodsuckers of New England.

To me this is a sufficient reason why Sherman's law should be repealed. It should be immediately repealed. Whether it is a wise or unwise measure, whether it is or is not the real cause of the existing distress, the people believe it to be so. Unquestionably it is the cause of the panic which prevails; and to appease the panic instantaneous repeal is necessary. It should be unconditionally repealed. For if you attach to its repeal any new financial scheme, any untried monetary experiment, you still leave in the public mind the doubt, distrust, and alarm which already exists.

The house is on fire. The first thing to do is to put out the fire. When that is done we can determine the extent of the damage and the nature of the repairs necessary. It is the height of folly to attempt to rebuild the roof while the smoke is pouring and the flames coiling out of the second-story windows. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] tells us that he purposes to hold the Sherman law as a "hostage" for the enactment of a free-coinage law. What financial wisdom! He would take a chattel mortgage upon the conflagration as a ecurity for the reshingling of the roof. [Laughter.]

The amendments offered to this bill are offered for the purpose of preventing the repeal of the Sherman law, and not with the expectation of securing free coinage at the hands of this Congress. It is a cunningly devised scheme to defeat by amendments a bill which can not be openly defeated.

Interesting as the subject is, I shall not enter into a prolonged discussion of the question of bimetallism, for in my judgment the only thing for us to consider is: Shall we stop buying 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion per month with gold, or shall we exhaust our gold to accumulate silver?

I am a bimetallist. I believe in the use of both metals as money. I believe that with certain restrictions and upon certain conditions both can be wisely and safely utilized as a circulating medium. But bimetallism does not mean two standards of value. There can not be such a self-contradiction as a double or a triple standard. You can not say that 36 and 30 inches shall constitute a yard, but you can have yardsticks of steel, brass, wood, or tape. Each is a measure of length, but each must conform to the single standard of 36 inches. You can have a gold, silver, copper, or paper dollar, and if they are kept equal with each other they have equal purchasing power and each is a dollar.

Gold, and gold alone, is the commercial, the international money of the world. Whenever any other kind of money comes in contact with it, it is measured, valued by gold. The price of silver bullion, of copper, of iron, is measured by gold. A grain of gold is the yardstick of the nations. It derives no additional strength from coinage or legal-tender laws; whether stamped by a nation's mint or not, coined or uncoined, it is the grain of gold which for more than a century has been the single common standard of value throughout the world, in every mart where civilized man trades with his fellow. We could not discard it if we would, unless, following the logic of McKinleyism, we maintained absolute nonintercourse with all the world.

We can utilize silver as money, not as a substitute for gold, but as an auxiliary and equal to it. The gold and silver dollars can be made equal to each other in three ways. I call attention to the fact that each of these three methods of equalization is specifically set forth in the last Democratic national platform. First, they must be of "equal intrinsic or exchangeable value," so that, put into the melting-pot, either one as commercial bullion would purchase the other in any of the world's markets. This equalization of the two dollars has been feasible at any time within the past twenty years.

If the advocates of free coinage had demanded a silver dollar containing a dollar's worth of silver, instead of advocating a bonus or indirect bounty to silver mine owners, they would have succeeded. To-day, however, such coinage is utterly impracticable. India has closed her mints to the coinage of silver, and so unsettled the silver markets that no one can to-day predict the price of silver to-morrow. No ratio between the metals can be fixed at the present time which would last a week.

Second. Or, "be adjudged through international agreement." Undoubtedly by unanimous consent the nations of the earth can maintain whatever ratio they see fit to adopt.

Third. Or, "By such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts." Making both dollars a legal tender would give them equal power in the markets. The only way to make and keep them equal in the markets is to make them interchangeable—to redeem one with the other.

Since 1879, when specie payments were resumed, we have been able to do this by the accumulation of a large gold reserve in the Treasury. We have kept greenbacks, bank notes, silver certificates, Treasury notes, silver itself, at par with gold, because the Treasury has at all times been ready to exchange gold for them—to redeem them in gold.

All this time we have been and still are upon a gold basis, with gold as the single standard of value. But we have had bimetallism; we have used both gold and silver and paper, too, as money; we have maintained their equality in our own markets, at least, by using them interchangeably and being at all times ready to redeem the silver and paper with gold; we have maintained their debt paying equality by our legal-tender acts. From 1879 to the last hour of the Harrison Administration a gold reserve of $100,000,000 has been set apart and sacredly held in the Treasury as a fund pledged for the maintenance at par with gold of all our silver and paper money.

When Mr. Cleveland surrendered the Presidency to Mr. Harrison in 1885 an additional $100,000,000 had accumulated in our vaults. This was our great surplus saved by an honest and economical Democratic Administration, and held as a further guarantee of the equality of all our money. When Mr. Harrison surrendered the Presidency to Mr. Cleveland in 1893 only a few pennies of the magnificent surplus could be found in the Treasury vaults.

Under the operation of Sherman's law since 1890 our silver and paper currency has increased and our stock of accumulated gold decreased to such an extent that the world has lost confidence in our ability to redeem the one with the other and thus maintain their parity.

We must either increase our stock of gold or stop increasing the currency redeemable in gold. If we fail to do one or the other of these things gold must necessarily become a mere commodity, purchasable with silver or paper, and the gold dollar will be worth in the market a premium equal to the difference in the commercial value between gold and silver bullion. We will no longer continue upon a gold basis, but we will sink to a silver basis upon a level with Mexico and China.

We are brought face to face with the problem whether we shall continue as we have been since 1879 upon a gold basis, or whether we shall Mexicanize our currency and sink to a silver basis. On a gold basis we can maintain bimetallism; we can utilize silver as a part of our money so long as we stand ready to redeem it with gold. On a silver basis we become monometallists; we drive all gold out of circulation, because we could not redeem a gold with a silver dollar. The cheaper coin can not purchase the dearer.

The pending bill stops the further increase of Treasury notes issued in purchasing silver. If it fails to pass, it still remains the duty of the Government to maintain the parity of gold and silver as required by Sherman's law. The only way to do this is to increase the gold reserve in the Treasury. To do that we must sell bonds and increase the national debt.

I shall not now pause to discuss the much-mooted problem as to whether or not under the resumption act of 1875 the Secretary of the Treasury has authority to issue bonds and purchase gold for redemption purposes. In the conflict of opinion which exists upon that question, I shall assume that in the stress of a great emergency he might be justified in giving that act such a construction as to authorize an issue of bonds, for in no other way would it be possible for him to carry out the declaratory clause of the Sherman law that it is the established policy of this country to forever maintain the parity of our gold and silver dollars.

The heart of the question before us is not the free coinage of silver, for the enactment of such a law by this Congress is a recognized impossibility, but whether we shall stop buying silver or issue bonds and accumulate gold to maintain the parity of the two metals, as the law requires.

The estimated stock of coined gold in this country is $604,000,000, or $9.01 per capita. Only $100,000,000 of this is in the Treasury; the balance is withdrawn from circulation and hoarded by the people. Our stock of coined silver (including the bullion purchased under the Sherman law) is $615,000,000, or $9.18 per capita. We have more silver than gold in circulation. No one proposes to touch the silver we now have. It is not to be demonetized or "struck down." It is to be left standing as a part, and a large part, of our circulating medium.

When we recall the fact that only about 8,000,000 silver dollars were coined by this Government in all the years prior to 1878, when the Bland-Allison silver law was enacted, and that 607,000,000 silver dollars have been coined since 1878, under the Bland-Allison and the Sherman laws, can it be fairly said that we of this generation have been unfair or unjust towards silver? When we keep in circulation a larger amount of silver than of gold are we not in the true sense of the word bimetallists; do we deserve to be stigmatized as "gold bugs" in the hire of Great Britain?

France has in circulation $800,000,000 of gold and $700,000,000 of silver. She maintains the parity of gold and silver by redeeming her silver in gold. Our purpose is to follow the example of France—to maintain bimetallism by keeping the relative amount of gold and silver in circulation equal to each other. France has $100,000,000 more gold than silver; we now have $11,000,000 more silver than gold.

The Sherman law and the McKinley law were the twin monstrosities of the billion Congress. In each is to be found the same principle, but a different method of protection—of special legislation for the benefit of interested parties. As McKinley gave to Carnegie and to such as Carnegie a home market for the product of their mills, so did Sherman give to the mine owners a home market for the production of their mines. Both laws were passed for the direct purpose of assisting influential capitalists in their private business—of giving them large and illegitimate profits. They are both based upon the same political theories, they emanated from the same source, they were enacted by the same Congress, they received the solid vote of the Republicans in both Houses, they were approved by a Republican President.

If, Mr. Speaker, I was disposed at such a time as this to indulge in remarks of a partisan character no subject could be more tempting than that now under consideration. But, in my judgment, the condition of affairs is altogether too serious and threatening to justify discussion of that character. It matters not where the responsibility for the law which has produced these conditions may lie, the duty of this hour and this Congress is to at once and unconditionally repeal the Sherman law, and give to ourselves and to the world restored confidence in the stability and integrity of the American dollar, be it of gold, silver, or paper.

I listened to the eloquent gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN] as he told us the enchanting story of the drummer-boy of Marengo. Pardon me if I inclose his charming picture in the rude frame of my remarks.

Mr. BRYAN said:

Muehlbach relates an incident in the life of the great military hero o France. At Marengo the Man of Destiny, sad and disheartened, thought the battle lost. He called to a drummer boy and ordered him to beat a retreat. The lad replied: "Sire, I do not know how. Desaix has never taught me retreat, but I can beat a charge. I beat that charge at the Bridge of Lodi; I beat it at Mount Tabor; I beat it at the Pyramids: Oh, may I beat it here!" The charge was ordered, the battle won, and Marengo was added to the victories of Napoleon. Oh, let our gallant leader draw inspiration from the street gamin of Paris.

I do not know, sir, that historical accuracy is at all essential to a free-coinage speech; but as a student of correct history I deeply regret that my friend should have torn from the gallant Desaix the laurels he won at Marengo, and plastered them over the cropped head of a Parisian gamin. [Laughter.]

I am sure my friend is mistaken both as to the time and place of the incident to which he refers. If memory fails me not, it was upon another field and on that dread, eventful day in June, 1815, that the historic drummer-boy was summoned into the war councils of the great emperor.

All day long Napoleon had hurled his veteran forces against the British guards upon Mount St. Jean; the grenadiers, hardened by Moscow's terrors, had been driven back in irreparable disorder; the steel-clad cuirassiers who decided the day at Austerlitz had been shattered and crushed in the storm of battle; even the invincible Old Guard, with Ney at its head, had reeled, hesitated, and fled under the fire of the unbroken squares; far to the east, through the shimmering dust-clouds, came the gray mustaches of old Blucher and his sturdy Prussians. The field of Waterloo was irretrievably lost. The time to retreat had come. The battle was lost; it was time to save the army.

Then it was that Napoleon drew inspiration from the street gamin of Paris. [Laughter.] Confident still in his destiny and bewitched by the rub-a-dub-dub of the little drummer-boy, he ordered the remnant of the guard to charge. Side by side with Cambronne and surrounded by the heroes of a hundred victories, he went in himself; and he came out, so Hugo says, "the mighty somnambulist of a shattered dream." [Laughter.]

Years afterwards, on St. Helena's stormy isle, chained like Prometheus to the ocean rock, unwritten history says the great Corsican fought his battles over again, and in tremulous accents left to his faithful Bertrand the dying injunction, "Put not your trust in drummer boys." [Laughter and applause.]

This country has gone far enough—it has gone too far—upon the road to Mexico. Threatened now with financial disaster, it is time to retreat. Let not our great commander heed the rub-a-dub-dub of the drummer boys of Missouri and Nebraska; let him rather listen to the throbbing heart-beat of a distressed and indignant people, and lead us back to the security of honest finance.

The battle for the free coinage of unlimited quantities of silver is irretrievably lost. There is yet time to save the armies of honest bimetallism. [Applause.]

Mr. IKIRT. Mr. Speaker, the question under consideration is of grave import and far-reaching effect. It reaches the hearthstone of every home in this broad land. It is, then, indeed proper that we approach it with calmness, solemnity, fairness, and a patriotic desire to reach the best solution possible with the least possible delay.

It is true that Thebes, that ancient city, had not more gates than have been the ways proposed by which to dispel the cloud that to-day hangs like a dark pall over the nation. And yet out of all the ways proposed not one is of such a character, by reason of the varied and various interests of our country, as to give assurance of concurrence therein of the two Houses of Congress.

This is not pleasant to contemplate I know full well, but it is true nevertheless; and there is nothing to be gained, but much to be lost, by closing our eyes to a painful fact when we should have them open to a full realization of the impending danger. It has been well and frequently said that history oft repeats itself, but I hope and sincerely trust that when the record of this extraordinary session shall have been made up, it will not be found to be a repetition of the history of the extra session called by President Harrison in 1841. Harrison having died, the session was held under Mr. Tyler, convened May 31 and ended September 13, 1841, and the record, as given by Cooper in "American Politics," says, "was replete with disappointed calculations and nearly barren of permanent results. The purpose for which it was called into being failed."

We are all, irrespective of party, doubtless, desirous that such shall not be the record and epitaph of this session, and yet many on the floor of this House feel assured that unless there is a coming together on some middle ground such may be the record; and it is believed and admitted that the United States Senate will not concur in the unconditional repeal of the silver-bullion purchasing clause of the Sherman law. Such being the situation, there is, then, great danger, that of this extraordinary session, called especially to furnish relief, it may be written, as of old, that it failed for the reason that—

> Man, proud man—
> Robed in a little brief authority,
> Plays such fantastic tricks before high Heaven
> As make the angels weep.

The extremes have taken their position. Come, let us in the spirit of conservatism reason together and see where lies conservative ground, if indeed there be such.

President Cleveland, in his message calling Congress to assemble, says:

I earnestly recommend the prompt repeal of the provisions of the act passed July 15, 1890 (the Sherman act), authorizing the purchase of silver bullion, and that other legislative action may put beyond all doubt or mistake the intention and the ability of the Government to fulfill its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognized by all civilized countries.

Mr. Cleveland has been criticised because he was not more explicit and failed to specify what was meant by other legislation after the repeal of the provision of the act authorizing the purchase of silver bullion. I see no valid reason why Mr. Cleveland should be criticised. The message is clearly on constitutional ground. It recommended the repeal of the silver-bullion purchase clause, and that other legislative action (said other legislative action to be, as a matter of course, the wisest and best that could be given the coun-

try at this time), and he asks that it be of such a character that it may put beyond all doubt or mistake the intention and the ability of the Government to fulfill its pecuniary obligations. How? In gold? No; he does not so state, but "in money universally recognized by all civilized countries." To my mind that is susceptible to the interpretation that gold, silver, and paper, all on a parity at home, must have been meant, and I am further strengthened in that belief by what he said in his letter of acceptance.

In his letter accepting the nomination for President, Mr. Cleveland discussed the money question in the following language, in a letter dated Gray Gables, September 26, 1892:

"Every dollar put into the hands of the people should be of the same intrinsic or purchasing power. With this condition absolutely guaranteed, both gold and silver can be safely utilized upon equal terms in the adjustment of our currency."

Now, I submit this proposition, that, inasmuch as the President has nowhere declared that he would not officially sanction a measure to coin silver at a proper ratio, that he wisely left both roads open for Congress to do its work and to criticise him under these circumstances and at this time, is premature and unwarranted.

There are conservative men upon the floor of this House that might vote for either unconditional repeal or repeal with conditions to give relief from the present tense financial condition, and, in view of the position of the Senate and the condition of the country, Mr. Cleveland showed his wisdom and patriotism in leaving both roads open. By so doing he says, in fact, to Senate and House, I expect you and the country expects you to agree on one or the other of these methods of giving relief.

The responsibility now rests with the two Houses of Congress, disregard it they may; escape it they can not.

It is therefore pertinent to inquire, not in a spirit of levity, but in all seriousness, "Where are we at?" and what authority have we for being where we are at?

I reply to the first that we are at the point where we must repeal a part of the act of 1890 unconditionally, or the whole of that act conditionally, or humiliate ourselves and the country. As the first seems impossible the second is the course still left open.

In reply to the second question as to our authority for being where we are at, that is, traversing the road of conditional repeal, I submit the authority of the finance planks of both the great parties, which read as follows:

GOLD AND SILVER.—We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in payment of debt; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

GOLD AND SILVER MONEY—The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government shall be as good as any other. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

The people having subscribed almost wholly to one or the other of these platforms must mean that as their expressed desire. We should then find the proper ratio in accordance with the commands of the people irrespective of party, class, or condition in life. The people, by subscribing to these platforms, having said to you, gentlemen upon the floor of this House and the honorable Senators assembled yonder, that we will be satisfied when you do this as nearly as possible according to your conscientious judgment, have said but one thing more since that time, and that is a universal demand that this work be accomplished without delay. It likewise should be heeded and the work promptly done. It has been argued upon the floor of this House that the present ratio is sufficient and should not be changed; that if it were not changed and the equal right to coinage with gold were extended to silver it would be all that is necessary and all the people desire.

This is the extreme silver view of the question and I deny that proposition. The people expect a dollar of increased intrinsic value and have so said in subscribing to those platforms, and while I admit that silver has greatly depreciated by reason of adverse legislation, yet with other present conditions it is unreasonable to assume that the intrinsic value of the silver dollar could immediately increase to any marked degree if the ratio of 16 to 1 obtain. Times and conditions change. This must be admitted by all. In the early history of our nation Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton believed, after mature investigation based on the history and customs of other countries, that a ratio of 15 to 1 was right, and that was accepted and continued down to 1834.

In 1834, the conditions having changed, the 15-to-1 theory, together with that ratio, was abandoned because the ratio was too high, was driving gold out and inviting silver in, and the present ratio, 16 to 1, substituted. I believe now that the conditions have so changed that the ratio should again be changed, and in making this change the conditions should be carefully considered.

Taking the average commercial ratio of silver to gold for the year 1873 (the year it was demonetized), which was 15.92, and the average commercial ratio in 1892, which was 23.72, we find the difference in the commercial ratio of the world to be 7.80, an increase of near one-half, and that the intrinsic value to-day, measured by the bullion value in the market of the world by the gold standard, which has in the meantime appreciated, the intrinsic value of the silver dollar is 58 to 60 cents.

But how much has the standard, gold, by which we compute the value of the bullion in the silver dollar, appreciated? This we must admit is an unknown quantity, but it is safe to assume it has appreciated. While the amount of silver in the silver dollar should be increased so as to bring its bullion value up to a point where, through international agreement anticipating the same, its intrinsic value can and will likely be made equal to its face value, it is not necessary to make its intrinsic value correspond with its face value under the unprecedented conditions of to-day. This to my mind is clear from the fact that, strictly speaking, there is in existence now no money anywhere that is universally recognized by all civilized nations.

The fact must be patent to all, that either gold, silver, or copper coins are money only in the nation that made them and that outside of that nation, they are, strictly speaking, treated as commodities only, and not money. I aver that while silver has depreciated by reason of natural laws, yet the decline is out of all proportion to what it properly should be; and in seeking to find the proper ratio which we could with propriety adopt we must then be guided by a comparison of commercial ratios through a period of years.

By reference to a table (page 50 of the Statistical Abstract, No. 15) it will appear that from 1872, the year previous to which silver was demonetized, down to and including 1878, a period of seven years, the commercial value fluctuated 2.31. That during the next seven years from 1879 to 1885, inclusive, the fluctuation was but 1.36 and that for six consecutive years of that period the commercial ratio never changed but a fraction from 18 to 1 while for the next seven years, including 1892, the fluctuation was 3.97.

It is further worthy of note that the average commercial ratio during that seven years period from 1879 to 1885 was 18.73 to 1. This too, after the full depressing effect of demonetization. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that a ratio of about 18 to 1, or 19 to 1, would be indicated and that the latter might be preferable in view of the fact that the United States would for a time at least have to maintain the coinage alone.

It has been argued to change the ratio would entail a large expense to recoin our 419,000,000 silver dollars. It is not absolutely necessary. What inconvenience would it be if we had two legal-tender silver dollars of slightly different sizes? None whatever. At the ratio of 19 to 1 your new dollar would contain about three-sixteenths more bullion and would be slightly thicker and heavier. No necessity, then, to recoin.

But if, on the other hand, the bullion now stored like so much cordwood in the Treasury was at once coined at 19 to 1, the Government would be the gainer to the extent of about $40,000,000.

But the rights and conditions of the West and particularly the silver States have been urged. I for one am not unmindful of their rights, but do regard them, while disregarding the threats. Private life is an Eldorado of peace that has no terrors for true manhood, while fear is the stalking specter of feeble minds, and word pictures of gory-charging squadrons but the transitory vapor of a superheated brain. I for one regard the rights of your "breadwinners" as I do the rights of all others, no matter where they toil, whether in the mines East or West, or whether they follow the corn row in the North or the cotton row in the South. I regard these classes everywhere, and maintain that labor should have the higher consideration by reason of the fact that it is above all, older than all, produces all, and pays for all.

But this measure, Mr. Speaker, has little of class legislation in it, since all classes have united in making the same request, and in complying with that request as best we may we are seeking to benefit all. The bimetallists are not unmindful of that other great principle that there are more than 65 millions of people whose best interests demand the careful maintenance of stability in values, and they, therefore, do not wish to see a further contraction.

Sirs, we have had too much contraction since 1866. Take the history of the ten years from 1866 to 1876, and behold the ruin and wreckage all along the wayside.

I desire to quote from the Machinery Moulder Journal for July, as follows:

On the 12th day of April, 1866, Congress passed a law authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to sell 5-20 bonds and with the proceeds retire United States currency, including greenbacks.

When this act was passed there was in circulation $1,996,687,770 of currency. During the year there were 520 business failures in the whole country, involving a loss of but $17,625,000. Labor was well paid and fully employed.

In 1867 the work of contraction was vigorously pushed and there were 2,386 failures, with a total loss of $86,218,000.

During the year 1868, $473,000,000 of money was called in and destroyed. The failures increased to 2,608, with a loss to creditors of $63,774,000. In 1869 over $500,000,000 of money passed into the cremation furnace, producing 2,790 business

failures and a loss of $75,054,900. Money growing tighter and wages lower. In 1870 only $67,000,000 was destroyed, and 3,551 failures were recorded, involving a loss of $88,242,000. Money was very scarce and wages were reduced all over the country. In 1871 $35,000,000 was retired and 2,915 failures reported, with a loss of $85,250,000. More men out of work and wages still going down. In 1872 only about $12,000,000 was destroyed, but such had been the strain upon the business of the country for the past five years that this proved the last straw to 4,069 business firms who went under, involving a loss of $121,058,000.

More cutting of wages, great uneasiness among the workingmen and strikes talked of. In 1873 the storm reached its climax. Notwithstanding that only $1,609,000 were destroyed, the people became panic-stricken, and 5,183 business firms were precipitated, with a loss of $228,499,000. Five hundred thousand men were out of employment, wages cut down all over the country, and strikes were of frequent occurrence.

Notwithstanding the terrible results of contraction in the previous year the work of destroying the money of the country—it's lifeblood—goes steadily on in 1874. In this year $174,579,045 in legal tender and fractional currency is destroyed, resulting in 5,832 failures and a loss of $155,239,000 to creditors. A million idle men begin to tramp the country in search of work to keep their families from starvation. Wages still decline and strikes more numerous.

In 1875 the volume of currency was reduced $40,817,418, and failures reached 7,740 with a loss to creditors of $201,060,000. Two millions of laborers out of work. Famine and hunger stares them in the face and tramping became a profession. In 1876 the contraction of the currency was estimated at a little less than 100,000,000, there being 10,000 failures with losses amounting to over $300,000,000. Three million men were out of employment, wages were cut down to the starvation point, and most of the States were enacting laws against the tramp nuisance. Strikes, riots, and general consternation seized the people and the circulation was cut down from a little over $40 per capita in 1866 to less than $10 per capita in 1876. In 1887 the great railroad strikes and riots stirred the country from end to end; the red torch of the vandal lighted up the country from Pittsburg to Chicago. Such is the history of the contraction of the currency and the resumption of specie payment.

Think you we need more contraction? I propose to treat this question fairly. I have no maledictions to heap on the heads of bankers; but in the light of the facts given it is so plain that none need err—that the interest of the small banker, the manufacturer, the farmer, and the wage-earner all lie on a common plane in this matter, and that he is a false friend that advises either of these classes that his interest will be benefited by a marked contraction such as the single gold standard people want. The only men benefited would be your very rich banker and retired business man that buy up mortgages.

Let us see; the United States Treasury is the great heart, the banks are the arteries, and the people are the veins, of business. Thus it will be seen the interest of all lies in the very opposite direction from contraction, and neither of these great classes is independent of the other. The normal working of all is just as essential to perfect financial prosperity as is the normal working of the heart, arteries, and veins to perfect physical health. I think the banks throughout the country, national and private, have done their best to breast the storm, and I, for one, give them credit for it; but do not for one moment think that I include in the list some of the associations on Wall street that are in league with Lombard street, and have contributed much to bring on the present condition. The country wants no further contraction.

On the contrary we need expansion, as the volume of business has far outgrown the available capital. I know of no process of legerdemain by means of which we can increase our circulating medium by striking down a very large portion of what we have. The principle is therefore wrong. The gentleman from Mississippi [Gen. CATCHINGS], who made the strongest argument, in my opinion, that has been made on this floor in favor of the single gold standard, admitted the effect would probably be, or might be, to increase the indebtedness on long time obligations. Then in the name of justice why largely increase such obligations? The bimetallists neither desire too much silver nor yet too little gold. They refuse to bow down to either the golden calf or the silver cow. They worship neither, but respect both. They recognize the interest of the whole people, while they regard the honor of the nation. I care not so much whether we have the precise dollar of the daddies in form, but I do care that we have an honest dollar, whether gold or silver. I mean a dollar that is honest toward the debtor and honest toward the creditor, and in no other way should this matter be settled in order to be right; for nothing is settled until it is right, eternally right. They remember that on the 1st of July, according to the Director of the Mint, that while the amount of silver in the Treasury is larger than the amount of gold, yet our entire stock of gold was estimated at that time at $654,000,000 and our entire stock of silver at $575,000,000.

In the light of that statement both these metals have rights which entitle them to consideration, and hence the desire of the true bimetallists, who are the only conservative element upon this floor, that both metals be used and recognized as money metals, as the Constitution designed. We have no right to demonetize either gold or silver. Now, having considered the extreme silver view, let us turn for a little to the views of the opposing extreme. It is claimed by the advocates of the single gold standard that unaided and alone the United States can not sustain the free coinage of silver at any ratio. They aver that international bimetallism is their aim, and I assume they are sincere, but declare it can only be reached through unconditional repeal of the purchase clause. If gentlemen really desire repeal why not so vote when the ratio is reached that they believe in? They are like the man that, figuratively speaking, has a patent on religion to the extent that he thinks (remember he is sincere, too) that no man can go to heaven except through his particular church.

But the two extremes then are a unit in desiring international bimetallism. The great question then is, How shall we attempt to reach it? Through monometallism or by direct bimetallism at home and a declaration of American principles? It is admittedly the harbor of rest, the sunny Italy of a more stable national prosperity all long to enjoy. But before the anchor is dropped in the harbor of rest comes the vicissitude of the voyage, before the higher prosperity of international bimetallism, the traversing of the Alps that lie before us, bold, rugged, and uninviting.

Again we are confronted with the fact that unconditional repeal being apparently beyond hope, international bimetallism must be obtained in some other way if at all. The allegation and theory that there is no other way, as the United States can not sustain bimetallism at any ratio, will bear investigation. It is said, that years ago a wise man racked his brain and burned the candle low at midnight to write a book proving that a steamship could not carry sufficient weight in coal to enable her to generate sufficient steam thereby to propel her across the Atlantic.

Inventors were at work and, strange to say, the first trip the ship made across the Atlantic she carried that book to America. Possibly the story is not true, but I add the moral which is both original and true. Theory may be, and often is, but a transitory dream, while fact is ever an abiding substance. Turn on the flash-light of fact, which is the argument of to-day and worth a thousand theories. It is known that France, with much less area and fertility in resource, did sustain bimetallism for a period as long as the children of Israel journeyed in the wilderness--seventy years, and that, at a ratio of 15½ to 1, she kept the metals together.

For explanation on this point, see Report of the Gold and Silver Commission, p. 83, sections 191 to 197, made by George Howell, M. P., and published in 1889. But again, on page 50 of the Statistical Abstract of 1892, the fifteenth number, will be found a statement of the commercial ratio of silver and gold for every year from 1687. It is a veritable mine of information on the subject of ratios, and shows that for two hundred years the commercial ratio never went higher than 1 to 16½, except in 1813, and that the ratios during that two hundred years remained at 15½ to 1, substantially, under all the various fluctuations of both metals by the production variations of each, and was not affected by the gold discoveries in either Australia or California, nor by the demonetization of silver by England, in 1816. It remained practically permanent under all conditions of peace and war, down to the demonetization of silver, in 1873, by the United States.

Then the commercial ratio that had been uniform and stable began to change, and has since for the last twenty years risen steadily, and in 1892 reached 23.72 to 1, the highest ever known to that time, and last month (July, 1893) was 28.52. I assert that this table which I here submit, is proof positive that the act of 1873, together with similar acts of other nations resulting therefrom, caused the marked change in the commercial ratio.

No. 28.—Commercial ratio of silver to gold for each year since 1687.

NOTE.—From 1687 to 1832 the ratios are taken from the tables of Dr. A. Soetbeer; from 1833 to 1878 from Pixley and Abell's tables; and from 1878 to 1892 from daily cablegrams from London to the Bureau of the Mint.]

Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.
1687	14.94	1722	15.17	1757	14.87	1791	15.05	1825	15.70	1859	15.19
1688	14.94	1723	15.20	1758	14.85	1792	15.17	1826	15.76	1860	15.29
1689	15.02	1724	15.11	1759	14.15	1793	15.00	1827	15.74	1861	15.50
1690	15.02	1725	15.11	1760	14.14	1794	15.37	1828	15.78	1862	15.35
1691	14.98	1726	15.15	1761	14.54	1795	15.55	1829	15.78	1863	15.37
1692	14.92	1727	15.24	1762	15.27	1796	15.65	1830	15.82	1864	15.37
1693	14.83	1728	15.11	1763	14.99	1797	15.41	1831	15.72	1865	15.44
1694	14.87	1729	14.92	1764	14.70	1798	15.59	1832	15.73	1866	15.43
1695	15.02	1730	14.81	1765	14.83	1799	15.74	1833	15.93	1867	15.57
1696	15.00	1731	14.94	1766	14.80	1800	15.68	1834	15.73	1868	15.59
1697	15.20	1732	15.09	1767	14.85	1801	15.46	1835	15.80	1869	15.60
1698	15.07	1733	15.18	1768	14.80	1802	15.26	1836	15.72	1870	15.57
1699	14.94	1734	15.39	1769	14.72	1803	15.41	1837	15.83	1871	15.57
1700	14.81	1735	15.41	1770	14.62	1804	15.41	1838	15.85	1872	15.63
1701	15.07	1736	15.18	1771	14.66	1805	15.79	1839	15.62	1873	15.92
1702	15.52	1737	15.02	1772	14.52	1806	15.52	1840	15.62	1874	16.17
1703	15.17	1738	14.91	1773	14.62	1807	15.43	1841	15.70	1875	16.59
1704	15.22	1739	14.91	1774	14.62	1808	16.08	1842	15.87	1876	17.88
1705	15.11	1740	14.94	1775	14.72	1809	15.96	1843	15.93	1877	17.22
1706	15.27	1741	14.92	1776	14.55	1810	15.77	1844	15.85	1878	17.94
1707	15.44	1742	14.85	1777	14.54	1811	15.53	1845	15.92	1879	18.40
1708	15.41	1743	14.85	1778	14.68	1812	16.11	1846	15.90	1880	18.05
1709	15.31	1744	14.87	1779	14.80	1813	16.25	1847	15.80	1881	18.16
1710	15.22	1745	14.98	1780	14.72	1814	15.04	1848	15.85	1882	18.19
1711	15.29	1746	15.13	1781	14.78	1815	15.26	1849	15.78	1883	18.64
1712	15.31	1747	15.26	1782	14.42	1816	15.28	1850	15.70	1884	18.57
1713	15.24	1748	15.11	1783	14.48	1817	15.11	1851	15.46	1885	19.41
1714	15.13	1749	14.80	1784	14.70	1818	15.35	1852	15.59	1886	20.78
1715	15.11	1750	14.55	1785	14.92	1819	15.83	1853	15.33	1887	21.13
1716	15.09	1751	14.39	1786	14.96	1820	15.62	1854	15.33	1888	21.99
1717	15.13	1752	14.54	1787	14.92	1821	15.95	1855	15.38	1889	22.09
1718	15.11	1753	14.54	1788	14.65	1822	15.80	1856	15.38	1890	19.75
1719	15.09	1754	14.48	1789	14.75	1823	15.84	1857	15.27	1891	20.92
1720	15.04	1755	14.68	1790	15.04	1824	15.82	1858	15.38	1892	23.72
1721	15.05	1756	14.94								

I challenge successful contradiction of this statement and this table upon the floor of this House. I further assert that if this table be not successfully contradicted, then it must stand as an irrefutable answer to the prophecy repeatedly made upon the floor by pseudo-prophets (I mean no disrespect by that term) that the United States can not sustain coinage of both metals because they will not stay together at any ratio.

I intimated that the act of 1873 led to similar acts on the part of other nations, which helped to account for the rapid and steady decline in commercial ratios since 1873. Now, what did happen? Previous to 1873 the great commercial nations, except England, made gold and silver interchangeable at fixed proportions—some making silver and some gold the national standard, but the greater number silver. Silver began to fall in 1873, when the United States and Germany changed their standard to gold. Then Belgium, France, Switzerland, and Italy, known as "The Latin Union," by reason of the action of the United States and Germany, denied the free right of mintage to silver. Thus it is clear the action of the United States and Germany compelled other countries to demonetize silver, and that increased both the demand for and potency of gold, and then began the scramble among nations for gold.

Thus America with Germany walked into the trap set by England in 1816 and caused other nations by necessity, and not from choice, to follow, with the result that in the same sense that the silver dollar is a dishonest dollar, the gold dollar is also a dishonest dollar. The gold dollar is dishonest just to the extent that the metal contained therein may have appreciated while the silver dollar is dishonest to the extent that the metal in it has depreciated, below the mean value of both metals. The one has gone above, the other below, the mean value of both metals.

That is all there is about it, except that legislation brought about by England, as she desired to establiah her supremacy as mistress of the financial world, is responsible directly for the legislation, while America is culpable for allowing herself to be entrapped. I have no censure to heap on anyone, and have been sorry to hear so much about the British lion from our Republican friends. The British lion was let in through the demonetization act in 1873 by Republicans and ever since; the American people, menaced by his lordship's financial presence, have been trying to turn him out again.

Our country is to-day, mid peace and plenty, brought face to face with a condition of great danger which by unwise legislation it brought upon itself. What is the remedy? Apply the principle "that God helps him that helps himself."

As there is not sufficient gold in the world to supply the demand; as two-fifths of the gold we produce is taken out in connection with silver and two-fifths of the silver of the world is produced by the United States, England naturally, in a financial sense, fears us more than any other nation and it follows, as the day the night, that we surely have a greater interest in ourselves than other nations have in us. Therefore it is proper that we move first in our own behalf and then ask other nations to join us. It would seem we can coin both metals at a ratio of 18 to 1 or 19 to 1 and practically keep them together and then when we appear at the fourth International Monetary Conference it will be in such a manner as to command respect and not as an humble humiliated subject. But we might not long be alone. Other countries equally anxious will join us and international bimetallism would more assuredly and more speedily come.

Gentlemen of the single gold standard only faith on the floor of this House have sought to appeal to the patriotism of their colleagues, but in vain. Their appeals touch no chord that vibrates in harmony with a supplicating, enervating policy.

Unlock the shackles and let America assert herself.

Speaking for myself and the very large majority of the 199,000 people I have the honor to represent, I believe in the use of both metals, and believe international bimetallism may be achieved in more ways than one; but I believe the surest and safest way is for the United States to declare herself. Sirs, we stand this hour in the uncertainty of a financial night; but while the night is not so dark as it has been painted, the call comes up from every farm, village, town, and city in this land, from banker, manufacturer, and wage earner. Watchman, what of the night? And may "Uncle Sam," the national watchman, by reason of the work here done, be enabled to answer back, the light cometh. May that light be to the people, when it shall come, as the first glint of morn to the bright and perfect day; the opening of the dawn of a truer, better, and more abiding prosperity than we have ever known before.

Mr. Speaker, gentlemen may talk of patriotism while the nation anxiously waits for something to be done. Speaking for myself, and myself alone, it looks to me as though what we need most at this time is another Declaration of Independence, and this time a declaration of financial independence; and in order to make it we need more of the spirit of Patrick Henry and John Hancock. We should rise equal to the emergency and preserve the honor of the nation as the people demand, by an unfaltering declaration that the United States of America no longer waits, but from this time assumes to lead.

Shall we, then, declare the ability of the country to take care of itself without dictation from a foreign monetary power that alone blocks the way to international agreement, and that will always dictate terms favorable to herself? Are we in this hour to halt and waver?

Mark it well, "To halt is to lose, and to waver is to fail." Said Patrick Henry, in the Virginia convention in 1775, and his words are applicable here and now: "They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week or the next year? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction?" Shall we? Again I ask, shall we be of the number of whom it is spoken in Holy Writ, "That having eyes see not, and ears hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation?"

Mr. Speaker, we shall see what we shall see; but may He that, all unseen, guided the prow of the Columbus fleet, and guarded the frail Mayflower to Plymouth Rock, in His Omnipotent wisdom ordain that we shall not thus humiliate our country by a policy both withering and blighting in its effects. [Applause.]

Mr. McDEARMON. Mr. Speaker, perhaps a more important session of Congress was never held in this country than this. A nation seems with bated breath to be awaiting with manifest impatience to hear what Congress is going to do in the present emergency when a phenomenal state of affairs exists. Suddenly, in the midst of plenty and contentment, when the husbandman is preparing to harvest and send to market a most bountiful crop, amidst the hum of industry on every side; when the nation is enjoying the blessings of health and prosperity; without apparent cause, a money panic spread its baneful shadow over our fair land; seized with insane fear, timid capital shrinks back into its covert and the lifeblood of commerce and industry is cut off and commercial congestion and paralysis result.

Banks have been wrecked, factory wheels are still, and the strange contagion is spreading to all departments of human effort. Tens of thousands of the unemployed throng the streets of our great cities; apprehension and fear rule the hour, and all eyes are turned toward Washington. It behooves us, then, to most earnestly and solemnly address ourselves to the consideration of the grave questions now under discussion. The President, in his message, attributes this strange condition of affairs to the operation of the act of July 14, 1890, and urges Congress to speedily repeal the obnoxious law.

Mr. Speaker, I most sincerely admire Mr. Cleveland. I honor him for his pure and exalted patriotism; I love him for his sturdy and courageous manliness; I revere him for the honesty of purpose and conscientious devotion to duty which have characterized his official life. America never produced a more heroic spirit, or a more loyal, true and noble citizen. And in many things, Mr. Speaker, I would be inclined to defer to his judgment and follow his leadership.

But, sir, after a most careful and thoughtful consideration of this great subject, and after having patiently listened to the many able and eloquent speeches which have been made on both sides in this great debate, I am reluctantly compelled to dissent from the recommendation of the President and to vote against the bill introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON].

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe this financial crash was caused by the operation of the Sherman act, or that that law has much, if anything, to do with it. It has been admitted by some advocates of the Wilson bill that the act of July 14, 1890, is not the cause of the present crisis. The most that can be fairly argued on that point is that the effect of that law, in connection with many other causes, has brought about the panic.

Mr. Speaker, the pages of history are replete with records of panics similar to the one which now afflicts the country. The Bank of England, the greatest financial institution that the world ever saw, has been frequently affected and endangered by panics. The advance of the Highlanders under the Pretender as far as Derby in 1745 caused a run on the banks which threatened the destruction of the "Old Lady of Threadneedle street," and she was saved by the device of making payments in shillings and sixpenses.

In 1792 a general panic took place in England and Wales, and three hundred of the three hundred and fifty banks then existing in those countries were compelled to stop payment, and fifty of them were utterly destroyed, causing an extent of misery and bankruptcy before unknown.

In 1797 a general panic caused the suspension of many banks and compelled the Bank of England to suspend specie payments.

In 1825 another great convulsion took place in England, which brought woe and dire distress in its train, and so from time to time these strange panics have occurred in Great Britain and often almost wrecked the Bank of England until 1844, when Sir Robert Peel procured the passage of the law which limits the general issue of the bank to £15,000,000; and for every note above

this amount that is issued to be secured by a deposit of its equivalent in coin in the bank, thus putting the bank upon a firm and apparently impregnable basis.

In the United States, between 1811 and 1820, about one hundred and ninty-five banks in different parts of the Union failed, causing a state of distress, as stated by the Secretary of the Treasury, in his report, dated May 12, 1820, so general and severe that few examples of the like had before occurred.

The great revolution of 1837, when every bank in the Union suspended, followed in 1857 by another mighty financial crash, when every bank from the Gulf to the Lakes again stopped payment. The great crisis precipitated by the failure of the firm of Jay Cooke & Co., in 1873, is fresh in the minds of most of us, to say nothing of the recent financial earthquake caused by the failure of the great banking house of Baring Brothers, which "shook realms and nations in its jar."

The annals of every other great nation furnish many similar examples of these bubbles which form and break ever and anon upon the tide of commercial life. A writer says:

A panic has no laws; it has no fixed shape; it is precipitated, we know not how; and we are in the midst of it before we are aware; "To attempt to define the condition of that which is, in its essence, unreasonable is a logical contradiction.

I respectfully insist, therefore, that when we carefully analyze the present crisis we will find it to be simply an old-fashioned panic, without any reasonable cause for its existence, and that its worst features are the result of that insane, unreasoning fright and dismay which always characterize large bodies of people when alarmed or panic-stricken; and that the only remedy is a little time, for these financial spasms are of short duration, and reason and good sense will surely and speedily resume their sway.

My humble opinion is that confidence would long since have been restored and the worst would have been over if this extra session had not been called upon the assumption that the Sherman law "was the Illiad of all our woes." I believe that many of the people most alarmed and most clamorous for the repeal of the Sherman act were unaware that there was a "Sherman law," and still less familiar with its nature or effects until their attention was directed to it by the President's message.

And, Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that the advocates of a single gold standard and circulation are taking an unfair and unpatriotic advantage of the unfortunate and deplorable state of things, and are appealing to the fears of the members of this House and the public in order to work its destruction to silver as money, and to fix upon the country as a permanent policy monometallism, which in my judgment is tenfold worse than the disease sought to be remedied.

The passage of the bill introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia would leave the country upon a gold basis pure and simple: it would be tantamount to a reënactment of the infamous and much abhorred act of July 14, 1873. In other words, Mr. Speaker, the issue is made clear and sharp between monometallism and bimetallism.

The great battle is now on. The enemy has selected his position, and planted his batteries; it is true he thinly disguised his frowning cannon, but it can scarcely be called a masked battery. The last clause or section of the Wilson bill, to the effect that the policy of the Government shall be to maintain the parity between silver and gold, is calculated to deceive but few: if it means anything, it can only mean that this parity between the silver coin now in circulation and gold is to be maintained. There is no promise, express or implied, that another silver dollar shall ever be coined by the American mints.

A careful reading of the President's message shows that he is opposed to further coinage of silver, and that he is unmistakably a monometallist, and would in all probability veto any bill that Congress might enact providing for free and unlimited silver coinage, or the further coinage of silver. The refusal of the opposition to accept any amendment to the bill proposed shows that their real policy is to adopt monometallism as the fixed policy of the country, as the Wilson bill unquestionably does.

If they are sincere in their professed willingness to legislate for the further coinage of silver, why do they not in this bill insert sections to that effect? The universal method of substituting one law for another is to enact the new law and repeal the old in the last section.

Mr. Speaker, it is palpable that in view of the recent shutting down of the East Indian mints against free coinage of silver and the consequent fall in the price of bullion the simple repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act without further, or other, legislation friendly to silver will be an abandonment of silver bullion to its fate; and will indeed be, in the eloquent language of the gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX], "the last tolling note of the funeral bell ringing over the doom of silver as money". Silver bullion is no exception to the universal and inexorable law of supply and demand.

Before it was degraded and dishonored by the law of 1873 it was equal with gold, and had been for "a time whereof the memory of man ran not to the contrary." Of silver, as of the ocean, it could then have been said in the language of the poet,

Time writes no wrinkles on thine azure brow.
As creation's dawn beheld thee, thou rollest now.

On account of the difference between the ratio of the metals of this country and the Latin Union in 1873 silver was at a premium over gold in the United States. But immediately upon the passage of the act of 1873 whereby the mints of the country were closed against silver, silver bullion began at once to decline, for the simple reason that the principal use to which that metal had been put, viz, its unlimited use as money at $1.2929 per ounce, was cut off, the demand was curtailed and limited; and as corn or wheat or any other commodity, if prohibited from being used to the extent it now is, or if the demand for it was cut off, would decline in market price, so silver yielded and obeyed the law of trade, and depreciated in value.

I am no apologist or defender of the Sherman act, but I submit that even as it is administered by the Secretary of the Treasury it is a slight support of silver, in that a market is provided for an amount of bullion each year nearly equal to the output of the American mines; and it is indisputable that it prevents silver from further declining.

And I further suggest that if, instead of storing the bullion in the Treasury, as has been and is being done, the Secretary of the Treasury would, as he is commanded to do by the act, have the bullion coined into American dollars, reserve enough to pay the outstanding Treasury notes issued in payment for the bullion, and cover the seigniorage or profit into the Treasury and pay it out on the various demands against the Government, thus increasing the circulation at least forty millions of dollars, this much-abused Sherman act would not be as black as it is painted; under it a constant inflation of the currency is had each month and the country is supplied with what the opposition claims is so much needed on Wall street, *i. e.*, more money. They, however, clamor for a repeal of the act, the cutting off of this addition to the currency, and a contraction of the volume of circulation. If one could have any faith in the sincerity of those who make this argument, he could but pity their judgment.

Mr. Speaker, I have been driven to the conclusion, from a careful perusal of Mr. Cleveland's message, and from close attention to the language and the trend of the arguments of the advocates of the Wilson bill, that the great struggle between monometallism and bimetallism is now in progress, and that a vote for the Wilson bill is a vote for the destruction of bimetallism as the permanent policy of this Government and the establishment of monometallism in its stead; if this bill becomes a law not another dollar will be coined in this day and generation, and very soon the work of retiring the silver coin now in the hands of the people will begin. Indeed, if this measure is adopted, it seems to me that the consistent and logical course to pursue would be, as suggested in the Washington Post of the 19th instant, to issue bonds and buy gold, and prepare to adopt the policy now practiced by England and other gold-standard countries.

Mr. Speaker, with the convictions I entertain as to the duty of a Representative of the people, I could not conscientiously vote for this bill, even if I were converted into the belief that it is a wise measure, for I think that a "public office is a public trust," as said by Mr. Cleveland. I was elected upon the Chicago platform and construed it in my speeches before my constituents to mean what it so plainly says upon the financial questions, and I feel that I would be guilty of a breach of trust and treachery, if forsooth, because there is a panic in Wall street and among the banks and merchants and business men at this moment, which I believe to be temporary, as I have argued, and which I am confident has no connection with the question before us, I should vote for a bill which would, in the strict letter, it is true, carry out one sentence of the platform, but would distinctly and clearly violate other and much more material and important declarations. I do not intend by anything I say to impugn the motives of any gentleman upon this floor, but I accord to each the same honesty of purpose which I claim for myself.

And I will say right here that I have a contempt for the threats which I have heard suggested by some of my associates on this side, to the effect that a member who votes for the Wilson bill will never be sent back here, etc. Mr. Speaker, a man who would not vote according to his convictions of right and duty regardless of its effect upon his chances of being returned to this floor is not worthy to sit here.

But, I repeat, with my convictions and understanding of my duty, if I was convinced of the wisdom of the proposed bill I

would not misrepresent my people, and if I could not cast my vote in accordance with their wishes I would resign my seat and go home and let a true exponent of their views be sent in my place. I believe the people are the sovereign rulers of this country and the majority of each Congressional district in this nation is entitled to have one vote recorded upon this and every other measure acted upon by this House as they desire it to be cast, and we are the instruments and trusted agents selected to cast those votes, respectively.

But, Mr. Speaker, I most earnestly and with all my soul believe that bimetallism is the best financial policy for the country, and that bimetallism is just, honest, and equitable to both the masses of the people and to the creditors of our nation, State, and individuals, and that with bimetallism as our permanent policy our beloved country will continue in its marvelous career of happiness, prosperity, and greatness; upon the other hand, I believe that monometallism would be unjust, vicious, and extremely disastrous to the tax-ridden and debt-burdened toiling millions of this great country.

I ask not proud philosophy to tell me that the contraction of the currency tends to reduce the prices of labor and commodities, adds to the burdens of those that "labor and are heavy laden," renders debts more difficult to pay, and increases the purchasing power of the money that is left, thereby enhancing the wealth of the wealthy, and adding to the luxury and ease of those who "toil not, neither do they spin." The college professors and authors of works on political economy all agree upon this undeniable and self-evident truth.

Mr. Speaker, silver has been one of the standards of value as far back as history, tradition, and God's revelation throws light upon the habits and customs of man. Both gold and silver were accumulated by the ancient Babylonians and Assyrian emperors. The Persian kings from the time of Darius levied tribute of gold upon India and of silver upon their other provinces. Gold and silver have been in all ages "a common drudge 'twixt man and man," measuring and being exchanged for every commodity bought and sold by the human race.

The production of these precious metals, while at times it fluctuates more or less, has on an average kept approximately equal pace through the centuries. The best authorities now estimate the amount of gold and silver coin in the world to be something like seven and one-half billion dollars, of which $3,733,000,000 is gold and $3,880,891,346 is silver.

In fixing the ratio between the two metals for coinage, the relative amount of each in existence should be and is considered, not the amount annually produced for any given period. This is demonstrated by the incident which happened during the period between the years 1851 and 1871, when about $2,500,000,000 of gold was coined; an amount almost equal to the entire stock of gold then in the world, and an amount largely in excess of the silver produced during the same period, as shown by the following table:

Estimated production of gold and silver from 1493 to 1879.

Period.	No. of years.	Amount in kilos.		Value in millions of francs.		Ratio of gold to silver.
		Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.	
1493–1520	28	162,400	1,316,000	560	292	11.3
1521–1544	24	171,800	2,165,000	592	481	11.2
1545–1580	36	273,000	10,976,000	940	2,438	11.5
1581–1600	20	147,600	8,378,000	508	1,862	11.9
1601–1620	20	170,400	8,458,000	587	1,880	13.0
1621–1640	20	166,000	7,872,000	572	1,749	13.4
1641–1660	20	175,400	7,326,000	604	1,628	13.8
1661–1680	20	185,200	6,740,000	638	1,498	14.7
1681–1700	20	215,300	6,838,000	742	1,520	15.0
1701–1720	20	256,400	7,112,000	883	1,580	15.2
1721–1740	20	381,600	8,624,000	1,314	1,916	15.1
1741–1760	20	492,200	10,663,000	1,695	2,370	14.8
1761–1780	20	414,100	13,055,000	1,426	2,900	14.8
1781–1800	20	355,800	17,581,000	1,226	3,906	15.1
1801–1810	10	177,800	8,942,000	612	1,987	15.6
1811–1820	10	114,400	5,408,000	394	1,202	15.5
1821–1830	10	142,200	4,606,000	490	1,023	15.8
1831–1840	10	202,900	5,964,000	699	1,325	15.7
1841–1850	10	547,600	7,804,000	1,886	1,734	15.8
1851–1855	5	987,600	4,431,000	3,402	985	15.4
1856–1860	5	1,030,000	4,525,000	3,549	1,006	15.3
1861–1865	5	925,600	5,500,000	3,188	1,223	15.4
1866–1870	5	954,500	6,666,000	3,305	1,488	15.6
1871–1875	5	853,400	9,847,000	2,940	2,188	16.0
1876	1	171,700	2,365,000	591.5	525.5	17.8
1877	1	182,800	2,428,000	629.8	539.8	17.19
1878	1	183,700	2,603,000	632.6	578.3	17.96
1879	1	156,900	2,557,000	540.3	568.2	18.39
RECAPITULATION.						
1493–1850	358	4,752,100	149,828,000	16,363	33,292	14.5
1851–1879	29	5,451,200	40,937,000	18,778	9,101	15.55

Estimated production of gold and silver from 1880 to 1892.

Period.	No. of years.	Fine ounces.		Value.	Value.
		Gold.	Silver.		
1880–1885	6	29,516,883	538,795,324	$614,168,000	$713,728,000
1886	1	5,127,750	93,276,000	106,000,000	120,660,000
1887	1	5,093,984	96,189,000	105,000,000	124,356,000
1888	1	5,316,412	109,911,000	109,900,000	142,107,000
1889	1	5,746,950	125,830,000	118,800,000	162,690,000
1890	1	5,473,631	133,213,000	115,150,000	172,235,000
1891	1	5,830,107	144,425,000	120,519,000	186,733,000
1892	1	6,328,272	152,062,000	130,817,000	196,605,000

The ratio was very slightly changed, if at all, by any nation in the world. It is true that several European nations, actuated by the same spirit of greed and avarice now manifested by some of the gold-standard advocates, demonetized gold under the pretext that gold was getting to be too cheap and was a base metal.

After the discovery of the great silver mines in the West the production of that metal was greatly increased, but not to as great a comparative degree as the production of gold in the first period named. Hence it would be unfair and unwise to fix the ratio upon any calculation as to the relative production of the two metals since 1871, for the same reason that it would have been wrong and unwise to fix it in 1871 upon the estimate of the production of the metals during the period between 1851 and 1871.

It is argued in substance by the advocates of the single standard that free coinage of silver at any ratio with gold could not be maintained by the United States alone; because they assume in the first place that silver bullion after the mints are opened would remain below the coinage value and that the same disparity between the market value of the two metals would continue as it now exists; and second, that not only would all the silver bullion in the world flow to your mints to be coined, but that many of the nations of the world which are on a gold basis would gather up their old silver coin, and send them also here to be converted into American silver coin, which, in case this Government should maintain the parity between the two metals—which could only be done by exchanging the one for the other—would be under that policy exchanged for gold coin only to be exported, to take the place of their silver coin imported as aforesaid. This is a familiar argument and is not without at least some plausibility, and deserves respectful attention; for, to my mind, it presents the main difficulty in the way of free coinage of silver, if indeed any difficulty really exists.

I respectfully submit that the first assumption that silver bullion would remain below par after our mints are opened to free coinage is unsound and ridiculous. "A thing is worth what it will bring," is a maxim as old and trite as it is true. One of the prime elements of the value of all commodities is the use to which they can be put, the demand for them, and the abundance or scarcity of the supply.

Silver is now below par as compared with gold, for the simple reason that its use is restricted to the arts and a very limited use for money purposes, whereas every ounce of gold that can be procured can be converted into a legal-tender money at a fixed sum at the mints of almost every country on earth. Its value is fixed by law and the demand or use to which it can be put is unlimited.

There is now over three thousand millions of dollars' worth of silver coin in circulation in the other countries of the world outside of the United States, and it has been thus circulating for centuries. Gold-standard England has over a hundred million dollars' worth of silver subsidiary coin; France, seven hundred million; Germany, two hundred and five million; Spain, one hundred and twenty-five million; India, nine hundred million; China, seven hundred million, and every country under the sun has millions of silver coin which is performing every function as a medium of exchange that can be performed by gold, and as subsidiary coin it is preferred to gold the world over. About 90 per cent of the silver coin in the world is in circulation in the countries outside of the United States.

This vast and enormous quantity of silver coin has circulated for centuries, and the volume is kept up and increased year by year to meet the requirements of the constantly multiplying population of the various countries by immense additions, by free coinage, or by purchases by the respective governments for coinage.

The minority report of the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures of the Fifty-first Congress shows that, according to the figures of the Director of the Mint, the total coinage of silver outside of the United States for the years 1887, 1888, and

1889 was $327,901,031, an average of over $109,000,000 per annum. This amount included some $20,000,000 of recoinages, which being deducted, leaves about $90,000,000 of new silver which the world, outside of the United States, needs and actually coins each year, which amount increases every year; and it is estimated that this demand for new silver, to keep up the volume of circulation of other countries, is about equal to two-thirds of the world's supply of silver.

It seems to me to be absurd to say that all or any of the other countries of the world, after using silver from the earliest dawn of history, now wish to exchange it for gold, and are lying in wait for this country to open its mints again, and will, in that event, at enormous expense collect up their coin and ship it to our mints to be coined at a ratio greater than that prevailing anywhere on earth for our present ratio of 16 to 1 is the highest in the world—except, perhaps, Mexico and Japan—which of itself would be a loss to them of from 3 to 12 per cent.

Why, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. McCREARY], in his able, fair, and eloquent speech delivered upon this floor the other day, stated (and he is borne out by the report of the proceedings of the International Monetary Conference which assembled at Brussels last fall) that—

> The feeling among her people (England) in favor of international bimetallism has greatly increased in the last few years, and again the day will come when he (Mr. Gladstone) will cease to be prime minister of England; then friends of bimetallism, with such leaders as Balfour, Goschen, Houldworth, Thompson, Chaplin, Archbishop Walsh, and many others, will show to the world that they appreciate the value of international bimetallism, and a new monetary policy will be inaugurated in England which other countries in Europe will follow.

It is well known that the countries composing the Latin Union—France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, and Greece—as well as other nations of Europe, have a bimetallic system similar to ours at present, and are prompted by the interests and desires of their people to favor the increased and enlarged use of silver; and for the reasons given by the gentleman from Kentucky.

I think it clear that if this, the greatest nation of earth, should boldly take the lead and go to free coinage at 16 to 1, the nations of Europe, instead of combining to defeat the object so much desired by all or most of them, as demonstrated by the gentleman, would joyfully applaud our course and follow our example; and, Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, permit to me say that I shall stand upon and defend with my vote and my feeble voice every plank in the Chicago platform, and I feel that I have as much right to disregard or violate that plank which demands a revision of the nefarious and villainous McKinley tariff as to refuse or postpone until an international conference can be had, or until the gorged and fatted plunderers of the substance of the toilers in the fields, who constitute the great majority of all who labor with their bodies in our land, should become satiated and cry, "Hold, enough," as to fail to do all I can to bring about the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country and to insist upon the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal, or charge for mintage.

The Democratic party, after a lapse of over thirty years, has been restored to full power and control of this nation; the people have trusted us and lodged in our hands a power and dominion which, if Alexander the Great had possessed, he would not have wept for other worlds to conquer, but would have trembled at the thought of assuming such responsibility; the happiness, the peace, the liberties, and the prosperity of nearly seventy millions of the bravest, brainiest, and noblest people that ever lived upon God's footstool are intrusted to our custody for a time.

But I remind my fellow Democrats upon this floor that the keen and critical eyes of our masters are upon us, our every word and action are being weighed and scrutinized, and as sure as there is a sky above us, if we falter or hesitate in the discharge of the vows we made them, or if the grasp of our hand upon the helm of state betrays the slightest tremor, evidencing weakness or cowardice, the thunders of their indignant wrath will smite our ears and we will be unable to face them as faithful stewards.

When the Democratic party last year was true to its teaching and ancient traditions, and became inspired with that divine courage which conquers defeat and declared for a tariff for revenue only, and nominated an ideal exponent of that doctrine, the people believed it and trusted it, and in the mightiest political revolution ever witnessed on this planet the Republican party was dethroned and destroyed, and Democracy was restored to its former dominion.

But, my colleagues, if we begin our career by forgetting our pledges to the people, or dare to break our covenants with them, or cease to remember the mission we were sent to perform, our doom will be read in the scowling faces of our constituents and our reign will be short. [Applause.]

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, I must confess that I occupy the time of the House with some trepidation. I have been told since I came here that the people of the West, where money is scarce, where they are poor, have no right to a positive opinion upon these subjects; that they must come to the great centers, where wealth is accumulated in vast amounts and where the great operations or exchanges of the country are carried on, before this subject can be understood. I desire to say that I do not agree with that idea. I have read a good many commentaries on the Merchant of Venice; and not even among the most profound German commentators has there been evolved the idea that Shylock possessed any of the qualifications of a professor of political economy. There was another distinguished accumulator of wealth known not far from New York a great many years ago; but I have never heard that Captain Kidd "as he sailed" was supposed to have any of the qualities which rendered him fit to be a teacher of monetary science. There have been worthy successors to Captain Kidd in the vicinity of New York in the last twenty years; but we of the West do not feel that we are obliged to accept our opinions on these subjects from men who accumulate wealth by such or similar processes.

Who are these people in the great West who are so treated with contumely and scorn—this remote and alien horizon, as it seems to be to some of these people. Let me call your attention for a moment to the manner in which that country has been settled and the class of men who occupy those magnificent plains.

At the close of the greatest war that this world has ever seen, your younger brothers and your sons turned from the scenes of that great combat. The flame of battle still in their faces, begrimed with powder, they turned their steps to the great West. In that transmissouri region they have built up empires; they have faced all the privations, all the sufferings. With their young wives they went out into the wilderness, and they have builded an empire where beats the heart of this great American continent.

Wherever the bread of life is eaten all over this globe men rise up and call them blessed. And all over the prairies of that region are dotted the graves of those wives gone down prematurely with unrewarded, unrequited toil. Those people have been the victims for twenty years of the avarice, of the remorseless greed, of the concurrence of selfish interests which seems to guide and control the eastern part of the country. It is time, sir, that they should rise in revolt, and that they should demand of both these great parties the rights which have been so long denied them, which have been so long falsely promised and refused.

The political parties of this country have boasted time and time again of the loyalty, of the devotion to party, which those people have displayed. For a quarter of a century Kansas was the tenth legion in the army of the Republican party. Her eagles never turned their backs on the enemy nor were ever bowed in defeat. For a quarter of a century the gentlemen on the other side of the House have admired the dogged persistency and devotion which the Democracy of that State has displayed. Like the "old guard" they might die, but they never surrendered. Again and again they came up in line of battle and met inevitable defeat, true in every respect to the traditions of the Democracy.

Both of these great parties in their political platforms from 1873 down to 1892 have promised over and over again that the straw should not be taken away from them, that their tale of bricks should not be produced at the expense of any more or greater effort than when the contract was made.

What were the conditions that these people found when they went into that region? I happen to know, as I was there with them at an early day, that they found the whole of that vast region had all practically been preëmpted by the widows and orphans and servant girls that we are told constitute the creditor classes of the East. These enterprising individuals had all gone out there, and, through land-grant railroads, through the acquisition of magnificent Indian reservations, and by other means, all of those magnificent prairies had been taken possession of by these people here. The settlers had to pay an increased price. Instead of getting their lands, as they should have done, from the Government, they had to pay millions and millions of dollars of profit into the coffers of these parties in the East. If they wanted to build schoolhouses, railroads, or any other improvement, the money was always ready and forthcoming—for a consideration. Bonds were voted everywhere. These railroads, which had been endowed by the Government, took advantage of their opportunities to pit neighborhood against neighborhood, county against county, for the voting of greater and greater amounts of bonds. We have been covered with debt, because we had faith in the future, because we had faith in our country, and we had faith in the great political parties that we believed would do us justice.

We believed that the means which were promised for increasing the amount of money for the payment of these debts would continue and not be denied us. There were men in those days who said we could depend upon it.

Let me call your attention, Mr. Speaker, to the utterance of one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of Americans. Mr. Lincoln, in an interview with Mr. Colfax, who was about to visit the West, said to him on the day he ended his life:

> Mr. Colfax, I want you to take a message from me to the miners whom you visit.

I have very large ideas of the mineral wealth of our nation. I believe it practically inexhaustible. It abounds all over the western country, from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, and its development has scarcely commenced. During the war, when we were adding a couple of million of dollars every day to our national debt, I did not care about encouraging the increase in the volume of our precious metals. We had the country to save first. But now that the rebellion is overthrown, and we know pretty nearly the amount of our national debt, the more gold and silver we mine, we make the payment of that debt so much the easier. Now—

Said he, speaking with more emphasis—

I am going to encourage that in every possible way. We shall have hundreds of thousands of disbanded soldiers, and many have feared that their return home in such great numbers might paralyze industry, by furnishing, suddenly, a greater supply of labor than there will be demand for. I am going to try to attract them to the hidden wealth of our mountain ranges, where there is room enough for all. Immigration, which even the war has not stopped, will land upon our shores hundreds of thousands more per year from overcrowded Europe. I intend to point them to the gold and silver that wait for them in the West. Tell the miners for me that I shall promote their interests to the utmost of my ability, because their prosperity is the prosperity of the nation; and—

Said he, his eye kindling with enthusiasm—

we shall prove, in a very few years, that we are indeed the treasury of the world.

In addition to that, sir, I remember well myself hearing a speech which Mr. Blaine made in our country some twenty years ago, in which he said that we need no longer concern ourselves with regard to the rates of freightage to the Atlantic seaboard; that in a few years the Western mountains would furnish a market for all we should produce; that it was the great mineral storehouse of the world; and so from that time on down we have been encouraged to believe that those who went into these mountains and those who went on the plains would alike meet their reward.

We have believed that their efforts would be encouraged and that they would receive the final reward which their unexampled toil and bravery entitled them to.

Now we have our friends in the East whose eyes seem to be all turned in the other direction. They are more concerned with regard to the rate of exchange on London than in regard to the great internal financial interests of this country. They continually tell us that we will sink into the condition of Mexico. That if we remonetize silver it will put us on a silver basis and drag us down.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask these gentlemen if they consider that the condition of Mexico is owing to the fact that their currency is silver, or to the fact that they have not enough of silver? They are a poor people. They produce but little, and to ascribe their poverty or ignorance to the metal they use in their exchanges is absolutely absurd. And I wish to say further that, supposing we should come to that point, and we should for a time be placed on a silver basis, as an American I should not consider that an irretrievable mischief.

President Andrews, of Brown University, says:

I propose to consider what in all probability would come to pass should the United States begin free coinage alone. No doubt after the first stringency accompanying the announcement of a free-coinage policy, a stringency arising from the fact that gold would be instantly withdrawn from circulation, while silver could be coined to take its place but slowly, our country would derive great advantage from siding with the silver status. The fall of prices would be stayed, perhaps some rise of prices ensue, besides the United States would take its place as the one great manufacturing nation of the silver world, and derive from that position the immense gain which England has hitherto reaped, but largely lost by the demonetization of silver. We should manufacture for Mexico, South America, China, and Japan, and England, owing to the lack of par exchange with them, would lose most or all of their custom. No doubt here is a splendid chance. We may effectually dish England as a manufacturing and commercial nation by the means suggested. I do not wonder that this prospect carries away so many, for it is indeed a glorious one.

And I should be proud if we could have a financial arrangement with the vast empire south of us, the vast undeveloped region which affords the nearest market for our manufactured products, our agricultural products, and our steel and iron, for years to come.

We can well afford to drop our financial relations in the way of borrowing money with Great Britain or with any of the other powers. In fact, on this subject of borrowing money, which seems to be the leading argument of the gentleman from New York, I have pretty nearly reached the opinion of old Polonius, that for a time it would be better for us—

> Neither a borrower nor a lender be;
> For loan oft loses both itself and friend,
> And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry.

I do not regard our condition as a perpetual borrower of Great Britain to be one that will lead us ultimately to the high position that we ought to occupy. I believe that by the adoption of a liberal remonetization of silver, as it was prior to 1873, we will so encourage the production of wealth, we will so encourage the accumulation of capital, that we will in a short time be rendered independent of those people. Capital is timid, but after all I have never yet known conditions to be so risky or so fearful that capital will not seek the more profitable investment. A great and growing country like this will attract capital, whether the par of exchange be maintained at all times or not. That has nothing whatever to do with it, and would not present any insuperable obstacle to the doing of business with those great people.

A great many of the gentlemen who have spoken on this subject, who call themselves international bimetallists, seem to be willing to aid to precipitate in Europe another fall in prices so aggravated that the most obdurate banker of Lombard street will have to admit that gold can not be safely taken as the sole metallic money in order to bring about silver coinage in this country. They seem to be willing to perform the part of Sampson. They are willing to pull the pillars of the temple down, to destroy their enemies, regardless of the consequences to themselves or to their countrymen. I have no special desire to destroy Great Britain or to destroy France. The prosperity of those people is a matter which vitally affects us, but I certainly would not seek to advance it by first destroying ourselves. I am more inclined to respect the opinion of the great people in the West on these matters when I recall the speech which Edmund Burke delivered on the floor of the House of Commons in defending Woodfall, the publisher of the Letters of Junius. He exclaimed:

The wisdom of the whole nation can see farther than the sages of Westminster Hall. The collective knowledge and penetration of the people at large are more to be depended on than the boasted discernment of all the bar. The reason is clear: Their eyes are not dazzled by the prospects of an opposite interest. The Crown has no lure sufficiently tempting to make them forget themselves and the general good.

And I desire to commend that extract to gentlemen who some day may find inconsistency a hobgoblin if they do not now find consistency having anything frightful to them.

Why should we not do then, Mr. Speaker, what the great majority of the people have so often desired, what they have time and time again expressed themselves as in favor of? How should we arrive at what is the opinion of the majority of those people, or what is the opinion of the great mass of the people? Is there any better means of arriving at it than to study the political platforms which for twenty years have been made with special reference to catching the majority of votes? There is not a single solitary exception in any of the platforms in any of the parties, where the delusion has not been held out that they intended to remonetize silver. Ever since the great revolt in 1878 no public man has dared to face these people upon any other kind of pretense. They have one and all endeavored to give the impression, no matter what their real opinions were, that they would consult the wishes and the will of the people; and I wish to say that the time has come when the people are becoming indignant, when they deem it a crime that public office is not treated as a public trust, when political expediency and jugglery will no longer avail.

Now, sir; we are told that the sum of iniquities, that the cause of all this trouble and unrest, is the purchasing clause of the Sherman bill; and we are brought here for the express purpose of repealing that law. That is supposed to be all that is necessary to put us back upon the high road to prosperity.

Why, gentlemen, we in the West some five to eight years ago began to see that there were a great many causes conspiring to this unfortunate end. The present condition is but the culmination of those causes, most of them antedating by years this Sherman bill. The people of the West as a rule did not approve of the Sherman bill. They did not consider that it was in accord with true monetary principles; but the Republican party enacted it and the Republicans of the West accepted it as affording some measure of relief. It was not all that they desired, yet they thought in time free coinage would come; and it did make a positive addition to the currency; and had it been administered by its friends, I have no doubt that it would have been a powerful auxiliary in reëstablishing the remonetization of silver.

We do not regard it as a vital thing in the present condition. While, as I say, we do not regard it as a proper monetary measure, yet we do not propose to repeal that which we have, without some knowledge of that which will come hereafter. We desire to know that the pledges of the Democratic party—that being the party in power, that being the party which we have all looked to more or less as intending to act in good faith and honestly in this matter—we look to that party to carry out the platform as an entirety. We do not consider that it is legitimate to select a single clause and to act upon that in a manner which will jeopardize for years to come the vital principle of free coinage.

In the State of Kansas there is no division on this question; Democrats, Republicans, and Populists alike are all agreed that we will stand by the Sherman act until we get free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1. [Applause.] There is nothing indistinct in the utterances from that part of the country. There are no juggleries in language out there. They say exactly what they mean, and propose to do exactly what they say. There will be no chance for any party in this country that does not stand upon that platform so far as that part of the country is concerned.

Now, sir, this question has been thoroughly examined. It has been taken before conferences and before commissions without end, where the ablest and most expert financiers have controlled. The argument has been gone over and over, and our people out there are impatient of delay. They say the time has come when you must act, when you must say what you mean. I desire to have the Clerk read an extract from the unanimous decision of the great English monetary commission, which practically covers the points that have been so much discussed. It will show that a commission composed of twelve men, six bimetallists and six monometallists, unanimously agreed on the power of a single nation to fix the ratio, not only in her own limits, but in outside countries, a nation not comparable

in strength, commerce, importance, population, territory, or resources, to this great country of ours.

The Clerk read as follows:

Now, undoubtedly, the date which forms the dividing line between an epoch of approximate fixity in the relative value of gold and silver and one of marked instability, is the year when the bimetallic system which had previously been in force in the Latin Union ceased to be in full operation, and we are irresistibly led to the conclusion that the operation of that system, established as it was in countries the population and commerce of which were considerable, exerted a material influence upon the relative value of the two metals.

So long as that system was in force we think that, notwithstanding the changes in the production and use of the precious metals, it kept the market price of silver approximately steady at the ratio fixed by law between them, namely, 15½ to 1.

Section 196. Nor does it appear to us *a priori* unreasonable to suppose that the existence in the Latin Union of a bimetallic system with a ratio of 15½ to 1 fixed between the two metals should have been capable of keeping the market price of silver steady at approximately that ratio.

The view that it could only affect the market price to the extent to which there was a demand for it for currency purposes in the Latin Union, or to which it was actually taken to the mints of those countries, is, we think, fallacious.

The fact that the owner of silver could, in the last resort, take it to those mints and have it converted into coin which would purchase commodities at the ratio of 15½ of silver to 1 of gold, would, in our opinion, be likely to affect the price of silver in the market generally, whoever the purchaser and for whatever country it was destined. It would enable the seller to stand out for a price approximating to the legal coin and would tend to keep the market steady at about that point.

Now, sir, this is what the people believe and have a right to believe.

And, sir, as the doctors are so confused, would it not be well as a representative body to be guided by what the people want, and to make an honest effort to execute the popular will? Is there doubt in any man's mind what that is? That in spite of the tremendous enginery that has been employed to turn them, the vast majority of the people of this country for twenty years have steadily and continuously struggled with wonderful patience and persistency to have silver placed back on the throne from which it has been expelled, but which it has never abdicated.

The simple fact that every political party in this country has in all this time recognized this demand, and everywhere has promised, or pretended to promise, to be governed by it, is an all-sufficient proof of the fact. That they have juggled with words till they quarrel among themselves as to what their platforms really mean only adds to their deeper damnation.

Let me quote from a distinguished Senator [Ingalls]:

I say, if without impropriety I may do so, to the Executive of the nation, that there will come a time when the people will be trifled with no longer on this subject. Once, twice, thrice, by Executive intervention, Democratic and Republican, by parliamentary proceedings that I need not characterize, by various methods of legislative jugglery, the deliberate purpose of the American people, irrespective of party, has been thwarted; it has been defied; it has been contumaciously trodden under foot; and I repeat to those who have been the instruments and implements, no matter what the impulse or the motive or the intention may have been, at some time the people will elect a House of Representatives, they will elect a Senate of the United States, they will elect a President of the United States, who will carry out the pledges and execute the popular will.

In all this discussion as to the single standard and double standard it is strange that no mention has been made of that which is the single and only standard by which we form the mental conception, which we call exchangeable value, and that is, human effort or labor. The average labor cost of the greatest number of articles involving human effort would be the nearest possible approach to an unvarying standard. Gold and silver bullion are simply two commodities selected and used by society at something near the average cost in labor, as an expression of this idea, having in the smallest bulk the greatest labor cost.

That the accidents of mining and the vicissitudes attending the production of the two would have an average of fluctuation less marked in range than would one is unquestionable, and the average price line which is established by the mean between the two metals is the nearest approach to stability which we can have.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] is partially right in contending that there is a tendency to the alternate actual use of the metals, and it is in that very fact that, as so superbly shown by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN], exists the automatic regulation which tends to insure stability. As a man in walking rests his weight first on one foot and then the other, his stability would not be increased by cutting off one of his legs and leaving him to hop on one alone. [Applause.]

Here the hammer fell.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman from Kansas has expired.

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, if I can be recognized, I will state that the only speaker to follow the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS] is my colleague [Mr. BELL], and at his suggestion, I ask that the time of the gentleman from Kansas be extended at least five minutes, so that he may follow the present thread of his argument.

There was no objection.

Mr. HARRIS. I simply wish to add a quotation from Francis A. Walker:

The abandonment of silver will result in the enhancement of the burden of all debts and fixed charges, acting as a drag upon production, and suffocation, strangulation, are words hardly too strong to express the agony of the industrial body when embraced in the fatal coils of a contracting money.

Now, sir, the supply of the two metals has never been so great that the prices of other things have been very greatly raised at any time, and now that a determined effort to destroy the use of one metal, and thereby double the demand for the other, is being made, as an undoubted result prices have been falling all over the world with all of the dire results which universally follow such a condition, and which will result in the ruin of all debtors and the steady concentration of wealth in the hands of the few.

One of England's truest poets once, at such an era, exclaimed:

Ye friends to truth, ye statesmen who survey
The rich man's joys increase, the poor's decay,
'Tis yours to mark how wide the limits stand
Between a splendid and a happy land.

Whenever men have protested against the metallic base as narrow, fluctuating, often insufficient almost to ruin, at other times flowing in with such abundance as to lead to wild excitement and speculation for short periods, as unscientific and unphilosophic, they have been met with the argument that God made these metals for man's needs.

With our catechism we have been taught that the precious metals were provided for the use of mankind as money, that the automatic theory was something sacred; that human intelligence and honesty were all insufficient to regulate or restrain human authority in providing society with a medium of exchange and that only the limitation of nature could and should be trusted with this greatest of functions. When darkness covered the world and civilization was about to perish it was a providential interposition that inspired Columbus to open the way to the metallic treasures of the New World. Again, when from the same cause, in the first half of the century, poverty, suffering, and discontent opened the bloody gates of revolution upon Europe, divine pity directed men to the golden store of California and Australia, and hope returned to the hearts of the people, civilization, with its science, art, and literature received a mighty impetus and the world laughed.

Allison, alluding to the discovery of the silver mines of Mexico and Peru in the sixteenth century, and of the gold mines of California and Australia in this, says:

If ever the benevolence of the Almighty was clearly revealed in human affairs, it was in these two decisive discoveries made at such periods; and he who, on considering them, is not persuaded of the superintendence of an ever-watchful Providence would not be convinced though one rose from the dead.

Predicting the great output of gold, he says:

Before half a century has elapsed prices of every article of commerce will be tripled, enterprise proportionately encouraged, industry vivified, debts and taxes lessened.

And—

We can now contemplate with complacency any given increase in mankind; the growth of their numbers will not lead to the aggravation of their sufferings.

Hardly, however, had these words been written when a new gospel was discovered and preached. It was found that this "happiness of mankind" was about to interfere with the interests of a small but powerful class, debts were being paid too rapidly and easily, "the financial world was becoming saturated with gold" (Chevalier), the debtor was about to escape, and human intelligence and honesty were now invoked to stop the flow of God's beneficence. But the memories of revolution were too fresh. As Mr. A. Allard (delegate of Belgium to the Brussels conference) says:

We had just left 1848 behind us. Besides, both prophets of good and of evil were disappointed, and the stream of gold gradually diminished.

The numbers and needs of mankind continued to increase, however, to 1860 to 1870 found half the civilized world on a paper basis, the arts and natural loss depleting the accumulated stock more and more, the strain and stress again began to be felt, when lo! a miracle—in the West the dawn of light appeared.

A third time (under the automatic theory) God turned again His face towards His creatures, and from the frowning heights of our Western mountains a silver rivulet began to descend. The parched and thirsty earth was gladdened at the sight and mankind rejoiced. Here in our own country we were inexpressibly exhilarated, saved from the reaction of a great war; a new field opened for the bold and active; the road to resumption made plain and easy; the great debt of the nation to be paid as no other had ever been. We girded up our loins, and, full of hope and courage and patriotism, we started on our great work. But we reckoned without our host. A new power now essayed to dominate the world; somewhat timid in 1857, it had grown great on the world's misfortunes or mistakes.

The "bondholder" asserted his right to limit the means of the debtor to pay, and the "financier" waved his glittering wand before the eyes of the people, and from the rosy mists of confidence evolved castles of credit-currency upon the steadily thinning foundation of gold, and claimed that under the modern art of exchanges (swapping checks) practically so much metal money was a burden, a relic of barbarism, cumbrous and to be abandoned; and so the work was done, this time silver, the selected victim. Here it was done "in the night," no man daring openly to avow the full design, nor to this day has any party dared to face an indignant people with a frank avowal of such a purpose.

The two great parties have

Paltered with us in a double sense,
Keeping the word of promise to our ear
And breaking it to our hope.

Grudgingly have they been forced to concede various paliative measures, all alike unfairly and dishonestly administered. The last (the Sherman law), a compromise forced upon us, a monstrosity, a violation of every principle, and, as administered, an open dishonoring of silver as a money metal, and yet to-day it, instead of being the cause of gold leaving us, is, to the extent to which the currency has been increased, standing between us and panic.

Gold is leaving us. Why? Because the world is trying to keep warm under a blanket all too small, and each nation is tugging for a part of it. Austria is paying a premium (4 per cent bonds at 95½ or less). The Baring failure, and later the Australian crash, started a flood of our bonds home, to save the gold-based English credit system from a collapse not yet ended.

An unfavorable balance of trade, in spite of high tariff, if not caused by it, and a determined effort to scare the nation from its purpose, and this outflow was in no way to be prevented or cured by going in debt or issuing bonds. "We are like children who make a shadow on the wall, and are as alarmed at it as if it were a reality."

Had we never demonetized silver "the shadow would never have existed and we would still be in that era of prosperity which we regret to-day" (Allard).

If the flow of gold is a misfortune, which I do not believe, why not check it, as would England, France, or Germany when demanded for export? The law gives Mr. Carlisle the option in payment of Treasury notes to coin silver and use it. The "honest dollar" is the dollar of the contract; no more, no less. Open the mints, coin dollars "of the present weight and standard of fineness." Establish "parity" by parity of use. To expect the bullion values of gold and silver to approach equality, with one sustained by an increased demand originating in legislative action, and an open mint with its fixed unfailing price, while the other is made a commodity, to be purchased at the lowest bid, is an absurdity and a sham.

Give both equal treatment and fixed mint values, then if in due time there should be any inequality, exercise the constitutional right "to regulate the value thereof" in the interests of the great "plain people" of the country. But, says some bright genius, "the silver miners will be benefited." Why should we hate the silver miner or love him less than the man who with a minimum of cost washes the gravel of placers for gold? Shall we freeze because the coal miner might make a profit on coal?

Let no one think that there is unjust prejudice against the legitimate and well-guarded use of bank credit currency; but no one will deny that it is the most subtle and dangerous form of inflation known to the world, and capable of being used to the greatest injury of mankind, especially when the reserve of money of redemption is admitted by all to be inadequate, as is the case with gold.

With all the gold and all the silver the world will still be scantily supplied and the arts will more and more encroach on the stock accumulated.

Let us lead the way alone, and the world will follow. Otherwise the metallic basis for money, or automatic theory, will be forever destroyed by the calamities which will follow and overwhelm us in the attempt to do the business of the world on bank credits resting on the basis of diminishing gold, for the benefit of the "financiers." [Applause.]

Mr. BELL, of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, however we may disagree upon other matters I think we may unite upon these propositions:

First. The demand for money of some kind is equal to the sum of our demands for all other purchasable things.

Second. That our trouble does not arise as to differences between varied products of the field and shop, but the discrepency arises between all of the products of toil and promiscuous property on one side and legal-tender money on the other.

Third. That there is not a depreciated coined silver dollar in France, the United States, or any other great nation, and in the United States coined silver is at a premium over gold.

Fourth. That when silver was demonetized and reduced to a commodity it was at a premium, and that no political party, newspaper, or petition from the people demanded its demonetization.

Fifth. That since demonetization prices of all commodities including silver bullion have gradually decreased, as compared with gold, until they have reached ruinously low prices.

Sixth. That there is now a money famine raging in Europe and America.

When we reach the causes leading up to these injuries and the remedy to be applied we meet a chaotic confusion of ideas.

Our friends east of the Allegheny Mountains and some others plant themselves firmly upon the narrow and, we think, illogical foundation that the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver monthly is the principal cause of disasters and the transcendent question of the hour. If it is possible that this great Government, with its matchless wealth, intelligence, and enterprise, is so weak and unstable in governmental sagacity as to be thrown into irretrievable ruin with so little provocation, then our friends are quite right; we are incapable of self-government, and should supplicate with the mother country for a financial policy. Think of the absurdity of a Government with $27,396,055,389 in assessed valuation quaking at the drop of a mere pebble. It is illogical and, it seems to us, unworthy of serious consideration.

WHY ALL OF THIS SHUFFLING?

We were told long prior to the object lessons given us by the officers of the Government, financial circles, and the public press that the tightening up of money was caused by our securities being thrown back upon our hands from foreign investors. We were then told that the cause of this was losses sustained in India and the Argentine Republic. These were mostly gold securities. Why this change?

We know our gold drifted to Europe early in the year because of adverse balances of trade, and is now flowing back because of reverse conditions. Why did not the Government use the means at its command? Because the Administration is unfriendly to silver.

It is puerile to talk about a failure of silver to circulate when the Government is determined that it shall not circulate. People are clamoring for silver and can not get it. Ever since the Bland act the Executive and the Treasury Department of the Government have done everything in their power to make these acts odious.

Why is it that the silver dollar is now at a premium over gold? (This should bring the blush of shame to the cheek of its defamers.) Silver is and always will be the money of the people in cash transactions.

When people say hold on, we will check up and balance our accounts. We have another object lesson: that is your gold and bank conveniences are satisfactory while we are running on unlimited credit, but when we have to check up and cash in we must have money.

These panics come surely and regularly every few years, and it is here that the mighty and strong swallow up the weak. They call it cleaning out the unstable financial and commercial institutions.

WHAT DID CAUSE THE PANIC?

It was partially caused by the Baring failure, Argentine Republic complications, large purchases of cheap goods from overstocked merchants in Europe and an attempt to further spread gold as a money standard, and the hoarding of money. The officers of the Government, the bankers and boards of trade, which represent one and the same class, sent out interviews, circulars, and inflammatory articles through the press for the purpose of influencing this Congress, and intimidated the laboring men and women and that class of our citizens not in active commercial or manufacturing pursuits, but who owned and held the idle and ready money of the country, and caused them to lock it up in safety deposits.

In Colorado it was a significant fact that practically all of the panic-stricken were women and citizens not engaged in active business. They took you at your word when you predicted the great danger. It is also a significant fact that the scramble was not for gold but for any kind of legal-tender money. The merchants and manufacturers generally owed the banks, and their fears were "that the banks would run upon them."

It is said that in the panic of 1864 in India a large financial and commercial institution failed with £100,000 of gold, upon which it could not obtain a loan of rupees.

In July, in Colorado, money could not be raised on gold ore. In India silver was legal tender, and in Colorado coin and paper, and the banks were expecting the demands of depositors at any moment and would let no one have a legal-tender dollar even upon gold bullion. Legal-tender money is what we need and must have, and abundance of it, to prevent panics.

Bankers and this line of specialists in finance tell you there is abundance of money. This is deceptive. While the business of the country is prosperous and 80 to 90 per cent of our transactions are on credit we may thrive, but the moment a disturbance arises credit is shut off, a money famine sets in, and the weak fall into the hands of the strong.

If it can be said that we had an abundant amount of money while our credit was expanded to 90 per cent of our transactions, then after credit has been contracted three-fourths it would leave us short of money just to the extent of the contraction of credit. Credit is a circulating medium that expands and contracts with the ebb and flow of good or bad conditions, but never does or can pay a debt when people say we will stop, invoice, and cash in. Then the crash comes, as the legal-tender money does not exist.

Our gold-standard friends insist that there is abundance of money if the people would place it back in the banks that they might lend it to the people. The world has gone mad in its scramble for gold and manipulations of money for the purposes of hire. This is not the object of money. This country has so legislated that the great army of producers have been forced to become mortgage-ridden and it has taken away and is trying to take away from them the power to repay.

It is not a loan of your money or England's money we demand—we demand that our mints be thrown open to the free coinage of silver, and that Mexico, South and Central America, and all other silver using and producing countries of the world be invited to bring on their silver, coin it into standard dollars, buy our wheat, cotton, and other products at good prices, that we may pay our debts and owe no man.

The increase of population in the United States, estimated at 3 per cent of 67,000,000 people, equals 2,010,000 people. This increase must have, from the new or old money supply, a per capita of $24. This will require $48,000,000 per annum. Mr. Henry Hucks Gibbs, ex-governor of the Bank of England, after allowing for abrasion any irretrievable losses by shipwreck and otherwise, says that $35,000,000 in gold is a liberal allowance for additions to the old stock of the world. What part of this would the United States obtain?

If she received her portion, as equitably divided between the gold-using people of the world, she would receive only $4,020,000 per annum, or 6 cents per capita, and no provision for the increase of population. Do you wonder that the scramble is so sharp for gold?

The weight of silver in the world is only about 15.7 of silver to 1 in gold—not 16 to 1. This may seem at first blush to be deceptive, as the world has more dollars in silver than gold, but when we take into account the great mass of light-weight divisional silver coin, this reduces the weight of silver as above.

Six hundred and fifty-eight millions of the world's population have an exclusive silver currency, and the remaining 561,000,000 use both metals in some form as a full or limited tender, as shown by table below.

Monetary systems and approximate stocks of money in the aggregate and per capita in the principal countries of the world.

Countries.	Monetary system.	Ratio between gold and full legal-tender silver.	Ratio between gold and limited-tender silver.	Population.	Stock of gold.	Stock of silver.			Uncovered paper.	Per capita.			
						Full tender.	Limited tender.	Total.		Gold.	Silver.	Paper.	Total.
United States	Gold and silver	1 to 15.98	1 to 14.95	67,000,000	$604,000,000	$538,000,000	$77,000,000	$615,000,000	$412,000,000	$9.01	$9.18	$6.15	$24.34
United Kingdom	Gold	.....	1 to 14.28	38,000,000	550,000,000	.....	100,000,000	100,000,000	50,000,000	14.47	2.63	1.32	18.42
France	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	39,000,000	800,000,000	650,000,000	50,000,000	700,000,000	81,402,000	20.52	17.95	2.09	40.56
Germany	Gold	.....	1 to 13.957	49,500,000	600,000,000	103,000,000	108,000,000	211,000,000	107,000,000	12.12	4.26	2.16	18.54
Belgium	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	6,100,000	65,000,000	48,400,000	6,600,000	55,000,000	54,000,000	10.66	9.02	8.85	25.53
Italy	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	31,000,000	93,605,000	16,000,000	34,200,000	50,200,000	163,471,000	3.01	1.62	5.27	9.91
Switzerland	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	3,000,000	15,000,000	11,400,000	3,600,000	15,000,000	14,000,000	5.00	5.00	4.67	14.67
Greece	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	2,200,000	2,000,000	1,800,000	2,200,000	4,000,000	14,000,000	.91	1.82	6.36	9.09
Spain	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	18,000,000	40,000,000	120,000,000	38,000,000	158,000,000	100,000,000	2.22	8.78	5.56	16.56
Portugal	Gold	.....	1 to 14.08	5,000,000	40,000,000	.....	10,000,000	10,000,000	45,000,000	8.00	2.00	9.00	19.00
Austria-Hungary	....do	.....	1 to 13.69	40,000,000	40,000,000	90,000,000	.....	90,000,000	260,000,000	1.00	2.25	6.50	9.75
Netherlands	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 15	4,500,000	25,000,000	61,800,000	3,200,000	65,000,000	40,000,000	5.55	14.42	8.89	28.88
Scandinavian Union	Gold	.....	1 to 14.88	8,600,000	32,000,000	.....	10,000,000	10,000,000	27,000,000	3.72	1.16	3.14	8.02
Russia	Silver	1 to 15½	1 to 15	113,000,000	250,000,000	22,000,000	38,000,000	60,000,000	500,000,000	2.21	.53	4.42	7.16
Turkey	Gold and silver	.....	1 to 15.1	33,000,000	50,000,000	.....	45,000,000	45,000,000	.....	1.52	1.36	.....	2.88
Australia	Gold	.....	1 to 14.28	4,000,000	100,000,000	.....	7,000,000	7,000,000	.....	25.00	1.75	.....	26.75
Egypt	....do	.....	1 to 15.68	7,000,000	100,000,000	.....	15,000,000	15,000,000	.....	14.29	2.14	.....	16.43
Mexico	Silver	1 to 16½	.....	11,600,000	5,000,000	50,000,000	.....	50,000,000	2,000,000	.43	4.31	.17	4.91
Central America	....do	1 to 15½	.....	3,000,000	.....	500,000	.....	500,000	2,000,000	.....	.17	.67	.84
South America	....do	1 to 15½	.....	35,000,000	45,000,000	25,000,000	.....	25,000,000	600,000,000	1.29	.71	17.14	19.14
Japan	Gold and silver	1 to 16.18	.....	40,000,000	90,000,000	50,000,000	.....	50,000,000	56,000,000	2.25	1.25	1.40	4.90
India	Silver	1 to 15	.....	255,000,000	.....	900,000,000	.....	900,000,000	28,000,000	.....	3.53	.11	3.64
China	....do	.....	.....	400,000,000	.....	700,000,000	.....	700,000,000	.....	.....	1.75	.....	1.75
The Straits	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100,000,000	.....	100,000,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Canada	Gold	.....	1 to 14.95	4,500,000	16,000,000	.....	5,000,000	5,000,000	40,000,000	3.56	1.11	8.89	13.56
Cuba, Haiti, etc.	....do	1 to 15½	.....	2,000,000	20,000,000	1,200,000	800,000	2,000,000	40,000,000	10.00	1.00	20.00	31.00
Total	.....	.....	.....	1,219,000,000 *—658,000,000 †=561,000,000	3,582,605,000	3,469,100,000	553,600,000	4,042,700,000	2,635,873,000	.....	.....	.....	.....

* Silver-using people.

† Gold-using people.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *Bureau of the Mint, August 16, 1893.*

How is it that $714,636 in Treasury notes have been redeemed in silver during this month (August, 1893) on demand of the holders, while the Government has been freely offering gold instead? Why is it that the people have been offering gold for silver and can not get it? It is because silver is, and always will be, the money used in our ordinary domestic transactions.

THE SIXTY-CENT DOLLAR.

This is a delusion and a snare. The silver dollar is and always has been the honest 100-cent dollar, but the gold dollar has appreciated and has been a 140-cent dollar. This is not only proven, but demonstrated. Mr. Allard, director of the Belgium mint, and others, the representatives from Mexico at the Brussels Conference, showed that the Mexican dollar bought as much of the necessities of life now as it did in 1873. An ounce of bar silver in 1873 would buy a bushel of wheat, and has purchased the same ever since when general conditions of crops were normal. I submit here an interesting table published by "Coin" relative to cotton, silver, and wheat:

Year.	Wheat.	Cotton.	Silver.
1872	1.47	29.3	1.32
1873	1.31	18.8	1.29
1874	1.43	15.4	1.27
1875	1.12	15.0	1.24
1876	1.24	12.9	1.15
1877	1.17	11.8	1.20
1878	1.34	11.1	1.15
1879	1.07	9.9	1.12
1880	1.25	11.5	1.14
1881	1.11	11.4	1.13
1882	1.19	11.4	1.13
1883	1.13	10.8	1.11
1884	1.07	10.5	1.01
1885	.86	10.6	1.06
1886	.87	9.9	.99
1887	.89	9.5	.97
1888	.85	9.8	.93
1889	.90	9.9	.93
1890	.83	10.1	1.04
1891	.85	10.0	.90
1892	.80	8.7	.86
1893	.72	7.3	.78

MEXICANIZING AMERICA.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] appeals to us not to level this country with Mexico by Mexicanizing our coin. Comparisons are odious unless conditions are proximately similar. Mexico has 751,700 square miles of territory; the United States 3,602,990 square miles. Mexico has 11,632,924 inhabitants; the United States 67,000,000 people. Mexico is inhabited by a people whose wants are yet limited, credit small, etc. But let us take the condition of Mexico from one of her citizens and not secondhand:

CHICAGO, *July 29*, 1893.

EDITOR EVENING POST:

Your paper of July 25 brings an optimistic article about Mexican money and trade. I am Mexican myself and well acquainted with my native country, and as such beg to submit the following remarks: Mexico is the only happy country without monetary troubles, because it has free coinage of silver, and for that reason Mexican banks are in excellent condition, as they do not try to transact business with a substance they can not obtain—gold.

Mexican silver mines continue partly their work for the same reason as banks continue business; they pay their laborers in solid silver coin and don't swindle them with "paper that only means gold," but when redeemed proves to be based mostly on "credit and confidence," which are of no value in hard times.

The "silver trouble" is a wrong expression for the present situation, which is really a genuine "gold trouble," that upsets banks and produces panics. Free coinage of silver on a 20 to 1 ratio would bring to the United States the whole Mexican and South American and even East Indian trade, and Europe would be obliged to adopt also free coinage of silver as it could not eat and drink gold. Silver depreciation is a consequence of its demonetization and not vice versa. If you give a law to prohibit the use of diamonds, these pretty stones would be worth one cent a dozen.

The interior trade of Mexico does not depend much on the silver question in London and New York, as inside of Mexico $1 is always 100 cents; but exterior trade will be reduced to the most indispensable articles, and even their importation must decline in proportion to the increase of the gold-currency premium, and at last we would have to live after the old Aztec's fashion.

Gold standard is a wicked monopoly of money and the only way to kill it is free coinage of silver. I am on a visit to the World's Fair, and should be much obliged if you would publish these ideas.

JOSE MAXIMILIANO DAMEN,
Durango, Mexico.

Let us take France, with only 204,177 square miles, while we have 3,602,990 square miles. France has 38,218,900 population, the United States 67,000,000; France fully developed, the United States in the very midst of her developing period. France supports without a ripple $17.95 in silver for every inhabitant, the United States only $9.18. The United States produces the silver, France

does not. It would require $1,192,650,000 in silver to make our per capita equal to that of France.

The people ask why is it this per capita can be maintained in France and not in this country.

RATIO.

This portion of the discussion should not be neglected. We should not be deceived into changing the ratio. When silver was demonetized it was above par and silver dollars are now at a premium over gold.

The New York World, silver's worst enemy, on August 13 said:

It is not so long ago that apprehension was felt that the continued purchases of silver by the Government would send gold to a premium. A hoarding of the yellow metal resulted in consequence. Last week, however, gold was actually worth less than the Government promises to pay or paper money, and even the discredited silver dollars commanded a larger premium.

A ratio of 20 to 1 would not only require a recoinage of our present stock of silver, contracting the currency by over a hundred million dollars, but would probably disturb and cause a like recoinage and shrinkage in France and other silver-using countries. We can not be indifferent to the volume of money in our foreign markets. If our customers have an abundance of money prices will range high. An abundance of good automatic metallic money of final redemption is what we need.

The actual weight of silver in the world is only about 15.7 of silver to one of gold. There is a sharp demand for it on both sides of the Atlantic. It is simply borne down by an infamous brokerage system. The world has not only absorbed all of the silver produced since 1890, but has greatly reduced the old supply.

Give it a fair coinage test with a friendly administration, then if it will not stand it will be time for a new ratio. As you change the ratio you pin us down permanently to the low prices that the manipulators of the gold power have fixed upon us. There is no excess of production or cause for a change.

I here submit a table showing the varying quantities of the metals produced from year to year:

Year.	Gold.	Silver.
1851	$67,600,000	$40,000,000
1852	132,750,000	40,600,000
1853	155,450,000	40,600,000
1854	127,450,000	40,600,000
1855	135,075,000	40,600,000
1856	147,600,000	40,650,000
1857	133,275,000	40,650,000
1858	124,650,000	40,650,000
1859	124,850,000	40,750,000
1860	119,250,000	40,800,000
1861	113,800,000	44,700,000
1862	107,750,000	45,200,000
1863	106,950,000	49,200,000
1864	113,000,000	51,700,000
1865	120,200,000	51,950,000
1866	121,100,000	50,750,000
1867	104,025,000	54,225,000
1868	109,725,000	50,225,000
1869	106,225,000	47,500,000
1870	106,850,000	51,575,000
1871	107,000,000	61,050,000
1872	99,600,000	62,250,000
1873	96,200,000	81,800,000
1874	90,750,000	71,500,000
1875	97,500,000	80,500,000
1876	103,700,000	87,600,000
1877	114,000,000	81,000,000
1878	119,000,000	95,000,000
1879	109,000,000	96,000,000
1880	106,500,000	98,700,000
1881	103,000,000	102,000,000
1882	102,000,000	111,800,000
1883	95,400,000	115,300,000
1884	101,700,000	105,500,000
1885	103,400,000	118,500,000
1886	106,000,000	120,600,000
1887	105,775,000	124,281,000
1888	110,197,000	140,796,000
1889	123,439,000	162,159,000
1890	113,149,600	172,234,500
1891	120,518,800	186,733,000
1892	130,816,600	196,695,200

In addition to this our national debt; a great portion of our State, municipal, and private indebtedness was made when silver was money, and common honesty and fairness demand that it should be money when these debts are paid. It is well known that the bonded indebtedness was created through the conduit of greenbackism, costing the bondholder only about 60 cents upon the dollar in gold. These bonds were redeemable in any kind of legal-tender money.

The bondholder cunningly secured a Congressional act in 1869 making his debt payable in coin instead of any legal-tender currency. At this time silver was above par. He very cautiously had a provision incorporated in the funding act of 1870 that these bonds should be paid in coin of the standard values of July, 1870, which is our present gold and silver coin. Encouraged by these successes in an American Congress, he now asks that they be paid in gold.

FALSE LOGIC.

You tell us we are scarce of money and you propose to increase it by cutting off the supply. You tell us your shops have all shut down and your labor is unemployed and you wish to return it to its old position by narrowing the already too limited fields of labor. You will relieve labor, you tell us, by adding 50,000 more tramps to the list. You propose to start up the manufactures of the middle and New England States by destroying their best customer.

Joseph Nimmo, jr., the statistician, is quoted as saying: "The silver States are the best customers of the manufacturers, taking over $50,000,000 per annum of their products, and are worth more to the manufacturers than all of South America and Europe combined." It is now estimated that over $6,000,000 in fall orders have already been countermanded.

Is turning loose 150,000 laborers in the West going to increase your demand for labor in the East? How is the destruction of the greatest demand for railroad iron, cars, machinery, and all kinds of manufactured goods going to start up your manufactories? This new and developing country is your great consumer and a loss of this market will add hundreds of thousands of your laborers to our idle list.

I here submit a table showing the national debts of the world:

Austria-Hungary	$2,642,021,000
Belgium	213,000,000
Denmark	58,467,000
France	4,982,840,000
Germany (entire)	2,695,265,000
England (and dependencies)	5,695,619,000
Greece	13,625,000
Italy	2,250,000,000
Montenegro	1,900,000
Netherlands	540,000,000
Portugal	593,670,000
Roumania	176,000,000
Russia (all)	4,809,768,000
Servia	50,615,000
Spain	1,106,650,000
Sweden	58,000,000
Norway	29,860,000
Switzerland	65,000,000
Turkey	868,500,000
Argentine	148,000,000
Bolivia	19,000,000
Brazil	600,500,000
Canada	273,000,000
Chili	92,800,000
Colombia	15,000,000
Mexico	110,000,000
Peru	342,624,000
United States	915,962,112
Uruguay	79,108,000
Venezuela	63,700,000
Egypt	732,000,000
All other countries (about)	3,500,000,000

This makes a grand total of about $35,100,000,000. It is said the house of the Rothschilds, of Germany, and the Bank of England own $28,000,000,000 of this sum attempted to be made payable in gold. There is but $3,700,000,000 of gold in the world. If the wheels of business should stop to-day and the debtors of the world were required to pay, if they had all the gold in the world they could only pay 10 cents on the dollar if they were limited to these national obligations only.

This fight is indeed between the debtors and the creditors. The creditors are determined that the debtor shall only have money enough to pay the interest on these obligations. They are determined to make these national obligations perpetual that they and their posterity may forever clip coupons and have fixed incomes. The beginning of this fight was for another United States bond issue.

THE PLANS OF THE OPPOSITION.

In every paper from the money center the cry is, issue bonds. The advocates of gold here say, issue bonds.

THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] and most of the Democrats agree that the Chicago platform declared for and was understood to be for free silver. We know the Populist platform was unmistakably so. President Cleveland received 45.7 per cent and Mr. Weaver 9.23 per cent of the popular vote, making a total of 54.93 per cent of the popular vote for free coinage. However, the Republicans of the West declared and insisted that their platform and party favored free silver.

The President and his followers speak in pathetic tones for the poor laborer. Is it not strange that these horny-handed sons of toil do not know what they want? Is it not strange that those they regard as their oppressors always assume to represent and speak for them? I wish to say to you that this assumption is wholly unauthorized. Mr. Powderly is a vice-president of the American Bimetallic League and one of its strongest advocates. A cardinal principle of the Farmers' Alliance is free silver. You can not longer feed them on sham platitudes.

In the minority report on the silver bill in the Fifty-first Congress, Mr. Bartine exposes this hypocrisy by saying:

From the general tenor of their arguments one might be led to suppose that the millionaire capitalist is in reality the poor man, while the money of the country is

virtually owned by the factory hands and servant girls of New York and New England. And yet it is a fact worthy of the most careful consideration, that these workingmen and women were not represented by a single one of their own number and class upon that side of the question.

Almost every man who appeared in opposition to free coinage was a president or other executive officer of some bank, some great insurance company, or other firm, corporation, or association controlling vast aggregations of capital. About the only exceptions to this rule were college professors and lawyers, who appeared rather in the character of special pleaders.

Upon the other hand, it may not be out of place for us to mention the circumstance, by way of contrast, that at the conclusion of Mr. Atkinson's statement Mr. Dunning, the duly accredited agent of the Knights of Labor and various other kindred organizations comprising nearly 4,000,000 voters, stepped forward and laid on the table the petition of these toiling millions, praying for the free coinage of silver.

In addition to this it is proper for us to call attention to the further fact that the great organization known as the Farmers' Alliance has adopted a demand for the free coinage of silver as the cardinal feature of its creed.

COLORADO.

The gentlemen advocating the gold standard seem to think this fight is only made by a few mining States. If this conclusion was true we would be advocating an American and not an unlimited coinage. No; we are not so narrow-minded or unpatriotic. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE] complained that a little Western State has as many Senators as the great States of New York or Massachusetts. It is indeed very important as to whose ox is gored.

New York has thirty-five times as many people as Delaware, eighteen times as many as Vermont, and so on down the line, and New York has nearly three times as many inhabitants as the great State the gentleman represents. Under his precise distribution Massachusetts would be entitled to about two-thirds of one Senator.

Let us see if the West has injured the State the gentleman represents. We have always voted for your protection, bought your manufactured goods, and borrowed your money at high rates of interest. I will submit you some figures, the result of the reasoning of Mr. S. S. King, from the census of 1880 and 1890, and let the people judge whether Massachusetts and the North Atlantic States have been imposed on by overrepresentations of the Western States.

The nine Atlantic States and the producing South and West: He shows that Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and North Carolina in 1880 had 58 acres of land to Massachusetts' 1; the nine producing States had a population of 7 to Massachusetts' 1; in the assessed valuation the nine States had $2 to Massachusetts' $1, and yet between 1880 and 1890 Massachusetts gained about $10,000,000 more in wealth than these nine great States; or, add to the nine producing States Florida, Kentucky, and Kansas, making twelve great producing States, giving them 14 acres of land to Pennsylvania's 1; the population of the twelve States is about 4 to Pennsylvania's 1; capital in the twelve States is about $2 to Pennsylvania's $1, and yet Pennsylvania from 1880 to 1890 gained in wealth $12,000,000 more than these twelve great States; or, add to the twelve great States Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia, making fifteen great producing States, with 16 acres of land to New York's 1; the fifteen States have 4 people to New York's 1; the fifteen States have $1.50 to New York's $1, and yet from 1880 to 1890 New York gained in wealth $6,000,000 more than these great producing States; or, add to the fifteen States Missouri, Ohio, South Carolina, Arkansas, Maryland, and Delaware, making twenty-one great producing States with 6 acres of land to 1 acre in the North Atlantic States of New York, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Rhode Island.

The twenty-one States have two persons to the nine States' one. The twenty-one States have about the same capital as the nine States, and yet the nine States gained in wealth between 1880 and 1890 $1,356,567,065 more than the twenty-one great producing States. These glaring discrepancies are traced by Mr. Cox to special legislation in favor of the manufacturing and financial center of the nine North Atlantic States.

COSTS OF PRODUCTION.

The assumption that cost of the production of silver affects its value is false, in fact. See report of Senator Stewart's committee on this subject February, 1893, and Prof. Hague's article in Forum.

It is a general economic truth that cost of production affects value but indirectly as a circumstance in determining supply. In its relation to every commodity, demand is the fundamental factor in fixing value; for example, the demand for wheat, iron, cotton, or any other product regulates its price regardless of its cost of production, which must vary at different times and places.

If demand is destroyed prices must fall regardless of cost of production.

Now the chief demand for precious metals arises from their convertibility into money. Destroy that convertibility, the demand is paralyzed and prices fall.

It follows that decline in silver values results from legislative limitation placed on its use as money. Similar treatment of gold will produce similar consequences. Sir David Barbour says:

Gold and silver owe almost the whole of their value to the fact that they can be converted into and used as money.

Robert Barclay says:

Law singles out gold or silver or both to be used as money and gives them special functions which it confers on no other commodity. In virtue of this selection the demand for these metals is greatly increased, and as they are only of limited production their value is increased accordingly.

Mr. Samuel Smith (M. P.) says:

Gold and silver derive their value mainly from their use as money. If all the world passed such laws as England and Germany have done, silver would be almost valueless.

Silver was never below 16 to 1 with gold until the combined German and American legislation of 1873, coupled with the closing of the mints of the Latin Union to it, made a commodity out of it. Ever since then, its market value has approached its mint value or receded from it just in proportion as the prospect of free coinage in the United States has been good or bad.

All political economists, from Adam Smith down (who expressly refers to the precious metals), agree that the commodity or article is a durable and not a transient one. The existing stock or supply bearing a large proportion to its annual supply, the effect of cost of production on its value is slight and indirect and always uncertain.

If the cost of the production of silver was an important factor in fixing its price, the cost and the price would vary together. There have been violent up and down movements in silver in the last few years, varying from 6 per cent to 36 per cent as compared with gold. No sane man will pretend that similar fluctuations have existed in its cost of production.

Another well-established and undisputed economic principle is that cost of production does not affect value when applied to an industry of a highly speculative character. Such is the nature of mining for the precious metals, especially gold, whose occurrence in large quantities is always accidental. The industry is quite analogous to a lottery, where chance is more potent than calculation.

And in any event the cost of the production of silver is beyond human calculation, for it is a commodity which is the joint product of the same process which produces other commodities, and therefore can not have an independent cost of production. The entire silver product of our mines is in the ores blended with gold, copper, lead, zinc, etc.

If cost of production is a factor of importance in determining value, it should affect gold as well as silver; yet the cost of production of gold varies as that of silver, or more, but its value is standard.

If cost of production affected values, the decline in value would limit the amount of production; and per contra increase of value would stimulate production. But, as a fact since 1873, with gold rising in value, its production has fallen off, while the value of silver has steadily fallen while its production has steadily increased. For example, it is a fact that during the decade 1871–1880, with a constantly changing market ratio, production was very close to the ratio in weight of 15½ to 1.

Amount of product independent of or with cost does not affect to any degree the relative values of the two metals if both are money metals. For example, Lord Liverpool admits that fifty-five years after the discovery of the Potosi mines, their silver yield had no visible effect on the valuation of coins at the English mint. On the other hand, during the twenty-five years between the discovery of gold in Australia and California and the demonetization of silver the effect of the enormous product of gold upon current coins was hardly more than appreciable.

If it costs so little to produce silver which sells for so much, why does not capital interest itself more largely and readily in silver mines? We know that capital shuns both classes of mines and because the business is so largely speculative.

I am fully aware that a reversion to the history of this deplorable legislation, when so well known, is tedious and tasteless, but the gentlemen from Ohio [Mr. HARTER, Mr. GROSVENOR, and others] have scouted the idea of a crime. I will here submit the record of this infamy as gathered by Mr. Frewen and published in the Fortnightly Review for June, 1893, and confidently assert that on these indisputable facts that any grand jury would return an accusation of guilt if the perpetrator could be located.

Here is what Mr. Frewen says in his article:

We first find an honorable and respected member, Mr. Kelley, introducing a bill in 1872, to codify for the general convenience, the various mint enactments. When Mr. Kelley reported the bill in the lower chamber, Mr. Potter of New York asked: "Does it make any change in the standard of weight or fineness of the coin?" Mr. Kelley replied: "It does not." Next, Mr. Hooper of Massachusetts appears in charge of Mr. Kelley's bill; so purely formal was the bill considered—this bill which yet contained within it a provision to demonetize silver forever—that in reply to Mr HOLMAN of Indiana, who asked whether the bill, before being voted upon, would be read to the House, Mr. Hooper said: "I hope not; it is a long bill, and those who are interested in it are perfectly familiar with its provisions."

The bill was accordingly passed without being read. Now, since leaving Mr. Kelley's hands, section 16 had been imported as a Senate amendment. Here is section 16, which has probably cost the world of human industry more than all the wars of the century:

"The silver coins of the United States shall be a dollar, a half-dollar, a quarter-dollar, and a dime; and the weight of the dollar shall be 384 grains, the half-dollar, quarter-dollar, and dime shall be, respectively, one-half, one-quarter, and one-tenth of the weight of the said dollar, which coins shall be a legal tender at their nominal value for any amount not exceeding five dollars in any one payment."

Such is the clause which, without debate or consideration, has effected a revolu-

tionary change in the currency of the United States. Every Senator, without doubt, read the legal-tender limitation as applying not to the standard dollar but only to the subdivisions of the dollar. It was this clause which is, I think, responsible for the closing of the French mints, for the shrinkage of the rupee, for the catastrophic fall of prices, and for the great increase of the burdens of every mortgagor.

It is little wonder then that, in view both of the motives and the consequences, public opinion in America has been educated to denounce this legislation as a crime against mankind.

"If this step was taken without full appreciation of the results that were to follow, it was a piece of delirious folly; if with full consciousness of the consequences, it was, on the part of the creditor classes, nothing less than an act of treason against the human race." (Senator JONES at Brussels.)

Let us see by what means this section 16 was arrived at in the Senate, because the vehement partisanship to-day of Senator STEWART and many others arises from their conviction that they were duped in 1873.

The bill, having passed the House, was now in the hands of the Senate Committee on Finance, Senator SHERMAN, of Ohio, being the chairman. The bill was amended in the Senate, and this is what Senator SHERMAN said of the intention of the amendment:

"This bill proposes a silver coinage exactly the same as the French and what are called the Associated Nations of Europe, who have adopted the international standard of silver coinage; that is, the dollar provided by this bill is the precise equivalent of the 5-franc piece * * * the 5-franc piece of France will be the exact equivalent of a dollar of the United States in our silver coinage; and in order to show this, wherever our silver coin shall float, and we are providing that it shall float all over the world, we propose to stamp upon it, instead of our eagle, the intrinsic fineness and weight of the coin."

Senator CASSERLY:

"We can not have an international coinage on the basis of our silver coin unless our silver coin is up to the standard of all the nations with which we expect to have relations. Now I ask the Senator whether this bill proposes a silver coinage of that character?"

Senator SHERMAN:

"This bill proposes a silver coinage exactly the same as the French and what are called the associated nations of Europe, who have adopted the international standard of silver coinage; that is, the dollar provided by this bill is the precise equivalent of the five-franc piece."

Could language be more explicit? Every Senator who heard this statement must have understood that the bill was a bill to include the United States within the Latin monetary union, and that her silver equally with theirs was to be coined freely into legal-tender money at a ratio of 1 to 15½. Such is the history of the act of 1873. The nation was shortly to awaken to the fact that the bill to make American silver dollars "float all over the world"—which, in the words of the chairman of the Finance Committee, was to arrange for a silver coinage "exactly the same as the French"—which was to promote "international coinage," that this bill had positively deprived silver altogether of free coinage and legal tender!

And yet Senator SHERMAN declares to-day, and with indignation, that he at least understood the provisions and scope of the bill, and that he considered a dollar which was not even to be legal tender at home was yet good enough "to float all over the world."

Let me now point out with what amazement the act of 1873 broke upon the chiefs of both parties in Congress, when they first discovered that the currency had been tampered with before their very eyes. Grant was at that time President; more than eight months after he had signed the act which had forever excluded silver from the mints we find him writing to his friend, Mr. Cowdrey (McPherson's Handbook of Politics):

October 6, 1873.—The panic has brought greenbacks about to a par with silver. I wonder that silver is not already coming into the market to supply the deficiency in the circulating medium. When it does come, and I predict that it will soon, we shall have made a rapid stride toward specie payments. The circulation of silver will have other beneficial effects. Silver will become the standard of value, which will be hoarded in a small way. I confess to a desire to see a limited hoarding of money. General (afterwards President) Garfield said, at Springfield, of the act of 1873:

"Perhaps I ought to be ashamed to say so, but the truth is that I, at that time chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and having my hands overfull during all that time, never read the bill. It was put through as dozens of bills are in Congress, on the faith of the report of the chairman of the committee; therefore I tell you, because it is the truth, that I had no knowledge of it."

Senator BECK, of Kentucky, said:

"What I complain of is that this House never knew what was in the bill. Will any sane man believe that they (Senators) deliberately consented to strike down silver coinage? Mr. SHERMAN says they all did. I do not believe him."

Senator STEWART, of Nevada, said to Senator SHERMAN:

"Whatever may be your construction of their meaning now, the words you used then induced me to vote with you, because you made me believe that you were sending out a bona fide dollar as good as any in the world."

Mr. Kelley, the father of the original measure, who was chairman of the Committee on Coinage, said (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. VII, p. 1005):

"In connection with the charge that I advocated the bill which demonetized the standard silver dollar, I say that, though chairman of the Committee on Coinage, I was as ignorant of the fact that it would demonetize the silver dollar or of its dropping the silver dollar from our system of coins, as were those distinguished Senators, Messrs. Blaine and VOORHEES. I do not think that there were three members of this House that knew it. * * * The Committee on Coinage who reported the original bill were faithful and able, and scanned its provisions closely. As their organ I reported it; it contained provision for both the standard gold and silver dollar and the trade dollar.

"Never having heard till long after its enactment of the substitution in this Senate of the section which dropped the standard dollar, I profess to know nothing of its history; but I am prepared to say that in all the legislation of this country there is no mystery equal to the demonetization of the standard dollar of the United States. I have never found a man who could tell how it came about or why. * * * I wish gentlemen to know what the bill was; it was a bill to reorganize the mints, and it was passed without allusion in debate to the question of the retention or abandonment of the standard silver dollar. * * *

"I was the chairman of the committee that reported the original bill, and I aver upon my honor that I did not know that it proposed to drop the standard dollar, and I did not learn that it had done so for eighteen months after the passage of the substitute offered by Mr. Hooper."

Mr. HOLMAN said (RECORD, Vol. VII, p. 193):

"I have before me the record of the proceedings of this House on the passage of that bill—a record which no man can read without being convinced that the measure and the method of its passage through the House was a colossal swindle. I assert that the measure never had the sanction of the House, and does not possess the moral force of law."

Mr. BRIGHT of Tennessee said (RECORD, Vol. VII, p. 584):

"The bill passed by fraud in the House, never having been printed in advance. It was passed under such circumstances that the fraud escaped the attention of some of the most watchful as well as the ablest statesmen in Congress."

Senator ALLISON said (RECORD, Vol. VII, p. 1058):

"When the secret history of this bill comes to be told, it will disclose the fact that the House intended to coin both gold and silver, and intended to place both metals upon the French relation (ratio) instead of our own."

Senator HOWE said (RECORD, Vol. VII, p. 764):

"Mr. President, I do not regard the demonetization of silver as an attempt to wrench from the people more than they agreed to pay. That is not the crime of which I accuse the act of 1873. I charge it with guilt compared with which the robbery of a thousand million dollars is venial."

Senator VOORHEES said (RECORD, Vol. VII, p. 1063):

"I want to ask my friend from Maine whether I may not call him as one more witness to the fact that it was not generally known whether silver was demonetized? Did he know, as Speaker of the House presiding at that time, that the silver dollar was demonetized in the bill?"

Senator BLAINE:

"I did not know anything that was in the bill. And now I should like to exchange questions with the Senator from Indiana, who was then on the floor, and whose business it was far more than mine to know, because by the designation of the House I was to put questions, the Senator from Indiana, with his power as a debator, to unfold them, did he know?"

Senator VOORHEES:

"I very frankly say I did not."

Such were the circumstances attending the "outlawry of silver"—circumstances which are hardly reconciliable with common honesty. If, on the other hand, as is so generally believed in America to-day, a wealthy ring of European speculators for the fall in silver securities were busy with certain draftsmen and officials at Washington, then this covert mutilation of the law is at once accounted for.

If gold and silver were the money of the United States Constitution it would seem that the exclusion of one or the other is a constitutional change, requiring the sanction of a two-thirds majority of the State legislatures.

In addition to this I wish to further submit the report of the Monetary Commission of 1876, showing that while the act of 1873 stopped the coinage of silver, it did not affect the full legal-tender quality of the silver then coined. That in 1874, through the revision of the statutes, the legal-tender quality of silver was not legislated but revised out of existence. (Report of the Monetary Commission, 1876, p. 90.)

"The demonetization of silver, coined and uncoined, was affirmatively completed in June, 1874, by the following section (3586) of the Revised Statutes: 'The silver coins of the United States shall be a legal tender at their nominal value for any amount not exceeding five dollars in any one payment.'

"No law was ever passed by Congress of which this language can be considered a revision.

"The Revised Statutes were enacted in bulk. They were intended to be a revision merely of the existing laws, without change or introduction of new matter, and Congress was assured by its committee on revision that no new matter had been introduced into them. It was not possible for the members of the committee to have personally verified the exact accuracy of the revision They must necessarily have relied upon assurances given to them by the persons actually engaged in the work. Whoever may be responsible for this error in the Revised Statutes, the ancient money of the country instead of being intentionally legislated out of existence was revised out of existence.

"Germany and the United States demonetized silver in 1873. At that time it was neither depreciated nor unsteady in value, nor had any change occurred in the relative production, consumption, or distribution of the precious metals to indicate its depreciation in the future, nor was any actual or probable depreciation assigned as a reason for its demonetization. The average flow of silver to India was undisturbed, and the Big Bonanza in the Comstock lode was undiscovered.

Manifestly, the real reason for the demonetization of silver was the apprehension of the creditor classes that the combined production of the two metals would raise prices and cheapen money unless one of them was shorn of the money function. In Europe this reason was distinctly avowed.

The scheme of demonetizing one of the metals throughout the western world originated soon after the discovery of gold in California and Australia, at a time when the yield was at what has since proved to have been its maximum, but which was then expected by many to continue on an ascending scale for an indefinite period. An eminent English writer (DeQuincey) published at that time an elaborate collation of current accounts, from which he arrived at the conclusion that the annual out-turn of gold would soon reach seventy millions sterling, or $350,000,000. On the basis of such expectations, the governments of Europe were invoked by Chevalier and others to prevent the anticipated depreciation in the value of money, or in other words, the anticipated rise in general prices, by the demonetization not of silver, but of gold.

Under these appeals of Chevalier and others, several nations in Europe, notably Germany and Austria, in 1857 demonetized gold. It is probable that the movement in that direction would have become universal in Europe but for the resistance of France. It was changed, at least as early as 1865, into a movement for the demonetization of silver. In the convention of 1865, in which the Latin Union was formed, Belgium, Italy, and Switzerland insisted strenuously upon the adoption of the gold standard, but were overruled by France. But this change, from demonetizing gold to demonetizing silver, was more of form than substance. The object aimed at by both was, through a disuse of one of the money metals, to protect the creditor classes and those having fixed incomes against a fall in the value of money and a rise in general prices. This is the pith and marrow of the monetary discussions of the last twenty-five years.

After this report was made the silver people at once began efforts to restore silver to the place from which, they think, it had been clandestinely and fraudulently taken. The same forces that are now trying to destroy silver, with some additions, forced the Bland act upon us. Here began the Government pawnbrokerage so glowingly and truthfully pictured by the eloquent gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER]. My friends, it has always been your shop, not ours.

In 1890 our same forces were trying to restore silver to the mints and its enemies forced upon them the Sherman act, as they confess, with a knowledge of its infirmities. Yes; and does not the history of this shady transaction conclusively show that these acts were forced upon us to appease the people until they could renew their hold and consummate the design of 1873. Are you going to condone this crime and help consummate this infamy? Ah, they say, it is immaterial how it was demonetized. I deny it. The subject should not be open for debate on its merits until this right is returned to the people; then if, after full debate and notice, a majority believes it should be repealed, then we should gracefully submit; but we never should condone a pillage of the American Congress.

Then, on motion of Mr. TRACEY (at 11 o'clock p. m.) the House adjourned.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *August 24, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

ANNIVERSARY OF LAYING OF THE CAPITOL CORNER STONE.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Under the joint resolution providing for the appropriate commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the laying of the corner stone of the Capitol of the United States, September 18, 1793, the Chair appoints as the committee on the part of the Senate the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. RANSOM], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER], the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE], the Senator from Washington [Mr. SQUIRE], and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. MARTIN].

CHEROKEE OUTLET LANDS.

Mr. CAREY. I am instructed by the Committee on Public Lands, to whom was referred the joint resolution (H. Res. 4) to make the provisions of the act of May 14, 1890, which provides for town-site entries of lands in a portion of what is known as Oklahoma, applicable to the territory known as the "Cherokee Outlet," and to make the provisions of said act applicable to town-sites in the "Cherokee Outlet," to report it with an amendment, and to ask for its present consideration.

Mr. MANDERSON. Let the joint resolution be read at length for information.

The Secretary read the joint resolution.

Mr. BERRY. Let the amendment be read.

The SECRETARY. The committee propose to amend by inserting in line 8, after the word "Oklahoma," the words:

Provided, That the trustees appointed under the provisions of said act shall be bona fide residents of the Territory of Oklahoma at the time of their appointment.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. President, that is the report of a majority of the Committee on Public Lands. I will state that the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WALTHALL], the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. VILAS], and myself did not agree to the amendment and are in favor of passing the joint resolution as it came from the House of Representatives. I wish that to appear on the record. I will state to the Senate it is absolutely necessary for the orderly opening of that strip that the joint resolution be passed at as early a day as possible. If it is to be of any benefit it ought to be passed at once. The opening is to take place on the 16th of September. These officers are to be appointed; and it is peculiarly important to a large number of people there that the joint resolution should be passed. I therefore ask unanimous consent that it be considered now and disposed of, because of the exigency of the case.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

Mr. MCPHERSON. I should like to inquire if the joint resolution has been reported this morning from the Committee on Public Lands?

Mr. BERRY. It has been.

Mr. MCPHERSON. It seems to me to be a very large subject, and the Senator from Arkansas has already indicated that there was a difference of opinion in the committee respecting it. To take it up in the morning hour, as is now proposed, would certainly lead to a discussion that might last all day. I think it had better go over until some more convenient season and not interfere with the regular order.

Mr. BERRY. Will the Senator from New Jersey permit me one moment?

Mr. MCPHERSON. Certainly.

Mr. BERRY. The only difference in the committee is in regard to the amendment. There is no difference as to the joint resolution, but there is an amendment providing that the officers shall be chosen from certain localities, about which there is a difference. There is no other difference, and it is absolutely important for thousands of people waiting on the border of that strip that the joint resolution should be disposed of one way or the other.

Mr. MCPHERSON. Then I withdraw all objection, but with the right, however, to interpose it at any time if the joint resolution is to lead to any extended debate.

Mr. MANDERSON. I renew the objection. I object to the consideration of the joint resolution this morning.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Objection being made, the joint resolution will be placed on the Calendar.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. HUNTON introduced a bill (S. 690) granting a pension to Celestia P. Hartt; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas introduced a bill (S. 691) to establish a department of audit; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Organization, Conduct, and Expenditures of the Executive Departments.

Mr. POWER introduced a bill (S. 692) for the relief of James C. McCartney, of Gardiner, Mont.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Territories.

Mr. MARTIN introduced a bill (S. 693) for the relief of Daniel Woodson, and of the estate of Ely Moore; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana introduced a bill (S. 694) for the relief of Fanny B. Randolph and Dora L. Stark, for stores and supplies taken by the military forces of the United States for their use during the war for the suppression of the rebellion, as found by the Court of Claims; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 695) for the relief of the estate of Turner Merritt, late of the parish of East Baton Rouge, La.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 696) for the relief of John Rhodes and wife; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

ORDER OF PROCEEDING.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, we have come to the forks of the road——

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President, I think I am entitled to the floor this morning in accordance with the notice I have heretofore given. I gave notice a few days ago that this morning I would ask the Senate to indulge me while I submit some remarks upon the bill reported from the Committee on Finance discontinuing the purchase of silver bullion. Unless the Senate otherwise directs, I think I had better proceed now. I prefer to do so.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair prefers that this matter of precedence shall be determined by the Senators, as is usually done.

Mr. STEWART. I presume there will be no objection to the Senator from Kansas making a motion to take up the bill he has indicated immediately upon the conclusion of my remarks.

Mr. MCPHERSON. I suggest to the Senator from Kansas that inasmuch as the Senator from Nevada has taken the floor and begun his remarks, there will be no objection to moving to take up his resolution after he has concluded. We should certainly make some disposition of it immediately after the Senator from Nevada concludes.

Mr. PEFFER. That is not my purpose this morning. I have no intention to call up the resolution this morning; I expect to call it up at some other time. But I gave notice that this morning at the conclusion of the morning business I would ask the Senate to indulge me while I submit some remarks on the bill which proposes to discontinue the purchase of silver bullion. It has been understood on the part of many that I should proceed this morning, and, if in order, I will do so.

Mr. MANDERSON. I do not think the matter is understood, perhaps. It appears by the Calendar, which is the only tribunal to which we can refer in disputes of this character, that on the 22d of August the Senator from Kansas gave notice to the Senate that he would this morning call up Senate bill 570 for the purpose of submitting remarks thereon, and August 23d the Senator from Nevada gave notice that he would this morning ask leave to address the Senate on the Senate bill 453. So, if there is any matter of precedence here, it is not a matter of precedence in now taking the floor, but a matter of precedence in having given the notice. The Senator from Kansas gave the first notice that he would address the Senate this morning.

Mr. STEWART. I intended to address the Senate yesterday, when the Senator from Kansas put in a resolution which occupied the time and crowded me out.

Mr. MANDERSON. But the Senator from Nevada yesterday gave notice that he would submit his remarks on Thursday, August 24.

Mr. STEWART. I attempted to occupy the floor yesterday, but I was crowded out, and I renewed my notice that I would speak this morning.

Mr. MANDERSON. It seems to me that the Calendar must decide as to the matter of precedence.

Mr. PEFFER. Under the condition of things, I ask the leave of the Chair that I may proceed with my remarks.

Mr. STEWART. I do not think it is hardly fair for the Senator from Kansas to occupy both mornings. He occupied the time yesterday with his resolution and crowded me out. I took the floor and I think I have a right to go on. I was recognized, and I do not think I can be taken off the floor in this way. With the permission of the Chair I will proceed with my remarks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Nevada will suspend until the Chair determines the matter.

Mr. FAULKNER. I suggest to the Senators from Nevada and Kansas, and also to the Senator from Nebraska, that there is really no rule that governs a notice for a Senator to address the Senate. It is mere notice that is given and noted, and it is a question of courtesy for the Senate to hear the Senator or not at the time indicated. It strikes me that as the Chair has recognized the Senator from Nevada, that settles the question entirely; that he is entitled to the floor, and there is no way by which he can be taken off the floor except by his consent. I think that is the important point to consider in this matter.

Mr. MANDERSON. Then I submit that the Calendar notice avails nothing, and perhaps the only way out of the difficulty is to let the Senators proceed as a duet. [Laughter.] I do not know any other way.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. While the Chair would prefer that the Senators settle this matter amicably as to the right to the floor, by a reference to the Calendar it appears that on the 22d of August the Senator from Kansas gave notice that on Thursday, August 24, he would call up Senate bill 570, discontinuing the purchase of silver bullion, and on August 23 the Senator from Nevada gave notice that after the routine business this morning he would call up Senate bill 453. The Chair recognized the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. STEWART. And I shall not yield the floor unless I am compelled to do so.

Mr. PEFFER. I ask the Chair to hear me just a moment upon that point.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair thinks it is not proper to take a Senator from the floor after he has been recognized by the Chair.

Mr. PEFFER. It has been customary on the part of the Senate since I have been here, and I understand it has been the custom from the beginning, that when a Senator gives notice that at a certain time——

Mr. STEWART. I do not yield the floor and decline to be interrupted.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair has recognized the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. PEFFER. Then I rise to a question of order.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair is under the painful necessity of determining as to the right of a Senator to the floor, and having recognized the Senator from Nevada he is entitled to proceed.

Mr. PEFFER. I rise to a question of order. I insist that it is the custom of the Senate, which amounts to a rule, and has been from the beginning, that when a Senator gives notice that at a certain time he will ask the Senate to listen to him while he submits remarks the courtesy is invariably granted. So common has that custom become that it amounts to a rule of the Senate. I submit to the Chair for a decision upon that point, whether in view of such case it is not proper for the Chair to recognize the Senator who has given the notice at the proper time.

I submit that the Senator from Nevada interposed his address to the Chair very properly, but the Chair did not understand but that the Senator was going to introduce some morning business, nor did I, for the Senator from Nevada understood very well, as we had a personal conversation about it, that I expected to address the Senate this morning. I supposed when the Senator from Nevada rose that he was going to address the Chair upon some matter pertaining to morning business, and I have no doubt the Chair so expected; but instead of that the Senator immediately began the delivery of an address. I rose immediately upon making that discovery, at the first opportunity that I had, in order to address the Chair; and now I insist, when the attention of the Chair is called to the matter, that I have a right under the custom of the Senate to proceed.

Mr. HARRIS. This question of order is not debatable——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The debate proceeds, as the Chair understands, by unanimous consent.

Mr. HARRIS. But I should like to make a single suggestion. The fact that a Senator has given notice that he will, on a future day, ask the Senate to hear him upon a given question, gives him no sort of shadow of right to the floor at the hour and on the day named; but, as a matter of courtesy, it is very generally extended to the Senator when the time comes, if he has expressed a desire to address the Senate. He has, however, no more right to the floor at that hour of that day than any other member of this body. The mere fact of his giving notice has secured to him no such right.

It so happens that two Senators have given notice that they would ask leave to address the Senate this morning. The Chair has committed no error in recognizing either one of them, nor would the Chair have committed an error if he had recognized any other Senator who might have addressed the Chair. Having recognized the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART], the Senator from Nevada, in my opinion, has a right to proceed without interruption from myself or any other Senator.

Mr. MILLS. I think it is well settled by parliamentary law that there is no appeal from the decision of the Chair recognizing the right of a member to the floor. The decision of the Chair having been made in favor of the Senator from Nevada, it is final and conclusive.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair so understands. There being no business before the Senate at that moment, the Chair was addressed by the Senator from Nevada and recognized him, and the Chair thinks the Senator is entitled to the floor.

Mr. STEWART. Now, if the Senator from Kansas desires to take the floor from me, I yield.

Mr. PEFFER. I do not wish to take the floor from the Senator, but I should be very much pleased if I could proceed at this time. [Laughter.]

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understands the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] has yielded the floor to the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEFFER], and the Senator from Kansas is recognized. [Laughter.]

SILVER COINAGE.

Mr. PEFFER. I ask that the bill be laid before the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will be read by title.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 570) discontinuing the purchase of silver bullion.

[Mr. PEFFER addressed the Senate. See Appendix].

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Kansas will please suspend.

Mr. PEFFER. Certainly.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which is the resolution providing that Lee Mantle be admitted to a seat as a Senator from Montana. The pending motion is that of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE] to lay on the table the motion to reconsider made by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON].

Mr. BUTLER. I ask that the special order be temporarily laid aside, so that the Senator from Kansas may be allowed to conclude his remarks.

Mr. VANCE. I have no objection to the order being laid aside temporarily for the purpose of allowing the Senator from Kansas to finish his remarks, but I wish to make a request, which is, that we fix the hour at 1 o'clock to-morrow for the purpose of taking the vote on the resolution.

Some Senators are perhaps not aware that the question was to come up to-day, owing to the Senator from Kansas having taken the floor in accordance with the courtesy of the Senate, making it uncertain whether there would be a full attendance, and in justice to those who are absent, I suggest that it be understood and agreed that we take the vote at 1 o'clock to-morrow.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request?

Mr. VANCE. I give notice that I shall call it up at that hour.

Mr. MANDERSON. I dislike extremely to do anything that may smack of interference in this matter, not being on the Committee on Privileges and Elections, but the dispute that has arisen here as to the matter of pairs rests upon the question as to how the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN], who is away from the city, as we all understand, on official business, might vote on this question if present. I understand he will be here on Saturday next, and will be in his seat to speak for himself on next Monday.

Now, in the presence of this unpleasant dispute, it seems to me that on this important subject-matter it might be well to postpone until that time the question of the final vote, which, of course, will be upon the motion of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE] to table the motion to reconsider. I hope that that may be done.

Mr. VANCE. I do not feel that I would be justified in acceding to the request of the Senator from Nebraska to postpone the consideration of this matter until Monday.

Mr. PUGH. I have expressed the belief that my colleague [Mr. MORGAN], if present, would vote in favor of seating Mr. Mantle on the appointment of the governor. That is the opinion I have formed from conversations with my colleague, but there have been so many changes from last session by Senators, about whose votes I was then equally confident, that it places me in an embarrassing position to undertake to have the Senate act on any statement that I make in reference to the vote of my colleague. I will be relieved very much if the vote can be postponed until he arrives. He will be in this city on Saturday and will be in his seat on Monday.

It is not a matter of very pressing importance, it seems to me,

to have the vote taken to-day or to-morrow at 1 o'clock, or next Monday. It is certainly a very important question, one involving consequences far-reaching in the future, and I think we ought to have a full Senate when the vote is taken.

In view of the certainty of my colleague's being here on Monday, I do not see how the appeal can be resisted, that the vote on the motion to reconsider be taken on Monday, say at 3 or 4 o'clock.

Mr. STEWART. I suggest to the Senator from Alabama to make a motion to that effect.

Mr. MANDERSON. It can be done by unanimous consent.

Mr. STEWART. Very well. If it can be done by unanimous consent, that will be better.

Mr. MANDERSON. It can, without any question.

Mr. VANCE. When the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] left the Senate on an errand, of which we are all aware, he left a paper in writing with a brother Senator concerning his pair and his vote on public questions, so that I think with those instructions, which are in the hands of a member of this body and can be produced if necessary, it is a little extraordinary to call upon the Senate to wait upon a privileged matter like this, concerning the admission of a Senator into this body.

Mr. MANDERSON. I should like to ask the Senator whether that written communication to a brother Senator has any reference in it to the vote upon this question?

Mr. VANCE. This question is not mentioned, but the authority given to the brother Senator would include this and all other questions, except those which are specially mentioned.

Mr. MANDERSON. I understand that that letter specifically mentions certain cases on which the Senator from Alabama desires to be paired.

Mr. PUGH. I should like to inquire of the Senator who has the letter of my colleague if he can undertake to say from what he has learned in reference to the wishes of my colleague that he would desire his pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania to apply to the vote on this question?

Mr. FAULKNER. Mr. President, I think it but fair and just to both the Senators from Alabama that I should state the way in which the letter referred to came into my possession.

The letter was addressed to me by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] because I happened at that time to be in control of the pairs of this side of the Senate. In that letter he states that he has a general pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY] upon all questions, except two, on which he says he would vote in the same way as the Senator from Pennsylvania; and he asks that I pair him with the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] on one of those questions, and with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. VILAS] on the other, neither of those questions being the question now before the Senate.

As to all other questions, he states, he has a general pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania, who, as he says, has kindly consented to pair with him during his absence in France, and that he leaves the question of pairing entirely to myself as to whether the Senator from Pennsylvania upon any question shall vote or not. He also desires that the Senator from Pennsylvania shall not be embarrassed upon any question on which he has a personal desire to vote.

He then asks, if I am to be absent from the Senate, that I shall turn the letter over to his colleague, the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PUGH], who, he states, he knows will carry out the wishes expressed in the letter. He says nothing in reference to the particular matter now pending, and the only reason I objected yesterday to there being a pair with the Senator from Alabama was because I understood that he had on a previous occasion voted in the same way as he is now paired, and, further, because his colleague [Mr. PUGH] could not state to the Senate that if his colleague were present he would vote to seat the gentleman claiming a seat in this body from Montana.

If the Senator from Alabama can now state to the Senate that his colleague, if present, would vote to seat that gentleman, I think that would come within all the rules which govern this body, and would authorize a pair; but if he can not state that as a fact to the Senate, then, under the universal rule which governs and controls the pairing in this body, the general pair between the Senator from Alabama and the Senator from Pennsylvania should stand. I see no reason why we should postpone the vote on the question for that cause, especially as it would not change the result, if the result should be the same on the vote to lay on the table as it was on the original question.

Mr. PUGH. I should like to inquire of the Senator if he can state how my colleague would vote on this question?

Mr. FAULKNER. I can not; and for that reason I would say that the general pair stands, and I should insist upon its standing if the Senator from Pennsylvania were present.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I hope that the request for unanimous consent to take this vote to-morrow will not be withdrawn by the chairman of the committee. It seems to me a most unusual position which has developed itself on this floor, and the proceeding yesterday and to-day is without precedent, so far as I know in my service in this body.

Those who are in favor of the majority report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections have pressed this vote, in season and out of season, upon those who are opposed to that report. It was at the instance of the draftsman of that report, the Senator who has charge of that side of the question on this floor, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], that the vote was taken when it was, and against the opposition and against the wishes of a good many on this side who desired a longer time for consideration of the questions involved in the reports of the majority and the minority. It was pressed with the full knowledge that the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] was absent, with a knowledge of all the facts that are now before the Senate, and it did not occur to anyone, it seems, to raise this question then, or to make it a matter of delay, or of consideration at all, in regard to the time when the vote should be taken.

But, now that the vote has been taken, and the majority has developed itself in favor of the minority report, we find that it is immensely important to have the Senator from Alabama here. It was not important before; it is no more important now; and there is nothing in the practice or the precedents of this body, it seems to me, which compel us to accede to this proposition of the other side to delay action on an important question until a member, who is on the ocean, has arrived to take his seat in this body. As my friend from Florida [Mr. PASCO] says, the vote of the Senator, about whom all this talk is made, would not, according to the vote announced by the Vice-President yesterday, affect the result one way or the other.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. It is hardly fair to interrupt the Senator from Kansas in the middle of his speech. He will conclude in about half an hour, he tells me, and I appeal to the chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections to allow this matter to go over temporarily, until the speech of the Senator from Kansas is concluded. Then the question can be resumed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request?

Mr. VANCE. If I yield now to the Senator from Kansas to complete his speech without some agreement, how will the Senators who did not happen to be in the Chamber know when to be here?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. My suggestion was that this matter be resumed immediately on the completion of the remarks of the Senator from Kansas, so that every Senator will have notice.

Mr. MANDERSON. That is the question, whether the vote shall be postponed till to-morrow or Monday.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Certainly.

Mr. VANCE. I think we can agree upon something now, and the Senator from Kansas can then proceed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from North Carolina asks unanimous consent to have the vote upon his motion to lay upon the table taken to-morrow at 1 o'clock. Is there objection?

Mr. PUGH, Mr. MANDERSON, and others. I object.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I appeal to the chairman of the committee to allow the matter to go over temporarily until the speech of the Senator from Kansas is concluded.

Mr. VANCE. I did not ask unanimous consent. I have the right to say that I will call the privileged matter up to-morrow at 1 o'clock; which I do.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. That is all right.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Kansas will proceed.

SILVER COINAGE.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senate resumes the consideration of the bill (S. 530) discontinuing the purchase of silver bullion; on which the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEFFER] is entitled to the floor.

[Mr. PEFFER resumed and concluded his speech. See Appendix.]

Mr. ALLEN. I call for the reading of the amendment offered by me to Senate bill 570.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DUBOIS in the chair). The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add after the repealing clause the following proviso:

Provided, That hereafter standard silver shall be coined at the several mints of the United States into dollars, half-dollars, quarter-dollars, and dimes, at the present ratio of 16 grains of standard silver to 1 grain of standard gold, under the same conditions as to mintage and other charges that are now or may hereafter be in force with reference to the coinage of gold. And it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury, without unnecessary delay, to cause all uncoined silver bullion owned by the Government of the United States to be coined into standard silver dollars. All money coined under the provisions of this act shall be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, the question now before the Senate is of such controlling importance, and is fraught with such deep and abiding consequences, not only to the nation at large, but to the people of the State which I have the honor to represent, that I can not resist the temptation to offer some remarks upon it, although in doing so I may be charged with too early seeking an opportunity to be heard upon this floor.

I have the privilege of representing, in part, nearly one million and a half of American citizens who are interested, not alone in the general welfare and prosperity of the nation, but are vitally interested in the speedy, correct, and permanent solution of this question, to the end that doubt and stagnation in business may be dispelled, and confidence and prosperity restored.

I deem it to be the highest duty of a member of this Chamber, now that the nation is confronted with gloom and threatened with financial and industrial ruin, to lay aside all partisan tactics and prejudice and give to the proper solution of this important question his most enlightened and profound judgment and fervent devotion; and I must confess that I was somewhat surprised and pained on the second day of this session to witness a fruitless and partisan discussion, somewhat acrimonious, and in my judgment entirely unprovoked, precipitated upon the Senate, which consumed valuable time to no useful purpose.

When witnessing such scenes I am not surprised that the American people are losing confidence, if they have not already lost it, in the ability and purpose of Congress to legislate in their interest.

I spring from the ranks of a people who feel and realize keenly the effects of evil legislation, and while they do not profess to have found a panacea for our national evils, or to have explored the depths and ramifications of economic learning, they are possessed of enough intelligence to know when they are evilly or beneficially affected by legislation, and have a sufficient amount of old-time and old-fashioned patriotism to speak out entirely regardless of who may condemn or who may praise.

Mr. President, I am an humble member of a new political party that has recently come into existence and public notice, made necessary by the constant drifting of the nation from its original constitutional moorings into the shallow and treacherous waters of unchecked power. The people—and I speak of the masses—have so frequently appealed to the General Government for wise and humane monetary legislation, only to have their appeals fall on deaf or unsympathetic ears, that it became necessary as a matter of self-preservation for them to create a new political party, founded upon Jeffersonian simplicity, and imperatively demanding a return of the nation to first principles of government; and I am pleased to say that this party, full of hope and confidence, is hourly growing in numbers, in courage, intelligence, and discipline, and will, sooner or later, force the two old parties of the nation into administering the affairs of the Government in the interest of the people, or into political disintegration and death.

In the memorable campaign of 1892, both the Republican and Democratic parties told the people of this country that the crowning issue was the issue of tariff taxation; the Republican party asserting strongly in its platform that a high protective tariff was essential to the prosperity and welfare of the nation, and the Democratic party asserting, with equal emphasis, that a low tariff is the remedy for all our evils.

It is true that each of these parties claimed to be committed to the doctrine of bimetallism, but it was well understood by the country at the time that both Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Harrison, their respective candidates for the Presidency, were committed in the fullest manner to gold monometallism, and either would, if elected, endeavor to carry out such policy, regardless of whether it promoted the general welfare or not.

The People's party of America, while taking strong grounds on the subject of national taxation, asserted in the most positive terms that the crowning question of this country and this age was the question of money; and in less than five months from the close of the election in November last the nation was confronted with an industrial and financial depression such as has not been witnessed in this country for fifty years, if indeed its equal has ever been known.

To-day the Democratic and Republican parties are brought face to face with a condition of public affairs that was foretold by the common people months before it happened.

When an evil confronts us and we desire to remedy it, the first step in the line of curing such evil is to determine its cause, and I propose to devote a short time in inquiring into the cause of the present panic, with a view of determining what measure will be necessary to remove it. The President in his message has told us that the present depression is due "to Congressional legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the General Government," under what is commonly known as the Sherman act, passed July 14, 1890; and he concludes that the remedy is to be found in a prompt and unconditional repeal of that act.

Is the President correct in his conclusion that the Sherman act is the cause of our trouble? In my judgment, Mr. President, the Sherman act has nothing to do in the slightest degree with the evil that confronts us.

No one has become frightened at the ability of this Government to redeem every pledge it has made, as fast as its pledges shall become due.

Possessed as we are of almost boundless capacity to produce wealth, and to turn that wealth into money with which to promptly discharge our obligations, as well as our known high character amongst the people of the nations of the earth for prompt, full, and honest payment, it is idle to assert that foreign or domestic holders of our securities have, in consequence of the Sherman act, lost confidence in our disposition or ability to pay, and are therefore converting their securities into gold and exporting it to safer countries.

The few who desire to believe such a statement will doubtless believe it, but the great mass of the toiling millions of our countrymen can not and will not be thus imposed upon.

That gold has been rapidly leaving the country for the last few months and is being taken to other countries for investment, all well understand, but it is being taken there because it can be invested to better advantage and at higher rates of interest, in Austria-Hungary and other foreign lands, than it can be here. And we are informed that that nation is paying a tremendous premium on the gold that is being exported from this country, and, as a consequence, gold has appreciated beyond the line of its proper purchasing power in the industrial and commercial world.

In the report of the Director of the Mint, in February of this year, on page 42, it is said:

> The amount of the exports (speaking of gold) is unusual, and is accounted for, in the face of the prevailing rates of exchange, by the continued efforts of the Austrian and other European governments to enlarge their stock of gold. It is said that inducements have been given by the Bank of France to obtain gold to replace some of its reserves that have been withdrawn.

The International Gold Trust, having its headquarters in London and its American representatives in Wall street, officered and conducted by men a majority of whom, I am informed, are not even citizens of this country, and owe it no allegiance or duty whatever, and who control the metropolitan press of the nation, to some extent at least, and by that means endeavor to mislead our countrymen to their everlasting injury, have, within the last few months, forced some of the inferior nations of the earth to a gold basis, and by that means created an abnormal demand for American gold abroad; and it is this demand thus created, coupled with other causes, and not the Sherman act, that has, in a large measure, produced the present panic.

Another important factor in the production of this panic is to be found in the fact that early last winter this same International Gold Trust thought to industrially enslave the farmers, planters, mechanics, and laborers of the nation, now and for generations to come, by striking down and dishonoring one-half of the money of the country and driving it and its paper representatives out of circulation, thus increasing a hundredfold the purchasing power of gold, shrinking the value of all property and labor, and producing throughout the nation distress and dependence; and to that end they produced a financial and industrial crisis, and told the people that it was the work of the Sherman act, and that the only way to call back easier times and comparative prosperity was for the country to demand at the hands of Congress a prompt and unconditional repeal of that act.

But the people of this country, ever wise and patriotic, saw through this flimsy pretext, and, knowing it to be a mere trick, a sham and fraud, refused to become frightened or demand that Congress strike down silver, and those who created the panic have themselves become its victims, and are now appealing to Congress to assist in their unhallowed attempt to enslave the race.

But, Mr. President, the truth of this matter is so well understood throughout the length and breadth of this land that I need not refer to it at any greater length.

Mr. President, of late we have heard it boldly asserted, here and elsewhere, that silver is not the money of the Constitution; and from the expression of the President in his message that "gold and silver must here part company," we have a right to believe that he, too, entertains this view of the question. I must confess my utter astonishment at this assertion, in view of the language and purpose of the Constitution, the history of the time when it was framed and adopted by our ancestors, the treatment of the question by Congress in our coinage legislation, the voice of the judiciary when speaking on the subject, and the treatment of the matter by the various political parties in their respective platforms. All these, when impartially considered, demonstrate

that silver is, and ever has been, the money of the Constitution, and it can not now be abandoned by Congress without a flagrant and inexcusable refusal on our part to, in good faith, enforce, in the interest of the nation at large, a power expressly enjoined upon us for the general welfare.

We know as well as anything can be known by history, as well for instance as we know that George Washington was the first President of the United States, that when the Union was formed and the Constitution was framed and adopted, coined silver, more than gold, was the money of final payment of our ancestors; and it was silver as well as gold that was referred to when the Constitution conferred on Congress the power to "coin money."

At that time money had not been coined in this country to any considerable extent, but the coins of other nations, principally Spanish silver coins, were in circulation amongst the people, and it was in anticipation of the coinage by this country of similar metal and money that the power to coin money was conferred on Congress.

Mr. Webster understood this quite well when, in a speech delivered in this Chamber in 1836, he said:

Most unquestionably there is no legal tender in this country, under the authority of this Government or any other, but gold and silver, either the coinage of our own mints or foreign coins regulated by Congress. (See Webster's Works, volume 4, page 271.)

Subdivision 5, section 8, Article I, of the Constitution, is in this language:

The Congress shall have power to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coins, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

While silver is not here mentioned in express terms, yet it was with reference to the coinage of both gold and silver that this power was conferred on Congress; and the Supreme Court of the United States, in the United States *vs.* Marigold, 9 Howard, 567, considering this very clause of the Constitution, says:

Whatever functions Congress are, by the Constitution, authorized to perform they are, when the public good requires it, bound to perform.

So that it is seen that it is the duty of Congress to carry into execution this power by appropriate legislation. To leave no doubt as to where the duty rests, and to prevent confusion and injury in consequence of an exercise of this power by the several States, the Constitution, section 10, Article I, declares that "No State shall make anything but gold and silver coins a tender in payment of debts," thus again recognizing in the strongest possible terms the fact that silver is the money of the Constitution, and in the most positive terms recognizing it to be the duty of Congress to provide for its coinage.

From the earliest moment of our national existence to the present time it has been a rule of construction of our courts, State and national, everywhere acted upon and acquiesced in by those concerned in the administration of the law, that when a power is conferred by the Constitution on a given department of Government, the practical construction of such power by the long and continued usage of the department charged with its execution is to have great if not controlling weight in its interpretation, and following out and applying this rule of construction to the power of Congress to coin money, I have to observe that in the passage of sixty-one different statutes and resolutions by Congress, extending from April 2, 1792, to March 3, 1893, silver has been recognized by the legislative department of this Government as the money of the Constitution.

If legislative usage is of any force whatever in the consideration of the question now before us, every party that has administered the affairs of this nation is estopped to deny silver a place in the Constitution; and for eighty-one years, almost from the origin of the Government, to February 12, 1873, we have recognized silver as the money of the Constitution.

But, Mr. President, the ultimate power of interpreting and applying the principles of the Constitution to the practical affairs of our political life, under our form of government, rests with the courts, and to their decisions the people are accustomed to bow without serious question, and to look for authoritative interpretation of all statutes and constitutions; and to this interpretation, as made by the courts, I desire to direct the attention of the Senate.

On the 8th day of February, 1892, there were presented to the supreme court of the District of Columbia, the application of the United States on the relation of George J. Merrick and others *vs.* Charles Foster, Secretary of the Treasury, to compel the respondent "to receive certain bars of silver which had been presented first at the Mint, and afterwards to the Secretary, for coinage into silver dollars." In deciding this case, on the 8th day of February, 1892, the court, by Mr. Justice James, said:

An elaborate argument was presented, both in print and orally, to demonstrate that the power of Congress to coin money meant the power to coin gold and silver coins, on the ground that the meaning of the word "money," at the time when the Constitution was adopted, was gold and silver coins. Without going into that argument, I have to say that we at once concede that the power to coin money related to gold and silver, as it was understood to be the money when the colonies, which afterwards came to constitute the States, under the British Crown, and that at common law money meant gold and silver coins.

Mr. President, both the Republican and the Democratic parties are committed, in the strongest possible terms, to the doctrine of bimetallism.

In January, 1836, the Democratic party in the State of New York, speaking for the Democracy of the Union, adopted a platform containing these words:

We declare unqualified hostility to bank notes and paper money, because gold and silver are the only safe and constitutional currency.

In the national Democratic platform of 1880 it is said:

Home rule—the strict maintenance of the public faith—money consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand.

The national convention of the same party in 1884 adopted in its platform this expression:

We believe in honest money, the gold and silver of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

In 1892 the Democratic party used in its platform this language:

We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and for the coinage of both gold and silver without discrimination against either metal, or charge for mintage.

In 1888 the Republican party, in its national platform, declared as follows:

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

And in 1892 it declared that:

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of a parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of a dollar, whether of gold, silver, or paper, shall be at all times equal.

In 1892 the Democratic party in the States of Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Washington declared in unequivocal terms in favor of the free coinage of silver, thereby committing the national Democratic party, as far as within their power, to the traditional doctrine of silver being the money of the Constitution.

In 1892 the Republican party of California, Colorado, Indiana, Kansas, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, South Dakota, and Tennessee committed itself to the doctrine of bimetallism. The free and unlimited coinage of silver, at the ratio of 16 parts of silver to 1 of gold, is one of the chief corner stones of the People's party of America, and it is useless for me at this time to quote from its platform, promulgated at Omaha, July 4, 1892.

If anything can be said to be settled in this country, in a political sense, it is that both the Republican and Democratic parties are committed, throughout their history, to the doctrine of bimetallism.

Under such circumstances, if political platforms are to count for anything, and to be taken as expressing the views of their framers, and the parties promulgating them, these parties must be held to be committed to silver as money of the Constitution.

Mr. President, we who believe that silver should be rehabilitated and reëstablished to its rightful position in the coinage of the country are constantly told that money can not be created by law, and that silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, not possessing full intrinsic value, should not be coined and put into circulation at that ratio. That I am not mistaken in this statement, I quote from a speech delivered by the Senator from Oregon in this Chamber on the third day of the present session, who, I suppose, voices the sentiment of gold monometallists on this subject. He says:

The Government stamp can not create good money. All money must possess intrinsic value.—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, first session Fifty-third Congress, volume 25, page 39.

I propose to show that these gentlemen have departed from the Constitution of our fathers. I call the attention of the Senate again to subdivision 5, section 8, Article I, of the Constitution, which is in this language:

The Congress shall have power to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coins, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

What is meant by the "power to regulate the value of money"? If its value is regulated by nature and not by law; if it is the creation of natural law and not of man, then it was an entirely useless ceremony for the framers of the Constitution to confer on Congress this power. When our ancestors conferred on Congress the power to coin money and regulate its value, they understood that the value of gold and silver as articles of commerce could not be controlled by statutes and constitution.

I think we must do them the credit of understanding this great fundamental truth, and therefore I assume it to be true that, when they declared that Congress should have this power, they

did not intend that Congress should undertake the impossible task of regulating the commercial value of the disks of gold and silver, upon which money is stamped.

What, then, did they mean by this declaration? They must have meant, if anything, that Congress should be possessed of the power and charged with the duty of regulating value of money as money, thus distinguishing clearly between money and the metal upon which it is stamped. They did not say that Congress should have the power to regulate gold and silver, or to fix its weight and fineness, but they did declare that the value of the thing to be regulated is money. Up to the time when the Constitution was adopted it had not entered into the political mind that the time would ever come when either gold or silver would be demonetized, but our ancestors proceeded upon the supposition that, having been regarded for ages as precious and money metals, they would continue to be so regarded in the future.

Mr. President, there is nothing natural in our standard of weights and measures. Under the power conferred upon Congress to fix the standard of weights and measures it would be perfectly competent for Congress, by a proper statute, to declare that 13 inches should constitute a foot, or 39 inches a yard. It could declare that any number of pounds of wheat, oats, or corn should constitute a bushel. The discretion was vested in Congress to fix the standard of weights and measures at whatever point it might see fit, and this power, in its very nature, is arbitrary. Is it not true, then, that in declaring that "Congress shall have power to regulate the value of money," it was the intention of the framers of the Constitution that Congress should fix, arbitrarily, a unit or money value just as the power is conferred on it to arbitrarily fix a standard of weights and measures.

It was well understood that the purchasing power of the dollar would not always be the same, and that whenever money was scarce its command over the products of labor would be greater than when it was plentiful. It was by no means intended that Congress should attempt to fix the commercial value of any article bought with money any more than it was intended that they should at any time attempt the impossible task of regulating the commercial value of articles weighed on the scales or measured by the yardstick. The Constitution either means that Congress shall have power to create and give value to a thing called money or it must be held to mean that our ancestors undertook to regulate the commercial value of the substance upon which money is impressed, which would be as absurd as the Pope's bull against the comet.

It would seem that this question ought to be put at rest by the language of the Constitution itself; but the courts of last resort of many of the States, as well as the Supreme Court of the United States, have spoken so emphatically in the premises that I can not refrain from quoting somewhat liberally from their opinions.

In the case of Warnibold *vs.* Schlieting, 16 Iowa, 243, the plaintiff had given the defendant a promissory note payable in "United States gold." After the note was given, and before it became due, the act of Congress of February 25, 1862, became a law, and under it legal-tender notes were issued. When the note became due the plaintiff tendered the defendant United States Treasury notes, which were refused, and thereupon the plaintiff brought an action to cancel the note and the trust deed given to secure its payment.

In holding the tender good and granting the relief prayed, the supreme court of Iowa, by Wright, chief justice, a distinguished jurist, and for many years a member of this body, on page 251 of the report, uses this language:

Gold may fluctuate in the market; there may be a demand for it for the most legitimate purpose; gamblers may speculate in it at the risk of sacrificing the financial, if not the dearer, interests and life of the nation, and yet, when the legal test is applied, each dollar of every mode or form of currency declared to be a legal tender has the same value without reference to the material of which it is composed. And we can not resist the remark that the sooner that this is known, accepted, and acted upon, the better it will be for national, monetary, and political integrity, as well as for individual and general morality, prosperity, and success.

Mr. MCPHERSON. I should like to ask the Senator from Nebraska a single question, if it will not interfere with him.

Mr. ALLEN. Certainly.

Mr. MCPHERSON. Does the power granted in the Constitution to Congress to coin money and regulate the value thereof mean such a regulation of the value of money as provided by the Constitution that one coin may be made worth 100 cents and another coin 60 cents, and they shall circulate harmoniously together as money? Was it in contemplation that, instead of carrying out the decrees of nature, Congress may arbitrarily make a decree which is against it?

Mr. ALLEN. My speech as I proceed will answer the Senator's question.

The court of appeals of New York in 1863, in the case of The Metropolitan Bank *vs.* Van Dyck, and in the case of Meyer *vs.* Roosefelt, 27 New York, page 400, passed upon the constitutionality of the act of Congress, February 25, 1862, creating legal-tender Treasury notes.

In that case a State bank had issued a note, payable in lawful money of the United States. This note was presented for payment, and legal-tender Treasury notes were tendered by the bank to the holder and they were refused.

In an action brought to recover the court of appeals held that the tender was good, and directly passed upon the constitutional power of Congress to coin money and regulate its value.

On page 425 Davies, J., says:

We thus see that Congress, since the organization of the Government, commencing in the Presidency of Washington, has exercised plenary power and control over the subject of currency and legal-tender laws. It has established the value of certain foreign coins at one time and changed it at another; has made them a legal tender in payment of all debts, now by weight and then again by tale; repealed such laws and enacted them again, sometimes making such coins a legal tender in payment of all debts, and at other times limiting them to payment for public lands or for taxes and debts; also making evidences of public debt or stock of the United States a legal tender in payment for public lands.

We also see that Congress has changed, from time to time, the standard of value of coins struck by our own Mint, debased them by altering the fineness and weight and the relative value of gold and silver, and making the debased coins, as well as those of a greater value not debased, equally a legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private, at their respective nominal values.

Again, Davies, J., says on page 430:

If Congress can coin any metallic substance, under the power to coin money, and stamp it with an arbitrary value, as it is conceded it may, then it follows, from the practice of the Government and the rules and principles enunciated, that it can make such stamped metal a legal tender at any designated value.

Intrinsic value of a thing stamped or coined has nothing to do with the question of power. Such metals so stamped are not issued or put in circulation on the faith or credit of the United States Government, no pledges made to redeem them, and they may possess little or no intrinsic value; yet it is not denied that such pieces of metal so stamped or coined may be lawfully issued and made a legal tender and thus become lawful money of the United States.

Again he says, on page 459:

It is the lawful money of the United States, made such by its authority, that can only be effectually used in payment of debts without reference to the intrinsic value of the thing tendered or paid.

In the same case, Balcom, J., speaking of the same subject, on page 466, says:

The fair inference from these facts is that the States were prohibited by the Constitution from emitting bills of credit or making anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts, and from coining money, in order to rid the country of other circulating medium or currency which had no intrinsic or legal value beyond the lines of the States that authorized it, and so Congress would provide a money or currency that would be of value throughout the Union. And to enable Congress to provide such a circulating medium for all ordinary purposes, the power was expressly conferred "to coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coins."

Again he says, on page, 472, in speaking of the legal-tender notes authorized by act of Congress:

Each five-dollar note issued under this act is precisely of the same value in legal contemplation as a piece of gold of the denomination of $5. And if all citizens would strictly observe this law as they should, any person could obtain $5 in gold coin for one of these notes at any place where such coin is to be had.

Wright, J., in the same case, and on page 482, uses this language:

A Treasury note of the denomination of $10 is legally as valuable for the purpose of money as a coined eagle; the value of each is fixed at $10, money of account.

Mr. Justice Emmet, in this case, and on page 487, also says:

Gold and silver coin and money are not necessarily convertible terms. The latter word is used in various senses and has various shades of meaning, according to its employment or connection. It is generally the representative of values and the instrument of exchange. But it is no part of the contract of debt made at one time for the repayment of money at another that this representative instrument should possess the same exchangeable value or the same purchasing power at the time of payment as at the time of incurring the debt. All that the debtor contracts to do is to return to his creditor, in dollars and cents, as much as he receives. And the advance and repayment are alike to be made, in that each, by competent and valid authority, is made the medium of account and payment.

Mr. Justice Marvin, on page 519, says:

It is not, however, denied that Congress may reconstruct the dollar, and make it, though nominally the same, of far less value as compared with the coined quantity of the precious metals.

The precious metals, it is said, possess a real intrinsic value in the estimation of all civilized nations, and that they are generally used as the representative of values as money. And all this is true. Still, the precious metals are a mere article of commerce between nations and among the people or subjects of such nations, in that the nations by an act of legislation, give to them a different character by taking certain portions and impressing upon them the stamp of the government, and giving them names which the people may use in their contracts; and also declaring that the damage for the breach of all contracts shall be estimated in the stamped precious metals, according to their denominations, and shall be satisfied by them.

And again, on page 520:

Although a nation has once established a system of money composed of the precious metals as an aid to commerce, it does not follow that it may not change that system, or, indeed, wholly abrogate it and substitute something else as the representative of values, classifying it by numerals, and giving them names.

The nation may, and ought to do so, if in its judgment it has discovered

a better system for the development of its industry and the encouragement and protection of commerce.

In the legal-tender cases in 52 Pennsylvania State Reports the supreme court of Pennsylvania, on page 68, says:

The State may not enact that anything but gold and silver shall be legal tender, but Congress may coin money; that is, say the opponents of the constitutionality of this act, give the character of money to pieces of metal. It has made money out of copper and declared it a legal tender for small amounts. Its power to do this has not been questioned. Nor is there any provision that a piece of metal which Congress may coin as money shall have a legal value corresponding at all to the intrinsic value of the metal in the market. Upon this subject the Constitution is silent. The regulation of value may be changed from time to time. It has been more than once, without denial of the power of Congress to change it. Our coins have been debased and a smaller weight of pure gold or silver is now required than was formerly required.

It seems, therefore, to have been left to Congress to determine how far the statutory value of coined metal shall correspond with the market value of the same metal as bullion. It is not claimed that the expression "to coin money and regulate the value thereof" expresses or implies any other restriction than that the substance of which it is coined shall be metallic. But it is possible for gold or silver to be formed into a leaf no thicker than bank-note paper. If upon such a leaf, stamped in any way, a value be affixed by Congress of $100 dollars, why is it not money, even in the view of those who insist that coining money is applicable only to metallic substances? There is no prescription of any form for the pieces of money that may be coined.

The courts of last resort of at least fifteen other States have held, in substance, the same doctrine. But, Mr. President, the Supreme Court of the United States has frequently spoken to the same effect.

In Knox *vs.* Lee and Barker *vs.* Davis, 12 Wallace, page 457, in what are commonly known as the Legal-tender cases, the Supreme Court has, in my judgment, put an end to this question.

Mr. Justice Strong, who there delivers the opinion of the court, on page 547, says:

Undoubtedly the power to regulate the value of money coined, and of foreign coins, is not exhausted by the first regulation.

More than once in our history has the regulation been changed without any denial of the power of Congress to change it. And it seems to have been left to Congress to determine alike what metal shall be coined, its purity, and how far its statutory value as money shall correspond, from time to time, with the market value of the same metal as bullion.

Speaking further, on page 553, he says:

It is hardly correct to speak of a standard of value. The Constitution does not speak of it. It contemplates a standard for that which has gravity or extension.

But value is an ideal thing. The coinage acts fix its unit as a dollar; but the gold or silver thing we call a dollar is in no sense a standard of a dollar. It is a representative of it. There might never have been a piece of money of the denomination of a dollar. There never was a pound sterling coined until 1815, if we except a few coins struck in the reign of Henry VIII, almost immediately debased, yet it has been the unit of British currency for many generations.

He further says, on page 547:

The Constitution does not ordain what metals may be coined, or prescribe that the legal value of the metals when coined shall correspond at all with their intrinsic value in the market.

And on page 548 he says:

No one ever doubted that a debt of $1,000, contracted before 1834, could be paid by 100 eagles coined after that year, though they contained no more gold that 94 eagles, such as were coined when the contract was made, and this, not because of the intrinsic value of the coin, but because of its legal value. The eagles coined after 1834 were not money until they were authorized by law, and had they been coined before without a law fixing their legal value they could no more have paid a debt than uncoined bullion or cotton or wheat.

Bradley, J., in the same case, on page 562, says:

Uniformity of money was one of the objects of the Constitution. The coinage of money, and regulation of its value, is conferred upon the General Government exclusively. That Government has also the power to issue bills.

These decisions, Mr. President, have been reaffirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States in Duly *vs.* Smith, 13 Wallace, 604; Bigler *vs.* Waller, 14th Wallace, 297, and Railroad Company *vs.* Johnson, 15 Wallace, 195, and may be said to settle for all time the doctrine that, under the Constitution of this country, the power rests in Congress to create and regulate the value of money.

I think I have now shown conclusively these two propositions:

First, that silver is the money of the Constitution, and,

Second, that the power to create and regulate the value of money is a political power conferred upon Congress under the Constitution of this Union.

Mr. President, this is the teaching of our fathers as they have spoken to us through the Constitution. Can we doubt it? Can we hesitate to enforce it when commerce, industry, and labor lie prostrate and bleeding at every pore throughout the length and breadth of the nation?

It is an elementary rule of construction applicable to constitutions and statutes alike, wherever our language is spoken and the common law is in force, that where a power is conferred for the public welfare it becomes the duty of the officer or body upon whom it is conferred to execute it in the fullness of its gift.

Power and duty are under such circumstances synonymous words. Can we then refuse to discharge the duty of coining the silver of the Constitution? I believe this duty will be fulfilled to the lasting benefit of our country unless we have reached that period in the world's history when the day that ushered out of existence the reign of the feudal lord also ushered into existence the reign of the money lord whose golden argument is to break down constitutions, topple over and destroy government, if not efface civilization and enslave the race.

Mr. President, for seven hundred years before the Christian era silver was used as money and has been continuously used from that time until the present time throughout the civilized world.

Silver was current with the merchants in Abraham's time. For two thousand seven hundred years gold and silver, as money, have not varied to exceed three points, and yet the gold monometallists tell us that silver is becoming so plentiful that the only safety in our monetary system is to abandon it and cling to the gold standard.

I have no caprice to serve in this matter, none whatever, and if I can be convinced that there is a sufficient amount of gold in the world to do the money work of the world with, and that we do not need the aid of silver, I would be perfectly willing to take gold as the single standard. The People's party is not clamoring for silver because they prefer it to gold, but simply because they are thoroughly convinced that there is not enough gold in the world to do the money work of the world with, and that we must have more money to bring to the homes of this nation that degree of prosperity to which they are entitled, and which they so much need.

Let us look at this question of the supply of gold for a moment. In round numbers the world has, in gold coin, $3,750,000,000. Of this sum it is said that there is hoarded in Asia, in various forms, $1,250,000,000, leaving to the balance of the world something like $2,500,000,000.

Early in the current year the distribution of gold stood something like this:

Bank of France	$340,000,000
Imperial Bank of Germany	215,000,000
Russian War Chest	500,000,000
Bank of England	125,000,000
Other banks in England	95,000,000
Austria-Hungary	150,000,000
Spain, Netherlands, Italy, and Turkey	125,000,000
United States Treasury, May 1, 1893, including that covered by certificates	202,000,000
Banks of the United States	198,000,000
	1,950,000,000
Leaving for the rest of the world perhaps	550,000,000

Thus showing conclusively that the great bulk of the coined gold of the world is controlled by European and other foreign powers.

By the report of the Director of the Mint in 1892, page 1, we are informed that the total gold output of this nation in 1892 was approximately $33,000,000. Of this sum, on page 49 of the report, we are informed that $19,329,000 were consumed in the arts. Add to this $1,500,000 to make good lost and abraded coins, and there is left of the gold output of 1892 $12,171,000. Estimating the population of this country at 66,500,000 souls, which is below the estimate given by the Treasury Department, and we find that of the gold subject to coinage, of the output of our mines in 1892, there are 18.3 cents per capita.

It is current history that the population of this country is increasing at the rate of over 2,000,000 per annum, and if we take the per capita circulation, as given by the Director of the Mint, at $25, it will be seen that we need annually to add to our current money $50,000,000 to stand still.

Where is the gold to come from if this volume is to be supplied by gold? It is evident that we do not mine it, and if we obtain in at all it must be by purchasing it by the issuance of Government bonds. And this is the resort, in my judgment, to which the gold monometallists are attempting now to drive the country.

I give it as my deliberate judgment that any Administration which authorizes the issuance of Government bonds to-day, removed as we are thirty years from the close of the war, and with our wonderful wealth which should be converted into money, will be turned out of power speedily at the close of its tenure of office.

The mines of this country can not supply us in the next year with to exceed one-half of the gold output of 1892; for it is well known that the most of our gold is found with silver, and the closing of the silver mines will have the effect of shortening the output of gold; so I am safe in saying that in 1893 there will be no American gold to add to our coinage.

We have, then, one of three remedies open to us.

First. We can issue bonds and purchase gold, and by that means saddle upon the industries and people of this country an endless national debt; or,

Second. We can resort to overexpanded bank credits in the future as we have been doing in the past; or,

Third. We can tap the silver mines of the Rocky Mountains and cause to flow into our volume of currency a stream of silver equal to the demands of our people.

Which will we do?

We have been constantly told by the Republican party for years past that the only safety to this nation was in becoming a self-reliant people; that we should build up our industries, set our laborers to work, giving them remunerative wages for their labor, and live within ourselves and independent of Europe and European interests; and yet we are told to-day by some of the leaders of this party that this Government can not commercially breathe except as it breathes through the lungs of England. We are told that we must protect our people against the evils of tariff taxation, but when it comes to the value fixed on European money we are to suffer them to be robbed at will.

If we adopt the first course offered to us by gold monometallists, we have no assurance that the gold which we purchase and put in the Treasury to-morrow will remain there twenty-four hours. The same means by which the Treasury has been depleted and looted in the past of its gold may be resorted to in the future, and we will be compelled to issue more bonds to buy more gold, and by this means a perpetual national debt will be created and will rest upon our people for years to come. There is no end—there can be none—to a system of this kind.

If we resort, on the other hand, to bank credits, we resort, in my judgment, to an infinitely worse scheme. I am not prepared, so far as I am concerned, to have this Government abandon the constitutional power of coining and controlling money. The power to coin and regulate the value of money, and control its volume, is a vital sovereign power devolved by the Constitution on Congress. I am not prepared for the time when this Government shall abandon this sovereign power, which should be exercised in the interest of the masses of the people, and farm it out to bankers, brokers, and gamblers in stocks and bonds, that they may tax the industries and energies of this country *ad libitum*.

Mr. President, in my judgment, the nation is to-day suffering more from a contracted volume of money than from all other causes combined.

The junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] told us the other day that the mills of New England are closed, and that at this time, with the exception of two mills, there is not a spindle turning in the city of Lawrence; that there is only one mill running in the city of Lowell, and that there are over 30,000 people out of employment in two other cities in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The Senator said:

> Multiply it by 10 and you get some idea of the distress that rests upon the State of Massachusetts. Multiply it by 100 and you get some idea of the distress pervading the Northern States, and when there is such a blight resting upon the industries of my own State, and of all the other great industrial States of the North, for one I have no mind for party politics or for delay. I ask simply for action. I believe it is the highest duty that the Senate can perform to take the quickest possible action.

If to this the Senator had added that hundreds of thousands of people are out of employment in many of the great agricultural and mining States of the Union in consequence of the closing of the mines and the stagnation of productive industry; that prices of farm produce have fallen almost 40 per cent in the South and West, and that there is a universal cry going up from all of the great agricultural, mining, and manufacturing States of the Union, caused by this panic precipitated upon the country by the money-changers of Lombard street, aided and abetted by their allies of Wall street, he would have drawn a mild picture indeed.

And what is causing all this distress? Certainly it is not because the people are frightened at the Sherman act, but rather because there is a universal scarcity of money, and business and industries of all kinds are at a standstill in consequence.

That this is true may be found in the fact that all over the country we hear of a financial famine; not enough money, it is said, with which to do the business of the country.

I have watched the daily press, for many months, very carefully, to ascertain the cause of so many bank failures, and in almost every instance the dispatch announcing the failure of a bank is accompanied with a statement that the bank had ample resources and was perfectly solvent, but could not obtain the money to pay its debts.

When the volume of money is so small that it will not supply the ordinary and daily demands of legitimate banking, what is to be thought of the chance of the farmer and laborer in the struggle for an existence?

Another prolific source of evil contributing, in my judgment, in a large measure to produce the distress we are now experiencing, lies in overexpanded bank credits, making money panics probable, or at least possible, by sudden and extreme inflation or contraction of the volume of money.

We have too much credit—too much confidence and not enough of actual money, and there must be some means invented for a speedy return to a sounder and more scientific basis.

The history of the world fails to produce an instance of a nation evilly affected in consequence of an oversupply of sound money, although it is replete with instances of nations whose civilization has been lost or turned back for centuries in consequence of a shrinking volume of money.

The evils resulting from a contracted volume of money are so vividly portrayed by the senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], in a speech delivered in this Chamber, February 27, 1868, to be found in the Congressional Globe, part 5 and Appendix, second session Fortieth Congress, pages 180–192, that I can not refrain from quoting from it. It is as follows:

> The appreciation of the currency is a far more distressing operation than Senators suppose. Our own and other nations have gone through that operation before. * * *
>
> It is not possible to take this voyage without the sorest distress. To every person except a capitalist out of debt or a salaried officer or annuitant it is a period of loss, danger, lassitude of trade, fall of wages, suspension of enterprise, bankruptcy, and disaster. * * * It means the ruin of all dealers whose debts are twice their capital, though one-third less than their actual property. It means the fall of agricultural productions, without any great reduction of taxes. * * *
>
> When that day comes every man, as the sailor says, will be close-reefed, all enterprise will be suspended, every bank will have contracted its currency to the lowest limit; and the debtor, compelled to meet in coin a debt contracted in currency, will find the coin hoarded in the Treasury, no representative of coin in circulation, his property shrunk not only to the extent of the appreciation of the currency, but still more by the artificial scarcity made by the hoarders of gold. To attempt this task by a surprise upon our people, by arresting them in the midst of their lawful business and applying a new standard of values to their property, without any reduction of their debts, or giving them an opportunity to compound with their creditors, or to distribute the losses, would be an act of folly without an example in evil in modern times.

In a well considered article in the Manufacturer, volume 6, page 2, published at Philadelphia, August 12, 1893, there occurs this significant language, bearing upon the decline in the price of wheat:

> The decline of the price of wheat is not caused by the stringency in the money market. It has continued for nearly twenty years through a period of high prosperity. It will be likely to continue further. Unless the price of silver shall be advanced, wheat may be expected to fall to 50 cents a bushel, and it may go lower. The decline is due, not at all to overproduction, if there is any overproduction, but to the constant appreciation of the value of gold.
>
> While gold goes up wheat will go down, and there can be no hope of stopping their movement until a civilized world refuses longer to conduct its business upon the basis of a single metal. It will be hard for the persons who have been fighting against silver remonetization, and ridiculing the men who upheld it, to admit the truth, but the facts are all against them; the evidence, day by day, is all upon the side of the theory that gold appreciation is destroying the wealth producers of the country. It was declared a year ago that prices had reached "bottom," but they have been going down ever since, and "bottom" has not been reached.

In the same journal and page is a table showing the decline in the price and quantity of exported wheat from 1892 to 1893. It is as follows:

Wheat exports, fiscal years 1892 and 1893.

	Bushels.	Value.
1892	157,280,351	$161,399,132
1893	117,121,109	93,534,970

Forty million less bushels, sixty-seven million less dollars.

Quantity declined 25 per cent. Value declined 42 per cent.

And thus, owing to the steady falling of prices, 42 per cent less of debt are paid at only 25 per cent less of wheat.

In a more or less marked degree, the prices of all farm products is falling, and unless something is speedily done to raise fallen prices farming will be the least productive of all our industries.

Mr. President, it is idle to talk at this time of international bimetallism. The people have no faith that it will be accomplished, and many of them believe that it is a mere subterfuge resorted to for the purpose of delay, to the end that the money power may gain time to reduce the masses to subjection and stifle their protests against this great wrong.

Four times in a third of a century we have had an international monetary conference to consider the question of international bimetallism, and each conference has resulted in bringing about nothing, nor have we any assurance that any steps are being taken in good faith to bring about international bimetallism.

While we all understand that the purchasing clause of the Sherman act is a miserable makeshift resorted to and enacted to avoid the blessing of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, as has been confessed in this Chamber, yet it is wiser by far to retain it until something better is offered in its place, than to surrender to an enemy who has been constant in season and out of season for twenty years to strike down silver and deprive the people of one-half of their constitutional money; thus increasing in enormous proportion the debts of the people, shrinking the value of their property and labor, and making the rich richer and the poor poorer.

Sir, the Sherman act is the last feeble barrier that stands between the patriotic and industrious masses of our people and that horde of insolent, aggressive, and ravenous money-changers and gamblers of Lombard street and Wall street, who for private

gain would, through a shrinking and contracted volume of money, turn the world back into the gloom of the Dark Ages with all its attendant evil and misery. We can not suffer this to be done; we must stand like a wall of fire against its accomplishment, and only when the measure that is to succeed the present law is shown to us and enacted into a law can we with safety repeal the Sherman act.

No mere high-sounding and empty declaration about an intended return to bimetallism, such as is attached to the bill under consideration, should be permitted to betray us into an unconditional repeal of the act of July 14, 1890. Such declaration has only added evidence of a fixed and settled purpose on the part of the Administration to forever drive silver from the field as a money metal.

It may quiet the fears of the weak and lull the thoughtless into an attitude of fancied security, but it is merely the song of the siren calling the nation to destruction. No, sir; base, ignoble, and cowardly as the Sherman act is and ever has been, it is infinitely better than this limp, meaningless, and useless declaration of an intention to return to bimetallism. We have it in our power to force better terms, and we would be unworthy if we fail to do so.

Mr. President, I have listened to and read many of the speeches delivered upon the subject of money. I have read much of the literature pertaining to the subject, and, although I do not profess by any means to have exhausted the question, I must say that I have never yet heard a reason offered for the establishment of a single gold standard, or read one, that was not, to my mind at least, capable of a ready and conclusive answer.

If this question could be divested of the selfishness that surrounds it—the selfishness of the silver miner on the one hand, and the gold miner, the advocate of a limited and shrinking volume of money, and the holder of securities, on the other hand—it would be comparatively easy of solution.

But it is clothed with so much selfishness, and therefore is so much mystified on the part of those directly interested, that it will doubtless prove difficult of solution. Monometallists assault silver with many bitter epithets; they declare in strong terms that a silver dollar is a dishonest dollar, "a 54-cent dollar," and "a fiat dollar," and they apply to it many of the bitterest expressions that can be invented. There is no argument in expressions like these. We all well understand that when a subject under discussion elicits from its opponents nothing but epithets, it is reasonably safe in the domain of logic. It is only when its opponents have no reason to offer against it that they resort to denunciation, sarcasm, and ridicule. Now, why is a silver dollar a dishonest dollar? I have never heard any other reason given than that its commercial value is not, at present, equivalent to the bullion value of the gold dollar, and this, in my judgment, is the only reason, if it can be called a reason, that can be offered against it.

How is it expected to institute a comparison between two unequal things—two things that are, according to an imperative law of nature, considered as articles of commerce—traveling in opposite directions? Gold daily growing more scarce and in greater demand throughout the civilized world, and silver crippled by being denied equal coinage privileges at the mints, growing more plentiful, with lessened money use, it must be expected that their commercial value will radically differ. But put both metals upon an equality before the law, and they will stand equal in the commercial and monetary world. I do not doubt that the very moment silver is permitted free access at the mints its price will go up throughout the civilized world. Only last week the London silver market advanced in anticipation of the action of Congress retaining the present Sherman act.

Mr. President, how can it be expected that silver will advance in price, or even remain at a given point, when we have joined with Europe to discredit it? It seems to me that it would be unwise for us to join with Europe in depressing the price of cotton, corn, and other products of our fields. The Senator from Oregon told us in his speech the other day that the price of Indian wheat and cotton was fixed in the Liverpool market by the gold standard. I deny this. I assert that every bushel of Indian wheat and every pound of Indian cotton that has been sold in the Liverpool market for the last eighteen years has been bought with debased silver or discounted Indian council bills payable in silver, thrown on the market by the English Government, very frequently at a large discount, and in competition with American silver; so that American silver, to be sold in the Indian market or in the London market for India, has been compelled to meet and undersell Indian council drafts. And what has been the effect of this course of business?

It has been an increase of the wheat and cotton industries of India, and, to an enormous extent, Indian wheat and cotton are now, in consequence, sold in the Liverpool market in strong competition with the productions of our own farmers and planters, and the price of American farm products has been driven down in consequence thereof to an almost inconceivable point. I am entirely unable to understand why the people of this country should join England in destroying one of the great industries of America and one of the strongest metals, and raising up in consequence thereof strong competition upon the part of the people of India, that destroys much of the profit of American farming.

Mr. President, I desire to direct the attention of the Senate for a short time to a little further inquiry into the subject of money and its characteristics. Money, in my judgment, may be defined to be a medium of exchange. In fact, I know of no office or function performed by money that is not clearly embraced within that definition. There are found in this country and elsewhere two schools of thought, one holding that the value of money resides in the material upon which it is impressed, or of which it is made, and the other holding that the money value is given it by law, bounded and circumscribed by its volume: in other words, that the value of money is a value in use rather than a value in the material of which it is composed. Money differs from all other things known to man in the following respects:

First. Its value consists in a value in use, or the office or function it performs.

Second. It differs from all other things in that it possesses no value except as it is being used. It is the office of money, like the Wandering Jew, to keep constantly in motion, and it is valuable and serviceable to the race only when it is in motion.

Third. It differs from all other things known to man in the fact that it is counted by units. No one ever thinks of looking at the size of the piece or of ascertaining its weight; but we look at the number of dollars or cents it represents and take it in consequence thereof, and not in consequence of the commercial value of the material of which it is composed. There is nothing like this except, perhaps, the unit in a mathematical calculation.

Fourth. It differs from all other things known to man, because all of it is, at all times, for sale; its very office is a medium of exchange, and it is useless except when used in exchange for other articles. Gold monometallists hold to the theory promulgated by the merchant mariner early in the world's existence. I have not been able as yet to ascertain the time when the legal-tender quality was attached to money, although I think I am safe in saying that it is of comparatively recent origin.

Early in the history of the world's commerce the merchant was a mariner, and loading his ship at the beginning of the trading season, he sailed from land to land selling his wares and receiving in exchange the precious metals, unstamped and uncoined, and at the close of the trading season the nation which had the greatest amount of the world's precious metals was counted the most fortunate.

As a result of this, business was stimulated in the nation having the "balance of trade," so that the nation against whom the balance of trade existed, to turn that trade in its favor the next year, was compelled to labor cheaper and produce more cheaply than the other nations, that it might undersell them in the markets of the world. That is the origin of the so-called automatic or self-regulating system that was taught in the early history of the world, and it is that doctrine that is being advocated by the gold monometallists in this country to-day. It is readily seen in examining this doctrine that no value was given to the precious metals by the ancients in consequence of coinage or legal enactments, but the entire value resided in them as articles of commerce.

In the struggle for the precious metals by the ancients, that nation receiving the greatest amount at the end of the trading season did so in consequence of debasing or enslaving its labor and destroying its civilization, and doubtless it is true that civilization was retarded for many centuries in consequence of this struggle for gold and silver.

If the Constitution is correct, as expounded by the courts of this country, that the power to regulate the value of money as money is a political power existing in the Government, and the value of money is its value in use, or its exchangeable value, then the theory of the gold monometallists, that commercial value must reside in the material of which money is made, is unsound; and the argument that there should be an increased ratio of silver and gold is likewise unsound.

We are told, however, that if we reëstablish silver as money of final payment in this country at the old ratio of 16 to 1 we will be flooded with foreign silver, and gold will go out of the country, and we will be driven to a silver basis or to silver monometallism. Certainly no well-informed person can be in fear of such a consequence. This country produces more than 40 per cent of the total silver output of the world.

It is well known that of the 1,200,000,000 of people upon the face of the earth at least 900,000,000 of them are exclusively sil-

ver-using people, and there is a struggle now going on to obtain silver enough annually for the use of these people.

If we rehabilitate silver and give it its proper office in our volume of currency I have every reason to believe that at that moment silver throughout the world will reëstablish itself as it stood at the time of demonetization.

The civilized nations of Europe who are using silver as money, and must continue to use it, can not spare their stock of silver for the purpose of dumping it upon us. I am told, and I believe it to be true, that the total amount of silver money in use amongst the civilized nations, independent of this Government, is $1,100,000,000, the most of which is used at a ratio of 15½ of silver to 1 of gold. Is it possible that, with the pressure on European nations for money material, which is daily growing stronger, the owners of this volume of silver money, will consent to pay the expense of its transportation to this country, and here add one-half grain to its coinage, for the purpose of injuring the industries of our nation?

Money goes where the least quantity of it will buy the most, and it is idle to say that the stock of silver in Europe, which is now being used at a ratio of 15½ to 1, will be brought here for recoinage at the ratio of 16 to 1, for the purpose of affecting our commerce. But, however this may be, certain it is that whoever brings his silver to this country for the purpose of coinage, under the law for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, will be compelled to purchase American products with his dollar or it will be valueless to him.

It is repeatedly asserted that law can not create or give value, but we have only to look at the effect of legislation in this country for the past thirty years to learn that through the exception clause placed upon the legal-tender notes, the creation of the national bank system, the contraction of the volume of money, the credit-strengthening act, the demonetization of silver, the resumption act, and other monetary legislation, millions of dollars of value have been created for the holders of our securities, and millionaires, not by the dozens, but by the hundreds, have been made; and all this in consequence of legislation that has transferred to the holders of these securities the money and property of the masses of our people.

Among the many absurdities indulged in regarding this question of finance is the so-called parity between gold and silver.

We are given to understand by some that at a certain ratio of gold to silver a natural parity can be found and established; but the advocates of this doctrine should remember that parity is the relation of equality between two or more things, created by law or by the common consent of those concerned in their use. Natural parity can only be found in things of equal production, service, demand, durability, and indestructibility, and it would be difficult now for anyone to name any two things in the entire domain of nature between which a natural parity exists. Parity, then, is and must be a creation of law.

Mr. President, we have been told that the nation in whose favor the "balance of trade" exists at the close of the trading season is to be considered the most fortunate nation, and that we must so order the affairs of this country as to annually obtain this balance of trade. A balance of trade is only a national blessing when it represents some profit to our people. If it is bought by the sale of our products far below their cost, and at a sacrifice of our civilization, it is a curse rather than a blessing. Of what benefit can it be to the people of this country if they should obtain the entire stock of European gold by a sacrifice of their property and labor, while Europe may be enjoying their products as well as profits? If the balance of trade is to be purchased at a sacrifice, we have only to indulge in such luxury for a few years to completely pauperize our labor and destroy our national wealth. It would be better for our people, better for our aggregate wealth, if the balance of trade should be annually against us than to purchase it at too great a sacrifice.

But, Mr. President, I had no intention at the outset of my remarks to discuss this question at any considerable length.

I only intended to discuss some of its legal features which I have frequently heard denied by gold monometallists. I will leave to older, abler, and more experienced Senators the duty of discussing money as a science. In all the advancement made by the race in the generations of time that have preceded us, less advancement has been made in the science of finance than in any other department of human research. We have been enabled by the cultivated brain of man in the domain of the sciences to make wonderful progress. We have created the electric light, the telephone, the telegraph, the railroad and all attendant blessings as well as evils, and, wherever man has applied himself, the result has been the production of something designed in its use for the benefit of the race; and yet, in the science of money, we lag behind; and amongst our people are those who tell us that we can not invent any means which will prevent the recurrence of financial panics and depressions and the transferring of the money and property of the many into the hands of the few.

I believe the mind of man, when rightly and honestly applied to the solution of this question, will eventually be able to settle it upon a wise, humane, and scientific basis; and to this end, it occurs to me, our energies should be honestly directed.

Mr. President, I think the time has gone by when the prosperity of our country should be left to the mere luck and chance of gold and silver mining. I believe the cultivated and scientific mind of man, that has given to the world such wonderful progress in every department of life, will, when honestly and patriotically applied to the task, be able to give to us a money based upon wise, humane, and scientific principles, which will afford to every man, woman, and child beneath the folds of our flag a full measure of justice.

I began this discussion with reluctance and I close it with reluctance; for, scattered over the great plains of our country, in its woodlands, on its mountain sides, and in its valleys, are millions of our countrymen who are suffering ineffable misery in consequence of this unholy warfare waged upon their rights.

Their eyes are turned toward this city, and they are now earnestly looking and listening for the decree that is to go forth from this Chamber, enslaving them and their children for generations to come, or that is to strike from them the chains of financial bondage and set them free.

If we act wisely and patriotically, and give to the people of our country a sufficient volume of sound and scientific money to enable them to set all the energies of nature and man at work producing wealth, once more the sunlight of prosperity, like the natural sun that dispels the mist and the dew, will kiss away the clouds of doubt and fear, and we will witness an era of prosperity more wonderful than the world has ever known.

CHEROKEE OUTLET LANDS.

Mr. BERRY. I move to take up for consideration the House joint resolution with regard to the Cherokee Outlet, which was reported by the Committee on Public Lands this morning.

Mr. PLATT. I wish the Senator would not call that joint resolution up this afternoon. There have been, as I know, a great many remonstrances sent by telegraph during the day from the Indian Territory; and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CAREY], who is also on the Committee on Public Lands, has a brief made of these telegrams, showing who the gentlemen are who telegraph. I do not think that the joint resolution ought to be called up in a thin Senate. I have no desire to delay the consideration of it unreasonably.

Mr. BERRY. If I can obtain unanimous consent for the consideration of the joint resolution to-morrow morning, at the conclusion of the morning business, I will consent to the request, but if it is to be passed at all, to be of any benefit, it must be passed speedily.

The Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of the General Land Office say that it is absolutely necessary that the joint resolution should be passed in order that they may have an orderly settlement of the outlet; that large interests are depending upon it; and that, unless the question can be speedily acted upon, it will be of no value to them.

I asked to have the resolution taken up this morning, but that was objected to. If I can obtain unanimous consent of the Senate to have it considered to-morrow morning, at the conclusion of the morning business, it will answer the purpose.

I do not wish to take advantage of the absence of the Senator from Wyoming. There is but one solitary question between the Senator from Wyoming and myself, and that is in regard to the amendment as to whether the Secretary of the Interior shall be directed to select certain officers from Oklahoma or whether he shall be allowed to use his discretion and select them where he desires. That is all the contest there is about the matter, and I do hope the Senate will give unanimous consent that the joint resolution may be considered at the conclusion of the morning business to-morrow morning. If I can get that consent, it will be satisfactory, and I now ask it.

Mr. McPHERSON. Does the Senator think the joint resolution can be concluded in the morning hour?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, I think it can be concluded in the morning hour.

Mr. McPHERSON. With the understanding that it shall not interfere with the regular order before the Senate, I shall not object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. PEFFER. I have received a number of communications from people in Kansas living near the border, who are very anxious that this matter shall be carefully considered before being acted upon. I have been so much engaged in the preparation of my speech, which was delivered to-day, that I have not had time

even to consider this resolution. I will do the very best I can, I will say to the Senator from Arkansas, to be ready, in case the measure is taken up in the morning, to express my views upon it; but I am not willing now to say that I shall be willing to consent at that time to take the measure up until I can have an opportunity to confer with friends who are directly interested in the matter to be considered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is objection to the request of the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. BERRY. Then I move that the Senate take up the joint resolution for consideration.

I hope the Senator from Kansas will withdraw his objection. The Committee on Public Lands have had the joint resolution under consideration. The colleague of the Senator from Kansas [Mr. MARTIN] is thoroughly informed in regard to it, as is the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CAREY] and the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW]. It has been thoroughly considered by the committee for several days, and it can be considered by the Senate to-morrow morning as well as at any other time.

As I have before stated, it is necessary that the question be determined one way or the other, so that the Secretary of the Interior may proceed with the orders he wishes to make with reference to the opening of the Outlet. Why we can not consider it to-morrow as well as on any other day I am unable to understand. I sincerely hope the Senator from Kansas will give his consent that the measure be taken up to-morrow morning.

Mr. PEFFER. I am a hard-working man, and I will do the very best I can to inform myself between this time and the time suggested by the Senator.

Mr. BERRY. Then I ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the joint resolution to-morrow at the conclusion of the routine morning business.

Mr. PEFFER. But I am not willing to give my consent to that.

Mr. BERRY. Then I move that the joint resolution be taken up for consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state to the Senator from Arkansas that the joint resolution was reported from the Committee on Public Lands this morning, and that it has been sent to the Public Printer, and has not yet been returned printed.

Mr. BERRY. Then, I give notice that to-morrow morning, after the conclusion of the routine business, I shall move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the joint resolution.

I wish to state that if we can get the joint resolution passed within a day or two, it will be effective, but if we fail to do that, there will be no necessity for passing it. As I before said, the Committee on Public Lands have had it under consideration; the Senator from Wyoming thoroughly and fully understands it; and I can not see why the Senator from Kansas should desire to delay the passage of the joint resolution, unless his object be to defeat legislation upon the subject and prevent the orderly opening of the Cherokee Outlet.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. VEST. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After ten minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened and (at 5 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, August 25, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate August 23, 1893.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Joshua E. Dodge, of Wisconsin, to be Assistant Attorney-General, vice William A. Maury, resigned, to take effect September 1, 1893.

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS.

Thomas M. Crocker, of Michigan, to be collector of customs for the district of Huron, in the State of Michigan, to succeed Harrison Geer, removed.

Theodore R. Lore, of New Jersey, to be collector of customs for the district of Bridgeton, in the State of New Jersey, to succeed Alexander R. Fithian, resigned.

Harry A. McNeally, of Maine, to be collector of customs for the district of Saco, in the State of Maine, to succeed Freeland H. Oaks, resigned.

Theodore S. Wilkinson, of Louisiana, to be collector of customs for the district of New Orleans, in the State of Louisiana, to succeed Henry C. Warmoth, removed.

REGISTERS OF LAND OFFICES.

G. McD. Brumby, of Delhi, La., to be register of the land office at New Orleans, La., vice Charles C. Palfrey, to be removed.

William D. O'Toole, of Hamilton, Wash., to be register of the land office at Seattle, Wash., vice Thomas M. Reed, jr., resigned.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Charles P. Johnston, of New Orleans, La., to be receiver of public moneys at New Orleans, La., vice Alexander S. Jackson, to be removed.

INDIAN AGENT.

Isaac J. Wootten, of Laurel, Del., to be agent for the Indians of the Nevada Agency in Nevada, vice Charles C. Warner, to be removed.

POSTMASTERS.

Thomas B. Garrett, to be postmaster at Fort Smith, in the county of Sebastian and State of Arkansas, in the place of James K. Barnes, removed.

James Bride, jr., to be postmaster at East Haddam, in the county of Middlesex and State of Connecticut, in the place of Marshall Emmons, resigned.

Samuel Bassett, to be postmaster at New Britain, in the county of Hartford and State of Connecticut, in the place of Ira E. Hicks, whose commission expired April 1, 1893.

Julius Deming, to be postmaster at Litchfield, in the county of Litchfield and State of Connecticut, in the place of Seth Pratt, whose commission expired March 23, 1893.

Benjamin F. Drew, to be postmaster at Colebrook, in the county of Coos and State of New Hampshire, in the place of Walter E. Churchill, resigned.

Adrian Norman, to be postmaster at Passaic, in the county of Passaic and State of New Jersey, in the place of Benjamin E. McGrew, resigned.

Japhia Van Dyke, to be postmaster at Long Branch, in the county of Monmouth and State of New Jersey, in the place of Lewis R. Williams, whose commission expired April 1, 1893.

Hanson A. Littlefield, to be postmaster at West Acton, in the county of Middlesex and State of Massachusetts, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after April 1, 1893.

John J. Love, to be postmaster at Webster, in the county of Worcester and State of Massachusetts, in the place of James Bracken, resigned.

Patrick W. Reardon, to be postmaster at Winchester, in the county of Middlesex and State of Massachusetts, in the place of William F. Fitch, whose commission expired March 21, 1893.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate August 22, 1893.

ASSISTANT SOLICITOR OF THE TREASURY.

Norborne T. N. Robinson, of Louisiana, to be Assistant Solicitor of the Treasury.

PROBATE JUDGE OF UTAH.

Jefferson A. Huff, of Utah Territory, to be judge of probate in the county of Grand, in the Territory of Utah.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

George William Caruth, of Little Rock, Ark., to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Portugal.

SECRETARIES OF LEGATION.

George B. Anderson, of the District of Columbia, to be secretary of the legation of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Stephen Bonsal, of Baltimore, Md., to be secretary of the legation of the United States to China.

MEMBER OF BOARD OF REGISTRATION AND ELECTION IN UTAH.

Henry C. Lett, of Salt Lake City, Utah, to be a member of the board of registration and election in the Territory of Utah.

GOVERNOR OF OKLAHOMA.

William C. Renfrow, of Norman, Okla., to be governor of the Territory of Oklahoma.

GOVERNOR OF ALASKA.

James Sheakley, of Wrangel, Alaska, to be governor of Alaska.

SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF UTAH.

George W. Snow, of Salt Lake City, Utah, to be surveyor-general of Utah.

SECRETARY OF ARIZONA.

Charles M. Bruce, of Benson, Ariz., to be secretary of Arizona.

SECRETARY OF UTAH.

Charles C. Richards, of Ogden, Utah, to be secretary of Utah.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS-GENERAL.

Charles B. Howry, of Mississippi, to be assistant attorney-general.

Holmes Conrad, of Virginia, to be assistant attorney-general.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS.

Joseph N. Miller, of Alabama, to be attorney of the United States for the southern district of Alabama.

Cornelius C. Watts, of West Virginia, to be attorney of the United States for the district of West Virginia.

A. J. Montague, of Virginia, to be attorney of the United States for the western district of Virginia.

Robert B. Glenn, of North Carolina, to be attorney of the United States for the western district of North Carolina.

Harry Alvan Hall, of Pennsylvania, to be attorney of the United States for the western district of Pennsylvania.

Charles E. Gorman, of Rhode Island, to be attorney of the United States for the district of Rhode Island.

Charles W. Seals, of Louisiana, to be atttorney of the United States for the western district of Louisiana.

Sherman Hoar, of Massachusetts, to be attorney of the United States for the district of Massachusetts.

Andrew Fuller Fox, of Mississippi, to be attorney of the United States for the northern district of Mississippi.

Emmet O'Neal, of Alabama, to be attorney of the United States for the northern district of Alabama.

Henry D. Clayton, of Alabama, to be attorney of the United States for the middle district of Alabama.

William E. Shutt, of Illinois, to be attorney of the United States for the southern district of Illinois.

UNITED STATES MARSHALS.

Samuel C. Dunlap, of Georgia, to be marshal of the United States for the northern district of Georgia.

William B. Brinton, of Illinois, to be marshal of the United States for the southern district of Illinois.

Robert L. Luckett, of Louisiana, to be marshal of the United States for the western district of Louisiana.

Judge C. Musgrove, of Alabama, to be marshal of the United States for the northern district of Alabama.

Edward R. Morrissette, of Alabama, to be marshal of the United States for the southern district of Alabama.

William H. Tisdale, of Alabama, to be marshal of the United States for the middle district of Alabama.

Otto Peemiller, of South Dakota, to be marshal of the United States for the district of South Dakota.

Evitt D. Nix, of Oklahoma Territory, to be marshal of the United States for the Territory of Oklahoma.

John S. McNeily, of Mississippi, to be marshal of the United States for the southern district of Mississippi.

Samuel S. Vinson, of West Virginia, to be marshal of the United States for the district of West Virginia.

Richard C. Ware, of Texas, to be marshal of the United States for the western district of Texas.

Stephen P. Condon, of Tennessee, to be marshal of the United States for the eastern district of Tennessee.

RECEIVERS OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

John W. Jones, of Blackfoot, Idaho, to be receiver of public moneys at Blackfoot, Idaho.

Clarence Dennis, of Ashland, Wis., to be receiver of public moneys at Ashland, Wis.

Pedro Delgado, of Santa Fe, N. Mex., to be receiver of public moneys at Santa Fe, N. Mex.

Robert W. Banks, of Meridian, Miss., to be receiver of public moneys at Jackson, Miss.

Eugene B. Thayer, of Wausau, Wis., to be receiver of public moneys at Wausau, Wis.

Jacob H. Robbins, of Pendleton, Oregon, to be receiver of public moneys at La Grande, Oregon.

Enoch Knight, of Los Angeles, Cal., to be receiver of public moneys at Los Angeles, Cal.

REGISTERS OF THE LAND OFFICE.

John G. Brown, of Pocatello, Idaho, to be register of the land office at Blackfoot, Idaho.

John J. Beavers, of Benton, Ark., to be register of the land office at Little Rock, Ark.

George E. Kuntz, of Ashland, Wis., to be register of the land office of Ashland, Wis.

Joseph W. Jamison, of Versailles, Mo., to be register of the land office at Boonville, Mo.

Byron Groo, of Salt Lake City, Utah, to be register of the land office at Salt Lake City, Utah.

Andrew J. Taylor, of Duluth, Minn., to be register of the land office at Duluth, Minn.

Robert A. Miller, of Jacksonville, Oregon, to be register of the land office at Oregon City, Oregon.

Louis Marchetti, of Wausau, Wis., to be register of the land office at Wausau, Wis.

George R. Young, of White Oaks, N. Mex., to be register of the land office at Roswell, N. Mex.

Benjamin F. Wilson, of Union, Oregon, to be register of the land office at La Grande, Oregon.

James H. Walker, of Raton, N. Mex., to be register of the land office at Santa Fe, N. Mex.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *August 24, 1893.*

The House met at 10 o'clock a. m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. SAMUEL W. HADDAWAY.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

DISTINCTIVE BANK-NOTE PAPER.

The SPEAKER laid before the House a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a communication from the Comptroller of the Currency relating to a deficiency in the amount of distinctive paper provided for national-bank currency during the current fiscal year; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its secretaries, announced that the Vice-President had appointed, in compliance with the provisions of the joint resolution entitled "A joint resolution providing for the appropriate commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the laying of the corner stone of the Capitol of the United States, September 18, 1893," approved August 17, 1893, Mr. VOORHEES, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. RANSOM, Mr. CHANDLER, Mr. WHITE of California, Mr. SQUIRE, and Mr. MARTIN as the members of the committee on the part of the Senate to take order in the matter of arranging for the ceremonies at the Capitol in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the laying of the corner stone of the Capitol.

DIGEST OF WAR CLAIMS DECISIONS.

Mr. BELTZHOOVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to submit at this time a resolution to authorize some printing to be done, on which it is important that action should be taken at once. It will occupy but a very few moments.

The SPEAKER. The resolution will be read, after which the Chair will ask for objections.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That there be printed and bound a digest of the laws and decisions of the courts relating to claims growing out of the late war for the suppression of the rebellion, for the use of the Committee on War Claims.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. BYNUM. I would like some information as to the cost of this printing.

Mr. BELTZHOOVER. With permission of the House, Mr. Speaker, I will state that during the last session of the last Congress a number of gentlemen on the Committee on Appropriations, and others, desired that the resident clerk of the Committee on War Claims should prepare a digest of all of the decisions of the courts relating to war claims, for the information and use of the House. This has been done, during the interval since the adjournment of the last Congress, by the clerk of the committee, who informs me that the cost of printing will not exceed $100, or about that. It will be a useful and a very essential document in the consideration of these claims.

Mr. COBB of Alabama. Is that the entire cost?

Mr. BELTZHOOVER. I so understand.

Mr. GROSVENOR. How many copies are proposed to be printed under the resolution?

Mr. BELTZHOOVER. I understand that that is fixed by the rules of the House unless otherwise provided.

Mr. GROSVENOR. What will be the number provided under the rules of the House?

Mr. BELTZHOOVER. I will state to the gentleman——

The SPEAKER. The Chair would suggest to the gentleman from Pennsylvania that this provides only for the printing for the use of the committee.

Mr. GROSVENOR. That was my understanding. Now, I am in favor of the printing and think it ought to be done, but that at the same time there should be a sufficient number of copies printed to enable each member of the House to secure at least one copy, because of the importance of the subject with which it deals.

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I think that resolution should be sent to the Committee on Printing. The House is not prepared to pass on it at this time—other business is pressing, and I ask that it take that course.

Mr. BELTZHOOVER. If this digest is to be of any use at all it must be furnished promptly, and in order to secure its printing the order should be made before the Printing Office is filled up with bills and other matters, which will necessarily delay this work.

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. But the Committee on Printing, under its privileges, can report at any time, either Tuesday next or soon after. I shall have to object for the present, and request that the resolution take that course.

The SPEAKER. Objection is made to its present consideration, and the resolution will be sent to the Committee on Printing in the absence of objection.

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. I now demand the regular order.

SILVER.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is to proceed under what is known as the five-minute rule to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act approved July 14, 1890, "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion, and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

[Mr. WAUGH adressed the House. He withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

Mr. JOHNSON of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, among the representatives on this floor, and among the people of this country, there are two kinds of monometallists. On one extreme we have the very few who really believe that gold alone is worthy of use and confidence as a money metal. On the other extreme, we have the free silverites, some of them avowed monometallists, and all of them supporting a doctrine which, if enacted into law, would as surely as night follows day drive gold out of circulation as money and bring about silver monometallism.

Neither of these policies can command the approval of my judgment. I believe that for the transaction of the business of this country we not only need to use all our silver and all our gold and all our paper, and in addition thereto such expansion of each as shall keep pace with the growth of population and business, but more than anything else we need such an expression and execution of the legislative power of the nation as shall guarantee not only the stability but also the parity of all our nine differing kinds of money at all times and in all places, utterly regardless of the ever-fluctuating values of the materials out of which the money is made.

I do not know what Pickwickian meaning the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] may attach to such expressions as "struck-down silver," "demonetized silver," "destroyed one-half of the money metal of the country," etc., but I do know that such expressions, constantly reiterated in speech and in print, have created the very erroneous impression in the public mind that the silver legislation of the last twenty years has had a tendency to diminish the use of silver money in this country.

The first so-called and falsely called "demonetization of silver act" was passed in 1853. It applied only to the subsidiary coins—half-dollars, quarters, dimes, and half-dimes.

On account of a slight undervaluation of silver between 1834 and 1853—2 or 3 per cent—it was almost impossible with free coinage to get enough of these coins into circulation to do the business of the country. Up to that time the subsidiary coins contained as much metal proportionally as the dollar piece.

It was profitable to export them or to melt them at home and use the bullion in the arts.

To meet this difficulty three radical changes as to these coins were enacted in the act of 1853:

First. The amount of silver put into a dollar's worth of these small coins was reduced from 412½ to 384 grains.

Second. Free coinage on private account was stopped, and unlimited coinage on Government account was substituted therefor.

Third. The legal-tender character of these coins was limited to amounts of $5. (In 1878 the limit was raised to $10.) The intention and purpose of Congress in making these changes was to preserve and increase that kind of silver money. The effect was magical. The result fully justified the hopes and expectations of Congress. The law has worked so satisfactorily that from that day to this no man in Congress, or out of Congress, has ever seriously proposed to go back to the old method of free-coinage as applied to these coins.

Where free coinage was a failure, unlimited coinage has proven a success. For forty years the Government has not only furnished the people an abundance of small change by always standing ready to manufacture it in unlimited quantities for any person who wanted it and was willing to give an equivalent for it, but has also maintained its parity with our best money by always standing ready to redeem it in any other kind of money, at the option of the holder.

The free coinage of silver dollars continued for twenty years longer, and came to an end in 1873. Then for five years we coined the trade dollar of 420 grains on Government account only, and in limited quantities.

In 1878 we restored the legal-tender character of the silver dollar to any amount and resumed its coinage, but on Government account and in an amount limited to $2,000,000 worth per month, instead of the former practice of free coinage on private account.

In one respect the abandonment of free coinage had the same effect upon the silver dollars as it had formerly produced on the subsidiary coin, namely, to enormously increase the use of silver as money. There were only 8,045,838 silver dollars coined at our mints during all the eighty-one years that free coinage was the law of the land, and the bulk of these eight millions went, not into circulation, but straight into the melting pots of the silversmiths.

Since that time, since silver was "demonetized," "destroyed," and "struck down," as these men tell us, we have poured into the circulation of the country 427,390,637 of silver dollars, and about $150,000,000 worth of silver bullion, not a dollar of which has been melted, except by accident, and every dollar of which, either bodily or by its paper representative, has actually entered into the channels of trade. The "dollar of the daddies," for the return to which we are now so lustily called upon, never entered as a practical factor into our coinage or our commerce.

There were only a very few of them in circulation at any time. I would like very much to know how many members of this House ever saw a silver dollar of a date earlier than 1873. Many of you have been in business for fifty years, and several of you were members of Congress more than ten years before the free coinage of those dollars ceased, and yet I very much doubt if there are three men in this House who can stand up here and state from memory whether the eagle on that dollar was represented with wings pointing up or down, or whether the image of Liberty was represented by a head or by a full figure. If there is a man here who can do that simple thing I shall be very happy to yield him time to do so from the few moments allotted to me in this debate. [After a pause.] There are 356 members of this House, and not a man of you has a clear and distinct recollection of what a free-coinage silver dollar looked like.

I venture the assertion that there is not a public school in the land where half the scholars could not without previous notice go right to the blackboard and draw from memory a fairly good representation of the buzzard eagle on the Bland silver dollar with which the people have become so familiar since we "destroyed," "demonetized," and "struck down" silver. You may by some mental reservation attach in your own minds incomprehensible meanings to these words, but you shall not forever deceive the people by coining and sounding phrases.

I inquired of the Acting Director of the Mint the other day if he could give me an estimate as to how many of the eight million silver dollars coined prior to 1873 were in circulation at that date. He could not. There were no official figures; probably less than half a million.

When the people once understand that the effect of the silver legislation since 1873 has been to increase the amount of silver money in circulation among them a thousandfold, then you can talk at them till the end of time about the "crime of 1873," "destroying half the money of the people," "contracting the currency," "doubling the purchasing power of money," and "demonetizing silver," or even yell "gold bug," "Wall street," and "plutocrats," and thoughtful men will never wink an eye. Not only have we by this legislation increased the amount of silver money a thousandfold, but we have throughout all the mutations and fluctuations of these eventful years kept that money steadily at par with gold and all our other money, while silver bullion has fallen in value over 40 per cent.

We were often threatened in the last Congress, as we have been twice in this Congress, by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], the chairman of the Committee on Coinage, that if we voted against his judgment of what was for the public welfare we would be overtaken by the vengeance of the people at home, and not one would ever be honored with a return. It is not necessary to withhold approval from such methods as ideals of statesmanship or to draw inferences of unsoundness in a cause that needs to be bolstered up by such substitutes for argument; but the survivors might be pardoned now for calling attention to the fact that that prophecy has proven untrue in at least eighty-seven individual instances. I observe many familiar names and faces of men in the Fifty-third Congress who stood up and were counted against the Missouri idea on the famous tie vote of March 24, 1892. The only Democrats returned from the great agricultural States of Iowa and Minnesota [Messrs.

HAYES and HALL] voted with us. Fidelity and ability in the cause of free coinage of silver did not save either the two Republicans from Colorado and Nevada or the Democrat from Montan .

The only party that made the campaign on a free-coinage platform, and voted solidly for it in Congress, cast 9 votes for Mr. Watson for Speaker of the Fifty-second Congress, but could only muster 7 votes for Mr. SIMPSON for Speaker of the Fifty-third. The Republican party, nine-tenths of whose Representatives were opposed to free coinage in the Fifty-second Congress, has gained forty additional seats in the Fifty-third.

In my own great agricultural district, a district that produces one-tenth of the entire wheat crop of the United States, equal in value to the entire annual silver product of the United States, the free-coinage candidate got only 7,434 votes out of a total of 36,150.

These results call not for more terrifying threats, but for more convincing arguments from the gentleman from Missouri.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from North Dakota has expired.

On motion of Mr. PICKLER and Mr. TRACEY, the time of Mr. JOHNSON of North Dakota was extended.

Mr. JOHNSON of North Dakota. These sturdy, level-headed wheat-raisers want every cent of good money they can possibly get. But they draw the line at good money. They are not tempted by the offer to revolutionize our financial system in such a way as to give them 58-cent dollars, even if they are offered a few more of them. They know that in every country in the world where there is free coinage of silver there is no gold money in circulation, and the silver money is worth exactly the same per pound as the bullion, and fluctuates with it. They do not want any such money, and do not believe in any kind of monometallism, least of all silver monometallism. There is not a country in Europe to-day whose mints are open to the free coinage of silver.

Germany demonetized silver in 1871–1873, contains people	42,000,000
France stopped silver coinage in 1874 and has filled up with gold, people	38,000,000
Italy stopped silver coinage in 1874 and has filled up with gold, people	30,000 000
Belgium adopted gold standard ten years ago, people	6,000,000
Switzerland and Greece adopted gold standard ten years ago, people	4,000,000
Scandinavia demonetized silver in 1872, people	10,000,000
Holland demonetized silver in 1875, people	4,000,000
Austria-Hungary demonetized silver in 1879, filling up with gold, people	38,000,000
Roumania adopted gold standard in 1890, people	5,000,000
Russia stopped silver coinage in 1876 and is filling up with gold, people	100,000,000
British India stopped silver coinage in 1893, people	280,000,000
Great Britain demonetized silver in 1816 and all its colonies have followed the example, people	50,000,000

Total, 606,000,000 of people, besides those in the United States. The late action by British India leaves the United States and Mexico as the only countries in the world which continue to purchase silver and coin it into legal-tender money, and Mexican silver coinage really cuts no figure, because those coins are largely melted down by persons who use them at their bullion value.

I use the term "demonetized" here to designate a method of coining, circulating, and sustaining silver as money, other than by free coinage on private account.

A glance at the following table, taken from the evidence given by the Director of the Mint before the Coinage Committee of the last Congress, shows conclusively that free coinage means monometallism, and that coinage of silver on Government account only, limited or unlimited, means bimetallism. In Europe and the United States we find enormous amounts of silver and also gold money, while in India and China there is no gold in circulation, and in Mexico not enough to be worth taking into account.

Table exhibiting approximately the stock of gold and silver in the principal countries of the world.

[Furnished the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures by E. O. Leech, Director of the Mint.]

Countries.	Stock of gold.	Stock of silver.		
		Full legal tender.	Limited tender.	Total.
United States	*$686,845,000	†$465,512,000	$76,566,000	$542,078,000
United Kingdom	550,000,000	----------	100,000,000	100,000,000
France	900,000,000	650,000,000	50,000,000	700,000,000
Germany	500,000,000	102,000,000	102,000,000	204,000,000
Belgium	65,000,000	48,400,000	6,600,000	55,000,000
Italy	140,000,000	25,800,000	34,200,000	60,000,000
Switzerland	15,000,000	11,400,000	3,600,000	15,000,000
Greece	2,000,000	1,800,000	2,200,000	4,000,000
Spain	100,000,000	90,000,000	35,000,000	125,000,000
Portugal	40,000,000	----------	10,000,000	10,000,000
Austria-Hungary	40,000,000	90,000,000	----------	90,000,000
Netherlands	25,000,000	61,800,000	3,200,000	65,000,000
Scandinavian Union	32,000,000	----------	10,000,000	10,000,000

Table exhibiting approximately the stock of gold and silver, etc.—Continued.

Countries.	Stock of gold.	Stock of silver.		
		Full legal tender.	Limited tender.	Total.
Russia	$190,000,000	$22,000,000	$38,000,000	$60,000,000
Turkey	50,000,000	----------	45,000,000	45,000,000
Australia	100,000,000	----------	7,000,000	7,000,000
Egypt	100,000,000	----------	15,000,000	15,000,000
Mexico	5,000,000	50,000,000	----------	50,000,000
Central America	----------	500,000	----------	500,000
South America	45,000,000	25,000,000	----------	25,000,000
Japan	90,000,000	50,000,000	----------	50,000,000
India	----------	900,000,000	----------	900,000,000
China	----------	700,000,000	----------	700,000,000
The Straits	----------	100,000,000	----------	100,000,000
Canada	16,000,000	----------	5,000,000	5,000,000
Cuba, Haiti, etc	20,000,000	1,200,000	800,000	2,000,000
Total	3,711,845,000	3,395,412,000	544,166,000	3,939,578,000

*Includes $82,212,000 in gold bars. †Includes $53,969,000 in silver bars.

The advocates of free coinage state that wheat and silver are both cheaper now than in 1873, which is true; that the fall of silver has caused the fall of wheat, which has not been proven and may be true or false; and that the fall has been simultaneous, like the mercury in two thermometers placed side by side, which is false. I have raised wheat on my farm in North Dakota for the past nine years, and always marketed it at the same place, Petersburg, to the same buyer, John H. Terrett, direct from the thrashing machine, in the fall. In 1884 I got 52 cents a bushel for my No. 1 hard wheat. Some of my neighbors who held their wheat until winter had to sell for 42 cents. Silver was then worth about $1 an ounce. In 1888 I sold my No. 2 northern for $1 a bushel. My neighbors who had No. 1 hard got $1.10. Silver went down about 18 per cent, while wheat went up over 100 per cent in those four years.

Silver is now worth 72 cents and wheat on my place 44 cents, but can be contracted for October delivery (our usual thrashing time) for 50 cents, only 2 cents less than in October, 1884. In 1873 we exported no wheat from North Dakota. Now we raise from forty to sixty million bushels annually. May not the law of supply and demand have something to do with prices? In 1884 I paid $250 for a Plano binder. This year I bought a Buckeye, a better machine, for $150 (both sales on time payments). In 1884 I paid 22 cents a pound for my twine; this year I bought it for 11½ cents. In 1884 I paid my harvest hands $2 a day; now I pay $1.50, and at Casselton and Valley City, N. Dak., I see by my home papers that going harvest wages are from $1.25 to $1.

The cheapening and improvement of machinery and the fall of 50 per cent in wages and in the price of binding-twine are ample causes to account for the result, if indeed the slight decline of from 2 to 7 cents a bushel in nine years calls for any explanation at all.

The tables published by the free silverites to prove that wheat has gone steadily down in sympathy with silver must be manufactured to fit a theory. The report of the statistician of the Agricultural Department for 1892, page 59, gives the following as the average farm price of wheat in North Dakota from 1884 to 1891: 1884, $0.46; 1885, $0.63; 1886, $0.52; 1887, $0.52; 1888, $0.91; 1889, $0.60; 1890, $0.70; 1891, $0.72.

Wheat was, as every farmer in North Dakota knows, higher in 1888, 1890, and 1891 than in 1884, 1885, 1886, and 1887. The price of silver, as reported by the Director of the Mint, for the same years is as follows: 1884, $1.11; 1885, $1.06; 1886, $0.99; 1887, $0.97; 1888, $0.93; 1889, $0.93; 1890, $1.04; 1891, $0.98.

The prices of the two commodities show little sympathy, much less the relation of cause and effect.

The existing debts in North Dakota were all contracted since 1873 for dollars as good as gold. I know of no man there who wishes to pay back a poorer dollar than he received, and a bushel of wheat will go just as far now in paying debts as it would in 1884. Nearly all the mortgages made in North Dakota in recent years are made payable "in gold coin," while the $5,000,000,000 due the depositors from the banks of this country are all payable "in current funds."

The liabilities of the life-insurance companies, amounting to $8,000,000,000, and all similar obligations of the great, rich debtors due to the "poor" creditors are all payable in current funds. I am not yet ready to cast my vote in favor of a legalized robbery that will enable the banks and insurance companies to swindle the poor people who have trusted them out of $5,000,000,000 by coining for them, free of charge, 58 cents' worth of silver bullion into a legal-tender dollar to take the place of the 100-cent gold dollar, or its equivalent, which they have received as deposits and premiums.

The purchasing clause of the Sherman law is designated by the Republicans as a "temporary expedient," and by the Democrats as a "cowardly makeshift." It has disappointed the hopes

of its friends, and fulfilled the evil prophecies of its enemies. Nobody thinks that we could go on forever buying 154 tons of silver every month and piling it up in the Treasury vaults. We have reached and passed the danger point. It is time to call a halt.

That part of the Sherman law which authorizes the coining of the silver bullion in the Treasury it is not proposed to repeal in the pending bill. Let us sustain every dollar of our silver money at par, and coin every pound of our bullion. It will take the mints several years to do that. In the meantime there would be no harm and a vast expansion of the currency in allowing national banks to issue bills up to the par value of their bonds.

I also have great hopes of the pending so-called Johnson bill, which authorizes any holder of Government bonds to deposit the same in the Treasury and receive Treasury notes in exchange, with right to return the same and recover the bonds at will. Such a law, coupled with a law for unlimited coinage of silver dollars on Government account, like the law that has worked so admirably for the last forty years in relation to dimes, quarters, and halves, would give us not only a sound and stable money system, but a flexible currency capable of almost instantaneous and indefinite expansion or contraction, according to the needs of commerce as registered in the pulsating arteries of trade.

It is unreasonable to expect to sustain all our paper and silver on a gold reserve of only a hundred millions, when that reserve is subject to encroachments, as has actually taken place this summer. I am in favor of authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to sell bonds at his discretion whenever necessary to redeem any of our outstanding obligations and to keep our gold, silver, and paper currency at par. Nothing that we can do will go farther to restore confidence. We are the richest nation in the world and can afford the best and safest currency. Let us serve notice on all the world that we mean to have our full share of the gold. That would bring England to time, and open the way for international bimetallism and a free coinage that would be safe.

It should be borne in mind, also, that our present unhappy lot is not due to a scarcity of money, but to a stoppage of its circulation: not to any lack of confidence in the quality of the money itself, but to a fear of losing it, whether invested in business or deposited in banks. To remove the latter fear and give the same absolute confidence in a certificate of deposit as in a national bank note, I am in favor of Government guaranty of certificates of deposit, the same as of bills with a national bank tax on deposits sufficient to pay all depositors in failed banks promptly. Probably a tax of one-fourth of one per cent per annum on deposits would be ample.

To remove the fear that money invested in industrial enterprise will be lost requires time and patience to remove the cause that threatens our industrial life. An economic system, under which we have increased our national wealth from sixteen billions in 1860 to sixty-three billions in 1890, has been declared by the party now for the first time in thirty-three years in full control of the Government to be a "robbery," a "fraud," "unconstitutional," and a "culminating atrocity," which they are solemnly pledged to repeal. That pledge will never be redeemed; but for another year it will remain a standing menace, intimidating capital and paralyzing labor.

Until there is a chance to reverse all this by the election of a Republican Congress in the fall of 1894 there is an inviting field in which to train the noble virtues of pious humility and philosophic fortitude while we endure temporary tribulation in the severe school of adversity. [Applause.]

Under the general leave to print I shall take the liberty to insert a few extracts and tables.

It has often been said that free coinage would make the United States the dumping ground for the silver that foreign countries wish to get rid of.

As an illustration of the extremes to which fanaticism will lead men in the support of a wicked cause, and to show how utterly unscrupulous these men have become in presuming upon the ignorance and child-like faith of those who have trusted to their leadership in the wilderness, I call attention to the method employed by the Populists to answer the "dumping-ground" argument north of latitude forty-six.

In a manifesto, dated "Attorney-General's Office, Bismarck, July 26, 1893," and published in the columns of some of the leading dailies, and as a supplement to scores of the weekly papers of the State, the Populist attorney-general of the State of North Dakota, a man by the name of Wm. H. Standish, deliberately states that it was the free-coinage law of this country prior to 1873, the practice of the mints, and also the provisions of the Bland free-coinage bills pending in recent years, for the Government to take out one-tenth of the pure silver or gold bullion brought to the mints for coinage as Government toll and substitute therefor a like weight of cheap alloy. The least investigation of the law and the practice of the mints will show that there is not a word of truth in the attorney-general's statement of law or fact.

THE FABLE ABOUT ERNEST SEYD.

Ernest Seyd was one of the ablest champions of silver and bimetallism produced in Europe during this century. In fact he laid down his life on the altar of silver and for the cause of silver by rising from a sick bed, when he was unfit to be up, and going to attend the Paris Monetary Conference of 1881, where he died in harness, fighting for the cause of silver.

When he had been many years in his grave a lot of unscrupulous men in this country, ignorant of his works and heedless of his honor, invented and circulated a cunningly devised fable to the effect that Ernest Seyd had come to this country in 1873 with $500,000 in English gold, and by bribing the American Congress had caused silver to be secretly demonetized.

In support of this story they published what pretended to be an extract from the Banker's Magazine of August, 1873, to the effect that Ernest Seyd had been successful in his mission to demonetize silver in America by bribing Congress with $500,000. This story, supported with such *prima facie* evidence, was used with great effect throughout the West in the campaign of 1892.

The Populist leaders were perfectly safe in assuming that no farmer in North Dakota could reach up on the top shelf of his library and take down the back numbers of the Banker's Magazine of twenty years ago and for himself verify the truth or expose the falsity of their brazen fabrication until after the votes were counted and they had made off with the spoils of office secured as the fruits of falsehood and fraud.

The back numbers of the Bankers' Magazine for 1873 were not accessible to me at the time in the West, so I cut out the pretended extract as it appeared in the official organ of the Populist party in North Dakota and sent it to Mr. Spofford, the Librarian of Congress, and requested him to make the examination for me. His reply was that nothing of the kind was to be found either in the Banker's Magazine of New York or of London for August, 1873.

I did the best I could to stem the tide and meet falsehood with truth, by reading Mr. Spofford's letter to my audiences, but I am sure that the fake cost us hundreds of votes. How long can a political party stand built upon such sand?

In order to show that the dropping of the silver dollar from the coinage act of 1873 was neither secret nor accidental, but deliberate, and in order to show how earnestly and eloquently Mr. Ernest Seyd pleaded for the retention of the silver dollar, I will give an extract from a letter written by him to Mr. Samuel Hooper, chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, in charge of the bill.

The bill was before Congress for three years and printed for the information of Congress and the country thirteen times. Copies of the bill were sent to hundreds of the leading financiers and economic writers of this country and Europe, asking them to examine it and send in their criticisms and suggestions, among them Ernest Seyd.

Mr. Seyd in reply wrote a long letter, covering nine columns of fine print in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, making many important suggestions.

The writer of the letter discusses, as a master of the subject, various practical questions, among them the question of the proper size of gold pieces, their value and denomination, questions relating to mintage, the question of mint charge, the question whether the coin should be milled or should be surrounded by a rim cast separately, all of which are very instructive.

But Mr. Seyd then goes on to say that the fifteenth section of the bill is the part which after all is of the greatest importance. He says it is a matter of gigantic importance; that it is the great question of the century. He avows himself earnestly in favor of the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 14 to 1—a little less than the rate then existing in the United States.

He implores Mr. Hooper to reconsider the subject, and says the great fault of Mr. Hooper's bill is that it abolishes the coinage of the silver dollar with the full legal-tender quality; and he says that America, being a producer of both metals, is the nation upon whom the world must depend to resist the enormous danger which menaces mankind by the threat of adopting a single gold standard. He says that, although many of the English writers are monometallists, several English and continental writers whom he names have recently, he thinks, come around to his own views.

No advocate of the doctrine of bimetallism, if that doctrine means the coinage of both metals on an equality freely at the old rate, could express more earnestly, more powerfully, more persuasively the importance of that doctrine.

I will here insert so much of the letter as relates to the dropping of the silver dollar out of our coinage:

LA PRINCESS STREET BANK, *London, February 17, 1872.*

DEAR SIR: You were kind enough to forward to Mr. Alfred Latham a copy of your coinage bill for the United States, to be sent to me, and you expressed a wish to receive criticisms on its provisions.

* * * * * * *

SEC. 15. I now come to the most important part of the bill—that of the val-

uation—which, according to section 15, omits the coinage of the silver dollar, and confirms the debased silver coinage of half dollars and below, under the tender limit of $5. I am aware, of course, that through the amendment of 1853 the same debased coinage was already established; but, although the actual coinage of the silver dollar had practically ceased, still that piece was not abolished by law. As this new bill presumably repeals all previous enactments, I suppose that the total abolition of the silver dollar is contemplated.

In my book (Suggestions) I enter fully into the discussion of this matter and show the gigantic consequences to international as well as national trade through the demonetization of silver, to which the United States would thus lend a helping hand, and for a number of years this subject of the abolition of silver as tender coin has occupied the attention of European economists. It is the question of the age and takes precedence of every other matter involved in monetary science.

Unfortunately the subject requires not only a thoroughly practical knowledge of exchange matters, the principles of valuation, for which very few people have inclination, and so it happens that even the framers of mint bills do not grasp its importance, as I have found before. You yourself, in your letter to Mr. Latham, referring to my book, made the remark, "As to the theory of the double valuation, I do not understand it." I infer from this that you have remained a stranger to the controversy; that you have not as yet formed an opinion as to the merits of it, and that you have framed your bill in favor of the absolute gold valuation according to that which has been of late the practice in the United States, if not the law.

Permit me to beg that you will first investigate the question of double vs. single valuation. Chapter 3 of my book, "Suggestions, etc.," opens the question; appendix, notes 8 (page 201), the consequences of the gold valuation, and 9 (page 212), the injustice of the gold valuation. Treat the matter in their international and national aspects, and they may furnish you sufficient materials for reflection.

Other writers, such as Mr. Wolowski, in France, and several other French, Dutch, and German authorities, defend the double valuation on the same ground.

The great portion of English economists defend the gold valuation, but several of them have lately come over to my views; and one of them, the most important and a staunch defender of English institutions, to whom I shall presently allude, has agreed with me as to the advisability of modifying the English gold valuation, which is even less strict than that adopted by your bill for America. These pages do not afford room for the whole discussion of the subject, therefore I beg you will read the parts of the books quoted, so as to form an opinion of it.

Apart from the theory, why should America have given up her silver dollar? The cause of its disappearance from circulation is due to the original error of there being too much silver in the piece (see page 52 of Suggestions); that cause would have been removed if the dollar weighed 400 grains, that being the true proportion of 1 to 15½ gold to silver, instead of 412½ grains, as by the old law.

Why should it not be reintroduced at its true full weight of 400 grains and become again one of the active agents of commerce? The charge of weight as against the individual piece does not hold good when two half-dollars are of nearly equal weight and same value. Railways and steam transport large masses with great facility when compared with previous times.

Do you fear its undue exportation? If so exported, America will get its equivalent for it, and the rich silver mines of the country can give any fresh supply of it; therefore, the more it is exported the better it is for America.

I think that the United States, with both her gold and silver mines, is in the eminently favorable position of upholding the full use of both gold and silver, and that the double valuation (as it existed before) would be of great benefit to the country; but you may, nevertheless, giving way to the one-sided arguments of English economists, incline to the gold valuation and express the fear "that if America adopts the silver dollar and lays itself open to the coining of these pieces for the public to whatever quantity of silver may be sent in for coinage from abroad, and if full legal-tender value is given to such pieces, it may be placed in danger of losing gold and obtaining too much silver currency."

That is the only fear to be apprehended, and certainly as long as England and other countries are in conflict as to the systems of valuation this may be the case.

France, however, by her system of double valuation, accumulated more gold bullion than any nation has ever had; having within the last twenty years coined two and a half times as much as England, and if the universal valuation was the double one, *i. e.*, both metals in equal use, these fluctuations would altogether cease.

Against this danger of too much silver America can guard itself without the total abolition of the full valued silver dollar. It is but necessary so to modify the severity of the gold valuation as to admit of a reasonable use of silver dollars. Supposing that a certain amount of silver dollars of full value (400 grains) were issued, coined for the owner at a charge of, say, 1 per cent mintage, and that the limit of tender for such pieces were fixed at, say, fifty to one hundred dollars, would this in any way interefere with the supremacy of the gold valuation? I contend that the gold valuation would remain supreme with either of these restrictions, viz, either a certain limited issue and giving full tender weights to the coin, or with unrestricted issue limiting the tender value.

Both restrictions combined will undoubtedly prevent any excess, and if under them certain amounts were so issued and used the issue of more might be made dependent thereon; so that while for the present the gold valuations were maintained in full force the door would not be shut abruptly and forever on silver, and pending the future international settlement of a universal system of valuation the pure double valuation might be found not only practicable, but necessary. I urge this upon you not only on cosmopolitan grounds, but also in the interests of American silver mines; for if America, so important a part of the world, rushes blindly and irrevocably into the gold valuation, and thus contributes to the general terrible error, the value of silver must fall greatly (see appendix, note 8, the consequence of the gold valuation), and all the arrangements made even with the debased silver coinage fail to pieces.

America, then, should hesitate to enter upon this course without a full previous investigation of the immensely important considerations appertaining thereto.

The proper issue of silver dollars might be provided for in the bill by the introduction between sections 14 and 15 of some such—

SECTION —. "That of the silver coin the weight of the one-dollar piece shall be 400 grains, which coin shall be legal tender at its denominational value to any amount not exceeding one hundred (or fifty) dollars," and this would have to be followed between sections 21 and 22 by—

SECTION —. "That the charge for converting standard silver into silver dollars whenever the mint is ready, according to section —, to coin such silver dollars shall be 1 per cent."

The object of these clauses will be apparent to you. The Secretary of the Treasury may commence, for instance, by authorizing the coining of one million of silver dollars. The holders of the silver bullion would gladly pay the 1 per cent charge rather than send the bars to Europe. What risk would the holders of these dollars run? Even supposing that the public positively refused to take these coins, the holders could sell them as silver to Europe; but I believe that they would be welcomed, even without the law of tender. And if you succeed by the force of legal tender in compelling people to take in payment coins debased by 4 to 5 per cent to the amount of $5, why should not you succeed in placing coins of full and honest value into healthy circulation?

So, if the first million succeeded, the Secretary then might authorize more, encouraging it even, while at any time, by ceasing his advertisement, he could foreclose the mint against an excessive importation of silver from abroad.

You will also perceive that the reintroduction of the silver dollar is a necessity, seeing that the one-dollar gold piece is an unsuitable coin, and that it can take place without disturbing clauses 14 and 15, the latter providing for the issue of debased half dollars, quarters, and dimes, as they are now.

Indeed, I must wish also that the half dollar should be of full value, so that the issue of those pieces should not be guided by the more or less faulty human judgment of the Secretary of the Treasury, but by the pure action between supply and demand. I put the "supply" first as the active "demand-creating" element in all matters of commercial intercourse. But as the debased half dollar is already in use it may be best not to disturb it now, whilst the whole silver dollar can be introduced again without any disturbance in the other coinage.

* * * * * * *

I am, dear sir, yours, very obediently,

ERNEST SEYD.

TO SAMUEL HOOPER, Esq., M. C.

P. S.—I have sent to you in parcels by book post, addressed "Samuel Hooper, Esq., M. C.," Bullion and Foreign Exchanges, Suggestions on American Coinage, Demonetization of Silver, several pamphlets, reference to which is made in this letter.

This letter not only proves that there was nothing secret about omitting the silver dollar from the act of 1873, but how vigorously Mr. Seyd argued with the committee about it.

From the action of Congress in 1834 in purposely undervaluing silver, and in 1853 overvaluing our subsidiary coins, we are driven to the conclusion that our fathers purposely adopted the gold standard in 1834. That we were upon that standard from that time until the suspension of specie payments during the war there can be no controversy. The silver dollar, about which we have heard so much, was practically no part of our circulation up to 1873. From the time we first opened the Mint to 1873 there was coined but 8,031,000 silver dollars, while there was coined $137,000,000 of minor coins and $852,214,507 in gold.

When the question of a change of ratio was under consideration in the Senate Mr. Benton said:

He did not think it necessary to descant and expatiate upon the merits and advantages of a gold currency. These advantages had been too well known from the earliest ages of the world to be a subject of discussion in the nineteenth century; but, as it was the policy of the paper system to disparage that metal, and as that system in its forty years' reign over the American people had nearly destroyed a knowledge of that currency, he would briefly enumerate its leading and prominent advantages.

1. It had an intrinsic value, which gave it currency all over the world, to the full amount of that value, without regard to laws or circumstances.
2. It had a uniformity of value, which made it the safest standard of value of property which the wisdom of man had ever yet discovered.
3. Its portability, which made it easy for the traveler to carry it about with him.
4. Its indestructibility, which made it the safest money the people could keep in the houses.
5. Its inherent purity, which made it the hardest money to be counterfeited and the easiest to be detected, and, therefore, the safest money for the people to handle.
6. Its superiority over all other money, which gave to its possessor the choice and command of all other money.
7. Its power over exchanges; gold being the currency which contributes most to the equalization of exchange, and keeping down the rate of exchange to the lowest and most uniform point.
8. Its power over the paper money; gold being the natural enemy of that system, and, with fair play, able to hold it in check.
9. It is a constitutional currency, and the people have a right to demand it for their currency as long as the present Constitution is permitted to exist.

Not only was gold recognized as the standard from 1834 to 1860, but it was so recognized after the war and even after the act of 1873, about which so much has been said. On the 11th of February, 1874, Senator STEWART of Nevada said:

I want the standard gold, and no paper money not redeemable in gold; no paper money the value of which is not ascertained; no paper money that will organize a gold board to speculate in it.

On the 20th of the same month, on a resolution to instruct the Committee on Finance to report a bill providing for the convertibility of the Treasury notes into gold coin or bonds, he said:

By this process we shall come to a specie basis, and when the laboring man receives a dollar it will have the purchasing power of a dollar, and he will not be called upon to do what is impossible for him or the producing classes to do, figure upon the exchanges, figure upon the fluctuations, figure upon the gambling in New York, but he will know what his money is worth. Gold is the universal standard of the world. Everybody knows what a dollar in gold is worth.

On the 1st of April of the same year, Senator JONES, of the same State, said:

Does this Congress mean now to leave entirely out of view and discard forever a standard of value? Did any country ever accumulate wealth, achieve greatness, or attain a high civilization without such a standard? And what but gold can be that standard? What other thing on earth possesses the requisite qualities? Gold is the articulation of commerce. It is the most potent agent of civilization. It is gold that has lifted the nations from barbarism. So exact a measure is it of human effort that when it is exclusively used as a money it teaches the very habit of honesty. It neither deals in nor tolerates false pretenses. It can not lie. It keeps its promises to the rich and poor alike.

These two Senators are still in the Senate from the State of Nevada. They both voted for the act of 1873. Then they wanted gold monometallism. Now they want silver monometallism. Then gold was the cheaper metal at 16 to 1. Now silver is the cheaper metal.

Then they wanted Congress to favor their gold mines. Now they want us to make laws for the benefit of their silver mines. Then they urged upon Congress the adoption of a gold standard. Now they are tireless in talking about the crime of 1873, when silver was secretly demonetized.

This STEWART of Nevada who voted for the act of 1873, and who so eloquently praised the gold standard in the United States Senate on the 11th of February, 1874, is the same Senator STEWART who told the constitutional convention at Bismarck, N. Dak., on the 5th of August, 1889, that "In 1873 a bill was smuggled through Congress demonetizing silver in this country." (Debates, page 403.)

Our country produced last year 58,000,000 ounces of silver, worth at present about $42,000,000. One million ounces of this was produced in small lots by several States. All the rest was produced in seven States and Territories, as follows:

Table showing the States and Territories, with their population, which produced the silver for the year 1892.

States and Territories.	Ounces of silver.	Population.
Arizona	1,062,220	59,620
Colorado	24,347,017	412,198
Idaho	3,164,269	84,385
Montana	17,405,003	132,159
Nevada	2,244,000	45,761
New Mexico	1,075,000	153,593
Utah	7,762,257	207,905
Totals	57,059,856	1,095,621

Here we have the remarkable and unprecedented situation of 1,000,000 of people, with a total annual production worth at market price $42,000,000, demanding free-coinage privileges which will enable them at the present prices to get for their product 40 per cent more than its present market value, while 64,000,000 of their countrymen must drink the dregs of misfortune and bear the burdens of hard times in order that 1,000,000 may be prosperous and grow rich.

Statement showing the amounts of gold and silver coins and certificates, United States notes, and national-bank notes in circulation July 1, 1893.

	General stock, coined or issued.	In Treasury.	Amount in circulation July 1, 1893.	Amount in circulation July 1, 1892.
Gold coin	$513,743,623	$110,109,923	$403,633,700	$408,767,740
Standard silver dollars	419,332,450	362,302,707	57,029,743	56,799,484
Subsidiary silver	77,256,212	11,855,944	65,400,268	62,386,518
Gold certificates	94,041,189	1,071,170	92,970,019	141,235,339
Silver certificates	330,957,504	4,468,339	326,489,165	326,880,803
Treasury notes, act July 14, 1890	147,190,227	6,528,533	140,661,694	98,051,657
United States notes	346,681,016	25,805,333	320,875,683	311,814,840
Currency certificates, act June 8, 1872	12,365,000	430,000	11,935,000	29,830,000
National-bank notes	178,713,872	3,982,733	174,731,139	167,306,957
Total	2,120,281,093	526,554,682	1,593,726,411	1,603,073,338

Cost of recoining the standard silver dollars to change the ratio from 1 to 16 to 1 to 20.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., August 19, 1893.

SIR: Referring to our conversation relative to the probable cost incident to the change from the present coining ratio between gold and silver (1 to 16 for the standard silver dollars, and 1 to 14.95 for subsidiary silver) to a ratio of 1 to 20, you are respectfully informed that the number of silver dollars coined since 1878 aggregate 419,332,450.

Without any allowance for abrasion and loss incident to melting the same, the coinage value of these dollars at a ratio of 1 to 20 would be $33,222,162, or $84,110,228 less than their present face value.

To recoin these dollars at a ratio of 1 to 20 would require the addition of 81,376,700 ounces of new bullion, which, at the average price paid for silver under the act of July 14, 1890 ($0.93¼), would cost $75,883,700.

In addition to this I estimate that there would be a loss from abrasion and in the melting of these dollars of at least $3,000,000, which amount, together with the difference in the face value of the coins ($84,110,228), would have to be reimbursed to the Treasury by an appropriation for that purpose.

From the fact that the silver dollars are distributed throughout the country it would be necessary, as they are redeemed at the several subtreasuries, to transport them to the mints, and the expense of transportation for $300,000,000, the amount outside of the stock on hand at the subtreasuries and mints at Philadelphia, San Francisco, and New Orleans, would average at least 1½ per cent, or $4,500,000.

I therefore estimate the cost of recoining the silver dollars already coined as follows:

New bullion to be added	$75,883,700
Loss by abrasion and melting	3,000,000
Cost of the coinage (labor, materials, etc.)	6,290,000
Copper for alloy	68,200
Transportation of dollars to mints	4,500,000
Total	89,741,900

The stock of subsidiary silver coin in the country is estimated at $77,000,000, which at full weight would contain 55,699,875 ounces of fine silver. This amount at a ratio of 1 to 20 would coin $55,843,802, or $21,156,197 less than the present face value.

To recoin $77,000,000 of subsidiary silver into an equal amount of fractional coin at a ratio of 1 to 20 would require the addition of 18,797,625 fine ounces, which, at 93½ cents per fine ounce, the average price paid for silver under the act of July 14, 1890, would cost $17,528,785.

There would be a loss of about 2½ per cent by abrasion from the face value, or about $1,925,000.

I would, therefore, estimate the cost of recoining the subsidiary silver in the country, at a ratio of 1 to 20, as follows:

New bullion	$17,528,785
Loss by abrasion	1,925,000
Cost of coinage (labor, material, etc.)	2,500,000
Copper for alloy	15,636
Cost of transportation	1,155,000
Total	23,124,421

RECAPITULATION.

Estimated cost of recoining silver dollars	$89,741,900
Estimated cost of recoining subsidiary silver	23,124,421
Total	112,866,321

Very respectfully,

J. G. CARLISLE, *Secretary.*

Hon. DANIEL W. VOORHEES,
United States Senate.

Monetary systems and approximate stocks of money in the aggregate and per capita in the principal countries of the world.

Countries.	Monetary system.	Ratio between gold and full legal-tender silver.	Ratio between gold and limited-tender silver.	Population.	Stock of gold.	Stock of silver.			Uncovered paper.	Per capita.			
						Full tender.	Limited tender.	Total.		Gold.	Silver.	Paper.	Total.
United States	Gold and silver	1 to 15.98	1 to 14.95	67,000,000	$604,000,000	$538,000,000	$77,000,000	$615,000,000	$412,000,000	$9.01	$9.18	$6.15	$24.34
United Kingdom	Gold		1 to 14.28	38,000,000	550,000,000		100,000,000	100,000,000	50,000,000	14.47	2.63	1.32	18.42
France	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	39,000,000	800,000,000	650,000,000	50,000,000	700,000,000	81,402,000	20.52	17.95	2.09	40.56
Germany	Gold		1 to 13.957	49,500,000	600,000,000	103,000,000	108,000,000	211,000,000	107,000,000	12.12	4.26	2.16	18.54
Belgium	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	6,100,000	65,000,000	48,400,000	6,600,000	55,000,000	54,000,000	10.66	9.02	8.85	25.53
Italy	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	31,000,000	93,605,000	16,000,000	34,200,000	50,200,000	163,471,000	3.01	1.62	5.27	9.91
Switzerland	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	3,000,000	15,000,000	11,400,000	3,600,000	15,000,000	14,000,000	5.00	5.00	4.67	14.67
Greece	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	2,200,000	2,000,000	1,800,000	2,200,000	4,000,000	14,000,000	.91	1.82	6.36	9.09
Spain	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	18,000,000	40,000,000	120,000,000	38,000,000	158,000,000	100,000,000	2.22	8.78	5.56	16.56
Portugal	Gold		1 to 14.08	5,000,000	40,000,000		10,000,000	10,000,000	45,000,000	8.00	2.00	9.00	19.00
Austria-Hungary	....do		1 to 13.69	40,000,000	40,000,000	90,000,000		90,000,000	260,000,000	1.00	2.25	6.50	9.75
Netherlands	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 15	4,500,000	25,000,000	61,800,000	3,200,000	65,000,000	40,000,000	5.55	14.42	8.89	28.88
Scandinavian Union	Gold		1 to 14.88	8,600,000	32,000,000		10,000,000	10,000,000	27,000,000	3.72	1.16	3.14	8.02
Russia	Silver	1 to 15½	1 to 15	113,000,000	250,000,000	22,000,000	38,000,000	60,000,000	500,000,000	2.21	.53	4.42	7.16
Turkey	Gold and silver		1 to 15.1	33,000,000	50,000,000		45,000,000	45,000,000		1.52	1.36		2.88
Australia	Gold		1 to 14.23	4,000,000	100,000,000		7,000,000	7,000,000		25.00	1.75		26.75
Egypt	....do		1 to 15.68	7,000,000	100,000,000		15,000,000	15,000,000		14.29	2.14		16.43
Mexico	Silver	1 to 16½		11,600,000	5,000,000	50,000,000		50,000,000	2,000,000	.43	4.31	.17	4.91
Central America	....do	1 to 15½				500,000		500,000	2,000,000			.17	.67	.84
South America	....do	1 to 15½		35,000,000	45,000,000	25,000,000		25,000,000	600,000,000	1.29	.71	17.14	19.14
Japan	Gold and silver	1 to 16.18		40,000,000	90,000,000	50,000,000		50,000,000	50,000,000	2.25	1.25	1.40	4.90
India	Silver	1 to 15		225,000,000		900,000,000		900,000,000	28,000,000		3.53	.11	3.64
China	....do			400,000,000		700,000,000		700,000,000			1.75		1.75
The Straits						100,000,000		100,000,000					
Canada	Gold		1 to 14.95	4,500,000	16,000,000		5,000,000	5,000,000	40,000,000	3.56	1.11	8.89	13.56
Cuba, Haiti, etc	....do	1 to 15½		2,000,000	20,000,000	1,200,000	800,000	2,000,000	40,000,000	10.00	1.00	20.00	31.00
Total					3,582,605,000	3,489,100,000	553,600,000	4,042,700,000	2,635,873,000				

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF THE MINT, *August 16, 1893.*

Statement of the production of gold and silver in the world since the discovery of America.

[From 1493 to 1885 is from table of averages for certain periods compiled by Dr. Adolph Soetbeer. For the years 1886-1892 the production is the annual estimate of the Bureau of the Mint.]

	Gold.				Silver.				Percentage of production.			
	Annual average of period.		Total for the period.		Annual average of period.		Total for the period.		By weight.		By value.	
	Fine ounces.	Value.	Fine ounces.	Value.	Fine ounces.	Coining value.	Fine ounces.	Coining value.	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.
1493–1520	186,470	$3,855,000	5,221,160	$107,931,000	1,511,050	$1,954,000	42,309,400	$54,703,000	11.0	89.0	66.4	33.6
1521–1544	230,194	4,759,000	5,524,656	114,205,000	2,899,930	3,749,000	69,598,320	89,986,000	7.4	92.6	55.9	44.1
1545–1560	273,596	5,656,000	4,377,544	90,492,000	10,017,940	12,952,000	160,287,040	207,240,000	2.7	97.3	30.4	69.6
1561–1580	219,906	4,546,000	4,398,120	90,917,000	9,628,925	12,450,000	192,578,500	248,960,000	2.2	97.8	26.7	73.3
1581–1600	237,267	4,905,000	4,745,340	98,095,000	13,467,695	17,413,000	269,352,760	348,254,000	1.7	98.3	22.0	78.0
1601–1620	273,918	5,662,000	5,478,360	113,248,000	13,596,235	17,579,000	271,924,700	351,579,000	2.0	98.0	24.4	75.6
1621–1640	266,845	5,516,000	5,336,900	110,324,000	12,654,240	16,361,000	253,084,800	327,221,000	2.1	97.9	25.2	74.8
1641–1660	281,955	5,828,000	5,639,110	116,571,000	11,776,545	15,226,000	235,530,900	304,525,000	2.3	97.7	27.7	72.3
1661–1680	297,709	6,154,000	5,954,180	123,084,000	10,834,550	14,008,000	216,691,000	280,166,000	2.7	97.3	30.5	69.5
1681–1700	346,035	7,154,000	6,921,895	143,088,000	10,992,085	14,212,000	219,841,700	284,240,000	3.1	96.9	33.5	66.5
1701–1720	412,163	8,520,000	8,243,260	170,403,000	11,432,540	14,781,000	228,650,800	295,629,000	3.5	96.5	36.6	63.4
1721–1740	613,422	12,681,000	12,268,440	253,611,000	13,863,080	17,924,000	277,261,600	358,480,000	4.2	95.8	41.4	58.6
1741–1760	791,211	16,356,000	15,824,230	327,116,000	17,140,612	22,162,000	342,812,235	443,232,000	4.4	95.6	42.5	57.5
1761–1780	665,666	13,761,000	13,313,315	275,211,000	20,985,591	27,133,000	419,711,820	542,658,000	3.1	96.9	33.7	66.3
1781–1800	571,948	11,823,000	11,438,970	236,464,000	28,261,779	36,540,000	565,235,580	730,810,000	2.0	98.0	24.4	75.6
1801–1810	571,563	11,815,000	5,715,627	118,152,000	28,746,922	37,168,000	287,469,225	371,677,000	1.9	98.1	24.1	75.9
1811–1820	367,957	7,606,000	3,679,568	76,063,000	17,385,755	22,479,000	173,857,555	224,786,000	2.1	97.9	25.3	74.7
1821–1830	457,044	9,448,000	4,570,444	94,479,000	14,807,004	19,144,000	148,070,040	191,444,000	3.0	97.0	33.0	67.0
1831–1840	652,291	13,484,000	6,522,913	134,841,000	19,175,367	24,793,000	191,758,675	247,930,000	3.3	96.7	35.2	64.8
1841–1850	1,760,502	36,393,000	17,605,018	363,928,000	25,090,342	32,440,000	250,903,422	324,400,000	6.6	93.4	52.9	47.1
1851–1855	6,410,324	132,573,000	32,051,621	662,866,000	28,488,597	36,824,000	142,442,986	184,169,000	18.4	81.6	78.3	21.7
1856–1860	6,486,202	134,083,000	32,431,312	670,415,000	29,095,428	37,618,000	145,477,142	188,092,000	18.2	81.8	78.1	21.9
1861–1865	5,949,582	122,989,000	29,747,913	614,944,000	35,401,972	45,772,000	177,009,862	228,861,000	14.4	85.6	72.9	27.1
1866–1870	6,270,086	129,614,000	31,350,430	648,071,000	43,051,583	55,663,000	215,257,914	278,313,000	12.7	87.3	70.0	30.0
1871–1875	5,591,014	115,577,000	27,955,068	577,883,000	63,317,014	81,864,000	316,585,069	409,322,000	8.1	91.9	58.6	41.4
1876–1880	5,543,110	114,586,000	27,715,550	572,931,000	78,775,602	101,851,000	393,878,009	509,256,000	6.6	93.4	53.0	47.0
1881–1885	4,794,755	99,116,000	23,973,773	495,582,009	92,003,944	118,955,000	460,019,722	594,773,000	5.0	95.0	45.5	54.5
1886	5,127,750	106,000,000	5,127,750	106,000,000	93,276,000	120,600,000	93,276,000	120,600,000	5.2	94.8	46.8	53.2
1887	5,093,984	105,302,000	5,093,984	105,302,000	96,189,000	124,366,000	96,189,000	124,366,000	5.0	95.0	45.9	54.1
1888	5,316,412	109,900,000	5,316,412	109,900,000	109,911,000	142,107,000	109,911,000	142,107,000	4.6	95.4	43.6	56.4
1889	5,746,950	118,800,000	5,746,950	118,800,000	125,830,000	162,690,000	125,830,000	162,690,000	4.4	95.6	42.2	57.8
1890	5,473,631	115,150,000	5,473,613	113,150,000	133,213,000	172,235,000	133,213,000	172,235,000	4.0	96.0	39.7	60.3
1891	5,830,107	120,549,000	5,830,107	120,519,090	144,426,000	186,733,000	144,426,000	186,733,000	3.9	96.1	39.2	60.8
1892	6,328,272	130,817,000	6,328,272	130,817,000	152,062,000	196,605,000	152,062,000	196,605,000	4.0	96.0	40.0	60.0
Total			397,191,823	8,204,303,000			7,522,507,716	9,725,072,000	5.0	95.0	45.8	54.2

Silver coinage of the mints of the United States from 1844 to 1892.

[From the report of the Director of the Mint for 1892.]

Year.	Trade dollars.	Dollars.	Half dollars.	Quarter dollars.	Twenty cents.	Dimes.	Half dimes.	Three cents.
1844		$20,000	$1,885,500.00	$290,300.00		$7,250.00	$32,500.00	
1845		24,500	1,341,500.00	230,500.00		198,500.00	78,200.00	
1846		169,600	2,257,000.00	127,500.00		8,130.00	1,350.00	
1847		140,750	1,870,000.00	275,500.00		24,500.00	63,700.00	
1848		15,000	1,880,000.00	36,500.00		45,150.00	63,400.00	
1849		62,600	1,781,000.00	85,000.00		113,900.00	72,450.00	
1850		47,500	1,341,500.00	150,700.00		244,150.00	62,250.00	
1851		1,300	301,375.00	62,000.00		142,650.00	62,050.00	$185,022.00
1852		1,100	110,565.00	68,265.00		196,550.00	63,025.00	559,965.00
1853		46,110	2,430,354.00	4,146,555.00		1,327,301.00	785,251.00	342,000.00
1854		33,140	4,111,000.00	3,466,000.00		624,000.00	365,000.00	20,130.00
1855		26,000	2,228,735.00	837,350.00		207,500.00	117,500.00	4,170.00
1856		63,500	1,903,500.00	2,129,500.00		703,000.00	299,000.00	43,740.00
1857		94,000	1,482,000.00	2,726,500.00		712,000.00	433,000.00	31,260.00
1858			5,998,000.00	2,002,250.00		189,000.00	258,000.00	48,120.00
1859		636,500	2,074,000.00	421,000.00		97,000.00	45,000.00	10,950.00
1860		735,030	1,032,850.00	312,350.00		78,700.00	92,950.00	8,610.00
1861		78,500	2,078,960.00	1,237,650.00		209,650.00	164,050.00	14,940.00
1862		12,090	802,175.00	249,887.50		102,830.00	74,627.50	10,905.50
1863		27,660	709,830.00	48,015.00		17,196.00	5,923.00	645.80
1864		31,170	518,782.00	28,517.50		26,907.00	4,523.50	14.10
1865		47,000	593,450.00	25,075.00		18,550.00	6,675.00	235.00
1866		49,625	899,812.50	11,381.25		14,372.50	6,536.25	661.75
1867		60,325	810,162.50	17,156.25		14,602.50	6,431.25	128.75
1868		182,700	769,100.00	31,500.00		72,625.00	18,295.00	122.00
1869		424,300	725,950.00	23,150.00		70,660.00	21,930.00	193.00
1870		445,462	829,758.50	23,935.00		52,150.00	20,830.00	120.00
1871		1,117,136	1,741,655.00	53,255.50		109,731.00	32,493.00	197.80
1872		1,118,600	866,775.00	68,762.50		261,045.00	180,247.50	98.50
1873	$1,225,000	296,600	1,593,780.00	414,199.50		443,329.10	51,830.00	18.00
1874	4,910,000		1,406,650.00	215,975.00		319,151.70		
1875	6,279,600		5,117,750.00	1,278,375.00	$265,598	2,406,570.00		
1876	6,192,150		7,451,575.00	7,839,287.50	5,180	3,015,115.00		
1877	13,092,710		7,540,255.00	6,024,927.50	102	1,735,051.00		
1878	4,259,900	22,495,550	726,200.00	849,200.00	120	187,880.00		
1879	1,541	27,560,100	2,960.00	3,675.00		1,510.00		
1880	1,987	27,397,355	4,877.50	3,738.75		3,735.50		
1881	960	27,927,975	5,487.50	3,243.75		2,497.50		
1882	1,097	27,574,100	2,750.00	4,075.00		391,110.00		
1883	979	28,470,039	4,519.50	3,859.75		767,571.20		
1884		28,136,875	2,637.50	2,218.75		393,134.90		
1885		28,697,767	3,065.00	3,632.50		257,711.70		
1886		31,423,886	2,943.00	1,471.50		658,409.40		
1887		33,611,710	2,855.00	2,677.50		1,573,838.90		
1888		31,990,833	6,416.50	306,708.25		721,648.70		
1889		34,651,811	6,358.50	3,177.75		835,338.90		
1890		38,043,004	6,295.00	20,147.50		1,133,461.70		
1891		23,562,735	100,300.00	1,561,150.00		2,304,671.60		
1892		6,333,245	*1,632,125.50	2,960,331.00		1,695,365.50		
	35,965,924	425,908,223	124,087,271.50	42,365,893.50	271,000	27,645,852.40	4,880,219.40	1,282,087.29

*Includes $475,000 in Columbian coins.

SILVER IN INDIA.

[Extract from speech of Senator Dolph.]

India, one of the countries until recently having free coinage of silver or coining silver on private account, has hitherto been a great consumer of silver bullion for ornaments and coinage, and has been pointed to by the advocates of free coinage as an example of prosperity with free coinage of silver. The amount coined has been large, but not uniform, some years being a hundred per cent more than others. The following table shows the amount, expressed in dollars, of silver annually minted during the period of sixteen years, and shows the consumption of silver in India for coin:

1875	$23,830,686	1885	$48,487,114
1876	12,410,626	1886	27,121,414
1877	30,518,415	1887	44,142,013
1878	78,741,556	1888	36,297,132
1879	28,122,004	1889	37,927,814
1880	40,002,173	1890	57,931,323
1881	20,682,625	1891	32,670,498
1882	29,386,322		
1883	24,927,400	Total 17 years	590,562,659
1884	17,353,531	Annual average	34,150,744

The amount coined in 1890 is estimated at $30,000,000. The silver rupee of India contains 186 grains of pure silver; the half, quarter, and eighth rupees are of corresponding weights. The coinage of both metals until the recent action of the India government was practically free, provided the amount presented was equal to 50 tolos of gold or a thousand tolos in silver. There was a duty of 1 per cent upon all gold and silver brought to the mints. Gold was not coined in any considerable amount, and the business of the country was conducted upon a silver standard. The stoppage of the coinage of silver on private account in India is not an abandonment of the silver standard. Silver is still the standard, and will continue to be whether the government coins silver on its own account or not.

It is said this action of the government of India is intended to have the effect to prevent the further decline of the value of the rupee, but upon what this expectation is based is not stated. The value of the rupee will be fixed hereafter, as heretofore, by its value as silver bullion in the London market. It will still be measured in all London and in all foreign transactions by gold, and the discontinuance of free coinage by throwing the silver bullion heretofore coined in India on private account on the world's markets has depreciated, and will continue to depreciate, the intrinsic value of the rupee.

The claim sometimes made that silver has not fallen in value in India, and that the silver rupee in the interior of India will purchase as much wheat or as much of the other products of labor is absurd; it is incredible. The price of wheat in London is fixed in gold by the world's supply and demand. It is impossible that there could be to the exporter of wheat from India a profit equal to the fall in the price of silver since 1873. Such a state of things could not exist ten days in any country under the sun. Competition among English wheat-buyers would speedily raise the price of wheat in India to an approximation of its gold price in London.

Mr. SOMERS. Mr. Speaker, it may seem presumption in one so inexperienced in legislative matters to venture any remarks upon the proposition pending before this House, but I merely rise to say a word in explanation of my position on this question, one of the most important, perhaps, that has come before the Congress of the United States.

I stand for gold and silver as the money of the United States. I believe that the silver dollar should be of equal intrinsic value with and possess the same purchasing power in this country and in all countries as the dollar in gold. This result can be attained, in my opinion, through international agreement. All the great commercial nations require silver as a circulating medium, and if you repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman law they will soon see the necessity of establishing a uniform ratio between gold and silver.

I was pleased and encouraged by the remarks of the distinguished gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. McCREARY], who is a member of the International Monetary Commission, when he stated so confidently his belief in the consummation of an international agreement whereby the parity of the two metals at all times shall be maintained, and I desire, as he expressed it, "to travel the road which will, through international agreement, give us free coinage of silver and free coinage of gold at a fixed ratio common among the nations of the earth."

Mr. Speaker, I have the honor to represent a people as patriotic and high-minded as any the sun ever shone upon. They have been sorely tried and oppressed by the financial stringency, and they ask for relief. They ask for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law. The people of my State have forwarded to this House a petition signed by 125,000 citizens asking for such repeal. I mention this circumstance now, as the House has as yet made no order for the printing of petitions.

Nearly every speaker upon this floor, I believe, has denounced the purchasing clause of the Sherman law. Then why retain it upon the statute books? You know it is ruinous to this country. Is it proposed to use it to coerce members into voting for free coinage before we are satisfied as to the proper ratio between gold and silver? The advocates of free coinage of silver at the present time in this House are not agreed as to the proper ratio.

Under the rule we are to consider five different propositions for establishing a ratio, and the chances are about four to one that an improper ratio would be adopted now. There can be only one proper ratio established, and that can not and ought not to be determined in a hurry. So far as I have been able to observe in this debate, but few have attempted to demonstrate what would be the proper ratio, and to my mind no good reason has been given why the present ratio should be changed.

It is my purpose at the present time to vote against all ratios proposed, and to vote for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, not because I am an enemy of silver money, for I am not, but because, in my opinion, repeal of that clause will greatly restore confidence in our monetary sytem, which is now lacking, and repeal is the only thing that will restore that confidence. Cut out the ulcer while there is still strength for recuperation in the patient. The condition of the country to-day is alarming, and unless we act, and act quickly, no tongue can describe the disasters that may overtake us. The time for argument has nearly passed, and it is to be hoped that the hour of deliverance is near at hand, and that the sun may soon again shine on happy, contented, and prosperous American homes. Mr. Speaker, I merely desired to explain my vote, and I thank the House for its attention. [Applause.]

Mr. PICKLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on the consideration of the bill on Monday this amendment may be considered.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will send the amendment up.

Mr. BYNUM. Mr. Speaker, this time has been set apart for debate, and I do not think it is proper that any unanimous consent should be asked for at this time.

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. I object to any change in the order.

Mr. PICKLER. I would like to have the resolution read.

The SPEAKER. It can be read as a part of the gentleman's remarks.

Mr. PICKLER. Who is it objects, Mr. Speaker?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from West Virginia.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend H. R. 2, being "A bill for the free coinage of silver, and for other purposes," by inserting after the words "silver bullion," in the second line of section 1 the following words: "the product of mines of the United States," so that said section when amended shall read as follows:

"SECTION 1. *Be it enacted, etc.*, That from and after the passage of this act all holders of silver bullion, the product of the mines of the United States, to the amount of $100 or more of standard weight and fineness, shall be entitled to have the same coined at the mint of the United States into silver dollars of the weight and fineness provided for in the second section of this act."

Mr. PICKLER. Then, Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask unanimous consent to offer the following on Monday, to which it seems to me no one can object.

I ask it be read in my time, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. Let it be read as a part of the gentleman's remarks.

The Clerk read as follows:

That upon Monday, August 28, if the substitute to H. R. 1 and all amendments shall be voted down in the House, and if H. R. 1, known as the Wilson bill, shall pass, that immediately thereafter, without debate or intervening motions, the House shall vote upon H. R. 2, "A bill for the free coinage of silver, and for other purposes," amended as follows: Inserting after the words "silver bullion," in the second line of section 1, the following words: "the product of mines of the United States;" the bill as so amended being for the coinage of the silver bullion product of the mines of the United States at the present ratio.

If this bill fail to carry, the bill as so amended shall be voted on at the ratio of 18 to 1, and if this fail, it shall then, as so amended, be voted on at the ratio of 20 to 1.

Mr. PICKLER. Mr. Speaker, that simply provides that if all the substitutes proposed by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] fail, and if, after that, the bill for the repeal of the Sherman act shall pass without amendment, the House shall then proceed to vote upon the substitute previously rejected, so amended as to confine it to the coinage of the product of the American mines, first at the present ratio of 16 to 1; if that fail, at the ratio of 18 to 1, and if that fail, at the ratio of 20 to 1; each of these propositions to apply only to the product of the American mines.

It seems to me, sir, that assuming, as my proposition does, that the bill for the repeal of the Sherman act will have passed the House without amendment, there should be no objection upon the part of any gentleman to vote upon the proposition to coin the product of the American mines.

Mr. TRACEY. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman has asked unanimous consent for the reception of that proposition; I must object to any change being made in the order that has been agreed upon.

Mr. PICKLER. This makes no change in the order. It simply proposes that after the gold men shall have carried the measure which they have advocated on this floor, carried it without amendment, we shall then have a chance to vote upon the question of coining the product of the American silver mines; that after these gentlemen shall have conquered the field, after they shall have got what they want, the repeal of the Sherman act, then we may have an opportunity to have this proposition voted upon.

Mr. TRACEY. I feel that it is my duty to object to that proposition at this time, Mr. Speaker. The gentleman can bring it up later if he desires to. I must object to any change in the order.

The SPEAKER. Objection is made.

Mr. PICKLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for fifteen minutes if I shall so desire.

Mr. TRACEY. If the gentleman will be content with ten minutes I shall have no objection.

Several MEMBERS. Let him have fifteen.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Dakota asks unanimous consent to address the House for fifteen minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. PICKLER. I think, Mr. Speaker, I am entitled to five minutes on each of these amendments under the order. Perhaps we may as well have that question settled right here. The order is that for the last three days of this debate, to-day, to-morrow, and the next day (though the order has been since changed as to Saturday), the House shall consider the bill and amendments as in Committee of the Whole under the five-minute rule. Now, as I understand the rule of the House in Committee of the Whole, a member is entitled to five minutes on any amendment.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will look into that question. The gentleman is entitled to fifteen minutes by unanimous consent.

Mr. PICKLER. I thank the Chair and the House. I must say, gentlemen, as to the request I have just made, and which has been objected to by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TRACEY], that I am somewhat surprised, and yet I am not surprised.

FAVORS BIMETALLISM.

I expect to vote for some of the ratios proposed by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], although I should prefer to vote for the coinage of the American product, but as that is refused us, the only way to escape monometallism is to vote for the amendments. My constituents believe in the use of silver as well as gold, and after the arguments we have heard here from the gold men upon this floor, and after the protestations they have made of their eventual friendship for silver, that after the repeal of the McKinley act—not that that will never be repealed. [Laughter.]

I was about to say, Mr. Speaker, that it is strange that my proposition should be objected to by the advocates of gold upon this floor after they repeal the Sherman law. I should think that after the repeal of the Sherman act they would be swift to propose an opportunity to vote upon a proposition for the coinage of silver, in order that we might have relief as far as silver is concerned.

But what is the spectacle presented here this morning? In the proposition I have submitted it is conceded that the Bland substitute shall first have been voted down; it is conceded that we who are bimetallists in the House will have been routed horse, foot, and dragoon; it is conceded that the President's bill for pure and simple repeal, as advised by him, will have been adopted; and yet when we ask that after all that we shall be allowed to vote upon the proposition to coin the American product of silver, giving the House the choice of ratios, 16 to 1, 18 to 1, or 20 to 1, these gentlemen who profess so much love for silver object, and the gentleman from New York [Mr. TRACEY], true to his instincts, comes up and objects to any consideration of the silver question.

It reminds me very much of the time when we stood here in the Fifty-first Congress, and were trying to get some show for silver, and when the Sherman act was proposed as a compromise. And let me say right here, parenthetically, that that bill was thought then to be a good measure, and in fact it has had a beneficent influence, and has added much good money to our circulation. I remember how it was regarded at that time by a good many gentlemen who have taken part in this debate, and when I contrast their utterances then with their speeches now, I must say that their hind-sight is very different from their fore-sight. [Laughter.]

There have been great changes, Mr. Speaker, and so far as the Democratic side of the House is concerned the conversion of the silver heathen Democracy to orthodox monometallism shows that President Cleveland outranks any missionary of this century. [Laughter.]

The fact has been stated here by gentlemen on the other side—and I think with so much force that there must be truth in it—that the President is supported in his work by the London foreign missionary society.

SHERMAN LAW—AMERICAN PRODUCT.

I was about to say, Mr. Speaker, that when the proposition was before the Fifty-first Congress for the passage of the Sherman bill, the friends of silver then proposed to the gold men in this House as a compromise that we have free coinage of the American product. The argument of those men was then the same as their argument is now. They always have the same argument. When the Bland-Allison act was under consideration the gold men were just as great "calamity howlers" as to what would befall the Government as they are now.

As "calamity howlers" they outstrip all other men, whenever the people want an expansion of the currency. When we had the Sherman bill under consideration they came forward and in the same tone as now preached calamity. They said that the nation would go to destruction if we adopted any of those propositions. Yet the Bland-Allison act became a law; the Sherman act became a law; and this Government prospered under both those measures. Yet we still have the same argument presented here to-day.

GOLD MEN OBJECT TO SILVER AS MONEY METAL.

We understood then—we understand now—the contention of the gold men, that if we have free coinage even of the American product there will be so much silver in circulation that it will become the cheaper money and will drive gold out of circulation. It was well known when we had the Sherman act under consideration that under that act we would just about coin the American product.

The proposition that we were to have a great oversupply of silver in the United States fell to the ground, because it was conceded when we were debating the Sherman bill that under it we would simply coin about the amount of silver that was the product of the mines of the United States, and hence free coinage of the American product would have put no more in circulation than the Sherman law. Yet, notwithstanding this proposition was squarely made, notwithstanding the gold men never sought to answer it, they steadily refused to consider the proposition to coin the American product, yet did agree to the Sherman law that used an equal amount of silver. And why? There was but one reason then and there is but one reason now for opposing the proposition.

The free coinage of the American product would recognize silver as a money metal; it would recognize it as one of the coin metals upon which our paper currency would be based. It would place silver to that extent alongside of gold as a money metal. And the gold men of the United States are eternally against the recognition of silver in any form as a money metal in this country. They want it treated as a commodity, as they have treated it under the Sherman act. They are determined to keep it in the position of a commodity to be measured by gold. And that, in my opinion, is the only reason they objected to the free coinage of the American product, and it is the only reason the gentleman from New York objects to my amendment to that effect to-day.

What is to become of the silver now? Have we not an indication this morning of the intention of the majority of the gold men not to give silver any chance? On what ground could there be any objection to the proposition I have submitted? The country is in trouble, and I simply proposed that after the passage of the Wilson bill, providing for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act, there should then immediately be taken, without debate, a vote on the amendment which was read. Why not take a vote on the coinage of the American product at these different ratios? Are we to be told by the gold men in this House that they will not consent to the coinage of the American product at the ratio of 20 to 1, which is one of the propositions embraced in the amendment?

SILVER STATES.

Where is the love of the gentleman from New York for the silver miners in the West? I want to know if you gentlemen propose to wipe out all the interests of the silver States, as well as ruin the agricultural States by lowering further the present low prices of products? The people in mining States and Territories are in great trouble; and certainly it seems to me there should be some consideration given to their product. This House can not too swiftly come to the question of aiding the Western people and keeping open if possible the American mines. It is ruin to those States to oppose it.

WESTERN REPUBLICAN.

As a Western Republican obeying the summons of the President, I came here with no expectation of engaging in any discussion concerning the financial situation.

I had supposed that the gravity of the situation had so impressed the President and his advisers that definite measures would have been devised and laid before Congress upon its assembling for the relief of the country. Measures, too, which the party elevating the President to power would accept, seize upon, and quickly enact into law.

But all these surmises proved incorrect, the sole negative proposition to repeal the Sherman law without any affirmative legislation being the sum total of the President's message.

DEMOCRATS DISAGREE IN NATION'S TROUBLE.

But even this recommendation is more than his party is able to agree upon.

And although every member of this House was fully advised and as ready on the second day of this session to have voted upon any of the propositions as he will ever be, and although the country trembles upon the brink of ruin; although fortunes are being wasted every day, and the cries of unemployed men are going up all over this broad land, and the voices of all lines of business are loud in the cry for relief; although the fires of furnaces have ceased to burn; although spindles have ceased to turn; though looms are still, and the hum of manufacturing machinery is not heard; although all over this land is heard the lamentations of men and women and children asking employment whereby they may earn food; although riots and mob violence are endangering life and property in our large cities; although this great nation, which was prosperous and happy and proud in its greatness at the incoming of the present Administration six months ago, is now in the throes of a great financial panic, and experiencing the greatest overshadowing trouble known to this generation, yet, notwithstanding this condition, the Administration wing and the anti-Administration wing consume three long weeks of precious time, each faction seeking to prove that it is standing on the last Democratic platform and that the other fellows are off—all this, I repeat, before even a vote can be had upon any proposition of relief to the country.

It is about the usual gait at which the Democratic party has ever traveled when the country was in danger.

PATRIOTIC ADVICE.

And where has the Democratic majority, or in what way has it carried out the advice of the Democratic press of the land for this Congress to assemble as brethren, and especially enjoining Republicans to forget their party and work with the patriot Democrats; what, I inquire, has this majority done to carry out this programme?

One would have thought, Mr. Speaker, from the extreme unction of the advice administered to the Republican members, that immediately upon the organization of the House the gentleman from Illinois, late chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, would have moved that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and that this motion having unanimously carried, the Speaker would have designated as chairman of the committee the Hon. THOMAS B. REED, of Maine, and that the remaining 354 members, after the former Czar had taken his place, would together repeat, "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity," and that the deliberations of this House would more resemble the action of a Methodist class meeting than those of a legislative body. And in this frame of mind to act, and to act at once and without any desire to arouse partisan spirit, and with a sincere desire to join the majority in the speedy enactment of such legislation as might seem best to bring relief to the country, was, I believe, and is the feeling of every Republican upon this floor.

And such is still our desire. True, our confidence was somewhat shaken in the good faith of the brethren of the majority, when, under an ironclad rule, without regard for or consultation with the minority, a few propositions were offered upon which, and upon which alone, under the rules, the House can vote. And, while we were encouraged, and our hearts were touched by the urbane and cordial apologies of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] for even mentioning anything that savored of partisanship, our feelings were lacerated when the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL] charged the Republican party with the heinous offense of permitting the virtue of farmers' daughters to be commended on the stage, and the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. MOSES] alleged that the Republican party had stolen everything, from the Presidency down, it sounded wonderfully like the old slogan, and we realized that we were to be regarded as patriots for voting, and Republicans for vituperation. And this the example that the majority set for patriotic action in this hour of the nation's peril. I repeat, Mr. Speaker, three weeks' debate to allow Administrationists and anti-Administrationists to prove that they stand on the Chicago Democratic platform.

So, Mr. Speaker, from the propositions presented by the majority the Republican members are compelled to choose *nolens volens*.

BIMETALLISTS.

My State is chiefly engaged in agriculture, stock-raising, and mining, agriculture predominating.

My constituents are almost unanimously, without regard to party, bimetallists; and desiring to represent them, it is my desire to so vote as will best promote the use of both gold and silver.

My constituents are not, as I believe, wedded to free coinage of silver as a theory or proposition, except as it shall insure practical bimetallism—the use of both metals.

I have listened with interest to this entire discussion, and I have been highly pleased to hear well-nigh a unanimous declaration from all parties favoring bimetallism; and I have listened with unprejudiced interest to the arguments of those upon this floor who contend with so much earnestness that bimetallism will be more certainly attained by the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law. I should much prefer to provide for silver in the same bill.

TRAMPLING ON SILVER.

It is beyond my comprehension to understand how you elevate an object by depressing it. You say silver is now traveling upon a halting limb, but to enable it to run swiftly you amputate the leg, and so you vote against coinage at any ratio. You find silver upon the first floor, and in order to get it to the garret you hurl it into the cellar.

You find the silver craft leaking, damaged, and scarcely able to keep afloat, and you, in order to convert it into a sea-worthy vessel, sink it to the bottom.

Pretending to be the friend of silver, you thrust a dagger into its heart.

You pretend to desire to sustain silver and vote it up, and so you vote it down.

You find silver in a dying condition and pretend you wish to restore it and make it strong, and your first act is to bury it.

A convert seeking the way to Heaven, you send him to hades to start.

You pretend to be the friend to silver, you act like its bitter enemy.

Your acts are strongly inconsistent with your words.

Were you an avowed enemy of silver, your hostility could be no greater.

While you sing hallelujahs to it, you also breathe curses.

Your plan to restore silver as a money metal is in direct conflict with the plan and at variance with the opinion of every recognized leader in the contest for silver in the nation.

You consort with avowed enemies of the white metal, and yet pretend to be its friend.

This contest is too serious for temporizing.

It means monometallism or bimetallism. The unconditional repeal of the Sherman law means a single gold standard. A vote against the amendments proposed for the coinage of silver is a vote for the single standard of gold.

It is a vote for monometallism. How can any bimetallist claim that he is truly in favor of silver and vote against its coinage as provided by these amendments? I am opposed to monometallism, and hence shall vote for some of these ratios. As before stated, my State is largely agricultural, and adapted to stock-raising.

In the western portion, known as the Black Hills, we have rich mines of gold, silver, and tin. My State produced in the year 1892, as estimated by the Director of the Mint, gold, $3,700,000; silver, $77,576.

Our people believe that to strike down silver and go to the gold standard must inevitably lower the already ruinous prices of our wheat, and reduce still lower the already low price we shall receive for our horses, cattle, and wool.

We find that it is simply history, that as the price of silver goes up or down so the price of our products rise or fall.

And yet I am asked to vote against these amendments, to vote down the price of my constituents' wheat, flax, barley, horses, cattle, and wool, at the dictation of the gold men.

MONOMETALLISM.

No one as I have yet heard in this debate, and I have attentively listened to the whole of it, has denied that placing this country upon the single gold standard, which the voting down of these free-coinage amendments do, will reduce every article in price that the farmer has to sell, as well as ruin the silver-mining States.

It can not be denied; it is the eternal truth.

DEBTORS.

No gold man can deny, moreover, that it will largely increase our indebtedness in the West and South.

We are a debtor people; we are improving our lands, building houses and barns, and stocking our farms; building towns, schoolhouses, and churches, and developing new industries; and we need a great deal of money, and so we are borrowers. Now, you propose to double, and do double, our indebtedness by refusing longer to recognize silver as a money metal.

More than this, you not only largely increase our indebtedness, but you also reduce the value of our land, which is largely the security for this indebtedness; you impoverish us by increasing the debt, in the lowering the price of products with which we must pay the debt, and make us doubly poor by decreasing the value of our land, which secures the indebtedness.

DUMPING GROUND THEORY.

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE] also asserted what so many of his followers have reiterated, to wit, that if we had free coinage in this country the world would bring to us all its old junk pots, kettles, and spoons, as well as bullion, making this country the dumping ground for the silver of the world. This, I claim, is wholly untenable. It is well known that all articles manufactured from silver take on so great a value by reason of the labor value being added to the bullion value that the owner can not afford, nor does he sell for coinage at bullion values.

Neither, Mr. Speaker, can I understand how other nations will pour their bullion in upon us if we adopt free coinage. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that it is a proposition that can not be disproved, that if the United States by any legislation whatever can cause the price of silver bullion to advance in New York, it will the same day advance in London, Paris, and Berlin.

Silver can not be one price in New York and another in London. Why should it be?

There can be no difference in the prices of silver bullion, sales of which can be by wire made in a few minutes, except perhaps the mere cost of exchange. Then if there could be no appreciable difference in price, certainly foreign bullion would not pour in upon us, and foreign silver would not drive our gold out of circulation; if worth no more here than in Europe it would not come here. But what nation has the silver to spare?

Where is the silver coming from? I think it is admitted by all parties to this debate that all the great nations are seeking a greater volume of money; they can spare nothing to exchange for our gold. And it being impossible that there be more than exchangeable difference in the price of silver bullion in the United States and its price in other countries, we are in no danger of being made a dumping ground for other nations. Neither could they get our gold unless they offered us something we wanted more than we wanted our gold.

WHY GOVERNMENT BUYS SILVER.

Several gentlemen in this debate, as did the gentleman from Florida [Mr. COOPER], with much emphasis argue that the Government should furnish them a market for their wheat and cotton if it furnish the silver-miner a market for his silver, and also indulge in the jocular demand for $1 for 57 cents' worth of wheat.

The Government affords no market for silver except as far as its necessity goes.

The Constitution gives Congress the power "to coin money, and regulate the value thereof," and prohibits the States coining money, or from making anything but gold and silver a legal tender in payment of debts.

The duty is thus thrust by the Constitution upon the Government to provide a currency. Gold and silver are the money metals of the Constitution. The Government must supply a currency; it must have a gold and silver currency; it must therefore necessarily provide a market for silver in order to supply the people, as required by the Constitution, with money. For this reason, and this reason alone, the Government may purchase silver bullion as it does under the Sherman law. If it would adopt free coinage it would need to purchase none. There is no reason for the Government buying wheat or cotton; there is no constitutional obligation to so do, as there is to supply silver. Silver purchases are a constitutional necessity in the absence of free coinage, while there is no authority nor warrant of authority for purchasing farm or other products.

The Government purchased silver forty years ago; it is no new thing. Likewise, the frequent assumption that the people are being defrauded by the purchase of silver under the Sherman law is wholly untrue. The Government purchases at the lowest possible price in gold of the miner and pays in Treasury notes, and when it coins the silver the people get the benefit of the difference between the commercial and coinage value, and not the miners.

RATIOS.

I am constrained to vote for some of the ratios or the reënactment of the Bland-Allison act, because it seems to me to be the only vote that favors bimetallism which the Republican party has ever advocated in national and State platforms. The Republican party has ever been in favor of bimetallism and the full monetization of silver, and it is to-day. I am a Republican, and believe that to vote for a ratio of coinage or for the Bland-Allison act, if ratios fail, are the most consistent Republican votes, the National Republican platform declaring for silver, and the Republican party has ever been a bi-metallic party.

I submit the platforms of the National Republican party during the last three Presidential campaigns:

PLATFORMS.

1884.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world; and we urge that efforts should be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard, which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

1888.

The Republican party is in favor of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver, as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions to be determined by legislation as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver or gold or paper, shall be at all times equal.

The interests of the producers of the country—its farmers and its workingmen—demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government shall be as good as any other.

We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

The Republican party of my State has declared in favor of the remonetization of silver, as follows:

PLATFORM OF 1890.

We favor such expansion of our currency as will meet the growing demand of our increasing population and wants, and offset the contraction resulting from the withdrawal of national-bank circulation. To this end we favor such legislation as will utilize the entire product of our silver mines as money.

1891. We heartily endorse the action of the late Republican Congress in passing the silver bill, by which $50,000,000 of currency is yearly added to the amount in circulation, and we favor such further increase in the coinage of silver as is consistent with a sound financial policy, and we favor the complete remonetization of silver.

1892. We favor the use of both gold and silver as standard money, under such legislative regulations as will secure the parity of values of the two metals, and we commend the steps already taken by our Government to insure this important object by an international monetary conference.

Believing in the platforms of my party, I can not vote for monometallism.

PROTECTION.

And how do Republicans, who are in favor of protection of home industries and the protection of American labor refuse any protection to the great silver-mining industry in this country and refuse protection to the labor in the mines also? And not only refuse protection, but actually join in legislation that ruins the industry?

FAIR WEATHER PLATFORMS.

Gentlemen of both parties seem to think that their platforms as to bimetallism are fair weather platforms, and not to be carried out in a storm panic; especially is this true of the Democratic party at this time. They seem to regard the platform as a dress-parade declaration and not for active service. The people of this country believe in the use of both gold and silver, and although gentlemen may under the shadow of this great panic for a time obscure their vision, they will very soon emerge into the broad sunlight of their settled convictions for a permanent bimetallism.

Gentlemen representing the gold side of this question theorize in regard to what will occur, but the only way to know the result is to test it. There was not a member, I think, of either branch of the Fifty-first Congress who did not predict and believe that the passage of the Sherman law would permanently advance the price of silver bullion. In this all were mistaken.

No finer illustration of the failure of theorists and doctrinaires in finance can be adduced than the history of the Sherman law.

WHEAT—INDIA.

It has been conclusively, as it seems to me, shown in these debates that the low price of silver bullion which has obtained in this country has enabled India to compete with us in wheat-raising, and lost to this country a vast amount of money, and has been a terrible drawback to the wheat-raisers of this country. We desire the advance of silver bullion in the markets of the world, believing it will advance the price of our wheat and all products we have to sell. Low silver bullion has enabled England to buy Indian wheat low to compete with our wheat producers.

PARITY.

There has been no answer to the argument upon this floor that France for seventy years maintained the parity of the two metals, and no answer to the conclusion that this nation could not now do the same.

And if, upon trial, it should prove that the parity could not be restored, this Congress in its regular December session could repeal or change the law.

Why should we not give silver the opportunity it ever had in this country during its whole history until the year 1873, during all of which time it was equal to and much of the time at a premium over gold?

57-CENT DOLLAR.

It has seemed to me very unfair in this debate that the monometallists persistently talk of a 57-cent dollar when they know that the theory of the bimetallist, the theory of the free-coinage advocate, is that with free coinage, with an equal chance for silver bullion at the mints that gold bullion now has, there will be

no longer a 57-cent dollar; that the silver bullion in a dollar will then advance in price and be worth 100 cents, and that the commercial value and coinage value of silver bullion will come together, and that the bullion in a silver dollar will then actually be worth the bullion in a gold dollar.

This must be or bimetallism or free coinage is a failure. No one advocates any such measure as is here persistently talked by gold men, that the nation will continue to issue a dollar of 100 cents legal-tender value and 57 cents commercial value as bullion.

No one favors short or cheap or depreciated dollars, of which the gold men unfairly and for the purpose of prejudicing the cause of silver and its use continually talk. Every dollar of whatever kind must be equal to every other dollar, and their value must be an interchangeable value.

Our gold friends say we can not have a parity of gold and silver without an international agreement for bimetallism. Gladstone opposes it because, he says, the world owes England $10,000,000,000, and they want gold in payment. When will we have international agreement under these conditions?

BANKS AND THE PANIC.

Have you gentlemen read the RECORD this morning of what occurred yesterday in the United States Senate? Have you seen that a Senator of the United States introduced a resolution to ascertain whether the national banks of the cities of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia were violating the banking laws of the United States; and have you also seen that the East—the gold men in the Senate regardless of politics (because I want to say to you gentlemen of the West and South that when you get east of the Allegheny Mountains there are no politics so far as the money question is concerned; there was none yesterday in the Senate on the measure of which I am now speaking)—have you seen that on a simple resolution of inquiry addressed to the Treasurer of the United States, the Senate debated an hour and a half as to whether that inquiry should be answered or whether the resolution should be referred to the Finance Committee.

It was conceded by the senior Senator from Massachusetts, it was conceded by the senior Senator from Maryland that there had been violations of the law. It was conceded, as you will see by reading the debate, that the banks of New York City are charging their depositors as high as 3 per cent for their own money, and yet the Senate refused a resolution for a report of any violation of law by these banks. And yet these gentlemen from the East—the gentlemen from New York City—come here and cry out against the dishonesty of the farmers from the West and against the bad character of the loans which have been placed there.

WEST HONEST.

I want to say to you gentlemen that you never had as good securities as the landed securities of the West. You have never lost money by loaning to the West. We have paid you your interest. And now, simply because we do not want you to make a dollar worth $1.50—because we want you to accept payment in the dollar in which your contract was made, to wit, silver equal to gold and at a ratio of 16 to 1—you talk about dishonesty and "cheap money" and all that sort of thing. That has been your cry for a generation. That was the cry when you brought up the question of the payment of the bonds, the bonds you purchased at low rates during the war.

RESUMPTION.

Mr. Speaker, I have always been a Republican. After our flag was triumphant in the late war—after the Union had been saved, after the nation had had a little breathing spell, after the matters of reconstruction had had some consideration—the Republican party took the position that every promise to pay a dollar, although that promise had been depreciated during the terrible war, should be worth 100 cents on the dollar.

And, Mr. Speaker, we were a patriotic people. We as Republicans insisted all the time for a system which would give not only a proper currency in the land, but put all of the obligations of the Government upon an equality. It was a patriotic purpose, a purpose which was right and which I indorsed then and indorse now. Under that law the bondholders got the money and the bonds were payable in lawful money of the United States; afterwards they were made payable in coin. I am not complaining. I repeat, the efforts of the Republican party to keep these bonds and their payment as a sacred obligation upon the people was a wise, honest, and honorable policy.

But in 1873 there was by legislative enactment stricken down one of the coins of the country—silver—and the bonds theretofore payable in coin were made payable in gold. And while it was right and patriotic, as far as that is concerned, to bring up the bonds of the Government and make them all alike payable in the best money of the Government, and while I do not indorse the demonetization act of 1873, but condemn it as absolutely bad, the action that was taken before for the purpose of bringing the credit of the United States up to where every dollar was equal to every other dollar was a right and praiseworthy duty of a patriotic people. But while we were doing that there was standing alongside of the patriotic mass of the people of the country the bondholders, crying aloud and sparing not for this legislation.

I repeat, sir, while it was right and patriotic to bring up the credit of the United States we incidentally voted multiplied millions of dollars into the pockets of the bondholders by increasing the value of their bonds. And yet, notwithstanding all this, they are not satisfied. They come here now and resist every intelligent action on the part of the Western people. Because we simply desire to pay off our mortgages, which they hold, in the money which was contracted for at the time the obligation was created, and resist them doubling our debts and reducing the price of our products one-half by adopting a single gold standard, they cry out against us and talk about "cheap money."

SOUND MONEY.

Mr. Speaker, that is the veriest claptrap. There has not been a man of any standing on this floor or elsewhere who has advocated any kind of dollar which is not equal to every other dollar issued by the Government.

I am a Republican, and this is a proposition on which the Republican party has stood firm and unchanged, as immutable as the eternal rocks, at all times in its history. It has stood always for good and honest money in this country. We have pledged ourselves to it in all of our platforms, State and national (although it seems that some of our friends forget that our platforms have declared for bimetallism), and we are still declaring for it.

But I desire to read what was said in the debate in the Senate, no longer ago than yesterday, upon this subject of the action of the banks of New York, the remarks of the senior Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], and I commend them to the gentlemen from New York and West Virginia, who lay all the trouble now prevailing to the existence of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law. I ask these gentlemen and others to consider this language of Senator ALLISON. He said:

> Those of us who were here some years ago remember very well that the national banks of the city of New York refused to take upon deposit silver certificates issued by the Government, and in 1882, now eleven years ago, we were compelled by law to say that no national bank should be a member of any clearing-house association which did not receive on deposit silver certificates; and it is a matter of fact well known—at least, very well known in this body and elsewhere—that those national banks from that hour to this have, wherever they could, discriminated against silver certificates.
>
> They have pushed them out and out into the remote regions of our country and held, where they could, the greenbacks and the gold certificates.

Mr. Speaker, I call attention of the two gentlemen especially to this language:

> Much of the currency famine that has recently existed in the city of New York arises from the fact that the banks have not held in their vaults as a part of their reserve the silver certificates issued under the authority of the United States, nor have they held there any silver dollars. The silver certificates and silver dollars have been pushed out into the remoter regions of our country.

This is what the distinguished Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] says in regard to what has brought on the panic and where the responsibility rests for our present condition.

More than this, Mr. Speaker, in an article in that great Democratic organ, the New York Sun, of April 29, it is boldly charged that the New York banks and the Administration were working together and understandingly to compel an extra session of Congress to repeal the Sherman law, even at the expense of a panic. An extract is as follows:

> The conference yesterday between Secretary Carlisle and a number of the bankers of this city was of great value in that it resulted in a definite understanding of the financial policy of the Administration, as indicated in this column last Tuesday. That policy is to interpose no obstacle to the natural operations and logical results of the Sherman law. In a word, the Administration proposes to allow the people to reap the rewards of their own folly.
>
> The statement of Mr. Carlisle to the New York bankers makes it clear that, while Mr. Cleveland works in Congress, the bankers will be expected to work, not in New York only, but throughout the country, doing their utmost to pinch business everywhere in the expectation of causing a money crisis that will affect Congress powerfully from every quarter. There is an explicitness in these declarations and a boldness in making them that would be astounding were not the country too familiar with Mr. Cleveland and his methods to be astonished by anything from him.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has expired.

Mr. PICKLER. Mr. Speaker, I asked to be recognized on the next amendment.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state to the gentleman from South Dakota that it has looked at the order, and while, perhaps, it is a little ambiguous, still the Chair is inclined to think, and will put that construction upon it unless the House otherwise directs, that it was designed to limit the members to five or ten minutes as under the ordinary five-minute rule in the

House, and as to all of the amendments, and not on each amendment.

The Chair believes that the order was so understood by the House to permit, under the five-minutes' rule, the discussion of all of the amendments at once, as has been done under the general debate up to this time, and to construe the order otherwise would, as the gentleman himself must see, make the debate to-day or to-morrow for each member who gets the floor just as long as it was under the rule for general debate.

Mr. PICKLER. I do not wish to discuss the construction of the rule with the Chair, and will yield to the decision without comment, simply asking the privilege of continuing for five minutes longer.

The SPEAKER. If there be no objection, the gentleman from South Dakota will be recognized for five minutes longer.

There was no objection.

Mr. PICKLER. It is most remarkable that in either branch of the United States Congress, when a simple proposition of inquiry to one of the great Departments as to the operations of our national banks—the agents in one respect of the Government of the United States—as to whether they are violating the law, and when it is even conceded on the floor of the Senate that they have been violating the law, should find opposition and fail of adoption—I say I do not understand why objection can be made to the information being laid before Congress. It will not do to argue that any acts of Government officers or agents shall be concealed from the people's representatives in Congress.

Mr. Speaker, what must it lead to? If you can cover up the transactions of the banks by an action of this character, what may you not be able to cover up? It is a dangerous position, and will do more to create a fear in the minds of the people that the money power has undue influence in national legislation and Government than can be readily imagined.

VOLUME OF CURRENCY.

It has been argued here, Mr. Speaker, by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER], justifying the demonetization of silver, that the narrowing of the volume of currency does not interfere with business. That is the most dangerous proposition to the people of the West that has been suggested on this floor. We are a new country. We have lands that we desire to sell. We desire new railroad enterprises. We desire money to build factories in cities and towns, and schoolhouses and court-houses, and to develop our new country in a hundred ways.

We have a great need for money, and we know that if money is scarce, if there is but little money, the East will consume all of it before we even hear of it in the West. Certainly there never have been better times in this country than under a large volume of currency, during the war and immediately following. It appears to me, gentlemen, that it is a proposition that can not be denied, that so long as every dollar is as good as every other dollar there can not be too much good money in circulation. Who has ever known a country to have too much good money in circulation? Who has ever known times to be good when you have too little money in circulation? I believe the volume of the money has much to do with the prosperity of the country.

CHECKS AND DRAFTS.

Much has been said here about business being done with checks and drafts. Now, I confess that while I know a large per cent of business is done on credit with small cash basis, it is my impression that in order to have a check or draft to amount to anything in business a man must have money back of it. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] supposed a case the other day in this wise: He said, "Suppose a man brings in a load of cotton and sells it for $100, and that the merchant instead of paying him $100 in cash gives him a check on the bank for $100, and with that check he goes and buys goods of the dry goods merchant, and the merchant sends it to some other man whom he owes, and so it goes around;" the gentleman argues, and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] argues that the use of the check does away with the use of or requires less money.

Now, how can it be? The man who gave a check on the bank had a hundred dollars in that bank, or he could not have drawn his check. So all the office that the check performed was that in place of the man going and getting the money out of the bank and carrying it to the next man, and he to the next, they simply passed the check around from one to the other, and it did not take a dollar less to do business with the check than if the actual money had been used.

Mr. BYNUM. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. PICKLER. Yes, if my time can be extended. [Laughter.]

Mr. BYNUM. Will you tell me why it is, then, that the deposits in the banks exceed the entire circulation in the country about three times?

Mr. PICKLER. What has that to do with my proposition?

Mr. BYNUM. It simply has got this to do, that the deposits are three times as great as the entire circulation, and therefore the checks represent three times as much money as there is in circulation.

Mr. PICKLER. If the gentleman means three one hundred dollar checks are drawn against the same one hundred dollars, that is not legitimate banking, and is a dangerous inflation of credit. It is not that the bank has three times as much cash deposits as its circulation; it may have three times as much credits. This does not interfere with my statement as to checks and drafts. Can a man draw a check unless he has money to draw against?

Mr. BYNUM. No, but the money is deposited by different persons. The deposits are three times the amount of circulation.

Mr. DINGLEY. If my friend will pardon me, his check may be drawn against a credit given him by the bank.

Mr. PICKLER. Yes, but when the check is presented it takes actual cash to meet it; credit will not. I want my time extended if I am to be interrupted. The gentleman says that a man may draw his check against a credit that is given him. If he draws it against a credit, he had deposited money to obtain that credit. No bank honors a check unless it is drawn against cash or a cash credit, and the bank must have the money to pay the check, so that it is only the representative of money actually existing in the bank. Of course credit, as suggested by the gentleman from Indiana, may largely exceed the actual cash. A may deposit $100, against which he may check; the bank may loan it to B, and he may deposit it in same bank, and he may check against it, but when either A or B checks the bank must have the actual cash—somebody's cash to pass over to the holder of the check; just as to obtain a draft you must have actual cash to the amount of the draft, so that the use of a check or draft is only a convenience, and does not lessen the amount of actual money required to do the business.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. PICKLER. One moment and I will be through.

Mr. PAYNE. I ask that the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. PICKLER] have a minute longer.

The SPEAKER. Without objection the gentleman will have one minute more.

LONG TIME CHECK.

Mr. PICKLER. It seems to me that the proposition of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] that the use of a draft or a check lessens the necessity of actual money must be based on about the financial theory of a certain young Israelite of whom I have heard. An old Israelitish banker of whom I heard a few days ago had become rich in the business. His nephew Isaac had been associated with him in the business, and he was desirous to have his wealth go to Isaac at his death; so he brought Isaac to his bedside, and he said, "The physicians tell me I am only to live a short time. You have been a good and faithful friend and relative to me. You have been loyal to my interests and I desire to turn over to you my entire wealth except $500 in cash that I began business with. That I wish buried with me. "Now, I want you to deposit $500 in cash in the coffin with me, because I want to take it along with me." Isaac, tenderly regretting the sad event, said, "All right, I will do so." But the old Israelite was a little fearful that Isaac might be tempted by the glittering $500, so he made known to the rabbi what his request was, and asked the rabbi to see that Isaac carried out this promise. So the venerable Jew in time died and the rabbi went to the funeral.

[Here the hammer fell].

Mr. PICKLER. Will my colleague yield me a half minute?

Mr. LUCAS. I will.

The SPEAKER. How much time does the gentleman yield to his colleague?

Mr. LUCAS. Half a minute.

Mr. PICKLER. So the rabbi examined the body and could not find the money. He called Isaac and said to him, "Did not you promise to bury with our old friend the $500, the amount he commenced business with?" Isaac said, "Yes, I did." The rabbi said, "You did not do it." "Oh, yes I did," said Isaac, "you will find my sheck in his vest pocket." [Laughter.]

I believe there is no danger whatever of silver monometallism. Silver dollars have been at a premium the last few days in New York City, and the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States declares that he has not had sufficient silver to redeem Treasury notes presented. There is not a man in all this country who does not believe silver a sound currency. The ratio of 16 to 1 is the money in which our debts have been contracted and in which it is fair, right, honest, and just to pay them. Other ratios are compromises. If all the amendments for silver shall be voted down I shall vote against the repeal of the Sherman law; shall vote

AGAINST REPEAL OF THE SHERMAN LAW

Because it is all that is left in any way favoring silver coinage.

Because its unconditional repeal places this country on a single gold standard.

Because it now adds to our circulation from three to four million dollars per month, and if repealed it contracts our currency in that amount, and will compel the sale of Government bonds to buy gold to take the place of silver, thus imposing a tax on the people.

Because its repeal absolutely stops the coinage of silver in this country, and further reduces the price of silver bullion, and likewise the prices of our products.

Because I do not believe it responsible for the present panic to any appreciable extent, but that it has been seized upon by the present Administration to drive the country to a single gold standard, at the dictation of the money interests of the country.

Because the people of the country want more good money in circulation, while this repeal lessens it by fifty millions per year.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. Speaker, I represent a constituency of diversified industries. Sixty-five per cent of the people are engaged in agriculture and stock-raising, 25 per cent are engaged in mining, the net proceeds of whose labor is an output of $500,000 each month in the year in gold, besides a small percentage of silver. Strange as it may seem to the gentlemen who advocate the gold standard, more than 80 per cent of the men who dig, smelt, and prepare six millions, or more, of gold each year for the money market of the world believe in the silver dollar. They will not consent that silver shall be demonetized and driven out from the marts of trade and business in this country.

The farmers are even more decided in their opinions; they love the jingle of the dollar of the daddies.

It has been repeatedly said from this floor that to enact free coinage, to utilize the products of one of our great industries, will bring us in conflict with England and drive all the gold out of our country and into the coffers of other nations, and especially that of England. Indeed, it seems to me there is quite as much solicitude about what England will not do for us as there is as to what we shall do for ourselves.

I belong to that large class of Americans who do not care what England will or will not do. If we have reached a period in our history when we must consider what England will do before we provide relief for our own suffering countrymen, it is time another Jefferson shall rise up and draft a second Declaration of Independence. If we maintain the double standard, as does France, a near neighbor to England, suppose we do, for a time, lose some trade with England. We will make it up and more, too, by increased trade with nations who are friendly to silver. This fact was clearly and ably stated by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] a few days ago.

This matter is solely a business one. There is no sentiment in it. England has no love for this nation, as has been demonstrated more than once, and as we grow in numbers and wealth her jealousy is more manifest. She never lets an occasion pass by to embarrass or retard our progress without exhibiting a desire to subjugate and rule our people. The time has gone by when this can be done in any other manner except through the power of money, and so sure as we accept gold as the only standard of money for a time we shall be at her mercy. My home is near the base of Harney Peak, where the earth is full of rich tin ore. A syndicate of lords, dukes, and capitalists of the English Government own a majority of the stock of those mines.

The mines have been developed sufficiently to prove beyond a doubt the wealth and inexhaustible quantities of the ore. For years a contest has been going on between American pluck, energy, and progress on the one hand and English capital, selfishness, and bullyism on the other. Our own citizens are anxious, solicitous, and determined to set the ponderous machinery, that is all in place, to going, and thus open up one of the greatest industries of the age, but because the product will come in competition with mines in Wales, owned by the same men and operated by cheap labor, they refuse to give consent; the result is, paralysis rests upon the industry. If we ever succeed in breaking the iron grip they hold upon the mines, in less than a year it will be impossible to find a Democrat who will not say, "I always knew there was plenty of tin in the Black Hills."

Now, what these English capitalists are doing with the Harney Peak tin industry the Government of Great Britain is attempting to do in our national finances, and it seems to me they have some able and faithful allies in this body.

I do not believe that silver or the Sherman law is responsible for the present crisis in our business affairs. The quantity and quality of the money in circulation is not different from what it was a year ago. The people have faith in the money. A year ago the country was in a high state of prosperity; labor was sought after at remunerative prices. The price of a day's labor would purchase more of the necessaries of the family than ever before in our history as a nation, and I call the attention of the Democratic side of this body to the fact that the McKinley tariff law was in full force then, as it is now.

But now the people expect that the declarations of the Chicago platform will be executed, that a resolution in the protection laws will occur, and added to that will be the repeal of the 10 per cent. tax now provided for on State bank issue of money.

They expect a wild-cat period to visit the nation as it did in 1858, and for this reason every dollar of good money is being hoarded as far as possible.

I shall not vote to destroy silver, but will vote to retain it in our monetary system, and under no consideration will I vote to repeal the Sherman law unconditionally. [Applause.]

Mr. HARTMAN. Mr. Speaker, my justification in asking unanimous consent of this House to proceed for ten minutes rests in the fact that I represent a State which produces more gold and silver combined than any other State in this Union.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to proceed for ten minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HARTMAN Mr. Speaker, in this time I can not hope to discuss at any great length the pending question upon its merits; but I desire, with the permission of the Republican members of the House, to discuss the result of the vote upon the pending question upon the politics of the country.

Mr. Speaker, there is a custom which prevails in this House, which has almost ripened into a rule, that a new member is not expected to consume the time of the House until he has been here at least some months, but the State from which I hail is a State which but a few months ago had as bright an industrial future before it as any one of the United States, but whose industrial system to-day partakes at least of its full share of the depression and financial fear which pervades the entire country.

The present deplorable condition of the business of the country should invite a full and free discussion of all propositions for its relief, for each day adds to the already enormous record of business disaster and distrust another chapter of bank suspensions, of assignments and business failures, of mills and factories closed, of mining operations suspended, and of thousands and tens of thousands of employés thereby deprived of the means of obtaining the very necessaries of life. Each State has its full quota of idle men, and the disaster is national. Commercial paralysis seems to have afflicted our people, and financial distrust has degraded the exchange of our country into mere paper collections of a doubtful character.

Up to two months ago the exchange issued by our banks was received as cash and placed to the credit of the depositor, while now it is treated to the same scrutiny and sent through the same channel as a draft upon a private individual, with the chances that it will not be honored when presented. In the last three months real estate values in the entire country have decreased; the values of stocks, of farm products, of the products of our mines, indeed, of almost every commodity, have declined, in many instances have reached the lowest point in history, and we are told that all this disastrous record is the direct and immediate result of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law: but as I have read and reread that assertion, and looked and listened for the reasons assigned in support of it, I find that the principal argument used to sustain it is that the purchasing clause is driving our gold from the country, and the fear of our reaching an exclusively silver basis naturally follows.

But if this be true it would indeed be interesting to learn why it is that under the same law that drives gold out in May and June it is permitted to return in August, and, further, I should like to know why it is, if when gold returns in August, that our commercial ills are not, at least in some slight degree, alleviated?

If it is vitally essential to the nation's welfare that our supply of gold be maintained or increased (if you please), I submit that the desired end can be attained by our Government adopting these two policies:

First. Provide that all custom duties must be paid in gold.

Second. So adjust your schedule of import duties as to leave the balance of trade in favor of this nation. When this is done you have not only maintained but have increased your supply of gold, and the argument that the honor of our nation in its dealings with other nations must be maintained is answered.

If that purchasing clause of the Sherman law is in itself so fruitful of bad results, why is it that the crash of two months ago did not come three years ago when the law was first enacted? Why is it that our country continued to prosper during all the period of time that the Sherman law was in existence, from the 14th day of July, 1890, until two months ago, when crisis in our financial history came, if the Sherman law is responsible for the condition of the country? Why is it so?

The Sherman law does not in the least degree contribute to the general unrest, uncertainty, and lack of confidence which

pervades every section of the United States. It has simply been made a scapegoat of by two classes of people, first, the monometallists, the single gold-standard men, who seek every opportunity to degrade silver; second, by the Administration, for the double purpose of aiding the gold-standard men in their crusade against silver and at the same time to have some bugaboo to hold up to the public gaze and lampoon as a public foe to divert attention from the true cause of existing conditions.

I do not believe that these conditions are traceable to any single cause, but to a combination of many causes, and I do believe that the two causes above all others is the apprehension of the business interests of the country that the existing tariff legislation is to be uprooted and the free-trade policies of the Democratic party enacted in its stead, and the further fear of adverse legislation to silver under the recommendation of the Administration. Men whose capital is invested in those industries toward which it has been the policy of the Government to extend the fostering hand of protection are fearful that the party now in power may keep the pledges they have made in their national platform, and by so doing the bars are let down and competition with those who are engaged in like industries in other countries where labor is cheap must follow.

All such industries must be rearranged to fit a new basis; reduction of expense in all lines and in all departments must be made to enable our people to successfully carry on such competition. From this fear, and with the decline of silver by reason of the relentless crusade against it, almost every class of property has largely decreased in value, until at last the Democratic dreams of cheapness have been realized. We have cheap wheat, cheap wool, cheap silver, cheap men, everything cheap but gold; and those who agree with the Administration, and who support the bill introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia, are going to assist in intensifying and perpetuating this magnificent era of cheapness in the products and labor of this country, and in making still dearer the money of the country in which our debts and obligations must be paid.

Debts have been contracted on the faith of existing laws; upon the faith of the continued issuance of certificates upon the bullion deposited in the Treasury and the consequent replenishment of the currency, and by the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law the volume of the currency will be no longer increased, the value of money will continue to grow with the increase of business, and the debtor will find himself paying his debt in much dearer money than he received when his debt was contracted.

With a free-coinage bill at the established ratio of 16 to 1, the demand for gold will be lessened and of silver increased. The increased use and value of silver will decrease the necessity for gold and the two metals will meet half way. But it is urged by the gold-standard advocates that the parity between the two metals can not be maintained, and that the parity between the metals would be destroyed if the Treasury notes should be redeemed in silver.

But the experience of France proves that this proposition is not correct, for France maintains more than $200,000,000—more of silver money than we have—at parity with her gold money by electing to redeem her $700,000,000 of legal-tender notes as frequently in silver as in gold.

But when the Administration sees fit, as it has done, by electing to pay "gold coin" exclusively for Treasury notes to administer the life out of the law, and when it sees fit, as it has done, to partially suspend the operation of the law which the President tacitly admits in his message is mandatory, it is not difficult to see that the Administration hopes to maintain the parity between the two metals at the ratio of one of gold to none of silver.

But they say it is a dishonest dollar. That it is a 60-cent dollar. It is despised and spat upon by the gold-standard men, and yet it will buy just as much merchandise as their gold dollar. And this same dishonest dollar, this fraud and cheat in the financial world, as well as the Treasury notes, no longer ago than the 22d of August, in this year of grace, were selling at a premium of 2½ per cent, while gold coin in transit from Europe was selling at a premium over clearing-house checks of only three-fourths of 1 per cent.

Gentlemen may assert and reassert the dishonesty of silver money, but they can not overturn these facts.

Mr. William P. St. John, president of the Mercantile National Bank of New York, expressed these views upon the President's message, which are worthy of the consideration of the members of this House:

According to the message, the assembling of Congress is in order that "present evils may be mitigated and dangers threatening the future may be averted."

The present evils are attributed by the President to the operation of the so-called Sherman law. The evils to be averted are not even hinted at, unless we are to believe them every one involved in this same law.

The President confirms the impression that the Secretary of the Treasury is commanded to purchase monthly 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion. How then, does his Administration presume to purchase only 2,225,000 ounces during July? And why is there so little present promise of his purchasing 4,500,000 ounces during August?

MINT DIRECTOR'S ANSWER.

The Mint Director's answer is that silver is not offered him at the market price; in other words, that what is offered him is offered above the market price. But observe that silver offered him is for delivery in Philadelphia for cash next day. The silver offered him and rejected at the price has, on every steamer day during all July, elected to go to London and elsewhere through London, although distant by nine days, with freight, insurance, and interest to be taken into the adverse account.

The President proclaims that all but a very small quantity of this silver bullion remains uncoined and without usefulness in the Treasury.

To this I answer—

First. That the silver bullion served when purchased to create the Treasury notes that are circulating as our money.

Second. It is the fault of the administration of the law that the bullion remains uncoined. It seems to me eggregious folly to let it so remain when at this very moment an official circular announces that silver certificates can not now be issued for deposits of gold because there are no silver dollars on hand with which to redeem the silver certificates if issued. The law requires the outstanding issue of silver certificates to be identical in amount with the silver dollars in the Treasury.

Third. In a voice which every hamlet hears before the sun set, this very moment would have seemed to be propitious to allay alarm instead of instigating it. The practical conditions existing at this moment are that while gold coin in transit from Europe commands a premium over checks payable in the clearing house of three-fourths of 1 per cent, these Treasury notes automatically created by this Sherman law, and silver certificates, as well as the stigmatized 56-cent coin itself for which these silver certificates can be obtained, are selling indiscriminately at a premium of 2½ per cent in Wall street.

The President bemoans our recent exodus of gold. That exodus had ceased already several weeks ago. Subsequently and right up to an engagement in London this very day more than $15,000,000 of gold have chosen to return to us. I doubt not more and more will follow during the many months in which the Sherman law will still be unrepealed.

But it has been urged upon this floor that the basis of the value of the metals that are produced in this country depends upon the cost of production of that metal, and that because there has been a great reduction in the cost of production of silver since 1873 as compared to the present time, that therefore the price of silver has been reduced in proportion to the cost of production of the same.

In the first place, the statements that have been made here that the cost of production now is about one-third of what it was in 1873 are erroneous; but admitting for the sake of argument that they are true, and that the cost of production of silver has been reduced as stated by those who have announced the fact, by reason of improved machinery and the skill of inventive genius, and let us see where it leads to.

There has been the same improvement in the machinery necessary to mill and save gold as there has been in the machinery used in the reduction, milling, and saving of silver; and therefore, to strictly apply the arguments of the gentlemen who have been making these statements upon this floor, the price of gold has been proportionately reduced, and if their figures are correct, then gold is only worth one-third as much now as it was in 1873.

There is another very important question, which those who by their votes propose to put us on a single gold standard seem to forget when they assert that there is sufficient gold at the present time to maintain the volume of business, and that there will be sufficient increase in the supply of gold to maintain the increased volume of business, and that fact is this: that one-third of the gold produced in the United States to-day is produced at the same time and from the same mines as silver and in conjunction with silver. And further, this gold is produced from mines which are not sufficiently valuable for gold alone to justify their being worked, and therefore if we are forced upon a single gold standard, and silver mining is made impossible by reason of adverse legislation or otherwise, the future product of gold in the United States will be decreased one-third.

I am willing to admit that there are some gentlemen on this floor who are perfectly willing to take the step, with the knowledge that the supply of gold will be reduced one-third. It is only natural that those who possess the supply of gold now in the United States should be perfectly willing that no more should be produced, for in that way the value of their possessions would be greatly enhanced.

It is with much hesitation and with every deference to the other members of the House that I say I can not understand why any Republican member of this House should deem it his duty to support the Administration in the furtherance of its proposed silver policy. On the contrary, every reason is against such a course. The declarations of the party in the past justify me in this statement. In the national platform of 1888 our party declared, "The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver." This itself should be sufficient.

It seems to me that no Republican should hesitate a moment in his choice between standing by the declaration of his party or indorsing the policy of the Administration of the opposition

party. The silver Republicans of the United States had a right to rely upon that declaration of the national platform. We considered that it was made in good faith, and we still so consider. We stood by the declaration of the platform in all its issues. We stood shoulder to shoulder with you upon the tariff policies of the party. You wanted us, you needed us, and we gave you all we had to give.

Now, the crucial test has come. We believe in reciprocity. You have asked for our support and votes upon the policies of the Republican party, which, while affecting the entire country, are more directly felt by the manufacturing districts in the East, and we gave them to you, and now we ask your support for that part of the declared policy of the party which, while it is a matter of general interest throughout the United States, has a direct effect upon the interests of the people of the Mississippi and Western States, and I have a right to ask you as Republicans here, what are you going to do about it?

Silver was good enough to indorse in the national platforms of 1888 and 1892, and you indorsed it, and we accepted that indorsement in good faith. Are you going to make it good? I am jointly interested with other gentlemen upon this floor in maintaining the parity between the two metals, and I am also jointly interested in maintaining the parity between the declarations of the Republican party upon its tariff plank and upon the silver plank. We ask that if the tariff declaration is to be worth 100 cents on the dollar that the silver declaration of the party shall be equally valuable here to-day.

Are you going to say to us, "Go back to your people and tell them that the Republican party has juggled with them upon the silver question: it has made dupes of them; it has obtained the votes of their Senators and Representatives upon its great tariff policies, directly benefiting the great manufacturing centers of the East, and therefore, having obtained all the East wants, we repudiate the declarations of the party in favor of silver and abandon it to its fate"? Do you want us to go back to our districts and inform the Republicans there that the Republicans of the East were so anxious and eager to disavow the silver pledges of the party that they have even allied themselves to the Democratic Administration in its relentless war against silver?

Send us back with such a message as that, and—I do not speak in any words of threat—send us back with such a message as that, and hereafter Republicans in those districts will be as scarce as money or solvent institutions under the present Administration. [Laughter.] I can not believe, I will not believe until the stern truth is thrust upon me, that the Republicans of this House are willing to say to the silver Republicans: "We care more for the Democratic party than we do for the declarations of our own party. We are willing henceforth that the standard of Republicanism shall be lowered in every district represented by a silver Republican. We have all the legislation we want. Our tariff legislation is complete. We are secure."

I can not believe this, gentlemen, for two reasons: First, the Republican party has given to the West all of its most beneficial legislation. It is the party of growth, of progress, of prosperity. Its policies have made it possible for great States to be builded in a Territory which, but a few decades ago, was practically unknown. On the faith of its legislation and its declared policies millions and millions of dollars are to-day invested in silver mines, in silver properties, in equipments necessary to operate silver properties which the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law will render absolutely valueless; and remember, gentlemen, a great majority of that property was sold, in the shape of machinery, by your people to ours, yet now you propose, by this pending act of legislation, by your votes in support of it, to strike down and render all that property utterly valueless.

Let me tell you that there are scattered throughout the Rocky Mountains, through its ranges and its valleys, thousands and thousands of men, women, and children, citizens of the United States, not aliens, humble and honest, who have accepted the invitation of the Government to make homes in the rugged fastnesses of those mountains and to dig and delve in those hills to increase the wealth of the United States in the production of gold and silver. There their accumulated earnings of years are invested, and I say to you that the President's policy and your policy, if you make it yours, will render those earnings absolutely valueless.

Are you willing to do this thing? Are you willing to aid in doing it? I can not and will not believe it. I am one of those who believe, equally with other gentlemen here, in maintaining the honor and the integrity of this nation in its dealings with other nations, but I do not consider that obligation to be more sacred or binding than the obligation of the Government to keep faith with its own citizens.

We of the silver States are charged with selfishness because, forsooth, we object to having one of our chiefest industries destroyed. But let me put this question to you gentlemen: Suppose there were a bill introduded in this House which would, in its operation, wipe out the manufacturing industries of the great State of New York and of the New England States, which would destroy the wool industry of the great State of Ohio, which would put out the fires in all the furnaces of the great State of Pennsylvania, what would be the result?

Why, a wail would go up in this House in comparison with which the feeble protests of the silver men would sink into utter insignificance. But you say that our protest is founded in sordid selfishness, while yours would be, of course, the echo and the impulse of the most generous and most patriotic purposes of the human heart. [Laughter.] Let me say to you, gentlemen, the same impulses move us as would move you. Again, you may think you are secure in your tariff legislation, but you are not. And I want to say right here, Mr. Speaker, that I am in favor of the protective tariff of the Republican party. The McKinley law is the wisest law of its kind that was ever placed upon the statute books of this country, and I want to help maintain it by vote and by my voice wherever I may be.

But if the national Democratic platform means anything, it means that at some time before this Administration closes there will be made such an onslaught on the existing tariff legislation as will shake it to its very foundations. And when that time comes the gentlemen from the New England and other manufacturing States, who in the face of the declarations of the Republican platform intend to vote silver out of our monetary system, will come to us who represent silver districts and shower upon us a wealth of fraternal love, and we shall be expected and invited to help withstand that onslaught for the reason "that the platform declares for protection," because "we must keep faith with the party."

I will not undertake to say what response will be given to that appeal, but we are human, moved by the same impulses that move you, possessed of the same hopes, the same desires, the same ambitions with which you are possessed, and we would indeed be unworthy of citizenship under the flag if in the face of this cruel wrong, if in the face of the utter annihilation of our greatest industry by the aid of the Republican party, we should then come to you meekly and humbly, and cringe and crawl at the feet of power, and kiss the hand that smites us.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. PENCE. I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Montana [Mr. HARTMAN] be extended for five minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. HARTMAN. I thank the House very much for its courtesy.

Mr. Speaker, I appeal to the Reed Republicans of the Fifty-first Congress, to the leaders of the party on this floor, to every loyal Republican here to-day, by his vote on this question not to put obstacles in the way of Republican success in those Western States. We have fought long and hard to plant the standard of Republicanism upon the crest of the Rocky Mountains in those States; and you, by your votes to-day on this question, by voting in support of the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law will make our task doubly, yes, ten times as hard as it has been in the past.

I want to say to you, speaking of my own State, that I am here by the small plurality of 172 out of 49,000 votes. I want to say, furthermore, that this is not a selfish appeal I am making for the Republican party in these respective States. It is an appeal to the Republican party of the nation—why? Because I submit to you, gentlemen who are so much abler and better politicians than I am, that you can never hope to regain control of this Government unless you have the silver States with you. Why? This is not a wild declaration, a chimerical declaration of mine.

I put it to you, where will you go for the support you require? Go to the South, and what is your encouragement? None whatever; yet that is all that is left. Yet how can you expect to gain control of the United States Senate unless you have two Republican Senators from Montana, two from Idaho, two from Nevada, two from Colorado, two from Wyoming? At least three out of them, you must have; and three of them it is absolutely impossible for you to gain if you wipe out the Republican party in those States.

I put it to you simply as a question affecting Republican success, not simply as a question whether or not some of us boys can be returned to Congress. That cuts no figure. The question is, For what can the Republican party of the nation hope? Please do not, because this suggestion proceeds from one of the humblest members of this body, reject it. Let it stand on its merits. The suggestion is either good or bad; I leave it to you to decide.

I make no appeal to that class of political being that dates its existence from the year 1884. At that time that fragile, ethereal,

wavering creature commonly known as the "mugwump" was hatched from the chrysalis of its self-conceit and fluttered out upon the political horizon to be admired of mankind. [Laughter.]

But soon becoming exhausted by its intense admiration of itself it lay down by the wayside and fell into a deep sleep; and during its slumbers the juice of that magic flower of "civil-service reform" was sprinkled upon its eyes, and, like Titania in the Midsummer Night's Dream, it became deeply enamored of the first object upon which its eyes fell on awakening. It is needless for me to say to this House that that object was the present President of the United States. [Laughter.] Let me indulge in the hope, before I close, that by the vote on the pending question it will be conclusively demonstrated to this House and to the world that that species is extinct on this floor. [Laughter and applause.] I thank you, gentlemen, for your attention.

Mr. BARTHOLDT. Mr. Speaker, when I entered this House it was my firm determination to merely vote and not to speak upon this question, not only because I am a new member, but because older and wiser heads would, I knew, state in abler arguments and more eloquent terms what I conceive to be the immediate needs of the country and our duty resulting therefrom. When I take the floor, after all, it is because under the method of procedure which the majority party has laid down for this House, no time will be saved by remaining silent; and second, because from the remarks of those of my distinguished colleagues from Missouri who have already spoken, wrong impressions might be gained as to the attitude of the people of our grand old State on this most important question.

It might be inferred from the speeches of my colleagues on the other side of this Chamber that the same sound sentiment which at one time successfully resisted Missouri's surrender to the Confederacy, was now advising a unanimous and unconditional surrender to the silver barons instead; that, in other words, the people of Missouri were a unit in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the present or some other ratio. This, Mr. Speaker, is not true. It is a reflection upon the sound judgment, upon the intelligence of our people. I readily understand how this false impression might have been created. Our State has fifteen Representatives upon the floor of this House. By an artful gerrymander 266,909 voters were entitled to send thirteen Representatives, while 227,480, or, counting the entire anti-Democratic vote, 265,740 votes, could only send two. Our side of Missouri has not been heard from, and I now propose that it shall. It is the progressive new Missouri that I shall speak for, not the one of ante bellum days, but the grandest State of the Union, with its great manufacturing and commercial interest and its three millions of people, whose welfare and very existence depend upon a sound and stable currency.

I am speaking for the great metropolis of the Mississippi Valley, St. Louis, and her extensive territory of gardens and farms, and her manifold commercial, industrial, agricultural, and railroad interests. These interests have spoken with no uncertain tone of voice as to what they expect us to do in the present emergency, but to the gentlemen on the other side who have thus far represented my State upon this floor they seem to have appealed in vain. These distinguished gentlemen continue to fiddle while Rome is burning.

Yes, we say, Rome is burning; when banks, factories, and business houses are closing, and thousands of laboring men are being locked out and deprived of their daily bread. But it is not a question as to the origin of the conflagration—we are all fairly familiar with the chain of causes and effects—the duty of the hour is to extinguish the flames. How shall we revive the hopes and restore the confidence of our people? That is the problem we are called upon to solve. To review from the standpoint of science and philosophy the monetary systems of the world will not solve it. To discuss, academically, the niceties and intricacies of the financial problem will not solve it. To make unpatriotic distinctions between the East and the West, and to draw undemocratic lines between the interests of one class and those of another class, will not facilitate, but render more difficult the final solution.

What is needed is action, immediate and decisive action. The suffering people pray for and demand a certain medicine. Shall we stubbornly withhold it? There is not a member on this floor who is not morally convinced that a proposition to repeal the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law, if submitted to a popular vote, would be carried by an overwhelming majority. I for one shall vote according to that conviction. It matters little, Mr. Speaker, whether this provision of the law is the only, the main, or any cause whatsoever of our financial and economic difficulties, whether or not its repeal will cause the immediate return of business prosperity, sunshine, and hope. If not financial experts we are, as public men, students of human nature, and as such we know that imagination is as powerful a factor to counteract panics as it is to cause them. If, at a cry of "fire" in a theater, the actor upon the stage succeeds in making the audience believe that there is no danger every person might probably be saved, while in cases where there really is no danger the most appalling calamity might result, when the fears of the spectators could not be allayed.

It is one of the saddest spectacles of history to witness the American people, the greatest, noblest, most self-made, and most courageous of all nations, lie prostrate, shivering from causeless fear, and thereby depriving thousands of work, of home, of happiness—and this in the midst of plenty, with abundant crops of wheat, and cotton, and corn, and with the natural resources of our great country barely scratched; with riches that will prove ample for millions to come—for ten times the present number of inhabitants. What will the future historian call this sudden fright, this unaccountable loss of heart, and hope, and courage, when manifested by a people that has twice conquered a continent, once from its oppressors and again by subjugating nature?

Has this same people been vanquished by the power of money, has the "almighty dollar" wiped out our virtues and manly qualities, and wound around our limbs the chains of abject slavery? It is time for the American people to disprove such imputations. Yes, after all, the people themselves will prove their best doctor. A dollar changes hands ten and twenty times a day, and when the dollar is withheld from circulation, as is the case now, results as we now see are inevitable, no matter what the total volume of money is. If that volume were twice as much as at present, then $2 would be withheld where one is now, and the result would be the same.

But, Mr. Speaker, this hoarding of money is, I claim, as unpatriotic, aye, as disloyal an act as to engage in active hostility against the Government. Each citizen, it is true, has an abstract right to do what he pleases with his money, but he enjoys this right only by sufferance of all other citizens and of the Government. This state of civilized society, disputed by none and recognized by all, imposes certain duties, and the very first of these duties is faith in and loyalty towards the Government. Now, I ask, are those who are permitting themselves to be haunted by groundless fears, and who keep, terror stricken, what they possess in the firm grasp of their hands, are they fulfilling this most sacred duty? Do they not rather ignore and violate it by their fear and distrust?

Let us never forget that the possession of worldly goods is, after all, only a trust which changes hands from generation to generation, and whose administration must be characterized by an absolute faith in the ability of the Government to protect it. If, then, the people will help themselves, by taking new heart and hope, they will not only fulfill a duty toward their country and Government, but they will thereby obtain more efficient and more substantial relief than could be afforded by any action of ours. However, we have to deal with human nature as it is, and not as it should be, consequently a start, an impetus, seems to be necessary to revive the hopes and restore the confidence of our people. Because of the almost child-like faith of the masses in what they consider the marvelous effects of legislation, I believe the repeal of the silver-purchasing act to be the means of such an impetus. This we are being told almost daily by merchants, manufacturers, and business men from all over the country. Are their opinions entitled to respectful consideration, or do we understand better than they what is their own business? The President, I am free to admit, has given the proper answer to these questions.

St. Louis justly enjoys the reputation of being, in a financial sense, one of the soundest and most solid cities in the country, and for this reason, Mr. Speaker, her people and the people of my district, which comprises two of the greatest and most well-to-do counties of the United States, have probably suffered less from the present crisis than other parts of the country; but since our common interests can not be injured in any one part without jeopardizing them generally, our business men, our farmers and laboring men, join in the general demand for relief and ask for the speedy repeal of the law which compels the Secretary of the Treasury to take in silver with one hand and pay out gold for it with the other. They ask, furthermore, as a measure of temporary relief, permission for the national banks to issue currency up to the full value of the United States bonds deposited by them with the Government.

Such a proposition, I think, can safely be enacted into law. It occupies neutral ground, as far as the gold and silver forces are concerned, and it would somewhat relieve the money stringency by adding about $20,000,000 to the volume of circulation. Up to this moment I have not yet heard one valid reason why the circulation secured by our bonds should be confined to 90 per cent of their value. But in this case, too, the old proverb quoted by the President holds good, that "he gives twice who gives quickly." Congress alone stands in the way of the relief indi-

cated, and for every hour of delay its majority is responsible. To save time I would suggest that the Wilson bill be amended by incorporating in it the proposition above referred to.

After the repeal of the Sherman act the question of a thorough revision of our financial system will be in order, and it should be met with a truly national spirit and a sense of patriotism, of fairness towards all. No pets or hobbies should interfere with a candid discussion and with such a disposition of the question as will serve the best interests of all parts of our common country. To comfort our friends on the other side we are even willing to say with the President that "this matter rises above the plane of party politics," but we must insist that the weapon of sectionalism shall not be used in this friendly combat. It has already been used, with moderation here, but with the most fanatical zeal outside of this Hall. The governor of Colorado has amended his harangue, but even in Kansas they talk of a movement "to bring the people of the West and South into such united action as will protect and foster interests naturally allied."

This talk is sacrilege, pure and simple. Not only the people of the West and South, but of the whole country, should be united to foster the common interests of the Republic, for every part of the country is certain to be affected by the misfortunes and to share in the prosperity of any particular section. In spite of all this talk, I venture the prediction that the issue of secession is decided for all time to come; that over Wall street as well as over the silver mines will forever float the Stars and Stripes, and those who touch the sword will perish by the sword.

Our friends from the silver States, to whose speeches I have carefully listened for a full week, seem to be comprehensive mainly of one thing—the demonetization of silver as a result of the repeal of the law of 1890.

But in face of the fact that we now have more silver than gold in this country, namely, $615,000,000 as against $604,000,000, every dollar of which will, even after the repeal of the Sherman act, be kept at par with gold, these fears seem, for the present at least, groundless. And this silver will not, like gold, leave the country, it will stay right with us. Experts teach us that the friends of silver have more to hope and to expect when our present policy of silver purchases is stopped than even from free coinage; for such coinage would not last long under the circumstances. We can not defy the world. Free coinage would, instead of establishing bimetallism, inevitably result in monometallism, but on a silver basis, while a change in front on our part now would eventually compel Europe to again open negotiations with us and to make concessions in the direction of the establishment of an international ratio between gold and silver.

Upon this event alone our bimetallists must rest their hopes. Without disaster to ourselves we can not defy the world by dictating and maintaining a financial policy which is at variance with the monetary system of all other great nations, with the sole exception of France. And France it is that is constantly being referred to by the gentlemen on the other side as furnishing a shining example of financial wisdom. They do not mention the fact, however, that the French silver is kept at par with gold by the powerful aid of the Bank of France, the stock of gold in the bank being so large that the people are satisfied the silver will not be allowed to lose its artificial value. Then bear in mind that silver coinage was stopped in France eighteen years ago.

According to a report of the condition of the Bank of France it has in its vaults 259,000,000 of 5-franc coins. That leaves outstanding in the hands of the people only $458,000,000 worth. The notes of the bank, which are liable to be presented at any time for redemption, amount to $642,000,000. Therefore the total amount of notes and silver to be looked after amounts in round numbers to $1,100,000,000. To protect that sum the bank had a gold reserve of $317,000,000, or nearly 29 per cent. The United States, on the other hand, has to protect its eight hundred and twenty-seven million of notes and silver with a gold reserve of only about 12 per cent. It is easy to see the greater safety of French methods. As for the silver in the vaults of the French bank, it is no more a reserve than is that in the vaults of our Treasury; for when notes are presented for redemption, if the bank were to insist on forcing silver on the holders they would be alarmed, just as they would be here.

But, Mr. Speaker, even a change of ratio, if resorted to to revive free coinage, appears to be impracticable. An estimate of the Secretary of the Treasury shows that such a change (from the present ratio of 16 to 1 to 20 to 1) would cost the Government exactly $112,866,321. This is the expense for the new bullion for the enlargement of the dollar, for abrasion and melting, for recoinage, for copper and transportation. Are the people ready to expend this tremendous amount for what is at best an experiment which can not succeed without the coöperation of the rest of the world? I should think not. But the true relation between gold and silver is now even 28 to 1, and with the adoption of this ratio the loss to the people would be correspondingly higher, namely about $250,000,000.

So far as the legislation of the United States was regarded as a means of supporting the value of silver, it must be admitted to be a failure. In February, 1878, the market ratio was 17.38 to 1; in July, 1890, it was 19.16 to 1; and since then it has fallen to 28 and 30 to 1. In face of these facts, further attempts of this kind are unworthy the common sense and dignity of a great nation. These facts show better than words the impotence of legislation by one State to control the value of the metal affected by the action of the rest of the world. This fall in silver, moreover, without any corresponding fall in the prices of commodities and staple goods, makes clear what may have been before doubtful, the departure of silver from a position where it can influence general prices. Also, neither in 1876 nor in 1890, when silver fluctuated so greatly, did prices follow silver. In short, it has become evident that the world's prices of to-day are not quoted in silver, nor are they dependent upon the value of silver—a situation which has been brought about slowly but steadily in the last twenty years.

Prices can not be regulated by legislative action, and they can never be fixed by the mere quantity of metallic money in the country. They depend much more upon conditions of credit and banking, a fact which will be better understood when we remember that about 95 per cent of all the commercial transactions in the United States are effected without the exchange of actual coin.

If by free coinage a single cent would be added to the price of wheat or a single dime to the weekly wages of our workingmen, I would vote for free silver; but this not being the case, I shall support that measure which will secure to each citizen the full value of what he has—the bill to repeal the silver-purchase act. It is the first necessary step to secure honest money, a sound currency, the stability of trade, and the employment of labor, and to restore the faith and confidence of our people. [Applause.]

During the delivery of the foregoing remarks, when five minutes had expired,

Mr. DOCKERY said: I ask that the time of my colleague [Mr. BARTHOLDT] be extended ten minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. MORSE. I send to the Clerk's desk to be read resolutions of the Boston Iron and Hardware Club.

The Clerk read as follows:

Hon. ELIJAH A. MORSE, *Canton, Mass.:*

DEAR SIR: At a regular meeting of the Boston Iron and Hardware Club held on August 8, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas the remedy for the present depression in business and finance rests wholly with Congress, now in session, and believing that repealing the purchasing clause in the Sherman silver bill will tend to establish confidence,

Resolved, That the purchasing clause of the Sherman silver bill should be repealed and that no legislation should be enacted as a substitute at the present session of Congress.

Resolved, That an expert commission should be appointed to submit to Congress at its regular session in December a comprehensive plan for the readjustment of our currency based on a gold standard.

Resolved, That the special session of Congress should adjourn after repealing the purchasing clause and appointing a commission for the readjustment of the currency.

S. A. BIGELOW, *President.*
F. H. BUTTS, *Secretary.*
A. J. CHASE,
E. L. HALEY,
C. H. BRECK,
Committee.

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the Clerk read the preamble and resolutions which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America:

The undersigned, Pioneer Ladies' Aid Society, composed of the pioneer women of the State of Colorado, this day unanimously adopted the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas we have resided in Colorado since it was first organized as a Territory by Congress, and in common with our husbands and brothers and friends have noticed the growth and prosperity of the State, and endured the privations and hardships consequent upon pioneer life while performing our part in advancing it to its present condition of wealth and importance; and

Whereas we have not failed to notice that agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce are very largely incidental to the great industry of silver mining, and are convinced that with its destruction or serious impairment every other form of industry in the State must languish; and

Whereas we are forced to daily witness great stagnation in business, an alarming depreciation in the value of every class of property, and thousands of idle men and women, but lately thrown out of employment, all consequent upon the sudden stoppage of mining, caused by the low price of silver; and

Whereas we are convinced, both from the facts as history and the exercise of our reasoning faculties, that Congress should at once restore to the statute books of coinage the free coinage of silver, as is clearly contemplated in the Constitution of our country, and that such restoration would at once inspire trade, and commerce, and every other form of business and industry, with prosperous activity; and

Whereas a continuance of the present deplorable condition and an exaggeration of the same through the unconditional repeal of what is known as the Sherman act, must inevitably depopulate the mining section of our common country, destroy or hopelessly break up our homes, and will turn

the pioneers and those who succeed them to poverty and privations of the early days of the State: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the pioneer ladies, That we most earnestly implore Congress to restore confidence, retain or save what is here from destruction, and bring gladness and prosperity to every section of the land, by the prompt enactment of a law restoring free coinage to silver at the ratio between it and gold that existed for more than forty years before its secret demonetization in 1873; and

Be it further resolved, That a copy of these preambles and resolutions be forwarded to the Congress of the United States.

In accordance with the instructions contained in the above resolution we herewith transmit to the Senators and Representatives of the Congress of the United States our action in the matter, and we can not but hope that you will listen to the appeal of the pioneer women of this vast section of our common country.

MRS. N. S. HURD,
President Pioneer Ladies' Aid Society.
FANNIE D. WALTHALL HARDIN,
Secretary.

DENVER, COLO., *August 9, 1893.*

Mr. HOUK of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I have been content to remain hitherto a quiet listener, without participating in this interesting and important debate. It is my only purpose now to ask the very brief attention of the House to a few words I wish to say in explanation of the votes I intend to give on the various propositions now pending.

First. I am inflexibly opposed to any legislative measure that will result, in my judgment, in the establishment of the monometallic basis of value and currency in this country, either silver or gold.

Second. I regard it as the settled policy of the Government of the United States, plainly indicated by the terms and in accordance with the purpose of the Federal Constitution; a policy established by uniform Federal legislation from the foundation of the Government up to the present time, with the single exception of the act of 1873; a policy declared by the authentic utterances of all political parties and supported by a vast preponderance of the intelligent public opinion of the American people, that gold and silver coins together, upon a proper ratio to be fixed by law, shall constitute the standard money of the United States; that both metals shall be coined at the public mints without discriminating against either, and that a parity of the two on the legal ratio, as well as of all paper money based thereon, shall be maintained by the Government at all times unimpaired.

Third. I regard the bill introduced by Mr. WILSON of West Virginia, to repeal the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law, as in accordance with these views, and I will therefore vote for it unconditionally as it stands. [Applause.]

Fourth. The material issue involved in the various amendments proposed to the bill has reference to the ratio upon which the two metals are to be coined. As the disparity at present existing in their bullion market value has been brought about clearly, in my judgment, by artificial and abnormal causes, I regard it as unwise for Congress, at this time of monetary disturbance at home and abroad, to attempt definitely to establish by law the ratio upon which further coinage is to be made.

Fifth. I regard the two precious metals of gold and silver as alike necessary and adapted, under an irrepealable law of Providence, to the uses of mankind as an instrumentality of trade and commerce; that in such use they are as indispensable to the progress of civilization as the fibers and foods, animal and vegetable, and other natural products are necessary to the support, comfort, and shelter of man in civilized life; and that in despite of all efforts of the selfish or avaricious in our own or other countries, to aggrandize themselves at the expense of common humanity, silver and gold will continue to be inseparable in their joint beneficent influence upon human developments in all the indefinite future, as they have been in all the indefinite past.

Sixth. I am in favor of affording the speediest relief possible, by specific legislative measures, to the suffering business interests of the country, and of deferring until the reassembling of Congress at its regular session in December the consideration of such permanent legislation respecting finance and taxation as the welfare of the country shall then seem to require. [Applause.]

During the delivery of the foregoing remarks, when five minutes had expired—

Mr. TRACEY. I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HOUK] be extended for five minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. HOUK of Ohio resumed and concluded his remarks.

Mr. HEARD. Mr. Speaker, it was not my purpose before coming to the House this morning to attempt any discussion of the silver question at this time; but by the indulgence of the House I will now submit a few observations upon one point in this controversy.

While the Sherman bill, or it was then called "the Conger bill," was pending in this House in 1890, I had the honor to present to the House, at some length, my views in opposition to the measure. My observation and the experience of the country, as it has impressed me since that time, give me no ground for desire to change anything that I then said against the propositions contained in that bill. And I have but little that I now desire to add in the way of general discussion of those propositions.

I wish to say, Mr. Speaker, that I shall vote against the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law. While there is no man on this floor who more utterly detests the main principles involved in that bill than I do, I shall in conformity with the wishes of my people refuse to vote for its unconditional repeal, because they believe, as I believe, that there should be given to us some assurance, in connection with such repeal, that its place shall be taken upon the statute book by some law which will recognize the principle for which we contend, the right of free coinage of silver in our mints; in other words, the equality of the two money metals of this country in the mints of the country.

Mr. Speaker, I have no ear for the clamor raised in some quarters, and from which proceeds this demand for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law, because of the effect of its operation upon the business interests of the country. I can not believe that the monthly addition of over $3,000,000 of currency, as good as gold, to our volume of money makes money scarcer. I do not believe, Mr. Speaker, that the operation of the Sherman law has contributed in any material way, or even in the slightest degree, to produce the condition of affairs which to-day afflicts this country. The trouble is not a want of confidence in the quality of the money of the country; it is not a want of confidence among the people as to the ability of this Government to make, or rather to keep—for the different kinds of dollars of our currency are now equally good—to keep every dollar afloat in the circulation of this country as sound in quality as any other dollar.

Mr. Speaker, I think recent experience in the commercial centers, as well as elsewhere throughout the country, establishes the soundness of the proposition that the people have as much confidence in, and as much desire for, the silver money of the country as they have for the gold.

In evidence of that, Mr. Speaker, I have only to refer to the fact that within the last few days, and to-day, these silver dollars, these derided dollars, and, as the enemies of silver say, these "dishonest dollars," are not only sought for everywhere equally with gold, but that there has been a premium paid for them in gold. We find that a premium is actually paid in gold in the cities of New York, Philadelphia, and elsewhere.

Why? It is not because the silver dollar possesses any intrinsic value greater than the gold dollar, but because the silver dollar is needed for the money uses of the people, to which they desire to apply it. And I contend that the experience of all of the commercial nations of the world demonstrates the fact that within the limits to which the silver money is applicable and for which it is needed it is as good money as gold, and our experience in this country, recent as well as remote, tends to show that it is just as good at the present ratio of 16 to 1 as it would be if we fixed it at 20 to 1, or 25 to 1, or at any other ratio.

We find that not only in the commercial centers has a premium been paid for silver for uses to which the twenty-dollar gold piece can not be put, but we find here at the Treasury of the nation, according to the report made to the Senate by our excellent Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Carlisle, a few days ago, that within the first eighteen days of the present month nearly three-quarters of a million of dollars was paid out over the counter of the Treasury in silver dollars for the Treasury notes issued for the purchase of silver bullion, and which notes command gold at the Treasury, and have done so ever since the issue of the very first one.

We also find that the silver dollars not only command a premium in New York and other financial centers, but are demanded from the Secretary of the Treasury here in preference to gold; and we are told by the Secretary himself, if I read his report correctly, that applications have been made to the Treasury for the exchange of silver for gold, which applications could not be granted. And that is nothing new. Mr. Speaker, for the records of the Treasury Department will show that in times past many millions of gold have there been exchanged for silver to serve the convenience of the people.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my colleague may be permitted to proceed for five minutes longer.

There was no objection.

Mr. HEARD. Mr. Speaker, I am greatly obliged to my colleague for his courtesy and to the House for its indulgence. I will probably not consume the entire five minutes allotted to me.

Now, sir, if these circumstances prove anything to my mind as to the quality of our money they tend to prove that for the uses to which silver money is applicable and to the extent that silver money is needed in this country, it is not only the equal of gold, but manifestly for some purposes is superior. I believe, therefore, that we should stand by the ratio now fixed in the

law. I am in favor of retaining the present ratio and not going to another.

As I said before, Mr. Speaker, if the silver dollar as at present fixed, on the ratio of 16 to 1, is good enough to command a premium over gold in the money markets of this country, if it is so good that it is preferred by the holders of Treasury notes—which command gold or silver at the option of the holder—to the gold at the Treasury, there is no reason whatever why we should undertake to improve its quality, if it could be done by the increase of the ratio and the consequent addition of more silver.

Now, sir, suppose that we propose to increase the ratio, where will you fix it? Some of our friends say, "Why, your Democratic platform, on which you carried the country at the last election, pledges you to the making of all of the dollars of the Government equally good." The experience to which I have referred, Mr. Speaker, I insist, shows that right now the silver dollar is as good as the gold dollar, and that it would be no better for the money uses of the people, if the ratio were made 20 to 1, or even higher. But suppose, to please these gentlemen who insist on strict conformity with the exact letter of our pledges according to their own interpretation, that we shall, in order to put ourselves in harmony with the declarations of the Chicago platform as they construe it, add to the present intrinsic value of the silver dollar, where are we to draw the line?

I ask my Democratic friends who propose now in order to meet that demand which comes from those opposed to the present legal dollar, if we shall add more silver to the dollar, where are you going to draw the line? Why, if you propose 20 to 1 these gentlemen will say, "You have already confessed away your case; you have admitted that the 16 to 1 dollar is a dishonest dollar; you have admitted that the dollar is short and that it must be made good, and, having found that there is a deficiency in the weight of your dollar, yet you propose to go only one-third of the way marked out in the right direction." They say, "The commercial difference between the value of the two metals requires more than 20 to 1—that it requires 28 to 1—and therefore, if you give, as you propose, only 20 to 1, you have gone but one-third of the proper distance, according to your own admission, in the right direction."

Now, Mr. Speaker, it may be that our people are wrong in demanding the unlimited coinage of silver. I do not believe it, however, but I would sooner yield something from that demand than consent that the ratio should be changed. I do not believe, sir, that any harm would come to this country from the unlimited coinage of silver at the present ratio, at least for many years to come; and until, in case harm should be discovered in the operation of the law, the people will have had ample opportunity for electing another Congress charged with the duty of repairing any wrong we may have done, or of rectifying any errors we have committed, by following now what we know to be their wishes, for that is the will of my people.

I would sooner stand by the present ratio and accept a reasonable limitation on the amount to be coined, and trust to future legislation to remove such limit, than to accept unlimited coinage at an increased and a probably increasing ratio. We know, Mr. Speaker, that in this country, with our five hundred and odd million dollars of silver and silver certificates in circulation, the silver dollar is as good as a gold dollar. Then the first thing we want to do, Mr. Speaker, and the point we want most sacredly to guard, is to preserve the debt-paying power of the dollar. We want to guard against the curtailment of the power of the dollar to discharge business obligations in this country, and next, to guard against making it a more expensive dollar.

Now, Mr. Speaker, if we can float the silver we do to-day, on an equality with gold, and as we see the European nations floating $1,500,000,000 more of silver on a parity with gold, when the quality of their's is intrinsically poorer than our own, I say that the man who has want of faith in our country being able to keep our silver at a parity with gold, even at a largely increased coinage above what we now have, I think really lacks appreciation of what our people are capable of doing.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. DOCKERY. I ask that he be allowed to proceed for five minutes.

Mr. BRETZ. Indefinitely.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Without objection, the request of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DOCKERY] will be granted.

Mr. HEARD. Mr. Speaker, we are told by the Secretary of the Treasury—and there is no man filling a public position in this country in the accuracy of whose statements we have more confidence, and for whom officially and personally I have greater respect—that to increase the value of the dollar as suggested and to recoin our present volume of silver money at the increased ratio of 20 to 1 would cost this country not less than $112,000,000 to $120,000,000.

Now, I ask you, Mr. Speaker, how can I go before my people, who are perfectly content with the quality of the silver money which we have to-day, who see it applied for at our Treasury in exchange for gold, and who see it exactly equal with gold everywhere in the country, how am I to satisfy those people when I stand before them, having voluntarily consented and agreed to add $120,000,000 to the debts and burdens of the people, not for the increase of the volume of their currency, but to supply a supposed defect in the quality of the money we now have afloat, which, as every man here is bound to admit, is meeting all the requirements of gold or paper in this country to-day? Why should we impose an additional burden upon our people amounting to $120,000,000 to make good that which we now have and which, as my friend from Texas [Mr. BAILEY] says, is now as good as gold? To supply this additional value to our present silver coinage we must either issue bonds, and thus increase our interest-bearing debt, or raise the amount by increased taxation. I am unwilling to do either.

Mr. Speaker, more than that, the gentlemen who, upon this floor and elsewhere in this country, have always opposed and who to-day oppose the extension of the coinage of silver, have a great deal of confidence in the regulations to be hereafter made by some imaginary or possible international monetary conference. Whenever the people of this country have shown a determination to put silver on an equality with gold, and have had a prospect of being able to do it, those who are opposed to silver coinage at all, or except as subsidiary coin only, those who stand for gold monometallism, try to divert the attention of the public from the issue by promising some possible relief to come from the operation of a phantom international monetary conference.

Now, Mr. Speaker, suppose we are to pin our faith to the action of such international monetary conference, how will we stand before such body with our increased ratio? I admit that international action would be very valuable. It may be necessary, but I do not believe it. But, Mr. Speaker, how are we to get to that? That increase in ratio would make an increased burden upon the people you ask to go with us in the opening of the mints of the world to the coinage of silver. Why shall we so greatly increase to them the burden of accomplishing what we ask them to do?

Why, Mr. Speaker, France has $700,000,000 of silver. It is in circulation to-day side by side with gold, as ours is in this country, and as ours always has been for over one hundred years; but if we should establish a new ratio of 20 to 1, and ask France to come with us on that ratio, we would virtually ask her to add $160,000,000 or $170,000,000 to the value of her present money circulation, and to put that burden upon her people when they have not asked for it, when the people do not want it, when France's silver is as good as her gold.

And so, Mr. Speaker, it would be with the other nations who own the balance of the $1,500,000,000 of silver circulation. In the different commercial nations of the earth to-day this silver is engaged in performing all the offices of good, sound money. No, Mr. Speaker, the experiences of our people here at home show that we do not need it so far as the quality of our money is concerned. We can not expect by so doing to encourage these other nations of the earth to join us in an international monetary arrangement. They certainly would not accept such ratio if we offered it. As my friend from Texas [Mr. CULBERSON] says, we have tried it, and they have refused to accept any such proposition.

The fact is, Mr. Speaker, that those who are opposed to the free coinage at the present ratio would oppose it if it was proposed to make the dollar on a basis of 28 to 1. They are not opposing the quality of the money, because it is just as good as any other, but they are opposed to an extension of silver coinage on any condition; and that, Mr. Speaker, is where this clamor against the Sherman law comes up. It is opposed not because of the quality of the money by which it increases our volume of money, but simply because it does increase it. That it is a vicious law, being founded upon the "subtreasury" principle advocated by our Populist friends, can not be denied; but that is not the ground of the present opposition. It establishes the pawnbroking system of depositing a commodity and issuing pawn tickets, or Treasury notes, in lieu of it.

But, Mr. Speaker, it not only adopts the subtreasury principle referred to, but applies it to one of the money metals of the country, making it a commodity only, and virtually destroying its money quality.

Mr. Speaker, for that reason, if for no others, we should all be in favor of the repeal of the law on general principles; and if it did not recognize the right of silver coinage, and was not the only remaining law on our statute books that does, I should say repeal it.

Now, one word further. It not only recognizes the right of silver coinage under some conditions (though I believe that provision in the bill was intended as a cheat and a fraud), but the conditions have so changed as to surprise its authors; and the fact is that the Secretary of the Treasury has been compelled within the last month under the provisions of the law to increase our silver coinage nearly three-quarters of a million of dollars, because he is obliged to coin a sufficient amount of the silver bullion purchased to provide for the redemption of Treasury notes returned for redemption in silver coin, and the report shows that for this month there has been a redemption of Treasury notes in silver to the amount of over $700,000. Then the proper enforcement of this law not only gives us recognition of silver coinage, but an actual increase in circulation by reason of some silver coinage.

Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to enter into a general discussion of this subject, which has already been discussed so thoroughly; but I want to say, in one moment, by the indulgence of the House, that I will vote for the free coinage of silver, as my people desire me to do, at the ratio of 16 to 1. I do not say that I will not accept some other, for I believe it to be my duty to go as far as I can within the limits of my conscience and judgment to try and accomplish what they need and desire, and that is an increased coinage, if I can not get unlimited coinage at the ratio we desire; but my candid judgment is that we should adhere to the present ratio. [Applause.]

Mr. CARUTH. Detained, Mr. Speaker, by the hand of sickness and restrained also by the demands of duty, I stayed long at the nation's capital after the fall of the gavel that marked the death of the Fifty-second Congress. When at last, sir, I returned to my home, among the people I represent, instead of seeing the signs of prosperity I was accustomed there to see, I beheld the evidence of disaster. Instead of finding the feelings of hopeful confidence that ever pervaded that people, I saw signs of despair.

The air was laden with dismay. A man meeting his brother man upon the street exchanged not cheerful greetings, but indulged in foreboding prophecy. Merchants looked ahead and beheld only impending ruin. Wherever I went, at my home, in my office, on the public streets, or in the cars, I was met everywhere by the anxious inquiry, "When will the Congress of the United States be convened?" and on all hands I was asked to use what little influence I might possess with the President of the United States to get him to convene this body in extraordinary session in order that the evils of legislation might be righted and relief extended to our distressed people.

The call, Mr. Speaker, came none too soon, but at as early an hour as the wisdom of the President thought the representatives of the people would heed their demands. The call which convened us here vividly set forth our financial situation, which had, in the language of the President—

> Already caused great loss and damage to our people, threatening to cripple our merchants, stop the wheels of manufactures, bring disaster and privation to our farmers, and withhold from our workingmen the wage of labor.

In obedience to the call which convened us here, I came. At that desk I took the oath of office, determined that I could best serve those who sent me here, not by speeches, not by set phrases, but by my vote.

Never since the time when the life of the nation was imperiled has the Congress of the United States been gathered together under graver or gloomier auspices; and in the message the President sent he in strong and patriotic language set forth the common need of the hour. I came at his behest and at the command of my people to do my duty as their Representative. I am not here, Mr. Speaker, at this time to discuss the merits of either of the metals that enter into the money of this country. I hold to the views of the wise and patriotic President of the United States as stated in his message to this Congress, that—

> The people of the United States are entitled to a sound and stable currency and to money recognized as such on every exchange and in every market of the world. Their Government has no right to injure them by financial experiments opposed to the policy and practice of other civilized states, nor is it justified in permitting an exaggerated and unreasonable reliance on our national strength and ability to jeopardize the soundness of the people's money.

I asked the banker, I asked the merchant, I asked the rich man, and the poor man what was causing this widespread desolation, what was causing the suspension of the banks, what was causing these disasters to our mercantile interests, and from every one came the answer, "It is the purchasing clause of the Sherman act."

Mr. SNODGRASS. Will the gentleman point out the way in which that act has brought about this condition of things?

Mr. CARUTH. I have but five minutes, and I hope that my friend from Tennessee will make his speech in his own time and not in mine. He knows my time is very limited and he is using it up, and he is also breaking the thread of my discourse. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Kentucky has expired.

Mr. CARUTH. See that! [Laughter.]

Mr. MCCREARY of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my colleague [Mr. CARUTH] may be allowed ten minutes more to complete his argument.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

Mr. SNODGRASS. I want to apologize to the gentleman if I have interfered with the course of his argument, but his discourse was so extraordinary that I could hardly help it.

Mr. CARUTH. Mr. Speaker, I was saying that from all sides the answer came that the cause of this widespread and impending disaster was the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. The people who suffer ought to know that from which they suffer. The President of the United States, who so keenly feels the responsibility of this hour, ought to know the cause of the disturbance. The great Secretary of the Treasury, who hails from the State of my birth, and who is in contact with the ablest financiers of this country, ought to know the cause of the trouble that has come upon us.

I repeat, Mr. Speaker, from the banker, from the merchant, from the President of the United States, and from the Secretary of the Treasury comes to the same answer, that it is caused by the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. Nay, more, the people know it. They can not be led astray by the false argument that this depression is caused by a fear that the Congress of the United States will tamper with the tariff laws of this land. I will read to the House a letter which I received a few days ago, written by a manufacturing firm in my own city, none of the members of which are in accord with the political views that I hold. Listen and heed.

LOUISVILLE, KY., *August 12, 1893.*

DEAR SIR:-We are manufacturers of brass and iron goods in the city which you represent in Congress. Four weeks ago we employed over four hundred men. When the prevailing financial panic struck this city about two weeks ago, we were compelled to discharge three hundred of our employés. To-day we have discharged the balance, and have shut down both our iron and brass works completely. Our reason for not being able to keep running is that our banks here are not in a position to afford us the accommodations which heretofore they have always been glad to extend to us.

We believe with the majority of our fellow-citizens that the great cause of all this trouble lies in the so-called Sherman silver bill. We appeal to you, therefore, in the name of ourselves and other manufacturers of this city, to use all your influence and energy toward an unconditional repeal of this bill at as early a date as possible. It is our firm belief that if the present strain under which we are laboring is not relieved in a very short time this country will see the greatest panic it has ever witnessed.

Hoping you will give this letter your favorable consideration, we remain, very truly yours,

THE AHRENS & OTT MANUFACTURING COMPANY,
THEO. AHRENS, JR., *General Manager.*

Hon. ASHER G CARUTH,
Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States has discharged his duty. He has convened us here. He has convened together a Congress which for the first time in a generation has a Democratic majority in both the Senate and the House, with Democratic control of the Executive Departments and which for the first time in that period can make or unmake laws. The responsibility of legislation rests upon us, and I, for one, do not desire to shun that responsibility. I am ready to meet the trouble that confronts us, prepared to share in the fruits of victory or to suffer my portion of the mortification of defeat. [Applause.]

I stand here now in compliance with the advice of the President of the United States, in compliance with the wishes of the people who have honored me by sending me here; I stand ready here and now to cast my vote without limitation, restrictions, or conditions for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. [Applause.] Let others talk as they may, I do not fear for the future of my party. The great Democracy is founded upon the principle of "equal rights for all, and exclusive privileges to none," and in the application of that principle it matters not whether the suppliant for the nation's favor comes from the manufacturing East or the mine-owning West. The law is the same for all. I feel that when the time comes to appeal to the people they will rush to the front, and seize and carry to triumphant victory the banner of Democracy, on which is inscribed "Honest money and tariff reform." [Applause.]

Mr. DINGLEY obtained the floor.

Mr. PAYNE. I understand that the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY] desires to occupy considerably more time than the five minutes allowed under the rule. I will therefore, before he begins, ask unanimous consent that he be allowed to proceed for thirty minutes.

There being no objection, leave was granted.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, no one can have failed to notice that in the debate here and the discussions elsewhere on the pending proposition to discontinue the silver-purchasing policy, there has been a studious effort to create the impression that this policy was inaugurated by the so-called Sherman act of 1890. The object is obvious

It is to fasten upon the Republicans who supported that act whatever responsibility the country may place on the silver-purchasing policy for the existing industrial and financial distress.

There is not a gentleman within the sound of my voice who does not know that the silver-purchasing policy was inaugurated in 1878 over the veto of President Hayes and by the vote of a Democratic House and a Republican Senate, three-fourths of the Democratic Senators and Representatives voting to override the veto. The act of 1890, styled the Sherman act, simply modified this policy, which could not then be repealed, so as to diminish some of its perils. Its passage, too, warded off a free-coinage measure which had already passed the Senate by nearly a solid Democratic vote. Very few of the Republicans who supported the act of 1890 would have voted for any original measure inaugurating the silver-purchasing policy.

The vote on the pending repeal bill, however, will bring to the test the question of responsibility for the further continuance of the silver-purchasing policy, now that its actual workings are known; and the country can then accurately determine on what party and what Senators and Representatives the real responsibility rests.

In common with a majority of Republicans on this floor, I shall vote for the discontinuance of the silver-purchasing policy inaugurated in 1878, and never intended to be permanent, not because I believe it "principally" responsible for the existing industrial and financial depression, although I believe that it has secondarily contributed to increase difficulties originated by another cause, but because I am convinced that this policy obstructs an international agreement on a coinage ratio, which I hold is the only way in which silver can be given free coinage without driving gold out of circulation and bringing us to a silver basis, and because I regard it wasteful and perilous in the near future. My desire for a prompt discontinuance of this policy is properly intensified by the fact that in view of the widespread belief that it is a potent factor in promoting the distrust which has caused our troubles, repeal will be much more influential for good than it otherwise would be, because of its influence on men's imaginations.

INFLUENCE OF SILVER-PURCHASING POLICY.

The discussions already had indicate a wide difference of opinion here and elsewhere as to how much, if any, influence our silver-purchasing policy has had in bringing about our present difficulties.

The President and that wing of the Democratic party which adopts his views on the currency question, hold that the silver-purchasing policy is the "principal" cause of our troubles. On the other hand, that wing of the Democratic party which believes in free silver coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1 by this country alone—hitherto the head and body of the party—hold that this purchasing policy has had nothing to do with bringing about the situation. They even assert that the last Democratic platform which declared that "the Sherman act of 1890 is a cowardly makeshift," and which demanded its "speedy repeal," was explained to them as meaning that the act of 1890 was a "cowardly makeshift" for the free coinage which would otherwise have been approved by both Houses of Congress, and that the platform was interpreted as a free-coinage declaration, in free-coinage States.

While I think nothing is clearer than that the silver-purchasing policy did not cause the industrial distrust and consequent depression which began to disclose itself near the beginning of the present year, and increased from month to month, paving the way for and even originating the financial depression which followed later, yet there is strong reason to believe that this purchasing policy, or rather the alarm abroad in consequence of the failure to maintain the gold-redemption fund which had been drawn, by the substitution of silver certificates and Treasury notes for gold in customs payments, below the hundred million mark that the law and public opinion regarded as the danger line, did render the situation more serious by largely withdrawing foreign capital from this country, thus so reducing loanable funds as to increase distrust, wreck credit, promote hoarding, and bring about a money famine of unparalleled proportions. At the same time I am confident that the contributory share the silver situation has had in the present difficulties is very much less than is generally supposed.

HOW SILVER CERTIFICATES IMPAIR THE GOLD REDEMPTION FUND.

I heard a statement made this morning that the trouble was that under the Sherman law we were using the silver as a basis for money at the bullion value rather than at its coinage value, and that redeemable in gold, and that under the act of 1878 we used it at its coinage value rather than at its bullion value, and provided simply for redemption in silver dollars; and that if we had continued that policy we should have had no run on the Treasury for gold.

Now look at the matter a moment—because it is no use to blind ourselves—look at a silver certificate issued on deposit of silver dollars. You say it is redeemable only in silver dollars; but if, as a matter of fact, it was not redeemable indirectly in something else than that it would have fallen to its bullion value within a short time after the amount of the issue had increased beyond what the people required for constant use. What has maintained the parity with gold of the silver certificate and the silver dollar from 1878 to the present time? Why, it was the fact that the Treasury of the United States has received those certificates and dollars in lieu of gold in the payment of duties.

Now, what difference does it make whether you directly redeem your silver certificates in gold or accept them in lieu of gold for duties? It is gold redemption in either case, with this difference, that the redemption by receiving them for gold duties is only good as long as the amount of those silver dollars and silver certificates do not bear too great a proportion to the amount that can be readily used in payment of duties and the amount constantly needed in exchange. As a matter of fact we have been drawing on our gold redemption fund at both ends. The silver certificate has been preventing gold from going into the Treasury, and the redemption of the Treasury note has been taking gold out at the other end; and it makes no difference, so far as its effect on the fund is concerned, which form of redemption is employed; in both forms it depletes the gold redemption fund.

Gentlemen ask what has been the trouble. Go and look at the percentage of silver certificates and Treasury notes that have been received into the Treasury from 1885 down to the present time in the payment of gold duties. At first there were almost none received, because the volume of outstanding certificates was small, and the contraction of national bank currency made a place for them. As the volume swelled the number presented for redemption in payment of duties increased rapidly, until recently, when the currency famine has obliged our importers to send to England for gold. They have now nothing but gold to pay duties with, because they can not get hold of currency; but that is only a temporary situation.

For the last three or four years the importers have been paying a very large proportion of all the duties in either silver certificates or Treasury notes based on silver. That is how the silver purchasing policy—not the Sherman act, but the purchasing policy, for the Sherman act is better than the one which it supplanted—has been keeping gold out of and draining gold from the Treasury and affecting our financial situation. I think we had no trouble at all from this purchasing law until last spring, but if you continue it in force there is bound to be trouble in the future. We can not go on buying silver and practically paying for it in gold without coming to disaster.

IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING GOLD REDEMPTION FUND.

I was in London, as it happened, last spring at the very time a New York telegram appeared in the London papers that our gold redemption fund had fallen below the one hundred million limit, which, in the minds of the people of this country and of others, seems to mark the dividing line between safety and danger, and I had an opportunity of seeing exactly how that affected men there who were dealing in American securities, and who had English money invested in this country.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I am very much interested in the gentleman's discussion. He said, as I understood him, that the Government receives these certificates in lieu of gold.

Mr. DINGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. SIMPSON. Now, can not the Government use the same certificates in lieu of gold to pay its debts?

Mr. DINGLEY. Well, that would bring us to the discussion of the question as to whether when we have refused to pay our debt and interest in gold it would not greatly injure our credit and oblige us to pay a higher rate of interest whenever we should want to borrow again, and whether it would not also tend to bring us to a silver basis.

Mr. SIMPSON. The gentleman does not seem to understand my question. If the Government receives those certificates in lieu of gold——

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, as I am now trespassing on the patience of the House, I must ask the gentleman to wait until I get through.

Now, I observed that while up to that time there had been very little talk about American securities, though some had been sent back, but probably for other reasons, yet on the very day that announcement was made that no steps would be taken to make that redemption fund good, and the suggestion even went out that we might resort to silver payments, as my friend from Kansas has suggested, there was at once a panic among dealers in American securities; and by the very next steamers there was sent to this country and sold in our markets a very large amount of such securities. As the gold received for the same was withdrawn from this country and returned to London the practical effect of allowing our gold redemption fund to fall below the hundred million mark was to take so much money from our loanable capital, contract credits, and start a money famine.

Gentlemen have said, Is not the fact that a silver certificate is at par with the gold dollar to-day evidence that there is no special distrust in this country as yet as to the future of our currency? Certainly it is; although if we do not maintain our gold redemption fund, no one can tell how soon distrust of the currency will arise here; but English investors did take alarm last spring, and may do so again.

THE ORIGINAL CAUSE OF DISTRUST.

The industrial distrust which began to show itself near the beginning of the year was evidently caused solely by the belief of those engaged in manufacturing industries that the result of the elections in November, which had placed the entire legislative, as well as executive, power in the hands of the Democratic party, portended an early overthrow of the policy of protection, in accordance with the Democratic platform. Manufacturers and merchants, therefore, at once began to prepare for what they believed would be radical changes that would supplant domestic with foreign goods. Enlargements contemplated were given up. Dealers' orders for goods for another autumn were given slowly and guardedly. Raw materials for goods to be delivered another season were bought sparingly, and prices gradually forced down near to the point where it was supposed they would be when the goods went into consumption. For example, Michigan washed wool, which sold last October for 28 cents, was gradually forced down to 20 cents, because manufacturers expected to have to sell their goods on the basis of the contemplated free wool tariff. Looms were stopped to reduce production, in view of the diminished demand.

No actual change in the tariff has as yet been made, but manufacturers and merchants have been preparing in advance for the revolutionary changes which the Democratic platform portended, and have been discounting in part the new tariff to come. When apprehension of coming evil seizes upon men oftentimes the apprehension is worse than the realization. My friend from Missouri [Mr. BARTHOLDT] made a most admirable analysis of that trait of the human mind which looks forward to what is thought to be coming. The distrust in manufacturing circles which began in December and January, late in the winter, extended to financial circles. There can be no mistaking the fact that this industrial distrust and consequent depression was caused entirely by the proposed revolution in the tariff; although after this had gone on for some months, the silver situation in the way I have suggested came in to aid in intensifying the distrust, and convert industrial depression into a financial panic and money famine.

It is not possible to have a national election, conducted on the issue of the overthrow of an economic policy that has prevailed for thirty years, and given great prosperity to the country, result in the complete triumph of a party pledged to such a revolutionary change, without arresting production, stopping machinery, injuring credit, and paralyzing business.

[Here the hammer fell.]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee, in the chair). The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. GEAR. I ask that the time of the gentleman be extended for twenty minutes.

Mr. HULICK. Mr. Speaker, I would suggest that the time of the gentleman be continued indefinitely so that the words of wisdom he is giving us can be heard by every member of this House.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maine be allowed to conclude his remarks. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am very much obliged to the gentlemen and to the House, and will endeavor not to weary your patience.

WHAT WRECKS CREDIT.

It must be borne in mind that modern business, especially business in a new country rich in resources like ours, inviting development, is conducted largely, perhaps 90 per cent of it, on credit, and that confidence of men in each other, confidence in the continuance of the conditions under which industries have prospered is the basis of credit, essential to induce men to invest capital, and the inspiration of production, exchange, the employment of labor, good wages, and business prosperity. Whatever impairs this confidence and promotes distrust arrests investment, wrecks credit, stops looms, puts out the fires of forges, locks up money, deprives laborers of employment, reduces wages and brings the whole machinery of business to almost a standstill, involving millions in financial ruin and misfortune.

This was exactly what the elections last November did in placing in complete power a party pledged to overthrow our protective policy; and while the present senseless, panicky condition of the public mind and the money famine caused by fright can not long hold their present intensity, yet we shall continue to feel industrial distrust and depression, at least until it shall be definitely known what kind of a tariff the Democratic party will enact, and wages and business shall adapt themselves to the changed conditions.

SOME OTHER EXPLANATIONS CONSIDERED.

All other explanations of the cause of the sad change from the prosperity of one year ago to the adversity of to-day fail to explain.

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] and the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN], representing that element in the House which demands that this country alone shall undertake the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 of gold as the only remedy that will cure, insist that the general distrust which has produced so much mischief is the result of a conspiracy of bankers, notably Wall street or New York bankers, under the dictation of what they denominate the gold bugs of England, who are seeking to overturn silver, increase the value of gold, and make money out of the ruin of the people.

The difficulty with the "conspiracy" theory is, first, that the distrust which prevails with such intensity is as deep in the ranks of those who, like my friends from Missouri and Nebraska, make a point of depreciating and ridiculing the views of the bankers of New York and the country, as it is in Wall street; and secondly, that no class in our community have so much to lose by the prevalence of distrust as bankers. It must be remembered that bankers do business and make their profits mainly by loaning deposits, and that it is essential to the banker that confidence in the future should be preserved, because this maintains and increases the deposits, which are the source of his prosperity and profits, and that distrust brings disaster to him in greater degree, if possible, than to anyone else.

I have before me the New York weekly bank statement of August 5, 1893, and that of August 6, 1892; and as the New York bankers are selected by our free-silver friends as the chief culprits in this bank "conspiracy" to get up a panic to increase their profits, this exposition of exactly how distrust has affected the New York banks ought to serve to enlighten our understanding and dispel some of our prejudices.

On August 6, 1892, the New York banks had deposits amounting to $528,462,300, and mainly because of these were able to loan to the business men of that city $488,777,100. On the 5th of August, 1893, these deposits had been reduced to $372,945,200, a reduction of $155,517,100, mainly in the last five months, by the distrust which had seized upon depositors. This large reduction of the deposits, on which banks do business, compelled a reduction of the loans of the banks to the extent of $80,024,600, and consequently a large reduction of their profits. In other words, the prevailing distrust has caused a loss to the New York banks of nearly five millions in interest on deposits loaned, to say nothing of losses by failures of persons to whom money had been loaned, losses directly brought about by the prevailing distrust.

This shows that the only reason the New York banks were forced to cut down their loans $80,000,000 was because the private citizens who were accustomed to make deposits had withdrawn $155,000,000 of their deposits and put it away in their trunks and stockings.

I submit to my free-coinage friends that a decent regard to what has been called "common sense" calls for a relegation of the "conspiracy" theory to the tomb which sooner or later claims theories born of prejudice.

To the same tomb should be consigned the theory of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER], reaffirmed by the chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate [Mr. VOORHEES], that the banks have deliberately locked up the money of the country and accumulated a big reserve in order to bring about a pressure for such legislation as they desire.

It is suggestive that almost at the same time that the banks were being arraigned here for locking up money the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEFFER] was arraigning them in the Senate for not locking up as much as the law requires as a reserve.

If these gentlemen will but look at the New York bank reports to which I have referred—for it is the New York banks which seem to be regarded as the chief sinners—they will find that these banks had about one hundred and fifty-one millions reserve on hand August 6, 1892, and only seventy-nine millions August 5, 1893, fourteen millions less than the law requires; so that as a matter of fact their available funds were loaned much more closely at the latter date than the former, when there was no difficulty in obtaining loans, probably because they can not now further reduce their loans for the reason that their customers can not pay their notes at maturity.

THE CURRENCY CONTRACTION THEORY.

The late Presidential candidate of the Populists in a recent address affirmed that the distrust was caused by a contraction of the outstanding currency through "the persistent war on silver;" and several gentlemen in the course of this debate have reiterated substantially the same view.

The difficulty with this theory is that when this distrust began and during its progress, the outstanding volume of currency in this country was the largest absolutely and per capita ever known in our history—nearly twice that of the five-year period before the war. The volume of currency outside of the Treasury on the 1st of August was over $1,600,000,000, or $24 per inhabitant, against a volume of $10.23 in 1862, $18 in 1872, $22 in 1886, $23.45 in 1891, and $24.32 on the first of January of the present year.

Since distrust was inaugurated in the face of such a large volume of currency, the active circulation in use has been daily diminished by the want of confidence, which has caused hoarding by the great mass of the people, thus demonstrating that our trouble is not contraction of the outstanding volume of currency, but contraction of the confidence which leads to the use of the abundant money in the hands of the people.

This situation affords an object lesson which ought to be instructive to those gentlemen who assume that volume of outstanding money necessarily measures prices and prosperity, and who are always clamoring for a larger issue of money regardless of quality or methods, and make it clear that it is money and its substitutes, in-

cluding credits, used, and not money outstanding and hoarded, which is the life-blood of business; and that the extent to which money and its substitutes will be used in production and exchange depends first on its good quality and stability, and secondly, on the public confidence in the industrial and financial future. Any amount of currency beyond what is to be used in exchanges simply lies idle, and is so much waste.

Inasmuch as we have to-day in our stock of currency six hundred and fifteen millions in silver money, of which five hundred and thirty-eight millions is full legal tender, purchased and used since what is erroneously denounced as the demonetization of silver in 1873, against only six hundred and four millions of gold (the amount of gold coin in the Treasury being one hundred and three millions), an amount several times as large as all the silver, including fractional silver, coined in the eighty-one years from 1792 to 1873 (the coinage of silver dollars having been only eight millions during this period), it must be confessed that when gentlemen undertake to claim that we have contracted our currency in the last twenty years by declining to make a larger use of silver, they indulge in a license of speech hardly consistent with the facts. At no time in our history did we ever have so much silver per capita as a basis for money as we have now.

THE OHIO DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. WHEELER], and several other gentlemen on the Democratic side, have put forth still another theory of the cause of the distrust which commenced near the beginning of the present year and has been growing in intensity ever since. A theory, by the way, on which I notice by the resolution adopted by that body, which was read the other day by my friend from Ohio [Gen. GROSVENOR], the Ohio Democratic State convention has taken out a patent. This theory affirms that the present situation "is the unfortunate legacy of Republican administration, and the natural result of the McKinley tariff," etc.

When it is remembered that confidence and unexampled prosperity had existed under Republican policy for years and prevailed as never before under the McKinley tariff till after it became known that the elections of last November had resulted, for the first time in thirty-two years, in the capture of the complete legislative as well as executive power by the Democratic party, which had declared during the campaign that they intended to overthrow our protective policy and substitute a tariff for revenue only; and that immediately after, the distrust which has caused our troubles began, increasing in intensity as the Democratic administration has gathered up the reins of Government and the time approached for the actual application of Democratic theories to our tariff and finances, it must require a large stock of what plain people call "gall" to enable them to put forth in convention the theory that our protective policy is the cause of the prevailing distrust.

No, Mr. Speaker, none of these alleged causes, which the imaginations of our free-silver friends have conjured up, have had anything to do in bringing about the profound distrust, degenerating into a senseless panic, which has brought about first the industrial and then the added financial depression and currency famine which is upon us. Even the silver-purchasing policy, inaugurated in 1878, illogical, unwise, and dangerous as I have always regarded it, had nothing to do with the inauguration of the industrial distrust which prepared the way for financial distrust, and only came in as a secondary and contributory adverse influence just at the time it did, because distrust was already in the air, and the gold redemption fund was suffered to fall below the hundred million mark without any official announcement that it would be maintained.

I firmly believe that if the late House, in the closing days of the last session, had concurred with the Senate in reaffirming the authority given by the act of 1875, to sell bonds to maintain the gold redemption fund, and the Secretary of the Treasury had announced to the world that the fund would be maintained at all hazards, there would have been no distrust of our securities in Europe, and we should have been saved from the money panic which has caused so many losses, although the industrial depression caused by the threatened tariff revolution would have remained. And I also believe that the announcement of this policy would have made it unnecessary to sell a bond.

THE BLAND AMENDMENTS.

Mr. Speaker, injurious and even dangerous as I regard a further continuance of the silver-purchasing policy under which the Government has purchased since 1878 448,057,000 ounces of silver, equal to the entire product of the world from 1860 to 1870, paying therefor $140,000,000 more than it can be bought for now; and under which in payment for silver $334,274,236 in silver certificates, $57,000,000 of silver dollars, and $147,000,000 Treasury notes, which must be maintained at par, the first by indirect redemption through their acceptance in lieu of gold for duties, and the latter by direct redemption also, a process which saps the gold redemption fund at both ends and is immensely increasing the difficulties of maintaining our currency at par; yet either of the amendments proposed by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] to the pending bill—the only amendments in order—if adopted, would make the measure far worse than the existing law.

The amendment to substitute the Bland act of 1878 for the act of 1890, would leave the purchasing policy to stand without the additional protection afforded by the Sherman act. The act of 1878 provided for the use of silver at its overvalued coinage value. The act of 1890 provided for its use at its market value in gold. The act of 1878 provided no means of maintaining the parity with gold coin and certificates issued, except its acceptance for duties and taxes, which would be insufficient when the amount outstanding should be too large. The act of 1890 made it the duty of the Government to maintain its parity by redemption in gold if necessary. If we must continue the silver-purchasing policy then the act of 1890 is far preferable to the act of 1878.

The several amendments establishing free coinage at a changed ratio—the highest 20 to 1—are unsound and unwise from any point of view. If the theory of the friends of free coinage, that this Government alone can maintain any ratio it desires, without regard to the market ratio, is sound, then assuredly there is no excuse in departing from the ratio of 16 to 1 and adopting the ratio of 20 to 1, and thus wasting an immense amount of silver. Indeed, the proposition itself is practically a surrender, by those who vote for it, of the pet theory on which free coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1 has always been advocated.

On the other hand, if the theory of those who believe that free coinage must be near the market ratio of silver, and can be secured only by an international agreement, is sound, then the ratio of 20 to 1, when the market value of the bullion is 28¼ to 1, would be as fatal as 16 to 1.

The adoption by us alone of a changed ratio of 20 to 1 would present a new obstacle in the way of an international agreement, for it can hardly be supposed that other nations would take kindly to our attempt to fix a ratio alone. Obviously, if we are to endeavor to secure an international agreement, we should not undertake to fix any ratio alone.

Again, the proposition to alone change our ratio to 20 to 1 would instantly demonetize the $419,334,450 in silver coin and silver certificates which we have coined or issued, and thus result in such an instantaneous contraction as would work ruin until we could recoin these dollars at the increased ratio at a cost of nearly $90,000,000.

Surely no one, on reflection, should favor such a proposition.

FREE COINAGE AT 16 TO 1.

Mr. Speaker, the first, and I presume only serious substitute which the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] proposes to ask a vote on, is the proposition for this Government, single-handed, to immediately undertake the free coinage of the world's silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 of gold, when the market value of the bullion to be coined into the proposed full legal-tender dollar is only 28¼ to 1.

He, and the other gentlemen who have favored this free coinage substitute, insist that if we should do this, it would immediately result in permanently advancing by this simple act of legislation all the world's existing silver and all that may be mined hereafter from its present price of 72½ cents per ounce to $1.29 per ounce, and thus make 16 ounces of silver equal in value everywhere to one ounce of gold.

Now, if this would bring about such a permanent result so easily, and give us our due share of gold as well as silver in our currency—all floating at a parity—it would indeed be a great consummation, which would be welcomed with thanksgiving, for the reason that this is what I, what most of the people of this country are seeking, what both the Republican and Democratic national conventions declared for in 1892, viz, the full legal tender coinage of both silver and gold in such a manner as will make the intrinsic value (*i. e.*, the bullion value) of the coins of each metal equal, and will permanently preserve the parity of all our money and make all as good as gold.

I have said that this is what both political parties in 1892 declared to be their silver platform—the significant difference, however, being that the Republican declaration was in accordance with a majority of the Republican votes in each House of Congress since 1878, and the Democratic declaration exactly the reverse of the record of a majority of their votes. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] alleges that he was assured the Democratic platform did not mean this; but nevertheless the natural construction of the words is against him, unless we assume, as is too often the case, that the language of Democratic platforms is intended, as Talleyrand said of the language of diplomacy, to conceal rather than express ideas. I have learned for myself that the acts of a party are always more reliable indications of their purposes than their platform professions. I hope that in this case, however, that will not eventually prove true.

So we are all bimetallists, in that we desire to leave the free coinage of both silver and gold at such a ratio that will permanently maintain the intrinsic value of the coins of both metals equal, and thus give us both metals in our currency.

The difference between us is that you think that we can do this alone by establishing free coinage at a ratio of 16 to 1, when the market value is 28 to 1; and we think that this course would rapidly carry us to silver monometallism, give us a single silver standard, and drive out our gold, and that the only way to secure bimetallism is through an international agreement.

The burden is certainly on you who propose, under present conditions, to take the great leap into the dark proposed by the gentleman from Missouri, to give us not assertions, but absolute proof from experience and the conclusions of intelligent research, that this important step will result as you assert it will.

It is a very serious fact against you that none of the great authorities in bimetallism in Europe like Cernuschi, or in this country like Horton, almost none of the great financiers, few of the men who have made the subject a study for a lifetime, few of the men who are regarded as successful business men believe that the United States alone can do this. It will not answer to reply that they are gold bugs, whatever that may mean. It seems to them as it seems to me that unless some new alchemy has been discovered which sets aside known laws of production, distribution, and exchange, this free-coinage proposition proposes a fearful leap into the dark in the face of reason and experience, and that if adopted it would result in overwhelming disaster.

THE EXAMPLE OF FRANCE.

So far as I have heard or read, the sole support from experience presented by those who take this view, is that France, single-handed, from 1803 to 1865, and the Latin Union (France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, and Greece) from 1865 to 1874, maintained free coinage of silver at the ratio of 15½ to 1 of gold in weight, without driving out gold.

Even assuming that they did this, which is not strictly correct, we must know what was the state of silver production and the silver market during this period before we can accept this as a case parallel to what our own would be under existing conditions.

We find that during the period from 1800 to 1860 the production of silver in the world did not increase. It was about 28,000,000 ounces per annum in 1800 and only 29,000,000 per annum in 1860 and the previous five years, reaching 35,000,000 in 1865, showing that there was no sufficient reduction in the cost of production to make the profits of silver mining large enough to increase the supply; and that for these reasons silver bullion was steady and unchanged at very near the French ratio established in 1803, at what was then the actual market ratio of silver and gold.

But when the production increased to only 63,000,000 ounces in 1874, and Germany ceased to coin silver for anything more than subsidiary coins, and even began to sell as bullion her discarded silver coins, France and the other states of the Latin Union found so much silver coming to their mints to be coined that they were obliged to discontinue the unlimited free coinage of silver, and in 1878 to close their mints altogether to the coinage of full legal-tender silver, and not a dollar of new full legal-tender silver has been coined since.

Now when the five countries of the Latin Union were forced to discontinue free coinage in order to prevent going to a depreciated silver standard, the world's annual production of silver was only 65,000,000 ounces, and silver was worth but little less than $1.29 per ounce in the markets of the world. Yet this small difference was turning silver to the mints of the Latin Union, and France and the other states gave up the fight to maintain silver by free coinage. It is the almost universal testimony of French statesmen and financiers that five years more of unlimited free coinage of silver, even with the production of 1875–1880, would have depreciated the French currency, driven out gold, and made France a monometallic nation, and that silver.

I submit that the example of France conclusively shows that the United States alone can not maintain the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1, under present conditions, without going to a silver standard and driving out gold. France and the Latin states gave up the experiment when the production of silver in the world had reached 65,000,000 ounces, and silver had declined only to $1.20. Inasmuch as in the last fifteen years the annual silver production has steadily increased from sixty-five to one hundred and fifty-two millions ounces last year—more than doubled—in the face of a decline of silver from $1.20 per ounce in 1878 to $1.09 in 1885, 93¼ cents in 1889, and 85 cents in 1892, surely there is nothing in France's trial and final failure to maintain free coinage under the slight increase of production before 1878, to justify the conclusion that we can now support free coinage alone.

It must be borne in mind, too, that France is a country which uses coin mainly for the transaction of her business; that she has few banks of discount and deposit, and no savings banks, and hence she uses more actual money per capita than other commercial nations that employ checks and other substitutes for money; yet she maintains her seven hundred millions silver only with a gold support of eight hundred millions in precisely the same way as we should maintain our six hundred and fifteen millions of silver (five hundred and thirty-eight millions of it legal tender) with only six hundred and four millions of gold, if we should to-day discontinue silver purchases and stop the further coinage of silver dollars and wait for other nations to coöperate with us.

CAN WE BUY THE WORLD'S SILVER?

But let us test the soundness of the free-coinage plan to have the United States buy all the silver of the world that comes to us and pay $1.29 per ounce in merchandise or gold,—for that is practically what the free-coinage proposition is so long as we are able to maintain silver and gold at a parity.

We are told that when we offer this price for the world's silver then the market price of that metal the world over will at once rise to $1.29 and no foreign silver will come to us. We shall have, it is said, only the domestic product (58,000,000 ounces last year) to buy.

Even if this were true, what do you suppose the domestic product of silver would be in five years on an offer of $1.29 per ounce, when it has increased from 24,000,000 ounces in 1875 to 58,000,000 ounces in 1893, on a falling market going as low as 85 cents per ounce? Will anyone confidently tell me that it will not double in three years and quadruple in five years?

But there must be silver to come here from abroad for the reason that foreign countries now, at the present low price, produce more than the rest of the world wants, and are constantly increasing their product. With the increased price offered, production would rapidly increase in Mexico, South America, and other silver countries, and we should find an enormous quantity of silver dumped upon us.

Then where else could the 38,000,000 ounces per annum that India has coined go next year, than to our mints, now that India has stopped free silver coinage?

I notice that there was imported last year $17,000,000 of foreign discarded silver coins. How much discarded foreign coinage would come here next year at an offer of $1.29 per ounce?

It seems to me surprising that, in view of such facts, anyone should entertain the belief that we could enter single-handed upon free silver coinage at 16 to 1 and not soon find it impossible to maintain at par with gold the immense amount of silver that would be poured upon us; and as soon as we could not do so then our gold would leave us and we should go to a depreciated silver standard and become a silver country like Mexico, China, and the States of South America.

If that is the object, if the purpose is to drive this country to silver monometallism and a silver basis, then I can understand the scheme.

THE OLD "FIAT" IDEA.

When I heard the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN] announce that this Government can select any coinage ratio that it desires and maintain the two metals at parity by its fiat I saw at once that the same old greenback delusion which prevailed fifteen years ago,—that the Government stamp is all that is necessary to make money and maintain it at par with gold, without any direct or indirect redemption or intrinsic value,—is really at the bottom of the free silver crusade now going on.

I could not help thinking that if this theory be true then it is a pity to use 412½ grains of standard silver to make a dollar when half that weight, a quarter, and even less silver, or a bit of paper costing a tenth of a cent, will answer just as well.

It is the fallacious idea that the Government can make anything good money by simply stamping it—the idea that a Treasury note or greenback is money of final payment, which does not need to be redeemable in full value coin, instead of simply a promise to pay money of full intrinsic value—that is at the bottom of the denunciatory rhetoric which we hear so much of whenever the currency question is discussed. When we hear men denouncing the Government for paying its bonds in gold instead of depreciated greenbacks in 1868, we know that they have got it into their heads that the greenback is money of final payment, and that the Government is not under obligations to redeem it in gold; otherwise nothing could be saved by destroying our credit. When it is fully understood that both bond and greenback are simply promises of the Government to pay money of intrinsic value, promises that must be redeemed,—then all the crude ideas and wild talk about the currency will cease.

WHY NOT A RATIO OF 16 TO 1.

The only reason that we can't have free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1 of gold, as our fathers once had, is that when our fathers did this, 16 ounces of silver would buy 1 ounce of gold in the markets of the world, and that is why they fixed that ratio. Now 16 ounces will not buy 1 ounce of gold. In process of time there have been such improvements in silver mining and in separating the bullion from the ore that it costs less to produce silver than formerly, and it requires more than 16 ounces of silver to buy 1 ounce of gold. So long as it does, so long as the market price of silver for any cause is considerably less than this ratio to gold, especially where the difference is so much as it is now, it is useless to talk about this country alone maintaining gold and silver at a parity on a ratio of 16 to 1 by free coinage.

I am a bimetallist because I think I see an advantage in that system; but I see no other way of reaching bimetallism and securing the unlimited use of both metals under free coinage than by an international agreement on a coinage ratio (which must be near the actual market ratio) among enough commercial nations to exercise a strong influence on the market and hold the price steady; for there is no doubt that a combination of several strong commercial nations can do this, at least until there are important changes in cost of production of either money metal, by first making a common coinage ratio that is substantially the market ratio of bullion.

HAS SILVER DECLINED?

We are told that silver has not declined, but that gold has advanced 40 or 50 per cent in the last twenty years; and to prove this the fact that prices of merchandise have declined, estimated in gold, is presented as a demonstration of the operation. It is even said that prices estimated in silver have changed but little since 1873, when our currency was depreciated.

Now, everybody knows that the cost of production of most merchandise has been reduced by labor-saving devices and greater concentration of industries, and therefore that prices ought to be lower; and if it be true that prices, estimated in silver, have not declined, it is clear that since 1870 silver must have fallen because of a decline in cost of production.

Mr. MARSH. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. DINGLEY. I will yield for a question, although I prefer not to do so, as I am using the time of the House.

Mr. MARSH. Has not the nonuse of silver during that period of time had something to do with its depreciation in price? Let that go with your statement, because it is important to be considered.

Mr. DINGLEY. Even if it were true that less silver is used now than when silver commanded $1.30 per ounce (which is not the fact), that would have no effect on the cost of production.

The simple fact that the production of silver, after having been substantially stationary at about 28,000,000 ounces annually from 1800 to 1865, with the market price about $1.30 per ounce, has since 1878 more than doubled in the face of a constant decline to 85 cents per ounce, proves beyond question that the cost of production has been greatly reduced, for surely the production would have increased if the lower price had not afforded the mine-owners as great or greater profit than the old price did twenty years ago. I may also call attention to the fact that in 1892 the world used a much larger amount of silver per capita than in 1860 or 1875. In 1860 there was used in the arts and for money only 29,000,000 ounces of silver, for that was the entire production, while in 1892 the world used more than 140,000,000 ounces of silver. Even for money purposes the United States and India alone used 102,000,000 ounces of silver, which was nearly two and a half times the entire production (43,000,000 ounces) and use of silver for both money and in the arts in 1870.

Let me again call attention to the enormous increase of production of silver in the face of a declining price—the stern fact with which we have to deal—as shown by the tables of Dr. Adolph Soetbeer, than whom there is no higher authority on the production of gold and silver:

Average production of gold per annum.

Before 1850	ounces..	750,000
1850 to 1870	do....	6,000,000
1870 to 1892	do....	5,750,000
1892	do....	6,328,272

Average annual production of silver.

1800 to 1850	ounces..	28,000,000
1850 to 1870	do....	48,000,000
1870 to 1880	do....	80,000,000
1892	do....	152,000,000

THE PRINCIPLE OF BIMETALLISM.

The essential principle of bimetallism laid down by Hamilton in his celebrated report, on which Congress in 1792 fixed the ratio of silver to gold at 15 to 1, was that the coinage ratio must be the equivalent of the bullion ratio in the markets of the world. After a careful investigation he found that the bullion ratio was in fact on the average 15 to 1, and for that reason he recommended that ratio, and Congress concurred.

In 1834 and 1837, finding that in consequence of a slight deviation of less than 5 per cent of the coinage ratio from the bullion ratio, this country was deprived of gold, Congress revised the ratio and finally made it 16 to 1. This proved to be a slight deviation from the actual ratio which deprived us of a large portion of our legal-tender silver.

The principle of bimetallism from the beginning has been, as I have already said, to make the coinage ratio the equivalent of the bullion ratio in the market, because it never occurred to our fathers that they could retain both legal-tender gold and silver in our coinage if silver was overvalued or undervalued. Yet, here to-day, in the face of the fact of the great change in the production and cost of production of silver in the last twenty years, we find gentlemen proposing to authorize the free coinage of legal-tender silver at 16 to 1, when the market value is 28¼ to 1, and actually comforting themselves with the idea that they are imitating "the fathers!"

THE FUTURE OF SILVER.

It is probable that the price of silver has recently gone below the cost of production, and therefore that within a year or two there will be an adjustment of the market price of silver at a higher price than that of to-day, but one conformable to the laws of demand and supply and cost of production.

This situation, it seems to me, will pave the way for an international agreement on a ratio for the coinage of silver as well as gold as full legal-tender money. But I have no hope of such an agreement until we stop purchasing silver, by which policy we have been lifting from other nations burdens on account of the silver situation in which they should share, and abnormally stimulating production.

THE POOR MAN'S DOLLAR.

I have frequently heard during this debate that gold (in which term of course is included all currency at par with gold) is the rich man's money, and silver (*i. e.*, the silver dollar of 412½ grains, intrinsically worth three fifths as much as the gold dollar and good for no more than that under free coinage of silver at 16 to 1) is the poor man's money. I stand here to say that no vote of mine shall be given that will provide for the poor man a less valuable dollar than is provided for the rich man. The laborer's wages are paid in dollars, and no kind of a dollar that is worth less than a gold dollar is his due. And those legislators who, under the guise of benefiting the laborer or farmer, enact currency laws which depreciate the currency are doing all in their power to injure the men whom they pretend to be specially caring for. They seem to forget that any increase in the price of the farmer's products caused by depreciating the money in which it is measured can do him no good—in fact will do much harm—because it increases more than correspondingly the prices of what he has to buy.

Even the suggestion that a depreciation of the currency will make it easier to pay debts has little force, for the reason that the average time that private debts continue in this country is only nine months, and every new debt must be just as much larger as the currency is depreciated. The chief use of money is in exchange, and not in debt paying.

The prosperity of the country, of every citizen, whether rich or poor, laborer or employer, is largely dependent upon a sound currency, in which every dollar, whether gold or silver or paper, shall be as good as gold.

CURRENCY POLICY OF THE FUTURE.

If the silver-purchasing policy should be discontinued, as it should be, then it will be the duty of this Congress to go forward and establish a new and safe policy for providing our growing business and population with the increased volume of currency required from time to time in our transactions.

The immediate passage of the bill to allow national banks to issue circulating notes to the par value of their bonds deposited as security would aid materially in meeting the dearth of currency caused by hoarding, not only by adding twenty millions of safe money at once to the circulation, but also by the influence on men's imaginations of such an addition to our currency at this time in satisfying them that there is no further necessity or excuse for hoarding.

And whatever else shall be done, it is of vital importance that steps should be taken to maintain our gold redemption fund constantly; at least at the one hundred million mark.

But great care should be taken in devising a wise currency policy for the future, for objectionable as is the silver-purchasing policy, even with the wholesome restrictions of the act of 1890, it would be far preferable, of course, to free silver coinage or the old wild-cat, State-bank system. The plan to restore the old State-bank currency, which before the war proved so unsatisfactory and expensive, should be resisted by every friend of sound money. Let us hope that such a retrograde step will never be taken.

Why men who have so bitterly opposed our national-banking system, which secures a uniform bank currency amply secured, as good in Georgia as in New York, as current in Maine as in Louisiana—a currency which never subjected the people to a dollar's loss—should now favor State banks of issue, giving us forty-four different kinds of bank notes under forty-four different systems, some good, and more vicious, after the immense losses and sad experiences we had with our old State-bank systems before the war, is what I can not understand.

Let me indulge the hope, Mr. Speaker, that whatever Congress may do (and it must adopt some policy to provide currency for the future) it will first take care to make every dollar of it as good as gold; and secondly, that not a dollar will be allowed to be issued by authority of any State, but all shall be issued under one uniform system and under the authority and control of the nation. [Applause.]

Mr. WILSON of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the discussion of the measures pending before the House has been voluminous if not exhaustive. It has shown that the question of money in the United States perplexes the minds of our statesmen and financiers, and is still an unsolved problem. Gentlemen have incorporated into their speeches extracts from the writings of distinguished authors, and from newspapers and reports. Yet there is no agreement or unity of opinion on the subject, and it is not strange that this is the condition of the public mind.

There can be no legislation that will not in some way affect the business of the country to the advantage of some persons and to the disadvantage of others. The creditors and non-producing classes will be affected advantageously by a restriction of the currency, while the debtors and producers will be adversely affected. During the late war the Government incurred a vast indebtedness. It was a matter of necessity. The currency was so inflated that in 1864 the average value of a paper dollar did

not exceed 50 cents in coin. And during the whole period there was great depreciation of paper currency. The Government bonds were sold during that period, and they were paid for in the depreciated money. Afterwards the bonds were made payable in gold, principal and interest. Some of them were exchanged for gold bonds at a lower rate of interest. This greatly appreciated the value of the bonds. It has been said that the agreement was that the bonds were payable in gold. If so it was not the agreement of the Government, but an unauthorized one on the part of her agents.

I am not here to criticise the policy of the Government, but rather to justify the course pursued. Then came resumption of specie payments. All kinds of obligations were thereby appreciated, and debtors were required to pay in money much more valuable than it was when a large part of such indebtedness was incurred. The effect was to enrich the creditors at the expense of the debtors. This condition of things was inevitable if the country was to return to a sound financial basis, and I am not here to condemn the policy of resumption.

But, Mr. Speaker, the logic of the events which I have briefly stated convinces me that this country ought not again, and without a necessity therefor, cheapen the money by an expansion of the currency, either by promises to pay in cheap paper currency, or by putting the stamp of the Government upon a piece of coin which does not very closely approximate the value of money generally accepted in all parts of the civilized world. I say closely, because I see the great difficulty of maintaining gold and silver on a parity with each other.

The most potent argument against bimetallism arises out of that fact. We may establish a ratio to-day that will seem to be equal and therefore just, but a year hence the commercial ratio may be different from the legal ratio. If so the more valuable coin would not circulate, but the less valuable would become the medium of exchange. It may be said that my admissions of the difficulty of maintaining the parity of the two coins are conclusive arguments against my position on the money question. I have never thought it wise to refuse to admit the truth contained in any proposition. I can not afford to deceive myself, and could not hope to deceive others.

But, notwithstanding what I have said, I am in favor of this Government continuing the double standard. I would do the very best I could to place the ratio according to the commercial value of the two metals. It is probable that the commercial ratio at this time will not be sustained. The distress in business and the money panic have caused alarm, and the present is not the best time to find the true commercial ratio. But we ought to exercise a sound judgment in fixing it, and trust to experience to guide future action. I am of the opinion that if silver is admitted to coinage in either free or a limited amount on a basis of equality with gold there will not soon be an overabundance of silver coinage. I believe that the use of silver on an equality with gold would largely appreciate the value of silver and slightly depreciate the value of gold. If the value of gold and silver depended upon the production and use of these metals here the appreciation of silver would be rapid; but the great volume of gold in the world would not be greatly affected by the coinage of silver in the United States. The world's stock of gold is estimated at $3,582,605,000, of which there is in the United States $604,000,000.

Whether gold and silver shall be produced in larger or less quantities than heretofore, or whether the production will be larger of one and less of the other, is a mere matter of speculation. Experience alone will verify the truth. So far as I can I shall cast my vote for such measures as will maintain the parity of gold and silver. Their circulation as money depends upon their parity. But if I err in the matter, I prefer the error shall be in the interests of the laborers, producers, and debtors rather than in the interests of the creditors and wealthy classes. This Government has no occasion to increase her indebtedness. And there is no reason why the already overburdened debtors of this country should be required to pay their obligations in money more precious than that which existed when their obligations were assumed.

It is argued by gentlemen on this floor that bimetallism is desirable, but that we should await international action; that the ratio between gold and silver must be international. Our experience teaches us that such a ratio is not likely to be established for a long time yet, if it ever becomes possible. This country produces more than one-fourth of the gold and more than three-eighths of the silver produced in the world. The nations of Europe which have discontinued the coinage of silver only produce small quantities of that metal. Their industries are not seriously affected by the demonetization of silver. Not so with the United States. This country is rich in stores of the precious metals; and this Congress should not suffer a foreign policy to engraft itself upon this country so as to strike down any of the great industries of this Republic. And especially this should not be done if it is detrimental to the welfare of a vast number of our population.

It may be said that the refusal to coin silver will not increase the value of gold. It might as well be said that a prohibition against the use of pork would not tend to increase the value of beef and other meats. Silver and gold are mercantile commodities. If there is a greater demand for one than for the other, how is it possible that the article in greatest demand shall not become more valuable and the other less valuable than if the demand was substantially the same. It may be said that silver is produced in much larger quantities of late years than formerly, and that gold has not been produced in comparatively large quantities, and that, therefore, the difference in the value of the two metals has widened and that it will continue to widen. I think the facts show that for the last two or three years silver production has increased but little. The probabilities are that this production has reached its maximum.

The coinage of silver at a sound ratio will not affect the silver producers, for they, under present laws, only get the commercial value of their product; and if coinage is based upon the commercial ratio, they will still get the commercial value of the silver. If the ratio should be so fixed and silver production be so disproportionate to the production of gold as to increase the commercial value of silver, and make the silver dollar more valuable than the gold dollar, then the commercial demand for silver will furnish a satisfactory market for the product, and the holder of the bullion need not coin it. In the event that either metal becomes less productive or more productive so that the legal ratio should differ materially from the commercial ratio, it is safe to assume that the wisdom and patriotism of Congress would be equal to the necessity of again fixing a proper ratio. And if that long hoped for day shall ever come when, by international agreement, a legal ratio may be established, we shall then be, as we have always been, ready to meet the great nations of the earth in a friendly settlement of this vexed question.

It has been said by the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] that the producers sell their products to-day at prices that enable them with the proceeds to purchase as much as they could when prices were higher. If that is true, and it is only in some particulars, what relief does that afford the men who incurred debts at the high prices, and because of the constant appreciation of money and therefore depression in prices, have been unable to discharge their debts? Such is the condition of the country to-day. And if there is no surplus on the farm, or if the surplus is so little that it will only pay the interest or the rent, what is there left for consumption or discharge of debts? It has been claimed by some gentlemen that the silver-purchasing clause of the act of 1890 has caused our present financial panic. I believe there is some truth in this. But it is not the whole truth or cause. This country was prosperous under Republican administration. That party came into power in 1861, and not until March, 1893, has the Democratic party been in power. The people knew that with a Republican Senate or a Republican House the Republican policy could not be reversed. But when the Democracy came into full control the people became fearful on account of the declared purpose of that party to reverse the policy of the Republicans relative to the protective tariff system.

The manufacturers were doing business under a protective tariff system, and if another system is to be the policy of the Government henceforth, then it becomes necessary to reorganize business. Manufacturers only purchase what they require from week to week. Merchants refuse to lay in their usual stock of goods. Employers reduce the wages of their employés, or close their doors, or work on only half time. And why not? Do not expect manufacturers to buy wool at old prices when they expect free wool from foreign countries. Do we expect them to manufacture and keep on hand large stocks of goods with the possibility that their goods must be sold in competition with free importations of the same kind and quality of goods? Is it to be expected that wages, under such circumstances, should be as high as they were before? Is the merchant to be blamed for not laying in a stock of goods at prices higher than they will sell for if imported goods are admitted free of duty? I think the bottom of distrust in business circles lies deeper than the silver purchase act of 1890. It lies in an attempt to reverse the wheels of Government, and turn them backwards for how long, and at what sacrifice to the people of this country, God only knows.

The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. WHEELER] said in a speech on the floor that the country was prosperous until 1861, when the Republicans came into power; and that thereafter there had been no prosperity. I think I use the substance of his remarks. Well, it is impossible to account for that statement. The whole world knows that the United States since 1861, not-

withstanding the civil war, has prospered beyond all previous periods; that our population, wealth, enterprise, and development has been unsurpassed.

I regret exceedingly that I see no prospect of a settlement of the money question in that manner, which, in my opinion, would best subserve the welfare of the American people. There is no opportunity to offer an amendment proposing a ratio approximating a commercial ratio. I am of the opinion that the commercial ratio at this time would not be a correct basis for a legal ratio. It is altogether probable that silver is unduly depreciated now because of the peculiar condition of business of this and other countries. I should be glad to vote for a ratio by which we could reasonably expect to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other. But if this privilege is denied me there is but one course left, and that is to vote for the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing act of 1890. This I regret to do in the light of the President's position on the money question. I construe his message to mean that he is a gold monometallist. I am pleased with the honesty of the President. But it does not follow that because he is honest he is right. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. EVERETT] seems to think the President is immaculate, and that we should not question his wisdom. The President came from the money center of this country. He views the question from the creditor's standpoint. If he lived in other parts of this Union I think he would not undertake to commit this Government to the single gold standard. It may be regarded as the true ideal. But we are a practical people, and our legislation must conform to our conditions and necessities.

The majority in this House must answer to the people for the legislation of this Congress. The position is an unenviable one. They charge each other with being false to the principles of the party. They threaten dire disaster to the party if the demands of each wing of the party are not acceded to. They are in miserable straits, and it appears that both factions will be damned if they do, and they will be damned if they do not; and, speaking from a political standpoint, I freely give my unqualified sanction to the damn.

The people want relief and yet we delay. I see no way for me to answer to my constituents except to vote for the repeal of the law requiring the Government to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver each month. If thereby adequate relief is not afforded I certainly hope the wisdom of Congress may provide other means of relief. But I believe the purchasing of silver is only a superficial cause of our present distress, and that the real cause is the wrong of the Democratic party on the great and fundamental principles which have made this country one of the greatest, and in many respects the greatest country in the world. On these vital and living principles the Republican party was founded. To that party the people will turn for deliverance. It is useless to expect a return of confidence and prosperity while there is in power a party threatening the destruction of our protective tariff. The people must abide their time. Petitions and prayers will not avail now. I think like the clergyman, whose congregation asked him to pray for rain when there was a great drought, and he said: "I would be glad to do so, but it would do no good until the wind gets in the right direction."

But it is the duty of the Republicans in this Congress to lay aside all party politics and make an honest effort to restore confidence in the financial policy of the country. The want of confidence began in Europe. The securities and obligations of corporations are held in large amounts by foreigners. When the Government found it necessary to encroach upon the gold reserve of one hundred millions in order to redeem the Treasury notes it created alarm. And, although there was no just cause for alarm in that direction, it bred a distrust among our people. Persons who had money in banks withdrew it so rapidly that many banks were compelled to close their doors for want of cash to pay depositors.

There was not with our people any want of confidence in the money, but an alarm, amounting almost to a panic, at the possibility of losing their deposits. The money withdrawn from the banks was hidden away, and for a time retired from circulation. This made it necessary for the banks to make such collections as they could, and they refused new loans. Business men were unable to meet their obligations, and many of them were compelled to suspend operations. It was demonstrated that the much-extolled credit system of exchange is only sufficient when the drawers of the bills, drafts, and checks have to their credit the money required to meet the obligations.

There are doubtless other causes which have contributed to our discomfiture. In many instances individuals and corporations have overreached their ability, and were sure to go into liquidation at no distant day. The crisis in money matters only precipitated what had already become inevitable. But it is only important to review the causes of our present distress, that we may be able to find some means of relieving it.

It seems to me that our people are already becoming assured, and that a wave of confidence is now sweeping across the continent. It is our patriotic duty to pledge the resources of the Government for the relief of her citizens. If they are assured of the wisdom and patriotism of their lawmakers, their faith in the resources of the country will accomplish the rest. But what is the wisest course to pursue is the great problem. In my judgment it is not a time for experiments. The great President Lincoln said it was not a good time to swap horses while crossing a stream.

I do not believe we should now begin a contraction of our currency. And while I shall vote to repeal the silver-purchasing clause of the act of July 14, 1890, I do it because the people seem to believe it to be the principal cause of our present financial panic. But the question continually arises in my mind, Is it wise to discontinue the issue of the Treasury notes provided for in that act without making provision for other currency to take its place? At such a time as this, when there is such a demand for money, is it wise to contract our currency? If we had not had the silver certificates which were issued under this law I think there would have been a greater stringency in money than there has been. In my judgment there is a necessity for some substitute for the law we are about to repeal. Whether that substitute shall precede or accompany the repeal is for this Congress to determine. If Congress shall repeal the so-called Sherman act, and provide no other money for the Treasury notes issued under that act, I believe this Congress will receive, as it will deserve, the condemnation of the people of this country. The people are not ready to adopt the gold monometallism of England, and whoever undertakes to force it on them unawares will surely feel their righteous indignation and displeasure.

If such a financial policy is ever to be adopted in this country, it should be after the people have understood it and consented to it. Every declaration of the Republican party has favored bimetallism, and that too without asking European nations whether we should or should not. The proposition to defer the double standard until there is an international agreement concerning the coin ratio is premature. It is unripe fruit and will surely cause indigestion of the American stomach.

I can not conclude my remarks without reply to a portion of the able and eloquent speech of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL]. He assumes that it is desirable that prices of farm products should be low that the laboring men may live cheaply.

Does the gentleman think that the iron of Pennsylvania should be so cheap that the farmers could purchase their stoves and hardware generally at greatly reduced prices? The farmers of this country are more numerous than any one other class of people, and whoever undertakes to impoverish them strikes a blow which will be felt by millions of the most deserving and intelligent of our population. The interests of the farmer and the laborer are mutual. If you reduce the price of farm products below living prices you will destroy the market for the workman's skill and labor, and their wages will be reduced or their services dispensed with. The argument of the gentleman from Pennsylvania is frank but fallacious. If there are any people in this country whose interests are identical with each other they are the working people, whether farmers, mechanics, or laborers. [Applause.]

During the delivery of the foregoing remarks, on motion of Mr. STRONG, by unanimous consent, the time of Mr. WILSON of Ohio was extended fifteen minutes.

Mr. VAN VOORHIS of New York. Mr. Speaker, Congress has been in session now for sixteen days, and the only action of importance that we have taken has been to vote ourselves our mileage. That, of course, is all right; but should we not have done, long before this, something that would relieve the country from its present disastrous condition? Suppose we had passed, long ago, a resolution repealing the purchase clause of the Sherman law, and declaring that there would be no attack upon the tariff for two or three years, why, Mr. Speaker, the panic would have been off in a day.

Now, the silver-purchase law undoubtedly should be repealed. It should either be repealed without conditions, or it should be repealed with proper conditions. They talk about this bill as a bill for the unconditional repeal of that law. It is no such thing. Right on the face of the bill it chisels the Treasury out of $75,000,000. How? By taking away from the $155,000,000 of silver bullion in the Treasury the quality of legal tender. That was either done designedly or carelessly. I hope it was not done by design.

The bill ought to go to a committee for amendment and revision. Let us have a bill that shall simply repeal the purchase clause of the Sherman law, preserving the legal-tender quality of all the silver which the Government has bought and

paid for under it. Mr. Speaker, the criticism that I make to this bill is obvious. The language of the bill is:

But this repeal shall not impair or in any manner affect the legal-tender quality of the standard silver dollars heretofore coined.

Why did they not add the words, "or the standard silver dollars hereafter to be coined" out of the bullion that we have bought and paid for, and for which we have issued the certificates of the Treasury to be paid out of that silver bullion when coined. The preservation of the legal-tender quality in one class of dollars only, is a repudiation of it in the other.

Now, a bare statement of that point is enough; but that is not all. The third section of the Bland-Allison act of 1878 has in it a provision that anybody may deposit coined silver dollars in the Treasury and receive certificates therefor, and it provides that these coined dollars shall remain there for the purpose of paying off and meeting those certificates.

How does this bill affect that provision? Why, it wipes it out, of course, and it charges the Treasury with the payment in gold of all the millions of the certificates that have been issued during the twelve years the act of 1878 was in force under that section of that act. So much for that.

A great deal has been said about the silver dollar by the gold-standard men on the one side and the free and unlimited coinage silver men upon the other. What is a gold dollar? I find that answered in a paper that I got through the post-office this morning, written by Mr. Edward Atkinson, and I want to read a line from it:

What is a dollar?

It is a coin made either of gold or of silver. A coin is a piece of silver or gold made in the shape of a flat disk and stamped by the government in order to certify its weight and quality.

The silver dollar weighs 412½ grains—nine-tenths pure silver, one-tenth alloy.

The gold dollar weighs 25.8 grains—nine-tenths pure gold, one-tenth alloy.

The grain is the common unit of weight. Which dollar is the unit of value?

I want to call attention to that important question by Mr. Atkinson.

And here is his answer:

The statutes of the United States provide that the gold dollar is the unit of value.

Now, Mr. Speaker, there is where Mr. Atkinson is mistaken. We never had a gold dollar until 1849. We never have had a gold dollar since 1890. By the act of September 26, 1890, the gold dollar and the three-dollar gold piece were abolished; and I will ask the Clerk to read it, to prove that Brother Atkinson is all wrong when he says that the gold dollar is now the unit of value by statute.

The Clerk read as follows:

ACT OF SEPTEMBER 26, 1890.

An act to discontinue the coinage of the three-dollar and one-dollar gold pieces and three-cent nickel piece.

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act the coinage of the three-dollar gold piece, the one-dollar gold piece, and the three-cent nickel piece be, and the same is hereby, prohibited, and the pieces named shall not be struck or issued by the Mint of the United States.

SEC. 2. That as fast as the said coins shall be paid into the Treasury of the United States they shall be withdrawn from circulation and be recoined into other denominations of coins.

SEC. 3. That all laws and parts of laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

Mr. VAN VOORHIS of New York. Now, Mr. Speaker, while I am in favor of the unconditional repeal, if I can not have proper conditions, of the silver-purchase clause of the Sherman act, I am also in favor of keeping all the money we have, both gold and silver, at a parity. I would not be in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, but that would be better than the Sherman act, because there is no limit to the purchase of silver under the Sherman act.

In ten years, if we go on purchasing silver under the Sherman act, we would have 1,110,000,000 of coined silver dollars, and in twenty years 1,700,000,000 of those dollars. We can not stop under the Sherman act, but the law of supply and demand would regulate the free coinage of silver; and therefore, in my opinion, the Sherman act is worse than the free coinage of silver.

But we have not got too much money, and will not have by issuing more under the Sherman act. We are now increasing our circulation in every way we can. The Comptroller of the Currency is issuing millions of national-bank bills every day to the national banks, and in the other branch of Congress a bill is now pending to add 10 per cent more to the issue of national banks. There has been no expansion of the currency under the Sherman law yet. That is not the objection to it.

I do not find in that famous letter of Mr. Cleveland, accepting the nomination, which he held up for months after his nomination and issued in the latter part of September, 1892, in which he arraigned the Republican party for every grievance or supposed grievance known to him, that he said one word in his indictment of the Republican party against the Sherman bill. It is a new light that has come to him. His eyes have been opened, and he discovers now what he did not then see, that this little silver-purchase clause was a dangerous law.

I do not think he believed then, and I do not believe it now, that the Sherman act has any more to do with the present state of affairs than, as a Senator from Tennessee said in the Senate yesterday, "a pebble in the bottom of a mill pond has over the distribution of its waters."

Mr. Speaker, it is amusing to notice the various reasons for this existing panic given by those Democrats who do not believe it is the fault of the Sherman law. One of the most respectable of these was that given by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER], who said that the cause was not to be found in the Sherman law, but our panic is the result of thirty years of protection. Can absurdity be greater? The millenium of tariff reformers is in sight; day is about to dawn on the thirty years' night of free trade; the robber tariff is about to expire; the antiprotection party is in full control and can do whatever it pleases—and the panic drops down upon us. It was not caused by thirty years of protection, but because the prosperity caused by thirty years of protection is nearing its end.

Mr. Speaker, the coming into power of the Democratic party was accompanied by a withering blight upon the business of this country. That blight has continued to increase in intensity until it has blasted every department of business, of industry, of commerce, and of finance. What an unfortunate coincidence for the party in power.

No words that I can use can fitly describe the havoc it has wrought. Only a journalist can do that.

I find it well done in the New York Press of yesterday, in its leading editorial.

Instead of giving a bill of particulars of the condition of affairs myself, I read for my bill of particulars from that great journal.

The advent of the Democratic party to power, March 4, 1893, marked the beginning of the most sudden change from industrial prosperity to industrial adversity ever known in the economic history of any country. In extent and rapidity of action this industrial devastation brings to mind the havoc of modern warfare prosecuted with energy and force by the aid of the most fearful and ingenious life and property destroying implements. No matter what the cause or causes, this panic of distrust and contraction has swept the country from the Pacific to the Atlantic in an incredibly short space of time, and thrown its shadows alike on every section of our broad domain.

Under its blighting effects private fortunes have gone down, values have shrunk, corporations have gone to the wall, banks have closed their doors, solvent firms have songht refuge in the hands of receivers, great financial institutions have resorted to extraordinary combinations in the hope of stemming the almost resistless tide, the people have taken alarm and drained the savings banks of their deposits, orders for fall and winter commodities have been stopped, and whole communities of wage-earners have been discharged from mines, mills, factories, and workshops.

As to the cause of this panic, Democrats who advocate the solitary gold standard differ among themselves. As to the cause of this panic, Democrats who advocate the free and unlimited coinage of silver differ among themselves.

No Democrats in in this House are willing to admit the real cause of our disaster. Many of them do and many of them do not charge the cause to the poor little Sherman law. They, like the President, are tariff reformers, and like him are not expected to confess the real and undoubted reason for our disaster.

I quote from another distinguished journalist, who has visited the factories and workshops and knows whereof he speaks. I read from Eli Perkins, in the Mail and Express:

[Eli Perkins in Mail and Express.]

Yesterday, at Cohoes, I found thirty out of the forty mills closed; thousands of workmen were idle in Troy, the six knitting mills in Little Falls had silent wheels, and twenty-five thousand glove-makers were idle in Gloversville. Every manufacturer and every workman told me it was the threat to destroy the protective tariff and not the silver bill that made them idle. Man after man told me with oaths or earnest gestures that the persistent lying of the great city newspapers—making a scapegoat of the silver bill—had caused the distress.

"Hands off the tariff," said the knit-goods men of Little Falls and Amsterdam, "and we will start our wheels to-morrow."

"But when they repeal the silver bill, perhaps it will be a little better," I suggested.

"Not one penny to us," they said. "All we want is somebody to buy our manufactured articles. No one will touch them now, when a lower tariff with lower wages make them cheaper. We can sell nothing until the tariff is settled, and if they lower the tariff we will have to drop wages in order to compete with low wages in Europe."

To-day I called on Albert Morse, a leading sheep farmer in Madison County, and asked him if he had sold his wool.

"No, sir," he said. "I can't get an offer for it. The wool-buyers will not touch it. I am in a bad fix. With my hundreds of sheep I can raise no money on my wool."

Then I called on Bard Leavenworth, who has bought wool in Eaton for thirty years. When I asked him if he was buying any wool now, he said:

"How can I. The tariff is going off. If I knew how much the tariff was to be lowered I would send for the farmers and make an offer. My hands are tied."

Then I rode up "Alder Brook" valley, by Fanny Forrester's old home, passing several silent mills. At West Eaton they had put up new wooden machinery in an old mill and were going to start up four months ago. Then the change came. The mill-owner at West Eaton looked sad. Grass was growing in front of the mill. The spindles were rusting and the old hands were trying to get work on the farms.

"When will you start the mill?" I asked.

"Not till we know about the tariff on English and German cloths," he said. "The business of manufacturing woolen cloth in America is suspended. All the factories are closing now. We can not venture, not knowing what the tariff is to be. I have to pay taxes, and Heaven knows where it will end."

We Democrats have always been mistaken about our protective tariff. The object lesson is complete. The lesson of 1837 and 1857 has been taught again. There is no use trying to hide behind the silver bill. Let us own up now, right-about-face, and help the Republic back to her splendid prosperity of one hundred days ago.

This threat to destroy the tariff has shrunk values $2,000,000,000. Ten million men are idle. Twelve thousand factories have shut down. Must we have the panics of 1837 and 1857 over again?

Can we not see that these disasters do not come from the picayune silver bill? The Government has bought $419,000,000 worth of silver since 1860, and every day the people have grown in prosperity. Cleveland has bought only $7,000,000, and the nation is bankrupt. "Sell all the silver the Government has ever bought, sell it at market price to-day," says JOHN SHERMAN, "and we would lose only $7,000,000 from shrinkage." Tell me the loss of $7,000,000 by our Government has caused a destruction of two billions, made 10,000,000 workmen idle, and shut up 12,000 manufactories!

If the editors of the big daily newspapers are not fools, then what are they? They have fooled a good many people, but when Congress finally repeals the silver bill and the mills still remain silent and the poor are idle and starving, will light strike them?

And when they are finally convinced, will they own up and forever stand by that protective tariff that has made this country for thirty years the most prosperous nation on the earth?

Mr. Speaker, the present panic is a tariff panic, and will go into history as the Democratic tariff panic of 1893.

Mr. Speaker, in this situation of affairs this extra session of Congress is called.

The message of the President to this extra session of Congress states that an extraordinary business situation exists, involving the welfare and prosperity of all the people, that by reason of this situation he has been induced to call Congress together in extra session. He declares that he believes this situation is due to Congressional legislation touching the coinage of silver, and he refers to the act of July 14, 1890, commonly called the Sherman act, as expressing that legislation, and he lays upon the shoulders of this act all the ills which the business of the country is now suffering.

The President then takes an emphatic position as a monometallist, and in favor of gold alone as money. His language is:

At this stage gold and silver must part company, and this Government must fall in its established policy to maintain the two metals at a parity with each other.

He puts this upon the ground that the standard of the commercial world should control, and that is a gold standard, and we must bow to it.

This position, it is plain to see, is in the interest of foreign investors and foreign creditors. He says, in effect, that we can not claim a place among nations of the first class unless we discrown silver as money, and confine ourselves solely to the coinage of gold.

This position of the President is in direct antagonism to the platform upon which he was elected, which declares explicitly for gold and silver coinage as the standard money of the country.

The platform was good enough to get in on, but not good enough to stand on after election.

To get away from the platform of his party he declares that this matter rises above the plane of party politics.

In that he is sincere. The only recommendation he makes is of a negative character. It is the repeal of the silver-purchase clause of the Sherman law. He recommends nothing in place of the act which he desires to take off the statute book. He will abolish something and create nothing. He makes no suggestion as to the establishment of a permanent financial policy.

He would repeal the Sherman law and let the country drift.

But while the President repudiates the financial plank of the Chicago platform, it is not so with tariff reform.

He could not rise there "above the plane of party politics." On the tariff question he stands squarely upon the Chicago platform. His waxen wings would not carry him above that.

Tariff reform means free trade, or what is its equivalent, a tariff for revenue only. Even incidental protection finds no place in tariff reform. Tariff reform as interpreted by the Chicago platform means the wiping off of the statute book of all protective laws. It means a revolution in the business industries of the country. It means raising the revenue by taxing tea, sugar, coffee, and the necessaries of life.

The principle which underlies a tariff for revenue only is that the tax should be laid on those things only which all the people are compelled to use. If the tax is restored on sugar alone, as it was before the McKinley law was passed, the amount of revenue on the last year's consumption of sugar would be in the neighborhood of $75,000,000.

Tariff reform means increasing tenfold the number of the even now vast army of the unemployed. It means reducing the wages of the laborers of this country to a level with those of the pauper labor of Europe. It means depriving them of wages and keeping them unemployed. With a full knowledge of the present condition of business throughout the country; and the condition of the laboring and farming population, he shows a determination to ruin home industries at all hazards, and he serves a stay of proceedings upon business, until he and Congress get through the operation.

The Democratic party has a great opportunity. It has the Executive and the House of Representatives by a large majority and the control of the Senate. It can do what it pleases.

Is there not some Moses in that party that can lead the people through the wilderness to the promised land?

Is there not some statesman who can formulate affirmative legislation which will put the finances of the country upon a stable and prosperous and permanent basis?

Is it the Democratic policy to repeal the Sherman law and then let the country drift wherever it may, financially?

Is it not better to declare what shall be done with the millions of silver in the Treasury?

The money question is fast becoming a sectional question. The producing West and South are strong and earnest for free coinage of silver. The speculative and money-lending East is just as strong and earnest for gold coinage alone and a single standard. Can not a middle ground be found upon which both can come together?

The seat of empire in this country is in the West. If it is not already there, it soon will be. On the money question the West is a unit; no party lines divide it. The West is thundering for silver coinage at the doors of Congress. The South is practically unanimous for the same thing. What can be done; what ought to be done to restore confidence and give back prosperity again to the people?

I read, as showing what the people think about it further from the New York Press editorial:

The business men of the country turn to the party in power for some remedy—to the party which promised so much to the wage-earner.

Will that remedy be given before it is too late? At this critical moment in the nation's affairs is there a statesman in the party responsible for the terrible vacillation and delay who comprehends and is master of the situation? After delivering himself of a message that did not do justice to the subject directly treated, and which worked infinite mischief to the subject (the tariff) incidentally treated, the President left Washington and returned to his summer home. With no steady, courageous hand and comprehensive brain at the helm, legislation has drifted into an uncertainty that bewilders even the nearest friends of the collective incapacity known as President and Cabinet. Within a week the Press has heard calls emanate from Democratic quarters for the calm wisdom of Harrison, the vast experience of SHERMAN, the infinite industrial knowledge of McKinley, and the courageous determination of REED.

With such leaders as these at Washington with power to act, would the bill to increase bank notes be in danger of being talked to death? Would the fear of the destruction of the American system of protection be pending? Would the Sherman law remain unrepealed? The Republican party is a party of courage and of action. It is in touch with the labor and the industrial and financial integrity of the country. In such an emergency as the present the people could rely on its acting practically as a unit for the good of the country. Something would have been done.

Something must be done. Two weeks have gone and the only legislation has been that allowing mileage to members for the extra session. Two weeks of precious time! Two weeks of great suspense! Two weeks filled with uncertainty in all branches of industry and trade! Two weeks in which hundreds of thousands of anxious, careworn men have scanned the Washington telegrams for action and found only indifference, bickering, crankism, cupidity, and incapacity! Two weeks in which not one word of encouragement to those who are holding out, hoping against hope, has come from the party in power! In a short time the savings banks will be called upon to pay out their deposits unless public confidence is restored. The bank note bill would help in this direction if immediately enacted into a law. A timely declaration on the tariff question would help to turn the tide and relieve the people. While obstinacy and ignorance reign at Washington there is little hope of either.

Words, even when earnest and patriotic, seem of little avail in penetrating Democratic opaqueness. There are rumors that an army of 50,000 of the unemployed is on the way to Washington. There is no danger of this physical demonstration. Unlike Congressmen, the unemployed have no national Treasury to tap for mileage and expenses.

There is only one army that will call the present Congress to account, and that is the mighty army of American voters. Unfortunately a year or more must elapse before that army takes the field again. Unless the next two weeks develop some patriotic action in Congress, the party in power and its responsible leaders will hear from that army in the Congressional elections of 1894 in no unmistakable terms. The tide that swept the Democratic party in will carry it out again in 1896, and the youngest of its statesmen will never live to see the return to power of the men who betrayed their country in this serious period of its history.

The Sherman silver-purchase law does not furnish more than a scintilla of the cause of the panic which now exists.

The basis of this panic is distrust and want of confidence. Distrust and want of confidence are based upon fear. The fear which has caused the existing distrust and want of confidence, is the fear that the Democratic party will turn out to be honest, and carry into effect the baleful doctrines of its platform by overthrowing home industries and revolutionizing the tariff. Business waits to see what will be done.

If Congress would give an assurance that there will be no tinkering with the tariff, the panic would be at an end.

The Sherman law, as was so eloquently shown by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR], is sought to be made a scapegoat for evils not at all chargeable to it. Repeal the Sherman law, and you have not then got rid of the panic. The country

will prosper again under the McKinley tariff if you will let it alone. The Democratic leaders propose simply to repeal the silver-purchase clause of the so-called Sherman law. They propose to tear down a portion of the structure of the body politic and erect nothing in its place. They would contract the currency at the ratio of $54,000,000 a year, and provide no means to counteract the contraction. They offer no suggestion by legislation as to what shall become of the millions of silver, coined and uncoined, now in the Treasury.

The Sherman law is not a good law. The people demand its repeal. In the language of a Southern journal, every man in the country from the Golden Gate to Hell Gate favors its repeal.

We should repeal the Sherman silver purchase law. It might have been done before.

Why did not the Democratic party repeal it in the Fifty-second Congress? Simply because it had done no mischief up to that time. It has done no mischief up to the present time.

The danger from that law lies chiefly in the future. We have none too much silver now. We might take a good deal more and then not have too much.

We have none too much money. Our population is distributed over such a large area that it takes more money per capita to carry on our business than it does in densely populated countries like England and France.

Our circulation per capita on July 1, 1893, was only $23.88. That is none too much. It is not enough.

Our increasing population and increasing business require an increase of circulation of many millions a year. The Sherman law does not furnish enough now, and if we repeal it, we should provide by legislation that our currency be not contracted.

I do not believe in overthrowing silver as money. I believe that it can be so arranged and adjusted that both silver and gold can be kept as money in this country, as they always have been. It can be done if we refuse to let foreign nations dominate us, and legislate solely for ourselves.

I believe in Americanism. Americans should take the lead of the world in finance as they do in almost everything else. To do this some system must be devised to regulate our money. Let us have our own system and not a system devised for us in London. In that system silver must not be left out.

We repeal the purchase clause of the Sherman act. What next? We ask our masters and they are silent.

We, of the minority, are prohibited by the rule established by the majority from offering any measure or amendment to the pending bill. We must vote upon the questions our masters permit us to vote upon, and we can vote upon no other.

The President, in his message, should have made suggestions of affirmative legislation looking to the relief of the people.

He contents himself with advising the repeal of the Sherman law, and threatening, at a later time, to overthrow and revolutionize the industries of the country by legislation which he is pleased to term tariff reform.

Mr. Speaker, I do not find in any act of Congress that gold is made the standard of value, or that the gold dollar is the standard dollar. I do find that wherever the word standard in the statutes is applied to dollars it is to the silver dollar. I repeat that there never was a gold dollar coined or authorized to be coined until 1849, by the act of March 3 of that year, and that we have now no gold dollars. The gold dollar coin was abolished by act of September 26, 1890, just read, which prohibits its further coinage and provides for calling in all that have been coined and retiring them from circulation, and repeals all the former laws on that subject.

The silver standard dollar was established and its coinage began in 1792. It was recognized as the standard silver dollar in the act of February 28, 1878, the title to which is "An act to authorize the coinage of the standard silver dollar." It was recognized again by the act of July 14, 1890, which, in its third section, provides for the coinage of silver "into standard silver dollars," and in its fifth section describes the act of 1878 as "An act to authorize the coinage of the standard silver dollar."

I repeat, therefore, that while there is much warrant in the law for the claim that the coined silver dollar is the standard dollar, there is none whatever in favor of the gold dollar, and the gold dollar is not now known to our coinage laws.

But it is claimed that while gold is not now the legal standard, it has come to be the standard in fact, under the influence of commercial forces. These commercial forces come chiefly from abroad and from Wall street. The great money-lenders of the world believe it is for their interest to establish the gold standard, and they spare no means to accomplish that result.

Gold is not the money of the people and it is not the people's standard. It is not in the interest of the masses of the people that a single gold standard is urged. It is advocated in the interest of the money kings of Europe and America. It is advocated in the interest of the gold bugs of Wall street. It is advocated in the interest of the men who wreck railroads and operate corners in stocks and grain. The great producing States of the West and South are opposed to it.

I read the language of that great scholar and orator, the Senator from Kansas, John J. Ingalls, from a speech delivered in the United States Senate in 1878, at a time when Kansas was represented there by brains and not cranks. It has been read here before, but it will bear reading again. He said:

> No enduring fabric of national prosperity can be builded on gold. Gold is the money of monarchs; kings covet it; the exchanges of nations are effected by it. Its tendency is to accumulate in vast masses in the commercial centers, and to move from kingdom to kingdom in such volumes as to unsettle values and disturb the finances of the world. It is the instrument of gamblers and speculators, and the idol of the miser and the thief. Being the object of so much adoration, it becomes haughty and sensitive and shrinks at the approach of danger, and whenever it is most needed it always disappears. At the slightest alarm it begins to look for a refuge. It flies from the nation at war to the nation at peace. War makes it a fugitive.
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> No people in a great emergency ever found a faithful ally in gold. It is the most cowardly and treacherous of all metals. It makes no treaty that it does not break. It has no friend whom it does not sooner or later betray. Armies and navies are not maintained by gold. In times of panic and calamity, shipwreck and disaster, it becomes the chief agent and minister of ruin. No nation ever fought a great war by the aid of gold. On the contrary, in the crisis of greater peril it becomes an enemy more potent than the foe in the field; but when the battle is won and peace has been secured gold reappears and claims the fruits of victory. In our own civil war it is doubtful if the gold of New York and London did not work us greater injury than the powder and lead and iron of the rebels. It was the most invincible enemy of the public credit. Gold paid no soldier nor sailor. It refused the national obligation. It was worth most when our fortunes were lowest.
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> Every defeat gave it increased value. It was in open alliance with our enemies the world over, and all its energies were evoked for our destruction. But as usual when danger has been averted and the victory secured, gold swaggers to the front and asserts the supremacy. But silver is the money of the people. It is the money of wages and retail. Its tendency is toward diffusion and dissemination. It enters into the minute concerns of traffic, and is exchanged day by day for daily bread. It penetrates the remotest channels of commerce, and its abundance, bulk, and small subdivision prevents its deportation in sufficient amount to disturb or unsettle values. If it retires at the approach of danger, or from the presence of an inferior currency, it still remains at home ready to respond to the first summons for its return.

No political party in this country has ever declared, or dared to declare, in favor of the single gold standard.

Both political parties are committed by their platforms to retain silver as money. I read from platforms of the Republican party:

THE REPUBLICAN POSITION.

1888.

The Republican national platform adopted in 1888 contains this plank:

> The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

1892.

The same party in 1892 adopted a platform containing the following language:

> The American people from tradition and interest favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, such restrictions to be determined by contemplation of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be equal at all times.
>
> The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or gold, issued by the Government, shall be as good as any other. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure an international parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

Never has the Republican party taken a position in favor of a gold standard. I read from platforms of the Democratic party:

THE DEMOCRATIC POSITION.

1880.

The Democratic platform of 1880 contained these words:

> Honest money, consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand.

1884.

In 1884 the Democratic platform contained this plank:

> We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

It would seem that at that time silver was considered honest money.

1888.

In 1888 the Democratic party did not express itself on the money question except by saying:

> It renewed the pledge of its fidelity to Democratic faith, and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives in the convention of 1884.

Since the platform of 1884 commended silver as an honest money, we must assume that the reaffirming of that platform declared anew that silver was honest money as late as 1888, although at that time its bullion value had fallen still more.

1892.

The last utterance of a Democratic national convention upon this subject is contained in the platform adopted at Chicago in 1892. It is as follows:

> We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discrimination

against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

I am content to stand where my party stands on this great issue.

We can maintain gold and silver as unlimited legal tender, and we ought to do so. We can make and keep every dollar of each of equal value. We can place a limit on the amount of silver to be coined. We can put 100 cents into a silver dollar.

In France, with a population not exceeding one-half of ours, the silver coinage exceeds ours by more than a hundred millions of dollars, and France finds no difficulty in keeping silver at a parity with gold at a ratio of 15½ to 1.

Germany has a limited coinage of silver, and maintains what she has at a parity with gold.

These propositions do not suit the extreme gold men on the one hand or the extreme silver-coinage men on the other.

The gold faction of the Democratic party and the free-coinage faction of that party are united on one thing, and that is the destruction of the great system of protection under which we have prospered so long.

I know of but one course to take, and that is to vote upon the pending bill, upon the merits of the Sherman law alone. I intend to vote for repeal if amended so as to preserve the silver we have as legal tender. If I can, I would have suitable conditions attached to its repeal.

One great evil which we encounter in times of panic consists in contracts payable in gold. The instant gold becomes scarce, those—mostly foreign—contracts are presented and the gold demanded. If those contracts were payable in lawful, legal-tender money of the country that would not happen. There is a perfect remedy.

Let us enact a law which shall make all contracts void which are payable in any specific kind of money. Perhaps we could not borrow so much money abroad if such a law were enacted. Let it be so. The less money we borrow abroad the greater will be our financial health and independence and the easier can we get out of the clutch of Lombard Street. Why should we defer to European financiers in managing our own concerns? Are Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the emergency which confronts this Congress is not in any degree partisan. No party is responsible for it. The great party question before the country was that of tariff reform and protection, and upon the idea of tariff reform Mr. Cleveland swept this country from one end to the other. The financial condition of this country, Mr. Speaker, did not enter into it at all. The people, having been oppressed for years and years by this protective tariff, rose in their might and landed Mr. Cleveland, the champion of tariff reform, in the Presidential chair.

The financial condition of this country has been a secondary consideration, Mr. Speaker. In my humble opinion, it has been brought about for the purpose of obstructing the main issue upon which the campaign of last year was fought. There has been, it is said, a conspiracy to bring about this unsettled condition of things. With the crops of our country now ready for market, there is no money to move them. In my own country, in the South, where the people have prospered in spite of all the adverse legislation that Congress and the Republican party has put upon them, they have to-day in their smokehouses plenty to eat and upon their backs plenty to wear.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SIBLEY] said the other day that he had seen naked people with cotton at 5 cents a pound, and hungry people with wheat at 40 cents a bushel. Sir, there never has been a time, even in the darkest hour of our Southern country, when there has been a starving man there, or one who lacked wherewith to clothe his nakedness. But, Mr. Speaker, this is not a question of bread and meat. The people whom I have the honor to represent have worked cheerfully and industriously and have adapted themselves to the condition of things that has existed in this country for many years. They are as industrious as any people on earth, and many of them, by their patient industry, are making their way to competency and to fortune.

But when the crop is ready to be marketed they are confronted with the price of 5 cents a pound for cotton. The man who used to walk around town with his samples, whistling a merry tune because he knew that with the proceeds of his surplus crop he could pay his debts to the merchants and carry home something in his pockets, is to-day depressed, sneaking around, so to speak, to the counting houses in the cities, begging to be "carried" over until sufficient currency may be put forth to enable him to get a reasonable price for the cotton which he has produced by his toil and his sweat.

Mr. Speaker, it is said that while Rome was burning Nero fiddled, and while cotton is going down, down in price, and the industries of the country from one end to the other are paralyzed, the American Congress is fiddling, arguing, talking, consuming time, telling the same story over and over again, while among the people all is trepidation and distress.

I have observed, Mr. Speaker, that every effort made upon this floor to have the free coinage of silver has always been objected to by some gentleman who is in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act, and, sir, while I have the greatest respect for New England—the home of Webster, of the Adamses, of Edward Everett, and of John Hancock, who wrote his signature so large that tyrants might run and read it—I am sorry to say that at every stage in this discussion, the way toward relief has been blocked by the members from New England.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. TATE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the time of my colleague be extended ten minutes.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I have said that the effort made here by the friends of free silver, of honest money, of an expansive currency, has been blocked by the gentlemen to whom I have referred. Because a currency is expansive is no reason why it should not be honest, and there is not a man in this House who doubts that if we should pass a free-coinage bill every dollar made under that legislation would be as honest as the gold dollar.

Further, Mr. Speaker, I have noticed that this is not a partisan fight, and I will tell you how it has struck me, a new man upon this floor. I come here a Democrat. I come here imbued with the traditions of my party, and I thank God that the party, in the main, stands by the principles upon which it was founded, and which have engrafted it forever on the institutions of this country. But I find, sir, that every step we take toward giving the people honest money, has been blocked by the representatives of New England, and the representatives of the men who hold the money bags of this nation. I am, therefore, compelled to come to the conclusion that this is not a fight between the Republican and Democratic parties, but that it is simply, in the last analysis, a fight between the men who hold the money bags and the balance of the people of this country.

Now, what are we doing? I tell you, gentlemen who hold the purse strings of this nation—just as honest, just as patriotic, perhaps, as any other portion of our people—that there is a great expanse of territory within the United States, peopled by millions who delve in the ground and in the workshop, and who come to you here, saying, "Let us have an opportunity to develop our country, to pay our debts; give us an opportunity to get living wages, let us have an equal chance in the race for happiness with you." And I tell you further that unless the cry of those people is heard, unless you respond to that cry, you gentlemen who have the stocks and the securities and the stock markets and all those things at your finger's ends—I tell you that you are sowing a crop of dragon's teeth, and sooner or later you will reap the harvest. [Applause.]

Mr. JOHNSON of Ohio was recognized.

Mr. Speaker, before beginning my remarks I ask the indulgence of the House to speak for fifteen minutes.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the request of the gentleman from Ohio be granted.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

Mr. JOHNSON of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for the Wilson bill—for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act.

I am far from charging to this measure the difficulties from which the country is suffering, the breakdown of credit, the paralysis of business, the stoppage of industry, now filling the country with idle men, and imposing upon our people losses and suffering as real and as widespread as though we had been visited by a great convulsion of nature or a destructive war.

Nor do I believe that its mere repeal can bring again prosperity—even that moderate prosperity to which we are in normal times accustomed. The cause of such recurring depressions of business, such spasms of paralysis in the interlaced machinery of production and exchange, is to my mind not to be found in our financial legislation, bad as that has been, but is more deeply rooted.

Our disturbed monetary condition is rather a symptom than a cause—an index or expression of evil and unnatural conditions, rather than their source. The bottom cause lies in that monopolization of the materials of nature, which goes on all around us with an intensity accelerating with every improvement: that speculation in the value of land—the indispensable requisite of all production and of all life—which, with every addition to pro-

ductive power, piles up fictitious values, on which labor and capital are called to pay as the condition of their exertions.

Important as the money question may be, its importance is as nothing when compared with the question of taxation. Money at most is a mere instrument of exchange, a mere tool for the transfer of values. Whether there is much money or little money, whether we estimate commodities in dollars or in cents, will nowise affect the fact that where labor is burdened with taxation and monopoly is exempt, where a few own the land and the many must pay directly or indirectly a tribute for living or working in a country they call their own, the few must be rich and the many poor, and labor—the mere power to work without the right to anything to work upon—must be driven by cut-throat competition to look upon the mere opportunity of work as a privilege.

Imagine, if you will, the entire absence of money, and the making of exchanges by barter, and we would, under present conditions, witness the same conjunction of wealth and want, the same phenomena of periodical hard times. What change in the amount of money or character of money could prevent the wealth created by Irish tenants from being drained across the Irish sea to the absentee owners of Irish land? What change in the amount or character of our currency could prevent wealth created in our own West being drained to the East as long as so many of the toilers of the West are but tenants or mortgagees of landowners who live in the East or in Europe? What mere monetary change would alter the law under which here in the national capital we may see that everything that adds to the population and wealth of the city of Washington, every symptom of improvement and growth, is discounted in advance by the addition of millions and millions to the capitalization on which the owners of land can demand tribute from those who live here or work here? Nevertheless, the money question is an important one—next to that of taxation the most pressing business before this Congress, and the full discussion that has been forced upon the country and upon us must be productive of good.

I am opposed to the storing up of silver by the Government, as I would be opposed to the storing up of wheat, or wool, or whisky, and just as I am opposed to the subtreasury proposal of the Populist, so I am opposed to this subtreasury act of the silver producers. It is a taxing of the many for the benefit of a few—a prostitution of governmental powers to a purpose with which government should have no concern. It is a step on the road which must inevitably destroy government of the people, by the people, for the people, and make it a government of plutocrats, by plutocrats, and for plutocrats—a form of government more corruptive and more degrading than that of hereditary aristocrats or rulers by right divine.

It is because we have swerved from the Democratic principle of simple government and equal rights, because we have allowed the very gifts of God to be monopolized, because we have abused the power of legislation to affect prices and create special privileges and manacle trade with restrictions that the political and social evils of which we are all conscious have come upon us.

Here is the reason why rings control our cities and tramps infest our roads. It is time that we should set our faces unhesitatingly and steadily against all special privileges, no matter what be their form, and against every attempt to wrest the powers of government beyond their proper sphere, no matter by what plausible pretense it is supported. Nor do we lack the mandate of the people. The popular verdict of last year meant but this, and I for one shall vote for the repeal of the Sherman act without an "if or an an," just as I would vote for the abolition of all protective duty, or, better still, for all taxes on production or consumption of whatever kind.

But the real opposition to the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act is that popular discontent with the conditions of labor, which, feeling that somehow or other the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer, turns to an extension of the volume of money for relief. It is this feeling which seeks to impose as a condition of repeal the free and unlimited coinage of silver at some ratio.

If I could see in free silver what has been so eloquently claimed for it by its advocates, I would gladly join their ranks. If it would really cure, or even in some degree tend to cure, the inequalities manifest on every side, producing the millionaire and the tramp; if it would stop, or even tend to stop, the closing of factories and the forcing of able-bodied, willing men into idleness; if there would be in it any remedy for the apparently overstocked labor market and for the hardships that the producers of this country are now suffering from, it would be our duty, even though it worked some injustice to the rich, to adopt it as a measure calculated to bring greater comfort to that class of society which, in my judgment, bears the heaviest burden.

But what does the free and unlimited coinage of silver mean? It does not mean, as its advocates seem to suppose, the concurrent coinage and use of both gold and silver. It can only mean the concurrent coinage and use of both metals when and during such time as the legal ratio in the value of the two metals shall coincide with the commercial ratio. It is not the choice between bimetallism and monometallism which is offered to us, but the choice between gold monometallism and silver monometallism.

The free coinage of silver is urged upon us under the cry of bimetallism, but that cry is but a delusion and a snare. The free coinage of silver under any of the ratios proposed would at the present commercial ratio be equivalent to the legislative prohibition of the coinage and use of gold. It would drive from our mints, and from common use as money, gold and the representatives of gold, and that by virtue of a natural law more potent than legislative fiat.

The monetary systems of the civilized world are measured by a fixed quantity of some commodity, gold or silver, but nowhere for any length of time where free coinage of both is permitted, by both metals at once. Platform declarations, statutory provisions, constitutional requirements, penal laws, the most lavish exertions of the power of supreme monarchs, have never been able to defy this natural law. The undervalued metal will not circulate under equal free-coinage privileges.

There is no need of recalling the history of the world. Our own history proves this. From 1792 to 1834 silver was our unit of value, gold being undervalued by the established ratio of coinage. From 1834 to 1861 gold was our unit because silver was undervalued, and except worn, abraded, and foreign coins there was practically no silver in circulation at this time. So scarce was silver coin during the latter part of this period that in 1853 Congress purposely debased the minor silver coins by reducing the quantity of silver in them. From 1861 to 1879 the reign of gold as a measure of value was interrupted by the depreciation of our paper money. From that period until to-day it has again been the unit.

Mr. SNODGRASS. Do I understand the gentleman then to concede that the country is to be reduced to a single gold standard?

Mr. JOHNSON of Ohio. I understand that the country has been upon a single gold standard since 1834, except during the period of depreciated paper money; and I for one am not willing now to make a change. You offer no reason for it. You tell us that prices will go up. What of it? We are not here to deal with prices. We are here to maintain a unit (or if it were an original proposition, to select one) which will operate honestly as between these two conflicting classes. It is our duty to have a unit of value which will be fair to both debtor and creditor.

Mr. SNODGRASS. I wish to ask the gentleman whether, when the public debt was funded in 1870, that debt was not made payable in the coin of the country, both gold and silver, and whether, if we change the medium of payment now and adopt a single gold standard, we do not appreciate the claim of the creditor while we depreciate the ability of the people to pay.

Mr. JOHNSON of Ohio. If you ask me whether a great injury was then committed, I answer yes. But can you, here and now, complaining of that wrong, ask us to do a similar injury to another class?

Mr. SNODGRASS. We simply ask that the contract shall be complied with.

Mr. JOHNSON of Ohio. That is a transaction of twenty years ago. We are not responsible for what then occurred. I think it is true that when the change was then made from a depreciated paper money to the gold standard there was inflicted a great injury upon an immense class. But we can not correct that by now doing a like injury to another class. And you who complain ought to be the last to come here and ask us to scale down debts—to adopt a standard of value that will injure the creditor classes as we admit the debtor classes were injured then.

There is only one way to even momentarily obtain free coinage of both gold and silver at the same time, and that is to adopt a legal ratio that would conform to the commercial ratio—a matter as difficult as standing a needle on its point. But even if there is anyone wise enough to determine this point in advance (allowing for changes in the market values of the metals brought about through the act), the whole experience of the past shows us that with one metal or the other the free coinage thus secured would in a short time be merely nominal. A slight change in the commercial value of the metals would again, as it has before, drive one or the other of them out of use.

I think that it must be conceded to the bimetallic theory that where both metals may be legally used as the unit of value, there is a steadying influence exerted on the world value of both, for, where one of the two metals becomes relatively less valuable, it infallibly drives out the other, and this greater use of the least valuable metal tends to the increase of its value and the decrease in the value of the metal displaced. But is it wise,

especially when international agreement is hopeless, if not futile, for us to purchase this advantage for the world at the cost of constant and perpetual changes in our own measure of value and medium of exchange—of constant and inevitable fluctuation from one metal to the other?

Yet whatever may be said for the theory of bimetallism, it should be clearly kept in mind that the Sherman act is not bimetallism. It is an attempt to keep up the value of silver, not by permitting its greater use when it is, under the ratio, the cheaper metal, but by buying it up and storing it away, issuing against it certificates or Treasury notes which are in reality obligations to pay gold, and which bear to-day not a silver, but a gold value. And this is the real character of all of Mr. Bland's amendments now under discussion. None of them really proposes the free coinage of silver pure and simple, but, instead of that, unlimited Government purchase at the option of the seller. Even were we thus to provide in the Government a customer at $1.29 an ounce in gold for all the silver offered, we would still be on a gold basis, debts would not be paid more easily, and prices would not increase. We should only be purchasing at a fixed price all the silver presented. We might, so long as we would and could afford to stand the expense, keep gold and silver in this way at their old parity, just as a strong government that should offer to exchange a bushel of wheat for a bushel of corn might, by an unlimited buying of corn, keep corn and wheat at a parity.

We might thus raise the price of silver bullion all over the world, and keep it up so long as our people would consent to bear the cost of the losing investment. But sooner or later the crash would come, and when the day of reckoning arrived it would be found that the taxpayer must lose the difference between the price at which the Government had been purchasing silver and its true commercial level. Such propositions are not for free coinage, but for forced coinage, the force which might for a time artificially keep up the value of silver being the force of the tax-gather, exerted upon the working masses of the United States to take from them the products of their labor. They are not bimetallism—they are silver purchase run mad.

Let me repeat. None of the substitutes for the Sherman act proposes free coinage. What they propose would amount under existing laws and rulings simply to continued and unlimited purchase. What has been during all these years the effect of the attempt to get silver into circulation by any less drastic measure than that of reducing our unit of value to the silver level? What has become of all the silver dollars we have coined and the silver bullion we have bought? It remains in the Treasury vaults—all except the small portion that has been forced upon an unwilling people by refusing to them the small notes they would prefer.

The paper currency nominally issued on the basis of our hoarded silver is not in reality issued upon it at all. It is really issued upon the credit of the nation, and circulates upon the basis of the understanding, expressed or implied, that it is to be accepted by the Treasury and in payment of all public dues on an equal value with gold. The public credit, which gives these silver notes their circulation, derives nothing at all from the tons of idle silver with which our treasuries are gorged. Instead of strengthening the credit of the United States the tendency of this useless locking up of a depreciating commodity has been but to weaken it; first, by putting an unnecessary tax on the people, and, second, by giving ground to the fear of an impending change in our measure of value.

That we can not have a really free coinage of silver without ultimately driving out gold is shown not only by our own experience, but by the experience of the world. But even with the injuries that would attend this, it does not seem to me that there would really be much increase in the actual use of silver, and consequently much appreciation of its commercial value. It is the use of a commodity as an actual medium of exchange, not as an ideal measure of value, that affects the demand for it and consequently its commercial value. And the plain and indisputable fact is that, except for small change, our people do not like silver, and that for all the uses of small change they do not like it even for that.

In the progress of civilization we have to a very large extent got past the using of silver and even gold for currency, and prefer paper as more convenient. To reduce our currency to a silver basis does not mean that people would be content to carry around silver to much, if any, greater extent than they do now. It would mainly mean that the paper which we have become accustomed to use both as money and as substitutes for money would represent a silver value instead of a gold, and it is the conscious or unconscious recognition of this which causes the advocates of silver to always include in their real proposition some proposal for silver certificates; and up to the present the so-called silver certificates which the free-silver men have had issued, or have proposed to issue, have been certificates really payable in gold.

In considering the question before us, let us frankly and honestly face the main issue—that of a change in the unit of value. Are we ready to change our measure of value—the unit on which all our transactions and contracts and obligations and estimates are based? This is the real heart of the question.

If it were a fresh question—that is to say, if it were unembarrassed by existing habits and agreements—it might be open to debate.

I am free to confess that it is not clear to me that gold possesses any advantage over silver as a unit of value. As well as I can make out in the confusion of evidence, I am inclined to think that silver has maintained a more constant relation with commodities generally than has gold—that is to say, that its change with regard to them has been less than that of gold. But we are now on a gold basis, and, with the exception of the interlude of depreciation which began with the war and continued for some time after it, we have been on a gold basis since 1834. Why should we change?

Sentimentality on such a subject is nonsense. Gold is not, as thought by some, the God-ordained measure of value, and there is no proof that it was designed by nature to be the money of the world. Nor should we decide on silver because our forefathers at any time used it, or because of what some are pleased to call the injustice that has been done to that noble metal. Injustice is not done to metals, but to men. It may be worth while to quote against the eloquence of the "friends of silver" the similar eloquence of that staunch Democrat, Thomas H. Benton, in favor of the act of 1834, which restored gold to use in the United States and virtually drove silver out of the country. He said the object of the bill was—

> To enable the friends of gold to go to work at the right place to effect the recovery of that precious metal which their fathers once possessed, which the subjects of European kings now possess, which the citizens of the young republics to the south all possess, which even the free negroes of San Domingo possess, but of which the yeomanry of this America have been deprived for more than twenty years.

But all such fine speaking or fine writing, while it may captivate the unthinking, is really idle. The question of money is simply the question of the best tool of exchange. As to this we have at least this light: Not only did the people of the United States deliberately and to their own satisfaction change in 1834 from a unit of silver to a unit of gold, and subsequently, and for obvious public convenience, reduce silver to the only place it can permanently occupy in order to concurrently circulate with gold, that of a token money, but the same change has during this century been carried out by nearly all civilized nations. It is too much to attribute this general movement to a mere conspiracy. Its steadiness and universality are much more indicative of a general demand caused by the needs of a larger commerce and a more complex industry.

Just as copper, which was at first the unit of value among the Romans and other nations, gave way in time to silver, so now it seems that silver is giving away to gold, and gold, at least as a medium of exchange, is giving way to paper. This growth in the use of paper seems to me a sufficient answer to the fears that the exclusive use of gold as a unit of value will so increase the demand for it as to abnormally raise its value.

It is clear that the use of gold as a unit of value does not necessarily involve the actual use of gold as a medium of exchange, or even as a reserve. Canada, for instance, maintains her paper money on a parity with gold, yet has neither a gold issue nor mints to coin it. This is surely a sufficient answer to those who claim that there is not gold enough in the world to furnish a sufficient basis for credit. It shows how far the use of the substitutes for gold can be carried.

The favorite argument of those who advocate a change is as to its effect on prices. This is the most captivating form of presenting the question, but it will not bear careful analysis. The question of price is one with which the Government should have no concern, further than that of preventing general fluctuation by changes in the unit of value. It is not the proper function of government to legislate with reference as to prices. It is a form of paternalism that all free-traders should condemn. An appreciation of the unit of value, of course, lowers prices, as depreciation raises them.

But, except where there is debt, this makes no difference, for a change of prices caused by depreciation or appreciation in the unit of value affects all prices alike, and does not change relative values. If a mere change in the unit of value gives the farmer $2 a bushel for his grain where before he only got $1, the $2 give him no greater command over commodities than the $1 did before. The change is a change only in expression.

If there was anything in the argument that increased prices means increased purchasing power, and that sellers are the only ones to be considered, we ought not to stop with the doubling

of prices, but should at once inaugurate a system that would make wheat worth $10 a bushel in money instead of $2, or rather so increase our currency that money would bear the same relation to commodities that it did at the close of the Revolution or in the last day, of the Southern Confederacy.

That there are temporary differences in the demand for money I am well aware, and that we are suffering to-day from a temporary scarcity in the supply of actual currency, caused by the curtailment of credits and a general distrust that has led to the hoarding instead of the circulation of money, is too obvious for argument. But in a bill to establish an interconvertibility between United States bonds and Treasury notes which I introduced at the last session of Congress, and a still simpler and more quickly effective measure of the same kind which I have introduced in this, I have endeavored to put into practical form what I believe to be the quickest, safest, and most efficient mode of putting an end to the currency famine and giving elasticity to our present currency.

While the difference in general prices caused by the greater or less value of money makes no difference as between buyer and seller—while no matter what be the medium or tool of exchange, the purpose and end of exchange is the transfer of commodities or services for commodities or services—the depreciation or appreciation of money does make a great difference as between borrower and lender in regard to the transactions entered into upon a different monetary basis.

Where it has been agreed that debt shall be paid in dollars, that it would be greatly to the interest of the debtor to have dollars become cheap, no one doubts, and so it is likewise to the interest of the creditor to have money appreciate and dollars become dear. But it should be the aim of the legislator to maintain, as near as possible, a constant measure, so as to deal honestly and fairly between these interests, and a proposition to now change our legal measure of value by accepting silver at any ratio less than its commercial parity is a proposition to destroy the validity of contracts and to wantonly exert the legislative power to injure some citizens and help others. It would be as unfair and dishonest to the creditor classes of the country as was the appreciation of the unit of values existing between 1865 and 1879 to the debtor classes.

It is true that even the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1 would not scale down the national debt. That, we have rightly or wrongly agreed, is to be paid principal and interest in gold. Nor will it in the vast majority of cases do any harm to the holders of mortgages or bring any relief to mortgagees, for these also are in most cases protected by specific contracts for the payment of gold. And this also is true of the greater number of obligations held in large amounts. But it would work injury to national and individual credit and to the public morals, and those who condemn the appreciation of the unit of value as a measure of injustice should be equally prompt and clear in denouncing its depreciation.

Whatever of error or injustice comes from natural changes in the unit of value once selected is excusable, but a wanton change from one unit to another that will thus affect the relations of debtor and creditor can not be justified on any ethical ground, nor yet on any ground of expediency.

In our own history we have seen the evils of such change. The record of our national life begins with it in the burdens imposed and evils wrought by the depreciation and final repudiation of the continental money. We of this generation know how disastrous was the depreciation of our standard of value during the war, and the subsequent injustice worked in coming back from a lower to a higher standard of value. Why should we wantonly take that road again? We have a good currency in the credit of the national Government—a credit sustained by great sacrifices and which has shown its strength even under the present stress.

One of the most striking features in what has recently happened is the reversal of the predictions made that gold would go to a premium, when it is, in fact, the paper currency of the Government, and not gold, that is most demanded and is selling at above par. Let us maintain that currency and improve it by giving it a feature of interconvertibility, and not, by suddenly changing the unit of value, bring about a shock of which no one can tell the full results.

Any forcing of the use of silver, like the forcing of the use of gold instead of paper money, is an obstacle to trade and impairs the usefulness of our currency as a tool of exchange. Absolute constancy in the value of money or of anything else is unattainable, but the true rule should be that where a government undertakes to furnish the circulating medium of the people it should provide, first, the utmost possible constancy in its measure of value, and should at least scrupulously refrain from wantonly changing it; second, convenience as to the form and character of its primary and secondary money, being controlled by the wishes of the user as to whether it should be paper or coin; and, third, furnishing a sufficient volume to perform comfortably its office, providing some feature of automatic flexibility, so that the needs of trade and not the guesses of legislative bodies shall control its amount.

We should keep clearly in mind the functions properly under governmental management, and avoid all subjects over which the legislature of a free people should properly have no control. Much of our distress comes from confusion in men's minds as to where to draw this line. While it is entirely in keeping with democratic institutions that the Government should issue money, it is no part of the functions of government to go into the banking business.

The reason for the governmental control of the mints and the furnishing of a circulating medium is that the interests of the people are thus best served. That is a business in which competition can not enter except at a sacrifice of utility. But the banking business, the receiving and safely caring for deposits, conducting exchange, loaning money, is a business in which competition does exist, and which, therefore, should not be undertaken by Government agents. Necessary regulation and supervision of banking seems to be a step in the right direction and the proper subject of still further legislation.

I am deeply anxious to get this money question out of the way, that we may turn our attention to far more vital things. The three branches of the National Government stand pledged before the people to the abolition of the protective features of the tariff. We ought not to lose a day nor an hour in redeeming our pledge.

To strike off the shackles which protectionism has imposed upon production and trade, to strike down the trusts and monopolies which it has built up, would do more to open the factories and give relief, and create a demand for the products of mine and farm, than any amount of tinkering with the finances. And for that permanent relief which would do away with industrial depressions, which will end the strife between labor and capital, which will secure to all men their full share in the opportunities offered by nature and the improvements made by an advancing civilization, we can only look to a measure to which the advance of free trade leads, and which is its final culmination—that great measure popularly called the single tax. [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, two men may differ and both be wrong. Our Democratic friends who propose to vote for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law say that the financial disturbance of the country is solely due to the purchasing clause of that law. Our Republican friends who propose to cooperate with them in repealing that law say it is not so much due to the Sherman law as it is to the fear that the Democratic party may tamper with the tariff. I think both are wrong; so three men may differ and none be right. Now, I have a little sympathy for the Republican party in this fight. I am always sympathetic. They say that this House, by the rule which it has agreed upon in the consideration of the Wilson bill, has deposited them "in a cavity." That is not true. The people of this country deposited that side of the House "in a cavity" last November, and we found them there. That is all. [Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, the great question before the House now is whether or not we shall sustain silver as one of the money metals of the country, or whether we propose to put the country absolutely on a gold basis and recognize nothing but gold. But gentlemen on the other side are trying to bring the tariff into this question in order to evade the true issue. I say to you that you will have enough of that before you get done with it later on. Why, Mr. McKinley submitted his tariff proposition to the people of this country three years ago and they repudiated it, and not only repudiated his proposition, but repudiated him as well. Last year your party put Mr. Harrison on the same platform, and I presume you all got on with him, and the whole thing was wiped out and you hardly had a minority left after that fight. Why, we could have elected two Presidents, and I think really we ought to have done it. [Laughter.]

Now, sir, I have only a few things to say right here in this connection. I want to say here and now in answer to the arguments that have been made and gone to the country trying to prove that there is such a thing as a 58-cent standard silver dollar between the two oceans, that there is no such dollar and you have never found it, nor has any other man ever found it, unless it was mutilated—the life punched out of it. You pretend to say that you must have 20 or 24 as the ratio between the two metals. You tell us that that is necessary in order to preserve the parity; but yet you will not accept that, and say that silver can not be maintained at any ratio, and that 20 to 1 is no improvement.

We stand here ready and willing to offer you that ratio if you

do not believe that 16 to 1 will sustain it, in accordance with your construction of the Democratic platform. But you know very well that you would not accept that or anything else we could offer you on that subject. You say that that is worse than 16 to 1, and that you will not vote for free coinage of silver on any ratio.

Now, sir, the country knows well, and you can not deceive them, that this is a refined argument. They know that it is political jugglery and learned nonsense, and nothing else. Experience teaches our people that gold and silver are on a parity, and should be; they know that this Government has declared that the silver dollar shall pay all debts, public and private, and is a tender for every conceivable debt in this country and pays them as readily as gold.

Mr. SNODGRASS. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. CRAWFORD. Yes.

Mr. SNODGRASS. I would like to ask the gentleman's opinion [cries of "Louder"] of the consistency of these people that say we must unconditionally repeal the Sherman act, which means a single gold standard, and yet declare themselves in favor of bimetallic coinage?

Mr. CRAWFORD. Those gentlemen who take that position can answer for themselves to their own constituents. I will not undertake to do so for them. I am not the keeper of their consciences and do not propose to construe platforms for them. I know that in my State the people thoroughly understand that the Democratic party stands now, as we have always stood, for bimetallism, the same position that we have occupied for one hundred years. [Applause.]

Now, gentlemen, what is the use of coming here and pretending to be bimetallists and at the same time profess to be late converts to the ideas that we have seen repudiated in the last election, which is a progressive step to the gold standard, sanctioned and advocated by the Republican party? Why you, the Republicans, do not want to have any more trials at the financial question, do you? You sit here and listen to the leaders of that side of the House, who insist that this is a 58-cent dollar. I heard the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL] say that on yesterday. The Republican party has had the country for thirty years, and comes here and makes excuses now for that dollar of theirs. Sad commentary. We have never indorsed by a single vote a 58-cent dollar, and never will do it. We want honest money and plenty of it.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. HENDERSON of North Carolina. I ask unanimous consent that my colleague have ten minutes longer.

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Now, sir, I disagree with these gentlemen. When they claim that our silver coin is depreciated I say that it may be true that the legislation you have had in the past, considering the efforts put forth to reduce this country to a 58-cent dollar, would warrant the statement, and if the result had been commensurate with the effort you would have it reduced to a 25-cent dollar, although your effort has not been sustained, as you claim.

In spite of legislation, I say, in spite of discrimination the world over, silver, wherever it has been recognized by any government and made legal tender in payment of all debts, has sustained itself. Why, to me it is perfectly absurd, in my democratic way of viewing this question, to think for one moment that there is any danger here of a great inflation of the money of the country because of the coinage of silver.

It is not true. Examine the records of France and other countries in regard to silver, and you will find that the progress that we have made, great as it has been, it will take us another hundred years to give the people of the United States the same per capita of silver that France sustains to-day on par with gold. Then to say that this country, with her 3,000,000 of square miles, with the richest soil and the most progressive people on earth, can not sustain nine or ten dollars per capita in silver when France has $17.95, is absurd, and I think it is a weakling who would contend for such a proposition.

Now, the contention is, Mr. Speaker, that on account of the great discoveries of silver there is danger of inflation. Is that true? Let me give you what Mr. Mulhall, the London statistician, says. In 1600 the ratio of silver to gold in production was 40 tons to 1. In 1700 it was 41 tons to 1. In 1880 it was 15 tons of silver to 1 ton of gold; and yet you stand up here, three hundred years after that time, and say there is danger of an overproduction of silver, when, in comparison with gold, it has fallen off more than 200 per cent in production. I say that silver has not fluctuated in the markets of the world, and the increase here has not been so uncertain as that of gold. Gold fluctuates from nothing to 96 per cent per annum, and silver at no time has ever increased more than 10 per cent per annum. That is the situation exactly.

Oh, yes; there is danger in this 58-cent silver dollar. The danger is that we have not got enough of them; and you pretend that the Sherman law is responsible for the panic. The sole responsibility is with the banks of the country and others who have built up a credit system until it has got so large that the money in reserve will not support their business, and when the people got scared, after the banks began to cry panic! they wanted their money: not gold, but any sort of money. They thought that if the New York Clearing-house Association could not rediscount the collaterals of the banks throughout the country, that they could not pay their debts, and they stepped up to the counters and demanded their own money; and that is the reason the financial crisis has come, and it is not because of lack of confidence on the part of the people in the money of the country, for they are hoarding silver as well as gold.

If it were so, why would not our national bonds, that are going to-day at a premium, be affected? and they are payable in silver as well as in gold. Nobody has doubted the power of silver when the Government has declared that it will pay these debts, and no man can go behind the law and refuse to take it. Now, I say for my people that I think the supreme object of this legislation should be to give our own American people the money with which to transact their business and pay off their debts, and let England, Russia, and Germany, and the balance of the world take care of themselves. I say that we never have had to pay England, or Germany, or France, or any other foreign country, a single dollar of silver at a discount—not one—and we never will have to do it so long as we do our duty here as American representatives legislating for our own people. That is my idea.

Now, Mr. Speaker, we have not enough of this silver. Why, it is already admitted by Secretary Carlisle that men have gone to the Treasury and offered gold in exchange for silver dollar for dollar, and he told them that he did not have it to let them have. Yet there are four thousand tons of silver piled up there in the Treasury and no demand upon it. I think we had better put it into circulation. In 1881 and 1882 $81,000,000 were exchanged for silver at the Treasury, and that continued to be the case until the Secretary of the Treasury refused to receive it.

Now, you see there is nothing in intrinsic value in the sense claimed by gentlemen. It is the debt-paying and purchasing power of money which is important. President Cleveland said in his letter of acceptance that all dollars must be of intrinsic value, of exchangeable purchasing power, and he uses intrinsic and purchasing power interchangeably. Purchasing power and debt-paying power is what we want, and we propose to protect our money and our credit. We want no cheap dollars, we want no depreciated money, and we have not had it.

Now, the only cheap money you have got, and what you are talking about now as a 58-cent dollar is this bullion that has been refused admittance to the mint, and which can find no market anywhere on the face of the earth, and for which there is no demand. But open the mints and let it be coined, and let our Government declare it to be a legal tender, and that it will pay the debts which are burdening the people for lack of money to pay, and there will be no difficulty.

The people have need for more money. Mortgages are piled upon mortgages all over the country, with no hope of relief, nothing in sight, and the Democratic party and the Republican party are juggling together to strike down half the money supply for the future. I mean elements of the two parties. I want to say here that I do not believe the Democratic party is going to do this thing. I believe when the vote is recorded that the record will show that a majority of the Democrats in this House have stood firm and true to the history of their party for a hundred years. If this bill passes it will be by a combination of a minority of Democrats with a majority of Republicans.

I believe that when it comes to a vote in the Senate of the United States, these men who want an unconditional repeal of the Sherman law, and who want to carry us back to where the Republicans started with us in 1873, will find that a majority of the Republican Senators and a minority of the Democrats have joined together there to carry out the pledges of the Democratic party. Why, gentlemen, this is the first opportunity that the Democratic party has had to make a record within the last thirty-three years; the first opportunity to establish the principles and financial system of the Democratic party for thirty years. Here we are struggling and trying to adjust this legislation to a panic, trying to quell a panic. Wait until the panic passes away, and let us legislate so as to prevent panics. That is my theory, and I believe the people of this country will still stand by this idea. Let others do as they will, and let men construe away by refined argument their platform as they may, but you will see silver still hold its place in this country as a money metal. The fight is on.

Mr. Speaker, until times become easier than they are now no party dare to go to the people upon a gold-standard platform. No party has done it in the past, and you all will be too cowardly to do it in the future.

I can not vote for the repeal of the Sherman law without a substitute looking to the free coinage of silver, for the simple reason that it gives us $50,000,000 every year and prevents the contraction of the currency, which must necessarily come about by going to a gold standard and a contraction which would result by the calling in of national bonds.

This $50,000,000 is as good as any money that ever left the mints or came from the Treasury in this country, because these notes when issued are construed to be redeemable in gold, and therefore are as good as gold to transact the business of the country. They get into the hands of the people to pay their debts, and never again will they be presented to the Secretary of the Treasury to be redeemed in gold. After these coin Treasury notes have been redeemed they are reissued and become available as Treasury assets to meet the demands of the Government. If you stop the issue of this $50,000,000 per annum you give it into the hands of the banks to control the volume of currency, and a demand will be made for a new issue of bonds for this purpose; and I will say to you there will be hard times, pressure, stringency, and panics in the money markets just so long as we depend upon this system for a money supply. [Loud applause.]

Mr. LOUD. Mr. Speaker, between the Chief Executive, the bankers, and Congress the country is receiving a pretty hard thrashing. If not already in a deplorable condition, we soon shall be; but I have yet to learn for what purpose we have been called together. It is true the President has told us to repeal the Sherman law and relieve the already stringent financial condition and scarcity of money by further contraction of the currency, if such a course is necessary, which I deny.

It seems wholly unnecessary to entail the extraordinary and useless expense of an extra session of Congress upon the country when the present imperial Administration has, in more than one instance, demonstrated that statutes and laws are but playthings to be set aside at the master's will. And it would seem that the legislative body under our present ruler is a superfluous adjunct of government. It matters not that monarchs have lost their heads for less cause, for it is well known a Democratic ruler is above the law. As early as May 5, when the present Administration had been hardly two months upon the throne, the act of May 5, 1892, known as the Chinese exclusion act, was nullified and utterly defied, and up to the present time no attempt has been made to enforce it.

This is a subject with which I propose to deal hereafter, but in the present condition of our country I am too patriotic a citizen to intrude even the criticism of this disregard of law. But to bring us here at this hour to repeal the Sherman law is the merest folly and has about it a tinge of humor which provokes a smile upon the face of us all. Why, the present Administration has already not only overridden but in fact repealed it. The act instructs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month. Has it been done? No. It is true some has been purchased, but if the master has the power to purchase less than the amount specified by law, even by one ounce, he surely has the power to refrain from purchasing a single ounce on the pretext that the imaginary market price in London or Dahomey is lower than the offered price in our own land.

So in all sincerity, Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, why need we tarry here longer? Let's adjourn while yet we may with honor to ourselves, before we are dissolved and driven in disgrace from the legislative halls of the nation. Some of the gentlemen on the other side have spent a great deal of time defining the Democratic constitution, commonly known as the Chicago platform, and have used the acuteness of good lawyers (which we knew them to be), with the evident purpose of easing their conscience, while they are permitted to obey the mandate of the ruler and strike a deadly blow at silver.

If the gentlemen are so anxious to follow their platform, why do they not demand, as the price of desertion of the silver cause, the repeal of the 10 per cent tax on State banks, a fundamental and well defined principle of the Chicago bible? I use the word "bible" in the sense that it is capable of such construction as its advocates may place upon it. They will probably answer, "Oh, I am sound on that, but we will take it up hereafter." I would ask the gentlemen in all sincerity if they believe the so-called hard money Democrats, together with this side of the House, united against them, and at such a time when the rules of this body will not be as favorable for legislation as the acuteness of the majority has now made them, can accomplish this object which should be so near their hearts? I think not. Why not proceed to relieve the oppressed and down-trodden people from those onerous burdens of the robber tariff, and then fix your currency to fit the changed condition of things? Probably then you will need nothing but gold. Possibly you will need free coinage at 1 to 1. No man can foretell; but I honestly believe you have hold of the wrong end of the dilemma. Let me urge you, at least, to take up some subject upon which you can agree, and one about which you think you know something. Be honest with yourselves, and relieve the country from this terrible suspense of uncertainty.

I have found it most valuable in life when engaged in a contest to retain what advantage I have, rather than throw such advantage away and trust to fortune to ultimately win; so I would say to the friends of silver, lose not the advantage you have, for as sure as you do you will fall into the hands of the Philistines. Within the past year Wall street, the great financial center of this country, and its inner core, the stock market, have been agitated and upset by a series of events, which influence has extended itself until it has embraced every corner of our fair land.

First came in the spring of 1892 excessive floods, damaging the wheat, cotton, and corn crops. Then in July and August the Homestead and Buffalo strikes and riots. Then the specter of cholera. Next came the campaign of 1892, which usually checks business. Then the result of the election, which meant a reversal of the tariff policy of the Government. Then came the figures of an adverse balance of trade, due chiefly to Europe's poverty and our own prosperity.

Then the scandalous collapse of the whisky trust; the insolvency of the Reading Railroad within two months after the issuance of a favorable balance sheet; and, finally, by the bursting of the disgraceful speculative cordage company bubble, and several failures, but only among brokers identified with audacious manipulations. Does not this chapter of horrors give a nightmare to the financiers who have lived through the these experiences without harrowing up the specter of the Sherman law to add to the condition?

Speculators are imprudent and ofttimes foolhardy under any and all currency systems, as past history shows. Such individuals, while digging pits for themselves, often undermine confidence and bring ruin and disaster upon the innocent and guilty in a common crash. The cause of this acute form of semipanic that has now embraced the whole country is not silver legislation. Its immediate cause was the reckless and daring conspiracy of a group of speculators who combined to work up to fictitious heights the shares of certain industrial corporations, of whose real value the public knew nothing.

It is urged by those unfriendly to silver, and who favor a single standard, that our currency legislation has rendered such a condition possible. But let me remind them that the most disastrious bull speculation the world has ever witnessed occurred twenty-five years prior to and immediately following the Baring failure in 1890. Surely our friends can not lay the blame in that instance to silver legislation. No, not even to the Sherman act, for our friend from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] tells us that England has a model system of currency, the home and the father of monometalism.

These events exercised such an influence over foreign sentiment that speculators and investors were compelled to relinquish American securities to care for their own unmarketable rubbish. They have continued to sell, on a reduced scale, and doubtless still are dribbling out some small holdings, and may be hesitating about repurchasing on account of the silver scare. The fact still remains that their largest sales were made under the pressure of other circumstances. There has never been a time when English capital could not find vast quantities of good gold-bearing American bonds if it felt in the humor to invest in anything.

She already holds many of them, but she also holds a great many railway shares whose dividends are payable in currency; notably, the New York Central, Lake Shore, Burlington, etc. In connection with railroad securities, strange as it may appear, the West Shore fours, payable in currency, is the highest bond on the American market. If the Sherman act should be repealed without some compensatory legislation, how can that fact prevent or protect our business interests from the perils of competition? The threatened revision of our present tariff in accordance with Democratic professions still remains to intimidate and stifle every industry.

Every manufacturer, importer, or owner of goods is naturally waiting breathlessly the result of the proposed change. Prudence demands that the proposed change find all with the smallest possible stock of goods on hand. I make these statements in a purely nonpartisan sense, without attempting to discuss what the ultimate results of such reductions in the tariff may be, only desiring to show that silver legislation or the Sherman law is not the disease with which we are attacked. The large crops of 1891 made our farmers feel rich; at the same time they knew of foreign shortages, and without waiting to realize the

enormous contemplated profits, they began to gamble on the future and to spend what they thought their crops would bring in the market.

Many were not satisfied with the first prices made, but held on, buying liberally of manufactured goods; silk dresses for their wives, pianos for their daughters, new carpets for their parlors, and in this manner continued to anticipate too much. The result is that they are not in as good a condition financially as they should be, and must now retrench.

The immense stocks of wheat and cotton on hand, which have to be carried by the banks at receiving points, is another cause of the stringency of the money market. Bradstreet's figures of the total stock of wheat in the United States and Canada on May 1, 1893, was 99,247,000 bushels as against 51,870,000 on May 1, 1892, and 37,875,000 on May 1, 1891. This large accumulation of wheat is not due to the Sherman law or silver legislation. It is not held at high prices, due to an inflated currency.

Concerning the peculiar action of our recent heavy export of gold, it may not be amiss to consider what has been taking place abroad. The policy of the great Continental powers has for several years dictated the accumulation of large sums of gold, simply as a war measure, and are therefore practically withdrawn from commercial uses—Germany, in substituting gold for silver; France, in adding, since 1880, $130,000,000; Austria, in accumulating $147,000,000 for the purposes of redemption of her paper currency, to say nothing of the large sum sent to the Argentine Republic and Australia—and let me say to my single-standard friends that continental Europe, upon a gold standard as she is, is no happier than our alarmist brethren would have us believe this unhappy country to be. If England is surrendering our securities, it is not through fear of silver or repudiation, but to protect her own shaky interests in the Australian colonies and the Argentine Republic.

If we had not added to our circulating medium our credit system would have broken down in the attempt to receive the mass of securities forced upon us by these causes.

France, with all her copper and Panama troubles, has been the most calm and prosperous of them all, yet it is but a few weeks since authority was given the Bank of France to increase its circulation by 500,000,000 francs. The French are the best financiers of Europe; they at all times keep an even keel, while England is trying to conduct her great commerce with an insufficient supply of currency, being driven to irregularities in the interest rate and dangerous expansion of credits.

But we are told by these single-standard advocates that the most serious difficulty we will have to confront is that the Sherman law has been driving and will continue to drive the gold out of the country. Well, let us see what has been done in that direction, and even the humblest mind can understand the past, although shrewd financiers may not foretell the future.

Our silver currency, to the extent of $150,000,000, has merely filled the vacuum occasioned by the retirement of national bank circulation. The volume of these notes on July 1, 1878, was $324,000,000, but on May 1, 1893, it was $171,000,000. While we have been adding to our silver circulation we have also increased our gold supply. The estimate of the Secretary of the Treasury on July 1, 1873, in round numbers, gives gold $245,000,000. The estimate by the same authority on May 1, 1893, was $516,000,000, and an estimate which I saw but a few days since places it at $646,000,000. I will here append report of the Acting Director of the Mint:

Acting Director of the Mint Preston has prepared a table of the monetary systems and approximate stocks of money in the aggregate and per capita in the principal countries of the world. This table shows that the aggregate stock of gold is $3,582,606,000, the aggregate stock of silver is $4,042,700,000, and the aggregate uncovered paper is $2,635,873,000. The stock of gold possessed by the principal countries is given as follows:

United States	$604,000,000
Great Britain	550,000,000
France	800,000,000
Germany	600,000,000
Russia	250,000,000

The silver stock of these same countries is given as follows:

United States	$615,000,000
Great Britain	100,000,000
France	700,000,000
Germany	211,000,000
Russia	60,000,000

Thus it will be seen that the assertions made by alarmists have no foundation whatever. Our stock of gold is constantly increasing in a sufficient ratio, and no nation on earth can get it so long as the balance is on the right side of the ledger. A word and I shall close. I can not support either of the measures presented to this House. I can not vote for the repeal of the Sherman law, not because I believe it to be the soundest and best legislation, but believing as I do that for temporary uses it is safe. That none of the present conditions are due to or can be honestly laid at its door, but wholly to other legitimate and illegitimate causes. I shall oppose its repeal until such time as cooler, safer, and more sound judgment may actuate this body and the country.

I shall use it as the only weapon in our power to force from single-standard advocates such legislation as justice to the people and our country demands. Let our delegates to the monetary conference return in November and see if better and wiser counsel will not prevail. It can not be that England will turn a deaf ear to her long-suffering people. They will soon demand freedom from the money power. Firm in that conviction and also in the faith that whatever ratio may be arbitrarily fixed by us can be but experimental, and possibly subject to change to-morrow, I shall content myself to wait until such time as judgment and reason assert themselves. [Applause.]

Mr. HAGER. Mr. Speaker, I have listened with attention and much interest to the discussion of the measures that have been introduced by members on the other side of this Chamber, which, they claim, will bring relief to the terrible and startling conditions in which the Administration now finds the business and industrial interests of this country. I do not expect at this time to enter into an extended discussion of my views upon the measures, nor do I flatter myself that I could inform members as to what their duty should be at this time. Every man must settle this question in the parliament of his own conscience and then vote as his own judgment directs for the best interests of his constituents and the country.

The propositions to be voted upon have been submitted to members on this side of the Chamber in the form in which the majority have seen proper to have the vote taken—not even so much as consulting the minority as to how the propositions should be voted upon, or granting to them the right to offer amendments. We are left with no alternative but to vote for the substitute and the amendments that have already been prepared, or against them, and for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman bill, or against it—only this and nothing more. For one, I desire to enter my most earnest protest against that way of doing business, and to express my surprise that the Democratic party should present such a measure at such a time in such a way, and then, with unblushing effrontery and with a spirit of "I am holier than thou art," demand that the minority shall be nonpartisan and patriotic.

I do not pretend to speak for others on this side of the Chamber, but for myself. I united with the Republican party because I regarded patriotism and Republicanism as synonymous terms, and I have never had reason to change or amend my views; and, after listening to all of this discussion, I see that we are not asked to vote to help the business and financial conditions that are threatening to overthrow the country, but to aid in widening the breach that now seems to exist in the organization known as the Democratic party, which breach, if it could be made permanent, would be a better and more satisfactory assurance to the people and the business and financial interests of the entire country than the assurance that the balance of trade was largely in our favor and hundreds of millions of gold flowing to our shores from Europe. The truth is that the people have not lost faith in the country, nor in the currency of the country, but that they never had an abiding and continuing faith in the Democratic party.

There was never a Presidential election when the country was as prosperous, when wages were as remunerative, when labor was as contented, when factories were running under such pressure, as on the day of the election in November last. On that day Harrison was defeated, Cleveland was elected, and both branches of Congress turned over to the Democratic party—the first experiment that the people had thought safe to make in that direction in a period of thirty years. I will frankly admit that I was astounded when the news was flashed over the country announcing the result of that election, but I do not think my astonishment, however great, would compare with the present grief and disappointment of a majority of the people who aided in bringing about such a result. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The platform adopted by the Democratic convention in Chicago in June of 1892 is familiar to every member on this floor, and the campaign made upon that platform is yet fresh in the minds of the people. I now recall, in part, the speech that was made by Mr. Cleveland when the committee selected by that convention notified him of his nomination. He said, referring to the chief and most important plank in the platform adopted by that convention:

Turning our eyes to the plain people of the land, we see them burdened as consumers by a tariff system which unjustly and relentlessly demands of them, in the purchase of the necessaries and comforts of life, an amount scarcely met by the wages of hard and steady toil, while the money thus wrung from them tends to build up and increase the fortunes of those for whom this injustice was perpetrated.

And behold, we find Congress convened in extraordinary session within five months after the President had taken his oath of office. For the purpose of repealing a measure that he indicated

was robbing labor for the benefit of the rich and powerful? No; but for the avowed and expressed purpose of repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman bill, and thus nullifying one of the principal planks in the Democratic platform. We were told by every Democratic orator from Maine to California, and from the Lakes of the North to the Southern Gulf, during the campaign of 1892, that the McKinley bill was the cause of all our ills, and that if they could be intrusted with full power in the Federal Government they would at once repeal that hated and malicious measure, and thus bring happiness and prosperity to all of their fellow-citizens.

The people listened to your appeals, they believed your statements, and they returned a verdict in your favor. It would be harsh and unjust for me to say that I have no sympathy for the people in their dire distress, and the general bankruptcy and want that now surrounds them, but the truth is they had no reason to accept your statements—they should have known better; for that party has not made a prophecy in the last thirty years that has come to pass, or a promise that they have kept or intended to keep. Their prophets and their promises are exactly alike.

You came to the people in 1890, immediately after the adjournment of the Fifty-first Congress, and you promised the people that if they would elect you to Congress that you would at once repeal that damnable, that infamous measure, as you mildly termed the McKinley bill. They accepted your statements and returned you to the Fifty-second Congress with the largest majority that was ever given to a party in the popular branch, I believe. You were here in session for months and months, and did you repeal the bill, or did you make one honest effort at repeal? You know that you did not. You began nibbling and nagging and pecking away at the bill, and had just about as much effect upon its colossal strength as a lean and hungry hound would in baying at the moon or a buzzard pecking away at an Egyptian monument. [Laughter.]

There it stands now, as it did through the first and second sessions of the Fifty-second Congress, calmly looking down upon its maligners and threatened destroyers, and has brought more of prosperity and blessings and independence to the people of America than any revenue law ever before placed upon a Federal statute book. It stands as Grant stood at Appomattox, calmly dictating terms of surrender to the nations of the world. [Applause.] And now, what kind of a spectacle do you present to us, when Congress has assembled at the call of the President in this extraordinary session? Do we find a party, united and harmonious, coming into these Halls—falling upon each others' necks and mingling tears of joy over their return to absolute power in every branch of the Government? Hardly.

The gentleman from North Carolina who has just taken his seat said that the Democratic party had had votes enough in the last election to have elected two Presidents, and he did not know but they ought to have done it. I think you ought to have done it, gentlemen, because then you might have had one President who would have interpreted this plank of your platform in the way that one wing of the party understands it, and another President who would interpret it in the way to suit the other wing of the Democratic party. [Laughter.]

There does not seem to be that perfect harmony among the elements composing the Democracy that inspired them in the campaigns of 1890 and 1892. They seem to be hopelessly divided upon a plank in their platform that was but little discussed in my part of the State last fall, and each man seems to have an interpretation of his own, while there can be and should be, by any fair and honest man, but one interpretation given to that plank, viz: For the coinage of both gold and silver without discrimination against either metal.

But I said a moment ago that the Democratic party was not a pledge-keeping party, and in support of that statement, and as part of the evidence on that proposition, I desire to submit to the entire country—North and South, East and West—the arguments that have gone into the RECORD, made by members of the Democratic party on the floor of this Chamber since this discussion was first opened by the gentleman from Maryland. He seemed to be very zealous to carry out the financial plank of their platform, but was just as certain as the sun shines in the heavens that it could not be done; but I will venture the assertion that the distinguished gentleman did not argue thus before the people of his district in the campaign of 1892, and if he did not—and his fellow-citizens had the right to believe that the platform meant just what it said in plain, terse Anglo-Saxon—then the Democratic members of this House, as the gentleman from Georgia so well and truly said, obtained the votes of the people by false pretenses, and it is a well-recognized principle in law that a man shall not profit by his own wrong.

But the gentleman from Missouri, it would seem, is the most terribly deceived of all. He honestly believed that the President was elected and power given to his party for the express purpose of repealing the McKinley bill and the Sherman law, and enacting a free-coinage bill; and he gave good reasons for the faith that was in him, but he now wakes up to the terrible realization that he has been tricked on both planks. The deceivers have finally themselves been deceived.

I have but little sympathy for the gentleman, for I should judge he was born a Democrat—a man of grood grasp and quick comprehension—and who has been a hard worker in the ranks of the Democracy for lo! these many years. He should have known their history well, and had no business to be deceived by any promise or pledge that party has made in the past thirty years; but it is better to learn late than to have never learned. I judge from his argument that the gentleman's confidence in that organization is not being ground out between the upper and nether millstones, but is being pressed out between the two planks of that platform, the one known by the fond and endearing term of tariff reform and the other as free silver.

I listened with interest to the warning that he gave to his own party, when he told them in his most earnest and emphatic way that the party had reached the point in its history when there was to be a division of the sheep from the goats; a dividing of the faithful from the unfaithful; of the servants of the people from the servants of the money power; of those who bow at the shrine of gold and those who worship at the dual shrine of gold and silver, and gave them due and timely notice that it would depend upon which course they took whether or not he would be longer a member of that organization. They are most certainly divided—upon what ratio as to numbers none possessing less than infinite knowledge can tell.

But I shall watch with not a little concern the attitude of the gentleman as regards his party after the vote has been recorded on the measures now pending before this House. If sincere in his statements made to the members of his own party, and I have no reason to doubt his sincerity or his honesty, then I shall most certainly expect him to sever his political relations with a fair minority, if not the majority, of his party, and organize a party composed of members on that side of the Chamber who entertain the same views on the money plank of the platform that the gentleman expressed in his speech on the floor of this House in opening the discussion for his wing of the party.

Mr. Speaker, since this discussion opened we have heard the desires of the bankers, the boards of trade, the bondholders, the money-loaners, and the creditor classes generally; but there is a very large class of men found in every State of this broad land that we have not heard from—the men who raise corn, and wheat, and oats, and barley, and hogs, and cattle, and cotton, and rice, and tobacco. They have been too busy to speak, or too modest to be heard, or have depended upon the good faith of parties to carry out fairly and honestly the pledges made to them in the platform and on the stump.

But be not deceived; they are not mocked. If you falter in your plighted faith with them, then there will be a time, and that right speedily, when they will act; and when they exercise their right through the silent medium of the ballot, which should execute the freeman's will in every district in every State of this Union, as lightning does the will of God, then there will be weeping and wailing in the camp of those that kept the word of promise to the ear but broke it to the hope. I do not believe that the Sherman bill has scarcely the remotest effect upon the present appalling conditions in which we now find the country, and my reasons are that the Sherman bill has now been a law for more than three years, and had been upon the statute books for two years when the convention of the Democracy assembled in Chicago in June, 1892.

You there adopted your platform of faith, the chief article of which was the repeal of the unconstitutional McKinley bill, and in favor of the repeal of the Sherman bill, and "for the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and for the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal," etc. Under the threat and the promise contained in that platform the prosperity of the country continued up to and including the day when the country was startled with the news that the Democracy had been successful and was to have control of the legislative and executive branches of this Government.

From that time up to the present hour business men and business interests, generally, began to lose confidence in themselves, and in each other, and what little confidence they had in the Democratic party; and that confidence has not been restored by reason of the assembling together of this body of the representatives of the people, and, in my humble judgment, it will not be restored, but present conditions, much aggravated, should there be an unconditional repeal of the Sherman bill and no favorable legislation for silver. The fact is, the entire people now realize that the Democratic party is in power. They could know that

from conditions, if in no other way, and they see the leaders and representatives of that party absolutely failing to come together and agreeing to any policy among themselves.

With no Moses to lead them or direct them, but a Moses from Georgia rising from his seat in this House simply to condemn them, they stand paralyzed and utterly helpless before all of the great questions that now confront them, without a remedy for any ill or a balm for any wound, and the people cry out, "Is there no balm in the Democratic party, are there no physicians there?" And I answer that there are physicians galore, of every school, of every faith, and of every shade of opinion, but if there is any balm they do not seem to have the ability to apply it. And the "unconstitutional" and "robber" McKinley bill yet stands with "knife at the throat" of labor, and in the same attitude that it has held to the industries of this country since its adoption.

You promised the people if they would intrust you with power, and place in your hands the reins of Government, that you would bring them prosperity, happiness, and plenty. They now realize that they had them in abundance before the election. They listened and gave you their confidence and their votes, and in less than nine months from the day of your election they have, as a result, adversity, misery, and poverty.

The banner of prosperity that was turned over to you has been changed into a weapon of destruction; men out of employment, factories closing down, banks failing, all business paralyzed and financial ruin rising to face us at every turn, and millions of men ready to take the road as tramps, and people cry out in amazement, "Is this the country in which we were living one short year ago!" and I answer, It is, but under entirely different conditions, and with an Administration elected in favor of tariff for revenue only, but which Administration seems now to be first in favor of the demonetization of silver.

The present demand seems to be for a speedy remedy that will restore the confidence of the people, and I have one to suggest, a little less humiliating to the Democratic party than the one proposed by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR], and the remedy is in the possession and control of the Democratic party, and if they will but use it they will be entitled to all of the honor—and that remedy is to convince the people of this country that you are as utterly and hopelessly divided upon the interpretation of the tariff plank of your platform as upon the plank now under discussion, and, my word for it, confidence would be restored, labor would be again employed, and prosperity and happiness, and business confidence would again return to bless our native land. [Loud and continued applause on Republican side.]

I have listened with attention to the arguments made that a repeal of the Sherman bill would restore business confidence and bring about an international monetary conference with the nations of Europe. The advocates of such a measure are earnest and sincere, no doubt, but I have not been persuaded that the results claimed would follow in either instances. Did I believe for one moment that the Sherman bill was the cause of the present financial distress and want of business confidence that is so widespread throughout the entire nation, I would not hesitate for a single moment to vote for its unconditional repeal, although in so doing I am satisfied that my vote would be against the judgment of a large majority of the people whom I have the honor to represent.

But upon this very important question I would prefer to be right rather than to be returned to this Chamber any number of terms; although I believe that I appreciate the honor of a seat on this floor, and the advantages that come to a man by associating with eminent men from every part of this Union as much as any member can. Or could I be persuaded that the repeal of the Sherman bill would aid in bringing about an international monetary conference, I should not hesitate for one moment to give my vote for such repeal.

But, Mr. Speaker, I am satisfied that the repeal of the Sherman law would make the conditions in which we now find ourselves much worse, and, instead of helping the country, it would merely deter it in overcoming bad conditions. I can not understand the logic of those who reason that the demonetization of silver by this Government would force the nations of Europe to a monetary conference. We are the only nation in the world that produces silver and gold in large quantities, producing, I believe, about 41 per cent of the silver and 31 per cent of the gold of the world, and it does seem to me that this nation should be the last nation to strike a blow at either gold or silver, but that it should exert every power and resource at its command to maintain the use of both metals.

In other words, we have a greater interest in bimetallism than any other nation or any other people in the civilized world. If England could have transferred to her our silver mines, a proposition made to her statesmen, as we have had made to us in this Chamber, to demonetize silver would be met with derision and contempt. England looks after English interests and English welfare alone. She always has and always will, and I respect England for so doing, and would commend her example to the people of my own country as worthy of imitation. England adopted the single gold standard nearly eighty years ago, and consulted her own interest when she did it. And as England and the United States are now the two great rivals for the commerce of the world it seems to me it would be the height of folly for us to dishonor and disgrace a precious metal that we produce so largely as silver, and which would take the lead in the fight for commercial supremacy if we will but give it an equal chance with gold. Do this and the contest for commercial supremacy is decided, the battle already won. [Applause.]

Many of those who urge the repeal of the Sherman bill admit that the present troubles can not be traced to the operation of that measure, but base their action on the assumption that it will relieve the minds of the people and thus bring about a return of confidence. For one, I am not here to help enact laws against imaginary ills. We are here to represent intelligent constituencies, who do not expect or ask us to strike at phantoms.

Mr. Speaker, as the measures are at present presented for our action, and as at present advised, I shall vote against the substitute and the amendment proposed, and against the bill for the repeal of the Sherman act. I thank you, gentlemen, for your attention. [Applause.]

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I desire to supplement my remarks made in the opening of this debate by sending to the Clerk's desk to be read some extracts from business letters which I have received. I wish to say, with reference to these letters, that they represent large houses, doing a business of millions. One of these concerns employs, I think, a thousand or more men.

The Clerk read as follows:

[Extract from letter received from Messrs. H. J. Baker & Brother, 93 William street, New York City.]

We trust that Congress will not do anything to hamper the repeal of the silver-purchasing act. As soon as this is repealed we think that it would be for the good of the country to have Congress adjourn. Our ideas are that the business situation of the country is like a sick child, which having stood a terrible strain, is extremely weak and can not bear much more without serious results; therefore, after the repeal of the silver-purchasing act is done, the best thing, we should think, for Congress to do would be to adjourn and leave the other matters for consideration after the business community have sufficiently recuperated from their present strain, so that they can stand another strain if necessary. If Congress continues to tinker with the silver bill, make compromises, etc., after which they go on with the tariff, etc., we think the result to the manufacturers and mercantile interests of the country will be very serious, and we would be very fearful of its termination.

While the repeal of the silver-purchase clause is important, we feel with you that threatened tariff legislation is very largely responsible for the bad state of affairs, and the closing up and shutting down of various factories. Take, for example, our own factory, which we could not run for a day without the protection afforded by the tariff, as it would be absolutely impossible for us to compete against the cheap labor of India. We, of course, have to go on from hand to mouth, not knowing what the future may be, and we are only one of the numerous manufacturers in every part of the country who must be affected, more or less, in the same way.

[The following is an extract from a letter received from Messrs. Knudson, Paterson & Co., 134 Front street, New York City, dated August 12, 1893].

Hope that you will bring those advocates of silver to book as soon as possible, for the whole country is suffering as it never suffered before.

[The following is an extract from a letter received from Mr. John H. Parks, treasurer Atlas Tack Company, 508 Sears Building, Boston, Mass.]

The gravity of the financial and business situation is conceded by all authorities, irrespective of party, to be without parallel in the history of this country. To confront a tariff revision on Democratic lines is bad enough, but selling values of merchandise are so low, and the improbability of a new tariff schedule being put in force before January, 1895, is so great, that the business world might worry along under that incubus, and at least do something, if not much, but so long as the Government continues its present undertaking to buy the silver product of the country with notes payable in gold, while providing no supply of gold with which to redeem the notes, this "fright" will remain, for it appears inevitable that the Government must, in due course, redeem the notes in silver. Were it not for the sound-money Republicans in Congress (and we of New England may well be proud of our delegation), I fear President Cleveland would have but faint hopes of securing "repeal." What pæan of relief would arise throughout the land if Congress would simply repeal and adjourn; they would even forgive it, if need be, for postponing legislation to authorize banks to issue bills based on Government bonds at par.

Mr. PICKLER. I would like to ask the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE] a question.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman from Massachusetts yield?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir.

Mr. PICKLER. As these letters from different sources in regard to the monetary situation are presented by the gentleman as an argument for the gold theory, I want to ask him whether it is true as alleged that the national banks of Boston are now refusing to pay depositors when they apply for their money, except at a premium of 1 to 3 per cent?

Mr. MORSE. I will say in answer to the gentleman from South Dakota that the banks of Boston pay their creditors in checks just as they receive them.

Mr. PICKLER. You mean clearing-house certificates.

Mr. MORSE. I mean just what I say.

Mr. PICKLER. In the West when our banks can not meet their obligations they go down and the Government sends out a receiver to take charge of them; but in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia the banks are allowed, it seems, to meet their obligations in clearing-house certificates.

Mr. MORSE. Our banks, Mr. Speaker, receive checks from their depositors, and they pay them back in checks.

Mr. PICKLER. Does not this account for some part of our present trouble—that the banks are refusing to pay depositors their money, and are holding on to it unless a premium is paid?

Mr. MORSE. I do not think it does. Our merchants and manufacturers are able to meet their obligations with the checks they receive from the banks. There are on the face of the earth no more high-toned, honorable, patriotic men than the bankers of Boston, and they have done what in them lies to tide over the present appalling business situation.

Why, Mr. Speaker, I have heard these same bankers of Boston denounced on this floor as "gold bugs," "Shylocks," "extortioners." As a representative of Massachusetts I am stung by these cruel, unjust epithets, as applied to the bankers of Boston. They may not have as many votes as some other class; but, Mr. Speaker, who builds your Western railroads? Who builds your lofty buildings, whose summits pierce the sky?

In the dark days of the war, when the Government wanted money, who responded to the call and poured out their treasure like water to save us a nation among the nations of the earth? When fire or famine or flood overtakes any section of our country, to whom do they go for contributions and relief? When the yellow wings of the pestilence flap themselves in the Southern sky who contributes of her treasure to relieve the distress? What city gives more than any other city? Why, these same "extortioners," "gold bugs," and "Shylocks," the bankers of Boston.

I repeat, Mr. Speaker, more honorable, patriotic business men do not walk God's green earth than these bankers of Boston, that I have heard unjustly derided and denounced on this floor.

And at no time in the history of the country has their patriotism, and public spirit, and helpfulness to the great business interests of the country been more thoroughly demonstrated and shown than since the present appalling financial situation has come upon us.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. TALBERT] mentions New Jersey as one of the nine States that have been able to save much more than their proportion of wealth. This discussion has taken an aspect that makes this an accusation and her prosperity a crime.

New Jersey did her full share in founding this nation and she has done her full share to maintain it. She owes it nothing, but that loyal, patriotic support she has always given it. The battle monuments on her soil commemorate events and achievements among the most glorious of the Revolution, and the names and deeds of her sailors, soldiers, and statesmen illumine the nation's history. Her people now are intelligent, industrious, enterprising, and energetic, and as moral as other people. They maintain as many churches and schoolhouses per capita as any other people, and more than most people. They may differ from some other people in that they still believe industry and enterprise are, as heretofore, essentials to prosperity, and do not look upon the politician (generally in the kindergarten stage upon great questions), with a volume of Walker on finance under one arm and a volume of Smith's Wealth of Nations under the other, as an immediate or promising source of wealth.

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. EVERETT] has called attention to the fact that each member seems to regard his constituents as the people. Well, sir, to the member, in an important sense, his constituents are and ought to be the people. Whatever fiction enters into the assumption is the most justfiable of all the fiction in this debate. Like the honorable gentleman I claim that the people of the Second New Jersey district merit at least as great consideration as the people of any other district. This district lies largely upon that belt which eminent agricultural authorities have declared to be the garden spot of the United States—in variety of agricultural products, in production per acre, of quantity or quality, unexcelled if equaled. Our farmers have given the country a part of its best stock, and, until I heard the accusations that have been made in this debate, I believed the biggest hogs grown on the continent. I still believe our hogs heaviest and most valuable.

Our manufactures exceed in value of products and the employment they give to sturdy men those of States who are teaching us laws of industry, trade, and finance on this floor. The hum of our machinery is the music by which we have marched to the prosperity we are twitted of, and it sings the song of peace and comfort to thousands of intelligent families in happy homes, and will continue to if you in rashness do not doom it to silence.

We have more than 60 miles of seacoast dotted—filled—with resorts, deeply affected by the prosperity and depression of the country. Navigators who still conduct our commerce and a hardy race of skilled boatmen whose immediate future prospects depend as largely as does that of anybody else upon a restoration of confidence and the revival of trade.

I am going to vote for the repeal of that which is called "the purchasing clause of the Sherman law:"

1. Because, so far as I have heard, the people whom I try to represent want it repealed. All the petitions and letters that have reached me from the district, with one exception, have spoken as one voice for repeal.

2. Because the nations are not coining silver. India, producing one-third of the world's supply, British Columbia, a large producer, and all the other silver miners in the world see no governmental market for silver but in the United States. Under these conditions foreign silver will, if it has not, find its way to the Treasury as fast as the Treasury can absorb it by taking 4,500,000 ounces per month. Pardon me if I express a fear that conditions will be created under which foreign silver finds preference at the Treasury. Under the act declaring the purpose of the Government to keep the two metals at a parity and under the practice at the Treasury these silver certificates, issued for foreign silver, are redeemable in gold. The clause therefore becomes a machine that converts the foreign silver, for the owner, into American gold, and does not leave the redeemed certificate in circulation. The gold is lost and the circulation is not increased. It is well said by many honorable gentlemen here, if upon other grounds, that this clause, if left to stand, means ultimately the single silver standard in the United States. If we turn our gold into silver—exchange for silver, to be exact—what other standard can we have?

3. Because the Government, except to supply some need of the Government, has no right to purchase the productions of one class of producers at the exclusion of all other productions. This objection must have additional emphasis in a case where no discrimination is made in favor of the home producer of the commodity: for instance, if our Populist friends find themselves able to establish the subtreasury for the taking of their grain they will hardly go so far as to make the provisions include the wheat of India.

4. Because the people in the business centers of the country, for reasons, as I believe, that I have intimated, in part at least, do not believe that this Government will be able to maintain the parity between the two metals. They believe with the President that the purchasing clause has been used as a device to drain the country of her gold.

Gentlemen tell us here that it was at the option of the Government to redeem the silver certificates in either metal. Well, that seems to be the letter of the law. Admit all they say about it and the answer is that the Government redeems in gold and not in silver. They tell us then that that is a wrong administration of the law—admit that too, if you please, and what is gained? Do they promise us a reform in the administration of the law? Does anybody promise a change in the construction of the law, or the practice under it, at the Treasury? Is it desired to retain the clause simply as a test of endurance between themselves, the President, and the people? The endurance of the people is being sufficiently tested. They want no added tests at this time.

But, sir, the charge of wrong administration in the matter of redeeming the certificates in gold is not proven. Congress put a construction on the so-called Sherman law, by a declaration in the law. It declared it to be the purpose to maintain a parity between the two metals. Would any other administration of the law maintain the declared object? The Treasury was confronted by the solemn declaration of Congress and the awful obligation it imposed upon the Government. Did any free-silver man object to that declaration and the obligation it imposed? Democrats did not vote for it because they want to stand before some sections of the country as in favor of free coinage.

In this debate little attention has been given to the nature of the obligation which the pledge to maintain the two metals at a parity imposed. Every dollar of silver that has circulated under a statutory pledge of the Government to maintain it on a parity with gold has been backed by the Government as the greenback never was, and with a more burdensome and difficult obligation on the Government than any government bond ever imposed. No silver dollar ever depended on its value, nor the power and effect of being money that passed under such a declaration. When the Government issued greenbacks they bore the simple promise of the Government to pay them—at no fixed date. The Government bond is an obligation only to pay a fixed sum at a fixed time. In either case the Government assumed no obligation of maintaining the price of either. The fate of their current value was committed to the public faith in the Government's ability to pay—the one some time, the other at maturity. They might, as the greenback did, sink low in price, but no obligation of the Government was violated; national honor was not tarnished by a broken pledge.

There was absolutely no obligation to maintain the price of either note or bond—that was entirely at the holder's risk. But in the case of the silver dollar and certificate the obligation of the nation is to maintain its parity with gold every day—every hour—all the time—in prosperity and panic, and through all conditions and emergencies. Could obligation be more burdensome or more dangerous? What other circulating medium ever received such support. If the silver dollar requires such an obligation it is

a dangerous thing. If it does not require it, the obligation is a dangerous thing. I like silver money, but I don't cherish it as I do the integrity of the Government. I don't want it supported by an obligation that is a perpetual menace to the nation's financial honor and stability.

Mr. Speaker, some gentlemen grow merry and sarcastic over the idea that confidence and lack of it play an important part in panics and general financial disaster, but they change no natural laws by raillery or sarcasm. Confidence deposits and circulates money, and without it man hoards. Confidence leads to enterprise, and purchases, and business. When it departs, enterprise and business depart with it, and their activity is succeeded by that of the collector and the sheriff.

The purchasing clause of the Sherman law may not be, as many believe it is not, the cause of a public condition void of business or financial confidence.

But the financier (for his purpose, if you will) has told the country it is. The Democratic party (for its purpose, if you will) has declared it is. Financial authorities, upon their theories, have told the country it is. The country largely has believed, and this belief, if not the clause, has destroyed confidence. It is gone.

Well, sir, the financiers will not retract, the Democratic party (just now at any rate) will not retract, the financial authorities will not change their convictions, and what is left but to try to undo the serious mischief which the belief, whether right or wrong, has done. For myself I believe the path of duty leads to the effort to restore immediate confidence in business circles. The East wants it, I know the West needs it, and the South would profit by it. I shall tread that path no matter how often it is demonstrated and it has been demonstrated that the vapor of coming changes created financial disease and that party necessity made it necessary to diagnose it hydrophobia, and to find a mad dog, and one whose whelping had Republican consent; and though I confess the case would have stood better if the dog had been killed on suspicion on the 8th or 9th of August than it does after all the political veterinarians have given their reasons for the diagnosis, still I am going to help you kill the dog, for I find you are not quite able to do it alone.

Nor shall I stop to inquire just here who is responsible for precipitating a disastrous panic at this hour that general prophecy said must come at some hour. Democrats here boast that Mr. Cleveland foretold it so long ago as when he wrote his first tariff-reform message. This "juxtaposition in time" is significant—but let that pass. Populists have been heralding disaster because out of an unprecedented national prosperity some people were taking fortunes too enormous, and some sections were getting too much, and Republicans have said it must come whenever there was a general political triumph of those who intended an immediate change of our whole fiscal policy; that our business and industrial structures for thirty years had been reared upon existing principles, and that, while they might be gradually remodeled upon other plans, the promised radical changes meant the razing of this structure that had brought increased wealth, population, education, progress, and development without precedent in the history of civilization, and a long idle wait for the building of another.

Well, sir, admit that it was coming. Disaster at this hour seems the result of the prophecy of disaster. If we lay it to the Sherman law it has come because of prediction that it must come by and by. If we lay it to the coming change of tariff, Democrats answer that they have not yet changed it. In either case belief in the prophecy precipitated disaster in advance of its substantial cause. It will always be so. He is a wise mariner who prepares for a storm that all his tests warn him is approaching. On the business and financial sea, general preparation for a storm is the storm, or precipitates it. Some gentlemen who seem to think this but a gust that will be gone before they are done talking, if they talk long enough, say it has been accumulating in our financial system for thirty years. They must reconcile this denunciation of the system and compliment to it for themselves.

Other gentlemen insist that the present situation is aggravated, if it was not brought about, by some conspiracy to which the New York banks have been a party or all the parties. Well, sir, if this be true, if these New York banks are so many Samsons in strength and devils in villainy, and this purchasing clause is the bone with which they are smiting an already stricken country, let us take away the bone. The destruction of the enemy's weapon ought to go far toward restoring our confidence.

The gifted gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BRYAN) would restore it otherwise. He sounds one note of encouragement to inspire the confidence of a nation. "Gold is coming back!" He does not seem to think it of consequence whether we have gold or not, but to humor the national whim, we are assured "Gold is coming back." Yes, and the story of why it is coming back is another story of our National misfortune, if not shame. It is not coming back because of the removal or abatement of any thing that caused it to go away. It is coming back to receive enormous interest from business in desperation for it. It is coming back to buy our obligations at present depreciated prices. It is coming back to augment itself at the nation's expense. It is not coming because of restored confidence, nor because of any change of opinion by anybody. It is coming to speculate on a broken market, where our people have no money to speculate with or lack the confidence to use it. For all the gold that is coming back in one way or another, we are paying heavy tribute, and the only assurance it gives is, that there is a price somewhere down the scale at which foreigners are willing to buy our property.

If this sort of "coming back" goes on long enough and in volume enough it will be well to quote England's policy here, for we shall be largely England's. Our hope lies in devising some means to stop gold from "coming back" on the errand it is coming now.

The very learned gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL] argued the money question, and against the letter of Mr. HENDERSON, and in the direction of free trade. To sustain his money theory he quotes Mr. Walker, and he lays it down as the major premise in a syllogism that the volume of the circulating medium fixes the price of all the property in a country, supply and demand being the same. How he would measure the volume of the money circulating, whether at a real or nominal or face value, we were not informed, that I understood. It must be presumed, however, that he means to measure it by its face value, and the price of the property in the nation by the standard of that money.

If the proposition be true, then when the price of the circulating medium falls, measured by any standard but itself, the price of all the property in the nation must fall, measured by the same standard that measures the money. To avoid just here the answer that gold would be the other standard and might go up, let us suppose a fixed and unalterable standard possible and adopted, then, if measured by that standard, the price of the money fell, the price of the property in the nation must fall. Well, now the farmers of Missouri and everywhere else have been informed that the price of their grain is set in a foreign market in Liverpool. The money used as circulating medium will be measured by another standard—the standard of England—gold. Whatever is returned for the wheat will be measured by the gold standard, and the circulating medium will buy of the article returned in exchange for the wheat, under the free-trade system just so much of it as it is worth by the gold standard and no more. So, if the price of his circulating medium falls, measured by the Liverpool standard, the price of his wheat falls in the same ratio.

But admit the proposition that the volume of circulating medium fixes the price, etc. The learned gentleman, in opposing the doctrine of Mr. Henderson, quotes Adam Smith to show that we should not be concerned about the balance of trade against us, that the notion that an adverse balance of trade is detrimental is "founded on the mistaken doctrine that the amount of the precious metals in a country has anything to do with its wealth and prosperity." Well, sir, the adverse balance must be settled in gold. The paying of gold takes out of the country a part of the circulating medium. This must affect the price of all the property in the country. If price bears no relation to either wealth or prosperity what place has the gentleman's major premise in the argument?

It seems to me strange that those who put so much faith in the efficacy of the Government stamp on coin do not propose here to reduce the amount of gold in the gold coin; why not divide by statute each one into two and stamp on each half the denomination the whole now has? I think, but according to the theories of some statesmen they can not believe, that this course would put silver dollars of the present standard at a premium, and if theories advanced are correct and bankers are as painted all your silver bullion would go out right away and the new gold coin would flow into the Treasury, and all doubt of the ability of the Government to maintain the parity would disappear.

The only disadvantage or hardship I can see, from the standpoint of our free-coinage friends, who do not think it of much consequence how much silver is in a dollar so the Government stamps it "One Dollar," is that we would all be forced to the new gold basis, and our most radical silver men would be compelled to be gold bugs and despise themselves. Seriously, if theories advanced here be correct, here is a suggested solution of the difficulty—"and a way to get back on the bondholder."

Nobody will propose its adoption. Why? Because, gentlemen, through the medium of lower tariff and larger trade abroad, know that all your coins go, after all, by weight, the only effect in the direction you seek effects, would be the raising of nominal prices at home. No; what is wanted, is a money for which the Government assumes some obligation to pay it in goldor maintain on a parity with gold, or to circulate where you can compel our people to receive it at par for debts. There has been much said about one money for the bondholder and another for the people. What is proposed here is one money for the American and another money for the foreigner. We are being prepared for this by doctrines that teach us not to worry over a balance of trade against us to be paid in gold; it has nothing to do with our wealth or prosperity.

The able gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS], I think, asserted and illustrated here that silver had fallen in about the same proportion as all other commodities, and all in consequence of cheaper production. On this showing the receivers of interest, fees, and wages would be the only losers by free coinage of silver. The laborer would be the man most affected.

There has been much said about the debtor class, but nobody defines that class. The receiverships being created show our great corporations to belong to that class. The inability to pay depositors show many banks in that class; all are to the extent of their deposits. Our savings institutions are in that class, and who wants them to pay in cheap money?

But nobody defines the debtor class, though every man favors it. Yes, the Government is put in that class, and one gentleman after another, when talking about circulation at different times, including the period of the war and immediately following it, estimate every greenback dollar at 100 cents, but when estimating what the bondholder gave for his bond they put that same dollar at from 40 to 60 cents. Figures so used may prove anything, and it may be worth while to suggest that it theyshow there was a time when the people had better money than the bond buyer. But we constantly hear that the greenback passed as money because the Government put its stamp upon it. The greenback was a promise to pay, and fell and rose as public faith in the honor and ability of the Government to keep its promise rose and fell. It was the promise, not the thing, that passed and had credit. The promise of any honest employed man on a piece of paper to pay a dollar is good. The stamp of a millionaire upon that same paper, "This is a dollar," is worthless. The promise of a tramp upon a paper to pay a dollar is as good as the fidelity of the tramp and his ability to beg the dollar. The stamp of the sovereign upon it, "This is a dollar," tells a lie and spoils the paper.

Mr. Speaker, I am a bimetallist, but recognize that we can not change the laws of nature. Money is older than statutes, and may survive them. Evolution in the matter of money is as marked as in anything else, and it is in the direction of a gold standard. I must admit I will vote to coin the silver bullion in the Treasury so much per month. I will vote to coin all we can absorb at a parity with gold, and, to protect our silver producers, I will vote for a heavy tariff on foreign silver. But our agricultural friends, who are for free coinage but against the tariff, dwell upon the assertion the price of wheat is fixed in a foreign market.

If that be true and the volume of the circulating medium regulates prices, is it not in the country where your foreign market is—in England—that you want free coinage? If the price of American wheat is fixed in Liverpool it is prices in Liverpool you want to raise by swelling the volume of the circulating medium there. The interest of the American wheat-grower can not lie in the direction of dear money where he sells and cheap money at home where he buys. Well, gentlemen, you can only get free coinage abroad by international agreement. You can only get that agreement by force. The first force to use is the suspension of silver coinage in the United States. The next, perhaps, is to prohibit a market for foreign silver here. If you are right in your theories your war is for free coinage abroad. A free-coinage bill in the United States is a surrender and capitulation on the foreigners' own terms.

Besides this, you can not absorb and maintain the parity of the world's silver alone. No one nation ever did, no one ever will do it.

But the Western and Southern farmers want a better price for wheat. So do the farmers of all the States. I think there is one way to get it, in time—maintain a tariff that secures a home market for our manufactured articles, and build up factories around you, and draw a population that will consume and not raise grain. They will come to you, not in a day, but in time. Pursue the American policy, and you will have your own factories and your own money centers. Grain has fallen under Republican régime. Yes, Republican legislation has opened territory to settlers, and made it possible for almost every man who would go through the hardship of preëmpting it to own one of the best farms in the world. It has created in the desert millions of such farms. It has created States whose Representatives come here and denounce it. Grain has fallen. Yes for there is an empire of waving corn and kingdoms of new stubble to-day where the virgin soil was unbroken when Republican legislation began.

What the owners of this empire and these kingdoms need is consumers and not inflation of money. Your own country, that consumes nine-tenths of our crops, has not been stinted for wheat bread. No amount of currency would have made this nation eat much more wheat. You can not command the foreign market, for the vast empire of India has entered into competition with us in raising wheat and selling it in the markets of the world. Only geographical situation will keep Indian wheat out of your own market when the tariff is repealed. India wheat is produced by people who do not eat wheat bread, and many of them never saw wheat flour. It is a hard competition. American legislation did not turn them to wheat raising, consign them to a diet below wheat, nor set them to cultivating their soil by the motive power of cows and women.

American legislation has not created the competition of Russia in the wheat market, nor have the "Shylocks of Wall street and blood-suckers of New England" developed the agriculture and commerce of these semibarbarous but vast domains, till they compete with you in the "markets of the world." The American farmer's future is not in European markets; the star of his hope does not shine over Liverpool. Gentlemen seem to have yet to learn that Great Britain, France, and Germany, are not the whole Eastern Hemisphere.

We want a market for our products, including silver. We are the greatest producers of silver in the world. I have no quarrel with silver or its producers, no sympathy with those who denounce them. Mining always has been and is a hazardous enterprise. The phrase "the mines of Peru" has passed into literature as the figure for wealth, yet to open a new mine in Peru is to lose social and business caste, because the people assume the future bankruptcy of the man who embarks in the enterprise, and if the East have a cause of quarrel with the "Silver States" it is not that they produce too much, but that their mines have absorbed a vast amount of eastern capital. I want to see and will help create the best possible market for their silver through international agreement—free coinage everywhere, if you please.

But we are told that if we do not vote for free coinage now silver will never be "heard of again in our statutes." How egregious! After us the deluge. We are not here now for the triumph of any theory, nor to adopt unalterable policies. We came to meet a "condition, not a theory," and there will be other days and possibly other Congresses in which theories can be weighed and policies adopted with more safety and as much wisdom as now, and in this Congress—even this Congress will have the soberer second thought later on.

Again we are told, by a number of gentlemen, that the repeal of the purchasing clause "strikes out half of the circulating medium and raises the power of money." The honorable gentleman from Illinois goes so far as to illustrate this argument by a supposed purchase of ten horses at $100 each, $1,000, the giving of a note for them, and that before sale of the horses and the maturity of the note this repeal passes. He contends the price of the horses, in consequence of the striking out of silver accomplished by repeal, will have fallen to $500; but it will take a thousand dollars to pay the note, and the repeal will have robbed the horse owner of $500. I think I state his position correctly. I notice it especially because it embraces much of the argument made on his side of this question.

In the first place, it seems to me that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL] and others, who speak from authorities on finance, go far toward answering their friends and colleagues. These men of books show that nineteen-twentieths of the circulating medium is credit, and they certainly do not mean to contend that the volume of credit will swell and shrink with the volume of silver, for they also declare that an adverse balance of trade to be settled in coin has no relation to the wealth and prosperity. An adverse balance of trade settled in coin takes circulating medium out of the country.

If to take out coin does shrink credit to the proportion of 19 to 1, then by their own showing an adverse balance of fifty millions will mean a shrinkage of circulating medium of one thousand millions. So, the total destruction of silver would not do what the gentleman from Illinois says, on currency, unless credit shrinks with loss of coin money, in the ratio it bears to the circulating medium, 19 to 1. If credit shrinks in its ratio to coin present, then the loss of each ten million coin, in settling foreign trade balances, means a loss of two hundred millions in circulating medium, they answer themselves.

Mr. Speaker, much has been said about paying of our bonds in greenbacks, and about the amount the bondholders paid for the original bonds. I have before called attention to the fact that when they state the value of the greenback paid for a bond the greenback is heavily discredited, but when paid for wheat it is reckoned at par. Well, sir, the greenbacks paid for bonds were promises to pay by the United States—the floating debt of the country, if you please, became too large to float at anything like face value. I will not offend anybody by inquiring the cause—and it was funded. The Goverument exchanged its promise to pay at a definite time for its other promises to pay. Then came the proposition, still urged, to pay the second lot of promises by a reissue of the first promises, and this they call payment.

A gentleman inexperienced in business was pressed for a debt. It was a new experience with him, consequent insomnia and a failing appetite were wasting his system, when the creditor proposed to take a note. The debtor gave it, and with radiant countenance and streaming eyes, exclaimed to his anxious wife: "Thank God, Hannah, that debt is paid." The story is old and has excited mirthful ridicule wherever the English language is spoken. If I had located the debtor in any section or given his occupation, honorable gentlemen would indignantly declare I had insulted the intelligence of their people. Yet, sir, these same honorable gentlemen propose the payment of debts with notes by the United States, and call it statesmanship and sound policy.

If I have indicated why I shall vote for repeal and can not accept the theories nor arguments of the free-coinage gentlemen, I have done all I intended.

I have endeavored to avoid political references. I have no desire to remind anybody that their platform was constructed of a material so indefinite and void of certain texture that we have had many days of dispute as to who is on it and who is off. What it is and where it is seem alike uncertain.

In calling attention, in conclusion, to portions of three Presi-

dential messages, I do not allude to politics, but point to passages of history, undisputed and indisputable.

At the last end of one free-trade period, and near the beginning of a feared one, two Democratic Presidents wrote as follows:

BUCHANAN, DECEMBER, 1857.

The earth has yielded her fruits abundantly; our great staples command high prices, and up till within a brief period our mineral, manufacturing, and mechanical occupations have largely partaken of the general prosperity. We have possessed all the elements of material wealth in rich abundance, yet, notwithstanding these advantages, our country in its monetary interests is at present in a deplorable condition.

In the midst of unsurpassed plenty we find our manufactures suspended, our public works retarded, our private enterprises abandoned, and thousands of useful laborers thrown out of employment and reduced to want. Under these circumstances a loan may be required before the close of your present session, but this, although deeply to be regretted, would prove to be only a slight misfortune when compared with the suffering and distress prevailing among our people.

CLEVELAND, AUGUST, 1893.

With plenteous crops, with abundant promise of remunerative production and manufacture, with unusual invitation to safe investment, and with satisfactory assurance to business enterprise, suddenly financial distrust and fear have sprung up on every side.

Numerous moneyed institutions have suspended because abundant assets were not immediately available to meet the demands of frightened depositors. Surviving corporations and individuals are content to keep in hand the money they are usually anxious to loan, and those engaged in legitimate business are surprised to find that securities they offer for loans, though heretofore satisfactory, are no longer accepted.

Values supposed to be fixed are fast becoming conjectural, and loss and failure have involved every branch of business.

The other is that picture painted by the truthful hand of President Harrison in his message of December 6, 1892, of a nation in unprecedented prosperity, growth, and development. That was a condition under a protective tariff. [Applause.]

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, under the five-minute rule I have but a word or two to say. I know that the House has been already too kind to me. But, raised as I was in the Indiana school, and allied as I am by matrimony with the Kentucky school, I could not let even this short opportunity pass by without expressing my opinions and feelings respecting the utterances of certain of the Hoosier and Kentucky statesmen on this floor. I do not desire to take the time of the House in any discussion of the merits of this question. I am a little bit discouraged, and my people are; and we have reason to be so.

My wife is a Kentuckian and we have a good many Kentucky friends in Denver, and each and all of them gave me brief words of encouragement when I started away, and when they on the last day before I left home told me that the New York Democrats may go back on silver and the silver platform, Connecticut Democrats may go back on silver and the silver platform, Maryland Democrats may spew the Chicago declarations out of their mouths as mere catchwords and glittering generalities, but you will find one good warm table where you can sit down in Washington, the good old "McCreary Bimetallic Hostlery," which will be open and every example of its hospitality will be spread before you.

Mr. Speaker, I have tried at the door and at the dining-room door and have been turned away from that good old inn, hungry as I was when I applied for admission and sustenance; and when upon inquiry I sought to find what means this change, I am directed to step out upon the sidewalk and look up at the old sign, and there I learned that the old hospitable inn is now being run on the European plan. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Speaker, they told me that it would be a warm reception, because in 1891—not back yonder before the war, when the moon was larger than it has been since hostilities ceased—but in 1891 the gentleman, who has been the chief executive of Kentucky, had been the glad recipient of a vote of thanks by a Democratic convention in Kentucky, which, in addition to declaring for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, had also voted an express resolution of thanks to him and his colleagues, for their almost unanimous vote for free coinage in Congress.

I have telegraphed my old Kentucky friends—or my wife has—that we have been fooled. [Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, that, however, does not so much concern me, because my best recollections pertain in no wise to the "dark and bloody ground" south of the Ohio River. I was born and bred in the school of VOORHEES, of COOPER of Indiana, of BYNUM of Indianapolis; and right well they taught me my lessons, and set me upon a course concerning which I shall not turn my face at the suggestion of pie from the Administration. [Laughter.]

If it were my purpose, Mr. Speaker, standing here as a representative of the people's party——

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SIMPSON. I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. PENCE] be extended fifteen minutes.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, I was about to say, when my friend kindly interposed his request, now granted by the House, that if I, standing here as a member of the People's party, desired political advantage, I should greet with joy the probability of the Democracy surrendering to the command of the Executive, and of the Republican minority being chained absolutely to the Executive chariot: but I hope I am prompted by higher wishes and motives than that.

I have at home a people who are more deeply concerned in this question than any other people in the Union, and if the gentleman from Indianapolis [Mr. BYNUM] were here representing a people assaulted as are mine, he would not be an evolutionist, but as the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SIBLEY] said, one letter would be added to the word. He would protect his people; and my people in Colorado, fifteen hundred of whom were taught by this gentleman from Indiana, as was I, protest through me against this abject surrender that is being made by the Representative from the good old State. [Applause.]

It is not necessary, Mr. Speaker, for me to review any of the arguments before I come to this matter. It is not necessary to remind this House and the people that, as three thermometers hung on yonder wall under the same conditions here would fall together, so have wheat and cotton and silver gone down together since 1873. It is not necessary for me—at least, I will not consider it so—to read any number of the speeches made by prominent gentlemen upon this floor in prior Administrations. I shall in that respect be content with referring to that which my own eyes have witnessed. And oh! how vivid is the recollection of the scene.

Not back in 1873, not back in 1861, nor 1834, nor 1816. I shall not carry the gentleman back far in the recollection of the scenes that have lately transpired in his life. Only to the 13th day of October, 1891, when the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM], Mr. Chauncey F. Black of Pennsylvania, Senator FAULKNER of West Virginia, and Mr. WILSON of West Virginia, were advertised as about to make a tour through our country for the organization of Democratic clubs. They came into our presence. Oh! how warmly we greeted them—greeted them with bed and board such as the old Kentucky hotel used to give us. [Laughter.] On the night of October 13, 1891, the gentleman from Indianapolis [Mr. BYNUM], addressed the largest audience ever assembled in the city of Denver, and he taught me no new lessons.

At his feet I had knelt in my old native State, that blessed Commonwealth, which I have remembered with the sweetest recollections of my life, around the old home before I came to manhood, in the days

> When my feet were bare and my cheek was brown,
> When my heart was as light as the elder down,

and open and free for just such lessons as he taught. But in 1891 he came to remind me of them.

I read, Mr. Speaker, from the Rocky Mountain News of October 14, 1891. I read first the words of the gentleman as uttered there—

I have always—

I know the gentleman will not forget these words—

I have always—

That means a long time past [laughter]—

been in favor of the free coinage of silver; and I do not desire to advertise my own record, but in this connection I think it is not improper to say what action I have taken in respect to this question.

This was a stenographic report of the gentleman's speech, for the kindness in making which we received his acknowledgment of thanks on the next morning.

I was on the Committee on Coinage in the Forty-ninth Congress, and was one of the three members of that committee who reported the bill in favor of free coinage away back at the beginning of Mr. Cleveland's Administration. [Loud and prolonged cheering.]

[Laughter.]

Then this further quotation—but I hope if I scrape the mold from the memory of the gentleman he will thank me for it—

I have voted for free coinage from the time the question has been before Congress, and will do so every time it comes up.

[Great laughter and applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I trust that the teacher will not rebuke the scholar whom he trained for now telling him that the question has "come up." [Renewed laughter and applause.]

But that is only a part of it. Back in Indiana they do not illustrate the speeches of public men; but with that spirit which marks all of our enterprises we do. I have here the front page of the paper of the same day which illustrates the impression made upon our people. First, the reporter, in addition to the report I have read, says:

Mr. BYNUM was greeted with hearty and prolonged applause, and it was several minutes before the cheers had subsided and the orator could enter upon his theme. His declarations and his advocacy of free silver aroused the audience to the wildest enthusiasm, although the speaking had then been in progress for three hours.

[Great laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, that is only the beginning. Here we have what I can not hold up and display to the House [referring to the bound copy of the paper before him.]

Several MEMBERS. Let us see it.

Mr. PENCE. Let me say, then, that the book will stay here to the hour of adjournment, and furthermore, Mr. Speaker, that it may not be lost to the members who are not here, I now shall request the privilege of having a copy of this cut made and incorporated as a portion of my remarks. [Great laughter.]

Several MEMBERS. Describe it.

Mr. PENCE. And here, what see I before me? Oh, the recollections that it brings up! [Describing.] A silver dollar, a medallion of a dollar, turned out by our mints. Supported; how? By the manly legs and feet of the gentleman from Indianapolis. [Great laughter.] Whose arms are these I see upraised as in invocation to high Heaven; whose face this that I see announcing to the skies, and beneath the inscription, "I always voted for free coinage; and always will when it comes up." [Great laughter.] The noble presence to my left reminds me that I can not be mistaken in the photograph. [Laughter.] If it requires unanimous consent to print that picture I hope I will get it [laughter]; and if that is not sufficient, I hope my proffer will be accepted to pay for it myself and save the Government the expense. [Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, I have said that this gentleman taught me that lesson, which I decline to forget and leave. I begin, since I notice their utterances here, to understand why and how it is that the Democratic President, elected upon a silver platform, apparently without fear of contradiction, claimed at Gray Gables sixty days ago that these men of the majority would surrender at his command. I thought they were too brave. But, oh, no; he understood too well the favors he had to dispense—"the means at command," as Mr. COCKRAN expressed it in the columns of the North American Review in June; and he never hesitated, but felt free to fling the platform to the wind, as he had that which would turn down the platform. Brave was he, Mr. Speaker, as the sluggard who was told to go to the ant.

> "What! go to the ant," said the sluggard;
> "What a waste of time that would be;
> To my picnic I'll hie and sit down by my pie
> And there let the ants come to me."

[Great laughter.]

When the gentleman who now is chairman of the Finance Committee in the Senate is agreeing absolutely, in toto, with the plans of Mr. SHERMAN of Ohio, I could but be reminded of his article in the North American Review in November, 1891, when he (Senator VOORHEES), writing of him (Senator SHERMAN), spoke of him as—

> the financial weathercock of the Union; one who had been on all sides of the money question, who had changed oftener than anyone else, but always changed at the time and in the way that would best suit the purpose of Wall street and New York.

I will send the Senator from Indiana a copy of his own article by the first mail. [Laughter.] Mr. Speaker, it is no wonder that in our country we have come to be unable to distinguish the difference between the present Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Carlisle, and the past Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. SHERMAN. It is true that upon this floor Mr. Carlisle denounced the Sherman policy, but little by little he has come to it, and now what scene do we behold? He who had been the denunciator of the policy of the Treasury Department in 1878 now the author of its continuance!

In my judgment, sir, the story of the gradual, slow temptation and change of Mr. Carlisle will be one of the saddest chapters in the history of this country. I worshiped at his feet as well as at the feet of the gentleman from Indianapolis continuously by day and by night during the soft and callow days of my youth. [Laughter.] We can now see in our country the difference between the policy of the Treasury Department to-day and that of 1878. It is always against us. Now, Mr. Speaker, may I illustrate this case by a little story, and then I will not further tire the House?

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired. [Cries of "Go on!"]

Mr. BYNUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Colorado be extended. [Laughter and applause.]

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

Mr. PENCE. Certainly, Mr. Speaker, after that gracious act I must confine my attention to somebody outside of the State of Indiana. [Laughter.] I have said, sir, that the people out in our country can not discern the difference between the policy of the Treasury Department of to-day and the policy of the Treasury Department in 1878, under Mr. Sherman, and I want to illustrate that.

Back in Marion County, Ind., there is a little town down on the Johnson County line containing about 300 people. A stranger came into the town on a certain Sunday morning, and, walking out from the hotel, he saw a little white church and a crowd going in, and he noticed that it was a Lutheran church. He walked on, and in the next block he saw a little brown church, and was surprised to see that it also seemed to be a Lutheran church. He went back to the hotel and found the proprietor there—he had not gone to Europe [laughter]—and he said to him, "It strikes me as rather strange that in a little town like this, hardly able to sustain one church, there should be two churches just alike."

"What do you mean?" asked the landlord. The stranger told him what he had seen. "Oh," said the landlord, "you are mistaken; those two churches are not just alike; they are somewhat alike, but not *just* alike. Over in the white church they believe that the serpent tempted Eve, and Eve tempted Adam, and Adam fell; but over in the brown church they think he was a bad egg from the start." [Laughter and applause.] Now, Mr. Speaker, I have too long imposed upon the patience of the House, and, understanding that I have leave to print this picture with my remarks, I thank gentleman for their indulgence and resume my seat.

Mr. BYNUM. Mr. Speaker, I have been highly edified by the remarks of the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. PENCE], because I have taken a great interest in his welfare since he became so prominent in that State. The gentleman is correct in saying that I made a speech in Denver to a very large audience. I think it was one of the largest audiences I ever saw, though I may have overestimated its numbers. During the fall of 1891 I had the pleasure of making a tour across the continent with some distinguished gentlemen who were engaged in the organization of Democratic clubs. We started in at St. Paul, from thence went to Fargo, Butte, Helena, Spokane, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Salt Lake, and thence to Denver.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it is true that I have always been an advocate of free coinage. In the Forty-ninth Congress I followed the lead of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND]. It seems to have been a case of the blind leading the blind, and I confess it. [Laughter.] After my visit to Denver, where I witnessed this evidence of wealth and prosperity—all made out of the production of silver—I am not surprised to find the gentleman from Colorado so enthusiastic on the subject. Upon our arrival at Denver, we were met, as we had been at all the points we visited, by a committee representative of the hospitable Democracy of the West. We were taken for a drive over the city, which is one of the most beautiful that I have ever seen. In fact, I have complimented the city since I first saw it whenever its name is mentioned. I never saw so many new and magnificent residences.

The suburbs of Denver will compare favorably with those of any other city in the United States. As I looked at this splendid evidence of wealth and prosperity I was led to inquire from whence it was derived. I was told that it all came from "silver mines." When asked by some of the good people the subject of my speech, which I was advertised to make in the evening, I told them I talked of nothing but tariff reform. I was informed that there was but one question in which the people of Colorado had any interest, and that was "silver." Having been a supporter of free coinage, I yielded to the temptation of those who had received and treated me in such a hospitable manner, and gave expression to some sentiments in favor of silver that were somewhat extravagant.

I distinctly stated in my speech on Tuesday that I had changed my views on the subject; a fact that was well known to my constituents. This is not a question of principle but one of policy, and I expect and intend, whenever from changed condition or from the acquisition of more light, I become convinced of my error, to change my views as my judgment may approve, and when I shall do so I shall not be too cowardly to proclaim the fact.

In the Fourty-fourth Congress, during the then exciting conditions, I was a supporter of free coinage. I made a speech on that side, and I believe it was as good a one as I have heard during this debate, but I confess my sins and am seeking forgiveness.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I do not rise at this late hour in the debate, which has now been occupying the attention of the House for nearly two weeks, with any intention of discussing in detail the merits of the pending bill or of any of the amendments which have been offered thereto. The brief time allotted to me in which to speak forbids this; but even if I had on this occasion the opportunity for extended remarks, I very greatly doubt whether I should embrace it.

During the progress of this discussion, Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal said, sincerely said, ably said, upon each side of the great monetary question which we have been considering, and I am not vain enough to imagine that at this stage of the the proceedings I can add anything new or original to that which has already been uttered, or that I can rehabilitate the

arguments which have been made by others in such a way as to give them any additional force or vigor.

Indeed, I have felt during the entire progress of this debate that it was infinitely more important that I should arrive at a correct solution of this financial problem than that I should simply inject myself into the RECORD through the medium of a speech. I have felt thus because I have known that the question with which we were dealing was one of great and paramount importance to the American people; because I have been conscious of the fact that on the adjournment of Congress it would be taken up again and fought over on the hustings, and because I have realized that the money question from the very nature of things was destined in one form or another to be present in this Hall for legislative action during long years that are to come.

With a view, therefore, of reaching a correct solution of this subject, I have been among the most attentive of the listeners to the discussion on this floor. I have read with painstaking care most of the pertinent literature that has come within my reach; nor have I hesitated, to consult carefully the leading economic works which I thought best calculated to elucidate the matter which has been in controversy. After much reflection, sir, I have been able to come to a conclusion entirely satisfactory to myself; and it is simply for the purpose of stating this conclusion and of giving a few of the reasons which have induced me to adopt it, that I now ask for a brief time the indulgence of the House.

I may remark in this connection, Mr. Speaker, that I have not been handicapped in coming to the conclusions which I have reached by the declarations of the platform of the great political party to which I have the honor to belong which was promulgated by it when it recently assembled in convention at Minneapolis. In this particular I differ from the distinguished gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN], who addressed the House on day before yesterday, and from the equally distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], who spoke in this Hall just before the adjournment yesterday. I have been infinitely more concerned, sir, to square myself with the immutable truth involved in this financial controversy than I have been to square myself with the declarations of any party platform, whether Republican, Democratic, Populist, or Prohibition.

I am not going to permit either of those gentlemen to outdo me in party zeal. I have been a loyal member of the Republican party ever since I attained my majority; and I am glad now to be able to announce that the conclusions which I have reached in respect to this subject of finance are not such as put me outside of the pale of my party organization, but that I can cherish and fearlessly declare them and still walk upon that highway of intelligent progress which it has ever been the pride of this grand party to pursue.

Any gentleman who will read, however cursorily, the declarations of the last Republican national platform will at once come to the conclusion that the primary thing therein declared for is not so much bimetallism as an honest, stable, unfluctuating dollar, or standard of value. Bimetallism as there announced is not the end sought to be obtained, but the means whereby this primary end is to be achieved. And, sir, if in the light of subsequent events it is apparent that this end can not be attained through the medium of bimetallism, then I am not here to stand for the technical construction of the language employed in the platform, but rather to bring myself within the scope and object of the principle therein declared for, which is, I repeat, the establishment of a stable and unvarying measure of value.

What Republican, sir, has the hardihood to stand on this floor and say in the light of events that have transpired since the Republican platform was adopted at Minneapolis that this platform points unerringly to an impossibility?

Mr. Speaker, since this convention adjourned the nations of the world have refused to enter into an international agreement with us for the remonetization of silver, because we were obliged to beg for it as suppliants, instead of demanding it as rivals. Since this convention adjourned India has discriminated against silver, at least to the extent of closing her mints to its coinage on private account; since this convention adjourned Austria has gone upon a gold basis and silver has depreciated from a ratio of 26 to 1 to a ratio of 28 to 1.

Sir, I came to this session of Congress with my preferences all in favor of silver. I recognized the fact that ours was one of the greatest silver-producing nations on the face of the globe. I am sure I was anxious, in so far as it could be done without plainly flying in the face of all economic law, and without bringing distress upon my countrymen, to see silver utilized in the monetary system of the country. I was strongly inclined to its free coinage, but only at such a ratio to gold as the silver bullion sustained to the gold bullion in the markets.

But, Mr. Speaker, the careful study that I have since given to the investigation of this money problem has led me to the sincere and honest conviction that I ought to modify the opinions which I then entertained, and oppose the free coinage of silver at any ratio.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. HARTER. I hope the gentleman from Indiana will be allowed further time.

The SPEAKER. How much more time?

Mr. HARTER. Sufficient to enable him to finish his remarks.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. I shall not trespass long on the patience of the House.

The SPEAKER. Unanimous consent is asked that the gentleman from Indiana be allowed sufficient time to finish his remarks. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, my present opinion is that for this nation alone to undertake under its present environments to remonetize silver at any ratio whatsoever, and in this manner maintain it at a parity with gold, is an absolute and utter impossibility. To attempt it will, in my judgment, not only be a piece of foolishness, but will be absolutely suicidal. This, sir, is my solemn and deliberate conviction.

Mr. Speaker, it is within the power of Government to say out of what material its metallic money shall be made and how much of that material shall be placed in a coin and also what shall be the degree of its fineness. It can denominate its coin. It can even go further. It can make its coin a legal tender and require the creditor to receive it in payment of a debt, even if it be depreciated in value. But here the power of Government ends. The mere stamp of the creative power does not give the coin value. I utterly deny, sir, that it is within the power of Government, against the common consent of the people and by mere arbitrary legislative enactment, to give one single particle of purchasing power to its coin.

I do not wish to say, or to be understood as saying, that the Government does not, by making a metal money and thereby creating a demand for it for use as money, to a certain extent and within certain limitations appreciate its commodity value under the operations of the law of supply and demand. But I do undertake to say that in fixing what shall be its money and determining what shall be its value the Government should follow the previously expressed wishes and value estimates of the people and not undertake to give the metal any greater value than the common consent of the people has bestowed upon it.

This has been the policy pursued in the history of our Government heretofore. When the fathers undertook to determine the ratio they would give our coins they did not seek to give either to gold or to silver an arbitrary statutory value, but they went into the markets of the country and ascertained what value the people had previously conferred upon the metals, and settled upon that as the value to be placed upon the coins they provided for.

I hesitate not to avow, Mr. Speaker, that if, in the effort to remonetize silver, you fix the value of silver coin higher than the bullion value of the metal which composes it in the market, instead of appreciating the bullion to the coin value of the dollar you will find that the coin will depreciate to the market value of the bullion.

Bimetallism by one nation, as a practical fact, is, in my opinion, an impossibility and an absurdity. You may have a legal ratio, you may have a theoretical ratio, you may enact bimetallism into a statute, but practice and our experience as a nation clearly proves that you will have, as a matter of fact, the cheaper money only in use and circulation, and this will give you monometallism. Why, sir, early in our national history one of the precious metals passed out of circulation, and we did our business on the other alone for years.

Owing to a subsequent change in our coinage laws the condition was reversed, and the money which had previously gone out of circulation came back again, and the money on which we had before transacted business in turn went out of circulation. And yet, during all this period we had each coin established by law upon our statute book as a unit of value at a fixed ratio to the other. But the market value of the metal in the coins differed from that fixed by law, and under the invariable operation of Gresham's law the more valuable coin was retired and the cheaper one remained.

Mr. Speaker, the question with which we have to deal to-day is not whether the demonetization of silver was wise or foolish, right or wrong, whether it conferred benefits or inflicted evils, but the question is rather one of power and resources. We are face to face with a condition. Have we the strength and ability at this time by ourselves to free coin silver and thereby establish and maintain it on a parity with gold? This is the material, the decisive inquiry.

Let us stop, sir, and consider for a moment what is proposed by the advocates of the free-coinage system upon this floor. They are utterly ignoring the present status of silver in their demands. They forget that it has been dishonored throughout the civilized world by the leading nations; that England has

been upon a gold basis since 1816; that Italy has turned her face against silver at least to the extent of denying it free coinage on private account at her mints; that Germany has gone on a gold basis; that France and the Latin Union, after vainly having tried to stem the tide of silver in its downward progress, have stepped aside for fear that the avalanche would bring ruin upon them; and that France has at last reluctantly closed her mints to its free coinage.

They fail to observe that Austria is now adopting a gold standard. They seem to forget that twice in our history we have tried by legislative enactment to bring silver to par, or to keep its value from further declining, and have signally failed on each occasion. We tried it in 1878, by means of the Bland-Allison act, and were unsuccessful. We repeated the experiment, regardless of the teachings of our experience, in the year 1890 by the enactment of the Sherman act. It thereupon rose slightly in value, but soon commenced to fall again, and has ever since depreciated in price until to-day it has fallen lower than ever before in our national history.

The advocates of free coinage seem to ignore, too, the fact that the production of silver has within the last ten years increased enormously. Now they are asking that we shall try the very experiment which the Latin Union, including the French Government found itself unable to carry out successfully under circumstances more favorable than those by which we are at present surrounded. They are asking that we shall undertake to lift this enormous burden without aid or intervention from any foreign power.

Mr. Speaker, the moment that anything of this kind is attempted, in my honest opinion, it will result in the operation of Gresham's unvarying rule. You will find that instead of being able to maintain these coins of gold and silver at the parity fixed by law, they will separate. Silver will depreciate and remain. Gold will fly. It will retire from circulation and be hoarded, and instead of being upon a bimetallic basis of gold and silver, this nation will be upon a silver basis alone. You will have a contraction instead of an expansion of your currency. Not only that, but such silver legislation will stimulate the production of your American silver mines. It will induce foreign nations to make a sacrifice of their silver and pay a premium for your gold to the end that they may strengthen their gold reserves, they being upon a gold basis; and you will find that it will take the utmost capacity of our mints, constantly operating for two or three years, coining depreciated silver dollars with which to supply this deficiency in the currency occasioned by the retirement of gold.

And when you get that additional coinage of silver you will find that you have descended to a silver basis, not to bimetallism, but to silver monometallism pure and simple, and that, while you are not reduced to the intellectual or industrial status of the semicivilized nations of the world, yet that you have descended to the same metallic system which they employ, and have deprived yourself of those monetary advantages which are the highest products of the leading and prosperous commercial nations of this globe. And you will not only have descended to this depth, but in your descent you will have depreciated the value of every dollar of the paper money and the silver coin that is deposited in your savings banks, in your national banks, and in in your private banking institutions throughout this country.

You will have depreciated the value of every particle of that money in the hands of the people, and have brought loss and privation and entailed suffering upon them. You will find yourselves, too, as I have already said, not upon a foundation of bimetallism, but upon a foundation of silver monometallism, with a constantly fluctuating standard of value, than which there can be no greater curse in the monetary affairs of a civilized nation.

Mr. Speaker, the objections that I have urged to the remonetization of silver at any of the ratios provided for in the amendments to the measure now under consideration can be urged with equal effect, in my humble opinion, to the remonetization of silver at the ratio which the silver bullion sustains to-day in the markets of the world to the gold bullion. Unfortunately, sir, by the terms of the resolution under which we are operating, and under which at 12 o'clock on next Monday we are to take our vote, which resolution was adopted by the Democratic party within the secret chambers of its caucus, from which I and my colleagues on this side of the Chamber were rigidly excluded, no member will be able to vote for the remonetization of silver at any other ratio than that named in this order of proceeding; but, sir, I shall not attempt to hide myself like a moral coward behind this bulwark.

Recognizing the fact that the need of the hour is men of convictions; men, too, who have the courage of their convictions, and are not afraid to express their sentiments, and who are far more anxious to maintain the right than they are to preserve their consistency—I hesitate not to declare that if under this order of procedure an opportunity to vote for a different ratio were afforded me, I would not vote for it.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, to the evils which I have already pointed out as being incident to the remonetization of silver, let me call attention to others which apply more particularly to remonetization at other ratios than 16 to 1. Let me say that, in my humble opinion, the only hope of bimetallism is to obtain an international agreement for the restoration of silver, but when you remonetize silver at the ratio of 20 to 1, or at the present market ratio of gold and silver bullion, you lessen the chances of ever securing an agreement from foreign nations for international bimetallism, because of the great expense it would entail upon them to meet you anything like halfway as to ratio in the recoining of their silver.

Again, after you have remonetized silver at a different ratio from that of 16 to 1, and the metals have separated under the invariable operation of Gresham's law, you will not only be attempting to maintain your new gold dollar and your new silver dollar at a parity under your new ratio, but you will be seeking also to maintain on a parity with these two dollars the existing dollars now in circulation, thus complicating the difficulties of the situation in proportion to the number of dollars that you are trying to keep at a parity. Here we have the spectacle of the nation with three standards of value. Sir, there can, in the very nature of things, be but one standard of value. Trade and commerce can be successfully carried on in no other way.

Not only this, but there is the letter of the Secretary of the Treasury [Mr. Carlisle], addressed to Senator VOORHEES, which has clearly demonstrated the fact that to make your present silver dollar contain as much silver as your new silver dollar, if you adopt remonetization of silver at the proposed ration of 20 to 1, you will be obliged to entail an enormous expense upon the American people to supply the silver, to pay the expense of returning the present coin to the mint, to make up the loss from its abrasion, and the depreciation in the process of melting.

Mr. Speaker, passing from these propositions, I want to say, in addition, that I am absolutely opposed to and shall not cast my vote for an amendment which looks to the reënactment upon the statute book of what is known as the Bland-Allison act. That act, in my humble opinion, contains the very features that from this time forward will render the Sherman act objectionable. Aye, more, it contemplates a continued purchase of silver and the minting therefrom of a short-weight dollar, to be carried on indefinitely. The danger here is that after a while there may arise in the public mind doubt of the ability of the country to maintain its silver dollars at a parity by payment in gold, and thus there may come a depreciation of these dollars which will entail loss upon the people.

One word, Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, with respect to the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act and I am through, and will not longer tax the kindly indulgence of the House.

I am not one of those who believe, with the President, that this act is mainly responsible for the present deplorable condition of affairs in which we find ourselves. I firmly believe, and I say it with all respect to the Executive, who is doubtless honest in the expression of his opinion, that there is a disposition manifested upon the part of some persons to make the Sherman act the scapegoat for the present evils, with a view of distracting public attention from the real cause of our calamities.

I think the source of our financial trouble can be found in other directions. It is a recognized fact that since 1873 there has been a universal depression throughout the entire civilized world, affecting all nations, regardless of their financial or economic policies. There has been almost everywhere upon the globe a money stringency, a depreciation of products, and a falling in land values; and it can be possible, sir, that this evil which has afflicted foreign lands, and which has heretofore been kept away from us by our marvelous strength and material resources, has at last crossed the billowy Atlantic and laid its blighting hand upon us. Is it not possible that the presentation by foreign holders of American securities for payment, in order to secure the money to pay their own indebtedness and stem their own reverses, may have drained us of our gold, and thus helped to bring on our financial embarrassment?

Is it not possible, sir, that a conspiracy may have existed in the city of New York and in London to force this Government to issue bonds, to the end that they might be taken up for good financial investments, and that a run upon the national Treasury has been inaugurated and the gold drawn therefrom with this object in view, and that this has contributed to our distressed condition? Is it without the range of possibilities that in an effort to give the country an object lesson, in order to force the repeal of the Sherman law, the persons in the scheme have gone too far and have precipitated a panic which has passed beyond their control and reacted upon themselves?

Mr. Speaker, I hesitate not to aver that, in my humble opinion, there is another cause that has tended as much as anything described to bring about the present condition. The Republican party, by the wisdom of its enactments, has built up the business of this country on the basis of a protective tariff, and to that legislation all business interests have conformed and adjusted themselves. The dread on the part of the manufacturers and business interests of the country that the Democratic party would undertake to reverse this economic policy under which prosperity had been obtained is, in my humble opinion, one of the most far-reaching of the local causes that has induced the difficulties which now beset us.

Mr. Speaker, I do not think there existed in the breast of a single intelligent human being, either on this continent or across the water, any belief that the Government of the United States was lacking either in the intention or ability to keep at par and redeem in gold every single silver dollar that was out, every silver certificate that was issued, and every Treasury note that was issued under the Sherman act. I believe that the national credit both at home and abroad has been above reproach.

I would like to call your attention, sir, to the fact that under the wise monetary legislation of the party that has controlled this nation for so many years the national credit of this country is higher than that of any nation on the globe. Does any gentleman doubt for one moment that any issue of bonds by this Government made this day would be snapped up with avidity in every monetary center in the world as safe and profitable pecuniary investments? This is a test of the public credit.

The Sherman act never drove gold abroad. If it did, how does it happen that gold is now returning to our shores, although the act still stands unrepealed? The people have not lacked confidence in the money of the country; they have lacked confidence in the banks which had possession of it. They have not repudiated the silver or the paper currency of the country. They have hoarded silver and silver certificates as well as gold. It is said that those very certificates are at a premium to-day.

I protest, Mr. Speaker, against this unfair endeavor to put upon this one legislative enactment the burden of all the ills to which we are heir at the present time. The history of the passage of the Sherman act is within the recollection of every intelligent man upon this floor. That act was passed to avert in this country a terrible calamity—the attempt to remonetize silver and bring upon the country the evils of a depreciated coin. It did its perfect work in this respect. It added to the circulating medium of the country a sound silver and paper currency. To this extent it is to be commended.

But, Mr. Speaker, it has met the emergency that called for its creation; its mission is now ended, and I shall vote for its repeal for reasons which I now ask leave of this House to assign.

In the first place, sir, while I believe that the confidence of the people in the ability and intention of the Government to redeem our short-weight dollars that have been coined under that act has not yet been disturbed, yet I do believe that to continue to purchase silver and pay for it by the issuing of Treasury notes for an indefinite period under this act, with the possible further coinage of short-weight dollars and the further depreciation of silver, might go to such an extent that the people would finally lose faith in the capacity of the Government to keep the silver dollars and Treasury notes at par with gold, and thus bring about a depreciation of them, with all the evils that usually attend a depreciated currency.

But there is another reason, Mr. Speaker, why I shall vote for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act. However unjust that feeling may be, discriminating men are compelled to admit that there has gone abroad in the land a feeling which is very general among the people, that the Sherman act has really been the main cause of our present condition. This belief did not bring on this financial trouble. It has arisen since it was precipitated. The condition which confronts us, while it should not excite a panic on our part, ought certainly to be viewed with seriousness.

This presents, sir, an opportunity for the exercise of the highest and most patriotic statesmanship. Contemplate for a moment the condition by which we are confronted. Banks have everywhere toppled or failed and gone into liquidation. Some of them have refused to pay over their counters the money of their depositors. They have locked up the currency, which is the life-blood of all trade. The music of the spindles is no longer heard in the land. The furnace fires are banked. Business is stagnant. Commerce is arrested.

The fear of one man, like wildfire or contagion, has communicated itself to another, and everything is in a condition of doubt, perplexity, and fear. Unemployed laborers by hundreds and thousands are standing idle on the streets of our cities, in need of employment and of the necessaries of life. I can pay no higher tribute, sir, to this brawn and muscle of our population than to say on this occasion that these men have so far borne themselves under these trying circumstances, under these conditions of distress which attack them more vitally than any other class of our people, with genuine conservatism and patriotic American obedience to law.

But, Mr. Speaker, while up to this time they have turned a deaf ear to the insidious appeals of the communist, while they have refused to be led from the path of duty by the wild declamation of the anarchist, who would reduce everything to chaos and substitute the law of might in lieu of the law of the land, yet with the lapse of time the condition of the unemployed will grow more desperate, and in view of their good conduct I would greatly hesitate to strain the quality of their moderation too far. To do this involves danger.

This is no time for hesitation. Relief, while it should not be extended in the shape of illy considered and unwise legislation, should nevertheless be afforded at as early a day as possible. And, sir, if it will contribute to the restoration of public confidence and release the money of the country from the vaults and pockets which hoard it, into the avenues of trade, that it may there perform its proper functions and lift the pall from the land, to offer up the Sherman act, even though it be an innocent victim upon the altar to the public demand, I for one am not going to stand against such a sacrifice.

After the repeal of the Sherman act, Mr. Speaker, what? I would preserve, sir, at a parity, every silver dollar now in existence, whether it was coined under the provisions of the Bland-Allison act, or under the Sherman act: I would preserve at an absolute parity every silver certificate and every United States Treasury note that is now in the hands of the people or that has been issued.

Stopping the purchase and storage of depreciating silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes in payment therefor and of the possibility of any further coinage of short weight dollars by the repeal of the Sherman act will all the more strengthen public confidence in the ability of the Government to keep at par the money already created under it.

Mr. Speaker, the demand of the hour is not so much an inflation of the currency, a new issue of money by the Government, as it is to turn into the avenues of trade the money which we already have, and which is now locked up and hoarded and withheld from use and circulation among the people. We have to-day plenty of money if we can only get it into circulation—$9 per capita of gold, $9 per capita of silver money, $6 per capita of paper money, making a circulation of money, all of which is at a parity, of $24 a head—more money per capita, sir, than any other leading civilized nation on the face of the earth except the French Government. If it should soon become necessary to enlarge the currency, as it probably would, I would do it by proper measures which can be devised.

I would do it by recognizing silver and by using it as an auxiliary to the existing standard at the gold valuation by some wisely devised method. If further expansion is desired, possibly it can be obtained by conferring upon the national banks the right to issue notes to the par value of the bonds which they have deposited to secure their circulation, or by allowing any citizen to take Government bonds and deposit them in the Treasury, receiving in exchange therefor paper money, or by some other method—surrounding whatever plan is adopted with proper legislative precautions and safeguards.

Mr. Speaker, when we have done this I entertain no doubt of the capacity of this Government, in the competition for gold, to obtain more than its share among the nations of the earth. Let gentlemen stop and reflect that we are among the greatest gold producing nations of the world. Let them stop and reflect that our resources are boundless; that we stand in the morning of our national life, whereas the canker worm of dissolution is already eating at the hearts of the governments of the old world and that they are passing along the meridian and toward the decline of their national existence.

I have faith in the power and strength of this young Republic, standing on a sound monetary basis, to maintain its own in the money markets of the world. Sir, our failure heretofore to obtain an international agreement with the great nations of the earth, whereby we might by united action restore silver to its monetary power, has, in my humble opinion, been owing to the fact that we have approached them from disadvantageous grounds as suppliants and as mendicants.

When we have once placed ourselves in the conditiou in which I believe the measures I havesuggested will place us, and we can approach them in the arena of the world's conflict armed *cap-a-pie*, as rivals, not as suppliants, and convince them that under the economic principle of the "survival of the fittest" our opportunities for survival are equal to if not greater than theirs,

we can exact from them as being in the line of their interest, as I certainly believe it is in the line of our interest, an international agreement by virtue of which silver can be restored as standard money throughout the civilized world.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, this foolish, this unnecessary, but, nevertheless, this very destructive panic has precipitated upon us an issue. We stand where the roads part. There is no intermediate ground. There is no byfield to which the moral coward may retire to shift from himself responsibility. There should be no temporizing, no vacillation. The man needed at this critical hour is the man of positive convictions who, when he believes that he is right, hesitates not to go ahead in the fearless and patriotic discharge of the duty which he owes to the people. I shall not follow the road which requires this Government, in contradiction to all human experience, to undertake alone and unaided the impossible task of lifting silver from the depths to which it has descended and maintaining it at a parity with gold by its free and unlimited coinage.

I shall not follow that road, because, speak of it in as glowing language as you may, prophesy for it as kindly as you please, all the finger boards of history and civilization point in the contrary direction. I believe that it turns not into the highway of national progress and prosperity, but away from that highway into the morasses of doubt and perplexity, of individual and national loss and dishonor. I prefer, sir, recognizing the fact, of course, that there are some difficulties in the way, to turn my face hopefully and courageously towards that other road along which every nation that has most escaped monetary failure and dishonor in the past has been accustomed to travel.

I have in my breast an abiding conviction that if I hold to the proposition that the stability, the unfluctuating character of a coin, as well as its volume, is essential, and push resolutely forward, sooner or later I shall reach the destination to which every patriotic man on this floor, regardless of party belief or geographical location, desires to attain—a governmental system of finance which preserves a stable and unfluctuating standard of value, sufficient in volume to answer all legitimate demands. To such a system silver and paper at a parity with the standard are necessary. But until silver can safely be used as a standard, I earnestly submit that it is folly to invest it with such a function. [Applause.]

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for the repeal of the purchase clause of the so-called "Sherman law," not because I believe it to be the sole or principal cause of the financial and business distress of the country, nor because I expect any considerable relief to the business of the country from its repeal, but because the law, whether wise or not, has served its purpose, and is made the scapegoat by the Democratic party for all the evils that have followed their advent to power.

Its repeal will demonstrate to them and to the country that they have loaded their sins upon the wrong goat.

I am in favor of the repeal, because I am in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money metals, and because the only substitute offered is the free coinage of silver in differing ratios, which, in my judgment, would drive the $600,000,000 of gold out of the country and compel the use of but one metal, and that one silver.

The country is sick; it is in great distress, and in a critical condition. The eminent physician who has the case in charge has made a careful examination and declared his diagnosis to be congestion of the circulation from the use of too much silver. He has made his prescription and sent it to the apothecary shop and asks that it be filled and administered to the patient. It is to "stop the use of silver."

The Democratic party at the present time is in charge of the shop, and they hesitate about filling the prescription. Some question the diagnosis, and refuse to fill a prescription based upon a wrong theory of the disease; others say that, while the diagnosis may be correct, the remedy is not the proper one. They cry "*similia similibus curantur*," like cures like, and the patient must have more silver. Others still say the prescription means simply the "gold cure," and are willing to administer it, notwithstanding the reputation it entails upon the patient. And so, haggling over the correctness of the diagnosis and the sufficiency of the prescription, they have agreed to discuss the matter for two weeks, and, if the patient is alive at the end of that time, they promise to do something.

Now, Mr. Speaker, in a case so critical as this, where the physician and the apothecaries are at loggerheads, would it not be the part of wisdom to call in additional counsel? Would it not be the part of prudence to take into their confidence and conference the 127 Republican members of this House and ask their opinion of the disease and the proper remedy?

I very much mistake the temper of the minority if they would not be willing to give honest counsel.

It is true, they might not entirely agree with the eminent physician in his diagnosis. They might say that possibly he had mistaken a prominent symptom for the real disease; but they would say, as this symptom is most prominent in the patient's mind, allay it; administer the remedy prescribed, stop feeding silver for a time, let the patient rally about a little, and then administer a digestive powder or solvent that would enable the system to take up this surplus silver and send it coursing through the circulation again, and in this way relieve the congestion.

But possibly, upon a more careful examination, it might be discovered that the patient is suffering from an assault and battery. The assault was made in Chicago last August and the battery took place last November, when the protective policy of the country was knocked out of the ring in the first round. And from that day until this the patient has been getting worse and worse, and under the repeated threats of a renewal of the assault has been growing weaker, until hope, courage, and confidence is almost destroyed.

Stop these threats, bind up the bruises already inflicted, with the assurance that no further assaults shall be made, and I assure you the patient will leap to his feet again, a giant in strength and activity.

We have been doing business in this country for the last thirty years under the American system of protection. It matters very little whether it is the best system or not. The business of the country had adapted itself to it and the nation had prospered as no nation ever prospered before.

One year ago to-day the country was never in a more prosperous condition. The people were not overburdened with taxes; the revenues of the Government were equal to its expenditures; labor was fully employed all over the country at remunerative wages. Our granaries were filled with the products of our farms. Our mines of coal, iron, copper, and silver yielded their rich products to the brawny arm of well-paid labor.

The fires in our furnaces were lighted, our forges were aglow, and our anvils resounded with the sturdy blows of the hammer. Our mills were running and our factories were hives of industry. Our transportation lines were taxed to their utmost capacity to carry these products of industry to market.

Now, how changed are all these conditions. Two hundred thousand workmen walk our streets in idleness and ask for bread. Our mills and factories are closed; the fires in our furnaces have gone out, and our anvils and looms are silent. Our money, as good as any in the world, has sought its hiding places, and refuses to come forth at the demand of labor or business.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it seems to me to be the sheerest nonsense to attribute this great change to the act authorizing the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver each month, or to expect any immediate or considerable relief to follow the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman law. But public attention is now centered upon it, and it is well to remove it, that the real cause may be seen and recognized.

A pledge to the country that its industrial policy shall not be disturbed must follow the repeal of the Sherman law, or we must await the slow process of the adjustment of business to the new policy to be inaugurated by the party now in power. [Applause.]

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will recognize any member who desires to address the House on the pending question.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. Speaker, as nobody seems desirous to occupy the floor at this time, I move that the House now take a recess until 8 o'clock.

The SPEAKER. Several gentleman have requested that there be an evening session to-night at 8 o'clock for debate only, and, in the absence of objection, that order will now be made.

There was no objection.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask unanimous consent to introduce a bill for reference to the Committee on Banking and Currency, with leave to report at any time after the special order has been exhausted.

Mr. PAYNE. I ask that the title of the bill be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill to increase the currency and provide for the redemption thereof, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PAYNE. I object.

Mr. BAILEY. Will the gentleman permit me to make a brief statement? I have introduced this bill at the request of several gentlemen on the Committee on Banking and Currency, who desire to have it before them in connection with another bill which they are now considering.

Mr. PAYNE. I think all of these bills had better take the usual course, and after we get rules and get properly organized, they can be referred to the committees and be considered.

The SPEAKER. Objection is made. If there be no objection, the recess will now be taken until 8 o'clock, and the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON] will preside at the evening session, which is held for the purpose of debate only under the special order.

Accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the House took a recess until 8 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

The recess having expired, the House (at 8 o'clock p. m.) resumed its session, Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee in the chair as Speaker *pro tempore*.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. Speaker, it is with much diffidence that I, a new member, avail myself of your kind recognition to address this House. I would not do so unless impelled by a high sense of public duty. Silence, more becoming a new member than speech, would be much more pleasant to me. But the people of no section watch with more concern nor are more interested, nor will be more affected by the outcome of our present deliberations than the people that I have the honor to represent here. They recognize the vast importance, they perceive the far-reaching consequences which must and which will result from the settlement of the great question before us.

The people of my section have an abiding faith that we will devise a permanent and safe system of finance and currency, which will eliminate the present evils and disasters, prevent their recurrence in the future, and enable them once more to enter upon the broad road of prosperity and wealth. No people of the South recovered quicker from the losses and misfortunes of the late civil war, none progressed faster upon the road of prosperity after the clouds of war rolled by than did the people of the bright tobacco belt which I, in part, represent upon this floor.

Up to 1873 our progress was surprising and phenomenal. Few communities presented more evidences of wealth and prosperity. Since that time, along with the agricultural interests of the whole world, there has been a gradual falling off of prices, a gradual reduction from the returns of labor and sale of products. No interest is more directly affected by the currency than tobacco; its manufacture and sale are conducted upon a cash basis; no business will respond more quickly and improve more rapidly upon an expansion of the currency than tobacco. None will feel more acutely and deeply the blighting and disastrous effect of a contracted currency.

The people of my district have given me positive instructions which shall control my action upon the pending question. In the convention which nominated me I was instructed to vote for the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver. I promised and pledged my people if elected my efforts should be directed to its accomplishment. They have a right to demand its fulfillment. I have yet to learn, as distinguished gentlemen have here implied, that the solemn declarations of a party are "glittering catch-words" with which to acquire position and power.

Of all trusts which should be held sacred, of all promises which should be fulfilled, to my mind none can surpass, none are more binding than those made between a confiding constituency and its Representative. Speaking for myself, I can say that there is not a pledge, not a promise that I made to the generous and noble constituency which honored me in sending me here that I will not endeavor to fulfill and discharge.

I am here still to profess an abiding faith and confidence in the wisdom and declarations of the last Democratic platform. That platform has received the approval of the vast majority of the American people. Their aggregated wisdom has proclaimed its efficiency. To execute its provisions, to enact into law its promises, a confiding people have given the Democracy all the three branches of this great Government. Each branch, each member, must answer separately and independently for the discharge of this great trust.

If we are guided in our decision by the provisions of the platform, our duty is clear and unmistakable. Upon the silver question the Chicago platform makes three clear and distinct proposals. First, the repeal of the Sherman law; second, the coinage of gold and silver without discrimination, and third, its coinage at such ratio or in such manner as the parity of the two metals coined can be maintained. Each and every one of these provisions is binding upon the party.

There is no doubt but that there is a ratio where free coinage of silver is perfectly safe and will be successful. It is our duty to determine this, and obey the behest of the people who have elevated us to power. No refining of phrases, no subtle distinctions can explain away or destroy what is so clear and what was accepted as a universal interpretation until recently. There is no justification whatever in that platform for those who are here struggling to put us entirely on a gold basis. How can they answer to the people for broken pledges, and for the contraction of the currency which will inevitably result after you have completely stricken down silver?

All three of the great parties of this nation are committed to the coinage of standard dollars of both gold and silver without discrimination. No candidate dare go before the American people in advocacy of a single gold standard. If, so, that party or that candidate would be buried so deep that the hand of resurrection would never touch him.

So true is this that even those gentlemen who here contemplated by their votes putting us on a gold basis profess, while assassinating silver, a great love and affection for it.

While giving the fatal blow which destroys its life, they swear eternal friendship and prophecy greater uses and benefits which await it in the far unknown future. They shout, "Though I slay thee, yet I love thee." Judas-like, they betray silver to the money kings with kisses of endearment. They are very much like a class of people known as hypocrites, so pointedly described by the clear-sighted Goldsmith, who, he says, think they have paid virtue all of its dues when they compliment it. So with these pretended friends of silver. They think they have paid silver its entire dues when they have heaped upon it empty and profuse compliments. Such talk and such professions can not and will not deceive the people. Even though they differ with you they would yet prefer frankness, candor, and courage, and consistency in their representative. Here in this Congress, at this time, the roads diverge.

You must choose which you will take; you must decide between a single and a double standard of value; you must determine whether you believe in a single gold standard or in a standard of both gold and silver. However disagreeable and exacting, it is impossible to escape a choice. It is useless for you, and I tell you you can not deceive the friends of silver and the people when you select and travel the golden road and yet sing pæans of praise to silver and bimetallism. That will not save you. They are not deceived by such bombast and professions.

Those of you who have selected the golden road will, for a while, doubtless, find it very pleasant and cheering. Capitalists of wealth and power will approve your decision and compliment your wisdom. That portion of the press representing the money power will commend your financial ability and statesmanship. Bondholders and bankers will embrace you and prophecy for you a great future of fame and distinction. You will first be lulled into peace and repose for sudden changes and broken pledges, and then cheered with the suggestions of future elevation and power. Your ear will be deaf to the calm, quiet, unobtrusive voice of the great mass of farmers, laborers, and mechanics, who, with wonder and astonishment, have witnessed your sudden change. But a great day of reckoning will come. When the country shall be overshadowed with the effects of a stringent and contracted currency and products have further fallen in value and the debtor has become more oppressed and despairing, you will find it difficult to explain to these why you voted against every measure here introduced to expand the currency and bring relief to the producing and laboring masses.

I here and now, according to the instructions of my people and my convictions of right, in the interest of the plain, honest laboring people who have aided and sustained us in every upward step in life, select the road that leads to a double standard. It is the only one which is safe and sound. It is the road upon which our fathers started us in 1792, and which we traveled so successfully and prosperously until 1873. Those who advocate the free coinage of silver do not ask you to venture upon an unknown and untried experiment. They ask you to return to the safe, conservative methods of finance which existed here until 1873. They ask you to give them the money of the Constitution. They demand the enactment into law what has been the policy of the Democratic party from its foundation by Jefferson. They demand a righting of the fraud of 1873.

The more attentively and carefully that I have listened to this discussion the more have I been impressed with the fact that the free coinage of both gold and silver at a ratio where the parity can be maintained is the proper, safe, and permanent solution of the difficulties which now beset us. The human mind is powerless to estimate the wrongs and disasters which have resulted from the demonetization of silver in 1873. At that time there was no just excuse for it. Silver was at a premium of 3 per cent over gold. Agriculture, commerce, and manufacture were prospering and each year becoming more profitable. Statistics exhibit that from 1850 to 1873 there was a gradual rise in the prices of all agricultural products of 33⅓ per cent.

From 1873 to now there has been a gradual reduction of over 50 per cent. This reduction is not confined to the United States, but extends over the entire world. The year 1873 marked a departure from rising to falling prices. It has now reached such a fearful extent that agriculture the world over is depressed

and paralyzed. Its misfortunes, as it always will ultimately do, have brought desolation and ruin to other industries. This distress and depression extend to all portions of the world. It exists where there are tariff laws and no tariff laws; where there are Sherman laws and no Sherman laws. It first started in England with a gold standard, with the failure of Baring Brothers, and from there has circumscribed the world. England has appointed commission after commission to examine into the causes of depression and falling prices there.

An evil which is world-wide must be produced by a cause equally as extensive. The best way to determine the cause of an evil is to trace it back to the time when it first made its appearance. The era of rising prices and prosperity continued up to 1873 when it was arrested and a downward tendency precipitated, which has become greater and greater each year. Then some great causes arising in that year must have produced the sudden change. That year witnessed a revolution in the financial system of the world surpassing any convulsions which have ever disturbed the natural world. Germany went from a silver to a gold basis.

The United States demonetized silver and adopted the gold standard. France and the states of the Latin Union ceased the free coinage of silver. England has been upon a gold basis ever since 1816. Ever since 1873 agriculture has languished and each year become more and more depressed, less and less profitable. The statistics gathered from all sources verify this. Can any one doubt the demonetization of silver that year, so great and far-reaching in its influence, was the the cause of this sudden change? Is not the sensible way to recover what we have lost to retrace our steps? What excuse was there for destroying half the money of the world? At the time this wrong was perpetrated silver was at a premium of 3 per cent over gold. There was no complaint of a redundancy of currency. For whose interest and at whose instigation was this fraudulent wrong perpetrated?

Note the time at which the wrong was accomplished and the answer is complete. England adopted the gold standard in 1816. It was immediately after the great Napoleon wars, when she had contracted a public debt of vast and unprecedented proportions. She adopted it to enhance the value of these bonds, making them payable in gold and thus increasing their purchasing power. Germany was upon a silver basis until after the war with France, and France had to pay her an immense indemnity, and she for the same reason adopted the gold standard, to make her indemnity payable in gold, thus increasing its purchasing power. No one ever heard of the necessity of the United States following the course of England and shaping our financial policy after her upon a gold basis until the same cause existed here which produced the gold standard in England.

Immediately after the late civil war, and the United States had contracted a public debt of billions of dollars, the holders of these bonds, although they had agreed to receive payment in any lawful money, commenced the same agitation here that their brethren had done in England to make their bonds payable in gold. They first secured the passage of an act directing that they should be paid in coin, which included both gold and silver. They next demonetized silver in 1873, and thus left but one coin, and that gold, with which to pay them.

Thus the same conditions which had produced the gold standard in England precipitated it here. It was done in the interest of the bondholders, against the express terms and faith of the original agreement, to increase the purchasing power of their holdings. They have since resisted every attempt and effort to coin or remonetize silver. They are clamorous for the repeal of the Sherman law without making any provision for the coinage of silver. They persistently refuse to accept any compromise, however safe and sound, which creates any silver coin with which to pay them. They, and they alone, are benefited by the elimination of silver from our monetary system.

This class has already become enriched at the expense of the great mass of the American people. I am unwilling to become party to measures which will tend to their further enrichment. I am unwilling to lower the price of tobacco, corn, wheat, oats, and all other agricultural and manufacturing products to make more secure and richer the holders of these bonds.

I have been impressed that there is one fact upon which all who have addressed this House are agreed; that is, that the world's supply of gold is wholly inadequate to do its business. That if the world continues upon a gold basis long there will be a depression and falling off of prices on account of the continued appreciation of gold fearful to contemplate. Yet they are willing to venture into these great dangers and trust to an international monetary conference to extricate them. What chances are there for the success of such an agreement? What assurances have we that this will ever succeed? They all claim that England must be a party to it before it can ever be accomplished.

What reason has England to reverse her financial policy? She is the great creditor nation of the world. It is estimated that she has due her from foreign nation over $10,000,000,000. The world's entire supply of gold amounts to about $3,600,000,000, about one-third the foreign indebtedness due England. All England has to do, when the world establishes a gold standard and makes all debts due her payable in gold, to absorb the entire circulating medium of the world and leave the rest destitute of money is to enforce the collection of her debts. She is then able to dominate and control the finances and currency of the world. The price of all products, the amount of gold in any country, will then be regulated by the wishes and interests of the British people.

It is estimated that Great Britain has due her alone in the United States $2,000,000,000. We have only about $600,000,000 of gold—less than one-third enough to discharge this indebtedness. Make this debt payable in gold, as gentlemen here advocate, and all that England has to do to absorb the entire gold supply of the United States is to compel us to pay what we owe her. When we adopt a gold standard we place our entire currency, our entire financial system, at the mercy of England. Even if she does not enforce the collection of her indebedness, the fact that she can and thus produce these results would make us dependent and subservient to her. No balance of trade in our favor can prevent the depletion of our gold and the contraction and absorption of our currency.

I, for one, will never consent to be manacled and bound hand and foot to the domination and mercy of British money kings. When you do this you create here a British power, a British tyranny, a British despotism, far more potential for evil and disaster than existed prior to the Revolutionary war. England will then regulate according to her own interest the prices she shall pay for our tobacco, cotton, corn, wheat, oats, and other agricultural products. When she fixes these at a greatly reduced price to suit her own interest, to the impoverishment and ruin of the producer, you who assisted in the accomplishment of this purpose will have to answer to an indignant, outraged, and ruined constituency. That such is the interest and purpose of England there can be no question.

Mr. Gladstone, in a recent speech, demonstrated this desire and interest upon the part of England when he scorned the idea that she would ever be foolish enough to consent to a double standard. A majority of the Royal Commission of 1886, appointed to inquire into the recent changes of the relative value of the precious metals, state that England's financial supremacy is dependent upon the maintenance of the gold standard, and that, being a creditor nation, it is to her interest to ever resist the adoption of a double standard.

But observe the wild scheme proposed by the professed friends of international bimetallism to compel England to come to a double standard. They say the world's supply of gold, being far short of the world's need, that the United States should enter the contest and fiercely compete with England for the possession of gold; that with our superior resources and abilities we will deplete England of her gold, and she will be compelled to surrender and unite with us in an agreement for a double standard at a fixed ratio. To deplete England of gold, they recommend a sale there of United States bonds. What foolishness and what nonsense! All England would have to do to again acquire the gold she had parted with would be to send these bonds here and sell or collect them.

If she desired more gold, all she would have to do would be to demand payment of her other indebtedness. If she wished to deplete us of the last dollar of gold, all she would have to do, when silver is stricken down, is to require payment of the $2,000,000,000 due her. When she did this, instead of having gold sufficient to pay her, we would have to procure elsewhere twice as much as we now have. Make this immense debt payable in gold alone, as you now propose, and there will come a time when your gold will be completely drained and destitute and our currency, being based on gold alone, will fall with a tremendous crash, like a house which has lost its foundations.

To my mind, the only way to save our gold and to compel England to adopt a double standard of gold and silver is by the passage of a measure for the free coinage of silver with full legal-tender power given to the dollars, thus enabling the American debtor to pay the English creditor in gold or silver at his option. If these should be depreciated dollars, as gentlemen of the other side claim, but I do not believe, it will quickly force England to consent to free coinage at our ratio, to sustain or appreciate the value of the silver dollar she is compelled to receive. If depreciation should exist, as gentlemen claim, England will be compelled to join with us and enhance the value of silver, or else sustain an immense loss.

Can anyone doubt that, it being made her interest to unite with us and adopt the double standard, that she would hesitate

to do so? Can any reasonable person believe all British indebtedness has been made payable in gold and thus double the purchasing power of the money, that England should ever consent for it to be discharged in silver? Never, never! Nations are governed by self-interest and not sentiment. When you put yourself at their mercy you may expect to be squeezed to the fullest extent of their power. You will never witness the free coinage of silver until the United States takes the lead. When she does this, which her interest so clearly indicates is best, self-interest will compel England and the rest of the world to adopt it. You can never hasten free coinage by further depressing the price of silver and increasing the purchasing power of gold.

But there is another danger equally as appalling which will overshadow us if we determine this question without providing for the coinage of silver. The public debt of the United States amounts to about $600,000,000. This is payable in coin. Eliminate silver and you have but one coin, and that gold, in which this debt is payable. The amount of gold in the United States is also about $600,000,000, about equal to the public debt. Make this debt payable alone in gold, it would take about the entire gold supply to discharge it. The taxing power of the Federal Government, superior to and overriding every other claim, would be compelled to sacrifice enough property of its citizens to gather in this gold for the bondholders.

The holders of this public debt would thus have it in their power to absorb and control our gold supply. Our currency being based entirely on gold, they would have complete control of our finance and currency. Can anyone doubt that they would use this power to their own advantage? Can anyone doubt that they would enrich themselves at the expense of the masses? I, or one, will never consent, in order to increase the purchasing power of these bonds, to confer this great power upon them.

Mr. Speaker, there is another danger worthy of consideration which will confront us when we fail to make any provision for the coinage of silver. When the present law is repealed unconditionally you will witness a tremendous fall in the price of silver. It will probably decline to 50 cents per ounce, making our silver dollars worth about 39 cents. We have about $700,000,000 worth of currency based on silver; the whole resources of the Government will then be required to maintain the parity of this amount. Silver being discounted everywhere, the people will be disinclined to accept or use it. You will witness a great cry against the 39-cent dollar.

The same condition of affairs will be precipitated that exists now. Demand will be made that you retire the $700,000,000, or make them redeemable in gold. With this decline you will witness more uncertainty and uneasiness than now exists. It will take more resources of the Government, with the increased fears, to keep circulating this vast amount of depreciated money than it would to sustain free coinage at an increased ratio. It is much easier and safer for the United States to enhance the value of silver bullion, thus making free coinage successful, than it is to keep circulating at par a currency which she herself has depreciated and stamped with her disfavor. You, gentlemen, who now contemplate abandoning the coinage of silver entirely will precipitate upon this country either a depreciated currency or else a contraction fearful to contemplate, bringing with it ruin and disaster.

There is another danger of great moment which confronts us if no provision is made for the use of silver in settling this question. It is estimated that one-third of the supply of gold is derived from silver mines, nature having placed the two metals together. Unless the silver mines can be profitably operated this supply will cease, and thus contract the increase of gold currency one-third. At the present price of silver the mines will close, and will remain so unless we make provisions for the use of silver. This is a great and serious danger, which should demand our attention before voting down the substitute offered here.

From whatever standpoint we view this question, Mr. Speaker, it seems to me the only safe and sound solution lies in the repeal of the Sherman law and the coinage of both gold and silver at a ratio where the parity of the two metals can be maintained. We are pledged and committed to this, and our duty and our country's interest demand its execution. It is no new experiment. In 1803 Napoleon Bonaparte, the master mind of the world, the greatest genius of all ages and all times, established in France the free coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 15½ to 1. That country, through revolution and defeat and disaster, was enabled to preserve that ratio between the two metals until 1873, when it abandoned the policy.

The variation between the two did not exceed 3 per cent. At the time this ratio was established the yearly supply of silver was about forty times as large as that of gold. At the time of the discovery of the Australian and Californian gold mines the proportion between gold and silver became 5 to 1. Yet France was enabled, despite the great changes in the supply, to maintain that established ratio and prevent a depreciation in gold. Now the supply of silver to gold is in the proportion of 23 to 1, far less than it was in 1803, when France by law established and maintained the ratio of 15½ to 1.

The United States has more power, more resources, more wealth, and commerce than did France and the Latin Union have at that time. Dr. Strong in his wonderful book, Our Country, states that the census of 1880 discloses that the wealth of the United States exceeds that of all continental Europe. The one just taken will doubtless exhibit that our wealth exceeds that of Britain and Europe combined. We occupy the first rank as a manufacturing people, our product to-day exceeding that of Britain by a billion dollars. With our superior advantage of both manufacture and sale, we have only to remove the infamous tariff restrictions, when our products in this direction will be only measured by the world's needs and necessities.

Our mines are of unequaled richness and variety; imagination herself is bewildered in contemplating the possible grandeur and greatness of our country; we have stupendous and untold wealth and resources; all that we need is currency with which to utilize and develop it. With all this wealth and power, with this unrivalled future lying before us, we are told that we are powerless to do what nations of far less wealth have so successfully accomplished. We are asked to abdicate our financial independence and dance attendance upon England. It is urged that we should follow, where our position and wealth entitle us to lead; that we should be denied all increase of currency until the rest of the world should see proper to consent for us to have it.

The last few months have demonstrated that the impoverished British dependency, India, can by having or not having the free coinage of silver, elevate or depress its price over 10 cents an ounce. Yet we are told that this great Government, with its untold wealth and resources, is unable to elevate it that much per ounce and maintain it there, and thus successfully have free coinage. The idea, to my mind, is preposterous.

Take the great law of supply and demand, to which the gentlemen who have addressed the House upon the other side so often allude, and it will clearly prove that free coinage can be made a success and the parity maintained. Establish free coinage at a safe, sound ratio. Make the silver dollar a legal tender for the payment of all taxes, State and national, all debts, public and private, and there will be a greater demand for these dollars than can be supplied. There will be a demand for them to the extent of $2,000,000,000 to pay the Federal, State, county, and municipal indebtedness. There will be a demand for $2,000,000,000 worth of them to pay our indebtedness to England.

There will be a demand for a billion dollars' worth of them a year in this country to pay the Federal, State, municipal, and county taxes. There will be a demand for billions upon billions of dollars of them to pay the immense private indebtedness of this country. There will be a demand for all and far more than can be supplied to conduct the great enterprises and industries of this country. With this great need and demand I have no fear that the United States can not safely have free coinage at parity.

Hostile legislation destroyed silver, friendly legislation can reinstate it. If this can be accomplished it is universally admitted that great and immense benefits will accrue. The currency will be expanded to answer the needs and wants of business. All agricultural products will enhance in value; trade and commerce will receive a new stimulation and revive; new enterprises will spring up giving employment to the idle; debtors will be enabled to discharge their indebtedness and commence life with renewed hope.

The country needs and must have an expansion of its currency. Nothing more distinctly proves this than the present panic. With splendid crops and abundance of wealth of all kinds, yet business and commerce are paralyzed for lack of currency. We are so limited in quantity that the least scare and uneasiness produce a great scarcity. We have a circulating medium of only $24.34, as shown by the last report of the Director of the Mint. When you take into the account the amount required by law to be held for national bank reserve, the amount in the treasuries of the United States, the States, the cities, and the counties and the numerous large corporations, it will reduce the actual amount in circulation to about one-half that amount.

France, acknowledged the most prosperous of all European countries, and less afflicted by financial distress than any country in the world, by the same report has a circulating medium of $40.56. We need far more currency than France. France is an old country and has developed; ours is a new country and needs development. We have forests to fell, rivers to span, railroads to construct, immense crops of tobacco, cotton, corn, and wheat

to pay for and move, cities to build, and new enterprises of every kind and character requiring expenditure of money and capital.

France is a small country and checks and commercial paper can there greatly supplement the currency. We are a continent, and the use of these is greatly restricted here, and instead of using drafts we are compelled to have large shipments of currency from one section to another. With these conditions we need far more currency than France, and yet have really not half so much. We will never witness marked progress and prosperity here until we have a currency sufficient to answer our needs and wants.

I favor free coinage of silver as one of the safe and sound means of acquiring this expansion, but I am not wedded absolutely to that. I am prepared to vote for any safe and good system which will supply this want. The people have a right to demand and expect this relief.

I shall never forget the joy which illumined the face of the South when the intelligence was flashed that the Democracy had acquired all the branches of this great Government, and would give relief from the burdens which so long had oppressed and impoverished her. For over twenty years of gloom and disappointment we had watched for the advent of that glorious day. No promises could seduce, no fears drive us from the ranks of Democracy. In the fierce battles which were fought by the two great parties for national supremacy, however much the Democratic line might have been broken, disorganized, and pierced elsewhere, that portion of the line intrusted to the gallant and loyal South always presented when the smoke of battle rolled by a triumphant, unbroken, and solid front.

Do not disappoint these trusting, true, and loyal people. Give us legislation that will bring us relief, give us an increase of currency. We ask no special privileges for ourselves, but only equality and justice; for an opportunity of making the dreams and possibilities of the new South realities. We ask to have swept from the statute book those iniquitous laws with which the Republican party have sought to ruin and impoverish us. We make no threats, however much we may differ as to the solution of this financial question. There are things upon which we all agree and will stand together. We are all agreed despite differences upon the financial question, to stand solidly to the Democracy as our shield, our bulwark, and only hope.

We are all agreed in our admiration of the courage, wisdom, honesty, and patriotism of our leader—the President; we are all agreed, and upon this I believe the whole country is now about unanimous, that the Republican party is thoroughly incompetent and unworthy to legislate upon the finance, the tariff, or pensions, and that when it has full sway it invariably hurls the country into the deepest depths of desolation and want. We are again all agreed—and I think upon this the country is about unanimous and likely to remain so—that the Republican party shall never again be given power and opportunity of inflicting upon us the evils and disaster with which we are now suffering, and which they so recklessly brought upon us. [Applause.]

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, Having listened to the discussion of the question now before the House with great interest, I desire to add a few thoughts relating to the subject.

I am inclined to the belief that most of us realize the lack of knowledge as to the causes and need information as to the cure for the present condition of the business interest of our great country.

We all know the value of a correct diagnosis. It is everything in the practice of medicine, and knowledge that enables us to understand the cause or causes of our present financial difficulties is essential to the application of the proper remedies.

Let us consider, then, some of the possible causes.

If money was the cause, silver might be the cure. If the protective tariff was the cause, revision might prove the remedy; if the disputes between capital and labor, arbitration might effect a cure. But, Mr. Speaker, the cause is to be found in neither of these things. We have no scarcity of money with more than a billion and a half dollars in circulation. The cause is not in the tariff, for taxes were never less burdensome, and our people were never better fed and clothed than at the present time. It is not the lack of capital, nor the scarcity of labor, because capital was never more able to engage in new enterprises and labor never more willing to be employed. No, the cause of our troubles lies back of all these. It is a wide-eyed, shapeless monster that has cast a withering blight over our country—a monster conceived in the swamps of party contention and born in the cave of suspicion, nameless but for the one word, distrust.

This monster, Mr. Speaker, has dragged its slimy length into every mart of exchange, into every plant of industry, into every home of comfort. It has crossed the threshold of American homes and whispered of possible inflation and cheap money, and a million depositors run a thousand banks to cover. It entered our great manufacturing centers and suggested uncertain imports and doubtful prices, and our furnace fires went out from Denver to Lowell, and a hundred thousand operatives stand idle in the streets. It went to the office of the capitalist and spoke of investment risks, of labor unions, and of strikes. And from San Francisco to New York, from London to Berlin, the strong box is closed and labor walks the streets demanding work or bread.

Mr. Speaker, universal distrust, then, is the true cause of our present condition. What, then, shall this Congress do to restore confidence? If the causes of distrust are threefold, the remedy must be commensurate with the cause. Let us look for a remedy, then, along the lines of money tariff and (coining a new word) capital-labor. Since, according to history and international comparison and actual statistics, our money is sufficient in quantity—since it is all on a parity with gold, the metal of ultimate redemption in the currency of the civilized world, it follows that the distrust which comes from this source is not in what exists but what is threatened.

Mr. Speaker, the menace to our money is the attempt to make silver equal to gold as a measure of value. Since gold became the standard of value, not by legislative enactment, but by the universal law of supply and demand, there is great apprehension that an attempt to change the standard will result, first, in unsettled values, demoralizing trade, and finally in total failure, since the value of a thing, after all, is the estimate which man puts upon it while acting in his free and individual capacity, all other values being really fictitious. An attempt of Government to usurp this right naturally causes alarm and distrust. Hence, every one having a dollar in a savings bank, rather than have it supplemented by an inferior dollar, takes it into his own possession for safe keeping, and thus banks are closed by runs. The remedy is, therefore, to discontinue all governmental attempts to force or fix values. To this end the Sherman law, so called, which requires the United States Treasury to buy 4,500,000 ounces of silver every month, should be repealed for the two reasons, first, because it compels the Government to purchase a commodity which it does not need, and, secondly, because it is an attempt to give to silver an artificial value by an arbitrary market which sooner or later must be closed. Such a law being utterly without reason, deserves no concession for its repeal.

We shall still continue to use silver and nickel and copper and paper according to the necessities of business, but let it be known, fixed, and established that the unit of value in this country is in accord with the commerce of the world and the judgment of civilized mankind, and confidence will be restored and financial distrust driven from the minds of men.

Of no less importance is the tariff question. As a source of distrust it is disintegrating the very foundations of business, and while we can not agree as to what should be done, we do agree that what is done should be done definitely and quickly. If this country can be run on either the protection or free-trade plan it can not endure a halting and vacillating course between the two.

Successful business depends on stable condition. The administration has declared for tariff reform. This means a change of conditions. In such unsettled times customers will only order limited supplies, and thus business is paralyzed. Let Congress declare quickly what the imposts are to be, and business will adjust itself accordingly, and confidence will be the logical result of the knowledge. But, Mr. Speaker, the abnormal relations between capital and labor is a more pitiable source of distrust than is generally suspected, and like a subtle poison is contaminating the very life current of the nation. The angry symptoms of this disease are manifested on the one hand by trusts and combinations to fix prices and on the other by organizations and strikes to fix wages. The appalling results are that capital is driven from the field, enterprises are abandoned, and labor is unemployed—discontent everywhere and want near at hand.

Mr. Speaker, we have three distinct classes of people in this country. First, capitalists, who have a surplus for investments. Second, wage-workers, who must be employed. Third, a vast middle class, who partake of the nature of both the first and second, having some capital but no surplus, and ability to earn wages, but not necessarily obliged to. This middle class hold the balance of power and can secure justice to both the other classes. Capital is silent and selfish. Labor is loud and revolting. This attitude toward one another is the cause of widespread discontent and alarm. Let Congress declare, if only by joint resolution, that force is unlawful and that all redress must be sought through law and legislation and that both trusts and strikes are force within the meaning of the statute and therefore prohibited.

There is no doubt that in a free republic labor, by being law-abiding, would be more secure, and would have its rights speedily vindicated by law.

When the unlawful and destructive strife between capital and labor is thus ended, capital will flow again in its natural channels and labor be freely employed, prosperity universal, and perfect confidence restored between all classes.

These, Mr. Speaker, are my views as to the cause and cure of the present unfortunate condition of the business interests of our country, and these views I would be pleased to defend at length if time permitted.

Let me say to the members of this, the most important Congress for many years, that you are not here to legislate for silver or gold, not for merely two millions of people, but for sixty-seven millions;

and the action of this Congress may be such that it will be an everlasting honor for you to have had a seat in this Hall, because by your action you are able to restore universal confidence; and with confidence will come real, not fictitious values for both labor and property.

Do this, and the sunshine of prosperity will enter the home of every citizen of our Republic. [Applause.]

Mr. MADDOX. Mr. Speaker, the intense and vital interest of the pending questions before the House is the apology I have to offer for attempting to suggest a thought on the great and momentous issues to be decided by our votes, as the Representatives of the United States, on next Monday.

The gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON] introduced a bill which has for its purpose the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act of 1890:

Be it enacted, etc., That so much of the act approved July 14, 1890, entitled, "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," as directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month at the market price thereof, not exceeding $1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchases Treasury notes of the United States, be, and the same is hereby, repealed; but this repeal shall not impair, or in any manner affect, the legal tender quality of the standard silver dollars heretofore coined; and the faith and credit of the United States are hereby pledged to maintain the parity of the standard gold and silver coins of the United States at the present legal ratio or such other ratio as may be established by law.

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] offers as a substitute the following measure, which I will ask to have incorporated in my remarks:

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act all holders of silver bullion to the amount of $100 or more, of standard weight and fineness, shall be entitled to have the same coined at the Mint of the United States into silver dollars of the weight and fineness provided for in the second section of this act.

SEC. 2. That the silver dollar provided for in this act shall consist of 412½ grains of standard silver, said dollars to be a legal tender for all debts, dues, and demands, both public and private.

SEC. 3. That the holder of the silver dollars herein provided for shall be entitled to deposit the same and to receive silver certificates in the manner now provided by law for the standard silver dollars.

SEC. 4. That so much of the act of July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," as requires the monthly purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

I also incorporate the rules adopted by this House for the discussion and decision of the pending questions:

Ordered by the House, That H. R. No. 1 shall be taken up for immediate consideration and considered for fourteen days. During such consideration night sessions may be held, for debate only, at the request of either side. The daily sessions to commence at 11 a. m. and continue until 5 p. m. Eleven days of the debate on the bill to be given to general debate under the rules of the last House regulating general debate, the time to be equally divided between the two sides, as the Speaker may determine. The last three days of debate may be devoted to the consideration of the bill and the amendments herein provided for, under the usual five-minute rule of the House, as in Committee of the Whole House. General leave to print is hereby granted.

Order of amendments: The vote shall be taken first on an amendment providing for the free coinage of silver at the present ratio. If that fails, then a separate vote to be had on a similar amendment proposing a ratio of 17 to 1; if that fails, on one proposing a ratio of 18 to 1; if that fails, on one proposing a ratio of 19 to 1; if that fails, on one proposing a ratio of 20 to 1. If the above amendments fail, it shall be in order to offer an amendment reviving the act of the 28th of February, 1878, restoring the standard silver dollar, comonly known as the Bland-Allison act; the vote then to be taken on the engrossment and third reading of the bill as amended, or on the bill itself if all amendments shall have been voted down, and on the final passage of the bill without other intervening motions.

It will be seen from the Wilson bill that, if adopted, the purchasing clause of the Sherman act will be unconditionally repealed.

If any one of the substitutes is adopted, as offered by the gentleman from Missouri, the Sherman act will be repealed necessarily.

THE ORDER OF PASSING ON THE QUESTION.

These questions are to be passed under the rules adopted as follows: First, the substitute demanding the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. Should this fail, then the different ratios are to be submitted until they reach the ratio of 20 to 1; and if this should fail, then what is known as the Bland-Allison act comes next. Should this be defeated, then the Wilson bill, which has for its purpose the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, will be reached. These are the propositions to be determined by this body.

CONSTRUCTION OF FINANCIAL PLANK.

Now, Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks I include that part of the Democratic platform which refers to the coinage of silver and gold. I find it in these words:

Platform.

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters, including its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver, without discrimination against either metal or charge for mintage; but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring people, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

This makes up the official record, unless the President's message be considered one of the original papers in the case.

Mr. Speaker, the advocates of the Wilson bill claim that they are only asking that the platform as adopted at Chicago be carried out. The friends of the substitutes claim that they stand upon the platform. Right here the question arises, what has the Chicago platform got to do with the issues submitted and to be determined by this body? If anything, it ought to be given the closest scrutiny. If, on the other hand, the President's message is to control, then it is folly to talk about platforms.

THE VOICE OF DEMOCRACY.

But, Mr. Speaker, my understanding is that the great Democratic convention which met at Chicago created the platform just read; and that it created its standard-bearer by nominating Grover Cleveland, now President of the United States, at the same time. The principles enunciated in that platform are the voice of the Democracy of this country. That platform speaks the sentiments and views of the party, and they nominated as their standard-bearer Mr. Cleveland.

He accepted their nomination and must of necessity have accepted their platform.

If I have construed the platform in accordance with the rules of common sense and common honesty, then we must decide which one—the President or the party—has the right to demand fealty. Or, in other words, we are called upon to decide whether the created is greater than the creator.

Now, Mr. Speaker, let us analyze this Democratic platform. We find this great convention of Democrats denouncing the Sherman law as a makeshift. Mr. Speaker, the question naturally arises, For what is the Sherman law a makeshift? It must be a makeshift for something. Now, what is that something? Is it the Bland-Allison act? It can not be that, for we find in the next sentence this language:

We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal, or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value.

In other words, we, the Democracy of the country, say that we favor both silver and gold as the standard money of the country; that we are in favor of both metals being admitted to the mints without charge. The only condition we put upon them is, that they must be both of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value. This is the substance demanded by the Democracy assembled at Chicago, and the Sherman law is the shadow or makeshift for the free coinage of both gold and silver on a parity with each other.

But they say, further, that if this can not be done they favor an international agreement, using this language, "or be adjusted by international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts."

Now, it will be observed that the first command of the party is to adjust the ratio between the metals, so as to make them both intrinsically equal in value. The next idea (if this fails) is by international agreement. Everybody knows this to be an impossibility. We have tried it time and again, only to meet with certain defeat; and since the adoption of this platform this matter has been presented to the other nations, who have repelled the idea with scorn.

But the next instruction given by our party (if these fail) is that we are to sustain bimetallism and the coinage of both silver and gold by such legislation as will insure the maintenance of the parity of both metals and the equality of the debt-paying power of the dollars at all times in the market and in the payment of debts.

PAPER CURRENCY PARITY.

And they go farther and say, that—

We demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin.

What coin?

Conclusively, both gold and silver. The intention of the party can not and ought not to be misconstrued. It is plain that the Sherman law is condemned because it is a "makeshift" for some one of the methods already mentioned. I do not believe this proposition will be denied.

Now, the plain question before the Democrats in this House is whether they will attempt by the legislation spoken of in our platform to establish the substance there demanded or give up both the substance and the shadow (or "makeshift," if you please).

THE ISSUES ARE CLEAR.

Now, the issues are sharply presented. If either one of the substitutes offered by Mr. BLAND is successful, we will have attained the substance demanded by the Chicago platform and at the same time will have repealed the cowardly "makeshift" there denounced. But if these fail, then we are called on to vote on the Wilson bill, which, if successful, will repeal the Sherman law (or "makeshift," as the case may be), and leave us without shadow or substance. In other words, without even a "makeshift."

WAS THIS THE INTENTION?

Now, Mr. Speaker, does any reasonable man believe that any such thing was demanded, or even thought of, by the convention assembled at Chicago? I can not think so. But gentlemen on this floor, and who claim to be Democrats, attempt to justify themselves when they advocate the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law by claiming that the platform justifies them in their positions.

DOES THE PLATFORM MEAN MONOMETALLISM?

Can any man read that platform, digest it, and come to the conclusion that it means monometallism? Is it not a fact that the Sherman law was condemned because it was adopted in lieu of free coinage? Is it not a fact that the convention expressed and committed itself to bimetallism? And have they not suggested three different ways by which this may be attained? And do not they declare that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin? Can any man deny that it was the purpose to restore silver to its former position as one of the standards of value?

I think not.

Then, if I am correct, in what position are we left if the Wilson bill is passed? We are brought to the single gold standard, going back upon every pledge and even the fundamental principles of the party. Then, if I am correct, the question put heretofore arises, is the command of the created to be blindly followed, or shall we obey the commands of the creator—the demands of the Democratic party? Which will you choose?

For my part, I am yet to learn that the created is greater than the creator. I have pledged myself to follow the instructions of my constituency, and I intend to do so.

GEORGIA PLATFORM.

We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold on a parity with each other, to the end that the money of the people shall be such in quantity and quality as was originally contemplated by the Constitution.

Mr. Speaker, I send to the Clerk's desk the platform adopted by the Georgia convention in May last, the same convention that selected delegates to the Chicago convention, and one of the largest ever attended in the State. I desire to say that in the convention which nominated me the very same plank was adopted as the sentiment of that convention. There can be no doubt as to their position on this subject.

THE COMMAND AT CHICAGO.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I believe that the first command of the party at Chicago was to repeal the Sherman law by adopting a free-coinage measure, having due regard for the equality of the two metals, both in intrinsic and exchangeable value. There can be no doubt as to the meaning of the requirements of the Georgia platform—that they demand the free coinage of both gold and silver on a parity with each other. The same principle was reaffirmed in the convention which nominated me.

Then, so far as I am concerned, and, as I believe, every other Democrat who wishes to follow out and respect the demands and wishes of his party, the only question for us to determine is as to the proper ratio. And I further believe that this course will redound to the interest of the Republic.

We are told by some gentlemen that it is impossible to reach a proper ratio under any one of the substitutes offered by the gentleman from Missouri. They talk glibly of a 58-cent dollar, and assert that the ratio of 20 to 1, if adopted, would only make a dollar whose intrinsic value would be 80 cents. Gentlemen do not meet the question fairly. All things should be considered when the parity of the two metals is discussed.

Mr. Speaker, there are three things to be considered in arriving at a proper ratio for the two metals.

First. The appreciation of gold.

Second. The depreciation of silver.

Third. The appreciation of silver when restored to its former position as one of the standards of value.

The gentlemen who discuss this subject on the other side make their calculations upon a basis that gold, as a measure of value and as a medium of exchange, was, and is now, the unvarying standard. I deny that proposition. The very argument as used by these gentlemen to decry silver, if applied to gold, will show that it has appreciated. They tell us that supply and demand regulate the price of silver, and that the overwhelming supply of that metal has caused it to depreciate.

Then, if this be true, I insist that the large and overwhelming demand for gold—and by reason of the decreasing and very limited supply of that metal—should from the same reasons, cause gold to appreciate. We are told that foreign nations have demonetized silver, and that in order to increase their gold reserves they are drawing largely upon the supply of this country. We are told that large amounts of it are needed to pay the interest on our bonds, and it is candidly admitted by the gentleman from Ohio that there is not enough gold in the world to do the business.

From the best information I can gather, the appreciation of gold, the world over, in the last twenty years has not been less than 10 per cent, and in this country, as a measure of value, from 30 to 40 per cent. Now, if this be true, this is a very important factor that should be considered in arriving at a proper ratio of the two metals.

In the second place, it is but fair that we consider the depreciation of silver. In the present condition of things, or the laws relating to the purchase of silver, it is treated as a commodity, and the excess bullion not purchased by the Treasury fixes the market price thereof. In addition to this fact, the Government has been using its utmost efforts to bear the market. These are facts to be weighed in, along with the fact that if the white metal is restored to its former position, and we admit it to the mints upon the same terms as gold, then all the silver will be measured by its value as money, and not as a commodity; and I think it but fair to say that when silver is restored to its former position (if it ever should be) no one will deny that its bullion value will appreciate very much.

So, when we get right down to a common-sense view of this matter, and weigh it in all of its phases—that is, consider the appreciation of gold from its true basis, and the appreciation of silver when admitted to the mints as one of the standards of value, then I do not think any gentleman can hesitate to vote because a true ratio can not be found in the substitute offered by the gentleman from Missouri.

Then, gentlemen, if these conclusions are right, ought we not as Democrats, loyal to our party, and true to our constituents to endeavor to reach a proper ratio and open the mints of this country to the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold?

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have discussed this question from the standpoint that our platform demanded this much, and that it was our duty to conform to it. But, Mr. Speaker, we are told by the gentleman from Maryland that this demand in our platform is a mere catchword, and that it is impossible to carry it out. If this be a mere catchword, what part of the platform is not subject to the same criticism? What right has he or any one else to say that the convention of Democrats at Chicago were dealing in catchwords?

THE RESULT OF REPEAL.

But we are told by some gentlemen that all the ills that are now besetting the country are due to the purchasing clause of what is known as the Sherman law, and that if we repeal this then relief will follow at once. That it will give temporary relief I have no doubt. The bankers and capitalists of the country are demanding its repeal, and the panic which they have so successfully brought upon the country will terminate when they have accomplished two things: The permanent establishment of the single gold standard, and have compelled the Government to issue large amounts of bonds, by which the national banks of this country may be perpetuated. When these things are done they will open their coffers and some of that large amount of money that you have heard of as circulating in this country will begin to circulate again, until they want something else; and, if a panic is necessary to accomplish it, they will resort to the same methods again. Shall we sell our birthright for a mess of pottage?

What the people of this country must have, and will have in the near future, is a system of finances that will render it impossible for a few individuals to wreck the country at their will. We must wrench this power from Wall street or the existence of this Republic will be short lived.

The repeal of the Sherman law, without any of the conditions proposed, takes from the circulation of the country millions of dollars. Our people all over the country are demanding more money, and yet we are told that the way to relieve the country is to contract the currency, and these gentlemen justify themselves on the plea that it is forcing the gold out of the country.

No Democrat in this country who is a producer of wealth asks for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law. It is only the creditors and the absorbers of wealth who want this bill repealed without substitute. And why? It will enhance the value of their outstanding debts and it will add, at the least calculation, a burden of 40 per cent upon the labor of the debtors of the country, compelling them to pay in an appreciated currency.

The farmers and laborers of all classes have met time and

again and asked for relief. They have sent their petitions here asking for legislation which would bring relief to them and their families. They were denounced as "calamity howlers." But when our boards of trade get together and ask for the repeal of a law in order that they may more effectually enslave the wealth producers of this country, then partisanship is to be ignored, platforms are to be disregarded, the most solemn pledges of Representatives to their constituencies are to be violated, and everybody must rush to the Capitol and do their bidding.

There is no substantial relief in this measure for the toilers of the country. It is not what they expected. It is not what they demanded. It is not what they were promised by the Democratic party. But, on the contrary, as I have already said, it will reduce the circulating medium of the country at least forty millions per annum. It will bring us to the gold standard, and the ultimate result will be the issuing of large amounts of bonds, through which the life of the national banks may be prolonged and perpetuated.

Those gentlemen who advocate the unconditional repeal of this act do not hesitate to tell us that the next move on the board is to issue large amounts of bonds to protect the national credit. If they succeed, this means monometallism and national banks—both directly in conflict with the fundamental principles of Democracy. Yet, in the name of Democracy, by the help of the Republican party, it is to be accomplished.

As a Democrat, and in the name of Democracy, I protest against it. While I have no language to express my contempt for the Sherman law, yet it is clearly demonstrated to my mind, from the positions taken by gentlemen on this floor who are claiming to be with the Democratic party, that there is no chance to ever accomplish any financial legislation beneficial to the people I represent if we allow them to repeal this law unconditionally, and I would be derelict in the duty I owe to the constituency I represent if I should not hold the Sherman law as a hostage to compel them, if possible, to comply with the pledges and promises of the party made to the people.

But some gentlemen tell us that if we repeal this law without condition, that the President will recommend financial legislation which will meet the wants and necessities of the country. If he intends to pursue this course he ought to have taken his party into his confidence and pointed out the proposed legislation in his message, and we would in all probability have been saved the mortification of a division in our party and he would not have been compelled to rely on the Republicans to aid him in carrying out his policy.

Any close observer of passing events knows that from the very advent of this Administration the bondholders, the capitalists, and the bankers, through the metropolitan press of the country, began to foretell of the great panic and the disasters which would happen to the country unless the purchasing clause of the Sherman act was repealed; and they set to work to bring about this result when there was no real cause for it, and in my judgment entirely artificial, and they have precipated a panic upon the country which stands without a parallel; and now, with all the effrontery of the very devil himself, they take advantage of the distress and ruin which they have wrought, and threaten even worse evils which will befall us unless the representatives of the people will surrender their convictions and accede to their avaricious demands.

As for myself, I will make no concessions nor surrender a single conviction that is not justified by my judgment as being to the best interests of those I have the honor to represent. I shall adhere to the platform adopted by my constituency, and to the pledges I made to my people, if I stand alone.

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. EVERETT] is welcome to extend the comparison made by the gentleman from Nebraska, from glorious Marengo to disastrous Waterloo, and his extension appropriately illustrates the positions of parties on this question, but with a sense and imagery of which he had never thought.

Wellington, unable to withstand the shock of the French without the help of the Prussians, was praying for night or Blucher, and the Emperor had already sent dispatches to every court in Europe announcing the rout of Wellington and the destruction of his army, when the arrival of Blucher on the field, made possible by the defection of two of the Emperor's ablest marshals, compelled Napoleon, with his wearied legions to face a new army of Hessian hirelings, engaged as allies by the money of the robber of nations and pirate of the sea.

Unable, with bravery unequaled on earth, to overcome the combined armies, and with sorrow unequaled since the crucifixion, the greatest commander known to earth retired and allowed the wheels of time to roll back a thousand years; allowed England for centuries to manipulate the finances of the world over which she had extended her control by her arms and by the diplomacy of debauchees made eloquent by her glittering gold. Shattered and shaken and invited to surrender, the remnant of the immortal guards exclaimed, "We know how to die, but never to surrender!"

And I call the attention of our Eastern Democratic friends, who have steadfastly stood by us on so many occasions, to the fact that in the overthrow of Napoleon, that which racked his heart with greatest grief was that his final overthrow was due to the failure of his long-trusted marshals to do their duty in his supreme crisis; and we appeal to them, that in this our supreme moment, they make no further concessions to the money kings.

If the Sherman bill be repealed without restoring the coinage of silver, I warn you, you are helping our enemies rout us from our last trenches. Our ruined country will denounce an unholy combination between Tammany, Mugwumps, and Republicans, and will rise up and curse you for aiding to perpetuate their financial slavery, when you had promised them relief, and they had trusted to your honor. [Applause.]

Mr. POST. Mr. Speaker, on two occasions I have addressed the House on the coinage question. I have given my views on "Money a Public Institution" and on "Bimetallism" at full length, and have nothing to take back. I had intended to say nothing in this discussion, but to yield all the time to those who are repudiating their former professions and their party platforms and endeavoring to explain and justify that repudiation. They need time, much time. Eternity would not suffice.

The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON], who preceded me indicated that the people will not judge members of this House by their professions on this floor, but by their votes. Unfortunately the question is presented in such a manner that a vote will not indicate precisely the position of members on the coinage question.

I am in favor of an American coinage policy. In the Fifty-first and in the Fifty-second Congress I offered bills to secure full recognition as a money metal of the product of our own silver mines.

Neither the bill before us nor any of the amendments represent the legislation I desire, for by legislation I would notify the nations of Europe that they might do what they pleased with their silver, but they should not touch an ounce of silver from the American mines without paying full value for it at that rate at which it has always been coined throughout the world.

This discussion has been entered upon under a rule supposed to have been agreed upon in a Democratic caucus. Under this rule no amendments can be offered, and even the right of presenting a petition for or against the measure is denied. We are forced to vote for or against the several propositions just as they have been presented by two members of this House, notwithstanding that all of them may be objectionable.

I protest against this unusual and unjust abridgment of the rights of members of this House.

CAUSE OF DISTRESS.

Mr. Speaker, the producers of every nation on the globe are suffering from some cause and evidently from the same cause. What is it? The monometallists tell us it is the "Sherman law" and our Chief Executive summons Congress to repeal it. What an easy method of arresting a world-wide disaster.

The bimetallists dissent from this view. They do not believe that the monthly issue of three millions of legal-tender notes upon silver would produce industrial disaster throughout the world or even in the United States.

They trace industrial distress here and elsewhere to the attempt of monometallists to destroy the honest metallic money of the world. The monometallists have no copyright on the word "honest," though they try to monopolize it. Every American wants "honest money," a "sound and stable currency," and to attempt to beg the coinage issue by reiterating "gold is honest money," "nothing but gold can be an honest standard of value," is unfair, disreputable, dishonest argument.

THE GOLDEN CALF.

The monometallic speakers assume that gold maintains the same value in all places and at all times. If pressed upon that point they admit that it may fluctuate a little, but less than any other commodity. But they immediately reaffirm that gold will maintain its inflexible value even though the whole world by law adopts it as the only standard of value, and that the universal struggle for its possession as money of ultimate redemption will not affect its value. They assert that gold alone of all commodities is the only one not affected by the law regulating supply and demand.

If this be true, then the world should adopt the single gold standard. If this be true, then gold is honest money and the only honest money. If this be true, I will advocate the single gold standard. But if it be erroneous, then every argument founded upon that statement is unsound.

GOLD THE MOST UNSTABLE COMMODITY.

The statement that gold maintains an inflexible value at all times is totally inexact. It is the only great staple commodity on earth that has risen in value more than 50 per cent during the last twenty years. The cause of this rise is clearly traceable to the change of coinage laws.

MONEY A COMMODITY.

In his History of Europe, Alison says:

We have only to reflect that money, whether in the form of gold, silver, or paper, is a commodity and an article of commerce, and that, like all similar articles, it varies in value and price with its plenty or cheapness in the market. As certainly and inevitably as a plentiful harvest renders grain cheap, and an abundant vintage wine low-priced, does an increased supply of the currency, whether in specie or paper, render money cheap, as compared with the price of other commodities. But as money is itself the standard by which the value of everything else is measured, and in which its price is paid, this change in its price can not be seen in any change in itself, because it is the standard. It appears in the price of everything else against which it is bartered.

Torrens in his Political Economy says:

Gold is a commodity governed, as all other commodities are governed, by the laws of supply and demand.

Mr. Goschen, late chancellor of the British exchequer, speaking in the House of Commons of the fixity of the English standard, said:

Originally there was a partnership between the two metals. The one partner was withdrawn almost all over Europe. In some countries it became a sleeping partner, but generally silver was dethroned and gold was left to do unaided by silver the work which formerly gold performed aided by silver, and if gold suddenly was called upon to do more work than it did before, then the gold standard suffered in its fixity. * * * Gold has varied 30 or 40 per cent.

THE RISE OF GOLD.

What would naturally be the effect if the world strikes out silver as primary money, adopts the single gold standard, and requires all paper money to be redeemed in that standard? Would there not be a world-wide demand for gold? Under the law of supply and demand, would not money become dear? But the change in the price of money, as Alison demonstrates, can not be seen in any change in itself, because it is the standard, but it will appear in the depreciation of every other commodity.

If the American people want a money standard steadily rising in value, as the increasing population and transactions of mankind creates a greater demand for money, then let them reject bimetallism and adhere to the single gold standard. If they want the prices of property and every commodity except money steadily and surely falling, then let them cling to the gold standard.

The mere apprehension of falling prices creates distrust and produces disaster. Falling prices depreciates the value of property estimated in dollars. Depreciation of property attacks the stability of credits. When the banks' customers and debtors are ruined the banks must fail. Neither fright nor folly move small depositors to withdraw their savings from the banks. They are creditors, and with falling values creditors consult prudence.

THIS REPUBLIC FOR SILVER AND GOLD.

In 1884 the Democratic platform declared:

We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

On this platform Mr. Cleveland was elected, and he signalized his accession to power by a causeless and vicious assault on silver. Within one year thereafter 10 per cent of the workingmen of this land were out of employment. Why? It was not "free trade," for his famous tariff message of 1887 had not yet been promulgated. It was the fear that Congress would act upon the recommendations of the antisilver message of 1885. Congress noted the recommendation at its true value, and paid no attention to it.

When the election of 1888 approached, the people remembered Mr. Cleveland's antisilver recommendation, and they also noted, that when the Democrats renominated him as candidate for President they omitted from their platform all reference to the coinage of silver.

On the other hand, the Republican platform of 1888 said:

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

On this platform the Republican party resumed power.

In 1892 the Republican party in its platform declared:

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money.

The Democratic platform said:

We hold to the use of both gold and silver as standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discrimination against either metal, or charge for mintage.

The platforms of both parties favored bimetallism, and bimetallism means the recognition of both gold and silver as money metals "at a fixed relative value." It refers to receiving gold and silver bullion "at a fixed relative value" for coinage purposes, and is in opposition to monometallism, which recognizes but one metal as standard.

LOW PRICES FOR FARM PRODUCTS.

That the American people, "from tradition and interest," favor bimetallism can not be doubted; but the President seems willing to use all the power and patronage of his great office to rivet on this nation the coinage policy of England.

The royal commission of England, in its report on silver, referred to England as a creditor nation and said:

Any change which entails a rise in commodities generally, that is to say, the diminution of the purchasing power of gold, would be to our disadvantage.

The single gold standard in this country means to prevent "a rise in the price of commodities generally." It means to depress prices of commodities and increase the purchasing power of gold.

The Textile Record, of Philadelphia, thus graphically and plainly states the case:

England stands before the world as the champion of two theories. One is, that gold should be the only measure of value; the other is, that there should be no tariff obstructions to the freedom of trade. The American people, boasting of their independence, have accepted both of these theories, doing exactly what England has long desired them to do. Let us see what have been some of the results of this subservience to the ideas of a nation which necessarily seeks not our good, but its own. The rise in the value of gold has tumbled the price of American wheat from $1.50 to 56 cents a bushel, and the price of American cotton from 14 cents to 7¼ cents a pound. Thus England feeds her people and operates her mills at our expense. The price of American silver has fallen so far that our silver mines, producing many millions of wealth anually for our people, have stopped operations, and at this moment the whole business machinery of the mining States has been dislocated, and thousands of idle men are standing about the streets with hunger in their bodies. But England, which coins sixty millions of silver annually, buys silver cheap.

Having thus impoverished the Western farmers and miners and Southern planters—about one-half of the population of the country, and the buyers of the products of American mills—the menace against our tariff is now closing up the mills themselves. British gold monometallism has wrought havoc with the American producers of raw materials. British free trade is now bringing destruction upon American manufacturers. Absolutely all of the existing difficulties are due to these causes. We have had boundless prosperity, as we still have boundless wealth. We have deliberately sacrificed both at the bidding of a nation which would reach the highest pitch of triumph if it could close every mill upon this continent and could buy our cotton, wool, wheat, and silver at half-price.

Do not our manufacturers perceive that the cause of the silver-miners, the cotton-planters, the wheat-farmers, and the wool-growers is their cause also? These are our fellow-citizens. When they prosper, the manufacturers prosper. When they suffer, the Eastern manufacturers suffer. The enemy that aims at their hurt, is the common enemy of all. We have ridiculed the demands of the Colorado silver-miners; we have rejoiced that cotton is cheap. Some manufacturers have demanded free wool, to the injury of the domestic wool-growers. But now the blow is falling upon the manufacturers themselves. Is not the experience plainly a demonstration that self-interest, not to say patriotism, requires that all the American industrial forces should rally to the defense of American principles? Only last month we celebrated the Declaration of Independence. But, is a nation independent which suffers another nation to control injuriously its fiscal and economical policies? Are we independent, when England can fix the prices of our wheat and cotton, can shut down our silver mines, and can dictate antitariff legislation at Washington?

At this moment every condition of high prosperity seems to be present in this great, rich, self-governed country; but instead of prosperity we have commercial depression; and we have it, not because there are a few beggarly bars of silver in the Federal Treasury, but because the American people have permitted themselves to be induced to depart from the bimetallism and the protection to home industry, both of which were introduced by the founders of the Republic, and both of which are essential to the welfare of the nation.

UNDER THE WRONG BANNER.

Many say that they are bimetallists, that they believe in the use of silver, that they would use so much of it as could be safely redeemed in gold. That is not bimetallism. That means the single gold standard pure and simple and the use of silver as a subsidiary coin. In that policy there is no recognition of silver as money of ultimate redemption.

Bimetallists advocate a fixed relative value between gold and silver to be established by law.

The relative value is between the metals, by weight, which are to be coined.

Those who would only use silver at a gold valuation are not bimetallists; they are monometallists, who "steal the livery of heaven to serve the devil in."

SILVER BASIS.

It is said if we adopt bimetallism we will go to a silver basis, that gold will go to a premium, it will be hoarded, and it will fly abroad. Will men hoard gold when every kind of property except gold is rising in value? Money is hoarded now because money is the only kind of property that is rising in value. Will they hoard gold when rising prices of good times come like a benediction to the country? Will they send their money out of the country where it will not enjoy the benefits of rising prices? Will they not rather buy products or property or aid enterprise by loaning at high interest on good security because rising in value?

Those who speak of the restoration of the bimetallic standards leading to monometallism abuse the language.

A nation may have a bimetallic standard of value and offer freely to coin both gold and silver at a fixed relative value, even if the ratio is so adjusted that but one metal is brought to the Mint.

Bimetallic standards are estimates of the relative value of bullion fixed by law, and not subject to change. Commercial estimates of the value of bullion are ever changing; but the most potent factor in commercial estimates is bimetallic legislation.

PARITY.

With a single legal standard, gold and silver coins may be kept at a parity by redemption in whichever metal is the standard; but since the standard is always the dearer metal because more in demand, parity in the bullion is manifestly impossible.

The bimetallic or optional standard aims not merely at parity between legal-tender coins, but between the two metals from which the coins are fashioned. It does not pretend to rest at a parity; from some cause one of the metals may become scarce and be more highly prized. If it were held back from circulation there would be an increased demand for the other metal, because it would be needed to do business. Under the law of supply and demand the metal with which business would be done would certainly rise in value.

The metal which went to a premium or was held in reserve would neither do business nor draw interest. The only way to make it of any value as money would be to return it to the world's circulation.

Parity would always be the center toward which the swaying pendulums of commercial values would be attracted. Under bimetallism they could never swing far from parity, and the more violent the force that sent them asunder, the more rapid the return toward parity.

Let one or more great nations restore the ancient bimetallic standard of value and fix the legal relation between the two precius metals and the commercial ratio will take care of itself.

The president of the Mercantile National Bank of New York, Mr. William P. St. John, voices the sentiments of bimetallists when he says:

The Government's duty is to provide the means by which trade operations in their employment of money will effectually maintain the market value at the valuation appointed for the mint.

If the mints of the United States would receive gold bullion and silver bullion without limit in amount, and for an appointed number of grains of silver issue a silver dollar, and for an appointed number of grains of gold issue a gold dollar, each to be equally unlimited legal-tender money of the United States, and for convenience allow as now the circulation of returns by certificate, the trade demand for money would determine whether or not both gold and silver would seek our mints, and if both did seek our mints it would be because the money use of either was the best use that owners could make of it.

With a volume of domestic business to furnish such a demand for money, the appointed number of grains of gold and of silver for a dollar would be the dollar's worth of gold and silver in the markets of the world. This means that the mint price would be the market price just so long as the trade demand for money enticed both metals into the mint for coinage into money at the mint valuation.

If the domestic trade demand for money is not sufficient to employ both, as the best use of each that owners can make of their gold and silver, then the mint valuation of the one which does not seek the mint is too low. Or, what is equivalent, the mint valuation of the other is too high; which is to say, more grains must be appointed for the dollar coin of the overvalued metal.

Such an alteration of the coinage ratio for so vastly influential a mint as the Mint of the United States ought to be adopted only after the actual experience to dictate it. With intelligence controlling the Treasury, and public confidence in that intelligence, the test of experience could be applied, under our prodigious trade demand for money, with all the safety of a nursling on its mother's bosom.

Therefore we open our mints to silver without other restrictions than are prescribed for gold. Allow the actual circulation by coin certificates in lieu of coin. Let the present coinage ratio begin the conquest for the maintenance of the parity, but adopt a higher ratio if experience points the need.

RATIO.

Bimetallism may be established at any ratio. All the coins of the world are now between 15 to 16 of silver to 1 of gold. In the United States the ratio is 16 to 1. The silver dollar of 371¼ grains of pure silver is precisely the same to-day that it was when the Republic was founded. It was made of the value of the Spanish milled dollar, the coin of the colonies, which had been in circulation for a hundred years before the Revolution. The silver dollar is large enough. We have changed the ratio twice. The change was both times made in the gold dollar. The ratio of 16 to 1 means to retain the present silver dollar.

SILVER DEPRECIATED.

It is alleged that silver has depreciated. That is true, measured by gold. But measured by the standard adopted by the royal commission of England, and by every government commission which ever examined the question, silver bullion has slightly advanced.

If you take the averages of leading commodities for a number of years as a standard, you will find that silver bullion has risen slightly in value and gold bullion has risen prodigiously.

Look at Sauerback's tables, published in the census report of 1890. He shows that with a gold valuation silver bullion has fallen since 1873, but that the average price of food materials and staple commodities have fallen in price more than silver bullion.

In the House of Commons, on the 1st of last March, Sir Henry Thompson said:

The figures collected by the Economist and those collected by Mr. Sauerback show that whereas in the average of the years from 1865 to 1869 a certain amount of a number of leading commodities would on an average exchange for 100 sovereigns, exactly the same amount of these commodities would exchange for 66 sovereigns in October, 1892. What has been the result to debtors who are the bees in the social hive, the manufacturing, the agricultural classes—the producers generally? Every one knows in a general way that agriculture had been suffering terribly. Thousands of shopkeepers and men of small, aye, even with large businesses of various kinds, have been slowly ruined during the last twenty years, through no fault of their own, but solely on account of the cruel, relentless grinding of the appreciation of gold, and because they have to pay more of their produce every year to meet their fixed charges and the interest on their borrowed money.

Although Sir Henry Thomson is an eminent financier, it is evident that he did not believe that the cause of all this trouble in England was the Sherman law.

To this arraignment of monometallism Gladstone replied that England was the greatest credit nation and was making from $250,000,000 to $500,000,000 by it every year.

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

The United States should adopt a new declaration of independence. It should restore its bimetallic system and England would lose her enormous profit. Every movement in the direction of bimetallism has been a blessing to our people. The Bland-Allison act of 1878 was an effort in the right direction. The act of 1890, imperfect as it is, was a blessing to the American farmer. The principle of purchasing silver at a gold valuation is more abhorrent to bimetallists than to monometallists. The President called it "a truce." It was a compromise proffered by the single gold-standard men and accepted in good faith.

Have the people lost faith in the currency of our country? No. Careful inquiry shows that those who hire boxes in safe deposits to stow away money drawn from the banks do not take gold. They take silver-certificate notes under the act of 1890, and there is where the small bills and silver have gone.

The prosperity of the country increased after the passage of the Sherman law, and the year 1892 was one of the most prosperous in our history. The people began to believe that we had an American financial as well as economical policy.

Disaster came upon us with the change of Administration, because the people now believe that both our financial and economical policy is to be dictated from England. Far better repeal the law than to have it administered as it is now, to depress the price of silver.

Must we wait until India overthrows British rule? Until oppressed industrial England revolts against aristocratic England before we declare ourselves free?

We are told that we can not have bimetallism without England, that we can not have bimetallism without the world consents.

The real question now is, what shall we do to show that we want bimetallism established throughout the world? What example in coinage shall be set to the world?

Prior to 1873 we had the true bimetallic standard of value. In 1873 we discarded silver absolutely and for all purposes, and in 1874 we even took from the silver dollars already coined their legal-tender character. We were the first bimetallic nation to stop the coinage of silver and the only nation which has repudiated its own coinage. We, the greatest silver-producing nation on earth, struck down our own product.

Why? Can any one defend the act? Did we ask for an international coinage agreement then? Now we are told that there is not independence enough left in this Republic even to frame our own coinage laws. We do not coin money for other nations. When coins go abroad in international trade they do not go as coin, but as bullion. England wants our gold; but for her Asiatic trade she wants our silver more. Silver she must have. Every ounce she obtained has been freely coined in her dominions at 15 to 1, while we refused to coin it at 16 to 1. We have made the impossibility we feared. "The wise and prudent conquer difficulties by daring to attempt them."

We should have American coinage, utilizing American precious metals, adapted to American interests, in accordance with American tradition, and promoting the welfare of America and of mankind.

Mr. MILLIKEN. Mr. Speaker, in the great uncertainty which prevails some things are clear. In the first place, we know that we are at sea on the currency question and the still more important question of what laws are to be enacted to affect the industries and labor of our people.

It is very clear, too, that whatever we do should be done promptly. The country can not afford to wait. The present suspense is more damaging than will be even the enactment of

bad laws. If there has ever been a time since the war for the suppression of the rebellion when all who desire the welfare of the people and the nation's prosperity were called upon to act at once and earnestly, that time is the present moment.

It is a time when every worthy citizen of the Republic will lay aside prejudice and selfishness and combine with his fellow-citizens, of whatsoever party or creed, to effect the common weal.

The occasion is too serious for trifling. It is patriotism and not politics that we want now.

While the ship of state is tumbling and pounding about, with torn sails and shattered spars, in a storm that every hour thickens and grows more threatening, portending irreparable disaster, we can not afford to contend for position or be concerned about the ultimate effect of our action upon persons and parties. The storm is upon us now. It will be quite time when we shall have sailed safely out of it to discuss ulterior political results. [Applause.]

The deplorable condition of the business of the country has been clearly stated by the President, and is acknowledged by all men of all parties. Indeed, it is too keenly felt, and the pinching fingers of distress make their impressions too painful to escape the sensation of the people.

The urgent, paramount question is, what is the remedy? Is there any remedy at all? If there be any, certainly every good citizen desires that it shall be promptly applied. He who would falter now or allow any personal or partisan consideration to stand in the way of a return of that prosperity to the industries and labor of our countrymen which they possessed and rejoiced in prior to the 8th day of last November, should be branded as an enemy to his fellow-citizens and his race. [Applause.]

But there are almost as many doctors as there are people; and the remedies which they prescribe are as varied as their different diagnoses of the disease.

I am sure that we could all agree upon the remedy to be administered if we could agree upon the cause of the malady.

Our sound-money Democrats, as they call themselves, and as perhaps they should be called, arraign the Sherman silver law as the root of the great evil which just now oppresses the country. They say that this law, which provides that the Government shall purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver monthly, has destroyed faith in our currency abroad, in our financial credit, and the honor of the nation.

The question arises, why did not the Sherman silver law have this effect when it was enacted? Is it not an anomaly that this law should be enacted without disturbing our prosperous condition, and continue to be the law for three years without perceptibly affecting our welfare at home or our credit, and now all at once precipitate the ruin of our credit abroad and an unprecedented disaster to our industries? Why, at this late day, after this law has been so long the law of the land, should it suddenly, and almost as with a lightning stroke, destroy the confidence of our people so completely that money is withdrawn from circulation, the banks are depleted of currency and driven into bankruptcy or suspension, the business of manufactories curtailed or destroyed, labor thrown out of employment, and idleness, poverty, and distress made to surround us on every hand. More banks have shut their doors and suspended business within ninety days than during the entire twenty-eight years of Republican administration.

Is it because a Democratic Secretary of the Treasury temporarily determined to pay silver certificates in silver and not in gold, as had theretofore been done; or does some other cause lie at the root of all this fearful disaster which to-day oppresses the country and causes the apprehension of greater disaster in the future?

Let us be above partisanship in this fearful crisis, but let us be honest with ourselves and others.

If we are afraid to search for the real cause of our present trouble, lest in doing that we shall discover that we are searching for what we do not wish to find, then we shall surely be in no condition to administer the right remedy. If we blindly console ourselves that it is only a pimple upon the body politic, and refuse to investigate lest we find it a cancer, and apply the remedy for a pimple, then the cancer, whose existence we refuse to recognize, will kill while we are doctoring for the simple pimple.

That the purchasing clause of the Sherman silver law should be promptly repealed, unconditionally repealed, I do not entertain a doubt. It did not express the conviction and best judgment of Senator SHERMAN and a vast majority of the Republican party. It was a tub thrown to the shark of free coinage of silver. In that respect it did its work. It saved us from the free-coinage bill which had passed the Senate by a decided majority of the Democratic votes in that body, and threatened to pass this House by an equally great percentage of the Democratic votes here.

The difficulty with the free-silver advocates is that they attempt what it is impossible to do—that is, to fix and hold a price upon silver much above its market value and very much above what it costs to produce it.

That may be done, to be sure, to the extent of the subsidiary currency for our own people. We do it with nickel. We did it with copper, and we know we can do it with silver. Actual facts which no ingenuity of argument can overcome convince us of this.

But when we alone attempt to make silver, at a price far above its market value and the cost of its production a medium of exchange between ourselves and other nations, we attempt a task which both reason and experience teach us that we can not perform.

No one can blame our silver producers for desiring to sell their product at the highest price possible; and, as an American citizen to whom the prosperity of all Americans is dear, I should feel it the duty of the Government to so legislate as to give to our silver producers the best possible price for their product, so as to keep their mines open and their workmen in the mines at work and well remunerated, if this could be done without harm to our country. But they ask what not only can not be done, but what an attempt by the Government to do can result in only disastrous failure.

For that section of our country where the debtor class wishes a cheap currency in which to pay off their debts—no, not to pay them, but to discharge them by a nominal but really partial payment—I have not so much respect. But still I can have the charity to say that they only exhibit that degree of selfishness which is too largely found in all mankind.

I have spoken of the advocates of the free-coinage of silver. Well, Mr. Speaker, the contest is squarely between them and the advocates of a gold basis: for however strong a bimetallist you or I may be, if we are not in favor of the free coinage of silver we are not in favor of its coinage at all, beyond a sufficient amount for a subsidiary currency, except in some way to make it the equal of gold to the holder of it.

The Sherman law really does not enter into the contest. We all believe it should be repealed. The actual question of contention is whether that law shall be supplanted by an act providing for the free coinage of silver in some shape, or shall it be unconditionally repealed.

Now, I believe in a bimetallic currency, and because I believe we shall soonest get to it by an unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, I shall vote for the repeal. If this shall bring us to a gold standard, then we shall have gold enough to do business, or no one will have it.

We shall get our share of the money of the world, whatever it be, whether gold, silver, or paper; for when we consider our vast and varied resources, and the capability of our people to produce, we can, if we shall legislate wisely, keep the balance of trade most always in our favor, and that will give us our share of the money of the world, and more.

Then if it be found that there is not sufficient gold for a circulating medium, the stringency will not be with us so much as with others; and England, with the other commercial nations, will be driven to agree with us upon some ratio of value between gold and silver.

That is what all bimetallists desire. For the commercial nations of the world can as easily establish a ratio between the two metals and maintain it as we do with our subsidiary coin, and this they will do when they shall learn that they can not—any one of them—corner the gold of the world, and can not do business with more than their share of it.

Indeed, it is because the balance of trade has been against us—that, more than anything else, has sent our gold abroad. The gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN] says it is not the Sherman law that has caused our trouble. He says we have been recently selling our products abroad, and therefore gold has begun to come back to us.

This is true, but it is not good Democratic doctrine. We have been all along taught by our free-trade Democracy that prosperity lies in buying more than we sell. It is a balance of imports over exports, which they have been crying out for, and which they propose to legislate for so soon as they can get at our tariff laws.

The good sense of my friend from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN] got ahead of his political faith for once, at least, and he was right. Indeed I incline to believe, I have so much faith in him personally, that he will always be right when he forgets his partisan fallacies.

Mr. Speaker, you and I know that we are best off when we produce and sell more than we buy, when we earn more than we expend. This is universally acknowledged to be true of individuals. Then is it not equally true of that aggregation of individuals which makes a nation? Is not this great people, as

surely as any one of them, growing rich when the income from their products and earnings is larger than their expenditures; and is not that policy wisest for us which enhances the one and diminishes the other?

I have never looked with gratification upon large importations into our country and small exports from it. But as it would give me satisfaction to see my individual income increase and my expenditures grow smaller, so do I look upon large exports from our country with smaller purchases by our people from abroad.

The money of the world will go where it is most needed. It will be most needed where production is most abundant and the largest purchases are made.

And how shall we stimulate our production to its utmost limit? We can do it only by protecting the labor of our people by wholesome laws from unrestricted competition with the products of the pauper labor of other nations; and we can not do that except by protecting the industries in which our working people are engaged and by which they live. [Applause on the Republican side.]

This the Republican party has done for the last thirty-two years, and in that time we have seen the nation grow in wealth and power, in comforts of life for the people, in progress in every desirable line as it had never grown before, as no other country has grown since the dawn of history.

The gentleman from Nebraska says, "Let us apply the remedy to the disease." I heartily indorse his proposition. Indeed, unless we do apply the remedy to the disease the patient will never be cured.

You may repeal the Sherman law and so do some good, a very little good. You may thus inspire confidence in those who think the Sherman law the cause of our trouble. But the most diseased part will not be reached by that remedy. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. Speaker, never in the history of mankind has a people enjoyed a greater prosperity, with a brighter promise of prosperity in the future, than our people enjoyed the day before President Cleveland and a Democratic House and Senate were elected in November last. Every industry in our country was in a healthy and flourishing condition. Our mills and factories were all running on full time. Our merchants were having large orders for their goods, with sure and quick payments; our farmers were getting good returns for their crops. The mechanic's hammer was heard in all our cities and villages and towns making improvements. The laborer was everywhere getting full employment and receiving larger remuneration for his toil than ever before in this or any other country. Idleness was banished from our land, and with it its consequent poverty. Only the sick, the infants, the very old, and the lazy were unemployed.

The Democratic party was elected to full power in the Government for the first time in thirty-two years, and paralysis of business in all departments began. It has since continuously increased, until the entire body, so strong, energetic, and active prior to the last national election, lies prostrated with a malignant and almost, if not quite, incurable malady.

And why should not this be so? That party which thirty-two years ago went out of power in its endeavor to destroy the nation has come back to full control of the Government, threatening to cripple or destroy almost every industry in the land. Adopting as its platform upon the tariff question, the provision of the Confederate constitution upon that subject, it resolved as follows:

> We denounce Republican protection as a fraud; a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of a few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the General Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue only. We denounce the McKinley tariff law as the culminating atrocity of class legislation.

This is Calhounism in its most concentrated essence. It is the doctrine of the rebellion. Why should not all this widespread disaster fall upon the country? It is exactly what Republicans, in the last campaign, predicted would be the result of a national Democratic triumph, only it has come quicker and worse than we foretold.

Many people were simple enough to believe that the Democratic party would fulfill its promises to the people. And we who, judging the future by the past, doubted it, and believed that the deplorable condition of our people would enlighten the mind and dissipate the prejudices of the party in power have been stunned by a declaration in the President's last message, which sounds the death knell to the business of the people and the prosperity of our country.

It is a declaration of war upon the nation's industries, to be commenced as soon as the silver question shall be settled. And that unfortunate declaration, that, so soon as the present question shall be decided, the attack upon the great law for the protection of the industries of our country and the labor of our workingmen shall at once commence, has done more harm than this Congress can possibly cure, unless it shall declare that during its life it will not consent to make the attack therein threatened.

Let this House pass the resolution offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR], or that which I will present, and a thousand industries now idle will start up in a week, and thousands upon thousands of idle men will find remunerative employment. Let us resolve that during the life of the present Congress this House will pass no bill which shall repeal or modify our present tariff laws, nor consent to any measure which shall revive State banks whose currency shall not be secured by bonds of unquestionably good character. This the House can do without the concurrence of the Senate or the approval of the Executive.

Let us do this and do it at once, and whatever be the action of Congress upon the Sherman silver law, you will see the nation arise immediately from its present wretched state, be inspired with confidence and courage, as the Christians were by the vision of the Monk of Marsailles at Antioc; and the people, assured that their enterprises and industries are not to be stricken down with the bludgeon of free trade, which is now raised menacingly over their heads, will start up their mills and factories and foundries and furnaces, and workshops of every kind. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Labor will be employed, idleness and distress will flee, the farmer will once more see a good market for his products, the merchant will find liberal and thrifty customers, the mechanic will resume his vocation, the laborer will find work and a fair remuneration for his toil, and we shall see all about us and all over our country the hopeful and happy faces which everywhere greeted us before the Democratic party had attained ascendancy in all the branches of the Government, and the specter of free trade had frightened the people with its terrifying aspect of enmity to their prosperity.

Our banks will become solvent and confident, and active business will bring out their currency to restore old enterprises and build up new ones. Hands willing to work will become busy hands, the wealth that there is in labor will again be realized, and by its magic touch our dormant resources will be converted into actual, available value.

But you reply that the McKinley tariff law is still in operation. Yes; but the threat of evil is often as potent to cause alarm as its actual presence.

When the experienced shipmaster sees the storm coming he takes in sail. He would be regarded a reckless captain who would keep all sail on when he sees in the sky the black cloud which portends the monsoon or the tempest.

Notice was served on the country last November by the election of a Democratic President and Congress that the McKinley law was to be repealed or so amended as to take all the protection out of it. The country has taken notice, and men of all pursuits have been preparing for the disaster which they saw awaiting them. When each one contracts his business, withdraws his money from circulation, reduces his expenditures to the cost of the bare necessities of life, in order to prepare for the threatened storm, why then the storm begins. The contraction of business and consumption began to contract the circulation of the currency before the dearth of currency began to embarrass business. There is quite as much money and as much to do in the country as there ever has been. The land is full of resources and wealth; our people are needlessly forced into idleness, and men and women are pinched for the necessities of life in the midst of abundance, and threatened bad legislation is the sole cause for it.

Our free-coinage Democrats are bewailing the fall of prices. They assert that gold has appreciated, because it will buy more than heretofore of the world's products.

They seem to have put a new song into their mouths since the last national campaign. Then they were all arguing for cheapness. Cheap wool, cheap tin, cheap lumber, cheap iron, cheap farm products, cheap everything except sugar, rice, and cotton, was their evening and morning slogan; and when we warned them that all this meant cheap labor, they did not lessen the volume of their song nor slacken their efforts to bring about an era of cheapness in our country.

To get directly at the cheap products of the pauperized laborers of Europe and Asia was the goal of their exertions and desires.

The result of their success in this respect is before the world. The thousands of the starving and hopeless feel it and know what it is. And now the free-silver wing of the Democracy say it has been the appreciation of gold which has caused this cheapness which they deplore.

Was not labor as high in price the day before the last national election as it ever had been? Was there ever a time when the wage earners could get more money or more of the necessities and

comforts of life for their labor than immediately before the 8th day of last November?

The sound-money wing of the Democratic party assert with equal positiveness that the purchasing clause of the Sherman law has been the source of all the mischief from which our people are suffering; and yet both the silver and anti-silver wings of the Democracy know, or certainly ought to know, that neither of them give the true cause of our great distress.

Has it been the Sherman law or the proposition to repeal it that has caused the fall in the price of wool, or lumber, or farm products, or the earnings of labor?

Our free-silver Democratic friends earnestly and emphatically declare that the Sherman law has not caused the great depression of our industries, and yet they, equally with the sound money Democrats, are very careful not to give the true cause of it.

Certainly it has a cause. Results never come without causes.

Why do they fear to proclaim the truth? Will it injure their party? And is their partisan fealty so much stronger than their desire to relieve their suffering countrymen that they will spend their time endeavoring to make a scapegoat of the Sherman silver law, while the condition of the people is every day going from bad to worse, and the brink of irrecoverable disaster seems to be only a short way before us?

Some of them say that the great panic came about naturally. There is no such thing as a panic without a specific cause, and there never has been one in this country.

The panic of 1873 was but the reaction from indulgence even to intoxication in an inflated currency following a great war.

The panic of 1857 was the culmination of the result of the low tariff of 1846, for so many years delayed and held in abeyance by the gold discovery in California and the wars in Europe.

The panic of 1837 was the short, sharp, pinching pain which followed a wild debauch in crazy speculation. The cause of the distress and almost universal disaster during the old Confederation was the practical free trade which succeeded the Revolutionary war. The war had been an embargo upon the importation of English cheap goods. It closed in 1793. The embargo was raised thereby, and free trade brought ruin, as its menace is doing now.

Yes; all of our panics have had their cause. They never come spontaneously. This panic has its cause. The ascendency of the Democratic party, after thirty-two years' retirement, bearing upon its banner the motto, "Down with American industries," as in 1861 the motto upon its escutcheon was "Down with the American Union," is the cause, and the only cause, of our trouble. You may try to hide it under one ingeniously framed excuse or another, but you can not do it. Like Banquo's ghost, it will not down at your bidding, and you can not prevent the people from seeing it in all its hideousness.

Would you arrest the course of the disaster and restore prosperity to our country?

Then join us in passing a resolution that we will not touch our tariff laws, nor flood the country with wild-cat currency by repealing the tax upon State banks. Give the national banks the right to issue bills to the full value of their bonds deposited, and so bring a return of old-fashioned Republican good times.

Thus, gentlemen, you may do the greatest patriotic duty of your lives. Thus you may atone, in some measure, for the free-trade votes you have given, the free-trade speeches you have made, and the mischievous planks in your national platform.

Yes; have the courage to acknowledge the real causes of your country's suffering; join us and help to remove them.

Do this and the people will forgive you and, perhaps, kill the fatted calf for you, the thing which you know you want above all things else.

Will you do it, gentlemen? You may now see the evil fruits of your free trade, wild-cat currency policy all too plainly to warrant you in hesitating. The wrecks caused by the announcement of that policy are strewn thickly all about you. The ruin which has followed in the wake of your national victory covers the whole land, and, like a widespread, violent, and virulent plague, it is bringing misery to almost every household in the country.

While you stand here inactive, bound hand and foot by your partisan prejudices, and bending your knees in worship of the fetich of free trade and red-dog money, the wealth of the rich is melting away, the business of the merchant and manufacturer is being paralyzed, the farmer's crops are bringing him no adequate returns, the hum of industry is hushed, there is no sound at the mechanic's bench; idleness is king, and starvation will soon be master in the land.

Whoever will take pains to read the history of our country during the years of the confederation, when we had practical free trade, will find there a picture of our country's condition to-day, or what it will grow to be if the present course of ruin is not arrested. It was free trade and universal disaster; an inflow of cheap foreign goods and closed stores, factories, and furnaces at home; an outflow of currency and depletion of money among our own people; wretchedness and despair until the Constitution was formed and a protective tariff act was passed by the first Congress under our present form of Government.

All this is seriously threatened and partially realized now. Indeed, the people can not live long upon what they have already hoarded. Idleness is a most costly luxury. It has been stated that the value of labor's productions for one year is greater than the value of all past accumulations.

Be that as it may, I believe that one year's idleness by all mankind would cause the destruction of at least one-half of the human race.

We told you last summer and autumn that to break down the walls of protection to American industries and let into our market the cheap-labor products of all mankind, would either reduce the wages of labor, or stop our industries and turn our workingmen into idleness and consequent poverty and distress.

But you would not heed us. You went on in the way of free trade and wild-cat banks, and the results are what we predicted.

Now have you the magnanimity to rise out of your political prejudices and help us to administer the only balm which can heal the wound which you have made? That is the serious question of the hour.

The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LIVINGSTON] and the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SIMPSON] have told us that this is a contest between the rich and the poor, the aristocracy and the plain people. Of course they profess to be very earnestly anxious to help the plain people, for it is universally known that the plain people cast vastly more votes than the aristocracy. But really no such contest exists, and rarely, if ever, has existed in our country, except in the brains of those who want the plain people's votes. [Applause.]

One good at least has grown out of the present terrible business depression. It is that capital and labor, the banks, the manufacturers, the merchants, the farmers, and the workingmen, all find themselves in the same boat together. Their interests are mutual and not antagonistic, and no injury can be inflicted upon one class without causing suffering in some degree to all the others.

The gold bug and the silver bug are subject to the same fortune in common. The financial blow which prostrates one can not fail to shake, if indeed, it does not shatter the other. And it is only the humbug who attempts to make them believe that they are natural enemies.

It has also demonstrated, what every intelligent, unprejudiced man should know, that all sections of our country are parts of one body, which can be hurt in no part without bringing pain and injury to every part. These are lessons which can not be too thoroughly learned and nursed as axioms by our people; lessons which can not fail to broaden the statesmanship and strengthen the patriotic spirit of the nation. Indeed, the people have had no more mischievous advisers and the country no more damaging enemies than they who have endeavored to array one class against another and create jealousies between different sections of our country.

To-day the disaster is general. He who talks of a conspiracy of banks and corporations against the people talks the sheerest nonsense. It is but the fool's mumbling. It is an assertion that the banks, manufacturing establishments, and other corporations have entered into a conspiracy to commit suicide for the pleasure of seeing the plain people suffer and die with themselves. This is absolutely idiotic as well as harmful.

The abstract of the report of the Comptroller of Currency on the condition of the national banks in the United States, on July 12 last, shows a decrease since May 4 last in individual deposits of $193,000,000; in loans and discounts of $137,000,000; in specie of $21,000,000, and in undivided profits of $13,000,000.

This statement is no worse for the banks than the facts which exist relative to our railroads, manufactories, and merchants' accounts. Who believes that they, or any of them, have sought to bring this unfortunate condition upon themselves? It is impossible to believe it, because it is not in the nature of man that it can be true.

And if, out of the great distress and suffering which is upon every section and class in our country, shall come a thorough realization by our people of the interdependence of all men, all pursuits, and all parts of our land, though the medicine be harsh and painful to take, the cure may be more than worth the suffering. [Applause.]

What I most fear is that the one permanent result of the crisis will be the reduction of the price of labor. That must certainly occur if the Democracy shall go on, after we shall have settled the currency question, to strike down protection to our industries by the vicious tariff legislation with which it threatens the country. Our factories and furnaces will not always be idle. Even if free trade shall inundate them with a flood of foreign cheap-labor products, they will eventually emerge from the de-

luge, but only by employing our idle and impoverished workingmen at European and Asiatic cheap wages.

The gentleman from Missouri, in his earnest, impassioned appeal for free coinage, said:

> Will you trample down the interests of your own people and destroy the value of one of the precious metals, simply to gratify the greed of Wall street—a mere agent of Lombard street? It can not, it shall not be done. [Applause.] Any body or any party who undertakes to do it will, in God's name, be trampled—as it ought to be—in the dust of condemnation now and in the future. [Continued applause on the floor and galleries.]
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> I speak as a Democrat, but yet as an American above Democracy. [Cheers.] We do not intend that any party shall survive, if we can help it, that will lay its confiscating hand on America in the interest of England or Europe. Now you can take the choice of sustaining America against England, of sustaining American industries and American laborers against English industries and English laborers, or of our going apart.

That was an eloquent, a touching appeal, a splendid expression of patriotic feeling. But will the gentleman and his friends be equally patriotic when his party shall attempt to lay its free-trade "confiscating hand upon America in the interest of England"? When his party shall endeavor to carry out its threat, that it will "trample down the interests" and dignity of American labor, and destroy or greatly reduce its value in our labor market, "simply to gratify the greed" of foreign manufacturers, will he then as earnestly appeal for their protection? Will he then "sustain America, American industries, and American laborers against English industries and English laborers"?

Is not their value as great and their interests as sacred as the value of "one of the precious metals," and the interests of the millionaires who produce and own them? We shall see when we come to try that question whether he and his free-silver Democratic associates will vote to sustain American industries and American laborers against English industries and English laborers, or cast their votes to throw down the bars which for thirty-two years the Republican party has kept up in order to keep the products of cheap English labor from competing with the products of American workingmen in our own splendid American markets. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TURNER] said, in his vigorous speech yesterday, that the banks, the manufacturers, and the people, as well as Congress, should do something to alleviate the general distress. Indeed, what have they not done, and what has Congress done? The banks have extended their accommodations quite as far as they have been warranted in doing. The manufactories have been operating at a loss, and have shut down their mills only when absolute ruin has stared them in the face; and the people who ask for work that their families may eat have up to the present moment shown a self-control that should make us proud of our countrymen, while we gain new confidence in the permanency of our country.

If, when rebel hands were raised to break the nation into fragments, and send this great home and fortress of freedom down in night and flames to everlasting death, true hearts were gladdened and the hopes of patriotic men were inspired by the grand spectacle of rallying millions hastening to the perilous battle-front to die or live, as in God's purpose it might be, for the preservation of the Union, hardly less has our faith in the perpetuity of our institutions been strengthened by the wise moderation, patient forbearance, and earnest effort to find some way to prosperity on the part of men of all conditions and callings, and especially the plain people, who suffer the most and have most to fear from the menace of free trade and bad currency. [Applause.] Why stand we here worse than idle? Who among us holds the helm of state now? Is it ignorance, partisan prejudice, or indifference to the situation that is in command?

Gentlemen of the Democratic party, you are in command. You have the Senate, the House, and the President. You alone have the power to enact laws. The great army of American workers and voters are looking to you for some legislation which shall relieve them from the situation in which your unfortunate policy has placed them. You have done nothing yet to give them even one note of encouragement. All is as uncertain and more distressing than when the President called Congress together. How long shall a suffering people wait to catch some ray of hope from you? Will you not lift the gloom from those who are so courageously facing the storm and fighting away despair?

Is there no commanding soul, no guiding spirit among you, to inspire you with patriotic determination and lead you to wise and unselfish effort? Will you repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman silver law, empower the national banks to issue bills equal to the full value of their deposits of Government bonds, and pass an assuring resolution upon the tariff and wildcat bank questions?

Unless you do these things, the wind which swept you into power last November will become the tornado that shall hurl you from political ascendancy forever. If in this dire emergency you fail to fulfill your trust no one will be found to trust you again. [Applause.]

Mr. KEM. Mr. Speaker, it is not in the belief that further discussion of this question will change a single vote one way or the other that I ask the indulgence of the House at this time, for I believe the die was cast when this session was called and no amount of talk will change it, but I should not feel that I had done my whole duty toward my constituents should I allow this opportunity to pass without recording my voice as I shall my vote in favor of the free coinage of silver on a ratio of 16 to 1, and against the destruction of one-half of our metallic money by the combined efforts of the bondholder and interest-gatherer.

Great solicitude has been manifest on this floor by certain members of both the dominant political parties relative to what they term partisan discussion of the pending bill, claiming it to be of such vast importance that no partisan spirit should enter into its solution. We are gratified to know that at last the truth of the Populist claim that the money question was paramount to all others has been recognized by the enemies of more money, and agree with this nonpartisan sentiment by adding that no partisan spirit should enter into the solution of any question upon which rests the welfare of the people, and I can but regret that this spirit of patriotism did not take hold of these parties years ago when all this misery which is upon us now, and all that which has intervened since the destruction of the greenback, might have been averted.

I wish I could believe that their desire to avoid partisan debate at this time was prompted wholly by an unadulterated patriotism. But I may be pardoned if in the light of the past history of these two parties I entertain some doubts along these lines, and attribute this sudden outburst of patriotism, in part at least, to the knowledge of these gentlemen that each of their parties are equally guilty of treachery relative to this question, and that if one attack the platform of the other, it will only result in those structures tumbling about their ears and crushing them as the temple did Samson of old, and if I owed allegiance to a party as guilty of playing a double part as these I undoubtedly would be patriotic enough also to desire that it be not spoken of.

I have been somewhat amused at the conduct of certain other gentlemen in discussing the present distressing condition, particularly of those gentlemen who are more than anxious to save the country by increasing their facilities for clipping coupons and gathering interest.

I belong to that class of citizens who have in the past been designated by the above-named gentlemen as calamity howlers because we dared to predict just the calamity that has lain our land prostrate to-day. I have known the calamity howler in his palmiest days. I have heard him in the zenith of his glory when he howled the loudest, but I have never heard a howl from a professional that equaled in density and volume the wail of woe that has gone up from the throat of gentlemen on this floor who represent the class that have sneeringly referred to the Populists as cranks. The term calamity howler is not as explicit now as it once was, the howl not only emanates from the farmer's sod house of the West and the log cabin of the South as of yore, but the merchant, the mine owner, transportation companies, bondholders, bankers, and even grain gamblers have taken up and swelled the refrain until out of the very mansions of luxury comes one prolonged howl of woe that causes the old-time howler to turn green with envy. All of which is a gentle reminder that chickens come home to roost, and that as soon as what these despised calamity howlers predicted would come to pass, came. This class throughout the land raised a wail of distress and called upon Congress to get together and save them from themselves.

They remind me very much of the boy who hitched himself up with a steer. When they started the steer ran away and he could not stop him, and as they went sailing down the road he yelled, "for God's sake stop us, we're running away." These gentlemen have suddenly discovered that this false system with which they have been harnessed for years has gone beyond their control and like the boy are calling on Congress for heaven's sake to stop them, for they are running away. I will say for one (and I only speak for myself), that I am willing to help stop the procession, if they are willing to be stopped in a manner that will be effectual in keeping them so, but if they propose to only stop long enough to catch their breath, spit upon their hands, and get a firmer grip upon the industries of the people, as an unconditional repeal of the Sherman law would enable them to do, I, for one, will stand quietly by and see the whole outfit dash to destruction over the precipice of over-strained credit without lifting a hand to prevent it.

The plaintive cry with which the gentleman from New York (Mr. Hendricks) plead for the immediate and unconditional repeal of the Sherman law was truly touching, but when we realize it is but the echo of the senseless cry raised weeks ago by the metropolitan gold press and sent broadcast over the land of, "Repeal the Sherman law, repeal the Sherman law," it loses some of its pathos, and we begin to see it is nothing more than the cry of "Stop thief" to draw the attention of the people from the real issue. This law is not what I desire in preference to any other, but what I desire in the absence of any other, and I am more than willing to vote for its repeal when we have secured in its stead the free coinage of silver on a ratio of 16 to 1, but I do not propose, gentlemen, to submit quietly to be bound by the robber, then trust to his honor not to take my property.

But in all candor I submit upon what grounds do they ask for the repeal of this law? What reason do they give for this demand? Simply upon the bare statement that it will restore confidence. Let us look for a moment at the logic of this proposition and see if the facts will lead to such conclusions. What is the matter with confidence? Gentlemen have told us that the law filled the masses with fear that the banks would not be able to pay in gold, hence the run upon these institutions. Is this true? We think not, because the people have not demanded gold, asked for it, or even desired it, and thousands of them would be only too glad to take payment in the much-despised silver dollar. Particularly so just now, inasmuch as stated by the gentleman from California (Mr. Bowers) they are worth 3 per cent premium. Oh, no; it was not this fear of the people that they would not be able to get their deposits in gold dollars. It was the well-grounded fear that they would be unable to get them in any kind of dollars, a fear justly born of the miserable policy of contraction that has been followed for years, and which at last the people are becoming cognizant of, a practical demonstration of the truism uttered by President Lincoln, when he said: "You can fool a part of the people all of the time, all of them part of the time, but you can't fool all of them all of the time."

The people are long suffering and have been slow to realize the truth, but they are arousing at last, and let me drop a word of warning to those guilty of these wrongs, that a giant is awakening that may be hard to control. A lack of confidence, is it? Then let us apply the remedy in a common-sense manner by restoring a sufficient amount of legal-tender money to meet the business demands of the country. The moment we do this confidence will be at par, and every avenue of trade opened to its full capacity. We have been doing business so long on confidence with so little real money behind it, it has become threadbare and rotten, worn out; and the only just way to restore it is by furnishing more money. Can we do this by following the advice of the President? No. Yet the logic of the gentlemen who ask for repeal of the Sherman law is that this deficiency shall be made up by destroying half of what we now have.

As already stated, contending for the Sherman law only as a makeshift till something better can be provided, I ask in all earnestness, has the law been given a fair trial, and in all honor, if it ought not to have a fair trial before it is condemned? Justice says yes, the President says no, and after both administrations have ignored the spirit of the law in persistently redeeming the certificates in gold when the act provides that the Secretary of the Treasury may at his option redeem in silver, the demand comes up from the inner precincts of the temple of the money-changers for its repeal, backed by the power of the President, who cries, "Away with it, away with it," thus throwing off the mask and openly bringing us to a gold basis, where we have secretly been for some time, resulting in the present distressed condition of the country and the confirmation of the suspicion that the law itself was only a scheme to let us down to a gold basis without arousing the people, and I am sorry to say it has succeeded only too well.

If the Secretary had used his option under the law to pay out silver, there would have been no necessity for any encroachment on the gold reserve.

But, says the President, it is the policy of the Government to keep the two metals on a parity with each other. Does he mean to say it is the policy of the Government to keep the two metals as commodities on a parity, and see that at all times they shall bring the same price on the markets as such; if so, then is it not its duty also to see that wheat and corn are always on a parity with each other and bring the same price? Can it be he means to construe the law in this absurd manner? If not, then he must mean to say it is its duty to keep them on a parity as coined dollars, a proposition absolutely useless, if not as absurd as the former.

What necessity, I ask, is there to take special action of any kind at this time to keep our dollars at a parity? Is there a legal-tender dollar in existence to-day, or has there ever been one in the history of our country, that would not purchase as much of the necessaries or luxuries of life, as any other legal-tender dollar? I answer there is not, nor never has been, and I may add, never will be so long as the same legal-tender power is conferred alike, and all are made receivable by the Government for taxes and dues.

Thus we see that these dollars, whether silver, paper, or gold, are now, and always have been on a parity in the performance of the highest function they were created to perform, that of a medium exchange of real values, which is the only parity that should be considered in the financial problem. Any other is simply the parity of two commodities that ought to have nothing more to do with the money value than the parity of the two commodities of coal and iron, and the Government has no more right to endeavor to keep the commodities of gold and silver on a parity than it has of coal or iron; but, for argument's sake, suppose it is the function of Government to do this, has not the administration pursued a course that in its very nature is bound to produce the opposite effect. The continual paying out of gold to the neglect of silver must have the same effect upon those commodities that the exclusive demand for wheat would have upon that and all other cereals, viz, to appreciate the price of one and depreciate the price of the other, thus destroying this very parity the administration seems so desirous of maintaining. If the spirit of the law had been followed and the more plentiful money always paid out, the supply would have been equalized and the question of parity could not have arisen.

But there are those who will answer this by saying the Government must pay these certificates in gold to avoid the accusation of being dishonest and a repudiator. This position is certainly wholly unwarranted by the facts. The contract says they may be paid in either gold or silver at option of debtor. Suppose I were to agree to pay my neighbor 100 bushels of oats or corn at my option on a given date, that before the day of payment arrives a drouth prevails and destroys the oat crop, and on day of payment oats is very scarce and high, but corn is plentiful and cheap, is it not clear that I would exercise my option and pay the debt in corn; and would I be called dishonest and a repudiator if I did? No. Neither ought the Government to be so called for doing the same thing in principle, and will not be, except, perhaps, by those who measure their patriotism by the Government's inclination to fill their purses. So long as we are foolish enough to maintain a metallic currency, so long must we tenaciously adhere to the right of always paying at our option in the cheaper metal. This is our only safeguard against a single standard and the ultimate bankruptcy of the masses of our people.

Mr. Speaker, I desire here to call further attention to language used in this House on the 12th instant by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Hendrix] which, I think, deserves some notice. The gentleman took occasion to inform us that he originally hailed from the West and had grown up among the pecan and persimmon groves of Missouri, but had reached this House by way of New York and represented that kind of a constituency.

Let me suggest to the gentleman that if he had remained among those pecan and persimmon groves he probably would not be here to-day calling so lustily for the destruction of one-half of our money, and thereby increasing the size of the bushels of wheat (produced by the toil and sweat of the present dwellers among those groves), to 120 pounds, and other grains in proportion, and if he did dare do it I predict he would at once hear a rustling and quaking among these same growers that would give him a practical illustration of the force of a Western cyclone, and enable him to remain in a position where he could ever after slake his thirst in the crystal waters of the Missouri River, to which he so feelingly referred. After representing himself as the president of a national bank, he denies that he is here in the interests of that element, and appeals very feelingly to our sympathies through the distressed condition of those in the humbler walks of life, in the following language:

I ask you to listen to the men and the women, and the children, who have their money locked up in the savings banks of the country. I ask you to listen to the employés of hundreds and hundreds of workshops and factories that are idle. I ask you to listen to the expressed fears of the dread penury that will come on with the blasts of winter. I ask you to listen to the spoken fear that proceeds from the minds of men that we are entering upon a period black with sorrow and with woe.

I am sorry to say the picture is none too black, but it is only that with which the West has been afflicted for years in a somewhat milder form and to which by long usage we have become somewhat calloused and it does not gall us like those of the East, because they have just aroused to a sense of their true condition. We ask him not to forget that we have begged him and the class he represents for years to listen to the distressed complaints. Not of the men, women, and children who have their money locked up in savings banks, but to the men and women who have their money locked up in the soil of this fair land, and have only been able to get it out by turning the greater part over to the money power through unjust laws. I repeat we have begged you for relief for years, but you would not, and having sown the wind you must now reap the whirlwind.

Allow me to remind the gentleman, further, that I am not an eleventh-hour convert to this truly miserable situation, but have insisted for years from stump and rostrum that, under existing conditions, this crisis was inevitable, and implored the people to arouse and shake off the shackles that were daily becoming more firmly riveted about them, while the gentleman, and his kind, continued placidly to clip coupons, rake in interest, and heap curses upon the miserable cranks who dared to tell the people the truth. In the face of these facts the gentleman asks for what—that we help him set these bound, toiling millions free? No! but in their name, in the guise of freedom, he asks us to help clinch the last rivet in the chain of industrial slavery that binds them, and when once clinched no power on earth can unclasp.

Continuing, he adds, that all the banks there have pooled their choicest assets and securities; that this great congeries of banks is holding up the financial system of this country by the neck; that if we do not take the burden and strain off from them they may fall, and when they fall the whole country will fall.

This is certainly a remarkable admission upon the part of the moneyed men of the East, that the calamity cranks have been right all the time when they stated that the welfare of the people of this

country was held in the grip of a few money-mongers of the East, and I am glad we have at last an admission of this truth from that side. This statement is accompanied by the implied threat that if we do not concede to their demands the country will be ruined. This threat reminds one of the relation of the banks toward the credit-strengthening act, and is given in the words of that eminent statesman, Thad. Stevens, as follows, in speaking of the insatiate demands of the money bond interest:

We were foolish enough to grant them gold interest, and now they unblushingly demand further advantages; the truth is, we can never satisfy their appetite for money.

And on his deathbed, said:

Yes, we had to yield. The Senate was stubborn. We did not, however, until we found the country must be lost or the bankers gratified. And we have sought to save the country in spite of the cupidity of its wealthier citizens.

The attitude of these gentlemen to-day is the same. Their appetite for money can never be satisfied, and if the country is saved it must be saved in spite of them. As further evidence that the calamity howlers have not indulged wholly in wild visions, I quote from the New York Tribune, of issue some time during the agitation relative to that infamous measure called "resumption," whose editor was the late lamented candidate for Vice-President on the Republican ticket. Under the management of this gentleman we find the following language:

The time is near when they (the banks) will feel compelled to act strongly. Meanwhile a very good thing has been done. The machinery is now furnished by which, in any emergency, the financial corporations of the East can act together on a single day's notice with such power that no act of Congress can overcome or resist their decision.

How well this language fits the remarks of the gentleman from New York and proves the money power still combined to rule the country with a rod of iron! Stevens said they had to submit, but would it not have been infinitely better to-day if they had not compromised, but fought it out to the bitter end, and when settled have settled it right. What loss and suffering it would have saved!

We are confronted with the same proposition to-day, and I appeal to every patriot in this House, Shall we repeat the criminal folly of years ago, stultify our sense of right, smother our conscience, and submit to a dose of soothing sirup that will only retard the evil day for a time, when it will return with tenfold force, conveying with it all the accumulated evils of years, not only to be visited upon this generation, but upon generations yet unborn.

The gentleman from New York says all of the people are asking for the repeal of the Sherman law. The recklessness of this statement can only be excused on the ground that he is a new member. If he had stated that the majority of those asking such repeal were members of boards of trade, mortgage holders, bankers, and trust companies, he would have stated a fact. Why, sir, there is scarcely a mail but I get one or more petitions insisting on my standing by that law till we get free coinage 16 to 1. The masses of the people want free coinage; they want a greater volume of money, and if I mistake not the signs of the times they will have it in the near future if they have to crush the life out of both old parties to get it.

Whitelaw Reid said, as already quoted, the financial corporations of the East can act together on a single day's notice with such power that no act of Congress can overcome or resist their action. The gentleman from New York said, on the 12th instant, that all the banks of New York have pooled their choicest assets and securities; that they are holding the financial system of the country by the neck, and if we do not concede to their demands the country is ruined. Can there longer be any doubt that the money power has its grip on the industries of our land and do not propose to relax it till they have squeezed out the last penny?

After the repeal of the Sherman act, then what? In my opinion, Mr. Speaker, there can be but one inevitable result—the issue of more national bonds, upon which a greater volume of bank notes will be put in circulation. That this is the real object of those who have controlled the volume of the currency since the destruction of the greenback, I have no doubt whatever. The efforts by these gentlemen to get permission to issue to the par value of their bonds that have been made in this House in the last two sessions, and which they are yet urging throughout the country, prove their desire to contract or expand the currency at will is just as strong to-day as it was when the following famous national bankers' circular was issued from Broadway, New York, in 1865, which reads as follows:

NATIONAL BANKERS' CIRCULAR.

DEAR SIR: It is advisable to do all in your power to sustain such daily and prominent weekly newspapers, especially the *agricultural* and *religious* press, as will oppose the issuing of greenback paper money, and that you withhold patronage or favors from all applicants who are not willing to oppose the Government issue of money. Let the Government issue the coin and the banks issue the paper money of the country, for then we can better protect each other. To repeal the law creating national banks, or to restore to circulation the Government issue of money, will be to provide the people with money, and will therefore seriously affect your individual profits as banker and lender. See your member of Congress at once, and engage him to support our interest, that we may control legislation.

(Signed by the secretary.) JAS. BUELL,
No. 147 Broadway (Room 4), New York.

They wanted the greenback destroyed then to make room for their notes, and they want silver destroyed now for the same reason, which will enable them to draw more interest on what they owe. They know full well that under ordinary conditions it would be impossible to get any such infamous schemes through, but hope by a repeal of the Sherman law to cause such a desperate state of affairs, that the people in their agony will submit in order to get some temporary relief.

Shall we submit? No; a thousand times no; though the situation becomes a hundred fold more desperate than it is, we should let these fellows know the time has come when they must cease drawing interest on their debts by exercising functions belonging wholly to the Government, in issuing money to the people, which they can expand or contract at will as the opportunity for gain arises; a system under which we have suffered so much in the past, as is shown by the following brief summary, ought to be abolished at once and ever after given a wide berth. The summary is as follows:

On the 12th day of April, 1866, Congress passed a law authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to sell 5-20 bonds, and with the proceeds *retire United States currency, including greenbacks.*

On December 4, 1866, E. G. Spalding, a Buffalo, N. Y., banker, a member of Congress, wrote to Secretary McCulloch as follows:

You no doubt now, to a certain extent, *have control of the currency of the country*, and I think that you will, of necessity, *contract moderately*, so as to preserve a *tolerable easy money market*. There may be *occasional spasms or tightness* for money, but generally I shall look for plenty of money *for at least one year to come*.

When this letter was written the country was in possession of $1,996,687,770 currency.

During this year there were but 520 business failures in the whole country, involving a loss of but $17,625,000.

Labor was well paid and fully employed.

1867.

This year the work of contraction was vigorously pushed, and there were 2,386 failures, with a total loss of $86,218,000.

1868.

During this year $473,000,000 of money was destroyed and failures increased to 2,608, with a loss to creditors of $63,774,000. Money began to be tight, and financial "spasms" were frequent.

1869.

During this year over $500,000,000 of money passed into the cremation furnace, producing 2,790 business failures and a loss of $75,054,900. Money growing tighter and wages lower.

1870.

This year $67,000,000 of money was destroyed and 3,551 failures took place, involving a loss of $88,242,000. Money very scarce and wages of labor were reduced all over the country.

1871.

Thirty-five millions of money this year is retired, with 2,915 failures and a loss of $85,250,000. More men out of work and wages cut down.

1872.

Only about $12,000,000 was destroyed this year, but such had been the strain upon the business of the country for the past five years that this proved the last straw to 4,069 business firms, involving a loss of $121,056,000. More cutting of wages and strikes talked of.

1873.

This year the storm reached its climax. Business had hoped that, with every returning season, prospects would brighten and money would become plenty. Instead of this, however, notwithstanding but $1,609,000 were destroyed, the people became panic stricken, and 5,183 business firms were precipitated, with a loss of $228,499,000. Five hundred thousand men are thrown out of employment; wages cut down all over the country, and strikes are of frequent occurrence.

1874.

Notwithstanding the terrible results of the last year, the wine press of contraction still creaks on its hinges of death, as round and round it sweeps out of circulation $75,484,000 certificates of indebtedness, which have been made legal-tender money, $85,760,000 Treasury notes, $6,335,045 legal tenders, $3,000,000 fractional currency, and $1,000,000 bank-notes, producing 5,832 failures and a loss of $155,239,000 to creditors. A million idle men began to tramp in search of work. Wages still decline and strikes more numerous.

1875.

The volume of currency this year was contracted $40,817,418 and the failures reach 7,740, with loss to creditors of $201,060,000. Two millions of laborers out of work. Famine and hunger begin to stare them in the face and "tramping" becomes a profession.

1876.

According to the most reliable estimates, the contraction of the currency this year, in the destruction of greenbacks and the withdrawal of bank currency, amounts to about $85,000,000, with 9,092 failures and $191,000,000 loss, *during the first quarter of the year.* The aggregate failures for the year reached over 10,000, with losses not less than $300,000,000. This does not include losses to stockholders by foreclosure and sale of railroads.

What a record for ten years! Who wonders times were hard, and men idle? Still, with all this array of wreck and ruin, with the finger board of contraction at the close of each year pointing to the cause, the people were asleep, or on their knees praying for some interposition of Providence in their behalf.

Three million men are out of employment.

Bankruptcies multiplying with great rapidity.

The tramp nuisance culminates.

Wages are cut down to starvation prices.

Strikes, riots, and general consternation seize the people, and the circulation is cut down to $666,000,000.

1877.

The red torch of the vandal lighted up the country from Pittsburg to Chicago. These are the footprints of the red-mouthed despot, the money power, which is still forging chains for the limbs of American industry, with a view to enslaving the American populace by robbing them of their homes and firesides, and thus controlling their life, liberty, and pursuits of happiness by controlling their wages through the control and monopoly of money.

These are God's truths which the people can heed and be saved, or heed not and the Republic be lost.

This terrible but true state of affairs which is yet fresh in the memory of every middle-aged man, was only stayed by the demands of the people, who at last became aroused and insisted that the destruction of the greenbacks cease, and the only thing that saved to

us $346,000,000 of them was this demand from the common people, that stayed the hand of destruction, and of which Mr. Blaine says in his Twenty Years of Congress, page 328, volume 2, in the close of his remarks relative to the effects of contraction, as follows: "The effect nevertheless was serious and lasting. In the end, outside of banking and financial centers, there was a strong and persistent demand for the repeal of the resumption act," and outside of these centers to-day there is just as strong demand for the free coinage of silver.

I have received letters from bankers in my district asking that I work for a measure, allowing national banks to issue to full amount of bonds, and urging as a reason that it would put more money in circulation and at once give the relief so much needed, one of them estimating that such an act would increase the circulation $200,000 in my district alone. I doubt not this is true, but I ask these gentlemen how I can vote for such a measure without stultifiying myself and eating my own words, and I can only account for their request at this time upon the theory that the very desperateness of the situation will compel me to submit. If this be true, let me say they are doomed to disappointment, for I have not spent years denouncing this false system and insisting on the right and duty of the Government to issue all money and control the volume thereof, to surrender now, the first time the real enemy is met face to face, though the situation is dire indeed and the people crying aloud for relief. My people are as great sufferers as any in the land, and will hail with as great delight as any relief when it comes, but if I mistake not their temperament they insist that it shall not come through the hand of a national banker that holds their rights and their liberties by holding their money, and compelling them to pay two interests thereon before they can supply the necessities of life or satisfy the mortgage upon which more interest must be met. The time has surely come when this Government should cease to get behind corporations, whether they be ship-builders, bankers, or what, and take the people's money to pay them premiums for furnishing supplies they ought to have at cost. Behind a national banking corporation stands the Government not only lending its power and influence in backing up its business, but pays it an interest on its capital stock, and then allows it to take another interest from the people on the same capital, while private individuals pocket all the profits.

I will never lend voice or vote directly or indirectly, to the perpetuation of such a system. We can only get justice after a long, bitter struggle, and I believe my people will sustain me when I say this is the accepted time to carry the war into Africa and fight it out along this line if it takes many summers.

As evidence of the truth of the foregoing statement as being the true object in demonetizing silver and what the gold power really desire, I here quote in full the following letter received from New York a few days since, which tells its own story in more eloquent language than I could hope to, the mask is torn off and it stands before us in all its hideous nakedness:

DEAR SIR: The present financial situation requires the following action by Congress, which should be favored by all interests, to wit:

(1) Pass a resolution repealing purchase clauses of Sherman silver bill.

(2) Pass a bill authorizing the issue of $300,000,000 of United States 3 per cent bonds, payable in gold, directing United States Treasurer to sell $100,000,000 immediately in Europe, with stipulation that none of them should be resold within the United States; the Treasurer to take this $100,000,000 of gold and issue $100,000,000 of gold certificates against it, and deposit them in the different national banks of the United States pro rata to their capital and circulation, upon adequate security being given to the Government securing such deposits; such deposits to be preferred liens upon all assets of each bank, etc.

It should also direct the Treasurer to sell $100,000,000 of such bonds immediately in Europe under similar conditions, the money to be placed in the United States Treasury or left on deposit in London, Paris, and Berlin, for use by the Government in paying deficiencies between the Government's receipts and expenditures, and drawn as needed.

The remaining $100,000,000 should be held subject to sale whenever the necessities of the Government or the financial interests of the country demand it.

Bringing $200,000,000 of gold to this country, in addition to the balances of trade in our favor, would immediately establish confidence in our financial strength.

(3) Pass a resolution calling an international conference to establish an international agreement as to the use of silver as currency, to be held within twenty days after the passage of such resolution. Twenty days' notice by cable is amply sufficient to allow time for every Government to appoint men who understand the subject thoroughly, and have them meet at some convenient place.

The delegates representing the United States should be selected by Congress and named in the resolution, two of them to be Senators from the silver States and two of them equally representative of the other side of the question.

(4) Pass the act increasing national-bank circulation to par of deposited bonds.

The above legislation would immediately inspire confidence here and abroad in American finances and start again the wheels of business, now helplessly clogged.

For the future the following action should be taken:

(5) Pass a resolution appointing a committee, to consist of five New York bankers of the highest standing and one each from Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Nashville, Atlanta, Savannah, New Orleans, Galveston, San Francisco, Denver, St. Paul, Detroit, Buffalo, and Pittsburg, this committee to immediately meet, consider, and report to an adjourned session of Congress a bill incorporating a United States national bank, founded on the same lines as the National Bank of England and the National Bank of France, to be entirely divorced and free from politics; and it being expressly stipulated that one-half of the committee shall be selected from Republican bankers and one half from Democratic bankers.

A national bank is absolutely necessary for the future financial safety of the country. Under present conditions there is no elasticity to our currency.

Five per cent of our financial business is done with cash, 95 per cent with credit.

To-day credit is largely destroyed, which leaves us trying to do more than one-half of the business of the country on the insignificant 5 per cent cash, and a considerable proportion of this cash hoarded and taken out of circulation.

To meet emergencies like this, we should have a national bank, having power to make almost an unlimited issue of currency, with the same power and self-interest, when confidence returns, to take and return all this specially issued currency, and retire it.

The Bank of England and the Bank of France have power to issue millions upon millions of additional currency whenever necessary to protect and conduct the finances of the country, and they exercise this power, and therefore such extreme panics as ours are unknown in those countries. When the crisis is over, this extra currency is retired.

There is no question as to the safety of this power; it has been exercised by these great banks in these two countries for generations, and has been their financial salvation, and we can have no permanent financial safety in the United States until we create a similar national bank or else make the United States Treasury a bank and authorize and direct that in times of panic and destruction of credit the Government shall issue currency to an extent necessary to meet the emergency, and deposit it in the national banks of the country. Of the two measures, it is certainly preferable to have a great national bank, founded on almost exactly the lines of the Bank of England, thus taking financial questions and management entirely out of the influence of politics, because the Government of the great National Bank of England is entirely in the hands of the greatest business men of the country, who have no interest whatever in politics, except as citizens.

Yours truly,

WM. R. CONWAY.

Mr. HENDRIX says, in effect, "Repeal the Sherman law, go home, and all is peace."

Let me say in the spirit of Patrick Henry, "Gentlemen may cry peace, but there is no peace," neither can there be, till this financial question is settled, and settled right. For others I can not speak, but for myself, live or die, sink or swim, survive or perish, I am for free coinage, 16 to 1, and am willing to stay here till it is secured or my term in Congress expires.

He would have us believe that we have drifted to a gold standard by the process of natural evolution or the decree of God, by saying "The evolutionary processes of the world are against you, gentlemen." If this be true, then we can but bow to the inevitable. But I am not willing to bow till I have more proof of its truth than has yet been offered. The facts as I have been able to learn them compel me to change the gentleman's quotation to read thus: "The *revolutionary acts of legislation* have been against us and that alone has brought us to a gold basis." In proof of this, allow me to cite his own words, as follows:

Among the nations of the earth it [gold] has always had silver as a contestant and they have traveled side by side * * * In a policy which was entered upon the English statute books in 1816 gold was adopted as the single standard of value.

Thus we see by his own words that silver, till stricken down by the heavy hand of the law, traveled side by side on a perfect equality with gold, and it will take its place there to-day the moment you loose it from its legal shackles.

Notice this process of destruction the gentleman is pleased to call evolution. How, after England, through her conquests on land and sea, became the creditor nation. She adopted the gold standard, followed later on by the other powers, already cited by the gentleman. I ask if these changes each time were not the result of law, and instead of being the natural process of evolution were the arbitrary acts of legislation?

Let us reverse this so-called process of evolution and see what the result will be. Suppose England, in 1816, instead of demonetizing silver had demonetized gold and continued to legislate against it as they have silver, does the gentleman deny for a moment that gold to-day would be at a discount as measured by silver? Why, sir, silver with all this adverse legislation by foreign powers held its own with gold in America till the infamous act of 1873 that stabbed it in its own household, stricken down at the behest of old England by those who should have defended it with their life-blood where it has lain wounded ever since, surrounded by this same element that to-day are clamoring to finish their murderous work, that when done will not only have slain silver but will have left the mark of death on the door lintels of the home of every wealth producer in this fair land.

"I am an international bimetallist," exclaims Mr. Hendricks, and in the same breadth acknowledges he has no hope of obtaining it. This shows clearly that this scheme of international bimetallism is but to fool the people till silver can be destroyed, after which they will snap their fingers and tell us to help it if we can.

I am an American bimetallist who believes in this Government making her own laws, and particularly her own money, and sustaining it regardless of what any foreign power may do. When we surrender the right to any nation to dictate the kind of money we shall use, we have surrendered our liberties, and decay and death must ensue. Mr. Speaker, I have unbounded faith in the ability of this Government to maintain her own money system regardless of England, and, if she can't do this, she has no right to a place as an independent government, and had better surrender to the powers of Europe at once, and have them establish a protectorate.

But, says one, how about trade? Europe would not trade with us. How foolish! Do you suppose any foreign power would cease trading with us, even if there was not a grain of gold on the American continent? You had just as well talk of her people refusing to eat because they can't get gold. We have what the people of Europe must have, "silver or no silver." While Europe has nothing that we as a people can not do without, if necessary, and while I do not desire to be understood as discouraging commerce between the two countries, I do say that in a tug of war America could do much

better and longer without Europe than she without us, and in a contest of this kind America must win. Therefore let us rally once more around the flag of freedom, raise the battle cry of America for free silver, break the hold of the British bondholder, and go free.

I trust these words will not be tortured into the meaning that I am in favor of repudiating any American securities held by foreigners, for I am in favor of paying the last cent of our indebtedness, regardless of who may be the creditor, in the same kind of money in which it was contracted, but I protest against paying them in dollars containing 500 grains of silver when the contract calls for dollars containing but 412½ grains. Such a proposition is as infamous as the credit-strengthening act, which was a proposition to pay the bonds in a dearer money than the obligation called for, and of which Oliver P. Morton spoke as follows:

We should do foul injustice to the Government and to the people of the United States after we have sold these bonds, on an average of not more than 60 cents on the dollar, now to propose to make a new contract for the benefit of the bondholder.

And of which Ben. Wade, of Ohio, in a letter written at Washington, December 13, 1867, expressed himself as follows:

I am for the laboring portion of our people, the rich will take care of themselves. * * * We never agreed to pay the five-twenties in gold; no man can find it in the bond, and I will never consent to have one payment for the bondholder and another for the people. It would sink any party, and it ought to.

That prediction has come true, and the party that is guilty of further enhancing the value of our money for the benefit of the rich to the detriment of the poor, which is always the result of a continually appreciating dollar, for as it grows in value, the more wheat, pork, and days' labor does it take to get it; that party so guilty will sink beside the other in that long, long sleep that knows no waking.

The monometallist expresses great fear that under free coinage gold would all leave us, but fail to give a satisfactory reason for the same. I do not believe that silver has anything to do with it whatever, one way or the other, and I make the bold statement here and now, that there is nothing whatever to prevent England from taking gold from us at any time just as fast as our securities of different kinds, which are principally in the hands of European moneylenders and are payable in gold, come due, either principal or interest. This is borne out by the late report of the Treasury, showing that during the last fiscal year they took from us nearly one hundred millions of gold, with millions more in July, and, as is well known, they did it by returning to us our securities.

Suppose we completely destroy silver, as contemplated in the repeal of the Sherman act, and war was to arise between this country and England, is there any power on earth that could prevent her from returning our securities, taking our gold, and leave us prostrate and at her mercy?

Would it not be well in a case of this kind to have a few hundred millions of legal-tender dollars to meet the wants of our people, and it doesn't take a statesman to see that it would be infinitely better for us to dig the material to make these dollars out of our own hills rather than send our business men to England and borrow it, upon which the toiling millions must pay the interest.

The fact that gold is coming back to this country just now to some extent is being extravagantly commented upon by the metropolitan press, and rolled like a sweet morsel under the tongue of the cohorts of the money power, and they would have us believe it is an evidence of better times by telling us that as the surplus of our wheat goes abroad the gold comes back. For the money-loaner this is all right; for the money-earner it means ruin. And this argument that a balance of trade or surplus is a great advantage is a delusion and a snare, for all depends on the price we receive for it. If we dispose of our surplus at less than cost the more surplus we have the poorer we are. This we have been doing for years, and the much-boasted gold that is now coming is paid for with wheat that is leaving the hands of the farmers of my district now at 34 cents per bushel; then, when got at such terrible cost, it must be returned to England in due time to pay interest on American securities held by her for borrowed money, to be in time again borrowed or bought; and, if silver be demonetized, bought with 20-cent wheat, which will ruin any people on earth. No, no; any considerable surplus at the prices we are receiving is ruinous, for we only get some gold and the loss, while England gets the wheat and the profits.

I am constrained to cry out, "How long, O Lord, how long" will the people remain passive and allow this to continue? How long will they continue to send men here that will concede to every demand of the money power, but when the farmer asks for relief in any way hides himself in his fancied superior wisdom and cries "unconstitutional."

Cleveland Democrats have stated upon this floor that the cause of the present distress was the tariff, and that finance had nothing to do with it.

I am sorry to see these gentlemen and their leader disagree so widely, as the following words of the message will show:

It was my purpose to summon Congress in special session early in the coming September, that we might enter promptly upon the work of tariff reform, which the true interests of the country clearly demand, which so large a majority of the people, as shown by their suffrages, desire and expect, and to the accomplishment of which every effort of the present administration is pledged. But while tariff reform has lost nothing of its immediate and permanent importance and must in the near future engage the attention of Congress, it has seemed to me that the financial condition of the country should at once, and before all other subjects, be considered by your honorable body.

I would ask them if the trouble is in the tariff alone, why, in the name of suffering humanity, does your party not at once, without a moment's delay, proceed to tinker it up and allay the agonizing fears that have paralyzed business?

No, no; the tariff won't wash just now, my brother; you will have to allow it to rest till we get more money. The people know it is a money famine that has brought this misery upon us, and let me say to the tariff reformer that, while I believe in the injustice of the present tariff, I also believe that in the past two months, as a result of contraction, more values have been destroyed than have resulted from the tariff from Adam down.

I desire here to refer briefly to the proposed change of ratio of the two dollars by increasing the amount of silver in the silver dollar, and protest most earnestly against any compromise, by reminding you that it is compromise legislation that has brought this evil day upon us, and that while a compromise may be justifiable at times, compromise legislation upon principles of justice never settles anything, and never can. We had far better make this fight a little more severe—prolong the agony for a time—than listen to the seductive siren called "compromise," who lulls to sleep with the soothing argument that it is better to take a half loaf than none. Let us have no more makeshifts to rise up in the future and plague us. If we agree to an increase in ratio, that moment we acknowledge superiority of gold and grant the right to measure the silver dollar by that metal, and necessitate the recoinage of the present dollar to make it conform to the size and weight of the new dollar, which at a ratio of 20 to 1 would be four grains heavier than the present one, and would cost the people almost $113,000,000 and reduce actual circulation $98,733,700, to say nothing of the reduction of the amount of bullion hereafter mined.

In proof of this I now offer the recent letter of Secretary Carlisle to Senator Voorhees relative to the subject, which ought of itself alone to put forever to rest the proposition to increase the ratio:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., August 19.

DEAR SIR: Referring to our conversation relative to the probable cost incident to the change from the present coinage ratio between gold and silver (16 to 1) for the standard silver dollars and 1 to 14.95 for the subsidiary, you are respectfully informed that the silver dollars, coined since 1878 aggregate 419,332,450. Without any allowance for abrasion and loss incident to melting the same, the coin value of these dollars at a ratio of 1 to 20 would be $333,222,166, or $84,110,228 less than their present face value.

To coin these dollars at a ratio of 1 to 20 would require the addition of 81,376,070 ounces of new bullion, which, at the average price paid for silver under the act of July 14, 1890, $0.9325, would cost $75,885,700.

In addition to this I estimate that there would be a loss of the abrasion and in the melting of these dollars of at least $3,000,000, which amounts, altogether, with the difference in the face value of the coins ($84,110,288), would have to be reimbursed to the Treasury by an appropriation for that purpose. From the fact that the silver dollars are distributed throughout the country, it would be necessary, as they are redeemed at the several subtreasuries, to transport them to the mints, and the expense of transportation for $300,000,000, the amount outside of the stock on hand at the subtreasuries and mints at Philadelphia, San Francisco, and New Orleans, would average at least 1½ per cent, or $4,500,000.

COST OF RECOINING.

I therefore estimate the cost of recoining the silver dollars already coined as follows:

New bullion to be added	$75,883,700
Loss by abrasion and melting	3,000,000
Cost of coinage (labor, material, etc.)	6,290,000
Copper for alloy	68,200
Transportation of dollars to mints	4,500,000
Total	89,741,900

The stock of subsidiary silver coin in the country is estimated at $77,000,000, which at full weight would contain 55,699,875 ounces of fine silver. This amount at a ratio of 1 to 20 would coin $55,843,802, or $21,156,197 less than the present face value. To recoin $77,000,000 of subsidiary silver into an equal amount of fractional coin at a ratio of 1 to 20 would require the addition of 18,797,625 fine ounces, which, at $0.9325 per ounce, the average price paid for silver under the act of July 14, 1890, would cost $17,528,785. There would be a loss of about 2½ per cent by abrasion from the face value, or about $1,925,000.

I would, therefore, estimate the cost of recoining the subsidiary silver in the country, at a ratio of 1 to 20, as follows:

New bullion	$17,528,785
Loss by abrasion	1,925,000
Cost of coinage (labor, material, etc.)	2,500,000
Copper for alloy	15,653
Cost of transportation	1,155,000
Total	23,124,438

Estimated cost of recoining:	
Silver dollars	$89,741,900
Subsidiary silver	23,114,421
Total	112,866,321

Very respectfully,

J. G. CARLISLE, *Secretary.*

But there are other reasons just as weighty, and as a matter of principle more so, for we also concede the superiority of the commercial value over the money value, or rather ignore the money value entirely and base the value of the dollar on the market value of the material out of which it is made, a position I am sure no Populist, at least, can afford to take. We also sustain the dollar that is daily becoming more valuable and harder to get by those who toil for them, and increases every bushel of grain, pound of

beef and pork, makes every mortgage harder to pay, and adds to every debt, the truth of which is so well illustrated by a letter just received from the Bowhay Investment Company, of Denver, I herein quote it in full:

THE BOWHAY INVESTMENT COMPANY,
Denver, Colo., August 14, 1893.

MY DEAR SIR: The question to be decided in your mind is this: "In the event of free coinage what ratio would be most acceptable to my constituents and the country at large?" If we change the present legal ratio of silver to gold, which is 16 to 1, and make that ratio more favorable to the purchasing power of British gold, how much more cotton and wheat would our cotton growers and farmers have to give for 1 ounce of gold? Granted that we had free coinage of silver to-day at 16 to 1, 1 ounce of gold would buy 16 ounces of silver, or $20.67 worth of wheat or cotton.

At 17 to 1, 1 ounce of gold would buy 17 ounces of silver, and as England buys her wheat and cotton in silver-using countries, notably India, with silver, she is thus enabled to buy one-sixteenth more wheat and cotton with 1 ounce of gold, or, in other words, that $20.67 in gold buys one-sixteenth more of wheat and cotton.

At the ratio of 18 to 1, England buys two-sixteenths more wheat and cotton with 1 ounce of gold bullion or coin.

At 20 to 1, England buys four-sixteenths or 25 per cent more wheat and cotton in India and other silver-using countries, with 1 ounce of gold bullion or coin. So that we must produce 25 per cent more of wheat and cotton to get the same amount of gold. Although that standard ounce of gold is worth $20.67, the instant we change or lessen the purchasing power of silver that ounce of gold will buy one-sixteenth more of wheat and cotton for every one part you increase the ratio against silver in silver-using countries. At 20 to 1, England can take 1 ounce of gold and buy 20 ounces of silver; this ounce of gold in the shape of 20 ounces of silver takes to a silver using country, such as India, will buy 4 more ounces of silver's worth of wheat or cotton.

Thus, you see, gold is appreciated in purchasing power 25 per cent. and so we must raise 25 per cent more wheat and cotton to compete for that ounce of gold. Tell this to the wheat and cotton growers. What will they say about ratio? The difference in the ratio of 16 to 1, and 20 to 1, enables England to produce her manufactured goods 25 per cent cheaper at 20 to 1, because her raw material costs her 25 per cent less in India and other silver-using countries, and she can feed her factory hands 25 per cent cheaper. Yet we legislate for England's benefit against the interests of our own producers and manufacturers.

Very sincerely, yours,

ARNOLD A. BOWHAY.

Hon. DANIEL W. VOORHEES,
United States Senate.

You will observe that this company is one of the few not in league with the gold power of the East.

Mr. HARTER, of Ohio, made a statement the other day in his remarks that would be startling if it was not so wide of the truth that it can be detected at a glance, but needs, I think, a passing notice, viz, that we have now $1,000 per capita in circulation.

I desire to call the attention of the gentleman to the last monthly report of the Treasury Department, which gives less than $25 as in circulation of all the moneys of all kinds that have ever issued from the mints and Treasury of the United States, and much of this has been lost by accident and destroyed by abrasion. It is estimated that of the $346,000,000 of greenbacks alone issued twenty-five or thirty years ago $160,000,000 have been lost by fire and other agencies; all of these losses must be deducted from the whole amount, and that remaining is the true amount in circulation, which would be very much less than $25. The last Census report fixes the total wealth of the country, including all kinds of property, at but $1,000 per capita, which alone proves the absurdity of his statement.

I would suggest to the gentleman that in his future estimates he had better not count clearing-house receipts, notes-of-hand bank credits, and other evidences of debts as money, for he may learn to his sorrow that these are not money but something which will demand money in the end, and any increased issue of these increases the demand for more money. The following clipping from the Washington Post of the 20th instant illustrates this point clearly:

BILLS TO RELIEVE THE CURRENCY FAMINE.

[Special to the Post.]

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., *August 19.*

The currency famine was relieved to-day by the issuance of bills due four months from date, secured by double the amount in collateral, and issued in bills of $5, $10, $20, and $50.

Nearly every bank in the city announces that it will receive them in payment of any obligations.

Mr. HARTER, we presume, would add this to the amount of money in circulation, when it is simply a demand for money not in circulation, and so long as this system of faith and credit exists, based on what little gold we can borrow from England by paying more for it than anyone else will pay, so long will these periodical spasms of distress and misery continue to occur as it is upon us to-day. Then let us cease this faith-cure manner of doing business. It has been tried since the history of man and has caused more misery to the human race than war, famine, flood, and pestilence.

If I were permitted, Mr. Speaker, to prescribe a remedy for these evils, I would cease to depend on Great Britain for a money supply, by opening our mints to the coinage of silver on an equality with gold, which would restore to thousands of men the sacred right to earn an honest living, of which they have been deprived by law. This would give us an additional supply of money, unaccompanied by the curse of interest, and be the first step toward that radical change in the financial system of our country that must come, as stated by the gentleman [Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa] in his remarks on this floor but a short time since, before any permanent relief can be had.

I would then stop the gathering of Federal taxes and issue legal-tender Treasury notes to pay current expenses of the Government, and so continue till there was in active circulation $50 per capita of actual money. Then I would, as fast as the charters of each of the present so-called national banks expired, establish in its stead a bank which should be national in fact as well as name; a system behind every bank of which would be the wealth of the whole Nation; the profits of which would go to the whole people, give ample protection to the depositor, secure to the people the right to control the volume of their own money, under which contraction could not occur; a system that would endure as long as the Government endures, and under which these miserable times could not return.

I have partially drafted a bill to put the above system in practical operation and at some future time hope to be able to present it to this House for consideration, at which time I shall discuss its merits more fully. In conclusion, let me say the time has come when we should redeclare that these States are of rights and ought to be free and independent of the money power of Great Britain, and firmly stand by home rule for America. [Applause.]

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. Speaker, the speeches on this floor remind me of the custom among persons of the Methodist persuasion, when called upon in experience meeting to give expression to the reasons upon which their faith is predicated.

As my first important vote in this House will be on the pending bill, I deem it necessary to give expression to the reasons impelling me to cast it as I shall.

The casual observer very readily perceives that upon the settlement of the pending question the American people are divided into three distinct and somewhat antagonistic elements.

Upon its settlement the miner, producer, and laborer are becoming no less interested than the merchant prince and millionaire.

The first class is composed of capitalists, bankers, and commercial men, who own and control nearly all the currency, and are desirous of making and keeping it dear by keeping its volume as small as possible.

The second class is composed of those who own the silver mines and all the uncoined bullion not in possession of the Government, and are using all their power to establish free coinage, I fear, mainly to enhance the value of their possessions.

The third class is composed of the toiling and producing millions, who are neither gold bugs nor silver bugs, and who realize so little from their labor and investments that each year finds them less able to meet the obligations of the former, in consequence of which they are forced to sink deeper and deeper under threatening billows of mortgages and debts, beneath which many of the giant ships of their fellows, bringing the bread and necessaries of life from the shores of nothingness, have sunk to rise no more, leaving their overburdened barks in raging seas of debts. It is in favor of a change in our monetary policy, but not such a one as has been suggested by the advocates of the gold standard.

To the last-named class nearly all of my constituents, and the whole race of which I am the sole representative, belong.

In two respects I represent the largest constituency of any member of this House, a district of two hundred and seventy thousand, and a race of nearly eight million. [Applause.]

Speaking for them I do not believe that the great evils with which they are afflicted are owing to the operations of the so-called Sherman law.

They had been hurtfully feeling the mailed hand of the unrighteous financial policy of their country long before the silver-purchasing bill of 1890 became a law.

They believe and know that the primary cause of the direful disease which has been making paupers of them and their children for more than a dozen years lies deeper than the recent superficial, and in some respects, designing unrest in money circles.

They trace it to a contraction of the circulating medium which, like a viper with its victim in its coils, has been drawing its cords tighter and tighter around their prosperity, until it is dead. I am of the opinion that the only sure and permanent remedy is a lengthening of the cords, an enlargement of the volume of money.

Unlike the other classes, my constituents combine patriotism with self-interest.

They want the volume of money increased by the use of those substances in which their Government would have the greatest security.

While they want and must have more and cheaper money, they demand that it be made of such substances as have the greatest intrinsic value, and as the supply of gold is inadequate and growing less, are in favor of making up the deficiency with silver, and to that extent favor free coinage and bimetallism, and no one, in the course of this debate, has even pretended to prove that there is more than a sufficiency of both gold and silver obtainable to supply the monetary use of the world.

I submit that the true measure of the superabundance or insufficiency of the circulating medium is the price of labor and productions of one period compared with those of another.

For example, let us compare the war period, when circumstances forced a superabundance of money into circulation, in consequence of which the price of labor and productions rose on the Federal side from two to three, and on the Confederate side from thirty to forty times their nominal price with the present period, in which contraction, causing an insufficiency of money, has forced down the price of productions and labor to such an extent that one dollar is buying from two to three times as much of them as it should.

We want neither of these extremes, but a mean ratio between them, in which neither products and labor on the one hand nor money on the other would have the advantage.

I believe that their condition would be vastly improved by the remonetization of silver and the use of that substance in which the Government would be secured with liabilities which could be sold in the markets of the world for 60 per cent of their nominal value, even at the present suppressed price of silver bullion.

The negro, as patriotic and devoted as when dying on the plains of Boston, bleeding on Bunker Hill, or suffering the horrors of war through cold and heat, in hunger and nakedness, amidst northern snows or the malarial swamps of the South, under the lead of Marion, Sumter, and Washington, or repelling the formidable army of Lord Packenham, under the lead of the gallant and indomitable Jackson, in the war of 1812, or turning the tide of war in favor of the Stars and Stripes, under the commands of Butler, Hunter, Shaw, Logan, Hancock, and Grant, in the civil war, in such a way as caused each star to assume such brilliancy and each stripe such strength as to daze the eyes and successfully resist the great battering rams of the Confederacy, is in favor of the remonetization of silver as a means of increasing the circulating medium, because it would tend to make America the happy home of all Americans. [Applause.]

I feel proud of being able to say that history does not reveal the fact where a black hand was ever voluntarily raised to strike down the flag of its country, nor is the vote of the black man ever knowingly cast against its interest. [Applause.]

Notwithstanding the ill treatment received at the hands of his countrymen, he is always found voting and shooting for America and Americans, and on this currency question he is in favor of an American, instead of an English, German, French, or Belgian policy.

Mr. Speaker, I am especially in favor of silver, because it so fittingly illustrates the condition of the colored Americans.

Driven out of competition with gold in paying custom dues and the principal and interest on the bonded debt, which it so largely aided in making, and is not even allowed to redeem its creature, the silver certificate, there are those who ask why, does it not stand up on terms of equality in the marts of trade with gold?

It is dishonest to ask, or expect, a slave to compete on terms of equality with a free man.

I remember seeing, in my peregrinations through my native State, placarded in many nooks and corners, "White is king," which I was inclined to believe. [Laughter.]

But in the case of gold and silver it seems that that doctrine has been exploded.

The little, yellow, gold man, so small and circumscribed, has, by special training and baneful education in later years, become so strong and malevolent that he is spitefully driving this large, useful, humane, and philanthropic white man (silver) from nearly every place of honor, usefulness, and amusement. [Laughter.]

Every lover of fair play and justice, every sympathizer with the toiling millions in adversity and demoralization resulting from the lost and patronizing care of their best and ever present friend, silver, is called upon to assist in restoring his ancient power and glory, that he in turn might bring prosperity and happiness to the homes of the poor as well as those of the rich.

As I am placed in a similar position, common misery makes us one, and impels me to come to the rescue of and to use all my power to defend this white man, who has ever been the friend of the poor, white or black, the world over.

I sincerely trust that the lovers of the white metal will hereafter have more sympathy, even for human beings when suffering and dying under the fell blows of hateful prejudice and discrimination.

Each member of society, finding his wants so varied and many, and without the power, machinery, skill, or climate to supply them all, is forced to the necessity of producing enough of that substance which nature and education have enabled him to produce at least cost to himself, to supply his own wants of it and sufficient to spare for barter with others to furnish him all the necessaries of life; but as those with whom he would exchange are distant and inconvenient to reach, he needs an abundant medium of exchange that will not only measure the value of his products, when compared with the products of those with whom he would exchange, but will ever honestly measure itself when compared with the value of the products for which it is mediating.

I deny that the American people have such a medium of exchange to-day, and contend that any other is dishonorable to a great nation, and tends to rob its principals at both ends.

We are prepared to prove that such is the character of our present circulating medium.

Is the gold dollar of to-day an honest dollar?

The suffering and deplorable condition of all labor and productions, outside of manufacturing industries, answers no.

Our prostrate silver mines in anger and woe answer, no.

The one who buys another's products at the lowest price possible, and while in transit to other sections, where he would exchange them for other products, destroys their value and takes them at his own price by murdering his competitors, is a scoundrel, that should be hung to the first limb; and yet this is the character of this so much honored gold dollar.

In competition with silver, which forced the market down, he bought up millions of national and local bonds, and mortgages covering the railroads and homes of the people some dozen or more years since, and now when the time has arrived for another exchange he is making the final attempt to murder his competitor, the silver dollar, in order to be taken at the boastful and bloated estimate that he puts upon himself; and honorable Senators and Congressmen stand within the legislative halls of the greatest nation on earth and aid and abet him in the performance of his dastard deed.

I heard a gentleman say, in the course of his remarks on this floor the other day, that the only class affected by the appreciation of gold is that having long contracts.

It seems to me that his deductions will not hold good, for it is evident that when money appreciates to such an extent that $1 will purchase twice as much at a given time as it did at the time of its acquirement, the individual owning it is twice as rich at the latter period as he was when he came in possession of it.

Therefore when money appreciates to the extent of 50 per cent its owner is 50 per cent richer and every other class is 50 per cent poorer, because his property will buy 50 per cent more of the property of all other classes than at the time of acquirement, and theirs 50 per cent less of his.

Each of two citizens twenty years ago engaged in the same employment, acquired $10,000. One invested his money in bank stock, while the other invested his in real estate outside of some boomed town or city.

Now the one investing in bank stock has not only the accumulated interest of his money, but his property is worth, at the lowest estimate, 40 per cent more than that of his colaborer.

The one investing in real estate finds that $6,000 of his neighbor's bank stock will purchase all his ten thousand real estate property, notwithstanding that the property of the one cost as much sweat and blood as that of the other.

This is the great wrong of which there is so much complaint. The same amount of gold that was purchased with one day's labor, 1 pound of cotton, 1 bushel of wheat twenty years ago will buy from two to three times as much of the same commodities to-day.

Any system of finance that will add such an inflatedly dishonest value to the property of one man, at the destruction of the value of other men's property, should find no abiding place on this earth, and especially in the so-called land of the free and home of the brave.

If the organized labor of our manufacturing industries had been paid the same scale of wages as the scattered and disorganized labor of the farm, we would have had anarchy and revolution long since.

In 1866, the circulating medium, when the 7-30 notes, which ex-Treasurer, Gen. Spinner, says, was a part of the currency, are added, was $1,728,872,668—$80,839,010, the amount reserved in the Treasury, leaving $1,648,043,658, as the volume of circulation, which when divided by the population for that period 35,460,000, gives a per capita circulation of $46.40, and it is conceded on all sides that the period during and after the war was the most prosperous period ever known in this country.

While the volume of money of 1886 was $1,808,559,694—$555,-859,169 Treasury reserve, which leaves a balance of $1,252,700,-525 as the volume of circulation, which divided by 57,404,000, the population for the period, gives a per capita circulation of $21.82. But it seems to me that the reserve funds of our national banks are just as much out of circulation as those of the Treasury, and should not be any more regarded as a part of the dividend in finding the per capita circulation.

According to the statistical reports of 1886, the reserve fund in all the national banks, amounting to $225,055,019, which, when deducted from $1,252,700,525, the dividend used by Treasury

authorities, leaves a balance of $1,027,645,506 as a new dividend, and, divided by the population, gives us a per capita circulation of $17.88, instead of $21.82.

But when we consider the vast amount of money lost and destroyed and hoarded up by misers, which is as much out of circulation as that locked up in the Treasury, even the $17 per capita circulation is entirely too high an estimate.

I verily believe, Mr. Speaker, when everything is considered, that even $12 is a high estimate for the circulating medium per capita at present.

During a speech as far back as 1874 that gallant general and great statesman, Senator John A. Logan, who has gone to his grave wearing two honors, and whose memory is so dear to the men he led, as well as those he freed, said that "Contraction has gone on until the whole amount of currency of every kind now outstanding is only $742,000,000."

We can very readily perceive why we are forced to sell our products for less than cost when you came to us in 1886 with less than a billion dollars to do the business of our country, while it took at least one billion and four hundred millions of dollars in 1866.

You brought a billion dollars in 1886 to do the business of 57,000,000 people, when it took for 35,000,000 people some fourteen hundred millions in 1866.

In 1873, when we had a bimetallic standard and a silver dollar was worth as much as a gold dollar, an ounce of silver bringing $1.32, the average price of wheat was $1.31 per bushel and that of cotton 18.08 cents per pound; when now the gold dollar, through favored legislation and contraction, has appreciated some 40 per cent when compared with the silver dollar and every other species of property and productions, we are brought to the awful dilemma of a silver dollar worth 60 cents buying the same amount of cotton, corn, wheat, and every class of property, while gold buys the same as it did when silver was worth its face value anywhere in the world, thereby forcing us to take 7 cents for our cotton and 68 cents a bushel for wheat, subscribing in the use of productions to the silver standard and in the use of money to the gold standard.

The former is the standard of the producers; the latter that of money-lenders and speculators.

It seems that because a comparatively few bankers and large business concerns are failing, the metropolitan press having stirred and alarmed the nation, this Congress was speedily and gravely called into extraordinary session to furnish means of relief. Yet when we who have a patient and long-suffering constituency, which has been on bended knee for years begging for aid, enter objections to aiding gentlemen representing banking and moneyed constituencies, unless some measure is coupled with theirs to give relief to ours as well, notice intimations in a portion of the metropolitan press, which disclose a design to charge us with disloyalty, recreancy, and negligence.

If we seek no deeper than the immediate cause which brought about the present crisis, and provide only for its relief, we shall have given a dose of opiate to our country, the dying patient, in order that it may pass away without apparent pain, in a fit of stupor and resigned demoralization.

We shall have occupied the position of the foolish architect, who is extremely careless concerning his foundation, but takes alarm at the slightest leakage from the top.

Through an inequitable financial system, the foundation of this grandest of all republics is being consumed in a flame of debt, but we seem alarmed only at the falling in of the gilded top.

What should alarm us most is the decay and utter ruin of the million pillars, the producing and laboring masses, the hardy foundation upon which our gilded financial and commercial superstructures are erected.

More than half of the mortgages on the farms of our country is a true index of failures.

In making comparisons of the ratios of increase and decrease in the circulating medium, population, rates of interest, productions, and mortgages of one period and section of country with another, cold and lifeless figures grow eloquent in depicting the reasons for the sufferings of the masses at one time and in one locality when compared with their prosperity in another.

Yet, when the great masses, too busily engaged in winning the bread of life and beating back the great waves of mortgages and debts beneath which they are sinking from day to day, to study finance or monetary institutions in order to see their needs, and to understand in what way to demand protection to themselves through legislation, ask those in whom they have confided, and from whom they are expecting relief, what is the cause of such a state of affairs as has brought them to the very vortex of ruin, the answer is, almost uniformly, "overproduction."

What nonsense! What an unpatriotic and unstatesmanlike answer!

Instead of furnishing the country with sufficient currency to form an honest medium of exchange, to carry on its great, varied, and growing business, one class of doctors say raise less, when hardly a sufficiency is now raised to satisfy the demands of consumption; another class prescribes diversification of culture, which means, in a great measure, the raising of such crops as the soil is least adapted to, thereby entailing a loss on the diversifier and destruction of the market for the products of those whose soil, machinery, and experience best fit them to cultivate; and by still another, that money is not scarce, that there is abundance of it in England, Germany, and Belgium, seeking and longing for investment, and all that is necessary to secure it, is a restoration of confidence in the business world, and an exhibition of honesty and ability to pay at the expiration of the term of loans.

How unreasonable it is, while continually holding up the enormous amount of bonds and mortgages belonging to this country and citizens, in the hands of foreigners, to urge our citizens to place more bonds and mortgages with them by borrowing more of them; when even if a small portion of the principal and interest on those already placed were demanded, all the gold reserve in our national Treasury and national banks would be depleted, all that we have to construct a financial system upon, should we yield to the advocates of a gold standard.

Such a course is liable to lead to complications and war with foreign powers, for if ever the American people come to the conclusion that they are being ground to nothingness under the shrewd and skillful manipulations of a moneyed clique, a period of revolution and repudiation will speedily follow, in which our country, while in a state of chaos and anarchy, will be humiliatingly forced to conciliate, or fight some foreign power demanding the return of principal with interest of the loans of its citizens to our Government and citizens.

I believe in an American policy throughout our financial and economic legislation, and would take no note of the surplus foreign capital, even if their cities were walled in with it. [Applause].

But, Mr. Speaker, the following figures, taken from the census bulletins for 1890, grow pathetic and remorseful in exposing the fearful iniquity of the financial system which has brought so much suffering to the great mass of our countrymen, and is fast reducing them to paupers.

July 1, 1870, we had a population 38,588,371, and the circulating medium was $675,212,794, giving us a per capita of $17.50.

July 1, 1880, we had a population of 50,155,783, and a circulating medium of $973,382,228, giving us a per capita of $19.41.

Our population during that decade had increased 29.9 per cent, and if our circulating medium had increased in the proper proportional ratio, we ought to have had a per capita of $22.73 in 1880, whereas we had only $19.41.

Our population July 1, 1890, was 62,622,250, with a circulating medium of $1,429,251,270, giving us a per capita of $22.82.

Our population had increased 24.8 per cent from 1880 to 1890, and if our circulating medium had increased in the proper proportional ratio we ought to have had a per capita in 1890 of $24.22.

In 1870 our gold was regarded only as a commodity commanding a high price.

In 1880 we had $225,695,779 of gold in circulation, and in 1890, $374,258,923—a slight increase during the ten years; but we observe that from 1887 to 1890 the amount of gold coin in circulation steadily decreased while the general stock that was coined or issued increased. During the same period the amount in the Treasury increased.

DEBT AND MORTGAGES.

The census of 1890, in its investigation of ownership and debt, gives a clear idea of the burden that bears upon our farmers and upon the working class in general.

In its investigation of mortgage indebtedness it shows clearly the advantages that the East has over the South and the West in obtaining and retaining loans; and a comparison of the rates of interest paid by the borrowers discloses the fact that for the last ten years money has been scarce and dear.

Fifty-two and sixty-six one-hundredths per cent of all the families in South Carolina are farmer families, and 61 per cent of all these hire the farms that give them bread.

No State has yet been shown by the census statistics to have so high a percentage of tenancy as South Carolina.

Upon the farms of that State there are liens amounting to $3,363,679, which is more than 50 per cent of their value; and this great mortgage debt bears an average rate of interest of 8.57 per cent; and each owned and encumbered farm is subject to an average debt of $930.

I appeal to the grand old party, which has always stood for what is greatest and best in freedom and progress, which has labored for the freedom of my race and has been loud in its pro-

testations against its oppressors, to reflect before consigning us to the gold standard, for fear that in bearing us away from Sylla it may bear us upon Charybdis.

The only difference between the physical and financial masters is that our personality was the property of the former, while our labor and productions are the slave of the latter.

The one was among us, the other at a distance. The former fed and clothed us, because we represented so much property; the latter cares little for our welfare, because their interest is in our personal and real property.

Under certain conditions great real estate mortgages are signs of wealth, business, prosperity. This is the case in rich New England, in busy New York, and in the Eastern States generally. There interest is low and the life of mortgages are long. When this is the case, mortgages show wealth in a section.

This is not true of my own State, nor of the South in general; nor is it true of the great West. In those two sections rates of interest are high, and men clamor to foreclose their mortgages on the poor farmer at the end of one or two years. The real fact is that money, like human beings, will not seek distant company as long as its pleasure is satiated at home. Our census special investigation has shown that capitalists in New England and the East allow mortgages to run and live for six, seven, and eight years.

Why should I pay 8.57 per cent interest in South Carolina and have my property sold for debt in a year or in two years, while the citizen of Massachusetts can borrow at 5½ per cent and is given six years in which to pay?

If we turn to the State of Missouri, the great State represented by that gallant friend and champion of silver [Mr. BLAND], we find in the last ten years that the people have been paying on their mortgage debt seventy-two different rates of interest, varying from 1 per cent up to 80.

This interest is paid by the poor hard-working class. Now, why do I say this? The statistics show that 48 per cent of all the mortgages were for amounts of less than $500.

Only the poor man, the toiling farmer, wants these little amounts to improve his property and to keep his business going.

In Arkansas twenty-five different rates of interest are recorded, from 1 per cent up to 60 per cent. In Minnesota we find forty different rates, and there again we step from 1 per cent to 80 per cent. In Indiana we find forty-three different rates—from 1 per cent to 40 per cent.

Everything connected with our debt question shows that the South and West need more money.

If I compare the farmer families of Massachusetts and those of South Carolina, I find that only 4.80 per cent of those of Massachusetts have to pay a rate of interest greater than the State rate of 6 per cent.

In South Carolina I find that 39.65 per cent of farmer families must pay more than 8 per cent on the money that they borrow in order that they might live.

I have contrasted my own State with a rich Eastern State. What the South needs to-day is more money; there is coal beneath its surface, there is iron in the ribs of its mountains, and its fields can be made fertile and fruitful.

We need some remedy for the ills that are now upon us.

I do not speak alone for the South, to-day, but I plead for the half million idle men who are looking to us and begging to be allowed to dig in our mines, to plow our fields, to work in our shops and factories, and to have honest wages paid in honest dollars.

Standing before you to-day, the lone spokesman for my race, I hear voices which you do not hear, I see faces which you can not see.

I have visited the farmer in his cabin; have tilled the soil and followed the furrow side by side with the humblest; I have spoken and discussed with the business men, and the ruling class of my State. I see their wants and I feel their needs, and every fiber of my body vibrates in sympathy with the people—the common people. [Applause.]

They call to us to-day for help; call from the mines that close them out and deny them bread; call from the factories that have hushed their busy hum, but have not stilled the cry of the child for bread.

I shall be criticised for the stand which I have taken on this question, but as between the monopolist and the gold bugs on the one side and the common people on the other I stand with the people, feeling myself their creature and their servant and ready to do their bidding, especially while standing on one of the principal planks of my party in two national conventions, which indorsed the bimetallic standard and condemned the Democratic party for the attempted demonetization of silver.

I submit to gentlemen demanding the repeal of the purchasing clause of the silver-purchasing bill of 1890, as a means of relief to their constituency, unless some measure is coupled with it to bring relief to mine as well, whose business contraction has made a vast heap of ruin, I can never give it my approval.

Outside of manufacturing institutions the industrial classes everywhere are justly dissatisfied.

The very employment of bankers, usurers, and speculators gives them an insight into the workings of financial institutions, which supplies them with offensive and defensive weapons, used and ready for use at all times, when their interests demand protection, while that of all other classes is such that they have little opportunity to learn anything of their operations, except their baneful effects upon their lives and property.

Such is the case now, and while they do not understand the cause, they are beginning to attribute it to harmful legislation, for which they held the Republican party responsible last year; and if this Administration strikes down a protective tariff, and deny the laboring and producing millions better prices for their labor and products, through the medium of an enlarged currency, a political cyclone of such dimensions and power will sweep through the ranks of the Democratic party in 1896 that it will take a quarter of a century to get its broken and scattered fragments together.

But our opponents contend that free coinage will only benefit the owners of silver mines and silver bullion. It seems to me that that proposition is fallacious, inasmuch as the increase of money in any one section of a country lessens its use in another, and tends to make it more plentiful everywhere.

That system of finance that produces a small crop of millionaires and an abundant harvest of paupers, is antagonistic to every principle of the religion of God, and to every form of republican government, and should, and ultimately will, be wiped from the face of this beautiful earth, in which the Creator decreed every individual the enjoyment of freedom and the full fruition of his labor.

As the price of everything that we own or produce, except gold, is so much in sympathy with that of silver, that its ratio of increase or decrease is in almost exact proportion with the ratio of increase or decrease in the price of silver, a fall in the price of the latter commodity should be of alarming concern to all but owners of bonds and bank stock.

If the ratio in the price of everything else keeps pace with the ratio in the fall of price of silver when compared with gold, as has been the case for the past twenty years, and this Congress joins with England and Germany in the complete demonetization of silver, which must inevitably drop to some 30 or 40 cents per ounce, cotton will go at 4 cents per pound, and wheat at 35 cents per bushel. It does not take a prophet to foretell that revolution and repudiation will speedily follow.

Some one asks, Who wants silver?

The South needs $400,000,000 of it each year to move her cotton crop alone, and billions more to build its much-needed manufactories, dilapidated cities and towns, and to bring into activity the inexhaustible resources of its soil, forests, and waters.

Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of silver versus gold, because three-fourths of the people of the world who are not our competitors in manufactured and various other products use it, while those owning the gold of the world are our fiercest competitors, both in commerce and manufacture.

The remonetization of silver means 10 instead of 7 cents for cotton, which in turn means $120,000,000 to the producers of cotton with which to lighten the great mountains of debt which are pressing the last drop of blood out of them.

It means the appreciation of silver to such an extent that the Government will realize the full amount of its investment in silver bullion.

It means the payment of contracts in money of the same value as when the contracts were made.

If we remonetize silver it will be worth more in our market than those of demonetized England and Germany, and the money of Mexico, Central America, all South America, India, China, and Russia, being worth more in our markets than theirs, will find investment here and make our manufacturers and producers masters of the commercial situation.

New York, and not London, will speedily become the great commercial mart of the world.

Our competitors will either have to close a part of their industrial establishments or hurriedly follow us in the remonetization of silver.

I shall vote for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, because I am for the betterment of the miserable condition of my countrymen, and for America first and all the world afterwards.

This question, like the great question of abolitionism, which made new converts among honest men everywhere it was studied in the light of truth, until it resulted in a tidal wave of freedom, is beginning to be discussed in every cabin and hovel, as well as mansion and palace, and the history of this country furnishes abundant evidence of the fact that when the people be-

come alive to their interests on any subject they will rise in their manhood and vote or shoot down any man or party who would strike down their property or liberty. [Applause.]

I adjure you who are in favor of doing something to help the masses sometimes, instead of the classes always, not to be coerced or flattered into submission, but trust in the righteousness of God and the patriotism of the American people, and the day will come when you will be as proud as Abraham Lincoln was when the Stars and Stripes again floated from the parapet of Fort Sumter.

I call upon the Democratic party, which claims to be of and for the masses, to show its colors now, while laboring under the greatest responsibility that it has carried in thirty-odd years, before it is eternally too late.

I call upon the Republican party, founded upon the bedrock of human freedom, which had inscribed in letters of living light in its initial banner, "unrestricted human rights and equality before the law," every deviation from which principles marks its failure, to remember the pristine valor of its heroes and martyrs, and assume the cause of the masses in this struggle, and the white angel of hope and victory will hover over our camp, exhibiting the pillar of cloud by day and fire by night that will inevitably lead us from one victory to another until our victorious campfires shall keep burning in every State from the Lakes to the Gulf, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. [Loud applause.]

In the words of Lord Chatham, if I were an Englishman, as I am an American, I would never cease war until every creature in every land should bow to the golden calf which was erected by and sustains and maintains the honor and glory of my country. [Prolonged applause.]

And then, on motion of Mr. REILLY (at 11 o'clock and 2 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, *August 25, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

SILVER COINAGE.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. President, it is not my habit to tax the Senate very often, and never I believe with long speeches. I have been too unwell up to this hour to take part in the financial debate, but if it be agreeable to the Senate I give notice that on Tuesday morning next, at the close of the morning business, I shall have something to say on the subject of the bill (S. 570) discontinuing the purchase of silver bullion, and the substitute therefor proposed by the minority of the Committee on Finance.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. SHERMAN presented a memorial of the Sherman Brigade, of Ohio, remonstrating against the recent action of the Pension Office suspending pensions, and praying Congress to make an investigation into the subject; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. VEST presented a petition of the Corliss Association of Stationary Engineers of St. Louis, Mo., praying for the free and unlimited coinage of silver; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. CALL presented a petition of the Sumter County (Fla.) Farmers' Alliance, praying for the free and unlimited coinage of silver; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. GORDON presented a petition of the Farmers' Alliance of Pulaski County, Ga., praying for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented petitions of the Southern Hardware Jobbers' Association of Atlanta, of the Board of Trade of Savannah, and of the State Bankers' Association, in the State of Georgia, praying for the immediate repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HARRIS. I present a petition of the health officer of the District of Columbia, indorsed by the Commissioners of the District, praying for the immediate allowance of two additional clerks for the bureau of public health of the District. I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. PEFFER. I present a petition of a committee of citizens of Hamilton County, Ohio, known as the Direct Legislation League, praying that Congress provide for a submission of the Wilson bill, and the substitute providing for a ratio of 16 to 1, to a vote of the people at a special election to be held at an early date for their acceptance or rejection. I move that the petition lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. PEFFER presented petitions of citizens of Atchison; of the People's party central committee of Shawnee County; of citizens of Larned, Pawnee County; of citizens of Paola, Miami County; of citizens of Linn County, and of citizens of Pottawatomie Township, in the State of Kansas, praying for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. LINDSAY presented a petition of sundry citizens of Bell County, Ky., praying for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law and for the appointment of an expert commission to consider and recommend a scientific plan of currency, based on the experience of our own and other countries, and adequate to the requirements of a great commercial nation; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SQUIRE. I present a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Seattle, Wash., setting forth the great commercial advantage which would accrue to the Pacific coast in the way of cheapening transportation, etc., by the construction of the Nicaragua Canal and urging upon Congress the passage of some bill to accomplish that purpose. I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. PLATT presented a petition of the Federated Trades and Labor Union of Meriden, Conn., praying for the passage of legislation placing silver on the same basis with gold; which was ordered to lie on the table.

DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

Mr. VEST. I am instructed by the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to whom was referred the resolution submitted by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] on the 16th instant, to ask to be discharged from its further consideration, and that it be referred to the Committee on Printing. The change of reference is agreeable to the Senator from South Carolina.

The report was agreed to; and the resolution was referred to the Committee on Printing, as follows:

Resolved, That the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate be, and is hereby, directed to distribute to the public libraries in the United States all public documents found on hand and not claimed by Senators on the 15th day of September next.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. PALMER introduced a bill (S. 697) granting a pension to Samuel Elwood; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. GORDON introduced a bill (S. 698) for the relief of Elsas, May & Co., of Atlanta, Ga.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. HUNTON introduced a bill (S. 699) for the relief of Lewis McKenzie; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 700) for the relief of Theodore Teed, his heirs, legal representatives, or assigns; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 701) for the relief of the heirs at law of Maj. Tarleton Woodson, deceased, in accordance with the findings of Court of Claims; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 702) for the construction of a memorial bridge from the Naval Observatory grounds to the Arlington estate; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. VEST introduced a bill (S. 703) for the relief of Arthur P. Selby; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. PETTIGREW introduced a bill (S. 704) to increase the rate of pensions for certain cases of deafness; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. CULLOM introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

A bill (S. 705) to pay William A. Terrill, of Company C, Fiftieth Ohio Volunteers, pay and bounty;

A bill (S. 706) for the relief of Frank Denham;

A bill (S. 707) for the relief of Orin R. McDaniel;

A bill (S. 708) for the relief of Robert E. Hemphill; and

A bill (S. 709) to correct the military record of, and grant an honorable discharge to, Isaac H. Fitzmorris, he having served in the Army of the United States three years six months and six days.

Mr. CULLOM also introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Pensions:

A bill (S. 710) granting a pension to Anderson Sherman;

A bill (S. 711) granting a pension to Charles Bauermaster;
A bill (S. 712) granting an increased pension to John S. Dill, of Capt. Mayo's company, Black Hawk war;
A bill (S. 713) granting a pension to John J. Logan;
A bill (S. 714) granting a pension to Levi C. Mann;
A bill (S. 715) granting a pension to George W. Campbell;
A bill (S. 716) granting a pension to Charlotte Younes;
A bill (S. 717) granting a pension to Henry L. Flint; and
A bill (S. 718) granting a pension to John M. Snyder.

Mr. GRAY introduced a bill (S. 719) for the relief of Anthony Reybold; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. GALLINGER introduced a bill (S. 720) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon, at Keene, in the State of New Hampshire; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

BACK CREEK ROUTE.

Mr. HIGGINS submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Secretary of War be requested to cause to be furnished to Congress, at the earliest practicable moment, a revised estimate and report of the survey of the Back Creek route, as already made under the act of 1882, of the 27-foot channel connecting the harbor of Baltimore, Md., with Delaware Bay, with special reference.

First. To the cost of improving its approaches in connection with the enlargement by private parties of the 14 miles of canal proper; and

Second. With reference to the acquisition of the control of the entire route by the Government and its enlargement as a free waterway or ship canal for promoting our commerce, foreign and domestic, and increasing the efficiency of our Navy.

TAX ON SPIRITS IN BOND.

Mr. VOORHEES. Some days ago I introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 13), which was referred to the Committee on Finance, authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to remit the 5 per cent penalty on merchandise now in distillery, special bonded or customs warehouses, upon which the tax is due or about to become due. The joint resolution was referred by the Committee on Finance to the Secretary of the Treasury for his views on the subject. I ask that the letter of the Secretary of the Treasury, which I present, and also a letter of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, to whom the Secretary referred the matter, may be read for the information of the Senate and the country, and especially of those who are interested in this question.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection the letters will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., August 23, 1893.

SIR: In response to your favor transmitting a copy of joint resolution (S. R. 13) "authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to remit the 5 per cent penalty on merchandise now in distillery, special bonded or customs warehouses, upon which the tax is due or about to become due," I have the honor to state that the subject was referred to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for investigation as to the condition of the accounts for taxes due or shortly to become due on spirits in distillery warehouses, and his report thereon is herewith forwarded.

The only effect of the joint resolution, if passed, would be to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Treasury to remit the 5 per cent penalty on such spirits, provided the tax shall be paid within six months of the time now required by law, as there is no law imposing a penalty of 5 per cent, for nonpayment of tax when due upon merchandise stored in customs warehouses.

The fifty-fourth section of the act "to reduce the revenue and equalize duties and imports, and for other purposes," approved October 1, 1890, provides that any merchandise deposited in bond in any public or private bonded warehouse may be withdrawn for consumption within three years from the date of original importation on payment of the duties and charges to which it may be subject by law at the time of such withdrawal; and section 2971 of the Revised Statutes provides that goods remaining in public stores or bonded warehouses beyond three years shall be regarded as abandoned to the Government, and sold under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, and the proceeds paid into the Treasury.

It will be seen, therefore, that the proposed joint resolution would afford no relief to the owners of goods in customs warehouses, and I concur in the conclusion reached by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue that the amount of penalties assessed and to be assessed upon spirits in distillery warehouses is not sufficient to justify special legislation upon that subject alone.

Respectfully yours,

J. G. CARLISLE, *Secretary.*

Hon. D. W. VOORHEES,
Chairman Committee on Finance, United States Senate.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, D. C., August 22, 1893.

SIR: In reply to your request pursuant to letter herewith of Hon. Daniel W. Voorhees, Chairman of the Committee on Finance, United States Senate, dated the 16th inst., I have the honor to state the following facts bearing upon the legislation proposed by Senate resolution 13, authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to remit the 5 per centum penalty and interest at the rate of 1 per centum per month on the tax on merchandise now in distillery, special bonded, or customs warehouses, upon which the tax is due or about to become due, viz:

This proposed legislation is evidently urged by the distillers of the United States who have recently applied for similar relief to the Secretary of the Treasury, which you have refused to grant or to interfere with the operation of the existing law.

It is also evidently due to the great and unusual stringency in the money market, and to the large quantity of distilled spirits in excess of the demand for consumption, as set forth in the preamble to the resolution.

During the first three months of the present calendar year the assessment of overdue taxes on distilled spirits in bonded warehouses was considerably in excess of a million dollars each month, and during the last three months the assessments have averaged over one and a half million dollars each month, the assessment of taxes due in April being $1,499,739, in May $1,597,005, and in June $1,667,897.

All of the assessed taxes of this character due in January last appear to have been paid; those for February, except $1,568; for March, except $3,637; for April, except $10,571; for May, except $27,187; and for June, all except $157,921.

The amount to be assessed this month for July will be about $360,000; that which will be assessed in September for August is estimated to be about $500,000, and the amounts which will be assessed in the months immediately succeeding will be considerably less.

I have the honor to say, further, that for reasons set forth in the preamble to the proposed resolution, and from letters received from persons having merchandise in these warehouses, also from the statements of persons sent to this office as delegates, I entertained the opinion about one month ago that the unusually large assessments of taxes which became due (under the provisions of section 3293, Revised Statutes, as amended) in May and June, 1893, which assessments were made in June and July, 1893, could not be paid without great sacrifices. Nevertheless, these taxes have nearly all been paid, and the necessity for relief as to them does not now exist. Nor, in my opinion, does it exist as to the $300,000 to be assessed this month, which is not two-thirds as great as the amount assessed one month ago.

The mode of relief contemplated was by extension of the time in which the spirits might be withdrawn from the bonded warehouses, which would result in delaying the collection of the taxes.

The proposition for relief now before the Department is, however, not to extend the time within which the tax must be paid, but simply to relieve from the penalty accruing through neglect to pay an assessed tax. It would be manifestly unjust to favor, by relieving from penalty and interest, any of those who have failed to pay the taxes on spirits, amounting to $203,884, outstanding on the lists for the six months ended June 30, 1893 (much of which will be abated), and do nothing for those who paid the $8,504,378 also assessed on the lists. The 5 per cent penalty on the $300,000, which will be assessed this month, is $15,000. When it is remembered that the payment of this sum, the greatest amount of penalty possible on this assessment, will be distributed all over the United States, the amount seems too small to be made the subject of special legislation.

There seems to be no occasion for legislative action, unless it appears that the financial situation will become much worse than at present.

Respectfully, yours,

JOSEPH S. MILLER,
Commissioner.

Hon. JOHN G. CARLISLE,
Secretary of the Treasury.

SILVER COINAGE.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President——

Mr. VEST. Will the Senator from New York excuse me one moment?

Mr. HILL. Certainly.

Mr. VEST. Considerable attention has been called in the public press and in the Senate to a letter addressed by the Secretary of the Treasury to the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] in regard to the bill brought forward by the minority of the Committee on Finance, proposing to change the ratio between gold and silver from 16 to 1 to 20 to 1. In order to place the matter correctly before the public as to the amount of silver in the Treasury and the relation between the Government and the coinage of silver, I addressed a communication to the Treasury Department and received a reply which I ask may be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The communication will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF THE MINT,
Washington, D. C., August 21, 1893.

SIR: I reply to your telegram of to-day as follows:

The total amount of silver purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, to August 16, was 161,521,000 ounces, cost $150,655,457, coining value,—$208,835,232. The difference between cost and coining value is $58,165,783. Of this silver there was on hand, August 16, 133,161,375 ounces, costing $121,217,677. The difference between cost and coining value is $60,950,565.

The amount of silver dollars coined from silver purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, has been $36,067,185, upon which the gross seigniorage was $6,977,068.75.

The amount of Treasury notes issued to August 16, 1893, in payment for silver bullion was $150,115,985, and that amount is still outstanding.

Up to August 1, 1893, the amount of Treasury notes redeemed in gold was $49,184,160, and since August 3, 1893, $714,696 in Treasury notes have been redeemed in silver dollars, this being the first redemption of these notes in silver.

The amount of silver purchased under the act of February 28, 1878, was 291,272,019 ounces of fine silver, costing $308,193,262.

The number of silver dollars coined under that act was 378,166,793, upon which the gross seigniorage was $69,967,531.

Very respectfully,

R. E. PRESTON,
Acting Director of the Mint.

Hon. GEO. G. VEST,
United States Senate.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, it is not my intention to discuss the question of ratios at this time. I assumed from the extraordinary zeal manifested in that direction by the advocates of the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act that the great thing to be desired in the interest of the American people was the parity between the two metals, and that the commercial ratio should, as far as possible, be the same as the ratio established by statute. As the commercial ratio until a few days since was 28 to 1, while the legal ratio was 16 to 1, I took it for granted that it was honestly to be attempted to

bring the two metals together in order to redeem the pledges of the two great parties of the country and of the Administration, and that there should be coinage of gold and silver upon a parity.

Now it seems that the question of expense as to a change of ratio is to be injected into this discussion, and that leaving this great and absolute necessity of parity, we are to enter into an examination of the number of dollars that sums up the cost to the people of the United States of changing a ratio, if a change of ratio be determined to be necessary.

Without trespassing upon the kindness of the Senator from New York, permit me to make a short analytical statement of the account between silver and the Government at this time, taken from the paper which has been read at the desk.

The clear profit accruing to the Government under the act of 1878, known as the Bland-Allison act, up to August 16, 1893, is $69,967,531 seigniorage—the difference between the coin and the purchasing price. The profit under the act of 1890, known as the Sherman act, is $58,165,783, making a profit to the Government upon silver since the passage of the Bland-Allison act, in 1878, of $128,133,314.

The silver uncoined in the Treasury now amounts to 133,161,375 ounces, on which the profit is $50,950,565. The number of ounces necessary to recoin silver dollars in changing the ratio to 20 to 1 is 81,376,700. The number of ounces necessary to recoin the subsidiary silver coin to the same ratio is 18,797,625, making 100,174,325 ounces. This would leave in the Treasury uncoined 32,987,050 ounces. If the cost of recoinage, $112,865,321, be taken from the amount of profit made by the Government already upon silver, $128,133,314, there would be a balance to the credit of silver in the Treasury to-day of $15,267,993.

If the Secretary of the Treasury means to put this question fairly before the American people, why does he not tell us what he proposes to do with this vast amount of silver bullion now uncoined in the Treasury of the United States when the purchasing clause of the Sherman act is repealed? Can it not be used to recoin the old silver coin, or is it to lie there a menace to bimetallism for all time to come? He assumes that we are to purchase this $112,865,321 worth of silver in order to make good the ratio of 20 to 1, and at the same time leave uncoined the amount of silver, 133,161,375 ounces, which is now in the Treasury and lying there without use. That would be a fair statement; that would show the exact relation between silver and the Government at this time.

All I propose to do now is to put these facts before the Congress and the people of the United States in order that they may form a judgment upon them.

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask that the letter which my colleague had read be printed as a separate document, so that we may have it in that shape.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection it will be so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the Speaker of the House had appointed, in compliance with the provisions of the joint resolution providing for the appropriate commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the laying of the corner stone of the Capitol, the following as the members of the committee on the part of the House:

Mr. BYNUM of Indiana, Mr. WARNER of New York, Mr. BLACK of Illinois, Mr. HOUK of Ohio, Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa, Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania, and Mr. COGSWELL of Massachusetts.

SILVER COINAGE.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the bill (S. 570) discontinuing the purchase of silver bullion, on which the Senator from New York [Mr. HILL] is recognized as entitled to the floor.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, the President of the United States in his recent much-commended and much-criticised special message to Congress took occasion to make a quotation from some very pertinent utterances of Daniel Webster made over fifty years ago.

Permit me at the outset of my remarks to-day to make another quotation from the opening sentences of a famous speech of the same distinguished statesman, delivered in this Chamber in the year 1830, when he said as follows:

> When the mariner has been tossed for many days in thick weather and on an unknown sea he naturally avails himself of the first pause in the storm, the earliest glance of the sun to take his latitude and ascertain how far the elements have driven him from his true course. Let us imitate this prudence, and before we float further on the waves of this debate refer to the point from which we departed, that we may at least be able to form some conjecture where we now are.

Imitating that course at this time, it seems desirable, after two weeks of a discussion which has assumed the widest latitude and embraced almost every conceivable subject, no matter how remotely related to the real controversy, that we should now return to the consideration of the precise question involved, from which we have been drifting.

Let us inquire what is the particular question to which our attention has been invited, and for the determination of which we have been convened in extraordinary session? As I understand it, the only subject legitimately presented is as to the advisability of continuing upon the statute books the provisions of the Sherman silver-purchase law. All the questions which have been so elaborately and eloquently discussed simply revolve around this one point, and are only collateral to it.

What may properly be embraced in the realm of the debate of such a concise and narrow question? Is it a wise, just, logical, or necessary measure? Has it answered the beneficent purposes for which it was ostensibly enacted? Has it fulfilled the expectations of its friends? Has it appreciated or depreciated the currency endeavored to be created by it? Has it raised or decreased the price of silver? Has it benefited or injured the country? Who are its defenders or apologists? What do the people desire in regard to it? What would be the effect of its repeal? These are pertinent inquiries to which our attention may be appropriately directed, and are issues upon which debate may well be confined. All other considerations are irrelevant to this principal question believed to be involved.

Adopting Webster's prudent suggestion, let us first recall the peculiar circumstances under which we meet, and the important character of the duty which surely confronts us at this hour. The President of the United States, in the discharge of a public duty, has summoned the official representatives of the people to the capital in this midsummer month of August to meet an exigency which has arisen in the financial affairs of the country.

Surely no trivial monetary disturbance, no slight financial commotion, no ordinary cause was sufficient to justify the convening of the Congress of the United States in an extraordinary session at such an undesirable period as this. An emergency was believed to have been presented which imperatively demanded that we should be called from our homes, and required to assemble here to deliberate upon the condition of the country. It was shown that our industries were paralyzed, that workingmen were out of employment, that prices were falling, that stocks were depreciating, that money everywhere was being withdrawn from banks and hoarded, that currency was scarce and at a premium, and that confidence was largely impaired.

Sir, the picture was not overdrawn. A financial panic was upon us and is still unabated—a panic longer in duration than the one of 1873 and approaching in severity that of 1857. It is destroying values, wrecking fortunes, and undermining prosperity. It is confined to no section of the country—it is universal. If legislation can relieve the situation, it should be applied promptly and effectually.

It may be unwise to speculate as to the causes which have produced this condition of affairs, but remedies can not well be provided without ascertaining as far as possible the true nature of the difficulty.

President Cleveland has declared to Congress and to the country that the present unusual condition is to be attributed almost wholly to the Sherman silver-purchase act of 1890, and candor compels us to admit that this view is largely sustained by popular sentiment, which has adopted this conclusion either from an intelligent conception of the vicious features of that act or because of a systematic attempt in some financial circles to impress that view upon the country.

There are those who do not wholly agree with the President in his diagnosis of the malady now affecting the body politic, and who do not hastily join with him in the rosy conclusion that the financial millenium is to come the moment the Sherman bill is removed. There are those who have given this subject much reflection who are inclined to the opinion that the cause of the present depression lies much deeper and beyond the Sherman bill, and that its foundations were laid in the evil hours of 1873, when the country unwittingly laid aside the financial policy which had been its guide and safety from the foundation of the Government.

The existing financial disturbance may be attributed to three causes:

First. It is a natural or inevitable result or incident of many years of real or fictitious prosperity. The nation is not unlike an individual. The body politic may appropriately be compared with the physical body. A most careful observance of the rules of health will not prevent sickness, and neither will a strict compliance with the laws of business prevent commercial difficulties. Sickness is incident to humanity and commercial panics are incident to trade.

Temperance, abstemiousness, dieting, and rest may retard human illness, but it comes to every man occasionally sooner or later; while conservatism, absence of speculation, and observ-

ance of correct business principles on the part of the great majority of the business community will protract prosperity for a while, but there will always be times of depression. The student of history knows that financial panics occur about every twenty years, and our country has not been an exception to the general rule. The panics of 1813, 1837, 1857, and 1873 should have led us to anticipate one in about 1893.

In addition to these causes, which for the purpose of this argument I denominate "natural" causes against which it is probable that no prudence could guard or prevent, there was much reason to apprehend financial troubles at this time, owing to the continued violation of correct business principles on the part of our business men in their haste to become suddenly rich. The spirit of gambling, the desire to indulge in illegitimate speculation, the attempt to secure wealth by any means save earning it in the old-fashioned way, are fruitful causes of these times of depression. The reaction—the retribution—has come, that is all.

Why should we be surprised at the present lack of confidence everywhere manifested?

Our financial centers have been flooded with watered stocks of every description in which innocent people have been induced to invest their means by the glittering promises of enormous dividends which are not forthcoming. It has been the fad of the times to organize corporations and issue bonds and stock to an amount ten times the value of the property, and by such questionable enterprises paupers have suddenly become millionaires. The country has been surfeited with such schemes, whereby honest and confiding investors have been virtually defrauded, and confidence has thereby been impaired.

Candor compels me to say that these transactions have usually originated with that class of financiers who infest our marts of trade and are to-day ostentatiously attracting public attention by their parrot-like clamor for an "honest" dollar, and against the continued use of silver money.

Besides we are suffering from the evils of overproduction. We have raised more than we can profitably sell, and the markets of the world have been closed to us owing to our restrictive tariff laws. The balance of trade has unfortunately been against us. We have sold our railroad and other securities abroad instead of at home, and the interest as well as portions of the principal have been coming due and must be paid in gold, because it was so "nominated in the bond," and hence our gold has naturally been leaving us for foreign shores. If we contract enormous debts abroad they must be paid abroad.

Unquestionably some of the present difficulty may be attributed to the uneasiness of our protected industries, which have been accustomed to rely to a certain extent upon governmental favoritism to support them, and whose proprietors naturally apprehend that such favoritism may be withdrawn under a revision of the taxation laws contemplated by the party in power. I do not disguise the fact that such uneasiness exists and that it contributes its share to the general existing disturbance of financial affairs.

But there is no relief for this situation unless the dominant party abandons its principles and surrenders in advance to the interests which were defeated at the last election. The Democratic party is pledged to tariff reform, and it must redeem its pledges, come what may. Of course it must be expected there will be some friction. It is unavoidable. It is incident to the anticipated withdrawal of public aid from private enterprises; and it can not be prevented, but must be endured. The people perfectly understood the question last fall, and they voted with their eyes wide open. Our course is onward, and we shall not retreat.

Second. Some portion of the present panic may be traced to a concerted effort on the part of numerous monometallists to produce it, in order to further discredit silver as a part of the standard money of the country. That fact is apparent everywhere we turn. We observe it in their senseless arguments constantly used against free bimetallic coinage and their ceaseless endeavors to confuse the present issue by characterizing it as a contest between monometallism and bimetallism. They seemed to be delighted when the first ray of financial trouble appeared. They hailed the recent action of India with ill-concealed satisfaction. They talked against silver, morning, noon, and night.

They denounced not simply the Sherman silver-purchase bill, but the future use of silver as money. With ghoulish glee they welcomed every bank failure, especially in the silver States, little dreaming that such failures would soon occur at their own doors. They encouraged the hoarding of money, they inaugurated the policy of refusing loans to the people even upon the best of security; they circulated false petitions, passed absurd and alarming resolutions, predicted the direst disaster, attacked the credit of the Government, sought to exact a premium upon currency, and attempted in every way to spread distrust broadcast throughout the land.

The best financial system in the world could not stand such an organized and vicious attack upon it. These disturbers—these promoters of the public peril—represent largely the creditor class, the men who desire to appreciate the gold dollar in order to subserve their own selfish interests, men who revel in hard times, men who drive harsh bargains with their fellow men in periods of financial distress, and men wholly unfamiliar with the true principles of monetary science.

It is not strange that the present panic has been induced, intensified, and protracted by reason of these malign influences. Having contributed much to bring about the present exigency, these men are now utterly unable to control it. They have sown to the wind, and we are all now reaping the whirlwind together.

Third. But no matter what else may have contributed to the present financial situation, it can not be denied that the Sherman silver-purchase law has been at least in part and possibly the most largely instrumental in producing the existing complications.

I do not propose at this moment to present any analysis of that law. It is sufficient now to state that it has lost the popular confidence, that its operations have been unsatisfactory even to its friends, that it has not increased the market price of silver bullion, that it has tended to discredit our silver currency, that it has hoarded up a vast mass of unexportable and undesirable silver bullion in the Treasury of the United States either from the natural effect of the law itself or from its mal or unfriendly administration, so that everywhere there exists an antagonism towards it—a lack of faith in its wisdom and usefulness—a well-founded conviction of its dangerous character and tendencies which naturally makes capital timid, frightens business men, and creates a real and genuine alarm, not a mere imaginary or fictitious suspicion of insecurity.

The nature of the act itself was alone sufficient to create uneasiness. It presented an ever-increasing danger; it was rushing the country towards a precipice which could not be evaded, and it was only a question of time when its inevitable results would bring disaster upon us. The recent action of India hastened it, while the other causes to which I have referred—some natural and some manufactured—united in producing the present extraordinary crisis.

But no matter what various causes alone or unitedly precipitated the existing emergency, it is sufficient for us to know that the panic is here—it is upon us—it is steadily growing worse, and it must be promptly met by the exhibition upon our part of the most intelligent and exalted patriotism, a patriotism which rises above partisan considerations, a patriotism which if need be must sever party lines and ties, a patriotism which sinks every selfish advantage and rises to a just conception of the terrible importance of the occasion.

I am not an alarmist and do not wish to exaggerate the present financial disturbance, but I fear that Senators do not keenly realize the sad havoc which this crisis is making in the business affairs of the country, and the end of which no man can foresee. Neither am I one of those who believe that a simple repeal of the Sherman law will at once restore abundant prosperity. It will require many years to recover from the disastrous effects of the present disturbance. The greater the emergency, however, the greater should be the effort to meet it.

OUR PLAIN DUTY.

It becomes our first duty in attempting to solve the present financial problem to ascertain whether there is any existing law upon the statute book which is indefensible and is either wholly or in part responsible for our present unfortunate condition, and if we discover such a one it is our bounden duty to promptly repeal it.

This obligation is so plain that it ought not to require any discussion to emphasize it.

That the Sherman silver-purchase law of 1890 constitutes such an act admits of no doubt. No one now defends it. Few apologize for it. The political party that enacted it seems now the most anxious for its repeal. That it has proved a disastrous failure is scarcely denied by its present or former friends. It is true that for some time after its enactment there existed a disposition among business men to acquiesce in its provisions as a solution of the silver question, and it is but fair to say that there was manifested a qualified approval of it among men of both parties, especially among those who were opposed to free bimetalic coinage and are known as monometallists.

That acquiescence and quasi approval proceeded from different motives and opposite standpoints, the gold monometallists because it had antagonized or prevented the free coinage of silver, and hence they were gratified at its passage, and accepted it as a safe measure, and extreme silver men, because it was some recognition of silver and promised to keep up its price. Both were

ultimately bound to be deceived by its specious promises, its false hopes, and its dangerous possibilities. Both ought to be unanimous to-day for its repeal, but I regret to say that those who voted against its passage seem now to be the most reluctant to part with it. It was never defensible. It was a violation of every correct principle of monetary science. It was not even an honorable compromise. It was a makeshift, a subterfuge, a mere temporary expedient. The President in his message, not desiring at this time, for obvious reasons, to offend the sensibilities of those who had voted for it, politely called it a "truce."

It has been asserted that the President himself, in his hostility to independent free-silver coinage, was disposed at one time to regard with favor or acquiesce in the provisions of the Sherman law, which had been the instrument or means by which such free coinage had been defeated. Whether this be so or not, the fact remains and has not escaped observation that while the Democratic national platform denounced the Sherman law and demanded its repeal—denounced it, not as the result of a "truce," but as a "cowardly makeshift"—yet Mr. Cleveland, neither in his speech delivered at Madison Square Garden, New York, in answer to the notification of his nomination, nor in his subsequent letter of acceptance, nor in his inaugural address in March last, criticised the Sherman law, nor made any allusion to it whatever, although it was then already threatening the prosperity of the country with the dangerous results of its operation, which were apparent to everyone who had given the subject any careful attention.

The general disposition to approve or acquiesce in the Sherman law on the part of the monometallists in both parties was further manifested by their tenderness toward it by their newspaper press, by their omission to denounce it, by their approval of it in the platforms of various State conventions—notably that of the Republican State platform of New York in 1891—and particularly by the majority report of the House Committee on Coinage, made up of members of both parties, and presented to Congress in February, 1891, wherein the Sherman law was virtually approved and the necessity for any further or other legislation denied.

On the other hand, true bimetallists—friends of a double standard—bimetallists from principle and conviction and not from mere selfish interests—never for a moment acquiesced in the propriety of the Sherman law, but always regarded it as an ill-devised scheme to retard the growing sentiment of the country in favor of free bimetallic coinage.

My own personal record is of the slightest consequence, but the Senate will pardon me for alluding to the fact that my views of the dangerous character of that act are not new, but have been entertained and repeatedly expressed ever since its passage.

Within three months thereafter—on September 23, 1890—at Brooklyn, then at Cooper Institute, New York, on October 8, 1891, at a meeting over which Mr. Cleveland presided, then at Elmira on December 4, 1891, and twice soon thereafter in Albany, I sought—in speeches which have been widely published—to arouse the people to the importance of a repeal of that law.

It is useless to disguise the fact that at that time there existed much apathy upon the subject, other topics seeming to engross the public attention. In fact, my own efforts were misconstrued, and it was insisted in some quarters that I was indifferent to the sacred cause of "tariff reform," and that I was seeking to divert the people's attention away from that great issue in endeavoring to arouse them to the dangerous possibilities of the Sherman law.

Last December at the opening of Congress I promptly introduced a bill for the unconditional repeal of that law, and on February 6 last I had the honor of addressing the Senate at length in favor of its passage. I do not deem it necessary to reiterate the arguments which were then presented. They are as pertinent to-day as they were then, although now it is likely that they would fall upon more willing ears. It was our plain duty then to have repealed that law; that duty is imperative now.

THE SHERMAN ACT IS INDEFENSIBLE.

The backbone of my argument against the Sherman bill may be concisely stated in the following points:

First. The sure peril to all our industries in another greenback issue—for that is what the Sherman law amounts to—employing paper debt in place of gold and silver as a money-measure of labor and the fruits of labor.

Second. Its sure hindrance of our return to free bimetallic coinage, the sole legal tender of the Constitution, of our history before the war, of monetary science, of the people's welfare—silver and gold.

Third. That equivalence between the same silver, whether solid in the coin or liquid in the crucible, can no otherwise be maintained than just as equivalence is established between the same gold whether coin at the mint or bullion from the melting-pot, to-wit, by the right, after melting, to have it transformed to coin again—the right of free coinage, which includes recoinage.

Fourth. That parity (not equivalence), that local parity within the United States (not world-wide parity) of our silver dollars and our gold dollars depends (while free coinage is withheld from silver) upon the Treasury in its payments never disparaging the silver dollar by keeping back gold dollars, as if a superior kind, when called for.

Fifth. That the Sherman law phrasing a concern to maintain on a parity with each other "the two metals" was meant to prevent their parity, and, in fact, contrived a sure cumulative peril to the local, legal, and minor parity of the 25.8 troy grains of gold coined, and the 412.5 troy grains of silver coined, as a dollar, in the United States.

Sixth. That the Sherman law organized an inflation of the people's debt, a prevention of its payment with the silver purchased, such as the Allison law provided, and a contraction of the people's gold. It may be further stated that the new greenback debt, also, was swollen to $150,000,000. There is one hundred and thirty-two millions less of gold in the people's Treasury, and a great depletion in their private stocks.

This law can not be defended, as it is based upon a wrong theory of finance. It does not provide for the free coinage of silver; it provides only for a limited and restricted coinage of that metal. It provides for the purchase of silver bullion: it treats silver as a commodity. In one view of it the theory of the law seems to have been that the compulsory purchases by the Government of a vast quantity of silver bullion, amounting to 4,500,000 ounces per month, would maintain the price of silver in the market, and that the obligations of the Government to redeem its Treasury notes issued in payment of silver bullion, in gold or silver, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, would practically maintain the parity of the two metals.

The law has proved a substantial failure for the accomplishment of those ends. The price of silver has steadily fallen, and the demand upon our gold for the redemption of these Treasury notes has weakened the Treasury to an alarming extent. The Secretary of the Treasury has pursued the policy of using gold instead of silver for such purposes of redemption, and necessarily so, as he alleges; and hence our bullion, instead of being coined and circulated as contemplated, has remained hoarded in the Treasury vaults.

The Sherman bill has proved the worst enemy of the silver cause, because it has retarded rather than aided the cause of free coinage.

The Democracy of New York, in their State platform of 1891, hit the nail upon the head when they declared as follows:

> We denounce the new Sherman silver law, under which one-tenth of our gold stock has been exported and all our silver output is dammed up at home, as a false pretense but artful hindrance of return to free bimetallic coinage, and as tending only to produce a change from one kind of monometallism to another.

The Democracy of New York wanted that law repealed because it blocked the way to free bimetallic coinage, and not because it would aid the cause of monometallism.

That is exactly my position to-day. I am a bimetallist. I do not believe in a single gold standard nor a single silver standard, but I do believe in the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and in their free coinage in our mints at a proper ratio, without any discrimination in favor of one against the other. And as such bimetallist, I favor the repeal of the Sherman law because it is undemocratic, illogical, dangerous in its tendencies and results, an impediment to free coinage, and a disgrace to the silver cause.

The Sherman law has used "the livery of heaven to serve the devil in" long enough. It is called the Sherman *silver* law, and thousands and tens of thousands of people—possibly a majority of them—regard it as a free-silver law, or one equivalent to it. They point to the fact that many silver men are struggling to resist its repeal as though it was a vital measure to the silver cause, when in fact it is the very opposite to free coinage.

The true friends of silver make a mistake, a serious mistake, when they defend this law and allow it to be confounded with free bimetallic coinage. Instead of it being called a *silver* law, it should have been entitled "The Sherman bill to hinder free bimetallic coinage, to discredit silver, and to impoverish the Treasury of the United States." That is precisely what it has proved to be, and yet a simple repeal thereof is being vigorously resisted as though such repeal would in some mysterious manner injure the cause of free coinage.

The Sherman law is objectionable because it directs the *purchase* of silver, instead of providing for the *free coinage* of silver. Purchase means price, price means commodity, and the treatment of silver as a commodity means its derogation from its intrinsic rank as a money metal. Gold has free coinage, and hence it has no price in the United States. But silver has price. Silver purchases are simply a Government consent to prolong its derogation. Such purchases can never promote their proposed object, to wit, the preservation of a parity between the two metals.

Gold is not purchased by the Government, and should not be. It has the right of free coinage into full legal-tender money for the people, who bring it, to any amount. If melted, it has free recoinage into the same amount of full legal money again, without loss.

Silver-coining nations have not purchased silver. They coin it for the people, just as gold-coining nations coin gold. Their silver if melted loses none of its value, for it is assured of recoinage into the same amount of full legal-tender money again without loss.

It is the absence of the free coinage of silver—the existence of a limited and restricted coinage, that compels Government purchases of silver, and such purchases absolutely prevent parity.

Even the maintenance of a semblance of parity drains the Treasury of its gold, where silver is purchased. Free bimetallic coinage is essential to the parity of the two metals, and nothing else will successfully and satisfactorily maintain such parity.

There are certain elementary facts that can not be made too plain.

The value of free coinage is that it virtually monetizes all the metal wherever it may be.

Silver purchased, even if coined, monetizes no unpurchased silver, and if not coined monetizes none at all. Free coinage of silver is not the purchase of an ounce of silver. Nor is the free coinage the purchase of any gold. The function of free coinage is to effect the monetization of all, but not by the purchase of any.

The Sherman law proceeded upon a wrong and illogical theory, and so did the Bland-Allison law. They were both anomalous and without precedent, and the true friends of a bimetallic currency should never have consented to the compromise which led to their enactment.

Mr. BLAND, in 1878, should have insisted upon his original bill, which was for the free coinage of silver, and either won or lost upon that issue. But he was persuaded to accept a limited coinage, and there has been difficulty, disparity, timidity, and danger ever since. The Sherman law perpetuated and exaggerated the same error.

The Sherman law should be repealed, and for the same reason the Bland-Allison law should not be revived. Free bimetallic coinage should be the goal for which we should now strive.

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN.

My own conviction is unalterable that had the last Congress, or the present Congress if convened in extra session on the 5th of March, not delayed to repeal the Sherman law, the United States would have largely escaped the panic long to be remembered as the monetary panic of 1893, and would have precluded the closure of Indian mints to the free coinage of silver, which, besides increasing panic here, scatter the seed of monetary disorder over the whole earth, as Germany did twenty years ago.

As I have already stated, there is a remedy for our own immediate domestic difficulty—repeal, pure and simple; unconditional repeal. The first remedy for poisoning our currency is to cut off fresh doses of the poison.

But delay to appreciate the wider scope and foreign implications of our inaction has now let in, to block our path towards resumption of free bimetallic coinage, a hindrance greater than the Sherman law itself.

Great Britain by stopping free silver coinage in India interposes perhaps greater hindrance to that resumption than the act of France stopping free bimetallic coinage, in order to defeat Germany's campaign of substitution in 1873. For the free coinage of silver in India was always indispensable as a condition to the free bimetallic coinage of France, and much more important, in the balance of the two groups of free monometallic coinage, than the free silver coinage of Germany.

As the free silver coinage of India was indispensable to the free bimetallic coinage of France, by which independently and alone she maintained the parity of gold and silver at the ratio of 1 to 15½ in all parts of both hemispheres; so free silver coinage in India seems indispensable (perhaps not absolutely so) to free bimetallic coinage by the United States, independently and alone, and to the perfect parity thereby everywhere of gold and silver, either at the ratio of 15½ or 16.

Free bimetallic coinage is not witchcraft. It is business. And if not universal in all mints, but is to be accomplished by the mint of a single great metallic power, it implies the coexistence of each of the free monometallic coinages by other nations.

If even gold free coinage were to become isolated, confined to one nation, free bimetallic coinage by that nation alone would be impossible. If free silver coinage were isolated (confined to ourselves, as it would almost be if adopted now), I fear that free bimetallic coinage would be impossible, even to these great United States. Especially would it be impracticable at the present time and under existing conditions.

Independent free bimetallic coinage by the United States is not consistent with the counsels of monetary science, if it is to rest permanently upon an almost isolated free silver coinage.

Our return to free bimetallic coinage is therefore, now, for the first time since 1873, subject possibly to the new hindrance and prior condition of an adequate international agreement.

That is the legacy of the Sherman law, the joint legacy of the Sherman law and the delay to repeal it. But let the dead past bury its dead. And for our parts let us go forth to the future, "without fear and with manly hearts."

These disasters which might have been averted in February or March last, and these hindrances to a resumption of our sound historic monetary system which were doubled in July, do but prescribe to the public men of our American Republic a larger circumspection and a more unflinching purpose. We can not avert, Great Britain can not avert, the deep necessity of that great resumption.

We have a widened and more difficult task to achieve. We are driven perhaps to a change of plan. The goal of our great endeavor is no less the prize of a high calling. International free bimetallic coinage remains no less a capital interest of the human race because its renewal may now have possibly passed beyond the competency of a single government. It is no less now than ever it has been, during the two decades of its vanished beneficence, the most far-reaching worldly interest of the foremost nation of civilized men.

Perhaps, in the stress of our own domestic troubles from the universal monetary disorder, we are liable to forget that long-familiar aspects of the gold and silver question are become obsolete, now that a cessation of free silver coinage has been superadded to the twenty-year cessation of the free bimetallic silver coinage.

Arguments for the simple, easy remedy so lately within our reach are now an anachronism. Only a little while ago it was possible, while free silver coinage was upheld in India, to commit to the newly chosen President of a great people, united in this behalf, by voting to substitute for the Sherman law a free bimetallic coinage law, the renewal of the general parity of gold and silver, and then watchfully strengthening our servants' hands at every vicissitude of that endeavor.

To-day such a task, even if not rejected by an Executive veto, would, I fear, strain and snap the most cordially united efforts of Congress and the Executive.

THE PRESENT BIMETALLIC SITUATION.

Perhaps, indeed, I seem to give too much importance to these varying phases in the present nonbimetallism, stopping free silver coinage in India, stopping compulsory silver purchases in the United States. Compared with the stupendous unforeseen stumble, just twenty years ago, out of bimetallism into nonbimetallism, trivial indeed are any passing phases of the universal nonbimetallism, whether local in Calcutta or local in Washington.

The change from a fixed world-wide parity of gold and silver, to their varying disparity, on the 6th of September, 1873, by the unwitting cessation of free bimetallic coinage, was an epoch in history. These varying phases are but symptoms of that disparity. The loss of the age-long parity of gold and silver I believe to have been unwitting.

But I believe the resistance to its renewal is not quite so innocent. I fear it has arisen in the preference of a creditor kingdom and of creditor classes there and elsewhere for a new money-measure in place of the ancient universal bimetallic money-measure of mankind; for a new money-measure half as great, and therefore twice as potent, in every purchase; for a money-measure exclusively of gold; for a new money-measure containing the four thousand million dollars' worth of gold, but not the four thousand million dollars' worth of silver (in round numbers), comprised in the now dislocated bimetallic money-measure.

Such a substitution is chimerical, and it would be fraudulent. To the great bimetallic money-measure the range and plane of prices of all commodities had been for centuries conformed. After twenty years' dislocation of the two moieties of the world's old money-measure, the gold moiety and the silver moiety, a nonconformity of the range and plane of prices of commodities is far from being established, for the disuse of either moiety is not yet begun, and the abolition of either moiety is only dreamed of. There were dreamers forty years ago who dreamed of abolishing the gold moiety of the money-measure by cutting off gold from a free bimetallic coinage.

The dream of abolishing one-half the money-measure rather than reset the dislocated two halves explains the persistent opposition of Great Britain, a creditor kingdom, controlled by creditor classes, to the renewal of free bimetallic coinage—the cause and condition of their permanence in parity. It explains why Great Britain has defeated every monetary conference assembled by France and the United States to that end. It explains the

British ukase, for which no British statesman dare stand open sponsor or publish his forecast of its results.

To put either money metal out of the category of money into the category of commodity constrains them to disparity much as if both were commodities; and until their parity is renewed the consequences of disparity can but go on quite remediless.

Repeal of the Sherman law making a commodity of silver by purchases can not, therefore, produce the beneficent results of restoring the parity of gold with silver in full monetary use through a free bimetallic coinage. But meanwhile repeal will facilitate their local parity. Gold monometallists everywhere have hailed the British ukase closing the mints of Calcutta and Bombay as "the doom of silver." The American branch of believers hoot at the "pernicious pig metal" and dream the coming consummation of their hope.

On the contrary, it brings that new-fangled monetary theory—the theory of gold monometallism, begotten in the embraces of ignorance with rapacity—at last to an unequivocal and crucial test.

For the moment, for the day, for the year, it seems to finish the disparagement of silver, commenced with the cessation of its share in a free bimetallic coinage, continued by its withdrawal from a monometallic free coinage, while Cinderella's sister alone frequents the mints of all the great metallic powers.

But many years ago, the editor of an able newspaper, the New York Evening Post, who was also a great American poet (I refer to Mr. Bryant), summed up in four immortal lines the inevitable outcome of enthroning successful Error above underfoot and downtrodden Truth:

> Truth crushed to earth shall rise again—
> The eternal years of God are hers;
> But Error, wounded, writhes with pain,
> And dies among his worshipers.

The incurable wound of this error was inflicted by the worshipers of gold monometallism in England when it was pushed forward, by a necessary logic, to one more step in the disparagement of half the money of mankind—the withdrawal of free coinage from silver in a great Empire where silver was and is and must ever be the sole possible coin of universal employ and full legal tender.

THE BRITISH EDICT IN INDIA.

What was the *modus operandi?* A sudden edict, from their British conquerors on the other side of the globe, stripping off from their only money metal the primary condition of its equivalence, whether circulating as coin or hoarded in bangles. Sir David Barbour, that Indian finance minister and bimetallist who begged for free bimetallic coinage as the scientific solution of India's monetary troubles and the world's monetary troubles, testified that the silver hoards of India were correctly computed at £130,000,000 sterling worth. Free coinage had ever maintained the equivalence of silver in the ornamental bangle with silver in the coin rupee.

The British ukase stripped these Indian savings and ornaments of nearly half their purchasing power, subjected them to varying disparity like the disparity between the silver dollar and 412½ troy grains of silver bullion, and asserted for the British conquerors of 250,000,000 people power to make for them and coin silver purchases, and denied their immemorial right to the free coinage and recoinage of silver. Such is the lot of the Englishman's "dumb-driven cattle." What was the ostensible scheme? It was the endeavor to put a peg in at the present limit of disparity between silver and gold, a disparity caused and continued by stopping the ancient access of silver to free coinage at the mints of Europe, where the alternative adoption of gold was not a physical impossibility.

The public confessions of the gold monometallists—the plain implications of their scheme—are more instructive than even its present failure. The scheme is an open avowal that disparity between silver and gold, that divergence from a bimetallic par, is intolerable. The scheme is an open avowal that in any state of disparity present, the liability to greater divergence from parity, and the liability to less divergence from parity, are two evils which threaten commerce with costs and disaster. The scheme was published and recommended as an endeavor to stop the first liability. Instead of dwelling on its demerits or present failure, I prefer to note the implied admission of the supreme value of a fixed parity of gold and silver.

Another implication is that the most hidebound British gold monometallists can not avoid retaining the use of silver coin as money of full legal tender in the domestic trade and foreign commerce of subject populations whose mere increase during the last decade vastly outnumbers the total population of the United Kingdom on all its islands.

Abolition of silver as money of full legal tender, announced by the New York Evening Post as to-morrow's millennium, is not attempted yet by any sort of fools among British statesmen.

Abolition of India's sole possible coin money of full legal tender being impossible, the subordination of silver there to gold elsewhere in the British Empire is the exact description of this avowed experiment. Parity is discarded; disparity is vainly limited; subordination is attempted. For subordination, if achieved, and a renewal of parity by other powers prevented, involves usurping for gold alone the function of the standard; that is to say, the function of the ancient bimetallic money-measure. Written all over the face of this theory and this endeavor is the rapacious purpose to make the sufferings entailed by the loss of that parity which Great Britain is preventing, work out at last the halving of the old bimetallic money-measure of mankind and the doubling of the purchasing power of a new gold money-measure upon all the wages of labor, all the fruits of labor, all the debts of labor, for the benefit of the creditor classes of a creditor state.

Subsidiary and subordinate coinage of silver for small change is easy enough in Great Britain, which produces neither money metal and has enough of gold. But the attempt to make subsidiary and subordinate to gold the coinage of silver among the vastly outnumbering populations of mankind, who have no other money metal of full legal tender except silver, and whose mere numbers make their sufficient share, and their necessary divisions of gold as a money metal commercially impracticable and physically impossible, is rapacity foredoomed to defeat. It derives from cockney convenience a rule for crowded empires possessing of the two money metals but one, with no reason for its subordination to another, and without gold for it to be subsidiary to, but being subject themselves to the common need of all commercial nations, a single common money metal or a fixed parity between their respective or common money metals, if there are two—the parity of past ages, the international currency of silver equally with gold.

I have noted to the Senate the implied admissions of this precious scheme. I have mentioned its homage to the discarded rule and result of free bimetallic coinage, the parity of gold and silver, in its legalizing and untried method and sort of parity, a bureaucratic maximum limit of disparity.

If any Senator would fain believe that something else than deliberate rapacity inspires the present rulers of Great Britain in their long defeat of the efforts of the two great Republics, France and the United States, for renewal of the parity of gold and silver, and in this latest preventive measure, I will assist his aspirations by some evidence that their Anglo-Indian ukase may rather be deemed mere ornamental imbecility.

These British statesmen, like their royal George, so anxious for their own good and "the goods of all the peoples" of their empire, have commenced their campaign by creating the most stupendous mass of inconvertible money—money inconvertible with the new unit of value—ever known in the history of the human race. Nobody can deny that fact. I can put in evidence Sir David Barbour's statement of it, a man of science and affairs. I do not cite the British chancellor of the exchequer, Sir William Harcourt. He is a burley bruiser who knows as much about coinage and currencies as John Sullivan. He told a deputation comprising delegates from the London Chamber of Commerce on the 25th of January this tale of the double florin, a silver piece in the mere subsidiary coinage of Great Britain: "The double florin is so unpopular that I believe it has gone abroad."

He told the "city" men of London that, and nobody laughed. That will do for Sir William Harcourt and the "city" opinion of London. He conceives that a subsidiary coin can have extranational export or international currency; and it is this finance minister who directs the subordination of the silver rupees of India to the gold sovereign of Tower Hill.

I would myself accept the idea that the Anglo-Indian ukase is merely monumental British stupidity, if it were the first act in the monetary drama instead of the fourth.

Great Britain defeated the renewal of the parity of gold and silver at the monetary conference of 1878.

Great Britain defeated the renewal of the parity of gold and silver at the monetary conference of 1881.

Great Britain defeated the renewal of the parity of gold and silver at the Brussels monetary conference of 1892.

Great Britain now, in 1893, is combining her Asian with her European power to prevent renewal of the parity of gold and silver by the United States and France or other foreign powers at any future time. To create the hugest mass of inconvertible money ever known, while posing as monetary purists, may look like pious imbecility worthy of a Pharisee in Bedlam. But on review of the successive acts of the monetary drama, a statesman of sense will "doubt not through the stages an increasing purpose runs."

I admit, for I affirm, that the British new-fangled theory of gold monometallism is an ignorant, insular, weak-minded the-

ory, like their theory of taxation without representation before 1776, like their theory of impressments for the British navy in American ships before 1812, like their theory of irresponsible naval intervention to assist the disunion of these States before the Alabama arbitration of 1871.

But it is no disproof of a selfish rapacity that its methods may foredoom their own frustration. And what, indeed, has the greedy purpose of these insular theorists so far brought to pass? Have they demonetized silver? Strictly speaking, silver has not been demonetized. The usual phrase is at fault. It is the indignant utterance of impoverished men and injured nations, but not the accurate language of monetary science.

Until now not an ounce of silver has been demonetized. Coinage has been stopped here and there, but the old silver francs, thalers, florins, dollars, rupees, are still in existence and monetary use. Some German thalers, florins, the Roumanian and Scandinavian silver pieces, have been transformed into francs or rupees. Silver has not been demonetized. So much silver was never in monetary use as now.

Silver in that sense has not been demonetized, and the total achievement of the rapacious and ignorant theorists of gold monometallism thus far has been to polder, to confine within the several boundary lines of all nations—as if they were the dikes of so many sunken tanks—one-half the full legal-tender coin money of the world by despoiling silver of its old international monetary power. In place of the old world-wide parity of silver and gold, there is gold in a few and silver in all nations, and no parity for twenty years between them or any, and as many local parities as there are nations formerly bimetallic.

To have despoiled silver of monetary power internationally; to have suppressed parity between one money metal of the North Atlantic States and the money metal of the great mass of mankind—that is the sum-total of results achieved. That is the title of Great Britain to curse her dependent state with the curse of an inconvertible money and boast the "Pax Brittanica."

If there is any honest man among British statesmen who has favored the successive procedures of Great Britain in this latest procedure because he knew no better, he has one lesson to learn.

There is no reason under heaven to expect renewal of the stable, unvarying parity, the universal, age-long parity, of gold and silver prior to September, 1873, from any other source, by any other means, than the renewal of its cause—competent free bimetallic coinage.

There is no reason under heaven to suppose the totally unprecedented shocks and fluctuations of divergence and disparity between gold and silver, continuous now for exactly twenty years, will ever discontinue, so long as either money metal is not by competent free bimetallic coinage translated back again out of the common chances and conditions of a commodity.

Meanwhile the local legal parity of our silver dollars with the gold dollar of 25.8 troy grains should be maintained at all hazards and under all circumstances, and the silver purchases stopped and isolated free silver coinage rejected for the present, in order to avert the present and future dangers to that local legal parity of the silver in the silver dollar and the gold in the gold dollar; but especially and also in order not to avert and in order not to prevent the renewal of the greater parity, the parity of all gold and all silver at one fixed ratio around the world, by means of a competent free bimetallic coinage.

My point is not now that our isolated free coinage of silver under present conditions will entail an exclusive silver basis here. My point is that we should not confirm Great Britain in her delusion of a gold basis everywhere by thus increasing European gold stocks with our gold stock; we should not deprive the United States of all power to promote free bimetallic coinage; we should not put off the hope of monetary peace into the next century.

The local parity of the silver dollar and the gold dollar in all these United States is our point of honor. It behooves us to be intolerant of present danger from the Sherman law, intolerant of the future danger which Great Britain has created for us in absolutely isolated free silver coinage at the present time.

To attain the renewal of free silver coinage along with free-gold coinage it behooves the United States to reverse their present policy, to augment Great Britain's difficulties and diminish our own, to stop temporarily the increase of silver in our currency under existing conditions and increase its gold constituent. Both are feasible. I hope to address the Senate further upon this point at some future time. I will not dwell upon it now.

Repeal of the Sherman law, had it taken place when, almost alone and unsupported, three months after its enactment, I began the systematic advocacy of its repeal, would have entailed long ere this, as I believe, free bimetallic coinage in Europe and America.

It will hasten now that day of deliverance; for it will release from an invidious position all those in the great West who are accused of a dishonest intent of inflation and enable them to fight for the first time with full powers for restoring free bimetallic coinage of the best money in the world—the sole money incapable of inflation.

THE PERMANENT REMEDY.

It will be observed from what has already been stated that the permanent remedy for our financial difficulties is a return to the bimetallism which existed prior to 1873. Nothing else will do it. We have tried everything but the right thing. It has been stated over and over again during the present debate, especially in the other House, that the country has tried the experiment of silver coinage and that it has proved a failure, and that therefore we should now return to a gold standard.

The country has not tried free coinage since it was unwittingly abandoned in 1873, but it has tried a limited and restricted coinage, silver purchases, the accumulation of silver bullion, and a depreciated currency, all of which have been forced upon the country by monometallists through miserable compromises obtained from silver men.

Why not try the only remedy that has not yet been applied? Why keep the Sherman law intact or why indulge in other experiments equally delusive, equally illogical, and equally unsatisfactory? The fact should not be forgotten and can not be too strongly impressed upon the public mind that at the very time silver was demonetized in 1873 it was upon a par with gold. That was when we had free bimetallic coinage in this country—not a gold standard nor a silver standard, but both gold and silver were the standard money.

If pledges in platforms amount to anything, unless they are to be regarded as mere set phrases with which to catch votes and not to be fulfilled, then both the great political parties are solemnly pledged to a return to that bimetallic system which existed prior to 1873. There may be permitted differences as to ratios, as to minor details, as to methods of procedure, and as to the precise opportune time for a return; but the important fact remains that all the political parties are irrevocably committed to the general policy of bimetallism, which, if pledges are kept, must sooner or later be permanently established.

The Senator who asserts that he is in favor of a single gold standard for the money of the country can not belong to either of the great parties. He must be a no-party man, a free-thinker, a go-as-you-please politician, of which there are types in Congress, in Cabinets, and everywhere. Such a Senator certainly has no right to speak for the Democratic party.

Bimetallism does not mean the stoppage of further silver coinage, while maintaining our present silver currency intact, but it means the free coinage of silver and gold by the Government, either under an international agreement or independently. The stoppage of further silver coinage, but the maintenance of existing silver currency accompanied by the free coinage of gold, is not bimetallism, but it is what the famous French financier, Mr. Cernuschi, called "humped-back monometallism," such as exists in France and Germany to-day.

This is not what our country needs for permanent relief, but we want the establishment of a perfect system of free bimetallic coinage as it existed prior to 1873, whereby every silver dollar may be kept at a parity with every gold dollar. That result was accomplished then—it can be accomplished again.

I am opposed to a single standard of gold because there is not gold enough in the world to fulfill the needs of a sole money metal. I believe I hazard nothing in that statement, but only express the profound conviction of the thoughtful people of the United States, and of the people of every other country in the whole civilized world except the ruling powers of Great Britain. Their course is determined by what they regard as their own selfish home interests, regardless even of the best interests of their colonies.

The business of the United States as well as the business of the world is rapidly augmenting. Ours is comparatively a new country; yet our population is already larger than the mother country, larger than either Great Britain, France, or Germany; our resources are being surprisingly developed, our commerce is increasing, our industries are desirious of extension, the wonderful inventions of our citizens are demanding additional capital, the spirit of progress is abroad, we insist upon more of the costly comforts, conveniences, and luxuries of life than were permitted to our fathers before us; new and growing States are knocking for admission into our Union, and the star of empire is rapidly making its way westward; new and gigantic enterprises of every conceivable description are crowding to the front, and the evidences of a higher, better, grander, and more magnificent civilization are accumulating. We are no longer a weak, puny, contracted, and poverty stricken people, but soon will be by far the wealthiest nation on the globe.

The observance of these gratifying evidences of national progress, gratifying as they are to the patriotic citizen, naturally

lead to the suggestion that such a country and such a people should not, in their onward march of improvement, be cramped, hampered, embarrassed, and restricted on account of any insufficiency in the currency. Money is but a measure of value and a medium for facilitating exchanges. Its volume should be sufficient to adequately represent the aggregate wealth of the world. The value of money—the standard—is fixed by governments in statutes. As one of the financial writers of the world says, "Without law there is no legal tender, without legal tender there is no money."

This great and growing country of ours needs a much larger circulation per capita than any other country in the world. It will not answer to compare the needs of our nation in this regard with the old, unprogressive, finished nations of Europe, where the wealth is largely controlled by a few families.

The insufficiency of our present volume of currency seems to be everywhere conceded, and yet there is an unaccountable reluctance to establish a permanent financial system under which that deficiency can be easily supplied.

The proposition now before Congress to allow the national banks to increase their circulation 10 per cent—and which proposition I earnestly favor—is the outcome of a general desire for an increase of the currency, the insufficiency of which has been made plainly manifest during the present crisis.

To that proposition of itself there is little objection, yet it is a strange spectacle which is presented when we witness that those who are the most clamorous for such increase at the present juncture are usually holding up their hands in holy horror and solemnly protesting against any other increase of the currency—especially an increase of silver money—as "inflation," when in truth both silver and gold are money metals absolutely incapable of inflation.

The speech of a distinguished gold monometallist in the House the other day abounded in references to our "redundant currency;" to the "abundance of money" with which the country is blessed; to the "ample supply" of the circulating medium, and other expressions indicative of the opinion that the country was already surfeited, or at least too well supplied, with circulation.

I do not believe it. The country does not believe it. The business men of our land believe it to be untrue. If one fact more than another has been adequately demonstrated in the present emergency, it is the fact that we need more circulation with which to do business. Let us give our national banks the relief which they ask, and then prepare the way for a steady, permanent, and safe increase of silver circulation—silver which shall be at a parity with gold; silver which shall be able to buy as much as gold; silver which shall be coined and circulated, and not hoarded up; silver for which the plain people are clamoring—the silver which was mentioned in the Democratic national platform of 1884, when it declared that "We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss."

In the year 1892 the total production of gold in the United States was only $33,000,000, not as much as in 1891. The production has remained about the same for several years, with no material increase, notwithstanding the increase of our population and resources. In 1878 it was $51,200,000, being $18,200,000 more than last year. For many years the average annual production was over $55,000,000, while now such average is scarcely $33,000,000.

It is true that outside of the United States there has been some increase in the world's production of gold during recent years, but an average annual increase of only $10,000,000, which is about the figure, is comparatively insignificant when the increased population and requirements of the whole world are taken into consideration. How much gold bullion is lost, hoarded, used in the arts, and otherwise disposed of and not applied to currency purposes? An annual increase of production of $30,000,000 would not keep pace with the world's needs, especially if, as is positively proclaimed here and elsewhere, a gold basis is to be finally established by all the governments of the world.

In that event what a contemptible figure the slight annual increase of ten millions would cut in the effort to answer the world's demands. It must be borne in mind that in the event of a universal gold basis, a failure in the requisite gold supply means absolute ruin, a stationery production means hard times, a diminution in production means bankruptcy of tens of thousands; in fact, it may be positively asserted that anything less than a reasonable and liberal increase in the annual gold production would mean stagnation of business, financial disturbance, and a renewal of our present difficulties. The world needs all its silver as well as its gold to give us an automatic and elastic currency.

We need not be disturbed about the increase in the production of silver. It cuts no figure in the solution of the great monetary problem. The annual increase is not 1 per cent of the world's total supply. Every ounce of silver extant on the earth now—the total accumulation—if carried to the Acropolis at Athens and melted in one block would not half fill the famous Parthenon.

When the gold mines of California were discovered, in 1849, Europe became frightened and complained loudly of a fear of being deluged with American gold: but the fear was soon shown to be groundless, and that gold proved to be a blessing to a poverty-stricken world. History will repeat itself in our American history of to-day, and silver will perform the same beneficent purpose that gold did then. It is for the interest of the United States to insist upon silver being a part of our standard money, for we are the great silver-producing country of the world.

It is unnecessary to characterize the demonetization of silver in 1873, or to inquire whether it was done intentionally or ignorantly. Secretary Carlisle, at a time when he reflected his own sentiments, and was not merely the mouthpiece or subordinate of others, characterized the act as a "gigantic crime" against the people.

James G. Blaine in speaking of the same subject said, "If, therefore, silver has been demonetized, I am in favor of remonetizing it. If its coinage has been prohibited, I am in favor of having it renewed. If it has been restricted, I am in favor of having it enlarged."

THE QUESTION OF RATIOS.

I do not propose to discuss to any extent the matter of ratios, because I do not regard that the time has arrived for its serious consideration. When the policy of bimetallism shall have been definitely settled, then the opportunity will be ripe for the opening up of that subject. There have always been conflicting views in regard to the proper ratio which ought to prevail between the two great money metals, and, in my opinion, it is untimely to invite such differences at a period when it is not the precise ratio which is at stake, but when the whole theory of bimetallism is assailed and is struggling for existence. I beg to differ with those good friends who seem to regard the question of ratio as one of the highest importance. I esteem it of the least consequence of any of the questions which are incident to the monetary problem.

If the existing ratio is to be changed at all, the feasibility of which at the present time is of great doubt, it should not be enlarged, but diminished, and put at 15½, so as to correspond with the ratio under which the silver pieces of the countries composing the Latin Union were coined.

I realize that this is not the popular idea, and that we hear it everywhere said that the ratio should be increased so that there shall be more silver in our silver dollar, and then all objections to free coinage would be obviated. I have heard intelligent men frequently say, "Let us have a dollar's worth of silver in a silver dollar, and everybody would be satisfied." This is a very narrow and superficial view of a great problem which for its solution depends little upon a mere matter of ratio.

An enlargement of the ratio by this country involves the recoinage of nearly all our silver at a tremendous loss or else its absolute retirement, which would be disastrous; while a reduce of the ratio to 15½ would enable us to recoin at a profit, and thus place our silver pieces on the same plane as those of European countries. It is evident, under existing conditions, no European country will recoin at a fearful loss, such as would be involved in any of the changes now proposed.

If we do anything, we should hold out an inducement to the Latin Union countries to recoin at a profit instead of a loss, and that can only be accomplished by reducing the ratio to their standard, rather than enlarging ours. We must take a sensible and practical view of the ratio question, and recollect that all changes of policy should be carefully avoided, except for the most imperative and pressing causes.

It is not the quantity of silver in a silver coin piece that absolutely determines its value—it is the legal-tender quality which is given to it by law. The trade dollar contained considerably more grains of silver than did the standard dollar, and yet because it was not legal money it soon became worth only what its bullion was worth in the market. Our silver half dollars do not contain in proportion as many grains of silver as do our silver dollars, and neither do our silver 10-cent pieces; and yet everywhere ten dimes and two half dollars are interchangeable for each other and for a silver dollar, with the like effect as though they were "intrinsically" equal, if I may use that term, or equal in the market, because they are equal to each other by law and are a legal tender.

Every elementary writer on the subject of monetary science does not lay much stress upon or attach much consequence to the exact ratio, except that it is always desirable that whatever ratio is established should be uniform, and that such uniformity should exist in as many countries as possible.

It is said that the weight of all the existing silver is eighteen times the weight of all the gold. But if the quantity of silver employed as small change is deducted, and if the aggregate of silver and the aggregate of gold are valued at the ratio of 15½, the total value of gold and the total value of silver are found to be about equal. The great author or inventor of the term "bimetallism" declares that "this is only pure chance, and that bimetallism is indifferent to it," and yet it does tend to establish the fact that 15½ is after all about the right ratio, at least for successful international bimetallism. It seems to me that the suggestions of some new ratios—1 to 20, 1 to 25, 1 to 30—misconceive the nature of the present difficulty and superadd another.

What the market price of silver bullion may happen to be any day, in the absence of any ratio of free bimetallic coinage, is a fact that offers no guidance in selecting the ratio for its revival. That is making market price, which can only appear in the absence of a ratio, determine the ratio, which is inconsistent with price and excludes price.

There is no price of gold where gold has free coinage, nor of silver where silver has free coinage. There is no price, but ratio only for either metal where both have free bimetallic coinage.

THE TRUE ISSUE.

The true issue to be met is simply whether the Sherman law should be repealed. It is not an issue between monometallism and bimetallism, between a gold and a silver standard.

The question of the demonetization of silver is not involved. Speaking in the popular sense, silver was demonetized in 1873. It is true that a repeal prevents any further coinage of silver, but it only prevents a restricted coinage such as I have described, which is worse than no coinage at all. It does not of itself prevent free coinage, because free coinage has not existed since 1873. A repeal can not injure the silver cause; it should help it. It paves the way for other and better legislation.

The Sherman law has unfortunately become so identified with the free coinage of silver, and the ill effects of its operation have been so manifest, that the sooner it is wiped off from the statute books the better it will be for bimetallism.

Those who foolishly declare that the present contest is between a gold standard and bimetallism not only misstate the true issue, but thoughtlessly or designedly injure the cause of repeal.

If I believed for one moment that the repeal of the Sherman law would injure the cause of bimetallism and would be the means of placing or tending to place the country upon a single gold standard, I should never vote for it, but would as earnestly oppose it as I am now favoring it. And I tell those who seek to make that issue that if their view of the question involved is correct and was so understood, the cause of repeal would find few advocates in either House of Congress. But there is no such issue. The strongest bimetallist can safely vote for repeal without a violation of his principles. He will only clear the way for their ultimate triumph.

It is said that the President's message by its significant omissions and especially in its closing lines contemplates the establishment of a gold standard as the policy of the country, and looks upon the repeal of the Sherman law as a means to that end. It is to be regretted that the President was not more explicit in his last utterances. He expressly advised the repeal of the Sherman law, and then urged other legislation as desirable, but he left the exact nature thereof in doubt.

It was hoped that the President, in view of the provisions of the Democratic national platform in favor of a double standard, and in view of the well-known opinions of a large majority of his own party in Congress, would have at least spoken a kind or encouraging word in behalf of a return to bimetallism. It would certainly have made the path of repeal an easier one, and prevented much misconstruction and bitterness. But while I regard such omissions as unfortunate, and while conceding that it is not easy to reconcile the closing words of his message with a desire for the establishment of a double standard, yet I am not disposed to accept such a construction of them until further evidence of his adverse intentions have been manifested. If he really intended us to understand that he proposed hereafter to favor the policy of a single gold standard, then I must absolutely decline to follow him in his new departure.

I shall refuse to follow in the footsteps of any Administration that seeks to place the Democratic party in a false position, that seeks to lead it away from its traditions, away from the currency of our fathers, away from the path of safety, away from Democratic principles and platforms and into the very camp of the enemy. The President must rely upon Republican votes to carry out any such suicidal policy. I shall not believe, however, that any such course will be taken by the President of his own volition or even under the inspiration of indiscreet advisers until clearer evidence shall be furnished than now exists.

I urge a repeal of the Sherman law because it is a hindrance to free bimetallic coinage; because its practical operation is depleting the Treasury of our gold; because it is hoarding up our silver bullion, instead of coining it; because it is lowering the price of silver and creating a greater disparity between silver and gold every day of its existence; because it has lost the public confidence, weakened the public credit, and disgraced the silver cause it was designed to serve.

These are sufficient causes for its repeal without inventing other reasons about which there might be serious differences of opinion, and the discussion of which is unprofitable at this crisis.

HASTY ACTION TO BE AVOIDED.

It is a most difficult task at this particular juncture of affairs to mark out a fixed and definite financial plan for the future which shall not be subject to revision. We must not only take into consideration our own depressed and almost exhausted condition, but we must not ignore the conditions and actions of other countries. We must await the effect of India's unfortunate action. What has she done? She has stopped the free coinage of silver to individuals, and proposes, as it is understood, to continue it restrictedly, under government direction and control, through purchases of silver bullion.

In other words, she is imitating the action of the United States, which in 1873 stopped the free coinage of silver and subsequently resumed a limited coinage through Government purchases of bullion, and the result in India is likely to be equally disastrous as it has been in America.

India's action was hastened by the contemplated repeal of the Sherman law by the United States, as the famous Herschell report conclusively shows. She is now following our footsteps, and will sooner or later reap the same dreadful harvest. But her action can not be ignored and lightly dismissed, because it leaves the United States at the present time the only large country, except Mexico, maintaining some system of silver coinage, assuming that India's government, for the present, ceases all coinage.

I make the prediction that the attempt to impose a gold standard upon Great Britain's Indian Empire is doomed to ultimate failure. But we must wait and see.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will remind the Senator from New York that, the hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, it becomes the duty of the Chair, under the rule, to lay before the Senate the unfinished business.

Mr. VANCE. Mr. President——

Mr. HARRIS. Let the unfinished business be laid before the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The unfinished business, being the resolution reported from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, will be read.

The SECRETARY read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Montana.

Mr. STEWART. I suggest that that go over informally.

Mr. HARRIS. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be informally laid aside in order that the Senator from New York may conclude his remarks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. VANCE. Before that is done, to which I have no objection, I wish to ask the Senate to fix a time when we can dispose of this matter.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the request of the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. VANCE. I am willing to defer to the pleasure of the Senate, but the matter ought to be understood in some way.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair hears no objection to the request of the Senator from Tennessee. The Senator from New York will proceed.

THE TEMPORARY REMEDY.

Mr. HILL. The temporary relief which the country needs at this hour is the prompt repeal of the Sherman law. We can discuss our monetary theories afterwards. Our duty now is to stop further silver purchases and relieve an almost bankrupt Treasury from the drain of gold out of its vaults.

Let us legislate upon the financial question and then return to our homes. At the regular session next December we can resume the consideration of the establishment of a permanent financial system required by the necessities of our great and growing country. This is not the hour for trying experiments.

The country's condition forbids it. The patient is sick; we must cure him of his dangerous temporary fever before we attempt to cure him of his deep-seated dyspepsia or rheumatism. "One thing at a time" is a good motto in business as well as sometimes in politics and legislation.

The goal for which the country should steadily strive is, first, international bimetallism—an agreement with at least a few leading nations—and if that is absolutely impossible of achieve-

ment, then independent bimetallism at the earliest moment when the condition of our finances and conditions abroad will safely warrant it. It is impossible to say in advance when that moment will arrive. It may never come. It certainly is not at present. There must be adequate preparation, revised laws, competent administration and friendly administration before such a result can be secured.

The condition of our Treasury forbids it to-day, but I indulge the hope that in the near future the existing conditions in this and other countries may change for the better, and we may be enabled safely to return to the wise policy which we so foolishly abandoned in 1873. It is useless to disguise the fact that the situation has greatly changed for the worse during the past year. The increasing disorder of our finances and the recent action of India have complicated the financial problem and rendered it more difficult of solution.

It is possible that such action of the India government may render the adoption of independent bimetallism inadvisable or impossible for some time to come. I hope not; but we must proceed cautiously and prudently in the management of the financial affairs of a great nation. Much must depend upon the future policy of India. Nothing can be safely done without the support of a reasonable share of the public confidence, and I fear that the adoption of independent bimetallism in the present great crisis would be regarded as a dangerous experiment.

Our duty to our country and to the cause of bimetallism can best be subserved by a prompt repeal of a concededly obnoxious measure, taking the precaution at the same time that the effect of such repeal shall not be misconstrued either at home or abroad. It is not wise or feasible, for reasons to which I have alluded, to couple with such repeal any new or affirmative financial legislation, but it is desirable and all-important that the repealing bill should itself declare in general terms what the future financial policy of this Government is desired or intended to be. Such a course prevents misinterpretation of our action abroad, and reassures our own people as to the policy to which our efforts are proposed to be directed.

What harm can result from such an expression? Who can properly object to it? What Senator at least upon the Democratic side can refuse to vote for such a plain and explicit declaration of our principles? It is simply the substance of the Chicago platform embodied and reaffirmed in a statute. It is important in order that a repeal shall not be regarded as an abandonment of bimetallism—a victory for monometallism, a defeat for silver, a return to a gold standard, or a destruction of our silver industries, or a triumph of a score of other false and misleading issues which have unfortunately been injected into this contest.

Here is the declaration in full.

> And it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to continue the use of both gold and silver as standard money, and to coin both gold and silver into money of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, such equality to be secured through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as will insure the maintenance of the parity in value of the coins of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts. And it is hereby further declared that the efforts of the Government should be steadily directed to the establishment of such a safe system of bimetallism as will maintain at all times the equal power of every dollar coined or issued by the United States in the markets and in the payment of debts.

This declaration which I have quoted, and which is appropriately embodied in the present bill reported by the Finance Committee, will give encouragement to Balfour and his associates, the friends of international bimetallism in England, and aid them in their heroic efforts to establish a double standard. It will assist the cause of bimetallism everywhere in the world. It commits this Government to a definite general policy which no Administration, no matter how strongly it may regard itself as intrenched in the affections of the people, will dare to disregard. Its excellent results may not be witnessed now, but they will be realized in the future.

Let us not be impatient, but abide our time. We accept no compromise with principle, but we rid ourselves and our cause from the incubus of an illogical, unsafe, and unpopular law, and obtain in its stead the most important declaration of future policy ever recorded in a statute.

More than that we should not expect or ask at this time, and less than that we can not honorably accept. If you ask me if the bill unconditionally repeals the Sherman law, I answer yes—and no. Yes, in the sense that it absolutely repeals that act, and contains no distinct, affirmative financial legislation, such as has been insisted upon here and elsewhere; but no, in the sense that it does contain a most important condition or qualification, virtually limiting its significance or declaring how the effect of such repeal shall be construed, or, rather, preventing its misconstruction.

Of course there is no legal legislation in favor of bimetallism such as could be enforced in a court of law, but there is moral legislation therein—a declaratory policy embodied in it, a pledge of the faith of the Government is set forth—a binding, honorable obligation upon future legislators, cabinets, and Presidents.

President Cleveland could not approve that law to-day, if we should pass it, and next December take any position upon legislation or upon financial questions based upon the theory that the policy of this Government is any other than bimetallism as therein solemnly declared. The concession contained in the latter portion of the bill can not be overestimated, and its practical value will be more and more appreciated as time rolls on and as the contests of the future shall be developed. No gold monopolist could approve such a measure, and no public man, no matter how exalted he may be, could afford to deliberately deceive and betray the American people upon such a question.

ALL SHOULD VOTE FOR REPEAL.

No one, be he a Democrat, Republican, or Populist, should be deterred from voting for this bill simply because it is hailed as an Administration measure. That furnishes no argument either for or against it. I resent the impertinent suggestion of those sycophants who are constantly posing as the personal or especial friends of the Administration, and who whisper in our ears every day that the Administration wants this and does not want that, and we must not vote so as to displease the Administration.

Sir, I know of but one rule of conduct that has guided my official action here, and which will continue to guide it to the end. If a measure seems to me to be right and proper and meets my approval, I shall support it, and if it does not meet my conscientious judgment I shall oppose it, and the wishes, views, or suggestions of any Administration will have no effect in influencing that result.

As you well know, I was for the repeal of this bill long before the present Administration came into power, and by my voice, pen, and influence contributed my humble share toward the creation of that public sentiment in regard to it which is so well nigh unanimous in my own State. My distinguished colleague and myself will cheerfully vote for this bill, "unawed by power and uncorrupted by Federal patronage." [Applause in the galleries.]

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from New York will suspend. The Chair reminds the occupants of the galleries that applause will not be permitted. Should there be a repetition of this offense, it will be necessary to have the galleries cleared.

Mr. HILL. The President is entitled to my support and that of every other Democratic Senator when he recommends a meritorious measure which is expressly approved in the platform of the party which nominated and elected him to the high office which he holds. He could do no less than recommend the repeal of the Sherman bill, because such repeal was made a part of the Democratic creed at Chicago. It was his duty so to do, and he has simply discharged that duty, and that is all.

He deserves also in this instance the support of all the other Senators, because the measure which he recommends is demanded by the best interests of the country and is essential to its welfare and prosperity.

REPEAL WILL TRIUMPH.

Mr. President, this bill is going to pass this Senate. I believe it; I predict it. The sentiment in its favor is growing stronger each day under the light of discussion. The sober second thought of the distinguished Senators who compose this circle—their calm, deliberate, unprejudiced judgment—will in the end eventually impel them to the conclusion that after all the route of repeal is the safest, best, and surest path to pursue. I have confidence in the wisdom, the discernment, and the patriotism of the American Senate, and we can safely trust its conscientious determination of every great public question presented to it at a critical period like this.

There will be some delay, vexatious though it may be regarded by the public, whose impatience is excusable under the trying ordeal through which our business interests are passing, but such delay is inevitable in a body where deliberation has been its leading characteristic for a century, but there will be no disappointment in the final result. There will be debate, a full comparison of views, an endeavor to do the right thing, and then a prompt and honest decision.

There will be no filibustering upon such a subject as this, nonpolitical in its character, involving purely financial questions about which there always have been and always will be honest but respectful differences of opinion among men, although questions not involving life, liberty, or the vital principles of free government. Any other course in this fearful crisis would be unworthy of the Senate, and the Senate will respect itself.

Let our business men who are laboring under fearful burdens and against great obstacles and embarrassments take courage at the prospect. The present clouds of adversity which so heavily overhang these dark and gloomy days will soon pass away, and

relief will surely come. I think I see a bright, clear silver lining to the clouds in the West which now threaten danger, and in the near future that light will become stronger, better, more effulgent under the rays and inspirations of an educated public sentiment desirous of justice, freed from passion, prejudice, and selfishness, and will guide the country back to the sure ground of stable prosperity, the right financial policy, and the monetary principles of our fathers, from which it has so wonderfully and frightfully wandered in recent years.

Then our commerce will return to us, our industries will revive, our exchanges will reopen, the avenues of business will abound with activity, confidence will be resumed, and credit will be restored.

This Republic is not going to be shipwrecked on account of bad financiering. No; it will weather the present storm. Too much is at stake in its preservation, too many hopes are centered in its success, too many prayers are ascending for its safe deliverance for it now to be destroyed.

Divided though we may be in our political opinions and diverse as are our financial views, we none of us forget that this nation belongs to no party nor faction, but it is *our* country that is in peril, *our* prosperity that is to be promoted, and *our* liberties which are to be protected.

In the beautiful and appropriate language of a distinguished American statesman, in speaking of the value of our free institutions and of the inestimable boon of liberty bequeathed to us through the blood and sacrifices of our revolutionary forefathers, "This priceless heritage of freedom is ours; ours to enjoy, ours to possess, ours to transmit."

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, the bill under consideration is a bill to utterly demonetize silver. It is legislation which would adopt the single gold standard; it is legislation which indorses the act of 1873; it is legislation which gives the lie to the platforms of both parties and the pretensions of public men who for the last twenty years have claimed that they were bimetallists.

The promise of this bill is an insult to the intelligence of the American people. They have had promises enough; they have had them from the Executive Mansion continually for the last twenty years, and they have had them from both political parties.

The friends of bimetallism have struggled for affirmative legislation, but they have been baffled by vetoes, by Federal patronage, by the influence of the banking communities, and by every monometallist, both in Europe and America. They have secured a slight recognition of silver in two laws—one the Bland law, which the act of 1890 superseded, and they have a recognition in the act of 1890, and it was pledged that that act should be faithfully executed, but it has been trampled upon by both the Executives who have been in power since its passage.

What, insult the people of the United States with more promises! Let no man who votes for monometallism think he can deceive the people of the United States by another promise.

Mr. President, an international money is a national danger. It is difficult for the people of any nation to so regulate their business as to avoid over speculation on the one hand or stagnation on the other. A perfect monetary system is impossible. Such a system would maintain stability of prices and the equity of contracts. The nearest possible approximation to such a system, however, is the highest aim of political economy and monetary science. Every nation is the best judge of its own monetary wants and necessities. No nation can fully comprehend the wants and necessities of all other nations. Every attempt to obtain an international money has proved disastrous. Every nation in the hour of its greatest necessities and greatest perils has been forced to abandon international money.

While silver was international money among the commercial nations of the world it was as vicious as gold. The principal business and commerce of any nation is domestic, not foreign. So long as there is a sufficient supply of money for the use of domestic commerce prosperity is assured. Whenever domestic commerce is drained of its life-blood—which is money—panic and disaster are inevitable. No great national achievements have been made with international money. International money is like the wolf. It seeks the wounded nation and devours the wreck. Domestic money, not international money, made England the mistress of the world.

During the twenty-two years of continental wars which ended on the bloody field of Waterloo England used no international money. Historians agree that those twenty-two years were the most prosperous in all the history of that great empire.

International money has never fought a great war or saved a nation from destruction, because in the hour of peril the enemy can draw out international money and paralyze the industries of the struggling nation. The war of the rebellion was not fought with international money. The committee of the great commoner of Pennsylvania, Thaddeus Stevens, in the darkest hours of the rebellion, proposed to follow the example of Pitt during the Napoleonic wars and banish during the war international money.

Mr. Stevens reported a bill for the issuance of bonds, the principal redeemable in coin and the interest payable in lawful money and in favor of greenbacks as the only legal-tender money until after the close of the war. Commercial New York, which has taken the side of the enemy in every struggle between the United States and Great Britain, contrived to deprive the country of the full benefits of a domestic currency. Wall street had sufficient influence in the two Houses of Congress to reverse the programme of Thaddeus Stevens and make the principal of the bonds payable in lawful currency and the interest payable in gold; and to provide the gold they took from the greenbacks, our domestic money, an important part of their legal-tender quality.

It was decreed that they should not be received for customs dues, but that such dues should be paid in international money. International money was the most formidable enemy during the rebellion. It kept up a continual war in the rear and bombarded the most essential fortification in our national finances. Thaddeus Stevens prophesied at the time that it would cost the people of the United States a thousand millions, and his estimate was far below the mark.

Wall and Lombard streets organized the gold board to prey upon the necessities of the country. The bulletins sent out from that board were more discouraging and disheartening than the defeat of armies in the field. The generals and financiers of all Europe united in the opinion that the success of the Union armies was impossible. They declared that such an army in front as the united and powerful Confederacy could furnish and such an enemy in the rear to embarrass our finances as the genius of Wall and Lombard streets had invented made victory for the Union impossible.

The struggle was desperate and for a long time doubtful. Victory was only achieved by sacrifices the like of which were never made before. If the people of England had allowed such an enemy to her finances to exist in their midst during the Napoleonic wars the fate of nations would have been changed. England would not now be the mistress of the world, but she firmly adhered to domestic money and achieved the first place in the family of nations.

The rejection of domestic money and the use of only international money by the administration of the Treasury Department is now inflicting dire distress and misery throughout the United States. Austria was weak and trembling before the British syndicate which held $2,400,000,000 of her obligations. These obligations were evidenced by 5 per cent bonds payable in silver. Her creditors told her that she must change her obligations from obligations payable in silver to obligations payable in gold, or they would destroy her finances. Austria consented upon condition that the syndicate would furnish her gold for the redemption of her paper circulation. There was no place on earth to obtain the gold except in the United States.

We were the only country that would adhere to the principle of international money at the expense of the prosperity of our own people. Russia with her $500,000,000 of gold in her war chest maintained an ample circulation of fiat domestic money. France with $900,000,000 of gold and $700,000,000 of silver would furnish no gold for export, but resisted every attempt to export gold by redeeming her paper in silver. Germany protected her $350,000,000 of gold by using her $100,000,000 of silver to redeem her paper when a demand was made for the export of gold. England paid a premium on gold by favorable rates of exchange to prevent the flow of her international money into foreign lands, and threatened to raise the rate of interest if any attempt was made to obtain her gold to consummate the Austrian scheme.

The United States was the only government which refused to protect its domestic money. The law of Congress left the discretion with the Secretary of the Treasury to retain in the country or pay out gold for export in the redemption of greenbacks, and by the law of 1890, while Congress left the discretion in the Secretary of the Treasury to pay out either gold or silver, it was provided in the law that the Secretary shall coin sufficient of the silver purchased under the Sherman act to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes issued under that act.

But the Treasury Department of the former and the present Administrations gave the discretion which had been confided to that Department for the protection of the domestic money of the people of the United States to the foreign syndicate who had planned the destruction of the laboring masses of Austria. The exporters of gold were furnished international money for their Austrian speculation. They exported to Austria more than 100,000,000 American eagles and received their reward not only by converting the Austrian debt into gold, but enormously increasing that debt. The public press now state that the Aus-

trian gold debt is now $2,800,000,000. The effect of the coöperation of the Treasury Department with the syndicate which has made this grand speculation in Austrian securities is felt throughout the land. The basis of our circulation and credit was sent abroad and ruin and disaster have followed.

It was claimed by the press and by the former and present Administrations that a refusal to send our gold abroad would ruin the finances of the country and destroy the credit of the Government. It may be asked why the refusal of France and Germany to furnish gold for export has not ruined the credit of those great countries? If it has not ruined them why would it ruin the United States? It is unfortunate that it is impossible for this country to elect an Administration that will act in the interest of the people of the United States without regard to the schemes of Lombard street to acquire wealth by manipulating the international money of the world.

An opportunity is now furnished the United States to have a reasonable supply of metallic money which will not desert in either war or peace. Silver has been recognized as money longer than gold. It has circulated among all the nations of the earth, while gold has been confined to a few commercial centers. It was the standard money of England previous to the Napoleonic wars. It was the standard of all the continent of Europe previous to 1873. It is the standard money of Asia and all the islands of the sea, except Australia, to-day. Europe has discarded silver to enhance the obligations of contracts, and for no other purpose. No other country but Europe can rob us of our circulating medium and deprive us of domestic money.

An opportunity is now afforded to the United States to mine and coin silver and retain it as domestic money. The pioneers of the West at great cost and sacrifice have developed an empire of wealth. Mexico, our nearest and best neighbor, is rich in valuable mines of this precious metal. The opportunity under the Constitution to mine and coin domestic money is ample to insure the development of the resources of the United States and the prosperity of all our people.

But we are told by Lombard and Wall streets and their representatives in and out of office that we shall have nothing but the international money of Europe. They tell us it counts for nothing that the great mass of the gold of the world is either hoarded for war purposes or guarded for domestic purposes by the threat to pay silver, and that we can not obtain it without the utter destruction of the industries of this country.

But we are told that we must have international money or we can have no international trade. The assertion is not true. The international trade of every country which has tried the experiment, and all have tried it, has prospered most when it had no international money. The value of money depends upon its purchasing power at home, and that value will be recognized throughout the world. It is the business of exchange to regulate balances of trade and settle them according to the purchasing power of the money of different countries. International money, and international money alone, means domestic ruin.

We have come to the forks in the road. One points to Lombard street via New York City; the other to the great Mississippi Valley and the Golden Pacific, with branches radiating from the Gulf to the Lakes over a country whose productive capacity exceeds all Europe combined. The natural resources of climate, land, and minerals of all the commercial nations of Europe seem insignificant when compared with the grandeur of the bounties which nature has bestowed upon our Republic.

But the natural resources of this country are comparatively untouched and can not be developed without money. The framers of the Constitution recognized the necessity of money, and made it the duty of Congress to provide it by the coinage of gold and silver. The road leading westward, with its various branches, communicates with the patriotic, industrious, and liberty-loving citizens of the United States. They demand of Congress the exercise of the power conferred by the Constitution "to coin money and regulate the value thereof," and preserve to the people of the United States the right to mine and coin their own money independent of the dictation of any foreign power, prince, or potentate.

The road that leads to Lombard street via New York City communicates with the syndicate of money loaners, bondholders, and bankers who control and direct the policy of the bonded debt of the world, the interest upon which now absorbs the largest share of the fruits of labor of all the nations of the earth.

Lombard street, speaking for all the bondholders, commands the Congress of the United States to discard silver, destroy half of the metallic money of the world, cut off more than two-thirds of all future supplies of the precious metals, and confine the new supply for a metallic basis of circulation and credit to the meager output of gold, depending upon the sporadic and uncertain discoveries of gold exclusive of the regular supply of that metal heretofore realized from silver mines.

It is impossible to estimate the vast increase in the purchasing power of gold and diminution of the price of property and wages, which must result from traveling the road to Lombard street; nor is it possible to estimate the increase of the power and wealth of the bond-holding and money-loaning parasites of society, if Congress deserts the people of the United States in obedience to the commands of an alien enemy.

We must not forget that New York is on the way to London, and that Wall street is the Gibraltar of the imperial money power of England, with coaling stations of finance in every commercial city in the United States, and that the national banks are the tentacles by which the octopus of Lombard street sucks the lifeblood of the toiling millions of the United States.

Congress is convened in extra session to decide whether the people of this country shall have their own financial system, mine and coin their own money, pay their debts, and achieve independence, or submit to be governed by Lombard and Wall streets, through the instrumentality of the national banks. I need not point out the advantages of the financial scheme provided in the Constitution of the United States. The right to mine and coin money guaranteed by that instrument was enjoyed by the American people until the year 1873. The establishment and maintenance of free institutions, the growth and development of the resources of the United States, the happiness and prosperity of the people under the benign influence of constitutional and just financial legislation, seem a sufficient reason for adhering to the teachings of our fathers.

But we are commanded by the public press in the interest of the money power, by the banks in their own interest and in the interest of Wall and Lombard streets, and by the President of the United States to turn our backs to the people of the United States, look across the Atlantic, and receive and obey the commands of an alien enemy to the toiling masses of this country. We are commanded to repeal the Sherman act and remove the possibility of using silver as money. When that command shall have been obeyed the Treasury of the United States will be in a lamentable condition.

One thousand millions of paper circulation resting upon the narrow margin of $100,000,000 of gold reserves is a colossal fabric of credit upon an inadequate basis. The demand for the issuance of bonds to borrow gold to prevent an inevitable collapse will be imperative. The purchase of gold will increase the price of gold. As gold goes up, property and wages must go down, while the weight of obligations payable in money will continue to increase.

But the bankers will have another harvest. It is not intended that the proposed scheme for the money-changers shall be temporary, but it is to be a perpetual system. The vast gains of the national banks made by the transfer of the power "to coin money and regulate the value thereof" from Congress to the banks has created an insatiable desire on their part for more bonds and more subsidies. The simple statement which I am about to make of the operations of the national banks will explain the motive for more bonds and more national debt.

PROFIT OF NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM.

The owner of $100,000 of United States bonds in 1863 was authorized by law to make, and did make, the following transaction:

One hundred thousand dollars of bonds which cost par in greenbacks, or $50,000 in gold, was filed in the Treasury Department. Ninety thousand dollars of the face value of the bonds was returned to the depositor in money of the United States, because the United States undertook to redeem the circulation so issued, and upon the faith of the United States, paper issued to the banks circulated on a par with greenbacks. The net investment of the banker was $10,000 in greenbacks, or $5,000 in gold. The bonds remained in the Treasury for safe-keeping, but the banker drew the interest, which was payable semiannually.

The bonds for many years drew 5 and 6 per cent, but in the last few years have drawn only 4 per cent. We will make the calculation on the assumption that the bonds drew only 4 per cent during the whole period. Such calculation will not show the extent of the profit of the banker, but it will show sufficient gain on his part to illustrate the working of the system. We will take the period of twenty-six years, from the beginning of 1863 to the end of 1889, and examine profit and loss so far as the Government is concerned. We do not propose to estimate the profits which the bank made on the $90,000 of its capital which was withdrawn at the time the deposit of the bonds was made with the Government.

Four per cent on $100,000 bonds is $4,000, from which the Government charges must be deducted. A tax of 1 per cent on the $90,000 of circulation is $900. Department charges are $150, making a total of $1,050 to be deducted from the $4,000 of annual interest, making a net annual gain, in simple interest alone, of $2,950. In twenty-six years this would amount to $76,700. No

account is made of the compound interest which the bank received by loaning at exorbitant rates of interest the money received from the Government. At the end of twenty-six years the $100,000 of bonds deposited with the Government were worth at least $127,000 in gold.

But before the banker could sell these bonds he was required to return the $90,000 which he had received from the Government in the shape of currency, and the account would stand thus:

Net interest on bonds	$76,700
Gold value of bonds	127,000
Total	203,700
From which must be deducted the $90,000 received from the Government and the $5,000 in gold originally invested, which is	95,000
Leaving a net profit on the investment of $5,000 in gold of	108,700

If it be suggested that this is an extreme case it must be remembered that the lowest rate of interest and a lower rate than bonds could be placed in 1863 were taken into consideration, and that no calculation has been made of the enormous advantage of a national bank in obtaining deposits of both public and private funds.

This example illustrates the nature of the operation by which national banks make money at the expense of the people through the power delegated to them to furnish the people money.

It was said a few days ago that no money was made by the national banks on account of the circulation they received from the United States. This declaration has been so often repeated in the last thirty years that I have been induced to examine the figures. I now present a statement of the situation on the present market price of United States bonds under the present law of allowing the issue of 90 per cent of the face value of the bonds, and also under the proposed bill, which requires the United States to furnish the bank currency equal to the face value of the bonds deposited:

PROFIT OR LOSS INVOLVED IN ISSUING NATIONAL-BANK NOTES.

Estimate on $100,000 of United States 4 per cent bonds, bought at 110 per cent, due July, 1907:

Income at 4 per cent per annum		$4,000
Sinking fund for fourteen years (ten-fourteenths) at interest about five-eighths per cent	$625	
1 per cent tax on $90,000, notes	900	
Department expenses	150	
		1,675
Yearly income, net		2,325
Cost of bonds		110,000
Less notes outstanding		90,000

(Five per cent fund counts as reserve against deposits.)

The bank's actual investment (at 110 per cent)	20,000

Two thousand three hundred and twenty-five dollars yearly income on $20,000 invested. Rate, 11¼ per cent per annum.

Same operation, bonds at 110 per cent, notes issued at par:

The bank's actual investment	$10,000
Net income	2,325

Rate, 23¼ per cent per annum to the bank.

The first operation, bonds at 120 per cent, notes at 90 per cent:

Sinking fund, fourteen years (twenty-fourteenths), say additional $625.	
Income $2,325, reduced by $625—net income	$1,700

Investment, now $80,000 for income of $1,700.

Rate, 5.7 per cent per annum.

Thus, with the bonds salable at 120 per cent, circulation becomes unprofitable whenever money will lend at a higher rate than 5.7 per cent per annum. The immediate inducement for banks able to obtain a higher rate is to sell out their bonds and for every $100,000 of bonds they contract the currency $90,000.

Under the Statutes of the United States, sections 5182, 5228, 5229, and 5230, these notes are received by the United States for all dues excepting customs dues, and are paid out by the United States for all purposes but interest on the public debt. They are acceptable to the public on account only of the public debt pledged for them; and further because the statutes quoted require that upon any default of the bank issuing them the notes shall be paid at the Treasury of the United States, for the public account. The Government must take its chances of being repaid.

Thus, to all intents and purposes, these notes of national banks are Government notes. The United States is liable for them from the time they are issued until they are paid. But the profit upon the issue accrues to the national banks. It is proposed now to double that profit, as my figures show. I have shown how a profit to the banks in the operation may disappear. From experience we know the result—an immediate contraction of the currency. If, on the other hand, we issue United States notes, the result is always profit, and all public profit, with no inducement to anyone, including the Treasury, to retire them and contract the currency.

Therefore, instead of providing the national banks an income at an exorbitant rate on the very moderate sum of their own money which they invest in the operation, and under the constant danger of the contraction of the currency which they will make without compunction, let the United States issue their own notes at their own profit. Do not employ national banks to issue notes for which the Government is liable, with the profit all inuring to the banks.

The enormous profits made by the banks out of the Government under the national-bank law is not by any means the worst feature of the system. Bearing in mind that when the price of bonds rose to $120, making the investment of the banker $30 instead of $10, the bank realized only 5.7 per cent on its investment. The banks were not satisfied with that rate of interest. Consequently they sold their bonds and withdrew their circulation.

On the 31st of October, 1883, there was outstanding United States notes, exclusive of the amount of money deposited with which the United States could redeem bank circulation of retiring banks, $316,020,326. On the 31st of October, 1888, the amount of outstanding notes, exclusive of the notes for which redemption money had been deposited, was only $130,207,285—a contraction of the circulating medium in four years of $185,813,140. Can a system which authorized the expansion and contraction of the circulating medium in this fashion by private corporations be longer tolerated in this country?

I have advised and now advise some temporary relief for the distress which the system inaugurated in Lombard and Wall streets has inflicted upon the country without increasing the power of the banks to further absorb the wealth of the country, but my advice is not acceptable to the bankers or their advocates, because there is no money in it for them—there can be no relief for the people without enriching them. I have proposed the following plan, which I have introduced as a bill in the Senate:

A bill (S. 3) to supply the deficiency in the currency.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, directed to issue silver certificates of the character and denominations as now provided by law equal in amount to the silver bullion in the Treasury purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issuance of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," in excess of the amount necessary, at its coining value, to redeem the Treasury notes issued under said act, and to use the same, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to provide for any deficiency in the revenues of the Government, and to use the balance of such certificates in the purchase of United States 4 per cent bonds at the market price thereof, not exceeding 12 per cent premium on the face value of such bonds; and the Secretary shall, as fast as practicable, coin such excess of silver and hold the same for the redemption of the certificates provided for by this act.

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, further directed to issue $100,000,000 of United States legal-tender notes of the character and description of the United States legal-tender notes now outstanding, and purchase with such notes United States 4 per cent bonds, at the market price, not exceeding 12 per cent premium on the face value of the bonds so purchased; and the bonds purchased under the provisions of this act shall be held in the Treasury as security for the redemption of the Treasury notes issued under this act.

It will be seen that the bill provides for the utilization of the silver bullion in the Treasury and issuing certificates on it, and subsequently coining it. It is there and must be taken care of, and it is useful for no other purpose. The Treasury must have the money in its vaults with which to pay its debts, and it will need this money immediately. My bill further provides for the issue of $100,000,000 greenbacks with which to buy bonds, the bonds to remain in the Treasury as security for the greenbacks issued.

Some such expedient as this would relieve the country; but the bondholders and the bankers will not consent to it. They have not created this panic for nothing. They must reap a rich harvest out of this crisis which they have brought on. They and their agents will not consent that the people shall have any remedy unless they are bought off. They have been bought off too often. They had to be bought off time and again during the rebellion; and every time we buy them off we increase their power to command more.

Both these propositions are antagonized in every form, and we are told that we must give relief to the people by a donation to the national banks. They are not satisfied to increase their circulation and draw interest from the Government of 11¼ per cent, but they demand circulation to the face value of the bonds, to the end that the interest on their investment may be increased to 23¼ per cent. If this can be done they will take out currency and loan it to a distressed people at panic rates of interest. We are told that in this emergency we must look to the banks; that through the banks and the banks alone relief can come.

It is true the $20,000,000 which would be issued to the banks would require of them no consideration. Their bonds are on file. They have received 90 per cent in circulation. The addition of 10 per cent is a direct donation to them, nothing more and nothing less. But when the Sherman act is repealed and silver destroyed, there will be another emergency greater than

this. The $4,000,000, or thereabouts, per month of legal-tender Treasury notes issued on the purchase of bullion will be stopped. The country must have more money. The one thousand millions of paper already out, resting upon $100,000,000 of gold, will not permit a further issue of greenbacks, and the increase of the national debt will be inevitable.

There will be no way to obtain money except through the banks. The bonds issued to borrow gold will be used by the banks to increase their circulation. The war harvest which the national banks reaped by the issuance of bonds to preserve the integrity of the Government will be repeated under the plea of necessity to furnish the people money. The efforts of the Government to buy gold will continue to advance the price of gold and augment the obligations of the debtor, while it depreciates his property and diminishes his capacity to pay.

The theory that a national debt is a national blessing was first promulgated by the owners of the national debt of England, who have dominated that country since the Napoleonic wars, and enriched the few at the expense of the many. The banks and parties interested in making money out of the Government by absorbing the power to issue money are already affirming that theory, and we hear on every side in this free America that "a national debt is a national blessing." Just how the masses are blest by paying taxes to be absorbed by a favored few has not been explained.

As I said in the beginning, we have come to the forks of the road. It is either to mine and coin our own money or submit to a system of extortion organized by bondholders and national banks, which must result in enormous wealth for the few and peon or feudal slavery for the masses.

I regret that my friend from Indiana has reported a bill to repeal the Sherman law, the passage of which without amendment would place the finances of the country under the control of Lombard and Wall streets. The price of silver has already fallen below the cost of production of the richest mines, and all silver mines are closed and will remain so under the policy of the bill reported by the Senator from Indiana. If that bill should become a law the price of silver would rapidly decline toward the price of the base metals. In that case the $600,000,000 of silver and silver coin in the United States would form no part of the basis of circulation and credit.

The entire circulation of the United States, exclusive of gold, would rest on the $100,000,000 of gold reserves in the Treasury. The President's message demanding the repeal of the Sherman act and suggesting no other legislation precludes the possibility of his signing a bill for the restoration of silver. Four years, at least, must elapse before any relief can come by legislation in Congress. The world moves. The business of the country can not wait four years. The banks and their representatives will oppose the issuance of greenbacks. They will point to the fact that the gold in the Treasury is inadequate for their redemption. They will demand, and the necessities of the case will seem to require, the issuance of bonds to buy gold to increase the reserves.

The bonds will be taken up by the banks and circulation issued, which will also be a demand for more gold for redemption. More bonds will be required to buy gold. More bank issues will follow. The banks will continue to absorb the hard earnings of the people, who will be oppressed by increased taxation while the price of their property is being continually reduced.

If the Senator from Indiana, whose generous sympathy for the masses has endeared him to the people, believes, as he has so often said, that free coinage is not only a right but a necessity, why not provide for it now? Was there ever a time in the history of the country when there was more need of an increase of metallic money than the present? By the legislation which he proposes he will augment the power of the banks and the bondholders whom he has denounced; crush and humiliate the people who love and who have honored him, and diminish if not destroy the power of the citizens of the United States to resist the aggressive power of concentrated wealth.

If he is opposed to the national banks, which he so bitterly denounced, why should he augment their power and create the necessity to surrender to their extortionate demands? If he is opposed to an increase of the national debt, why should he by legislation create a necessity for issuing bonds to buy gold? If he believes the President of the United States is a bimetallist, why not give him the opportunity to sign a bill for the restoration of the money of the Constitution?

The Senator from Indiana has reported a bill to repeal the Sherman act, coupled with a declaration in favor of bimetallism. Why not legislate while the power exists? If the Democratic party is in favor of bimetallism as declared in its platform, why adopt the gold standard first, and surrender all power to concentrated wealth, which is aggressive and vindictive in its demands for the single gold standard? Why turn over the people of this free Republic to the tender mercies of the gold monopoly?

I make these remarks in no unkind feeling toward the Senator from Indiana. I have loved and admired him for his sympathy for the toiling masses. His sympathetic nature and kind heart have kept him during a long public career in touch with the people, not only of his own State, but with the people of all the States of the Union. It will be hard for them to believe that the man whom they have trusted above all others as the advocate of their cause will, in the critical hour, desert them.

The Senator from Indiana says the Sherman act is a makeshift; that it was not passed in good faith. I am certain that it has not been executed according to its letter and spirit. I am sorry that those who have the execution of that law prefer the exporters of gold to the people of the United States. Who can say that if the law had been fairly executed it would not have been a great boon? It certainly has done no harm. All that has been done under it has been the issuance of $148,000,000 of legal-tender Treasury notes, which have done much to sustain the business of the country, and without which the panic would have come some time ago.

I know the law is odious to Lombard and Wall streets. I know it is an obstacle to the consummation of their scheme of confiscation and plunder of the masses. I know that the bondholders, the bankers, and the public press have done all in their power to make it unpopular. I regret that the Republican party, which gave us that law in the place of the Bland act, now propose to take it away without restoring the former law. They say it was a compromise. If so, why violate the compact? If you do not like the law give us back what we gave you in consideration of the compromise.

Is it good faith to compromise and then to repudiate the agreement of compromise? I regret that the Senator from Ohio, who reported and defended the law and explained its necessary and legitimate operation, should declare that he was at all times ready to destroy it. I regret that any Democrat who voted against the law because he preferred the Bland act, and who thought it was a step in the wrong direction, should vote to repeal it without giving us free coinage, which the Democrats, one and all, who spoke in opposition to the Sherman act, declared they most earnestly desired.

It is the first time in the history of this Government that the leaders of the two great political parties were united to trample upon their own platforms. The platforms of both Chicago and Minneapolis declare for bimetallism. After those platforms were made a majority of the Senate passed a bill for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. It is now proposed to reverse the action of the Senate and repudiate both platforms. What confidence will the people of the United States have in either of these great parties if platforms are held for nothing; if public pledges in campaigns are disregarded; if Wall and Lombard streets have more power in Congress than the declaration of parties and the voice of the people?

I can not believe that the Senator from Indiana will vote against an amendment providing for the restoration of silver. I do not believe that he will go home and tell his constituents that he forced the United States to the single gold standard when he had an opportunity to vote for the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

I will not at this time enter into the discussion of the revolution which concentrated wealth has inaugurated to destroy one-half of the world's money, enhance the purchasing power of the other, and increase the value of bonds and other obligations for the payment of money. At another time I will endeavor to show the wrong and injustice of this revolution and to point out the misery and want in store for the human race if the wicked scheme of capital is finally sanctioned and legalized by a majority of Congress and the President of the United States. There will be a mighty struggle in this country before Lombard and Wall streets can reduce the people of the United States to the same condition of want, misery, and starvation in which they have placed the people of Egypt and the millions of India.

But of that matter I will speak more at length at another time.

As before remarked, I have no disposition to delay any bill for the relief of the distress of the panic now prevailing. The donation of $20,000,000 to the banks would be but a bagatelle if it would stop there. I shall give the Senate an opportunity, by offering amendments, to vote for something better than the plan reported by the Committee on Finance. We certainly must have more money than the bill under consideration will afford if the panic is to be stopped and confidence restored.

The issue of Treasury notes under proper restrictions will furnish ample relief. The issuance of silver certificates on the silver in the Treasury not held for the redemption of Treasury notes outstanding would furnish $50,000,000 without delay.

I shall not abandon the hope that some of these propositions will receive the assent of the Senate until a vote shall have been taken thereon. I trust speedy relief will be afforded, the panic stopped, confidence restored, and business revived.

I appeal to the monometallists of the Senate to allow some

honest bill to be passed to relieve the people from the distress and ruin which the panic is producing. It is believed that this panic was contrived and inaugurated to prevent deliberation in Congress. The monometallists knew full well from an experience of twenty years that the deliberate judgment of Congress was opposed to the single gold standard, and that if Congress had an opportunity to deliberate there was danger to their pet scheme of financial despotism. The plan was concocted by the subtle brain of avarice to create a panic, and then declare that the Sherman act of 1890 was the cause of the panic, and stampede Congress. I beg of you to give the people immediate relief and liberate Congress from the necessity of legislating without deliberation.

How can members of Congress act deliberately while their friends and many of their constituents are appealing to them for relief and immediate relief? How frequently do we hear Senators say, "We do not believe the Sherman act of 1890 is the cause of the trouble, but the people think it is, and we must repeal it, although we know that it will bring untold disaster." Even the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], who has stood so long by the people and bimetallism, has been forced into the humiliating position of abandoning them at the behest of the gold ring in order to give immediate relief. Immediate relief can be given without involving eternal destruction.

I am in favor of repealing the Sherman act—not the Sherman act of 1890, which has done no harm and much good—but that other Sherman act passed in 1873, which no man in all the debates in Congress for twenty years has had the temerity to defend. No man has attempted to justify that disastrous legislation. No man has been able to tell us why the financial system established by the fathers was stricken down. No man can point out a single beneficial result of that legislation. On the contrary, the calamities which have followed it, and which are inevitable in the future if it remains on the statute book, have been described by a thousand orators on both sides of the Atlantic.

It is admitted by statisticians and writers on political economy that the act of 1873 has enhanced the value of gold, that it has made gold a fluctuating standard; always fluctuating in the wrong direction; always appreciating and growing more valuable; always measuring more property, more labor, and more sacrifice. The gold standard which we have been gradually reaching as we destroyed silver for the last twenty years has already brought more misery upon the human race than all the wars of the century.

But the work of destruction is but just begun. Confirm the Sherman act of 1873 by the passage of the bill reported by the Committee on Finance, and the growth of despotism will continue. The power of Wall and Lombard streets will then be omnipotent.

The bitter fruits of the Sherman act of 1873 are seen all over the land. The millions of the unemployed, the silent factories, the broken merchants and farmers, the distress throughout the country are the fruits of the Sherman act of 1873, which I have predicted since the discovery was made that silver had been stricken down in free America. I am no prophet, nor the son of a prophet, but I call attention to the warnings I have been giving for twenty years of the result.

The Sherman act of 1873 has brought this panic. The Sherman act of 1873 has made the misery and hard times of the present hour. It has made your National Fair a financial failure. It has deprived the laboring people of the United States of the opportunity of visiting that Fair. It has brought sorrow, grief, and starvation where, if that act had not been passed, there would have been peace, plenty, and progress.

But the Sherman act of 1873 has not done its worst. If it be reënacted as now proposed—if the legislation which has been passed in spite of the Executive to free the people from the dire effects of that act is wiped out and that infamous act confirmed and ratified by another act of Congress, one of two things must happen—a struggle more terrible than the French revolution to regain our liberties, or a slavery more galling than the feudalism of the Dark Ages.

Already the power of the great agricultural interests is destroyed. The farmers are too poor to attend conventions. They are too poor to afford themselves any pleasure, luxury, and recreation. As before remarked, they are too poor to visit the World's Fair. Their lands are being taken from them by this terrible contraction. This is not the first time that a money famine has subjugated a great race. The discovery of gold and silver in Mexico and South America found our English ancestors feudal slaves.

There were only thirty thousand landowners in all England, but within one hundred years after those grand discoveries the metallic money of Europe was more than quadrupled and the landowners in England were increased to over one hundred thousand. That increase continued until the Napoleonic wars, when the property of the masses was confiscated and the middle classes of Great Britain destroyed. It was the yeomanry of Great Britain, made comparatively independent by the increase of the circulating medium, who achieved all that is valuable in the British constitution.

Not only that; they were able to come to our shores and establish here the foundations of our free institutions. But that yeomanry was destroyed by the money power located in London. There would have been no free Parliament if the serfs of England had not been liberated by the inflow of new money from America. There would have been no independent United States if the feudal chains had not been broken from our ancestors' limbs by more money from the New World.

It is now proposed to create another money famine to sustain the powerful aristocratic organization of wealth. It is proposed to have continued contraction until the people of this country will be too poor to contend for their rights. Twenty years more of this oppression will so destroy the wealth of the masses and impoverish them that your boasted free-school system will be crushed. Aye, parochial schools, too. You will be in no better condition than the downtrodden masses of Europe, where it is impossible to educate the many.

It is true you will stop emigration from Europe, because your country will be no better than theirs. But your standard of living in this country must be the same as that of Austria, Germany, and Italy.

Why, the rapid increase of landlords and tenant farmers show the approach of the feudal ages. In some States between 1880 and 1890 tenant farmers increased 20 per cent; and since 1890 there have been more foreclosures of mortgages and evictions of owners than occurred in the preceding ten years. And still the work goes bravely on.

Contraction, stagnation, hard times, and poverty for the masses are the legitimate fruit of that legislation which undertook to destroy one-half of the world's metallic money, cut off the entire supply of one of the precious metals, and fully one-third of the supply of the other. A scheme so wicked, so far-reaching, so cruel, so potent of evil was never before conceived.

Let us give the people relief in any way we can, and then take up this infamous act of 1873 and wipe it from the statute book, and assert our rights under the Constitution to mine and coin our own money.

But we are told that England will lend us money if we change our laws; that England is afraid we will pay back in silver what was borrowed in gold. We borrowed nothing in gold, except where it was specifically named in the contract. Let such contracts stand. What we demand is that our laws shall not be changed so as to compel our people to pay in money different from the money of the contract. What an impudent demand comes from Lombard and Wall streets? "We have loaned you three thousand millions in money. We knew at the time we loaned it the laws of your country. We knew by those laws it might be paid in any legal-tender money of the Government, which was gold, silver, and greenbacks. We loaned you the money, knowing of the existence of these laws. You are our debtors. We demand of you as a condition of extension of credit, as a condition of further loans, as a condition of peace and prosperity in your country, that you shall change your laws, double the obligations of your citizens, and submit to our demand; otherwise we will destroy you with panic, with financial ruin, with distress everywhere."

Let them do their worst. Nothing can be so disastrous to the American people as to comply with such unreasonable demands. No, no; we will not change our laws and defraud our people to satisfy the greed of Lombard street. Oh, no. Give us time to investigate the cause of all this wrong; give us time to wipe from the statute book the Sherman act of 1873; give us time to restore to the people the constitutional money of their fathers. That is what we demand, and we say to the monometallists, the allies of Wall and Lombard streets, that you will not gain by attempting to utilize the miseries of the people which you have caused to stampede Congress.

There are men in Congress who can not be stampeded in any such manner, and before this debate is over you will find that there are more men in this Congress who have faith in the people who have trusted them than you suppose. This plan of obtaining such vast advantage by creating an emergency and stampeding Congress will not succeed. You will not unconditionally repeal the Sherman act of 1890 in this or any other American Congress.

A more monstrous proposition was never heard of. After there has been a majority in both Houses of Congress for twenty years to right the wrong of 1873, we are called upon in the hot month of August to ratify that wrong. After Lombard street and Wall street have created a panic to stampede Congress and create universal distress, we are called upon to augment that distress and make falling prices, misery, and hard times perpetual.

The Senator from New York [Mr. HILL] promises the gold kings that he will give them the victory for which they have fought; that he wil lcrush the people, but that he will give the people promises. Does he think that the people of the United States are so ignorant as to heed that miserable pretext?

There is nothing so insulting to honorable men as such promises. Away with them. They can come from nowhere but Wall street and Lombard street; and Wall street has always been in league with Lombard street. It was in the Revolutionary war; it was in the war of 1812; it was during the rebellion. They have all fattened upon the labors and miseries of the people of the United States.

The Senator from New York made a mistake when he promised Lombard street that we were to be slaves. We are not; and the bill will not be passed. There are not men enough who will betray their trust and go back on their pledges to pass this bill. No man in this Senate can vote for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman bill without a substitute, unless he violates his pledges to his constituents; for they have all said on all occasions that they were bimetallists, and this is monometallism.

You see the sneers in the newspapers on the present price of silver. They say it is down to so much an ounce. Why is that? Do you not see how necessary it is to keep the price down? Do you not see that the Executive has refused to execute the law of 1890 for fear of making silver respectable? Do you not see, when the banks of Denver were about to fail because the smelters could get no currency for their bullion, it was because the Executive had refused to buy silver when it was offered at a lower price than had ever existed in the history of the country?

You see that it is the effort and the necessity of the gold party to beat down the price of silver. If this bill should be passed, and silver reduced in price to 20 or 30 cents an ounce, there would be one acclaim from Wall street and Lombard street and all their agents, in and out of office, against the use of that "base metal" because it is only worth 20 cents an ounce. Give them that argument, give them that power, and then silver is doomed, gold monometallism is established, and there will be nothing left for the people of the United States but to rise in their might, break the chains with which gold contraction has bound them, and make their own money. It may not be silver, but it will not be gold.

You can not continue this process for twenty years. If you could you would reduce the people so that they could not resist. You have not stopped the common schools; you have not crushed the ambition of all the young men of the country; you have not blotted out the spirit of liberty; you have dammed it up a little; but this damming up of the spirit of liberty and of the aspirations of men will only make the torrent more terrible when they find that you are determined to make them slaves. We know we have four years of bondage, because the Executive is a monometallist. We understand that. But those four years will be a season of education, and the voice of the people will be heard.

What a mockery to speak of the Democratic party or of the Republican party, when both of those parties have pledged themselves to bimetallism and gone before the country, and then they convene in extra session to give the lie to all their professions. They say they will give us bimetallism. They promise that from this Senate, and say to Wall street and Lombard street, "Wait a little and you shall be fully satisfied. We will give the people a little taffy, but we will give you the power to crush them perpetually."

It is the paid press you hear talking now; you are surrounded by bankers; you are surrounded by money influences. The masses of the people have not been heard. They will not be deceived. The people are watching our proceedings, and they will mark those who, when they ask for bread, give them a stone. They ask for free coinage, and we say we will first give Wall street and Lombard street monometallism, and then we will consider their claims.

"True, we promised; but we are politicians, and we do not keep promises. We have contempt for you. Our object is to deceive the masses, to acquire office, and then betray." That is the position of the two parties when they strike down silver; but the position of the Republican party is more humiliating than that of the Democratic party. They say that this was a compromise, and without giving a reason they come here to break the compact. The people will understand it, and mark them.

The Democratic party said they could not vote for the compromise because they were for free coinage, but Wall street demands that the compromise on free coinage shall now be repudiated, that their greedy demands shall be satisfied, and the people's cause shall be buried forever. It will not be. This bill will not pass without a substitute.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

Mr. BERRY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House joint resolution No. 4.

Mr. VANCE. If the Senator from Arkansas will give way a moment, I wish to see if we can not fix an hour upon which to take the vote on the matter of privilege that is pending.

Mr. BERRY. It will only require a moment, but I have been trying for two or three days to have this joint resolution considered, and it is very important, I think, to have it disposed of, if the Senator will only wait.

Mr. VANCE. If the request I wish to make provokes any debate I will not press it.

Mr. BERRY. It will provoke debate and take some little time, and I want the Senate to dispose of the joint resolution this evening.

Mr. VANCE. It will not take five minutes to fix a time for taking the vote, if the Senate will agree to it.

Mr. BERRY. Very well; I will yield.

Mr. MANDERSON. I hope the Senator from North Carolina will pemit the vote on the question of privilege to go over until Monday.

Mr. VANCE. In deference to a very considerable desire expressed on the other side of the Chamber, I am willing that we shall fix Monday for the time to take the final vote. I trust the Senator from Nebraska will agree to fix the time at 2 o'clock on Monday. The evenings are so long and so warm that a great many Senators drift off in the after part of the day.

Mr. MANDERSON. I do not object. I presume the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] will arrive to-day, as expected, and that he will be in his seat at 2 o'clock. I have no objection to fixing that hour.

Mr. VANCE. Then I ask unanimous consent that the vote be taken on the Montana case at 2 o'clock on Monday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BLACKBURN in the chair). Is there objection to the request of the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. If it would suit the convenience of the chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, I should like to have the time put off until Tuesday. I am compelled to be absent on Monday, and I should like to be here when the vote is taken.

Mr. VANCE. That would not be convenient as I expect to leave the city on Tuesday. I hope the Senator from Oregon will agree to Monday.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. All right.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request made by the Senator from North Carolina, that the Senate shall vote on the Montana case at 2 o'clock on Monday next? The Chair hears none.

CHEROKEE OUTLET LANDS.

Mr. BERRY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the joint resolution (H. Res. 4) to make the provisions of the act of May 14, 1890, which provides for townsite entries of lands in a portion of what is known as Oklahoma, applicable to the territory known as the "Cherokee Outlet," and to make the provisions of said act applicable to townsites in the "Cherokee Outlet."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the joint resolution indicated by him.

Mr. HIGGINS. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. WASHBURN. Before we vote on taking up the joint resolution I should like to hear a statement from the Senator from Arkansas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state to the Senator from Minnesota that debate is not in order.

Mr. WASHBURN. I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Arkansas be allowed an opportunity to explain the joint resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota asks unanimous consent that the Senator from Arkansas may, at this time, be permitted to make a statement. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from Arkansas will proceed.

Mr. BERRY. Under the act of Congress passed at the last session the President of the United States has ordered the territory known as the Cherokee Outlet to be opened to settlement on the 16th day of September. There are certain town sites for towns to be located under the authority of the Secretary of the Interior in that Outlet, certain park reservations to be made, and certain reservations for court-houses. On the 14th day of May, 1890, Congress passed a law regulating town-site contests and the selection of the parks by a commission appointed by the Secretary of the Interior. That applied to Oklahoma as it then existed, and to the settled part of it. Probably that act does not apply to the Outlet. There is some doubt on that point.

The Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of the General Land Office think that it is particularly important to the orderly settlement of the Outlet on the 16th of September that

the act of the 14th of May, 1890, which applied to Oklahoma as it then existed, shall be extended to the territory included within the Outlet, in order that they may appoint a board of trustees. There are seven towns, and, there being three for each one, there will be twenty-one commissions to make the allotments and decide contests that may arise in the towns.

The matter went before the Committee on Public Lands. The letter of the Commissioner is before the Senate and can be read, if necessary, wherein he says that such legislation is important. While there is no objection made in the committee to the extension of the law, a portion of the committee were in favor of adding a proviso to the House joint resolution providing that these twenty-one commissioners shall be selected from the present residents of the occupied part of Oklahoma. A minority of the committee were opposed to regulating the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior in regard to the point from which the selections shall be made. That is the only difference that existed in the committee. It is as to whether the Secretary of the Interior shall select those twenty-one men from any part of the United States, or whether he shall be required by the act of Congress to select them from the Territory of Oklahoma now occupied.

That is all there is in the joint resolution. We who are opposed to amending the resolution oppose it on two or three grounds. In the first place, this part of the Outlet is not yet settled, and we do not conceive that the parties now occupying Oklahoma Territory have any better right to have their men appointed than any other portion of the people of the United States.

Mr. PLATT. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him for a moment?

Mr. BERRY. Certainly.

Mr. PLATT. I do not think, upon some little consultation here, that there will be any serious objection to taking up the joint resolution. There will be opposition to it; but it might as well come up now as at any time, I think.

Mr. BERRY. I am making a statement only at the request of the Senator from Minnesota. I hope that the matter will come up, because, as I said before, it is important that it shall be passed in some shape.

Another reason why we oppose the amendment is because this is a House joint resolution. We all know that the condition of business over there is such that if the joint resolution goes back to the House it is equivalent to the defeat of the measure. I hope it may come up, and then we can discuss it.

Mr. PEFFER. I should like to ask the Senator from Arkansas, for information, what rule will govern in the matter in case no action is taken now by Congress?

Mr. BERRY. If the Senator will permit the joint resolution to come up, then I can explain that point. I think the letter of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, which can be read, will explain it better than I could do. But I want to get the resolution before the Senate. There is some doubt about what rule would prevail, I will say to the Senator from Kansas. If the joint resolution fails to pass, there is very serious doubt as to whether there will be any law to authorize the Commissioner to proceed. I hope the Senator from Delaware will withdraw his call for the yeas and nays and let the measure come before the Senate.

Mr. HIGGINS. I withdraw the call for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware withdraws the call for the yeas and nays. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Arkansas, to proceed to the consideration of the joint resolution.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution (H. Res. 4) to make the provisions of the act of May 14, 1890, which provides for town-site entries of lands in a portion of what is known as Oklahoma applicable to the territory known as the Cherokee Outlet, and to make the provisions of said act applicable to town sites in the Cherokee Outlet, which had been reported from the Committee on Public Lands with an amendment, after the word "Oklahoma," in line 8, to add:

Provided, That the trustees appointed under the provisions of said act shall be bona fide residents of the Territory of Oklahoma at the time of their appointment.

So as to make the joint resolution read:

Resolved, etc., That all the provisions of an act of Congress, approved May 14, 1890, which provides for townsite entries of lands in a portion of what is known as "Oklahoma," be, and the same are hereby, made applicable to the territory known as the "Cherokee Outlet," and now a part of the Territory of Oklahoma: *Provided*, That the trustees appointed under the provisions of said act shall be bona fide residents of the Territory of Oklahoma at the time of their appointment; and that all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with this joint resolution be, and the same are hereby, repealed.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. President, I merely wish to add a few more words in answer to the question of the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEFFER]. I want it understood that the members of the committee with whom I agree are opposed to the adoption of the amendment. We are opposed to it on the ground that the present law, which is proposed to be extended, is a fair law, and of a certain extent a nonpolitical law. It requires the Secretary to the Interior to select not more than two members of the townsite board from the same political party.

Another reason why we oppose the amendment is that it would be very difficult within the limited time the Secretary of the Interior has now to make the selection for him to communicate with parties in Oklahoma and get proper men to go on the boards. I will state in addition that while there are plenty of good men in Oklahoma, as good as there are anywhere in the United States, it is a well-known fact that nearly every lawyer and a great many others out there are directly or indirectly interested in speculating in these lands and are fixing to make settlements on them. There are various reasons why I think a better board may be selected by taking its members from any place in the entire United States.

But in addition to that it is absolutely necessary in order to do this work that the selection shall be made at once. This is a House joint resolution. If it goes back to the House amended it is equivalent to our abandoning it, and the Commissioner of the General Land Office says he will be left without proper authority; that he is very doubtful, after a full examination of all the statutes, whether there is any authority at all for him to act. It may be asked by the Senator from Kansas why the general law where probate judges act as trustees and make the selections may not be applied there?

The Commissioner says that that law is not adapted to the present condition of affairs in the Outlet; that the law requires him to make reservations for parks, for court-houses, and various other purposes; and it is absolutely important that the trustees should be appointed before the settlement takes place; that under the operation of the other law the county judges are not yet appointed, and they would have to be first appointed, and then the application would be made by the corporation of the town after the settlement of the town, whereas it is important in his opinion that the selections should be made on a reservation before the settlement takes place.

The Secretary in the discharge of his duty simply wants to administer the law in such way as will aid in an orderly settlement of that Territory, and I think that his request that the act which was passed in 1890 for the settlement of Oklahoma be extended should be complied with. There was some complaint under that act, because at first parties were paid excessive per diems. They were paid $10 a day. Since then regulations were made by Secretary Noble by which only $5 a day was allowed them. Those regulations were enforced, and I am authorized to say they will still be enforced by the Interior Department, and that no greater sum than $5 per day will be allowed any of these parties. That is an important point in the matter. The main objection which arose to the former law when it was first passed was that $10 a day was allowed. These are the conditions which surround the pending joint resolution. I hope the Senate will vote down the amendment and pass the joint resolution as it came from the House of Representatives.

Mr. CAREY. Mr. President, in reporting the joint resolution to the Senate I was instructed to offer an amendment which only changes the proposed legislation by confining the appointment of the trustees to bona fide residents of the Territory of Oklahoma. By way of preface, so far as we have been able to obtain any information on the subject, the people of Oklahoma are very much opposed to the passage of this joint resolution.

Mr. PLATT. With the permission of the Senator from Wyoming, I understood the Senator from Arkansas to say that there was some communication from the Commissioner of the General Land Office. I think he did not put that in.

Mr. BERRY. The Senator from Wyoming has it in charge. I turned it over to him.

Mr. CAREY. The letter of the Commissioner of the General Land Office is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, GENERAL LAND OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., August 22, 1893.

SIR: In reference to the joint resolution which has been introduced in Congress to make the act of May 14, 1890, in reference to town sites in a portion of the Territory of Oklahoma applicable to the Cherokee Outlet, I have the honor to present the following statement as explanatory of the subject, viz:

By section 2380, United States Revised Statutes, the President is authorized to reserve from the public lands, whether surveyed or unsurveyed, town sites on the shores of harbors, at the junction of rivers, important portages, or any natural or prospective centers of population.

Section 2381, United States Revised Statutes, provides for the disposal of lands so reserved, making it the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to have them, or portions thereof, surveyed into lots, to have the lots appraised and offered for sale at public auction to the highest bidder, and any lots not thus disposed of to be held for private sale at not less than the appraised value by the registers and receivers of the proper district land offices.

Sections 2382, 2383, 2384, and 2385, United States Revised Statutes, provide for the laying off of towns on the public lands, at the instance of settlers

thereon, and for the disposal of the lots by the Government, at public offering, at the minimum of $10 per lot, or in case any lots do not sell at such offering, then such lots to be sold at private entry at the same minimum, or such reasonable increase or diminution as the Secretary of the Interior may order from time to time, after at least three months' notice, in view of the increase or diminution in value of the municipal property.

Sections 2387, 2388, and 2389, United States Revised Statutes, provide for the entry of town sites by certain officials as trustees, paying the minimum price therefor and receiving the title in trust for the occupants.

The circumstances existing in the Cherokee Outlet are peculiar. The law operating in that Territory does not contemplate the taking up of tracts to be appropriated entirely in town lots by the Government or entirely for the use of the occupants by the officials making the entries as trustees to execute their trust independently of the United States and under the local statutes. The law provides for the use of certain portions of the tracts appropriated for towns as parks and for other public purposes, and the title to these portions should properly remain in the Government until the adjustment of the rights of the individual occupants of the towns and the appropriation to public purposes of the necessary subdivisions, when transfers may be made with proper discrimination, according to the several purposes in view.

The statutes above referred to as regulating the disposal of town sites are not well adapted to the conditions existing in the Cherokee Outlet. The provisions of sections 2380, 2381, and 2382, United States Revised Statutes, would most nearly answer the purpose, but the method of disposal therein prescribed would not harmonize with the legal provisions for parks and other public purposes which existing statutes prescribe for town sites in the Outlet, and which are regarded as important for the good of the communities concerned. Hence it has been regarded as highly desirable that the provisions of the act of May 14, 1890, should be made applicable to the lands in question as proposed in the pending joint resolution. Those provisions have already been in operation in another portion of the Territory, they have been practically applied, and their operation ascertained and determined by a series of departmental adjudications, and it is believed that their application to the Outlet would be highly advantageous.

Very respectfully,

J. W. LAMOREUX, *Commissioner.*

Hon. JAMES H. BERRY,
United States Senate.

The information we have is to the effect that the people of Oklahoma object to this commission, because they will be appointed in all probability from nonresidents of the Territory, and there is the further objection that the board of administration of town sites in Oklahoma has been very unsatisfactory. When Oklahoma Territory was organized the question of town sites was entirely omitted, so far as legislation was concerned. The town sites were taken up after there had been a scramble for the land and people had settled over it, under the then existing town-site law of the United States. There were no officers to administer the town-site law in the commencement, and it caused confusion. After that had taken place, Congress was appealed to and an act was passed appointing a commission to settle the town-site difficulties in that Territory.

But Congress did not, for the benefit of settlers who happened to settle upon these lands, deprive the proper officers of the right to locate town sites, but left that right just as it existed before, with the probate courts in the counties where the town sites were located. Except in those cases where confusion has arisen the probate judges have disposed of the land under the land law of the United States, which applies to every public land State in the American Union. They have adjusted the titles and disposed of the land on an average of from four to six months, while boards established three years ago, because of the per diem and because they have been shipped into that Territory to adjust the rights of the residents of the Territory, are still at the work and have not been able to adjust these matters. The people of Oklahoma say, "If you are determined to place commissions over us when we have officers who are competent to do this work, we ask this little consideration of you, that you will give us commissioners from among our own people."

The Senator from Arkansas has not intentionally misstated the position of the Commissioner of the General Land Office. He does not say that the existing law is not applicable to these cases, but he says there is some question about it. The reservation of the parks and the court-house sites do not appear to be covered by the existing law. As a matter of fact the probate judges who proceeded in the Territory of Oklahoma in the first instance have selected the parks, have selected the court-house sites, and have disposed of these matters to the entire satisfaction of the people. To give you a little idea how they feel out in Oklahoma, here is a dispatch from Mr. Spengel:

Prevent McRae bill—

That is the pending joint resolution—

becoming law. See Senator VEST and Cleveland.

I suppose he means the President. I understand that Mr. Spengel is a prominent Democrat in the Territory of Oklahoma. Here is another long dispatch. It says:

Territorial town-site law governs section 2387 United States Statutes, Strip part Oklahoma under section 1 organization act.

The dispatch is signed by J. W. McNeal, who is the president of a national bank in that country; George D. Orput, a banker there; S. H. Bradley, a prominent Democratic attorney of Oklahoma, who was an applicant for appointment under the present Administration; W. H. Merten, postmaster at Guthrie; G. S. Cunningham, Democratic attorney and late circuit judge in Arkansas; A. G. C. Bierer, universally indorsed by the Democrats and Republicans for chief justice of Oklahoma; A. J. Spengel, the man to whom I referred, late mayor of Guthrie; G. H. Dodson, register of deeds, Logan County, and S. L. Overstreet, late register of the United States land office. I will not take the time of the Senate to read all these dispatches. One other dispatch says:

See Oklahoma statutes. We have admirable law for probate-judges. To deed town sites is an inexcusable expense and a general outrage on a people already oppressed. Stop the scheme and get the appreciation of Oklahoma Republicans and men of all parties.

FRANK H. GREER,
Editor Daily State Capital.

Now, if you will look at the law which the joint resolution proposes to keep in force you will find that it makes the town-site law of Kansas applicable for the adjustment of town-lot matters in the Territory of Oklahoma. To give a little idea as to what twenty-one commissioners will cost, we find that Congress had to appropriate $10,000 to start the old commission to work. The $10,000, it is true, did not ultimately come out of the United States Treasury, because the people out there who pay this expense were compelled to reimburse it to the United States.

Mr. PLATT. I suppose each county will have one town site in it, but is it not probable that in the eastern part of the Strip there will be many town sites, so that instead of being twenty-one there will more likely be fifty?

Mr. BERRY. I will say to the Senator from Connecticut, with the permission of the Senator from Wyoming, that they are limited to that number. Seven are allowed under the act; they can not go beyond that; so that there will be twenty-one commissioners.

Mr. PLATT. Then there can be only one town site in a county?

Mr. BERRY. The act of 1890 limits the number. It provides that not more than seven boards shall be appointed within the Territory. That is the act which it is proposed to extend. The number can not go beyond that. I do not think it is limited to one county, but is limited to that number in the entire Territory. There can not be more than that number.

Mr. PLATT. Then, in view of the probability that there will be a great many more than one town site in a county, and that these seven boards will have to act in the case of all the town sites in the Strip, it will be a long time before they will get through with the business.

Mr. CAREY. I wish to say that these lands have already been selected and reserved under the laws of the United States. I also want to say in this connection that the governor of the Territory of Oklahoma had the right to appoint the probate judges in these new counties. There have already been seven reservations made. But the joint resolution is too far reaching. It proposes to repeal with reference to that country all conflicting acts. The Secretary of the Interior is to have his hand on the Territory of Oklahoma for all time in the future. In other words, the people of the Territory of Oklahoma are not to have the same right to adjust their town-lot affairs that is possessed by the other Territories and the States in which public lands are situated.

I hope my friend from Arkansas will not get it into his head for a second that this is a political question. There is no politics in this matter. All of the probate judges will be appointed by the present Democratic governor of the Territory of Oklahoma, while, if the Commissioner of the General Land Office follows the existing law, seven of the commissioners will be Republicans, and in all probability they will be selected outside of the Territory of Oklahoma.

The idea of the actual residence of those who manage the affairs of a Territory is not new with me. It has been so firmly impressed upon both of the great parties in this country that they have had occasion to put it in express terms in their platforms. It is time that you either abandon the principle or that both sides of this Chamber shall stand up and indorse the sentiment as they have declared it to the country.

Mr. KYLE. May I ask if the Cherokee Outlet is part of the Territory of Oklahoma?

Mr. CAREY. Undoubtedly.

Mr. KYLE. At the present time?

Mr. CAREY. The very minute it is opened it becomes part of it.

Mr. KYLE. Is it a part of the Territory at the present time?

Mr. CAREY. I do not know how it may be considered at the present time; probably not. It has been declared, however, to be a portion of Oklahoma; but settlers can not go on the land until the 16th of September.

Mr. KYLE. I understand that at the present time it is not a portion of the Territory of Oklahoma at all, and therefore that Oklahoma has no more right to the appointment of these commissioners than the State of Kansas or the State of Texas.

Mr. PLATT. The act for the organization of the Territory of Oklahoma provided that whenever the Indian title to the Cherokee Outlet shall be extinguished and the President make proclamation it shall become a part of the Territory of Oklahoma, the lines having been extended around it. I do not know whether that proclamation has been made.

Mr. CAREY. It has been made, and settlers are permitted to go in on the 16th of next month. It has become part and parcel of the Territory of Oklahoma. It is in all respects as much a portion of that Territory as the Indian reservations would be in the State of South Dakota were the Indian title extinguished. I have no doubt the Senator from South Dakota would make a very bitter resistance if the Commissioner of the General Land Office should attempt to send into his State commissioners from the outside to adjust the affairs among the people who were settling there and expected to reside in the State of South Dakota.

But to get to the point of this commission. There have been two sets of regulations promulgated as to compensation, expenses, etc. I will call attention only to the latest. Here is a letter from the Assistant Commissioner of the General Land Office:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, GENERAL LAND OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., December 9, 1891.

SIR: A copy of the following letter has been forwarded to each of the several town site boards in Oklahoma. Please note its provisions, as they are equally applicable to the conduct of the affairs of the board of which you are secretary and disbursing officer:

* * * * * * *

Replying to the several recent communications from yourself and Mr. Bishop, chairman, relative to salaries, expenses, etc., of your board, I have to say that by the terms of your appointment the entire compensation of each member of the board is limited to $5 per day for each day actually employed. Neither subsistence, nor per diem in lieu thereof, nor traveling expenses, can be allowed, nor any compensation whatever except for the days during which you are actually employed upon the official work of the board.

No regular clerk should be employed; but when the services of a stenographer become necessary in contest cases compensation will be allowed for such services, not to exceed $5 per day.

Office rent will be allowed, not exceeding $15 per month, but no expenses for office furniture, fuel, or light.

Requisite stationery will be forwarded, as far as practicable, upon your request to this office.

Necessary surveying and platting must be performed at the least possible expense consistent with accuracy.

You will keep an accurate record of the proceedings of the board each day, and in rendering your accounts to the General Land Office you will particularize the nature of the work upon which you have been employed during each day for which compensation is claimed.

Your accounts embracing time occupied upon contested cases should show the exact period (days and hours) employed upon each particular case, and whether in hearings or otherwise.

No bills for printing will be allowed except when plainly necessary to the discharge of your official duties.

Very respectfully,

W. M. STONE,
Assistant Commissioner.

Mr. W. S. ROBERTSON,
Disbursing Agent Town Site Board No. 6,
Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory.

I also submit a letter from the Secretary of the Interior:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, *Washington, July 8, 1892.*

SIR: In reply to your communications of April 6 and 7, 1892, concerning certain expenses of town-site boards in Oklahoma, expenditures as follows may be allowed, in addition to compensation of $5 per day for each member of boards assigned to fields of duty away from their homes or the locality for which they were originally appointed, to wit:

First. Transportation going to and returning from such new field of labor.

Second. Two dollars per day for board while away from home.

If necessary each board may expend for room rent for transaction of business of the board, not exceeding, as heretofore ordered, $15 per month, and for services of janitor, not exceeding $1 per day. Should duties extend into the winter months, the actual cost of fuel and light may also be allowed.

Very respectfully,

JOHN W. NOBLE, *Secretary.*

THE COMMISSIONER OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE.

The Senate can see how very serious the matter is to the people who go out there and settle upon these town sites. It is a board that has no limitation placed upon it so far as time is concerned; who can stay in session for the next five years; who, if they choose, can run up extraordinary expenses in clerk hire and in hiring stenographers to do this work. Out of whom does their compensation come? Out of the settlers who go to that country with the expectation of making homes there.

The declaration on the subject of nonresident officials in Territories contained in this book of party platforms is so positive and so definite that I appeal to Senators on both sides of the Chamber to record one vote at least in favor of one plank in the platforms upon which we can all stand for all time. I heartily indorse the Democratic platform in this respect. I heartily indorse the Republican platform in this respect. They are both of the same sentiment. If you do the right thing you will leave the law to be administered by the probate judges in the several counties; but if you are not willing to do that, do the next best thing and commit it to commissioners who will be appointed from actual bona fide residents of the Strip.

Mr. ALLEN. Does the Senator from Wyoming also indorse the People's party platform upon this question?

Mr. CAREY. If the Senator can tell me what it is I can tell him very readily whether I indorse it.

Mr. ALLEN. It is in favor of retrenchment and reform and the prompt performance of all such duties without any unnecessary cost and expense.

Mr. CAREY. I am indeed at all times (as I think I can say is every Senator on this side of the aisle) in favor of that declaration.

Mr. VILAS rose.

Mr. BERRY. If the Senator from Wisconsin will permit me to occupy a single moment, I wish to say, in the first place, that this territory is not occupied. It is vacant. There is no man living upon it. It is not from the citizens who propose to live there that the Senator from Wyoming seeks to compel the Secretary of the Interior to select commissioners. The Senator read telegrams from Oklahoma. I had a telegram from a very distinguished man there yesterday, saying that there was opposition to the joint resolution, and I had a telegram last night saying that he withdrew all opposition after he understood the situation. That man is the governor of the Territory, Governor Renfro himself. I have his telegram here on my table, in which he says he withdrew his opposition to it.

Now, Mr. President, in regard to cost, it will cost the parties precisely the same sum if the general law administered by the probate judges is in force that it will cost if it is administered by the Secretary of the Interior. I am very much persuaded that the probate judges, who get fees for making the deeds, have had a great deal to do with stirring up the sentiment in the present occupied part of Oklahoma in opposition to the selection of these men by the Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. CAREY. Will the Senator from Arkansas allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. BERRY. Certainly.

Mr. CAREY. I ask the Senator if the law permitting the probate judges to perform this duty in the State of Arkansas, which is a public land district, to settle and adjust these matters, is a good one?

Mr. BERRY. But the officers of this Government, the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of the General Land Office, say that law is not applicable and can not be made applicable there, because under it the town must be occupied before the application is made and before the fees are paid. The reservation can be made under the law as it exists provided the old law is in force at all in that section. I say the law officers of this Government tell us that it is necessary for them to have this authority, so far as that goes.

The whole point is this. The Senator from Wyoming wants to compel the Secretary of the Interior to select not from the men who will occupy this territory after the 16th of September, but from certain individuals already residing in another part of Oklahoma, to which this territory is to be attached. He says that the platforms of the two parties come in here and compel us to make such a provision. Mr. President, there is no such provision in the platform of the Democratic party. That applies to communities already settled, and we are to select from them. The people standing on that border to-day would have a better right to ask us to compel the Secretary of the Interior to select from those who are going to reside on the Strip, than to say that he shall select from those residing in the occupied part of the Territory.

The only point at issue is whether the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior shall be controlled and he shall be compelled to select from certain parties who are residing in one part of the Union, but who do not reside in the towns that will be occupied, where the law will be administered, who are not citizens there, unless they take their chances with all the rest in the run to be made on the 16th of September.

But in addition to that, the Secretary says this legislation is necessary, and he asks Congress to give him this power. If you put this amendment on you deny it to him. He says it is doubtful if the former law applies at all. If it does apply, he says that it can not be made applicable to the present conditions in the Territory. That is the statement of this official of the Government, and it is for the Senate to determine whether they will pass the joint resolution and give him this power or whether they will deny him the power in order to put in a provision that he shall select from a particular locality, when we might just as well say that he shall select from the State of Wyoming, from the State of Texas, or from any other point. That would be just as much in accord with the platform as to say that he shall select from the part of Oklahoma already occupied.

The Senator from Wyoming was, I think, a member of the Senate and of the Committee on Public Lands at the time the act of May 14, 1890, was passed. It was passed under the supervision of the late distinguished and now deceased Senator from Kansas, Mr. Plumb. The maximum sum, $10, which was first

allowed under the regulations, was too high, and did work a hardship upon some of those people. Secretary Noble changed it to $5 a day. That is the order of the Department now, and that, I am informed by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, will remain. It will not cost those people one dollar more under this system than under the prior law.

Mr. CAREY. I wish to state to the Senator from Arkansas that I was not upon the Committee on Public Lands when Senator Plumb was chairman of it.

Mr. BERRY. The Senator was a member of the other House when the act was passed. I will correct my statement. I thought the Senator had been put on the Committee on Public Lands at that time.

Mr. CAREY. I was upon the Committee on Public Lands in the other House, but I occupied the ostracised position of being a citizen of a Territory, and had no vote.

Mr. BERRY. I withdraw the statement in regard to the Senator being on the Committee on Public Lands. His colleagues on the other side of the Chamber composed the majority of the committee, and it was Senator Plumb's bill that was passed. I beg pardon of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. VILAS] for taking so much time.

Mr. VILAS. Mr. President, I was gratified by the observation of the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CAREY], that he perceived and intended to appeal to no party interest in this question, for if that be so and none shall be stirred I can not conceive it likely that the Senate will refuse to the Department of the Interior this simple measure of relief immediately necessary and precisely the same as that which was extended by Congress to the last Secretary of the Interior when he had a similar duty to perform.

Let us observe the situation a moment and just what question is presented by the amendment proposed to the joint resolution as it was adopted by the other House and went to the Committee on Public Lands of the Senate. That portion of territory known as the Cherokee Outlet is not yet a part of the Territory of Oklahoma, but, as was correctly stated by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT], Congress has declared that when it shall have been opened after extinguishment of the Indians' title by proclamation of the President, it shall become a part of the Territory of Oklahoma. Meantime, and before that even, the Secretary of the Interior is desirous of taking those steps which will provide for the orderly and lawful administration of the town-site laws of the United States.

It needs no refreshment of the recollection of Senators to say that there is no question so likely to breed disturbance, which has been so prolific of trouble and controversy, as this very matter of town sites upon the public lands. Men have had fortunes wrecked over and over again, as has come to my notice, by their failure to understand in advance what the law was, as if driven by a certain stress of necessity, by a kind of compulsion, to arrive at a decision early to select what was proper for them on the one hand as a lawful townsite, and what turned out to be, on the other, the real, lawful town site, as was eventually decided by the Secretary of the Interior.

To prevent disorders of this kind, to prevent injuries which may ensue to settlers, to prevent controversies in the seizure of town sites, which may go so far as to result in physical violence, even to bloodshed, the Secretary of the Interior desires to pursue the same course which Congress, in its wisdom, provided for his predecessor in office in opening the Territory of Oklahoma. He desires to appoint as many boards of commissioners as shall be suitable; but the old law limits the number to seven, so there can be but twenty-one commissioners, all told. He desires to appoint as many boards of commissioners of three each, according to the act of 1890, as shall be able to go on, locate, survey, and put up to sale in a lawful and orderly manner the town sites which have been reserved for that purpose in this new addition to Oklahoma Territory.

In order to do this thing, the appointments must be made and the work largely carried forward before the day of opening. That is the occasion of the anxiety of the Secretary upon this matter.

Mr. CAREY. It may be done afterwards.

Mr. VILAS. Oh, it may be done afterwards if it be not done before; I do not say that if it be not done before, it can not be done after; but the very point is, that it will be better done before; it will be done in a more orderly manner if it be done before. Therefore the Secretary is urging the passage of this resolution.

It is contended that as the law now stands that authority may be exercised, but the Secretary of the Interior wants no doubtful question to lie at the base of the titles which shall grow up upon these town-site entries; he wants a certainty from the action of Congress on that subject, and therefore he has asked the passage of this resolution from both Houses of Congress to make it a sure thing that he can so proceed without doubt. He has urged its immediate passage in order that the action may be had early; and it is necessary that it should be speedily passed to be most useful and effectual. The House of Representatives has passed it; it has gone to the Committee on Public Lands, and that committee agrees to it. Why, then, debate the question of expense? Why, then, discuss the right of the probate judges? The question here is limited not to matters of probate judges, but to this simple proposition of amendment, which has been suggested by some members of the Committee on Public Lands.

What is the proposed amendment? That is the only question now before the Senate, and it is this: It is proposed by the amendment to confine the selection of the Secretary of the Interior to the present inhabitants of the now existing Territory of Oklahoma to perform this service in this strip of country that is not now a part of Oklahoma. What is the reason of it? Is there any public interest to demand it? Is there any reason why the same latitude of discretion will not give him as great opportunity to do a public service as existed when the former Secretary of the Interior had the same authority conferred upon him? It is precisely the same question now as then.

But it is said that there is a sentiment in favor of the selection of the officers of a Territory from citizens of the Territory, to which both parties have given assent in their platforms. The answer is obvious. This is not the case of appointing Territorial officers; this is not the case of appointing the ordinary administrators of Territorial affairs, to which those resolutions related. This is an extraordinary and peculiar case, in which the Secretary of the Interior is seeking to provide immediate administrators of a particular law, and therefore he wants to make as fit appointments as he can and as quickly as he can.

Observe, now, what would be the effect of limiting him to the inhabitants of Oklahoma. That Territory has had but little more than three years of existence, and, a portion of that time, a very troubled existence indeed. We are to send him into that Territory, such as it is and where it is, to select at once twenty-one officers, or we are to rob him of the very advantage which this resolution would afford him.

It seems to me so obvious that this is to throw, upon a mere sentiment, an unfair fettering upon that officer in the present emergency, which nobody on either side of the Senate can desire to do unless there be reason for it such as I have not been able to see.

Then, observe another thing in respect to it. The whole value of this proposed legislation consists in its being immediately enacted. This is one of those steps among a considerable number which the President and the Secretary of the Interior have been studying all summer long in order to accomplish the end, to prepare that Territory for an orderly settlement, a settlement that shall not breed the ordinary amount of controversy and strife. This is one of those steps, therefore, which, if taken at all to effect the end, must be taken at once.

Now, observe what will be the effect of adding this amendment to the joint resolution. The House of Representatives took up the joint resolution unanimously, and passed it by unanimous consent, as I am informed, if it be proper to speak of the action of the other House at all. If we send back the resolution with an amendment of this kind, creating a bone of contention in that body, what will be the result? Nothing less than disagreement with that vote on their part. After disagreement and conference, if they adhere, as there is every reason to suppose they will, are we to recede, or are we to judge that this little simple matter of administration in the beginning is necessary to facilitate the performance and administration of the trust which has been reposed in this public officer, or to intrude a mere sentiment to compel his discretion, to control the exercise of the authority with which he is vested, in such manner as to destroy his usefulness?

I certainly trust, Mr. President, that the Senate will never adopt such a line of dealing with the public Departments of this Government.

Mr. PLATT. Some question has arisen as to whether the Cherokee Outlet is or is not already a part of the Territory of Oklahoma. I think it is. The statute organizing the Territory of Oklahoma provided:

> Whenever the interest of the Cherokee Indians in the land known as the Cherokee Outlet shall have been extinguished and the President shall make proclamation thereof, said Outlet shall thereupon, and without further legislation, become a part of the Territory of Oklahoma.

In his proclamation, just issued, for the settlement of the Territory, the President recites the fact that the Cherokee Nation of Indians ratified the agreement for the cession, and thereby ceded, conveyed, transferred, relinquished, and surrendered all title, claim, and interest of every kind and character in and to that part of the Indian Territory embracing the Cherokee Outlet. So I think there can be no question but that the title is extinguished, and proclamation has been made.

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President, I have listened with a great deal of attention, as well as interest, to the discussion so far, but I have not yet had a satisfactory answer to the question which I asked of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY] in the beginning, that is, as to what advantage would be gained over the present law by adding the proposed legislation? The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. VILAS] is of the opinion that the object is to advance a more orderly proceeding in the settlement of the Territory.

It has been my experience and observation as to the settlement of Indian reservations that there is a horde of men, if I may use the expression, who make organized raids upon the reservations in advance of their opening and settlement by ordinary people. Their plans are already arranged; they are not the disorganized mass of ordinary settlers, but they are men of brains; they are shrewd men, who have talents both in their heads and in their pockets, and they expect when the barriers are removed that they will immediately rush in and have a place to set their feet upon already prepared for them, while the average man who, with his family, camps along the borders for months and even years, who is anxious to enter the Territory, not to build a town site, not to get a town lot, but to get a home for himself and his family, is kept back by reason of these preparatory arrangements for the town builders, the men who will go upon sites already prepared for them; and the first thing they do is to set up a dram shop, next a bank, then come the loan agent and the real-estate dealer; the mortgage mill begins to grind, and the people have debts fastened upon them before they have had time to get a good rest in their new home.

It seems to me it would be wiser, infinitely wiser, to make no provision whatever at this time for the selection of town sites. Let the people who want homes in the Territory go in and select their homes, select their farms, and after they have acquired a residence there under the law, after they have acquired a foothold, a place to live, then they will get together in due time, and under the law of the United States, if they do not make any local laws of their own, they will arrange this town-site business in their own way.

I do not believe in giving any advantage to the town-builders or speculators. I believe in saving the land for the man who is anxious to get a home, to make a livlihood for himself and his family, instead of for the man who would lay down town sites and become rich off of what he can gain from the losses of other people.

There is no need for hurry in the matter. Nothing has been yet suggested before the Senate which satisfies my mind that there is any need whatever for additional legislation. I am quite confident that the persons who expect to go into the Territory and make homes for themselves—not town-builders, but farmers and that class of persons—will be better protected, and that is the aim of the law, if we do not enact any additional legislation whatever.

I will say further, that I am satisfied the persons who expect to enter the lands prefer that there be no additional legislation. Their sentiment in reference to this thing is "keep your hands off; let us alone, and when we get into the Territory, have our homes, and become settlers and citizens there, we shall regulate this matter to suit ourselves." If that be done, then, for once at least, we shall have the principle of home rule adopted in a new Territory.

Mr. McPHERSON. I desire to interrupt the proceedings on the pending joint resolution for a single moment, to suggest that when we adjourn to-day it be to meet on Monday next at 12 o'clock.

Mr. BERRY. I hope the Senator will not make the motion until I see whether we can get a vote on the pending question.

Mr. McPHERSON. I think we ought to sit here until the the vote is taken.

Mr. BERRY. I shall have to ask the Senator to defer making any motion until the joint resolution now pending is passed upon.

Mr. McPHERSON. I will do so, but I will make a statement if Senators will permit me.

On consultation with Senators on both sides of the Chamber, considering that we have had a long, hot week, and the Chamber is very oppressive, there is a general disposition manifested to adjourn over from to-day until Monday, the belief being that we shall make progress quite as rapidly with the pending measures if we take that course, as if we should remain here to-morrow. Besides, there does not seem to be any member of the Senate who really desires to be heard to-morrow on the pending financial bills. Therefore, the Committee on Finance have reluctantly consented to an adjournment over, with the notice, which I am enjoined and instructed by the chairman of the committee to give, that next week we shall try to press the pending bill to a vote at as early a day as possible.

Mr. PLATT. Which bill is that?

Mr. PEFFER. To what bill does the Senator refer?

Mr. McPHERSON. The Committee on Finance have two bills pending here.

Mr. PLATT and Mr. PEFFER. To which does the Senator refer?

Mr. McPHERSON. I can not tell. The Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEFFER] made a long speech on one of them, but not upon the one which was before the Senate. Judging from the debate I can not tell which bill was before the Senate. However, as to the financial measures pending in this body, I do not know what may be the disposition of the chairman of the committee touching the one he will earliest press for consideration; but the committee wish to give notice that on Monday morning it is their intention to proceed, as fast as the Senate will permit, in the direction of reaching a vote. The committee now give notice that they will resist any and all attempts to interpose any other legislation pending the final vote by the Senate upon the financial questions.

Mr. BERRY. I hope the Senator will not interpose further obstruction in regard to the pending joint resolution, but will let us have a vote upon it.

Mr. McPHERSON. I do not wish to interfere with the pending joint resolution.

Mr. FRYE. Let us have a vote on the amendment.

Mr. CAREY. I wish to ask the Senator from Wisconsin a question. I ask whether he was a member of the committee on resolutions at the last Democratic convention?

Mr. VILAS. I was on the general committee on resolutions and the subcommittee also.

Mr. CAREY. I merely wish to call the Senator's attention to a clause in the Democratic platform which the Senator from Wisconsin himself may have prepared. I hope he did:

> We hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, together with the Districts of Columbia and Alaska, should be *bona fide* residents of the Territory or District in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule and the control of their own affairs by the people of the vicinage.

Now, the Senator from Wisconsin says it is necessary to have immediate action in this case. I wish to state to him that in no instance have such boards been appointed in advance of the settlement of the district where town sites are located. The town sites have already been located in Oklahoma, and the land has been reserved. I wish to say to him also that more than two-thirds of all the town-site difficulties in Oklahoma have been settled and disposed of under the probate-judge law. The judges take hold of the matter. They appoint three men in the neighborhood to appraise the value of town sites, and proceed in a way which is highly satisfactory to the people.

There is nothing in the world, therefore, to prevent the Secretary of the Interior from appointing bona fide residents of the town itself, if he wishes to do so. If he will wait a little while—and there is not any hurry about the passage of the joint resolution—the matter will be all right.

Mr. VILAS. I do not happen to have the resolutions adopted by the Republican national convention, but I should like to ask the Senator from Wyoming if they are any less explicit in this respect than those adopted by the Democratic national convention?

Mr. CAREY. They are, indeed.

Mr. VILAS. Less explicit?

Mr. CAREY. They are less explicit, because we adopted ours first, and you copied ours and tried to put more to it in order to catch votes.

Mr. VILAS. I suppose that means that some delegates from the Territories prepared the resolution for both conventions, and, as the question was not a burning issue, both parties were ready to adopt what was offered.

Now, I should like to ask the Senator from Wyoming if the convention of 1888, which nominated the late President of the United States, Gen. Harrison, had not also a similar resolution in its platform?

Mr. CAREY. It had.

Mr. VILAS. I should like to ask the Senator from Wyoming if there is any better reason why the vacant territory of the Cherokee Outlet should be officered by people from the adjacent region of Oklahoma than there was why the Territory of Oklahoma should have been officered from the adjacent State of Kansas under the last Administration: and why, under that former plank in the platform of 1888, adopted by the Republican convention, the President of the United States and the Senate, participating with him in the power of appointment, found it possible to appoint judges, marshals, and other officers of the Territory from outside of the Territory?

Mr. CAREY. Where did he do it? The law was not passed so much to locate town sites as for the settlement of then existing difficulties. Difficulties arose because there were no officers

in Oklahoma at the commencement of affairs there. That difficulty does not exist now.

So far as President Harrison is concerned, he did not violate the rule of the platform except in two or three instances, and those were in the Territory of Arizona, where the people would not agree as to the appointments. He could not do anything with them. So far as the Territory in which I lived was concerned the rule was never violated, not even in connection with an appointment in the Indian service. I think that was the experience of all the Territories, except the Territory of Arizona, and there, as I have said, they would not agree as to the judges.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President, I am not going to detain the Senate when it is impatient to vote, but I should like to say a word or two.

I understand that this question is already decided. It is a question of the appointment of some officeholders, as I may call them, agents from different sections of the country to go into this Territory and attend to the town-site matters; in other words, a question of patronage; and it will be voted in the Senate, but voted against the wishes both of the people living in Oklahoma and the people who are going there. It has been brought this far without consultation with the people of Oklahoma or the people who are going there. The statements which have been read here show that they are opposed to it; that the present law is entirely satisfactory to them, much more satisfactory than this proposed law, which involves the appointment of outsiders to go there and settle those questions in a very much more expensive way, and taking a great deal more time for it.

The recent settlements in Oklahoma of the Cheyenne and the Arapahoe reservations have all been made under the law as it at present exists without any trouble whatever, and are all disposed of, while the original question about the settlement of Oklahoma proper, which was submitted to the town-site board, is still unsettled.

What the people of the Territory and the people who are going in there ask is that the law applicable to this matter may be left as it is now, and that all these matters may be settled under the general law.

I do not care anything about the pending amendment. My objection is to the passage of such a law at all. It is unnecessary; it is not called for; and, to speak plainly about it, there is no earthly reason for it except the question of patronage.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PASCO in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. CAREY and Mr. HANSBROUGH called for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KYLE (when Mr. BUTLER'S name was called). I am requested by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] to say that he is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CAMERON].

Mr. DUBOIS (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] on political questions. I do not know whether this is regarded as a political question or not.

Mr. McPHERSON. I think my colleague, if present, would vote "nay."

Mr. DUBOIS. Then I withhold my vote.

Mr. HANSBROUGH (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PALMER]. If he were present I should vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL]. I do not know how he would vote on this question if present, but I will transfer my pair with him to the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GIBSON], and vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. DIXON (when Mr. LODGE'S name was called). I was requested by the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] to announce that he has a general pair with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. MARTIN].

Mr. MANDERSON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BLACKBURN]. I should vote "yea" on this question if he were present.

Mr. PETTIGREW (when his name was called). I am paired on this question with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. CAMDEN]. If he were present, I should vote "yea" and he would vote "nay."

Mr. PLATT (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. HUNTON]. If he were present, he would vote "nay" and I should vote "yea."

Mr. STOCKBRIDGE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GIBSON].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr FRYE. I am paired with the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] on political questions, and as this seems to be a political question, I withhold my vote.

Mr. MANDERSON. As there is some doubt about a quorum having voted and as I think my vote, if recorded, will not change the result, I shall vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. DUBOIS. I will ask the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. McPHERSON], with whose colleague I am paired, whether he will object to my voting in order to make a quorum. I do not think my vote will make any difference in the result.

Mr. McPHERSON. I have no objection.

Mr. DUBOIS. Then I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 16, nays 29, as follows:

YEAS—16.

Allison,	Dubois,	Manderson,	Proctor,
Carey,	Gallinger,	Peffer,	Shoup,
Davis,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Teller,
Dixon,	Higgins,	Power,	Washburn.

NAYS—29.

Bate,	Gray,	Mills,	Vest,
Berry,	Harris,	Mitchell, Oregon	Vilas,
Caffery,	Hill,	Pasco,	Walthall,
Call,	Irby,	Ransom,	White, Cal.
Cockrell,	Jones, Ark.	Roach,	White, La.
Coke,	Kyle,	Stewart,	
Daniel,	Lindsay,	Turpie,	
Faulkner,	McPherson,	Vance,	

NOT VOTING—40.

Aldrich,	Dolph,	Jones, Nev.	Platt,
Allen,	Frye,	Lodge,	Pugh,
Blackburn,	George,	McMillan,	Quay,
Brice,	Gibson,	Martin,	Sherman,
Butler,	Gordon,	Mitchell, Wis.	Smith,
Camden,	Gorman,	Morgan,	Squire,
Cameron,	Hale,	Morrill,	Stockbridge,
Chandler,	Hansbrough,	Murphy,	Voorhees,
Colquitt,	Hoar,	Palmer,	Wilson,
Cullom,	Hunton,	Pettigrew,	Wolcott.

So the amendment was rejected.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, and was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Shall the joint resolution pass?

Mr. CAREY. I had intended to call for the yeas and nays on the passage of the joint resolution, but as the last vote has shown the sentiment of the Senate in reference to it I shall not do so.

The joint resolution was passed.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

Mr. McPHERSON. I now move that when the Senate adjourn to-day it be to meet on Monday.

The motion was agreed to.

MARY IMOGENE SANFORD.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the following resolution, submitted by Mr. HAWLEY on the 14th instant, reported it without amendment:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and is hereby, authorized and directed to pay out of the "miscellaneous items" of the contingent fund of the Senate, to Mary Imogene Sanford, widow of Oliver S. Sanford, deceased, late acting assistant doorkeeper of the Senate, the sum of $900, being an amount equal to six months' salary at the rate allowed by law to such acting assistant doorkeeper aforesaid.

Mr. PLATT. I ask that the resolution may be put upon its passage.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I do not know whether there will be any opposition to the resolution. The report simply conforms to the practice of the committee for many years past, which was adopted after considerable discussion, to cut off extra allowances and fix a specific sum, which in such cases shall be allowed in lieu of all others. The report merely follows the precedents of the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the resolution?

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. McPHERSON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After fifteen minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 12 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, August 28, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate August 25, 1893.

ENVOYS EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTERS PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Luther F. McKinney, of Manchester, N. H., to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Colombia.

William E. Quinby, of Detroit, Mich., to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to The Netherlands.

SECRETARIES OF LEGATION.

Jacob Sleeper, of Boston, Mass., to be secretary of the legation and consul-general of the United States at Bogota, Colombia.

Edward C. Butler, of Massachusetts, to be secretary of the legation of the United States to Mexico.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

Owen J. H. Summers, of Florida, to be attorney of the United States for the northern district of Florida.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

James C. Drake, of Washington, to be marshal of the United States for the district of Washington.

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS.

Harry A. McNeally, of Maine, to be collector of customs for the district of Saco, in the State of Maine.

Harry H. Kain, of Mississippi, to be collector of customs for the district of Vicksburg, in the State of Mississippi.

Theodore S. Wilkinson, of Louisiana, to be collector of customs for the district of New Orleans, in the State of Louisiana.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Walter C. Westcott, of Amethyst, Colo., to be receiver of public moneys at Del Norte, Colo.

ASSISTANT APPRAISER OF MERCHANDISE.

R. Loper Baird, of Pennsylvania, to be assistant appraiser of merchandise in the district of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania.

REGISTERS OF THE LAND OFFICE.

William D. O'Toole, of Hamilton, Wash., to be register of the land office at Seattle, Wash.

Peter Primeau, of Houghton, Mich., to be register of the land office at Marquette, Mich.

CONSULS.

William H. Jacks, of Logansport, Ind., to be consul of the United States at London, Ontario.

James H. Madden, of Danville, Ill., to be consul of the United States at Smyrna, Turkey.

Theodore Huston, of Macomb, Ill., to be consul of the United States at Paso del Norte, Mexico.

Edward Downes, of New Haven, Conn., to be consul of the United States at Amsterdam, Netherlands.

Francois X. Belleau, of Lewiston, Me., to be consul of the United States at Three Rivers, Canada.

Peter Lieber, of Indianapolis, Ind., to be consul of the United States at Dusseldorf, Germany.

Joel Linsley, of Middlebury, Vt., to be consul of the United States at Coaticook, Canada.

Frank E. Hyde, of Hartford, Conn., to be consul of the United States at Lyons, France.

Matthew M. Duffie, of Princeton, Ark, to be consul of the United States at Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Jacob T. Child, of Richmond, Mo., to be consul of the United States at Hankow, China.

Charles A. O'Connor, of Manchester, N. H., to be consul of the United States at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia.

James C. Monaghan, of Lonsdale, R. I., to be consul of the United States at Chemnitz, Germany.

Norfleet Harris, of Greensboro, Ala., to be consul of the United States at Leeds, England.

Louis S. Delaplaine, jr, of Wheeling, W. Va., to be consul of the United States at Demerara, Guiana.

Edward P. Crane, of Pittsburg, Pa., to be consul of the United States at Hanover, Germany.

Pulaski F. Hyatt, of Lewisburg, Pa., to be consul of the United States at Santiago de Cuba.

J. Courtney Hixson, of Union Springs, Ala., to be consul of the United States at Ningpo, China.

J. Hampton Hoge, of Roanoke, Va., to be consul of the United States at Amoy, China.

Warner S. Kinkead, of Shelbyville, Ky., to be consul of the United States at Southampton, England.

Thomas C. Jones, of Frankfort, Ky., to be consul of the United States at Funchal, Madeira.

Alfred C. Johnson, of Philadelphia, Pa., to be consul of the United States at Stuttgart, Germany.

George G. Mathews, jr., of Santos, Fla., to be consul of the United States at Para, Brazil.

Frank C. McGhee, of Meridian, Miss., to be consul of the United States at Huddersfield, England.

John B. Laguaite, of New Orleans, La., to be consul of the United States at Martinique, West Indies.

D. J. Partello, of the District of Columbia, to be consul of the United States at Sonneburg, Germany.

Frederick Opp, of Llano, Tex., to be consul of the United States at Breslau, Germany.

John R. Mobley, of Waco, Tex., to be consul of the United States at Baracoa, Cuba.

Andrews A. St. John, of Pennsylvania, to be consul of the United States at Batavia, Java.

William H. Robertson, of the District of Columbia, to be consul of the United States at Hamburg, Germany.

Benjamin H. Ridgely, of Louisville, Ky., to be consul of the United States at Geneva, Switzerland.

Jesse W. Sparks, of Murfreesboro, Tenn., to be consul of the United States at Piedras Negras, Mexico.

Henry C. Smith, of Birmingham, Ala., to be consul of the United States at Santos, Brazil.

W. H. Seymour, of Livingston, Ala., to be consul of the United States at Palermo, Italy.

Lucien J. Walker, of Birmingham, Ala., to be consul of the United States at Cork, Ireland.

Claude M. Thomas, of Paris, Ky., to be consul of the United States at Marseilles, France.

James B. Taney, of Wheeling, W. Va., to be consul of the United States at Belfast, Ireland.

Eugene Germain, of Los Angeles, Cal., to be consul of the United States at Zurich, Switzerland.

Harrison R. Williams, of St. Louis, Mo., to be consul of the United States at San José, Costa Rica.

Charles W. Whiley, jr., of Lewes, Del., to be consul of the United States at St. Etieune, France.

John W. Coppinger, of Alton, Ill., to be consul of the United States at Toronto, Canada.

CONSULS-GENERAL.

Darius H. Ingraham, of Portland, Me., to be consul-general of the United States at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Frederic C. Penfield, of Hartford, Conn., to be agent and consul-general of the United States at Cairo, Egypt.

Wallace S. Jones, of Monticello, Fla., to be consul-general of the United States at Rome, Italy.

Van Leer Polk, of Nashville, Tenn., to be consul-general of the United States at Calcutta, India.

E. Spencer Pratt, of Mobile, Ala., to be consul-general of the United States at Singapore, Straits Settlements.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

General officer.

Col. William P. Carlin, Fourth Infantry, to be brigadier-general.

Medical Department.

Lieut. Col. George M. Sternberg, deputy surgeon-general, to be Surgeon-General.

Pay Department.

Capt. William H. Hamner, Twentieth Infantry, to be paymaster.

Quartermaster's Department.

First Lieut. Frederick Von Schrader, Twelfth Infantry, to be assistant quartermaster.

Medical Department.

Maj. Johnson V. D. Middleton, surgeon, to be deputy surgeon-general.

Maj. John H. Janeway, surgeon, to be deputy surgeon-general.

Capt. Henry S. Turrill, assistant surgeon, to be surgeon.

Corps of Engineers.

Lieut. Col. George H. Elliot, to be colonel.

Maj. Amos Stickney, to be lieutenant-colonel.

Capt. Thomas Turtle, to be major.

First Lieut. Harry F. Hodges, to be captain.

Second Lieut. William V. Judson, to be first lieutenant.

Cavalry arm.

Capt. Joseph M. Kelley, Tenth Cavalry, to be major.

Capt. Thomas C. Lebo, Tenth Cavalry, to be major.

First Lieut. John Bigelow, jr., Tenth Cavalry, to be captain.

First Lieut. Robert D. Read, jr., Tenth Cavalry, to be captain.

Second Lieut. Letcher Hardeman, Fourth Cavalry, to be first lieutenant.

Second Lieut. Edmund S. Wright, Ninth Cavalry, to be first lieutenant.

Second Lieut. William H. Hay, Third Cavalry, to be first lieutenant.

Second Lieut. James E. Nolan, Fourth Cavalry, to be first lieutenant.

Artillery arm.

First Lieut. Charles Humphreys, Third Artillery, to be captain.

Second Lieut. Richmond P. Davis, Second Artillery, to be first lieutenant.

Second Lieut. George O. Squier, Third Artillery, to be first lieutenant.

Infantry arm.

Lieut. Col. Robert H. Hall, Sixth Infantry, to be colonel.

Maj. Harry C. Egbert, Seventeenth Infantry, to be lieutenant-colonel.

Capt. William H. Bisbee, Fourth Infantry, to be major.

First Lieut. Henry E. Robinson, Fourth Infantry, to be captain.

First Lieut. William W. Wotherspoon, Twelfth Infantry, to be captain.

First Lieut. Charles W. Mason, Fourth Infantry, to be captain.

First Lieut. Arthur Williams, regimental quartermaster Third Infantry, to be captain.

First Lieut. Stephen Y. Seyburn, Tenth Infantry, to be captain.

First Lieut. Edmund K. Webster, regimental quartermaster Second Infantry, to be captain.

Second Lieut. Frederick C. Kimball, Fifth Infantry, to be first lieutenant.

Second Lieut Frank L. Winn, First Infantry, to be first lieutenant.

Second Lieut. Charles C. Ballou, Sixteenth Infantry, to be first lieutenant.

Second Lieut. Erneste Y. Smith, Third Infantry, to be first lieutenant.

Second Lieut. George B. Duncan, Ninth Infantry, to be first lieutenant.

Second Lieut. Robert C. Williams, Fifteenth Infantry, to be first lieutenant.

Second Lieut. Lucius L. Durfee, Seventeenth Infantry, to be first lieutenant.

Second Lieut. Charles G. Dwyer, Twenty-first Infantry, to be first lieutenant.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, *August 25, 1893.*

The House met at 10 o'clock a. m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. SAMUEL W. HADDAWAY.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

CAPITOL CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY.

The SPEAKER laid before the House a message from the Senate announcing the appointment by the Vice-President of a committee on the part of the Senate, consisting of Senators VOORHEES, SHERMAN, RANSOM, CHANDLER, WHITE of California, SQUIRE, and MARTIN, under the joint resolution providing for the appropriate commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the laying of the corner stone of the Capitol of the United States, September 18, 1793; which was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER announced the appointment of a like committee on the part of the House, in compliance with the same joint resolution, consisting of Messrs. BYNUM, WARNER, BLACK, HOUK of Ohio, HENDERSON of Iowa, O'NEILL of Pennsylvania, and COGSWELL.

RECOINAGE OF FRACTIONAL SILVER COIN.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury showing the necessity of an immediate appropriation of $300,000 for continuing the recoinage of fractional silver coin; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

SILVER.

The House resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

Mr. SAYERS. Mr. Speaker, in the brief time allowed me I can only express an opinion as to the cause of the crisis which is upon the country, and give some of the reasons which impel me to vote against the unconditional repeal of the law which authorizes the purchase of silver bullion, and is known as the Sherman act.

That the operation under that law may be the better understood, I beg to submit to the House the following memorandum, furnished me by the Treasurer:

Total number of ounces of silver bullion purchased under the Sherman act to August 16, 1893, the latest date to which the account has been made up	161,521,000
Total number of silver dollars coined therefrom	36,087,185
Total of Treasury notes issued in purchases under the act	$149,855,280
Total silver certificates—	
Issued	859,190,000
Redeemed	528,063,496
Outstanding	331,126,504

TREASURY OF THE UNITED STATES,
August 23, 1893.

Sir, while I do not think that the policy thus inaugurated by the last Administration is wise, however it may be considered, yet it is far better that, bad as it is, it should remain on the statute book than be repealed, and the future use of silver as a money metal—other than that now coined and that represented by Treasury notes and certificates—be discontinued. Nor can I believe that it has produced the embarrassment that has befallen this country, destroying confidence and bankrupting so many of our citizens.

Rather has it been seized upon by those interested in the negotiation of securities in foreign markets and by those who desire bonds for investment as a means by which to excite public distrust.

It is admitted, Mr. Speaker, that all balances in trade, foreign or domestic, at the end of each business season, must be paid in cash or be carried over by the creditor to be afterwards met. The Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, in his communication to the Secretary of the Treasury of the 15th instant, informs us that the excess of our imports over our exports for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, amounted to $18,853,397, thus necessitating the payment by us of that sum to foreign countries in the matter of trade. The conditions of our exports and imports for the previous year—that is, for the year ending June 30, 1892—was quite different.

In that year, according to the same authority, our exports exceeded our imports by $202,875,687, which sum, accruing through trade, was paid to us by other countries. This balance was paid to us, and $18,853,397—the balance for 1893—was paid by us; or, perhaps, to better and more fully present the comparison, $1,030,278,148 of exports and $827,402,462 of imports for 1892, and $866,361,421 of imports and $847,508,024 of exports for 1893, properly represent the values of exports and imports for the last two years. In the latter year we exported $182,770,124 less, and we imported $38,958,959 more, than in the former.

It occurs to me, Mr. Speaker, that this condition of our foreign trade has been and is now an especial and prominent factor in our financial troubles. I can not believe that, in view of the great commercial disasters that have occurred in European centers of commerce and in other countries directly connected with such centers, indulgence has been granted us in the payment of balances in trade. Besides, the policy of Austria in resuming specie payments upon a gold basis was determined upon in January, 1892, and this operation was precisely similar to the change made in the United States between 1875 and 1879. The process of collecting gold was to continue over a period of two years, and to accomplish this about one-half the annual product of gold in California, Australia, South Africa, Russia, and Hungary was required.

The Rothschilds of London undertook to procure for the Austrian Government the necessary stock of gold, the contract being consummated in January, 1893, and went into the open market seeking its purchase at a premium. In the beginning of the month of March of the present year, $29,000,000 had been provided for by the purchase of American gold eagles. Some gold was also purchased in Germany, but $12,000,000 more was needed in order to complete the loan, and the syndicate took advantage of the fall in the rate of exchange in the United States, which enabled gold to be exported and abolished premium on all gold, whether coin or bullion.

This accounts, in part, for the large exportation of gold coin and bullion from this country during the present year; that is, for about $41,000,000, the entire amount of gold to be provided for being about $100,000,000.

The history of this transaction should admonish us as to what would become necessary should the United States undertake to make all payments on a gold basis. In such a contingency the issue and sale of at least $250,000,000 of interest-bearing gold bonds would become necessary in order to maintain a sufficient reserve.

In addition to this, Mr. Speaker, recent failures, some of great

magnitude, in our own country have demonstrated that in many instances banking institutions were being wrecked by those directly and legally charged with their safe and judicious management.

But, sir, there is another and a more deplorable cause that has led to the embarrassments which confront us and which has tended to greatly excite the public mind, and that cause is the general belief that the creditor class of this country—those who are possessed of large capitals—desire to have money scarcer and therefore more valuable and productive. These are they who, with the greatest vigor, have declared and do now maintain war against the further coinage of silver. The bonds which they hold as investments and the money which they have hoarded for the purpose of lending will, if the further coinage of silver be abandoned, become the more profitable, while other properties will correspondingly shrink in value should monometallism become the established and permanent policy of this Government.

In a word, Mr. Speaker, the pending contest is a war in which scarcity of money is on the one side and a reasonable supply, with proper distribution and in sufficient quantity to meet the just demands of commerce, of production, of manufacture, and of labor, is on the other side.

Sir, I have no confidence in the successful and satisfactory result of any attempt to establish an international ratio between gold and silver. The late international conference was a miserable failure, as has been all such conferences. That this apprehension is not unfounded, I beg to call the attention of the House to the utterance of the present prime minister of England upon the subject.

The time, the place, and the man make it worthy the most careful and thoughtful consideration. It was delivered on February 28, 1893, shortly after the adjournment of the Brussels Conference, in the House of Commons, by the greatest and most influential of living Englishmen. On a motion offered by Sir H. Meysey-Thompson, in the British House of Commons, urging that Government to use its utmost influence to procure the reassembling of the International Monetary Conference and to impress upon the British representatives the immediate necessity of finding some effective remedy for the growing divergence of value between gold and silver, Mr. Gladstone used the following language, which I quote verbatim from the London Times of March 1:

"What is our standard of value to be? [Cheers.] Are we to choose it for its fixity, or are we to choose it for its liability to indefinite and eternal change? The honorable member spoke rather with ridicule upon the proposition of this country as the great creditor country of the world. It is the great creditor country of the world; of that there can be no doubt whatever; and it is increasingly the great creditor country of the world. I suppose there is not a year which passes over our heads which does not largely add to the mass of British investments abroad. I am almost afraid to estimate the total amount of the property which the United Kingdom holds beyond the limits of the United Kingdom; but of this I am well convinced, that it is not to be counted by tens or hundreds of millions.

"One thousand millions probably would be an extremely low and inadequate estimate. Two thousand millions, or something even more than that, is very likely to be nearer the mark. ["Hear!" "Hear!"] I think under these circumstances it is a rather serious matter to ask this country to consider whether we are going to perform this supreme act of self-sacrifice. I have a profound admiration for cosmopolitan principles. I can go a great length in moderation [laughter] in recommending their recognition and establishment, but if there are these two thousand millions or fifteen hundred millions of money which we have got abroad, it is a very serious matter as between this country and other countries.

"We have nothing to pay to them; we are not debtors at all; we should get no comfort, no consolation out of the substitution of an inferior material, of a cheaper money, which we could obtain for less and part with for more. We should get no consolation, but the consolation throughout the world would be great. [Loud laughter.] This splendid spirit of philanthropy, which we can not too highly prize, because I have no doubt all this is foreseen, would result in our making a present of fifty or a hundred millions to the world. It would be thankfully accepted, but I think that the gratitude for your benevolence would be mixed with very grave misgivings as to your wisdom.

"I have shown why we should pause and consider for ourselves once, twice, and thrice before departing from the solid ground on which you have within the last half century erected a commercial fabric unknown in the whole history of the world—before departing from that solid ground you should well consult and well consider and take no step except such as you can well justify to your own understanding, to your fellow-countrymen, and to those who come after us. [Cheers.]"

No one can doubt for a moment that in so speaking Mr. Gladstone was truly and faithfully representing the commercial sentiment of England; and credulous indeed must be the American who, in the light of such an utterance, by such a man at such a time, in such a place and under the weighty responsibility of such an exalted position, can pin his faith and commit his confidence to an international monetary commission.

But, sir, it has been said, again and again, upon this floor, that it will be impossible for our Government to maintain a parity between the metals, should the free and unlimited coinage of silver be permitted. This is only a prediction, not the statement of an existing fact. I grant that the relations of the two metals, with the free and unlimited coinage of silver, would not meet the demand of the miser who carries his scales about him to measure with the exactest nicety the weight of every coin that is tendered him in payment of an usurious indebtedness, but for all practical purposes the parity can be maintained, if there should be an honest purpose to do so.

Are not four quarter-dollars or two half-dollars now being received by the people in their daily transactions with as much favor as $1 in silver, though the dollar really contains more silver than the four quarters or the two halves? And do not $5 or $10 in silver have as great purchasing power as $5 or $10 in gold?

Mr. Speaker, the enemies of bimetallism rely entirely upon foreign sentiment and foreign commerce to sustain them in the position which they have assumed and for which they are contending. They take no thought of our enormous inland commerce, the amount of which has never been accurately measured. Sir, the exchanges in the clearing-houses of the United States—fifty-eight in number—for 1892 reached the enormous sum of $61,017,839,067, and the freight service of the railways in 1891 amounted to 81,073,784,121 tons carried 1 mile.

These are but two evidences of the vast inland commerce in which our people deal, and they cover, by a very small part, the annual transactions that grow out of American industry. The mind grows weary in the attempt to trace each and every path and avenue that is trod by the American people in their effort for industrial, material, and intellectual advancement.

Mr. Speaker, in this connection I will ask the attention of the House to a statement from the Treasury Department, which reads as follows:

Statement showing the amounts of gold and silver coins and certificates, United States, notes and national bank notes, in circulation August 1, 1893.

	General stock, coined or issued.	In Treasury.	Amount in circulation Aug. 1, 1893.	Amount in circulation Aug. 1, 1892.
Gold coin	$520,273,567	$103,363,626	$416,909,941	$410,447,360
Standard silver dollars	419,332,450	363,108,461	56,223,989	57,031,893
Subsidiary silver	76,563,878	12,556,749	64,007,129	63,346,967
Gold certificates	87,704,739	93,710	87,611,029	136,861,829
Silver certificates	333,031,504	2,843,114	330,188,390	327,336,823
Treasury notes, act July 14, 1890	148,286,348	4,512,210	143,774,138	101,756,301
United States notes	346,681,016	22,286,612	324,394,404	311,852,278
Currency certificates, act June 8, 1872	8,340,000	485,000	7,855,000	26,720,000
National-bank notes	183,755,147	3,620,150	180,134,997	166,595,935
Total	2,123,968,649	512,869,632	1,611,099,017	1,601,949,325

Population of the United States August 1, 1893, estimated at 67,066,000; circulation per capita, $24.02.

In this we are informed that there is in circulation $1,611,099.17 to serve the purposes of 67,066,000 people in all their varied occupations. But, sir, how much of this sum is held as reserve in ordinary and prosperous times in the banking, life and fire insurance, and other financial institutions of the country? How much of it, when no panic is pressing upon the people with its unfortunate, depressing, and destroying effects, never sees the light of a single day during the entire year? How much of it never leaves the darkness of the vault, to travel in the channels of trade, agriculture, and manufacture, and to meet the just requirements of labor?

To say that silver, placed on the same level with gold, made a legal tender for all debts, public and private; present and being used everywhere and at all times; moving here and there; never idle, but always following closely the footsteps of the American workingman in whatever field he may toil—to say that it will not under such conditions be received by him, now and hereafter, as heretofore, is a prophecy that can not and will not be fulfilled.

Sir, our internal commerce alone will protect silver. Our Government only can debase it and destroy it as a money metal. The situation of our people is wholly unlike that of other countries, and sound logic will therefore not permit us to draw conclusions from the experience of other nations in the matter of silver coinage. It can not be safely assumed that what has happened elsewhere must necessarily be repeated here.

But, Mr. Speaker, we are asked to repeal unconditionally the Sherman act. What then—what is to follow? The message is silent. Its advocates and supporters in Congress are also silent. But we are not left entirely in the dark as to the purposes of those who are pressing this measure from the outside. It is admitted by all that there is not a sufficiency of gold in this country, even in prosperous times, to answer the purposes and to meet the necessities of trade, agriculture, manufacture, and labor.

How is the needed amount to be obtained? Through commerce with foreign nations? How are we to know that, during the present year and the next year and for years to come, the balance of trade will not be as it was during the last fiscal year—against us? The metropolitan press advises us to issue bonds—interest-bearing bonds—gold bonds—and that, too, in a time of profound peace, and with our agricultural and manufacturing products in the greatest abundance. These bonds are to be sold in Europe. Who are to pay these bonds, principal and interest? The people. How? By taxation.

To such a policy I have ever been, am now, and will always be, unalterably opposed. An interest-bearing indebtedness is a curse to any people. It eats up their substance, retards their prosperity, and brings unhappiness and discontent to every home, except that of the bondholder. In view of the past history of the Democratic party, its record, and its pledges, in view of the circumstances in which we are placed, I can not bring myself to the support of the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act.

I feel it a bounden duty to vote for the substitute prepared by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], and shall do so. And should the Sherman act be unconditionally repealed, and prosperity in a permanent form return to this country, no man will be readier than myself to acknowledge his error, and to accord to those who differ with me greater wisdom and clearer foresight. But I fear the result. Confidence may return with the unconditional repeal of the act, but it will be only temporary, and the next crisis, which may come very quickly, will be greater and severer than that which is now upon us.

Mr. PENDLETON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the distrust, the loss of confidence, the complete paralysis in all our industries, and the widespread distress growing out of unfortunate financial conditions, have been described by gentlemen more able than myself, in language more eloquent than I can command. It is a situation calling for the exercise of the soundest judgment and the most exalted patriotism. At such a crisis, surely no consideration of partisan advantage ought to be allowed to influence our action. I have favored the repeal of the Sherman law and the remonetization of silver at such ratio as will make its intrinsi and exchangeable value equal to gold.

I had intended and had so announced that I would vote for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, because I regard it as the most potent factor in producing the present unfortunate condition, but this intention was based upon the supposition that our Democratic friends from the East agreed with us in the interpretation of the Democratic platform, and as remonetization, according to our understanding, was a part of that platform, I supposed that they would vote as readily for a silver bill as for the repeal of the Sherman law. I find that they considered only part of the platform binding and another not obligatory, or that they place a different construction upon it to that adopted by the Democrats of our section. And I now believe that if we consent to unconditional repeal we will have no further legislation upon the silver question, and that it will be struck from the list of money metals. I can not by my vote consent to this condition.

In order to secure equal intrinsic and exchangeable value in both metals, I believe that a change in ratio is necessary, and think it probable that the highest ratio proposed in the House bill is too low, but I will vote for all the ratios, hoping that some one of them may receive the support of a majority and thereby enable us to secure an acceptable compromise. I oppose the ratio of 16 to 1, but shall favor it. I favor the repeal of the Sherman law, and yet shall oppose it, because I hope with one to antagonize the other, and as a result to secure the restoration of silver as one of the great money metals of the country on a basis just and equitable and fair alike to the debtor and creditor. [Loud applause.]

Mr. BRETZ was recognized.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask the gentleman from Indiana to yield to me a moment while I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article by Mr. J. S. Daugherty, of Dallas, Tex., and also an article from the St. Louis Chronicle, both relating to the subject under debate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

The articles are as follows:

WILL FREE COINAGE GIVE US PROSPERITY?—HOW ENGLAND REGULATES THE PRICES OF WHEAT AND COTTON THROUGH INDIA COUNCIL DRAFTS.

[By J. S. Daugherty, Dallas, Tex.]

We hold that the greatest temporal blessing that can be conferred upon man is to give him continuous and profitable employment. Therefore, if we can show that the free and unlimited coinage of silver will more certainly do this for the people of the United States than continuing the present law, or confining our silver coinage to the product of our own mines, or establishing the gold standard, then we have established our cause.

Silver and gold are the universally recognized commodities out of which money is now made by all civilized nations and in which the balances of trade between them are settled. If a nation buys and borrows from other nations until the sum of its purchases and the interest on what it borrows added to the principal of bonds falling due and those sent home to be cashed before falling due, aggregate more than it sells or lends to them, then the balance of trade is against it and must be settled on terms dictated by the creditor.

"The borrower is servant to the lender."—*Proverbs*, chapter xxii, verse 7.

All of the gold and silver that a nation can rightfully possess must either be dug out of its mines, received in exchange for other commodities, be brought to it by immigrants who become its citizens, or borrowed. The first three are productive sources of permanent wealth. The fourth is speculative, and may prove profitable or result in disaster, owing to the conditions that may arise. Moses, in giving the law to the Israelites, condemned the policy of borrowing (see Deuteronomy, chapter xv, verse 6), "Thou shalt lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not borrow." Other things being equal, it is evident that the better prices a nation receives for all it has to sell, the more gold and silver it profitably produces from its mines, and the more and wealthier the immigrants who become its citizens, the greater its wealth and the more likely the balance of trade will be in its favor and the power to draw gold and silver from others in settlement. The laws of commerce will never permit either gold or silver to be taken from a country where the balance of trade is in its favor.

With these elementary principles in our minds, let us investigate the effects that the free coinage of silver would have on the industries of our own country and its balance of trade. The total value of the new silver added to the world's stock in 1890 was $166,667,000. Of this sum the western hemisphere produced $141,757,000, leaving the product of all the rest of the world but $24,910,000. And of that produced by the western hemisphere, the United States supplied $70,485,714. The total silver coinage of the world for 1890 was $149,404,092. Of this the eastern hemisphere coined $81,840,468, or $56,920,468 more than her entire product. In addition to this, she must have used in the arts not less than $10,000,000, so that, allowing for the alloy, the eastern hemisphere must have imported 60,000,000 ounces of pure silver more than she produced. Having bought and used it, she must have needed it. At 85 cents per ounce, the cost would be $51,000,000. At $1.2929 per ounce, the value of an ounce of pure silver in this country if we had free coinage, it would have cost her $77,574,000; we being the sellers and they the buyers, their gain was our loss to the extent of $26,574,000.

ENGLAND SILENT.

But let us accompany this silver and see what they did with it, for Mr Edward O. Leech, Director of the United States Mint, in his testimony before the committee of Congress on Coinage, Weights and Measures, in January, 1891, testified that "Even the English mint will not tell you how much silver they have bought." There must be some good reason for this secrecy. England and the United States are preëminently the two great rivals for the world's commerce. In 1890 the United States exported $26,614,000 of silver, while Great Britain coined $66,263,555 worth, and, including her entire possessions, produced but $13,746,055, so that she coined alone $52,816,500 worth more than she produced, to say nothing of what she used in the arts. Seeing that she coined all of the silver minted in the eastern heimsphere in 1890, except $15,576,931, and considering our rivalry with her for commerce, and that London is the money center of the world, and that most of the silver exported from Mexico comes to the United States, we deem it only necessary to contrast the effects of free coinage of silver as it would affect Great Britain and the United States. In 1890 the United States coined $39,202,205, using 16 of silver to 1 of gold, while Great Britain, claiming to be a gold-standard country, coined $66,263,555 worth, using but 15 ounces of silver to 1 of gold. England must need it or she would not buy it. She must make a profit on it or she would not buy it. She tries to keep as a secret how much she buys; then there must be some danger to her interests in making public her methods of handling silver.

Then what is our duty to ourselves as her rivals? To investigate, dig into, and know as much of her methods as she does, and if she is manipulating silver against our interests, try to prevent it.

Other things being equal, it is always to the interest of the consumer to buy as cheap as possible, and the consumer's gain in this case is our loss. What else does England buy that we produce? About 150,000,000 bushels of wheat and 3,500,000 bales of cotton annually. Where does she buy these? In her Indian possessions first, and in the world's market second. How does she pay for what she buys from India? With manufactured goods and silver coin. She buys silver bullion as cheap as possible, and coins it at her mints in Calcutta and Bombay into rupees on a ratio of 15 of silver to 1 of gold, and issues these rupees at .47 and .37 each, in payment for wheat and cotton. She puts no more grains of pure silver in a rupee when she buys it for 27 cents than when it costs her 41 cents, and uses this 27-cent fiated rupee to supply herself cheaply with cotton and wheat, and we furnish her the silver with which to do it.

Let us see how she does it? A pound of cotton or a bushel of wheat of the same quality is of equal value to the English, whether they lay it down from India or America. Suppose a Manchester cotton-spinner wants some cotton for his mill, and wheat for flour on which to feed his operatives. He writes to his London broker to buy him, say, 10,000 ounces of silver, and to ship it to his broker at Bombay. At 85 cents per ounce, it costs him $8,500 in gold. He writes his broker in Bombay, on the arrival of the silver bullion, to take it to the mint and have it coined into rupees, and invest the product in cotton and ship it to him.

His Bombay broker, on arrival of the silver, obeys instructions, and after paying 2 per cent seigniorage for having it coined, receives in rupees $13,504 worth, which he invests in cotton, and ships to Manchester. On its arrival, counting first cost of silver, freights, brokerage, insurance, etc., say it costs 10 cents per pound in gold to lay it down. An American offers him cotton, and if he buys it from him, he will have to pay for it in gold, so he says: "I am laying my cotton down from India, at a cost to me of 10 cents per pound in gold, and other things being equal, I would prefer to patronize our own colonies."

Moreton Frewen, in his address before the second silver convention at Washington, said: "An ounce of silver bullion will always buy a bushel of wheat in India and pay transportation on it to Liverpool. Hence the American farmer must also lay down his bushel of wheat in Liverpool for

an ounce of silver bullion. If this ounce of silver is worth but 85 cents in gold, then all the farmer can get in gold is 85 cents less the cost of transporting the wheat to Liverpool. Therefore, if the farmer will deduct the cost of transporting a bushel of wheat from Chicago to Liverpool from the price of an ounce of silver, he will have very nearly the price of a bushel of wheat in Chicago.

"Assuming the cost of sending a bushel of wheat from Chicago to Liverpool, including storage, insurance, and brokerage, to be 15 cents, and silver to be worth 85 cents an ounce, then wheat in Chicago would be worth 70 cents. But if silver were at par, as it would be under free coinage, an ounce of silver would be worth $1.29, and a bushel of wheat in Chicago would be worth $1.29, less the cost of sending it to Liverpool, or about $1.14.

"Hence, as silver rises above or falls below 85 cents an ounce so will wheat in this country rise above or fall below the prices above stated."

From the above it will be seen that while the Indian farmer gets the same price, in rupees, for his wheat now that he got twenty years ago, the American farmer gets not quite two-thirds as much, and the consumer, or the middleman, gets the difference. In 1873 India exported only 730,485 bushels of wheat; in 1892 India exported 59,000,000 bushels.

Anyone can figure up the loss to the American farmer. It amounts to from $160,000,000 to $220,000,000 on the wheat crop of a single year.

The effect on cotton and cotton manufactures is the same as on wheat. An Indian rupee will buy about 4 pounds of cotton, and pay transportation to Liverpool, or an ounce of silver will buy 10 pounds of cotton and lay it down in Liverpool. With silver at $1.29 an ounce, a pound sterling will pay for 40 pounds of cotton delivered in Liverpool. A pound sterling for 40 pounds of cotton in Liverpool would be about 12¼ cents a pound for the American planter. At 85 cents an ounce for silver a pound sterling will buy nearly six ounces of silver, which, converted into rupees, will pay for 60 pounds of cotton delivered in Liverpool. Sixty pounds of cotton in Liverpool for a pound sterling is about 8 cents a pound there, or about 6½ in Memphis. A large cotton crop in India, or a short crop here, will, of course, vary these relations somewhat, but the general effect of the fall of silver is understated rather than overstated.

The exports of cotton from India have increased from $39,570,000 in 1879 to $82,665,000 in 1891; while the export of cotton goods in the same period has increased from $4,658,500 to $33,135,725, and other manufactures of cotton from $8,220,625 to $14,348,840 in 1891, and are increasing every year.

Sir Robert N. Fowler, M. P., London banker, and ex-lord mayor, in 1886 said:

"The effect of the depreciation of silver must finally be the ruin of the wheat and cotton industries of America and be the development of India as the chief wheat and cotton exporter of the world."

Therefore, if the American sells he must offer the same quality at a lower price or a better quality at the same price. And the price at which the Englishman can lay his cotton down from India is what enables him to fix the price on our cotton. We will assume for the present that if we had free coinage of silver that an ounce of it would be worth $1.2929, and if it was, then 10,000 ounces of it would cost $12,929 in gold, and when sent to Bombay, and coined into rupees, and the seigniorage was paid, would only give $13,504 worth in rupees, the same as when the first cost was $8,500, and there being no more rupees, it would pay for no more pounds of cotton or bushels of wheat; the freight, insurance, seigniorage, and brokerage being the same in both cases, the difference in the cost of the same amount of cotton would be the difference in the first cost of silver, $8,500, at 10 cents per pound, would buy 85,000 pounds of cotton; but 85,000 pounds of cotton, the cost of the silver to pay for which was $12,929, would make it cost, laid down in gold, 15½ cents per pound, and if wheat can be laid down from India at $1 per bushel, when silver costs 85 cents per ounce, when it would cost $1.2929 per ounce wheat laid down from India would cost $1.52 per bushel, and if it cost 15½ cents a pound, and $1.52 per bushel to lay cotton and wheat down from India, then American cotton and wheat would certainly be worth 15 cents per pound and $1.50 per bushel.

DANIEL MANNING'S TESTIMONY.

Daniel Manning, the Secretary of the Treasury under President Cleveland, in 1886, says: "It is a direct consequence of the monetary dislocation that wheat of India, which there fetched three rupees per quintal fourteen years ago and there fetches three rupees per quintal to-day, can be sold (profitably) in London (cost of transportation apart) for as little as the gold price of three rupees in London to-day, a fall of 25 per cent. This lower price of wheat in London has had to be met by a lower price of the American wheat in London. * * * The price of our surplus wheat determined the price of the whole wheat crop of the United States. So that the monetary dislocation has already cost our farming population, who number nearly one-half of the total population of the United States, an almost incomputable sum, a loss of millions upon millions of dollars every year."

PRESIDENT HARRISON'S TESTIMONY.

President Harrison, in his message to Congress in December, 1892, while furnishing statistics to prove that all other industries in the United States were relatively prosperous, admitted that "wheat and cotton are depressed."

In 1873, the year in which silver was demonetized, India produced only 978,000 bales of cotton, while in 1889–'90 she had increased her crop to 2,238,000 bales. In 1879 India exported to Great Britain only 889,655 bushels of wheat, while the United States exported there 67,193,299 bushels. In 1889 India exported to Great Britain 9,337,260 bushels, while the export of the United States there had fallen to 40,503,461 bushels. In 1892 India exported the enormous quantity of 59,000,000 bushels, and as her exports increase ours decline. The average price of wheat in Great Britain in 1879 was $1.29 per bushel. In 1889 it had declined to 88 cents per bushel, while in 1892 the unprecedented low price of 78 cents per bushel was reached, so that while the price of wheat measured in gold has fallen in London from 1879 to 1892, 51 cents per bushel, the price of wheat in India, measured in silver, is about the same as it was in 1873, and the inhabitant of India can buy of all of the necessaries of life with his rupee now as much as he could in 1873, and this uniform price of wheat and cotton for the past twenty years in India is the principal cause that has contributed so largely to develop these industries there.

If the farmers of the West and planters of the South want to get an increased market for their two great staples at better prices, they will not find the true remedy in conventions to make agreements to cut down production so as to give a larger market and further stimulus to these industries in India, but by advancing the price of silver.

In 1879, London exported to India but $12,375,612 worth of silver, while in 1890 the export had grown to $35,573,177, or increased about 300 per cent in about ten years. The coinage of silver at the mints of India owned by the English in 1888, was $36,297,132, while in 1890 it had reached $57,931,333 worth, or an increased coinage in three years of 60 per cent. Why this immense increase in exports and coinage of silver? Because there is profit in it.

What effect had the advance in price of silver in 1890 from 92.4 cents per ounce to $1.21 on the exports of silver from London to India? There was a falling off in the first nine months of 1891 as compared with the first nine months of 1890 of $17,020,790. Hence it is demonstrated that the affect of cheap silver is to increase exports from London to India, and dear silver is to cause these exports to fall off. The cotton crop in the United States in 1890 was 7,311,322 bales, the largest that had ever been previously produced, and cotton was higher than it had been for several years previous or has been since. Turn to the Financial Chronicle of September 5, 1891, and you will find that the average cost of wheat in Great Britain for 1887, 1888, and 1889 was 30*s.* 10*d.* per quarter, while in 1890 it was 35*s.* 2*d.*, or about 12 cents per bushel higher than the previous years, and the short crop of wheat in Europe did not occur until 1891. So what can the higher prices of wheat and cotton be attributed to but the higher price of silver?

But our cotton and wheat industries are no longer the only ones that share the depressing effects of cheap silver in this country and high silver in India.

The duty on our rice is offset in this way, and it is cheaper now than it has been for years. The importation of old iron has begun from India, which may open the way for the introduction of chrome iron, manganiferous and hematite ores, which she possesses in the greatest abundance, and, when once started, other States than Colorado, as Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Missouri may awake too late to learn that they have an interest in the silver question. Not only are the enumerated industries developed, but when England can supply herself with cheap bread for her operatives and cheap raw material for her factories, she is that much better able to compete with all our own factories in foreign markets and hold their trade. The more we can make her bread and raw material cost her, the more successfully can our factories compete with hers.

Seeing that to enhance the value of silver would produce these effects, the question presents with a concentrated force as to whether or not we can do it and to what extent. We have seen that the eastern hemisphere imports 60,000,000 ounces of pure silver more than it produces; therefore, if we should open our mints to the free coinage of silver there would be a home demand for it at $1.2929 per ounce, and if our own mines could realize that for it at home they would not accept less than that for it to be shipped abroad.

But it has been said that if we open our mints to free coinage all of the accumulated silver of the world be dumped upon us. Let us see if it would. France, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Greece, Spain, Netherlands, Russia, and the Central American States, all South America, and Haiti coin all of their silver on a ratio of 15½ of silver to 1 of gold, and they had in sight in 1890, $1,000,084,000. On this ratio their 5-franc pieces, which is worth 96 cents in gold as coined, contains 347½ grains of pure silver, or at the rate of $1.2929 per ounce would be worth 93.53 cents; on every one of them that they would send here to be coined they would lose 2.47 cents, besides paying express and insurance charges both ways. Evidently none of that would come.

Yes, but there is India with her $900,000,000; what will become of that? Well, 15 ounces of it coined at home will buy an ounce of gold, and they are certainly not fools enough to send any of it to the United States where it would take 16 ounces to buy one of gold. Yes, but there is China; she will flood you, she will drown you; what about China? Well, poor old China has no coins of her own, no mint, and no ratio between gold and silver. Foreign coins are the only ones she possesses, and when she opened her ports to commerce, like all inexperienced people when they engage in trade, "she paid dearly for the whistle." The beautiful coins looked more attractive to the Mongolian eyes than red pippins to hungry schoolboys. They wanted them, and they got them, at a cost of 13 cents more on the dollar than the bullion in them is worth on a ratio of 16 to 1, and to-day, after an experience of nearly forty years, every dollar they receive costs them from 2 to 8 cents more than the silver in them is worth, and it is estimated that the introduction of foreign coins annually costs China from $4,000,000 to $5,000,000.

Is it probable under these conditions that China would send any of her coin to this country? Does she want to pay express and insurance charges, and lose from two to thirteen cents on every dollar of her $700,000,000? Benighted as she is, she is too wise for that. In fact, of all of these nations of the earth who have silver coins, Mexico and Japan are the only ones who could send them here and reduce them to bullion and have them recoined at a profit, if we had free coinage on a ratio of 16 to 1, and they are each only estimated to have $50,000,000. The additional profit on our cotton crop for one year would be more than 138 per cent of all they both have, and on our wheat crop 234 per cent more. Then we see we can make the ratio using as little of silver as 16 to 1 without bringing any damaging amount of foreign coins. And as we have seen it is to our interest to make silver as dear as possible, we should not use more of it than is necessary to keep foreigners from speculating on us by sending their coins to our mints.

IT CAN BE DONE.

But can we maintain the ratio of 16 to 1 is the question. Let us see. From 1687 to 1873, one hundred and eighty-six years, there were but three years in the world's markets when it took 16 ounces of silver to buy an ounce of gold. In 1808 it required 16.08 ounces; in 1812 it took 16.11 ounces; in 1813 it took 16.12 ounces. And during that period there was but one year (1760) when it required less than 14.14 ounces of silver to buy one ounce of gold.

In 1808, 1812, and 1813 there was 98 per cent of silver to 2 per cent of gold in the world's supply of precious metals. In 1860 there was 4 per cent of gold to 96 of silver, while in 1890 there was 5 per cent of gold to 95 per cent of silver in the world's supply of precious metals; so that in 1890, when in the world's markets it took 22.09 ounces of silver to buy 1 ounce of gold, there was a greater relative per cent of gold to silver in the world than in 1760, when it took but 14.14 ounces of silver to buy 1 of gold. So that it appears that while for one hundred and eighty-six years prior to 1873 the greatest fluctuations in the relative value between gold and silver was 1.98 ounces, for the seventeen years from 1873 to 1890 it has been 6.17 ounces, and that, too, when there is more gold in the world's supply with reference to silver (by weight) than there was when gold was highest in the one hundred and eighty-six years prior to 1873.

HOW FRANCE DID IT.

Then to what can we attribute the drawing apart of the relative value of the two metals in the last twenty years but to legislation demonetizing silver, thus depreciating it, and enhancing the value of gold by causing it to perform the double service that silver and gold had formerly done. But France alone, with about one-half of our population, one-eleventh of our territory, a foreign trade that did not equal ours, and a domestic commerce that would not compare with ours, opened her mints and kept them open to free coinage of gold and silver on the ratio of 15½ of silver to 1 of gold from 1803 to 1865, and with the Latin Union until 1870, during which time she coined $917,000,000 worth of five-franc silver, and $1,447,000,000 of gold. And it was largely during these years that her people absorbed the precious metals that enabled her to promptly respond to the call of their government with $1,000,000,000 with which to pay the German indemnity and yet leave them with more cash in their pockets per capita than any people on the earth, the result of which is that you hear of no such panics wrecking the industries of France, in the past seventy years, as have swept over Great Britain and the United States, and the reason is the people have more cash money and less bank credit than those of the United States and Great Britain.

But if free coinage is such a good thing for the United States, why did we from 1793 to 1873 coin so little silver when we had free coinage? Is it a fact that we did coin little? Let us see. From 1792 to 1873, inclusive, we produced in the United States but $189,900,000 worth of silver, and of that we coined

$157,489,898.30, while we produced in gold in the United States, from 1792 to 1873, $1,265,296,769, and coined but $852,114,537.50, or, while we coined 83 per cent of our silver product, we coined but 67 per cent of our gold product.

Since 1873 to 1890 the United States has produced $606,420,000 of gold and $807,855,000 of silver. Prior to 1873 our total product of gold and silver was 13 per cent of silver to 87 per cent of gold, while since 1873 silver is 57 per cent of the total product of gold and silver, while the value of our gold is but 43 per cent. So, should we grant that it was to our interest in 1873 to demonetize silver, which we do not, it would not follow that it was to our interest to continue it now. Conditions have changed, and it is the part of wisdom to change our laws to meet them.

If in 1873 a farmer had 13 bushels of corn and 87 bushels of wheat, and he could add 10 cents per bushel to one of them by saying so, it would not take long to say which one to add it to. If he put it on the wheat it would make him $8.70, while should he put it on the corn it would give him but $1.30. But if time wore on until 1890, and he found himself with 57 bushels of corn and 43 bushels of wheat he would put the 10 cents on the corn, as it would give him $5.70, while to put it on the wheat would give him but $4.30. Especially would he do this if he found that the capacity of his land to produce wheat was continually declining while its capacity to produce corn was improving.

What a farmer would do with his grains, why should a government not do with its metal products? "Why, if we did, all our gold would be drained out of the country," says the gold-standard man, "and as we owe a large number of debts, contracted to be paid in gold, we would have to buy it at a premium to pay them, and it would bankrupt us." Let us see if it would.

Suppose that the United States adopted free coinage of silver and that Europe refused to concur, and would not pay more than 85 cents per ounce for pure silver, while in the United States it would be worth $1.2929 per ounce. To illustrate, suppose, reader, you were a merchant in Mexico, and an American drummer entered your store, and at the same time a European drummer came in. They both display their goods and wares. If you buy from the American, $1,000 of your money will pay for $1,000 worth of his goods. If you buy from the European drummer, it will take $1,000 of your money to pay for $850 of his goods. You could pay the American 25 per cent more for the same quality and quantity of goods than you could the European, and still there would be 10 per cent profit to you in doing business with the American, because your money would go that much further in payment for the goods. If there was 5 per cent or 10 per cent profit in doing business with the American on this account, what would you do? You would buy your goods from him. Yes, and every merchant in Mexico, Central America, South America, India, China, Japan, yes, in every silver-using nation on the face of the earth, would do the same thing.

What would be the result? That the European drummer could sell no goods. If he could sell no goods, all of the factories, foundries, and machine shops that he represented would have to close down because of no demand for their product, and America would have to double and quadruple hers to supply the demand. And there is but one way under the shining sun in which Europe could prevent this, and that would be to instruct her drummer to allow as much for silver as the American did, and when he did this silver would be worth not less than $1.2929 per ounce the world over, and our cotton 8 to 13 cents per pound and our wheat $1 to $1.25 per bushel, and we challenge the combined intelligence of the opposition to disprove it.

It has been said that if we adopt the free coinage of silver we will be deserting the most civilized nations and allying ourselves with the semi-barbarous. Where are the profits in trade? Is it in selling manufactured goods to those nations who are as skillful in the use of machinery as we are? No, but in selling to those less expert, and it is the part of wisdom to adopt a financial policy that will draw their trade for our manufactured articles, and enhance the value of our raw materials that we sell to our rivals, the great manufacturing nations.

THE SHERMAN LAW.

But why not confine our coinage to the product of our own mines? Because that would not give us a chance to draw the trade of other silver-using nations. The Sherman act practically destroys that chance now. If Mexico now offers us her silver, we can only allow her 83 to 85 cents per ounce, since if we buy it we must again sell it as bullion; we therefore either reject it or buy it and ship it to England. What we reject, England steps in and buys at 83 to 85 cents per ounce and sends over to Mexico interest coupons and manufactured goods (on which she makes a big profit) to pay for it, and ships the silver to her mints in Calcutta and Bombay and coins it at $1.37.8 and issues it in payment for cotton, wheat, and rice, and depresses the prices of like commodities produced in this country, as we have illustrated. Now, if we allowed Mexico coinage price for silver, and Europe refused to do so, we would get all of Mexico's silver and supply her with our manufactures, as we have illustrated, which would give increased employment to our labor.

But is there no real danger to come to this country from the free coinage of silver? No, but there is an imaginary one that is working as great havoc to our prosperity as if it were real, and the longer the question remains unsettled the greater the destruction. We have seen that one of the sources of creating a balance of trade against a country is to send home to be cashed its evidences of debt before they are due. Whenever this happens the citizens of the country to which they are sent, carrying like securities on margins, are compelled to buy them and maintain prices, so as to prevent a sacrifice of their margins. Hence it is that though a nation may be prosperous and possessed of all the conditions necessary to meet all of its obligations promptly at maturity, yet its speculative citizens may be bankrupted by foreign holders of its securities forcing them on its markets before their maturity.

To illustrate, suppose that citizens of foreign countries during eras of prosperity have invested large sums in our bonds—government, railway, and municipal—and our own citizens also have large investments in the same classes of securities, and have them hypothecated for three-fourths of their value with our banks and trust companies, and that some misfortune overtakes the foreign holders or policy dictates to them to realize on their American securities and they should offer them in large blocks on our markets. If the American holders of like securities on margins do not get together money to buy and pay for them without permitting a serious decline in their prices, their margins will be wiped out and they bankrupted, while if they do furnish money to pay for them immense sums of cash can be withdrawn from the country without any notice, in a week, and hazard the success of every legitimate enterprise in the country that is carrying a considerable debt.

This will be made more manifest when it is shown that in October, 1890, the banks of the United States, with cash in their vaults to the amount of $475,000,000, had given credits subject to check for $2,604,000,000, or more than $5 for each dollar in actual cash they held. So that when there is a balance of trade of say $100,000,000 against us, and the cash is shipped out to satisfy it, not only the cash goes, but with it the basis for $500,000,000 of bank credits that perform practically all of the functions of money. So that our available money is cut down $600,000,000 by shipping out $100,000,000 in cash, for the banks dare not extend the credits without the cash for a basis, and the withering effect of this $600,000,000 shrinkage in the volume of our money lays its paralyzing grip on every industry, and its benumbing influence reaches to the hearthstone of every home in the land that is carrying a debt.

But suppose the people of the United States were not carrying these securities on margins, then the foreign holders could only realize cash on them by making great sacrifices, and their necessities would become our opportunities. They would then limit their sales to the smallest possible quantity. This would assist us in holding the balance of trade in our favor. Now, with this information before us, we can readily see why the speculators of our moneyed centers look almost with terror upon any movement that is calculated to cause any large quantities of our securities held in foreign countries to be sent home for cash. That the agitation of free coinage of silver has a tendency to cause our securities to be sent home for cash I will not attempt to deny. But we are placed in the painful dilemma of being forced to choose between permitting our productive industries or our speculators being bankrupted. "It is a condition, not a theory, that confronts us," and I take it that we all see that our true policy is to protect our productive sources of wealth, especially when we see that our speculators are but instruments in foreign hands to draw the nation's wealth from it.

Witness the recent conditions on Wall street. First, shipments of gold out of the country on London orders. Next, a mad rush to realize on securities; then we read in the Associated Press dispatches, "At the slaughter prices London scooped in many thousand shares of the favorites." How long, oh, how long, my countrymen, will you play like a fish on a line, to be hauled in and devoured whenever it suits the appetites of your captors?

Awake, and inform yourselves; cease to take for facts the statements of your rivals; think for yourselves and act for yourselves, or you will merit the slavery your ignorance is bringing upon you. Three millions of our forefathers struck for political liberty in 1776. Can not 65,000,000 of their descendants declare our financial liberty now? Open our mints to the free coinage of silver, and the net profits on our silver, wheat, and cotton exports would be at least $150,000,000 annually more than they now are. So much the greater credit we would have with the nations of the earth that they would have to satisfy before they could call for our gold. An increase of 2½ cents per pound on cotton and 25 to 30 cents per bushel on wheat would add one-third to the value of every acre of cotton and wheat land in the country, furnishing that much collateral for the mortgages that cover them, and would enable their owners to pay their interest on the mortgages more promptly; would stimulate all industries and add to the carrying trade of our transportation lines, so that their values would be enhanced, and their interest and dividends more surely paid; would increase the cost of living and raw materials in Europe, and better enable our factories to compete with hers in all of the world's markets, thus adding to the wealth, population, prosperity, and happiness of our own country.

J. S. DAUGHERTY.

[From the St. Louis Chronicle.]

A PLEA FOR THE VALLEY.

The prosperity of the country depends on the prosperity of the valley States. Were it not for the breadstuffs, the provisions, the cotton raised in the valley and exported, the East would become bankrupt at once. It is only through our labor that the country is enabled to carry on the foreign trade which gives it its net profits.

Now, when Providence has blessed us with abundant harvests, we have in the immediate future the prospect of increased poverty and greater hardships. Anxious to do our duty in the world and to be helpful to the world in helping ourselves, we are being driven into deeper dependence and more hopeless poverty every day.

The Northwest has an immense wealth in wheat, of a ten times higher intrinsic value than gold, yet it can not realize on this wealth for a lack of a medium of exchange to enable it to be distributed. It must depend on money-dealers who are actually demanding high rates of interest, not for money which they hold cornered, but for their own fiat paper, which, instead of being money and a rightful medium of exchange, is a mere evidence of their ability as extortionists. And while they are thus demanding usury for their fiat money of private issue, they are holding at a premium of 2 and 3 per cent the currency issued by the Government and cornered by them. All this usury and this premium come out of the proceeds of the wheat crop, and the unfortunate producer is first stripped to the skin and then flayed.

It is not different in the cotton States. The cotton crop must be distributed, and those who are holding the money corner against the people will only allow currency to be used to move the cotton crop when they are paid an extortionate premium for it. They propose to substitute their private fiat money for the people's currency, and to this end they are holding currency out of circulation.

This is accompanied by a Government policy of contraction at a time when the country is staggering toward bankruptcy.

The full force of a powerful Government is brought to bear against the people of our valley States now when they are in the most pressing need of help, and in their extremity they are subjected to the worst effects of a policy that is essentially sectional; that, if it could benefit any, would only help a small class of money-dealers and very rich capitalists in the Northeast and in London.

But it can help no one. The Northeast is commercially a dependency of the Mississippi Valley. It is idle to deny it. New York, New England, and old England are almost absolutely dependent on us for food and textile material. Ruin us here, and though it may profit a few bankers in London, a few of their associated money-dealers in New York and Boston, yet the people of England and of the Northeast will be so involved in our calamity that Downing street and Wall street and Beacon Hill will bitterly regret the depth to which they thrust in the Shylock's knife.

Our people are not fools; they are not "cranks;" they are not "repudiationists;" they are not knaves.

They are honest, law-abiding, God-fearing people, anxious to render to every man his due. They are staggering under a load of debt which has been forced on them by discriminating legislation, dictated by a foolish and shortsighted sectionalism. This debt is counted not by the million, the tens, the hundreds of million, but by the billion. Its amount is so vast that it is unthinkable. Under the most favorable conditions it will take away from us all the net profits of our labor for many years to come. But we intend to do our best to pay it. Give us the opportunity and we will pay it to the last dollar of principal and to the last cent of usury that is nominated in the bond.

But if we are crowded to the wall now, results will be the responsibility of those who crowd us.

If our Eastern friends who are controlling the policy of the Government do not relax their grip on our throats they, as well as we, will be the worse for it.

We do not desire this desperate forcing of issues with them. We know how ignorant they are. We know that their criminal folly is due to almost complete ignorance of the country they are living in; but for all that, there must be a change and that soon. We can not tolerate the conditions they have thrust upon us and we will not.

With vast resources, with real wealth greater than that of any other part of the world, we are on the verge of ruin through their folly and cupidity.

In such case we appeal to Congress. It is an earnest cry for justice the valley sends up to Washington and it is a note of grim determination to have justice. The policy of the money dealers must not be allowed to prevail against us now. For if it does, our ruin will mean unspeakable suffering for the masses of the people in North America and in Europe. The northeastern theory is that these States of the valley are provinces, but in truth they are already the mainstay of the people of America and Europe and if they are overthrown now, when the undermined structure of their trade is tottering, the whole world will shake with the jar of the fall.

Mr. BRETZ. Mr. Speaker, it was my intention up to within a few moments ago to say nothing on the pending question, but at the proper time cast my vote, believing that my constituents and the country are far more interested in the way I cast my vote than any speech I might make. But, Mr. Speaker, in the light of transpiring events, it may not be amiss for me, in a few brief sentences, to explain the several votes I shall cast on the different amendments and finally on the main question involved in the Wilson bill, if the voting should reach that point.

Mr. Speaker, I have the honor to represent on the floor of this House more than a hundred and seventy thousand honest, industrious, and frugal people, chiefly engaged in farming. They are the peer, in point of intelligence and loyalty to their country and their country's welfare, to their neighbor, his prosperity, his peace, and his happiness, as any constituency represented here. They have twice honored me with a seat on the floor of this House. They have commissioned and delegated me as their agent to vote and act for them in all matters concerning their sacred welfare guaranteed to them by the Constitution, and I am here for that purpose. Had they suspected that I would in the least violate that trust they would never have given me their confidence and suffrage.

Having intrusted me with their rights, and made known in some degree their views on certain important questions, I am, as far as I know how, going to be equally as honest and confiding with them. This they have a right to expect of me, and anything short of that on my part would be inexcusable.

Mr. Speaker, I owe my election to a seat in this House in a considerable measure to my attitude on the silver question—next to that of tariff. My people believe in the use of both gold and silver as money, and so instructed me when they constituied me their lawful agent. I accepted in good faith their confidence and instructions and promised to carry them out the best I could.

My promise is my bond, sealed with my honor, and I intend to carry out that promise made to my people the very best I know how and trust all the rest to them. I would rather have the proud satisfaction of feeling that I had stood by the people who sent me here than to be the recipient of the applause of all other powers on earth. I will not forsake my people in this the most trying time of their lives, when hunger and nakedness and the approaching days of fall and winter are around and before them, without first having made an honest effort to carry out their wishes on the pending question.

I subscribe to the doctrine that a "public office is a public trust," and, thus believing, I stand here to carry out to the best of my ability that trust, and no man dare molest me in the discharge of that duty, and I am sure none can make me afraid. Sir, I am the keeper of my own conscience and would rather be at peace with it than try to reconcile it with the conscience of some one else. I may be wrong, my people may be wrong, on this silver question; but if we are wrong we will get right after awhile. My people have not delegated to me the power to do all their thinking—they are a reading and thinking class of people, even though they follow the plow, shove the plane, or swing the hammer.

Mr. Speaker, I am not here to criticise the President, who in part I helped to elect, but who apparently entertains somewhat different views on this question to those of mine and those of my constituents. We admire him for his courage and sterling honesty. Nor do I intend to impugn the motives of any member for his action on this question. I accord to each of them the same degree of honesty of purpose that I claim for myself. I have noticed many members since the convening of this Congress who heretofore stood for free coinage now opposed to it. Even some of my colleagues have changed their views, and I have no doubt but that they are honest. It may be that new light has dawned upon their minds or that they have received instructions from their constituents of a revolution of thought on the money question since last November.

I am not going to plead an estoppel against any gentleman who has entertained views different from those now expressed, nor do I intend that such a plea shall hold good against me or my constituents if upon further investigation we receive new and better light on the question. For the present, Mr. Speaker, I have seen no satisfactory reason given why I should change my attitude on this question without affirmative instructions from my constituents. If I err in casting any one or all of these several votes it will be in an honest effort to do some good for the people whom I represent. If I err at all I would rather that error was on the side of the people than against them.

Mr. Speaker, I shall cast my vote without fear or trembling for the first amendment for the coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, and if that is not adopted, I will, with some degree of reluctance however, vote against each of the other proposed ratios, believing that if either of the ratios above 16 to 1 is adopted without any provision for the calling in and recoinage of the present outstanding silver dollar, so as to prevent a contraction of the currency, the panic instead of being alleviated would be intensified.

It is estimated that to call in and recoin our outstanding silver circulation at a different ratio than that now established, with our present mint facilities, it would require from four to five years to do it, so that during all this time, if free coinage should be adopted at a changed ratio, we would not be increasing our silver circulation one dollar; a thing certainly not desired by those who believe that our circulation is too small now. I regret, Mr. Speaker, these amendments can not now be amended so as to avoid the danger of contraction following their adoption, so that I could vote for them. Should the voting reach the sixth proposed amendment restoring the Bland act of 1878, I shall vote to restore it. Lastly, Mr. Speaker, if it is the judgment of a majority of the members of this House that neither of the amendments should be adopted, I am no obstructionist. The situation is too grave. The distress is too great for me to attempt to prevent this House from taking some action in the direction of relief; and to that end I shall vote for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, hoping, Mr. Speaker, that out of the wisdom and patriotism of this Administration and Congress some good, wholesome law may come that will afford relief to the anxious, waiting, and starving people of this country.

But, Mr. Speaker, let it not be said of me now or hereafter that, in casting my vote for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, I have abandoned my honest belief in and fidelity to the use of both gold and silver as money on a parity with each other, without discrimination against either. I only yield that conviction for the time being in the interest of harmony, and because I do not desire longer to keep the bread out of the mouths of the many hungry men, women, and children of this country.

If the repeal of this law which we have denounced as a cowardly makeshift, a fraud fraught with dangers, which its author now repudiates and which we promised to repeal, will bring that relief hoped for, then let us no longer deny the people that relief. And now, Mr. Speaker, in the five minutes allowed me I have declared the way I shall vote, and in a very general and brief way given my reasons therefor, and will trust the result to my constituents and my country. [Applause.]

Mr. BOWERS of California. Mr. Speaker, there have been two things noticeable respecting this silver discussion: the first is the number of gentlemen who declare that they are bimetallists, in favor of the use of gold and silver as money, but who declare they will vote next Monday to put this nation upon the single gold standard.

The next the number of gentlemen, especially on this side of the House, who have with such unanimity declared in their speeches that the Sherman law is not in any manner responsible for the present condition of the country, pointing to the fact that for two years under the operation of that law the country was very prosperous, and that there was no trouble until after the election of Mr. Cleveland, and that he was all wrong in his diagnosis of the disease from which the country is suffering, and yet they, under these circumstances, are going to vote with the President. "Oh consistency, thou art a jewel," not found in the head of a gold bug, especially of the Republican variety.

I believe that the mass of people understand the question pretty clearly upon which we are to vote next Monday. It is, Shall silver be destroyed as money, and this country adopt the single gold standard? That is the plain question, and the people will say to you gentlemen, "We don't care how you talked, but how did you vote?" And no meandering on the part of those who are just dying to vote on both sides of the question about an international monetary conference will avail. For the people know that no conference will amount to any more than the last one while the United States begs for it. Pass a free-coinage bill, and in less than ninety days you will have the European nations begging this country to meet them in conference, and we will have an international agreement for the use of silver as money, and not till then.

From the beginning of this discussion the gold men have continually reiterated the assertion that the United States could not establish the free coinage of silver without the permission of England, France, and Germany. If this be true, can we change the ratio without the gracious consent of these nations?

England has gold, $550,000,000; silver, $100,000,000. France

has gold, $800,000,000; silver, $700,000,000. Germany has gold, $600,000,000; silver, $210,000,000. United States has gold, $649,000,000; silver, $593,000,000.

England, France, and Germany have in round numbers about one billion of silver coin coined at the ratio of 15 to 1.

Now, if we adopt a ratio above theirs, 17, 18, 19, or 20, can we expect those nations to recoin their silver at a loss to them of one, two, or three hundred millions to bring it to a parity with ours? We know they will not. England has been compelled to buy over $50,000,000 of silver each year. The total production of the United States for the year 1891 was only $75,416,500. I shall vote for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 because it approximates the true ratio, that is, the relative amounts of gold and silver in the world. This circular from the Treasury Department estimates the total production of gold and silver in the world as: Gold, $5,633,908,000; silver, $5,104,966,000. Five hundred millions more gold than silver of 15 to 1.

This is at a ratio of less than 15 to 1.

The gold men have one substitute for an argument that they ring the changes on from morning until night—"the market value—the commercial value" of silver. Take this substitute away and they have not a leg to stand on. How is this value determined? How found? Why so changeable? It is fixed and determined by an association of gamblers, licensed gamblers if you please, and changed day by day at their will and pleasure, without reference to any other reason, and for their own profit. And it seems that the Government in this struggle sides with the gamblers and against the people. The only true ratio is to be found by taking the relative amount of the two metals in existence, as all of both will not furnish one-tenth of the money needed for the use or the people. Such a ratio will be practically stable, and therefore will not answer the gambler's purpose, as he has no use for the honest and the true. This ratio, accepted and fixed by the Government, will take the money of the people out of the hands of the gamblers and will force the world to come to the true ratio.

Mr. PIGOTT. Mr. Speaker, it was not my intention to take part in this discussion until I heard the plaintive and eloquent appeal of the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. PENCE] yesterday, in which he stated that as he was about to leave his home he was warned by his friends that the Democrats of Connecticut would turn their backs upon the Democratic platform enunciated at Chicago last summer. Now, I desire to say, sir, that until the State of Colorado shows some practical interest in the Democratic party by at least casting its vote once for that party, the Democrats of Connecticut can endure the criticism. [Laughter.]

Connecticut supported the Democratic platform by its electoral vote last year, while Colorado went hunting after strange gods. Mr. Speaker, Connecticut is not like those described by the gentleman from New York [Mr. CUMMINGS] the day before yesterday, who opposed the nomination of Mr. Cleveland last summer, and are supporting him now; nor is she like those who supported his nomination at Chicago, and are opposing him now. Connecticut supported him in Chicago. She has supported him three times in Presidential elections, and cast her electoral vote for him, and she is supporting him to-day.

Mr. Speaker, as I understand this question, the mistake that is made by the friends of silver here is that they seek to drive away from their favorite metal all who believe with the President that we are in an emergency, that a crisis is at hand, and that a vigorous remedy is required. The President proposes a remedy. It is in the line of the Chicago platform. He does not propose it as a remedy for all the evils of the future, but he says that in his opinion the present distress is largely the result of the operation of the purchase clause of the Sherman silver act.

We do not believe, sir, that the President is in the category enumerated by the gentleman who last took his seat [Mr. BOWERS of California]. We do not believe that the President is a gambler, a shylock, or an aider or abettor of such. We believe in taking the President at his word; we believe in taking his Cabinet at their word. We believe in joining with him and them to see if the present distress can not be obviated by the means he proposes; and if it can not be—if he has chosen the wrong remedy—then we can come together again and choose a better one. So much for the platform and the policy of the Administration.

It has been stated frequently on this floor, Mr. Speaker, that there is a lack of confidence in this country. That is partially true, sir; but there are gentlemen in New York who make a business of "confidence;" and who constantly advertise that they are printing money from "plates lost by the Government," which money they will sell at a great discount. [Laughter.] And not a day goes by, sir, in which we do not see accounts of men going to New York, by steamboat and by rail, to purchase this money for little or nothing.

Now, ever since this discussion about the money question began here I have heard certain gentlemen say that, by some method or other which they did not explain, this Government can print a lot of cheap money and get it out among the people. And in that connection I wish to call attention to the singular fact that the gentlemen who go to New York to buy the "cheap money" to which I have referred, and who are sometimes arrested for carrying arsenals upon their persons, nearly always give as their home residences districts represented in this House by gentlemen who say here that this cheap money can be issued by the Government; and it raises a question in my mind whether climatic influences have anything to do with this question of "confidence." There is a lack of confidence, it is true, but it is on the part of members of this House in not supporting their President and his Cabinet. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, if the districts of this House were composed of populations as great as that of mine, the membership of this House would be one hundred less than it is. In manufacturing interests the district that I represent on this floor stands within the first three of all the districts of the United States in the amount of capital invested and in the output. The manufacturers there are not gamblers; they are not Shylocks; their interests are the interests of their workingmen, and the interests of their workingmen are their interests. Connecticut, with less than three-quarters of a million of people, has in its savings banks $135,000,000, which sum is exceeded in but three States, New York, Massachusetts, and California.

I want the people who deposited that money—more than a third of whom I represent on this floor—when they go to get their money for the purpose of building their little homes to get as good dollars as they put in. Those people sent me here. The people who work in those great shops now closed down—not two or three hundred, but a thousand or fifteen hundred or two thousand in a single shop—are the people who sent me here; and to get them back their good money and to see that their wages are paid to them in currency worth 100 cents on the dollar is my only object in taking the floor now. [Applause.]

Mr. DOCKERY. Mr. Speaker, for the twelfth time in the history of the Republic, Congress is convened in extraordinary session. The President in his message has adverted to the alarming gravity of the business situation. The untoward depression which first made its appearance some months since has enlarged its scope until it has embraced within its grasp agriculture, commerce, manufactures—indeed, all the varied interests of this great country. Confidence is utterly overthrown. Banking institutions of great stability are suspending, capital, timid and hesitating, has gone into retirement; manufactories are closing down or running upon half time, railroads reducing the compensation of their employés, and thousands of laboring men out of employment tramping the country.

Confronted with this startling condition, the people's representatives have been called together, to quote the language of the Executive, "that present evils may be mitigated and dangers threatening the future may be averted." The President expresses the opinion that these adverse business conditions are "principally chargeable to Congressional legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the Government," as authorized and directed by the act of July 14, 1890, commonly known as the Sherman act.

The situation is so alarming that it should invoke dispassionate, intelligent, and patriotic consideration, with the view of determining the causes which have contributed to the stupendous decline in values and the consequent widespread industrial paralysis. The causes of the trouble must first be definitely ascertained before there can be an intelligent selection and application of a remedy. Inasmuch as the President suggests that the pernicious features of the Sherman law are mainly responsible for the economic ailments which afflict us, it may be well to give a brief summary of the coinage legislation of the United States.

COINAGE LAWS.

The act of April 2, 1792, established a mint for the purpose of national coinage, and made the standard silver dollar the unit of value. It gave free coinage to both gold and silver, the gold dollar containing 24.748 grains of pure gold or 27 grains of standard gold, and the silver dollar 371.25 grains of pure silver or 416 grains of standard silver. The act further provided that the relative value of gold and silver in the coinage of the two metals should be as 15 to 1; that is to say, "every 15 pounds weight of pure silver shall be of equal value in all payments with 1 pound weight of pure gold, and so in proportion as to any greater or less quantities of the respective metals."

Under this act silver was first coined in 1794 and gold in 1795. The ratio between the two metals established by the acts of 1792 proved to be unsatisfactory, an ounce of gold being in fact more valuable than its equivalent in silver. The result was that gold was purchased by speculators and shipped abroad, there being a

profit of a few cents on the dollar. The inequality of the ratio was further emphasized by the fact that the Government received for a time underweight foreign coins in payment of custom dues. Silver, therefore, constituted the greater part of our metallic circulating medium until the second administration of President Jackson, when, by the act of June 28, 1834, the grains in the gold dollar were reduced from 24.748 to 23.20, the ratio thus being changed from 15 to 1 to 16.002 to 1.

The act of January 18, 1837, provided that both the gold and silver dollar should be 900 parts fine and 100 parts alloy, and increased the grains of pure gold in the gold dollar from 23.20 to 23.22, or 25.8 standard gold—the silver dollar containing 371.25 grains of pure silver, or 412½ grains of standard silver. The coinage ratio between gold and silver is thus fixed by this act at 1 to 15.988, or in round numbers 16 to 1. This ratio has been maintained until the present time. During the greater part of the period from 1834 to 1860 gold constituted the larger part of our metallic circulation because France was coining at the ratio of 15½ to 1, our ratio being 16 to 1, and for the further reason, subsequent to 1849, of the immense output of the California gold mines.

I may also state in this connection that the amount of pure silver in the standard silver dollar authorized by the act of April 2, 1792, has not been changed by any subsequent legislation, but, because of the enhanced value of silver as compared with gold, the act of February 21, 1853, reduced the weight of the silver coins of less denominations than a dollar; the weight of the half-dollar being fixed at 192 grains of standard silver, and the smaller coins sharing a proportional reduc tion.

This legislation was made necessary in order to prevent the further exportation of our subsidiary coin, and thus to furnish the people with small change for the transaction of business. The act also limited the legal-tender quality of subsidiary coin to $5.

The coinage act of February 12, 1873, demonetized the standard silver dollar by discontinuing its coinage and establishing the gold dollar as the unit of value. It also slightly increased the weight of the subsidiary coins in order to put them upon an equal footing with the minor coins of France.

This law was the initial step of the hostile movement to silver in this country, and was obnoxious to the great body of the American people. This fact, together with the stealthy manner of its enactment, provoked a storm of opposition, which finally culminated in a partial remonetization of silver by the passage, over the veto of President Hayes, of the act of February 28, 1878, known as the Bland-Allison act. This bill directed, among other things, that the Secretary of the Treasury "purchase from time to time silver bullion at the market price thereof, not less than $2,000,000 worth per month, nor more than $4,000,000 worth per month, and cause the same to be coined monthly as fast as so purchased" into standard silver dollars.

The Bland-Allison act remained upon the statute book until the Fifty-first Congress, when it was repealed by the Sherman law of July 14, 1890. This latter statute was enacted as a result of a conference between the Senate and the House, the vote in the Senate being yeas 39, nays 26, and in the House yeas 122, and nays 90. The Republican party gave the measure a united support, whilst the entire Democratic strength in both bodies was recorded against it. In so far, then, as legislation is responsible for our financial condition, the Democratic party is acquitted of responsibility.

In view of the importance of the issue raised by the President's message, I quote the exact terms of the act, so far as it relates to the pending question:

SHERMAN ACT.

An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to purchase, from time to time, silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month, at the market price thereof, not exceeding $1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchases of silver bullion Treasury notes of the United States to be prepared by the Secretary of the Treasury, in such form and of such denominations, not less than $1 nor more than $1,000, as he may prescribe, and a sum sufficient to carry into effect the provisions of this act is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

SEC. 2. That the Treasury notes issued in accordance with the provisions of this act shall be redeemable on demand, in coin, at the Treasury of the United States, or at the office of any assistant treasurer of the United States, and when so redeemed may be reissued; but no greater or less amount of such notes shall be outstanding at any time than the cost of the silver bullion and the standard silver dollars coined therefrom, then held in the Treasury, purchased by such notes; and such Treasury notes shall be a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract, and shall be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues, and when so received may be reissued; and such notes, when held by any national banking association, may be counted as a part of its lawful reserve. That upon demand of the holder of any of the Treasury notes herein provided for the Secretary of the Treasury shall, under such regulations as he may prescribe, redeem such notes in gold or silver coin, at his discretion, it being the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall each month coin 2,000,000 ounces of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act into standard silver dollars until the 1st day of July, 1891, and after that time he shall coin of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act as much as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes herein provided for, and any gain or seigniorage arising from such coinage shall be accounted for and paid into the Treasury.

SEC. 4. That the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act shall be subject to the requirements of existing law and the regulations of the mint service governing the methods of determining the amount of pure silver contained, and the amount of charges or deductions, if any, to be made.

SEC. 5. That so much of the act of February 28, 1878, entitled "An act to authorize the coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character," as requires the monthly purchase and coinage of the same into silver dollars of not less than $2,000,000, nor more than $4,000,000 worth of silver bullion is hereby repealed.

Mr. Speaker, this measure, in letter and spirit, is antagonistic to the real interests of silver, because it degrades it to the inferior dignity of a mere commodity, thus recognizing for the first time in our fiscal legislation, the vicious principle involved in what is known as the "subtreasury" scheme. The measure was a compromise born of the political exigencies of the Republican party, and accomplished the twofold purpose of preventing the enactment of a free-coinage law whilst at the same time relieving the then President, Mr. Harrison (a candidate for renomination), from disastrous political complications which it was apprehended would, in certain Western States, follow the veto of a free-coinage bill.

Mr. Speaker, it is hardly gallant or courageous to designate the Sherman law as the most vicious and sinister financial legislation enacted during our constitutional history, since it is now disowned and denounced by its reputed author and is without an advocate in the commercial world or a champion in any political party. Professedly enacted for the purpose of furnishing a market for American silver and enhancing its value, under its operations silver has steadily declined; professedly friendly to silver, it debases it as a money metal. The Sherman law was therefore properly characterized by the national Democratic platform as a "cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all its supporters as well as its author anxious for its speedy repeal."

COINAGE OF THE UNITED STATES.

But before proceeding, Mr. Speaker, to a further brief reference to the existing situation, it may be well to note the coinage which has been had under the several acts to which I have referred. The United States has now four coinage mints, located at Philadelphia, San Francisco, New Orleans, and Carson, Nev. The coinage of silver dollars from the organization of the first coinage mint at Philadelphia until the suspension by the act of February 12, 1873, was $8,031,238, the total subsidiary coinage for the same period being $137,096,047.

Of the standard silver dollars coined during this period, $3,584,198, or about 45 per cent of the whole, were coined in the five years prior to the demonetization of silver, the coinage being in 1868, $182,700; 1869, $424,300; 1870, $445,462; 1871, $1,117,136; 1872, $1,118,600, and in 1873, $296,000 up to the 12th of February. It is proper, however, to state in this connection that the Mexican dollar, containing 377.17 grains of pure silver, as well as the dollars of Peru, Chili, and Central America, the 5-franc piece of France, and other foreign coins were a legal tender in the United States at their face value during a greater part of the period prior to the passage in 1873 of the act demonetizing silver.

The coinage of silver dollars under the Bland act amounted to $378,166,793 and under the Sherman act to $36,087,185; whilst $5,078,472 have been coined under the act of March 3, 1891, providing for the redemption and coinage of trade-dollar bullion. The subsidiary coinage since the act of February 12, 1873, aggregates $69,503,655. The statement of the Secretary of the Treasury issued upon the 1st of the present month shows that the standard silver dollars outstanding at that date amounted to $419,332,450 and the subsidiary silver coinage to $76,563,878, or a total silver coinage of $495,896,328. In addition to this the records of the Treasury Department show that under the act of July 14, 1890, 161,521,000 ounces of silver have been purchased up to August 16 last, costing $150,669,459, for which Treasury notes of the same amount have been issued payable in coin.

The total gold and gold bullion in the United States on the 1st of the present month is estimated by the Director of the Mint at $603,723,903. The Director also estimates the amount of silver, including silver dollars, subsidiary silver coins and silver bullion at cost value, in the United States at the same time, at $615,174,063. He further states that the production of gold in the world in 1892 was of the value of $130,816,600, the production of silver for the same period being 152,061,800 fine ounces, of the coining value of $196,605,200. He also estimates the annual

average production of gold and silver in the world from 1844 to 1850 to be, gold, $36,216,428, and silver, $34,214,286, whilst the average annual production since that time has been, gold, $112,887,428 and silver $80,374,857.

CAUSES OF THE PANIC.

Now, Mr. Speaker, leaving the domain of statistics I shall advert very briefly to the causes which have intimidated capital, paralyzed industry, lowered the price of farm products, and wrought havoc in the commercial world. It will not be denied that the Sherman law is at war with all principles of sound finance and has operated to enhance the value of gold and decrease the value of silver. The original construction placed upon the law by the last Administration, whilst technically correct, refused silver a place in our circulating medium upon an equal footing with gold. It is true that the Secretary of the Treasury is allowed to coin a sufficient amount of silver bullion for redemption purposes, but under the practice of the Treasury Department the notes issued in payment of the silver bullion are redeemable on demand in gold.

The effect of the law, therefore, in its practical administration, is to issue Treasury notes payable in gold for silver bullion. In other words, the Sherman law has added, up to August 16, $150,669,459 to the volume of paper currency, all of which is payable on demand in gold. I am not surprised, therefore, that under this construction gold should constitute a very small part of the volume of money which finds its way into the Federal Treasury. The able gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON], commenting upon the decreasing volume of gold in the Treasury, says:

In June, 1888, the Government collected from customs at the port of New York $10,996,484, 74 per cent of which was paid in gold. In June, 1889, it received $10,607,716, of which 74.7 per cent was paid in gold. In June, 1890, the Government received $14,932,128, of which 94.50 per cent was in gold. In June, 1891, it received $9,131,418, of which only 12.50 per cent was in gold. In June, 1892, it received $9,591,270, of which only 8.2 per cent was in gold. In 1893, in the month of June, the Government collected at the port of New York $18,068,580. Not one cent of it was paid in gold.

Mr. Speaker, the gold in the Treasury has not only been thus decreased by the operation of the Sherman law, but the adverse balance of foreign trade under the McKinley tariff law has made large drafts upon our gold resources. The exports of gold for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, exceeded the imports for the same period by about $87,500,000. These two causes, associated with the necessities of Austria-Hungary for gold to inaugurate and maintain a gold standard, together with the general depression which has encircled the globe since the failure of the Baring Brothers, have necessarily reduced the gold in the public Treasury very largely. With the steady decline of the Treasury gold balance, the apprehensions of the people began to grow more pronounced. It seemed to be an impression in the public mind that the $100,000,000 gold reserve had been provided by law, and should remain intact for the redemption of greenbacks.

It is true the law did not require the fund to be maintained at this amount, but nevertheless such an impression was prevalent among the people. When, therefore, in April last, this fund was invaded, Wall street speculators sought to coerce the Government into an issue of bonds to restore and increase the gold-reserve fund. The alarm occasioned by their demands intimidated the country, confidence began to be impaired, timid depositors withdrew their money from banks, and thus a panic without parallel or precedent in this country was inaugurated.

REMEDIAL LEGISLATION.

Confronted with this situation, Congress is convened for the purpose of providing remedial legislation which shall restore confidence and set the wheels of commerce again in motion.

The distinguished gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON], upon the 11th of the present month, offered the following bill:

An act to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

Be it enacted, etc., That so much of the act approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," as directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month, at the market price thereof, not exceeding $1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchases Treasury notes of the United States, be, and the same is hereby, repealed; but this repeal shall not impair or in any manner affect the legal-tender quality of the standard silver dollars heretofore coined; and the faith and credit of the United States are hereby pledged to maintain the parity of the standard gold and silver coins of the United States at the present legal ratio, or such other ratio as may be established by law.

This bill, Mr. Speaker, as will be noted from a cursory glance, provides simply for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, and pledges the faith of the United States to maintain the parity of the gold and silver coins outstanding.

My colleague from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] offered the following resolutions, which provide the method by which the Wilson bill should be considered, and also for a vote upon certain substitutes therefor. The order is in these terms:

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I desire to present to the House an order embodying an agreement as to the mode in which proceedings shall be had in the consideration of the bill just offered, on which order I shall demand the previous question, with the statement——

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state the question. The gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON] offers a bill in the absence of any rules of the House, and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] offers a resolution providing for the method in which the House shall consider that bill. The Clerk will report the resolution of the gentleman from Missouri.

The resolution was read, as follows:

"*Ordered by the House*, That H. R. No. 1 shall be taken up for immediate consideration and considered for fourteen days. During such consideration night sessions may be held, for debate only, at the request of either side. The daily sessions to commence at 11 a. m. and continue until 5 p. m. Eleven days of the debate on the bill to be given to general debate under the rules of the last House regulating general debate, the time to be equally divided between the two sides as the Speaker may determine. The last three days of the debate may be devoted to the consideration of the bill and the amendments herein provided for, under the usual five-minute rule of the House, as in Committee of the Whole House. General leave to print is hereby granted.

"Order of amendments: The vote shall be taken first on an amendment providing for the free coinage of silver at the present ratio. If that fails, then a separate vote to be had on a similar amendment proposing a ratio of 17 to 1; if that fails, on one proposing a ratio of 18 to 1; if that fails, on one proposing a ratio of 19 to 1; if that fails, on one proposing a ratio of 20 to 1. If the above amendments fail, it shall be in order to offer an amendment reviving the act of the 28th of February, 1878, restoring the standard silver dollar, commonly known as the Bland-Allison act; the vote then to be taken on the engrossment and third reading of the bill as amended, or on the bill itself if all amendments shall have been voted down, and on the final passage of the bill without other intervening motions."

It may be well to state in this connection that the Director of the Mint has submitted a statement to the House showing the number of grains of standard silver in the dollar at the ratios referred to in the foregoing order, as follows: 17 to 1, 438.60; 18 to 1, 464.40; 19 to 1, 490.20, and 20 to 1, 516.

Now, Mr. Speaker, as I have just stated, the Wilson bill provides for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. The propositions to be submitted by my colleague provide for the free coinage of silver upon ratios ranging from 16 to 1 up to 20 to 1. In the event of the failure of each and all of them, then the Bland-Allison act is to be offered as a substitute. In other words, the Wilson bill repeals the purchasing clause of the Sherman law without any substitute, whilst the propositions to be offered by my colleague also repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, but with conditions authorizing the free coinage of silver upon one of several ratios, or the coinage of silver upon the terms of the Bland-Allison act.

BATTLE OF THE STANDARDS.

Mr. Speaker, the issue is thus clearly joined. The unconditional repeal of the Sherman act leaves silver for the future without any statutory recognition whatever, gold still being allowed free coinage privileges at the mint. This action unquestionably contemplates a single gold standard. If there were any doubts, they have been put beyond cavil in this debate by the declaration of leading advocates of the Wilson bill that it was impracticable to execute the provisions of the last national Democratic platform demanding the coinage of both gold and silver without discrimination.

This is a battle of the standards, a contest between a single gold standard on the one hand and a double standard on the other. There is no division of sentiment in the Democratic ranks as to the propriety of repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, but a majority of the Democratic Representatives on this floor insist that the entire pledge made to the people should be kept, both as to the repeal of the Sherman law and the enactment of such legislation as will admit gold and silver to our mints upon equal terms. Our contention is that the platform in its entirety should be maintained, and that we should not defer to a more convenient season the obligations of the present hour. I quote the language of the vows made at Chicago in 1892:

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the mark ts and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

Mr. Speaker, the language of the platform clearly, rightfully, and unequivocally commits the Democratic party to the advocacy of a double standard. This doctrine is fundamental and of paramount importance, inasmuch as money performs the twofold duty of measuring values and exchanging values. It is a medium of exchange and a measure of value. When, therefore, the currency of the country is sound and stable and the volume of money is maintained at a normal standard, prices rule satisfactory; but whenever legislation or any other cause limits the money supply it necessarily operates to decrease the price of com-

modities. In other words, it is important that the money selected to fix values and to exchange values should be stable, and of sufficient volume; else the standard will appreciate, prices of commodities and property of all kinds will depreciate, and injustice will be done the debtor classes. It is alike and equally important, Mr. Speaker, that the money selected should not be depreciated or redundant; else the cheapening of the standard will increase the prices of commodities and property, and work injustice to the creditor classes. We must avoid the extremes of contraction on the one hand and inflation on the other—the extremes of appreciation and depreciation.

Mr. Speaker, since the very twilight of history gold and silver have been recognized as money metals. Now, then, the practical question which confronts us to-day and which this Congress must solve, is this: What standard will best reconcile the conflicting interests of the debtor and creditor classes, preserve the golden mean, and thus give the country a stable circulating medium, of ample volume to meet the demands of trade and commerce?

The eloquent gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN], in his able argument submitted to this body a few days since, said:

> The Government does not try to fix the purchasing power of the dollar, either gold or silver. It simply says, in the language of Thomas Jefferson, that 'the money unit shall stand upon the two metals,' and then allows the exchange value of that unit to rise or fall according as the total product of both metals decreases or increases in proportion to the demand for money.

Commenting further upon the same line of thought, he says:

> Gold and silver are called precious metals because the production is limited and can not be increased indefinitely at will. If this Government or a number of governments can offer a market unlimited as compared with the supply, it can maintain the bullion value of gold and silver at the legal ratio. The moment one metal tends to cheapen, the use falls on it and increases its price, while the decreased demand for the dearer metal retards its rise and thus the bullion values are kept near to the legal ratio, so near that the variation can cause far less inconvenience and injustice than the variation in the exchangeable value of the unit would inflict under a single standard. The option is always given to the debtor in a double standard.
>
> In fact, the system could not exist if the option remained with the creditor, for he would demand the dearer metal and thus increase any fluctuation in bullion values, while the option in the hands of the debtor reduces the fluctuation to the minimum. That the unit under a double standard is more stable in its relation to all other things is admitted by Jevons and proven by several illustrations. Mr. Giffen tries to avoid the force of the admission by saying that the difference in favor of the double standard is only in the proportion of 2 to 1, and therefore not sufficient to justify its adoption. It would seem that where stability is so important—and it never was so important as to-day, when so many long-time contracts are executed—even a slight difference in favor of the double standard ought to make it acceptable.

EFFECTS OF A SINGLE STANDARD.

Mr. Speaker, a single gold standard increases the demand for gold because it imposes a double duty upon gold as a money metal. The increased demand therefor enhances its value, as is shown by the result of the action of foreign countries in demonetizing silver. If, then, the United States, by the legislation now pending, shall devolve upon gold alone the sole duty of measuring and exchanging values, it will necessarily still further appreciate its value by increasing the demand for it.

The result logically follows that the United States and other single gold standard countries will be ceaselessly engaged in the effort to increase their gold reserves in order to maintain a gold standard, and thus disasters will multiply and follow in the wake of the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. If the annual production of gold was ample to meet the requirements of a single gold standard, its adoption would not, of course, be followed by industrial disaster; but the annual supply of gold is utterly inadequate to meet the wants of the civilized governments of the world as a money metal.

The average annual production of gold since 1851 has been only $112,887,428, of which amount two-thirds has been used in the arts, leaving but one-third to be added to the volume of gold money. The conclusion must, therefore, be reached that the adoption of a single gold standard by the United States will result in a lower wage for labor, the depreciation of farm values, farm products, and property of nearly all kinds, even if our population should remain as at present and there were no expansion in the volume of trade and commerce.

That industrial disturbances would follow the adoption of such a policy becomes more apparent when it is remembered that the average annual increase of our population ranges from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000, and that the enterprise and tireless energy of our people are constantly exploring and discovering new fields for the investment of capital and the employment of labor. The addition to the volume of our circulating medium under the provisions of the Sherman law has been $150,669,459, or about $50,000,000 annually, being less than $1 per capita; and yet it is proposed by the Wilson bill to strike down the law authorizing this annual increase without offering any substitute therefor.

This proposition evidently rests upon the theory that silver is constantly depreciating in value, but it wholly disregards the rugged fact that, during the panic through which we are passing, silver dollars have commanded a premium in the city of New York. It will not be denied that silver has declined in value, or rather that gold has appreciated in value, thus making the disparity between the two metals pronounced.

The overproduction of silver is the explanation most frequently offered for the relative decline of silver as compared with gold. The following table prepared by the Director of the Mint, shows the production of gold and silver in the world since the discovery of America, from which it appears that while silver in recent years has outstripped gold in the volume of production, yet the same inequality in the production of the two metals has heretofore obtained without disturbing the harmonious relations which existed between them as money metals:

Statement of the production of gold and silver in the world since the discovery of America.

[From 1493 to 1885 is from table of averages for certain periods compiled by Dr. Adolph Soetbeer. For the years 1886-1892 the production is the annual estimate of the Bureau of the Mint.]

	Gold.				Silver.				Percentage of production.			
	Annual average of period.		Total for the period.		Annual average of period.		Total for the period.		By weight.		By value.	
	Fine ounces.	Value.	Fine ounces.	Value.	Fine ounces.	Coining value.	Fine ounces.	Coining value.	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.
1493-1520	186,470	$3,855,000	5,221,160	$107,931,000	1,511,050	$1,954,000	42,309,400	$54,703,000	11.0	89.0	66.4	33.6
1521-1544	230,194	4,759,000	5,524,656	114,205,000	2,899,930	3,749,000	69,598,320	89,986,000	7.4	92.6	55.9	44.1
1545-1560	273,506	5,656,000	4,377,544	90,492,000	10,017,940	12,952,000	160,287,040	207,240,000	2.7	97.3	30.4	69.6
1561-1580	219,906	4,546,000	4,398,120	90,917,000	9,628,925	12,450,000	192,578,500	248,990,000	2.2	97.8	26.7	73.3
1581-1600	237,267	4,905,000	4,745,340	98,095,000	13,467,635	17,413,000	269,352,700	348,254,000	1.7	98.3	22.0	78.0
1601-1620	273,918	5,662,000	5,478,360	113,248,000	13,596,235	17,579,000	271,924,700	351,579,000	2.0	98.0	24.4	75.6
1621-1640	266,845	5,516,000	5,336,900	110,324,000	12,654,240	16,361,000	253,084,809	327,221,000	2.1	97.9	25.2	74.8
1641-1660	281,955	5,828,000	5,639,110	116,571,000	11,776,545	15,226,000	235,530,900	304,525,000	2.3	97.7	27.7	72.3
1661-1680	297,709	6,154,000	5,954,180	123,084,000	10,834,550	14,008,000	216,691,000	280,166,000	2.7	97.3	30.5	69.5
1681-1700	346,095	7,154,000	6,921,895	143,088,000	10,992,085	14,212,000	219,841,700	284,240,000	3.1	96.9	33.5	66.5
1701-1720	412,163	8,520,000	8,243,260	170,403,000	11,432,540	14,781,000	228,650,800	295,629,000	3.5	96.5	36.6	63.4
1721-1740	613,422	12,681,000	12,268,440	253,611,000	13,803,080	17,924,000	277,261,600	358,480,000	4.2	95.8	41.4	58.6
1741-1760	791,211	16,356,000	15,824,230	327,11 ,000	17,140,612	22,162,000	342,812,235	443,232,000	4.4	95.6	42.5	57.5
1761-1780	665,666	13,761,000	13,313,315	275,211,000	20,985,591	27,133,000	419,711,820	542,658,000	3.1	96.9	33.7	66.3
1781-1800	571,948	11,823,000	11,438,970	236,464,000	28,261,779	36,540,000	565,235,580	730,810,000	2.0	98.0	24.4	75.6
1801-1810	571,563	11,815,000	5,715,627	118,152,000	28,746,922	37,168,000	287,469,225	371,677,000	1.9	98.1	24.1	75.9
1811-1820	367,957	7,606,000	3,679,568	76,063,000	17,385,755	22,479,000	173,857,555	224,786,000	2.1	97.9	25.3	74.7
1821-1830	467,044	9,448,000	4,570,444	94,479,000	14,807,004	19,144,000	148,070,040	191,444,000	3.0	97.0	33.0	67.0
1831-1840	652,291	13,484,000	6,522,913	134,841,000	19,175,867	24,793,000	191,758,675	247,930,000	3.3	96.7	35.2	64.8
1841-1850	1,780,502	36,803,000	17,605,018	363,928,000	25,090,342	32,440,000	250,903,422	324,400,000	6.6	93.4	52.9	47.1
1851-1855	6,410,324	132,573,000	32,051,621	662,566,000	28,488,597	36,824,000	142,442,986	184,169,000	18.4	81.6	78.3	21.7
1856-1860	6,486,262	134,083,000	32,431,312	670,415,000	29,095,428	37,618,000	145,477,142	188,092,000	18.2	81.8	78.1	21.9
1861-1865	5,949,582	122,989,000	29,747,913	614,944,000	35,401,972	45,772,000	177,009,862	228,861,000	14.4	85.6	72.9	27.1
1866-1870	6,270,086	129,614,000	31,350,430	648,071,000	43,051,583	55,663,000	215,257,914	278,313,000	12.7	87.3	70.0	30.0
1871-1875	5,591,014	115,577,000	27,955,068	577,883,000	63,317,014	81,864,000	316,585,069	409,322,000	8.1	91.9	58.6	41.4
1876-1880	5,543,110	114,586,000	27,715,550	572,931,000	78,775,602	101,851,000	393,878,009	509,256,000	6.6	93.4	53.0	47.0
1881-1885	4,794,755	99,116,000	23,973,773	495,582,000	92,003,944	118,955,000	460,019,722	594,773,000	5.0	95.0	45.5	54.5
1886	5,127,750	106,000,000	5,127,750	106,000,000	93,276,000	120,600,000	93,276,000	120,600,000	5.2	94.8	46.8	53.2
1887	5,093,984	105,302,000	5,093,984	105,302,000	96,189,000	124,366,000	96,189,000	124,366,000	5.0	95.0	45.9	54.1
1888	5,316,412	109,900,000	5,316,412	109,900,000	109,911,000	142,107,000	109,911,000	142,107,000	4.6	95.4	43.6	56.4
1889	5,746,950	118,800,000	5,746,950	118,800,000	125,830,000	162,690,000	125,830,000	162,690,000	4.4	95.6	42.2	57.8
1890	5,473,631	115,150,000	5,473,613	113,150,000	133,213,000	172,235,000	133,213,000	172,235,000	4.0	96.0	39.7	60.3
1891	5,830,107	120,519,000	5,830,107	120,519,000	144,426,000	186,733,000	144,426,000	186,733,000	3.9	96.1	39.2	60.8
1892	6,328,272	130,817,000	6,328,272	130,817,000	152,062,000	196,605,000	152,062,000	196,605,000	4.0	96.0	40.0	60.0
Total			397,191,823	8,204,303,000			7,522,507,716	9,736,072,000	5.0	95.0	45.8	54.2

Senator VEST, commenting upon this table in its relation to overproduction, says:

This table shows that the two precious metals have fluctuated, as they necessarily must, in all ages of the world; first silver being produced in excess of gold and then gold in excess of silver. How is it possible that it could be otherwise? What intelligent man for a moment could advance the idea that two metals dependent upon the quantity discovered in the bowels of the earth should be mathematically or logically equal at all times in quantity or ratio?

For many years, as shown by this table, gold was produced in the most insignificant amounts, while silver was produced twenty, thirty, and thirty-two times in excess annually of the production of gold; yet the price of silver was not affected and it maintained its place as a money metal.

In order to show that my statement is absolutely correct, I have taken the trouble to make a calculation, based upon the Soetbeer table. From 1833 to 1840 there was produced thirty-two times as much silver as gold in the world; from 1841 to 1850, fifteen times as much; from 1851 to 1855, five times as much; from 1855 to 1860, four times as much; from 1861 to 1865, six times as much; from 1866 to 1871, three times as much; from 1871 to 1875, twelve times as much; from 1876 to 1880, sixteen times as much; from 1881 to 1885, twenty times as much; and from 1886 to 1892, from eighteen to twenty-five times as much.

Now, I assert that these tables show, if they are worth the paper upon which they are printed, that the relative proportion of silver to gold has never been as great as it was in the eras I have named here, from 1833 to 1844 and from 1844 to 1850.

We hear upon every side the assertion that the production of silver which amounted to $74,000,000, according to the report of the Director of the Mint, in 1892 in the United States has caused its decline. There were $33,000,000 of gold produced in this country for 1892, the production of silver being about 2 to 1, and it is said that this accounts for the attack upon silver as a money metal and the attempt now to destroy it throughout the world. From 1832 to 1840, thirty-two times as much of silver was produced as of gold. If it be a logical proposition that the overproduction now has destroyed silver, why was it then not blotted out from the face of the earth as a medium of exchange and of standard value?

I call the attention of the Senate to the price of silver, which it is said is affected by overproduction. From 1833 to 1840, when there was thirty-two times as much silver as gold produced in the world, silver was worth in this country $1.29 and $1.32 an ounce. From 1841 to 1850, when there was fifteen times as much silver as gold produced, silver was still worth $1.29 to $1.31 an ounce. I quote from the report of the Director of the Mint. From 1851 to 1853, when there were five times as much silver produced as gold, silver sold in the United States from $1.32 to $1.35 an ounce, being an increase of from 3 to 5 cents on the ounce. From 1855 to 1860, when there were four times as much produced, it sold from $1.34 to $1.36 an ounce.

The decrease in the production of silver, as it would appear from this table, was not really a decrease in the mining production, but there was a vast increase from 1850 to 1855 in the production of gold on account of its discovery in California and Australia and the reworking of the mines in Siberia. It is absolutely impossible under the rules of logic, if our friends be correct, that overproduction is the cause of the present condition of silver, that this enormous overproduction should have existed in the eras I have named and yet not have brought about the same result.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it will be conceded that the two metals upon the basis of commercial value have parted company to a marked degree, the silver in the standard silver dollar being worth only about 57 cents as compared with the value of the gold dollar. The explanation, however, is found almost solely in the fact that certain foreign governments have within recent years discriminated against silver by suspending its coinage. The coinage of full legal-tender silver was suspended by Portugal in 1854, by Germany in 1871, by the Scandinavian Union in 1873, by the Netherlands in 1877, by Finland in 1877, by Austria-Hungary in 1892, by Russia in 1878, by Spain (on private account) in 1878, by India (on private account) in 1893, and by the Latin Union, consisting of the governments of France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, and Greece, in 1878. This unfriendly legislation is the explanation for the constantly widening commercial chasm between gold and silver.

CONCLUSION.

Mr. Speaker, we are confronted with this situation: Shall the United States adopt the Wilson bill, which contemplates a single gold standard, and continue its efforts to secure an international agreement, or shall we redeem the pledges of the Chicago platform and endeavor to maintain, single-handed and alone, a double standard?

Mr. Speaker, it seems to be trifling with the interests of a great people to make any further effort at this time in the direction of an international agreement. So long as England maintains her commercial prestige, she will not consent to abandon the gold standard adopted in 1816, and the United States finds itself handicapped in this contest by the mistaken tariff policy of the last thirty years which has permitted England to dominate and control the commerce of the world. So long as the commerce of all nations passes through her clearing-house, just so long will England insist upon the maintenance of a single gold standard, because she is a creditor nation.

It is a matter of profound regret, therefore, that in this great contest between the standards, the United States is shorn of the influence among the nations of the earth to which she would be entitled under a policy which shall reëstablish her old-time commercial prowess. Hence an international agreement at this time is wholly improbable. What then? I appeal to the Representatives on this floor, especially to those on this side of the Chamber from the West and South, to ponder well their answer to that query before they respond to the roll call on the pending question on Monday next. I know not what others may do; but my action shall be in harmony with the pledges made by the party at Chicago, not only to repeal the Sherman law, but also to provide for the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal. [Applause.] The constituency I have the honor to represent have no fixed incomes arising from bonds, or other securities of that class, which would be appreciated by a single gold standard, and they demand the redemption of those pledges which command us to bear aloft upon equal terms the banners of both gold and silver.

I know, Mr. Speaker, that the pathway which leads to independent national bimetallism in this country is not strewn with flowers. It is scarcely enlightened by precedent or experience. There is nothing in our fiscal history like the present moment. Heretofore we have had, to some extent at least, the coöperation of foreign countries in the effort to maintain a double standard. But now almost every great commercial nation of the world is in arms against silver, and its last refuge is to be found alone in the United States. [Applause.] I believe, sir, that the enterprise, the energy, business sagacity, and genius of the American people, sustained as they are by the almost illimitable natural resources of the Republic, will yet achieve a triumph for the double standard—the gold and silver money of the Constitution. [Applause.] The unconditional repeal of the Sherman act means the unconditional surrender of silver. Voicing, as I believe, the almost unanimous sentiment of my people, without regard to party, I shall vote to restore silver to its ancient honor and dignity. [Applause.]

APPENDIX.

Monetary systems and approximate stocks of money in the aggregate and per capita in the principal countries of the world.

Countries.	Monetary system.	Ratio between gold and full legal-tender silver.	Ratio between gold and limited tender silver.	Population.	Stock of gold.	Stock of silver.			Uncovered paper.	Per capita.			
						Full tender.	Limited tender.	Total.		Gold.	Silver.	Paper.	Total.
United States	Gold and silver	1 to 15.98	1 to 14.95	67,000,000	$604,000,000	$538,000,000	$77,000,000	$615,000,000	$412,000,000	$9.01	$9.18	$6.15	$24.34
United Kingdom	Gold		1 to 14.28	38,000,000	550,000,000		100,000,000	100,000,000	50,000,000	14.47	2.63	1.32	18.42
France	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	39,000,000	800,000,000	650,000,000	50,000,000	700,000,000	81,402,000	20.52	17.95	2.09	40.56
Germany	Gold		1 to 13.957	49,500,000	600,000,000	103,000,000	108,000,000	211,000,000	107,000,000	12.12	4.26	2.16	18.54
Belgium	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	6,100,000	65,000,000	48,400,000	6,600,000	55,000,000	54,000,000	10.66	9.02	8.85	25.53
Italy	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	31,000,000	93,605,000	16,000,000	34,200,000	50,200,000	163,471,000	3.01	1.62	5.27	9.91
Switzerland	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	3,000,000	15,000,000	11,400,000	3,600,000	15,000,000	14,000,000	5.00	5.00	4.67	14.67
Greece	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	2,200,000	2,000,000	1,800,000	2,200,000	4,000,000	14,000,000	.91	1.82	6.36	9.09
Spain	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	18,000,000	40,000,000	120,000,000	38,000,000	158,000,000	100,000,000	2.22	8.78	5.56	16.56
Portugal	Gold		1 to 14.08	5,000,000	40,000,000		10,000,000	10,000,000	45,000,000	8.00	2.00	9.00	19.00
Austria-Hungary	do		1 to 13.69	40,000,000	40,000,000	90,000,000		90,000,000	260,000,000	1.00	2.25	6.50	9.75
Netherlands	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 15	4,500,000	25,000,000	61,800,000	3,200,000	65,000,000	40,000,000	5.55	14.42	8.89	28.88
Scandinavian Union	Gold		1 to 14.88	8,600,000	32,000,000		10,000,000	10,000,000	27,000,000	3.72	1.16	3.14	8.02
Russia	Silver	1 to 15½	1 to 15	113,000,000	250,000,000	22,000,000	38,000,000	60,000,000	500,000,000	2.21	.53	4.42	7.16
Turkey	Gold and silver		1 to 15.1	33,000,000	50,000,000		45,000,000	45,000,000		1.52	1.36		2.88
Australia	Gold		1 to 14.28	4,000,000	100,000,000		7,000,000	7,000,000		25.00	1.75		26.75
Egypt	do		1 to 15.68	7,000,000	100,000,000		15,000,000	15,000,000		14.29	2.14		16.43
Mexico	Silver	1 to 16½		11,600,000	5,000,000	50,000,000		50,000,000	2,000,000	.43	4.31	.17	4.91
Central America	do	1 to 15½		3,000,000		500,000		500,000	2,000,000		.17	.67	.84
South America	do	1 to 15½		35,000,000	45,000,000	25,000,000		25,000,000	600,000,000	1.29	.71	17.14	19.14
Japan	Gold and silver	1 to 16.18		40,000,000	90,000,000	50,000,000		50,000,000	56,000,000	2.25	1.25	1.40	4.90
India	Silver	1 to 15		255,000,000		900,000,000		900,000,000	28,000,000		3.53	.11	3.64
China	do			400,000,000		700,000,000		700,000,000			1.75		1.75
The Straits						100,000,000		100,000,000					
Canada	Gold		1 to 14.95	4,500,000	16,000,000		5,000,000	5,000,000	40,000,000	3.56	1.11	8.89	13.56
Cuba, Haiti, etc	do	1 to 15½		2,000,000	20,000,000	1,200,000	800,000	2,000,000	40,000,000	10.00	1.00	20.00	31.00
Total					3,582,605,000	3,469,100,000	553,600,000	4,042,700,000	2,635,873,000				

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *Bureau of the Mint, August 16, 1893.*

Mr. MOON. Mr. Speaker, in the short time allotted to me I shall not undertake to produce any additional figures or statistics or try to present any new views derived from the platforms of political parties.

When I left my home at the call of the President to attend this session of Congress I came with the intention to make all haste possible to carry out the wishes of my constituents, and I believe their wishes to be the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law. And although I believe this has but little to do with our present financial troubles, I do not think we have acted wisely in this matter. This side of the House has been given no opportunity to suggest a cure.

A few days ago, when this culprit, the Sherman law, was brought before this bar, the most of us farmers made up our minds that we would act as jurors in this case, and we were disappointed that so much time was going to be taken to find out whether it was guilty or no. But we have come to feel sorry for the poor little creature, and although it may have looked to some when it is brought in like an elephant of destruction, yet to-day we find it is only a little silver calf. [Laughter.] As we listened to the learned gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX], representing the chamber of commerce, some of us were almost led to believe that the prime object of that organization was to promote the interests of the poor laboring men and farmers of the far West.

When he was telling us what kind of a dollar he was willing the farmer should have for his wheat, cotton, and corn, and the kind of a dollar the poor laboring man should have for his toil, he stated that he was willing to repeal the tax on State-bank issues, thereby giving the farmer and the poor laboring man the same kind of rag money that we had prior to 1861; and as we listened to the other side, we heard the slight scream of the eagle coming from the Rockies and the tinkling of the Liberty bell from the west of the Missouri. They come accusing the last generation of fraud and conspiracy in the part that they took in demonetizing silver in 1873.

But when we ask them what has been the matter with this country for the last twenty years, they have to admit that it has been tolerably prosperous. And, Mr. Speaker, it is a lamentable fact that, as this country had been climbing the hill of prosperity for the last twenty years, and as we were viewing our possessions with complacency from the sunlit peaks of national greatness, that at such a time our commercial enemy from across the water, with the Cobden Club and the free trader on this side, should come along with a band wagon loaded with hobgoblins and break up our picnic and obscure the sun. [Laughter.]

And, now, as we begin to descend into the valley of commercial wreck and ruin we are accosted on every hand by thousands and thousands of laboring men asking us for work; men who are not paupers; men who are asking us for work that they may give bread to their families, and what can we do?

My talented farmer friend from Georgia [Mr. MOSES] the other day told us that this country had been sick for thirty years; that she had been employing Dr. Republican, and last November she made up her mind to kick him out and dispense with his services, and she did, and began to employ Dr. Democrat or someone else. His expression put me in mind of the story that I remember seeing when a boy, which ran thus: There was a man who was well but wished to be better, took physic and died. [Laughter.]

But, Mr. Speaker, time is short. The need of the hour is great. The country is waiting for us to do something that shall relieve this great distress.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. NORTHWAY. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman have time to complete his remarks.

Mr. BLAND. There are a great many others who desire to speak. What time does the gentleman desire?

Mr. MOON. Not more that two minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. MOON. If I vote for the repeal of the Sherman act it will be with the mental reservation, with the conditions that will come the nearest to satisfying my constituents and protecting the interests of the wage-earner and the farmer to the full extent that we are allowed under this iron-clad rule. The country needs more money, and it needs it now. It is estimated that $300,000,000 have been withdrawn from the banks and hid away. This amount is not in circulation. We ought to give this country something to take its place. We could help some by allowing the national banks to issue up to the par value of the bonds they have on deposit; but a bill has been introduced in the Senate which provides for this.

But before I would be drawn into the issuing of $300,000,000 of gold bonds, now urged by the gold men, I would issue $300,000,000 of silver certificates, each dollar payable in a dollar's worth of American silver bullion whenever it was presented for redemption in amounts not less than $1,000. This would give us the currency that we need now, and we would not have to wait for the men from across the water to take our bonds, and we would be banking on our own product and helping our own people instead of those across the Atlantic.

I am not satisfied with the signs of the times. When this purchasing clause is repealed, which I am satisfied now it will be, what then? Yes, the people are asking, what then? After stopping the increase of the currency that we have had regularly under the provisions of the Sherman law, and at a time when it ought to be doubled, we are to run the risk of having only the twenty millions coming from the national banks.

Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of doing anything and acting with any party or any man who will do anything or present anything tangible to relieve this stringency in the money market and relieve this country. I hope we may be able to do something in the near future, so that word may go to our people that this pressure is relieved, and that we may feel entire confidence in the measure we adopt to bring relief to the manufacturing communities of the country, and to the farmers of the far West, and to the laboring man, so that we may go home feeling we have done all in our power, and done our duty to our constituents. [Applause.]

[Mr. COBB of Alabama withholds his remarks for revision, See Appendix.]

Mr. BURROWS obtained the floor and said: Mr. Speaker, I should be much obliged if I could have the indulgence of the House for forty minutes in the discussion of this question.

Mr. DINGLEY. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan be allowed to proceed for forty minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. BLAND. In justice to other gentlemen I shall have to object. A number of gentlemen have come to me and stated that they wanted to occupy the floor to-day in speeches of ten or fifteen minutes; and unless some arrangement can be made by which these other gentlemen can have the time they want I shall have to object.

Mr. BURROWS. Do I understand the gentleman from Missouri to object?

Mr. BLAND. I object, Mr. Speaker, because there are gentlemen here right around me and now conferring with the Speaker who want to speak to-day; and unless a limitation of time be insisted upon, it will be impossible for them to do so.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan desires to occupy forty minutes.

Mr. BLAND. I object for the reason that I have stated.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. I submit that the objection came too late. The Speaker stated the request and after a pause brought down his gavel stating that there was no objection. Under these circumstances I feel like standing upon the vested rights which the gentleman from Michigan has thus acquired. It seems to me that the courtesy now asked should certainly be extended to an old member of the House, and, under the circumstances, it can not be denied to any member, old or new. I fubmit that the announcement has been made by the Chair and the objection came too late.

Mr. BLAND. Well, I do not think the gentleman ought to stand on any technicality of that sort. I was on my feet to make the objection; and I do not think the Speaker's gavel can deprive me of my right.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. The Speaker's gavel and the Speaker's voice announced that there was no objection.

Mr. BLAND. But I was on my feet to object.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. The gentleman from Michigan, before objection was made, had acquired a vested right to forty minutes by the consent of the House.

Mr. REED. I suggest that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] allow this matter to pass with the understanding that his objection be made hereafter to any similar application.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MARSH] who is to speak on our side can have the same length of time, I will withdraw my objection.

Several MEMBERS. That is right.

Mr. BLAND. But I do not think the other side should have any superior privileges in the matter of debate.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. We shall be glad to hear the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MARSH].

The SPEAKER. The Chair understands that there is now no objection——

Mr. BLAND. With the understanding that the gentleman from Michigan and the gentleman from Illinois shall occupy equal time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois wants only thirty minutes.

Mr. BLAND. Then let the arrangement be thirty minutes for each gentleman: let them have equal time.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will again submit the request. The gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY] asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] be permitted to address the House for forty minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. BLAND. I object, unless the two requests go together.

The SPEAKER. The gentlemen from Missouri objects.

Mr. BLAND. I will not object if——

The SPEAKER. The gentlemen is not in order.

Mr. BURROWS. If the House will not indulge me beyond five minutes I do not care to occupy any time. [Cries of "That is right" and applause on the Republican side.]

The SPEAKER. The Chair will recognize any gentleman who desires now to address the House.

Mr. HOPKINS of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I desire to send to the desk for reading the financial article (or a part of it) of the Philadelphia Press of yesterday, August 24. Before doing so I wish to say that this paper is one of the most widely read and influential papers in Pennsylvania, and is considered one of the most reliable for news. It advocates gold monometallism, unless the Latin Union should join this country in the use of silver. That its great power may be better appreciated, it should be known that its editor-in-chief is understood to be our late Minister to Russia. Its views are sought at all times with avidity. It formulates ideas, which smaller papers copy. It dictates much of the opinion of my country.

For the past nine months it has pursued the Sherman act with all the malignity of any Cleveland Republican. Fortunately it has a great financial editor—to my mind one of the best writers of the day upon the question of finance. He very often hits the exact truth, and tells it with a fearlessness that must escape the notice of the managing editors.

The Clerk read as follows:

The resolution of Senator PEFFER of Kansas, calling on the Secretary of the Treasury for information as to whether the banks of this city, Boston, and New York had violated the law in refusing to pay checks attracted a good deal of attention. The subject is a dangerous one, and it is well that the resolution went over under the rules. Silver is exceedingly strong at 76 cents bid and 77 cents asked. The Treasury refused to buy at considerably lower figures.

The money market in New York is unchanged. There is plenty of call money, but it is almost impossible to make time loans. On Monday a loan of $100,000 on gilt-edged collateral was made for four months at 18 per cent. The banks are refusing to pay out currency in large sums to anybody, and their patrons accept the situation with great good humor and patient acquiescence. Just at the moment the political situation is largely affecting the money markets. The New York banks for several days have been endeavoring to bring a home influence on United States Senators to induce them to vote for the repeal of the July silver law. To this end correspondents of the New York banks in the West and South have been told that they need not expect to get money from New York until the purchasing clause was repealed, and the Southern and Western bankers have been strongly urged to write to their Senators and to insist that they work and vote for immediate repeal. This movement has given rise to the recent feeling in New York that the silver majority in the Senate could be overcome, as the influence of the banks of the metropolis, when concentrated on any object, is regarded as invincible.

Mr. HOPKINS of Pennsylvania. Now, Mr. Speaker, I wish to ask, Is that statement true or is it what the New York banker calls "rot"? It is no boy from "the wild and woolly West" who makes this assertion. It is made by a great power in the land.

If it is true—and who of us who were here in the closing days of the Fifty-second Congress, and followed by supplications and imprecations from those great city powers—who is there of us who does not believe it?

Are those city banks who refuse to give to the country banks the money due them, the same banks that Senator PEFFER refers to? If so, his resolution ought to be placed at the head of the Calendar and not at the foot. Shall we quietly allow them to place their unclean hands upon the throats of our Senators and threaten the liberties of the people? Can not our constituents have money due them till they make this Congress vote to suit the unholy wishes of these men?

Are we no longer the representatives of our respective districts? Are we in the hands of the great monied powers of the earth or are they in ours? That is the question of the hour.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my objection to permitting the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] to have forty minutes, with the understanding that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MARSH] be allowed thirty minutes, which I understand is all he wants.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will understand that that will be the order of the House unless objection is made. The Chair hears no objection, and the gentleman from Michigan will proceed.

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. Speaker, on the 30th day of June just past and within a period of less than four months from the time the Democratic party assumed full control of the executive and legislative branches of the National Government the President of the United States publicly announced to the country and the world that "There is general distrust and apprehension concerning the financial situation of the country; that it pervades all business circles; that it has already caused great loss and damage to our people; and that it threatens to cripple our merchants, stop the wheels of manufactures, bring distress and privation to our farmers, and to withhold from our workingmen the wage of labor;" and that he is therefore constrained "to convene Congress in extraordinary session to the end that the people may be relieved, through legislation, from pending danger and distress." Forty days later, and on the 8th day of the present month, the President, by message, advises the assembled Congress that "there exists an alarming and extraordinary business situation involving the welfare and prosperity of all our people," and that he had convened Congress that the "present evils may be mitigated and dangers threatening the future may be averted."

These conditions as thus described by the President are not to-day materially changed.

There exists at this time the same "alarming business situation," the same "dangers" seem to be "threatening the future," and if the President of the United States could for a moment have his attention diverted from his piscatorial sports at Buzzard's Bay he would not only observe the continuance of this deplorable condition, but if he would listen he would hear the ominous tramp of a multitude of the unemployed which no man can number, fresh from the mine and the factory, carrying above them now not the delusive banner of "tariff reform," but the black flag of distress and desperation, and demanding food for themselves and their dependent families.

Such is the startling condition existing in our country to-day.

On the 6th day of December last, less than three months prior to the time this Democratic administration was inaugurated, there was read from that desk another message from the pen of Benjamin Harrison, the then outgoing President of the United States, giving a picture of the condition of the country at that time in striking contrast to that presented to-day. I beg leave to hold it up to the House and the country:

MESSAGE.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

In submitting my annual message to Congress, I have great satisfaction in being able to say that the general condition affecting the commercial and industrial interests of the United States are in the highest degree favorable. A comparison of the existing conditions with those of the most favored period in the history of the country will, I believe, show that so high a degree of prosperity and so general a diffusion of the comforts of life were never before enjoyed by our people.

The total wealth of the country in 1860 was $16,159,616,068. In 1890 it amounted to $62,610,000,000, an increase of 287 per cent.

The total mileage of railways in the United States in 1860 was 30,626; in 1890 it was 167,741, an increase of 448 per cent; and it is estimated that there will be about 4,000 miles of track added by the close of the year 1892.

The official returns of the Eleventh Census and those of the Tenth Census for seventy-five leading cities furnish the basis for the following comparisons:

In 1880 the capital invested in manufacturing was $1,232,839,670.
In 1890 the capital invested in manufacturing was $2,900,735,884.
In 1880 the number of employés was 1,301,388.
In 1890 the number of employés was 2,251,134.
In 1880 the wages earned were $501,965,778.
In 1890 the wages earned were $1,221,170,454.
In 1880 the value of the product was $2,711,579,890.
In 1890 the value of the product was $4,860,286,837.

I am informed by the Superintendent of the Census that the omission of certain industries in 1880, which were included in 1890, accounts in part for the remarkable increase thus shown. But, after making full allowance for differences of method and deducting the returns for all industries not included in the census of 1880, there remain in the reports from these seventy-five cities an increase in the capital employed of $1,522,745,604; in the value of the product of $2,024,236,166; in wages earned of $677,943,929, and in the number of wage-earners employed of 856,029. The wage earnings not only show an increased aggregate, but an increase per capita from $386 in 1880 to $547 in 1890, or 41.71 per cent.

The new industrial plants established since October 6, 1890, and up to October 22, 1892, as partially reported in the American Economist, number 345, and the extension of existing plants, 106; the new capital invested amounts to $40,449,050, and the number of additional employés to 37,185.

The Textile World for July, 1892, states that during the first six months of the present calendar year 135 new factories were built, of which 40 are cotton mills, 48 knitting mills, 26 woolen mills, 15 silk mills, 4 plush mills, and 2 linen mills. Of the 40 cotton mills 21 have been built in the Southern States. Mr. A. B. Shepperson, of the New York Cotton Exchange, estimates the number of working spindles in the United States on September 1, 1892, at 15,200,000, an increase of 600,000 over the year 1891. The consumption of cotton by American mills in 1891 was 2,398,000 bales and in 1892 2,584,000 bales; an increase of 188,000 bales. From the year 1869 to 1892, inclusive, there has been an increase in the consumption of cotton in Europe of 92 per cent, while during the same period the increased consumption in the United States has been about 150 per cent.

The report of Ira Ayer, special agent of the Treasury Department, shows that at the date of September 30, 1892, there were thirty-two companies manufacturing tin and terne plate in the United States and fourteen companies building new works for such manufacture. The estimated investment in buildings and plants at the close of the fiscal year, June 30, 1893, if existing conditions were to be continued, was $5,000,000, and the estimated rate of production 200,000,000 pounds per annum. The actual production for the quarter ending September 30, 1892, was 10,952,725 pounds.

The report of Labor Commissioner Peck, of New York, shows that during the year 1891, in about 6,000 manufacturing establishments in that State embraced within the special inquiry made by him, and representing 67 different industries, there was a net increase over the year 1890 of $31,315,136.68 in the value of the

product, and of $6,377,925.09 in the amount of wages paid. The report of the commissioner of labor for the State of Massachusetts shows that 3,745 industries in that State paid $129,416,248 in wages during the year 1891, against $126,030,303 in 1890, an increase of $3,335,945, and that there was an increase of $9,932,490 in the amount of capital and of 7,346 in the number of persons employed in the same period.

During the last six months of the year 1891 and the first six months of 1892 the total production of pig iron was 9,710,819 tons, as against 9,202,703 tons in the year 1890, which was the largest annual production ever attained. For the same twelve months of 1891–'92 the production of Bessemer ingots was 3,876,581 tons, an increase of 159,710 gross tons over the previously unprecedented yearly production of 3,688,871 gross tons in 1890. The production of Bessemer steel rails for the first six months of 1892 was 772,436 gross tons as against 702,080 gross tons during the last six months of the year 1891.

The total value of our foreign trade (exports and imports of merchandise) during the last fiscal year was $1,857,680,610, an increase of $128,283,604 over the previous fiscal year. The average annual value of our imports and exports of merchandise for the ten fiscal years prior to 1891 was $1,457,322,019. It will be observed that our foreign trade for 1892 exceeded this annual average value by $400,358,591, an increase of 27.47 per cent. The significance and value of this increase are shown by the fact that the excess in the trade of 1892 over 1891 was wholly in the value of exports, for there was a decrease in the value of imports of $17,513,754.

The value of our exports during the fiscal year 1892 reached the highest figure in the history of the Government, amounting to $1,030,278,148, exceeding by $145,797,338 the exports of 1891, and exceeding the value of the imports by $202,875,686. A comparison of the value of our exports for 1892 with the annual average for the ten years prior to 1891 shows an excess of $265,142,651, or of 34.65 per cent. The value of our imports of merchandise for 1892, which was $829,402,462, also exceeded the annual average value of the ten years prior to 1891 by $135,215,940. During the fiscal year 1892 the value of imports free of duty amounted to $457,999,658, the largest aggregate in the history of our commerce. The value of the imports of merchandise entered free of duty in 1892 was 55.35 per cent of the total value of imports, as compared with 43.35 per cent in 1891 and 33.06 per cent in 1890.

In our coastwise trade a most encouraging development is in progress, there having been in the last four years an increase of 16 per cent. In internal commerce the statistics show that no such period of prosperity has ever before existed. The freight carried in the coastwise trade of the Great Lakes in 1890 aggregated 28,295,959 tons. On the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio rivers and tributaries in the same year the traffic aggregated 29,405,046 tons, and the total vessel tonnage passing through the Detroit River during that year was 21,684,000 tons. The vessel tonnage entered and cleared in the foreign trade of London during 1890 amounted to 13,480,767 tons, and of Liverpool 10,941,800 tons, a total for these two great shipping ports of 24,422,568 tons, only slightly in excess of the vessel tonnage passing through the Detroit River.

And it should be said that the season for the Detroit River was but two hundred and twenty-eight days, while, of course, in London and Liverpool the season was for the entire year. The vessel tonnage passing through the St. Marys canal for the fiscal year 1892 amounted to 9,828,874 tons, and the freight tonnage of the Detroit River is estimated for that year at 25,000,000 tons, against 23,209,619 tons in 1891. The aggregate traffic on our railroads for the year 1891 amounted to 704,398,609 tons of freight, compared with 691,344,437 tons in 1890, an increase of 13,054,172 tons.

Another indication of the general prosperity of the country is found in the fact that the number of depositors in savings banks increased from 693,870 in 1860 to 4,258,893 in 1890, an increase of 513 per cent, and the amount of deposits from $149,277,504 in 1860 to $1,524,844,506 in 1890, an increase of 921 per cent. In 1891 the amount of deposits in savings banks was $1,623,079,749. It is estimated that 90 per cent of these deposits represent the savings of wage-earners. The bank clearances for nine months ending September 30, 1891, amounted to $41,049,390,808. For the same months in 1892 they amounted to $45,189,601,947, an excess for the nine months of $4,140,211,139.

There never has been a time in our history when work was so abundant or when wages were as high, whether measured by the currency in which they are paid or by their power to supply the necessaries and comforts of life. It is true that the market prices of cotton and wheat have been low. It is one of the unfavorable incidents of agriculture that the farmer can not produce upon orders. He must sow and reap in ignorance of the aggregate production of the year, and is peculiarly subject to the depreciation which follows overproduction. But, while the fact I have stated is true, as to the crops mentioned, the general average of prices has been such as to give to agriculture a fair participation in the general prosperity. The value of our total farm products has increased from $1,363,646,866 in 1860 to $4,500,000,000 in 1891, as estimated by statisticians, an increase of 230 per cent. The number of hogs January 1, 1891, was 50,625,106 and their value $210,193,925; on January 1, 1892, the number was 52,398,919 and the value $241,031,415. On January 1, 1891, the number of cattle was 36 875,648 and the value $544,127,908; on January 1, 1892, the number was 37,651,239 and the value $570,7e9,155.

Such was the condition of the country but ninety days prior to the ascendency of the Democratic party on the 4th of March last. "Look upon that picture and then on this," and tell me what has wrought this appalling change. What is it that in the brief space of six months has plunged this nation, with all its colossal interests, from the summit of prosperity and hope to the depths of adversity and despair? When we know the cause we can intelligently apply the remedy.

And I may be permitted to suggest in passing that those of our fellow-citizens, who, nine months ago, were deluded with the idea of a necessity for a change have, I am sure, by this time the full measure of their desires gratified, unless they have an appetite for misfortunes which no calamity can appease and no disaster satisfy. [Applause.]

The President of the United States in his proclamation convening Congress declared that "this condition is the result of a distrust and apprehension concerning the financial condition of the country and that it is the outgrowth of a financial policy embodied in unwise laws which he is compelled to execute until repealed." The country was left in much uncertainty as to the laws referred to in this proclamation, but the message removes all doubt by specifying the act of 1890, commonly known as the Sherman law, as the fruitful source of all our woes. While I am frank to admit that that measure in its practical workings has been a disappointment to its friends, yet I do not believe that it is responsible in any considerable degree for the deplorable condition in which we find the country to-day.

It will be remembered we commenced buying silver under that act on the 13th day of August, 1890, and we continued these purchases through 1890, 1891, and 1892, without any alarming symptoms of approaching disaster; and not until after the Presidential election last November did the business interests of the country take alarm, and stringency in the money market begin to appear. If the operation of this law is the fruitful source of the widespread disaster we witness to-day, is it not a little remarkable that it was not made manifest during the first two years of its existence? I can not believe that this deplorable condition is to be attributed to an act which increased the circulation of this country more than three millions of dollars a month in good, sound currency; and I can not believe that labor has been driven out of employment and into the street because of the bad character of our money. I do not believe the people hide money, as they are doing now and have been for the last sixty days, because they have any suspicions as to the soundness of that currency.

I do not believe that great business enterprises have been abandoned, once prosperous industries shut down, because of a suspicion that our money was not secure. The fact is that at this very moment our entire volume of currency, whether of gold, silver, or paper, is worth one hundred cents on a dollar, every dollar being kept at a parity with every other dollar. [Applause on the Republican side.] I am constrained to believe that the real cause of this widespread business depression is attributable chiefly to the hostile attitude of the Democratic party toward our protective policy, under which for the last thirty years the nation has wrought its marvelous industrial independence. [Applause on the Republican side.] This money stringency, which is of recent date, was, it will be remembered, preceded by business paralysis all over the country.

As soon as the result of the last Presidential election was known and that the people had actually affirmed the declaration of the Democratic platform, that a protective tariff was "unconstitutional," and that hereafter we were to have a "tariff for revenue only," with no element of protection it, that moment the manufacturers put out their fires, labor was reduced in its employment or wholly discharged, men abandoned great business enterprises which they had in contemplation, and in every way curtailed their expenses that they might save something from the general wreck which was sure to follow the inauguration of free trade in this country.

I have heard it suggested that this could not be the cause, for the reason that as yet there had been no change in our tariff law. Neither has there been any change in our financial policy, and yet the President declares that there is an "apprehension" as to our financial situation which is the "fruitful source" of our present disorder.

So I say it is the "apprehension" of a change in our industrial policy that has brought this general suspension of business and universal distrust. Apprehension of danger is sufficient to put prudent men on their guard. Would it be necessary for a person to actually go over Niagara Falls to be convinced that the expedition is attended with disastrous consequences? [Laughter.] If a party in this country to-day should declare in favor of the enslavement of the black race and that party receive the indorsement of the people on that issue, would it not occasion much trepidation among the people of color? The people are not ignorant of the results which would follow the inauguration of free trade in this country. We have had three periods of a low-revenue tariff during our national existence—1816, 1832, 1847, and each one of these eras was attended with general distress and bankruptcy, supplemented with the most serious panics this country has ever seen.

Well did President Harrison say in his message, to which I have already alluded, referring to a revision of the tariff: "It is a matter of regret that this work must be delayed for at least three months, for the threat of great tariff changes induces so much uncertainty that an amount not easily estimated of business inaction and of diminished production, will necessarily result. It is possible also that this uncertainty may result in decreased revenues from customs and duties, for our merchants make cautious orders for foreign goods in view of the fact of the prospect of tariff reductions and the uncertainty as to when they will take effect." Fear and apprehension are the most potent of all influences governing mankind.

As another well said: "All enterprise is on the spring of the prospective. It is not what to-day is, but what to-morrow shall bring forth, that governs its impulses and ventures. Hope is capital because inspiration is power."

I hold, therefore, that it is the threatening attitude of the Democratic party toward our industrial system that has brought upon us, in a very large degree, the present deplorable condition, and I much regret that the President should have assured the country that tariff reform was only held in abeyance, that it was soon to be prosecuted with vigor; for by so doing he has added fuel to the flame and has increased rather than allayed public apprehension.

But whatever the cause, the situation is before us, and we must deal with it as best we can. It is unfortunate that the House in all its membership is not free to legislate. The President in his proc-

lamation convening Congress invited "all those who are entitled to act as members of the Fifty-third Congress to convene in extra session," but under a rule adopted by the majority, without consultation with the minority, no member of the minority is permitted to offer any amendment to the propositions suggested by the majority. So far as legislation is concerned, or any suggestions from the minority, we might as well have remained at home. We can only vote with one or the other of the warring factions of the Democratic party, and only on the propositions which they in their wisdom have seen fit to submit.

What are these propositions? First, the repeal of the act of 1890, known as the Sherman law; second, the reënactment of the law of 1878, known as the Bland-Allison law; and third, the free and unlimited coinage of silver upon some agreed ratio from 16 to 20 to 1.

Upon the first proposition, to repeal the purchase clause of the Sherman act, I have no hesitancy in giving it my support, for the reason that it is unsound in principle, and in its practical workings it has disappointed its friends, and if continued would, in my judgment, result disastrously to the country. What is this law and its workings? Under it the Secretary of the Treasury is required to purchase every thirty days not less than 4,500,000 ounces of silver and give in payment therefor the notes of the Government known as Treasury notes, payable on demand, in coin. In the execution of this law all Secretaries of the Treasury have redeemed these notes in gold. The practical workings, therefore, of this measure result in exchanging the gold in the Treasury for silver bullion.

The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER] the other day suggested that these Treasury notes ought to be redeemed in silver dollars, and that the Secretary of the Treasury has erred in insisting on their redemption in gold. A moment's reflection, Mr. Speaker, I am sure will satisfy the gentleman that his position is not tenable. In the first place, every one of those Treasury notes was given for silver upon its gold valuation, and the very day the owner of $5 worth of silver sold the same to the Government and received a Treasury note for $5 he could have exchanged that same silver for $5 in gold. These notes, therefore, represent gold values, and for the Government of the United States to redeem them in silver dollars worth 57 cents, would be a piece of financial dishonesty which ought to discredit a Government, as it would certainly disgrace an individual. In the next place, if the present Secretary of the Treasury had carried out what was reputed at one time to be his intentions—to redeem these Treasury notes in coined silver—he would have at once landed this Government on a silver basis, and seriously impaired its now unquestioned credit. And I venture to suggest, in passing, that the rumored purpose of the Secretary of the Treasury in this regard sounded the note of alarm in our great money and business centers.

Now, what has been the resultant effect of this purchase clause of the Sherman act? We made our first purchase of silver under it on the 13th day of August, 1890, and from that day until August 13, 1893, a period of exactly three years, we purchased 162,102,772 ounces of silver bullion, equal to 5,558 tons, and we issued in payment therefor notes of the Government, to-day outstanding, of $151,081,492, every one of which must be redeemed by the Treasury of the United States in gold. Does it need any argument to show that the continuation of such a policy as that would result in depleting the Treasury of the United States of every dollar of gold we possess, and putting in its stead a mountain of uncoined silver bullion? When the paper given for this bullion must be redeemed in gold, is there any question that gold will disappear from the Treasury as fast as these notes are presented for redemption? It needs no argument to show that this policy can not be continued as a permanent financial system. It must be abandoned sooner or later, and the sooner it is abandoned the less will be the loss sustained by the Government.

This silver bullion in the Treasury of the United States is absolutely useless. We can not coin it, because the law does not permit it; neither can we sell it, and if we were to sell it at the market price of silver bullion to-day—of 72 cents an ounce—that for which we paid $151,081,492 would bring only $116,713,895, entailing a loss upon the Government of $34,367,597; but the loss, however, would probably far exceed that, for if we should authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to put this silver on the market and dispose of it, that moment silver would decline to a point hitherto unknown in its history, and the loss to the Government would be simply incalculable.

It was argued in favor of the passage of this law at the time of its enactment that the reason why silver had declined was because the Government had discarded it in a large measure, and was only coining it in limited quantities, and it was contended that if we would utilize more of the silver that it would advance its price and more readily bring it to a parity with gold, whereby its free coinage could be safely authorized. But time has demonstrated that this assumption was without foundation, for on the 13th day of August, 1890, we paid for our first purchase of silver under this act $1.13 an ounce, and on the 13th day of August, 1893, we paid 73¼ cents an ounce, showing a decline in three years of 40 cents an ounce, while during this same period the highest price we paid for silver was on the 27th of August, 1890, when we paid $1.20¼, and the lowest on July 24, 1893, when we paid 69¼ cents per ounce, a difference between the highest and lowest price of 50 cents an ounce.

But this law, it is said, serves to increase the currency. We purchase silver and give our notes, which are made a legal tender, and which pass into the monetary circulation of the country.

While this is true, I venture to say that that is an unwise financial policy which runs the Government in debt for a product it can not use for the purpose of increasing its volume of money. No government on the face of this earth ever adopted such a policy as that but our own, and I doubt if a like policy can be found in all history. We might as well buy copper, or iron, or wheat, or any other product that the Government can not use, store it in Government warehouses, and issue our promise to pay therefor to be used as money. We certainly ought to be able some way to supply the people of this country with a sufficient volume of currency without resorting to a method so questionable as this. We ought to be able to increase our circulation without increasing our debts. I shall, therefore, vote cheerfully for the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman act, because I believe it to be unsound in principle, and if continued will be attended with disastrous results. But the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN] would not repeal this act because it would be a confession that it was the cause of the present disaster. By no means. I am aware the Democratic party attributes the present condition to the Sherman law, and that is an additional reason why I would repeal it. I would tear down this shelter and drive the Democratic party out into the open, where it will be confronted with the evidences of its disastrous tariff policy.

I have heard it intimated, and by the gentleman from Nebraska, himself a member of the Democratic party, that this ought not to be repealed until something is agreed upon to take its place, and the gentleman from Nebraska announces that the message of the President favoring the repeal of this law is the "burial of silver," and then exclaims: "Abandon hope, all you who enter here!" Let me say to my young friend that that is an old sign that has been hanging on the outer wall of the Democratic party for over fifty years, and I am surprised he has just discovered it. But seriously, has he lost confidence in his own party? Is silver to be buried? Did he not make the people believe in the last election that the Democrats were the friends of silver?

The Democratic party in its platform not only declares the act of 1890 to be a makeshift, and demanded its repeal, but they further affirmed "We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country and a coinage of both gold and silver without discrimination against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and interexchangeable value." Does that look like the burial of silver? More than that. There is now pending in this House, to be voted on next Monday, the following proposition offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND].

A bill for the free coinage of silver, and other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act all holders of silver bullion to the amount of one hundred dollars or more, of standard weight and fineness, shall be entitled to have the same coined at the Mint of the United States into silver dollars of the weight and fineness provided for in the second section of this act.

SEC. 2. That the silver dollar provided for in this act shall consist of 412½ grains of standard silver; said dollars to be legal tender for all debts, dues, and demands, both public and private.

SEC. 3. That the holder of the silver dollars herein provided for shall be entitled to deposit the same and to receive silver certificates in the manner now provided by law for the standard silver dollars.

SEC. 4. That so much of the act of July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," as requires the monthly purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion, be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

Does that look like the burial of silver? There is now pending in the Senate of the United States, reported from the Committee on Finance, the following proposition:

A bill discontinuing the purchase of silver bullion.

Be it enacted, etc., That so much of the act approved July fourteenth, eighteen hundred and ninety, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," as directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of four million five hundred thousand ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month at the market price thereof, not exceeding one dollar for three hundred and seventy-one and twenty-five one-hundredths grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchases Treasury notes of the United States, be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

And it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to continue the use of both gold and silver as standard money, and to coin both gold and silver into money of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, such equality to be secured through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as will insure the maintenance of the parity in value of the coins of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts. And it is hereby further declared that the efforts of the Government should be steadily directed to the establishment of such a safe system of bimetallism as will maintain at all times the equal power of every dollar coined or issued by the United States, in the markets and in the payment of debts.

Does that look like the "burial of silver"? If the Democratic party does not continue both gold and silver in our monetary sys-

tem, and maintain that money at a parity, then they are false to party pledges and will be rebuked by the people. The Republican party is in favor of bimetallism—of the use of both gold and silver in our monetary system; and it not only believes in it, but it has legislated so as to secure it. For fifteen years we have maintained gold and silver at a parity and to-day we have four hundred and nineteen millions of coined silver dollars; one hundred and fifty-one millions of Treasury notes representing silver purchased, or nearly six hundred millions of silver currency which we are maintaining in our circulation on a parity with gold and propose to maintain it as a part of our monetary circulation, thus utilizing both gold and silver and keeping them at a parity.

In the face of this legislation on the part of the Republican party, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN] I have no doubt, joined his party in the last election in denouncing this policy of the Republican party as a "cowardly makeshift," and appealed to the people to overthrow that party in the interest of a party pledged to establish a wiser and safer financial policy. The opportunity is now with you to redeem your pledges and continue to utilize both gold and silver in our monetary system and maintain bimetallism as we have safely established it.

The next proposition submitted by the majority is the restoration of the act of 1878. I shall not detain the House long with a discussion of this proposition. That was an act which directed the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase at least two million dollars' worth of silver bullion every month and coin it into standard silver dollars of 412½ grains. The only material difference between that act and the act of 1890 is that the former required the silver purchased to be coined, and the act of 1890 does not. And if there are degrees of evil, then the act of 1878 is worse than the act of 1890; for under it we were coining 371¼ grains of pure silver into a silver dollar, and with the stamp of the Government certifying it to be a dollar, when intrinsically it was worth much less. Under the operations of that act we coined $378,166,793, and that, together with the coinage of the trade dollar and the coinage under the act of 1890, makes a sum total of silver coinage already stated of $419,294,835.

Yet of this vast sum of coined silver dollars the Secretary of the Treasury advises us that the 1st day of June, this year, only $58,000,000 of it was in circulation, the balance being in the Treasury of the United States and represented in our circulation by silver certificates. If the coin will not circulate, as seems to be the case, why convert the bullion into coin? Better continue the present law, purchase silver and issue our notes therefor. But one of the most effective arguments used at the time in favor of the passage of the act of 1878 was that we demonetized silver in 1873, and that act caused silver to depreciate, and that if we would remonetize it even in part it would at once advance the price of silver and bring it to a parity with gold.

It has been demonstrated that this assumption was without foundation, for while the value of the bullion in the silver dollar in 1877 was 92 cents, after twelve years of coinage, in 1889, the silver in the silver dollar was worth only 72 cents, or the value of the bullion in the silver dollar at the end of twelve years had declined 20 cents.

When this bill was passed in 1878 President Hayes promptly vetoed it as being unwise financial legislation, but it was passed over his veto, and I shall have no hesitancy in voting against its reënactment.

The third proposition submitted is the free and unlimited coinage of silver upon a ratio of somewhere between 16 and 20 to 1. I have but a word to say in relation to this proposition. None of these ratios represent the commercial ratio. Coin your silver dollar in the ratio of 16 to 1 or 20 to 1 and you have a dollar intrinsically worth less than the gold dollar, and coin such a dollar as that—permit the owners of silver bullion to bring to the mints of the United States, and have manufactured into dollars, a certain number of grains, worth in bullion much less than when they are coined, is a proposition to which I can not give my assent.

But it has been stated in the course of this debate and repeatedly asserted that the present silver dollar is the "dollar of the fathers." That statement is not true. It is not the "dollar of the fathers," and the fathers if living would repudiate such an assumption as a reflection upon their integrity and sagacity. The silver dollar of the fathers was intended to be and was in fact exactly equal to the gold dollar in intrinsic value.

When Hamilton and the men of his time were considering the establishment of the United States Mint, in 1792, the question presented was whether we should coin silver or gold, or both, and having determined to utilize and coin both gold and silver the only remaining question was just how much silver should be put in the silver dollar and how much gold in the gold dollar, and it was agreed on all hands that there must be just such an amount put into the silver dollar and the gold dollar as would make them exactly equal in commercial value, for there was no man living at that time outside a mad house who entertained the idea that you could coin dollars of unequal intrinsic value and make them circulate side by side in any monetary system. For it is a law as old as monetary science and as inexorable as the moving of the spheres that if you have two dollars of unequal value the cheaper will be the only one that will circulate and the more valuable will be driven out of circulation.

Mr. Barring said upon this subject: "A very slight difference of one-tenth or one-quarter of 1 per cent would determine the use of one metal or the other."

Our own history demonstrates the truth of this law. Under the ratio of 1 to 15, established in 1792, the two coins separated in a few years, because it was found that the commercial value and the monetary value did not correspond, and gold went out of circulation and our coined silver was the only money remaining in circulation. In 1834 the ratio was changed to 16 to 1 but it was soon discovered that the commercial ratio did not then correspond with the monetary ratio and the result was that silver was more valuable than gold, and went out of circulation, while gold became our only circulating metallic money. When the owner of 371¼ grains of pure silver could get more for that silver uncoined than he could by having it coined into a silver dollar certainly he would not take it to the Mint of the United States to have its value lessened by being coined into money. So silver dollars went out of circulation.

In 1861 we were flooded with a depreciated paper currency less valuable than either gold or silver, and the result was that it drove both gold and silver out of circulation, and they remained out of circulation until we resumed specie payments in 1879. This people have not forgotten the battle for the resumption of specie payments, and they do not care to repeat that experience. It was a long journey, frought with hardship and disaster to many individuals, and had to be pursued in the face not only of Democratic opposition demanding the repeal of the resumption act and the continued nonpayment of our unredeemed promises, but parties sprang up in favor of fiat money and the wildest financial vagaries which, for the time being, threatened the credit and financial integrity of this nation. Must we fight that battle over again?

This contest for the free coinage of silver began in 1874, and it has been prosecuted with unceasing vigor ever since. Why? Up to that time the silver dollar was worth more, intrinsically, than the gold dollar, being worth in 1873 $1.03 as compared with gold.

Up to that time the coinage of silver dollars in this country had been very limited. One would think from the tenor of this discussion that all at once a great outrage had been perpetrated upon silver, that it had been stricken from our monetary system at a blow, by the force of law, when the fact is that from 1793 to 1805, a period of twelve years, we coined but 1,439,517 silver dollars. From 1806 to 1836, a period of thirty years, we did not coin a single silver dollar. From 1836 to 1873, a period of thirty-seven years, we coined only 6,606,321 silver dollars. In eighty years we only coined a total of 8,045,838 silver dollars. So long as silver remained more valuable than gold there was no clamor for the free coinage of silver, but in 1878, when resumption was an assured fact, and the people had decreed that they would keep faith with their creditors and pay their unredeemed promises, then the champions of cheap money turned their attention to silver, finding it had declined in value from $1.03 in 1873 to $0.89 in 1878.

Then the cry went up for the free and unlimited coinage of silver dollars, of 371¼ grains, worth 89 cents, and we entered upon the course of coining silver and continued it for twelve years, and during that period coined 419,000,000 silver dollars, while in the eighty years previous we had coined only 8,000,000. After continuing this for twelve years the silver in the silver dollar declined from $0.89 to $0.72, and we found ourselves with 419,000,000 silver dollars worth, intrinsically, but 72 cents each. In 1890 when it was believed that our volume of silver then in circulation was as great as could be maintained at a parity with gold and avoid the danger of a silver basis, then the Democratic party again clamored for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. The battle is now renewed under the plea of bimetallism, and the advocates of the free coinage of silver seek to delude the people by asserting that they are in favor of bimetallism while its opponents are not. We have bimetallism to-day.

We have not only the 419,000,000 silver dollars coined, the 151,000,000 Treasury notes given for silver bullion, but we have 5,558 tons of silver bullion uncoined, and let it be remembered that the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman act does not demonetize a single dollar of this nearly 600,000,000 of silver. On the contrary, in the interests of bimetallism we propose to maintain the whole volume of this silver coin and paper at a parity with gold. We who favor the repeal of the act of 1890 are the only real bimetallists, and we are pursuing the only course in my judgment by which bimetallism can be maintained. The free and unlimited coinage of silver at any of the ratios named will destroy bimetallism and will reduce this country to a single standard, that of silver, and that depreciated, and I am suspicious that for this very reason some gentlemen are anxious for its triumph. The opening of the mints of the United States to the unrestricted minting for individuals of silver into legal dollars at any ratio to gold less than the

commercial value of both metals, under the pretense of aiding the cause of bimetallism, or for the purpose of establishing or maintaining bimetallism in the United States, is simply playing upon the sentiment and credulity of the American people. [Applause].

Bimetallism means the joint use of gold and silver as money and the history of our country prior to 1873 has shown, what is admitted by all the great authorities on bimetallism, that so long as there is a variation of one-half of one per cent between the commercial value of the pure metal contained in the standard coins and their face value the one which has the commercial value in excess of the other will not circulate side by side with that other. For this reason, prior to 1834 gold coins did not circulate in this country, and after the change of ratio in 1834 and 1837, silver did not circulate. Of course the silver dollar now is practically credit money, sustained at par with the more valuable dollar by Government redemption in gold; but with the free and unlimited coinage this would necessarily disappear. There would be no gold redemption, so that free coinage of silver at this time really means the adoption of silver monometallism. The real issue, then, is not between bimetallism and gold monometallism, but between bimetallism and silver monometallism.

Let the people but once understand that all this talk about bimetallism is simply a cover to hide the obnoxious fact that it is silver monometallism that is the real purpose, or at least the certain result, and they will have none of it. There is no considerable portion of our people who would vote to place this country on a silver basis. The argument between the advantages of the two systems is a real, living one. Turn your eyes to the countries having the silver standard alone—Mexico, South America, Asia—and those having the gold standard with a silver circulation maintained on a parity with it, like England and all Europe, and there is no room for argument. The latter countries are prosperous, intelligent, and progressive; the former embarrassed, poor, and ignorant.

As was once said by another, "I think I see clearly through this day's business." It is the old fight for cheap money, and the people are deluded with the idea that if money is cheap they will be prosperous. A farmer is in debt $200; he can sell his horse for $100 in the money of to-day, which, applied to his indebtedness, would discharge one-half of it. Now, if by some process he can cheapen these dollars until they are worth but 50 cents, he can then sell his horse for 200 of these 50-cent dollars and then discharge his indebtedness of $200. This is the milk in the cocoanut of this whole business.

But let me say that cheap money is a delusion, and a depreciating, fluctuating currency cheats every man who touches it. It cheats both ways—when it is declining and when it is appreciating. In war times the man who loaned $1,000 in gold was obliged to take his pay in paper worth 33 cents. The farmer who gave a mortgage for $1,000 on his farm when we were on a paper basis of 33-cent dollars felt it to be a hardship when he was obliged to pay that mortgage in paper dollars worth 100 cents. But that is the inevitable effect of an unstable currency. I affirm that whenever we have a vacillating, depreciated currency it injures all classes and all conditions.

But labor is sought to be deluded with the idea that it is in their interest, somehow, to have cheaper money. Labor does not want cheaper money, but good money—money that will be good to-day and to-morrow, for money is not only the measure of value, but it is the storehouse of values; and when a laboring man has completed his day's work he wants to be paid in a coin that will be not only the full measure of the value of that day's work, but in a dollar that will preserve the value of that day's work. [Applause.] The laboring people of this country having to-day $1,700,000,000 in the savings banks, every dollar of which is worth its face in gold, do not want to be paid in a cheap currency worth one-half that amount; and yet the appeal is made here and elsewhere that all this struggle for cheap money is in the interest of labor!

It was once said, "Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name!" and it might be as truthfully said to-day, how many crimes are committed in the name of labor.

At one time a practice prevailed in England of clipping the coins and thereby depreciating their value. The English Government made that practice a felony punishable by death. Women were burned at the stake and men were dragged to the scaffold for clipping the coins of the realm. But it is now seriously proposed in the national House of Representatives of the American people to legalize an unlimited issue of debased currency. It is proposed that this great Government, which through all its perilous history of the last thirty years kept faith with all its creditors and stands to-day with a credit matchless and unimpaired, shall now enter upon the shoreless and fathomless sea of depreciated coinage, whose only harbor is national repudiation and individual bankruptcy, to the utter destruction of the nation's credit and the prosperity of the citizen.

Rather than do this, you might better at once invoke the policy of a Solon, and scale all public and private debts, and have done with it at once.

But it is said by some, I must vote for free and unlimited coinage of silver at one of these ratios because it is the sentiment of my district. Gentlemen, do not deceive yourselves. The honest sentiment of your district demands an honest currency and will sustain you in voting for nothing else. [Applause.] Your vote and my vote upon this great question, your speech and my speech, will be tested not in the hot furnace of the passions of to-day, but they must stand the crucial test of the sober judgment of to-morrow. [Applause.]

The gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN] tells us that we can enter upon this policy of unlimited coinage with perfect safety, independent of the nations of the world, and, repeating the story of "Liberty Bell," which sounded the birth of a nation, conjures us to break away from English domination; and yet that same gentleman, before the Fifty-third Congress shall have closed its labors, will be the first to toll the bell of a nation's dead industries and demand that the United States shall surrender its industrial supremacy and independence and the prosperity and hopes of its laboring millions to the unrestricted domination of British greed and power under the merciless policy of free trade. [Applause.]

I regret Mr. Speaker, more than words can express, that in the course of this debate gentleman have seen fit to employ language the effect of which, whether intended or not, is to arouse and ferment dissensions among the various classes of our people. The impression is sought to be made upon the public mind that there exists some monstrous conspiracy somewhere or somehow on the part of capital to oppress and outrage labor. I remember that the gentleman from Nebraska spoke of capital as "imperious, arrogant, compassionless;" and that "labor, work-worn and dust begrimed, makes mute appeal."

Let me say, sir, that he who seeks in this country at this time or any other to inflame public passions and array one class of our citizens against another is an enemy to his country and to his race. [Applause.] He who seeks to incite labor against capital not only does himself, but his country, a grievous wrong. Such a course may serve the ends of party or some personal ambition, but it will be at the expense of the peace and good order of the State. [Applause.] Capital and labor are the two pillars upon which the superstructure of our industrial greatness and civilization are reared, and when you weaken or destroy either you involve all in a common ruin. The gentleman knows, however, the potency of such appeals, and they serve many times to arouse a storm of passions upon which some men are carried temporarily to power. May I be permitted to quote the words of Daniel Webster in this connection:

> I know full well, sir, the power of such prejudices. I know how easily they may be excited and how potent is their agency. Efforts to excite them and calculations on their efficacy when excited have sometimes succeeded, and must be expected sometimes to succeed in popular governments. They are among the means by which little men occasionally become great. But they are not among the means by which lasting character is to be attained any more than they are among the means by which substantial and important service is to be rendered to the country.

Instead of inflaming the public mind, let us rather by every means in our power seek to harmonize these conflicting forces, allay all public apprehension, and so legislate as to maintain the national credit unimpaired, restore public and private confidence, preserve the peace and good order of the State, and promote the happiness and prosperity of the citizen. [Prolonged applause.]

Mr. MARSH. I have not sought, Mr. Speaker, to occupy the time of this House, and I have had no desire to occupy its time until this morning. I then consulted with the Speaker, and was informed that I could have but five minutes. I requested twenty or thirty minutes in the time to be devoted to general debate to-morrow, and was informed that that time was under the disposal of my friend from Maine [Mr. REED], my friend from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], and the distinguished gentleman of whose acquaintance I have not the honor [Mr. WILSON of West Virginia].

Inasmuch as upon this pending question my friend from Maine and myself are not in accord, I did not call upon him; but learning from the magnificent speech of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], and from newspaper reports that he had planted himself finally upon the ground in favor of the maintenance of Republican legislation upon the silver question, which was in harmony in part with my own views, I called upon him and was assured by him that he had no time at his disposal during the general debate for Saturday, that it had all been given out, and he very politely expressed his regret that I had not called upon him earlier. However, through the courtesy my friend [Mr. BLAND] and to the indulgence of this House, I am entitled, I believe, to more than five minutes. Mr. Speaker, will you kindly inform me how much time I have.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. RICHARDSON). The Chair understood the House to give the gentleman thirty minutes.

Mr. MARSH. I understood that the House gave me forty minutes. If I am mistaken, please correct me.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Thirty minutes was the time the House gave the gentleman.

Mr. MARSH. I do not know, Mr. Speaker, that I will need over five minutes. Not being very much accustomed to public speaking, and never accustomed to be limited as to time in the great Western country where I live, I have no conception as to the time that I may need to say what I desire to say upon this occasion.

To quote a much used phrase on this floor "we have been called together in extraordinary session." If anybody doubts that proposition, whether he be a Republican, a "gold bug," a silver bug, or a Populist, let him rise on his feet and say so now.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. No one dares to.

Mr. MARSH. The President of the United States, for whom I have a profound respect, has, in the exercise of his constitutional right, convened Congress. He says he has done so because of the deplorable condition in which the country now is, and he suggests as a remedy and the only remedy the repeal of the bullion-purchase clause comprised in the bill known as the Sherman act of 1890.

He informs this body and the American people that the cause of the prostration and paralysis that now afflicts the business interests of this country, which extends from the centers of trade to the extreme circumference of this land, which enters into the great marts of the country, and is felt in every hamlet and neighborhood in our broad land—that the sole and only cause of this condition is the purchasing clause in the silver enactment of 1890.

That legislation, Mr. Speaker, was placed upon the statute book by the united vote of the Republican representatives in this end of the Capitol and the other, and received the approval of the Republican President of this country. And, Mr. Speaker, I want more than the declaration of the present Executive before I will vote for its repeal. I have been an attentive listener to the long and able discussions that have taken place on this floor, and what I have been unable to hear I have endeavored in my room to read, and for one I answer that I have found no adequate reason to comply with the request of the Chief Executive.

It was well said yesterday by the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY] for whom I have high regard and great respect, although he loses his temper on occasions, which I am apt to do myself, and consequently I overlook it—it is well said by the gentleman from Maine that the policy of purchasing bullion by the National Government and converting it into coin and making it the basis for paper circulation did not originate in the act of 1890. It originated in the act, if I remember correctly, of February, 1878.

I had the honor at that time of occupying a seat on this floor; and that legislation received my vote and my hearty approbation. Then it was, Mr. Speaker, that the American Congress inaugurated the policy of furnishing the people with silver money coined from bullion purchased by the Government. And with the construction which was given to that act by the Republican Administration, that silver money and silver certificates based upon silver money were maintained upon an equality with the best money in this country. And when I say the best money I mean the highest money.

In 1890 a substitute, known as the Sherman law, was enacted for the legislation of 1878, and this law of 1890 was, in my opinion, vastly superior to the Bland-Allison law which it substituted. It was superior to it in more ways than one. It was superior to it because it gave to the circulation of this country more money than did the Bland-Allison bill, thereby keeping in line with the advanced prosperity and business demands of the country. It was superior to it in another respect, and a very important one.

By every Republican Administration from 1878 to 1890, without explicit statute power, the silver cirtificates issued upon the silver dollars that have been coined under the Bland act have been maintained upon a parity with gold by their redemption upon demand in gold. And the second distinguishing feature of the Sherman act that was an improvement over the Bland act was this, that the faith and honor of this Government were therein pledged to the maintenance, substantially, of all the money of this country upon a parity.

That which had been the practice of the Republican Administrations from the years 1878 to 1890, in the face of all denunciation and opposition from the Democratic side of this House, was ratified, indorsed, and fixed in the statute law by the Sherman bill.

Since 1890, and every day since 1890, it could be said and truly said by everybody in this broad land of ours, Mr. Speaker, that every single dollar of the circulating medium in this country, as the result of Republican legislation, that every dollar of the $1,600,000,000 in this country was equal to each and every other dollar; that there was no difference between them.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the policy of this Government having been for fourteen years to maintain this parity in our money, during all that period of time this policy having been pursued, and efficiently, in this country, with all of the money that it had in circulation during these years, such having been the course of legislation owing to the efforts of the Republican party, the Government having monopolized, if I may use that term, the business of furnishing the people with a currency for all business transactions, it was their pride that the Republican party could point to the existing condition of affairs and say with truth that everywhere in this broad land there was not one dollar of any character or of any kind of money in circulation that was not equal to every other dollar in value.

But, Mr. Speaker, it has been said on this floor, it has been said by the Chief Executive of this country that this trouble that now exists all over the land is caused by this very policy. It is alleged that the present financial distress is the result of a policy that maintained our money at an absolute parity for a period of at least fourteen years, and still maintains it.

I ask, in view of these facts, what there is in this charge that the money that has been authorized by the Bland-Allison law and the money that has been authorized by what is known as the Sherman law, supplemental to the Bland-Allison law—what is there, Mr. Speaker, in the character of the money issued under these laws, in face of the prosperous condition of the country that prevailed up to within the last few months, that has caused this terrible depression?

I can remember back previous to 1860 when the people of the country did not have any confidence in the old Democratic money that was furnished for circulation. I remember that period very well; and there are many gentlemen on this floor whose memory carries them back to that time, and some to an even earlier date. When the people then became afraid of the money in circulation what did they do with it? Did they hoard it up? Did they draw it out of the banks and then refuse to lend it to their neighbors or those who wanted it? Nothing of the kind. But the moment that a farmer, or a business man, or a professional man received fifty, a hundred, or five hundred, or a thousand dollars of that old Democratic money he immediately went to work to get rid of it.

Why, Mr. Speaker, a neighbor of mine, a farmer, a very estimable gentleman with whom I was talking, if you please, before I left home, said to me that in 1859 he received between eight and nine hundred dollars for some of the products of his farm which he had sold. He said that he hurried up a little about the collection of it, because he understood the business man to whom he had sold was in failing circumstances.

The eight hundred and some odd dollars was paid him. He lived about four miles out of the town where he received the money. He told me that before he went home that night he paid his little store debt, and hunted for his neighbors who wanted to borrow $50, $100, or $150, taking their notes for it, and went home that night without a dollar of the money in his pocket. That is the condition of things when people are afraid of the currency of the country.

To-day what is the condition? Every man who is fearful, every man who is panic-stricken, every man who is timid is drawing his money, his greenbacks, his gold, his silver, his silver certificates, or his Treasury notes; and if he lives in the great cities where they have safety vaults he is paying from twenty to fifty dollars a year for a little drawer and key in which to lock up his money and keep it safely. And the farmer in the country and the mechanic in the town is drawing out his little savings he has laid up and hiding it away in some place in his house.

Does that indicate, Mr. Speaker, that the people of this country are afraid of the money now or prospectively? If they were afraid of it now they certainly would not hoard it up; if they were afraid of it prospectively they certainly would invest it somewhere and put it into something in which they would have some confidence.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (MR. RICHARDSON). The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MARSH. I would like, Mr. Speaker, the indulgence of the House for about ten minutes longer.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will submit the request to the House.

Mr. MARSH. I served for six years in this House and did not consume an hour of the time of the House.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The question is not debatable. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois for an extension of his time for ten minutes?

There was no objection.

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, I am very much obliged to the House for the courtesy it has shown to me. I was speaking of the want of confidence that has been alleged on the part of the people in the money of the country. In view of what I have stated, Mr. Speaker, it can not be that this trouble now existing comes from the want of confidence in the ability of this

Government to maintain its money on a parity. There is nothing in this country that the people, rich and poor, have as much confidence as in the paper money—greenbacks, silver certificates, Treasury notes, and national-bank notes—and gold is being offered everywhere for this so-called discredited paper.

Propositions are being made by gentlemen to cut off thirty millions or thirty-five millions annually of the additional Treasury notes to the circulating medium of this country. The proposition that is involved in the bill offered by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON] proposes to repeal that clause of the law, and the only law that is upon the statute books of this country which increases from month to month the circulating medium of the country. And yet gentlemen who are in favor of doing that are at the same time in favor of extending the power of the national banks of this country to issue additional circulation. They are proposing to authorize the national banks to increase their circulation many millions of dollars without the depositing of one dollar of additional security.

That question I do not care to discuss to-day, or in the remaining ten minutes. I thought when I got up here that five minutes would answer me, but I think now it would take me three hours to get through this whole question, if I were allowed to occupy that much time. I want to say, Mr. Speaker, as a citizen of Illinois, as a representative of an intelligent constituency, this much for this policy inaugurated by the Republican party in 1878, and indorsed by the Republican party in 1878, maintained by the Republican party in 1890, supplemented and buttressed by the united vote of the Republican Congress in 1890. If this policy under which this country has flourished, under which the poor man and the rich man has been able to do well, is to be abandoned upon the behest of gentlemen upon the other side, or by the votes of its former friends upon this side, then I give you notice here for what it is worth, no more, that when this policy of purchasing bullion and supplying this country with a silver currency side by side with gold, when that policy shall have been abandoned, or when I see unmistakable evidence that it is the purpose and the intent of the American Congress to abandon it, then, Mr. Speaker, I will join the ranks of those gentlemen in this House and of those magnificent people whom I represent on this floor, in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of the silver dollar upon a ratio that may properly be agreed upon. [Applause.]

If I believe on Monday next, when this vote is in progress; if I shall then have evidence satisfactory to my own mind that this Wilson bill, which knocks out forever in this country the future use of silver as a standard money, that that measure will carry in this House and at the other end of this Capitol, I, individually, on my own responsibility, for which nobody is responsible except myself, will favor the doctrine of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold in this country, and I will favor a coinage based, as nearly as reasonable men can ascertain the point, upon the relative value of the two metals composing the coins and put the two metals side by side in circulation, and let each take care of itself; and then I hope the country will be done with this trouble, and turmoil, and perplexity, and demagogism on the subject of gold monometallism on the one hand, and the free and unlimited coinage of silver on the other. [Laughter and applause.]

I would, in the language that is popular on the banks of the Mississippi River, where I reside, "let the longest pole knock the persimmon." [Laughter.] And I want to say further that I am not sure but that is the course we ought to have pursued in 1878.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, it is said here in opposition to that—it is said on both sides of this House by gentlemen who differ with me—that you can never have the free and unlimited coinage of silver because the two metals will never float side by side upon an equality. That, Mr. Speaker, was the argument that was used in 1878, the argument that induced gentlemen upon this side of the House and upon the other side of the House to vote for the Bland bill.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MARSH. I would like to have five minutes more, and then I will not ask this House for another minute for two months.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. COMPTON] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. DALZELL. I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MARSH] be extended five minutes.

Mr. COMPTON. I hope this will not come out of my time.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. What is the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

Mr. DALZELL. That the time of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MARSH] be extended five minutes.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MARSH] asks that he be allowed to proceed for five minutes longer. Is there objection?

Mr. STONE of Kentucky. I object.

Mr. COMPTON. I regret exceedingly that it should have seemed just and proper to the gentlemen in charge, under and by virtue of whose suggestion this House agreed to give two weeks to debate of this proposition. I believe to-day the question is upon the lips of every man, woman, and child in America, from the richest capitalist in the land down to her whose blanched cheeks and withered lips hardly give strength to cry for more bread for her perishing children, "When will Congress act, and why does not Congress give us relief?"

And if, Mr. Speaker, the protraction of this debate for one second longer by me would defer that result I am ready and willing to take my seat. But, sir, since I know that that result would not follow, and since so many gentlemen have seen fit to express their views, I ask the indulgence of this House for a very brief space, while I simply do two things; first, give a short explanation as to my own position on this question, and secondly, something of a reply which I think can be made to the suggestions which have fallen from the lips of our Republican friends.

Mr. Speaker, I have no concealment to make. Two years ago, during the Fifty-second Congress, I was ready at any moment to vote for the coinage of the product of the American mines at an increased ratio. I believed then that, notwithstanding the fact that I believed that commerce and business and the commercial intercourse between this nation and others would be hampered, restricted, and injured by the further operation of the McKinley bill and other legislation fastened upon the statute books by acts passed in the Fifty-first Congress, yet I had such faith in the power of production of my country that I believed that the demand of other nations for our cereals, our pork and meat products, for our coal oil and other products, both crude and manufactured, would so arrange things that the balance of trade would still remain in our favor, and that when foreign countries came to settle with us the payment would be in gold and that we could remain upon a firm basis.

But, Mr. Speaker, that vision has been wiped out; that opinion has been done away with. I have lived to see a condition of things which I did not then dream could come about; and in the face of these conditions I am ready here to-day unhesitatingly to say that my opinions and convictions have changed, and that I shall vote for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing provision of the act of 1890. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, our friends upon the other side have tried from the very inception of this debate down to to-day, and by no one more eloquently and forcibly, that I have heard at least, than by my distinguished friend from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] to persuade this House and the country that this condition arises out of the fact that the Democratic party has come into possession of this Government. Why, Mr. Speaker, do our friends suppose that our memories are so short, and that the memories of the people of this country are so short, as to believe such a declaration as that?

Do not they know or have they forgotten, and if they have, let me tell them that the people have not forgotten, that at the close of Mr. Cleveland's Administration a degree of prosperity and happiness and a condition of things, in so far as the welfare of every interest in America is concerned, existed as this country had not known for thirty years. There was peace all through your land. There was plenty and prosperity everywhere. There was not a class oppressed nor an interest depressed because of anything that had occurred during the administration of the Democratic President for four long years.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman from Maryland has expired.

Mr. FITCH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time be extended five minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. COMPTON. I thank the gentleman.

Now, Mr. Speaker, we all know, and they know how it was and why it was that in the succeeding Presidential election the people were duped to voting the Republican ticket, and how the election of the Republican President came about. Now, sir, judging the tree by its fruit, I have stated the conditions that existed after the expiration of Mr. Cleveland's first Administration, and I defy successful contradiction. It is simply history, no more, no less. Sir, the Republican party came into power in 1888, and they had four years of undisputed control, not only of the Executive office, but for two years in this House, and during the entire time in the Senate.

Everything, sir, that was placed upon the statute books, and everything that was done and all the results accruing from that action, lie at their door and not at ours. Have gentlemen forgotten that before Mr. Harrison vacated his seat that in four States of this Union soldiers, uniformed and armed, were called to suppress riots of laboring men demanding a slight increase of wages. Homestead, notably, the most remarkable case of the lot? Have they forgotten that when Grover Cleveland left the

Presidential chair he left the Treasury full to overflowing, with $100,000,000 in excess, and that when Mr. Harrison left the chair he left the Treasury actually, absolutely, if the sinking fund had been paid, bankrupt.

And yet I say, Mr. Speaker, our Republican friends would have the country believe that the present financial distress and conditions result from the fact that the Democratic party has control of the Government. How came the Democratic party to obtain control of the Government. Only after very fair and exhaustive discussion of all the subjects controlling in this Government, chiefly hinging upon the tariff. Sir, when gentlemen make this accusation they charge it not properly upon the Democratic party, but on the people of this country, who gave power into the hands of the Democratic party. The plurality of Mr. Cleveland was 382,956 on the popular vote.

His electoral plurality was 132 and his electoral majority 110. No, sir; we are to-day under the baneful influences of the legislation which the Republican party has put upon the statute books. We have nailed our flag to the mast, Mr. Speaker, and they need not suppose for a moment that they will fright the souls of their adversaries by any such declarations or declamation. We have declared, and the people have indorsed the declaration, that we will give to this country a proper financial basis and conditions fitting for the successful execution of business enterprises by virtue of that financial condition. We have pledged this to the people, and we propose to carry out our pledges. We have pledged ourselves to pass a tariff bill which, like the dews of Heaven, shall bear equally and evenly upon every individual and every class in the country, and we will do it.

And, Mr. Speaker, before that gavel shall fall and this Congress shall be declared adjourned *sine die*, there is one other thing that will be inscribed on the statute books, and that is the repeal of the odious Federal election laws, which have done such injustice to the people of this country. [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

On motion of Mr. FITCH, by unanimous consent, Mr. COMPTON'S time was extended three minutes more.

Mr. COMPTON. Now, Mr. Speaker, I simply desire to say, in conclusion, a word to my silver friends. It is useless, gentlemen, to talk to me about reconstructing and refurnishing and repolishing the corners of the temple while the building is on fire. [Applause.] I believe that the outrageous purchases of silver under the provisions of the act of 1890 have brought us to the conditions which exist to-day, and, believing that, I regard it as my first and highest duty to vote for the repeal of that act. When the fire has been extinguished, then I will stand with you to polish the corners of the temple with silver, and, if necessary, to cover it all over with that shining white metal. [Applause.]

Mr. ALLEN. But you will tear down the temple in the meantime. [Laughter.]

Mr. COMPTON. In the meantime the temple must be preserved from the conflagration which menaces it, and to do that will require a concentration of all our powers. If that is not done the day will come when you will have neither a gold nor a silver basis, but fiat money, and when you will be the laughing stock of the commercial world. [Applause.]

Mr. MONEY. Mr. Speaker, for two weeks I have watched the tide of discussion as it has ebbed and flowed from one side to the other in this Hall, sometimes in storm and sometimes in calm, and I have heard statements made upon this floor intended, perhaps, as arguments of persuasive power addressed to Democrats, conjuring them, in the name of the President, to stand by him in his policy. Mr. Speaker, if a stranger to our institutions could have heard this debate he would have pertinently asked in what capacity are these men assembled in this Hall? Are we here as the representatives of a great people to declare law, or are we here as a degenerate Senate to record the rescripts of the emperor?

Gentlemen have been complimented by the monometallists on this floor for the courage of expressing their convictions, and of changing from the bimetallic standard of the people. I think that the plaudits which those gentlemen have elicited here are but a poor exchange for offended constituencies. [Applause.] Sir, I am here to twit no man for any change of purpose, because I myself will not vote as I intended to vote when I first came into this Hall. I came here standing upon the Democratic platform. I believed it to be an enunciation of political principles not only intended to declare the policy of my party, but handed to us as a letter of instruction for our guidance in legislation.

I can not subscribe to the sentiment of my eloquent and distinguished friend from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER] when he speaks of its declarations as "glittering generalities." They are not a group of postulates, handed down to the people to be afterwards reasoned out to correct conclusions. They do not glitter like the milky way, that "meeting of gentle lights without a name," but each separate, distinct proposition stands forth a complete orb blazing as a great fountain and center of political light. The people who met in Chicago through their representatives meant what they said, and I would like to inquire of my friend from Maryland whether in the canvass which he prosecuted with such distinguished ability, he told his audiences that he was talking to them about "glittering generalities"? [Laughter].

The people had met there in convention and they knew what they wanted, and every man who sits in this Hall as a Democrat to-day stands pledged upon his honor as a Representative to carry into full effect and force every pledge made in that platform. The convention rejected a proposition on a vital question—the tariff—because it was a false echo to the popular demand. For what purposes, with what intent, were "glittering generalities" placed in a national platform? Was it for the purpose of deceiving the voters? No, sir; that platform was but an expression of the popular will, as voiced by the representatives whom they sent to that convention. If those generalities were put there at all as generalities, they were put there to induce, by persuasive power, the people who held the ballot to support the candidates nominated upon that platform.

Would those candidates have been nominated and elected unless it was thought that they reflected the wishes and the will of the soverign people of this country? Mr. Speaker, I came here announcing in the newspapers, which did me the honor to interview me, that I was for the prompt, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the Sherman act; but I added that I stood upon the Democratic platform, and wanted all the things to follow that had been nominated therein. But when I ascertain from the President's message, when I learn from the debates in this Hall and from private conversation with monometallists, that it is not intended that this Congress shall perfect any measure that will secure bimetallism, then I, perhaps the only one in this House, have changed my front without changing my views.

I intend now to vote against the repeal of the Sherman law. [Applause.] I intend to carry out, so far as my vote and my speech can do so, every declaration and every promise made by the convention of my party.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. KYLE. I ask unanimous consent that the time of my colleague [Mr. MONEY] be extended five minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. RAYNER. I would like to ask the gentleman from Mississippi a question.

Mr. MONEY. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. RAYNER. I wish to ask whether in the Democratic convention at Chicago free coinage resolutions were not voted down?

Mr. MONEY. I was not a member of that convention; I never heard that it did. I am speaking of the platform as published to the people of the United States, the platform upon which you and I made our canvasses, and upon which Grover Cleveland was elected President of the United States.

Mr. RAYNER. If free-coinage resolutions were voted down do you not think that shows what was the intention of the convention?

Mr. MONEY. I do not know the terms of the resolution to which the gentleman refers; I do not know that there was such a resolution, though, of course, I do not question the gentleman's statement. But whatever may have been voted down it is to be assumed that the convention carefully weighed every resolution which was adopted. I am not talking of resolutions which failed. I am talking of those upon which the convention impressed the stamp of its authority and delivered to the people of the United States as a pledge of the performance of the members of that party here and at the other end of the Capitol and at the other end of the avenue. There is not a member now on this floor, whether he be Democrat, Republican, or Populist, who was not pledged to bimetallism in one shape or another.

Gentlemen speak of the platform of the Democratic party demanding the repeal of the Sherman law. Is there any such proposition before this House? That platform did not ask for the repeal of only a single section of the Sherman law; it asked for the repeal of the whole law; and that demand was embraced in the seventh section of the platform, which was intended to cover this whole money question as a unit, not in fragments. That platform declared for the rehabilitation of silver, and all of our platforms have so declared. We said last year, gentlemen, that we had not had the power to carry out the will of the people in this particular, but that if a Democratic administration should be placed in power by their suffrages they should have the use of silver at some ratio to be afterward determined.

Why was the repeal of the Sherman law demanded by the convention at Chicago? That law was not condemned on account of its positive demerits—not condemned *per se*—but because it was a "makeshift" substitute for a free-coinage act; and the gentleman from Maryland knows that fact. Why, sir, the author of the Sherman act has declared that his only excuse for pre-

senting such a measure was to prevent the passage of a free-coinage act. And in that view every Democrat on this floor voted against that act and every Republican for it. We believed the Sherman law bad, but not worse than nothing; bad compared with free coinage, which is good and which we demanded. The repeal is demanded in order that we may make way for free silver, not to make way for the destruction of silver. That is the obvious, the fair reading of the resolution, according to my rule of construction. The voters so understood it and received it and voted for it. The canvassers and candidates so understood it, expounded it, and spoke for it. Mr. Cleveland so understood it and indorsed it in his letter of acceptance, and although a makeshift for free coinage, and bad in comparison, yet it does give each month to the country $4,000,000 in Treasury notes—better than greenbacks, because they pay import duties; because it coins $2,000,000 a month of silver dollars; because it aids to keep down the rising price of gold, which, as it appreciates in price, depreciates all products of human industry, and in that the wages of labor, and makes more grievous to be borne the burden of every debt in the land. The Sherman law had another value: the purchase of 54,000,000 of ounces of silver each year, which it orders, is the basis of every proposition made in international conferences for the restoration of silver to its ancient use as one of the money metals of the world.

Now, I can not charge inconsistency upon the other side of the House because they rush forward so readily and anxiously to slay their own bantling. They have pursued a persistent opposition to the use of silver as money. They voted for the Sherman act, not because they wanted such an enactment, but to prevent the free coinage of silver. They are monometallists; they wish to enhance the price of gold, to increase its purchasing power; they want the single gold standard; every law against silver was their work. And when they see the chance to take another step in the direction of preventing such coinage, they come out like men and do it.

I care nothing about the charge of inconsistency. The greatest English statesman of this century has said that the vanity of consistency is the vice of statesmen. We all know the maxim that he is a fool who never changes his opinion. But, gentlemen, we are too fresh from our pledges to the people now to prove recalcitrant to the trust which we received at their hands. No man can escape the force of a moral obligation; it bears just as heavily upon the Kaiser as upon the peasant. We are told, too, that we shall be treasonable to the President if we do not yield to an intimation of the Executive pleasure in this matter.

Gentlemen, I do not associate the President with any such statement as that. I have too much respect for him as an individual and for his office; but I respect him for those qualities which I respect in other men. We are told that we shall be untrue to the President if we do not stand up here and vote to repeal, not the Sherman law, but a particular section of it. Well, are we to be untrue to him, or to the people of the United States? Fourteen million votes were cast at the last election, and every one of them was cast for a candidate standing on a platform that demanded the free coinage of both metals.

Our duty here is to those who sent us here. We are not sitting in a house of lords where a member represents himself and his own interests. We are here simply as the proxies of constituencies; and those constituencies have spoken in such tones that no man can misunderstand them unless he chooses to do so. We do not want to hear anything, then, about the persuasive power of the Executive in matters of this sort. I do not believe it has been exerted: it has only been talked about, and I believe without the President's approval.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. STOCKDALE. I ask that the time of my colleague be extended for ten minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. MONEY. It may be true, Mr. Speaker, that there is a higher sense of duty than that which the Representative owes to his constitutents; but when I take at the desk here an oath to support the Constitution of the United States I take it as a Representative, not as a mere individual subject to change of conviction and likely to present my own private views instead of those which the program of my party may have laid down for me. I do not take any personal oath of allegience to the President of the United States, or any other man.

I say, sir, that suggestions of this character are improper in this Hall; they are an affront to the dignity of this body. We are part of a great coördinate branch of this Government; and we ought to be presumed to be not only capable of acting, but determined to act independently of any suggestion whatever that may come from any quarter, and last of all from the Executive. Subserviency is the most dangerous quality of which Congress can be capable, and more disastrous in its consequences than any possible settlement of the silver question.

It was the care of those sages, patriots, and heroes who founded this Government, and who thought they had devised a new method by which popular institutions could be perpetuated, that there should be an absolute divorce between the three branches of this Government and the absolute independence of each.

It was never intended that the President of the United States should do more than suggest in his message to Congress what measures he thought demanded its attention. That he has done, Mr. Speaker, in a clear, forcible, and manly way. He has presented his views upon this question to us. And we are also told here, and I am astonished at the statement, coming as it did time after time from the lips of gentlemen on the other side of this question, that we had no business nominating Mr. Cleveland with our knowledge of his previous standing on the question of silver.

Is it true, Mr. Speaker, that antecedent statements or expressions of a candidate are to abrogate the force of party platforms? Is it true that when you select a candidate that he is to be his own platform unto himself, and the great masses of the Democratic party and their declarations are to go for naught? Is one man to step into the scale and then the balance of his party to fly up in the other end?

But, Mr. Speaker, it is not true; because Mr. Cleveland gave his indorsement in his letter accepting the nomination to the proposition for the coinage of both metals, silver and gold, at a parity to be fixed by Congress—he, too, declared that the readjustment of the relations between the two metals was the policy of the Democratic party. So that part of the excuse for repeal fails.

We hear a great deal of talk about what the people of the country demand. Who is to judge what they want? Every man believes his constituents to be the people, and I have heard distinguished gentlemen here, over and over again, detailing the direful results which would follow to the members of this House who dared to depart from the will of the people, which will was the repeal of the Sherman act. Well, Mr. Speaker, the latest we have heard from the people of the United States in regard to that question was in the November election, and I repeat it, sir, that every man who cast a ballot at that election for the platform of the Democratic party cast a vote that demanded the free and equal coinage of both silver and gold on some ratio to be fixed by legislative enactment.

Then we are told that terrible results will follow if we do not repeal this law; that there is a great panic in the country caused by the Sherman act. I deny that it is the cause. There is a panic prevailing; that no man can deny, but it does not necessarily follow that it comes from the Sherman act. There is a depression in industry not only in this country, but all over the world, in every land, in every industry, in everything except gold. Do you mean to contend that that is because of the operation of the Sherman act? If gentlemen will read the monetary history of Christendom for the last twenty years they will be able to trace its origin and cause.

When silver was demonetized by the United States and Germany in 1873 the ablest minds in the world, who had made a study of financial questions, predicted that the very things which have happened would happen. Their prophecies have been verified as fully as any recorded in Holy Writ. Mr. Ernest Seyd, Wolowski, Molesworth, Allard, Mr. Balfour, and all the able publicists of the time, declared that the demonetization of silver would be followed inevitably by falling prices all over the globe, by the appreciation of gold, and by the necessary ruin and commercial distress that would follow from it. That declaration has been fulfilled to the very letter.

So deep was the distress, so universal the depreciation of prices, that the English Government thought it of sufficient moment to appoint a royal commission in 1885 to inquire into the depression of prices. The commission was composed of the ablest men in England. Much evidence was taken, and all available statistics were carefully examined, and they came to these conclusions: That the depression dated from the year 1873, or thereabouts; that it extended to nearly every branch of industry, not only in England, but to all the industrial countries of the world; that it appeared to be closely connected with the serious fall in general prices; that the duration of the depression had been unusual and abnormal, and that no adequate cause was discoverable unless it was found in the general dislocation of values found in currency changes.

This commission recommended that another commission be appointed to inquire into the relative value of gold and silver. The last commission indorsed the findings of the first, and further added, that the destruction of the old relative value between silver and gold had practically turned legitimate commerce into gambling.

They tell us that things have gone down, but gold has not

gone up. Why, we were asked the other day if we could point to a man, in all of this discussion, who could prove the appreciation in the value of gold.

Mr. Speaker, we are asked to prove a self-evident proposition. It is just as if I should take you to that window, invite your attention to the magnificent landscape that spreads its glorious beauties under the sun, and then be asked to prove that there is a Potomac River or a Washington Monument. You do not prove things obvious to the senses. Not only has the enormous appreciation of gold been proven by the fulfillment of prediction, but by the royal commission appointed by the Imperial Government to make an inquiry into the matter and to report upon these things, as well as by every monometallist in Europe, as well as the bimetallists.

Mr. Balfour said that in fifteen years it had appreciated 35 per cent. Every delegate who debated the question of silver on either side in the international conference said that gold has appreciated; some that the appreciation was 50 per cent. How prove it? By showing you the cause and effect. It is a fact well attested that there was a depreciation of prices and an appreciation of gold following the demonetization of silver; it was a synchronism so striking that they themselves are put upon explanation to show that the two things do not stand in the relation of cause and effect. But it can be proved strictly by the rules of logic, because every man knows when you strike down silver in any country in the world, when you deprive it of its functions as money, you have increased the demand for gold. You know how even the gentlemen who favor this repeal have told us that the earlier we began in the scramble for gold the sooner we would get our share of it. That has been stated over and over again by the advocates of repeal. Then, if it is true, according to the natural law of trade, the law of supply and demand, when you increase the demand for anything you increase its price.

Then there has been an increasing demand for gold and there has been an appreciation of the price of gold. Then if we strike down silver to-day, continuing the decline in the price of silver which followed the closing of the mints in India to free coinage, where will the price of silver go? You make your condition worse by this act, for not one single advocate of the repeal of this act has indicated in any speech in this House that those who favor this policy are willing to take upon themselves the task of adjusting the ratio between gold and silver and providing for its coinage.

My distinguished colleague [Mr. CATCHINGS], who, I think, made the ablest speech that has been made on that side of the question in this House, distinctly announced that he would not, at this time, vote for the free coinage of silver at any ratio.

In the international monetary conference last year, Mr. Rothschild, a delegate of Great Britain and the highest representative of the creditor class in the world, declared that England must be true to her interests and remain monometallist, because she was the creditor of the world and London was the banker of the world, for all bills of exchange were naturally payable in gold. He gave this warning: "If this conference were to break up without arriving at any definite result, there would be a depreciation in the value of silver which it would be frightful to contemplate, and out of which a monetary panic would ensue, the far-spreading effects of which it would be impossible to foretell." Mr. Goschen, a British delegate, made substantially the same statement in the Paris conference of 1878.

The closing of the mints of India to the free coinage of silver was hastened, if not caused, by the apprehension of the action now proposed. The first proposition submitted by Great Britain at the last monetary conference was that the United States should continue the purchase of the amount of silver provided by the Sherman act, as a basis of any international agreement to be made for the rehabilitation of silver as the money of the world.

If, by this proposed legislation, you destroy this prerequisite of international agreement, it is idle to talk here or elsewhere of trusting the fate of silver to future conferences. We are about to strike the last blow that destroys one-half the money metals of the world, that dangerously narrows the basis of all credit, that fetters all enterprises, hampers all commerce, discourages industrial energies, lowers wages, and increases all debts. We take a dreadful responsibility, and upon our action hangs the welfare of the millions of this country and of the world.

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] who spoke so forcibly an hour ago on the other side of this question, declared that there were two great uses of money; that one was as the standard of value, and the other as a store of value; and he said, "Does a man want to store his values, the reward of his labor, in a money that is constantly depreciating?" That, he said, would be a great hardship. So it would; but he takes only one view of the case, and sees one side only of this silver shield. I will call his attention, and the attention of the House, to the fact that there is a third use of money, more important to the masses than either of those he mentioned, and that is, that it is the standard of value of deferred payments.

That is where the shoe pinches. That is where the hardship is to be affixed upon the toiling millions of this land. It is true that a man does not want to store the reward of his efforts in a coin of falling value, but it is much harder that the man who is in debt to-day should be compelled to store the wages of his labor, present and future, to meet the amount of his indebtedness in a coin that is constantly appreciating, as the record shows, at a rate that would make it impossible for him to ever deliver himself from the burden. [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. DURBOROW. Mr. Speaker, I do not rise to address the House in the expectation that I may add anything new to this debate, already distinguished by great learning and eloquence; but in this crisis, the greatest since the days of reconstruction, it is the duty of every man who has clear convictions to express them.

On the one hand we have heard of the advantages to accrue to the debtor class and the miner by reason of the free coinage of silver; and on the other hand charges of extortion are made against the banker and the merchant by reason of their advocacy of a single gold standard. I represent neither of these classes, but, believing the object of legislation to be the greatest good to the greatest number, and that the banker, the merchant, the farmer, and the miner is each entitled to his due, I shall know none of the interests of the one except in relation to those of the other.

If there is one consideration more than another which makes me a Democrat it is the fact that the Democratic party is the party of the people, because its legislation has always been in the interest of the masses as against those of any class or section. The responsibility of our party was never greater than it is to-day. It is called upon to supply the country with a sound currency, equally adapted to all classes and conditions of the people.

We suffer to-day more from impairment of credit than from scarcity of money. Commercial experience teaches that sound money will carry twenty or more times its value in credit. It is the quality rather than the quantity of money which forms a sound financial system. Our trouble arises not so much from a lack of money as from a lack of confidence in the quality of the money we have. Confidence is the measure of credit. Confidence is therefore far more important than money; but only the soundest money can give stable credit.

The history of money is the history of civilization. Pebbles, arrows, and skins sufficed for the aborigines. As trade increased a metallic money appeared. Later commerce demanded that the medium of exchange should be made of certain metals everywhere recognized to have distinct value. Where a sufficient quantity of these precious metals could not be obtained it was necessary to supplement them with other articles. In the early days of our own history merchandise like tobacco was frequently used as money, and within a few years the fees in the Supreme Court of the United States were calculated on the basis of the value of this staple.

In Massachusetts, at one time, it was permissible to pay the public taxes in cows, and true Yankee thrift soon sent to the tax gatherer the lean and scrawney kine, while the good ones were retained to increase the possessions of their owners. Even such a system of money as this was much less serious in domestic trade than in foreign. No foreign tradesman wanted such money; he would accept nothing but coin. The foreigner always insists upon the best money or its equivalent.

Some gentlemen affect contempt for the foreign tradesman. My eloquent friend from Nebraska asks, "Are we an English colony or an independent nation?" Mr. Speaker, I say that in trade we are neither. We are nothing less and nothing more than a great and powerful state in the world's confederation of commerce. Let us not mistake isolation for independence. The Chinese wall is no fit emblem for Democracy. Such a policy means a step backward to the civilization which only needs a money that will circulate at home.

Exclusion enriches no one. Nations, like individuals, grow rich through trade. In our colonial days England tried to shut us off from commerce with all nations save herself; but when we became independent the wise men who established this Government favored the greatest freedom of trade. And when in time the nations of Europe were engrossed in wars and in destroying the commerce of one another, the liberal policy of the United States enabled us to make exchanges with all Europe; and it is a fact that the miraculous enrichment of this country in the early years of the century was almost entirely due to our extensive commerce.

We are told that England is able to maintain a gold standard because she is a creditor nation. Shall we now, by legislation, render it impossible for our country to attain that same high position? London is the center of the world's exchange, because the English standard does not vary. All nations, at all times, know the value of the pound sterling.

Where England is strong, see how weak we are to-day. Had the American silver dollar the certain value of the pound sterling, we should never have known the present crisis. But our coin has lost the confidence of the people, and unwise legislation has increased their distrust. Confronted by this situation, we already know that the people demand the repeal of the law which requires our Government to furnish a market for the product of our silver mines.

In the whole course of this debate no one has ventured to champion the Sherman law. All admit that its obnoxious silver-purchase clause should be repealed, but as yet neither we nor the people know exactly what legislation will best meet future needs. Whether justly or not, the masses believe that the Sherman law is mainly responsible for our financial distress and that its unconditional repeal will bring a measure of relief. But if we add a condition to this repeal, we must not expect that the present hoarders of money will open their coffers before the full effects of the new measure shall be ascertained. Until they do this, stringency will surely continue and commerce and industry stagnate.

In 1876, as to day, the Democratic party was divided on the question of relieving the then distressed financial condition of the country, and while many of its members were affected by the fiat craze, yet our national convention of that year placed before the people that great son of New York, Samuel J. Tilden, known to all as an earnest supporter of a sound medium of exchange. Such was his strength with the people and such their confidence in him that the fiat idea was discarded, and we won. The situation of to-day is strangely similar. Our party is again divided; it needs a staunch defender.

At a critical moment in French history the assembly sent for a young lieutenant named Napoleon. When asked if he could protect them from the mob of Paris, he replied, "I always do what I undertake." We now have a leader who has never lacked courage or success. With that keen perception and sturdy advocacy of what he believes to be right he has already pointed out to us the path of honesty and safety. We really won in 1876 because Tilden stood for sound money and because we were wise enough to support him. Let us not fail to support our leader now. [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. SPRINGER was recognized.

Mr. RAYNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois be given one hour in which to complete his address.

There was no objection.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, Congress has been called together in extraordinary session by the President of the United States for the purpose of considering the present financial condition of the country. This session has been called in midsummer, at a time when legislative bodies are rarely convened, and when ordinary avocations are suspended, and those whose circumstances will permit it take a vacation for rest and recuperation. The time fixed for our convening suggests an extraordinary occasion, an emergency imperatively demanding remedial legislation.

Now that we are assembled as representatives of the people in this body and as representatives of the States in the other Chamber, it is our duty to consider calmly and dispassionately the present condition of the country, to take into consideration the cause of the present financial depression, and to apply, if possible, a remedy. It is our duty, as the chosen representatives of the people, to afford such relief as may be in our power to grant. It remains to be seen whether we will rise to the importance of the occasion, meet fully the expectations of our constituents, and afford the fullest measure of relief that legislation can bring to bear.

We have already devoted in this House, when our day's deliberations have concluded, fourteen days continuously to general debate upon the financial condition of the country. The present depression, amounting at times to a panic, and at present to a complete paralysis of business, demands and should receive a most patient, careful, and patriotic consideration. Mere partisan considerations should be laid aside; all selfish ambitions should be discarded, and the people's representatives should arise to the high plane of statesmanship which such an emergency demands.

Since I have been in public life no such condition of things as now exists has been experienced. Whatever may be the causes of the present depression—and I shall refer to them later on—the evil hour is upon us; the disaster is widespread, the ruin almost universal. It is not a financial crisis affecting the capitalists of the country alone; it is not a Wall street panic; it is not the throes of Lombard street when the house of Baring Brothers tottered to ruin.

The business interests in every part of the country are prostrated, and even paralyzed; thousands upon thousands of men are out of employment; factories are closed; riots are threatened, and the red flag of the anarchists is flaunted in the presence of public assemblies. Workingmen are demanding employment in all parts of the country. Those still retaining positions are subjected to great reductions in compensation. In the city of Chicago the newspapers inform us that one hundred and fifty thousand men are out of work, and the suffering is great. Mass meetings are being held to take measures for relief. At Milwaukee a mob of two hundred men marched through the street to the court-house and called for the mayor, but a few days ago, and demanded work, amid cries of "Bread."

In New York City the number of the unemployed is increasing daily, and are now estimated at over 200,000. The papers inform us that bloody riots are threatened. Fully 3,000 longshoremen are idle, striking against reductions of pay. Hundreds of banks have failed, the liabilities aggregating many millions, and the assets insufficient to satisfy the demands of the depositors. Since July 14, 1892, more than 150 national banks have failed. Others are trembling upon the brink of ruin. In fact, so far as banking is concerned in the great cities of the country, there is an actual suspension of currency payments.

Only a few days ago a member of this House having over $13,000 on deposit in a New York bank was refused at the counter of the bank $200 in currency on his own check. Whether these conditions be fancied or real; whether they are due in part to the fault of those who would coerce legislation by threatened financial disaster; whether they be the result of conditions brought about by legislation heretofore, or merely imaginary, still, they do exist, whatever the causes may be, whatever the objects may be, and we are called upon as representatives of the people to afford such legislative remedies as may be in our power to do.

Much has been said during this debate as to the causes of the present financial depression. It has been attributed to nearly every fact which has occurred in the history of the country during the past thirty years. I attribute the actual condition which now exists in the country to three controlling and fundamental causes. Others have contributed collaterally, but these three are enough of themselves to have produced the result: First, the tariff legislation since the war, the protective tariff laws which are imposing enormous burdens upon the people of the country to protect favorite interests.

These enormous burdens have aggregated hundreds of millions of dollars every year, which have been extorted from the toil, from the sweat, from the labor of the producers and turned over to the favored few, the capitalists and the money power of the country. This drain upon the people's resources, this making of the rich richer and the poor poorer has been going on, year after year, for more than a quarter of a century, and it would be strange, indeed, if it could go on continually without impoverishing its victims. I estimate the burden upon the people during the last thirty years, caused by the protective-tariff system of this country, at more than $500,000,000 a year.

This legislative bounty to the favored classes has unnaturally stimulated production in many directions, and caused enormous enterprises to be entered upon, only in the end to disappoint the expectations of their promoters. There has been overproduction by this unnatural stimulant; there has been overborrowing, over trading, overdrafting, and thus inevitable disaster. It is therefore the duty of this Congress, and among the first and the greatest of its duties, to apply the remedy which can come by the repeal of all the laws which have contributed to these conditions and to establish, as the Democratic party has pledged to bring about, a policy of tariff for revenue only. That the Democratic party will keep that pledge I have not the slightest doubt; and the sooner the country is advised of the details of that great measure, the better it will be for all concerned.

The second cause, in my judgment, for the present financial condition is found in the demonetization of silver in 1873; and the third cause, the authority given by the Sherman act to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver each month, and issue Treasury notes thereon, which Treasury notes, under the ruling of the Treasury Department, were redeemable in gold. The collateral thus held for the redemption of these notes, namely, silver bullion, was discredited even as a collateral, and the sole basis for the new issues of Treasury notes was the faith of the United States for their redemption in coin; and when presented for redemption,

they become a charge upon the $100,000,000 of gold reserve funds for the redemption of greenbacks.

The operation of this law caused an apprehension in the minds of investors, both in this country and in Europe, that if it were continued as a part of the policy of the United States, it would inevitably result in precipitating silver payments and bring our country to a silver-bullion basis. This apprehension, whether well founded or not, has contributed largely to precipitate the present financial crisis, the conditions for which were made possible by the other causes to which I have referred. There are, of course, other causes which might be referred to, but these three, it seems to me, are those most responsible. The effect of the act of 1873, which demonetized one-half of the money of the people, was not realized until 1878 when the United States resumed specie payments.

From early in the war until 1878 the Government of the United States was neither on a gold basis nor a silver basis nor a bimetallic basis. Our sole currency was paper, depending for its ultimate redemption upon the faith of the United States. After the resumption of specie payments in 1878, it became apparent that one-half of the money of the people had become obliterated by acts which took place at a time when the people scarcely knew that such a thing was contemplated. In fact, it is charged that the act of demonetization passed both Houses of Congress without the knowledge of more than half a dozen of its members; without the knowledge of the Speaker of this House or the then President of the United States who approved the measure.

Gentlemen, since this debate began, have often stated that we must not demonetize silver; that to demonetize silver would produce this and that direful consequence. This statement is misleading. Silver has been demonetized for twenty years, and the acts that have been passed since that time have had but little or no effect as measures of remonetization. The first act passed authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to buy, at its market value, not less than $2,000,000 worth or not more than $4,000,000 worth of silver bullion, and to coin the same each month into silver dollars; and provided for the issue of silver certificates upon the deposit of such dollars in the Treasury.

Each Secretary of the Treasury since that time has exercised his discretion by causing the lowest amount of silver which the law provided to be purchased and coined. This act remained in force until it was repealed by what is known as the Sherman law of July 14, 1890. The number of standard silver dollars heretefore coined under the acts of February 28, 1878, and of July 14, 1890, up to August 16, 1893, amounted to $419,332,450. On the same day there were in the Treasury, purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, 133,161,375 ounces of fine silver, which cost the Government $121,217,677. On the 1st of August, 1893, the Secretary of the Treasury reports that there were in the Treasury 363,108,461 silver dollars and $2,843,114 in silver certificates. He also estimated that upon that day there were 56,000,000 standard silver dollars and $64,000,000 in subsidiary sliver coins and $330,000,000 in silver certificates in circulation.

These statements will serve to show the important results which have been brought about by the passage of the Bland-Allison act of 1878. Let us contemplate for one moment what would be the present condition of the country financially if these silver certificates now in circulation, amounting to $330,000,000, and the standard silver dollars, amounting to $56,000,000, were withdrawn from the money of the country. In the midst of the present currency famine, who can estimate the extent to which it would be aggravated and the enormous depression which would result if nearly $400,000,000 of money, now in circulation, were withdrawn from the channels of trade and destroyed?

It must be remembered, however, that this enormous addition to the circulating medium of the country has had no effect upon, and has in no way conduced to, the remonetization of silver as a part of the money of the country. The price of silver bullion has continually fallen in the market until it reached its lowest depth on the 24th of July last, when it sold at 69 cents an ounce. This enormous depreciation can only be realized when we remember that silver at a parity with gold on a ratio of 16 to 1 is worth $1.27 an ounce. The currency which has been furnished to the people by the Bland-Allison and Sherman acts could have been issued as currency, as the greenbacks have been, without the intervention of silver, and based upon the faith and credit of the United States.

The fact that silver is held as a collateral for their redemption has added nothing to the face value of the silver certificate, it passing at par with the paper obligations of the Government and depending for its money power and purchasing capacity on the pledge of the United States that its parity should be maintained with gold, and that it should be received for all dues to the Government and be a legal tender in the payment of debts. These acts, therefore, were not the acts of remonetization. They have not given us a bimetallic standard. We are still, and have been since the resumption of specie payments, upon a gold basis, and all the silver which has been purchased and coined was purchased at its value in gold in the markets of the world; and all of our values in this country, since the resumption of specie payments, have been gold values and based upon a gold monometallic standard.

If, instead of the Bland-Allison act of 1873, we had remonetized silver, instead of $330,000,000 in silver certificates and $56,000,000 in coin in circulation, the coinage of the silver dollar and the maintenance of its parity at the existing ratio of 16 to 1 would have enormously increased the money of the country, and would, in my judgment, if passed at that time, have maintained silver at par with gold at the then existing ratio. The demonetization of silver by this country and the other countries of the world has deprived the people of one-half of the money which would otherwise have been obtainable in the payment of debts. Hence, I reiterate that the three great causes of our present depression were, first, the protective tariff laws, which have exacted millions of dollars of tribute from the people; second, depriving the people of one-half of the money which they otherwise would have had for bearing these burdens and paying these exactions; and, third, the Sherman act of July 14, 1890.

I have voted for every measure which has passed this House in the direction of free and unlimited coinage of silver. I voted for the original free-coinage bill, which passed this House in 1878. I voted for the Bland-Allison amendment, which became a law during that year; I voted for its passage over the veto of the then President of the United States. Since that time, whenever an occasion has presented itself, I have stood with those upon this floor who have demanded the largest possible use of both silver and gold as a part of the money of the people. I voted also against the Sherman law, as did every other Democrat upon this floor. No law ever passed by Congress has degraded silver more than has that act.

The demonetization of silver in 1873 did not destroy silver as money as much as has the Sherman act. The average price of silver bullion for the fiscal year 1890 was $0.968 per ounce, and the value of the bullion in our silver dollar was nearly $0.75. Since the passage of the Sherman act, July 14, 1890, silver has steadily declined, until in July of this year it sold for $0.72 an ounce, and the value of the bullion in the silver dollar was only $0.56. This shows that the depreciation of silver in the three years since the passage of the Sherman act has been greater than it was during the sixteen years which cover the period from the time of demonetization until the passage of the Sherman law.

The depreciation during the first period of sixteen years was 24.4 per cent, and for the second period of three years it was 25 per cent. The Sherman law is in no respect an aid to remonetization of silver. Its continuance upon the statute book is not only a menace to the business of the country, but an insurmountable obstacle in the path of perfect remonetization.

Mr. Speaker, I stand unequivocally upon the seventh section of the Democratic platform, adopted at Chicago in June, 1892. That section is as follows:

SEC. 7. We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver, without discrimination against either metal, or charge for mintage; but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted by international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the market and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

This platform has been so often quoted during this debate and so variously commented upon that its terms have become perfectly familiar to the members of this House and to the whole country. I will be pardoned, however, for calling attention to the fact that the first obligation which it imposes upon the Democratic party, the first pledge which it gave and which it must keep, is to repeal the Sherman act of 1890, which is denounced as a "cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal."

We have promised, Mr. Speaker, in this platform "a speedy repeal." That does not imply that we are to postpone repeal until we can devise a comprehensive financial system for this country which will meet the requirements of business for all time to come. It does not imply that we are to incorporate in this repeal bill any other provisions than that of naked repeal itself. It does not require that we should, in the same act, re-

monetize silver, or incorporate provisions revising the tariff, or repealing the 10 per cent tax upon State bank circulation, or repeal the national election laws, or carry out any of the other pledges of the Democratic party in the same act of legislation. It is not the custom of Congress to incorporate in one bill all the measures of legislation which it is incumbent upon Congress to enact.

We have been called together by the President in extraordinary session for the sole purpose of effecting the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. The whole business interests of the country are demanding its immediate repeal. All parties in this country, all parties represented upon this floor, are agreed that the purchasing clause of the Sherman act should be repealed. All propositions pending before this House include its repeal, and it is the consensus of opinion throughout the whole country that repeal is demanded. Shall we answer this universal demand for repeal, a demand which meets with no negative response throughout the length and breadth of the land, with the statement that we will not repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act until Congress agrees to do something else on some other matter.

The matters especially pressing upon our attention to be incorporated in the same bill, are the various propositions which are to be submitted by the honorable gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND]. Those proposed amendments provide for the remonetization of silver and its free and unlimited coinage at various ratios, from 16 up to 20 to 1. These measures, however meritorious they may be of themselves and in separate bills, were not, in a parliamentary sense, even germane to the repeal bill, and it was only by agreement of all parties upon the floor that they were to be moved at this time. We are under no more obligation to do this than to insist upon the incorporation of a general revision of the tariff into this measure, and insist upon that before repeal shall be granted.

Why not incorporate the tariff into the repeal bill? Because all will agree that it is a subject of infinite detail and should be considered by itself and on its own merits. Is not the great question of the revision of the tariff as important to the people at this time as the remonetization of silver itself? And shall we leave one of these great measures out and insist upon putting the other in? Or shall we leave them both to stand upon their individual merits, and receive that due and deliberate consideration to which the magnitude of the subjects involved entitles them? What is the pledge of the Democratic party in reference to these two measures, the tariff and silver? I have already read the platform in reference to silver. In reference to the tariff our platform, passed in June, 1892, says:

> We denounce Republican protection as a fraud; a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the Government when honestly and economically administered.
>
> We denounce the McKinley tariff law enacted by the Fifty-first Congress as the culminating atrocity of class legislation; we indorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present [the last] Congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw materials and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into home consumption, and we propose its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic party.

Our pledges to carry out these two propositions are equally sacred, and must be kept in both cases to the very letter. It is just as parliamentary, just as reasonable, to insist that the tariff bill shall be included in the bill for the repeal of the Sherman act as to insist that the measure for the remonetization of silver shall also be incorporated in that act.

In reference to silver, our platform declares that "we hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, without discrimination against either metal or charge for mintage?" So far there is no difference of opinion anywhere as to the meaning of the Democratic platform.

It is so clear and free from ambiguity that no one can misunderstand its meaning. But there is something else promised. What is it? "The dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value." How can this be secured? Two ways are pointed out. One provides that it may be adjusted "by international agreement;" the other, "by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the market and in the payment of debts." I have already referred to the great disparity which exists at this time between the bullion and coinage value of the silver dollar.

The depreciation of silver has, in my judgment, resulted from two causes: first, its demonetization by the United States and other great powers of the world; and secondly, by the enormous increased production of silver bullion since demonetization took place. I will incorporate in my remarks a statement, which I have received from the Director of the Mint, of the production of gold and silver in the world during the past one hundred years. Between 1792 and 1848, the estimates are given by periods of years; after that time, the production of each year is stated separately.

This statement shows, so far as silver is concerned, the number of fine ounces produced and its coining value in separate columns. The coining value referred to is that which existed in the country where the production was coined. It will be seen that, during the past one hundred years, $5,600,000,000 worth of gold was produced, and over $5,100,000,000 worth of silver, estimated at its coinage value, or $500,000,000 more of gold than of silver. The coinage value of the silver produced since 1873 would be as much less, as is stated in this table, as was the difference at the time between the coinage and the bullion value of the silver. It may be worth stating in this connection, by way of digression, that if we were to draw from the world's supply of precious metals during the past hundred years, and were required to choose between a gold basis and a silver basis for our money, the supply of silver would be much less than that of gold.

But it is possible that more of the gold has been used in the arts than silver. The Director of the Mint has furnished me a statement, showing the stock of gold in the principal countries of the world, and I have requested that the countries should be classified so as to show the countries having the double standard and those having the single standard. I will incorporate that statement in my remarks. It will be seen that the aggregate gold coinage of the world is over $3,600,000,000, while the aggregate silver coinage is about $4,000,000,000.

If we should remonetize silver in this country upon the ratio of 16 to 1, one of two conditions would inevitably follow: Either the United States would at once or within a brief period of time pass from the present gold standard of values to the silver standard, or the price of silver bullion would appreciate in value to the coinage value of the silver dollar. The coinage value of the dollar would depend upon the ratio which would be established. If the ratio should be 16 to 1, the coinage value of an ounce of silver would be $1.27. If our Government should pass from the present standard to the silver basis, there would result at the same time a financial crisis in this country with which the present financial depression would be an evening zephyr to a western cyclone.

The hundreds of millions of dollars of foreign capital invested in this country would be immediately withdrawn, or withdrawn as rapidly as possible, from all the channels of our trade and industry. Our credit would be destroyed and we would be remitted to the condition of Mexico, of India, and China, and those other countries now upon a silver basis. We would be thrown out of harmony with the great commercial powers of the world, those nations that buy nearly $800,000,000 of our products every year and from which we receive almost as great an amount of their produce in return. All kinds of business would be prostrated; all classes of industry would be crippled, and in a time like that the greatest sufferers and the most defenseless victims would be the farmer and the laboring man, who depend upon their own sweat and toil for their existence.

Surely, no gentlemen upon this floor desires to take that leap into the dark; desires to plunge our country into an abyss, the horrors of which will tax the wildest fancies of the imagination. The advocates of silver do not desire or expect such a result to follow. They believe that the remonetization of silver will result in its appreciation to its coinage value, if a proper ratio is adopted. What that ratio should be presents a subject of vast importance, and one which requires the most careful and exhaustive investigation. There is no doubt but that the present depreciation of silver bullion is attributable to two causes, as I have heretofore stated, to its demonetization, and to its enlarged production.

In 1860 the value of the gold production of the world was $119,000,000. The coinage value of the silver produced was $40,000,000, and the number of ounces of fine silver 31,556,000. In 1873, when demonetization took place, the world's production of gold amounted to $96,000,000 and the coinage value of the silver produced was $81,000,000, and the number of ounces of fine silver 63,267,000. In 1892 the value of the world's product of gold was $130,000,000, the coinage value of the silver product of the world $196,000,000, and the number of fine ounces aggregated 152,000,000. In this large relative increase of silver production as compared with gold is to be found one of the causes of the depreciation of the bullion value of silver. I doubt whether, in view of the present depression of silver bullion, the United States Government of itself could maintain its parity with gold, with free and unlimited coinage at a ratio of 16 to 1.

There seems to be a general consensus of opinion in the coun-

try at this time that we can not maintain the free and unlimited coinage of silver on that ratio. The advocates of free coinage generally concede this fact, and in this House opportunity will be given, when we take a vote upon the amendment submitted by the gentleman from Missouri, to vote on separate measures from 16 up to 20 to 1. The minority report in the Senate, submitted by the distinguished Senator from Missouri, on the repeal bill pending in that body contains a provision for free coinage on the ratio of 20 to 1. At this moment I am not prepared to say whether that ratio is the correct one or so nearly approximates a just ratio, in view of all the conditions, that it could be maintained by this country alone without the aid of other governments.

The subject is one calling for careful and exhaustive consideration. We can not do it in the brief time in which a measure repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman act ought to be passed. Let the friends of free coinage, therefore, and all others who desire to bring about by law the largest possible use of both gold and silver as a part of the money of the country, unite in securing the speedy repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act; and when that is accomplished, let us devote our best efforts and energies and abilities to the passage of a measure through Congress which will crystallize into law the other pledges of the Democratic party, the tariff pledge and the silver pledge alike.

But we are told that if we allow this repeal bill to go through without incorporating into it a provision for the free and unlimited coinage of silver that some of our Democratic friends upon this floor and in the Senate, and even the President of the United States, will desert us and call a halt upon silver legislation. I do not believe it. Who is prepared to say that the Democratic party, as represented upon this floor and in the other branch of Congress and as represented in the Chief Executive of the United States, will be recreant to the solemn pledge made to the people of this country, the pledge upon which we secured at the polls in November last an unprecedented majority of the popular votes of the country.

There is just as much ground for stating that we will not carry out our pledges in reference to the tariff or to the election laws as there is for stating that we will not carry out all our pledges in regard to silver. As soon as this repeal measure is adopted I trust that the lawmaking power of the Government will enter upon the consideration of this subject, and the members of this House will put forth every effort in their power to investigate thoroughly, and afterwards to formulate properly, such a measure as will meet fully the expectations of the American people upon this subject. He who falters in that work will receive the just condemnation of his constituents.

If the faltering be upon this floor; if there be members who shall be recreant to this trust, they will find very soon that the places that now know them will know them no more forever. Some have charged that President Cleveland will not cooperate with the representatives of the people upon this subject; that he will not sign his name to a measure giving relief to the people and carrying out our pledge to make the largest possible use of gold and silver as a part of the money of the country. If it be that he will prove false to his trust, it were better for him that a millstone were tied about his neck and that he were cast into the sea.

No, Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that any gentleman upon this floor contemplates such treason. I do not believe for a moment that Grover Cleveland would, in the slightest respect, prove false to the pledges he has made. At no time in the past has he shown a disposition to shrink from the responsibilities of his station or to go back on his solemn pledges to the people. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that the representatives of the people upon this floor, the Democratic party as represented in the Senate, and the President of the United States will unite in making good the promises that we made to the people, and upon which we secured the election of a large majority of this House, a majority in the Senate, and an unprecedented majority of the electoral college in behalf of the candidates of the Democratic party.

I shall, therefore, vote for the pending bill, and in doing so I want to say to this House and to the country, and especially to the constituents that I have the honor to represent, and who have so many years confided their interests to my charge, that so far as I am concerned there will be no faltering step; there will be no hesitation: there will be no step backward in the cause of the people. They have demanded at the polls, and are entitled to receive back the money of the people, the silver dollar. They are entitled to its largest possible use. I expect to labor to the best of my abilities as a member of this House until that end is accomplished.

Mr. PICKLER. If it would not interrupt the gentleman, I would like him to state, before he sits down, in view of his high party standing, what silver legislation he thinks the President will sign?

Mr. SPRINGER. I would be very glad to enlighten my distinguished friend from South Dakota, but that is a subject that will occupy the time of the House for several weeks or months, and I decline to enter upon its discussion at this time.

Mr. PICKLER. If we are to rely on that, we ought to know what it is now.

Mr. REED. Of course it will be satifactory.

Mr. SPRINGER. I hope my distinguished friend from South Dakota will learn something upon the subject before the discussion is ended.

I have seen a letter signed by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Carlisle, addressed to the Senate Committee on Finance, under date of August 19, in which he states that, without allowance for abrasion and loss incident to melting, the value of the silver dollars heretofore coined at a ratio of 1 to 20 would be $333,000,000 (I state the figures in round numbers for convenience), or $84,000,000 less than their present face value. He also states:

To recoin these dollars at a ratio of 1 to 20 would require the addition of 81,000,000 ounces of new bullion, which, at the average price paid for silver under the act of July 14, 1890, ($0.9325) would cost $75,883,000.

He then estimates the loss by abrasion at about $3,000,000, and the cost of coinage at $3,500,000, including transportation, or an aggregate loss for recoining the silver dollars of $89,000,000. He also includes an estimated cost for recoining subsidiary silver coins amounting to $23,000,000, making a total loss, if you include the subsidiary coins, of $112,000,000. This statement is true as far as it goes, but it is somewhat misleading. I have received this day from the Director of the Mint the following letter:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF THE MINT,
Washington, D. C., August 24, 1893.

SIR: I have to reply to your letter of the 22d instant as follows:

1. The number of ounces of pure silver which the Government has purchased since the passage of the acts of February 28, 1878, and July 14, 1890, available for the coinage of silver dollars, is as follows:

	Fine ounces.	Average cost per ounce.	Cost.
Act February 28, 1878	291,272,019	$1.058	$308,199,282
Act July 14, 1890	161,521,000	.9328	150,669,459
Act March 3, 1891 (trade dollars bullion)	3,929,068	1.2777	5,020,362
Total	456,722,087		463,889,083

2. The difference between the cost of the silver purchased and coined, under acts of February 28, 1878, and July 14, 1890, to date, has been $76,944,599.

3. If the silver bullion on hand August 16, 1893—133,161,375 ounces, costing $121,217,677—were converted into silver dollars at the present ratio the gain would be $50,950,568, and if coined at a ratio of 1 to 20 the gain would be $16,420,953.

4. If the silver dollars heretofore coined were recoined at a ratio of 1 to 20, without any allowance for abrasion, they would produce $333,222,162. Adding to this the coining value of the bullion held by the Treasury (at same ratio), $137,638,630, would make a total of $470,860,792. The seigniorage on the gross amount purchased would amount to $6,991,709.

I believe that at least $3,000,000 or $3,500,000 of this would be consumed by abrasion, and loss in melting the silver dollars heretofore coined.

Very respectfully,

R. E. PRESTON,
Acting Director of the Mint.

Hon. WILLIAM SPRINGER,
House of Representatives.

It will be seen, Mr. Speaker, from the statement that has been read that the Secretary did not take into consideration the actual cost to the Government of the bullion now in the Treasury and the bullion in the silver dollars which have been coined. It also seems that he estimates the price per ounce of the silver which it would be necessary to purchase to supply the difference in passing from the ratio of 15 to 1 to 20 to 1 at the average price paid for bullion since the passage of the Bland-Allison act, namely, $0.9325 per ounce. If the cost of the bullion which it would be necessary to purchase had been put down at the average paid during the month of July last, namely, $0.724 per ounce, the estimated loss would have been much less.

The new bullion necessary for recoinage would, at the latter price, have cost only $58,916,000, or $16,966,000 less than Mr. Carlisle's estimate. The Director of the Mint, in the letter which has just been read, states that the seignoirage of the gross amount of bullion purchased under the Bland-Allison and Sherman acts, if recoined on the ratio of 20 to 1, would amount to $6,991,000. Thus it will be seen that if we should recoin all our silver bullion in the Treasury and all the standard silver dollars heretofore coined, at a ratio of 20 to 1, the Government would gain nearly $7,000,000 as between the coinage value on that ratio and the actual amount paid for the bullion in the new coins. This does not include the $5,500,000 which Mr. Carlisle estimates for the loss by abrasion, cost of coinage, and transporta-

tion: but if this amount were deducted from the $6,991,000 the Government would gain by seigniorage, it would still leave a balance of $1,490,000 as a net gain to the Government by the transaction.

It is possible that Congress may, before this session adjourns, reach the conclusion that the United States Government, of itself, can maintain free coinage upon a ratio of 20 to 1. I make this statement, therefore, to correct the impression which has gone abroad that the Government would be largely the loser by adopting that ratio.

Mr. BOATNER. Will it interrupt the gentleman from Illinois to ask him a question at this point?

Mr. SPRINGER. Probably not.

Mr. BOATNER. I would like to know of the gentleman from Illinois how he can expect that such legislation as he has described would receive his support could be had in this House when nearly every gentleman who has spoken on that side of the question is advocating and supporting this bill, and is opposed to the substitute on the ground that bimetallism and free coinage in this country at this time is impossible?

Mr. SPRINGER. Well, Mr. Speaker, I can not enter into a discussion of this at length. I will only state that I hope the eloquent gentleman from Louisiana and my other friends upon this floor will be able to convince them that when the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures of this House and the Democratic party as represented in the Senate, shall have agreed upon a measure, that it is their duty as Democrats to act with the party and not desert it in its hour of trial.

Mr. BOATNER. If you will excuse me, just one more question.

Mr. SPRINGER. Excuse me. I will trust my colleagues on that subject as I have trusted them on every subject. I may be an optimist myself, but I never distrust a gentleman until he has shown himself unworthy of my confidence.

Mr. BOATNER. But they have declared they will not do it.

Mr. SPRINGER. I believe in the principle of bimetallism. I favor the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver upon such a ratio that every dollar coined will be of "equal, intrinsic, and exchangeable value," as we have pledged the country should be done in the Chicago platform. There is not enough gold in the world with which to do the business of the world. The honorable gentlemen from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER], who first addressed the House upon the pending bill, declared that there was not a "sufficient amount of gold in existence to supply the demands of commerce and the necessities of the world's circulation." No truer statement or one of more significance has been uttered during this debate. Let this fact be conceded and the duty of this Congress is plain and unmistakable.

Mr CANNON of Illinois. I would like to ask my friend a very important question at that point.

Mr. SPRINGER. I have no doubt several gentlemen would like to ask me important questions, but I hope my colleague will excuse me.

Mr. PICKLER. Since you are an authority on finances you ought to give us your views.

Mr. SPRINGER. We must restore silver as a part of the money of the country. I regret that some members upon this floor have reached the conclusion that bimetallism is impossible except through an international agreement. If we are to wait until the great creditor nations of Europe agree to bimetallism, the world's commerce and business must be transacted for many years to come with insufficient money. The Chicago platform does not concede that we must depend upon an international agreement for bimetallism, but, on the contrary, clearly points the way to remonetization through "such safeguards of legislation" as Congress may enact.

If a proper ratio is fixed the United States Government, of itself, can maintain the parity of the two metals upon that ratio; and although other nations may refuse for a time to accept it, our silver dollar, having behind it the faith and the credit of the United States, which are pledged in the pending bill to maintain its parity with gold, will be universally accepted at its face value. Let me remind gentlemen of the unparalleled wealth and resources of the United States of America. Her faith and credit having been pledged, there is no financial system which can be devised, based upon the nation's faith and credit, which will not prove successful.

Every promise made by our country will be kept in letter and in spirit. Those trembling capitalists of this country and in the Old World who may now be panic-stricken for fear that this Government will dishonor its obligations may at once banish their fears. There need be no apprehension of this kind at this time, or at any time in the future. This Government, the richest in the world, will keep all its promises and maintain its faith and credit at all times and under all circumstances. [Loud applause.]

I will have printed as an appendix to my remarks some tables containing statistics of interest in consideration to the pending question.

APPENDIX.

Production of gold and silver in the world, 1792–1892.

Calendar years.	Gold.	Silver.		Total.
		Fine ounces.	Coining value.	
1792–1800	$106,407,000	254,352,656	$328,860,000	$435,267,000
1801–1810	118,152,000	287,468,929	371,677,000	489,829,000
1811–1820	76,063,000	173,857,922	224,786,000	300,849,000
1821–1830	94,479,000	148,069,968	191,444,000	285,923,000
1831–1840	134,841,000	212,641,171	274,930,000	409,771,000
1841–1848	291,144,000	200,722,500	259,520,000	550,664,000
1849	27,100,000	30,164,062	39,000,000	66,100,000
1850	44,450,000	30,164,062	39,000,000	83,450,000
1851	67,600,000	30,937,500	40,030,000	107,600,000
1852	132,750,000	31,401,563	40,600,000	173,350,000
1853	155,450,000	31,401,563	40,600,000	196,050,000
1854	127,450,000	31,401,563	40,600,000	168,050,000
1855	135,075,000	31,401,563	40,600,000	175,675,000
1856	147,600,000	31,440,234	40,650,000	188,250,000
1857	133,275,000	31,440,234	40,650,000	173,925,000
1858	124,650,000	31,440,234	40,650,000	165,300,000
1859	124,850,000	31,517,578	40,750,000	165,600,000
1860	119,250,000	31,556,250	40,800,000	160,050,000
1861	113,800,000	34,572,656	44,700,000	158,500,000
1862	107,750,000	34,959,375	45,200,000	152,950,000
1863	106,950,000	38,053,125	49,200,000	156,150,000
1864	113,000,000	39,986,718	51,700,000	164,700,000
1865	120,200,000	40,180,078	51,950,000	172,150,000
1866	121,100,000	39,251,953	50,750,000	171,850,000
1867	104,025,000	41,939,648	54,225,000	158,250,000
1868	109,725,000	38,845,898	50,225,000	159,950,000
1869	106,225,000	36,738,281	47,500,000	153,725,000
1870	106,850,000	39,890,038	51,575,000	158,425,000
1871	107,000,000	47,218,359	61,050,000	168,050,000
1872	99,600,000	50,466,796	65,250,000	164,850,000
1873	96,200,000	63,267,187	81,800,000	178,000,000
1874	90,750,000	55,300,781	71,500,000	162,250,000
1875	97,500,000	62,261,719	80,500,000	178,000,000
1876	103,700,000	67,753,124	87,600,000	191,300,000
1877	114,000,000	62,648,437	81,000,000	195,000,000
1878	119,000,000	73,476,562	95,000,000	214,000,000
1879	109,000,000	74,250,000	96,000,000	205,000,000
1880	106,500,000	74,791,406	96,700,000	203,200,000
1881	103,000,000	78,890,625	102,000,000	205,000,000
1882	102,000,000	86,470,312	111,800,000	213,800,000
1883	95,400,000	89,177,343	115,300,000	210,700,000
1884	101,700,000	81,597,656	105,500,000	207,200,000
1885	108,400,000	91,652,345	118,500,000	226,900,000
1886	106,000,000	93,276,562	120,600,000	226,600,000
1887	105,775,000	96,123,586	124,281,000	230,056,000
1888	110,197,000	108,827,297	140,706,000	250,903,000
1889	123,489,000	125,419,851	162,159,000	285,648,000
1890	113,150,000	133,213,008	172,235,000	285,385,000
1891	120,519,000	144,426,304	186,733,000	307,252,000
1892	130,817,000	152,061,679	196,605,000	327,422,000
Total	5,633,908,000	3,948,368,261	5,104,961,000	10,738,869,000

Stock of gold and silver in the principal countries of the world having the double standard.

Countries.	Monetary system.	Gold.	Silver.
United States	Gold and silver	$654,000,000	$575,000,000
France	do	800,000,000	700,000,000
Belgium	do	65,000,000	55,000,000
Italy	do	93,600,000	50,000,000
Switzerland	do	15,000,000	15,000,000
Greece	do	2,0000,00	4,000,000
Spain	do	40,000,000	158,000,000
Netherlands	do	25,000,000	65,000,000
Turkey	do	50,000,000	45,000,000
Japan	do	90,000,000	50,000,000
Total		1,834,600,000	1,717,000,000

Stock of gold and silver in the principal countries of the world having the single gold standard.

Countries.	Monetary system.	Gold.	Silver.
United Kingdom	Gold	$550,000,000	$100,000,000
Germany	do	600,000,000	211,000,000
Portugal	do	40,000,000	10,000,000
Austria-Hungary	do	40,000,000	90,000,000
Scandinavian Union	do	32,000,000	10,000,000
Australia	do	100,000,000	7,000,000
Egypt	do	100,000,000	15,000,000
Canada	do	16,000,000	5,000,000
Cuba, Haiti, etc	do	20,000,000	2,000,000
Total		1,498,000,000	450,000,000

Stock of gold and silver in the principal countries of the world having the single silver standard.

Countries.	Monetary system.	Gold.	Silver.
Russia	Silver	$250,000,000	$60,000,000
Mexico	do	5,000,000	50,000,000
Central America	do		500,000
South America	do	45,000,000	25,000,000
India	do		900,000,000
China	do		700,000,000
The Straits			100,000,000
Total		300,000,000	1,835,500,000

Total in the world, $3,632,600,000 gold; $4,002,500,000 silver.

BUREAU OF THE MINT, *August 16, 1893.*

Highest, lowest, and average price of silver bullion, and value of a fine ounce, bullion value of a United States silver dollar, and commercial ratio of silver to gold, by fiscal years, 1874 to 1893.

Fiscal years.	Highest.	Lowest.	Average London price per ounce standard .925.	Equivalent value of a fine ounce with exchange at par, $4.8665.	Equivalent value of a fine ounce based on average price of exchange.	Bullion value of a United States silver dollar, at average price of silver, exchange at par.	Commercial ratio of silver to gold.
	Pence.	*Pence.*	*Pence.*				
1873-'74	59 3/8	57 7/8	58.312	$1.27826	$1.28247	$0.98865	16.17
1874-'75	58 1/8	55 1/2	56.875	1.25127	1.25022	.96777	16.52
1875-'76	57 1/2	50	52.750	1.15184	1.15954	.89087	17.94
1876-'77	58 1/8	50 1/4	54.812	1.20154	1.20191	.92931	17.20
1877-'78	55 1/2	52 1/4	52.562	1.15222	1.15257	.89116	17.94
1878-'79	52 13/16	48 7/8	50.812	1.11386	1.11616	.86152	18.55
1879-'80	53 1/2	51 1/4	52.218	1.14436	1.14397	.88509	18.06
1880-'81	52 1/4	51	51.937	1.13852	1.13508	.88057	18.15
1881-'82	52 1/16	50 1/8	51.812	1.13623	1.13817	.87880	18.19
1882-'83	52 1/16	50	51.023	1.11826	1.11912	.86490	18.48
1883-'84	51 3/8	50 5/16	50.791	1.11339	1.115.9	.86115	18.56
1884-'85	50 7/8	48 1/4	49.843	1.09262	1.09226	.84507	18.92
1885-'86	49 7/16	42	47.038	1.03112	1.03295	.79750	20.04
1886-'87	47 1/8	42	44.843	.98301	.98148	.76029	21.02
1887-'88	45 5/8	41 1/2	43.675	.95741	.95617	.74008	21.59
1888-'89	44 1/2	41 1/16	42.499	.93163	.93510	.72055	22.18
1889-'90	49	42	44.196	.96883	.96839	.74932	21.33
1890-'91	54 1/2	43 7/8	47.714	1.04195	1.04780	.80588	19.83
1891-'92	46 3/8	39	42.737	.93648	.93723	.72430	22.07
1892-'93	40 7/8	30 1/2	38.375	.84123	.84263	.65063	24.57
July	34 1/2	32 1/8	33.060	.72471	.72037	.56052	28.52

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Bureau of the Mint, August 1, 1893.

Mr. SICKLES and Mr. CATCHINGS addressed the Chair.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I promised the gentleman from New York five minutes of my time.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. For what purpose does the gentleman from Mississippi arise?

Mr. CATCHINGS. After the gentleman from New York shall have had concluded I would like to be recognized.

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, the question before the House is, shall Congress obey the almost universal demand of the country for the repeal of the silver-buying clause in the Sherman act.

I shall follow the admirable example of President Cleveland, and consider the question without partisanship or recrimination. I shall not insist that the present condition of affairs is the fault of either party. I shall not contend that the advocates of a gold standard or of a silver standard or of a double standard are responsible for our present financial condition.

Nor is this the moment for defining the financial policy of the country. Large and difficult questions of finance can not be settled in a period of panic and distrust and confusion.

Nor will I affirm that the present crisis is the necessary and legitimate result of silver coinage or of the purchase of silver bullion.

We must look deeper than we have yet looked for the cause of our present situation. Meanwhile we must accept the general belief among business men that the mischief is done by buying too much silver and taking too many steps toward a silver standard for our currency.

My friend, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER], told me a few minutes ago that the Board of Trade of New York had addressed the 1,300 boards of trade of the United States, asking their views as to the proper action in the case, and only one out of 1,300 answered otherwise than that the best thing that Congress could do would be to repeal the buying clause of the Sherman silver act.

This crisis may be a periodical epoch of liquidation, such as has occurred in this country half a dozen times during the present century, aggravated, perhaps, and possibly initiated in this instance by a fear that the legislation of the last few years has rapidly led us toward a silver standard, whilst Europe inclined toward a gold standard.

I must confess my obligations to the able champions of both sides of the question for the learning and eloquence they have displayed.

I am not for a single standard, either gold or silver.

The truth is, Mr. Speaker, I have tried a single standard myself for many years, like my gallant friend from Kentucky [Mr. STONE], and I have found it so inconvenient and difficult that I can not commend it to others. [Laughter and applause.]

I am for all forms of currency—gold and silver and paper, National and State—so far as each or either can be kept at par with the best currency, as the best currency shall be determined by the commercial world.

I insist that the wages of the laborer and the price of the farmer's grain and cotton shall be paid in as good money as the bondholder gets for his bond. [Applause.] Legal tender for one must be legal tender for all. [Loud applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman has expired. The gentleman from Illinois is entitled to the floor.

Mr. SICKLES (to Mr. SPRINGER). Give me a couple of minutes?

Mr. SPRINGER. How much time have I remaining, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman has nine minutes remaining.

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield two minutes more to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, if I might venture to suggest a measure of partial relief, I would advise that pensions due for the quarter ending October 1 be paid now—assuming that the condition of the Treasury permits this to be done without inconvenience.

We have often anticipated the payment of interest upon the public debt. Why not pay out now to this large mass of public creditors distributed all over the country—men, and women, and children, who have the most touching claims upon public gratitude—thirty millions in small bills and silver? The money will go where it will do the most good—among the brave men who do not hoard their pittance from distrust of the Government they saved, and who are to-day feeble and infirm, and unable to find employment to earn a living.

There are four good reasons for repealing the act that compels the Government to buy four millions and a half of silver every month:

First. Because the act should never have passed.

Second. Because we do not need more silver. We have already more than we want.

Third. Because the Government should not be compelled to buy silver or anything else without reference to the public needs.

Fourth. Because the people ask us to stop buying silver and issuing paper for it, that the Government can not redeem in gold.

No party can afford the responsibility of prolonging for one day the present condition of affairs in our country.

Let us do this good work of repeal, and do it quickly. And then let us go home, leaving matters of ordinary legislation to the regular session.

Let us answer the appeal of the people, forgetting party, and faction and discord, as we would do if we heard the cry that our soil was invaded and our national honor assailed. [Loud applause.]

THE RULES.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I desire, on behalf of the Committee on Rules, to submit a report embracing the rules of the last House which were referred to the committee. I ask that the report be printed in the RECORD, and that the usual number be printed for distribution. I also give notice that I shall call up the rules for consideration as soon as we shall have disposed of the silver question.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

The report is as follows:

Your committee recommend the adoption of the rules of the last Congress, with certain changes which are here explained.

First. Rule 8, clause 1, strikes out the words, "on motion made before division or the commencement of the roll call, and decided without debate, he shall be excused, or unless." The effect of this amendment is simply to avoid a motion to excuse a Member from voting, and leaves it to the Member himself to determine whether he has such a direct personal or pecuniary interest in the question before the House as to relieve him of the duty of voting.

Second. In Rule 10 the Select Committees on the Columbian Exposition and the Eleventh Census have been dropped, there not appearing any necessity for their further continuance. Certain select committees have been made standing committees of the House. This rule had already been adopted by the House.

Third. The 52d clause of Rule II of the old rules (the 58th clause of the new) is so amended as to permit the Committee on Rules to sit during the sessions of the House.

Fourth. Clause 2 of Rule 13 is dropped from the rules as reported as being unnecessary. Clause 3 of Rule 13 as reported provides for the disposition of bills adversely reported.

Fifth. Rule XVII, clause 1, is amended by inserting a provision as to debate after the previous question where there has been no debate before it is ordered, and was, under the rules of the Fifty-second Congress, a part of the third clause of Rule XXVIII. This clause is further amended by permitting one motion for the previous question to operate on a bill to its final passage instead of requiring a separate motion for the previous question on the engrossment and third reading and on its passage.

Sixth. Rule XIX is amended by providing that amendments to titles of bills and resolutions shall not be in order until after their final passage and shall be determined without debate.

Seventh. Clause 3 of Rule XXII is amended so as to prohibit debate on questions of reference. Paragraph 4 of this rule was Rule XLVII of the Fifty-second Congress.

Eighth. Paragraph 2 of Rule XXIII is so amended as to make 100 members a quorum in the Committee of the Whole. Paragraph 6 of the same rule permits the committee at any time after the five-minutes debate has begun to close debate; under the old rules the House alone could do this.

Ninth. Paragraph 4 of Rule XXIV is so amended as to allow the House to consider in the morning hour bills on any of its Calendars. The old rule limited this right to bills on the House or Union Calendars.

Tenth. Rule XXVI, second paragraph, is amended so as to give the House the same power to proceed with the public business on the days assigned to District business that it now has to Friday in each week, which is assigned to business on the Private Calendar.

Eleventh. Rule XXVIII, clause 3, is amended by striking out so much thereof as provides for debate after the previous question is ordered, this provision having been made a part of Rule XVII.

Twelfth. Rule XXXIV is amended by according the privileges of the floor to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and by limiting the privileges of the floor to such ex-members of Congress only as are not interested either as party, agent, or attorney in any claim or bill pending before Congress.

Thirteenth. Rule XXXVI is amended so as to permit the Speaker to admit members of the press to the lobby in rear of the Speaker's chair, under such regulations as he may prescribe.

Fourteenth. Rule XLVII of the old rules has been inserted as paragraph 4, Rule XXII.

With this explanation, your committee recommend the adoption of the rules herewith reported.

SILVER.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, have I any time remaining?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman has four minutes.

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield that to the gentleman from New York [Mr. COOMBS].

Mr. COOMBS. Mr. Speaker, it has been stated upon the floor of the House that silver has never had a fair chance. I wish to say in reply that the Government has taken measures to circulate the silver dollar which it has never taken to circulate any other form of currency.

By going over the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, I find that the freight which has been paid upon silver dollars sent out to various points for circulation from March, 1878, down to July 1, 1893, has been $1,439,614; that that has moved about 760,000,000 of silver dollars to points where they could be circulated, but that that silver has returned to the Treasury all except $56,233,989; showing that the people do not want the silver dollar. I wish to add one other remark, that the circulation of this $56,000,000 has cost the Government $25.60 for every thousand dollars which is now in circulation; in other words, over 2½ per cent. [Applause.]

Mr. PAYNE was recognized.

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. Speaker, I understand that the gentleman from New York [Mr. PAYNE] desires more than five minutes, and I ask unanimous consent that he be allowed to occupy thirty minutes.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, representing, as I do, a portion of the State of New York, after hearing the remarks which have been made about New Yorkers as the "gold bugs of Wall street," and the "agents of Lombard street," and "Shylocks" and other like things—after hearing so many epithets of that description applied so freely to the people of New York, I feel as though I ought to introduce myself to the House before I commence my remarks upon the pending measure. [Laughter.]

I do not represent a Wall street district. Why, bless your souls, gentlemen, if I should try to run for an office anywhere below High Bridge I would not get votes enough to be returned even among the "scattering." [Laughter.] My district is 300 miles away from Wall street, and three-fourths of my constituents are tillers of the soil. They have the same interests that the farmers of the great West have. They get their living in the same way, and they are as intelligent as the constituents of members from the Western States are, and they know that their relations to the money centers of the world are as close as the relations of the merchant or the manufacturer can be.

They can not move their crops, they can not harvest their crops, they can not reach the markets, unless the money comes from the money centers. And these farmers, some of whom are in debt because they are enterprising men, because they are not always content with the few acres that they can pay for when they start out on the road to success, still realize that it is better for them to have a sound and stable currency, and they realize it as fully as any man from the money centers of the world.

Mr. Speaker, we have had here two long, weary weeks of exhausting debate. There has been some argument and a great deal of buncombe. There has been much of vituperation. We have heard a good deal about the "surreptitious crime" of 1873, when the Congress of the United States "secretly" passed an act to demonetize silver—a measure, by the way, which had been before Congress and the departments, and had been reported from the office of the Secretary of the Treasury time and time again for nearly three years. We have had stated, with great circumstance and detail, the story of Punic faith, and the mythican story about the drummer boy at Marengo, who taught Napoleon war, and christened him "sire" before he had become Emperor. [Laughter.]

The statement was given to the House with all earnestness, as though the gentleman from Nebraska had made a new discovery and was springing it on the House. But all this has little to do with the question of the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman act. I voted for the Sherman act in 1890 from a high sense of duty. I shall vote on Monday next to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, also from a high sense of public duty. [Applause.]

At the time when we considered the Sherman act we had upon the statute book a law which provided for the purchase of $2,000,000 worth of silver every month, to be coined into standard silver dollars of 412½ grains each, and added to the circulation of the country; and then, for fear that silver would not circulate among the people, there was a still further provision that the Secretary of the Treasury might issue certificates for the deposit of these silver dollars, and that such certificates should be taken for all public dues, taxes, and customs duties of the United States.

Gradually that silver circulation, that silver coinage, was getting to a dangerous point. No dollar had ever been dishonored, no dollar had ever been sold below its face value; but a point was gradually being reached where there was danger in continuing the coinage. And then our friends from the silver States who had studied the question of the production of silver, who knew about their mines and their capacity to yield silver, assured us that if we would purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver each month we would take the surplus silver not of this country only, but of the world, and provide a market for it; and we could issue certificates at the market rate upon that silver. And if this were true, as they said with great reason, it would not be a great while before silver would be on a parity with gold; the price would advance, and then we could safely enter upon the free coinage of silver.

There were other features of that bill which I will not stop to refer to now. These were sufficient to induce me to vote for it. We got rid of the Bland bill, an infinitely worse measure, by taking this compromise and truce of 1890. There has not been a moment since that act was passed when I would not cheerfully have voted to repeal the purchasing clause of it.

Mr. Speaker, in some quarters the distress under which the country is now laboring has been attributed to this silver-purchasing clause. I think myself it has very little to do with it beyond the imagination of men who believe that this is the cause of the trouble. But had the Bland law been upon the statute book at this time, had the Sherman act never been passed, how much worse would have been the Bland bill in creating the very disturbance which we witness now? There would have been added to the currency from the time of the enactment of the Sherman law within about $40,000,000 of what has been already added up to the present time. And now the price of silver is so low that if we should substitute the Bland act for the Sherman law we would get a larger increase of circulation every month from this time henceforth. For this reason I should vote to repeal the silver-purchasing clause.

Mr. Speaker, we must have some standard for the measure of values. There must be some yardstick, some base from which we can calculate values. Since the civilization of man there has been chiefly one metal used as money. Other metals have been used, but this one metal seems to have had a stable character as to its value. It is light and convenient to handle. It is the only metal out of which you can make a five-dollar piece that you can carry about without a horse and wagon to help you. It has seemed to be adapted the standard of money.

When I say that this metal has been stable in character and value you may say that other commodities have depreciated, or that gold has appreciated. But you fail to take into account that every other commodity is produced with less human labor and less cost to-day than ever before in the history of the world. Go to your farms and you find that a bushel of wheat is raised at much less expense than formerly. Instead of the old-fashioned sickle, you now have the reaper; you have safe, convenient, and

easily operated machines to assist in the operations of farming, so that a boy of 12 years of age can now do the work which formerly required half a dozen men.

Follow the product to market, and you find the same thing. You have cheaper means of transportation—not the old ox team, not the horse and wagon, not even the slow and cheap canal boat; but you have transportation by rail, which has decreased the cost of transportation 75 per cent within the last twenty years. Where it cost two and six-tenths of a cent to transport a ton of grain one mile, twenty years ago, it costs to-day but six-tenths of a cent. Not only can the wheat be raised more cheaply, but everything made by the mechanic can be bought cheaper, because of the inventive genius not of the American people alone, but of the whole world. But when you come to compare gold with human labor, you find that the laborer can get more for his work to-day than he could twenty-five years ago. Labor has been appreciating in value in comparison with gold. And when you come to borrow money, how much have you to pay?

Mr. BANKHEAD rose.

Mr. PAYNE. I can not be interrupted; I have not the time. The rate of interest has been gradually and surely decreasing all over this country. Why, sir, it was only a few years ago when in my own State 7 per cent was the lowest rate at which money could be obtained; but for the last five years the people have been loaning all the money the farmers would take at 5 per cent per annum. In your Western States, where you at one time paid 10, 12, and 15 per cent, you now get money for 7, and even 6 per cent.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. In my own county the farmers loan money to each other at 5 per cent,

Mr. PAYNE. As my friend from Iowa suggests, the farmers in his county do not exact more from each other for the use of money than 5 per cent. Money, you say, has been appreciating in value all this time; yet it can be hired in the markets of the world at a less per cent than ever before.

Mr. Speaker, there is a substantial reason why we should have another standard of value than gold, and that reason turns on the question whether there is enough gold in all the world to do the business of the world as a money basis. I believe there is not. I believe that of this metal which can stand the test of fire, which is light and convenient to be carried about, there is not enough to do the business of the world. There is another that appeals strongly to me as an American. There is another metal, the white metal, one-third of which is produced in our own country; and for this reason I am all the more in favor of honoring silver also as a standard of value.

I would like to see both metals, side by side, travel together as the standard of value in this country of ours. If I believed it to be possible I would vote to-day for the free coinage of silver or for the free coinage of both metals in order that they might go forward side by side at a parity. But, alas! Mr. Speaker, the history of the past shows us that this is not a possibility. There has not been in a civilized country the free coinage of both metals existing for a period of years where one has not become cheaper than the other.

So it was in France; so it was in our own country. Up to 1834 silver was the cheaper metal with us, and after that, at the ratio of 16 to 1, silver was a dearer metal. It then passed out of circulation. We were on a gold basis from 1834, practically, down to the present time. They did not travel at a parity. It is not in the nature of things that they should. Why, gentlemen give us as an illustration a couple of cisterns partially filled with water and connected together by the same pipe, and tell us that the water stands on a level in the two cisterns. And so it does. But the trouble with your cistern of gold and your cistern of silver is that they are not exactly alike. One is heavier than the other in the markets of the world. They do not stand on the same level.

When water in one cistern and oil in another cistern, connected by the same pipe, will stand on the same level, then gold and silver will do so, and not until then. They say also that they are like two metals in the pendulum, one expands and the other contracts, and so regulates the motions of the pendulum that it neither loses nor gains time. But the trouble with silver and gold is that you can not put them into the same pendulum. When you invent some process by which they can be put together in the same coin, and you can detect the counterfeits, you may have them traveling together, as in the pendulum, and the shrinkage of the one may counterbalance the gain of the other. But not until then.

Mr. Speaker, until all the civilized and commercial nations of the world resolve upon international bimetallic coinage on the same standard—at a common ratio—I do not believe that silver and gold can travel on exactly the same basis on any ratio. Why, the value depends on supply and demand. Supply is affected by the difficulty in getting one metal or the other.

The demand is affected somewhat by the amount of either metal used in the arts; and as this varies, the price will necessarily vary, not largely perhaps: but it does not require a very large amount in a single nation's coining of the metal to drive the one or the other out of existence. If the metal broker can buy the cheaper metal and put it into coinage and exchange it for the dearer metal, 1 per cent will be a sufficient margin to pay him well for the trouble, and in this manner the dearer metal would gradually disappear from circulation.

But if all of the nations were engaged in the system of bimetallic coinage it would not make so much difference if the dearer metal does disappear from circulation and the cheaper metal remain, because the cheaper metal becomes the universal standard of value between all the nations trading with each other and there is nothing to disturb the commercial ratio between them. And so when you can get the commercial nations of the earth to unite themselves together in the coining of both these metals, then we shall have a bimetallic coinage that will be as enduring as the nations in which they are used.

If we continue purchasing silver at the ratio now fixed, we put off the day when the nations shall come to an agreement. England has stopped the coinage of silver in India; the commercial nations of the earth have nearly all stopped the coinage of silver. Let us stop too, and let us show the world that there is not enough gold in existence to transact the business of the world, and the world will come to our standard and we shall have then international bimetallic coinage.

So, Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of the repeal of the purchasing act to hasten the time when the white metal, produced in our own mines, furnishing labor to our own miners, shall enter into the world's supply of money and with a steady market, and shall find and bring peace, happiness, contentment, and comfort to those sturdy miners of the West.

But they ask us can we show any instance where a silver dollar has not passed current at 100 cents. No; we have not yet reached that point. But go on with this purchase of silver to an indefinite extent; go on to the point where the people will not believe that the good faith and credit of the United States, with the means at their disposal, are sufficient to redeem it in the coinage of the world—the gold coinage of the world—and then you will find the silver at a discount.

Why, my friend from California [Mr. BOWERS] the other day brought in a Mexican dollar, and said he bought it for 60 cents, while he had to give 100 cents for the American dollar with the eagle on it. Now, did the eagle on the coin make the difference? It was not so much the coin or the inscription upon it as the nation which was back of it; because the people know when they see the American eagle on the coin of the United States that the faith and the fortunes of 65,000,000 people stand behind it, pledged in honor to redeem it. That is what made it worth a dollar.

While, on the other hand, the Mexican dollar with free coinage, free silver coinage, has found the level of the bullion value in it, and nothing more. But, Mr. Speaker, the American eagle and the American people could not protect the silver dollar were it not for the fact that the coinage of that American dollar is limited by law. They tell us that France has maintained her coinage of silver at a parity with gold for many years. In 1873 there were presented at the mints for coinage 154,000,000 francs' worth of silver.

That amount came into the mints to be coined against 5,000,000 francs' worth in 1871 and 1872. It frightened the French financiers, and they took steps to stop the free coinage of silver. The Latin union was called together, and they limited the nations forming the union to a coinage of 120,000,000 francs; and in 1876 France discontinued the coinage altogether and succeeded thereby in floating the six hundred millions of silver which they had in circulation.

But our friends say, "Adopt free coinage, return to the Bland law, or leave this statute upon the books." Whichever you do will frighten Europe; and the people who hold our securities will dump them upon our markets, and they will demand the gold and take from us the three hundred millions or four hundred millions of free gold which we now have in this country. It will increase the distress and the doubt and the discomfort of our own people.

Why, Mr. Speaker, in August, in the city of New York, a crowd of men willing to labor and earn bread for their families, carry a black flag through the streets with the words "Work" and "Bread." If this thing continues until the cold December, what will the harvest be to those men and to our country? We are spending two weeks in debate, fourteen days, when fourteen hours would have sufficed: fourteen days, when every man upon this floor had his mind made up and a verdict ready to render on the first day of the session. Why not do something toward relief?

Will the repeal of the purchasing clause do it? It may help to do it? A wise physician often meets a patient who is sick only in his imagination, and he administers bread pills, or the patient becomes a fit subject for the faith cure. Let us administer the faith cure, and to those men who believe that the purchasing clause is the only cause of trouble in this country, that will give some relief.

There are other causes, of which I will not now speak; but I have deprecated some thoughts which have been expressed by gentlemen on the floor of this House. Why, they have railed at bankers as though they were villains, fit only for the State prison. The gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN] wanted the statute amended so that the man who stole a million dollars would get more than five years in the State prison.

Well, if a millionaire stole a million dollars from another millionaire it would not make much difference to the people of the country at large whether he went to the State prison for five years or for more than five years; but when a man steals a million dollars he steals it from more than a hundred individuals, and commits a crime as against each one; and five multiplied by a hundred would send a man to the State prison long enough even to satisfy my friend from Nebraska.

But I have thought, when I saw gentlemen upon this floor trying to steal each other's demagogic thunder, that there ought to be upon the statute book a law denouncing as a crime the larceny of demagogy, and I would like to see that statute rigidly enforced, even if it vacated some seats upon this floor. [Laughter.]

But it is said that we are invited to follow the lead of England, and to adopt the gold standard because England has it. Why, we have had the gold standard since 1834, all the time. Now, there are some gentlemen on this floor who are declaiming about following England, who do want to follow England in tariff matters, in the direction in which England wants them to follow. I am more willing to follow England in this direction of coinage, a direction in which she does not want us to follow.

Gentlemen have talked about the price of wheat in India, about English gold buying silver at bullion value and paying for wheat in the cheaper metal. What is the remedy? Why, they have stopped the free coinage of silver in India, and now these wise friends of ours propose that the American farmer shall take the place of the Indian farmer, and that England shall buy our cheap silver with her gold, and pay our farmers for their wheat with the silver thus purchased.

Then they talk about the debts of the farmer, and they want cheap money to help the farmer to pay their debts. I have never come across the farmer yet who was not willing to render dollar for dollar of the money that he borrowed, just as good money as he got when he borrowed it. But the farmers are not the debtors of the world. The debts of the farmers are as a bagatelle compared with the debts of other classes.

The savings-bank deposits amount to more than $1,700,000,000; deposits in other banks, $3,000,000,000; liabilities of insurance companies more than $9,000,000,000. These debts are largely owed to the poor people of the country, who deposited and paid in their premiums in good, honest money on a gold basis. But beyond all this the toiling millions of our people, before the incoming of the present Administration, every week drew for their wages more than $25,000,000. Who has the hardihood to propose to scale the wages of the laboring men of the country with a 60-cent dollar?

Mr. Speaker, pass a free-coinage bill at any of the ratios and you attract the surplus silver, for which there is little market elsewhere; you stimulate its production here; you add untold millions to our silver coinage; you force upon us the single silver standard; by driving out all our free gold you contract the currency by $300,000,000 or $400,000,000; you increase the cloud of distress and doubt.

It has been often asked in this debate why it is that a silver dollar is worth as much as any other dollar. Nay, it is claimed that silver dollars bring a premium of 3 per cent in New York; and one gentleman went so far as to claim that these dollars brought a premium in gold. He did not stop to reflect that the holder of gold coin in New York could go to the subtreasury and get all the silver dollars for which he could pay, else he would not have given currency to the statement.

It is true that a premium has been paid in New York for gold and silver and paper currency, but the payments were made in the certified checks of the bank, or the certificate of the clearing house. It was because of the scarcity of currency. By the statement of the Treasury Department made on the first day of the present month, it appears that there were outstanding greenbacks, $324,394,404; silver certificates under act of July 14, 1892, $143,774,138; subsidiary coin, $64,007,129; amounting to $532,175,671; all of which is redeemable in gold coin.

The gold reserve on that day was $99,202,933. But there is a still further draft on this gold reserve, because the silver certificates, amounting to $330,188,390, were receivable for customs and taxes, and have been used almost exclusively for many months in payment of governmental dues. With our small gold reserve drawn upon at each end, how long can we stand an increase of demands upon this reserve at the rate of $3,000,000 per month? Other gentlemen will do as their judgment dictates, but to me it seems extremely hazardous not to stop their drain at once.

Vote down the repeal of the silver-purchase clause and you further paralyze industry and enterprise.

You add to the countless throng that is already on the way begging for work and bread in this fair land of ours. Is not the threatened revision of the tariff laws, which unsettles values, distresses labor, closes factories, ruins business, and brings about the "change" from the prosperity, so truthfully described by a Republican President in December last, to the universal distress and misery and want, so truthfully described by a Democratic President in this month of August, sufficient, without adding to it a refusal to repeal the law which adds $3,000,000 monthly of uncertain value to our currency, threatening us with cheap and dishonest dollars, ruining our credit abroad, and increasing the distrust of our people at home?

Gentlemen upon this side of the House, the country, as always, expects you to do your duty. Be not disturbed by the taunt that you are following in the wake of a Democratic President. Why, the Republican party passed an act January 14, 1875, for the resumption of specie payment on the 1st day of January, 1879. They fought the greenback craze in the campaign of 1876, and stood firm as a rock against the oncoming waves of cheap money. They were for honest money before our Democratic President was born—politically! Yes, years before he was known outside of the limits of the city of Buffalo by his own party. Because, now, he desires to jump onto the band wagon, I, for one at least, do not propose to give up my seat.

When the roll is called on this measure it will be found that the great mass of the Republican vote is recorded in favor of making every dollar of our money as good as every other dollar. The attempt in this country to array class against class, section against section, the South and the West against the North and the East, will have proved a dismal failure. [Applause.]

Mr. TAYLOR of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I am reluctant to take advantage of the opportunity afforded each member of this House to express his opinions on the matter under consideration (except as will be demonstrated by the vote which I will give) for the reason that there has already been a surplus of talk, and for the further reason that I am fully aware that I could add nothing to what has been so well said many times during the progress of this debate by able gentlemen who have given almost a lifetime to the consideration and study of economic questions. I have felt, therefore, up to this time willing to content myself with listening to others and at the proper time record my vote.

I am free to say that to a considerable extent I have enjoyed the debate and have been greatly edified by the learned arguments made by the gentlemen who have gone into the merits of the question under consideration. While this is true, I at the same time regret that anyone should have felt called upon to indulge in personalities, threats, or to impugn the motives of any member in defining his position either for or against any of the propositions presented in the pending measure.

I can not believe that anyone who possessed the confidence of a constituency to that degree that they gave to him their suffrage for the important and honorable office of Representative in Congress would permit himself in these enlightened times to be influenced by sordid motives of any kind or character. Several of the gentlemen from my own and adjoining States who differ from me on this question I have known nearly my entire life and have seen some of them in places where their honor, integrity, and manhood were severely tried; at times, too, when there was more at stake than the gift of a paltry office for a constituent or the hope of future political preferment for self, and I have seen them emerge from the ordeal without the smell of fire upon their garments.

By a few here it seems to be considered smart to attempt to smirch the fair name and character of those who happen to think differently from them, forgetful that it is easy to tear down what has required a lifetime to build up. I am happy to know, however, that they are a small minority, and that the great majority of the speeches here made have been characterized by a spirit of manliness, and a willingness to accord to others that which the speakers ask for themselves.

Mr. Speaker, each member, I take it, owes a duty to himself, his constituents, and his country, and if his own conscience is at peace he need not fear the jeers and uncalled-for remarks of men who carry unbridled tongues, and, speaking for myself, I pro-

pose that my own sense of right shall be my guide and not the opinions of any man or set of men upon this floor or elsewhere.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that my views are in accord with the vast majority of the people I have the honor to represent; they are a well-to-do, thrifty, intelligent, and conservative people, and ask no more for themselves than they are willing to grant to others; they are principally engaged in agriculture, manufacturing, and mining, and as an evidence of their stability and conservatism I can say that up to this moment, although the district contains 186,000 inhabitants, there has not been a single failure of bank or mercantile concern within its borders since the commencement of the panic which is now upon us.

The great majority of our people believe in the silver dollar, and hope for the day when it will be rehabilitated as money along with gold, its equal in every respect before the law. Others there are, equally as honest, who think differently; but let me say to their credit that while I have been the recipient of many communications all have been couched in language indicating a willingness to abide by what this Congress may do. I do not fear a visitation of anathemas or slander from any of the people of that district after casting my vote, as I am sure that I have their confidence and esteem, and that they will do me the justice to believe that my vote was prompted by what I deemed to be right and for what I thought was for their interests.

There is no Representative on this floor who admires the President more than I do. I recognize in him a man of the strictest integrity and honor, possessed of an indomitable will and a deep sense of the grave responsibility resting upon him; but I have long since ceased to be a man worshiper, nor do I think any human being infallible. It would indeed give me great pleasure did my own sense of right coincide with his recommendations made to this House, but such is not the case, and the duty I owe to my people and myself are paramount to the will or wish of any man or set of men.

I can not refrain from casting my vote for any measure that looks to the rehabiliment of silver or that will tend to increase silver as a circulating medium. What we need in Indiana is more money, and are willing that our neighbors of the East appropriate to themselves most of the confidence they are so anxious to acquire.

It is my purpose, therefore, Mr. Speaker, while it is not in all things in accord with my views, to vote for that part of the substitute offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] which provides for the coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1, as I firmly believe we can sustain it at that figure, if at any. The other ratios, as presented, would entail an immense outlay for the recoinage of the outstanding coin, or give us coins of different sizes—propositions that I can not see my way clear to give my support, which objections are fully amplified by the letter of Secretary Carlisle to Senator VOORHEES, which I shall here incorporate in my remarks in order to get the same in the RECORD:

COST OF CHANGING THE RATIO.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., August 19, 1893.

SIR: Referring to our conversation relative to the probable cost incident to the change from the present coining ratio between gold and silver (1 to 16 for standard silver dollars, and 1 to 14.95 for subsidiary silver) to a ratio of 1 to 20, you are respectfully informed that the number of silver dollars coined since 1878 aggregates 419,332,450.

Without any allowance for abrasion and loss incident to melting the same, the coining value of these dollars at a ratio of 1 to 20 would be $333,222,162, or $84,110,228 less than their present face value.

To recoin these dollars at a ratio of 1 to 20 would require the addition of 81,376,700 ounces of new bullion, which, at the average price paid for silver under the act of July 14, 1890 ($0.93½), would cost $75,883,700.

In addition to this, I estimate that there would be a loss from abrasion and in the melting of these dollars of at least $3,000,000, which amount, together with the difference in the face value of the coins ($84,110,288), would have to be reimbursed to the Treasury by an appropriation for that purpose.

From the fact that the silver dollars are distributed throughout the country, it would be necessary, as they are redeemed at the several subtreasuries, to transport them to the mints, and the expense of transportation for $300,000,000, the amount outside of the stock on hand at the subtreasuries and mints at Philadelphia, San Francisco, and New Orleans, would average at least 1½ per cent, or $4,500,000.

I therefore estimate the cost of recoining the silver dollars already coined, as follows:

New bullion to be added	$75,883,700
Loss by abrasion and melting	3,000,000
Cost of the coinage (labor, materials, etc.)	6,290,000
Copper for alloy	68,200
Transportation of dollars to mints	4,500,000
Total	89,741,900

The stock of subsidiary silver coin in the country is estimated at $77,000,000, which at full weight would contain 55,699,875 ounces of fine silver. This amount at a ratio of 1 to 20 would coin $55,843,802, or $21,156,197 less than the present face value.

To recoin $77,000,000 of subsidiary silver into an equal amount of fractional coin at a ratio of 1 to 20 would require the addition of 18,797,625 fine ounces, which at $0.93½ per fine ounce, the average price paid for silver under the act of July 14, 1890, would cost $17,528,785.

There would be a loss of about 2½ per cent by abrasion, from the face value, or about $1,925,000.

I would, therefore, estimate the cost of recoining the subsidiary silver in the country, at a ratio of 1 to 20, as follows:

New bullion	$17,528,785
Loss by abrasion	1,925,000
Cost of coinage (labor, materials, etc.)	2,500,000
Copper for alloy	15,636
Cost of transportation	1,155,000
Total	23,124,421

RECAPITULATION.

Estimated cost of recoining silver dollars	89,741,900
Estimated cost of recoining subsidiary silver	23,124,421
Total	112,866,321

Very respectfully,

J. G. CARLISLE, *Secretary.*

Hon. DANIEL W. VOORHEES,
United States Senate.

In case the foregoing are voted down, I shall vote for the reenactment of the so-called Bland-Allison law, and if that fails of a majority I shall then, feeling that I have kept faith with my people and complied with the pledges I assumed in accepting a nomination as a Democrat on the platform of principles we have heard read so often in this House, vote for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, an enactment that I have at every place in the district where I had the honor of addressing my constituents denounced as vicious in principle, an enemy to silver, born in deceit, and reared in iniquity. I shall do this for the reason that if I can not secure the whole of the promise contained in the platform upon which I went to my people I am willing to accept all of it that I can obtain. I have made this brief explanation in justice to myself for the benefit of my people, to whom I expect to give an accounting for my acts while their Representative. [Applause.]

[Mr. BAKER of Kansas addressed the House. He withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

Mr. BRAWLEY was recognized.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I ask that the time of the gentleman [Mr. BRAWLEY] be extended twenty minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. BRAWLEY. Mr. Speaker, the history of legislation is the history of the repealing of bad laws. A list of the mistakes of legislators, of the evils produced or intensified by lawmaking unguided by adequate knowledge, of the statutes whose remote and indirect effects were the converse of those expected when they were enacted would abate the hopes of those fervid spirits who, believing in the plenary inspiration of majorities, would extend the limits of governmental interference; and it ought also, says Buckle, "to moderate the presumption of legislators and teach them that their best measures are but temporary expedients which it will be the business of a later and riper age to efface."

In the nature of the case this must be so, for politics is not an exact science, and in the rapidly shifting changes in our social and economic conditions, the best that we can do is to adapt temporary expedients to the exigencies that confront us.

The druggist's clerk who mistakes calomel for quinine and mixes a prescription which kills instead of cures is held guilty of manslaughter. Our mistakes are more leniently judged, and although they may bring no legal penalty, the consequences may be so serious and far-reaching that we can not devote too much care and thought to the consideration of every measure which is proposed to be put upon the statute book.

The immediate question now before us is whether we shall repeal the Sherman act. I have listened for two weeks to this discussion and have not heard one word in its favor on either side of this Chamber. By universal admission it is conceded to have been a failure in all the purposes for which it was intended. No single voice has been raised in its defense, and although opinions differ as to the extent of the evils to be properly attributed to this act, there is no difference of opinion as to its injurious effects and as to the propriety of repealing it. Its putative father disowns it. It has no defender. Our party has in express terms demanded its repeal. The Republican party does not sustain it. The great business interests of the country believing it to be the main cause of their distress, appeal to us, and our President recommends that it be wiped from the statute book as a necessary step to the restoration of confidence in the fabric of our public credit. The remedy proposed seems so simple that it is amazing that there should be one moment's hesitation in applying it.

Its very simplicity is urged as an argument against its effectiveness. So it was with Naaman when, sorely afflicted with leprosy, he went to the house of Elisha. "Go and wash in Jordan seven times and thou shalt be clean." He was wroth, and said to the prophet, "Are not Abana and Pharpar Rivers of Damascus better than all the waters of Israel? May I not wash in them

and be clean?" So he went away in a rage, but his servants said, "My father, if the prophet had bid thee do some great thing, wouldst thou not have done it?"

The repeal of the Sherman act may be no "great thing," but in the opinion of many it will be effectual to restore "confidence," that elusive thing, the loss of which has brought us to this pass. The very fact that people think so will in itself tend to work the cure, our disease being of the mind rather than of the body.

But our opponents say that they will oppose this repeal unless something favorable to silver is given in its stead, that they will use this act—misbegotten, hateful, and injurious—as a club to extort terms. One would think that the disastrous failure of all previous efforts in the supposed interest of silver would abate something of the confidence and silence the loquacity of its "friends," but writers on mental hallucinations tell us that there are certain forms of insanity where fixed delusions seize upon the mind and generate a firmer belief than any sane person is capable of.

That silver may by some legislative alchemy be transmuted into gold at a fixed ratio is a notion vociferously expressed by gentlemen who seem to be in all other respects sane and whose honesty is beyond question. The steady recurrence of this phenomenon would seem to indicate that it is due to some permanent cause, and the fact that this belief is strongest in those parts of our country that are in a backward stage of industrial development has led to the opinion, in some quarters, that it is due to the desire of debtor communities to get rid of their obligations on easy terms. This is unjust and untrue.

The time allotted to me does not suffice to allow any satisfactory analysis of the causes of the prevailing discontent.

An obscure difficulty is a pervading evil, and the essential condition of its removal is to make it clear. Trained and experienced thinking on monetary subjects is something rare in all communities, and there are certain erroneous opinions floating like a vague mist in the intellectual air which obscure and distort the vision.

CERTAIN PREVALENT DELUSIONS.

The first delusion is that all the available money of the country is in the hands of a comparatively few rich men and that their interest is to contract its volume in order to enhance its value. This error arises from the confounding of capital with currency; and men reading of the enormous wealth of a few individuals are told by those whose interest is apparently advanced by such deceptions that there is a conspiracy on the part of these rich people to oppress them by making money scarce. The truth is, that the wealth of the Vanderbilts, the Astors, the Goulds, and the like, is in property and not in money, and that nearly all of the available loanable capital of the country is in savings banks, insurance and trust companies, and belongs to the frugal poor and to people of moderate means.

The second delusion is that the maintenance of the gold standard tends to make money dear and that a double standard or a lower standard would make money more abundant. The truth is that the question of the standard has no relevancy in itself to the volume of the currency, and there is no quantitative relation between the volume of transactions and the standard that measures them. From 1834 to the suspension of specie payments in 1861 we had the gold standard, in effect, while the volume of currency was regulated by the States. The act of 1873 only enacted into law what was already a well recognized fact. As evidence of this we know that from the foundation of the Government up to that date only about eight millions of silver dollars had been put in circulation.

The third delusion is, that inasmuch as it appears that the gold and silver coinage of the world is about equal in volume, the discontinuance of purchases of silver would strike down one-half of the money of the world, thus doubling the wealth of the rich and doubling the debts of the poor. The truth is that the bill before us does not propose to drive out of circulation any of our silver coin. On the contrary, all of it is to be maintained with the pledge of the Government to keep it at par with gold—just as is the case in France, where a large amount of silver remains in circulation, notwithstanding the fact that for about fifteen years the coinage of five-franc pieces has ceased.

The fourth delusion is that England adopted the gold standard because she is a creditor nation, and that it is disadvantageous and unpatriotic for us to maintain such standard. Appeals to the "spirit of '76" have been unceasingly rung to resist this domination.

The truth is that England adopted the gold standard before the close of the last century, but in the stress of the Napoleonic wars she could not carry it into effect until 1816, when, so far from being a creditor nation, she was in the throes of a gigantic debt. The United States is the only rival for the larger commerce of the world that England has to fear, and she has more to gain than has any other nation from our abandonment of that standard of value which all the civilized people have accepted.

The fifth delusion, which finds the widest acceptance in the South, is that there is some occult relation between the price of silver, the product of the earth in Nevada and Colorado, and the price of cotton, the staple product of the South. Why cotton should be linked with silver rather than with gold, no one can intelligently explain. We were told last year when the antioption bill was under discussion that the main cause of the low price of cotton was due to the dealing in futures, but the great rise in price during the later months of that year, and the intelligent discussion of that measure exploded that fallacy. It was shown by figures which were indisputable that the range of prices from 1850 to 1860 was on the average 10.35 cents per pound and the average prices from 1880 to 1890 were 10.24 cents per pound.

The great increase of production, mainly due to the extension of its cultivation over the vast fields of the South and to the increased use of commercial fertilizers, would sufficiently account for a great fall in prices. The cotton crop of 1860-'61 was less than 4,000,000 bales, the crop of 1890-'91 was over 9,000,000 bales, and as everybody knows the bales of to-day are much heavier than they were thirty years ago.

If prices were affected by the quantity of silver money in circulation they would be greatly higher now than thirty years ago, for there is nearly fifty times more silver dollars in the country now than then. If they were determined by the amount of currency in circulation, as would seem to be natural, prices should be higher now than in 1873, when the alleged "crime against silver" was committed, for the circulation per capita in 1873 was $18.04, while in 1893 the circulation per capita is $23.80.

These facts, which can not be disputed, ought to teach us to look to other causes than to the alleged demonetization of silver or to the alleged contraction of the currency for the lack of prosperity among our agricultural people, which unhappily is a fact beyond dispute. While it is true that a large body of our people are greatly benefited by having cheap food and cheap clothing and that our farmers can buy a larger amount of those things which conduce to comfort with their products even at present low prices than ever before, yet the fact stares us in the face that they are not prosperous, and that the low range of prices for agricultural produce is one of the elements of their misfortunes.

The question of prices is one of the most interesting and difficult of problems, and no general theory on the subject is satisfactory. Until the commencement of the present financial disturbances the rate of interest on money has been abnormally low; wages have been high, agricultural products have been low, rents in cities have been high, all the products in which machinery and mere brute labor were important factors have brought low prices, while the products of intellectual effort have commanded higher rewards than ever before.

There has been no period in the history of the world when a great writer, a great painter, a great doctor, a great lawyer, a great preacher, a great engineer, a great inventor, could command such princely incomes for the product of his brain and hand. Nor are these very high prices confined exclusively to what may be called intellectual products. Fine butter, fine wine, fine fruits, in fact excellent things from the studio, from the workshop, or from the fields, all will bring to-day larger returns than ever before.

A few years ago a plain laboring man, a Frenchman, discovered that the low-lying lands around Charleston were well adapted to the cultivation of asparagus, which had not before been successfully cultivated in that latitude. He has lately retired with an ample fortune as the result of his acumen and industry. These illustrations are given for the purpose of showing that the standard of value or the volume of currency are not the only or chief factors in determining prices.

The sixth delusion is that there is a creditor class in this country seeking to oppress the debtor class. The common opinion is that this creditor class is in combination with the corporations for the purpose of reducing the remainder of the people to poverty and slavery. This belief rests upon pure ignorance, and prejudice which is the outgrowth of ignorance.

The truth is that the railroad corporations, the manufacturing and industrial corporations, are the largest borrowers of money. Their interest is that money should be abundant and easy to obtain at low rates of interest, and their interest, too, is that the farmer should have plenty of money to buy their goods and ship them and travel over their roads.

It is not my purpose to say anything in behalf of the money lender. I know that he is a very unpopular person, always spoken evil of and held in great disfavor. It has been always so. In the drama, in novels, and in real life our admiration is rather for the fellow who spends money than for those who

save it. The spendthrift is always the hero. It is true that when we want to borrow money the man who lends it is looked upon as a friend and benefactor; but when the money is gone and the evil hour of reckoning arrives he is the tyrant and the oppressor. Hateful as may be the man who saves, he is useful; therefore let him live in order that we may borrow from him. Demosthenes, in his oration against Phormio, says:

In the Athenian laws are many well-devised securities for the protection of the creditor, for commerce proceeds not from the borrowers, but from the lenders, without whom no vessel, no navigator, no traveler could depart from port.

I make no pretensions to be a financier or political economist, for my way of life has led me into other fields, and I have very little hope that I can add anything of value to this discussion. I therefore hesitated long before I concluded to take part in it, feeling that I could well apply to myself a story told of Napoleon. On one occasion, when a great battle was imminent, he was reviewing the Imperial Guard, and a soldier in the ranks, carried away by his enthusiasm, shouted, "Forward!" "It is not for you, young man," said the Emperor, "to cast the die of battles."

I have always felt that the business of making laws was a very serious one, and realize the unavoidable uncertainty which attends upon every measure of legislation, and I know that the multitudinous facts of all recorded experience tend to dispel the notion so vociferously expressed nowadays that all the sufferings of our people are removable, and that it is the duty of somebody to remove them. The hard-worked and overburdened people of our land are looking to us with eager faith. Their passions and desires have been inflamed. The builders of political air-castles have dilated upon the possibilities of relief, and have developed delusive expectations and groundless hopes. Men who have once tasted the flattery of knaves are ill-disposed to listen to those who, somewhat acquainted with the laws which govern human affairs, are habituated to consider their mandates and their limitations.

If there was ever a time when men should be tolerant with each other's opinions it should be now, for this is an age of doubt and uncertainty. The whole world seems out of joint. In the material world the vast changes wrought by the new inventions, with the accompanying displacement of labor and dislocation of capital, have unsettled everything; while in the moral world the foundations of religious belief have been shaken, and throughout Christendom there is an anxious sense of impending change. What is to be the character of the subsidence of these moral and material revolutions it is not given to us to know.

One of the wisest of men said, many generations ago: "If we begin with certainties we shall end in doubts; but if we begin with doubts we shall end in certainties."

Remembering, then, that intensity of belief is no sign of truth, and that it prevails most strongly among those who differ most, let us confine ourselves to the attempt to provide a temporary relief for an impending evil.

Amid the cloud of conflicting opinions one fact stands out clear, and that is that under the operation of the Sherman law gold has been driven out of our currency as silver has been infused into it, and that what any sagacious man acquainted with monetary questions would naturally expect to happen has happened, and by reason of this operation we are brought perilously near to the silver standard. The gold in the Treasury upon which the whole superstructure of our currency rests has steadily been going down, and the only source from which it can be replenished—the customs duties—has dried up. The following table of the receipts at the New York custom-house for the dates named tells the story:

	Gold.	Silver.	United States notes.	Treasury notes.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
January, 1889	83.1	6.3	10.6	----------
January, 1890	92.6	2.9	4.6	----------
January, 1891	88.6	2.1	4.1	5.2
January, 1892	66.2	4.3	15.0	14.5
July, 1892	13.9	15.5	28.4	42.2
January, 1893	8.9	15.8	42.1	33.2
February, 1893	9.2	20.7	33.3	36.8
March, 1893	7.8	15.7	28.0	48.5
April, 1893	3.0	23.3	41.0	32.7
May, 1893	0.1	37.8	26.2	35.9
June (20 days)	0.0	15.0	54.0	31.0

It is not surprising that, with the steady disappearance of gold receipts and the steady decline of the gold reserve, the public confidence in the ability of the Government to maintain gold payments has been shaken, and that this distrust in the integrity of our currency system should have spread in other directions.

That there is real danger that the country will slip from the gold to the silver standard, unless something is done to avoid it, is a fact so patent that no one here, so far as I have heard, has ventured to dispute it. We have listened to harangues against the money power, against England, against Wall street, against "gold-bugs," against everybody who is not supposed to be a "friend of silver," but the crucial question has not been touched.

We have had much declamation and more or less turgid rhetoric in favor of "bimetallism," but that is far and away from the real danger which impends, which is, that we are descending steadily from the gold to the silver standard—that we will have silver monometallism. Now, everybody knows, from the experience of other nations, that a great deal of silver remains in circulation when gold is the standard of value, while no gold remains in those countries where silver is the standard. If we should sink to the silver standard all of our gold will disappear and the currency will not only be contracted to that extent, which of itself would be an enormous evil in a country where it is claimed that the circulating medium is insufficient, but the still greater disaster would follow that the currency remaining would, in its purchasing power, shrivel up to accord with the intrinsic value of the silver dollar; the wages of labor, the deposits in savings banks, the policies of life insurance companies, would all be payable then in silver dollars, worth between fifty and sixty cents.

No words can exaggerate the magnitude of this calamity. The present troubles would be as a zephyr to a cyclone. Bimetallism is not, at this juncture, a practical question, for there is no proposition before the House which tends towards securing it. No one whose opinion is of any authority believes that bimetallism can be secured by the free coinage of silver in this country alone at the ratio of sixteen to one or of twenty to one.

There is a great confusion of ideas on this subject. To some, bimetallism means simply the use of both gold and silver in the currency. In that sense every country which has a gold standard is bimetallic, for all of them have more or less of silver, and in that sense everybody favors it; but bimetallism proper means a fixed relation established and maintained by law whereby both gold and silver may be coined without discrimination at a certain fixed ratio. In this sense, there is no nation to-day, either civilized or uncivilized, which is bimetallic. There is no reason inherent in the metal itself why the price of silver should be uniform any more than the price of copper or the price of iron.

Wherever and whenever bimetallism, properly so called, has existed, it has been due to the artificial regulations and manipulations of governments; and so long as there was comparative stability in the production and price of the two metals, the greater part of the world adhered to the bimetallic system, and this adherence tended to preserve comparative steadiness in the price of the two metals; but this stability in price, being due mainly to the action of governments, ceased when this practice ceased, and will not revive, and from the nature of things can not revive, until that practice revives, and it is this bimetallism that the Democratic party pledged itself to in its platform as I conceive that platform.

According to this pledge, we as Democrats are bound to make honest efforts to secure a bimetallic system, either through international agreement or by such "safeguards of legislation" as will secure that end. Our honor and our interest demands that we make an honest effort to secure this end, and I am much mistaken and shall be greatly disappointed if some well-digested plan is not proposed before the expiration of our term of service. When it is proposed it should be considered without passion and without prejudice. I do not conceal from myself the enormous difficulty in the way of its accomplishment, for the trend of events in the last twenty years has been against it, for it is precisely during this period that there has been such great economic changes that we may be said to live in a new world, and the appearances are that this new industrial world prefers silver to gold.

The exact date when the world began to discard silver for gold can not be fixed with absolute precision. Like all evolutionary processes, it was gradual in its operation. It is difficult to mark the exact line of demarcation which separates the animal from the vegetable world. There are many animals, amid the lower forms and types, that are apparently as devoid of volition and free movement as the higher plants, and so far as regards organic structure and mode of life, there is no absolute criterion which marks off the animal kingdom from the vegetable kingdom. The simple cell of contractile protoplasm affords the starting point equally for all organisms, vegetable and animal.

Equal debt paying power was for many years the quality of silver and gold alike; it was the only quality common to each, but just as surely as there has been a constant stream of tendency from the lower to the higher forms, so surely has the economic world been seeking after gold, the higher metal, and discarding silver. Our friends on the other side are constantly harping on the "scramble for gold" among the nations, and they

predict great evils therefrom. The nations seek it because they want it. They want it because it is the "money of the world." We hear of no "scramble" for silver, and this is a bad omen for the cause of bimetallism. The most civilized nations do not "scramble" for it because they do not want it. Why should we seek to load ourselves down with that which other nations discard?

Are we not as good as they, and entitled to the best? It is our pride and our boast that we have the best of everything else; why, then, should we not have the best money? Nobody disputes that gold is the best money—best for our men of business, because we are no longer an isolated people; the ancient modifying circumstances which separated us from the great commonwealth of nations have fallen away and we are among them as equals and as rivals for the world's commerce, and gold is the money of the world. It is best for the laboring man, for it is the wages of his toil.

> We needs must love the highest when we see it
> Not Launcelot nor another.

In the old days there was no question about it among our fathers. The gold standard was discussed and accepted as a proper monetary measure. Those who favored it were not vilipended as traitors to their country. There were no "silver kings" in those days who made life a burden with their harangues. Finding our people in the South and West suffering from real grievances, arising from causes which, although they lie upon the surface, are little comprehended, for we are a simple people, not much versed in monetary science, they have by constant iteration, by sophistries and falsehoods, propagated delusions which have so taken possession of their minds that they honestly believe that the alleged demonetization is the prime cause of all their troubles. Many of those who ought to know better were dupes at first and are now impostors, for finding the silver cult so firmly established they prefer to be its priests, and to perpetuate ignorance, lest they should be discredited when the people awaken to the truth.

Or I should rather call it a fetish worship than a religion, for it has its analogue among the savage tribes. Bastian, the German anthropologist, tells us that in Guinea a sick native who causes the fetish to lie by not recovering promptly is put to death, and anyone who is so audacious as to question the power of the fetish is sacrificed. And now any of us who speak disrespectfully of this political fetish are reviled and threatened with political extinction.

Such and so curious are the anfractuosities of the human mind.

It is loudly proclaimed that the public opinion of this country is overwhelmingly in favor of the free coinage of silver, and that it is now aroused and will sweep out of power the party or the man who opposes it. An enlightened public opinion is irresistible. It would be foolish to disregard it. That opinion in this country undoubtedly favors a bimetallic system, to be secured by international agreement, or by the safeguards of legislation. It does not favor the abandonment of that standard of value which has prevailed in this country for more than a half century and which prevails to-day among all the civilized nations, and the substitution in its stead of an inferior, an uncertain, and a fluctuating standard.

That there is an uninstructed public opinion that clamors for free coinage at any hazard; that men, blinded by extremes of misery, are ready for any desperate measures that promise relief, and that self-seeking demagogues are stimulating their passions to such a degree that their reason is, for the time, in abeyance is, unhappily, too true, and it is not without some peril that men resist these demands when the public mind is in a fever and ferment. But it is only the base and timid that are frightened by the threats that have been uttered here.

Majorities are not always right. It was the voice of the majority that cried "Crucify Him! Crucify Him! Give us Barabbas!" It was the majority that sent Aristides into exile and gave Socrates hemlock for his supper.

It is the minority, according to Him, who are the salt of the earth and who go in at the straight gate of wisdom and goodness.

My people are a borrowing people. They need capital to unlock the stores of nature, to develop to the highest degree their agricultural resources, to build factories, and to multiply all those industrial pursuits which in this day are the apparatus of civilization. The capital they need must come from the older communities. To obtain it we can not afford to juggle with the currency. Least of all can we afford to separate ourselves from the great nations where the greater part of our products find a market.

There is among those nations large accumulations of capital seeking investment. There is an international loan fund that goes wherever it is wanted, as mobile as beads of quicksilver. It belongs to no particular country. It went to Argentine, to Egypt, to Australia. It is going now to the heart of Africa. It will go wherever there is the best promise of profit. But frightened now by repeated and disastrous experiences it demands, above all things else, security. Any possibility of repayment in money of less value than that which was loaned will drive it from us. It would fly as men are flying to-day from plague-stricken Brunswick.

My people are by tradition and habit an honest people. They want no man's money without an equivalent.

They have suffered as few people have from the oppressions, the unjust discriminations, and the intolerable exactions of this Government, but their crowning misfortune would be the imposition of an unsound, a fluctuating, and a vitiated currency.

I know that there is a strong opinion among them opposed to the views that I entertain, and that my course here means either retirement from public life or another hard and bitter contest, and I am weary of conflicts.

But the duty seems to me so plain that I can not hesitate to save them if I can, in spite of themselves, trusting to time to moderate their harsh judgment of me. In the consciousness of such ultimate vindication I can, in my feebleness, adopt the language of the mighty Luther: "If there were as many devils in Worms as there are tiles upon the housetops I would go on," and when I render them my account I will say, as he did before the council: "Here I stand! I can not do otherwise. God help me. Amen!"

If I needed any other inspiration to right conduct than my own self-respect, I would find it in the example of our great leader. While other men were weakly yielding to what seemed a popular movement toward free coinage, he has always set his face against it. Rich in saving common sense, he has pointed out its follies and its dangers. Amid the stream of fluctuating opinions and conflicting views he has remained steadfast, immovable. When others cowered before the storm he stood "four-square to all the winds that blow." As Barnard Bee held his broken columns at Manassas by pointing to our immortal soldier—"See how Jackson stands like a stone wall"—so he has been the rallying-point for all the conservative forces of the country.

Holding duty to his country as higher than party or personal fortunes, the awakened judgment and conscience of his party has called him to its leadership, and his country, trusting the man, has heaped rich honors on the patriot.

So let his great example stand, that the faint-hearted among our public men may learn that truth and courage are often the highest statesmanship, and that our young men may know that—

> Because right is right, to follow right
> Were wisdom in the scorn of consequence.

[Loud and continued applause.]

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Arkansas obtained the floor.

Mr. MCCREARY of Kentucky. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] be allowed twenty minutes.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. I would like to supplement that request by asking that my colleague [Mr. DOLLIVER], who is to follow, may also have twenty minutes.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. RICHARDSON). The Chair will state one request at a time.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I suggest that the question of recognition is exclusively with the Chair, and that it would infringe upon the rights of the Chair if the House should undertake to designate what gentleman is next to speak.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will submit the request of the gentleman from Kentucky, which is that the time of the gentleman from Arkansas be extended to twenty minutes. Is there objection? The Chair hears none. The gentleman from Arkansas will proceed.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Arkansas has been recognized for twenty minutes.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. Will the gentleman permit me——

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman from Arkansas yield?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Arkansas. Yes, sir.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. I ask consent that my colleague [Mr. DOLLIVER] be allowed to speak for twenty minutes.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will state that the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. GROUT] is next on the list of those who are to speak in favor of the bill. But, of course, the Chair will submit the request. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON] asks unanimous consent that the time of his colleague [Mr. DOLLIVER] be extended to twenty minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. ENLOE. I wish to say that if we are going to suspend the order of the House, I would like it suspended entirely. There are other gentlemen who want to be heard on this question.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON]?

Mr. McDANNOLD. I object.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, does this come out of my time?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It does. The Chair asked the gentleman if he yielded, and he said he did.

[Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Arkansas withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

Mr. McRAE obtained the floor.

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. I am informed by the Chair that the number of gentlemen desiring recognition is larger than can be recognized if the session of to-day be closed at 5 o'clock. Therefore, in the interest of gentlemen who desire to speak, I ask unanimous consent that the session be continued until 6 o'clock.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. That is right.

Th. SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from West Virginiaeasks unanimous consent that this afternoon's session be extended until 6 o'clock. Is there objection? The Chair hears none. The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. McRAE] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. BAILEY. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Arkansas be permitted to proceed for twenty minutes.

There was no objection.

[Mr. McRAE withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

Mr. DOLLIVER was recognized.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I ask that my colleague's time be extended twenty minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. DOLLIVER. Mr. Speaker, I am sorry that at the end of this long debate I am not able to bring to the consideration of the question the same enthusiasm that I had at the opening of the discussion. The current of the debate has at least given to those of us who are not trying to play the rôle of financial teachers or of evangelists, dealing with the emotions that is to say, the prejudices of men, an excellent leisure for reflection and an excellent reason for silence. It is to be regretted also that the debate, now nearly a fortnight old, has not gone very far in bringing us out of the chaos that originally surrounded us.

On the side of the free coinage of silver there is one central problem that includes the whole field of the controversy, and that is: Can a nation situated like ours, under circumstances such as obtain now, invite to its mints the whole silver product and the whole silver stock of the world without creating a coin that shall partake of the fluctuating and depreciated character of silver bullion? That question has not been answered.

We have had it said that the act of 1873 was a gigantic fraud and a gigantic crime; but that is not the question. We have had it said that the price of cotton and the price of wheat have gone down with the price of silver bullion; but that is not the question. We have had it said that celebrated students of this question, both here and in Europe, have given their judgment in favor of bimetallic coinage on an international field; but that is not the question.

The question is whether a single country situated like ours is able, under conditions that now prevail, to ignore at its mints the quotations of the bullion market without establishing for its commerce a basis of silver, excluding all other coinage and swamping American business under the burden of a currency both changeable and debased. That question has not been answered; and while we have enjoyed the eloquence that has been aroused by this subject, I trust we have not forgotten that this is a question that must be decided in the arena of judgment and reason, and not in the atmosphere of mere oratory. I confess that I have followed the silver voice of my friend from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN] from the third Punic war down past the glorious victory of Charles Martel to the joint debate between Napoleon and the extraordinary drummer boy of Marengo, without getting light enough on this question to guide me from one figure of speech to another, and while I am not without admiration for the oratorical skill that can so attractively exhume the fallacies of fifteen years ago and give such persuasive shape and color to the vagaries of the Nebraska Populist of to-day, I will not conceal the disappointment with which a plain and perplexed man, anxious to be right and seeking to know the practical effect of the theory of free coinage on our monetary system, has sought in vain for that grain of wheat in the midst of so vast and entertaining a display of chaff. [Laughter.]

If it be true that a single nation by its own laws can abolish the bullion market and make its mints the undisturbed arbiter of the silver situation throughout the world, it seems to me that there ought to be some enlightened and faithful student of this problem, in some language of the earth, to express that opinion, even if it was not thought necessary to introduce some evidence to prove it. In a matter like this no prudent man can let go the hand of experience, unless he sees something to take hold of more tangible than dogmatic theories and incoherent predictions.

But what writer, what student in any language, including even the faithful friends of silver who made the Brussels Conference of 1892 famous; what American politician, not directly influenced by his own interests or by the clamor of local politics, has given that opinion? On the contrary, having been cast off by every government in Europe, including those that have most faithfully tried to practice it, it has found a final refuge in the silver-bearing mountains of our own country, and an intermittent shelter, good only between Presidential elections, in Missouri and Arkansas. [Laughter and applause.]

Now, Mr. Speaker, I shall not be suspected of caring very much what happens to the Democratic party of Missouri, but I can not forbear to point out that the leaders of that party do not seem to be disturbed very much by the "parting of the ways," in which my friend from the Eighth district of Missouri has so often stood. [Laughter.] Because everybody knows that when the Democratic party took Mr. Cleveland a second time for their leader, they took him with the absolute knowledge of his disposition to combat the prevailing views of the State of Missouri in regard to silver; and when we find him getting more votes in the State of Missouri than these silver Congressmen themselves, we can easily imagine that this periodical epilepsy of that State on the money question is not likely to very seriously disturb the comfort of the Democratic party. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I come from a constituency employed mainly in farming. It is a constituency that understands perfectly well that without a safe, a uniform, and a stable system of money there can be no prosperity either in the field, in the factory, or in the market place; a constituency that fifteen years ago, as my friend Gen. HENDERSON, who sits before me, recollects very well—for we both were in that fight—heard every argument that has been heard at this session of Congress, weighed the cheap philosophy of cheap money in the balances of a sober judgment and of an upright conscience and found it wanting in both [laughter and applause]; a constituency whose debts stand for its enterprise and its investments, and not for its poverty and its misfortunes, and whose purpose is to pay what it owes in the legal currency of the country, without clipping a coin or depreciating a note or debasing a dollar. [Applause.]

Our people are a clear-thinking and a hard-working people, and they ask not one of their representatives, Democratic or Republican, to come here and urge legislation that shall disturb either the volume or the value of the currency of the United States. [Applause.] Both political parties are now agreed upon this, for I can not forbear to recall the fact that the Democrats of our State have suffered in the past few days an almost instantaneous conversion upon the silver question. [Laughter.] They stand now where the Republican party has always stood, and we hope that there will never be a Democratic relapse in this generation in the State of Iowa. [Laughter.] If there are those who think that we ought to show our disapproval of their conversion by ourselves backsliding, I can not agree with them.

I stand where I have always stood, for a national currency every dollar of which shall be equal in value to every other dollar issued by the Government. So that if a man works for a day he may know what he earns; if a man has a crop for sale he may know exactly what he receives for it; if a man has a little property he may know exactly what it is worth; if a man is receiving a little pension that has escaped the malice of this Administration, he may know exactly what the pittance amounts to; if a man has a little money laid up in the bank for a rainy day, he may know exactly what his balance is; if a man has insured his life he may die without having his last hours embittered by the prospect of his family being swindled by the depreciation of his little estate; and if a man, like myself, has spent nearly all his lifetime bearing the burden of debt, he may know exactly what he owes [laughter], and make up his mind before God and man to pay it if he can, as our fathers did, without inviting a relief expedition from Bedlam. [Great laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, representing such a people I would not dare to cast a vote here which might have the effect of destroying the prosperity of American business by an experiment which, for all that has been said, presents itself to my mind in the form of an unlimited manufacture of short-weight dollars. [Laughter and applause.]

The view which I now have is the product of many years of conscientious study of this subject. It may be wrong. I do not hold it as a final and unalterable statement of faith. I hold it subject to revision in the light of every new fact, every new experience of the world, every new discovery of political science. It is a disinterested opinion, for it violates not only original

prejudice on the subject, but also the judgment of many whose opinions I respect, and above all it violates my sympathy and good will toward that portion of our common country whose chief occupation has been injuriously affected by the decline of silver.

I am aware also that, especially now in these times of depression and gloom, we are likely to see a resurrection of all the miserable quibbles that fifteen years ago almost carried the country over to an organized system of depreciated currency. We are beginning to hear the old arguments, that those of us who had a hand in the fight before the resumption of specie payments remember perfectly well. I recall that last winter I was sitting over there by the side of the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY] when some one asked my friend from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] whether the free coinage which he proposed was not likely to put a premium on gold. "A premium on gold," said Mr. BLAND, "Why, that is all right; that means a premium on wheat, a premium on cotton—a universal blessing and benefit to the country."

I represent a constituency which knows by experience that a premium on gold is the fatal exposure of every legitimate business of the American people to the speculation of the street and the jobbery of the gold table; and while I am not very old in the experience of the business world, I recollect the time when the legitimate business of the American people escaped from the last premium that we had on gold in the United States. And if I thought the judgment of the people in the midst of whom I live were not with me, I would resign my seat in this House very cheerfully before I would vote to bring American business back to the chaos out of which we escaped in 1879 [applause], because I believe that the people of the United States will in the long run respect a man who refuses to betray them even for the sake or their applause. [Applause.]

When I hear this Chamber filled with threats and long-winded declamations about what is going to happen to people who in the discharge of a high responsibility exercise their own judgment and obey their own convictions on this question, I very often recall the fiery words of old Thomas Carlyle, preserved in the memoirs of the late Lord Houghton. Carlyle wanted Edward Milne, afterward Lord Houghton, to obtain a pension for a struggling young poet, Alfred Tennyson. Mr. Milne presented the subject to Lord Palmerston, then prime minister, who told him that he had never heard of Tennyson, and advised him to let the matter drop for fear his constituents might think he was trying to load some relative onto the bounty of the government. Mr. Milne went to Carlyle and told him the situation, and Carlyle answered him thus:

> Edward Milne, it may be all right for you to excuse your failure by a reference to your constituents; but I tell you that there is coming a day when the question will be asked of you: "Edward Milne, why did you not get the pension for Alfred Tennyson?" and in that day it is you who will be damned and not your constituents.

[Laughter and applause.]

I wish now by the kindness of the House to say a few words about the repeal of the Sherman act. I have heard all that has been said on this subject, and have heard it with attention. Everybody will testify that I have taken a front seat and have endeavored to profit by every day of this discussion. I say to you that I am not convined by anything I have heard or seen that the Sherman act is the sole cause of the troubles that now afflict us.

I agree with the eloquent remarks of my friend from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS], who this morning attributed our troubles to the dread now lodged in the minds of those engaged in the great productive industries of the United States that an industrial revolution is at hand. And I desire to say to my Democratic friends who laughed with derision when that subject was first mentioned in this debate, that there could be no change in the tariff system of the United States, even for the better, without paralyzing for a time the prosperity of all the industries involved. How much greater is likely to be the disturbance of prosperity when the changes proposed are radical and revolutionary, and have already thrice in the history of the United States resulted in the total prostration of the prosperity of the American people?

It is recognized, however, that for better or for worse, the whole business community seems to believe that the silver act of 1890 is one cause of distrust. Nor can it be questioned that the daily purchase of 6 tons of silver may have given rise to a feeling that the time was approaching when the Treasury might be stripped of its reserves and the whole fabric of the national credit be exposed to suspicion.

Notwithstanding the strong hope we have had that the act of 1890 would aid in the solution of the silver question by arresting the degradation of the metal, we do not hesitate to admit that the act has failed to meet the expectation of those who framed it. It now stands, in the judgment of millions, as a threat in the way of restoring confidence, and I will not interpose my vote against the only remedy in which the business world seems to see a solution, or at least a mitigation, of the difficulties in the midst of which every American enterprise is now struggling for its life. [Applause.]

Either the repeal of this law will help us or it will not. If it does, we shall all rejoice. If it does not, we shall all be nearer knowing what the matter is, and the Democratic party will be brought face to face with the omens of the disaster that must follow their tariff policy, with no cover to hide them and no subterfuge of explanation to keep them from an open responsibility. Therefore, as a partisan, I am in favor of clearing this issue so that every man may know that whatever follows the tariff act of this Congress comes from that act, and not from imaginary sources in another field of legislation.

Again, those of us who favor the use of both gold and silver in our coinage, but are convinced that the question is an international one, look forward, not without reasonable hope, to the future efforts of the Brussels conference to restore the monetary status of silver. No man in public life in the United States knows more about this question than Mr. ALLISON, who was a member of the conference of 1892. No one can question his qualifications to speak with authority on this matter, and fortunately no man can dispute the fidelity with which his life has been devoted to the interests of the Mississippi Valley. Therefore, when we find him agreeing with Governor MCCREARY, of Kentucky, also a member of that conference and a lifelong friend of silver, that the suspension of the purchase of silver here will greatly expedite the work of the Brussels conference, we feel sure that the road to a larger use of silver in the coinage of the world lies through the repeal of that part of the act of 1890 which now compels this Government to bear the burden of silver alone. The very moment the United States declares its purpose to lay down the load, the commercial world will feel the pressure of necessity to unite in taking it up on equitable terms.

Mr. Balfour said, in his remarkable speech in London on the 3d of this month, speaking for international bimetallism:

> We have boasted, we have claimed for ourselves, that we lead the van of commerce because we are the great upholders of the single gold standard.

If some of the gentlemen who have spoken in this debate had been present they would have felt like interrupting the speaker to say that the United States had declared their independence of England and would not submit to having a conspiracy of London bankers force the gold standard on to us. But, unfortunately for this branch of the rhetoric of the silver cause, the words I have read from the London Times's report of Mr. Balfour's speech are only half of a sentence, which concludes as follows:

> And yet there is not a man, I venture to say, in the city of London this moment, not a single man who would not look with horror and with apprehension at every other nation following so good an example.

He goes on to say, "Let the United States go in for a gold standard and a tremor seizes every one of our commercial magnates," and finishes what I venture to say is the most significant speech of the year by asking the distinguished audience which crowded the Egyptian hall of the Mansion House "whether the great, the preponderating, the overwhelming influence of the city of London ought not to be thrown into the scale of those who desire to see some international settlement of this vast problem and the establishment of some system under which every great commercial community throughout the world shall contribute its share, at any rate, to maintaining the stability and the value of silver."

So that it seems to me certain that the friends of silver in the United States will enter the conference of 1893 with a more influential position if Congress authorizes them to say that the United States, having refused to longer carry the whole burden of maintaining the stability and value of silver, is ready to agree with the commercial community throughout the world to contribute its share.

It is to be remembered also that the bill proposed here, instead of destroying the present currency based on silver, preserves not only its volume unimpaired, but also secures by a pledge of the national credit the value of every dollar on a parity with all our coins and currency.

If anybody supposes that our decision here ends the controversy about silver, he is mistaken. It only transfers the question to the larger field, where it belongs. And if anybody thinks that our action in suspending the purchase of bullion is in any sense the "doom of silver," it only shows that he does not comprehend the movement of the mighty forces that are at work throughout the world. It is perhaps unfortunate that we are called to deal with this question in the midst of a financial convulsion almost without example in its waste and ruin. We have heard men try to explain this sudden misfortune. There is no use to try to explain a panic. By its very definition it is a thing without reason and beyond explanation.

I have already pointed out the underlying cause of the accom-

panying industrial depression, which in our own country has evidently emphasized the general depression visible on all sides in every country. For that the repeal of the silver act of 1890 is no remedy. There is, however, in this world a very large area for faith. A friendly correspondent, writing to me the other day on the silver question, more than once repeats the precept of the Scriptures, "We live by faith." And so we do, even in the field of business and finance. In voting to repeal the section of the act of 1890 requiring the monthly purchase of 180 tons of silver bullion I frankly confess that I am guided in part by what seems to be the prevailing belief of the business community. A friend in the city in which I live, in explaining to me his new views on religion and medicine, somewhat perplexed me by saying that a few months ago he "was caught in the elbow by a belief of rheumatism" [laughter], and, if I understood him correctly, his idea was that the way to handle it was to let the rheumatism go and pay attention entirely to the belief. [Laughter.]

I do not know how much there is in that idea, but I was not prepared to argue the matter with him; and in this situation in which we find ourselves, while we may not have the fullest confidence in the remedy suggested, I can not make up my mind that we ought to deprive the business world of such consolation as may come to it by a fair opportunity to try an application of the faith cure. [Applause.]

Mr. ENLOE was recognized.

Mr. McRAE. Before the gentleman proceeds I ask unanimous consent that he be allowed twenty minutes.

There was no objection.

[Mr. ENLOE withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

Mr. GROUT. Mr. Speaker, I have been represented by the newspapers, which are usually correct, but this time in error, as being opposed to the repeal of the Sherman purchase clause, so called, in the act of 1890. This feature of that act, as is well known, was accepted as a compromise, rather than have free silver coinage, to which it may be said to bear something of the same relation that varioloid does to the genuine disorder, perhaps not equally to be dreaded, yet certainly to be avoided.

The purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month and the issue of Treasury notes thereon has been looked upon by conservative men from the start as an extreme concession to the silver-producing interests of the country, and as carrying to the extreme limit of safety the silver element in our monetary system, and now that business and financial troubles are upon us, if we would tide over present difficulties and avoid a general panic, we should see to it, first of all, that we keep in circulation a sound currency. It should also be ample for the business of the country, and not suddenly contracted; but of that a moment later.

First of all, it should be sound, so that no one can have a doubt of the value of every dollar he may chance to possess.

Unfortunately for the double standard of the United States, the continued increased production of silver, not only in this country but throughout the whole world, amounting in fact to an immense overproduction everywhere, has so reduced the market value of that metal as to throw it out of relation to gold and make necessary such readjustment as shall keep the two metals on a parity. This is certainly necessary if we are to keep both along as money metals, and for one I am in favor of so doing. I am, in other words, a bimetallist.

But silver has become so plenty that a wide difference now exists between the bullion value of the gold and silver dollar. And in time of general apprehension and distrust, like that through which we are passing, when the overthrow of our entire industrial system is threatened, and mills and mines are shutting down and labor is hungry in the street, trade stagnant and capital, always timid and selfish, is slinking away and hiding itself, caring, as usual, only for its own safety, and never for the wants of the people [applause]—I say in such a time as this it is doubly important that there be no doubt as to every dollar of every kind kept in circulation by the Government as currency; for if any portion be under value it will surely contribute to the general disturbance. Now, this is just what the present silver dollar, which is to-day worth less than 60 cents, is doing, as is also, to some extent, the Treasury notes issued under the Sherman purchase clause, though payable in coin, because of the liability that they may be paid in the 60-cent silver dollar, which is one of the lawful coins of the United States.

Now, while I believe that our present financial and business depression is principally due to other causes, which I can not stop here to discuss, doubtless this silver business has something to do with it. At all events, there is an unsound element in our currency which should be displaced. I am, therefore, allowing me to correct the newspapess, in favor of the bill for repeal, and shall vote for it; nor have I ever said anything from which it could be otherwise understood or fairly inferred.

It is true, however, that on the day the order fixing the time for this debate and specifying the amendments that might be offered to the bill for repeal was forced through the House, I expressed surprise and dissatisfaction that by the terms of that order no provision was made for supplying currency to take the place of that to be cut off by the repeal of the purchase clause.

Not only is no provision made, but our hands are so tied that no amendment can be offered, even, looking in that direction, except several for the free coinage of silver at different ratios, and one to substitute in place of the purchase clause the Bland-Allison act of 1878, which was more essentially a silver law than the present one, inasmuch as it provided for the coinage of not less than $2,000,000 every month, and in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury $4,000,000, and the issue of certificates thereon payable in silver—not in coin, as by the present law, but silver.

Now, think for a moment, Mr. Speaker, of the absurd issues presented by this order! The Democracy tell us that the country is on the verge of ruin because of too much silver, and bring in a bill to repeal the silver law. They also, by the same order, authorize an amendment for the free coinage of silver. The complaint is too much silver, and strange to tell, the proposed cure is more silver, even free silver, upon faith in the vain superstition, I suppose, that, "the hair of the dog will cure the bite."

In other words, they prescribe an allopathic dose upon the homœopathic principle, *similia similibus curantur*. [Laughter.] Now, here is a strange bundle of contradictions and incompatibilities coming from the Democratic caucus at the same sitting, and this is a fair sample of the financial philosophy generated by our well-meaning friends of the Democratic party when left for a little time completely to themselves and wholly within their own atmosphere. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.]

But what of the more serious objection that this repeal will take away from the people the large monthly addition to the currency now provided by the Treasury notes issued on the monthly purchases of bullion, aggregating, at the present price of silver, a little less than $40,000,000 annually?

What shall be said of the wisdom of thus contracting our circulating medium in this time of stringency, when currency—not current funds, but currency—is worth $40 per thousand in our large cities, as it has been since this debate commenced.

Why, many people will tell you that the chief cause of our present difficulties is an insufficient volume of money with which to do the business of the country. While I do not share this view fully, I am clear that it is not wise to cut off in this time of scarcity any supply of money which the people may have without making it good in some other way. But we have already seen that the only way the Democracy propose to do this is to make a larger use of silver—a larger use of the very metal which President Cleveland tells us is ruining the country.

Now, why not have allowed the Republican side of the House to propose an amendment for keeping good this supply of currency which the repeal will surely cut off? It would have been a very short and simple amendment, but would have been effectual to supply this deficiency with a sound and flexible currency, one long tried by the American people with no holder of it ever yet losing a dollar. That amendment would have been to allow the national banks to issue circulation up to the par value of their bonds.

This would furnish between eighteen and nineteen million dollars as soon as the bills could be printed—quite an item to begin with, especially in time of distress; and the banks, thus encouraged, many of which now have only a quarter of their capital in bonds, would put the whole into bonds and take circulation, to the certain relief of the business of the country. I think it perfectly safe to say that within a year $150,000,000 would be added to the currency by this means, and every dollar as good as gold, because behind it are the bonds of the United States, every class of which is at a premium and sought by investors the wide world over.

Room was made for the free silver men to make several amendments, and I repeat, why was not the Republican side permitted by the nonpartisan Democracy, who are just now saving the country in a strangely nonpartisan way, to propose this amendment? But, no; we were gagged by the previous question, and not a Republican member was allowed to say a word. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Now, this is what I was complaining of, perhaps scolding about, when some one, hearing, thought my position doubtful as to repeal.

I felt then—and am not entirely free from the feeling now—that the Republicans, who are nearly solid for repeal, but who stand now, as ever heretofore, for sound money and plenty of it,

would be justified in sitting silent till the tyranny of the majority in this House should so relax as to allow the sense of the House to be taken upon an amendment to keep our present supply of currency good, and with good money, too.

Can it be that all opportunity to extend the circulation of the national banks, which still linger as a distinguishing mark of the nationality of these United States, was accidental merely, or was it for the express purpose of keeping this question open and later supplying this additional currency, which every one admits the people ought to have, by the wild-cat currency of State banks, thus making good the State-bank plank in the Chicago platform?

If so, then the last will be worse than the first of the great change which the country is now enjoying.

Let us hope, however, that we may be saved from so great calamity. [Applause.]

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Speaker, when called by the President of the United States to attend this extraordinary session of Congress I had no idea of making a speech upon the silver question, but the circumstances and conditions now existing in the city of New York, and particularly in the district that I have the honor to represent, impel me to express my views on the financial stringency which is now disturbing the country. In the city from which I come the workshops, the mills, and the other great industries have, to a large extent, ceased to do business; and thousands upon thousands of honest working people have been thrown out of employment and deprived of the means of earning bread for themselves and their families.

Mr. Speaker, in relation to this silver question, I believe that the commercial crisis through which the country is now passing, with financial ruin threatening all industries, with thousands of working men and women crying for bread because of conditions resulting from the dishonest monetary legislation of the past has had a sobering effect upon the industrial classes of the Southwest. It has awakened them to a realization of the true condition of affairs to such an extent that the familiar heresies of the radical silver men, while commanding a patient hearing in the Halls of Congress, will irritate instead of soothing the popular clamor for a speedy and prompt adjustment of our financial affairs upon the lines suggested by our able and patriotic President.

If I were asked to summarize a proper financial policy for the country to adopt, it would be briefly as follows:

1. Repeal the silver-purchasing clause in the Sherman law unconditionally. This is an absolute necessity, and should, of course, be the first step, since it announces to the world that the people of the United States intend to pay their debts in full, and not with the aid of a depreciated currency. This will undoubtedly have an immediate beneficial effect upon the country by substituting a feeling of confidence for the semipanic that now exists.

2. Stop issuing silver certificates of deposit of any denomination. The purchase of silver for coinage purposes is perfectly legitimate; but when silver bullion is amassed in large quantities it can not be regarded as money, but merely as merchandise, and such an accumulation of it is simply a perpetual menace to the market price of silver. To issue certificates of deposit against silver is no more defensible than it would be to issue similar certificates against a store of wheat, corn, or horses.

3. Coin all the silver bullion now owned by the Government.

4. Prohibit the issue of paper currency of a less denomination than $5. This would very soon put into circulation all the silver dollars now in existence, and before long an additional supply of them would be needed. The effect of this would be to put silver to its only legitimate use—that of a serviceable subsidiary currency—a use which it may furthermore be said never thoroughly to have attained in this country. The effect of a thorough circulation of silver, and an assured demand for it in the future, would have an immediate beneficial effect upon the silver-mining industry, which has long been suffering from the misguided efforts of its friends. People would soon become accustomed to using silver instead of small paper currency, the latter, indeed, having no real reason for being in circulation, as proved by the experience of England, where the smaller paper note is $25, and of France, where the smallest note is $10.

5. Provide that silver shall be legal tender to the amount of $10 only. For all practical purposes, silver is demonetized now, *i. e.*, so far as being a standard of value is concerned. The world, however, needs a positive assurance that our standard of value shall be forever the same as that of the civilized world.

6. In place of coining double eagles, coin a large number of $2.50 gold pieces. The latter would prove very valuable coin, coresponding to the English half sovereigns; whereas the former are too heavy for ordinary use, and their purpose can be better served by paper notes.

7. Allow national banks a circulation equal to par of their holdings of Government bonds.

This suggestion, which is now being widely urged, is undoubtedly sound, and would largely increase the circulating medium of the country.

8. Provide for the extension of the charge for pensions by issuing a number of long-term bonds to the extent of one-half of the expenditure of the preceding year for pensions. This would have the following good effects:

First. It would relieve the present generation from bearing an undue proportion of the awful burden of the present pension laws, and throw upon the shoulders of coming generations their equitable share of its financial responsibilities.

Second. It would increase the amount of national bonds, which forms the basis of our best national currency, and give speedy relief from the present monetary stringency.

Third. It would enable a reduction in the tariff to be effected, which otherwise seems impracticable. Iniquitous as the present tariff is, it is idle to think of attempting to relieve the people of its burden so long as it continues to be necessary to raise half a billion of dollars a year to meet the annual expenses of the Government, abnormally swelled as they are by the present pension charges.

I believe that a policy, such as that which I have just outlined, would result in a sound revival of trade, and in renewed prosperity to the country. It is only a question of returning to principles of ordinary common sense and honesty. It sometimes happens that Americans, because they populate the richest land on earth, are led to an exaggeration of its bounteous resources, and believe that they are, therefore, above all the elementary laws of commerce and finance. But when the country goes off into occasional daydreams, its awakenings are always somewhat rude and something of a shock.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that this obnoxious Sherman act will be repealed by such a majority in this House that public confidence will be restored throughout the land and that business will be resumed, so that the thousands of working people now seeking employment may again obtain it, and sunshine, happiness, and prosperity may again prevail throughout the length and breadth of this glorious country. [Applause.]

[Mr. SIPE withholds his remarks for revisioh. See Appendix.]

Mr. McETTRICK. Mr. Speaker, I suppose that when I rise and announce myself as another new member from Massachusetts who favors the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, and at the same time claims to be an honest bimetallist, I may expect to receive some share of the same kind of abuse that it has been the fashion to heap on Massachusetts during this debate. I can not say that it was with any measure of surprise that I heard the other day upon this floor a well-worn sneer and denunciation of Massachusetts and New England as the home of the money-lenders and so-called "gold bugs" of the country. That, indeed, seems to be the penalty which thrift, industry, and enterprise is called upon to pay to those whose efforts in the accumulation of wealth have not been successful.

But when, in all her history, did Massachusetts fail to keep a solemn pledge or promise? At every great crisis in the national history her good strong arm has been the first of those uplifted, whether to repel the foreign invader, in defense of the Union of the States, or in maintaining the national honor by the payment of its just and honest debts. From the careful savings of her people, even from the time of the establishment of our national Union, streams of wealth have flowed, enriching every section of our common country.

The great West has felt the beneficent influence of Massachusetts and New England, since the time the first pioneers crossed the prairies to seek homes in the wilderness. Some of the best brawn and sinew and blood in that great section, of which the nation is justly proud, is of the old New England stock. As a fond mother nurtures her child, so has New England at all times listened to the call of her courageous sons, and by her assistance many splendid cities in the great West and Northwest have been made possible. Nor has the South been forgotten.

When the Father of Waters breaks away from the artificial barriers which encompass him, and spreads destruction and devastation to the homes and farms for hundreds of miles along his borders, who is the first to respond but Massachusetts? And when the fair Crescent City at his mouth looks up appealingly for aid, who is the first to come to her relief? And the same may be said when the fell destroyer strikes down the citizen of the South with the infectious fever. Who are the first to contribute to the alleviation of the suffering survivors? When fire destroys a city, the sad news reaches Boston. The wires of the country are none too quick to flash relief and sympathy and succor.

But, Mr. Speaker, I represent particularly a constituency who are not the bankers, the "gold bugs," and the money-lenders. I represent a constituency who are largely composed of men who

work with their hands for their daily bread. I represent a constituency who are joined together largely in a community of laboring men, whose sympathies are not confined to the little spot on the surface of our country which they occupy, but who are as ready to listen to the distressing appeals of the man who works in the mines in the bowels of the earth in Colorado as to those of their suffering neighbors.

To-day there are 25,000 men at least walking the streets of Boston out of employment, while the factory operatives of Lawrence, Fall River, and other manufacturing cities and towns are idle by thousands. The farmer of the West too is suffering; we admit that he is not getting a fair return for his labor, but he can look upon God's blue sky, he can look upon fair fields and breathe God's pure air. No stifling smoke shuts out the sun; no contaminated air of the tenement house and the workshop brings trouble, distress, and sickness to him and his. The stopping of the wheels of commerce means to my constituency absolute want and distress.

The farmer may be unable to market his product, but he at least has something to eat. The bounteous nature with which he is surrounded supplies him with something to sustain life. I desire to say to the unemployed miners and others of the far West, in behalf of my constituency, that we are not deaf to your appeals; we are not deaf to your call for help; but the question presented to us is, What is best for our common country?

Mr. Speaker, I came here determined to throw my vote and my influence for that which I believed was right, and for the best interest of the whole country. I have listened to the eloquent remarks of the gentlemen on both sides of the question, and I now feel that it is but right that I should declare myself. I say, with all earnestness, to the miner of the West, to those whose interests are with silver, I sincerely believe in bimetallism; I believe that silver should not be demonetized, but I am forced also to believe that the people of this country will not be benefited by the method suggested by our opponents, and that the United States can not alone bring about its restoration to the position which it has enjoyed.

This can not rightly be made a sectional question. It is not properly a national question. But, by the force of circumstances, it becomes an international question, and the United States of America should take every means to compel its sister nations to adopt the use at a proper ratio of that which is so largely one of her products and which should go to lend an increased volume to the currency of the world. I desire to say to the people who believe in silver that we are not of those who would brush aside your claims or your ideas without full deliberation. It is a question which requires statesmanship, study, and diplomacy in its treatment, and that is what it should receive.

But, Mr. Speaker, I might say that it seems to me, from what I have heard here expressed and from what I have been able to learn of the subject, that the soil of the mining State gives out more than an ample return for every dollar invested and labor expended in the production of silver. The Indians that our forefathers found on these shores, as well as the ignorant natives of Africa, used in their exchanges shells as a circulating medium, and we might as well to day return to their use and dig and gather the clam-shells on New England's rocky coast to tender as money, as to use a metal from Colorado valued at a figure which bears no relation to the labor and expense of procuring it.

By an overwhelming majority the people of these United States elected Grover Cleveland President. The President of the United States, with a full realization of the step that he was taking, has asked for an unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law. The masses, I believe, are with him and have faith in him, and it is a poor argument to go home to our constituencies and say to them, "Oh, we knew better than he did; your trust in him was mistaken."

The Democratic party believes in the maintenance of the money of the country upon a parity. I will vote for any measure which will tend to do this, but I feel that it is my duty first to to be convinced that the measure here brought to us will tend to that end. The State of Nevada, represented by two Senators and a Representative, has barely a quarter of the population of the district which I represent, and which could be covered upon the map by the point of a lead pencil. In any question which arises they have a voice of two Senators and a Representative against my constituency's one vote in this House.

I want to arraign nobody. But I desire to ask the mine owners and the silver kings of that section, why is it that within forty-eight hours after your mills and your mining industry have closed that the streets are filled with miners with empty pockets, fairly crying for bread? Ask yourselves, have you given labor a fair recognition? Has there been an equitable distribution of the product as between your capital and their labor; or why is it that within the hour that your work stops they are found with empty pockets?

Is there no saving or accumulation? Where is all this money that has been dug from the bowels of the earth? Your workingmen have hardly seen it, except in the crude ore as they dug it out and picked it up with their hands. Why have you not divided more equitably with your workingmen that which comes to you only by their sufferance? Because they respect the law and protect you in your claim, why should you not give them a fair return of that which their labor has contributed to get? Then you might have come with better grace to the people and asked them to aid you.

Every man who works, by his daily toil becomes at night the creditor for his day's wage, and it is as essential to him that the money which he receives shall have its true and just purchasing power as it is that "money bags" shall get his cent per cent. He wants no debased currency with which to go to the tradesman to buy his next day's meal. His wage will remain about the same whether you pay him in a currency worth 50 cents on the dollar or whether it bears the full face value. How, then, can his interest be other that to receive what his labor has earned—something that will purchase its full measure of represented value.

The following figures have been taken carefully and impartially from the report of the Senate Committee on Finance, being Report No. 1394, Fifty-second Congress, second session, relating to wholesale prices and to wages. The table shows what a carpenter in New York had to pay for the articles named at wholesale prices in July of the years 1840, 1860, 1866, and 1891. During the month named in 1840 an ordinary journeyman carpenter earned $1.50 per day, or $9 per week of six days each, working ten hours per day. In 1860 he earned $2 per day, or $12 for the week, with the same hours.

In 1866 he could earn $3.50 per day, or $21 per week, the hours being the same as before. In 1891, working eight hours per day, he earned $3.50 per day, or $21 per week. The totals given in the table for each of the years named show exactly what these different weekly earnings would accomplish in paying the bill of items given. The table shows most emphatically what I have claimed—that when the currency is inflated prices rise much faster than the rates of wages, and that when prices fall the price of labor does not fall equally with the prices of commodities.

Wholesale prices of certain commodities in New York City in 1840, 1860, 1866, and 1891.

Articles.	July, 1840.	July, 1860.	July, 1866.	July, 1891.
5 pounds Boston crackers	$0.30	$0.43	$0.45	$0.25
5 pounds butter, fair	.85	.90	2.10	1.00
2½ pounds cheese	.23	.23	.43	.21
3 pounds coffee, Rio, fair	.19	.27	.46	.38
1 dozen eggs	.12	.14	.24	.18
¼ barrel flour, medium	1.75	2.25	4.06	1.63
¾ pounds meat, beef, medium	.40	.56	1.00	.68
4 pounds meat, bacon, clear	.32	.34	.63	.26
1 gallon molasses, New Orleans, prime	.26	.48	1.10	.32
5 pounds sugar, refined, crushed, or granulated	.60	.50	.84	.21
10 yards calico, Cocheco	1.20	.95	2.10	.60
¼ ton coal, anthracite, stove	2.25	1.93	3.75	1.95
1 week's rent, 5 rooms	1.75	1.75	4.50	4.50
Total	10.22	10.73	21.66	12.17

A carpenter was paid in New York City in 1840, $1.50 per day of ten hours; 1860, $2 per day of ten hours; 1866, $3.50 per day of ten hours; 1891, $3.50 per day of eight hours.

Mr. Speaker, we are told that this is a plot of the British Government. We are told that Lombard street dictates to this Congress its desires. If that were the question I would not be here advocating the course I do. I have not forgotten Bunker Hill, for if I did the lofty monument which stands upon that ground where the blood of our countrymen was shed that the shackles of oppression might be broken, throws a shadow upon my home to remind me of the causes that make that spot a hallowed one.

But that is not the question, however, Mr. Speaker. The wishes and desires of the London banker have no weight with me. I have not the slightest interest in what they want, but I have an interest in seeing that the currency of the people of the United States is not debased, but maintained at its full face value. I wish to see the humble wage-earnings of my constituency purchase as much of the product of the field or of the loom as they are justly entitled to. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of bimetallism. I am in favor of this country taking such a position before the nations of the earth as will force them to accept silver as a circulating medium.

But this is an international question. It is a question that the United States must settle among the other nations of the world, and if they can not take the product of our silver mines and give it due recognition I would see to it that their products should be likewise discredited. The men of Massachusetts,

rather than drink the tea that had a British stamp upon it, deprived themselves of the pleasure and comfort which that tea might have brought to their homes, and ruthlessly threw it overboard. And, Mr. Speaker, I to-day would follow their example unless they give recognition to our silver; but I would at least present it fairly before them and give them a chance. I have no issue with Englishmen as Englishmen. It is with the British Government.

I have not, Mr. Speaker, gone into the question of statistics. The House has listened to them for a long time, but I can not fail to call attention to a few facts:

The total amount of gold produced in the United States from 1792 to 1891, was $1,904,881,769, and of silver in the same century, $1,073,172,000, a total of $2,978,053,769. In the year 1892 there were produced in the United States 1,596,400 ounces of gold and 58,000,000 ounces of silver, or about 24.11 times more silver than gold. The commercial ratio of silver to gold has steadily increased since the war from about 15½ to 1 to about 28 to 1.

In the year 1893, January 1, there were in the United States $651,330,763 in gold coin and bullion, and $592,519,721 in silver coin and bullion, or a ratio of about 91 per cent as much silver as gold. Of the actual coin in circulation there was in 1893, January 1, $530,064,099 in gold and $452,185,214 in silver, including certificates, or about 85 per cent as much silver as gold.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have one word to say in regard to the so-called Sherman bill. The purchase clause of the Sherman bill, passed in 1890, has been variously and emphatically denominated a cheat and a makeshift. It was, in reality, a compromise, which is usually a bargain, and is defined by some philosopher a trade in which each party thinks he has cheated the other. The friends of silver, though claiming everything, were satisfied that its condition would be improved by a forced market, whereby the Government should become the purchaser to the amount of 4,500,000 ounces per month, confident that the Government could not long hoard and store the bullion, and that it would be speedily coined and placed in circulation, little dreaming that there is a limit to its use in the ordinary business transactions of the country and that its limit would be so soon reached.

The friends of gold saw in it a method of depreciating its value and the estimation in which it might be held by the financial world by its consideration as a commodity only. Both were satisfied, but, as usual, the capitalists had the best of the bargain, and both classes are now alike clamoring for its repeal. Everybody, including its author, denounce its method and effect, and the only opposition to its immediate repeal comes from those who hope to secure something more favorable by tacking on to the repeal measure other legislation in the supposed interests of silver.

Mr. Speaker, with the wheels of commerce stopped, with the loom idle, with the fires of the forge extinguished, with the unemployed everywhere, I feel that it is hardly right for any man to occupy the precious time—time which should be used for action—but I felt obliged to say to the people who have taken the other side of this question that there are constituencies in Massachusetts which are largely composed of men of toil, men of labor, men whose "brow is wet with honest sweat," men who are intelligent and sympathetic, men who study the questions of the day at their homes, and upon the street corners with empty stomachs discuss our national prosperity. As a representative of such a constituency I have to-day appealed to this House. [Applause.]

Mr. GEISSENHAINER. Mr. Speaker, the feeling of distrust now prevailing over our entire country, and which has brought disaster to business and financial enterprises, and which has occasioned this extraordinary session of Congress, has been virtually caused by the purchase of silver as authorized by the act of July 14, 1890.

From the day that the Sherman act took effect, August 13, 1890, up to the end of the present fiscal year, June 30, 1893, there has been purchased from the silver mine owners of this country the enormous quantity of 157,457,632 ounces troy, over 6,560 tons, of fine silver. During this period of nine hundred and three week days, therefore, the daily amount purchased was over 7 tons of pure silver, and the total amount paid for the same $147,676,749.12.

On the 1st day of July, 1893, the market price for silver was 70 cents per ounce for pure silver, so that the loss on this purchase was $37,456,406.72; in other words, the amount of $147,676,749.12 paid had fallen in market value to $110,220,342.40. According to the returns of the census of 1890 (House Document No. 340, Fifty-second Congress, first session, pages 68 to 95 and 163) the production of pure silver amounted to 41,703,527 ounces and the cost of producing the same is officially stated to have been $15,558,423, or 37.3 cents per ounce. The profits to the mine owners should be regarded as very satisfactory, indeed.

In 1886 the British Royal Commission ordered an investigation of the cost of producing pure silver. Prof. Robert Austen reported and proved that the cost of producing pure silver in this country was 51.1 cents per ounce, and for the whole world 40 cents per ounce. Dr. Kimball, Director of the Mint, doubting the accuracy of Prof. Austen's returns, in turn directed an investigation. The several agents of the United States reported the cost of production in the United States to be 52⅔ cents per ounce. (See report of Director of the Mint on the production of the precious metals for 1887, pages 80 to 116.)

At the return by Dr. Kimball of 52⅔ cents per ounce fine, the cost of production of the 157,457,632 ounces of fine silver sold to the United States was $82,507,799.16, thus netting a profit of $65,168,949.96 on the amount paid under the Sherman act of $147,676,749.12 of the people's money. In addition to this it is now asked that the mints of the United States shall be thrown open to the free and unlimited coinage of the entire productions of the mines, which, in 1892, amounted to 58,000,000 ounces of pure silver, and for which 74,989,900 silver dollars are to be paid. Our silver coinage being 16 to 1 of gold, there would accrue a profit according to the last census returns, at 37.3 cents per ounce, of $53,355,900, equal to about 249 per cent.

These are facts. These are the causes of the loss of confidence now hovering over us. Is it any wonder that our people are hoarding the gold coin, the gold certificates, and the legal-tender greenbacks? The $407,945,944 in gold coin, the $101,469,969 in gold certificates, the $319,022,323 in greenbacks that have disappeared from circulation since the 1st of June last, making a total of $827,438,236 out of $1,596,000,000 are causing the present distress and panic. Is it strange that our people are fearful lest they must exchange their substance for a shadow?

In 1804 Thomas Jefferson stopped the coinage of silver dollars, and from 1805 to 1836 no silver dollars were coined. In 1834 a change was made in our coinage laws, and two years after one thousand silver dollars were coined. None were coined in 1837 and 1838, while in 1839 only three hundred were issued. It will thus be seen that there was a very limited coinage of silver dollars, for from 1794, when the first silver dollar was struck, until 1873, when free and unlimited coinage became a law, not quite $5,000,000 were coined.

A very favorite assertion of the silver mine owners is that since 1873 prices for wheat and cotton have declined in consequence of the abolition of free coinage. Let us examine the truth of this statement.

We are constantly told by the free-coinage orators that price, of wheat and cotton have declined since 1873. They exhibit charts, diagrams, and even very adroitly arranged barometers by which they seek to prove the fall of prices for wheat, cottons and silver since 1873 in this country. They very prudently start their object lessons with the prices for wheat and cotton in 1872. If they dared to extend their charts prior to 1872 it would have been seen that in reality wheat and cotton joined in the general decline of almost all commodities in 1865, while silver reached its highest point in 1866. Here are the plain facts:

Average yearly prices for wheat, cotton, and silver bullion.

Year.	Wheat, per bushel.	Cotton, per pound.	Silver, per ounce.
1865	$1.90	$0.83	$1.33⅜
1866	1.40	.43	1.34
1867	1.27	.31½	1.32½
1868	1.89	.24⅝	1.32½
1869	1.38¾	.29	1.32½
1870	1.29	.23	1.32½
1871	1.32½	.17	1.32½

These facts our exhibitors fail to give us; they prefer to offer the following, beginning with 1872, viz:

Year.	Wheat, per bushel.	Cotton, per pound.	Silver, per ounce.
		Cents.	
1872	$1.47	19.3	$1.32
1873	1.31	18.8	1.29
1874	1.43	15.4	1.27
1875	1.12	15.0	1.24
1876	1.24	12.97	1.15
1877	1.17	11.88	1.20
1878	1.34	11.1	1.15
1879	1.07	9.9	1.12
1880	1.25	11.5	1.14
1881	1.11	11.4	1.13
1882	1.19	11.4	1.13
1883	1.13	10.8	1.11
1884	1.07	10.5	1.01
1885	.86	10.6	1.06
1886	.87	9.9	.99
1887	.89	9.5	.97
1888	.85	9.8	.93
1889	.90	9.9	.94
1890	.83	10.2	1.04
1891	.85	7.7	.90
1892	.80	7.3	.86

These charts, diagrams, and barometers, with doleful accounts of the misery and ultimate ruin of the farmer and cotton-planter, have been presented to the West and South until a general belief prevails that the decline in silver bullion and likewise in the prices of wheat and cotton are inseparable, and that only the free and unlimited coinage of silver bullion worth 72½ cents into $1.29¼ per ounce, or otherwise 58 cents' worth of silver bullion into 100 cents, or a dollar, would remedy prices for wheat and cotton and establish unlimited prosperity.

Now, when we examine the official returns of the Statistical Abstract of the United States for 1892, fifteenth number, we find on page 313 that in 1867 the total production of wheat in this country was 212,441,400 bushels. The figures for 1865 and 1866 are not given, while in 1892 the crop was put at 515,949,000 bushels. No returns being given for Dakota or California even for 1867 (see page 308), while in 1892 California produced 39,157,000 bushels and the Dakotas 66,765,000 bushels, showing an increased production of 105,922,000 bushels, or half the amount of the whole crop of the other twenty-one States and Territories in 1867. Is it remarkable that prices of wheat have declined?

In 1865 the crop of cotton in the United States was 2,278,000 bales; in 1866, 2,233,000 bales, and in 1892, 9,018,000 bales, or over four times as much as in 1865 and 1866. Is it strange that prices for cotton have been reduced? ("Cotton facts," Alfred B. Shepperson, December, 1892, page 2.)

The Report of the Director of the Mint on the production of precious metals (House Executive Document No. 274, Fifty-second Congress, second session, page 222) states that the production of silver in this country was in 1865, $11,250,000 worth; in 1866, only $10,000,000, and in 1892 it had increased to $73,697,000 worth, an increase of from 8,000,000 ounces of pure silver to over 57,000,000 ounces—over seven times the production of 1866, when the price of silver bullion was $1.34 per ounce, and the highest in this century. Has the population increased sevenfold? The census of 1860 gives the population at 31,443,221, in 1870 at 38,558,371, and in 1890 at 62,622,250.

While the population has only about doubled in this period of time, the production of wheat has been over twice as much, and of cotton over four times as great, and silver over seven times as large.

Our people have not lost faith in their wheat, nor in their cotton, but confidence in silver seems to have been very greatly disturbed, and to many minds the only remedy in this most oppressing crisis to restore confidence in all things is to act upon the recommendation of the President and repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. [Applause.]

[Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee addressed the House. Sae Appendix.]

Mr. PICKLER. As no gentleman appears desirous now to take the floor, and as I see the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] in his seat, I would like to ask him a question or two in relation to a subject embraced in the speech which he delivered to-day.

Mr. SPRINGER. I have no objection.

Mr. PICKLER. I have been considering seriously how I ought to vote on this question. Now, the gentleman from Illinois asserted very emphatically in his speech that if the Sherman law should be repealed unconditionally he had no doubt that some measure would be adopted by Congress and become a law relative to the currency. When I asked him as to the provisions of such a bill he very facetiously turned me off. Now, I would like him to state (and I am in earnest about this matter) what kind of a measure he would be in favor of, and whether he has any such measure digested, because upon what is to follow the action on the pending bill depends largely, I think, the votes of quite a number of gentlemen. I was in earnest in my inquiry to-day, although the gentleman seemed to think I was interrupting probably for the sake of interruption. I would like to know his opinion as to the kind of a measure which can be put through here and receive the approval of the President.

Mr. SPRINGER. At this moment I can not say what would be a proper bill to be enacted on this subject, but I will say that I will coöperate with the friends of free silver on this floor to reach a satisfactory conclusion; and when those who earnestly believe in the largest possible use of silver have reached such a conclusion I will go with them to secure the passage of such a measure. I believe that we could maintain a parity on the ratio of 20 to 1, though it is possible that it might be necessary to fix some larger ratio.

I believe, however, that we can reach some middle ground on which the friends of silver can unite; and I earnestly invite the coöperation of my friend from South Dakota with the majority of this House in reaching such a conclusion, and also the coöperation of our Populist friends who are so earnest in their desire for the largest possible use of silver.

Mr. PICKLER. I think the gentleman knows me well enough to know that I am in favor of an enlarged use of silver. I am in earnest about this matter. I am much obliged to the gentleman for answering my inquiries.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. If no other gentleman desires to speak this afternoon, I move that the House now take its recess.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to occupy the floor for a few minutes. I hold in my hand a communication from Mr. Frederick C. Waite, the special agent of the Census Bureau in charge of that portion of the Eleventh Census relating to the statistics of farm mortgages and other indebtedness of the people of this country. The time allotted to me, five minutes, will be too short to read this document; but in view of its importance and the general interest attaching to the subject I will incorporate it in my remarks for the purpose of giving information of reliable character upon this question. It is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 17, 1893.*

DEAR SIR: As has been well said, the President, in his message to Congress, "proposes to rehabilitate the crippled banks, to reopen the abandoned industries, to rescue from idleness and want the starving laborers, to restore securities to their former strength and affluence, and to set up confidence where fear and frenzy riot now, by the simple process of repealing the Sherman act, and thereby retaining in the Treasury the $3,000,000 or $3,500,000 which hitherto has been put into circulation each month through its operation." If, instead of seeking an opportunity to criticise, our desire is to find out the cause of this industrial depression, which has raised armies of the unemployed in many silver as well as every gold-using nation on the globe, we have but to investigate the affairs of that people among whom it has been most severe, namely, of the Argentine Republic.

According to Mulhall, the total wealth of the people in the Argentine Republic, before the collapse, equaled but $2,545,000,000 in gold, while, according to the last report of the Michigan Bureau of Labor, their debt equaled the incredible total of $2,191,000,000 in depreciated currency, or over 50 per cent of their entire wealth, including the inflated land values. It was this almost unprecedented amount of debt which caused the utter collapse. Moreover, every economist who has spent years investigating the subject is well aware that the "unearned land values," like bonds and stocks, are simply evidences of wealth, being, in the main, mere inflation based upon the results of the labor and the capital employed in building free roads, bridges, canals, and harbors, and furnishing light, sewerage, water, order, protection against fire, etc. Hence, it is very plain that the collapse in the Argentine was made all the more overwhelming by the fact that, when there was a need for a basis on which her mighty debt could rest, the land values fled, and public improvements, order, and protection against fire were things of the past. In other countries the crisis has not been so disastrous, but it has in every case been in proportion to the amount of debt.

From history we notice that, whether we turn our attention to the centuries of prehistoric human experience which the author of the Pentateuch had in mind when he penned the immortal twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus, or to the dawn of Grecian or Roman history, the revolutions and rebellions in our mother country, or to the financial crises of modern times, such as those in our own country in 1818, 1837, 1857, 1873, and 1893-'94, or to famine-stricken Russia, the one great fact which in every instance towers above every other history-creating fact is debt.

Let us note the great increase during the last twelve years in the private indebtedness of our own people and contrast it with the modest increase of scarcely 60 per cent in our wealth, nearly half of which was but a fictitious rise in speculative ground values. As for the funded debts, those of the railroads increased from $2,392,000,000 in 1880 to $5,463,000,000 in 1892, according to Poor's Manual, an increase of 129 per cent, while the current debt has nearly doubled in the last seven years. The funded debts of other companies were very small in 1880, but many of them have since assumed magnitude, especially during the last few years; as, for instance, those of the telephone, telegraph, and street-railway companies, and public water, gas, and electric-lighting and power companies.

During the same time, the loans and overdrafts of national banks increased from $694,000,000 to $2,171,000,000, while those of other banks, exclusive of private banks and of real estate mortgages, increased from $378,000,000 to $1,189,000,000. The most astonishing increase of all, however, is in the real estate mortgage indebtedness, as disclosed by the investigations of the Eleventh Census. Let us remember that this is largely the debt of the hardest working and the poorest paid of all our American citizens, namely, the farmers and the laborers who are trying to obtain a home of their own by honest toil. In the twenty-one States for which the mortgage indebtedness has been tabulated the aggregate amount in force at the close of 1889 was four thousand five hundred and forty-seven million, with the great States of Ohio, Texas, and California and whole groups of lesser States yet to be heard from. The grand aggregate will be no less than six thousand three hundred million. The aggregate in 1880 was only about two thousand five hundred million. Last year, after turning the scale at eight thousand million, the mortgage indebtedness continued its upward flight, not being contented with an increase of 220 per cent, or nearly four times the increase in the true value of real estate.

In a word, the total net private indebtedness of the American people equaled in 1880, but $6,750,000,000. Last September it amounted to nineteen thousand seven hundred millions, an increase of thirteen thousand millions in the short period of twelve years.

These mute figures tell the tale. Our manufacturing and mining industries have been stimulated under the intoxicating influence of protection, while our farmers have been compelled to borrow to meet deficits. Our land values have been bolstered up by booms and ruthless real estate speculation all over the West and South. Railroads have been built to forestall competitors, to raise the value of land, and to build cities where none were needed. Bonds and watered stocks have been ruthlessly floated for the purpose of wrecking valuable properties. In order to indicate how universal such practices have become, I may say that my investigations in the Census Office forced me to the conclusion that the liabilities of the railroad companies equaled fully 85 per cent, or $5,000,000,000 more than their total assets. With this conclusion all experts practically agree. In short, things have been overdone, and the periodic settling day has come.

This is the giant fact that stares our country in the face to-day. The industrial depressions of over four thousand years, under every civilization known to history, have been, one and all, due to the innate power which debt has of piling itself up until it reaches a volume which the existing civilization can not support. Ten months ago our private indebtedness reached that awful climax. During seven months we reduced that mighty load of

debt by a few score millions, which, together with the reduction of the last three months, amounts to hundreds of millions.

The unpleasant fact which must be bravely met, is, that we shall not have prosperity again until at least a thousand millions of this indebtedness shall have been wiped out of existence, and probably not until property which is to-day valued at thousands of millions shall have passed at a great sacrifice from the hands of the poor and middle classes to the hands of the men who hold the money.

As yet we have but touched the outskirts of this world-wide commercial crisis. We are now beginning to sail through it. However, we shall not be called upon to pass through the black center, as have the golden republics of Australia, because the indebtedness of our people has not been piled up with such blind recklessness, and because, in general, there have been some bounds to the ficticious inflation of land values.

The total capital of all banks suspending during the three months ending July 28 aggregated for the whole United States only $38,951,033, while in the six weeks ending May 16 the liabilities of the banks of issue which were crushed to the wall in Melbourne alone amounted to over $300,000,000, a sum nearly equal to the total deposits in the sixty-four banks forming the clearing-house of New York City.

Melbourne is a city about the size of slow, pay-as-you-go Baltimore, which does not know what a bank failure is. Even before the crisis, merely as the result of the storm which preceded, Melbourne's population had been reduced by more than 20,000 and the land values were already disappearing beneath the assessed valuation and, in many quarters, even beneath the mortgaged indebtedness, when the city was suddenly overtaken by one of the most gigantic financial collapses in modern times—a collapse which shook the very foundations of credit the whole world around, locked up the gold of the East, and set England's surplus afloat for the rescue of the doomed continent.

Europe was already deep in difficulties on account of the Panama collapse and the unsettled condition of affairs in the Argentine. The guarantors of the Baring failure had just extended their guarantees to retide matters over. The continuation of the fight among the great banking houses for a sufficient supply out of Europe's insufficient store of gold compelled England to look toward America. Aided by the excessive trading of our over-hopeful merchants, England, by curtailing her purchase of our produce and by selling our securities, replenished her gold supply. Moreover, the floating of the gold bonds of Austria had shoved large bodies of American securities back upon our own market and increased the outflow of gold. This draining of our supply and the fall of prices led to hoarding money of every description.

One month after the crisis struck Melbourne, during the week of bank holiday proclaimed by the Government to give the people time to cool down; just as the collapse, which had been confined to Melbourne, opened its maw as though about to engulf the whole continent, New Zealand and all; then as the giant banks of Australia were falling right and left, the great commercial centers of the United States were shaken. Two weeks later flashed across the wires the added news that five banks with liabilities amounting to over $125,000,000 had gone down in three days. In certain of our Western cities, whose condition since 1888 has been that of a collapse-in-suspense, the banks and business houses began to close their doors, although their assets seemed to be large, at least to those who have not taken in the world-wide situation and have not given years to the study of fictitious land values as a basis of mortgaged indebtedness.

My only apology for not accepting the general explanation of the cause of this crisis, and for not falling in with the lovely little panacea, by which all nations that have either a Sherman act to repeal or silver to demonetize may enter into the millennium of prosperity, is that I find nothing to support such theories, whereas I have the facts by which I can demonstrate the accuracy of every statement made above.

Very truly, yours,

FREDERICK C. WAITE.

Hon. HENRY M. TELLER, *United States Senate.*

I am convinced, Mr. Speaker, that the increase of debt shown by this statement from $6,750,000,000 in 1880 to $19,000,000,000 in 1890 is due in large part, if not altogether, to an inadequate supply of money for the people of this country. It is because of the inflation of credits throughout the country, owing to the scarcity of money, that we have been put in this condition, and I believe that it largely arises from the desire of the banking interests of the country to have and retain control of the issuing of currency, so that they can inflate their credit at will, and in that way reap larger profits at the expense of the people. That this is the cause of great injury to the people no one can question.

I also believe that the banking institutions of the country are engaged largely in a conspiracy to overthrow the monetary system and put this country in a position where we must go to a single gold standard, whereby we will be thrown back on their issues of currency for our supply. I believe, Mr. Speaker, also that that conspiracy has extended so far that it has reached and is, in a certain sense, controlling not only the people but the Government of the United States. And, in view of that conviction, I send to the desk and ask to have read a resolution in my time, and after it is read I will ask unanimous consent for its consideration and adoption by the House.

The SPEAKER. The resolution will be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

That whereas, it being matter of general report and knowledge that the banks of certain Eastern cities, and particularly certain banks in the city of New York, are—

First. Below their reserves, and have not on hand an amount of currency equal to 25 per cent of their deposits;

Second. Have and are creating a fictitious money called clearing-house certificates;

Third. Are refusing to pay the lawful checks of depositors in money;

Fourth. Are indulging in that fraudulent method of finance known as "kiting;"

And whereas all these are infractions of the law, and are asserted to be known and countenanced in the case of said banks by John G. Carlisle, Secretary of the Treasury, and James H. Eckles, Comptroller of the Currency of the United States, it is hereby

Resolved, By the House of Representatives of the United States, now in session, that the Speaker be directed to appoint a committee of five members of this House to at once investigate all matters and things herein set forth, and particularly the conduct in office of the said John G. Carlisle and James H. Eckles in the premises, and report their finding to this body.

Mr. SIMPSON. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, for the present consideration of that resolution.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I submit that it is not in order. The gentleman from Kansas had the floor for debate and not for the purpose of offering a resolution.

Mr. SIMPSON. But I am asking unanimous consent.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas, under the rule by which the House is now governed, and under which it is proceeding, has been recognized for debate only, under the five-minute rule, and not for any other purpose.

Mr. SIMPSON. But, Mr. Speaker, there have been resolutions read here and amendments presented that were allowed in the time of gentlemen to be presented to the House.

The SPEAKER. Resolutions read?

Mr. SIMPSON. Yes.

The SPEAKER. Read, of course, as a part of the remarks of the gentleman occupying the floor. But the Chair understood the gentleman from Kansas to ask unanimous consent to consider this resolution.

Mr. SIMPSON. That was my request, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Chair can not submit that request.

Mr. SIMPSON. May I ask how much time I have remaining?

The SPEAKER. A half minute.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I have offered this resolution in all sincerity and good faith. I believe that many of the evils from which we are now suffering are caused by the inflation of the credit of the banks and the speculation that has necessarily been brought about by reason of the stringency of money. I believe that the national banks are acting in concert largely in this matter, and that they are responsible for a very large part of the evils, and should be held to a strict accountability before the country for their acts. I regret that I can not submit the resolution at this time, because I think it is one that should be acted upon promptly by the House.

Mr. JOSEPH. Mr. Speaker, were I able to vote upon the pending bill I would vote to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon," and substitute it by an act providing for the free coinage of both gold and silver, without discriminating against either metal, upon the present ratio. This is, in substance, the distinct declaration made in the Chicago Democratic platform of 1892. On this platform the President was not only nominated and elected Chief Magistrate of the United States, but every Democratic member of this House was also nominated and elected upon this platform to their present positions in this House of Representatives. Consequently, we are compelled to keep our word and promises to our constituents, who will hold us to strict accountability for the nonfulfillment of the same. The further demonetization of silver will make all debts, public and private, harder to pay by cutting off half the means of payment. Silver has not only been the money the people for ages, but it was the only money the people of New Mexico, whom I have the honor to represent upon this floor, had for centuries prior to its annexation to the United States.

Gold and silver have been used as coin metals from time immemorial. Historians tell us that during the reign of Rameses the Great, in a royal palace of Egypt, there were depicted upon its walls in glorious colors the offerings to the gods of the products of the king's mines amounting to more than thirty millions of our currency, thus showing that Egypt in her palmiest days and at the height of her civilization used both gold and silver.

The country of Europe most productive of the precious metals, but especially of silver, in early times was Spain.

M. Chevalier calls the Spanish dollar "an universal coin." You all know that after the bold Napolitan had discovered a world whose mountains were gold and silver, a party of ambitious Spaniards, headed by Cortes, landed at Vera Cruz, Mexico, during the reign of the Aztec ruler, Montezuma, and proceeded to capture the historical and beautiful capital of the Anahuac Empire; they succeeded in their undertaking and they found there, in the temples and outside of them, real treasures, consisting mainly of silver, which metal was destined to form the greater part of the New World's production during the next three centuries, as some great writers have so wisely stated.

Coronado, one of Cortes's gallant generals who accompanied him in his expedition to this continent, convinced by what the Indians had told him of the territory which is to-day called New Mexico, made a trip to that section of the country the first part of the sixteenth century, accompanied by several as ambitious Spaniards as he himself was. A young priest, Fray Juan de Padilla, accompanied Coronado, not for the pleasure of seeing the country or with the object of obtaining a fortune, but for the noble purpose of civilizing the Indians. This young man re-

ceived the crown of martyrdom at the hands of the Quivirans; at the hands of the very people he was trying to save and civilize. Before he was killed he wrote several letters to a chief priest at Pueblo, Mexico, in which he speaks in glowing terms of "large bricks of silver that he saw everywhere he went about those pueblos" (meaning New Mexico).

New Mexico is, and has always been, a silver-producing country. It was a mining country when the Spaniards founded Santa Fe, in 1605, for the very first thing that called the Spaniards' attention was lots of goose quills filled with bright gold dust and many silver bricks which the Indians brought to their tents and tried to exchange for clothing and other goods. Soon afterwards the Spaniards made some Indians confess where they had obtained "that bright dust" and silver bricks, and then they forced the savages to work in the mines of gold and silver, reason for which the Indians revolted to the extent of decapitating several of Coronado's men. And from that day to this, Mr. Speaker, wherever you go in that Territory you will see the mark of the miner's pick and shovel, and the ruins or débris of some old Spanish mines, that were worked centuries ago.

As you plainly see, Mr. Speaker, the depreciation of silver affects New Mexico as much as any other silver-producing State or Territory in the Union, and because it affects my section of country so seriously I have grasped, with pleasure, this opportunity to show you what monometallism means to the great West. With your permission I will read the following facts, carefully prepared by a gentleman who has dedicated the greater part of his life to mining in the West. He says:

If the Sherman law is unconditionally repealed it would seem as if nothing could prevent a fall in the price of silver to 50 cents per ounce or less.

The writer believes, as a result of twenty-two years of active experience in precious metal mining, that 75 cents is considerably below the average cost of silver per ounce, and consequently that the present stoppage of the industry in the West will be permanent unless silver advances to at least 80 or 85 cents. If the price goes to 50 cents the business will be entirely wiped out.

In such an event, or, if simply the present state of depression and demoralization continues, what are to be the commercial results? Perhaps the following figures will show:

The far West, comprising the States of Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, California, Oregon, Washington, and Nevada, and the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah, contains an area of 983,000 square miles, a population of 2,700,000, and produced in 1890 raw material, as follows:

Mineral products	$128,657,898
Farm products	54,933,275
Lumber products	32,499,981
Live stock	13,053,242
Wool	10,257,493
Fishery	8,171,010
Total	247,572,919

Out of this it must pay its debts. It is not a manufacturing section of the Union; it is, on the contrary, a very heavy importer of manufactured articles, and as yet relies wholly on its raw material to meet its obligations. These are as follows, as far as I can ascertain:

Railroad stocks and bonds, 17,164 miles and equipments	$1,058,212,600
Water, gas, electric, and street-railroad stocks	52,362,485
State, county, municipal, and school bonds	43,488,790
Business building stocks and bonds	24,260,118
Telegraph and telephone stocks and bonds	10,850,515
Ditch and irrigation stocks and bonds	8,889,475
Smelting works	5,500,000
	1,203,563,983
Mortgages and individual investments	300,000,000
Total	1,503,563,983

Upon these the annual interest is $81,000,000, which is equal to about one-third of the total gross product of the district.

If the silver mines are to remain closed, the difference in the annual products will be as follows:

Practically all the silver, which in 1890 was 51,330,826 ounces, at $1.04 per ounce *	$53,384,059
About 30 per cent of the gold product †	9,534,142
The Montana copper product ‡	9,939,774
The entire lead product §	9,425,415
Coal, used in mining and smelting	8,500,000
Total	91,131,489

Does anyone believe that the West can meet its obligations under such a loss of revenue? If the East persists in clinging to the gold craze, and continues to insist upon the destruction of silver, and if the West can not secure very quickly the complete remonetization of the white metal, the East will surely pay for its stupidity and greed by losing every dollar of principal it has invested in the mining States and Territories.

Those few among us who think that the West can live and prosper without its silver mines can contemplate the following statement, which is carefully figured out from the data of the census of 1890.

Excluding those parts of California, Oregon, and Washington which depend wholly on agriculture, lumber, fisheries, and commerce for support, and are not interested directly or indirectly in mining of any kind, and considering all the balance of the States and Territories mentioned above, it is a fact that the miner, constituting but 28 per cent of the population, and occupying only 43 per cent of the area, produces 72 per cent of its annual output of wealth of all kinds, and of this total 41 per cent is silver.

*Average price for the year.
†Contained in low-grade silver ores,
‡Which is profitable only because of its silver contents.
§Produced as a by-product in silver mining.

Thus, you see, Mr. Speaker, at a glance, that the depreciation of silver would bring desolation and misery to the far West; for where a few days ago was a busy and thriving mining camp, as at Silver City, N. Mex., to-day there are not a hundred families, and those are there because they can not get away.

One of the principal scarecrows put forth by the enemies of silver money as a reason why silver should be demonetized is the claim that more silver is produced each year than can be used for the purpose of money, and that if freely coined by the Government all the silver product of the mines will be coined, as the best means of obtaining the highest price for the metal. Few of the people who are not familiar with the amount and the cost of silver mining have any means of knowing the truthfulness or untruthfulness of such claim.

The best answer to such barefaced misrepresentation of the facts is a statement that no more silver can be produced in any country of the world than can be made use of as money in such country or in others; and in our country the decrease of the metal has begun and will continue till no more is found or mined. There could be twice as much put upon the country as money without detriment to the business of the nation, and the whole world would be better off financially if it were so.

But few members of this House know, Mr. Speaker, the fact that gold can not be produced without silver; and for the benefit of those who are not aware of it, I here copy part of a letter of a gentleman who has taken a great interest in finding out where gold can be produced without silver, and which I believe my colleagues will find as interesting as I did. It reads as follows:

The Director of the United States Mint reports the production of gold in the United States for the calendar year 1891 to have been $33,175,000. Financial circles in the eastern half of the United States are of the opinion that this metal should continue the sole standard of American money; that too much silver has already been coined into dollars; that the present purchase of silver bullion should cease, and that our financial prosperity in the coming years depends upon the adoption of their opinion. Inferentially, if their views be correct, they depend upon the far Western States and Territories to produce the gold that shall sustain the credit of the United States and its ability to supply foreign lands, as has been done to the net extent of about $125,000,000 in the past three years. If the United States depends upon the mining States and Territories to do all this, then all the industries of these mining States and Territories, which enable them to meet this extraordinary demand, are deserving of the fostering care of the entire country, and particularly of those money-centered parts which are so strenuous in their advocacy of gold as the only standard of American money.

I lately addressed letters to the three great smelting companies of Denver for the statistical information upon the union of gold and silver in the ores which are mined, and which they buy and treat. Their replies are the basis for this brief paper, the object of which is to show that the gold necessary to sustain the United States upon a gold basis can not be obtained without producing the silver also; that there must be a steady and ready means of consuming silver, at a price substantially no lower than now, to insure the production of the gold.

First, it should be clearly understood that the supply of gold from the ground or placer diggings has diminished to such an extent in nearly all the mining States and Territories that it is not considered in this paper. The greater part of the supply of gold is now from mineral veins, which must undergo treatment.

The three great smelting establishments of Denver purchased in the year 1891 369,036 tons of ore. This ore contained $3,043,306 in gold and $19,081,104 in silver, coinage value. While there are considerable purchases of ores which contain no gold, there are no ores containing gold which do not contain silver. The Boston and Colorado Smelting Company say in their letter that they "have never had gold ore that did not carry some silver." The Globe Smelting and Refining Company say in their letter: "We have never had a lot of ore in these works which contained gold without any silver at all." The Omaha and Grant Smelting Company, in reply to the question, "How many lots of ore purchased by you in 1891 contained gold and no silver?" answered "None."

No gold is taken from any ores that come to Denver, or that ever have come, that have not also supplied silver. I can not say how many mines produce these Denver purchases of ores, but I do know that one of these companies purchased 5,513 different lots during the year, and another bought from Colorado, Idaho, South Dakota, California, New Mexico, Utah, Washington, Nevada, Montana, Arizona, and Wyoming, and that gold and silver came from all.

I have from good authority that such is the case at the Rio Grande Smelting Works, at Socorro, N. Mex., and also at San Pedro, N. Mex., and at the El Paso Smelting Works at El Paso, Texas.

The same authority I quoted above says:

I have shown that to sustain this industry * * * silver must have a market; and I have shown that to obtain gold, silver must also be produced. If silver be not produced, the supply of gold must fail. All mercantile interests in the West must suffer. Merchants would purchase less goods in New York, railroads would bring less merchandise across the country, receipts in every avenue of mercantile life would decrease, dividends would become smaller and fewer, and railroad construction would cease. The withdrawal of the annual production of the silver mines from the ten thousand channels of commerce would produce a commercial and financial stagnation that would financially ruin millions of people. It would affect the mining States and Territories first and the greatest, but it would sweep the country like a tidal wave across the ocean, and leave devastation in its path.

It is a fact that Eastern people know but little or nothing of what the cost of producing silver really is. Most every man you meet out here in the East thinks that every prospector and miner in the West is a "bonanza king," when the truth is they are everything else but "bonanza kings." To arrive at the cost of silver it is grossly unfair to accept as a criterion the cost of production in some phenomenally rich mine, such as the Mollie Gibson, for instance.

If the people of the East would take into consideration the fact that there are thousands of mines running at a loss where there

is one that is producing silver at a profit, and thousands of prospectors who fail to find anything, where one is sucessful, they would find that the cost far exceeds the present market price. Week before last the miners at Aspen, the greatest silver-producing district in Colorado, forwarded a memorial to Congress, showing that the actual cost of producing an ounce of silver in that camp was $1.02¼. And Aspen is the home of the Mollie Gibson, too. An Eastern paper recently quoted the famous Bimetallic mine of Montana, which has paid $2,300,000 in dividends, as yielding the white metal at the low cost of 8 cents. The paper deliberately said what it knew was not so, for Superintendent J. B. Risque, of the Old Abe Mine, of White Oaks, N. Mex., who for six years had the management of the Bimetallic, has stated that the cost was 63 cents per ounce.

The trouble about the depreciation of silver carries with it fatal results for the other industries of the mining regions. For instance, the crisis of to-day has brought with it a sad state of affairs to the door of the wool producer of New Mexico, who can not sell his wool at any price, because the moneyed people do not want to invest their money on anything to-day, and the result of it is that the people in that Territory who pursue the sheep-raising industry have to keep at home their wool and await with patience better times to dispose of it.

The same can be said of the live stock business and the raising of corn and wheat. And so it is, that if silver is depreciated and finally demonetized, it is not only the miner or prospector that suffers by it, but the other industries get as badly crippled, and consequently the farmer and the sheep-raiser, the cattleman, the gardener, and the wage-earner, will all suffer alike in this monetary revolution.

It is a sad picture, Mr. Speaker, the one that thousands and thousands of our American brothers present to-day in the West; people who went there with the hope of making an honest livelihood by extracting from the bowels of mother earth the precious metals, but who to do that had constantly to battle not only with the rigid weather of a mountainous country, but also with the savage Indians on one hand and the bandit that always inhabits the frontier sections on the other hand; and just when these people had commenced to get acclimated and to know the country and to build up their little homes, here comes a few men who have enjoyed the comforts of civilization and all kinds of luxuries in the East and raise a howl that brings misery to the West—the cry that silver be demonetized and that gold should continue the sole standard of American money.

Can it be possible that this august body will accede to the request of the gold bugs, or that the lips of the American miner will forever kiss the robed imposter's hand?

As a poet recently exclaimed:

> The despot, Gold, puts Liberty to scorn!
> The king of kings! Shall we supinely stand
> Beside our patriots' graves
> And let him rule us with an iron hand;
> Our happy country ruined and forlorn,
> Our great Republic evermore the land
> Of plutocrats and slaves?

As an American citizen who was born under the Stars and Stripes, and as the Representative of 200,000 free people, I sincerely hope that that day will never come to mar the happiness and prosperity of our glorious country.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, if no other gentlemen desires to address the House now, I will move that a recess be taken.

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to present a personal request of a member.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

By unanimous consent, leave was granted to Mr. CARUTH to withdraw from the House files papers in the case of Matilda Tisheaur, Fifty-first Congress.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed, without amendment, the joint resolution (H. Res. 4) to make the provision of the act of May 14, 1890, which provides for town-site entries of lands in a portion of what is known as Oklahoma, applicable to the territory known as the Cherokee Outlet, and to make the provisions of said act applicable to town sites in the Cherokee Outlet.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The SPEAKER. If there be no objection, the House will now take a recess until 8 o'clock. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON] will preside at the evening session as Speaker *pro tempore*.

The House then (at 5 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) was declared in recess until 8 o'clock p. m.

EVENING SESSION.

The recess having expired, the House, at 8 o'clock p. m., resumed its session (Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee in the chair as Speaker *pro tempore*).

SILVER.

The House resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

[Mr. HERMANN withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

Mr. BRANCH. Mr. Speaker, I would not in the closing hours of this discussion endeavor to advance an original idea upon a subject that has commanded the serious attention of every interest of every section of our country and caused a feeling of fear to take possession of many of those who are by reason of their position as legislators called upon to pass their verdict.

I have listened carefully to arguments on this floor upon this all-important question: not as one whose mind was made up, but one who was open to conviction based upon argument not from an individual standpoint, not from a sectional standpoint, but from the standpoint of a legislator intrusted with the well-being of every interest of every section of this land.

I have been disappointed. I have heard it discussed from the standpoint of the banker, the bondholder, the silver-miner, the commercial centers, and the rural districts, North, South, East, and West, discussions made conspicuous by reason of their individuality, many reasons being assigned for the present depression, and a few ideas for relief suggested.

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE] in his discussion of this question attributes the depression to the fact "that the people are getting ready for the low prices promised by Democratic speakers in the last campaign, the result of a tariff for revenue only. This he says has had a tendency to paralyze business, to throw thousands of workingmen out of employment, and drive thousands of men who are consumers into the business of last resort—agriculture." While this does not explain why Government bonds will not, as collateral, secure loans to but a fraction their face, those who are engaged in that industry will be glad to know that the gentleman from the great manufacturing center has learned this fact, and hope he will stand ready as a legislator for every interest known to this country, to lend his helping hand to these helpless victims engaged in this industry "of last resort."

Sad experience has taught them it is a business of last resort, resulting largely from selfish legislation.

The people I have the honor to represent directly on this floor are largely an agricultural people. A long series of legislative enactments tending to concentration and consolidation of money in one section and in certain interests, and not their want of devotion to their interests and extravagance, has caused their particular following to be spoken of as "the one of last resort."

It was this fact that contributed largely to the triumphant victory achieved by the Democratic party November last.

What did that victory mean?

It was the verdict of the people in favor of the principles set forth in the platform upon which we stood: a verdict against the legislation of the Republican party, so long in power; and they have a right to expect us to keep our pledges to them, to look to the interest of the great body of our fellow citizens whose interests have been so long neglected.

When the representatives of the Democratic party met in Chicago, July, 1892, they declared their position in a manner as to my immediate constituency in terms unmistakable for a bimetallic basis, and for an equal chance for both gold and silver.

> We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and the coinage of both without discriminating against either.

This, Mr. Speaker, is in accord with all the Democratic party has ever taught from its first existence to the present day—incorporated not only in its national but in most of its State platforms. I know not what views others may take upon this subject, but it seems to me the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law would negative this declaration and would be a violation of faith for which we would be held justly amenable; for this reason I shall oppose it. The argument has been more than once used in this debate that this particular financial legislation was not a party question. If so, why not eliminate it from our platform? If so, why was it that views that were supposed to be entertained and constantly expressed entered so largely into and controlled our nominations and made the basis of all our arguments before the people for the positions we hold on this floor? Convince them once that these solemn declarations are but meaningless expressions and the righteous indignation of an outraged

people will be visited upon those who presume to use this medium to impose upon their credulity and their confidence.

The existence of an alarming and extraordinary situation of financial distrust, of fear and failures, which have spared no branch of business, is admitted. I fail to see, from argument thus far advanced, that a purchase of $150,000,000 of silver bullion by this Government at the price for which it was selling in gold—which silver is represented by circulating certificates—could have caused hundreds of cotton factories, woolen mills, sawmills, and other manufacturing interests to be closed, and turned loose thousands of workmen without employment, shelter, or means of living.

Could it not be more reasonably attributed to the fact that the entire control of the circulating paper currency of this country has been placed under the concentrated money power, above the reach of the people and the power of the law?

Destroy silver as money, say, allow the national banks to issue more notes, encourage them by lessening the tax on them, issue more bonds that a corporate monopoly may be perpetuated to control the circulating medium to expand and contract at their will.

Does this give substantial and permanent relief to industrial interests? I think not, sir. Deprive any property of being the basis for credit and it will fall, just as land has fallen in value under the national banking act—saying it should not be any basis of credit—and, I may add, as silver has fallen since the act of 1873.

I can as well as others see the disadvantage in the Sherman law, but can not see why the enactment of some law can not be made in its stead which will have a tendency to protect and not destroy silver, and thereby enable us to carry out promises made to our people in good faith; for a bimetallic basis and for an equal chance at the mints of the country for both metals. Arguing from the standpoint that this would give to them relief so much needed, an idea may be entertained that subsequent legislation would be enacted; but have we the right as agents of the people to take this risk? It would be no less contrary to business principles to loan your money to a man and tell him to bring you the mortgage next week.

Our people, Mr. Speaker, want more money. The immense development of our country needs a corresponding expansion of our circulating medium, because a certain portion of debts must be paid in cash, and as debts increase so does the need for more money. Our population is increasing at the rate of 2,000,000 annually; our industrial interest quadrupling, yet we find our agricultural lands depreciating and depreciated 50 per cent; our products the same, though the demand has increased, according to the statement of the gentleman of Massachusetts. It has been truly said upon the floor of the American Congress that it is a business of last resort. Let me call your attention to the historical fact that after a splendid career of prosperity, filling the world with her fame, Rome culminated and declined. History proves that the great cause of that decline was the laws enacted affecting real estate and the products of labor. Nations that desire permanent prosperity and power should protect both capital and labor, and thus encourage industrial interests.

A competency drawn from and reinvested in the soil encourages love of country, and should bring to it independence. Accumulation of wealth by unnatural and unhealthy speculation can but in time produce panics, want, and suffering, such as we witness on all sides of us to-day. I realize, Mr. Speaker, that no arguments can be more dangerous, coming from a Representative intrusted with legislation, than arguments based upon individual interest or arguments calculated to array one section against the other.

The great agricultural sections South and West ask no special legislation for this infant industry of last resort. They simply ask an equal chance in the race of life, to be allowed to join the grand procession, and go forward to the development of our country, and to the accomplishment of a grand destiny for all. [Applause.]

Mr. BYNUM. Mr. Speaker, I feel like making an apology to the House for the very short time that I shall occupy its attention to-night. I should not occupy your attention at all were it not that I have been very seriously distressed during the last twenty-four hours; in fact, I did not rest well last night. I returned to the Capitol this morning to see whether I had been guilty of such a grievous wrong as the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. PENCE] had accused me of on yesterday.

The gentleman from Colorado was born and reared in Indiana. At what age he left the State I am not informed; but he claims he imbibed his Democracy in the good old Hoosier State. I believe he claims he was born in Bartholomew County, surrounded, as it is, by the Democratic counties of Jackson, Brown, Johnson, and Shelby, the home of Mr. Hendricks and other prominent Democratic lights in that State; not only from them, but from Senator VOORHEES, Mr. COOPER, and myself.

He said that I made a speech in Denver in 1891; that he had accepted the sentiments I had expressed as those of the true faith, but on coming here he found me advocating the other side of the question. I know he impressed the whole House with the belief that he had been misguided and misled, and that his confidence had been misplaced; that I had probably been the cause of his backsliding. I got up this morning to look over the Rocky Mountain News and see exactly what the political principles of the gentleman were and the platform upon which he came to Congress. I had been under the impression from what he stated that he was an enthusiastic, straight-out Democrat.

In looking over this paper I find that the Democratic party in that State held a convention on the 14th of September last, and it purports to have been the simon-pure Democratic party who held it, but by some means they nominated the Weaver electoral ticket and bade farewell to Cleveland and to Harrison electors as well. I find in the paper of that date a declaration of the convention, as follows:

The official and individual utterances and known publications of ex-President Cleveland and President Harrison have demonstrated that they are alike opposed to free coinage at the existing ratios, and if either again becomes President he would veto such a measure should Congress pass one.

Now, the convention at that point seemed to have divided. A portion went off and nominated a straight Democratic ticket and adopted a straight Democratic platform. But the gentleman from Colorado seems to have allied himself with the other wing of the party, although under a Democratic banner it had nominated the Weaver elector I ticket.

A Congressional convention was called, in a short time, of the Populists, and the Democrats, and of some other parties—I believe, the White Wings—for they seem to have a number of parties out there. The Rev. Myron W. Reed was nominated by the Populist party, but after a time that gentleman refused the nomination, and at this point the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. PENCE] seems to have appeared upon the scene. This was an unusual convention.

It was not like our Democratic conventions in Indiana, where the delegates come forward, a platform is adopted, and some one puts in nomination, and a nomination made and acceptance of the nomination, because no one ever declines. The gentleman from Colorado, however, was waited upon by a committee before the nomination was made. They hunted up the gentleman to ascertain if he would stand on the platform they had made as their candidate, and I wish to read what it was.

Resolved, That it is the sense of the convention that all candidates whose names are presented for the consideration of this convention, be requested to come before this convention and state their position upon the following planks in the national platform, to wit:

First. Are they in favor of the issue of money direct to the people without the use of banking corporations and of a volume of $50 per capita.

Second. Are they in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1?

Third. Are they in favor of the Government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones?

Fourth. Are they in favor of raising the revenue to defray the expenses of the Government by a graduated income tax?

Fifth. Will they support the principles contained in the Omaha platform, and the platform adopted by the convention, and in Congress vote for the People's party candidate for Speaker, and act with the majority of the People's party Representatives upon all questions of legislation which may come before Congress, should they be elected?

Now, I might have been mistaken as to the gentleman that was called before that committee, but the Denver News accompanies all of its references to distinguished individuals with a photograph, and I find here a very excellent photograph of the gentleman which you will all recognize. [Laughter.]

A MEMBER. Put it in the RECORD.

Mr. BYNUM. I will insert it in the RECORD hereafter.

Mr. PENCE. I would like to make an agreement now that both of these photographs may go in side by side.

Mr. BYNUM. I want to read now what the gentleman said and the position that he took at this particular time. The committee conferred with Mr. Pence, and made their report.

This report goes on:

Mr. Simmons reported that the conference committee was not likely to reach any conclusion for an hour and an informal recess was taken. After fifteen minutes Lafe Pence was escorted in and was applauded as he walked up to the platform.

The chairman read to him the resolution previously adopted.

Mr. Pence said, with respect to the first clause of the resolution: "Yes, so far as I am concerned. I can not speak for the others, but I favor it." On the free-silver clause he said it was hardly necessary for him to be asked. He was as strong a silver man as any on God's green earth, and he answered, "Yes." With regard to the third proposition, he said it was fraught with more difficulties than the others.

Many years ago he came to the conclusion that Government ownership of telegraph lines was the proper thing. To this view he was converted by the arguments of Nathaniel P. Hill of Colorado, to whom he felt indebted, though that was the only question on which Mr. Hill was absolutely right. He said he would favor the people taking control of the railroads, but that a constitutional amendment would probably have to be made.

That was a small matter of course. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman from Indiana has expired.

Mr. PENCE. I ask most sincerely that unanimous consent be given to the gentleman to continue.

Mr. BYNUM. I would like to have three or four minutes.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. If there is no objection the gentleman's time will be extended four minutes.

Mr. BYNUM (reading):

"Whenever it is legal," said he, "I believe in it, not with the limitations you have fixed in these interrogations, not with the limitations of speakers here, but with the limitations made by the Omaha platform upon which Gen. Weaver was nominated. I am in favor of it. If I am not explicit enough I hope questions will be asked me now, and not after I have gone."

The gentleman complained yesterday of so many coming up to the "pie counter," and sustaining the views of the President. He had not reached the pie counter at that time. He was only taking crow. I want you to see how he took it. He seemed to hanker after it.

Upon the income tax clause—

and so forth. I will not quote the gentleman upon that.

Upon the last section of the resolutions he said he would support the principles of the Omaha platform whether nominated or not. He would also support the platform adopted by the convention. He asked for explanation of the concluding sentences regarding future action if elected to Congress. Mr. Staunton took the resolutions to make them clear. Mr. Van Dyke thought time was being lost. Chairman Mills said he thought himself that the resolution was entirely too sweeping, as it was binding a man too broadly.

Even the committee were afraid he would break down, but their fears were groundless.

Mr. PENCE was enthusiastically applauded when he said he wished to be exact, because what he was saying was a matter of record.

Mr. PENCE asked any man who wished to ask any questions to do so. Capt. Ezekiel asked how he stood on lead tariff. He replied: "Upon lead and wool and other interests of Colorado I would ask the same protection as for the interests and products of other States."

Lead, wool, and silver, I believe, take in all the interests of Colorado. [Laughter.]

The tariff plank of the platform, with that exception, the gentlemen was willing, I believe, to accept.

Mr. PENCE replied:

Upon lead and wool and other interests of Colorado I would ask for the same protection as for the interests and products of other States.

[Applause on the Republican side.]

Another question was this:

Have you cut loose from the Democratic party?

Mr. PENCE replied that heretofore it had been his tenet that the Democratic party represented those principles of government which were for the good of the people. This year he had studied the platforms and the candidates presented at Omaha, Chicago, and Minneapolis. He continued, "And having studied them I am compelled, for 1892, to leave the Democratic party and to join with the party that represents my principles."

Mr. Speaker, this is not Indiana Democracy. [Laughter.] I know how eager the gentleman must have been to secure the nomination. I know how anxious he was to answer all questions. He was willing to turn his back upon those grand old principles of Democracy that he had imbibed in his youth in Indiana, not for the purpose of getting pie, but for the purpose of getting an office. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM] has expired.

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, just a word of personal explanation.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Washington [Mr. WILSON] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. PENCE. On a question of personal privilege I trust it will not be denied me.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Washington [Mr. WILSON] is recognized.

Mr. PENCE. I will take not the fraction of a minute.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, of course it is right and proper for the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. PENCE] and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM], who are both trying to sustain their Democracy, to have a chance to be heard, and I hope they will have the opportunity. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Washington is entitled to the floor. If he yields the floor——

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Then I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. PENCE] have four minutes to reply to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. SMITH of Illinois. I object.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Objection is made, and the gentleman from Washington [Mr. WILSON] is recognized.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. I have promised to yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] two minutes.

Mr. PENCE. Can not the gentleman spare me thirty seconds?

Mr. WILSON of Washington. If the gentleman from Colorado will pardon me, I would be very glad to yield to him, but I promised the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] to yield two minutes to him. I have a half an hour's speech here myself that I have been holding for several days [laughter], but if I can do so, representing as I do a State that has had no opportunity to be heard on this floor as yet, I will try to yield one minute to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. PENCE. May I ask who made the objection to the extension of four minutes to me?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SMITH] objected.

Mr. PENCE. I understand the gentleman from Washington [Mr. WILSON] yielded to me one minute?

Mr. WILSON of Washington. I meant after the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] had concluded.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Colorado [Mr. PENCE] is not in order. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] is recognized for two minutes.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, I had the honor at the opening of this debate to speak first upon the Republican side, and to present a few suggestions tending to discredit the commonly accepted theory in certain localities that to the Sherman act, so called, was to be attributed all, or nearly all, our current troubles.

I add here a few testimonials of the correctness of my position.

The State of Ohio is, or was, one of the great sheep and wool producing States of the Union. In 1892 Ohio farmers owned nearly or quite 4,000,000 sheep, and the reduction of nearly 10 cents per pound in the selling price of our wool has been prospectively destructive of our best cash-bringing industry, and this condition of one agricultural industry is but a specimen of all.

The Times-Recorder, of Zanesville, Ohio, one of the live Republican papers of Ohio, recently stated the case and produced the proof, as follows:

DEMOCRACY AND WOOL.

The Signal is talking considerable about wool now and is making a desperate attempt to again fool the farmers as was done last fall by systematic calamity howling. One peculiar thing about it is that ten years ago the Signal was clear over on the other side of the fence, and was telling the farmers that the proposition of the Republican party at that time to make a small reduction in the tariff on wool practically reduced the price of wool 5 cents per pound. Read the following:

"This Republican reduction of the tariff on wool practically reduces the price of wool 5 cents per pound.

"Taking the number of pounds of wool produced in this country in 1880, this tariff reduction on wool by a Republican Congress robs the American wool-grower of $11,775,000."—*Signal*, August 18, 1883.

Now let us do some figuring on this basis. If this statement of the Signal was true in 1883, the application of the same principle must produce the same result to-day. Figuring on the same basis, with a decrease of 8 cents per pound instead of 5 cents, we find that the farmers have lost $18,856,000 by the Democratic promise to reduce the tariff on wool. The fact is that they have lost much more than this, but we are now figuring on the Signal's basis.

Let us make a personal application of the loss sustained by farmers:

Joseph Norman, of Falls Township, last year had 400 pounds of wool which he sold at an average of 27½ cents, amounting to $110. This year he had the same amount, selling it at 20 cents, amounting to $80. His loss chargeable to the Democratic party is $30.

J. H. Johnson, of Hopewell Township, last year sold his wool for 26 cents, this year for 20 cents. His loss on 200 pounds is $12.

Joseph George, of Hopewell Township, last year sold 450 pounds for 26 cents. This year he sold the same amount for 20 cents. Democracy cost him a loss of $27.

John George, of Hopewell Township, last year sold 400 pounds for 26 cents This year he sold the same amount for 20 cents. Democracy cost him $24.

S. J. Perry, of Hopewell Township, had 700 pounds, which he sold for 28 cents, amounting to $196, and got his money for it without difficulty. This year he has the same amount which he sold for 20 cents, but has been unable to get a cent on it because of the tight money market. His loss on account of the Democratic victory is $56, and besides this he is unable to get the money, which he would have had under other circumstances.

Samuel Johnson, of Hopewell Township, lost $24 on 400 pounds.

Samuel Morgan, of Hopewell Township, lost $18 on 300 pounds.

George Kreager, of Hopewell Township, lost $30 on 500 pounds.

Stephen Francis lost $27 on 450 pounds.

G. W. Redman, of Hopewell Township, lost $56 on 800 pounds, selling last year for 27 cents and this year for 20 cents.

To this loss on the wool must be added the loss of $1 per head on the flock. Just take your pencil and figure out how much the Democratic victory last fall cost you on your sheep alone, to say nothing of 45-cent wheat and the difficulty to sell any of the products of your farm and get your money for them. Having done this make up your mind which way you should vote this fall, and then vote that way. If it be for Larry Neal, the candidate who stands for free trade, then vote for him. If it be for William McKinley, who stands for the protection of home industries against the industries of the world, and for the protection of your wool from the cheap Australian wool, then in the interests of you and yours leave your party, if need be, and vote for him.—*Times-Recorder*, Zanesville, Ohio, August 22, 1893.

In this same connection I here produce and place in the RECORD a most able and conclusive statement of this wool question, which came to me from a Democrat of Ohio. The writer is a gentleman of more than State reputation, and the Democrat who sent it has been an active, reliable, and influential member of the Democratic party. He but stands where thousands of that party stand.

This is the letter in full:

——, OHIO, *July 15, 1893*.

DEAR SIR: You and I are Democrats of the old school, farmers and wool-growers. The present low price of wool has induced me to inquire into its causes, the remedies, and the duties of Democrats.

First of all, it is evident that a protective tariff on wool is beneficial to American woolgrowers. The McKinley law of October 1, 1890, requires the woolgrowers of Canada and all foreign countries, before they can have their wool brought into this country for sale, to pay a duty of 11 cents a pound on unwashed merino wool, double on washed, treble on scoured, and 12 cents on washed or unwashed long wools, and treble if scoured. Our woolgrowers have this advantage. They do not have to pay any duty.

This is illustrated by the following actual case as reported by a Philadelphia wool dealer August 27, 1891, as follows:

"A Pennsylvania woolgrower wanted some Shropshire sheep. He knew of a flock that had been imported into Canada from England. The importer in Canada was unwilling to part with all his young sheep, but where there were twins he divided his stock, letting the Pennsylvania woolgrower have one and he kept the other, so that they could both have the same blood. The Pennsylvanian sheared those lambs and sent the wool to us, some of which sold for 30 cents per pound unwashed. The wool from the twins that remained in Canada sold for 18 cents washed. The Pennsylvania man, who is a Democrat, told us as a rule he was a free-trader, but he believed in the McKinley bill with its duty on wool, and explained that the above circumstance has convinced him."

If the duty is high enough, foreign wool can not come in, and our woolgrowers will have the privilege of supplying all.

The woolgrowers of Canada, Australia, and other countries are, for their own benefit, not for ours, opposed to our tariff on wool.

That fact should open the eyes of our Democratic woolgrowers. Protection, then, is beneficial to us, injurious to foreign woolgrowers.

Second. Why, then, while the McKinley law is in force, is wool so low? Washed merino wool is now selling on farms at 18 cents per pound, unwashed at 12 cents. Last year the price was 25 and 18 cents. Why the decline in price? I read Democratic newspapers, and I find one of them, the Boston Herald, of June 16th, gives the reason by saying:

"The probability of reduced tariff on wool unsettle the woolen-goods market to the extent that manufacturers are at a loss as to what they shall do. The possibilities of free wool also make it imperative that dealers shall buy the new clip at figures that will admit of its being sold on the basis of free wool."

The same paper of June 2 said, "The tariff agitation (for free wool) hangs like a cloud over the market, and with the prospect of free wool, more or less remote, neither dealers nor manufacturers are eager to buy wool even at present prices."

Any person can see that manufacturers will not pay much over free-wool prices, because before they can manufacture and sell their goods free wool will come.

WHAT ARE FREE-WOOL PRICES?

On the 14th of June, 1893, Hon. George H. Wallace, United States consul-general at Melbourne, in a letter, said, "Australia wool can be put on the wharf at New York, whole fleeces, in the grease, for 6*d.* (12 cents) per pound. This is what American growers must face."

Australian wool is good merino wool, which, unwashed, shrinks in scouring only 50 per cent, just about the same as our Ohio washed merino wool. Australia merino sheep are bred from American sheep, but owing to the climate their wool has less grease than our Ohio wool. The present prices in Ohio are simply a foretaste of free-wool prices.

WILL WE HAVE FREE WOOL?

I regret to say that the Democratic party is pledged to change the McKinley law, so as to put wool on the free list. The House and Senate in Congress have each a Democratic majority, pledged, as is President Cleveland, to free wool.

On April 7, 1892, the Democratic majority in the House in Congress passed the Springer free-wool bill, but it was not passed by the Senate, then having a Republican majority. All the Ohio Democratic members voting on the bill voted for it.

THE POSITION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

It is now for free wool. That is modern Cleveland Democracy. It is not the Democracy of the fathers of the Democratic party.

Through the influence of Thomas Jefferson, sheep was first imported into Virginia, and he said: "We should encourage home manufactures to the extent of our own consumption of everything of which we raise the raw material." (See volume 5, page 416, Jefferson's Works.)

And he believed it the duty of every good citizen "to use no foreign article that can be raised within ourselves." (United States Agricultural Department Report on Sheep, 1892, page 174.)

Gen. Jackson, in his letter to Dr. Coleman, of April 26, 1824, said: "Providence has filled our mountains and our plains with minerals, and given us climate and soil for the growing of hemp and wool, and they ought to have extended to them adequate and fair protection."

The act of Congress of March 3, 1883, reduced, a very little, the higher duties on wool in the tariff act of March 2, 1867.

In 1883 the Ohio Democratic executive committee issued a circular declaring: "That as protection has thus far proven highly beneficial to the farmers of Ohio, this protection should not be withdrawn as long as a protective policy is pursued.

On April 7, 1884, every Democrat in Congress from Ohio voted for a bill to restore the wool tariff of 1867.

This was indorsed by the Ohio Democratic State Convention June 25, 1884.

I prefer to stand by the Democracy of the fathers and of the Democratic party until the advent of Grover Cleveland, with his free-wool notions.

THE RUIN OF WOOL.

Ohio, in 1892, had, besides the spring lambs of that year, 3,886,824 sheep. Our sheep now, including lambs, must reach near 4,500,000. If free wool comes it will destroy the wool industry of Ohio. This will compel our farmers to devote lands now occupied with sheep to raising more wheat and corn and oats, and thus by overproduction still farther reduce the price.

Our wool will be imported from Australia, and take gold out of the country to make payment. The import of wool is in effect the import of the grass, hay, and grain that makes it, and that into our country where there is already an overproduction of all these.

The National Grange is not a political organization, but it has a tariff policy announced by its authorized lecturer, who, in an address published in the American Farmer of August 1, 1892, said:

"The Grange opposed the tariff of the Mills bill because it placed 33 per cent of articles produced on American farms upon the free list to start with, and the average tariff for farmers in the whole bill was less than one-half the average tariff it gave the manufacturer.

"The bill lately passed by the House of Representatives (the Springer free-wool bill) placing wool on the free list entirely ignored the rights of the farmer guaranteed under the Constitution, and the Grange will never indorse such action while a single cent of duty remains upon manufactured wool. Wool is not a 'raw material.' Wool is a complete manufactured article for the farmer, the result of his investment of labor and capital, and it should stand equal before the tariff law with woolen goods."

I stand with Jefferson, Jackson, the Democratic party of 1883 and 1884, and will vote for McKinley for governor.

A REMEDY IN SIGHT.

The present Congress will put wool on the free list unless warned against it by a popular uprising of the people.

The overwhelming election of McKinley in Ohio will serve notice upon our representatives in Congress that they must not do this thing. Forty thousand majority for McKinley this fall will paralyze the efforts of the free-wool men in Congress.

Let us waive party considerations for once and stand by our own interests.

Yours truly,

Mr. Speaker, the eloquent gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] to-day introduced into his speech an extract from the message of Mr. Harrison to Congress, dated December 6, 1892, less than one year ago, as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

In submitting my annual message to Congress, I have great satisfaction in being able to say that the general conditions affecting the commercial and industrial interests of the United States are in the highest degree favorable. A comparison of the existing conditions with those of the most favored period in the history of the country will, I believe, show that so high a degree of prosperity and so general a diffusion of the comforts of life were never before enjoyed by our people.

The total wealth of the country in 1860 was $16,159,616,068. In 1890 it amounted to $62,610,000,000, an increase of 287 per cent.

The total mileage of railways in the United States in 1860 was 30,626; in 1890 it was 167,741, an increase of 448 per cent; and it is estimated that there will be about 4,000 miles of track added by the close of the year 1892.

The official returns of the Eleventh Census and those of the Tenth Census for seventy-five leading cities furnish the basis for the following comparisons:

In 1880 the capital invested in manufacturing was $1,232,839,670.
In 1890 the capital invested in manufacturing was $2,900,735,884.
In 1880 the number of employés was 1,301,388.
In 1890 the number of employés was 2,251,134.
In 1880 the wages earned were $501,965,778.
In 1890 the wages earned were $1,221,170,454.
In 1880 the value of the product was $2,711,579,899.
In 1890 the value of the product was $4,860,236,837.

I am informed by the Superintendent of the Census that the omission of certain industries in 1880, which were included in 1890, accounts in part for the remarkable increase thus shown. But, after making full allowance for differences of method and deducting the returns for all industries not included in the census of 1880, there remain in the reports from these seventy-five cities an increase in the capital employed of $1,522,745,604; in the value of the product of $2,024,236,166; in wages earned of $677,943,929, and in the number of wage-earners employed of 856,029. The wage earnings not only show an increased aggregate, but an increase per capita from $386 in 1880 to $547 in 1890, or 41.71 per cent.

* * * * * * *

Another indication of the general prosperity of the country is found in the fact that the number of depositors in savings banks increased from 693,870 in 1860 to 4,258,893 in 1890, an increase of 513 per cent, and the amount of deposits from $149,277,504 in 1860 to $1,524,844,506 in 1890, an increase of 921 per cent. In 1891 the amount of deposits in savings banks was $1,623,079,749. It is estimated that 90 per cent of these deposits represent the savings of wage-earners. The bank clearances for nine months ending September 30, 1891, amounted to $41,049,390,808. For the same months in 1892 they amounted to $45,189,601,947, an excess for the nine months of $4,140,211,139.

* * * * * * *

The value of our total farm products has increased from $1,363,646,806 in 1860 to $4,500,000,000 in 1891, as estimated by statisticians, an increase of 230 per cent. The number of hogs January 1, 1891, was 50,625,106 and their value $210,193,925; on January 1, 1892, the number was 52,398,019 and the value $241,031,415. On January 1, 1891, the number of cattle was 36,875,648 and the value $544,127,908; on January 1, 1892, the number was 37,651,239 and the value $570,749,155.

BENJ. HARRISON."

I now want to offer some testimony corroborating the message of Mr. Harrison. It comes from the Cincinnati Enquirer of December 31, 1892. That great newspaper, between times, prints and publishes a great deal of news, and never, between times, sacrifices news to party, and especially on each recurring last day of the year it can always be relied upon to give a truthful résumé of the business of the year past.

Here are the headlines of the résumé of 1892, published in the issue of that paper, as stated:

Over R. G. Dun & Co.'s "Review of trade for the year 1892," published in the Cincinnati Enquirer of December 31, 1892, that paper head-lined the report as follows:

BEST

Ever Known in Business.

The Glowing Record Made by the Passing Year.

Strongly Favorable Indications for Future Prosperity.

Trade of All Kinds Enjoying a Veritable Boom.

Its Volume was the Largest in the Country's History.

While Commercial Failures were Remarkably Few.

Mr. Speaker, is it not marvelous that only six months later Mr. Cleveland is compelled to state to Congress as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

The existence of an alarming and extraordinary business situation, involving the welfare and prosperity of all our people, has constrained me to call together in extra session the people's representatives in Congress, to the end that through a wise and patriotic exercise of the legislative duty with which they solely are charged, present evils may be mitigated and dangers threatening the future may be averted.

Our unfortunate financial plight is not the result of untoward events nor of conditions related to our natural resources, nor is it traceable to any of the afflictions which frequently check national growth and prosperity. With

plenteous crops, with abundant promise of remunerative production and manufacture, with unusual invitation to safe investment, and with satisfactory assurance to business enterprise, suddenly financial distrust and fear have sprung up on every side. Numerous moneyed institutions have suspended because abundant assets were not immediately available to meet the demands of frightened depositors. Surviving corporations and individuals are content to keep in hand the money they are usually anxious to loan, and those engaged in legitimate business are surprised to find that the securities they offer to loan, though heretofore satisfactory, are no longer accepted. Values supposed to be fixed are fast becoming conjectural, and loss and failure have invaded every branch of business.

* * * * * *

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Mr. Speaker, I shall vote against all pending amendments to this bill, and vote without hesitation for the passage of the bill. The result will be only and simply to cause the cessation of the present practice of buying silver and paying gold for it, and I call attention of the House and the country to the fact that silver will not in this way be demonetized, nor yet driven from circulation or legal-tender quality, for this same bill for which I shall vote declares—

But this repeal shall not impair, or in any manner affect, the legal-tender quality of the standard silver dollars heretofore coined; and the faith and credit of the United States are hereby pledged to maintain the parity of the standard gold and silver coins of the United States at the present legal ratio or such other ratio as may be established by law.

Thus silver becomes money and not a commodity. We shall cease to degrade silver by buying and cording it up like pig iron, and its value as money will be enhanced.

I will vote thus because:

First. The purchase of silver under this and the Bland-Allison act has had the effect to debase the coins of the country and unsettle values and confidence.

Second. The repeal will benefit the country by restoring confidence, at least in some degree, establish silver upon a better basis than now, and enhance the value of all the currency of silver in the country.

Third. The repeal will place this country in such a position among the nations of the world as that an international agreement can be reached, so that out of such agreement bimetallism can come, and both gold and silver can be coined upon equal terms, free of charge.

Fourth. I am in favor of bimetallism upon such terms as will end this controversy, and I am sure that the repeal of this section will be a grand movement in that direction.

Mr. Speaker, my constituency is made up of agriculturists, miners, laborers, manufacturers, and business men. They all work, and are all honest and intelligent. My first duty is to my own people, who sent me here. I will cast no vote in this House to make heavier by even a slight degree the burdens of life they have borne so long and so patiently. I will not fail to vote, God giving me wisdom, in such a way as to make their burdens lighter.

If I can, I will vote so that each dollar in this land shall be of equal value to pay debts and buy goods as every or any other dollar. The dollar of the rich man shall, if I can effect it, be as good and not better than the dollar which pays for the labor of the poor man.

Because I believe that the repeal of this clause will tend to all of this, with a solemn realization of the responsibility of this hour, I will vote for this bill, and trust to the same overruling Providence, which so long has aided our people, that the future will vindicate the wisdom of the act.

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, in the minute which has been given to me I want to inform the House respecting the action of the political parties in Colorado. In a few seconds permit me to say that the Democratic party of Colorado unanimously, through its regular organization, indorsed and approved the course taken as read by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM], and that Mr. Cleveland, the Democratic candidate, through his emissaries, sent to Colorado and made a demand and command upon what was called the "White wing" of the Democracy to take down the Democratic electors and support the Weaver electors. However, I had no part in that.

I shall not in this minute break in, but shall save what I might say for another time, when the gentleman will be sufficiently entertained, I hope; but I will say, so that it may go into the RECORD to-morrow (and I do not want any of this suppressed), that I make no denial of the utterances that have been read, and acknowledge and father every word of them; nor am I the man at any time to shrink from any responsibility. I distinctly want it understood that I said what was quoted, and when I said it I was as sober as a judge. I want that to go in the RECORD in the morning. [Great laughter and applause in the House and in the galleries.]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BYNUM. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair desires to appeal——

Mr. BYNUM. I rise to a question of personal explanation, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair appeals to members to preserve order, and will state to the occupants of the galleries that such demonstrations will not be allowed. They are contrary to the rules of the House, and can not be permitted. The gentleman from Washington [Mr. WILSON] is recognized.

Mr. BYNUM. I rise to a personal explanation.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Washington is recognized.

Mr. BYNUM. I demand the floor for a personal explanation.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman can not take the floor on a question of personal explanation.

Mr. BYNUM. Of personal privilege.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman may be heard on a question of personal privilege.

Mr. BYNUM. It is a question of personal privilege I mean.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will hear the gentleman.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, is the gentleman from Indiana recognized?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman states that he rises to a question of personal privilege.

Mr. BYNUM. I will not retain the floor more than a moment. On yesterday I jocularly made a remark which possibly could have been construed that I might have been entertained in a manner that would render me unable to make a speech. I want to say, Mr. Speaker, that that was uttered in a jocular way, and I think so understood. Those who know me know, and the gentleman knows, that on that occasion there was not a soberer man in Denver.

Mr. PENCE. I have said so; and I went to your friends last night and suggested making such a statement.

Mr. BYNUM. Then you ought not to have cast any insinuation here.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Washington.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, at the present time all our national obligations are paid in gold or in greenbacks which are redeemable in gold, or in silver dollars, or silver certificates which up to this date have been kept equivalent to gold. The gold dollar of 25.8 grains is by law the standard of value in the United States. Because the gold dollar is the standard of value, we are enabled to make our domestic and foreign exchange with ease and certainty and without discount for inequalities of value in money. The maintenance of a uniform standard of value is a matter of primary concern to society and one of the fundamental principles of good government and national prosperity. Any disturbance in the standard of value unsettles business, destroys confidence, and restricts the area of employment. No physical calamity, not even earthquakes nor famines, produces such disastrous results as a fluctuating standard of value.

Mr. Speaker, briefly, the history of our silver coin is as follows: In 1792 our silver dollar was required by law to be exactly equal to the Spanish milled dollar. It contained 416 grains of standard silver, and the smaller coins were all of exact equal proportionate value (see United States Statutes, volume I, page 249). In 1837 the silver dollar was changed in weight, so that it contained only 412½ grains standard silver, but the smaller coins were still kept of equal proportionate value with the dollar piece (see United States Statutes, volume 5, pages 137–139). Up to 1853 our silver coins were all legal tender in the payment of debts to any amount.

On June 1, 1853, the Democratic party, then in control of Congress, debased the silver coin, reducing the half dollar from 206¼ grains down to 192 grains, taking from each half dollar 14¼ grains of silver, and also taking from the smaller coins in like proportion and limiting the legal-tender quality to halves, quarters, dimes, and half dimes, and to an amount not exceeding $5. This limit of $5 was fixed by the Democratic Congress after having debased the smaller silver coins. The legal-tender quality of the dollar piece was left unchanged, because it was not regarded as of any consequence in our circulation, from the fact that not a silver dollar piece was coined from the year 1805 to 1839.

The total number of silver dollars coined from 1793 to 1877 is only 8,045,838. The result of debasing the smaller coins was, of course, to drive the dollar piece out of circulation and prevent it from being coined, because if the Government could make two half dollars with 28¾ grains less of silver than it would take to make one dollar piece then it would not be good financial policy to coin silver bullion into dollar pieces. In 1873 an act was passed authorizing the coinage of the trade dollar containing 420 grains, the other silver coins remaining substantially unchanged. The act of 1873 did not demonetize the dollar piece

then coined and in circulation, but simply dropped the standard dollar from the coinage act and placed the trade dollar in place of the standard dollar, leaving the legal tender limit the same on the trade dollar that had been imposed by the Democratic party upon the silver coin, excepting the old dollar.

The coinage of the trade dollar was authorized to answer the demand of commerce coming to our Western coast, and was placed under the legal tender limit already existing as to the smaller coins, for the expresr purpose of confining it to the foreign commerce for which it was originally designed. There has been no substantial change made in regard to the smaller silver coin. In 1878, the Bland-Allison silver bill was passed, which provided for the coinage of the old 412½-grain dollar and restored its legal tender quality in full. The Fifty-first Congress enacted the law known as the act of July 14, 1890, by which we purchased 4,500,000 ounces of silver each month, and issued thereon silver certificates redeemable in coin. It is for the purpose of repealing this act that the President of the United States, taking into consideration the financial stringency, has convened Congress into extraordinary session, and in his message to the Senate and House of Representatives has recommended the unconditional repeal of the act of July 14, 1890.

I had hoped, Mr. Speaker, that having at his command all of the avenues of information, the President, taking into consideration the conditions that exist and the almost universal desire upon the part of the people for an increase of circulation, might in his wisdom have recommended to Congress in that message some plan or some way to accomplish this purpose. Perhaps he thought the chasm between one school and the other was too wide to bridge, and perhaps there was no material at hand to have enabled the most skillful engineer to construct one.

Mr. Speaker, passing from this question of finances for a few moments, and for the purpose in as few words as possible of correcting as far as I can an error of the public mind to those unacquainted with the facts, that in a large measure the vast country west of the Mississippi River and the Missouri River is an arid plain, valueless in its soil and principally made up of mining camps that are seeking by legislation the advancement of the price of the product of their mines, I quote.

Writing on this subject, the Spokane Review, one of the leading papers of the Pacific Northwest, said:

> Charles Sumner's oration in Boston on July 4, 1845, ranks with the foremost efforts of American statesmen. In his fervid plea for universal peace he denounced the policy which finally resulted in the Mexican war, and further declared: "By a presumptuous assertion of a disputed claim to worthless territory beyond the Rocky Mountains we have kindled anew on the hearth of our mother country the smothered fires of hostile strife."
>
> What was this worthless country of which Charles Sumner spoke? It included the lands and waters of North America between the Columbia River and 54° 40' north latitude. It embraced more than one-half of what is now British Columbia, besides the present State of Washington. The Canadian Pacific now traverses that territory, and had the claims of the United States been fully allowed the city of Victoria would have had an American name, the Fraser been an American river, and serious obstacles would have been placed in the pathway of Great Britain across the continent.
>
> Even to-day broad-minded statesmen of the East fail to discern the future of the Pacific Northwest. Their blunders are worse than crimes. Their talk is fraught with peril. Their wisdom is rot.
>
> The Pacific Northwest does not ask of the Government at the national capital to overlook conflicting interests presented by the various sections of the country, and legislate for its own special benefit. To live and let live is a policy which finds more believers right here than in the East. What the Pacific Northwest does contend for is that her manifest future shall not be ignored. In balancing the relative benefits and injuries of national measures, as regards the various portions of these United States, the Pacific Northwest rightfully demands that her future as well as her present shall be put into the scales. Charles Sumner himself would be far from calling it a worthless territory were he alive to-day, but the followers of Charles Sumner may make the same mistake he did. They may for years defer that which will in no mean degree add to the prosperity of the whole country by refusing to give the Pacific Northwest the opportunities which she deserves.

Mr. Speaker, I have lived many years in the West, and I know something of its capabilities, of its products, soil, and of its people. I have seen what was a few years ago considered an arid plain pass from a sea of grasses to a great land of schools, colleges, civilization, and wealth. Of all of the twenty-five States and Territories west of the Mississippi River, only three are as small as New England. Montana would stretch from Boston on the east to Cleveland on the west, and would extend from Boston south to Richmond, Va. Idaho, if laid down in the East, would touch Toronto on the north and Raleigh, N. C., on the south, while its southern boundary line is long enough to stretch from Washington City to Columbus. California, if upon the Atlantic seaboard, would extend from Massachusetts to South Carolina. New Mexico is larger than the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Dakota might be carved into half a dozen kingdoms of Greece, and Wyoming is ninety-seven times as large as Rhode Island.

Counting all of Louisiana and Minnesota west of the Mississippi River for convenience, we have, according to the census of 1880, 2,115,135 square miles on the west and 854,865 square miles on the east. That is to say, for every acre east of the river we have nearly 2½ acres west.

Mr. E. B. Smalley, who in the summer of 1882 traveled the line of the Northern Pacific road before its completion, said:

> The whole country on the north, through all the Territories to the coast of Washington, is a wonderful country. For the entire distance the whole country is valuable for stock-raising, farming, or timber-cutting. There is absolutely no waste land from the settled regions of Dakota to the dense forests of Washington. Even on the top of the Rocky Mountains there is good pasturage, and the vast timber country, including Clarks Fork and Lake d'Oreille and the regions of the Cabinet and Cœur d'Alene Mountains, are more valuable than an equal amount of arable land.
>
> West of the Cascade Mountains, in the State of Washington, lies the great forest of the West and the densest growth of time in the known world. The western Washington forests contain 32,500 square miles. It averages 10,000,000 feet to the square mile, and that produces the enormous amount of 325,000,000,000 of feet of merchantable timber, and all within 25 miles of the finest harbor in the world.

In fact, sir, this country west of the Mississippi River, which within the memory of many within hearing of my voice was considered an arid belt, is now contributing annually to the markets of the world 600,000,000 bushels of cereals. California from the discovery of gold has produced $1,300,000,000 of that metal. Idaho has produced $200,000,000 of gold and silver, and in the Cœur d'Alene Mountains of that State, that were thought worthless less than seven years ago, except for the timber, are to-day producing over 40 per cent of all the lead produced in this country.

Montana, not taking into consideration her great flocks and herds, is producing from twenty to twenty-five millions of precious metals per annum. In twenty years Nevada poured into the Treasury of the United States almost $70,000,000 of bullion. The output of Colorado is $25,000,000 per annum. Wyoming, to say nothing of her great cattle and stock ranges, has immense deposits of valuable minerals. Washington, with her vast timber interests, which W. H. Seward has said would make her the shipbuilder of the world, with her coal, iron, silver, lead, wheat, barley, oats, hops, and fruits, her patriotism and her civilization, stands sentinel upon the rock-bound coast of the Pacific.

I had thought, Mr. Speaker, that when the rule and order of business were adopted for this debate, that the great majority of this House would, in view of the fact of their vociferations and declamations in the past, yield to the minority some right or some opportunity to offer some amendment upon the proposed measures to be adopted. I well recollect how in the Fifty-first Congress many of the majority party to-day were vociferous in their denunciation of the Republican Speaker and the majority by what they at that time denounced as gag rule with all the eloquence and declamations they are distinguished for. I call to mind the scenes enacted in the first session of the Fifty-first Congress, and I look for some of those who at that time were so eloquent in their denunciation to again rush frantically down the aisles of this Hall and appeal for what they had all so clamorously struggled for.

I had thought that inasmuch as the distinguished Chief Magistrate of this nation and the leader of their party had in his message held out a flag of truce to the Republican party, that they would be willing to adopt some rule that would give that party, the minority, some right to offer some amendment that they might be interested in upon this question. The President had said, when he classified the Sherman law as a truce, that he had indirectly said to the Republican party upon this floor, "'Help me Cassius, or I sink!' and after you have enabled me to adopt the single gold standard in this country, then watch me kick the stuffing out of you upon the tariff."

This order of business that we are to proceed upon next Monday was agreed upon by and through a few favored of the majority party. No opportunity will be given to vote upon any other propositions than those that have been agreed upon and adopted by the vote of the Democratic party in sustaining the order for the previous question. No opportunity was given to the minority when that order was adopted. The distinguished gentleman from Missouri demanded the previous question, and upon a roll call of the yeas and nays many of those who have since stated in their public utterances that some opportunity should have been given for other propositions are recorded as having voted in the affirmative.

Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of bimetallism as the basis of our monetary system because in the course of a series of years the average of production of gold and silver will furnish to the commercial world a more just and equitable measure of the value of human labor than either of the metals can possibly furnish. It is a notorious fact that the production of gold has been more spasmodic and uncertain than the production of silver. Between 1846 and 1870 the yield of pure gold from the placer mines of the Pacific Slope was phenomenally large, while the production of silver during that period of time was comparatively very small. Between 1873 and the present time the production of silver has been comparatively greater than the production of gold.

Between the first-mentioned dates gold monometallism would have been unjust to the creditor class of the country; but on the

other hand it is equally clear that gold monometallism, with comparatively diminished production of gold since 1873, has worked great injustice to the debtor classes. The use of the two metals during the two periods would have furnished a compromise line which would have proven more equitable and just to both debtors and creditors throughout that period. As a Republican I am in favor of the use of silver as well as gold in our monetary system, because I am in favor of protecting every article of American production; and I think it to be un-American and unpatriotic to discredit or discountenance the use of any product of this country, either in the markets at home or abroad.

For this reason I am opposed to any proposition looking to the discontinuance of the use of silver in our monetary system, and on the contrary I have been heartily in favor of constantly increasing the use of silver with a view of bringing into action the great commercial force found in the law of supply and demand, to the end that the commercial value of silver might be brought to something approximating the proposed coinage value.

The most casual observation will suffice to convince anyone that the vast majority of the people of this country, East as well as West, are in favor of maintaining both gold and silver as the coins of the country. A very small fraction of the people of the East are in favor of gold monometallism, and I hold that any legislation having for its object the utter exclusion of silver from our monetary system is repugnant to the judgment and contrary to the desire of 90 per cent, at least, of the voters and taxpayers of every State in the Union. The people of this country desire such legislation as may tend to restore silver to its place in the money of the world rather than to destroy it utterly.

The present law when enacted was but the inauguration of a policy, as I understand it, looking to the continued increase of the use of silver on safe lines, with a view to its final restoration to free coinage at the mints at an agreed ratio. In the second session of the Congress which passed the Sherman act the then Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Windom, favored an increase of the purchase of silver to six million ounces per month. He was satisfied that the law had worked well and had given material aid in carrying this country safely over the financial stringency caused by failures in South America and embarrassments in Europe.

One of the vices, born of enthusiasm, no doubt, on the part of the advocates of immediate free coinage deprived Congress of the privilege of considering Mr. Windom's proposition. It was erroneously assumed that the Secretary of the Treasury was seeking to injure silver and that by rejecting his proposition the free coinage of silver would be brought about. Thus the new policy inaugurated by the Sherman act was practically abandoned by the Congress which brought it about, and in consequence the policy was not given a fair test. I have many friends on this floor and throughout the State I have the honor in part to represent who sincerely believe that the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 can be brought about and bimetallism maintained in the United States without drawing to the aid of the Government any commercial or other force save the mandate of the law itself.

Not undertaking to contest this view of the matter, it has been apparent to me that, whatsoever virtue there may be in the proposition, it is impracticable, because a majority of the whole people of the country believe that free coinage at such ratio would result in the instant disappearance of the gold of the country from circulation and cast us immediately upon a silver basis, and that this proposition would be attended by violent commercial and financial disturbances, from which the people generally, but the toilers of the land particularly, would suffer serious injury.

As long as the majority entertain this apprehension, whether it be well founded or not, it is obvious to me that free coinage by a single act of Congress can not be obtained; and I have therefore believed, and do now believe, that it is more wise and prudent to consult this conservative sentiment of the majority, and to propose a ratio which can be maintained without the apprehended danger of being called upon to recoin the silver coin of Europe which it is possible might be sent here for coining in exchange of our gold at the ratio of 16 to 1. I have heretofore opposed the free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1, for the reasons:

First, that the discrepancy between the coinage and commercial value of the silver and the silver dollar at that ratio seemed to me so great that this country could not be induced to adopt it, and it was therefore futile to advocate free coinage at that ratio; and

Second, because the difference between the ratio of 16 to 1 and the European ratio of 15½ to 1 was so slight that Europe would probably send over its accumulated stock of silver to our mints for recoinage in exchange for our gold to such an extent as to injure our own silver-producers by overstocking our mints for many years to come. I favored, instead, the increased use of silver in our monetary system with a view to enhancing its value, so as to ultimately bring to light the proper coinage ratio.

Now it is proposed by the majority to either fix the ratio at some point between 16 to 1 and 20 to 1, or to continue the present law, or else abandon silver altogether. Believing that this country can maintain bimetallism by coining silver at the rate of 20 to 1, I am cordially in favor of adopting that ratio, and on that basis I favor the opening of our mints to the free coinage of silver, and my vote shall be recorded in favor of that proposition. Feeling that to discard silver utterly would be an injustice to the whole people, and particularly to those burdened with debt, I shall resist it as an invasion of the rights of the people. Finally, I am unalterably opposed to the repeal of the existing Sherman law unless we can secure in its stead a free coinage of silver at what I believe to be the safe and just ratio of 20 to 1.

Mr. Speaker, we hear frequently upon this floor that we should return to an unlimited issue of greenbacks and paper currency. I hope this never will be adopted. The country for a long time struggled to get over the effects of an overissue of paper money, and the effect of an overissue of that paper has always been disastrous in whatever country it has been tried. It was so in the time of William and Mary, it was so in France under John Law's scheme, although he had all the property of France behind him, yet it bankrupted France. Take the history of Rhode Island immediately after the Revolution; the farmers, finding themselves in distress, established a paper bank for the purpose of lending money upon farms.

The merchants and business men refused to accept the money, and finally the Legislature had to repeal the law that sent Rhode Island into bankruptcy and disaster. Then we have what was known as the Mississippi crop-moving scheme, the flush times of Alabama, where everybody issued money, everybody had a bank, but which finally left upon the State of Alabama, if I am not mistaken in the figures, a debt of forty-two millions for the farmers of that State to pay. Then we had the Michigan wildcat money; then we had throughout Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio what is known as blue-dog and yellow-pup, where every man had to carry a detector with him.

The only advantage a man had was that he rushed frantically to pay his debts for fear the money would be worth nothing in the morning. It was a re-establishment of these State banks that the Democratic party in their platform demanded. I do not believe that they will ever be re-established, because there are too many men now living who have sad cause to remember the losses they sustained by institutions of this character.

Mr. Speaker, I have sometimes thought at this time, when everybody is submitting some plan for the cure of the present financial distress, that had an opportunity been offered me under the rules and order of business as adopted, I would have submitted a proposition along the following lines: First, repeal the Bland act, including the clause providing for a dollar of 412½ grains; then repeal the Sherman law, including the purchasing clause, and then do four things. Call in all one, two, and possibly five dollar bills, and issue instead the silver dollars now in the Treasury. While this would not have a tendency to increase the per capita circulation, it would have the effect of bringing into use a vast amount of siver now in the Treasury, and I believe that if the world was convinced that we would take care of our stock on hand they would provide a way to take care of the annual production of silver.

Again, I am one of those who believe that you can never make silver popular as long as you decline by your laws to give it an opportunity to circulate among the masses of the people. The present generation know but little if anything of the use of silver money. They have used at all times and under all circumstances the representative of it, and, I believe, it is far better for the future of silver that the one, two, and even five dollar notes be called in and let the actual silver money itself circulate among the people. I believe it would be for the best interests of the people themselves; and I believe it would have a tendency, as it has had in France, to cause the laboring people to hoard it in their houses and use it at such times as their necessities might require.

I believe it is not a good principle as soon as one of our laboring people obtains $20 in paper money that he shall rush to some bank and deposit the same. I believe it will encourage more thrift and economy to that class of people who need protection in their monetary affairs to have some means whereby they retain some of their money about them. The French peasant takes his money, puts it about his house, and when he is at labor he has it about him to purchase the necessities of life. In France, the thriftiest country in the world, a sufficient amount of the medium of exchange is kept in the woolen stockings of the people, and the percentage of money that is withdrawn from

circulation by the hoarding of the people during the periods of no confidence represents the percentage which the commerce of the United States has no right to count upon during periods of prosperity and confidence.

A sum equal to the deficit in the money circulation at this moment represents the commercial factor of safety, without which the business of no country could be conducted.

Second. Coin the product of the American mines.

Third. Make a mintage charge upon all imported silver.

Fourth. Limit its legal-tender quality to $50 or $100.

It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that if some measure could be adopted along these lines it will have a tendency to increase the volume of currency. I do not know that I entirely agree to the last three propositions myself; but the first, the pushing out into active circulation among the people of the silver dollars now in the Treasury, I think, can not be successfully controverted as not having elements of benefit to the people of the country.

Mr. Speaker, while we have heard upon all hands the denunciation of the Sherman bill, and while the Democratic party have denounced it as a cowardly makeshift, I have never been able to find anyone among the plain people of the United States, or with whom I have come in contact, who declined to take that money and were not satisfied with it.

During the two years that it was administered under a Republican Administration, increasing from month to month the volume of the currency going out to circulate among all the people, there was circulated over one hundred and six million of the silver certificates, under the Sherman law, of small denominations of ones, twos, and fives, and the people received them gladly and carried on their exchanges; and while it is my judgment that the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month by the Government, which is a nonconsumer of silver, had a tendency to diminish the price, because as the Government continued its month-to-month purchases and added to the visible supply, it being a nonconsumer, this necessarily diminished the price.

But the certificates that were issued were gladly received by the people, and not until the great Democratic party not only denounced that law but other laws, and made an effort to make everything cheap as they always have; and by their continued calamity howling they have forced upon us the present panic. But many have said to me, Mr. Speaker, not only in my own section, but since my arrival here, what do you people desire?

Speaking somewhat for them as well as myself, we are in favor of using all the silver money that can be circulated without debasing the value of a silver dollar. What we would like to see is the two metals flowing side by side with each other as they do in France. That country carries the largest amount of silver and the largest fund of gold, being seven hundred millions of silver and eight hundred millions of gold. France is a country with a gold standard: that is to say, that country having a double basis does not necessarily have a double standard.

Again, we have eight hundred and thirty millions of paper money, not taking into consideration the national-bank currency, all of which is redeemable by the Government. When the Government placed one hundred millions in the Treasury it was for the purpose of redeeming three hundred and forty millions of greenbacks, not eight hundred and thirty millions of paper. Since then we have been adding to the paper supply and increasing the per capita circulation until we have the amount named, and the Government is compelled to keep its paper on a parity with gold. But suppose the Sherman law is repealed? Do reason and probability or either of them warrant the proposition that the repeal of the law will restore confidence, set mill wheels in motion, build up commercial credit, repair the crumbling fortunes of railroads, bring back to banks the moneys how hid in safes?

The mills of the country are now idle, the iron furnaces have closed down, thousands and thousands of people are out of employment, millions of capital have been withdrawn by manufacturers—all owing to the uncertainty of the Democratic party in regard to the tariff. When the McKinley bill was being enacted the mills were not idle, the men were busy at the furnaces and consuming the products of the farms, because there was no uncertainty or "ifs" or "ands" about the position of the Republican party upon that question, but now things are very much changed.

The great aurora borealis of the Democratic party which was to spread itself all over the country and give us peace, happiness, and financial prosperity, and which was so instrumental in electing Mr. Cleveland to office, is no longer visible to the naked eye. During the Harrison Administration the people were constantly assured by Mr. Cleveland himself that the country was drifting to ruin by a tariff adjusted by Mr. McKinley and adopted by the Republican party. No one told us that the silver policy of the Government was destroying values and sending banks and commercial houses into bankrupcy.

Now, the crisis is upon us. It may not be the same crisis that Mr. Cleveland predicted as the result of the McKinley tariff, but the crisis is undeniably upon us. We were told last year that the success of the Democratic party would prevent it; we are told this year that the repeal of the Sherman law alone will effect it; it was the tariff before the election, it was the silver question after the election.

Upon these propositions, Mr. Speaker, the great Democratic party itself is not harmonious and united. I send forward to have printed and to have read by the Clerk the following extract.

HAS COST US A BILLION.

For four months a Democratic Administration has been in control at the national capital. Behind it has stood a party vehemently demanding the abolition of all protection and the reissue of State-bank currency. The industries of the nation have taken alarm at the spectacle of their enemies in power. The free-trade President has used the authority of his office not to protect, but to assail and ruin the business interests of the country. The result has been the obliteration of more than a billion of dollars in the value of property held by American citizens.

The shrinkage in values has embraced inactive as well as active securities; State, city, and county bonds, the capital stock of limited corporations, manufacturing companies, and business firms. It has destroyed credit and plunged hundreds into bankruptcy. Banks have been carried down by the score. Thoroughly established business reputations have been hopelessly wrecked. The abundant prosperity of the country has been changed into stringency and panic.

The Fifty-first Congress appropriated $1,000,000,000 in two years, and made provision for distributing it among the people. The Cleveland Administration has taken $1,000,000,000 from the pockets of the people in four months. It has diminished the wealth of the nation by an amount nearly equal to the entire sum of money in circulation in the United States to-day. It has cost the people of the United States three times as much as the colossal swindle of the Panama Canal—which shook France from center to circumference—cost the French people. It has taken enough money from the people to build the Nicaragua Canal ten times over. These are appalling figures, but they show the truth. They demand the earnest consideration of every American citizen on this anniversary of the nation's birth. Bluster and prevaricate as they may, the mouthpieces of Democracy can not obscure this tremendous fact: In four months Democratic rule has robbed the American people of $1,000,000,000.—*New York Sun* (Democratic).

This is not an indictment of the Democratic party by the Republicans, it is not the indictment of any individual by the Republicans, but is from the great metropolitan journal of the city of New York—the New York Sun, Democratic.

Mr. Speaker, in the closing portion of the President's message he states that it was his intention to have called Congress together in September to commence the great work of what is known as tariff reform. Unquestionably the leading issue is to be the tariff, and all laborers, mechanics, and farmers are vitally interested in the question. Upon its solution, in my judgment, depends for them comfort or calamity, plenty or want, and homes or hovels.

To solve the question as has been indicated and demanded by the President in his message will accomplish, as is already the fact, the closing of factories and the driving of thousands and thousands of wage-earners from honorable toil to idleness and want. A single word in that contest defines the position of the Republican party; its watchword is still protection—protection to every smokestack that lifts its black mouth toward the sky, protection to every hammer that trips to the music of steam, protection to every fire that burns on the forges of toil, protection that lifts every matter into higher and better forms of value, protection of the ballot box from fraud and crime, protection of every man in the open to cast a free ballot and have it counted just as he cast it, protection to every American citizen at home and abroad, protection from all infringement of the Monroe doctrine, protection to American homes, protection to American laborers, protection to American farmers, protection to American industries, protection to American commerce, protection to American miners, protection to American prosperity, and the protection of the Union soldiers of the United States.

I will print with my remarks, Mr. Speaker, a letter addressed to me by Mr. Paul F. Mohr, of the State of Washington, in which he submits for consideration some views upon the monetary question, together with an argument accompanying the letter:

Hon. JOHN L. WILSON,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

MY DEAR SIR: I submit to you an argument on the subject of the monetary complications of this country at the present time, which is to serve the double purpose of an appeal to you and a means of creating an intelligent support by the people of Washington for the position which I trust you may take in disposing of the bill repealing the Sherman act. I am well aware that the sentiment of a large portion of the people of our State, as well as elsewhere, is in favor of any kind of an expedient, however lame, in the present monetary dilemma, in the hope that it will, in a measure, protect silver. My treatment of the subject will convince you of my earnest advocacy of silver, and especially of a bimetallic standard which shall be thorough and permanent.

I object to an exaggerated ratio of, say, 1 to 20, because the evils we are now suffering from, while they may be ameliorated to a slight extent, will not be a benefit to silver. If a ratio of 1 to 15½ or 1 to 16 was a legitimate ratio until 1873, it is so now. That this ratio can be maintained now as legitimately as a ratio of 1 to 20 is a question beyond a reasonable doubt. The loss of its value is due to arbitrary discrimination against silver by depriving it of its legal-tender qualities by other nations. By reinvesting it with legal-tender qualities, which can not be done by this nation alone, it will regain its lost value.

A statement by the Secretary of the Treasury shows that it will cost $97,000,000 to remint the silver coin of the United States. Not only is the cost an important consideration, but the time it would take to remint our coinage would be a very great obstacle to the usefulness of silver. The necessity of recoinage might deter the foreign nations from joining in an international agreement, and as they all would have joined in such an agreement with the exception of England, and as England will no doubt yield her mono-metallism the moment the United States threatens to become a competitor for the gold of the world, it would be, to my mind, exceedingly unwise to block the way for a thorough rehabilitation of silver by indiscreet legislation at this time. Indeed, the present ratio of 1 to 16, even under the present unfortunate law, would so far as the permanent interests of silver and of the people are concerned be better than a new ratio of 1 to 20.

I have written the accompanying treatise especially for your use and indirectly for the benefit of the public of our State. I trust you may be able, even if your views should not be in line with mine, to bring the subject-matter before our people for their enlightenment, as I am satisfied it will serve as a means of enlightening them upon this complicated question of our national finances.

Yours, very respectfully,

PAUL F. MOHR.

INTRODUCTION.

Before giving my manuscript to the printer it was submitted to a number of friends, some literary, some of them business men, and others men of the world without special occupation. The criticisms being instructive, I concluded to mention them. They said:

"You are ranging yourself against the capitalist, who will resent it; being engaged in enterprises which require their aid, you will find it unwise to attack a system of finance which is to their advantage."

"What is your object in adding to the education of the masses, when the result is that it will only make it more difficult for us to succeed?"

"You will lay yourself open to the attacks of the newspapers, whose owners are largely of the wealthy class."

"The 'masses' (no more reasonable than the capitalist), wanting more than they are fairly entitled to, will not be satisfied with any essay which, while it points out the faulty conditions of the economics of the country, and especially of our financial policy, at the same time shows more clearly their own limitations."

In justice to myself I wish to say that I not only do not "range" myself against the property-holding class, but that, like nearly every other person, I am striving to belong to it with all the energy at my command.

The increase of knowledge among the masses does not make it more difficult to achieve success for any individual whose capacity entitles him to it.

The newspapers which attack the effort of any man who aims to advance the solidarity of mankind would suffer far more than the person attacked, no matter who owns them, and to the extent that they favor fair weapons and equitable conditions in the great economic duel, they will themselves survive.

In classifying the economic world, and when I speak of the 98 per cent class or the 2 per cent class as representative of labor and capital, the terms are not intended to be invidious.

I utterly abhor the communistic theory, which seeks to reduce to the lowest common level all mankind. There must always be two classes, or several gradations of society, and so far as the uppermost class merely represents the superior brain, industry, self-denial, or prudence of mankind it is entitled to its reward.

It is safe to say that no system of practical economics and no legislation can be devised which will ever prevent the operation of the law of the survival of the fittest, for it is a law of nature, nor would it be well, were it possible. The improvement of the race depends upon the weeding-out process, by which the weakest must succumb. Indeed, if it were possible to subvert this law, it would only result in our ultimate extinction.

What I do, however, maintain is that it is necessary to have free play for this great natural law, that no individual or class should be cramped by unequal legislation or unfair economic conditions. With "a fair field and no favors," all of us can confidently bend to the task before us—that is, of joining the winners. A state of affairs is desirable in which social gradations and the successes of individuals shall represent only the degrees of superior fitness on the one hand or of self-imposed or natural limitations on the other.

In adding my small efforts to those already being exerted in all parts of the world, for the creation of an intelligent understanding of true economics by the masses, I feel that I am adding something, at least, to the stability of our form of government—a form of government which depends essentially upon the intelligence of the public voice, because the representatives of the people, being also human and subject to the law of self-preservation, find it more to their interests to follow than to lead the public will and sentiment. Even were the wisdom of a representative unquestionable, his opposition to the will of the people on any particular questions, in the knowledge of which he was far in their advance, would scarcely make the sacrifice of his interests to those of the people of any service to them; his prompt retirement would destroy his value. Again, the idea that the representative is the product of the superior will of those who elect him is largely a fiction, because his position is due, generally, to the superiority of his will and the adroitness of his methods over those possessed by any others in the community which he represents; it is rarely due to the superiority of his wisdom or knowledge over that of his constituency.

Such economic disturbances as we are now passing through are dangerous, because, in the absence of a correct understanding of the causes by the people, feeling as they do only the pressure of distress, they are likely at any time to seek relief by the instinctive recourse to the terrible expedients of organized physical violence. It must always be remembered that any given social condition only exists by the consent of the millions, whose power of organization has advanced in the last few decades with such giant strides that governments can no longer maintain themselves by statecraft or military force against their wishes or their interests.

Intended as this essay is for those who have but little time and opportunity for study, it purposely commences with the primary elements of monetary science, leading the reader up to the wider and more complicated field of monetary diplomacy, the manipulation of the entire mass of money, instead of at retail. I claim no new discoveries in monetary science; in fact its fundamental tenets are so old that I have not deemed it necessary, except in a general way, to quote many authorities, especially as I have been obliged to simplify and condense many of them, in order to preserve a reasonable degree of brevity.

Enterprise generally is dying from monetary anæmia. In this extremity, when the causes of our economic ailment seem to be more or less of a mystery, we are apt to call in the doctors of different schools in the hope that one of them may correctly diagnose the disease and suggest the proper remedy. In such times even the empiricist has his opportunity. Thus far our financial Paracelsians have failed almost signally in diagnosing the exact disease and, of course, in suggesting the proper remedy. They are like the famous doctor who said, that while he could not tell what was the matter with the patient, he did know one thing, *i. e.*, that he could throw him into fits, that he was "irresistible in a struggle with fits," and could bring him out of these sure.

This is the condition of our financial patient, and we are nervously waiting for our legislative doctors to bring us out of the monetary fit they threw us into in July, 1890. But the original disease will nevertheless remain undiagnosed after the fit has been cured; we still have the original malady to cure which is altogether separate and distinct from the Sherman act. The difficulty with the main financial disorder is that it is not merely national, not confined to the United States alone, but that it extends over the entire world; it is an international monetary circulatory disease, in which the proportion of the yellow and white corpuscles has become sadly deranged. Hard as it is to admit it, we are still only the tail of the financial dog and the subcutaneous injection of white corpuscles into his tail, does not seem to cure the dog, for the circulatory center is over in London.

Our legislative doctors now have little to do except to get us out of the "fit" which they threw us into in 1890; after that has been accomplished we must wait until there has been a consultation with the doctors of the other nations and an agreement as to the exact remedy has been arrived at. Thus far these international consultations have been fruitless because the English doctors who control the patient refuse to administer the medicine which the majority prescribes. The main body of the patient, comprising about 98 per cent of the world's population, does not understand this ailment, but when these millions do once comprehend the matter they will rise in their might and demand the proper relief or destroy those who refuse to administer it. At the suggestion of some friends I undertook to write a financial primer; it appeared to me that this would be easy, and four months ago I wrote the first line; then followed a long period of reflection, and the more I thought the less simple it seemed, until finally I reached a point where I was ready to abandon it.

I began the tedious process of swallowing and assimilating a library on monetary economics, on monometallic and bimetallic standards, on composite and compound standards with variable ratios, etc. In spirit, the advocates of each school began by saying, "The truth of my theory is so patent that the mere statement of it is its own demonstration." The chasm between any one school and the other, however, was too wide to bridge; and, besides, there was no material in sight to enable the most skillful engineer to construct one. Again I was in a state of perplexity. Each scholastic casuist had exhausted his state of the case; it was worse than useless, therefore, to join either of the sides of this polygonal economic contest.

At this juncture I picked up an interesting volume by Edward Clark Lunt, A. M., entitled "The Present Condition of Economic Science and the Demand for a Radical Change in its Methods and Aims." Among other things he quoted Macleod, who said: "The political economy of Adam Smith, Ricardo, and Mill is now exhausted; it is a *caput mortuum*, from which no further good can be extracted" * * * "A few years ago the proposition was made to remove economics from its position in the course of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, on the ground that economic science had never shown itself worthy of the name."

A recent writer in the North American Review declares that "the works of Malthus, Ricardo, and Mill are read, not so much because they teach the truth, as because they stand as mile-posts which serve to measure the distance by which thought has passed them."

According to Ruskin "the acceptance of the current doctrine of political economy is a standing disgrace to the human intellect."

Daniel Webster has recourse to arithmetic, and finds that if we take from political economy, first all the truisms and then all the doubtful points, our remainder will be a quantity closely approximating zero: while Prof. Cairns says that "political economy has no small proportion of faulty material," lamenting the confusion and contradictions in which the science is involved.

Max Nordau speaks of the science of economics as having condescended so far as to be the court jester of the present arrangement of the economic world, founded upon egotism and plutocracy.

The Duke of Argyle is the only representative of the class which has been manufacturing British economics, who is sawing off the limb it sits upon, by means of his recently published book, entitled The Unseen Foundations of Society; An Examination of the Fallacies and Failures of Economic Science due to Neglected Elements.

From this it must seem that the effort to effect an entrance into the edifice of true economic wisdom, by means of the guidebooks of economic science, is useless. To borrow a simile from a brilliant writer on jurisprudence, economic science reminds me of a magnificent balustraded staircase of carved stone which I recently saw on Fifth avenue, the building to which it once belonged having been burned away. There stood the staircase intact, well worn, but leading to—nothing.

Those who recorded the evidences of the dominating wills of the world's ruling families and classes and called them "economic statistics;" the professors of Oxford, Heidelberg, Gotha, and elsewhere, who elaborated from these their economic theories to guide into and keep mankind in the lines laid down by their masters, are all, whether consciously or unconsciously, part and parcel of one conspiracy. At a trial at law the testimony of mutually interested confederates would have no weight; on the other hand in economics, upon evidence no more credible, it is sought to build up a system for the cure of our economic ills. Logic, it is true, has been allowed to follow this so-called economic evolution, but not until its teeth had first been drawn.

To seek economic wisdom from the views and opinions of capitalists is as futile as it is to seek it from the laborer or producer. As a general thing neither understands nor cares to consider anything more than his direct and immediate interests. I asked, for instance, three bankers, five brokers, two physicians, three lawyers, two merchants, six railroad officials, three civil engineers, two professors of physics, and several farmers, politicians, tradesmen, and others, these questions:

What is money?
What its origin?
What its functions?
Why are gold and silver precious?
Why is metallic money better than other money?
Why is monometallism better than bimetallism?
What is the standard of value?
What is a monetary ratio?

I am not exaggerating when I say that none of these could answer all the questions. Most of them could answer but few, and the majority none at all intelligently, yet all were willing to express an opinion, the profuseness of which usually bore an inverse ratio to the knowledge of the person giving it. Of course the banker knew how to manipulate money, regardless of what it was essentially, and the farmer knew he wanted it; but outside of the play of the underlying primary instinct of self-preservation, there was no directing intelligence at work upon this subject.

A great mistake, made by nearly all writer sand legislators in formulating theories on monetary economics, is that they aim to conduct the study as if it were a natural or exact science, the elements of which were certain im-

mutable laws of nature, and as if each successive economic state was the necessary evolution from a logical previous condition. Congressman HENDRIX, for instance, in an able speech represented such a school of economists, applying Darwinian methods, sought to show that the present process of eliminating silver from the coinage of the world was simply due to the progress of evolution. As a matter of fact "involution," and "arbitrary" at that, would be a much better term applied to monetary economics.

It is a comparatively easy matter to solve a mathematical equation with certain fixed factors, but different to solve one where your unknown factors preponderate, where they constantly shift and change their proportions and values according to the exigencies of the times, the arbitrary will of rulers and classes, and the national characteristics of the people. Then, too, the material interests of the professional economist come into play. It is quite a different thing whether a number of professors are discussing, for instance, the "fourth dimension" or the law of gravitation, or whether they are discussing a subject where their opinions would logically carry with them a reduction or increase of the value of their securities or the cost of their food, clothing, and shelter; whether a professor at a State university in England or Germany expresses views running counter to the financial policy of his sovereign, or with it.

The professor who rides the economic Pegasus is very often in the position of the boy at the exchange stable, whose father forgot to give him "the wink" when he ordered him to ride a certain horse which had just been brought in. The boy disobeyed the order, but, placed as he was, could not give a reason; he was ordered again, and again he disobeyed; whereupon the father administered a sound drubbing. When the father and son were alone the father's curiosity prompted him to ask the reason of his son's disobedience, when the latter replied: "Father, you did not tell me whether to ride the horse to buy or to sell." Substitute money for the horse, the Government for the father, the producer for the buyer, the capitalist for the seller, and the political economist for the boy, and the simile is nearly perfect. The economist rides either for capital or labor. Generally he rides for the side which pays most for the service.

In monarchical countries the government is of and with the capitalist; in constitutional monarchies the same; in republics it is supposed that the government is of and for the people at large; that its executive head is not only the supervisor of the economic processes comprising the life of the nation, but that he is likewise the umpire who shall see that these processes are equitably conducted, and who shall cancel, if necessary, by his veto power the results of an unfair "riding."

It is evident that to enable even the educated man to understand the question of the hour he must brush aside all the scholastic detritus which has been accumulating for ages and then confine himself to the study of a few broad, fundamental facts, and of human nature, which, in spite of all the mutations of civilization, remains much the same as it was at the dawn of history.

Much as we pride ourselves upon the difference between the genus homo and the remaining groups of animals, the instinctive basis upon which human actions depend is common to all, to-wit, the instinct of self-preservation and the instinct of race preservation. Of course, man has complicated the conditions of his existence to such a degree, his wants have become so numerous and his methods so involved, that it is difficult to discern this foundation, yet an analysis will show that all of these can be reduced to the very simple desires for food, clothing, shelter, and the increase of the species. These comprise the organic wants of man, and these are the wants which are the source of the impulse for individual proprietorship, the motive force of the poet and peasant, of capitalist and laborer, of kings and professors of political economy.

Every animal must supply itself with nourishment and many also require a shelter or hiding place. The food and the nest or den which it has found or made for itself is considered by the animal as its sole property. It feels that these things belong to it and will not submit to being deprived of them. A life that makes foresight and provision for the future a necessity leads to the extension of this feeling of proprietorship and the development of the impulse for the acquisition and increase of individual possessions. A beast of prey which lives upon fresh meat, fixes the limit of his proprietorship upon the total amount of fresh meat in existence, as the quantity which he requires for a single meal; but the animal which lives upon a vegetable diet in a region where there is winter and a cessation of vegetation helps himself from the common storehouse of nature to far more than is necessary for his immediate wants. In this way squirrels, marmots, etc., become capitalists and unscrupulous egotists. It is in the extension of these instincts in man that we must find the fundamental concepts of political economy, the rules for an orderly struggle for individual and racial existence.

Property existed before money. The squirrel, or prairie dog, or ant, or bee, which stores its food, need give none of it in exchange for any other necessity; nature furnishes its clothes, and it is so adapted to its environment that it needs no food of an artificial nature. Man in his primitive form required no exchange, hence no money. In my mind's eye, I can see man, when he reached a point where, having killed a cave bear and broken his club, he meets another of his species who has two clubs, but who has been unsuccessful in killing a bear. With the latter existed a superfluity of club and hunger and need for meat, while the former had a superfluity of meat and a necessity for a new club wherewith to obtain his future supplies. Could we but have a record of just what happened then and there, it would show the beginning of barter, which is the beginning of the necessity for money.

Let us follow our primitive man a little further. He already possessed in common with all other animals the two primary instincts of self-preservation and reproduction, and was subject likewise to the law of sexual selection by which alone the improvement of the species was possible. In common with other animals, and even flowers, reflected light and color were important factors to enhance the attractiveness of the sexes. Our primitive male and female ancestors used gaily colored feathers, vegetable and mineral pigments, stones, shells, and metals which reflected the light for purposes of ornament. Gold and silver, being metals found in virgin form, could not fail to play an extensive roll in barbaric æsthetics. These metals, being malleable and ductile, could be hammered or drawn into rings, disks, etc., to be worn on the arms or fingers or suspended from the ears or nose.

This use of metals for purposes of ornament no doubt long preceded their use as media of exchange. As man's wants increased and became more varied, the barter of commodities became more difficult, partly by reason of the want of coincidence in barter, *i. e.*, where the disposable possessions by two persons did not suit each other's wants; by the want of a measure of value, by which the length of a piece of rope could be measured in pounds of meat or numbers of eggs; by the want of the means of subdivision, by which for instance a garment could be exchanged for other necessities of less value.

At this juncture ornaments, which, on account of the universal passion for adornment, were always in demand, came in as a medium of exchange. The individual who, after satisfying his hunger and thirst, had a surplus of food and drink and did not for the time being wish more, was no doubt always ready to exchange these possessions into gold or silver rings or bracelets, which in case of need could again be converted into other commodities. Where the metals did not exist, wampum, amber, cowrie shells, certain colored beans, brilliant feathers, etc., were substituted and were extensively used as current media of exchange and measures of value.

Thus, then, commenced the natural history of money, and with the progress of social evolution the use of those articles which most perfectly fulfilled the requirements of money, to wit, gold and silver. Rings, bracelets, and spangles gave way to more convenient forms, at first bars and spikes, then by degrees to round discs, such as we use for coinage at the present day. Gold, being yellow, appealed more to the barbaric taste than silver, which was white. Had there been a scarlet metal of equal brilliancy and indestructibility that would, no doubt, have been in greater demand than gold. The rough, barbaric ratios between gold and silver represented, first, their choice of color; second, the permanency of luster, and, third, the relative abundance of the metals. These ratios varied according to the æsthetic taste and estimates of utility by various tribes, races, or nations.

In Japan, for instance, the rate was about 4 of silver to 1 of gold until about the middle of this century, while it averaged as much as 20 of silver to 1 of gold with some of the ancients. With the extension of intercourse and trade between the various peoples of the earth these ratios were equated, so that by the end of the last century the ratio stood at about 15 to 1, which represented the æsthetic ratio plus the added value which these metals obtained from their uses in technical and scientific processes, and their use as media of exchange in the meantime. About the year 1803 the French, always close observers and reasoners, convinced that the world would be benefitted by the establishment of a permanent ratio, crystallized the current ratio as they found it into a permanent and legal one of 15½ to 1, which was maintained for many decades in spite of the fact that England, at the instance of Lord Liverpool, in 1816, took unfair advantage of this great and most beneficent legislation for the solidarity of mankind.

Before our prehistoric ancestor reached the point where he selected a metal for a medium of exchange and measure of value, he had groped about many centuries. While in the hunting state he used skins and furs for currency; in the pastoral state, cattle; in the agricultural state, corn, etc.; and in the next phase of development, ornaments, and so on by degrees to our present currency. Prof. Stanley Jevons snows that oxen were exclusively used in Homeric times. The Latin name for money, "pecunia," is derived from "pecus," cattle. Our common expression for the payment of money, "fee," is nothing but the Anglo-Saxon "feoh," meaning alike money and cattle, a word cognate with the German "vieh," which still bears only the original meaning of cattle. Being counted by the "head," the kine were called "capitale," whence the economic term "capital," the law term "chattel," and our common English name "cattle."

From the Agamemnon of Æschylus we learn that the figure of an ox was the sign first impressed upon coins. Slaves were used in New Guinea as currency and as a measure and unit of value. In 1649, long after a metallic currency was used by the civilized world, the court of Massachusetts made wampum a legal tender, and as late as 1732 the Legislature of Maryland made tobacco and corn legal tenders.

Before passing to what might be called "monetary diplomacy," or what has been called the "battle of the standards," let us prepare the foundations for a proper understanding of what money is, and what its principal uses are. For this purpose I will use the following, drawn from the works of Jevons and others;

MONEY.

The qualities required of money are—

1. Utility and value.
2. Portability.
3. Indestructibility.
4. Homogeneity.
5. Divisibility.
6. Stability of value.
7. Cognizability.

1. UTILITY AND VALUE.

Since money must be exchanged for valuble goods it should itself possess value, and it must therefore have utility as the basis of value.

2. PORTABILITY.

The material of money must not only be valuable, but the value must be so related to the weight and bulk of the material that the money shall not be inconveniently heavy on the one hand nor too minute on the other.

3. INDESTRUCTIBILITY.

If it is to be passed about in trade and kept in reserve, money must not be subject to deterioration and loss.

4. HOMOGENEITY.

All portions or specimens of the substance used as money should be homogeneous; that is, of the same quality, so that equal weights should always have exactly the same value.

5. DIVISIBILITY.

The material of money should not only be capable of division, but the aggregate value of the mass after division should be exactly the same as before,

6. STABILITY OF VALUE.

Currency should not be subject to fluctuations in value; the ratios in which money exchanges for other commodities should be maintained as nearly as possible invariable on the average.

This would be a matter of comparatively little importance were money used only as a measure of value for the moment and as a medium of exchange. If all prices or values were altered in like proportion simultaneously with the variation of money values, no one would lose or gain; but money is employed as a standard of value for long contracts, and the purchase price of gold in weight, for instance, may vary greatly between the time the farmer borrows it and the time he goes into the market with his wheat to purchase it for repayment to the lender.

To illustrate this: Cash wheat sold in Chicago at 56 cents in the month of August, 1893, and the farmer who was obliged to buy money with wheat for the repayment of a loan had to give about twice the usual number of bushels to obtain it.

By a habit of thought with most people, they consider the dollar as a measure of value in the same sense as they regard a yardstick, a pound, or a gallon as measures of dimension, weight, or volume. As a matter of fact, to use the yardstick simile would only be proper in the sense that a draftsman uses his scale in the preparation of a map. It is well known that the paper upon which he draws his map expands and contracts according to the humidity in the atmosphere; consequently, if he were to use a wooden scale, or any scale the length of which does not vary with the expansion or contraction of the paper, the proportions in his map would vary from day to day, and, indeed, from hour to hour. To prevent this he uses a scale made of paper, which is lengthened or shortened in the same degree as the paper he works upon.

The smaller the volume of money in circulation is, the smaller are the

prices of all commodities. During the last six months the mass of money in circulation has shrunken very much; so have the values of all commodities and securities. This law is understood by but few, although felt by all.

The late J. S. Moore, known best under his *nom de plume* of the "Parsee Merchant," in speaking of gold as the measure of value, uses the yardstick simile. He says, comparing gold, the standard measure of values, with the yardstick, and the value of the commodities to be measured to a bolt of cloth, that if he were to measure a bolt of cloth one day and found it measured 50 yards, and measuring the same bolt of cloth the day after found it to be but 49 yards, the conclusion would naturally be that the cloth had shrunken two per cent: that it would be absurd to say that the yardstick had expanded. And yet that is exactly what happens with money as a measure of value. The measure of money is affected inversely as the mass of it in circulation.

7. COGNIZABILITY.

Money should be easily recognized by its color and its impressibility, namely, the capability of receiving such a stamp, impression, seal, or design as shall establish its character as current money of certain value.

THE FUNCTIONS OF MONEY.

As already shown, it is of the utmost importance to one who wishes to comprehend any discussion such as is now agitating Congress to discriminate carefully and constantly between the four functions which money fulfills. Money must serve—

1. AS A MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE.

In this form money is simply any commodity esteemed by all persons; any article of food, clothing, or ornament which any person will readily receive, and which, therefore, every person desires to have by him in greater or less quantity, in order that he may have the means of procuring the necessities of life at any time. By common consent we have selected gold and silver, the original value of which was based upon their use as ornaments.

2. AS A COMMON MEASURE OF VALUE.

Although many commodities may be capable of performing this function of a medium more or less perfectly, some one article will usually be selected as money, par excellence, by custom or the force of circumstances.

By common consent and custom the same material was selected to perform the second function as the first.

3. AS A STANDARD OF VALUE.

This third function of money soon developed itself, as commerce could not advance very far before people began to borrow and lend. Thence arose the convenience of borrowing and lending in one generally recognized standard or commodity, of which the value varied but little. This commodity was generally the current money, and thus became to perform the functions of a standard of value.

4. AS A STORE OF VALUE.

A substance was necessary into which a person could condense his other property, which was very valuable and of small bulk, the value of which would be recognized in any part of the world; a substance which could be hoarded and which could be easily transferred to a distant country. Current metallic money fulfills this condition better than anything else, although diamonds, plate, rare works of art, etc., are frequently used.

EXCHANGE.

Exchange has been called the barter of the superfluous for the necessary. It is clear that the exchange of commodities depends upon the obvious principle that each of our wants taken separately requires but a limited quantity of some article to produce satisfaction. Hence as each want becomes fully satiated we turn to the satisfaction of some other want, the whole being influenced by the desire for variety. The man who is supplied daily with three pounds of bread will not desire any more bread but he may have a strong inclination for beef, tea, or alcohol. If he meet with a person who has plenty of beef, but no bread, each will give that which is less desired for that which is more desired.

RATIO OF EXCHANGE.

Every act of exchange presents itself to us in the form of a ratio between two numbers. The word "value" is commonly used, and if at current rates 1 ton of copper exchanges for 10 tons of bar iron, it is usual to say that copper is ten times the value of iron, weight for weight. When we say that gold is more valuable than silver, we mean that, as commonly exchanged, the weight of the silver exceeds that of the gold given for it. If the value of gold rises compared with that of silver, then still more silver is given for the same quantity of gold. But value, like utility, is no intrinsic quality of a thing. It is an extrinsic accident or relation. We should never speak of the value of a thing at all without having in our minds the other thing with which it is valued. The very same substance may rise and fall in value at the same time.

[If in exchange for a given weight of gold I can get more silver but less copper than I used to do, the value of gold has risen with respect to silver, but fallen with respect to copper. It is evident that an intrinsic property of a thing can not both increase and decrease at the same moment. Therefore the value must be a mere relation or accident of a thing as regards the other things and the person needing them.

This is a most important factor to be kept in mind in estimating the relative virtues of gold or silver monometallism or bimetallism now being discussed to the exclusion of all other topics. The silver price of gold has risen enormously recently, and likewise the wheat price of gold. The wheat price of silver and the silver price of wheat, however, have kept much more closely together, which is a fact having a curious relation to the monetary question of the day.]

COINAGE.

Coins are ingots, the weight and fineness of which are certified by the integrity of the designs impressed upon the surface of the metal, the form of coins being simply for convenience. Coin is simply a commodity, the value of which is governed by the bullion value of the same metal in the open market.

LEGAL TENDER.

Coin becomes a legal tender when by legislation a creditor is obliged to receive it in requital of a debt. If a debtor tender to his creditor the amount of a debt due in legal-tender money and it be refused, the creditor may indeed apply or sue for it afterwards, but the cost of the action will be thrown upon him. A coin may be made full legal tender or legal tender for a limited amount.

THE STANDARD UNIT OF VALUE.

This must consist of a fixed quantity of some concrete substance, defined by reference to the unit of weight or space. The expression "standard unit of value" will almost inevitably be misunderstood as implying the existence of something of fixed value. Value merely expresses the essentially variable ratio in which two commodities exchange, so that there is no reason to suppose that any substance does for two days together retain the same value. All that a standard of value means is that some uniformly exchangeable substance is chosen, in the terms of which all ratios of exchange may be expressed or calculated without any regard whatever to the feelings or mental phenomena which the commodities produce in men. For reasons already stated, either gold or silver or copper has usually been considered most suitable for constituting the standard substance.

The absolute weight or magnitude of the unit of money is a matter of little or no importance, provided that all people agree upon the same unit, that it be permanently and exactly defined and afterwards adhered to. It is only requisite that every contract expressed in money shall enable us to ascertain exactly how much gold or silver is due from one person to another. Those who use coins in ordinary business need never inquire how much metal they contain. All we can say, then, is that the standard unit of value is some entirely arbitrary weight of the standard metal, the exact amount of which, being a matter of indifference on general grounds, should be fixed as seems most convenient in reference to the habits of nations or other accidental circumstances.

CURRENCY.

The unit of value need not necessarily be made into coin. All that is necessary is that the current coins shall be multiples of the unit or expressible in the terms thereof.

STANDARD COIN.

The standard coin is one of which the value in exchange depends solely upon the value of the material contained in it. The stamp serves as a mere indication and guarantee of the quantity of fine metal. We may treat such coins as bullion, melt them up, or export them to countries where they are not legally current, yet the value of the metal being independent of special legislation, will everywhere be recognized.

[NOTE.—If the same coinage were permanently, legally current in all countries, it would not matter what its commodity value was.]

TOKEN COINS.

These coins take their value from the fact that they can by force of law or custom be exchanged in a certain fixed arbitrary ratio for standard coins within certain limits. Token coins may have more or less bullion value and the difference between that value and the nominal value is necessary to keep them at all times within the country minting them, to facilitate the small daily exchanges of life, *i. e.*, for pocket money.

GRESHAM'S LAW.

Though the public do not generally discriminate between coins and coins, provided there is an apparent similarity, a small class of money-changers, bullion-dealers, bankers, and goldsmiths make it their business to be acquainted with such differences and know how to derive a profit from them. These are the people who frequently uncoin money, either by melting, it or by exporting it to countries, where it is sooner or later melted.

By far the greater part of the standard coinage is removed from circulation by people who know that they shall gain; for this purpose they cull out the new and heavy coins most recently issued from the Mint and pass the worn and garbled coins into circulation, or if the ratio of gold and silver in the coinage differs only 1 or 2 per cent from the commercial ratio, it becomes profitable to export one metal rather than the other, or to hoard that which has the greatest commercial or bullion value. This tendency has reached the importance of a general law, which was first clearly perceived by Sir Thomas Gresham three centuries ago, and was named in his honor by Mr. Macleod, a well-known writer on economics.

At first sight there seems to be something paradoxical in the fact that when beautiful new coins of full weight are issued from the mint the people still continue to circulate in preference the old worn and depreciated coins. Many well-intentioned efforts to reform the currency have failed by reason of the perplexities of statesmen who had not studied this principle of monetary science.

In all other matters everybody is led by self-interest to select the better and reject the worse, but in the case of money it would seem as if they paradoxically retained the worse and got rid of the better. The explanation is very simple. The people as a general rule do not reject the better, but pass from hand to hand indifferently the heavy and the light coins, because their only use for the coin is as a medium of exchange. Those who are going to melt the coin, as the maker of gold leaf and jewelry, or the exporter or the hoarder, are the ones who cull these coins, keeping for their purposes the heavier ones.

[NOTE.—With an international standard Gresham's law would cease to be a factor and not before.]

Having thus prepared the way, we can proceed to the consideration of the various monetary systems.

THE SINGLE LEGAL-TENDER SYSTEM.

This system was naturally adopted by the first coiners. Coins of one kind of metal, or even a single series of coins of uniform weight, were at first thought sufficient. Iron in small bars was the single legal tender in Lacedæmon; in China the sole measure of value and legal tender consists of brass "cash" or "sapeks," strung together in lots of a thousand each. In England up to the time of Edward III silver was the only metal coin, and in Russia during part of the last century copper was the sole legal tender.

THE MULTIPLE LEGAL-TENDER SYSTEM.

Out of the single legal tender naturally grew up systems of double or even multiple legal tender. The Plantagenet kings of England, for instance, finding that though they coined only silver, the people made use of gold, eventually began to use gold coins and fixed the rate at which they should be exchanged for silver coins.

THE COMPOSITE LEGAL-TENDER SYSTEM.

This is the remaining possible system in which coins of one metal are adopted as the standard of value and principal legal tender, and subordinate token coins of other metals are furnished for the purpose of subdivision, being recognized as legal tender for limited amounts. The value of these token coins now depends upon that of the standard coins for which they are legally exchangeable, and care is taken to make their weight such that their bullion value will always be less than their legal value. No profit can ever be made by melting such coins and removing them from the country, and their ratio of exchange with the principal coins is always a simple ratio fixed by law.

The composite system of currency comes into existence automatically, whenever coins of gold and silver are current at rates fixed by law or custom, but the silver coins become reduced by abrasion or clipping below the corresponding weight.

[It will be noticed that the law of Gresham depends for its operation principally upon the variations of the ratios between gold and silver in different countries, upon the variations of weight in the same country by abrasion or through reduction of weight, and upon the differences between the legal and bullion values of coins.]

Several principles governing money, which have been named, hold good only so long as different nations use different ratios and different standards of value. The entire subject of money is dependent upon the common consent of the people of a particular nation in relation thereto. The reason why the legal-tender acts of a particular nation do not hold good with individuals or governments outside of the nation making them, is on account of the absence of this common consent.

It is now proper to consider the arguments for the various standards. For this purpose I shall quote bodily from the work of S. Dana Horton, entitled Silver and Gold, published by Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, 1877; chapter 3, page 29:

THE ARGUMENT FOR THE GOLD STANDARD.

Money is a measure of value, and there can be but one standard measure of value, just as there is but one standard measure of length, weight, or space.

The superior value of gold, compared with the same bulk or weight of silver, gives to gold an even more than corresponding advantage in fitness for use as money.

1. It is more portable, giving great values with a minimum of weight, and hence is best adapted for facilitating international exchanges, as well as to be carried on the person.

2. It costs less to coin gold, and gold is in general less destructible than silver.

Again, its intrinsic qualities and its history guarantee to gold a permanence in value greater than that of silver.

This is shown by the fact that while the value of both metals has fallen greatly in the centuries that have elapsed since the discovery of America, yet silver has fallen more than gold. In Germany, for example, it was 1 to 10.50 in 1500; 1 to 16.25 in 1813.

The superiority of gold to silver in its general use in the arts secures to it a permanent demand, which guards against its depreciation; it would oust silver from use as it is, if it were not for its high price.

The cost of the production of gold remains permanent, while that of silver is progressively diminished by the invention of new processes.

The time will come when the only limit to the production of silver will be found in its extreme cheapness.

Gold can not fall without dragging silver with it. Silver, on the contrary, may fall without seriously affecting gold.

ANSWER FOR SILVER.

Gold can not be coined in values minute enough to be of use as change. There is no gold coin that can take the place in social economy which the five franc piece, the piaster, or dollar have occupied.

Freight charges for transportation of gold and silver are calculated on the value and not on the weight.

For deposit the difference in bulk and weight is of little moment.

The history of the precious metals shows wide variations which can not logically be charged to the inate variability of one factor alone. Among the Greeks, about 400 B. C., the relations stood 1 to 10; in Rome, in the time of Cæsar, 1 to 18; a few years ago in Japan it was 1 to 4.

In this century changes of price have been chiefly due to the causes affecting gold alone, viz: war demand andthe gold discoveries; or are due to demonetization of silver, which signifies also an abnormal demand for gold, and, properly speaking, is excluded from the argument on variability.

To quote the effect of demonetization to show the "variability of silver" is to repeat the child's puzzle of the man who, being accused of having killed a sheep, showed that the sheep was dead, and so asked how could he have killed it?

The question at issue in reference to silver or gold is: "Supposing that neither be demonetized for the benefit of the other, which metal will be likely to vary most in purchasing power?"

The cost of production of gold is largely a matter of luck in finding nuggets or placers, which are fields of small nuggets, and a series of discoveries may therefore, at any time, completely unsettle its value.

Its admitted excellence as money subjects gold to more sudden and general fluctuations of demand than are likely to affect silver. History supplies many instances of a specific "war demand" for gold as preferable to silver.

The gold standard necessitates a subsidiary coinage of silver tokens, and under this system the wages of labor are paid in debased money, the profits of capital in real money.

BIMETALLIC MONEY OR DOUBLE LEGAL TENDER WITH FIXED RATIO.

(The expression "double standard" and its substitutes the alternative, compound, or optional standard are purposely omitted as leading to confusion of thought.)

This system, in supplying full weight coins of every denomination, combines the substantial advantages of both the single gold and the single silver standard, and thus meets all the possible requirements of exchanges of the world.

Either metal being, to a considerable degree, available as a substitute for the other, the local fluctuations of supply and demand of either simply arouse the other to retore equilibrium, and hence this system secures a stability of value of money which is otherwise unattainable.

ANSWER BY THE SINGLE STANDARD PEOPLE.

It is essentially a "double standard."

It is an absurdity outside of the pale of economic science; it results simply in an alternation of "standards."

The measure called money can not be based upon two unequal units.

The double standard organizes disorder.

It exposes business to the fluctuations of two metals instead of one.

The debtor always pays in the cheaper metal, hence the creditor always loses.

The "double standard" is instituted for the benefit of bullion brokers, money changers, bankers, ("bonanza jobbers" also in this country), who reap the profit of the fluctuations of the price of the two metals.

Pretending to give two standard measures of value at the same time, it in reality confuses twodistinct measures, and shortly leads to a simple alternation of "standards;" now silver, now gold, according as gold rises or silver rises above the relation established between the two by law.

The double legal tender with proportion fixed by law and payment in either metal optional with the payor, is merely the transition stage from a crude and amorphous state of commerce to civilized dealing with an international money.

The true solution of the question of international money is the adoption by all nations of one standard of value, and that standard can only be gold.

The adoption of the gold standard reduces the friction of exchanges to the minimum, and introduces certainty and stability into the business of the world.

Gold has long been in practice the chief standard of the civilized nations, and its universal adoption by them is only a question of time.

REPLY BY BIMETALLISTS.

The history of modern commerce proves beneficent results from the use of double legal tender, which exclude the idea of there being any "absurdity" in it.

He who thinks it is outside the pale of economic science requires only a careful study of its history in order to learn what economic science really is.

The argument from metrology, as is shown by economists from Say to Roscher, has no place in the sciences of value.

The French system of weights and measures is based on the constancy of nature; on the belief that the circumference of the earth remains the same; that gravitation remains constant.

Value being a mere relation between commodities, which is determined by the ever variable desires of man, is incapable of producing a unit which can attain a constancy like that of nature and strip off its innate variability.

The adjustment of gold and silver under the double legal-tender system in such a way as to correct the fluctuations of either metal, is the best available approach to the desired steadiness of value of money.

As for the asserted loss of creditors and gain of debtors: if both metals rise unequally in value, as compared with other commodities, the creditor can not lose, nor does the debtor gain.

If both metals fall unequally in value, the so-called loss of the creditor is only a loss of anticipated profit; while to the debtor, to pay in the dearer metal would be positive loss.

But even in case of a direct fall of one, while the purchasing power of the other remains constant, it is erroneous to say that the creditor loses, for the contract is supposed to be an option, and so understood by both parties.

The profit of money-changers inures to the country whose metal is exported, and is but a small tax—and that, too, paid at home—for stability in the value of money.

The alleged "alternation of standards" does not often take place. Silver and gold remain legal tender, and are used as such; and where this alternation does take place, it is due to demonetization in other nations; and if all nations supported the double legal tender at one and the same ratio, it could not take place at all.

Both the doctrine of chances and the history of the production of the precious metals show that fluctuations in amount of the total annual product of both metals are a much smaller percentage upon the total stock than the percentage which is given by fluctuations of either metal compared with the total stock of that metal, even if we reënforce the stock of one by an additional tenth for subsidiary coins. * * *

The conviction is forced upon any thoughtful mind that the value of gold and silver is almost entirely due to a transmitted habit of thought. The original basis of value for gold and silver was their use for ornamental purposes. In the progress of civilization this use has decreased, until now the personal decorations of a century ago would be considered exceedingly vulgar.

Again, the employment of these metals for use as money has utterly outgrown the proportions which originally existed between gold and silver used as money and the same metals used for purely personal ornamentation, the latter use originally forming the basis for the valuation of the same metals employed as money. While originally the value of gold and silver consisted entirely of their use for ornaments, this now consists almost wholly of their use for money. At the present time the annual consumption of gold and silver for ornamental purposes is much less than 1 per cent of the total stock of gold in the world, and while the proportion is a little larger for silver, that is also exceedingly small. It is less than 30 per cent of the annual production of both of these metals. If gold and silver were both demonetized and their value readjusted to the demand for ornamental, technical, and scientific purposes, they would certainly fall more than 60 per cent. The reduction in the value of silver by successive demonetizations exemplifies this fully. Each fall in silver represents the percentage of value by which it was appreciated from time to time by its increased use as money. If it should finally be demonetized by all nations, its value would not be very much above that of copper.

This opens up an interesting vista of speculation as to the necessity of what is commonly, though erroneously, called the intrinsic value of a substance to be used for money. If the value of gold and silver was originally purely subjective, and if the present valuation is merely the survival, by hereditary transmission, of a form of thought, the very basis of which has even disappeared, then it would seem unquestionable that some other substance agreed upon universally as a medium of exchange would answer as well or better.

The value of gold and silver coin in the eyes of the hoarder, whether consciously or unconsciously, depends upon the theory that the source and cause of the original demand will continue to give it value until he again desires to exchange it for some commodity. If it can be shown that the only demand upon which the value of gold and silver has been based has largely ceased to exist, and that their valuation is already largely imaginary, then it becomes plain that if we use gold and silver at all for money it is a matter of utter indifference what the ratio may be between them, and that the ratio which most nearly corresponds to the average ratios of the minted coins of the world is the proper ratio to be reëstablished, if for no other reason than that it saves labor and the inconvenience of recoinage of a vast mass of metal.

In this era, when the only national boundaries are of a purely political nature, and when commercially all the peoples of the world form practically but a single community, it is, of course, patent that the media for a world's exchanges must be established by the world's consent; and furthermore, that this consent gives to money its value and establishes the ratios between the different materials composing it, regardless of the supposed intrinsic merits of the material employed; provided, of course, that the quantity so employed is always kept within the control of all the agreeing governments. Wampum not only served all the purposes of exchange and of a measure of value among the Indians of Massachusetts, but it was legalized by the early settlers, and within the limits of that community, for white and red alike, it answered the requirements until the inventive Yankee destroyed the utility of this currency by counterfeiting wampum. What we now need is some universal wampum, adopted by the laws of all the nations, and which shall be regulated by scientifically adjusted proportions to the commerce of all the world, and which can not be counterfeited; this may be of gold and silver or some other substance.

It appears that, in the first place, the quantity of money which is needed to conduct commerce must bear a certain proportion to the amount of business done; and, secondly, that, having arrived by approximation at the amount per capita necessary for this purpose it should thereafter not be changed, except by consent to cover the increased needs by the increase of population or to maintain the proportion between the mass of money and the work it has to do in the mechanism of exchange. It is certain that people having once formed a habit of thought, or established a custom by which the exchanges are conducted by means of a certain medium, that habit of thought becomes in course of time automatic, so that in the absence of that medium it seems impossible to do the same work by equally efficient methods. I have observed during the present crisis a number of instances

where the simplest and most direct operations of barter did not take place on account of the absence of the means usually employed. This is no doubt one of the underlying reasons why the theory that the value of money is in an inverse ratio to the mass in circulation is true.

If by reducing the mass of money in circulation, its power to purchase commodities can be raised, and there seems to be no doubt of this, then it becomes perfectly plain why that class which largely controls the money of the world should wish to limit the portion put in circulation.

That the mass of money in circulation must bear a certain proportion to the commerce done, regardless of the direct value of the medium of exchange itself, is clearly shown by every panic. It is estimated that the actual business of the world is done with from 5 to 7 per cent of actual money; the remainder being effected by individual or corporate paper evidences of confidence. Can a business system be called good in which from 93 to 95 per cent of the mechanical means for effecting the exchanges can be destroyed, either by the arbitrary will of a few or the emotional distrust of the creditor class?

In France, the thriftiest country on earth, a sufficient amount of the medium of exchange is kept in the woolen stockings of the people to make them independent of the 95 per cent of the "confidential medium" of which we so blindly boast in our country. The percentage of money which is withdrawn from circulation by the hoarding of the people during the periods of "no confidence" represents the percentage which the commerce of the nation should not count upon during periods of prosperity. The sum required to offset the deficit in the money circulation at this time, represents the smallest monetary and commercial factor of safety with which the business of this country should be conducted. An engineer who designs a bridge always adopts the widest possible factor of safety as a precaution against emergencies. Why should our legislative engineers, who design the financial bridge which is to carry the national traffic, always assume the narrowest factor, except for the reason that it is more profitable to the creditor element?

It is argued that it is inconvenient to have a larger per capita circulation. What if it is inconvenient for the people to carry a little more financial provender in their knapsacks than seems necessary in flush times, during which they can pick up what they may require by the wayside, provided it will save them from starvation in times of monetary famine? Any thoughtful observer of the times can not avoid the conclusion that it is the withdrawal of this fiduciary medium of exchange, which clogs the business of the country. It is not due to the sudden collapse of national prosperity nor to industrial decadence. Why should the power be left in the hands of a few, through an exaggerated credit system, which in itself is illogical, to withdraw the tokens, which from blind custom we have come to regard as the paramount instrumentality of commerce, by simply saying: "We have no confidence?" What confidence? None can answer who would and none will answer who can.

M. Rothschild need only whisper this sentence, and presto! the contraction commences, which squeezes the savings of a lifetime from the millions who have labored for them. Could this be done without constantly discouraging and preventing the masses from preparing themselves against such a process of constriction?

We are fond of pointing to England as having a less circulation even, per capita, than the United States. Is it wonderful, with the more perfect control of the governmental machinery in the possession of the English, that this should be so? Does not the distress of the productive classes in England sufficiently show that they have not enough per capita circulation? Does it not seem that the people of France, in spite of having paid a colossal war indemnity, are prosperous for the very reason that it has nearly twice the per capita circulation of the United States and nearly three times that of England?

The defects of a fiduciary currency, as against an abundant legal-tender money, are clearly brought out in the following clipping from the New York Evening Post of August 16, 1893;

"The Corry, Pa., Flyer of a recent issue said: 'Mr. ——, of West Chester, Pa., the well-known stock-buyer, is here and stranded for want of currency. He has a carload of cattle and a carload of sheep, and a New York draft for $2,000. But there is no way to split up the draft. The New York bank that issued the draft wired him this morning that they could not send the currency at present, although he paid currency for the draft.'"

(Also shown in the premiums on currency ranging as high as 7 per cent.)

This leads us to the consideration of the diplomatic side of the money question. We have already shown that having once agreed upon what money should be, the minor questions upon which economic writers love to dilate, such as the weight of the metal used, and other details, are really insignificant. It is the diplomatic and legislative tampering with standards and coinage which is at the bottom of the economic distress and misery from which the world periodically suffers.

To understand the question, let us go back for a moment to the fundamental basis of all economics—that is, the law of self-preservation and of race-preservation, out of which again grows the law of the survival of the fittest. We will never understand the question in any other way.

In the fierce and originally promiscuous struggle of comparatively evenly matched individuals, a point was finally reached where by selection a few persons acquired intellectual and physical qualities superior to those of the great majority. Naturally these became the leaders of the remainder, and finally resulted in the absolute subjection of the majority. As time progressed the power of the sword was augmented by the control which it was found could be exerted through the religious instinct, in itself an extension of the instinct of self-preservation. The cross was welded to the sword for a handle, and thus the power of the governing families was made permanent and hereditary. All this for the purpose of more effectually appropriating the labor of the multitude to the use and enjoyment of a small minority.

In the first instance religions were established for no other purpose than to serve as an auxiliary for the maintenance or the power of the ruling classes. The multitudes were made to believe not only that the potentates ruled by the grace of God, but were educated to think that it was a virtue to forego the individual possession of property, and in lieu thereof to accept the pleasures and riches of a post-mortem existence, where they would find everything they had been deprived of in this world, restored to them with compound interest. By the time the intelligence of the people had increased to a point where they no longer believed in this fiction, and when the knowledge of their power and the capacity for its organization had so developed that they no longer submitted to be ruled by the sword and cross, they found that the power of money and of organized and inherited wealth had been largely substituted. Thus at the present day monarchical governments are practically plutocratic, while constitutional monarchies and republics, although based upon the pretense of government by and for the people, are likewise plutocratic.

Using Bellamy's simile, the same class is found on the top of the coach, and only their nomenclature has been changed. It would be misleading and untrue to divide the world into two distinct classes, as capitalists and laborers, without adding the further qualification that individuals may now belong to the one and then to the other of them. Still, while the elements composing the classes change, the classes themselves do not, but continue to exist more or less sharply defined. The one class represents somewhere between 2 and 3 per cent of the world's population, while the other comprises the remainder.

The monetary struggle is first between these two classes within the same nation, and then between the two classes of any one nation collectively, as against the remainder of the world. If the governing classes of the world did not hesitate to maintain their advantage over the multitudes by the use of the sword and the cross, it would be folly to imagine that they would hesitate to use the no less effective agency of the money power to continue it; and indeed the financial history of the world is a succession of monetary manipulations for that purpose. It is useless to review these performances as a guide for the establishment of an ideal system of economics, in spite of the fact that our political economists and statisticians delight in using the tabulated results thereof as a basis for future monetary reforms.

It will be sufficient for our purposes to confine ourselves to the history of English finance during the present century, not for the purpose of learning how, but how not to legislate for the future. (See Horton's Gold and Silver.) About the close of the year 1810, after a period of almost uninterrupted wars on continental battlefields, during which England suspended specie payments and fluctuations in prices, vast issues of paper money and tremendous speculations disturbed its trade and finances; among the results of Waterloo was the necessity imposed upon Great Britain of abandoning inflation in its various forms and returning to coin and convertible notes. An enormous war debt of about £750,000,000 had been rolled up, the bonds representing this debt being held almost exclusively by British capitalists, principally of the nobility. During this time England enjoyed a double standard.

In connection with the movement for the resumption of specie payments in 1816, the first Earl of Liverpool addressed a letter to King George III, recommending the abolition of the silver standard and the establishment of a monometallic gold standard. The new system of coinage was introduced, the quality of being a "genuine pound sterling" was taken away from silver, and a new coin, the sovereign, of gold, was made the new pound sterling, the monetary unit and sole and unlimited legal tender. The purchase of gold was vigorously pushed. England increased its possessions between twenty-five and thirty millions pounds sterling, of which some twenty millions had to be obtained from foreign countries.

The effect of this policy of the financial magnates of Great Britain is shown in a memorandum to Parliament, in which it was stated: "This great supply of gold could only be purchased by the reduced price of commodities."

In a parliamentary debate in 1819 Ricardo himself said "they had no real interest in depreciating the currency; it would rather be to their interest to raise it to double its value; they were in the situation of creditors, not debtors, their whole capital being in money or in securities representing money." By "their" he of course meant the government, that is to say, the 2 per cent class.

In other words, the 2 per cent class proposed that the debt of the nation should be paid by the 98 per cent class in a currency which the 2 per cent class was willing to double in value by demonetizing silver. Mr. S. Dana Horton estimated that the average fall of prices for the principal commodities by the time gold had been substituted was about 23 per cent. Whatever the pretended reasons were which were offered at the time for this act, it increased the debt of the people at large to this 2 per cent class, by a change of standards, at one stroke, about £112,000,500, it does not require a very acute comprehension to discover the real reason which guided the secret counsels of King George and his ministry, but it might be well to remember in this connection that in the demonetization that metal was selected which was least abundant; likewise again drawing attention to the fact that the value of money is inversely as its mass.

If the increased demand for say twenty millions of pounds sterling in gold raised its value so considerably, and caused so enormous a depreciation in commodity values, at a time when the remainder of the world was on a silver basis, and before all but a very few understood the motive for this "move" of England's on the economic chessboard, it is certainly not a mystery that the prices of silver and commodities should have had the fearful depreciation which they did, following the monometallization of Germany and practically so of France and the Latin Union.

In a letter written by William Leighton Jordan, F. R. S., to the Prince of Wales, dated July 18, 1882, he calls the recommendation of Lord Liverpool to abolish the silver standard "a mistake." It is refreshing to see that his English patriotism was so strong that he believed that the most selfish class of the most rapacious nation on earth made a *coup de finance* by which it increased the value of its securities at one stroke £112,000,000 by a mere "oversight" or "mistake," especially when the remainder of the century, to this very day, has been filled with the clamor of the 98 per cent class for a rehabilitation of silver as a legal tender.

However, while the governing class of England is always ready to enrich itself at the expense of the nation, it is equally ready, as a whole, to have the nation enrich itself at the expense of the world, and in this way to make a partial *amende*.

If the establishment of a gold standard was a brilliant piece of parliamentary finesse for the 2 per cent class as against the 98 per cent class of England, it was likewise an advantage, while shifting the wealth of one class to the other within the nation, to use the same method for shifting the wealth of the world to England as a whole, and, indeed, this process has been very successfully carried out, as its statistics of trade and finance and its control of the world's money market clearly show. The almost uninterrupted success of the English financial policy for nearly a century, in its struggle with the balance of the world, is no more due to accident than was the success of its 2 per cent class as against the nation at large during the same period. England has been the stumbling block in every monetary conference convened for the purpose of establishing an international standard. Why? Because the advantage of its policy would be ended with the adoption of an equitable international policy, whether that be on a monometallic or bimetallic basis.

The maintenance of the "*status quo*" of the financial policies in all the other nations was necessary for the advantage of its own.

The following from Henri Cernuschi's "Monetary Diplomacy in 1878," page 21, is instructive:

"Who would believe it? England, who means to remain monometallist under any circumstances, implores the nations not to follow her example. Listen to Mr. Goschen (president in 1876 of the Parliamentary committee of inquiry into the fall of silver):

"'It is clear that one or two States may demonetize silver without this involving very serious consequences, but if all did so where find buyers? How avoid an unlimited fall? It is here that all States are interested in the value of silver. If the demonetization of silver were carried out everywhere at once, is it certain that the quantity of gold in circulation would suffice for the needs of circulation? Would there not be reason to fear on the one hand a fall in silver and another in the augmentation of the value of gold and a corresponding fall in the price of all merchandise? And, moreover, would it not be more difficult for paper-money countries to return to the metallic circulation if the single gold standard were everywhere adopted? They would be obliged to have recourse to the already much diminished supply of gold to resume specie payments. There are many consequences to

consider before entering on the path of the universal gold standard, which is a Utopia altogether visionary.'

"Mr. Goschen, turning from the general interest, spoke also of the English interest:

"'A campaign undertaken against silver would be very dangerous, even for the countries which have only made gold legal currency. England, for example, although she has the single gold standard, has a great interest in maintaining silver as a monetary metal. Our monetary system rests, and will continue to rest, upon the single gold standard; but India, which is one of her dependencies, has the single silver standard. For five years everybody in India has been suffering, private individuals as well as functionaries. All have been undergoing enormous losses on the exchange and the government also. England has given proof of good faith in the silver question by the patience with which she has resolved to wait until it recovers its value.'

"In July, 1876, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce addressed a petition to the viceroy, tending to the prohibition or limitation of the coinage of the rupee. The government replied February 9, 1877, rejecting the petition on the ground that it could not be done without opening the Indian mints to the free coinage of gold."

Why not open the Indian mints to the free coinage of gold? Because it would force the English to send large quantities of gold to India to pay their commercial balances, always considerably on the debit side, and this could not be done without snatching from the Bank of England twenty or twenty-five millions of gold sovereigns annually, which are the monetary palladium of the realm.

The motives of nations are the aggregate of the motives of the individuals composing them. In gaining control of India, England did so to advance her own interests. Of course she has a delicate and precarious undertaking on hand to control 250,000,000 of foreign subjects. She can only do it by preventing through the most adroit statecraft the organization or unification of this vast population. As recent events show, India, seeing that the United States was likely to be lost as the safety valve for silver, did the exact thing which the Bengal Chamber of Commerce petitioned the viceroy to do in July, 1876.

Until Germany demonetized silver in 1873 the world was about equally balanced between gold and silver money, and France for nearly a century could afford to and did act as the clearing house between gold and silver countries at a ratio of 1 to 15½. For nearly a century the par was preserved, what fluctuations there were being the equivalent of freight and transportation charges on the metal. This is shown in the following table taken from Ernest J. F. Seyd's Bimetallism in 1886, page 17:

Average for five years.	Gold, per cent weight.	Silver, per cent weight.	Year.	Highest.	Lowest.	Average, Dr. Soetbeer.
			1851	61 5/8	60	61
			1852	61 1/2	59 5/8	60 1/8
1851 to 1855 *a*	18.2	81.8	1853	62 3/8	60 3/8	61 1/8
			1854	61 7/8	60 1/4	61 1/4
			1855	61 5/8	60	61 1/16
			1856	62 1/4	60 1/8	61 1/16
			1857	62 3/8	61	61 1/4
1856 to 1860 *b*	18.5	81.5	1858	61 7/8	60 3/8	61 1/16
			1859	62 3/8	61 3/8	62 1/16
			1860	62 3/8	61 1/2	61 15/16
			1861	61 1/2	60 1/4	60 13/16
			1862	62 1/4	61	61 1/16
1861 to 1865 *c*	14.4	85.6	1863	61 3/4	61	61 3/8
			1864	62 1/4	60 3/8	61 3/8
			1865	61 7/8	60 1/4	61 1/16
			1866	62 1/4	60 3/8	61 1/4
			1867	61 1/2	50 7/16	61 1/16
1866 to 1870	12.5	87.5	1868	61 1/2	60 1/8	60 15/16
			1869	61	60	60 1/16
			1870	62	60 1/4	60 9/16
			1871	60 3/4	60 1/16	60 1/16
			1872	61 1/4	59 1/2	60 5/16
1871 to 1875 *d*	8.0	92.0	1873	59 13/16	57 1/4	59 1/16
			1874	59 1/4	57 1/4	58 5/16
			1875	57 1/8	55 1/4	56 1/16
			1876	58 1/4	46 1/2	52 3/16
			1877	58 1/2	53 1/2	54 13/16
1876 *e* to 1880	6.6	93.4	1878	55 1/2	49 1/2	52 3/16
			1879	53 3/4	48 1/2	51 1/2
			1880	52 3/4	51 1/8	52 1/4
For the year—						
1881	5.7	94.3	.....	52 1/16	50 1/8	51 1/16
1882	5.0	95.0	.....	52 7/16	50	51 1/8
1883	4.7	95.3	.....	52 7/16	50	50 3/16
1884	4.7	95.3	.....	51 1/8	50 1/16	50 1/8
1885	4.2	95.8	.....	50	46 1/4	48 1/8
Aug. 11, 1893 *f*	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	34

a Discoveries of gold in California and Australia.
b Period during which the largest amount of gold was produced.
c Gold production falling off.
d Demonetization by Germany.
e Panic in silver in July and quick recovery.
f Limitation of silver coinage in India.

(I have not the time to obtain the statistics from 1885 to date, but give the present price of silver, August, 1893.)

Germany, after the collection of the enormous war tax from France, felt itself in a position to follow the example of England. She had to sell a vast quantity of silver, of course, but there was France through which to clear that metal. So thought M. Soetbeer, Germany's great authority. To quote Henri Cernuschi:

"M. Soetbeer does not ask for monometallism to become general. He is anxious that France and the United States should issue bimetallic money. But we wished to hear from M. Soetbeer himself, and so we paid him a visit two years ago at Göttingen. Germany had calculated, he told us, that the coinage of silver would remain free at Paris, and that she could then get all her silver coined into 5-franc pieces, then exchange the silver francs for gold francs, and lastly mint the gold francs into marks. The demonetization thus effected would have cost little or nothing—but behold! France coins no more silver. It is treachery! he exclaimed. Germany, however, is pledged; she will shrink from no sacrifices."

At the monetary conference of 1867 all Europeans and Americans pronounced for gold monometallism. At the conference of 1875 bimetallism had but one opponent with whom it was necessary to reckon—England. In 1878 England demanded, indeed, that her internal monometallism should be spared, but she unceasingly condemned the monometallist propaganda going on abroad. The result of the monetary conference of 1892, at Brussels, was that England maintained its status of 1878.

It is safe to say that England, in spite of the fact that the present extent of the demonetization of silver is an unmixed evil for the world at large, will insist upon maintaining the policy under which she has been shifting the wealth of the world to her coffers, so long as any considerable portion of the world uses silver or a double standard. She now controls the finances of the world by reason of a policy adapted to such a situation, and until that situation becomes much worse for her than it is, by further demonetization on the part of other nations, she will continue that policy; and why not? The survival of nations and of races is but the extension of the law of the survival of the fittest as applied to individuals. If by superior monetary adroitness the 2 per cent class of England has taken advantage of its 98 per cent class, why should not England as a whole, holding about the same relation to the family of nations, sustain the same advantage by superior monetary diplomacy with the remainder of the world, so long as the world will stand it?

Enormous standing armies are established to maintain national life. National life is of paramount interest to maintain the various 2 per cent classes governing each nation. Why should England, having maintained its advantage, give up its greatest auxiliary engine—its exchange—which has a wider range even than its cannon, without a struggle.

The monetary diplomacy of money which rules the economic field, like the diplomacy of politics or religion, is understood by but a few of the ablest and shrewdest heads in the world. The high priests of ancient Egypt did not envelop their "cult" with more secrecy and mystery than do these diplomats of finance, and the information which is given out by them is only the pretended, never the real essence of their work. It has never seemed likely to me that financial crises are accidental, for the reason that the monetary policies of the ruling governments are always formulated by men who have achieved distinction for their consummate adroitness and ability to adapt the means to the ends of their particular policies.

The present panic, it is true, seems to affect both rich and poor, but I am satisfied that the priesthood, this inner arcanum, composed of emperors, kings, prime ministers, and a few others, does not take the ordinary capitalist into its counsels; it has its degrees, however, like Freemasonry. The methods by which they absorb wealth do not operate directly or exclusively upon the masses. Comparing the 98 per cent class to the producers of the economic honey; the 2 per cent class to the sponge which absorbs it, it is the high priests who squeeze from the sponge the absorbed wealth into their coffers.

Someone compares crises to the piston strokes of a vast diplomatic machine, which pumps the savings of the multitude into special reservoirs.

The position of England in this great financial contest can be best understood by one who has tried to organize a "pool" or "trust" in commodities. The one who can succeed in staying out has a vast advantage, provided he is well equipped for the struggle in his particular line, for he dominates all the others who combine.

We have had during the last year reams of paper printed with the views of persons of various economic schools, representing that many different interests. We have had the opinions of bankers, of silver men, of gold bugs, of socialists, and of representatives of labor organizations. Each have contributed their full share. As a general thing, if the writers had simply made an honest admission of their real occupation and interests, I could have written their articles for them. I have yet to see an article from a nonpartisan man or from an honest philosopher; and, indeed, there are but few who understand the subject beyond the pressure of their immediate interests.

We have the capitalist, who knows that his securities are depreciated; the manufacturer, whose "plant" lies idle; the banker, whose deposits have run down; the farmer, whose grain is being dumped at ruinous prices upon an apathetic market; the silver miner, whose metal in spite of a forced purchaser is depreciating from day to day; the legislator, whose main object is to "size up" the number of his constituents composing one faction or the other, and then to orate for the biggest crowd; and lastly the professional economist and statistician, these "Prophets of the Past," who range themselves with their own interests or those of their supporters—each class careless of the interests of the remainder, intent only upon benefiting itself and leaving the devil to take the hindmost. To quote the views and theories of each of these, or to hope to equate their tenets with a doctrine which shall be equally just to all, would be useless.

Yet, if all these parties only understood their own interests they could safely unite upon the kind of legislation needed at this moment; that is, for Congress to undo all its monetary legislation since 1878, for the reason that all this legislation has been passed with the object of correcting a monetary situation, which up to the present time is absolutely outside the jurisdiction of the United States, to wit, in London.

If we were a closed country, as Japan was in the first half of the present century, without commercial relations outside of our territorial limits, we could, like that Empire, establish and maintain even so eccentric a ratio as 1 to 4, or 1 to 20, or any other ratio upon which we could all agree.

We could pass any other monetary laws, and, if they were equitable, they would stand so long as they served their purpose. For that matter, if we were but honest and unselfish, we could establish a bimetallic standard of our own at a ratio of 1 to 16, or 1 to 20, and use our gold for foreign commerce while the cheaper metal served for home consumption; but the moment gold became more valuable than silver even the silver miner would not resist the temptation to hide it away, and thus again put the law of Gresham into operation. After all, we would all of us have to believe or agree that 16 ounces of silver were worth 1 of gold, in addition to saying so, before a domestic double standard fixed at that ratio could be a success.

COST OF PRODUCTION.

A great deal has been said about the cost of production influencing the value of metallic money. It certainly does when the metal is not a legal tender, but not at all when it is. An aërolite of solid gold, weighing, say a thousand pounds, would have its value stamped upon it before it reached the earth. There is no doubt that legislation largely creates the value of the metallic money, which again establishes the value of the metals composing it for scientific, technical, and other purposes. The moment its value is established by legislation it ceases to come under the operation of the law of supply and demand, but, of course, always and only within the limits bounded by the common consent, which limit becomes universal only by universal consent.

The basis of the value of gold and silver for monetary purposes is really the faith that the primary cause of the demand and proportions to supply, which originally gave to these metals their value, not only continues to exist, but is permanent, at least permanent enough to enable us to exchange them for the necessities of life within the space of individual existence. The only explanation for the continued existence of this belief is that the world, with the exception of a few, is ignorant of the philosophical kernel of the subject, and hence the original conception has been transmitted from generation to

generation unchanged as a habit of thought, which has indeed become almost as automatic as an instinct.

Essentially gold and silver money does not maintain its value for any other good reason, except that it will permanently exchange hereafter into the commodities which are exchanged for it now. Critically considered, the value of the present mass of gold and silver, if measured by the present demand exclusive of its monetary uses, is largely imaginary. Even considering their technical and scientific uses, both of these metals are overvalued about 60 per cent. Practically considered, 60 per cent of the value of gold and silver exists purely by reason of its service as a mechanical means for effecting exchanges between commodities of real value.

If this instinctive imaginary estimate of the worth of the precious metals be destroyed by the object lessons of demonetization, in relation to silver, the attempt to maintain it in relation to gold by restricting the metallic money mass to that metal alone will be found useless eventually. In the meantime it is attempted by throwing the demand for a medium of exchange (which is one function only) from gold and silver upon gold alone, to compensate the loss of its commodity worth. Noting the intellectual progress of the people in other directions, the high priests of finance foresee the time when the world will understand this condition, and to protect their interests in advance a maneuver is resorted to which will make silver bear the real depreciation of both metals. England hopes to avoid this loss by maintaining silver as money in other countries, so that when the work of realization of the true worth of the metals is completed the resulting loss will fall upon other countries in proportion to their stock of silver. This is the reason why England does not wish to be the creditor of a silver country whose finances she can not control.

I have been asked what difference it would make if the mass of metallic money was reduced from gold and silver jointly to gold alone, even if that shrinkage was one-half. Then the farmer would receive 50 cents per bushel instead of a dollar for his wheat, and that 50 cents, having twice the purchasing power of the same sum under a double standard and double volume of money, would answer exactly the same purposes. Laying aside the doubling of existing fortunes, let anyone figure out the results for a farm of, say, 160 acres, producing 25 bushels per acre, and mortgaged for ten years at $10,000, with interest at 10 per cent per annum. Then let him increase the purchasing power of money in yearly stages of 10 per cent, or what is the same, reduce the price of his wheat in stages of 10 per cent, from year to year, and the kernel of the theory will rapidly reveal itself. Aside from this, the reason already given that the mechanism of exchange is itself interfered with, to the detriment of general prosperity, when the money in circulation is out of proportion to the commerce done by its means, holds good.

The annual production of gold in 1853 was more than four times, and the average product from 1852 to 1876 was three times that of 1846, and yet the relative volume of the metals was disturbed by only insignificant percentages. The present production of silver, while large, would not be excessive if it were not that the production was continued in the face of its demonetization by nearly the entire commercial world, otherwise the probable increase of production would scarcely offset the loss by abrasion and the added needs by the increase of the world's population.

It has already been shown that the cost of production is not an important element, considered in connection with an international ratio; but even taking the other ground, it can, I think, be fairly shown that while a few mines are very profitable at even the present commodity price of silver, yet all the mines, good, bad, and indifferent, have swallowed up more value than has ever come out of them. The same is true of gold mining. If it were not for the large speculative element in mining no one would care to go into it. To show that the very men who complain of the silver-miner's profitable business do not really believe what they say, it is only necessary to offer to sell them either a silver or gold mine. No matter how brilliant the promises are, it will always be found that the capitalist will consider the great risk of failure as an offset and will rarely invest. For this reason capital will cease to flow into mining ventures the moment this very large speculative profit disappears.

In this respect mining is very much like a lottery; for your ticket you may draw the capital prize, but the chances are diluted by the total number of tickets in the "drawing."

Reverting to the position of England; the rules governing the financial question are very much like the rules which control the game of whist. It does not matter what the intrinsic merits of the rules are, so long as they all play by the same rules. No matter how superior the arguments may be for the exceptional rule by which one of the party persists in playing, he will promptly be invited out of the game.

Undoubtedly, as sometimes happens in mining camps, a bully may be big enough and brutal enough to compel the other players to continue the game while he is playing by his own rules. Of course, the persuasion would have to be augmented by a good-sized revolver. The bully, however, would cease to take any interest in the game after all the remaining players had either adopted his rules or lost their money; his advantage would be gone in either case.

England occupies precisely the position of the bully; she has been powerful enough and adroit enough to compel the world to play with her by unequal rules. She said, in effect: All you other nations play with silver counters, or with silver and gold counters jointly; I shall play with gold ones alone; at the end of the game I will "cash in" my counters at such rates in yours as I please, and exchange them into the commodities you own, at such ratios as may suit me best; and in the mean time I will regulate the rate of exchange from London.

While England has been playing this game for nearly a century with the millions of the earth, misleading the minds of mankind meanwhile with works on economics written at Oxford, there has nevertheless been a considerable degree of education going on. When Germany became unified, and strengthened herself at the expense of France, she insisted upon "standing in" with England, and did "stand in" on the sole "yellow chip" basis. Then France, getting tired of its own philanthropy, said: While we will play with double-standard nations with double-standard counters, we will play with single-standard nations only with yellow ones. As long as there is an important country left which will play with England by unequal rules she will persist. The moment she ceases to be able to convert her yellow counters into white ones and make the others take them in exchange for commodities at prices of her own "fixing," and at rates of exchange of her own making, her rules will become useless and she will be ready to drop them.

In the case of this country the game had somehow gotten a little awry. We suddenly changed the rules in 1890, and England, on the supposition that we might be strong enough to turn the tables and beat her by her own rules, became frightened, and ever since then has been withdrawing from our securities. The result we have seen during the last year.

What are we going to do about it? Manifestly the only thing to do is to "stand in" with England's game, play the international game of commerce by her rules, become a competitor for the world's gold, join the other nations which preceded us, and all be on a gold basis. Of course, like a trust or pool which desires to bring a fractious concern within the "ring," we must make England lose.

We are strong enough to do it with the help at our disposal; we will have to "sell down" our commodities in order to buy gold; we will have to suffer, of course, and the 98 per cent class, as usual, will have to do the suffering in all of the countries interested in the international "pool." It may be that the 98 per cent class at some time will realize its position and exert its vast power. The moment this happens all the governments will be forced to an equitable code of monetary rules, from within. The United States must demonetize silver in order to remonetize it. Of course, there is a hope that England will not let silver drop to near the price of copper before it is reinvested with its legislative value. It would be dangerous to furnish an object lesson to the world at large concerning the purely subjective value of gold and silver coin. The transmitted habit of thought of regarding it as intrinsically valuable once broken, would be difficult to reëstablish. England, which has stood out at every monetary conference, must plead for international bimetallism before it will be established.

Pending this, to make the silver dollar unlimited legal tender at an arbitrary par, would cause our gold to leave our shores by the operation of the law of Gresham; to make it unlimited legal tender, without an arbitrary par, would bring us, under the operation of the same law, within our boundaries; in either case we would soon be on a single silver basis. To increase the ratio now would make it difficult to return to an international standard, which would have to be 1 to 15½ or at most 1 to 16, to conform to the approximate ratio of the minted coin of the world. our coinage at say 1 to 20 would be overvalued, with the existence of any probable international ratio, and be exported or hoarded, leaving us on a single gold basis.

Free coinage without a forced par with gold, even at a ratio of 1 to 20, would be below the commodity ratio, and subject it to Gresham's law, with a forced par at a ratio of 1 to 20 it would be worse than a limited coinage, with compulsory purchases at a ratio of 1 to 16 as at present. A standard with variable ratios would not be adapted to "time contracts," and as a pure medium of exchange the changeability of ratios would serve no purpose. In short, the only serviceable legislation which can be done for silver is to increase the legal-tender limits of the silver dollar, to leave it for the present to serve its functions as a token coin, these limits to be within the danger limit where it would drive out gold.

To provide relief for the people is by furnishing temporarily a medium of exchange independent of gold or silver; the way for this has been pointed out by the expedient used recently by banks, by their system of clearing-house certificates, by increasing the uncovered paper circulation temporarily, or by a very considerably increased issue of Government bonds. As already stated, the only way to give to silver its lost prestige is by an international agreement, which will fix its status for all ages, and, together with gold, form an almost invariable measure of value regardless of production. Universal consent will establish universally the value of silver; its fluctuation now merely represents the various defaults in this consent. If silver had fallen only by the dissent of the United States, its consent only would suffice to restore it to its value, but anything we may do will not suffice to balance the dissent of other nations. Metallic money is not a national but always an international thing, because no amount of patriotism will make people forget their individual interests, at least in money matters; they would never consent to hoard a dollar, as a dollar, which was worth only 50 cents in London.

PAUL F. MOHR.

Mr. McKEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I shall not attempt to conceal my disappointment caused by the message of the President. However patriotic in his motives, his recommendations point to the conclusion that the platform upon which he was elected is an interesting document, not on account of what it sought to reveal of the intentions of his party, but for that that it sought to conceal.

That the situation is grave enough to warrant this special session of Congress, no one denies. Productive industry lies prostrate from the strangulation of administrative monometallism; enforced idleness has filled the land with men and women that are asking us for an opportunity to earn their bread; shall we "give them a stone?"

This is no time to scold or criminate, no time to mete out to political parties the share of blame belonging to each of them. Sir, in this discussion Pilate and Herod have been made friends on this floor, and the political Judas has shown no disposition to go out and hang himself. But there is a to-morrow for political parties in this country, a to-morrow that will bring condemnation and death to any political party that turns a deaf ear to the just demands of our people.

There is a God that rules over the destinies of men and nations; a God that is not deaf to the earnest appeal of his humble poor; a God who will see to it that the desire of the people of this great nation shall "not fail," but shall come to bloom and fruit not alone for those who dwell in a brown-stone front, but, sir, for those whose dwelling place may be in the log cabins among the mountains or in the sod-built homes of the Western settlers.

My Democratic friends, it is to you that the people of the country appeal for protection against the encroachments of organized wealth as a political power that to-day threatens the subversion of our Government. Our people have been taught to rely on their inherent sovereignty as the only true basis of human government, and they are not willing that power and dominion should have any other foundation. To your care they have intrusted this country for the term of four years. I warn you that if, flushed with you great victory, you forget that you are and ought to be the servants of the people to crystallize their wishes into law, they will forget you, and in that day when you will again ask their continued support they will judge you by your works and approve or condemn you as you deserve.

Mr. Speaker, I am indisposed to trespass upon the patience of the House by any extended argument for a bimetallic constitution of money. I am content for my own part with the presentation made on this floor in my speech of March 23 last year.

I have read with diligence, have listened with eager attention to single standard discussions and to those who hold that action without European coöperation would be disastrous, and have been unable to discover any feint, even, of attempt at an answer of our arguments or denial of our facts—hardly any appearance of their comprehending the first principles of monetary science from the standpoint of statesmanship.

Nowhere in their deliverances can be found any propositions of elementary doctrines or guiding principles, except the wishes and interest of foreign creditors and that we should have stability in the value of our money.

The first of these desiderata simply reflects the selfish interest of security-holders. The second, while perfectly sound, pertinent, and elementary doctrine, is rendered utterly empty by the idiotic assumption that stability of gold is proven and shown by the fact that 25.8 grains of it, which under compulsion of the law the Mint certifies into a dollar by gratuitous coinage, has the same value in bullion as in coin.

Is it the infatuation of bigotry, of selfishness and stupidity, or is it sheer hypocrisy, that these gentlemen do not understand that this much-vaunted "parity" of coined with uncoined metal is purely legislative, and will accrue to any metal to which the statute would give freedom of coinage?

Consider a moment the emptiness of this logic, 25.8 grains of gold by coinage becomes the instrument by which gold is priced. Under such legal conditions, gold can have no other than the mint price, and that is pricing gold by itself. A pound of putty or a peck of beans can be shown to be constant in value if measured by itself.

But the crowning logic of lunacy is reached by the claim that since that piece of gold was worth 100 cents last year and the year before, "and is still worth exactly 100 cents," therefore no change has taken place in its value in the meantime. It would be difficult to find a more palpable piece of nonsense than that.

If pig iron were fashioned gratuitously into cook stoves there would be parity of value between a stove and the iron in it, and there would be constancy in the value of iron estimated in stoves. But such necessary relations would be useless as a guide to the larger question as to whether iron and stoves together had not greatly changed in value as estimated in something that was not iron. Nowhere is the imbecility of our adversaries more conspicuous than in this notion that the alleged stability of a money metal can be demonstrated by comparison to a money unit, constituted by law, upon itself.

In our advocacy we emphasize this feature of stability and constancy in the value of the unit of money and make it the Gibraltar of our defence of silver. We go further, and explain exactly what constancy of value is, and deduce proof of such constancy in silver, and nobody tries to controvert our definition or our demonstration. What respectable writer denies the over and over proven fact that gold and all money at a level with gold will buy 50 to 60 per cent more than it would prior to 1873? They tell us, "Oh, yes; gold will buy more, but the value change is in products," on account of improved processes of production.

Industrial development has been more rapid in British India the last twenty years than anywhere else in the world, but prices have not changed there. These gentlemen are ignorant of the nature of value, and do not know what a value change in money is, and they confuse their thinking by the notion that value is something intrinsic, and that gold is the only thing that does not change in value—because their case falls to the ground without the support of that absurd dogma.

The question "What is the rate at which goods swap for money?" constitutes the heart and sinew of this whole subject. It is prices, prices, and forever prices. The value of money is constant when prices are stable. This proposition is fundamental, and is as vital and central to a sound and tenable theory of money as it is the one determining force of success in business, of the beneficence of commerce, and equity in time contracts. Any constitution of money under which a protracted fall of prices year after year is possible is a vicious one, though all the money-mongers of the world grow hoarse in calling it the "best money."

Not in the countinghouse, not among money-changers, not in loan agencies, can be learned whether money is behaving well, is serving beneficially or injuriously in its high office. Not there can you study the dynamics of value. It is at those collisions of contending interest known as the "higgling of the market," where money exchanges with products under the all-powerful dominance of supply and demand, *i. e.*, the quantity of things for sale playing against the quantity of money obtainable for their purchase, where the value of money as well as the value of goods is determined. The final outcome of those infinitely varying conditions and estimations of men is exactly registered in price; and the same market report which records a change in the general price range indicates as well the precise change in the value of money.

It is error, gross and misleading error, to suppose that stability in the value of money can be anything else than stability of prices, or that there is any other mode of finding its variation than to learn the change in prices. It is betrayal of incompetence for this whole discussion not to understand that a confession of a one-third fall in prices is confession of an appreciation or rise in the value of money of 50 per cent; that those two confessions state one single incontrovertible fact. Yet current utterances defending the dogma of gold infallibility are but verbose revelations of that fatal imbecility.

To those who have given a systematic study to this subject, the theories propounded by financiers and officials as to the causes of recent economic phenomena is a standing amazement. Since the famous discussion between the wolf and the lamb, there has not been foisted upon a credulous people a more bald imposture than this pretense that the present fall of prices is due to the Sherman silver-purchase act, nor ever an apter illustration of the wolfish animus than this distortion of plain facts to justify a predetermined slaughter of innocence. A popular apprehension of the precipitation of all our money down to a "debased silver standard" drove money into hiding and broke down all prices just as much, no more, no less, than the drinking by the lamb down in the valley polluted the water in the wolf's mountain home.

Remember that every kind of paper money afloat (excepting a few gold certificates), including Government bonds, are by law redeemable in silver coin. It is perfectly clear, therefore, that if the country were apprehensive that our money was about to be debased by resort to silver for redemption, hoarding of money is precisely what people would not do. They would unload it rapidly, as we used to do in wild-cat days, lest our money became depreciated on our hands. There is no discoverable discrimination in the hoarding as to the different kinds of money. This is perfect refutation of that theory of causes, if these bigots were accessible to reason.

If men really believed money was going to depreciate, they would hasten to buy property with it and realize in the rise of prices which depreciated money would compel. Those wiseacres who prate about "intrinsic value" of the material of which money is made might learn that not the material of which it is made, but the difficulty of getting it after it is made—demand and supply, control the value of money as of all other things.

If I am asked for a diagnosis of the stringency, my answer is, monometallism. The act of 1873 in an evil hour gave us a single standard and the panic of 1873, other conditions conspiring to the same end. The Bland act broke the integrity of the policy of 1873 and gave us a crippled bimetallism. The act of 1890 was a still longer step toward the double standard, both in what it did and what it promised. But the single standard was all these years doing its deadly work in lowering prices, and held the western world in a state of strain as to its money supply.

But the finishing stroke was dealt when it was given out that the Government regarded silver as debased and unfit to offer in redemption of any of our paper. Such a policy in effect converted all our paper, yes, and even silver coins as well, into the rank of a secondary money, money that must be "made as good as gold" by redemption in it upon presentation. This placed the whole burden of redemption upon the slender basis of the gold reserve, instead of employing silver in that office as the law contemplated and the business interest of the country expected. This was noticed by the Administration, that the volume of money must shrink, and all prices must fall to conform to such a policy.

I aver that the panic and the business prostration (assuming that policy as a factor) was not groundless and artificial as many suppose. At its basis was a perfectly sound business instinct that under such conditions prices must fall and the volume of money shrink, and a stopping of silver purchases must intensify the stringency.

It is the weak platitude of unclear and empty thinking this talk of "want of confidence" being the source of our trouble, when no hint is given as to confidence, in what? As well say it is only fear that makes a man rush out of a burning building. It is indeed want of confidence, but that want is born of a want of money and a plentiful lack of confidence in prices—in other words, a well grounded assurance that property can not be converted into money except at prices that will bring ruin to business which under ordinary conditions would be perfectly sound.

Prices, prices, I repeat, is what is the matter. Insistence by these gentlemen "upon best money" is simply a crusade against fair prices, and that prices shall forever become lower. To arrest that lowering of prices is to "depreciate" our money, and that is a very wicked thing, you know. Great Britain does not

want that. These creditors want dollars that are "worth 100 cents." Well, our decimal notation as taught in our school books will make sure that dollars will still be worth 100 cents, quite regardless of how they are constituted. Our anxiety is as to how much products go to make a "dollar's worth."

We say that a dollar worth 3 bushels of wheat in Nebraska, 5 pounds of wool in Ohio, 100 pounds of steel rail in Pittsburg, 15 pounds of cotton in New Orleans, 4 gallons of turpentine in North Carolina, 1½ ounces of silver in Denver, etc., is an extortionate and iniquitous dollar, and if that has come about by legislation, then that is wicked legislation, which our prostrate industries cry aloud for the repeal of. That all these financial evils have come upon us by the legislation of 1873 is plain enough. Had the spontaneous and rapidly increasing flow of silver to the Mint for coinage into standard money not met that interdict of February 14, 1873, we should have resumed in silver and our dollar of account could never have risen above the commercial value of 371¼ grains of silver. Refusal to repeal that act is complicity in the guilt of the actions of that great wrong. The enforced beggary of hundreds of thousands of brave hearts and strong arms cries aloud for repeal.

That continuing wrong must be redressed. As God lives, it shall be redressed. It is in the air; the stones of the field are in league with us; time is the great champion of our cause; the conscience and rapidly growing intelligence of a stricken people is becoming enlisted; the resolute purpose of the bravest and most enterprising portion of this proudest nation on earth will not be balked by chicane and subterfuge already planning to circumvent us by a new ratio, by which the weight of our silver dollar shall be increased so as to make it "honest" as gold is "honest."

It is proposed by pretended and weak-kneed bimetallists that this sacred landmark be now quite removed, and by increase of the weight of silver coins to rivet forever upon us the deadly iniquity contrived in 1873. That unrighteous thing shall never get my vote, even though this Congress shall, as the alternative, stop silver coinage and purchase entirely. There will be a Congress after this one to which the people can appeal. I will not be a party to a scheme which will inject for all time a new meaning into that great word "dollar," which measures billions of obligations, past and to come.

I will allow no man to go farther than I do in reverence for the power and authority of the American Congress. I maintain that under the stress of a great emergency it may override or annul all contract obligations; but where the exigency is simply the clamoring greed of great creditors, I boldly challenge the right under high heaven for Congress to make that thing dollar a different thing from what it has always been, and make it retroactive.

Can it be possible that honorable gentlemen understand what this means? Consider; I beg of you to consider what it is you are proposing to do.

The silver dollar was no invention of the Revolutionary fathers. They found it here, fully intrenched as the instrument of valuation by immemorial custom, by deep-down habit, conscious and subconscious, as the norm of all value estimation. Consult all our legislation up to 1873; consult your dictionary; remember the Stanley Matthews resolutions, and the Bland law reinstating as definition what the law of 1873 tried to destroy. Bear in mind that this habit of valuation by silver is as old as history, and covers the whole globe and embraces to-day three-fourths of the people of the world as their exclusive pricing tool; remember that every great money word and unit was, and still is, at bottom silver, and that the value and office of gold is derivative—always was (with only slight and very modern exceptions) a subordinate money.

There is a quite tenable theory that a money unit is a definite coin, and when it suits the interest of great creditors they uplift holy hands at the sacrilege of lessening the weight of standard coin. Remember, also, that upon the other theory of a money unit, viz, that it is incumbent on Congress to maintain our money at some traditional and customary value or purchasing power, the silver dollar is by that test, too, a sacred thing. Remember, especially, that, as has been over and over again proven, the value of 371¼ grains of silver is still, as uncoined metal, true to the traditional dollar value, equitable to all the past and more likely to remain stable than gold.

To use the vicious terminology of our opponents, if free coinage will convert a "60-cent dollar into 100 cents, then it will make 60-cent wheat dollar wheat, and 6-cent cotton 10-cent cotton, and other things in the same proportion." I know it will be said such a change will be only nominal and fictitious. If it is a fiction to restore wheat, reduced by legislation to 60 cents, back to $1, every wheat-grower will rise up and bless the fiction. The money definitions of England and the prices made in their money in Liverpool is real and sincere, but our money and the prices made in it is false and fictitious. Out upon such treasonable and contemptible toadyism!

With free coinage, silver will be worth $1.29 an ounce all over the world as priced in United States money, and such money will go in Europe at the same value that it goes at here—will go at "100 cents to the dollar" as measured by itself, the favorite way of measuring gold, and can, like gold, be melted up in London without loss to the satisfaction of those who account that of supreme importance.

If a silver standard discourages credits into investments it will be an added benefit, the chief one being improved prices to our great staples come to stay.

No competent authority has ever tried to show that prices made in silver can go too high for industrial health. On the contrary, Mr. Robert Giffen, a frantic monometallist, argues against the enlarged use of silver by England upon the express ground that such use would only temporarily check the fall of prices inevitably under any metallic constitution of money.

But, it will be asked, how about parity?

Before considering that branch of the subject, I must enter my protest against this false emphasis and studious ignoring of the paramount consideration in the legal constitution of the money standard. The conveniences of exchange brokers should cut but a small figure in this matter. The bugaboo of a gold premium continually held up by foreign loan agents frightens some people out of their wits, and they can not recover their composure for a calm consideration of the really vital points.

The beneficence of the double standard does not depend upon a parity of coins. It consists in equality, if legal privilege be granted to both metals in the constitution of primary or standard money, leaving their market relation to automatic adjustment under such legal conditions. Its beneficence arises from the guaranty of constancy through the years in the purchasing power of money, which is thus at liberty to temporarily retire from the valuing office the metal that should tend to rise unduly in value.

Parity, of course, as now maintained, is a spurious bimetallism; as well our present system quadro-metallism, upon the ground that our copper and nickel tokens are at par with the standard. The Treasury administration is out and out single gold standard; but the pretense that the metallic parity policy declared in the act of 1890 is warrant for such administration is a palpable subterfuge. It is treating a statute of the United States as politicians treat their party platforms, and it is incumbent upon us with all due respect to a coördinate branch of the Government to caution the Executive against such Wall street interpretations of the laws of the country.

If some one would only deign to give us a coherent and reasonable statement of just how a gold premium would harm any honest vocation, any useful industry, or wealth-producing activity, I might abate some of my zeal in this advocacy. But over and over have we begged for an explicit and definite explanation of how any harm can come of it, only to be put off by the claim that the dollars constituted, if freely coined in silver, would not be "intrinsically" worth 100 cents, and as a result of that some nebulous, vague calamity and dishonor would come of it, because we would be out of harmony with England. All which means, so far as it means anything, that creditors would lose by it, and the business of local agents be discouraged.

I repeat, if even the least harm would come to any meritorious interest in this country from a gold premium there would be occasion to open again and loss account and strike a balance; for I frankly confess that while many matters in this general subject are capable of some construction as absolute as mathematics, I am unable to frame a demonstration that such a premium could not possibly in any event accrue any more than I can prove that silver would not gain to a premium over gold.

The data for such a request are, first, the quantities of the metals, respectively, that would be offered for certification into money, and, second, to what extent would the volume be expended by credit currency. If this second factor would be kept within reasonable limits, there is, to my mind, what we call a moral certainty, a high probability against it, quite sufficient for practical guidance, assuming that a premium would be a serious harm. Silver can not come in such disproportion as to countervail the force of this country's legislation to hold the metals to our legal ratio.

The solicitude of some people lest we shall not have gold to pay adverse foreign balances, in so far as it is not hypocritical, is a puerile and ludicrous anxiety. When the importer finds it difficult to meet his sterling bills, my advice to him would be, better stop buying abroad. A money that brings good prices come to stay is better for this country than so-called "best money," regardless of the relation it may have to foreign money.

I am convinced that the present high purchasing power of

gold is sinister, stilted, and artificial, and is sustained by sheer force of this international gold combine, which it is easily in the power of this country to break, to the great relief of the debtor and industrial classes of the entire world. That is where the shoe pinches. It is not a gold premium in the sense pretended which the great creditors dread. It is the loss of the virtual premium they now enjoy in the artificially manipulated increase in the purchasing power of money.

Let us test the sincerity of their pretenses that the legal and the commercial ratio must stand together in order to the proper working of the bimetallic principle, and that such parity can be maintained only by conformity to the "natural" one of about 20 to 1; that, then, you can maintain in concurrent circulation both coins at their bullion value. I suggest, to that end, that we make the double-eagle weigh 412½ against instead of 516 of standard gold. I do this not at all as a bluff; I do it in the most solemn sincerity as the only decent mode of manufacturing a new ratio.

There is no sanctity or prescriptive right in perpetuity of the relation of $4.86 to the pound sterling, nor can there be any objection in law, in equity, or in public policy in making the gold dollar weigh 20.612 grains of standard gold, so that $6 would go to the pound sterling; at least there could not be, provided the change be made not retroactively. Let there be the most scrupulous regard for contract obligations. Let such contracts be construed upon that theory of money which is most to the interest of creditors, and so let the lightened coins have a paying power of but 80 cents on gold contracts outstanding at the date of the change.

When 6 per cent was abstracted from our gold coins, carrying the ratio of 15 down to 16.1 the fathers (to their honor be it spoken), with a punctilious regard to all rights, gave the new coins a less paying power on old contract.

I can not find the decorous words that will adequately express my reprehension of the reckless immorality, the wanton disregard of high and most sacred equities in this proposal of increase of the weight of our standard coin, so easily assented to by pliant and week-kneed bimetallists. There is no precedent in all history for such an iniquity.

In the Middle Ages when spendthrift monarchs defended against the rapacity of creditors and a diminishing money volume, the English shilling which was at first one-twentieth of a pound, troy weight, became by successive debasements so reduced as that a pound was made into 66 shillings. Yet the great writers tell us that such a process of lessening the weight of coins was wholly beneficent to society in partially staying the downward tendency of prices.

I can not bring myself to believe that honorable gentlemen in this august Council Chamber have duly considered the ethics of the legislation they propose. Have not our people suffered enough from this "best money" legislation? When shall the end be of our concessions to creditor dictation? I caution you, gentlemen, as I have before on this floor in discussing this subject, against traveling further on that dangerous road.

I am moved in this appeal to an earnestness that comes from a higher source than the wishes and special interests of my own constituents, dear as they are to me. You are sowing the wind, and it will return to you in cyclones of wrath. Do you not see what a precedent you are setting us by using your power to increase the size of the instrument which measures and defines the effective meaning of all commercial contracts in the world, and that in the interest of creditors? It will go hard if our people, when they come into power, do not improve upon your instruction and legislate such attenuated import into that great word dollar as will make those heaven-kissing mountains of credit wealth shrivel and waste away like an ice palace before a southern sun, and history with a sigh of pity will record its verdict of approval. [Loud applause.]

Mr. DOOLITTLE withholds his remarks for revision. [See Appendix.]

Mr. HULICK. Mr. Speaker, until yesterday it was not my intention to engage in the discussion of the issue that is now brought before this extra session of Congress. Having listened, however, during this debate with intense interest, I had hoped that I could come to a conclusion that would be satisfactory to my mind when I should be called upon next Monday to cast my vote. But I regret to say, Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of this House, that I doubt whether the result of the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law will be what the people of this country hope for.

This discussion, so long continued, does credit to this House and to the gentlemen who have engaged in it. It has proven a revelation to our people that will give them new ideas, new thoughts, new inspirations, and will educate them to better understand the financial system not only of our own country but that of foreign nations as well.

I can not, at this stage of the discussion, at this late hour of the night, and within the limited time allotted me, enter into a consideration at length of the questions of "facts, figures, ratios, and rates," and of the principles that should govern in the settlement and solution of the great questions of finance that are agitating the minds of the American people, and which are exciting an intense interest throughout the civilized world. Nor will I give data or quote from tables of finance. They have been furnished by those more skilled and better versed in finance, and are published to the country in the reports of the proceedings of this House.

If, now, at this late hour I were satisfied that, when the vote shall be taken, the result and the effect would be what the President hopes it may be, what the people of this country without reference to their party affiliations hope it will be; if I could be satisfied that, when the vote repealing the Sherman law shall be published to the world, the machinery now idle will be started, the unnumbered thousands who are now out of employment will be given labor; that the banks will open their doors to their depositors and invite them to come and get their money and their business accommodations; if thereby confidence in the Government will be restored and the terrible forebodings of the unemployed shall be changed to hope, then can we go home and feel that this extra session of Congress has not been called in vain. I fear, however, that such will not be the result.

When that law shall be repealed, as I have no doubt it will be, what then? The President has called this extra session to repeal that law, but has suggested no substitute, and no other remedy for the evil times that are upon us; why, we can not tell. It will be for Congress, in its wisdom, to determine, unaided by any suggestion of the Chief Executive, to provide a remedy.

The radical difference of opinions and contrariety of sentiment expressed upon the floor of this House by the party that will control legislation for the next two years gives little hope for satisfactory results. And why? Mr. Speaker, I, in common with very many of my countrymen, do not believe the Sherman law is the primary cause of the panic that now prevails so alarmingly in this country. I do not think the President thought so when he was elected in November last. He certainly did not think so when he was inaugurated, else he would have said something about it in his inaugural address, and would have called the attention of the country to the threatening cloud of distress that was fast settling down upon this country.

During the Presidential campaign the people were warned by the Republicans of the danger of placing in power a party with the record the Democracy had made and the threatening pledges in their platform concerning the repeal of the "robber tariff," as they designated it. In the great State of Ohio, protection to American industries was the all-absorbing issue. In the Sixth district of Ohio the Sherman law was not mentioned in the press or on the stump during that campaign.

Our people were not disturbed about the money they had in their pockets, whether it was gold, silver, or greenbacks. The great question uppermost in their thoughts was how to honestly make money, how to keep that money good, how to keep it on a parity in its purchasing power, and with which of the two great political parties, the Republican or Democratic, should be intrusted the administration of this great nation; with which of these two organizations we should intrust the welfare of the poor and the rights of the rich; with the interest of the miners of the West and the rights of the manufacturers and bankers of the East; with the interest of the corn and wheat growers of the North and those of the cotton-growers of the South; and above all, with which of these two parties should be intrusted the pensions of our noble, brave, worthy, and never-to-be-forgotten soldiers, who saved our country from defeat and ruin. These, and not the Sherman law, were discussed. Nine-tenths of the people did not know that such a law was on the statute book and the other tenth who did know had no fears about it.

The Democracy had declared in the Chicago platform, that—

We denounce the Republican protection as a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. And further, that the Federal Government had no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties.

Every Democratic newspaper and every Democratic stump orator emphasized these assertions and made their party followers believe that they were being robbed by a fraudulent and unconstitutional tariff law, that was the "culminating atrocity of class legislation." They made their appeals to the poor working people, exciting their prejudices, and promised them "its repeal as one of the beneficent results that would follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic party."

They further declared that—

Since the McKinley tariff went into operation there have been ten reductions of the wages of laboring men to one increase. We deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since that tariff went into operation.

And at the very hour when that platform was written the country was never before in so prosperous a condition, and had been since the enactment of the McKinley law and so continued until the first Tuesday of November, in the year of our Lord 1892, closed with the election of Grover Cleveland as President, and placing in full power in this Government the Democratic party.

Then, and not till then, did confidence give way to distrust. From that hour came forebodings of disaster; business men began to take on a serious look; they started later and walked slower to their places of business. Thoughtful men everywhere began to seriously examine the record of the party that was so soon, ah, Mr. Speaker, too soon, to enter upon the administration of this Government. They began with Sumter and followed it to Appomattox. They reviewed it from 1861 to 1892; they sought in vain among the statutes of our land for any law that party had ever enacted, or any measure it had ever advocated for the good of our country. They found nothing but ante-election platforms, that opposed every measure for putting down the rebellion, or furnishing money to prosecute the war, and to pay the soldiers their pensions, and, last of all, when the principles and pledges upon which that party came into power was considered, distrust took the place of confidence, and for the first time in thirty years did the business men of this country realize the perilous situation in which the business interests of this country were placed. The shadows of a Democratic Administration were beginning to fall upon the people, and they became nervous; failures followed failures; banks were suspended; men who were rich to-day were paupers to-morrow; distrust on every hand.

Still, there were those who had faith to believe that all was not lost. "The wish was father to the thought." No one seemed more hopeful than President Harrison, who had given this country one of the very best administrations on record—clean, honest, free from all scandal, dignified, statesmanlike, and for which "future generations will rise up and call him blessed." In his message to the last Congress, in December, he says:

In submitting my annual message to Congress, I have great satisfaction in being able to say that the general conditions affecting the commercial and industrial interests of the United States are in the highest degree favorable. A comparison of the existing conditions with those of the most favored period in the history of the country will, I believe, show that so high a degree of prosperity and so general a diffusion of the comforts of life were never before enjoyed by our people.

* * * * * * * *

There never has been a time in our history when work was so abundant or when wages were as high, whether measured by the currency in which they are paid or by their power to supply the necessaries and comforts of life. * * * And this brief exhibit of the growth and prosperity of the country will give us a level from which to note the increase or decadence that new legislative policies may bring to us. There is no reason why the national influence, power, and prosperity should not observe the same rates of increase that have characterized the past thirty years. We carry the great impulse and increase of these years into the future. There is no reason why in many lines of production we should not surpass all other nations as we have already done in some. There are no near frontiers to our possible development. Retrogression would be a crime.

Such was the condition of our country under Republican administration of protection to American labor and encouragement to American industries. The great force of these utterances consists, not in the fact that they were made by the President of the United States, but because they were true as Holy Writ.

In his message to Congress on the 8th day of August Mr. Cleveland confirms what ex-President Harrison said. Mr. Speaker, I will read what he says:

Our unfortunate financial plight is not the result of untoward events, nor of conditions related to our natural resources, nor is it traceable to any of the afflictions which frequently check national growth and prosperity.

With plenteous crops, with abundant promise of remunerative production and manufacture, with unusual invitation to safe investment, and with satisfactory assurance to business enterprise, suddenly financial distrust and fear have sprung up on every side.

Mr. Speaker, what caused this financial distrust and fear to "suddenly spring up on every side?" It could not have been the "robber tariff," for Mr. Cleveland says there was "unusual invitation to safe investment," and with satisfactory assurance to business enterprise." The President, however, unwittingly, in his message, gives the cause:

It may be true—

Says he—

that the embarrassments from which the business of the country is suffering arise as much from evils apprehended as from those actually existing.

I ask gentlemen on the other side of the House, whether there were not in fact just grounds existing for apprehension and distrust? A party that never before had full power intrusted to them—that party had asked "a change of Administration and a change of party, in order that there might be a change of system and a change of methods."

Mr. Speaker, the change did come, and, Oh, my countrymen, what a change! From prosperity to adversity, from riches to poverty, from remunerative wages to starving penury, from employment to idleness, from happiness to misery, from enterprise in business to stagnation in every industry, from the humming spindle to the silent engine, from investments in saving societies by the laborer to wrecked banks and disappointed depositors, from the cheerful (unbegrudging) allowance of well-earned pensions to a mean, despicable scheme to rob the old soldiers of their just dues. Ah, yes, a change had come, from a want of confidence in the Democratic party, "from evils apprehended."

The so-called Sherman law had been in force about two years and a half under a Republican Administration and no panic occurred. Evils were not then apprehended. The Republican party had a proud history, and patriotic leaders in whom the people had confidence. What brought on the panic was the fear the people had that the Democratic party would do what they said they would do if they were placed in power—that they would repeal the McKinley tariff and inaugurate free trade.

Mr. Speaker, while I do not believe the Sherman law was the primary cause of the panic, not withstanding, I will vote for its repeal, for two reasons: First, because the people have been led to believe that it is responsible for the business disturbance, and its repeal will, to some extent, tend to restore confidence; and, secondly, I am not in favor of the Government being compelled to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver every month at a loss to the Government of millions of dollars annually.

Now, the people of this country are satisfied with the money they have. The people of my district and of my State are in a position to do equal and exact justice to all sections of our country in the settlement of these troubles that are upon us. They have no prejudices against, nor special favors for, any industry in any section of the country. They are ready to do exact and equal justice to the miner of the West and to the banker and manufacturer of the East.

They want to see that the farmers of the North shall be protected alike with the cotton-growers of the South. They have no disposition to do otherwise. My constituency are equally interested in the prosperity of all the varied industries of our whole country, and favor those laws and policies that will result in the greatest good to the greatest number; and especially are they wedded to the principles of protection to American labor, American skill, American genius, American enterprise, and to the best interests of the American people.

Mr. Speaker, my constituency are not so much disturbed about the money they have in their pockets as they are about how they can honestly by their labor and skill make more.

I hold in my hand a silver dollar that has the United States stamp upon it. I hold in my hand a paper promise that a dollar shall be given the holder for it. I also hold in my hand a coin that I offered to the barber this morning to get shaved, and he said, "No," shaking his head, "I do not want it." And why did he refuse it? Simply because that coin was used eighteen hundred years ago, and, while it bears the stamp of the government that issued it and was the coin of that time, it is worthless to-day because there is no government behind it to redeem it.

The Roman Empire has long since passed away, and that coin which has been carried for twenty-five years as a pocket piece is valueless. On the one side it has the impression of the palm leaf, on the other the burning incense that was intended to carry the thoughts of the holder to Heaven as an indication that he would trust in that money and the Government that issued it.

I hold in my hand a silver dollar issued by this Government, the intrinsic value of which to-day is about 55 cents. But the Government stamp is upon it, which declares it to be "one dollar." And then, as if this were not sufficient security to the holder, the further inscription is added, "In God we trust." When the people have money indorsed by the United States Government, with all its vast resources, developed and undeveloped, "a Nation whose God is the Lord," whose administration is republican, and Ben Harrison its President, then it is the people have implicit confidence in its money and finance, and peace, prosperity, and happiness reign supreme. [Applause.]

No legislation should be had that will demonetize silver; on the other hand, there should be no special legislation in its behalf at the expense of the Government, or to the detriment of other industries. The product of the mines, until it is coined into money, should be regarded in legislation like the product of every other industry in the land; and because silver is used, out of which the Government coins money, is no reason why the silver mine owner, or the workers in them, should have special legislation in their behalf.

They should be placed on equal footing with the owners and workers in the lead mines and other similar industries. Nevertheless, such legislation should be favored that will encourage and foster our silver industry consistent with the general good of the whole people.

In other words, the value of silver should not be artificially enhanced by special legislation and the Government compelled to purchase and store it away in the vaults of the Treasury.

Nor is it to the interest of the country to coin silver bullion into dollars of less intrinsic value than a gold dollar. Bimetallism is what our country needs; my constituents believe in it, the people of Ohio believe in it; they have become wedded to both gold and silver. The Republican platform on which Governor McKinley is a candidate for reëlection declares for it and demands that the currency shall consist of gold, silver, and paper, all of the same purchasing power on a parity with each other. The great majority of the business men of this country believe in this doctrine.

The business interests of this country do not require that the volume of circulating medium be decreased by having gold drive silver out of circulation, nor by having silver drive gold out of circulation, but they do demand both to circulate on an equality which will give every producer for his products and to every workman for his labor a full, sound dollar, whether it be gold, silver, or paper.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it is decreed that silver shall remain as part of our currency. If you will only insure the people sound, honest currency they will be satisfied.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. MEIKLEJOHN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Ohio be extended for five minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. HULICK. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman and the House for this courtesy. I will promise not to trespass over the time suggested by my friend.

Mr. Speaker, what should this Congress now and here do in the premises? The answer is plain: repeal the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law and put an end to the purchase of silver bullion at an annual loss of millions to the Government, a theory that can not be supported by reason, or defended in practice. The law ought to be repealed (in fact it should never have been enacted) for another reason: the people think it is the cause of all these hard times, and the imaginary is as oppressive as the real cause.

As I was passing out of this Capitol building the other day, a lady nervously asked me "if the Sherman law had been repealed." "No, not yet," I answered. "Well," she said, "I am sorry for that. I don't know what in the world we are all going to do if something ain't done very soon."

Before I left home an Irishman said, "Well, Jedge, when will Congress mate?" "On next Monday at 12 o'clock, Pat." "Well," said he, "do you think they will repale the Sherman law?" I answered I did not know. The Democrats are in control and no telling what they will do. "And, sure," he continued, "I have b en out of work for two months and do you think they will repale it by Saturday night so I can go to work on Monday morning, sure?"

Now, Pat and that nervous little woman are representatives of tens of thousands of just such as they, and nothing will satisfy them but the repeal of that terrible Sherman law. And many actually believe that Senator JOHN SHERMAN was instrumental alone in the passage of that law, and he alone is responsible for all these troublous times. One year ago that same Irishman believed he was being oppressed by the "robber tariff." These are the "apprehended dangers" of which President Cleveland speaks in his message.

To the extent that these fears will be removed, the repeal of this law will do good. And this, with the stopping of the purchase of silver bullion, will justify such action on the part of this Congress.

These may be and doubtless are to a large degree imaginary evils, nevertheless they are as if they were real to the people.

Mr. Speaker, we have all heard of the college students who played a joke on the professor. One student met him, asked him how he felt. "Oh," says he, "I never felt better in my life." The student told him that he looked very pale. Another met him and said, "Why, professor, what is the matter; you look pale; are you sick?" "Well," he said, "I don't feel very well, but I guess there is nothing serious." Another met him and said, "Why, professor, what in the world is the matter; you certainly are sick." "Well," replied the professor, "I am very sick, I don't think I can live long without I get better. Will you send for the doctor while I go home and go to bed." The doctor, who was in the secret, was sent for. With a long face and wise look he felt of the patient's pulse, looked at his tongue, took the condition of respiration, sounded his lungs, and tested his heart, then put hot bricks to his feet, ice bags to his head, mustard plasters on his chest, and gave him a dose of flour pills, with the doctor's benediction upon the remedies. Next morning the professor was fully restored to his normal condition. [Laughter.]

If the repeal of the Sherman law will do as much to restore the people to their normal condition the remedy is worth trying. It is really more of a faith cure than anything else. But, Mr. Speaker, is the repeal of this law all that is to be done now? The President has asked only that. But will the party that is responsible for the legislation in this body think that nothing more is demanded? I address myself to the other side of the House, and say that you can not shift the responsibility.

This side of the Chamber will assist you in all wise measures looking to the restoration of confidence on the part of the people that in the judgment of the Republican minority will accomplish that end. These are questions that "rise above the plane of party politics," as the President says in his message. The Democratic party that elected him will have to heed this injunction and rise above their politics and their party before the people will have confidence in what they do.

A gentleman on the other side asks "What would the Republican party do if it were in power?" I answer, Mr. Speaker, that it would only do as Moses was commanded when he was leading the children of Israel out of bondage. "Stand still and see the glory of the Lord." The Republican party, if it were in power, would have to do nothing. The history and achievements of the Republican party are "known and read of all men." Out of rebellion it brought forth peace, out of chaos it established order, from the curse of slavery it converted four million bondsmen into freemen; out of almost irretrievable bankruptcy and ruin it established one of the best systems of finance known to the nations of the world, from a "wild-cat" currency it gave us the "greenback" currency. Place this party in power in this Government, and distrust and doubt and fear will give way to faith and hope and confidnce, [applause.] And now, with only eight months of Democratic rule, the people of this country are sighing for the good old Republican times, when peace and plenty and happiness reigned. "When the righteous rule the people rejoice; when the wicked reign the people mourn" is as true now as the day Solomon wrote it.

But, Mr. Speaker, I must not digress; one word and I have done.

Let Congress provide for the appointment of a monetary commission. Let it be composed of the very best financial talent to be found in our country, nonpartisan and nonsectional. Let every commercial, agricultural, mechanical, manufacturing, and mining interest of our whole country be represented by men of broad minds and liberal views as to the needs of our people, with favors for none but blessings for all. Let them be authorized to sit during the recess of Congress. Let them take testimony and perfect a financial system that will establish a just and fair ratio between gold and silver, that will meet the demands of commerce and trade, that will develop our mines, and at the same time inspire the people with confidence. Let this commission report to the regular session the results of its deliberations. Congress can then be enabled to intelligently enact such laws as will give stability to our currency, encouragement to financial enterprise and industrial pursuits, and establish a monetary system that will at once command the confidence of our people and challenge the admiration of the world. [Applause.]

Mr. WANGER. Mr. Speaker, keenly appreciating the terrible crisis upon the country and need of effort to lessen so far as we may the distress everywhere prevailing, I am for the passage of the pending bill and the abandonment by the Government of the policy of purchasing silver bullion.

Not that I believe that policy or any provision of the so-called Sherman act are chiefly responsible for the existing panic. The silver-purchasing policy was entered upon in the enactment of the Bland-Allison act, which had the votes of nearly all the then Democratic Senators and members of this House, in 1878, and the Sherman act went into effect July 14, 1890; so that the crisis is too far remote from the legislation to be justly chargeable thereto without most ample proof.

The objects of the Sherman act were most beneficent. They were to give the country a more stable currency than the Bland act provided, afford a market for the entire American silver product, and thereby to steadily appreciate the value of silver until it would be restored commercially to the legal ratio of 16 to 1 with gold. For a brief period it seemed as if these objects were to be attained; but it soon developed that the effect upon the commercial value of silver was injurious, and that metal declined. Yet there was no disturbance of the business of the country, and two and a half years after the passage of the law we were amid improving conditions, apparently on the pathway towards enlarged industrial development and unexampled prosperity.

What then extinguished the fires of industry and stilled the cheering hum of labor? What closed prosperous banking houses and discouraged agriculture and trade? In the uncertainty of what revolution might be wrought in our economic system can be found the first and greatest cause of the pause, the "awful pause," in our onward improving march and the establishment of the conditions for the upheaval following.

Although the silver-purchasing policy and especially the Sher-

man act were the subject of denunciation since their adoption by monometallists for theoretical and partisans for political reasons, so long as our trade with foreign nations was at all favorable to us, our revenues sufficient to meet the requirements of the Government and the gold reserve in the Treasury not seriously encroached upon, the assaults were ineffective and no genuine or general alarm was felt throughout the country.

But when the balance of trade turned largely against us gold was steadily withdrawn from the Treasury and customs duties were paid almost entirely in silver certificates or Treasury notes, so that the Treasury seemed almost defenseless, these conditions uniting with the graver apprehensions that manufacturing interests would suffer in tariff revision, and a perpetually adverse balance of trade and possible deficit in our revenues be occasioned, the hostile criticisms were seriously regarded and the idea became generally prevalent that the silver-purchasing policy left the National Treasury in a deplorably weak condition, and its longer continuance was indefensible.

Any policy which entirely fails of its object should be abandoned. Failing to sustain, much less to appreciate, the price of silver, or to add to the circulating medium, the monthly emittances of notes being greatly below the sum of currency withdrawn from circulation and infinitesimal compared with the contraction of credit, and the country looking for relief from the repeal of the law, it appears a high duty at this juncture of affairs to pass the repeal.

A MEMBER. What then?

Mr. WANGER. Then let us hope your side will show the country that you favor laws for the promotion and not the destruction of the interests of the American people. [Applause.] Then the silver currency of the country, not one dollar of which is destroyed by this repeal bill, will be an element of strength and not of weakness, the lofty purpose of the Government to fulfill to the uttermost its undertakings being unquestionably demonstrated.

Then let us enact the Johnson bill, permitting every holder of Government bonds to receive notes to the amount of bonds deposited, with the privilege of redeeming the bonds, and not to receive interest for a certain period, to prevent unneeded continual charges, and also give the national banks circulating notes to the par value of the bonds deposited by them in the Treasury.

These measures will give immediate relief in the matter of currency. Institutions holding the savings of wage-workers and farmers, which are large holders of Government bonds, as savings banks and trust companies, would be enabled, under the Johnson bill, to promptly pay their depositors who may flock in upon them when labor is unemployed, as, alas, it may be during the coming months. And the increase in the national-bank circulation being immediately available and going to every part of the country would be tenfold more effective than the simple amount of the increase indicates in the confidence it would reestablish in those institutions.

These measures, with the natural trend of events, will speedily terminate the currency famine, cause the money of the country to be "visible currency," and the difficulty will shortly be a redundancy of currency without, it is to be feared, a legitimate demand for it for investment.

It is eloquently contended that we should provide for the free and unlimited coinage of silver; but every objection urged against the Sherman act, which nearly every supporter of the pending amendments denounces and says he only adheres to to secure terms, applies with equal force to those amendments. They continue the declaration of the Sherman act to maintain the parity of all our forms of currency, and therefore make gold the purchasing standard of the world's stock of silver and impose a more than herculean task upon this country and tremendous burden upon labor. We could not uphold the undertaking, and a depreciated currency and broken governmental pledge would be the inevitable result of the adoption of any one of these amendments in the form they are presented.

Bimetallism to be of value to us should be self-sustaining. Under it we should be indifferent about maintaining Treasury or bank reserves in a particular coin and be able to rest confident that fleeing gold was sustaining the parity of gold and silver by meeting an abnormal demand elsewhere created. But the conditions now prevailing absolutely forbid to this country at present an experiment of that kind without other legal restrictions than are here proposed, or the union of other great nations in the policy.

The purchase of silver in certain quantities has driven us further and further from international bimetallism: the unlimited purchase would have no other result than to continue the widening breach, with the added and insuperable objection of the certain dishonor of the nation's troth.

Nothing, it seems certain, can do more to lift us out of the present slough than the measures indicated, together with the unmistakable declaration of purpose by the dominant party in government to continue existing, or, if not that, then to adopt tariff legislation equally or more favorable to the profitable conduct of American farms, industries, trade, and commerce. From this alone can the nation hope for perfect restoration of confidence and business prosperity. And from such restoration the way toward international bimetallism will be vastly promoted.

With large and continuing trade balances in our favor, it will be but a short time until ours shall be the least interested among the great nations in the matter of a single or double standard, and we can then, at the solicitation of those now refusing to unite with us, agree upon a world-wide circulating dual coin currency and secure to American silver a profitable and enduring market. [Applause.]

[Mr. WHEELER of Alabama withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

Mr. CUMMINGS. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and accordingly (at 10 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SATURDAY, *August 26, 1893.*

The House met at 10 o'clock a. m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. SAMUEL W. HADDAWAY.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

SILVER.

The SPEAKER. Under the order, as modified for the further consideration of House bill No. 1, this day is to be devoted to general debate. It was agreed when the order was made that the time in favor of the proposition should be controlled by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON], and the time in opposition to it by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND]. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from West Virginia; to whom does he yield?

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield thirty minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. CLARKE].

[Mr. CLARKE of Alabama withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED].

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I am not certain of the wisdom of any member of this House, and least of all of my own. I am quite conscious also how difficult it is for anybody to know anything about currency in general, and how especially difficult it is to provide a remedy for a derangement of currency at any particular time. Nevertheless, while I have grave doubts of the wisdom of each individual, including myself, and no doubt whatever of the difficulty of the task, it is a comfort to me to fall back upon a well-established belief in the wisdom of all, even when shown by the decisions of the Congress of the United States.

It may not be an absolutely righteous decision which we shall reach, nevertheless it is a comforting assurance to believe that that decision will be sufficient for the emergency, especially since it is accompanied by the certainty that no other wisdom is possible at the present time. Upon us and the people who are influencing our votes rests the decision of this and of other very important questions.

Crises like the present are not uncommon in the history of the world; indeed, they seem to be essential to human progress, and to arise out of the characteristics of human nature itself. Probably if wise men, now alive, had been consulted in the formation of the nature of mankind there would not have been these fluctuations which now disturb us, and which disfigure the history of the time. If we could have had that perfection of wisdom which is exhibited, so far as I have ever known, only in a greenback oration [laughter], we should have the human race proceeding on the upward grade steadily, without faltering and without relapse.

But, unfortunately, human nature was not framed in that way. Instead of a continuous upward movement, always rising, always going forward, the movement of the human race seems to be a series of upward starts and of falls of almost proportionate length. The general progress has always been onward, but there have been many times when the movement has seemed to be to the rear.

In the history of civilized nations these alternations have not been infrequent. The great rises and the great falls have extended over long periods of time. At intervals there have been minor falls as well as minor upliftings. We seem now to be at

the beginning of one of those declines, the like of which happens after a long period. Unless all indications fail, we are in a situation very much like that which afflicted England in 1793 and in 1825, and which began to afflict us in the year 1873.

After each long period of recuperation something starts the confidence of the human race in itself and the confidence of the nation in itself, and men feel a sudden courage to undertake all enterprises and to indulge in every effort tending to progress. Each one seems to encourage the other. Each enterprise seems to be an assistance to the other. The result is, that for a series of years prosperity seems to increase; men are busy, capital is busy, and prosperity without limit seems to be within the reach of the race and of the nation.

Suddenly, from some cause entirely unanticipated, a doubt is cast upon the reality of the progress which has been made. Something awakens the element of caution in the race or nation, and thereupon, rapidly and steadily, confidence disappears. Men feel that it is necessary to take an exact observation of the situation before resuming strenuous efforts. When that hour arrives there is no possibilty of retreat or of change.

The race or the nation has determined to examine into its condition, and the result is apparent disaster, misfortune, defeat, destruction of industries, and a general paralysis of business and of labor. There is a general liquidation of human affairs. Each man discovers what he is really worth, and the nation finds precisely what its absolute wants and needs are. If the period of prosperity could be expressed in a single word, that word would be confidence; and if the period of adversity, as we call it, could be expressed in a single word, that word would be distrust.

During the period of progress, during the period of increased endeavor, where all capital is employed and every man is at work, confidence reigns supreme. Every man believes in his own success and in the success of his neighbor. Consequently, he is free to take goods and property at the general valuation; and the people who sell property are ready to take the checks and instruments by which property is transferred. When the period of doubt sets in values become uncertain, because it is felt that a readjustment must be had. Checks and evidences of transfer are scrutinized with care, because men who were wealthy yesterday may be poor to-day.

So, also, production ceases because the producer has great doubts whether the production of his mill or his workshop will be capable of sale, and, above all, whether he will gather in the proper payment. How far this element of distrust may go depends upon the seriousness of the previous inflation of values; and after a time, when men find precisely how they are situated themselves, and how their neighbors are placed, there begins slowly to revive the confidence which distinguished the former period, in small measure at first and afterwards in larger measure, until finally we reach another period, where confidence reigns and productiveness is at its utmost.

This alternation between extreme production and production reduced to its lowest terms is something which the philanthropist may regard with horror; but which the man who has observed the history of the world is obliged to regard with tolerance. While these fluctuations occur often in the history of the human race, each one occurs from its own separate and special cause.

In former times they used to be more especially confined to each particular country and were not simultaneous; but modern times have bound the earth together, so that it is impossible for even the greatest nation to disregard the other nations of the earth. The railroad has diminished distance and the telegraph has obliterated time. The ocean steamers plying between the different hemispheres, the trains of cars which sweep across the continents, have made business a far different thing from what it was in the earlier ages.

Without undertaking to give the particulars of the change, it is enough to say that the world, which in the days of Magellan it required three years to circumnavigate, can be circumnavigated to-day in a period of two months. This binding together of the whole world by obliteration of time and distance has bound together the business of the world, and hence these periodic changes occur in greater or less measure throughout the world, not always exactly simultaneous, but always more or less sympathetic.

Nevertheless, in each particular nation the cause is peculiar to itself. Each nation produces its own means of temporary prosperity; also its own causes for temporary depression. The fact that these depressions are nearly simultaneous does not in anyway militate against the suggestions just made. If anyone desires to notice the connection between the different countries, he has only to go back to the crisis which occurred in the year 1890. It was found that there was a great scarcity of money in the United States, so great that under the influence of universal clamor more than forty millions of currency were let loose from the United States Treasury among the people of the United States.

I do not think at the time that anyone here fully comprehended the cause, although some wise men had an inkling of it; but there was felt to be a constant drain of currency, which was taking from us not only the money which we previously had in circulation, but the large sum which I have mentioned from the Treasury of the United States. When the course of events reached its end it was discovered that the great money center of the world, London, the capital of England, had been severely drained by a most tremendous set of enterprises in a distant nation of South America.

The effect of that tremendous call upon the money center of Europe, which resulted in the shaking down of the house which was the synonym, especially in the United States of America, of credit, of enterprise, and of solidity—the house of Baring Brothers—drew upon the resources of the United States with a vigor that no one would have dared to prophecy a year before.

But the United States at that time was sound in every way, and had not yielded to any disposition to inflation; consequently the storm was weathered and we continued upon our career of prosperity and of labor. The country was prosperous because everybody was at work, because capital was thoroughly employed, and all the goods that were produced were consumed and were necessary for the wants of the people.

In the year 1890, from a variety of circumstances, which it is not necessary now to discuss—for the country cares very little to-day whether anybody was or was not to blame for the passage of the Sherman act—conspired to make the passage of that act an absolute necessity. The passage of that act pledged the United States to purchase every month, and issue its value in currency, 4,500,000 ounces of silver.

At the time when that act was passed every patriot sincerely hoped that the expectation of the friends of silver, that that purchase would result in solving the problem of bimetallism for this country and placing silver on a par with gold, would be realized. That the friends of silver entertained that view I can not doubt, because it was expressed to me in terms of the utmost confidence. At the time, the passage of the act caused very little fear on the part even of the wisest; but a series of events, which are so fresh in the memory of every man who hears me that I need not recapitulate them, caused a drain of gold from the United States to Europe.

That drain of gold sounded the alarm to the American people that the period of prosperity through which they had passed, and which was then in existence; which was shown by the employment of capital and the employment of labor, had reached a period of suspicion; a period always reached in such forward movements of the human race, and always to be anticipated, but never in reality anticipated. At no time when any nation in the world has been at one of these periods of prosperity have men in general suspected that the period of prosperity was about to close.

Every man is in the whirl of ambitious effort, carried away by it, swept in the direction of it, and hence does not know what is about to happen. The stroke of the clock which shows that the time of settlement has arrived is always a surprise; and, from the nature of things and of human beings, always will be a surprise.

Last May it became apparent that we had reached a period when a wise and judicious man would be careful to curtail the amount of his obligations. Some wise men had done so beforehand; other wise men had waited until that period. The banks then commenced to examine their collaterals, to call in their loans, and to put themselves in a position of safety, so far as possible. The first element of dissatisfaction and doubt which pressed itself upon the people was the fact that there was a continuous and unaccountable drain of gold.

That drain of gold amounted, in round numbers, to a very great sum, so nearly equalling the amount of the issue under the Sherman law that it seemed almost conclusive that the displacement of currency which was happening was on account of the issue under the Sherman law, because it seemed to be driving out the same proportion of gold which was the equivalent of its own amount. Whether that reasoning was sound or safe or correct is in nowise a matter of discussion. The fact that the feeling existed was sufficient for all the purposes of practical life.

Men felt that it was absolutely necessary, even if that question was a question of doubt, so long as it was a question at all, that they should curtail their enterprises in the future, and that they should put themselves in order for a storm. Then followed what seems to be one of the characteristics of such a period—universal distrust. The first distrust arose from the doubt whether the United States was not rapidly approaching a system which would inevitably result in a silver standard and a low-

ering of the value of the dollar as compared with the gold standard, upon which the United States was then undertaking to base itself.

This has nothing whatever to do with the question of the righteousness of the double standard or of the single standard. The United States at that moment was making gold its standard, and any question as to whether it was to fall or not to a silver standard was a question which instantly aroused the desire of the people to hoard, first gold, then, as the distrust spread, all kinds of money, for we not only began to doubt the Government of the United States and its policy, but also to doubt the solvency—not the present solvency, but the future solvency—of all the institutions of the country.

When suspicion and doubt of that kind once enter the minds of 65,000,000 of people there is no knowing where it will end. That it took serious possession of them is shown by the simple fact that out of the United States banking houses alone one hundred and ninety millions of deposits were drawn by depositors from all parts of the country. How much was drawn out of State banks and out of trust companies, how much has been drawn out of savings banks, no one will ever probably know; but so much has been drawn, so much has been hoarded, so much has been kept out of circulation, that we are suffering to-day all the calamities of a restricted circulation in the midst of an abundant supply of money.

This, then, at the present moment is the situation in which we find ourselves. I have, in thus narrating the outward circumstances which have attended our present position, failed to state what is, after all, according to my judgment, the main underlying cause of the present condition of affairs. At the last election the Democratic party was brought into power by a curious combination of circumstances, as the result of a hundred causes—not with careful and candid deliberation, but as the result, in a large measure, of the apathy of the American people.

The vote shows what I declare, and the recollection of every individual to whom I am speaking can be safely appealed to. While this thing has not been specially manifest during this discussion, while there has been little talk with regard to it, nevertheless the consciousness of this fact underlies our entire situation. I do not intend in alluding to this fact to in anyway refer to party politics. I do not undertake to raise any question as to whether the system of protection is a wise one or not. I do not undertake to dispute the proposition on the part of the Democracy that protection is a tax, wicked and iniquitous. [Laughter.] For the purpose of discussion, and for that purpose only, I am quite free to admit that protection is a fraud, and that virtue resides only in a revenue tariff; but there remains, even if it be admitted that the propositions of the Democratic platform are righteous every one—there remains the fact that the system upon which the manufactures of this country have been regulated for thirty years is threatened with a total change; whether that change is to be for the better or not no man can know.

What the Democratic party purpose to do with the power which is in their hands nobody can say. They do not even know themselves; and hence they are not able to impart it to others. For my part, I do not expect the Democratic party to be utterly bad. [Laughter.] I do not believe they will be permitted to be so if they should so desire. [Applause.] Such is the restraining influence of the people, even after election, that I believe that through all the disguises, through all the masks which this election has thrown over the wishes of the people, nevertheless those wishes will be carried out. But at this present moment no man can know what will be the result of the action of this Congress upon the manufactures of this country.

If the reformation of the tariff were in the hands even of its friends, if a change in the tariff were contemplated by those men who are in favor of the principle of protection instead of in the hands of those who denounce it, I should feel entirely confident that business would be stagnant or remain at a standstill; but when this reformation of the tariff is in the hands of men opposed to the present system, those manufactures of the country which are built upon the present system must necessarily call a halt.

If their goods which they manufacture are to be in competition with the manufactures of other lands, where the cost of production is upon a different basis, where labor is differently rewarded, as a matter of fact no manufacturer in this country will dare to manufacture goods until he knows the basis upon which his labor is to go into the production of his articles of sale. Until that question is settled you may be sure that the manufacturers of this country will never dare to manufacture more than the absolute necessities of the people require.

Prominent among the symptoms of the present condition of affairs is the closing of mills in all parts of the country. The currency question has something to do with that, but that which is of most importance is the uncertainty as to the basis upon which manufactures are to go on. Manufactures to-day are, in no respect, the subjects of chance or of miscalculation. All the elements of cost are so thoroughly understood, all the elements which enter into production are so thoroughly comprehended, that it is impossible for manufactures to go on except upon the basis of small but sure profits.

Unless the manufacturer can see his way directly to that, he has no object in running his mill; and unless in the future he can see that that mill can go on satisfactorily, there is no object on earth for him to continue his manufactures and his organization. Therefore, you may depend upon it, that until the question is settled—until men know the terms upon which they are to employ labor, until they know the terms upon which they are to compete with foreign competitors—no loom will be in motion more than is necessary and no wheel will turn except with the prospect of immediate profit.

I will not undertake to dwell at this present time—for I do not want to confuse the issue—upon those unfortunate parts of the Democratic programme which are at present in abeyance, like the establishment of State banks and other financial measures, which we may possibly have to struggle with. [Laughter.] I can characterize in a single phrase the cause of the present condition of affairs. It is the undiscoverable uncertainty of the future of both the currency questions and the questions of protection and revenue tariff.

It will be seen from what I have said that I do not regard the Sherman act as in itself alone responsible for our present condition of affairs; that I believe that the causes of our present disaster underlie that; that the necessary stoppage of hundreds and thousands of mills all over this country is at the bottom of our disaster. Nevertheless, I do believe that the Sherman act and the accumulation of silver in the Treasury was the earliest indicator of the disaster which we are approaching, and that it has played a part not entirely unfortunate in warning us so that we can be saved from still further misfortune and doubt.

We are now, therefore, in this condition of affairs: We are on a down grade to that period of recuperation, economy, and self-denial which, in some cases, may lead to very grave and serious suffering; for there can be no doubt whatever that the threatening aspect of affairs, while it threatens this country as a whole, capitalists and laborers alike, is more especially, in the future, threatening to the laboring people of the country.

When mills shut down, they shut down because they must ascertain by Democratic legislation what the basis of their future manufactures is to be. If their basis is to be competition with foreign countries upon less favorable terms, they will be obliged to meet those less favorable terms by reducing the cost of manufactures themselves. The cost of manufactures, of the finest kinds especially, is largely in the pay which is given to laboring men.

As the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] has very candidly, and at the same time very accurately, said, the wages of labor have been steadily rising in this country, until they have reached a point unexampled in the history of the world up to this time. If the American manufacturers were to compete alone with each other, it is possible that the standard of wages might be maintained; but if they are to compete with people abroad, where wages are less, where skilled labor is at a much lower price, then there can be no doubt that a reduction of the wages of labor will follow.

Indeed, all over the country there are signs that that will be the case; and there are signs also that the workingmen are recognizing the fact that their labor is one of the elements, the strongest element perhaps, in the cost of production, and that that cost of production can not be measured by any arbitrary standard, but must be measured by the standard of competition. Such being the case, we may expect more or less misfortune to happen to our people.

I do not believe that the Democratic Congress, influenced as it will be by the pressure on the part of the people of the United States, will so revise the tariff that the workingmen will be brought back even to the condition of the workman under the Walker tariff; but that there will be doubts and difficulties and reductions I have not the slightest doubt.

The capitalist has met with his misfortunes. He has seen his stocks, his bonds, his holdings, and he will soon see his real estate, reduced beyond any fear which he entertained a year ago; and in due time will come the reduction of the wages of labor, unless by great good fortune the laboring man, by demonstrations on his part, should show that he understands this question in such a fashion that he will refuse to allow it to be misunderstood by his member of Congress.

Now, in this matter I do not expect to be accused of any party bias, for this does not in anyway involve the question of the propriety or the righteousness of a change in the tariff. Let that be as it may, the very fact that there is a change requires

readjustment all over the country of all the relations of mankind to each other, and such a readjustment can not take place simultaneously with the period of prosperity.

It is evident, then, from what I have said, that two questions must be settled as the indispensable preliminary of our arrival at that period when prosperity will commence again. With the settlement of the question of the tariff I shall undertake to have nothing to do to-day. That will come at its proper time, when people begin to realize that that is the serious matter which underlies this whole situation. For the present we have another question before us, and one which we will have to determine upon its merits.

It is perfectly true that the Democratic party is responsible for whatever occurs in the future and whatever does not occur. They have the President; they have an enormous majority in the House of Representatives, and they have the Senate to themselves. For the first time in thirty years they have been removed from the low level of criticism of the acts of others, and have been lifted to the high level of responsibility and of performance. It could not be expected that they would change their nature in the twinkling of an eye.

Elections might put them into power, but only the lapse of time can give them the proper sense of responsibility. The time will come when the Democratic members of Congress, instead of disputing with each other what the Democratic platform means [laughter], will be disputing with each other as to what the necessities of the country demand. Until that period of responsibility shall fairly rest upon their shoulders, and also afterwards, they can rely upon the assistance of the Republican party in the minority as they have relied upon them in the majority, in the direction of sound government, of responsibility, and of honest administration of affairs. [Applause on the Republican side.]

While we leave the question of tariff to itself, there remains for us to consider the proposition which has been submitted to us by the President of the United States as to the method of dealing with the financial question. The action of the President, and the action of the majority of the Democratic party, acting together, has limited our scope of action. I am sorry that we have not been permitted to exhibit our wisdom in the way of amendments; that we have not been allowed to take the vote of the House as to the various propositions to meet this affair, which would seem satisfactory to us. We are confined to those propositions which the whole Democratic party have finally determined to submit to us.

I shall spend no time in pointing out the contrast between this action on the part of the Democratic party and their claims during the Fifty-first Congress. I shall waste no time in citations showing how the rights of the minority are outraged, according to them, for I recognize now, as I recognized then, the necessity and duty of the party in power assuming the responsibility of its actions. I am only sorry that this question can not be settled, and settled righteously, within the bounds of the Democratic party itself; but, as I know and every man in this country knows, the majority of the Democratic party would decide against the good sense of the nation.

I am very glad for even the poor privilege of recording our votes in the direction of our thoughts and beliefs and ideas. While I am in favor of the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, and have always been since the failure of that act to realize the hopes of the men who believed in a silver currency, I do not think that the repeal of that act will be an immediate cause of the revival of the prosperity of this country.

I am in favor of its repeal, however, for two reasons. First, it seems to me to be deeply settled in the public mind, from causes which can be easily understood, that the Sherman law is the cause of the unreasonable hoarding of currency throughout this country. It has been made the foundation of distrust by a variety of causes. The President of the United States deemed it to be his duty, and I make no question with regard to it, in the most public manner to appeal to the last Congress to repeal the Sherman act, announcing in everyway in which he was capable of announcing his belief that the continuance of that act was the forerunner of disaster.

Coming from such a source as that, it is no wonder that the people of foreign countries believed that the danger from the Sherman act was as great as it possibly could be. Then, in addition to that, the bankers who desired to call a halt in the condition of affairs which existed last year, who believed that the time of settlement had arrived, joined in that objection. Then the Democratic papers, scenting out the disaster that was upon us, and being desirous of charging it to some other party than their own, trained all their guns upon the Sherman act.

The Sherman act itself had no defenders. The silver men, although they were glad to get it, stood prepared to declare that it was not what they wanted. Those who had yielded to the demand for that act in the earnest hope that what they desired might turn out to be just and right, were in no condition to defend it at all. It had not answered their hopes. Wherever there is an attack upon one side and no defence on the other there is sure to be a very shining victory. [Laughter.] Hence, the popular mind is so filled with the idea that the existence of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law is an element of disorder, that if we remove it we shall do more to restore confidence than anything we can do in the world.

What would a restoration of confidence in this country mean just now? It would not mean, in my judgment, a revival at once of business prosperity, but it would be a tremendous relief to those who are endeavoring to carry on the business of this country without bankruptcy and disaster. It would, in my judgment, and I do not intend to be in the least degree bigoted with regard to such a matter—I do not pretend to be overconfident that my judgment is right—but, in my judgment it would have such a reassuring effect that we should be temporarily assisted by capital from beyond the seas, and that that very assistance would result in the loosening of hoarded money, which is now to be found in stockings and in every possible receptacle, and the result would be ease of money. And those who are carrying on a sound and safe business would be rescued from the disaster which threatens them, and the country would be saved from many unnecessary failures.

It is sometimes customary here to make remarks indicative of great contempt and hatred of banks and of corporations. I expect during the next year or two to hear a great many such declarations. In this country corporations are sometimes brutal. They are difficult to approach. You can not reason with them, and they must have iron-clad rules, and very few men have dealings with corporations without having their tempers ruffled and their feelings hurt.

Nevertheless, a fundamental purpose and object of all corporations is to gather together the odds and ends of money in such quantities that large business operations can be carried on by wealth which is aggregated out of small sums; and, in the main, large corporations represent little holders. This is especially true with regard to banks; and whatever vituperation may be visited upon those institutions in the future, I say to you now that in my judgment the banks of this country are doing a patriotic and honorable work, and are at this moment the mainstay of this country against failure and future disaster. [Applause.]

If, therefore, this proceeding will relieve them and will give them confidence, if it will send back the depositors to their counters, if it will ease the rates of money, we shall be able to get over this disaster with less harm, less misfortune.

But I am in favor of the repeal of this act for another reason. I am desirous not only of weathering this storm with as few sails blown to pieces as possible, but I am also looking for the upward movement, which is sure to come, and which can only be postponed by bad management and bad actions.

It is sometimes the fashion to be very contemptuous of foreign capital; but it is as sure as the rising of to-morrow's sun that when we take our next upward turn it will be by the aid and assistance not only of the capital of the United States, but of the capital of the whole world. The transaction of borrowing, as I hope to show before I get through, and the practice of lending is not disadvantageous to either party.

When, as I have said, we reach the time for an upward movement, the capital of the whole world should be ready, not for its sake, but for ours, and we should be ready to receive it. Whether the world be right in its doctrines with regard to money or not is a question which I shall not at present undertake to dispute; but to-day, and so far as we can judge in the future, our hold upon the world's capital depends and will depend upon our being in accord with the world as to our views in regard to payment.

Sometimes gentlemen, in their patriotic flights of eloquence, exaggerate even the greatness of the United States of America. It is perfectly true that the United States, under thirty years of Republican rule, has made enormous progress. It is true that our nation is, perhaps, the wealthiest on the face of the earth. It is true that our wealth has increased year by year, and that in the future it will increase still more. Nevertheless, there remains the fact that our country is larger than our wealth: that the possibilities of the United States are a thousand fold in advance of any progress which it has yet made.

There never was a time in the history of the United States when its development required more capital. It has reached that point where its richest treasures can be exploited; and the richest treasures of the land can only be exploited by the assistance of the treasures garnered up in past times in the whole world. When, therefore, we take our next upward rise, one of the greatest assistants which we shall have to develop our new regions will be capital from abroad.

The spare capital of the United States, great as it is, will not be sufficient for our purpose. We therefore ought to put ourselves in such a position that when the time comes we may command the capital of the entire world, for we shall need it. This is by no means a day dream. Within my own lifetime, and under my own eyes, has occurred an example of precisely what I am talking about.

When I first entered Congress years ago I listened to a debate of precisely the same character as that to which I have listened this year. Hardly a new idea has been presented, hardly a new prophecy. There was the same attack upon wealth; there was the same laudation of the poor. Everything seems to me, as I sit and listen to the debate here in the House, as if the tide of time had rolled back and I were sitting here, a new member, listening to the wisdom of fifteen years ago.

Then the object of attack was the resumption of specie payments. Then on every hand men declared, and this Hall resounded with the declaration, that the resumption of specie payments meant the ruin of the debtor and the destruction of the country; that it meant handing it over to England and to the foreigner, and that the poor citizen of the United States was to lie forever prostrate at their feet; and yet I lived to see everyone of those prophecies forgotten, and every man connected with them forgotten, too. [Laughter.]

When specie payments were absolutely and actually resumed do you not remember what a tremendous upward start this country took? Do you not remember how the prices of all property in the country rose? How all property actually increased in value? How men were at work in the fields, in the marts, in the workshops, and everywhere all over the country everything was at the highest pitch of production?

It is because this country has been watered and fructified by the capital of the whole world; and the result at the end of the last census shows what tremendous progress we have made, and that progress has been because the whole world has helped us, has received more or less benefit of it, but we the greatest benefit of all, for all the great works which have been erected by foreign capital remain upon our soil.

So my two reasons for voting for the repeal are, first, that it will restore confidence to the people and in some measure help us out of the first difficulties of our present condition; and second, when the time comes it will assist us on the upward path to the next period of prosperity and of progress.

Now, let me answer, so far as I am able, a few of the objections which have been urged against this repeal. First, it is said that it is a renewed demonetization of silver. On this question of demonetization of silver there has never been a really fair, open, and honest discussion. I do not believe either that the present time is one which will produce such a discussion. The subject has always been approached from the domain of prejudice and passion. There is one element in it which has always excited my disgust and also my astonishment. I have seldom heard the question of silver discussed without some gentleman presenting what he called the "stealthy demonetization of silver."

There is nothing which will arouse the wrath, dissatisfaction, and disgust of the American people like any charge of dishonesty or knavery or trickery in public affairs. The American people do well to be angry if silver was dishonestly demonetized. If any trick, if any game was perpetrated upon the American people, they do well to be angry. It is a false appeal to this sense of honesty and honor and fair play which has caused one of the most stupendous fabrications that has ever existed even in political life.

On every stump, at every hustings, in every city, with loud voice it has been proclaimed, as from a hilltop, that when silver ceased to be a standard of value of the United States, it was done by virtue of a stealthy conspiracy unknown to the American people. It is astonishing that such a statement should have lived so long. It is amazing that a falsehood of that kind should not have been burned out of existence long years ago. The fact about it is, and I have here the RECORD which proves my assertion, that it took three columns of the RECORD (volume 18, 1876, page 288) to even characterize and describe the number of times that it was presented to the American people, the number of times that it was argued before Congress, and the direct declarations of what the purpose of the act was.

Why, I myself have heard a man, an honored member of the House, whose name I will not state, in this very House of Representatives denounce the demonetization of silver as stealthy and "fiendish;" and he himself introduced the bill which did it on the floor of this House, and squarely and openly declared that a double standard was impossible, and that the gold standard was the only thing we could possibly have. [Laughter and applause.]

This thing has been answered so many times that I shall not encumber my discourse with an insertion of proofs. I shall simply content myself with saying that there never was a more open, straightforward discussion since the beginning of time than that by which silver was demonetized, as it is so said, in this country. Here is the Globe, volume 102, page 2306, and pages following, second session of Forty-second Congress, April 9, 1872. Anybody can look at it, and for the second time in my life I make profert of it in open court.

Now, it is said that if we pass this act we shall again demonetize silver. The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LIVINGSTON] said the other day that there was no man in the House who did not proclaim himself a bimetallist; thereby inferring that those who claimed to be bimetallists and did not vote his way were necessarily persons who were obtaining positions in this world by false pretenses.

I think that he omitted from his mental diagnosis of the case the great fact that the foundation of all disputes is difference of definition. He means by a bimetallist a man who is in favor of two metals if he can have them, but of silver if he can not. Other men may be bimetallists in the sense that they are willing to have both metals if they can, but are unwilling to be put upon a silver basis without knowing it. If he would consider the range between those two definitions, I think he would find that most people are as honest in their desire to be bimetallists as he is himself.

Bimetallism by a single nation does not seem to be possible; bimetallism by all the nations of the world seems to me to be not only possible, but feasible. As I understand it, the object of bimetallism, and the avowed object of monometallism, is to have a stable and presistent standard. The theory of the monometallist is that gold of itself is subject to less fluctuation, to less change than silver, to less fluctuation and change than both gold and silver together.

The theory of the bimetallist is that if two lakes, liable to be disturbed by different causes, can be connected and made to flow into each other interchangeably, they will present a much greater expanse, and any change of level will therefore be much less—the change in each lake being distributed over both.

I can understand this theory as applied to the metallic standards of the world. I can understand that if gold by any accident should be undervalued in any country and driven out of that country, that would send it to the other countries; and the effect of that surplus of gold in the other countries would be to lower the price of gold, and therefore have a tendency to send it back to the original country; in other words, that the effect of the two lakes would be to cause a lesser variation in the level; but when you come to apply that doctrine to a single country, you will perceive at once that it can not be applicable, that the effect of undervaluing one metal will necessarily be to drive that metal out of the country.

You do not have to indulge in any far-fetched theories to understand this. You do not have to discuss the question of the Gresham law at all. All you have to do is to apply yourself to the history of the United States; and the speech of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON], a brave and admirable speech, shows conclusively that this country, while it was pretending to be bimetallic in its standard, was never really so; that one metal drove the other out of the country; that the standard was not possible of maintenance as long as there was an overvaluation.

Now, to-day the proposition is that we shall undervalue gold over 40 per cent. If 3 cents on a dollar of undervaluation of silver drove silver out of this country, what will an undervaluation of 40 cents on a dollar do for gold? Does anybody have any question or doubt about it? Not the least. But you say if we undertake to establish a gold standard in this country, first, you will demonetize silver and drive it out of existence; and, second, you will raise the debts which the people owe to some persons unknown, presumably enemies, who ought to be despoiled.

This first charge would be a serious one if it were true. If the adoption of a gold standard destroyed the uses of silver, it would certainly be a very grave misfortune to this country. In the first place, it would destroy a productive industry of this country. For my part, I am never willing to do that. Second, it would destroy an industry which, in my judgment, is of more value to this country than a merely productive industry.

To my belief the regions beyond the Missouri River will one day or other constitute comparatively the great riches of this country. It would not be possible for me to prove this. It would not be possible for me to demonstrate this, perhaps, even to the people who live beyond the Missouri; but I have an abiding faith that such is the case. The wonderful possibilities of their soil has never been appreciated even by themselves. I believe that the settlement and the growth of this country depend greatly upon its mining interests.

I have, therefore, been ready all my life, by duties on lead, and by any action upon the silver question which seemed to me

to be adequate and suitable to promote those industries; and I should be sorry to believe that the maintenance of a gold standard would cause them permanent harm. I do not believe that the maintenance of a gold standard in anyway militates against the reasonable use of silver as a coinage metal. The question whether there is to be a double standard or a single standard is entirely different from the question of the use of silver as money.

We have purchased, and have now in the vaults of the United States Treasury Department, thousands of tons of silver, yet there never has been a moment of time since 1872 when the standard has not been gold; the standard to-day is gold. The repealing of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, therefore, would not in anyway establish a standard. We are only refusing to establish a different one. The continuance of the purchases under the Sherman act would, in the estimation of the world, be a declaration that we intended to go on with our purchases to such an extent that we would find ourselves upon a silver basis after no great lapse of time.

Now, whatever this country may desire to do—whatever its intentions are for the future—one thing seems to be clear: if the people are to go upon a silver basis they want to know that they are going to do so, and want to do it deliberately. If the plain question were presented to every American citizen whether he desired that this country should be upon a silver basis alone, gold being banished, the great majority of answers would be no. And this ground they would take without abating a jot their determination to coin and use both metals.

The next difficulty which we have to meet is the assertion that by the repeal of the Sherman act we increase the burden of the debt upon the borrower. This would certainly be a very grave misfortune, if it were true. The business of borrowing and the business of lending are alike honorable. Such transactions arise out of the nature of man's needs. Some men prefer a certain gain to the chances of great profit.

Some men are willing to take the chance of the profit and pay the small gain which is necessary in order to obtain the stored-up wealth of another. Men who have money may not have enterprise and brains. Men who have brains and enterprise do not always have money. Borrowing and lending marries money and brains, to the great advancement of the world. If we were to make a law which only related to a single series of transactions, such as now exist in the United States, it might possibly be an advantage to the borrower to have the payment so adjusted that he would have the advantage of the transaction; but when the present race of borrowers is dead, or when the present borrowers have paid their money, there will still be forever a borrowing and lending world.

In order to constitute the transaction of borrowing and lending, the first thing is the lender. Until he is willing to lend, the transaction can not by any possibility take place. The first thing to do is to coax the lender to lend. After that, borrowing is possible, and not until then is it possible.

Hence, laws must be made so as to enable the lender to be satisfied of the certainty of return. If there is any uncertainty with regard to that, before he lends he will demand some advantage which corresponds to that doubt connected with the repayment. Money paid for the use of other money, in the nature of interest, is a different thing from money paid for the use of other money in the nature of a risk.

A man will lend you money for 5 per cent where there is no risk, and it may be he will not lend it to you for a hundred where there is; consequently, if you make your laws in such fashion that the borrower has an advantage in payment, the lender will be sure to demand an advantage in lending, and, generally, such an advantage as will cover all the chances. If you could make a man absolutely sure to-day in any part of the United States that what he loans out would certainly come back to him, you would lower the rate of interest a great many per cent everywhere.

Therefore, any law which is made to reach the case of the lender and the borrower must be made in the spirit of fairness and of justice; and any proposition to a man to lend you money upon one standard to be paid upon another will necessarily be accompanied with such a rate of interest as will make up for the possibility of the lowering of that standard.

Hence, it can not be to the advantage of anybody to have unjust laws made between the borrower and the lender; it is just as essential to the borrower that the transaction should be as fair as it is to the lender.

I do not propose, however, to discuss the debt question at any length. That would be more suitable in a discussion such as may take place when our whole financial system is remodeled. These observations on debtor and creditor I make merely to supplement the admirable statement of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS]. I might go on and discuss the proposition to re-establish the Bland act, but Senator HOAR, in his most excellent speech elsewhere, has shown that that act is worse than the one under which we are now living. Certain it is that had not the decline of the national-bank circulation kept equal pace with the issue of the Bland dollar, that act would have long ago landed us where we are now.

The proposition to lower the ratio I hail as the one good sign of this discussion. To drop from the bigoted determination that 16 to 1 is a heaven-appointed ratio raised up by the Almighty, and proceed even to discuss market values, seems to give some slight hope that when we really undertake anew to reform our financial system we may approach it with some reference to existing conditions and to the facts of the universe. As for the propositions now before us, we can all see that they are untenable. No one believes that we could maintain 20 to 1 any easier than 16 to 1 without the aid of the rest of the world.

What, then, is the pathway of duty? The unconditional repeal. That will either give relief or not. If not, then we must try something else, and the sooner the better. It is a matter of deep regret to all sensible men that we have delayed so long. Men are to-day struggling almost against fate and praying for relief. The banks are strained almost to the point of breaking. It is such a pity that we had to waste so much time in this weary welter of talk.

We stand in a very peculiar position, we Republicans to-day. [Laughter.] The representative of the Democratic party just chosen President of the United States finds himself powerless in his first great recommendation to his own party. Were he left to their tender mercies [laughter] the country would witness the spectacle of the President of its choice overthrown by the party charged with this country's government. What wonder then that he appeals to the patriotism of another party, whose patriotism has never been appealed to in vain? [Applause on the Republican side.]

Never, I say, in vain! The proudest part of the proud record of the Republican party has been its steadfast devotion to the cause of sound finance. When this country was tempted to pay its bonds in depreciated money the Republican party responded with loud acclaim to that noble sentiment of Gen. HAWLEY, that every bond was as sacred as a soldier's grave. It cost us hard fighting and sore struggle, but the credit of this country has no superior in the world. [Applause on the Republican side.] When the same arguments heard to-day were heard fifteen years ago, sounding the praises of a depreciated currency and proclaiming the glories of fiat money, the party of Abraham Lincoln marched steadily towards specie payments and prosperity. [Applause.]

What we were in our days of victory the same are we in our days of defeat—champions of true and solid finance. [Applause.] And when the time comes, as it surely will come, for us to lead this land back to those paths of prosperity and fame which were trodden under Republican rule for so many years, we shall take back with us our ancient glory undimmed by adversity; our ancient honor, unsullied by defeat. [Prolonged applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

Mr. BLAND. I yield thirty minutes to my colleague from Missouri [Mr. DE ARMOND].

Mr. DE ARMOND. Mr. Speaker, if the distinguished gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED], who so ably addressed this House, and has just taken his seat, feels that the Republicans for whom he speaks are in a somewhat awkward position here to-day, I think I may commend to him, as a solace, the fact that the Democrats upon this floor who are acting with him and his cohorts are in a much more awkward situation.

Mr. Speaker, I shall endeavor to address myself to this question as one desiring to do what is right and for the best interests of the country. I shall also address myself to this House as one who believes that the welfare of the country will be promoted in proportion as those who were elected here as Democrats adhere to and carry out the Democratic creed.

Is the silver bullion purchasing clause of the Sherman law responsible for the condition of things which we now have in the country? If it is, then I grant that it should be promptly repealed in order to give needed relief. If it is not, however, the cause of the distrust and distress in the land, then it is unreasonable to hope or believe that relief will come from its repeal. If relief, real or seeming, should come after such repeal, it will be due to the relenting of those who have raised the financial storm, and not to the legislation proposed for calming it.

I have no time upon this occasion to discuss at length the general question of the use of gold and silver as money, nor whether or not this Sherman law is responsible for existing evils, but shall content myself with a hurried view of some suggestions of the other side. It is enough for me to say as preliminary, that I believe not a solitary gentleman who has addressed this House, upon either side, has been bold enough or reckless enough to declare that the Sherman law is responsible for our financial troubles. The most that is claimed in this debate is that it has con-

tributed to them, and the most that has been urged is that sixty-five or seventy millions of American citizens are so panic-stricken, so lost to intelligence, so easily duped that, although this law has not caused their distress, they will accept its repeal as the cure for it.

I have too high an estimate of the constituency who sent me here, and of American citizenship generally, to believe confidence can be restored by any legislative confidence game.

There is deeper meaning and purpose in this repeal bill.

Some gentlemen are brave enough to avow it. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] is one. It is to establish and perpetuate the single gold standard. If that is correct policy, then the Sherman law ought to be unconditionally repealed; otherwise the repeal is only a part of the legislation required. For let me say to friend and foe, that in the light of the message, in the light of current events, in the light of what has been said upon this floor, no man has foundation for any hope that after final action upon this measure there will be further legislation during the life of the present Administration looking to the rehabilitation of silver as a money metal.

This repeal bill could have passed both Houses of Congress the first day of this extraordinary session if it had not been the settled purpose of those who now support it to deny us any legislation for the use of silver as money.

I concede that it is not incumbent upon a Democrat standing loyally by the Chicago platform to insist that all financial legislation must be embraced in one bill. But when by the message—what is in it and what is not in it—when by the arguments made here, by the sense and understanding of the country, we know there will be no legislation by this Congress for the increased use of silver as money unless it comes in conneetion with the repeal of the Sherman law, our course appears plain. We must determine, each for himself, whether we shall hold to the little we have as the only hope of securing something better, or at once surrender all. I am opposed to an unconditional surrender.

To my mind, the man who claims to be a bimetallist, who repeats here the arguments which the true advocates of an enlarged use of silver make, and yet votes for this unconditional repeal bill, is either himself deluded by following incorrect metal processes, or he is not candid in what he says; and his people will find out which it is and hold him to responsibility accordingly.

It is said, Mr. Speaker, that India has taken such action as that, if otherwise there might be hope for increased coinage of silver in this country and increased use of it, that hope must now be abandoned.

But, sir, it is misleading to speak of India taking action. India has taken no action. By decree of a governing council of foreigners, the voiceless millions of India are to be subjected to a change of standard for the purpose of drawing from them, indirectly, larger contributions in tax money. The report of the Herschel commission, a British committee which officially considered the scheme, and from which my colleague [Mr. BLAND] read some passages, abundantly proves this. This report has been published by order of this House as a public document, and I shall not quote at length from it. But note the following:

> The difficulties which the Indian government have in meeting home charges are aggravated by the fact that the fall in exchange has led to claims on the part of their officers, civil and military, who receive salaries in rupees, to some compensation for the loss which they sustain owing to the fall in exchange.
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> It is further objected to the proposals of the Indian government that they would make the value of the rupee greater than it otherwise would be, and that thereby the burden of Indian taxation would be increased. That part of the revenue which consists of fixed payments would remain unaltered in numerical value, whilst each rupee which the ryot pays would be worth more, and the rupee prices of his products would be less than they would be if silver continued to fall. The argument is no doubt sound, but there are answers to this objection which would have no little weight.
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> Whether silver is falling or gold rising in value, or both movements are taking place, and whether an appreciating or a depreciating standard is the less open to objection, are questions of great difficulty.

To increase the salaries of salaried officers, to swell the enormous tribute of India to England, to get more from those who can not be made to contribute more directly, because taxation can not be enlarged in form and ingenuity can not invent better means of extortion, the money standard itself is to be changed, and money is to be made more valuable in fact, though the coins retain the old names.

This means the contribution of more labor, a surrender of more of the products of labor, a heavier burden upon the taxpayer, and a larger amount of revenue for those who receive and who eat the revenues. Should we adopt the Indian policy of robbery? I think not.

Mr. Speaker, I defy any man to say that I have not stated truly the reason for the proposed change from the silver to the gold standard in India. The change is not made to promote the welfare of the people; it is not for the good of the people, but to fill faster the coffers of their oppressors. I, for one, would welcome the time when Britain shall extend her empire in comparative justice and mercy, when, in forcing her policies upon an unwilling world, she shall not shed oceans of blood, sufficient to float all her navies.

I am not here to defend the Sherman act, the unconditional repeal of which we are forced to resist or give up silver coinage. But it is not so bad as the annulment of its provisions by those charged with its enforcement. Under the Administration of Mr. Harrison and his Secretary of the Treasury, from the first day, the first hour the law went into effect until that Administration passed out, after the people had weighed it in the balance and found it wanting, the whole purpose was to discredit silver, to beat down the price of silver, and to prepare the way for such legislation as is urged in this bill now before the House. And, as a Democrat, Mr. Speaker, I note with shame and mortification, and say with regret, that the giant intellect of the present Secretary of the Treasury—the distinguished gentleman who once served and presided in this House, and later was a member of the Senate—that the shining intellect of that great man has arisen to no higher financial achievement in his new office than to copy and follow and sanction the obnoxious financial policy of his predecessor.

If the Sherman act had been executed as it should have been executed, if it were executed to-day as it should be executed, that "parity" which the plain people understand would be established and maintained. The United States by law compel every citizen within our borders to receive as money, when tendered in discharge of debts, these silver dollars and the certificates issued upon them. The Government itself accepts them in payment of all debts and demands. Nowhere within the United States of America, except at the counter where the Government pays out the money of the people, as the agent of the people, is this money discredited. The Secretaries of the Treasury have repudiated the truism that the debtor and not the creditor shall determine what kind of lawful money shall be used to discharge a financial obligation This defiance of law and common sense, and common fairness, and common honesty, they call maintaining a parity between gold and silver.

Once, when the last spark of patriotism had apparently been quenched in blood in unhappy Poland, a field marshal of despotic Russia, his sword reeking in blood, his hands red with blood, could send back to the Czar a bulletin announcing that "Peace reigns in Warsaw." With this law disregarded, and the money of the law and of the American people, good enough everywhere and for everybody except the speculator who makes a raid upon the Treasury in order to injure the Government and its credit, unused, discarded, and dishonored at the Treasury, we are complacently told that "parity has been maintained, but at a great strain."

Mr. Speaker, I have a contempt for that sort of parity; I have a contempt for the sham policy which calls it parity.

In the thoughtful and powerful speech just made by the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] there is food for reflection, not only for the present but for the future There is in it much that it will be well to think over, and it will be read and studied at the firesides of the people. The gentleman has said that the Sherman act is not responsible for the troubles that are upon us: that distress and financial embarrassment and ruin are to be found everywhere over the globe, in every country under the shining sun. As before stated, I agree with the distinguished gentleman, and all seem to agree with him, that the distress which has visited all the children of the earth can not be attributed to a law of a single nation which provides for the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month, and the issuance of silver certificates, which I consider good money, in payment therefor.

I repeat that no Democrat has been able to show, and I predict none will be able to show, good ground for a belief that this purchasing clause of the Sherman act is the cause of present troubles. The Democrats have told the people of this country, over and over for years and years, and told them truly, that the villainous protective tariff has been the great agency in bringing hardship and ruin upon the common people of the land, while vastly and wrongfully increasing the wealth of the favored few. This is the situation in which as a party we find ourselves, and to it the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] has adroitly called attention.

I implore my Democratic brethren who are to-day coöperating with the gentlemen from Maine, and with those whom he so ably leads—I beg of you to note what he has just said. While we Democrats have attributed very much of evil to the protective tariff, he says that the condition now prevailing is largely due to fear that we shall endeavor to revise this tariff, as we are pledged to do, as we are in honor bound to do, and as we must do, or sink beneath the contempt of all decent men in all parties.

Democrats who go with the gentleman from Maine for uncon-

ditional repeal, "to restore confidence," will find it far from easy to resist the pressure for a further supposed "restoration of confidence" by a postponement, and perhaps a substantial surrender, of tariff reform.

If you repeal this bullion-purchasing clause of the Sherman act upon the ground taken here by Democrats who claim to be bimetallists, that such action will tend to restore confidence; that while the Sherman law is not the cause of the present troubles, its repeal is a proper tribute to popular alarm and liable to quiet the public mind, do you not stultify yourselves with reference to the tariff question?

Would you not by administering a quack remedy for a real complaint, as the prescription of the great Democratic party, be consenting, in advance, to postpone or abandon tariff reform, to further restore confidence? The gentleman from Maine is not warning you; he is only notifying you of what will be demanded, after you and he and his Republican following shall have beaten the Democracy of the West and South. He says the popular alarm is brought about in the main by the fear of the people that we will tinker with the tariff, and in due time he will lay before you an abundance of such chamber of commerce evidence as influences you now. If you yield and say "We will repeal this Sherman act, not because we believe its repeal will remove the cause of trouble, but because we hope thereby to hoodwink the people into the belief that repeal is a cure," how can you stand for tariff reform when the advisers whom you now heed demand postponement or abandonment?

Or take the other horn of the dilemma: If you insist that the Sherman law is the real author of our troubles, what have you left to say for tariff reform, early or late?

Even now it is said that certain grave and reverend seigniors, Democratic members of the other body of Congress, have suggested that the tariff can be made to wait, can be thrust aside, if the passage of this measure of unconditional repeal can thus be secured. I do not believe that is true; I can not believe it.

But I do believe and realize that there is that sort of association here between the Democrats who are insisting upon unconditional repeal and will hear of nothing in the way of compromise—who offer nothing, suggest nothing, accept nothing—that sort of association or combination, perhaps without words, perhaps without full comprehension on the part of some of them, which will surely cripple the tariff-reformers. When the Republicans shall have lent their valuable aid here upon this bill, these Democrats will help the Republicans to postpone tariff reform. I am apposed to such course. I am in favor of pushing tariff reform. I thought, and still think, that tariff reform should have been taken up in special session last spring.

I am in favor of treating the American people as an intelligent people. I have faith in their intelligence. I believe the men who legislate here upon the theory that the people can be hoodwinked, can be persuaded to take the shadow for the substance, and pretense for sincerity, underestimate and misjudge this great American nation. Those upon the Democratic side who are with the gentleman from Maine on this question will be forced by the irresistible logic of events of their own creation, by the requirements of their new association, to be with him on the other question, and with him they will be, directly or indirectly. They are driving the nails into the coffin of tariff reform. They may be doing it unwittingly; I believe some of them are, but they are doing it just as surely. They are making material for Republican campaigns; they are causing the Democratic masses to distrust, upon the tariff issue as well as upon the financial question, the sincerity of those whom they have chosen to serve them.

I say, and the Democrats who elected us believe, and we taught them to believe, that the greatest agent in bringing hardship and calamity upon the plain people of our land is the protective tariff.

If, as your cure for present ills, you insist upon the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchase clause of the Sherman law, you must admit that that law and not the tariff is the great source of evil, or that you are content to vote as boards of trade suggest or demand.

Your only escape from the full force of this admission, which your vote will fairly imply, is through the confession that your repeal measure is a species of false pretense. In either case, I leave you to the tender care of the gentleman from Maine and his confreres, who will make it very plain to you and to the country that you are in the path of tariff reform as obstructions. If the Sherman law be the great offender, tariff reform is little needed. Or, if the chambers of commerce and boards of trade shall tell you they will lose confidence if tariff reform be not delayed or abandoned, you misguided Democrats are subscribers in advance to their creed.

It is said, sir, that we alone can not venture upon the experiment of the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Assertion goes against assertion. I deny it. Everything that has been said about the greatness and grandeur of this American people, everything that can be said, all that we know, contradicts our adversaries. Our Government is peculiar, and gentlemen who oppose us certainly lose sight of that fact. Here is a government where, if we, the representatives of the people, are true to ourselves and to those who sent us here, the people's voice shall be omnipotent, the people's policy shall prevail. The people are the sovereign.

Silver has been demonetized in Europe. By the people? No. By governments grown hoary in the perpetration and perpetuation of abuses which we denounce. As well might we undertake to conform our governmental plans and policies generally to those of the Old World as to accept tamely dictation from abroad in money matters. A queen and aristocracy ruling in Great Britain, an emperor and aristocracy in Germany, an autocrat in Russia, a little liberty here and a little there, but the people in large part, deprived of popular rights, and in many lands the popular voice completely hushed—it is under such conditions that gold monometallism has been fixed in those countries.

Their governments differ from ours in principles and in traditions, move in a different direction; they block the way of progress in this nineteenth century. In the Old World we do not find models to follow, but examples to shun. Our Republic has shown on many occasions that we can stand alone and make ourselves heard and felt, if need be, against a hostile world. In 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was penned, there were probably doubters and moral cowards and insincere people who whispered in the ears of the immortal signers that the experiment was hazardous; that it was sure to end in ruin; that all the governments of continental Europe, the powerful and the mighty of earth, were conducted upon different principles. The appeal was not heeded. The Declaration was made, the war was carried on. The command was sternly given through fire and smoke and blood, "Get thee behind me, Satan." The die was cast. The battle was won.

The new bark launched upon the sea of national existence has survived every storm, and still rides the waves in triumph. And now, with a century of glorious life and glorious achievements behind us, the pride and the model and the hope, everywhere upon this earth, of those who love free government, we are told here by grave gentlemen, even by members of our own party—a party pledged to the conservation of popular rights; a party a century old, and a century old because it has been true to popular rights—we are told that we can not do what is just, can not even try what is wise and politic because, forsooth, King William of Germany and the Czar of Russia are not with us! [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I believe we can make the experiment and make it safely. If I doubted this I would still say try it. The people's representatives should feel, as I have no doubt those heroes felt at Lookout Mountain when they were charging up into the unknown region of cloud and fire and smoke, that whenever the command is given to go and wherever duty calls, the true man should go or die trying to go.

I believe that though we may be leading a forlorn hope for the people, deserted in this hour of need by many elected on the same platform as ourselves, having to combat foes in our own household, seeing our chosen captains falling away and leading toward the enemy's camp—I believe that, with the devoted heroism of that thin line of gray which charged through a veritable "valley of death" at Gettysburg, we should go forward. Those who fall in a righteous cause in the line of duty are nobler in their fall than life and opportunity can ever make such as prolong existence by desertion or surrender. I am willing to dare the experiment. The American people are willing to dare it. The people who sent us here from the South and the West, the plain people, the guardians of whose rights we are now, insist upon trying it.

Mr. Speaker, this question is a sectional question. I bring not here sectionalism; I invoke not here the spirit of schism. But I recognize what is before me. Twenty-seven votes from bond-holding and coupon-clipping New England solid for unconditional repeal. Of the 73 votes from the Middle States, powerful New York and imperial Pennsylvania, with New Jersey and Delaware following, but a solitary one is with us. Shall the South and the West be broken and scattered and defeated in this contest which has been forced upon us? We did not bring it here.

No party ever existed in American politics which went before the American people upon a platform demanding the single gold standard. Scarcely a man in the West or the South, be he the greatest or the best man that ever breathed the breath of life, could have come to this Congress upon such a platform. Not a man from the South or the West, excepting the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER], brave in the advocacy of what I believe to be errors, but gallant and manly still—not another one, I be-

lieve, came here except upon some platform—none of which I will analyze now for lack of time—demanding the coinage of gold and silver upon equal terms.

Surely this consideration should admonish us to stand firm for the money of the Constitution, gold and silver, and enlarge the circulating medium of this country by pouring into it the silver dollars which ought to be coined under just law, not discriminating against any metal, class or section.

Mr. Speaker, I am the last man who would voluntarily raise a sectional issue. I am the last one who would (except that I am convinced of the absolute propriety of it under the circumstances) appeal to the sentiment of sectionalism. But when I see massed against us all those who represent concentrated wealth, all whose interest it is to make the dollar represent more of property and call for more of toil and sacrifice and hardship; when I see massed upon the one side the great creditor class of this Union, backed by the great creditor class over the water—I have no trouble in determining my alignment as the Representative of a Southwestern constituency.

When Judgment is looking for the path of duty in the dark, Conscience hangs out a lamp.

If I had nothing else to guide me in this matter I could take my course from the fact—a fact that will sink deep into the minds of the people, a fact that nothing can eradicate, a fact that will live through the months and years, a fact that will be potent in the next election and the next and the next—the fact that as you make the dollars scarcer and more valuable you make all other things sink in price and less valuable. You would increase the burdens of those who are burdened, and enlarge the possessions of those who have much already; and I can not go with you, you queerly banded Democrats and Republicans, in your crusade against the people.

Mr. Speaker, there is another phase of this question to which I invite the attention of the House. I may or may not overestimate its importance. It has been urged here that we should go into the scramble for gold—how? That will come by and by—that will come in the proposed issue of gold-bearing bonds. The surest, safest, cheapest way to secure the aid of bondholding Europe in extending the use and upholding the value of silver money is to cling to silver and gold money and coin and use it ourselves. It is said that Europe has grown distrustful of us.

Our own American people, our own sovereign citizens, the noble men by whose votes we occupy our seats here in this Hall, have not grown distrustful of this great Government. They do not doubt the value of any of our United States money. They are willing to accept it and use it, as they are now doing when they can get it, in the daily concerns of life. They only complain that there is not enough of it, and they ask for more. But the capitalists of Europe, they say, who have purchased our bonds, have grown distrustful of us, and, therefore, say our Eastern mentors, we should pass this unconditional repeal bill, not especially to please or relieve the American citizen and taxpayer, but to remove the fears and restore the confidence of the bondholders in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and beyond the water.

Gentlemen who choose to make laws for that purpose are, of course, their own judges, but for my part, sir, I would feel that I should be beneath the contempt of the humblest and meanest of my constituents if I could forget for one moment that the true object of my being here is to secure as far as I can such action, and raise my voice when I can for such measures as will probably be beneficial to the people of this country.

Sentimental gentlemen may suffer from excessive grief over the doubts and distrust of the owners of Government bonds. I shall not intrude in the winter of their discontent, but shall let my sympathy expend itself upon our American tax-paying citizens. I confess that I would rather do something for the taxpayer than for "those who have invested in our securities." I am for what shall seem to me good, wholesome legislation for the American taxpayer, and shall be willing to leave the unhappy millionaire bondholder to his fate, always remembering that whenever laws are made to suit the creditor they are apt to be hard laws for the debtor.

Nor shall I join the growing procession of the "poor man's" professional friends. What gentleman, in speaking for the gold standard, say for "the poor man" is but a repetition of what the tariff baron has been saying for the same poor man, while try to perpetuate the policy of protection which has made men poor and will keep them in poverty.

Gentlemen say that after adopting the single gold standard we shall be better able to go into the market for gold and to compete for its possession with England and Germany and the other gold-gathering and gold-hoarding monarchies, where the people are voiceless, where money speaks with an authority not resting on the will of the people and absolutely damned by the will of God as the source of power. [Applause.]

Suppose it is true that the bondholders of England and Germany are frightened lest we pay our indebtedness in the money nominated in the bond, as I shall continue to believe we have a legal and moral right to do; and, suppose, further, that we should provide for the coinage of gold and silver, upon equal terms, according to the policy declared in the Chicago platform. Then these foreign bondholders, and the governments which they control, would be interested in entering into such international agreements as would tend to keep our money on a parity, because the United States bonds held by them would be paid in the money of the United States.

If we persist in using both gold and silver upon equal terms our creditors will be interested in the maintenance of the value of our silver coins, for they may be paid in them. But if we rest our finances upon the gold standard, gold will naturally and surely appreciate, and the bondholders will surely get gold from us, for we shall have denied ourselves the use of silver in our dealings with them. Why should they care, then, to help us by means of an international agreement? There would be just one more great nation depending upon gold, and the bondholders would be happy. There would be another nation in the fierce, remorseless struggle for gold, with none but the poor and powerless concerned about turning silver toward the mints. Our people would be still further crushed under the added oppressions of new millionaires, created by act of the American Congress.

But suppose we keep both metals in circulation, and coin both as they come to our mints; suppose, according to our convenience, and not the creditor's choice, we use such money as we have, which means to our people everything that is desirable in finance. Then Europe may join in endeavoring to bring about the rehabilitation of silver; then may the rich men of the Old World be interested in keeping all our money at par; then may come the international agreement for which some gentlemen here seem to long with a longing quite pathetic.

I have said, and all must know, that we are now on a sectional issue, with the Representatives from the Northeast in solid phalanx on the one side. How about the opposing phalanx?

A time may come when in rural Maryland there will be a new meaning to the old familiar line of the song—

The despot's heel is on thy shore, Maryland.

And Maryland may be but a name for the South and West.

With Indiana and Ohio and Illinois and Kentucky rests the fate of this bill.

Oh, for one hour of Hendricks to-day!

One blast upon his bugle horn
Were worth ten Congressmen.

[Laughter.]

Ten is not prophetic accuracy. I yield to the natural inclination toward round numbers. Later on, the yeas and nays will reveal everything.

Oh, for the clarion voice of Allen G. Thurman, and the presence of the grand old man, "The noblest Roman of them all," in this council!

'Tis the sunset of life gives mystic lore,
And coming events cast their shadows before.

In his prime Thurman's vision was clear, and now, with almost mysterious prescience, the old man, in the calm of his retirement from a glorious public career, speaks, as he always spake, for the people!

Oh, for Douglas or Lincoln to speak and vote for Illinois! Oh, for both those giants! for there were giants in those days who rested in the confidence of the people and reflected the popular will.

Mr. Speaker, in kindness of feeling, with regret and with sorrow, I state as my deep conviction that few men from south of the Potomac or west of the Alleghenies who in this Congress are found leagued with the Northeast, forgetting, I fear, their people and the pledges of the past—few of these men will survive the wrath of those who sent them here.

The movement toward the consolidation of the Southern and Western Democracy has just begun. It will acquire impetus. It will go on. It will be resistless. The West has hardly yet awakened to a realization of its vast power, but it will be heard from soon. And the South? The South, traduced, suffering, beaten down—the South, when all things dear to freemen were denied her, when all afflictions and humiliations were heaped upon her, when her rights were memories, when she was robbed and crushed—the South yet remained solid.

Proud, glorious record—the solid South! And, now, what sorrow to the men who have struggled through adversity, the men who have adhered to the Democratic party in all times of trial—what sorrow to them to find in this crucial hour, in this trying time, any Representative from the South breaking away and joining with the representatives of the coupon clippers from New England, to vote for what Wall street demands and the bond-

holders generally desire. The South will view with interest the ground of the new faith of some of her representatives. She will fairly judge motives as well as deeds. If any Representative shall have been found wrong with his eyes open, may God forgive him! I do not know whether the people will. [Applause.]

The man who talks our way and votes the other way is to me a curiosity. He calls himself a bimetallist. He is too modest by at least two syllables. He is a by-and-by metallist. And "The road of By and By leads to the house of Never."

He goes forward by moving backward. He climbs up by sliding down. He turns his back upon the Lord when he prays, and keeps one eye open. Of him and his by-and-by metallism we shall probably say by and by in the language of the Psalmist:

The words of his mouth were smoother than butter, but war was in his heart.

Or admonish him in Emerson's lines:

Go put your creed into your deed,
Nor speak with double tongue.

In Proverbs we read: "The borrower is servant to the lender." I shall not vote to lengthen or harden the service.

Mr. Speaker, upon the average, each Representative in this House is the agent and mouthpiece of more than 180,000 American freemen—men, women, and children. How careful he should be to represent them truly and faithfully.

You might liken the people of each district to an army sleeping upon their arms, weary and worn with marching and fighting. The Representative is doing picket duty. He should not sleep at his post. He should not disturb the camp through causeless fright, nor suffer the foe to surprise the sleepers and destroy them in their confusion.

The people have honored the Representative with their confidence; base he must be if he fails to serve and protect them to the best of his ability. His promises to them are sacred. For the "Well done, thou good and faithful servant," coming from one's constituents, there is no equivalent—it is priceless. Let us stand firm for our people though the heavens fall. [Applause.]

Mr. BLAND. I yield thirty minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WILLIAMS].

[Mr. WILLIAMS of Illinois withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, most of the gentlemen who have addressed the House in this debate have disclaimed being financiers or political economists. Sir, I am both. [Laughter.] But I insist that I am in no way responsible for the present panic and financial trouble. I have kept my money in circulation [laughter], and any person who doubts this has leave to search my stockings for "hoarded" currency. [Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, I have been studying the money problem for the last forty years. [Laughter.] When, as a child, I first began to observe, one of the problems that claimed my attention and aroused my budding curiosity was, why people would exchange their good candy and cakes, for these were the commodities of commerce I most desired then [laughter], for little pieces of silver that were neither beautiful to look on nor good to eat or wear.

I soon discovered that while the money for which everybody seemed to be struggling and contending was not desired for the intrinsic qualities in the metal of which it was made, but for the function it performed in the affairs of the human race—I found that by law and common consent it had been made the medium of exchange, and the standard by which values were measured and time contracts liquidated; that it was the yardstick by which the transactions of the human race were measured; that men parted with what they had that was desired by others, and gave their labor and made all sorts of sacrifices to get money, not because they wanted a piece of gold or silver, but because they wanted money which would, in turn, buy them such commodities as they desired and pay such debts as they may have contracted.

It is the important function in the affairs of men performed by money that puts every man in competition with every other man to obtain it, and not the material of which it is made. All sorts of things have been made to perform this function in various ages of the world, and, except as a matter of convenience, it makes but little difference of what material it is made, so long as it can be made to perform its high and important function. And, in my judgment, much of the confusion that has grown up on this question arises from the fact that people fail to discriminate between the money function and the commodity value of the material of which money is made.

Take gold, for instance. Who doubts that it is the coining privilege, the money use of that metal, that gives it its commodity value? Who can give any estimate of what gold would be worth per ounce if it were not for its money use? Then, how absurd to say that nothing but gold shall be coined as money unless its commodity value in the dollar shall equal the commodity value in the gold dollar, a value that has been given it by the special coinage privilege that has been conferred upon it and denied to other metals by governmental action.

Advocates of gold have induced the Government to destroy the parity between the commodity value of gold and silver, denying one the privilege accorded the other, and they now insist that silver shall never be coined again, because of the want of parity thus destroyed. They are unwilling to undo the wrong done to silver. Let us put it back where it was prior to the act of 1873, by which it was demonetized, and then see if it will not take care of itself. The gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX], in his speech the other day in favor of gold monometallism, spoke of the friends of silver going around like a lot of "gibbering idiots" worshiping silver.

Did it ever occur to him that a "gibbering idiot" might worship gold as well as silver?

Mr. Speaker, I suppose it will not be denied, that as money is the measure of values, the amount of money in the world regulates the money value of all the property in the world. That is, money being the standard by which all property is valued, and money being the one thing desired and competed for by everybody, it is therefore more essentially affected by supply than anything else. It therefore follows that the destruction of one-half of the money of the world would destroy half the money value of all property.

It is true the property would have the same inherent value that it had before, but it would have but half the money value. In other words, the property is the same, but the supply of money having been cut off one-half, its value or purchasing power is doubled. Under these conditions a man who had contracted to pay a certain sum of money before one-half the supply had been destroyed, would afterward have to pay twice the amount in money or labor that he contemplated when the debt was contracted, or that he would have had to pay had the volume of money remained the same.

Gold and silver have been the metals mainly used for the coinage of money for many centuries. Certain ratios have been fixed under the coinage acts of the various governments using these metals which have not been exactly the same at all places and all times. But the variations were very slight up to the time the leading nations of the world began to discriminate against the one and in favor of the other. The two metals worked well side by side and performed well the functions assigned to them, until certain classes, whose interest it was to make money scarce and high and give it the largest purchasing power, began to conspire to curtail the supply of money and to contend for the use of a single metal as money.

Their attacks were made sometimes on gold and sometimes on silver; but it was always made on the metal that would, on account of the amount produced at the time, diminish the supply most, until they settled down on gold as the money metal and determined to destroy silver, so far as its future coinage was concerned. I will not attempt to go into the history of just how they have done this; but suffice it to say that in 1816 silver was demonetized in England; that is, it was denied the right of coinage, and in this country the same thing was done in 1873, and has now been done in all the leading nations of the world. I will pass over the methods by which it was accomplished in the United States, but I do say wherever it has been done it was in the interest of and at the dictation of a small minority in numbers of the people, and against the interest and over the protest of four-fifths, if not nine-tenths, of the human race. It may be asked how this could be done.

I answer that, while it was a small minority in numbers that accomplished it, it was nevertheless a very powerful force by means of the great influence exercised by the moneyed classes in legislation. They had their lobbies and their agents, who looked well after their interest, and by many questionable means procured their ends, while the great masses of the people were following their avocations, unmindful of what was taking place until after it was done. We all know that there are a great many people who think that only those who have plenty of money are financiers, and that only financiers should be heeded as to what the financial policy of governments should be.

Now, Mr. Speaker, when the people of free America found out what had been done, they took a hand in the matter themselves and demanded restoration of silver to the position it occupied prior to 1873. This demand was stoutly resisted by what is known as the money power, but finally resulted in the partial restoration of silver in 1878 under what was known as the Bland-Allison act. That gave us limited coinage and was passed over the Presidential veto.

The Bland-Allison law was a compromise measure and not sat-

isfactory to either the friends or opponents of silver. The classes to whom I have referred as the opponents of silver were dissatisfied that silver was recognized at all, and the masses were not satisfied because silver was not fully restored and given the same chance as a money metal that gold enjoyed. The gold monometallists began the efforts for the repeal of the law, but were unsuccessful, and in 1890 we found in each end of the Capitol a majority of the representatives of the people in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and to checkmate them the Republican majority in both branches coerced the silver Republicans into voting for and passed what the last Democratic national convention denounced as the "cowardly makeshift" known as the "Sherman law."

This law was passed by Republican votes—every Democrat in both branches of Congress voting against it. It repealed the Bland-Allison law of 1878 and provided for the purchasing of 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month at its market price and the issuance of Treasury notes for the same, which added to our circulation from forty to fifty millions of dollars a year. Now, we are called together in extra session and we find the country in the midst of one of the most serious financial panics it ever experienced, and we are told that the Sherman law is responsible for it, and that we must repeal that law without accompanying that repeal with any other act save a declaration in the repealing act which, in effect, declares that all the silver and paper money of the Government outstanding, amounting to nearly $1,000,000,000, shall be redeemable in gold at the pleasure of the holder, with only ninety or one hundred millions of dollars of gold in the Treasury to redeem with!

Mr. Speaker, I will not vote for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law [applause], and especially for the bill known as the Wilson bill.

I never favored the Sherman law. I voted against it, and standing right where I now stand, I spoke against it at the time of its passage. I did not like it then and I do not like it now, but, sir, it is the only law on our statute books providing for any increase in the volume of our currency, and to remove that without substituting anything in its place would, in my opinion, put us very much in the condition of the negro's cow. I saw a letter here some time ago, written to some friends of mine by the negro man who was left in charge of the home in Mississippi, and among other things he said:

> The cow have been very sick; I give her some medicine, and she are now well of the disease, but I think she will die of the remedy.

[Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, I am as anxious as any member on this floor to cure the country of the disease, but I do not intend to vote for a remedy that will be worse than the disease itself.

Mr. Speaker, I am no defender of or apologist for the Sherman law. The Republicans who passed it over our protest have abandoned it, and I am not going to the rescue of their bastard offspring. I never favored the purchase and storage of silver bullion and I do not favor it now. I favor silver money, but, sir, I do not believe for a moment that the Sherman law or our silver money is responsible for the distressing financial condition with which we are confronted.

I have not the time to give in detail the causes which have, in my opinion, brought us to this condition, but this depression is worldwide and is affecting the people of all nations, more or less where the Sherman law can have no effect. Besides this, in this country we have been living for many years in the midst of great governmental and individual extravagance. People have overtraded themselves, and pay-day has come. In my judgment one of the most potent causes of this trouble lies in a fact that has been stated here by almost every advocate of monometallism who has spoken in this debate, that is, that 95 per cent of the business of the country is done by checks, drafts, and credits, and they argue that for that reason we do not need much money.

I admit the fact that 95 per cent, or maybe more, of our business transactions are done with drafts, checks, credits, and clearing-house certificates; but I do say that that is a condition which intensifies rather than mitigates such conditions as confront us now. Our whole financial machinery is overloaded with credit. It is top-heavy, and whenever there comes the least distrust, panic and financial disaster is the logical consequence of our present system.

Let me illustrate: At the beginning of this trouble the national, State, and savings banks in this country owed about $5,000,000,000, and they had in their vaults about $500,000,000; about 10 per cent of their liabilities. I can not imagine a condition more fraught with danger of financial disaster. It is well enough while everything moves on smoothly and everybody has confidence and the people are willing to let the banks keep their money and lend it to others; but the very moment distrust sets in, the banks begin to gather in all the money they can get to meet runs made on them by their depositors; distrust widens as money grows scarcer, and people who have money on deposit get uneasy lest the banks will not have it, and they begin to call for their own and lock it up or hide it; and the consequence is that the larger the proportion of credits to the amount of actual money the greater the danger of financial disaster.

When the confidence that supplied the difference between the $500,000,000 and the $5,000,000,000 is shaken, panic and ruin is the necessary result; and this, although used as an argument by those who claim we have more money than is necessary, is, in my opinion, one of the strongest points against their contention. I have tried this scheme of doing 95 per cent of my business on a credit basis [laughter and applause]; but, Mr. Speaker, it does not work well, for now my creditors are clamorous for me to do something to restore confidence. [Great laughter.]

We are told by the advocates of repeal that the cause of this panic is the distrust of our money on account of the purchase and use of silver.

It does seem to me that if there ever was a contention, the untruth of which is clearly demonstrated by the facts, this is one. The very money you say the people are afraid of is the very money they are hoarding. If they thought it bad money they would be getting rid of it instead of hoarding it. The very money they say the people are afraid of is at a premium to-day over gold. No; it is not a want of confidence in the money that is making the trouble; but it is the fear the people have that they can not get their money when they want it that is making the trouble.

In my opinion the opponents of silver, in their anxiety to have the Sherman law unconditionally repealed, have manufactured this panic. I do not charge that all of them intended it, or that any of them intended to make it as bad as it is, but I do believe that, by their predictions of the evils that were coming and their advertisement of the drainage of gold, and the manipulation of some of them of the shipment of gold abroad, in the hope of forcing the repeal of the Sherman law and the sale of gold bonds, they have been the chief factors in destroying public confidence in the financial condition of the country.

They have started a panic they can not control, and now they are appealing to us to take such action as they say will restore confidence and induce the people to put their money back into the banks that they may lend it out at a larger rate of interest than ever. I am squarely at issue with those gentlemen. Several of them who have spoken on the other side of this question have contended that the cause of the trouble is we have got too much money.

There may be too much for those who have money and fixed incomes and money obligations due them, but not for nine-tenths of the people. I also am at issue with those who claim that we have even a sufficient supply of money. I would be willing to-day to submit that question to the voters of this country, feeling assured that at least three-fourths of them would vote with me in favor of an increase of our money circulation. I do not agree with my friend and colleague [Mr. CATCHINGS], who in his very able speech against silver the other day contended that our people in the South were, of all others, least interested in a larger volume of currency. He argued that even a contraction of the currency only affected people who owed long-time debts, and that what indebtedness there was due by our Southern people was on contracts of only a few months duration.

My notion is that the people of my State are largely debtors, and that these debts are made up of balances that have gone over from year to year for many years back, and that the increased value of money, as compared with the value or prices to be obtained for their products or their property is so great that it is almost impossible for a person to make money to pay debts with. If he will go to the records in our counties and see the large number of mortgages given to foreign money lenders, when they would not advance more than two-thirds or one-half the supposed value of the lands when the money was loaned, he will find that many of them have been foreclosed and that many others are ready to be foreclosed, and that the lands will not now pay the mortgage debt. He will then see how appreciating money is serving our people.

He is also mistaken in supposing that our people do not need or want much money in their business transactions. The man he spoke of, who carried his cotton to town and sold it to one man and got an order with which he paid a debt, or got meat from another, is not satisfied with that system. Our farmers who raise cotton like to handle the actual cash, even if they have to put it out. It makes them feel better and richer and restores confidence with them to have money, even temporarily. I have heard gentlemen in this debate talk much of the evils of an inflated currency, but I believe that more of wrong and misery and ruin and cruel oppression has resulted from the contraction

of the supply of money than from any other cause, and I believe the history of the world will bear me out in this statement.

What can be worse than a declining scale of prices? It drives people out of business, causes bankruptcy, checks enterprise, unsettles and destroys confidence, and either brings the world to a standstill or turns it back in the march of progress. I have heard a great deal said here about an "honest dollar." It is a great "fad" here for gentlemen to proclaim their devotion to an honest dollar. I do not know when I have ever witnessed such an exhibition of verbal honesty. [Laughter.] They are very solicitous about an honest dollar for the creditor, but I do not hear much about it for the debtor. If a man owes a debt that he can pay in silver or gold you come along and take away from him the right to pay it in silver by robbing silver of its place as a coin metal and force him to pay it in gold, which is made dear and harder to get by this action, and do this in the name of an honest dollar.

What a mockery! I am no advocate of anything dishonest, but if legislation is to help one or the other, or one class at the expense of the other, is it not better that the weaker, the debtor class, should have the benefit of the legislation? I am, at least, unwilling to restrain all progress for fear some one will have an easier time in paying his obligations than those he owed desired. My information is that the nation that is suffering the least to-day from the depression of the times is France, which country has the largest per capita circulation of money of any country in the world, and the largest amount of silver money as compared with any other country.

With but little more than half the population of the United States, with not one-tenth the ore and nothing like the facility for absorbing money that we have, they have twice as much money as we have and twice as much silver. I am a believer in a much larger circulating medium than we have, and I want to warn gentlemen here to-day that in my judgment the people are going to have it. They are willing to take it now in silver, but if you deprive them of silver and attempt to hold them down to monometallism and the gold standard you may look out for the Greenbackers, who have been so much derided by some of the speakers in this debate. And I say now that I prefer an inflation with greenback paper money to a contraction of the currency. I am not an advocate of silver for silver's sake, but I am contending for more money than the gold standard will give, and I do not think the free coinage of silver would give us too much—at least not for a long time—and then when we get enough we can quit.

Silver and gold have been so long money metals and they have not afforded more money than the world needs in my opinion.

The difficulty of procuring them is a good safeguard against the business being overdone; but if those who are wanting us confined to gold succeed now, in my judgment the people who have been forced to do without silver will after awhile conclude to do without metallic money. We are told we must have a dollar good in every part of the world. Now, Mr. Speaker, I never needed a dollar outside of the United States in my life, and I think most of our people are in the same condition. We do not propose to be externally impoverished in our money supply in order to accommodate people who want a dollar good somewhere else.

I am a great believer in our own country. This lovely land of ours, so boundless in its resources, so salubrious in its climate, so benign in its government, so incalculable in its strength, so matchless in its people—all in all it is the pride and glory of its own people, and the envy and admiration of the rest of the world. With this view of our own America, how humiliating it is to hear it argued here that we are dependent on other nations for a financial system that will make our people independent of the sordid policy of England.

We do not expect to terminate all relations with the outside world by regulating our own financial system. We will have many things they will want and must have; we will send them our wheat, cotton, corn, meat, and other products in exchange for what we get from them if they will not take our money; and I want to dissent right here from the position so much contended for here, that we must so shape our legislation as to attract to our shores foreign money.

Mr. Speaker, I have given the subject much consideration, and my judgment is that people are better off who do business on their own capital. If foreign money comes here it comes to earn dividends and interest, and in times like these it runs away and aggravates our trouble at the very time we need it most.

I want plenty of American money for Americans. [Applause.] Why is it that England insists on the single gold standard? Now, is it because England is the creditor nation of the world, and she desires just what creditor classes generally desire—a dearer money returned than she let out? Mr. Gladstone in a speech of few months ago, speaking of the international monetary conference at Brussels, made use of the following language:

> Why continue the conference? What necessity is there for England to send any more commissioners? We do not intend to have anything but the gold standard: we are the creditor people of the world, and we want money to have the highest purchasing capacity, the largest quantity of which can be put in the smallest bulk.

This states the whole case in a nutshell. Now, the trouble with us is that New York and the East occupy to us just the same position England occupies to the rest of the world. They constitute the creditor classes in this country, and they are interested just as Mr. Gladstone said England was, and want money to have the highest purchasing and smallest debt-paying power. I have had some requests from boards of trade and other commercial bodies to vote for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman bill, but I prefer to respond to what I believe to be the interest and wishes of the great body of the people who sent me here to represent them. I came here determined to give my vote for every practical measure that was offered me for increasing the currency.

I will vote, when I have a chance, for the repeal of the 10 per cent tax on State banks. I will vote for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, and for every other measure looking to an increase of the currency except that of giving increased facilities to national banks. I have never fought national banks. I expected when I came here to vote for a liberal policy towards them, but I have become convinced that they are a dangerous power in this land and that they have determined to control the finances and financial policy of this country in their own interest, and I am against them, and I propose to fight them. If I had the time I could give many good reasons why I have arrived at this conclusion. I believe it is a power the people must destroy or it will destroy the people.

I think most of the great metropolitan papers are in their pay, and I see many other signs of their corrupting power. I want to give you an additional reason why some of the people who are urging this repeal should not be gratified. It just proves what I have said about the methods resorted to for the destruction of silver. Now, this is the honest confession of Mr. WALKER, who is a leading Republican light on finance, in his speech for repeal on the floor of this House the other day. He said:

> That the purchase clause of the silver law of July 14, 1890, is a menace to the best economic conditions of our people and ought to be at once repealed is practically unanimously agreed to by all. None see its uneconomic provisions or are more earnest to wipe them from the statute books than those who framed it. They see them now no more clearly than they did on the day they framed it and secured its passage.

Gentlemen, that is an awful acknowledgment by the gentleman from Massachusetts and a terrible arraignment of the Republican party. I have said a good many hard things about the party, but I never said anything that was as hard as that. I never said that they foresaw this ruin that has now overtaken us, that has prostrated every industry of the country, in order to get rid of silver. He gives the reason for its enactment. He goes on to say:

> It was framed and passed to repeal the far worse Bland-Allison act of 1878, and to break up and defeat the free-coinage forces of 1890; to be itself destroyed, after having done its work, which is already accomplished. It now stands as the last fortress of error, in which are massed all the forces of unsound financial theories. When its walls are leveled to the ground the enemies of sound money, who were skillfully allured within its walls in 1890, will be dispersed, never again to win another strategic position.

There, Mr. Speaker, is the opinion of the gentleman from Massachusetts. The gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] spoke to-day in much more bitter and severer language than I am able to command of finesse in legislation by which the people are unduly deprived of something that they esteem as worth something to them. But here one of the framers, promoters, and advocates of the Sherman law says it was—

> framed and passed to repeal the far worse Bland-Allison act of 1878, and to break up and defeat the free-coinage forces of 1890.

In other words, the walls that protected silver were to be torn down and the friends of silver will never again obtain a strategic position in this country.

Gentlemen, there is a great deal of truth in it, and I admire the candor of the gentleman who has the manhood to come up here and tell how it was done. Those of you who think it is your duty to help them tear down the walls upon us go with them; but I tell you, gentlemen, for one I am not willing to do it. [Applause.] I am a rebel by nature against oppression and wrong. [Applause.] I do not propose to be driven or bullied into doing that which, in my humble judgment, is a bad thing for the great mass of people who have sent me here as their representative.

Mr. Speaker, I have made many speeches against the financial policy of the Republican party. I have made a great impression on my audience when I have denounced their policies and practices. [Laughter.] I know of many of my Democratic friends over here who have achieved some of their

greatest victories in denouncing in thunder tones the "deep damnation" of the "taking off" of silver by the Republican party. I did the same thing, but I meant and believed in what I said. Now, I find some of the loudest-mouthed Democratic orators—some who always supposed they were real and devoted friends of silver—making speeches here, the only logic of which is that the best the Republicans could have done and the only wise thing they could do was to demonetize silver; and if I occupied the position of a good many of my friends over here on this side of the House, I should get up now and make an apology to the Republican party for having denounced it. [Laughter.]

There is a story that I once told in this House, but as the personnel of the House has changed a good deal since then, and as the story seems very appropriate to this occasion, I may venture to tell it again for the benefit of some of my friends here who are in such thorough accord with the Republican financial policies now, although they have secured their own election and the success of their party by denouncing those policies in the past. Two of my constituents were candidates for the office of county treasurer of Alcorn County. One of them had held the office for two terms and the other was running against him in opposition to the third term. This man who was running for the office the first time followed his competitor all over that county denouncing the proposition to elect a man to office for a third term.

The people indorsed him and he was elected in opposition to the third-term candidate. He held the office himself for two terms and the election was approaching. The time was coming when he must get out of office himself or go back on the platform upon which he had been elected. The situation was serious. [Laughter.] He came to town one morning and said, "Boys, have any of you seen anything of Beech Mitchell?" Beech Mitchell was the man whom he had beaten. They told him that Beech was in town. "Well," said he, "I want to see him; I feel that I owe him an apology. [Laughter.] Four years ago I ran against him for the office of treasurer in this county and I beat him on the third-term issue. I had heard this talk about Grant and the third term and I thought the third-term principle was all wrong. At that time I had never reflected very much about the question, but since that time I have thought about it a good deal, and when you come to apply that principle to the office of county treasurer there is not a thing in the world in it, and I thank God I have the manhood when I see I am wrong to acknowledge it." [Great laughter.]

And now, my friends, those of you who received compliments from the distinguished gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] to-day, and those who have been lauded for bravery and acumen in this debate, everyone of you who has been going around the country denouncing the Republican party for its financial policy and the ruin and the wreck it wrought on the country by its policies all the time, you ought like my friend, when you find you are wrong, have the courage to get up here and say you apologize humbly to the Republican party. [Laughter and applause.] Mr. Speaker, I never believed I was wrong, and I do not believe it yet.

We have heard a great deal of oral bimetallism from the anti-silver men in this debate. They are going to kill silver to get bimetallism. When I see these gentlemen who say that they are advocates of bimetallism traveling along the same road with men who admit that they are advocates of monometallism, I can not help but believe that somebody is on the wrong road, and I think that the friends of monometallism know just where they are going.

But we are told, Mr. Speaker, that we are going very wrong about this matter because the President of the United States has marked out a different programme for us, and the gentlemen who occupy a position antagonistic to the one I occupy to-day are set down now as the friends of the Administration. Why, Mr. Speaker, I would have to retract a great deal more than any of these gentlemen who have retracted their views on silver, if I were not a friend of the Administration. Why, I helped to make the Administration. [Laughter.] I have made more speeches and more good speeches [laughter] and bragged more on the Administration! [Laughter.] Why, in a private conversation between my friend PATTERSON and myself last winter, after the election, it was mutually conceded by both of us that we had done more to bring about his election than any other two men in the country. [Laughter.]

Why, we are getting into a pretty position here, if these gentlemen's ideas are correct—if the men who favor the repeal are the only friends of the Administration. Just think of it! The gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON] and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] the friends of the Administration, and all of us fellows kept out in the cold! [Laughter.] Why, gentlemen, do you know what it is that gave President Cleveland such a hold upon the affections of the American people? It was the fact that he had backbone and the courage of his convictions. [Applause.] I would like to know what sort of an estimate he puts upon gentlemen here in the House who can give no other reason for their change of front than that the Administration wants it. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Speaker, a conversation I had with the President one time, in one of our long, pleasant interviews [laughter], when he said to me that the Democrats were not like the Republicans; that they could not be controlled and hurled as a mass, but that the Democrats were men of independent thought, and that was what made a great party. [Loud applause.]

Why, gentlemen talk about breaking up, by reason of my exercising my convictions, the long-standing intimacy between the President and myself. You can not do it. [Great laughter.]

My good friend from New York [Mr. CUMMINGS] got a little off the other day and gave some of the Southern Democrats a little lecture about having put Grover Cleveland on them, and now "we must take our medicine." We put him on you as President, and then we elected ourselves here as members of Congress. [Applause and loud laughter.] I think, Mr. Speaker, that we had better have another bill or two introduced here—one to restore a parity between the executive and legislative branches of the Government [great laughter and applause], and then another to restore a parity of backbone to some great men. [Laughter.] No, sir; I know that I could pay the President no greater compliment than to imitate him by doing, in my official capacity here as a Representative of a district in Mississippi, just what the dictates of my conscience direct me to do. I know, I am sure, that will meet his approval, and if it would not, gentlemen, I would have to take back many thousands of the good things I have said about him. [Laughter and applause.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. ALLEN. What a pity I have not an hour longer. [Great laughter.]

[Mr. COCKRAN withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from New York, whose financial theories evidently emanated from the manipulations of the Stock Exchange and in the dismal retreats of Wall street, if he had only come to that great country, come there whence he tells us the agricultural products are shipped abroad for the purpose of bringing to this country the gold to sustain the public credit—if he would go with me and hear the people discussing these financial questions he would readily understand why it is that the gentleman from New York and myself so radically differ.

Mr. Speaker, it is true, as the gentleman stated, that it is the product of the soil of this country to which the financiers of this country look for the purpose of bringing back the hoarded gold of Europe, so as to maintain our present financial system, a system under which the gentleman failed to tell us the difficulties the farmers labor under in performing this patriotic service. He did not tell us, Mr. Speaker, that by the financial policy of this Government and that of England and Germany, there has been a "corner" upon gold. And when I speak of that, Mr. Speaker, I do so not only as a Representative on this floor, but from the best opinion of financiers the world over, that the legislation of this country, England, and Germany has made a practical "corner" upon the gold of the world.

As gold is forced up all else is forced down.

The farmer—who has to maintain public credit with wheat at 40 or 50 cents a bushel, with cotton and all exports forced down in like proportion—the farmer cries aloud against your gold standard being put upon his neck.

And as long as gold, by means of the legislation of this and other countries, is cornered by the financial institutions of this country they are in a position to exact from the farmers of the South and the West their own price for this cornered gold.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] speaks of bimetallism as if it had never been maintained in any country, and if dogmatic statements enforced by physical vigor in this House amount to an argument, I must accord to the gentleman from New York the credit of having made an able argument on that question. But all of his dogmatic statements are in the face of history and of truth. We have stated upon this floor, sir, that France maintained a bimetallic standard for over seventy years. That is a matter of public history and all the authorities upon this subject, and especially all bimetallists and all who desire the restoration of silver, admit that there was no difficulty in keeping an equality between gold and silver coin until that bimetallic system of France was dislocated and coinage suspended.

When was it that we had a gold and silver question in this country, and when did such a question arise in other countries? Not until France suspended the coinage of silver had we any silver question here at all. The only object of all your mone-

tary commissions has been to do what? To restore silver to where it was before the free coinage of silver in France was suspended. In all our history, Mr. Speaker, gold and silver circulated throughout the world at a practical parity ever since the establishment of the French ratio, and in all our history since that time silver the world over has maintained practically the price at the French mint regulating the difference between gold and silver.

The gentleman cites some authorities here, for temporary use, to show that gold at one time in some particular quarter of the world was a little above the par of silver at the French mint, or *vice versa*, just such instances as we have seen in our own country since this panic began where the gold dollar and the silver dollar and the greenback dollar have all been at a premium. Such instances do not disprove the general proposition. The gentleman had the hardihood to challenge me to show where any country with the bimetallic standard had gold and silver in circulation.

Why, Mr. Speaker, I have here Atkinson on Bimetallism in Europe. He is supposed to be a gold-standard advocate, yet he gives the coinages at the French mint beginning with the years 1851 and to 1850, and we find that in 1851 France coined of gold, in round numbers, 269,000,000 francs, and 59,000,000 of silver for legal tender; in 1852, 27,000,000 of gold and 71,000,000 of silver. in 1853, 312,000,000 of gold and 20,000.000 of silver; and, coming down to 1870 France coined 55,000,000 of gold and 53,000,000 of silver, and in 1871, 50,000,000 of gold and 4,0 0,000 of silver.

This record does not go back beyond 1851, but down to the time when France suspended the coinage of silver we find that both gold and silver were coined at the French mint at the ratio of 15½ to 1. Now, what about the ratios? They were, in 1851, 15.35; in 1852, 15.42, and, taking the whole period from 1852 to 1871, they range along about 15½.

Now, Mr. Speaker, in confirmation of the statement that France was enabled to coin the two metals freely at the ratio fixed at the mint, I will have read again a statement which I had read in this House some days ago.

The Clerk read as follows:

Nor does it appear to us *a priori* unreasonable to believe that the existence in the Latin Union of a bimetallic system with the ratio of 15½ fixed between the two metals, should have been capable of keeping the market price of silver steady at approximately that ratio.

The view that it could affect the market price to the extent to which there was a demand for it for currency purposes in the Latin Union, or to which it was actually taken to the mints of this country is, we think, faultless.

The fact that the owner of silver could, in the last resort, take it to the mints and have it converted into coin which would purchase commodities at the ratio of 15½ silver to 1 of gold would, in our opinion, be likely to affect the price of silver in the market generally, whoever the purchaser and for whatever country it was destined. It would enable the seller to stand out for a price approximating to the legal ratio, and would tend to keep the market steady at about that point.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, as I stated in my former remarks in this House, that proposition was advanced by the six gold monometallists of Great Britain in the royal commission of 1888. While dissenting as to the propriety of England adopting bimetallism, proposed by the other six, who were bimetallists, they agreed that France did maintain the fixed relation at 15½ practically the world over by coining both gold and silver at that ratio: upon the principle that France being a nation of sufficient wealth, all her wealth was offered to the markets of the world for gold and silver—silver at 15½ to gold at 1—and that no matter where in the world the silver was it could be brought to the French mints and coined and exchanged for French commodities at that ratio; that no matter in what quarter of the globe the holder had his silver, he could dispose of it at the value fixed by the French mints, less the cost of transportation.

And, Mr. Speaker, the small differences between gold and silver which appeared in the gentleman's statistics, in some localities, is accounted for by the cost of transportation or exchange. So that when the gentleman challenges me on this floor to produce an instance in all history where any nation has maintained the bimetallic standard, I produce it here: I show the proof; and if all the propositions and statistics of the gentleman are as fallacious as this, his whole argument falls to the ground. I have accepted the gentleman's challenge, and I dare him, if he is present, to contradict what I say. I believe, however, he has fled from the field and I suppose given up his argument, especially on this question.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I propose to discuss for a moment the propositions immediately under consideration, as presented in the bill offered by the gentleman from West Virginia. I suppose every member has read it and it is not necessary for me to have it read now. It does not propose the repeal of the Sherman law. And when we are appealed to on this side of the House to support the proposition, upon the declaration that it is in conformity to our platform, I reply no; the platform demanded the repeal of the Sherman law, not simply of the purchasing clause.

This bill, instead of repealing the Sherman law, proposes to leave that law standing—all except that part requiring the purchase of silver bullion. And what part is to be left standing? That portion of the Sherman law which gives to the Secretary of the Treasury the authority to redeem the notes issued in purchase of this bullion in gold at his discretion, "it being," according to the language of the Sherman law, "the established policy of the Government to keep the two metals at a parity." I heard it stated on the floor during this debate—I heard it said to-day by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. CLARKE]—that I had denounced the Sherman law on this floor as the "murder of silver." And why did I so denounce it? Because, as I pointed out at the time, the notes issued for the purchase of silver bullion would not be redeemed in standard silver dollars, but in gold, so that we would no longer have a paper dollar redeemed with a dollar coined from the bullion, but the strain of redemption would be placed upon gold alone.

And this very objection which the Democrats in this House made to the Sherman law—the very objection which I made to the measure when I first met it in conference—that the notes would, by hostile administrative construction be redeemed not in the dollars coined from the bullion but in gold, this fundamental objection applies to the law as it stands unrepealed to-day. More than that, Mr. Speaker; the Wilson bill goes still further; it not only leaves this portion of the Sherman law in full operation and effect, but in the closing paragraph it declares that all the silver dollars and certificates—I believe all the different certificates issued by the Government—must be redeemed in gold. That is what it means, if it means anything. So that in a declaration which is to accompany this repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law we are asked to go further and declare by a new enactment to be placed upon the statute book that all the silver in this country and everything issued upon it must be redeemed in gold. And yet gentlemen say that this bill is a measure to repeal the Sherman law.

If we can place upon that bill an amendment providing for the free coinage of silver and the issuing of silver certificates, as the bill offered by myself proposes, we shall render nugatory the Sherman law and that portion of this bill which provides for gold redemption, because the silver certificates issued in pursuance of the law of 1878 and the certificates which will be issued under the bill which I have offered will be issued upon the silver dollar, will be redeemable in silver dollars, and gold will have nothing to do with them.

The first proposition, Mr. Speaker, is to coin the standard silver dollar at the ratio of 16 to 1. That will be the first proposition voted upon when we come here next Monday. It provides for continuing the coinage of the standard silver dollar of 412½ grains of standard silver, which is to be a legal tender for all debts, public and private, and on which silver certificates may be issued redeemable in silver dollars and receivable for all public debts and dues. Should the ratio of 16 to 1 fail, then the ratios of 17 to 1, 18 to 1, 19 to 1, and 20 to 1 are to be voted upon successively.

Upon the question of the ratio I am in favor of coining at the present ratio, because all the money of the world in circulation to-day in countries having gold and silver coinage, as in the Latin Union, is at the ratio of about 15½ to 1. Here $3,000,000,000 of silver money is in circulation to-day at about that ratio. In adjusting the ratio, while it might be proper under other conditions and circumstances to take into consideration the difference in the bullion value of the two metals, yet in the present condition of things, when all admit that it is hostile legislation which has caused the divergence between the two metals, and when it is thoroughly understood that the ratio of the world is about 15½ to 1, I see no reason whatever for changing our ratio.

Taking the production of gold and silver for the last one hundred years (I have statistics which I will print with my remarks), we find what state of facts? That at the ratio of 15½ to 1 there has been a uniform production during the last hundred years of about the same amount of silver and the same amount of gold—something over $5,000,000,000 of gold and $5,000,000,000 of silver, amounting to over $10,000,000,000 altogether since 1792. Thus we see that the ratio of production for one hundred years has been about 15½ to 1, corresponding with the ratio of coinage in the different countries of the world and the ratio in which gold and silver are in circulation. And, what is more to the point in this discussion, we find that notwithstanding for the last hundred years there has been a production of over $10,000,000,000 of gold and silver, yet one-third of that amount has gone into use in the arts.

We have only about $7,000,000,000 of the two metals in circulation, and there have been over $3,000,000,000 that have gone into other uses. It is claimed to-day by authorities most accepted in this country that the production of gold, the annual output and

considerably more of it, is going into the arts year by year, and that nothing will be left to replenish the circulating medium.

Now, sir, we have some remarkable statistics given and which have been furnished in this discussion. In the first place the Secretary of the Treasury in a statement published in the newspapers a short time before the convening of Congress, as an argument why the Sherman law should be repealed, insists that we, by the purchase of silver bullion, had lost about $10,000,000. We have a statement here from the Secretary of the Treasury, in answer to a resolution of inquiry of the House of August 19, 1893, requesting the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish the House with the amount of bullion purchased and the other matters relating to it. The Secretary says:

The number of ounces of silver bullion purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, from August 13, 1890, to August 16, 1893, inclusive, was 161,521,000 fine ounces, costing $151,669,000.

The highest price paid was 120⅛ cents per ounce, August 20, 1890, and the lowest price was on the 4th day of July, 1893, as shown by this statement of the Secretary. Now, the amount of bullion purchased was 161,000,000 of fine ounces in round numbers, costing $150,000,000 in Treasury notes. One hundred and sixty-one millions of fine ounces of silver will coin $208,362,090. The cost is $150,115,985. So that there has been a gain upon the coinage value of $58,000,000 to the Government of the United States instead of a loss of $10,000,000, as contended for by the Secretary of the Treasury.

Now, Mr. Speaker, when the Secretary of the Treasury undertakes to discourage the idea of coining at the ratio of 20 to 1 he insists that it will occasion a loss to the Government of about $77,000,000 in the recoinage of the standard dollar, and about $17,000,000 in the recoinage of the subsidiary coins. How is that loss arrived at? By the purchase of new bullion. It seems to me, sir, that it is a poor rule that does not work both ways. If the Government to-day will lose $77,000,000 by recoining the standard silver dollar, how can the Secretary of the Treasury contend that the Government has lost $10,000,000 in purchasing bullion which if coined into dollars would show a gain of $58,000,000 to the Government and people?

But the bill proposes a change of ratio from 16 to 1 to 17, or 18, or 19, or 20 to 1, and does not propose to recoin the standard silver dollar. There is no necessity for the recoinage of the standard silver dollar in any event. Nor will the standard silver dollar be disturbed by an amendment to be offered to that bill. The first proposition is to coin freely the standard silver dollar of 412½ grains, and in the bill it is denominated the standard silver dollar. But when we depart from the standard silver dollar and change the ratio, then the amendment does not propose to coin a standard silver dollar, but simply to coin a dollar, regarding it as merely a tentative and temporary proposition.

It is to coin a silver dollar at the ratio that may be fixed on, and not the standard dollar. That, I repeat, is not disturbed by any amendment. That is left just where it is, with the standard silver dollar at the old ratio and the old dollar. They are in circulation to-day at par, and if we coin the silver at a new ratio of 20 to 1, then the standard silver dollar will still circulate at par. It will not be exported. It will remain to do duty for domestic purposes. If we coin at 20 to 1 and, as we contend, restore the parity between silver and gold bullion, wherever there is a call for the export of silver the 20 to 1 dollar will be exported and the standard dollar will remain. The 20 to 1 will be exported at the value given to it, however, by our mints, and not at the value that speculators in bullion may put upon it in the London market or in other markets.

There are two hostile forces on this floor in all this money question. It is not confined alone to the silver question, and gentlemen must sooner or later array themselves on one side or the other. What are the propositions to be submitted for the issuing of money by the people of this country? The free coinage of silver at any ratio fixes the amount that the people of the country shall issue from their own mints, their own money, and not to be issued by banking institutions. Now, so far as the Sherman bill is concerned, that does issue money to the people, not farming it out to the banks; it issues the Treasury note, it issues the greenback; and what harm does the silver do in the Treasury, I would ask?

When we come down to the real proposition, the merits of the question, while the Sherman law is not in conformity with bimetallism, and looks to a gold redemption—not being in any sense of the word a good silver law—yet it issues greenbacks to the extent of $40,000,000 or $50,000,000 and puts them in circulation, and every ounce of bullion purchased and put into the Treasury, whether it be worth 60 or 70 cents an ounce, is that much wealth and property to stand behind the greenback in the place of gold if the silver is coined. There is no loss about it.

And we hear that this legislation is to be followed by something else. The gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN], who completed his magnificent refutations of the facts of history by appealing in his peroration to us about the glories of the nation and all that, has gone off, I suppose, to receive the congratulations of his friends; but I want him if he is here within the sound of my voice to hear this statement, that I will prove, that these theories which he announces and the system he advocates will be voted against by himself before he is many days or years older. He has contended that we have a redundancy of currency, and hence we ought to repeal the Sherman law.

The theory of the gentleman is based on the assumption that the circulating medium of the country has outgrown the demands of trade and commerce and has become redundant, and not that our disturbed financial situation caused the panic which we have to-day. And yet if the gentleman votes against the issuing of greenbacks or legal-tender notes, he will vote, in my opinion—watch the record—to give to the national banks the power to issue circulating notes to the full value of their bonds, which will put in circulation immediately something like $200,000,000; that, Mr. Speaker, he will advocate a policy looking to the further issuing of bonds, taking the tax off of the circulation of national banks and making it easy by that system to issue money almost without limit. He will vote to take from the masses of the people of this country the right to issue their own money of their own Government and turn it over to the monopolists of Wall street and Lombard street. There is no consistency in his argument. None whatever.

So, Mr. Speaker, we have these two systems to meet. It has been a fight in this House ever since the currency question has been up for consideration, ever since 1878. The proposition has been, Shall the people, by the Government, command the issuing of the money themselves, and issue it from the mints and the Treasury, or will the whole power of the Government in that regard be surrendered to banking corporations and individuals?

I claim to represent that part of the Democratic party, and I believe it is a large majority, that agree with the opinions of Jackson and Benton that the Government should issue its own money and should never farm it out to the banks. That has been Democracy ever since I knew what Democracy meant. There is an admission on all hands that there must be more money put in circulation. Schemes are devised for this purpose, and all who propose to demonetize silver insist on national-bank issues; to farm out to banking corporations the right to issue the money of the people, to take it from the people and the people's Government and the people's representatives and confide it to men or corporations, who, for the purpose of extorting this legislation from Congress, have locked up the money of the people, and they are now locking it up and telling us in so many words they will not let it out unless they get what they want from Congress. I desire to have read in this connection the following editorial taken from a recent issue of New York Evening Post.

We hear a great many reports from Washington to the effect that the Senate is firm against any repeal of the silver-purchase law. We advise the public to attach little importance to the state of mind which prevails at the present moment in the Senate or among the Senators' constituents. The medicine of the silver crisis is still working and the pangs which it produces will become more acute as time goes on. One calamity will come thundering after another until the only possible remedy is applied. Banks will fail, railroads will default, manufactories will close, workingmen will lose their situations, there will be a shortage of money for crop-moving, affairs will grow steadily worse, until the mind cure is effected. Senators may roar against capitalists till the crack of doom without opening the pocketbook of one of them. In fact, the louder they roar the tighter will those pocketbooks be closed. Nor will the time ever again come when money can be obtained with the customary ease so long as that silver law stands unrepealed. Hence we repeat that the frame of mind that the Senate may be in at the present time is no index of what it may be two weeks hence. There is dynamite enough in the financial situation to burst the Senate and both political parties.

Now, Mr. Speaker, that purports to have been taken from the New York Evening Post, a paper which we all know is a gold advocate, and printed in a reputable newspaper in St. Louis—the Republic; and the extract, as quoted, advises the banking interests of this country to do what to-day in my country is thought robbery—"Your money or your life." "You must give to me the power to issue money and stop the issuing of silver or any money of the Government, or I will throttle your industries."

Mr. Speaker, I can only reply to a proposition of that character as was replied once by a Missourian, more distinguished than any citizen since that time. I ask the Clerk to read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. B. addressed himself to the West—the great, the generous, the brave, the patriotic, the devoted West. It was the selected field of battle. There the combined forces, the national republicans, and the national republican bank were to work together and fight together. The holy allies understand each other. They are able to speak in each other's names, and to promise and threaten in each other's behalf. For this campaign the bank created its debt of thirty millions in the West; in this campaign the associate leaders use that debt for their own purposes. Vote for Jackson! and suits,

judgments, and executions shall sweep, like the besom of destruction, throughout the vast region of the West! Vote against him! and indefinite indulgence is basely promised! The debt itself, it is pretended, will, perhaps, be forgiven; or, at all events, hardly ever collected. Thus, an open bribe of thirty millions is virtually offered to the West; and, lest the seductions of the bribe may not be sufficient on one hand, the terrors of destruction are brandished on the other! "Wretched, infatuated men!" cried Mr. B., "do you think the West is to be bought? Little do they know of the generous sons of that magnificent region! Poor, indeed, in point of money, but rich in all the treasures of the heart. Rich in all the qualities of freemen and republicans! Rich in all the noble feelings which look with equal scorn upon a bribe or threat. The hunter of the West, with moccasins on his feet and hunting shirt drawn around him, would repel with indignation the highest bribe that the bank could offer him. The wretch," said Mr. Benton with a significant gesture, "who dared to offer it, would expiate the insult with his blood!"

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, that is from Mr. Benton's Thirty Years' View, as uttered by him in the United States Senate in the great contest between the Democratic party and the national-banking interests in those days, where he says that the national banks at that time had loaned money in the West. They had at that time, as they have to-day, money loaned throughout the whole West. They were seeking a reëstablishment of the bank charter, and in order to defeat the election of Gen. Jackson, who was opposed to the banks, according to the statement of Benton, they had unblushingly promised the West to furnish them with money in case they voted against Jackson, and would bankrupt them if they voted for him.

Now, here are the banking institutions of this country positively locking up the money of the people in order to extort legislation from Congress. Why, in the other end of the Capitol I understand that they had a resolution asking the Secretary of the Treasury whether the national banks had been violating the laws of the Government by locking up money that had been placed by depositors and intrusted to their keeping, and that they had refused to pay it out.

Mr. HENDRIX. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. BLAND. Certainly.

Mr. HENDRIX. If the national banks are locking up the money, will the gentleman explain why they are paying 6 per cent on $37,000,000 on clearing-house certificates, and 6 per cent on many millions of dollars?

Mr. BLAND. Clearing-house certificates! A matter of convenience between banks! They are not money. Strong banks holding weak ones, and probably to aid in holding real money are using certificates. There is no disputing the fact, Mr. Speaker, for it is known all over the West that the banks in the West can not send a draft on New York, and the Western banks and the Western people will not be paid except in your checks, which are not money; and it is a notorious fact in the West, and all over this country, that this thing has been done for the purpose of weakening the Western banks and to bring the pressure of the Western people on the members of this House.

Mr. WARNER. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. BLAND. Certainly.

Mr. WARNER. Does not the last report of the Comptroller of the Currency show that the New York banks have paid out in cash to the banks of the South and West until their reserve is lower than that of any part of the country, the South and West included?

Mr. BLAND. No, sir; I deny it.

Mr. WARNER. Does the gentleman deny the fact or deny the official report that shows it?

Mr. BLAND. I deny, Mr. Speaker, that it is a fact that New York banks have paid to the banks of the South and the West money.

Mr. WARNER. Does not the gentleman know that the New York banks have reduced their resources in order to meet the demands made on them from the South and the West until the amount of reserve in their hands is now lower than the reserve in the banks of the South and the West?

Mr. BLAND. Oh, Mr. Speaker——

Mr. WARNER. It is a plain question, and the gentleman knows the answer.

Mr. BLAND. I want to answer the question.

I say, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman can put his statistics as he chooses, but it is a notorious fact that money on deposit in New York belonging to the people of the South and West can not be drawn upon their checks.

Mr. HENDRIX. Why?

Mr. SNODGRASS. Because they will not pay it.

Mr. HENDRIX. Because they have not got the money to pay it. They would be glad to pay it if they could.

Mr. SNODGRASS. Well, it is our money and they ought to have it. [Laughter.]

Mr. BLAND. Why, sir, the Evening Post, of New York, which we all know represents the banking institutions and the gold interest, advised these banks to do this very thing. The gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] who last addressed us claimed that when we adjourned last spring the country was in a prosperous condition. Well, sir, if it was why did gentlemen representing these corporate institutions, the Northern Pacific Railroad, and the stock-jobbing operations of New York generally, come here, and why did they urge the repeal of the Sherman law? If we were then in a prosperous condition, why should that law have been repealed? Why was a vote taken in the House on the proposition to repeal it? Why did those same parties come and demand of Congress and of the Secretary of the Treasury an issue of bonds? But we are told that the Sherman law is a bad silver law. I agree to that; but is that the reason of their opposition to it? Do they oppose the Sherman law because it is a bad silver law, or because it is a silver law? We have invited them to join with us for the purpose of enacting some law upon the silver question better than this Sherman law. Gentlemen say that so far as the Democratic party is concerned in its platform it never promised this country bimetallism. Well, sir, it did promise this country coinage of gold and silver without discrimination.

Mr. SNODGRASS. On the same terms.

Mr. BLAND. On the same terms.

A MEMBER. And the use of both as standard money metals.

Mr. BLAND. And the use of both as standard money metals. Mr. Speaker, in all the arguments that have been made throughout the country by these gentlemen they have claimed that they would be willing to vote for a free-coinage bill if we would increase the ratio, though now when we propose to leave the old ratio and go to 20 to 1 they do not agree to that; they make no counter-proposition; they make no response except to say that they will not vote for any ratio.

Well, sir, so far as I am personally concerned, they can reject our offers. They can reject the compromises that we have offered upon this question, but for myself I say—and I believe I speak the sentiments of a majority of the people that sent me here—we will never offer you another compromise. [Applause.] We will demand the old dollar and you can go with us on that basis, or you can separate and go where you please. [Laughter and applause.] You have promised a compromise; you have professed to advocate heretofore the free coinage of silver if you could have it on fair terms. We have offered you a compromise and you have spurned it.

Now, I repeat, you can go your way and we will go ours, and when it comes to the total destruction of silver in this country by the repeal of this law, it will be you who will make the division which the gentleman from New York seems to deplore, though if he does deplore it why does he undertake to compromise on this question and come to the majority of Democrats here instead of joining with the Republicans? Mr. Speaker, it is whispered around this Capitol that in the end the people of the country who placed the Democratic party in power are to be betrayed and deceived. We expected a different result upon the silver question. We find, however, nearly a solid Republican vote acting in harmony with the minority of the Democrats against free coinage at any ratio, and by an almost solid Republican vote and the minority of the Democratic party in this House the majority are to be voted down on all propositions for silver coinage, and that is to be called Democratic policy! I repudiate it. It is not Democratic policy. It is Republican policy.

It is whispered further, Mr. Speaker, that although the people expected tariff reform, and though one of the main issues in the campaign, the main issue above all others was the reform of the tariff, yet the very parties who are pushing this bill for the destruction of silver are whispering it around softly in the ears of their Republican allies that the tariff is not to be disturbed very soon. We shall be asked to adjourn without taking up a tariff-reform measure, and when we do take it up the same howl that is heard now against the coinage of silver will be heard again. "You can not disturb the tariff now; the country is in a panic, just beginning to rally from its depression; if you undertake to disturb the tariff at this time you will renew and continue the panic." Yes, sir, all the indications up to this time point to the fact that the money plutocracy of this country and the tariff barons are in a combination to defeat the will of the people as expressed at the polls last November. [Applause.]

And now when factories are turning men out of employment, when the banks are hoarding their money and the people hoarding theirs for fear the banks will get it and hoard it for them or squander it, in the midst of distress and distrust, we are asked to abandon the Democratic party and its platform on the money question, as well as also on the tariff question, practi-

cally. Why, sir, I venture the prediction that Democrats on this side of the House—not all of them, but most of them from the East—when it comes to a reform of the tariff will insist on what? On the West giving free material while protection of the manufactured products of the East is continued. They will insist that there must be but a little cut; that we are in a panic, that business is depressed all over the country, and that we must not touch the tariff in any thorough way.

Now, Mr. Speaker, with the $500,000,000 raised to-day by the Federal Government for its annual expenditures, and with money to be contracted to the single gold basis, you propose to saddle upon the laboring people in this country this annual burden with this contracted currency. This means commodities falling all the time. You may cut your tariff 15 or 20 per cent and yet your money is going up at the rate of 5 or 10 per cent a year. How long will it be before it will take more wheat and cotton, more of the products of the soil, to pay the tariff under your reduced rates than it takes to pay it now? For it is the products of the soil that go to other countries where they have a corner on gold—where, before we can get the gold, we must pay the demands of the people who have a corner upon it.

Gentlemen tell us that to restore silver to free coinage at any of the ratios named will expel all the gold we have; in other words, that an act for the free coinage of silver would be tantamount to an act prohibiting the coinage of gold. Well, sir, suppose that such an act should throw upon the markets of the world six hundred millions of gold at once, where would it go? Would not that have some effect in breaking the corner on gold? Would not that have the effect to vastly cheapen gold and increase the prices of commodities sold in Europe for gold? Would not that make it easier for the farmer to procure the gold to maintain the gold standard here?

Suppose that $500,000,000 or $600,000,000 of gold were thrown into the gold-using countries, where we sell our farm products; it would raise prices there in proportion to the amount of gold addition to their currency; it would raise prices probably one-third; and instead of our wheat bringing 50, 60, or 70 cents a bushel, it would bring $1 a bushel; and there would be a corresponding rise in the price of cotton and all our export commodities.

Yet, sir, in order to maintain the gold corner in this country and others, we are asked to demonetize silver, to contract the currency, and to reduce prices so as to enable those who own the gold and have a corner on it to buy our commodities, I suppose, at their own prices, and to saddle upon the labor of this country all the expenditures of the Government, amounting to $500,000,000 annually, by tariff laws, and all the interest on your public and private debts, the burden of tariff payments in gold, and all the public expenditures—the burden of maintaining the gold standard in this country—the burden of competing for gold with the impoverished people of Europe, who in Germany are ruled to-day by the military and who in England are to-day out of employment to the number of 500,000.

The gentleman from New York referred to the high rate of wages which the people are getting in this country. Those who are unable by strikes to maintain their wages are, I suppose, drawing them to-day at the usual rates; but I dare say there are a million of working people who are getting nothing. For months past, although it is claimed we have been prosperous, there has been trouble in the labor market; there have been strikes from time to time. The fact that a man gets a dollar a day as wages now when we are on a gold standard does not prove that he would not get $1.50 a day if we were on the bimetallic standard. When gentlemen say there has been no fall in wages I deny it.

But, sir, wages ought to be measured by the efficiency of the workman. The wages of the American workingman are higher than wages elsewhere because the product of his labor is worth more than the product of labor elsewhere, and therefore higher wages are paid here than in other countries.

Some gentlemen spoke the other day of the Mexican dollar. I might compare Mexican wages with American wages, and in the same way compare Mexican dollars with American dollars. The power of a people to use money is shown by its products, by the output of its labor, or its wealth; and where a man produces, as the American laboring man does, four or five or ten times the amount that the Mexican laborer produces, he must have the money to exchange his products. His productive power gives power to his money; and the demand for money is felt. This power to hold the two metals at fixed values is the ratio of the wealth produced by his labor to be exchanged for gold and silver at a fixed rate.

According to the report of the royal commission, from which an extract has just been read, France was enabled to maintain bimetallism, because of its productive power, because the property in France was sufficient in amount to effect exchanges with gold and silver at that ratio. Here we are producing more than twice the amount that France did when she was maintaining bimetallism; and yet it is claimed that this country can not maintain substantially the same ratio.

We have heard this question argued from the standpoint of debtor and creditor.

I shall not devote much time to that view of the subject. I simply call attention to the fact again that tariff duties and other taxation, interest on the public debt, etc., are being paid by labor with a contracted currency, so that it requires every year more and more of the products of labor to make these payments. But that is not all nor the most important consideration in connection with this question. All financial writers of modern times have broken away from the theories of Adam Smith and the old economists on this question. There is another question of more importance than that of debtor and creditor; that is the question of the material development of a people.

The gentleman from New York said money was an instrument, and that was correct—the majority of the economists treat it in that light; for when you desire to develop a country or an enterprise of any kind you must have at hand the instrument of development. You can not open a farm, you can not erect a factory, you can not start on foot any enterprise unless you have the instrument, and that instrument is money. And whenever money is unduly contracted, Mr. Speaker, it means a contraction of the enterprise, the energies, and the productive power of the people. It means a contraction and a limitation on the wealth of the people. Where money goes into circulation to swell the volume of legitimate enterprise, it means an increase of the productive power of the people; it means that they have got it to work as one of the agents of progress in the direction of new developments and new enterprises, and the more wealth that is produced the better it is for all classes, because more money is in circulation. But how does that affect the question of debtor and creditor?

Why, of course, sir, the more that is produced necessarily results in a tendency to lower prices and hence creditors are not injured in the manner they are at other times and by other causes. It has been contended by the old economists that if you limit the supply of money you reduce prices, and in that way the men who draw interest, who live on fixed incomes, have more power over labor and its products, and reap a much larger reward. While I admit it is true as far as it goes, that is not the whole of the case; for while you have a sufficient volume of money to set the wheels of progress in motion, and accommodate every legitimate enterprise and do all kinds of work, there is an increased production that in its tendency may cause a reduction of prices, and the creditor gets the same as if it were reduced by contraction or constriction. But, on the other hand, the debtors increase the wealth of the country, and the debtor himself is also relieved in that way by the additional amount of property that is subject to taxation and the payment of all debts.

Where the wealth of the country is increased, both the debtor and creditor obtain the advantage, and neither of them is hurt by the larger prosperity, but, on the contrary, both are benefited. But the economists from New York, the banking institutions and the bond-holding institutions and the men advocating here restriction of money, the demonetization of silver, would decry an increase of the volume of currency. They have an idea that an increased volume of money increases prices so as to work injustice to the creditors. But while that may to a limited extent be the case, the result is finally and eventually that an increased supply of the volume of money increases enterprises, increases the production of wealth, and decreases the prices to the creditor himself in the long run, and experience has shown that all people, all nations are benefited by increased production. Wealth is added to the whole community, and there is a benefit at least from a bimetallic standard and the consequent increased volume of primary money. Debtors have more of wealth with which to pay their debts, and are thus greatly benefited, though prices may be low.

Now, as I said while ago, if it were true that the free coinage of silver would at once demonetize five or six hundred millions of gold in this country and throw six hundred millions of gold on the markets of the world, gold would fall, and very materially; while the demand for that amount of silver to take its place, and more, would at once immensely increase the price of silver, and in that way the two precious metals would meet each other half way; bimetallism would result in the gold falling in value in relation to silver and silver rising in value to meet gold at the common point.

And more than that, Mr. Speaker, you have two bases for the public credit. You have two sources from which to supply the

circulating medium; and a full volume of currency gives an opportunity to other kinds of business, and aids development by giving the instrument so necessary, and of which we can avail ourselves to aid in the development of this great country. But New York does not seem to appreciate the immensity of this great Government of ours and its great people. It does not seem to appreciate that it has 3,000,000 of square miles of territory and 67,000,000 of people. Many of them in our Western country, not thickly populated, it is true, not having the facilities of banks, must have ready cash in the enterprises springing up amongst them and those reaching beyond the Mississippi River that could consume to-day silver enough to take the place of all the gold we would lose.

Why, I have sometimes thought that inasmuch as the Constitution of the United States inhibits the States from making anything but gold and silver a legal tender, the United States ought to coin it for such people. We can take it in the Mississippi Valley and beyond the Mississippi River and utilize it whether you want it here or not. Take your bank notes and gold and give us the silver, and we will be content with our share of the money of the people. We can use the whole of it, and be prosperous while using it.

But gentlemen seem to think that that should be taken in a very Pickwickian sense. I say now, and I wish to remind gentlemen of the fact, that the star of empire long ago took its way to the West. I want to remind gentlemen that that country demands more money. Not money that is not nominated in the Constitution, but the money of the Constitution itself, the gold or silver, and they may deplore it as they please, they may call it sectional or what they please, but no political party can stand against that demand.

We do not propose, sir, to continue in the condition that it is proposed to put us by the repeal of this bill. We do not, Mr. Speaker, insist on having our own way on every question. We want to be harmonious; but we have surrendered many things—more than we ought to have surrendered. Still we are met by the cold refusal on the other side, who tell us, "No; we have sufficient votes to override and trample you down, and we intend to do it." Do it, gentlemen, and we will resent it. Mark it, our people will resent it. It will be Republican, and not Democratic, votes that defeats free coinage.

Now, sir, what is the attitude of some gentlemen on this floor? They propose to vote for free coinage, at a different ratio probably, but when it comes to the great battle here they intend to jump the fence, so to speak, and go over to the enemy. I say, why is this? They vote with us on free coinage, but when we come to this contest, and the battle reaches the main issue, they forsake their friends and join the standard of their enemies.

Now, we know if this bill is voted down we have some opportunity of legislating upon this question. We have some opportunity if this unconditional repeal is rejected of saving silver from the utter destruction to which they would consign it. We know if this bill is voted down that we have no unconditional surrender to the enemies of silver, and at the same time we have an opportunity of exacting terms. But gentlemen propose to leave us at the crucial test and go over to the enemies who have fought every proposition relating to silver, and by their aid finally wipe it out—making an unconditional surrender of the whole question.

I want to send to the Clerk's desk and have read, Mr. Speaker, from the report of the royal commission upon the divergencies between the value of gold and silver.

The Clerk read as follows:

It must be remembered, too, that this country is largely a creditor of debts payable in gold, and any change which entailed a rise in the price of commodities generally—that is to say, a diminution of the purchasing power of gold—would be to our disadvantage.

The interests of our Australian and other gold-producing colonies, at which we have already glanced, must also be considered. Their deposits of gold are one of their principal sources of wealth, and any measure which tended to check gold-mining or to depreciate that metal would, in all probability, injuriously affect the prosperity of the colonies and react upon the trade of the mother country with them.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, we understand from this why six of the twelve composing this commission opposed bimetallism for England because England is a creditor nation. Another reason given is that it decreases the value of gold mines of Australia. The gold mining of that country is an important industry, and bimetallism would reduce the value of gold and thus disturb the interests of Australia. They give the two reasons. First, that it is a creditor nation. Secondly, it would decrease the value of the gold mining in Australia and decrease the prosperity of that country and make a reaction upon the mother country.

So it seems that England has some notion of the importance of her mining industries. She produces no silver, but she buys enormous quantities of it. She produces gold, and her policy is to enhance the value of gold and to depreciate the value of silver. So the policy is to increase the value of Australian gold mining and to depreciate the product of four or five States in this Union in order to increase the value of her mine holdings. Because England is a creditor nation, Mr. Speaker, she refuses to agree upon an international plan of bimetallism because of the income classes. It would decrease the values of those holdings.

Why, sir, we are a debtor nation. The same line of argument would indicate to us that bimetallism would relieve this country and be in the interest of debtors, and we are debtors to Europe. But we are asked here to so legislate as to increase the value of gold, and this is to add to the prosperity of England and Australia and to the adversity of our own people, and especially those engaged in the mining industries.

I have heard read, Mr. Speaker, to the House on different occasions, with approval, extracts from the testimony of a monetary writer of great distinction, Mr. Cernuschi, who was before the monetary commission of the United States in 1876, and he gave evidence before that commission on the question of bimetallism and the causes of the decline in silver.

One of the questions asked that gentleman by Mr. Bogy, then a Senator from the State of Missouri, was, by retaining it at 16 here and 15½ there (that is in France)—our metal, of course, would go right to France—would not that compel France to abandon the bimetallic system?

He answered:

The policy of France would be not to coin and to wait.

That is to say that as France coined at a ratio of 15½ to 1, she would not join us on a bimetallic union without we came to her ratio, probably; and what further?

France committed a great mistake when in 1874, after the example given by Belgium, she limited the coinage of silver. It has been a grave mistake. If France had continued to coin silver and silver freely and generally it would have flowed to France, and some of the gold of France would have fled to Germany, but the silver would have maintained everywhere its value relatively to gold. In limiting the mintage a difference has been created between the value of the bullion and the value of the coin.

Now, sir, there is the statement that this gentleman made. That France had made a great mistake in 1874 when she closed her mints at that time or rather at that time limited the amount of silver to be coined at the French mints. Why did she make that mistake? Because it broke the parity between the two metals. Had France continued to coin freely, the silver of Germany would have gone to the French mints and more gold would have gone to Germany, but the parity would have been maintained; and yet it is said in this country that this country can not coin silver and continue the coinage of silver at any ratio whatever. When we introduced the resumption of free coinage in this country what would take place? We would fix the value of bullion silver and bullion gold the world over, because as said by this royal commission—

no matter where a man holds his silver, or in what part of the world it is, if he can get it to this country he can buy as much with 16 ounces of silver as with 1 ounce of gold and that would cause the silver tide and the gold tide to come and go at a fixed ratio, and that is the fixed value the world over.

Silver would come here and so would gold. It would come, however, at the value fixed at the mint. It would be used in the country where it was located at that value also, and much of it would remain to do duty in business transactions, which duty is now fixed upon gold alone. So that bimetallism here would simply fix this country as a place where gold and silver could be exchanged at a particular ratio. No country coins silver freely at any ratio, consequently there is no place where the two metals can meet on equal terms and be exchanged equally, and until such a place is provided silver will be dammed up in every country where it is coined, and the bullion must seek a market in limited quantities. There is no place where it can be exchanged for gold, but here is a country that has the power if it only had the will to do it. How much time have I left, Mr. Speaker?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has thirty minutes remaining.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, upon the question of cornering gold, I will have read from the Clerk's desk an extract from a distinguished author, Mr. Bain.

The Clerk read as follows:

I know they do say bimetallism is not within the sphere of practical politics. Doubtless they do; the mere fact of establishing a monometallic standard makes it all but impossible and certainly progressively harder to change it. The creditors and holders of fixed incomes shrink from bimetallism, because they are afraid that it would decrease very largely their power of purchasing.

They make a bugb ar of silver just as th·ir forefathers made a bugbear of gold.

"Who would believe what strange bugbears
Mankind creates i self, o fears,
That spring l ke fern, that in ect weed,
Equivocally without seed,
And hav no poss ble foundation,
But merely in th' imagination."

The gold the world feared in the fifties was in realty the greatest of blessings to it, and just so the current fear of silver is all a delusion, a phantom of the brain. Silver has fallen in esteem because it has been boycotted; its function as money has been destroyed. Restore it to its legitimate position beside gold, and it will be just what it was before. No one would lose a farthing if silver were restored; the world would gain enormously. But even if it were not so, even if silver tended to make money progreseively cheaper, that would be better for the world than that it should become, as it is now becoming, progressively dearer. Do creditors suppose that they can flourish if trade, commerce, and industry, on which they flourish, go the wall? Short-sighted monopolists, your interests are in reality bound up together. You stand or fall by the same conditions.

Remember the Sybil and her books. She offered you nine in 1846; you refused them; she now offers you six; you refuse them again; she will come back later and demand, not the same, but a heavier price for those that remain. For there is not the least doubt about it; there is not enough gold in the world for us all. The question is not whether silver shall ultimately come back; that is certain; the question is whether the world will restore it in time to save itself from an irreparable series of disasters, or wait till it has to purchase its wisdom by bitter experience. It was the want of a plentiful currency that sapped the original vigor and drained away the life-blood of ancient Rome, and so brought it to the ground; shall it be allowed to count yet another victim, cause yet another imperial catastrophe, force a still mightier civilization than even that of old Rome to wither and fade, by robbing it steadily and surely of its vital juices?

We all know the fable of the man who worshiped an idol, to which he was accustomed to pray zealously that it would send him riches, but all to no purpose; till at length in his exasperation he seized it by the feet and dashed it to pieces, when out flew a treasure, concealed in its body, all over the floor. Thus he attained by the breaking of his idol that wealth which it never bestowed upon him while it was whole.

Shall we break our idol, do you think, Meg? I do not know. These things are on the knees of the gods. Public opinion, with which we began, I find we must end with. She is, after all, the final court of appeal, the lord of the world, stronger than the laws, stronger than party, stronger even than Parliament with its "supremacy;" for public opinion has only to nod and all these must obey.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, for the last fifteen years, or at least since 1878, this Government, restoring the silver dollar to coinage, has held out a promise to the American people of bimetallism. It is very true that the enemies of bimetallism have always been powerful enough to put limitations upon the coinage and to exact compromises and concessions, with the ultimate purpose of its overthrow. The ill-advised act of 1890, known as the Sherman law, was the entering wedge of that overthrow.

It is now proposed, Mr. Speaker, to make that, so to speak, the stalking-horse to demonetize silver—to use that law and the weak parts of that law, which we all acknowledge, for the purpose of inducing the American Congress to wipe it out, with no promise whatever of any practical legislation in favor of silver, but, on the contrary, with the purpose distinctly avowed of totally abandoning it. So that, whatever may be said against that law, we know, as the advocates of bimetallism in this country, that the fight centers and rallies around that law as the last bulwark on which we can stand.

And, addressing myself to any gentleman in this House who expects to vote for unconditional repeal and then go home to his constituents and justify his vote, I want to ask him what he expects in the future for bimetallism in this country? He knows, and his constituents know, that if he will vote down this proposition we can get some silver law which will be better. His people know that, and he knows it. He knows more than that—that when he votes to wipe it out he votes to go headlong to gold monometallism and to wipe out silver. There is no dodging this issue.

We know, Mr. Speaker, that if we vote against the unconditional repeal the men on this side of the House who have promised to meet us fairly to bring about some just silver legislation will be compelled to do it, and they will not do it until we compel them to do it; and if there is any Western or Southern Representative who proposes to surrender unconditionally on this question, I commend him to this view of the situation and I ask him and his people to watch this record. Our people at home know, as we know, that we have no prospect on earth for continuing silver as money in this country except by voting down this bill and compelling these people to come to terms. That is well understood.

The people can not be deceived about this matter. Let the RECORD on Monday next show who the friends of silver and bimetallism in this House are, for on the vote against unconditional repeal rests the last hope of the people of this country for bimetallism, except so far as the prospect of relief may come from a political revolution that will wipe out both political parties now existing and place in control in the House and Senate a party favorable to bimetallism. That, Mr. Speaker, is nothing more than a remote possibility. But, sir, unless we do something now the people have no other way of securing what they desire, and so far as I am concerned I am willing to join the people in this fight, even though the present policies of the Democratic party go to the wall.

I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] all the time he wants.

APPENDIX A.

Monetary systems and approximate stocks of money in the aggregate and per capita in the principal countries of the world.

Countries.	Monetary system.	Ratio between gold and full legal-tender silver.	Ratio between gold and limited-tender silver.	Population.	Stock of gold.	Stock of silver.			Uncovered paper.	Per capita.			
						Full tender.	Limited tender.	Total.		Gold.	Silver.	Paper.	Total.
United States	Gold and silver	1 to 15.98	1 to 14.95	67,000,000	$604,000,000	$538,000,000	$77,000,000	$615,000,000	$412,000,000	$9.01	$9.18	$6.15	$24.34
United Kingdom	Gold		1 to 14.28	38,000,000	550,000,000		100,000,000	100,000,000	50,000,000	14.47	2.63	1.32	18.42
France	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	39,000,000	800,000,000	650,000,000	50,000,000	700,000,000	81,402,000	20.52	17.95	2.09	40.56
Germany	Gold		1 to 13.957	49,500,000	600,000,000	103,000,000	108,000,000	211,000,000	107,000,000	12.12	4.26	2.16	18.54
Belgium	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	6,100,000	65,000,000	48,400,000	6,600,000	55,000,000	54,000,000	10.66	9.02	8.85	25.53
Italy	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	31,000,000	93,605,000	16,000,000	34,200,000	50,200,000	163,471,000	3.01	1.62	5.27	9.91
Switzerland	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	3,000,000	15,000,000	11,400,000	3,600,000	15,000,000	14,000,000	5.00	5.00	4.67	14.67
Greece	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	2,200,000	2,000,000	1,800,000	2,200,000	4,000,000	14,000,000	.91	1.82	6.36	9.09
Spain	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	18,000,000	40,000,000	120,000,000	38,000,000	158,000,000	100,000,000	2.22	8.78	5.56	16.56
Portugal	Gold		1 to 14.08	5,000,000	40,000,000		10,000,000	10,000,000	45,000,000	8.00	2.00	9.00	19.00
Austria-Hungary	do		1 to 13.69	40,000,000	40,000,000	90,000,000		90,000,000	260,000,000	1.00	2.25	6.50	9.75
Netherlands	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 15	4,500,000	25,000,000	61,800,000	3,200,000	65,000,000	40,000,000	5.55	14.42	8.89	28.88
Scandinavian Union	Gold		1 to 14.88	8,600,000	32,000,000		10,000,000	10,000,000	27,000,000	3.72	1.16	3.14	8.02
Russia	Silver	1 to 15½	1 to 15	113,000,000	250,000,000	22,000,000	38,000,000	60,000,000	500,000,000	2.21	.53	4.42	7.16
Turkey	Gold and silver		1 to 15.1	33,000,000	50,000,000		45,000,000	45,000,000		1.52	1.36		2.88
Australia	Gold		1 to 14.28	4,000,000	100,000,000		7,000,000	7,000,000		25.00	1.75		26.75
Egypt	do		1 to 15.68	7,000,000	100,000,000		15,000,000	15,000,000		14.29	2.14		16.43
Mexico	Silver	1 to 16		11,600,000	5,000,000	50,000,000		50,000,000	2,000,000	.43	4.31	.17	4.91
Central America	do	1 to 15½		3,000,000		500,000		500,000	2,000,000		.17	.67	.84
South America	do	1 to 15½		35,000,000	45,000,000	25,000,000		25,000,000	600,000,000	1.29	.71	17.14	19.14
Japan	Gold and silver	1 to 16.18		40,000,000	90,000,000	50,000,000		50,000,000	56,000,000	2.25	1.25	1.40	4.90
India	Silver	1 to 15		255,000,000		900,000,000		900,000,000	28,000,000		3.53	.11	3.64
China	do			400,000,000		700,000,000		700,000,000			1.75		1.75
The Straits						100,000,000		100,000,000					
Canada	Gold		1 to 14.95	4,500,000	16,000,000		5,000,000	5,000,000	40,000,000	3.56	1.11	8.89	13.56
Cuba, Haiti, etc	do	1 to 15½		2,000,000	20,000,000	1,200,000	800,000	2,000,000	40,000,000	10.00	1.00	20.00	31.00
Total					3,582,605,000	3,489,100,000	553,600,000	4,042,700,000	2,635,873,000				

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF THE MINT, *August 16, 1893.*

APPENDIX B.

Production of gold and silver in the world, 1792–1892.

Calendar years.	Gold.	Silver (coining value).	Total.
1792-1800	$106,407,000	$328,860,000	$435,267,000
1801-1810	118,152,000	371,677,000	489,829,000
1811-1820	76,063,000	224,786,000	300,849,000
1821-1830	94,479,000	191,444,000	285,923,000
1831-1840	134,841,000	274,930,000	409,771,000
1841-1848	291,144,000	259,520,000	550,664,000
1849	27,100,000	39,000,000	66,100,000
1850	44,450,000	39,000,000	83,450,000
1851	67,600,000	40,000,000	107,600,000
1852	132,750,000	40,600,000	173,350,000
1853	155,450,000	40,600,000	196,050,000
1854	127,450,000	40,600,000	168,050,000
1855	135,075,000	40,600,000	175,675,000
1856	147,600,000	40,650,000	188,250,000
1857	133,275,000	40,650,000	173,925,000
1858	124,650,000	40,650,000	165,300,000
1859	124,850,000	40,750,000	165,600,000
1860	119,250,000	40,800,000	160,050,000
1861	113,800,000	44,700,000	158,500,000
1862	107,750,000	45,200,000	152,950,000
1863	106,950,000	49,200,000	156,150,000
1864	113,000,000	51,700,000	164,700,000
1865	120,300,000	51,950,000	172,150,000
1866	121,100,000	50,750,000	171,850,000
1867	104,025,000	54,225,000	158,250,000
1868	109,725,000	50,225,000	159,950,000
1869	106,225,000	47,500,000	153,725,000
1870	106,850,000	51,575,000	158,425,000
1871	107,000,000	61,050,000	168,050,000
1872	99,600,000	65,250,000	164,850,000
1873	96,200,000	81,800,000	178,000,000
1874	90,750,000	71,500,000	162,250,000
1875	97,500,000	80,500,000	178,000,000
1876	103,700,000	87,600,000	191,300,000
1877	114,000,000	81,000,000	195,000,000
1878	119,000,000	95,000,000	214,000,000
1879	109,000,000	96,000,000	205,000,000
1880	106,500,000	96,700,000	203,200,000
1881	103,000,000	102,000,000	205,000,000
1882	102,000,000	111,800,000	213,800,000
1883	95,400,000	115,300,000	210,700,000
1884	101,700,000	105,500,000	207,200,000
1885	108,400,000	118,500,000	226,900,000
1886	106,000,000	120,600,000	226,600,000
1887	105,775,000	124,281,000	230,056,000
1888	110,197,000	140,706,000	250,903,000
1889	123,489,000	162,159,000	285,648,000
1890	113,150,000	172,235,000	285,385,000
1891	120,519,000	186,733,000	307,252,000
1892	130,817,000	196,605,000	327,422,000
Total	5,633,908,000	5,104,961,000	10,738,869,000

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Bureau of the Mint, August 16, 1893.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

Mr. PEARSON, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled joint resolution (H. Res. 4) to make the provisions of the act of May 14, 1890, which provide for town-site entries to lands in Oklahoma, applicable to the Cherokee Outlet, and to town sites in said Cherokee Outlet; when the Speaker signed the same.

SWEARING IN A MEMBER.

Mr. GEAR. My colleague, Mr. Hull, is now present, and I ask that he be sworn in.

Mr. John A. T. Hull, member-elect from the Seventh district of Iowa, presented himself, and was duly qualified by taking the oath prescribed by law.

SILVER.

The House resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

[Mr. McMILLIN withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GEAR].

Mr. GEAR. Mr. Speaker, I have the honor to represent on this floor a district which employs a larger amount of labor, probably, than any other district in my State. I am also here representing a large proportion of agriculturists, not only in my district, but also in the State—farmers whose lands fairly groan with the crops that have been given to them by a kind Providence this year. There are more cattle, more hogs, more sheep on the farms of Iowa and more grain in the granaries of Iowa than ever before, and yet buyers can not procure money to move these crops to market.

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the peculiar conditions which surround this special session of Congress. We are called upon to legislate at an extraordinary crisis in the affairs of the country. It is a "condition and not a theory" that we have to meet, but, Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that the President in his proclamation calling us together has stated the real cause of the troubles that have overtaken the country and produced the widespread disaster that exists to-day; but as to this real cause we shall have ample opportunity later on in the session for discussion. We must address ourselves to the present, and we find a most remarkable condition of affairs; and what is that condition?

A country that six months ago was prosperous in the most marked degree, labor well employed at remunerative wages, capital trustful, and abundance of money in circulation, to-day is swept from ocean to ocean with disaster and a lack of confidence unparalleled in the history of the country exists. Thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of those who six months ago were employed at remunerative wages are walking our streets clamoring for work and bread; mills that have been in operation for years have closed down indefinitely; the country which has reverberated with the hum of industry has been stricken with blight, and prostration, as it were, in a moment has overtaken the nation; values of all kinds have depreciated and men who but yesterday considered themselves affluent are to-day made poor by this sudden and alarming crisis.

In addition, the startling information comes to us that the revenues of the Government from customs, internal revenue, and post-office receipts have fallen off during the present fiscal year at the rate of nearly six millions per month, or seventy millions for the current year. It is a question with me, if this deficiency continues, if the present Democratic Administration will not have to call on Congress to issue bonds to meet the deficiency, as did the Democratic Administration of James Buchanan. As the barometer indicates the condition of the atmosphere, so do the revenues of a country indicate prosperity or a lack of it among the people of that country, and this is special evidence of the distress that is prevalent to-day throughout the whole country.

This distress is not confined to any one class of people; it is widespread and far reaching, and a general lack of confidence pervades the nation. Banks which yesterday were considered solvent are to-day in the hands of receivers; the same is the case with many railroads, and a general demand comes to Congress to take such action as will relieve the congested condition of financial affairs, and it is, therefore, our bounden duty to do all in our power to restore confidence and credit.

There is more money to-day in circulation than at any time before in the history of the United States, and more than in any other nation in the world, with the possible exception of France, and yet money can not be obtained at any price, for the reason that there is a deep-seated feeling that there is something at fault in the financial policy of the country which requires immediate remedy, coupled with the fact that we may possibly be coming to a silver basis.

It may be well to review for a moment the condition of the finances.

To-day silver dollars and paper dollars are as good as gold dollars, because the Treasury of the United States will pay gold for them, and to-day a man with a paper dollar or a silver dollar can obtain a gold dollar for it if he wishes to do so. I am in favor of maintaining that condition, and it is what both Republicans and Democrats insist on in their national party platforms.

I am, furthermore, in favor of the free coinage of both silver and gold whenever we can be sure that the condition I speak of will not be thereby disturbed.

It was, in my opinion, a mistake to demonetize silver in this country and in Europe in 1873. I believe the two metals are necessary to keep our medium of exchange, our measure of value, steady and unchanging in its purchasing power. I believe that since 1873 gold has been going up in value, because the demand for it has been greater than the supply. I think this works an injustice to debtors and depresses business everywhere.

I am earnestly in favor, therefore, of bimetallism, the use of the two metals, silver and gold, as money. But in dealing with money matters experience teaches us that we must move with caution. The money of a country is its lifeblood; and when you do anything to impair its purity and efficiency you produce in the body politic the same kind of effects as those produced in the human body by a course of living which brings on diseases of the human blood.

It will not do to say that we can do anything we see fit to do about money, any more than that a man can abuse his physical system without suffering for it. The United States, as a nation, is rich, and its credit is high. But if we should make an issue of greenbacks to-morrow and make no promise or provision for redeeming them they would not pass current at par with gold

and silver. The mere fiat of the Government can not make paper into dollars any more than printing "milk tickets makes milk." If there is a promise to redeem, and the people believe in the ability and intention of the promisor to keep the promise, then paper will be as good as dollars and milk tickets will bring the same price as milk, but not otherwise.

Now, what would be thought of a lawmaking body like this Congress of the United States if in times of peace it should issue paper without promise of or provision for redemption, and should call it money and make such paper a legal tender for the payment of debts? Gold and silver in this country would at once go to a premium, or, in other words, this legal-tender paper would be at a discount. But being legal tender, every man would pay his home debts in it.

There are seventeen hundred millions of dollars due from savings banks in the United States to small depositors. Every one of them would be paid in this depreciated legal tender. Every man who earns his living by his day's work would be paid in this currency. Would this be a just and wise measure for this Government to become responsible for? Obviously not.

Now, let us apply the argument to silver dollars instead of paper dollars. In all the great commercial countries, except in Mexico and South America, silver bullion is only merchandise, like iron and copper. It is coined to a limited extent and used more or less as money, but it is not money in the sense that gold is money. If I have gold I can take it to the Mint and have it stamped, but I can not do that with silver. Gold has a fixed value, while silver has not. If I have silver bullion to dispose of I must sell it in the market at the market price. In short, outside of Mexico and South America the coinage of silver is not free, like the coinage of gold.

Now, what is it that certain of our friends here propose? They propose that the United States, acting alone and without any agreement with other nations, shall permit the free coinage of silver in this country. What does this mean? It means that if I own silver bullion I may go to the mint and get what is called $1 for 60 cents' worth of it. Would those dollars pass current with gold dollars, or would gold at once command a premium, or, in other words, the silver dollars be at a discount? The Treasury of the United States could not maintain silver dollars at par under a system of free coinage of silver without straining even the high credit of this country, and gold would just as surely go to a premium as it would in the case of the paper currency and just as it is in Mexico to-day.

The only difference between the paper dollars and the silver dollars would be in the percentage of fiat. In the paper dollars, without promise of redemption, all would be fiat, while in the silver dollars, without promise to redeem them with gold dollars, a large percentage would be fiat. But silver dollars being legal tender in this country, every man would pay his domestic debts with them. Every savings-bank depositor would get about 60 cents instead of a real dollar when he went to draw his money. Every insurance policy would be paid in 60-cent dollars; every day's labor would be paid in the same way. They would be called dollars, but they would only buy 60 cents' worth of bread or meat or clothing.

We are advised by the President that later on in this Congress we are to turn our attention to a revision of the tariff. Of course, this revision of the tariff will be made on Democratic lines, the result of which will be to put the labor of the United States in direct competition with the cheaper labor of Europe. This will bring about one of two results: First, labor engaged to-day at remunerative wages in the factories must accept the lower wages prevalent in Europe; or, second, if not accepting such wages, the industries of the United States must to a large extent come to a standstill and the labor engaged therein be discharged.

What will this labor do in that event? It must, in the nature of things, go on to the farms, and thereby become competitors with those engaged at present in farming. This means an overproduction of farm products, which, of course, means low prices for those products; and it also means, by virtue of the stoppage of our own industries, an influx of foreign merchandise; in other words, instead of being self-dependent on our own manufactories for goods, we are to be dependent upon Europe. It is, therefore, neither fair nor just to the labor of this country to be put in the position of receiving a depreciated dollar for wages and be compelled to go into the markets of the world and pay for such goods as they buy in a depreciated dollar.

Then, as gold would command a premium, the condition I have spoken of as now prevailing, when a man can get a gold dollar for a silver dollar or a paper dollar, would prevail no longer. If the ratio should be made 20 to 1 instead of 16 to 1, then a silver dollar would be worth 80 cents instead of 60, but it would not be a real dollar. It would contain 25 per cent of fiat still.

I can not cast my vote for any measure which will have the effect I have described.

But, besides that effect, there would be another effect perhaps even more serious. When gold goes to a premium it ceases to be money, and becomes a commodity in the market, because no man will pay out as a legal dollar something worth more than the cheapest legal dollar he can find. If the five or six hundred millions of dollars of gold coin in the United States should be forced to a premium, as it would be by the free coinage of silver on any practicable ratio in this country alone, it would retire all gold from circulation, and such a shrinkage in the circulating medium would produce at once a panic compared to which the panic we are now going through would seem like a breeze in summer to a winter blizzard from Montana.

Every gold dollar in the Treasury of the United States would at once be drawn out by the holders of paper notes, and this nation, the richest in the world, would find its Treasury and most of its people bankrupt. I can not regard it as possible that any measure which would produce such results will become a law.

Mr. Speaker, I voted three years ago for the Sherman law. In my judgment that law was a temporary measure and was enacted to prevent a worse measure which our Democratic friends, with a few Republicans from the silver States, sought to pass, to wit, free coinage. We have gone on under that law purchasing month by month a large amount of bullion and issuing therefor legal-tender notes, piling up bullion in the Treasury and paying the notes in gold. If we are to continue that policy, in my judgment, the time must soon come when it will be a physical impossibility for this Government to maintain specie payments for the notes issued under that act.

There is, however, a free coinage of silver which will not have these disastrous effects, and, in my opinion, it is in the power of this country to bring it about. I mean through international agreement.

I do not question nor criticise the motives of the vote of any member on the floor of this House on this or any measure; it is a matter of conscience and judgment for every man to vote on this measure as he deems for the best interests of the whole country, and so believing I feel it my duty, as a step in the right direction of international bimetallism and the enlarged use of silver as money, to vote to stop buying silver under the act of 1890.

And if after we have stopped buying silver this Congress shall strengthen the Treasury in the proper manner, I believe Europe, seeing that we are no longer willing to take upon our shoulders all the silver in the world, and seeing that we really intend, as both of the great political parties have said they do, to keep every American dollar as good as every other American dollar, will come to our terms and agree with us upon international bimetallism. That is what the people of this country want; it is what they have declared for in their political platforms, and it is what they can have if we here in Congress do our duty.

We are all in favor of maintaining the equal value of all American dollars, and we should all, therefore, be in favor of providing the means to do this by strengthening the Treasury to meet the necessities of the case. And when to this is added the fact that such a policy will drive Europe to join us in an agreement for bimetallism, the argument is, to my mind, conclusive and unanswerable.

If all the great commercial nations agree among themselves that silver coinage shall be free at a practicable ratio, the value of silver would be fixed and could be maintained, not only because its actual value would be augmented by reason of this enlarged use, but also because it would cease to be merchandise fluctuating in market price when it became universally recognized as money. But as a quart measure can not hold a gallon of water, no one or two countries can maintain a fixed level of value for silver when in other countries it is merchandise in the market.

I believe that the United States Government, by strengthening its credit, and by selling gold bonds, if necessary, and buying gold, can bring Europe to agree to international bimetallism, and when any plan for accomplishing that object is before us it will receive my earnest and active support.

If this nation should enter into the struggle for gold by the use of its vast credit, we should compel Europe to admit that there is not gold enough to furnish a safe and steady measure of value, and we should in that way bring about the permanent use of silver as money, not only without any suffering, but greatly to our advantage, and, as I believe, to the advantage of the whole civilized world. In my judgment there is no other way to bring about an enlarged use of silver and to make the world's measure of value a more certain and stable one.

I am amazed at the temerity of gentlemen who discuss this great monetary question in a party spirit and appeal to passions

and prejudices. There can not be two kinds of money, one for the banker and another for the farmer, and all attempts to make the people believe otherwise, to stir up sectional strife or party strife over this question, are not only unpatriotic, but to the last degree unwise and dangerous.

This nation is too rich to have any money but the best for the use of all its citizens, and believing as we do that gold and silver taken together at an agreed and practicable ratio make the best money, we should endeavor by all fair and reasonable means to bring the other great commercial nations to our way of thinking. We can never accomplish this by placing ourselves upon the basis of silver monometallism, which we shall do if we attempt to solve the problem single handed.

Some men seem to think that free coinage of silver is the panacea for all the evils that man is heir to. [Laughter.] Sir, I do not so believe; neither do I believe that the "plain people" of this country are in favor of such a policy. The farmers and laboring men whom I represent are in favor of good money. We fought the battle in Iowa in 1878 and 1879 against the craze of "fiat" money and gained a great victory. From that time to this the people of Iowa have always been in favor of good money. Let me call your attention to an extract from a letter from one of my German constituents, a workingman. He says:

No doubt you are engaged in the struggle that is going on in Congress to day to fix the money matters of the country, so if the people are promised a dollar they will get a dollar that is worth a dollar, and confidence and regularity in our business will once more be established and the laboring men will stop crying for work and for bread.

That, Mr. Speaker, covers the whole question in a nutshell, and no sophistical arguments can change the opinion of those people. They believe in a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. This they are entitled to, and by no vote of mine can they be deprived of it.

Many gentlemen hesitate about voting for the repeal of the purchasing clause for fear that Congress will not provide a currency sufficient to meet the constantly increasing wants of our increasing population. Others are afraid that we may reinstate the old "red dog" and "blue pup" currency of my boyhood days. Others are afraid we will reinstate the "wild-cat" currency of 1857-'60, all of which brought great loss to the farmers and laborers of the country. I have no such fear, Mr. Speaker. I believe that this Congress is competent and willing to enact such laws on the financial question as will give to the country the high class of circulating medium that it has enjoyed.

Sir, the national Republican party is the author of all the financial legislation on our statute books for thirty years; it has placed the credit of the nation on the highest plane; each and every dollar issued under that policy has been made as good as the best dollar in the world, and to-day the nation turns as one man to the Republican minority in this House to contribute its share to the maintenance of a stable currency and to see that the nation's currency is to be maintained in the future, as it has in the past, as good as the currency of any country in the world.

While we may differ and do differ on many questions here of party policy, yet on this question, which concerns the common good of all the people, I shall cast my vote on this and all other financial questions in such manner as will meet the just demands of the people in this great crisis, and I earnestly hope that in this critical time Congress will act with that promptitude that the situation demands. [Applause.]

[Mr. WILSON of West Virginia withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

Mr. MCMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in the RECORD the amendment I desired, for information.

Mr. DINGLEY. No amendments can be now offered and pending.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] asks unanimous consent to print in the RECORD the amendment which he has sent up as a part of his remarks.

There was no objection.

The amendment proposed by Mr. MCMILLIN is as follows:

Provided, That there shall be charged and collected for the coinage of any and all silver not mined and owned in the United States the actual cost of coinage, and in addition thereto the difference, if any, between the face value of the silver when coined and the market value of the bullion when presented for coinage.

SEC.—. Any person who tenders or presents for coinage, as United States product, any silver bullion which is not such product, shall be debarred the privilege of ever coining or having coined any silver owned by such person in which he has any interest whatever, and the onus shall be on the party seeking to have silver bullion coined to show that it is the product of the United States and entitled to free coinage.

Mr. SPRINGER. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. SPRINGER. I desire to know what order was made for the time of meeting on Monday next? Was it to meet at 12 o'clock?

The SPEAKER. The House will meet at 12 o'clock on Monday.

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the copies of the pending bill in the document room are exhausted. I ask unanimous consent that a new order be made for the publication of the usual number of copies of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, there will be a reprint of the pending bill. [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON] will perform the duties of the Chair this evening, the evening session to be devoted to debate upon the pending bill.

So, the hour of 5 o'clock having arrived, the House was declared in recess.

EVENING SESSION.

The recess having expired, the House was called to order at 8 o'clock p. m. by Mr. RICHARDSON, Speaker *pro tempore*.

SILVER.

Mr. TRACEY was recognized, but yielded a minute to Mr. PICKLER.

Mr. PICKLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a couple of amendments that I had read in my time the other day when I addressed the House.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

The amendments are as follows:

First. Amend H. R. No. 2, being a bill for the free coinage of silver, and for other purposes, by inserting after the words "silver bullion," in the second line of section 1, the following words: "the product of mines of the United States;" so that said section when so amended shall read as follows:

"SECTION 1. *Be it enacted, etc.*, That from and after the passage of this act all holders of silver bullion, the product of mines of the United States, to the amount of $100 or more, of standard weight and fineness, shall be entitled to have the same coined at the Mint of the United States into silver dollars of the weight and fineness provided for in the second section of this act."

Second. That upon Monday, August 28, if the substitute to H. R. 1 and all amendments shall be voted down in the House, and if H. R. 1, known as the Wilson bill, shall pass, that immediately thereafter, without debate or intervening motions, the House shall vote upon H. R. 2, "A bill for the free coinage of silver, and for other purposes," amended as follows: Inserting after the words "silver bullion," in the second line of section 1, the following words: "the product of mines of the United States;" the bill as so amended being for the coinage of the silver bullion product of the mines of the United States at the present ratio.

If this bill fail to carry, the bill as so amended shall be voted on at the ratio of 18 to 1, and if this fail, it shall then, as so amended, be voted on at the ratio of 20 to 1.

Mr. TRACEY. Mr. Speaker, if up to last night any argument for or against the passage of the Wilson bill was overlooked, it would seem that after the eloquent addresses made by the gentlemen who closed the debate to-day nothing is left to be said, and it will be difficult indeed to do more than call attention to statements already so effectively presented to the House.

One hundred and seventy speeches have been made, and we can congratulate ourselves that this body includes as large a proportion of able orators as has been found in any Congress in the history of the country.

We know that under ordinary conditions new members hesitate to address the House until some time after the commencement of a session, but circumstances have now forced our young colleagues to exhibit at the start all the oratorical powers possessed by them, and with satisfactory results, as the attentive listeners are pleased to testify.

Occasions arise in all countries when, by reason of some great danger threatening the welfare of the general public, partisan feeling is temporarily laid aside, and men ordinarily bitter antagonists in politics join hands in a common effort to avert disaster.

Such a situation presents itself before us in this Chamber to-night. The President of the United States has summoned us to assemble in extraordinary session, asserting that the great distress which exists through the land is due to a statute which compels the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver a month, and which we are urged at once to repeal.

I doubt not that the President is correct in his belief that a fear of our being thrown upon a silver basis is the cause of the panic. What other conclusion can be arrived at?

Gradually the receipts of gold at the custom-houses lessened until no more came to us. Foreign holders of our securities threw them upon our market, and the climax came when the gold reserve was cut into. By reason of heavy losses met with by holders of securities, the banks of the country were unable to respond to demands of borrowers, and a few weak financial institutions were the first to succumb. Other failures followed;

then depositors became frightened, generally, and money was withdrawn and hidden away.

One hundred and ninety-three millions of dollars more were taken from national banks than were deposited in them, and it is estimated that at least as much more was withdrawn from savings banks and State banks.

So, Mr. Speaker, as a consequence, to-day we find the country in a condition of panic, and the only check to general ruin the expectation that Congress is to give relief. Indeed, so hopeful are the people of wise action being taken on our part that already a large number of these banks which have suspended have given notice of an intention to resume, and in various quarters of the country manufacturing establishments which were obliged to close down are preparing again to give employment to the laboring classes receiving benefit from them.

Mr. Speaker, in response to these expectations will we give relief? Yes, thanks to the patriotic spirit of the great portion of the Republican members, and to the brave men of our own side who have determined to do their duty, we will give the relief the country demands.

During the progress of this ever to be remembered debate, we have had most ably expounded theories as to the effect of the volume of money on prices; on the necessity of holding sacred the money of the Constitution—gold and silver; on the desire of capitalists to oppress labor; and on the necessity of a double standard. We have listened to the praise of France for maintaining bimetallism; denunciation of the crime of 1873, and explanations of the Democratic platform of 1892.

To give proper attention to all these subjects in a short speech is impossible, and I will not attempt to do it.

It is not easy to determine how much an increase of volume of sound money has to do with prices. It may enter into such a calculation as a factor, but it is overshadowed by the importance of the question of production, of improvements in machinery, of facilities for exchange by use of checks, drafts, etc. Carefully prepared tables go to show that with the fall in the price of silver, or as some have stated it the rise in the price of gold, wheat has become cheaper year by year. This has been met by equally positive evidence that labor is receiving greater remuneration than ever before, and that the rate of interest has fallen the world over.

Respecting the money of the Constitution, we admit that no State can make anything but gold or silver coin a payment of debts, and we have great respect for those honorable metals. Capital and labor should not be opposed to each other, and there would be less conflict between them if legislators would cease being interested in money-making schemes and demagogues were looked upon as common disturbers of the public peace.

To the question of a double standard I will devote a few minutes. Closely connected with it are the statements made relating to the bimetallism of France and the crime of 1873.

The debate on this bill clearly shows that the opponents of repeal desire it to be understood as believing that the double standard, in any country, is to be maintained by throwing open to all comers the mints of the Government to the coining, as legal tender, of any amount of gold or silver, the holder to be given the coin at the established ratio. But then, Mr. Speaker, they confuse this question of double standard with bimetallism.

In 1873 we were put on a gold standard and have been there ever since. The Bland-Allison act of 1878 and the act of July 14, 1890, which we are dealing with at present, are both based on the gold standard. The act of 1873 put us in that position and I doubt that any conspiracy existed or was necessary. Such action was inevitable. Up to that time we had coined but eight million silver dollars because the silver in each was worth more than the gold in a gold dollar.

Silver and gold had in Europe a coinage and a bullion value of 15½ grains of the former to 1 grain of the latter, and our silver dollar bore a ratio of 16 to 1; all our silver dollars disappeared and no silver came to our mints. When, in 1871, Germany, seeing that silver was becoming cheaper, demonetized it, and in 1873 commenced exchanging it in other countries for gold, thus disposing of many millions of silver received from France as indemnity, Italy, France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Greece found it necessary to form what is called the Latin Union, and in 1874 this was done and a limit was put upon the coinage of silver. Then Germany began sending it to the United States, although we received it at a loss to Germany on its coinage value, and if it had not happened that the coinage act of 1873 demonetized silver here, we would undoubtedly have been flooded with it from Europe and would have been forced to legislate to retain our gold.

The statement of the Bank of France in 1873 and the letter of Minister Washburne, written in 1876, go far, I believe, to warrant this conclusion:

[Moniteur Officiel, Paris, 1873.]

Statement by officers of the Bank of France of the form of payment of the indemnity to Germany.

	Francs.
In bank notes of the Bank of France	125,000,000
In French gold coins	273,093,050
In French 5-franc pieces	239,291,875
In German bank notes	105,039,045
Bills of exchange drawn in thalers	2,485,513,729
Bills drawn on Frankfort in florins	235,128,152
Bills drawn on Hamburg in mark-bancs	265,216,990
Bills drawn on Berlin in reichs-marks	79,072,309
Bills drawn on Amsterdam in florins	250,704,546
Bills drawn on London in pounds sterling	637,349,832
Total francs	4,990,860,349

Equal to $998,172,069, the dollars reckoned at 5 francs.

The indemnity from France to Germany after the war of 1870-'71, including interest at 5 per cent per annum, amounted to, at the time of payment in 1872, $1,060,209,015. After crediting France with the value of certain railroads in Alsace and Lorraine, the amount of indemnity due to Germany was $998,172,069.

The patriotic people of France raised the vast sum by a loan in less than six months from the time the Government appealed to them. The money was deposited in the Bank of France, which drew on even the German bankers, the debt was paid, and the interest ceased also. Germany expected for years to draw the rate of interest at 5 per cent per annum.

From the above will be seen that Germany received from France in gold only, francs in French gold	273,093,050
And francs in pounds sterling	637,349,832
Total francs in gold	910,352,882
Or, in gold	$182,070,576.40
Balance, in silver	816,101,493.00
Total paid to Germany	998,172,069.40

Or 18.2 per cent in gold, and 81.8 per cent in silver and paper.

The Franco-German war was fought in 1871 and 1872, while in reality it began in the middle of 1870, and early in January, 1871, William of Germany was proclaimed in Versailles, near Paris, Emperor of Germany, and the war was thus over.

The Reichstag of Germany passed a law demonetizing silver in 1871, but with the proviso that it take effect January 1, 1873. The indemnity was mostly paid in 1871, a small balance comparatively in 1873.

In 1873, when the law demonetizing silver went into effect, she sold silver at a loss of 50,000,000 of marks, or $12,500,000.

[Letter from Minister Washburne.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES.
Paris, March 27, 1876.

SIR: * * * In fact, at that time (1874) silver, which was then and still is a legal tender in France, Belgium, Italy, and Switzerland, could be coined to any amount in those countries; there was no law to prevent a French, a Belgian, an Italian, or a Swiss citizen from carrying to the mint all the silver which he could obtain; the coining of it could in no case be denied him. It would, therefore, have been an easy matter for Germany to have her florins and thalers, which could not be advantageously disposed of in England or the United States, converted into francs and lires, circulating at par with gold.

France hoped to avert this danger—if there were any danger in the case—by promoting the formation of a monetary league, the object of which was to restrict the liberty of coining. This is what is known as the Latin Monetary Union. It was constituted in 1874 by a convention signed at Paris. These countries bound themselves not to produce during the year 1874 more than 120,000,000 francs of silver coinage. Such an agreement was in reality nothing else than a step toward the adoption of gold as the sole standard, since this measure of precaution was against silver alone, while leaving the coinage of gold completely free.

The results of this measure, however, did not correspond to what its authors expected. The value of silver still declined, and at the end of 1874 it was 5 per cent below par. In 1875 a second conference of the Latin Union fixed the limit of the coinage of silver in the four states at 150,000,000 francs for that year; nevertheless the decline continued. It had reached 8 per cent when the conference held its third meeting, at the beginning of the present year. No other remedy was sought for than that which had been attempted so far, and the amount of silver coinage was still further reduced for 1876. France was allowed to make 5-franc pieces only to the amount of 54,000,000, instead of 75,000,000, which had been authorized in 1875; Italy, 36,000,000, instead of 50,000,000; Belgium, 10,800,000 francs, instead of 15,000,000; Switzerland, 7,200,000 francs, instead of 10,000,000; Greece, which had recently joined the union, was authorized to coin 15,600,000 francs, of which 8,400,000 francs were allowed in the place of old silver specie withdrawn.

* * * * * * *

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

Hon. HAMILTON FISH,
Secretary of State.

It is the opinion of some able financiers that if we had passed no act in 1878, and had remained under the act of 1873, greater prosperity would have been our lot.

I am not going to discuss that question; but in consequence of our legislation we have forced upon ourselves the necessity of a reserve to protect our outstanding paper. This principle was admitted when the $100,000,000 of gold reserve fund was recognized. It stood us well as a protection for the $346,000,000 of greenbacks.

The Sherman act sought to both raise the price of silver and to form a reserve for the Treasury notes by piling up the four hundred and a half million ounces in our vaults. How singularly it failed all admit. The wonder is any one even hoped for benefit to silver or safety to paper from such an act. History will record our action as a wonderful piece of folly. To corner the market in any commodity, the entire product must be locked up, but the stored article stands a menace to come out some day and break the pool. The money is made by those who buy early

and get out before the crash. We are to hold on as a nation to make ourselves the victims. The Windom bill was a project to give the Government a chance, but the Sherman bill was agreeing to suicide.

As a reserve, what use is the silver if to dispose of it is to break its price? Gold will be accepted the world over. It is plain that for reserve purposes, at present, silver is of little value, the existing law practically causing a constant issuance of unsecured paper.

One might have expected that our financiers would have been cautious, being familiar with the results of the English land bank scheme in 1696, the Rhode Island effort in 1786, the John Law Mississippi scheme in France, which collapsed in 1720.

The Argentine Republic in 1884 was in good financial condition, its paper on a par with gold. About the time we took up the Sherman act our consul at Buenos Ayres reported the total financial collapse, owing to too great an issuance of paper money. Now their gold reserve is gone, and gold at 325 premium, yet that is a country which was prosperous and has vast resources.

Why must we occupy time in opposing the Sherman act? It is almost universally condemned, and more than 300 of our 354 members say they want repeal; but, Mr. Speaker, a number of members in both Houses of Congress insist that we must couple with the repeal an amendment.

My honored friend from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] leads this host, and proposes a series of amendments. I congratulate him on the strength of his vote, considering the nature of his proposals. He asserts that the act of July 14, 1890, should be repealed; that a free-coinage measure should be substituted for it; that we are so strong in the United States we can, by legislation, raise the price of silver from 76 cents an ounce to $1.29 an ounce, making the value of 371¼ grains of silver, now worth 58 cents, equal to $1; or, if we can not do that, he proposes to make 62 cents of silver equal to $1; or, if not able to accomplish that, 70 cents' worth equal to $1; or, if failing in that, to make 73 cents' worth equal to $1; or, if not that, he proposes the old Bland act, which would give a larger output of poor money than the present law. And then he states that if all this fails he will be happy on a silver basis.

I firmly believe that no man on earth, but my dear old friend, the chairman of my committee, could rally so many brilliant men under his banner on such propositions. He seems to possess the qualities of a hypnotizer.

But, Mr. Speaker, let any of these amendments pass and the panic already checked by expectation of repeal will break loose again with a force impossible to control. Supposing, by reason of any of these amendments becoming a law or of the repeal failing, we go on a silver basis, what position will we find ourselves in? Prices will undoubtedly advance, nominally, and the man with a mortgage on his house will be better able to pay it off, but the holder of the mortgage will lose a portion of his claim.

This will not be an honest settlement. The laborer receiving $2 a day will not be pleased to find that he can get but $1.20 worth of goods for it. The holder of money in a savings bank will not thank us for receiving only $60 when $100 is turned into gold to send to relations in the old country or in Canada.

The widow's pension, scaled from $12 or $8 per month to $7 or $5 will leave her short to pay the grocer, and in larger transactions in what position will the borrowers who have agreed to pay interest and principal in gold be found?

During the last Congress we saw our Southern friends, ably led by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON], exerting every effort to prevent the passage of the car-coupler act, because the railroads were so poor that they could not stand the expense. How will these same roads meet the demands of their gold bonds when we are on a silver basis?

The Norfolk and Western has many millions of bonds, nearly all payable in gold; the Richmond and Danville, the Savannah and Western, the Alabama roads, the Columbia and Greenville, the East Tennessee and Ohio, have many millions of gold bonds.

The Chesapeake and Ohio has a very large number of gold bonds outstanding. The Pennsylvania many millions, and also the Jacksonville and Tampa, and many others. A silver basis will bring sure ruin to many of them, but that may be no reason for influencing the members who, I suppose, do not like corporations.

The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. COX] raised some question as to the wording of the Wilson bill. Since replying to his questions I have examined this act carefully, and have advised with others, and the conclusion arrived at is that it needs no alteration.

Mr. VAN VOORHIS of New York. Do you claim that those $119,000,000 are protected as legal-tender dollars under this Wilson act?

Mr. TRACEY. I claim that they are as much protected under the Wilson act as under the existing law.

Mr. VAN VOORHIS of New York. Will you tell me, then, what is the office of the words of the bill, "Provided, nothing in this act shall affect the legal tender of dollars heretofore coined."

Mr. TRACEY. I think that language is superfluous; but I understand that it was put in to appease those who might be timid respecting the legal-tender qualities of the dollars coined under the Bland-Allison act.

Mr. VAN VOORHIS of New York. Is not the inference perfectly plain that while you protect the one class of dollars as legal tender you leave the other class unprotected?

Mr. TRACEY. I do not think so. I do not think that affects anything but the portion of the act that is repealed.

Mr. VAN VOORHIS of New York. Do you not think it is better to save all question by amending the bill?

Mr. TRACEY. If anybody desires to do that I have no objection, but I do not think it at all necessary.

The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] was much concerned lest the passage of this bill would indicate that we intend to coin no more dollars.

I beg to call to his attention the fact that the law provides for coining the $119,000,000 bullion, and the Secretary of the Treasury can commence doing so whenever he deems proper.

I desire to call attention to some figures showing cost of recoining, at new ratios, the stock of silver now on hand.

At 17—the number of grains of pure silver in the dollar would be 394.74, which would add 23¼ grains to each dollar, or, at present price of silver (75 cents an ounce), would cost on 419,332,000 silver dollars $15,397,000.

Pure silver in dollar addition:

At 18—417.96, add 46.7 grains, would cost $30,598,000.

At 19—441.18, add 69.93 grains, would cost $45,818,000.

At 20—464.40, add 93.15 grains, would cost $61,037,000.

Actual weight of the silver dollar (with the copper alloy added) at each ratio:

At 17—438.6 grains, or 16 to the pound (avoirdupois).

At 18—464.4 grains, or 15 to the pound (avoirdupois).

At 19—490.2 grains, or 14 to the pound (avoirdupois).

At 20—516 grains, or 13 to the pound (avoirdupois).

Mr. Speaker, immediate action is absolutely necessary to prevent disaster coming to our beloved land. The time has arrived when the danger point has been reached. We must stop the increase of silver purchase until it can be resumed without danger.

France has often been spoken of as a bimetallic nation during this debate.

Mr. Speaker, when France found itself in danger as we are, it stopped coining silver. I will read an extract from the address made at the Brussels Conference by Monsieur Tirard, the French minister of finance. * * *

For instance, our legislation has aided France to procure a very considerable quantity of money; and I believe that I may state, without fear of contradiction, that France of all the nations of the world is the one which has the largest quantity of money both in gold and silver.

Do you believe, gentlemen, that this situation is the result of chance? No, it is the natural consequence of the manner in which labor is organized with us. In France riches are infinitely divided; real estate is cut up into smaller holdings from day to day, and personal property also. We find the proof in the growing number of real estate sales, and of the subscribers to the public funds, and to investments of every description which at the time installments fall due may be counted by millions.

The governor of the Bank of France said to me recently that during the last few years the number of shareholders of that great establishment, the shares being registered, had noticeably increased.

It is the same with the condition of labor. There are in France, as elsewhere, great workshops and important manufactories; but there is also a multitude of humble artisans who work in their own homes, some singly, others with an apprentice or with one or two journeymen at the most, and who do a very small business, with very small transactions, with an extremely limited capital, which, by its very smallness, imposes upon them an almost daily liquidation of their affairs.

It will be understood that these modest workers can not, like the manufacturers of countries where riches are very centralized, have recourse to payment by bill or check—methods which require not only a deposit of capital, but also bookkeeping and operations out of proportion with the total value of their business. These operations can not be carried on except with currency.

With our agriculture it is the same. The land is so minutely divided in France that the greater part of those who cultivate it can not adopt the conditions of business which are in use in countries with great estates.

For these reasons we have in France that quantity of money which, however considerable it is, incommodes no one and renders, on the contrary, important services to everybody.

And from that, gentlemen, you see the difficulty which France would have in the wide extension of the processes of which Mr. de Rothschild and Sir Rivers Wilson speak. Our honorable colleagues tell us that in England the greater number of transactions are settled in the banks by means of checks. That is true of England, but in France it could not be the same. And given these profound differences which are revealed between these two countries, would there not be some temerity.

* * * * * * *

The silver reserve of the principal banks of issue of Europe amounted in the aggregate some weeks ago to about 2,230,000,000 francs. Of that total figure the Bank of France alone holds as much as all the other banks together. Consequently, I have the right to say that she has quite enough.

In spite of that she would consent perhaps to do what it is asked of her if there was any reciprocity, if those powers also which are wedded to monometallism should decide to adopt the free coinage of silver. But otherwise what would happen? If France and the Latin Union—I believe that for the moment I may speak in its name—should alone open their mints to the free coinage of silver, all the surplus silver of the United States and of Mexico

would go to France, to Italy, to Belgium. And where would these countries be able to use it? Nowhere, since in the rest of Europe none wish to admit it as legal tender.

As a matter of fact, France is still bimetallist.

If we ceased to coin silver, simultaneously with the other States of the Latin Union, it was because we were face to face with a continually increasing volume of silver not only from the growth of its production, but also in consequence of the transformation of the monetary system of Germany. All the silver extracted from the mines or demonetized elsewhere arrived in France and in the mints of the Latin Union, and from this superabundance of metal came its depreciation.

We have ceased to coin it and I think that our course was perfectly right.

From what Monsieur Tirard asserts, it will be seen that conditions in this country are not the same as in France, and that we have no necessity for using so much money per capita. France stopped adding to its supply of silver when it reached $700,000,000. We have now just about the same amount.

After the repeal, what are we to do? Members in conversation ask me what position the President will take regarding the future use of silver. I have replied to them that, without being in the confidence of the President, I have no doubt that he is entirely free from prejudice in the matter, and that, knowing the desire of the silver States to see their favorite metal in use, the President, who has the welfare of the workingman at heart, will gladly accept any legislation which will safely carry us along without danger of our currency being depreciated. It is the hope of many that owing to the scarcity of gold silver will be in demand. Just as soon as that time arrives, the metal will be useful as a reserve, and not until then. The President, while conservative, has no prejudice against silver.

Remove the cause of trouble, and in some way, either by international agreements or by gradual renewal of purchases, silver may come into sharp demand again.

The finances of the country are in good hands. The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Carlisle, is recognized the world over as one of America's greatest statesmen. He is known to be much in sympathy with the desires of the South and West, and he has also shown himself proof against yielding to any unsafe suggestions. [Applause.]

The Comptroller of the Currency, Mr. Eckels, who is responsible for the safe conduct of the national banks of the country, has, during these trying times, proved himself capable to meet and solve with exceptional ability the most intricate problems which our banking system can present. [Loud applause.]

Mr. Speaker, surely no Democratic member of this House should hesitate to take the responsibility of following the advice given by the President of the United States. He was nominated by the people in spite of a vigorous resistance from many prominent politicians, and was elected by the people, who knew as well at that time as they do now his views in opposition to any unsafe financial legislation; and any Democratic member of this House who believes that he will curry favor with his constituents by endeavoring to oppose and break down the Administration of this man, who was the people's choice, will, I have no doubt, find that he has misjudged the temper of the voters in his district.

Mr. STONE of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, representing a constituency that lives almost midway between the two oceans, with the extreme silver sentiment and producers to the west of us, and the people who are strenuous in their advocacy of a single gold standard to the east of us, I have come here and listened for two weeks to the discussion that has gone on in this Hall upon both sides of this question. I have come here, Mr. Speaker, seeking light and knowledge.

I read in the great metropolitan newspapers of the country that a terrible calamity had befallen the people of America. In the dailies that come from the West I saw that a great upheaval of public sentiment was taking place there upon the financial question; but it was from the East, from the financial headquarters, the financial center of America, that the information comes to us through the newspapers and through the people representing the gold-standard advocates, that all this great trouble has arisen from the fact that the Sherman law was upon the statute book.

Well, Mr. Speaker, I was in Congress when the Sherman law was passed. I voted against the Sherman law, and I stand here to-night against the Sherman law, because the Sherman law is an infamy and an outrage against our form of Government. But, sir, I have listened here for reasons to be advanced why that law has caused a panic in this country. Gentlemen tell us it is because the people are afraid of the money issued under it. The gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON], the father of the bill that we are now considering, says that the trouble has come because the people are afraid of the money that has been issued under the Sherman act.

Mr. Speaker, I challenge the gentleman, and any gentleman here who takes that position, to produce a dollar issued by the American Government, in circulation or that should be in circulation, that has depreciated the smallest fraction of a cent. The people are not afraid of the money. If they were afraid of the money it would not be taken out of the banks and locked up in vaults, and thus be taken out of circulation. The people are not afraid of the money upon which the Government has put its stamp. Then, Mr. Speaker, if this be true, where is the trouble? Where is the cause? To my mind, sir, this trouble began in an effort to force the Government of the United States to issue bonds to be sold for gold.

Those who set on foot that movement found when they reached the Treasury of the United States a man intrenched behind the Secretary's desk of sufficient courage and nerve to say to them that not one dollar of interest-bearing indebtedness should be added to the burdens of the American people while he was Secretary of the Treasury. Then, Mr. Speaker, something else had to be done, and a cry was raised throughout the country that the Government of the United States was scarcely able to meet its obligations.

A panic was thus created in the minds of the people, and they have taken their money and locked it up. Mr. Speaker, I have listened with astonishment to the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr COCKRAN] who addressed the House to-day, the gifted orator of that State—none brighter or better has it ever been my good fortune to hear. And he announced from his desk in this Hall to-day that the trouble with the people of America is that they have too much money—that there is a redundancy of the currency! Mr. Speaker, in the dead hours of the night, if you will listen, you will hear the tramp of the hungry army of unemployed that march by the thousands in the city that the gentleman in part represents.

Have those people too much money? Is there a redundancy of the currency in New York? If there is, why is it that the unemployed are there by hundreds of thousands? Why is it that hungry men, women, and children stalk through the streets crying for bread? If there is a redundancy of the currency, why is it that in every city of the land the cry for bread is going up?

Mr. Speaker, the trouble is not a redundancy of currency, but it is a lack of confidence, as was said to-day—a lack of a sufficient supply of currency and a lack of confidence in the financial management of the banking institutions of the country, and a lack of confidence as to what may occur in the future; and this lack of confidence has been created by the cry that has gone from one end of the land to the other that there was trouble somewhere.

Mr. Speaker, this reminds me of the days of my boyhood, when I used to go to the negro quarters, about 40 yards from my father's house, and listen to the ghost stories told by the old darkies—stories of the disembodied spirits that haunted the graveyards and stalked about in shady places when the moon was shining. And I would listen to these stories until I got so much afraid that, while I did not lack confidence that my father's house stood just a short distance away, while I did not lack confidence that those old negroes would stand by me until the last drop of blood they had in their veins had been shed—I did not lack confidence in those respects—but I was afraid that on the road between there and the house there was some hobgoblin or "spook." [Laughter.]

Now, these gentlemen succeeded in convincing the people that something was going to happen. And when you come here and listen to the argument, what does it resolve itself into? If you have listened attentively or read attentively you must have discovered that it resolves itself into this—that the most strenuous advocates of the repeal of the Sherman law never give you a reason for its repeal that is a real reason; they never tell you that the Government has as much right to buy corn or wheat or oats or furniture, or any other product of the labor of the muscle of America as to buy silver bullion, and that it has no right to buy and store up either or any of them. But they tell you it is because we want a single standard, we want a gold standard.

Well, Mr. Speaker, I have no fancy for gold. Very little of it ever comes in my way or within reach of the people that I represent. If you want to make a dear foundation for your currency—if you want something that is really costly, why do you not change the basis from gold to diamonds? Then the people down my way would never get any at all. [Laughter.] No, Mr. Speaker, I want a good money, as the Democratic platform says. I want a money that will pay the debts of the people and pay them from their wages; but I do not want a money that is too dear; I do not want a money that costs too much of the American workman's sweat and muscle to get it. If our money is so costly it will never come down where we live, and we shall be found making exchanges in the products of the earth in order to keep up what little commerce we may have.

So I am not wedded to gold. I do not think there is any spark of divinity hedging around the gold-miner or the man who owns gold bullion or gold dollars, that he should be allowed any spe-

cial privileges at the mints of America. I do not think there is any divinity hedging around him or his product. Neither do I think there is any divinity hedging around the mines of silver. Neither am I in favor of silver because the people of Colorado and the Western States say, "If you do not coin it our industry is broken up." I do not believe in class legislation or in granting favors by legislation.

But I am in favor of the coinage of silver and the use of it alongside of gold for this reason: There is no history that has ever been written that gives an account of any paper money ever issued in the world that circulated for twelve months at par unless it had behind it a promise of redemption in something of substantial value. Now, we have not enough of gold and silver, both taken together, to do the business of this country. We must have paper money, and that paper money must be backed by something substantial, or the people are not going to take it. Unless your money has a basis of this kind the people will be afraid of it; they will not be hoarding it in places where it can not be discovered, but they will be turning it loose and trying to get something of substantial value in place of it.

If the combined silver and gold of the world are not a sufficient basis for a circulating medium, then, of course, the world has not enough of gold alone to do the business of the world or to back the circulation that is to do the business of the world. My reason for favoring the coinage of silver is that I want something else added to that which is to be foundation of our currency. I want something that will enable us to carry a volume of currency which will be sufficient to do the business of the country in a liberal, just, fair way as between the producer and the consumer.

But gentlemen say, in speaking of silver, "Oh, no; it is a debased sort of money; it is cheaper than gold." Well, that reminds me of a fellow who was building a house and needed two beams to hold it up. He made up his mind he wanted steel beams, but he had only steel enough to make one beam. The builder said to him, "You can not build your house with one beam; one beam will not hold it up; and you have only steel enough to make one beam. But let me tell you that if you will take solid seasoned white oak you can make another beam just as strong as your steel beam; and these two will hold up the entire structure."

But the fellow says, "No, I won't put any wooden beams in my building, no matter how strong the timber may be. I am going to put all the weight on the steel beam, and there is no use in talking about it," and so he did; and very soon there was a crash all about his head. So it is, Mr. Speaker, with the goldite. They want to put all the muscle, and the sinew, and the brawn, and sweat of the American people upon one string, suspended by a single golden thread, and have somebody in some other place, nobody knows exactly where, who can pull the string whenever he chooses, and the poor laborer, the mechanic, the farmer, and the producer of the country must dance at his will. [Laughter.] That, Mr. Speaker, is why I favor the coinage of silver.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. TRACEY], who has just taken his seat, said that under the free coinage of silver, during the time that we had free and unlimited coinage, there were only about $8,000,000 coined. Since we have had a forced coinage of silver, under the present law, there has been well up toward five hundred millions coined. Is it not true, then, and plain to everybody, judging by the past, that with unlimited coinage of silver, stopping the Government's buying bullion, allowing the producer to have his own bullion coined into money, the amount of bullion coined into silver dollars will be reduced in quantity from the amount now being purchased?

In that event you will have no trouble about the parity. If this was the experience under the former coinage, why will it not be the experience now? Why, the very bill we are discussing guarantees that every dollar of silver already coined and in circulation shall be held at a parity with gold.

Well, Mr. Speaker, if this great Government has got the power to hold this five hundred millions of coined silver dollars at a parity with about six hundred and four millions of coined gold dollars, please tell me what is the matter with the Government that it can not continue to keep up that proportion in the coinage of the two metals hereafter?

No, sir, the President of the United States called us here to take action on the Sherman law. We came here and entered on the discussion of the coinage question without having stopped to consider the Sherman law at all; and we find instead of considering the Sherman law that we have been considering the question of the coinage of silver and the coinage of gold.

We have heard the people who are in favor of the gold standard. Their souls have been wrought up to excruciating pains ever since they have been here about the condition of the foreigners—of foreign people—how far superior they and their governments are to ours, and how certain is ruin if we do not follow in their footsteps. They have been talking of what is done in foreign lands. They have been talking of the people of other countries, and telling us that we must so shape our financial legislation as to please everybody on God's earth save and except the American citizen. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Speaker, at some speeches I have heard delivered here my soul almost cried out aloud, Oh, for the spirit of the fathers who went before us, that bared their arms and walked barefooted over these hills in order to declare their independence of foreign powers, and who declared that we were able to take care of ourselves. But here we are, the degenerate sons of worthy sires, getting down on our knees to all of the world outside of our own people, and asking them how we shall regulate our internal affairs.

Why, sir, we have no use or another dollar of gold, so far as foreign nations are concerned, except to settle the balance of trade between us and them. We were told to-day that our business of $119,000,000 had been settled, so far as this balance of trade is concerned, by the exchange of $6,000,000.

But, Mr. Speaker, they tell us further that the silver dollars are dishonest dollars; that they are 54-cent dollars. Well, I will give you 60 cents as far as I have greenbacks to give for all you have got. I would like to invest in any that you have to spare. I have not got much. I am not one of the fellows who has lost confidence: I have not lost confidence in the money, and as an evidence of it it never stays with me very long. I have not got any money locked up and put away carefully because of want of confidence; but if I have any salary due me in the Sergeant-at-Arms office I would like to invest what there is in these 54-cent dollars, and I will give you 60 cents, and even 75 cents, apiece for them.

But they say they are 54-cent dollars, and you agree right in this bill to keep the dollars—these depreciated dollars—right alongside of the gold dollar. But gentlemen will tell us that we must come to that basis in order to have prosperity in the land. Prosperity on a gold basis. Why, we were just now told that we were already on a gold basis. What is the situation? Have we the kind of prosperity to-day that you want?

Have we that prosperity when our wheat is rotting in the granaries, iron mills are shut down, industries of every sort are stopped, men are walking the streets everywhere hunting work, and the people who labor in the fields in this country for 50 and 75 cents a day are being discharged from employment because their employer says that he is not able to get a living price for his products? Is not that a beautiful picture for a gold basis? We have a gold basis to day, and, Mr. Speaker, hunger walks grim-visaged and gaunt up to the cabin doors of many hundreds of thousands of American people in our land. You talk of 1873. Why, in 1873 we had a panic. Silver was demonetized, the industries of the land were prostrated, and the country was thronged with tramps. History is repeating itself. Is the sound of the voice of those who cry for bread pleasant to your ears? What do these hungry people say? Do they say "Too much money?" No. They say give us work and pay us money so we can buy bread. "Too much money." What is that cry resounding throughout every city to day? It is not redundancy of money; but it is for work for money: the money of the Democratic platform, approved by Cleveland and his great Secretary of the Treasury: sound money, honest money; all dollars of equal debt-paying power, and in sufficient volume to do the business of the country in a liberal and fair manner. Not the money of any class nor for any class, but the money of the Constitution, the money of and for the whole people. The gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] told us that New York stood with one arm reaching out gathering our products. Oh, I beg of him not to squeeze us too hard, and do not make the meshes in the seine too fine through which the money must come back to us.

In 1878, the Bland-Allison act, which was but a makeshift, was passed, and at once new life was put into every single solitary walk of life. Business enterprises sprang up like magic from one end of the land to the other, and the people went on contented and quiet until the tinkering with this money question commenced, and it took you three long years after the Sherman law was passed to get the people to believe there was a panic, and begin to lock up their substance that was represented by money.

But you want a gold basis. A gold basis in this country means hunger. It means famine. It means grim-visaged women. It means children crying for bread. It means children crying for bread. It means prostration of every industry, and it means the building up of those who, by some turn of fortune's wheel, happen to have control of the gold of the country. History can but repeat itself. What has gone on in the past will come in the future; and let me tell you, as you sit here to-night, the people of this country are, by millions of voters, in the majority in favor of the coinage of silver.

They are not in favor of it because it is mined in Colorado and

Montana; they are not in favor of it because they think possibly there is enough of it to do the business of the country. They are in favor of it because we have got it in our hills in an abundance of quantity, and because it has been used as a money metal since the first dawn of civilization. They are in favor of it to-day because they believe it is a metal of substantial value, and of so much precious value that it may be used as one of the stones in the foundation of the great financial structure that must be erected in America.

And I beg of you as Representatives not to let the siren's song of the man who would turn your eyes to Europe, who would carry you across the ocean to France or England or Germany or anywhere else, mislead you about the commercial relations with other countries and dealing in stocks and bonds. Why, what does the man down in your district who is plowing corn to-day and hoeing cotton to-morrow care about the bonds in Europe?

Let us talk about the American workman, the American manufacturer, the American who works in the mill. Let us look at his interest, while they are talking about the men who are able to hold bonds. If you do that, you will do your patriotic duty; turn your eyes inward and look at your home affairs, and let those on the outside take care of themselves a little while, and then they will come over to our way of thinking.

But, Mr. Speaker, they say they want gold for a standard of value. Well, now that is like the wind. That is like the summer zephyr. Why, sir, did you know that the standard of value was made by law? They say you can not have more than one standard of value. Well, that is true; that is the law. The law says so much gold shall be a dollar and so much silver shall be a dollar. The dollar is the standard. But we can have two substances representing that standard, just as we can have two yard sticks of different woods. A yard stick is 3 feet and a dollar is 100 cents. So we have a standard of value, and that standard can be reached by the law of the country with both these metals. We are already to-day at a gold basis.

Now, if you want to continue that sort of process, why, continue it; but let me tell you that I have heard men on this floor announce that they had changed their minds on this question, that some years ago made speeches in favor of the white metal, but recently they had changed their minds and become convinced that they were wrong; and my humble opinion is that when they go back and take hold of the hands of the laboring masses, when they go back to shake the horny hands of the fellows who handle the plow and wield the hammers in manufacturing establishments, they are going to find it mighty hard to explain what sort of an arugment was applied to them in order to induce them to make so sudden a change upon so vital a question.

But, Mr. Speaker, I have only got two minutes more, and I want to devote that to the Sherman law.

Now, as I said, I am opposed to the Sherman law. I am going to vote to repeal the Sherman law, but not because I am in favor of the single gold standard. Upon that part of the question I agree with the great Secretary of the Treasury. His remarks upon this question some years ago have been quoted here by those who oppose him. Mr. Carlisle occupies the same position to-day in regard to the use of the two metals that he occupied when he made that speech. Mr. Carlisle is a bimetallist.

But, Mr. Speaker, we have got a new order of metallists here, and they are "international bimetallists." [Laughter.] They are gentlemen who, I suppose, expect to take many European trips. They are able to buy trip tickets across the ocean, and they want a dollar to carry along with them, so when they get over there they can use without having it recoined.

Now, the unfortunate situation of the American people is that there are very few of us who can take these trips across the ocean. We want money for the American people, and we are able to make a standard and able to maintain it; and whenever you descend from or go around that proposition, you acknowledge your inferiority to other people who have managed their affairs without consulting you, and I tell you that you have disgraced the fathers who won your independence in the days of '76.

But, Mr. Speaker, I am against the Sherman law, as I said awhile ago, because the Sherman law is vicious, because it purchases a commodity. It makes silver a commodity, and buys it and stores it in the Government vaults; and you have no more right to buy and store it than you have to buy wheat and corn, tobacco and cotton, and oats, as my Populist friends want us to do. I am opposed to their position, and being opposed to their position, I can not be anything less than opposed to the Sherman law.

Now, Mr. Speaker, one word more and I am done. I represent an intelligent and enlightened constituency upon this floor. I represent a constituency which is watching this Congress as it has never watched Congress before. I voice the sentiment of that constituency upon this floor. I came here to represent my constituents, and to represent their views upon this question. I coincide with their views, and if the time should arrive when I shall have to change my position without knowing that my people had changed, I would resign my seat upon this floor and ask the people to send a man here who would represent their views. [Loud applause.]

Mr. BOUTELLE. Mr. Speaker, I am willing to lend my humble aid to a Democratic President and a minority of his party in even a tentative effort toward getting on a sound financial basis. In doing so I do not claim to be nonpartisan, because this question does not present itself in a nonpartisan character or in a nonpartisan way. I shall not attempt to step outside of or to rise above my legitimate partisanship, because I have never yet found it necessary to be nonpartisan in order to act or vote in accordance with what I conscientiously believed to be for the best interests of my country.

I am the more willing to lend this aid now, because to-day, with triumphant Democracy intrenched in the White House and in the Capitol, the public welfare depends as absolutely upon Republican patriotism as it has for more than thirty years. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Surely, there has never been a crisis or an issue forced upon the people of the United States of more clearly and unmistakably partisan origin than the present, or one in connection with which the Republican party has had less reason to be afraid to invite the severest scrutiny of its public record. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The maintenance of the public faith in the financial honor of this nation has been a cardinal principle of the Republican party, from which it has never been seduced by the sophistries of selfishness or driven by the organized hosts of demagogism and Democracy. [Applause.]

From the day when it took possession of a bankrupt Treasury on the brink of the most gigantic civil war of modern times, it has never wavered in its purpose to hold the national integrity as sacred as the nation's life. [Applause.]

And, Mr. Speaker, from that day to this, in every battle that it has fought for either, it has been confronted, bayonet to bayonet and foot to foot, by the stubborn lines of the Democratic party. [Loud applause.]

HOW DEMOCRACY FOUGHT RESUMPTION.

In proving this allegation I do not now purpose to look back so far as I might properly do if my time were not so limited. For the purpose of this discussion, I ask you to look back over the history of our country only for the brief space of eighteen years. I ask you to go with me to that period when the Republican party, having carried this Union triumphantly through the Red Sea of civil war, was wrestling with that almost equally momentous problem of lifting up the prostrate credit of the nation.

In 1875, when the Republican party laid the foundation for the most marvelous period of prosperity, by the brave reassertion of that fundamental principle that honesty is the best policy for governments as for individuals, the same battle was on between Republicanism and Democracy; and the issue joined then in that great struggle over the maintenance of the national faith has been going on from time to time, marked by the same distinct party contentions from that day to this.

Oh, how familiarly like echoes of 1875 have been the wails and the lamentations and the predictions of evil that have gone out from this House to the country during the last two weeks by the men who to-day represent the championship of currency inflation and depreciation for which Democracy fought so strenuously less than twenty years ago.

Listen while I recall the action and utterances of Democratic leaders in the Senate and House at the time when the Republican party proposed that the United States of America, having suppressed the rebellion, having restored national unity, having reasserted supremacy over every acre of national domain, should now turn its attention to restoring its credit at home and abroad by redeeming every obligation of the Government and making every one of its financial pledges as good as gold the whole world around.

Let us look at the record, for it is significant. That was an historic episode which has properly a place in the discussion of the present question. In the Senate on December 24, 1874, on the question of the passage of the resumption act, providing for the resumption of specie payments, January 1, 1879, the ayes were 31 Republicans, and Carl Schurz, an Independent; the nays were 14 Democrats and Independents. No Democrat voted to resume specie payment in this country; no Republican voted against resumption.

In the House of Representatives, January 7, 1875, on the same question the ayes were 136, every vote being cast by a Republican Representative and no Democratic Representative from all this wide land recording his vote in favor of uplifting the financial honor of the American people among the nations of the earth.

The nays were 98; 74 Democrats and 24 Republicans, but in justice to some of the gentlemen who voted in the negative it should be stated that they voted against that act because they held that the proper "way to resume was to resume" at once, so that their record stands simply for opposition to delay and not for opposition to the measure.

Let us see, Mr. Speaker, how tenaciously, how persistently, the Democratic party maintained this hostile attitude towards the credit of the nation. Hear that well-known Democratic leader, Gen. Ewing, of Ohio, who said in the House, on the 24th of November, 1877, more than two years after the bill had become a law:

If we were wholly out of debt to Europe; if our foreign commerce floated under our own flag; if there were no system of absenteeism among our wealthy classes, expending their wealth abroad, resumption in gold, or even gold and silver, would be impossible on our present volume of paper currency for many years to come. * * * The national banks, the importers, the gold rings in New York, the desperadoes of Wall street, the money kings of Europe, to whom we are financially enslaved, they will present the greenbacks for redemption and destruction as fast as the gold can be paid over the counters of the Treasury.

And a year later, May 14, 1878, United States Senator COKE, of Texas, voiced the implacable hostility of his party, as follows:

It is better, Mr. President, that we bide our time and turn back from the frightful abyss of ruin which yawns across the pathway to resumption. The experiment must end in failure, and must engulf the country in a lower deep of misery than it has yet fathomed. The bulk of the State, private, and savings banks, with their vast sum of the people's deposits, must go by the board by reason of the insufficiency of their reserves, and many of the national banks must fall from the same cause. In this general crash the whole system, from the Treasury down, must succumb. It is simply a question of time, for this result must occur, and, in my judgment, the time will be very short after the 1st day of January next.

And this Democratic opposition to resuming specie payments was not confined to talk, for we find repeated records of hostile votes.

On January 10, 1876, Mr. HOLMAN moved to suspend the rules and pass a resolution to report a bill to repeal so much of the resumption act as authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem in coin United States notes. It lacked a two-thirds vote, but there were 105 yeas to 96 nays, and of those yeas all but 10 were Democrats.

February 14, 1876, a resolution empowering the Secretary of the Treasury to carry out the provisions of the resumption act was lost—85 yeas, 139 nays; all but 8 of the nays being Democrats.

January 7, 1876, a resolution to repeal the resumption act was lost—yeas 112, nays 158, and 106 of the 112 yeas were Democrats.

August 5, 1876, Mr. Cox reported a bill providing that "the resumption-day clause of the resumption act of 1875" be repealed, and it passed the House—yeas 106, nays 56; all but 9 of the favoring votes being cast by Democrats.

June 17, 1878, Mr. Townshend of Illinois moved to suspend the rules and repeal the provision of the resumption act authorizing the sale of bonds for resumption purposes; it only failed for lack of two-thirds, there being—yeas 115, nays 111; and of the yeas all but 15 were cast by Democrats.

So I might go on, Mr. Speaker, with the record of Democratic hostility to every important measure devised by the Republican party for the purpose of maintaining the plighted faith of this nation, and to give to our currency and our credit, at home and abroad, that stability which was necessary to place us in the rank we were entitled to occupy among the great nations of the earth.

But some gentlemen may say this is ancient history. Ah, yes, my friends, you Democrats are very glad to have your history regarded as ancient the day after it is made. [Laughter.] And you never recognize any sound principle until after we have established it in spite of you.

No more graphic characterization of this trait of the Democratic party has ever come to my knowledge than that which described it as like a man who rode backward in a railway car and therefore could never see anything outside until the train had got past it. [Laughter.] So, you are very glad to swathe your record in the bandages of forgetfulness and to raise the cry of "dead issues" whenever you are recalled to the unwelcome duty of examining the history of the past.

But without following this history in continuous sequence, I make the declaration here, without fear of contradiction, that from the beginning of the rebellion to the present time, upon every occasion when any public measure has been pending involving the financial interests and integrity of the country on the one side, and depreciation, inflation, or repudiation on the other, it has always been made a partisan question by the Democracy, and they have invariably been ranged against the national credit and the Republican party in defense of it.

DEMOCRACY FOR SILVER INFLATION.

Why, take this silver legislation with a phase of which we are now concerning ourselves. Let us go back simply to the passage of the Bland bill, a bill for coining silver dollars of greatly depreciated value until, declamation and fiat eloquence to the contrary notwithstanding, they rate in the markets of the world for only about half the value of their face.

The Bland bill (which I ought to remind you was first vetoed by a Republican President) when passed over the veto of President Hayes, went through the House by a vote of 118 Democrats and 78 Republicans, the Democrats being nearly two to one. The nays were 51 Republicans and 22 Democrats, the Republicans being more than two to one.

THE SO-CALLED SHERMAN ACT.

And this brings us down to the passage of the so-called Sherman act. I am very glad that the clear statements of a number of the gentlemen who have preceded me have rendered it entirely unnecessary that I should go into a history of the passage of that act, to disabuse the minds of any purblind readers of Congressional history who might be confused into the idea that the Republicans were enacting original silver inflation by the passage of the Sherman act.

What were we doing at that time? To-day we are arraigned from the President's message down to the penny-a-liners in the Democratic press of the country as a political party that in the Fifty-first Congress undertook to inaugurate a system of silver depreciation of our currency—financial legislation that was derogatory to the maintenance of the high standard of our public credit.

Now, I was here at that time and took some interest in what transpired, and when I saw these diatribes in the Democratic party organs arraigning my party as false to the high standard of national integrity and a sound currency, I looked back to see if my memory had deceived me. And what did I find? That in the Fifty-first Congress we were confronted with the alternative of a bill for free and unlimited silver coinage which had passed the Senate by the almost solid vote of the Democrats and a very few Republicans, and which was favored by the great majority of Democrats in the House.

The Republicans sought to obtain the best compromise they could, and as an escape from the peril of free coinage the Sherman act was favored by all the most conservative financial influences in the country.

But let the words spoken at the time tell just how that Sherman act was regarded when it was passed. At the close of the long debate Mr. BLAND of Missouri, in a most impassioned speech, rallied his Democratic associates against it for reasons thus stated:

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I desire to reply to the gentleman from Maine on one point. He claims that the silver dollar in the Treasury and the bullion are there on the same basis on which money is to be issued under this bill and the present law. The gentleman from Maine will not dispute the point that there is this distinction: That the silver dollar on which the certificate (under the Bland law) is issued is at the ratio of 16 to 1, and the bullion on which these notes are issued (under the Sherman act) is at the market ratio, and not at the legal ratio, and the market ratio is 20 to 1 to-day.

Mr. BLAND evidently did not think the Sherman act was providing a cheaper dollar than that named for him, or that it was tending toward a silver standard, for he emphatically declared:

That is the contention I have been trying to force upon the House, *that under the lead of the gold* standard, and for the purpose of keeping that up, *and to keep an "honest dollar," as they call it*, you have departed from the legal ratio in issuing these notes.

He further insisted that the advocates of the bill had "simply abandoned the legal ratio on which to issue the notes, and *taken the gold ratio to keep up the gold standard.*"

He then closed and condensed his denunciation, as follows:

The whole bill is intended to postpone free coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1.
The whole bill is in the interest of the gold standard.
The whole bill is a murder of silver.
It is giving up the fight for silver at a fixed ratio of 16 to 1, abandoning it and issuing notes that if they are ever presented to be redeemed, *will be redeemed in gold and not in silver*, and gentlemen can not escape the argument. [Applause on the Democratic side, and cries of "Vote!" "Vote!" on the Republican side.]

And under that leadership and for the reasons stated 90 Democrats voted against and 122 Republicans voted in favor of the so-called Sherman act to take the place of the Bland act of 1878.

THE PANIC CAUSED BY DISTRUST OF DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION.

Now, Mr. Speaker, my time is so short that I can only call attention very briefly to the causes which have led up to the situation in which we find ourselves to-day.

Everybody on both sides has agreed that there is a great public apprehension, and that want of confidence in the business and financial situation is abroad. Is there anything strange about that, Mr. Speaker, when the Democratic party from 1861 up to date has been unceasingly, persistently endeavoring to impair confidence in the credit of the United States? And when that political party has been put in full power in the Government why should there not be distrust and apprehension?

Why, Mr. Speaker, for two years past the Democratic press has teemed, Democratic speeches in Congress here have been replete with direct and indirect assaults upon the credit and financial stability of the United States. Only last spring, at the

very close of an expiring Congress, the great fiscal organ of this House, the Ways and Means Committee, by a majority of its members, made an official report which was calculated, if not intended, to carry to every financial center in Europe a feeling of distrust as to the finances of the United States Government.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] and his associates came out with a public document in which they seemed almost gleefully to predict that the Government of the United States would be bankrupt by more than $40,000,000 on the 30th day of June next! Gentlemen may say, "Oh, no one would take seriously such a political document put forth by the gentleman from Illinois." [Laughter.]

Perhaps not in this House nor in this country; but, Mr. Speaker, there are people in other lands who are in the habit of regarding the official statements of the legislative and financial exponents of a great government like ours as entitled to serious consideration, and when the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives issued to the public a solemn declaration, fortified by their estimates and their declared judgment, that the Government of the United States would run short $40,000,000 within the next year, do you wonder that the people abroad concluded that there must be something wrong and began to send our securities home?

The same political party that advertised clamorously to the world that a Republican Congress had looted the national Treasury by ruinously extravagant appropriations proceeded at the next Congress to exceed the expenditures by many millions, and has since taken possession of all branches of the Government. Is it strange that "want of confidence" should be manifested on both sides of the Atlantic?

A PARTY DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF.

Mr. Speaker, this is an anomalous situation. Oh, what broods of chickens have come home to roost since the ides of last November! Here we have to-day the spectacle of a Democratic President making the first great effort of his Administration a demand for the repeal of the purchase of a limited quantity of silver bullion, and in making that appeal to the political party of which he is the head he finds it with a "free coinage" Secretary of the Treasury, with a Populistic Secretary of State, with a "free coinage" Vice-President of the United States, with a "free coinage" President of the Senate, with a "free coinage" Speaker of the House, with a "free coinage" chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance, and with the apostle of "free and unlimited coinage of silver" chairman of the Committee of Coinage in the House of Representatives, and with a majority of "free coinage" Democrats on both of these committees. [Applause on the Republican side.] Can anomaly go further? Could political stultification be greater?

Ah, Mr. Speaker, the situation is serious indeed when a Democratic President realizes the fact that against the party that was elected on the same ticket with himself, against the party elected on the same platform and now disputing with him what the platform means, the great hope of his Administration in sustaining its first measure has been based upon the unquestioned steadfastness to principle of the Republican party in Congress. [Applause on the Republican side].

REPUBLICANS NOT PERMITTED TO OFFER AMENDMENTS.

The fact of that steadfast bulwark of Republican votes has furnished the President the fulcrum upon which to exert executive influence upon his own party; and whether he and the Administration wing shall be able to win over more or less of those Democrats who have always been for free silver, the attempt to repeal the Sherman silver-purchase act would never have been made but for the reliance upon the substantially solid Republican column in its favor.

That Republican column has stood unwavering in spite of the inexcusable manner in which its opinions and wishes as to methods have been ignored. We have been denied all opportunity of suggesting amendments, while the Administration Democrats have made all the preliminaries matter of partisan conference with their party associates who are fighting for free coinage.

For one, I do not believe that the proposed legislation has been presented in a statesmanlike way, or that the case is managed in a judicious manner. It seems to me, that recognizing the strong hostility in the Democratic ranks to the contraction of the currency, a feeling that is exaggerated by surrounding circumstances, the repeal of the silver-purchase clause should have carried, incorporated with it, provisions for expanding the issue of circulation to the national banks to the par value of the bonds, with repeal of the bank taxes that tend to deter the banks from increasing their note circulation.

I think also it should have carried with it unequivocal authority to issue bonds whenever necessary to maintain the gold reserve, as it is generally believed that such action by the last Congress would have been a great safeguard against the troubles that have ensued if Secretary Carlisle had not prevented its adoption.

Had these provisions been attached to the Administration measure they would have had all the benefit of the pressure exerted for repeal; while, as it is, the hostility of the inflationists to the national banks is more likely to be increased by their defeat on the silver question, and it would be anything but a glorious triumph of policy and legislation if the mismanagement of the Democratic leaders should secure the repeal of the silver-purchase act at the price of opening upon the country the Pandora's box of wild-cat banking recommended by the Democratic national convention.

THE TARIFF THE REAL ISSUE.

Mr. Speaker, I have not time to discuss in any detail the real causes of the widespread business and industrial paralysis in our country. I am glad I am not obliged to do it for the information of the House, for my friend from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS], my friend from New York [Mr. PAYNE], my friend from Iowa [Mr. DOLLIVER], my able colleagues from Maine, and others have put their fingers on the nerve of this whole trouble.

The leaders of the Democratic party, from President Cleveland down, have been engaged for years in a relentless crusade against the economic system upon which the great industries of our country are based and under the operation of which they have developed such a degree of national prosperity as has amazed the people of other lands. On that system the Democratic party has declared war, and the declaration has only failed to create the full measure of alarm and disaster because until now that party has been restrained by Republican possession of some one of the coördinate powers of the Government.

But to-day everybody understands that the party now in unbridled power at the national seat of Government is that which has over and again sworn to deal protection its death blow and to revolutionize our industrial system to a revenue tariff basis.

Senator VEST declared only a few years ago:

> Mr. Cleveland in his message, for which I sincerely honor him, has challenged the protected industry of this country to a fight of extermination. It is a fight to death.

Mr. MILLS, who has since been made a Democratic Senator, summoned the people to drive out the "robber barons" of our manufacturing industries as public enemies, "who had their hands to the elbows in the pockets of the people," and declared that this land "should be dedicated to free men, free labor, and free trade."

The last national platform of the Democratic party was even more radical, as it denounced protection as both "unconstitutional" and a "robbery."

The President tells us in the very message which asks for the silver repeal that the next movement is to carry out the revenue tariff reform, to which he says "every effort of his Administration is pledged." It is doubtful whether he ever realized the tremendous significance of such an assault upon American industrial institutions until he has recently seen the panic created by the mere apprehension of the tariff-smashing crusade.

It promises no more mercy to the American farmer than to the American artisan; and in one of the progressive farming counties in my own district, where the tillers of the soil have subscribed hundreds of thousands of dollars to build a railroad now nearing completion, to furnish access for their American agricultural products to the American consumer, they are confronted by the Democratic party's threat to throw down all the barriers that protect their farms from foreign competition, and to lend the practical aid of the American Government to the Canadian farmer in underselling them in our own markets.

DEMOCRACY MUST BEAT A RETREAT.

What wonder that there is widespread alarm, cessation of enterprise, and wholesale discharge of operatives engaged in making goods that before the season of their sale arrives may be crowded out by cargoes of the handiwork of the cheap labor of Europe.

So, while we Republicans will lend powerful aid in the repeal of the silver-purchasing act, and hope that its importance has been so exaggerated that its repeal may have a good effect on the monetary situation and lead to international agreement for the safe use of silver money, we do not expect to see American industries take on their full activity in the face of the tariff revolution which threatens them. Our greater hope would be that the Administration may be led by the tremendous object lessons of the past few months to abandon the policy that has caused such consternation.

An authoritative announcement from the White House that the free-trade propaganda is to be abandoned would set the blood of prosperity coursing swiftly again through all the arteries of our trade and commerce. Those are not wanting who believe that the Democratic President has already seen enough to convince him that to enact the dogmas which he and his shrewdest friends unsuccessfully tried to throw overboard last year at Chicago must result in overwhelming business disaster.

The gentleman from Nebraska, a few days ago, related in a very dramatic manner an entertaining but mythical story, in which Napoleon, at the battle of Marengo, believing his army defeated, ordered a drummer boy to beat a "retreat." The stripling replied that he had never learned how to beat a "retreat," but said he could beat a soul-stirring "charge," and reminded his great chief of the charges he had beat at Lodi, at Wagram, etc., and begged permission, "Oh, sire, let me beat one more charge!" which was granted, and the battle won. The gentleman then applied the story to his Democratic President, whom he believed to be retreating from the Democratic battle-ground, and begged him, in the name of the victories of the past, to order one more grand "charge" under the banner of free silver and free trade.

Mr. Speaker, the President, as well as the rest of his countrymen, has witnessed an "object-lesson" of the effects of the mere apprehension of a general assault upon the tariff system.

You can not raise the mailed hands of legislation in deadly threats against every productive industry of a great nation without inviting business calamity. The calamity has come. It is at our doors; and I tell you, my young friend from Nebraska [addressing Mr. BRYAN], that if you go to your "Napoleon of politics" now, and undertake to urge, him, like your "drummer boy of Marengo," to let you beat just "one more charge;" when you remind him how you beat "*such* a charge" for free wool that sent all the American sheep scampering to the slaughter-houses and wool down to 10 cents a pound, and beseech him to "let me beat one more" [laughter]; when you remind him, "Sire, we did beat *such* a charge against the wool manufacturers, and see how their factories are toppling all over the land! Oh, sire, we did beat such a charge against the cotton manufacturers, and look how they are closing their doors and turning their army of unemployed workmen out into the streets! Laughter.] Oh, sire, we did beat *such* a charge against the gold standard and monometallism, in favor of free and unlimited coinage of short-weight silver dollars, and look how our securities have come flocking home for redemption, how the banks of New York and all over the country have been brought to the verge of ruin, and idle workmen are being fed in the soup houses. Oh, sire, let us beat one more charge!" [Applause and laughter on the Republican side.]

Mr. Speaker, he won't do it. I tell you, my young friend, that when your quondam chieftain comes back from Gray Gables, while he may applaud, as we all did, the beautiful imagery and fervid eloquence of your splendid speech, brilliant in all except the soundness of its premises and the logic of its conclusions [laughter], he will place his hand on your head and say, "My young friend, that was all very well before election, but we won't have any more charges beat just now." [Laughter and applause]. You just go to work and learn how to beat a first-class retreat. "That is what we shall most stand in need of." For I assure my friend from Nebraska that the "man of destiny" has already observed the omens of the times, and he will whisper in your ear that Marengo is a long way behind, that the victory of 1892 was nothing but a spasmodic return from Elba, that amid the uprising of the allied industries and interests of a deceived people he already hears the ground rumblings of the Waterloo of 1894 [applause on the Republican side], and against the bright sun-burst of Republican restoration in 1896 he sees, grimly looming, Democracy's St. Helena! [Loud and continued applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. FELLOWS obtained the floor and yielded five minutes to Mr. BOATNER.

Mr. BOATNER. Mr. Speaker, I am profoundly grateful to the gentleman from New York for extending me the privilege of again addressing the House upon the important and absorbing question now under consideration.

The advocates of the pending measure have, from the inception of this debate, ignored the real question which underlies it. That the Sherman law is a bad law and ought to be repealed, no one, or very few, deny. Our contention is that the repealing act ought to go farther and extend to the country the relief from existing evils and the reforms in currency legislation sacredly promised in the last campaign and which the people, by their votes at the last election, placed it in our power to extend.

This relief the advocates of unconditional repeal refuse now, and leave us no hope that they will support in the future. The real question, then, to be determined by our votes is not whether the purchasing clause of the Sherman act is to be repealed, but whether the Democratic party is to redeem its pledges made at the polls. The astounding spectacle is presented to the country of a measure of the greatest importance and far-reaching consequences being precipitated on the House under an iron-bound rule which prevents the consideration of any amendments, except those dictated by its supporters, and of forcing members to elect between the duty of standing by what they conceive to be their duty to their constituents or of appearing to array themselves against the distinct policy of the Administration.

Such a course was unnecessary. It was recklessly disregardful of the interests of the Democratic party, and will be destructive of the harmony and unity of purpose absolutely essential to the enactment of the legislation which we pledged to the people, and the failure of which will reflect additional discredit on the Democratic party.

Mr. Speaker, many of the gentlemen who have spoken on this subject, and who were nominated and elected as Democrats, boldly proclaim their opposition to the use of silver as money, and aver that the views of the Democratic nominee for the Presidency and not the platform on which he was nominated and elected should be the guide for our action; with these we have no concern, because they place themselves beyond the pale of our party, and are the mere personal followers of the President. Others maintain that the substitute of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] should be voted down and the original bill passed, because we can at the regular session of Congress enact legislation which will carry the platform into effect and meet the approval of the country.

If the signs of the times did not unmistakably indicate that such hope is absolutely groundless, if it were not known as positively as anything in the future can be known that if the Sherman law is repealed no additional legislation on the subject of silver coinage will be even considered by this Congress, I should concur in the conclusions of the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON] and vote for his bill; but I believe, and every other member on this floor who advocates the Bland substitute believes, that such a course is a disguised, but nevertheless an unmistakable abandonment of one of the two most important subjects of legislation promised the people by our platform. I hope I am mistaken; and if I am, no one will be more willing to acknowledge the error. I do not, Mr. Speaker, attack the motives of other members, but if I were to adopt this line of action I should feel that I was attempting to conceal treachery and bad faith with hypocrisy.

Shall we abandon the principle of bimetallism, shall we repudiate the obligations assumed by every member of our political party who holds a seat upon this floor? I fear we shall—so far as this House is concerned, I believe we have practically done so. But this great question, which affects most vitally the interest of every citizen of this broad land; which enters the door of every man who earns his living by labor; which goes with the farmer to his field, with the carpenter to his bench, with the lawyer to his office, and the merchant to his counter, will arise and rearise until the will of the people is crystallized into law, and justice is done to the toiling masses of our country.

It can not be ridiculed into silence; it can not be driven into obscurity by the taunts and jeers of those who stand for discount, interest, and commissions; it will assert itself with renewed strength until success crowns its efforts, or until the classes whose interests it assails have made themselves complete and absolute masters of the country. The opponents of the use of silver as money have been victorious in every contest by chicanery and fraud. With a majority against them always, they have by audacity, by fraud, and adroitness, broken its power and deprived the people of the fruits of every victory won at the polls.

In 1878, with a large free-coinage majority in both branches of Congress, they escaped with a compromise represented by the Bland-Allison act, which accomplished their purpose of leaving silver bullion on the list of commodities.

In 1890, when a similar situation was presented, the genius of the Senator from Ohio again came to their rescue, and they escaped with the act, denounced at Chicago as a "cowardly makeshift." Now, in this Congress, with an unquestioned free-coinage majority in both Houses, the voice of the siren is again heard in her most dulcet tones, and drowsy languor takes the place of the active, aggressive spirit which filled this House with a majority of 84 Democrats.

Sir, the days for subterfuges, deceit, and political legerdemain have passed, and we may as well come out into the open and take the fire of an indignant and outraged people.

When the people call for a volume of constitutional, safe, and honest legal-tender money, which will serve the needs and wants of our own great and growing business, they are denounced as practical repudiators, advocates of cheap money, and their representatives who refuse to betray them, as demagogues. Those who stand for "interest, discount, and commissions" are flattered by the metropolitan press as broad, patriotic statesmen.

When the Bland bill was under consideration the same school of politicians who now pose as the saviors of the country and guardians of the nation's honor loudly proclaimed that under its provisions a depreciated, debased dollar would be issued. They predicted the direst disasters to follow the disappearance of gold from circulation, which they said must surely take place, and appealed to national honor and good faith to prevent the passage

of so iniquitous a law. The appeal was vain. The Presidential veto was overridden, and Congress gave to the people this modicum of the relief which had been promised them.

What was the result? Instead of the disappearance of gold from circulation, so confidently predicted, the volume increased from $300,000,000 to $700,000,000.

Not a dollar issued under the provision of this law has ever been presented for redemption, except when gold was wanted for export, notwithstanding its depreciation to 60 per cent of its face value has been industriously proclaimed throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Of these "debased" dollars there are 308,199,262 in circulation. Not one can be bought for less than 100 cents in gold. No one has complained of them, and the only fault the country finds is that there are not enough of them. The same may be said of the circulation issued under the Sherman law. The certificates are full legal tender—are the obligations of the Government, whose ability to meet them no one disputes and no one questions.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, as against each it was confidently predicted by the gold monomaniacs of the country that their effect would be to put us on a silver basis. All these predictions have proved unfounded, and from these two sources we have drawn more than one-third of all the money now in circulation in the United States.

What would be the condition of the country to-day if the volume of silver circulation now outstanding had never been issued? We would either have only about one billion one hundred millions to do the gigantic business of sixty-five million people, or this money which has paid no toll to the banks would be represented by their paper of similar amount, and would represent to them the enormous profit resulting from a transaction of such magnitude.

Is not this, Mr. Speaker, the real reason of the persistent and unflagging opposition to the use of silver as money. When it is remembered that bank circulation shrunk in about the same proportion as silver was issued under the Bland act, the conclusion is almost irresistible that one displaced the other. We do not want, sir, to coin dishonest dollars or cheap dollars, but enough of honest money to meet the wants of business and revive the flagging industries of the country.

We want to pay our debts in money worth 100 cents to the dollar, but do not want the volume of money so contracted with reference to the growth of business and population that it will be impossible for us to obtain it without a sacrifice of labor and commodities out of all proportion to their value. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS], in the able presentation of the other side of this question, admitted that the effect of the proposed legislation, if unaccompanied by any other, would be to dry up the only source from which circulation can be increased, and to decrease thereby the ability of the debtor classes to meet their obligations; yet if the district he represents is situated like mine, it is literally plastered with mortgages bearing 10 per cent interest, and having from one to ten years to run.

The planters for several years past failed to realize more than the cost of producing their crops. Yet it is proposed to increase the value of the debts they owe and decrease their ability to pay them by increasing the value of money and the difficulty of obtaining it for business purposes. The East, with its immense wealth and plethora of money, is unable to realize the condition of the South. With them 4½ per cent interest is regarded as a fair return for money. With us 8 per cent is the lowest rate, and resources innumerable lie dormant for the want of capital to develop and render them productive.

Is it to be wondered, then, that the South, which for years has struggled with adversity and disaster, should demand at the hands of the party which it has constantly supported with its votes a fulfillment of the pledges it has made? Is it strange that we should desire the extension of our circulation to the point that capital would seek investment in legitimate interprise and business?

That this reasonable request should be denied us has filled us with surprise, consternation, and, I may add, with indignation. Why should the interest of the agriculturist, the mechanic, the laborer, the professional man—in fine, of all those classes who earn their living by producing or handling the necessaries of life—be sacrificed for those who live by lending the money on which all those operations are conducted.

Why should the maxim "that the greatest good to the greatest number" shall be the guiding principle in legislation, be reversed, and the smaller classes be further enriched by legislation distinctively in their favor? I imagine, Mr Speaker, that no satisfactory answers can be given to these questions.

For many years, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON], the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM], the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE], the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER], the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. MCCREARY], and the distinguished Secretary of the Treasury have been teaching us that the act of 1873 demonetizing silver was not only a fault, but a crime. With eloquence which aroused our enthusiasm and with arguments that convinced our judgment they taught us and have taught the country that it was possible to maintain in the United States the parity between gold and silver coinage. They have made us believe that the free coinage of silver on equal terms with gold would break the power of the money barons, unlock the doors of enterprise, and breathe new life into the prostrate body of the South; that with the world's supply of bullion to draw from money would flow into the channels of business as long as it would find profitable employment. These sentiments found expression in the platform of principles adopted at Chicago.

Our nominee for the Presidency gave them his indorsement, and the battle cry to the people was, "Give us the power and we will give you the relief." Hardly had the echoes of that contest died away before conservatism took the place of aggression, and a halt was called all along the line.

A remarkable change has come over the spirit of their dreams. Bimetallism, which ten months ago was entirely practicable, has now become impossible without the concurrence of those foreign nations whose interest demands the gold standard.

The volume of circulation, which before the election was insufficient to meet the wants of business, has now b come so redundant that it is necessary to cut off the only source from which it could be supplemented, and no measure providing any other means of accomplishing this purpose can receive their support.

The gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED], regarded as the most formidable man in the Republican party, with his lieutenants from Michigan and Iowa, are called to the support of a measure fathered by a Democratic Administration, and quondam Democrats beam with satisfaction and applaud with rapture arguments in favor of a financial policy advocated and maintained by the Republican party as long as it has had power in the United States.

The distinguished gentleman from West Virginia, the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, tells us to-day that, speaking for himself alone, he does not anticipate that it will be necessary to issue bonds to maintain the public credit, but he forgets that no longer than last February a bill was reported from the Committee on Banking and Currency exactly similar to the bill now under consideration, except that it provided for the issuance of a 3 per cent bond.

That was known as the Sherman amendment, and, like the makeshift which bears his name, was the product of his fertile brain. The gentleman from West Virginia supported that bill, and, if I am not mistaken, supported a resolution ordering cloture on it. He was supported then, as he is now, by all the monometal Democrats on this floor and by about one half the Republicans, with the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] at their head.

It failed of passage because of the strenuous opposition of those who insist the party must execute its pledges. It may be that we will not be forced to an issue of bonds, and I hope, in the providence of God, that we will not be; but the strong probabilities are that we will be.

There are now in circulation about $850,000,000 of demand obligations in the United States redeemable in gold at the Treasury.

They serve all the purposes of money—in fact, are money—and bear no interest; but if the bill now pending in the Senate authorizing national banks to issue circulation up to the par value of bonds deposited, how will it be possible to prevent the funding of the entire greenback and silver circulation into bonds? If presented for redemption, this Government must buy gold for that purpose, and it can only do so with bonds.

The process then will be simple; the banks will present this class of circulation for redemption; this will force the issue of bonds, which they will buy. These, on being deposited with the Treasury, will authorize a circulation equal in amount, and the banks will have made an investment to draw interest at both ends of the line—on the bonds from the Government and on the money from the people, the one in fact representing the other.

That any such result is now contemplated or intended I do not charge, but that it will be the inevitable effect of the legislation if enacted I confidently believe.

Mr. Speaker, it is with a deep sense of responsibility to those whom I represent that I withhold my support from a measure which it is understood is approved, nay, recommended, by the President, but in the exercise of a solemn public duty I can not yield my convictions for any consideration whatever.

This unfortunate division in the party is in my judgment wholly unnecessary. A coinage act which would provide for an increase of circulation to the point considered necessary is all that we ask.

We are ready to safeguard it with any legislation necessary which will recognize silver as a money metal, and thereby increase its market value to its coinage value.

We are ready to stand squarely on the platform of our party, and will support no legislation that does not make every dollar bearing the stamp of the Government equal to every other dollar of the same kind. But we are not content to accept the dictum of those gentlemen who say this can not be done, and we shall not try the experiment.

Mr. FELLOWS withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.

Mr. FITHIAN. Mr. Speaker, we are asked by gentlemen who advocate the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, which, without amendment, means placing this country on a single gold standard, to act the part of patriots and sustain the Administration. Congress is a coördinate branch of the Government. It is the duty of Congress, as the legislative branch of the Government, to make laws, and it is the duty of the Executive to enforce the law.

It is commendable in all gentlemen to act the part of patriots, but if it is necessary in order to be a patriot in the estimation of gentlemen who want to force the country upon a single gold standard to sacrifice principle and vote against what I regard to be the interests of my constituents, I must lay myself open to their criticism of being unpatriotic. The gentleman from New York [Gen. TRACEY] has said this evening:

Any Democratic member of this House who believes that he will curry favor with his constituents by endeavoring to oppose and break down the Administration of this man who was the people's choice will, I have no doubt, find that he has misjudged the temper of his people.

I do not misjudge the temper of my people when I stand here and insist that the Democratic platform shall be fulfilled and not repudiated by the Democratic majority of this Congress, although I may be unpatriotic, from the gold-bug standpoint. I learned my Democracy from the gentleman who now fills the exalted position of Secretary of the Treasury under this Administration, and I read with pleasure what he said in 1878:

I know that the world's stock of the precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it will ever become so. Mankind will be fortunate, indeed, if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry. According to my views of the subject, the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy, by legislation and otherwise, from three-sevenths to one-half of the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age.

The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilences, and famines that ever occurred in the history of the world. The absolute and instantaneous destruction of half the entire movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads, and all other appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of one-half of the metallic money in the world.

Mr. COOPER of Indiana. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question there?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FITHIAN] yield to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. COOPER]?

Mr. FITHIAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. COOPER of Indiana. I would like to ask the gentleman if he has read the whole text of the speech of Mr. Carlisle that he has quoted?

Mr. FITHIAN. I have not read it to-night, but nothing in the speech could change or modify the meaning of that part which I have just read.

Mr. COOPER of Indiana. I would like to state, Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will allow me, that that speech has been misquoted.

Mr. FITHIAN. That part which I have read is correctly quoted. I have only twenty minutes. I decline to yield further.

Mr. COOPER of Indiana. I wanted to state to the gentleman that I do not think he desires to misrepresent Mr. Carlisle.

Mr. FITHIAN. I do not misrepresent him. I learned my lesson too well then to unlearn it now in this trying period in our nation's history.

As a Democratic member of this House I am unable to support the Administration in its effort to force the unconditional repeal of the so-called Sherman law. It is my desire to support Mr. Cleveland by my vote upon every question in which I believe he is in accord with the platform of the last national Democratic convention. I do not believe that the message of the President to this Congress is in accord with the Democratic platform. I do not believe that the President's message recognizes the principles of bimetallism, but that, on the contrary, his message ignores bimetallism totally. The platform declares that:

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters as well as its author anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver, without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

The President in his letter of acceptance said:

The people are entitled to sound and honest money, abundantly sufficient in volume to supply their honest needs. But whatever may be the form of the people's currency, national or State—whether gold, silver or paper—it should be so regulated and guarded by governmental action, or by wise and careful laws, that no one can be deluded as to the certainty and stability of its value. Every dollar put into the hands of the people should be of the same intrinsic value or purchasing power. With this condition absolutely guaranteed, both gold and silver can be safely utilized, upon equal terms, in the adjustment of our currency.

Again the President said in response to the committee of notification:

I find much relief in the reflection that I have been selected merely to stand for the principles and purposes to which my party is pledged, and for the enforcement and supremacy of which all who have any right to claim Democratic fellowship must constantly and persistently labor.

In this speech the President placed himself upon the platform of the party by saying that he "had been selected merely to stand for the principles and purposes to which his party was pledged."

What were the principles to which the Democratic party was pledged? I turn again to the platform for the answer:

We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage.

And for the enforcement and supremacy of which—

Said Mr. Cleveland—

all who have any right to claim Democratic fellowship must constantly and persistently labor.

Again I quote from the President in response to the committee of notification:

True to its history and its creed, our party will respond to the wants of the people within safe lines, and guided by enlightened statesmanship. To the troubled and impatient within our membership we commend continued, unswerving allegiance to the party whose principles in all times past have been found sufficient for them, and whose aggregate wisdom and patriotism, their experience teaches, can always be trusted.

The President commended "the troubled and impatient within our membership" to "unswerving allegiance to the party."

Now, Mr. Speaker, what has produced the "troubled and impatient" within the membership of the Democratic party? The silver question. That there were troubled and impatient within our party every Democratic member of this House who represents an agricultural district knows, and it was only by the assurance of Democratic leaders that the party would be faithful to its pledges that the "troubled and impatient" of our party were quieted and again brought back to "unswerving allegiance to the party."

By the last national platform the party is pledged to the coinage both of gold and silver into money. This platform was the last declaration of the party in national convention upon this great, important question. He who is a good Democrat must honestly and faithfully keep the pledge. He is not a good Democrat who repudiates it. Bimetallism is therein so explicitly and plainly declared for that no tortured construction can cloud its meaning. This is the platform upon which the Democracy won before the people last November. This is the platform upon which Grover Cleveland accepted the Democratic nomination for President. This is the platform and these are the principles upon which the national Democracy fought the battle.

Did we mean it then? If we did, and we are faithful to our pledges, each and every Democratic member of this House is pledged to the people to keep the faith. If we refuse to do it we will forfeit the confidence of the people who by their votes placed the Democratic party in control of both the executive and legislative branches of the Government. I, for one, meant it. I expect to keep the faith. As a Democrat I will not be blindly led into casting my vote in the direction of placing this country upon a single gold standard. Upon this question I, for myself, must take such independent action as I believe to be in accord with the principles of the party, and in accord with the sentiments of the great masses of the Democratic party.

Bimetallism has been a cardinal principle of Democratic faith from the foundation of the party to the present time. I defy the single gold standard men to point out a single platform to any Democratic national convention, where the party declared upon the subject, where the principle of bimetallism has not been recognized in unmistakable terms. Ninety per cent of the party to-day believes in it, and if I should repudiate it, ignore it, and trample it under foot, I would be false to the teachings of Democracy and a traitor to its principles.

The President said that "True to its history and its creed, our party will respond to the wants of the people."

The great masses of the people of this country, irrespective of party, favor the use of gold and silver as money. The people are unalterably opposed to placing the country on a single gold standard, and a party pledged to a gold standard would meet ignominious defeat at the polls in a national contest. The Demo-

cratic party will never be committed to that policy. In the last Presidential election all parties favored silver. The platform of the last Republican national convention on silver is as follows:

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver, as standard money, with restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of value of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers, and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government shall be as good as any other. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

How many Republican members of this House will vote to continue "the use of both gold and silver as standard money," and how many will vote to wipe from the statute books all legislation for further coinage of silver? The record vote will tell. It seems to me that there is a combined effort on the part of Republicans and some Democrats to repudiate both platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties on this question.

The present financial disturbance is more artificial than real. The present condition of affairs has been precipitated upon the country by the money-lenders and stock-jobbing, bondholding Shylocks of Wall street to force an issue of Government bonds. A scarcity of money makes dear money. The money-loaning and bondholding class seek to exclude silver from use as money in order to make money dear and make correspondingly cheap the product of every farm in the land.

Much talk is indulged in by the single gold standard advocates about the 60-cent dollar, the dishonest dollar, and putting a dollar's worth of silver in a dollar. Silver has been depreciated by unfriendly legislation, and gold has been appreciated by favorable legislation. It is the money use that gives to either metal its chief value.

If silver was scarce and gold plenty, the enemies of silver would soon renounce their faith in gold and become strong advocates of silver. There is not sufficient gold in the world to supply the necessary coin for the world's wants, which are daily increasing with the advance of population and wealth. The supply of gold being limited, the creditor classes seek to make it the sole money metal of the world, that they may thereby add untold millions to their wealth.

Up to the time that silver was demonetized by the act of 1873 anyone had the right to take gold or silver bullion to the mints of the United States and have it coined into standard money of full legal-tender quality. No public demand was made for the demonetization act of 1873. There was no honest reason for it. It was done by stealth, and the motives behind it were little less creditable to those concerned in it than highway robbery. It was a fraud upon the people. It changed every contract involving the payment of a dollar. It increased the public debt, and by making money scarcer added increased burdens to every obligation that every debtor had to discharge by the payment of money. It was in the interest of the creditor and bondholding classes, and enabled these Shylocks to extort from their unfortunate victims more than their pound of flesh.

We are reminded that "the very man of all others who has the deepest interest in a sound currency and who suffers most by mischievous legislation in money matters is the man who earns his daily bread by his daily toil." This sounds well. All classes of people want a sound currency, and silver would be a sound currency had it not been debased by mischievous legislation. Who are the people that demand unconditional repeal and the placing of this country on a single gold standard? Not the farmer, not the mechanic, not the laborer, nor none of the men who earn their "daily bread by their daily toil." The bank presidents and stock-gambling influences of Wall street are the "sons of toil" who demand unconditional repeal.

This is what the New York Evening Post of the 15th instant has to say:

It is most fortunate for the metropolis that the bankers of New York have so excellent a Representative in the House as Congressman HENDRIX, whose maiden speech on the silver question last Saturday was such a clear and forcible presentation of the sound-money side. There is no surer way of overcoming the unreasonable prejudice of so many Southern and Western men against the "gold bug" than to have a man appear on the floor who fairly represents the banking interests of New York.

The Post is a gold paper. It demands the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law. It wants the country placed on a single gold standard. The speech of the gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX] is highly commended by this paper because he "fairly represents the banking interests of New York." Why do these New York bankers need a special champion here on the floor of this House? Are they not yet satisfied? For the last thirty years they have been fed upon the fat of the land, while the masses of the people had to be contented with the crumbs that fell from their tables. How long is this to continue? These bankers of New York, whose interests no doubt will be "fairly represented" on the floor of this House, not alone by the gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX], have not been known to suffer for want of legislation in their interests.

When gold was at an enormous premium during the war they bought the bonds of the United States, redeemable in the money of the country, for an average of about 50 cents on the dollar, and then by being "fairly represented" in Congress had the contract changed, making these bonds payable in gold. I should be sorry, indeed, if these much-abused, unfortunate, and friendless bankers of New York should wake up some morning and find themselves without representation in Congress.

I am compelled to take the course I do because nowhere in the message of the President to this Congress can I see the least ray of hope for the continuance of bimetallism. On the contrary, I see in the message a fixed and unalterable determination to place this country on a single gold standard alone, which, in my judgment, means ruin and destruction to the agricultural interests of the people that I represent. I am strengthened in the position that I take in regard to the meaning of the President's message by the declaration of the gentleman from New York, Mr. COCKRAN, who is leading the forces for unconditional repeal, in an article in the North American Review, in which he said:

The recent utterances of the President * * * however, appear to settle the question that the present Administration is determined to use all the means at its command to maintain a gold standard. The question of free coinage of silver by the United States may be excluded from consideration, as nobody deems the passage of such a law within the limits of possibility during the present Administration.

If that be the meaning of the recent utterances of the President, the advocates of silver can have no hope of future legislation in behalf of silver if the Sherman law is unconditionally repealed. It is so plain to my mind that "he who runs may read," and the member of this Congress who votes for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law deliberately does so with the full knowledge that when he so casts his vote he is casting it in favor of placing this country upon a single gold standard. Let the members who desire to do so take the responsibility of such a course.

This is not the first time that the principles of Democracy have been assailed by its foes within its councils. The time was when the same struggle that is now going on was made by the true friends of Democracy to relegate to the rear the so-called Democrats who wanted to commit the party to the theories of protection. The men who then stood out boldly for tariff reform, and who fought the battles of the party in Congress upon this great question upon which the party is now practically a unit, were defeated by coalition with Republicans; they saw tariff reform smothered in the House of Representatives, but to their satisfaction to-day the phrase "unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation" has become a Democratic watchword.

The Democratic party is great enough to purify and purge itself of its enemies and foes who now forget its promises and repudiate its national platform, and it will do so in the settlement of this great financial question as it did in settling the principles of the Democratic party on the tariff issue.

Under the Democratic platform we should so adjust the ratio between the two metals as to maintain a parity, and coin both freely "without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage." When the pledge is fulfilled no free-coinage Democrat will refuse to vote for the repeal of the Sherman law. I shall vote for each and every amendment fixing a ratio between the two metals, beginning with 16 to 1 and ending with 20 to 1. If all shall be defeated I shall vote to restore the Bland act, and if that should be voted down I will feel it my duty to cast my vote against the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law. The platform of the Democratic party must be fulfilled in whole and not in part. [Loud applause.]

Mr. HUDSON. Mr. Speaker, this Congress will go down to history as the money-changers' Congress.

No man voting for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act will ever be President of the United States, because he has failed to yield to the demands of the American people or to comprehend their wishes and growth.

At their last national convention the Democratic party indicted the Republican party for the passage of the Sherman act. That act was passed by Republican votes exclusively in both the Senate and House. And the Republicans in this House and by their votes next Monday will confess that indictment and enter a plea of guilty.

The Democratic party promised both gold and silver as the currency of this country in its last national platform, and the first step it takes after coming into power is to repudiate that promise.

Men stand on this floor and say that they are for bimetallism; that they want free silver; and yet they propose to vote away the

last vestige of silver coinage existing on our statute books, without condition. They ask us to surrender the last redoubt at a time which they well know we can not have any silver legislation during the Presidency of Mr. Cleveland, and for at least one year thereafter.

They say surrender the fort, and we will help you take it again, when they know that it can not be retaken.

The gentlemen from Maine [Mr. REED] and New York [Mr. COCKRAN] both express great love for the laborers of this country; they give us many fine words, words, only words; and standing behind them in the interest of the workingmen, I presume, are two hundred or more of bankers and brokers and financial agents of money-lenders from various Eastern cities, now haunting every crypt and corner of the Capitol.

Not a laboring man is found here; no one here to hold up the hands of the representatives of the producers.

Oh, sir, this love of the money-lenders for the producers and laborers is touching in the extreme; it is wonderful to behold! We are told, sir, that all these men are here for the express purpose of preventing Congress from taking $50,000,000 of the people's money and giving it to the lenders. Christ once said, "Oh, ye Pharisees, hypocrites!" Gentlemen, my time is up, but I want to admonish you that if you force that gold standard on the American people the place that knows you now will know you on more forever. [Great applause.]

We have listened to many splendid periods denouncing silver and predicting dire calamity if we obeyed the people and gave them free coinage.

Some of the ablest men in this nation have denounced free coinage. Eloquence, oratory, invective, prophecy, all have been invoked, and yet not one logical reason, not one historic fact, not one moral suggestion has been given for this bitter opposition to silver.

Forty centuries has silver stood as the money of all intelligent people everywhere, and all the learning of the opposition has been exhausted without giving an instance where any people, state, or nation, in any age, suffered from silver, or was lost, decayed, dishonored, or died from silver. Sir, it has ever been the money of the common people; gold never has been and never can be. [Applause.]

My people, in common with the great mass of Americans, want free silver; nay, more—they demand it. And come what may, I propose to stand by their wishes, not only because it is their wish, but because their wishes are just, honest, and patriotic. [Loud applause.]

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. Speaker, I believe that the people of my State are opposed to the demonetization of silver. I know of no one in West Virginia who is willing to say that we can dispense with silver as legal-tender money.

I know that our people are not demanding the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law, but there is a general feeling that its repeal should be coupled with a measure that will mean something more than a mere declaration in favor of bimetallism.

I am here as a member of this House under instructions to vote for the free coinage of silver. The convention which nominated me less than a year ago declared almost unanimously for silver, I would be recreant to my trust and fall short of my duty if I did not carry out the wishes of those who sent me here.

We should not allow ourselves nor the country to be deceived as to the real issue which, as I see it, is nothing more or less than an effort of the money-lending world, and those having fixed incomes—in short, those who live upon the savings of others, to increase the value of debts already in existence, and incomes of all sorts, by making them payable in a money that is made dearer and harder to procure than the money in existence at the time of their creation.

It seems to me that this is the true situation, and I can but believe that such a policy will bring ultimate disaster to the whole country. I believe that we who are counted as friends of silver are in the minority here, and I also believe that the unconditional repeal will prevail; not because the people desire it, but because the whole money power of the world demands it; because the President demands it, and because power, honors, and rewards are on that side.

It is proposed now to unconditionally repeal the Sherman law, and this means the demonetization of silver and the abandonment of our country to the tender mercies of the owners of gold; all that we are to have is a promise of something in the future—a promise that will not bind anyone, a promise that is the kiss of Judas. Power that can make, and is making, the fortunes of men is more potent than the distant voice of the people. I favor the repeal of the Sherman law; it is universally and justly condemned, but can it be that any of the friends of silver are so confiding or so credulous as to believe that after Congress has demonetized silver we can then enact some legislation that may restore silver to its true place as legal-tender money? It is a vain hope. The power that is now working a change of heart in this Congress will be irresistible when it has wrested from our hands our only means of defense.

The friends of silver, the people of the whole country, have been deceived, have been betrayed into the support of men who pretended to stand on the Democratic platform of bimetallism and who now forsake this trust shamelessly, at the command of the Administration and of the gold owners of the financial world.

Had the question of the demonetization of silver been made an issue in the campaign of 1892, how many of those Representatives west of the Alleghanies who are now falling over each other in their eagerness to destroy silver, that they may be in line with the Administration—I say how many of these men would now be here? No speaker in either House has had the hardihood to declare that the people of this country are ready for the demonetization of silver.

All know that the people do not desire it. From the great cities with their rich bankers, boards of trade, and chambers of commerce, Congress has been deluged with arrogant demands for the destruction of one-half of our metallic money, but who has heard from the farmer, already impoverished by unjust legislation and now again to be made the victim of that greed for gold which knows no mercy, which seems destined to grind him into the earth through the action of laws made by the men he trusted to protect him? In the apparent triumph of tariff reform last fall, he thought that he saw the dawn of a better day, but not only is that prospect now obscured, but another and a darker cloud covers the horizon of his hopes and he sees reaching out from the great money centers of the Old as well as the New World that same hand, which through all the ages has maintained the right of the privileged few to live upon the labor and earnings of others; he sees that power, which is the power of gold, closing its grasp upon his own Government and in the future he can discern nothing but the eking out of a bare existence upon the pittance which may be allowed him by the tax gatherer. The head of the greatest labor organization in the world has declared for free coinage; the farmers' organizations everywhere demand it, but their voices are scarcely heard in the nation's Capitol where none can have the ear of power but those who come with the glitter of gold upon them.

Mr. COOPER of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, a few moments ago I endeavored to obtain from my friend from Illinois [Mr. FITHIAN], who then had the floor, an opportunity to set him right upon a quotation which he had made from a speech made by Hon. John G. Carlisle, now Secretary of the Treasury, but then a member of the House. I had heard that quotation made so frequently upon the floor during the course of this discussion that I took occasion to look up the speech and read it through. I do not think the gentleman intended to misquote the distinguished gentleman from Kentucky, the present Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. FITHIAN. Was my quotation incorrect?

Mr. COOPER of Indiana. The quotation was correct in language, but, being only a small part of the speech, which was of some length, it does not convey the full meaning of the speaker. The speech was made in 1878, at the time of the consideration of what is now known as the Bland-Allison law. That law first passed this House as a free-coinage measure. It was passed under a suspension of the rules, when no opportunity was given for discussion. It received the vote of Mr. Carlisle. It went to the Senate and was amended by that body.

It was afterwards passed with a limitation put upon coinage, which we all know gave the distinctive feature to the Bland-Allison law; and after it returned to the House Mr. Carlisle then took the floor, and in an elaborate speech, the very meat of which has been used in many of the speeches upon this floor in this discussion gave a full expression of his views upon the whole subject. Speaking of the amendment which limited the coinage he said this, which I will read:

> This is the amendment which fills the minds of some of our friends with such gloomy forebodings and excites such a fierce and determined spirit of opposition that there is a disposition among some of them to defeat the whole measure rather than accept this as a part of it. Now, sir, while this amendment is objectionable to me in some respects, I am constrained to say that it is not so on account of its repudiation of the free-coinage provision of the original bill; and I will state as briefly as possible the reasons which compel me to take this view of the subject.

The distinguished Democrat, now Secretary of the Treasury, expressly stated in the language which I have read that he did not object to the limitation put upon coinage, but that he favored it. He said in the course of that speech, further, that he was opposed to the free coinage of both gold and silver, and said that he was in favor of a charge for the expense of minting of a sufficient sum to defray the expense and to cover the difference, whatever it might be, between the bullion value of the metal

and the coinage value when it was coined, and I read that for the edification of gentlemen and to correct them before the country:

> The overloaded taxpayers of this country, already staggering and sinking under the burdens imposed upon them by unwise legislation, would have been subjected by that provision to a new exaction of several millions of dollars annually to pay for coining the bullion of capitalists at home and abroad. I can not become the advocate of such a system, either as to gold or silver, and, although my vote was given for the bill as it passed the House under a suspension of the rules, with this feature in it I did not approve of it, and then hoped that it would be amended in the Senate.
>
> The mints of the United States are operated at the expense of the whole people, and therefore they should be operated for the benefit of the whole people. If on account of a difference between the market value of the bullion and the legal value of the coin, there is a seigniorage or gain in the process of coining, the Government should have the benefit of it; and if, as in the case of gold at the present time, there is no such difference, the holder of the bullion who wants it converted into coin should be required to pay at least enough to defray the expenses of the operation. The great mass of the people neither own bullion nor metal requiring recoinage, so that the provision of the House bill was not a provision for their benefit, but for the exclusive benefit of a few bullion dealers and mining companies.

I commend that language to the gentlemen who have, with so much unction, quoted extracts from this speech. He expressly states that if there is any profit in the transaction growing out of the difference between the value of the bullion and the value of the coin, it should go to the Government.

Mr. BRYAN. Is it not true that the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Carlisle] said in the course of that speech that he was in favor of unlimited coinage of both metals, but not free coinage.

Mr. COOPER of Indiana. Yes, sir; in such connection as to show that he favored that coinage only under such conditions as would secure the currency against depreciation. I believe he expressed the opinion here, and that opinion seemed to prevail then, that under the operation of that law the commercial ratio of silver would become equivalent to its legal ratio.

He in no way expressed an opinion or views to the contrary; and what he said also with reference to striking down one-half of the metal money of the world, which I believe the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN] quoted in his speech, referred to the act of 1873, which struck down the legal tender quality of the silver dollar; and it was because the legal tender quality of the silver dollar was stricken down that one-half the money was stricken down. That speech was made upon a different set of facts from those presented here. It was made fifteen years ago upon another question and under far different conditions.

No proposition to strike down one-half of the metal money of the country to-day is pending in this Congress or before the country; no proposition to destroy the silver money; but only a proposition to limit the coinage in order that the money now in circulation may be maintained at par. The Wilson bill expressly maintains the legal-tender quality of the silver dollar, and guarantees its perfect equality with every other dollar issued by the Government. What he then said was in the interest of the Government and the people and against the owners of silver bullion and those who speculate upon the people's money.

Mr. BRYAN. May I ask the gentleman another question?

Mr. COOPER of Indiana. Certainly.

Mr. BRYAN. The gentleman has said that Mr. Carlisle's denunciation was aimed at the act of 1873, which took away the legal-tender quality of silver. Does not the gentleman remember that the legal-tender quality of silver was not taken away until 1874?

Mr. COOPER of Indiana. No, sir; my recollection is that the act of 1873 dropped the silver dollar from the coinage, and that that act in naming the coins which should be legal tender also omitted the silver dollar. I think the act of 1874 restored some legal-tender quality to the silver dollar in small payments, perhaps in sums of five dollars or less. But whether the legal-tender quality of silver was taken away by the act of 1873 or by the the act of 1874, Mr. Carlisle's denunciation was directed against the act which took it away, and not against any limitation upon coinage for the good of the coinage.

Mr. BRYAN. The gentleman, I think, will find that, while the law of 1873 dropped out of the coinage the standard silver dollars, the standard silver dollars in circulation remained a legal tender until the act of 1874, which limited their legal tender quality.

Mr. COOPER of Indiana. Very good. If the gentleman is right as to that point, then Mr. Carlisle's denunciation applies to the act of 1874, but I think the gentleman is in error.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I wish to ask the gentleman from Indiana a question, if he will permit me.

Mr. COOPER of Indiana. With pleasure.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Is it not a fact that, in the sense in which you are speaking, there never was free coinage of either gold or silver in the United States; that always there has been a certain amount taken out of the pure gold or the pure silver and converted to the uses of the Government, that amount being replaced by the alloy in the metal? Then in that connection let me ask another question so that the gentleman may answer both together. Is not that entire speech of Mr. Carlisle's in favor of the coinage of both gold and silver, without discrimination against either metal?

Mr. COOPER of Indiana. Gold coinage was made free by the act of 1875, commonly known as the resumption law. There may be some expense for the assay of bullion, or for converting it into bars, but there is now no charge for the coinage of gold. I have already answered the other question.

And Mr. Carlisle went further—and I commend that speech as a whole to the Democrats in this House—Mr. Carlisle in that speech goes further and shows a disposition to meet the other nations of the world in conference, and enter into an agreement with them to maintain the parity of both metals. He was then, as he is to-day, in favor of a sound and stable currency composed of both gold and silver in sufficient volume to transact the business of the country; and in my humble judgment there is nothing in that speech, when taken as a whole and interpreted in the light of all the facts, which in any way indicates any change of views, except to meet the changed conditions which confront us.

Mr. KIEFER. Mr. Speaker, as we are nearing the day when a vote is to be taken upon a question in which the people of our country is more deeply interested than in any other public question since the war, congratulations may, perhaps, not be out of order at this time.

An anxious, eager, and I have no doubt a very tired, populace in the grandest country and the best government on earth have been watching and waiting upon our action here with more faith than fortitude, more courage than cash.

Let us congratulate our distressed business men, our unemployed mechanics and factory workers, and our hungry laborers that the hour is near when this body of Representatives, called here in extra session nearly four weeks ago, is about to take some action in this pressing emergency.

Sir, I believe that a decided majority of the members of this House, regardless of party ties, past, present, or future, will, on Monday next, vote for the repeal of an act whereby this Government contracts to purchase a given amount of a certain commodity, which it obligates itself to pay for in gold. The President convoked this extra session in the midsummer season because there was a general demand for such action. He could not resist the appeals of the people who, by petitions and otherwise, came surging down upon the Executive Mansion during last June like a cyclone.

Nor has the cry abated since we have been here; and it has been a surprise to me why nearly a month should have been taken up in discussion upon a question that is so well and clearly understood by every member upon this floor.

But I can not refrain from adding, in as few words as possible, my attitude concerning the repeal of the purchase clause in the act of 1890, and the substitute proposed by the gentleman of Missouri.

While we have listened to much eloquence, philosophy, and sound logic from our colleagues, who have grown gray in official life, in my judgment had the five-minute rule been adopted at the start, and the time of debate limited to three days, that part of the bill which will be repealed on Monday next, so far as this body can repeal it, would have been repealed two weeks ago. The people expected early action of us. They had a right to expect it.

In the district which I have the honor to represent at least four-fifths of the people demand the repeal of the Sherman purchasing law. That district, Mr. Speaker, in point of commercial and industrial development, is second to none in the country. The queen city of the Northwest, at the head of the Father of Waters, has been known for half a century as a financial Gibraltar. It has withstood every financial flurry, every depression, every panic, during that period, and its commercial status has been as firmly established as that of any city of the Union; but for weeks business men of St. Paul, jobbers, wholesale manufacturers, and bankers have been fighting valiantly against this financial blight, which threatens to leave a path of ruin in a land overflowing with plenty. The Northwest, Mr. Speaker, has an abundant crop, and right on the eve of what should be a most successful season's business the business organizations are endeavoring to evolve some plan whereby they may move the product of our fertile fields to the seaboard.

The farmer, the laborer, the railroads, and the banker are all deeply concerned in this important question.

I shall not inquire into the cause of the present depression.

It is enough for me to know that it exists. The great business interests of this country hold the silver-purchase act responsible. Neither shall I inquire what next.

I know that the continued purchase of fluctuating and depre-

ciating commodity with the gold reserve in the United States Treasury will eventually result in gold going to premium.

I regret that the majority of this House saw fit to adopt a rule whereby no amendments could be offered to either of the pending bills.

For I believe that an honest silver dollar can be coined by this country, and that, too, without international agreement. But the character of the dollar and the ratios proposed by the substitute offered by the gentleman from Missouri does not, in my judgment, meet the existing necessity for an increased circulation of our currency.

It is, I believe, our solemn duty to act quick, wisely, and well.

Mr. Speaker, our fair land to-day under existing conditions is perishing in the midst of plenty.

Let us unloosen the strings that hold the hoarded millions withdrawn from banks; let us stop buying depreciated silver; let us repeal the purchase clause by such a majority in this House that will cause a great cyclone of joy and relief to converge at the other end of this building; let us do that first and then spend a week or two in receiving the congratulations from our people.

LEAVE TO PRINT.

Mr. MAGUIRE. Mr. Speaker, I rise simply to ask permission to insert in the RECORD, as a supplement to my argument of Wednesday last, some information recently obtained with reference to certain legislation in the colony of New Zealand.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. BAILEY). The gentleman has the right under the general leave already granted.

Mr. MAGUIRE. I suppose so, Mr. Speaker; but as I desire not to attach this matter to my speech, but to print it as a supplement, I have thought proper to make the request.

There was no objection.

SILVER.

Mr. HENDRIX. Mr. Speaker, In addressing this House early in this debate I sought to give relevancy to some statements by saying that I was a banker—the president of a national bank. But in doing so I did not desire to convey the impression that I represented a district of bankers, or that I was elected by their votes. I am not in any sense their representative, or a bearer of dispatches from them. In urging upon this House their common faith in honest finance and their earnest desire that this great country shall not be forced into calamities like the present one through unwise financial legislation, I am as the Lacedæmonian ambassador, who, when he knocked at the gates of Athens and was asked in whose name he had come, replied: "In the name of the state if I succeed; in my own name if I fail."

The debate in this House turns upon monometallism, and the only question is whether it shall be of gold or silver. Bimetallism has been abandoned, except as a very thin mask, and it is clear that those who propose the amendments to the bill repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman act are intent upon shunting this Republic upon a silver basis. Those who favor the stoppage of silver purchases do not ask for any further change in our currency laws now. They leave them as they are. They leave all of the silver in use just as it is. They do not alter the legal-tender quality of a single dollar. They do not contract the currency by a single cent. They do not demonetize silver. They do not change the standard of value. They do not alter the relation of debtor to creditor. They do not violate existing contracts.

Every silver dollar issued is to be kept alive and active in the channels of circulation. Not one is lost or destroyed. We simply propose to stop purchasing with gold money silver bullion, which we do not need, and storing it in Treasury vaults, an unavailable asset. We thereby give notice to all the world that every dollar we have issued is as good as a gold dollar, and that the national honor and credit are pledged to keep it so. We thus restore confidence at home and merit it abroad. As by the sweep of a magic wand we banish from our sky the evil genius now hovering over us and beckon back the better angels that keep watch and ward in days of peace and prosperity. It is true that we will be a gold standard country. We are that now, and have been since 1834. We will simply cease to dig under the foundations of that standard.

The initial point of this panic was the fear of the debasement of our currency. By every dollar of depreciated silver we have put out we have destroyed hundreds of dollars in that exchange of credit which is so important in modern business. Give to the people of this country and of the world confidence in our currency, and commerce will cure where legislation can not reach. It is certain, Mr. Speaker, that we can not be prosperous if there is abroad a spirit of repudiation which hits upon the device of fiat money upon a metallic basis as a new way to pay old debts, and tries to get it into our statutes.

The stubborn truth, which will not be evaded and always lifts itself in our path to convict our conscience and to convince our judgment, is that we must maintain good faith. Honesty presses upon us as a policy because it is economy and means prosperity. Law and environment both command us to be honest. Logic forces us to keep to our honored course as a nation. We can not hide behind the "dollar of the daddies" and keep the respect of the world any more than we can revert to the spinning wheel, the flintlock, the tinder box, and the mail coach.

Fiat metallic money is even worse than fiat paper money, for the former, when once issued from the mints, becomes the money of ultimate redemption, while the latter is but a promise to pay an honest dollar. The debasement of metallic money is the oldest, most insidious, and most corrupting form of national theft, and its use increases the evils it is designed to cure. This obstinate delirium, so deaf to every sense of justice, right, and common safety, has had its course before. It has run amuck only to perish by its own madness, and it injures most those who expect most from it.

Mr. Speaker, so long as we have gold-standard neighbors they will get the benefits of our attempt at bimetallism, if we seek to make it alone, and we will get the disadvantages of it. Gold and silver will not remain and perform the functions of a stable currency in any single country trading with monometallic nations. No bimetallist outside of this country has ever been so confident as to assert the contrary. The bimetallism of France served as England's clearing house with India for a long period, and England obtained untold benefit from it. It acted as a safeguard against the depreciation of currency in India.

This debate has proved a vent for many financial notions, which have been threshed out, I think, to general satisfaction; but one of the persistent hallucinations that attend the closing words of the speakers for free silver is the capacity of the American banker to cause a panic like this and to take infinite delight in locking up money. For a half century of legislation the American banker has been pilloried in Congressional debates. Every time foolish laws come home, like chickens to roost, the statesman goes for the banker. It seems, however, that in this panic he is the only man in sight to get the blame, and he has got it all.

But, Mr. Speaker, the pages of the RECORD would be less of a transcript of the time if it did not appear here that the American banker has played a role in these exciting times which has won for him distinction in the thought of his reasoning fellow citizens. This panic has affected more people, greater wealth, more diverse industries, has extended over a greater area, has run a longer course in distance and in time than any we have experienced before; but despite the heavy loss of deposits, the widespread hoarding of money, and the senseless fear of the multitude, the banking system of our Republic comes out of it with its machinery unbroken, and it will not stop one moment for repairs.

The men who have so bravely encountered disaster to conquer it and have faced panic to shame it down will not be forgotten by the business men they have befriended and the depositors they have protected. It is true some timid bankers have closed the doors when their banks were solvent, but they are opening them again. Other banks have been frank enough to say that as they were drained of their cash, they must ask for indulgence, and their customers met them as frankly and said, "We will stand by you."

There were weak banks that failed, and some vicious banking has come to grief, but the general deportment of bankers throughout the land, in holding things together, keeping business men on their feet, helping out honest enterprises at great sacrifice, and in endeavoring to allay this panic, which, by their very survival, they prove to be due to causes independent of their business, has commanded the highest respect from the American public.

To stop panics men have stood in the highway pledging their personal fortunes. To stop runs, rich directors have gone along the excited line of men and women and offered to guarantee deposits. To keep money active men who did not need to borrow have pledged their property to bring out from its hiding place hoarded money to redeposit it in banks for the use of their neighbors. To supply common business needs investors have left their money on deposit when they might be doubling their fortunes in the security market.

Banks combined their assets and pledged to each other all their resources in cities to give extensions of credits to country banks. The choicest property has been sent to the auction block to get cash to replace in common channels that which had been withdrawn through fright. Sleepless nights, anxious days, little acts of kindness like those from generous American hearts in times of pestilence, self-sacrifice as heroic as ever gave a soldier fame on a battlefield—these things show character. I appeal to them against caricature. Business men have cried, "Help me, or I sink," and bank experts and skilled financiers have gone with them over their affairs and helped them to stem the adverse tide.

Banks are not owned by millionaires. They belong to men of smaller fortune, to estates, to widows, to clergymen, to lawyers, doctors, college professors, investors whose money follows lines of faith in men rather than speculation and calculation. Bank shares are more subdivided than any other form of personal security. When a bank goes down the rich suffer less than the poor. The banker stands on neutral ground between the creditor and debtor classes, which have so often been mentioned here, for he is both creditor and debtor. He is a partner with every borrower, and is not only a creditor but is guarantor of the debtor's debt. Whatever may injure the creditor injures the banker and he shares equally the lot of the debtor. He is in no sense a partisan of either class if there is ever a clash of interests between debtors and creditors.

The money he handles chiefly belongs to those of small means. His debts are due chiefly to the middle class and the poor. Rich men know how to do their own banking, and they are rich and remain so because they keep but little money idle. The accumulations of the poor in the savings banks pass through the banks of deposit and discount before investment. The money of a community is mobilized and distributed through the nerves and arteries of business by the banker's skill.

The corn in a railroad crib, the cotton plant growing on the plantation, the waving field of ripening wheat, the stored tobacco, the grazing herd, the sheep on the mountain side, the fattening pigs, the dairy by the spring, the machinery of the farm, the piano in the parlor, the carpet on the floor, the floating logs in the river, the reservoirs of water irrigating a rich soil and making a desert bloom, the rushing locomotive, the grain-laden barge on the lake, the turning mill-wheel—every witness of enterprise, industry, and thrift is related either to the debts which the banker owes or the debts which he has guaranteed. He gives a potency and volume to circulating money that is beyond the force of legislation, and instead of controlling the movements of money and the extension of credits, he is controlled by the conditions about him. When his debtors restrict their credits to him, he is obliged to restrict his credits to others.

It is his first interest, therefore, to maintain such faith in national finance that the humblest may feel secure that their deposits will remain at their full value in money; that general business will not be shocked or disturbed; that the farmer may raise good crops and get good prices, the laborer receive good wages, and the manufacturer prosper. There is no flood that destroys wealth, no pestilence that dulls or checks the producing power of the people, no blight that decimates the flock, no drought that causes the crops to fail, and no calamity or misfortune of any kind or degree that does not register itself through some vital nerve leading from the injured to the banker's box. He prospers with your prosperity; he suffers with your misfortune. He is at the nerve-center of all your enterprises, and he feels the first thrill of a change in your condition.

Is it any wonder then that he is always on the side of good order, peace, upright living, honest dealing, public faith, a sound moral, legal, and social code, and of good financial laws? Is it any wonder that he is against repudiation in any form, against financial experiments condemned by human experience, against coin clipping or debt clipping, against demagogy that stirs the passions, the prejudices, and the malice of the unthinking poor, and against the abuse of legislative power in the selfish interest of any class? He is held fast in his position by high civilization. He disappears when social disorder runs mad.

If I know the American banker, he is modest in his way of life, prudent in his affairs, exemplary in his conduct, faithful in his line of work, friendly in spirit, helpful to the thrifty, and sincerely devoted to the prosperity of the town, village, city, or State, wherever he may be found, and customarily a man of such honor and pride of character that he would "coin his blood into drachmas" rather than disappoint the humblest man who called for the payment of his deposit.

Yet through this debate and in these printed pages the American banker has been hunted with the rifle shots of speech. He is put into this literature like a dragon in a fable, a villain in a play, or a vampire in old wives' gossip. His office is a public offense, his high trust is the enemy of the producer, his caution in dealing with the money of others the avarice of a Shylock, and his determination to keep ready to discharge his own debts the bloodless deed of a miser.

So he is represented here as hoarding money to create a panic, as conspiring to put currency at a premium, as desiring to make money scarce and its volume small. To effect a repeal of the Sherman law he is pictured here as a shark in Wall street; a gold bug east of the Alleghanies; a vulture in Lombard street, and the incarnation of the rest of the odious part of the animal kingdom in the various market places of the world. A banker who locks up money to create a panic does not pay 12 per cent for rediscounts to help the farmer move his crops. A banker who hoards money to repeal a bad law does not pay 6 per cent for clearing-house certificates to help his country correspondent help the farmer. A banker who locks up all of the money of the people does not fall below his reserve and call down Senatorial wrath for being a lawbreaker.

Is it not about time in our civilization for statesmanship to get above the level whereon the American banker is distorted and misrepresented to the view of the unthinking? His brave conduct in the panic of 1893 is proof both of his competency and the soundness of his business, and public esteem will inevitably register its appreciation of his patriotic service in straining every nerve and taxing every resource for the common good.

Do the gentlemen who so vigorously denounced bankers want first to put this country on the level of nations which use only silver for currency and then drop it to the level of countries which use no banks? Deposits are not required by statute, and it is not against the law to refuse to borrow money of banks. In a fortnight the people of this country could abolish banking without the aid of Congress. It is because our people can transact their business better with banks than without them that they use them so freely and stand by them so loyally. The gentlemen who say that the banks have refused to pay out currency are right. Why? They did not have it to pay. What is the reason? They have let it out to do service in moving and paying for the crops, and those who got it hoarded it. The national banks of this country lost $196,578,450 in deposits in the year ending July 12, 1893. This was a loan to them—a loan on demand—and when it was called for it was paid.

In the same time these banks curtailed their loans $107,273,521. Is there not to be found in the difference a tribute to the resource of the American banker in helping his neighbors in a trying time?

Since this panic began the national banks have lost $40,000,000 of gold, $34,500,000 of legal-tenders, and $2,400,000 of silver. In the year ending with the date of the beginning of this extraordinary session of Congress the banks in the city of New York had to pay debts to depositors amounting to $153,000,000. They cut down their loans $80,000,000. They lost over $71,000,000 of cash.

If they were hoarding money why do their sworn statements show such wholesale withdrawals? Does it please the farmer to hear bankers covered with abuse? Does he cease to use them? My friends, the farmer will not do away with railroads, and go to the markets in his wagon over bad roads, because they are abused. He prefers to improve upon the old ways and make more money. It is to his interest to use banks, and his representatives would earn his respect and his warmer support if they would get into closer touch with his everyday common sense.

There are petitions from nearly thirteen thousand bankers in the hands of different members here which register the sentiment against the foolishness of our silver-supporting policy. The wave of popular opinion has reached this House. It betokens a revolution in the American mind. We are not to fool any longer with a depreciated and a rejected money metal, and try to bear alone a burden which civilized nations should share in common. The silver problem will, after our action, remain in the world, and on the world, but not on this country alone. We can take care of the forty cents of credit in our silver dollar. We can keep all of our large stock in free circulation on a parity with gold, and the banks will take care to keep in such position as to meet the demands for foreign exchanges.

The House then, on motion of Mr. FITHIAN (at 11 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.), adjourned.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *August 28, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

JOHN T. MORGAN, a Senator from the State of Alabama, appeared in his seat to-day.

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday last was read and approved.

COURT OF CLAIMS REPORT.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting the findings of fact by that court in the case of Randolph & Stark *vs.* The United States; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Claims, and ordered to be printed.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the joint resolution (H. Res. 4) to make the provisions of the act of May 14, 1890, which provides for town-

site entries of lands in a portion of what is known as Oklahoma, applicable to the territory known as the "Cherokee Outlet," and to make the provisions of said act applicable to town sites in the "Cherokee Outlet;" and it was thereupon signed by the Vice-President.

PROPOSED FINANCIAL LEGISLATION.

Mr. SHERMAN. I desire to give notice that, if it is the pleasure of the Senate, on Wednesday morning, after the usual routine business, I shall be glad to address the Senate.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I give notice that on Thursday, after the conclusion of the routine business, I shall ask the recognition of the Chair for the purpose of addressing the Senate briefly on Senate bill 570, reported from the Finance Committee.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented a petition of the Federation of Labor of the District of Columbia, praying for the construction of a new building in the city of Washington for the Government Printing Office; which was referred to the Committee on Printing.

Mr. SHERMAN presented a petition of business men, merchants, and other citizens of Troy, Ohio, praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Phœnix Assembly, Knights of Labor, of Columbus, Ohio, praying for the use of both gold and silver as money; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. CULLOM. I present the petition of a large number of citizens of Chicago, praying for the repeal of the so-called Sherman act; that no substitute of any kind whatever be enacted at the present session, and that an expert commission be appointed to consider and recommend a scientific plan of currency based on the experience of other countries and adequate to the requirements of a great commercial nation. I move that the petition lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. CULLOM presented two petitions of sundry bankers and business men of Chicago, Ill., praying for the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HUNTON presented a petition of citizens of Roanoke, Va., praying for the passage of legislation providing for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HARRIS. I present the petition of a large number of citizens of the counties of Dyer, Obion, and Lake, in the State of Tennessee, and of the county of Fulton, in the State of Kentucky, praying that a levee be constructed on the east bank of the Mississippi River, from Hickman, Ky., down to or near Island No. 10, in Tennessee, and assigning reasons therefore. I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. VANCE presented memorials of the Farmers' Alliances of Dallas and Goldsboro, in the State of North Carolina, remonstrating against the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. McPHERSON presented petitions of the Woodstock Company of Jersey City, N. J., of George La Monte and 32 other citizens of Bound Brook, N. J., and of R. F. Rabe and other citizens of Hoboken and Jersey City, N. J., praying for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. WALTHALL. I present a petition signed by a large number of bankers, merchants, and other business men of Meridian, Miss., praying for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the so called Sherman silver act. The petition has a printed memorandum of instructions at the head of it, in these words:

Get signed and send to your Senator or Representative without delay.

I move that the petition lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. WALTHALL presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Meridian, Miss., praying for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MANDERSON presented a petition of District Assembly Knights of Labor, No. 126, of Omaha and South Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, praying for the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PROCTOR presented seven petitions of sundry citizens of Vermont, praying for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HILL presented a petition of the Local Association of the Advance Labor Club of Brooklyn, N. Y., praying for the suspension of immigration; which was referred to the Committee on Immigration.

He also presented petitions of the Leaf Tobacco Board of Trade, of the Produce Exchange, and of sundry firms, business men, and other citizens of New York City, N. Y., praying for the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. PLATT, from the Committee on Patents, to whom was referred the bill (S. 418) referring to the Court of Claims the claim of William E. Woodbridge for compensation for the use by the United States of his invention relating to projectiles, for which letters patent were ordered to issue to him March 25, 1852, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. HARRIS, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, to whom the subject was referred, submitted a report thereon, accompanied by a bill (S. 721) to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to appoint two additional clerks; which was read twice by its title.

Mr. HILL, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to whom was referred the bill (S. 412) to repeal Title 26 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, known as the Federal election law; reported it without amendment.

ALLOTMENT OF LAND TO CHEROKEES.

Mr. PLATT. I am directed by the Committee on Indian Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 457) authorizing certain Cherokee allottees or claimants to purchase certain tracts held and claimed by them, to report it back favorably, with an amendment; and I am instructed to ask for the present consideration of the bill by the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Connecticut asks for the present consideration of the bill.

Mr. COCKRELL. We can not consent to its consideration until we hear an explanation of the measure. We will hear the Senator.

Mr. PLATT. I was going to state that I thought if I could have the indulgence of the Senate to make a short explanation the Senate would consider the bill.

In the Cherokee agreement negotiated between the United States and the Cherokees for the cession of the Cherokee Outlet it was agreed that Cherokee Indians, citizens of the nation, who were settled on the Outlet, should to the number of seventy have allotments of land without paying for it. The agreement was ratified and the Outlet is about to be opened. It turns out that a little over two hundred Indians claiming to be residents filed claims for allotments. Of course only seventy could be allowed. The committee which passed on the question has rejected some absolutely in excess of the seventy and has said that the claims of others present equities, but technically they were not within the terms of the agreement or the act which we passed.

This bill provides that if the Secretary of the Interior shall find that there were more than seventy there who made selections and improvements he may allow such as have equities to purchase the land on which they are located, not exceeding 80 acres, paying the same therefor that the white people pay. I think it is right; the committee thinks it is right; and therefore we have reported the bill.

There is a little amendment reported, which makes it clear that none of the Indians except those who have equities shall be admitted, and the matter is left with the Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. COCKRELL. The bill is, I understand, reported favorably from the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. PLATT. It is, and it simply gives the Indians in excess of the seventy the right to take it and pay for it just as the white men are permitted to do. We think that is right.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There was appointed, I understand, a committee to decide upon the claims of those who might have a right to this land. That committee, in considering the claims of the different people who presented their cases for consideration, found that sixty came within the letter of the law; that there were not seventy coming within the rule of the law, but that there were a number of others who had equities which would seem to bring them within the spirit but not within the letter of the law.

The intention of the bill is simply to submit to the Secretary of the Interior the right to determine that such of those claimants as presented their claims as he believes come justly and fairly within the meaning of the law, though not within the law, shall be allowed to buy 80 acres of land. It applies only to Cherokee Indians who have made settlements in this Territory and have lived there for some years, and it merely authorizes them to buy land upon the same terms on which the settlers from outside will obtain it. The only advantage the Indians get under the bill is that they would be permitted, if the Secretary thinks they are en-

titled to this consideration, to make their selections before the general rush on the 16th of next month.

Mr. PLATT. And to buy the land on which they are already located, with their improvements.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Precisely.

Mr. COCKRELL. I do not understand that the bill gives any of them a right to go and select land on which they have never settled.

Mr. PLATT. Not at all.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Not at all. They are to take the land on which they are located, where their improvements are now situated, as I understand the bill.

Mr. PLATT. Yes.

Mr. COCKRELL. Very well.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The amendment of the Committee on Indian Affairs was, in line 5, before the word "improvements," to strike out the word "had" and insert in lieu thereof:

who prior to the 1st day of November, 1891, had, under circumstances which in the opinion of the Secretary create equities in their favor, made.

So as to make the bill read:

That should the Secretary of the Interior find that there are more than seventy claimants or parties, citizens of the Cherokee Nation, who have made selections and who, prior to the 1st day of November, 1891, had, under circumstances which in the opinion of the Secretary create equities in their favor, made improvements on the land ceded by the Cherokee Nation to the United States, lying west of Arkansas River, conveyed under terms of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for current and contingent expenses and fulfilling treaty stipulations with Indian tribes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894," such claimants or selectors in excess of the seventy provided for in said act may have the privilege of purchasing 80 acres of said land, to include their improvements, provided they have already filed their selections or claims to such tracts, the said claimants paying therefor at the same rate charged white settlers. Any acts or parts of acts in conflict with the foregoing are hereby repealed.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

SENATE FOLDING ROOM.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I am directed by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the joint resolution (S. R. 17) providing for the erection of a suitable building for the storage of documents for the use of the Senate, to report it favorably without amendment.

Mr. VEST. This joint resolution came from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and under the rule of the Senate it was referred to the Committee on Contingent Expenses. I stated the other day the absolute and immediate necessity for the passage of this measure. As soon as the joint resolution was brought in the documents stored in the Maltby Building were removed to a warehouse which has been rented by the Sergeant-at-Arms. It was absolutely necessary to do that in order to prevent a permanent injury to the Maltby Building. The joint resolution proposes to appropriate $7,500 out of the contingent fund of the Senate to put up a folding room on the vacant ground next to the Maltby Building, which already belongs to the Government. It is a very small appropriation, and it will do away with the necessity of continuing to rent the building now used as a storeroom. I ask the Senate to now consider the joint resolution.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution. It directs the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate of the United States to have erected upon the ground owned by the United States west of the house known as the Maltby House, situated on the southwest corner of New Jersey avenue and B street northwest, a suitable building for the folding and storage of documents for the use of the Senate, on plans and specifications approved by the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. But the expense of erecting the building shall not exceed $7,500, which shall be paid from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers to be approved by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Mr. HARRIS. I ask the Senator from Missouri if the duty of having the building constructed had not better be imposed on the Architect of the Capitol. It seems to me he would be the proper officer.

Mr. VEST. Plans and specifications for the building have been prepared by the Supervising Architect of the Capitol and approved by Col. Green, who is in charge of the Library Building.

Mr. HARRIS. I shall not object to the joint resolution in its present form, but it seemed to me the other was the proper designation.

Mr. VEST. We thought as our Sergeant-at-Arms is a younger and more active man he could give more attention to it.

Mr. HARRIS. Very well; let it go as it is.

Mr. MCPHERSON. Can the committee inform me whether the erection of a building as proposed by the side of the Maltby Building, facing as it now does, would not shut off the sunlight, the air, and everything from that part of the Maltby Building? In other words, would it not be absolutely destructive of the Maltby Building itself?

Mr. VEST. All that has been considered. There is an alley of 10 feet between the Maltby Building and this proposed structure, which gives plenty of ventilation and light. There is only one aperture of any importance on that side of the Maltby Building.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. MCPHERSON introduced a bill (S. 722) for the relief of George M. Clapp; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. FAULKNER introduced a bill (S. 723) granting a pension to Daniel Kendall; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. HUNTON introduced a bill (S. 724) for the relief of the owners of the Schillinger patents; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Patents.

He also introduced a bill (S. 725) for the relief of loyal citizens therein named, of Loudoun County, Va.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. GEORGE introduced a bill (S. 726) for the relief of the administrator of the estate of William J. Poitevent, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 727) for the relief of the Protestant Orphan Asylum of Natchez, in the State of Mississippi; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 728) for the relief of John and Sarah Griffin; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. GALLINGER introduced a bill (S. 729) for the better protection of the public service; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

Mr. KYLE introduced a bill (S. 730) making Labor Day a legal holiday; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. HILL introduced a bill (S. 731) for the relief of Maj. Gen. John C. Robinson, United States Army, retired, and to allow him the full pay of his rank; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 732) for the relief of Charles A. Danolds; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. MANDERSON introduced the following bills, which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds:

A bill (S. 733) providing for the erection of a public building at the city of Norfolk, Nebr.;

A bill (S. 734) to provide for the construction of a public building at Hastings, Nebr.;

A bill (S. 735) to privide for the purchase of a site, and the erection of a public building thereon, at Grand Island, in the State of Nebraska;

A bill (S. 736) to provide for the purchase of a site, and the erection of a public building thereon, at South Omaha, in the State of Nebraska; and,

A bill (S. 737) providing for the erection of a public building at the city of Plattsmouth, Nebr., and for other purposes.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

On motion of Mr. GALLINGER it was

Ordered, That Sarah J. Warren have leave to withdraw her petition and papers in pension case from the files of the Senate, subject to the rules.

UNPAID JUDGMENTS.

Mr. STEWART. I submit the following resolution and ask for its present consideration:

Resolved, That the Attorney-General is hereby directed to inform the Senate what is the aggregate amount of judgments against the United States for the payment of which no appropriations have been made by Congress.

Mr. FAULKNER. I suggest to the Senator from Nevada that he also ask that the claims be classified. There are a large number of claims which have not been appropriated for, but which could be very well classified.

Mr. STEWART. I would have no objection to including claims, but it would require more labor. I do not want to put upon the Department any undue amount of labor.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not think it is easy to classify judgments, if they are judgments.

Mr. STEWART. They are judgments; that is all.

Mr. ALLISON. I understand the resolution of the Senator from Nevada to apply to judgments.

Mr. STEWART. All judgments stand on the same level.

Mr. FAULKNER. I did not understand that the resolution referred to judgments, but to claims.

Mr. STEWART. Oh, no.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. PLATT. How does the Senator from Nevada understand the word "judgments"? Would it include the findings that have been made under the French spoliation claims act?

Mr. STEWART. It would not, but simply judgments for the payment of money straight.

Mr. PLATT. All right.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

APPREHENDED DEFICIENCY OF REVENUES.

Mr. STEWART. I submit the following resolution and ask for its present consideration:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury is directed to inform the Senate whether there is danger of a deficiency in the revenues of the Government during the current year, and if so, what is the probable amount of such deficiency, and is any legislation necessary to supply such deficiency.

Mr. GORMAN. Let that go over.

Mr. McPHERSON. I should like to ask the Senator from Nevada how it is possible for the Secretary of the Treasury to make such a guess or estimate as his resolution provides for. I understand he asks for information regarding the present year. We are just at the beginning of a new fiscal year. How can the Secretary of the Treasury anticipate what the legislation of Congress may be, what amount of revenue may be received from internal taxes, and how much we are likely to receive from customs? At best, it would be only a guess, and I presume the Senator from Nevada could guess quite as closely as the Secretary of the Treasury. I do not understand how the Secretary of the Treasury could answer such a resolution with any degree of accuracy.

Mr. HARRIS. Did the Chair understand the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] as objecting to the resolution?

Mr. McPHERSON. I do not object to it. I simply make an inquiry.

Mr. HARRIS. Being objected to the resolution goes over. It is not subject to debate after it has gone over.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the Senator from Nevada that an objection being interposed, the resolution goes over under the rule, and will be printed.

Mr. McPHERSON. If it is understood that I have offered an objection to the resolution I wish to state that I have not done so.

Mr. HARRIS. The Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] objected to the consideration of the resolution immediately upon its being read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair entertained the objection, but heard the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. STEWART. I should like to have the indulgence of the Senate to say one word in reply to the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. McPHERSON. I will state that I was not aware any objection had been made to the resolution, or I should not have proceeded.

Mr. STEWART. We act in these matters of legislation upon the estimates of the Treasury Department. It is rumored that there is likely to be a deficiency.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I am bound to raise a question of order.

Mr. STEWART. I think we ought to have official information, and that is my reason for offering the resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that this debate is preceding only by unanimous consent.

Mr. HARRIS. Then I object. Let the matter go over, and it can be debated when it comes up and debate is legitimate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will go over.

REPORT ON HAWKS AND OWLS.

Mr. FAULKNER submitted the following concurrent resolution, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed 5,000 copies of Bulletin No. 3, of the Department of Agriculture, entitled "The Hawks and Owls of the United States in their Relation to Agriculture"—2,000 copies for the use of members of the Senate, and 3,000 copies for the use of members of the House of Representatives.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The morning business is closed, and the Calendar is in order.

Mr. PEFFER. The Chair having announced that the Calendar is in order, I desire to ask permission of the Senate to make a very brief statement, personal to myself. It will not occupy more than two minutes and a half or three minutes at most, and is concerning the first order of the business.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The first bill on the Calendar will be announced.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks.

Mr. PEFFER. I was mistaken as to the order. I supposed it was Order of Business No. 1 on the first page of the Calendar.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that at 2 o'clock the resolution to which the Senator refers will come up as the unfinished business.

Mr. PEFFER. I did not desire to speak to that resolution, but ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to make a brief personal statement in relation to my connection with the resolution; that is all.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Kansas asks permission to make a personal statement. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from Kansas will proceed.

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President, in view of the fact that at the last session of the Senate I opposed the admission of Mr. Mantle and the other two gentlemen similarly situated, and in view of the further fact that I expect to vote at this session for their admission, it is due to the Senate and to myself that a brief statement be made showing the reasons which influence my course.

In times of calm when the country is at peace and the people are prospering, all provisions of the Constitution and the laws ought to be strictly construed by officers charged with responsible public duties; but in times of peril, when vital issues are pending and the country is in danger, there is no time to quibble over technicalities.

Everything must be construed in favor of the largest liberty consistent with the safety of the Republic.

When I discussed this subject last spring there was nothing to disturb the quiet of the people. We had nothing before us but the simple letter of the Constitution; and that, as I believed then and believe now, is against the claims of these men. But now we are in extraordinary session, called by the President to consider questions which affect every person in every State, and in every district and Territory in the Union. We meet in the midst of trouble. We are suddenly brought face to face with the gravest problem in our history. From my point of view, the people are confronted with the strongest power known among men, and they will have to contend against an organized vigilance armed with the most powerful weapons which the concentrated money power of the world can bring into use.

I believe the Republic is in danger, and at such a time no State ought to be denied its full representation in the Senate unless the people of that State withdraw their Senators.

The people of these three States—Montana, Wyoming, and Washington—have unanimously indorsed the action of their governors in appointing persons to fill what they regard as vacancies. I have waited for some evidence of disapproval, and none has appeared. We may assume, then, that the people of those States are not only satisfied with the governors' action in the premises, but that they desire the admission of the gentlemen appointed.

In consideration of these two facts, (1) that the country is imperilled by existing conditions, and (2) that the people of the States interested desire the admission of the applicants as their representatives in this body, I deem it to be my duty, while holding the opinions I expressed in argument last April, to temporarily waive my own objections, to the end that no State shall by my vote be without its full representation in the Senate at this critical juncture of public affairs.

INCREASE OF NATIONAL BANK CIRCULATION.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senate resumes the consideration of the unfinished business.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL], which will be reported.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert as an additional section the following:

SEC. 2. That upon the delivery and surrender of any of the United States bonds known as the funded loan of 1891, continued at 2 per cent interest and payable at the option of the United States, by the holder and owner thereof, to the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of the Treasury shall receive, cancel, and destroy such bond or bonds, and shall issue and deliver in exchange and payment therefor an amount of United States legal-tender notes, commonly known as greenbacks, in the same form and words of said United

States notes, equal in amount to the face value of such bond or bonds, with the accrued interest thereon.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment.

Mr. SHERMAN. I call for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GEORGE (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL]. I do not know how he would vote on this question if present, but I will ask the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR] if he knows how his colleague would probably vote upon it. I am inclined to vote "yea," but I am paired with his colleague.

Mr. PROCTOR. I think my colleague, if present, would vote "nay."

Mr. HARRIS. Then I announce my pair with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL], and withhold my vote.

Mr. MARTIN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] on this question. I understand, if present, he would vote "nay." I should vote "yea," if at liberty to vote.

Mr. PUGH (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR]. If he were present, he would vote "nay," and I should vote "yea."

Mr. RANSOM (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]. If he were here he would vote "nay," and I should vote "yea."

Mr. MCPHERSON (when Mr. SMITH'S name was called). I wish to state that my colleague [Mr. SMITH] is temporarily absent from the Chamber. He is paired with the Senator from Idaho [Mr. DUBOIS]. If present my colleague would vote "nay."

Mr. VOORHEES (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH]. Not knowing how he would vote on this question if present, I withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. DUBOIS (after having voted in the affirmative). I voted inadvertently. I am paired with the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and withdraw my vote.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Idaho withdraws his vote.

Mr. BUTLER (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CAMERON]. I voted inadvertently, and withdraw my vote. I do not know how the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote if present, but I should vote "yea."

Mr. VOORHEES. I have been corrected in regard to my pair with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH], and as chairman of the Committe on Finance I feel under instructions on this question, and I vote "nay."

Mr. MANDERSON. I am paired with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BLACKBURN]. I do not know how he would vote, and therefore refrain from voting. I should vote "nay" if he were present.

The result was announced—yeas 23, nays 29; as follows:

YEAS—23.

Allen,	Hunton,	Pettigrew,	Vance,
Bate,	Irby,	Power,	Vest,
Berry,	Jones, Ark.	Roach,	Walthall,
Call,	Kyle,	Shoup,	White, Cal.
Cockrell,	Mills,	Squire,	Wolcott.
Coke,	Peffer,	Teller,	

NAYS—29.

Aldrich,	Frye,	McPherson,	Stockbridge,
Allison,	Gallinger,	Mitchell, Wis.	Vilas,
Caffery,	Gray,	Palmer,	Voorhees,
Carey,	Hansbrough,	Pasco,	Washburn.
Cullom,	Hawley,	Perkins,	White, La.
Davis,	Hill,	Platt,	
Dixon,	Lindsay,	Proctor,	
Faulkner,	McMillan,	Sherman,	

NOT VOTING—38.

Blackburn,	Dubois,	Jones, Nev.	Quay,
Brice,	George,	Lodge,	Ransom,
Butler,	Gibson,	Manderson,	Smith,
Camden,	Gordon,	Martin,	Stewart,
Cameron,	Gorman,	Mitchell, Oregon	Turpie,
Chandler,	Hale,	Morgan,	Wilson.
Colquitt,	Harris,	Morrill,	
Daniel,	Higgins,	Murphy,	
Dolph,	Hoar,	Pugh,	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. COCKRELL. I offer the amendment which I send to the desk, to be inserted as a separate section.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert as a new section:

SEC. 2. That upon any deposit, already or hereafter made, of any of the United States interest-bearing bonds, excepting those of the funded loan of 1891 continued at 2 per cent interest at the option of the United States, by any State bank, private bank, savings bank, loan or trust company, or person, with the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and required to receive such bond or bonds and to issue and deliver in exchange therefor an amount of United States legal-tender notes in the same language and form of the present United States notes, commonly called greenbacks, equal to the face or par value of such bond or bonds, and to hold and keep such bond or bonds, subject to redemption upon the payment into the Treasury of the United States of an amount of United States legal-tender notes of any issue equal to the face or par value of such bond or bonds, and during the time such bond or bonds are held and kept in the Treasury no interest shall be paid thereon, and upon their redemption as aforesaid the Secretary of the Treasury shall pay the interest accruing thereon during the time so held and kept, less one and one-half of 1 per cent on the face or par value of such bond or bonds for each twelve months or part thereof, and shall cancel and destroy the United States legal-tender notes so received in redemption of such bond or bonds.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Missouri, which has been read.

Mr. ALDRICH. I call for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, that amendment simply authorizes any holder of a United States interest-bearing bond to deposit the same in the United States Treasury and receive in exchange therefor United States legal-tender notes equal to the par or face value of such bond or bonds, and the Secretary of the Treasury is to hold the bonds subject to redemption. They are to be redeemed whenever the person or bank who deposited them returns into the Treasury the amount of United States legal tender notes of any issue equal to the amount received, or to their par or face value, and when these notes are returned they are to be destroyed.

During the time the bonds are held no interest is to be paid upon them by the United States, but when the bonds are returned to the holder the United States pays to the holder the amount of interest which accrued during the time the bonds were held, less 1½ per cent for each twelve months or part of twelve months; in other words, the national banks pay 1 per cent upon their circulation, and they pay the incidental expenses connected with the preparation of their notes, amounting to not to exceed 1½ per cent. Any holder of United States bonds, under this provision, may get greenbacks upon the same terms that a bank can get national bank notes. When he surrenders the notes and takes back the bonds then he loses 1½ per cent of interest, making one-fourth of 1 per cent more than the national banks have to pay; in other words, it places the individual citizens of the United States, the state banks, the private banks, the loan and trust companies, and savings institutions at one-quarter of 1 per cent disadvantage compared with the national banks.

The question simply is, whether the people of the United States, the State banks, the savings banks, and the loan and trust companies who hold United States bonds shall have not quite equal rights with the national banks. That is the question pure and simple. Is is the question before the Senate of the United States whether anybody in this great country shall receive money at the hands of the Government upon any kind of deposit, save only the favored national banks; whether Congress shall intrust to the national banks absolute control and dominion over the paper circulation of the United States, and give them the right to take out the circulation or not, just as they choose, and to expand or contract it as they choose. The question before the United States Senate now is, whether anybody else on the face of the soil of the United States, except national banks, has any rights.

We have no objection to the national banks receiving the par value of the bonds in national bank notes. We are not opposing the bill, but we want to improve and better it; we want the Senate of the United States now, once for all, to determine whether anybody else but the national banks shall have any rights or privileges in regard to the currency of this country. We want to know why a State bank holding $50,000 of United States bonds, shall not have the equal privilege with five individual citizens, incorporated under the national banking law, to take its bonds to the Treasury and receive notes just as the five individuals incorporated into a national banking association have a right to do.

Mr. MANDERSON. Will the Senator from Missouri, if he is able to do it—and I presume he has investigated this subject and ought to know—be kind enough to answer a question? We know exactly what will be the amount of the increase by the bill as proposed by the Committee on Finance, some $19,000,000 it is estimated. What would be the amount of the increase of the currency under the proposition the Senator makes?

M. COCKRELL. Whatever amount the people of the United States think can properly be used in the business of the country, and no more.

Mr. MANDERSON. What would be the maximum that could be produced?

Mr. COCKRELL. The maximum amount would be the amount of United States bonds.

Mr. MANDERSON. Five hundred million dollars?

Mr. COCKRELL. Less than the amount the national banks have—three hundred and some odd million dollars.

Mr. PALMER. Will the Senator from Missouri allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. COCKRELL. With pleasure.

Mr. PALMER. Would not the effect of the Senator's amendment be to convert all these outstanding bonds into an immediate demand upon the Treasury? Would not the persons who hold greenbacks have a right to go to the Treasury at once and demand gold on their greenbacks?

Mr. COCKRELL. Under the amendment I propose, the position of the holder of a legal-tender note would be precisely what it now is. Any holder of a United States legal-tender note has a right to go to the Treasury of the United States to-day, and on presenting those notes in sums of $50 or $100—I have forgotten which—to receive coin of the standard value United States gold, 25.8 grains to the dollar, and silver 412½ grains, 9 parts fine, to the dollar, and if they take out every solitary dollar to the equivalent of the bonds not held by the national banks, then the holder of each of these greenbacks will have the same right he has now. If they would put back the gold and silver they would have a right to take them just as they have now, and they will exercise that right just as they have done in the past. They will keep the legal-tender notes in circulation, and they will not present them for redemption. There is no earthly danger of that.

Mr. GEORGE. I should like to ask the Senator a question.

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. GEORGE. Does the Senator know, or has he ever heard, since the 1st day of January, 1879, when we resumed specie payments, of anybody holding a legal-tender greenback note ever presenting it to the Treasury for redemption?

Mr. COCKRELL. My impression is that there have been a few notes now and then presented to the Treasury for redemption, but it was a mere drop in the bucket—one drop of fresh water dropped into the ocean.

Mr. President, the people of the United States know that the greenbacks are absolutely money so far as anything can be money; they are a legal tender in payment of all debts public and private; they are receivable for customs dues to the Government. The holder of a greenback knows that every year the United States receives in taxes from an overburdened tax-paying people a sum of money greater than all the greenbacks in circulation. The States of this Union every year receive ten times the amount of the entire greenback circulation in the taxes which the people have to pay for State, county, municipal, township, and school purposes. There are billions of indebtedness in the United States. The indebtedness to the national banks and to private banks and other institutions amounts to over $5,000,000,000. Five hundred million dollars change hands every day through the national banks.

Think of it! The national banks every day of the year when they are open transact business equivalent to $500,000,000; and the greenbacks would be just as good to the national banks as gold. I have not taken into account the billions upon billions of transactions between the producers and laborers of this country and the persons to whom they sell their products and from whom they purchase the supplies they need. Here is a demand for billions upon billions of dollars. To-day we see the commerce of the United States pining, stifled, paralyzed. Why? Because there is not money enough in the United States to meet the large demand. That is the only reason, and you can not find any other.

Mr. HILL. Will the Senator from Missouri allow me to ask him a question for information?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. HILL. Is the proposition which the Senator is now presenting the same as what is known as the Johnson bill in the House of Representatives?

Mr. COCKRELL. Not at all.

Mr. HILL. In what respect does it differ from that bill?

Mr. COCKRELL. I have not seen the Johnson bill. I have seen what is called Mr. JOHNSON's letter. The letter advocates the issuance of Treasury notes, like the Treasury notes issued under the law of July 14, 1890. That proposition would make the owner of the bond lose all his interest and place him at that much disadvantage compared with the national banks.

I was under the impression that some other people had rights in this country, as well as the national banks. I am willing to give the banks all the rights they ought to have; I am willing to give them the utmost indulgence, but I do not want to stifle the people of the country.

Mr. HILL. Will the Senator allow me further?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. HILL. Does the Senator think that the National Government ought to issue as large an amount of greenbacks as would be possibly required under his amendment without any additional gold reserve?

Mr. COCKRELL. Is that all of the Senator's question?

Mr. HILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. COCKRELL. I hold that any honest, just man, and any honest, just government, particularly a government representing all its people, when it is in debt and can do it, and maintain its credit and honor, will keep just as much of its debt in non-interest-bearing obligations, which the people can use as money, as the people will maintain in circulation at par. That is a fundamental principle, a principle of equity, a principle of justice and of eternal right, and I say that the legislative department of this Government, when it prohibits the Government from keeping outstanding just as much of the public debt in noninterest-bearing greenbacks as the people will maintain in circulation, is oppressing and robbing them to the extent of the bonded interest-bearing debt.

Mr. HILL. Will the Senator allow me to put another question?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. HILL. Does the Senator think it wise on the part of the Government to maintain any gold reserve at all for the redemption of greenbacks?

Mr. COCKRELL. Oh, yes.

Mr. HILL. The present gold reserve is understood to be $100,000,000.

Mr. COCKRELL. I do not say a gold reserve. I say a coin reserve.

Mr. HILL. As I understand, we have now about $246,000,000 of greenbacks and a gold reserve of about $100,000,000. Does the Senator think that the greenbacks ought to be increased to the very large extent, as proposed by the amendment, without some increase of the gold reserve?

Mr. COCKRELL. That can be very easily increased. Is that the only objection the Senator has to the proposition?

Mr. HILL. That is one objection.

Mr. COCKRELL. If that is the only one, we will talk about it.

Mr. HILL. That is about all there is of it.

Mr. MILLS. The same thing will apply to national-bank notes.

Mr. COCKRELL. As a matter of course. As the Senator from Texas has well said, the same thing will apply to national-bank notes. You propose to issue $19,000,000 without a dollar in the Treasury in gold behind it. Why can not the people have the right to take out money as well as the national banks?

Mr. ALLEN. If this bill should pass without the amendment proposed, what would there be to prevent the exchange of the notes issued under it into coin certificates or greenbacks and the removal of gold from the Treasury by that means?

Mr. COCKRELL. As a matter of course, every Senator knows that if, under this bill, we issue $19,000,000 of national-bank paper, the holders of that paper can the next day demand legal-tender notes or they can demand coin, and they will be entitled to obtain it just as well as the holders of greenbacks.

Mr. HILL. Where do the holders of the national-bank notes demand gold?

Mr. COCKRELL. They demand it of the banks.

Mr. HILL. They have the right to demand it for greenbacks.

Mr. COCKRELL. They have the right to take greenbacks to the Treasury and demand gold for them. As I have heretofore said, it is the difference between tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee.

Mr. HILL. Wait a moment. The national banks issue to them greenbacks, but there is no new issue of greenbacks. That is the point I make.

Mr. COCKRELL. Oh, then, the Senator does not want any more money for the people. The Senator wants a restricted currency, which is unable to meet the demands of the people in this financial crisis. He wants it kept at that, does he?

Mr. McPHERSON. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. McPHERSON. From whom do the holders of the national-bank notes demand either coin or greenbacks?

Mr. COCKRELL. Of the national banks.

Mr. McPHERSON. Certainly; and if it can not be obtained there the holder may then appeal to the Government. Any national bank which desires to surrender its circulation may take to the Treasury as many dollars in greenbacks as it wishes to retire of its national-bank notes. And with this deposit of greenbacks the notes are retired, so far as it may concern the bank. The national-bank notes may remain in circulation, so also the greenbacks which retired them.

Therefore, you get more circulation to the people by that process than by any other. Before the passage of a law which we passed here last year, it was the practice to retain in the Treasury the greenbacks deposited there to retire national-bank circulation, until the process was completed, but we covered everything into the Treasury by the act to which I have referred.

The process now is that if the banks should go into liquidation, or if they should desire to retire circulation, say $100,000, they deposit in the Treasury $100,000 in greenbacks.

The national-bank notes remain in circulation, and the Treasury puts the greenbacks in circulation. So that standing upon a hundred thousand dollars' worth of national bonds you would find in circulation the national-bank notes, and also the greenbacks which had retired them. Then, again, there is no demand obligation created by such a process upon this Government. The Government bonds are interest-bearing bonds, and they sustain and support the national-bank issues.

The proposed amendment of the Senator proposes to start anew the question of an indiscriminate issue of greenbacks. The Senator from Missouri proposes to inject into this discussion and fix upon this bill a new subject. He now changes his tactics. Yesterday it was silver. He then proposed that we should put silver into circulation, but to-day it is the greenback. When he wishes to defeat a bill his resources are practically without limit.

I do not now know and I could not tell from the reading of the amendment at the desk what further the Senator proposes to do; whether he proposes that the Government—when this circulation is retired by the individual holders, the State banks, and the savings banks, or whoever they may be—is to still continue to keep its greenbacks in circulation.

Mr. COCKRELL. I expressly stated that they are to be canceled.

Mr. MCPHERSON. They are to be canceled. Very well. Then it is simply doing this: It is a sort of pawnshop, in which the individual or the bank pawns the bonds and takes out the currency, to keep it or retire it at his own option.

Mr. COCKRELL. Do I understand the Senator to say that there is no redemption of national-bank notes, and that nobody has a right to present them at a bank?

Mr. MCPHERSON. The Senator did not understand me in any such way. I want to know by what process the banks themselves may go and demand greenbacks for national-bank notes?

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senator did not understand me in any such way. What I want to know is what rights the people who own the greenbacks have? We are dealing with them now.

Mr. MCPHERSON. The national bank notes are not legal tender. Everybody who receives a national bank note receives it at his own option. There is no compulsion upon him to take it. If I go and offer the Senator greenbacks in payment of an obligation he is obliged to take greenbacks in liquidation of my debt, but no national bank note cancels an obligation, unless both the debtor and the creditor are agreed.

Mr. COCKRELL. The national bank notes are outstanding in the hands of the holders and they can go and demand greenbacks, and they have the right to have the greenbacks redeemed in coin.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair is obliged to state to the Senator that it is impossible for the Reporter to hear.

Mr. COCKRELL. I asked the Senator if the holders of national bank notes had the right to go to the banks and ask for greenbacks or gold, and he said they had. Then I asked what was the difference between the national bank note and the greenback in regard to redemption, the reserve fund?

Mr. MCPHERSON. The Senator will observe the difference. The greenback circulation would not be increased by such a process at all. Of course, a private holder of a bank note has the right to go to the bank and receive from the bank a legal-tender obligation. The responsibility is placed upon the bank itself for maintaining its currency as good as gold, and not upon the Government. The amendment which the Senator from Missouri proposes is to change that whole process, and to place the obligation on the Government itself—a demand obligation with no coin in the Treasury to meet it.

Mr. BUTLER. May I ask the Senator from New Jersey a question, with the permission of the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. COCKRELL. I yield to the Senator from South Carolina, as I did to the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. BUTLER. I ask the Senator from New Jersey, is there anything in the national bank law, or any other law, which prevents the national banks from reducing their circulation to a minimum at any time they please?

Mr. MCPHERSON. I will state to the Senator my recollection is they can not reduce their circulation below a certain limit.

I wish to say, further, that there is an amendment pending now to this bill which, if I am correctly informed, the honorable chairman of the committee will accept, which provides that a national bank shall not retire its circulation, except with the approval of the Comptroller of the Currency, and that it shall not be reduced below a certain limit each month.

Mr. BUTLER. As the law now stands, I understand that every national bank in the United States may reduce its circulation to the minimum, whatever that may be, at any time it pleases, and thereby so contract the currency as to paralyze the industries of the whole country. That is the point I should like the Senator to answer.

Mr. GRAY. What is the minimum to which the Senator from South Carolina refers, if there is any minimum?

Mr. BUTLER. I do not remember about that.

Mr. GRAY. Can not a national bank surrender its entire circulation?

Mr. BUTLER rose.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair desires to say to the Senator from South Carolina that it is impossible for the Reporter to hear the debate that is going on.

Mr. BUTLER. I beg the Reporter's pardon.

Mr. VOORHEES. I rise to a question of order. My question of order is, that the rules require Senators to address the Chair. I do not make that point upon the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER], nor upon the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL], nor upon any other Senator; but this debate has been going on over my head and not addressed to the Chair at all, until I think it well for Senators to be reminded that there is a rule requiring them to address the Chair instead of addressing each other.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair sustains the point of order of the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. BUTLER. I am much obliged to the Senator from Indiana, and I deserve the rebuke which is implied. I quite sympathize with the Reporter, and know it is all wrong; but still I wanted to submit a question to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. MCPHERSON]. He has answered it, and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] has come to the rescue with the additional information that there is no minimum of national bank circulation, and that a national bank may wipe its circulation out of existence at its own pleasure.

Mr. MCPHERSON. I think upon reflection the Senator from Delaware is exactly correct in that. I had supposed that the national banks were required to keep their circulation up to the minimum which they are required to hold in bonds; but I think the Senator from Delaware is right, that they may retire their whole circulation.

Mr. BUTLER. That is an admission which I am very glad to hear from the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. ALLEN. With the consent of the Senator from Missouri, I should like to ask a question of the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. COCKRELL. I yield.

Mr. ALLEN. I ask the Senator from New Jersey what is there in the bill under consideration to prevent an exchange of the national bank notes into coin certificates or other paper money, and by that means deplete the Treasury of its gold reserve?

Mr. MCPHERSON. I will answer the Senator's question in this way: As a matter of course, coin certificates are issued only upon a deposit of coin, and the coin must remain in the Treasury to redeem the certificates.

Mr. ALLEN. One question more, with the permission of the Senator from Missouri. If that be done, as I understand the Senator from New Jersey to admit, what would be the effect of the amendment of the Senator from Missouri, if adopted, on the national bank act?

Mr. MCPHERSON. The committee's bill proceeds on the idea that we shall give to the national banks additional circulation of 10 per cent, which upon the amount of bonds now pledged to redeem circulation would amount to $19,000,000 in round numbers. The amount of circulation which the Senator from Missouri proposes is a circulation amounting, possibly, to the entire bonded debt of the country. He proposes to issue it in greenbacks, while the bill of the committee proposes to issue it in national bank notes.

I have tried to describe the process by which the national bank notes went out of circulation. If the banks wish to retire circulation, the process is to place in the Treasury the same amount of greenbacks that they wish to retire of their own circulation. Under the law we passed last year we placed the responsibility entirely upon the Treasury upon the deposit of United States notes to redeem the outstanding circulation of the banks, and the bank officers have nothing further to do with it.

So far as the banks are concerned the retirement is effected and the Treasury surrenders the bonds and calls in the notes. This fund, instead of being now a reserve fund, is turned into the Treasury, and to-day you will find national bank circulation by the tens of thousands of dollars in this country and the greenbacks deposited there for its redemption all in harmonious circulation.

Therefore, I say that if the Senator from Missouri desires the largest amount of circulation from the smallest deposit of bonds, he gets it by the present system. If, on the other hand, the Senator wishes to make a demand obligation upon the Govern-

ment, at any time by an additional issue of greenbacks, and wishes to maintain their parity and their value equal with gold, he must provide for the deposit also of a corresponding sum in the Treasury to keep up that redemption or resumption fund. That is the difference between the bill and the amendment.

One is a perfectly safe system by old and tried instrumentalities. The other is a new contrivance without restrictions. You simply loan so many greenbacks upon a like deposit of bonds. You give them more powers and privileges than you give to the banks without one particle of the restriction that you place upon the national banks.

Mr. BATE. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. COCKRELL. I yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. BATE. I understand the banks can make a maximum issue of money on their deposit of bonds. There is no minimum. Now, has the maximum issue been reached by the banks?

Mr. McPHERSON. I have already stated that an amendment has been proposed to the bill by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] regulating the withdrawal of circulating notes by national banking associations. I have always been of the opinion that there ought to be some restriction in the national banking act which would not permit a national bank to retire circulation at pleasure. I have always been of that opinion, but unfortunately we have made no such provision. It is now proposed, however, that when this bill becomes a law, if the amendment shall prevail, and I assume it will, the national banks can not then retire circulation except in the manner designated by the amendment, and with the approval of the Comptroller of the Currency. So we shall have a provision that whatever is in circulation now can not be retired except in some way that will be satisfactory to the financial administration of the Government.

Mr. BATE. I desire to know of the Senator if there is any provision to be made that will cause the banks to issue circulation to the maximum?

Mr. McPHERSON. I can only answer the Senator by saying that if he were the president of a national bank, and the Government of the United States should offer to give him 10 per cent more circulation than he had before without any new cost to him, it would seem to me that self-interest would dictate that he should apply for that additional circulation. Moreover, such a provision would have a very beneficial effect upon the volume of currency, which the Senator from Missouri is most anxious to increase. It would induce national banks to deposit new bonds and take out additional circulation.

I have every reason to believe that under this bill the increased circulation will amount to $50,000,000. I believe that with the $19,000,000 which this gives to the banks without any new deposit of bonds, with the addition of the amount already taken out or applied for even before this bill was introduced, by which you will get some $20,000,000 more, it will make nearly $40,000,000, and with the added inducement which this bill will confer it is reasonable to suppose that the currency will be increased to the extent of $50,000,000 or $60,000,000. Further, I am told that the national banks and the savings banks of this country hold to-day more than $100,000,000 of United States bonds. This being so, there is no reason in the world why circulation should not be taken out to the extent of $100,000,000, especially while there is such a demand for currency.

Mr. BATE. As I stated before, it seems that the national banks have a right to go to the maximum in the issue of currency. Have they done so? Is there not a very large margin upon which they have not issued currency which, if they had wanted to increase the volume of the currency, they could have issued?

If they have not come up to the margin heretofore, will they do it now? That is my question.

Mr. McPHERSON. The Senator from Tennessee is perfectly well aware of the fact that on the gold basis, where every dollar issued by the Government is as good as gold, where not only the circulation, but the bonds, are as good as gold, our 4 per cent bonds were selling upon the market a year ago at 128 to 134 upon the par value of the bond. No banking institution can very well pay that premium, paying 1 per cent tax on the circulation, and still maintain a very profitable banking business. At all events, no banking institution could do it with the knowledge before it that in the course of thirteen years—the maturity of the bonds—the 28 to 34 per cent of premium which it pays is to be wiped out absolutely.

The result of all this is simply that it has prevented the taking out of new circulation. The bonds have now gone down to about 108 or 109. I think the last sale I noticed was at 111. The bonds have thirteen years to run and are selling to-day at a premium of 11 above their face value. Give the banks the increased circulation proposed up to the par value of the bonds, the bonds having been cheapened in the market in the last year, and then they will not only take out the circulation provided for, but they will also take out new and other circulation upon a deposit of new bonds.

Mr. BATE. What guarantee has the Senator that they will do it if they are given the right?

Mr. McPHERSON. It will be an additional inducement, surely.

Mr. GRAY. May I answer the question of the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. COCKRELL. I yield to the Senator from Delaware.

Mr. GRAY. Under the present law a bank buys in the market United States bonds, say $100,000, and pays of course the market value of those bonds, whether it be 113, or 127, as it used to be. For that it gets $90,000 of circulation, or can get it if it chooses to deposit those bonds in the Treasury. But having paid a high price for the bonds, the 90 per cent is not in some cases a sufficient inducement to the bank to take out the circulation. The banks say, "If you will give us more circulation, that is, give us circulation to the full par value of the bonds, or if you were to give it to us for the market value of the bonds, which is still better, we could then afford to issue the circulation." The restriction of 90 per cent is a burden upon the banks, and the nearer you approach to a hundred per cent the nearer you approach to wiping out that restriction entirely.

Suppose the national-banking law had said, "When you deposit $100,000 in bonds you can take out only $50,000 of circulation," I take it no bank would be willing to take out circulation upon those terms. The nearer you approach the $100,000 the easier it will be for them to take out the circulation; that is all.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President——

Mr. COCKRELL. I yield to the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. GEORGE. It has been suggested, even asserted, two or three times in this debate that there is a serious objection to the proposition made by the Senator from Missouri, to issue greenbacks upon the faith of the United States bonds, because those greenbacks constitute a demand obligation upon the Treasury of the United States, which the Treasury of the United States would be unable to meet, and that that objection does not lie against the issuance of additional national-bank notes.

In other words, Mr. President, we are met with the objection to the proposition of the Senator from Missouri that we may allow the national banks to buy every bond of the United States and upon them issue notes to the face value of the bonds, which is the proposition of the bill before the Senate; that that would be an entirely safe operation, because those national-bank notes do not constitute a demand obligation on the part of the Treasury of the United States, whilst the issuance of Treasury notes under the proposition made by the Senator from Missouri would constitute a demand obligation on the United States; and that is held up before us to terrify us from adding to the currency of the country, as we can largely do if the amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri is adopted. We are to be terrified from sustaining that proposition and at the same time we are to be induced to sustain the proposition to allow the national banks to buy bonds to any amount and issue notes upon them, because the notes of the national banks are not demand obligations on the part of the United States.

Mr. President, that is just a mistake in law. That is all there is in it. Every note issued by a national bank under section 5229 of the Revised Statutes constitutes a demand obligation on the Treasury of the United States. It is not, as has been supposed and as has been argued, that the United States, upon the deposit of United States bonds for the issuance of the national-bank notes, constitute themselves as a trustee to dispose of the bonds for the purpose of redeeming United States notes. That is not the law, sir. The deposit of bonds is not a fund out of which by the sale of those bonds the United States can get the money to redeem national-bank notes. On the contrary, every national-bank note that is presented to a national bank and not paid is immediately presentable to the Comptroller of the Currency, and when presented what is it his duty to do? Let us see about that:

> Immediately upon declaring bonds of an association—

That is, a bank—

> forfeited for nonpayment of its notes, the Comptroller shall give notice, in such manner as the Secretary of the Treasury shall, by general rules or otherwise direct, to the holders of the circulating notes of such association to present them for payment at the Treasury of the United States; and the same shall be paid as presented in lawful money of the United States; whereupon the Comptroller may, in his discretion, etc.

Then when he wants to get back the money he has to advertise the bonds for at least thirty days in order to get it. So the hypothesis upon which the proposition of the Senator from Missouri is condemned is an untrue one. The note of every national bank issued in this country is as much a demand obligation upon the Treasury of the United States as the greenback or the Treasury note.

Will the Senator from Missouri allow me another moment or two?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. GEORGE. It is said that the United States can not safely upon a deposit or a reserve fund of $100,000,000 in gold increase these demand obligations upon the Government. That is the view presented. Now, let us see whether that is true. That view, recollect, is presented by the same Senators who wish to increase the demand obligations of the national banks; and upon what basis? Let us see. The United States has $100,000,000 of gold for $346,000,000 of greenbacks. That is $1 in gold for $3.50 in greenbacks. Well, how much have the national banks? I believe that they have a deposit of 5 per cent in the Treasury for redemption. That is all. That is $20 for $1. So in the view of those Senators this great Government, which collects and disburses more than $500,000,000 a year, can not safely issue demand obligations upon the Treasury to a larger extent than $3.50 to $1, and at the same time those gentlemen say that the national banks may issue circulation upon a deposit of $1 for $20 of circulation. Now, that looks to me a little unreasonable.

But, further than that, they say that the national banks, it is true, have only 5 per cent in the Treasury to meet redemption; but they have a great many other assets which they can apply to the redemption of their demand notes. Now, let us see how that is. I wish to call attention of Senators, especially those who have such a love for the national banks, to a table issued by the Treasury, found on page 102 of the Coinage Laws. They have 5 per cent deposited in the United States Treasury for redemption. What other demand obligations exist against the national banks—obligations which they are bound by law to pay on the very day that demand is made? They have deposits to what amount to meet that demand obligation, according to this table? They have 16 9-10 per cent, say 17 per cent.

In other words, it is perfectly safe in the opinion of those Senators for the national banks to have $1 for every $20 in circulation for redemption purposes, and it is also perfectly safe for the same banks to have ten other dollars of demand obligations for one in the national banks. That is the position. By that kind of argumentation the very meritorious and necessary provision contained in the amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri is to be voted down.

Now, let us look at it again. We can not issue safely, say they, Treasury notes upon the deposit of bonds, because it largely increases the demand obligations upon the Treasury of the United States; with all the taxing power of this great Government the Treasury of the United States can not stand a demand obligation of more than 3½ to 1, and yet when it comes to a national bank 5 per cent, or 20 to 1, is entirely sufficient, and when it comes to their demand obligations for deposit, then 10 to 1 is sufficient.

Mr. President, I think with that statement there can be no objection to the proposition made by the Senator from Missouri in the mind of any one who is willing to allow the national banks to go on in the way they have been going on, with cash for redemption of only $1 for $20 and with cash for other demand obligations of only $1 for $10.

Mr. CAMDEN. May I ask the Senator from Mississippi a question?

Mr. COCKRELL. I yield to the Senator from West Virginia to ask a question.

Mr. CAMDEN. Does not the law require the national banks to keep 15 per cent against their deposits?

Mr. GEORGE. I do not know what the law is; I know what the fact is.

Mr. CAMDEN. Is it not the fact that they have to keep 15 per cent reserve against deposits? If so, it is not 10 to 1, but 6 to 1.

Mr. GEORGE. Well, put it 6 to 1.

Mr. CAMDEN. And 25 per cent in the case of other banks would be 4 to 1.

Mr. GEORGE. Very well, put it 6 to 1. Ought not the United States to have as good a chance to redeem its demand obligations with 3½ to 1 as the national banks have with 6 to 1?

Mr. MCPHERSON. May I ask the Senator from Mississippi a question?

Mr. GEORGE. Of course.

Mr. MCPHERSON. Is the Senator not also aware that as an additional security for the note-holder and for all the obligations the Government assumes, all the property, all the stock, all the reserve or surplus fund, and everything in a national bank the Government has a first lien upon?

Mr. GEORGE. Oh, Mr. President, I have not been talking about the ultimate security of the national-bank circulation, nor have gentlemen who have objected to the issuance of these notes upon the bonds of the United States objected to the ultimate responsibility of the United States. We are talking about demand obligations which must be met at the very time the demand is made or discredit follows. That is what we are talking about; and gentlemen are now so enamored with some kind of a divinity, I know not what, which seems to hedge about the national banks that they are perfectly content, with all obligations payable on demand, that those institutions shall have only 5 per cent of a redemption fund, 20 to 1, and only 6 to 1 for their other demand obligations.

As the whole national-banking system, notes and everything else, depends upon the bonds of the United States, the credit of the United States, it does seem to me that this great Government with its unlimited taxing power can float demand obligations as well at 6 to 1 as well as a national bank.

Mr. MILLS, rose.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, I am always very good natured and I yielded gladly to let others answer questions; but I was just about making a calculation about the amount of national-bank notes that have been retired. I doubt not it will be thought I am trying to oppress the national banks, these poor dilapidated institutions, and to deny them some privileges they are struggling for while they are not making a dollar.

Now, I figured up exactly what national banks got for the fiscal year September 1, 1891, to September 1, 1892, just to see if they are really making expenses; if they are entitled to the charitable consideration and favoritism of the greatest Government on earth: if they are such objects of charity and benevolence and patriotism that we should extend to them favors and privileges and pecuniary aid which we would deny to the citizen.

I find that from September 1, 1891, to March 1, 1892, an average of six months, during which they had a capital of $675,356,310, up to that time with that amount of capital they had accumulated a surplus of $234,676,901.27, or a surplus of 34.75 per cent of their entire capital.

Now, their gross earnings for the six months from September 1, 1891, to March 1, 1892, were $75,110,650.89, or 11.12 per cent. Their net earnings during that time were $34,363,090.45, or 5.09 per cent. That was their absolute net earnings.

Now, what was the difference between the net earnings and the gross earnings? I have given the two amounts. The difference was $40,747,560.44. How did that arise? They charged off from the gross earnings the amount of loans and premiums, $11,787,503.64, and all expenses, taxes, etc., amounting to $28,960,056.80. In other words, of the gross earnings they charged off $40,747,560.44. During that time, for six months, they declared dividends of $25,546,853.51, or 3.78 per cent. But their net earnings were 5.09 per cent and they added a portion of it to the surplus fund.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Missouri will please suspend.

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which is the resolution reported from the Committee on Privileges and Elections. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution reported by Mr. HOAR from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, March 27, 1893, as follows:

Resolved, That Lee Mantle is entitled to be admitted to a seat in the Senate from the State of Montana.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE] will be read.

The SECRETARY. Strike out all after the word "resolved," and add in lieu thereof:

That Hon. Lee Mantle is not entitled to a seat in this body as a Senator from the State of Montana.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment having been adopted, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON] moved to reconsider the vote by which it was agreed to. The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE] moved to lay the motion to reconsider on the table, which is the pending motion before the Senate.

Mr. STEWART. On that, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ALDRICH (when his name was called). On this question I am paired with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HIGGINS], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. PASCO (when Mr. ALLEN'S name was called). I wish to announce the pair of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] with the Senator from Georgia [Mr. COLQUITT].

Mr. BERRY (when his name was called). On this question I am paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CAREY]. If he were present I should vote "yea" and he would vote "nay."

Mr. GALLINGER (when his name was called). On Thursday last, at my request, I was paired with the junior Senator from

Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. My impression is that he considers the pair as still holding, but I have authority to transfer my pair to the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICE], and I therefore vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. GEORGE (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH], but we agree on this question, as I am assured by his colleague [Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon], and I vote "yea."

Mr. PASCO. The Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH] is paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CAREY].

Mr. GORMAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE]. If he were present he would vote "nay" and I should vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL]. He and I agreeing upon this question, the Senator from Vermont is paired with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER]. If the Senator from Vermont were present, he would vote "yea," and the Senator from New Hampshire would vote "nay." Having been relieved from my pair with the Senator from Vermont by this arrangement, I consented to pair with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], who, if present, would vote "nay" upon this question, and I should vote "yea."

Mr. LINDSAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL]. If he were here, he would vote "nay," and I should vote "yea."

Mr. MARTIN (when his name was called). I am paired generally with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], but I understand that if he were present, he would vote "nay." As I agree with him upon the question, I will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. VEST. I should like to have the attention of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN]. I received a telegram from the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY], stating that he has a regular pair with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN], but they are both on the same side of this question, and the Senator from Pennsylvania asked me to pair with him. My vote would be in the affirmative. Has the Senator from Alabama voted?

Mr. MORGAN (after having voted in the negative). I voted with the understanding that a pair had been arranged between the Senator from Pennsylvania and some other gentleman, which relieves me from my pair.

Mr. VEST. Then I announce my pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY], who would vote "nay" if he were present, and I should vote "yea."

Mr. ALDRICH. Has not a pair been announced between the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY] and the Senator from Oregon (Mr. MITCHELL]?

Mr. VEST. Do I understaud that such a pair has been announced? I should like to ask the Senator from Rhode Island, if I can be heard, whether such a pair has been announced? There are five of us on the floor at once.

Mr. ALDRICH. It seems I was mistaken in supposing the pair had been announced. It was stated by two or three Senators around me that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY] is paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL].

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I understand an arrangement has been made by which the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY] stands paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL].

Mr. VEST. Then I will vote. I vote "yea."

The roll-call was concluded.

Mr. LINDSAY. I understand that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL] is paired with the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GIBSON]. I will therefore vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. MCPHERSON. Did I understand the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] to announce a pair between the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HIGGINS] and myself?

Mr. ALDRICH. No; I announced a pair between myself and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HIGGINS].

Mr. MCPHERSON. Then I vote "yea."

Mr. ALLISON. I am paired on this question with the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GORDON]. If he were here I should vote "nay." My colleague [Mr. WILSON] is paired on this question with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE].

Mr. CAREY. I am paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH]. I will transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] and vote.

Mr. PASCO. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] is paired with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICE].

Mr. CAREY. I was wrongly informed.

Mr. HILL. I desire to know who is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL].

Mr. HARRIS. The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL], and I am paired with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR].

Mr. HILL. I thank the Senator for the information which I asked the Chair to give.

Mr. BERRY. The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CAREY] having announced a pair with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH] I vote "yea."

Mr. PASCO. There is so much confusion about the pairs (one or two Senators having been announced as paired with more than one) I ask unanimous consent that the pairs be reported at the desk so that there may be no mistake as to the vote.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection that will be done.

Mr. TELLER. I wish to announce that the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL] is paired with the Senator form Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY.]

Mr. PASCO. I withdraw my request.

Mr. HILL. I renew it. Let us have the pairs announced so that there may be no sort of mistake about the vote.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the pairs will be announced. The Chair asks the attention of the Senate to the reading of the pairs.

The Secretary read as follows:

Mr. ALDRICH with Mr. HIGGINS.
Mr. ALLEN with Mr. COLQUITT.
Mr. DOLPH with Mr. CAREY.
Mr. BRICE with Mr. LODGE.
Mr. GORMAN with Mr. TURPIE.
Mr. MORRILL with Mr. CHANDLER.
Mr. HARRIS with Mr. HOAR.
Mr. GIBSON with Mr. DANIEL.
Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon with Mr. QUAY.
Mr. GORDON with Mr. ALLISON.
Mr. HALE with Mr. WILSON.

The result was announced—yeas 31, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—31.

Berry,	Gallinger,	Murphy,	Vance,
Caffery,	George,	Palmer,	Vest,
Call,	Gray,	Pasco,	Vilas,
Camden,	Lindsay,	Platt,	Voorhees,
Coke,	McMillan,	Proctor,	Washburn,
Cullom,	McPherson,	Ransom,	White, Cal.
Dixon,	Mills,	Smith,	White, La.
Faulkner,	Mitchell, Wis.	Stockbridge,	

NAYS—28.

Bate,	Hawley,	Morgan,	Sherman,
Butler,	Hill,	Peffer,	Shoup,
Cameron,	Hunton,	Perkins,	Squire,
Davis,	Irby,	Pettigrew,	Stewart,
Dubois,	Jones, Ark.	Power,	Teller,
Frye,	Jones, Nev.	Pugh,	Walthall,
Hansbrough,	Martin,	Roach,	Wolcott.

NOT VOTING—26.

Aldrich,	Cockrell,	Hale,	Mitchell, Oregon
Allen,	Colquitt,	Harris,	Morrill,
Allison,	Daniel,	Higgins,	Quay,
Blackburn,	Dolph,	Hoar,	Turpie,
Brice,	Gibson,	Kyle,	Wilson.
Carey,	Gordon,	Lodge,	
Chandler,	Gorman.	Manderson,	

So the motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question recurs upon the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], as amended on motion of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE]. The resolution as amended will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That Hon. Lee Mantle is not entitled to a seat in this body as a Senator from the State of Montana.

Mr. GRAY. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry: I ask whether the vote just taken was not to lay on the table the motion for a reconsideration?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It was.

Mr. GRAY. If that be so, is it not the end of this episode.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the Senator from Delaware that it was a motion to reconsider the amendment adopted by the Senate, which was laid on the table. The question now recurs upon the resolution reported by the Senator from Massachusetts, as amended, on motion of the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. TELLER. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. SHERMAN. I ask that the resolution as amended be read. Let the proposition we are now to vote on be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution as amended will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution as amended, as follows:

Resolved, That Hon. Lee Mantle is not entitled to a seat in this body as a Senator from the State of Montana.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Upon agreeing to the resolution as amended the yeas and nays are demanded.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CAREY (when his name was called). I am paired on this question with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH]. If he were present he would vote "yea" and I should vote "nay."

Mr. GALLINGER (when his name was called). I will again announce my pair with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], which I transfer to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICE], and I vote "yea."

Mr. GIBSON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL]. Were he present I should vote "yea."

Mr. GORMAN (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE].

Mr. HARRIS (when his name was called). Upon this question I am paired with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR]. If he were present I should vote "yea" and he would vote "nay." I also desire to announce that the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL] is paired with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER]. If those Senators were present, the Senator from Vermont would vote "yea" and the Senator from New Hampshire would vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. ALLISON. On this question my colleague [Mr. WILSON] is paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]. My colleague would vote "nay" and the Senator from Maine would vote "yea." I am paired with the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GORDON]. I should vote "nay" and he would vote "yea" if present, I understand.

Mr. MARTIN. I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. If he were present he would vote "nay," and as I would vote the same way, I vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 32, nays 29; as follows:

YEAS—32.

Aldrich,	Faulkner,	Mitchell, Wis.	Stockbridge,
Berry,	Gallinger,	Murphy,	Vance,
Caffery,	George,	Palmer,	Vest,
Call,	Gray,	Pasco,	Vilas,
Camden,	Lindsay,	Platt,	Voorhees,
Coke,	McMillan,	Proctor,	Washburn,
Cullom,	McPherson,	Ransom,	White, Cal.
Dixon,	Mills,	Smith,	White, La.

NAYS—29.

Bate,	Higgins,	Peffer,	Squire,
Butler,	Hill,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Cameron,	Hunton,	Pettigrew,	Teller,
Davis,	Irby,	Power,	Walthall,
Dubois,	Jones, Ark.	Pugh,	Wolcott.
Frye,	Jones, Nev.	Roach,	
Hansbrough,	Martin,	Sherman,	
Hawley,	Morgan,	Shoup,	

NOT VOTING—24.

Allen,	Cockrell,	Gorman,	Manderson,
Allison,	Colquitt,	Hale,	Mitchell, Oregon
Blackburn,	Daniel,	Harris,	Morrill,
Brice,	Dolph,	Hoar,	Quay,
Carey,	Gibson,	Kyle,	Turpie,
Chandler,	Gordon,	Lodge,	Wilson.

So the resolution as amended was agreed to.

SENATOR FROM WASHINGTON.

Mr. VANCE. The case from the State of Washington is pending, and if it is the pleasure of the Senate to take it up, I ask that that be now voted on.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution reported by Mr. HOAR, from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, March 27, 1893, as follows:

Resolved, That John B. Allen is entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Washington.

Mr. VANCE. I suppose the result can be reached not by offering a substitute, but by taking a direct vote on the report. ["No," "No."]

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution of the committee.

Mr. VANCE. In deference to those who prefer to follow the precedent, I move to amend by inserting the word "not."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from North Carolina will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the word "is" in the first line of the resolution insert the word "not;" so as to read:

Resolved, That John B. Allen is not entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Washington.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE].

Mr. STEWART. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ALLISON (when his name was called). On this question I am paired with the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GORDON]. My colleague [Mr. WILSON] is paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE].

Mr. CAREY (when his name was called). I am paired on this question with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH].

Mr. GALLINGER (when his name was called). I again announce the transfer of my pair with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICE]. I vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] upon this question. If he were present I should vote "yea" and he would vote "nay." The Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL] is paired with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER]. If those Senators were here the Senator from Vermont would vote "yea" and the Senator from New Hampshire would vote "nay."

Mr. MARTIN (when his name was called). I am paired generally with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], but if he were here he would vote "nay" and I would also vote "nay." I therefore vote. I vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. DUBOIS. I ask that the pairs be announced.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the pairs will be announced.

The Secretary read as follows:

Mr. GORDON with Mr. ALLISON.
Mr. HALE with Mr. WILSON.
Mr. DOLPH with Mr. CAREY.
Mr. BRICE with Mr. LODGE.
Mr. HARRIS with Mr. HOAR.
Mr. MORRILL with Mr. CHANDLER.

Mr. MANDERSON. I desire to announce my pair with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BLACKBURN].

The result was announced—yeas 32, nays 29; as follows:

YEAS—32.

Aldrich,	Faulkner,	Mitchell, Wis.	Stockbridge,
Berry,	Gallinger,	Murphy,	Vance,
Caffery,	George,	Palmer,	Vest,
Call,	Gray,	Pasco,	Vilas,
Camden,	Lindsay,	Platt,	Voorhees,
Coke,	McMillan,	Proctor,	Washburn,
Cullom,	McPherson,	Ransom,	White, Cal.
Dixon,	Mills,	Smith,	White, La.

NAYS—29.

Bate,	Higgins,	Peffer,	Squire,
Butler,	Hill,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Cameron,	Hunton,	Pettigrew,	Teller,
Davis,	Irby,	Power,	Walthall,
Dubois,	Jones, Ark.	Pugh,	Wolcott.
Frye,	Jones, Nev.	Roach,	
Hansbrough,	Martin,	Sherman,	
Hawley,	Morgan,	Shoup,	

NOT VOTING—24.

Allen,	Cockrell,	Gorman,	Manderson.
Allison,	Colquitt,	Hale,	Mitchell, Oregon
Blackburn,	Daniel,	Harris,	Morrill,
Brice,	Dolph,	Hoar,	Quay,
Carey,	Gibson,	Kyle,	Turpie,
Chandler,	Gordon,	Lodge,	Wilson.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question recurs on agreeing to the resolution as amended.

Several SENATORS. Let it be read.

The resolution as amended was read, as follows:

Resolved, That John B. Allen is not entitled to be admitted to a seat as a Senator from the State of Washington.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

INCREASE OF NATIONAL-BANK CIRCULATION.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks; the pending question being on the amendment proposed by Mr. COCKRELL.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President——

Mr. VOORHEES. Before the Senator from Missouri proceeds, will he allow me a single word?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. VOORHEES. I do not rise, Mr. President, to discuss the merits of any of these amendments. The amendment which we voted on awhile ago, offered by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] had much to commend it to me, and under different circumstances, and as an independent proposition, I would have voted for it. Standing here, however, charged with a duty by the Committee on Finance, I felt it my duty to protect the bill from amendments as far as possible. For that reason I gave the vote that I did, and for that reason I shall oppose, as I am now advised in my own mind, any amendment with the exception of the one offered by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] in regard to the right of banks to retire their currency. I reserve

my right to vote for that amendment. Otherwise I think the friends of the bill would best advance its passage by opposing all amendments, whether they are good or bad.

There are many most excellent features, I repeat, in the amendmeat offered by the Senator from Missouri; and if I were at liberty to offer amendments I think I could offer more amendments satisfactorily to myself against national banks than any man on this floor. I think I am not misunderstood on that subject. I presume I owe less to them, and always have owed less to them, than any man within the range of my voice at this moment. They have never been supported by me as an institution. If I could I would now supply their place with some other fiscal agency. They are open to vast criticism, to my mind. But they exist at this time and they will continue to exist for some few years yet to come. They have a power under the law of which we can avail ourselves to relieve the country in the present emergency.

This bill was reported and supported in the committee by me because we are in an emergency. I thought if ever there was a time when there would be little or no objection to this measure it would be now. I called to mind when I reported the bill that on three former occasions it had the approval of this great body, practically without opposition at all. I thought inasmuch as there was no question that it would increase the volume of the currency somewhat, it would have little or no opposition at this time.

I do not think I am mistaken when I say that there is an emergency throughout the land. I hear it upon all hands. It may not reach other gentlemen as it has reached me. The processions of unemployed people, the charity that is giving bread to unemployed thousands, reach the very inmost recesses of my heart. If taking the powers of the banks or any other institution, whether they commend themselves to my favor or not, would add employment to those people and help the circulation of the country, I would feel myself criminal not to do it.

I am guided at this time by the highest definition of statesmanship ever given. Edmund Burke said that statesmanship was the science of circumstances, and circumstances should guide us at this time. If I am hereafter to be called to account for votes now given, I shall appeal to circumstances which made it my highest duty, from which I flinched not one moment in endeavoring to mitigate the dreadful surroundings which we behold on all hands.

I did not rise to discuss the merits of amendments. I did not rise even to discuss the merits of the bill from the Finance Committee. Its merits speak for themselves. They may not be numerous; they may not be as extensive as they should be; but in my judgment, there is enough in the bill, if it can be passed, to warrant the efforts we have been making in its behalf.

I say this in all kindness to the Senator from Missouri, but I say another thing here to-day. If it is the purpose not to pass this bill, if it is the purpose to talk it into a condition where there is no hope for it, we shall, after to-morrow, be engaged in other business, and this, as a minor feature of this extraordinary session of Congress, will have to take a subordinate place and give way to the great and major proposition which has brought us here. I intend, however, the country shall understand that I press the bill and ask a vote upon it, and deplore the delays which have taken place; and if it fails it shall not fail at my door.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, it seems that some point is aimed to be made on the fact that a bill similar to the one pending has been before Congress heretofore. I admit very frankly and will advise my good friend from Indiana, that the identical language of the pending bill was here before. I will read it. It was in the Fifty-first Congress.

SEC. 2. That upon any deposits already or hereafter made of any United States bonds bearing interest, in the manner required by law, any national banking association making the same shall be entitled to receive from the Comptroller of the Currency circulating notes of different denominations, in blank, registered and countersigned as provided by law, not exceeding in the whole amount the par value of the bonds deposited: *Provided*, That at no time shall the total amount of such notes issued to such association exceed the amount at such time actually paid in of its capital stock.

I moved to strike out that section, and upon the motion the yeas were: Messrs. Barbour, BATE, BERRY, BLACKBURN, BUTLER, CALL, COCKRELL, COKE, DANIEL, Eustis, FAULKNER, Gibson, GORMAN, Hampton, JONES of Arkansas, JONES of Nevada, Kenna, MITCHELL, MORGAN, PASCO, Plumb, PUGH, Reagan, Stanford, TELLER, TURPIE, VANCE, VEST, VOORHEES. My good friend from Indiana and myself voted to strike out this identical clause. We were not consenting to such an enactment at that time.

Mr. VOORHEES. Under the same circumstances I would do it again.

Mr. COCKRELL. I am not disputing that, but here is the point. It is stated that this bill has passed the Senate repeatedly without any opposition. It never has done it, and both times, when it was up in the Fifty-first and Fifty-second Congresses, we substituted for it a bill for the free and unlimited coinage of the standard silver dollar.

I will read from McPherson's Handbook of Politics for 1892 what was done in the Fifty-second Congress. The bill was passed by the House of Representatives and it came over here. I think the House bill was the identical measure, if I am not very much mistaken, that we have before us now. I did not have time to mark the place; but, Mr. President, there never was a time when this bill passed the Senate without opposition.

Mr. BUTLER. I do not remember what Congress it was, but I do remember that perhaps in the Forty-ninth Congress a bill passed similar to this which was known as the McPherson bill. It may have been before the Forty-ninth Congress. I think it was introduced by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. MCPHERSON].

Mr. COCKRELL. Oh, yes; there was opposition to all of them.

Mr. BUTLER. Will the Senator from Missouri permit me just one interruption?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. BUTLER. I have an amendment pending to this bill which I am very anxious to have voted upon, and I am compelled to be absent from the Senate Chamber after to-day until Friday morning. I can scarcely ask the indulgence of the Senate, if the bill is to be pressed immediately, to postpone the vote until that time; but as the Senator from Indiana awhile ago intimated that he will call up the coinage bill reported from the Committee on Finance, I take it that bill will perhaps occupy the remainder of this week. I should be very glad to be heard on my amendment and to press it seriously.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President, Senators on this side of the Chamber can not hear what is going on. Possibly we might be interested.

Mr. BUTLER. I do not think anything I said would be likely to make much impression on the other side of the Chamber, especially with the Senator from Rhode Island. So it does not make a great deal of difference.

Mr. ALDRICH. Possibly it might.

Mr. BUTLER. I was simply stating that I have an amendment pending to this bill upon which I am very anxious, indeed, to have a vote, but I am compelled to be absent from the Senate after to-day until Friday morning. However, I trust no final vote will be taken on the bill until that time. A proposition to repeal the 10 per cent tax on State bank circulation is the amendment to which I refer.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, I was showing what the national banks were earning for six months, from September 1, 1891, to March 1, 1892. Now, I take the next six months, from March 1, 1892, to September 1, 1892. Their capital then was $679,076,650, and they had up to that time accumulated the very small surplus of $237,761,865.23, or a surplus equal to 35 per cent of their entire capital. Their gross earnings for those six months were $73,448,066.11, or 10.81 per cent upon their capital. Their net earnings for the six months were $32,294,924.82.

That was 4.75 per cent as their net earnings for six months. What was the difference between the gross earnings and the net earnings? The difference between the gross earnings and the net earnings was $41,153,141.29. What became of that difference? They charged it off. That is the language used in the report of the Comptroller of the Currency. They charged off for loans and premiums $11,431,087.57, and then they charged off for expenses and taxes $29,722,053.72, making $41,153,141.29. For those six months they declared a dividend of 3.66 per cent, or $24,853,860.42.

Now, let us summarize the year. At the close of the year—not all gained in that year, but in the previous existence of the bank for twenty years (for the charters run only twenty years)—they had accumulated a net surplus of $237,761,865.23, or 35 per cent upon their entire capital was the surplus accumulated. Then, for the year from September 1, 1891, to September 1, 1892, they made a gross profit of their capital of 21.93 per cent and a net profit of 9.84 per cent, lacking only sixteen one-hundredths of being 10 per cent which they made. All kinds of expenses and charges and salaries and everything that could be devised was deducted out of the gross profits, and yet after everything was paid, after every item of expenditure and tax was considered, they had a net surplus of 9.84 per cent, declared a dividend of 7.44 per cent, and held back a surplus of 35 per cent of their capital.

Mr. President, I do not think that this shows a condition which demands that the Congress of the United States shall suppliantly bend to these corporate monopolies and give them rights and privileges and authorities which we refuse to all other banking corporations and all other individuals. Will any Senator in his seat explain to me why the Congress of the United States should authorize five or six individuals incorporated into

a national banking association and owning $100,000 in United States bonds to bring those bonds into the Treasury and get 100 per cent of their face value, dollar for dollar, in notes of the United States, and for which the United States is responsible, and leave the bonds in the United States Treasury and draw every dollar of interest upon their bonds, and then loan out the $100,000 for the highest rate of interest they can get, and be thereby enabled to make a clear net profit of 9.84 per cent and a gross profit of 21.93 per cent upon their capital?

Why shall this be granted to them and yet the State banks, the savings banks, the loan and trust companies, and the individual holders of the same kind of bonds be not allowed to receive from the Treasury one solitary dollar in exchange for the bonds when they have deposited there? I want some Senator to answer that question. That is the question here before the Senate to-day. I want some Senator to tell me why the Congress of the United States is under any kind of obligation to grant this special favor and privilege to these corporate monopolies, the national banks, and not to any other banks.

Mr. McPHERSON. May I ask the Senator from Missouri a single question?

Mr. COCKRELL. Yes; if I am given time to answer it.

Mr. McPHERSON. Three or four times I have heard the declaration made by the Senator from Missouri that the national banks are monopolies. I had always supposed that a monopoly was some kind of institution or an individual upon whom was conferred a special privilege. I should like to ask the Senator if any five persons in the United States who can raise $50,000 are not equally qualified to possess and become the owners of one of these monopolies in common with the present national banks?

Mr. COCKRELL. Yes.

Mr. McPHERSON. In what way then is it a monopoly?

Mr. COCKRELL. Whenever people take advantage of the law and incorporate themselves into a national banking association and deposit their bonds, then they become the favored monopolies; then they are granted rights and privileges which you refuse to grant to-day to any State bank or to any individual holder of bonds. Therefore I say they are monopolies; that they are to-day controlling the paper circulation of the United States. I say that any institution or corporation which possesses the power of controlling the paper circulation of the United States, or of any other country, is dangerous to the best interests of that country; dangerous to the best interests of the people; dangerous to republican institutions and to the very liberties of the people themselves, and that it will grow beyond the power and control of that people if it is permitted to go on and grow.

Mr. McPHERSON. The Senator is aware of the fact that the great complaint here is that the national banks have retired circulation; they do not seem to enjoy this great privilege which the Senator says made them monopolies.

Mr. COCKRELL. That is exactly what they have done; and they have aided in producing the present panic.

Mr. McPHERSON. There does not seem to be any disposition on their part to issue enough circulation to control absolutely the entire circulation of the country.

Mr. COCKRELL. Why did they not, Mr. President? Let us examine and see. Why, these beneficiaries of the Government, the favored individuals of the Government, bought their 4 per cent bonds at par from the distinguished Senator from Ohio in 1879, when he was telling us that if we passed a free-coinage bill we would prevent him from selling those bonds at par. But inside of one year $600,000,000 of the 4 per cent bonds were issued by the Treasury and sold to the national banks, one national bank, as the Senator may remember, purchasing $60,000,000 of the bonds at one time. They were distributed around at par.

Then it was that they had their bank circulation. They could get circulation then; but what occurred? These were gold bonds. They were coin bonds, but they were considered and interpreted to be gold bonds. The premium began to go up, and finally the premium ran up to 28 per cent. What did the national banks do when the premium ran up so high? They sold their bonds at the highest premium and retired their circulation, regardless of the fact whether it was to the interest of the United States or not.

An individual would do the same thing. I am not saying that the banks have not the right to do this. Certainly they do just as the Bank of England does to-day. It has the legal right to raise the rate of interest, which it has done, from 1 to 5 per cent, and thereby depreciated the selling price of every commodity in England. The inevitable result is an increase of the rate of interest, and this is done for the express purpose of reducing the price of every commodity in England and retaining gold.

The national banks have the right to sell these bonds. They have a right to do just as the Senator or any other man having property of that kind might do. They do not care a continental cent whether or not they benefit the tax-payers and consumers and producers of the United States. It was a financial movement, and it was made for their own benefit. They are not here to-day asking for this $19,000,000 for any patriotic purpose, but to increase their profits; to make the people of the United States pay them additional interest and additional profits upon their capital. It is purely personal.

There is not a particle of it patriotism or philanthropy or disinterestedness or for the purpose of relieving the financial stringency. They can not come here in the name of liberty and patriotism and benevolence and take $19,000,000 and charge 1½ per cent for loaning it out, as the banks are doing now. It is a pure, cold, selfish, heartless proposition to increase the circulation $19,000,000, provided it can be done so as to enable the national banks to realize profit from it. That is what the Senator is contending for, nothing more, nothing less, and nothing else.

Mr. McPHERSON. Will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. COCKRELL. With pleasure.

Mr. McPHERSON. In view of the amendment the Senator has offered and the argument he is making—which, while very emphatic, is quite amusing—he places in the hands of the holders of these greenbacks which he proposes the Government shall issue, the power and responsibility of returning them to the Treasury, which would make it incumbent upon the Treasury to cancel them. I should like to know how the country could endure, under any condition of circumstances, such a contraction of the currency as would be possible under the Senator's amendment?

Mr. COCKRELL. Oh, my dear good friend, the Senator from New Jersey, knows perfectly well there would not be a dollar of contraction. That is the reason he is fighting it. I hope the Senator will not undertake to get under that kind of cover. The Senator is opposing this proposition because he knows the holders of these bonds will take them to the Treasury and take out greenbacks and never return them for three, four, five, or ten years, and probably not until the bonds mature. There is no danger of any contraction there. He is opposing it because he thinks it will inflate the currency of the country and give us more money.

Mr. McPHERSON. The Senator will do me the justice certainly not to misrepresent me. I am sure he will do that.

Mr. COCKRELL. As a matter of course.

Mr. McPHERSON. I oppose the amendment not upon that ground; but I oppose it upon the ground that the Government bond to-day is a deferred obligation, for which the Senator proposes to substitute a demand obligation, when the Treasury is in no condition to make any such exchange, when the Treasury of the United States is depleted, as it has been, by dissipation, so to speak. I use the word not in its full meaning, but in a restricted sense.

Of course the money that was in the Treasury at the end of Mr. Cleveland's first Administration has been paid out for all sorts of things, the increase of pensions, subsidies, bounties, and things of that kind, until when the present Administration came into power we found that the surplus in the Treasury had been exhausted; we found there was no money in the Treasury, and we had to proceed from day to day to collect and to pay bills, as it were from hand to mouth, to use a common expression.

Therefore, when this pressure came upon the Treasury the Secretary was obliged to encroach upon the reserve fund of $100,000,000, which was placed there to secure the $346,000,000 of greenbacks. Unless the Senator can show some necessity for such a thing, and unless he can show his willingness to place in the Treasury as a further reserve fund a sufficient amount of gold to stand side by side with the gold now in the Treasury, to keep the greenbacks now out and those he proposes to issue on a parity with gold, and redeemable in gold, then he is fixing a situation for this Government which it will be impossible to carry out in practice.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, the Senator talks about the necessity for additional money. Let us see whether we have money enough in this country or not, and let us see whether the United States Treasury is capable of maintaining $500,000,000 of greenbacks in circulation upon its present reserve of $100,000,000 in gold in addition to the silver in the Treasury. I take the report of the Comptroller of the Currency for September 30, 1892, and I find that there was due to the national banks on loans to individuals $2,153,498,829. I find there was at the same time due to other banks—State banks, private banks, savings banks, loan and trust companies—$2,470,410,287. There was a liability to the banks alone upon loans made by them to individuals of $4,623,909,116.

What did the banks owe? Many of them only had a small capital comparatively, much less than a million dollars. There was due from the national banks on deposits $2,333,630,716, and

there was due from other banks $3,029,129,844, or a total liability of the national banks to individuals of $5,362,760,560.

What are the cash assets of all the banks in the United States to meet all these vast liabilities? The cash assets of all the national banks are $388,615,719, and the cash assets of all other banks $197,789,384; total, $586,405,103.

What per cent was that on their liabilities? Ten and ninety-four one-hundredths per cent in cash of their liabilities. What was the cash per cent of the national banks alone? The national banks alone held 16.66 per cent, or one-sixth of the amount of their liabilities, and all the other banks held 6.53 per cent, or one-sixteenth part of their liabilities—one dollar for every sixteen dollars. To-day there is $100,000,000 of gold alone, not counting the silver in the Treasury for the redemption of greenbacks, 28 per cent, nearly twice as much as all the banks held for their liabilities. If the national banks can maintain their paper with 16.66 per cent, or one-sixth part, the United States can increase theirs to $500,000,000, and then have the same amount of reserve as the banks—one-sixth. There is no trouble about that.

But what is the trouble now? What is the matter with the money—with the silver dollars? The despised 60-cent silver dollar is selling in New York to-day for 1½ per cent premium. Did you ever think of that? The 60-cent dollar, about which we have heard so much here for the last twelve years or more, or the 70-cent dollar, is selling to-day in New York to bankers and gold monometallists at 1½ per cent premium, and the despised silver certificates are selling at the same price. What is the matter? Is there too much currency? Is it because there is too much money? No; it is because there is not enough.

Let Senators look at it. It is a plain proposition. When one-tenth of the depositors in all the banks of the United States draw out their money there is no money left, and the banks can not loan a dollar. Their creditors are owing them and they can not get money to lend; it is not in the country. The whole fabric is one of confidence, faith, hope, and charity. It is not want of confidence on the part of the banks. Oh, no; it is not the bankers who have lost confidence; it is not the moneyed institutions which have lost confidence, but it is the owners of the deposits in these banks who have lost confidence in the banks and have taken their deposits out and paralyzed the industries of the country.

I am sorry they have done it, but the banks have nobody to blame but themselves. I do not say all the banks are to blame, but the bankers in New York, many of whom have no citizenship in the United States, who are foreigners and care no more for the United States than they do for hades, and not as much, for they may care for that [laughter], are the ones who are responsible. They are the ones who have caused the trouble. Why? Because there is not money enough in this country, and when a panic appears, if depositors seek to draw their money out of the banks, everything is paralyzed and confidence is gone.

There is not a banker living who does not know to-day that the silver dollar coined by the United States is just as good as the gold dollar, and every man, woman, and child who has a dollar in the banks and goes for it, will take a silver dollar as quickly as a gold dollar, or a Treasury note as quickly as a gold dollar, and put it in their own pockets, or put it in a savings institution, lay it aside there, and let it lie there until their confidence is restored and strengthened. The depositors, the owners of millions of dollars in this country, are the ones we want to benefit. I do not think the national banks will give me credit for being even fair to them, but I know I am; I know I am just to them, and I want to say to the depositors in the banking institutions of the United States that they have made a great mistake in withdrawing their money from those institutions.

All the banking institutions in the United States to-day are in a better condition than in any other nation in the world outside of France. The banking institutions of this country to-day are in a safe condition; they are sound. If there was money enough in the country they could promptly meet their liabilities. They have available assets of responsible parties who would pay if the money could be obtained; but they can not get the money.

I took some pains to examine, in order to see whether the national banks were really in a good condition, whether there was any real danger, whether the depositors had any real ground for losing confidence in the banks. I know they have lost confidence, and everybody knows it.

Everybody knows the depositors, the actual owners of the money, who do not owe anything, have gone and taken it out of the banks. I wanted to know whether there was any real foundation for the destruction of confidence, and I examined the subject very closely. I have made a statement of the condition of the banks on the 30th day of September, 1892. I will first take the national banks. They had a total of actual assets of $3,038,235,715.22, and their liabilities, outside of capital stock, overplus, and those things which can not be realized upon until deposits are paid—I mean the actual liabilities—amounted to $1,987,528,220.91. That left an overplus of $1,050,707,494.31.

What was that overplus? It was a capital of $686,600,000 in round numbers; it was a net surplus of $238,900,000, undivided profits, $101,600,000; which makes an aggregate of $1,027,100,000. So the national banks have had ample resources, not considering their money at all, not counting the money in their vaults, to meet their liabilities provided there was money enough in circulation. That was the only trouble.

What were their loans? What were their assets? Let us examine the assets for a moment. They had loans to the amount of $2,171,000,000, nearly $600,000 more than their liabilities to depositors; they had United States bonds, not for the purpose of securing circulation, $20,200,000; they had of stocks and bonds $154,500,000; they had in reserve agents $236,400,000; they had owing to them by others than national banks, $32,500,000; they had real estate and mortgages to the amount of $87,900,000; they had of specie $209,100,000; in legal tenders $104,300,000, and in United States deposits $22,200,000.

What were their liabilities? Their liabilities to depositors were $1,779,300,000, and to State banks $178,600,000, and other liabilities $29,600,000, making the total of their liabilities $1,987,500,000, leaving an overplus of $1,050,600,000.

I say frankly that it was exceedingly gratifying to me, when I made these close calculations, to find that the banks of the country were in such a good condition as they are.

Take the savings banks. Their resources were $3,751,649,173. Their aggregate liabilities were not nearly so great as those of the national banks, but greater proportionately. I have given these figures simply to show that there is an absolute necessity for an increase of the paper circulation of the United States, an increase of the money of the United States, and I ask that that currency shall be legal tender. Legal tender is what makes money. Gold without legal tender is not money; silver without legal tender is not money, whether coined or uncoined. It is the legal-tender quality which gives to it value.

Look at this indebtness, billions upon billions of dollars. We ask that the individual holders of bonds may have the rights which the national banks have, only with the disadvantage of one-fourth of 1 per cent; in other words, we want to place the citizen upon an equality with the banker, the State bank upon a comparative equality with the national bank. We want to give them all a chance to get money upon our interest-bearing bonds. We want to give them a fair chance; but it seems from what the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Finance has said that there is to be no chance, that the only money which the oppressed people of the United States shall be permitted to receive must come through the hands of the national banks with whatever rate of interest they may choose to charge; whilst they are receiving the full amount of interest due upon their bonds. This morning a proposition was voted down to authorize $25,000,000 of greenbacks to be issued for $25,000,000 of interest-bearing bonds, which, if carried, would have increased the legal-tender money of this country $25,000,000, would have saved the taxpayers of the United States $500,000 annually, and would have added to the actual surplus in an exhausted Treasury over $20,000,000.

Why? Simply in order that the national banks might get $19,000,000 of additional circulation. Where is the justice, the equity, the fair dealing, the honesty in the Senate of the United States treating all the other banks and all the other holders of United States bonds in this way, and granting this special favor, privilege, and right to the national banks alone?

Mr. President, we have not money enough in this country; and here is a proposition, a fair proposition, a just proposition, in which there is no danger to the United States, which provides for the issue of a legal-tender note, for which we are to hold our own bond as security. No danger can come from it. The people will not take these notes back, surrender them, and thereby contract the volume of the currency.

I appeal to Senators why deny this to the people of this country? Why will you compel the business of the country to be done upon the diminished and insufficient volume of money which exists to-day? Why do you refuse to allow anyone to obtain money unless it comes through the national banks?

This question has to be settled. The Senate of the United States must determine whether the national banks alone, when they hold United States bonds, shall have the right to get the equivalent of the greenback, dollar for dollar; because the national-bank note is simply a greenback, pure and simple—nothing less and nothing more.

I ask that a letter which I have just received from the Acting Director of the Mint and also two circulars from the Treasury Department may be printed as separate documents. They are all three from the Bureau of the Mint. One is "Monetary systems and approximate stocks of money in the aggregate and per

capita in the principal countries of the world." I believe my colleague had that in his speech, but it was not ordered to be printed as a separate document.

I also have the "Production of gold and silver in the world—1792–1892." I see that the Director of the Mint has made some correction of that, and I ask that it may be printed as corrected.

Mr. TELLER. What is the first paper?

Mr. COCKRELL. The first paper which I have is the "Production and coinages of the principal countries of the world for the years 1873–1892."

Mr. TELLER. Has the Senator the statement from the Mint purporting to give the amount of gold and silver in the different countries of the world?

Mr. COCKRELL. I have that as a separate document.

Mr. TELLER. Has the Senator asked to have it printed?

Mr. COCKRELL. Yes.

Mr. TELLER. I should like to say to the Senator that I hardly think it is worth printing, for it is so absolutely erroneous in many particulars that it ought not to be printed as a document.

Mr. COCKRELL. I have not had time to make any examination and comparison of it.

Mr. TELLER. For instance, if the Senator will allow me——

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. TELLER. The statement is made there that the Government of Russia had $250,000,000 in gold. Is not that the amount given?

Mr. COCKRELL. Yes; $250,000,000.

Mr. TELLER. The Bank of Russia has $100,000,000 more than that, and I suppose the Government of Russia has of its own very nearly if not quite twice that. Of course, part of the amount in the Bank of Russia belongs to the Government. It is claimed, however, by those who ought to know, that the Government of Russia can put its hands on $500,000,000 of money. I am told—and it is somewhat difficult to find that out—that it has more than $250,000,000 of gold on deposit in several banks of western Europe. To say that Russia has only this amount of gold, stated in the papers referred to, is simply deceiving.

Mr. McPHERSON. What was the amount, may I ask the Senator?

Mr. TELLER. Two hundred and fifty million dollars; while in February last the statement of the Bank of Russia showed that they had $330,000,000, and they have been adding to it ever since.

Mr. COCKRELL. The statement I have is of the production and coinages of the principal countries of the world for the years 1873–1892. I want to call the attention of my monometallist friends to the difference between the production of gold—to the fact that every year we consume 50 per cent of the gold production of the world for industrial purposes, and at the same time every year we coin more gold than the world produces.

I ask that the papers I present may be printed as separate documents.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That order will be made in the absence of objection.

Mr. TELLER. As this subject is before the Senate, having criticised the statement, I wish to make one further criticism.

That statement credits the people of Great Britain with having $550,000,000 of gold. There is no respectable authority worthy of any attention which will sustain that statement. It can not be demonstrated that there is in Great Britain $550,000,000 of gold. Some of the best authorities in that country have asserted that there is not to exceed $400,000,000; some of them have even put it lower; I think no authority has put it higher than $500,000,000.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, I do not desire at this time to take any part in this discussion, but I have in my hand a letter from one of the most eminent citizens of this country in all industrial enterprises. I think, without expressing any approval or disapproval of the opinion which he expresses in this letter, that the opinions of men who are eminent in the conduct of the great business enterprises of the country should receive respectful consideration. The letter is from Mr. H. B. Plant, the president of an extensive railroad association, and who is largely interested in enterprises of this description in Florida. He gives his own opinion, and also that of another citizen of New York, largely connected with interests in Florida, and engaged in prosecuting great railroad enterprises there.

The letter is pertinent to the amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri, and sustains that amendment in the exhibition to the country of the necessity of a great increase of the currency and of the circulating medium of the country for that purpose. I ask that the paper be read at the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paper will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

THE PLANT INVESTMENT COMPANY,
New York, August 19, 1893.

DEAR SIR: In calling your attention to the present condition of the finances of the country I can not expect to place you in possession of any facts that you are not already more fully informed of than myself, but it seems to me imperative that the Sherman bill should be promptly repealed, and for such strong reasons that it is hardly worth while for me to attempt to enumerate them. The pinch in money has become very severe at the North and West, and if it continues will doubtless be felt equally if not more so throughout the South. So far as Forida is concerned, while it may be said to have escaped thus far, it is certain that in a short while all interests will become as much involved and the whole community affected as badly as in any other section.

I have recently returned from Florida, having passed most of last week there, and found a very general anxiety among the people on this subject, all looking to Congress for the prompt repeal of the Sherman bill as the only feasible remedy. Of course, after it there must come other legislation, but our attention now is drawn especially to the condition of things in the State in which we are so much interested.

I had a few moment's conversation with Mr. Flagler, and learned from him in a semiconfidential manner that it was becoming a very difficult matter for him to provide currency and silver sufficient to pay off the hands now engaged in the construction of the East Shore Road and the work being done at Lake Worth. He is called upon, he says, to pay a premium for money, and unless action by Congress is promptly taken he will feel compelled to suspend operations. As he has several thousand mechanics and laborers employed, we can readily see the result in that State of turning them loose, as well as the evil effect it would have upon others, and I must earnestly urge that you will exercise your great influence towards the pr mpt repeal of the Sherman bill, and subsequently to the enactment of such laws as will tend to restore confidence and prevent as far as possible a collapse in the business of Florida in the immediate future.

I have myself in contemplation some other work which would give employment to a good many people in Florida, but which I shall be compelled to defer while the present condition of financial affairs continues, as with all the credit we can command, it is impossible to get money to pay for the work done.

Respectfully, H. B. PLANT, *President.*

HON. WILKINSON CALL,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. PALMER. Mr. President, I am not prepared to vote on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] because I have not fully understood from his own statement why it has been offered. It certainly proposes a very radical change in our existing financial arrangements. It will surely convert a very large amount of the Government indebtedness, which is now by the terms of the bonds postponed to a future day, into an immediate demand upon the Treasury.

I understand that the Senator proposes that all those bondholders who have already received national bank notes may return them and receive Treasury notes in place of the outstanding bank circulation. The amount of that circulation is understood by the Senate, and I understand that the amendment proposes to issue legal-tender notes for the 10 per cent which has not been allowed to the national banks heretofore.

While I am not prepared to say that the holders of bonds will immediately present them—for I know nothing about that—I mean to say that the effect of the amendment, if adopted, will substantially make all the outstanding bonds due to-morrow, due at once, because, without reference to the time of the maturity of the bonds, the holders may present them at the Treasury; and, whether they are national banks or not, they may obtain legal-tender notes. The spirit and effect of the amendment will be to convert the whole outstanding national bank circulation into immediate demand notes—notes upon which demand may be made to-morrow or any other day, if I correctly understand it.

Mr. COCKRELL. Oh, no; not at all. The amendment only refers to the deposit of bonds by any State bank. Let the amendment be again read.

Mr. PALMER. I ask that the amendment may be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be read.

The Secretary read the amendment of Mr. COCKRELL.

Mr. PALMER. Then, Mr. President, I understand the amendment would operate by way of addition to the bill reported by the Committee on Finance, and would not disturb the bill in that respect.

Mr. COCKRELL. Not at all. It would only affect other than national banks.

Mr. PALMER. Leaving the national banks to stand upon the ground they now occupy.

Mr. COCKRELL. That is it.

Mr. PALMER. But as respects any and all the bonds other than those held by the national banks, it would allow the immediate conversion of those bonds, whatever may be the date of their maturity, into demand notes upon the Treasury.

Mr. President, I confess I have never favored national banks, but have always regarded them as I have other organizations under the law. I have always sympathized with my fellow-citizens who are interested in national banks to this extent, at least, that I thought they were entitled to all the fair and just advantage the law gives them; and whatever profits they can gain in obedience to law may be regarded as fairly theirs.

Just what the precise sum may be I am unable to tell, because I do not know about the amount held by national banks, nor do I know but that the national banks may, for a few of the advantages which may or may not be afforded them, surrender their bonds and take up their circulation, and that others may use these bonds for the purposes I am about to indicate.

I infer, therefore, that by the very fair operation of this

amendment a vast amount of national bonds which are yet to mature may be converted into a matured indebtedness, which would give to the holders the right to demand gold at the Treasury.

Mr. President, has the Senator from Missouri considered what might be the effect of that legislation upon the Treasury? It is our misfortune just at this moment that ours is a political currency, that is, that the United States Government has become the very pillar of our credit; all the property of the country substantially depends upon the credit of the United States and its ability and its willingness to redeem and to protect its own circulation. That is our condition to-day.

Is it wise to create these new demands upon the Treasury, which may lead to the complete withdrawal of its resources? Why should it be done? Why expose the Federal Treasury to this new danger? It is admitted now that the Treasury has all the burden it can bear. We are busy devising expedients for the relief of the Treasury. It is staggering under its load. I submit, is it wise in conservative statesmen, conservative legislators, to subject the Treasury to this new peril and to this new responsibility?

Is this the time for a radical change like this, the result of which none of us can foresee? When all the business of the country is laboring under embarrassments, which have been so often partially described—because we can have no full description of them, for human language is incapable of describing the actual condition of the business of the country—is it wise at this time to engage in an experiment which may involve such serious consequences?

It is practically to say to the Secretary of the Treasury, "You have now an amount of public indebtedness outstanding, and the prosperity of the country, the restoration of the business of the country depends upon your ability to recover and maintain the credit of the country and place it beyond doubt, so that there may be no hesitation or fear in respect of what may be the future operation of the Treasury." Is it wise, therefore, to open the Treasury to this new danger? I may magnify the danger in my imagination, but I think I can see the peril of legislation like this.

I do not know what the wisdom, or what the cupidity or the policy of the men who own money in this country may dictate. I can not say that it is true that the legal-tender notes have been held by the people, There has been a very slight demand upon the Treasury for gold in redeeming them; but when this new flood comes, I do not know how much it will amount to. Of course it may be many millions; it may be twenty millions, it may be fifty millions, it may be one hundred millions; I do not know. It is a doubtful experiment.

None of us can see the extent to which it will influence or operate upon the Treasury; yet in view of the peril which surrounds the country, when everything depends upon the ability of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain the credit of the Government, without consulting the Secretary of the Treasury, without knowing what his plans are, he being supposed to have the most extensive knowledge on this subject, knowing the wants of the Treasury, and being aware of its resources, and the Treasury being the corner stone, the very foundation of national credit, without any precise notion of how this is to eventuate, the Senator from Missouri proposes to open this new flood of demands upon the Treasury, the effect of which none of us can anticipate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Illinois will please suspend to enable the Senate to receive a message from the House of Representatives.

Mr. PALMER. Certainly.

PURCHASE OF SILVER BULLION.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes;" in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

Mr. VOORHEES. I ask that the bill just received from the House of Representatives may be laid before the Senate and referred to the Committee on Finance.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a bill from the House, the title of which will be reported.

The bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. VOORHEES. I desire, with the permission of the Senator from Illinois, to accompany the reference of the bill with a statement, which may be satisfactory to the public. There will be a meeting of the Committee on Finance to-morrow, and there will be very prompt action in connection with this measure and the measure already reported from that committee.

INCREASE OF NATIONAL BANK CIRCULATION.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks.

Mr. PALMER. Mr. President, it was my purpose to occupy the attention of the Senate for a very short time. I am deeply impressed with the necessity for the greatest conservatism now. The passage of the bill by the House of Representatives, which has just been reported, indicates more than before the necessity of conservatism.

I insist that the scheme proposed by the Senator from Missouri is much more far-reaching than—I was about to say, than he supposes; but I will not say that—it is much more far-reaching than I can see. It may have less in it than I imagine; it may have more in it than he imagines. It is a dangerous time to attempt a change so radical as this, whatever its effect may be.

I predict that under his amendment the whole circulation of the national banks may be withdrawn and that the whole circulation of the national banks may take the form of legal-tender Treasury notes, because, while I confess that I suppose in the first instance the national banks might participate in this provision, the methods of evasion are so easy, they so readily occur to ingenious men, that whenever the interests of those who control the present national banks will justify it, or seem to demand it, there will be expedients by which this great change will be made, and, in addition to the increase of Treasury notes which may follow by the action of the State banks and the savings banks, the whole mass of the outstanding indebtedness of the country may be converted into legal-tender notes and may be presented to the Treasury and gold demanded. If that may be the consequence, is it not wise that we pause before we adopt a measure so radical as this?

I want to say here, before I proceed further, that I know nothing more pernicious, nothing more injurious to the national character than these perpetual assertions of the poverty and helplessness of the American people. We have been taught to tremble at the enormous money power of England. That is the favorite invocation to alarm us. I insist that the American people are not mendicants; they are not cowards; they are not ni awe of this tremendous money power, to which allusion is made so very often. They need rational legislation; not for the protection of the poor or the rich, because the rich of to-day may be the poor of to-morrow, as events occurring all around us fully demonstrate. None of us can tell who will constitute the rich or the poor of the next generation.

What we want is conservative and inspiring legislation; not appeals, not denunciations; but we need the inspiration of courage, and our people will pass through this storm as they have passed through others on much more serious occasions. But our people demand conservatism; they demand legislation which has the sanction of experience—legislation which has the sanction, too, of careful regard for the rights of all, not based upon fear of one portion of our countrymen and supplications uttered on this floor in behalf of another. That is not statesmanship. They need conservative, inspiring legislation, and no radical change ought now to be attempted in the financial policy of the Government.

The national banks were organized many years ago to meet conditions which have happily passed away. They are performing their office in our monetary affairs. They have made money beyond all doubt, although many of them have failed! I concede their right to make whatever money they can fairly make under the law; but where we can control them for the public good we should do so with an unsparing hand. But they are at present a part of our financial system. I hope the time will come when they will be unnecessary, for I hope the time will come when our finances will not depend upon the result of every election of members of Congress or President, when there will be stability, when men may hope that the earnings of a lifetime will not be disposed of and crushed out by the result of a Presidential election. I hope for that degree of stability.

I repeat, this is no time for experiments dictated by a policy which may be promising and may look hopeful. We have all seen legislation designed to accomplish one object perverted to another and a different end.

Mr. President, this proposition is practically—I say "practically" because that may be its result—to convert all the indebtedness of the United States into legal-tender promises to pay. The Senator from Missouri—and I certainly sympathize with him in that feeling—speaks of our limitless resources. They are abundant and abounding; we are all proud of them; but it must be recollected that the resources of this country are only based upon the taxing capacity of the people. Because we

can do it, is there any reason why we should throw that burden upon the people, or is it enough to say we can take care of it?

We do not know what the consequences may be if $100,000,000 of gold-demand notes are created by our act to-day and they at once confront the Secretary of the Treasury, with all the load he is now staggering under, and that, too, without consulting with him and without that thorough knowledge of all the matters which are within the knowledge of the chairman of the Committee on Finance, who is the gentleman whose business it is. If we, in obedience to some most laudable motive, suddenly create this mass of new imperative indebtedness what may be the consequences?

The Senator says we have resources to meet the indebtedness. Undoubtedly we have. I have received a letter to-day from a friend, who says the true solution of our troubles is to issue bonds to the amount of $300,000,000, and hold them in the Treasury. We can borrow money to meet even $100,000,000 of new demand notes. Will the Senator say that those new demand notes will not be presented; that that demand upon the Treasury will not be made? The Senator reasons from the past, but does he not know better than I the enormous power of aggregated wealth? Does he not know, too, that all the speculative wealth of the country is in combination for self-advancement? That is a fact.

I conclude by saying that if we place ourselves, by such legislation as the Senator from Missouri proposes, in the power of this much-dreaded money power, in the power of Lombard street and Wall street, of which the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] so frequently speaks, we simply change the system; we anticipate the payment of debts not yet due, and we invite upon this oppressed people demands which must be met by resources either from taxation or by new loans. I deprecate new loans; I deprecate increased taxation. I desire to reduce taxation wherever it can be done, and so I dread the legislation proposed by the Senator from Missouri. I can see no good that it will produce.

The Senator says let the people have what the banks have. The proposition of the Finance Committee is to allow an issue which would not exceed $20,000,000 probably—I do not know the exact amount——

Mr. COCKRELL. That depends upon the amount of bonds they will buy. They might run it up to thirty, or forty, or fifty million dollars.

Mr. PALMER. Very likely. The Senator is much better instructed on these points than I am; but let it be the worst, $50,000,000. We encounter the possibility of $200,000,000. The $50,000,000 would be of remote liability. We, by the adoption of this amendment, would invite direct liability.

The Senator describes a process by which the holders of national-bank paper may reach the Treasury. It may be so. The Senator makes a direct path; makes a path so short that it may be stepped in a moment, and a bond due twenty years hence, or whenever our bonds are due——

Mr. COCKRELL. Not until 1907.

Mr. PALMER. Under the Senator's proposition a bond not due until 1907 would be suddenly converted into a thousand dollars of legal-demand paper. What the dictates of interest may be I can not tell. I do not want to expose the country to that peril. Where we have an extension, when the time of payment is already fixed at a remote day, let it stand there. Let us not invite immediate demands upon a Treasury which is already staggering under its burden and which must be maintained, because upon the Treasury rests the whole superstructure of national credit.

Mr. ALLEN. I should like to ask the Senator what amount of bonds we have now outstanding for national bank purposes?

Mr. COCKRELL. The amount of bonds outstanding on the 1st of August, 1893, was $25,364,500 4½ per cent bonds, payable at the option of the United States, and $559,605,250 of the funded loan of 1907, bearing 4 per cent interest.

The national banks hold a certain percentage of that, but I am not able to state the exact amount they now hold. I have the statement of the amount that they held in September last. It was then $163,275,300, and the State banks and incorporated companies held $154,025,395, making $317,000,000 in round numbers. The balance was outstanding in the hands of I do not know whom.

Mr. ALDRICH. If the Senator will allow me, I will say that, in addition to those there was also a certain amount of bonds issued in aid of the Pacific railroads, which are available.

Mr. COCKRELL. Yes; $64,623,512 of 6 per cent bonds, which begin to mature in 1895.

Mr. ALLEN. Can the Senator state the amount of bonds which is held by the national banks at this time?

Mr. COCKRELL. I have not the statement up to this time; but the national banks on the 30th of June held $176,588,250 United States bonds of various kinds to secure circulation, and held $15,247,000 to secure deposits.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I desired this information more especially for the purpose of ascertaining whether the objection made to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PALMER] was a valid objection. I have no desire to consume unnecessarily the time of the Senate, but if the people of this nation are to be again burdened with an additional indebtedness so far as the national banks are concerned, it is just as well that they should bow their heads now to the yoke as at any other time; but I have heard so many things occurring within the last few days in this Chamber that I can not let the opportunity pass without mentioning some of them.

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. MCPHERSON] has been constant, in season and out of season, in advocating the adoption of the bill now before the Senate, but whenever the question has been put to him, what advantage has the measure now proposed to be adopted over the issuance of legal-tender notes, he has never yet, in my judgment, succeeded in answering the question. The question has been put to the Senator repeatedly, and has been put to the Senate, what advantage is there in adopting this national bank bill that is not found completely and fully within the amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri?

Certainly the great thing to be accomplished, according to the concession of all Senators, is to relieve the present strained condition of our finances. We are told that we have reached an exceptional period in the history of this nation, and that it calls for all the statesmanship and all the patriotism of Congress to relieve that situation; but yet, when the Senator from Missouri proposes an amendment which not only reaches the evil the nation is afflicted with, but gives the nation more money than this proposed bank bill, that moment the Senators who claim the nation is afflicted with an evil which we should promptly relieve find some fault with it. I do not know whether it is because it does not come through the instrumentality of the national banks or not; but it occurs to me the same objection which is made to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri is valid against the bill proposed by the Finance Committee.

What is that objection? In the first place, it is said that the holders of greenbacks issued under this amendment may deplete and loot the Treasury Department of its gold. That may be true; but the same power exists under the bill now under consideration. Persons holding bank notes issued under this bill can change them for greenbacks or for coin certificates, and go to the Treasury Department and get their gold. So there is no safeguard in the bill under consideration which does not lie in the amendment of the Senator from Missouri.

Then the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. MCPHERSON] and also the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PALMER] make this objection, that the power is limitless under the amendment of the Senator from Missouri, and they claim, I suppose, that the country will be flooded with too much money. The same objection exists to the bill under consideration that exists to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri; for, if it be desirable upon the part of persons holding Government bonds to issue money, can money not be issued to the amount of $400,000,000 or $500,000,000 to-day under the bonded system that we have. If there is money in the transaction, what is to prevent the organization of more national banks all over this country, and swelling the volume of paper money $400,000,000 or $500,000,000?

The same objection that is made to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri lies to the bill itself, except that it gives to the national banks additional power over the industries and the destinies of this nation.

The Senator from Illinois said that he did not like to hear this cry of the masses. I am frank to say that I do not like to hear it; but I know of no reason why the national banks or corporations of any kind should control the destinies of this nation. This is a Government of the people, not of the banks. It has been a Government of the banks too long for the welfare of the masses; and the same privileges which are extended by law to the national-bank organizations of this country ought to be extended to every valid and sound corporation and individual in the nation. There is no reason why they should not be.

The other day, when the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEFFER] introduced a resolution, which, in my judgment, ought to have passed without an objection, and which was to inquire into the violation of the laws of the nation by certain banking institutions in the country, the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. WASHBURN], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. MCPHERSON], and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], if I am not mistaken, told us by inference, if not in plain language, that we ought not to say anything about that for fear the people of this country would become aware of the fact. We heard the strange doctrine uttered in the

Senate of the United States that the sovereign people of this nation are not entitled to know what is going on. If we are here legislating for 70,000,000 people, are they not entitled to know what we are doing?

Have they not a right to demand, every man, woman, and child of them, that the Congress of the United States call a halt upon the violation of the laws of this country? The same things that are being done openly and in violation of law in New York will not be tolerated elsewhere in the country. National banks have been closed up in the West, amounting probably to a hundred or more, simply because they suspended for a time honoring their checks, they having ample resources, and yet the banks in the city of New York have been openly violating the law for the last ten days or longer, and the Senate is not even permitted to talk about it or to obtain information from the Treasury Department in regard to it. Why? Because the people, who are our masters, and who send us here to legislate for them, may become alarmed, and favored banks may be precipitated into ruin and into disaster.

Then the Senator from Iowa told us, when the resolution of the Senator from Kansas was before the Senate, that we probably should have to send to New York to find out whether it was true that the banks were violating the law or not. The way the Senator was going to find out was to send some person to the banks and ask them if they had violated the law! A strange doctrine, is it not? If you are going to charge a man with the commission of a crime, if you are going to punish him for the commission of that crime, you must first send someman to him to ask him whether he is guilty of the crime or not!

I have been attentively listening, for the purpose of finding some excuse for the passage of this measure, which did not obtain, so far as the amendment was concerned, but I have been unable to find it. I find, however, that Senators are rising and endeavoring to protect the interests of these banks, telling us that the nation is going to be hurled into ruin, yet the cry of the people in New York, the cry of the men, women, and children who are unemployed does not disturb them.

When throughout the length and breadth of this nation there are thousands and hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children going almost naked and starving, it does not seem to arouse a sympathetic chord in the nature of these gentlemen. The poor may appeal for assistance; they may appeal to the Congress of the United States for relief from the present situation; the great masses who are suffering in consequence of this evil legislation may appeal, and appeal in vain; but the moment the interests of the national banks are touched, the moment the interests of the corporations, which bleed the life out of the people of this country, are touched, Senators undertake to hush us into silence for fear that speaking out loud will cause some of them to go into chaos, and the poor people be ruined.

I have seen no objection to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri which does not equally apply to the bill reported by the Finance Committee.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. GORMAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After forty-five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, August 29, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *August 28, 1893.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. SAMUEL W. HADDAWAY.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday last was read and approved.

Mr. John M. Wever, Representative-elect from the Twenty-third District of New York, presented himself, and was duly qualified by taking the oath prescribed by law.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. GRAHAM, by unanimous consent, obtained leave of absence indefinitely, on account of sickness.

REPRINT OF REPORT ON RULES.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following request:

Mr. CATCHINGS, from the Committee on Rules, requests a reprint of Miscellaneous Document No. 11 and Report No. 1, copies of the same having become exhausted.

There being no objection, it was ordered accordingly.

SILVER.

The SPEAKER. Upon the pending bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," debate under the order of the House has been exhausted. The Clerk will now read that part of the order relating to the vote.

The Clerk read as follows:

The vote shall be taken first on an amendment providing for the free coinage of silver at the present ratio. If that fail, then a separate vote to be had on a similar amendment proposing a ratio of 17 to 1; if that fail, on one proposing a ratio of 18 to 1; if that fail, on one proposing a ratio of 19 to 1; if that fail, on one proposing a ratio of 20 to 1. If the above amendments fail, it shall be in order to offer an amendment reviving the act of the 28th of February, 1878, restoring the standard silver dollar, commonly known as the Bland-Allison act; the vote then to be taken on the engrossment and third reading of the bill as amended, or on the bill itself if all amendments shall have been voted down, and on the final passage of the bill without other intervening motions.

Mr. BAILEY. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. In the event that the amendments provided for in the special order should be voted down, would it then be in order to move an amendment to the bill itself, the amendment being germane under the rules of the House or under general parliamentary law?

The SPEAKER. As at present advised, the Chair thinks it would not be; but should the question arise the gentleman might be heard upon it. The impression of the Chair at present is that the order of the House prescribes absolutely and exhaustively the amendments which may be offered to the pending bill. The Clerk will report the first amendment.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, the bill has not been read. When it has been I will offer an amendment in the form of a proviso to come in at the end of the bill.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That so much of the act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," as directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month, at the market price thereof, not exceeding $1 for 371¼ grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchases Treasury notes of the United States, be, and the same is hereby, repealed; but this repeal shall not impair, or in any manner affect, the legal-tender quality of the standard silver dollars heretofore coined; and the faith and credit of the United States are hereby pledged to maintain the parity of the standard gold and silver coins of the United States at the present legal ratio, or such other ratio as may be established by law.

Mr. BLAND. I offer as an amendment a proviso for free coinage of silver at the present ratio, 16 to 1. I ask that it be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Add to the bill the following:

"*Provided*, That all holders of silver bullion of the value of $50 or more, and not too base for the operations of the mints, shall be entitled to deposit the same for coinage at the mints of the United States, and to have the same coined into the legal-tender standard silver dollars of 412½ grains standard silver to the dollar, on same terms and conditions on which gold bullion is now deposited and coined.

"That silver certificates shall be issued on such dollars in the manner now provided by law for the issuing of certificates on standard silver dollars."

Mr. McMILLIN. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. Is it in order at this time to offer an amendment to the amendment of the gentleman from Missouri?

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks not.

Mr. McMILLIN. Then I will ask consent to offer the amendment which I send to the desk to be read for information.

Mr. BLAND. I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri demands the regular order, which is equivalent to an objection.

Mr. McMILLIN. Does the gentleman object to having the amendment read?

Mr. BLAND. I understand that the amendment which the gentleman desires to offer provides for free coinage of the American product only, which is not free coinage at all.

Mr. McMILLIN. That is the amendment which I desire to submit.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is demanded.

Mr. TRACEY. I was not able to hear the remarks of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND]. I wish simply to inquire of the Chair whether the amendment offered by that gentleman is in accordance with the special rule or order on this subject?

Mr. DINGLEY. Or with the Chicago platform?

The SPEAKER. The Chair understands that the proposition sent to the desk by the gentleman from Missouri is one of the propositions upon which, under the order, the House is to vote.

Mr. REED. Is there any way to have the regular order?

The SPEAKER. The regular order is demanded. The ques-

tion is first upon the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri which has just been read.

Mr. BLAND. On that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 125, nays 226, not voting 2; as follows:

YEAS—125.

Abbott,	Cooper, Tex.	Hutcheson,	Pickler,
Aitken,	Cox,	Jones,	Post,
Alexander,	Crawford,	Kem,	Richardson, Mich.
Allen,	Culberson,	Kilgore,	Richardson, Tenn.
Arnold,	Curtis, Kans.	Kyle,	Robbins,
Bailey,	Davis,	Lane,	Robertson, La.
Baker, Kans.	De Armond,	Latimer,	Sayers,
Bankhead	Denson,	Lawson,	Sibley,
Bell, Colo.	Dinsmore,	Lester.	Simpson,
Bell, Tex.	Dockery,	Livingston,	Snodgrass,
Black, Ga.	Donovan,	Lucas,	Stallings,
Blanchard,	Doolittle,	Maddox,	Stockdale,
Bland,	Edmunds,	Maguire,	Stone, Ky.
Boatner,	Ellis, Ky.	Marshall,	Strait,
Boen,	Enloe,	McCulloch,	Swanson,
Bower, N. C.	Epes,	McDearmon,	Sweet,
Bowers, Cal.	Fithian,	McKeighan,	Talbert, S. C.
Branch,	Funston,	McLaurin,	Tarsney,
Bretz,	Fyan,	McMillin,	Tate,
Broderick,	Geary,	McRae,	Taylor, Ind.
Brookshire,	Goodnight,	Meredith,	Terry,
Bryan,	Grady,	Money,	Turpin,
Bunn,	Hall, Mo.	Montgomery,	Tyler,
Burnes,	Harris,	Morgan,	Wheeler, Ala.
Caminetti,	Hartman,	Moses,	Whiting,
Cannon, Cal.	Hatch,	Murray,	Williams, Ill.
Capehart,	Heard,	Neill,	Williams, Miss
Clark, Mo.	Henderson, N. C.	Newlands,	Wilson, Wash.
Cobb, Ala.	Holman,	O'Ferrall,	Woodard.
Cockrell,	Hooker, Miss.	Paynter,	
Coffeen,	Hudson,	Pence,	
Conn,	Hunter,	Pendleton, Tex.	

NAYS—226.

Adams,	De Forest,	Johnson, Ohio	Reed,
Alderson,	Dingley,	Joy,	Reilly,
Aldrich,	Dolliver,	Kiefer,	Reyburn,
Apsley,	Draper,	Kribbs,	Richards,
Avery,	Dunn,	Lacey,	Ritchie,
Babcock,	Dunphy,	Lapham,	Robinson, Pa.
Baker, N. H.	Durborow,	Layton,	Rusk,
Baldwin,	Ellis, Oregon	Lefever,	Russell, Conn.
Barnes,	English,	Lilly,	Russell, Ga.
Bartholdt,	Erdman,	Linton,	Ryan,
Bartlett,	Everett,	Lisle,	Schermerhorn,
Barwig,	Fellows,	Lockwood,	Scranton,
Belden,	Fielder,	Loud,	Settle,
Beltzhoover,	Fitch,	Loudenslager,	Shaw,
Berry,	Fletcher,	Lynch,	Sherman,
Bingham,	Forman,	Magner,	Sickles,
Black, Ill.	Funk,	Mahon,	Sipe,
Blair,	Gardner,	Mallory,	Smith,
Boutelle,	Gear,	Marsh,	Somers,
Brattan,	Geissenhainer,	Martin, Ind.	Sperry,
Brawley,	Gillet, N. Y.	Marvin, N. Y.	Springer,
Breckinridge, Ark.	Gillett, Mass.	McAleer,	Stephenson,
Breckinridge, Ky.	Goldzier,	McCall,	Stevens,
Brickner,	Gorman,	McCleary, Minn.	Stone, C. W.
Brosius,	Gresham,	McCreary, Ky.	Stone, W. A.
Brown,	Grosvenor,	McDannold,	Storer,
Burrows,	Grout,	McDowell,	Strong,
Bynum,	Hager,	McEttrick,	Talbott, Md.
Cabaniss,	Hainer,	McGann,	Tawney,
Cadmus,	Haines,	McKaig,	Taylor, Tenn.
Caldwell,	Hall, Minn.	McNagny,	Thomas,
Campbell,	Hammond,	Meiklejohn,	Tracey,
Cannon, Ill.	Hare,	Mercer,	Tucker,
Caruth,	Harmer,	Meyer,	Turner.
Catchings,	Harter,	Milliken,	Updegraff.
Causey,	Haugen,	Moon,	Van Voorhis, N. Y.
Chickering,	Hayes,	Morse,	Van Voorhis, Ohio
Childs,	Heiner,	Mutchler,	Wadsworth,
Clancy,	Henderson, Ill.	Northway,	Walker,
Clarke, Ala.	Henderson, Iowa	Oates,	Wanger,
Cobb, Mo.	Hendrix,	O'Neil, Mass.	Warner,
Cockran,	Hepburn,	O'Neill, Penn.	Washington,
Cogswell,	Hermann,	Outhwaite,	Waugh,
Compton,	Hicks,	Page,	Weadock,
Coombs,	Hilborn,	Paschal,	Wells,
Cooper, Fla.	Hines,	Patterson,	Wever,
Cooper, Ind.	Hitt,	Payne,	Wheeler, Ill.
Cooper, Wis.	Hooker, N. Y.	Pearson,	White,
Cornish,	Hopkins, Ill.	Pendleton, W. Va.	Wilson, Ohio
Cousins,	Hopkins, Pa.	Perkins,	Wilson, W. Va.
Covert,	Houk, Ohio	Phillips,	Wise,
Crain,	Houk, Tenn.	Pigott,	Wolverton,
Cummings,	Hulick,	Powers,	Woomer,
Curtis, N. Y.	Hull,	Price,	Wright, Mass.
Dalzell,	Ikirt,	Randall,	Wright, Pa.
Daniels,	Johnson, Ind.	Ray,	
Davey,	Johnson, N. D.	Rayner,	

NOT VOTING—2.

Graham,	Shell.

So the amendment was rejected.

The following pair was announced:

Mr. SHELL with Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. SHELL would vote for free silver and Mr. GRAHAM for unconditional repeal of the Sherman law.

Mr. BRAWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to state that my colleague [Mr. SHELL] has been detained from the House by serious illness.

The result of the vote was then announced, as above recorded.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I now offer an amendment fixing the coinage at 17 to 1.

The SPEAKER. The amendment will be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Provided, That all holders of silver bullion of the value of $50 or more, and not too base for the operations of the mints, shall be entitled to deposit the same at the mints and to have the same coined into silver dollars containing 438.60 grains of standard silver to the dollar on same terms and conditions as gold bullion is now deposited and coined. That said dollars shall be a legal tender for all debts and dues, both public and private, and silver certificates shall be issued on said dollars in like manner as silver certificates are now issued on standard silver dollars.

The SPEAKER. This is the amendment fixing the coinage at 17 to 1.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 101, nays 241, not voting 11; as follows:

YEAS—101.

Abbott,	Cox,	Jones,	Richardson, Mich.
Aitken,	Crawford,	Kilgore,	Richardson, Tenn.
Alexander,	Culberson,	Kyle,	Robbins,
Allen,	Curtis, Kans.	Lane,	Robertson, La.
Arnold,	De Armond,	Lawson,	Russell, Ga.
Bailey,	Denson,	Lester,	Sayers,
Bankhead,	Dinsmore,	Livingston,	Sibley,
Bell, Colo.	Dockery,	Lucas,	Snodgrass,
Bell, Tex.	Donovan,	Maddox,	Stallings,
Black, Ga.	Edmunds,	Marshall,	Stockdale,
Blanchard,	Ellis, Ky.	McCulloch,	Stone, Ky.
Bland,	Enloe,	McDearmon,	Swanson,
Boatner,	Epes,	McMillin,	Tarsney,
Bower, N. C.	Fithian,	McRae,	Tate,
Bowers, Cal.	Funston,	Meredith,	Terry,
Branch,	Fyan,	Money,	Turpin,
Broderick,	Goodnight,	Montgomery,	Tyler,
Bunn,	Grady,	Morgan,	Wheeler, Ala.
Burnes,	Hall, Mo.	Moses,	Whiting,
Caminetti,	Hartman,	Murray,	Williams, Ill.
Capehart,	Hatch,	Neill,	Williams, Miss.
Clark, Mo.	Heard,	Newlands,	Wilson, Wash.
Cobb, Ala.	Henderson, N. C.	O'Ferrall,	Woodard.
Cockrell,	Hooker, Miss.	Paynter,	
Coffeen,	Hunter,	Pendleton, Tex.	
Cooper, Tex.	Hutcheson,	Pickler,	

NAYS—241.

Adams,	Dingley,	Joy,	Reed,
Alderson,	Dolliver,	Kiefer,	Reilly,
Aldrich,	Doolittle,	Kribbs,	Reyburn,
Apsley,	Draper,	Lacey,	Richards, Ohio
Avery,	Dunn,	Lapham,	Ritchie,
Babcock,	Dunphy,	Latimer,	Robinson, Pa.
Baker, N. H.	Durborow,	Layton,	Rusk,
Baldwin,	Ellis, Oregon	Lefever,	Russell, Conn.
Barnes,	English,	Lilly,	Ryan,
Bartholdt,	Erdman,	Linton,	Schermerhorn,
Bartlett,	Everett,	Lisle,	Scranton,
Barwig,	Fellows,	Lockwood,	Settle,
Belden,	Fielder,	Loud,	Shaw,
Beltzhoover,	Fitch,	Loudenslager,	Sherman,
Berry,	Fletcher,	Lynch,	Sickles,
Bingham,	Forman,	Magner,	Sipe,
Black, Ill.	Funk,	Maguire,	Smith,
Blair,	Gardner,	Mahon,	Somers,
Boutelle,	Gear,	Mallory,	Sperry,
Brattan,	Geary,	Marsh,	Springer,
Brawley,	Geissenhainer,	Martin, Ind.	Stephenson,
Breckinridge, Ark.	Gillet, N. Y.	Marvin, N. Y.	Stevens,
Breckinridge, Ky.	Gillett, Mass.	McAleer,	Stone, C. W.
Bretz,	Goldzier,	McCall,	Stone, W. A.
Brickner,	Gorman,	McCleary, Minn.	Storer,
Brookshire,	Gresham,	McCreary, Ky.	Strait,
Brosius,	Grosvenor,	McDannold,	Strong,
Brown,	Grout,	McDowell,	Sweet,
Bryan,	Hager,	McEttrick,	Talbert, S. C.
Burrows,	Hainer,	McGann,	Talbott, Md.
Bynum,	Haines,	McKaig,	Tawney,
Cabaniss,	Hall, Minn.	McKeighan,	Taylor, Ind.
Cadmus,	Hammond,	McLaurin,	Taylor, Tenn.
Caldwell,	Hare,	McNagny,	Thomas,
Campbell,	Harmer,	Meiklejohn,	Tracey,
Cannon, Ill.	Harris,	Mercer,	Tucker,
Caruth,	Harter,	Meyer,	Turner,
Catchings,	Haugen,	Milliken,	Updegraff,
Causey,	Hayes,	Moon,	Van Voorhis, N. Y.
Chickering,	Heiner,	Morse,	Van Voorhis, Ohio
Childs,	Henderson, Ill.	Mutchler,	Wadsworth,
Clancy,	Henderson, Iowa	Northway,	Walker,
Clarke, Ala.	Hendrix,	Oates,	Wanger,
Cobb, Mo.	Hepburn,	O'Neil, Mass.	Warner,
Cockran,	Hermann,	O'Neill, Pa.	Washington,
Cogswell,	Hicks,	Outhwaite,	Waugh,
Compton,	Hilborn,	Page,	Weadock,
Conn,	Hines,	Paschal,	Wells,
Coombs,	Hitt,	Patterson,	Wever,
Cooper, Fla.	Holman,	Payne,	Wheeler, Ill.
Cooper, Ind.	Hooker, N. Y.	Pearson,	White,
Cornish,	Hopkins, Ill.	Pendleton, W. Va.	Wilson, Ohio
Cousins,	Hopkins, Pa.	Perkins,	Wilson, W. Va.
Covert,	Houk, Ohio	Phillips,	Wise,
Crain,	Houk, Tenn.	Pigott,	Wolverton,
Cummings,	Hulick,	Post,	Woomer,
Curtis, N. Y.	Hull,	Powers,	Wright, Mass
Dalzell,	Ikirt,	Price,	Wright, Pa.
Daniels,	Johnson, Ind.	Randall,	
Davey,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Ray,	
De Forest,	Johnson, Ohio	Rayner,	

NOT VOTING—11.

Baker, Kans.	Cooper, Wis.	Hudson,	Shell,
Boen,	Davis,	Kem,	Simpson.
Cannon, Cal.	Graham,	Pence,	

So the amendment was rejected.

After the roll call several members asked to have their names recorded.

Mr. TRACEY. Mr. Speaker, I suppose the ordinary rule will prevail, that gentlemen who were not present when their names were reached on the roll will not be permitted to record their names.

Mr. COCKRAN. Oh, Mr. Speaker, I hope no such rule will prevail. Let every man have a chance to vote on this question.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Speaker, my colleague [Mr. COOPER] has been summoned by telegram to the bedside of his dying father. I ask that he have indefinite leave of absence, and that this request be entered before the declaration of the result of the vote just taken.

The SPEAKER. If there be no objection the gentleman from Wisconsin will have leave of absence indefinitely.

There was no objection.

The result of the vote was then announced as above recorded.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I offer a further amendment, fixing the ratio at 18 to 1.

The Clerk read as follows:

Provided, That all holders of silver bullion of the value of $50 or more, and not too base for the operations of the mints, shall be entitled to deposit the same at the mints and to have the same coined into silver dollars containing 464.40 grains of standard silver to the dollar on same terms and conditions as gold bullion is now deposited and coined. That said dollars shall be a legal tender for all debts and dues, both public and private, and silver certificates shall be issued on said dollars in like manner as silver certificates are now issued on standard silver dollars.

Mr. TRACEY. This is the ratio of 18 to 1?

The SPEAKER. This is the amendment of the gentleman from Missouri, fixing the ratio at 18 to 1.

Mr. HATCH. Let us have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken and there were—yeas 103, nays 240, not voting 10; as follows:

YEAS—103.

Abbott,	Cox,	Hutcheson,	Pendleton, Tex.
Aitken,	Crawford,	Ikirt,	Pickler,
Alexander,	Culberson,	Jones,	Richardson, Mich.
Arnold,	Curtis, Kans.	Kilgore,	Richardson, Tenn.
Bailey,	De Armond,	Kyle,	Robbins,
Bankhead,	Denson,	Lane,	Robertson, La.
Bell, Colo.	Dinsmore,	Lawson,	Russell, Ga.
Bell, Tex.	Dockery,	Lester,	Sayers,
Black, Ga.	Donovan,	Livingston,	Sibley,
Blanchard,	Edmunds.	Lucas,	Snodgrass,
Bland,	Ellis, Ky.	Maddox,	Stallings,
Boatner,	Enloe,	Marshall,	Stockdale,
Bower, N. C.	Epes,	McCulloch,	Stone, Ky.
Bowers, Cal.	Fithian,	McDearmon,	Swanson,
Branch,	Funston,	McMillin,	Tarsney,
Broderick,	Fyan,	McRae,	Tate,
Bunn,	Goodnight,	Meredith,	Terry,
Burnes,	Grady,	Money,	Turpin,
Caminetti,	Hall, Mo.	Montgomery,	Tyler,
Cannon, Cal.	Hartman,	Morgan,	Wheeler, Ala.
Capehart,	Hatch,	Moses,	Whiting,
Clark, Mo.	Heard,	Murray,	Williams, Ill.
Cobb, Ala.	Henderson, N. C.	Neill,	Williams, Miss.
Cockrell,	Hilborn,	Newlands,	Wilson, Wash.
Coffeen,	Hooker, Miss.	O'Ferrall,	Woodard.
Cooper, Tex.	Hunter,	Paynter,	

NAYS—240.

Adams,	Caldwell,	Dunphy,	Hayes,
Alderson,	Campbell,	Durborow,	Heiner,
Aldrich,	Cannon, Ill.	Ellis, Oregon	Henderson, Ill.
Apsley,	Caruth,	English,	Henderson, Iowa
Avery,	Catchings,	Erdman,	Hendrix,
Babcock,	Causey,	Everett,	Hepburn,
Baker, N. H.	Chickering,	Fellows,	Hermann,
Baldwin,	Childs,	Fielder,	Hicks,
Barnes,	Clancy,	Fitch,	Hines,
Bartholdt,	Clarke, Ala.	Fletcher,	Hitt,
Bartlett,	Cobb, Mo.	Forman,	Holman,
Barwig,	Cockran,	Funk,	Hooker, N. Y.
Belden,	Cogswell,	Gardner,	Hopkins, Ill.
Beltzhoover,	Compton,	Gear,	Hopkins, Pa.
Berry,	Conn.	Geary,	Houk, Ohio
Bingham,	Coombs,	Geissenhainer,	Houk, Tenn.
Black, Ill.	Cooper, Fla.	Gillet, N. Y.	Hulick,
Blair,	Cooper, Ind.	Gillett, Mass.	Hull,
Boutelle,	Cornish,	Goldzier,	Johnson, Ind.
Brattan,	Cousins,	Gorman,	Johnson, N. Dak.
Brawley,	Covert,	Gresham,	Johnson, Ohio
Breckinridge, Ark.	Crain,	Grosvenor,	Joy,
Breckinridge, Ky.	Cummings,	Grout,	Kem,
Bretz,	Curtis, N. Y.	Hager,	Kiefer,
Brickner,	Dalzell,	Hainer,	Kribbs,
Brookshire,	Daniels,	Haines,	Lacey,
Brosius,	Davey,	Hall, Minn.	Lapham,
Brown,	De Forest,	Hammond,	Latimer,
Bryan,	Dingley,	Hare,	Layton,
Burrows,	Dolliver,	Harmer,	Lefever,
Bynum,	Doolittle,	Harris,	Lilly,
Cabaniss,	Draper,	Harter,	Linton,
Ca mus,	Dunn,	Haugen,	Lisle,
Lockwood,	Moon,	Ritchie,	Taylor, Ind.
Loud,	Morse,	Robinson, Pa.	Taylor, Tenn.
Loudenslager,	Mutchler,	Rusk,	Thomas,
Lynch,	Northway,	Russell, Conn.	Tracey,
Magner,	Oates,	Ryan,	Tucker,
Maguire,	O'Neil, Mass.	Schermerhorn,	Turner,
Mahon,	O'Neill, Pa.	Scranton,	Updegraff,
Mallory,	Outhwaite,	Settle,	Van Voorhis, N. Y.
Marsh,	Page,	Shaw,	Van Voorhis, Ohio
Martin, Ind.	Paschal,	Sherman,	Wadsworth,
Marvin, N. Y.	Patterson,	Sickles,	Walker,
McAleer,	Payne,	Sipe,	Wanger,
McCall,	Pearson.	Smith,	Warner,
McCleary, Minn.	Pendleton, W. Va.	Somers,	Washington,
McCreary, Ky.	Perkins,	Sperry,	Waugh,
McDannold,	Phillips,	Springer,	Weadock,
McDowell,	Pigott,	Stephenson,	Wells,
McEttrick,	Post,	Stevens,	Wever,
McGann,	Powers,	Stone, C. W.	White,
McKaig,	Price,	Stone, W. A.	Wilson, Ohio
McKeighan,	Randall,	Storer,	Wilson, W. Va.
McLaurin,	Ray,	Strait,	Wise,
McNagny,	Rayner,	Strong,	Wolverton,
Meiklejohn,	Reed,	Sweet,	Woomer,
Mercer,	Reilly,	Talbert, S. C.	Wright, Mass.
Meyer,	Reyburn,	Talbott, Md.	Wright, Pa.
Milliken,	Richards, Ohio	Tawney,	

NOT VOTING—10.

Allen,	Cooper, Wis.	Hudson,	Simpson.
Baker, Kans.	Davis,	Pence,	
Boen,	Graham,	Shell,	

So the amendment was not agreed to.

The result of the vote was then announced as above recorded.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment providing for free coinage at the ratio of 19 to 1, and on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] submits an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Provided, That all holders of silver bullion of the value of $50 or more, and not too base for the operations of the mints, shall be entitled to deposit the same at the mints and to have the same coined into silver dollars containing 490.20 grains of standard silver to the dollar on same terms and conditions as gold bullion is now deposited and coined. That said dollars shall be a legal tender for all debts and dues, both public and private, and silver certificates shall be issued on said dollars in like manner as silver certificates are now issued on standard silver dollars.

The SPEAKER. This is on amendment for the ratio of 19 to 1, as provided in the order of the House, and on this the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] demands the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 104, nays 238, not voting 11; as follows:

YEAS—104.

Abbott,	Cooper, Tex.	Hunter,	Paynter,
Aitken,	Cox,	Hutcheson,	Pendleton, Tex.
Alexander,	Crawford,	Ikirt,	Pickler,
Allen,	Culberson,	Jones,	Richardson, Mich.
Arnold,	Curtis, Kans.	Kilgore,	Richardson, Tenn.
Bailey,	De Armond,	Kyle,	Robbins,
Bankhead,	Denson,	Lane,	Robertson, La.
Bell, Colo.	Dinsmore,	Lawson,	Russell, Ga.
Bell, Texas	Dockery,	Lester,	Sayers,
Black, Ga.	Donovan,	Livingston,	Sibley,
Blanchard,	Edmunds,	Lucas,	Snodgrass,
Bland,	Ellis, Ky.	Maddox,	Stallings,
Boatner,	Enloe,	Marshall,	Stockdale,
Bower, N. C.	Epes,	McCulloch,	Stone, Ky.
Bowers, Cal.	Fithian,	McDearmon,	Swanson,
Branch,	Funston,	McMillin,	Tarsney,
Broderick,	Fyan,	McRae,	Tate,
Bunn,	Goodnight,	Meredith,	Terry,
Burnes,	Grady,	Money,	Turpin,
Caminetti,	Hall, Mo.	Montgomery,	Tyler,
Cannon, Cal.	Hartman,	Morgan,	Wheeler, Ala.
Capehart,	Hatch,	Moses,	Whiting,
Clark, Mo.	Heard,	Murray,	Williams, Ill.
Cobb, Ala.	Henderson, N. C.	Neill,	Williams, Miss.
Cockrell,	Hilborn,	Newlands,	Wilson, Wash.
Coffeen,	Hooker, Miss.	O'Ferrall,	Woodard.

NAYS—238.

Adams,	Bretz,	Compton,	English,
Alderson,	Brickner,	Conn.	Erdman,
Aldrich,	Brookshire,	Coombs,	Everett,
Apsley,	Brosius,	Cooper, Fla.	Fellows,
Avery,	Brown,	Cooper, Ind.	Fielder,
Babcock,	Bryan,	Cornish,	Fitch,
Baker, N. H.	Burrows,	Cousins,	Fletcher,
Baldwin,	Bynum,	Covert,	Forman,
Barnes,	Cabaniss,	Crain,	Funk,
Bartholdt,	Cadmus,	Cummings,	Gardner,
Bartlett,	Caldwell,	Curtis, N. Y.	Gear,
Barwig,	Campbell,	Dalzell,	Geary,
Belden,	Cannon, Ill.	Daniels,	Geissenhainer,
Beltzhoover,	Caruth,	Davey,	Gillet, N. Y.
Berry,	Catchings,	De Forest,	Gillett, Mass.
Bingham,	Causey,	Dingley,	Goldzier,
Black, Ill.	Chickering,	Dolliver,	Gorman,
Blair,	Childs,	Doolittle,	Gresham,
Boutelle,	Clancy,	Draper,	Grosvenor,
Brattan,	Clarke, Ala.	Dunn.	Grout,
Brawley,	Cobb, Mo.	Dunphy,	Hager,
Breckinridge, Ark.	Cockran,	Durborow,	Hainer,
Breckinridge, Ky.	Cogswell,	Ellis, Oregon	Haines,

Hall, Minn.	Linton,	Paschal,	Stone, W. A.
Hammond,	Lisle,	Patterson,	Storer,
Hare,	Lockwood,	Payne,	Strait,
Harmer,	Loud,	Pearson,	Strong,
Harris,	Loudenslager,	Pendleton, W. Va.	Sweet,
Harter,	Lynch,	Perkins,	Talbert, S. C.
Haugen,	Magner,	Phillips,	Talbott, Md.
Hayes,	Mahon,	Pigott,	Tawney,
Heiner,	Mallory,	Post,	Taylor, Ind.
Henderson, Ill.	Marsh.	Powers,	Taylor, Tenn.
Henderson, Iowa	Martin, Ind.	Price,	Thomas,
Hendrix,	Marvin, N. Y.	Randall,	Tracey,
Hepburn,	McAleer,	Ray,	Tucker,
Hermann,	McCall,	Rayner,	Turner,
Hicks,	McCleary, Minn.	Reed,	Updegraff,
Hines,	McCreary, Ky.	Reilly,	Van Voorhis, N. Y.
Hitt,	McDannold,	Reyburn,	Van Voorhis, Ohio
Holman,	McDowell,	Richards, Ohio	Wadsworth,
Hooker, N. Y.	McEttrick,	Ritchie,	Walker,
Hopkins, Ill.	McGann,	Robinson, Pa.	Wanger,
Hopkins, Pa.	McKaig,	Rusk,	Warner,
Houk, Ohio.	McKeighan,	Russell, Conn.	Washington,
Houk, Tenn.	McLaurin,	Ryan,	Waugh,
Hulick,	McNagny,	Schermerhorn,	Weadock,
Hull,	Meiklejohn,	Scranton,	Wells,
Johnson, Ind.	Mercer,	Settle,	Wever,
Johnson, N. Dak.	Meyer,	Shaw,	Wheeler, Ill.
Johnson, Ohio	Milliken,	Sherman,	White,
Joy,	Moon.	Sickles,	Wilson, Ohio
Kiefer,	Morse,	Sipe,	Wilson, W. Va.
Kribbs,	Mutchler,	Smith,	Wise,
Lacey,	Northway,	Somers,	Wolverton,
Lapham,	Oates,	Sperry,	Woomer,
Latimer,	O'Neil, Mass.	Springer,	Wright, Mass.
Layton,	O'Neill, Pa.	Stephenson,	Wright, Penn.
Lefever,	Outhwaite,	Stevens,	
Lilly,	Page,	Stone, C. W.	

NOT VOTING—11.

Baker, Kans.	Davis,	Kem,	Shell,
Boen,	Graham,	Maguire,	Simpson.
Cooper, Wis.	Hudson,	Pence,	

So the amendment was not agreed to.

The result of the vote was then announced as above recorded.

Mr. BLAND. I offer an amendment for a ratio of 20 to 1.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] submits an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Provided, That all holders of silver bullion of the value of $50 or more, and not too base for the operations of the mints, shall be entitled to deposit the same at the mints and to have the same coined into silver dollars containing 516 grains of standard silver to the dollar on same terms and conditions as gold bullion is now deposited and coined. That said dollars shall be a legal tender for all debts and dues, both public and private, and silver certificates shall be issued on said dollars in like manner as silver certificates are now issued on standard silver dollars.

The SPEAKER. This is the amendment authorized under the order of the House providing for coinage at the ratio of 20 to 1.

Mr. BLAND. On that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were— yeas 122, nays 222, not voting 9; as follows:

YEAS—122.

Abbott,	Culberson,	Kilgore,	Pickler,
Aitken,	Curtis, Kans.	Kyle,	Price,
Alderson,	De Armond,	Lane,	Richardson, Mich.
Alexander,	Denson,	Lawson,	Richardson, Tenn.
Allen,	Dinsmore,	Lester,	Robbins,
Arnold,	Dockery,	Linton,	Robertson, La.
Bailey,	Donovan,	Livingston,	Russell, Ga.
Bankhead,	Doolittle,	Lucas,	Sayers,
Bell, Colo.	Edmunds,	Maddox,	Sibley,
Bell, Tex.	Ellis, Ky.	Mallory,	Snodgrass,
Black, Ga.	Ellis, Oregon	Marsh,	Stallings,
Blanchard,	Enloe,	Marshall,	Stockdale,
Bland,	Epes,	McCulloch,	Stone, Ky.
Boatner,	Fithian,	McDearmon,	Swanson,
Bower, N. C.	Funston,	McMillin,	Tarsney,
Bowers, Cal.	Fyan.	McRae,	Tate,
Branch,	Goodnight,	Meiklejohn,	Terry,
Broderick,	Grady,	Meredith,	Tucker,
Bunn,	Hall, Mo.	Money,	Turner,
Burnes,	Hartman,	Montgomery,	Turpin,
Caminetti,	Hatch,	Moon,	Tyler,
Cannon, Cal.	Heard,	Morgan,	Weadock,
Capehart,	Henderson, N. C.	Moses,	Wheeler, Ala.
Clark, Mo.	Hermann,	Murray,	White,
Cobb, Ala.	Hilborn,	Neill,	Whiting,
Cockrell,	Hooker, Miss.	Newlands,	Williams, Ill.
Coffeen,	Hopkins, Pa.	Oates,	Williams, Miss.
Cooper, Tex.	Hunter,	O'Ferrall,	Wilson, Wash.
Cox,	Hutcheson,	Paschal,	Woodard.
Crain,	Ikirt,	Paynter,	
Crawford,	Jones,	Pendleton, Tex.	

NAYS—222.

Adams,	Barwig,	Breckinridge, Ark.	Cabaniss,
Aldrich,	Belden,	Breckinridge, Ky.	Cadmus,
Apsley,	Beltzhoover,	Bretz,	Caldwell,
Avery,	Berry,	Brickner,	Campbell,
Babcock,	Bingham,	Brookshire,	Cannon, Ill.
Baker, N. H.	Black, Ill.	Brosius,	Caruth,
Baldwin,	Blair,	Brown,	Catchings,
Barnes,	Boutelle,	Bryan,	Causey,
Bartholdt,	Brattan,	Burrows,	Chickering,
Bartlett,	Brawley,	Bynum,	Childs,
Clancy,	Hainer,	Martin, Ind.	Scranton,
Clarke, Ala.	Haines,	Marvin, N. Y.	Settle,
Cobb, Mo.	Hall, Minn.	McAleer,	Shaw,
Cockran,	Hammond,	McCall,	Sherman,
Cogswell,	Hare,	McCleary, Minn.	Sickles,
Compton,	Harmer,	McCreary, Ky.	Sipe,
Conn,	Harries,	McDannold,	Smith,
Coombs,	Harter,	McDowell,	Somers,
Cooper, Fla.	Haugen,	McEttrick,	Sperry,
Cooper, Ind.	Hayes,	McGann,	Springer,
Cornish,	Heiner,	McKaig,	Stephenson,
Cousins,	Henderson, Ill.	McKeighan,	Stevens,
Covert,	Henderson, Iowa	McLaurin,	Stone, C. W.
Cummings,	Hendrix,	McNagny,	Stone, W. A.
Curtis, N. Y.	Hepburn,	Mercer,	Storer,
Dalzell,	Hicks,	Meyer,	Strait,
Daniels,	Hines,	Milliken,	Strong,
Davey,	Hitt,	Morse,	Sweet,
De Forest,	Holman,	Mutchler,	Talbert, S. C.
Dingley,	Hooker, N. Y.	Northway,	Talbott, Md.
Dolliver,	Hopkins, Ill.	O'Neil, Mass.	Tawney,
Draper,	Houk, Ohio	O'Neill, Pa.	Taylor, Ind.
Dunn,	Houk, Tenn.	Outhwaite,	Taylor, Tenn.
Dunphy,	Hulick,	Page,	Thomas,
Durborow,	Hull,	Patterson,	Tracey,
English,	Johnson, Ind.	Payne,	Updegraff,
Erdman,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Pearson,	Van Voorhis, N. Y.
Everett,	Johnson, Ohio	Pendleton, W. Va	Van Voorhis, Ohio
Fellows,	Joy,	Perkins,	Wadsworth,
Fielder,	Kem,	Phillips,	Walker,
Fitch,	Kiefer,	Pigott,	Wanger,
Fletcher,	Kribbs,	Post,	Warner,
Forman,	Lacey,	Powers,	Washington,
Funk,	Lapham,	Randall,	Waugh,
Gardner,	Latimer,	Ray,	Wells,
Gear,	Layton,	Rayner,	Wever,
Geary,	Lefever,	Reed,	Wheeler, Ill.
Geissenhainer,	Lilly,	Reilly,	Wilson, Ohio
Gillet, N. Y.	Lisle,	Reyburn,	Wilson, W. Va.
Gillett, Mass.	Lockwood,	Richards, Ohio	Wise,
Goldzier,	Loud,	Ritchie,	Wolverton,
Gorman,	Loudenslayer,	Robinson, Pa.	Woomer,
Gresham,	Lynch,	Rusk,	Wright, Mass.
Grosvenor,	Magner,	Russell, Conn.	Wright, Penn.
Grout,	Maguire,	Ryan,	
Hager,	Mahon,	Schermerhorn,	

NOT VOTING—9.

Baker, Kans.	Davis,	Hudson,	Shell,
Boen,	Graham,	Pence,	Simpson.
Cooper, Wis.			

So the amendment was not agreed to.

The result of the vote was then announced, as above recorded.

Mr. BLAND. I offer an amendment reviving the Bland-Allison act of 1878.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Provided, That the act of February 28, 1878, entitled "An act to authorize the coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character," requiring the purchase monthly of not less than two million and not more than four million dollars' worth of silver bullion and the coining of the same as fast as purchased into standard silver dollars, be, and the same is hereby, revived and reenacted into full force and effect.

The SPEAKER. This is the amendment, under the order of the House, known as the Bland-Allison amendment. The question is upon agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. BLAND. Upon that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 136, nays 213, not voting 4; as follows:

YEAS—136.

Abbott,	Crawford,	Jones,	Pickler,
Aitken,	Culberson,	Kem,	Post,
Alderson,	Davis,	Kilgore,	Price,
Alexander,	DeArmond,	Kyle,	Richardson, Mich.
Allen,	Denson,	Lane,	Richardson, Tenn.
Arnold,	Dinsmore,	Latimer,	Ritchie,
Bailey,	Dockery,	Lawson,	Robbins,
Baker, Kans.	Donovan,	Lester,	Robertson, La.
Bankhead,	Doolittle,	Linton,	Russell, Ga.
Bell, Colo.	Edmunds,	Livingston,	Sayers,
Bell, Tex.	Ellis, Ky.	Lucas,	Sibley,
Black, Ga.	Ellis, Oregon	Maddox,	Simpson,
Blanchard,	Enloe,	Maguire,	Snodgrass,
Bland,	Epes,	Marshall,	Stallings,
Boatner,	Fithian,	McCreary, Ky.	Stockdale,
Boen,	Fyan,	McCulloch,	Stone, Ky.
Bower, N. C.	Goodnight,	McDearmon,	Strait,
Bowers, Cal.	Grady,	McKeighan,	Swanson,
Branch,	Hall, Mo.	McLaurin,	Sweet,
Bretz,	Hare,	McMillin,	Talbert, S. C.
Brookshire,	Harris,	McRae,	Tarsney,
Bryan,	Hartman,	Meredith,	Tate,
Bunn,	Hatch,	Money,	Taylor, Ind.
Burnes,	Heard,	Montgomery,	Terry,
Caminetti,	Henderson, N. C.	Morgan,	Tucker,
Cannon, Cal.	Hermann,	Moses,	Turpin,
Capehart,	Hilborn,	Murray,	Tyler,
Clark, Mo	Holman,	Neill,	Weadock,
Cobb, Ala	Hooker, Miss.	Oates,	Wheeler, Ala.
Cockrell,	Hopkins, Pa.	O Ferrall,	Whiting,
Coffeen,	Hudson,	Paschal,	Williams, Ill.
Conn,	Hunter,	Paynter,	Williams, Miss.
Cooper, Tex	Hutcheson,	Pence,	Wilson, Wash.
Cox,	Ikirt,	Pendleton, Tex.	Woodard.

NAYS—213.

Adams,	Dalzell,	Johnson, Ind.	Reed,
Aldrich,	Daniels,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Reilly,
Apsley,	Davey,	Johnson, Ohio	Reyburn,
Avery,	DeForest,	Joy,	Richards, Ohio
Babcock,	Dingley,	Kiefer,	Robinson, Penn.
Baker, N. H.	Dolliver,	Kribbs,	Rusk.
Baldwin,	Draper,	Lacey,	Russell, Conn.
Barnes,	Dunn,	Lapham,	Ryan,
Bartholdt,	Dunphy,	Layton,	Schermerhorn,
Bartlett,	Durborow,	Lefever,	Scranton,
Barwig,	English,	Lilly,	Settle,
Belden,	Erdman,	Lisle,	Shaw,
Beltzhoover,	Everett,	Lockwood,	Sherman,
Berry,	Fellows,	Loud,	Sickles,
Bingham,	Fielder,	Loudenslager,	Sipe,
Black, Ill.	Fitch,	Lynch,	Smith,
Blair,	Fletcher,	Magner,	Somers,
Boutelle,	Forman,	Mahon,	Sperry,
Brattan,	Funk,	Mallory,	Springer,
Brawley,	Funston,	Marsh,	Stephenson,
Breckinridge, Ark.	Gardner,	Martin, Ind.	Stevens,
Breckinridge, Ky.	Gear,	Marvin, N. Y.	Stone, C. W.
Brickner,	Geary,	McAleer,	Stone, W. A.
Broderick,	Geissenhainer,	McCall,	Storer,
Brosius,	Gillett, N. Y.	McCleary, Minn.	Strong,
Brown,	Gillett, Mass.	McDannold,	Talbott, Md.
Burrows,	Goldzier,	McDowell,	Tawney,
Bynum,	Gorman,	McEttrick,	Taylor, Tenn.
Cabaniss,	Gresham,	McGann,	Thomas,
Cadmus,	Grosvenor,	McKaig,	Tracey,
Caldwell,	Grout,	McNagny,	Turner,
Campbell,	Hager,	Meiklejohn,	Updegraff,
Cannon, Ill.	Hainer,	Mercer,	Van Voorhis, N. Y.
Caruth,	Haines,	Meyer,	Van Voorhis, Ohio
Catchings,	Hall, Minn.	Milliken,	Wadsworth,
Causey,	Hammond,	Moon,	Walker,
Chickering,	Harmer,	Morse,	Wanger,
Childs,	Harter,	Mutchler,	Warner,
Clancy,	Haugen,	Northway,	Washington,
Clarke, Ala.	Hayes,	O'Neil, Mass.	Waugh,
Cobb, Mo.	Heiner,	O'Neill, Penn.	Wells,
Cockran,	Henderson, Ill.	Outhwaite,	Wever,
Cogswell,	Henderson, Iowa	Page,	Wheeler, Ill.
Compton,	Hendrix,	Patterson,	White,
Coombs,	Hepburn,	Payne,	Wilson, Ohio
Cooper, Fla.	Hicks,	Pearson,	Wilson, W. Va.
Cooper, Ind.	Hines,	Pendleton, W. Va.	Wise,
Cornish,	Hitt,	Perkins,	Wolverton,
Cousins,	Hooker, N. Y.	Phillips,	Woomer,
Covert,	Hopkins, Ill.	Pigott,	Wright, Mass.
Crain,	Houk, Ohio	Powers,	Wright, Penn.
Cummings,	Houk, Tenn.	Randall,	
Curtis, Kans.	Hulick,	Ray,	
Curtis, N. Y.	Hull,	Rayner,	

NOT VOTING—4.

Cooper, Wis.	Graham,	Newlands,	Shell,

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. WHEELER of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on account of serious illness, I was unable to be present when the previous votes were taken this morning. Had I been present I should have voted in the negative on each of the propositions. I now ask unanimous consent to have my vote so recorded.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The result was then announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. The question now is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to submit an amendment.

Mr. COCKRAN. I make the point of order that no amendment is in order, under the rule.

Mr. BAILEY. I send the amendment to the Clerk's desk, in order to have it read.

Mr. TRACEY. I raise the point of order against any amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas submits an amendment, and the gentleman from New York makes the point against any amendment being in order. The Chair will hear the gentleman from Texas on that proposition.

Mr. BLANCHARD. Have the amendment read.

Mr. BAILEY. I will ask to have the amendment read.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will hear the gentleman from Texas on the point of order.

Mr. BAILEY. I will ask the Clerk to read the amendment I have offered.

The Clerk read as follows:

Strike out all after the word "coined" and beginning with the word "and" in line 16 on page 2.

The words proposed to be stricken out are as follows:

"And the faith and credit of the United States are hereby pledged to maintain the parity of the standard gold and silver coins of the United States at the present legal ratio or such other ratio as may be established by law."

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I submit that the special order which provided for offering certain amendments was intended simply to make those amendments germane and not to exclude the House from the consideration of other amendments that are germane under general parliamentary law. In other words, as I understand it, many of us believed that the propositions upon which we have been voting so far would have been subject to a point of order if offered as amendments to the bill introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON], and in order to make these amendments germane, and thus to eliminate all question as to their pertinency, it was agreed that we should adopt a special order under which they could be considered; but I do not suppose that any intelligent gentleman was willing to agree to an order, or willing to reach a compromise, that denied him the right to offer an amendment to a bill which he had never read. We did not know what the bill contained. Suppose, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from West Virginia had seen fit to conclude his bill with a proposition expressly authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to issue gold bonds to make safe the gold reserve in the Treasury; is it to be understood that the gentlemen who are willing and anxious to vote for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act should stand committed to its support without an opportunity to strike out the bond provision? While I understand this special order did make these amendments germane, I do not understand it to go so far as to say that other amendments, being germane, would be denied consideration.

This bill does not reënact the language of the law, a portion of which it repeals; it goes further. The language of the act of July 14, 1890, is that "it is the established policy of the Government to maintain the parity of the two metals." This bill "pledges the faith and credit of the United States to maintain the parity," not of the metals, but of the coin.

The words which I have proposed to strike out have no proper place in a bill to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman law. If the House is determined upon the unconditional repeal of that part of that act, it ought to stop there, and not insert a provision which effects a radical change in the relation of our gold and silver coin. Each is now a money of ultimate payment, and neither is redeemable in the other. They ought to remain so, at least until it is demonstrated that they can not be kept in circulation on equal terms. That time will never come. With 39,000,000 people and a much smaller volume of business than ours, France easily maintains $700,000,000 of silver money which is not convertible into gold. Our entire stock of silver money, including silver certificates and subsidiary coin, is only about $615,000,000, and it can not be possible that we must make this redeemable in gold in order to keep it from depreciating.

Gentlemen on the other side have complained all through this debate that we were misrepresenting them when we charged that they were attempting to destroy a part of the money of the country. They have declared that they were, in fact, endeavoring to preserve the silver money which we already have by protecting it against a further increase. And yet, sir, their bill not only discontinues the use of silver as a means of enlarging our circulating medium, but it absolutely degrades our silver dollars and our silver certificates into mere credits redeemable in gold.

There is no escape from this conclusion. Whenever one coin is made redeemable in another, the coin to be redeemed ceases to be money in the true sense of that word. Prof. Price defines the difference between paper and coin to be that "coin is a payment, while paper is only a promise to pay," and a coin which is not in itself a money of final payment, but which is a promise to pay in another coin, is nothing more than a paper currency; and if this bill becomes a law, it would be better for us to use paper than silver, because it is both cheaper and more convenient.

Under the last clause of this bill the $330,000,000 silver certificates, the $346,000,000 greenback notes, and the $150,000,000 coin notes issued under the Sherman act are all made redeemable in gold, and it requires no special wisdom to discern that a suitable reserve fund for this more than $800,000,000 liability will be provided by selling gold bonds.

Mr. DINGLEY. I desire to make the point of order that the gentleman is not confining himself to the point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maine makes the point of order that the gentleman from Texas is not discussing the point of order.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I was striving to show that on account of the great importance of the matter, the utmost liberality should be observed in construing the special order.

The SPEAKER. The Chair hopes the gentleman will confine himself to the point of order.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Texas will allow me, I will suggest that under the rules and practice of the House the difficulty may be avoided by calling for a separate vote. There are several separate propositions as to the financial policy of the country. One proposition is to repeal the purchasing clause, and the other introduces new matter. You have a right to a separate vote upon each proposition.

Mr. BAILEY. I cordially agree with the gentleman. I thought I would move to strike out the words; and then, if that

motion is not in order, I shall demand a separate vote, as there are two distinct propositions.

Mr. RAYNER. I would like to ask the gentleman what he does with the order of the House which provides that after these amendments——

The SPEAKER. The Chair is ready to decide the question if the gentleman from Texas is through with his argument.

Mr. BAILEY. Then I submit the matter to the Chair. [Cries of "Rule!"]

The SPEAKER. The order adopted by the House seems to the Chair to be very plain upon this question. It first provides for general debate, then for debate under the five-minute rule, then names specifically certain amendments which may be offered and upon which a vote shall be taken, and then makes this provision, which is applicable to the point in the consideration of the bill at which we have arrived. After disposing of the amendment providing for the reënactment of the Bland-Allison act, the order says:

The vote then to be taken on the engrossment and third reading of the bill as amended, or on the bill itself, if all amendments shall have been voted down, and on the final passage of the bill without other intervening motions.

We have arrived at the stage now where the vote is to be taken, according to this order, on the engrossment and third reading of the bill. If the previous question had been ordered on the reading and engrossment of the bill it would not be maintained that a separate vote could then be taken on different propositions contained in the bill. Here is the direction of the House as to what shall be done when we reach this stage—that the vote shall be taken. Therefore, the Chair is constrained to overrule the point made by the gentleman from Texas, and to hold that under the special order an amendment is not in order.

Mr. BAILEY. Then, Mr. Speaker, I shall demand a separate vote on the two propositions.

The SPEAKER. The Chair would ask the gentleman from Texas under what rule he would be entitled to a separate vote upon the engrossment and third reading of the bill?

Mr. BAILEY. I am not demanding it now, Mr. Speaker. I simply give notice that on the final passage of the bill I will demand it.

Mr. COCKRAN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to reserve a point of order on that.

The SPEAKER. The question now is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and it was accordingly read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question now is on the final passage of the bill.

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, on that I call for the yeas and nays.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I submit that the question is divisible, and I demand a separate vote.

The SPEAKER. The Chair would state to the gentleman from Texas that the rule invoked by him does not apply to a bill at this stage.

Mr. REED. We have no rules, and, under general parliamentary law, there can be no division except by a vote of the House.

The SPEAKER. Even under the usual rules of the House where the previous question is ordered upon the passage of a bill, or upon its engrossment and third reading, it has passed the stage where any division can be demanded.

Mr. BAILEY. But, Mr. Speaker, I do not understand that the previous question has been ordered on this bill.

The SPEAKER. The Chair assumes that the special order is equivalent to the ordering of the previous question, because it says that the vote shall be taken on the final passage of the bill without intervening motions.

Mr. BAILEY. Of course, if the Chair holds that the special order is tantamount to the previous question I will not press the point further.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks so. The gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON] demands the previous question upon the final passage of the bill.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 239, nays 108, not voting 6; as follows:

YEAS—239.

Adams,	Beltzhoover,	Brookshire,	Causey,
Alderson,	Berry,	Brosius,	Chickering,
Aldrich,	Bingham,	Brown,	Childs,
Apsley,	Black, Ga.	Bunn,	Clancy,
Avery,	Black, Ill.	Burrows,	Clarke, Ala.
Babcock,	Blair,	Bynum,	Cobb, Mo.
Baker, N. H.	Boutelle,	Cabaniss	Cockran,
Baldwin,	Brattan,	Cadmus,	Cogswell,
Barnes,	Brawley,	Caldwell,	Compton,
Bartholdt,	Breckinridge, Ark	Campbell,	Conn,
Bartlett,	Breckinridge, Ky.	Cannon, Cal.	Coombs,
Barwig,	Bretz,	Caruth,	Cooper, Fla.
Belden,	Brickner,	Catchings,	Cooper, Ind.
Cornish,	Heiner,	McMillin,	Shaw,
Cousins,	Henderson, Ill.	McNagny,	Sherman,
Covert,	Henderson, Iowa	Mercer,	Sickles,
Crain,	Hendrix,	Meredith,	Sipe,
Cummings,	Hicks,	Meyer,	Somers,
Curtis, N. Y.	Hines,	Milliken,	Sperry,
Dalzell,	Hitt,	Montgomery,	Springer,
Daniels,	Holman,	Moon,	Stephenson,
Davey,	Hooker, N. Y.	Morse,	Stevens,
De Forest,	Hopkins, Ill.	Mutchler,	Stone, Charles W.
Dingley,	Houk, Ohio	Northway,	Stone, William A.
Dolliver,	Houk, Tenn.	Oates,	Stone, Ky.
Donovan,	Hulick,	O'Ferrall,	Storer,
Doolittle,	Hull,	O'Neil, Mass.	Strong,
Draper,	Hunter,	O'Neill, Pa.	Swanson,
Dunn,	Johnson, Ind.	Outhwaite,	Talbott, Md.
Dunphy,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Page,	Tawney,
Durborow,	Johnson, Ohio	Paschal,	Taylor, Ind.
Edmunds,	Joy,	Patterson,	Thomas,
English,	Kiefer,	Payne,	Tracey,
Erdman,	Kribbs,	Paynter,	Tucker,
Everett,	Lacey,	Pearson,	Turner,
Fellows,	Lapham,	Pendleton, Tex.	Turpin,
Fielder,	Lawson,	Pendleton, W. Va.	Tyler,
Fitch,	Layton,	Perkins,	Urdegraff,
Fletcher,	Lefever,	Phillips,	Van Voorhis, N. Y.
Forman,	Lester,	Pigott,	Van Voorhis, Ohio
Funk,	Lilly,	Post,	Wadsworth,
Gardner,	Linton,	Powers,	Walker,
Gear,	Lisle,	Price,	Wanger,
Geary,	Lockwood,	Randall,	Warner,
Geissenhainer,	Loundenslager,	Ray,	Washington,
Gillet, N. Y.	Lynch,	Rayner,	Waugh,
Gillett, Mass.	Magner,	Reed,	Weadock,
Goldzier,	Mahon,	Reilly,	Wells,
Gorman,	Marshall,	Reyburn,	Wever,
Gresham,	Martin, Ind.	Richards, Ohio	Wheeler, Ill.
Grosvenor,	Marvin, N. Y.	Richardson, Mich.	White,
Grout,	McAleer,	Ritchie,	Whiting,
Haines,	McCall,	Robinson, Pa.	Wilson, Ohio
Hall, Minn.	McCleary, Minn.	Rusk,	Wilson, W. Va.
Hammond,	McCreary, Ky.	Russell, Conn.	Wise,
Hare,	McDannold,	Russell, Ga.	Wolverton,
Harmer,	McDowell,	Ryan,	Woomer,
Harter,	McEttrick,	Schermerhorn,	Wright, Mass.
Haugen,	McGann,	Scranton,	Wright, Pa.
Hayes,	McKaig,	Settle,	

NAYS—108.

Abbott,	Culberson,	Hooker, Miss.	Murray,
Aitken,	Curtis, Kans.	Hopkins, Pa.	Neill,
Alexander,	Davis,	Hudson,	Newlands,
Allen,	De Armond,	Hutcheson,	Pence,
Arnold,	Denson,	Ikirt,	Pickler,
Bailey,	Dinsmore,	Jones,	Richardson, Tenn.
Baker, Kans.	Dockery,	Kem,	Robbins,
Bankhead,	Ellis, Ky.	Kilgore,	Robertson, La.
Bell, Colo.	Ellis, Oregon	Kyle,	Sayers,
Bell, Tex.	Enloe,	Lane,	Sibley,
Blanchard,	Epes,	Latimer,	Simpson,
Bland,	Fithian,	Livingston,	Smith,
Boen,	Funston,	Loud,	Snodgrass,
Bower, N. C.	Fyan,	Lucas,	Stallings,
Bowers, Cal.	Goodnight,	Maddox,	Stockdale,
Branch,	Grady,	Maguire,	Strait,
Broderick,	Hager,	Mallory,	Sweet,
Bryan,	Hainer,	Marsh,	Talbert, S. C.
Burnes,	Hall, Mo.	McCulloch,	Tarsney,
Caminetti,	Harris,	McDearmon,	Tate,
Cannon, Ill.	Hartman,	McKeighan,	Taylor, Tenn.
Clark, Mo.	Hatch,	McLaurin,	Terry,
Cobb, Ala.	Heard,	McRae,	Wheeler, Ala.
Coffeen,	Henderson, N. C.	Meiklejohn,	Williams, Ill.
Cooper, Tex.	Hepburn,	Money,	Williams, Miss.
Cox,	Hermann,	Morgan,	Wilson, Wash.
Crawford,	Hilborn,	Moses,	Woodard.

NOT VOTING—6.

Boatner,	Cockrell,	Graham,	Shell.
Capehart,	Cooper, Wis.		

So the bill was passed. [Applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

Mr. BLANCHARD. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

A bill (S. 457) authorizing certain Cherokee allottees or claimants to purchase certain tracts held and claimed by them; and

A joint resolution (S. R. 17) providing for the erection of a suitable building for the storage of documents for the use of the Senate.

CLERKS TO COMMITTEES.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I ask the gentleman to withhold that motion for a moment while I present a resolution which I think ought to be considered at this time.

Mr. BLANCHARD. I will do so.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I offer the resolution which I send to the desk.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Accounts is hereby authorized and directed to designate the Committees of the House to which the clerks pro-

vided for by the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, should be allowed and assigned for the present Congress, and to report by resolution to the House for action thereon.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of this resolution?

There was no objection.

The resolution was adopted.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I desire to give notice before the motion to adjourn is put that on to-morrow I will call up for consideration the report of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. BLANCHARD. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and the House accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) adjourned until 12 o'clock on Tuesday.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *August 29, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. BRICE presented petitions of the Central Labor Union of Akron; of the Board of Trade of Chillicothe; of the Central Labor Union of Cleveland; of the Board of Trade of Springfield; of a joint committee of sundry commercial bodies of Cincinnati; of the Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants' Exchange of Cincinnati; of C. A. Russell, president and treasurer of the Carriage Woodwork Company of Toledo, and of Messrs. A. & J. Plant, of Cincinnati, all in the State of Ohio, praying for the immediate repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Central Labor Union of Cleveland, Ohio, praying for the enactment of legislation for the enlistment of the whole country into an industrial army to be officered by civil engineers and to be paid a minimum of not less than $1 per day and found, etc.; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also presented a petition of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, praying for the repeal of the so-called Chinese exclusion act; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. KYLE presented a memorial of citizens of South Dakota, remonstrating against the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. WHITE of California presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of San Diego, Cal., praying for the enactment of such legislation as will secure the speedy construction of the Nicaragua Canal under the control of the Government; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. BATE presented a memorial of citizens of Gibson County, Tenn., remonstrating against the unconditional repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. TELLER presented a memorial of the Bland Club, of Pueblo, Colo., remonstrating against the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Granite Cutters' National Union, of Denver, Colo., praying for the establishment of postal savings banks in all cities throughout the country; which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. BLACKBURN presented a memorial of citizens of Marion County, Ky., remonstrating against the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of merchants of Louisville, Ky., praying for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HAWLEY presented the petition of Robbins, Burrall & Co., and 11 other representative citizens of Salisbury, Conn., praying for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. DOLPH. I present a petition of the Pendleton (Oregon) Commercial Association, praying for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman act. I wish to state that Pendleton is the largest town in the eastern portion of my State, and the petition is signed by all the business men of the place. I move that the petition lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

REPEAL OF FEDERAL ELECTION LAW.

Mr. PLATT. Yesterday the Senator from New York [Mr. HILL], from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported favorably the bill (S. 412) to repeal Title XXVI of the Revised Statutes of the United States, known as the Federal election law. I suppose I was in the Senate at the time the report was made, though I did not notice it. As I had not been present at the meeting of the Judiciary Committee, having been obliged to attend another committee that morning, I did not know that any such action had been taken in the Judiciary Committee. I desire now to state this fact, and also to say that I do not concur in the report.

PURCHASE OF SILVER BULLION.

Mr. VOORHEES. I am authorized and instructed by the Committee on Finance to report back with an amendment the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes." The amendment is in the nature of a substitute, the substitute being Senate bill No. 570, heretofore reported by the Finance Committee of this body to the Senate.

I ask that the bill be placed on the Calendar, and I give notice that I shall ask the Senate to take it up and consider it immediately after the morning business from this time on until final action is taken. I do this subject, of course, to the notices which have been given by Senators that they will address the Senate. The Senator from Georgia [Mr. GORDON] I understand has given notice of an address to-day, which he can deliver upon the bill as reported. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] has given notice of an address to-morrow, and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. WOLCOTT] has given notice for the day following. I hope the Senate will agree to take up this bill and make it the order on which Senators may deliver such remarks as they see fit and at such times as may suit them.

Mr. CULLOM. Does the chairman of the committee report the Senate bill back as a substitute for the House bill?

Mr. VOORHEES. Yes, sir; without the change of a word. I will state further, so as to make the position more easily understood, that the bill heretofore reported by the Finance Committee to this body is the same word for word to the point where the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act is accomplished with the bill passed by the House of Representatives. From that on there is certain matter placed in the substitute that is not in the bill as it passed the other House, and which in my judgment improves it and makes it more acceptable. But of that hereafter.

Mr. TELLER. I did not understand the Senator from Indiana. Does he propose to call up this morning the bill just reported?

Mr. VOORHEES. I of course can not do it if there is a single objection to make it go over.

Mr. TELLER. I shall object to it.

Mr. VOORHEES. Very well; let it go over and be printed; but I will state to the Senator I have a right to call up the bill already before the Senate.

Mr. TELLER. I wish to say to the chairman of the Committee on Finance that the bank bill having been before the Senate some time I have sought for several days to get an opportunity to express my opinion on that measure. I desire to do that to-day after the Senator from Georgia concludes his remarks.

Mr. VOORHEES. I shall certainly take any step which is necessary to accommodate the Senator from Colorado in a matter of that kind.

Mr. SHERMAN. I have no doubt it will be agreeable to the Senator from Colorado that, for the purpose of debate to-day, the Senator from Georgia shall address himself to the bill just reported, and then it can be laid aside and give way to the bank bill.

Mr. TELLER. I have no objection to the Senator from Georgia addressing himself to any bill when he makes his speech. I merely want to address myself to the bank bill particularly.

Mr. VOORHEES. I shall certainly accommodate the Senator from Colorado by moving that the bank bill be taken up in lieu of the coinage bill at the proper time, when he wishes to address the Senate.

Mr. TELLER. The bank bill is up, I understand, and I do not want the bank bill disposed of until I can get a chance to speak upon it.

Mr. VOORHEES. Very well. Then let it be understood that the Senator from Colorado objects to this being made the order to-day. That takes the report which I have just made over until to-morrow.

Mr. HARRIS. It goes over anyway under the rule.

Mr. VOORHEES. It goes over anyway under the rule by an objection. In the mean time the Senator from Georgia and the Senator from Colorado will find no difficulty in making their remarks opportune on the other bills.

Mr. HARRIS. It is perhaps proper I should state that the Senate bill reported from the Committee on Finance was the report of a majority of that committee, and the action this morning in reporting a substitute for the House bill is the action of a majority of that committee, in which the minority did not participate. The minority were present, but did not agree to the report.

Mr. VOORHEES. I had no intention to say that it was a unanimous report, and if I did it was a slip of the tongue.

Mr. HARRIS. I beg to say to the Senator from Indiana that he said nothing which would convey that idea especially, but I choose to put upon the record the fact that it is the action of the majority, and not of the whole committee.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will be placed on the Calendar.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. SHERMAN introduced a bill (S. 738) for the relief of Battelle & Evans and their legal representatives; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. McPHERSON introduced a bill (S. 739) extending the provisions of section 1423 of the Revised Statutes of the United States to include commissioned officers of the United States Navy; which was read twice by its title,and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. BLACKBURN introduced a bill (S. 740) for the relief of Mrs. Mary T. Duncan; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. DOLPH introduced a bill (S. 741) for the relief of Fannie Ricks Jones and Anne Ricks Willis, heirs of Benjamin S. Ricks, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 742) for the relief of Eli C. Officer; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 743) for the relief of the citizens of the States of Oregon, Idaho, and Washington who served with the United States troops in the war against the Nez Percés and Bannock and Shoshone Indians, and for the relief of the heirs of those killed in such service, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 744) for the relief of Avery D. Babcock and wife, of Oregon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 745) making an appropriation to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to enforce the Chinese exclusion acts; which was read twice by its title.

Mr. DOLPH. I desire to make a short statement in regard to the bill, which proposes to make an appropriation to carry out what is known as the Geary act. I had intended to submit some observations concerning this matter the first week of the session, but the adjournment over prevented me. It is a matter that has attracted considerable attention and should receive consideration by Congress; and while I would not obtrude so as to obstruct any more important measure, at the very first opportunity, when I can do so without interfering with some Senator who desires to speak on a financial measure, I shall take occasion to occupy the attention of the Senate for something like half or three-quarters of an hour. I move that the bill be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The motion was agreed to.

AMENDMENT TO BANK BILL.

Mr. CALL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks; which was ordered to be printed.

APPREHENDED DEFICIENCY OF REVENUES.

Mr. PEFFER. If the morning business is concluded, I desire to call up——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no further morning business, the Chair lays before the Senate a resolution coming over from a previous day, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted yesterday by Mr. STEWART, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury is directed to inform the Senate whether there is danger of a deficiency in the revenues of the Government during the current year, and if so, what is the probable amount of such deficiency, and is any legislation necessary to supply such deficiency.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution. [Putting the question.] The noes appear to have it.

Mr. STEWART. I call for a division.

Mr. HARRIS. As a division is called for, I should like to have the resolution read. I do not think any Senator on the floor heard a word of it. I am sure I did not.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senate will be in order. The resolution will be again read.

The Secretary again read the resolution.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I desire this information for a specific purpose. It is rumored at all events that there will be a deficiency in the revenues, and that there is trouble to obtain sufficient money to pay the pensions and other current expenses of the Government. There are $50,000,000 worth of idle silver in the Treasury. It was taken in as the difference between the market price and the coinage value of the bullion purchased under the act of 1890. A part of that bullion has been coined and silver certificates issued thereon. There is no reason why it should not all be utilized and covered into the Treasury, in my opinion.

Whatever disposition is made of silver no one has suggested the destruction of the silver that has already accumulated. I have submitted a proposition to issue silver certificates on the $50,000,000 of silver bullion, to be covered into the Treasury, so far as may be necessary, for current expenses, the balance to be used for the purchase of bonds or any other purposes of the Government. I am anxious to know the condition of the Treasury, to see if there is a necessity for utilizing the $50,000,000 of silver bullion in the Treasury, which has cost the Government nothing. It is the difference between the market price and the coinage value. A part of it has been utilized; and I want to know the condition of the Treasury, so as to see whether there is a necessity for the use of this silver.

That is the object of the resolution. I want the information, not to embarrass the Government, not to take advantage of anyone; but if at this time there is a deficiency, if there is trouble about paying the current expenses, there ought to be some provision made for their payment. I propose to offer my proposition as an amendment to the bank bill, so as to give the Treasury immediate relief. With this explanation, I ask for the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. SHERMAN. So far as I now recall the matter, this is an extraordinary, perhaps an unexampled form of resolution to address to the head of a Department.

Mr. McPHERSON. We can not hear the Senator from Ohio on this side. Will he speak a little louder?

Mr. SHERMAN. This resolution in form and in substance is unexampled, I think. There may have been others like it, but I do not know when we have called upon the head of a Department for his opinion about anything. We may call upon the heads of Departments (and we do it generally too much; we make them repeat themselves very often) for information, for facts; but the heads of Departments are not there to express and to influence us in any way with their opinions.

The Senator from Nevada may be able to cite a case, but I am not aware it has ever occurred where we have called upon the head of a Department for his opinion as to what will occur in the future. If the Senator wants any facts that are in the Department, or if he wants the opinion of the Secretary as to what the facts are up to this time, there is no objection to that, but I do not like to set this example. It seems to me if the Senator from Nevada will either call upon the Secretary in person or write a note he would get this information at once without any trouble, and he could use it just as effectively; but we should not call upon the head of a Department to give his opinion upon what the future is likely to be. That is what this resolution is, I think. It asks him to give his opinion about the future. Let the resolution be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be again read.

The Secretary again read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury is directed to inform the Senate whether there is danger of a deficiency in the revenues of the Government during the current year, and if so, what is the probable amount of such deficiency, and is any legislation necessary to supply such deficiency.

Mr. SHERMAN. That is, the Secretary is called upon to say whether in his opinion there is danger about events that may occur in the future, and if there is such a danger, what would be the result, etc. Mr. President, those are indefinite things to call upon the head of a Department for. I do not want to interpose in any way to prevent the getting of information, but I think it would be better, as an example in the Senate, for the Senator from Nevada to send a note or call in person for this information, and get the opinion of the Secretary in that way, who no doubt would promptly give it. But if the Senator insists upon it, although I think it is a departure from the usage and customs of the Senate, I certainly will not make any objection to the resolution, though I think he ought to obtain the opinion of the Secretary in another way.

Mr. STEWART. For each fiscal year the Secretary of the Treasury makes out an estimate of the probable receipts under existing laws. He keeps his eye on that question and informs Congress annually and semiannually what under the condition

of things the laws will probably produce. We have those estimates constantly. There has been a great panic existing, which is affecting the natural operations of the laws, and I think Congress ought to have at this time an estimate of what the revenues will probably be, so as to know whether we shall have to meet a deficiency, and that it may be provided for in time by legislation. There is no suggestion as to what kind of legislation should be had, but it is a fact that Congress must have this information. It is information upon which legislation is always based in providing revenues and in providing for deficiencies. We must know whether there is need of replenishing the Treasury or not before we can act intelligently. This is not unusual, because we have those estimates constantly.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President, this resolution seems to me to be wholly without precedent. I have no recollection of a case where a Department has been asked to give a conjectural estimate for the future. The estimates come in regularly at the meeting of Congress in December. They can not be made up in the Departments until the latter part of September. This resolution, spering at the Secretary of the Treasury, seems to me to be nothing more than a purpose to embarrass him in the discharge of his duties. To ask him to give an opinion now, to give a guess what the revenues will be or are likely to be, whether they are going to be less or more, or whether there is going to be a deficiency, is a method of public business that ought to have no place here at all. I move that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Finance for its consideration.

Mr. STEWART. Perhaps I can make it satisfactory to the Senator if he will withdraw the motion.

Mr. VOORHEES. I do not think the Senator can.

Mr. STEWART. I will adopt the suggestion of the Senator from Ohio and ask the Secretary of the Treasury to inform the Senate whether there is now a deficiency in the revenues and leave out all conjecture. I will modify the resolution in that way, if it will be satisfactory. Before it is referred I will ask leave to modify the resolution.

Mr. VOORHEES. I will say to the Senator from Nevada that I have confidence in the present Secretary of the Treasury that if there was a deficiency and anything needed on our part to meet the requirements of the Government he would make it known to us. To thrust a resolution of this kind at him is a vote of want of confidence to a very large extent.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I have as much confidence in the Secretary of the Treasury as has the distinguished Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], and I think I have as high respect for that official as he has. I can see no danger, however, to the interests of the country by the passage of the pending resolution. I can see in this simple resolution no manifestation of any lack of confidence on the part of the Senate in the Secretary of the Treasury.

The resolution is a simple one. It calls upon the Secretary of the Treasury to give us his judgment, at an earlier date than usual it may be true, as to what are to be the revenues of the Government for the ensuing year.

What harm can there be in such a resolution? I have not heard a suggestion made anywhere that this simple resolution is to disturb the business interests of the country. I have not heard it suggested that there is anything to be covered up anywhere which would prevent the passage of the resolution. I have not heard it suggested, except vaguely and indefinitely, that it is an attack upon anyone.

The officers of the Government in charge of their respective Departments ought to be willing to give the legislative branch of the Government all the information in their power, so that we may legislate intelligently. I have no doubt that the honorable Secretary of the Treasury can make a proper reply to the resolution. If, in his judgment, it is too early to give the information, he can so state. If for any reason it is impossible to make an estimate, he can so state. There is no difficulty whatever in regard to that.

For one, I am opposed to the system, which I think is now proposed to be inaugurated, of referring such resolutions to committees—that we can not ask an officer of the Government with reference to the condition of financial affairs without the Committee on Finance being consulted. I take the same position to-day which I took the other day. I think courtesy requires that this resolution should be passed.

I have not been consulted by the Senator from Nevada in regard to the resolution; I know nothing in regard to it; I know nothing in regard to his purposes or objects, except as they are displayed in the resolution itself; but I think when any Senator here in the discharge of his duties offers a resolution asking information in a respectful manner from any official of this Government, it is our duty to pass the resolution. It was conceded the other day that it had been customary, and it was only made an exception in that instance because it was said it would alarm the country; that was the reason given. Certainly there can be nothing in this resolution which will alarm the country. Are we to be so particular about the finances of the country that we can not discuss them here, that we can not anticipate a surplus or anticipate a deficiency?

Sir, what is the situation now? There seems to be some dispute upon the question as to whether we are to legislate upon the tariff at this extraordinary session or not. There seems to be no fixed policy upon the subject. I do not know what the House of Representatives proposes to do; and it is in the House itself where such legislation must originate. I do not know what we propose to do; but if we are to legislate upon the tariff question, if we upon this side are to carry out the pledges of the Chicago platform, the very first thing we want to know before we touch the tariff is what are the expected, the anticipated revenues of the Government.

How can we legislate intelligently unless we have that information? Shall we take the old estimates? Possibly we may be able to legislate in that way; but each Senator is entitled, it seems to me, to this kind of information. I do not believe there has been any reluctance in the past upon the part of the various Departments to give information required. If we are to proceed and make a new tariff bill, if we are to wipe out the infamous McKinley tariff, if we are to revise the tariff, the first thing we ought to know is, what are the anticipated revenues of the Government, in order to determine what legislation is necessary.

I have that confidence in the Secretary of the Treasury that I am ready to believe whatever suggestions he may make in regard to the revenue will probably be adopted by the two Houses of Congress, and I should be pleased to hear from him.

Irrespective of that question, here is a simple resolution asking the fiscal officer of the Government to give us such information as he may have—not that which he has not, not that which he can not get, but such information as he may have in reference to the subject. What possible objection can there be to the resolution? What object is there in referring it to the Finance Committee?

I stand to-day where I stood the other day, where I shall stand to the end, no matter how much the position may be assailed, that any Senator in this body who offers a respectful resolution on a question of this character, asking for information from an officer of the Government, ought, I think, to have it. I can see no valid, no tenable objection to the passage of the resolution, and I shall continue upon that line if it takes all the summer or all the fall.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. President, the Constitution of the United States has not devolved on this body the duty of taking the initiative in questions pertaining to the raising of the revenues of this Government. It is, perhaps, well enough for us to remember that this body has been placed under suspicion by the framers of our Government as not being the proper parties to originate measures affecting the taxation and revenues of the Government. It has been a long struggle with the Anglo-Saxon people, as we all know, whether the House of Lords in England or the Senate of the United States should even have a right to amend bills originating with the representatives of the people in imposing burdens on them. The framers of our Constitution have given to this body the right to amend a bill coming from the House of Representatives, but they have seduously guarded the right to initiate the measure in the House representing the people of the United States.

It is wholly unnecessary, therefore, for us to begin to feel uneasy about the revenue. There is an officer of the Government, placed by the Chief Executive at the head of the Treasury Department, who has the confidence of the people of the United States. He has the confidence of his chief; his chief certainly has the confidence of the people; and if he thinks at any time it is necessary to raise more revenue, either by borrowing money or by the laying of burdens of taxation upon the people of the United States, he will communicate that to the legislative department of the Government, the lawmaking department of the Government, and then it will be a duty imposed by the Constitution on the House of Representatives, and not on us, first, to see how this revenue is to be raised.

Until that time comes and the House shall pass upon the question of constitutional prerogative and constitutional preference, it is almost a case of legislative bad taste for us to be jumping the ditch before we get to it, and propounding conundrums for the Secretary of the Treasury to answer as to what his opinion will be of the financial condition of the country six, eight, ten, or twelve months hence.

I think that the chairman of the Committee on Finance has well moved to refer the resolution to that committee, and in my opinion all such resolutions ought to be referred to committees of this body before they are acted upon by us.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I do not wholly concur with

the views of the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS]. It seems to me that if we are here even with the right to amend bills or legislate at all, we ought to have the information and all the information which we can get, before we act on any question with which we are to deal. The fact that the House of Representatives is to deal with it first, is not the question. The question is, Shall we be prepared to deal with it when it reaches us? For that purpose we want the information early, so we can study the finances of the country and the probable necessity for legislation.

I explained that there was a rumor that there is a deficiency now, a difficulty in paying the current expenses. It has been even rumored—I do not attach much importance to it—that the reserve in gold is being paid out for current expenses. I do not suppose that the Senate desires that to be done, provided there are any other means of replenishing the Treasury.

I suggested that there was $50,000,000 of silver bullion in the Treasury which could be utilized if there was a necessity for it. A part of it has been utilized, a part of it has been coined, and silver certificates issued thereon, and covered into the Treasury.

I want to know whether it is necessary to continue that process. I want the information as to whether there is a necessity to go on with it, because we have a bill here pending to which such an amendment would be pertinent.

It has been usual in the Senate to call on the Departments for information which Senators thought it necessary they should possess when acting upon important measures. It is no reflection upon the Department or upon the President for us to call for the information, because resolutions of that kind are passing here every morning. It is a new doctrine that the passing of a resolution calling for information is a vote of want of confidence in an officer. Thousands and thousands of such votes pass at every Congress which convenes, and yet nobody ever thought of such a vote being a vote of censure.

We want the information, and we have the right to call for it. If the doctrine is to be established that information is to be denied to Congress on the ground that the President and his advisers know it all, that Congress has no right to know anything, no right to the ordinary information, then let the Departments be closed. If they are so wise as that, I see very little use of a coördinate department. Why not give them entire charge of the Government? Why not declare a monarchy at once, if it is a vote of want of confidence to ask a question? If the Executive Departments have got so far beyond the people and so far above the other departments of the Government that it involves a want of confidence to ask them a question in the ordinary course of business, we had better abolish Congress at once and let the Executive Departments control the country. It seems to me such action leads legitimately to that conclusion, because there is no equality if we can not call for information as heretofore.

It seems to me that this is setting up a claim for the Administration of an imperial authority never before dreamed of. I did not suppose there would be any objection to this information. I asked for it in good faith and for what I believed to be a legitimate purpose. I did not believe it would embarrass the Administration. The Secretary of the Treasury will inform us that the year is not far enough advanced to enable him to make an estimate, or he will give us such information as will be valuable in the future action of the Senate at this session, because, without originating a revenue bill, or passing the bounds of our authority, we can replenish the Treasury by enabling the Secretary to use the bullion in the Treasury.

The only reason why he can not do it now is because certificates can not be issued on that bullion until it has been coined. I propose to utilize that bullion at once, and coin it all. It does not change the principle. The Secretary has already established the principle that he can cover this bullion into the Treasury. He has only covered a part of it in by coining it, and issuing certificates on it. If there is likely to be a deficiency, why should we not authorize him to do that? It is not raising revenue from the people; it is simply utilizing the resources of the Treasury Department.

I do not know the reason for this sensitiveness; I do not know why this change is sought to be made in the established custom of the Government at this time, or what is the necessity for it. It will not facilitate business to pursue such a plan, and I advise the chairman of the Committee on Finance to let the usual course of procedure prevail.

I offered to modify the resolution at the suggestion of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], who did not want the Secretary to make an estimate for the future, so as to request him to tell us the present condition, but I will not now modify my resolution. I want the vote of the Senate on it in the shape I offered it, and shall ask when the proper time comes, for a yea and nay vote on it.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, if the resolution simply sought any fact within the keeping of the Treasury Department, I should cheerfully go with the Senator from Nevada in demanding the statement of that fact; but the resolution asks for no fact. It simply asks for a speculative opinion as to future events. All the data necessary to arrive at a conclusion as to future results are as clearly in the possession of the Senator from Nevada and the Senator from New York as they are in the possession of the Secretary of the Treasury. The expenditures of the current fiscal year are fixed by law, and each of those Senators knows what they are. The laws which contribute revenues to the Government are fixed, and the Senator from Nevada and the Senator from New York can speculate as to how much revenue will result from them as well as the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. STEWART. I should like to inquire of the Senator why it is that we always receive the estimates of the revenue and the expenditures which are made in the Treasury Department? Is he not aware that that is a clerical work, which can only be done by those familiar with such matters?

Mr. HARRIS. As to the necessity of coming expenditures in any one of the Departments of this Government, the Departments are better judges than the Senator from Nevada or myself, and they should make the estimates. The Senator's resolution, however, refers to the present fiscal year and not to the future. The Senator's resolution simply asks for a speculative opinion, which he is as well qualified to form for himself, without invoking the opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury, as he will be after he has invoked it. It is an idle and a fruitless inquiry, and one which is largely, if not entirely, unprecedented.

The Senator talks about the custom of demanding or requiring information from the Departments as a courtesy between the coördinate departments of the Government. When you want information, yes. Any fact in the keeping of that Department the Senator has a right to demand, and I will join the Senator in demanding it, if he thinks it is useful and desirable, but this thing of passing resolutions every morning, simply requiring speculative opinions about future events, which the Senate is as well qualified to speculate upon as the head of the Treasury Department, so far as I am concerned I shall relieve the Department from answering.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, there is not a Senator in this body who has the slightest conception of how the different accounts stand in all the various Departments of the Government, and whether there is money enough in the different accounts to meet the obligations of the Government. The public prints say that there is a deficiency, and it is rumored that the gold reserves are being used to make up that deficiency. No man knows the facts but the Secretary of the Treasury, and he has it in his power to call from the various officers of the Government all the facts and bring them all together, so that we may see whether there is money enough to carry on the Government. He is the only officer of the Government who can give us that information.

No Senator has the means of ascertaining it, or could ascertain it if he had access to all the books of the Treasury, and all the time necessary to do it. It is only the Secretary of the Treasury, who has the whole matter in hand, who can give us the information. It is from his Department that estimates as to the probable revenues and probable expenses are constantly given to Congress, and upon which Congress acts.

It seems to me, if there was ever a time when Congress and the country should be informed in advance of the effect the present panic is having upon the revenues of the country, so that the country may be studying what remedies may be necessary to meet any possible deficiencies, now is the time, so that we may be able to act intelligently.

I believe the present panic is producing a deficiency in the revenues. That appears to be the general understanding. If that be the fact, it is important that we should all know it, study it, and make up our minds as to how that deficiency can be best supplied with the least pressure upon the people. We must know this in advance. Are we to wait until the emergency is upon us, and a bill comes from the Finance Committee, as the Sherman repeal bill has come here, with a demand for immediate action, without securing previously the information necessary for us to act upon it?

We are not to exercise the functions of Senators, we are to abandon all our legislative functions, cease to study the situation of the Treasury, cease to study the finances of the country. That is none of our business. We have an Administration which is perfect, and any study on our part or any inquiry on our part, is a vote of want of confidence in that Administration. When we get an Administration so perfect as that, we can have a monarchy with safety, but not till then.

Mr. McPHERSON. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. STEWART. Any question the Senator pleases.

Mr. McPHERSON. Mr. President, the Senator seems to be

unaware of the fact that the Democratic party is in a majority in the Senate, and responsible for legislation. If any deficiency shall arise in the Treasury, provision will be made for it, and the Government will not be left without revenue.

I should like to ask the Senator how it is possible for the Secretary of the Treasury, at the beginning of a fiscal year, when scarcely a month of that year has yet expired, at a time when there is a dislocation of the currency, and when foreign importations have fallen off to a large extent, to know how long this condition of affairs will last, and what will be the probable or possible receipts from imported merchandise by way of duties which enter into the Treasury?

How can the Secretary of the Treasury know so long in advance what action will probably be taken by Congress touching a revision of the tariff, and whether the effect of that legislation, whatever it may be, shall be to increase the revenue or reduce it? All these things are problematical. The Secretary of the Treasury can no more give an answer to such questions than can the Senator from Nevada answer them for himself, and, as the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS] has said, it is perfectly fruitless.

Mr. STEWART. I want to answer the Senator's question.

Mr. McPHERSON. I wish to know how the Secretary of the Treasury can better judge of the question presented by the resolution than can the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. STEWART. The first question of the Senator was whether I did not know that the Democratic party was in power in this body. I answer no. I do not know that fact at all. I know the gold party claims to be in power, and that consists of both sides. [Laughter.] I think there are more Administration men on the Republican side than on the Senator's side. [Laughter.] I think that is the condition now at this special session. It is the gold party which claims to be in power. We do not believe they are. That is not the way the lines are drawn here. We have heard more eulogies on the present Administration from the Republican than we have from the Democratic side of the Chamber.

Are you going to confine your exclusion of information to those who do not believe in the single gold standard? I think I have a majority with me who do not believe in the single gold standard. I do not think a majority of the Senate has eulogized the gold views of the President.

It seems to me a little strange, because men do not belong to the Administration party, that they should be denied all information. You will have to enlarge the ring a little outside of the executive officers; you have taken in the worshipers of the Administration. They can have information, but the Senator tells me, "You are not of the Administration party, and, therefore, as a Senator, you have no right to know anything about the finances of this Government, or as to a probable deficiency in the Treasury." You are getting very aristocratic. [Laughter.] You have not yet enlarged the ring enough. Every Senator here has an equal right, and will try to get information, and it can not be denied him unless you have votes enough to deny it.

I want the information which the resolution calls for, not as an Administration Senator, not in opposition to the Administration, but I want it as a Senator of the United States. So far as I can judge, I think if the resolution had come from an Administration Republican there would have been no objection to it. Before this thing is over we shall find that there is some equality here, some general right to have information, whether we belong to the gold party or not.

Now, I think my friend had better let us have the information. He says how can the Secretary of the Treasury give it? It is an ordinary thing. The Secretary can tell us how much in the way of revenue has been received up to this time and what are the prospects as to a deficiency, if the revenue should continue about the same. He can give us a great deal of information. He has it in his power, and can do it in a very few moments. There is no trouble about it. It is a thing he is doing every day, and it is similar to information called for at every session, for our legislation is based upon the estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury as to what will be the probable revenue.

Do not let us reverse the order of things in this way at this time. Let us go on in the ordinary way, and have the resolution passed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] to refer the resolution of the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. STEWART. I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DAVIS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE].

Mr. HARRIS (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL], but being perfectly satisfied that he would vote "yea" if here, I vote "yea."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HIGGINS].

Mr. McMILLAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE].

Mr. PUGH (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR].

The roll was concluded.

Mr. SQUIRE. I am paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL], and, as he is not present, I withhold my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 40, nays 16; as follows:

YEAS—40.

Aldrich,	Dixon,	Hunton,	Roach,
Allison,	Dolph,	McPherson,	Sherman,
Bate,	Faulkner,	Manderson,	Smith,
Berry,	Frye,	Mills,	Stockbridge,
Blackburn,	Gallinger,	Palmer,	Vest,
Camden,	Gordon,	Pasco,	Vilas,
Cameron,	Gorman,	Perkins,	Voorhees,
Carey,	Gray,	Platt,	Walthal,
Coke,	Harris,	Proctor,	Washburn,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Ransom,	White, La.

NAYS—16.

Allen,	Hill,	Lindsay,	Stewart,
Call,	Irby,	Peffer,	Teller,
Dubois,	Jones, Nev.	Power,	White, Cal.
Hansbrough,	Kyle,	Shoup,	Wolcott.

NOT VOTING—29.

Brice,	George,	Martin,	Quay.
Butler,	Gibson,	Mitchell, Oregon	Squire,
Caffery,	Hale,	Mitchell, Wis.	Turpie,
Chandler,	Higgins,	Morgan,	Vance.
Cockrell,	Hoar,	Morrill,	Wilson.
Colquitt,	Jones, Ark.	Murphy,	
Daniel,	Lodge,	Pettigrew,	
Davis,	McMillan,	Pugh,	

So the motion was agreed to.

SILVER COINAGE.

Mr. VOORHEES. I desire to call up the bill (S. 570) discontinuing the purchase of silver bullion, on which the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GORDON] has given notice that he will address the Senate.

Mr. TELLER. That, I suppose, is simply to allow the Senator from Georgia to make his speech.

Mr. VOORHEES. Of course.

Mr. TELLER. I have no objection to that.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the bill (S. 570) discontinuing the purchase of silver bullion, on which the Senator from Georgia is entitled to the floor.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. President, there is a crumb of comfort in our present calamities. They emphasize the damage done by Congressional mistakes, and they have fixed in the public mind as never before, perhaps, in our history the responsibility that often attaches to governments for the condition of a people and the responsibility of the people under our form for the policies of their Government. In this long Iliad of financial woes there is heard at least one clearly uttered if not cheering note. That note is the voice of the people calling upon Democrats to redeem their pledges. It is the popular demand for the repeal of the Sherman law, and for the inauguration of a sound and stable but more liberal policy of finance.

To that practical phase of the subject I propose to confine myself mainly in this debate.

As Democrats we made to the people four distinct, emphatic, unequivocal promises, namely, to reform the tariff, to repeal the Sherman law, to place gold and silver upon an equal footing, and to remove the tax upon State banks; and we coupled these promises with but one condition or proviso, and that was that the people would turn out the Republicans and turn over the Government to us. The people believed us. They relied upon our promises. They met our proviso. They turned out the Republicans; they turned the Government over to us; and now with anxious, even agonizing suspense they wait to see what we are going to do with it.

To my thinking, Mr. President, there is but one thing we can honorably do in the premises, and that is to make our performance as straightforward and practical as our pledges were explicit. If those promises were made in good faith, then, sir, we are bound by every consideration of truth and of honor, of political, public, and personal honor, for their faithful fulfillment. If they were not made in good faith, but were a mere pretense for winning votes, then, sir, we have trifled with the voters and perpetrated an inglorious fraud upon a confiding people.

Mr. President, there is no escape from the alternative; we must redeem or repudiate our pledges. If we repudiate now, what defense are we to set up hereafter when arraigned before the bar of public opinion for obtaining votes upon false pretenses?

Sir, there is but one retreat or refuge for us, and that is compliance—faithful compliance. What Democrat can attempt less and retain his self-respect? Can the Democratic party do less and hold power? In this day of progressive thought and independent action, can any party—let me pause before finishing that sentence to make my words stronger, for the thought warrants it—can any party in a government like ours, dependent for its very existence and policies upon the ballots of the people, make pledges to the people, win power upon those pledges, and then turn its back upon the people and convert to ashes the fruits of the people's victory, and yet retain power?

Mr. President, our pledges of tariff reform will doubtless be met in due time, not, as our friends on the other side of the Chamber fear or charge, so as to hamper or cripple the industries of the country, not so as to place obstructions in the pathway of infant or aged manufacturing establishments, but by a better distribution and wiser adjustment, possibly by free raw materials to help manufacturing, to lift the burdens from labor and production and the common people and thus benefit all.

For the sake of the great party to which we on this side of the Chamber belong, I sincerely trust that as much may be truthfully said of our pledges of financial reform. I believe as much may be said. I believe that the party now in power may be relied upon for substantial compliance with every pledge in its platform. I believe this because the men who compose that party are the disciples of the great prophet of popular rights! I believe it because that party has always claimed to be the party of the people, and has held to the faiths inherited from its great founder through decades of discouragement and of defeat with a fidelity never equaled in the history of parties. It can not be that now it will dim the luster and obliterate the glories of its past career by repudiating its pledges made to the people.

But I wish to descend from these generalities to details. What are we going to do with the Sherman law? We promised to repeal it, and with burning anathemas at Chicago we denounced it as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger. Has it become less dangerous since? Has our experience with it disproved our prophecies about it? Has it suddenly become so helpful to the people, so productive of confidence, so preventive of panic, as to make it necessary to change our plans concerning it in order that we may deal more gently with it?

If Democratic provision condemned its enactment, does not Democratic consistency demand its repeal? Why halt between two opinions? Why hesitate between conditional and unconditional repeal? If the friends of bimetallism (and this Chamber does not contain one more consistent, ardent, and sincere than myself, if the friends of bimetallism are strong enough to impose conditions upon the repealing bill, will not that same strength suffice to enact bimetallism in a separate bill?

But are we burdened with the apprehension that we shall disagree among ourselves as to ratios or plans for parity? Why should there be any greater danger of disagreement among the friends of bimetallism after than before repeal? Sir, I can not share such an apprehension. I do not fear that the cause of bimetallism is to suffer because the Sherman law dies. That law is not the friend, but the insidious foe, of bimetallism. As a true friend of both metals, confident of the ultimate and complete triumph of the bimetallic cause upon a reasonable and rational basis, firmly convinced of its vitalizing influence upon the languishing industries of the country, firmly convinced of its vigor and life—I had almost said of its immortality, for that cause is immortal if this Republic is immortal—reposing with almost a religious faith upon the matchless wisdom of the men who made this unrivaled Government and made bimetallism a cornerstone in its Constitution, thus intrenched in these profound beliefs, I can not share in the apprehension that the life of bimetallism is either to be lost or shortened by the death of that sapper of public confidence called the Sherman law.

Mr. President, as a loyal soldier of the bimetallic cause, enlisted for the war, I had hoped to stand shoulder to shoulder here and elsewhere with the friends of that cause until its ultimate triumph. I had hoped to surrender any convictions of my own as to plans of action and follow the programme marked out by their combined wisdom. But, sir, as the difficulties and perplexities and dangers of this strange and unprecedented condition thicken around us, and as the responsibilities bear more and more heavily upon individual shoulders, each of us must feel that for himself, and not for others, he must answer by his act to his own conscience, his constituency, and the country.

As one in a darkened chamber from which the lights have been suddenly extinguished gropes his way in uncertainty until, the eye becoming more accustomed to the darkness, he begins to see still faintly, but somewhat more clearly, the objects around him, so some of us, struggling to penetrate this dense financial gloom, are stumbling here and there upon facts which ought to modify, and which must modify, our convictions of duty.

Every day by wire and by mail there come to me from my own State increased evidence of the belief that the purchasing clause of the Sherman law is primarily, if not largely, responsible for the present panic. What matters it, sir, whether that be true or not: what matters it whether these beliefs be well or ill founded? Belief in such case is as hurtful as reality. Of all the wild vagaries to which the human intellect is subject, causeless panic is the most unreasonable. An alarm of fire is heard in a theater or a crowded hall. The alarm is false, but the panic is real. "We are flanked," flies along the lines in the fury of the battle, and without a moment's reflection, without a single effort to ascertain the truth, the bravest battalions at times break in wild and senseless panic.

Mr. President, the Sherman law, rightfully or wrongfully, justly or unjustly, in public estimation is the alarming agency which has brought the chill, frozen the currents, and stilled the heart-throbs of trade. Sir, it is perfectly immaterial to the argument whether its effects be reasonable or unreasonable. It is perfectly immaterial to the argument whether they were legitimate or have been systematically procured by designing men, as has been repeatedly charged on this floor. It is immaterial, I say, how it comes. The great fact, the momentous fact, still stands that it is the pernicious agent which has made men who have hitherto loaned money withdraw it and hide it; which has produced the distrust, the rush upon the banks, the deadly paralysis. It is the murderer, guilty of the blood of public confidence, and ought to die.

Mr. President, two plans are suggested for executing this criminal.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him for a moment in the magnificent argument he is making?

Mr. GORDON. Certainly.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I desire to call his attention to a fact as a complete illustration of the great force of what he has said. The mere passage yesterday by the House of Representatives of a bill repealing the Sherman act lifted the price of cotton this morning in the markets of the world 14 points.

Mr. GORDON. I thank my friend for the suggestion; I was going to come to that a little later on.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. I beg the Senator's pardon.

Mr. GORDON. All right. I am glad of the reminder. I was proceeding to say that there are two methods for executing this criminal. One is by immediate, the other by a lingering death. One is proposed by the Finance Committee, or a majority of it, the other by a minority. To drop the figure, the majority of the committee reports a bill for immediate repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law with bimetallism to follow.

The amendment proposes bimetallism and repeal simultaneously. It is not necessary for me to say, I trust, that I would unhesitatingly support and vastly prefer this amendment, if prompt and favorable action upon it by both Houses of Congress were practicable or possible. But with a majority in the other end of this Capitol uncompromisingly committed to unconditional repeal, what Senator in this Chamber is sanguine enough to promise the country that we can agree upon a coinage bill, or any conditional bill, for weeks or months to come? In the meantime, while we delay, the condition of the whole country grows more and more alarming. In the meantime, while we delay, Southern cotton is seeking a market, with few buyers except foreign houses or their agents, and the price falls far below the cost of production.

In the meantime, while we delay, unhappy growers of that great staple, with hope almost gone and treading on the very verge of bankruptcy and despair, are imploring us to take some action, and without delay. Sir, standing in the deep shadows of these impending and immeasurable disasters, I can not consent to vote for any measure which involves additional delay. The proposed amendment must necessarily cause great delay, because the other branch of Congress is committed against it. I can not, therefore, and for that reason only, support that amendment. The majority bill for repeal means no delay, because the other branch of Congress is for repeal. I therefore, and for that reason, support it.

Mr. President, our friends who oppose unconditional repeal believe that the Sherman law is not wholly or largely responsible for the condition of the country, and that repeal of that law will therefore fail to bring relief; that unconditional repeal under the circumstances is an extreme measure without any or at least sufficient compensating results.

In reply to the last suggestion, I beg to say that considering the certain damage done by this law to bimetallism, and the possible damage done by it in aiding the panic, no adverse action we could take with it could be extreme. But even if repeal be so regarded, the answer is that extreme remedies are often the

essence of conservatism. Let me illustrate by the laws of nature, which are always conservative.

When the forest is uprooted by the storm or shivered by the lightning's bolts, these remedies would be regarded from a human standpoint as extreme; but when we remember that they were needed to stir the deadly calm and to sweep away by the tornado's wing the poisons lurking in the stagnant air, we begin to appreciate their value. Sir, the deadly calm and the stagnation in business are all around us. The Sherman law, in public estimation, is the pernicious agency that has caused the depression. If its removal will start the slightest healthful current it is our duty to apply the remedy. Suppose it be admitted, for the sake of argument, that its repeal will not accomplish all that is needed in order to restore the country to its normal and healthful condition; and I am one of those who believe that it is but the first step toward relief. Are we to refuse to take any step until in the laboratory of Congress we can concoct all the physic which the country needs? If your friend were sinking in the lake too far from shore to be grappled with hooks and drawn to safety, would you wait until you could send miles away for a lifeboat, or would you shove out to him the tiny plank at your feet in order that he might sustain himself until the lifeboat could arrive? If we can not at once rescue the country bodily from the dead sea of distrust in which it is drowning, let us at least lift its head above the waves it it may gather breath and strength for the next struggle.

But we are asked if unconditional repeal will bring relief? I answer that in the opinion of those who usually lend money, but who now hoard and hide it, and I think in the opinion of the great majority of the people, repeal will bring speedy and certain relief. I trust that it will; but I do not know. This, however, I do know: That if this Senate insists upon settling ratios before repeal and the House insists on settling ratios after repeal, the disagreement involves indefinite delay. This we all know, that with the Senate moving in one direction and the House moving in the opposite direction, we shall place the country between the upper and nether millstones of Congressional disagreement and grind it to powder.

But we are told that unconditional repeal leaves this country in the relentless clutch of monometallism. Mr. President, if that were true, we might well stand appalled before so fatal a step. If I believed that to be true, I should turn my back upon the majority bill as being inimical to the highest interest of this country. And if unconditional repeal is passed and Congress should seek to take advantage of the situation in order to establish monometallism as the permanent policy of this Government, it would arouse from sea to sea the indignant people of this Union as they have never been except by the patriotic frenzy of the sixties.

No, Mr. President, repeal does not mean monometallism for this country. Monometallism can never find a resting place in the American Union. However gorgeous its plumage or dulcet its notes to English eyes and ears, our people recognize it as the insatiate vulture which has fattened upon the labor of European peasantry and would drive its bloody beak into the very vitals of American hope and progress.

I repeat, Mr. President, that repeal does not mean monometallism. Repeal is no menace to the double standard; but it does mean to take from the statute books a law which has dishonored silver, which has deprived it of its scepter and power as money; which is the accomplice, in disguise, of the single gold standard; which every friend of silver on this side of the Chamber denounced on its passage and has denounced continually since, and which no Senator on either side of the Chamber will claim has sustained the price of silver or aided in preventing panic. Repeal rids us of that law, but more than that. It disencumbers the cause of bimetallism from this body of death and places that cause upon its own intrinsic, unassailable merits, with its friends no longer separated but united, and rallying to its support every Democrat, every Republican, and every Populist who regards a public pledge to the people as sacred and binding. Sir, if with these indisputable facts before us, to vote for the immediate repeal of such a law be treason to bimetallism, then loyalty is treason and treason is loyalty.

Mr. President. I come now to our next promise to place gold and silver upon the same footing. It is safe to say, I think, that bimetallism was the most popular, if not the most potential, factor in the last campaign. It was the one plank common to all national platforms. It was the one force which made itself felt under all conditions and placed its seal on every party's banner. Like the great Roman before whose proud eagles the world succumbed, bimetallism can proudly boast "veni, vidi, vici," in every national convention. Republicans, Democrats, Populists, and Prohibitionists bowed before its altar and worshiped at the common shrine. Its spirit fell upon hostile camps or opposing conventions, and at once Minneapolis and Chicago and all the rest unite in sounding its praises.

What a political Pentecost was that, Mr. President? Medes, Parthians, Elamites, and the dwellers in India and Mesopotamia, all are found in the same spirit and with one accord speaking the same tongue. Sir, this is the most remarkable spectacle in political history, and it becomes important to inquire into its meaning. We shall not search long, I apprehend, before finding it. It means that bimetallism is a vote-winner. It means that the American people are for it and the political parties knew it. Hence, with a unanimity without a parallel, they protest to the people undeviating loyalty and undying allegiance to both metals.

It is true, sir, that these protestations and promises antedated the election; and it may be interesting hereafter to compare votes in Congress with votes in conventions, or party action in Congress with party promises in platforms. I fear, sir, that the contrast would put to shame the wonder-inspiring patent-medicine advertisement, "Before and after taking."

Mr. President, I wish again to remind the Senate that my object to-day is not to discuss the general subject of finance, except so far as it is necessary in urging compliance with party pledges and in analyzing the excuses for noncompliance. The Chicago platform meant, if it meant anything, that if the people would give us the power we would give them both metals as standard money, placed upon an equal footing, but upon some ratio that would make them interchangeable. This was the interpretation placed upon the platform in Georgia; and but for the belief in the sincerity of these platform pledges, that hitherto steadfast State would have been lost to the Democracy. I believe the same may be affirmed of other Southern States.

I wish now to examine very briefly some of the excuses given for noncompliance with these promises.

It is not true that since we met at Chicago the conditions have so changed as to absolve us from our obligations. With the exception of the closing of the Indian mints, I believe no material change has occurred, and we knew what the policy of England and of Europe was when the platform was made. Neither is it true that the increased production of silver has caused the decline. It is undoubtedly true that great increase of supply in any mere commodity without a corresponding demand will affect the price; but the stubborn facts and an overwhelming array of statistics which might be piled mountain high, but with which I will not again encumber the records, are directly in the teeth of the theory.

I could cite, and others have already cited, I believe, long periods of time in the past, where a vast increase in the supply of one metal as compared with the other has had no appreciable effect on the relative value of each. At some periods when the mines of the world yielded a much larger proportion of one metal, that metal has persisted in advancing in relative value. At others, when the relative supply of the mines of one metal decreased, the relative value of that metal also decreased—thus demonstrating, if facts and statistics can demonstrate anything, that as long as both metals were recognized by governmental statutes as money, and legal tender money, the law of supply and demand, so often appealed to in this debate, has been absolutely impotent in fixing their value. Legislative law, and not the law of supply and demand, is the more important influence upon the price of the metals.

Mr. President, of course the price of silver has fallen. Its great function was to supply money, currency, or a basis for currency. Deprived of this function, dishonored before the law, discredited by the Government, the marvel is not that its price decreases, but that it has not fallen to a much lower point. A greater marvel is that our people still take it and even hoard it; and the greatest marvel of all is that in face of all this adverse legislation here and elsewhere, and in the face of the action of India, the price rallied after a temporary depression in the very citadel of its inveterate foe, with the imperial heel of England upon it. Sir, from prehistoric ages to this unhappy hour no metal or commodity has ever shown under unfriendly conditions such inherent, self-asserting, and self-resurrecting power.

Will the contention be made that the supply and the demand, as of other commodities, fixes the prices of the precious metals, in the face of the indisputable facts that when Peru and Mexico, and the Comstock lode and Idaho, and Australia and California, and our Pacific slopes under the picks and shovels of the old "Forty-niners," poured their steady and swollen currents of both metals into the world's supply, there was no appreciable decline in value of either metal, or change in their relative value one toward the other. Indeed, the only effect was to stimulate the industries, increase the enterprise, and augment the wealth, the comforts, contentment, and happiness of mankind.

If, then, hostile legislation dealt the unjust blow, friendly legislation should make the atonement, and restore to its rightful position this great metal upon which, in the almost unanimous

judgment of the people, so much of their future prosperity depends.

Mr. President, there is another excuse for not complying with our promises which I sincerely regret was ever given. It is, in effect, that platform pledges are but glittering generalities, meaningless catchwords, and therefore not binding. Sir, to those men around me who were reared in the old-fashioned schools of simplicity, and in the artlessness of a plain-speaking and plain-dealing people, where sincerity and frankness and fidelity were synonyms of honesty, honor, and truth, and where duplicity and sham and Jesuitry, however cloaked or covered, were always recognized as fraud and deception and dishonor—I say to those reared with these old-fashioned ideas bred into the very fiber of their being, it will be difficult to rise or descend to such a conception.

Sir, if such doctrine should become the political morality of the future; if deceptions may be practiced upon the people and justified in public councils; if solemn promises made to the people may be transmuted by the magical touch of expediency into meaningless generalities, then, sir, we may well despair, not only of the elevation of our politics, but of the life of the Republic. Distrust of lawmakers is the prolific breeder of lawbreakers; and in a popular government like ours, confidence of the people in the plain honesty and sincerity of those who control the destinies of the Republic is one of the prime essentials of its peace and perpetuity.

Mr. President, I will consume the time of the Senate in answering but one other objection. That objection is serious. It furnishes a substantial and, I think, by far the most forceful argument against bimetallism, as we understand bimetallism. That argument is that we can not maintain parity in this country without the coöperation of other nations.

It is undoubtedly true that the problem would be vastly simplified if other leading powers would concur in the movement; but there are two factors in this problem which have not I think, been fairly considered by those who disbelieve in the ability of the United States to carry bimetallism upon its own shoulders.

The first is the effect which remonetization by this Government would have upon the price of silver the world over.

The second is the marvelous ability of this Government to achieve results which are not possible of attainment by any other people.

Mr. President, a careful survey of the facts will demonstrate that this is no idle or groundless boast.

Let us consider, for instance, the relative positions and power of France and the United States, inasmuch as the experience of France has been repeatedly referred to in the discussion. I wish to say in advance that I do not claim for an instant that France, with closed mints, furnishes any fair evidence to sustain the proposition that parity can be maintained by a single nation. On the other hand, the fact that France has adopted the gold standard is no proof that this country will ever be forced to the same step.

Monometallism in France and Germany is a war measure. Gold is the European money. Gold must supply the sinews of war, and European war is always imminent. This Government is not at war; it is not going to war, or rather no power is going to war with us. Our financial policy, therefore, is to be considered with a view to peace and not war. But were we to go to war, and if the balance of trade should draw from us every dollar of coined gold, and if Jehovah's omnipotent fiat should obliterate every trace of gold in our mines and mountains, who doubts our ability to find the means of defense? Who doubts that this nation without a dollar of gold could, within sixty or ninety days after war was declared, throw around its borders a cordon of defenders invincible by any armies the world could send against us?

Again, the territory of France, I believe, would have to be multiplied about fifteen or twenty times to equal ours, while the comparison in resources can not be measured in figures.

France has England on one side, separated by a narrow channel, and Germany on the other, separated by an imaginary line. She is thus flanked by imperial powers, her natural enemies and the enemies of the double standard, while within she is torn by feuds, her form of government continually threatened, and its very frame-work forever strained by the heaving ground swells of internal commotions. We are isolated by the seas, and almost as much protected as if surrounded, as Jefferson was tempted to wish, by oceans of flame.

But, Mr. President, what is the use of making comparisons between this nation and any other?

We have exceptional advantages in dealing with this problem in almost every direction. We can utilize profitably and intelligently a larger amount of currency, man for man, than any other people, because of our vast territory still undeveloped, with resources still more boundless. In the march of nations our place is at the head of the column. By inheritance, by geographical position, by the character of our people, we are set apart for leadership. My friend, the Senator from Indiana, said a few days ago that, in the wisdom of Providence, it was reserved for this people to discover and unlock the hidden wealth of our Pacific slopes and Western mountains. He might have added, and to pour their fructifying and enriching currents into the world's commerce.

Sir, we are, indeed, a peculiar people—a torch-bearing people. We have led in railroads and in all material development. We have filled the marts of the world with products of our brain and muscle, and amazed Christendom with the wonders of telegraphy and telephones, and the ten thousand products of our inventive genius. But this is not the highest commission given us by Providence. On that loftiest plane of human endeavor, the plane of self-government by a people, we have achieved a success beyond the hopes of the founders. We have demonstrated that all popular rights may be intrusted to popular government. We have taught mankind that a Republic with more than forty coequal republics, acting in concert and unity, resting solely on the loyalty of its citizens and controlled by their free ballots, may change its laws, its chief executive and all its rulers without shock or violence; that the Republic itself may be rent in twain to-day and reunited to-morrow in bonds of stronger and more enduring fraternity.

Mr. President, the day will come—has it not already come—when it will be our duty to lead in broader financial policies? Suppose this country now follows Europe in its contracted gold policy. It requires no gifts of prophecy to foretell the results. With this nation and all the other nations bidding and scrambling for gold, that metal must necessarily appreciate until the products of labor will lose half their value, while debts will be doubled. Sir, some power must be found which can resist the march of this remorseless policy—remorseless in its results—however differently intended by able and honest advocates. I am not here, sir, to impugn the motives or assail the judgment of those who differ with me on this issue of such transcendent moment to the American people. I no more doubt the sincerity of our great cities than I doubt the honest, sturdy yeomanry of the country.

I know that the great throbbing heart of these great American cities would respond with lavish generosity to appeals for needed help, whether that help were intended to alleviate Eastern or Western, Northern or Southern woe. But, sir, it is a characteristic of human intellects, however vast their capabilities, and though their every fiber were strength and honesty, to be more or less receptive of the influences around them. Let us recognize this truth in dealing with this great issue. Let us not indulge in criminations and recriminations. Let us not by speech erect walls of prejudice and passion between sections or classes, but let us recognize the sincerity of all, the patriotism of all, the intelligence of all, and after sifting the arguments and weighing the suggestions of all, determine the best policy for the prosperity of all.

Mr. President, I am profoundly convinced that it would be wiser policy to trust more largely to the States. I am profoundly convinced that properly guarded State banking can be made both safe and effective, and that if at the beginning of the last Congress the prohibitory tax had been removed, this panic would have been impossible. I believe that Georgia, for instance, would by this date have inaugurated a system safe and sufficient for all her purposes; and that this panic could not have invaded our territory, but would have broken at its borders as the waves of the sea on the rock-bound coast. I believe that even now were that tax temporarily suspended it would give temporary and almost instant relief.

Of this subject, however, I hope to have more to say at a future day. I will not tax the Senate with its discussion now. I feel more inclined to apologize to the Senate and the country for having occupied this much time, and should have remained silent had it been possible to secure at once a favorable vote for the repealing bill offered by the Finance Committee. If the Senate would promptly join the House and repeal without delay the purchasing clause of the Sherman bill, we have taken the first step toward relief. We should at least relax the strain and threatening tension upon the country. We should at least lower the heat of the burning plowshares upon which the people are treading. We should break a rift in the clouds above us, and then with more light and more time for deliberation, we will unite in the effort to arm the country with the double strength of its two great metals, and start it once more on a broader road to increased and permanent prosperity.

INCREASE OF NATIONAL-BANK CIRCULATION.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The pending question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL], which will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add to the bill as an additional section the following:

SEC. 2. That upon any deposit already or hereafter made of any of the United States interest-bearing bonds, excepting those of the funded loan of 1891 continued at 2 per cent interest, at the option of the United States, by any State bank, private bank, savings bank, loan and trust company, or person with the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and required to receive such bond or bonds, and to issue and deliver in exchange therefor an amount of United States legal-tender notes in the same language and form of the present United States notes commonly called greenbacks, equal to the face or par value of such bond or bonds, and to hold and keep such bond or bonds, subject to redemption upon the payment into the Treasury of the United States of an amount of United States legal-tender notes of any issue equal to the face or par value of such bond or bonds. And during the time such bond or bonds are held and kept in the Treasury no interest shall be paid thereon, and upon their redemption as aforesaid, the Secretary of the Treasury shall pay the interest accruing thereon during the time so held and kept, less 1/4 of 1 per cent on the face or par value of such bond or bonds, for each twelve months or part thereof, and shall cancel and destroy the United States legal-tender notes so received in redemption of such bond or bonds.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, I shall endeavor to address myself to the pending bill, however great the temptation may be to digress into a broader and wider field. Ever since Congress assembled, three weeks ago, I think almost without exception everyone who has addressed the Senate has spoken as if there were some great impending calamity hanging over the people of the United States. A stranger stepping into this Chamber and listening to the speeches made here, with two or three exceptions, would suppose that we were on the eve of some catastrophe, that some great disaster was imminent, that some great disaster was about to overtake the entire people of the United States. I wish to enter my protest against these "calamity-howlers" of the Senate. We have complained much on the stump and elsewhere that a class of our people were pessimistic and inclined to see in every movement—political, social and commercal—disaster, and disaster alone; but this is the first time the Senate of the United States has lent itself as a body, or in any considerable number, to that kind of work.

Mr. President, the people of the United States are still alive. The sun still shines. The country is as rich to-day as it was when Congress adjourned in March. There is no reason for any man to stand here and say the signs of the times portend any unusual or extraordinary disaster. We may have, and undoubtedly have, a financial stringency; but is it the first time the people of the United States have faced a financial stringency, or, in common terms, a panic? Is it of longer duration than any other? Is it more frightful in character than panics ordinarily are? I deny it. When did it begin, and who can say how long it is going to last? Compare it with the panic of 1873, with the panic of 1884, or with the panic of 1890, if you do not choose to go back to the earlier panics which some of us are old enough to remember.

Mr. President, there is a disturbed financial condition of unusual character. It would seem to me, as an humble member of this body, that Congress having been called together by the President for the purpose of granting relief, the first thing to do would be to inquire what has brought about this condition. And yet in three weeks I have heard nobody proclaiming as to impending danger even suggest an intelligent reason for the present financial condition. I know that three members of this body on this side declared that they did not think it was the Sherman act, and I know the distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. GORDON], who has just taken his seat, has substantially declared that in his opinion it was the Sherman act, and yet nobody has analyzed the question to show whether it is or is not the Sherman act.

I propose to deal with that question for a few moments, but not at any great length. There will be opportunity to touch on the question later when I shall feel more at liberty to go into it in detail, and it would draw me into a discussion that I do not care to-day to engage in. The Sherman act provides for the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver a month, and its conversion at the market rate into Treasury notes payable in coin. Under that provision of law we have purchased $150,000,000 worth of silver, in round numbers, and we have issued against that $150,000,000 of Treasury notes, which by law are payable in coin and by practice payable in gold.

Which is it, Mr. President? Is it the purchase of the 4,500,000 ounces that has disorganized society, that has closed up our banks, and shut up our mills? The man who believes that the Government of the United States can be put in jeopardy by the loss of $4,000,000 a month must have little confidence in it. If we had bought the silver and dumped it in the sea it would have had no influence upon the finances of the world, and before I get through I shall attempt to show that this disturbance is as wide as the world is.

Is it the $150,000,000 of Treasury notes that have been issued which has brought all this distrust, which has put down the price of cotton and wheat, and shut up the mills and turned out a million of men who are without labor or without bread? That is a pretty severe indictment of this law, a law which was put upon the statute books here after very careful deliberation, a law that received on this side of the Chamber the vote of every member, and that received in the other House the vote of every Republican, and had the indorsement of a Republican Executive. I know it is now somewhat popular on this side of the Chamber to say that it was only a truce. When I have more time I shall take up this question in detail; I shall go back to the records, but I will not do that to-day.

The distinguished Senator whose name it bears, if the newspapers are correct in their statements, declares that it was but a truce, and a truce which he was quite willing to abandon the next day after he had made it. The political morality of that kind of a truce I have not time to-day to notice, but I shall speak of it at some other time. That distinguished Senator more than a year after the passage of the act pronounced it a wise act on at least three occasions on this floor. After an interval of many months between the first utterance on the subject and the passage of the act, the Senator still gave his adhesion to the wisdom of the act.

Mr. President, I assert that during the political campaign—and if any Senator chooses to contradict it I shall give way to him for the opportunity either for five minutes or fifty minutes, if he chooses to take my time—I assert that in the political campaign of 1892, save and except as it had been attacked in the Chicago platform, it was not a question in issue before the American people. In many sections of the country the act was defended with vehemence, with enthusiasm, by the men connected with the political party that had passed it. In 1891 nearly every Republican State convention in the United States indorsed the act.

In 1892 more than half of the Republican State conventions specifically indorsed the act. Yet to-day we are asked to accept as an axiom, as a fact which does not need any proof, that all the disasters which have befallen this country are the result of that act. Mr. President, I deny it. I say there has been no logical attempt on this floor, and there will not be any on this floor, to show that the act of 1890 is in fact the root of the evil from which we are now suffering.

What is the general idea? What is the newspaper idea? What is the declaration of the chambers of commerce and boards of trade? It is that the act has brought discredit upon American money; that the people of the United States are afraid of their currency; and that Europe has doubted our ability to maintain our plighted faith and to pay our debts according to contract. The Chamber of Commerce of the city of New York sent out last spring a circular to every other chamber of commerce in the United States with the request that they should adopt substantially the resolutions of that chamber of commerce, attacking the soundness of our currency, and saying that all the disturbances which were threatened—and they were but slight—were the result of a distrust of the American money. I stand here to say—and I will wait for any Senator to contradict the statement I am about to make——

Mr. GEORGE. I should like to interrupt the Senator there. Does the Senator remember that prior to the 1st day of January last any chamber of commerce or board of trade passed any such resolution as that, or any resolution attacking the Sherman law?

Mr. TELLER. No chamber of commerce in the United States to my knowledge had taken any active part in this matter until early last spring, about the time of the change of Administration, on the 4th of March, and from that time on. The trouble does not arise from that act. Will any Senator stand on this floor and tell me, and tell the American people, as an American Senator, as a student of finance, as a man acquainted with monetary science and the practical operation of a people with money, that he believes the American people brought about the present panic because they were afraid of their money? If he does he will be under obligations to at least cite some instance where the American people have exhibited fright and fear of their money. There have been taken from the banks in the United States since early last spring, I suppose it is safe to say, $150,000,000 by men who were dissatisfied with the present condition of things. They took this money and put it away.

Mr. GEORGE. What kind of money, gold or currency?

Mr. TELLER. The Senator from Mississippi asks me a question on a subject I was just approaching. What kind of money did they take? Did they go to the banks with their demands for the money that they had on deposit and demand gold? They took from the banks everything and anything that the banks had in the shape of money.

I challenge the Senate, I challenge the boards of trade, I challenge the banks to show that any man ever went to a bank demanding any particular kind of money. When he wanted his money he wanted it because he proposed to put it where, in his judgment, it would be safer than it was in the bank. The report from the Treasury Department will show that the people who took greenbacks and Treasury notes did not rush to the Treasury for gold, which, if anybody supposes they were in fear of the money, they must admit would have been the money for which they would most naturally call. That is the money of the world; it is the money with which everybody everywhere now is in love. Did they come to the Treasury for it? They did not.

THE BANKS GROW GENEROUS.

Early last spring the reserve in the United States Treasury, consisting of $100,000,000 of gold, or more, there not by law, but by custom and practice of the Department, for the redemption of greenbacks, was gradually dropping down. The banks in New York began to talk about impending disaster, the great metropolitan press of the country began to predict that, if the heavens were not going to fall at least financial disturbances were to follow the slightest infraction of the $100,000,000 of that money. You, Mr. President [the Vice-President in the chair], can remember, and so can Senators and all around me, with what fright the metropolitan press approached this subject. They predicted that if a dollar was taken from the whole $100,000,000 a catastrophe would be the result. Then the banks in New York City, with a generosity which they sometimes exercise when they see that they can make something by it, and rarely unless they do, came to the rescue of the Government, and said they would put in $6,000,000 of gold.

That is the second time they have come to our rescue. They came to our rescue first in 1885. They did put into the Treasury about six millions of gold. Having put that in, they got themselves together and said, "We have gone just as far as it is safe for us to go; we are on the eve of a financial disturbance, in our judgment, occasioned by the Sherman law." There was the inception of the attack upon the Sherman law. They said, "We think the Sherman law is about to bring us to disaster, and we have no more gold which we can give you." This was before Congress adjourned. They said, "You must take some steps to get gold by the sale of bonds; you will need them; you will require them, for your reserve will soon be intrenched upon, and when it is intrenched upon great evils will result, catastrophes will follow—financial catastrophes, at least."

Then the American people demonstrated their belief in the soundness of the currency and in the intelligence and integrity of the Treasury of the United States as administered by the party then in power and as it would be administered by the party coming into power. What did they do? From the city of Denver the bankers telegraphed to the Treasurer of the United States, "We will give you a million of gold for legal-tenders." Almost every town in the West came forward; the towns in the South, the banks in Arkansas, and the banks in other sections of the country said, "We have gold; we prefer paper and silver, and they can be exchanged for gold." Was there any indication in that action that the American people distrusted their money?

Mr. President, I say to any Senator who is familiar with the practical affairs of life, that the condition now existing is an absolute denial of that statement.

There is nothing more certain in monetary science than that when the people distrust the currency of a country they seek to get rid of it. There is nothing better established in monetary science than that a depreciated money means a rise in prices. Will anybody deny that? Will any student of finance or any practical business man in this country deny the assertion that as money, whether it be paper or gold or silver, depreciates, property appreciates. Why not? One measures the other, and it would be as impossible for one end of the scales to go up and the other to remain stationary as it would that money should depreciate and property prices remain as they were.

Mr. President, we are here for the purpose of finding some remedy for the hard times. Shall we find that remedy by deceiving ourselves or attempting to deceive the people? Let us ascertain what the trouble is. If it is that there is a fear of the currency, then we should reform our currency laws. If it is something else, we should address our attention to that.

DISTRUST WITHOUT REASON.

I was in the city of Denver the day four banks, every one of which I believe was as solvent as any bank in the country, closed their doors. I went out upon the street where the crowd was gathered, and I asked of the people on the street, "What is the trouble?" When they replied, they said to me with almost one universal voice, "We do not know what the trouble is; we have been told there is to be a great financial disturbance in this country, and we do not know whether the banks will be able to pay us our money when we want it; so we think the safest thing now to do is to get it."

That is all there was of it. The prognostications of coming evil which were started in New York City by the great banking houses of that city and which were reiterated by the public press of the great city of New York, followed by the smaller papers of the country, none of them being able to tell what was going to happen, upon misrepresentations and false statements, produced a condition of affairs which can be brought about in any country and at any time by such agencies.

Mr. GEORGE. Was it not a distrust on the part of the citizens of the ability of the banks to pay depositors in currency, and not a distrust of the currency, which caused the panic?

Mr. TELLER. It was undoubtedly a distrust of the ability of the banks to pay. Nobody goes to a bank when he is morally certain it will hold his money safe and takes it out, unless he wishes to use it. These are practical things which everybody knows. As business men we know that people who have money in bank leave it there, and especially where it is drawing interest, as in the savings banks, until distrust comes, and then they take it out. It was distrust of the agencies which had charge of the money of the country, and not of the currency itself, which caused the panic.

I repeat, and every bank president will bear me out in the statement, that the people went alike for gold, for silver, for Treasury notes, and for greenbacks, and they took them at the counter with gladness when they thought there was impending danger of the bank closing its doors.

There is more than that which shows that this panic has not arisen from a distrust of the currency. I stated before that when the people are afraid of currency they attempt always to get rid of it; they do not hoard a currency which is falling; they do not hoard a currency which is not likely to be as good to-morrow as it is to-day. Need I go into any argument to show that? I appeal to the practical knowledge of the Senate, and I appeal to the practical knowledge of the country to bear witness that the statement that the people distrust the money of the country is met by an absolute denial when they hold that money and decline to buy anything with it.

A week after the disaster in Denver—for I always regard it as a disaster when public institutions like banks close their doors, because it always brings a great deal of trouble and a great deal of worry, even if it is not accompanied with loss—I went to some of the men who sell retail goods in the city of Denver. I walked into one of the great establishments there, and in that city they are equal to those of any other section of the country, and I said to my friend who had presided over it for a generation, "I suppose you are making many sales now, as the people have an abundance of money."

Let me say here that it was estimated that more than $3,000,000 was taken from the banks of the city of Denver, which was then in the pockets of the depositors. It was not the business men who withdrew their money, but it was the laboring people, the people who do not keep bank accounts to check against in their everyday operations. I said, "You must be selling plenty of goods now." He said, "Mr. TELLER, there are not goods enough sold in this store to pay the current expenses of running it, and there have not been for nearly a month."

Everywhere you find the same condition existing. The people are not buying. The New England mills are full of goods which they can not sell. The Providence mills, which were thriving a year ago, are filled with goods now which they can not sell. I think the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] will admit that to be the condition there. They dare not manufacture any more. The Fall River manufactories are in the same condition, if the financial statements of the great New York papers are correct.

It is something besides distrust of currency which has occasioned the trouble. It is probable that it may be impossible to analyze and discover what the trouble is. People who have been familiar with army operations know that sometimes an army will stampede without cause; fright takes possession of men who an hour before were ready to meet their opponents in deadly battle, but somehow and in some way they become frightened and fall back. The human mind is peculiar. A fright might take possession of it when there is no reason for fright. So I do not hold that I am compelled to analyze this subject and determine what the trouble is. It is enough for me to show that the cause which is claimed does not exist; and when I have concluded I shall be curious to see any Senator rise and dispute on this floor any proposition which I have made, or give any reason why he believes the Sherman law, bad as it may be as a monetary law, has brought disaster to this country by frightening the people as to their currency.

THE FOREIGN BONDHOLDERS.

There is another reason given. It is said that the Sherman law has frightened our foreign bond-buyers and our foreign cus-

tomers; it is said that in Europe they have concluded that we are a nation of bankrupts; that they do not believe we can pay our debts as we contracted to pay them; and the only honest way to pay our debts is in exactly the kind of money which we contracted to pay. Mr. President, 90 per cent of all the securities held in Europe are payable in gold. I appeal to Senators who have knowledge of large business transactions if that is not true. Has there been since 1870 in this country, or even for years before that had there been, practically, an issue of any kind of obligations in the nature of bonds which have not been payable in gold?

We did not commence to make securities payable in gold because we thought gold was preferable to silver. We made those securities payable in gold because we wanted the people of Europe to understand that they were not to be paid in a currency which was then worth less than gold. I have had some knowledge of these things for more than twenty-five years. I assert now that 90 per cent of all the securities which have gone abroad since that time have gone abroad payable in gold. The great railroad companies, which before that time had issued their securities in currency, have called them in, and reissued them payable in gold. The Pennsylvania Central Railroad Company and various other companies which I might mention have pursued this course.

Has it come to this, that the financiers of Europe have made up their minds that the American people can not pay their national and their individual indebtedness in the currency in which they contracted to pay it? It is a slander upon the American people to suppose they would not do it, and it is a slander upon the European capitalists to suppose that they have ever entertained for an hour any fear that we would not do it.

Last February in this Chamber I challenged, and, I repeat again, I challenge any Senator or I challenge any banker to show any reasonable amount of distrust of this country on the part of Europe. I stated then that Senators would find in the Senate the files of the great financial papers of London, the Economist and the Statist, and the French Economist, and I think they can also find the German Economist, although I do not read German, and consequently have not examined that; but they can find the French paper and the two great English authorities upon these questions, and I challenge them to point to any respectable authority of Europe which has doubted our solvency.

I will admit that our bonds came from Europe in 1890. I will admit that at all times some bonds have come from Europe; but they come from Europe not because capitalists doubt us, but because they have our securities which they can turn into money when they desire, and to-day Europe has few foreign securities which can be readily cashed, except those issued by the American people.

I have seen in European papers the statement that the Sherman law was a bad law, but I have yet to see any respectable authority for the statement that it was going to prevent us from paying our contracts according to the letter and the spirit thereof.

I state a fact, which can be demonstrated if any Senator chooses to deny it, that in the month of January last $20,000,000 worth of American securities were put upon the European markets. An examination of the market reports of Berlin, within the last thirty days, will show that American securities have been exceptionally strong in that city. There has not been so much buying of American securities of late in Europe. Why? In the first place, going back to 1888 and 1889, the English people became infatuated with the idea that in the Argentine Republic there were great profits to be made. I do not know how much the English investing public put into the Argentine country, I have no means of knowing, but I know that long before the stream of money flowing from England to the Argentine Republic ceased, the minister of the Argentine Republic, at a public dinner in the city of London, declared that the recent investments by the English in his country had been more than $500,000,000.

Although upon that subject I do not profess to be able to speak with absolute confidence, I do not believe it would be out of the way if I should say that the investing public of Great Britain and Germany together had invested a thousand million dollars in the Argentine Republic between 1886 and 1890. It is said by those who ought to know that the absolute losses of Germany on that loan were more than $250,000,000, and that the English losses were more than $500,000,000. Is it any wonder, then, that they do not have a surplus of money and that our securities do not sell as readily as they formerly did?

Then we ought not to lose sight of the fact that the French, the most frugal, the most industrious and careful of all European populations, sunk $300,000,000 in the Panama Canal. It is not singular that England does not run after our securities and that Germany does not buy them with the avidity which they did formerly.

THE CRISIS OF 1890.

We all recollect the condition in Europe in the fall of 1890. I will now go back a little beyond that. When we assembled in the fall of 1889 at this Capitol, there were more or less rumors of impending financial difficulties in this country and in Europe. I shall not now take time to read it, but I have here before me the Comptroller's report for 1891, in which he details the financial condition of this country and the financial condition of Europe.

The Comptroller in his report says that between the 28th of February and the 17th of May, 1890, forty-six national banks in the city of New York lost of their deposits $44,831,356, while the reductions in loans and discounts were less than $10,000,000. He says the national banks, however, were enabled to strengthen their condition during the months of June and July, and that the marked stringency was delayed until August. Then, as we all remember, the Secretary of the Treasury came to the relief of the distressed banks in New York, and the country generally, by putting out the surplus which had accumulated in the Treasury in 1890 during the whole summer by the purchase of United States bonds. So in a few months the purchase of bonds and the currency that went out from the Treasury equalled almost $100,000,000.

The authority which I have read says that the stringency finally culminated in October; another authority says in November. This was the condition of the country in the spring of 1890, when we met here. There was more disturbance in every country in Europe, except France, than there was in the United States.

I assume that Senators who come here to legislate upon these financial questions, involving so much to our people as they do, must keep themselves advised, not only of the financial condition of this country, but of all other countries; otherwise they are not fit to legislate upon this question. I say to them now that the statement I make is absolutely incontrovertible, that there was at that time financial disturbance in every European country, save France.

It was followed in September by the failure of the Barings, the greatest individual banking house in the world, or that was ever established in the world, a house which has stood for two generations and had been practically controlled by the same family, which in public estimation throughout the civilized world was as good as the Bank of England. It was found that that great house was absolutely bankrupt, and would not be able to pay the debts it had incurred. What was the result? An ex-president of the Bank of England, a man who twice presided over the destinies of that bank, and who had a reputation equal to that of any man in the world in financial affairs, learning of this difficulty at midnight, as we are told, spent the whole night in consultation with other people, and finally induced the Bank of England to come to the rescue of the Barings and to agree to take $75,000,000 of their obligations, and put up the money to save the Barings.

Three million pounds came from France; a million and a half pounds came from Russia, and the rest the Bank of England and neighboring banks put up, and took securities which they were to market, as they might market them from time to time, and thus avert what would otherwise have been an international and universal panic.

Mr. President, did this much despised and condemned act, of which the Senator from Ohio appears to have become ashamed, contribute anything to that disaster? It is my firm judgment, and I think it can be demonstrated, that it averted a panic in this country at that time. It is possible that it only postponed it; but at all events it averted a panic then.

Do you remember that in August we had turned out $54,000,000 of currency, which was locked up in the Treasury and which people could not get? Between that time and the 23d day of October we had put into circulation, through the agency of this despised bill, $80,000,000, aside from that which came from the purchase of bonds—$80,000,000 of new money to all practical purposes, because the $54,000,000 which was pledged to the redemption of national-bank notes was as absolutely useless as if it had been in the sea until the passage of this act? This act then tided over that disaster.

WHAT THE SHERMAN LAW HAS DONE.

The honorable Senator from Ohio need not be ashamed of that act. I assert here that it has been most beneficient and valuable to the whole country. I assert here, after, I think, as much study and thought upon the question as to the low price of silver and its probable result, whatever may be said to the contrary, that it saved silver, and that the fall in silver which came in 1893 would have come in 1890 but for that act. It kept silver for a year at $1.07; it brought to my section of the country the prosperity we have had from that time until last June, and gives us the only hope we have that we may stand the disaster which is to be forced upon us, and that we may be enabled to reform our

industrial lines, and live if the repeal bill shall become a law. We have accumulated something by the aid of that act, and we are better prepared, infinitely better prepared, than we should have been but for the passage of that act.

The act was beneficent. It was not founded upon wise economic laws, I admit, because a proper use of silver would have been simply the opening of the mint to its free coinage; but it was a step, as I have said, in the right direction. While it may have defects it has some virtues, and they have been illustrated in the preservation and maintenance of a condition of prosperity in this country which no other part of the world has had, until in an unfortunate moment, owing to our attempts to repeal this act, the Indian government, or rather the English Government, interfered with the monetary affairs of India and practically destroyed the price of silver, reducing it to 60 or 62 cents per ounce.

What was our condition in 1891? Was there then any disaster in this country? We had an incipient panic in 1890, at least we had threatened financial difficulties. It was so stated by the Comptroller of the Currency, it was so stated by the Secretary of the Treasury in 1890 in his report, and so stated by the Secretary in 1891. Nobody can deny it; nobody can gainsay it.

I have not the time to read these reports in detail, but I think I shall call attention just for a moment to what the Secretary of the Treasury said in 1890 on the subject of trouble. Speaking of the national bank system at that time—and I may refer to this in another part of my speech—he complains that there is no elasticity in the system. Then he goes on to say that the financial depression in September last, "which at one time assumed a threatening character," illustrates the truth of this statement. That showed that there was a financial disturbance, of which I do not suppose I need adduce any further proof.

Mr. Foster, who followed, substantially makes the same statement, which I do not see marked, and shall not therefore refer to now.

There can be no question that we were threatened with financial difficulties, and we avoided them. How? Was anything else done, except the passage of the Sherman act and the sale of some bonds? The sale of the bonds had taken place largely in the beginning of the year, and such sales did not entirely satisfy the public mind. Eighteen hundred and ninety-one was a year of at least more than moderate prosperity in this country. When I was more of a politician than I am to-day, and was making some speeches in the fall of 1892, I insisted and attempted to prove, as did thousands of others all over this country, that 1891 and 1892 had been years of wonderful prosperity. Within thirty days the New York Sun has declared that the year 1892 was a year of prosperity unequalled and unparalleled.

In 1891 there was trouble in Europe. We sent out from this country in April, May, and June a large amount of gold. Let me call the attention of the Senate to that, because I shall have occasion to speak of the exports of gold later.

AS TO GOLD EXPORTS.

In January, 1891, the imports of gold were slightly above the exports, about $660,000,000. Then there began a reverse movement. Gold began to go to Europe. In February, 1891, the export was not large, being in round numbers $3,444,000. In March it was a million more. In April it had assumed quite considerable proportions; it was then nearly $14,00),000. (I am now speaking of the net amount.) In May it was $30,368,112. The export of gold was $30,000,000, in round numbers, more than we got from abroad for that month. The next month it was fifteen and a half millions in round numbers. In July it was $5,000,000. So from February 1 to the last of June, we exported more than we imported of gold $73,457,268.

I am a reader of the financial papers of this country, and of the great dailies, and I do not remember that any of them attributed that export of gold to the Sherman law. I know that the dailies in New York were somewhat panicky. They began to talk as if all the gold was fleeing the country, and would never return; but I do not believe it can be found anywhere that any respectable authority attributed to the Sherman law that export of gold in five months of $73,000,000 and upwards.

In August of that same year we imported $1,222,000 more than we exported, and in October we imported $16,000,000 more. In that time we had imported from August to December, $38,000,000 more than we exported; and that was all under the Sherman law. In the first part of the season we lost $73,000,000, and in the last part we gained $38,000,000. Of course, these statements are not by fiscal years, but by calendar years.

Let us now take the fiscal year 1892, ending, of course, on the last day of June of that year. During that time we imported under this law $50,000,000 in gold and a fraction above. And we exported $50,000,000 and a fraction above. When you strike the balance, according to one statement, it is four hundred and some odd thousand dollars, and according to another statement made by the Department, two hundred thousand and some odd dollars. We lost either $450,000 that year, or we lost $250,000, a difference in statements made by two different branches of the Government, which it seems to be impossible to reconcile so as to determine exactly what we did lose. That was under the Sherman law.

Did anybody, when $50,000,000 of gold was going out, as it went out at the rate of half a million a day, suggest that it was going out because of the Sherman law? No; that was an afterthought. It came later.

When did the gold export commence? I have the authority of the officials of the United States that this extraordinary export of gold began in this country in 1888. So says the Director of the Mint, so say all the other officials, and so say the statistics. The Sherman law had not yet been enacted.

Take the fiscal year 1889. Then our net loss by export was more than $49,000,000.

Mr. GEORGE. Ending June 30?

Mr. TELLER. Ending June 30, 1889. There has been in the spring of every year a large export of gold to Europe. In 1889, in three months, in April, May, and June, the net export of gold to Europe was $32,532,609; in 1891 it was $49,000,000; in 1892 it was $27,000,000; and yet we have seen that the net loss during that year, 1892, was in the nighborhood of a quarter of a million dollars. In 1893 the export of gold during the months of April, May, and June was $35,000,000, or less in 1893 than it had been in other years.

There was a large export of gold for the fiscal year 1893. It amounted to $87,000,000, which was less than it had been in other years, at least in one year, when we had no Sherman law. The export is large, and yet not as large at any time as it was in the few months of 1891 when $73,000,000 of gold went abroad.

Since the great export of gold in the early part of the season, at least since the 1st of July, it has been coming this way. I have the authority of a financial circular that $43,000,000 has been received since the tide turned toward this country. I do not know whether that figure is correct or not; but it is not very much out of the way. Since the 1st of July we must have received at least $40,000,000 of gold imports in excess of our exports. All business men know that the fluctuations in exports and imports of gold have been occurring for many years, but it is quite impossible to always determine why gold goes or why it comes. Take the export of 1891. We have the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury that every dollar except $9,300,000 went out at a premium; in other words, more was paid for it in the city of New York than could be got for it at the Bank of England or at the British mint, and the cost of export must be added to the premium.

The gold which has been exported to Europe this winter has gone universally when the rates of exchange did not justify it; it has gone there at a loss to the man on this side who sent it, unless he could sell it in Europe for more than its mint value or for more than the Bank of England by law is compelled to pay.

Why has the gold gone to Europe? It has gone there because of the disturbed finances of that Continent; because there is a scramble for gold going on throughout the world; and there is not a man doing business in the city of New York, who is capable of managing a bank with a capital of $50,000, who did not know, when it was going, that it was going upon a legitimate demand, which was being made upon us to pay our debts or because the people of the countries of Europe had to have gold. Where did the gold go? An examination of where the $87,000,000 of gold has gone will show that almost all of it went to Germany, to France, and to countries with whom we are not in close commercial relations; and it can be demonstrated that it went there because there was a struggle in Russia, in Germany, in Austria, and in France for gold.

Mr. President, we must not lose sight of the fact that in the last year we sent $87,000,000 more of gold abroad than we received, and we bought of Europe $93,000,000 of merchandise more than we sold.

It will not do to lose sight of the fact that we sent to Europe during that fiscal year $69,000,000 less of cotton than we sold the year before. Senators must not lose sight of the fact that Europe took during that year $99,000,000 less of our breadstuffs than it had taken the year before.

Do these things have anything to do with the present financial difficulties? Would it not be the part of wisdom for us to address ourselves to those questions, and see if we can not find whether there is not some other reason besides the so-called Sherman act which has brought about the present financial stringency?

The agricultural people of the United States sold in Europe $200,000,000 worth less of their products in 1893 than they sold in 1892. That is why there is a balance of trade against us; that is why we have been compelled to export more or less gold, so

as to pay our debts. Does anybody suppose that we are sending gold abroad as a present to Europe? Does anyone suppose that we are transmitting our gold there for safe-keeping? It goes there either to pay the debts that we have contracted, or because they send us our securities in exchange for our gold.

Why do they want gold in Europe? I have had occasion to speak of it, and I shall speak of it again. There is locked up to-day in the five or six great banks of Europe more than half of the gold of the world which has been in circulation. There is not less than $1,500,000,000 of gold locked up by the Bank of England, the Bank of Germany, the Bank of Austria-Hungary, and the Bank of Russia. There is where the gold is. At a later day and at some other time I shall have occasion to refer to this matter at greater length. I am going to speak about it, but not to-night. I am not now going to talk about thenotion, wh ich seems to prevail in this country, that we can enter into a scramble with Europe for gold.

The late Chief Executive of the United States suggested that a way to bring Europe to a realizing sense of the necessity for the use of silver was to appropriate their gold. When the proper time comes, I propose to have something to say on that proposition, but not now.

THE BANK CIRCULATION.

Mr. President, I started out to discuss—and what I have said is but preliminary—the propositions to increase the circulation of the national banks. If we could determine what the difficulty was that occasioned the disturbance we might find a remedy. In other words, if we knew the cause we could address ourselves to removing that, and the effect would take care of itself.

But we are proceeding upon a false idea; we are proceeding upon the theory that, because the public believe that a certain condition of affairs exists, we shall do our whole duty to the people when we shall legislate in that direction, and in that alone.

Why, we are here to determine what the evil is; and when we have determined that, we are to remove it if we can. If it can be demonstrated here that any statute on the statute book has brought about the evil which now exists, you can get my vote to take it off. But I will not take the say-so of a New York banker; I will not take the interested statements of the people who desire to be put in a position where they can command all the industries of this country, as they could do if they could command the money of the country.

Since I have been in public life I have had fixed and determined views as to the right of the General Government in reference to the issue of its money. I hold, as I have on this floor many times stated, that the control of money is the prerogative of nationality and sovereignty; that no government is justified in surrendering it; not justified in surrendering it even for the most patriotic and most intelligent and helpful of all the men who could be selected; but it can not be safely intrusted in the hands of corporations. It must be controlled by the General Government in the main. Therefore, I have always given my vote against the continuation of the national banks as banks of issue. I believe as banks of deposit they have had some value, but as banks of issue none.

Why are banks instituted? Not for the benefit of the banker. They are quasi-public concerns, instituted for the benefit of the public. Banks have three great functions: First, to receive the money of the people and keep it safely until they call for it; secondly, to pay it out when the people demand it. These two functions, to receive and pay back, should possibly be regarded as one. Another function is to transmit the money by bills of exchange from one part of the country to another. I think, perhaps, I should properly say there are but two functions of the banks, because the receiving and the payment may be said to be one.

Those are the functions of a bank. How have they discharged their functions? When a bank takes money and puts it in its coffers, unless the depositor makes a contract otherwise, it is payable on demand. To-day, in the greatest city on the continent, no matter how much or how little money a man has on deposit, he is absolutely debarred by the rules of forty-six or forty-eight different banks of that city from drawing it. He is told, with an impudence which has never before been exercised even by banks, that he can not have it.

Mr. GEORGE. What do the banks do with the money?

Mr. TELLER. I understand that when a man goes to a bank and draws his check and says, "I want my funds which were deposited with you, say last winter or last spring," the officers of the bank say to him, "We will give you an account, we will certify a check, we will say that some time [no time being fixed] we will pay you, but we will not pay you now." If that is not an act of insolvency, no bank ever committed one.

One hundred and forty banks in other parts of the country within the last three months have closed their doors because they were compelled to say that to their creditors; and yet the great banks of the great city of New York, with an impudence and effrontery almost unheard of, have declared that they will not recognize the right of a depositor to claim his money on demand.

NEW YORK AND THE OUTSIDE BANKS.

The banks have another function, which is to transmit money from one bank to another. Commerce can scarcely be carried on unless that function is in active force. Business can not be done between New Orleans and Chicago and New Orleans and New York, and all around, unless bills of exchange can be used. They are the agencies of commerce.

Have these banks fulfilled that function? For more than six weeks the banks of the city of New York, and other cities which I might mention, have simply declined to pay drafts drawn on them by outside banks for the money that those banks have on deposit. Between a city that is entered by at least six railroad trains a day, and can be reached in twenty-four hours, and the city of New York, the rates of exchange have been $3 on the hundred; and between the city of New York and the city of Philadelphia there has been an absolute refusal on the part of the banks of Philadelphia to pay drafts on the city of New York in any kind of money.

I have in my drawer here a letter from a Western banker, who tells me that through his bank he had a draft of $7,000 on a Philadelphia bank, which he sent to a bank in the city of New York, and the bank there returned it to him saying, "We will present no draft to the banks of Philadelphia, because they decline to pay." Then, through other agencies, this banker sent his draft to Philadelphia for money admitted to belong to the drawer, and the banks of Philadelphia simply said "We can not afford to pay this, and we will not pay it."

The other morning, when the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEFFER] introduced a resolution here making an inquiry concerning the banks, there was fright in this Chamber, and we were told that we were going to disturb the banks. Mr. President, there is not a bank boy or a page who runs the errands of a bank in Chicago who does not know that the banks of New York have suspended; there is not such a boy in the city of New Orleans who does not know that the banks of New York have suspended. It is public talk everywhere. You can not frighten the people any more than they have been frightened by that kind of conduct.

These banks have abandoned their functions as banks of deposit; they have declined to perform the functions imposed upon them by law, with the money in their tills. They have broken down as banks of exchange. They have declined to keep the business of the country in motion. Is it any wonder, then, that there is stagnation in commercial circles when men who own the money can not draw it from the banks where they have deposited it, and men who owe debts can not transmit the money wherewith to pay in such a way as that they will be sure it will reach their customers?

This may be an attack upon banks. I shall hear to-morrow from the public press of New York that we are attacking the banks. If these facts were unknown it might possibly be said that it was not worth while, in an excited state of affairs, to talk about them. But everybody is aware of them.

Mr. GEORGE. What do the banks do with the money which they refuse to pay out?

Mr. TELLER. The Senator from Mississippi asks me what the banks do with the money they do not pay out. I do not know, but I know that when they get their hands on it they keep it; but before I get through I shall tell why the keep it, in my judgment.

I again call the attention of the Senate to the conduct of the banks in the early part of the spring just before the adjournment of Congress, when they began to "hold up," if I may use a Western phrase, the Treasury Department in order to compel it to issue bonds. They then stated to the Department, "We will give you a little money"—and they gave it; "you can not have any more, and if you touch the reserve, if you get below the amount which has been held in the Treasury, there will be a financial panic and convulsion, and you dare not do that."

The $100,000,000 reserve ran down to $90,000,000, but the world did not come to an end. Business was infinitely better than it was a few days ago when the reserve was over $100,000,000. They did not succeed in securing from Congress $200,000,000 of gold bonds, or any other kind of bonds upon which they could bank.

A MEMORABLE INTERVIEW.

About that time the Secretary of the Treasury went over to New York. When I come to speak of the Secretary of the Treasury, I do so with some reluctance. He was a member of this body for some time and for many years a member of the other branch of Congress. During all that time my relations with him were most pleasant, and I trust they are so to-day.

I have great regard for his integrity and his uprightness, and

nothing that I shall say shall reflect upon his honor; but, like every other Secretary who has been at the head of the Treasury Department since I have been in public life, now seventeen years, he believes it to be his duty—and he religiously follows what he thinks is his duty—to submit his financial policy to the wise men of Wall street.

So, early last spring the Secretary went over to New York and had a conference with the bankers. The New York bankers complained to him and to the country at that time that they were carrying on the business of the country. They said that they were paying out a large sum of money, which was going West, and they were keeping the Western bankers alive. I was in California when I saw that statement, and I saw on the day after, or perhaps the same day, the statement of the interview of the Secretary with the bankers.

I said then, "If the national banks of New York are sending money out to the West it is money belonging to the West; it is not theirs." New York is a great reserve city, and all the banks in the West, little and big, are compelled by law to keep their reserve, if not there, somewhere; and so it is safe to say that every bank from the Alleghanies west, including those in the cities of Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Denver, and San Francisco, have at all times more or less money in the city of New York. So it happened that, when hard times were threatening, the Western bankers began to send for their money. The New York bankers complained about it, and said in substance, it was their money, or tried to have the people so believe, and they did not send it. There are many banks in the West, and some that I know of, which shut their doors because they could not draw the money that they had on deposit in the city of New York.

But I return to the interview between the Secretary of the Treasury and the bankers, which I will read. When it appeared in the public press I was in the State of California. I read it in the Examiner and I took it from that newspaper, but I find the same thing appeared at the same time in the New York Sun, a Democratic paper.

I ask the attention of the Senate to this interview. It is a most remarkable interview; and it will go far to support the charges, which I am not going to make upon my own authority, but which I am going to make upon the authority of others, that this panic is a bankers' panic, brought about by the action of the New York banks, and brought about for distinct purposes, which purposes were practically avowed on the 27th of April. The same things have been reiterated by the financial papers, and the policy is still continued up to the present hour. It had two objects in view. One was to secure from the United States a large issue of bonds, and the other to secure the repeal of the much-abused Sherman law.

This interview has been published and republished, and it has never been denied that I am aware of. If any Senator knows that it has been, I shall be very glad to have him say so. It is in the form of a special dispatch to the Examiner, a great paper in San Francisco, published by a Democrat, and I believe to be in every respect reliable. Even if I had not found it supported by an article in the New York Sun, I should have had no reason to doubt its correctness. I read:

NEW YORK, *April 27*.

Secretary Carlisle this evening met a number of bankers at the residence of George L. Williams, president of the Chemical Bank. The following gentlemen were there to greet the Secretary: Mr. Jordan, Mr. Cauda, President Perkins of the Importers and Traders, President Sherman of the Bank of Commerce, President Cannon of the Chase, President Ives of the Western, President Tappen of the Gallatin, President Coe of the American Exchange, and President Wood of the Hanover.

Mr. President, these are gentlemen who are well known to everybody who keeps any kind of a run of financial affairs in the city of New York. They are beyond question the great representative bankers of the associated banks of that city, and what they said undoubtedly reflected the entire sentiment of the banking circles of that city, if not the banking circles of the United States.

The conference lasted somewhat over an hour. There was the utmost good feeling displayed, and the Secretary said he was there to make a frank and open statement of what he believed to be the financial policy of the Government. In the first place, the Secretary said that an issue of bonds just at this time might be an effective remedy, but that it would be only temporary and that it would be followed by disturbances in the money market and would in the end retard the determination of the Administration to repeal the Sherman silver law. The Secretary positively thought there would be no bond issue except as a last resort.

He held it out to them that the great object of this Administration, the purpose for which the country was overturned last fall and all the disturbance that would arise from the change of the Administration, was to repeal the Sherman law. It is possible that hereafter bonds might be issued at the demand of these gentlemen, but not now. It might be a hindrance. Then the article goes on:

As Carlisle outlined the policy of the Government, it was shown that nothing would be done that would in anyway retard or check the determination of Cleveland's Administration concerning the repeal of the Sherman law. The Secretary went over the currency laws of the country and said they were in bad shape and needed revision. He said the revision should start with the Sherman law.

There is a determination also to show—

This is a part of the conference:

There is a determination also to show the miners of silver the evils of the Sherman law on their fortunes. President Cleveland's advisers have told him that the only way to induce the Western and Southwestern Congressmen and Senators to consent to a repeal of the Sherman law is to demonstrate to their constituents that they are losing every day this law remains in effect.

Mr. GEORGE. Whose statement is that?

Mr. TELLER. This is an article reporting what is supposed to have occurred at this conference.

This work in that direction has been started by a number of the bankers in the solid communities of the East. They are daily refusing credits to the South, Southwest, and West, fearing the effects of the Sherman law. The Chicago banks, it was said, are carrying out the same line of policy.

Secretary Carlisle, in his talk with the bankers, made his stand very clear. It is to be heroic treatment all the way through of the Sherman law, and possibly by the next session of Congress the silver-mine owners and adherents of silver in the Senate and House will be ready to consent to a repeal of the law. The bank presidents, replying to Secretary Carlisle, cordially informed him that they would be ready at all times to cooperate with him. Everybody shook hands, and there was harmony all round. In the meantime the Secretary continues to receive offers of gold from unexpected sources.

THE OBJECT LESSON.

That was followed by a purported interview with the Chief Magistrate of the United States. I was in the West when that was made public. I said to the gentlemen who were around me, "It can not be possible that that is a truthful interview." Mr. President, it has never been denied by any friend of the President from that hour to this. What was it? The purport of it was that he would not call Congress; early that the people of the United States needed an object lesson, and they were going to get it. What was that but saying, "I trust that this financial difficulty that is threatening is coming, and I will not avert it by calling Congress together; I will let it go on; I will let the industries of this country be paralyzed; I will let banks break and people wander around the land wanting bread; I will teach these silver lunatics that they can not afford to fool with me."

For the credit of the American people I hoped this interview might be denied. It never has been denied. The President said later, possibly in the same interview, "I will not call Congress together before September, unless the panic that is threatened should become general, and, if so, I shall call Congress sooner."

Later he issued the call for the present session, and when he did so every citizen of the United States was justified in saying, "The President of the United States believes there is to be a panic."

There is where the panic began, and there is where the trouble came from. From that hour this country has been suffering the blight of distrust. From that hour the people began going to the banks for their money. Before that time they had not gone in any considerable number.

Then we had the action of the banks in New York heretofore adverted to. Was it a part of this same proceeding in New York that the President of the United States and the administration of public affairs should lend themselves to the disturbance of the finances of the country to accomplish a purpose which they were bent upon, it seems, as the chief work of their administration?

Mr. President, I would not make these charges unsupported by evidence. I would not make them if I did not believe them, and I would not have made the charge upon a single statement such as I have read. Had there been nothing else, I should have assumed that there might be error, but there is more. I have a statement here from the Inter-Ocean, a reputable newspaper published in Chicago. It can not be called a "silver" paper, although it has not been as hostile to silver as some of the papers of that city. It is owned and controlled by a man, I understand, of large business interests in the city of Chicago, whom I do not personally know, but who, I am told, is a man of character and respectability. The editor of the paper I do know, and I have known him for years. While he has not been in sympathy with us in our great contest for silver, I believe him to be an honest and upright man, and he would not have made the statement which I am about to read if he had not believed it. The article appeared in the Inter-Ocean of the 20th of August, and is entitled, "Reaping the Whirlwind." It is as follows:

THE NEW YORK BANKS.

When the future historian tells the world of the great financial panic of 1893 he will say: "In the winter and spring months of that year the New York bankers and financiers sowed the wind, and during the summer months reaped the whirlwind." We know no arrangement of words that can more graphically describe the action of New York financiers and the results of that action. Col. Ingersoll, early in the season of disturbance, properly called this "a bankers' panic." Nor are the New York bankers alone to blame. Those of Boston and Philadelphia come in for their share. They were only excelled by the New Yorkers because of the greater importance and opportunity of the latter.

There was, perhaps, no organized conspiracy against the West in the great financial centers of the East, but there was a general understanding all along the line that the West should be forced into line to help the East accomplish what it had long desired. Early in the winter a bank president, conversing with a Chicago man of business, said to him: "Mr. Jones, we are going to make the West pay up this summer." "But, why should you press your Western creditors this summer?" asked Mr. Jones. The reply was: "Well, we think it would make you a little more thoughtful about currency matters, and drive you from your foolish ideas about silver." It is unnecessary to repeat the conversation that followed. The initial question and answer are only given to indicate the intention and object the Eastern financiers had in view.

The Boston bank president was not making an idle remark suggested merely by his own thoughts. Both the matter and the manner of the remark indicated that it was the result of consultation, and that it meant concerted action all along the Eastern shore. Politics and finance were combined in the scheme. The great money powers of the East had secured the election of Mr. Cleveland.

I will stop here to say, in justice to my Democratic friends, that I do not believe it would have been any better if Mr. Harrison had been elected.

They first spent a large sum to secure his nomination, and second, a much larger sum to secure his election. They knew he was in full sympathy with their views, and they felt that now if ever must they make the fight for gold monometallism. Knowing that Cleveland was heartily with them, they desired to create such public sentiment as would make his triumph with Congress easy. First they were to press the West for a settlement of indebtedness, and next they were to start the scare over the export of gold.

The movement of gold abroad began early in the year. It was undoubtedly accelerated, and every effort made to magnify its importance, by New York financiers. The telegraph wires were daily loaded, not merely with the various amounts that were going abroad, but with interviews with New York men as to what the effect would be, and as to what was the cause, etc. There was apparently a systematic effort to impress upon the people of the whole country that other nations were frightened on account of our silver legislation and were determined to secure all their indebtedness at once in gold. The strongest influences were brought to bear on President Harrison and Secretary of the Treasury Foster to get them to issue bonds for the purpose of calling our gold back. It is said that Secretary Foster succumbed to their influence and was willing to issue the bonds, which so greatly encouraged the New Yorkers that they formed a syndicate for the purpose of handling them.

I am credibly informed that that statement was correct. I am further informed that the bonds were printed and ready to be issued if Congress had given the authority.

A gentleman of this city assures the Inter Ocean that he knows some of the members of said syndicate. President Harrison's firmness, however, thwarted their efforts; and when President Cleveland was inaugurated he refused to do what his predecessor had so firmly and positively declined. When it was found that President Cleveland would neither issue the bonds nor call an immediate session of Congress to wipe out silver legislation, the export of gold continued to increase rather than decrease, and the wise financiers of the East began to see that the movement they had started was one they could not control. The fulfillment of their prophecies of evil began to look them full in the face, and they became worse frightened than those whom in the beginning they had intended to frighten.

They could not conceal their apprehension, and though they were much less demonstrative than they were when trying to frighten the rest of the nation, their influence was so depressing to enterprise and prosperity that the panic spread all over the country. A general distrust of banks and financial institutions seized the whole people, and an unexampled hoarding of currency of all kinds began in all parts of the country. The result is that the nation is now undergoing a financial stringency such as was never seen here before, and, as if ordered by retributive justice, the severest sufferers of all are the financiers of the Atlantic cities who inaugurated and created the panic.

Then the editor speaks of the treatment of Chicago banks by the banks of New York. He says:

The great banks of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia have practically suspended, and the work of furnishing currency to those who have workmen to pay is relegated to brokers who sell it at a premium. Chicago is the only great city of the nation where the banks honor all checks, and pay every depositor currency as asked for.

That I understand to be absolutely correct.

Mr. SHERMAN. I wish in justice to the banks of two other cities to say that not only in Chicago, but in St. Louis and Cincinnati the same practice obtains, and they are paying currency to depositors.

Mr. GEORGE. Are those all?

Mr. SHERMAN. So far as I know. There may be smaller cities, and many of them, in which that is the case.

Mr. GEORGE. Of the great cities, those are the only two?

Mr. SHERMAN. The only three I can name.

Mr. TELLER. The Senator from Ohio is correct as to those cities, and he might have mentioned several others.

Mr. SHERMAN. I have no doubt of it. I have no doubt that there are a great many others.

Mr. TELLER. The great cities referred to are, I suppose, Chicago, New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, and Boston.

Mr. SHERMAN. Those three are depositary cities, as they are called, and they are commonly called the great cities because they are depositaries of public money; and I am assured by the president of one of the leading banks in Cincinnati that in those cities they have paid constantly every check that has been brought to the banks.

Mr. COCKRELL. St. Louis has done it and St. Joseph, Mo., has done so.

Mr. TELLER. So has the city of Denver, except as to the closed b nks.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to add, if the Senator from Colorado will allow me a moment, that all the banks which have survived in the State in which I live pay currency for all their checks. I believe three of them have closed, but all the others pay currency upon the checks drawn by depositors. So I think that is the rule in the West.

Mr. CULLOM. Will the Senator from Colorado allow me to make a statement?

Mr. TELLER. Certainly.

Mr. CULLOM. I simply desire to say that as far as the banks of Illinois are concerned it is the rule with them. I wish to add that I had a letter yesterday from the president of one of the Illinois banks, a country bank, in which he stated that he had attempted to get the money that belonged to his bank out of a bank in New York, and he could not do so without paying 3½ per cent interest, which he declined to pay, and therefore they declined to give him the money.

Mr. GEORGE. Did the bank charge that much?

Mr. CULLOM. The bank in New York asked 3½ per cent, and the bank in Illinois declined to give it.

Mr. ALLEN. I desire to say that so far as the State I have the honor to represent in part is concerned the banks are paying their depositors without any expense whatever.

Mr. SQUIRE. I should like to ask if that is not the rule generally outside of the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia?

Mr. TELLER. I suppose this paper and the people who live in Chicago do not recognize St. Louis as a great city, nor Cincinnati or St. Paul. They assume that the great cities of this country are Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, and Chicago. I believe the statement made by the Senator from Ohio and others is correct as to all banks outside of the cities mentioned, Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and Brooklyn.

Mr. GEORGE. How about New Orleans?

Mr. TELLER. I believe, when I come to think of it, New Orleans may be in the same position. The Senators from Louisiana may know how that is. I have heard something of that kind, but know so little about it I would not want to charge it. However, I think the banks in the country generally, with the exception of those which have closed their doors, are still honoring their checks, and I think if the banks in any other portion of the country except these great cities had made this blunder or committed this crime, whichever you choose to call it, they would have been called to very summary account.

Now, I wish to call attention to one or two more things in the articles from which I have been reading:

The New York City banks have now some $37,000,000 of clearing-house certificates which are a species of currency, unknown to the law, that is good between the banks themselves. Checks and drafts on Boston, New York, and Philadelphia are selling in Chicago at from $15 to $30 per $1,000 discount, and go begging at that. Over $25,000,000 of gold has been imported since the 1st of July, but still these great banks are not able to resume their old relation with the banks of the country. They undertook to teach the West a lesson and require them to pay up, but they have found that the West is the great source of the wealth of the country, and that from the West come the exports to foreign countries, and that the money of the foreign countries must come West in order to secure those exports. They have found, too, that the West is full of able and independent business men, who do not find it necessary simply to imitate their brothers of the East.

These great financiers of the East undertook to teach the nation a lesson, showing the folly of bimetallism, and have simply demonstrated their own inefficiency as business men, and worked irreparable injury to the whole country. The gold that they aided to get away to Europe is returning, but it comes to pay for the exports of the West. The same men and their allies undertook to make things easy for Mr. Cleveland, but have only succeeded in rousing animosities that will make the success of his Administration more difficult and make monometallism more hated than ever. Whatever the actual result of present contentions, there is a lesson in the present situation to all those who would have the whole country pay them tribute.

Mr. GEORGE. What is the date of that article?

Mr. TELLER. August 20 of this year.

Mr. COCKRELL. Will the Senator from Colorado permit me to read in the same line an extract from a Missouri paper?

Mr. TELLER. I will.

Mr. COCKRELL. I read from the Springfield (Mo.) Democrat, a paper edited by a very worthy gentleman, who is also a banker:

A COWARDLY COURSE.

In their desperate determination to secure the demonetization of silver the leaders of the gold-standard movement, by their own endeavors and through their allies, inaugurated a campaign of intimidation several months ago. The great banking and financial concerns of New York, with a business directory of the United States at their command, flooded the country with elaborately prepared circulars setting forth the disaster in store for the people unless the Sherman act was unconditionally repealed, and breathing love, sympathy, and interest for the agricultural and laboring classes in whom these Wall street philanthropists have at all times manifested such marked solicitude. The territory in which Springfield is embraced was evidently assigned to Henry Clews and the Fisks, and no business firm, however remote, failed to receive one of these imploring circulars in which all argument was summed in the request that the recipient appeal to Senators COCKRELL and VEST and to Representative HEARD in behalf of the plan of campaign marked out by Wall street.

Ninety-nine per cent of these missives were consigned to the waste basket, and that plan of reaching and influencing Congress through the business interests having failed in this section, at least, another method of applying the screws has been adopted. Wholesale houses in St. Louis which have an extended trade in this portion of the State have been brought into action.

and, through their traveling salesmen, are endeavoring to accomplish that in which the Wall street circulars failed. These houses have sorely pressed creditors throughout the Southwest, and instructions to their salesmen are that these retail dealers must be impressed with the necessity of calling upon Missouri Senators and Representatives for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act—this being done in connection with suggestions of the necessity of close collections and a curtailment of credit.

It is a deliberate and cowardly attempt to intimidate the business men of the Southwest into expressions foreign to their convictions, and will, of course, in some quarters, have its weight. The Democrat's advice to its readers thus approached is that they request these emissaries to attend strictly to their business, which is that of selling goods; and an alleged sentiment that is the outcome of such a Draconian method of proselyting will cut a sorry figure as a lever of influence when our Representatives in Congress are apprised of the nature of its origin.

I hold in my hand the circular issued by the Hargadine-McKittrick Dry Goods Company, and doubtless others issued the same kind of circular and sent them broadcast to every merchant and everybody else in the State that they could reach.

Mr. GRAY. In what city?

Mr. COCKRELL. In St. Louis, the Hargadine-McKittrick Dry Goods Company. They were dragged in by these Wall streeters to follow in their train, sneaking along behind them and doing their bidding. This is the letter.

Our opinion is, in common with practically the entire business and financial community—

What a wonderful power—

Our opinion is, in common with practically the entire business and financial community, that the immediate repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman law is an absolute necessity to the business interests of the United States.

That is the argument and that is the reason they give to business men, the men who are indebted to them, why they should write here to their Senators and Representatives for the purpose of trying to influence them to vote in a certain way. It speaks well for business men and financial interests and communities!

Mr. GRAY. Are those reputable people?

Mr. COCKRELL. Yes; my brother-in-law is a member of the firm. [Laughter.]

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. Will the Senator from Missouri give us the date of that communication?

Mr. COCKRELL. This circular is not dated. I have one, however, that is dated. It was sent out only a few weeks ago.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. Will the Senator from Missouri give us the date of the editorial which he read.

Mr. COCKRELL. The date of the paper is August 13, 1893.

Mr. ALLEN. Allow me to ask a question. Is it not true that every little country merchant and country bank has been flooded with letters or circulars of that kind for the last three or four months throughout the South and Southwest?

Mr. COCKRELL. That is my information from Missouri. I believe, however, one banker from Missouri has written me favoring the repeal of the act, and the rest of them are protesting against it. I will state, for the information of this firm, that probably about twenty of their debtors have written to me that they think it would be a good thing to repeal the Sherman law; that it might restore confidence. I should be very glad to furnish the firm with the names of those who have been so subservient to their will.

Mr. STEWART. Will the Senator from Colorado allow me to read a circular which has been circulated very generally?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BERRY in the chair). Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. TELLER. Certainly.

Mr. STEWART. It is as follows:

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK,
NEW YORK, *August 18, 1893.*

To the members of the Chamber of Commerce:

The special committee of the Chamber earnestly requests you to write once more and immediately to your correspondents, south and west of New York State, urging them to do their utmost, by letter, by telegram, and by personal effort, to induce their Senators and Representatives to act speedily in favor of the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman act. It is of the utmost importance that a large majority for repeal should be had in the House of Representatives when a vote is taken on August 28. A large majority in the House would do much towards insuring prompt action by the Senate.

JOHN CLAFLIN, *Chairman.*

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana. May I ask the Senator from Nevada a question? How many circulars does he know to have been issued all through the country by business men and merchants in the West and elsewhere in favor of free coinage at a ratio of 16 to 1 in the last three months, asking their Senators and Representatives to vote that way, and stating that in their opinion it meant the salvation of the country?

Mr. STEWART. I know of none now, but I have received repeated letters from men who begged of me not to give their names, stating that there have been on bank counters petitions which they were requested to sign when they went to the bank and asked for favors, for the extension of their loans, and stating that that had been a common condition imposed upon them. I have received many letters from men who said that petitions for the repeal of the Sherman act were presented to them under such circumstances to sign.

Mr. GRAY. That does not answer the question of the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. STEWART. I have answered it. I said I knew of none. Then, let me add, those circulars were not on bank counters to be presented to persons asking for accommodation at the bank, while such petitions as I have described have, according to my information, been on the counters of the national banks throughout the country for the last six months. That is the kind of pressure that is brought to bear. And on the 12th of this month they are to appear here to intimidate the Senate; but of that I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Mr. KYLE. I should like to interrupt the Senator from Colorado at this point to continue these ramifications just one degree further. I have known it to be the fact that circulars were sent from New York, Boston, and the East in general to our wholesale houses in the West saying that they could not accommodate them further, and the wholesale houses in turn sent their instructions down to the small retail farmers throughout the vast West where I live. I traveled during the past summer amongst the citizens of a certain county and talked with the farmers and asked them in regard to the accommodations which they were getting from the local retail stores, and this is what I heard:

I conversed with a dozen different farmers who said that they did not receive one dollar of credit now at the retail stores, and the reason was that they in turn were not accommodated by the wholesale stores of Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Chicago. As I talked with some of the members of a family one little girl said: "We have no money except butter and eggs." That was the common money used by the stores in satisfying the debts; and the farmers then began to ask questions. They wanted to know whether it was not true that it was the best thing possible to repeal the Sherman law if that was the cause of all trouble which is now appearing in the community.

Mr. GRAY. I hope the Senator from South Dakota told them it was the cause.

Mr. KYLE. Thus the pressure is brought to bear through these same parties in the smallest villages and in the country upon members of Congress.

THE BANKERS AND THE SENATE.

Mr. TELLER. In addition to what I have read I have the financial statement of the Philadelphia Press of August 24. The Philadelphia Press is a great newspaper, controlled at least if not owned—I do not know about that—by a former public official of the party to which I belong. It is a respectable paper, a paper of influence and character and standing. I wish to read what is here given out as an authority as to the methods being pursued by these same parties. I will read a little that is not of very much importance because it brings up the question a little better than to commence at the point at once. This is the report for the business of the 23d. The issue is of the 24th:

There was very little business done in the stock market yesterday. The fluctuations were less violent than usual. General Electric and Chicago Gas were sold with some effect, but no impression of importance was made on the general list. There was considerable trading in Northern Pacific common, and the consolidated 5s sold below 25. There is evidently heavy liquidation in these securities, probably for the account of the North American Company. The borrowing demand for stocks is good. The changes in the prices of most stocks as compared with the close of the previous day were fractional. The total sales in New York were but 107,275 listed and 11,422 unlisted shares. Money was rather stiffer on call at 6 per cent. It is said trust companies in New York and in this city called loans yesterday. The resolution of Senator PEFFER of Kansas, calling on the Secretary of the Treasury for information as to whether the banks of this city, Boston, and New York had violated the law in refusing to pay checks, attracted a good deal of attention. The subject is a dangerous one, and it is well that the resolution went over under the rules.

I do not know to whom it is dangerous, whether to the Senator from Kansas or the banks.

Silver is exceedingly strong at 76 cents bid and 77 cents asked. The Treasury refused to buy at considerably lower figures.

That is not surprising to us. Now I come to the part to which I wish to attract the attention of the Senate:

The money market in New York is unchanged. There is plenty of call money, but it is almost impossible to make time loans. On Monday a loan of $100,000 on gilt-edge collateral was made for four months at 18 per cent.

If that loan was made by any national bank it was in violation of the law, which requires that these banks shall not take any more interest than the State interest.

Mr. COCKRELL. That could be evaded by loaning it through another party.

Mr. TELLER. They could evade it, but I do not think they would take that trouble.

The banks are refusing to pay out currency in large sums to anybody, and their patrons accept the situation with great good humor and patient acquiescence.

The poor unfortunates, I suppose, have to do it. There is not anything else for them to do but to acquiesce. The banks are masters of the situation.

Just at the moment the political situation is largely affecting the money markets.

Here is the gist of this article:

The New York banks for several days have been endeavoring to bring a home influence on United States Senators to induce them to vote for the repeal of the July silver law.

Otherwise known as the Sherman law:

To this end correspondents of the New York banks in the West and South have been told that they need not expect to get money from New York until the purchasing clause was repealed, and the Southern and Western bankers have been strongly urged to write to their Senators and to insist that they work and vote for immediate repeal. This movement has given rise to the recent feeling in New York that the silver majority in the Senate could be overcome, as the influence of the banks of the metropolis, when concentrated on any object, is regarded as invincible. There is a feeling that the strain is not as great as it was, and improvement is hoped for. Some anxiety exists as to the action of savings-bank depositors when the thirty and sixty day limit expires next month. The requirements of money for the crops will also be a potent factor, but no one is disposed to contemplate future conditions, especially if they are likely to be unpleasant.

The remainder of the article is largely devoted to the speech of the chairman of the Committee on Finance, which, in his absence, I do not think I ought to read, but apparently the worst thing the paper could say was that "the arguments he used were simply the arguments of STEWART, TELLER, and WOLCOTT."

Mr. FAULKNER. The Senator from Colorado has been speaking for some time, and the room is quite warm. If agreeable to him I will move an executive session.

Mr. TELLER. It will be perfectly agreeable to me.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. FAULKNER. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After one hour spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 18 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, August 30, 1893, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate August 29, 1893.

ASSAYER, BOISE CITY, IDAHO.

Frank F. Church, of Idaho, to be assayer of the United States assay office at Boise City, in the State of Idaho, to succeed John W. Cunningham, resigned.

COLLECTORS OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Alexander M. Davezac, of Kentucky, to be collector of internal revenue for the sixth district of Kentucky, to succeed David N. Comingore, resigned.

James L. Doggett, of Texas, to be collector of internal revenue for the fourth district of Texas, to succeed James W. Hearne, resigned.

Kope Elias, of North Carolina, to be collector of internal revenue for the fifth district of North Carolina, to succeed W. W. Rollins, resigned.

Edwin Myers Gilkeson, of West Virginia, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of West Virginia, to succeed Albert B. White, resigned.

William Ryan, of Virginia, to be collector of internal revenue for the second district of Virginia, to succeed James Brady, resigned.

Charles M. Shannon, of New Mexico, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of New Mexico, to succeed L. A. Hughes, removed.

Thomas H. Shelby, of Kentucky, to be collector of internal revenue for the seventh district of Kentucky, to succeed Thomas C. McDowell, resigned.

Hambleton Shepperd, of Virginia, to be collector of internal revenue for the sixth district of Virginia, to succeed Patrick H. McCaull, resigned.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

George P. Finlay, of Texas, to be collector of customs for the district of Galveston, in the State of Texas, to succeed N. Wright Cuney, removed.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Leslie P. Ross, of Norman, Oklahoma, to be receiver of public moneys at Oklahoma, in Oklahoma Territory, vice John C. Delaney, resigned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, *August 29, 1893.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by the Rev. ISAAC W. CANTER, of Washington, D. C.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read, corrected, and approved.

DIFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS, CIVIL SERVICE.

The SPEAKER laid before the House a letter from the acting president of the Civil Service Commission, transmitting an estimate of deficiency appropriations for salaries required for the period from September 15 next to the end of the fiscal year 1894; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent leave of absence was granted, as follows:

To Mr. SOMERS, for ten days, on account of sickness in his family.

To Mr. ELLIS of Kentucky, for thirty days, on account of important business.

To Mr. MARSH, for two weeks, on account of important business.

To Mr. HEINER, for two weeks, on account of important business.

PRINTING FOR APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE.

Mr. SAYERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution I send to the desk.

The SPEAKER. The resolution will be read subject to objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Appropriations be authorized to have printed and bound all documents for the use of said committee that it may deem necessary in connection with subjects in relation to appropriations being considered, or to be considered, by the said committee during the Fifty-third Congress.

There being no objection, the resolution was considered and agreed to.

PREPARATION OF APPROPRIATION BILLS.

Mr. SAYERS. Mr. Speaker, I have another resolution which I wish to offer.

The SPEAKER. The resolution will be read subject to objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Appropriations shall have power to send for persons and papers and administer oaths in pursuing inquiries touching any matters of legislation referred to it by the House, and shall have leave to sit during the sessions of the House during the Fifty-third Congress.

There being no objection, the resolution was considered and agreed to.

FORD THEATER ACCIDENT.

Mr. AITKEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of a resolution.

The SPEAKER. The resolution will be read subject to objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That a special committee of five be appointed by the Speaker to investigate and inquire into the accident at the Ford Theater building, and what provision should be made in behalf of those injured by the fall of such building, with power to report by bill or otherwise.

Mr. DOCKERY. That resolution, I think, ought to go to the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER. Objection is made to its present consideration.

Mr. AITKEN. I ask, then, that it go to the Committee on Rules.

There being no objection, the resolution was so referred.

CONTESTED ELECTION CASE, FIFTH MICHIGAN DISTRICT.

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. Speaker, some two weeks ago I made a motion to have the matter of the contest between Belknap and Richardson sent to the Committee on Elections to inquire into the merits of the controversy. That was before the Committee on Elections was appointed. I now desire to modify my motion, and move that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Elections. I have conferred with the gentleman from Virginia, the chairman of the Committee on Elections, and that seems to be his view.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the resolution will be referred to the Committee on Elections.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

RULES OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I desire to call up for consideration the report of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. REED. I hope the gentleman will not call up this matter until members of the House have had an opportunity to examine

the report. I do not think we are now prepared to pass upon so important a question as that of the rules.

Mr. CATCHINGS. These rules have been printed and at the command of members of the House for several days. The changes from the rules of the House of the last Congress are not numerous; and I think the House is prepared now to consider the matter fairly and intelligently. I trust my friend from Maine will not interpose an objection.

Mr. REED. If an objection would be effectual, I should do so; but I do not see how I can. [Laughter.] If the gentleman will instruct me how to interpose an objection which will be effectual, I will endeavor to do so. I appeal to him, however, not to press this matter at present, because this does not appear to me to be a suitable time.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I think we had better proceed to adopt the rules of the House, so that the committees can organize and proceed to the transaction of business without further delay.

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. How long is it since these proposed rules were reported to the House?

Mr. CATCHINGS. I do not know exactly how long, but they were reported several days ago.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] calls up for consideration the report of the Committee on Rules. The Chair suggests that the reading of the proposed rules be proceeded with, and that as each section or paragraph is read any gentleman desiring to offer an amendment may do so. In this way the amendments will be considered in appropriate order. If there be no objection——

Mr. REED. It is not my desire to consume the time of the House unnecessarily in any way, but as a matter of convenience to members, I think the proposed rules ought first to be read as a whole, afterward they can be read for amendment. I must say that I am not at present familiar enough with the propositions embraced in this report to be able to discuss them without hearing them read as a whole.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will then first read the report as a whole.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Before the reading is commenced I wish to state that, upon inspecting the report submitted by the Committee on Rules in connection with these proposed rules, I find that we omitted to call the attention of the House to the fact that Rule XXVIII has been so amended as to dispense with the one day's notice which has heretofore been required for a proposed amendment to the rules of the House.

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, we can not hear what is going on.

The SPEAKER. The House will please be in order.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I simply make this statement so that the House may understand that this omission was accidental.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the report.

Mr. BURROWS. It was impossible to hear what the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] said had been omitted.

Mr. CATCHINGS. My friend from Michigan will recollect that under Rule XXVIII of the last Congress it was provided that—

No standing rule or order of the House shall be rescinded or changed without one day's notice of the motion therefor.

We have omitted in these proposed rules the requirement of one day's notice; and I wished the House to understand that a reference to this change had been accidentally omitted in the report of the committee.

Mr. REED. Do I understand, then, that the Committee on Rules will be able to report any change in the rules without notice?

Mr. CATCHINGS. At this time I am only calling attention to the fact that in our report we accidentally omitted to mention that such a change is here proposed.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, there are many new members of the House who have had no opportunity to familiarize themselves with the rules under which the House has heretofore acted, and therefore, in order that the present report may be intelligently considered and the proposed changes understood, it seems to me necessary that the rules of the last House should be read, and that then the different paragraphs should be taken up separately for the consideration of such amendments as may be proposed by the Committee on Rules or by individual members of the House.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I shall object to the reading of the rules of the last House.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER]——

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Do I understand my colleague [Mr. CATCHINGS] to object to my proposition?

Mr. CATCHINGS. I do.

The SPEAKER. Every member of the House has before him in the Digest and Manual, the rules of the last House, and can refer to them.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Is there objection to those rules being read?

The SPEAKER. This is a report of the Committee on Rules of the proposed rules for the present House.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I know that; but this report can not be intelligently considered without a knowledge of the rules under which we have acted heretofore.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the proposed rules reported by the Committee on Rules.

Mr. McMILLIN. I wish to ask the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] one question. In consequence of the confusion I was unable to hear his statement as to the effect of the proposed change in Rule XXVIII.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I was not undertaking at this time to discuss the effect of the proposed amendment, but was merely stating to the House that in the report accompanying the proposed rules we had inadvertently omitted to call attention to this proposed change.

Mr. McMILLIN. What is the change to which you omitted to call attention?

Mr. CATCHINGS. If my friend will turn to Rule XXVIII of the last House he will find it provided that—

No standing rule or order of the House shall be rescinded or changed without one day's notice of the motion therefor.

We simply propose to omit the words—

Without one day's notice of the motion therefor.

Mr. McMILLIN. And fix it so that it can be changed instanter.

Mr. CATCHINGS. So that the Committee on Rules, if they choose to do so, to meet any emergency which may arise—which we hope, however, will not arise—can have a meeting pending the session of the House and make a report instanter.

Mr. REED. A little tyrannical, but correct.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will now read the rules as reported by the committee.

The Clerk proceeded to read the rules at length.

During the reading

Mr. SPRINGER said: I desire to ask the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] whether he will consent that the Clerk may announce the changes which have been made by the Committee on Rules, as the various rules are reached which are proposed to be changed. There is nothing in this pamphlet copy of the rules to indicate the changes.

Mr. CATCHINGS. The report which was submitted at the same time the rules were submitted shows the changes.

Mr. KILGORE. I would like to make a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. KILGORE. Is it understood that during this reading of the rules amendments may be presented?

The SPEAKER. It is understood that during this reading amendments shall not be presented. This is merely the first reading of the report.

Mr. SPRINGER. And after that each rule will be taken up separately for consideration?

The SPEAKER. That is the request of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS].

When Rule X was reached

The SPEAKER said: Rule X, relating to the appointment of committees, having already been adopted, the Clerk, unless there is objection, will omit the reading of that rule.

There was no objection.

The Clerk then resumed, and completed the reading of the rules.

The SPEAKER. This completes the reading of the report; and now the Chair would like to have some agreement as to the consideration of it. The Chair will suggest that if general debate is desired it may be had, and then the rules might be read by paragraphs, under what is known as the five-minute rule. That can be done if there is no objection.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I think that is the best method.

Mr. REED. I would like to have some general debate. I suppose the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] does not desire to make any limitation upon that?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Yes, I do. Does the gentleman from Maine want general debate?

Mr. REED. Certainly.

Mr. CATCHINGS. How much?

Mr. REED. Well, I do not know how much time I want. I want just enough to explain this thing, after the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] has explained it from his point of view.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I think we had better proceed under the five-minute rule. If the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] should desire more time than five minutes I am sure he will have no difficulty in obtaining it; but I think we should proceed under the five-minute rule.

Mr. REED. I object to that.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Well, will half an hour of general debate suit the gentleman from Maine?

Mr. REED. Why, no.

Mr. CATCHINGS. One hour?

Mr. REED. I do not know how much it will take. I do not think there is any particular business pressing upon us to prevent us from making a full examination of this question. I sincerely trust that nothing will be done in the nature of stifling debate in a Democratic assembly.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, of course the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] understands that nobody wants to stifle debate, and certainly not on these rules. If the gentleman is serious in stating that he does desire general debate, and if he will indicate the time he desires——

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, this may all be very important, but we can not hear a word of it. I make the point of order that it is impossible to hear what is being said.

The SPEAKER. The House will be in order.

Mr. REED. This is not a matter in which people are divided into parties. It is a matter concerning which the House ought to be allowed opportunity for discussion, and we can come to some conclusion about limiting debate at any proper time, I imagine. I do not think this is an occasion when we need to limit debate beforehand. I regret to see a growing disposition started thus early to shut off proper consideration of measures brought before us.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I would like to make a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. CATCHINGS. If no agreement is reached as to general debate, what will be the order of procedure—if the House makes no agreement at all?

The SPEAKER. If there is no agreement as to general debate or consideration under the five-minute rule, the Chair proposes to recognize the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS], who presents the report, and then will recognize the minority; and the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] can demand the previous question on the whole rules whenever he desires, so that they need not be read again by paragraphs at all.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I move that the House enter upon the consideration of these rules by paragraphs, and that debate upon each paragraph, except by unanimous consent, shall be limited to five minutes.

Mr. REED. I raise the point of order that that is not permissible.

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman state under what rule he makes that point of order?

Mr. REED. I know of no rule that limits us to five minutes debate before general debate.

The SPEAKER. But suppose the House should make a rule?

Mr. REED. The House would have the right to make an incidental rule to pass upon an incidental motion of that kind to regulate the duration of debate. That is unquestionably general parliamentary law.

Mr. CATCHINGS. That is the motion I have made.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman moves that the House proceed to consider the report under what is known as the five-minute rule.

Mr. REED. Nothing is known of a five-minute rule in general parliamentary law.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I made no allusion, if the gentleman will permit me, to the five-minute rule; but my motion was that the House proceed to consider these rules, limiting debate upon each amendment offered or each paragraph to five minutes, unless the House itself by unanimous consent, should extend the time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi proposes that the House proceed to the consideration of this report by paragraphs, and that in the consideration thereof five minutes be allowed on each side on each paragraph or amendment thereto. Is that the proposition?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Yes, sir.

Mr. McMILLIN. A parliamentary inquiry, or rather a question I wish to ask the gentleman from Mississippi. I wish to know whether it is his purpose to have five minutes pro and con on each paragraph and amendment, or whether each member is entitled to five minutes when recognized on an amendment? I suppose there are some of these rules and amendments on which the gentleman would hardly want to cut off debate in five minutes?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Oh, no; I do not intend to do anything of the kind. If this motion is agreed to, so far as I can control it, I intend to give fair debate on every question.

Mr. McMILLIN. The question I wanted to understand was whether the motion put by the Speaker, for five minutes for or against a paragraph or amendment, would limit the debate to that amount of debate on each paragraph?

Mr. CATCHINGS. The purpose of the motion is to limit speeches to five minutes, so that after debate has run along I could demand the previous question. If the House agrees to this motion it is not my purpose to deprive any gentleman of such debate as may be desired.

Mr. REED. I do not think the House ought to agree to any such proposition as this. It is utterly unusual. I never heard of such a proposition; but of course this appeals to the good sense of every individual. I am not going to indulge in any such language as we often heard when I was in your place [addressing the Speaker] with regard to the outrages of cutting off debate, and if this House should pass this resolution and deprive members of the right to debate and of opportunities of getting light on the subject there is nothing on earth to prevent it, and there is nothing on earth that ought to prevent it. I only want to point out the outrageous nature of the proposition and the right of the House to do it. I do not dream of denying its right to stop all debate. It has the right to order the previous question without a word of explanation.

The gentleman has the right to demand the previous question without a word of explanation one way or another. But the object and purpose of debate is to enlighten some one who may need enlightenment and who may not be enlightened by the views of the gentleman from Mississippi or any other gentleman who undertakes to enlighten. It seems to me that the proposition is entirely unsatisfactory, and perhaps I might give point to my observation by saying that it seems a shade inconsistent.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I undertook to make an agreement for general debate. Failing in that, I will call for the previous question.

Mr. REED. There can be no previous question on that. The previous question is, Shall the main question now be put? That is clearly parliamentary law.

Mr. CATCHINGS. This is the main question.

The SPEAKER. The House in the absence of rules, can make such a provision as it pleases for the consideration of a proposition that comes before it. The gentleman from Mississippi now submits a resolution as to the method by which the House will consider the matter before the House.

Mr. REED. I want to say, in addition, that it is certainly not customary in any body governed by parliamentary law to undertake to limit debate before debate has been entered upon, or to call on the other side to see how long a time they desired for general debate before. How do we know how much general debate we desire until members see how much they know and how much they do not know?

Mr. CATCHINGS. The gentleman from Maine knows as well as any member of this House that it is always customary, where general debate is had at all, to limit the debate before the debate is entered into, unless by consent general debate has been suffered to go along without any limitation. I have not seen once, but many times, before any debate is had at all, that this House has by agreement on one side and the other fixed the limit to debate.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, can we have the resolution read by the Clerk, so that we may know exactly what it is that the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] wants us to vote on?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi will reduce his resolution to writing.

Mr. CATCHINGS having written the resolution, it was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the House proceed to the consideration of the report of the Committee on Rules; that the rules proposed by the committee shall be read by paragraphs; that any member shall be allowed five minutes to explain any amendment he may offer, after which the member who shall first obtain the floor shall be allowed to speak five minutes in opposition to it, and there shall be no further debate thereon.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask the previous question.

Mr. REED. Under general parliamentary law there can be no previous question on that. There is no occasion for demanding the previous question, and it could not be demanded if there was. His is a mere incidental motion and has to be decided without debate of itself; consequently to have the previous question upon it would be to gild refined gold.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution offered by the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. McMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, I would suggest to the gentleman from Mississippi that in the haste of writing his resolution he has failed, I think, to make it convey the idea which a few minutes ago I understood him to say he intended to convey. Under the resolution, as I understand it, there can be but five minutes' debate on each side of each proposition. I can not suppose that the gentleman from Mississippi would want to cut off

everybody in the House from speaking upon any proposition except two members and to limit them to five minutes each.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I will state to the gentleman from Tennessee that the resolution which I have sent to the desk embodies precisely the language of section 5 of Rule XXIII of the old rules, which covers what is commonly known as the five-minute rule.

Mr. McMILLIN. That is true, but that five-minute rule was intended to be applied only after there had been deliberate debate.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Nevertheless, under the rule as I have written it, there may be unlimited debate under the five-minute rule, unless where it is cut off by the previous question.

Mr. McMILLIN. I am not complaining of the course which the gentleman takes, but am merely suggesting that his resolution does not embody the same proposition that he first submitted to the House, which was to allow more than five minutes' debate on each side of each proposition.

Mr. CATCHINGS. And I am simply replying that I have copied the language of the old rule.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, will my colleague permit me to make a suggestion?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Certainly.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, that resolution, as I understand it, proposes to limit all debate on every one of these rules to five minutes on the part of the gentleman who proposes an amendment, and five minutes on the part of some gentleman who opposes it. Now, there are many of these rules that will probably be adopted without any debate, and to limit debate on the important rules which propose to fix the methods of procedure in the House to five minutes on each side, is to confine the argument on each proposition solely to two members, one in favor of it and one in opposition, thus leaving 352 men with their mouths closed, unable to have a voice in a matter on which they have a right to be heard.

Mr. REED. And in addition to that, Mr. Speaker, it gives no opportunity to any man to explain these rules as a whole, because it is simply impossible that that can be done in five minutes.

Mr. SNODGRASS. I want to ask the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER] whether he does not think that three hundred and odd men can take care of themselves by voting down any proposition that is offered to them if they do not like it?

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. Speaker, I suggest to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] that he withdraw his resolution and allow general debate to go on at least to-day, leaving the question of limitation to be settled later. That was the course adopted in the Fifty-first Congress, when what are known as the Reed rules were adopted. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] had charge of the report of the Committee on Rules, and the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Carlisle] who with Samuel J. Randall represented the minority of that committee, and on the question of limiting debate this colloquy occurred in relation thereto:

Mr. CANNON. Now, Mr. Speaker, I would like to have the attention of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Carlisle] for a moment. I desire to ask the gentleman from Kentucky if he is now ready to indicate a proposition under which the rules can be considered?

Mr. CARLISLE. I am not yet ready to agree to the proposition made by the gentleman from Illinois this morning; though I think that if the House will go on now with the discussion, with the understanding between us this morning that it shall be under the hour rule, I hope to-morrow morning we will be able to make some agreement; in any event, the gentleman has control of his own report, and can take such a course as he thinks best.

Mr. CANNON. Then the understanding is that we go on under the hour rule to-day?

Mr. CARLISLE. Under the hour rule.

Mr. CANNON. I will proceed, and by to-morrow morning I think we may be able to agree with the gentleman from Kentucky touching the closing of debate and a vote on the code.

So I think that now the gentleman from Mississippi will save time if he will allow the general debate to proceed to-day. I have no doubt that by to-morrow we shall be ready to proceed under the five-minute rule, and it will be following the course adopted in the Fifty-first Congress.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I wish merely to state that I have no objection whatever to general debate. On the contrary, I opened these proceedings with an endeavor to reach an agreement by which we could have a limited amount of general debate. I failed, however, to secure an agreement; and nothing was left to me but to suggest to the House the motion that occurred to me as the next best course of procedure.

I am perfectly content that we shall have general debate. I never entertained the slightest desire to prevent the fullest and freest discussion of these rules. Gentlemen will remember that during the consideration of the rules in the last Congress I was extremely liberal, and suffered the debate to run along for a period of two or three weeks. Nor have I any desire now to prevent any member on this floor from expressing any views he may entertain in regard to any of these rules. But no one has expressed a wish for general debate except the gentleman from Maine; and he failed to suggest any desire as to the limitation of it. Therefore I was driven to make the motion I have submitted.

Mr. REED. It so happens that I have taken precisely the same ground which Mr. Carlisle, then a member from Kentucky, took in the Fifty-first Congress. I asked that the general debate might proceed without any limitation. I have not the slightest idea that this general debate need take all this afternoon. I do not know that it will take an hour. But we can not tell as to that until we get into the debate. It very often happens that where everybody understands something as to what the actual limitations of time are, some agreement is entered into at the beginning as to the amount of time to be occupied. But when there is no particular occasion for that—when there is no special stress of business and no reason to suspect that anybody is going to prolong debate unnecessarily—it seems to me that the position taken by Mr. Carlisle in the Fifty-first Congress and the position which I now take is a reasonable and sensible one.

In response to the suggestion which I made, the gentleman from Mississippi proposes we shall be limited to five minutes on a side on each item, giving no opportunity to discuss the rules as a whole, no opportunity to give the House the information which it should get from debate if it is of a reasonable character.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Nobody suspects that our committee has ever had any purpose to prevent full and free debate. When I sent up my resolution, I accompanied it with a statement that so far as I might control the matter, every member, notwithstanding the adoption of this resolution, should have the fullest opportunity to express his objection to any of these rules. In view, however, of what has occurred I will ask leave to withdraw my resolution and that the general debate be allowed to continue during to-day unless it should meanwhile exhaust itself.

Mr. REED. I think if the gentleman from Mississippi will leave this matter open there will not be any trouble; for I have no idea any one wants to occupy any great amount of time. It seems to me that general debate may properly be allowed to proceed without limitation.

Mr. SPRINGER. Does the gentleman from Maine desire to occupy any time now in general debate?

Mr. REED. I should be very glad if the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] would in the first place fully advise us as to the particulars of this report. I wish this done because we have had no consultation in committee owing to the press of other business. I do not make any complaint in this respect, for I consented to the report. I did everything I could to facilitate the presentation of the report, although it is, in some respects, contrary to my idea of the correct method of doing business here. I would like the gentleman from Mississippi to submit some explanation, because I may not be informed as to all the points which deserve attention.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I will make a very brief statement in regard to the alterations suggested by the Committee on Rules.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. I hope the gentleman from Mississippi will speak in a louder tone. It has been impossible to hear in this part of the hall what he has been saying.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the rules which are now proposed for adoption are in the main, as members doubtless understand, those which were adopted by the House in the last Congress. The alterations suggested are not numerous. The first alteration applies to clause 1 of Rule VIII, which, as it prevailed in the last Congress, provided that—

Every member shall be present within the hall of the House during its sittings, unless excused or necessarily prevented; and shall vote on each question put, unless, on motion made before division or the commencement of the roll call, and decided without debate, he shall be excused, or unless he has a direct personal or pecuniary interest in the event of such question.

We now propose to strike out the words "on motion made before division, or the commencement of the roll call, and decided without debate, he shall be excused, or unless." The object of the proposed change is to avoid the motion which might be made under the old rule to excuse a member from voting. If the change which we suggest be made, a member will be left to determine for himself whether he has such a direct personal or pecuniary interest in the question before the House as to relieve him from the duty of voting. I think this amendment will commend itself to the judgment of all gentlemen.

Mr. REED. It has also another advantage: it checks one filibustering weapon in the hands of ill-disposed persons.

Mr. CATCHINGS. It does, as suggested by the gentleman from Maine, have that effect.

The next alteration, Mr. Speaker, is to be found in Rule X. The committees on the Columbian Exposition and on the Eleventh Census have been dropped from the list of committees, inasmuch as the Committee on Rules thought there was no necessity for further continuing them. The Eleventh Census has been completed and the Columbian Exposition will soon be a thing of the past. As those committees had been raised for

special purposes, to take charge of matters relating to the Exposition and in connection with the Eleventh Census, and have fulfilled their object, we recommend that they be dropped from the list of committees of the House. We also by this same Rule X make certain select committees standing committees of the House. This rule, however, has already been adopted by the House on a former report.

The next amendment, Mr. Speaker, proposed by the Committee on Rules will be found in the fifty-second clause of Rule XI of the old rules. The effect of the proposed amendment is to permit the Committee on Rules to sit during the sessions of the House.

But my attention has just been called to the fact that a further amendment to section 3 of Rule X should also be explained. I took occasion, however, to explain the object of it when the rule was adopted a few days since by the House. It will be remembered that the House adopted as a part of the rules a report from the Committee on Rules with reference to this Rule X, which authorized the Speaker to appoint certain committees; and when I presented the partial report I explained the amendment suggested, the effect of the change being that no matter how a vacancy may occur in the chairmanship of a committee the member next in rank would become chairman, unless the committee itself otherwise ordered. Under the old rule that was not the case, except where the chairman of the committee died.

But there seemed to the Committee on Rules to be no reason for a distinction between the vacancy in the chairmanship of a committee occasioned by the death of the chairman, by his resignation, or from any other cause; and we therefore amended the rule to provide that no matter how the vacancy occurred the next member in rank on the committee should become chairman, unless the committee should otherwise direct.

Let us recur again to the fifty-second clause of Rule XI. That rule is amended so as to permit the Committee on Rules to sit during the sessions of the House. It was believed to be desirable that this committee should have that power. It is not an unusual thing for the House to grant permission to any committee to sit during the sessions of the House. It is, on the contrary, an everyday matter for the chairman of a committee to rise in the House and ask unanimous consent that his committee be permitted to hold its sessions during the sittings of the House.

By this means the business of the House is expedited, and the Committee on Rules believe that this committee, which largely takes the initiative in suggesting legislation, or the order of business in the House, should have this right.

We further propose to drop from the rules clause 2 of Rule XIII, which was in these words:

2. The question of reference of any proposition, other than that reported from a committee, shall be decided without debate, in the following order, viz: A standing committee, a select committee; but the reference of a proposition reported by a committee, when demanded, shall be decided according to its character, without debate, in the following order, viz: House Calendar, Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, Committee of the Whole House, a standing committee, a select committee.

That rule has become obsolete in view of the fact that bills of all sorts are now introduced by simply handing them in; those of a public character to the Speaker to be referred by him, and those of a private character to the Clerk to be referred by him. So there is nothing for the clause to operate upon, and we suggest that it be dropped.

We also, Mr. Speaker, amend Rule XVII by simply transposing a part of the third clause of Rule XXVIII, which relates to the operation of the previous question. That clause contained a provision that where the previous question had been ordered, and there had been no debate before it was ordered, there should be thirty minutes debate allowed on each proposition. We transposed part of Rule XXVIII, and make it a part of Rule XVII, where it seems properly to belong. There is no alteration in the substance of the rule itself; it is simply a transposition of that part.

We amend Rule XIX, or rather we suggest that it shall be amended, so that amendments to titles of bills of resolutions shall not be in order until after they are finally passed, and that they shall then be determined without debate. Gentlemen will remember that under the old rule an opportunity for delay was afforded after a bill had been passed. This permission or provision of the old rule was availed of for the purpose of delay by taking technical advantage of the right to debate any proposition which might be presented for an hour on the part of the mover thereof. We amend that rule so as to provide that there shall be no debate on the amendment of the title of the bill or the resolution.

Mr. REED. That is also a limitation on the sacred right of deliberation.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Yes, sir; we propose to that extent, at least, to invade the sacred right of deliberation; and we suggest, as I have already said, that where an amendment is offered to the title of a bill or resolution after it is finally passed, the amendment shall be disposed of without debate.

Mr. TRACEY. Was not that a provision of the present rules?

Mr. CATCHINGS. No, sir.

The next amendment is proposed to clause 3 of Rule XXII, which is:

3. All other bills, memorials, and resolutions, may in like manner be delivered, indorsed with the names of members introducing them, to the Speaker, to be by him referred, and the titles and reference thereof shall be entered on the Journal and printed in the RECORD of the next day, and correction in case of error of reference may be made by the House in accordance with Rule XI within three days immediately after the reading of the Journal, by unanimous consent, or on motion of a committee claiming jurisdiction, or on the report of the committee to which the bill has been erroneously referred.

The amendment proposed is simply to prohibit debate on questions of reference. It was deemed by the Committee on Rules inadvisable that a simple proposition to refer a bill to one committee or another should be made the subject of debate, the House being quite competent, upon a mere suggestion to it, to decide as to which committee a reference should be made.

We also amend that rule by making, as its fourth clause, Rule XLVII of the last Congress. That is another simple matter of transposition. The rule transposed is:

When a bill, resolution, or memorial is introduced "by request," these words shall be entered upon the Journal and printed in the RECORD.

That was Rule XLVII of the last Congress. We simply omit that as an independent rule and make it clause 4 of Rule XXII.

The next amendment suggested is in paragraph 2 of Rule XXIII, the purpose of which is to make 100 members a quorum in the Committee of the Whole. It is believed by the committee that if this amendment is adopted great expedition of the public business will result.

Mr. KILGORE. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Yes.

Mr. KILGORE. Has it not been the rule, from the beginning of the Government, with one exception, that a quorum of the House and a quorum of the Committee of the Whole are the same?

Mr. REED. Yes; this breaks the precedents of 104 years—all except two.

Mr. KILGORE. Except during the Reed Congress. The Reed people had a different rule.

Mr. REED. You are doing me too much honor.

Mr. CATCHINGS. As far as my knowledge goes, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE] fairly states the case. So far as my knowledge goes, up to the Fifty-first Congress, a majority of the whole House was required to constitute a quorum of the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. KILGORE. Well, now, Mr. Speaker, in the Fifty-first Congress a quorum of the House was 167 members. In the present Congress a quorum is 179 members. So in proportion to the size of the House you have actually reduced the number that is necessary to constitute a quorum below what it was in the Reed Congress in the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, those of us who served in the Fifty-first Congress must frankly admit that the operation of the rule then adopted, and which we now propose, was highly beneficial. Gentlemen who are familiar with the manner in which the business of this House is conducted all understand and admit that when the House has before it the consideration of one of the great appropriation bills it is a simple impossibility to keep present here on this floor a majority of the whole membership of the House.

There is nothing in the Constitution, as was formerly suggested by some members, which forbids this change. While the House designates this committee as a Committee of the Whole House, it is under no obligation to make it in fact a Committee of the Whole House so far as its quorum is concerned. It is a Committee of the Whole House in the sense that every member of the House is also a member of the committee, and can take part in its deliberations, and can address himself to the business before the committee. But I repeat, there is nothing in the Constitution which forbids this House from making 100, or any other number of members, a quorum in its proceedings in Committee of the Whole.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have many times, as other gentlemen have, seen the business of this House obstructed for hours at a time because some gentleman was disappointed in securing the adoption of some amendment proposed by him to some appropriation bill. In a fit of temper or otherwise we have, under these circumstances, seen the point made that no quorum was present. Pages have been sent out and messengers sent out by the Sergeant-at-Arms, searching the committee rooms and the hotels and the Departments to drum up enough members to constitute a majority of the House.

I have seen hours lost frequently in securing the presence of a quorum to act upon an amendment which nobody but the man

who offered it would ever dream would be accepted, and then we have seen the same thing repeated the same day and the next day until the final passage of the bill; for no sooner would a quorum appear and vote down the amendment and remove the obstruction so that business could go on than some other gentleman, because he could not get an amendment agreed to, would make the point that there was no quorum present, and, in the meantime, the members had gone, had dispersed, and so hours of valuable time were consumed in again getting a quorum present. I believe I can say, Mr. Speaker, that I have not talked with a single member of this House on either side who has not expressed satisfaction to me that the committee had suggested this amendment.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. This amendment, as I understand it, is in the language of the rule of the Fifty-first Congress.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Substantially; possibly the exact language.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. It worked very satisfactorily in that Congress.

Mr. REED. Oh, everything worked satisfactorily there. [Laughter.]

Mr. CATCHINGS. Another amendment proposed in these rules is that the Committee of the Whole House, at any time after the five minutes debate has begun, may itself close debate; and we thought that that would contribute greatly to the expedition of business. Gentlemen understand that under the old rules the Committee of the Whole House had no power to close debate. Although it might have had a surfeit of debate, it was impotent to close debate, and nothing was left to it except to go through the farcical performance of rising, having the House organize itself as the House, and having taken that dual capacity direct that debate in the Committee of the Whole House should close, whereupon the House would again go through the farcical performance of resolving itself into Committee of the Whole.

Mr. REED. And in addition, if the gentleman from Mississippi will allow me, the further suggestion that while you have a quorum of a hundred there may be a very grave difficulty in getting a quorum consisting of 179 members.

Mr. CATCHINGS. That is a very pertinent suggestion of the gentleman from Maine, and I have seen difficulty arising on the very question of the committee rising; for of course it would require a quorum; and so without the presence of a majority of the total membership the committee was powerless to rise or to do anything.

It will be observed, however, Mr. Speaker, that we only propose to confer upon the Committee of the Whole House the right to close debate after five minutes debate has begun; so that all questions as to general debate will be settled in the House as they have heretofore been.

The next amendment suggested is in paragraph 4 of Rule XXIV. I will read the rule which we propose to amend. The old rule was as follows:

After the morning hour shall have been devoted to reports from committees (or the call completed) the Speaker shall again call the committees in regular order for one hour, upon which call each committee on being named shall have the right to call up for consideration any bill reported by it on the previous day on either the House or Union Calendar.

We suggest that this rule be amended so that the House during the morning hour may consider bills on any one of these calendars, and not merely those on the House or Union Calendar.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. That would allow you to take up private bills.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Any bill you chose to take up.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. If the gentleman will permit me, does he not think that inasmuch as Friday is devoted to the Private Calender, that we ought not to have an amendment in that shape, adding that business to the morning hour? The real effect of this will be to enable the morning hour to be devoted to the consideration of claims, of war claims and all those matters, whereas they now have a full day that can be devoted to that purpose.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. That is, have had it in a Pickwickian sense.

Mr. BOATNER. I would suggest to the gentleman from Iowa that not a single private bill was considered in the last Congress.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. It was not because they had not a day for it. They had a very large calendar.

Mr. BOATNER. Three Fridays out of every month were taken up by other committees, to the exclusion of business reported by the Committee on Claims.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. We do not want to take up the morning hour with the consideration of that business.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. No committee will be likely to take up its time with the consideration of business on the Private Calendar.

Mr. REED. Anything that comes in the morning hour can be killed. That is only another method of killing private bills.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I doubt the value of the suggestion of my friend from Iowa. I think it can safely be left to the committees to decide for themselves what bills they will call up in the morning hour, and as the time is so limited, I think it need not be anticipated that during that hour any bill will be suggested to the House which will be likely to excite much discussion or provoke much opposition.

Mr. McMILLIN. Does the rule change the method of consideration in this respect: Where a committee brings up a bill which makes an appropriation, or which would ordinarily have to be considered in Committee of the Whole, does that measure still have to be considered in Committee of the Whole?

Mr. CATCHINGS. No alteration is made in that particular.

Mr. HERMANN. I wish to ask the gentleman from Mississippi a question in that connection. As to the consideration of pension claims, for instance, can they be called up at any time, or are they to be confined to the usual Friday night sessions?

Mr. CATCHINGS. They can be called up like other bills.

Mr. HERMANN. Under the rule to which the gentleman has just referred?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Certainly. Now, Mr. Speaker, the next amendment suggested is in Rule XXVI, clause 2, which was as follows:

The second and fourth Mondays in each month shall, when claimed by the Committee of the District of Columbia, be set apart for the consideration of such business as may be presented by said committee.

The Committee on Rules propose to substitute for that what I now read:

The second and fourth Mondays in each month shall be set apart for the consideration of such business as shall have been previously reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia, unless otherwise determined by the House.

The amendment, if adopted, will have the effect of placing what are known as District days upon the same footing precisely with the Fridays of each week, which are known as Private Calendar days. I will explain to members who have not had an opportunity of witnessing the operation of the old rule, that it was not within the power of the House to determine, as a general proposition, on District days whether it would consider business reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia or not; whereas it has always been within the power of the House, when Friday comes, to say by a vote that it will dispense with the Private Calendar and proceed to general business.

The only method by which the House on District day could refuse to consider business reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia was by having the question of consideration raised against each bill presented by that committee; and the effect was, so far as my observation goes, that the day was generally lost both to the Committee on the District of Columbia and the House. When this House desires to consider business reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia it will do so, and when it does not desire to do so no rules you can adopt can compel it to do so.

The effect, therefore, was that hour after hour was spent in having a bill presented by the Committee on the District of Columbia, having the question of consideration raised against it and sustained; then having another bill called up by that committee, the question of consideration again raised and again sustained; and so on until the whole day was wasted in the struggle between the House trying on the one hand to rid itself of that business, and the committee on the other hand trying to compel the House to consider its business.

The Committee on Rules would suggest to the House whether it would not be wise to put these District days upon the same footing with Friday, which is Private Calendar day; so that if, from any cause satisfactory to itself, the House should not desire to enter upon the consideration of measures reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia, it could by a single vote so decide, and pass on to the consideration of general business.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman from Mississippi whether the effect of the new rule as proposed, if adopted, will not be to make it much more difficult for the Committee on the District of Columbia to have its business attended to on District days? In other words, will it not be easier to dispense with District business under the new rule than it was under the old?

Mr. CATCHINGS. That is a matter of speculation, Mr. Speaker, and the gentleman's question is one to which, of course, no definite or conclusive answer can be given. My own opinion, however, is that the effect of this rule will be to expedite the consideration of bona fide measures, or those of at least a quasi public nature, which may come from that committee.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. I will ask the gentleman another question which his long experience in this House will enable him to answer. I wish to ask him whether, in view of the great and growing importance of the business pertaining to the District of Columbia, he thinks that two days in each month is more time than it ought to be allowed for the transaction of that business?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I might admit the truth of what the gentleman implies in that question, and still contend that this would be a wise rule. I may also suggest that one day in the week for the consideration of private bills is utterly insufficient to give any sort of consideration to measures of that kind which Congress has to pass upon; but, in the very nature of things, we can not give as many days to the consideration of either private bills or the business of the District as perhaps they should have.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Is the object of this new rule to make it easier to do away with District business on District days?

Mr. CATCHINGS. The object is to enable this House, when it is determined not to consider business reported from the District Committee, to say so by a single vote, and pass on to general business, instead of wasting the whole day in voting down one bill after another presented from that committee.

Mr. HEARD. I will ask the gentleman whether it is not the object of this rule, and whether the effect of it will not be to invite the very opposition to the consideration of District business which is relied upon to set that business aside in the interest of other business?

Mr. CATCHINGS. I do not think this amendment can be regarded as an invitation to obstruction, because, as I have said, there are times when this House will not consider business reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia——

Mr. HEARD. Or from any other.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Old members have seen that repeatedly. They have seen the efforts of that committee to obtain consideration for its business, and have seen them fail repeatedly. If the House wishes to consider the business reported from that committee it will do so, and if it does not I think it ought to have a right to say so, to put it aside, and proceed to the consideration of other business.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Will not this proposed rule, if adopted, have a tendency to cause the Committee on the District of Columbia to bring forward only meritorious measures—such as they can satisfy the House have merit in them?

Mr. CATCHINGS. I have no doubt that this rule would have the effect at all events of causing that committee to put at least in the front rank those measures of the greatest general importance to the District of Columbia.

The next amendment will be found in Rule XXVIII, clause 3, which we propose to amend by striking out so much pertaining to the operation of the previous question as (according to the explanation already given) has been transposed and made a part of Rule XVII.

We amend Rule XXXIV so that the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution shall have a right to come upon the floor of this House—a right which is given to various other public officers of high rank or degree who are specified in the old rule.

Mr. McMILLIN. Will the gentleman state what are the duties of this officer which make it proper that he should come on the floor, rather than others who are still excluded?

Mr. CATCHINGS. I can only say to my friend from Tennessee that, as he knows, various officers named in our rule—the President, the Vice-President, the judges of the Supreme Court, etc., have not had this privilege extended to them on the supposition that they had business with members of the House; but this privilege was simply intended to confer upon these officers some honor by reason of the high positions which they occupy.

Mr. McMILLIN. Then you propose to confer this privilege upon this officer merely as a matter of honor?

Mr. CATCHINGS. As a matter of honor.

Mr. McMILLIN. I did not know of any duty which he had to perform which would make it necessary for him to be admitted to the floor.

Mr. CATCHINGS. We propose another amendment to Rule XXXIV. The old rule, in designating those persons who are to enjoy the privilege of the floor, specifies "ex-members of the House of Representatives who are not interested in any claim or bill pending before Congress." We suggest an amendment which will admit to the privilege of the floor only such ex-members of Congress as are not interested either as party, agent, or attorney in any claim or bill pending before Congress.

We saw no reason why the party himself who is interested in pending legislation should be excluded from the floor, while at the same time his attorney is allowed to have access to the floor. Hence, after much consideration and after consultation with members of the House, we thought it best that this rule should be amended so as to admit ex-members of Congress except those who are interested, either as party, agent, or attorney, in any claim or bill pending before Congress.

Mr. WEADOCK. Who is to determine whether a particular ex-member has not a claim before Congress?

Mr. CATCHINGS. If this amendment should be agreed to and become a part of the rules of the House it will be the duty of our Doorkeeper to enforce it, and take such measures as seem to him wise and proper for that purpose.

Mr. McMILLIN. I suggest to the gentleman from Mississippi that the Doorkeeper might enforce this rule by providing a register and requiring ex-members to sign it, as has been done in former Congresses.

Mr. CATCHINGS. It is still done. I was about to observe that, without any specific terms defining the manner in which this rule should be enforced, the Doorkeepers of successive Houses have adopted rules for themselves and have required that ex-members of Congress, unless known to the officer to be such, should register themselves and receive a card of admission. And it will be a very simple matter for the officer to require any ex-member desiring admission to the floor to make a statement that he has no such interest as the rule specifies, which statement, as a matter of course, would be accepted.

Mr. WEADOCK. I wish to inquire whether, as a matter of fact, ex-members have not heretofore decided that matter for themselves, and come in here without any restriction whatever?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Yes, sir; that has been largely done in the nature of things; but if it should come to the knowledge of the House or of the Doorkeeper, acting on his best judgment, that any ex-member admitted to the floor was offending against this provision the House could take action for his exclusion.

Mr. McMILLIN. It is probably well to have as a contemporaneous construction of this rule some expression from the gentleman on another point. I do not suppose it is the purpose of the rule to exclude the attorneys of contestants in election cases.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Oh, no.

Mr. McMILLIN. They ought not to be excluded, of course.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Certainly not.

Mr. McMILLIN. And I do not suppose the rule could be construed so as to exclude them. Contestants themselves are admitted; and I presume their attorneys would be as a matter of course.

Mr. CATCHINGS. In a case of that sort it is more than likely that this right would be enjoyed by virtue of the Constitution, because when trying a contested-election case we sit as a court; and when a court is hearing a case the party interested has a right to be present in person or by his counsel, at all suitable opportunities.

But however that may be, it is very certain that ex-members of Congress who may be employed to represent either party in a contest for a seat before this House would not come within the operation of this rule.

We propose also an amendment to Rule XXXVI, the object of which is to permit members of the press to enter the lobby in the rear of the Speaker's chair during the sessions of the House, for the purpose of seeing a member of the House under such regulations as the Speaker shall prescribe. I will say to gentlemen that this proposition has been pressed on the House for quite a number of years. Just such a rule has prevailed for a very long time in the Senate, and it is believed that it has resulted in the convenience both of the members of the Senate and the members of the press who desire to consult with Senators at any time during the sessions of that body.

As now, in the House, if a member of the press sends a card to a gentleman on the floor, the only place where he can see him is in the corridors, where there is no privacy, where he is probably surrounded by a surging crowd many times, and hence it is deemed for the interest both of the members of the House and of the members of the press that we should adopt some method by which the convenience of each will be consulted in that regard. The effect of this change, if adopted, will be that a gentleman receiving a card from a member of the press, and desiring to see him, will simply notify him, possibly through the messenger who brought the card, that he would meet him in the lobby, at some time fixed, for the interview sought.

Mr. HEARD. Will the gentleman permit an inquiry?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Certainly.

Mr. HEARD. Does it not occur to the gentleman from Mississippi that it might effectually serve the convenience of the House generally if the change that he proposes in the rules of the House, to admit members of the press to the lobby in the rear of the Speaker's chair, should be extended still further, so that a member, if called upon by anyone, whether a member of the press or not, would be enabled to see him in this lobby and talk to him there, instead of going into the corridors for that purpose?

In the Senate a visitor sending a card to a Senator is invited into the Marble Room, corresponding to our lobby here in the rear of the Speaker's seat, where the Senator goes to meet him, without having to stand out in the corridor, with a crowd around, or in a draft of wind, to confer with him. I submit, while I am

in favor of what the gentleman suggests, I think it would be well to let it go still further and have some provision in our rule corresponding to that part of the Senate rule.

Mr. CATCHINGS. It would certainly be a very great convenience if we had some suitable room in which to invite such persons as desire to confer with members; but I am hardly willing to say that I would favor a proposition to permit members to take into the lobby all persons who might simply desire to call upon them.

There is a great difference between this House and the Senate. We have 356 members of the House. The Senate is a much smaller body, and I think it will be found that the extension suggested by the gentleman from Missouri would result in this, that the lobby, designed in the main for the recreation of gentlemen who wish to retire temporarily from this Hall, would be crowded almost constantly with visitors, making it very inconvenient for the members generally, if not practically excluding them.

The next amendment, Mr. Speaker, that the Committee on Rules proposes, consists in the abrogation of Rule XLVII and its transposition so as to constitute paragraph 4 of Rule XXII.

I believe I have now invited the attention of the House to every amendment suggested by the Committee on Rules.

Mr. PICKLER. Will the gentleman please explain, before taking his seat, the method of the introduction of bills and their reference?

Mr. CATCHINGS. The rules of the House in the last Congress are adhered to in that regard.

Mr. PICKLER. There is no change?

Mr. CATCHINGS. They remain precisely the same.

Mr. DOCKERY. Will the gentleman from Mississippi permit me to ask him a question as to the suggestion of the Committee on Rules with reference to allowing members of the press to enter the lobby back of the Speaker's seat? Is it contemplated that this will involve an additional force of doorkeepers?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Not at all; because, as it is now, cards are sent in and delivered to us from members of the press. They would be still sent in and delivered in the same manner. The only difference is that the member receiving such card, instead of going out into the corridor, would probably go with the messenger himself, and himself invite the member of the press into the lobby; or, if not, he would send word by the messenger indicating at what time he would see the member of the press in the lobby. I do not see that it would involve any change in that regard.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. I do not want to be understood as opposing this provision for the accommodation of the members of the press, but I would like to ask the gentleman from Mississippi what is there to keep the members of the press from coming into these four open doors into the Hall of the House unless a doorkeeper is stationed there?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Simply because they have not the right under the rules of the House to come upon the floor. The Doorkeeper of the House will enforce the rule excluding all persons not entitled to enter the Hall.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. It is not designed, then, to put doorkeepers at each of these doors?

Mr. CATCHINGS. No, sir.

Mr. MILLIKEN. This provision of the rule would allow members of the press in the lobby only on invitation of a member of the House. Or do you propose to give them the right of access to that lobby at any time?

Mr. CATCHINGS. No, sir; only on invitation of a member. But this matter is left to be fixed, as to its details, by the Speaker of the House. My understanding is, of course, that no member of the press will have the right to enter the lobby except on invitation of a member of the House. And moreover, when he has finished the interview to which he has been invited, he will at once retire from that lobby.

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Certainly.

Mr. EVERETT. A joint resolution, passed in the last Congress, recognizes the status of the clerks employed by members of Congress as they had not previously been recognized, and puts them upon a quasi public instead of a private footing. Did the Committee on Rules consider whether it would be practicable to admit to the lobby the clerks who may be employed by members of Congress under that resolution?

Mr. CATCHINGS. I will say to my distinguished friend that we considered that it was not practicable to admit them; that there are enough people on and about the floor of the House now, and that it would crowd the House too much.

Mr. EVERETT. I do not refer to admitting them to the floor of the House, but simply to the lobby in the rear of the Speaker's desk.

Mr. CATCHINGS. We have not deemed it wise to do that. We have thought it best to adhere to the rule which excludes from this floor all persons except those specially designated. I think if we should admit the clerks of members to that lobby, it would be crowded from the hour of the meeting of this House to its adjournment, and the main use for which it is designed would be destroyed. That is to say, it is meant to be a place to which we can retire when we have become fatigued from sitting in this Hall, for rest or consultation.

Now, Mr. Speaker, having reviewed these rules in a succinct manner——

Mr. BLACK of Illinois. I would like to have the gentleman from Mississippi state, before he takes his seat, whether he has taken any steps to determine the number of persons who would be admitted to the lobby if this proposed change is adopted?

Mr. CATCHINGS. The persons entitled to admission to the floor are designated under the rules. There are certain high officials designated, and all ex-members of Congress except those who are interested in some pending measure. Of course it would be impossible to make any statement of the number of ex-members of Congress who are now living.

As a matter of fact, as we all know, we have visitations from very few of them. Quite a number of ex-members of Congress have made this city their home. They are the ones who chiefly come here. Occasionally some ex-member passing through the city comes up to the scene of his former labors, to meet old associates, or for some other purpose, but after all, there are very few of them who come to this House.

Mr. BLACK of Illinois. I wanted to get from the gentleman a statement as to whether or not the committee had determined the number of press representatives who would be admitted to the lobby under the provision of the new rule?

Mr. CATCHINGS. No, sir; we have not, and I can not see, I confess, that it matters very much.

Mr. COGSWELL. You can not tell how many of them will call upon us.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I can not say how great a number of press representatives may be embraced within the operations of this rule. It simply puts it within the power of a member of the House, when he receives a card from a member of the press, to invite him into the lobby to receive him.

Mr. BLACK of Illinois. Then, Mr. Speaker, what objection would there be to a member receiving a card from his private clerk, and meeting him where he would meet one of these press representatives?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, that opens up rather too wide a range of discussion, I think. Gentlemen will understand that relations have grown up within the last twenty years between public officials and members of the press. It is through their intercourse with members of this House, and with other public officials, that in the main they derive the information which they send out through the Associated Press and private telegrams to papers all over this country, keeping the American people advised of the progress of business here. So that the proposition rests upon a very high principle, I think; but when it comes to a mere matter of private convenience, I think it is a different thing entirely, and I do not think we should suffer the private clerks of members of this House to have access to the lobby.

Mr. DOCKERY. Mr. Speaker, I am quite in accord with the proposition to admit members of the press to the lobby in the rear of the Hall, but I desire to know whether that privilege is restricted to members of the press who are entitled to admission to the reporters' gallery?

Mr. CATCHINGS. That is a matter that would be arranged by the Speaker himself. I do not know what would be his ruling upon that. Of course, he would adopt such safeguards as would insure this proposition being carried out in a decent and satisfactory manner.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have stated all that I care to say, and I will very gladly yield to any gentleman.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED].

Mr. REED. I do not address the House this afternoon with any very great hope that what I say will lead to the success of the views I entertain; nevertheless, I purpose to give myself before the end of this session the same satisfaction which I received by the end of the last Congress, of having a great many Democratic members, enough to have perfected righteousness if they had known how early enough to come to me and say, Had I known what this thing really was you would have had my vote in favor of the adoption of the system adopted by the Fifty-first Congress. We are, unfortunately, those of us who believe in a sound system of rules, laboring under two disadvantages: first, we have to convince the old Democratic members; and second, we have to convince the new.

The difficulty with the old member is that he understands the value of the veto power; he understands the value of the rule of

a single individual, and the fact that he could prevent more public business than he could expedite. The difficulty with the new member, who comes here fresh from that well-spring of public virtue, the people, who is desirous of having righteousness here, and having it done by others, will be so unfortunate as not to know what goodness is, and will not recognize it even when he sees it before him. Nevertheless, I have a desire to present what seems to me to have been quite a successful system, so that the House may have an opportunity to reject it with more knowledge of what it is, and consequently have it on their consciences for a short time, in the hope of a possible amelioration of mankind in the future.

I confess I am very much encouraged by what occurs in the report of the Committee on Rules. In the last Congress, when the Halls still vibrated with the outcries of the Democratic minority of the Fifty-first Congress, one could hardly expect any very great advance; and yet we had a great deal of advance even in that Congress; for that Congress, instead of leaving everybody, according to the old Democratic system, to the mercy of any citizen who might by some providence of God have been chosen a member of Congress [laughter], they left the House to the tender mercy of the Speaker and two assistants appointed by himself, whereby the Speaker had the power, which is a great thing, and also another great thing, the advantage of exercising it in private.

By the assistance of the Committee on Rules, helped out by a decision of the Speaker in which he overruled all of his predecessors, the Committee on Rules were enabled to control the House more or less, and in cases where they did not absolutely control they hung threatening over, so that their moral influence was very great, as it will be in this Congress, buttressed up and supported as they are by this proposed new improvement in the rules.

Of course I congratulate the House that the committee now, after a lapse of four years, are able to give a denial, in the report of the Committee on Rules, to the statement of Samuel J. Randall and the present Secretary of the Treasury that the use of a quorum of a hundred in the Committee of the Whole is an advantageous thing. Those two distinguished gentlemen, when they occupied simply a prophetic position, were quite sure that great danger would happen to the country on that account. I am glad to see that statesmen with more experience have come to the conclusion that the wisdom of the Republican party, which was anticipatory wisdom, has been justified by the facts.

But I want to call the attention of the House to the addition which has been made to the power of the Committee on Rules. It will make a wonderful extension of its system. In the first place, the Committee on Rules in the last Congress had power to meet together and to determine when the power of the filibusterer should be lifted from any bill. The filisbusterer ranged over it all until he was hunted down by the Committee on Rules. He had complete control over your concerns all to himself, but when he came within the purview of the Committee on Rules, then he could be overthrown.

Now, that system was found to work in two ways. First, the committee could do it, and in the second place they could threaten it. One was direct influence, and the other was what would be called moral influence. Both means somewhat controlled, but not in your case or in mine; not in the business in which your constituents or mine were interested, but in those in which a majority of the Committee on Rules thought some action ought to be taken. Then the filibusterer could be suppressed.

In other words, a majority of this House could rule when it was supplemented by the gentleman who was honored by the position of Speaker and two other gentlemen appointed by him. That is progress, I admit. I admit the majority plus the Speaker and his two assistants controlling the House is better than a majority plus them both absolutely powerless, which was the original Democratic plan and system. [Laughter.] That much I will admit.

The progress is slow, but it is progress. In four years we have got the Democratic party, with its representatives, up to the principle of the bill, although they have brought in a number of unsatisfactory and vicious details. But the Committee on Rules now are going to be in a very fine position. First, they can meet at any time when the House is in session; they can meet when the filibusterer is in midcareer [laughter]; they can meet when he is deploying his skirmishers or when he is bringing in his main body.

That is one good thing. Next, they can report a rule without the provision that they shall not be listened to until the next day; that is, they can operate instantly, and whenever the filibusterer appears in this House there are the members of the Committee on Rules ready to disappear through the corridor to the Speaker's room and to come back with something that will cover his mouth completely over. [Laughter.]

Now, I say that is a good thing. Only what I object to is this: Do you not think, gentlemen on the other side, it is a little pitiful, after declaiming so much against interference with the rights of the individual member, standing upon his sole leather and his conscience, to stop the business of the House, that you should now depute three gentlemen to put an end to him so abruptly? [Laughter.] You know you have been contending always that that could not be done; that it was wicked for even the entire House to undertake to do it.

Now, do you not think, really, as between man and man, and confidentially—[laughter]—do you not think it would have been a more straightforward thing for you to have said that in every event a majority of the House of Representatives shall control; that the majority of this House shall be supreme as against the minority? And let me say one other thing to you. In my judgment, when the doctrine is once accepted of the entire power and right of the majority to rule and control the proceedings of this body, then you and I will have freedom of debate to an extent that has been hitherto unknown in this House.

Why, here to-day the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS], a gentleman as thoroughly high minded, as thoroughly sensitive, as thoroughly kindly and reasonable as any man in this House—I make no exception—that gentleman, influenced by a sort of fear lest we were going to make him some undefined trouble, the nature of which he could not understand; that we were going to bother him in some way that he could not get over under parliamentary law, fearing some trouble all the more terrible because it was vague, indefinite, and unknown, absolutely proposed that this great question should be disposed of under five minutes of debate on each side, and for a time was absolutely pressing that proposition here! He did not find me opposing the will of the majority when he proposed to declare it. He found me assisting him in every way and backing up the opinion of the Speaker that the House had a right to do it if it chose.

The House has a right to refuse all debate—to say that it will listen to no man. Whether that is a sensible thing or not, depends upon the occasion. [Laughter.] And the doctrine once established and understood that the majority of the House has the right to rule, then under that rule, which is capable of enforcement at any moment, the widest latitude that is proper and suitable will always be allowed, and the proper course of proceeding, instead of leading to the suppression of debate, will lead to a more suitable and satisfactory debate, a kind of debate where a man knows enough about the subject to be able to tell it without writing it down [laughter], where a man is ready when he begins to say what he knows.

Now, look at the system that is proposed to be retained here in other matters. Under the system of the Fifty-first Congress you had a method of doing business. You were not building rifle-pits all along the course of the passage of a bill, so that some fellow could jump into one of them, and with his single little gun stop the measure on its way. You had a system by which the morning hour was not to be a sixty-minute hour, but, if the House got possession of a bill and wanted to consider it, it could enlarge the period of the morning hour and close up the business. For that plan you substituted in the last Congress a proposition that a committee might call up a bill under an hour rule, an hour limited to sixty minutes, and then if, at the end of two days, the gentleman in charge of the bill had not got it through, it was hung up, to be disposed of together with other unfinished business.

"Unfinished business" of that sort was in the nature of the Greek kalends. All you had to do was to filibuster through two days, fill the time with three roll calls, and away went the bill, even though nine-tenths of the members of the House might have desired to pass it.

The order of business which is proposed here leaves important matters, all except revenue and appropriation matters, under the control of the Committee on Rules. The system of the Fifty-first Congress administered equal justice to every measure. Every measure that came forward was entitled to be disposed of by the House directly, and until it was disposed of it was before the House. Now you have all sorts of means provided for shunting bills aside. I tell you, gentlemen, it is a course of that sort, pursued for a century, that has made this House come to be regarded, as I have said of it elsewhere, as the coward center of the United States. [Laughter.] You get into the habit of dodging propositions instead of meeting them.

What is the use of going on in this way? Why not adopt a system of rules which will give the majority of the House control and which will take away from the filibusterer his right to stop business. Why, sir, we deliberately incorporate into the rules a proposition that a motion to adjourn, a motion to take a recess, and a motion to fix the time to which the House shall adjourn shall always be in order; and two of these motions are amendable *ad libitum;* and upon each there may be a roll call, consuming three-quarters of an hour. We deliberately estab-

lish the principle of filibustering, and then by interpretation we give the Committee on Rules a power over filibustering.

Why? I say that it is a great deal better to have a great power like this (and it is an immense power) exercised publicly by the Speaker of the House as the representative of the body, in the full sunlight of publicity, than to have it exercised in the quiet of a committee room. The true way to exercise authority is to exercise it openly, to exercise it where it can be the subject of open and legitimate criticism. I do not wonder that any Speaker is undesirous, as an individual, of exercising such power. I do not wonder that he shrinks from it and from the criticism which may result. Nevertheless, speaking from the point of view of the advantage of the House, the true system is to have a great power like this exercised in public.

I am going to give the House an opportunity (if I am permitted to do so) to vote upon substituting the rules of the Fifty-first Congress for those now proposed, and also to vote upon an amendment to these rules giving the majority of the House the power to bring members here and to record them as present if they do not vote. With this system the House will have complete control over its deliberations; will have ample power to do its work, and the responsibility is on us in either event. [Loud applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. CRISP (Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee in the chair). Mr. Speaker, the criticism of the gentleman from Maine upon the rules now proposed for adoption by the Committee on Rules and his laudation of that system of rules under which the Fifty-first Congress, to use the language of that hour, "did business," require some reply. There are provisions in this report now before the House which are taken from the rules of the Fifty-first Congress or are substantially provisions embraced in those rules.

Neither myself nor any member of the Committee on Rules would refrain from reporting to this House in favor of any proposition simply because it was a part of the rules of the Fifty-first Congress. Very much of those rules, perhaps, is to be commended; very much of them has been by the country absolutely condemned. [Applause on the Democratic side.] The gentleman from Maine—and this is a hobby with him—when he stands up before the country and speaks of the rules of the Fifty-first Congress nearly always omits, or fails to refer to, the practices in the Fifty-first Congress which were so odious to its members and which were so odious to the country. [Applause.]

The first action in the Fifty-first Congress which excited the indignation of the country and of the Representatives on this floor was not taken under the rules (which were subsequently adopted), but it was an arbitrary, high-handed action on the part of the Speaker, without authority from the Committee on Rules or anybody else. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Speaker, when you come to make up the charges that were entered against the Fifty-first Congress, let no man forget that the first great charge was that the Speaker of the House, without being authorized so to do by the House, without being authorized so to do by the Committee on Rules, without any authority, and in opposition to the uniform usage of the House—in the exercise of a power not granted him by any rule—chose to count members not voting as present to constitute a quorum. That question afterward went to the Supreme Court, but that court never justified the action to which I have just referred. I have heard the gentleman from Maine on several occasions on this floor congratulate himself, take satisfaction as he says, from the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States had justified that course.

Mr. OATES. The gentleman will allow me to call his attention to the fact that the decision of the Supreme Court was made upon action taken after the adoption of the rules.

Mr. CRISP. Of course. The Supreme Court did not touch the question upon which we arraigned the gentleman from Maine on the floor of this House. The Supreme Court said that this House had the power to make rules for its own government, and as a part of those rules it might provide for ascertaining the presence of a quorum by counting gentlemen who were present and not voting; but it never said that the Speaker might do so without rules.

The Constitution of the United States confers upon the House the power to make rules; and the Supreme Court said that in the exercise of this power a rule had been made which permitted the ascertainment of a quorum by counting members who were present. This rule thus adopted was declared to be lawful and constitutional. But the Supreme Court never said that the Speaker himself could make a rule in the absence of authority from the House, by which he might so ascertain the presence of a quorum.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Maine has referred to the power lodged in the Committee on Rules under the system now proposed. Let me call attention for a moment to the distinction which exists between the policy or the theory of the gentleman from Maine and that of the majority of the Committee on Rules as now constituted. The gentleman from Maine believes that the power should be lodged in the Speaker absolutely, without any reference of the question at all to the House, to decide what is a dilatory motion, and he believes the rules ought to provide that no dilatory motion shall be entertained. Under his system the Speaker may decide that any motion submitted is a dilatory motion, and when you appeal from the decision of the Chair he may decide that your appeal is dilatory. The result is that the ruling of the Speaker is absolutely conclusive upon the House, made so by the rules which the House itself has adopted.

Now, what is this theory of the report presented? The theory of this system is that motions which cause delay, which have been a part of the rules of the House for years and years, shall remain there. There may be differences of opinion among our friends as to the propriety of their remaining in the rules. Some argue that they should be removed. Others argue that they aid legislation by calling the attention of the country to pending matters under consideration in Congress, and admit of time for reflection. The system adopted in the Fifty-second Congress, and which is proposed to be adopted now, is one that seeks to obtain as to the propriety of forbidding dilatory motions, not the individual judgment of the Speaker, but the judgment of the majority of the members of the House.

The gentleman from Maine says that the majority of the House ought to rule. I submit to him and to the House that the system proposed by us is the only system which permits the majority of the House itself to determine whether dilatory motions shall or shall not be permitted. The system of the gentleman from Maine permits the Speaker to determine that question, although he may determine it contrary to the wishes of the majority of the House. The system recommended by the Committee on Rules leaves it absolutely to the majority of the House to determine for itself. The Speaker of the House is not granted the authority under this system; the Committee on Rules is not granted that authority, but the majority of the House alone is clothed with authority to determine.

Now, I ask you which rule is more in the nature of a majority rule, the one proposed here by the Committee on Rules or the one the gentleman from Maine recommends, where that power is lodged absolutely in the hands of the Speaker to decide whether or not a motion is dilatory. Under this system whenever it is the desire of the House that all dilatory motions shall be avoided and prevented, the House has the power to reach that result through a report from the Committee on Rules.

The gentleman speaks of the great power lodged in that committee. The power lodged in that committee, Mr. Speaker, is simply a power to report to the House a proposition for its action. They can not adopt cloture; they can not fix an order of business; but where, in the progress of business before the House, it appears to the Committee on Rules that it is in the interest of the country that something should be done to stop contention in the House, resulting in nothing but delay, the committee can bring in a report, and if the majority of the House desire to stop the delay and avoid filibustering, they adopt the report of the committee, and if they do not so desire it they can vote it down. So that the control is absolutely vested in the majority, and not in the Speaker or in the Committee on Rules.

Now, sir, there is a change and only one change made in the rules from those of the Fifty-second Congress of importance, and that is the change which constitutes 100 members a majority of what is nominally called the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

There is no constitutional requirement that there should be a Committee of the Whole. It is a mere creature of the rules of the House. There are certain committees charged with the consideration primarily of bills that are to come before the House. The Committee on Appropriations, for instance, is charged with the preparation of bills for the appropriation of the public revenues. When that committee reports a bill it goes to the Committee of the Whole. It is not before the House.

Such bill, then, has to pass the scrutiny of what is known as the "Committee of the Whole," and from that committee it is reported to the House. Up to the Fifty-first Congress a quorum in the Committee of the Whole was a majority of the members of the House. That was a custom that was ancient, and perhaps universal; but there was no constitutional reason why the experiment should not have been tried of constituting the Committee of the Whole of less than a majority of all the members of the House.

The action of such committee is not final. After an appropriation bill has passed the scrutiny of the Committee on Appropriations, and goes on the Calendar, it must pass the scrutiny of the Committee of the Whole; and that does not pass it. The Committee of the Whole when they consider a measure and ap-

prove it in all of its parts, report it back to the House, and there the Constitution says a majority of the House shall constitute a quorum; so that when the bill is finally passed on and becomes a law of this body and goes to the other House for its sanction, it has passed the scrutiny of a majority of the House, a quorum of its members being present and participating in its deliberations.

While it is true that this committee is called a Committee of the Whole House, it might as well be denominated a committee of one hundred; and the only reason it might not be so denominated is that while a hundred may constitute a quorum of the committee, yet every member of the House is of right a member of that committee, and he has the right to attend its sessions and the privilege of voting on every question presented before it. It is the same system as is found in a number of other bodies in this country and abroad, where less than a majority of the whole constitutes a quorum for the transaction of business. That can not be the case, however, in the House, because our Constitution provides that a quorum shall consist of a majority of it members.

But there is no such provision as to the Committee of the Whole. It is merely a creature of the rules. Every member may go into the committee and participate in its deliberations, make motions, take part in the debate, may vote on all questions presented, and this rule simply provides that if one hundred members are present it shall constitute a quorm for the transaction of business. Your great appropriation bills, or your tariff bill, or other great public measures, are to go before the Committee of the Whole, and I can not, for my own part, see any reason, in the light of what I saw of the operation of this rule in the Fifty-first Congress, why, in a body so large as this, it might not be and would not be right and proper to make a hundred a quorum of that committee. Representatives, I think, will find that it will greatly facilitate the transaction of the public business, and at the same time deprive no member here of any right that he possesses as a member of this body.

Every man ought to be here and every man may attend the sessions of that committee, but if because of sickness or for other reasons some do not attend, yet if a hundred are found here to transact that business the business goes on as though there were 170 or 180 members present.

Now, Mr. Speaker, that is the only substantial change that is made in this report. The gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] criticises to some extent the power of the committee to meet at any time and the power lodged in the committee. There is a provision in the rules of the House that no committee shall sit during the sessions of the House without permission. Nearly always committees of the House have obtained leave to sit during sessions of the House.

Only this morning the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SAYERS], chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, obtained leave from the House for that committee to sit during its sessions. That is all that is asked for the Committee on Rules in this code of rules. The House unanimously granted leave to the committee of which the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SAYERS] is chairman. Why was this provision put there as to the Committee on Rules? You know well enough that in the progress of business at times there comes a condition of affairs in this House when the majority of it want to move forward, but when a minority are resisting that progress.

Now, this code leaves it to the majority of the House, when they want to move forward, to do so upon a report from this committee, which is their committee. Therefore, we thought it was right and proper that this committee should be permitted to meet at any time, this afternoon, for instance, if in the progress of this debate—if the rules had been adopted—we should come to what is known as a deadlock, and could not proceed. We thought the chairman of this committee ought to have the power to call the committee together and adopt a resolution and bring it into the House, and give the majority of the House the power and the right to solve the difficulty for themselves, if they desire to do it. Now, that is all there is about that.

I do not recall any other change of the rules of the House of the Fifty-second Congress which is vital.

And now, Mr. Speaker, just a word in regard to the rules of the Fifty-second Congress. That Congress assembled immediately succeeding the administration of the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] as Speaker of the Fifty-first Congress. There was throughout the country—parts of it at least—very determined opposition to the system and methods that had prevailed in the Fifty-first Congress. That Congress had been repudiated by the country, about 150 Democratic majority having been returned to the next House.

Rules had to be adopted. Instead of following the old rules, under which there was absolutely no method of preventing what is commonly known as filibustering, and instead of lodging in the Speaker the power to determine absolutely what was a dilatory motion, the Committee on Rules of the Fifty-second Congress pursued a middle course, which was approved by the House. They made that provision in the rules, which is identical with the provision we now report, by which the House itself might determine the question as to when dilatory motions should cease. The Fifty-second Congress has passed away and its acts have gone into history; and I hope you will pardon me if, as an humble member of that Congress, I say that to me it is an infinite source of pleasure and delight that after a thorough review of the acts of that Congress the people returned to this House nearly 100 Democratic majority. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Now, whatever theories of individuals may be as to who should rule in this country, the party of which you, Mr. Speaker, and I are members, and of which gentlemen on this side are members, believe that the people should rule. We do not believe that one man who is sent here as a Representative should become their master. We do not believe that any one man should assume to dictate to them what is right; and to demonstrate that the Democratic idea on this subject is the people's idea, for the last twenty years, whenever the Republicans have obtained power in this House, their lease of power has been short, very short—just one term. Mr. Keifer was Speaker of the Forty-seventh Congress, but at the next election his party was repudiated by the country.

My friend from Maine [Mr. REED] was Speaker of the Fifty-first Congress, but at the next election his party was repudiated by the country. [Applause on the Democratic side.] So far as I am concerned, I prefer the plaudits of the people I represent and the people with whom I politically affiliate in the House—I prefer their plaudits and their approval to the approval of any man or set of men who believe they have the right in this House to exercise all power, and claim, forsooth, that in doing it they are permitting the majority to rule.

Mr. Speaker, this is all I wanted to say. Perhaps I should not have said so much; and yet, for a good while in certain quarters the methods and practices of the Fifty-second Congress have been assailed and ridiculed, and those of the Fifty-first Congress have been applauded upon the floor of this House, and I have had no opportunity to say anything in reply. What I have said now has been provoked by the arrogant assertion that the Fifty-first Congress, in its rules and in its methods, was an example which should be followed by all Congresses which should come after. Against that proposition I desire to enter a protest, and I now and here enter a protest and say, so far as I am concerned, taking the methods and practices and rules as a whole, I feel exactly as felt the people at the first election after its organization, that it was destructive of the rights of the people and ought to be repudiated and condemned. [Prolonged applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, it is so unusual for the presiding officer of this body to leave his exalted position and participate in debate upon the floor, that it has even been questioned by the judicious whether he ought to do it at all. But of that I make no question. He alone is the judge of the propriety of bringing the power of his great office upon the floor of the House. In a time of great emergency, when he felt perhaps that those gentlemen whom he had associated with him on the Committee on Rules were not entirely adequate to the discussion as it proceeded, it was for him to decide whether his powerful aid should be thrown into the balance. [Applause on the Republican side.]

I deeply regret that he has seen fit to do so; not only for general reasons, but because he has introduced into a question which has nothing in it of party, a certain amount of partisan feeling, showing that while the rest of this House have survived the memories of the Fifty-first Congress the Speaker unfortunately has not.

I do not, for my part, intend to make any reply to what has been said in regard to me personally; for I will not permit this debate to degenerate into a personal question. [Applause on the Republican side.] It is a question of public duty and of public policy; and as such I shall treat it.

The action of the Fifty-first Congress has received the approval of the Supreme Court of the United States, and of every supreme court of every State that has passed upon the question [applause on the Republican side]; and, backed by that support, I can do without that of any individual who sees fit to head the opposition. He says that we ought not to commit to the Speaker the right to decide what is a dilatory motion; and yet in these very rules which he has helped to make, and which this House is about to adopt, it is declared in two separate cases that no dilatory motion shall be entertained. [Applause on the Republican side].

The last paragraph of section 57, Rule XI, is in this language:

It shall always be in order to call up for consideration a report from the Committee on Rules, and pending the consideration thereof the Speaker may

entertain one motion that the House adjourn; but after the result is announced, he shall not entertain any other dilatory motion until the said report shall have been fully disposed of.

The eighth section of Rule XVI, reads as follows:

Pending a motion to suspend the rules the Speaker may entertain one motion that the House adjourn; but after the result thereon is announced he shall not entertain any other dilatory motion till the vote is taken on suspension.

The Speaker himself, sitting there in the chair, under these rules, largely of his own making, must pass upon the question of whether a motion is a dilatory one or not; and yet he says that the Speaker is not to be intrusted with that power, the very power he intrusts himself with. Why, the touchstone must always be the Chair; and when the Chair receives, as I did, the support of the House of Representatives upon appeal taken immediately after, what stronger sanction could I have; and when that is followed by the Supreme Court of the United States, it seems to me that it is above question. [Loud applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. CUMMINGS. If the gentleman will permit me——

Mr. REED. Must you get in? [Laughter.]

Mr. CUMMINGS. If you could have had the sanction of the people, that would have been higher.

Mr. REED. If I could have had the sanction of the people! I did. I went back to my district and was returned by the largest majority that any man ever did receive. [Cheers on the Republican side.] Why! did you make me the issue in the campaign? I thought it was the tariff. [Laughter.] I thought it was the Democratic party and its platform, and that it was something sufficiently large for the people of the United States to vote on. [Laughter.] And after all, in your eyes and that of the Speaker's, I was the central figure of that election. [Renewed laughter on the Republican side.] Why, that that should have been brought forward as an issue; not even my colossal vanity would permit the entertainment of such a thought. [Laughter.]

I say it is a great pity that this question has been thus made a question of politics. It is a great misfortune that instead of treating this question as we ought to, we are treating it as we ought not to, and that at the very moment when gentlemen on the other side are obliged to admit that they have adopted one-half of the obnoxious rules which they say were repudiated by the people, and when they are expecting in due time, as their education progresses, to adopt them all. Why, nobody need have spent any time arguing about the right of the House to establish one hundred as a quorum of the Committee of the Whole. Why, we established it. [Laughter.]

There was no use arguing about the propriety of it. We did it, and it worked well; and these gentlemen are walking humbly in our footsteps. That is right. Let us give them the credit they deserve; and perhaps I am unreasonable in expecting them to go the whole distance—perhaps I am unreasonable in asking the Democractic party to catch up with us entirely within four years. [Laughter.] But, I tell you the time will come; it is as sure as anything on earth that the House of Representatives which meets to do business will follow upon the lines of the Fifty-first Congress. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The Speaker is kind enough to say that this is my hobby. Perhaps he means something in the nature of a slur at me for presenting it. It is true, it is my hobby; and I had it long before the Fifty-first Congress. Many a time and oft have I addressed this House upon that subject. And is the hobby unworthy? The method of doing business on the part of the greatest legislative body on the face of the earth—is that an unworthy thing for any man to be interested in? Is that beneath the dignity of a member from any part of this Union?

Nay, not so. It is worthy the attention of the whole House, and because it was worthy the attention of the whole House, and despite the fact that I knew certain defeat was in front of me, I ventured to address the House this afternoon. Every attempt that has been made in the Fifty-second Congress and in this Congress has been to arrive at the same results that we arrived at in the Fifty-first Congress, and at the same time to conceal the imitation. [Laughter.] This last plan, of having the Committee on Rules meet at any time and report at any time is a confession that the methods of the Fifty-second Congress were not satisfactory.

Now, I sincerely hope that this House will lay aside partisanship and meet this question in a manner worthy of the dignity of the House of Representatives, and give us rules by which your majority can do business and by which any majority, whether political or otherwise, may do the business which the country desires done. If you do that you will have the thanks of the American people, and on this side we will not be backward in giving you the credit that you deserve. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I agree with very much of what has been said by the distinguished gentleman from Maine and by the Speaker of the House. So far as the rule in regard to the quorum of the Committee of the Whole is concerned, it is not new to me. Gentlemen who were in the Fiftieth Congress will remember that at that time I submitted a rule upon that subject. On December 8, 1887, at the first session of the Fiftieth Congress, in the House preceding the one of which the distinguished gentleman from Maine was Speaker, when the rules were under consideration I moved the following:

Resolved, That paragraph 2 of Rule XXIII be amended so as to read as follows: The Committee of the Whole House shall consist of at least one hundred members, which number shall constitute a quorum to do business.

The Fifty-first Congress, therefore, when it adopted that rule, was following the suggestion which I had made two years before, and which I am glad to see is now to be incorporated in the rules of the House on the report of this committee. I need not, therefore, dwell further upon that, because both sides are now agreed that it ought to be incorporated into the rules of the House, and, aside from that, I do not see anything else in these rules that appears to be taken from the rules of the Fifty-first Congress.

Mr. BURROWS. Did I understand the gentleman to say that he offered in the Fiftieth Congress a proposition to have the quorum of the Committee of the Whole consist of one hundred?

Mr. SPRINGER. I did.

Mr. BURROWS. Then why did the gentleman vote against that proposition in the Fifty-first Congress?

Mr. SPRINGER. I voted against the whole code of rules, and that was among them.

Mr. BURROWS. No; the Committee on Rules in the Fifty-first Congress reported in its code of Rules the very proposition which the gentleman from Illinois introduced in the Fiftieth Congress, and on a motion to strike that provision out, on a separate vote, the gentleman is recorded as voting in favor of expunging it. [Laughter.]

Mr. SPRINGER. Is that true?

Mr. BURROWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPRINGER. I have not examined the RECORD, but if the gentleman is correct, I voted so because I distrusted the methods which would be used to enforce the rule. [Laughter.] But, at any rate, Mr. Speaker, I am glad to see that provision proposed to be revived here now, because it is a very good one. And that, I believe, is all the rules of the Fifty-first Congress that have been adopted in this code.

The Speaker of the House has spoken of the rules that were in force in the last Congress, and has said that under those rules it is always in the power of the House to put a stop to dilatory motions, and to filibustering, and to bring the House to a direct vote upon any question that may be pending. That is true with this slight modification: The House can reach its right to exercise that power under the rules only when the Committee on Rules reports a proposition for that purpose. If it should happen, as it did happen in the last Congress, that the Committee on Rules did not desire to stop the filibustering, or were in sympathy with those who were trying to defeat a pending measure, and therefore refused to bring in a proposition to close the debate, then that measure was hopelessly defeated, because it was in the power of any member of the House to continue dilatory motions without limit.

Now, sir, I believe that it ought to be in the power of the majority of the House—not in the power of the Speaker, but in the power of the majority of the House—to determine whether dilatory proceedings shall be brought to an end or not. I desire to call attention to the fact that on yesterday in this House was presented one of the sublimest spectacles ever exhibited in a legislative body. The representatives of the American people by a majority vote had fixed a day and an hour when there should be an end of all debate and of all dilatory motions, and of all other motions, and when that time arrived every member was in his seat; for on yesterday more members were in their seats than have ever been in attendance on any occasion since I have been in Congress—only two absentees from the whole body.

The members were in their seats, and they began to vote upon the pending propositions, and, under the proper ruling of the Speaker, the House was kept down to its work until it had performed one of its great legislative functions. How much better was that than to have seen this body powerless under a filibustering performance, which would have worn out the patience of members, and kept us here for days and weeks moving to adjourn, to adjourn to a day certain, and so on.

The gentleman from Maine claims that he has brought to light or invented a method of bringing this House to a direct vote on a pending proposition. Sir, in the Fiftieth Congress it was determined, in a caucus of the Democratic members of this House, to bring into the House a rule, which was brought in and adopted, fixing a time when the House should vote upon the bill to refund the direct tax to the States. That question had been under debate for weeks, and the distinguished gentleman from Alabama

[Mr. OATES] had led those who were fighting against the final consummation of the measure. But at the time referred to the Democratic party itself in this House set the example of a cloture, and that cloture was adopted by the House. Thus the cloture was, for the first time in my recollection, adopted by the Democratic party itself in the Fiftieth Congress.

Mr. McMILLIN. The gentleman is referring to the action on the direct-tax bill?

Mr. SPRINGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. McMILLIN. The gentleman will permit me to correct him in regard to that matter. In the case referred to an agreement in writing was entered into and an order of the House adopted in pursuance of that agreement among members.

Mr. SPRINGER. It was agreed to by a majority vote in the Democratic caucus, after which the proposition was brought into the House and made an order or rule of the House by its vote.

Mr. GROSVENOR. The gentleman from Illinois will permit me to remind him that a vote upon the direct-tax bill was entirely defeated during the first session of the Fiftieth Congress, and was not reached until the short session.

Mr. SPRINGER. That was a part of the order.

Mr. McMILLIN. The arrangement was reached by agreement; it never took the form of a cloture, if my good friend will permit me to correct him.

Mr. SPRINGER. An agreement was reached for a cloture, and a time was fixed when the vote should be taken.

In that same Congress a resolution was adopted by the House upon the report of the Committee on Rules—a Democratic committee—closing debate on the Oklahoma bill. That was done, not by agreement, but by a majority vote of this House.

Now, so far as concerns the rules now proposed, the House will have the right to close debate only when the Committee on Rules shall bring in a proposition for that purpose. I desire to enlarge that power. I think that certain committees of this House charged with measures of great public interest ought to have the right to bring into this House and submit with the measures which they report a proposition making the particular bill or measure a special order and fixing the time when the final vote shall be taken. Holding this view, I shall, when the proper time arrives, offer the amendment which I ask the Clerk to read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Add to Rule XI the following as an additional paragraph:

"60. The committees authorized to report general appropriation bills and the river and harbor bill when reporting such bills; the Committee on Ways and Means when reporting bills raising revenue; the Committee on Banking and Currency when reporting bills relating to banking and currency, and the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures when reporting bills relating to coinage, may at the time of reporting such bills report, by order of the committee, a resolution making the bill reported a special order, not to conflict with special orders which may then exist, and fixing the time when the vote shall be taken upon the final passage of the bill. Said resolutions may be called up for consideration the same as reports from the Committee on Rules, and shall be disposed of as provided in paragraph 57 of Rule XI.

Mr. SPRINGER. At a proper time I will offer this as an amendment. As will be observed, it simply provides that the committees having charge of the general appropriation bills, including the river and harbor bill; the Ways and Means Committee, when it reports any bill raising revenue; the Committee on Banking and Currency, when it reports measures relating to that subject, and the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures when reporting a bill relating to coinage, may by order of the committee submit with the measure reported a resolution making it a special order for consideration and fixing a time when the vote shall be taken on its final passage.

Under this amendment committees having these great measures in charge will have a right, when any such measure is submitted, to propose an order, which the House may adopt or reject, as it may choose, but which if adopted will at the time fixed bring the House to a direct vote upon the particular measure.

Mr. BOATNER. I would like to put this inquiry to my friend from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER]: If, in his judgment, it is right that the House should be brought to a vote upon measures such as are indicated in the amendment just read, why does he not extend the scope of the amendment so that any committee having a bill in charge may, whenever it is necessary, move a cloture on the bill, or on any question arising during its consideration? If the gentleman's object is to enable the majority of the House to assert itself on any question, why does he limit this power to the committees mentioned in the amendment?

Mr. SPRINGER. I am very glad the gentleman has called my attention to this point by his question. I will state my reasons for limiting this privilege to these committees. There are certain committees of this House the business of which is essential to the preservation of the Government. The Committees on Appropriation must be permitted to bring in their measures for consideration and passage by the House. It would be doing great injustice to the country to permit a minority of members to stop the wheels of Government by indulging in filibustering, so as to prevent action on the appropriation bills. Hence, measures of that character are included.

The Committee on Ways and Means is required to report to this House bills raising revenue. Without revenue the Government can not exist. It would not be proper to permit a minority of this House to throw itself in the path of a bill raising revenue and to say the House should not pass it. Hence, measures of that kind are included. The other questions involved are those relating to our currency and to the coinage of the silver dollar. The people of this country are entitled to have money with which to do the business of the country.

This is a very great and important question; and the committees having charge of such subjects, especially at this session, ought to be permitted to submit to the House, when a measure of that kind is reported, a proposition for the proper consideration of such measure, fixing a time when all debate shall cease and the House be brought to a direct vote on the question, as was done yesterday upon the repeal bill by the operation of a special rule which the House had adopted.

Mr. BOATNER. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Illinois will permit me to suggest to him, I made no objection to the amendment he offers. But my complaint was that it did not go far enough. The gentleman explained why he believed it necessary to give this power to these other committees; and the question I asked was why, if it was necessary to give them this power, it was not equally necessary to confer a similar power on the other committees, so as to enable them to obtain a vote on all measures which they have considered, and which they bring before the House for its action?

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I will endeavor to explain that. This is a very large body, consisting of 356 members. There are some forty-five committees of the House, and if every committee—composed as they all are of a large number of the members of the House—had that power, we would simply do nothing but contend between the committees as to which of them should have the right of way. Therefore I have limited this amendment to those committees which have charge of the more important matters of legislation, so that they may bring before the House from time to time their deliberations, with some prospect of securing action upon them, leaving the minor matters for the consideration of the Committee on Rules, which committee, in my judgment, will do justice to all such measures.

I have full faith and confidence in the committee. Therefore I think as to general matters of legislation, which we can adopt or not, as we like, and which are not essential to the support or progress of the Government, it is well to leave the power of bringing in a resolution to the Committee on Rules; and, as I have said, I have confidence that it will do justice to every measure. But these other matters are of such transcendent importance, and there is a likelihood of a division—even on this side of the House—a division on such measures, and the Committee on Rules would be in some embarrassment in interfering in the matter.

I thought it better, therefore, to leave to the committees themselves having charge of these measures the right of determining what should be the order of business in disposing of them, and I believe that it will tend to divide the responsibility between the Committee on Rules and the important committees of the House in charge of these subjects of legislation, so that this divided responsibility will result in more efficient, prompt, and better administration, and a more effective dispatch of the public business.

Mr. CULBERSON. Why do you limit that resolution to the four committees named?

Mr. SPRINGER. I have just stated—the gentleman from Texas did not hear me—the reason. I will not now. Mr. Speaker, recapitulate what I said further than to say that I make this amendment because of the very great importance of the subjects committed to these committees as compared with the general mass of legislation of which the other committees have control.

Mr. CULBERSON. Do you expect any further report from the Committee on Coinage on the silver question?

Mr. SPRINGER. I hope we will have a report on that subject. I have a bill in my pocket which I shall introduce at the proper time, providing for the coinage into silver dollars of the seigniorage bullion in the Treasury, and I hope it will be considered by that committee, reported to the House, and passed at an early day. I hope the committee will proceed to carry out the other provisions of the Democratic platform and lose no time in bringing the measure forward, and I want to put it in a position to fix a time when the debate shall close and action can be taken upon their suggestions.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, it is the duty of the House of Representatives—the Representatives of the people—to provide such

a rule to give these committees that power. I believe that this power should be lodged with the committee so that a majority of their members could so conduct the affairs of the House that we may discharge our proper legislative duties here as Representatives of the people, and transact the business that we were sent to transact. I therefore hope that the proposition I shall offer at the proper time will be agreed to; and trust that the amendment reported by the Committee on Rules in regard to the membership of the Committee of the Whole will also be agreed to.

There is one other proposition to which I will refer, and which I hope will be adopted. That is, after a motion has been made to fix a time to which the House shall adjourn and voted down it shall not be in order to renew the motion again on that day. This provision ought to be adopted. It is to me the most senseless waste of time to be moving to adjourn, and to fix a day to which the House shall adjourn, frittering away our valuable time when we ought to be deliberating on measures that are of benefit to the people.

Mr. BOATNER. Mr. Speaker, it is a matter of profound regret to the people of this country that the distinguished gentleman from Maine has never forgiven either the House or the country for its refusal to indorse the rules recommended by him and adopted when he was Speaker of the House. He seems to be unable to understand the difference between a Speaker administering the rules of the House according to the wishes of a majority of the House, or at least a majority of his party in the House, and the Speaker who occupies the position of a czar, who decides all questions without appeal—a man who declares what the rule is and holds that any appeal from that ruling is in itself a dilatory motion and not permissible under the rules, and will not be recognized by himself. He can not apparently understand the difference between the power conferred on the Speaker of submitting, through the Committee on Rules, a proposition to the House for its action, and the power of counting the hats, walking canes, and umbrellas of members as evidence of their actual and corporeal presence, although it may be indicative of the absence of intellectual acquiescence in the proceedings of the House.

I think, however, the verdict of the country on the rules which the gentleman assumes to be so acceptable to the House and to the country, and on which he bases his principal hope of living in the history of this Government, ought to be satisfactory to him, as it demonstrates the opinion of the masses of the people of both political parties. Because, certainly the vast multitude who voted for the Democratic members in this House could not have been all Democrats; some of them, at least, must have been converted Republicans, and I think he ought to be satisfied that whatever may be his interpretation of the power that is conferred on the Speaker by his election to preside over this House it is not the judgment of the American people.

But, Mr. Speaker, I think a good deal of what the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] has said in criticism of these rules is well founded. While it is contended that under our rules a majority of the House is empowered and authorized to assert itself, yet that is not wholly true.

A majority of the House may assert itself and may act upon legislation, provided the Committee on Rules wishes to permit it to do so. If the Committee on Rules does not see fit to intervene, why, the one-man power is as great in this House as it ever was. I, for one, am as absolutely opposed to the one-man power on the floor as I am to the one-man power in the Speaker's chair, and if I had to choose between the one-man power on the floor and the one-man power in the Speaker's chair, I believe I would prefer to elect a one-man power to the Speaker's chair, because that would be a responsible power, a power to be exercised under his responsibility to the House and the country.

To my mind, Mr. Speaker, it is a shameful spectacle to see the whole House stopped by the opposition of one single man to any measure which may be brought here by a committee, and upon which the House may have the most earnest desire to act. Yet under the rules of the last House, and under the rules proposed to be adopted by this House, it would be entirely possible to have such a spectacle presented to us any number of times during the coming session, unless the Committee on Rules see fit to act and to assert their authority and to bring in a resolution.

In order, therefore, Mr. Speaker, to enable the majority of this House to assert itself at all times and under all circumstances; in order to enable a majority, in the language of the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED], to do business, I prefer to offer the following amendment to the fifty-eighth paragraph of Rule XI:

When the chairman of a committee or any member thereof, having a bill in charge which is under consideration in the House, moves the previous question on a pending amendment, or on the engrossment, third reading, or final passage of the bill, the Speaker shall submit the question to the House without further debate, except as provided in the rules, and without entertaining any other motions. If the motion is agreed to, the question shall then be put on the proposition to which the motion for the previous question applied.

Then, Mr. Speaker, if the chairman of any committee brings a bill into this House by leave of the House, and enters upon the consideration of it, after the bill has been thoroughly debated and fairly considered, it will not be in the power of any one man to stop a vote on it, nor will the House be dependent upon the action of the Committee on Rules to retire and bring in a rule to enable the House to proceed to a vote; nor will it be possible for any gentleman to commence in the morning, before the Journal is read, and consume the whole day with dilatory motions against the approval of the Journal. For one, I heartily and cordially concur in the principle that a majority of the members of this House should be able to act, not only upon the subjects of vital importance mentioned by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER], but upon any subject which legitimately and lawfully comes before this House for consideration.

Mr. HERMANN. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. BOATNER. Yes.

Mr. HERMANN. How will the gentleman answer this objection, that so long as the Speaker has the right to recognize any member he chooses, he may recognize the chairman of some other committee, and ignore the chairman of the committee having a particular bill in charge.

Mr. BOATNER. That is a matter which, in my judgment, can not be provided for. That is a matter which must necessarily be left to the Speaker. We are bound to suppose that the Speaker in such matters will discharge his duty fairly.

Mr. HERMANN. Then you admit that your amendment will not accomplish what you desire.

Mr. BOATNER. I differ with the gentleman from Oregon. I think it will. Since I have been a member of this House I have seen bills repeatedly brought up for consideration which were supported by a large majority of the House, and which would have been passed by a large majority if a vote could have been had, but which were killed by an insignificant faction of the House filibustering against their consideration until the time which had been allotted for their consideration was consumed, and the House was compelled to proceed to other business.

Mr. KILGORE. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. BOATNER. Yes.

Mr. KILGORE. Has there ever been any great clamor by the people against the "insignificant minority" that has filibustered?

Mr. WEADOCK. A great deal.

Mr. BOATNER. I think there has been.

Mr. KILGORE. Has not the action of the "insignificant minority" in such cases been approved?

Mr. BOATNER. I think there has been a great deal of objection to the proceedings of minorities in many such cases.

Mr. KILGORE. I never heard any clamor in my country because I stood up against the bankruptcy bill, which my friend advocated.

Mr. BOATNER. I did not yield to my friend from Texas for a speech. I would suggest, as a reason for what the gentleman states, that perhaps the gentleman's constituents read only his speeches, and do not read the other side. I do not know whether mail facilities are good there or not; but I imagine that if the gentleman's constituents knew that many matters of important public interest and private interest had been defeated, that people had been turned away from here, that a large majority of this House had on many occasions been compelled to defer their judgment upon matters of important public legislation, to the judgment of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE], the gentleman's constituents would themselves have said, "While we have elected 'Col. Buck' to represent us, we do not expect him to represent all the balance of the United States." [Laughter.]

I do not expect or desire that the judgment of the House of Representatives upon these matters shall be subordinated to the gentleman from Texas whenever he sees fit to put his No. 11 boot down upon a proposition and say it shall not become law. [Laughter.] Now, I for one, Mr. Speaker, am not willing that my independence as a Representative, my right to freedom of judgment as a Representative, shall be destroyed by any gentleman who imagines that he is endowed with superior judgment and wisdom, and knows better what the people of the United States want than the entire House of Representatives put together.

I do not recognize any such principle in legislation, Mr. Speaker. I say that it is essentially vicious; it is essentially undemocratic; it is essentially contrary to the spirit of our institutions; it is essentially derogatory and ruinous to the usefulness of the House

of Representatives that any one man, or any half dozen men, shall set their judgment against the whole House and say that any particular measure shall not become law unless it becomes law on condidititions which they themselves prescribe.

I am perfectly willing to concede to every member of this House the right to vote as he pleases and the right to speak as he pleases, the right to use every constitutional means to defeat any measure that his judgment rejects, and when he comes to me and says, "You shall not exercise your judgment; you shall not have your right to record your vote on a question that affects your constituency and the country at large," I say, Mr. Speaker, that is going beyond the prerogative which is given to a member of the House upon this floor.

Mr. KILGORE. Will the gentleman allow me a moment? I hope that he will revise his allegation when he charges me with wearing a No. 11 boot. [Laughter.]

Mr. BOATNER. I believe, on reflection, that it is a thirteen that the gentleman wears. I would have so stated, but I did not think of it. [Laughter.]

Now, Mr. Speaker, in conclusion I hope that this House in adopting these rules will relieve the Committee on Rules of the burden of the responsibility and the disagreeable necessity of intervening in many cases between friends, by coming upon the floor, as it were, and saying to his party or to that party, "You shall cease your opposition." It is perfectly proper that the committee should take responsibility in matters of great public moment or in matters which are of great political importance.

In such cases there is no hardship and they should take the responsibility. But there are many measures on which the Committee on Rules will naturally shrink from taking the active part of bringing in a resolution carrying cloture in the House; and the House ought to vest itself, now that it is free, with the power at any time to assert the will of the majority of the House and to carry that will of the majority into effect by crystallizing it into law. [Applause.]

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I have listened with great pleasure to what has fallen from the distinguished gentleman from Maine, the former Speaker of this House, and the reply which has been made by the present Speaker on the question of the rules of the Fifty-first Congress and the rules of the last Congress. But I beg to say that there is a question higher than the question as to whether——

Mr. BOATNER. Will my friend permit me one moment?

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Certainly.

Mr. BOATNER. I desire to say that as the House by its rules approves of these filibustering motions and does not provide any means for the House itself to beat them down, gentlemen think they are perfectly authorized and that they are committing no wrong against anyone in availing themselves of any lawful motion to defeat a measure. Therefore I think the House ought to invest itself with the power to beat them down; and I am in favor of such an amendment as I have suggested, which, in my judgment, will thoroughly do away with filibustering, because gentlemen who would be disposed to enter upon that sort of thing would see that it would be useless and must soon terminate.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. Have your amendment pending.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I was proceeding to state, when I yielded to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER], that I thought there was a higher question before this House than the consideration of the question as to whether the rules adopted by the Fifty-first Congress and their mode of administration by the then Speaker, or the rules adopted by the last Congress and the mode of their administration by the then Speaker, were proper rules properly administered. I say there is a higher question than that before this body; and it is the question of the power and right of the House, under the Constitution, to adopt its own rules. There are many members who are new to the House, and they ought to be advised by the older members of the methods of procedure by which rules are adopted and business is conducted.

I was here, Mr. Speaker, in the days when the distinguished Speaker from Kentucky [Mr. Carlisle] sat in that chair and was then opposed to the constitution of the Committee on Rules as it is now constituted upon principle, not because I objected to Mr. Carlisle's judgment or patriotism, but I believed that I saw in the constitution of the Committee on Rules in the manner in which it is now constituted in this House the realization of the old aphorism, "that power is always stealing from the hands of the many for the few."

For I believe that 356 men sent here by the people of this country to fashion legislation, to speak the people's sentiments, and to represent them, ought not to be controlled by a committee composed of two men on the Democratic side and two men on the Republican side, with a casting vote on the part of the Speaker. Therefore I have opposed this proposition, not because of any opposition to the present Speaker or to the particular gentlemen who now constitute the Committee on Rules. This power could probably be as safely intrusted to them as to any other five men; but I doubt the propriety of intrusting it to any five men.

Therefore, sir, when the report of that committee was brought in by my colleague from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] I attempted to get in a motion to amend the report, but immediately the previous question was called, the right of debate was denied, and the power of amendment was cut off.

Now, what do these rules propose? First, they propose that the Committee on Rules shall consist, as heretofore, of five members—and you have already voted that, though many of you do not know it—and now, by this report presented by my colleague from Mississippi, it is proposed to give that committee the most extraordinary powers intrusted to any committee in the House. And, by the way, it is a remarkable fact that when my colleague introduced his partial report, as he called it, it proposed to increase the membership of every other committee in the House except this Committee on Rules, the most powerful of all.

The membership of that committee was not increased in number, but was left at five members, two from the Republican side, two from the Democratic side, the Speaker having the casting vote.

Now, this report proposes (page 13, section 51) that:

All proposed action touching the rules and joint rules and—

I call the attention of the House to the following words—

order of business shall be referred to the Committee on Rules.

In other words, sir, you are yielding up to five men the whole power of the House to determine what subject-matter of legislation shall be considered, how long it shall be considered, and when it shall be voted upon. I say that is undemocratic. I say that is really the absorption of the whole power of the House into the hands of three men virtually, the majority of the Committee on Rules, whose votes will determine all such questions. I have always been in favor of enlarging the Committee on Rules and giving it a membership of at least ten members, if it is to be clothed with these extraordinary powers.

Again, it is proposed to give these additional powers to the committee:

It shall always be in order to call up for consideration a report from the Committee on Rules, and, pending the consideration thereof, the Speaker may entertain one motion that the House adjourn; but after the result is announced he shall not entertain any other dilatory motion until the said report shall have been fully disposed of.

Who is to determine whether the motion made is a dilatory motion?

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. The Speaker.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. How is that question to be decided. It can not be decided by anybody but the Speaker. He alone can say whether a motion is dilatory or not, and these rules as now proposed invest the Speaker with that power. I say, therefore, that virtually under these rules you are yielding to the Committee on Rules the guiding power of the House. They can make a report providing that such a bill shall be taken up at such a time, that it shall be considered for such a length of time, and that at such a time it shall be voted upon. You say they can not do that unless the majority sides with them.

But have not gentlemen seen in the last two Congresses numerous instances where the Committee on Rules would come in with a rule providing that such a measure should be taken up, that it should be considered for such a time, and that then the vote should be taken upon it; and have you not seen the previous question called upon that report, and every mouth in the House hermetically sealed? Have not gentlemen seen that, whether under the Congress over which the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] presided, or in the Congress over which the gentleman from Georgia, the present Speaker, has presided? I say, therefore, gentlemen, we should well consider the power with which we are vesting the Committee on Rules. Why should we vest this committee, or any committee, with such extraordinary powers? We may want to consider a particular measure, but unless we can get a report from the Committee on Rules it can not receive consideration here.

There is no power in the House, therefore, to go behind the Committee on Rules. Under these rules, if you adopt them, that committee is clothed with the power to report at any time a resolution proposing immediate action upon any measure, and then no dilatory motion can be interposed to prevent such action. The Speaker, a member of the committee who voted to bring into the House the proposed order, must decide, necessarily, whether any proposed motion is dilatory or not.

The effect, therefore, of this proposition is to take away from the majority of the House and to give to this committee, of which the majority consists of three members, control of the whole question as to what measures shall be considered and the time and manner of their consideration. I have witnessed the operation

of a rule of this character in many Congresses—not merely in the last or the last but one. The effect of such a rule is virtually to give to the Committee on Rules the power to determine what questions shall be considered, how they shall be considered, and when the vote shall be had upon them.

Another thing, Mr. Speaker, I believe in giving the minority of any body that may be called here for deliberation their right to participate in such deliberation. I have had the misfortune to be in the minority in many Congresses. I then held, as a member of the minority, and I hold now as a member of the majority, that the minority has the right to be heard not only by speech, but by amendments. Each member of the minority has the right to act here as the representative of his constituency as much as each member of the majority. Therefore, no set of rules ought to be adopted here by which the voice of the minority will be hushed and silenced.

When you propose to clothe the Committee on Rules with the power here contemplated, you might as will concede to them everything else. You make a single committee of the House to judge of what measures ought to be reported favorably for the consideration of the House. You give to a single committee (the majority of which, as I have said, comprises but three members) the power to determine what bills should be reported, what action should be taken upon them, what length of time they should be discussed, and when the vote should be taken.

Why, sir, I remember a memorable case which occurred in the Congress before the last when a report was brought in here—not by the Committee on Rules, but by the Judiciary Committee—a report upon a bill affecting the legal interests of this whole country, a bill establishing an intermediary appellate court; and under the order reported, thirty minutes by the index hand of the dial on that clock were allowed for the consideration of the great questions involved.

I do not believe in cutting off debate. I believe that on every important measure there should be allowed full, free, fair consideration and discussion, whether the measure comes from one quarter or another. And when you have clothed five men of this House with the power here proposed—when you have authorized them to determine whether a measure shall be considered, how long it shall be considered, when the vote shall be taken upon it, you might as well concede to the committee the residue of your power; you might as well go home to your constituents and say to them, "We have surrendered to a committee of five men the whole power of the House, and have left ourselves no right to speak as your representatives."

This is a question upon which I have battled not only in this Congress and the last, but in all the Congresses of which I have been a member. I believe we should have a set of rules which will allow a hearing to everybody for a reasonable time upon every proposition. And we should not authorize the restriction of this right by any committee of the House. At the same time it may be conceded that the committee having a bill in charge should have large control over the time given for its consideration; the Committee on Appropriations, so long presided over by my distinguished friend from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN] with an ability, a fidelity, and an honesty which this whole country recognizes, or the Committee on Ways and Means, now differently presided over from what it was in the last Congress, or any other important committee, ought to have the right in large degree to control the time; but I have never seen an occasion, when an important committee coming before this House with an important measure, was not willing to allow full and fair discussion of the whole question.

I say, therefore, that in acting on these rules we ought to be governed by the idea of holding the power of the House where the Constitution placed it, in the hands of the majority of the House.

What other proposition is submitted by the Committee on Rules? Another proposition is that when we go into Committee of the Whole the quorum shall be changed from the quorum provided by the Constitution——

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Before the gentleman enters upon a new topic I would like to ask him whether he has formulated as an amendment the ideas which he has expressed as to the power which should be given to various committees in relation to the consideration of their bills?

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. That has already been done by my friend from Louisiana; but I intend, when we are considering amendments to this report, to bring up this question.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. You will see that such an amendment is offered?

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Yes, sir. I ought to remind the House that after these rules are adopted you can not get rid of them very easily. When we have once adopted rules it is one of the hardest matters in the world to change them; because any proposition for a change must go to the Committee on Rules; and unless that sovereign body chooses to report back the proposition, the majority of this House, however much it may favor the proposed change, can not get at the subject, because that section or clause that I have read in these rules proposes that every proposition to change the rules shall be referred to the Committee on Rules.

It may bury it and never present it at all to the House, and no matter how strongly the majority of the House may desire to change, unless you induce the Committee on Rules to make a report and return it to the House for action, it will be tied hand and foot, and there is no member of the Committee on Rules who does not know this to be true.

But, Mr. Speaker, I want to call the attention of the House especially to that provision of the rules recommended by the committee here which proposes to make one hundred members a quorum for the transaction of business in the Committee of the Whole. The invariable rule, with one exception, on that subject has been that a quorum of all the members constituting this body shall be necessary for the transaction of business in the Committee of the Whole.

May I be permitted to say, sir, that this is a proposition as now embodied in the rule proposed here to evade the manifest, direct, positive, certain, and unequivocal provision of the Constitution of the United States? What is the Committee of the Whole? My honorable friend from Mississippi, the able member of the Committee on Rules, Gen. CATCHINGS, says it is simply a committee of the House, like any other committee of the House.

It is, Mr. Speaker, the whole House resolved into a Committee of the Whole; and you can not pass an appropriation bill or a tariff bill without resolving yourself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union. It is bound to consider under the form of your rules, whatever they are, all of these propositions, which must have their first consideration in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union. You can not consider any great question from your Committee on Ways and Means, from the Committee on Appropriations, or from any other committee which deals with the money or the property of the United States, but especially three great committees of the House, unless you first resolve yourself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Now, it is proposed in this report of the Committee on Rules to change the organization of the Committee of the Whole. Why was the old rule on this subject adopted? It was adopted because our forefathers believed they would thereby guard the power of the people, as represented by the majority in this House, and their rights and privileges should not be denied them by any arbitrary action which could, in the House, cut off all debate by the operation of the previous question and prevent the voice of the people, through their Representatives, from being heard on such subjects of legislation. Section 5 of Article I of the Constitution of the United States is the provision which fixes the question of the membership of this House, when it undertakes to legislate upon any subject:

> Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each House shall constitute a quorum to do business, etc.

Now, a majority of the members of the House must be here to do business. You resolve yourself into a Committee of the Whole to do the business of preparing the appropriation bills, appropriating millions of dollars of the people's money, and yet you propose now that you will evade the distinct and positive provision of the Constitution and say, absolutely in the face of an express provision of the Constitution, that only a hundred members shall constitute a quorum to do business. I deny your power.

We are aware of the fact, Mr. Speaker, that in that other legislative body across the water, analogous to our own, what is known as the British House of Commons, that forty members constitute a quorum, although they have a membership of six hundred and over. Forty members constitute a quorum for business purposes under the rules of the House of Commons; and if you may here prescribe by your rules, introduced by the Committee on Rules of this House, that one hundred shall constitute a quorum to transact the important business of the Committee of the Whole, can not you make it forty as well; and if you may say that forty members shall constitute a quorum, would you not have the power to make it twenty; and if twenty, why not make it ten?

Mr. GROSVENOR. Why not leave it to the Committee on Rules to do it?

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. A very good suggestion.

So I say that there is no more power in this House for the adoption of a set of rules by which the quorum established by the Constitution to do business would be evaded and avoided, than there is to make a rule by which you constitute forty members a quorum to do business.

The argument made by some gentlemen, the argument of inconvenience, that you can not get the members here, ought not to be considered for a moment, because when you come out of the Committee of the Whole you go immediately back into the House, and then upon the very measure which you have passed, by a quorum of 100 in Committee of the Whole, you are required to have 179 members to constitute a quorum in the House. It has been said that it was inconvenient for members to be here. If, Mr. Speaker, that is worth anything, then it ought to be inconvenient for such members to be elected, and they ought never to have been sent here. [Applause.]

Let us have the quorum fixed by the Constitution in Committee of the Whole, as we have in the House, whenever we attempt to legislate. And no set of rules which proposes to evade the requirements of the Constitution, in my judgment, ought to be adopted by this body. Let us widen the scope of the power which belongs to the majority of the people instead of lessening it. Therefore, it was not in any spirit of hostility to the Speaker of the House, or the membership of the Committee on Rules of the House, that I wanted to enlarge that committee to fifteen as the other committees are enlarged. But who has ever known a man possessing power who wished to relax his hold upon it?

It is said that man is sometimes restrained by conscience, and the fear of public opinion, but that multitudes of men are not afraid of public opinion because they make it. In this instance the proposition is to increase the membership of every other committee, but the sacred committee of five, the Committee on Rules, is too holy to be invaded by the addition of any members of this body within its sacred precincts. Why not? Other committees have been enlarged. If they should be given power, why should not the Committee on Rules be enlarged for the same purpose? If the judgment of the Committee on Rules as to any measure we have introduced and referred to the committee is to be final, definite, and conclusive upon this body, why should not its membership be increased to correspond with the membership of other committees dealing with important subjects.

If this is simply a committee to make rules for the guidance of the House, or a steering committee for mapping out the business of the House, why not enlarge it, make it a strong committee, make it fifteen at least. You have increased other committees to seventeen, and the House ought to have power not only to approve the reports of the Committee on Rules, but ought to have power to be represented on the committee in order that they may have a voice in any question that the committee shall report.

I have made these remarks in order that my position, which I only had the chance the other day to briefly indicate, when the previous question was called, might be understood. I believe it is the right of the American House of Representatives to adopt its own rules, knowingly, wisely, and intelligently, in order that it may do business under them in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution; and I am not willing to sit in my seat and see adopted what I regard as an invasion and a violation of the Constitution of the United States by a proposition to make a less number than that which the Constitution provides a quorum to transact business.

I am not willing to sit quietly in my seat and see these rules adopted which contain these propositions without raising my voice in protest. Having done that, I have done my duty. You may adopt them if you will. I can live under them as readily as any of you. I can manage my way in the House as readily as can any of you; but I warn all the new members of this House that you will wake up after the adoption of these new rules and you will find your hands, and even your ankles, fastened, and you will not be able to open your mouths during this session, and in the next session, if you readopt these rules; so long as you keep them, you never will have an opportunity.

It is very difficult to infringe upon custom. It gets customary to do so-and-so, and nobody wants to depart from it. Especially those who are in power do not want to depart from it; but I warn the majority of the House, and I warn every member of the House, that if we want to recognize the right which properly belongs to us in our individual capacities as members, we will adopt no rule which proposes a subterfuge when we go into Committee of the Whole to change the provisions of the Constitution and make that a quorum which the Constitution declares shall not be. [Applause.]

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, "Must you get in?" asked the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] a few minutes ago as I arose to make an apt inquiry. Yes, I must get in, Mr. Speaker, and now. There would have been no necessity for my getting in if the gentleman from Maine had answered the inquiry instead of avoiding it. He is wont to appear here as a lion and not as a fox.

The gentleman asserted that the Speaker of this House in the Fifty-first Congress had the highest approval in the land for his rulings and actions—the approval of the majority of this House. I deny that this is the highest approval in the land. I averred that the people were the court of last resort, and that they had given an adverse decision. In this I appear to have offended.

Let us see what actions the majority of this House sustained in the Fifty-first Congress. They sustained action in the Speaker's chair that counted a Democrat 800 miles away as being in the House and not voting. This was done to make up a quorum. Twice while a member of the Fifty-first Congress was I counted as being present here to make a quorum when I was upon Pennsylvania avenue. Other gentlemen now on the floor had a similar experience.

Let us see what was done by the majority of this House under the Speaker's ruling. Eight Democratic members of Congress were unseated and Republicans put in their places, not to make up a quorum, but to pass a force bill, and the bill was passed by the exact majority acquired by this process. The first Democrat hurled from his seat was Judge Jackson, of West Virginia. It was done under the Speaker's ruling, before any rules whatever were adopted. He acted under what he was pleased to say was parliamentary law.

One of these eight Democrats had over 800 majority. Another had over 1,300 majority. He was Mr. Cate, of Arkansas. A third, the Hon. Louis W. Turpin, of Alabama, came here with nearly 14,000 majority. Yet these men were unseated under the ruling of the Speaker, with the approval and sanction of the majority of the House. Worse than these was the case of Wm. H. Venable, of Virginia. Here, with over 600 majority, owing to a split in the Republican party in the Petersburg district, a Democrat was unseated to make room for a Republican. He could not be unseated without the presence of a quorum. The majority was unable to find its own quorum, only one Democrat remaining in the House, so they counted as present but not voting the Democrat, the gentleman from Virginia [Col. O'FERRALL], who is to be the next Democratic governor of that State. They thus unseated Mr. Venable and seated Prof. Langston. If Mr. Venable had been in his seat and Col. O'FERRALL absent, they would have counted Mr. Venable as being present and not voting, and would have used this count to unseat Venable himself. If there had been one Republican in the House and all the Democrats, and the latter had refrained from voting, they would have unseated Mr. Venable by the vote of the solitary Republican.

So much for the rules of the Fifty-first Congress. It is upon such rulings as these that the late Speaker of the House bases his attack upon the rules offered to-day. The people did not sustain them. The gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED], when he said he was sustained by the people of his district, knew very well that the people of his district did not include the people of the United States. His people may have given him a greater majority than he ever had before received, with the Kittery navy-yard in the background and the Biddeford naturalization frauds in the foreground; but that majority was greatly reduced in the next election, when such aid was lacking.

Sir, the people of the United States repudiated both him and his majority in this House. The 170-odd Republican votes, including the 8 obtained by fraud in the Fifty-first Congress, were reduced to 87 in the Fifty-second Congress, where the gentleman received the disapproval of the highest court in the land—the people of the United States. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. PICKLER. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment in my time.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. RICHARDSON in the chair). The amendment will be read for information in the time of the gentleman, but not to be considered as pending.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend by adding after the words "Committee on Rules to consist of five members," on page 8, the following words: "*Provided*, That on the first day of the regular session of the Fifty-third Congress the Speaker shall appoint four additional members on said committee."

Mr. PICKLER. I suppose, Mr. Speaker, that this report is submitted as a report in full by the Committee on Rules, and that that amendment will be in order when we reach that part of the rules. The point I desire to make is in line with the argument of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER] in regard to the size of the Committee on Rules. I thoroughly agree with the gentleman from Mississippi that this most powerful committee in the House is altogether too small. In my opinion there are no five men, as the committee is now constituted, in any government under the sun, that have like authority and power with the Committee of Rules of this House. Upon all political questions this power resolves itself down to three men—the three in the majority, two on the same side with the Speaker.

I have taken some little trouble to look at the constitution of the Committee on Rules as to size in the past history of this

Government, and there are some interesting features in connection therewith. I find that the first Committee on Rules, consisting of five members, was in the Ninth Congress. In the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-first, and Twenty-third seven members comprised the Committee on Rules. Following that, in the Twenty-fourth, Twenty-sixth, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth, Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth, Thirty-first, and Thirty-second Congresses, the Committee on Rules was comprised of nine members; and in the Thirty-fifth Congress, for the first time in the legislative history of the country, the Speaker of the House became a member of the Committee on Rules.

Never since that has there been any larger number upon the Committee on Rules. I do not know whether there is anything indicative in that or not, but it is simply history; and I agree with the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER] in expressing the same regard for the members of the Committee on Rules that he does. I do not criticise the personal membership of the committee, but simply the naked proposition of five members being too small a number for the Committee on Rules. It takes but a short service in this House for any member to perceive that the business of the House is altogether within the hands of the Committee on Rules.

The Calendars are crowded, and no motion, no bill, no measure can be gotten before the House if the Committee on Rules is not willing that it should be brought forward. You gentlemen know well how one measure after another crowds upon the Calendar, and how from time to time gentlemen are found traversing this House with petitions to the Committee on Rules, asking that some measure or other be considered. It is interesting to note in this very House what power they have, and what additional power they are taking in this House. No one will deny that the rules brought in here at the present give the committee greater power than heretofore.

No one will deny that the Committee on Rules absolutely governs the House. In other words, no measure that is reported can be considered, as it can readily be laid aside if they do not desire it considered, and there is no chance for any measure to pass with their objection. There has never, in the history of this Government, been a member of the Committee on Rules from a State west of the Mississippi River, save and except Mr. MILLS of Texas, who was a member at one time.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. And no other member on any committee where the business was of importance to our part of the country.

Mr. PICKLER. I do not know exactly as to that.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. There are four representatives of the East on the Committee on Appropriations out of ten States, and the West has but a single representative on that committee.

Mr. PICKLER. To-day, with all the great interests of the West, from Michigan and Ohio to the Pacific coast, there is not one State has a member on the Committee on Rules. I have taken the trouble to look up the representation of the Committee on Rules; and in this committee which governs this House—in a House of 356 members—is placed all the power in this body. The committee consists of the Speaker, Mr. CATCHINGS, Mr. OUTHWAITE, Mr. BURROWS, and Mr. REED. They represent a constituency of 828,078, while from the Congressional Directory, where I obtained these figures, the population of the country is given at the time this book was compiled at over 62,000,000 of people.

Now, I have no criticism to make of these gentlemen, because I believe they will perform their duties as well as any members of this House, but I do object to the general proposition of concentrating all this great power in a few men representing but 828,000 voters out of 62,000,000 of people. This is just as the record shows it.

My proposition is that on the first day of the regular session in December the Speaker of the House shall appoint four other members so as to give the Committee on Rules nine members. As I have already said, in a majority of the Congresses in the history of this country the Committee on Rules has had a membership of from seven to nine. So it ran down to the Thirty-fifth Congress, when the Speaker became its chairman, and since that time the Committee on Rules has consisted of only five members.

Now, in my opinion, the interests of this country demand an enlargement of that committee, and I think that a time like this, when there is no particularly exciting question agitating the House or the country, would be a good time to increase it. The interests of such great States as Illinois, Missouri, and the States west of the Mississippi and the Missouri Rivers seem to me to be entitled to have some representatives upon that committee, who would take care that their measures should be brought forward and should receive consideration here. I do not see why there should be any objection to increasing the membership of the Committee on Rules.

As has been well stated by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER], nearly all of the other committees of the House, which were already much larger than the Committee on Rules, have been increased this very Congress. Why, then, should not the Committee on Rules also be enlarged? I believe it really ought to consist of fifteen members. I believe that with 62,000,000 of people entitled to representation upon this floor, the time has come when that committee ought to be increased to fifteen, especially when we remember that as far back as the Ninth Congress it had five members; that as far back as the Twelfth Congress the membership was increased to seven, and that it stood at seven or nine until the Thirty-fifth Congress.

I trust that gentlemen will consider this matter thoughtfully. It seems to me everyone must concede that with such unlimited power as this committee has—for no such power is intrusted to the hands of any five men under any Government as this rule puts in the hands of our Committee on Rules——

Mr. WILSON of Washington. If the gentleman will permit me to interrupt him, his idea about enlarging the Committee on Rules is very good, but it will not be adopted, and I wish he would extend his view to some of the other committees where the West has always been treated with injustice, except in the Fifty-first Congress, when the distinguished Speaker [Mr. REED] gave us representation on the Committee on Appropriations and also on the Committee on Ways and Means, a right which we were denied in the Fifty-second Congress. The West never gets justice.

These committees are made up of Representatives from east of the Alleghanies and south of the Ohio River. Ten States of the West, with a large and teeming population, have no representation on the Committee on Appropriations or on the Committee on Ways and Means. Vermont has one, Massachusetts has two, New York has one, but the West has none. You come to us and ask for our votes when you need them, but when we seek to get upon the committees where we are entitled to representation we are denied that right, and always have been except by the distinguished Speaker of the Fifty-first Congress.

Mr. PICKLER. I certainly agree with my distinguished friend from Washington that the people of the West ought to have representation——

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Well, they do not get it; do they? [Laughter.]

Mr. PICKLER. I still think the gentleman is about right. Mr. Speaker, the only way we can possibly have this representation, in view of the great pressure upon the Speaker and the great influences that are brought to bear from older and richer portions of the country, is by increasing the size of the committees.

And, gentlemen, that would not damage the East. It would not hurt the South. The South is certainly very well represented now on the Committee on Rules. I do not see why there should be any objection to enlarging this committee. I speak especially of the Committee on Rules, because, as I said before, it has more power than all the other committees of this House combined. To enlarge it would do no injury and no injustice to anybody; and it would only be fair to give us some consideration there, and to place at least four new members on that committee from portions of the country now unrepresented. I will append to my remarks a statement showing the membership of the Committee on Rules from the First Congress down to the Fifty-third.

Following is the statement:

Committees on Rules of different Houses of Representatives in Congress from 1787 to and including Fifty-third Congress.

Committee in Federal Convention—Mr. Wythe, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Pinckney.

CONGRESSES.

First and Second—Joint Committee, Mr. Bland, Mr. Trumbull, Mr. Vining, on part of the House.
Third and Fourth—Mr. Trumbull, Mr. Jeremiah Smith, Mr. Baldwin.
Fifth and Sixth—Mr Sitgreaves, Mr. Dent, Mr. Macon.
Seventh and Eighth—Mr. Eustis, Mr. New, Mr. Huger.
Ninth—Mr. Varnum, Mr. Denson, Tallmadge, Mr. Gregg, Mr. Holland.
Tenth—Mr. Winn, Mr. Gray, Mr. John Campbell, Mr. Brown, Mr. Gardner.
Eleventh—Mr. Mason, Mr. Smilie, Mr. Rhea of Tennessee, Mr. Southard, Mr. Shaw.
Twelfth—Mr. Bassett, Mr. Pitkin, Mr. Macon, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Bibb, Mr. Quincy, Mr. Findley.
Thirteenth—Mr. Roberts, Mr. Macon, Mr. Pleasants, Mr. Breckinridge, Mr. Pitkin, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Clark.
Fourteenth—Mr. Stanford, Mr. Bassett, Mr. Sargeant, Mr. Gold, Mr Desha, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Telfair.
Fifteenth—Rules of preceding House adopted.
Sixteenth—Rules of preceding House adopted.
Seventeenth—Mr. Nelson of Virginia, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Bassett, Mr. Condict, Mr. Smith of Maryland, Mr. Rich.
Eighteenth—Rules of preceding House adopted.
Nineteenth—Rules of preceding House adopted.
Twentieth—Mr. Randolph, Mr. P. P. Barbour, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Ingham Mr. Oakley, Mr. Kerr, Mr. Wilde.

Twenty-first—Rules of preceding House adopted.
Twenty-second—Mr. Williams, Mr. Drayton, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Speight, Mr. Sutherland.
Twenty-third—Mr. Foot, Mr. J. Q. Adams, Mr. Polk, Mr. Bell of Tennessee, Mr. Wayne, Mr. Speight, Mr. Sutherland.
Twenty-fourth—Mr. Mann of New York, Mr. Adams, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Williams of North Carolina, Mr. Cambreling, Mr. Everett, Mr. Parks, Mr. Parker, Mr Chambers of Pennsylvania.
Twenty-fifth—Mr. Mercer, Mr. Hamer, Mr. Briggs, Mr. Smith of Maine, Mr. Muhlenberg.
Twenty-sixth—Mr. Hoffman, Mr. Bell, Mr. Banks, Mr. Sargeant, Mr. Briggs, Mr. Pickens, Mr. Atherton, Mr. Vanderpool, Mr. Reim.
Twenty-seventh—Mr. William B. Calhoun, Mr. Lewis Williams, Mr. Richard W. Habersham, Mr. George W. Hopkins, Mr. A. Lawrence Foster, Mr. Thomas J. Campbell, Mr. Joseph Lawrence, Mr. James W. Williams, Mr. Linn Banks.
Twenty-eighth—Mr. Wise, Mr. Adams, Mr. Dromgoole, Mr. Beardsley, Mr. White, Mr. C. J. Ingersoll, Mr. Davis, Mr. Vinton, Mr. R. Chapman.
Twenty-ninth—Mr. Holmes of South Carolina, Mr. John Quincy Adams, Mr. Hamlin, Mr. Hunter, Mr. R. Chapman, Mr. Bowlin, Mr. Vinton, Mr. Caleb B. Smith, Mr. Reid.
Thirtieth—Mr. Charles J. Ingersoll, Mr. Truman Smith, Mr. Howell Cobb, Mr. Caleb B. Smith, Mr. Barringer, Mr. McClelland, Mr. R. Chapman, Mr. Gentry, Mr. Jenkins.
Thirty-first—Mr. Kaufman of Texas, Mr. Jones of Tennessee, Mr. Vinton of Ohio, Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania, Mr. Stephens of Georgia, Mr. Phelps of Missouri, Mr. Ashmun of Massachusetts, Mr. Littlefield of Maine, Mr. McGaughey of Indiana.
Thirty-second—Mr. Jones of Tennessee, Mr. Stephens of Georgia, Mr. Chandler of Pennsylvania, Mr. Robinson of Indiana, Mr. Stanley of North Carolina, Mr. Seymour of New York, Mr. King of Rhode Island, Mr. Olds of Ohio, Mr. Wallace of South Carolina.
Thirty-third—Mr. Mace of Indiana, Mr. Campbell of Ohio, Mr. Millson of Virginia, Mr. Stephens of Georgia, Mr. Wright of Pennsylvania.
Thirty-fourth—Mr Perry of Maine, Mr. Jones, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Haven of New York, Mr. Stephens of Georgia.
Thirty-fifth—Mr. Speaker, Mr. Winslow, Mr. Grow, Mr. Bocock, Mr. Israel Washburn, jr.
Thirty-sixth—Mr. Speaker, Mr. Israel Washburn, Mr. Bocock, Mr. Grow, Mr. Winslow.
Thirty-seventh—Mr. Speaker, Mr. Elihu B. Washburne, Mr. Colfax, Mr. Richardson, Mr. Mallory.
Thirty-eighth—Mr. Speaker, Mr. Elihu B. Washburne, Mr. Mallory, Mr. Littlejohn, Mr. Cox.
Thirty-ninth—Mr. Speaker, Mr. Elihu B. Washburne Mr. Banks of Massachusetts, Mr. Dawson of Pennsylvania, Mr. Raymond of New York.
Fortieth—Mr. Speaker, Mr. Orth, Mr. Robeson, Mr. Randall, Mr. Blackburn.
Forty-first—The Speaker, Mr. Banks of Massachusetts, Mr. Ferry of Michigan, Mr. Garfield of Ohio, Mr. Brooks of New York.
Forty-second—The Speaker, Mr. Banks of Massachusetts, Mr. Garfield of Ohio, Mr. Cox of New York, Mr. Randall of Pennsylvania.
Forty-third—The Speaker, Mr. Maynard, Mr. Garfield, Mr. Cox, Mr. Randall.
Forty-fourth—The Speaker, Mr. Randall, Mr. Cox, Mr. Blaine, Mr. Banks.
Forty-fifth—The Speaker, Mr. Stephens of Georgia, Mr. Blackburn of Kentucky, Mr. Garfield of Ohio, Mr. Frye of Maine.
Forty-sixth—The Speaker, Mr. Stephens of Georgia, Mr. Sayler of Ohio, Mr. Banks of Massachusetts, Mr. Garfield of Ohio.
Forty-seventh—The Speaker, Mr. Orth, Mr. Robeson, Mr. Randall, Mr. Blackburn.
Forty-eighth—The Speaker, Mr. Blackburn, Mr. Randall, Mr. Keifer, Mr. Reed.
Forty-ninth—The Speaker, Mr. Randall, Mr. Morrison, Mr. Reed, Mr. Hiscock.
Fiftieth—Mr. Carlisle, Mr. Randall, Mr. Mills, Mr. Reed, Mr. Cannon.
Fifty-first—Speaker Reed, Mr. McKinley, Mr. Cannon, Mr. Carlisle, Mr. Blount, Mr. Ingalls.
Fifty-second—Speaker Crisp, Mr. McMillan, Mr. Catchings, Mr. Reed, Mr. Burrows.
Fifty-third—Speaker Crisp, Mr. Catchings, Mr. Outhwaite, Mr. Reed, Mr. Burrows.

Mr. HEPBURN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call the attention of the House to Rule XIV, which, in my judgment, is one of the most important of all the rules reported from the committee. It is especially important to the new members of the House. It is not so important to those who have been here for some time and have attained to such positions as enable them at all times to secure recognition. This rule, as reported, provides that—

When any member desires to speak, or deliver any matter to the House, he shall arise and respectfully address himself to Mr. Speaker, and, on being recognized, may address the House from any place on the floor, or from the Clerk's desk; and shall confine himself to the question under debate, avoiding personalities.

It will be observed that there is no requirement in that rule upon the Speaker to recognize a member, although he may be the only member upon the floor, the only one seeking recognition. The language of the rule is "when recognized." It is my opinion that that ought to be so changed as to require the Speaker, in a case of that kind, when the member asking recognition is clearly in order, to recognize that member. There certainly is no proposition to be found in the spirit of the Constitution more clearly than that which recognizes the equality of the constituencies that are represented upon this floor.

Each constituency is the equal of every other, and through its Representative is entitled to the same rights as every other; but under this rule, as it is proposed, it would be within the power of the Speaker to absolutely disfranchise a constituency, to prevent its Representative from having any voice in discussion, or from taking any part in perfecting legislation. He might be unable to express his views, or to offer the slightest amendment, and might be compelled to content himself with merely voting yea or nay upon propositions presented by other members. I do not believe that that is in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution. I believe, on the contrary, it is a gross and palpable violation of that spirit, and that this recognition at the will or caprice of the Speaker is a power with which no man ought to be intrusted.

Gentlemen have had much to say about the power of the Speaker with reference to the direct count of a quorum—much to say about the power of the Speaker, and its probable misuse, in determining whether a motion is dilatory in its character. But here it is proposed to invest him with another power infinitely more dangerous to individuals and constituencies; and yet, so far as this debate has proceeded, no word of protest has been uttered.

I want to bring this proposition particularly to the attention of those gentlemen who have had least experience in this House. Ordinarily at the beginning of a session the new member, unfamiliar with the rules, without knowledge as to how they may bear upon him, follows the leadership of those who are more prominent upon either side.

Those gentlemen who are thus followed belong almost invariably to that class who are able from their deserved prominence to have recognition from the Speaker at all times, no matter who the Speaker may be. Hence the rule will not bear unfairly or unfavorably upon them. But new members will find later on that it bears most onerously upon them. This matter will be brought home to you, gentlemen, later on, when you are upon the floor seeking to deliver to this House important matters in behalf of your constituents, when you have succeeded in getting the Speaker's eye and when the Speaker blandly inquires of you, "For what purpose does the gentleman rise?"

Is it any business of the Speaker for what purpose any gentleman rises? When he has delivered his matter, then if it is obnoxious to criticism, because of a violation of the rules, it is the province of the Speaker to call him to order and require him to take his seat. But in advance, before the Speaker knows what is the purpose of the member, while he is upon his feet, seeking to perform a function which he has been sent here to perform, a duty which is required of him, it seems to me that such an inquiry as that borders upon insolence, and that no Speaker, I say it respectfully (because surely if this power is to be wielded by anyone, I know of no gentleman upon the other side that I would have wield it in preference to the gentleman now holding the office of Speaker), should be vested with so vast a power.

A rule of this kind proposed in the last month of the session would not secure the concurrence of a majority of this House. If adopted at all, it will be adopted in the early days of the session, because we do not appreciate its influence and do not know how this power can be wielded to prevent us from doing those things that we believe we ought to do.

I confess, Mr. Speaker, that the subject is fraught with difficulty. The second clause, however, of the proposed rule provides that the Speaker may elect whenever any real difficulty or contention between two members may arise.

It is suggested that still further difficulty may arise from the fact that in the absence of this power debate may be prolonged unnecessarily. Surely not under the operation of the previous question; surely not under the power with which you propose to invest your Committee on Rules. This proposed amendment does not involve any interference with either of those rules or with the power of the House to prevent unnecessary and improper debate.

Having made these suggestions, I ask that the amendment which I propose to offer may be read, so that it shall go into the RECORD. To-morrow, or at some subsequent time when the occasion may be fitting, I shall ask leave to offer this amendment.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The amendment will be read as part of the gentleman's remarks.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend Rule XIV as follows:
Insert after the word "Speaker," in the third line of clause 1 of Rule XIV, the words "and shall be recognized, if in order, by the Speaker;" so that the clause will read:
"When any member desires to speak or deliver any matter to the House, he shall rise and respectfully address himself to 'Mr. Speaker,' and shall be recognized, if in order, by the Speaker, and, on being recognized, may address the House from any place on the floor or from the Clerk's desk, and shall confine himself to the question under debate, avoiding personality."

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to say a word in behalf of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi and then a word in behalf of one or two provisions in the proposed rules. I think the remarks of the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. PICKLER] are worthy the consideration of members. We need not disguise the fact that there are in various parts of the country interests which pertain to those parts alone and that however honest and however anxious the members of the Committee on Rules may be to give every part of the country fair representation, it is impossible for them to enter fully into the wishes and interests of sections in which they do not live.

The gentleman from South Dakota has called attention to the history of this question and has shown that up to the Thirty-fifth Congress, I believe, the Committee on Rules contained a larger number of members; and it is strange to my mind that as our country grows in size and as the number of Representatives in Congress increases the number of members of this committee should diminish rather than increase. And I emphasize what has been already said that there is not to-day upon the Committee on Rules a member representing that great transmissisippi country.

The center of population has been going westward. It is now in southwestern Indiana. Take the Western members of the Committee on Rules, and they are near to the center of population. Is it possible that these gentlemen, however desirous they may be to do justice to our section of the country, can as fairly represent our people, can as faithfully urge the importance of our measures as they could if they lived among us and understood our interests? And is it unfair for us to insist that this section of the United States is just as important as any other section, and that its interests should be looked after just as carefully?

It seems to me that if the membership of this committee was increased to nine, and the Speaker was thereby permitted to select the additional members from the sections not now represented, no harm could be brought thereby to other sections, but that on the contrary justice would be insured to this large part of our country now unrepresented.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Will the gentleman allow me a moment?

Mr. BRYAN. Certainly.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Did the gentleman from Nebraska hear the proposition of the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER] to clothe the various committees of the House with authority to control the legislation reported from them?

Mr. BRYAN. I knew of the resolution before it was presented in the House, but was not present when it was read.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. I would ask the gentleman further if the method there suggested would not meet his approval as presenting a better system than by the proposed enlargement of the Committee on Rules?

Mr. BRYAN. I think that both propositions might be adopted. The proposition of the gentleman from Louisiana helps the case, but it is not inconsistent with this proposition to also increase the membership of the Committee on Rules.

As has been said, Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Rules is the most important committee of the House. To that committee is committed the question as to what measures will come before the House for its consideration. We all know that we do not reach bills on the calendars. After a few weeks of the session have passed the calendars are loaded down with measures too numerous to receive consideration, and there must be some extraordinary process resorted to for selecting from among them those which should be considered. When we give into the hands of the Committee on Rules almost the entire control of the legislation of the country, as we do in this case, it is only just and fair that this committee shall be large enough to represent every interest in this vast country, and every section as well.

I do not see what objection can be made to the suggestion of increasing the committee, in view of the fact that all of our principal committees have been enlarged. That geographical considerations have weight in the make-up of the committees is shown from the fact that all of our committees are chosen with a view to representing all interests.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Will the gentleman allow me to interrupt him to say that if he will look at the Committee on Ways and Means and the Committee on Appropriations he will see that in these committees geographical considerations were not regarded? I would like to ask the gentleman to inquire of the membership of these committees of the House if they have been selected with a view to geographical situations, as far as the Western part of our country is concerned.

Mr. BRYAN. I am not here to discuss whether or not in the selection of every committee there has been such care given to represent the various portions of the country as should have been given; but I say that the geographical consideration is taken into view in making up the committees, at least to a certain extent.

But, Mr. Speaker, when we come to act on this proposition, whether we shall increase the membership of the most important committee of all, and find that there is not a man representing the great country west of the Mississippi River upon that committee, or that even lives near the Mississippi River—except the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS], who lives on the east side—is it unjust that this part of the country should insist on having representation upon that committee? I submit it to the intelligence of this body, I submit it to your sense of justice, if we are asking more than our right when we ask you to change the rule and permit the membership of this committee to be enlarged so as to include the representation from these sections? It might be possible with a committee of five only to cover more than one-half of the country; but with a committee of nine, there could be no excuse for leaving unrepresented the various interests which, up to this time, have been unrepresented in the make-up of this important committee of the House.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. We have representation enough now in the West on the arid lands, but we never get any appropriations to irrigate them. [Laughter.]

Mr. BRYAN. I have not investigated that particular committee. But having said this much in behalf of the amendment, I desire to say a word in regard to the other parts of the report.

Mr. COX. Has the attention of the gentleman been called to the fact that all committees have been increased in number except this?

Mr. BRYAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. The important committees.

Mr. BRYAN. The gentleman has suggested that the large committees, the important committees——

Mr. OUTHWAITE. That is better.

Mr. BRYAN (continuing). Have been increased in number, and yet the most important committee of all remains only at five, when the membership of the House has been increased since our last session.

But I will not detain the House longer on this question. I desire to submit a word only in behalf of some portions of the rules where they differ from the rules of the Fifty-first Congress. A great deal has been said here about the Supreme Court having ratified or approved of the action of the Speaker of that Congress in counting a quorum. I call the attention of the House to the fact that the Supreme Court simply decided, in a case before it, that this House had the right to determine, by rule, in what manner the presence of a quorum should be ascertained. The court did not say that the Speaker of the House was authorized, before the adoption of the rules, to declare that certain members were present, and therefore that a quorum was ready to transact business. That question was not brought before the court.

It is immaterial to us, however, whether the Speaker had authority for his ruling or not before the adoption of this new rule by the House. It is immaterial to us whether he said in 1880:

> It is not the visible presence of members, but their judgment and their votes the Constitution calls for.

And whether ten years afterward he said a different thing while occupying the Speaker's chair, when it was necessary in order to secure an increased representation of his party in Congress.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Does the gentleman think it any reflection upon the statesmanship of a member of Congress for him to change his mind upon a question?

Mr. BRYAN. Not at all, sir. In fact, I believe it is the duty of a man to change his mind if he finds that he is wrong.

Mr. GROSVENOR. There have been some changes of opinion lately in this House, and I did not know whether the gentleman was passing criticism upon that. [Laughter.]

Mr. BRYAN. I will say this, however, that it sometimes is the case that where one party is in power, and desires to do a thing, one of the party out of power will denounce the act as wrong, and then when that man comes into power he will change his mind, when party necessity requires a change of action. I say that is possible; and I am sure that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] will agree with me that such a change of mind is not to be defended. Only that change of mind which is an honest change, brought about by an honest consideration of all the questions involved, is to be commended.

But I say, Mr. Speaker, it is not a question whether the Speaker of this House at that time violated the precedents of a hundred years and placed a construction upon the Constitution which no previous Congress had placed there. It is not a question whether his opinion in power was different from that which he expressed when out of power. The question is simply as to the wisdom of adopting the rule which was adopted at that time.

I quote from the Supreme Court decision, where the court says that this House has the right to select, not only the method selected in the Fifty-first Congress, but the right to select the method which has been selected in every other Congress from the beginning of this Government to this time; in other words, that the House can determine for itself how the presence of a quorum shall be ascertained. In the decision the rule adopted February 14, 1890, authorizing the Speaker to count a quorum, is set forth, and then follows this language:

> The action taken was in direct compliance with this rule. The question, therefore, is as to the validity of this rule, and not what methods the Speaker may of his own motion resort to for determining the presence of a quorum,

nor what matters the Speaker or Clerk may of their own volition place upon the Journal.

Neither do the advantages or disadvantages, the wisdom or folly, of such a rule present any matters for judicial consideration. With the courts the question is only one of power.

The Constitution empowers each House to determine rules of proceeding. It may not by its rules ignore constitutional restraints or violate fundamental rights, and there should be a reasonable relation between the mode or method of proceeding established by the rule and the result which is sought to be attained. But within these limitations all matters of methods are open to the determination of the House, and it is no impeachment of the rule to say that some other way would be better, more accurate, or even more just.

It is no objection to the validity of a rule that a different one has been prescribed and in force for a length of time.

* * * * * * *

But how shall the presence of a majority be determined? The Constitution has prescribed no method of making this determination, and it is therefore within the competency of the House to prescribe any method which shall be reasonably certain to ascertain the fact. It may prescribe answer to roll call as the only method of determination; or require the passage of members between tellers, and their count as the sole test; or the count of the Speaker or the Clerk, and an announcement from the desk of the names of those who are present.

* * * * * * *

Summing up this matter, this law is found in the Secretary of the Treasury's Office, properly authenticated. If we appeal to the Journal of the House, we find that a majority of its members were present when the bill passed, a majority creating by the Constitution a quorum, with authority to act upon any measure; that the presence of that quorum was determined in accordance with a reasonable and valid rule theretofore adopted by the House.

But when we say, that instead of adopting the method adopted in the Fifty-first Congress, we will adopt the method adopted by all preceding Congresses and by the Fifty-second Congress, I believe that we follow the safer course, and that our action in not counting a quorum or allowing it to be done, is based on solid wisdom.

And just a word, Mr. Speaker, to show the wisdom of our method. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BAILEY] in the last Congress showed what various States had done; and while I can not give the States as he gave them, yet my recollection is that more than half of the States of this Union provide by their constitutions that no bill shall become a law until a majority of all the members elected shall express their consent upon a yea-and-nay vote. I believe that provision is a wise one. I believe it is only a safe provision that before a bill shall become a law a majority of all members elected to Congress shall express it as their wish, and not merely a majority of those who happen to be present if a quorum is present.

A great deal was said about wanting the majority to rule. Mr. Speaker, I call attention to the fact that the counting of a quorum is not a device by which a majority can rule. It is a device by which a minority can enact laws. A majority in favor of a bill requires no counting of a quorum. It is when there is not a majority in favor of a bill, that a quorum must be counted in order to pass the bill. Now, what is possible under it? We have in this House 356 members. One hundred and seventy-nine make a quorum.

According to all rules, if we have present 179 members, and 90 members vote aye and 89 vote no, the bill will be passed. Now, that is because the Constitution says that, a quorum being present, a majority of the majority is sufficient to pass a bill. But for one hundred years our people have placed a construction on that, and they have given to the minority the right, by refusing to vote, to compel the concurrence of a majority in legislation.

I believe that that safeguard is a wise one, and that no great interest will suffer if you simply stay the hand of legislative power until you bring in a majority who are in favor of the proposition. But in the rules of the Fifty-first Congress that safeguard was taken away, and with 89 refusing to vote, the Speaker, according to the rules afterward adopted, and in accordance with his own opinion before the rules were adopted, was able to count the 89 as present, and thus two more than one-fourth of the House were able to unseat a member and put another member in his place.

The first instance where this rule was called into effect was in the case of Smith *vs.* Jackson, which came up on the 29th day of January, 1890. There 162 members of Congress voted in favor of unseating the man who held the certificate. It was not a majority of the members of that Congress, and yet it illustrates what could be done under the rules of the Fifty-first Congress. We have refused to adopt these rules. We have gone back to the precedents of a hundred years, and left it in the power of those dissenting to compel the concurrency of a majority in the passage of a measure by refusing to vote, thereby breaking a quorum, whenever, in their judgment, such action would be justifiable.

There is another question. The Fifty-first Congress gave to the Speaker the right to determine what was a dilatory motion. That power, sir, when wisely exercised is perhaps not a dangerous power; but that power the Fifty-second Congress refused to give the Speaker; that power this Congress has so far refused to trust to the Speaker; and I believe we are wise in refusing that power to any man.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Will the gentleman permit me to interrupt him there?

Mr. BRYAN. Certainly.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Do I understand the gentleman to say that we have no rule that would permit the Speaker to determine what is a dilatory motion?

Mr. BRYAN. I do not believe the Speaker of the House should be invested with the power to declare by his judgment what is a dilatory motion, and thus stop what we call filibustering.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Now, if the gentleman will permit me, did he not, as a member of the last Congress, vote for a code of rules that clothed the Speaker with that authority?

Mr. BRYAN. Under the provision with regard to suspension of the rules?

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRYAN. I believe that no motion is in order——

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. But did not the gentleman in the last Congress vote for a code of rules which clothed the Speaker with that authority?

Mr. SPRINGER. In two cases only.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. I do not care whether it is two or one.

Mr. BRYAN. I was going to say——

Mr. OUTHWAITE. It does not clothe him with the power to determine what is a dilatory motion——

Mr. REED. It takes three of them to answer.

Mr. OUTHWAITE (continuing). Or what the motive of the maker is. It only enables him to declare a motion dilatory when the motion itself shows it is a dilatory motion, and for delay.

Mr. BRYAN. And that is what the rule says.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Does it not clothe the Speaker with authority to declare what is a dilatory motion?

Mr. BRYAN. It does not give the Speaker the right to determine what the motive of the maker was, but simply what the effect was; and that was the rule.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Has not the Speaker, under section 8, Rule XIV, the same power, when it comes to a question of suspending the rules, that the Speaker of the Fifty-first Congress was clothed with under the rules adopted by that body?

Mr. PAYNE. And in language precisely the same?

Mr. REED. It is on pages 14 and 19.

Mr. BRYAN. It seems to take three gentlemen to propound the question. [Laughter].

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman from Nebraska yield to the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. BRYAN. Yes, sir; I yield to the three gentlemen. [Laughter.]

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Before the gentleman yields to the others, if he will simply answer my question I will be obliged. Did not he, as a member of the last Congress, vote for a code of rules that lodged with the Speaker the power to determine what is a dilatory motion? He has refused to answer that question yet.

Mr. BRYAN. I voted for the rules adopted.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Can not the gentleman be frank, and say yes or no? Will the gentleman allow me——

Mr. BRYAN. I will allow you to frame your question if you will allow me to frame my answer.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Does it require an argument to answer? Can not you answer by yes or no?

Mr. BRYAN. Are you ready to let me answer?

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Do you decline to answer my question?

Mr. BRYAN. If the gentleman is through with the question I will answer.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Well, Mr. Speaker, I will not press the gentleman upon that point, as I see it is a delicate subject with him. It is a question which could have been answered with a direct yes or no.

Mr. BRYAN. The gentleman has submitted his question, and I will try to answer it and go back to the point where he interrupted me. Now, while such a provision is in the rules of the last Congress, those rules provided that in the instances which the gentleman refers to the Speaker was permitted to decide that a motion which delayed action was not in order.

But I do not understand that the decision of the Speaker in the last Congress was at all like the decision of the Speaker of the Fifty-first Congress. And furthermore, the decision of the Speaker of the last Congress was based upon the decisions of Speakers in other Congresses previous to the Fifty-first, under the same rule, and presents a very different question from that which was raised in the Fifty-first Congress.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. In the last Congress, in the two instances to which the gentleman's attention has been called, is not the language which lodges this power in the Speaker precisely the language in which the rule was clothed that was adopted by the Fifty-first Congress?

Mr. BRYAN. I can not say. Will you answer that question yourself?

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. I think it was.

Mr. BRYAN. The gentleman thinks it was and I do not know, so we will leave it there. [Laughter.] Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to say this: The provision of the rules in this Congress and in the last Congress is very different from that in the rules of the Fifty-first Congress, in that, instead of lodging the power in the Speaker to stop filibustering, they lodge that power in the House itself, and to my mind there is a very great distinction between allowing a Speaker to say that filibustering shall stop and allowing the House itself to say that filibustering shall stop.

Mr. PAYNE. But suppose that the majority of the Committee on Rules are in sympathy with the filibusterers, and a proposition is made to stop the filibustering and is submitted to the Committee on Rules, the committee, of course, being in sympathy with the filibusterers, would not report such a rule. Now, in that case, how is the majority of the House to act? When the Speaker is to determine, I can see very well that there may be an appeal from his decision, so that the House can vote and a majority may revise his decision; but if a majority of the Committee on Rules, being in sympathy with the filibustering, fail to bring in a rule to stop it, how can the majority of the House act?

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. Speaker, my recollection is that in the Fifty-first Congress there were instances where even the appeal from the decision of the Chair was declared to be dilatory, and the gentleman from New York would find it very difficult to get the House to express itself upon such a question when the Speaker refused to put the question.

Mr. REED. If the gentleman from Nebraska will allow me to make a suggestion, the House has always power to revise the action of the Speaker. It may not be always by way of appeal, but, by direct action, the House has always the right to do that.

Mr. BRYAN. Well, will the gentleman from Maine tell me—for he is informed—how the House would act in this case: Suppose a motion is made and the Speaker decides it to be a dilatory motion, and therefore out of order; an appeal is taken from his decision, and he decides that that is a dilatory motion and out of order; in such a case, how can the House act?

Mr. REED. The House, by a direct proceeding, could raise the question the Speaker had decided improperly.

Mr. BRYAN. The House itself?

Mr. REED. Yes. Let me say to the gentleman from Nebraska that in the British House of Commons no appeal whatever is allowed from a decision of the Speaker upon a question of order, but the British House of Commons is not powerless in such a case; for, where the Speaker disregards his duty, it can, by a direct proceeding, attack his action.

Mr. BRYAN. Do I understand, then, that the minority in the Fifty-first Congress overlooked one advantage that they might have had——

Mr. REED (interposing). One? They overlooked no end of them. [Laughter.]

Mr. BRYAN. Well, Mr. Speaker, if I have done nothing else I have given a new weapon to the minority in future Congresses, where the gentleman from Maine may preside if his prophecy of the other day shall prove true, for if he refuses to put a motion they can put it themselves—although, as has been suggested, it may be that when he takes the Chair again his opinion will undergo the same change that it did upon the question of the right to count a quorum. But, Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to detain the House longer.

Mr. PAYNE. But will not the gentleman from Nebraska, before he sits down, answer the question I asked him? Suppose the majority of the Committee on Rules are in sympathy with the filibusterers and refuse to bring in a rule to stop filibustering, how, then, can the House act?

Mr. BRYAN. The question is a pertinent one. If the Committee on Rules does not bring the proposition before the House, the House will not act upon it. [Laughter.] But the Committee on Rules is composed of a majority belonging to the dominant party, and it is presumable that, in any important case, if it was the desire of the House and of the majority to stop filibustering the rule would be brought in and the filibustering would be stopped.

But I insist that the changes made by the last Congress and by this Congress from the rules of the Fifty-first Congress on these two important questions were wisely made; that instead of adopting the rules of the Fifty-first Congress we are as far away from the two vicious rules of that Congress as we ever were, and that this Congress can adopt the rules reported by the committee without fear that the members are thereby subjecting themselves to the same criticisms which they made against the Republicans of the Fifty-first Congress.

I was glad to find that in the Forty-sixth Congress, although the Democrats were in a majority, they refused to adopt the rule of the Fifty-first for the counting of a quorum. I was proud that the last Congress, although the Democrats had a majority there, refused to follow the example of the Fifty-first Congress, and I am glad that this Congress refuses to take that power simply because it can do it, and in giving to the Committee on Rules the right to bring in a rule here stopping filibustering, we are simply putting power in the hands of the House to conduct its business and to stop delay—not putting that power in the hands of the Speaker.

MEMORIAL SERVICES ON DEATH OF HON. J. LOGAN CHIPMAN.

Mr. WEADOCK, by unanimous consent, submitted the following resolution; which was read, considered, and adopted:

Resolved, That Saturday, the 2d day of September, A. D. 1893, beginning at 2 o'clock p. m., be set apart for the purpose of giving the House an opportunity to pay fitting tribute to the memory of Hon. J. Logan Chipman, late a Representative from the State of Michigan.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. SETTLE, for five days, on account of important business.

To Mr. COCKRAN, indefinitely, on account of sickness.

PRINTING FOR WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE.

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia, by unanimous consent, submitted the following resolution; which was read, considered, and adopted:

Resolved, That the Committee on Ways and Means be, and is hereby, authorized to have printed and bound such documents and papers for the use of said committee as it may deem necessary in connection with subjects considered or to be considered by the Committee on Ways and Means during the term of the Fifty-third Congress.

PRINTING FOR COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

Mr. OUTHWAITE, by unanimous consent, submitted the following resolution; which was read, considered, and adopted:

Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs be, and is hereby, authorized to have printed and bound such documents and papers for the use of said committee as it may deem necessary in connection with subjects considered or to be considered by this committee during the Fifty-third Congress.

COINAGE OF SEIGNIORAGE SILVER BULLION.

Mr. SPRINGER, by unanimous consent, introduced a bill (H. R. 3) to provide for the coinage of the seigniorage silver bullion in the Treasury; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, and ordered to be printed.

And then, on motion of Mr. WEADOCK (at 5 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *August 30, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

COURT OF CLAIMS REPORT.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting the findings of fact in the case of Lovell *et al.* *vs.* The United States; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Claims, and ordered to be printed.

PURCHASE OF SILVER BULLION.

Mr. VANCE. Mr. President, I give notice that on Friday morning, immediately after the routine morning business, I shall beg the indulgence of the Senate for the purpose of submitting a few remarks on the pending bill for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman silver law.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. MANDERSON. I present a petition of some 5,000 citizens of Omaha, Nebr., who met in mass convention urging that action be taken by Congress upon the bill to establish postal savings banks. At the beginning of the present session I introduced a bill for the establishment of such banks, which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads. I move that the petition be also referred to that committee.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MANDERSON. I also present a petition signed by all the national banks in the city of Omaha, Nebr., composing the Omaha Clearing House Association, in which association there seem to be nine national banks, praying for the immediate pas-

sage of the bill to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, expressing the belief that the repeal would go very far to bring to an end the present serious and destructive financial disturbance, and further expressing somewhat in detail the opinion of the association that there should be further legislation by Congress as speedily as possible to continue the use of silver as a money metal upon such safe conditions as will maintain its parity with gold. I move that the petition lie on the table, as the bill has been reported.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. CALL presented a joint resolution of the Legislature of Florida; which was read, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, as follows:

House concurrent resolution requesting the Senators and members of the House of Representatives from Florida in the Congress of the United States to procure an investigation by Congress of the conduct and judicial acts of Charles Swayne, judge of the United States district court for the northern district of Florida.

Whereas Charles Swayne, United States district judge for the northern district of Florida, has so conducted himself and his court as to cause the people of this State to doubt his integrity and to believe that his official actions as judge are susceptible to corrupt influences; and

Whereas the reputation of Charles Swayne as a corrupt judge is very injurious to the interest of the entire State of Florida: Now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the house of representatives of the State of Florida, the senate concurring, That the Senators and Representatives of the State of Florida in the Congress of the United States be, and they are hereby, requested to cause to be instituted in the Congress of the United States proper proceedings for the investigation of the administration of the United States circuit and district courts for the northern district of Florida by Charles Swayne, as United States district judge for the northern district of Florida, and of his acts and doings as such judge.

Resolved, further, That the secretary of state of the State of Florida is instructed to certify to the Senators and Representatives from Florida in the Congress of the United States, under the great seal of the State of Florida, a copy of this resolution and its unanimous adoption by the house of representatives and the senate of the State of Florida.

Approved, June 2, 1893.

STATE OF FLORIDA,
Office of Secretary of State, ss:

I, Jno. L. Crawford, secretary of state of the State of Florida, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a correct copy of the original now on file in this office.

Given under my hand and the great seal of the State of Florida, at Tallahassee, the capital, this 21st day of August, A. D. 1893.

[SEAL.] JNO. L. CRAWFORD,
Secretary of State.

Mr. PEFFER presented petitions of citizens of Brown, Dickinson, and Seward Counties; of citizens of Stafford, and of representatives of the People's party of Sedgwick County, all in the State of Kansas, praying for the free and unlimited coinage of silver; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HARRIS presented a petition of citizens of Lauderdale County, Tenn., praying for the repeal of the Sherman silver law only upon condition that there be substituted therefor an act providing for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. VOORHEES. I present a petition numerously signed by citizens of St. Joseph, Mo., who describe themselves as business men, merchants, and others, in which they say that restoration of confidence being absolutely necessary to avert further disaster, it is the duty of our legislators to do everything in their power to bring about such restoration of confidence, and earnestly urging upon Senators and Representatives at the extra session of Congress that the purchasing clause of the Sherman silver act be unconditionally repealed.

I also present a similar petition from citizens of Adams County, in the State of Indiana, and a similar petition from citizens of LaGrange County, in the State of Indiana. I move that the petitions lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. LINDSAY presented a petition of citizens of Madisonville, Ky., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. COCKRELL. I present resolutions adopted at a meeting of citizens of the city of New York, held at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, in that city, on the 25th instant, of which John G. Boyd was the chairman. The preamble recites the increase of population and the decrease, comparatively, of the circulating medium, and the platforms of both political parties, and proceeds:

The platform of the party now in control of both Houses of Congress and the Executive demands explicitly the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the market and in payment of debts; and that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin; insisting upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and fluctuating currency.

The petitioners thereupon resolve:

First. That this assemblage of citizens of New York, viewing with apprehension the continuing senseless attacks on the so-called Sherman bill, hereby caution the Congress about to assemble that there is an influential opinion in this community on the great issue involved which is not expressed by assemblages of bankers or merchants under dictation from our banks and certain newspapers.

Second. That we demand of the party in control of Congress and the Executive the prompt fulfillment of the pledge of their platform as to the indiscriminately equal treatment of both gold and silver for coining into legal-tender money.

Third. That Congress shall indignantly resent the demand for the unconditional repeal of the so-called Sherman law, as merely a proposal to substitute bank notes for the automatic issue of United States notes; and refuse absolutely to repeal the said law except by an act which shall at the same time fulfill literally the demand of the aforesaid platform of the party in control.

Fourth. That the proposal to substitute bank notes for legal-tender notes of the United States is the equivalent of the obnoxious proposal of the bank of the United States, a joint stock corporation, rejected by Andrew Jackson in 1834, although urged by Daniel Webster, and besought in this city by Charles O'Connor, who was defeated by the labor element in the Democracy of New York on the ground that gold and silver were the products of labor, while bank notes were the creatures of the printing press.

Fifth. That we call upon our domestic bankers, merchants, small tradesmen, and men of small property, real and personal, in this city as elsewhere; as well as the managers of institutions investing savings of the poor; and upon all organizations of labor, to commend these and like resolutions to favorable consideration by the Congress of the United States.

I think the resolutions had better go to the Committee on Finance for the prayerful and deliberate consideration of that committee.

Mr. McPHERSON. Does the Senator from Missouri submit a resolution or present a petition?

Mr. COCKRELL. I have presented resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of citizens of New York City. I think it would do the Finance Committee good to give the resolutions close consideration notwithstanding what they have reported to the Senate for action here. Therefore, I ask that the resolutions be referred to that committee, and I hope my distinguished friend from New Jersey will give them very close attention.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The petition will be referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. McPHERSON presented the petition of D. J. Farmer and 11 other prominent citizens of Elizabeth, N. J., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. CAREY presented the petition of John Charles Thompson, ex-surveyor general; of A. C. Campbell, ex-United States attorney, and of John F. Carrol, editor of the Democratic Leader, and 33 other citizens of Cheyenne, Wyo., praying that the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law be not repealed, and that a more extended law for free silver be enacted; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented three petitions of citizens of Rock Springs, Wyo., containing 97 signatures, praying for the passage of the Stewart bill providing for the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. LODGE presented the petition of H. S. Ballou and 35 other citizens of Massachusetts, praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. CAMERON presented a petition of citizens of Duncannon, Pa., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing cluse of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Window Glass Workers' Assembly, No. 300, Knights of Labor, of Pittsburg, Pa., praying for the speedy passage of a law providing for the free coinage of silver limited to the product of the mines of the United States; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HUNTON presented the petition of W. F. McCue, postmaster, and other citizens of Staunton, Va., praying for the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

WILLIAM M'GARRAHAN.

Mr. TELLER, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to whom was referred the bill (S. 341) to submit to the Court of Private Land Claims, established by an act of Congress approved March 3, 1891, the title of William McGarrahan to the Rancho Panoche Grande, in the State of California, and for other purposes, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 4) to provide for certain urgent deficiencies in the appropriations for the service of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. CULLOM introduced a bill (S. 746) for the relief of William Martin; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 747) granting to Ira Bacon, of Company A, Fifty-second Regiment Indiana Volunteers, an additional bounty of $100; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 748) granting a pension to Sarah A. Hanger; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 749) granting a pension to Matthias Reed; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. McPHERSON introduced a bill (S. 750) to increase the appropriation for the erection of a public building at Paterson, N. J.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 751) to provide a postal currency, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. HARRIS (by request) introduced a bill (S. 752) to extend North Capitol street to the Soldiers' Home; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. GEORGE introduced a bill (S. 753) for the relief of Louisa Q. Lovell and others; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. HIGGINS introduced a bill (S. 754) for the relief of the Southern Railroad Association, lessees of the Mississippi Central Railroad Company; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. DOLPH introduced a bill (S. 755) granting right of way to the Albany and Astoria Railroad Company through the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation, in the State of Oregon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 756) for the application of the accretions of the Caracas awards of 1868 to the new awards made in 1889 and 1890; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also introduced a bill (S. 757) to provide for the erection of a first-class fog signal at or near the present position of the Cape Arago light station; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 758) extending the time allowed the Umatilla Irrigation Company for the construction of its ditch across the Umatilla Indian Reservation in the State of Oregon; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. GALLINGER introduced a bill (S. 759) for the relief of Thomas F. Rowland; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. CAMERON introduced a bill (S. 760) for the relief of James Jones; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 761) to indemnify the State of Pennsylvania for money expended in 1864 for militia called into the military service by the governor under the proclamation of the President of June 15, 1863; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 762) for the relief of the legal owners of the Columbia Bridge, at Columbia, Pa.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 763) relieving the personal representatives of John Sherman, jr., late United States marshal for the Territory of New Mexico, from the requirements of section 833 of the Revised Statutes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 764) for the relief of certain senior medical directors on the retired list of the Navy; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

EXCLUSION OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

Mr. DOLPH. Yesterday I introduced a bill (S. 745) making an appropriation to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to enforce the Chinese exclusion acts, and I inadvertently had it referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, when I intended to ask that the bill lie on the table until I could submit some remarks upon it. I ask that the order of yesterday be rescinded and that the bill lie on the table.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the bill will be recalled from the Committee on Foreign Relations and lie on the table.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

On motion of Mr. CULLOM, it was

Ordered, That James W. Neely have leave to withdraw from the files of the Senate, under the rules, the papers filed with the bill for his relief.

LEE MANTLE.

Mr. PUGH submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections:

Resolved, That there be allowed out of the contingent fund of the Senate, to Lee Mantle, the sum of $5,000 in full compensation for all his time and expense in prosecuting his claim to a seat in the Senate as a Senator from the State of Montana.

JOHN B. ALLEN.

Mr. SQUIRE submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections:

Resolved, That there be allowed out of the contingent fund of the Senate to John B. Allen the sum of $5,000, in full compensation for all his time and expense in prosecuting his claim to a seat in the Senate as a Senator from the State of Washington.

ACTING ASSISTANT DOORKEEPER.

Mr. HALE submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Resolved, That the Sergeant-at-Arms be, and he is hereby, authorized to employ an additional acting assistant doorkeeper at an annual salary of $2,592, to be paid from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate.

AMOUNT OF REVENUES.

Mr. STEWART. I submit a resolution, and after it is read I desire to call the attention of the Senate to the matter.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, The Secretary of the Treasury is directed to inform the Senate how the revenues, since the commencement of the present fiscal year, compare with the estimates of the Treasury Department, and whether such revenues exceed or are less than such estimates, and the amount of such excess or deficiency, as the case may be.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I shall move to refer the resolution to the Committee on Finance because I do not wish to proceed against the wish of Senators in this respect, but I desire to call attention, before it is referred, to a statement which I find in the Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin, purporting to come from official sources, as to the condition of the revenues of the Government:

WASHINGTON, *August 28, 1893.*

The purpose of Secretary Carlisle to wait until the disposition of the silver question before communicating with Congress on the threatened deficit in the Treasury seems to meet general approval. The Secretary is not oblivious to the rapid shrinkage of the revenue, and has had several consultations on the subject with Assistant Secretary Curtis, Treasurer Morgan, and other Departmental officials. He feels, however, that it is better to draw somewhat upon the gold rather than precipitate a new cause of controversy into Congress while the silver question is pending. Assistant Secretary Curtis has been giving considerable attention to the threatened deficit and the best manner of meeting it, and he is disposed to favor the issue of short-term bills against the future revenue, according to the plan already outlined in the Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin.

It is evident that the revenue will be less than the expenditures during the remainder of the present calendar year, and whatever Government paper might be issued will have to run a year and a half or two years before it could be redeemed. The alternatives are an issue of gold bonds, which would be an expensive manner of meeting a temporary deficit if the gold were not needed to replenish the reserve, and the use of the silver bullion purchased under the Sherman law. The latter device seems to encounter opposition in many quarters upon the theory that the bullion is held to secure the notes, and that either the notes or the new money issued against the bullion would be in the nature of a fiat currency.

It is no longer denied at the Treasury Department that some special measures must be taken to replenish the exchequer. A statement prepared for Mr. Curtis by the Warrant Division shows a decrease from July 1 to August 23 in customs receipts from $31,006,000 in 1892 to $23,430,000 in 1893, and a decrease in internal-revenue receipts from $25,370,000 in 1892 to $22,593,000 in 1893. This represents a total loss of $10,253,000 on receipts, which aggregated $54,376,000 last year, or a shrinkage of nearly 20 per cent. The falling off in customs receipts is not unexpected, in view of the depression in business and the possibility of tariff changes. The decline in internal-revenue receipts was more of a surprise, and recovery has already begun to show itself.

The total receipts for August up to the close of business on Saturday last were $20,750,000, of which $10,367,000 were from customs duties and $8,850,000 were from internal-revenue taxes. The expenditures for the same time were $31,520,000, of which pensions called for $12,585,000. Another million will be required for pensions before the month ends, and there will evidently be a shortage of nearly $10,000,000 for the month. The general balance, including the gold reserve, was $117,887,567 on July 31, and will be below $108,000,000 on August 31. Saturday's balance was already $108,498,772, of which $98,288,247 was in gold.

The policy of paying out gold on ordinary obligations is due to a scarcity of currency, which has been oppressing the Department for some time. The present supply of available currency is $17,673,089, of which $9,844,270 is in United States notes, $5,204,603 in Sherman notes, and $2,624,216 in silver certificates. This is a bare working margin for the exchanges of currency which are carried on at the Department, as it takes several days for an exchange to be consummated, and a margin is necessary to cover the intervening time. The gold which is being paid out here in Washington seems to be no more acceptable than at New York. Most of it has been taken in eagles and double eagles, contrary to the expectation of the officials that small denominations would be asked for. Washington is probably better equipped with currency than any other city in the country, because of the large payments of salaries and other items which are made in cash. C. A. C.

I move that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Finance, because I do not wish to ask anything that the Senate will not readily grant without an objection; but it seems to me that the facts I ask for are easily ascertainable, and the Senate would have had it in an official form without any delay if the resolution previously submitted by me had been passed yesterday. I think when we are passing financial measures and looking into this subject, and when one of the questions is whether we shall avail ourselves of the bullion in the Treasury without increasing the debt and there is a difference of opinion upon it, we ought to have the exact information so as to know how to proceed.

But I shall not ask for the passage of the resolution. I want it referred to the Committee on Finance. It is said that the

Democratic party is in power and we must not interfere with their arrangements. There is a good deal of evidence that some party is in power which is injuring the country very rapidly. I do not believe it is the Democratic party, but it may be that it is; I think it is the gold party that is doing all this harm.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection the resolution will be referred to the Committee on Finance.

CLERKS IN DISTRICT HEALTH OFFICE.

Mr. HARRIS. On Monday last I reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia a little bill authorizing the Commissioners of the District to appoint two additional clerks in the health department of the District. The health officer reports that his clerical force is wholly insufficient; that it is impossible to keep up the work, and that at this particular time it is more than usually important that it should be kept squarely up to current date. I ask the unanimous consent of the Senate to consider the bill this morning.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Tennessee asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (S. 721) to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to appoint two additional clerks. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

The bill (H. R. 4) to provide for certain urgent deficiencies in the appropriations for the service of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

PURCHASE OF SILVER BULLION.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. VOORHEES. I ask that House bill No. 1 be laid before the Senate as the order of business.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The morning business having been closed, the Senator from Indiana asks that House bill No. 1 be laid before the Senate.

Mr. VOORHEES. It is the bill as amended by the report of the Senate committee yesterday, but it retains its number as a House bill. I ask that it be laid before the Senate, on which the Senator from Ohio may make his address.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Chair lays before the Senate the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, the immediate question before us is whether the United States shall suspend the purchase of silver bullion directed by the act of July 14, 1890. It is to decide this question the President has called Congress together in special session at this inconvenient season of the year. If this was the only reason for an extraordinary session, it would seem insufficient. The mere addition of 18,000,000 ounces of silver to the vast hoard in the Treasury, and the addition of fourteen millions of Treasury notes to the one thousand millions of notes outstanding, would hardly justify this call, especially as Congress at the last session neglected or refused to suspend the purchase of silver. The call is justified by the existing financial stringency, growing out of the fear that the United States will open its mints to the free coinage of silver. This is the real issue. The purchase of silver is a mere incident. The gravity of this issue can not be measured by words. In everyway in which we turn we encounter difficulties.

If we adopt the single standard of gold without aid from silver, we will greatly increase the burden of national and individual debts, disturb the relation between capital and labor, cripple the industries of the country, still further reduce the value of silver, of which we now have in the Treasury and among our people over $593,000,000, and of which we are the chief produces, and invite a struggle with the great commercial nations for the possession of the gold of the world.

On the other hand, if we continue the purchase of 54,000,000 ounces of silver a year, we will eventually bring the United States to the single standard of silver—a constantly depreciating commodity, now rejected by the great commercial nations as a standard of value; a commodity confessedly inconvenient by its weight, bulk, and value for the large transactions of foreign and domestic commerce, and detach us from the money standard now adopted by all European nations, with which we now have our chief commercial and social relations. In dealing with such a question we surely ought to dismiss from our minds all party affinities or prejudices; all local and sectional interests, and all preconceived opinions not justified by existing facts and conditions.

Upon one thing I believe that Congress and our constituents agree: That both these extreme positions shall be rejected; that both silver and gold should be continued in use as money—a measure of value; that neither can be dispensed with. Monometallism, pure and simple, has never gained a foothold in the United States. We are all bimetallists. But there are many kinds of bimetallists. One kind favors the adoption of the cheaper metal for the time being as the standard of value. Silver being now the cheaper metal, they favor its free coinage at the present ratio, with the absolute certainty that silver alone will be coined at our mints as money; that gold will be demonetized, hoarded at a premium, or exported where it is maintained as standard money. The result would be monometallism of silver.

Another kind of bimetallist, recognizing that 16 ounces of silver are not worth in the market 1 ounce of gold, proposes the free coinage of 20 ounces of silver as the equivalent of 1 ounce of gold. But this is only a difference in degree, because 1 ounce of gold is worth from 27 to 29 ounces of silver. Gold being undervalued, the hoarding or exportation of gold will inevitably follow, and silver will be the only standard. Another kind of bimetallist is one who believes that the essential quality of bimetallism requires that the coins of the two metals shall be maintained of equal purchasing power. The only way in which this can be done, in case the two metals are not on a parity of value at the legal ratio, is by freely coining the more valuable metal and coining the cheaper metal at the legal ratio, and maintaining by the fiat of the Government coins of the two metals at parity with each other.

The two metals, as metals, never have been, are not now, and never can be kept at par with each other for any considerable time at any fixed ratio. This necessarily imposes upon the Government the duty of buying the cheaper metal and coining it into money. The Government should only pay for the bullion its market value, for it has the burden of maintaining it at par with the dearer metal. If the bullion falls in price the Government must make it good; if it rises in value the Government gains.

The Government is thus always interested in advancing the value of the cheaper metal. This is the kind of bimetallism I believe in. It is the only way in which two commodities of unequal value can be maintained at parity with each other. The free coinage of silver and gold at any ratio you may fix means the use of the cheaper metal only. This is founded on the universal law of humanity, the law of selfishness. No man will carry to the mint 1 ounce of gold to be coined into dollars when he can carry 16 ounces of silver, worth but little more in the market than half an ounce of gold, and get the same number of dollars.

The free coinage of silver means the single standard of silver. It means a cheaper dollar, with less purchasing power. It means a reduction in the wages of labor: not in the number of dollars, but in the quantity of bread, meat, clothes, comforts he can purchase with his daily wage. It means a repudiation of a portion of all debts, public and private. It means a bounty to all the banks, savings institutions, trust companies that are in debt more than their credits. It means a nominal advance in prices of the produce of the farmer, but a decrease in the purchasing power of his money. Its chief attraction is that it enables a debtor to pay his debt contracted upon the existing standard with money of less value. If Senators want cheap money and to advance prices, free coinage is the way to do it; but do not call it bimetallism. The problem we have to solve is how to secure to our people the largest use of both gold and silver without demonetizing either.

Now, let us examine the situation in which we are placed. Our country is under the pressure of a currency famine. Industries, great and small, are suspended by the owners, not because they can not sell their products, but because they can not get the money to pay for raw material and the wages of their employés. Banks conducted fairly are drained of their deposits and are compelled not only to refuse all loans, but to collect their bills receivable. This stringency extends to all trades and business; it affects even your public revenues, all forms of public and private securities, and, more than all, it stops the pay of a vast army of laboring men, of skilled mechanics, and artisans, and affects the economy and comfort of almost every home in the land.

The strange feature of this stringency is unlike that of any of the numerous panics in our past history. They came from either an irredeemable currency, which became worthless in the hands of the holder, or from expanded credit, based upon reckless enterprises which, failing, destroyed confidence in all industries. Stringency followed failure and reckless speculation. This panic

occurs when money is more abundant than ever before. Our circulating notes to-day are sixty million more than one year ago. It is all good—as good as gold. No discrimination is made between the gold and silver dollar, or between the United States note, the Treasury note, the silver certificate, or the gold certificate. All these are indiscriminately hoarded, and not so much by the rich as by the poor. The draft is upon the savings bank, as well as the national or State bank. It is the movement of fear, the belief that their money will be needed, and that they may not be able to get it when they want it. In former panics, stringency followed failures. In this, failures follow stringency.

Now, as representatives of the people, we are called here in Congress to furnish such measure of relief as the law can afford. In the discharge of this duty I will sweep away all party bias, all pride of opinion, all personal interest, and even the good will of my constituents, if it were necessary; but, fortunately, I believe their opinions concur with my own.

Let me first state the reasons of the President for calling this extra session. The President denounces the act of July 14, 1890, in the following terms:

> This legislation is embodied in a statute passed on the 14th day of July, 1890, which was the culmination of much agitation on the subject involved, and which may be considered a truce, after a long struggle, between the advocates of free-silver coinage and those intending to be more conservative.

Let me recall the history of this "truce."

In the beginning of the Fifty-first Congress there was developed in both Houses great opposition to the Bland-Allison act, which had failed to maintain or advance the value of silver. It slowly but steadily declined. It was insisted on our side that this act should be repealed and silver be left to settle upon its commercial value. On the other hand, it was insisted that silver should be coined as legal-tender money, at the request and for the benefit of the owner, at the ratio of 16 to 1 in gold.

This contention was decided in the House by a bill which provided—

> That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of $4,500,000 worth in each month, at the market price thereof, and to issue in payment for such purchases of silver bullion Treasury notes of the United States.

The bill, as it passed the Senate June 17, 1890, contains this provision for the free coinage of silver:

> That hereafter any owner of silver or gold bullion may deposit the same at any mint of the United States to be formed into standard dollars or bars for his benefit and without charge; but it shall be lawful to refuse any deposit of less value than $100, or any bullion so base as to be unsuitable for the operations of the mint.

The vote on this proposition was as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Bate, Berry, Blodgett, Butler, Call, Cameron, Cockrell, Coke, Colquitt, Daniel, Eustis, George, Gorman, Harris, Hearst, Ingalls, Jones of Arkansas; Jones of Nevada; Kenna, Manderson, Mitchell, Moody, Morgan, Paddock, Pasco, Payne, Plumb, Power, Pugh, Ransom, Reagan, Saunders, Squire, Stewart, Teller, Turpie, Vance, Vest, Voorhees, Walthall, and Wolcott—41.

Fourteen Republicans and 27 Democrats.

Nays—Messrs. Aldrich, Allen, Allison, Blair, Casey, Chandler, Cullom, Dawes, Edmunds, Evarts, Frye, Gray, Hale, Hawley, Hiscock, Hoar, McPherson, Morrill, Pierce, Platt, Sawyer, Sherman, Spooner, Stockbridge, Washburn, and Wilson of Maryland—26.

Twenty-three Republicans and 3 Democrats.

The bill, as agreed to in a conference of which I was a member, contains the following provision:

> That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered, in each month, at the market price thereof.

The vote upon the adoption of this conference report was as follows:

Yeas—Aldrich, Allen, Allison, Blair, Casey, Cullom, Davis, Dawes, Dixon, Dolph, Edmunds, Evarts, Farwell, Frye, Hawley, Higgins, Hiscock, Hoar, Ingalls, Jones of Nevada, McMillan, Manderson, Mitchell, Moody, Pettigrew, Pierce, Platt, Plumb, Power, Quay, Saunders, Sawyer, Sherman, Spooner, Squire, Stewart, Stockbridge, Washburn, Wolcott—39.

Nays—Barbour, Bate, Blackburn, Call, Carlisle, Cockrell, Coke, Colquitt, Daniel, Faulkner, Gibson, Gorman, Hampton, Harris, Jones of Arkansas, Kenna, McPherson, Pasco, Pugh, Ransom, Reagan, Turpie, Vance, Vest, Voorhees, Walthall—26.

The conference report was adopted and became a law. The reasons for my concurrence in this report have been already stated. As conferees, we had no right to go beyond the differences between the two Houses. We were limited to either the free coinage of silver or the purchase of silver bullion. We chose the latter alternative. The only latitude which parliamentary law allowed us as conferees was to provide the conditions of free coinage in case the Senate bill was adopted, or to fix the amount, price, and manner of purchasing silver bullion in case the House bill was adopted. The House had taken a vote which, by a close majority, rejected free coinage, and, therefore, I correctly stated this fact to the Senate; but I was not blind to the danger that, if the conferees reported a disagreement, the narrow majority in the House against free coinage would melt away under the pressure for some affirmative action by Congress.

I was not in favor of either free coinage at the present ratio, or the purchase of silver bullion except as needed for coinage. I regarded free coinage as another name for monometallism of silver. The other two conferees of the Senate were in favor of free coinage, or, that failing, were in favor of the purchase of silver bullion provided for by the House bill. After many meetings and great delay, we agreed to report a compromise bill providing for the monthly purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion at its market value, and the insertion of several provisions which I deemed of great importance. One was that, instead of appropriating $4,500,000 a month for the purchase of silver bullion, we should provide for the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces. I believed that this was a safer proposition, as, if silver fell below $1 an ounce, the cost of 4,500,000 ounces would be less than $4,500,000. If, however, it should advance, the cost would be greater. As the result proved, after a brief period, silver continued to decline, so that now, at the market value, the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces costs the Government about $3,300,000.

We also agreed upon a provision that the Secretary of the Treasury might redeem the Treasury notes issued for the purchase of silver bullion in gold or silver coin at his discretion, thus enabling him to maintain the two coins at parity with each other. We also agreed to the declaration that it was the established public policy of the United States to maintain the two metals upon a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided. This was a direction to that officer to so exercise his discretion as to maintain the parity of the two coins.

With these provisions the law is far better than the bill of the House or the bill of the Senate.

When any Senator hereafter undertakes to criticise the law, which has been misnamed after me, he should remember that it was a substitute for a bill of the House of Representatives and a bill of the Senate, both of which would have been far more dangerous in their results than even the law of which I am now speaking.

Another object secured by the conference bill was the repeal of what is known as the Bland act, or Bland-Allison act, which required all silver purchased to be coined at its legal ratio. The Government bought silver at its market value and coined it at the ratio of 16 to 1, thus making a nominal profit to the Government—a profit which, if real, was an extortion, but in fact it is utterly delusive. If silver did not advance the United States was still bound, according to its established policy, to redeem the notes issued at par with gold, and no profit could accrue. If bullion still declined in market value there would be a loss instead of a gain. The silver bullion purchased under the Bland-Allison act at present prices is worth $67,899,847 less than it cost.

It was a confident expectation and belief of a majority of the conferees that the purchase of all the silver bullion produced by the United States would advance the market value of silver, and most of them agreed that it would advance the price of silver to the legal ratio. I did not concur in this belief, but believed that such a purchase would tend to prevent the further fall of silver bullion. In this I was mistaken. The result disappointed these expectations. After a spasmodic effort, largely the result of speculation, silver bullion abnormally advanced for a brief period, but fell again to less than its value in July, 1890, and continued to decline until now, since the action of the English Government in respect to India, it fell in July last to the price of 72 cents per ounce. Its average price in the year 1892 was 87½ cents an ounce. Its lowest price during that year was in September, 83.8 cents an ounce.

The President states in his message the fall of silver, the disappointment of those interested in silver production, and the results of the act of July, 1890, in these words:

> Undoubtedly the monthly purchases by the Government of 4,500,000 ounces of silver, enforced under that statute, were regarded by those interested in silver production as a certain guaranty of its increase in price. The result, however, has been entirely different, for immediately following a spasmodic and slight rise, the price of silver began to fall after the passage of the act and has since reached the lowest point ever known. This disappointing result has led to renewed and persistent effort in the direction of free silver coinage.
>
> Meanwhile, not only are the evil effects of the operation of the present law constantly accumulating, but the result to which its execution must inevitably lead is becoming palpable to all who give the least heed to financial subjects.

But the President does not state the causes of this decline. He leaves to the impression of the passing reader that they came from the purchasing of four and a half million ounces of silver a month. If he had taken a broader view of the causes of that decline, he would have been easily enabled to explain them.

It so happens that while our country is vast and rich, and full of wealth in the past and in its promises for the future, yet, from its peculiar position, it may be made the base from which gold, silver, or anything else may be drawn.

There is among the nations of the world one great creditor nation, which holds bonds and securities in various forms to the amount of thousands of millions of dollars. It is a country which has not been invaded by a foreign foe for five hundred years. Its insular position is its safety and its fortress. It is a nation of intelligent people, who command the commerce of the world, whose flag floats on every sea. We ought not to be ashamed of them, or to hate them or dislike them, because we are their children and possess very many of the qualities of the parent stock.

England is the great creditor nation, but in her vast enterprises she became involved in difficulties since the passage of the act of 1890. Large investments were made by her capitalists in the Argentine Confederacy, amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars. They, by some sudden collapse, were entirely lost; the Bank of England was threatened, and was compelled to make good those losses, at least to the extent of the drafts made upon England, in order to maintain the banking houses of England, which might have otherwise toppled to their fall, perhaps carrying with them the old mother of them all, the Bank of England.

These difficulties suddenly grew up and England was compelled to obtain money from France and other parts of Europe. The immediate result was that our securities were sent home here to our market. They held our securities abroad, and now hold them, to the amount of billions of dollars. They were sent here for sale, and the proceeds in gold were shipped back to pay the losses of Great Britain in the Argentine Confederation.

As I said, sir, our country is great, rich, and powerful; but we have this difficulty, it is a new country. Our wealth is not in gold and in silver, not in money, not even in bonds and mortgages to send abroad. Our wealth is in our mines, our farms, our workshops, and our railroads—the most wonderful development of modern times, because we have in this great agency of commerce more miles of railroad than all the nations of the world.

These are our sources of wealth, but they are also causes of danger, because they could not have been developed in the last few years without going into debt, and that debt may be demanded at any time and will draw from us gold, silver, or anything else.

Following the Argentine trouble, the banks of Australia failed, and the same process went on there, with the same result. They drew upon our gold.

Not only that, but other causes combined to produce this trouble. At the very time when we were carrying on this experiment under the act of 1890, Austria-Hungary, Roumania, and several other countries of Europe were changing from a paper or a silver standard to gold, and they made demands upon us. They did it through the English bankers, who were compelled to sell American securities in order to draw our gold away, and then, after the decline of these securities, caused by their sudden sale, recouped their losses in the market by buying them at an advance in a short period. That was an additional trouble.

There was still another trouble. For the first time in many years, the balance of trade turned against us last year. Hitherto we have boasted of from fifty to one hundred million and sometimes two hundred million dollars balance in our favor, which helped us to pay our debts and the debts of our people; yet during the last fiscal year, ending on the 30th of June, the balance of trade against us was $18,735,728. What it will be next year we can not tell; we do not know. We believe that our crops, now ripening, will probably enable us to maintain the balance of trade in our favor. I believe the forced economy, which always follows such a panic as this, will of itself be a prevention of unusual and unnecessary imports, so that I hope next year there will be no balance against us.

It seems to me that the President, with his broad conception—and I admit him to be a very able man—should have stated that the failure to coin silver did not cause the trouble. The trouble which now occurs did not come from the mere purchase of four million and a half ounces of silver a month, but it came from causes which are as apparent as the sky, as broad as the firmament, as open to the eye of every man as the sun which shines in the heavens by day, or the moon which shines at night.

An erroneous idea, therefore, has been carried in the public mind that this small measure has produced results with which it has no connection. But nevertheless the situation is upon us, and we have got to deal with the situation and not with the measure.

I was very much interested with the observation made yesterday afternoon by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] upon one branch of this question. Although I am not able to agree with him in many things, I am glad to agree with him upon something.

I here give the loss in the bullion purchased under the act of 1890 at 74¼ cents an ounce, which I am told is its value to-day. The loss is $22,345,356. It must be remembered also that we have issued on the 150,000,000 ounces of silver that were bought under that law Treasury notes to the amount of the cost of that bullion, which pay no interest and which have been used as current money by the people of our country. Suppose this provision had not been made in 1890; suppose we had been compelled to face the storms that followed in 1890, the failures of banks, of the Barings, and all other causes without any increasing currency in the markets of our country; suppose the Sherman law had been stricken from the files in 1890 or rejected, who can tell what would have been the consequences in this country of the great depressing effects I have already mentioned?

Sir, "give the devil his due." The law of 1890 may have many faults, but I stand by it yet, and I will defend it, not as a permanent public policy, not as a measure that I take any pride in, because I yielded to the necessity of granting relief; but I do say that the beneficial effects that flowed from the passage of that law were infinitely greater even in the percentage of money than the loss we have suffered in the fall in the price of silver. Without it, in 1891 and 1892 we would have met difficulties that would have staggered us much more than the passing breeze of the hour—a storm for a month, or even for a year, growing out of causes entirely different, I think, with due deference to the President, from the causes he has named.

Now, Mr. President, I was not blind in respect of the operations of the law of 1890. Long before our Democratic friends ever thought of providing a measure of relief I introduced in the Senate a bill, which I hold in my hand, to suspend the operation of the law of 1890, a bill in almost the same words as the bill now brought forward by the honorable Senator from Indiana. Here it is:

[Fifty-second Congress, second session.]

S. 3423.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

July 14, 1892.—Mr. SHERMAN introduced the following bill; which was read twice, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

A bill for the repeal of certain parts of the act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes, approved July 14, 1890.

Be it enacted, etc., That so much of the act entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," approved July 14, 1890, as directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase, from time to time, silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month, at the market price thereof, and to issue in payment for such purchases of silver bullion Treasury notes of the United States, is hereby repealed, to take effect on the 1st day of January, 1893: *Provided*, That this act shall not in anyway affect or impair or change the legal qualities, redemption, or use of the Treasury notes issued under said act.

Why did not our friends then see the terrors that would arise out of this law and help us suspend its operations a year ago? They can answer for that. I thought then, after two years' trial, that it was better to suspend it, and we tried to do it on this side of the Chamber, but had no support, I believe, at all on the other side.

Now, Mr. President, it is therefore manifest that I am not a new convert for the repeal of this purchasing clause. If I erred in yielding to the opinion of my associates, and consenting to sign the conference report, I must take my share of the responsibility for the great loss that has fallen upon the Government by the act of July 14, 1890. Still, I feel bound to say for myself and my associates that we did what we thought was best in securing the compromise between the opposing bills of the two Houses, and still believe that the advantages secured by that act in the repeal of the Bland act, and the guaranty of the United States to maintain its coins at a parity with each other was a wise and prudent compromise under the circumstances.

It received the sanction of my political associates after full consideration and before it was reported to the Senate. It received the opposition of the Democratic Senators because it did not go to the extent of free coinage of silver. It is not fair for them to denounce the purchase of a limited amount of silver without saying that they struggled to obtain all the unused silver of the world. The question upon the adoption of the report was a question between the free coinage of silver and the purchase of silver bullion. That issue, unfortunately, assumed a political character in which a large majority of the Republicans were in favor of the purchase of bullion rather than free coinage, and the great body of the Democrats were in favor of the free coinage of silver rather than a limited purchase.

I never questioned the sincerity of the motives of any of these gentlemen, and especially of the representatives from the Western States, where silver was an important and leading industry. They obeyed the will and sought to promote the interests of

their constituents. But it remains nevertheless true that in the struggle of opposing opinions we secured, by the act of July 14, 1890, the most favorable result of this controversy for the people of the United States that could then possibly be obtained. The immediate result of the measure was to increase our currency, and thus relieve our people from a panic then imminent, similar to that which we now suffer. The very men who now denounce from Wall street this compromise were shouting "Hallelujah!" for their escape by it from free coinage.

Now the condition is changed. One year ago we had the experience of the operation of the law for but two years. The price of silver steadily declined. Every purchase made was in a falling market. Our purchases were inducing the mining companies to increase their production of silver, while European countries stopped their purchase of silver, and, in some cases, sold their silver on hand in our market. Then was the time to suspend our purchases and await the course of events. It is manifest that if our Democratic friends at the last session had been willing to vote for the repeal of this clause, the existing panic, so far as it is the result of the purchase of silver bullion, would not have occurred. Instead of this, they were denouncing the law of 1890 as a miserable makeshift; they were demanding and promising free coinage of silver, cheap money, and plenty of it.

In certain States this largely influenced the result of the election of the President of the United States. Now that they are in power we have a different call. The President asks us to suspend the purchase of silver because it "has led to renewed and persistent efforts in the direction of free coinage of silver." I am glad to notice that many of the gentlemen who voted for the free coinage of silver are now in favor of the repeal of this act. My only surprise is that the great body of them who voted against this act, and denounced it as a makeshift, are now unwilling to vote for its repeal.

My reasons for its repeal are now stronger than ever before. The result of the act has by unforeseen events disappointed the hopes and expectations of its authors. It has, by its operation, tended to reduce rather than to increase the value of silver. The burden assumed by the United States led to the completion of gold monometallism in Europe by giving a market to silver that was demonetized. Its results encouraged and led to the Indian policy of the British Government. The act of 1890 may have contributed somewhat to the amount of gold sent to Europe, though I think that the cause of this movement is that the balance of trade has lately been against the United States, and therefore transferred to Europe the only money they will accept in payment of balances due them. One of these imports paid for in gold was silver sent us from Mexico and Europe.

The act of 1890 has demonstrated also the inevitable result of free coinage in our country. If the purchase of 54,000,000 ounces of silver a year did not prevent the further decline of that metal, what would have been the result if we received and coined all the silver that would be brought into the United States from any region of the world at the fixed price of $1.29 per ounce, worth in the market 73 cents an ounce? This is a proposition the logic of which it is impossible to avoid. It is a lesson necessarily to be taught. Without it many honest people could not be persuaded that the fiat of the Government was not sufficient to lift the price of silver or to prevent its fall.

There is no doubt that the act of 1890 is made the imaginary pretext for many evils it did not produce. It is made to bear the results of wild speculation, of fears well or ill founded as to future legislation, of failures and disturbances with which it has no connection. It is made the scapegoat for extravagance and folly. The fears of business men that the tariff policy of the Democratic party will disturb all domestic industries and open our markets at cheap rates to the productions of every country in the world, and the cautionary measures taken by them to guard against this competition is a far more potent cause for distrust, stopping of factories and workshops, than the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver a month.

Certain it is that the act of 1890 did not produce a scarcity of currency. The evil which our people are suffering now is not the volume of money but the hoarding of it. It is a currency famine caused by the hoarding of money taken from its ordinary channels and hidden away in secret places by reason of the fears of millions of people in all ranks and conditions of life. This act which we are called upon to repeal has furnished yearly from $34,000,000 to $50,000,000 of Treasury notes issued for the purchase of silver bullion. If the issue of this great sum in monthly installments had any effect, it must have been to expand the currency. Its repeal leaves no law in force for any increase of a circulating medium at a time when above all others currency of every kind is in great demand and is bought at a premium.

Let us not deceive our people as to the reasons for this repeal; for when the purchasing clause is repealed you will still have to deal with the real causes of the prevailing stringency and distrust. I do not vote for this repeal with any expectation that it will in any considerable degree relieve us from the industrial stagnation that has fallen upon all kinds of business and production, and that has thrown out of employment hundreds of thousands of laboring men and women. They care little about the kind of money that is paid them, provided that it is equal in purchasing power to any other money, and is backed by the United States. They do not study the question of ratio, or the difference between silver and gold, and, if left to choice, prefer the notes of the United States to either coin.

What they want is employment, fair wages for home industry, reasonable protection against undue competition with foreign laborers miserably paid, fed, lodged, and treated. Give them these, and you may make your standards of value as you choose. Mete out to them the same measure of value that you do to yourselves and they are content. The fear that industrial conditions will be so changed that the prosperity of the past will be followed by diminished production, lower prices, lower wages, diminished exports and increased imports, resulting in a continued balance of trade against us—these are the chief factors of the present financial stringency. It is manifest that if this law is repealed, it is not to relieve the people from a stringency of currency, but to relieve the money market from the dread of the effect of free coinage of silver.

And now, Mr. President, recognizing as I do to its broadest extent, not only the ability, but the power, that is now entrusted to the party in ascendency on the other side of the Chamber, in the Executive branch, and in the other House, I warn them, in view of the lesson we are now receiving as to the way any great danger affects the productions of our country, affects its interests, and disturbs values, and stops industry now profitably conducted, if they undertake to pursue that line of policy with reference to the tariff, they will only be involved in the same trouble and the same kind of defeat we suffered in the last election. You have the responsibility for the condition and for the remedy. I trust in God you will exercise it wisely; but I believe, from the signs of the times, that the propositions which are being made will disturb the industries of our country and add deeper and deeper lines to the dark days we are now suffering.

The President, in the midst of a panic, appeals to us to repeal this law. He will not make this appeal in vain to me. I am under no obligations to him and have no sympathy with him in many of his ideas of public policy, but in this matter I believe he is right, and that, without respect to party divisions or party affinities, it is my duty to respond to his call. We ought to suspend the purchase of silver bullion. The strange spectacle is presented that those of us who confess ourselves responsible for this law and voted for it are willing to repeal it, while the great body of his political friends who voted against it and declaimed against it refuse to repeal it and cling to it as their ark of safety. Our Democratic friends have denounced this purchasing clause as a miserable makeshift. It was a makeshift, but I think a good one to defeat the free coinage of silver on the ratio of 16 to 1. I believe in this respect it has rendered the country an enormous service.

It is said that the demand for repeal comes from banks and bankers in the Eastern cities; that they have combined together to influence our action; that they refuse to pay their depositors and coöperate to create a panic, and therefore a repeal. Such action should not influence us either way. If any of them refuse to pay a lawful demand of a depositor it is an act of bankruptcy and should lead immediately to the appointment of a receiver. This would be the action with any bank in Ohio of $50,000 capital, and should be even more summary with a bank of ten millions capital. The clamor of a bank or banker should not influence us for or against repeal.

I will vote for its repeal because I believe the purchase of silver is no longer necessary, that it is unprofitable and dangerous—not that I wish to depreciate silver, for if I had the power to regulate the market, I would gladly advance it to par with gold at the legal ratio. As this is impossible, I am willing to vote for any measure that will tend to maintain the parity of the two metals at some fixed ratio approaching their commercial value. I will coöperate with any person or any party in any measure that will tend to maintain the harmonious use of silver and gold as standards of value for all human productions.

Now, I wish to make a few observations in regard to what ought to be done for the future. If the purchasing clause is repealed, what then? I do not want to advise either this Congress or the Administration. I have no right at all to be weighed in their council, but I take it that whether we are Democrats or Republicans we are all Americans, and that every American would desire to do that which is best for all interests and all parties. I think there are certain urgent duties resting upon the Democratic party at this time, and although I am not their

adviser, I have the right as an American citizen to give them my opinion, and I will briefly do it.

I take it the first object we all have in view is to preserve intact the parity of all our money. We have now seven or eight hundred million dollars of paper money outstanding for which we are responsible. We have undertaken to maintain that at a parity. How can it be done? Ordinarily a small reserve would be sufficient to give security to everyone and prevent any fear; but in times like these, in my judgment, it is the duty of the prevailing party, who have the power of the Government in their hands and can exercise that power at any moment, to strengthen the reserve, so that nobody will fear we will not maintain the parity of all forms of money in our country.

In order to carry that out it may be necessary to issue the securities of our country to buy gold. They will command gold in any market. They would draw it from the Bank of England. A demand note, a note payable at the pleasure of the United States, drawing, say, not to exceed 4 per cent interest, would command gold everywhere; and although this is not my business, yet at the same time it is the only way by which you can summarily acquire the possession of gold to maintain your reserve.

I tried at the last Congress, in aid of the Democratic party (the first time I ever tried to act as their aid), to secure the passage of a law that would enable the Secretary of the Treasury to fortify his reserve in case there was a necessity; but gentlemen on the other side were afraid of the popular effect. They were afraid we would have to pay a little interest in the meantime, and that it would be increasing the bonded indebtedness; they thought it was so much cheaper and easier to issue more United States notes. The issue of United States notes would be like setting a match to powder, and would rather increase and bring about the danger which threatens us. I hope that among the measures the honorable Senator from Indiana may provide for relief will be some broad and liberal measure authorizing the President or the Secretary, whichever he prefers to exercise the power, to sell our securities, if necessary, in order to maintain the parity of all our money.

There is another point to be noticed. We must not overlook the fact that there may possibly be a balance of trade against us next year. The appropriations made at the last session of Congress, although made under the scrutiny of very careful economists, may exceed the amount of revenues received by the Government. Some authority to make good this deficit, whatever it may be, ought to be provided for by law. There is no question about that. Some power should be given to the executive officers they do not now possess. If there is an insufficient revenue to meet our expenditures, a contingency which I hope will not happen, they ought to have the power to meet it. That power has always been granted by any party, whatever it may be, to any Administration whenever such a necessity is likely to arise.

We ought to encourage in every way possible the exportations of our products. I do not precisely see how this can be done. If any measure whatever can be devised to facilitate transportation, even if possible by the use of American vessels, in various ways, it ought to be done. We ought to pour the wealth of our country into the lap of all Europe and sell them our products in order to avoid any difficulty. I do not say precisely how we could aid the Treasury, but the people of the United States are an ingenious people; they will devise ways and means of meeting any demand that is made upon our resources by the people of Europe or any other country.

Another thing, I think, could be done for immediate relief. By that strange rule of logic by which you can coin an equal amount of dollars out of a given quantity of bullion and then have a surplus over, if there is such a surplus in the Treasury (and I suppose there is, because some Senators have said there is), I would undoubtedly coin that surplus, and use it, if necessary, for the ordinary operations of the Government to prevent a deficiency, or for any purpose that it might be lawfully coined.

I do not believe in that kind of management, buying silver from our people and then coining the same amount and having a large profit, as it is called. If it is a profit it is an outrage. If it is not a profit it is a fraud, and I think it is a fraud to call our purchases of silver bullion profitable because we can coin more dollars out of it, having the supreme power to do it, than we pay for the silver bullion.

Now, Mr. President, with these remarks I shall for a brief period (for I will not take very long) refer to another subject which I think I am bound to do by every obligation of honor and duty.

COINAGE ACT OF 1873.

I wish now to call attention of the Senate to the coinage act of the United States, and especially to the act of 1873, which has been the subject of so much misrepresentation and falsehood in this debate. I propose, not on my own account, but for the benefit of the distinguished officers of the Government who participated in this legislation, to show, in the most unequivocal manner, the deception and falsehood, largely the result of cowardice, that has been uttered in respect to the act I refer to.

When the coinage ratio was fixed by Alexander Hamilton of 15 ounces of silver as the equivalent of 1 ounce of gold, it was substantially equivalent to the market ratio, but the constant tendency of silver to decline in relative value had been going on for years and continued in an almost imperceptible degree, so that when the French standard was fixed at 15½ to 1, the little gold then in the United States was exported, and silver alone was the coin in circulation.

Mr. MILLS. About what time was the French standard fixed at 15½?

Mr. SHERMAN. It was in 1803, I understand. At that time, and for many years, foreign silver coins were largely circulated as money in the United States, mostly in worn and depreciated coin worth less than its nominal value. This caused the silver dollar, then coined in small quantities, to be melted, as more valuable than the coin then in circulation.

Up to that time I believe the whole amount of silver dollars was less than $2,000,000. I am quite sure of it. Mr. Jefferson, in 1805, discontinued the coinage of the silver dollar, and for thirty years not a dollar was issued. Our currency was either the paper of State banks, fractional coins, or depreciated foreign silver coins. A friend of mine here said he knew of a large payment being made for a farm in silver dollars during this period; but I soon satisfied him that that was a mistake. However, the Spanish milled dollar and the Mexican silver dollar still continued to be the legal standard of money in this country until 1873, some of it at least.

Mr. COCKRELL. Up to 1857, the Senator will remember.

Mr. SHERMAN. To 1857, but I think some of it was kept until 1873.

Mr. COCKRELL. It was full legal tender up to 1857, and being such was not recoined.

Mr. SHERMAN. So the only dollars then in circulation in this country were dollars of foreign manufacture. After the action in 1835, etc., they were beginning to be coined more or less, but almost entirely for the Chinese trade. They were exported there during and since our civil war, at the time when specie payments were suspended in all parts of our country except in California. Practically no gold coin was then in circulation. This continued until June 28, 1834, when, in order to secure gold in circulation, the ratio was changed to 16 of silver to 1 of gold. The object of this change was distinctly stated, especially by Mr. Benton, who said:

> To enable the friends of gold to go to work at the right place to effect the recovery of that precious metal which their fathers once possessed; which the subjects of European kings now possess; which the citizens of the young republics to the south all possess; which even the free negroes of San Domingo possess; but which the yeomanry of this America have been deprived for more than twenty years, and will be deprived forever unless they discover the cause of the evil and apply the remedy to its root.

By the act of 1834, superadded to by the act of 1837, the ratio of 16 to 1 instead of 15 to 1 was adopted. The result was that gold coins were largely introduced and circulated; but as 16 ounces of silver were worth more than 1 ounce of gold, the silver coins disappeared, except the depreciated silver coin of other countries, then a legal tender. To correct this evil Congress, February 21, 1853, provided for the purchase of silver bullion. That was the first time the Government had ever undertaken to buy bullion for coinage purposes, so far as I now remember. It provided for the purchase of silver bullion and the coinage of subsidiary silver coins at the ratio of less than 15 to 1.

As the value of these coins was less than gold at the coinage ratio, they were limited as a legal tender to $5 in any one payment. They were, in fact, a subsidiary coin made on Government account, and, from their convenience and necessity, maintained in circulation. They are the very coins now in use, revived and reënacted by the resumption act of 1875.

It was not the intention of the framers of this law to demonetize silver, because they were openly avowed bimetallists, but it limited coinage to silver bought by the Government. They saw in this expedient a way in which silver could be more generally utilized than in any other. Mr. R. M. T. Hunter, an avowed bimetallist, in a report to the United States Senate, said:

> The mischief would be great indeed if all the world were to adopt but one of the precious metals as the standard of value. To adopt gold alone would diminish the specie currency more than one-half; and the reduction the other way, should silver be taken as the only standard, would be large enough to prove highly disastrous to the human race.

He evidently did not consider the purchase of silver bullion at its coinage value by the Government, instead of the free coinage of silver, as monometallism.

After the passage of the act of February 21, 1853, gold in great quantities, the product of the mines in California, was freely coined at the ratio of 16 to 1, and was in general circulation. If,

then, the purchase of silver instead of the free coinage of silver is the demonetization of silver, it was demonetized practically in 1835, and certainly in 1853, when the purchase of silver and its use as money increased enormously. In 1852 the coinage of silver was less than $1,000,000. In the next year the coinage of silver rose to over $9,000,000, and reached the aggregate of nearly $50,000,000 before the beginning of the civil war. Then, as now, the purchase of silver bullion led to a greater coinage than free coinage.

This was the condition of our coinage until the war, like all other great wars in history, drove all coins into hoarding or exportation, and paper promises, great and small, from five cents to a thousand dollars, supplanted both silver and gold.

Now we come to the act of 1873, which dropped from the coin the silver dollar. The charge has been made over and over again that this was surreptitiously done; that it was done under cover in some way. That has been clearly disproved by the exhibition of the public records, and it seems to me that every intelligent man ought now to have seen that fact. But there has been a repetition of that imputation. It was an imputation against the whole mass of the Forty-second Congress, and yet in conventions no doubt of honest and good people—I do not in the least disparage them—they denounced the act of 1873 as a fraud and as a crime; yes, it was the crime of 1873.

Not only that, but we have innuendoes of various kinds made on this floor in respect to it, and I must confess I was greatly affected and surprised when the honorable Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] got up and applied the words he did to that law, describing it as the "stealthy and treacherous" law of 1873.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President, I desire to say that nothing could possibly have been further from my purpose or intention than to say a disagreeable word to the Senator from Ohio. I have my views as to the character of the act of 1873, but I thought the Senator from Ohio had three or four years ago so thoroughly extricated his own name from any improper connection with the act that he was not in my mind at all, as I beg to assure him, when those words were uttered; and inasmuch as they have given him a single moment's disagreeable feeling, or have been in the slightest degree offensive to him, I express my regret that they were uttered at all; they were not necessary to me in the description I was giving. I beg to say that I am thoroughly incapable of inflicting an affront unprovoked upon any gentleman either in this body or anywhere else, and nothing was further from my purpose than to say an irritating or disagreeable thing to any Senator, certainly not to the Senator from Ohio, on the occasion to which he alludes.

Mr. SHERMAN. I certainly have no desire to say anything more about the matter than what is stated by the Senator from Indiana. This statement is entirely satisfactory, and I know it was purely some of his exuberant eloquence, for he was very eloquent that day, and I supposed probably had forgotten.

But, Mr. President, I wish to assure you that while I do have some feeling about this matter, it is not on my own account. I do not believe any man here present would suppose that I would mislead deliberately the Senate of the United States in the passage of a great public measure; but the charge having been made among the people it does tend to bring into contempt and ridicule the great body to which we belong. These charges, repeated over and over again by innuendoes, do tend to disgrace and dishonor the body of which we are members.

My name is not mentioned in these accusations, but I was chairman of the Committee on Finance, and had charge of the bill here; and I prefer to show exactly what was done. But the great act of 1873 is thus stained by the imputation of our own countrymen, and I intend to produce the public records and make this matter plain and clear, that the whole history of that law from beginning to end was honorable to Congress, free from corruption, open and ingenuous, frank and full. I will place it upon the public records, and hereafter when any man makes such an imputation I will simply say that it is a falsehood, and I brand it so now in advance.

What is the history of that bill? I have here the original bill. It was a bill framed in the Treasury Department. It did not come into Congress in the ordinary way, but it was framed in the Treasury Department by a distinguished body of experts, every one of whose names is now borne with honor wherever it is mentioned. Most of them are dead, but some of them are living. Mr. Pollock, long a Director of the Mint; Mr. Secretary Boutwell, who, as I shall show you, claims to be the author of the bill, and properly so, because he was at the head of the Department; Mr. John Jay Knox, who held the office of Deputy Comptroller of the Currency; Mr. Linderman, who was Director of the Mint; Mr. Robert Patterson, vice-president of the Fidelity Trust Company of Philadelphia, and a whole host of other experts, framed that bill after a most elaborate correspondence, which is contained here in the official documents communicated to Congress at the time.

So the whole matter was open. They circulated thousands of copies of the bill to everybody who desired to read it or could be prevailed upon to read it, in order to get the sense and judgment of the experts of our country in respect to the coinage, and those answers are here printed in a public document communicated to Congress upon the call of the House of Representatives before a single step was taken on the bill.

Mr. ALDRICH. That was in 1870?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes; I will give the dates in a moment. These were men of untarnished character. It was a scientific bill, a bill that we members of Congress do not care much about handling, because if we are lawyers we are not metallists; if we are business men we do not know anything about the mystery of coinage, one of the most subtle and careful sciences. These were men who would rather pore over a table of logarithms or study a problem in geometry or do something of that kind than do anything to tarnish their name and their fame. They prepared this bill at the request of the Secretary of the Treasury, and it was communicated to Congress. Here is the first communication conveying the bill to me as chairman of the Committee on Finance to be submitted to the Senate:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *April 25, 1870.*

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a bill revising the laws relative to the Mint, assay offices, and coinage of the United States, and accompanying report. The bill has been prepared under the supervision of John Jay Knox, Deputy Comptroller of the Currency, and its passage is recommended in the form presented. It includes, in a condensed form, all the important legislation upon the coinage, not now obsolete, since the first mint was established, in 1792; and the report gives a concise statement of the various amendments proposed to existing laws and the necessity for the change recommended. There has been no revision of the laws pertaining to the Mint and coinage since 1837, and it is believed that the passage of the inclosed bill will conduce greatly to the efficiency and economy of this important branch of the Government service.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEO. S. BOUTWELL,
Secretary of the Treasury.

Hon. JOHN SHERMAN,
Chairman Finance Committee, United States Senate.

The bill contains seventy-one sections. Sections 15 and 18 of the bill are the only ones to which this imputation has ever been made. I have here sections 15 and 18 as originally introduced by the Secretary of the Treasury and sent to the Committee on Finance. Here are the original sections:

SEC. 15. *And be it further enacted*, That of the silver coin, the weight of the half-dollar, or piece of 50 cents, shall be 192 grains; and that of the quarter-dollar and dime shall be, respectively, one-half and one-fifth of the weight of said half-dollar. That the silver coin issued in conformity with the above section shall be a legal tender in any one payment of debts for all sums less than $5.

This is a literal copy, word for word, from the act of 1853, except that it drops the 5-cent piece, I believe it is.

Mr. MILLS. The act of 1873, the Senator means?

Mr. SHERMAN. No; I say the bill that was sent to us reenacts the law of 1853, and is an exact copy of it; but as the law of 1853 applied only to the fractional coins, in this draft they added to the four or five sections fixing the gold and silver and other coins the following section:

SEC. 18. *And be it further enacted*, That no coins, either gold, silver, or minor coinage, shall hereafter be issued from the Mint other than those of the denominations, standards, and weights herein set forth.

Under that section the dollar was dropped from the coinage, a dollar that had scarcely been used for nearly seventy years except to put silver in form for exportation. But I will allude to that more hereafter.

These sections in the three years that the bill was pending in Congress were changed either in the House or Senate in only one or two unimportant particulars. The House of Representatives thought it was necessary to provide a dollar. They knew that the dollar was dropped out, as everybody else must have known, because the gentlemen who framed the original bill give the history of the act, and, as I shall show you in a moment, this matter was pointed out by them. It was discussed and the reasons given, and I will furnish in a moment the extract.

I have here the form which these two sections assumed when the bill was finally passed. Here is the difference:

That the silver coins of the United States shall be a trade dollar.

Instead of a trade dollar, and omitting the dollar of 412½ grains—nobody proposed such a dollar—the House of Representatives put on a dollar of 384 grains, and that was to be, like the half-dollar, a subsidiary coin. It was to be of the exact weight of two half-dollars. That was put on by the House of Representatives, because they wished to keep the form of a dollar, and it contained 384 grains.

Mr. MILLS. Was it a full or a limited legal tender?

Mr. SHERMAN. A limited tender to $5. There, if at all, the dollar of 412½ grains being out of use, the dollar was reduced down to a subsidiary coin, just as our smaller coins had in 1853 been reduced from their full legal tender quality.

Mr. FRYE. The Senator, I think, has not stated when the Boutwell bill was first introduced in Congress.

Mr. SHERMAN. I gave the date.
Mr. FRYE. In 1870?
Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, in 1870.
Mr. FRYE. Then it is the action of 1870 of which the Senator is now speaking?
Mr. SHERMAN. This is the bill as it was passed into a law.
Mr. CULLOM. That was in 1873.
Mr. SHERMAN. In 1873. It was pending during three different sessions of Congress. The dollar of 384 grains was inserted when it came to us from the House. The bill of 1870 having passed the Senate, failed in the House of Representatives for want of time. In the following Congress the same bill was taken up in the House, there considered, passed, and sent to the Senate. The Senate then, upon the demand of the people of the Pacific coast and the petition of the State of California, which I had read here in open Senate some years ago, inserted, instead of the 384-grain dollar, the trade dollar containing 420 grains. The Senate also dropped out the word "grains," which had been introduced in the House, and in that form it finally passed. Throughout all these changes this provision remained:

SEC. 17. That no coins, either of gold, silver, or minor coinage, shall hereafter be issued from the mint other than those of the denominations, standards, and weights herein set forth.

It is thus shown that from the first introduction of the bill, April 25, 1870, until its final passage into a law, February, 1873, the silver dollar of 412½ grains was dropped from the silver coins, and by section 17 was prohibited.

In the report accompanying the introduction of the bill, under date of April 25, 1870, Mr. John J. Knox, Comptroller of the Currency, gives the history of the silver dollar and the reasons for its discontinuance.

The dollar unit, as money of account, was established by the act of Congress April 2, 1792, and the same act provides for the coinage of a silver dollar, "of the value of a Spanish milled or pillar dollar, as the same is now current." The silver dollar was first coined in 1794, weighing 416 grains, of which 371¼ grains were pure silver, the fineness being 892.4. The act of January 18, 1837, reduces the standard weight to 412½ grains, but increases the fineness to .900, the quantity of pure silver remaining 371¼ grains as before, and at these rates it is still coined in limited amount.

He then says:

SILVER DOLLAR—ITS DISCONTINUANCE AS A STANDARD.

The coinage of the silver-dollar piece, the history of which is here given, is discontinued in the proposed bill. It is by law the dollar unit, and, assuming the value of gold to be fifteen and one-half times that of silver, being about the mean ratio for the past six years, is worth in gold a premium of about 3 per cent (its value being 103.12) and intrinsically more than 7 per cent premium in our other silver coin, its value thus being 107.42. The present laws consequently authorize both a gold-dollar unit and a silver-dollar unit, differing from each other in intrinsic value. The present gold-dollar piece is made the dollar unit in the proposed bill, and the silver-dollar piece is discontinued. If, however, such a coin is authorized, it should be issued only as a commercial dollar, not as a standard unit of account, and of the exact value of the Mexican dollar, which is the favorite for circulation in China and Japan and other oriental countries.

NOTE.—"Assuming the value of gold to be fifteen and one-half times that of silver, the French 5-franc piece is worth about 96¼ cents (96.4784); the standard Mexican dollar 104.90, our silver-dollar piece 103.12, and two of our half-dollar pieces 96 cents."

I shall, without reading, quote from public records—for on this subject I shall not put one word in my speech except what I quote from public records—the statement made in this correspondence by Mr. Robert Patterson, of Philadelphia, who is confessedly one of the ablest scientists and best metallists in the United States, and probably in the world. He has a great reputation. He discussed the proposition for and against. Here is what he says:

[Ex. Doc. H. R. No. 307, second session Forty-first Congress.]

Silver dollar, half dime, and three-cent piece discontinued. Coins less than a dime of copper-nickel legal tender. One-cent piece of one gram in weight.

The silver dollar, half dime, and three-cent piece are dispensed with by this amendment. Gold becomes the standard money, of which the gold dollar is the unit. Silver is subsidiary, embracing coins from the dime to half dollar. Coins less than a dime are of copper-nickel. The legal tender is limited to the necessities of the case, not more than a dollar for such silver, or 15 cents for the nickels.

* * * * * * *

COMPUTATION OF SILVER-COINAGE PROFITS.

The difference is called profit and so credited to the silver profit and loss account. But if the silver dollar is abolished (as seems to be agreed on, and properly so), a new normal or standard must be agreed on to estimate profit.

These were statements communicated to us with the bill by Dr. H. R. Linderman, formerly Director of the Mint, whose character and standing is known by all Senators. Dr. Linderman says:

Section 11 reduces the weight of the silver dollar from 412½ to 384 grains. I can see no good reason for the proposed reduction in the weight of this coin. It would be better, in my opinion, to discontinue its issue altogether.

The gold dollar is really the legal unit and measure of value. Having a higher value as bullion than its nominal value, the silver dollar long ago ceased to be a coin of circulation, and, being of no practical use whatever, its issue should be discontinued.

J. Ross Snowden, formerly superintendent of the mint at Philadelphia, says:

THE PRESENT SILVER DOLLAR SHOULD NOT BE DISCONTINUED.

I see it is proposed to demonetize the silver dollar. This I think inadvisable. Silver coins below the dollar are now not money in a proper sense, but only tokens. I do not like the idea of reducing the silver dollar to that level. It is quite true that the silver dollar, being more valuable than two half dollars or four quarter dollars, will not be used as a circulating medium, but only for cabinets, and perhaps to supply some occasional or local demand; yet I think there is no necessity for so considerable a piece as the dollar to be struck from the metal which is only worth 94 cents. When we speak of dollars let it be known that we speak of dollars not demonetized and reduced below their intrinsic value, and thus avoid the introduction of contradictory and loose ideas of the standards of value.

Hon. WILLIAM E. CHANDLER, formerly Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, says:

The necessity of such a revision has been apparent to everyone connected of late years with the Treasury Department. The work has been admirably performed by you. You have happily secured and availed yourself of the suggestions of others, while impressing upon codification that unity and completeness which can only result from the operations of one thoroughly informed mind. If the law is enacted it will result most beneficially.

The abolition of the coinage charge, and the adoption of the metrical system, with a view to an international system of coinage, are so clearly apparent that I can not believe that Congress will delay action much longer.

I am pleased with your report as a compendious statement of useful information connected with the coinage system. The table on page 26, showing the weight, fineness, and tolerance of all the United States coins, together with the amount in which such coins are legal tender, is especially valuable. I believe the very best results will follow from your work.

Mr. President, the Finance Committee carefully examined that bill. We were not in any hurry about it. It was sent to us in April, 1870. In December, 1870, the Committee on Finance, after a careful examination, after having the bill printed and sent by the order of the Senate to everyone who desired to read it or look over it, reported it unanimously.

That committee was composed of Messrs. SHERMAN, Williams, who was from Oregon, Cattell, MORRILL, Warner, Fenton, and Bayard.

The bill was reported to the Senate December 19, 1870, after lying in our committee room for eight months. The nature of the bill I have already described. The dollar was dropped from the coinage in the bill framed in the Treasury Department. It was then an unknown coin. Although I was quite active in business which brought under my eye different forms of money, I do not remember at that time ever to have seen a silver dollar. It was an unknown quantity. Probably if it had been mentioned to the committee and discussed it would have been thought, as a matter of course, scarcely worthy of inquiry. If it was known at all, it was known as a coin for the foreign market.

No one proposed to reissue it. The Pacific coast had six intelligent, able, and competent Senators on this floor, representing a population then of not more than a million, if that much. They would have carefully looked out for the interests of silver, if the bill affected them injuriously. But the silver dollar at that time was worth more than the gold dollar. California and Nevada were on the gold standard.

As I said, the bill was printed over and over again, finally reported, and brought before the Senate. It was debated here for three days, and I have the voluminous record upon the subject. The Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] took a leading part in that debate, and every Senator from the Pacific coast spoke upon the measure. Representing the committee, I presented the questions as they occurred from time to time, until finally we differed quite seriously upon the question of a charge for the coinage of gold. The only yea-and-nay vote in the Senate on the passage of that bill, after two days debate, occurred on the 10th day of January, 1871, and I shall read the vote:

In favor of the bill, Messrs. Bayard, Boreman, Brownlow, Casserly—

From the Pacific slope—

Cole—

Also from California—

Conkling, Corbett—

From Oregon—

Davis, Gilbert, Hamlin, Harlan, Jewett, Johnston, Kellogg, McCreary, Morton, Nye—

From Nevada—

Patterson, Pomeroy, Pool, Ramsey, Rice, Saulsbury, Spencer, STEWART, Stockton, Sumner, Thurman, Tipton, Trumbull, Vickers, Warner, Willey, Williams, Wilson, and Yates—36.

Every one of the six members from the Pacific coast voted for the bill after full debate.

I know that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] questioned somewhat the accuracy of the statement of my neighbor here, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], in regard to his vote; but his vote is on record. If the Senator desires to look at it here it is [exhibiting paper].

Mr. STEWART. I shall in due time reply to the Senator and state how it was, so that it may be all understood.

Mr. SHERMAN. Very well. Strange to say, that against this bill were:

Messrs. Abbott, Ames, Anthony, Buckingham, Carpenter, Chandler, Fenton, Hamilton of Texas, HARRIS, Howell, MORRILL of Vermont, Pratt, Scott, and SHERMAN—14.

So that on the only vote which was ever taken upon this floor the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] voted for it, and I, the "devil fish," [laughter] voted against it. It was not on account of demonetizing the silver dollar. I did not do it because of that, but I did it because gold was then only coined for the benefit of private depositors; we were not using gold except for limited purposes. Gold was the standard in California, and we thought they ought to continue to pay the old and reasonable rate for coinage of one-fifth of 1 cent to the dollar. Because we were beaten upon that proposition, the majority of the Committee on Finance voted against the bill which was reported, not because it left out the silver dollar, but because it struck out the charge for mintage of gold; and every member from the Pacific coast voted for it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator will please suspend. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, the title of which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks.

Mr. MANDERSON. I ask that the unfinished business may be temporarily laid aside by unanimous consent, so that the Senator from Ohio may proceed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none. The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, the continuation of the history of that bill through the House of Representatives and through all of its stages until it finally passed into the hands of the committee of conference is so clearly and distinctly stated by the report of Mr. Knox, which has already been published, that I shall ask to have it embodied in my remarks, so as to relieve me from the necessity of reading it. Every statement contained in this report I have had verified by the public records. It is, therefore, a mere quotation of the proceedings of Congress:

On April 25, 1870, the Secretary of the Treasury transmitted the following letter to Hon. JOHN SHERMAN, chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *April 25, 1870.*

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a bill revising the laws relative to the mint, assay offices, and coinage of the United States, and accompanying report. The bill has been prepared under the supervision of John Jay Knox, Deputy Comptroller of the Currency, and its passage is recommended in the form presented. It includes in a condensed form all the important legislation upon the coinage, not now obsolete, since the first mint was established in 1792; and the report gives a concise statement of the various amendments proposed to existing laws, and the necessity for the change recommended. There has been no revision of the laws pertaining to the mint and coinage since 1837, and it is believed that the passage of the inclosed bill will conduce greatly to the efficiency and economy of this important branch of the Government service.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEO. S. BOUTWELL,
Secretary of the Treasury.

The report and the bill were referred, on April 28, 1870, to the Finance Committee of the Senate, and subsequently, on May 2, 1870, 500 additional copies were ordered to be printed for the use of the Treasury Department. The report says:

"The method adopted in the preparation of the bill was first to arrange in as concise a form as possible the laws now in existence upon these subjects, with such additional sections and suggestions as seemed valuable. Having accomplished this, the bill, as thus prepared, was printed upon paper with wide margin, and in this form transmitted to the different mints and assay offices, to the First Comptroller, the Treasurer, the Solicitor, the First Auditor, and to such other gentlemen as are known to be intelligent upon metallurgical and numismatical subjects, with the request that the printed bill should be returned with such notes and suggestions as experience and education should dictate. In this way the views of more than thirty gentlemen who are conversant with the manipulation of metals, the manufacture of coinage, the execution of the present laws relative thereto, the method of keeping accounts, and of making returns to the Department, have been obtained with but little expense to the Department and little inconvenience to correspondents. Having received these suggestions, the present bill has been framed, and it is believed to comprise within the compass of eight or ten pages of the Revised Statutes every important provision contained in more than sixty different enactments upon the mint, assay offices, and coinage of the United States, which are the result of nearly eighty years of legislation upon these subjects."

The amendments proposed by the bill were as follows:

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS.

"The new features of the bill now submitted are, chiefly: The establishment of a Mint Bureau of the Treasury Department, which shall also have charge of the collection of statistics relative to the precious metals; the consolidation of the office of Superintendent with that of the Treasurer, thus abolishing the latter office, and disconnecting the Mint entirely from the office of Assistant-Treasurer; the repeal of the coinage charge, and authorizing the exchange of unparted for refined bars; a reduction in the amount of wastage, and the tolerance (deviation in weight and fineness) in the manufacture of coin; requiring the token coinage to be of one material of uniform value, and to be redeemed under proper regulations when issued in excess, and the expense of its manufacture to be paid from specific appropriations, and not from the gain arising in its manufacture, as heretofore; an entire change in the manner of issuing the silver (subsidiary) coinage; discontinuing the coinage of the silver dollar; limiting the amount of silver to be used as alloy, so as to make the gold coinage of uniform color; the destruction of the dies, not in use, annually; requiring vouchers to pass between the different officers of the Mint in all transfers of bullion or coin; requiring increased bonds from officers of the Mint, and authorizing each officer to nominate his subordinate before appointment; and also making it an offense to increase or diminish the weights used in the Mint."

The report of Mr. Knox called special attention to the discontinuance of the silver dollar as a standard, as may be seen from the following paragraph on page 11:

"SILVER DOLLAR—ITS DISCONTINUANCE AS A STANDARD.

"The coinage of the silver-dollar piece, the history of which is here given, is discontinued in the proposed bill. It is by law the dollar unit, and assuming the value of gold to be fifteen and one-half times that of silver, being about the mean ratio for the past six years, is worth in gold a premium of about 3 per cent (its value being 103.12) and intrinsically more than 7 per cent premium in our other silver coins, its value thus being 107.42. The present laws consequently authorize both a gold-dollar unit, and a silver-dollar unit, differing from each other in intrinsic value. The present gold-dollar piece is made the dollar unit in the proposed bill, and the silver-dollar piece is discontinued. If, however, such a coin is authorized, it should be issued only as a commercial dollar, not as a standard unit of account, and of the exact value of the Mexican dollar, which is the favorite for circulation in China and Japan and other oriental countries."

The appendix to the report contained a copy of the English coinage act of 1870, and four tables giving (1) the existing coinage, including the silver dollar; (2) the proposed coinage in which the silver dollar was omitted; (3) a metric system of coinage suggesting the issue of a subsidiary silver coinage consisting of two half-dollars constituting in weight and fineness an exact equivalent to the French 5-franc piece, and a quarter-dollar and dime with proportionate weight and fineness, which proposition was finally adopted; (4) a table giving a comparison of coinage existing and proposed. A note at the foot of this table states that the silver dollar, half-dime, and 3-cent piece are omitted in the proposed bill. Subsequently, on June 25, 1879, the Secretary of the Treasury transmitted to the House of Representatives a letter of the then Deputy Comptroller of the Currency, together with copies of the correspondence of the Department with the officers of the different mints, assay offices, and other experts in reference to the bill and report previously submitted.

The bill in its original form, which was transmitted to the correspondents throughout the country for consideration and comment, contained the following section, as appears from the manuscript copy at the Treasury Department:

"SEC. 15. *And be it further enacted*, That of the silver coins [the weight of the dollar shall be 384 grains] (now 412½ grains) the weight of the half-dollar or piece of 50 cents shall be 192 grains; and that the quarter-dollar and dime [and half-dime] shall be, respectively, one-half and one-fifth [and one-tenth] of the weight of said half-dollar. That the silver coin issued in conformity with the above sections shall be a legal tender in any one payment of debts for all sums [not exceeding $5, except duties on imports] *less than* $1."

If the words inclosed in [brackets] of the section as here given are excluded and the words in *italics* included, the section will conform precisely to the section which was transmitted to Congress and which passed the Senate on January 9, 1871.

The dollar of 384 grains was proposed in the rough revision of the bill for the purpose of obtaining an expression of opinion in reference to the proposed omission of the dollar piece and the words "except duties on imports" inserted for the reason that a regulation or usage at the custom-house in New York limits the payment of silver coins to the fractional parts of a dollar, except when the payment to be made is $5 or less. Several gentlemen in their criticisms upon the rough revision of the bill referred to this section.

Hon. James Pollock, the Director of the Mint at Philadelphia, said:

"SEC. 11. The reduction of the weight of the whole dollar is approved, and was recommended in my annual report of 1861." (Page 10.)

Mr. Robert Patterson, of Philadelphia, sent to Mr. Knox some notes on the bill suggesting amendments. He called attention to one of these in the following words:

"The silver dollar, half-dime, and three-cent piece are dispensed with by this amendment. Gold becomes the standard money, of which the gold dollar is the unit. Silver is subsidiary, embracing coins from the dime to half-dollar; coins less than the dime are of copper-nickel. The legal tender is limited to necessities of the case; not more than a dollar for such silver or 15 cents for the nickels."

Mr. Franklin Peale, formerly melter and refiner and chief coiner of the mint at Philadelphia, recommended the discontinuance of the three and one dollar gold pieces, and supplying the place of the latter with a proper silver coin to be used as change. Dr. H. R. Linderman, the present Director of the Mint, said:

"Section 11 reduces the weight of the silver dollar from 412½ to 384 grains. I can see no good reason for the proposed reduction in the weight of this coin. It would be better, in my opinion, to discontinue its issue altogether. The gold dollar is really the legal unit and measure of value. Having a higher value as bullion than its nominal value, the silver dollar long ago ceased to be a coin of circulation; and being of no practical use whatever its issue should be discontinued."

Mr. James Ross Snowden, formerly Director of the Mint, said:

"I see that it is proposed to demonetize the silver dollar. This I think unadvisable. Silver coins below the dollar are now not money in a proper sense, but only tokens. I do not like the idea of reducing the silver dollar to that level. It is quite true that the silver dollar, being more valuable than two half-dollars or four quarter-dollars, will not be used as a circulating medium, but only for cabinets and perhaps to supply some occasional or local demand; yet I think there is no necessity for so considerable a piece as the dollar to be struck from metal which is only worth 94 cents. When we speak of dollars let it be known that we speak of dollars not demonetized and reduced below their intrinsic value, and thus avoid the introduction of contradictory and loose ideas of the standard of value."

Mr. George F. Dunning, formerly superintendent of the United States assay office in New York, proposed that the law in regard to the silver coinage should be in the following language:

"SEC. 11. *And be it further enacted*, That the silver coins of the United States shall be a dollar, a half-dollar, a quarter-dollar, a dime or tenth of a dollar, and a half-dime or twentieth of a dollar; and the standard weight of the silver coins shall be in the proportion of 384 grains to the dollar, and these coins shall be a legal-tender in all payments not exceeding $5."

The officers of the San Francisco branch mint made the following suggestions:

"Section 11: Would not the proposed change in the weight of the silver dollar disturb the relative value of all our coinage, affect our commercial conventions, and possibly impair the validity of contracts running through a long period? Might not the dollar be retained as a measure of value, but the coinage of the piece for circulation be discontinued?"

Mr. E. B. Elliott, of the Treasury Department, gave a complete history of the silver dollar, and suggested the issue of a commercial dollar of nine-tenths fineness, and containing of pure silver just 25 grams, in place of the then existing silver dollar of 412½ grains, the proposed silver dollar being almost the exact equivalent of the silver contained in the older Spanish-

Mexican pillared dollar established in 1704 by proclamation of Queen Anne as a legal tender of payment and accepted as par of exchange for the British colonies of North America at the rate of 5*4d.* sterling to the dollar, or $4⅔ to the pound sterling.

On December 19, 1870, the bill was reported from the Finance Committee of the Senate and printed with amendments.

On January 9, 1871, in accordance with previous notice, the bill came before the Senate and was discussed during that day and the following day by Senators SHERMAN, Sumner, Bayard, STEWART of Nevada, Williams, Casserly, MORRILL, and others, and passed the Senate on the 10th by a vote of 36 yeas to 14 nays.

On January 13, 1871, on motion of Hon. William D. Kelley, the Senate bill was ordered to be printed. On February 25, 1871, Mr. Kelley, the chairman of the Committee on Coinage, reported the bill back with an amendment in the nature of a substitute, when it was again printed and recommitted. Mr. Kelley again, on March 9, 1871, introduced the bill in the Forty-second Congress, when it was ordered to be printed, and referred to the Committee on Coinage, when appointed.

On January 9, 1872, the bill was reported by Mr. Kelley, chairman of the Coinage Committee, with the recommendation that it pass. The bill was read and discussed at length by Messrs. Kelly, Potter, Garfield, Maynard, Dawes, HOLMAN, and others. Mr. Kelley, in the opening speech, said:

"The Senate took up the bill and acted upon it during the last Congress and sent it to the House; it was referred to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, and received as careful attention as I have ever known a committee to bestow on any measure.

* * * * * * *

"We proceeded with great deliberation to go over the bill, not only section by section, but line by line, and word by word; the bill has not received the same elaborate consideration from the Committee on Coinage of this House, but the attention of each member was brought to it at the earliest day of this session; each member procured a copy of the bill, and there has been a thorough examination of the bill again."—*Congressional Globe*, volume 100, page 322.

Mr. Kelley on the same day also said:

"There are one or two things in this bill, I will say to the gentleman from New York, with his permission, which I personally would like to modify: that is to say, I would like to follow the example of England and make a wide difference between our silver and gold coinage. * * *

"I would have liked to have made the gold dollar uniform with the French system of weights, taking the gram as a unit." (Page 323, volume 100.)

On January 10, 1872, the bill after considerable discussion was again recommitted, and on February 9, 1872, it was again reported from the Coinage Committee by Hon. Samuel Hooper, printed and recommitted, and on February 13, 1872, reported back by Mr. Hooper with amendments, printed, and made the special order for March 12, 1872, until disposed of.

On April 9, 1872, the bill came up in the House for consideration. Mr. Hooper, in a carefully prepared speech of ten columns, explained the provisions of each section of the bill. In this speech (page 2306, volume 102 of the Congressional Globe) he says:

"Section 16 reënacts the provisions of the existing laws defining the silver coins and their weights, respectively, except in relation to the silver dollar, which is reduced in weight from 412½ to 384 grains, thus making it a subsidiary coin in harmony with the silver coins of less denomination to secure its concurrent circulation with them. The silver dollar of 412½ grains, by reason of its bullion or intrinsic value being greater than its nominal value, long since ceased to be a coin of circulation, and is melted by manufacturers of silverware. It does not circulate now in commercial transactions with any country, and the convenience of these manufacturers in this respect can better be met by supplying small stamped bars of the same standard, avoiding the useless expense of coining the dollar for that purpose."

Mr. Stoughton, of the Coinage Committee, also made a speech of seven columns, in which he says:

"The silver coins provided for are the dollar, 384 grains troy, the half-dollar, quarter-dollar, and dime, of the value and weight of one-half, one-quarter, and one-tenth of the dollar, respectively; and they are made a legal tender for all sums not exceeding $5 at any one payment. The silver dollar, as now issued, is worth for bullion 3½ cents more than the gold dollar, and 7½ cents more than two half-dollars; having a greater intrinsic and nominal value, it is certain to be withdrawn from circulation whenever we return to specie payment, and to be used for only manufacture and exportation as bullion."

The latter, in commenting upon the bill, says:

"Mr. Speaker, this is a bill of importance. When it was before the House in the early part of this session I took some objections to it which I am inclined now to think, in view of all the circumstances, were not entirely well founded, but after further reflection I am still convinced that it is a measure which it is hardly worth while for us to adopt at this time. * * * This bill provides for the making of changes in the legal-tender coin of the country and for substituting as legal-tender coin of only one metal instead as heretofore of two. I think myself this would be a wise provision, and that legal-tender coins, except subsidiary coin, should be of gold alone; but why should we legislate on this now when we are not using either of those metals as a circulating medium?

"The bill provides also for a change in respect of the weight and value of the silver dollar, which I think is a subject which, when we come to require legislation about it at all, will demand at our hands very serious consideration, and which, as we are not using such coins for circulation now, seems at this time to be an unnecessary subject about which to legislate." (Page 2310, volume 102.)

Mr. Kelley also said:

"I wish to ask the gentleman who has just spoken [Mr. Potter] if he knows of any government in the world which makes its subsidiary coinage of full value? The silver coin of England is 10 per cent below the value of gold coin, and, acting under the advice of the experts of this country and of England and France, Japan has made her silver coinage within the last year 12 per cent below the value of gold coin, and for this reason: It is impossible to retain the double standard. The values of gold and silver continually fluctuate. You can not determine this year what will be the relative values of gold and silver next year. They were 15 to 1 a short time ago; they are 16 to 1 now.

"Hence all experience has shown that you must have one standard coin which shall be a legal tender for all others, and then you may promote your domestic convenience by having a subsidiary coinage of silver, which shall circulate in all parts of your country as legal tender for a limited amount and be redeemable at its face value by your Government. But, sir, I again call the attention of the House to the fact that the gentlemen who oppose this bill insist upon maintaining a silver dollar worth 3½ cents more than the gold dollar and worth 7 cents more than two half-dollars, and that so long as those provisions remain you can not keep silver coin in the country."

On May 27, 1872, the bill was again called up by Mr. Hooper for the purpose of offering an amendment in the nature of a substitute, and the bill as amended passed that day—yeas 110, nays 13.

Just previous to the passage of the bill Mr. McNeeley, of the Coinage Committee, said:

"As a member of the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, having carefully examined every section and line of this bill, and generally understanding the subject before us, I am satisfied that the bill ought to pass." (Page 3883, volume 104.)

The substitute reported by Mr. Hooper and passed by the House, so far as it refers to silver coinage, was identical with the bill previously reported from the Coinage Committee by him. It was also identical with the bill introduced by Mr. Kelley, with the single exception of the provision authorizing the coinage of a silver dollar weighing 384 grains. The bill of Mr. Kelley, so far as it related to the silver coinage, was identical with the bill which was prepared at the Treasury Department, and which had passed the Senate, excepting that the latter bill made the silver coin a legal tender for all sums less than $1, while the bill of Mr. Kelley made the silver coins a legal tender for $5 in any one payment.

The bill was again printed in the Senate on May 29, 1872, and referred to the Finance Committee. Senator SHERMAN, in reporting it back on December 16, 1872, said:

"This bill has, in substance, passed both Houses, except that the Senate bill enlarged and increased the salaries of the officers of the mint; it was passed by the Senate at the session of the last Congress, went to the House, and now, somewhat modified, has passed the House at this Congress, so that the bill has practically passed both Houses of Congress. The Senate Committee on Finance propose a modification of only a single section; but as this is not the same Congress that passed the bill in the Senate, I suppose it will have to go through the form of a full reading unless the Senate are willing to take it on the statement of the committee, the Senate already having debated it and passed it." (Page 203, volume 105, third session Forty-second Congress.)

After further debate, on motion of Mr. Cole, the bill was printed in full with amendments.

On January 7, 1873, it was again reported with amendments and again printed for the information of the Senate. It passed that body on January 17, 1873, after a discussion occupying nineteen columns of the Congressional Globe. In the course of the debate Senator SHERMAN said:

"This bill proposes a silver coinage exactly the same as the French, and what are called the associated nations of Europe, who have adopted the international standard of silver coinage; that is, the dollar (two half-dollars) provided for by this bill is the precise equivalent of a 5-franc piece. It contains the same number of grams of silver, and we have adopted the international gram instead of the grain for the standard of our silver coinage. The trade-dollar has been adopted mainly for the benefit of the people of California and others engaged in trade with China.

"That is the only coin measured by the grain instead of by the gram. The intrinsic value of each is to be stamped upon the coin. The Chamber of Commerce of New York recommended this change, and it has been adopted, I believe, by all the learned societies who have given attention to coinage, and has been recommended to us, I believe, as the general desire. That is embodied in these three or four sections of amendment to make our silver coinage correspond in exact form and dimensions and shape and stamp with the coinage of the associated nations of Europe, who have adopted an international silver coinage." (Page 672, volume 106, third session Forty-second Congress.)

The bill was sent to the House, and on January 21, 1873, on motion of Mr. Hooper, it was again printed with amendments, and subsequently committees of conference were appointed, consisting of Messrs. Hooper, Houghton, and McNeely, of the House, and Senators SHERMAN, Scott, and Bayard, of the Senate. The reports of the committees of conference were agreed to, and the bill became a law on February 12, 1873, substantially as originally prepared at the Treasury.

The bill as prepared at the Treasury omitted the silver-dollar piece, and the report stated the fact of its omission three different times and gave the reasons therefor. The silver-dollar piece was omitted from the bill as it first passed the Senate. It was also omitted from the bills reported by Mr. Kelley; but in the bills reported by Mr. Hooper a new silver dollar was proposed equal in weight (384 grains) to two of the half dollars then authorized.

The Senate substituted a trade dollar weighing 420 grains in place of the dollar of 384 grains, in accordance with the wishes of the dealers in bullion upon the Pacific coast, that being considered by them as the most advantageous weight for a coin to be used for shipment to China and Japan.

The weight of the subsidiary silver coin was increased about one-half per cent in value, making the half dollar, quarter dollar, and dime, respectively, of the weight of 12½ grams, 6¼ grams, and 2½ grams, or precisely one-half, one-quarter, and one-tenth, respectively, of the weight of the French 5-franc piece. All of said coins were made a legal tender in nominal value for any amount not exceeding $5 in any one payment. The bill was read in full in the Senate several times, and the record states on January 9, 1872, that it was read in the House. It was undoubtedly read at other times. The bill was printed separately eleven times and twice in reports made by the Deputy Comptroller of the Currency, thirteen times in all by order of Congress. It was considered at length by the Finance Committee of the Senate and the Coinage Committee of the House during five different sessions, and the debates upon the bill in the Senate occupied sixty-six columns of the Globe and in the House seventy-eight columns of the Globe.

The Secretary of the Treasury called the special attention of Congress to the bill in his annual reports for 1870, 1871, and 1872. In his report of 1872 he says:

"In the last ten years the commercial value of silver has depreciated about 3 per cent as compared with gold, and its use as a currency has been discontinued by Germany and by some other countries. The financial condition of the United States has prevented the use of silver as currency for more than ten years, and I am of opinion that upon grounds of public policy no attempt should be made to introduce it, but that the coinage should be limited to commercial purposes, and designed exclusively for commercial uses with other nations.

"The intrinsic value of a metallic currency should correspond to its commercial value, or metals should be used for the coinage of tokens redeemable by the Government at their nominal value. As the depreciation of silver is likely to continue, it is impossible to issue coin redeemable in gold without ultimate loss to the Government; for when the difference becomes considerable the holders will present the silver for redemption and leave it in the hands of the Government to be disposed of subsequently at a loss.

"Therefore, in renewing the recommendations heretofore made for the passage of the mint bill, I suggest such alterations as will prohibit the coinage of silver for circulation in this country, but that authority be given for the coinage of a silver dollar that shall be as valuable as the Mexican dollar, and to be furnished at its actual cost."

As a final answer to the charge that the bill was passed surreptitiously, I append, first, a copy of the section in reference to the issue of silver coins as printed in the report of the Treasury Department and as passed by the Senate; second, a copy of the section as reported by Mr. Kelley; third, a copy of

the section as reported by Mr. Hooper; fourth, a copy of the section as finally passed by the Senate and agreed upon by the conference committee.

The following section was printed in the two reports of John Jay Knox, Deputy Comptroller of the Currency, to Congress; also in Senate bill 859, Forty-first Congress, second session, April 28, 1870; in Senate bill 859, December 19, 1870, and January 11, 1871, third session Forty-first Congress, as reported by Mr. SHERMAN:

"SEC. 15. *And be it further enacted*, That of the silver coins the weight of the half-dollar, or piece of 50 cents, shall be 192 grains; and that of the quarter-dollar and dime shall be, respectively, one-half and one-fifth of the weight of said half-dollars; that the silver coin issued in conformity with the above section shall be a legal tender in any one payment of debts for all sums less than $1."

The following section was printed in Senate bill 859, Forty-first Congress, third session, February 25, 1871, and House bill No. 5, Forty-second Congress, first session, March 9, 1871, as reported by Mr. Kelley:

"SEC. 15. *And be it further enacted*, That of the silver coins the weight of the half-dollar, or piece of 50 cents, shall be 192 grains; and the quarter-dollar and dime shall be, respectively, one-half and one-fifth of the weight of said half-dollar; which coins shall be a legal tender, at their denominational value, for any amount not exceeding $5 in any one payment."

The following section was printed in House bill No. 2934, May 29, 1872; House bill No. 1427, February 9, 1872, and February 13, 1872, Forty-second Congress, second session, as reported by Mr. Hooper:

"SEC. 16. That the silver coins of the United States shall be a dollar, a half-dollar or fifty-cent piece, a quarter-dollar or twenty-five-cent piece, and a dime or ten-cent piece; and the weight of the dollar shall be 384 grains; the half-dollar, quarter-dollar, and the dime shall be, respectively, one-half, one-quarter, and one-tenth of the weight of said dollar; which coins shall be a legal tender, at their denominational value, for any amount not exceeding $5 in any one payment."

The following section was printed in House bill No. 2934, December 16, 1872, January 7, 1873, and January 21, 1873, Forty-second Congress, third session, as reported by Mr. SHERMAN:

"That the silver coins of the United States shall be a trade dollar, a half dollar or fifty-cent piece, a quarter dollar or twenty-five-cent piece, a dime or ten-cent piece; and the weight of the trade dollar shall be 420 grains troy; the weight of the half dollar shall be 12½ grains; the quarter dollar and the dime shall be, respectively, one-half and one-fifth of the weight of said half-dollar; and said coins shall be a legal tender at their nominal value for any amount not exceeding $5 in any one payment."

The following section was contained in all of the different bills and the coinage act of 1873:

"SEC. 18. *And be it further enacted*, That no coins, either of gold, silver, or minor coinage, shall hereafter be issued from the mint other than those of the denominations, standards, and weights herein set forth."

Copies of the different bills may be obtained at the document room of the Senate.

This bill went to the House of Representatives. The official record shows that it was carefully considered there, especially section 16, dropping the old dollar. It is sometimes said that nobody explained that the dollar was demonetized. Here is the statement made by Mr. Hooper, who had charge of the bill, one of the most eminent men who has been furnished the House of Representatives from the State of Massachusetts. I will ask that the Secretary read what Mr. Hooper said in the debate pending that bill.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

Mr. Hooper said, April 9, 1872 (Congressional Globe, part 3, second session Forty-second Congress, page 2306):

"Section 16 reenacts the provisions of existing laws defining the silver coins and their weights, respectively, except in relation to the silver dollar, which is reduced in weight from 412½ to 384 grains; thus making it a subsidiary coin in harmony with the silver coins of less denomination to secure its concurrent circulation with them. The silver dollar of 412½ grains, by reason of its bullion and intrinsic value being greater than its nominal value, long since ceased to be a coin of circulation, and is melted by manufacturers of silverware. It does not circulate now in commercial transactions with any country, and the convenience of those manufacturers in this respect can better be met by supplying small stamped bars of the same standard, avoiding the useless expense of coining the dollar for that purpose. The coinage of the half dime is discontinued for the reason that its place is supplied by the copper nickel five-cent piece, of which a large issue has been made and which, by the provisions of the act authorizing its issue, is redeemable in United States currency.

Mr. SHERMAN. If any man could make a clearer statement of this matter than Mr. Hooper did when it was pending, I do not know how it could be done.

Mr. DANIEL. Was that the Congress at which the bill finally passed?

Mr. SHERMAN. As a matter of course, it was the same Congress.

Mr. DANIEL. But it was at another session of that Congress, was it not?

Mr. SHERMAN. It was the first session of that Congress. The bill finally passed in the second session.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. Hooper did not state in the extract which has been read the provision that limited the legal-tender quality to $5. The change of weight was the only change he explained, as I understand.

Mr. SHERMAN. It was put in as a subsidiary coin, as stated here expressly by this gentleman, in the same section, a section which itself provides that these coins shall be only a legal tender for $5. If there was any demonetization of the silver dollar, here was a humiliation of it. Instead of being a legal tender for all debts, public and private, it was reduced to a subsidiary coin by the House of Representatives, upon the motion of the chairman of the committee, after as distinct a statement as could be made. The old dollar must have blushed then in its old age, that after one hundred years it should not be better placed.

Mr. President, that shows that it was done openly and fairly, that attention was called to it, and that it was debated; but, as a matter of course, the full history of the transaction will be given in the extracts which I have already quoted. The bill finally passed the House of Representatives on the 27th of May, 1872. It came to the Senate, was referred to the Committee on Finance, and not reported until December 16, 1872. We were not in a hurry about it. It was a great measure, a heavy measure. It was finally brought before the Senate, and the Senate, instead of providing for a dollar of 384 grains, struck that out and inserted the trade dollar, with the history of which the Senate is quite familiar. That trade dollar was only a legal tender for $5. It was not until years after, when that trade dollar came into general circulation here, that finally the legal-tender quality was given to it. The Senator from Nevada was a Senator at that time, too.

Mr. President, there is another thing. I have here a statement made recently by Mr. Boutwell, which I will ask to have read, he being about the only survivor of the men who participated in framing that law. He comes out now in a broad declaration, not only giving the history of the law, but avowing himself as the author of it; and he was the author of it. It was he who communicated it to Congress, and he, being the head of the Department which sent it to us, manfully came out and avowed his authorship, and it is true to my certain knowledge. Mr. Boutwell, in a statement published in the Boston Herald, Sunday, July 9, 1893, says:

Any statement by me touching the financial condition of the country compels a reference to my policy and acts while I was at the head of the Treasury Department, and while I acted as a member of the silver commission of 1876.

The act known as the act for the demonetization of silver was passed in 1873, and upon a distinct recommendation made in my annual report to Congress in December, 1872. The statement so often made and so generally believed, that the provision was introduced and passed surreptitiously, was without any foundation, as will appear from quotations from my report, which I shall incorporate in this article.

The country had due and full notice of the policy proposed, and if the friends of a silver currency were ignorant of the movement the fault was their own. Not only was there no concealment, but, on the other hand, the change proposed was announced early and definitely. For myself, I can say that I never hesitated to avow the authorship of the measure, and I have been ready always to assign the reasons by which I was influenced.

We were then on a gold basis as far as the use of the metals had a part in our financial affairs; we were a principal producer of gold, and the most important steps had been taken in the work of bringing the Treasury note to the standard of gold coin.

In the same report I advised the coinage of a silver dollar, known as the trade dollar, in value superior to the Mexican dollar, which was then in use almost exclusively in the commerce of China and the East Indies. This coin, which was not current in the United States, became the means of a very considerable export of silver to the East.

My discussion of the contest of 1876 will be ended by the use of one additional extract from my report, in which I made a summary of my views:

"At present the gold dollar of the United States, which contains 25.8 grains of standard gold, will purchase a larger quantity of pure silver than is contained in the dollar of 412.5 grains of standard silver.

"The superior value of the gold dollar would prevent its use, and the gold coin and the gold bullion of the country would at once be exported to other countries, and silver in exchange would be returned, and, when coined, it would be introduced into the circulation of the United States. The demonetized and discarded silver of every other country would flow to the United States, and there can be no doubt that after the first effect of its demonetization had passed away it would steadily depreciate in value.

"Nor can there be a doubt that our unfortunate experience would furnish an argument against the remonetization of silver by the commercial nations of the world.

"It is contended by those who advocate a bimetallic standard for the United States, without regard to the policy of other countries, that its use by us would so advance its value in the markets of the world that it would be at a par with gold. It can only be said in answer to this assumption that there is no evidence that such would be the result, while, on the contrary, it is reasonable to anticipate that the demonetization of silver in Germany, the limitation of its coinage by the nations of the Latin Union, its reduced value in India, and the large production in America would counteract the effect of an increased demand for coinage in the United States, and that in a period of ten years its relative value to gold would be less than it now is."

The evils thus anticipated in 1876 have been realized with fearful augmentation in this year 1893.

The bill was brought up again before the Senate for final consideration. No doubt the Senate was somewhat weary of it. It had already passed the Senate in the previous Congress, had been read in full in all its copious length, and was then taken up and considered as such a bill is very apt to be which has once passed the Senate of the United States. Finally, after debate upon several amendments, it was passed unanimously, and then, at last, I was charged with the responsibility for it, when I merely voted with all others for the bill.

Mr. MILLS. I desire to ask the Senator if he has stated that at one time before, about 1805, Mr. Jefferson stopped the coinage of the silver dollar? Did he give any reasons for it? Is the Senator familiar with that?

Mr. SHERMAN. The best statement of his reasons that I have seen is contained in the report of Mr. Ingham, who was the Secretary of the Treasury of General Jackson, I think, about the time they were beginning to formulate for passage the bill of

1833. Mr. Ingham gives an interesting statement of the action of Jefferson, saying that Mr. Jefferson found that the silver dollar being bright and clean and new, and containing a trifle more silver, and of more value than the Mexican dollar, should not be issued; that it was a waste of time, the Mexican dollar being also a legal tender; and for thirty years after that not a single dollar was issued.

The action of the Senate was unanimous. The only important amendment made, I think, to this section, or to any section of the bill, was the substitution of the trade dollar for what was called the franc dollar. I believe the dollar provided for by the House was precisely the equivalent of 5 francs, or two half dollars of our subsidiary coin. Then it was made a legal tender for only $5. On final action on that bill, the conferees on the part of the Senate were Messrs. SHERMAN, Scott, and Bayard. We went into that conference, and every matter was settled promptly, quickly, and decisively.

There never was a bill proposed in the Congress of the United States which was so publicly and openly presented and agitated. I know of no bill in my experience, which was printed, as this was, sixteen times, in order to invite attention to it. I know no bill which was freer from any immoral or wrong influence than this act of 1873. Not one single word of that act has been impugned, but there has been the false allegation made that the silver dollar was surreptitiously omitted from the coinage. No fact can be proved more clearly and fully than that is a falsehood and a lie by whomsoever uttered.

Mr. President, there has been an invention of a story in connection with Ernest Seyd. I suppose Senators have often heard of the story. Some fellow—some man, I will call him, for it might insult him to call him a fellow—whose name I do not recall, made an affidavit that he knew Ernest Seyd; that he had often met him at his own table; had often dined with him, and at one time, when they were in conversation, he said that the Parliament of Great Britain was corrupt. Mr. Seyd then said "They are nothing like the Congress of the United States; that is the most corrupt body that ever existed." He then went on in a confidential conversation, according to the statement of this man, whoever he is.

Seyd said he would tell him a secret, if he would pledge himself never to reveal it while he (Seyd) lived. He promised to wait until Seyd died. Thereupon, Seyd said to him that he had raised a fund of £100,000 in the winter—now, mark the time—of 1872-'73 to bribe Congress to demonetize silver;" and, with a wink, he conveyed the idea to this man, whoever he was, that he had done it, and said that that was a greater act of corruption than had ever occurred in the British Parliament.

Three or four years after Seyd died this man revealed this important secret, which has made all this turmoil, and which has disturbed the country about the act of 1873.

Mr. President, such a story as that, told under these circumstances, would be hooted at by any lawyer or any honest man. Unfortunately for him, the man, as all rogues are apt to do, gave himself away; for in the end of this letter he declares himself an anarchist, opposed to all governments and all property; and yet he made an affidavit of this kind, which had no legal force or effect. It is falsified in every single line and word.

In the first place, according to all the information I can get, Mr. Seyd was a gentleman, and probably one of the finest writers upon the subject of metallism in the world. I never saw him, and only know him by his works. I have here a book which I obtained from the library, of the date of 1871, in reference to the metallic currency of the United States of America by Ernest Seyd, a member of the council of the Statistical Society of London. I venture to say that there is not upon this class of subjects a work of greater accuracy, of more thoroughness, and clearer, sounder views than are contained in this little book of Ernest Seyd, who is now dead and gone, and whom this man, whatever his name may be, misrepresents.

This whole book was written in 1871, after the time when the Senate passed the bill in the first instance, a bill which dropped out and demonetized the silver dollar. Every page and line of it shows that Mr. Seyd was a bimetallist and as extreme as any man within the sound of my voice. His views are stated in language so forcible as almost to convince anyone not familiar with the subject and who has no set views upon it.

From the whole book, from the surrounding circumstances, and from what I can hear of Mr. Seyd, he was a gentleman and a scholar. Whether he was here or not, I do not know; but it was certain that his letter came here, and that letter I have here also, which shows that Mr. Seyd had, at the request of Mr. Hooper, examined the bill which was then pending. Mr. Hooper was not satisfied with the scrutiny it had had by American metallists, and, attracted by the reading of this book of Mr. Seyd, he wrote to a friend of that gentleman to get the views of Mr. Seyd in regard to the bill.

Mr. Seyd, in a letter which, thank God, we have now here before us, showed that he retained his views upon bimetallism, and that he never could have uttered such language as this obscure anarchist and enemy of mankind attributes to him. It stamps the statement of that man as a lie made out of whole cloth, to arouse and aggravate the good, sensible, honest people of this country. Wherever he is, if he is alive, I brand him here as a liar, so proved by evidence which can not be gainsaid. Yet upon such stuff as that the members of the Congress of the United States are to be assailed as corrupt; men who would not stain their honor for all the gold in the world are to be held up before popular audiences as corrupt and dishonest, with hands and hearts stained with bribery.

Mr. President, I say that such things ought not to exist, and I hope now that the good people of the United States, as I shall put all this evidence in form, will read it, and banish forever the belief that Congress can be corrupted.

Before the time this man says Mr. Seyd came here, that law had passed both Houses with the silver dollar dropped from the coins of the United States. Mr. Seyd was against the exclusion of the dollar, and in his book he criticises specially the acts of 1834 and 1837 and the act of 1853, because they surrendered the principle of bimetallism.

This bill passed the House in April, 1872. It first passed the Senate, I think, in February, 1871. It again passed the Senate and became a law in 1873.

My friend from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON] calls my attention to an important fact, which is, that the letter of Mr. Seyd was dated February 17, 1872, at 1 A Princess street, Bank, London. So that Mr. Seyd must have been in London in February, 1872, and wrote there against the very clauses which it is charged were corruptly put in the bill, induced by bribes paid by him.

Mr. MCPHERSON. Will the Senator have that letter published with his remarks?

Mr. SHERMAN. It is almost too long.

Mr. MANDERSON. It has already been printed in the RECORD.

Mr. MCPHERSON. Very well; if it has been already published, that will answer.

Mr. SHERMAN. The letter is dated long before Mr. Seyd is said to have come here. Mr. Hooper probably invited him to come here, but it must have been after this letter was written. He came here a known bimetallist, who had committed himself not only in a book but by letter; and now, according to this anarchist, he came here and bribed Congress in the winter of 1872-'73 with $500,000 to do what both Houses had done long before! That is the way the thing stands now, because the bill had passed both Houses before Seyd could have come here, and he was opposed to it absolutely, and in clear and forcible language depicts the consequences which would follow the demonetization of silver by the countries of Europe and by the United States.

It is sometimes said that Gen. Grant did not know of the demonetization of silver. Well, what of it? Gen. Grant was not a financier nor a metallist nor a monetary expert, but he was a brave, strong, noble man. He might truly have said this, but he could also have said, if he had seen fit, that his Secretary of the Treasury, his chosen officer, in a document only second in importance to that of a message of the President of the United States, had, in December, 1872, just before the passage of this act, urged Congress to pass the act, and gave as a reason that, unless it was passed, we would be disturbed by the falling of silver in the markets of the world. Gen. Grant might have said that he did not read the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, but how can members of Congress make such a plea as that? Their business is to watch and guard the interests of their constituents as well as the common good of the whole people of the United States.

Sir, I would rather stand this day before you defending a law which has been denounced and vilified, as this has been, boldly avowing that I did read the law and that I knew its contents, than to plead the baby act, and say I did not know what was pending here before us for two or three years as an act of legislation. That legislation dropping out the silver dollar was in that bill from the beginning to the end, and never was erased from it. The Senator from Nevada said he did not remember. Very well. It seems to me that, representing 53,000 intelligent, active, industrious people whose whole fortunes were involved in the mining of silver and gold, he ought to have known whether the dear dollar of the daddies was dead and gone or not. [Laughter.]

I take him, however, at his word. The law was passed in February, 1873, and I do know that within a year from that time the Senator from Nevada knew that silver was demonetized, because he said so; and he said it February 11, 1874, as will appear in the document which I have here before me, and to which I give him a reference, so there can be no mistake about it. On

page 1392, volume 2, part 2, of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, first session, Forty-third Congress, he said:

I want the standard gold, and no paper money not redeemable in gold; no paper money the value of which is not ascertained; no paper money that will organize a gold board to speculate in it.

Again, only a week or two after this, on the 20th of February, to be found in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 2, part 2, page 1677, when he was speaking in favor of the resolution instructing the Committee on Finance to report a bill providing for the convertibility of Treasury notes into gold coin or 5 per cent bonds, he said:

By this process we shall come to a specie basis, and when the laboring man receives a dollar it will have the purchasing power of a dollar, and he will not be called upon to do what is impossible for him or the producing classes to do, figure upon the exchanges, figure upon the fluctuations, figure upon the gambling in New York; but he will know what his money is worth. Gold is the universal standard of the world. Everybody knows what a dollar in gold is worth.

[Laughter.]

Mr. President, the Senator from Nevada, in making these declarations, fairly and truly represented the people of his State, because, from the beginning of the war up to this hour they have refused to take anything but gold coin of the United States. I have here two documents. One is the Virginia (Nev.) Chronicle of Saturday, August 12, 1893, only a short time ago. There is contained in this newspaper nearly half a page, or perhaps a third of a page, of advertisements by various mining companies calling for assessments "payable in United States gold coin;" every one of them has the stipulation "payable in United States gold coin."

They do not take paper money, or at least they advertise that they do not, nor silver money, although they require us to buy all the silver they produce at its market value and complain because we do not pay $1.29 an ounce for it in gold when worth in the market only 73 cents; and yet they demand of their own people—their own stockholders—the payment of these assessments in gold coin.

The same practice exists in California. I have here the San Francisco News Circular. The whole of that page of this circular [exhibiting] contains assessment notices of silver-mining companies, and every one of them requires the assessments to be paid in United States gold coin. Therefore, I must defend the Senator from Nevada from any imputations which might be made that he has not represented his constituents. He is representing them, not only in demanding gold coin for everything that is paid to them, but tendering silver broadly at its ratio price to anybody to whom they want to sell it. Now, they are sharp; they are keen. I have always heard that the miners of the West are about the keenest men in the country; and from the specimen we have around us I am rather inclined to think they are too sharp for a Buckeye Yankee. [Laughter.]

I have some observations upon the causes that have produced the decline of silver. They are substantially embodied in the statement made by Mr. Leech, late Director of the Mint, in the Forum, and are very clear and far more concise than I could state them. I will ask leave to incorporate them in my remarks without going over them at all.

The closing of the mints of British India to the coinage of silver coins of full debt-paying power is the most momentous event in the monetary history of the present century. It is the final and disastrous blow to the use of silver as a measure of value and as money of full debt-paying power, and the relegation of it to the position of a subsidiary or token metal. It is the culmination of the evolution from a silver to a gold standard which has been progressing with startling rapidity in recent years.

For the last quarter of a century civilized countries have combined to dethrone silver as a precious metal and have declared in unmistakable terms that, by reason of its cumbersomeness, the enormous quantity produced, and the violent fluctuations in its value, silver is not fit to serve as a measure of the values of all other things; that hereafter gold alone shall be the standard of value, and that the business of the world is to be done with gold money and an enlarged use of instruments of credit, such as bank notes, checks, drafts, settlements by transfer, by telegraph, and by clearinghouse, which nineteenth-century civilization has provided as substitutes for actual money.

This modern preference of gold for silver manifested itself first and most strongly among people of the highest civilization and of the largest commercial pursuits. The reason for it will be found in the immense expansion of modern commerce, requiring very large payments in the settlement of balances and necessitating the use of that metal containing the greatest value in the least bulk, thus making gold the money of commerce; and in the wonderful improvements and developments in modern banking, providing substitutes for money, and avoiding as far as possible the actual handling of cash.

The remarkable series of events which have characterized or made manifest this evolution from a silver to a gold standard are nearly all condensed in the brief period of twenty years, and are probably without a parallel in ancient or modern mohetary history. In 1816 England legally adopted the gold standard, for the reason, as stated in the act of Parliament, that "great inconvenience has arisen from both those precious metals being concurrently the standard measure of value and equivalent for property." With the single exception of England, all Europe forty years ago had the silver standard not only legally, but actually—silver coins constituting the great bulk of the money of actual transactions. To-day not a mint in Europe is open to the coinage of full debt-paying silver coins, and the gateways of the Orient have been closed against it. Twenty years ago 1 ounce of gold exchanged in the markets of the world for 15½ ounces of silver; to-day 1 ounce of gold will buy nearly 30 ounces of silver.

A brief review of the world's transition from the silver to the gold standard will be instructive.

In 1871–1873, after the close of the Franco-Prussian war, Germany found it necessary to organize a new monetary system for the new German Empire, in place of the various systems of coins in existence in the states thereafter to compose it. In this reorganization the gold standard was adopted, replacing the silver standard, which for very many years had been in existence in all the German states; new imperial silver coins were provided for, but of limited tender, to serve the purposes of change money only, and the silver coins which constituted the bulk of the circulating medium of the states comprising the new empire were demonetized. All the silver coins which had been previously issued and received in the several German states were called in. The value of the silver coins demonetized by Germany was 1,081,742,800 marks ($257,454,000).

In order to procure the necessary gold for coinage purposes, Germany was forced to sell from time to time large quantities of silver from its store of melted coins, including the amount received after the close of the war with France in payment of indemnity. The total amount of silver thus sold was 89,695,728 fine ounces, at a loss of 96,481,000 marks ($23,000,000). This great European power, the first to take the lead in this modern evolution from silver to gold money, voluntarily incurred this heavy loss, nearly 10 per cent on its enormous stock of silver coins, all of which were in circulation as money, as the cost of placing itself on a sound monetary basis.

In 1874 the States comprising the Latin Union (France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, and Greece) decided to limit the coinage of 5-franc silver pieces (the only silver coins of full debt-paying power), and after further limitations, in subsequent years, these States in 1878 closed their mints to the coinage of full legal-tender silver coins, since which time silver coinage has not been resumed. By this action the States of the Latin Union practically adopted the gold standard. The action of Germany in demonetizing silver was also followed promptly by the Scandinavian countries, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. In December, 1872, these States entered into a monetary treaty, adopting gold as the sole standard of value and making silver subsidiary, to be coined only for change purposes. In 1875 Holland, which had been on a silver basis since 1847, closed its mint to the coinage of silver, thus practically adopting the gold standard. In April, 1884, an act was passed authorizing the sale of 25,000,000 florins of silver coins whenever the state of the currency demanded it; but it has not been found necessary to make the sale.

By the law of September 9, 1876, Russia prohibited the coinage of silver, except such as was necessary for the Chinese trade. In 1879 Austria-Hungary, where the silver standard had prevailed since 1857, closed her mints to the coinage of silver for individuals, and more recently that Empire has legally adopted the single gold standard, using silver for subsidiary or token coins. In March, 1890, Roumania adopted the gold standard, the law requiring the replacement of 40,000,000 francs of the 5-let silver currency with gold coins. About 25,000,000 francs in silver were withdrawn from circulation and sold as bullion at a heavy loss.

Thus we see how, one after another, the European countries have placed themselves on the gold standard, outlawed silver from their mints, many of them actually melting down and selling their silver coins at a considerable loss in their efforts to place their currency systems on a safe basis.

In the United States gold was practically made the standard of value in 1834, and from that date to 1878 gold constituted our only metallic currency. In 1873 Congress abolished the silver dollar, a practically obsolete coin, only eight millions of which had been coined since the foundation of the Government, and gold was legally declared the sole standard of value.

At the beginning of the year 1878, when the United States entered upon the disastrous policy of silver purchases and coinage, we find that the movement of civilization from the silver to the gold standard had progressed to this extent, viz, the mints of all the great commercial countries of the world were closed to the coinage of silver coins of full debt-paying power and gold was the recognized measure of values throughout the civilized world.

Only India, Mexico, Japan, and a few South American countries coined silver. The silver coinage of Mexico cut no figure in the world's annual addition of metallic money, for the reason that the great bulk of the silver pesos struck at the Mexican mints went fresh from the coining presses into the melting pots of other countries, having no greater value in commerce than the amount of pure silver bullion they contained, and what few remained annually in the shape of Mexican coins were absorbed in Asia. So, too, with the silver coins of South American countries; they possessed in commerce only a bullion value, and were melted as fast as they found their way within the boundaries of other countries; while the silver coinage of remote Japan served only the purpose of embarrassing the domestic circulation of that country.

In 1878 the United States, just on the threshold of specie resumption, without any silver money, with all its currency based on gold, its stock of gold increasing rapidly and enormously, and with ample authority of law to secure all the gold necessary for resumption purposes, took the first backward step in the progress of civilized countries from a silver to a gold standard, and remonetized the silver dollar, which was practically demonetized in 1834 and legally in 1873.

At the same time was inaugurated the financial policy of buying silver with gold for currency purposes, for twelve and one-half years, to the extent of monthly purchases and coinage into legal dollars of $2,000,000 worth of silver, and since August, 1890, by the monthly purchase with legal-tender notes redeemable in gold of 4,500,000 ounces of silver. This policy has resulted in the accumulation of 448,000,000 ounces of silver, costing $445,000,000, and the coinage and injection into our monetary system of over 419,000,000 silver dollars, worth intrinsically about half their face value, effecting a complete change from a gold to a silver currency and threatening with disaster the business interests of our country.

At the period this policy was begun, 1878, India alone was the great absorber of silver—the silver sink of the world—where all the surplus silver discarded by Europe gravitated as naturally as the waters flow to the sea. This vast empire, with a population of more than 250,000,000 souls, mostly very poor and very ignorant, exchanged its raw products for silver bullion, which was coined into small silver coins, the largest the rupee, of the former value of about 48 cents (now about 30), which coins answered the barbaric demand for ornaments and served as a medium of exchange among a people of small transactions without banks and civilized methods of effecting exchanges throughout most of the vast territory.

There is a general impression that silver has been the money of India from remote generations. This is a fallacy. It has not been a great many years since India adopted the silver standard. The ancient money of the Hindoos was gold, which in 1818 was supplemented by silver; but gold coins remained legal tender until 1835, when silver was made the sole standard of value and legal-tender money in British India, and gold was demonetized. Although large quantities of gold have been imported into India since 1835, the importations of gold for the eight fiscal years ending with 1870 amounting to nearly $250,000,000, nevertheless gold is not a legal tender in that empire and gold coins do not circulate.

During the last fifty odd years India has absorbed vast quantities of silver. From 1863 to 1892—a period of only thirty years—the imports of silver

to India aggregated over £225,000,000, or about $1,100,000,000. The enormous and apparently unlimited power of India to absorb silver, where it was promptly converted into coin, becoming actual money, not reëxported or recoined, has undoubtedly saved silver from a very much greater depreciation than has taken place in its value in recent years. The "advantages" of a silver currency in India in maintaining the general level of prices, in affording a bounty to the export of Indian products, and in working a corresponding disadvantage to the American farmer, lowering the price of his wheat by bringing it into competition with Indian wheat in Liverpool, have been the familiar stock arguments of the free-silver-coinage advocates in the United States.

And yet all the while the ears of Parliament have been filled by India's cry for relief from the burdens growing out of a depreciated currency, which has rendered necessary additional taxation amounting last year to $7,000,000 of rupees to cover India's loss on exchange in paying its European obligations in gold (making it impossible, by reason of the fluctuations in the value of the rupee, to estimate the annual expenditure with any degree of accuracy), and has reduced legitimate commercial trade to a mere speculation; and two royal commissions have been appointed to consider the grave evils and inconveniences resulting to British India from the depreciation of the gold price in silver.

The committee appointed last October to consider and advise whether it was expedient to modify the Indian currency was composed of Lord Chancellor Herschell, Mr Leonard H. Courtney, Sir Thomas Farrer, Sir Reginald Welby, Mr. Arthur Godley, Lieut. Gen. Strachey, and Mr. B. W. Currie. The first three named had been members of the royal commission appointed in 1887 to inquire into the recent changes in the relative values of the precious metals, while the last two were delegates to the international monetary conference at Brussels from British India and Great Britain, respectively.

The question referred to the committee was "whether, having regard to the grave difficulties with which the Government of India are confronted through the heavy fall in the gold value of silver, it is expedient that Her Majesty's Government should allow them to carry into effect the proposals which they had made for stopping the free coinage of silver in India, with a view to the introduction of a gold standard."

In a dispatch of June 2, 1892, the Indian authorities expressed their deliberate opinion that "if it became clear that the Brussels conference was unlikely to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, and if a direct agreement between India and the United States was found to be unattainable, the Government of India should at once close their mints to the free coinage of silver, and make arrangements for the introduction of a gold standard." The Government of India forwarded at the same time a memorandum prepared by Sir David Barbour outlining the method proposed for the introduction of the gold standard in India. The sessions of the committee were suspended during the Brussels conference; but when that body adjourned without reaching any satisfactory plan for the solution of the silver problem, they were immediately resumed.

The proposals which have received the serious consideration of this distinguished committee group themselves in four classes: (1) Closing the Indian mints to the coinage of silver on private accounts, with or without authority for the Government to continue coinage; (2) the establishment of the gold standard, with or without a gold currency; (3) the imposition of a large seigniorage on silver coinage; (4) the imposition of a duty on silver imported.

The committee, in their report dated May 31, 1893, state their conclusions as follows:

"While conscious of the gravity of the suggestion, we can not, in view of the serious evils with which the government of India may at any time be confronted if matters are left as they are, advise your lordship to overrule the proposals for the closing of the mints and the adoption of a gold standard, which that government, with their responsibility and deep interest in the success of the measure suggested, have submitted to you. But we consider that the following modifications of these proposals are advisable. The closing of the mints against free coinage of silver should be accompanied by an announcement that, though closed to the public they will be used by the government for the coinage of rupees in exchange for gold at a ratio to be then fixed, say 1*s.* 4*d.* per rupee; and that at the government treasuries gold will be received in satisfaction of public dues at the same ratio."

As is shown by the recent action of the Indian Government, the recommendations of the committee have been carried into practical effect by closing the Indian mints to silver coinage, without indicating the intention as to coinage on government account, and by fixing a permanent rate of exchange with India of 16 pence for the rupee, which nearly corresponds with the commercial gold value of the pure silver in that coin at the date of the order.

* * * * * * *

The action of the Indian Government in closing the mints to the coinage of silver, rendered necessary by the depreciation of its silver currency, is the first step towards the establishment of the gold standard in that empire. It is not a temporary measure nor one adopted hastily, but a permanent policy, recommended in the first instance by the Indian Government and carefully considered and reported on before final adoption by a committee of distinguished and conservative men familiar with the needs of India, who weighed carefully all the possible and probable results.

As was officially announced by the secretary of state for India in his dispatch to the Viceroy, it is the intention to "make arrangements for the adoption of a gold standard." It is useless and worse than silly to attempt to minimize the effects of this action on the future of silver by statements upon the part of silver advocates as to the impossibility of carrying out the policy adopted for India, or by holding out hope of continued purchases and coinage of silver by the Indian Government. The fact remains that the gold standard is to be established in British India, and the closing of the mints to silver coinage was the initiatory and necessary step in carrying out that policy.

This action upon the part of British India leaves the United States (unless we include Mexico, although, as is well known, Mexican silver coinage cuts no figure in the case) the only country in the world which continues to purchase and coin silver into legal-tender money.

This policy has already resulted in changing our currency from gold to silver, and has created widespread distrust of our ability to maintain the gold standard. It is not possible, now that barbaric India, our great silver ally, has pulled down her silver idol and taken steps to conform her monetary system to that of the civilized world, that the United States will continue to act in monetary isolation, in defiance of the rest of the world, and still further imperil its magnificent prosperity and credit by paying gold for a discarded, a depreciated, and a depreciating metal.

It must be remembered that whatever importance there may be in the use of money as a medium of exchange, its greatest value is as a measure of values, and that in this respect the United States has not departed since 1834 from the gold standard. Gold is still the sole standard of value in the United States, both legally and actually, and the determination and ability of the United States to maintain all its money at a parity with gold is still unabated.

While the road back to safe financial principles may be rough and stony it is still open, and the sooner we enter upon it the surer will be our relief from the present distressing and threatening business difficulties.

EDWARD OWEN LEECH.

Now, Mr. President, to resume for a moment the history of the act of 1873: It was framed in the Treasury Department after a thorough examination by experts, transmitted to both Houses of Congress, thoroughly examined and debated during four consecutive sessions, the information called for by the House of Representatives and printed six times by order broadly circulated, and many amendments were proposed, but no material changes were made in the coinage clause from the beginning to the end of the controversy. It added the French dollar for a time, but that was superseded by the trade dollar, and neither was made a legal tender but for $5. It passed the Senate on the 10th of January, 1871—36 yeas and 14 nays—every Senator from the Pacific coast voting for it.

It was introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. Hooper at the next session. It was debated, scrutinized, and passed unanimously, dropping the silver dollar as directly stated by Mr. Hooper. It was reported, debated, amended, and passed by the Senate unanimously. In every stage of the bill and every print the dollar of 412½ grains was prohibited, and the single gold standard recognized, proclaimed, and understood. It was not until silver was a cheaper dollar that anyone demanded it, and then it was to take advantage of a creditor.

Now, it has always been within the power of Congress to correct this error, if error was made; but Congress has refused over and over again to do it. When the controversy arose about the Bland bill and the House of Representatives proposed the free coinage of silver, the Senate rejected it after a deliberate contest and substituted in place of it what is called the Bland-Allison act, which required the purchase of silver bullion at its market value and its coinage to a limited amount. Every effort has been made from that time to this to have the Congress of the United States pass a free-coinage act.

As I said before, shortly after the passage of the Bland-Allison act, and from that time on there was a constant debate going on in Congress, and finally Congress raised the amount of silver bullion to be purchased to four million and a half ounces by the act of 1890. The question then was between the free coinage of silver and the purchase of silver in a limited amount to be coined at the pleasure of the Government as it was needed. The same question is upon us now in the difficulties which surround us, and it is time that the question should be definitely and finally settled.

Mr. President, it is said that if we stop the coinage of silver it will be the end of silver. I have heard here that moan from some of my friends near me, that it will be the end of silver. I do not think it will be the end of silver. We have proven by our purchases that the mere purchase of silver by us in a declining market, when all the nations of Europe are refusing to buy silver and throwing upon us their surplus, is an improvident use of the public money, and it ought to be abandoned, or at least suspended until a time shall come when we may, by an international ratio or by some other provision of law, prevent the possible coming to the single standard of silver. Now, that can be done.

What do we propose to do now? We simply propose to stop the purchase. We do not say when we will renew it again, but we simply say we believe, in view of a panic or any possibilities of a panic, that it would be idle for us to waste either our credit money or our actual money to buy that which must be put down into the cellar of our Treasury and there lay unused, except as it is represented by promises to pay in gold. I say that such a policy as that would be foolish and delusive.

Senators say that this is a blow at silver. Why, silver is as much a part of the industry of my country as it is a part of the industry of the State of the Senator from Colorado, the able exponent of this question. The production of silver is a great interest, and the people of Ohio are as deeply interested in the success of that interest as the people of Colorado. It is true we have not the direct ownership of the property, but it enters into measures of value of our property. There could be no desire on the part of any portion of the people of the United States to strike down silver. That idea ought to be abandoned at once. Therefore, in order to at least give the assurance of honest men that we do not intend to destroy an industry of America we put upon the bill a provision proposed now by the Senator from Indiana.

I say that instead of desiring to strike down silver we will likely build it up; and any measure that could be adopted for an international ratio that will not demonetize gold will meet my approbation and favor. But I would not dissever the financial business of this great country of ours, with its 65,000,000 of peo-

ple, from the standards that are now recognized by all the Christian nations of Europe. I would not have our measure less valuable than the measure of the proudest and haughtiest country of the world.

Mr. President, this is not a question of the mere interest of Nevada or Colorado. It is not a question about what Wall street will do. They will always be doing some devilry or other, it makes no difference who is up or who is down. We take that as a matter of course. The question is what ought to be done for the people of the United States in their length and breadth. If Congress should say that in its opinion it is not now wise after our experience to continue the purchase of silver bullion, is any injustice done to Colorado or Nevada? Are we bound to build up the interest of one section or one community at the expense of another or of the whole country?

No. I heartily and truly believe that the best thing we can now do is to suspend for a time, at least, the purchase of silver bullion. We should then turn our attention to measures that are demanded immediately to meet the difficulties of the hour. Let this be done promptly and completely. It involves a trust to your officers and great powers over the public funds. I am willing to trust them. If you are not, it is a strange attitude in political affairs. I would give them power to protect the credit of the Government against all enemies at home and abroad.

If the fight must be for the possession of gold, we will use our cotton and our corn, our wheat and other productions, against all the productions of mankind. We, with our resources, can then enter into a financial competition. We do not want to do it now. We prefer to wait awhile until the skies are clear and see what will be the effect of the Indian policy, and what arrangements may be made for conducting another international conference. In the mean time let the United States stand upon its strength and credit, maintaining its money, different kinds of money, at a parity with each other. If we will do that I think soon all these clouds will be dissipated and we may go home to our families and friends with a conscientiousness that we have done good work for our country at large. [Applause in the galleries.]

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President——

Mr. STEWART. If the Senator from Colorado will give way for a moment, I should like to give notice that on Tuesday next I shall take occasion to give the history of the demonetization of silver. I shall give the true history from the records.

Mr. HALE. I rise to a parliamentary question. I desire to call the attention of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], the chairman of the Committee on Finance, to the parliamentary condition of the bill reported by him yesterday. I was not here, but gathered from the newspapers that he intended by motion or by some action to substitute the measure which he reported yesterday as the unfinished business for whatever might be before the Senate. I suggest to him, as debate is to continue, whether it would not be advisable that it be continued upon the proposition which he submitted yesterday, and that by some action on his part that be made the unfinished business, so that it can not be said a week from now that the Senate has not even been considering that measure. I only make this suggestion for the discretion of the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. VOORHEES. I appreciate the point made by the Senator from Maine. I gave notice yesterday that as far as I could I should ask the consideration of the bill for the repeal of the Sherman act every morning after morning business. That was subject, however, to the accommodation of Senators who desire to address the Senate. The Senator from Ohio preferred to address the Senate upon that bill, and it has been before the Senate. The Senator from Colorado, who desires now to occupy the floor, prefers to speak on the bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks. He spoke on that bill yesterday, and desires to continue his remarks to-day. I therefore ask that the pending bill, on which the Senator from Ohio has delivered his address, may be laid aside and the bill I have indicated be taken up, in order that the Senator from Colorado may proceed orderly with his remarks.

Mr. TELLER. I suggest to the Senator that the Vice-President laid the pending order before the Senate at the expiration of the morning hour. It does not require any action to take it up.

Mr. VOORHEES. So much the better. The bank bill being the pending bill, the Senator from Colorado will proceed upon it, but I give notice that to-morrow, after the morning business is transacted, I shall ask the Senate to proceed with the consideration of House bill No. 1, for the repeal of a part of the Sherman act, and I shall continue to do so from day to day, subject of course, to my desire to accommodate Senators who wish to speak upon the bank bill.

Mr. STEWART. I suggest that there is no quorum present. I should like to have the roll called.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aldrich,	Davis,	Hunton,	Platt,
Allen,	Dixon,	Jones, Ark.	Power,
Bate,	Dubois,	Jones, Nev.	Ransom,
Berry,	Faulkner,	Kyle,	Roach,
Brice,	Frye,	Lindsay,	Shoup,
Caffery,	Gallinger,	Lodge,	Stewart,
Call,	Gordon,	McMillan,	Teller,
Camden,	Gorman,	Manderson,	Vest,
Cameron,	Gray,	Mitchell, Wis.	Vilas,
Carey,	Hansbrough,	Morgan,	Voorhees,
Cockrell,	Harris,	Pasco,	Walthall,
Coke,	Hawley,	Peffer,	White, La.
Cullom,	Higgins,	Perkins,	

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Fifty-one Senators having responded to their names, a quorum is present.

INCREASE OF NATIONAL BANK CIRCULATION.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks, the pending question being on the amendment submitted by Mr. COCKRELL.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, yesterday when the Senate went into executive session I was presenting some facts in connection with the scheme organized in the city of New York last spring for the purpose of bringing a sufficient pressure upon Congress to secure the repeal of the Sherman law. I read an article from the San Francisco Examiner, which seems to have been practically the same as one published in the New York Sun. I have also an article from the New York Sun of April 29 last, from which I will read an extract:

> The conference yesterday between Secretary Carlisle and a number of the bankers of this city was of great value in that it resulted in a definite understanding of the financial policy of the Administration, as indicated in this column last Tuesday. That policy is to interpose no obstacle to the natural operations and logical results of the Sherman law. In a word, the Administration proposes to allow the people to reap the rewards of their own folly.
>
> The statement of Mr. Carlisle to the New York bankers makes it clear that, while Mr. Cleveland works in Congress, the bankers will be expected to work, not in New York only, but throughout the country, doing their utmost to pinch business everywhere in the expectation of causing a money crisis that will affect Congress powerfully from every quarter. There is an explicitness in these declarations and a boldness in making them that would be astounding were not the country too familiar with Mr. Cleveland and his methods to be astonished by anything from him.

That is a quotation from the New York Sun of April 29. In the same line I find in the Empire of Finance and Trade, under date of August 26, the following:

> Let us point to another fact, and we are done. Never before have the large banking institutions of Chicago and the West ordered their gold in such large quantities direct from Europe, and in this fact is found one reason why our bankers are puzzled over the anomaly that although all these millions are coming to the country they experience little or no relief therefrom. The other reason, gentlemen, is, in order to force the repeal of the Sherman act and to quickly establish your power over the plain people of this land, you first sent out of the country one hundred and ten millions of the people's currency in order to assist the Rothschilds to demonetize silver in Austria and elsewhere, and then let it remain there, to teach the West and South an "object-lesson," as the President called it, until you found it was necessary to recall it in order to save your own house from destruction. Now, you have not only taught the West and the South an object-lesson, but yourselves one as well, and you can be sure of it.

THE SCHEME OF THE BANKERS.

I think, after what I have read, I may safely assume that the opinion is very general in this country that a scheme was organized early in the season in New York for the purpose of creating a financial panic which would compel an extra session of Congress for the repeal of the Sherman purchasing act, and I think the well-known and undisputed utterances of the Executive and the conduct of the Secretary of the Treasury bear out the inference that it was not to be the act of the banks alone, but that when the New York Sun says that the bankers were to work not only in New York but elswhere with the Administration, it spoke by authority.

I would not have anyone infer that I believe the bankers of New York intended to create just the condition of affairs that now exists. I think they undertook to create a distrust and a disturbance in the country that would justify the President in calling Congress at an extraordinary time, and thus secure action, first, on the purchase bill; secondly, on the proposition suggested by the Senator from Ohio, and suggested by them in their conference of bankers with the Secretary last spring—the issuance of a large amount of Government bonds, upon which they could continue to do banking business.

But, as stated in the article that I read from the Chicago Inter-Ocean yesterday, this panic got away from them a little. They rather overdid the business and frightened the people beyond even what they had intended. However, as stated in the paper I have just read, they are responsible for the condition, and if they get hurt they ought not to complain.

I stated yesterday that banks have two great functions—one to receive money and pay it out, and the other to transmit money from one section of the country to the other by way of bills of

exchange. I think I demonstrated that the banks of New York City, Philadelphia, Boston, and of, perhaps, some other cities, have absolutely broken down as banks of deposit or banks of exchange.

CIRCULATION.

There is another function for national banks—not for State, but for national banks—and that is to maintain a circulation for the people. That was one of the great purposes for which these banks were organized in 1884. We were told then, as we have been told since, as we were told by official utterances even as late as last December, that the banks of the country were ready and willing, or would be when properly organized, to furnish to the people of the United States a sufficiency of currency which should always be as good as gold.

There are two things with reference to the currency that the people are particularly interested in, and which of the two they are interested in most it would be somewhat difficult to say. They are interested, primarily, I suppose, that there shall be a sufficiency of money, for by a sufficiency of money only can you maintain prices. By a sufficiency of money only can you maintain the equity of contracts. They are also interested that it shall be good money: that if the banks undertake to issue circulation it shall be as good as any money the Government issues.

I propose to deal with these banks for a few moments as banks of issue, and I think I can demonstrate very satisfactorily to everybody that as banks of issue they have been as great failures as they have been as banks of deposit and banks of exchange.

By the original act, as I recollect, without having looked at it, but speaking from memory—if I am incorrect some Senator can correct me—they were originally limited to $300,000,000. That has been extended since so that my recollection is that the limit is now in the neighborhood, if not quite, $400,000,000—$380,000,000, or in that neighborhood.

Some Senators around me say that the entire limit was removed. I am inclined to think on reflection that the limit has been removed, but for the purpose for which I am speaking it is immaterial whether it has been removed or not, because at no time have they ever approached the limit that was provided for them by law. I believe, without absolute certainty as to the particular time, that they reached the highest limit some ten or twelve years ago, when the bank circulation reached $352,000,000 or thereabouts

Mr. PEFFER. Three hundred and fifty-eight million dollars.

Mr. TELLER. Three hundred and fifty-eight million dollars, the Senator from Kansas says. I am speaking now from recollection, not having considered the exact number of millions as being of any particular consequence. I see that it was $358,000,000 in 1882. The Senator from Kansas is right. What was the amount of bank circulation in existence last December? The amount that was supposed to be in circulation in the United States was $172,000,000. The amount for which the banks were responsible was $147,000,000, and at times since the issue reached $358,000,000, it has been as low as $124,000,000. There are three years in the history of banks since 1882 in which the circulation of the banks has fluctuated to the extent of $50,000,000 in each year.

In the fall of 1892 the money in circulation amounted to $172,000,000 and a fraction, of which the banks were responsible for $147,000,000; or, in other words, the banks had endeavored to reduce their circulation from $358,000,000 down to $147,000,000, and at one time, as I stated, they had let it fall to $124,000,000. The violent fluctuations in the currency then, which everybody knows are accompanied by more or less disturbance, are certainly an indication that the banks have not supplied the circulating medium of this country in a satisfactory way.

The Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] asks me what is the difference between the circulation and what they are responsible for. When a bank under the existing law desires to retire its circulation, it does not do as it did under the original law, take its own notes to the Treasury and withdraw its bonds. The old original law required that the banks should take their own notes and deposit them in the Treasury in order to retire their bonds. It was changed in 1870 or 1874, I do not now recall the exact year. They can now take Treasury notes to the Treasury or they can take their own notes and deposit them. The difference between $147,000,000 and $172,000,000 is the money that they are supposed to have deposited in the Treasury of the United States for the redemption of their paper, but which has not been actually redeemed, and remains in circulation.

I find that between October 31, 1885, and October 1, 1886, there was a shrinkage of the circulation of national banks of $56,593,533. I find that between October 1, 1886, and October 31, 1887, there was a shrinkage of $50,495,589.

In 1890, when we came here and before the time of the passage of the much-talked-of and much-despised Sherman act, the national banks had in circulation $136,753,837; or, in other words, they had increased their circulation that year by $11,795,000. There was a general complaint of a stringency in money affairs in the country at that time. I spoke of that yesterday.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEFFER] calls my attention to the fact that the limitation on the issue of national bank circulation was removed in 1875. I was under that impression, but I failed to find it in the few minutes I devoted to that point. If these banks have failed to furnish circulation in a proper manner, they have failed to perform any function of banking assigned to them by law. At least those banks that have failed to pay their depositors have, and the banks of the country have, failed to provide the requisite and necessary amount of currency.

WILL THE BANKS DO BETTER IN THE FUTURE.

I do not need to discuss the question whether in the spring of 1890, when we took steps to secure to the people more currency, it was needed. That it was needed was admitted by everybody. It was admitted by the officials of the Government. I never heard it disputed in this body, and I do not think it was disputed anywhere. It was said then that the banks could not furnish the money profitably, and therefore they declined. Now we are told that if we allow them to do so they can furnish all the money that is necessary and no other legislation is needed; that if we will pass this bill, which gives them 100 cents instead of 90 cents on a dollar of issue, it will so encourage them that I suppose we are to believe that the $585,000,000 of United States bonds still existing, or the amount not used for banking purposes, will be put into the Treasury and issue be made upon them. The past conduct of the banks indicates that they will not do anything of the kind.

Mr. President, there is no reason to suppose that if these banks are allowed to continue either with the present bonds or other bonds, unless there is some special privilege given to them they will furnish a suitable amount of currency. We all remember that in 1881, when there was a proposition to change the bonded indebtedness of the United States from a large interest-bearing debt to a smaller, when the provisions of the law required the national banks to take the bonds drawing smaller interest, they came to the Treasury in a month with $18,000,000 or $20,000,000 of their paper and deposited it, and declared they would withdraw all their circulation if Congress persisted in this to them objectionable legislation.

The amount of the circulation of the banks has increased or decreased, not according to the wants of the people, not according to the demands of commerce and trade, but according to their wishes, and practically with reference to the price of United States bonds. When the bonds went up high enough so that it was of more profit to sell them than it was to use them for issue in banking, they sold them and contracted the circulation, one time as much as $56,000,000 in a year. They can not now surrender more than $3,000,000 a month; that is, $36,000,000 a year. I understand the limit of $3,000,000 a month does not apply to banks that suspend or go into liquidation, but is the amount that can be voluntarily surrendered.

TIME TO REFORM THE BANKING SYSTEM.

I am opposed to the extension of the banking system of the United States as banks of issue. If the conduct of the banks at this time is to be a criterion of what it will be in the future, I am opposed to the extension of the banking system, or its continuance, for any purpose. I stated yesterday my opinion that the control of the paper money of the country should not be lodged with any corporation. I am opposed to giving to individuals or corporations the right to contract the currency at one time and to expand it at another, just as the speculative spirit of Wall street may demand. I believe it to be the prerogative of the Government of the United States, as it is of every other Government, to issue its own currency.

I submit to the honorable chairman of the committee who comes here in hot haste with a bill to give to these banks $19,000,000 or $20,000,000 of extra money, or $50,000,000 if they should see fit to put in an additional amount of bonds, whether it is not a good time, in view of their misconduct, in view of their failure to perform the functions imposed upon them by law, to reform the banking system in the United States. It will hardly do after we have heard the speech of the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] to assert that there is any longer any great haste in this proposed legislation, for he tells us in substance that the fright the people have been under in the United States for the last sixty days simply arose from a fear that we were about to go to free coinage, and I think after the vote in the House of Representatives the other day on that subject, even the most timid Wall street operator will have no fear on that point. If that is true, we have plenty of time to deliberate; there is no haste now, the cure has been found; confidence will be restored as quickly as the people can read of that vote.

GREENBACKS.

When the proposition came before the Senate on the amendment of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] to increase the greenback issue, the Senator from Ohio assailed it with great violence and with considerable heat. He said, "Here is an indebtedness of the Government not due. You propose by your amendment to the bill to make it due. You propose to say that it is payable now." That part of the Senator's statement is true. How is it to be paid? By a note of the Government? It will still be a Government debt.

The greenback is nothing after all but a note of the Government, with a promise as to how it shall be redeemed, and when it shall be redeemed; but it takes the place of money in this country in the most satisfactory manner. It will go everywhere where the English language is spoken; nay more, it will go everywhere where civilized men will trade. It is good in Europe; it is good in Northern Africa; it is good in Southern Africa; it is good all over this continent—North and South.

Mr. ALDRICH. I do not wish to interfere with the orderly proceeding of the Senator from Colorado, but I should be very glad before he finishes his remarks if he will discuss the pending amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL].

Mr. TELLER. Oh, I am coming to that.

Mr. ALDRICH. I am very glad to hear it.

Mr. TELLER. I will get down to that in due time, some time before the hour to adjourn arrives. I was speaking of the value of the greenback. It is a legal-tender paper between the citizens of the United States. It will not only buy, which is one of the desirable and essential qualities of money, but it will pay debts, which is a greater and more valuable function of money than that of purchase. It has never been discredited an hour since we undertook to make it good with gold or silver. Is it not better than a national-bank note that is not a full legal tender?

Oh, but says the Senator from Ohio, if you issue $40,000,000, or $50,000,000, or $100,000,000, you will have increased your demand upon the reserve fund, that sacred fund, that fund which gives the Senator from Ohio and his class of thinkers so much trouble and so much worry for fear it may be depleted. I submit to the Senate there is not a man who, when the Senator from Ohio made that objection, did not immediately remember that every national-bank note is a demand upon that reserve as much as a greenback. The Government of the United States has pledged itself to redeem the national-bank notes in greenbacks. That is the law and that has been the practice. If the bank redeems in money, satisfactory, lawful money at its counter, well and good. If the bank fails the Government of the United States has declared that it stands ready at all times to exchange for the national-bank note its note, which is payable on demand at all times in the coin of the realm, and by practice in gold.

Mr. GRAY. I should like to ask the Senator if the greenbacks which the Government pays out in the redemption of national-bank currency under those circumstances would not be a new issue of national currency?

Mr. TELLER. No; it is not a new issue.

Mr. GRAY. I would ask further, whether such a payment by such an issue of greenbacks out of the original stock of $346,000,000 would be a new liability of the Government or create a new demand on the reserve fund?

Mr. TELLER. If you increase the present bank issue from $172,000,000 to $500,000,000 there is just so much more paper in the country to demand of the Government greenbacks, and so many more people who can, if they choose, go to the Treasury and demand gold. There is nothing in the argument on either side. The suggestion made by the Senator from Ohio is absolutely worthless, in my judgment. There is no distinction, and nobody need be afraid of the issue of $100,000,000 of greenbacks because it is intrenching upon that reserve, nor need anyone be afraid of the issue of $100,000,000 of national-bank notes because it would intrench upon that reserve. It is a phantom; it is not worthy of attention.

Mr. SQUIRE. Would it not be necessary for the Government to have the greenbacks in its possession in order to exchange the national-bank notes?

Mr. TELLER. The United States holds itself in readiness at all times to exchange a greenback for a national-bank note, if any holder wants to have it exchanged.

Mr. SQUIRE. The Government must have the greenbacks in its possession.

Mr. TELLER. It ought to have them, and it ordinarily does have them. I do not know whether it has them now.

Mr. SQUIRE. That is the point I wished to elucidate.

Mr. TELLER. I do not know whether we have reached a point where the Government is unable to make its redemption, but I suppose the holder would take payment in gold at least, because it is just the same whether he takes it in greenbacks today and in gold to-morrow, or whether he takes it in gold in the first instance. Of course I do not pretend to deny that the greater the amount of paper money the greater the possibility is that some man will want to go and demand gold for it. It would be childish for me to assert that there would be as many demands made upon the Treasury Department if there were only $100,000,000 of paper money, as there would be if there were $1,000,000,000. That may be an object of fear and of distrust, but the difference is absolutely *nil* between a national-bank note and a Government or legal-tender greenback—each is a demand on the reserve.

Mr. ALDRICH. Would it interrupt the Senator from Colorado if I should ask him a question?

Mr. TELLER. Not a particle.

Mr. ALDRICH. Will the Senator give his opinion of the relative value, for security and safety, between a legal-tender note and a silver certificate or silver dollar?

Mr. TELLER. Will the Senator repeat his question?

Mr. ALDRICH. I should like to have the Senator's opinion as to the relative value as currency for the people of the United States of a legal-tender note and a silver certificate.

Mr. TELLER. That may depend on a great many circumstances. With the ordinary citizen there is no distinction whatever.

Mr. ALDRICH. As I understand the Senator, he takes the position that a legal-tender note without any reserve fund is equally safe and secure in the form of currency for the people of the United States as a silver certificate.

Mr. TELLER. I have made no such statement, and the Senator from Rhode Island ought to know that I have made no such statement.

Mr. ALDRICH. I should be very glad to have the Senator's opinion, if he has not made the statement, on that precise question.

Mr. TELLER. I hold that no paper money ever ought to be issued without some provision for its redemption in the money metals of the world. Upon that subject my record is well known, and the Senator from Rhode Island knew it just as well before as he knows it now. I have never suggested interconvertible paper. I have never given a vote in that direction. The silver certificate is by positive direction of law payable in silver dollars, and if the Senator wants to know whether I think a silver dollar is as good as a gold dollar I will tell him that in every department of life since silver dollars have been in use, since 1878, they have performed every function that the gold dollar has performed in this country, and I assert that there has been at no time any exhibition by the people of the United States of distrust either of the silver dollar or the silver certificate.

LEGAL-TENDER NOTES AND SILVER CERTIFICATES.

Mr. ALDRICH. The precise question which I desire to have the Senator from Colorado answer is whether a legal-tender note issued in accordance either with the amendment of the Senator from Missouri, which has already been voted on or the amendment which is now pending, is equally valuable and safe as a form of currency to the people of the United States with a silver certificate. I must confess I am ignorant of the Senator's views on that subject, and I think it has a very important bearing upon the silver question which is now before the Senate.

Mr. TELLER. I do not know that my comprehension is sufficient to take in that question. I do not think the Senator from Rhode Island knows exactly what he means himself.

Mr. ALDRICH. I mean exactly this, if the Senator will allow me: The so-called silver Senators, including the Senator from Colorado, voted the other day solidly, I think, for the amendment of the Senator from Missouri. I was trying to find out whether they favor the pending amendment of the Senator from Missouri, which provides for an indefinite issue of legal-tender notes without any metallic reserve. If the silver Senators are in favor of that amendment, and believe that a legal-tender note without any reserve is equally valuable as a form of currency with silver, then it is very plain to me, as I think it will be to the people of the United States, that it is a needless expenditure of public money to buy silver to secure notes.

Mr. TELLER. The Senator from Rhode Island is jumping before he gets to the stile.

M. ALDRICH. I am trying to find out where the stile is.

Mr. TELLER. I voted for the amendment of the Senator from Missouri. It is not true, as stated by the Senator from Rhode Island, that there is no reserve or no way to redeem the paper that was proposed to be issued under that amendment.

Mr. ALDRICH. There was no additional reserve provided.

Mr. TELLER. Oh, "additional reserve;" that is another question. The Senator would have us understand that we voted for paper that there was to be no method of redeeming. He

knows better than that. He knows there is $100,000,000 of gold now in the Treasury, and it might as well be $300,000,000 or $500,000,000 under the law, because there is no limit on it. The law simply says that there shall be at all times a sufficiency of coin to redeem every greenback that comes to the Treasury, and that is as true of all the new notes that may be made as it is of the old. So there is nothing in the suggestion of the Senator from Rhode Island. We have not voted for interconvertible paper; we have not voted for fiat money.

The Senator from Rhode Island is exceeding anxious to know how I am going to vote on the pending amendment. I have not examined it with a great deal of care, but I understand it is a proposition to allow the State banks to do what the national banks are doing.

Mr. COCKRELL. It proposes to allow the State banks, the savings banks, the private banks, the loan and trust companies, and any individual who holds a United States bond to do it. In other words, it proposes to give the masses of the people of this country some rights as well as national banks.

Mr. TELLER. On the proposition before the Senate, the amendment of the Senator from Missouri, the Senator from Rhode Island is exceedingly anxious to know how I am going to vote. I shall vote not as I have voted on many occasions. I shall vote for the amendment. Heretofore I have voted against paper money. I have never voted since I have been in public life, seventeen years, for an issue of paper money. I shall not now vote for an issue of paper money unless there is something back of it, nor would I vote for it if I did not believe the laws were ample to maintain it upon an equality with the best money metal in existence.

I shall vote for it for a variety of reasons. I shall vote for it in this case, I am frank to say, because I believe we have reached a time when more money has to be issued, when the people must have more money, and when, whatever may be the result of our action here, whether the law of 1890 is repealed or not, it is evident that the present stock of money is not sufficient, and it is apparent to every thinking man that if the law remains it is not sufficient. If there is a possibility of its repeal, which the Senator from Rhode Island declares there is, if he is correct when he says it is a "dead certainty" that it is to be repealed, then I propose to give to the people more money, and I propose to give to them the highest kind of money that there is, unless it be gold and silver. If we fail to secure for them gold and silver on equal terms I shall endeavor to give them, I think with the concurrence and approval of the great mass of the people of the United States, the next best thing, and that is a greenback.

I shall not by my vote here put any more power into the hands of the banks of this country. I shall not enable them any longer to paralyze the industries and enterprises of this country as they are doing to-day, to shut up the mills, to close the mines, and to send out into the world homeless, without opportunity to earn their bread, men who were sixty days ago earning good wages at profitable employment. That is what they have done, and that is what they are doing. They can not get my vote for any further continuation of their existence, and if I could have a fair opportunity to wipe them out I would wipe them out as quickly as it could be done, keeping always in mind the great commercial interests that would be jeopardized by a sudden cessation of their pretended exercise of their functions, which they are but badly exercising at this time.

I will be frank with the Senator from Rhode Island; I will be frank with the Senate. I am opposed to the further continuation of the banking system as banks of issue. I desire to withdraw from them the privilege they now have of issuing circulation, and because I am opposed to that I shall vote for anything that will make it unnecessary that they shall continue to exercise that illy exercised function.

Before I get through with voting on this bill I have not much question but that I shall vote for some things I do not approve of. I shall vote for everything that I think will make the bill better, so that if it should become a law it will be sheared of some of the harm that would come by giving to the banks unlimited power over the circulation of this country. I may vote for some things that I do not think are desirable, in the hope that if they shall become a part of the bill the friends of the measure might conclude to drop it and not further press it; and I believe that to be a perfectly fair parliamentary method when you are attacking a bill which you believe to be absolutely vicious.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator from Colorado permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. TELLER. Certainly.

Mr. ALLEN. What greater safety to the people of this country is there in a national bank under the proposed bank act at this time than there is in an equal volume of United States notes?

Mr. TELLER. There is not any greater safety, unless the creature is greater than its creator. To whom do the people look when they have a bank note? To the bank that issues it? Not at all. They look to the Government of the United States for its redemption, and the reason, as was said here the other day, why nobody had ever lost a dollar by national-bank notes is not because the banks that issued the notes were solvent, for many of them have gone into bankruptcy. It is because the Government of the United States has stood behind them ready at all times to make them good, and that, too, without reference to whether the bonds were worth $1 or 50 cents. No matter where the security in the hands of the Government goes, the bank bill is as good as gold, because it can always be exchanged for a currency that will readily exchange for gold.

So it can not be pretended by anybody that there is any merit in the issue by the banks, or any reason why it is safer to issue bank paper than to issue greenbacks, for if there were $1,000,000,000 of bank paper issued the Government of the United States would be put in exactly the same jeopardy with reference to its redemption as it would be put if there were $1,000,000,000 of greenbacks issued, not that the Government would have to pay the bank bill in the first instance in gold or silver but it would have to maintain at all times either gold or silver in sufficient quantities to redeem all that should come, because if the parties desired gold they would go to the Treasury Department and get a greenback and then turn around and go into the next room and get gold or silver for it as they might prefer.

Mr. COCKRELL. Will the Senator from Colorado permit me to make a suggestion?

Mr. TELLER. Certainly.

Mr. COCKRELL. If the national banks were to take all the bonds and the bill of the Finance Committee was passed, then they could issue just as much money as could be issued under the amendment.

Mr. TELLER. I was just coming to that. There are in the United States now——

Mr. DOLPH. Will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. TELLER. Certainly.

Mr. DOLPH. There would be this difference between the issue of United States legal-tender notes and bank notes, would there not: The national-bank notes would be put into circulation on the security of Government bonds already issued, while the United States legal-tender notes would be issued upon the credit of the Government and must either be redeemed, when presented, from the gold reserve or from bonds authorized for that purpose? Is there not that difference between the issue of the two kinds of currency?

Mr. TELLER. I do not see it, Mr. President.

Mr. DOLPH. Perhaps I did not make myself clear.

Mr. TELLER. Yes; I understand the Senator exactly.

Mr. DOLPH. The security for the national-bank notes is the bonds of the Government that have already been issued and sold, representing the debt of the Government.

Mr. TELLER. Does the Senator from Oregon mean to say that the indebtedness of the United States represented by a bond is better security than the entire credit of the United States, for that is what the greenback is? The Government of the United States has given to these banks the privilege of banking upon a Government indebtedness, and whether that is a good basis of banking depends entirely upon the credit of the United States. If the credit of the United States is to be distrusted without the bond, it is to be distrusted with the bond.

Mr. DOLPH. I desire to have my suggestion understood and correctly stated. I was not discussing the difference in the security for the payment of a national-bank note and of a legal-tender note. My suggestion was merely that the increase of of bank-note circulation must be secured by bonds which are already in private hands, while the issue of legal-tender notes by the United States not only increases the national indebtedness, but when they are redeemed they must be redeemed by the gold already reserved for that purpose, or additional bonds must be issued and sold for that purpose.

Mr. TELLER. The greenback, as I have stated, is an indebtedness of the United States, and the issue of $100,000,000 of indebtedness of that character adds $100,000,000 to the public debt.

Mr. DOLPH. Exactly.

Mr. TELLER. Now, there is not any trouble about that. The difference between the Senator from Oregon and myself, as I judge from his statement, is that he prefers to issue an interest-bearing evidence of debt while I wish to issue that which bears no interest.

Mr. DOLPH. No, the Senator must not understand that I am expressing any preference whatever. He was discussing the merits of the issue of national-bank notes and of legal-tender notes, as I understood him. He correctly stated that the issue of $100,000,000 of legal-tender notes increases the national indebtedness $100,000,000, but the issue of $100,000,000 of national-

bank currency I understand does not increase the aggregate indebtedness. It increases the liability of the Government to redeem the national-bank notes if it becomes necessary, but the $100,000,000 of obligations of the Government must be deposited for that purpose. So in the aggregate while the circulation is increased the indebtedness of the Government is not increased. I think I am correct about that.

Mr. TELLER. The indebtedness of the Government is not increased, of course, by that method. What I was discussing is the difference between the burden put upon the Government. The Government issues its greenbacks, which are payable on demand, but we know, as a matter of fact, they are never to be redeemed, never to be actually paid; that is, when the statute provides that they are to be brought to the Treasury and exchanged for gold they are still treated as money; they are treated by the Government as simply an exchange of one kind of money for another, and the greenback goes out to do its duty as money the next day just as it did before.

There is, of course, a technical debt in the greenback. Nobody in this country believes to-day that the time will ever come when the Government of the United States will take up the greenback and exchange it for any other kind of money; I mean permanently retire the greenback. The people of the United States are wedded to that kind of money, and would never consent to that.

SHALL THE GREENBACK BE RETIRED FOR SILVER?

The suggestion has been made time and again to me, as a friend of silver and representing a section of the country that is particularly interested in providing a way silver might be used, that we might make a great use of silver by retiring the greenbacks. I have always replied that the people of the United States would never submit to the taking up of the greenbacks and their cancellation or destruction, They are to be the money of this country as long as the flag floats, and everybody might as well make up his mind to that fact.

Why should they not be? Is it any incumbrance on the Government that it has to-day $356,000,000 of paper money out, save and except the $100,000,000 that it keeps in its till? I will venture to say, not having seen the statement within the last year, that there have not been $40,000,000 of greenbacks presented to the Treasury for redemption since 1879. Up to 1890 there had been just $28,000,000 presented, and undoubtedly that presentation was largely by parties who desired gold for export.

Mr. PEFFER. And they went out into circulation.

Mr. TELLER. And, as suggested, when they came in they immediately went out into circulation and performed the functions and office of money.

STATE BANKS.

The Senator from Missouri asked me if the national banks could not issue up to the limit. They can extend their issue up to the $585,000,000 of bonds. They have now, I suppose, a little over $200,000,000 in the Treasury Department that belongs to the national banks—something over $200,000,000—leaving, perhaps, $360,000,000 or $370,000,000 of bonds that are available for banking.

If the banks desire it they can to-day take that entire indebtedness and make it the basis of their banking. They have not been willing to do it, and when it is suggested that we give to the State banks the privilege of doing the same thing then Senators foresee great disaster and great trouble to come from allowing the State banks to do exactly what the national banks are allowed to do. I do not myself see any danger.

The State banks are not quite as strongly intrenched in capital, perhaps, as the national banks, but yet they are conducted, I think, all over the country in as respectable a manner as the national banks. But whether they are or not, they can issue no paper under the amendment of the Senator from Missouri, unless they deposit with the Government of the United States the obligations of the United States exactly as the national banks do.

Let me ask the Senator what particular right have the national banks to insist that they, and they alone, shall issue currency in this country? If they had fulfilled the functions of banks of circulation and issued all the money that was needed, then they might with some face say to us: "Do not disturb us in the exercise of the privilege which we have exercised to the entire and complete satisfaction of the people by furnishing a good currency in ample quantities." They have furnished a good currency, because the statutes of the United States make it good; but they have not furnished it in quantities acceptable to the people, as everybody admits. We have been compelled within the last three years to issue $150,000,000 of Treasury notes because of the paucity of circulation, because the banks did not fulfill the duties imposed upon them by law to furnish a proper circulation.

The Senator from Ohio put the question pertinently, What would be our condition but for the $150,000,000 of Treasury notes which we had issued under the act of 1890?

DECREASING BANK CIRCULATION.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senator from Colorado yields to me in order that I may give some figures in regard to the national-bank circulation.

Mr. TELLER. I shall be very glad to have them.

Mr. COCKRELL. I take from the report of the Comptroller of the Currency for 1892, on pages 50 and 51, the decrease of the national-bank circulation year by year, beginning with the year ending October 31, 1884, and running down to the year ending October 31, 1892. During that period the national banks lessened their circulation by the amount of $213,343,917. They sold their bonds at a high rate of interest, took dollar for dollar in greenbacks of their circulation, and deposited in the Treasury and gave up their bonds regardless of what effect it would have upon the business of the country.

Mr. TELLER. In that connection I desire to read from the report of the Comptroller of the Currency for 1890. On page 7 he says:

It is a well-known fact that the circulation of national banks is in process of retirement. During the five years ended October 31, 1890, the aggregate of their circulation based upon deposit of United States bonds has been reduced from $276,304,189 to $124,958,736, showing a net decrease during the five years of $151,345,453. The net average decrease for each of the past five years is $30,269,090.

With a growing population, with an increasing commerce and business, which demand at our hands every year at least $60,000,000 or $70,000,000, this agency, to which we had intrusted the circulation of the country up to 1890, curtailed it over $151,000,000 in five years.

Mr. ALLEN. May I ask the Senator what is there in the law, if anything, which prevents any of the national banks from either expanding their bank issues to the amount of their bonds or entirely retiring them, and by that means disturbing the financial condition of the country?

Mr. TELLER. The only limitation upon the banks as to the issue or retirement of circulation is that they shall not retire more than $3,000,000 a month. They may by that process retire $30,000,000 a year, as was being done prior to 1890, and bring this country to a state of distress, as they did then.

I repeat what I have before mentioned here, that when we came here in 1890, owing to the contractions of the currency by the national banks for the preceding five years, we found everybody admitting that there must be an increase of currency, and it was largely that sentiment which compelled the Senate to agree to the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month. I know that every department of the Government at that time was in earnest that there should be an increase of the currency. So, I repeat now, that the national banks have as signally failed to perform the functions imposed upon them as circulating agencies as they have the performance of the other functions put upon them; and there is no reason now why they should have extra privileges or extra opportunities to extend their circulation.

BANKS AND LEGISLATION.

I am not moved against the national banks by prejudice or by passion. I hold that banks properly conducted are helpful agencies of commerce and business. Whenever banks confine themselves exclusively and wholly to a legitimate banking business, they may become valuable agents, I repeat, to commerce and trade; but when they interfere with the political actions of Congress, and when they attempt, as they have done on more than one occasion, to dictate to the policy to be pursued in public affairs, they have been absolute failures every time.

Who does not remember that when we were attempting to resume specie payments in 1878, the banks in New York City with one united voice were against resumption? That may seem strange to some, because the banks have assumed that they possess all the financial wisdom of the world, and that they can not be mistaken; but it can not be forgotten by some members of this body, at least, that the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives went over to New York in the spring of 1878 and held there a conference, as Mr. Carlisle did last April, with the leading bankers of the city of New York. It was said it was to be a secret and a quiet conference, so that they might instruct the Banking and Currency Committee of the House of Representatives as to what should be their proper course as to resumption, which it was expected would commence on the 1st of the following January.

It however got into the newspapers that these wise men of New York, who regard every man who does not physically handle money as incapable of passing upon financial questions, had, with one united voice, declared that it was absolutely impossible to resume on the 1st of January. If any Senator is at all interested in that question he will find the whole matter brought out before the subcommittee on Banking and Currency, of which Mr. Thomas Ewing was chairman.

When we, as I have before stated, attempted to fund the bonds of the United States at a lower rate of interest the banks were opposed to it. I have not any question that the furore that has been created, by which the public has been disturbed, millions of money destroyed, and men sent to untimely graves by the improper interference of banks with legislative matters, by an attempt to pinch, as the paper states, the people of the West and to coerce and force them to accept their views upon monetary affairs, was brought about by the bankers to forward their own ends. A set of men more incapable of giving instructions as to national finance than the bankers of this country have never lived. They understand the rates of exchange and discount; they know how to collect interest; but as to monetary science, there is not one out of a hundred of them who has ever given it thought or attention. I say they have done nothing which would justify us in putting into their hands this great power.

I am going now to read a few words from the remarks of the chairman of the Committee on Finance [Mr. VOORHEES], with reference to the character of these banks. I do not believe that I can be accused of being radical or unfair if I quote the words, and rely upon them as correct, of the chairman of the Committee on Finance of this body in his speech delivered here on the 22d of August. He said:

But there are still further features of the present financial situation which, in my judgment, demand consideration, and which do not result from the Sherman act, except in so far as its unsoundness in principle and its outlawed character as an instrument of finance are seized upon to shake public confidence and create business distress, thus advancing the ends and aims, not yet openly avowed, of certain vigilant and powerful moneyed classes in this country and throughout the world. The bitter and determined assault which we have witnessed on the present Administration to compel an enormous issue of Government bonds has not gone unheeded by the American people, nor have the authors of this assault, and those interested in its success, escaped widespread and intelligent observation.

Mr. STEWART. From what page of the RECORD is the Senator reading?

Mr. TELLER. From page 394.

Mr. STEWART. What is the date?

Mr. TELLER. The date of the RECORD is August 23, 1893.

Motive is the surest trail on which to find the perpetrator of a deed, and, tried by this rule, the authors of the money stringency during the last five months, and of the incessant demand for a large increase in our bonded debt, stand plainly revealed.

By virtue of a Treasury regulation, rather than by explicit provisions of law, a gold reserve of a hundred millions has been held for years past in the Treasury for the declared purpose of redeeming a branch of the currency which has never yet been presented for redemption. By breaking this reserve, by reducing it below its fixed amount, it was supposed the Secretary of the Treasury would be under immediate legal necessity to issue and sell bonds, with the proceeds of which the gold reserve was to be kept at its maximum.

The attack, therefore, on the head of that column was swift and strong. With intervals of delay for ample and skillful preparation, these attacks have been repeated again and again, and have only slackened in their frequency and force since it has been found that the executive department of the Government can not be coerced in that way.

But the campaign of capitalists seeking a new supply of interest-bearing Government bonds did not confine itself to any one point of assault. While they operated with unrelenting vigor to break down the reserve of gold in the Treasury, and to that extent impair the public credit, they also startled this country and filled the world with the cry that American gold was running away from this silver-blasted country, chased out by silver money, and that there was no way to lure it back except to bait plentifully with Government bonds.

It is in this connection also that the Sherman act has been made to do double duty. It has been held to answer not only for the inherent and ineradicable vices which it does possess, but it has been charged with grave offenses in which it has had no part.

* * * * * * *

The Government proceeded in orderly and constitutional methods to coin $24,000,000 per annum of silver money for the use and benefit of the American people, and continued so to do for the next twelve years—

Having spoken of the act of 1878 in the previous paragraph—

during which time the increase—not the decrease, but the increase—of gold in the United States was at the rate of about forty millions a year. At the date of the passage of the Bland-Allison act the estimate of gold money in this country was $230,000,000, and when coinage ceased under that act the estimate was more than $700,000,000. And such was the fulfillment of the prophecies of 1878, and yet I am now expected to believe that the fair and legitimate coinage of silver, its free coinage upon a properly ascertained and determined ratio, will banish all our gold and put us on a single silver basis.

I must be pardoned for believing nothing of the kind. The shipments of gold which have taken place from this country in the last four or five months must be accounted for, to my mind, in a different way. They were a part of the same plan which attempted to sack the Treasury of its gold-reserve fund, to create distrust, fear, agitation, panic, and a withdrawal, as far as possible, of all money in circulation; and all this to be accompanied by a concerted outcry from terror-stricken business circles and from the whole national banking system that nothing can restore public confidence and save the public credit except the issuance of at least three hundred millions of interest-bearing Government bonds.

Sir, I have no desire to assail the national banks, nor any feeling to gratify in doing so. As a general rule, they are under the management and control of gentlemen standing high for ability and integrity. It is the system which I arraign and not the individuals who conduct it. Eulogies on the national banks as a system of finance are very familiar to us all. They have many merits, some of which I desire to avail the country of at this time, as is well known; and yet it may be replied to every word in their praise that the good the banks have done in handling a safe and reliable currency has come alone from the power of the Government which pervades them, while the evils they accomplish have arisen from the fact that far too much power has been left in the hands of men to tempt their avarice and ambition.

The merits possessed by the national banks are created and upheld, every one of them, by the official hand of the Government, by the bonds on which their notes are issued, by their official engraving, and by a vigilant and efficient administration of their affairs at the hands of the Comptroller of the Currency. On the other hand, the unrestricted, unrestrained, and unbridled power which is permitted to the management of these banks, whereby the circulation of money in the hands of the people can be, and often has been, suddenly fluctuated from a prosperous maximum to a stunted and distressful minimum, constitutes a standing and a frightful menace against the safety, the welfare, and the happiness of the great and most useful body of American people—those who have labor and the products of labor to exchange for money, and who have a right to expect steady and remunerative rates of pay.

The idea here presented is an appalling one. No other government within the boundaries of civilization, as far as I can learn, has ever committed to private parties the power to make money plenty, or money scarce; times easy, or times hard; business prosperity, or business bankruptcy; the power, in fact, to circulate the Government's own currency, or to withhold it from circulation, at such times, and under such circumstances, and in such amounts, as will inure to the benefit of private speculation and personal gain, rather than to the public interests. Yet, such is exactly the terrible power now possessed by those engaged in national banking, and such the power they have called into disastrous action.

If it be asserted and admitted that some of the banks have themselves suffered and fallen by the overthrow of public and private confidence which has taken place, it only adds one more illustration to the well-k own fact that a demon of destruction once raised sometimes escapes the control of its masters and turns and rends them. If panic-stricken depositors make sudden and unexpected runs for their money, catching now and then a bank less prepared for such an emergency than its better managed kindred, it is because the policy of th banks has first inspired them with distrust and finally filled them with terror.

In their attempt to force the Government into the attitude of a borrower to escape bankrupty, the banks have endangered their own credit, and in many instances totally lost the confidence of those who have trusted them most.

Further on, the Senator from Indiana said:

While in the midst of a fair and reasonable degree of prosperity, the volume of our circulating medium, even while the people were looking at it, suddenly shriveled away and practically vanished from their sight. As if by some infernal enchantment, money disappeared, as it were, in a single night, and left the people in mourning and deep trouble when the morning came. Have the men of active business, and the toiling millions who suffer most, been tempted in their distress to say that there is no longer any money in this country?

Mr. President, that is an indictment against the banks of this country from the head of the greatest committee of this body, and the unfortunate part of it is, that it seems to be based upon facts. It is in strict accordance with the evidence which I produced yesterday and to-day of their preconcerted effort to disturb public confidence; and that condition is still being continued in this country to-day.

PROFIT OF ISSUE.

The other day, when this question was before the Senate, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] and one or two other Senators, I believe, said that there could be no great harm in an increase of bank circulation, that it would be a great advantage to increase it, and they stated, if I recollect correctly, that the banks really were reluctant to engage in issuing circulation; that there was no profit to the banks in having circulation, and that very many banks had abandoned it. That probably is true.

When bonds were selling for $1.24 and $1.28 the banks could undoubtedly make more money by getting the premium on the bonds than they could by holding the circulation out at that particular time. Then, in utter and entire disregard of the needs of the community, which they are supposed to serve, they immediately sold their bonds and retired their circulation.

The New York World, perhaps some ten or twelve days ago, contained an appeal to the banks to issue more money, and gave a statement as to the profit which could be made by using money at the present time, on account of the high rates of interest in the city of New York and the country thereabout.

I have in my hand the report of the Comptroller of the Currency for 1892, wherein he attempts to show that there is profit even at the price at which bonds were then selling, which was very much higher than their price to-day. I do not care to read the whole of it, or to take up the time of the Senate, but the Comptroller figures out a profit on circulation at the then price and puts the interest that the banks were to receive at that time at 6 per cent. When the rate of interest is much higher, of course the profits will be much larger. I shall not read the figures because they are somewhat confusing, but the Comptroller says:

It will be noted that by taking out circulation the banks realize in each case more than 6 per cent on the money invested in bonds. The money invested in the purchase of bonds as a basis of circulation yields in the case of 2 per cent bonds, 6.032; in case of 4 per cent bonds, 6.33; in case of 6 per cent bonds, 7.218.

Mr. STEWART. If the Senator will allow me, I have taken the trouble to figure out what the banks make out of the Government by their investments.

By the investment of $5,000 in gold in 1863—the bonds drawing only 4 per cent interest during the whole time—on a $100,000 bank the net profits would have been $108,700. The investment in 4 per cent bonds at one-tenth, renders an interest on the investment of 11⅛ per cent. It is made up in this way:

Take $100,000 in bonds. They cost $110,000. The banker receives back of his capital for his own use $90,000, leaving his in-

vestment $20,000. He also receives from the Government $4,000 a year interest. He has to pay to the Government 1 per cent on $90,000—$900. The bonds being at a premium, he has to have a sinking fund to make up the $10,000 premium, which is something over $600. Then he has to pay $150 for Department expenses, leaving him a net profit of something over $2,300; which is 11½ per cent interest per annum on his investment, without regard to what he makes on his currency. When the bonds rose to one-twentieth his investment was $30,000, and his interest account on his investments fell down to a little over 5 per cent. Then he sold.

If we pass the pending bill, and let the banker issue the full amount of circulation to the face value of his bonds, his investment would be only $10,000, and the interest on that would be 23¾ per cent. These are figures that the bankers can not deny.

The Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] asks me if that would not be so if a private individual were allowed to take the bonds? Yes; but the private individual would do better. If he took the bonds and received the 90 per cent he would not have to pay the tax, and would not have to pay the $150 to the Department, which the bank is obliged to pay. But if you deduct from that 1 per cent for taxes, it would about equalize it. The profits of the investment suggested under the amendment of the Senator from Missouri would be about equal to the other. Under the amendment the profit to the owner of bonds, not being a national bank, would be about equalized with that of the person having a bank.

IF NOT SILVER, SOMETHING ELSE.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, the American people to-day are suffering for the want of a proper and suitable currency. We have practically abandoned the old automatic theory of money. We have determined, I may assume for the present, that we will not open our mint for the free coinage of silver on equal terms with gold. I trust that the sensitive body over in New York called the board of trade, or exchange, or whatever it may be, will now rest in peace. They have been very much disturbed over there of late, every time anything has been said here in Congress, for fear something might happen contrary to their ideas of finance.

A few days ago the Senator from Nebraska, who sits on the other side of the Chamber [Mr. ALLEN], introduced a bill into this body for the free coinage of silver. In the press reports of the condition of the finances in New York it was said that when the board opened business began fairly. When you deal with New York people you must remember they do not know that there is any business outside of the Stock Exchange in New York. That is the only point they look at, and it is the only interest which they have. Business opened up fairly, the newspaper stated; there was a general rise in prices—not much, but a little—when, suddenly, someone came in and said the Senator from Nebraska had introduced into the Senate a free-coinage bill, and down went all values at once. [Laughter.]

I fear that we have reached a point when the New York bankers may rest satisfied that they will not have any free coinage during the present session, at least, and I suppose business will resume its normal condition over there, especially if they shall believe the statements made by a distinguished member of the Finance Committee to-day, that the real trouble in this country is that the people are afraid we are going to free coinage, or, if they believe, as some of them profess they do, that all the disaster which has come to this country—and I admit it to be great—is the result of the Sherman law.

They will rest themselves in peace, at least, that there is in the other body a very respectable number who believe with them, or at least desire to get rid of it; and I suppose in the normal and natural condition of things we ought to have high prices.

SILVER AND COTTON.

The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. WHITE] said yesterday that cotton went up 14 points on the vote for repeal in the House of Representatives. It is just as well that we should meet the subject fairly. Does the Senator from Louisiana believe that the low price of cotton is the result of the Sherman act?

It is possible that the low prices of securities, bonds, and mortgages which we want to sell, if the theory is correct that the Sherman act has endangered our credit in Europe, might be the result of that distrust; but have they refused to buy our cotton because they were afraid we were going to a silver basis or to free coinage? Sixty-nine million dollars' worth less of cotton went to Europe last year than the year previous. Does anybody tell me that the $69,000,000 worth of cotton was not bought because the people of Europe were disturbed over the character of the currency we have in the United States?

What had they to do with it? They had to pay us in the only money they had; they had to pay us in gold, or they had to induce the man who sold cotton to take some American securities which he might prefer for his cotton. Does anybody believe that the low price of wheat, a price never before reached in the history of this country, was in consequence of the Sherman law? Have they refused to buy our wheat and to eat it because they thought we might be on a silver basis?

Mr. STEWART. They did not refuse to buy wheat from India for that reason.

Mr. TELLER. As the Senator from Nevada suggests, they buy their wheat from India, which is on a silver basis.

Back of all this trouble, long before this act was passed, there was disturbance in Europe, as I stated yesterday. There has not been an hour since the trouble of 1889 and 1890, when they have not hoarded more of our securities across the water than they have ever sent back, and there has never since been an hour of financial peace in Europe, outside of France.

Germany, Austria, England, Italy, Spain, and Portugal have all been in financial distress. Is it strange that it should have reached us also? It reached us in 1890. We averted it by the timely issue of four or five million dollars a month of as good paper as was ever issued, exactly as good as gold. That $150,000,000 of paper performed every function which $150,000,000 of gold could have performed, and with just as much satisfaction. Does anybody believe that the condition of Europe could be thus disturbed and finances thus disordered, and the disturbance not have reached this country?

I yesterday called attention to the great losses which the people in Europe had suffered in the Argentine Republic, losses which they did not fully appreciate in 1890, but which they now fully understand. When the Bank of England practically, or a committee of bankers, took the assets of the Baring Brothers, consisting largely of Argentine securities, it was supposed that they would net at least $15,000,000 above the debt of the house of Baring Brothers. To-day they can not be sold for anything like the debt. So they now realize the losses which they have sustained, though they did not then.

Have times been any better abroad? Look at the losses in Australia—$120,000,000 of capital and surplus in the suspended banks, and $400,000,000 of deposits, more than half of which the best authorities declare will be a dead loss, if not three-fourths; and in many cases the owners of the capital will be called upon to make up the losses—loss of capital, loss of surplus, loss of deposits. Is it any wonder that they send occasionally some of our gilt-edged securities to exchange for our produce or for our gold?

We have been threatening for years that we were going to a gold basis. We have heard here repeatedly that that was our only salvation.

Mr. STEWART. And that was said in the Brussels conference.

Mr. TELLER. And we heard it substantially in the Brussels conference. One delegate at least declared in that conference that, if no arrangement was made, the Government of the United States would unquestionably repeal the Sherman law. It was Mr. Cannon who made that statement.

I do not find anywhere that it was contradicted by other members of the delegation, but I suppose it was made perhaps as a threat in the hope that something would spring out of it. At all events the people of Great Britain believed we were about to repeal the Sherman act, and the commission appointed to consider the question what should be the monetary system of India, declared in so many words that they did not proceed in the manner in which they had proceeded so much to raise the price of silver as to save a fall, which was threatened by the action contemplated by this Government.

So in the last days of June, 1893, the British Government—not India, because India had not anything more to do with it than you or I—changed the whole monetary system of 300,000,000 people, without their consent and without their knowledge. They destroyed practically more than $300,000,000 of money in the hands of those poor people in that country who work for a mere pittance. I have it on the authority of a member of the House of Commons, that they reduced the value of the rupee securities of that country more than a thousand million dollars.

Do Senators believe that these great financial losses can take place in a country with whom our relations are so close as they are with Great Britain, with Germany, and with other countries of Europe, without disordering our finances here? Nobody ought to be astonished that there is disturbance here. We ought to be happy that the disturbances are no greater than they are, when we consider the condition of Europe and when we contemplate the effort which has been made by agencies which should have been engaged in promoting confidence and peace amongst the people, but which have been engaged in creating distrust.

Mr. President, you can not return to the original conditions by simply repealing one act or another; you can not do it by giving to the people of the United States forty or fifty nor, as I believe, one hundred million dollars of money. I believe a considerable output of money from the Treasury now, if it could be made properly, would be a great relief to the country, and would

in some degree bring back prosperity; but you have to wait until the people retain the confidence which they have lost.

It has been said in this Chamber a hundred times since I have been a member of this body, and truthfully said, that after all the bulk of the business of the world is not transacted with money, but on confidence. To that I have invariably replied, when I have made reply, the confidence with which you do business must be proportioned to the amount of money. If you have a narrow foundation upon which to base your confidence, by and by your great structure of confidence will tumble over; and when it goes over, there is no way to redeem and save yourselves.

CREDIT AND MONEY.

Mr. SQUIRE. Just there I should like to ask the Senator a question. I ask whether it is not true that the less credit money, so-called, which a country has, the greater the necessity for more cash money? Is that not an axiomatic proposition in finance? Is not the great need for currency in this country today because of the lack of credit money, which necessitates the possession of cash for the payment of debts?

Mr. TELLER. Undoubtedly. When that occurs, when the edifice topples and goes over, no longer does confidence take the place of money. That answers the Senator. Then confidence no longer takes the place of credit; you must have cash; you must have money. You can do with little money when everybody is satisfied, and when everybody is satisfied with everybody else; when everybody believes the banks are sound, that his neighbor is solvent, and all things are going on properly and orderly.

When, however, the citizen begins to distrust the banker and when the banker begins to distrust the citizen, then confidence is gone and business is not transacted on faith, on credit. Then you must have money. That is our trouble now.

We have not had money enough in this country, and we are feeling the effects of it. If we had money enough the disasters of Europe would not have disturbed us.

I have said on this floor at least three or four times within four or five years that if any disaster came to the business of this country it would not come from our internal condition, but it would come from abroad. I think anybody who has studied affairs in this world knows that to be the case, and I think every man should have known that Europe was in a condition to have financial difficulties and disasters, and that they would reach us.

Mr. President, I do not know that I care to continue further at present my remarks on this subject. I do want to say one thing more, however. I want to call attention to the fact that nobody need be surprised at a financial disturbance all over the world. There has been for the last four or five years a great scramble going on in Europe for gold.

When the Brussels conference met in November last, it was admitted, I think, by everybody that the world was not in a satisfactory financial condition. If I am mistaken about it, the Senator who occupied a place on that commission so honorably to himself, and who is sitting in front of me [Mr. ALLISON], can correct me.

Mr. Rothschild, one of the British commissioners, a man connected with the greatest banking house in the world, stated, in so many words, that there was danger of a financial panic if the conference came to no satisfactory conclusion touching silver. Let me read what he said:

> Gentlemen, I need hardly remind you that the stock of silver in the world is estimated at some thousands of millions, and if this conference were to break up without arriving at any definite result there would be a depreciation in the value of that commodity which it would be frightful to contemplate and out of which a monetary panic would ensue, the far-spreading effects of which it would be impossible to foretell.

At least three other members of the conference, not from this country, however, sustained him in the statement that the dissolution of the conference without their coming to some conclusion was likely to bring disaster to the financial world, and to prevent that, more than anything else, I think, the conference, instead of adjourning sine die, finally adjourned to meet at a future day.

I do not care to pursue this subject longer. Some phases which it presents it is impossible to discuss on the pending bank bill, but when the other financial bill shall be before the Senate I shall take the liberty of presenting my views upon some phases of the question which I do not care to consider in connection with this discussion, which I desire, so far as possible, to be restrained to the question before the Senate.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. HARRIS. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After thirteen minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 4 o'clock and 58 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, August 31, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, *August 30, 1893.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by Rev. ISAAC W. CANTER, of Washington, D. C.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. FELLOWS, by unanimous consent, obtained leave of absence until the end of the week on account of important business.

Mr. DINGLEY. I ask that my colleague [Mr. BOUTELLE] may be excused for the present from attendance upon the session of the House on account of illness.

The SPEAKER. If there be no objection, the request of the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY] will be granted.

There was no objection.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

Mr. O'FERRALL, by unanimous consent, obtained leave to withdraw from the files of the Fifty-second Congress papers in the case of John P. Brock.

REPEAL OF FEDERAL ELECTION LAWS.

Mr. TALBOTT of Maryland. I ask unanimous consent to introduce a bill for reference.

The SPEAKER. As there is another matter pending before the House, this can only be done by unanimous consent. The title of the bill will be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill to repeal sections of the Revised Statutes authorizing the employment of marshals and supervisors of elections.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the introduction of this bill?

Mr. DINGLEY. I think it had better take the regular course.

The SPEAKER. Objection is made.

URGENT DEFICIENCY BILL.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky. I am directed by the Committee on Appropriations to present a bill, with an accompanying report, and to ask that the bill be immediately considered.

The SPEAKER. There being a matter before the House this report can only be made and considered by unanimous consent. It is a bill reported from the Committee on Appropriations, and is one of those reports which under the rules, when adopted, are privileged; but in the present condition of business unanimous consent is required. The Clerk will read the bill, after which the Chair will ask whether there is objection to its consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill to provide for certain urgent deficiencies in the appropriations for the service of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the following sums, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be, and the same are hereby, appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the objects hereinafter expressed, for the service of the fiscal year 1894, namely:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

Recoinage of silver coins: For recoinage of the uncurrent fractional silver coins in the Treasury, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, $200,000.

Expenses of national currency: For distinctive paper, express charges, and other expenses, $25,000.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To enable the Clerk of the House to pay to Members and Delegates the amount which they certify they have paid or agreed to pay for clerk hire necessarily employed by them in the discharge of their official and representative duties, as provided in the joint resolution approved March 3, 1893, $75,000.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the consideration of this report of the Committee on Appropriations at this time? The Chair hears none.

The bill (H. R. 4) was read a first and second time.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky. If there is no desire on the part of any member to make any inquiry I will call for the previous question.

Mr. CULBERSON. I would like the gentleman to explain the provision in regard to free coinage.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky. There is in the Treasury to-day about $10,000,000 of uncurrent minor or subsidiary coin. When such coin is sent to the mint to be recoined there is an average loss of 3 per cent. That is the percentage of loss which there must be upon the recoinage of the sum of $10,000,000. This bill is simply for the purpose of using the $200,000 appropriated by it to make up to the Treasurer of the United States on his books the necessary credit that will keep his account balanced, so that that money may be recoined and then be put into circulation. As it is now it can not be put out into circulation; but recoined, it immediately becomes available for that purpose, it adds to the assets of the Treasury available for circulation; and thus it will

put into circulation eventually some $10,000,000. This appropriation is not sufficient to coin the whole $10,000,000, but it will coin all that can be coined with the present capacity of our mints during the fiscal year ending on the 30th of June, 1894.

The other provision as to the payment of the clerks of members, Mr. Speaker, is rendered necessary because of the fact that to-morrow is the last day of the month, and it must come in as a deficiency, for the reason that this bill can not get through the Senate and be approved by the President quite in time to pay these employés on the 1st of September. But there are a great many persons who have been employed by the Members and Delegates under the resolution passed by Congress at its last session, which resolution, however, confined the payment of the clerks to the contingent fund of the House, which contingent fund is only $20,000 at this time. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, to make a larger appropriation, and the committee have made an appropriation covering the amount they believe will be necessary up to the 1st of November next.

I will say further that this bill is the unanimous report of the subcommittee on the deficiency, as well as the unanimous report of the Committee on Appropriations itself, and I ask the passage of the bill.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Will the gentleman allow me to interrupt him for a question?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky. Certainly.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. In reference to the compensation of clerks to members, I wish to know if this amount, now proposed to be appropriated to provide for the employment of clerks, includes their payment since the beginning of the extra session convened on the 7th of August?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky. It does. This provision is for the purpose of providing, upon an estimate, as far as we are able to make it, for the pay of the clerks from the beginning of this session until the 1st of November, and probably a little longer.

I now ask the previous question.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time and passed.

On motion of Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid upon the table.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the bill (S. 721) to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to appoint two additional clerks; in which the concurrence of the House was requested.

SETTLERS ON PUBLIC LANDS IN CALIFORNIA.

Mr. BOWERS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to introduce a resolution of inquiry and have it read and considered at this time.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Attorney-General is hereby requested to inform the House what action, if any, has been taken by him in the cases now pending in the United States courts in which the Southern Pacific Railroad Company has begun action to dispossess settlers upon public lands in Fresno, Tulare, and other counties in the State of California, said settlers occupying said lands by virtue of United States patents, or by complying with the laws regulating the entry of public lands. Also, as to whether he has any authority to appear in such cases and defend the right and title of the United States to such lands.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. BYNUM. Mr. Speaker, this matter is of so much importance that I think it should go to the committee, and I object to its present consideration.

Mr. BOWERS of California. Then I ask to withdraw the resolution for the present.

DONATION OF LAND, SAGINAW, MICH.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I call up the report of the Committee on Rules——

Mr. BURROWS. I hope the gentleman from Mississippi will yield for one moment. My colleague [Mr. LINTON] is necessarily called away from the House and desires to introduce a resolution for reference.

Mr. LINTON. I ask consent, Mr. Speaker, to introduce a resolution for reference.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (H. Res. 5) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to transfer a certain piece of land in the State of Michigan to the city of Saginaw.

There being no objection, the joint resolution was read twice, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

THE RULES.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I now call up the report of the Committee on Rules.

I would like to inquire, Mr. Speaker, before proceeding, if we can not come to some agreement with regard to the further time to be consumed in general debate. I suggest that we continue this general debate until 2 o'clock, and then proceed to consider the rules under what is known as the five-minutes rule.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will submit the request.

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I do not see any reason for taking nearly two hours for further general debate. Personally I should be in favor of proceeding under the five-minutes rule at once, unless some gentleman desires to have opportunity for discussion under the general debate.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I believe, Mr. Speaker, some gentlemen do desire to be heard, and while it may not possibly consume two hours, I have suggested that the debate be limited to that time. If we can end it sooner we will proceed then to consider the report under the five-minutes rule.

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I shall not object to two hours if any gentleman wishes to be heard, but would prefer to go on now under the five-minutes rule.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, that general debate be closed at 2 o'clock, unless the debate exhausts itself before that time, after which the rules shall be considered by sections or paragraphs, under what is known as the five-minutes rule.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

SILVER.

Mr. BOEN. Mr. Speaker, if I am in order, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a petition of the farmers of the Red River Valley of the North, in the State of Minnesota, in favor of the free coinage of silver at the present legal ratio. I have received the petition too late to be presented during the debate on that question in the House.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state to the gentleman that this time is assigned, by order of the House, for the consideration of this report from the Committee on Rules. If the gentleman can get unanimous consent, however, it can be done. The Chair will submit the request. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. BOEN] asks unanimous consent to print in the RECORD a petition relating to the free coinage of silver.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. I object to printing petitions in the RECORD. It is unusual to do that.

THE RULES.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will recognize any gentleman who desires to address the House on the pending report of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I have an amendment which I desire to offer, and with the indulgence of the House will read my proposed amendment, and then submit one or two comments upon it.

Whenever any bill, resolution, or other matter for consideration in the House or Committee of the Whole is called for consideration or is under consideration in the House or said committee, and a motion to adjourn or other dilatory motion is made, the effect of which said motion is to delay a vote on the merits of the measure under consideration, the Committee on Rules shall at once call up for consideration a report from the committee fixing a time when a vote shall be taken on the merits of such measure.

Mr. SPRINGER. I ask that my colleague shall send his amendment up to the Clerk's desk and have it read. We could not hear it from his reading.

The Clerk read the proposed amendment.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the merits of that proposed amendment, I think, will be appreciated by every member who has served in any of the previous Congresses, except the Fifty-first, where we had a rule by which the Speaker could ignore any dilatory motion. From the debate that was had here upon this floor yesterday, and from the fact that the gentleman having this code of rules in charge has presented them to the House without such a provision, it is apparent that that rule of the Fifty-first Congress will not be adopted by this House. It has been said, by gentlemen who favor the adoption of the code now under consideration, that the Committee on Rules will meet this question of filibustering whenever it is presented, and that they have the full power to stop it whenever in their judgment it has gone far enough.

Now, if we were sure that in every instance the Committee on Rules would act in the premises, then we could rest satisfied. But suppose a measure comes before this House, the merits of which are indorsed by a majority of the members, and yet the Committee on Rules, or a majority of them, are not in favor of that proposition. Under the rules which it is proposed to adopt

here, as presented by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS], a minority consisting of not more than three men can absolutely block the wheels of legislation in this House, and hold it up from day to day until the committee having the bill in charge will be constrained to withdraw it from further consideration.

Now, it seems to me that this Committee on Rules, which under the rules have this power, should be directed by the House, by the adoption of the amendment which I have had read by the Clerk, whenever it appears that any minority in the House adopt filibustering tactics to defeat proposed legislation, at once to bring in a report and fix a time when the bill or resolution under consideration shall be voted upon on its merits.

Now, if this were a political question, there would be no trouble about it. But it oftens happens that a measure is one upon which there are no political divisions. It often happens that the question is one of a geographical rather than a political character, and it may come from a section of the country in which the members of the Committee on Rules are not interested at all, and hence they may sympathize with the filibustering of a very few members of this House and thereby tie the hands of the large majority. If this proposed amendment of mine is adopted in the language presented, it places it beyond the power of either the Committee on Rules or any small minority of this House to stop the wheels of legislation.

I think it is not necessary for me at this time to speak upon the merits of an amendment of this character. If it is opposed by the Committee on Rules, or by any gentleman, when the question comes up for adoption or rejection, I shall take occasion to still further elaborate my ideas upon this question.

[Mr. KILGORE addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter. See Appendix.]

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, there was an episode in the deliberations of the House on yesterday which leads me to fear that we may drift away from unadulterated patriotism into the muddy and turbulent waters of partisanship. Having passed the Sherman repeal bill as a matter of patriotism, and having restored public confidence, I fear that this House may drift into partisan debate and discussion. I make my appearance in this debate for the purpose of presenting an object lesson to this House in opposition to that tendency.

The progress of the times in which we live, both in Europe and America, is toward parliamentary reform in the direction sought by a number of gentlemen on this floor. The time has gone by when an enlightened constituency will tolerate without reprobation a code of rules in the administration of a parliamentary body which under any pretext whatever is powerless to defend a majority against the aggressions of the minority. This system was intrenched in the British House of Commons behind a long series of precedents and a long period of toleration, which makes the appeal of gentlemen on the other side, or on this side, to the fact that we have lived under the same sort of system for a hundred years wholly unavailable as an argument.

We find that the British House of Commons, with only a small majority, in a very much larger body than this—nearly double the size of this House—at the suggestion of the leader on the floor, puts an end to the discussion and drives forward a bill carrying with it in its provisions the most radical innovation upon preëxisting legislation in that kingdom. And while the conservative opposition invoked the ghost of past precedents, they were met by their own record, which the people of England had more than once indorsed and ratified.

It is not my purpose to assail any other body but our own. Each branch of the American Congress has equal rights, equal privileges, and equal immunities; but unless the progress of the generation is to be turned backward, unless the experience of mankind for the past five years is to go for naught, there is no intelligent community, no patriotic and wise and enlightened constituency that will tolerate even the existence of a legislative body that will not place in the hands of the majority the power to go forward in the discharge of duty.

It may be a very important consideration to the man who is standing at the head of a minority, undertaking to block the wheels of progress, but in the long run the people of this country will not tolerate it; and whether it be the act of a majority in the House of Representatives, or whether it be the organized purpose in any other legislative body to thwart the will of the people of the United States, that minority and that factious leadership will be rebuked by the people of this country. These are the signs of the times that no man can fail to read who is intelligent enough to observe what is going on.

The step forward that was made in the Fifty-first Congress—then first made in Congress but not first in other legislative bodies in this country—was approved and ratified by the people of the country, in my humble judgment. The men who led in that reform, the men who stood on this floor and defended the right of the Speaker, independent of any question of rules, to say whether or not the legislative body was in this Hall or was somewhere else, are here to-day with the approval of their constituencies, armed and panoplied, and they will never yield the advocacy of that idea.

The gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN], with an ingenuity which I can not help admiring, speaks of the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States, in passing upon the question submitted to them, only decided that the House of Representatives had a right to make a rule allowing the Speaker to announce the presence of a quorum, but I call the attention of the learned gentleman to the fact that nowhere in the United States, although the question has been directly and pertinently submitted over and over again, has a court of last resort failed to decide that the presiding officer of a legislative body may declare without the support of rules, without the authority of the rules of the body itself, whether or no there is a constitutional or legal quorum present.

In the State of Ohio a decision as to the counting of a quorum by the speaker of the house was made in 1877 for the first time. The question arose on an occasion as vitally important as the passage of a bill. Although the constitution of Ohio requires that there shall be a majority of all the members elected to the body voting in the affirmative in order that a bill may pass, yet at all the preceding stages of the bill it only requires a majority of a quorum to carry forward the business; and the speaker of the house, in 1877, when a minority refused to vote, and when those who did vote were in a minority of a quorum, deliberately counted the members present and not voting, declared the presence of a quorum, and the business went forward. I know whereof I speak, for I had the honor to be the speaker who made that ruling.

Two years later my successor, a distinguished and well-trained Democrat, to-day the admiration and pride of the Democrats of Ohio, our present consul at Liverpool, made precisely the same ruling against the party in whose favor I had ruled, and in favor of the former minority, who had then become a majority.

Afterwards the question arose in the city council of the city of Zanesville, and I will take pleasure in pointing out to the distinguished gentleman from Nebraska a unanimous decision of the supreme court of Ohio, made with both Democrats and Republicans on the bench, holding that the presiding officer of the city council had the right to declare that when, in a board of thirteen, five gentlemen voted aye and two sat still, the measure had been passed, and that the officer thereby elected should be inducted into office.

Without going into tedious details, I will state that such has been the decision, both legislative and judicial, whenever the question has been decided anywhere in the United States, and while I do not claim to cast my eye over the entire country, I know of no decision to the contrary; and I challenge the production of such a decision made by any court.

So, in the Fifty-first Congress the Speaker of the House of Representatives was right in declaring as a matter of parliamentary law and as a matter of fact that there was a quorum of the body present, and there has been nothing since that time but a mere effort to get rid of the force and effect of a decision which was, in my judgment, widely approved by the people of the country, by simply asserting that it has never been decided by the Supreme Court of the United States.

But it turns out that the very statement made by the gentleman from Nebraska shows that that was not the question that our friends on the other side were trying to have determined. They were claiming that the rules of the House could not confer such a power upon the Speaker. How else did the question get into the Supreme Court? How did the question arise there, if it did not arise upon the claim that, under the rules, the power could not be vested in the Speaker?

Now, Mr. Speaker, it is said by gentlemen on the other side that an overwhelming cyclone condemned the rulings of the Speaker of the Fifty-first Congress, and that his party was defeated by such an overwhelming majority as almost shocked the sensibilities of our Democratic friends. Well, sir, I take it that since the election there must have been a sort of riparian accretion of satisfaction and enthusiasm among our friends on the other side on this question. [Laughter.]

I have before me the figures of 1892, and they present some very singular answers to the suggestion that there was a tidal wave of Democratic victory in that year. There were cast in that election 12,154,142 votes. Of that total Mr. Cleveland received 5,556,533; lacking 520,737 of a majority of all the votes cast. And Benjamin Harrison, whom it is so very popular to sneer at here, received 5,175,577 votes—a much larger vote, if I am not mistaken, than was given to Mr. Cleveland four years before.

Mr. Speaker, there are some things disclosed by these election

returns which it would be wise for our friends on the other side to consider before they challenge and provoke analysis of the election returns of 1892. I refer now to the vote in a single State of the Union; and upon that I predicate my statement that Mr. Cleveland did not receive 40 per cent of the votes of this country for President. I refer to the State of Mississippi, simply because it happen to come under my eye more readily than the rest; a number of the States might suggest a similar remark. The State of Mississippi by the census of 1891 had a voting population of 271,000 in round numbers. At the election in 1892 she cast for the candidates for President 62,809 votes. At that election about 200,000 of her people were left at home; I do not know whom they would have voted for if they had had the full opportunity.

Mr. KILGORE. Would it be convenient for the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] to put into the RECORD, along with the statistics he has just quoted, the votes given for members of Congress in the fall of 1890, immediately after the adjournment of the long session of the Fifty-first Congress.

Mr. GROSVENOR. It would be convenient, but it would express nothing. Why, Mr. Speaker, one member of this House has come to me within a few moments, while I was preparing these statistics, and has said to me that there are seven members on this floor from a single State who received fewer votes for Congress in the aggregate than the majority which he had in his district.

There is on this floor a most distinguished member of Congress, representing a population, I assume, of 175,000 to 180,000, and yet he received only about 2,400 votes. I recollect a time when I, as a member on the floor of Congress, had cast for and against me more votes by 4,000 than had been given for and against the Representatives, ten in number, from a single State of the Union. So that, while I would gladly comply with the suggestion of my friend from Texas, any such exhibit would be a most misleading set of figures, telling absolutely nothing except the same tale which is told constantly by the failure of a large portion of the people of the country to vote.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to pursue for a very few moments a discussion of these rules. The distinguished Speaker of the House said yesterday that the proposed code "leaves it to the majority of the House, when it wants to move forward, to do so upon a report from a committee which is their committee." Mr. Speaker, we have no committees in this House which are the committees of the House; and, in my humble judgment, therein lies the whole trouble incident to our legislative system. No civilized country, so far as I know, that has a popular government—I may be wrong in this statement, but surely I am not wrong if I confine my remarks to the great leading nations of the earth, with their free legislative bodies—so far as I know, no other country has carried forward and made apparently perpetual and irresistible, certainly up to this time, the power of one man to control the legislation of a great body representing an enormous and intelligent constituency.

Underneath this whole system, in my judgment, there is a vital defect. My proposition is (and I wish to be brief and go forward as rapidly as possible) the House of Representatives of the United States, representing 65,000,000 of people, representing interests so diversified, extending from ocean to ocean—the interests of the manufacturer, of the banker, of the importer, and, then going westward, the interests of the agriculturist, the mighty interests that grow and dominate away across the continent to the Pacific Ocean—this body ought to be what it is not, a representative body of all these people.

This body originates laws most vital to the people of the country. This body is charged by the Constitution with the duty and the sole prerogative of originating revenue measures. Yet we hear constantly the statement made yesterday by the gentleman from Oregon, and approved, as I understood, by the gentleman from Nebraska, which is only a statement in condensed form of what might have been said every year for the last thirty years—a statement of the injustice that has been done to a mighty section of this country under our method of administration in this House. It all comes from permitting the Speaker of this House to appoint the committees of the House; and it is because I take this position and have taken it for years that I will vote to enlarge any committee, hoping that thereby relief *pro tanto* may be had against the system, which has grown to be the greatest abuse inherent in the legislative department of the United States Government.

Prior to the enactment of the law of the Fifty-second Congress, giving to each member of the House a clerk at the expense of the Government, a provision for which I voted in all the Congresses of which I have had the honor to be a member, there was placed in the hands of the Speaker of the House, indirectly it is true, but most potently nevertheless, a financial power, a power covered by dollars and cents, to aid very materially in substance and effect his appointment as Speaker of the House of Representatives. It was not a small matter that the chairmen of fifty odd committees of this House, some of these committees meeting but once or twice in a session and some of them never after their organization, were to be furnished at the expense of the public Treasury committee clerks with salaries ranging from $1,000 to $2,000 or $3,000 per annum.

But that is not all. No man should be in a position—I am here to make no insinuations; I have none to make; but I say no man should be put in such a position—a position to become the greatest power in the United States, a position with more power to promote or retard legislation than that exercised by any other twenty men—no man should be in a position to secure his election to such a place as that by the immediate, almost instantaneous use of such a power as is given to the Speaker of the House in the appointment of committees.

So, Mr. Speaker, my friends who are complaining here and justly complaining, the younger members of the House, the men who are hereafter to make for themselves careers, and there are plenty of them on this floor capable to make careers equal to that of any man who has preceded them in the House of Representatives—to them I will say if they will look into it they will discover, by examining back into the results of caucus action in this House, exactly where the trouble has arisen in regard to which these complaints are made all along the line. It is human nature. It can not be helped. We have grown up under a system here which suggests that a member shall be appointed to a position on an important committee based on his length of service in Congress.

That is a system which, to make it fair and just throughout the country, must be in the operation of a dictation to the people of all sections of the Union to keep in Congress a corresponding length of time their immediate Representatives. But the result is that in the new and growing States, where young, able, capable men are elbowing themselves to the front, they are not willing to sit down and wait for the State to grow into importance in this House by the longevity of the men who represent its various districts in Congress. Hence they are unwilling that their State shall take, as it were, a back seat in Congressional representation on committees; and we find as a consequence of the rule that has prevailed in this regard for so long a time that four or five of the great committees of the House are sometimes headed by gentlemen from a single State, with a great territory stretching across the continent totally unrepresented on the important committees which shape the legislation of this body.

Mr. Speaker, I have not time to suggest my remedy in its details, nor have I time to enumerate all of those abuses which have grown up in the course of time and which should be regulated. But I would follow the example, to a certain extent, of the House of Commons in England, the Legislative Assembly of France, and the legislative bodies of Belgium and Switzerland, and for this purpose and this purpose only and to this end, the practice in that regard of the Senate of the United States. The Senate of the United States does not permit its President—the man of dignified office, the man elected without any of the appliances which may be used in the election of the Speaker of the House of Representatives—they do not permit him to appoint the committees of the Senate in any instance, and in nearly all of the leading States of the Union the same rule prevails.

In my own State especially, and it is an intelligent State, a State with an experience a hundred years old, with a legislative history to challenge favorable comparison with that of any other State of the Union—in that State the senate, the leading legislative body of the State, forms its own committees on substantially the same basis as in the Senate of the United States. And why should it not do so? Here we have a Government based on the principle of representation from each State of the Union.

We have to-day in this body three general classifications, but we may make as many as there are in the French Assembly if we see fit. We can divide the body of the Representatives into Representatives from New England, from the Central States, the Mississippi Valley, the great Mississippi basin, the Western slope, the Southwest or the West, and the Northwest, or for the South if we see fit, and after these arbitrary subdivisions you may apportion the members of committees as is done in the Legislative Assembly of France.

Or we may do what is simpler and probably more popular. We may apportion the membership of the committees by common consent on the basis of party representation on the floor of the House, and then, as is done by the Senate, the members of the committee shall be selected by the caucus of the several parties according to the proportion that each party shall have.

But I only introduce this now as a sort of tentative suggestion. It is, however, because of this condition that the evils com-

plained of by my young friend from Washington [Mr. WILSON], and other gentlemen who have spoken, exist. These are evils of which they have a right to complain, and I say to them they can have no hope for the future correction of them, and that their sections will never be justly represented, until they take by the head this abuse and see that a representative basis is established that shall not be the voice and will of one man, that shall not be controlled under a system that has grown up as this has grown up, but which shall fairly represent every part of this country. Age and hoary-headedness is no excuse for the continuance of a system that has worked as badly as this has done.

I speak in favor of the amendment of my distinguished friend from Iowa. That is a relief. It strips from the Speaker of the House that unnecessary and unreasonable authority to say who shall be heard. I wish we could have at the opening of a session of Congress that experience among the new members that they will have at the end of a session of Congress, and they would know then exactly how to attack this abuse and destroy it, so that in representing their constituencies upon this floor on great questions of legislation they shall not be silenced by the arbitrary power of the Speaker to withhold recognition from them nor by the parceling out of the time by any committee of the House.

I have other views on this question which I should have been glad to have referred to at this time, but I am occupying the time that other gentlemen desire in this discussion. It is my own opinion that the march of events, the progress of parliamentary reform, which has just stricken down on the other side of the water a hoary-headed obstruction to legislation, will in the future dominate the minds of the masses of the American people so that they will demand and insist upon a reform in the House of Representatives, if not in the other branch of the legislative power of this Government. [Applause.]

Mr. HOLMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is quite apparent that a number of gentlemen desire to be heard on this subject. There is ample time, and I suggest to the gentleman having charge of this measure that there be an extension of time for half an hour or an hour.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. How much time does the gentleman want?

Mr. HOLMAN. I only want fifteen or twenty minutes, or perhaps less; but other gentlemen are seeking the floor.

Mr. DINGLEY. I would like to have fifteen minutes.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I ask unanimous consent then that general debate be extended until 3 o'clock, the last thirty minutes to be controlled by the committee.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, before that is done I would like to ask if it can be arranged so that I can have some time?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I see no objection to the gentleman from Maine being recognized immediately after the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN].

Mr. DINGLEY. How much time does the gentleman from Indiana desire?

Mr. HOLMAN. Fifteen or twenty minutes.

Mr. DOCKERY. That will give ample time; that will give forty minutes before the committee takes charge, allowing twenty minutes to each of these gentlemen.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. RICHARDSON in the chair). The gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY] will be recognized immediately after the gentleman from Indiana has taken his seat. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. OUTHWAITE] asks unanimous consent that general debate close at 3 o'clock, and that the last thirty minutes of that time be given to the Committee on Rules. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the few minutes that I have I shall devote almost entirely to two features of these proposed rules; but before referring to them, following out the idea suggested by the gentleman from Ohio, I wish to call the attention of the House to a fact which I believe I have never heard mentioned in the House, and that is that the very first rules adopted by the first House of Representatives, on the 8th day of April, 1789, provided for the election of the committees of the House where the number of members exceeded three. I will read this rule of the House, which was adopted at the first session held under the Federal Constitution:

> Committees consisting of more than three members shall be balloted for by the House. If upon such ballot the number required shall not be elected by a majority of the votes given, the House shall proceed to a second ballot, in which a plurality of votes shall prevail; and in case a greater number than are required to compose or complete the committee shall have an equal number of votes, the House shall proceed to a further ballot or ballots.

That old rule seems to give a great deal of force to what has been said by the gentleman from Ohio. It is certainly a fairer measure to the whole country and to all members of the House than the investing of so extraordinary and gigantic power in the hands of any one member of the House.

Mr. Speaker, I exceedingly regret that the Committee on Rules have reported to the House a rule which four years ago, at the opening of the Fifty-first Congress, was more severely criticised and denounced than any one of the rules adopted by the Fifty-first Congress, except one. That is the rule in relation to the Committee of the Whole.

The first rules adopted by Congress provided for that Committee of the Whole House, and until the Fifty-first Congress, so far as I am aware, no proposition was ever made to reduce the number forming a quorum of that committee.

The reason for the action of the fathers is very obvious, as gentlemen will see, and it is this: It was provided that the great body of the business should be transacted in the Committee of the Whole, for the purpose of allowing proper deliberation and debate, and for the further purpose of preventing hasty legislation. On the 8th day of April, 1789, it was provided:

> It shall be a standing order for the day throughout the session for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

And every measure imposing a charge on the people was required to be considered in that committee without the trammels upon debate and consideration incident to the rules of the House. For myself I regarded that particular rule of the Fifty-first Congress as the most dangerous rule ever adopted in the House. Even in the early days of the Republic, when but light burdens were being imposed upon the people, that rule was adopted and deemed necessary for the safety of the Treasury.

Even then, Mr. Speaker, this wholesome rule was adopted with the idea of procuring economy and the safety of the public moneys; and now when we have enlarged our expenditures to a point where they exceed those of any other government, the limit probably running up in the neighborhood of $500,000,000, it is proposed to remove one of the safeguards which was deemed necessary by our fathers more than a hundred years ago, and which until the Fifty-first Congress no man, so far as I am aware, ever proposed to remove.

This is to be stricken down, and for what—to render legislation easy; to render the doing of business easy, and that means the plundering of your Treasury and the robbing of your people. I attach so much importance to this that I have nothing at all to say about the other rules which I think are subject to criticism. But, gentlemen, under that rule, I assure you, you will be powerless and helpless in keeping down the expenditures.

Mr. MILLIKEN. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. HOLMAN. Certainly.

Mr. MILLIKEN. Did not the Fifty-second Congress, with the safeguards up, make larger expenditures than the Fifty-first Congress, with the safeguards down?

Mr. HOLMAN. That is not exactly correct, but the foundation had been laid in the Fifty-first Congress; and the foundation of those large expenditures was laid under the rule which is to be established here.

Mr. MILLIKEN. That was done in nothing excepting in granting pensions, which I believe the gentleman very generally shared in passing.

Mr. HOLMAN. I do not quarrel with you about that. I have supported all the pension bills. I have uniformly supported just and fair pension legislation, and expect to continue to do so. That is a field in which this Government can not afford to be illiberal or unjust. While there may, perhaps, be frauds on the pension lists, in my judgment there are more instances where pensions fairly due have been denied than where pensioners have been placed on the pension list wrongfully or by fraud. I have no doubt, sir, that this Democratic House, as it always has, will see to it that every right of the pensioner is maintained; and the Democratic party will see to it that no soldier who served his country faithfully and well shall beg for bread.

But the foundation of the extravagant appropriations made by the last Congress was laid under this proposed rule, and for the purpose of doing business, and that was opening up an easier approach to your Treasury.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Will the gentleman yield to me for a question?

Mr. HOLMAN. Certainly.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Will you point out the instances to sustain the propositions you have just advanced?

Mr. HOLMAN. I should have to go through almost the entire record of that Congress. I should have to take up these items where great contracts were authorized, which involved enormous appropriations during the last two years.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Would that be effected by the size of the quorum?

Mr. HOLMAN. Yes; in facilitating legislation.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Were not every one of those passed under a roll call by a majority?

Mr. HOLMAN. Just a moment. You increase facilities for expenditure when you remove barriers, when you provide that fifty-one members may have charge of the great appropriation bills and control them, when you furnish extraordinary facilities, and they were furnished by this rule in the Fifty-first Congress, no one can deny that, notwithstanding the extraordinary length of the Fifty-first Congress——

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I should like to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. HOLMAN. Notwithstanding the extraordinary length of the session as a matter of fact, the appropriations were piled up beyond any past experience and necessities for further appropriations created, and they had to be provided for by the last Congress. Gentlemen will see that when this present Congress adjourns the appropriations as compared with those of the last Congress and those of the Fifty-first Congress will be reduced more than $60,000,000. The burden created by the Fifty-first Congress fell largely on the Fifty-second.

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I want to ask the gentleman from Indiana a question.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman from Indiana yield?

Mr. HOLMAN. Certainly.

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. The gentleman has been chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and I will ask if it is not true that when we come to consider nearly all the appropriations bills they are considered with less than 100 members present? Is not that your observation?

Mr. HOLMAN. If that were correct, it will not change the proposition I submit. But as a rule quorums of the House have aid in forming the appropriation bills in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Does it not give the power to one man to come in here and raise the point that a quorum is not present if it does not vote for an amendment he may offer and thereby stop all proceedings?

Mr. HOLMAN. I think, Mr. Speaker, that very few instances have occurred when an appropriation bill was being considered when less than a quorum was present. It has occurred, doubtless, but as a rule it has rarely been the case where there was not a quorum present.

Mr. BOATNER. Will the gentleman yield to me for a question.

Mr. HOLMAN. Certainly.

Mr. BOATNER. Does the gentleman from Indiana think that the appropriations of the Fifty-first Congress would have been less if the rules of that Congress had required a majority of the whole House to constitute a quorum of the Committee of the Whole?

Mr. HOLMAN. Well, I think that with the power of members to check for the time the wheels of legislation, securing deliberation and caution, there would have been a good deal less money appropriated.

Mr. BOATNER. Were not all these appropriation bills passed on a yea-and-nay vote, requiring a majority of the House?

Mr. HOLMAN. My friend understands that as well as I do. It is preparation of the bills that is to be considered.

Mr. BYNUM. Is it not a fact that the bills as reported by the Committee on Appropriations are put through Committee of the Whole with very few changes?

Mr. HOLMAN. There are always changes more or less. Some very important ones occur on most bills.

Mr. BYNUM. To what extent?

Mr. HOLMAN. Reducing the appropriations and sometimes in the millions.

Mr. McMILLIN. I will state to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM], with the permission of my friend from Indiana who has the floor, in response to his statement, that last session we reduced one appropriation bill, the Indian appropriation bill, about three-quarters of a million in the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. BYNUM. And it was put back in the Senate.

Mr. McMILLIN. No, sir; it was not put back. We cut down that bill three-quarters of a million dollars.

Mr. BYNUM. That was not saved in the Committee of the Whole?

Mr. McMILLIN. It was saved in the Committee of the Whole; and I will state further, in order that there may be no misunderstanding about it, as the gentleman from Indiana seems to be in confusion, what bill I have reference to.

There were two. In the first a saving was made in conference; in the second there was a saving of nearly a half or three-fourths of a million.

Mr. HOLMAN. Mr. Speaker, let us see what was the meaning of this rule adopted by our fathers. The meaning of it, the intention of it, was that there should be deliberation over any measure involving the expenditure of the money of the people. Gentlemen openly advocate here an approach towards the policy of the British House of Commons in this respect. Whither are we drifting? The British House of Commons held up to the American people as a proper model for their House of Representatives! In the British House of Commons forty members constitute a quorum. That body has but a single appropriation bill before it as a rule—the budget.

Gentlemen understand the entire difference between the conditions which prevail there and those under which we act. If that budget fails there is a change of the government, all upon a single measure. In a monarchical government like Great Britain they can very well afford to have a small committee of the whole and to allow a small number of men to legislate for the United Kingdom, for responsibility rests entirely on the men who, for the time being, constitute the government; but we can not afford to do it in this Government. Every member of the House is responsible. What right have the representatives of the people to be absent when the money of the people is being voted away? Yet that is what this proposed rule means. It is an invitation to absence.

Every gentleman here knows that the only real consideration that any one of the fourteen great appropriation bills will receive will be in Committee of the Whole. I have never in my life known a demand for the previous question on an appropriation bill, when it was reported from the Committee of the Whole, to fail; and when the previous question is ordered, then what? Debate is cut off, amendments are cut off, and but two motions can be made: a motion to recommit with a given instruction and an amendment to that instruction.

That is the end of it. The House is forced to a vote, and the bill goes through as reported from the Committee of the Whole, for of course the appropriation bills must pass. I never have known the House to recommit an appropriation bill except on a strong political issue. The whole business is done, as was contemplated by the rule of our fathers, in the Committee of the Whole; and yet it is proposed here to actually invite an increased absenteeism by providing in your rules that 100 out of 356 Representatives shall be a quorum to pass upon your great appropriation bills.

An aristocratic establishment like the British House of Commons can afford to do that; but, gentlemen, we can not afford to do it, and I appeal to this side of the House to stand firm against any temptation to abandon the interests of the people to a handful of Representatives, when it is our duty to be here on the floor looking after their affairs. The people have intrusted their affairs to 356 Representatives, not to 100 of them.

Absenteeism has increased quite rapidly enough of late years without needing any encouragement from the rules. The times have changed. I well remember the venerable John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, sitting here, and when a night session was ordered, appealing to the House for leave of absence on account of his feeble health, he would say, "Mr. Speaker, in consideration of my feeble health I ask the House to excuse me from attendance at this night session."

Sir, it is very seldom that such an appeal is made now. Gentlemen simply stay away. And yet it very seldom happens that there is not a quorum present when an appropriation bill is being considered. You have fourteen great appropriation bills, gentlemen, and it is here proposed deliberately by a change of rules to abandon the control of those bills to a small minority of the House. Such a rule will tend to weaken and destroy that sense of responsibility and duty which should rest upon every Representative of the American people. It is an invitation to absence. Fifty-one men to vote away the millions that are drawn from the hard labor of the people of the United States! And this is proposed in the House of Representatives of the American Congress!

I did not hear a single Democratic speech in the campaign which elected the Fifty-second Congress that did not hold up to reprobation the monstrous fact that, instead of performing their duties, the majority in the Fifty-first Congress had made a rule which transferred to a majority of one hundred Representatives the power to vote away the people's money. I trust this House will not imitate that Congress.

Mr. Speaker, there is one other subject to which I wish to refer for a moment. It is this. Your fourteen great appropriation bills are divided between your committees as follows: The appropriations for the Agricultural Department are considered and prepared by the Committee on Agriculture; those for the Army by the Committee on Military Affairs; those for the diplomatic and consular service by the Committee on Foreign Affairs; those for the Military Academy by the Committee on Military Affairs; those for the Post-Office Department by the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads; those for the Navy by the Committee on Naval Affairs; those for rivers and harbors by the Com-

mittee on Rivers and Harbors; and those for the Indian service by the Committee on Indian Affairs.

It will thus be seen that eight of the fourteen great bills are under the control of the committees having charge of the subjects to which the appropriations are to apply, while six of them remain under the control of the Committee on Appropriations. Now, I desire to make a suggestion which I had intended to make to the Committee on Rules, but I was not aware that the subject would come before the House at so early a day.

My suggestion is this. There is at least one of those remaining six bills that I think ought to be in the hands of the committee having control of the subject-matters to which the appropriation applies. I refer to the bill making appropriations for the payment of pensions, and I am glad to have the ear of the House for a few moments on that point.

That bill, as gentlemen are aware, involves a very large amount of money; and there is no argument in favor of either of eight appropriation committees having control of appropriation bills that does not apply with equal or greater force in favor of the Committee on Invalid Pensions having charge of the appropriations for pensions.

I presume I shall be asked the question why I had not thought earlier of the propriety of this change. Sir, the occasion for it never occurred until the last Congress; for up to that Congress, so far as I remember, there was never, with one exception, any legislation proposed on the bill making appropriation for pensions. In the Forty-eighth Congress there was a change made upon the pension appropriation bill in the compensation to be paid examining surgeons. That was a legislative provision; but I do not at this moment recall any other instance in which legislation was put upon that bill.

It is exceedingly desirable, Mr. Speaker, that if there is to be legislation on that bill, and if it can be placed there under the rules as they may now be adopted, that legislation should be prepared by the appropriate committee, and that committee is the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Mr. DOCKERY. Does the gentlemen from Indiana think it wise to have the pension appropriation bill carry legislative provisions?

Mr. HOLMAN. No, not as a general rule: but does not the Military Committee provide legislation as well for the Army as for the appropriations for the Army? Does not the Indian Committee provide legislation in the Indian appropriation bill?

Mr. DOCKERY. But does not the gentleman think there ought to be legislation on an appropriation bill?

Mr. HOLMAN. No: I think not, as a general proposition. But it is the only practicable means of retrenchment. For retrenching the expenditures of Government legislation on appropriation bills can not be avoided. But my friend must bear in mind that there have been efforts to legislate on the pension appropriation bill, of which I am now speaking. If there is to be legislation on the pension appropriation bill, I for one wish it placed there by the Committee on Invalid Pensions, having the interests of the Union soldiers in charge.

Mr. DOCKERY. I think the gentleman from Indiana may safely proceed on the assumption that no legislation will be incorporated in the pension appropriation bill at this session.

Mr. HOLMAN. That may be all true; but the House will remember that there have been attempts to legislate upon that bill.

Mr. BYNUM. Does not the gentleman recognize the fact that under the rules which have prevailed in the House there can be no legislation on appropriation bills except in the reduction of expenditures?

Mr. HOLMAN. Yes, sir; that is the only way it can be done; but my friend will remember that there were three legislative provisions pending in the last House of Representatives as amendments to the pension appropriation bill.

Mr. PICKLER. More than three.

Mr. HOLMAN. Well, I remember three anyhow. What I want to say is that the proper committee to have charge of the appropriations on this subject is the Committee on Invalid Pensions; and I shall appeal to this side of the House to make that change as a measure of safety, a measure of prudence.

Mr. BOATNER. Does the gentleman think the Committee on Appropriations can not be trusted this session?

Mr. HOLMAN. I think they can be trusted very fully. That committee is a very able one, representing very well the various parts of the country. But at the same time neither that committee, nor any other, should have it in its power to take from the Committee on Invalid Pensions the right of initiating legislation with reference to the subject of pensions. I concede that there is no more patriotic committee in this House than the Committee on Appropriations. But appropriations for pensions do not belong to that committee as properly as they do to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Mr. DOCKERY. Does the gentleman think that if we change the rules so that the pension appropriation bill will hereafter be under the control of the Committee on Invalid Pensions it will result in a reduction of the appropriations?

Mr. HOLMAN. Do I think there will be a reduction by referring the pension appropriations to the Committee on Invalid Pensions? I do not think so; but if there is to be legislation on the pension appropriation of any kind I wish it to be inaugurated by that committee.

Mr. DOCKERY. Does not the gentleman know that the Committee on Appropriations always report the amounts estimated by the Department as necessary to be appropriated for the payment of pensions?

Mr. HOLMAN. Certainly; that was done in the last Congress, and always has been done. But, as my friend will remember, there was no attempt until the last Congress to legislate on the pension appropriation bill, except in the single instance to which I have referred.

I am aware that I should be chargeable with remissness or inconsistency in having deliberately sat by without bringing this subject heretofore to the attention of the House if it were not the fact, as I am now showing, that up to the last Congress legislation upon this particular bill was never attempted except in a single instance, and in that case it did not affect the soldier at all, but simply the examining surgeons.

Mr. DOCKERY. In view of the action of the House upon the amendments offered to the pension appropriation bill in the last Congress, does the gentleman apprehend that any attempt will be made at this session to incorporate legislation in that bill?

Mr. HOLMAN. I certainly can not tell. The House, I remember very well, voted down those proposed amendments by a strong vote in a strong Democratic House.

Mr. DOCKERY. Does not the gentleman think that, in the light of this experience, the appropriations can be safely left to the Committee on Appropriations?

Mr. HOLMAN. What objection can there be to intrusting the Committee on Invalid Pensions with this control over the pension appropriation bill? Is this committee in any respect inferior to the other eight committees which have charge of bills making appropriations of money?

Mr. DOCKERY. Might we not for similar reasons distribute all the appropriation bills in the same way? Should we not, for instance, give the Committee on the District of Columbia the power to report the appropriation for the government of the District of Columbia?

Mr. HOLMAN. No; I think that is a different case.

Mr. DOCKERY. That is where your logic carries you.

Mr. HOLMAN. No, sir; that is a different case.

Mr. CRAIN. May I interrupt the gentleman a moment?

Mr. HOLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CRAIN. My suggestion may not be exactly germane to the subject-matter of the gentleman's present argument, but it has application to the rules in general. The gentleman has been in Congress a great many years and is a distinguished parliamentarian——

Mr. HOLMAN. I do not profess to be.

Mr. CRAIN. Can the gentleman tell me what real necessity there is for the existence of the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union?

Mr. HOLMAN. The real necessity is this: it allows deliberation, it permits free discussion and the offering of amendments. The previous question and other rigid rules of the House do not apply. The rules of the First Congress, to which I have already referred, provided that a bill should be read through in the first place in Committee of the Whole; that it should then be read by sections for consideration and amendment, just as is done now in a full Committee of the Whole. Then, as now, substantially the whole business of considering a bill was done in Committee of the Whole. It is the Committee of the Whole, not the House, that prepares and perfects an appropriation bill. The proceedings in the House are purely formal; it is the Committee of the Whole House that, in fact, determines the measures of appropriation.

It will not do to say that the Committee of the Whole is analogous to other committees; that we have a Committee on Appropriations, consisting of 17 members, who frame the appropriation bill, and that we have this appropriation bill subject to be reconsidered by another committee, consisting of 100 members of the House. A quorum of the House should consider the bill. That would not do any more than to claim that the consideration by the Committee on Appropriations as a whole, on the recommendation of one of its subcommittees, should be conclusive on the House. In Committee of the Whole the bill really receives its first real, and, in fact, only consideration by the House as in committee, and is then reported to the House. Until it has received its consideration in Committee of the Whole it can not properly be before the House for action.

Mr. CRAIN. The gentleman is giving us a very interesting historical statement, which I presume, although I am not entirely familiar with the matter, is absolutely correct.

Mr. HOLMAN. Oh, the gentleman is not unfamiliar with the facts I have stated.

Mr. CRAIN. But I want the gentleman from Indiana to go a little further and tell us what is the real necessity for the existence, if any at all, of a Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. HOLMAN. It forms, I will state to the gentleman, a convenient method of considering a bill.

Mr. CRAIN. Why can not the House itself do that?

Mr. HOLMAN. A Committee of the Whole is the House, in reality, but working under rules which give larger freedom of debate and amendment. It is a Committee of the Whole House, but the Committee of the Whole is deprived of methods of ending debate and shutting out amendments which prevail in the House.

Mr. CRAIN. But the Constitution provides that a quorum of the House to do business shall consist of a majority of its members.

Mr. HOLMAN. Certainly. And a Committee of the Whole House, under the Constitution, contemplates a quorum of the members.

Mr. CRAIN. Whereas the rules now proposed provide that 100 members shall be substituted for the constitutional majority. Now, will the gentleman tell me the reason, if he can give any, that suggests itself to his mind why the House can not transact that business without the intervention of a Committee of the Whole?

Mr. HOLMAN. Undoubtedly the House could, but it never has done so.

Mr. CRAIN. There is no necessity for a Committee of the Whole, and the gentleman can not give any reason for its existence.

Mr. HOLMAN. It is the House itself. What is it but the House? Why, the very name, a "Committee of the Whole House," suggests that.

Mr. BOATNER. Is it not the House, however, doing business under a suspension of the rules of the House as to debate.

Mr. HOLMAN. It simply allows a greater latitude for debate and amendment.

Mr. CRAIN. Is it not a fact that the only difference between the House acting as a House and the House acting as a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union is that you can not call the yeas and nays in Committee of the Whole, nor can you demand the previous question or make the ordinary motion to adjourn? Is it not also a fact that the Committee of the Whole tends to retard rather than to expedite business; and could not the Committee of the Whole, therefore, be abolished?

Mr. HOLMAN. What retards the transaction of business?

Mr. CRAIN. The existence of the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. HOLMAN. Of course it retards business. Why, I have never yet heard a Democrat arguing in favor of easy methods of legislation. In fact we denounced the Fifty-first Congress because of the facilities it afforded for reaching the Treasury. One of its actions that we most denounced was the easy access that it gave to the Treasury by preventing any resistance on the part of the minority from being effective. I for myself believe in minorities. I believe that minorities are often more valuable to the public interests in securing under just rules fair consideration of public measures than majorities. I do not have any apprehension on that score. An intelligent, firm minority is beyond question the strength and safeguard of good legislation. Is my friend in favor of adopting easy methods of legislation?

Mr. CRAIN. I beg the gentleman's pardon. I was not arguing in that direction. I was only asking a question.

Mr. HOLMAN. Excessive legislation is the peril of a republic. Easy legislation means ultimately profligate and corrupt government.

Mr. CRAIN. But does the Committee of the Whole expedite or retard the business of the House?

Mr. HOLMAN. It does not expedite it. It was not intended for that purpose. I think if it had done so it would have been abolished long ago.

Mr. BOATNER. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. HOLMAN. Certainly.

Mr. BOATNER. The gentleman's idea is that a minority ought to control. Now, I ask him how he expects to repeal the McKinley bill, or enact any legislation at this session, looking to important subjects of legislation touching the tariff, the election law, or other matters, if the minority is to control?

Mr. HOLMAN. The gentleman misapprehends me. I do not say that or anything approaching it. I am in favor of every measure involving an expenditure of the money of the people having the broadest latitude of discussion and consideration, and instead of opening up facilities and increasing opportunities for such legislation, I would much prefer to go in the opposite direction.

The rules of the House heretofore have been framed with a view to resisting objectionable legislation, and I would say now that I have never known a measure defeated by what is called "filibustering" that I thought ought to become law. I am aware of the fact that when the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE] occupied a large portion of the leisure time on a certain occasion here, my friend from Louisiana was very indignant. [Laughter.] But several other gentlemen on the floor were gratified with the defeat of the measure involved. It is also a fact that that measure has never made its appearance since.

Mr. BOATNER. Then you are in favor of the minority controlling the House? [Laughter.]

Mr. HOLMAN. I thought the minority was right. I was in favor of the fight on that bill.

But referring again to the proposed rule, I would just as soon, and rather, see the Committee of the Whole abolished, as to see it reduced to a hundred members, and to see a Democratic House inviting the absence of members from the floor and justifying their absence.

Just a moment more. We hear a great deal of indignant talk on the subject of motions for delay. When have they done any harm? Under rules intended to cut off such motions completely, your Fifty-first Congress was extended beyond any precedent in a time of peace. When, by filibustering, the bill for the refunding to the several States of the direct tax was postponed, no public injury came from it. No harm was done. In proper time and after proper consideration the measure became a law. When has any good measure been defeated by motions for delay? And yet, how many bad measures have been stricken down upon this floor within the memory of a large number of you gentlemen, and frequently by the resistance of a single man. I am not a filibusterer myself, and never have been, but I have——

Mr. DOCKERY. Aided and abetted. [Laughter.]

Mr. HOLMAN. I have looked on with satisfaction sometimes when it was going on. I remember one instance when under the leadership of one of my friends from Ohio [Mr. OUTHWAITE], who sits near me, as a filibusterer, you saved two millions and a half of money from the Treasury. Everybody knows now that that saving of money was a proper thing.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. The rules are not changed at all from what they were when that was done.

Mr. HOLMAN. Well, you will see; but I am answering this argument against "filibustering." I am standing up with my friend from Texas [Mr. KILGORE] upon that point. The people, I think, do not want to see legislation made easy for access to your Treasury. I do not want to see your rules made so stringent in their binding down of the minority that on the spur of the moment your Treasury can be readily reached. A little delay does no harm. We are employed by the year, gentlemen.

There is ample time and we are amply paid and can afford to stay here, not fifty-one of us, to look after an appropriation of five hundred millions of money, but all of us, except when necessarily absent from the House. I trust it will not go upon the public record that in the Fifty-third Congress a Democratic House deliberately contemplated the absenteeism of its members to such an extent, so negligent and so indifferent to the public interests, as to allow your principal legislation to be virtually controlled by 51 members of the House out of 356 members.

Your principal legislation is the appropriating of money from your Treasury, and I trust this House will not by its rules express such an indifference to the interests of the people and the appropriations of their hard earnings, gathered into the Treasury by excessive taxation. as to permit a committee of 100 members to control the most important legislation of the House.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I yield ten minutes to the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY].

Mr. DINGLEY. I understood I was to have more time.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN] occupied the whole of the time.

Mr. HOLMAN. I am very sorry. I thought the Chair was to notify me when I had occupied the time allotted to me. I did not do it intentionally.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman spoke forty minutes. The Chair was not authorized to call him down.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I will ask unanimous consent to extend the time fifteen minutes, and that that time be yielded to the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY].

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman mean to request an extension of the general debate until 15 minutes after 3 o'clock?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Yes.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. OUTHWAITE] asks unanimous consent to extend the time for general debate until 15 minutes past 3. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I yield to the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY].

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, with one exception, I think that all the amendments which the Committee on Rules have reported to the rules as they existed in the last Congress ought to be adopted. They are in the right direction, although they do not go as far as they should.

The single exception to which I desire to call the attention of the House, and which I think is entirely in the wrong direction, is the proposed amendment to paragraph 4 of Rule XXIV, relating to what is known as the morning consideration hour. It will be remembered by many gentlemen here that in the Fiftieth Congress a forward step was taken in the direction of the facilitation of business in this House, and an hour was set aside each morning, after the reports of committees had been presented, for the consideration of bills upon the Union and House Calendars, which contain bills relating to public business exclusively, the bills to be designated by the chairmen of the committees as they should be called in regular order, each committee being assigned one hour on each of two days, making two hours in all.

The intention of that rule was to give the House an opportunity to transact business to which there was not very serious objection, business of a public nature, a large amount of this having constantly accumulated upon our calendars. That rule has been found to work so well that it has been continued during the Fiftieth, Fifty-first, and Fifty-second Congresses.

It is proposed now to amend that rule so as to allow committees to present private as well as public business during the morning hour. It will be seen at once that this is a departure from the original intention of that rule, which was simply to facilitate the dispatch of public business of a minor character. It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that if we allow private bills to be presented in this morning hour, we shall find one of two things, or both, happening: First, either that some private claim will block the morning consideration hour and effectually prevent the transaction of public business; or that, in the desire of members to reach certain public matters in which they are interested, they will allow private claims to be passed in this House which ought not to be.

It seems to me that this proposed amendment is in the wrong direction; peculiarly so at the present time. Now is the time above all others when this House should be consulting economy, and not taking such action with reference to private claims that may be presented as will facilitate their passage more than the rules in the past have already provided.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, that this amendment will not meet with the approval of the House; and I hope that when the committee themselves shall contemplate exactly the character of this change, they will agree with me that it is a great deal better that the business to be transacted in the morning hour should be of a public nature exclusively, and not include private claims.

Now, a single word, Mr. Speaker, in reference to the amendment which the committee have reported, fixing a quorum of the Committee of the Whole at 100. I have sat in this House under the workings of the rule that has required a majority of the whole body to constitute a quorum of the Committee of the Whole, and when a quorum of only 100 has been required. I simply desire to say that experience has satisfied me that greater economy and greater efficiency have been secured under the hundred rule than under the other rule. I call the attention of gentlemen to what the practical effect has been of requiring a quorum of the whole membership of the House in Committee of the Whole, because I have noticed its workings here session after session and year after year.

Ordinarily gentlemen who wish to amend appropriation bills, so as to provide appropriations for objects of a doubtful character, seize upon the rule requiring a quorum consisting of a majority to press upon an unwilling House the adoption of an amendment which under other circumstances would not be adopted. How often have we seen in this House an amendment coming from outside the committee, making an appropriation for some object resisted by the committee, and when the friends of that measure had declined to vote for the very purpose of breaking a quorum, that the committee would be persuaded to yield to this demand for an increased expenditure by this use of the club requiring a quorum of the whole body.

My experience, Mr. Speaker, has been that we have secured the wisest legislation in the Committee of the Whole and the greatest economy by providing that the quorum required to transact business in the Committee of the Whole shall not exceed 100; and I have never seen a single instance where the reduction of a quorum to 100 has facilitated any undesirable appropriations.

Mr. Speaker, there is another point that I desire to call the attention of the House to. Of course, it is recognized by all that the rules of a body like this, composed of 356 members, legislating for a country of 65,000,000 people, with diversified interests, must provide some restrictions on the methods of transacting business. Not more than 10 per cent of the business that comes before this House, or is presented in the form of bills, can be transacted for want of time to cover all the objects that are proposed. There must be some power of selection somewhere as to what business shall be brought before the House.

Now, with reference to that, it has always seemed to me desirable that the House itself should select the business which it desired to transact. As it is now, and as it has been for years past, this business has been selected largely by the Committee on Rules, under a rule or order presented and referred to that committee and reported to the House. But it seems to me that it is not the most desirable way of selecting the business to be transacted by the House, and I will suggest that there are other methods by which the House itself can select its business; not that I reflect at all upon the manner in which the Committee on Rules have selected the business, because we must have some source of authority in the selection of business.

But what is there to prevent such an amendment of the rules as will allow any member, when that class of business is in order, to move to go into Committee of the Whole for the purpose of considering the Calendar of the Committee of the Whole, and couple with his motion a provision that a certain bill upon that Calendar shall be considered, with the right of one amendment; and thus the House itself be brought to decide for itself what bill it will take up on that Calendar.

Or, when a motion shall be made to proceed to the consideration of the House Calendar, why not permit the member thus recognized to move, in connection with that motion, that a certain bill upon that Calendar shall be considered, with an opportunity for one amendment, and thus allow the House itself to select the measure which it will consider?

I am aware that there would be some difficulties even in a selection in this manner, because there would at times be a conflict between gentlemen desiring the consideration of different bills; but it would avoid the difficulty which now exists when you commit to three gentlemen, a majority of the Committee on Rules, the right to determine what measures the House shall take up for consideration. And yet I am bound to say that, in the absence of other rules, the provision that the Committee on Rules may report a rule for the consideration of business is desirable. If we can have nothing more than this, then this should be had.

I make these suggestions without any reflection at all upon the action of the Committee on Rules in the past. I think they have endeavored to be fair in the selection of business; I think they have endeavored to select the business that they thought the House wanted to consider. But I see no reason why the House itself might not have within its own authority the selection of the business which it desires to consider, thus relieving the Committee on Rules of that duty.

But, Mr. Speaker, I do not regard this as the most serious difficulty in our present system of rules. What I regard as the most serious difficulty in our present system is the fact that under the rules themselves any single member of this House may commence the operation known as filibustering, and may actually prevent the House from reaching a decision as to matters upon which nine-tenths of the members desire to vote. I think that rules which permit a few men to nullify the wishes of the majority, as these do, ought to be amended in some important particulars. The remedy that was adopted by the last House, and which it is proposed to continue in this House, is to give authority to the Committee on Rules to report a rule to stop filibustering in each case when they desire to do so.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I should be as well satisfied to refer such questions to our present Committee on Rules as to any five gentlemen with whom I was ever acquainted; but why should we thus depute a matter which concerns every member of this House? Why should not the House itself, having taken up the bill which it desires to pass, have within its own authority the right to close debate when the proper time has arrived and the right to put an end to all dilatory motions? Is there any reason in the nature of parliamentary bodies why this should not be?

It was my fortune to be in the gallery of the British House of Commons during the great struggle on the home rule bill, a month or two ago, when I saw the speaker of the House of Commons exercising the right, under common parliamentary law, to prevent dilatory motions, when I saw the motion made by Mr. Gladstone to close debate and bring the house to a vote upon that important measure, and when I witnessed the struggle on the part of the Tories to prevent a vote, it carried my mind back to a time a few years ago when we saw in this House exactly the same course of procedure.

And yet, looking down as a disinterested spectator upon the scene, I could see no reason why the British House of Commons, composed of 670 members, or why the House of Representatives of the United States, composed of 356 members, should not, by a majority vote, have the right at the proper time to determine that debate should close, and that all dilatory motions should cease.

That, it seems to me, is a right essential to the preservation of free institutions, and I am sure that if we could get rid of all partisan feeling, and could bring ourselves down to the consideration of the subject in a common-sense point of view we should find no difficulty in agreeing about it.

What is the reason, for example, that the amendment suggested by the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER] should not be, in substance, adopted by this House? What is that proposition? It is that when the House has under consideration any bill, and the chairman of the committee or the member of the committee having that bill in charge shall move the previous question upon its third reading and engrossment, or upon its final passage, a vote shall be taken without dilatory motions, first on the previous question, and, if that be ordered, then that the House shall be brought to a vote at once upon pending amendments and the engrossment and third reading, or upon the passage of the bill. Why should not we, as sensible men, adopt such a proposition as that, and, once for all, put the majority of the House in control of its own business?

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Mr. Speaker, I had no desire to talk upon this report of the Committee on Rules, but as it has been subjected to some censure and some criticism, I feel it my duty to say a few words in defense of the report, and in favor of the propositions which have been assailed. It has been charged here that the Committee on Rules is taking unto itself arbitrary powers of an extraordinary nature for the purpose of controlling to the uttermost degree the legislation of this House. Members who are familiar with the rules of the last House, and who will glance at them, will see at once that the Committee on Rules have not extended or propose to extend their powers one iota.

There has been a slight change, but only this. Under the former rules it was provided that one day's notice should be given of a change of rules or of an order of business. That notice was usually given by some member offering a resolution for an order of business or for a change of rule, putting it in the box or filing it with the Clerk, and thus letting it go to the Committee on Rules. In no way beyond this was the attention of the House called to the proposition submitted, and frequently in such cases the Committee on Rules, more especially in the Fifty-first Congress, would report an order of business in lieu of the resolution which had been referred to them, which was as entirely different as if it did not relate to the same subject, although at the same time it had the same object in view—the expediting of the particular business to which the proposition had reference.

But the terms adopted were entirely different. It often happened that after the reference of such a proposition, and before its report to the House, circumstances had changed. For example, a resolution would be introduced fixing a future day for the consideration of some measure, or the business reported from some committee, and before the report of the Committee on Rules would be made the business of the House would have progressed beyond that day. Then the Committee on Rules, the business to which the resolution pertained having come before the House, would submit a resolution as to its disposition.

Now, I can say, because I had not the honor to be a member of the Committee on Rules in the last House, that I challenge any member of this body to point out a single instance in which the Committee on Rules arbitrarily or otherwise abused the privileges given it, or violated the rights of any member of this House, or in anywise did that which should subject the committee justly to criticism or censure.

The Committee on Rules under the rules here proposed has not the wonderful power that the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER] by his remarks might lead one to suppose. The Committee on Rules submits everything to you—the House. It has no legislation before it; it frames no legislative measures; it proposes no laws; it has no varying and conflicting interests to consider. The only interest that it has to consider is the interest of the country at large; and the progress of the public business is its chief concern. And this committee can, in the proper furtherance of these great objects, do nothing more than submit to the House propositions for its adoption or rejection. There must be some person or persons in the organization of this House charged with such a duty.

But grievous complaint is made that the Committee on Rules has on some occasions moved the previous question upon the order of business which it has reported. What of that?

Mr. REED. May I interrupt my colleague a moment?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I have no objection whatever.

Mr. REED. I wish to suggest that the complaint made here is that under this rule the House has no opportunity to close debate and stop filibustering, although a majority of the House may desire to do so, unless the Committee on Rules will take the initiative; in other words, that the majority of the House is deprived of its right to do anything, unless with the sanction of the committee.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. That is a point which I will touch upon later. I want, first, to dispose of the matter I am now discussing.

If the House does not choose to vote in favor of the previous question, the control of the proposition reported passes into the hands of the opposition to it, or those who may wish to talk upon it or offer amendments to it. We can not compel you to vote in favor of something that your consciences or your judgments do not approve. I can see one objection to moving the previous question in cases of this kind, and that is that it sometimes cuts off the opportunity for oratory on the part of gentlemen whose notion is that the chief function of a statesman is oratory.

After the previous question is ordered, the main question is submitted to you; and if you do not approve of the proposition we have nothing more to say.

Now, as to enlarging the membership of the committee, it seems to me that would be simply to enlarge its power. If the Speaker is to be compelled to select representatives of all the different interests involved in legislation here, the committee would have to be enlarged to about fifty; and then there would be opportunity for those fifty to come upon the floor and bring up to the support of proposed orders of business all men of like thought upon the peculiar piece of legislation which they sought to have enacted.

When we start out to protect sections of this country, or to promote particular interests, where are we to end? The less we encourage the notion that certain sections of this country have interests so antagonistic to those of other sections, that there must be struggles on this floor on sectional lines, the better it will be for our whole country. There has been too much of such talk already.

Mr. Speaker, another proposition which this committee has submitted is assailed as vicious and unwise; that is the proposition to reduce the quorum in Committee of the Whole to 100 members. I recollect that when this subject was first broached here about four years ago I talked somewhat upon it. Standing where I now stand I objected to the proposition as a premium to absenteeism; and I even went so far as to say I believed it was unconstitutional. Well, I confess that I am educated a little above that view at this time. I have studied the subject more carefully in the meanwhile. Besides, I observed the workings of this rule in the Fifty-first Congress; but my observation then did not impress me with the value of the change so much as what I saw of the operation of the old rule in the Fifty-second Congress.

During that Congress I saw on this floor during proceedings in Committee of the Whole—I was about to say upon many occasions; but, without making any improper reflection, I will say that I saw upon more than one occasion a member offer an amendment to increase an appropriation, or to make an appropriation for some local matter, and when the Committee of the Whole voted down his proposition after fair discussion, joined in by himself and by other friends of the motion, and, although there was a quorum of the House present, some of whom were indifferent, I have seen the committee's business tied up all the rest of the afternoon because less than a quorum had voted. Sometimes we had to wait until the next morning for a full quorum before we could proceed. I have seen abuses of that kind retard business more frequently than I have seen the abuse of absenteeism resulting from the quorum being fixed at one hundred.

Now, gentlemen who oppose this proposition complain that it proposes to give to fifty-one men the control of all legislation which is considered in Committee of the Whole. Mr. Speaker, this rule proposes no exclusion of a single member of this House from his rights as a member of the Committee of the Whole. It contains nothing which will prevent any member of the House from being present in Committee of the Whole, if he desires to be. It is true that under this rule members may feel indifferent as to the proceedings of the Committee of the Whole, just as they may if a quorum consisted of two hundred; and under this indifference to legislation they may absent themselves. I observed, however, that when a quorum of the Committee of the Whole consisted of one hundred the attendance was just as good as when a larger number was required to do business.

We all know that the Committee of the Whole does not pass finally upon any measures; that when the bill is reported to the House there may be a call of the roll upon its passage, thus giving to every member opportunity to put himself upon record as

to his approval or disapproval of any particular measure reported from such committee.

Mr. DINGLEY. And there is opportunity for a separate vote on every amendment.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I was coming to that.

Mr. McMILLIN. If the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. OUTHWAITE] will permit me, I wish to ask whether it is not the fact that when a bill is reported to the House from the Committee of the Whole there can be no separate vote upon the separate items of the bill.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Upon the demand of a sufficient number of members, there can be a separate vote.

Mr. McMILLIN. On the separate items of an appropriation bill?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Not on every item, but on important items there can be a separate vote; there can be an arrangement for a separate vote on any number of items while the committee is considering the bill. Such arrangements have often been made.

Mr. McMILLIN. But there can be no separate vote on any provision of the bill unless it was inserted in the Committee of the Whole as an amendment. The bill comes to the House from the committee as an entirety, and you can have no separate vote on each of its various items except under the circumstances I have indicated.

Mr. DINGLEY. But on every amendment you can.

Mr. McMILLIN. I made that exception.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. There can always be an arrangement made——

Mr. McMILLIN. Only by unanimous consent, and any one man can prevent your arrangement, and your bill is ready for action in the House as an entirety, except as to the separate amendments adopted in the committee.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. That is true; but it only goes to the point that each member interested in the different items of the bill shall be present during its consideration in committee.

Mr. McMILLIN. Then if the members are present your reduction of the membership of the committee does no good.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I do not understand that kind of logic, that the reduction does no good simply because the members happen to be present. Members are often indifferent and do not vote, and the point, no quorum, is made.

Mr. McMILLIN. Because if they are present in Committee of the Whole your membership is the same as that of the House, and you do not need the amendment to the rules. There would be no necessity for such a provision if the members were present. If they are not present, they ought to be.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. There are many occasions when members may be present and, by inattention or inadvertence or lack of interest in an amendment offered, not vote upon the question presented, and thus show the lack of a quorum. This is generally the opportunity of the filibuster. The committee offers this change to prevent such delays, and I want to say right here that the Committee on Rules are not all opinionated about the proposition. If the House does not wish it, and chooses to vote it down, the committee will acquiesce. We have no wish to control the judgment of any member on this proposition. After careful consideration, we recommend its adoption.

But there is another reason, I submit, that it may be advisable to have this proposition inserted in the rules. It goes to the promoting of prompt action not only upon those questions which refer to voting money out of the Treasury, but also to those which relate to putting money into the Treasury. It goes not only to the appropriation bills, but to the revenue bills, which are also considered in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union. As to their consideration, the experience of the past three or four Congresses shows that they are long drawn out; that when you come to the discussion of the several items of the revenue bills it takes weeks, and has taken months, before getting through with them: and that all members of Congress are not necessarily required to be present all that time—I mean during the discussion of every item of such a bill.

Members will take care, of course, to be here pending the consideration of those items or parts of the measures in which their constituents have an interest, and they will be here and vote upon them. But they are not necessary here on all other occasions during the discussion of the bill.

Therefore we may safely proceed with the consideration of the bill with 100 members willing and ready to vote on every item. Although this was the rule during the Fifty-first Congress—I will repeat now what I said before—that I do not remember an occasion that came under my observation in which the Committee of the Whole was any less in attendance than it was upon like occasions in the Fifty-second Congress.

As a matter of fact, the busines in the Committe of the Whole is as a rule done with a very much smaller number actively participating than one hundred. We all know of instances here when the votes on amendments in the committee have been perhaps not more than 10 on one side and 8 or the other, and no point of order of a quorum was made. No doubt many members who participate in the proceedings in the Committee of the Whole do not feel it necessary to vote on various amendments which are proposed. And yet the absence of a quorum on such occasions has sometimes completely blocked the business of this House for hours and even days at a time.

Now, I will speak of another proposition which has been offered, and that is the one in connection with the matter of recognition by the Speaker. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN] offered a proposition to amend that portion of the report which relates to the matter of recognition. This question is one which has had the careful consideration of several Congresses. It strikes me that the gentleman's proposition would result in very much greater confusion than we have now.

It is that anyone that addresses the Chair must be recognized by the Speaker. Then if he is out of order the Speaker must stop him, or some one else may stop him. The rule is now that when business is going on and a member rises and addresses the Chair, the Speaker asks for what purposes the gentleman rises. Under the action of the proposed change a member might get upat any portion of the proceedings of the House, when he would be entirely out of order, and address the Chair, or at a time when he could not properly be recognized or could be recognized only for a particular purpose. It would lead to much less confusion, and certainly be more acceptable, if the Speaker asked him the question, For what purpose does the gentleman rise? and then informed him he could not then be recognized for such purpose, as he had intended, than if the Speaker recognized him and was forced to call him to order a moment later.

Mr. HEPBURN. Will it interrupt the gentleman to ask him a question?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Not at all.

Mr. HEPBURN. As the rule is framed now, is it not in the power of the Speaker to entirely disfranchise a member on this floor during an entire session, except so far as casting his vote is concerned?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. If that be true——

Mr. HEPBURN. Will you answer my question?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I intend to do so.

Mr. HEPBURN. Let me ask, further, was it not the intent of the rule now before us to put that power in the hands of the Speaker?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. No; it was not the intent of the rule. Conceding that such a state of affairs might result, there is no likelihood of its occurring. It is certainly a lesser evil than would result from several members rising together at different times during the business of the House and wrangling and struggling for precedence on the floor, as they would be encouraged to do by such a change as is proposed by the gentleman.

Mr. HEPBURN. Will the gentleman allow me to make this suggestion: That I am informed by a member of the late House that during an entire session of Congress he did not receive recognition of the Speaker once?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I know nothing of that fact.

Mr. Speaker, I might appeal to the wisdom of preceding Congresses upon this subject. The following extract from a report made on the 9th of April, 1879, first session Forty-sixth Congress, from the Committee on Rules, by Mr. Garfield, and adopted by the House, on the subject of recognition in the House and in Committee of the Whole, I desire to give as an authoritative expression of the judgment of the House in this regard:

> With the exception of the last clause of Rule CXIII, which was adopted in 1805, these rules have remained unchanged for ninety years. In the nature of the case discretion must be lodged with the Presiding Officer, and no fixed and arbitrary order of recognition can be wisely provided for in advance; and the committee are of the opinion that these rules should not be changed.

And that wisdom has been indorsed by every Congress since the Forty-sixth Congress.

Mr. HEPBURN. May I ask the gentleman another question?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Certainly.

Mr. HEPBURN. Is it not true that prior to the Forty-sixth Congress a rule, substantially the same as it would be with the amendment I have offered, was the rule of this House?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I do not understand it so.

Mr. HEPBURN. And that it is the rule in the Senate to-day?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Your former question would open up a discussion between you and me as to whether the rule prior to the Forty-sixth Congress is substantially the same as he proposes. I claim it was substantially the same as the rule now in force. You claim the contrary. I can not stop to discuss it further, but will let members who are interested in it look it up and construe it for themselves.

There is a proposition offered by the gentleman from Illinois

[Mr. SPRINGER] as to the order of business. The proposition is that certain committees, selected by himself as having the most important business—some four or six, I do not remember how many—shall have the authority to report an order of business for the consideration of their bills, and that that order of business shall be at once determined by the House. I believe that is a correct statement of the proposition.

Now, Mr. Speaker, in the Fiftieth Congress several committees assumed this jurisdiction. They reported orders of business, and those of us who had business in charge were busy reporting orders of business, special orders for our committees, and in a very short time the confusion became so great that it was necessary for the Committee on Rules to take charge of those orders of business. Each chairman felt that his particular measure was the great measure that the American people were pining to have considered and passed. Each one felt that it was of the utmost importance to the country, if not to himself, that the business reported from his committee should have a day or days fixed for its consideration. The result was confusion, which prevented any business from being transacted which was reported in that way. So it was insisted that all such resolutions should go to the Committee on Rules.

A member coming into this House for the first time might get the impression and perhaps come to the conclusion from the debates of yesterday and to-day, especially from the speeches made against the report of the Committee on Rules, that he had better vote against this report if he wished to see any legislation proceeded with or determined. He might think that nothing could be done unless with the consent of the Committee on Rules. That is not the case. Here are the calendars, to which the business of the several committees is referred; here is the call of the committees in the morning hour, giving daily the opportunities for the consideration of bills; here are the unanimous consents; here are the opportunities for the suspension of the rules, and there are other opportunities for proceeding with business.

As to the morning hour, concerning which the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] feels that we have not been so wise as we ought to have been, because we did not give it that elasticity with which it was clothed in the Fifty-first Congress. He saw but one side of that question, and that was the side favorable to his view of it. He has presented to this House the fact that after a bill has been considered for two hours—that is, one hour each on two succeeding days—it was necessary to pass a motion to go into Committee of the Whole upon some other bill in order to get rid of that bill which was under consideration.

As was stated by the other gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY] awhile ago, the morning hour for the call of committees is intended to permit committees to succeed in passing such legislation as there is not great opposition to. In such purpose it has proven most effective. I have seen the chairman of that committee which I regard as the greatest committee in this House, the Judiciary, secure the passage of several bills in the first morning hour. Other committees have had like success.

Now, under the system of rules in vogue in the Fifty-second Congress a bill sometimes got in the way of other business. It stopped us from proceeding in any other direction. It was there, and if it did not get through, and was not disposed of in two hours, it was necessary for the House to take some action in order to get it out of the way, and that is the objection to such a rule. It was not an unmixed benefit.

Mr. REED. Will the gentleman permit me to suggest to him that the power of the House to go on with such a bill rendered it unnecessary to make any arrangement with regard to that bill? The House had the power to go on with it until it finished it. The House was not limited by the expiration of the hour.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. That is what I say. You put it in the way of all other business—put it in a position in which the House must take affirmative action in order to get it out of the way. Is not that correct?

Mr. REED. Precisely, but it leads to a necessary extension of time to do it.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. It also made it necessary for us to frequently have motions and roll calls, in which considerable time was occupied, in order to get rid of the bill, so as to get at even more important business. We did not very often get rid of bills of that kind, however, because usually when the gentleman from Maine said "go" it went to the end.

Mr. REED. I will not encumber the debate with any remark on such delicate tributes. [Laughter.]

Mr. OUTHWAITE. The gentleman made another criticism which it strikes me is hardly justifiable. He spoke of the secrecy with which the Committee on Rules held its meetings. How often did the House of Representatives know what was going to be the order of the day or the business of the day during the Fifty-first Congress until the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McKinley] came in and presented an order from the Committee on Rules which fixed an order or adopted a rule—I want to use a proper dignified term—framed by the Committee on Rules, which nobody knew anything about?

Mr. REED. The order was always presented to the full Committee on the Rules, which contained two members from the minority.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Exactly; and the same proceeding was taken during the last Congress.

Mr. REED. I am not making any question of that sort whatever. There has been no lack of publicity of the action of the Committee on Rules of the last Congress, and I do not imagine there will be any in this; and the gentleman must not suppose that I based my criticism on that. That is a mistake.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. The gentleman made other criticisms which were not more exact.

Mr. REED. My point is that I did not make that criticism.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. The gentleman made one to which I must allude when he said that the Speaker had overruled one precedent set by his predecessors. The career of the gentleman from Maine in the Chair commenced by overruling the precedents of a hundred years, and also overruling his own opinion; and he continued to overrule his predecessors until the end of the session.

Mr. REED. I did not speak disrespectfully of the Speaker for overruling a precedent.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I am not speaking disrespectfully of the gentleman from Maine for overruling precedents.

Mr. REED. I only spoke historically. [Laughter.]

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I am also putting a little history into the RECORD, only a little stronger.

[Here the hammer fell.]

The SPEAKER. The time for general debate is exhausted, and the Clerk will report the rules by paragraphs.

The Clerk read as follows:

3. He shall have general control, except as provided by rule or law, of the Hall of the House, and the disposal of the unappropriated rooms in that part of the Capitol assigned to the use of the House until further order.

Mr. REED. I would like to inquire if there is not an omission in that paragraph, whereby the corridors are no longer under the control of the Speaker?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. If it is, it is a misprint. There was no intention of leaving it out. If it has been omitted, it was omitted in the last Congress; but I do not know that it was.

Mr. REED. It formerly read the "Hall of the House, the corridors, and passages." That seems to be omitted. If that language is left out where does it leave the control—with the House?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. It will leave it with the House, or within the province of the Doorkeeper.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Would it not be better to amend that rule?

The SPEAKER. If the gentleman from Ohio will look to the rule prior to last Congress in the passage referred to he will see that it seems to have been unintentionally omitted.

Mr. REED. I would be very sorry to see the corridor taken from the control of the Speaker and put in the control of any other official, but if it is given to the House the action of the House can permit them to be invaded.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I have the rules of the second session of the Fifty-second Congress, in which those words do not appear.

Mr. REED. Unless some good reason should be given for the omission I shall move to insert it. I move to insert the words, "and of the corridors and passages" after the words "Hall of the House," in the second line of paragraph 3.

Mr. SPRINGER. That is right.

The SPEAKER. Without objection this amendment will be considered as agreed to.

There was no objection.

The Clerk having completed the reading of Rule I—

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of Rules II, III, IV, V, VI, and VII be dispensed with. Those rules pertain to the election and duties of officers of the House, and no change in them is proposed.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, as I understand, the rules of the last House were referred to the committee, and they have reported them back with certain amendments?

The SPEAKER. Not technically. The committee have made a report, which is before the House.

Mr. DINGLEY. Then are these rules in the form in which they are reported by the committee to be considered as the matter before the House, so that all amendments must be offered to them?

The SPEAKER. Yes.

The Clerk read Rules VIII and IX.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of Rule X be dispensed with, as it has been already adopted by the House.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Do I understand the gentleman to mean that there will be no opportunity given for amendment of Rule X?

Mr. CATCHINGS. The rule has been already adopted.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I think that when we are having a general revision of the rules it is in order to offer an amendment to Rule X, even though it has been already adopted.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks the gentleman is correct, but the rule has not been read. If an amendment should be proposed to that rule, the Chair thinks it would be in order.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I have an amendment pending.

The SPEAKER. There are no amendments pending.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. It is an amendment that I presented during the general debate, for the information of the House, and it should come in after the completion of paragraph 57 on page 14 of the rules as reported by the committee.

The SPEAKER. That has not yet been reached.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Well, I made my statement only in view of the remark of the gentleman from Mississippi, that he proposed to omit the reading of this portion of the report.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks consent to dispense with the reading of Rule X only. Is there any amendment proposed to Rule X as heretofore adopted?

Mr. WILSON of Washington. I have sent one to the desk, which I ask the Clerk to read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend on page 6, so as to read as follows:

"On Ways and Means, to consist of nineteen members.

"On Appropriations, to consist of nineteen members; and that these additional members shall be appointed from the districts west of the Mississippi River."

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, the amendment which I have just offered to the rules provides for an increase in the membership of the two leading committees of this House, namely, the Committee on Ways and Means and the Committee on Appropriations, from 17 members to 19. I am not so much interested, sir, that the Committee on Rules shall be increased from 7 to 9 members as I am that the country west of the Missouri River, consisting of fifteen States and Territories, shall have some representation upon the Committees of Ways and Means and of Appropriations.

A close inspection of many of the committees will show that the members of the intermountain and Pacific coast country have not received those assignments upon the committees that their section and interest properly demanded. Take the great Committee on Naval Affairs. There is no membership west of the Mississippi River. Upon the Pacific coast is located at San Francisco one of the great naval stations of this country, and the Government is constructing a great dry dock upon Puget Sound in the State of Washington. That country is much interested not only in naval affairs, but in the development of the Navy by which and through which they can only hope for that adequate protection to which they are entitled.

To-day all of that country is without any protection whatever other than a single company of the United States Army located at Port Townsend, without fortification or without means of defense, and within the sound of the morning and evening guns of Great Britain from their naval station at Esquimault across the Straits of Fuca. And, sir, around this very Puget Sound have occurred some of the most historical incidents of our country. It is here that the great Democratic party took as their shibboleth "54° 40′ or fight," but we did not get 54° 40′, nor did we fight, either, because at that time and under the conditions then existing, the South was more interested in going toward the Southwest in search of slave territory than in securing territory in the Northwest.

Take the great Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce; an assignment to that section of the country seems to me would have been proper and legitimate, because through the Straits of Fuca passes a tonnage only fourth in the United States. Mr. Speaker, that country is greatly interested in commercial transactions and has been for many years.

Take the great Committee on Appropriations, in which the West is so much interested. Fifteen States and Territories have not been assigned upon that committee, and yet the greater amount of the appropriation in which they are interested arises in that committee, and they have no opportunity to be heard as they should be, except upon the floor of this House. The survey of public lands, the appropriations for land offices, the Geological Survey, and all these matters in which the West is so directly interested, can not be heard, except at such time as may be allowed them upon this floor.

If you will examine that committee you will find that the New England States have a representation of four, New York one, Indiana one, and Texas, Kentucky, Missouri, Georgia, Tennessee, Louisiana, Illinois, Iowa, Pennsylvania, are all represented; but the great country of which I have spoken, which is so intensely interested in appropriations for surveys and the continuance of local land offices, have no representation whatever.

Mr. Speaker, in a few short remarks made by me last evening, some of my colleagues have said to me that perhaps I was not satisfied with the assignments made to me by the distinguished occupant of the chair. To that I wish to enter a general denial. So far as I am personally concerned I am entirely satisfied with the assignment which the distinguished Speaker of this House has seen proper to give me; but when we come to look into the matter of assignments of others upon these committees, we find that the great West is, in my judgment, not fairly represented.

To illustrate: In the last Congress the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations brought in the sundry civil bill an appropriation of a certain fixed amount for the local land offices throughout the West, and, in addition thereto, required of the Secretary of the Interior that the number of land offices be brought within this amount.

Up to this date the Secretary of the Interior has not been able to so adjust the location of the various land offices as to bring this about, and at a single glance anyone can see how unjust it is. The local land offices throughout the United States not only support themselves, not only support the General Land Office in Washington, but turn into the Treasury annually a revenue exceeding the expenses all told.

In addition to this, Mr. Speaker, it is a great hardship to place upon the settler and the pioneer, who is blazing a pathway of civilization, an additional expense of going a long distance to secure his original entry and to make his final proof upon his homestead. For it is contemplated in the State that I have the honor in part to represent that it would compel many a settler to transport his witnesses, three in number, over 100 to 150 miles at a considerable expense to him and at a time when this should be saved to him, in order to make his final proof. Again, Mr. Speaker, the West is interested, more than it is possible to impress upon the members of this Congress, in the question of surveys.

Annually the great Committee on Appropriations brings in an amount, and it is an almost universal rule that it is impossible to increase this amount or in any way overrule the committee. It is settled in the committee room, and how unjust and ungenerous it is. We have no opportunity to secure an additional amount. In the last Congress the appropriation made was about $100,000. We had a long struggle over the amount. Think of it! $100,000 for surveys for all the public land States of this Union, to be divided proportionately among them all. We should have had $500,000.

In my State alone we have thousands of settlers upon unsurveyed public lands, waiting, day by day, month by month, year by year, for a survey of the lands, in order that they may secure titles to their homes. Annually, as I have said, this appropriation is brought in, and it is almost invariably a rule that, notwithstanding the members from the Western country make a vigorous fight for an increase, they are very seldom able to accomplish anything in that direction.

It is this and many other reasons, Mr. Speaker, that has induced me to offer the amendment that I have had read at the Clerk's desk. Many of the members on this floor are entirely unacquainted with the vast country west of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. We are a people that are interested not only in the growth and prosperity of that section, but of all sections of our common country. I believe that to be a great country. We are in the Union and we are interested in its prosperity, but our necessities are not understood. Think of it, Mr. Speaker; my colleague upon this floor, Mr. DOOLITTLE, has been assigned to the Committee on Arid Lands, and yet, sir, in the district he has the honor to represent, there is an annual rainfall of 108 inches every year. [Great laughter.]

The State of California is as much interested in the Committee on Ways and Means as any State in the Union, Pennsylvania not excepted. To my mind, to that State, California, the protective tariff is a necessity. Here vineyards and orchards are especially affected by it. Raisins, figs, and olives are produced by no other State in the Union, while oranges, lemons, prunes are also exclusively California products, if Florida is excepted. The raisin industry is now a flourishing industry in which ten millions is invested.

In California now there are more than 40,000 acres planted with prunes, and in 1887 the American people consumed 70,880,530 pounds of imported prunes, all of which could and ought to have been raised on the Pacific Slope. California alone among the American States produces olive trees which surpass in growth

and fruitage even those of Italy, and to-day there are more than 35,000 acres of olives in California, and the acreage is increasing at the rate of 25 per cent a year. California is one of the largest wool-growing States of the Union, and Washington is much interested, in fact her existence largely depends upon it, in whatever tariff may be placed upon lumber, upon hops, upon coal, upon barley, and upon lead.

It is these facts as I have stated, Mr. Speaker, that have constrained me to offer the amendment. We have waited year after year for assignments upon these leading committees. I know full well the great influence and great pressure that are brought to bear upon the Chair for these places, but it seems to me, sir, that we ought to receive more consideration than we have. We were not represented in the Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, and Fiftieth Congresses, and it was only in the Fifty-first Congress that the distinguished gentleman in front of me [Mr. REED], who occupied the position you now hold, gave that recognition to the great West upon the Committee on Ways and Means, and the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and the Committee on Appropriations, which they were justly and reasonably entitled to.

Sir, I appeal to this House to give us the representation we are entitled to. It is unjust, it is ungenerous—nay, more, it is unpatriotic to deny us upon these committees the rightful representation which all of the fifteen States west of the Missouri River believe we are entitled to. Mr. Speaker, I hope the amendment will be adopted. [Applause.]

Mr. HULICK. Mr. Speaker, I voted on this question under an impression—derived from the gentleman who made the motion—that there are not now on these two committees any members from the portion of country west of the Mississippi River. I have since been advised the impression under which I voted was wrong, and the fact is otherwise; therefore, I wish to change my vote to "no."

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I extremely regret that I made a statement that has caused my friend from Ohio to vote aye when he preferred nay. I should have stated west of the Missouri River, instead of west of the Mississippi River, which would have been more correct, but I had reference to that great mountain country beyond the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. However, he will find it true that there is no representative west of the Mississippi River. I believe my good friend, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GEAR], resides about two hundred yards west of the Mississippi River. While the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] resides west of the Mississippi River, his residence is east of Mr. GEAR, although the latter resides on the west of the Mississippi River.

So in fact we have no representative in that great intermountain country. These things can not be helped. I do not complain. I only desire to call it to the attention of the House and the country, and to show if I possibly can that we are much interested in that section in the development of the natural and industrial resources of this country, and equally desirous of assisting all sections of the Union and all classes of people, adding to their happiness and prosperity, binding them in one compact nation, and establishing our country as one of the greatest nations upon the face of the earth.

Sir, the coat of arms which is above me of the State of Washington when it was a Territory, has written there in the Indian language, the word "Al-Ki," the translation of which means "by and by." By and by, Mr. Speaker, when the center of population has crossed the Mississippi, we will control and dominate the policy of this Government, and when that day comes I know the people of that section will not be so unjust to your interests as you are now to theirs. By and by, justice will be accorded to us, because we will have the numerical strength to enforce it, and we propose to fight it out on this line as long as the Chair will recognize us, or until we get that justice and that representation which the great West is entitled to. [Applause.]

Mr. CAMINETTI. Mr. Speaker, in a House composed of 356 members it is difficult for any presiding officer to make a selection of 17 or even 19 members of a committee in such a manner as to satisfy all the members of the House. The interests affected by the action of the two great committees mentioned in the amendment of the gentleman from Washington are extensive and of great value. The whole Pacific coast, California in particular, is directly interested in any legislation which may be had upon the tariff question. It has been a difficult task for the Democratic party in that State to make any headway under the tariff-reform tendencies of the national platform of the Democratic party.

Now that an attempt is to be made to deal with the tariff, that State, as well as the country lying west of the Rocky Mountains, should have a representative on the committee which will formulate a law of such vital importance to that section.

In the work of the Committee on Appropriations we are equally interested.

The agricultural and commercial interests represented by the Pacific coast States and Territories are of such magnitude as to make it an imperative duty for those representing them on this floor to respectfully ask for this recognition. I hope the House will agree to the amendment.

The question being taken on the amendment of Mr. WILSON of Washington, there were—ayes 84, noes 115.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; 71 voting in favor thereof.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. Is it competent now to move to strike from the amendment the words, "west of the Mississippi River?"

The SPEAKER. The yeas and nays have been ordered on the amendment.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 96, nays 163, not voting 94; as follows:

YEAS—96.

Aldrich,	Daniels,	Hudson,	Phillips,
Arnold,	Davis,	Hull,	Pickler,
Avery,	Doolittle,	Ikirt,	Russell, Conn.
Baker, Kans.	Draper,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Shaw,
Baker, N. H.	Ellis, Oregon,	Kem,	Sibley,
Bartholdt,	Fletcher,	Kiefer,	Simpson,
Bell, Colo.	Funk,	Lacey,	Smith,
Black, Ill.	Fyan,	Latimer,	Stephenson,
Blair,	Geary,	Lefever,	Strait,
Boen,	Gillet, N. Y.	Loud,	Strong,
Bowers, Cal.	Hager,	Loudenslager,	Talbert, S. C.
Broderick,	Hainer,	Lucas,	Tawney,
Bryan,	Hall, Minn.	Lynch,	Taylor, Tenn.
Burnes,	Hartman,	Mahon,	Updegraff,
Caldwell,	Haugen,	McCleary, Minn.	VanVoorhis, Ohio
Caminetti,	Hepburn,	Meiklejohn,	Wanger,
Cannon, Cal.	Hermann,	Mercer,	Waugh,
Childs,	Hicks,	Milliken,	Wever,
Clark, Mo.	Hilborn,	Moon,	Wheeler, Ill.
Cockrell,	Hines,	Morse,	White,
Coffeen,	Hitt,	Murray,	Wilson, Ohio
Cousins,	Hooker, Miss.	Northway,	Wilson, Wash.
Curtis, Kans.	Houk, Ohio	Pence,	Woomer,
Curtis, N. Y.	Houk, Tenn.	Perkins,	Wright, Mass.

NAYS—163.

Abbott,	Covert,	Johnson, Ind.	Pigott,
Alexander,	Cox,	Jones,	Reilly,
Allen,	Crain,	Kilgore,	Richardson, Mich.
Bailey,	Crawford,	Kribbs,	Richardson, Tenn.
Baldwin,	Culberson,	Kyle,	Ritchie,
Bankhead,	Cummings,	Lane,	Robbins,
Barnes,	Dalzell,	Lapham,	Robertson, La.
Bartlett,	De Armond,	Lawson,	Russell, Ga.
Barwig,	De Forest,	Lester,	Ryan,
Bell, Tex.	Dinsmore,	Lisle,	Sayers,
Beltzhoover,	Dockery,	Livingston,	Schermerhorn,
Berry,	Donovan,	Lockwood,	Sipe,
Black, Ga.	Durborow,	Maddox,	Springer,
Blanchard,	Edmunds,	Mallory,	Stallings,
Bland,	English,	Martin, Ind.	Stone, W. A.
Boatner,	Epes,	McAleer,	Stone, Ky.
Brattan,	Erdman,	McCall,	Storer,
Brawley,	Everett,	McCreary, Ky.	Swanson,
Breckinridge, Ark.	Fithian,	McCulloch,	Tarsney,
Bretz,	Forman,	McDannold,	Tate,
Brickner,	Geissenhainer,	McEtrick,	Taylor, Ind.
Brookshire,	Gillett, Mass.	McGann,	Terry,
Brown,	Goldzier,	McKaig,	Tracey,
Bunn,	Goodnight,	McLaurin,	Tucker,
Bynum,	Grady,	McMillin,	Turner,
Cabaniss,	Gresham,	McNagny,	Turpin,
Cadmus,	Grosvenor,	McRae,	Tyler,
Cannon, Ill.	Haines,	Meyer,	Wadsworth,
Capehart,	Hall, Mo.	Money,	Warner,
Caruth,	Hare,	Montgomery,	Washington,
Catchings,	Harter,	Morgan,	Weadock,
Causey,	Hayes,	Moses,	Wells,
Clancy,	Heard,	Mutchler,	Wheeler, Ala.
Clarke, Ala.	Henderson, Ill.	Neill,	Whiting,
Cobb, Ala.	Henderson, Iowa	Outhwaite,	Williams, Ill.
Cobb, Mo.	Henderson, N. C.	Paschal,	Williams, Miss.
Cogswell,	Holman,	Patterson,	Wilson, W. Va.
Cooper, Fla.	Hopkins, Ill.	Paynter,	Wise,
Cooper, Ind.	Hulick,	Pearson,	Woodard,
Cooper, Tex.	Hunter,	Pendleton, Tex.	Wright, Pa.
Cornish,	Hutcheson,	Pendleton, W. Va.	

NOT VOTING—94.

Adams,	Dunn,	Lilly,	Reed,
Aitken,	Dunphy,	Linton,	Reyburn,
Alderson,	Ellis, Ky.	Magner,	Richards, Ohio
Apsley,	Enloe,	Maguire,	Robinson, Pa.
Babcock,	Fellows,	Marsh,	Rusk,
Belden,	Fielder,	Marshall,	Scranton,
Bingham,	Fitch,	Marvin, N. Y.	Settle,
Boutelle,	Funston,	McDearmon,	Shell,
Bower, N. C.	Gardner,	McDowell,	Sherman,
Branch,	Gear,	McKeighan,	Sickles,
Breckinridge, Ky.	Gorman,	Meredith,	Snodgrass,
Brosius,	Graham,	Newlands,	Somers,
Burrows,	Grout,	Oates,	Sperry,
Campbell,	Hammond,	O'Ferrall,	Stevens,
Chickering,	Harmer,	O'Neil, Mass.	Stockdale,
Cockran,	Harris,	O'Neill, Pa.	Stone, C. W.
Compton,	Hatch,	Page,	Sweet,
Conn,	Heiner,	Payne,	Talbott, Md.
Coombs,	Hendrix,	Post,	Thomas,
Cooper, Wis.	Hooker, N. Y.	Powers,	VanVoorhis, N. Y.
Davey,	Hopkins, Pa.	Price,	Walker,
Denson,	Johnson, Ohio	Randall,	Wolverton.
Dingley,	Joy,	Ray,	
Dolliver,	Layton,	Rayner,	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am paired with my colleague, Mr. BELDEN. If I voted I should vote "no."

The following additional pairs were filed with the Clerk:

Until further notice—

Mr. ENLOE with Mr. BOUTELLE.

Mr. HATCH with Mr. HARMER.

Mr. STEVENS with Mr. RANDALL.

Mr. GRAHAM with Mr. LINTON.

Mr. BRANCH with Mr. SETTLE.

Mr. SHELL with Mr. MARSH.

Mr. COCKRAN with Mr. SHERMAN.

Mr. MAGNER with Mr. CHICKERING.

Mr. RUSK with Mr. AITKEN.

Mr. MAGUIRE with Mr. HAINER.

For this day—

Mr. TALBOTT of Maryland with Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin.

Mr. O'FERRALL with Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania.

Mr. HULICK. Mr. Speaker, I voted on this question under an impression derived from the gentleman who made the motion to amend, that there are not now on these two committees any members from the portion of the country west of the Mississippi River——

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state to the gentleman that pending a roll call debate is not in order.

Mr. HULICK. I only wish to add, that as I have since been advised, the impression under which I voted was wrong, and the fact is otherwise; therefore I desire to change my vote to "no."

The result of the vote was announced as above stated.

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, I have an amendment, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Add to the standing committees one on public health, to consist of nine members.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Michigan desire to be heard on his amendment?

Mr. AVERY. Very briefly.

I am informed, Mr. Speaker, that in years past there was a committee on public health in this House. I think it is an exceedingly important committee and one at the present time that should commend itself to the judgment of the House. We are in the presence of cholera on the north and in the presence of yellow fever on the south. The preservation of the public health of the nation is of as great importance as the preservation of any of its rights, and the consideration of measures that will lead to that end is just as important as any other purpose for which the committees of this House can be appointed.

I think it would be an advantage and a satisfaction to the people of the nation to be informed that this legislative body was interested in preserving the public health, and for that reason I have moved that the Chair be authorized to appoint a committee on the public health, to consist of nine members. That is all I desire to say upon the question.

Mr. MILLIKEN. Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that I shall discuss the question of public health as presented in the amendment of the gentleman from Michigan, but I desire to make a few remarks that have been suggested by the discourse of my friend from Texas [Mr. KILGORE]. His complaint seemed to be, and the same complaint has been made here day after day since the assembling of this House, that in the Fifty-first Congress we had a czar in the Speaker's chair.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I am not in favor of czars. It has never been my misfortune to live under a government whose laws were administered, or the arbitrary rules which control the people, were made by a czar. But if we must have one I do not know but I would quite as soon have him in the Speaker's chair as to have him on the floor of the House; and I certainly believe if we are to have a czar in our legislation I would prefer to have one czar in the Speaker's chair, responsible for what he does before the House and the country, rather than to have them all over the House whenever anyone may see fit to exercise his arbitrary power here.

I think there is no old member of this House who was not cognizant of the fact, and so thoroughly cognizant of it that the impression has not faded from his memory, that under the loose rules of the last House, which as I understand it are to be substantially the rules of the present House, the gentleman from Texas himself, a gentleman for whom I have the greatest personal regard, exercised the powers of a czar which the rules authorized him to exercise as effectually and with as good purpose—I do not mean as good purpose for the benefit of the country, but to accomplish what he had in view—as that exercised at any time by the Speaker of the House of the Fifty-first Congress, or by anybody else.

Why, he stood here when nine-tenths of his party and all the Republicans desired to pass upon legislation, and by his veto power he obstructed the will of the whole membership of the House.

Had he been king, with the powers and prerogatives of a king in the Middle Ages, he could not have more effectually thwarted all the purposes of a majority which, in many instances, comprised almost the entire House except himself and his two or three lieutenants, and the House was unable to extricate itself from the helpless condition in which it had been placed by its own rules. He defeated the enactment of the bankrupt law by his veto as the czar of the House, which power he could exercise under the rules of a House which allowed him to make dilatory and obstructive motions without limitation.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I object to a system of rules governing the action of this body that will give an opportunity to any and every member of the House to place his veto on the legislative will, not of a majority alone, but of a majority of every member excepting the man himself, whenever he shall choose, either for what he may consider good cause or from caprice or other motive, to resist the continued will of all or a vast majority of his colleagues on this floor. Under the rules of the House in the Fifty-second Congress, a member needed only to understand parliamentary law sufficiently well to apply it to a few motions and possess the physical ability to endure as long as anybody else, and no legislation could pass this body without that member's sanction.

Gentlemen talk of a "czar" in the Speaker's chair; and yet by the very rules they themselves propose, and seek to have adopted, they would make as many czars as there are members of the House. The power that is conferred in this way upon a man who chooses to exercise it in the way of obstruction is incalculable.

Why, the shah of Persia, the greatest of all the shahs, in the prime of his power and the height of his glory, was never bowed down to or solicited more earnestly and humiliatingly than the gentleman from Texas himself and one or two of his lieutenants were, by the poor pensioners and petitioners with private bills that came here and almost on their knees begged these gentlemen czars not to object to the simple right of the House to consider the bills that were before it. And that is the question here.

It is not a question whether legislation shall or shall not pass the House. The question is whether the House itself shall have the power even with nine-tenths of its members in favor of a measure to give consideration, or shall it place itself in a strait-jacket and adopt rules here which shall take from it the power to do even what it wants to do?

Why do my Democratic friends have so much doubt about themselves? Are they so afraid of themselves here that they dare not trust themselves? Have they so much apprehension of what they may do, or that they may do something wrong politically, that they seek to bind themselves as a lunatic would have done to himself when in some lucid interval he begs to be put in a strait-jacket in order that he may not do harm when the time comes that the crazy spell shall again seize him?

Well, Mr. Speaker, if that be the purpose of the Democratic majority in this House, then I am sure they are to be congratulated upon knowing their own peculiar weaknesses so well; and the country, I doubt not, will note their patriotism in taking so early and efficient measures to prevent the injury it would receive, should they allow themselves for any considerable time to run loose. It is a touching and pathetic exhibition of tender regard for the country, on their part, which is quite as amazing as it is sincere.

If the Democracy shall only continue to appreciate its instinctive tendencies, and to put itself under restraint before it has time and opportunity to act, the nation will most assuredly be thereby a great gainer.

[Here the hammer fell.]

[Mr. WILSON of Washington withholds his remarks for revision. See Appendix.]

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. AVERY], which the Clerk will report.

The amendment was again read.

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. Speaker, I would be glad if this amendment might attract the attention of the House. It does not seem to me that in any view it can excite opposition. There is certainly nothing partisan in the matter of the public health. All of us concede that there is no subject of greater importance, and it is a subject which is daily and yearly becoming, as it seems to me, more important to the people of the United States. It is but proper, therefore, that there should be some attention given to it by this great central organization, the National Government.

The increasing commercial intercourse between all parts of the earth seems to make it more and more necessary that some

method should be devised to bring to national attention proper measures for the regulation of the spread of disease and to to bring this all-important subject more directly under the immediate control of the law.

In so large a body as this there must be those who have medical education and training, who could very largely compose such a committee; and in the investigation of this important subject they could find a congenial occupation in the direction of their profession and very much in the direction of the public welfare. I know that this subject is one in which the medical profession is very largely interested, and it seems to me there can be no opposition to the appointment of this committee.

I hope the amendment will receive the favorable consideration of the House.

Mr. JOHNSON of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, it occurs to me that such a committee could find a very fruitful field of labor right in this House. This Chamber is built, a box within a box, in such a way that it is utterly impossible to open a window or door in such a manner as to get the air direct from outside. The air is pumped up through these brass gratings in the floor, and throughout the Fifty-second Congress I often wondered whether the sweepings and the droppings of pieces of paper and of cigar stumps were ever cleaned out of these ducts through which the air comes up.

On the first day of the meeting of this Congress it was gratifying to find a new carpet on the floor and some varnish on the wood and polish on the brass grating in the floor of this whited sepulcher, but I was very careful to notice, and I found right there in front of the Speaker in that open area, under the grating in the floor, the same appearance of litter, of cigar stumps, and of paper and dirt and rubbish, that had been swept and kicked down for years into these places through which the air must come that we have to breathe; and I thought that I would not keep live stock on my farm in such an unhealthy atmosphere as we are bound to breathe when we sit here.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. There is a Committee on Ventilation and Acoustics that can take charge of the matter suggested by the gentleman.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. AVERY].

The question being taken, the Speaker announced that the noes seemed to have it.

On a division (demanded by Mr. AVERY) there were—ayes 59, noes 128.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. PICKLER. I desire to offer the amendment which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend by adding after the words "Committee on Rules to consist of five members," on page 8, the following words: "provided that on the first day of the regular session of the Fifty-third Congress the Speaker shall appoint four additional members on said committee."

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I desire to offer a substitute for that amendment.

Mr. DOCKERY. I desire to inquire whether the proposition of the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. PICKLER] is before the House for action?

The SPEAKER. It is offered for that purpose.

The gentleman from Mississippi offers a substitute for the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Dakota. The Clerk will read the substitute, so that the Chair may see whether it is in order.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend on page 8, by striking from the sentence "on rules to consist of five members," the word "five," and insert in lieu thereof the word "eleven."

Mr. PICKLER. I accept the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi. The only difference is, I believe, that he fixes the number at eleven and would have the Speaker appoint them at once.

The SPEAKER. It can not be accepted as an amendment.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Why not?

The SPEAKER. For the simple reason that the gentleman from South Dakota has proposed to amend the rule constituting the Committee on Rules of five members by proposing to add four at the next session, while the gentleman from Mississippi has proposed to make it eleven now. The two propositions are inconsistent.

Mr. PICKLER. I withdraw my amendment.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Then I offer mine.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Dakota withdraws his amendment, and the gentleman from Mississippi offers an amendment, which the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend on page 8, by striking from the sentence "On rules to consist of five members" the word "five," and insert in lieu thereof the word "eleven."

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, the amendment which I have the honor to offer for the consideration of the House is in keeping with the sentiments I had the opportunity to express yesterday upon this question of the constitution of the Committee on Rules. It will be remembered, Mr. Speaker, a few days ago, when my honored colleague presented what he denominated a partial report from the Committee on Rules for the consideration of this House, that the previous question was called upon it, so that there was no opportunity to speak upon it, much less to offer an amendment.

I think that the House of Representatives, as it is now constituted, voted to call the previous question and thus silence debate and forbid amendments in ignorance of the effect and object of the temporary rule which came from the Committee on Rules. I never believed in adopting the rules of the House by piecemeal or by parts. It ought to be a consistent body of rules, framed with the desire of giving expression not only, Mr. Speaker, to the majority party of this House, but it ought to be a system of rules which would give a fair and reasonable hearing to the minority of the House.

It has been my fortune, sir, in many Congresses in which I served, to be here in the minority, and I learned the value of the privilege of the minority which is secured ordinarily by all parliamentary bodies. I learned to appreciate the value of a full and fair expression of opinion, and the value of being able to offer an amendment, even though I happened to belong to the minority. I now belong to the majority, but upon principle I hold the same doctrine is true now. We ought to adopt a system of rules which, while it should give a fair expression to the will of the majority, and allow that expression to be carried out, the minority ought not to be tied down or manacled either by the ruling of the Speaker under the rules or by the committee. I believe that ought to be the character and temper and spirit of the rules.

Now, through the report which my honorable colleague submitted the other day, there was an increase made in nearly every committee of the House save the smallest—the Committee on Rules. There was no proposition to increase that. There was no power on the part of myself or any other member of the House to offer an amendment to make an increase in the number, because the fact is that many members had no due knowledge of the effect of the House sustaining the call for the previous question. When those members who are now new members of this House shall have been here a little while longer and have felt the force and effect of the call for the previous question they will understand what it means, and they will understand that when the previous question is called they are forced to make a vote upon a distinct proposition that settles the question as to that particular measure.

I was very much gratified to learn that while I was absent from the Hall the Speaker ruled that the recent action of the House in adopting this rule was not now binding and that the House had the right to amend all of its rules.

Why, then, Mr. Speaker, should you and the majority of the House determine to increase every other committee and leave the Committee on Rules as it is? Sir, that Committee on Rules now, by these very rules under consideration, not only has the power which belongs to the Committee on Rules, as designated by its denomination, but it is proposed in these very rules to clothe that committee with the power to indicate to the House the order of business, a function which I assert does not belong necessarily to the Committee on Rules, and with which they ought not to be intrusted in this House.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I should like to have said a few more words, but will take the opportunity on another amendment.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that the real point and object to which the attention of my distinguished friend from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER] is directed is, that the organization and working of the House should be more representative and less personal in its character. Our system differs materially from that of the Senate. They organize under the direction of a committee. That committee is appointed by a caucus of the party in power. It recommends the various committees of the body, and those recommendations are approved or modified by a caucus of the party in control of the Senate, and that becomes the organization of that body.

We have not adopted that system. We have reached a point where it is too late to adopt that system. Our committees are already appointed. I think it not improbable that that system of organization might be adopted wisely and beneficially, but that is a matter that would require very careful investigation. It is certainly desirable to be as representative as possible, but we are a large body, the Senate is a small body, and there are

other features of difference that would need to be carefully inquired into before a correct determination could be reached.

But the question pertinent to the amendment now pending is whether, having clothed the Speaker with the power of organization, and having already crystallized the organization of this House by the appointment of committees, etc., under one theory, you can judiciously inject into it a feature which belongs to an entirely different method of organization, and I do not believe you can do that successfully and well. Who, under our rules, is to appoint this enlarged Committee on Rules? Is it to be representative by being selected by caucus, as the organization committee is selected in the Senate?

No, sir. The gentleman from Mississippi introduces his amendment at a point where the increase of the Committee on Rules would be made by the gentleman who is already the Speaker of this House, and already empowered to appoint committees. Therefore, would it not be as personal if adopted at this time as it is already? The whole question, therefore, it seems to me, comes to this, whether we can do better under a committee appointed in that way which is a large and cumbersome committee, or under a committee appointed in the same way, which is a small working committee.

Why are the other committees large? They are large because they deal with a multitude of subjects, or with subjects that cover a vast area and that are susceptible of subdivision. Those committees are divided into the logical divisions of the subjects-matter committed to them. Of course, there are other reasons.

But here is a committee the members of which are necessarily in the nature of special advisers to the Speaker in relation to the proceedings of the House.

We have intrusted to the Speaker the authority of which I have already spoken—and the whole theory of the rules always has been and is now proposed upon this principle of organization—and why should we seek to thrust upon him, under a different theory of organization, an addition that he does not consider likely to conduce to the efficient discharge of the duties already imposed upon him? Does he ask this assistance? Does he ask to be surrounded by a more numerous body of counselors of his own selection?

No, he does not; and I submit that the proposition of the gentleman from Mississippi, while it is predicated upon a principle that doubtless is a wise one, or that may be so, for I am not prepared to express a final opinion upon it, not having given it sufficient thought or consideration—I submit that while his proposition may be predicated upon a sound principle, the time has passed for the adoption of that principle into our present organization, and it can only be injected into our system at this point to the detriment of the organization and of the business of the House.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to say a word or two in reply to the gentleman from Arkansas. As I understand him, he does not discuss the principle, but, so far as I could gather from what he said, he seems to go upon the theory that this Committee on Rules is merely an advisory committee to act with the Speaker and to carry out the Speaker's will.

Mr. Speaker, if that is the idea, I desire to express my dissent. In doing so, let me say that no person in this House has been more kindly treated by the Speaker than myself, and for that reason I am perhaps in a better position to express a dissent from the committee's report than if I were suffering from disappointment.

No man has greater confidence in the Speaker than I have; and yet I must object to the idea that a representative body ought to place the direction of its legislation in the hands of one man, or of a few men; and if it is necessary, in order to carry out the idea which is incorporated in our rule to do that, then I would be in favor of a change in the rule sufficiently comprehensive to bring us back to the Democratic idea of a rule by the people themselves, and a rule by their representatives sent here to conduct their business.

If this committee were simply to report general rules like those we are now acting upon I would not feel called upon to object to its present size, but when the committee is given power to direct legislation by presenting a special rule for the consideration of each bill I insist, Mr. Speaker, that that can be more wisely done by a larger committee.

If the argument urged in favor of continuing the present size of this committee is correct, then a committee of one is just as good as a committee of five. If you want simply to centralize power why divide it among five men? Why not give it to one man?

But, sir, if you wish legislation to be conducted in the interest of all the people whose representatives are here, if you concede that every man on this floor should have an equal vote in its deliberations, if you concede that every constituency is equally interested in what goes on here, then, Mr. Speaker, I submit that this committee which has in charge the direction of our legislation ought to be large enough to comprehend every part of this country, and to give expression to all the large interests of the country. And it is not asking too much when we urge that this committee be enlarged.

Nor is it flying in the face of the Administration. It is paying no compliment to the Speaker of this House and those who are his intimate advisers to say that when we express a dissent we are in rebellion. It is paying no compliment to the Speaker of this House to say that he or his advisers desire to control our legislation. I think I pay him a higher compliment when I say that as the Speaker of this House he desires to give voice and expression to the wishes of the members who put him there, and not to control their deliberations, and that he will respect us if following our judgment we dissent from the rule proposed and express it as our opinion that the interests of the country will be better served if the committee is made larger.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. PICKLER. Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to detain the House more than a moment by adding anything to the suggestions which I offered yesterday afternoon. It seems to me, and I believe it will seem to the people of this country, that the Representatives who have behind them only a little over 800,000 people should not control the destinies of 62,000,000 people.

Like the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN], I certainly can testify to only the kindliest treatment from the Speaker of this House, but I agree with the gentleman from Nebraska that if the position taken by the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] is sound, we should not have any Committee on Rules at all. Why not let the Speaker determine our method of proceeding in the transaction of business?

It is not probable that anything will occur to mar the feelings of the Speaker in any business that comes before the House. It is not probable that any Committee on Rules will ever force business before the House against the wishes of the Speaker. I suppose it will be a long time before anything of that kind occurs; but perhaps it was not to be expected that the Committee on Rules in fixing the number of this committee at the present time should have done anything else than what they did.

Why? Because in reporting in favor of a Committee on Rules consisting of five members, they are only following the precedents in this House in all the Congresses since the Thirty-fifth. But when we consider that beginning with the Ninth Congress, with the small number of people that there were then in this country, there were five members of this committee, and that in a majority of the following Congresses down to the Thirty-fifth this committee consisted of seven or nine members, it can not be urged with any show of reason that when we have 62,000,000 people, occupying a much larger territory than we ever had before, the different sections of the country should not have some representation on this committee. As has been well said by the gentleman from Nebraska, there are interests of our great Western States and Territories which men living in other parts of the nation can not understand or appreciate.

The gentleman from Mississippi has offered an amendment to increase the membership of this committee to eleven. My proposition was to make the number nine; and since the amendment of the gentleman from Mississippi was offered, some gentlemen have said to me that they would be willing to vote for an increase of the membership to nine, but not to eleven. I will, therefore, before I sit down offer an amendment to give this committee nine members, an increase of four. If this amendment should be adopted, it would do nobody any injustice. It would be no detriment to any portion of the country. It does not designate the localities from which the Speaker shall select these additional members, but offers him the opportunity to give to such great States as Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri, some representation upon the committee and also to the great southwestern part of the nation and the great Pacific coast.

Can there be anything unfair about this? Is there any danger that a committee of nine would be unwieldy? The proposition certainly can not be objectionable in any light; and, as I said yesterday, at this time, when there is no great question before the Committee on Rules or agitating the country and dividing us upon political lines, so far as the Committee on Rules are concerned, it seems to me that "now is the accepted time" to increase the membership of this Committee on Rules.

Another thing, this addition to the membership of this committee will relieve the Speaker of this House and of future Houses. He will be able to give good positions to a larger number of those gentlemen who always think they are qualified to serve upon these first-class committees.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. PICKLER. I move to amend the amendment by striking out "eleven" and inserting "nine," so as to provide that the Committee on Rules shall consist of nine members.

The SPEAKER. The amendment will be considered as pending.

Mr. MCCREARY of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I have great respect for the views of my distinguished friend from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER] but I can not support the amendment which he has offered. For a hundred years the Congress of the United States has been meeting; we have had fifty-three Congresses, and we have never had eleven members on the Committee on Rules. For about forty years, or ever since the Thirty-fifth Congress, there have been but five members on that committee, including the Speaker. During that time the nation has passed through great trials, great crises; and much important legislation has been enacted, yet it has not seemed necessary to American Representatives that there should be more than five members on the Committee on Rules.

I have listened attentively to the debate, but no member has shown such changed conditions, such demand for an increase of the Committee on Rules as to justify the adoption of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. Speaker, the experience of the past is always valuable. Those who have preceded us have never believed it was necessary that eleven members should be appointed, as this amendment proposes, on the Committee on Rules of this House. There are good reasons why the committee should not be so large.

The Committee on Rules should not be a large committee. It should not be cumbersome. It should not be so large that it would be difficult to have a quorum present. It should be composed of such number that a majority can be summoned quickly, and that it can transact its business quickly and harmoniously; and I think, therefore, that the indorsement we have of forty years in favor of five on the Committee on Rules should have its weight and influence with us in determining the membership of that committee.

It has been asserted that the committee has great power and can control legislation, and therefore the number of members should be increased.

I deny that the Committee on Rules can control legislation. This committee can facilitate legislation by reporting a rule on which the members may vote, but the rule has no force until adopted by the members of the House. The Committee on Rules simply proposes; the House disposes of the proposition.

I have been here for nine years, and I have at various times seen one member block the business of this House. I am in favor of giving to the Committee on Rules power sufficient to prevent the business of the House from being clogged, halted, and delayed unnecessarily by one member or a few members, so that no business can be transacted. After proper debate I believe the majority should control, and the Committee on Rules should have authority to report a resolution which when regularly adopted by the House will cause the business of the House to proceed and the will of the majority to prevail.

I believe that five members on the Committee on Rules are enough, and I am opposed to increasing the number to either nine or eleven. I do not believe that eleven members on the committee would be satisfactory. I am in favor of all sections of the country being represented on the committee, and I know the Speaker, in selecting the members of the committee, as far as possible recognized the different sections of the country, and we have a Committee on Rules composed of members who have always been fair and just.

Mr. Speaker, in my judgment, as I have already said, a Committee on Rules consisting of five members is decidedly preferable to a committee consisting of eleven, as proposed in the amendment. I am in favor of standing by what experience in the past has taught us is beneficial. I am in favor of standing by the position taken by our predecessors for nearly half a century, and I am in favor of adhering to the usage which has lasted for so many years and which has always worked so well.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that in the discussion that is now going on, as well as in some of the amendments that have been offered to this code of rules, an attempt is being made to reverse the election of last November. The Democratic party won the last election and have a majority in this House, and yet by these amendments it would seem we are trying "to turn them down." [Laughter and applause.]

I voted against the proposition to draw sectional lines on the amendment offered by my friend from Washington [Mr. WILSON], because this is not the place for that. At the polls is the place to give fair play to the entire country, and not come in here and try to do it by dabbling and piecemealing. My friend from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN], it seems to me, is making the same mistake. You want to give, you say, to all of the sections of the country fair play, and you want to try to bring the great trans-Mississippi and mountain regions into the arena here and for fair play to put them upon the same footing as other regions. Too late! You should have attended to that, my friends, when the last general election was held. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Why, Mr. Speaker, this country is not in the control of the East in this House. Nor is it in the control of the middle section in the House, and certainly not in the control of the great West. That great stretch of country from sea to sea, where the smoke-stacks tell of the great engines of power driving all the mighty business of the nation, is not here in control.

Let us see where the majority of the majority of these committees is to be found. The Committee on Elections has nine Democrats and six Republicans. Of the majority of 9, seven-ninths are from the South. The Committee on Ways and Means, 11 Democrats, and of that majority six-elevenths are from the South. The Committee on Appropriations, 11 Democrats, of which majority seven-elevenths are from the South. The Committee on the Judiciary, 11 Democrats, and a majority of seven-elevenths of that great committee are from the South. The Committee on Banking and Currency, 11 majority, and seven-elevenths from the South. The Committee on Coinage Weights and Measures, 11 majority, of which seven-elevenths are from the South.

Interstate and Foreign Commerce, that wields such power over the destinies of the country, has 11 majority, and six-elevenths of that majority are from the South. Rivers and Harbors, the great feeder to the vast masses of the people and the transportation interests of the country, has 11 majority, and eight-elevenths from the South. The Committee on Agriculture, 11 majority, with seven-elevenths from the South. The Committee on Foreign Affairs, 9 majority, with six-ninths from the South. On Naval Affairs, 9 majority, and five-ninths from the South.

Post-Offices and Post-Roads, 9 majority, with sixth-ninths from the South. Public Buildings and Grounds, 9 majority, with six-ninths from the South. Education, 8 majority, with six-eighths from the South. Claims, 9 majority, with six-ninths from the South. War Claims, 7 majority, with four-sevenths from the South. District of Columbia, 9 majority, with seven-ninths from the South. Election of President and Vice-President and Representatives in Congress, 8 majority, with six-eighths from the South. Immigration and Naturalization, 7 majority, with four-sevenths from the South. Committee on Rules, 3 majority, with two-thirds from the South. Committee on Printing, 2 majority, all from the South. Joint commission to inquire into the status of laws organizing the Executive Departments, 2 majority, all from the South.

And how about the North? The Northern Democracy gets a majority of the following great (?) committees:——

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. HAUGEN. If I may be recognized, I will yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. HAUGEN] is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. HAUGEN. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON].

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. Now, I have named the great committees, and shown where the control is in the committees that shape the busidess of this country.

Now, let us see what the Northern Democracy gets in the way of control of committees.

You have the majority of the Committee on Military Affairs, which is a powerful committee, indeed, in these times of war. [Laughter.] You have a majority of the Committee on Public Lands, when nearly all the public land questions have been settled. You have a majority of the Committee on Territories, when there is nothing left, I believe, but Utah, to be figured on. You have a majority of the Committee on Manufactures, a gigantic committee, my Northern Democratic friends. [Laughter.] You have a majority of Mines and Mining. What a power in the interest of this great nation! [Laughter.] You have a majority of the Committee on Labor, on Private Land Claims, Alcoholic Liquor Traffic, on Irrigation of Arid Lands, on Ventilation and Acoustics! Look out for your health, boys. Keep in good health those in control so that they may be able to run the House. You have a majority of the Committee on Expenditures in the Treasury, War, and Post-Office Departments, in the Department of Justice; you have a majority on the Committee on Expenditures on Public Buildings. The South has the chairmanship of the Committee on Expenditures in the War Department, so they can manage it. You of the North have a majority of the Committee on Enrolled Bills, and of the Select Committee on Capitol Centennial Anniversary.

The committees that are equally divided between the North and the South in the majority are as follows: Indian Affairs, Railways and Canals, Pacific Railroads, Reform in the Civil Service, and the Committee on Accounts.

Now, my good friend from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN], do not go paring around the edges when it will count nothing. I say to my

good friend from Washington [Mr. WILSON], do not consume the time of the House with your amendment drawing a sectional line when it will not amount to anything. That was *res adjudicata* on election day until next election day, and then we may change the *res*.

Let us look a little further. Who are the chairmen of these great committees? The South has the following chairmen: Election, Ways and Means, Appropriations, Judiciary, Coinage, Weights and Measures, Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Rivers and Harbors, Agriculture, Foreign Affairs, Post-Offices and Post-Roads, Public Lands, Territories, Railways and Canals, Public Buildings and Grounds, Levees and Improvements of the Mississippi River, Education, Pensions, Claims, Private Land Claims, District of Columbia, Revision of the Laws, Ventilation and Acoustics, and six of the Department Expenditure committees; also on Public Buildings and Grounds, on Rules, on Accounts, on Printing, and on the joint commission to celebrate the Capitol Centennial—thirty-three in all.

There are the great committees that do the business of this House shaping the legislation of the nation. The following committees have Northern chairmen: Banking and Currency, Merchant Marine and Fisheries, Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, Indian Affairs, Manufactures, Mines and Mining, Pacific Railroads, Labor, Militia, Patents, Invalid Pensions, War Claims, Reform in the Civil Service, Election of President and Vice-President and Representatives in Congress, Alcoholic Liquor Traffic, Irrigation of Arid Lands, Immigration and Naturalization, Expenditures in the Treasury Department, Expenditures in the Department of Justice, Mileage, Library, and Enrolled Bills—with a very few exceptions, these are worthless committees and have but little influence on legislation.

Now, Mr. Speaker, that is all right. The Democracy of the South are entitled to it. They are the head and body and shoulders and brains of the Democratic party. You are right, gentlemen, in taking control of this Government; but let the Democratic party North answer to the great people of this country if they were right in putting you in control. There is the milk in the cocoanut. You have carried the election, my Democratic friends. The silver-tongued gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN] helped to bring on this reposing of power in the Democratic party, and now do not get down and wriggle when you suffer from the logical result of that election. [Applause on the Republican side.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I think the gentleman who last occupied the floor has drifted very far away from the question presented by the amendment of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER]. The gentleman has undertaken, however, to read to this House a lecture on the formation of the committees. I think the gentleman is quite unfair, if I may be allowed to say so, in the comments he has made upon the formation of the committees.

Now, sir, let me first take the Committee on Elections, to which the gentleman referred, and what is the condition there? That committee is composed of fifteen members, and eight members of that committee come from the States of the North, only seven from the South. The gentleman did not tell you that. You have a majority of the Committee on Elections. Are you not content with it? Do you decline to count the Republican members of that committee?

Mr. HEPBURN. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. No, sir. I have not the time. Take the Committee on Ways and Means, which is a committee composed of seventeen members. I find, Mr. Speaker, that that committee is composed of eleven from the north side of the Ohio River and only six from the south. Is not the gentleman satisfied with that? Take the next committee, which is the Committee on Appropriations. It is composed of seventeen members; ten of them come from the section to which the gentleman belongs. Is he not satisfied that these ten men can take care of the question of appropriations so far as the people of the North are concerned? Surely he would not argue that seven members from the poor South could do more in procuring appropriations than the ten members who come from his section of the country?

Take the Committee on the Judiciary, which is composed of fifteen members, Mr. Speaker, and ten of them come from the North, and only five from the South. Is not that satisfactory to the gentleman? Take, next, the Committee on Banking and Currency, composed of seventeen members, and ten of the members constituting that great committee, to which the gentleman referred, come from the North, and seven from the South. Is not the gentleman satisfied with a representation of that kind? Take the next committee, the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, which is composed of seventeen members, and ten of them come from the North, seven from the South. That certainly should be satisfactory to the people whom the gentleman represents.

Take the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, composed of seventeen members, and eleven of them come from the North and six from the South. Take the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, which is composed of seventeen members, and nine of them come from the North. Then take the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, composed of thirteen members, and nine of the thirteen come from the North. Take the Committee on Agriculture, composed of seventeen members, and ten of those members come from the North and seven from the South. Is not that satisfactory? Take the Committee on Foreign Affairs, composed of fifteen members, and nine of that number come from the North and six from the South. Take the Committee on Military Affairs, composed of sixteen members, and twelve of the sixteen members come from the North, only four from the South. Take the Committee on Naval Affairs, consisting of fifteen members, and ten of that number come from the North, five from the South. Take the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads, consisting of fifteen members, and eight of that number come from the North. Take the Committee on Public Lands, composed of fifteen members, and eleven of the fifteen come from the North, only four from the South. Take the Committee on Indian Affairs, consisting of fifteen members, and ten of those come from the North, five from the South.

That is as far as I have gone in the short time I had; but every committee, and I have omitted none—so far every committee down to this point has a large preponderance of Northern men upon it; and yet my friend comes and complains of the mode in which these committees are constituted. I will tell you what is the matter, my friend. The party to which you belong is a sectional party, and it has no existence in one-half of the States of this Union. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

If you want representation from the South, let me say to you you must change your policies, abandon your sectionalism, improve your political principles, secure members of Congress upon this floor from that section, and then you will have no ground of complaint at the fairness of the occupant of the Speaker's chair. [Applause.]

Mr. WILSON of Washington. But you will count them out.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. CATCHINGS. The hour of 5 o'clock having arrived, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to: and accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 1 minute p. m.) the House adjourned.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *August 31, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented a petition of sundry merchants and bankers of Bloomington, Ill., praying for the unconditional repeal of the so called Sherman silver law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PEFFER presented a petition of the Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union of Santa Clara County, Cal., praying for the free and unlimited coinage of silver; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. ALLEN. I present resolutions adopted at a meeting of 5,000 citizens of Omaha, Nebr., presided over by the mayor, favoring the establishment of Government postal savings banks. I move that the resolutions be referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. ALLEN presented a petition of citizens of York, Nebr., praying for the enactment of legislation restoring silver to free and unlimited coinage upon an exact equality with gold; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MITCHELL of Wisconsin presented a petition of the Board of Trade of La Crosse, Wis., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of Local Union No. 30, Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, of Milwaukee, Wis., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the freer and more extended use of silver as money; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. CULLOM. I present resolutions adopted at a grange meeting, held near Woodson, Ill., in favor of the free coinage of the silver bullion now in the Treasury and all that may be offered hereafter, and in favor of a constitutional amendment securing free coinage and forbidding the purchase of bullion or the issuance of bonds or paper money without the consent of a majority of the State Legislatures. I move that the resolutions lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. PALMER presented three petitions of business men, bankers, and other citizens of Chicago and Monticello, Ill., praying for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MURPHY presented petitions of the Iron Molders' Union No. 108, of Troy; of the depositors of the Union Dime Savings Institution, of Troy; and of citizens of Saugerties County, all in the State of New York, praying for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman silver law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. LODGE presented the petition of C. A. Chapman, Thomas H. Goodspeed, and 19 other citizens of Massachusetts, praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HUNTON presented the petition of James A. Sommerville and other citizens of Front Royal, Va., praying for the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. PEFFER. I desire to introduce a bill which I wish to call up at the proper time and propose as an amendment to the pending bill reported by the Committee on Finance. It is a bill to provide for the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver bullion. I will state to the Senate that it is simply a reënactment of five or six sections of the coinage act of 1837. I ask that it be printed and lie on the table.

The bill (S. 765) to provide for the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver bullion was read twice by its title and ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. IRBY introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims:

A bill (S. 766) for the relief of Joseph S. Baynard and others;
A bill (S. 767) for the relief of the heirs of Robert W. Fuller, deceased;
A bill (S. 768) for the relief of George W. Williams & Co.;
A bill (S. 769) for the relief of Francis T. Capers;
A bill (S. 770) for the relief of John W. R. Pope and the heirs of F. P. Pope;
A bill (S. 771) for the relief of the heirs of James B. Seabrook, deceased;
A bill (S. 772) for the relief of the heirs of George Jacob Huthmacher;
A bill (S. 773) for the relief of the heirs of John A. P. Scott;
A bill (S. 774) for the relief of the heirs of Joseph J. Pope;
A bill (S. 775) for the relief of Daniel T. Pope;
A bill (S. 776) for the relief of Robert G. Lamar;
A bill (S. 777) for the relief of Stockton E. Slawson;
A bill (S. 778) for the relief of the heirs of Samuel A. Nelson;
A bill (S. 779) for the relief of Frederick W. Claussen;
A bill (S. 780) for the relief of John F. Werner;
A bill (S. 781) for the relief of the heirs of Charles B. Capers;
A bill (S. 782) for the relief of William H. Connerat and Clarence S. Connerat;
A bill (S. 783) for the relief of the heirs of Robert J. Smith;
A bill (S. 784) for the relief of C. L. Slawson;
A bill (S. 785) for the relief of William Neyle Habersham, survivor, and William Neyle Habersham, as executor;
A bill (S. 786) for the relief of Mortimer W. Venning;
A bill (S. 787) for the relief of William R. Herron;
A bill (S. 788) for the relief of Louisa G. Heyward and others;
A bill (S. 789) for the relief of James D. McDowall, administrator of William D. McDowall, deceased;
A bill (S. 790) for the relief of the heirs and devisees of Henry McKee;
A bill (S. 791) for the relief of John Duncan, survivor;
A bill (S. 792) for the relief of the heirs of Benjamin Chaplin;
A bill (S. 793) for the relief of Thomas G. White, executor and testamentary trustee of the last will and testament of Joseph D. Eddings, deceased;
A bill (S. 794) for the relief of Evalina Ann E. Fripp;
A bill (S. 795) for the relief of Octavus A. White, trustee;
A bill (S. 796) for the relief of Edward M. Capers;
A bill (S. 797) for the relief of William Wilson;
A bill (S. 798) for the relief of the heirs of James Wells;
A bill (S. 799) for the relief of the heirs of Stephen Whitehead;
A bill (S. 800) for the relief of the heirs of Richard N. Kittles;
A bill (S. 801) for the relief of Louisa G. Heyward and others; and
A bill (S. 802) for the relief of the heirs and devisees of John J. T. Pope.

Mr. GORMAN introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 803) for the relief of Benjamin R. White, of Montgomery County, Md., for the use and occupation of his land in Montgomery County, Md., by the military forces of the United States during the war for the suppression of the rebellion.

A bill (S. 804) for the relief of Maria and Mary Reynolds, administrators of the estate of James Reynolds, of Allegany County, Md., for the use and occupation of real estate by the military forces of the United States during the war for the suppression of the rebellion.

A bill (S. 805) for the relief of Charles W. Shreves, of Montgomery County, Md., for the use and occupation of real estate by the military forces of the United States during the war for the suppression of the rebellion, as found by the Court of Claims, under the act of March 3, 1883;

A bill (S. 806) for the relief of Rueben A. Hurley, administrator *de bonis non* of R. A. Hurley, of Montgomery County, Md.;

A bill (S. 807) for the relief of Joseph Redfern and Eliza J. Redfern, his wife;

A bill (S. 808) for the relief of Anna M. Anderson and Charles Y. G. Anderson, executors of George W. Anderson, deceased, late of Washington County, Md.; and

A bill (S. 809) for the relief of Alexander Moffitt.

Mr. GORMAN also introduced a bill (S. 810) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate a certain cannon to the Naval Veteran Association of Baltimore, Md.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 811) for the relief of F. Halverson French; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 812) for the relief of William R. Steinmetz; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 813) for the relief of the owners of the Schillinger patents; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Patents.

Mr. HAWLEY introduced a bill (S. 814) for the relief of the representatives of Daniel C. Rodman, deceased, and others; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. GORMAN introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 22) authorizing the use of any unexpended balance of the appropriation for the reëstablishment of the Wolf Trap, Chesapeake Bay, light-house, and for the reëstablishment of the Solomons Lump, Chesapeake Bay, light-house, as far as may be necessary; which was read twice by its title.

Mr. GORMAN. I move that the joint resolution be referred to the Committee on Appropriations, with the accompanying letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, and that the letter be printed as a document.

The motion was agreed to.

SUPERVISING ARCHITECT'S OFFICE.

Mr. DOLPH. I introduce a joint resolution to which I desire to call the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds and the other members of that committee and also the Committee on Appropriations. I find in the legislative, executive and judicial appropriation act of last session the following, under the head of "Supervising Architect:"

> And the services of skilled draftsmen, civil engineers, computers, accountants, assistants to the photographer, copyists, and such other services as the Secretary of the Treasury may deem necessary and specially order, may be employed in the office of the Supervising Architect exclusively to carry into effect the various appropriations for public buildings, to be paid for from and equitably charged against such appropriations: *Provided*, That the expenditures on this account for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, shall not exceed $200,000; and that the Secretary of the Treasury shall each year in the annual estimates report to Congress the number of persons so employed and the amount paid to each.

I am unable to see the reason for inserting that portion of the proviso which reads as follows:

> That the expenditures on this account for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, shall not exceed $200,000.

It does not limit the appropriations. All the expenditures for this purpose are paid out of the appropriations for constructing the buildings. There is no provision here which regulates the amount which may be expended by the Supervising Architect out of any appropriation for this purpose; he may be extravagant

or otherwise, as he pleases; and there would appear to be no practical use of this limitation.

The result of the limitation is that there is not force enough in the Supervising Architect's office to prepare plans and specifications for buildings which have been appropriated for. So I learned from him yesterday morning. He says the fault is with Congress: that if we will give him money enough he will employ the necessary architects and have the plans made.

The sketch plans for the public building at Portland, Oregon, have not yet been made, although the act authorizing the building was passed on the 24th of January, 1891; an appropriation was made at the same session for the commencement of the building, and the site has been purchased, and, I think, $160,000 paid for it. The money appropriated lies idle in the Treasury. I am told by the Supervising Architect that he must take up all the buildings in the order in which the appropriations were made. The result is that on a large number of them nothing is being done whatever.

So, in effect, this proviso enabled the Committee on Appropriations to regulate the amount of money that shall be expended for public buildings. After the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds has made provision and Congress has made an appropriation for a public building they have stopped all expenditures for the purpose by limiting the amount which may be expended out of the appropriations for this service and other services in the Supervising Architect's office.

I introduce the joint resolution and ask that it be referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds; and I ask that committee to ascertain, if they can, whether the proviso which I seek to repeal is of any practical benefit.

The joint resolution (S. R. 23) relative to the employment of the services of skilled draftsmen, civil engineers, and others in the office of the Supervising Architect was read twice by its title.

Mr. VEST. The trouble to which the Senator from Oregon has alluded is deeper than would be inferred from the remarks he has made to-day. It has been the policy of the House of Representatives to defeat every bill sent from the Senate for the erection of public buildings that contains an appropriation. They have insisted for a number of years that these appropriations must be controlled by the Committees on Appropriations in the House and Senate. We have repeatedly passed bills making appropriations for public buildings and sent them to the other House, and they either refused to concur and struck out the appropriation or refused to act at all upon them.

The subject to which the Senator from Oregon has referred has been before our committees repeatedly for the last twelve years. The Committee on Appropriations in the House and in the Senate have always taken the position that this is a matter for their jurisdiction entirely, and that after looking at all the revenues of the Government, and determining the amount that may be appropriated for specific objects, they shall say how much should be given to the Supervising Architect's Office. I suggest to the Senator from Oregon that it is a matter in which our committee is entirely powerless. Unless the Appropriation Committee changes the mode of procedure we can do nothing. He has the same information that we can obtain from the Supervising Architect's Office, and that is that the appropriation is insufficient; but if we should come in here and attempt to control the appropriation we would be met immediately by the Committee on Appropriations with the information that we were trespassing upon their jurisdiction.

Now, a single remark as to the Supervising Architect's Office and the force there. I have known for a number of years that the Supervising Architect's Office has needed entire reorganization. It consists of a number of subordinate bureaus or divisions under the Supervising Architect, who is an officer of the Treasury Department. The present Secretary of the Treasury and myself have talked about the reorganization of that Bureau in his Department. Until there is a reorganization it will never have enough force to do the work. It is a defect of organization and not a defect in the number of employés.

In the first place, so long as we pay a miserable pittance of a salary to the Supervising Architect, we shall have this same kind of complaint. We are attempting to get a first-class officer for a fifth-class salary; and you can not expect the best architects in the United States to leave their employment in the larger cities, where they are making $20,000 to $40,000 and $50,000 a year, and come here to Washington City on a salary of $4,500. It is impossible to do it. But the whole Supervising Architect's Bureau ought to be reorganized, and the Secretary of the Treasury told me that he has that in contemplation.

Mr. HALE. Will the Senator from Missouri let me ask him a question?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. HALE. Is it not a fact, and has it not been true for years, that we are only enabled to get the services of a competent architect at the head of this great bureau or division for a very short time, and that the compensation which he can get outside is so much in excess of his salary that we can not keep a good man there? Is it not a fact that the whole business of this division has been always underestimated in Congress by the appropriation that has been given?

Mr. VEST. There is no doubt about that, Mr. President; but there are so many instances of that kind, I am hopeless myself of doing anything but to call attention to them. We expect to get first-class Indian agents for $1,200 or $1,500 a year, to leave civilization and take their families out amongst the Indian tribes; but we have never succeeded in doing it, and never will. It is simply impossible to secure a first-class architect at the salary we pay that officer.

Mr. MCPHERSON. Let me inquire of the Senator from Oregon the exact purpose of his joint resolution. If I understand the reading of its title aright, his purpose is to repeal the appropriation which provides for experts of all kinds and efficient aid——

Mr. DOLPH. Oh, no; not at all. I desire that the matter may be understood by the Senate. If there is any good reason for the limitation which I propose to repeal I should like to hear it now or hereafter. If the Committee on Appropriations had a specific purpose in inserting this provision in the act it can be stated. I think the probability is that it came in the bill from the other House, and that somebody had an idea it limited the amount of money to be expended for this purpose.

That is not true. Out of the appropriation in all bills for public buildings the plans and specifications are made. They are to be paid for out of this fund whenever the plans are made, and it will cost no more to make the plans to-day than it will cost five years from now. There is a provision contained in the last legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act that the Supervising Architect may employ architects, etc., to aid him, but that the amount of expenditure for that purpose in any one fiscal year shall not exceed $200,000. It does not limit any appropriation made by the act, but it prevents the Supervising Architect from expending in his office an amount exceeding $200,000 for plans.

Mr. MCPHERSON. For the employment of outside assistance?

Mr. DOLPH. Not outside assistance, but for all the assistance necessary in providing the plans. The Supervising Architect tells me that this provision should be repealed; that he can not with such a limitation employ sufficient force to make plans for the buildings Congress has provided for.

In the case of the public building at Portland, Oregon, which was authorized on the 24th of January, 1891, two years and a half ago, the sketch plans have not yet been drawn, although $160,000 has been expended for the site of the building, and the lot lies there. The excuse of the Supervising Architect is that he must take up these buildings in the order of the appropriations, and that the limitation of the amount he may expend for plans this year prevents him from reaching the Portland public building and others.

The joint resolution does not add a dollar to the appropriation and does not add a dollar to the cost of the plans; it simply allows the Supervising Architect to employ the necessary employés to make the plans for buildings which have been authorized and appropriated for by Congress.

I say that it may have been thought that this limitation in some way would limit the appropriation; it does not, but it does control the expenditure of money for public buildings by holding back the plans, and thereby holding back the expenditure. I do not think that was the intention of the committee. If it was, that would be one reason for the limitation.

Mr. MCPHERSON. Have any plans been made for a public building at Portland?

Mr. DOLPH. No, sir, because the Supervising Architect says he can not expend over $200,000 for plans.

Mr. MCPHERSON. Has there been an appropriation?

Mr. DOLPH. There has been an appropriation of $160,000 for the site, and appropriation enough to make the plans. We have had a foundation put in, and it has been lying there for over two years.

Mr. ALLISON rose.

Mr. MCPHERSON. If the Senator from Iowa desires the floor, I will yield.

Mr. ALLISON. I was waiting to be recognized by the Chair. Of course I yield to the Senator from New Jersey to continue his remarks.

Mr. MCPHERSON. I only wish to say a single word.

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] states that there has

been a great need of a reorganization of the office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department. That is apparent to everybody. We have not had a successful administration of that office for some years. I believe, however, that the present incumbent of that office is a man who is entirely competent to reorganize the office upon the very best possible basis to bring about good results, a man of high character and excellent qualifications, and a man of great energy.

I am in sympathy with the purpose of the joint resolution of the Senator from Oregon. I think it the duty of Congress to proceed in a manner which will enable the Supervising Architect not only to reorganize his office upon a firm and a stable and successful basis, but to arm him in every way with a sufficient amount of appropriation in order that his work may be made to show.

So far as the incumbent of the office is concerned, no better ability can be found in this country.

Mr. DOLPH. The Senator does not understand that I made any reflection upon that officer?

Mr. MCPHERSON. I am speaking of some remarks made by the Senator from Missouri, in which he said there was a disposition on the part of the Secretary of the Treasury to reorganize that office and put it upon a little better basis. The Secretary of the Treasury has proceeded in the right direction thus far in the selection of the agent who is to have the responsibility of this great work.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, the limitation on the appropriation in the legislative appropriation act of last year is the usual limitation which has been inserted for many years, the object being to limit the amount to be expended in each year for the purposes of preparing plans, etc. It was supposed that this sum would be large enough, or at least as large as could be economically expended.

Whilst I have not before me the figures of these appropriations from year to year, I have no doubt that the sum of $200,000 is as large a sum as has ever been appropriated for this purpose.

Mr. HALE. Here is a list for the last ten years, if the Senator desires to read it.

Mr. ALLISON. I thank the Senator. Here is the statement: In 1883, $130,000; in 1884, $120,000; in 1885, $140,000; in 1886, $130,000; in 1887 and 1888, $150,000; in 1889, 1890, and 1891, $175,000, and from 1892 to 1894, $200,000.

Mr. DOLPH. The Senator speaks of an appropriation. The matter I have been talking about is not an appropriation at all. It is simply a limitation upon the amount the Supervising Architect may expend out of appropriations for plans for public buildings.

Mr. ALLISON. I have not failed to understand what the Senator proposes. We make these appropriations for public buildings. They may be made as coming from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds or they may be made in the regular annual appropriation bills. Latterly, owing to a rule of the House of Representatives, they have been put upon the sundry civil act from year to year, because the House has refused to allow appropriations to be made for specific buildings. These appropriations are now put upon the sundry civil act, and out of these appropriations a certain sum may be expended annually for the purpose of preparing plans, etc. That I understood to be the statement of the Senator from Oregon. If I am mistaken about it he can correct me.

Mr. DOLPH. There is no limitation in the original appropriation.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly not.

Mr. DOLPH. The Supervising Architect may expend all the appropriation necessary for the plans.

Mr. ALLISON. Undoubtedly he could under the original appropriation.

Mr. DOLPH. But then comes in the general appropriation bill making a limitation on the amount he may expend for this purpose.

Mr. ALLISON. That is as to the amount which may be expended in any fiscal year in the Supervising Architect's Office.

Mr. DOLPH. Out of the appropriations already made.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly, out of the appropriation already made. Why is this? The Supervising Architect's Office is a limited office, both in its area and in the number of its employés, and there were some years ago—at least it was so stated—some abuses respecting the number of employés in that office. If a person was seeking employment who could find employment nowhere else he was directed to the Supervising Architect's Office. I have no doubt it would be a great convenience to the new administration of affairs which has just come into power, and which has more or less pressure upon it, if this fund could be enlarged to $400,000 or $500,000. Then there would be an opportunity of employing people in the Supervising Architect's Office; but it would be also necessary to enlarge the Treasury Building in order to find room for these new employés, or to rent large buildings outside.

The Senator from Oregon seems to have fallen into the impression that such a provision as that to which he has referred is a new thing upon the appropriation bill of last year, and that it was devised for the purpose of preventing the regular and rapid progress of the public buildings authorized by law and appropriated for.

Respecting the public building at Portland, I must submit to my friend from Oregon, that that building has progressed with as much rapidity as could fairly be expected. It is true the building was authorized in 1891, and there was a limit of cost put upon it, which was wholly unsatisfactory to the Senators from Oregon; therefore no plans could be made for the construction of that building, and it was at their urgent request and instance that, during the last year, we increased the limit of that appropriation, so that I think some $800,000 was appropriated.

Mr. DOLPH. Seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. I hope, however, the Senator will understand that I merely used the Portland building as an illustration. I have been talking about the propriety of the limitation.

Mr. ALLISON. And I am using the Portland building also for the purpose of illustration, and for no other purpose.

On the passage of the sundry civil act on the 3d of March, we provided for the enlargement of the cost of the building at Portland, the original appropriation not being satisfactory to the Senators from Oregon, but it was as large as we could secure in the Senate, and it was fixed at $750,000. So there was no opportunity for the Senators from Oregon to present their claims for a plan of the building until after the 4th of March.

I am glad to hear the Supervising Architect so well spoken of by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. MCPHERSON], because I understand he is a citizen of the State of New Jersey, and undoubtedly the Senator speaks from actual knowledge.

The Supervising Architect says very properly that he must take up the buildings which have been appropriated for and were considered prior to the building at Portland, Oregon, and he says also that, if he has money enough, he can make plans for the public buildings authorized at present.

I think, so far as the public buildings are concerned, $200,000 a year for the plans is as much as can be economically expended until there is a reorganization of the Supervising Architect's office. I agree with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], that we should employ architects outside of the city of Washington, who, with their force in the various cities of the Union, may make plans for public buildings.

So, whilst I do not specially object to the suggestions made by the Senator from Oregon, I can not conceive why it should be necessary for us now, with undue and rapid haste, to double up these appropriations far beyond any point hitherto reached, merely for the purpose of securing plans for public buildings.

Mr. DOLPH. I am not asking for an additional dollar of appropriation.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly, the Senator is not, and he has not a dollar of appropriation. There is no money appropriated for the building at Portland, Oregon.

Mr. DOLPH. Yes, there is.

Mr. ALLISON. How much?

Mr. DOLPH. There is nearly $100,000 unexpended after the purchase of the lot, and the money is on hand. I do not remember the exact amount.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well; it is not enough to lay the foundation of that building. I submit whether it is worth while for us to enter upon an elaborate scheme of plans for public buildings all over the United States until we are ready to appropriate the money to construct them. There are public buildings in my own State which are in the same condition as the one referred to by the Senator from Oregon, waiting for appropriations. Therefore I do not believe that it is worth while for us in haste to enlarge this expenditure during the present year beyond the $200,000 contained in the legislative, etc., appropriation act of last year, although if it be thought wise by those who now have charge of the public expenditures to enter upon a scheme which will necessitate extensive appropriations next year for public buildings I certainly shall interpose no objection.

Mr. MANDERSON. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. Is there any question before the Senate, Mr. President? I understand this to be the introduction of a joint resolution for reference.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the reference of the joint resolution introduced by the Senator from Oregon to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds; and the discussion has been proceeding without objection.

Mr. MANDERSON. If the debate is to be continued, I shall feel constrained to object to the consideration of the joint resolution, which will carry it over until to-morrow.

Mr. VEST. I do not wish to say anything more on this question, but I ask the Senator from Oregon to allow the joint resolution to go to the Committee on Appropriations. All that the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds could do would be to ask for information on the subject from the Supervising Architect of the Treasury and submit that to the Senate.

Mr. DOLPH. I prefer to have the joint resolution go to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. I think I have a right to get their opinion upon it. The limitation I have referred to was put upon the bill by the Committee on Appropriations, and I think this should go to the committee which originally reports bills for public buildings. I should like, also, to have a statement from the Supervising Architect in regard to it.

Mr. VEST. Our opinion would be worth very little unless the Committee on Appropriations concluded to let the money be appropriated.

Mr. MANDERSON. I shall object to the introduction of the joint resolution under section 1 of Rule XIV.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let it be printed and lie on the table.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The joint resolution was introduced without objection. It has been read the first and second times; and the Senator from Oregon has asked that it be referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. Is there objection to that reference?

Mr. MANDERSON. I object to it.

Mr. DOLPH. Does the Senator object to the reference? I think there will be no more debate upon it.

Mr. MANDERSON. If there be no further debate, I shall not object.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds in the absence of objection.

ISSUE OF ADDITIONAL GOLD CERTIFICATES.

Mr. COCKRELL. I introduce a joint resolution; which I ask to have read.

The joint resolution (S. R. 24) for the issue of additional gold certificates was read the first time by its title, and the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed, in pursuance of the provisions of section 254 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, to issue certificates, not at any time to exceed 20 per cent beyond the amount of gold coin and bullion in the Treasury, and to use and expend the same in payment of interest on the public debt, and any other demands, obligations, or liabilities of the United States.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, a word in relation to the joint resolution. Section 254 of the Revised Statutes reads thus:

SEC. 254. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to receive deposits of gold coin and bullion with the Treasurer or any assistant treasurer of the United States, in sums not less than $20, and to issue certificates therefor, in denominations of not less than $20 each, corresponding with the denominations of the United States notes. The coin and bullion deposited for or representing the certificates of deposit shall be retained in the Treasury for the payment of the same on demand. And certificates representing coin in the Treasury may be issued in payment of interest on the public debt, which certificates, together with those issued for coin and bullion deposited, shall not at any time exceed 20 per cent beyond the amount of coin and bullion in the Treasury; and the certificates for coin and bullion in the Treasury shall be received at par in payment for duties on imports.

The passage of this joint resolution will give instant relief to the existing panic, and it will be a thing of the past. It will put from $25,000,000 to $35,000,000 of gold certificates in circulation immediately, and add that amount, which is so badly needed, to the reserve in the Treasury.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. What disposition does the Senator suggest in regard to the joint resolution?

Mr. McPHERSON. Let it lie on the table.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let the joint resolution lie on the table and be printed. Objection has been made to it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That order will be made, in the absence of objection.

WIDOW OF C. P. CRANDALL.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay out of the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate to Mollie Crandall, widow of C. P. Crandall, deceased, late a messenger in the employ of the Senate, an amount equal to six months' salary as such messenger; said sum to be considered as in lieu of all funeral expenses and other allowances.

VALUES OF EXPORTS AND IMPORTS.

Mr. FRYE. I offer a resolution, for which I ask immediate consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to furnish the Senate, for its information, a detailed statement of the values of our exports and imports carried under the several flags engaged in our foreign carrying trade.

By unanimous consent, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. COCKRELL. For what time does the resolution ask the information?

Mr. FRYE. I am willing to limit it to the last fiscal year.

Mr. COCKRELL. There ought to be some time specified.

Mr. FRYE. I did not notice that omission.

Mr. VOORHEES. Say "during the last fiscal year."

Mr. FRYE. I will modify the resolution by adding "during the last fiscal year."

Mr. COCKRELL. Why not say "during each of the two last fiscal years."

Mr. FRYE. Well, I will say "during the last two fiscal years."

Mr. COCKRELL. No; each of them. Let them be separate.

Mr. FRYE. Very well; I will then modify the resolution so as to read "during each of the last two fiscal years."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The modification suggested by the Senator from Maine will be made to the resolution. The question is on agreeing to the resolution as modified.

The resolution was agreed to.

OBSTRUCTIONS TO COLUMBIA RIVER NAVIGATION.

Mr. DOLPH submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, directed to transmit to the Senate, without unnecessary delay, the report of the Board of Engineers appointed under the provisions of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works for rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," approved July 13, 1892, to reëxamine the obstructions to navigation in the Columbia River from the navigable waters thereof below Three Mile Rapids to the navigable waters above the Celilo Falls, and to report thereon.

BACK CREEK ROUTE.

Mr. HIGGINS. On the 25th of August I introduced a resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce, requesting the Secretary of War to send a revised estimate and a report of the survey of the Back Creek route, with reference to a ship canal between the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays. I ask that an order be made for the printing of the resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That order will be made, in the absence of objection.

AMENDMENT TO A BILL.

Mr. DOLPH. I submit an amendment intended to be proposed by me to the bill (H. R. 4) to provide for certain urgent deficiencies in the appropriations for the service of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, and for other purposes.

I ask that the amendment be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. It provides for the payment of Senate per diem clerks during the recess two years ago, as authorized by a resolution of the Senate. It is a demand which should be paid by the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be printed and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, in the absence of objection.

PROPOSED FINANCIAL LEGISLATION.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. President, if the Senate is willing, I should like to submit some remarks on the President's message after the routine business of the Senate is through next Wednesday morning.

PURCHASE OF SILVER BULLION.

Mr. VOORHEES. If the morning business is concluded I ask——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no further concurrent or other resolutions, the morning business is closed.

Mr. VOORHEES. I ask that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill No. 1, on which I understand the Senator from Colorado [Mr. WOLCOTT] desires to address the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The title of the bill will be reported.

The SECRETARY. A bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. President, it is said that a financial panic is invariably accompanied or followed by a widespread religious revival. Up to this time we are unfortunately without that beneficent occurrence. The ready and complete change of heart, however, on the financial question which we have witnessed in this Chamber gives evidence that this is a time when men are especially open to conviction. And if the Administration, with its petty spoils and patronage has been able to make so many converts, what may we not hope when the assurances of future happiness will be, not for four short years, but for eternity? The misfortune under which the silver men suffer is that the Administration conversion came first. For if the hearts of Senators had first

been impressed with the littleness of the things of this world and the glory of things supernal, the people, who are to be the sufferers, would not have been deserted by their representatives.

Except as patronage may be used to affect the action of Congress, there is no criticism to be made respecting the policy of the Administration. There has been much comment upon the present attitude of the Secretary of the Treasury, because while he represented a constituency in Congress he was an earnest advocate of the free coinage of silver. Such criticism is misplaced. He is a member of the President's household, and committed to carrying out the President's policy, or to withdrawal from the Cabinet. The Secretary of the Treasury is not the only member of the Cabinet who must have radically changed the views of a lifetime in subordination to those of his chief.

Nor is the President of the United States open to stricture because of his message. He has been a consistent and persistent opponent of silver coinage since his first entrance into public life. There has never been a moment's doubt as to where he stood. The platform of his party, it is true, declared in favor of silver, but the platform meant no more to him than the wind that blows. We of the West knew perfectly well last fall that whoever of the two candidates should be successful, we were powerless, and that our reliance must be placed in Congress, which had already on more than one occasion shown its willingness to rise above the personal wishes of the Executive.

The friendship for silver expressed by every member of each House of Congress who has spoken on this question is remarkable and unanimous. No Senator in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act has failed to announce in solemn words his belief in bimetallism. The statement may be soothing to his conscience, but it serves no other purpose so far as favorable legislation is concerned. The Senators who state that they are bimetallists, but that international agreement is necessary before we can adopt the double standard, misstate the proposition.

International agreement must depend on the attitude of Great Britain. If, then, Great Britain consents to a double standard, they are bimetallists. If she adheres to gold, they are monometallists. The policy of Great Britain, which they are powerless to shape or to control, is the policy they advocate. They are willing to sacrifice not only a great region of our country, whose resources are of infinitely more material value to the East than all our trade with Great Britain, but the welfare and prosperity of every farmer and toiler in the land, in order that we may be in entire accord with Great Britain in our financial policy.

Nor are the friends of silver in the slightest degree carried away by such utterances as those of the Senator from New York the other day. Who is not for us is against us. It would have been far more satisfactory if, instead of arguing in favor of silver and likewise in favor of unconditional repeal, the Senator had argued against silver and then announced his intention of voting against unconditional repeal, and his speech would have been equally logical.

Silver has been compelled to bear everybody's burdens for many months, and it seems now involved in some fashion with the Democratic differences in New York.

The Senator from New York knows perfectly well that free coinage by separate act is impossible during the incumbency of the present Executive, and that any assistance he may desire to render must come now or not at all. Those who believe in the principle of free coinage of both gold and silver care not a bawbee about the local fights in New York, and, for my own part, I prefer an open foe who asks no quarter and gives none, who has been steadily opposed to silver and has never concealed his views, to one who "keeps the word of promise to our ear, and breaks it to our hope."

The most remarkable and most ominous occurrence, however, has been the change of front by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], chairman of the Finance Committee. For nearly a generation, in season and out, he has posed as a friend of the people. Many and varied have been the remedies he has proposed; but until last week, if consistent in nothing else, he has everywhere and at all times found occasion to denounce the national-bank system and to advocate the free coinage of silver. I have been examining the files of the RECORD for the past decade and longer, with a view of reminding the Senator of the days of which Charles Lamb wrote; those "red-letter days, now become, to all intents and purposes, dead-letter days."

But what is the use? The banks were Molochs and everything else that sounds bad and wicked, and no matter what other gentlemen might do, he would never vote to extend their charters, or enlarge their powers, and looked forward with hope to the time when they would be wiped out altogether. He even opposed the amendment permitting them to issue notes up to 90 per cent of their bonds on deposit with the Treasury. And during all these years the Senator from Indiana has been also apparently the unvarying friend of free coinage. The RECORD contains speech after speech in which he shows the necessity for, and the availability of, the use of silver. One of these speeches was delivered only last year, since the passage of the Sherman act, in which he utters no word of reproach respecting that law, but urges a continued and increasing use of the metal as coin.

This is a brief summary of the utterances of the Senator from Indiana on these subjects. But "his words were writ in water," and the pitiful outcome of it all are the two bills now before us: The bill to permit national banks to issue notes to the par of their bonds, and the bill for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act.

For the first time in the legislative history of either of them, the Senator from Indiana and the Senator from Ohio are in complete accord in financial matters. For a generation they have both served in public life, the one, in public estimation, standing for the masses, the other for the classes, yet both meet at last on common ground! It has not been always so. Since the passage of the Sherman act and just prior to the last Presidential election the Senator from Indiana, in a warm and impassioned article in the North American Review, in favor of free coinage, described his colleague as follows:

> Now, however, those who eighteen years ago wrought under cover for the destruction of one-half the honest, debt-paying money of the American people, are as well known as if a calcium light had been turned on them, and are as universally distrusted by the plain, laboring, and productive masses as if they had been caught in the commission of crime. This feeling of distrust is confined to no one party. The ablest and most distinguished opponent of silver money in the United States, and, more than any other one man, the author of the legislation of 1873 on that subject—

But I suppose the *amende honorable* of the Senator from Indiana yesterday may possibly be held to cover this article as well as the Senator's utterances in this Chamber—

> has been before three national conventions of the Republican party seeking a nomination for the Presidency, and seeking it in vain.
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> Mr. SHERMAN of Ohio is always to be spoken of with respect as a man of ability and large experience, and more especially so in connection with the finances of the country. It is true that he has been on both sides of every financial issue for more than a quarter of a century past; but it is also true that he has always veered from one point of the compass to the other at the exact time when his services were most valuable to the money power, and most oppressive to the laboring, overtaxed, debt-paying farmers and wage workers of the country.

I hope the Senator from Indiana will not be able to catch up with him. [Laughter.]

> And yet, with all his eminent services in behalf of the financial centers, as they are called, banking corporations, usurers, interest-eaters, and parasites on human labor generally, the leaders of the Republican party in New York have never dared in national convention to cast the vote of that State for him.
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> The opportunity was presented in 1880, 1884, and 1888, and the weight of obligation which the moneyed interets were under to Mr. Sherman was not denied; but a wholesome fear that the plain people would resent at the polls his hostility to their interests restrained the impulse of gratitude, if, indeed, such a sensation as gratitude is ever known to organized wealth.

But it is different now. The wolf is dwelling with the lamb, and the leopard is lying down with the kid. [Laughter.] This delightful harmony, I fear, will not long continue, and when they arise they will be fewer in number. [Laughter.] There can be but one chairman of the Finance Committee, and without in the least underrating the abilities of the Senator from Indiana, those of us who have watched the course of financial legislation for the past twenty years, commencing with the demonetization of silver in 1873, must be pardoned if we look forward to the resumption of the control of the committee by the Senator from Ohio, and if we recall in this connection old Pharaoh's dream of the lean kine.

In what I have said I beg to be understood as offering no harsh personal criticism respecting the Senator from Indiana. He has been so long the advocate of silver that I can not yet believe he will desert the cause or cast his vote for unconditional repeal. I only venture to remind him, in view of his past utterances, that old Solomon did not belie his reputation for wisdom when he said, "It is better thou shouldest not vow than that thou shouldest vow and not pay."

The report of the Finance Committee, signed by two Democrats and by four Republicans, and not concurred in by four Democrats and one Republican, is bedecked with plumage which it has no right to wear. The issue is clear enough and nobody is deceived by the verbiage of the report.

Silver is to be demonetized—the Sherman law to be robbed of the purchasing clause. There is always a to-morrow, and it is unwise to close our eyes to the character of the proposition.

No man can be a bimetallist in the sense that he believes in the further coinage of both gold and silver by the United States, and advocate the bill. The President of the United States will undoubtedly veto any independent measure for the free coinage of silver, and there is not a Senator in this body who does not believe this to be true. The only possible chance to save silver is to couple any provision looking to a change in the Sherman act with some measure recognizing and establishing silver coin-

age. Any man who will vouch for Mr. Cleveland as a bimetallist would vouch for the man in the moon.

It is urged upon us that we have been called together for a specified purpose, and that it is our duty to accomplish that, and that only, and then go home. It is everywhere admitted that we need further legislation respecting silver; but it is glibly said that we can have that later. Why not now? Congress is in session to deal with the financial question. We are all of us advised as to the situation. We shall never know more than we know now about silver. It is conceded on every hand that the Sherman act had nothing to do with the existing financial panic. Then why not at this time determine the policy which this country should follow, and bring the subject to a finality?

We are told that it is essential that we act quickly. Very true; and if we are all bimetallists and all favor the repeal of the Sherman act, no obstacle stands in the way of speedy action. And I may be permitted to suggest to the gentlemen who are in so great a hurry that if time be of value to them they may, perhaps, secure the repeal of the Sherman act far more quickly by coupling with it some fair provision for silver coinage than in the way suggested by the Finance Committee. It may be true, as the Senator from New York last week foretold with confidence, that the purchasing clause of the Sherman act will be surely and unconditionally repealed; but it is equally true that he may possibly find it necessary after a time to revise his prophecy.

Since this subject was thrashed over during the last Congress two new reasons have been advanced why silver should cease to be either purchased or coined at our mints. They are persistently presented to us by the advocates of the bill reported by the Finance Committee. They are, first, that our abandonment of silver will compel England to agree to an international conference, and to the restoration of silver as a money metal to be freely coined as offered; and the other, that the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act will restore confidence in our finances and our financial institutions to the people, who have lost faith in both.

We are constantly assured that our abandonment of silver will force England to an international agreement. This may be true. There is not gold enough in the world to do its business, and some day this will be recognized by monometallist countries. But the time is far away. Capital is strong and selfish. This Senate Chamber to-day is the best possible exemplification of its power, and a long period of suffering and of shrinkage will pass before we return to the double standard.

Meanwhile, the sections heretofore devoted to the search for silver will become largely depopulated. The mines will fill with water, the timbers which sustain their walls will rot, the vast industries dependent for success on the mining regions will become bankrupt, and a generation will not serve to renew their prosperity, even after silver may be remonetized. The investments in railroads, mines, smelters, and other property directly and fatally affected by the action recommended by the Finance Committee aggregate more than $1,000,000,000, and they are all to be sacrified that we may make our financial policy in exact accord with Great Britain, the creditor of the world!

The argument is as if one should say, protection is wise, and must be the bulwark of our prosperity. It is threatened year after year by the advocates of free trade. There is one way to settle the agitation finally and forever. Submit to absolute free trade. A few years will show the folly of it. The country will then return to protection, and you will not be again disturbed. I picture the eagerness with which New England would grasp the suggestion, the warm-hearted welcome she would extend to the friends who thus advised her.

Since I have referred to the subject of protection another word may as well be said. There is no analogy between free coinage and protection. They rest on essentially different principles, are based on separate foundations. Yet if this great country, with its enormous area and wealth and population and resources, is to change its monetary policy to follow and to be in accord with that of Great Britain, it alters the whole basis of our relations with foreign countries.

I speak with hesitancy and reluctance; but as the subject now presents itself, if this bill shall pass, and silver be, as it must be, absolutely dethroned and degraded, I know of no reason why any Senator who believes in free coinage should ever cast another vote in favor of protection in any form. If we are to have a steadily appreciating currency and constantly lowering prices, it is better for our farmers and wage workers that they have the opportunity of buying, untrammeled and unrestricted, in the markets of the world. In the light of the proposed policy, bounties are iniquitous, protection an oppression, and free ships desirable. This is an era of experiment. Let us experiment all around.

Even if it were true that our abandonment of silver would, in time, compel other nations to rehabilitate it and renew its coinage, the taking of such a step by this people would, in my opinion, be ruinous and unnecessary. We have a vast area of country, with many and varied resources and constantly increasing needs. Our great cities, the centers of the commerce of the country surrounding them, are remote from, and largely independent of each other. The numberless new enterprises everywhere springing up and the constantly increasing avenues of trade demand a steadily enlarging volume of currency to keep pace with our growing demands.

We produce of gold, available for coinage, less than $18,000,000 annually. We can absorb the silver offered us for coinage without inflation of the currency and without impairing our financial credit at home or abroad. The silver held in Europe is in coin and needed there, and surely not to be returned at a loss. We can not get the gold to furnish the needed increase; and we believe in hard money, gold and silver, in preference to the only other alternative, irredeemable fiat money, based only on credit. The two metals together would furnish us, if our mints were reopened, a stable, enduring, and adequate currency. France for seventy years maintained their parity. With an area seventeen times greater than France, and a vastly larger population and far greater resources, who shall say that the United States can not coin both gold and silver at her mints as offered, and maintain their parity and her own financial integrity?

To those timid people who look to international conference for sanction before they are willing to embark upon the coinage of our gold and our silver, I commend the following excerpt clipped from a recent paper:

> The increase of our population in the brief period of ten years from 1880 to 1890 exceeds the entire population of Mexico; an increase of population in the United States in ten years of more than 30 per cent of the entire population of France, more than 40 per cent of the population of Italy, nearly 70 per cent of the population of Spain; an increase equal to twice the population of Belgium, three times the population of the Netherlands or Europe in Turkey, four times the population of Switzerland, and six times the entire population of Denmark or of Greece.

In the face of such a showing, I can imagine no more cruel, or unnecessary or unbusinesslike proceeding than to hold our whole financial system in abeyance until Europe determines what policy will be satisfactory to her.

The other additional reason for repeal, Mr. President, presented by the advocates of the bill reported by the Finance Committee would be droll, if the times were not tragic. One Senator after another tells us, and the other House echoed with the same statement, that the existing law, known as the Sherman law, has absolutely nothing to do with the present deplorable financial panic, but that some other people, who are not designated by name or calling, think it has; that there is a woful lack of confidence, not in our silver certificates, but in our financial institutions, and that this departed confidence will return if Congress will repeal the purchasing clause of the act of 1890.

A few days since I demonstrated, as best I could, the folly of this statement, and I shall not weary the Senate with a repetition of what I then said. This panic will go down into history as a banker's panic. Months ago the associated national banks, as an organization, began demanding the repeal of the Sherman act. They solemnly assured themselves and the country that they would be ruined if it were not repealed. They charged to silver the export of gold when every dollar that went would have gone if we had never a silver dollar in our coinage. They continued to clamor until the people who had money in the banks drew it out—bills, gold, or silver, it mattered not which, for they knew the dollar stamped by the Government was good for 100 cents. They sought to bring discredit upon the financial policy of the Government; they have succeeded in engulfing themselves. If you ask a banker to-day how the repeal of the Sherman act is to restore confidence to the depositors who have drawn out some $180,000,000, he can not tell you.

Mr. President, the depositors did not complain of the Sherman act, and no one of them drew out his money because of the existence of that law. I have no sort of hostility towards national banks. The system afforded the first basis of confidence in our bonds and has been of vast service to the country. The attitude of the banks towards the Sherman law, however, in connection with some recent occurrences, deserves mention at this time. The banks demand, as I have said, the repeal of the Sherman law. This act is the only one now upon our statute books which permits an enlargement of the currency. In time of panic, such as this, it would seem unaccountable that banking institutions should not desire an increase in the volume of money.

The fact is, however, that when the Sherman act shall have been repealed, the banks intend asking Congress to authorize either an issue of bonds or bills to the amount of one hundred millions or more for the purchase of gold, and they have good reason to believe that a complaisant Finance Committee will authorize a bill for the issue. This would bring temporary prosperity, and aid in the journey toward gold monometallism.

Meanwhile, we are asked to authorize the banks to issue notes to the par value of their bonds deposited to secure circulation, a measure which recent disclosures would indicate is of importance to their depositors as well as to the banks. While waiting for this measure to become law, clearing-house certificates, based on rediscounted paper, furnish an excellent substitute for money.

Nobody was disposed to find fault with this procedure, but when a resolution was offered the other day calling on the Comptroller of the Currency, whose integrity everybody recognizes, to inform us whether the banks were obeying the law or not, an extraordinary incident occurred. The Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] informed us that, as a matter of fact, all the banks were violating the laws; that if they did not violate the law they would all have to close; and we were urged not to inform ourselves of the facts, but to let the Comptroller alone. No more remarkable statement was ever made. Congress is in session ready to enlarge or change the law if necessary, but we are informed that it is our duty to blind ourselves to the facts, and to our oaths, and to suffer the law to be violated without inquiry or rebuke.

Did it ever occur to the Senator from Maryland that a depositor might have some rights which the law ought to protect? And did it ever occur to the banks that possibly the "lack of confidence" in their institutions might not be wholly due to the Sherman act? In the struggle which is now being fought out on this floor, whatever may be the outcome, we have all learned something of the divinity that hedges around a moneyed institution to an Eastern mind.

A Western point of view is not much valued these days on Wall street, but I venture to suggest to the able financiers of that attractive but expensive locality, that if they will prevent a repetition of such frauds as the whisky trust, and such mismanagement as has been shown in Cordage and other industrials; will remember that the Sherman act, or some kindred measure recognizing silver coinage, must afford them the only avenue possible for an enlargement of the currency which they especially need; will look at a map of these United States and observe that they cover a broad expanse of country, and contain many people with many views; and will so modify their opinion as not to believe that every man who differs with them respecting financial matters must be either a villain or a crank, we will the sooner arrive at that condition of mutual confidence and regard which ought to obtain between citizens of the same country.

The opponents of further silver coinage in the United States are endeavoring to create the impression that there is an overproduction of silver in the world; that silver is cheaply produced at a cost much less than even its present market price as a commodity, and that upon a return to free coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1, the present product would be largely increased. No one of these statements is true, and the falsity of each of them can be readily demonstrated.

When an annual product is not consumed, the measure of its increase must be ascertained by comparison with the stock on hand.

Carefully prepared tables show that in 1872 the world's supply of gold produced since 1492 was $5,453,000,000, and of silver $6,751,000,000. Of the total of these sums 44.68 per cent was gold; 55.32 per cent was silver. At the close of last year the existing stock of gold in the world was $7,610,000,000, and of silver $9,097,000,000. After four hundred years of production the gold composed 45.55 per cent and the silver 54.45 per cent of the two metals. The world's product of gold existing in 1872 has since that year increased 39.55 per cent, while the increase of the stock of silver amounts to 34.77 per cent.

Advocates of the abandonment of further coinage of silver must look elsewhere for reasons why it should be discarded as a money metal. It is not and has never been overproduced. The reasons for its fall in value are not because it is too abundantly furnished, but because the great demand for it must ever be for coinage purposes, and legislation has robbed it of this demand. If gold were demonetized, gold as a commodity would fall equally in value. Talk of over-production! Why, in the twenty years, between 1853 and 1873, the production of gold in the world exceeded the production of silver by $1,441,000,000, but both were equally welcome at the mints, and no disturbance resulted. In the twenty years from 1873 to 1893 the excess of silver produced over gold has been but $190,000,000, yet the gold value of silver decreased 42 cents an ounce. Overproduction has not affected the value of silver. Legislation alone degraded it and destroyed its value; legislation, and legislation alone, can restore it.

Nor is it true that silver is produced so cheaply that there is a great margin between its cost and its coinage value at the old ratio of 129 cents an ounce. It belittles the whole subject to even state the proposition. What has the cost of mining gold to do with its value as coin? As a matter of fact where gold has been found the cost of mining it has been far less than of mining silver. The great proportion of the gold is found in placers and gulches, quickly and profitably produced when discovered in paying quantities. Nuggets valued at thousands of dollars are sometimes found by some prospector or miner in a day. The day's wages or expenses of the man who found the nugget would have no relation to the cost of the gold product, and would have no bearing on the coinage question if it did.

Mr. President, you can not measure its cost in that way. I could take you to a section in Colorado—a county which is the residence of my colleague—one of the few sections of our country that produces gold in paying quantities through the years in fissure veins, and I could take you through a hundred miles of shafts and tunnels and adits and levels and cross-cuts and drifts that have cost from ten to fifty dollars a foot to sink and to drive them, which never produced a dollar's worth of ore—shafts that were sunk for blind veins and did not find them, or were sunk on barren streaks; tunnels that were driven through cross-country, and found nothing at the end of it, drifts and adits driven on the barren portion of the vein.

Are they not to be counted? I can take you over the mountain, just over the hill, to where the placer miners are taking out an ounce a day, worth $20, with wages at $3 a day. Would anybody say that therefore the cost of the production of gold in Gilpin County was $3 an ounce? You must measure the losses with the gains. The mountains of the West are peppered and scarred with shafts and tunnels and prospect holes which brought the miner nothing. Are they not to count? Are you to measure your own standard of value by its cost? You might as well say the value of the $1 bill is the cost of paper on which it is printed.

I have seen a mechanical invention—the Westinghouse, for instance—which has made a vast amount of money, a million dollars; and you might as well say that therefore the profit on mechanical patents is a million dollars. Go down to the Department of the Interior and see thousands and thousands of models of patents that represent the work and labor of years now covered with dust and profitless to everybody; must you not take into consideration the losses as well as the gains? So it is with silver. The sum of all the labor and expenditure that goes into the production of silver in the United States is undoubtedly far greater than the value of the silver produced.

But, Mr. President, as the statement has been so persistently made in this Chamber that the cost of producing silver is so slight (I believe the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL], who is not now here, made some statement of the astonishingly low price at which silver was produced), a careful investigation was entered into by a committee of leading citizens appointed for the purpose, and I hold in my hand the summary of the result of their investigation, which I ask to have printed at the close of my remarks.

The investigation was most exhaustive. The total silver product of Colorado for 1892 was 24,000,000 ounces. Of this two counties, Lake and Pitkin, produced 40 per cent. The returns from the smelters showed the value of the silver and of the by-products, lead and copper. The two counties were separately tabulated as to production, from the date of their settlement, and the total product of each carefully ascertained. An examination of the records was then made showing the number of claims preëmpted, the cost of sinking the shaft necessary before location, the cost of the survey, and of the filing of the notice of location. The law requires $100 worth of work annually on each claim prior to patent. The number of claims not abandoned was ascertained.

The law further requires an expenditure of not less than $500 of work before patent will issue, and certain expenses of survey, etc., are necessarily incurred in patenting each claim. The number of patented claims was ascertained from the Government land offices, and these sums computed. From the records obtainable of mining and smelting operations full tables were prepared. A summary shows that Leadville has produced in fourteen years, net, $104,515,824, at a cost of $121,521,583, showing a loss in silver mining changed into a fair profit by the value of the by-products. Pitkin County is tabulated in the same way, and I commend the report to the attention of Senators who believe that the cost of mining has any bearing on the question of coinage. Of course, sometimes fortunes are made and are widely advertised, but the failures are numberless and are never counted. Abbot Lawrence, fifty years ago, stated that in Boston out of fourteen merchants who start in business thirteen failed. The commercial agencies will tell you that now the proportion of failures is even greater. The successes are 1 in 18, or 1 in 20. Would you measure the profits of business by the fortunes of your merchant princes.

The assertion is likewise made that if we return to silver coinage there would at once be a much larger production of the precious metals. It is not true. The West has seen the zenith

of its mining industry. The zone in which mines may be found—the mineral belt—is as well or better defined than is the coal belt of Pennsylvania. There is not a square rod of ground within the mining belt that has not been prospected. Everywhere has the hardy miner been searching for the precious metals. There may be other discoveries yet made, but the great mass of the country has been developed and its riches extracted.

You will find, Mr. President, that whatever legislation may hereafter come, if silver shall again be restored to its pedestal, the production of the precious metals, unfortunately, can not much increase. I hope it may. So long as silver is recognized as coin, so long will the courageous prospector search for it, until there are no longer any secrets concealed in the bosom of mother earth.

But, Mr. President, all discussion of the cost of production or of present or future overproduction are beside the mark.

The people of the far Northwest favor the resumption of the free coinage of silver because they believe in the principle of bimetallism. We are not inflationists; we do not advocate fiat money. We believe that, as the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES] so aptly put it, the rude obstacles which nature interposes offer a better safeguard for the people than the wisdom or unwisdom of their rulers. We oppose the single standard because there is not enough gold to do the business of the world and furnish its inhabitants with the currency they need.

The history of all times has shown that a scarcity of circulating medium means a continuous fall in prices, depression in business activity, the impoverishment of the people, and a decline in civilization. The last twenty years have but emphasized the experience of the centuries. Silver has not depreciated; gold has appreciated. The double standard relieves the tension which may be caused by the lessened production of the one metal or the increased production of the other. It secures to the debtor at the maturity of his debt money of the value he received when his debt was incurred. The two metals together furnish a standard which has permanency, stability, accessibility, and is a suitable and adequate measure of value.

Mr. President, the question as to whether silver shall by the passage of the bill before us be finally demonetized is national and not local. The claims we urge in behalf of the recognition of silver are not pressed because we of the mountains ask your sympathy for a region which your proposed action would impoverish and ruin. If we represented any other section, with our knowledge of the possibilities of the great West, we would be equally tenacious for the preservation of the white metal as a standard of value. No man removed from the money centers, and realizing the illimitable resources of this Republic and its constantly expanding needs, will ever stand for the contraction of a currency already insufficient.

Our interests, our hopes, and aspirations are identical with those of the other sections of our country which are borrowers and not lenders; with those of the Carolinas, of Alabama and Mississippi, and Arkansas and Missouri, the Dakotas and Washington in the remote Northwest. We demand the coinage of both metals, because the history of our country and of all lands has taught us that they afford the safest and most adequate basis for the currency of the people.

We are not influenced by our environment. It is true that for a generation at least many States, some of them larger in population than any one of three of the New England States, and having greater resources, minerals included, than all of them put together, will suffer if this bill shall become a law, to an extent impossible to describe, and which in our life time can not be repaired; but we can endure it. The strong will survive and the weak will go to the wall. It is the lot of man. But before you complete your work, I beg of you to pause long enough to realize that this is the first time in the history of republics—nay, even of governments—that a people devoted to one of the noblest of human industries, the search for the precious metals of the world, were doomed to destruction by their fellow-men because they produced too much of them.

You ought to be proud that within the limits of our own country the courage and enterprise and industry of your own people have disclosed and developed silver enough and nearly gold enough to satisfy the constantly increasing needs of those metals for coinage purposes. There could be no stronger bulwark of a country's safety than that she produces her own coin for her own people, and is not dependent for it on foreign nations.

If the mining States were alone to suffer by the unconditional repeal which is proposed, we would sacrifice without a murmur our interests to a mistaken policy for the public good; but there is no section of our country you are not likewise devoting to disaster and impoverishment. You are endeavoring to remove one of the corner stones on which the fabric of our Government is based. You are seeking to tear down one of the pillars of the temple of our prosperity. You will find to your sorrow that when the western and southern walls have fallen, the eastern façade will not remain unmutilated and secure.

The words one uses to express a proposition in finance sound cold and formal and dry. But the result of our action at this great crisis must affect deeply every home and fireside in this broad land. Measured against the welfare of a great people, threatened with the misery and suffering which must follow the proposed abandonment of silver coinage, of how slight importance are party lines, and how paltry and sordid do patronage and the favor of the Executive appear. The battle must be fought to an end in this forum. On other occasions the Senate of the United States, in opposition to the wishes of the Executive and a hostile majority in another body, has stood firm and unyielding against party and Eastern clamor.

No sectional horizon obscures our vision. If the contest for the people is to be won, it must be because against the selfish demands of the East are arrayed the united votes of the South and West. The fertile acres of your section wait for the plow of the husbandman; so do ours. You need capital for the development of your great resources; so do we. Both sections alike need fair prices for the produce of the farm, and a stable and sufficient currency.

It is for us, standing together on this great question, to save our common country from greater suffering and impoverishment than even the horrors of war could inflict; and by our united votes to maintain, not alone the standard of both gold and silver contemplated by the Constitution, and consecrated by centuries of usage, but to maintain, as well, the standard of American independence and American manhood. [Applause in the galleries.]

APPENDIX.

SOME FACTS AND FIGURES WITH REFERENCE TO THE COST OF PRODUCING SILVER IN COLORADO.

Colorado produced in 1892 24,000,000 ounces of fine silver, or over 58 per cent of the total production of the United States.

Of this 24,000,000 ounces, the two counties of Lake and Pitkin produced over 40 per cent. In these two counties the mining districts of Leadville and Aspen are located, known to the world as the two largest silver producers of the present time.

Reliable data regarding these two districts ought to furnish conclusions that would be beyond question as to the general cost of producing silver, for the reason that the quantity of mineral and conditions in these camps must give most favorable results to the mine owner.

Leadville produces gold, lead, and copper as "by-product" of her silver mines; while Aspen's output is all silver except a by-product of less than 7 per cent in lead, and because of this difference in the product of the two camps a comparison of the results is interesting.

The history of Leadville as a silver camp began in 1878, and it appears by the certificate of the clerk and recorder of Lake County that from 1st January, 1879, to June, 1893, there were filed in Leadville district 19,449 locations of mining claims. The register of the United States land office certifies to the issuing of 3,803 patents in Leadville district.

By careful inquiry it is found that of these patented claims only 166 have produced ore which has been sold, and of these 166 not more than 85 can be said to have paid in the sense of returning money expended with any profit.

The number of mines now paying (June 1, 1893) does not exceed eighteen.

These facts are from smelters, ore samplers' and ore buyers' records, and from individual inquiry, and are reliable.

If we take the period of this history of Leadville district, 1879-1893, fourteen years, and make up a statement of the business of the district as regards its mines, we should have undoubted results as to the cost of its silver and other ores. So, keeping to the record as closely as possible, we charge the district with cost of its 19,449 locations as required by law, viz:

Each location, labor necessary for sinking discovery shaft and making location	$100.00
Survey for location	10.00
Recording certificate	1.50
	111.50
19,449 locations	2,167,563.00

These figures, of course, exclude the labor and money of the prospector expended in searching for locations, and which would aggregate an amount largely exceeding the legal cost as above set down.

On the 3,803 patents, the statutory fees and expenses are on each patent:

Fee of surveyor-general	$30.00
Fee for patent survey	75.00
Fee for land office	10.00
Fee for publishing notice	10.00
Fee for drawing papers	25.00
Fee for land, average 8 acres	40.00
	190.00
3,803 patents	722,570.00

In this item the $500 worth of work which the law requires to be done on each claim before patent can be had is not charged, as account is hereafter taken of it.

To protect titles to locations the law requires that until patent issues there shall be performed $100 worth of work on each claim in each year.

Of the 19,449 locations, it appears that 25 per cent are valid and subsisting at present time, on which annual assessment work ($100) for an average of ten years has been performed—

Making total expenditure on this account of	$4,860,000.00
Add cost of original location	2,167,563.00
Add cost of patents	722,570.00
Total	7,750,133.00

The expenditure in prospecting and abandoned workings must remain wholly undetermined. Everyone who has any knowledge of a mining camp,

or who has been interested in mining enterprises can testify to the large amount of money that has been expended, and of which no account or record is kept, and it must ever remain an unknown sum to be added to the figures that may be closely ascertained.

In Leadville the mining and smelting operations have been made matters of record, and tables have been compiled and published from year to year, based upon data obtained at the time from original sources, and this data shows that there has been paid out for—

Labor in mines and smelters in the fourteen years (1879–1893)	$70,268,640
For lumber and timbers	7,955,000
Coke	6,521,040
Coal	7,028,520
Charcoal	3,020,000
Hardware and mining supplies	10,000,000
Machinery	3,500,000
Machine-shop work	1,875,000
Hauling ore	3,603,250
	113,771,450
Adding cost of location, patent, and assessment work	7,750,133
Gives a total of	121,521,583

representing actual cost of discovery, location, patenting, operating, mining, and smelting the ores of Leadville district during the fourteen years of its history, no account being taken of the money invested in smelters in the district.

Against this amount charge the district with the money received from its production of silver for the fourteen years, viz:

Year.	Ounces silver.	Average price per ounce.	Money value.
1879	6,004,416	$1.12	$6,724,945.92
1880	8,993,399	1.14	10,252,474.86
1881	7,162,909	1.13	8,094,087.17
1882	7,273,249	1.13	8,218,771.37
1883	9,590,172	1.11	10,645,090.92
1884	7,078,951	1.01	7,149,740.51
1885	8,314,503	1.06	8,813,468.58
1886	8,166,145	.99	8,084,483.55
1887	7,148,968	.97	6,934,498.96
1888	7,895,275	.93	7,342,605.75
1889	8,596,034	.93	7,994,311.62
1890	7,061,093	1.04	7,343,536.72
1891	7,535,526	.90	6,781,973.40
1892	6,676,686	.86	5,741,949.96
Total	107,497,416		110,121,939.29

This total of yearly production (in ounces) is in excess of the figures given by the Director of the United States Mint, being derived from records of smelters, and probably includes some ores from mines outside of Leadville district, which will explain the discrepancy.

The total returns from yield of Leadville mines for the fourteen years in question, in gold, silver, lead, and copper—

Amount to the value of	$179,710,207
Deduct money value of silver product figured on basis (New York quotations) of average yearly price of silver, less 5 per cent as received by mine owners	104,615,842
Leaves value of by-products	75,094,365
So it appears—	
Total cost of production, fourteen years	$121,521,583
Less returns from silver produced	104,615,842
Would show a loss of	16,905,741

But the "by-products," gold, lead, and copper, as above, give a net profit of $58,188,624; clearly demonstrating that if Leadville district had been a producer of silver only, the money returned to the district would not have paid the cost of production on the basis of the prices received from the smelters, and the district was saved from loss by virtue of its incidental products of lead, gold, and copper.

If silver had been worth to the mines during these fourteen years its coin value, the district would have received, in round numbers, $131,500,000, or a profit on its silver production, provided no account is taken of the cost and expenditure in the district involved in "prospecting" and abandoned experiments.

Again, if Leadville had only been a silver-producing camp, the same as Aspen, the cost of the total silver product would have been over $1.13 per ounce.

ASPEN DISTRICT.

A comparison of the data from the Aspen district with the foregoing is interesting, and furnishes conclusions that can not be denied.

The following concise and explicit report, proceeding upon same lines as the Leadville data, can be fully substantiated by proofs in the hands of this committee;

ASPEN, COLO., *July 27, 1893.*

DEAR SIR: In response to your request for data regarding the cost of silver production in this county, a meeting of the principal mine owners and managers was held on the 14th inst. A complete organization was effected, the county was districted, and committees, including about forty of the best known of our citizens, were appointed to secure as complete and accurate data as possible. Blank forms, for reports were printed and furnished, and notices were given out through the public press requesting accurate and prompt returns from all citizens in possession of the information desired, and the undersigned were appointed as a committee to compile the statistics received and report the same.

A strong interest in the work was manifested by all our citizens who are engaged in the mining industry, and a large number of reports have been submitted to the committee. Many of these were authentic statements taken from book accounts, and others were reliable and conservative estimates prepared by persons in possession of a direct knowledge of the facts. All reports have been subjected to careful scrutiny by the committee and, of the total number received, 380 individual reports were considered in the preparation of the results submitted. Necessarily, in the short time occupied in the collection of data, the summary is incomplete, in that a large number of properties upon which large sums have been expended in development without returns have not been considered from lack of reliable data. On the other hand, properties which have produced largely, and at a profit, are all included, as the books of accounts in such cases are easily accessible. It may be assumed, therefore, with entire safety, that the actual cost per ounce of silver produced in this district will be somewhat above the result of the calculations herewith submitted."

A categorical answer of the questions submitted is as follows:

The total number of lode locations to date in the Aspen district, as certified by the county clerk and recorder, is 15,056. Of these, about fifty locations are at Independence, and cover gold leads, leaving total number of silver lode locations, say, 15,000.

The records of the county clerk's office show the total number of patented claims at 1,037; deducting 31 patented gold claims, leaves 1,006 patented silver-lode claims.

The number of patented and nonpatented producers, including all claims which have shipped even 1 ton of ore, is 98.

The number of profit-producing claims (or groups) is 18.

The number of claims or groups now (June 1) paying, 10.

The total production of silver to July 1, as returned by mine reports, is 34,689,451 ounces. Deducting 5 per cent as the loss which ensues from smelting, leaves 32,954,978 as the net production in ounces.

The total cost of production, as tabulated below, is $35,380,507.22, or $1.074 per ounce. The items of cost included consist only of amounts paid for labor, supplies, plant, railroad freight, smelter charges, and a sum of about $425,000 paid out in litigation expense. Purchase price, interest, and the cost of construction of tramways, roads, and public power plants, etc., are not included.

It will be seen that of the whole number of 15,000 locations but 380 cases are reported. After careful consideration and consultation with the mining engineers and others who possess special knowledge upon the point, it is assumed in this report that each location was made at an average cost of $100 for labor, $12.50 for surveying, and $2.50 for recording, or $115 per claim. From the same source of information the conclusion is drawn that of the original number of 15,000 locations, 6,500 are now "live claims," and that an average of not less than eight years' annual labor has been performed on each, amounting to a total expense of $800 per claim. From actual measurement by the deputy mineral surveyor of development work performed upon the patented claims of the district, it is ascertained that the average cost per claim exceeds $1,200. Other expenses of obtaining patent are conservatively estimated at $200, making a total cost to each patented claim of, say, $1,400.

From these estimates the following table is derived:

15,000 locations, at $115 each	$1,725,000.00
1,006 patents, at $1,400 each	1,408,400.00
6,500 "live claims," at $800 each	5,200,000.00
380 claims reported	27,047,107.22
	35,380,507.22
Total number of ounces silver produced	32,954,978
Cost per ounce, $1.074.	

It may be proper to further state that the reliance of the mines of this district is upon the production of silver alone. A few of the mines produce lead; the total amount received for that metal by the mines of the district being estimated at less than $4,000,000, no account of which is made in the figures above presented. No gold or copper is found in the ore.

Respectfully submitted.

FRED. G. BULKLEY,
WILLIAM J. COX,
S. I. HALLETT,
Committee.

Approved:

DAVID R. C. BROWN, *Chairman.*
ELIAS COHN, *Secretary.*
F. T. FREELAND.
D. M. HYMAN.
F. M. COOMBS.
E. M. RAY.
D. W. BRUNTON.
FRANK BULKLEY.

[Here follows certificate of county clerk as to number of locations and patented claims.]

Attention is also directed to the fact that, neglecting one of Aspen's mines of phenomenal richness, the totals given would be as follows:

Total cost	$33,908,508.81
Total ounces silver produced	26,524,843
Cost per ounce, $1.23.	

Neglecting three principal producers will give the following figures:

Total expense	$26,091,381.00
Total ounces silver produced	12,096,496
Cost per ounce, $2.36.	

FRED. G. BULKLEY.
WILLIAM J. COX.
S. I. HALLETT.

SUMMARY.

Leadville, fourteen years:

Total locations	19,499
Total patents	3,803
Total "live claims"	4,874
Total claims that have produced ore	160
Total claims that have paid	85
Total claims now paying	18
Production, ounces silver	107,497,416.00
By-product of silver mines, gold, lead, copper	$75,094,365.00
Expenditure of district	$121,521,583.00
Cost per ounce if there had been no by-product, $1.13.	

Aspen, eight years:

Total locations	15,000
Total patents	1,006
Total "live claims"	6,500
Total claims that have produced ore	98
Total claims that have paid	18
Total claims now paying	10
Production, ounces silver	32,954,978
By-products of silver mines, lead only, something less than	$4,000,000.00
Expenditures of district	$35,380,507.22
Cost per ounce if there had been no by-product, $1.074.	

To CHARLES E. NOBLE, Esq., *Secretary.*

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, the wit of the Senator from Colorado, who has just addressed the Senate, has sparkled and scintillated all along the line of his eloquent discourse. There was once a great wit who used it as his powerful weapon to drive out romanticism, and the name of Cervantes is forever linked with the overthrow of chivalry in Spain. But, sir, he drove out romance with wit. The Senator from Colorado has a harder task to perform than the great Cervantes. He must remove the mighty evil of a depreciated currency by sparkling sally and laughter-provoking humor. He is doomed to signal failure The serious money trouble of the country can not be smiled away as did Cervantesthe chivalry of Spain.

Mr. President, the whole country is face to face with a financial situation unprecedented in any age or in any country. With $63,000,000,000 of wealth, with factory and farm overflowing the country with fabric and with food, with banks entirely solvent and firms entirely prosperous, with a people blessed by Providence beyond the measure of blessings bestowed on other lands and other peoples, we are suddenly arrested in our pursuit of wealth and paralyzed in the midst of our activity.

With abundant currency there is a dearth of the amount necessary to carry on the ordinary business of life, while the securities heretofore held and eagerly sought by foreign holders are returned to our shores for liquidation or parted with at heavy discount. Deposits are drawn from the banks; investors abstain from new enterprises and discontinue old ones; banks are closed with safes full of assets and business men suspend with stores full of goods. The time for the moving of crops is near at hand, and the farmer finds a congested money market. The laborer is paid with promises to pay; and the employer, with a sufficient bank account, can not pay his baker or his butcher.

There is a feeling of uneasiness and insecurity everywhere and in every branch of business; distrust exists where there was confidence, and confusion where there was system. Men are thrown out of employment by the thousands; and already is heard the distant tramp of the army of the unemployed turning toward the Capitol animated by a vague hope of relief.

The picture is neither overdrawn, nor too highly colored. Men ask themselves:

Can such things be,
And overcome us like a summer's cloud,
Without our special wonder?

WHAT IS THE CAUSE OF THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS.

The answer comes in the President's message convening this Congress in extraordinary session. He says:

I believe these things are principally chargeable to Congressional legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the General Government. This legislation is embodied in a statute passed on the 14th day of July, 1890, which was the culmination of much agitation on the subject involved, and which may be considered a truce, after a long struggle, between the advocates of free-silver coinage and those intending to be more conservative.

I am aware that the President has been held up as having surrendered to the "gold bugs," and that political vengeance is threatened against Democrats who sustain the message and who will vote for unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the act of July 14, 1890. I know that Democratic faith is measured, in some quarters, by an arbitrary and wholly unwarrantable construction of the Chicago platform. I am aware that some good people are deluded by glittering sophisms, poured out in streams of silvery eloquence, to show that—

We want more money; we want the dollar of the fathers, the money of the Constitution; we want the fraud of 1873 wiped out, and silver remonetized.

By passionate appeals, supplemented by all the graces of oratory, the poor, the unemployed, the farmer whose toil is not thought remunerative, and the artisan whose wages are deemed insufficient, are attempted to be arrayed on this question against capital and corporation; against the man whose "youth of labor" has brought him "an age of ease;" and against the widow, whose scant investment yields but a frugal living. I know there is a disposition to present this question as a struggle between corporate greed and individual poverty; between the Shylocks of society and their victims.

Mr. President, it is a sad thing to see nearly every question turned into one of antagonism between the different classes of our citizens. It is a commentary on our institutions fraught with the most somber forebodings. I deprecate and deplore this line of argument on a question more academic than political, more scientific than moral. The question concerns the poor and the rich alike, the millionaire and the pauper, the man of pleasure and the toiler—every trade and every condition in life.

Denunciation is not argument. Threats of political vengeance fall as harmless on a member of Congress, who, knowing his duty, dare do it, as the heated wind that articulates them.

Mr. President, I will premise my argument by laying down certain axioms of political economy which I assume to be true:

First. That value exists independent of government and can not be created by it.

Second. That after a people advance beyond the barter period they must have a measure of value, which is also a medium of exchange, but not exclusively.

Third. That history shows that the selection of this measure depends on the stage of civilization of the particular people—shells, skins, cattle, copper, etc., preceding the use of gold and silver.

Fourth. That where gold and silver circulate as money under a legal ratio, the cheaper metal supersedes the dearer and drives it out of circulation.

Fifth. That the measure of value must itself have value; hence that an ideal, intellectual measure is impossible.

SKETCH OF FINANCIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

A brief review of the financial history of the United States is in the natural order of my argument at this point.

In 1792 the bimetallic standard was adopted. Mr. Hamilton thought there was a scarcity of gold, and insisted on the double standard, although he favored a gold standard if one standard alone was to be adopted.

Mr. Robert Morris, the great American financier, favored a silver standard. The ratio was fixed by law at 15 ounces of silver to 1 of gold, The market ratio and the legal ratio were equal. In a few years the price of silver declined. The mines of Mexico yielded a large output of silver, and the market ratio fell to about 15½ to 1. The world, at that time, had either the bimetallic or the silver standard. Contemporary writings and speeches are filled with complaints of the departure of our gold. There was but little gold in the infant Republic, but what little there was either was hoarded or was exported. Gresham's law, the law of common sense, began its work on American currency.

Gold was the dearer metal, and it ceased to circulate. Surely, *then* there were no gold bugs conspiring to create a panic. There was no unholy combination of capitalists *then*, confederated to dishonor the dollar of the fathers. It so happened, however, that the fathers obtained the most of their dollars from Mexico, which were a legal tender, and the Mexican dollar ruled supreme over its rival, the gold dollar of Hamilton and the Constitution.

Silver having run out gold, the next step was to bring back the gold. This was done in 1834, a statute of that year raising the ratio to 16 to 1, where it has remained ever since. This brought back gold immediately. Gold was overvalued, as silver had been by the act of 1792, and Gresham's law again went into operation. The value of silver as measured by the market price was in excess of 16 to 1. It was 15 and a fraction to 1.

In 1834 the gold dollar was reduced from 24.75 to 23.2 grains, giving a further undervaluation, and Gresham's law continued its work. Gold alone circulated, even the small pieces of silver change, halves, quarters, and dimes, passing out, as the silver in them was worth more than the legal ratio of 16 to 1. There was no conspiracy then, Mr. President, although gold reigned in the place of dethroned silver.

Again in 1837 the ratio of 16 to 1 was maintained, and the gold eagle was restored to its mintage value under the act of 1792. The grains taken out by the act of 1834 were put back, and the gold eagle stood at 247.5 grains instead of 232 grains. The debasement of the gold dollar under the act of 1834 was 6.26 per cent. Again, under the influence of Gresham's law, silver went out, gold remained; and a nominal bimetallic standard was, in fact, a real gold standard.

Again in 1853, in order to keep small silver change in the country and to maintain gold as the sole standard of value, Mr. Dunham, on behalf of the Committee on Ways and Means, brought in a bill, which was adopted and became a statute, whereby the small coins of silver were debased below the point where they could be profitably melted or exported.

He said in debate:

Another objection urged against the proposed change is that it gives us a standard of gold only. What advantage is to be gained by a standard of the two metals which is not as well, if not much better, obtained by a gold standard I am unable to perceive, while there are very great disadvantages resulting from it, as the experience of every nation which has attempted it has proved. Indeed, it is utterly impossible that you should maintain a double standard. Gentlemen talk about a double standard of gold and silver as a thing that exists and that we propose to change.

We have had but a single standard for the last three or four years. That has been and is now gold. We propose to let it remain so, and to adapt silver to it, and to regulate it by it.

Oh, where then was the Roderick of the Silver clans?

One blast upon his bugle horn
Were worth a thousand men.

Is it possible that the toil-worn and dust-begrimed hosts who are said to stand to-day confronting the corporate power and gold conspirators had no champion then to cast a lance or wield a sword? Where was Jackson in 1837, the hero raised up by Providence to consummate the work of the immortal Jefferson, who sleeps "'neath Monticello's sacred dust"?

Where was Pierce in 1853, when he permitted the precincts of the temple consecrated to the worship of the silver goddess to be profaned by this vandal, this tool of the money power, this

hireling of the gold bugs, this Mr. Dunham, Democrat though he was? The spirit of the knights of the white metal ought to have been abroad in those degenerate days, to wade in blood to to their horses' bridles, or see it seated on the money throne, with the scepter of power over all values here below in its mighty grasp.

Mr. President, the demonetization of silver was as complete and effectual by the statutes of 1834, 1837, and 1853 as if those statutes had so declared *totidem verbis*. Gresham's law, the undeviating law whereby no sane man will pay 100 cents where any less number of cents will answer, operated the demonetization.

The first and fourth propositions are abundantly proved by the foregoing review of our financial legislation. The Government of the United States attempted to create an artificial value by making 15 ounces of silver equal to 1 of gold, and it failed. No governmental power assisted gold to demonetize silver, yet gold asserted its sway. Silver fell, and gold did what the great law of trade and finance compelled it to do—it departed from the country and from circulation. At that time there was no country which especially favored gold. The Shylocks of those days had not fallen down and worshiped it as the supreme deity of money. Everywhere from 1792 to 1816 there was bimetallism or there was silver, and yet the unruly metal parted company with its companion.

A third proposition may be proved as true by our history, viz, that bimetallism, unless the most powerful nations of the earth bind themselves to tie the two metals together by a reasonable ratio, means monometallism. The experience of eighty years, from 1792 to 1873, ought certainly to convince us of this fact. The example of France is in the same direction.

EXAMPLE OF FRANCE.

France, after the adoption of the double standard in 1803, was practically silver monometallic until 1853; after which she was practically gold monometallic.

The advocates of free coinage point exultingly to France for evidence of the beneficent workings of the bimetallic theory. But hear what Mr. Laughlin says:

Since 1803 a legal ratio of 1 to 15½ had been maintained by France without change. Inasmuch as the market ratio had never been as high as 1 to 15½ between 1829 and 1850, but rather nearer to 1 to 16, the French legal ratio gave gold a less value in the form of coin than it possessed in the form of bullion, while silver was given a greater value in coin than it possessed in bullion. As a natural consequence gold disappeared from circulation, and silver took its place; so that by 1850 the main part of the circulation in France consisted of silver.

The discoveries of gold exactly reversed this situation. Gold fell in value. Its relation to silver changed so that the ratio remained 15½ to 1 until 1867. Under these conditions a revolution took place in the French currency between 1853 and 1865. As things then stood the ratio of the mint was still 1 to 15½, while in the market it was lower than that, or somewhere nearer to 1 to 15. As a consequence of this, money-changers quickly saw that an ounce of gold exchanged for 15½ ounces of silver in the shape of coin, but less than 15½ of silver in the shape of bullion. Consequently, as long as this state of affairs existed, and since free coinage existed, there was a stream of gold flowing to the French mint for coinage, while the silver rapidly disappeared from circulation and even left the country.

Everyone knows that France had to stop the coinage of silver, and has not coined a franc since 1879. Indeed, the silver coinage was very much limited after 1873.

From 1792 to 1873 we coined $8,031,000 in silver and $137,000,000 in small silver pieces. We coined under the Bland-Allison act $308,199,262, at a loss to the Government, at present prices, of $87,630,248.

Under the Sherman act we have coined $36,087,000, and, further, have coined of the trade dollars $5,000,000. We have bullion in the Treasury (130,465,000 ounces), which, if coined into dollars, would make $168,294,000. This silver was bought at a loss of $33,574,264.

This shows that over seventy times as much silver has been coined since 1873 as in the eighty years from that date back to 1792. It shows, further, that this enormous purchase of silver has not availed to keep it from plunging lower and lower in the market.

All the commercial nations of the world having gone to a gold basis, we are asked to go to a silver basis, or what is the same thing, to undertake bimetallism at some ratio.

CHARGES OF INCONSISTENCY AGAINST THE PRESIDENT.

I will now, Mr. President, consider the charges of treachery to the Democratic party platform by advocating the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, and, later on, the charge of abandonment of silver by the President, or want of entire good faith in the President's message as to silver.

The platform says:

We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage; but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in payment of debt; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin.

The platform must be construed all together. One provision of paramount importance is written all over it, to wit, that we must have real bimetallism. We can not have bimetallism in name, and not in fact. This is not the bimetallism mentioned: "We hold to the use of both gold and silver," and the coinage of both, provided a dollar of silver is equal to a dollar of gold, and this may be effected either by legislation or by international agreement. The platform is careful to provide:

First. For the use of the two metals as standard money.

Second. For their interchangeable equal intrinsic value.

If it can be shown that the coinage spoken of in the platform, carried to the extreme of "free coinage," will destroy one-half of the money of the United States and drive it out of circulation, then the object of coinage is frustrated. "Coinage" in the platform is only a means to an end. The end is the "use of both gold and silver" and "the intrinsic interchangeable value" of every gold and every silver dollar.

It is manifest, Mr. President, that the coinage spoken of is not a substantive purpose, the end of the platform-makers, but merely subsidiary to the great purpose of having the two metals circulate side by side, "with equal intrinsic and interchangeable value."

Now, Mr. President, if anything is clear beyond doubt, and proved both by history and reason, it is that it is now impossible to have free coinage on any ratio that can be proposed, or that is proposed—17, 18, 19, or 20 to 1.

I here make part of my remarks a table showing the prices of silver from 1873–74 to July, 1893. (See Table A, Appendix.)

Silver has fluctuated in ten years from 86 to 56 cents on the dollar. It is idle to tell us of four hundred, or even one hundred years ago, when the legal tie of 15½ to 1 is alleged to have kept the metals at about a parity. We are dealing with facts as they are. The conjectures of silver specialists as to what might have been the case had not silver been demonetized are barren of rational conclusions.

It is clear to an unprejudiced mind that but for the purchases under the Bland and Sherman acts silver would have gone much lower. The United States furnished a compulsory market, and, though silver advanced shortly after the two laws were enacted, the downward tendency again set in, and finally reached the lowest point ever known. The means to accomplish the end, the free-coinage means, can not be employed.

It is astonishing, Mr. President, to hear arguments from men of standing and ability to the effect that free coinage is the be-all and the end-all of the Chicago platform.

SILVER MONOMETALLISM UNDER FREE COINAGE.

If free coinage is established at the ratio of 16 to 1, the object of having both metals is defeated, for we surely will have nothing but silver. If at 20 to 1, the same result will occur, as silver is worth only about 28 to 1. If the ratio should be 28 to 1, we would have either a gold or silver basis, according as gold or silver is overvalued. The alternative of a silver standard is not to be thought of. The United Stated are not going backward a hundred years to grope their way along with the South American States and Mexico.

We would be a subject of derision for all civilized countries. International exchanges would be settled with the money of commerce and of the world. Rates of exchange would be predicated on the market value of silver, with a large margin always calculated against us for possible and not unlikely fluctuations. Cotton would be sold abroad for gold prices and paid for in exchange calculated in silver, with large discount for fluctuation. We would sell in a gold market and buy in a silver market. Besides, the embarrassments and difficulties of domestic exchange would be intolerable. Prices would oscillate up and down in such a way as to make the dollar of the poor man the most uncertain of all measures. Trade would be disordered, the foundation of sound finance shaken, and all the ills of an uncertain and unstable currency precipitated on the country.

No man could foresee or foretell all the disasters which would be likely to flow from the establishment of a silver standard. The advocates of free coinage virtually admit that the country would go to a silver standard if a ratio below the market ratio were adopted. If the market ratio is established, either gold or silver would circulate exclusively.

Who, therefore, stands on the Chicago platform, which declares for the use of both gold and silver? Not the opponents of the repeal of the Sherman act, but the supporters of the repeal.

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT THE LAST HOPE OF BIMETALLISM.

Mr. President, the last hope of bimetallism lies in an international agreement among the strong commercial nations of the world. That hope will be destroyed either by continuing the purchase of silver under the Sherman law or by free coinage. Our gold would inevitably disappear from either cause. We would be left in the position of the little boy who found it unprofitable to swap knives with himself, with but one knife to

trade on. We would have no gold to go into an international agreement. We would have nothing to trade on; we would offer the dollar of the fathers in vain for the dollar of the crowned conspirators of Europe. Even republican France would rather keep her gold than let her elder republican ally have it.

Now, Mr. President, I would respectfully inquire why the President's message is construed into an attack on silver? The battle of the standards has raged for years. Heated partisans are ranged on one side or the other. The President could not, without incurring needless antagonism, have announced in terms his adhesion to either side. He has plainly intimated that the policy we were pursuing would destroy bimetallism. Can that be construed into hostility which is in fact a friendly warning of danger? He says:

If, as many of its friends claim, silver ought to occupy a larger place in our currency and the currency of the world through international coöperation and agreement, it is obvious that the United States will not be in a position to gain a hearing in favor of such an arrangement as long as we are willing to continue our attempt to accomplish the result single-handed.

We have failed, single-handed, to maintain a double standard in the past. We are fast approaching a point when our ability to maintain the parity of the two metals is seriously questioned. Our money is gold and silver. The faith of the Republic is pledged to keep the two metals at a parity. The Democratic party will keep that pledge inviolate. The honor of the Republic is involved, and come what may the freemen of this land will hypothecate their labor and their property to make this pledge good.

THE QUESTION A NATIONAL ONE.

Sir, this question is above the plane of party politics. It reaches up to the heights where patriotism stands glowing and sublime. It calls for the exercise of broad statesmanship and high purpose. If the distinguished Senator from Ohio, whose name the harmful act bears, had no other claim to honor and fame than procuring the insertion into that act of the clause declaring it to be the established policy of the country to keep the two metals at a parity, he would deserve well of his fellow-countrymen.

Mr. President, the Senators on the other side of this Chamber whose votes will be cast to repeal the purchasing clause of the act, will show they can rise above politics and bask for a season in the light of patriotism and duty—not Democratic duty and patriotism, nor Republican duty and patriotism, but American duty and patriotism.

ERROR OF FRANCE'S POSITION ON SILVER.

Sir, we are told that France is bimetallic. France carries eight hundred millions of gold and seven hundred millions of silver at par. "We are stronger than France, and can carry twice as much, many times as much silver at par as France does; if she carries so many millions, we can coin unlimitedly all the silver in existence."

This, Mr. President, is a grave error, and misleads the people. It is not a fact that France carries the metals at par by reason of the bimetallic tie of 15½ to 1. France coins no silver, nor has she coined any since 1879. She maintains the parity as we do, by honoring a silver dollar as a gold dollar, by impliedly pledging her faith through her conduct to make every dollar of "equal intrinsic and exchangeable value." It is the confidence of Frenchmen in the good faith and ability of the Government to make good its implied pledge. Our people know our Government stands pledged to the same effect in terms through solemn legislative expression. We carry $615,000,000 of silver on a par with $604,000,000 of gold, with which we also carry the greenback and national bank issues, amounting to $412,000,000. France has only about $81,000,000 of uncovered paper to carry.

Our burden is quite sufficient. If the purchasing clause of the Sherman act is not repealed and free coinage adopted, we would first sustain a loss of one hundred and twelve millions for recoinage of the silver, according to the statement of the Secretary of the Treasury, and the loss from the depreciation of silver nearly one-half. This would entail a loss on our people of at least one hundred and thirty-nine millions.

Fiat money, and money secured by governmental faith and ability and reasonable reserve, are quite different.

The fanciful ratio between two metals is a figment of the brain, and is as unsubstantial as the stuff that dreams are made of.

When Government establishes a ratio between gold and silver and makes them a legal tender, it turns them loose in the community to work out their own destiny. But in comes the law of values, the inexorable law of exchanges. If gold is above the legal ratio in value, it will go where its value is not underrated. If silver is more valuable than the legal ratio, it will go in a similar way. If both metals can be tied together, it is only by the combined action of all commercial nations, whereby a money market will be denied to the dearer metal. Whether the commodity price of the dearer metal will not assert itself is a question of some doubt; but we know that, all other experiments having failed, international combination is the dernier resort.

I make part of my remarks a table prepared by the Treasury Department, showing that in all countries using the bimetallic standard, like Mexico, whatever the ratio, silver is the only circulating medium. I especially direct attention to Mexico and the South American countries. (See Table B, Appendix.)

The fact that gold leaves the country as silver is bought and certificates given for it, is "proof as strong as confirmations of Holy Writ;" that we will be driven to a silver standard by continuing the purchase of silver bullion. One hundred and forty-nine millions of gold have been paid out since May, 1892, to July 15, 1893, in exchange for silver certificates given for the purchase of silver bullion, amounting to $54,000,000.

THE FINANCIAL OPERA.

This is the keynote of the opera of financial discord now being played on the stage of the world.

Notwithstanding that we are being depleted of our gold, not by natural, but unnatural forces, notwithstanding the fact that the President of the United States, as a sagacious, faithful, and vigilant pilot, points out the rocks toward which our financial craft is fast approaching, we see the players in the great opera engaged in enacting parts that would be amusing if not fraught with such dire results. One set of actors solemnly parade before an astonished audience the ghost of the McKinley bill, and with melancholy dirge chant the woes of Columbia springing from the deep damnation of its anticipated "taking off."

Another set, wrapped in the best trappings of popular style, freeze the blood of the spectators with harrowing tales of foul conspiracies and horrid devices of kings, potentates, banks, business men, owners of property, and creditors to prey upon and devour the substance of the widow and the orphan, the poor and the oppressed. Another detachment of actors wind up the procession with the corpse of a "rag-money baby," and with doleful ditty sings of its untimely end and asks that life be restored to the defunct by the mighty power of the god Fiat.

Meanwhile the people, who, in the language of a member of the other House, expecting relief have received nothing but wind, become tired of the show. The men out of employment want work or bread. The factories desire to resume operations; banks want to reopen; the farmer, the planter, the merchant, long for business to revive.

The sound good sense of the American people is at work on the problem of how a 56-cent dollar can be kept at 100 cents on the dollar.

THE PRESENT, NOT THE PAST, TO BE LOOKED TO.

It will not do to tell us what Aristotle thought about money, or what Mr. Jevons says of two cisterns of water connected by a pipe; or what Mr. Laveleye says of the compensatory action of the bimetallic theory; or what Mr. Laughlin says of the multiple standard. This is no relief. Too much silver is the cause of the trouble. Stop buying it, and restore confidence.

Mr. President, it is known that 95 per cent of our domestic exchanges are effected by credit. Credit is based on confidence, and confidence is the outgrowth of our highly developed civilization. I remember to have seen years ago a statement that the distinguishing badge between the civilized and savage man was honesty. And while our civilization is the joint product of intellectual and moral development, it is none the less true that the fraud, the lying, and treachery of a savage would render credit impossible in any social and political organization of our times.

THE RÔLE OF CONFIDENCE IN MODERN EXCHANGES.

Confidence is the psychological aspect of this dry and unpoetic subject. The glittering metal has been, in all ages, a fertile theme for the scorn of the poet and the lash of the satirist. Midas and his hoards, Dives and his feast, have alike been the jest of the pagan and the parable of the Saviour. But, sir, it was reserved for our civilization and our times to infuse into the gold of the miser and the silver of the Shylock the subtile and mysterious influence of the faith of man in man. Without form or substance, intangible, and unseen, it binds together the vast fabric of modern trade with a power, strength, and steadfastness greater than the strength of all the gold and silver bands which this country could produce. Without confidence commerce languishes and business is paralyzed.

To go back hundreds of years and follow the methods of nations in the earlier stages of development would be to surrender our trade and starve our people. We have confidence in each other, God be praised. The Anglo-Saxon and the Anglo-American are its authors. It is their praise. In the midst of an apparently unfeeling, overreaching rush for wealth they have planted a garden of beauty and joy. In that garden, with perpetual fragrance and bloom, grows this flower of confidence, the pride, the ornament, the wonder of the age.

Sir, I am not to be understood as saying that to this want of confidence is to be attributed all of the feeling of distrust grow-

ing out of this situation. The tariff may have something to do with it. The ghost of the McKinley bill may have vigor enough to give a perfunctory kick. Nor do I believe that the panic is entirely the result of a redundant currency, as held by a distinguished member of the other House. We have, according to a table prepared by the Treasury Department, which I make part of my remarks, sixteen hundred millions in round numbers of circulating medium.

We have a per capita circulation of $24.24. The English per capita is $18.24. The French is $40.56. The trade and commerce of France are far behind that of the United States and England. The per capita amount being ascertained by dividing the whole stock of money and circulating medium into the whole population, the result of course gives no idea as to how much money each person possesses.

DISTRIBUTION OF MONEY.

The distribution of money has never yet been found out, nor will it be. The French evidently have the money that suits their financial necessities. Money is a commodity. It flows where it is wanted. People who have anything to exchange for it get as much of it as they require. There is nothing to show we have not enough money to answer the demands of trade. Some sober and deep thinkers say we have too much. The experiment of trying to float money, as you would corks, on the financial waters has failed. Whatever is not needed sinks to the bottom. The fact that we have exported one hundred and forty-nine millions of gold in four months is proof that we have too much.

We have plenty of currency to answer all the needs of commerce and trade under healthy conditions.

Secretary Carlisle was asked recently if the present stringency was due to lack of money. He replied:

No greater mistake could be committed than to assume that the present financial embarrassment is caused by an actual scarcity of money in the country. The fact is that the amount of currency of all kinds in the country, outside of the United States Treasury, on the 25th day of the present month was $58,452,350 greater than the amount outstanding on the 1st day of the month, and $70,294,783 more than the amount outstanding on the 1st day of September, 1892, when business was active and prosperous. There is money enough to transact all the legitimate business of the people, but the difficulty is that it has been withdrawn from circulation and hoarded. The true remedy is to restore confidence and credit, and thus put the money now in the country in circulation again.

WHERE DEPRECIATED CURRENCY FALLS.

Sir, the weight of depreciated currency falls on the very class who, we are told, are demanding the depreciation of silver and the destruction of gold. The language of Webster and of Macaulay, the first the greatest of American statesmen, the second the most brilliant of English historians, is stronger and better than any I could employ. Hear Mr. Webster:

He who tampers with the currency robs labor of its bread. He panders, indeed, to greedy capital, which is keen-sighted and may shift for itself; but he beggars labor, which is honest, unsuspecting, and too busy with the present to calculate for the future. The prosperity of the working class lives, moves, and has its being in established credit and a steady medium of payment. All sudden changes destroy it. Honest industry never comes in for any part of the spoils in that scramble which takes place when the currency of the country is disordered. Did wild schemes or projects ever benefit the industrious? Did irredeemable bank paper ever enrich the laborious? Did violent fluctuations ever do good to him who depends on his daily labor for his daily bread? Certainly never.

Hear Mr. Macaulay:

It may well be doubted whether all the misery which has been inflicted on the English nation in a quarter of a century by bad kings, bad ministers, bad Parliaments, and bad judges was equal to the misery caused in a single year by bad crowns and bad shillings. Those events which furnish the best themes for pathetic or indignant eloquence are not always those which most affect the happiness of the great body of the people.

Will our people listen to these words of wisdom, or be lulled by the seductive songs of the siren of free silver?

THE QUESTION OF GOLD MONOMETALLISM FOREIGN TO THE ISSUE.

It is entirely useless to discuss the question of gold monometallism. Whether there is plenty of gold to answer the world's use for money? Whether the price of gold is to be gauged by its money use, or its money and commodity use combined? Whether the appreciation of gold affects prices? Or prices of commodities affect gold?

All these questions are irrelevant to the issue before us. Around them has raged a battle between the partisans of the single gold standard and the bimetallic standard. The issue before us is, how best we can use both the gold and silver we have, and, subsequently, how best we can supply the currency needed as the growth and population of the country may require. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

We are in the position of France. She is occupying an expectant attitude. She holds her seven hundred millions of silver as we hold our six hundred millions.

Germany has about three hundred millions which she has demonetized. The states of the Latin Union have also a large quantity. India has nine hundred millions. We hope to be able to bring all nations to agree upon terms of an international agreement, banding these metals together by a tie that will hold them forever in its firm grasp. It is manifestly impossible for us alone to do so. They are the enemies of silver who urge upon this nation the accomplishment of an impossibility. The effort will ruin us and strike bimetallism its death-blow.

Sir, the money demand, according to a conspicuous advocate of gold monometallism, is an imperious demand and must be satisfied. If this be so, and the world's supply of gold is insufficient for the world's business, silver becomes a necessity. But if we part with our gold the day of deliverance will be delayed, for the nations of the earth will hold fast to the gold foolishly surrendered by us under the operation of the Sherman act. They will thereby be aided longer to maintain the exclusive gold standard.

FASCINATION OF THE CRY FOR MORE MONEY.

It is, Mr. President, a fascinating statement to make to the ordinary man, that "we want more money." He immediately thinks he wants more, but the question is, not what his cupidity suggests, but what trade and business need. I have no doubt, sir, should a depreciated currency ruin the country, depress its trade, and destroy its commerce: should paupers and beggars swarm through our thoroughfares, with dollars as plentiful as blackberries, the multitude would shout in chorus: "More money, more money, more money!"

Sir, in the exuberance of zeal, the silver partisans attribute all the glories of this wondrous age to money, plenty of money. The genius of Galileo or Columbus pales before the beneficent rays emanating from the silver mines of Potosi. And when the descendant of the illustrious Columbus recently visited our shores and saw the mighty works of the great race ruled by the laws made at the Capitol he might have pondered whether it was the result of the genius, the pluck, the brain and brawn of the Anglo-American, or of the gold that lured his great ancestor to find a way to the Indies. By the same glowing imagination, the destruction of the empire of the Cæsars by the Goth and Hun is attributed to a lack of money.

MONEY NOT WEALTH.

Sir, if you would, by some sudden operation of nature, strike all our gold and silver to dust, we would still have our houses and farms, our factories and machinery, our granaries, our warehouses of merchandise, our ships and our railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, and all the appliances of civilization. We would still have our wealth. Money is not wealth. We could easily find a substitute in the shape of substances now unknown to answer the purposes of a measure of value and a medium of exchange. It would be but a cross current in the mighty onward flow of human progress—a moment seen, then gone forever. Our American civilization is founded on the Bible and our Constitution; our wealth on the skill, courage, frugality, and industry of 65,000,000 of freemen.

After we have reached safe ground we can inaugurate a wise system of banking, which will allow the currency to expand to proper limits. I favor a repeal of the tax on State-bank issues, accompanied by such salutary provisions as will guarantee the certainty of their redemption.

LOUISIANA BANK SYSTEM.

In this connection I will read an extract from an editorial in the Baltimore Sun of the 26th of August relative to State-bank notes. The part of the article to which I desire to draw attention is that portion complimentary of the system of banking which was established in Louisiana *ante bellum*, to show the Senate the sound ideas of finance that always obtained in the State which I have the honor in part to represent on this floor. The Baltimore Sun says:

Would the note issues of State banks be well secured? This resolves itself into the question whether State-bank notes can be made safe—whether American experience shows the thing to be practicable. The answer is found in the record of the State banks of Louisiana, Indiana, and Massachusetts before the civil war. These States had banking laws which secured absolutely the safety of note issues. All authorities agree upon this. The Louisiana law is pronounced by experts "eminently scientific" and "a model for other States and countries."

None of the Louisiana banks suspended in the panic of 1857, although most of the banks of the country were temporarily closed by that catastrophe. The notes of the Louisiana banks were not secured by bonds, State or national. Their principal security was a requirement that each bank should have a specie reserve equal to one-third of all its liabilities to the public.

There were other wise regulations that contributed to the unquestionable success of the Louisiana system, but the requirement that the specie reserve should be equal to one-third of the liabilities, whether deposits or notes, was found to be ample. Bonds, as security for notes, were shown not to be necessary.

The Indiana and Massachusetts laws were similarly successful, and their success may be pitted against the argument drawn from the failure of the banking laws and notes of other States. Our forty-four States have only to copy the Louisiana law, say the friends of State banks, to make their State bank-note issues as good as gold.

Mr. Horace White, in an address before the American Academy of Political and Social Science at Philadelphia, the 12th January last, says:

The State of Louisiana had her full share of bank misery in 1837 and later.

Her banks suspended specie payments, and so remained until 1842. In that year the State passed a banking law which was, in nearly all respects, a model for other States and countries.

The principal features of this law were the requirement (1) of a specie reserve equal to one-third of all its liabilities to the public; (2) the other two-thirds of its liabilities to be represented by commercial paper, having not more than ninety days to run; (3) all commercial paper to be paid at maturity; and if not paid, or if an extension were asked for, the account of the party to be closed and his name to be sent to the other banks as a delinquent; (4) all banks to be examined by a board of State officers, quarterly or oftener; (5) bank directors to be individually liable for all loans or investments made in violation of the law, unless they could show that they had voted against the same, if present; (6) no bank to have less than fifty share-holders, having at least thirty shares each; (7) any director going out of the State for more than thirty days, or absenting himself from five successive meetings of the board, to be deemed to have resigned, and his vacancy to be filled at once; (8) no bank to pay out any notes but its own; (9) all banks to pay their balances to each other in specie every Saturday, under penalty of being immediately put in liquidation; (10) no bank to purchase its own shares or lend on its own shares more than 30 per cent of the market value thereof.

This law had one feature which can not be approved. It allowed some loans to be made on mortgage security, but it restricted such loans to the bank's capital. No part of the deposits could be lent except on commercial paper maturing within ninety days. I judge that not many mortgage loans were made by the Louisiana banks, since none of them suspended in the panic of 1857, although most of the banks of the country were temporarily closed by that catastrophe. Mortgage loans are all right in themselves, but they are no part of the banking business.

I think that the Louisiana bank act of 1842 was eminently scientific. It was the first law passed by any State requiring a definite amount of specie to be kept as a reserve. The Louisiana law required no pledged security for the circulating notes of banks, nor did it put any limit on the amount of their issues. All this was covered, and amply covered, by requiring 33 per cent of specie against all liabilities, whether deposits or notes, the balance of the assets to be in mercantile paper having not more than ninety days to run. Under this law Louisiana became, in 1860, the fourth State in the Union in point of banking capital and the second in point of specie holdings. I think, however, that the requirement of a 33 per cent reserve of coin (or, as we say now, of "lawful money") was excessive, and that the 25 per cent in larger cities and 15 per cent in other places required of national banks is ample. It is a matter of history that the Louisiana bank act of 1842 was strictly and intelligently enforced until the city of New Orleans was captured during the civil war.

LOUISIANA ALWAYS SOUND ON FINANCE.

I am proud of the position of my native State on the money question. She has always been sound, and, Mr. President, if my feeble efforts will avail, she always will be. Sorely tempted, she refused, in 1879, to repudiate the principal of her bonded debt. Now the seductive offer is made to debase the national currency, but her Senators on this floor, true to their convictions and the traditions of their State, put aside the insidious proposition.

For a season, a part of her people, overwhelmed with debt, battling against flood and failure of crops, with a long past of disaster behind them and an uncertain future before them, may weary of well doing, may forsake the faith of their fathers, and turn to the worship of the false Mammon that would transform the stones of Hades itself into money, but, sir, it will be only for a season. The scales will fall from their eyes, and instead of breathing threats against those who strive to maintain the ancient prestige of the State, they will, like Saul of Tarsus, be converted to the true doctrine of finance and of wealth.

It may be my fate to feel the temporary weight of the forces of inflation. It may be that the star of my political life, just rising above the horizon, will be eclipsed in darkness by reason of my vote; but, sir, come what may, I shall stand fast to a deep conviction that I would be recreant to my duty and my oath should I add one pang to poverty or one tear to want; should I give the people a currency that would refuse to toil its recompense or to capital its reward.

APPENDIX.

TABLE A.—*Highest, lowest, and average price of silver bullion, and value of a fine ounce, bullion value of a United States silver dollar, and commercial ratio of silver to gold by fiscal years, 1874 to 1893.*

Fiscal years.	Highest.	Lowest.	Average London price per ounce standard, .925.	Equivalent value of a fine ounce with exchange at par, $4.8665.	Equivalent value of a fine ounce based on average price.	Bullion value of United States silver dollar at average price of silver, exchange at par.	Commercial ratio of silver to gold.
	Pence.	*Pence.*	*Pence.*				
1873–'74	59⅜	57⅛	58.312	$1.27826	$1.28247	$0.98865	16.17
1874–'75	58⅛	55⅛	56.875	1.25127	1.25022	.96777	16.52
1875–'76	57⅛	50	52.750	1.15184	1.15954	.89087	17.94
1876–'77	58	50½	54.812	1.20154	1.20191	.92931	17.20
1877–'78	55⅛	52½	52.562	1.15222	1.15257	.89116	17.94
1878–'79	52⅛	48⅛	50.812	1.11386	1.11616	.86152	18.55
1879–'80	53½	51⅛	52.218	1.14436	1.14397	.88509	18.06
1880–'81	52⅞	51	51.937	1.13852	1.13508	.88057	18.15
1881–'82	52⅞	50⅛	51.812	1.13623	1.13817	.87889	18.19
1882–'83	52⅛	50	51.023	1.11826	1.11912	.86490	18.48
1883–'84	51⅛	50⅝	50.791	1.11339	1.11529	.86115	18.56
1884–'85	50⅛	48⅛	49.843	1.09262	1.09226	.84507	18.92
1885–'86	49⅞	42	47.038	1.03112	1.03295	.79750	20.04
1886–'87	47⅛	42	44.843	.98301	.98148	.76029	21.02
1887–'88	45⅞	41⅛	43.675	.95741	.95617	.74008	21.59
1888–'89	44⅛	41⅛	42.499	.93163	.93510	.72355	22.18
1889–'90	49	42	44.196	.96883	.96839	.74932	21.33
1890–'91	54⅛	43⅞	47.714	1.04195	1.04780	.80588	19.83
1891–'92	46⅜	39	42.737	.93648	.93723	.72430	22.07
1892–'93	40⅞	30½	38.375	.84123	.84263	.65063	24.57
July	34¼	32½	33.060	.72471	.72037	.56052	28.52

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *Bureau of the Mint, August 1, 1893.*

TABLE B.—*Monetary systems and approximate stocks of money in the aggregate and per capita in the principal countries of the world.*

Countries.	Monetary system.	Ratio between gold and full legal-tender silver.	Ratio between gold and limited tender silver.	Population.	Stock of gold.	Stock of silver.			Uncovered paper.	Per capita.			
						Full tender.	Limited tender.	Total.		Gold.	Silver.	Paper.	Total.
United States	Gold and silver	1 to 15.98	1 to 14.95	67,000,000	$604,000,000	$538,000,000	$77,000,000	$615,000,000	$412,000,000	$9.01	$9.18	$6.15	$24.34
United Kingdom	Gold		1 to 14.28	38,000,000	550,000,000		100,000,000	100,000,000	50,000,000	14.47	2.63	1.32	18.42
France	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	39,000,000	800,000,000	650,000,000	50,000,000	700,000,000	81,402,000	20.52	17.95	2.09	40.56
Germany	Gold		1 to 13.957	49,500,000	900,000,000	103,000,000	108,000,000	211,000,000	107,000,000	12.12	4.26	2.16	18.54
Belgium	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	6,100,000	65,000,000	48,400,000	6,600,000	55,000,000	54,000,000	10.66	9.02	8.85	25.53
Italy	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	31,000,000	93,605,000	16,000,000	34,200,000	50,200,000	163,471,000	3.01	1.62	5.27	9.91
Switzerland	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	3,000,000	15,000,000	11,400,000	3,600,000	15,000,000	14,000,000	5.00	5.00	4.67	14.67
Greece	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	2,200,000	2,000,000	1,800,000	2,200,000	4,000,000	14,000,000	.91	1.82	6.36	9.09
Spain	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	18,000,000	40,000,000	120,000,000	38,000,000	158,000,000	100,000,000	2.22	8.78	5.56	16.56
Portugal	Gold		1 to 14.08	5,000,000	40,000,000		10,000,000	10,000,000	45,000,000	8.00	2.00	9.00	19.00
Austria-Hungary	....do		1 to 13.69	40,000,000	40,000,000	90,000,000		90,000,000	260,000,000	1.00	2.25	6.50	9.75
Netherlands	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 15	4,500,000	25,000,000	61,800,000	3,200,000	65,000,000	40,000,000	5.55	14.42	8.89	28.88
Scandinavian Union	Gold		1 to 14.88	8,600,000	32,000,000		10,000,000	10,000,000	27,000,000	3.72	1.16	3.14	8.02
Russia	Silver	1 to 15½	1 to 15	113,000,000	250,000,000	22,000,000	38,000,000	60,000,000	500,000,000	2.21	.53	4.42	7.16
Turkey	Gold and silver		1 to 15.1	33,000,000	50,000,000		45,000,000	45,000,000		1.52	1.36		2.88
Australia	Gold		1 to 14.28	4,000,000	100,000,000		7,000,000	7,000,000		25.00	1.75		26.75
Egypt	....do		1 to 15.68	7,000,000	100,000,000		15,000,000	15,000,000		14.29	2.14		16.43
Mexico	Silver	1 to 16½		11,600,000	5,000,000	50,000,000		50,000,000	2,000,000	.43	4.31	.17	4.91
Central America	....do	1 to 15½		3,000,000		500,000		500,000	2,000,000		.17	.67	.84
South America	....do	1 to 15½		35,000,000	45,000,000	25,000,000		25,000,000	600,000,000	1.29	.71	17.14	19.14
Japan	Gold and silver	1 to 16.18		40,000,000	90,000,000	50,000,000		50,000,000	56,000,000	2.25	1.25	1.40	4.90
India	Silver	1 to 15		255,000,000		900,000,000		900,000,000	28,000,000		3.53	.11	3.64
China	....do			400,000,000		700,000,000		700,000,000			1.75		1.75
The Straits						100,000,000		100,000,000					
Canada	Gold		1 to 14.95	4,500,000	16,000,000		5,000,000	5,000,000	40,000,000	3.56	1.11	8.89	13.56
Cuba, Haiti, etc	....do	1 to 15½		2,000,000	20,000,000	1,200,000	800,000	2,000,000	40,000,000	10.00	1.00	20.00	31.00
Total					3,582,605,000	3,489,100,000	553,600,000	4,042,700,000	2,635,873,000				

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF THE MINT, *August 16, 1893.*

During the delivery of Mr. CAFFERY'S remarks—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Louisiana will suspend for a moment. Under the rules, the hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 453) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks.

Mr. VOORHEES. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, which had been re-

ported from the Committee on Finance, with an amendment, to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That so much of the act approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," as directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month at the market price thereof, not exceeding $1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchases Treasury notes of the United States, be, and the same is hereby, repealed. And it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to continue the use of both gold and silver as standard money, and to coin both gold and silver into money of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, such equality to be secured through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as will insure the maintenance of the parity in value of the coins of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts. And it is hereby further declared that the efforts of the Government should be steadily directed to the establishment of such a safe system of bimetallism as will maintain at all times the equal power of every dollar coined or issued by the United States, in the markets and in the payment of debts.

After the conclusion of Mr. CAFFERY'S remarks—

Mr. CULLOM. I believe two or three Senators have announced that they will speak on Tuesday and Wednesday of next week. I therefore take it for granted that this question will probably not be disposed of before that time. In view of that fact, I shall ask the leave of the Senate, immediately after the morning business on Monday next, to submit some remarks pertinent to the bill before the Senate.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. PEFFER. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Order of Business No. 7, on the first page of the Calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAULKNER in the chair). The Senator from Kansas moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the resolution heretofore submitted by him.

Mr. VOORHEES. Of course——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state to the Senator from Indiana that the motion of the Senator from Kansas is not debatable. If there is no objection, however, the Senator from Indiana will be recognized by the Chair.

Mr. VOORHEES. I desire to accommodate those who wish to speak on this subject, but I do not desire to waste any time. I do not know what better we can do, perhaps, unless somebody wishes to occupy the time in the discussion of the pending measure, than to take up some ordinary business; but I give notice now that if I find that discussion is exhausted at any time, I shall ask for a vote. I can do no less.

Mr. CULLOM. Allow me to say in this connection that I shall be glad to join the Senator from Indiana in securing a vote at any time, whether I have had an opportunity to make a speech or not.

Mr. VOORHEES. I am aware that the intention is to indulge in a good deal more debate, and I would not take advantage of a situation like this for a moment. I may as well say now as at any stage that I trust there will be a liberal allowance of time for full, intelligent discussion, and after it is manifest that discussion of that kind is through, and the discussion from that time on is merely for the consumption of time, I shall insist upon a vote at every opportunity that presents itself.

I repeat, there will be no disposition to interfere with Senators who wish to occupy the time in the discussion of this measure, but there will be interference with the purpose of Senators to delay for merely the sake of delay in the face of the situation in the country as it now stands.

With these remarks I feel like yielding to the Senator from Kansas for some ordinary business. What is the character of the business he wishes to call up?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will state the order of business.

The SECRETARY. Order of Business No. 7, a resolution by Mr. PEFFER directing the Secretary of the Treasury to inform the Senate as to violations of law by national banks of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia.

Mr. VOORHEES. There is a motion I believe pending to refer that resolution to the Committee on Finance.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question first is on the motion of the Senator from Kansas to proceed to the consideration of the resolution.

Mr. SHERMAN. That carries with it a consideration of the motion to refer.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the Senate decides in favor of the motion of the Senator from Kansas, then the question as to the reference of the resolution will be before the Senate.

Mr. CULLOM. As I remember, there is a motion pending, submitted by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], to refer the resolution to the Committee on Finance.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That will come before the Senate if the Senate votes to proceed to the consideration of the resolution.

Mr. HARRIS. The question now is, will the Senate proceed to consider the resolution at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee has correctly stated the parliamentary condition.

Mr. HARRIS. And if the Senate decides to consider the resolution, the first question is, Will the Senate refer it?

Mr. PEFFER. Upon my motion I demand the yeas and nays.

Mr. CULLOM. To take up the resolution?

Mr. PEFFER. To take it up. I understand there is objection. I withdraw it if there is none.

Mr. CULLOM. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is not subject to debate. The Senator from Illinois will be recognized if there is no objection. The Chair hears none.

Mr. CULLOM. I was simply going to suggest that perhaps there would be no objection to taking up the resolution, provided there is a vote taken to refer after it is taken up.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Kansas to proceed to the consideration of the resolution.

Mr. VOORHEES. If the resolution displaces for a single moment the bill which has been made the order of business this afternoon I shall contest it at every inch.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will hold that if the motion of the Senator from Kansas is adopted by the Senate it displaces House bill No. 1.

Mr. VOORHEES. Then I hope the Senate will vote down the motion of the Senator from Kansas. Let us understand whether we are to branch off upon side issues and minor points raised by anybody who sees fit, or whether we shall attend to the business that is confessedly in hand.

Mr. PEFFER. Then let us have a yea-and-nay vote.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the Senator from Colorado addressing the Senate? The motion is not debatable. The Chair hears no objection, and recognizes the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. TELLER. I wish to make a suggestion to the chairman of the Committee on Finance. He does not want his bill displaced, and I have no disposition myself to displace it at this time, as I think there are several Senators who want to proceed to speak on it within a day or two. I suggest that he agree that it be laid aside informally and then taken up just as it was this morning without opposition. I do not suppose there will be any opposition to his calling it up again.

Mr. VOORHEES. Inasmuch as nobody wishes to address the Senate this afternoon I am perfectly willing for any proceeding that does not displace the bill, but I do not intend to have it displaced as the regular order of business if I can help it; that is all. I accept the suggestion of the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. TELLER. If nobody objects, let the bill be laid aside informally for the purpose of taking up the resolution of the Senator from Kansas, with the understanding that when the chairman of the committee calls up the bill nobody will object to it. Certainly I shall not object to it.

Mr. HARRIS. It will remain the unfinished business.

Mr. VOORHEES. It is to remain as the unfinished business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair would hold that the phraseology used by the Senator from Kansas in making his motion displaces House bill No. 1 if the motion is agreed to. If the Senator from Kansas desires to call up his resolution and asks that the bill be informally laid aside for that purpose, the Chair would then rule that such action on the part of the Senate would not displace House bill No. 1.

Mr. CULLOM (to Mr. BEFFER). Ask unanimous consent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. As the motion is stated by the Senator from Kansas, it would displace House bill No. 1.

Mr. HARRIS. Unquestionably.

Mr. KYLE. I should like to ask what is the unfinished business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. House bill No. 1.

Mr. KYLE. I see on to-day's Calendar Senate bill 453 is put down as the unfinished business.

Mr. VOORHEES. At 2 o'clock House bill No. 1 was taken up on motion.

Mr. PEFFER. I desire to state that it is not my purpose to discuss the resolution unless there is an insistence upon referring it to the Committee on Finance; that my purpose now is to have it disposed of according to the wishes of the Senate. Let us go on record upon it, whether we are in favor of adopting the original resolution without any reference, or whether we want to refer it to the committee. I do not care to add any remarks upon it at this time, unless it is insisted that it shall go to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. VOORHEES. If the Senator from Kansas adheres to the words in which he put his motion, and which the presiding officer says will displace the pending order of business, I shall insist that the Senate vote down the motion to take up his resolution.

TRANSACTIONS OF NATIONAL BANKS.

Mr. PEFFER. At the suggestion of the Senator from Colorado, I see no parliamentary obstacle in the way of modifying the motion I made, to a request that the pending business be temporarily laid aside in order that the resolution may be taken up, with the understanding that if that request is objected to I shall then renew my motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas asks that the unfinished business, the bill now before the Senate, House bill No. 1, be temporarily laid aside for the purpose of taking up and considering a resolution which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. PEFFER on the 22d instant, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to inform the Senate—

First. Whether and in what respect the national banks, or any of them, in the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia are being now conducted in violation of law.

Second. Whether said banks are paying depositors' checks promptly in lawful money.

Third. Whether said banks, or any of them, are demanding rates of interest higher than those provided by law, for the loan of money or in discounting notes and bills.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Kansas? The Chair hears none and the resolution is before the Senate for consideration. The question is on the motion to refer the resolution to the Committee on Finance, on which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I desire to inquire if the Senator from Kansas has modified the resolution or does the resolution stand as originally introduced?

Mr. PEFFER. It stands as originally introduced.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. That being the case, I shall vote to refer it to the Committee on Finance, because I am decidedly opposed to the resolution in its present form.

Mr. FRYE. Is the question on a reference?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOLPH (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE], who does not appear to be in the Chamber, and therefore I shall not vote.

Mr. HARRIS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PUGH (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR]. I do not know how he would vote on this motion. I should vote "nay" if he were present.

Mr. McPHERSON (when Mr. SMITH'S name was called). I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. SMITH] is paired with the Senator from Idaho [Mr. DUBOIS]. At least I am so informed. I do not know whether the Senator from Idaho has voted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho has voted.

Mr. McPHERSON. My colleague would vote "yea" if present.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. DUBOIS (after having voted in the negative). I voted inadvertently. I see that the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] is not present. I am paired with him, and therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. DAVIS. I am paired with the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE].

Mr. CAMERON. I am paired with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER].

Mr. PLATT (after having voted in the affirmative). I am paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. HUNTON]. I voted supposing that he is in the Chamber, but I do not see him and I withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 35, nays 21; as follows:

YEAS—35.

Aldrich,	Frye,	Lodge,	Ransom,
Allison,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Sherman,
Blackburn,	Gibson,	McPherson,	Squire,
Caffery,	Gordon,	Mitchell, Oregon	Stockbridge,
Camden,	Gorman,	Mitchell, Wis.	Vilas,
Carey,	Gray,	Palmer,	Voorhees,
Cullom,	Hale,	Pasco,	Washburn,
Dixon,	Hawley,	Power,	White, La.
Faulkner,	Higgins,	Proctor,	

NAYS—21.

Allen,	Irby,	Perkins,	Vest,
Bate,	Jones, Nev.	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Call,	Kyle,	Shoup,	White, Cal.
Cockrell,	Lindsay,	Stewart,	
Coke,	Manderson,	Teller,	
Hansbrough,	Peffer,	Vance,	

NOT VOTING—29.

Berry,	Dolph,	Martin,	Roach,
Brice,	Dubois,	Mills,	Smith,
Butler,	George,	Morgan,	Turpie,
Cameron,	Harris,	Morrill,	Wilson,
Chandler,	Hill,	Murphy,	Wolcott.
Colquitt,	Hoar,	Platt,	
Daniel,	Hunton,	Pugh,	
Davis,	Jones, Ark.	Quay,	

So the resolution was referred to the Committee on Finance.

DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE MUTCHLER.

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. President, I ask that the resolutions which came from the House of Representatives relative to the death of my late colleague in that House be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate resolutions from the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *August 8, 1893.*

Resolved, That the House has heard with deep regret and profound sorrow of the death of Hon. William Mutchler, late a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That the Clerk be directed to communicate a copy of these resolutions to the Senate, and send a duly attested copy to the widow of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to our deceased colleague the House do now adjourn.

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. President, I offer the resolutions which I send to the desk, and I desire to accompany them with the statement that at some appropriate time in the future I shall address some remarks to the Senate in reference to my late colleague in the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolutions submitted by the Senator from Pennsylvania will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. William Mutchler, late a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolutions.

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 13 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, September 1, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *August 31, 1893.*

The House met at 12 m. Prayer by Rev. ISAAC W. CANTER, of Washington, D. C.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. TALBOTT of Maryland, until Monday, on account of important business.

To Mr. SICKLES, for one week, on account of sickness.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

Mr. WHITE, by unanimous consent, obtained leave to withdraw from the files of the House papers in the case of George C. Abbey, there being no adverse report.

PRINTING FOR COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution I send to the desk.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Affairs be authorized to have printed all documents for the use of said committee that they may deem necessary in connection with subjects referred to that committee.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of this resolution?

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that these printing privileges are being extended very far. The law provides that printing, where it exceeds $500 in cost, can only be done upon a concurrent resolution, and I observe that there is no limit named in this resolution, or in some others that have already been passed. Heretofore it has been customary to grant this privilege to the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Ways and Means only, and I do not think we ought to extend it much further.

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I will say to my friend from Tennessee that during the ten years I have been in Congress this privilege has always been granted to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. If he desires to have a provision inserted in the resolution that the cost shall not exceed $500 I have no ob-

jection, because, in fact, it will not reach anywhere near that amount.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. That is not necessary, because if the cost does exceed that amount a concurrent resolution will be required.

Mr. MCCREARY of Kentucky. Yes. I will say to my friend from Tennessee that this is a copy of the resolution that has been adopted every Congress since I have been here.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. I will not object in this case, but I do not think this privilege of printing ought to be extended so far as we have been extending it this session.

The resolution was adopted.

EASTERN JUDICIAL DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY.

Mr. GOODNIGHT, by unanimous consent, introduced a bill (H. R. 6) to create the eastern judicial district of Kentucky, and to change the present judicial districts of Kentucky, and fix the time and places for holding courts in said districts; which was read twice, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed.

SETTLERS IN OKLAHOMA.

Mr. FLYNN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to introduce a bill and have it referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

Mr. LIVINGSTON. I would ask the gentleman why he makes that request at this time? Is he sick or compelled to go away?

Mr. FLYNN. This is a bill affecting settlers out there, and which requires action prior to the 22d day of September. Therefore I ask leave to introduce it now, so that the committee may have an opportunity to consider it without delay.

Mr. LIVINGSTON. We have a great many bills on this side that we would like to get in.

Mr. FLYNN. I understand that; but this case is urgent.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the title of the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act granting settlers on certain lands in Oklahoma Territory the right to commute their homestead entries, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

The bill (H. R. 5) was accordingly read twice, referred to the Committee on Public Lands, and ordered to be printed.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Now, Mr. Speaker, I shall have to object to any further unanimous consents. I call up for further consideration the report of the Committee on Rules.

THE RULES.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the pending amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. PICKLER to an amendment proposed by Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi:

Strike out "eleven," and insert in lieu thereof "nine," so as to make the paragraph read:

"On Rules, to consist of nine members."

The question was taken on the amendment; and the Speaker declared that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. PICKLER. I ask for a division.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Would it be in order for me now, as the mover of the original amendment, to accept the amendment of the gentleman from South Dakota?

The SPEAKER. The House is voting upon that amendment. If the House adopts it that will settle the question.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. But if I should accept it that would dispense with the necessity of a vote.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks that when the House is dividing the gentleman can not accept the amendment.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Then that will put me to the necessity of moving to reconsider.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can do anything that the rules permit him to do.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 57, noes 89.

Mr. PICKLER. I ask for the yeas and nays on this question.

The yeas and nays were not ordered; only eleven voting therefor.

So the amendment of Mr. PICKLER was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question now recurs on the amendment of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER], which the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

In the clause relating to the Committee on Rules strike out the word "five" and insert "eleven", so as to read, "On Rules, to consist of eleven members."

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. Debate is exhausted.

Mr. KILGORE. Is it in order to offer an amendment to the amendment so as to strike out "eleven" and insert "seven?"

The SPEAKER. That motion would be in order.

Mr. KILGORE. I make that motion.

The question being taken on Mr. KILGORE'S amendment to the amendment, it was rejected; there being—ayes 33, noes 91.

The question recurred on the amendment of Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi.

The question was taken; and there were—ayes 48, noes 95.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were not ordered, only 19 voting in favor thereof.

So the amendment was rejected.

The SPEAKER. If there are no other amendments to be offered to Rule X, the Clerk will begin the reading of Rule XI.

The Clerk proceeded to read Rule XI, when

Mr. CATCHINGS said: Mr. Speaker, if there are no amendments to be offered to this section I will ask that it be passed without reading.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER], as the Chair understands, desires to offer an amendment.

Mr. BOATNER. I have an amendment which I wish to offer to Rule XI.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Then I ask that the reading be dispensed with down to the point where these amendments will come in.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. It would be more in order to read the whole rule.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the proposed rule.

The Clerk, proceeding to read Rule XI, read the following:

2. To the revenue and the bonded debt of the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. KILGORE. I move to amend by inserting after the word "revenue" in the clause just read the words "and such measures as purport to raise revenue." The object of this amendment is to prevent the squabbles which have so frequently taken place in this House in regard to the jurisdiction of particular committees. Measures are often presented here which, on their face, purport to raise revenue, a provision on that subject being introduced for the purpose of giving them a standing in the House and securing right of way.

Mr. DINGLEY. I suggest to the gentleman that the language of his amendment does not change the effect of the proposed rule, but is simply a less appropriate way of expressing the idea already conveyed.

Mr. KILGORE. No, sir. Frequently bills are presented here which on their face purport to raise revenue, but which, notwithstanding that fact, are referred perhaps to the Committee on Appropriations or the Committee on Agriculture, which committee thus gets control of the subject. Now, if bills of this character are sent to the Ways and Means Committee that committee would treat them as they deserve to be treated under such circumstances.

The question being taken on the amendment of Mr. KILGORE, it was agreed to there being—ayes 52, noes 9.

The Clerk, continuing the reading of Rule XI, read the following:

51. All proposed action touching the rules and joint rules and order of business shall be referred to the Committee on Rules.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I move to amend the clause just read by striking out the words "and order of business:" so that the clause will read:

All proposed action touching the rules and joint rules shall be referred to the Committee on Rules."

Mr. Speaker, this amendment is in keeping with the suggestions which I had the honor to submit to the House a few days ago during the general debate on this subject, and also in keeping with the remarks which I submitted yesterday. The Committee on Rules in its original appointment was, as I understand, invested simply with the authority to present rules for the consideration of the House, and I can not see why there should be given to this committee any more than to any other committee the power to indicate to the House what should be its order of business.

There is certainly no reason why this committee, the smallest committee of the House in point of numbers—consisting of two members from the Republican side and two from the Democratic side, with the Speaker *ex officio* acting as chairman—should have the right to supersede or overule the action of all the other great committees of the House, as for instance the Ways and Means Committee, the Appropriations Committee, or the Judiciary Committee, by indicating upon report to the House what measures coming from those committees should have a hearing.

It is a misnomer to call this a "Committee on Rules." It is to be invested with the power to determine what measures the

great committees of the House—the Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on Ways and Means, or the Committee on the Judiciary—shall bring before the House for its consideration. It divests the committees of their own power. You ought to change the name, sir, of this committee, therefore, and call it the "steering committee" of the House—the committee that is to determine by the voice of five men, and its report to this House, what measures shall be heard, how long they shall be heard, and when the vote shall be taken upon them.

I am aware that the argument has been frequently made heretofore, as it has been made on the floor during the discussion of this code of rules, that the Committee on Rules is in itself powerless to accomplish anything unless it be sustained by a majority of the House. That, of course, is true. But the Committee on Rules has, you will admit, the power to withhold any report whatever upon this question or any other question that may be submitted to them; and all questions relating to the order of business are committed to them by this provision of the rule, inasmuch as you confer upon them the power to determine the order of business.

The majority of the House would not have the right to vote on any question or to determine for itself what should be the order of business unless this committee can be induced to make a report and bring it before the House for action. It sits in the Speaker's room; it is a committee of five; it has few or no hearings, that I have ever heard of, to determine as to what should be done; but of itself, without any regard to what may be the wish or the action of the House, in that committee is to be lodged the power to determine what measures shall be taken up and considered and what shall be set aside.

In the face of the great interests committed to the important committees of this House, notwithstanding the labor that they may have bestowed upon measures of public importance, they are to be absolutely powerless, and this committee under this section 51 of Rule XI is privileged, without any previous examination whatever, to determine the order of business; not that its particular functions should extend to the question of the rules of this body, but absolutely to all matters of business coming before it.

The clause to which the amendment is applied provides that—

All proposed action touching the rules and joint rules, and order of business, shall be referred to the Committee on Rules.

The amendment I offer seeks to strike out from this clause the words "and order of business."

Now, I say that to allow this committee to determine for all of the other great committees of the House what shall be the hearing given by the House, and the order in which that hearing shall be had, the length of time to be given in the discussion of the measure, and what time the vote is to be called, is to deprive the other great committees of the House of the power to introduce and take charge on the floor of the measures which have been committed to them during the session. I think, therefore, the clause should be amended as I have suggested, that these words should be stricken out and the Committee on Rules confined to its legitimate, specific scope of duty without the privilege of going beyond it.

Because, Mr. Speaker, if the Committee on Rules may exercise this important, this vital function as to one measure it might do it in regard to all matters that in the judgment of the five gentlemen composing this committee think the House should consider or refuse to consider, and whatever may be the will of the majority of the House, unless their judgment—the judgment of the Committee on Rules—is exercised in conformity with the will of the majority, and they can be induced to make a report, even the majority of the House would not be able to say what measures should be considered.

How much more would it subserve the interests of legislation and the public interests to permit the chairmen of the great committees of Ways and Means, Judiciary, Appropriations, and other committees to report the bills from their respective committees and take charge of them upon the floor of the House in such order as the House itself may determine? But this proposition embodied in the rules is a proposition to take away the power which is lodged in the great committees of the House and leave it to the Committee on Rules with power to absolutely tie the hands of all of the other committees at their will.

When you have witnessed the operation of this rule awhile you will understand what that power means. You will understand that it means simply that five members of the House, constituting the Committee on Rules, have relegated to themselves by the rules of the House all the powers of the 356 members constituting this body, as well as all of the various committees of the House. So that in point of fact if all this power is given to the Committee on Rules, every member of the House and every committee will have to submit to its action as to whatever report the committee may see fit to bring forward, or to take no action if it chooses to make no report at all.

But it may be said that they have the right to have a vote by a majority in the House at any time. They will, Mr. Speaker, if the Committee on Rules makes a report. But suppose the other case, an important bill, for instance, from the Committee on Ways and Means or the Committee on the Judiciary, and the steering committee conclude that they will give some other measure preference, or that they will not make any report in regard to its consideration at all. I ask, how can you get it up? Is it not a wiser plan instead of relegating this important power to five men to leave it to the great committees of the House themselves to make reports and let the House determine for itself the question of consideration?

Mr. Speaker, I can not see the necessity for clothing the committee with this extraordinary power. The Committee on Rules, according to its original and legitimate functions as constituted by the previous Houses of Congress, was simply a committee for the purpose of reporting a code of rules for the House. It eventually became a standing committee, because experience had demonstrated the fact that sometimes during a session of Congress there was necessity for a change of the rules, and hence it was made permanent.

But really in almost all legislative bodies, whether the National Congress or the Legislatures of the States, the committee ought to be *functus officio* after having presented and adopted a set of rules for the government of the body. But if instead of that an addition is made to their power, authorizing them to report an order of business for the body, then you give them not only an unwarranted power, but you rob the other committees of powers which should properly belong to them in all legislative bodies.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, if my colleague had read paragraph 57 of the rule under consideration, he would have seen that about ninety-nine one-hundredths of all that he had stated is utterly without foundation. The burden of his complaint is, that the Committee on Rules, if these rules should be adopted as we have reported them, would have the right to relegate to a subordinate position all the great committees of this House; and he dwelt several times upon the Appropriations Committee and the Committee on Ways and Means.

Now, Mr. Speaker, as long as my friend has been a member of this House, he seems not to have learned that the Committee on Elections, the Committee on Ways and Means, the committees having jurisdiction of appropriations, the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, the Committee on Public Lands, the Committee on Enrolled Bills, the Committee on Printing, and the Committee on Accounts, which committees have jurisdiction of nine-tenths of all matters of legislation which ever come before this House, have the express power conferred upon them to report at any time; and he has overlooked the fact that it has been repeatedly ruled by Speakers of this House that any committee which has the power to report at any time has the right at any time to make a motion that this House proceed to the consideration of measures reported by it.

There has never been a time when the Committee on Rules has undertaken to control business reported from these committees. They have had a hearing by simply exercising the right which these rules confer upon them; that is to say, to rise and move that the House proceed to consider measures reported by them. So, it is not true, Mr. Speaker, that the Committee on Rules can control in the least degree those committees which, as I have said, have jurisdiction of nine-tenths of all legislation which is ever proposed to this House. The Committee on Ways and Means, the Appropriations Committee, the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and all these great committees, never seek assistance from the Committee on Rules. They do not need it. They are above the Committee on Rules. They have the right in spite of the Committee on Rules to ask this House to proceed to the consideration of their measures. So that the burden of my friend's complaint is utterly without foundation.

Now, Mr. Speaker, as to those committees which have not this high privilege it is absolutely essential, if we would have an orderly conduct of business, that somewhere or other the power should be vested to decide which committee should take up business as against other committees; and I wish to say, Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of new members, who have not had an opportunity to witness the manner in which the business of this House is conducted, that only with reference to the most important bills does the Committee on Rules ever undertake to bring special matters before the House. All that the Committee on Rules ever does is to bring in a special order fixing one day or two days for the consideration of bills reported, we will say, by the Judiciary Committee; but it leaves it entirely to that committee to say what bills shall be brought to the attention of the House.

Mr. BOATNER. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Certainly.

Mr. BOATNER. If the amendment of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER] be adopted, would any committee of the House have jurisdiction of any resolution looking to the order of business?

Mr. CATCHINGS. None whatever. The gentleman proposes to turn the House loose, with no power vested in anybody or in any committee to bring order out of disorder. But, as I was saying, Mr. Speaker, the power with which the Committee on Rules is vested is never exercised for the purpose of bringing before this House any special bill, or any special legislation, unless it involves some great measure in which the whole great country is concerned.

[Here the hammer fell.]

[Cries of "Vote!" "Vote!"]

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I wish to say only a few words, and I will not occupy the time if anyone else desires to speak. To illustrate what I mean by the amendment I propose, suppose the Committee on Appropriations should introduce a resolution that on a certain day such a bill, reported by the Committee on Appropriations, should be considered for such a length of time, and at such an hour there should be a vote upon the bill. That is directing the order of business, is it not? Under this rule would it not go to the Committee on Rules, to determine whether they would report in favor of it or not?

Suppose a resolution was introduced from any one of the great general committees to fix a particular time for the consideration of a particular bill. A member of the Committee on Rules rises and says, "Here is a rule which you have adopted, declaring that all orders of business shall be referred to the Committee on Rules." Would it not go to the Committee on Rules? Would not the Speaker rule, and be bound to rule, that it should go to the Committee on Rules? Because you have provided not only that all questions with reference to a change of the rules or an alteration of the rules shall go to the Committee on Rules, but also that all questions as to order of business shall go there.

Suppose a conflict arose between two of the great committees of the House with reference to the question of ordering a particular time for the consideration of measures reported by them, and the point of order was made that under the rules adopted you have to refer that question to the Committee on Rules to to say which one of those committees shall have the right of way. Would it not be a good point of order, and would not the Speaker have to require that it should be referred to the Committee on Rules to consider an order of business?

So I say that if the rules are availed of—either by any member of the Committee on Rules or any other member of the House, who makes the point of order when a proposition is made, that a report from the Committee on Appropriations or upon any other matter shall be considered upon a certain day and debated under the order of general debate for such a time and under the five-minute rule for such a time—it takes away the power to determine such a question and vests it exclusively in the Committee on Rules. The point of order being made, you can not adopt such a resolution on the floor, because you have adopted clause 51 of Rule XI, that all proposed action touching the rules, the joint rules, and order of business, shall be referred to the Committee on Rules.

It will be observed that it uses the copulative conjunction "and," so that an order of business, if there should come a contest as to what should be considered, must of necessity, under these rules, if you adopt them, go to the Committee on Rules and await their report.

And no other committee would have the right to interpose, because, under the rules, you have given to the Committee on Rules the right to direct and manage the order of business, have you not? If that is not the effect of your language, then it ought to be changed; if that is the effect of your language, then you ought to have in the Committee on Rules all the propositions for any order of business with reference to the affairs or reports of any committee.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Will the gentleman yield to me for a question?

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Yes.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Under your proposition, will you explain to the House how, if two committees were contending for a time for the consideration of a bill, it would be disposed of?

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Any one of you members of the Committee on Rules might move that it be referred to the Committee on Rules, and then it would have to go there.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Then why not let it go to the Committee on Rules in the first instance?

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. That is what I am objecting to, giving you this additional power. You know full well, and every member of the Committee on Rules knows full well, that it would clothe the Committee on Rules with the right to determine what should be considered and what should not be considered.

Mr. STOCKDALE. That could be determined by a majority of the House.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. The House would, by a majority vote, adopt the report of the Committee on Rules as a matter of course, as they always do. The House would have the right to determine on the report of the Committee on Rules, but the Committee on Rules might not make any report at all. If the Committee on Rules did make a report, then the majority of the House would have the right to say whether that report should be adopted or not.

[Here the hammer fell.]

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I call for a division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 28, noes 97.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I want to suggest, Mr. Speaker, whether the House may not misunderstand the politics of the gentleman because he sits on this side of the House.

Mr. STOCKDALE. I desire to offer an amendment to the same paragraph.

The Clerk read as follows:

After the word "rules" in paragraph 51, page 13: "And the Committee on Rules shall report to the House within three days on any proposition referred to it, upon request of one-fifth of the members present and voting, which shall be ascertained at the request of any member making such motion, which shall be put by the Speaker without debate."

Mr. STOCKDALE. Mr. Speaker, I do not know that that amendment is well worded for the object intended. It was stated on the floor the other day by the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED], which is true, that this Committee on Rules could go out at any time. I want to circumvent that by introducing some means in the rules by which we can get them back. [Laughter.]

In the last Congress I noticed that there were petitions circulated among members on this floor, and signed largely, to get the Committee on Rules to report certain propositions or to give an opportunity for a bill to be heard on this floor. I believe that this House is entitled to have a report, either favorably or adversely, when a certain number of members shall request it, without having to beg for it by petition. I do not believe that they should be required to petition any committee to do a thing which the House has a right to have done.

As I conceive by that amendment, any member on this floor could move that the Committee on Rules be required to report in whatever manner they desired, and the Speaker would be required to put that motion without debate, and if one-fifth of the members present and voting should call for a report from the Committee on Rules they would be required to make it within three days.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I only wish to say a very few words in reply to my colleague. I do not think his amendment ought to be adopted, and I say that in the interests of the business of the House. It is very often the case that a dozen resolutions will go to the Committee on Rules at a single time from different committees, all seeking assignment of days for consideration of their business. These resolutions will fix, perhaps, the same days.

Now, it is impossible that the Committee on Rules should report back all these resolutions unless they report them back adversely; whereas if they are allowed to hold them until they can see an opportunity they will report the resolutions, but change the days. If required to report them in three days, the consequence will be that nine-tenths of them will simply be reported adversely, and the committee will have to reintroduce them. I do not think there is any point in the amendment, and I hope it will be voted down.

Mr. STOCKDALE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to add a word. There may be a point in it and the Committee on Rules have not seen it.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Possibly.

Mr. STOCKDALE. Now, if the Committee on Rules will remember, there were petitions circulated in the House in the last Congress for the Committee on Rules to make a report, which was not made.

Mr. LIVINGSTON. It was not a majority of the Democrats.

Mr. STOCKDALE. I did not hear the gentleman.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. The gentleman from Georgia said that it was not signed by a majority of the Democrats.

Mr. STOCKDALE. Well, then, we could never get a report from the Committee on Rules unless we have a majority of the Democrats on this floor. Now, I want to say, and I am thor-

oughly in earnest in this proposition, we have a right to have a report from the committee. Every other committee is required to make a report within a reasonable time.

Mr. DINGLEY. There is no rule requiring a committee to report.

Mr. STOCKDALE. They are often required by resolution to report.

Mr. DOCKERY. There is, only, in the case on resolutions of inquiry.

Mr. STOCKDALE. It is not to be supposed that the House will be unreasonable with the Committee on Rules. There is no other committee in the House that has so much importance in the House.

Other committees have their own business to attend to. The House can call on them to report if it wants to. But when anything is referred to this committee the House can not move until it acts. Now, my colleague [Mr. CATCHINGS] can not say that this would require the Committee on Rules to report large numbers of these resolutions adversely on account of want of time, because this amendment does not go to the extent of requiring them absolutely to report back in three days; it only requires that they shall report within three days, if the House by a vote of one-fifth shall require them to do so.

The amendment of Mr. STOCKDALE was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

57. The following-named committees shall have leave to report at any time on the matters herein stated, viz: The Committee on Rules, on rules, joint rules, and order of business; the Committee on Elections, on the right of a member to his seat; the Committee on Ways and Means, on bills raising revenue; the committees having jurisdiction of appropriations, the general appropriation bills; the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, bills for the improvement of rivers and harbors; the Committee on the Public Lands, bills for the forfeiture of land grants to railroads and other corporations, bills preventing speculation in the public lands, and bills for the reservation of the public lands for the benefit of actual and bona fide settlers; the Committee on Enrolled Bills, enrolled bills; the Committee on Printing, on all matters referred to them of printing for the use of the House or two Houses; the Committee on Accounts, on all matters of expenditure of the contingent fund of the House.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I offer the amendment which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Insert after the word "harbors," in the second line from the bottom of page 13, "the Committee on Banking and Currency, bills relating to banking and currency."

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, this amendment simply puts the Committee on Banking and Currency in the list of those that may report at any time. I have conferred with members of the Committee on Rules, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. OUTHWAITE], and they have no objection to the amendment, and I hope it will be adopted.

Mr. KILGORE. I wish to ask the gentleman from Illinois whether it is not understood that when a committee is given the right to report a measure at any time it also has the right of way for that measure.

Mr. SPRINGER. This would make the reports of the Committee on Banking and Currency privileged, the same as the others.

Mr. KILGORE. The Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures is a very important committee, and, in the absence of its chairman, I wish to ask the gentleman from Illinois to accept an amendment giving that committee the same right.

Mr. SPRINGER. I think, Mr. Speaker, that each of these propositions ought to stand upon its own merits, and that we should deal with them one at a time. If the gentleman thinks proper he can move that afterwards.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to make any objection to this proposition if it is approved by members of the Committee on Rules, who are somewhat responsible for the conduct of the business of this House; but I desire to call attention to the fact that the original intention in the adoption of the provision giving certain committees the right to report at any time (which carries with it the right to have the matter considered at any time) was to confine it to committees whose business was absolutely essential to the carrying on of the Government. Formerly this privilege was confined to the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Ways and Means, together with the Committee on Rules, but there has been a tendency within a few years to extend this privilege to some committees that are not charged with business of such immediate importance.

I know of no reason why the Committee on Banking and Currency should be given the privilege of reporting and of having its bills considered at any time, which would not be an equally good reason for giving that privilege to almost any other committee of the House—to the Committee on the Judiciary; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and to a dozen others that I might mention.

I do not, however, rise to object, but simply to point out this tendency. I desire to call the attention of gentlemen who are more particularly responsible for the conduct of the business of the House than I am to the view that this is inevitably leading to the clogging of the business of the two great committees that are charged with the measures necessary to the carrying on of the Government. Those are the only two committees, together with the Committee on Rules, in my opinion, that ought to have this privilege of reporting at any time and having their measures considered at any time by the House; and if this process of extension is tolerated there is no telling where it is going to stop.

I suggest to gentlemen who are specially responsible for the conduct of the business of the House that this is a tendency which they can not put their foot upon at too early a period, because if it is carried to the extent to which it certainly will be carried unless it is stopped now, it will lead practically to a paralysis of that portion of the business of the House that is absolutely necessary to the conduct of the Government.

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am heartily in sympathy with the amendment offered by my colleague [Mr. SPRINGER]. I am in sympathy with it for the reason that now our friends on the other side of the House are not only in power here and in the Senate, but they also have the Presidency, and the responsibility for legislation rests upon them. The time has come when they can no longer fold their hands and say, "No, no." And this is especially true in this matter of the currency.

If justice is to be done to the business interests of the country, to the industrial interests, in fact, to all the interests of the country, the time has come when you gentlemen must either take the financial system that you find and adopt it without amendment, or must take it and amend and improve it; or, if that is not agreeable to your policy, must wipe it out, and put some better or worse system upon the statute book. The country demands a policy in this matter of the currency. Therefore, I repeat, I am in harmony with my colleague's amendment. The committee of which he has the honor to be chairman should be given the power to report at any time, that power carrying with it the right to insist upon consideration of the measures reported. I shall vote for the amendment.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, my colleague on the committee [Mr. OUTHWAITE] and myself did inadvertently assent to the suggestion of my friend from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER], but I confess that after hearing the remarks of the gentleman from Maine I am considerably shaken in my opinion as to the wisdom of it. Of course, there will not be the slightest difficulty in the Committee on Banking and Currency getting all the hearing and all the consideration they desire from this House. We all recognize the necessity of doing something looking to the reformation of our currency.

But there is a great deal of truth in what my friend from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY] says, that if we are to extend this privilege to one committee we must extend it to another, and to still another; so that presently we shall have all the committees in collision, and friction and delay in the transaction of the public business will be the consequence. We would have constant contests on this floor between different committees competing for the consideration of their respective measures. I am inclined to think my friend from Illinois had better withdraw this amendment. There will not be the slightest trouble in his obtaining the consideration he may desire for the measures of his committee. But after listening to the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY] I beg leave to say that I do not believe it would be wise to adopt the amendment proposed.

Mr. SPRINGER. I am sorry the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] did not listen to members on this side of the House as to the policy of adopting this proposition, without taking advice from the other side.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I always listen with great respect to the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY] on matters affecting practical legislation, for I will say here what I have often said in private, that I regard him as one of the best practical legislators that I ever knew.

Mr. SPRINGER. I also have great respect for the gentleman from Maine, who made the suggestion against my amendment, but I wish to remind the gentleman from Mississippi that this side of the House is responsible for the legislation of Congress——

Mr. CATCHINGS. "The gentleman from Mississippi" does not need any reminder of that kind.

Mr. SPRINGER. And, therefore, we should take advice of our friends in matters of this kind.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Your admonition is entirely superfluous.

Mr. SPRINGER. The gentleman from Maine, I have no doubt, spoke in perfect faith in making his suggestion; but I hope the House will adopt this amendment, because I believe it a proper one, and one which should be adopted.

The proposition is simply that the Committee on Banking and Currency shall have the right to report at any time—the same

right which is given by these rules to the Committee on Ways and Means, the Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on Public Lands, the Committee on Rules, and the Committee on Accounts. You give to the Committee on Accounts, which is charged with the duty of auditing the accounts of this House, the right to report at any time; but it seems that the committee which is charged with the duty of looking after the accounts of all the people and the money of all the people must stand aside and come in upon the same footing as the least important committee of the House.

Mr. REED. Perhaps some of us have a rather more tender interest in the accounts of the House than we have in the business of the people at large.

Mr. SPRINGER. I hope the House will give my amendment its approval, and declare by the vote that this committee shall be placed on an equality at least with the Committee on Accounts.

Mr. ALLEN. I would like to ask the gentleman from Illinois why the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures should not also have this right?

Mr. SPRINGER. No proposition of that kind is pending. My amendment stands by itself. After it is disposed of, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. ALLEN] or any other member can offer a similar proposition with reference to any other committee.

Mr. DINGLEY. If this amendment is to be adopted, there is no reason why the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, the Committee on the Judiciary, and half a dozen other committees should not have the same right.

Mr. SPRINGER. I am the chairman of only this one committee. I presume the chairman of other committees or some members of those committees will look after their own business.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I do not know what I have ever done since I have been a member of this House which should make it necessary for me to be reminded that the Democrats are in charge of this House. Nor do I know of anything ever done by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] which justifies him in assuming to lecture me upon that or any other subject. I believe myself to be quite as good a Democrat as he is; and I do not know that I am greatly his inferior in any other particular.

I did state that I had listened with a great deal of interest and instruction to the gentleman from Maine, as I generally do, for I find he can instruct me on many subjects. He is a painstaking, careful, thoughtful legislator, known to be such by this whole House without reference to politics. I did think the observations submitted by him on this subject were worthy of consideration. There was nothing partisan in them. They were observations looking to the orderly consideration of the business of the House, and for one I am very much obliged to the gentleman for making the remarks that he did. I think they were sound and wise, and I do not now believe there is any necessity for the adoption of this amendment.

Mr. SPRINGER. I hope the gentleman from Mississippi will not assume for one moment that I had any desire to lecture him as to his duties on this floor. That is not my business. The gentleman stated to me before this amendment was moved that he had no objection it; and I regret that he did not advise me of his change of view before addressing the House on the subject, because I desire in all these matters to act in perfect good faith. The gentleman from Mississippi having assured me that there would be no objection to the proposition, I submitted it; and I was somewhat surprised when he stated that he had given his assent inadvertently. In what I was led to say, I intended no reflection whatever upon the gentleman.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Chairman, I move, *pro forma*, to strike out the last word of the amendment, so that I may occupy a few minutes in debate. The House having practically agreed that the Committee on Rules shall control the business of the House (and that is really what we must come to—I do not object to it), there is no reason why we should now single out a particular committee and give it power and privilege and precedence over other committees.

If there should arise an emergency which the ingenuity of the chairman of this particular committee can not surmount, he can appeal to the Committee on Rules, which committee can authorize the bringing in of a bill and instantaneous consideration of it. And should public confidence fail to be established by what we have already done, the Committee on Rules can say that within one minute after a bill has been reported to the House the previous question shall be considered as ordered, and we will have a vote on it and do what we can further to restore public confidence. If, however, this committee is to be given privileges, why, necessarily there are several other committees, I have no doubt, which would like to share in the usufruct of that sort of rule.

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, I desire to offer an amendment to the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois.

The SPEAKER. The amendment will be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Add to the amendment just read the words: "the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, bills relating to coinage."

The question was taken; and on a division there were—ayes 49, noes 76.

Mr. KILGORE. On that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 138, nays 97, not voting 118; as follows:

YEAS—138.

Alderson,	De Armond,	Kem,	Paynter,
Aldrich,	Denson,	Kilgore,	Pickler,
Alexander,	Dinsmore,	Kribbs,	Richardson, Mich.
Allen,	Dockery,	Kyle,	Ritchie,
Arnold,	Donovan,	Lacey,	Robbins,
Bailey,	Doolittle,	Lane,	Robertson, La.
Bankhead,	Durborow,	Latimer,	Russell, Ga.
Bell, Colo.	Fithian,	Lawson,	Sayers,
Beltzhoover,	Forman,	Lefever,	Shaw,
Black, Ga.	Funk,	Lester,	Simpson,
Blair,	Funston,	Livingston,	Snodgrass,
Blanchard,	Fyan,	Loud,	Springer,
Bland,	Gear,	Lucas,	Stallings,
Boatner,	Grady,	Maddox,	Stockdale,
Bretz,	Hager,	Mallory,	Stone, Ky.
Broderick,	Hall, Mo.	Martin, Ind.	Strait,
Brookshire,	Hare,	McCreary, Ky.	Strong,
Bryan,	Hartman,	McCulloch,	Swanson,
Burnes,	Haugen,	McDannold,	Sweet,
Caminetti,	Henderson, Ill.	McDearmon,	Talbert, S. C.
Cannon, Cal.	Henderson, Iowa	McGann,	Tate,
Cannon, Ill.	Henderson, N. C.	McKeighan,	Taylor, Ind.
Capehart,	Hepburn,	McLaurin,	Taylor, Tenn.
Clark, Mo.	Hermann,	McMillin,	Terry,
Cobb, Ala.	Hilborn,	McRae,	Turner,
Cockrell,	Holman,	Meiklejohn,	Turpin,
Coffeen,	Hooker, Miss.	Mercer,	Updegraff,
Conn,	Houk, Ohio	Meredith,	Warner,
Cooper, Tex.	Hudson,	Money,	Wheeler, Ala.
Cousins,	Hunter,	Morgan,	Williams, Ill.
Cox,	Hutcheson,	Moses,	Williams, Miss.
Crawford,	Johnson, Ind.	Neill,	Wilson, Ohio.
Culberson,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Northway,	Woodard.
Curtis, Kans.	Jones,	Oates,	
Davis,	Joy,	Paschal,	

NAYS—97.

Apsley,	Cooper, Fla.	Maguire,	Ryan,
Avery,	Cooper, Ind.	Mahon,	Schermerhorn,
Baker, N. H.	Cornish,	McCall,	Smith,
Baldwin,	Cummings,	McCleary, Minn.	Stephenson,
Barnes,	Dalzell,	McDowell,	Stevens,
Bartlett,	De Forest,	McEttrick,	Stone, C. W.
Barwig,	Dingley,	McKaig,	Stone, W. A.
Black, Ill.	Draper,	McNagny,	Tarsney,
Brattan,	English,	Meyer,	Tawney,
Breckinridge, Ark.	Erdman,	Milliken,	Thomas,
Breckinridge, Ky.	Everett,	Montgomery,	Tracey,
Brickner,	Fielder,	Moon,	Van Voorhis, Ohio
Brown,	Geissenhainer,	Morse,	Wanger,
Bunn,	Gorman,	Mutchler,	Washington,
Cabaniss,	Gresham,	Outhwaite,	Weadock,
Cadmus,	Grosvenor,	Page,	Wells,
Caldwell,	Haines,	Pearson,	Wever,
Caruth,	Harter,	Pendleton, Tex.	Wilson, W. Va.
Catchings,	Hayes,	Perkins,	Wise,
Causey,	Hicks,	Phillips,	Wolverton,
Clancy,	Hines,	Piggott,	Woomer,
Clarke, Ala.	Kiefer,	Powers,	Wright, Penn.
Cobb, Mo.	Layton,	Reed,	
Cogswell,	Lisle,	Richards,	
Coombs,	Lynch,	Richardson, Tenn.	

NOT VOTING—118.

Abbott,	Dolliver,	Hopkins, Ill.	Rayner,
Adams,	Dunn,	Hopkins, Pa.	Reilly,
Aitken,	Dunphy,	Houk, Tenn.	Reyburn,
Babcock,	Edmunds,	Hulick,	Robinson, Pa.
Baker, Kans.	Ellis, Ky.	Hull,	Rusk,
Barthoidt,	Ellis, Oregon	Ikirt,	Russell, Conn.
Belden,	Enloe,	Johnson, Ohio	Scranton,
Bell, Tex.	Epes,	Lapham,	Settle,
Berry,	Fellows,	Lilly,	Shell,
Bingham,	Fitch,	Linton,	Sherman,
Boen,	Fletcher,	Lockwood,	Sibley,
Boutelle,	Gardner,	Loudenslager,	Sickles,
Bower, N. C.	Geary,	Magner,	Sipe,
Bowers, Cal.	Gillet, N. Y.	Marsh,	Somers,
Branch,	Gillett, Mass.	Marshall,	Sperry,
Brawley,	Goldzier,	Marvin, N. Y.	Storer,
Brosius,	Goodnight,	McAleer,	Talbott, Md.
Burrows,	Graham,	Murray,	Tucker,
Bynum,	Grout,	Newlands,	Tyler,
Campbell,	Hainer,	O'Ferrall,	Van Voorhis, N. Y.
Chickering,	Hall, Minn.	O'Neil, Mass.	Wadsworth,
Childs,	Hammond,	O'Neill, Pa.	Walker,
Cockran,	Harmer,	Patterson,	Waugh,
Compton,	Harris,	Payne,	Wheeler, Ill.
Cooper, Wis.	Hatch,	Pence,	White,
Covert,	Heard,	Pendleton, W. Va.	Whiting,
Crain,	Heiner,	Post,	Wilson, Wash.
Curtis, N. Y.	Hendrix,	Price,	Wright, Mass.
Daniels,	Hitt,	Randall,	
Davey,	Hooker, N. Y.	Ray,	

So the amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The following pairs were announced:
Until further notice:
Mr. TUCKER with Mr. RUSSELL of Connecticut.
Mr. DUNPHY with Mr. WEVER.
Mr. EDMUNDS with Mr. LOUDENSLAGER.
Mr. LOCKWOOD with Mr. VAN VOORHIS of New York.
Mr. CAMPBELL with Mr. BELDEN.
Mr. ENLOE with Mr. BOUTELLE.
Mr. HATCH with Mr. HARMER.
Mr. GRAHAM with Mr. LINTON.
Mr. BRANCH with Mr. SETTLE.
Mr. SHELL with Mr. MARSH.
Mr. COCKRAN with Mr. SHERMAN.
Mr. MAGNER with Mr. CHICKERING.
Mr. RUSK with Mr. AITKEN.
Mr. MAGUIRE with Mr. HEINER.
Mr. TALBOTT of Maryland with Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin.
For this day:
Mr. BYNUM with Mr. WALKER.
Mr. GOODNIGHT with Mr. SCRANTON.
Mr. CRAIN with Mr. HOUK of Tennessee.
Mr. O'FERRALL with Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania.
Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia with Mr. PAYNE, until Monday next.
On this vote:
Mr. BERRY with Mr. SWEET.
Mr. ABBOTT with Mr. BROSIUS.
Mr. ENLOE. I am paired with the gentleman from Maine [Mr. BOUTELLE]. If he were present I should vote "aye."
Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania. I am paired with the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL]. If he were present I should vote "no."
The result of the vote was then announced as above recorded.
The question recurred on the amendment as amended.
Mr. TRACEY. I rise to a parlimentary inquiry: If the change in the rule here proposed shall be adopted by the House, would it give to these committees the right to have their measures considered when reported?
Mr. SPEAKER. It will; that is the purpose of extending this privilege to them.
Mr. BROWN. Mr. Speaker, if it is in order, I move to strike out from that amendment all the committees included in it except the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.
The SPEAKER. That would strike out the Committee on Banking and Currency.
Mr. BROWN. Is that the only other committee?
The SPEAKER. The only one.
Mr. BROWN. Then I withdraw the motion.
Mr. OATES. Mr. Speaker, the inquiry of the gentleman from New York was as to whether this provision of the rule would give those committees the right to have matters considered when reported. It would give them that right unless the House itself chose to consider some other matter.
The SPEAKER. If it is a privileged report it stands like any other privileged matter, like a bill reported from the Committee on Ways and Means, or Appropriations, for instance. It can be considered when called up unless the question of consideration shall be sustained by the House.
The question is on the amendment as amended.
The question was taken; and on a division there were—ayes 102, noes 58.
Mr. COOMBS. I call for the yeas and nays.
The yeas and nays were not ordered.
So the amendment as amended was agreed to.
Mr. SPRINGER. Would it be in order to move to reconsider the vote just taken and lay that on the table?
Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I have another amendment to the paragraph found on page 14.
The SPEAKER. The amendment will be read.
The Clerk read as follows:

Amend on page 14, the second paragraph of Rule XI, clause 57, by striking out from the word "it" in line 10 down to and including the words "disposed of" in line 16.

Mr. KILGORE. I want to submit an amendment to the clause which the Clerk has just finished reading.
The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER] is recognized for an amendment.
Mr. KILGORE. I understood that amendment to be on a subsequent clause.
The SPEAKER. It is not. It is on the same clause.
Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, the clause which I propose to strike out is found on page 14 of the rules, as reported from the Committee on Rules, and is in these words:

It shall always be in order to call up for consideration a report from the Committee on Rules, and pending consideration thereof the Speaker may entertain one motion that the House adjourn; but after the result is announced he shall not entertain any other dilatory motion until the said report shall have been fully disposed of.

My objection to this grant of power to the Speaker embraced in these rules is founded upon the fact that it will become necessary for the Speaker of this House to pass upon the question as to what constitutes a dilatory motion, and I do not want to invest the Speaker with that power, and I do not want him to be embarrassed by the possession of it, for he might find himself in the same category as did the distinguished gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] in the Fifty-first Congress, and he might refuse to entertain any proposition upon the ground that it was a dilatory motion; and I do not want the present Speaker of the House to be put in that embarrassing position.
Mr. MILLIKEN. Will my friend allow me to ask him a question?
Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Yes.
Mr. MILLIKEN. Does not this rule in fact give to the Speaker of the House all the powers that were exercised by the Speaker of the Fifty-first Congress, only in rather a clandestine way, instead of doing it in a straightforward manner?
Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. No; I do not think so, Mr. Speaker. I do think, however, that the language which I propose to strike out does clothe the Speaker with the power, and not only clothes him with the power, but makes it an imperative duty upon his part to pass upon what is a dilatory motion, and I therefore think this power ought not to be conceded. Under this rule you give the Speaker the right to entertain one dilatory motion, a motion to adjourn; but after the result is announced—

he shall not entertain any other dilatory motion until the said report shall have been fully disposed of.

He is invested with the power, therefore, to determine what motions are dilatory.
I am very frank to say, Mr. Speaker, that I not only want to relieve the Speaker of that duty imposed upon him by this rule, as it will come up in actual practice, but I should like very much to go a little further than that, if I had the power of offering amendments here, and relieve the Speaker of the power and duty of appointing committees at all, and leave it as it is left in the other legislative body, the Senate of the United States, where they elect their own committees. That is the true way, and the way which I hope will finally be reached in this House. I believe that the committees intrusted with the management of the great questions which come up for consideration here ought to be selected by a vote of the House itself.
And we are not without a precedent in this connection. Nearly one hundred years ago a proposition was made in this House to elect the Committee on Elections, because it was composed of a particular number of members, and they believed it was the duty of the House to elect them, and they were elected. I will give the reference to the history of the matter. It is found in the Twenty-third Congress. The Committee on Elections were voted for in the House by a *viva voce* vote, and thus elected and thus constituted.
I want to relieve the Speaker of the extraordinary power with which this clause invests him, to determine what is a dilatory motion, and I want to relieve him of the further duty of having to decide that question, which may be an embarrassing one.
I do not know what the decision might be. I am aware that the honorable gentleman who fills the chair would decide according to the best of his ability; but I am unwilling to clothe him with this power. I am unwilling to embarrass him with this assumption of authority which we saw in the Fifty-first Congress. I am unwilling that he should take his position in favor of determining a motion to be dilatory which might be necessary for the purpose of expressing the opinion of the majority of the House, and in which the majority of the House might concur in voting by saying: "You shall not vote on that question, for in my judgment it is a dilatory motion."
This is clothing the Speaker with a power with which he has never been clothed and with which he never ought to be clothed and imposing upon him a duty which he ought not to be required to perform. Any rule which proposes to suppress the right of a Representative to make motions pertinent to the subject-matter under consideration is, in my judgment, an unwise one, and I would not adopt, in this House or in any other House, rules which would require the Speaker to make such a decision.
[Here the hammer fell.]
Mr. OUTHWAITE. I will ask that the Clerk report the amendment before I reply.
The proposed amendment was again read.
Mr. OUTHWAITE. Now, Mr. Speaker, listening to the remarks of the gentleman from Mississippi, one would suppose that his motion was simply to strike out the word "dilatory." He directed his remarks entirely to that idea. The purpose of his amendment, however, is simply to strike out any possibility of

the Committee on Rules doing any business. He proposes to strike out the only clause of the rule that recognizes that the Committee on Rules can present business to the House and call up for consideration. Part of the language which he proposes to strike out is, "it shall always be in order to call up for consideration a report from the Committee on Rules."

The weak feature in the gentleman's case is, he did not discuss at all this proposition. If you want a Committee on Rules, and I think this House has by its repeated votes decided in the affirmative to have one, it must be clothed with the opportunity of presenting its business to the House. Then follows these words, which the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER] wishes to strike out:

Pending consideration thereof, the Speaker may entertain one motion that the House adjourn, but after the result is announced he shall not entertain any other dilatory motion.

Upon the use of the word dilatory I must say that it is different from calling upon the Speaker to determine the motive of any member in making a motion. It distinctly refers to a motion for delay, and it has been so construed.

Mr. REED. What does a dilatory motion refer to except for delay?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I have known Congresses in which the Speaker seemed to think that a call for the yeas and nays, which is guaranteed by the Constitution, might be regarded as a dilatory motion.

Mr. REED. When was that?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. In the Fifty-first Congress. I will refer to the RECORD.

Mr. REED. I never heard of it, and I was there most of the time. [Laughter.]

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I have a recollection of an occasion in which the Chair declined to entertain that motion, for I participated in it. I then asked the House that those in favor of ordering the yeas and nays should rise, and on this side every man arose; still the Speaker was not willing to entertain the motion. The gentleman from Ohio, who is not here present but is now governor of Ohio, then suggested to the Chair that it might be well for him to entertain the request for the yeas and nays.

Mr. McKinley said: "I hope there will be no objection if they want the yeas and nays." I will call attention to the fact that this sentence has had a judicial construction—has been passed upon by the Speaker I mean. The same words are used in that portion of the rules which relate to the suspension of the rules, and it has been passed upon by Speakers before. The word "dilatory" is left in the rules of the last Congress, and it was permitted so to remain. It has been used in the rule on suspensions for many Congresses.

Mr. REED. No; this is not a rule of the last Congress.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I mean we permitted the word "dilatory" to remain in this rule, because by construction it was understood to relate to matters pertaining to suspension of the rules in which the same language is used.

Mr. REED. Does the gentleman know the origin of the rule relating to suspension?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Which rule?

Mr. REED. The rule relating to suspension, in which dilatory motions are spoken of?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I do not recollect the origin.

Mr. REED. I remember it very distinctly. It was a rule passed by a Republican Congress, and met the usual protest by the Democratic minority, and was adopted by them the next time.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Well, it has been adopted. It is the rule.

Mr. REED. It was formed in the usual way. The Republicans adopted it, the Democratic party kicked against it, and then adopted it at the next time. That is the usual way.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I do not see what that has to do with its construction as used in this rule.

Mr. REED. Certainly. It shows that it was first made by a Republican construction and afterwards adopted by the Democratic party.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I think, Mr. Speaker, I have said all I desire to say as to the motion of the gentleman from Mississippi, going a little further than he has done as to its effect and purpose, and therefore it is objectionable.

Mr. HEPBURN. I desire to call the attention of the gentleman to a possible difficulty that may arise under this rule. This rule is to the effect that a motion to adjourn is a dilatory motion. It provides that the Speaker may entertain one motion to adjourn, but after the result is announced he shall not entertain any other dilatory motion until the report shall have been fully disposed of.

Now, suppose that a motion to adjourn is made. Suppose that it should be developed that the House is without a quorum. I insist under this rule there can be no motion made to adjourn, although it may be in the best possible faith, until you do procure a quorum and dispose of the report.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. There is another rule which does not permit the House in the absence of a quorum to proceed to do business, and provides how the members present shall proceed. There is another rule, if the gentleman will permit me to conclude my reply, which provides what motion shall be in order when no quorum is present.

Mr. HEPBURN. You have said here by the use of the word "other," that in this condition of affairs a motion to adjourn is a dilatory motion. You have said that in your rule.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. What is the direct and practical suggestion which the gentleman makes as to the rule?

Mr. HEPBURN. I have not suggested anything; but it seems to me that in this form it creates the possibility of difficulty.

Mr. REED. The Chair can decide whether the motion is a dilatory motion or not, and the difficulty disappears. That is what he does every time.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Mr. Speaker, as to the proposition of the gentleman from Iowa that this might prevent the House from taking proper action in case it were developed on a motion to adjourn that a quorum was not present, there is another portion of the rules, as I said before, which provides what the action of the House shall be in such a case. It is a general rule of construction that you must construe these rules as a whole. There never has been any experience of such a question as the gentleman from Iowa makes arising practically, and it is not likely to arise practically.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. If I leave in the first two lines of this paragraph, will the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. OUTHWAITE] vote for my amendment striking out the remainder of the paragraph?

Mr. HOLMAN. I think those two lines ought to be retained.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I ask consent to modify my amendment so as to leave in the first two lines of the paragraph and strike out all after the word "rules" down to and including the words "disposed of."

Mr. DINGLEY. You want to allow the right to filibuster against a report of the Committee on Rules the same as against anything else.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Certainly.

Mr. DE ARMOND. Mr. Speaker, I presume I may say there are two ways in which it is thought the House can get to a vote upon a pending question. One is by lodging in the Speaker the power which here, in the first instance, is transferred to the Committee on Rules and afterwards remitted to the House itself. The House has decided not to strike out the provision giving the Committee on Rules authority to report upon the order of business in the House. Having decided that the committee should be the agency to report to this House, so that it may follow its own judgment upon the order of business, it seems but natural and I think is necessary, that the power here given to the committee, or rather to the House, to act upon the report of the committee be retained.

Now, while there may be objection to the phraseology of this rule, yet in view of the construction given to it in the last House and the practice under it, there can be no doubt or obscurity in regard to its meaning. The meaning, in the light of what has been done under the rule, is that when a report shall have been submitted to the House by this Committee on Rules nothing but the consideration of that report shall be in order save and except alone one motion to adjourn. Then there is submitted to the House directly for its decision the proposition contained in the report of the Committee on Rules. Then the House is enabled to determine whether or not the course suggested by the Committee on Rules shall be adopted.

While this method may not be free from objection, and may be open to criticism, I am very free to say, sir, that I think it affords a better way of arriving at a result than that of committing to the Speaker the determination of these matters which are remitted, through the Committee on Rules, to the House itself.

Mr. Speaker, the rules, as I understand them, are to general parliamentary law what legislative enactment is to the common law, in a state or country wherein the common law prevails. We are not entirely without parliamentary law independent of the rules, but general parliamentary law is supplemented and changed and amplified by means of rules. After the adoption of the rules the entire code which we have is general parliamentary law, with such changes, modifications, or additions as may be made in the rules.

And permit me to say, Mr. Speaker, in regard to a subject much discussed here, that I think in this consideration is found the key by which we may ascertain whether or not the Speaker

of the House in the Fifty-first Congress erred when he concluded that general parliamentary law gave him authority to count a quorum in the absence of a rule providing for the counting of a quorum. The Supreme Court has decided that a rule for the counting of a quorum, as the Speaker of that House counted it, is constitutional. The Supreme Court has not decided, for that was not before the Supreme Court, what the condition was or what the situation would be in the absence of that rule.

Now, in the absence of rules, the House should have been governed by general parliamentary law. General parliamentary law upon that subject was the conclusion, the concensus of opinion, fairly derived from the practice of the House and the rulings of former Speakers with reference to the matter of ascertaining the presence of a quorum upon a yea-and-nay vote.

There can be no complete lapse of law. General parliamentary law was not general parliamentary chaos, in the absence of all specific rules; but that system, complete or incomplete, as you please, which had been evolved, primarily and particularly, out of the practice of this House and the decisions of the Speakers who had presided over the House. Now what were they? The practice of the House and the rulings of the previous Speakers upon this question of ascertaining a quorum were, that when upon a yea-and-nay vote the presence of a quorum is not disclosed by the responses of the members whose names are called, it is settled, conclusively settled for the time being, that a quorum is not present; that there is not a quorum here engaged in doing business; that the House has found itself without a quorum.

Now, without asking whether or not those decisions were wise—waiving that question—withoutsaying whether or not those decisions should have been made, without going into a discussion whether or not that practice should have prevailed, it is history that these decisions were made and that this practice did prevail. That being true, I submit, Mr. Speaker, that the Speaker of this House in the Fifty-first Congress found himself (in the absence of rules, before rules were adopted, and when the House was governed by general parliamentary law) with a law established, as the common law grew up, by practice and decisions in the House, the law declaring that the presence of a quorum is only to be ascertained or established on a roll call by the responses of the members upon a yea-and-nay vote.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. DE ARMOND. I would like just a moment or two more.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. RICHARDSON). If there is no objection, the gentleman will proceed.

There was no objection.

Mr. DE ARMOND. I was saying that such having been the decision of the House and the decisions of the Speakers who had passed upon the question, and having been the uniform practice when the question arose in the House, therefore, in the absence of rules changing it, the general parliamentary law was that the presence of a quorum when the roll is called is ascertained only by and from the responses of the members.

This being true, I think it may be fairly said—the conclusion seems irresistible—that when questions arose such as arose upon the West Virginia election contest, and the Speaker of the House assumed to count a quorum in the absence of rules, he did it—I am not going into questions as to motives, but into the fact—he did it in violation of the principles of general parliamentary law, as they had been established upon that subject. Later a rule was adopted working such an innovation in general parliamentary law as to authorize the counting of a quorum. The question whether that rule could be adopted without violating the Constitution, came up before the Supreme Court in the Ballin case, and was decided by that court in favor of the view entertained by the then Speaker of the House, that such a rule could be made, and when made was binding and could be executed.

In the absence of a rule, however, there was neither precedent in the practice of this House nor authority in the decisions of its Speakers upon which that course could be predicated; but under the practice of the House and the decisions of the Speakers, the presence of a quorum—I will not play upon the word "presence"—the presence of a quorum to do business—the power of the House to do business as having present a majority of its members—could be ascertained only under general parliamentary law—a yea-and-nay vote being taken—by the responses of the members themselves.

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I am very glad every time I notice the movements of pain and uneasiness on the part of individual Democrats on the subject of the decision of the Supreme Court which so conclusively covers the subject here in dispute. It shows that their mental processes are "catching on," somewhat dimly and vaguely, but gradually and surely, to the absolute truth of the matter. And the time will arrive when even the gentleman from Missouri will understand the point of the decision of the Supreme Court. I do not expect to "gild refined gold" by explaining it myself; I do not desire to "paint the lily" by many observations upon the subject.

But the gentleman from Missouri is somewhat recently here, and in his statement of the rules which usually govern the House in the absence of any rules explicitly adopted he has been drawing upon his constructive powers, because it so happened that until very recently everybody thought, as erroneously as was thought about a quorum, that the House—this present House—could project itself into futurity and govern the next House, or that the past House could govern the living House—the dead the living. But in the process of time it came to the minds of almost everybody that that could not be so, that a dead House could not rule a living House, and, consequently, in the absence of rules explicitly adopted by the existing House, we were relegated to general parliamentary law. The dispute, the primary dispute was whether the quorum required to do business was a voting quorum or a present quorum.

That was the sole question before the House; and that question was decided by the Supreme Court of the United States and has been so decided by the supreme court of every State of the Union where the question has come up. Now, if the Supreme Court of the United States and the supreme court of every State that has ruled upon the question has so decided, and no living soul of any authority has ever decided the other way, is it not pretty apparent that it is a present quorum that is required by the terms of the Constitution?

Well, now how shall we proceed to ascertain its presence? Why, you ascertain it precisely the same way you ascertain how many men have voted on a side; the Speaker counts just as in the case of a division, as he has done from time immemorial; and to-day the Speaker of the House of Commons, the parent society, so to speak, of all legislative bodies, counts personally the quorum. Why, there is and can be no possible question about the matter whatever.

It is perfectly true that the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States turned upon a rule of the House because gentlemen did not dare to risk it on anything else. They raised the question, however, on the rule, and it was determined on that rule; but preliminary to that the court had to determine the fundamental principle itself involved, whether the present quorum did consist of a voting quorum or not. And the court had no hesitancy or doubt whatever on that question. None at all. They determined the whole case. And the question of the counting of the Speaker was ratified by the House on an appeal. What greater power could there be to determine that question? Why, the Speaker must take the initiative in all cases of points of order arising; he must decide all of them, and it is for the House to ratify or disapprove such action on appeal. I do not see how there can be any confusion in the minds of gentlemen on that point. It is perfectly plain.

Now, recollect that this thing is the citadel of this whole business. Every other point, everything else has been given up and the question has been made on this one point. You will notice that I do not reply to insinuations like that of the gentleman from Ohio in reference to the right of the House on the yeas and nays being denied or refused, or the insinuation of the gentleman from Louisiana recently that hats and coats and canes were counted in the cloak room. I did not reply to such vague insinuations when they have been made heretofore. But if somebody specifies a time and gives distinctness to such assertion, I will be ready and willing as I have always been to reply. But if anybody supposes that these absurd, childish stories, which were good enough for a Democratic campaign when the people were a good deal wrought up on such questions, are worthy of consideration at this time, they do injustice to the respectability of the debaters or the subject which is before the House.

Mr. BOATNER. Does the gentleman from Maine recollect that the present Speaker of the House announced on the floor of the House that on one occasion within his personal knowledge he had been counted as present by the then Speaker of the House at a time when he was not in the building at all, but was at his hotel?

Mr. REED. I think it likely. I recollect a statement of that kind which was answered at the time.

Mr. BOATNER. And at various times the statement was made that hats, coats, and canes had been counted.

Mr. REED. I met all statements at the time they were made.

Mr. BOATNER. The gentleman remembers the circumstance as to the Speaker.

Mr. REED. And my answer is on record, full and conclusive. I met it then, as I am ready and willing at all times to meet any definite questions, and the gentleman will find that the response to it was definite and conclusive.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. DE ARMOND. If the House will indulge me for a mo-

ment, I wish to pursue somewhat the question suggested in regard to the method of ascertaining the presence of a quorum to which I was referring. As I understand it, when the yeas and nays are called there is a result announced, so many yeas and so many nays, or so many yeas and no nays, or so many nays and no yeas, as the case may be. The point is made of no quorum. Now, before the adoption of rules by the Fifty-first Congress, the point of "no quorum" being made, the Speaker proceeded to count gentlemen in their seats, or supposed to be in their seats, to a sufficient number to make them, with those who had answered to their names and voted, equal to a quorum of the body.

The point of my contention is that in the absence of this rule, which was subsequently adopted, the Speaker had not power or the authority to do that. And with all due deference to the gentleman from Maine, I can not think he has shown that he had any such power or authority. Whether he did or did not have it can not depend upon the adoption of the rule, for the rule itself was not then in force, was not adopted until afterwards. If the Speaker had the power to do as he did it was under general parliamentary law. Whether, then, he had the power or not depended on what general parliamentary law, in the absence of this particular rule, was on that special point.

Mr. REED. Will the gentleman indulge me for an interruption?

Mr. DE ARMOND. Certainly.

Mr. REED. Who is the ultimate judge of what is general parliamentary law? Is it not the assembly itself?

Mr. DE ARMOND. Well, as to that I will answer the gentleman——

Mr. REED. And that question is preliminary to another.

Mr. DE ARMOND. As to what is general parliamentary law I presume that everyone who has occasion to pass upon the question is himself the judge.

Mr. REED. But is not the assembly itself the judge of what is parliamentary law?

Mr. DE ARMOND. When the question is remitted to the assembly, I admit that the assembly is the ultimate judge.

Mr. REED. Now, I having made that objectionable ruling, and having made the count, and that having been appealed from, and the matter being submitted to the assembly, and the assembly having ratified that, is there any room for argument?

Mr. DE ARMOND. There is room for argument, as I look at it, Mr. Speaker. The question then becomes a question between the Speaker and the assembly which ratified it, if the Speaker was wrong. There are certain principles of parliamentary law. Parliamentary law is not so shadowy and so vague as to be what some speaker, or some assembly, in deciding some question, says it is. There is a distinction between the decision of a speaker and the decision of an assembly ratifying his decision and parliamentary law.

I am discussing what parliamentary law was, not according to the decision of the Speaker or of the assembly over which he presided, because that did not make general parliamentary law a bit more than a decision of a court would make the common law then in force. What I am discussing is, what was general parliamentary law when the Speaker assumed to make his decision, and when, as he says, the assembly ratified that decision.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. REED. I hope the gentleman may have more time. He kindly permitted me to interrupt him.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. How much time does the gentleman want?

Mr. DE ARMOND. I would like five minutes.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DE ARMOND] asks five minutes more. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. DE ARMOND. Mr. Speaker, I have been endeavoring to make this distinction, that general parliamentary law, like the common law, is an exisiting, subsisting thing, and is not simply some man's judgment of it.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. DE ARMOND. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Do you doubt this, as a proposition of law, that a deliberative body may adopt a rule to count those present, although not voting, in determining a quorum? Do you doubt that?

Mr. DE ARMOND. I am not discussing that question. I understand that to have been settled by the decision of the Supreme Court in favor of the contention that it can be done.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. You have no doubt about the propriety of that, or about the fact that that is parliamentary law?

Mr. DE ARMOND. No; I am not discussing that proposition.

Mr. REED. That is one point cleared up.

Mr. DE ARMOND. The point I am trying to make clear, and the point gentlemen seem to get away from constantly, accidentally or otherwise, is that before that rule was adopted there was no rule and no principle of parliamentary law known to this body by which there was authority to count a quorum.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Suppose that was done before there had been any rule adopted, and yet if the body in which it was done, after it was done, ratified it, did not that make it good parliamentary law?

Mr. DE ARMOND. No; not according to my idea of the law.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Did it not give it the same force and effect as if this body had first adopted the rule?

Mr. DE ARMOND. I will answer the gentleman's question. There is a certain principle of the common law, say, and a question comes up before a court, turning upon the proper application of that principle of the common law. The judge errs in regard to it. Later a Legislature, having the power to make laws, changes the provision of the common law, so that under the statutes it would be proper and correct to reach the decision which was reached by the court in the absence of the statute. I say the statute does not cure the erroneous decision of the court.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Will you allow me to ask another question?

Mr. DE ARMOND. Certainly.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Before any rules were adopted, the body was acting without rules?

Mr. DE ARMOND. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. And its will, whatever it may have been, constituted the rules. Then, the members present, being counted, although not voting, and the matter being submitted on an appeal to that body, and that body ratifying the action taken, does not that take away the legal criticism as to the validity of the act, absolutely and completely?

Mr. DE ARMOND. No; I think not.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Where is there any room for question as to the legality of the act, based on the fact that it was not supported by parliamentary law, in the absence of rules?

Mr. DE ARMOND. The gentleman's contention would amount to this——

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. I say until the rules were adopted, the ratification was the act of the body.

Mr. DE ARMOND. The gentleman's contention would amount to this, that whatever the law may be, when a decision is made by the Speaker of the House and ratified by a majority of the members, that that becomes the law——

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Oh, no——

Mr. DE ARMOND (continuing). Moves away and sweeps aside the provisions of the law, and that there is no such thing as parliamentary law then, except the will of the body acting at the time.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Will you permit me again. I understand the Supreme Court decided that if the body adopted that as a rule it was valid.

Mr. DE ARMOND. I understand the decision of the Supreme Court to be that the House could adopt such a rule.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Now, if the Supreme Court has so decided, if the body have adopted that action as a rule, and it became valid, does not that invest the decision with the ratification of an act, and the rule make it equally valid?

Mr. DE ARMOND. No, sir; it does not, just for this reason. There is a difference between having a law and proceeding under and according to it, and proceeding contrary to law. You can not have a law made authorizing a thing already done in the past; because you can not authorize past things. You can not authorize in the future, under any law, what was done in the past contrary to the law.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. REED (to Mr. DE ARMOND). How much more time does the gentleman desire?

Mr. DE ARMOND. It will all depend upon the number of interruptions.

Mr. REED. I ask that the time of the gentleman may be extended.

Mr. BOATNER. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Maine asks unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Missouri be extended five minutes.

Mr. BOATNER. Before that question is put I desire to make a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BOATNER. The question is, What reference does this debate have to the motion under consideration?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman make that point of order?

Mr. BOATNER. I make that point of order.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair sustains it. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maine that the gentleman from Missouri be allowed to proceed for five minutes?

There was no objection.

Mr. DE ARMOND. I am aware that I was not addressing myself very closely to the question before the House, but discussing the general question as to how power here shall be exercised and where it shall be lodged.

I was on a particular point, and I go back to it. And I shall be very glad to hear from any gentleman upon it, as none of them have discussed it. The point I make is this: That general parliamentary law stands on the same footing as the common law; that the rules of the House are to general parliamentary law what legislation in an act of a State Legislature is to the common law. I say that when the Fifty-first Congress met, and before the rules were adopted, the House was without rules, and that what the Speaker then decided and what the House itself did afterwards to ratify his decision was not necessarily parliamentary law. It was a decision of the question, but it was not necessarily according to general parliamentary law.

What was general parliamentary law upon this point? I simply have to repeat what I said before, to make myself clear. General parliamentary law was what had been established as to the way of ascertaining whether there was a quorum here or not to do business, and as to whether the House was in a condition to do business when the roll had disclosed by the answers of members that less than a quorum had answered. Then by the decision, among others, of a predecessor of the Speaker in the Fifty-first Congress, and a great Speaker, too, from the State of Maine, and by the practice of the House, it had been determined, and became part and parcel of the body of general parliamentary law, that when a quorum was not shown by the yeas and nays when taken, it was conclusively ascertained that there was not here the necessary constitutional body to do business.

Now, does anybody doubt that it is practice and decisions which make general parliamentary law; or that they would be of the body of general parliamentary law in this House until a rule had been made changing it? There was no way of respecting general parliamentary law but to follow the precedents and decisions, and by them there was no way to determine the presence of a quorum to do business except that which had been decided to be and taken as the sole way—the responses of the members on a yea-and-nay vote. I concede that general parliamentary law is subject, of course, to change, as by a rule of the House.

There, sir, I stand; there is no dodging, no getting away from it. I concede to the decision of the Supreme Court all that is in it: That a rule can be made for counting a quorum; that a rule was made for counting a quorum, and that legislation, under the forms of law after that quorum had been counted, stands. But the Supreme Court did not decide directly, did not inferentially decide, did not argumentatively decide, and did not intimate, that in the absence of such rule a quorum could be ascertained except by the method established by general parliamentary law, as I have stated it. While I am fresh in this House, and concede that I had not the honor of membership of the Fifty-first Congress, I may say that the Speaker of the House, in my judgment, when he assumed to count a quorum after the practice and the rulings had been the other way, and before his quorum-counting rule was adopted, stood without any law; and the ratification of his act, lawless as it was at the time—I say that in no disrespectful sense—the ratification of that lawless act by the House, made a House by his quorum-counting, could not make it any more lawful. It was still in violation of general parliamentary law as we had had it established, and it had no rule or practice of the House to rest upon or support it.

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, we are making some progress. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DE ARMOND] I think is more amenable to treatment than he was when he began. Let us distinctly understand how much is admitted and where we are. In the first place it is admitted that the Supreme Court decided that a present quorum was the quorum required by the Constitution. Other Speakers preceding the Speaker of the House in the Fifty-first Congress had decided that a voting quorum was necessary. Therefore those two sets of people, the former Speakers and the Supreme Court, are in direct conflict, and does anybody doubt who goes to the wall?

Mr. DE ARMOND. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. REED. Surely.

Mr. DE ARMOND. Did not the Supreme Court recite that there were several ways by which the presence of a quorum might be ascertained, by a roll call, by a count, as was done by the Speaker subsequently under the rule? They held that the question of how a quorum should be ascertained was a matter that could be determined, and that it had been determined by the Fifty-first Congress in a certain way.

Mr. REED. Now, then, let me go on. The proposition is that the Supreme Court is on one side and the Speakers of the House preceding the Fifty-first Congress on the other. In that conflict I respectfully but firmly push the other Speakers to the wall. The Supreme Court having decided that a present quorum is the constitutional quorum, the question is, how shall the body determine that thing? Prior to any special rule regulating the ascertainment, how shall the fact be got at?

Here is an actual House of Representatives, legally constituted, a House with a present quorum, and, under the Constitution of the United States, that is the House of Representatives. But certain members deliberately refuse to answer to their names. Is the body powerless to ascertain the jurisdictional fact, a fact that lies at the very foundation of its exercise of power? Can it not take cognizance of the presence of members who are actually and visibly present?

Well, if it is going to do that, how shall it do it? Why, this House has one representative for all, and he sits there in the Speaker's chair. He counts the votes, in the absence of any regulations to the contrary; he counts members as they rise up and sit down; he determines and announces to the House the count; he even announces whether there is a majority one way or the other by the sound of the voices of the members.

Now then, the Speaker of the Fifty-first Congress counted members who were visibly present. Those members objected to being counted; said they ought not to be counted, because former Speakers had held that members must answer before they could be counted. But they were counted; and thereupon an appeal was taken to the body. The body sustained the action of the Speaker and pronounced it correct. Now, was that in accordance with parliamentary law or not? If by "parliamentary law" the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DE ARMOND] means his view of it, why, after what he has said here I concede that that was against general parliamentary law. [Laughter.] But if he means that unwritten law by which every assembly is guided, whether it be the Congress of the United States or any other body, he must mean a parliamentary law by which every decision of a Speaker can be questioned, but when questioned and put to the test of the House, and decided upon, is *res adjudicata* and forever at an end. That is general parliamentary law. Why, look at the decisions of the present Speaker of the House, on the question of allowing before the reading of the Journal, a report to be made from the Committee on Rules.

Mr. Carlisle, his predecessor, had decided on the same language that certain motions could not be made, and that decision was so firm, in my judgment, and so much in accordance with general parliamentary law, that the Fifty-first Congress for two weeks endured a filibuster which consumed from two-thirds to three-fifths of every working day at a time when we needed all the days. Yet, rather than overthrow that decision, the Speaker of the House permitted that filibuster to go on.

[Here the hammer fell, but by unanimous consent Mr. REED'S time was extended five minutes.]

The decision in question here, the decision of the Speaker of the Fifty-first Congress, was submitted to the judgment of the House of Representatives. It may have been contrary to general parliamentary law as the gentleman from Missouri understands general parliamentary law, but when that decision was ratified by the House there was an end of it. The proper tribunal had disposed of it, and while he and I may think that that was correct or incorrect, we have no right to blame anybody about it. We may criticise it from the point of view of our own ideas of parliamentary law; we may say that it was contrary to a decision of Mr. Carlisle; we may say anything about it that we please, but it is a question which has been settled and disposed of; as a legal question the whole matter is ended.

Why, sir, what difference does it make whether a special rule is established by this body or a general rule? This body has full power—it exercised it in the case of the Wilson bill and it was proposed to be exercised in the case of these rules—of establishing a special rule to govern a particular case. It makes no difference whether a general rule is established or whether the House ratifies in each particular instance what has been done; in either case the decision of the House is final and binding.

Now, then, let us recapitulate what progress has been made. First, the doctrine that a voting quorum is necessary has been exploded; the doctrine that a present quorum is sufficient has been established. And I want gentlemen to understand the fullness of that establishment. Not a living man who ever sat on the supreme bench of any State in this Union has ever said a word to the contrary, and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DE ARMOND] himself admits it, and every Democratic lawyer in this House admits it.

We have settled that. Second, we have settled that in this particular instance the method which was adopted is the im-

memorial method adopted away back in past times—sanctioned incidentally by all the rules of the House—by the rules of previous Houses, although no rules of the existing House had been adopted—because the Speaker is expected to count in such cases and to count a quorum, which is a remnant of the old custom coming down to us from the English Parliament. A quorum having been counted in that way, and the count having been submitted to the only tribunal that had any right to decide upon its validity, and that tribunal having decided that the Speaker was right, his action in that particular case is *res adjudicata*. It is moreover sustained on fundamental principles which no man can gainsay. Now, if that is not a complete disposal of the matter, only time can make men comprehend it.

Mr. DE ARMOND. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. REED. I will.

[Here the hammer fell, and Mr. ALDERSON obtained the floor.]

Mr. REED. I shall be very glad to yield to the gentleman from Missouri for any question.

Mr. DE ARMOND. I hope the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. ALDERSON] will give way for a moment.

Mr. ALDERSON. I will do so if I do not lose my right to the floor.

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I believe my time was not out.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It was just out.

Mr. DE ARMOND. With the consent of the gentleman from West Virginia I wish to put a question or two to the gentleman from Maine. Do I understand that gentleman to controvert the proposition that the decision of the Supreme Court rests upon the fact that a rule had been adopted for the counting of a quorum, before the legislation which was then called in question?

Mr. REED. Not at all. The legislation in question having been passed under that rule, the rule was brought in question by the people who contested it.

Mr. DE ARMOND. Will the gentleman answer me this question: Were there not two questions with regard to that rule—first, whether it was within the constitutional power of the House to adopt it——

Mr. REED. Yes.

Mr. DE ARMOND. And, second, whether or not the judiciary in passing on this question could sufficiently respect such a rule as to respect the conclusions reached under it, both of which questions were decided affirmatively? Is not that correct?

Mr. REED. I would not undertake to sanction the exact use of words by the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. DE ARMOND. Now, I will ask the gentleman whether it had not been decided (so far as there were any decisions on the subject theretofore), before the decision of the gentleman from Maine as Speaker, that the presence of a quorum when the roll is called is to be determined by the responses of members.

Mr. REED. Oh, Speakers had repeatedly decided that way.

Mr. DE ARMOND. Such having been the decisions, I ask the gentleman from Maine whether those decisions did not become a part of the general parliamentary law governing this body?

Mr. REED. The answer is plainly no.

Mr. DE ARMOND. There is where the gentleman and I differ.

Mr. REED. The answer is plainly no. Those Speakers, when they decided that question, decided also that a voting quorum was required instead of the present quorum; and that ruling has been upset by the Supreme Court.

Mr. DE ARMOND. Did not the Supreme Court in discussing this matter speak of different methods of ascertaining a quorum—one by a roll call and another the method adopted by the gentleman from Maine as Speaker; did it not say that either method was proper when sanctioned by the House, by rule, and that it was within the province of the House to determine by rule by which method the presence of a quorum should be ascertained?

Mr. REED. Then if the Supreme Court decided that the method was right if it had the sanction of the House, and the method that was adopted had the sanction of the House, that ends the question.

Mr. DE ARMOND. But the Supreme Court did not decide that the method in itself was right, but that the House by its rules could determine which method it would adopt.

Mr. REED. I will allow the gentleman to state that position for himself if it suits him.

Mr. DE ARMOND. Let me ask the gentleman from Maine this question: Does not general parliamentary law consist of the principles which are recognized as governing deliberative bodies, together with the practices and decisions which have prevailed in such bodies?

Mr. REED. The practices and decisions of that particular body, but not of the preceding bodies.

Mr. DE ARMOND. But do not these practices and decisions as a whole make what is known as general parliamentary law?

Mr. REED. They do not, speaking of the House: not of the preceding bodies. The gentleman, if he will allow me, is making this error: We have repudiated, only very recently repudiated, the former usage of the House in this regard. We have repudiated the idea that the House was governed by the rules of its predecessor; and I can recollect when it was a heresy to say that it was not. I was guilty of heresy myself for a while, but nevertheless it was heresy. We have now, however, as I have said, repudiated that idea.

Now, the gentleman is endeavoring to get us back to the rules of the last House by inference, and that we have to establish these rules as a part of the parliamentary custom of this body, when in the very nature of the case they are in derogation of the custom. And to use his own simile that the common law is governed by statute, common parliamentary law is modified by the rules of the House, and your trying to incorporate into the parliamentary law the rules of the last House is of just the same force and effect as if you were trying to incorporate into the common law statutes not yet enacted.

Mr. DE ARMOND. I beg pardon. The gentleman misapprehends or misunderstands my position.

I do not claim that the rules of any particular House are binding on a succeeding House, but that the general practice and the decisions, on questions not governed by rules and until the adoption of rules, must go to make up the general parliamentary law.

Mr. ALDERSON was recognized.

Mr. REED. By those principles recognized as general parliamentary law by the body itself.

Mr. DE ARMOND (continuing). And when by the rulings of the Speakers and the practice of the House it had come to pass that the question of whether the House had a quorum and was in condition to do business, was determined on yea-and-nay vote, by the responses of members that much of general parliamentary law was established.

And did not these rulings of the Speakers rest upon general principles and not upon any rule?

Mr. REED. I think it is the ruling of the Speaker on a rule. That is my recollection. But I do not intend to evade the question. Admitting the gentleman's premises, when I was Speaker in the Fifty-first Congress I made a decision or overruled an appeal; but in every instance it was sanctioned by the body itself. In that event there is the end of it.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. DE ARMOND. My point is that when this decision had been made a number of times——

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Missouri is out of order. The gentleman from West Virginia has been recognized.

Mr. ALDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I stated when I allowed the gentleman from Missouri to proceed that it was not to be taken out of my time.

Mr. REED. I hope the gentleman from West Virginia will have an extension of his time.

Mr. BOATNER. I move that the gentleman from West Virginia have his time extended.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from West Virginia has been recognized.

Mr. ALDERSON. Mr. Speaker, it has been argued here that it is proper to intrust in the Speaker the power and right to count a quorum, and that the rules reported to this House should vest such authority in the Speaker. In answer to that contention, I beg leave to have read to the House a few extracts from the records of the Fifty-first Congress, from which it will be seen that it is unwise and unsafe to place such power in the hands of any man.

The fact that opportunity would be offered, by mistake or design, to make a false record, should make us pause before we indorse such a bad precedent. And whether such false record should result from preconcerted design on the part of the presiding officer, temporarily in power, arbitrarily or recklessly to beat down opposition and carry through measures antagonistic to the interests of the country, or whether it came from lack of knowledge of the facts or inadvertence, can make no difference so far as effect is concerned.

What has been done may again be done; and, as a warning to this House against placing in the hands of a Speaker such unprecedented power, I ask the Clerk to read the following extracts from the RECORD of the Fifty-first Congress.

The Clerk read as follows:

On January 29, 1890, Mr. OUTHWAITE made the following statement, which was not disputed:

"I wish to state to the Chair that I was not present in the House when my name was called, and the Chair is therefore stating what is not true. It is not for the Chair to say whether I shall vote or not, or whether I shall answer to my name when it is called."

Mr. REED. That is an extract which is not correct. The

gentleman from Ohio [Mr. OUTHWAITE] will himself bear witness that it was stated publicly at the time that it was an error, and the error was corrected. That is true.

Mr. ALDERSON. That is cut out of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mr. REED. Improperly, as it does not tell the whole truth.

Mr. ALDERSON. The gentleman can place the other in and tell the whole story, if he thinks there is more of it. I ask the Clerk to continue the reading.

The Clerk read as follows:

The proceedings of February 5, 1890, contain the following:

"Mr. STONE of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I did not hear that portion of the Journal read which announces the names of members present and not voting on the last yea-and-nay vote yesterday; but I take it to be the same as appears in the RECORD, and if so the Journal is incorrect. The statement in the RECORD is that I was present and not voting on this last call. As a matter of fact I was in the northwestern part of the city at the time looking for a house——

The SPEAKER. The present occupant of the chair was not in during the time that record was made up.

Mr. STONE of Missouri. And I ask that the Journal be corrected.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is informed that it is the name of the gentleman from Kentucky, Mr. STONE, that appears in the Journal.

Mr. STONE of Missouri. Then I ask that the RECORD be corrected.

The SPEAKER. The correction will be made as suggested by the gentleman.

Mr. STONE of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I rose this morning to a question of privilege and asked that the Journal of the House might be corrected, supposing that it corresponded in its statements with those contained in the RECORD. I had examined the RECORD and found that I was reported as being present in the House on yesterday, when the last yea-and-nay vote was taken, and refused to vote. The Speaker thereupon announced to the House, upon examining the Journal, that it appeared in the Journal that Mr. Stone of Kentucky, was present and did not vote, and that it did not appear that I was present. I subsequently examined the Journal personally, and find that I am recorded as being present at the time and refusing to vote.

Now, I have, and all of the House have, the most implicit confidence in any statement the Speaker makes, but there was evidently some misunderstanding. A misstatement has been made by the Journal clerk to the Speaker, or the Speaker has misinformed the House of the fact. I want to have the Journal corrected to show the real fact

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state to the House that the examination which the Speaker made of the Journal was made of a portion which was handed to him containing certain printed statements which had been pasted upon the Journal. It is customary to make up the Journal in that manner. Supposing that that was the paragraph which was referred to by the gentleman from Missouri, and finding the name of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. STONE] therein, the Chair replied as the House heard. It is one of those accidents that sometimes occur when information is got hurriedly for a member, without there being any reason to suppose that the information was furnished to the Chair with anything but good faith.

Mr. STONE of Missouri. The Speaker none the less announced me present, or it would not have so appeared; and the Journal has been approved with my name in it as being present when I was in the northwest portion of the city hunting a house in which to live, having recently been burned out.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is unable to state how it occurred, as the Speaker was not in the Chair when the record was made.

Mr. STONE of Missouri. I suppose the blind eye of the Chair happened to be on this side of the House. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. The Journal will be corrected in accordance with the statement of the gentleman from Missouri, without objection.

There was no objection.

In the proceedings of June 21, 1890, we find the following:

Mr. FORMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of personal privilege.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. FORMAN. I have been as diligent, perhaps, as most members of the House in the discharge of my official duties; but I am the last man to accept credit for anything which I do not believe I deserve On the 2d day of this month I obtained leave of absence for ten days. On the 4th I was in Springfield, Ill., and yet on that day action was had on the administrative bill here, and I was counted by the Speaker and the Clerk as being present in this Hall and refusing to vote. The Journal of the 4th instant shows the same as the RECORD, and I desire that the proper correction shall be made, as I do not want to impose upon my constituency by being at home and being recorded here at the same time. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

The SPEAKER. The gentleman is put down as present and not voting upon the Journal at the time he specifies. The gentleman states that he was not present.

Mr. FORMAN. No, sir; I was in Springfield, Ill., on that day.

The SPEAKER. Without objection the Journal will be corrected to correspond with the statement of the gentleman.

Mr. SPRINGER. It was not a matter for objection; he has a right to have it corrected.

The SPEAKER. The Chair hears no objection, and the Journal will be corrected.

The following extracts are from the proceedings of the House of Representatives of February 20, 1891:

Mr. MCMILLIN. I demand a recapitulation of the vote.

The vote was recapitulated.

The SPEAKER. On this question——

Mr. MCMILLIN. I notice that the name of Mr. OATES of Alabama is recorded among the names of those present and not voting. I make the point that he is not here, and has not been in the Hall this morning.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman state of his personal knowledge that it is an error?

Mr. MCMILLIN. I state from my personal knowledge that Mr. OATES has not been in the Hall this morning.

The SPEAKER. H s he not been in the cloakroom?

Mr. MCMILLIN. He may have been there. He has not been in the Hall. I am so informed, and I have no doubt my information is correct.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks that the cloakroom is a part of the floor of the House; but in order that there may be no occasion for any question, the name of Mr. OATES will be erased, there being an ample number.

* * * * * * *

Mr. MCMILLIN. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Was the name of the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER] called as among those present and not voting?

The SPEAKER. It was.

Mr. MCMILLIN. That is an error.

The SPEAKER. He is in the cloakroom.

Mr. MCMILLIN. He was not in the House, and he has not been in the cloakroom as I am informed since this roll call began. I make the point of order——

The SPEAKER. That is the information the Chair has.

Mr. MCMILLIN. The Chair's information is erroneous, then.

The SPEAKER. It is the information at the Clerk's desk.

Mr. MCMILLIN. The information at the Clerk's desk is inaccurate, then; and I challenge the counting of that vote.

The SPEAKER. The name is not necessary to make a quorum, therefore there is no need to settle the fact in the affirmative, and the correction will be made on the statement of the gentleman from Tennessee. On this question the yeas are 156 and the nays are 4, and, a quorum being present, the order is carried, and the House will proceed to the consideration of the Senate amendments.

We find the following in the proceedings of the same body of February 21, 1891:

Mr. TURNER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, on the motion to recommit to the Committee on Rules the resolution reported yesterday by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] I did not vote; yet the Journal seems to show that I was present in the Hall and refused to vote. The fact is that when the Speaker had decided that the yeas and nays had been ordered on that motion, a colloquy ensued between the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] and the Speaker as to the right of the gentleman from Tennessee to demand tellers on the yeas and nays.

During that colloquy I went to the cloak room, took my hat and coat, and escaped, with whatever dignity I could command, to the barber shop. [Laughter.] Yet I am reported in the Journal, on the authority of the Clerk, or a page, or the Speaker, whoever it may be—I do not censure anyone because I know there was great confusion in the Hall—I say, notwithstanding my absence at that time, I am reported in the Journal as having been present in the Hall and refusing to vote on that call of the yeas and nays.

Then a motion followed for the previous question; and after I had passed between the tellers on the question of taking the yeas and nays upon that motion, and before the count by tellers was concluded, I left the Hall through the front door, and the yeas and nays were not called until I was in the hands of that gentleman who ministers to us in the bath room. [Laughter.] On both occasions I am recorded as having been present and refusing to vote.

Now, Mr. Speaker, whatever credit attaches to me for this procedure on my part, and which I have endeavored to describe, I desire to have with my constituents; and I ask that the Journal be corrected by the omission of my name from these two lists of delinquents.

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Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. Speaker, the Journal recites the fact that upon the vote on ordering the previous question on the order proposed yesterday morning, a number of gentlemen were present and not voting, amongst them my name being included. The names of other gentlemen were also read. I went between the tellers on the demand for the yeas and nays on the previous question. I went out of the Hall and was not in it again for two hours. I was not here while that roll call was being had. I ask unanimous consent therefore, that my name may be stricken from that list.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection?

Mr. BAYNE. I object to the unanimous consent.

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Mr. BLANCHARD. I am recorded in the Journal, and also in the RECORD on page 3282, as being present in the House when the yea-and-nay vote was taken on the question of ordering the previous question yesterday. I was not in the House when that vote was taken. I had left the Capitol and had gone to one of the hotels of this city, and yet I was counted as present by the Speaker or the Clerk——

Mr. TRACEY. Or by a page.

Mr. BLANCHARD. Or by a page. And the RECORD and the Journal in recording me as present perpetrate a palpable falsehood.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Do I understand you to say you were not here during the vote?

Mr. BLANCHARD. That is what I said. When the vote was taken on ordering the previous question I was not in the Hall of the House. Before my name was called the first time I had left the Capitol building and repaired to a hotel of this city near the Capitol, and I did not return to the Hall of the House until the evening session for pensions began.

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Mr. CRISP. Mr. Speaker, on page 3202 of the RECORD my name is recorded as one of those present and not voting. I desire to say that that record is incorrect. I was present and went between the tellers on the demand for the previous question, I believe it was——

Mr. MCMILLIN. On the demand for the yeas and nays.

Mr. CRISP. On the demand for the yeas and nays. I went between the tellers, went back to the cloakroom, immediately took my coat and went out, and before the beginning of the roll call I was out of the building, having left it. I merely desire to say this, so that the House and the country may understand the method in which the presiding officer of this House makes up and falsifies this record.

Mr. MCMILLIN. The record is false in a number of particulars, as other gentlemen here can testify.

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Mr. WILSON of Missouri. I desire to say, Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as the gentleman from Ohio has yielded to me for the purpose of making a statement, that on yesterday I passed between the tellers and immediately left the Hall, and after I had left the Hall I heard the first name on the roll called. This morning I find I am recorded as having been present, when in fact I was not in the Hall.

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Mr. OATES. Mr. Speaker, all I wish to say is that the only time I was in the Hall yesterday was when the tellers were called for on the yeas and nays. I passed through the tellers and passed out of the House, and as I was leaving the cloakroom I heard the Clerk begin to call the yeas and nays. I was not in the House at all afterwards.

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Mr. GEARY. You decline to permit me to correct the record as to myself. I was not here. I was not here until 2 o'clock.

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Mr. MCMILLIN. I say that you are trying to deceive the people, and you can not palm off this fraudulent record upon the people. This Journal you propose to approve begins with falsehood, continues in falsehood, and ends with falsehood.

Mr. ALDERSON. Every statement made by each of these gentlemen on this occasion remains to this day uncontradicted;

and yet they were not permitted to have the false record corrected, which showed them to be present when they were absent. On the same day other gentlemen, counted to make up a quorum when absent, addressed the Chair, but were not recognized. Thus it appears that eleven gentlemen, two of them twice each, were admittedly counted as present when absent. Every gentleman who was a member of the Fifty-first Congress knows that such incidents were almost of daily occurrence. The unreliability and uncertainty of a record thus made up is self-evident.

I have not called attention to these matters to provoke an apology from any defender of the bad rule to which I have referred, and worse applications of it, but simply to recall the attention of the House and of the country to the proceedings and practices which the Democrats here so vigorously and properly denounced, and the country so emphatically repudiated. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, this is only another echo of the minority of the Fifty-first Congress. Those echos are dying—not musically, but dying. In due time we shall have the end of them; because there is no method so satisfactory of disposing of anything which has passed the period of ripeness and usefulness as exposing it to the common air. [Laughter on the Republican side.] The gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. ALDERSON] is not a novice in this business. His noble voice was uplifted in the last Congress in a similar line of observations. He was then told that if he would compact his statements and make them definite they would be answered.

After two years of strong mental effort, after two years of enormous examination, and by the assistance of typewriters and clerks, he has evolved the remarkable production to which you have listened this morning. [Laughter on the Republican side.] I hail the rising State from which he comes. To have two statesmen, one to lead the House and the other to bring up the rear in this manner, is too much glory for a State "made outside the Constitution." [Laughter.]

I feel called upon to say this much, because the gentleman has added to his collection, which he has carefully made, the assertion that these things were of daily occurrence. Do you suppose that he would not have piled the present record full of it had that been true? On the contrary, he has got everything there is, and I am very glad to answer him and to meet it at once.

Now, mark the foundation; because sometimes the difficulties in this life arise from not understanding precisely what is to be met. Understand that the first charge is of accidental error, and that the system is to be condemned because there were accidental errors. Now, that necessarily implies that the other system was free from errors—that under the other system no mistakes were made. And yet the members of the last Congress can recollect one time when the Speaker, in the confusion of a night session, came very near deciding that a vote could not be recapitulated which the next morning turned out to be a false vote.

Why, a great many things are liable to happen in the confusion of this House, and I can produce here and have published instances where votes were absolutely changed by the false record of the Clerk. A gentleman from my own State, Gen. Plaisted, came down here in front and distinctly voted one way. He was recorded the other way, and the proposition was carried against him, and the next day it was brought up, correction made, the action of the House reversed, and nobody used any unhandsome language about it. Why? Simply because party spirit was not running high.

Now, I encountered a good deal of high party spirit. I never bore any ugly feelings on account of it. When men are angry they do things that gentlemen ought not to do, but it ought not to be treasured up against them; but the hoarded malice of a couple of years is not commendable [laughter], and if you will search the records of this House you will find in every Congress just as many mistakes as were made in counting a quorum, and in no instance did one of those cases change the result, while in repeated instances in other Congresses the result was changed by the mistakes of the Clerk.

In other words, human institutions are human, and there is liability of mistake, and nobody fails to understand that.

Now, let us come to another occasion in which several gentlemen participated. If that was a mistake, it was a mistake in judgment as a parliamentarian and as a lawyer. I believed that there was some time when every member must be considered as present who was present at all. You and I know that when we take a yea-and-nay vote, members go in and out, and it often happens that at no particular instant of time is there a quorum present here in the Hall or in the cloakroom. Nevertheless, we go on with our vote, in the supposition that at a particular time the majority were there.

Well, now, what particular time must be taken? In my judgment—and that is a judgment which I think is justified by the practices of other legislative bodies—the point of time at which the House must be considered as having a quorum or not having a quorum is the moment when the question is put to the House. From that moment everybody who was there at that time is constructively present all the time, and everybody who comes in is constructively present all the time.

Now, gentlemen on the other side adopted this interesting device: They would call for the yeas and nays, and when granted them, they would still demand tellers on the yeas and nays. Then they would pass between the tellers and rush out of the House. Now, the question is when they were present in a parliamentary sense. In my judgment—and I have seen nothing to change it, although I shall change it if I see anything—these men were present to constitute this body a legal body at that time.

That is the reason no correction was made in that case. I make this explanation, because party passion has very greatly subsided, and men of sense have an opportunity to look at this thing clearly in the face, free from feeling; and I am entirely certain that no member of this House charges those of us of the Fifty-first Congress with dishonest purpose or intention. We took our view on this subject. Thus far it has been sustained; and in due time it will be sustained throughout.

I want to say another thing to this House. There were periods of very great confusion, because party spirit ran high: and whatever mistakes might have been made were made in the hurry and rush of the moment, and mistakes which are liable to be made and are made by any Speaker. Take, for instance, that case in regard to Mr. OUTHWAITE, cited by the gentleman from West Virginia, who disingenuously left out the exculpatory circumstances in connection with it. I am in a condition to state to the House how this occurred. It was the first time that a quorum had been counted. The gentleman from Ohio sat very near where he now sits. I had seen him from time to time, and when his name was called I made a stroke with my pencil at his name, and, looking up and seeing that he was not here, I crossed that out.

When I came to read the names several gentlemen were occupying the floor, rather multitudinously. I am not saying it with any intention to reflect upon any member then present, but there was something in the nature of an uproar, and when I read the names I did not at the moment notice that this sign had been stricken off; but I showed it to the gentleman from Ohio immediately afterwards and the correction was made.

Now, I do not really think I need say anything more to the House in reply to what has been said, except simply to express my gratitude to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. ALDERSON] for kindly bringing these matters forward.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Mr. Speaker, debate upon this proposition has taken a very wide range. It is over an hour since the amendment was offered by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER] to this clause of the rule; and I ask now, by unanimous consent, that the House take a vote upon it.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Oh, no; I want to be heard.

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. I want three minutes. [Cries of "Vote!"]

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I trust that I may be heard. I do not want to be heard in reply to anything that has been said in the debate which has just closed, but I want to be heard on the significance of my amendment.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I ask unanimous consent that debate upon this amendment be closed in ten minutes.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I object.

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. Debate of an hour has been occupied by two or three gentlemen.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I move the previous question on the amendment.

The question was taken, and the Speaker announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 147, noes 24.

So the previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I want to know whether the motion of the gentleman from Ohio for the previous question was to limit the debate to ten minutes or on the amendment?

The SPEAKER. On the pending amendment.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. You want to cut off all debate. That is the way you gentlemen from the Committee of Rules are going to do. That is just what I expected.

The amendment was again reported.

The question was then taken on the amendment, and the Speaker announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 10, noes 144.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. BOATNER. I offer an amendment to the pending paragraph.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend paragraph 57, Rule XI, by adding: "And when the chairman of a committee, or any member of the House having a bill in charge which is under consideration, moves the previous question on a pending amendment, or engrossment and third reading, or final passage of the bill, the Speaker shall submit the question to the House without entertaining any motion against the same. If the motion is agreed to the question shall then be put on the proposition to which the motion for the previous question applied, and no motion shall be entertained against the same except one motion to recommit, with or without instructions; which motion shall be decided without debate.

Mr. REED. I suggest to the gentleman that he modify that by adding after the word "proposition" the words "or propositions."

Mr. BOATNER. I accept that suggestion.

Mr. BROWN. And, Mr. Speaker, I suggest to the gentleman from Louisiana that after the word "bill," he insert the words "or report."

Mr. BOATNER. I will accept that amendment also. Mr. Speaker, the amendment which I now offer is the same to which I called the attention of the House in general debate on yesterday. It involves the question of whether this House will, at the inception of its organization, abdicate its constitutional function and duty of legislating, or whether it will preserve to itself the right which is held by every legislative body in America except the House of Representatives, to bring itself to a final vote upon any question which comes before it for consideration.

I believe, sir, that in every Legislature, in every city council, in every board of county commissioners, in fine, in every deliberative or municipal body in America except the House of Representatives, the majority may, under the operation of the previous question, assert its will upon any question that comes before it for consideration. It is reserved for the House of Representatives alone to insert provisions in its rules which make it impossible for a majority of the body to exercise its will upon any subject unless the Committee on Rules will report a cloture, or an order of business under which the House can act.

The preceding section of this rule, to which I offer this amendment, authorizes the Committee on Rules to report at any time a resolution fixing the order of business, or fixing the time for the consideration of any measure, the time when the previous question shall be considered as ordered, and the time when the vote shall be taken, and providing that after that the Speaker shall not entertain any dilatory motion against it. That rule is effectual and satisfactory, and it works well with all that class of legislation in regard to which, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] said to-day, in addressing the House upon another amendment, the committee feels justified in exercising this authority. Legislation of great political importance, which the majority of the House considers as a matter of political duty, will demand at its hands and will receive a resolution of cloture.

But the ordinary current of business which may affect one part of the Union or another, however important it may be to the interests concerned, may be antagonized in this House by a few gentlemen or by a clique, and may be defeated, notwithstanding the fact that a large majority of the House may be in favor of its adoption.

Now, I think, Mr. Speaker, that as a matter of right every member upon this floor who secures a favorable report from a committee of the House, or who secures from the Committee on Rules the right to have his measure considered, is entitled, as a matter of representative right, to obtain a vote and to have the judgment of the House upon that measure; and when you go to the extent of putting manacles upon your own hands, restricting your judgment and your action by putting it in the power of one man, or of a set of men, to prevent your passing your judgment upon that measure, you are to that extent abandoning the representative duty which you assumed when you took your place on this floor.

It is argued by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN] and by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE] that the amendment which I propose is bad because it will facilitate legislation, because it will render it easy to pass ill-advised legislation; by which, Mr. Speaker, is meant that it will facilitate legislation which does not meet their approval; by which is meant that legislation which does not meet the approval of the minority upon this floor is bad and ought not to be crystallized into law. But I say that when you come to consider the safeguards that are thrown around legislation by the other provision of this rule there is no reason to suppose that the adoption of this amendment will facilitate hasty or ill-advised legislation.

In the first place, Mr. Speaker, every measure that is introduced into this House has to run the gauntlet of a committee. The committees have been increased in membership. They are composed of representative gentlemen, who are supposed to be familiar with the subjects which are to come before the several committees to which they are assigned. There rigid examination and exhaustive debate is allowed. Then each measure comes into the House, and it must secure the co5peration of the Committee on Rules, or else it must come up in the regular order of business, and when it comes up for consideration, if this amendment be adopted, gentlemen can not shirk their duty and run away with the idea that it will be filibustered and defeated anyhow. They will know that once it is taken up for consideration it must be disposed of by the House.

It will devolve upon members of the committee the higher duty and responsibility of examining more carefully the bills which they present. It will devolve upon every member of the House the higher duty and responsibility of informing himself as to the merits of any measure coming before the House, because he must go to his constituents under the responsibility of having voted yea nor nay on the bill.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. BYNUM obtained the floor.

Mr. BOATNER. I would like a few minutes more.

Mr. BYNUM. If the gentleman from Louisiana desires to proceed I will give way and ask unanimous consent that he be allowed five minutes additional.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER] will proceed.

Mr. BOATNER. Mr. Speaker, the amendment which I offer does not antagonize the preceding provision in these rules, which confers upon the Committee on Rules great authority—an authority which they ought to possess and ought to exercise. My amendment is in harmony with that provision. It is intended only to take away from that committee the responsibility of the enactment of all legislation in this House, to relieve them from the necessity of reporting a cloture or refusing to report a cloture upon matters upon which the party may be divided, or upon matters of mere business legislation in regard to which the political power of the House ought not to be asserted.

This proposition will enable us to consider the vast volume of business legislation which annually comes before the House; it will enable us to discharge our duties to our constituents, the duties which the Constitution imposes upon us. I hope, Mr. Speaker, that no gentleman on this floor will by his vote on this occasion render it impossible for him to bring to a final vote in this House any measure in which his constituents may be vitally interested.

Mr. DOCKERY. If I understand it correctly, this proposition will allow a cloture upon any private bill.

Mr. HOLMAN. Upon everything.

Mr. DOCKERY. The gentleman's proposition seems more drastic than the Reed code of rules.

Mr. BOATNER. The proposition is to give the same force and effect in this House to the previous question that it has everywhere else—in every legislative body in the world except the House of Representatives.

Mr. HOLMAN. How about the Senate?

Mr. BOATNER. The Senate has no previous question. I am speaking, of course, of any legislative body that has the previous question.

Mr. BYNUM. Mr. Speaker, I did not intend to participate in the debate on the consideration of these rules. I was perfectly content to accept the report of the committee and to vote to sustain that report, although it contains some things which probably, if I had been assisting in the formulation, I would have changed. But, taking them all together, I think they come as near answering the demands and meeting the approbation of the House as any set of rules which could well be framed.

While I am opposed in the main to filibustering, I want to say that the filibuster is not an unmitigated evil. There are times when he serves the country well. While we may sometimes lose our temper and very often become in a measure disgusted with those who are obstructing legislation, we ought to be careful not to go to the other extreme and so modify our rules that all restraints are removed. I submit that the measure proposed by the gentleman from Louisiana is fraught with very dangerous consequences. As the gentleman from Missouri has said, the proposition amounts simply to allowing a member who has charge of a bill to move cloture at any time he may see fit.

Now, with all due respect to committees, I wish to say that I have not the utmost confidence in the reports of committees. Committees are very often mistaken. They are often misinformed. They do not always come in here with perfect measures. It is not till bills are upon the Calendar that they are ex-

posed to the eyes of the public and the scrutiny of the press. Why, sir, we all recollect that in the Fifty-first Congress, under the cloture, there was passed in this House a bill with reference to the boundaries of Oklahoma which included within that Territory the whole of Panhandle of Texas. A bill to reform our judiciary was put through under whip and spur and it was afterwards found that it abolished the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States and left that august body without a single case on its docket.

Things of this kind are liable to occur at any time with the very best committees. I say, therefore, we ought not here to favor a proposition allowing any committee to come in here at any time and gag the House upon a measure which the committee may think perfect, but which deliberate discussion might prove to be very defective. Such a proposition is very dangerous, and I trust this House will reject the amendment and stand by the report as presented.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I do not agree with the sentiments expressed by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM] as to the dangerous character of the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Louisiana. On the contrary, the experience I have had on this floor during several Congresses leads me to regard this proposition as a very wise measure, and one which in the interest of economy, and of the public service should be adopted.

The gentleman from Indiana says that filibustering is not an unmitigated evil. I will not stop at this time to controvert that proposition, but I will say to him that the committee having a bill in charge can exercise the same forbearance and the same discretion that would be exercised by the Committee on Rules, to whom this proposed code gives authority far greater than it is proposed to clothe the committees of the House if this amendment is adopted.

Now, let us look at the situation for a moment. Under our rules, as thus far adopted, certain classes of legislation are sent to one committee or another. The Committee on Appropriations, has charge of the great appropriation bills; the Committee on Ways and Means, of revenue bills; the Committee on the Judiciary, of matters relating to that subject; the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, of the improvements in rivers and harbors. Now, if this House has confidence enough in the committees as formed to permit them to perfect legislation in their committee rooms, why not, when those committees come into the House, clothe them with power to secure action on this proposed legislation by asking for the previous question after a reasonable time has been granted for debate?

The argument of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM] is based on the idea that the committee having a bill in charge would, without giving reasonable time for debate or consideration, demand the previous question and bring the House to a direct vote upon it. My experience in this House leads me to a different conclusion. My experience is that the committee having the bill in charge would give ample opportunity for all parties interested to discuss any amendments that may be proposed, and that the committee having the bill in charge would be anxious to listen to anything that would perfect the legislation, or would satisfy them that the interests of the public would be better subserved by amending or modifying or changing in some shape the proposed legislation.

Mr. DALZELL. Let me suggest to the gentleman, also, that if the committee did undertake to cut off debate the House can always refuse to order the previous question.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Certainly, as the gentleman from Pennsylvania pertinently remarks, if the committee having the bill in charge undertakes to cut off debate, it is always in the power of the House itself to vote down the proposed motion and allow a further discussion. So that this motion for the previous question can only be exercised effectually to cut off debate when the interest of the House demands it, and can only be operative when a majority of the House favors immediate action on the legislation, and believes that ample opportunity had been granted to all of the advocates or opponents of the bill to present all of the features it embodies fully to the House.

But, sir, if this amendment of the gentleman from Louisiana is adopted it stops this unnecessary and criminal waste of time, this filibustering system that has disgraced this House in past Congresses. It places it within the power of the committee having the matter in charge to say to one individual, or a number of individuals, who simply entertain captious objections to the proposed measure, that those objections must be expressed in a legitimate way by a vote in the House, and that the dilatory and wasteful expenditure of time must stop, and that the House shall be permitted to vote on the bill or amendments, or the merits of the measure whatever it may be without further delay.

Now, as I have said, this is the time of all times for the members of this House to protect themselves against the captious, unnecessary, and criminal filibustering that has been indulged in heretofore on this floor. We know in the past some men have made reputations on that practice and that practice alone. We know, too, it is against the best interests of the country; and I trust that members on both sides of the House will unite in engrafting this amendment on the code of rules, and thus enable the House to transact any business that may come before it.

The adoption of the amendment does not interfere with the privileges of the Committee on Rules at all. The Committee on Rules regulates the order of business and gives precedence to the committees in the consideration of legislation, and such legislation as in the judgment of the Speaker and his associates on that committee will best subserve public interest; and after that authority is granted, and after that committee has the floor, this amendment gives to such committee in charge of the measure the power to call for a vote on the merits of the question after full and fair discussion.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, it occurs to me that this is the most unwise proposition presented here that I have ever known or heard of in the House. I am surprised that my friend from Louisiana who has proposed it is its author, for he is usually a careful legislator.

Mr. BOATNER. Will the gentleman allow me a moment?

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Well I have but a few moments myself.

Mr. BOATNER. I will not take a second. I will reply by saying that I have not been here long enough to grow so great that I have lost all interest in all legislation except of a political character. That is the reason I want——

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Well now I decline to yield to the gentleman for a speech. He can take the floor in his own time.

But I repeat, this seems to me the most unwise proposition for cloture that I have ever known. Now, suppose a committee brings in a proposition, or bill, if you please, and without a moment's debate moves the previous question, how is the House to be informed as to the character or merits of the proposition?

Mr. SPRINGER. The House can vote it down.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Yes; but it will be said, here is the report of a committee in favor of it; why should the House vote it down? But without one word of debate, without an opportunity to throw any light on the question at all, or an opportunity for dilatory motions, you are compelled to come to a direct vote on the merits of the proposition.

It seems to me that if we had had such a cloture rule as this in the Fifty-first Congress, it would have been going much further than even we did go at that time. It may be that my friend will insist that no committee of the House would move to close debate without an opportunity to have light shed on the subject by others than the members of the committee reporting it. But we must not only look to the committees of this House, but we must look to the committees of other Houses, possibly the north House, and while they would not be bound by a rule we now adopt, it might go a long way in the furnishing of argument in favor of the same rules in that body.

I would not be willing to put that power in the hands of some committees (without referring to any particular Houses) that existed in the past. I would not be willing, I say, to put that power in the hands of some committees that I have known, and whose operations I have witnessed since I have been a member of this body.

Mr. Speaker, gentlemen here have spoken of the power of committees. They have inveighed against the power given to the Speaker to constitute these committees. They say it puts in his hands an immense power when you permit him to name the committees of this House, and so it does. It is a vast power; greater, possibly, than that possessed by any other officer of this Government, the President not excepted, so far as shaping the legislation of this country is concerned. But when you increase and magnify the power of the committees of this House by giving them this additional authority, you thereby increase correspondingly the power lodged in the Speaker. You make him that much greater in his authority and in his power.

So far as I am concerned, Mr. Speaker, I think that the old rule, which gives the chairman of the committee, or the member of the committee who has charge of a measure, the right to move the previous question, in his discretion, ought to be sufficient power. He may make the demand for the previous question, and it has been very rarely the case since I have been a member of this House that there has been any filibustering against the demand for the previous question when made by a gentleman having charge of a measure under consideration. I think the rule as we have had it for many years is sufficient, and I earnestly protest against the innovation proposed by the gentleman offering this amendment.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I desire to express the hope that this amendment will not be agreed to by the House, and I wish to premise what I shall say by the statement that my friend from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER] is entirely correct when he says that if it be adopted it will not militate in the slightest degree against the power of the Committee on Rules. Hence, no man can suspect that in opposing this amendment I have or can have any interest whatever as a member of the Committee on Rules.

It is true, Mr. Speaker, that the majority should rule in this House as elsewhere, but it is necessary that the majority should rule only when its conduct is based upon information deliberately acquired. I know of nothing more valuable to the American people than the freedom of debate which has ever been practiced in this House. Many times, since I have been a member of this House, I have seen the majority, under the influence of free debate, alter its opinion and refuse to pass bills which it would have passed without debate. I have seen many a measure, seemingly proper and wise, shown by freedom of debate to have been crudely conceived and improperly framed.

Mr. Speaker, no set of rules can be justified which does not make allowance for absolute freedom of debate upon the part of the minority of this House. And when I say minority I do not mean a political minority.

Now, if this amendment should be adopted, there would be no reason why the member having charge of a bill should not demand the previous question before there had been any substantial debate upon it whatever; and we all know the power of these great committees. It would be possible, and we would see it done, that these great appropriation bills and other bills would be put through under whip and spur without debate and without the power to offer amendments.

Very few bills ought to pass which can not pass without a cloture. While it is proper and right that the power should be vested somewhere to put an end to dilatory proceedings, so that the House may transact business, that is a power that should rarely be exercised. I wish to invite the attention of gentlemen present, especially of new members of this House, to the fact that while we possessed the power of cloture in the last House, on no single occasion was it exercised.

I wish to repeat that very few bills deserve to pass which can not pass after they have gone through the ordeal of discussion, so that the House may have a full understanding of them.

Mr. BOATNER. Will the gentleman permit a question right there?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Yes.

Mr. BOATNER. Does the gentleman recollect that on one occasion in this House the filibustering lasted two days on the approval of the Journal, and that the measure which was being filibustered against could not even be spoken of and debated on the floor of this House?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Unquestionably; and there would come in the opportunity for the proper exercise of the power vested in the Committee on Rules——

Mr. BOATNER. But the Committee on Rules did not bring in that cloture.

Mr. CATCHINGS (continuing). Not for the purpose of putting a cloture on the bill before the House, or which it was designed to bring before the House, but simply for the purpose of removing this obstruction, so that the House might enter upon the consideration of that bill. To make use of that power to prevent filibustering, so as to permit the House to proceed to the consideration of business, is a very different thing from putting a cloture in force which applies to the actual engrossment, third reading, and passage of a bill. Mr. Speaker, this is a cloture which goes far beyond anything ever suggested to the American Congress before.

Mr. REED. Will my colleague on the committee permit me to ask him what difference there is between this and the motion for the previous question, which has always been entertained by the House prior to the invention of filibustering?

Mr. CATCHINGS. The answer is obvious, and the distinguished gentleman from Maine would not have asked the question if he had paid proper attention to this amendment? Ordinarily, notwithstanding the demand for the previous question, we have certain motions which can be made which will postpone the operation of the previous question; so that this House can not be driven ordinarily even to voting upon the previous question, or to voting upon the passage of the bill, should the previous question be ordered.

But here it is proposed that any member having charge of a bill, when it has been under consideration say but five minutes, may make a motion, which the Speaker is obliged to entertain, forbidding the entertainment of any other motion, that cloture shall be applied to that measure. Thus the House is to be brought to the question of passing the measure without an adequate opportunity for debate.

Mr. REED. But it seems to me that it can not be done without a majority of the House.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I understand that, Mr. Speaker; and I opened my remarks by saying that whenever this House has deliberately considered a question and reached a conclusion, of course it ought to have a right to register its conclusion by a vote and to have it enacted into law.

Mr. REED. How is it going to do it?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Just as we have passed laws since the foundation of the Government. I want to say, in passing, that very few bills presented deserve to become law, and I think they ought not to become law until after this House has had a full opportunity to discuss and dispose of them. Since I have been here I have seen filibustering destroy very little legislation that did not deserve to be destroyed. It is true that we sometimes become restive because some measure in which we are interested is defeated in that way. It is true that bills are defeated that ought to become laws, but these instances are exceedingly rare.

I heard one of the ablest and most experienced men in this House say when this amendment was talked about that if it should be adopted it means cloture—not once a month, not once a week, not once a day, but every hour of the day—and we shall be flooded with improper legislation, which this House on proper consideration would not enact.

It excels anything in the shape of cloture ever suggested since I have been a member of this House, and I look with great trepidation on the result of it becoming a part of the rules of the House.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, members will all concede that this is a very important proposition. I do not think, however, that it ought to be regarded as a departure from well recognized and established parliamentary proceedings. The fact is it is a return to the policy of our fathers, and it simply gives to the previous question the weight which it had in this Government during the first hundred years of its existence. If gentlemen will turn to the rule of this House and a rule now pending and to be acted upon later, they will find this language:

RULE XVII.

PREVIOUS QUESTION.

1. There shall be a motion for the previous question, which, being ordered by a majority of members present, if a quorum, shall have the effect to cut off all debate and bring the House to a direct vote upon the immediate question or questions on which it has been asked and ordered.

Mr. BOATNER. What is the rule?

Mr. SPRINGER. That is the rule on page 19 of the pamphlet.

Mr. BYNUM. That is, after it is ordered.

Mr. SPRINGER. Now, so far as I know, all the experience and practice in this body up to the Forty-seventh Congress, I believe, was to regard a motion for the previous question as one which carried with it the right to bring the House to a direct vote on the question pending; and up to the Forty-seventh Congress the Committee on Rules did not exercise the right which it now exercises of bringing in special orders. That committee had confined itself up to that time to the duty of bringing in general rules; and this departure was made and has grown into a system allowing this committee to bring in all special orders.

But that authority does not conflict with this. Prior to recent years this provision was regarded as one intended to bring the House to a direct vote. Filibustering is a modern invention. It was not the policy of our fathers, and was never resorted to in the British House of Commons until a few years ago. Now, we have reached a point at which no legislation can be transacted in this body if one member is opposed to it; in other words, most of the legislation must be by unanimous consent of everybody or we can have no legislation at all unless the Committee on Rules bring in an order and provide for a cloture which permits us to take a vote upon it.

Now, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] has stated this would throw down all the barriers for careful legislation. I want to call the attention of the House to the fact that it does not relate to business in the Committee of the Whole at all, nor does it relate to any bill that has come up before the House in the regular way or by an order brought in from the Committee on Rules; and it does seem to me that when the Committee on Rules brings in a special order and gives a committee the right to have considered their measures for one or two days, that that committee ought to have the privilege of bringing those measures to a vote. I have known committees to have two days assigned to them for the consideration of measures, and every hour of that time was frittered away by filibustering, and the committee at the end of two days came out where they went in, without accomplishing anything.

I believe as much as anyone in careful legislation; I believe in

guarding legislation; but I have confidence in my colleagues upon this floor, I have confidence in the Representatives of the people here, that they will not adopt a motion for the previous question unless they understand what is behind it, and are ready to vote. And when a majority of this House is of the opinion that there has been sufficient debate upon any question, I hold that that majority then has a right to assert itself. Now, this is not returning to the rules of the Fifty-first Congress——

[Here the hammer fell].

Mr. KILGORE. The other day I submitted some observations to this House upon the rules of the Fifty-first Congress, which seem to be very sacred in the eyes of a great many gentlemen participating in this discussion. I want to supplement what I said then by a reference to the universally accepted law or theory upon which all written rules and all written constitutions are founded. Written rules and constitutions were devised for the purpose of imposing limitations upon authority, whether that authority was exercised by the king, lords, and commons, or by the king in his own person, or by a majority of anybody assembled for the purpose of considering public questions.

That is the universally accepted theory upon which all written rules proceed. We have seen in this discussion what we saw in the Fifty-first Congress for the first time in the history of this Government, that theory entirely and completely reversed. The principle upon which the rules of the Fifty-first Congress were founded was not to impose limitations upon the power of the majority, it was not to regulate the course and conduct of the majority, but it was to muzzle and tie the hands of the minority; and that is the theory upon which every proposition rests that has been urged here, looking to increasing the stringency of these rules.

A majority, Mr. Speaker, can take care of themselves. They do not need any rules. "General parliamentary law" is sufficient warrant for the exercise of authority by the majority. They can take care of themselves. They can take care of their legislation. Rules and written constitutions, I repeat, are made to impose limitations upon the power of majorities, and have no other purpose. All rules, even those regulating procedure, are for the same purpose, and that is the effect of them.

Now, sir, the whole theory, the whole contention of those gentlemen who wish to make encroachments upon the power of the minority here is that the minority ought to have its hands tied, and that rules ought to be devised to stifle its voice in this House. They have talked about "filibusterers." Now, sir, that is a term of reproach to apply to any gentleman. [Laughter.] A filibusterer is defined by the dictionary to mean a pirate, a buccaneer. [Laughter.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. KILGORE asked unanimous consent to continue his remarks, but objection was made.

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the framers of our Constitution had a purpose in every line and word which we find incorporated in that instrument. Those great men, Washington, Franklin, Madison, and other almost as distinguished members of the convention which framed our organic law considered and carefully weighed every expression from the preamble to the closing article. The Constitution provides, section 5 of Article I, that—

> The yeas and nays of the members of either House shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the Journal.

The Constitution does not say that the name shall be entered. It says that the yeas and nays shall be entered on the Journal. To be explicit, the Constitution provides that those members who vote "yea" shall be recorded as voting "yea," and that those who vote "nay" shall be recorded as voting "nay."

The Constitution also says:

> Each House shall keep a Journal of its proceedings and from time to time publish the same.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Mr. Speaker, I want to make a point of order against going into that discussion again.

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. The gentleman will certainly wait until he finds out the pertinency of my remarks. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I am afraid I shall have to wait too long. [Laughter.]

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. On this very same question the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] spoke nearly an hour. If his remarks were in order certainly a brief reply to his argument is also in order.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that the remarks of the gentleman are not germane.

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. I will endeavor to so conduct my remarks as to make them germane. [Laughter.] The rule under discussion and the pending amendment involve the question of cloture, and I wish to consider the relation which the Constitution bears to this question.

The SPEAKER. The Chair hopes the gentleman from Alabama will proceed in order.

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. I think the Speaker will admit that the line of argument I have indicated is clearly pertinent to the question, and that the point of order made by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. OUTHWAITE] is not well taken.

There were three great purposes on the part of the framers of our Constitution in enacting this provision. The first was to make it certain that all who voted had a right to exercise that privilege. The second was to make a record of votes upon important questions in order that these records could be used as either a guide to be followed or a warning to be shunned by the members of future Congresses. A third purpose in requiring the yea-and-nay vote to be recorded was to definitely fix the responsibility upon members of Congress.

I have heard it suggested that cases have arisen when members of Congress have voted differently when their votes were to be recorded than they would if the vote was *viva voce* or by division or tellers. [Laughter.] For instance it has been hinted that some gentlemen members of this House who voted for the repeal of the Sherman law possibly would not have voted that way but for the fact that their votes were to be recorded. [Laughter and applause.]

Some of the votes last Monday recorded expressions upon a great public question quite variant from what might have been expected, judging from former and very recent views which the voters were understood to entertain. So marked and obvious was this, that there seemed to be a constraint seldom witnessed in this body. It seemed as though some members from the rural sections of our land who voted against silver were not recording their views and individual judgments. At least it seemed they were not absolutely confident. They seemed, at least, to entertain doubts.

Mr. COOMBS. How about the votes of the other side?

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. I do not think any member from a rural district, especially if from the South or West, who voted for silver coinage, has any doubt regarding the propriety of his vote.

I wish to particularly say that I do not question that every member who voted for repeal exercised his best judgment, but many gentlemen seem to entertain views different from the views they entertained a few months or even a few weeks ago.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the argument and assertion that has been made by the distinguished gentleman from Maine, that it has been the custom in parliamentary bodies from time immemorial to count a quorum, certainly ought not to go by unchallenged. But even supposing that that was done in other countries, it would afford no justification for it to be done under our Constitution? Supposing, for example, that that had been the rule in the Credit Mobilier days. More than one-half of the members of this House may have had stock in that corporation, and therefore they would not have been legally authorized to vote upon the question, and with that rule the minority could have voted and the House would have passed a law by members sitting in their seats and having themselves counted.

Take an extreme case. Suppose a case where every man in this body excepting one was interested in the question under consideration, and therefore could not vote. In that case this one man could vote yea, while 180 or 190 members sitting in their seats could be counted, and thus a quorum be counted and a bill enacted into law. Thus one vote might take away the liberties of our people or might deplete the Treasury.

The statement of the case shows that counting a quorum is in violation of the letter and the spirit and the purpose of the Constitution.

Story, on the Constitution says:

> The object of this clause is to insure publicity.

Of course this means publicity as to the votes of the members.

Mr. SIMPSON. Will the gentleman allow me a question?

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. Yes, sir.

Mr. SIMPSON. I am somewhat of a new member myself, and do not profess to be very conversant with the rules. I would like to ask the gentleman whether, under the constitutional provision, we have not the right to send the Sergeant-at-Arms anywhere in the Union in order to bring into this House an absent member?

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. Yes, sir; there is no question upon that point.

Mr. SIMPSON. Then after we get him here have we not the right to count him?

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. No, sir. [Laughter.] By no means as it was done in the Fifty-first Congress. A bad measure may sometimes be defeated by members declining to vote.

Mr. SIMPSON. Well, then, what do we bring him here for?

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. It is the duty of the Sergeant-at-Arms to obey the orders of the House, but when members reach this Hall they can and should exercise their judgment. If they can accomplish good by voting they should do so; if remaining silent is the only way they can defeat a vicious law, they most certainly should decline to vote.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired. [Laughter.]

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that the proposition of the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER] takes so great a step forward, and is in itself so radical and so fundamental, that the House, especially this side of the House, ought to consider it very carefully before venturing to vote for it. I believe that the experience of members generally is, that while extreme ebullitions of what is called filibustering shall be effectually repressed, the scheme of rules embodied in the report now under consideration throws all necessary safeguards around the House to enable it to escape from improper and prolonged resistance on the part of a minority. The fact that we do have to resort to occasional amendments of the rules under the teachings of experience is no reason, Mr. Speaker, that we should ever cut loose from the great fundamental idea that this is a deliberative body.

Gentlemen seem to be possessed with the idea that the sole work of the House of Representatives, in its open public sessions, is to pass upon measures—measures prepared in the secrecy of committee rooms, examined and debated out of sight of the public; and that we are to become more and more a mere enacting body to vote on such measures whenever anybody demands the previous question, without that deliberation which is and must ever be the foundation of wise and just law.

Why, Mr. Speaker, gentlemen forget, it seems to me, that one of the chief functions of the House of Representatives is the debating function—as important as the enacting function. We meet here; bills are introduced; propositions are brought forward that may have a great temporary public sentiment behind them, and if under the whip and spur of the previous question we are forced to vote, we obey what we suppose to be the popular sentiment and enact them into law. But if by sufficient deliberate debate we can become convinced ourselves that they ought not to pass, we gather confidence that we can correct or withstand the temporary popular demand for their enactment.

Now, I want to appeal to my fellow members on this side of the House. We on this side have always been tender of the liberty of the individual, have always contended here and elsewhere that rules are made not for the protection of a majority, which can ordinarily take care of itself, but for the protection of a minority. I want to appeal to my Democratic brethren to go very slow before by their votes they put into our code of rules so extreme and so undemocratic an amendment as this.

Mr. Speaker, is it an unusual thing in this House to see the opinions and ideas of members changed, revolutionized, under an adequate and enlightened discussion of a public measure on the part of a minority that had examined it more carefully than those who, on the spur of the moment, had approved it in committee?

Mr. Speaker, the Democratic idea always has been that the fewer laws we make the better for us; and a very wise man has said that the very best laws ever put on the statute books are the laws that repeal previous enactments. [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. BOATNER. Mr. Speaker, before commencing my remarks I send to the desk a modification of the amendment I have offered. Sir, it is a favorite expedient of the adroit lawyer, the adroit politician, or the adroit debater to misrepresent the scope and object of the proposition which he combats, and to ascribe to it properties or qualities which it does not possess. Any gentleman listening to the impassioned and eloquent remarks of the gentleman from West Virginia would suppose me to be proposing to strangle debate in this House, to muzzle freedom of expression, and to compel members to vote as I would have them vote, contrary to their will and in ignorance of the matters which they are called upon to decide.

Why, Mr. Speaker, such a contention is not only not supported by the resolution I have offered, as shown by its text, but is absolutely absurd on its face. Sir, if this is undemocratic, it is undemocratic for the House of Representatives to retain the power of the previous question, as it is understood in general parliamentary law, as it is understood in every parliamentary body in the world that has adopted the previous question; and are we to understand that this is the only body on earth, Mr. Speaker, that has an accurate appreciation of the democratic idea of the previous question?

Why, sir, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON] would have the House believe, or understand, that I propose a measure here that would absolutely destroy all freedom of debate. Has the gentleman ever known an important measure carried through this House under the whip and spur of the previous question? Does the gentleman credit the majority of the members of this House with such stupidity and inattention to their duties, such an absurd disregard of the obligation of their oaths and the responsibilities devolving upon them, that they will sustain a demand for the previous question and be compelled to vote upon a measure that they do not understand?

Why, the gentleman talked of protecting the rights of the minority. It is the majority that is asking protection against the tyranny of the minority. It is the majority asking for debate, for an opportunity to explain, for an opportunity to understand and act upon the measures that come before the House. It is the majority which is asking for the exercise of the intellectual forces which control, or should control, legislation, and not simply that physical force which is wielded by the filibusterer who stands in this Hall obstructing, not only action upon all matters of legislation, but every effort to explain or make them understood. This is a Government of majorities. That is the theory of our Constitution.

Mr. Speaker, the filibusterer is contrary to the genius and spirit of our institutions. I am ready to meet the filibusterer here in argument at any time. I am ready to hear him tell the House and the country why he does not favor legislation: I am ready to hear him explain his opposition to any measure that may be presented; but, sir, I am unwilling that the filibusterer shall say to me, "You shall not tell the country why you favor or oppose any proposition on which the House may desire to pass its judgment. You must yield your intellectual force in that direction to the physical force that I control."

Why, the gentleman from West Virginia, Mr. Speaker, misapprehends the scope and misapprehends the object of the resolution. Do these gentlemen understand, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM], the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON], the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS], or other gentlemen—do they understand or imagine that they can direct me and the other members of this House in the line in which we ought to go, as far as our duties here are concerned? Does each and every one of them think he knows better than I do, or better than the ordinary members of this House, what subjects of legislation ought to be permitted to come up and obtain consideration on the floor of this House?

Mr. Speaker, I respectfully dissent from that view of the subject. I respectfully beg leave to dissent from the idea that I came here to exercise my legislative functions under the direction and supervision of the gentleman from West Virginia, the gentleman from Indiana, the gentleman from Mississippi, or any other gentleman here. I came to this body as the representative of a constituency, a constituency which has rights and which has privileges, and for whom I propose to speak at all times and on all occasions in this Chamber.

I came here under an obligation to them to bring to this House and test its sense on every measure which conserves their interests and which the Constitution and the rules of this body permit of consideration before it. I came here believing it to be my duty to present to this House and obtain its candid judgment on all of these measures. I did not come here believing that one or two men or any clique or minority should have the power to effectually tie up this body and prevent action upon any subject, except as they may dictate.

Why, sir, the whole argument degenerates into a plea of minority; it degenerates into a plea of *non compos mentis;* it degenerates into a confession that a majority of the members of this House, each of them representing a large mass of the people in the United States, are unwilling to trust themselves with power and prefer to place in the hands of this or that individual, or any clique of individuals in the House, the mere physical weapon to balk their efforts and prevent an opportunity to exercise the constitutional right to vote on a question and determine its fate by a majority of the members of this body.

Mr. KILGORE. May I interrupt the gentleman for a question?

Mr. BOATNER. Yes.

Mr. KILGORE. Is this not a majority pleading the baby act on this question?

Mr. BOATNER. No; not at all.

I stand here in the interest of a majority protesting against incorporating a provision in our rules which will have the effect of giving the *ipse dixit* to you, of giving you the veto power upon all legislation that may be introduced here which does not in itself commend your approval.

[Here the hammer fell.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BOATNER. I would like to have five minutes longer.

The SPEAKER. In the absence of objection the gentleman will proceed for five minutes longer.

There was no objection.

Mr. BOATNER. Now, sir, as a matter of course I have no personal interest in this amendment. I have no more interest in it than any other gentleman on this floor; but I object, and seriously object, to being put in the position of asking anything of the House which is contrary to the principles of the party to which I owe allegiance.

Why, sir, the gentleman had an experience only a few days ago, when, if the principle he advocates—the principle of the protection of the rights of the minority—had prevailed in this House, he could not have passed a measure which was considered by him and his associates and by the Executive as one of prime importance.

Why, sir, if a rule is good at all it must be good to its full extent. If it is contrary to Democratic principles to permit the chairman of a committee to call the previous question and obtain a vote upon a bill which he brings into this House, it is wrong that the previous question shall ever be ordered, so as to have the effect of cutting off debate and amendments and dilatory motions; and if that principle had been applied here the act repealing the Sherman law would now be under consideration instead of having passed this House. The very rules which you have under consideration would be here until the regular session, if anybody saw fit to oppose them.

If, sir, you were not proceeding now under the general principles of parliamentary law, where the motion for the previous question does have the effect that I want to give it under the rules—if you were not proceeding, I say, under the principles of parliamentary law which permit that motion to cut off debate and to cut off amendments, the regular session of Congress would find you still considering the rules under which you are to do the business of the next session.

In my judgment it is absolutely wonderful, it is amazing, that here in the blaze of the nineteenth century the greatest representative body on earth should be seriously considering whether it will trammel itself so that it can not perform the functions and duties for which it was elected, or whether it will reserve to itself the power which is possessed by every other legislative body to do these things.

Mr. BYNUM. Will the gentleman allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. BOATNER. Yes.

Mr. BYNUM. I want to call the gentleman's attention to this, that the chairman or member in charge of the committee would be under the necessity, under this rule, of calling the previous question the very moment he presented his bill to the House; because if he yielded the floor and those opposed to him once got possession of the floor for debate they could filibuster as against the call for the previous question.

Mr. SPRINGER and others. Oh, no.

Mr. BOATNER. I beg the gentleman's pardon; and in concluding my remarks I want to call attention to an amendment which I have offered, which provides that when a bill or report has been under consideration, under general debate for two hours or more, then the motion can be made. Under that amendment which I offer a proposition must be open to general debate two hours or more before the motion is in order.

Now, I want to ask the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM], who declares that he is unwilling to trust the great committees, who calls the attention of the House to the great power vested in these committees and to the abuse of it which could be made under this rule—I ask him which one of the chairmen of these committees he mistrusts and is afraid of? I ask him if he has ever known the Appropriation Committee or the Committee on Ways and Means, or any other great committee, to bring a bill into this House and to demand the previous question upon it without first having general debate?

Mr. BYNUM. This does not apply to them.

Mr. BOATNER. I ask him what bills raising revenue or appropriating any public money can be considered by this House until they have passed through the Committee of the Whole, where they are open to exhaustive debate and to amendments?

Mr. BYNUM. You are correct about that. That point does not apply to them. It applies to bills which do not receive their first consideration in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. BOATNER. Now, to sum it all up, these gentlemen who are the heads of committees, these gentlemen who expect to control legislation, who expect to have things their own way, are perfectly satisfied to have a rule which binds up every other member, which takes away the right of every other member to his just share in the control of the legislation of this country, but which gives gentlemen who are the heads of committees the control to say what bills shall come before the House and what bills shall not; what bills shall come to a vote and what bills shall not.

I am here to say that, in my judgment, we all stand on an equality on this floor, and that when a bill has received fair consideration by a committee, when it has been reported to this body, when under an order of the Committee on Rules it is taken up for consideration, that we have a constitutional right to have that bill voted upon by the House, and that any limitation upon the power of the House to come to a direct vote is tantamount to an abrogation and an abdication by the House of an essential part of its legislative functions.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER], in the excitement of discussion, threw out an intimation which I am sure upon reflection he will regret.

Certainly he does not believe, Mr. Speaker, that the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON], the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM], or myself entertain the slightest desire to control his action or his judgment in the least degree. It is simply an attempt, Mr. Speaker, to have this House adopt for itself a code of rules which shall govern him and govern ourselves, so that we shall all be upon the same footing and the same plane; and when these rules are adopted, Mr. Speaker, no special privileges will be given to any one member of this House over another. My friend was a little unkind, but I forgive him, for I know he spoke his words under excitement when he intimated in the debate that it was the purpose of any of the three of us who reported these rules to unfairly and improperly exercise any control upon his judgment or his action.

I do not know, Mr. Speaker, that I can add anything to what was so well stated by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON], except that I will make this observation, that if this amendment proposed by the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER] be adopted there would be opened up a magnificent field for the log-roller. How easy it would be for gentlemen having measures to come before the House to make a bargain among themselves that they would mutually sustain each other in obtaining the previous question and force bills to a determination. It would afford the log-roller an excellent opportunity to exercise his skill and ingenuity.

But, Mr. Speaker, I believe that it is an unsafe proposition. I believe that the effect of it would be to stifle the freedom of debate, which I regard as the most valuable right of any member of this House. I myself have very often altered my own judgment of measures pending upon this floor after listening to the speeches made by gentlemen on the other side of the question, and the majority must rule here as everywhere in the last analysis under our form of Government. I have seen gentlemen here and elsewhere in the excitement of debate, perhaps prompted by party feeling, say and do things which in their calmer moments they regretted.

Mr. Speaker, there are but few measures which can not stand the test of deliberation and discussion which ought to be enacted into laws in this country.

Mr. BOATNER. If the gentleman will allow me right there. I have amended the resolution or amendment so that the motion is not in order until the bill or report shall have been under general debate for two hours or more.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I want to make this remark also. Mr. Speaker, that in the rules of the Fifty-first Congress, which we regard as extremely radical, there was nothing provided in the effort for the closing of debate and forcing prompt action upon measures so sweeping as that which is now proposed to this House. Now, while in the last Congress it was with very considerable difficulty we could get gentlemen on this side of the House to consent to the adoption of even the moderate provision we put in the rules for cloture, now we are seriously asked to put it in the power of every committee which has a bill before this House to demand cloture.

Why, sir, we have reached a point where men may tremble in contemplation of what might happen if we should adopt such a rule as that now proposed. I wish I had authority to repeat the name of the distinguished member of this House who said to me, in discussing this amendment, that if it should be adopted we should have cloture in this House, not once a month, not once a week, not once a day, but every hour of the day.

Mr. Speaker, we assuredly do not wish to put such a provision in the permanent rules of this House; and now, Mr. Speaker, I believe debate is exhausted and I will call for the previous question on the amendment.

Mr. REED. I hope the gentlemen will withdraw the demand for a while.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I withdraw the demand for the previous question, as the gentleman desires.

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I hesitate somewhat to trouble the House, it having so patiently listened to me so much to-day. I do think we ought to know precisely what we are doing and not confuse the issue by extraneous matters. What we are proposing to do is simply to restore the previous question of the fathers. While I am not violently in love with a thing because our fathers

were for it, I can use the argument when I am appealing to a set of gentlemen who are fond of the actions of our fathers. [Laughter.] The principles which governed our fathers in this matter are embodied in the amendment presented by the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER].

The gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON] proceeds, unintentionally I have no doubt, to confuse the matter by making a fancied resemblance between debate and delay. Debate is one thing; delay by filibustering is another. What he has said as to the propriety of debate everybody will admit, and what he has said as to the impropriety of delay by filibustering will be generally admitted. Now, how shall we come to a happy medium whereby debate may be encouraged and filibustering suppressed? Surely there is only one way, and it is to restore to the majority of the House of Representatives the power to determine when debate shall cease.

What are you going to do? Somebody is going to be invested with this power, either the majority or the minority, and which do you Democrats believe in? [Laughter.] Do you believe that the majority should have the power, or do you believe that the minority should have the power? Do you believe that the old member, skilled in the art of vetoing, should control this business and make cowards of us all, or that the House of Representatives should in manful fashion meet the question?

But gentlemen say there is danger of somebody coming in here and moving the previous question and rushing a bill through with lightning speed, and with little or no debate. Let us look abroad and see how mankind generally are affected by such a rule. Why, you can not find an assembly outside of this where it is not dangerous to propose the previous question.

In the Legislature of Maine, where I had my first legislative experience, it was always with fear and trembling that a man would undertake to suppress debate. That was because the general public sense was against it, and that same general public sense will operate freely here as soon as it is ascertained and determined that filibustering can not be indulged in. As soon as the power of the House to stop debate is accepted and admitted, then the largest legitimate range will be allowed to debate from a sense of fairness, for while this is a large and at times a pretty turbulent assembly, I have never known its fairness appealed to in vain.

And, Mr. Speaker, I believe that we are on the way to sounder principles and sounder practice of debate when we restore to the House the power which has been taken away from it by a few filibusterers—"filibuster" being a Spanish name for a land pirate. [Laughter.] Let us not confuse honest debate with that miserable bastard business by which one man stands here and sets up his will against the will of all of us.

I know, and so do you, that we are all the embodiment of absolute wisdom [laughter], but this is a world in which we have got to live and let live; and it may happen, even to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE], that on some occasion the wisdom of 355 other gentlemen may be on a par with his, or possibly just a little shade better. [Laughter.] Let us take hold of this thing without prejudice and with a little common sense.

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I simply want to say, in reply to the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED], that it is not a question of repressing filibustering. I believe we are all of one mind that so far as filibustering is concerned we will bring it within the narrowest limits that are consistent with the rights of the minority. But this is a question of adequate and instructive discussion in this House. We all know that it is no uncommon thing for bills to come to us after very slight and hasty consideration by the committee reporting them.

They are sometimes referred to a single member of the committee for examination; on his report are approved by the committee, it may be with little careful or painstaking discussion in the committee room, and are then put upon the Calendars of this House with the recommendation of the majority, or of the whole committee, in their favor. A proposition may be a very plausible one on its face It may be some of that legislation to which I referred a while ago, behind which seems to be a temporary or passing public sentiment, genuine or factitious, I care not which, and, in the brief period for debate allowed under the rule proposed by the gentleman from Louisiana, it will be utterly impossible——

Mr. BOATNER. Will the gentleman permit a question there?

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. I would like to finish my sentence, but go ahead.

Mr. BOATNER. The gentleman had got to the point where my question came in. Does the gentleman from West Virginia think it is necessary to keep these filibustering motions in full force against every measure not reported upon by the Committee on Rules in order to preserve freedom of debate?

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that it is necessary for the minority in this House to have some rights by which they can compel a reasonable agreement to a reasonable time for debate on any proposition that is brought forward. I believe that, and I believe, too, as we must all admit, notwithstanding the great wisdom which the gentleman from Maine would attribute to us collectively, that measures not infrequently come before this House with regard to which nine-tenths of the members have not been able to form any correct or intelligent opinion, and upon which, if they are forced to a vote with the single hour of adverse criticism, which may be all they could secure under the proposition of the gentleman from Louisiana, they would cast their votes either blindly under the leadership of the committee, or still more blindly under mistaken notions which a little deliberate discussion on both sides would free them of.

As I said before, gentlemen lose sight of the fact that we are here to make just as few laws as we can and to have just as much wise and intelligent discussion upon those laws as we can have. We may in two hours do that which in two days' discussion, or one day's discussion, we should never think of doing at all. When a law goes upon the statute book it remains there to work its mischief until under the orderly procedure of a subsequent Congress it may be brought up for repeal.

Mr. SPRINGER. This does not refer to the proceedings in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. No, Mr. Speaker, but not all of the legislation that affects most vitally the property and the liberties of the people goes through the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. Speaker, this is all I care to say in reply to the observations of the gentleman from Maine.

Mr. CATCHINGS obtained the floor.

Mr. BOATNER. I submit to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] whether, as the mover of this proposition, I ought not to have the right to close the debate.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I yield to the gentleman if he wishes to speak.

Mr. BOATNER. Mr. Speaker, I wish merely to refer to the argument of the gentleman from West Virginia that the preservation of the right to filibuster is necessary in order to secure the right of debate. That argument proceeds upon the hypothesis that a majority of this House is so ignorant or so careless of its public duties that it will vote for an important measure without giving fair opportunity for discussion. I think the gentleman from West Virginia has no right to send out to the country any such opinion of the membership of this House.

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. Has it not often been done?

Mr. BOATNER. Why, sir, so far as my observation goes, while many of us in this House seem not to be very great men, it is very rarely that a man is elected to Congress who has not very considerable standing at home. It is very rarely that a man receives the suffrages of the number of people necessary to elect him a Representative without being a responsible man, a conscientious man, a man in whom the public has confidence.

Then, sir, when an argument is made against this proposition upon the sole ground that members of this House are so careless of their public duties or so ignorant of the matters coming before them for debate that they will support a motion for the previous question, and thus cut off discussion upon a measure on which the people ought to be informed, I think the argument is one which ought not to be addressed to the judgment and discretion of this House—an argument which does not comport with the dignity of the greatest legislative body on earth, with a membership representing the most vital interests of the American Republic.

I repeat that under the amendment which I have offered the previous question can not be moved until a bill has been under general debate for two hours or more; and when the previous question has been ordered by a vote of the majority of the House, a motion is then in order to recommit the bill with or without instructions, which motion is to be submitted without debate. In fine, Mr. Speaker, this is merely a proposition that a majority of this House shall hold in its hands the power to execute the duty which members have been sent here by the people to perform—to legislate to a finality upon matters brought before the House by any of its authorized committees.

Mr. TURPIN. I would like to ask the gentleman from Louisiana a question. Does he not think there is too much legislation anyway——

Mr. BOATNER. I really can not say that I do. I have seen many measures upon which the most important interests of large areas of the country depended excluded from fair consideration—debate not permitted—the House denied the right of knowing what was in those measures, by the coercive power, the mere physical force of some man who chose to say, "This bill is wrong, and I will not permit the American Congress to consider it."

Mr. TURPIN. The gentleman undertook to answer my question before I had finished asking it. I was about to ask him whether he did not think that the most important legislation of the Fifty-third Congress will be the repeal of laws already in force——

Mr. BOATNER. Well, that is legislation.

Mr. TURPIN. Is not the most important legislation demanded of us the repeal of the errors of previous Congresses? Do you not think that one of the most pressing duties we have to perform in this Congress is to undo what was done by a previous Congress in the passage of the Federal election laws——

Mr. BOATNER. That may be so.

Mr. TURPIN. And the McKinley bill, and the passage of the repeal act, for which we were called in extraordinary session? In other words, are we not here to undo the errors of the great men who have been spoken about, who passed these acts in previous Congresses?

Mr. BOATNER. I do not dispute the correctness of what the gentleman says.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Mr. Speaker, I now call the previous question.

Mr. REED. Does the gentleman propose to close this matter up to-night?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I thought we might get through with it now.

Mr. REED. I do not think we ought to take a vote this evening. If the gentleman insists upon a vote, I move that the House adjourn. I have no objection to the previous question being ordered.

The SPEAKER proceeded to put the question on the motion to adjourn.

Mr. REED (while the question was being taken). If it is understood that we shall merely order the previous question to-night without taking a vote on the pending proposition, I will withdraw the motion to adjourn.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Very well; I have no objection to that understanding.

The SPEAKER. The motion to adjourn is withdrawn. The question is on ordering the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

ASSISTANT CLERK TO COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS.

Mr. BUNN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to introduce a resolution for reference to the Committee on Accounts.

The SPEAKER. The title of the resolution will be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

A resolution directing the Clerk to assign an assistant clerk to the Committee on Claims.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Accounts.

CLERK TO THE COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to introduce for reference a resolution of the same character.

The SPEAKER. The title will be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolution to provide an assistant clerk to the Committee on Military Affairs.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Accounts.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. BARTHOLDT, for the rest of the week, on account of important business.

To Mr. BRATTAN, until Tuesday next, on account of important business.

To Mr. GOODNIGHT (on motion of Mr. CARUTH), indefinitely, on account of illness.

To Mr. GOLDZIER, for three days, on account of important business.

To Mr. HICKS, for ten days, for attendance at the Grand Army of the Republic national encampment and the Columbian Exposition.

To Mr. MAGUIRE, for three days, on account of important business.

To Mr. MARSHALL (on motion of Mr. TYLER), for three days.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

By unanimous consent, leave was granted to Mr. BRYAN to withdraw from the files of the House the papers in the case of John F. Adams, there being no adverse report.

And then, on motion of Mr. DOCKERY (at 4 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, *September 1, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES ON THE LATE SENATOR STANFORD.

Mr. WHITE of California. Mr. President, I desire to give notice that on Wednesday, the 13th day of this month, I shall submit appropriate resolutions touching the death of my late colleague, Senator Stanford, and that I shall ask at that time for the consideration of the same.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. TURPIE presented a memorial of Liberty Assembly, Knights of Labor, of Fort Wayne, Ind., remonstrating against the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law, unless a substitute be passed placing the silver dollar in the position it occupied previous to the year 1873; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. WALTHALL presented a petition, signed by a large number of business men and other citizens of Canton, Miss., praying for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PEFFER presented a petition of citizens of Independence, Kans., praying for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PEFFER. I have here a somewhat peculiar document, signed by George C. Huckstaff, but I think it would come under the head of petitions. It is a proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States in certain respects. I will state very briefly its substance. There are some five different articles of amendment suggested to be proposed to the Constitution. They all relate to the general subject of the Government preparing paper money and delivering it without cost to the several States for the purpose of being loaned to the citizens of the several counties in the States, under State jurisdiction. I move that the paper be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. PROCTOR presented a petition of sundry citizens of Wilmington, Vt., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MCMILLAN presented a petition of 39 firms and citizens of Detroit, Mich., praying for the immediate and unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman act; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. LODGE presented the petition of Carlos Bachelder, president of the Conway (Mass.) National Bank, and other citizens of Conway, Mass., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clauses of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HUNTON presented a petition of the Locomotive Builders and other like associations of Richmond, Va., and a petition of business men, merchants, and bankers of Norfolk, Va., praying for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. KYLE presented a petition of the Crow Creek settlers, of South Dakota, praying for the enactment of legislation to reimburse all settlers driven from their lands; which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. HARRIS. I send to the desk one of the stereotyped printed petitions headed, "Get signed and send to your Senator or Representative without delay. Attach additional sheets as required." The petitioners pray for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman silver act. It is signed by 26 citizens of the city of Jackson, Tenn.

I send to the desk a similar stereotyped petition, somewhat modified, signed by a very large number of citizens of Bristol, Tenn., and citizens of Virginia, praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman act, provided a law shall be enacted for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, and provided that the 10 per cent tax on the issues of State-bank circulation shall be repealed.

Mr. COCKRELL. I should like to ask the Senator from Tennessee if those provisos were printed in the original petition, or were they written in?

Mr. HARRIS. I stated that the stereotyped petition was modified by the signers by adding those provisos.

Mr. COCKRELL. That shows that they knew what they were doing.

Mr. HARRIS. I move that the petitions lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. PASCO presented the petition of R. Wilson and 16 other citizens of Gainesville, Fla., praying for the repeal of the silver-

purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. VILAS presented the petition of Hon. Philetus Sawyer and 24 other citizens of Oshkosh, Wis., and the petition of W. P. Lindeman and 20 other citizens of Viroqua, Wis., praying for the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which were ordered to lie on the table. table.

He also presented the petition of Mrs. Jennie M. Hunt, of Washington, D. C., praying for the passage of a bill to compensate her for injuries received by the falling of an elevator in the Post-Office Department; which was referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. PERKINS presented a petition of sundry citizens of Oakland and other cities in California, praying for the free coinage of silver; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I present three several petitions, signed by some 500 citizens of Union County, Oregon, praying that the law known as the Sherman silver-purchasing act be repealed by substituting therefor a law for the free coinage of silver. I move that the petitions lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I also present a petition of sundry citizens of Oregon, praying for the passage of a law repealing what is known as the Sherman silver-purchasing act, and that such law shall contain a clause making silver and silver certificates full legal-tender for all debts, public and private. I move that the petition lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I also present a petition of citizens of Portland, Oregon, numerously signed, praying for the passage of an act granting pensions to dependent survivors of the Whitman and Cascade massacres of 1847 and 1856, and to the dependent heirs of parents who were killed by Indians on the frontier settlement. I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon presented a petition of citizens of Umatilla County, Oregon, praying for the enactment of legislation to refund $1.25 an acre to those persons who paid $2.50 an acre for preëmptions and commuted homesteads on Government lands within the limits of the grant to the Northern Pacific Railroad; which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. CAREY presented a memorial of the American Bimetallic League of Cheyenne, Wyo., remonstrating against the unconditional repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

W. H. WARD.

Mr. KYLE, from the Committee on Patents, to whom was referred the bill (S. 45) for the relief of W. H. Ward, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. GALLINGER introduced a bill (S. 815) to incorporate the Washington Traction Company of the District of Columbia; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. FAULKNER introduced a bill (S. 816) for the relief of Mrs. Ann E. Heiskell; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. VILAS introduced a bill (S. 817) for the relief of Jennie M. Hunt; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. PASCO (by request) introduced a bill (S. 818) for the relief of the estate of Andrew E. Hodges, late of Florida; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon introduced a bill (S. 819) providing for the survey of the land described in an act of Congress approved July 5, 1866, granting the land therein mentioned to the State of Oregon, to aid in the construction of a military wagon road, which land was subsequently, on the 24th day of October, 1866, granted by the State of Oregon to the Willamette Valley and Cascade Mountain Wagon Road Company; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

PURCHASE OF SILVER BULLION.

Mr. TELLER submitted the following resolution, which was read:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he hereby is, directed to furnish the Senate with a statement giving the aggregate amount of silver bullion purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, during the month of August, 1893, together with the cost thereof, the amount, date, and price of each purchase, and the name of the vendor. Also, the aggregate amount of silver bullion offered for sale during the said month of August, the amount, date, and price of each offer, and the name of the person making such offer.

Mr. TELLER. I ask for the present consideration of the resolution.

Mr. VOORHEES. I can see no objection to it, if the Senator wants immediate action.

Mr. TELLER. We have the report for July, and I simply want it for August.

The Senate, by unanimous consent, proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. TURPIE. I should like to add one additional inquiry there. I move to amend by adding "and how paid for."

Mr. TELLER. I have no objection to those words being put in, but the statute provides how it shall be paid for. It can only be paid for in Treasury notes. So I do not think it is necessary to put in those words.

Mr. TURPIE. I should like to have the inquiry go in.

Mr. TELLER. I have no objection, if the Senator suggests that amendment. Let the words "and how paid for" be added.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Mr. President, when the vote was taken on Monday last on the resolution as to the admission or nonadmission of John B. Allen to a seat in this body under appointment from the governor of the State of Washington, I was necessarily absent from the Senate. I was paired on the Mantle resolution and the pair was announced. On examining the RECORD I find that my pair was not announced upon the vote on the Allen resolution. As a matter of fact, however, I was paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY]. Although in the pairs that were announced I was not announced as being paired, and was absent, I desire to state that as a matter of fact I was paired, and that had I been here I should have voted against the admission of Mr. Allen. I would have voted, of course, the same way in both cases.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had on this day approved and signed the act (S. 50) in aid of the California Midwinter International Exposition.

PURCHASE OF SILVER BULLION.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The morning business is now closed.

Mr. VOORHEES. House bill No. 1 was yesterday made the order of business, and will come up at 2 o'clock as the unfinished business, but in the meantime I ask the consent of the Senate to take it up at this hour for the purpose of obliging the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE], who wishes to address the Senate upon the bill. I do not understand that this course will interfere with its place as the regular order of business at 2 o'clock.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will not, the Chair understands.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," the pending question being on the substitute reported by the Committee on Finance.

Mr. VANCE. Mr. President, the metallic money of the world is estimated at about $7,500,000,000. About one-half of this is silver, which is full legal-tender money, and in addition thereto there is about $550,000,000 of subsidiary silver in use in the different nations of the world. This money is the means by which the world's exchanges are effected and their values measured. It is needless to say that the great law of supply and demand has operation and effect in regard to this money, as in regard to everything else. When money is abundant prices are high; when money is scarce the prices of all products are low. Therefore, he that increases the abundance of money benefits production and enhances prices and wages, and he that contracts or diminishes the amount of this money depreciates everything which is for sale, including wages, though by reason of combinations and defensive measures in many parts of the world wages are affected less than products.

The effect upon the condition and well-being of mankind which would follow the destruction of one-half of this currency—it is impossible accurately to describe. The imagination of a poet would be required to portray its misery; and only he who wandered through the horror-laden mazes of the Inferno, or he that exulting in still sublimer song portrayed the wretchedness of man's disobedience and fall, could adequately set forth the evil, the suffering, and the sorrow which would come to mankind if their wages and the prices of all their products were decreased in the proportion that would follow the destruction of one-half of the world's money. Yet, this process of destruction has been going on quietly since 1872, the result of which we see in prices

lower in many things than have ever been known within the memory of man.

Great Britain led off in the demonetization of silver so early as 1816, in consequence, as is said, of her great debts to the Jew Rothschilds, to meet which she made gold her only standard of money, reducing silver to subsidiary circulation. After the great Franco-Prussian war Germany was induced to adopt the gold standard. So great then became the pressure upon adjoining nations that the Latin Union, which had been formed for the purpose of maintaining silver within the boundaries of France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, and Greece, were compelled to cease coining silver and devote all their efforts to the maintenance of that which they had coined. About the same time the United States ceased coining, by a fraud in legislation, when silver, which at that moment was at a premium over gold, began to decline, and has continued to decline ever since.

In 1878 the indignation of the people forced its remonetization, and under the operation of the Bland law, coinage was resumed at a rate of not less than $2,000,000 a month and not more than $4,000,000, at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury. Of course, this discretion was exercised against silver, as it always has been, and only $2,000,000 a month was coined; but it stayed the downward course of silver, and the common people received it gladly.

At the beginning of this year, 1893, it was coined for legal-tender purposes in none of the leading commercial nations of the European world, to but a limited extent in the United States, and in India it was coined freely. It is remarkable that in the United States and in Germany in 1873, when it was demonetized, silver was at a premium; and in 1816, when Great Britain demonetized it, it was likewise at a premium.

In June of this year the British-India council, anticipating, as was said, the action of the Government of the United States in repealing the Sherman law, which it was supposed would render silver next to worthless, suddenly stopped the coinage of the silver rupee, and announced that the government would itself coin limited quantities, as the public needs might require. Then the effort to have the coinage altogether stopped in the United States began, aided by the influence of the moneyed power of all the world and our own Government.

Silver lives now, so to speak, only in the United States—here among the people who recognized it as money when they established their constitutional form of government it makes its last stand. If its coinage is stopped now, it ceases to live throughout the commercial nations of the earth, and drops out of sight. The repeal of the Sherman law, without any substitute providing for the continued coinage of silver, is the end of silver money for this generation, except as subsidiary coin, unless, indeed, a great revolution of the people should restore it, as was done after the fraudulent demonetization of 1873.

Then the trouble of the defenseless begins; the glory of the capitalist is exalted; the fatness of the usurer waxeth, and woe be unto him who is in debt! One-half of the money of the world being destroyed, the exchanges of the world's productions among its inhabitants devolves upon the other half—the price of the remaining money, gold, goes up—that is to say, the price of every product and every day's work goes down. Let no man doubt that this movement is the result of a conspiracy, a combination among the money-holders of the world. Our own Secretary of the Treasury has said so. It has been announced again and again in the British House of Commons, and I have nowhere seen it denied.

The intent of this combination is to increase the value of the gold in the hands of those who hold it, and to increase the values of all securities, personal and governmental, by making them payable in gold, which are likewise held by these conspirators. The method of attack on this last remaining stronghold of silver was by the creation of a panic. The only statutory enactment which binds us to the use of silver and makes us a bimetallic people is what is known as the Sherman law. Under the operation of this law, 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month was required to be purchased and coined until the 1st of July, 1891, after which time only so much was to be coined as was necessary to redeem the notes issued for its purchase.

These were called Treasury notes, and any technically intelligent man would naturally suppose that when a law required the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes in payment thereof, and provided for the coining of that bullion into silver dollars for the purpose of redeeming those notes, payable in either gold or silver at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, it was meant for him to exercise that discretion in favor of silver, when the interest of the public and the condition of the Treasury required it. It was construed differently, and parties would procure those Treasury notes and present them to the Treasury, where they were invariably redeemed in gold.

This gold was shipped abroad in many cases, because a scramble was going on in Europe for gold. The demonetization of silver had already produced its inevitable effect, and the gold supply was not sufficient for those communities; hence, much was shipped from this country—mostly obtained by the means of Treasury notes. It is quite true that it could have been obtained just as easily by the presentation of greenbacks, by the presentation of gold certificates, by the presentation of bonds or the coupons upon said bonds, or by the presentation of national-bank notes. In fact, there was not an obligation of the Government outstanding but what was reducible to gold.

Yet these men who were desirous of creating a panic chose to attribute the departure of gold alone to the Sherman law, and with loud-mouthed clamor they declared there was danger of the Government being reduced to a silver basis and discharging its obligations in silver coin. Some foreigners believed this, and sent over a few of our securities and put them upon the market for realization. This created such alarm among those who held these securities and feared for their margins, that the clamor, which began in a false pretense, ended in a howl of real terror. Their deposits were rapidly withdrawn and they justly suffered. They brought such pressure to bear upon the President as induced him to call an extra session of Congress in the dog days for the simple and sole purpose of repealing this law.

In the midst of this clamor it was ascertained that we had largely overtraded and the balance was against us in Europe, which caused the gold to go out; and so soon as wheat and cotton began to pour into the market the tide was turned, and the gold began to come back and continues to come back to this day. But, determined to pursue their warfare for the demonetization of silver, and enable them to refute the arguments which the gold coming in every day furnished, they put the necessity for the repeal of the law upon the fact that they had lost "confidence:" that there was a want of confidence in the ability and disposition of the Government to pay its debts in gold; whereas it was only the depositors who had lost confidence in the banks.

Those of New York being parties to the conspiracy, of course contracted their circulation, refused money on the usual terms, which caused the stopping of some factories and the stagnation of some business enterprises, and some distress among small dealers and workingmen. Never was there a more senseless clamor or a more criminal disturbance of public confidence. Every dollar of our currency that we had before was still here, and the Sherman law was adding to it at the rate of $50,000,000 per annum; in fact, one speaker in the House of Representatives, more candid than the rest, declared that the want of confidence was produced by a too great abundance of money and not by a scarcity.

When the danger of resorting to the gold standard was pointed out by showing that the production of gold is slightly decreasing, and not near keeping pace with the increasing demands of commerce and population, we were told that although the amount of gold produced from the earth was not increasing, that there was an extraordinary amount of it held in private hands in Europe and America. That tells the whole story—the decreasing supply, and the extraordinary holdings in the hands of the conspirators—silver, the only rival of gold, being wiped out, the world would be at the mercy of those who held the yellow metal. And so the attempt is now made to give the finishing touch to silver by this panic, more fraudulent than was the legislation of 1873; and, though $40,000,000 of gold has come in within the last thirty days, and continues to come, and will come just so long as we keep foreigners in our debt, they keep up their clamor for repeal. If the Sherman law sent out gold, it surely has brought it back. If not, what has made it return?

If the fact of its going is due to that law, the fact of its returning is equally proof that it is due to that law; and the fact that in the midst of this clamor the resources of our country are so great as to be able to check the outflow of gold and to turn the tide in the home direction, ought to restore confidence to every man whose confidence is worth securing—even to the loud-mouthed stock gambler and the other "confidence men" who are managing and steering this panic.

But they refuse to be comforted, and at this moment, as I talk, banks which had shut down for the want of currency have reopened for business, enterprises suspended temporarily are starting up again, and the Sherman law continues to feed the reaction at the rate of $50,000,000 per annum added to the currency. It looks as though they were afraid their panic would pass away and be exploded before they could get silver destroyed. But all the argument in regard to the uses and advantages of silver money are conceded; so, too, are all the blessings which attend bimetallism, and all the evils which would be upon the country by the destruction of one of the great factors of exchange, and I need not further discuss them.

The discussion is further narrowed by the fact that all parties

profess bimetallism, how sincerely is doubtful, and have declared for the use of both gold and silver in their platforms and their speeches and public professions. Even the author of the much-abused and maligned law that they wish to repeal says he is a bimetallist; so do all the Republican Senators on this floor, every one; likewise the author of the bill to repeal that law and those on the Democratic side who agree with him—all claim to be devoted bimetallists; some, however, on conditions well known to be impossible, some on conditions known to be improbable, and other some on conditions available in all things except as to time. They say, "Not now; the stringency is too great; at some other time we will do the thing that is right by silver. Go thy way, at a more convenient season I will call for thee." [Laughter.]

I have even heard it intimated that the President himself is a bimetallist, but this is not authentic, and those who know that he generally does his own talking and announces his own position will receive this with many grains of allowance. So, then, the advantages of a currency founded on both metals, the dangers and distress which might arise from the demonetization of silver, all being acknowledged, it only remains for us to inquire—supposing we are in good faith—whether the bill before us pursues the only way, or the best way, or any other way at all to promote, establish, and maintain the bimetallic use of silver as an equal coördinate part of our currency.

Mr. President, human endeavor runs much in ruts. There has never been a robbery imposed upon the American people in the shape of a tariff on any article, from a darning needle to a steel rail, from a 25-cent wool hat to a $500 shawl, that has not been imposed in the name and for the benefit of the laboring people alone. [Laughter.] The idea that the capitalist was to be benefited by such tariff exaction was always scouted as altogether untrue. Strange to say, this impudent and unblushing lie always found some believers—such is the credulity of mankind. The same tactics are resorted to in this discussion of the financial question.

Knowing the popularity of silver money with the great masses of the people, speakers in this House and the other sing the same praises of bimetallism, from the invocation to the doxology of these services, coupled with the solemn averment that they are the best and truest friends of that system to be found, and that unconditional repeal is the only true road to attain it. [Laughter.]

With all the grave pledges of their party platforms, State and national, staring them in the face, as well as their own speeches, promises, and votes in the recent past, blowing trumpet-tongued against the deep damnation of the taking-off of silver, they clamor all the fiercer and all the louder that the only way to save silver is to repeal the one law on our statute book which gives it life.

Mr. President, in the presence of a position so defiant of logic and of fact, it is hard to speak plainly without appearing to violate those courtesies which are not only required by parliamentary law, but which are urgently demanded by our feelings of personal respect and regard for each other. It is my earnest desire not to do so.

One member of the House met with great applause when he said that the bill to repeal unconditionally comes not to destroy but to save silver. The like sentiment has been uttered in this Chamber again and again, and those who have uttered it would, no doubt, feel greatly offended if their sincerity was impugned. Certainly I shall not do so, but I must point out what I regard as their inconsistencies. They declare they love silver money, bimetallism; therefore they slay it. They want both metals; therefore they abolish one. They want gold and silver coined on terms of equality, according to their platform, and so they stop coining silver in order the better to restore it.

They want to maintain the parity between the two metals, therefore they cut the only cord that holds silver up and permit it to drop out of sight in the abyss, displaying thereby the same wisdom which was displayed by the Irishman who was going down the shaft of a mine in a bucket, and got scared. He shouted: "Haul me up, boys, haul me up! If you don't haul me up, may the devil fly away with me if I don't cut the rope!" [Laughter.] Those of us who claim to be likewise true friends of silver, but who are misguided by our weak judgments, appreciate this love and tender care, and deplore it.

Truly they must love silver much, since they chastise it much. We will suppose a man is ill and on his bed—the kind physicians doctoring him in vain—he slowly sinks, his pulse is low and feeble. Finally a bolder physician comes in who practices on the heroic theory, and he says to the others, "You are all wrong and wasting time in trying to restore this man by nursing and stimulating him; he will never get up in that way in the world. Let us try a new plan; let us cut his throat and take a new start; we can adopt other remedies for his restoration to life after that." [Laughter.]

Now, he that believes it will be easier to resurrect the dead body of silver into the full manhood of free coinage than it will be to keep in the life it already has and strengthen it by the legislation which we solemnly promised the people at Chicago, fourteen months ago, let him vote for unconditional repeal; I shall not. I shall try common sense a little while longer. If it be indeed decreed that silver money is to perish, and the world of the producers and the poor is to undergo the travail and suffering and the sorrow of the road which leads to a single gold standard, it shall not be my fault; it shall not be said of me, "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man killed his friend that he might save his life." [Laughter.] Great, indeed, must be the love of these men for silver, that they would chasten it even unto death.

But they deny that the repeal of the Sherman law means the death of silver, and I accord full sincerity in this belief to all who are and have been real friends to silver. There is no telling what a man can not bring himself to believe if much depends on it. But can there be a doubt of this? Let us see. It stops the coinage of silver in terms; there is no doubt about that much. It will also cause a great fall in the bullion price of silver; neither can there be any doubt of that. In fact, it is admitted; but just how great that fall will be is somewhat conjectural.

The stoppage of not all coinage, but free coinage in India alone, caused a fall of about 20 cents an ounce, and Lord Lansdowne said that the action of the Indian council was a defensive measure made necessary by the expected action of the United States in repealing the Sherman law and ceasing to coin it altogether. This shows that the expected fall consequent on our legislation was to be great, as it necessitated this important move by the council of India. The fall will certainly be equal to that which followed the action of the Indian council. In my opinion it will be even greater, for our annual purchase of silver exceeded the coinage of India.

After we shall have repealed the silver-purchase law and substituted nothing to uphold it as a money metal, silver will, in my opinion, sink to the level of the demand which is created by its use in the arts and the necessity of occasionally replenishing the subsidiary or token money of the countries so using it, estimated at about $555,000,000, as before stated, or about one-eighth of the silver money now in use. Seven-eighths of the demand, therefore, being thus abolished, natural economic laws would justify us in saying that the price would be reduced in the same proportion; but to the figures thus arrived at must be added whatever would be created by the demand for its use in the arts.

Will not our remaining silver dollar participate in this decline? If, while sustained by a coinage law and made a legal tender, our dollar is denounced as dishonest and as only having a bullion value of 53 cents, what will be said of it when the bullion of it is worth only about 30 cents? If now, our own Secretary of the Treasury will not tender it in discharge of silver obligations, what will become of it in the trading world when it strikes the bottom: and what must be thought of a Senator or Congressman who asserts that immediately after its repeal our remaining dollar will become equal to a gold dollar, and the parity will be complete? Is that what the Chicago platform meant, that you should make silver dollars so scarce that the parity with gold would be equal? Is that what it means when saying "We hold to the use of both gold and silver?"

If so, then all the world is bimetallic, for all use both, and the people were deceived. Did it mean by coining no silver that we should thereby make no discrimination against either metal? Did the platform mean that we should first cut off the coinage of silver and then show no discrimination, but coin equally of both? After that, when the platform said, "That the dollar unit of all coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value," did it mean that we must first reduce by hostile legislation the intrinsic or bullion value of silver so low as to render the carrying out of that pledge an impossibility? And when it says that this intrinsic and interchangeable value is "to be adjusted through international agreement," did it mean that we should first increase the disparity to the extent of making silver worth only about 30 cents an ounce, or 40 to 1 of gold, in order to facilitate the task of getting foreign nations to agree to coin it with us at 15½ to 1?

And failing in that, when the platform goes on to say, "or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals in equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts," did it mean that these legislative safeguards should be applied whilst the silver dollar was still alive, so as to help to maintain its parity with gold, or after its coinage was stopped and its intrinsic value was reduced so that it was virtually dead? Was it an invitation to the nuptial ceremonies of the two metals, or was it a notice to attend the funeral of silver? And did it mean that

it should be good in payment of the public debts, or only debts among private parties and the small fry?

Was that a wink with a golden eye to the bondholder and a broad, silver smile to the common people, who love the old dollar? And when the platform denounced the Sherman law as "a cowardly makeshift," did it mean a makeshift for free coinage of silver, or the use of gold?—a makeshift for bimetallism or monometallism? "Under which king, Bezonian? Speak or die!" [Laughter.]

If the framers of that plank meant that it was a cowardly makeshift for the free coinage of silver, is not the bill for its repeal, without a line in its place, a greater coward and a worse makeshift? Is not the coinage of 54,000,000 ounces per annum nearer to free coinage than the coining of none? If it was meant that it was a cowardly makeshift for gold monometallism, is not the language of the platform itself both a cowardly and a lying makeshift for the truth?

Finally, if the language of the platform taken altogether means only that we are to oblige the bankers, bondholders, and stockbrokers first, by unconditional repeal of the Sherman law, accompanied only by a short stump speech in the belly of the act, saying that it is our policy at some future time—the Lord knows when—to do something further—the Lord knows what [laughter]—in the direction of carrying out the other promises of the platform—are not the makers and upholders of that declaration of policy and purposes open to the charge of insincerity and of so framing words as to deceive the people whose suffrage they were seeking?

If such an interpretation of the platform as is contended for here by those who will vote for repeal, and presumably by the President, had been announced during the campaign of last year, I am quite sure Mr. Cleveland would not have carried my State by 50,000 votes, and I believe he could not have carried a single, solitary electoral vote south of the Potomac River—not one. But it is said that there is no abandonment of the Chicago platform in the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law, but only a postponement, and that the bill itself contains a reaffirmation of those promises.

Mr. President, I wonder if in any of our political literature, rich as it is in ingenuity and device, full as it is of eloquence and true genius, overburdened as it is with with every conceivable and inconceivable form of wildcatism and humbuggery which a hundred years of free government, wherein men of all opinions have had a chance to ventilate them, have produced—I wonder, I say, if anything is to be found on all its pages approaching in absurdity to the incorporating in this bill of a part of the Chicago platform? Was there ever a cat trotting through the tangled thickets of the Alleghenies, or roaming over the barren wilds of the Rocky Mountains, so wild and untamable as this cat? [Laughter.] Was there ever any bug discovered and classified by science with a hum equal to the hum of this bug? [Laughter.]

The representatives of the Democratic party assembled in convention in Chicago in 1892, as they had done in St. Louis in 1888, and before that in Chicago in 1884, and made certain pledges to the people that they would make certain financial reforms if the people would only put them in power where they could enact laws. Among other things, the last convention held at Chicago pledged the American Democracy that if intrusted with power they would enact such laws as would repeal the Sherman act—secure us the use of both gold and silver in our currency—coin it on equal terms, and maintain the parity of the two. These promises were contained in one paragraph, and consistently with good faith are not separable. They constituted a scheme by which the financial policy of the country was to be reformed, and honor and fair dealing require it to be carried out together.

Well, the people trusted and believed; the Democrats were put in power, and Mr. Cleveland, though known to be personally hostile to the use of silver, was elected because the people believed that he would carry out in good faith the promises made for him in the platform, and to which he had acceded in his letter of acceptance.

For the first time in thirty-three years the Democratic party was intrusted with the power of enacting laws. Now, in fulfillment of these promises, the first thing which is done is to yield to the clamor of the capitalists hostile to silver, and anticipate the regular session of Congress for the sole purpose of stopping the coinage of silver and nothing more.

Accordingly, the House, hastening to obey, has sent such a bill over to this body, and anticipating its action, the Finance Committee had introduced a similar bill for its repeal, so that we have two bills pending before us on the subject of the Sherman law, and the repeal is likely to be carried out in some shape. By the way, I have never known a Senator more anxious for the undoing of that action than that Senator. It is a confession that he is wrong and it is an appeal from his conscience and seems to say to the court, "Hurry up, judge; I am a great criminal; let there be no delay; do not even let the jury have water." [Laughter.]

But what about the remainder of the platform? The same bill—almost the same strokes of the same pen could have inserted an additional provision looking in the direction of coining silver on equal terms with gold, maintaining its parity, etc. But instead of that we give the stock brokers and the gamblers and the banks by this bill all they want, and we put off the American people with still another promise. We pay the gold bugs cash and pay the people with another paper promise redeemable at the option of the makers. [Laughter.]

Now, if the promises at Chicago were not good, how would the promises inserted in the law become any better. It might, indeed, be good for another promise, and so on *ad infinitum*, as we see tickets on steamboats sometimes, "Good for six days at the bar:" only there the drinks are paid for already.

How long are we to postpone the people? How long dare we do it? No one says what we are to give them in fulfillment of our pledges after repeal. There is no intimation that anything more is to be given in the message which the President addressed to us; not a whisper.

He does intimate a little that in due time we will take hold of the McKinley tariff law, but as for anything more for silver—say nothing but good of the dead. *Requiescat in pace*, "or words to that effect." [Laughter.]

Even those promises contained in the bill given in renewal are of so general a nature that they may be easily evaded as amounting to nothing definite. In a court of law they would be held void for uncertainty. If it is really our intention to enact these laws as we promised, why not do it now?

We are in possession of the entire lawmaking department of the Government. The same power which can enact this bill into a law could so enact other things promised, if only "Barkis is willin'." In fact, there would be a greater power in the hands of the Democracy if this bill were coupled with provisions carrying out the platform, for, in that case, I do not suppose there is a Democrat in either House that would refuse to support it. I repeat, if we are in good faith, why not do it now? "Now is the accepted time," and "now is the day of salvation;" "to-day, if you will hear the voice of the people, harden not your hearts"—"here is water, what doth hinder me to be baptized"?

Is it to be done hereafter? Who says so with authority to speak. Who says so with authority to give an assurance that it can be done at all if postponed. Is it not about all many can do to give assurance of their own votes a little way ahead? How do we know that when some other bill comes up for the benefit of capital these threadbare and contemptible promises to pay will not pop up again like Jack in a box as a substitute for the performance? If we let go what we have before we get something else in exchange, how shall we justify ourselves to that portion of our constituents who are supposed to have common sense? Why can not the bankers and stockbrokers wait for the repeal of the Sherman law until the remaining legislation which we have promised to enact shall be prepared and ready?

The last excuse for its repeal, except the true one, which they do not give, has been knocked from under them. They know it did not take gold from this country, because in the face of their protestations they see that gold is returning in obedience to well-known laws of trade, and all that they now hang upon is that they have not "confidence" in the Government of their country that it will redeem its obligations in gold. That is equally false as the other; they know that every dollar that is due from the Government of the United States that is properly and honestly redeemable in gold coin will be so redeemed. They see the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, every day redeeming silver obligations in gold, even where his discretion permits him to redeem in silver.

Now, if asked why I can not trust the future for the enactment of those laws which ought to come concurrent with the repeal of the Sherman act, my answer—and with much more truth than theirs—is, I have no confidence. When a man promises me that if I will put him in a position which will enable him to do so he will pay me a thousand dollars, and when I have performed my part of the contract and put him in that position and he refuses to pay me, and applies his money to some other purpose, and proposes to promise me the same thing again, I refuse to accept his promise as that of an honest and responsible man; my confidence is gone.

The Senator from Georgia [Mr. GORDON], who the other day entertained us with a very eloquent speech with a most illogical conclusion, demanded to know why we halt between conditional and unconditional repeal. He says:

> If the friends of bimetallism are strong enough to impose conditions on the repealing bill, will not that same strength suffice to enact bimetallism in a separate bill?

Mr. President, I will tell you why I halt between conditional

and unconditional repeal. Unconditional repeal is unconditional surrender. In the first place, by conditional repeal we unite the Democratic party, or at least all true friends of bimetallism. I know that they all came here, as I did, hoping, praying, that some compromise could be found between them and the President, the chief of our party, by which they could stand with him. By the proposition of unconditional repeal that is impossible.

In the next place, if we repeal without doing other things which we promised the people at Chicago we would do, neither that Senator nor any other can give assurance that these other things will ever become a law in separate bills. The Senator must know that every gold monometallist in the House voted for unconditional repeal as everyone in this body will, and against the coinage of another silver dollar at any ratio whatever—including the resurrection of the Bland-Allison act of coining 2,000,000 a month. Where then can be found evidence of the strength for a separate bill, favorable to silver in that body? It has been tested; ours has not. And should such a bill pass that body and this one, can that Senator give us any assurance that it would not meet its death blow elsewhere? We have every reason, as he has, to know that it would; therefore, as it seems to me, to vote for unconditional repeal, in the face of these undeniable facts, amounts to an unconditional surrender, a giving up of the cause of silver, which we all profess to love, and an abandonment of our promises to the people that we would do everything to maintain it that was necessary to be done by legislation. The Senator also says that it is perfectly immaterial whether the panic was caused by legitimate arguments or was caused by the machinations of designing men; he says the results are upon us and we must deal with them.

It is quite true, Mr. President, that if the panic is upon us we must do the best we can to evade its dangerous consequences; but if there should be any suspicion, as he intimates there is, that it was produced by designing men for a manifest purpose, it strikes me that it is neither prudent nor agreeable to common sense for us to hasten to do the very thing which the designing men have designed. It simply means this, as put by the Senator: Some people say there is a pit dug hereabouts to entrap us. Now, it is perfectly immaterial to me whether there is any pit here or not. I am going to jump in anyway. If there is no pit there, all right; if there is one, when I plunge in I will know it.

Now, these Senators who sacrifice their cherished convictions for the taking of this leap, it seems to me, must be under a great panic, indeed. That gallant gentleman was not wont to be stampeded by the popping of a cap. I can not refrain from quoting some of the eloquence of that Senator, which meets not only with my approbation, but highest admiration as a literary performance:

> Mr. President, I come now to our next promise to place gold and silver upon the same footing. It is safe to say, I think, that bimetallism was the most popular, if not the most potential, factor in the last campaign. It was the one plank common to all national platforms. It was the one force which made itself felt under all conditions and placed its seal on every party's banner.

That is true. He then goes on to say:

> It is true, sir, that these protestations and promises antedated the election; and it may be interesting hereafter to compare votes in Congress with votes in conventions, or party action in Congress with party promises in platforms. I fear, sir, that the contrast would put to shame the wonder-inspiring patent-medicine advertisement, "Before and after taking."

Mr. President, I am greatly tempted to say that I fear the Senator from Georgia has digged a pit into which he will fall himself when he votes for unconditional repeal, and that his course will be condemned out of his own mouth. "And I," said the wild-eyed, long-haired man who accompanied the temperance lecturer, "I goes along to serve as a frightful example." [Laughter.]

I will not be stampeded into giving this death blow to silver. If the emergency of the time be so great as to call for concessions on the part of the silver men, it is also necessary that the gold men should concede something. Giving and taking is fair, but when one side is to do all the giving and the other side gives nothing in return then it amounts to a surrender.

I do not believe in half the allegations of public distress and danger which are constantly thrust upon us. I believe that in thirty days from this time all obstructions to the business of our country will have passed away. The financial papers all say now that the worst is over, and from day to day they cite from every quarter of the country evidence of renewed activity and returning business.

The Financier of New York, a paper, I presume of high authority in bank circles, announced day before yesterday that the banks of New Orleans, Memphis, Mobile, Galveston, and other places in the South report that there will be currency sufficient to move the cotton crop. Like a gorge of ice in a river, once the first obstructing block breaks loose, the whole mass begins to move and the blockade is gone. Let my good and valued friend from Georgia take heart, and stand by the object of his love and mine a little while longer. To insist upon repeal right now, in the face of the admitted fact that the Sherman law is not the cause of the trouble which the country is feeling, is an acknowledgment that it can not be repealed without some substitute in cold blood and in times of reasonable prosperity. It must be done now—right now, or not at all.

Suppose, sir, that we were to take these promises in the bill that at some day the remainder of the platform will be carried out, what assurance have we that a bill to provide for either the free coinage or the limited coinage of silver could become a law? Is there any indication by any vote of the House of Representatives upon the passage of the bill that such a bill would meet its approbation? Is there anything in the message of the President or in all his public utterances, or is there any spokesman here authorized to speak for him who can give us his assurance that such a bill would meet his approbation?

Mr. President, we know that it would not become a law; and it strikes me, sir, that to permit the passage of this bill without attaching some other legislation to it—knowing that that other legislation could not be secured independently and by itself—that we consciously surrender and turn our backs upon all the pledges we have made to the people. It strikes me, sir, that if we do this we must do it with our eyes open to the consequences; we must do it knowing that we are subjecting ourselves to the serious accusations of our constituents.

It seems to me, sir, that the great Democratic party, which I have always supported because I believed it to be not only correct in its theories of government, but devoted to the interests of the common people, the masses of the land—it seems to me, I say, that if we pass this bill now unconditionally, that this great party will then cease to be the people's friend and become the subservient tool of combined capital, and will constitute itself in its legislation the lineal and legitimate successor of the thirty-three years of that Republican rule which we have always heretofore denounced as building up the combinations and corporations which have well-nigh absorbed the wealth of our country.

I speak plainly upon this subject, Mr. President, because I feel deeply. I am too old—I have been too long in public life, I have been too greatly trusted and honored by the people of my State—to make myself a party now to anything which appears to me may be construed as a want of faith to public professions.

Let Senators consider for a moment the hopelessness of securing further legislation if it can not be secured in conjunction with this repeal. If capital is once satisfied by the repeal, then to trust to its influence to secure what we want—what the people want—is just an appeal to the bowels of omniverous Mammon. As well might we appeal to the mercy of the hungry tiger, as well might we deprecate the unsatisfiable appetite of the tapeworm.

The people know this, Mr. President. Of course I impugn the motives of no Senator: they are as honest as I am, I hope, if they are, then they are fairly honest men [laughter]; but I am obliged to impeach the judgment of those who would take this course. I think it a sad and fatal mistake. The honest way is the best way, as we all agree, if we can find it, and it seems to me the fairest way of interpreting this platform is to construe it as the people understood it—as we taught them to understand it, through the press and upon the hustings and in every way by which we urged the campaign, and as I believe its authors honestly intended it to be understood, and that was to repeal the purchasing act and do all other things necessary toward the preservation and upholding of silver money before or concurrently with the abolition of its only hold on life. I think the carrying out of the first pledge and stopping would make the redemption of the others impossible and the whole scheme look like a fraud.

What shall those other things be? If I could have my preference, one should be the free and unlimited coinage of silver money at a ratio of 16 to 1. Is this an impossibility? Far from it. The mistake of the Sherman law was that it was only a partial coinage of silver, and therefore still left a large quantity of metal on the market for which there was no demand, and which only served to constantly drag down the bullion price. I believe the power and resources and wealth of this land to be sufficient to coin and keep afloat on a parity with gold all the silver of the world which would probably come to it to be coined.

The price of any article, of course, depends upon the demand for it and the supply. The chief demand for silver, as of gold, is and has been its character as a metal of which money is made. It is not the use that is made of it in the arts that gives it its chief value, but the fact that it is used as money in all nations of the world to a greater or less amount. When you destroy it as a money metal you take away the chief demand for it, and, of course, lower its price.

Now, supposing, what is hardly supposable, that when we establish free coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1, that all the silver of

the world, coined and uncoined, were pouring into the United States, in a very short time all the nations which use subsidiary coin would be out of silver; all the nations which use silver as a full legal tender, and all the peoples of the world who use silver in the arts and for industrial purposes, would find themselves in the same condition, and would have to come to the United States for their supply of silver. They could buy it from no man here for less than its coining value; therefore, throughout the world, it would at once become equal to gold, and it would follow that we would soon have to supply the demand for it in every country.

So soon as its bullion price began to approach that of gold, the latter would come halfway down to meet silver going up, then it would rapidly flow out to supply the coin demand of the world, which would once more become bimetallic, as it was twenty years ago. No man possessed of any silver in other countries would sell it for less than the coining price in America, and so England would have to pay for the silver with which she supplies India the coining price in the United States, and India would be compelled to be supplied with silver, for there is not $900,000,000 of spare gold in the world to replace India's silver money.

It is said that the production would be so great if there was free coinage and silver was at its normal price per ounce that the world would soon be flooded with it. I do not believe that. There is nothing in the statistics to show that that would be the case. During the period of one hundred years, from 1792 to 1892, the production of gold in the world was $5,633,908,000—the production of silver was $5,104,961,000, a difference of only about $500,000,000 and that in favor of gold; and we might go further back if the insufficient statistics of the Dark Ages could be depended upon, and show generally that the production of the two metals would average about the same.

For what reason is it held, then, that this ratio of production of the two metals will not continue to the end? Is not nature consistent with herself? If the digging into the earth for 4,000 years have shown that there exists in her bosom on the average about fifteen times as much silver by weight as of gold, why should we doubt future development from an accidental departure now and then of either metal from the average proportion of forty centuries?

Surely the gold-standard men should give a better reason for distrusting nature than some bankers' "want of confidence."

A great impetus was given to silver in the era immediately following the discovery of America and the opening of the famous mines of Mexico and South America. Discoveries of gold at the same time kept that metal pretty well up with silver.

A great impetus was also given to gold by the discoveries in California and Australia, which made gold forge largely ahead of silver in the amount of production; and this continued, making silver at a premium above gold, until within the last twenty years, when the development of the mines in Colorado and Nevada have put silver ahead in the amount of production.

The production of silver in the United States in the past fiscal year, measured by its coining value, was $74,989,900; its market value, $50,750,000, whilst the production of gold was $33,000,000. Of this sum nearly one-half of the gold was used in the arts, or $16,616,000, while of silver there was used in the arts more than one-eighth, or $9,106,000, leaving altogether of gold and silver for currency purposes only $81,000,000 for that year, of which about $64,000,000 was silver. A large amount of this was exported to supply other countries. The total silver production of the world in 1892 was $196,605,000, in round numbers.

I have no reliable estimate of the amount of silver used in the world per annum for industrial purposes, but I have never seen it stated at less than 27 per cent, and I do not think that far out of the way; if anything, it is under that mark. This would make in the neighborhood of $53,000,000 of the annual production of the world, leaving something near $143,000,000 for currency purposes. This would give us about $143,000,000 of silver per annum to dispose of, provided we adopt the free coinage and all of the silver of the world should come here except that which is used in the arts.

But we know that this is not reasonable or possible; we know that the subsidiary coinage of foreign countries would not come here, and that much silver would be required to supply that. We know that much more of it would be required to coin silver in those countries where it is still legal tender, and, inasmuch as the price would go up to the coining value in the United States, we know that that fact would induce many nations to coin more and make it a legal tender.

Mr. President, I always have believed that if we were to resort to the free coinage of silver we should have very little more silver to dispose of than we have had to dispose of under the purchases of the Sherman law; and I always have believed that under that law, if silver had had a fair trial by a friendly Government and friendly officials, there would not this day have been the outcry against it that there is, and it would not have been held up as a sample of what our danger would be if we resorted to free coinage.

The idea so sedulously put forth that we can not give silver or anything else a value by law is false. I fancy there is not a manufacturer in the United States who has grown rich by high tariff who accedes to that proposition. It is true the law of supply and demand controls the bullion price of silver as of other things, but it is also true that the demand is in the control of the Government. Silver has never at any time within the last hundred years fallen in consequence of more being produced than there was any demand for—it has always been depreciated by legislation which reduced the demand.

In the time when the world was filled with gold from the mines of Australia and California there was no unfriendly legislation against gold, therefore it depreciated very little. The increase of enterprises, enlarged commerce, and production absorbed it all, as I have said, and the world was benefited thereby. So, but for unfriendly legislation, would it be with silver. If every dollar dug out of the earth was immediately coined and put in circulation, it would impart the same activity to the world's industries, and would in the same way stimulate its energies, that the great production of gold did.

It is also lamentably true, as our people can testify to their sorrow, that every time a blow has been stricken at their silver money it has also stricken the price of their wheat, their cotton, and their grain, and everything else they had to sell. The most reliable English authorities that I have consulted say "that from the year 1873, when in consequence of the demonetization of silver in the United States and in Germany, the prices of goods began to fall, and amounts at this time on the average of goods to about 7 shillings to the pound, or one-third, with every prospect of that fall continuing." The same authority, John Hill Twigg, says that "the only protective means of stopping this fall, is to restore the old law of coining silver as freely as gold and let people pay their debts in either metal at the choice of the debtor."

Mr. COCKRELL. Will it interrupt the Senator to give a statement of the production and coinage of gold and silver of the principal countries of the world from 1873 to 1892?

Mr. VANCE. I do not know that it would, sir. I have almost concluded, and if the Senator will permit me I will take his statement and insert it as a part of my remarks.

Mr. COCKRELL. I was going to read the statement.

Mr. VANCE. Very well.

Mr. COCKRELL. The production of gold was $2,210,961,206, while the coinage of gold was $2,787,714,679, or $576,753,473 more than the entire production of gold. The production of silver was $2,400,760,533, while the coinage of silver in the world during the same period was $2,322,603,351, leaving only about $78,000,000 of silver uncoined during the whole time.

Mr. VANCE. I am much obliged to the Senator for his statement. It is in the line of my remarks.

An ingenuous writer in the Journal of American Politics for September, 1893, Mr. George Canning Hill, estimates upon a very reasonable basis that the loss of Southern planters on cotton alone, from 1873 to 1890, has been at least $83,000,000 per year, or $1,410,000,000 in seventeen years. For the same period he estimates the loss of the wheat-growers of the United States at $100,000,000 per annum, or $1,700,000,000 for the seventeen years. These are samples of what has been inflicted on the people by the wicked war on silver money; and the estimate may be continued by a consideration of all other leading articles of production of field and forest and mine.

Nor is gold more stable as a standard than silver. Hear what a distinguished English statesman says. Mr. Balfour, in October, 1892, used the following wise and timely language, showing that gold is less stable than silver:

> But there is another point, namely, the utility of our monetary system as a permanent record of debts and obligations, lasting through long periods of time. Can we claim that great quality for a standard which monometallists admit has appreciated in some fifteen to sixteen years no less than 30 to 35 per cent, and of whose appreciation no man living can prophesy the limits? A monetary standard of which this can be said does not fulfill the very elementary qualities which we require in a monetary standard.
>
> I have no desire for inflation. Give me a standard that will remain constant and I ask no more, but do not put me off with a standard which rises 35 per cent in fifteen or sixteen years. If I have to choose, if I am given the unwelcome choice between a standard which appreciates and a standard which depreciates, between a system under which prices are lowered and a system under which prices are raised, then, in the interest of every class in the community, not excluding the owners of fixed debts, give me a standard which depreciates and give me prices which rise.
>
> Of all conceivable systems of currency that system is assuredly the worst which gives you a standard steadily, continuously, and indefinitely appreciating, and which, by that very fact, throws a burden on every man who desires to promote the agricultural or industrial welfare of his country, and benefits no human being whatever, except the owner of fixed debts in gold.

It is a well-known fact that greater fluctuations in the supply of gold have been experienced in the history of the two metals

than has ever occurred to silver. From 1851 to 1871, a period of twenty years alone, the gold produced in California and Australia amounted, by careful estimate, to at least $2,500,000,000, a sum that was about equal to the world's stock already on hand. In twenty years the gold supply of the world was doubled—a thing that never happened to silver—yet the whole of it was quickly absorbed in the circulation of the world, and no attempt was made to demonetize gold. There were a few men, about as wise in their generation as those who have recently tried to degrade silver, who did speak of demonetizing gold; but it was not done, except in one or two small European states.

It is strange to me that this is not perceptible to every thinking man, and it is still stranger to me that men will undertake to prove the impossibility of our maintaining the value and parity with gold of an honored silver dollar, supported by the law and pledged faith of a great nation, by constantly citing the example of the difficulty of maintaining a discredited and abused dollar with all the world and its own Government at the head denouncing it as dishonest.

We must take into consideration, also, in arriving at a fair conclusion on this subject, the possibility of maintaining silver on a free-coinage basis, that even should the supply of silver supposed to exist in our mines within reach of the miners be as great as it is alleged to be, yet the total production would not keep pace with the increase of the population, of commerce, of railroad lines, the growth of cotton, of grain, or of pig iron in the United States. To calculate upon a supply of silver or anything else upon the basis that population and human energy will stand still in our country is, of course, erroneous. I reckon, likewise, it will have to be admitted that in regard to stability silver, measured by the chief products of commerce, has been infinitely more stable than gold, and these staple products are the true measurers of both gold and silver and not one for the other.

Complaint is sometimes made in this Chamber, as elsewhere, of the hardship attending the fact that capitalists have to be governed like other people, and that it is hard for a man's earnings or accumulations to be subjected to the casualties and incidents of a Presidential or Congressional election. There seems to be an idea that, so far as capital is concerned, Prince Bismarck was right when he said that "man could not be governed from below."

And a Mr. Horace White, who assumes to be an authority on financial questions, said in the Forum of August, 1893, that it was perhaps happy for a people like India that its high finances should be directed only by a few, all of which means that the man who has only a debased silver dollar or a token 50-cent coin in the world should not be permitted, through his Representatives here, to have any say in the laws which are required to govern capital, or in other words, he should not be allowed to dabble in "high finance." I do not subscribe to such doctrines. If we are Democrats we will not believe it or utter it, but try to treat every man as having an interest in this Government and a right to participate therein, and endeavor with all our power to educate him in his great duties.

Mr. President, I fancy that those who are shouting over the action of the House of Representatives in passing the bill to repeal this law without conditions, and are glorifying the President for calling us together and giving us a message containing no recommendation except to repeal this law—I fancy they little know what is before them. The doctrines of Prince Bismarck and Horace White have not yet become a part of the common law of America; thank God, there remain others to be consulted besides those professors of "high finance."

It was said that the string of the bow of Ulysses warned him of approaching danger by singing a song of battle and of strife. Let me say to those conspirators against the welfare of the common people, that before they shall finally succeed in their unhallowed designs, and drive them through "the valley of the shadow of death" to attain the single gold standard, in order that the conspirators may grow rich on human suffering, they will see many a field of political battle and hear the roar of much political strife.

In this fair land the thunderbolts of Jove dwell still with those whose voice is as the voice of God, and the bow of Ulysses is yet in the people's hands, and its quiver is filled with death-dealing darts. Its strings will yet sing many a song of battle to awaken the sleeping people, and upon every plain and in every valley and upon every mountain side, from shore to shore of our inclosing seas, they will spring to their feet at the calling of that music, with a light of conflict on their faces and the resolve of victory in their hearts. In that day it would be better for some of those who have joined in the fight against the money of the poor "that a millstone had been hanged about their necks and they had been cast into the midst of the sea."

Many a defeated statesman of this great fight, when he looks into the faces of those who overthrew him in that strife, will be surprised to behold not the faces of his old political enemies, but those of his own indignant neighbors and heretofore friends, who will say to him, "We followed your example: we loved you and believed the best way to serve you was to kill you."

Surely the fountains of the great deep of humanity are broken up and the hearts of men are stirred within them as they have never been stirred before since civil war. The great fight is on; the power of money and its allies throughout the world have entered into this conspiracy to perpetrate the "greatest crime of this or any other age," to overthrow one-half of the world's money, and thereby double their own wealth by the enhancing in value of the other half, which is in their hands.

The money changers are polluting the temple of our liberties. "To your tents, O Israel!" [Applause in the galleries.]

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The pending question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance to House bill No. 1. The bill and amendment will be read.

The Secretary read the bill and the amendment of the committee.

Mr. VOORHEES. If there is no further debate proposed at this time, I ask for a vote on the substitute reported by the Committee on Finance to the House bill as it reached this body.

Mr. TELLER. Oh, no; I should think——

Mr. ALDRICH. Let us have the yeas and nays.

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President——

Mr. VOORHEES. I will say in addition, if the Senator from Kansas will allow me a moment, notices have been given of speeches intended to be made next week. There is not a Senator in this body who does not know that I desire every Senator who in good faith wishes to occupy the time of the Senate to have his opportunity in full; but I can not take the responsibility, nor will I attempt to do so, to be a party to delay, mere delay; and when a vacancy in talk has been reached, I shall want that vacancy filled by a vote.

I say this with the profoundest respect for the desire of every gentleman to be heard; but situated as I am and with my appreciation of the demands of the country I can not be a party to the delay of a single hour by waste of time in this body. If Senators are not ready to go on at this time with the discussion I trust we are ready to go on with a vote.

Mr. PEFFER. So far as I am personally concerned I do not desire to postpone action upon this measure a minute after I have done all that I can do honorably and inside of parliamentary rules to defeat the measure; or, if that can not be done, to so amend it as that it shall provide a substitute in the way of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio that the people of the country have understood we promised to fix. I have submitted two amendments, both of which I expect at the proper time to propose to the bill. One of them I offered in the form of a bill yesterday and gave notice that I would propose it as an amendment to the substitute of the Committee on Finance. I should like to have it come in between what is properly a section of the bill and the platform attachment. If it is in order, I wish now to offer the bill I introduced yesterday as an amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. I suggest to the Senator from Indiana in charge of the bill, and the Senator from Kansas as well, that the orderly method of procedure, probably, would be to substitute the amendment proposed by the committee for the House bill, and then that would be amendable; otherwise we shall be going on amending the House bill and then finally taking a vote upon the substitute, which would strike out all amendments, if amendments are inserted. I merely suggest this as an orderly mode of procedure. If the Senator from Kansas desires to offer an amendment, his amendment would be in order after the adoption of the substitute. Of course, it is in order for him to move to amend the substitute or the original bill, but I think we had better have amendments pending either to one or the other text, so that we may understand what is the provision of the bill at every stage of it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the Senator from Iowa that the Senator from Kansas, the Chair understands, proposes an amendment to the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well; he proposes an amendment to the substitute.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It is to be proposed as an amendment to the substitute or amendment, whichever it may be called. The Chair will ask the Senator from Kansas if he has stated correctly.

Mr. PEFFER. In order that there may be no misunderstanding about it let me state that I understood the Senator from Indiana to propose a vote immediately upon the pending measure. I have no sort of objection to substituting the amendment of the Finance Committee of the Senate for the text of the House bill. I merely want to save whatever right I have to offer an amendment to the substantial proposition contained in

both measures; that is all. I agree with the Senator from Iowa that it would be the orderly proceeding to substitute the amendment proposed by the Committee on Finance for the House bill, and if that be the intention, so that I shall not then be cut off from the privilege of moving to amend the amended bill, I have no objection to the substitution.

Mr. VOORHEES. I shall ask that the substitute reported by the Finance Committee be adopted by order of the Senate; and then the Senator from Kansas or anybody else may offer amendments to the same when they choose. We shall then be in proper form.

Mr. PEFFER. That course is entirely satisfactory to me.

Mr. HARRIS. I rose for the purpose of suggesting to the Senator from Kansas that if his purpose is to offer an amendment either to the substitute reported by the committee or to the text of the House bill the usual order of proceeding, and I am not sure if it is not the only parliamentary one, is to offer his amendment pending those measures. Both the text of the House bill and the substitute reported are open to amendment, and he can offer his amendment now before final action is taken upon the amendment, if he chooses to do so.

Mr. PEFFER. With the suggestion of the Senator from Indiana, I prefer taking the other course, and that the substitution be made, so far as I am concerned. I lose no right by it.

Mr. COCKRELL. I shall object to adopting the substitute until we have discussed the two measures. I think there are provisions in the House bill which are far superior to anything in the amendment of the Senate committee.

But this repeal—

The House bill says—

shall not impair, or in any manner affect, the legal-tender quality of the standard silver dollars heretofore coined; and the faith and credit of the United States are hereby pledged to maintain the parity of the standard gold and silver coins of the United States at the present legal ratio or such other ratio as may be established by law.

Mr. VOORHEES. Let me ask the Senator from Missouri one question. Do I understand the Senator from Missouri to say that he will vote for the House bill?

Mr. COCKRELL. Not at all. I am comparing that language with what the Senator from Indiana and the Finance Committee propose in lieu of it.

Mr. HARRIS. Will the Senator from Missouri yield to me for a single moment? The Senator from Indiana suggested that the substitute reported by the Finance Committee might be acted upon now, and then the bill would be open to amendment. Does he mean to waive the parliamentary right he would have in that case to hold the text of that substitute as not amendable in any way except by addition, or does he mean that it may be amended in any way any Senator may choose to offer and a majority of the Senate favor?

Mr. VOORHEES. I suppose that under the parliamentary rules of this body, with which I am nothing like so familiar as my friend from Tennessee, it would be amendable, as any other measure pending before this body, and so far as I am concerned I shall give my consent that it shall be so amendable.

Mr. CULLOM. As an original bill.

Mr. HARRIS. If the Senate will so consent, then I have no objection to proceeding in any line the Senate may choose.

Mr. VOORHEES. I shall ask the consent of the Senate, and I shall interpose no technical objection to any amendment the Senate may see fit to vote to attach to the bill.

Mr. HARRIS. I desire to state to the Senator from Indiana that if the substitute is to be amended, I think upon an examination of the rules, and the parliamentary law that controls, the substitute so agreed to would not be amendable in any way except by adding additional sections.

Mr. VOORHEES. May I ask the Senator from Tennessee, with his superior parliamentary knowledge, might not that technicality be waived so that the substitute, when once before the Senate, would stand amendable as any other measure?

Mr. HARRIS. By unanimous consent, yes; otherwise, no.

Mr. FAULKNER. Will the Senator from Missouri permit me a moment?

Mr. COCKRELL. I yield to the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. FAULKNER. Would not the object and purpose of all parties to this controversy be accomplished by doing what has frequently been done in the Senate, treating the substitute of the committee as the original text, which would then allow amendments to it in the second degree?

Mr. ALLISON. That is precisely the suggestion I made to the Senator from Indiana, that the substitute should be adopted *pro forma* and stand as the original bill. Of course that would allow any words to be stricken out or any words to be added to it.

Mr. HARRIS. If such agreement by unanimous consent can be made it is all right and ought to be satisfactory to everybody.

Mr. VOORHEES. That is what I understood I was asking, concurring entirely with the Senator from Iowa.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Will the Senator from Indiana state again his request in order that the Chair may ask if there is unanimous consent?

Mr. VOORHEES. My understanding now is that the substitute may stand as the original proposition and be amendable. So I inferred from the statement of the Senator from Iowa, for which I am much obliged to him. To that I give my consent and ask the unanimous consent of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. COCKRELL. I object. I can not let an agreement of that kind be made on such an important question as this unless every Senator is present. Now, Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There is objection. The Senator from Missouri will proceed.

Mr. COCKRELL. I was giving the reasons why I object. I read the language in the House bill:

But this repeal shall not impair, or in any manner affect, the legal-tender quality of the standard silver dollars heretofore coined; and the faith and credit of the United States are hereby pledged to maintain the parity of the standard gold and silver coins of the United States at the present legal ratio or such other ratio as may be established by law.

Now, the amendment reported by the Senator from Indiana from the Finance Committee says:

And it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to continue the use of both gold and silver as standard money, and to coin both gold and silver into money of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, such equality to be secured through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as will insure the maintenance of the parity in value of the coins of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts. And it is hereby further declared that the efforts of the Government should be steadily directed to the establishment of such a safe system of bimetallism as will maintain at all times the equal power of every dollar coined or issued by the United States in the markets and in the payment of debts.

There is the difference of midnight darkness and the noonday sun in these two declarations; and I do not therefore consent that the first one shall be laid aside until we have discussed it. It will come up properly in the discussion of the measures.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not wish to discuss at this time, or at any time I know of, the relative merits of these two propositions, but I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Missouri to the proposition as it comes to us from the House of Representatives, on page 2, lines 14 and 15:

But this repeal shall not impair, or in any manner affect, the legal-tender quality of the standard silver dollars heretofore coined.

Mr. COCKRELL. I read that twice and called the attention of the Senate to it.

Mr. ALLISON. I know the Senator did. I read it again, if the Senator will allow me, with a view of calling his attention to that phraseology.

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. ALLISON. The repealing clause in no sense affects or impairs the value of the silver dollars coined, but by inserting this proviso it leaves a question of doubt whether that portion of the Sherman law stands which requires the Secretary of the Treasury to coin the bullion into dollars. It provides that nothing shall affect the dollars coined.

If the proviso is intended not to affect the bullion in the Treasury, then it should say so. The proviso, as it comes to us from the House of Representatives, is imperfect in its phraseology, because by implication it deals with the bullion in the Treasury, which the law of 1890 declares shall be coined from time to time as the exigencies of the Treasury or the redemption of the notes require. So I submit that when we come to scan the phraseology of the House provision we see that it is materially defective in the very things which some of us, at least, require as respects the execution of the Sherman law.

Mr. COCKRELL. Will the Senator from Iowa now permit a question? Where is there any provision in the substitute of the Senate Committee on Finance which would authorize the coinage of the bullion still in the Treasury and not coined in pursuance of the mandate of the law of July 14, 1890?

Mr. ALLISON. There is no provision in the substitute of the Senate committee which in any sense touches the bullion in the Treasury or provides what shall be done with it. We simply propose to repeal so much of that section of the act as requires the purchase of silver bullion and so much of it as requires the coinage of such purchase into silver dollars. I understand the Senate committee's substitute (and if it is not clear I wish it to be so made) to deal with nothing except the purchase clause of the Sherman act, so called; and it leaves intact and in full force and effect every provision of the law of 1890 as respects the bullion heretofore purchased and the duty and power of the Treasury Department to coin it, as exigencies require, for the redemption of the notes that have been issued under that law.

Mr. COCKRELL. Does not the Senator from Iowa know there

have been intimations made, and that in sources not friendly to silver, that if the repeal of the Sherman act was secured it would leave silver demonetized—that it would leave the coin silver no longer a legal tender? A paper as ably conducted as the Washington Post, in commenting upon the coinage of France, stated that the French silver coins were maintained at par by reason of the fact that they were redeemable in gold; and the attempt has been made to create the impression throughout the country that we could only maintain the legal-tender value and power of the coin silver by redeeming it in gold. Ought there not to be a distinct declaration upon that question, that the legal-tender quality of coin silver, and the right—the duty, I might say—of coining the silver bullion in the Treasury shall not be affected by this repeal?

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly it should not be affected; and in my view the insertion of that reservation excludes all other ideas as respects the coinage of the bullion in the Treasury. Therefore, for myself, to remove a doubt, I desire that the Senate committee's substitute, the phraseology of which I regard as absolutely clear upon that point, shall be inserted. So I submit to the Senator that he examine very carefully the phraseology of the bill as it came to us and see, if it is to be retained, whether there should not be added language providing that nothing shall impair other things as well.

So far as I understand it, neither of the provisions affects in the slightest degree the silver dollars already coined. They are a legal tender. They stand upon the laws that have been passed hitherto, which are in no sense repealed. Therefore, the phraseology inserted in the House bill is wholly unnecessary, and it might as well be stricken out as retained. But if it is retained, I submit that there should be other exceptions inserted as well, in order that there may be no implication against the clause except the one we intend.

Mr. COCKRELL. I apprehend there will be no question about what is the real legal effect of the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law. The Sherman law of 1873 (which did demonetize the silver dollar, which did not permit its coinage, and a subsequent law took away from it its legal-tender quality) was abrogated by the law of 1878, the Bland-Allison law. That law, in a provision not connected with the coinage clause of it, made the standard silver dollars to be coined under it and those previously coined a full legal tender in the payment of all debts, public and private. When we passed the existing Sherman law, the act of July 14, 1890, we repealed only the purchasing clause of the Bland-Allison law, and therefore left in full force the provision of the Bland-Allison law which gave to the silver dollars previously coined and those coined under it full legal-tender quality. Now, if we repeal simply the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, we do not affect the legal-tender quality of the standard silver dollar; we do not affect the legal-tender quality of the subsidiary silver, so far as that is concerned. The coin silver will be left in the situation it is now, precisely; there is no question about that, as a matter of law; but as a matter of information and impression throughout the country it is entirely different.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator will allow me just one moment more, I will ask him what he understands to be the necessity of inserting the words "but this repeal shall not impair, or in any manner affect, the legal-tender quality of the standard silver dollars heretofore coined"? Why insert that clause? Is there anything in this proposed enactment that in any sense impairs the standard dollars heretofore coined? But if we insert those words, what is to become of the standard dollars hereafter coined under the Sherman act? By implication that clause of the act of 1890 would be impaired.

Mr. COCKRELL. There is no question in the world but that that clause is a very defective one. I am not pretending to vindicate or defend it; but the other is no less defective. If the Senator from Iowa had noticed the exact point I made, it was more upon the second part—"and the faith and credit of the United States are hereby pledged to maintain the parity of the standard gold and silver coins of the United States at the present legal ratio, or such other ratio as may be established by law."

Mr. ALLISON. That pledge is contained in the Sherman act, and is not proposed to be repealed. Why reinsert it?

Mr. COCKRELL. You propose to insert here a principle entirely different. In the last clause of the substitute you insert a different principle, as I hold, both from the Sherman law and from the House bill.

Mr. ALLISON. That may be a proper criticism.

Mr. COCKRELL. I will read it to the Senator and he will see. The House bill says:

> And the faith and credit of the United States are hereby pledged to maintain the parity of the standard gold and silver coins of the United States at the present legal ratio, or such other ratio as may be established by law.

There is nothing in that language to the effect that the faith and credit of the United States are pledged to maintain the market, commercial, metallic value of 412½ grains weight of standard silver, 9 parts fine, as the equivalent of the full-fledged silver dollar, with legal-tender power in the payment of all debts, public and private, and as absolute money. Now, what does the amendment of the Senate Committee on Finance provide?

> And it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to continue the use of both gold and silver as standard money, and to coin both gold and silver into money of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, such equality to be secured through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as will insure the maintenance of the parity in value of the coins of the two metals—

If it had stopped there it would have been all right—

> and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts. And it is hereby further declared that the efforts of the Government should be steadily directed to the establishment of such a safe system of bimetallism as will maintain at all times the equal power of every dollar coined or issued by the United States, in the markets and in the payment of debts.

In other words, that is a pledge to maintain the metal, demonetized, degraded, 412½ grains of silver, 9 parts fine, simply as a metal, without any function or right or privilege of coinage or of money upon a perfect equality with 25.8 grains of gold, whether coined or bullion, because gold in coin and in bullion has equal rights, equal power, and equal authority. Twenty-five and eight-tenths grains of gold, 9 parts fine, is a dollar just as absolutely as if it were coined. It has all the functions that the coin has. Therefore, gold as a metal is money. It is coined because you can take it to the mint and have it coined free of charge, or you can take it to a subtreasury and receive for it a gold certificate which is a legal tender in the payment of all debts, public or private.

Mr. ALDRICH. Gold certificates are not a legal tender.

Mr. COCKRELL. Gold certificates will get the gold, which is a legal tender. So it is the same thing practically. How is it with silver as a metal? As a metal, a commodity, merchandise, an article of trade and traffic, it is upon a perfect equality with iron and lead and zinc and copper and wheat and corn and oats and bacon. It occupies precisely the same position. It has not one solitary function or privilege or power of money that gold has. You can not take it to the mints and have it coined into anything. They will not touch it. You can not take it to a subtreasury and there get anything in lieu of it—a certificate, or anything else. You can only sell it as you would sell lead or as you would sell wheat or any other commodity. Now, it is an absolute impossibility for a mere metal of any kind which is a commodity, merchandise, to have the same power and be on an equality with coin of another metal. Gold is money. It has all the functions and privileges of money as a metal and as coin.

Mr. PEFFER. At this point I should like to ask the Senator a question.

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. PEFFER. It may be important in the future discussion. I wish to inquire whether the Senator from Missouri desires to be understood as saying that gold simply as gold in its ordinary form as a metal is money, or whether it is money only after it has been coined into what the law describes as money?

Mr. COCKRELL. I understand the question of the Senator from Kansas, and it is a very important question. I will answer it. Gold metal is money practically, according to its value in coinage. Now, I will tell you why.

Mr. PEFFER. Then, if the Senator will permit me to ask him a still further question, I will put it in the form of a hypothecated case. Suppose I owe to the Senator from Missouri $10, and I take to him a piece of gold, standard but simple gold, can I compel him to accept that piece of gold in payment of the $10 debt?

Mr. COCKRELL. Oh, I know; as a matter of course not.

Mr. PEFFER. That is all.

Mr. COCKRELL. As a matter of course not. I was going on to explain why gold metal is money. That is the proposition. It is money in the United States because as a metal it has the functions and privileges of money. It has the right to be coined at the mints free of any charge to the holder. It has a right to be deposited in a subtreasury and a gold certificate issued in lieu of it, and that gold certificate gets from the Treasury a gold coin. Therefore, in all the transactions of business, where strict, legal technicality is not required, gold bullion is gold money. But when it comes to a legal, technical question as to what is legal tender in the discharge of a debt which the creditor is unwilling to accept and which the debtor tenders, then gold bullion would not answer as money.

Now, why is it money elsewhere? Gold bullion is money in London; it is money in England; it is money in Germany; it is money in France; it is money in nearly all the nations of the earth. Why? Because they give to it as a metal the same functions they give to it as a coin. They give it free coinage. It is there to be coined free of charge or exchanged for other metal already coined.

Therefore, I say that gold metal is money. It has the functions of money; it answers the purposes of money; its weight and fineness determine its value; and the value in the coin and in the metal is created by law.

Talk about the intrinsic value of gold. How will you estimate it? How will you estimate the intrinsic value of gold that was gathered in Mexico and South America and all over the world prior to the seventeenth century? How was it gathered? It was gathered by conquest and slavery. It was gathered by robbery and by war. In the acquisition of gold here upon the soil of America—North America and South America—thousands and millions of human beings were sacrificed in order that their golden trinkets might be taken and that they might be carried back as captives and as pledges to the European powers. Why talk about its intrinsic value? Nearly half the gold of the world that is now in existence or that was in existence at the beginning of the present century, was spoliation, robbery; and those who held it never expended one particle of labor in its production.

Talk about intrinsic value in gold! It has no more intrinsic value than lead—not a particle. Take away from gold the qualities and functions and privileges given it by law, and it would dwindle 75 per cent of its present value, at the very lowest calculation. Let the United States, let the nations of Europe, let the nations now giving gold money functions, take away from gold all the functions and privileges of money and prohibit its use as a money metal, and where would the intrinsic value of gold then be? I want some one to answer that question. Where would the intrinsic value of gold then be?

Mr. GRAY. Will the Senator permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. COCKRELL. I yield with pleasure to the Senator from Delaware.

Mr. GRAY. I take it to be true, as I have often heard it stated in the course of this debate, or read where I have not heard, that both gold and silver, and especially silver, have been in use as money and as a medium of exchange for a great many centuries. That is true, I believe?

Mr. COCKRELL. Oh, yes; for centuries before Christ.

Mr. GRAY. Abraham, I think, paid for the field of Machpelah with silver shekels. I ask the Senator from Missouri if that silver had no intrinsic value at that time, what gave it its value? Was there any law to give it value then?

Mr. COCKRELL. There was custom, which was law among the tribes then existing, which recognized it as money.

Mr. GRAY. What was the origin of that custom?

Mr. COCKRELL. Simply because it was convenient for use.

Mr. GRAY. Was it not because of the universal desire for the metal, either silver or gold—silver in that case?

Mr. PEFFER. Will the Senator from Missouri pardon me a moment?

Mr. COCKRELL. In one moment. It was what was considered a precious metal. It did not rot. It did not waste away like other metals in that respect. It was prettier to look at. It was more malleable. Therefore they gave it the functions of money. By common consent it was legal tender.

Mr. GRAY. If the Senator will pardon me, at that remote day there was no law creating silver, as the silver with which that field was paid for, money, but it did serve the purpose of buying that field, as the Senator has just said, because custom, that is, usage, the universal desire of mankind for that medium, had made it valuable.

Mr. COCKRELL. We do not know what the laws then were in regard to legal tender. The question of legal tender or the creation of money is a very interesting one. Those laws have have passed out of existence. All we know is that silver was treated as money, and it was its money use that gave it its value. That is what I say is true to-day. It is the money use for gold and silver that gives them their value. If you take away from gold its money use you take away from it 75 per cent of its value; and when we took away from silver its money use we took away its greater value. I now yield to the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President, I wish to ask the Senator from Missouri, who seems to be very well informed upon this subject, whether it is not a fact that at the early period to which the Senator from Delaware referred, silver had not attained a generally recognized commercial value, put in the form of shekels; whether it is not true that when the purchase of the burying ground was made, the silver was weighed out, 400 shekels, and whether it was not stated at the time that it was current money with the merchants, that it had a commerical value, and that at a certain weight a shekel was current money with the merchants? I ask whether that is not the truth?

Mr. COCKRELL. Not exactly in the language the Senator uses, not simply as an article of commerce or as a commodity. It is true that silver was weighed, but that was to determine the amount. The silver was not then placed in blocks, nor was it in coins or disks, but was simply in bulk and had to be cut. Therefore it was weighed, and much of its value depended upon its purity. It was not used then simply as an article of commerce; it was not used as were iron and lead, except when they had monetary functions. Its value then was as a medium of exchange, and that was given to it by reason of its use as money. You can not go back in the history of the world to a time when the value of the precious metals did not depend upon their use as money.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator from Missouri permit me to ask him to read a few paragraphs from the volume which I hold in my hand, which I think will be of interest in this discussion?

Mr. COCKRELL. My good friend from Nebraska asks me to read from Macleod on Elements of Economics. I shall read from page 230:

ON THE ERROR OF THE EXPRESSION INTRINSIC VALUE.

We must now say something about an expression which has been the source of enormous confusion in economics; which has especially obscured the comprehension of the subject of credit, and no progress can be made in the science until it is entirely exterminated.

All ancient writers clearly understood that the value of a thing is something external to itself, and we have not found in them any trace of such confusion of ideas as intrinsic value.

It is not easy to determine when the unfortunate expression "intrinsic value" came into use. But it arose in this way; When people thought about value, they looked to some quality of a thing as its value. They therefore gradually began to speak of intrinsic value. So long ago as 1696 an able writer, Barbon, pointed out the confusion which had arisen from mistaking the absolute qualities of an object for the quantity of things it would exchange for:

"There is nothing which troubles this controversy more than for want of distinguishing between value and virtue.

"Value is only the price of things; and that can never be certain, because it must be at all times and in all places of the same value. Therefore, nothing can have intrinsic value.

"But things have an intrinsic virtue in themselves, which in all places, have the same virtue; the loadstone to attract iron, and the several qualities that belong to herbs and drugs, some purgative, some diuretical, etc. But these things, though they may have great virtue, may be of small value or no price, according to the place where they are plenty or scarce; as the red nettle, though it be of excellent virtue to stop bleeding, yet here it is a weed of no value from its plenty. And so are spices and drugs in their own native soil of no value but as common shrubs and weeds, but with us of great value, and yet in both places of the same excellent intrinsic virtue.

* * *

"For things have no value in themselves; it is opinion and fashion brings them into use and gives them a value."

Barbon thus puts his finger on the very phrase which is the curse and the bane of economics at the present day—the expression intrinsic value—which is confounding an intrinsic quality with an external relation.

The following passage from Senior shows how easily able men are betrayed into this error. He says: "We have already stated that we used the word value in its popular (?) acceptation as signifying that quality in anything which fits it to be given and received in exchange, or, in other words, to be lent or sold, hired or purchased."

"So defined, value denotes a relation reciprocally existing between two objects."

Now, the quality of a melon which fits it to be sold is its agreeable flavor; its flavor, therefore, according to Senior, is its value, and so defined, he says it means that it costs 5 cents. That is, he defines the quality of a thing to be its price.

Smith, however, is the principal author of the confusion on this subject in modern times. As we have pointed out in a previous chapter, he begins by defining the value of a thing to be the thing it will exchange for; he then suddenly changes his idea of value to the quantity of labor expended upon obtaining the thing itself. Thus, the quantity of labor necessary to produce it came to be considered as the value of a thing, and then value came to be called intrinsic. This unhappy phrase, intrinsic value, meets us at every turn in economics; and yet the slightest reflection will show that to define value to be something external to a thing, and then to be constantly speaking of intrinsic value, are self-contradictory and inconsistent ideas. And it came to be held that labor is necessary to and is the cause of all value.

It is not the cost of production, it is not the intrinsic quality which gives to gold and silver the value they possess to-day. Take away from both metals all the rights, privileges, and powers with which the law invests them, and they would sink to a much lower level than any other minerals. I doubt whether they would be as high in value as nickel.

Mr. PALMER. I desire to ask the Senator a question to simplify this rather abstruse subject.

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. PALMER. In the Senator's judgment, if gold and silver were deprived of their use as coins, would they sink to an equal market value? Is that what he means?

Mr. COCKRELL. I mean that if to-day gold were demonetized the world over, its purchasing power, its market and commercial value, or any other kind of value of which you may speak, aside from its value as money, would not be worth half what it is to-day.

Mr. PALMER. As compared to silver, what would the value of gold probably be?

Mr. COCKRELL. It would be as low as silver.

Mr. PALMER. That is the point upon which I wanted information from the Senator.

Mr. ALLEN. Gold would be lower than silver.

Mr. COCKRELL. That may be. It would certainly be as low as silver.

The idea of production having absolutely anything to do with the monetary value of the precious metals is a mistake, in my

judgment. The stock which was on hand at the beginning of the present century was principally obtained by bloodshed, robbery, and spoliation. There never was what we call free mining, practically, until about the time of the opening of the mines in California. Since that time the mines in the United States have been practically free. You can acquire the ownership of them and everything of the kind. In other countries the mines have been largely free; and the cost of production has something to do now with the value of gold, as has the cost of producing anything else.

But one thing has been demonstrated. Gold and silver are not like other commodities or metals. You can produce iron or lead or copper in unlimited quantities, beyond the capacity of the world to use for monetary purposes, but the history of the world, from the earliest ages to the present time, shows that gold and silver never have been produced in greater quantities than the business of the world demanded for monetary purposes. I challenge anyone to point to a solitary nation on the face of the earth, from the time Adam was driven out of the Garden of Eden up to this time, where gold and silver were in greater abundance than the business of the particular community demanded for monetary purposes. The Infinite Creator has distributed the precious metals in the bowels of the earth in such a manner that the labor of the entire world, devoted to their acquisition, can not bring them forth in greater abundance than the world can use for monetary purposes. They can not be produced in that way, though they may be produced at some time in greater abundance than at others.

All this discussion about the depreciation of silver relatively to gold only brings up afresh the same question which arose after the discovery of gold in California, when the cry was, "We are being flooded with gold: gold is depreciating in value relatively to silver," and the nations of the earth were warned against the overflow of gold. Even England was besought to change her standard from a single gold to a single silver standard, and Germany, one of the great nations of Europe—and I was astonished that the distinguished Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE] did not note the fact to-day—demonetized gold and established a single silver standard. Germany established the single silver standard in 1857 because there was an overflow of gold, because the world was deluged with gold, and a single silver standard was also established by other nations of Europe. This was done because silver was much more valuable than gold at that time.

Now the cry is turned against silver, and the chances are that inside of thirty-five years, or one lifetime, from to-day gold may be more abundant than silver or silver much scarcer than gold. It is not fixed that the production will be in the same ratio for the next twenty-five or thirty years.

I wish it, however, to be distinctly understood that the value of the precious metals is given them by law. The functions and uses of money constitute their value to-day, and you can not separate that value from their mere commodity value.

Mr. President, I did not know when I commenced my remarks that the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH] desired to address the Senate, or I should not have said a word.

Mr. ALDRICH. I do not know that I quite understand the attitude, whatever it may be, of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL]. I understood him in advance to object to the substitute suggested by the Committee on Finance because he thought the language of the House bill was preferable. As I now understand him—and the distinguished Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] has very properly called attention to the fact—the language of the House bill would necessarily throw some doubt upon the status of silver hereafter to be coined.

I understand the Senator from Missouri now to say that the language of the House bill is defective; but his principal objection is to the substitution of the language used in the substitute proposed by the Senate committee for the language of the bill as it came from the House, and I understand him specially to object to these two provisions. He objects to the words, "equal intrinsic and exchangeable value;" and he objects, further on, to the provision at the top of the third page—

And the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts.

Do I state the Senator from Missouri correctly when I say that he objects to that part of the provision reported by the committee?

Mr. COCKRELL. If the Senator wants me to answer whether I object to the detached sentences which he has read in order that he may undertake to get a little technical quibble upon me, I say no.

Mr. ALDRICH. Not at all. I wanted to know the Senator's position.

Mr. COCKRELL. I object to the proposition which undertakes to make the metal silver the equal of the money gold. That is the point I object to.

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator read with considerable emphasis the portion of the amendment of the Committee on Finance which I have just read. I do not believe, in a general way, that it is desirable to incorporate into legislation the whole or any part of a party platform, and I do not consider myself the authoritative exponent of the Democratic platform adopted at Chicago. As I understand it, as explained by various Senators on the other side of the Chamber, the portion of that platform which relates to the silver question was in two parts. The Democratic party were pledged, first, to repeal the Sherman law; and, second, to the free coinage of both gold and silver under certain conditions. Now the Senator from Missouri and those who sympathize with him say that if the first part of the platform is to be carried out, the second part must also be carried out.

The language which the Senator from Missouri objects to so strenuously is taken *in hâc verba* from the second part of the Chicago platform; and the Senator not only finds himself quarreling with the first part, which proposes to repeal the Sherman law, but with every provision of the second part of that platform which the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE] and the Senator from Missouri have so ably defended upon this floor. I do not say that for this reason alone this declaration should be made. The Senator from Iowa, who sits in front of me [Mr. ALLISON], and I agree to the terms of this declaration, because it expresses our views upon the silver question and our opinion as to what is the duty and what should be the policy of the Government of the United States; but I suggest to my friend from Missouri, if he wishes to be understood, as my friend from North Carolina said, to be a Democrat, he ought to stand upon some part of the national Democratic platform, which has been so freely discussed in this Chamber.

Mr. COCKRELL. I knew that the distinguished gold monometallists on the Republican side of the Chamber were equal to almost any emergency in this world. I knew when this session began that they would assume the mastership and leadership of the Democratic party; that the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] would head the procession for the express purpose of bringing the Democratic party back to the place he left the country in 1873, on a single gold standard. It would be a glorious achievement for that distinguished statesman to be enabled to say that, after the lapse of twenty years, after one of the fiercest struggles the world has ever beheld, he had brought the dominant party down upon its knees upon his platform, and made them readopt what he had established in 1873.

That would be a plume in his crown. He is entitled to be the champion of the Republican party and its leader in the next contest if he succeeds in what he has undertaken; and I suppose the Republican party will succeed if the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], and others are permitted to tell us when we are Democrats and when we are not [laughter]; if they are to be permitted to tell us what is Democracy and what is not; if they are to be permitted to tell us what is our platform and what is not our platform. The Senator from Rhode Island need not be uneasy about my getting off the Democratic platform.

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator is already off.

Mr. COCKRELL. Not at all. That question will not be determined by the protectionist, gold monometallist of Rhode Island. A better, a nobler, and a grander tribunal will determine that.

Mr. PALMER. I do not wish to interrupt the Senator from Missouri, but I should like to ask him a single question, with his consent.

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. PALMER. I ask whether, if the word "intrinsic" were stricken from the amendment proposed by the committee, and the word "exchangeable" were retained, that would be satisfactory to him, according to his views of what is a sound financial policy?

Mr. COCKRELL. That would depend upon what the Senator meant and what he intended when he used the word "exchangeable." I can not say. The word is used in too many different senses for me to say that whatever interpretation my friend from Illinois should be disposed to give it would be satisfactory to me.

What I mean emphatically is this: That you must endow the two metals with the equal functions of money before they can ever be upon an equality. If to-day 412½ grains of silver metal, 9 parts fine, were in the markets of the world as a commodity, as merchandise, equal in value to 25.8 grains of gold or a coined gold dollar, and the United States should give to that silver metal the additional function and power of money, admit it to free coinage and make it a legal tender, then its metal value

would go above its coinage value, just as it has done time and again.

Mr. ALDRICH. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a single question?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. ALDRICH. I should like to know whether the Senator is in favor of coining both gold and silver into money of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value?

Mr. COCKRELL. That is not the technical question. I had not gotten through with the Senator as the leader of the Democratic party. [Laughter.] That is a nice position; it is admirable; and I think the world must stand aghast in wonder and admiration when they behold the scenes transpiring in the Senate, when they behold the Senator from Rhode Island, the Senator from Ohio, and other distinguished Republican Senators placing themselves in the front ranks, with plumes upon their heads, as leaders of the Democratic party and defenders of its platform and its Administration, and then one after the other turning somersaults following the distinguished Senator from Ohio to see which of them can first get to the unconditional repeal of their own iniquitous and infamous legislation. I denounced that legislation upon the floor of the Senate in 1890, and pointed out to Senators exactly what would be its result.

I told you then how the law would be construed, but not one of you then dared to get up and say that my interpretation of that law was just or proper. Oh, no; I was denounced for misconstruing the law. You all said my construction was not just, that the law could not be interpreted in that way, that it could not be treated as I said it would be, and yet it was so treated. You said it was a panacea for all the ills to which human flesh was heir; you complimented it in your platform; you said it was a blessing which the country had received; and I hold in my hand that beautiful little campaign document, which was in the pockets and the hands of every little Republican speaker throughout the length and breadth of this land. It was used in all the little school houses. Here it is. It went out with the sanction of the national Republican committee, and it told of the glorious achievements of the Republican party in power. Let me read from it:

The national platform upon which this Republican Congress was chosen, and which it was therefore commissioned by the people to execute, declared in favor of these reforms:

First. A Federal election law.
Second. Tariff revision in conformity with the policy of protection.
Third. The restoration of silver to its money uses."

"The restoration of silver to its money uses!"

Mr. ALDRICH rose.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senator will please wait a few minutes until I get through. I want him to have an unbroken dose, and not take the medicine in broken doses.

Mr. ALDRICH. I wish the Senator from Missouri would answer my question.

Mr. COCKRELL. It proceeds—

Fourth. Just pension legislation.

The Senator can not digest it if he gets it in little broken doses. It might affect him very seriously. He may be able to take it all at once.

Fifth. The revival of the American merchant marine, etc.

These are the principal points, and it goes on to elaborate them:

The grand old party.
It is true to the flag.
Prosperity assured.

The McKinley bill—its motive and effect.
It surrounds the farmer with sure guarantees of better times.
It assures the mechanic of more work and higher wages.

But I want to get to the silver part of it. Here was the old star-spangled banner unfurled and the grand old party inscribed upon it:

It is true to the flag.
Silver at $1.20.
Its money uses are fully restored by Republican action.
The United States Treasury richer by $90,238,000 by silver's rise.

What is that? The United States Treasury richer by the rise in the price of silver. The same gentlemen who paraded that before the people of the United States are talking about the loss to the taxpayers by the depreciation of silver. "Consistency, thou art a jewel."

Mr. PEFFER. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Missouri whether the document from which he is reading was sent out as a public document to the people?

Mr. COCKRELL. It was sent all over the country.

Mr. PEFFER. Under the frank of any public officer?

Mr. COCKRELL. I do not know whether it was sent out franked or not. I can not say as to that.

Mr. ALLISON. That could not be.

Mr. HARRIS. What is the document?

Mr. COCKRELL. The little Republican campaign book which epitomizes and summarizes everything and which was put in the hands of all the stump speakers throughout the country, that they might be informed as to all the catch phrases.

All American cereals have grown in value, too.

Oh, yes, wheat ran up. Where is it now?

And, as usual, the Democracy obstructed.

In its last national platform the Republican party declared this doctrine:

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

In conformity with this pledge, the Republican Congress has passed, against the unanimous opposition of Democratic members, a silver bill, than which there has been no more useful and inspiring act since the resumption of specie payments—

Let the Senator from Rhode Island think of that—

no more useful and inspiring act since the resumption of specie payments. It provides, in brief, that the Secretary of the Treasury shall purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month, at the market price, and issue in payment therefor legal-tender Treasury notes, redeemable in coin. This affords an annual increase in money of over $60,000,000. The Democratic-Bland act, under which the value of silver fell to the lowest figure it has ever reached, and the value of farm products to figures shockingly disastrous, afforded an annual increase of $24,000,000. But this money was of doubtful reputation. It was money that was good to-day and bad to-morrow. The money provided by the present Republican Congress is as good, and must in all circumstances remain as good, as any money the world has ever seen.

Yet you come and tell us now that your iniquitous measure has caused the present depression, you confess before the world that you are responsible for the present depression, that you are responsible by your legislation for the loss of confidence on the part of the people of the United States, and for the panic; do you not?

Mr. GRAY. I wish to ask the Senator whether the silver plank in the Republican platform of 1888 is in the pamphlet from which he is reading? I should like the Senator to read it, if he has it.

Mr. COCKRELL. I understand this pamphlet refers to that. I had the platforms of all the political parties on my desk yesterday, but forgot to bring them from home this morning. I shall not do so any more, because I may need them. [Laughter.] I remember the Republican platform of 1888 charged the Democratic party also with attempting to demonetize silver.

Mr. ALDRICH. My friend from Missouri evidently needs at his desk a copy of the last Democratic platform adopted at Chicago.

Mr. COCKRELL. Oh, I have that. But I was going back to the platform of 1888. I have a part of it, but not the whole of it.

Mr. GRAY. I hope the Senator will read it again.

Mr. COCKRELL. It reads:

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

Mr. ALDRICH. I understand my friend from Missouri is now joining in a crusade of that kind. I understand that is exactly the position taken by him; that the same Democratic Administration is engaged in an attempt to demonetize silver.

Mr. COCKRELL. Not at all.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is the same thing exactly.

Mr. COCKRELL. Not at all.

Mr. VOORHEES. Will the Senator from Missouri yield to me?

Mr. COCKRELL. In a moment. I merely wish to say in conclusion to my good friends on the other side of the Chamber, do not make yourselves quite so conspicuous in the front ranks of this procession for the repeal of your own infamous act. [Laughter.]

Mr. VOORHEES. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. PEFFER. Will the Senator from Indiana withdraw his motion long enough to enable me to offer an amendment, so that it may be printed?

Mr. VOORHEES. Yes, sir.

Mr. PEFFER. I propose an amendment to the pending bill to be inserted at the end of what may be properly called the first section, the legislative feature of the bill, and following in between that and what I call the platform attachment.

Mr. VOORHEES. Let the amendment be printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAULKNER in the chair). The amendment intended to be proposed by the Senator from Kansas will be printed in the absence of objection.

Mr. HARRIS. And lie upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. And lie upon the table.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I desire to offer an amendment to the pending bill, which I ask may be printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In the absence of objection, the amendment will be ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. VOORHEES. I now renew my motion that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After twenty minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 3 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, September 2, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate September 1, 1893.

CHIEF JUSTICE, OKLAHOMA.

Frank Dale, of Oklahoma Territory, to be chief justice of the supreme court of the Territory of Oklahoma, vice Edward B. Green, to be removed.

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE, OKLAHOMA.

Henry W. Scott, of Oklahoma Territory, to be associate justice of the supreme court of the Territory of Oklahoma, vice Frank Dale, nominated to be chief justice of said court.

SECRETARY OF NEW MEXICO.

Lorion Miller, of Albuquerque, N. Mex., to be secretary of New Mexico, vice Silas Alexander, to be removed.

COLLECTORS OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Ben Johnson, of Kentucky, to be collector of internal revenue for the fifth district of Kentucky, to succeed Albert Scott, resigned.

Richard B. Morris, of Kansas, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Kansas, to succeed Cyrus Leland, jr., removed.

James W. Murphy, of Wisconsin, to be collector of internal revenue for the first district of Wisconsin, to succeed Henry Fink, resigned.

Albert L. New, of Colorado, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Colorado, to succeed J. M. Freeman, resigned.

James E. North, of Nebraska, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Nebraska, to succeed John Peters, resigned.

Joshua D. Powers, of Kentucky, to be collector of internal revenue for the second district of Kentucky, to succeed John Feland, resigned.

Charles H. Rodes, of Kentucky, to be collector of internal revenue for the eighth district of Kentucky, to succeed A. R. Burnam, resigned.

Murray Vandiver, of Maryland, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Maryland, to succeed F. Snowden Hill, resigned.

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS.

Thomas J. Black, of Oregon, to be collector of customs for the district of Willamette, in the State of Oregon, to succeed James Lotan, removed.

Benjamin P. Moore, of New York, to be collector of customs for the district of Alaska, in the Territory of Alaska, to succeed Edwin T. Hatch, removed.

August Ross, of Wisconsin, to be collector of customs for the district of Milwaukee, in the State of Wisconsin, to succeed Jerome A. Watrous, removed.

James C. Saunders, of Washington, to be collector of customs for the district of Puget Sound, in the State of Washington, to succeed Andrew Wasson, removed.

Charles M. Wallace, of Virginia, to be collector of customs for the district of Richmond, in the State of Virginia, to succeed John W. Fisher, resigned.

Samuel F. Webb, of Arizona, to be collector of customs for the district of Arizona, in the Territory of Arizona, to succeed George Christ, removed.

SPECIAL EXAMINER OF DRUGS, ETC.

Erasmus D. Fenner, of Louisiana, to be special examiner of drugs, medicines, and chemicals in the district of New Orleans, in the State of Louisiana, to succeed David M. Lines, removed.

NAVAL OFFICER OF CUSTOMS.

Jeff B. Snyder, of Louisiana, to be naval officer of customs for the district of New Orleans, in the State of Louisiana, to succeed John F. Patty, removed.

SURVEYOR OF CUSTOMS.

S. D. Ellis, of Louisiana, to be surveyor of customs for the port of New Orleans, in the State of Louisiana, to succeed William L. McMillan, removed.

Felix G. Rudolph, of Kentucky, to be surveyor of customs for the port of Paducah, in the State of Kentucky, to succeed John R. Puryear, resigned.

REGISTERS OF LAND OFFICES.

Frank P. Alexander, of Greenville, Tex., to be register of the land office at Alva, in Oklahoma Territory, a newly established office.

Wilson M. Hammock, of Hartsville, Tenn., to be register of the land office at Woodward, in Oklahoma Territory, a newly established office.

James E. Malone, of Juneau, Wis., to be register of the land office at Perry, in Oklahoma Territory, a newly established office.

Robert W. Patterson, of Macon, Ga., to be register of the land office at Enid, in Oklahoma Territory, a newly established office.

Edward Phillips, of Natchitoches, La., to be register of the land office at Natchitoches, La., vice Louis Dupleix, to be removed.

RECEIVERS OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Robert H. Allen, of Iuka, Miss., to be receiver of public moneys at Alva, in Oklahoma Territory, a newly established office.

John J. S. Hassler, of Forest City, S. Dak., to be receiver of public moneys at Enid, in Oklahoma Territory, a newly established office.

Joseph H. King, of Anniston, Ala., to be receiver of public moneys at Perry, in Oklahoma Territory, a newly established office.

David H. Patton, of Remington, Ind., to be receiver of public moneys at Woodward, in Oklahoma Territory, a newly established office.

INDIAN AGENTS.

Robert M. Allen, of Marion, Ill., to be agent for the Indians of the White Earth Agency, in Minnesota, vice Charles A. Ruffee, to be removed.

Peter Couchman, of Le Beau, S. Dak., to be agent for the Indians of the Forest City Agency, in South Dakota, vice Frank Lillibridge, to be removed.

Beal Gaither, of Toledo, Oregon, to be agent for the Indians of Siletz Agency, in Oregon, vice T. J. Buford, to be removed.

James A. Smith, of Jackson, Miss., to be agent for the Indians of the Yankton Agency, in South Dakota, vice Everett W. Foster, to be removed.

Edward L. Thomas, of Kiowa, Ind. T., to be agent for the Indians of the Sac and Fox Agency, in Oklahoma Territory, vice Samuel L. Patrick, to be removed.

Henry E. Williamson, of Fort Smith, Ark., to be agent for the Indians of the Quapaw Agency, in the Indian Territory, vice Thomas J. Moore, to be removed.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate August 29, 1893.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Thomas L. Thompson, of Santa Rosa, Cal., to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Brazil.

CONSULS.

Samuel Thanhouser, of Atlanta, Ga., to be consul of the United States at Matamoras, Mexico.

Marshall P. Thatcher, of Detroit, Mich., to be consul of the United States at Windsor, Ontario.

Charles Schaefer, of Sedgwick, Kans., to be consul of the United States at Vera Cruz, Mexico.

Charles H. Benedict, of St. Paul, Minn., to be consul of the United States at Cape Town, Africa.

George W. Bell, of South Bend, Wash., to be consul of the United States at Sydney, New South Wales.

Frank H. Brooks, of Chicago, Ill., to be consul of the United States at Trieste, Austria.

Anthony Howells, of Massillon, Ohio, to be consul of the United States at Cardiff, Wales.

James A. Demorest, of Plainfield, N. J., to be consul of the United States at Brockville, Canada.

George Horton, of Chicago, Ill., to be consul of the United States at Athens, Greece.

Frederick W. Kickbusch, of Wausau, Wis., to be consul of the United States at Stettin, Germany.

William F. Kemmler, of Columbus, Ohio, to be consul of the United States at Horgen, Switzerland.

Harvey Johnson, of Atlanta, Ga., to be consul of the United States at Antwerp, Belgium.

George W. Savage, of Rahway, N. J., to be consul of the United States at Dundee, Scotland.

Lars S. Reque, of Decorah, Iowa, to be consul of the United States at Rotterdam, Netherlands.

John Patton, of Detroit, Mich., to be consul of the United States at Amherstburg, Ontario.

Bennington R. Bedle, of Jersey City, N. J., to be consul of the United States at Sheffield, England.

Otto H. Boyesen, of Grand Forks, N. Dak., to be consul of the United States at Gothenburg, Sweden.

CONSULS-GENERAL.

Victor Vifquain, of Lincoln, Nebr., to be consul-general of the United States at Panama, Colombia.

Joseph G. Donnelly, of Milwaukee, Wis., to be consul-general of the United States at Nuevo Laredo, Mexico.

Wendell A. Anderson, of Lacrosse, Wis., to be consul-general of the United States at Montreal, Canada.

Irving B. Richman, of Muscatine, Iowa, to be consul-general of the United States at St. Gall, Switzerland.

Daniel W. Maratta, of Fargo, N. Dak., to be consul-general of the United States at Melbourne, Australia.

Alfred D. Jones, of Raleigh, N. C., to be consul-general of the United States at Shanghai, China.

PROMOTIONS IN THE REVENUE-CUTTER SERVICE.

First Assistant Engineer Edward F. Hedden, to be chief engineer in the Revenue-Cutter Service.

Second Assistant Engineer Eugenious A. Jack, to be first assistant engineer in the Revenue-Cutter Service.

APPOINTMENT IN THE REVENUE-CUTTER SERVICE.

William E. Maccoum, of Maryland, to be a second assistant engineer in the Revenue-Cutter Service.

CHIEF JUSTICE OF ARIZONA TERRITORY.

Albert C. Baker, of Arizona Territory, to be chief justice of the supreme court of the Territory of Arizona.

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF ARIZONA TERRITORY.

Owen T. Rouse, of Arizona Territory, to be associate justice of the supreme court of the Territory of Arizona.

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF UTAH TERRITORY.

Harvey W. Smith, of Utah Territory, to be associate justice of the supreme court of the Territory of Utah.

SOLICITOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Robert T. Hough, of Ohio, to be solicitor of internal revenue.

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE.

Edward G. Spilman, of Huntington, W. Va., to be register of the land office at Kingfisher, in Oklahoma Territory.

MARSHALS.

Nat M. Brigham, of Utah Territory, to be marshal of the United States for the Territory of Utah.

Edward L. Hall, of New Mexico, to be marshal of the United States for the Territory of New Mexico.

Hewson E. Lannan, of Delaware, to be marshal of the United States for the district of Delaware.

William K. Meade, of Arizona Territory, to be marshal of the United States for the Territory of Arizona.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS.

William H. Brinker, of Washington, to be attorney of the United States for the district of Washington.

John W. Judd, of Utah Territory, to be attorney of the United States for the Territory of Utah.

William Perry Murphy, of South Carolina, to be attorney of the United States for the district of South Carolina.

Everett E. Ellinwood, of Arizona Territory, to be attorney of the United States for the Territory of Arizona.

COMMISSIONER OF CUSTOMS.

William H. Pugh, of Ohio, to be commissioner of customs.

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS.

Thomas M. Crocker, of Michigan, to be collector of customs for the district of Huron, in the State of Michigan.

Theodore R. Lore, of New Jersey, to be collector of customs for the district of Bridgeton, in the State of New Jersey.

INDIAN INSPECTOR.

John W. Cadman, of Jackson, Mich., to be an Indian inspector.

INDIAN AGENT.

Ralph Hall, of Carrington, N. Dak., to be agent for the Indians of the Devils Lake Agency in North Dakota.

POSTMASTER.

Thomas B. Garrett to be postmaster at Fort Smith, in the county of Sebastian and State of Arkansas.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, *September 1, 1893.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by Rev. ISAAC W. CANTER, of Washington, D. C.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

EXPLANATION OF A PAIR.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of personal privilege.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I desire to make a brief statement in reference to my pair and the vote taken on yesterday. I am paired with my colleague from New York [Mr. BELDEN], but there is some misunderstanding as to the matter, and on yesterday I refrained from voting on a ground that I was not sure was correct at the time. I understand since that my colleague [Mr. BELDEN] would vote in the same way I should have voted on that question. I should have voted against the amendments both of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] and that of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE].

I desire to make this explanation in justice not only to the House and my constituents, but to the people at large.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, indefinite leave of absence was granted to Mr. BLAND on account of sickness in his family.

EULOGIES ON THE LATE REPRESENTATIVE CHIPMAN.

Mr. WEADOCK. Mr. Speaker, I desire to offer, by consent, at this time a resolution with reference to the order of business fixed for to-morrow.

The SPEAKER. The resolution will be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the special order for 2 o'clock Saturday, September 2, be postponed to Friday, September 15, 1893, at the same hour.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that this order refers to the eulogies on our deceased brother, Judge Chipman.

Mr. REED. What is the date?

The SPEAKER. Friday, September 15.

Mr. REED. We have reason to believe that the country indulges great hopes that it may be relieved of us entirely by that time. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. Of course, if the House is not in session at the time the order will fail.

There being no objection, the resolution was considered and agreed to.

ASSISTANT CLERK, COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS.

Mr. CUMMINGS, by unanimous consent, submitted a resolution providing for an assistant clerk to the Committee on Naval Affairs; which was referred to the Committee on Accounts.

YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK.

Mr. HARTMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to introduce a bill, which I ask to have referred to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Montana [Mr. HARTMAN] asks unanimous consent to introduce a bill the title of which will be read by the Clerk.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 7) to establish the boundaries of the Yellowstone National Park, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Montana asks unanimous consent that this bill be referred to the Committee on Arid Lands. Is there objection?

Mr. DINGLEY. Is that the committee to which such a subject should go?

Mr. HARTMAN. I will simply state that my reason for asking that it be sent to the Committee on Arid Lands is, that I am a member of that committee, and can personally give it more attention if it is referred to that committee than I could if it was referred to another committee.

The SPEAKER. Under the ordinary rule of the House, proposed to be adopted, this bill would go to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. DINGLEY. I personally feel considerable interest in maintaining the boundaries of the Yellowstone National Park.

Mr. HARTMAN. I will say to the gentleman from Maine that the purpose of this bill is to define and protect those boundaries.

Mr. DOCKERY. I think this bill should take the usual course.

The SPEAKER. Objection is made; and unless there be objection to the bill taking the course suggested, it will be referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

There was no objection.

THE LATE HON. JOHN G. WARWICK.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I wish to introduce a resolution for reference.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent to introduce a bill for reference, the title of which will be read by the Clerk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolution providing for the printing of eulogies on the late Hon. John G. Warwick.

The SPEAKER. Without objection this will be referred to the Committee on Printing.

Mr. LIVINGSTON. I demand the regular order.

THE RULES.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is demanded, which is the consideration of the proposed rules. The previous question has been ordered on the pending amendment offered by the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER], which amendment the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend paragraph 57, Rule XI, by adding: "And when the chairman of a committee, or any member of the House having a bill or report in charge which is under consideration, and upon which general debate has proceeded for two hours or more, moves the previous question on a pending amendment, or engrossment, third reading, or final passage of the bill, the Speaker shall submit the question to the House without entertaining any motion against the same. If the motion is agreed to the question shall then be put on the proposition or propositions to which the motion for the previous question applied, and no motion shall be entertained against the same except one motion to recommit, with or without instructions; which motion shall be decided without debate.

The SPEAKER. The question is upon agreeing to this amendment.

The question being taken, the Speaker announced that the noes seemed to have it.

On a division (demanded by Mr. BOATNER) there were—ayes 75, noes 107.

Mr. BOATNER. I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. SMITH of Illinois. I ask to have the amendment again reported. In the confusion on this side of the House we could not hear it.

The amendment was again read.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 96, nays 131, not voting 126; as follows:

YEAS—96.

Adams,	Gardner,	Joy,	Phillips,
Avery,	Gear,	Kem,	Pickler,
Babcock,	Geary,	Kiefer,	Powers,
Bailey,	Gillett, Mass.	Lacey,	Reed,
Baker, N. H.	Grosvenor,	Loud,	Ritchie,
Baldwin,	Hager,	Lucas,	Shaw,
Beltzhoover,	Hainer,	Lynch,	Smith,
Black, Ill.	Harris,	Maddox,	Springer,
Boatner,	Hartman,	Mahon,	Stone, C. W.
Bower, N. C.	Haugen,	Mallory,	Stone, W. A.
Brosius,	Hayes,	McCall,	Stone, Ky.
Caldwell,	Henderson, Ill.	McCleary, Minn.	Storer,
Cannon, Ill.	Henderson, Iowa	McDowell,	Strong,
Childs,	Hepburn,	McKeighan,	Tawney,
Cousins,	Hermann,	McRae,	Taylor, Tenn.
Curtis, Kans.	Hilborn,	Meiklejohn,	Thomas,
Dalzell,	Hopkins, Ill.	Mercer,	Updegraff,
Dingley,	Houk, Tenn.	Meyer,	Wanger,
Dolliver,	Hudson,	Milliken,	Washington,
Doolittle,	Hulick,	Moon,	White,
Draper,	Hull,	Neill,	Williams, Miss.
Ellis, Oregon	Hutcheson,	Northway,	Wilson, Ohio
Fletcher,	Johnson, Ind.	Pence,	Woomer,
Funk,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Perkins,	Wright, Pa.

NAYS—131.

Abbott,	Clark, Mo.	Hare,	Mutchler,
Alderson,	Clarke, Ala.	Harter,	O'Ferrall,
Alexander,	Cobb, Ala.	Heard,	Outhwaite,
Allen,	Cobb, Mo.	Henderson, N. C.	Page,
Arnold,	Cockrell,	Holman,	Patterson,
Bankhead,	Conn,	Hooker, Miss.	Paynter,
Barnes,	Cooper, Fla.	Hunter,	Pearson,
Barwig,	Cooper, Tex.	Ikirt,	Pendleton, Tex.
Bell, Col.	Cornish,	Johnson, Ohio	Pigott,
Bell, Tex.	Cox,	Kilgore,	Richards,
Berry,	Crawford,	Kribbs,	Richardson, Mich.
Black, Ga.	Culberson,	Kyle,	Richardson, Tenn.
Bland,	Cummings,	Lane,	Robbins,
Boen,	Daniels,	Latimer,	Robertson, La.
Brawley,	De Armond,	Lawson,	Russell, Ga.
Breckinridge, Ark.	De Forest,	Layton,	Ryan,
Breckinridge, Ky.	Dinsmore,	Lester,	Sayers,
Bretz,	Dockery,	Lisle,	Schermerhorn,
Brickner,	Erdman,	Livingston,	Simpson,
Brookshire,	Everett,	Martin, Ind.	Snodgrass,
Burnes,	Fithian,	McCreary, Ky.	Sperry,
Bynum,	Forman,	McDannold,	Stallings,
Cabaniss,	Geissenhainer,	McDearmon,	Stevens,
Cadmus,	Grady,	McGann,	Stockdale,
Campbell,	Gresham,	McLaurin,	Strait,
Cannon, Cal.	Haines,	McMillin,	Swanson,
Caruth,	Hall, Minn.	McNagny,	Talbert, S. C.
Catchings,	Hall, Mo.	Meredith,	Tarsney,
Clancy,	Hammond,	Montgomery,	Tate,
Taylor, Ind.	Turpin,	Wells,	Wilson, W. Va.
Terry,	Tyler,	Wheeler, Ala.	Wolverton,
Tracey,	Warner,	Whiting,	Woodard.
Turner,	Weadock,	Williams, Ill.	

NOT VOTING—126.

Aitken,	Curtis, N. Y.	Hopkins, Pa.	Randall,
Aldrich,	Davey,	Houk, Ohio	Ray,
Apsley,	Davis,	Jones,	Rayner,
Baker, Kans.	Denson,	Lapham,	Reilly,
Bartholdt,	Donovan,	Lefever,	Reyburn,
Bartlett,	Dunn,	Lilly,	Robinson, Pa.
Belden,	Dunphy,	Linton,	Rusk,
Bingham,	Durborow,	Lockwood,	Russell, Conn.
Blair,	Edmunds,	Loudenslager,	Scranton,
Blanchard,	Ellis, Ky.	Magner,	Settle,
Boutelle,	English,	Maguire,	Shell,
Bowers, Cal.	Enloe,	Marsh,	Sherman,
Branch,	Epes,	Marshall,	Sibley,
Brattan,	Fellows,	Marvin, N. Y.	Sickles,
Broderick,	Fielder,	McAleer,	Sipe,
Brown,	Fitch,	McCulloch,	Somers,
Bryan,	Funston,	McEttrick,	Stephenson,
Bunn,	Fyan,	McKaig,	Sweet,
Burrows,	Gillet, N. Y.	Money,	Talbott, Md.
Caminetti,	Goldzier,	Morgan,	Tucker,
Capehart,	Goodnight,	Morse,	Van Voorhis, N. Y.
Catsey,	Gorman,	Moses,	Van Voorhis, Ohio
Chickering,	Graham,	Murray,	Wadsworth,
Cockran,	Grout,	Newlands,	Walker,
Coffeen,	Harmer,	Oates,	Waugh,
Cogswell,	Hatch,	O'Neil, Mass.	Wever,
Compton,	Heiner,	O'Neill, Pa.	Wheeler, Ill.
Coombs,	Hendrix,	Paschal,	Wilson, Wash.
Cooper, Ind.	Hicks,	Payne,	Wise,
Cooper, Wis.	Hines,	Pendleton, W. Va.	Wright, Mass.
Covert,	Hitt,	Post,	
Crain,	Hooker, N. Y.	Price,	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. BUNN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to say I am paired with the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN]. Were he present he would vote "aye," and I would vote "no."

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I desire to say that upon this question I am paired with my colleague [Mr. MCETTRICK]. If he were present he would vote "no," and I would vote "aye."

The following pairs were announced:

Until further notice:

Mr. MARSHALL with Mr. HICKS.

Mr. GOODNIGHT with Mr. BURROWS.

Mr. CAPEHART with Mr. BROSIUS.

Mr. STEVENS with Mr. RANDALL.

Mr. TALBOTT of Maryland with Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin.

Mr. MCGUIRE with Mr. HEINER.

Mr. RUSK with Mr. AITKEN.

Mr. MAGNER with Mr. CHICKERING.

Mr. COCKRAN with Mr. SHERMAN.

Mr. SHELL with Mr. MARSH.

Mr. BRANCH with Mr. SETTLE.

Mr. GRAHAM with Mr. LINTON.

Mr. HATCH with Mr. HARMER.

Mr. ENLOE with Mr. BOUTELLE.

Mr. LOCKWOOD with Mr. VAN VOORHIS of New York.

Mr. EDMUNDS with Mr. LOUDENSLAGER.

Mr. DUNPHY with Mr. WEVER.

Mr. TUCKER with Mr. RUSSELL of Connecticut.

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia with Mr. PAYNE, until Monday next.

Mr. MCETTRICK with Mr. MORSE, until Wednesday next.

Mr. JONES with Mr. SCRANTON, until Thursday next.

For this day:

Mr. SOMERS with Mr. BELDEN.

Mr. OATES with Mr. HITT.

Mr. ELLIS of Kentucky with Mr. WALKER.

Mr. CRAIN with Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania.

Mr. COOMBS with Mr. SWEET.

Mr. O'NEIL of Massachusetts with Mr. COGSWELL.

Mr. BRYAN with Mr. BUNN on the pending question.

The result of the vote was then announced as above recorded.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment to come in at the end of clause 57.

The Clerk read as follows:

Provided, That the authority thus given shall not entitle the Banking and Currency Committee to be privileged to report a bill to repeal existing legislation relating to the tax on State bank circulation only at such time as the committee is authorized to report bills under the general rules of the House.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, the House on yesterday——

Mr. SPRINGER. I reserve a point of order on that.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can not reserve a point of order on that. He must state his point of order now.

Mr. SPRINGER. I make the point of order that the proposition is in conflict with the previous action of the House, and that we can not recur to the previous action without unanimous consent. It is an amendment to an amendment already agreed to and passed, and would only be in order at the time the other

amendment was pending. It changes entirely the provision of the rule as already agreed to.

Mr. DINGLEY. We have not finished this paragraph.

Mr. SPRINGER. We have passed that part of it. The proposition was only in order when the subject was before the House, and if it were in order now we could never complete the consideration of the rules. In my opinion the amendment could only be entertained as an amendment to the amendment, which has already been agreed to.

The SPEAKER. It seems to the Chair that this is a proviso that is proposed to be added. The Chair does not see why it should not be in order, as the House has not passed from the paragraph. The Chair overrules the point of order.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, I only want to say to the House that the vote on yesterday, which was a yea-and-nay vote, resulted in giving to the Committee on Banking and Currency a power which I, for one, am not willing they should have, and which will, in my judgment, be construed everywhere as being an expression of the House upon the question of the passage of a bill to repeal the tax upon the circulation of State banks. It is an unheard-of power; that is to say, it is putting a privilege into the hands of this committee which has not been customary, at a time when their jurisdiction will extend to this especial legislation.

Now, I am not anxious to know how the House stands on this question, but I am anxious that those who are opposed to this repeal shall not in this way put themselves upon record apparently in favor of bestowing this unusual power, at an unusual time, to an unusual committee. I suppose, or assume, that a great many votes were cast in favor of that innovation as a sort of attack upon the Committee on Rules; but the student of the record of Congress will not understand that there has been a little tendency here to break into the report of the Committee on Rules; and there can be no possible explanation of the vote on yesterday it seems to me, excepting that one thing alone, or else that the House was inadvertent or indifferent at the time.

It may be that it happened, sir, much as the successful attack upon the option bill by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE] was worked out. I do not think that the House really expressed its opinion that the option bill ought to go to the Committee on Ways and Means and ought not to go to the committee that had so long cared for it and so earnestly supported it until it had become almost the foster-child of the Committee on Agriculture.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. Will you allow me?

Mr. GROSVENOR. I will allow you anything.

Mr. HOPKINS of Illinois. In reference to the rule adopted in the amendment you speak of, that was engrafted upon the rules by the amendment of the gentleman from Texas, is it not still within the power of the House, when the option bill is presented here, by a vote of the House to have it referred to the Committee on Agriculture and give that committee full jurisdiction.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I suppose, as a matter of technical right, the House has the right by a proper proceeding to revolutionize its rules one by one; but, nevertheless, the country and the intelligent observer will understand all these movements to mean something, and not that the House is going stumbling along and happening on and doing things that they do not mean anything by.

I do not care about the option bill; I do not know that I am on either side of it; I do not care whether it go up or down; and I do not care whether it goes to the Committee on Commerce or to the Committee for the Suppression of the Alcoholic Liquor Traffic; but I insist just this far: That when you do a thing which is out of the usual custom of the House it will be attributed, justly and properly attributed, to a purpose. I know of no other legislation that is of possible importance that the Committee on Banking and Currency should report at any time unless it be to carry out the Democratic platform, to repeal the tax on State-bank circulation.

That is a branch of the Democratic policy. It is not supported by the entire Democratic party, but it is a cardinal feature and tenet of the platform of the Democratic party adopted at Chicago. And I am not willing that by mere sheer inadvertence, as I believe, that this extraordinary power shall be given to this committee upon a proposition of this character. That is the reason I offer this amendment, Mr. Speaker.

[Cries of "Vote!"]

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I want the indulgence of the House for a moment. I voted for this amendment to the rule yesterday, stating at the time my reason for so doing. The Committee on Banking and Currency at this time, during this session of Congress, is intrusted with legislation, or the preparation of legislation, for report and consideration to the House of very great importance.

I think I need but state the proposition to have everybody assent to it. Our Democratic friends have a large majority in this House, and have come into power upon a platform that pledges them, among other things, to repeal the tax upon State-bank circulation. Whether they will do it or not I do not know. Whether they will stand by their platform I do not know. I hope they will not, and for one I shall not assist, by vote or otherwise, to enable them to do it. But if, in carrying out the pledges by which they got power, they stand by their obligations and do that to which their platform pledges them, I certainly am not to blame.

My friend from Ohio can not put the blame upon me, nor can he assume it himself, unless he votes for it when the time comes. The fault was in giving the Democrats power under that and other pledges. But there is much important legislation outside of the repeal of this tax which will have to be disposed of. For instance, there is the matter of providing an increase of the circulation of the national banks to the par value of the bonds, and various other important matters. Now, I do not believe the action yesterday was misunderstood. I submit to the gentleman from Ohio that it is an unusual thing to pick out a single measure and except it from the operation of a rule, and, as an original proposition, without the suggestion of the gentleman from Ohio, I certainly would not assent to it.

There can not be sufficient consideration given to this subject if there is to be a test vote here and now. I would cheerfully vote for an amendment, if the gentleman pleases, upon the same ground, prohibiting the Ways and Means Committee from having the right of way for any proposition to repeal the existing laws to raise revenue; but that would of course bring up the whole tariff question. I think such legislation would be a mistake akin to a crime, in the present condition of the country. Still, if the gentleman is going to insist upon his amendment, why not also let us have an amendment raising the question whether the Ways and Means Committee is to have the right of way here for the consideration of such legislation as I have suggested.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Just one word in reply, Mr. Speaker. The Ways and Means Committee from time immemorial has had the right of way to report legislation touching the revenues. There is nothing unusual or special in that provision, which we all agree is a proper one. The gentleman from Illinois and myself stand exactly together. If this proviso goes into the rules, this other legislation, whatever it may be, will come up as a matter of privilege, and I think yet that we ought not to place ourselves in the attitude of promoting or facilitating, by our vote, the right of the Committee on Banking and Currency to introduce the special legislation I have indicated whenever they see fit.

Mr. CANNON. If the vote upon my friend's amendment is to be a test vote committing members for or against the repeal of the tax upon State-bank circulation, I ask him whether he thinks it is fair to present the question in that way to a great many Republicans who are absent and who have had no idea of its being presented in that way? There is but one opinion on this side of the House on that subject. If the gentleman thinks it is of enough importance to "smoke out" the other side of the House on this question and get them to assent that this is a test vote upon the proposition, I have no objection.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, I do not insist that it is to be a test vote on any question; but I answer the gentleman in this way. The danger is that negligence will be attributed to us in permitting this rule to be adopted without an expression. A vote in favor of this proviso simply places this question where it is ordinarily placed by the rules of the House; simply says that we will not make an innovation upon the usual law and custom of the House in favor of this particular measure, which is a matter of political significance in the country.

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. A sufficient reply to the gentleman is this, I think—at least sufficient for myself—that the Committee on Banking and Currency is charged with the preparation of legislation not second in importance to that intrusted to any other committee of the House, unless it be the Committee on Ways and Means; and, this being the case, I think it would be proper that the committee should have the right to report at any time.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Then let it go over until the next Congress, with the suggestions, and not do it at this time.

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. Oh, for that matter, I would be willing to pass the appropriation bills for the coming fiscal year by a single resolution simply extending the appropriations of last year, and then to return home and let the country realize there is to be no change in the revenue laws.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I fear the gentleman would not find money enough in the Treasury to pay the appropriations voted by that sort of a resolution.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as I

have the honor to be one of the members of the Committee on Banking and Currency, and insomuch as I voted in favor of the amendment offered yesterday giving to that committee the right to report at any time, I trust I may be allowed to submit a very few remarks in reply to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR]. I do not think there is anything in the amendment adopted yesterday enlarging the powers of the Committee on Banking and Currency to warrant the belief that the committee intends to report at an early day a bill to repeal the tax on State-bank circulation, nor do I believe that the country will draw any such inference from the action of the House. It may never report such a bill.

Mr. GROSVENOR. It has already been drawn.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. You might as well infer that the committee intends at an early day to report a bill allowing the national banks to issue notes up to the par value of their bonds, or that it intends to report at an early day some bill making a revision of the national-banking system, retaining the advantages of that system, to wit, a safe and uniform currency, and at the same time eliminating some of the evils of the system.

The long and the short of it, Mr. Speaker, as I understand, is that this committee has at this session been vested with the right to report at any time, because, by reason of the peculiar condition of the country and the character of the questions by which it is confronted, the committee had been raised to a position of far more importance and dignity than has usually attended it; and because, owing to the financial condition of the country, it may be called on to consider a great variety of measures and report some of them upon which the members of the committee may not divide upon mere party lines, which measures may have in view such a modification of the existing banking system as will conduce to the benefit of the whole people.

Inasmuch, therefore, as this committee will be called upon, as the country knows, to deal with any report upon a variety of measures, the public will not accept the vote of yesterday as an indication of the sentiment of the House upon the question whether or not the tax on State-bank circulation is to be repealed, but will rather accept it as an indication that this House, recognizing the variety and importance of the measures on which the committee will be called upon to act, has accorded it a privilege which in the previous history of the House has been conferred upon other committees having in charge the reporting of measures of great public interest.

Mr. REED. It is also the fact, I would suggest to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. JOHNSON], that the gentleman who led the House during the last Congress has been transferred to the chairmanship of this committee, thus showing the importance that is attached to it. [Laughter.]

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. Well, Mr. Speaker, I am not going into any discussion with the distinguished gentleman from Maine on that point——

Mr. REED. It is not a matter of discussion.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. Nor am I going to inquire as to the motives of the Chair in making the change. That is a question within the province of the Speaker; and I shall not undertake to invade the prerogative which under the rules is possessed by the occupant of the chair. I assume the gentleman from Maine believes in the power of the Chair.

Mr. REED. Not only in the power, but in the judiciousness of the Chair.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, I have no disposition to "smoke" anybody out or to "smoke" anybody in. The disclaimer of the gentleman from Indiana will go a long ways to disabuse the mind of the country on this question. But I want to say to him that the leading papers of the country this morning have admonished the Republican members of this House of the danger of the decision which was reached yesterday on this question. I desire now, however, to withdraw the amendment, with the consent of the House, and to restore its equilibrium to the *ante bellum* condition in which it was when I offered the amendment.

The Clerk resumed the reading.

Mr. SPRINGER. I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Add to Rule XI the following as an additional paragraph:

60. The committees authorized to report general appropriation bills and the river and harbor bill, when reporting such bills; the Committee on Ways and Means, when reporting bills raising revenue; the Committee on Banking and Currency, when reporting bills relating to banking and currency, and the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, when reporting bills relating to coinage, may, at the time of reporting such bills, report, by order of the committee, a resolution making the bill reported a special order, not to conflict with special orders which may then exist, and fixing the time when the vote shall be taken upon the final passage of the bill. Such resolutions may be called up for consideration the same as reports from the Committee on Rules, and shall be disposed of as provided in paragraph 57 of Rule XI.

Mr. SPRINGER. The only effect of this proposition is that if adopted the committees named will have the right, when reporting bills relating to the subjects named, to report a resolution providing for the consideration of the measure and fixing a time when the final vote shall be taken, the consideration of this resolution to be subject to the same provisions as reports from the Committee on Rules. This proposition does not include a cloture; it does not interfere with any of the prerogatives of the House; it simply extends to the committees named the right to report a resolution in regard to the business which they may present, and to secure its consideration, which power is now by the rules of the House confided to the Committee on Rules.

Mr. CATCHINGS. And which has never been exercised.

Mr. SPRINGER. It was exercised in the last Congress.

Mr. TRACEY. Never.

Mr. CATCHINGS. It was never exercised during the last Congress, because there was no necessity for it, and there will be none in this.

Mr. SAYERS. Has the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] any objection to striking from his amendment the provision with regard to the Committee on Appropriations?

Mr. SPRINGER. I have no objection myself, but I thought it would be proper to include that committee as well as any other.

Mr. SAYERS. The Committee on Appropriations does not ask this privilege.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Does the Committee on Ways and Means ask it?

Mr. SPRINGER. I have not consulted with that committee. I am not the chairman of that committee.

Mr. TRACEY. The Committee on Coinage do not ask it either.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, the only power given here is that proposed to be conferred on the members of the committee reporting these great measures to determine for themselves as to the order of business fixed by the House for their consideration; and when that resolution is submitted to the House it is for the House to determine whether that business will be considered or not. The whole question is left eventually to the House.

The honorable gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] says that this power has never been exercised by the Committee on Rules. It was given to the Committee on Rules in the last Congress after a protracted struggle in this body. I favored it then and I favor it now, and I also favor its extension so as to enlarge the power and extend to more members of the House that authority which is conferred on the Committee on Rules. I believe that there are measures reported by the committees of which they themselves are the best judges. I have limited the operation of this particular rule to the committees having charge of the more important business.

I have the highest respect for the Committee on Rules, and I do not know any five members of this House to whom I would more willingly prefer to submit a question involving the order of business here than the gentlemen composing that committee. I make no reflection whatever upon the committee. But I think there is a necessity that the members of these other committees, who have considered more carefully the matters before them, should be permitted to present their suggestions to the House, and submit such propositions for consideration as they may determine.

It would not interfere with legislation. It would not interfere with any existing order, but it would enable the House to do just as the House did when this called session began, bring in an order fixing the time during which the debate should be allowed to extend, fixing also the extent to which amendments should be submitted, and finally fixing a time when the vote on the question itself should take place. And the House, Mr. Speaker, never did itself more honor than it did in adopting the course pursued at the beginning of this extra session in regard to the repeal bill. And for the dignified, manly parliamentary method which was adopted and pursued in that debate, and in the conclusion of that important question, the whole country is resounding with praise for this body.

Mr. KILGORE. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. SPRINGER. Certainly.

Mr. KILGORE. I wish to ask the gentleman from Illinois if either of the committees named in that amendment have asked for this privilege; or is this a resolution presented by the gentleman from Illinois himself on his own individual motion?

Mr. SPRINGER. It is submitted on my own motion.

Mr. KILGORE. Without any consultation whatever with the other committees?

Mr. SPRINGER. Without any consultation.

Mr. KILGORE. As the chairman of the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures is not present, and is deeply con-

cerned in the outcome of legislation submitted to the committee, and as he has not asked this, I am opposed to it.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I do not know that it is necessary for a member here to go to any other member in order to get his consent to bring in a proposition looking to the transaction of the public business. I am acting on my individual rights as a member here, and I do not intend to usurp any prerogative that belongs to any committee or to any other member. But I have heard the gentleman from Texas himself, and other members of this House, state that they hoped to see, and desired to have, other legislation than the repeal bill in regard to silver, and yet when a proposition is brought in here to give that committee a right to have fair consideration of legislation that they may propose, gentlemen are opposed to allowing them that privilege. I can not understand the cause of the opposition.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. MCMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, second only in importance to the measures that are to come before this House are the rules by which those measures are to be considered, because it is through the rules of the House and by them that they are either to succeed or fail.

I can not agree, sir, that the proposition of the gentleman from Illinois is a proper one to be adopted by the House as its policy; and I think it becomes every one, when we are considering the nature of the rules to govern this body in its action, to do so calmly, dispassionately, and with the sole purpose of reaching that conclusion which is best for all.

Now the gentleman from Illinois spoke of the action of the House at the beginning of this session on the silver bill, and alluded to the success with which it brought to a termination the very important and exceedingly exciting question that we have just disposed of and sent over to the Senate. The gentleman was unfortunate in his illustration, for he must bear in mind that that was the voluntary action of the House, and not a report from any committee nor a cloture against dilatory motions. It was the action of the House taken as a body, without any order from a committee for cloture; without any request from a committee of the House for cloture, and was adopted in that way by the House itself, which is usually the most satisfactory way of settling such matters.

Mr. BOATNER. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. MCMILLIN. With pleasure I yield to my friend from Louisiana.

Mr. BOATNER. Would it have been possible for the House to have finally acted on that measure and sent it to the Senate under the present rules of the House, or under the proposed rules to be adopted, without a cloture resolution being reported to change the rule to that extent so as to compel action upon the measure?

Mr. MCMILLIN. I think it would, and for the best of reasons. I think I can convince my good friend from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER] that that is correct, because the power to filibuster existed against the rule that was adopted concerning silver, and if parties had wanted to fight it in that way, they could have done so when the rule was presented.

Mr. SPRINGER. The House had not adopted any rules then.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Under general parliamentary law the filibustering could have gone on.

Mr. BOATNER. Does the gentleman understand that the dilatory motions which are embodied in the rules now proposed to be adopted are recognized by general parliamentary law as operative against the previous question?

Mr. MCMILLIN. I think dilatory motions could be interposed before the adoption of rules. It has been the practice of the House so long to entertain such motions under the rules and the rulings under them have been so persistent, that I take it any presiding officer would hesitate before he would decide that that was not the common law of parliamentary bodies in this country. To say the least of it, there were enough dilatory motions that could have been interposed to have delayed consideration.

Mr. BOATNER. Is it not clear, under our common parliamentary law, that the previous question absolutely cuts off debate and dilatory motions, and brings the body which adopts it to a direct vote on the proposition before the House?

Mr. MCMILLIN. I think, under our system, where we have had these privileged motions so long, they constitute the foundation of the parliamentary common law, if I may so express it, in this country. I think it has been decided that way generally in this country. I can not say that it has been the universal decision.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] has spoken about the rule concerning cloture, which was in the rules of the last House of Representatives. My views upon this question are not new to the older members of this House. I have held always, and I hold now, that if let alone 356 of the chosen representatives of 65,000,000 people, if they are able to govern the country, are able to govern themselves. They do not require guardians, and should not have them.

The House will generally govern itself better than others can govern it. Furthermore, I have never known a great and important question for which the people were anxious and struggling to be permanently defeated by filibustering in this House. Nobody else does. But when it comes to the ultimate rights of the people, when a thing is proposed which is to subvert their Government or ruthlessly rob it, then I do know that filibustering has done very important work in preventing it: and I would like those gentlemen who are so anxious to put the bit and bridle on the House now to reflect what would have been our condition if the "force bill" had not been resisted by filibustering in the Senate, during the Fifty-first Congress. What would have become of us then if your iron-clad rules had been in force? What would you have done in the Forty-fourth Congress if Speaker Blaine had not entertained dilatory motions, or had rules like this proposed?

Mr. SPRINGER. There was a majority in the Senate against the force bill.

Mr. MCMILLIN. That is a mistake. It would have passed any day a vote was reached—any hour. I know what I am talking about; dilatory motions alone defeated it. Twice our institutions have been saved in this way; and yet we are to tear down this safeguard.

Again, sir, the gentleman from Mississippi has very justly suggested that whilst the cloture rule was in the last code of rules to be put in operation by the Committee on Rules, as a matter of fact it never was put in operation during the session; and if I believed that the cloture rule was to be invoked without that consensus of a majority of the Representatives on the Democratic side of this House, which was promised in the last session, I should oppose it *in toto* here and now. It was promised then that it never should be applied except when sought by a majority of the Democrats here, and that promise was kept. I suppose that faith will be kept again.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I would like one minute more.

Mr. MCCREARY of Kentucky. If I can be recognized I will yield to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN].

The SPEAKER. In the absence of objection that will be done.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Now, Mr. Speaker, I happen to belong to one of the committees that is embraced in this resolution. It is the one that has the most tedious and difficult work to be performed in the Committee of the Whole. And after a very long experience there I do not hesitate to say that without any cloture, by the force of public sentiment behind us, which is a greater power than cloture and a more laudable one, and which has always proved a sufficient power in this House, we will be able to get through whatever tariff measure is proper to be adopted without the adoption of this rule. Therefore I would leave to the individual members of the House the greatest possible latitude and liberty.

While I am on the subject, as I do not wish to weary the House with persistent speaking, I do not hesitate to say that I think that another thing that is embraced in the rules as reported is of very questionable propriety, and that is the proposition concerning which my friend from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN] addressed the House the other day, being the proposition to reduce the quorum in Committee of the Whole to 100 members. But of that we can speak when it comes up. With all due deference to my friend from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER], I do not think his amendment is well. Cloture ought to be invoked not upon the suggestion of one member or one committee, but it ought to be the voice and action of that party in this House, as a party, which is responsible for its business, and any cloture brought in in any other way and put in operation by any other enginery will prove a curse rather than a blessing and will attach to the majority a responsibility without the power to control it.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. BOATNER. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] says that the power to invoke cloture or rather the power to give to a motion for the previous question the force and effect which it possesses under ordinary parliamentary law, will affix to this side of the House a responsibility for legislation without giving them the power to control it.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Possibly I did not make myself clear. If my friend will pardon me, I will say that the way that would operate would be this: The House consists of 356 members. If 80 members on the Democratic side of this House were to act with the Republicans that are on the other side, agreeing in the cloture, it would enable the Republican minority, with the assistance of the 80, to carry cloture, and so enact anything they choose, in opposition to the wishes of the majority of the Democrats, who, as a party and as individuals, are responsible for legislation.

Mr. BOATNER. I understand the gentleman's position to be that the Democratic party would be responsible for the clotures which would be ordered by Republican votes. Now, in respect to this matter, Mr. Speaker, I beg to call his attention and the attention of the House to this fact. Certainly the Democratic party would not be divided on cloture upon a measure of political importance or upon a question of politics, or a question involving Democratic principles. Certainly the Democratic side of this House could be relied upon to stand together on any question of political legislation, except silver.

In any matter of nonpolitical legislation, Mr. Speaker, they ought not to divide upon party lines. In any matter of ordinary business legislation, in matters which affect the general welfare in a business way, which affect the interests of locality and States where no political principle is involved, I apprehend, sir, that this House ought not to divide upon political lines. I do not see how it could divide upon political lines, because legislation which addresses itself to our judgment in the interest of the public ought to address itself to any Republican who is here and who desires to honestly discharge his duty. I can not see for my life wherein there is any objection to the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER], which merely gives the chairman of a committee, or to the committee itself when it reports a bill or report, an order of business upon it, instead of leaving it to the Committee on Rules for that purpose.

The only objection there can be is that the committee of the House and the House itself shall be under the subjection and control of the Committee on Rules. If the object and purpose of the rules is to make the legislation of the House entirely subject to the will, the opinion, and judgement of the Committee on Rules, why, then, Mr. Speaker, the rule as it is is eminently fitted to accomplish that purpose; but, if it is the purpose of the rules of the House to give to each committee of the House, or the committee named by the amendment, the right when they present their business to submit to the judgment of the House a proposition as to the time and manner when the business shall be considered, why, then, sir, it seems to me that the amendment should be adopted.

I can not imagine what objection there can be to the proposition that when the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means [Mr. WILSON] reports his tariff bill he should submit to the House at that time a proposition for its consideration, and when the head of every one of these other committees submits his bill to the House that he should submit a proposition for its consideration.

Now, sir, gentlemen are getting extremely sensitive in the last few days about the danger of Republican coöperation. They did not seem to be so averse to it only a few days ago, when they were having the Republican side of the House expounding the Democratic platform and dictating to a large number of Democrats of this House what legislation ought to be enacted in carrying out that platform. It has only been since that legislation has gotten out of the way that this feeling of opposition to Republican coöperation has arisen. I repeat, that I see no objection to the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois, unless it be an objection put into the power of the committees and into the power of the majority of the House to control the business of the House, instead of leaving it with the Committee on Rules.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to say one word in concluding the debate upon this proposition. I want to call the attention of members of this House to the fact that in our present rules we put the veto power upon legislation in the hands of five members of the House—the Committee on Rules. Those five members can absolutely put a veto upon any bill that the majority of this House may desire, or which all the other members of this House may desire to pass.

Now, there is a veto power in the President of the United States; but we have a redress as to that. If two-thirds of the members of the House are willing we can pass it over his veto. But there is a veto power in this House, under the rules, placed in the hands of the Committee on Rules; and when that committee desires to exercise that veto there is no appeal anywhere. The whole of the rest of the House can not reach a measure or pass it. Now, it seems to me that those who oppose "one-man power" would equally want to oppose "five-man power." I have a great respect for the members of that committee, and there are no five men to whom I would give that power more readily than to them; but I do believe that the power ought to be extended a little further, and that the veto power should not be confined to them.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I would ask the gentleman whether his real purpose in this is not to give to the chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency a greater power than to the chairman of any other committee.

Mr. SPRINGER. Not at all, sir. It has precisely the same power as any other member of this House, or any other chairman of a committee. The Committee on Banking and Currency has the power, under these rules, unless the Committee on Rules will bring in a proposition, to beat any bill that all the rest of this House may be in favor of. He has it at this time.

Now, the gentleman from Tennessee says he has never known filibustering to defeat good legislation. I call his attention to a fact that in the Fiftieth Congress, when we were considering what is known as the Mills bill, we had no power in the Committee on Rules to bring in a cloture, and we were obliged to submit to a discussion of that measure which lasted for three months. The length of that discussion prolonged the session until the 20th of October in a Presidential year, and I believe that if the Committee on Ways and Means had had the power to bring in an order such as was brought in here the other day and adopted with regard to the repeal of the Sherman law, and we had given three weeks for the discussion of the Mills bill, at the end of that discussion we would have passed it by as large a majority as we did have, and then we could have adjourned and gone home, and I believe that if we had done that we would probably have changed the result of the Presidential election and elected Mr. Cleveland President that year.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. I want to remind the gentleman that the Mills bill passed the House early in June, and that the delay occurred not here, but at the other end of the Capitol, and that is what kept Congress here so late.

Mr. SPRINGER. But we discussed it for three months in this House.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. But we passed it early in June.

Mr. SPRINGER. Well, we ought to have sent the bill over to the Senate in April, and we could have done it if we had had such a rule as I have suggested; but we were obliged to sit here for three months listening to that discussion and until nearly every member had exhausted himself in offering amendments. Now, I am opposed to permitting one man to obstruct legislation. We are delegated by our constituents to legislate, but when we come here the first thing we do is to give away our power and confer it upon one man.

Mr. KILGORE. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. SPRINGER. And the gentleman from Texas, who now asks me to yield, has had more power under our rules than the President of the United States or the majority of this House.

Mr. KILGORE. I see the gentleman wants to have another "business" Congress, a Congress "to do business."

Mr. SPRINGER. And the gentleman from Texas wants the opposite of that, a Congress that will not do business.

Mr. KILGORE. I want one as opposite as it can be to the Fifty-first Congress. [Laughter.]

Mr. SPRINGER. Well, as between the two extremes, a business Congress such as my friend refers to and a Congress that will not do any business, I prefer a Congress which will do the business that ought to be done and the members of which, exercising their discretion as representatives of the people, will vote down improper legislation and vote up that which should become law, and I am willing to trust the people's representatives with power to do that.

Mr. HOLMAN. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of one of the committees named in the pending amendment, I wish to say that no such extraordinary power as that which is proposed in the pending amendment is necessary to enable that committee to perform its duties. I am very confident that it is not necessary to secure the prompt passage of any of the appropriation bills, and they at least should be stricken out if the amendment is to be adopted.

My friend from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] has denounced in strong terms the exercise of power by a minority in this House. I call his attention to the fact that if the power which he now denounces and proposes to strike down had not existed in the Forty-second Congress, it is reasonably certain that no Democratic majority would now occupy these seats. [Applause.] Had there not been a fair and impartial officer in the Speaker's chair, and had there been such a rule as is now proposed the force bill of the Forty-second Congress would have passed and become a law. None of the gentlemen I am sure who sat here day after day and night after night resisting that measure, none of them at least will ever give their sanction to a rule that will manacle and chain down the minority, such as my friend from Illinois now presents.

It is certain, Mr. Speaker, that vastly more bad measures than good measures have been beaten by the exercise, under the rules, of a fair and reasonable power by the minority. Indeed, I do not call to mind a single measure during my service here that ought to have become a law that has been defeated by motions for delay, while I can call to mind a multitude of bills which have been defeated by simple delay and which were never heard of afterwards. I am exceedingly sorry, sir, that there is a dis-

position here to force down the minority. I think that a vigorous and intelligent minority is of the highest moment in a legislative body. I do not refer to political majorities and minorities, but to those who support and those who oppose given measures of legislation. I even regret very much that some of the restrictive provisions contained in the rules as reported are to become a part of the rules of this House. I do not wish to see legislation made easy.

No wiser expression has ever been uttered on this floor than that of the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON] yesterday, that the bane and peril of a republic is too much legislation, not too little. "The world is governed too much."

Mr. SPRINGER. The gentleman speaks of "a minority." How large a number of members, in his opinion, should there be to constitute a minority? Would five be enough?

Mr. HOLMAN. Oh, my friend refers now especially to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE], but that gentleman was backed by a large element in this House.

Mr. DOCKERY. Yes; he was not alone.

Mr. HOLMAN. He was not alone. I have never known a single instance of a gentleman attempting to filibuster on this floor who was not backed by an intelligent body of members, who believed that his course was right. Take the case of my friend from Ohio [Mr. OUTHWAITE]. Does any gentleman condemn his course in filibustering in the last Congress on a provision in the sundry civil bill which saved two millions and a half dollars to the people?

I venture to say that not one of his constituents ever censured him and his associates for saving that $2,500,000 to the Treasury. And yet, under the rule proposed by my friend from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER], resistance to that measure would have been impossible. I pray you, gentlemen, not to adopt rules that will break down all barriers to access to your Treasury.

Mr. SPRINGER. That depends on whether the majority of the Committee on Appropriations and of the House favored the appropriation or not.

Mr. SAYERS. That two and a half million proposition did not come from the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Mr. Speaker, I ask for a vote upon the pending amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk (resuming the reading) read as follows:

RULE XII.

DELEGATES.

The Speaker shall appoint from among the Delegates one additional member on each of the following committees, viz: Coinage, Weights, and Measures, Agriculture, Military Affairs, Post-Office and Post-Roads, Public Lands, Indian Affairs, Private Land Claims, and Mines and Mining, and two on the Committee on Territories, and they shall possess in their respective committees the same powers and privileges as in the House, and may make any motion except to reconsider.

Mr. FLYNN. Mr. Speaker, I move to amend this proposed rule by striking out the words "Public Lands and Indian Affairs" in line 5 and inserting those words after the word "Territories" in line 7. The object of this amendment is to authorize the Speaker of this House, in addition to the appointment of two Delegates upon the Committee on Territories, to appoint two upon the Committee on Indian Affairs, and two upon the Committee on Public Lands. I have no fault to find with the assignments that have been given me by the Speaker. I have nothing whatever to complain of in reference to the Committee on Rules, but I think the Speaker should be empowered, under the circumstances, to make these additional appointments of Delegates upon committees.

The Delegates on this floor have no vote upon any question; and the Territories are not represented directly in the other end of the Capitol. We simply ask the conferring of this additional power upon the Speaker in order that the Territories may have just recognition. My Territory has at the present time, or within sixteen days from to-day will have, an area of 30,000 square miles. I represent to-day more than one-half of the Indians of the United States. But under the rules as now before the House the Speaker is not empowered to place me upon either of these committees having charge of these subjects.

The only legislation in which our people are especially interested goes before these three committees; but the Speaker has been powerless to recognize us to the extent of allowing us to be heard as members of the two committees embraced in my amendment; we have no vote in those committees upon any question coming before them. There is nothing partisan in this proposition; and I trust in justice to the Speaker and in fairness to the delegates from the Territories, no gentleman on this floor will object to authorizing the appointment of these two additional members upon each of the committees named—the Committee on Indian Affairs and the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. There are already ten committee places assigned to four Delegates, which seems to me to give them certainly their fair proportion of representation as compared with members of the House. There can certainly be no necessity for extending this representation. Delegates from the Territories can appear before any of the committees upon matters in which they are interested. I hope the amendment will not prevail.

Mr. FLYNN. Mr. Speaker, if the Speaker were authorized to give the Delegates the representation proposed in my amendment errors such as that pointed out yesterday by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM] could not occur. He made the statement that a committee in reporting a measure with reference to Oklahoma included within that Territory the Panhandle of Texas.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. That was before it was a Territory.

Mr. FLYNN. What objection is there, as we have no vote on this floor, to allowing us representation on these committees? We have a greater interest than any gentleman on this floor in the matters coming before those two committees.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. This Congress will probably admit two or three of the Territories as States; and then there will be ten places to be distributed between two or three Delegates.

Mr. FLYNN. But what are we to do between now and the time when we are admitted?

The question being taken on the amendment of Mr. FLYNN, it was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

RULE XIV.

OF DECORUM AND DEBATE.

1. When any member desires to speak or deliver any matter to the House, he shall rise and respectfully address himself to "Mr. Speaker," and, on being recognized, may address the House from any place on the floor or from the Clerk's desk, and shall confine himself to the question under debate, avoiding personality.

Mr. HEPBURN. Mr. Speaker, the Clerk has at the desk an amendment sent up by me the other day which I ask now be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend Rule XIV by inserting after the word "Speaker," in line 3, the words "and shall be recognized, if in order, by the Speaker," so that the clause will read—

"When any member desires to speak or deliver any matter to the House, he shall rise and respectfully address himself to, 'Mr. Speaker,' and shall be recognized, if in order, by the Speaker, and on being recognized may address the House," etc.

Mr. HEPBURN. Mr. Speaker, the change that I propose in this rule is not a novelty. It was the rule of the House and was observed in practice until the Forty-fifth or Forty-sixth Congress. It is the rule of the Senate to-day, as gentlemen will find by turning to page 128 of our Manual. I call attention to Rule XLIV as reported by the Committee on Rules, which recognizes Jefferson's Manual as embodying general parliamentary law; and I call attention, further, to page 129 of Jefferson's Manual, the second paragraph of which reads:

When a member stands up to speak, no question is to be put, but he is to be heard unless the House overrules him.

Mr. Speaker, this rule, as I propose it should be, was the rule of this House until less than fifteen years ago. It is the rule of the Senate of the United States. It is in harmony with the general parliamentary law on this subject. Rule XIV, as reported by the committee, is the most important rule in its bearing upon the interests of individual members and their constituents to be found in the entire list reported.

It places more power in the hands of the Speaker than any other rule. It gives to the Speaker the right absolutely without question to remand any member on this floor to absolute silence during an entire Congress, except that he may be permitted to vote when his name is called or other opportunity is given. The Speaker can show the most marked favoritism—although I do not expect it to occur—toward particular members of this House. He may under this rule say to one constituency, "You shall not be heard in the preparation of legislation, in the discussion upon legislation; you shall not be heard to make a motion or an amendment or in anyway to participate in legislation until the period for voting occurs."

I do not believe this power ought to be lodged in the Speaker. I believe it is in direct violation of the spirit of the Constitution. We have the right to formulate rules for the government of this House, but they must be in harmony with the Constitution, and must be such as do not take away from any constituency its rights or from any member his equality on this floor. The rule as now reported does this.

Mr. Speaker, I want to call attention to a colloquy that occurred only a few days ago between myself and the honorable gentleman [Mr. OUTHWAITE] who has assisted in reporting these rules.

I asked this question:

As the rule is framed now is it not in the power of the Speaker to entirely disfranchise a member on this floor during an entire session except so far as casting his vote is concerned?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. If that be true——

Mr. HEPBURN. Will you answer my question?
Mr. OUTHWAITE. I intend to do so.
Mr. HEPBURN. Let me ask, further, was it not the intent of the rule now before us to put that power in the hands of the Speaker?
Mr. OUTHWAITE. No; it was not the intent of the rule. Conceding that such a state of affairs might result, there is no likelihood of its occurring. It is certainly a lesser evil than would result from several members rising together at different times during the business of the House and wrangling and struggling for precedence on the floor, as they would be encouraged to do by such a change as is proposed by the gentleman.

Now, then, think for a moment of the objection the gentleman had to the adoption of this rule. He tells us that the objection to such an amendment is that it would occasion confusion on the floor. He is in error, Mr. Speaker, I say most respectfully, because the clause that follows this one, clause 2 of the same rule, furnishes a remedy in cases of that kind if they shall arise.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. PICKLER and Mr. GEAR asked that Mr. HEPBURN'S time be extended.

There was no objection.

Mr. HEPBURN. I say, Mr. Speaker, that the next clause of the rule furnishes a remedy. It provides for the emergency suggested by my friend when two or more members arise, and instead of there being the confusion that he suggests, and wrangling and struggling for the floor, the Speaker puts an end to the difficulty under this second clause by designating who shall speak.

This rule, as I propose to amend it, only gives a member the right to be heard when he is in order, and not otherwise. It stipulates that the Speaker shall recognize him if in order. It may be said, "Why, the Speaker will do that anyhow." But our observation is to the contrary. We see every day members rising here and asking to be heard, and the Speaker, perhaps, suggesting to them the inquiry, "For what purpose does the gentleman rise?" or suggesting to them when a proper motion is made, one that is entirely in order, "The gentleman is not recognized for the purpose of making a motion of that kind." This power, Mr. Speaker, ought not to exist.

I heard the honored Speaker a day or two ago declaiming against the peril of lodging in the hands of a Speaker of the House power to determine whether or not a member was sitting in his seat. Perhaps that is a great power. I am not here to discuss that now. But this rule puts it in the power of the Speaker to determine not once that a man is in his seat at some particular moment during the day, but to determine during the whole session that he is not in his seat, and gives the Speaker the power to say that his constituency shall be no more represented than though he were not in his seat or in the House during the whole session.

In my judgment, Mr. Speaker, that power ought not to be lodged in the hands of a presiding officer. I heard the honored Speaker again inveighing against investing the presiding officer with power to determine whether a motion was in its nature a dilatory motion. He tells us that no man should be invested with such a dangerous power as that, and yet this very rule gives him the power, not of determining the character of a motion, but gives him the power during the whole session of Congress to say that no motion of any kind shall be submitted by the representative of a constituency on this floor.

Why, gentlemen, you halt at this limited and circumscribed power of counting or recognizing the presence of a man here, of determining whether a motion is in its nature dilatory, and yet you give to the Speaker without hesitation, or propose to give to him, in this code of rules the power to declare practically that a member is absent during his whole term, or that he may make no motion at all during his entire membership of the House. This rule is in itself particularly burdensome to the younger members of the House. It places them at a great disadvantage. I am sure that after they have had experience of its working, after they know practically how it operates, it will be absolutely impossible to secure their consent to a rule of this kind.

As I stated before, there are a number of gentlemen on the floor who, from their deserved eminence, can always secure recognition. They are always recognized by the Chair whenever they rise to address it. But the great majority, the 300 or the 325, have no such guaranty that they will be given opportunity to perform their duties as members of this body.

I conjure you, gentlemen, not to allow this rule, as it is reported, to become the rule of the House. If the amendment I have proposed should turn out to be to the disadvantage of business, it will be easy to change it. The Committee on Rules can bring in an amendment at any time for that purpose. But if the rules as they are proposed here are adopted and fastened on us, they will remain during the Congress, and there will be no possibility of a change. They will stand as the rules of the House during your entire membership, and you will be the persons on whom the burdens of this system will mainly rest.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Mr. Speaker, this rule which is sought to be changed has been the rule of the House for a long time; and while I have only had a limited experience here, yet during that experience I never have observed the imaginary evil which the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN] presents, that the Speaker will deliberately, with malice aforethought, disfranchise a member——

Mr. HEPBURN. I did not say anything of that kind.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Well, I can not imagine any other way than that the Speaker might determine that a member should not be recognized. I can not imagine that such a thing could occur as the gentleman points out as the evil of this rule, namely, the disfranchisement of any district, unless the Speaker, with malice aforethought, determined that the Representative from that district should not be recognized when he ought to be recognized, and had business upon which he might then be recognized.

I will call the attention of members of the House to the fact that this is a system of rules by which business is sought to be transacted in an orderly way; that there must be lodged somewhere discretion as to who shall participate in business at particular times. It is recognized by the rules that the chairman of the committee having in charge a bill, or any gentleman, not the chairman of a committee, having charge of a bill, shall be recognized at certain points in the discussion as against everyone else. He must then be recognized to control the conduct of the business intrusted to his charge. This proposition is to take away from the Speaker any discretion, and to provide that he must recognize whomsoever may arise on the floor.

I have seen as many as twenty gentlemen or more upon their feet addressing the Chair at one time, seeking an opportunity to address the House or to offer motions. This amendment says the Speaker must recognize the member rising. Must he not at once exercise a discretion? I must say that it has been exercised for a long period in the past in such a manner that there has been very little complaint, if any, that the different political parties upon this floor have not received their fair share of recognition. In fact, it is the custom for the Speaker to recognize members on one side of the House and then to recognize members upon the other side of the House, and to distribute recognition thus fairly.

An objection to the rule as proposed to be amended is really not that it would be necessary to have it changed by the Committee on Rules, but that it would be inoperative from the beginning. It simply places the Speaker in an embarrassing position. When six or eight or ten gentlemen arise, which one must he recognize? Upon what rule shall he determine? He must use his discretion; and then this rule may be appealed to by some gentleman, who says, "I was on the floor first," or another, who says, "No; I was on the floor first."

Now, as to new members and beginners in Congress being in anywise subjected to peculiar embarrassment on account of the present regulation—the custom is for members, when they desire recognition, to notify the Chair that they desire to speak upon a subject, and the Chair makes a list, and that list is kept; and gentlemen, though not always recognized in the order in which their names are upon the list, yet are recognized at some time in the debate, and as soon as recognition can conveniently be given. Again, as to occasions to ask unanimous consent, gentlemen go up and ask the Chair and receive their recognitions along as opportunity comes.

As I have said before, the present rule avoids throwing the House into confusion and avoids the necessity of raising the question of precedence, of priority.

In the recent debate that we had upon the great measure just passed, the new members in this House cut quite as conspicuous a figure as the old ones. They had just as good opportunities to speak, and I am pleased to say that they handsomely availed themselves of those opportunities.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I desire to say a word on the motion. The practice, as has been stated by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. OUTHWAITE], has been, when a committee brings in a report or reports a bill, for the chairman of that committee to take the floor; and if the time is agreed upon for debate between the two sides he controls the time on one side and apportions it out pretty much as he wants to, and some opposing gentleman on the other side of the Chamber, if the measure is opposed, controls the time on that side.

Now, the honorable gentleman from Ohio [Mr. OUTHWAITE] says that if the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN] is adopted and made a part of the rules it would be embarrassing for the Speaker to recognize any one particular gentleman. Why, that is a part of the Speaker's duty. That is one of the functions he has to perform, and it ought not to be avoided and evaded by keeping any list by which particular persons in the House should be recognized. This custom of keeping a list by the Speaker is, in my opinion, a bad one, and ought

to be abandoned. Every member of this House has a right to arise and address the Speaker, and instead of providing by your rules now,

if recognized by the Speaker,

it ought to be made imperatively the duty of the Speaker to recognize the man who first arises and catches his eye. Now, it is well known to the older members of this body that all debate upon any proposition introduced by a standing committee or a special committee is regulated largely by the chairman of that committee, and he peddles out the time of the House. Every member ought to be recognized when he rises. There is no difficulty in discharging this duty if the Speaker is as honest and as fair and as candid as the present incumbent of the Speaker's chair. He would then distribute the privilege of debate not alone to the committee that reports the measure, but he would recognize every man whose constituency were interested and who desired to be heard, either to speak or offer amendments.

I therefore submit that the custom that has grown up of keeping a list is not a fair one, and ought not to be any longer observed by the House; but the Speaker ought to recognize and ought to decide whether one member or the other has arisen first to address the Chair. I have witnessed scenes in this House, and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. OUTHWAITE] has witnessed scenes, so he knows very well that the power of saying one word was a power which solely belonged to the chairman of the committee.

I shall never forget a little incident which occurred when I was a young member, a great many years ago, when my honorable friend from Pennsylvania, the greatest of the leaders of the House that has sat here in my time [Mr. Randall], introduced a particular measure. I had been here three months and had not opened my mouth, and did not know whether I should or not in the first session of Congress; but a friend went to Mr. Randall and said: "There is a new member here from the region of Mississippi, which has been referred to by some debater on this side, and I should like him to have an opportunity to speak for ten or fifteen minutes." Mr. Randall turned and looked up at me, and he had a way of closing one of his eyes whenever he was in a very scrutinizing mood, and, after looking me all over, he said: "Well, he is a new member; there is no telling what in the devil he may say, and I think he had better not speak."

And I did not speak. I never got even with him until he invited me to go to Philadelphia with a number of other gentlemen and make a speech in his behalf when he was a candidate for reëlection. He had invited several other members and one or two Senators. I had not known Mr. Randall then, but I had the honor afterwards of becoming well acquainted with him, and with being honored by being classed among his friends. He came to me and asked me to go to Philadelphia and make an address with a number of other gentlemen. That was the first time I had a chance at him. When he approached me, and I was sitting about where the gentleman from Ohio now sits, and gave me the invitation, I looked him all over from head to foot, as he had done me, and said: "Mr. Randall, I am a new member; there is no telling what the devil I may say, and I had better not speak;" but I did.

The gentleman from Ohio knows very well that under the operation of this rule as it now stands the Speaker would be clothed with absolute power, and is clothed with absolute power, to recognize or not recognize as he chooses; and it is a function which the Speaker I do not think would like to exercise, but would prefer to cast his eye over the House and see whether any member arose for the purpose of addressing the House, and whether he is in order or not, and if in order, it would be his pleasure, as just and equitable and right, to recognize the man who first rose and respectfully addressed him. I am, therefore, in favor of the amendment.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I do not think the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN] ought to be adopted. I do not believe it would be wise to make any arbitrary rule of recognition in the House. The matter of recognition must necessarily be left to the discretion of the Speaker. Now, what would be the effect if the rules were adopted as provided by the gentleman? It has always been the custom here, under the rule, to permit a member of the committee, the chairman, or some other member of the committee who reports the measure, to take the floor in its advocacy.

The Speaker first recognizes that member to take the floor, and he has it for an hour under the rules. Now, suppose you adopt the arbitrary rule which the amendment provides; when that member has concluded his remarks the first gentleman who catches the Speaker's eye must be recognized. The custom has always obtained here for the Speaker to recognize the minority on the question. If the committee that reports the measure is divided, some member of the minority who is opposed to the measure is recognized under the customs of this House. And that is right and proper, because he comes from the committee that reported the measure and has examined the measure. But if it should turn out under the practice that the Representative on the minority of the committee reporting the measure should not be so alert as some gentleman immediately in front of the Speaker who had no connection with the question, and who was not a member of the committee—yet this gentleman who has had nothing to do with the consideration of the measure being first to address the Speaker under this arbitrary rule, the Speaker, having no discretion, not being allowed to recognize a member of the minority of the committee as opposed to the measure, would be compelled to recognize the other gentleman who had no connection with the matter, who would then have the floor for one hour, and thus the House would be taken away entirely from the consideration of the question and the argument of the question by the gentlemen who had considered it in committee. A gentleman getting the floor in opposition to a measure would have control of it, and might move the previous question before other members of the committee had had a chance to consider it.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Will the gentleman allow me to make an inquiry?

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Yes, sir.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Do you not think that the time has come when gentlemen sitting in a remote part of the House should be recognized?

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. That is only one object——

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I think it is very material.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Where a member sits should have nothing to do with the question.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Three or four of you gentlemen would control the whole business.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. The gentleman will not hear me. The gentleman sitting in a remote part of the Hall, so far as that is concerned, may be the very gentleman entitled to the floor, and a gentleman who has his seat immediately in front of the Chair may be recognized who has no connection with the question at all, and yet he would have control of it for an hour.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. No connection with it! Is he not a member of the House, and has not he connection with every matter that comes up here?

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Not necessarily. The House might not desire to hear from him at that time; it might desire to hear from the member who had examined the matter and who had well considered views upon it; and yet the gentleman sitting where my friend from Mississippi now sits, in front of the Chair, would have a great advantage over the gentleman sitting in a remote corner of the Hall who had investigated the subject, and whose business it had been to do so.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Arkansas. If this amendment were adopted, would it not be possible for a member in opposition to a measure under consideration during the second morning hour to get the floor and exhaust the hour without permitting the measure to be brought to a vote?

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Unquestionably it would. Such a provision would take away from the Speaker the discretion to recognize the member in charge of a measure. If the member was not the first to address the Speaker, some other gentleman having anticipated him, the discussion of the measure would be taken away from the man who had charge of it, who was presumed to understand it, and whom the House wanted to hear.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Arkansas. And a vote would be defeated entirely, under the limitation of the morning hour?

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Certainly. Now, Mr. Speaker, this rule which it is proposed to change is not new. Gentlemen might infer from the remarks of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN] that the rule is a new one, but in fact it has existed in the House, substantially in this form, from 1789. At different times attempts have been made to change it; but the House has always, I believe, refused to make the change, and has left the question of recognition in the discretion of the Speaker. In the Forty-sixth Congress the question was fully examined by a committee of the House, and a very able report was made upon it by one of the most distinguished members that ever sat in this body, Mr. Garfield of Ohio. That committee made an exhaustive examination of the question, and the conclusion at which they arrived was, I think, the only correct one, namely, that the discretion as to recognition must be lodged in the Speaker.

With fifteen or twenty men on the floor, all clamoring and con-

tending as to which one had risen first, there would be perpetual disorder and confusion; no system, no method would be possible, and the only way to have method and order and system is for the Speaker to exercise the discretion in recognizing members. I ask the clerk to read the extract which I have marked from the report of that committee in the Forty-sixth Congress, made by Mr. Garfield.

The Clerk read as follows:

With the exception of the last clause of Rule CXIII, which was adopted in 1805, these rules have remained unchanged for ninety years. In the nature of the case discretion must be lodged with the presiding officer, and no fixed and arbitrary order of recognition can be wisely provided for in advance; and the committee are of opinion that these rules should not be changed.

The practice of making a list of those who desire to speak on measures before the House or Committee of the Whole is a proper one to enable the presiding officer to know and remember the wishes of members. As to the order of recognition, he should not be bound to follow the list, but should be free to exercise a wise and just discretion in the interest of full and fair debate.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. SMITH of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I wish to say a word upon this subject. I am inclined to favor the amendment of the gentleman from Iowa; but not because I have any idea that the new members have fared badly during the discussion which went on here for about fourteen days on the silver question. [Laughter.] As a matter of fact, the very new members seem to have fared much better on that occasion than some other comparatively new members who have been here longer.

It is a practice in the House, as all of us know, that in order to secure recognition we must appeal to the presiding officer in secret and get his consent to be recognized, before we can be heard on the floor. In some instances it may be that the proper dispatch of business would require that; but what is a member sent here for? He is elected by his constituency; he is supposed to be able to represent them when he gets here. A measure is up for discussion and consideration, and his people may wish to hear his views upon that subject, or he may want to express his views, so that his vote may be understood by his people at home, or he might possibly have some views which if expressed would be of benefit to the House. And yet, if the Speaker sees fit to do so, he can, under the proposed rule offered by the committee, prevent that member or any member from being heard on that subject.

During the time I have been in Congress I have personally known of just such instances. I would myself have been glad of an opportunity to have expressed my views on the silver question when it was under discussion for two weeks here, and I even went to the Speaker of the House and asked for an opportunity to be heard; but while it was promised, the privilege was never accorded me. It is probably as well for the country and for myself that I was not heard; but still a desire was lingering in my bosom to express my views on that subject, so that my people might know my reasons for the vote I should cast when the time for voting came.

I have not the presumption, sir, to suppose that at any time or under any circumstances I would be able to influence one solitary vote on this floor, nor would I care to speak for the purpose of hearing myself talk; but I would like sometimes to be recognized and to express my views. I believe, however, as I said in the beginning, that the very new members have no right to complain of anything that has occurred at this session. They seem to have been very generally recognized. [Laughter.] Mr. Speaker, I think I shall favor the adoption of the amendment of the gentleman from Iowa, because then, if we see fit to exercise our right, we can clamor for recognition on the floor and it will not take away from the Speaker any of his prerogatives; he does not need to open the eye that is opposite to the man that is clamoring, but can confine his vision to the other side and thus we will feel that we have all had an equal chance. [Laughter.]

In that way I suppose legislation could be conducted and business transacted just as rapidly and just as efficiently as it is now. But whether I shall support this amendment very strongly or or only weakly, I desire to say that in my judgment there ought to be a little more leniency shown on the part of the presiding officer when a member desires to be heard, he having a right to be heard by virtue of his election and having duties here to discharge under his oath of office and the certificate from the authorities of his State—a right to be heard upon all subjects brought up here for discussion.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. HEPBURN. Mr. Speaker, I read from the rules of the Forty-second Congress:

When any member is about to speak in debate or deliver any matter to the House, he shall rise from his seat and respectfully address himself to "Mr. Speaker."

That is all there is in those rules bearing on this question. And I understand that this was the rule down to the Forty-fifth or Forty-sixth Congress, when the words "and being recognized" were inserted. And those words, contrary to all the previous history and practice of the House of Representatives, have been construed as giving the Speaker the right arbitrarily to refuse recognition to a member who, having risen and addressed himself to the Chair, and being in order, desired to be heard.

Mr. Speaker, it is evident that some of the gentlemen who oppose my amendment are unfamiliar with the rules as here proposed. The clause which follows the one I seek to amend gives the Speaker power to determine and put an end to all the difficulties that gentlemen have thus far urged against the adoption of my amendment. In these rules, as reported, it is provided in a paragraph subsequent to that which I propose to amend, that "when two members rise the Speaker shall then determine who shall speak." If forty members rise the Speaker determines who shall have the floor. So that there can be no confusion added to the disorders of the House by reason of the amendment which I ask may be adopted.

My proposition is simply that a member rising in his place to deliver some matter to this House in the performance of the duties which he was sent here to perform "and being in order"—gentlemen, remember those words "and being in order"—shall be recognized by the Speaker. What objection is there to any member being recognized who is in order? Every difficulty gentlemen have suggested is obviated by some other rule. If in any instance the member rising should be out of order the Speaker would refuse to recognize him. This rule gives to the member simply the right to demand recognition when in order; and this every member on this floor ought to have.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, it is not necessary for me to disclaim any of the imputations which the gentleman from Ohio saw fit to put in my mouth with reference to the Speaker of this House. I have no doubt that he will construe this rule as he will the other rules of this House, in accordance with what he regards as fairness. But I do submit that the pending rule as proposed gives to the Chair a power which no man ought to have—the power to override the Constitution of the United States and to destroy the equality of constituencies represented on this floor.

[Here the hammer fell.]

The question being taken on the amendment of Mr. HEPBURN, it was rejected, there being—ayes 50, noes 85,

The Clerk read as follows:

7. While the Speaker is putting a question or addressing the House no member shall walk out of or across the Hall, nor, when a member is speaking, pass between him and the Chair; and during the session of the House no member shall wear his hat or remain by the Clerk's desk during the call of the roll or the counting of ballots, or smoke upon the floor of the House; and the Sergeant-at-Arms and Doorkeeper are charged with the strict enforcement of this clause.

Mr. MORSE. I move to amend by inserting after the words "floor of the House," in the eighth line of the paragraph just read, "neither shall any other person be allowed to smoke on the floor of the House at any time."

Mr. Speaker, this amendment which I have offered is a practical amendment, affecting the health of all the members of this House.

The amount of sickness among the members of Congress, I have observed since I have been a member of this body, is great, and the death rate among members of Congress, since I have been a member, is appalling.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this appalling circumstance is due in no small measure to foul, vile, bad air that we are asked to breathe in this Hall. Fourteen members associated with me in the Fifty-first Congress died, most of them while Congress was in session. I have not at hand the mortality of the last (Fifty-second) Congress.

The rules of this body, like its predecessors, contains the usual provision forbidding members to smoke on this floor, and that rule ought to be obeyed and enforced by the Doorkeeper, in justice to members who do not use tobacco, and there are a good many.

I have sometimes thought that a good amendment to this rule would be to add the words, "except cigars, pipes, and cigarettes." But be that as it may, my amendment goes b yond the present rule forbidding members to smoke during the sessions of the House, and proposes to reach the crowd of people who come upon this floor before the session of the House begins. Now, will somebody tell me, when our rules forbid members smoking on this floor when the House is in session, why Tom, Dick, and Harry should be permitted before the meeting of the House to fill this Hall with vile cigar, cigarette, and pipe smoke?

Now, I submit, Mr. Speaker, if it is proper to prohibit the members of this House from using this Hall as a smoking-room during the sessions of this House, it is proper to go a little further than that, and say that it shall not be used for any such purpose before the beginning of the sessions of the House. There are a good many members of this Congress, as well as its predecessors, who do not use tobacco in any form, and a smaller num-

ber to whom it is downright offensive and poisonous. The amendment which I propose goes beyond that which appears in the rules, and forbids other persons, not members of this House, to smoke upon the floor of the House at any time when it is not in session.

The situation is not as bad at this season of the year, when the doors and windows are open, as it will be in the winter season, when they are closed, and when this room is crowded with a motley crowd up to a few moments of the time for the session to begin, and many of these are smoking pipes and cigarettes and the vilest kind of tobacco, so that I have witnessed at the beginning of many of the sessions in the Fifty-first and Fifty-second Congresses that the air would be blue with this vile smoke to such an extent that you could scarcely see across the room, and this is especially offensive to our lady visitors in the galleries.

Now, all that the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON] said the other day about the filthy condition of the ventilators in this House and much more is true, and has a good deal to do with the vile, bad air in this Hall. This is the first hall that I was ever conversant with where it was arranged that the fresh air and ventilation should come to us through a spittoon [laughter], for that is about what these ventilators amount to under the present practice of the House. In the name of health and decency, gentlemen ought not to expectorate in these ventilators.

It is generally conceded by medical and scientific men that disease is propagated by germs or bacteria. That is the result of scientific investigation. If that be true, what an incubating machine for bacteria this half-mile of ventilators in front of each row of seats in this Hall must be, into which many of the members expectorate. What an incubator for catarrh, consumption, and other diseases? I repeat, it is the first instance that I have ever known where the fresh air and ventilation came up through the spittoons, because that is practically what they are.

The gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON] says they have not been cleaned for years. We have a Committee on Ventilation and Acoustics, but I am told that that committee never meets. It is a very important committee, having much to do with the welfare and health of the members. Why, Mr. Speaker, only yesterday a member of this House told me that he had been out of health ever since he came here, and he thought it was entirely due to the smoke in this room, which he was compelled to breathe, and he asserted, further, that he would certainly not be a candidate for reëlection if he would be obliged to sit in the vile, bad atmosphere of this House.

I regret that they have not established some different arrangement—for instance, closing the top of these ventilators, so that they will not be incubating machines to propagate disease; and every sensible man must see that they are nothing more nor less than that in their present condition and use.

Mr. DALZELL. How would you get the fresh air, then, if you close these floor ventilators?

Mr. MORSE. From underneath. Get it from the sides of the step on which they are placed and not from the top of the step.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MORSE. I ask consent, Mr. Speaker, to proceed for three minutes longer.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MORSE. Now, Mr. Speaker, a word further on this subject.

The children of Israel, under Divine direction, established what was known as "cities of refuge." The Committee on Rules have in their wisdom established in this vast building at this end one "city of refuge" for nonsmokers by forbidding the members to smoke in this Hall.

Every other part of this vast building, except the Senate Chamber, the lobbies, the corridors, the Rotunda, the committee rooms, and every part of the building, except these Halls, are open to smokers.

And I submit, Mr. Speaker, that this "city of refuge" should be respected, and the rule in regard to smoking in this Hall should be enforced.

I have conferred with the gentleman in charge of this report, Gen. CATCHINGS, and he says that he has no objection to the amendment which I have offered, forbidding persons not members of Congress from smoking in this Hall at any time. This is a step in the right direction, will conserve the health of the members, and I trust that it will be adopted.

The importance of this amendment to the rules can not be overestimated. I submit that we who do not smoke, with all deference to those gentlemen who do, have some rights in this matter, and that our convenience and health ought to be a subject of some little consideration as well as theirs. It is a fact, Mr. Speaker, that one of my colleagues in the Fifty-first Congress, who sat in that chair just over there (indicating) told me that he would decline and did decline reëlection for the reason that the atmosphere was so vile in this Hall that he could not subject himself to the consequences of remaining in it.

I submit that this rule should be enforced, and rigidly. It is simply designed to cure an evil which all must recognize. There is no reason why we should prevent members from smoking if we are to allow the crowd of persons who fill this Hall just before the session begins to exercise that privilege of poisoning the air which we have to sit in all day. If the rules forbid members from smoking on the floor, I repeat it, sir, we should deliver ourselves from the bad atmosphere which is created by extending this privilege to the masses who throng the Hall before the session begins.

[Here the hammer fell.]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Massachusetts.

The question was taken; and on a division there were yeas 55, nays 51.

Mr. CARUTH. No quorum.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will appoint tellers.

Mr. CATCHINGS and Mr. MORSE were appointed tellers.

Mr. CARUTH. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Massachusetts applies his amendment——

[Cries of "Regular order!"]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Debate is not in order.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. I wish to submit a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Does the amendment place the outsiders when they get on the floor on the same level with the members?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair does not understand the gentleman's inquiry.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. If I understand it, by the adoption of the amendment we place outsiders who come on the floor before the session begins on an equality with the members who come on the floor after the session begins.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The amendment prohibits smoking at any time on the floor.

Mr. CARUTH. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. CARUTH. Does this amendment apply to members of the House, or merely to outsiders?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair thinks that is not a parliamentary inquiry; but the amendment applies to those who are not members of the House.

Mr. CARUTH. I withdraw the point of order.

Mr. SNODGRASS. I renew it.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The tellers will take their places.

Pending the count by tellers,

Mr. SNODGRASS withdrew the point of no quorum.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk, proceeding with the reading of the proposed rules, read as follows:

4. When a question is under debate no motion shall be received but to fix the day to which the house shall adjourn, to adjourn, to take a recess, to lay on the table, for the previous question (which motions shall be decided without debate), to postpone to a day certain, to refer or amend, or to postpone indefinitely, which several motions shall have precedence in the foregoing order; and no motion to postpone to a day certain, to refer, or to postpone indefinitely, being decided, shall be again allowed on the same day at the same stage of the question.

Mr. REED. I move to strike out in clause 4, in line 2, after the word "but," the words "to fix the day to which the House shall adjourn;" and in the next line the words "to take a recess."

I do not suppose it is necessary to discuss the matter. I simply desire to state to the House what my purpose is. The House has indicated in various ways, sometimes by vote and sometimes by speech, that it did not desire to filibuster. The speeches and the votes have not always coincided, however. That is, that some gentlemen have voted against filibustering, and other gentlemen have expressed their minds against it, but have voted the other way. Possibly, by a practical matter like this, we can arrange it so that the expressions of opinion and the votes may coincide; so that the language may join onto the action in some way.

Now, one of the special methods by which filibustering is carried on is by that absurd motion to fix the day to which the House shall adjourn, and the motion to take a recess. Under no general parliamentary law was the motion to take a recess ever erected into the dignity of a privileged motion, and in no assembly that I know of on earth is it a privileged motion, except in this Assembly. If we strike that out we shall take away a great deal of the fuel from the fire; and I purpose to follow it by the proposition to strike out the next clause, or such portion of it as gives these motions preference.

To the new members it may be necessary to say that the system of making privileged a motion to adjourn, to fix a time to which the House shall adjourn, and to take a recess, when alternated and amended, under our system of having the yeas and nays, constitute in themselves an absolute deadlock.

Now, if this House means anything that it has been saying about filibustering, it has got to take these motions out. If it does not mean anything by it, why let the House keep these motions in. If it means to have a system of work, this is the foundation of it. If it means to have a system of dodging responsibility, why this present system is a very good one.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The question is on the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED].

The question being taken—

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* announced that the noes seemed to have it.

On a division (demanded by Mr. REED) there were—ayes 52, noes 68.

Mr. POWERS. I submit that there is no quorum voting.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Vermont makes the point that no quorum has voted, and the Chair will appoint as tellers the gentleman from Mississippi, Mr. CATCHINGS, and the gentleman from Maine, Mr. REED.

Mr. TRACEY. A parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. TRACEY. Would it be in order to make a motion to adjourn?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Let us have the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Mississippi demands the yeas and nays. The Chair did not understand the inquiry of the gentleman from New York [Mr. TRACEY.]

Mr. TRACEY. My inquiry is whether a motion to adjourn would be in order at present.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. A motion to adjourn would be in order.

Mr. TRACEY. Then, Mr. Speaker, I move that the House adjourn until Tuesday at 12 o'clock.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Oh, we de not want to adjourn, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. TRACEY. We can not get a quorum, and Monday will be a legal holiday.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It is in order to move to adjourn, but the Chair thinks that a motion to adjourn until Tuesday would be beyond the constitutional limit.

Mr. REED. That is not for the Chair to decide. That is for the House to pass upon.

Mr. TRACEY. The Constitution allows us to adjourn for three days.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will submit the motion, however.

Mr. TRACEY. My motion, if agreed to, would only adjourn the House for three days, even including Sunday, and, if it is not counted, it would be only two days.

Mr. DOCKERY. Why not make it Monday?

Mr. TRACEY. Because that is a legal holiday.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from New York [Mr. TRACEY] moves that the House adjourn until Tuesday next at 12 o'clock.

Mr. SPRINGER. I make the point of order that the gentleman may move that when the House adjourn it adjourn until that time, but that the motion in the form in which he makes it is not in order.

Mr. TRACEY. We are not working under any such rule. We have not adopted the rules.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will hear the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER].

Mr. SPRINGER. That has been regarded as the parliamentary rule.

Mr. DOCKERY. I desire to add to what the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] has said that we are operating under a resolution of the House which provides that the House, until otherwise ordered, shall meet each day at 12 o'clock.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Oh, let us vote the motion down.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. TRACEY].

The question being taken, the SPEAKER *pro tempore* announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. POWERS and Mr. REED demanded a division.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] has demanded the yeas and nays on the amendment of the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED].

Mr. TRACEY. The gentleman from Vermont [Mr. POWERS] demanded a division on my motion.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. If the gentleman from Vermont states that he made the demand, the Chair will recognize him. The Chair did not hear him.

Mr. POWERS. I did.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The question is on the motion made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TRACEY], and upon that a division is demanded.

The House divided, and there were—ayes 45, noes 86.

So the motion of Mr. TRACEY was not agreed to.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] demands the yeas and nays on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED].

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. SPRINGER. What is the question now before the House?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Clerk will read the amendment offered by the gentleman from Maine.

The amendment was again read.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 70, nays 136, not voting 147; as follows:

YEAS—70.

Adams,	Funk,	Kiefer,	Smith,
Aldrich,	Funston,	Lacey,	Springer,
Avery,	Gear,	Loud,	Stephenson,
Baker, Kans.	Gillett, Mass.	Lucas,	Stone, C. W.
Baker, N. H.	Hager,	McCall,	Stone, W. A.
Boen,	Hainer,	McCleary, Minn.	Storer,
Broderick,	Hartman,	McDowell,	Strong,
Caldwell,	Haugen,	Meiklejohn,	Tawney,
Cannon, Ill.	Hepburn,	Mercer,	Taylor, Tenn.
Cousins,	Hermann,	Milliken,	Thomas,
Curtis, Kans.	Hilborn,	Moon,	Updegraff,
Curtis, N. Y.	Hopkins, Ill.	Murray,	Wanger,
Dalzell,	Hulick,	Northway,	White,
Daniels,	Hull,	Perkins,	Wilson, Ohio.
Dolliver,	Johnson, Ind.	Phillips,	Wilson, Wash.
Doolittle,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Powers.	Wright, Pa.
Ellis, Oregon.	Joy,	Reed,	
Fletcher,	Kem,	Shaw,	

NAYS—136.

Alexander,	Crain,	Kilgore,	Richards, Ohio.
Arnold,	Crawford,	Kribbs,	Richardson, Tenn.
Bailey,	Culberson,	Kyle,	Ritchie,
Bankhead,	Cummings,	Lane,	Robbins,
Barwig,	De Armond,	Latimer,	Robertson, La.
Bell, Tex.	De Forest,	Lawson,	Rusk,
Berry,	Dinsmore,	Layton,	Russell, Ga.
Black, Ga.	Dockery,	Lester,	Sayers,
Black, Ill.	Donovan,	Lisle,	Schermerhorn,
Brattan,	Durborow,	Livingston,	Sipe,
Brawley,	Epes,	Maddox,	Snodgrass,
Breckinridge, Ark.	Erdman,	Mallory,	Sperry,
Bretz,	Everett,	Martin, Ind.	Stallings,
Brickner,	Fithian,	McCreary, Ky.	Stevens,
Brookshire,	Forman,	McCulloch,	Stockdale,
Bunn,	Fyan,	McDannold,	Stone, Ky.
Burnes,	Geissenhainer,	McDearmon,	Strait,
Bynum,	Gorman,	McEttrick,	Swanson,
Cabaniss,	Grady,	McKeighan,	Talbert, S. C.
Cadmus,	Gresham,	McLaurin,	Tate,
Cannon, Cal.	Hall, Mo.	McMillin,	Taylor, Ind.
Caruth,	Hammond,	McNagny,	Terry,
Catchings,	Hare,	McRae,	Tracey,
Clark, Mo.	Hayes,	Money,	Turner,
Cobb, Ala.	Heard,	Montgomery,	Turpin,
Cobb, Mo.	Henderson, N. C.	Moses,	Warner,
Coffeen,	Hines,	Neill,	Washington,
Compton,	Holman,	O'Ferrall,	Wells,
Conn,	Hooker, Miss.	Outhwaite,	Wheeler, Ala.
Cooper, Fla.	Hudson,	Paschal,	Whiting,
Cooper, Tex.	Hunter,	Patterson,	Williams, Ill.
Cornish,	Hutcheson,	Paynter,	Williams, Miss.
Covert,	Ikirt,	Pearson,	Wilson, W. Va.
Cox,	Johnson, Ohio.	Pendleton, Tex.	Woodard.

NOT VOTING—147.

Abbott,	Clancy,	Harris,	Morse,
Aitken,	Clarke, Ala.	Harter,	Mutchler,
Alderson,	Cockran,	Hatch,	Newlands,
Allen,	Cockrell,	Heiner,	Oates,
Apsley,	Cogswell,	Henderson, Ill.	O'Neil, Mass.
Babcock,	Coombs,	Henderson, Iowa.	O'Neill, Pa.
Baldwin,	Cooper, Ind.	Hendrix,	Page,
Barnes,	Cooper, Wis.,	Hicks,	Payne,
Bartholdt,	Davey,	Hitt,	Pence,
Bartlett,	Davis,	Hooker, N. Y.	Pendleton, W. Va.
Belden,	Denson,	Hopkins, Pa.	Pickler,
Bell, Colo.	Dingley,	Houk, Ohio.	Pigott,
Beltzhoover,	Draper,	Houk, Tenn.	Post,
Bingham,	Dunn,	Jones,	Price,
Blair,	Dunphy,	Lapham,	Randall,
Blanchard,	Edmunds,	Lefever,	Ray,
Bland,	Ellis, Ky.	Lilly,	Rayner,
Boatner,	English,	Linton,	Reilly,
Boutelle,	Enloe,	Lockwood,	Reyburn,
Bower, N. C.	Fellows,	Loudenslager,	Richardson, Mich.
Bowers, Cal.	Fielder,	Lynch,	Robinson, Pa.
Branch,	Fitch,	Magner,	Russell, Conn.
Breckinridge, Ky.	Gardner,	Maguire,	Ryan,
Brosius,	Geary,	Mahon,	Scranton,
Brown,	Gillet, N. Y.	Marsh,	Settle,
Bryan,	Goldzier,	Marshall,	Shell,
Burrows,	Goodnight,	Marvin, N. Y.	Sherman,
Caminetti,	Graham,	McAleer,	Sibley,
Campbell,	Grosvenor,	McCann,	Sickles,
Capehart,	Grout,	McKaig,	Simpson,
Causey,	Haines,	Meredith,	Somers,
Chickering,	Hall, Minn.	Meyer,	Sweet,
Childs,	Harmer,	Morgan,	Talbott, Md.

Tarsney,	Van Voorhis, Ohio.	Weadock,	Wolverton,
Tucker,	Wadsworth,	Wever,	Woomer,
Tyler,	Walker,	Wheeler, Ill.	Wright, Mass.
Van Voorhis, N. Y.	Waugh,	Wise,	

So the amendment was rejected.

The following additional pairs are announced:

Until further notice:

Mr. PIGOTT with Mr. GROSVENOR.

Mr. BLAND with Mr. DINGLEY.

Mr. CAUSEY with Mr. BROSIUS, until Tuesday next.

For the rest of the day:

Mr. BLANCHARD with Mr. HENDERSON of Illinois.

Mr. MUTCHLER with Mr. HOUK of Tennessee.

Mr. ALDERSON with Mr. WADSWORTH.

Mr. REILLY with Mr. REYBURN.

The result was then announced as above recorded.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that there ought to be something done by this House to put a stop, in a reasonable degree, to the practice which has grown up during the past eight or ten years of filibustering by one or two or half a dozen individuals, thus effectively preventing not only a majority, but even nine-tenths of the members of this House from carrying out their will. Now, I recognize that there is on the part of a great many members a desire to interpose a reasonable delay in the transaction of any business; that good comes from that, and that objection has perhaps some weight.

The House has refused to strike out these two privileged motions; but is it not possible, now that we are on this matter, to set aside all partisan feeling and address ourselves to devising some method by which there may be a reasonable plan adopted by which the House may reach a vote on a question.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of order. There is no amendment pending.

Mr. DINGLEY. I proposed before concluding my remarks to offer an amendment; but I will move to strike out the last word, if the gentleman desires to be technical in the matter. Is it not possible, I say, for us to adopt some rule whereby there may be some method of reaching a vote upon a proposition that is before the House when nine-tenths of the members desire to do so? Old members of the House recognize the fact that under the rule in paragraphs 4 and 5, the paragraph we are now considering and the paragraph following, it is absolutely in the power of one gentleman in this House to prevent the other 355 members from reaching any conclusion on any bill or proposition before this House, if he is willing to proceed to the lengths of filibustering. That is made possible by the fact that the motion to adjourn and the motion to fix a day for adjournment, are made always in order, to an unlimited extent. So that all anyone has to do is to use alternately these two motions; and he may extend these by moving to amend them. My suggestion is that we amend this rule so as to place some limit upon proceedings of that kind.

Now, what objection is there to adding the two motions, to fix a day of adjournment and to take a recess, to those mentioned in the last clause of paragraph 4 of Rule XVI, thus giving some limit to dilatory motions when the House, by a large majority, desires to reach a vote? I have here an amendment which I will submit at the close of my remarks; but I do not desire to do so unless the proposition commends itself to gentlemen who wish to address themselves to the transaction of the business of the House and desire to have rules that may be reasonable. Instead of the last clause of this rule I would substitute the following:

> And no motion to postpone to a day certain, to refer, to postpone indefinitely, to take a recess—with one amendment, to fix the day of adjournment—with one amendment, shall be again allowed on the same day, at the same stage of the question.

That, as gentlemen will see, would admit all the usual parliamentary motions, one of each kind; and then if the House, by a large majority, desires to reach a vote on the question, why should not these two motions—the motion to fix a day of adjournment and the motion to take a recess—be confined to one of each at the same stage of the question?

I will offer this amendment for the purpose of bringing the House to consider the question whether it wants to stop in any way this filibustering; whether it is desired that filibustering in this House by one gentleman shall be allowed so as to prevent the House for days, and it may be even for weeks, from coming to a vote. It seems to me that when we have allowed this round of motions once we have exhausted all that ought to be allowed at the same stage of a question under consideration; and this seems to me so reasonable a provision that I do not think there ought to be any objection to it on the part of gentlemen who really desire to do business.

If we do not adopt this, or something of the kind, we are placed in the position, that whenever any gentleman desires to indulge in filibustering against a measure that measure can not pass unless the majority of the Committee on Rules will agree to report a cloture; so that the whole House is to be entirely under the control of three members of the Committee on Rules as to whether it shall have relief from any such difficulty or not. Now, I submit to gentlemen that we ought not to put ourselves in that position. I submit that after we have given reasonable opportunity for debate and one opportunity to make each of the several motions named, no repetition of those motions ought to be allowed at the same stage of the question, such repetition being obviously for a dilatory purpose. I withdraw the formal amendment, and offer that which I send to the desk to be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Amend by striking out the last clause in Rule XVI, commencing with the words "and no motion," and substitute the following: "And no motion to postpone to a day certain, to refer, to postpone indefinitely, to take a recess—with one amendment, to fix a day of adjournment—with one amendment, shall be again allowed on the same day at the same stage of the question.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call particularly the attention of my friends of the majority of the Committee on Rules to this proposition, and to ask them to give it careful consideration. I ask them to consider whether it is not desirable that we should go to this moderate extent, which seems to me absolutely necessary, unless we propose to put ourselves entirely at the mercy of filibusterers, or of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I demand the previous question on the pending proposition.

Mr. SPRINGER. Unless the gentleman from Mississippi desires to reply to the gentleman from Maine, I wish to make a few remarks.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I do not think it necessary to reply, or I would do so.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Did the gentleman from Mississippi demand the previous question? The Chair was unable to hear him.

Mr. CATCHINGS. If the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] desires to speak, let him speak, but I did demand the previous question.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I had hoped that my distinguished friend from Mississippi would be as willing to-day to take the advice of the gentleman from Maine as he was on yesterday, because this proposition is quite as worthy of being adopted as the other; indeed, I think there are several more reasons why this should be accepted than existed for the acceptance of the other. I am heartily in favor of this amendment. While it does not enable the House to reach a conclusion at once, it will perhaps afford an opportunity at the end of five or six or eight or ten roll calls to come to a vote.

Mr. REED. I think it would take about ten roll calls at least, under the rule proposed by my colleague [Mr. DINGLEY].

Mr. SPRINGER. I estimated it at ten.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Well, does not the gentleman think that roll calls are sometimes as edifying as some of the speeches that we hear on this floor?

Mr. REED. The gentleman from Ohio better speak for himself. [Laughter.]

Mr. SPRINGER. I would not undertake to say as to other speeches, but I know that would not be true as to mine or as to those of the gentleman from Ohio. [Laughter.] As I have said, Mr. Speaker, I think it would take about ten roll calls to exhaust the power of filibustering left under the rule proposed by the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY], so that it would require about a day to reach a vote.

Mr. DINGLEY. The rule applies, of course, to the legislative day.

Mr. SPRINGER. Yes; to the legislative day. I hope the amendment will be agreed to.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I hope it will not be agreed to. I ask for a vote.

The question was taken; and there were—ayes 52, noes 102.

Mr. DINGLEY. No quorum.

The SPEAKER appointed as tellers Mr. CATCHINGS and Mr. DINGLEY.

The House proceeded to divide; but before the result was announced

Mr. CATCHINGS said: I think we had better have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 70, nays 137, not voting 146; as follows:

YEAS—70.

Avery,	Bowers, Cal.	Curtis, Kans.	Doolittle,
Babcock,	Broderick,	Curtis, N. Y.	Ellis, Oregon
Baker, Kans.	Caldwell,	Dalzell,	Fletcher,
Baker, N. H.	Cannon, Ill.	Daniels,	Funk,
Boen,	Cousins,	Dolliver,	Funston,

Gear,	Hull,	Meiklejohn,	Stone, C. W.
Hager,	Johnson, Ind.	Mercer,	Stone, W. A.
Hainer,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Milliken,	Storer,
Hare,	Joy,	Moon,	Strong,
Haugen,	Kem,	Murray,	Tawney,
Hayes,	Lacey,	Northway,	Taylor, Tenn.
Herd,	Loud,	Perkins,	Thomas,
Henderson, Iowa	Lucas,	Phillips,	Updegraff,
Hepburn,	Mahon,	Reed,	White,
Hilborn,	McCall,	Shaw,	Wilson, Ohio
Hopkins, Ill.	McCleary, Minn.	Smith,	Wright, Pa.
Houk, Ohio	McDowell,	Springer,	
Hulick,	McGann,	Stephenson,	

NAYS—137.

Alexander,	Cornish,	Kyle,	Richardson, Tenn.
Allen,	Covert,	Lane,	Ritchie,
Arnold,	Cox,	Latimer,	Robbins,
Bailey,	Crain,	Lawson,	Robertson, La.
Baldwin,	Crawford,	Layton,	Rusk,
Bankhead,	Culberson,	Lester,	Russell, Ga.
Barnes,	Cummings,	Lisle,	Sayers,
Barwig,	DeArmond,	Livingston,	Schermerhorn,
Bell, Colo.	DeForest,	Lynch,	Simpson,
Bell, Tex.	Dinsmore,	Maddox,	Snodgrass,
Berry,	Dockery,	Mallory,	Stallings,
Black, Ga.	Donovan,	Martin, Ind.	Stevens,
Black, Ill.	Durborow,	McCreary, Ky.	Stockdale,
Brawley,	Epes,	McCulloch,	Stone, Ky.
Breckinridge, Ark.	Erdman,	McDannold,	Strait,
Bretz,	Everett,	McDearmon,	Swanson,
Brickner,	Fithian,	McEttrick,	Talbert, S. C.
Brookshire,	Forman	McLaurin,	Tate,
Bunn,	Fyan,	McMillin,	Taylor, Ind.
Burnes,	Geary,	McNagny,	Terry,
Bynum,	Geissenhainer,	McRae,	Tracey,
Cabaniss,	Gorman,	Meyer,	Turner,
Cadmus,	Grady,	Montgomery,	Turpin,
Cannon, Cal.	Gresham,	Moses,	Warner,
Caruth,	Hall, Mo.	Neill,	Washington,
Catchings,	Hammond,	O'Ferrall,	Weadock,
Clark, Mo.	Henderson, N. C.	Outhwaite,	Wells,
Cobb, Ala.	Holman,	Page,	Wheeler, Ala.
Cobb, Mo.	Hooker, Miss.	Paschal,	Whiting,
Cockrell,	Hudson,	Patterson,	Williams, Ill.
Coffeen,	Hunter,	Paynter,	Williams, Miss.
Compton,	Hutcheson,	Pearson,	Wilson, W. Va.
Conn,	Johnson, Ohio	Pendleton, Tex	
Cooper, Fla.	Kilgore,	Price,	
Cooper, Tex.	Kribbs,	Richards, Ohio	

NOT VOTING—146.

Abbott,	Davey,	Hopkins, Pa.	Rayner,
Adams,	Davis,	Houk, Tenn.	Reilly,
Aitken,	Denson,	Ikirt,	Reyburn,
Alderson,	Dingley,	Jones,	Richardson, Mich.
Aldrich,	Draper,	Kiefer,	Robinson, Pa.
Apsley,	Dunn,	Lapham,	Russell, Conn.
Bartholdt,	Dunphy,	Lefever,	Ryan,
Bartlett,	Edmunds,	Lilly,	Scranton,
Belden,	Ellis, Ky.	Linton,	Settle,
Beltzhoover,	English,	Lockwood,	Shell,
Bingham,	Enloe,	Loudenslager,	Sherman,
Blair,	Fellows,	Magner,	Sibley,
Blanchard,	Fielder,	Maguire,	Sickles,
Bland,	Fitch,	Marsh,	Sipe,
Boatner,	Gardner,	Marshall,	Somers,
Boutelle,	Gillet, N. Y.	Marvin, N. Y.	Sperry,
Bower, N. C.	Gillett, Mass.	McAleer,	Sweet,
Branch,	Goldzier,	McKaig,	Talbott, Md.
Brattan,	Goodnight,	McKeighan,	Tarsney,
Breckinridge, Ky	Graham,	Meredith,	Tucker,
Brosius,	Grosvenor,	Money,	Tyler,
Brown,	Grout,	Morgan,	Van Voorhis, N. Y.
Bryan,	Haines,	Morse,	Van Voorhis, Ohio
Burrows,	Hall, Minn.	Mutchler,	Wadsworth,
Caminetti,	Harmer,	Newlands,	Walker,
Campbell,	Harris,	Oates,	Wanger,
Capehart,	Harter,	O'Neil, Mass.	Waugh,
Causey,	Hartman,	O'Neill, Pa.	Wever,
Chickering,	Hatch,	Payne,	Wheeler, Ill.
Childs,	Heiner,	Pence,	Wilson, Wash.
Clancy,	Henderson, Ill.	Pendleton, W. Va.	Wise,
Clarke, Ala.	Hendrix,	Pickler,	Wolverton,
Cockran,	Hermann,	Pigott,	Woodard,
Cogswell,	Hicks,	Post,	Woomer,
Coombs,	Hines,	Powers,	Wright, Mass.
Cooper, Ind.	Hitt,	Randall,	
Cooper, Wis.	Hooker, N. Y.	Ray,	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. HAYES. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. ENLOE] after voting left the Hall. He desired me to state that he was paired with the gentleman from Maine [Mr. BOUTELLE], and in the event that a quorum should be present he desired his vote withdrawn.

The SPEAKER. In the absence of objection, the vote will be withdrawn.

Mr. DINGLEY. If there is a quorum without my vote, I desire to withdraw it, as I am paired.

The result of the vote was announced as above stated.

The Clerk read as follows:

A motion to fix the day to which the House shall adjourn, a motion to adjourn, and to take a recess shall always be in order, and the hour at which the House adjourns shall be entered on the Journal.

Mr. REED. I move to amend by inserting after the words "shall always be in order" the words, "except when used for dilatory purposes."

The question having been taken on the amendment—

The SPEAKER. The noes seem to have it.

Mr. REED. I call for a division.

The question being again taken, there were—ayes 56, noes 129.

Mr. REED. Is there a quorum?

The SPEAKER. There is a quorum voting.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. REED. I move to amend by striking out all the words of this clause down to and including the word "and," in line three.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the words proposed to be struck out.

The Clerk read as follows:

A motion to fix the day to which the House shall adjourn, a motion to adjourn, and to take a recess shall always be in order, and—

The question having being taken on agreeing to the amendment—

The SPEAKER. The noes seem to have it.

Mr. REED. I call for a division.

The question being again taken, there were—ayes 51, noes 104.

Mr. REED. No quorum.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maine makes the point that no quorum has voted. The Chair will order tellers, and will appoint the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] and the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED].

Mr. CATCHINGS. I think we may as well have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 56, nays 135, not voting 162; as follows:

YEAS—56.

Avery,	Gear,	Lacey,	Reed,
Babcock,	Hager,	Lucas,	Shaw,
Baker, N. H.	Hainer,	Mahon,	Smith,
Caldwell,	Hartman,	McCall,	Springer,
Cousins,	Haugen,	McCleary, Minn.	Stephenson,
Curtis, Kans.	Henderson, Iowa	McDowell,	Stone, C. W.
Curtis, N. Y.	Hepburn,	Meiklejohn,	Stone, W. A.
Dalzell,	Hilborn,	Mercer,	Storer,
Daniels,	Hopkins, Ill.	Milliken,	Strong,
Dolliver,	Hulick,	Moon,	Tawney,
Doolittle,	Hull,	Murray,	Taylor, Tenn.
Ellis, Oregon	Johnson, Ind.	Perkins,	Thomas,
Fletcher,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Phillips,	Updegraff,
Funk,	Kiefer,	Pickler,	Wilson, Ohio.

NAYS—135.

Alexander,	Cox,	Kilgore,	Pendleton, Tex.
Allen,	Crain,	Kribbs,	Richards, Ohio
Arnold,	Crawford,	Kyle,	Richardson, Tenn.
Bailey,	Culberson,	Lane,	Ritchie,
Bankhead,	Cummings,	Latimer,	Robbins,
Barnes,	De Armond,	Lawson,	Robertson, La.
Barwig,	De Forest,	Layton,	Rusk,
Bell, Colo.	Dinsmore,	Lester,	Russell, Ga.
Bell, Tex.	Dockery,	Lisle,	Sayers,
Berry,	Durborow,	Livingston,	Schermerhorn,
Black, Ga.	Epes,	Lynch,	Simpson,
Boen,	Erdman,	Maddox,	Stallings,
Breckinridge, Ark.	Everett,	Mallory,	Stevens,
Bretz,	Fithian,	Martin, Ind.	Stockdale,
Brickner,	Forman,	McCulloch,	Stone, Ky.
Brookshire,	Fyan,	McDannold,	Strait,
Brown,	Geary,	McDearmon,	Swanson,
Bunn,	Geissenhainer,	McEttrick,	Talbert, S. C.
Burnes,	Grady,	McGann,	Tarsney,
Bynum,	Gresham,	McKeighan,	Tate,
Cabaniss,	Hall, Mo.	McLaurin,	Taylor, Ind.
Cannon, Cal.	Hare,	McMillin,	Terry,
Caruth,	Harris,	McNagny,	Tracey,
Catchings,	Hayes,	McRae,	Turner,
Clark, Mo.	Heard,	Meyer,	Turpin,
Cobb, Ala.	Henderson, N. C.	Montgomery,	Warner,
Cobb, Mo.	Holman,	Moses,	Washington,
Cockrell,	Hooker, Miss.	Neill,	Wells,
Coffeen,	Houk, Ohio	O'Ferrall,	Wheeler, Ala.
Compton,	Hudson,	Outhwaite,	Whiting,
Conn,	Hunter,	Page,	Williams, Ill.
Cooper, Fla.	Hutcheson,	Paschal,	Williams, Miss.
Cooper, Tex.	Ikirt,	Patterson,	Wilson, W. Va.
Covert,	Johnson, Ohio	Paynter,	

NOT VOTING—162.

Abbott,	Boutelle,	Childs,	Ellis, Ky.
Adams,	Bower, N. C.	Clancy,	English,
Aitken,	Bowers, Cal.	Clarke, Ala.	Enloe,
Alderson,	Branch,	Cockran,	Fellows,
Aldrich,	Brattan,	Cogswell,	Fielder,
Apsley,	Brawley,	Coombs,	Fitch,
Baker, Kans.	Breckinridge, Ky.	Cooper, Ind.	Funston,
Baldwin,	Broderick,	Cooper, Wis.	Gardner,
Bartholdt,	Brosius,	Cornish,	Gillet, N. Y.
Bartlett,	Bryan,	Davey,	Gillett, Mass.
Belden,	Burrows,	Davis,	Goldzier,
Beltzhoover,	Cadmus,	Denson,	Goodnight,
Bingham,	Caminetti,	Dingley,	Gorman,
Black, Ill.	Campbell,	Donovan,	Graham,
Blair,	Cannon, Ill.	Draper,	Grosvenor,
Blanchard,	Capehart,	Dunn,	Grout,
Bland,	Causey,	Dunphy,	Haines,
Boatner,	Chickering,	Edmunds,	Hall, Minn.

Hammond,	Loudenslager,	Pigott,	Sweet,
Harmer,	Magner,	Post,	Talbott, Md.
Harter,	Maguire,	Powers,	Tucker,
Hatch,	Marsh,	Price,	Tyler,
Heiner,	Marshall,	Randall,	Van Voorhis, N. Y.
Henderson, Ill.	Marvin, N. Y.	Ray,	Van Voorhis, Ohio
Hendricks,	McAleer,	Rayner,	Wadsworth,
Hermann,	McCreary, Ky.	Reilly,	Walker,
Hicks,	McKaig,	Reyburn,	Wanger,
Hines,	Meredith,	Richarson, Mich.	Waugh,
Hitt,	Money,	Robinson, Pa.	Weadock,
Hooker, N. Y.	Morgan,	Russell, Conn.	Wever,
Hopkins, Pa.	Morse,	Ryan,	Wheeler, Ill.
Houk, Tenn.	Mutchler,	Scranton,	White,
Jones,	Newlands,	Settle,	Wilson, Wash.
Joy,	Northway,	Shell,	Wise,
Kem,	Oates,	Sherman,	Wolverton,
Lapham,	O'Neil, Mass.	Sibley,	Woodard,
Lefever,	O'Neill, Pa.	Sickles,	Woomer,
Lilly,	Payne,	Sipe,	Wright, Mass.
Linton,	Pearson,	Snodgrass,	Wright, Pa.
Lockwood,	Pence,	Somers,	
Loud,	Pendleton, W. Va.	Sperry.	

So the amendment was rejected.

The following additional pair was announced:

Mr. CADMUS with Mr. WRIGHT of Pennsylvania.

The result of the vote was then announced as above recorded.

The Clerk resumed and concluded the reading of Rule XVI.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I desire to offer a further amendment to this rule.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Mississippi.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend Rule XVI by adding the following as a new paragraph:

10. The objection of no single member shall prevent the House from taking up and considering any matter, but it shall require the concurrent objection of fifteen members to prevent the consideration of any measure.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I offer this amendment, Mr. Speaker, which I presume will be adopted without objection from any quarter, at least I hope so, for the purpose of curing an evil which we have all witnessed in past sessions of Congress. Those of us who were here in the last session of Congress, and the preceding session, have often witnessed the defeat of an opportunity to consider a matter in the House which the majority desired to consider, by the single objection, perhaps the captious objection, of one single member. It seems to me that no one man should be permitted to block legislation in that way and defeat the will of every other member of the House.

My object in introducing the amendment is to do away with the possibility, therefore, of a single member having that power, so that by merely interposing his objection to the consideration of a measure which requires unanimous consent he is able to defeat the will of the House itself. There are many occasions when requests have been made in the House for unanimous consent to consider a matter when a solitary objection prevented it, against the sense and judgment of the House. Now, I object to any one member having that power.

I desire also, Mr. Speaker, before the vote is taken, to amend the amendment by the insertion of the words at the beginning of it, "Where unanimous consent is requested."

In the last House, and for many Congresses before, the objection of a single member has prevented the taking up of a matter by the House, although every other member in the House might be willing to consider it. The objection of one man was more potent than the strength of the whole House outside of him. I might cite a case which took place in the last term of Congress, in which a small bill was passed in the Senate permitting the removal of a well-known officer of the Navy, who had died on the coast of Alaska, to his home, and burying him in the graveyard of his friends and relatives.

It passed the Senate unanimously and came over to the House, where it was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs, and was reported unanimously by that committee; and yet for a long time action was prevented on that bill because under the rules as they stood, and as they will stand now if this amendment is not incorporated in the rules, the objection of a single member prevented any one from getting that bill before the House for consideration. I desire that the rules shall be amended in the form I have suggested, that where unanimous consent is requested it shall require the concurrent objection of fifteen members to prevent consideration.

Mr. HAYES. Mr. Speaker, I move to amend the amendment by striking out "fifteen" and inserting "five." It seems to me that it ought not to be left to the captiousness of one member, but fifteen might be an unwieldy body, and I therefore suggest five instead.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Iowa to the amendment of the gentleman from Mississippi.

The Clerk read as follows:

Strike out fifteen and insert five.

Mr. WELLS. I move that the House now adjourn until Tuesday next at 12 o'clock.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I believe the vote is first to be taken on the amendment.

Mr. WELLS. I will withdraw the motion.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the gentleman from Iowa, to strike out "fifteen" and insert "five."

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Let the amendment as modified by myself be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Where unanimous consent is asked, the objection of no single member shall prevent the House from taking up and considering any matter; but it shall require the concurrent objection of fifteen members to prevent the consideration of any measure.

The SPEAKER. The question now is on striking out "fifteen" in this amendment and inserting "five."

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

Mr. HOOKER. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. Is it in the power of the mover of a proposition to accept an amendment?

The SPEAKER. But the amendment has been voted down.

Mr. HOOKER. Then I move to reconsider the vote by which the House refused to accept the amendment of the gentleman from Iowa.

The question was taken; and on a division there were—ayes 38, noes 89.

Mr. HOOKER. No quorum.

The SPEAKER announced the appointment of Mr. CATCHINGS and Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi as tellers.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I think we had better have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 44, nays 136, not voting 174; as follows:

YEAS—44.

Babcock,	Funk,	Hulick,	Milliken,
Baker, N. H.	Gear,	Johnson, Ind.	Moon,
Bowers, Cal.	Grosvenor,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Perkins,
Cockrell,	Hager,	Kiefer,	Pickler,
Cousins,	Hainer,	Loud,	Smith,
Curtis, Kans.	Hartman,	Lucas,	Stephenson,
Curtis, N. Y.	Hayes,	Lynch,	Stone, C. W.
Dingley,	Hepburn,	McCall,	Stone, Ky.
Doolittle,	Hilborn.	McCleary, Minn.	Tawney,
Ellis, Oregon	Hooker, Miss.	Meiklejohn,	Thomas,
Fletcher,	Hopkins, Ill.	Mercer,	Updegraff.

NAYS—136.

Alexander,	Culberson,	Lane,	Ritchie,
Allen,	Cummings,	Lapham,	Robbins,
Arnold,	De Armond,	Lawson,	Robertson, La.
Bailey,	Dinsmore,	Layton,	Rusk,
Barnes,	Dockery,	Lester,	Russell, Ga.
Barwig,	Durborow,	Lisle,	Sayers,
Bell, Colo.	Enloe,	Livingston,	Schermerhorn,
Bell, Tex.	Epes,	Maddox,	Shaw,
Berry,	Erdman,	Mallory,	Simpson,
Black, Ga.	Everett,	Martin, Ind.	Springer,
Black, Ill.	Fithian,	McCulloch,	Stallings,
Boatner,	Forman,	McDannold,	Stockdale,
Boen,	Fyan,	McDearmon,	Stone, W. A.
Breckinridge, Ark.	Geary,	McEttrick,	Strong,
Bretz,	Geissenhainer.	McGann,	Swanson,
Brickner,	Grady,	McLaurin,	Talbert, S. C.
Brookshire,	Gresham,	McMillin,	Tarsney,
Bunn,	Hall, Mo.	McNagny,	Tate,
Burnes,	Hare,	McRae,	Taylor, Ind.
Bynum,	Harter,	Meyer,	Terry,
Cabaniss,	Haugen,	Montgomery,	Tracey,
Cannon, Cal.	Heard,	Moses,	Turner,
Caruth,	Henderson, N. C.	Neill,	Turpin,
Catchings,	Holman,	O'Ferrall,	Warner,
Clark, Mo.	Houk, Ohio	Outhwaite,	Washington,
Cobb, Ala.	Hudson,	Page,	Wells,
Cobb, Mo.	Hunter,	Patterson,	Wheeler, Ala.
Conn,	Hutcheson,	Paynter,	Whiting,
Cooper, Fla.	Ikirt,	Pearson,	Williams, Ill.
Cooper, Tex.	Johnson, Ohio,	Pendleton, Tex.	Williams, Miss.
Covert,	Kem,	Pendleton, W. Va.	Wilson, Ohio
Cox,	Kilgore,	Price,	Wilson, Wash.
Crain,	Kribbs,	Richards,	Wilson, W. Va.
Crawford,	Kyle,	Richardson, Tenn.	And the Speaker.

NOT VOTING—174.

Abbott,	Bingham,	Burrows,	Cogswell,
Adams,	Blair,	Cadmus,	Compton,
Aitken,	Blanchard,	Caldwell,	Coombs,
Alderson,	Bland,	Caminetti,	Cooper, Ind.
Aldrich,	Boutelle,	Campbell,	Cooper, Wis.
Apsley,	Bower, N. C.	Cannon, Ill.	Cornish,
Avery,	Branch,	Capehart,	Dalzell,
Baker, Kans.	Brattan,	Causey,	Daniels,
Baldwin,	Brawley,	Chickering,	Davey,
Bankhead,	Breckinridge, Ky.	Childs,	Davis,
Bartholdt,	Broderick,	Clancy,	De Forest,
Bartlett,	Brosius,	Clarke, Ala.	Denson,
Belden,	Brown,	Cockran,	Dolliver,
Beltzhoover,	Bryan,	Coffeen,	Donovan,

Draper,	Hines,	Murray,	Sipe,
Dunn,	Hitt,	Mutchler,	Snodgrass,
Dunphy,	Hooker, N. Y.	Newlands,	Somers,
Edmunds,	Hopkins, Pa.	Northway,	Sperry,
Ellis, Ky.	Houk, Tenn.	Oates,	Stevens,
English,	Hull,	O'Neil, Mass.	Storer,
Fellows,	Jones,	O'Neill, Pa.	Strait,
Fielder,	Joy,	Paschal,	Sweet,
Fitch,	Lacey,	Payne,	Talbott, Md.
Funston,	Latimer,	Pence,	Taylor, Tenn.
Gardner,	Lefever,	Phillips,	Tucker,
Gillet, N. Y.	Lilly,	Pigott,	Tyler,
Gillett, Mass.	Linton,	Post,	Van Voorhis, N. Y.
Goldzier,	Lockwood,	Powers,	VanVoorhis, Ohio
Goodnight,	Loudenslager,	Randall,	Wadsworth,
Gorman,	Magner,	Ray,	Walker,
Graham,	Maguire,	Rayner,	Wanger,
Grout,	Mahon,	Reed,	Waugh,
Haines,	Marsh,	Reilly,	Weadock,
Hall, Minn.	Marshall,	Reyburn,	Wever,
Hammond,	Marvin, N. Y.	Richardson, Mich.	Wheeler, Ill.
Harmer,	McAleer,	Robinson, Pa.	White,
Harris,	McCreary, Ky.	Russell, Conn.	Wise,
Hatch,	McDowell,	Ryan,	Wolverton,
Heiner,	McKaig,	Scranton,	Woodard,
Henderson, Ill.	McKeighan,	Settle,	Woomer,
Henderson, Iowa	Meredith,	Sheli,	Wright, Mass.
Hendrix,	Money,	Sherman,	Wright, Pa.
Hermann,	Morgan,	Sibley,	
Hicks,	Morse,	Sickles,	

So the amendment was not agreed to.

The following additional pairs were announced:

For the rest of this day:

Mr. FITCH with Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee.

Mr. GOLDZIER with Mr. HULL.

Mr. FELLOWS with Mr. CANNON of Illinois.

Mr. CAPEHART with Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa.

Mr. DINGLEY. I vote for the purpose of making a quorum.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I am paired, but I vote to make a quorum.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER. One moment. The result of the yeas and nays has not been announced.

Mr. ENLOE. I am paired with the gentleman from Maine [Mr. BOUTELLE], but vote to make a quorum.

The result of the vote was then announced as above recorded.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 59 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, September 2, 1893, at 12 o'clock noon.

SENATE.

SATURDAY, *September 2, 1893.*

Prayer by Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. VILAS presented the petition of J. M. Holly and 36 other citizens of La Crosse, Wis., praying for the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. BUTLER presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Georgetown, S. C., praying for the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Columbia, S. C., praying that an appropriation be made for the improvement of the Congaree River, South Carolina; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I present a memorial of the officers of the different wool-growers' associations in the State of South Dakota, remonstrating against any change in the tariff on wool, and stating that they believe that placing wools on the free list at this time will stamp out the sheep business in that State and bring disaster and ruin to their chosen calling. I move that the memorial be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. TELLER presented a petition of the railway conductors of Colorado, praying for the free coinage of silver; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SHERMAN presented two petitions of business men and merchants of Massillon, Ohio, and of Mahanoy City, Pa., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. TURPIE presented a petition of citizens of Lima, Ind., praying for the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. GORDON presented a petition of the Georgia Bankers' Association, praying for the establishment of a subtreasury in the State of Georgia; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

DEFICIENCY PAYMENT OF CLERKS TO SENATORS.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the amendment submitted by Mr. DOLPH, intended to be proposed to the bill (H. R. 4) to provide for certain urgent deficiencies in the appropriations for the service of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, and for other purposes, asked to be discharged from its further consideration and that it be referred to the Committee on Appropriations; which was agreed to.

WIDOW OF C. P. CRANDALL.

Mr. WHITE of Louisiana, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the resolution submitted by Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon, August 31, 1893, reported it without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay out of the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate to Mollie Crandall, widow of C. P. Crandall, deceased, late a messenger in the employ of the Senate, an amount equal to six months' salary as such messenger; said sum to be considered as in lieu of all funeral expenses and other allowances.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. VOORHEES introduced a bill (S. 820) for the relief of the legal representatives of Nicholas J. Bigley, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. HALE introduced a bill (S. 821) for the relief of David Marshall, of the county of Hancock, in the State of Maine; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. SHERMAN introduced a bill (S. 822) for the relief of the legal representatives of Thomas L. Young; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. POWER introduced a bill (S. 823) to authorize the Missouri River Power Company of Montana to construct a dam across the Missouri River; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. PETTIGREW introduced a bill (S. 824) granting settlers on certain lands in Oklahoma Territory the right to commute their homestead entries, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. SHOUP introduced a bill (S. 825) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide the times and places for holding terms of the United States courts in the States of Idaho and Wyoming;" which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. PALMER introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 25), proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to the election of Senators by the people; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I introduced a similar resolution (Senate joint resolution No. 2), at the special session of the Senate in the present Congress. I desire to inquire if it is still on the table, or has it been referred?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It is on the table, the Chair is advised.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I ask unanimous consent that it be referred, in connection with the joint resolution just introduced, to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, it will be so referred.

Mr. SHERMAN. I ask that the joint resolution (S. R. 1, special session) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, introduced by me at the special executive session, be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. It is in regard to changing the time of the meeting of Congress, and I think it ought to go to that committee.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be so referred.

PAPERS WITHDRAWN AND REFERRED.

On motion of Mr. HALE, it was

Ordered, That the papers in the case of Ambrose Simpson, introduced in the Fifty-first Congress, be withdrawn from the files of the Senate and referred to the Committee on Claims.

REPORTS OF SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY.

Mr. HIGGINS submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was read:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring therein), That the Secretary of the Senate, under the direction of the Committee on Finance,

cause to be printed and bound six thousand copies, two thousand for the use of the Senate and four thousand for the use of the House, such portions of the Annual Reports of the Secretaries of the Treasury, including the reports of Mr. Hamilton, as said committee may deem advisable, and to cause an index to be prepared for the same.

Mr. HIGGINS. I find that the reports of the Secretaries of the Treasury up to 1838 were published at that time in two volumes. The first volume, including the reports up to 1814, was first published. There has been no edition since that time. Of course the reports are out of print and can only be found on the shelves of the Library. They contain matter of the utmost importance and moment at this time, as, indeed, at all times. It strikes me that it is a *casus omissis* that the reports have not been published from time to time, so as to bring them to the present period. The resolution merely refers the matter to the Committee on Finance with authority to report as to what should be done and what portion of the reports should be published. Of course, the accompanying documents have now grown to be very voluminous, and it would be a matter of editing as to what should be included; but I think that it would be a most interesting and valuable publication.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The concurrent resolution will be referred to the Committee on Finance.

TREATIES WITH INDIAN TRIBES IN OREGON.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, directed to transmit to the Senate copies of all treaties at any time heretofore made and not heretofore printed, between the United States and the tribe of Indians known as "Two-too-ten-nees" in the State of Oregon; also copies of all treaties heretofore entered into and not heretofore printed with any and all tribes of Indians located west of the Coast range of mountains and between the mouth of the Umpqua River and the line separating the States of California and Oregon, in the State of Oregon; also copies of all correspondence between Indian Agent Ben Wright and Joel Palmer, superintendent of Indian affairs for the State of Oregon; also of all correspondence between said Agent Wright and said Superintendent Palmer and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, concerning said tribes of Indians, or any of them, and concerning said treaties or any of them.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there are no further resolutions the morning business is closed.

Mr. VOORHEES. I ask that the order of business, House bill No. 1, be temporarily laid aside, not losing its place, in order that the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH] may proceed with some remarks which he desires to submit upon another subject. I do this the more readily when I reflect that this bill has really been before the Senate but three days. It was reported last Tuesday, printed Wednesday, and we have had it three days before us. This is the last day of the week. Next week will open an era of real business, wherein I trust we shall make progress from hour to hour.

I feel warranted to-day, inasmuch as I am not advised that anybody desires to speak upon the bill, to take the course I am indicating and allow the Senator from Oregon to submit some remarks which he desires to make, after which I shall be very glad if other Senators are ready to go on. If not, I will indicate what I desire at the time.

Mr. HALE. I wish to suggest to the Senator from Indiana, in view of what he has said as to next week being a business week, whether he does not think it would be advisable, beginning either Monday or Tuesday, for the Senate to meet at 11 o'clock instead of 12. There are no committees at work and the time may as well be spent here as elsewhere. I know that the Senator, as he has expressed himself, is very desirous of pushing forward the debate, which it is proper should be elicited. If we meet at 11 o'clock, by 4 or 5 o'clock, instead of one speech using up the day, there can be two or three speeches by Senators who desire to be heard on the subject.

Mr. VOORHEES. I give notice that on Monday I shall take the sense of the Senate on the question of meeting at 11 o'clock. I give the notice now so that the Senators may consider it. I have an old-fashioned idea of the will of the majority being carried out. I do not expect to control matters except through the majority of the Senate. I give notice now that on Monday I shall ask the Senate to consider the propriety of meeting at 11 o'clock from Tuesday on. I will not ask the Senate to meet at that hour on Monday, but Monday I shall ask the Senate to consider whether we shall meet on Tuesday at 11 o'clock and proceed with the business that is before us.

Mr. HALE. I am very glad to hear the Senator give that notice.

URGENT DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. COCKRELL. If the Senator from Oregon will yield to me for a few moments I desire to submit a report from the Committee on Appropriations. I report back from that committee the bill (H. R. 4) to provide for certain urgent deficiencies in the appropriations for the service of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, and for other purposes. I ask that the bill be read, and then I wish to submit certain amendments from the committee. I shall ask unanimous consent to have the bill considered after it is read.

The Secretary read the bill.

Mr. COCKRELL. The provision for recoinage of silver coins which we made for the current fiscal year was $150,000. In a special estimate made by the Secretary of the Treasury he estimates that it will take $300,000 in addition to that amount. This bill appropriates only $200,000. The other item is an additional appropriation for expenses of national currency. The appropriation for 1894 was $9,300, and the bill makes an additional appropriation of $25,000. The Secretary of the Treasury estimates $44,000. The other items of the bill are under "House of Representatives." The Senate will recall public resolution No. 19, approved March 3, 1893:

That on and after April 1, 1893, each Member and Delegate of the House of Representatives of the United States may, on the first day of every month during sessions of Congress, certify to the Clerk of the House of Representatives the amount which he has paid or agreed to pay for clerk hire necessarily employed by him in the discharge of his official and representative duties during the previous month, and the amount so certified shall be paid by the Clerk out of the contingent fund of the House on the 4th day of each month to the person or persons named in each of said certificates so filed: *Provided*, That the amount so certified and paid for clerical services rendered to each Member and Delegate shall not exceed $100 for any month during the session: *And provided further*, That the provisions of this resolution shall not apply to members who are chairmen of committees entitled under the rules to a clerk.

If the Senate will agree to the consideration of the bill, I have two amendments to propose from the committee which are absolutely necessary.

By unanimous consent the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. COCKRELL. The first amendment is, to insert after line 15 the following:

SENATE.

That any unexpended balance of the appropriation made in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act for the fiscal year 1893, approved July 16, 1892, for compensation of session employés of the Senate, be, and the same is, hereby made available to pay the pages of the Senate who served from the 1st to the 15th day of April, 1893, inclusive.

I will state, in explanation of this amendment, that the appropriation for 1893 was made for the session ending on the 4th of March, and knowing that there would be a called session we provided for the payment of pages during the month of March, but made no provision for their payment during the month of April. The boys who were employed here have received no pay for the period from the 1st to the 15th of April. This simply appropriates the unexpended balance for that payment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. COCKRELL. After the amendment just agreed to, I move to insert:

WAR DEPARTMENT.

Old Ford's Theater Building. For repairs to the old Ford's Theater Building, $6,000: *Provided*, That said repairs shall be made under the direction of the Chief of Engineers of the Army, and that the building shall not be occupied by clerks until it shall have been examined and pronounced safe by a board of officers to be convened by the Secretary of War.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SHERMAN. Do I understand the Senator to say that an amendment has been reported from the committee increasing the amount of the appropriation for the recoinage of the small coin?

Mr. COCKRELL. No, sir; but the House provision appropriating $200,000 has been retained. It is in the first clause of the bill.

Mr. SHERMAN. I understand the committee propose to retain that amount.

Mr. COCKRELL. We simply agreed to what the House put in.

Mr. SHERMAN. That is all right. I thought the Senator was proposing to reduce the item; which would be a mistake.

Mr. COCKRELL. Oh, no. I only called attention to the fact that the House had not appropriated to the full amount of the estimate.

Mr. SHERMAN. I think it would be wise for the Senate to adopt an amendment making the appropriation necessary, because it is absolutely impossible to recoin $12,000,000 of small coins to supply what is demanded by the country with the appropriation which is proposed.

Mr. COCKRELL. This appropriation is only to keep the recoinage going on for a while. As a matter of course there will be other deficiencies.

Mr. SHERMAN. We can supply the deficiency then, I suppose, at the next session.

Mr. DOLPH. I wish to ask the Senator from Missouri if the committee has considered an amendment offered by myself on the 31st ultimo, which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, reported back to the Senate, and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

On the 30th of September, 1890, almost three years ago, there was reported from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate a resolution, which was passed by the Senate, as follows:

Resolved, That the per diem clerks to the committees of the Senate and the clerks to Senators be retained in the service of the Senate during the coming recess, and that the Secretary of the Senate is hereby authorized and directed to pay out of the contingent fund of the Senate the per diem now allowed such clerks by law during the sessions of the Senate.

All the secretaries to Senators and clerks to committees not provided for by annual appropriations were continued in service under this resolution, and many of them, as I happen to know, borrowed money in order to pay their expenses to remain in Washington and perform their duties. The contingent fund of the Senate was found to be insufficient to pay them, and I think but one secretary out of the whole number has been paid.

Several attempts have been made to secure an appropriation for the purpose of paying these just demands against the Senate to these secretaries and clerks. On one occasion when a conference report was under discussion in the Senate, the Senator from Missouri, who has reported this bill, said:

Mr. COCKRELL. I desired the Senator in charge of the conference report to make the explanation, because I was unable as a member of the conference committee to agree to the report, for the reasons stated, that I felt that the Senate is under a moral and legal obligation to provide the funds for the payment of the clerks who were employed between the adjournment of the last session on the 1st of October and the beginning of the present session. They have performed the service and are entitled to compensation for it, and in the absence of the senior Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], I declined to agree to the conference report. I am glad the question is to be kept up in the form the conferees have placed it. I shall not, therefore, antagonize this particular report.

As I say, nearly three years have expired and, as stated by the Senator from Missouri, here is a moral and legal obligation. Many of these secretaries are actually in need of the money, and I know of more than one instance where money was borrowed in order to pay their expenses while they remained here. The Senator has done the just thing this morning by reporting in favor of providing for the payment of the pages from the 1st to the 15th of April last for services rendered, but the claim of the secretaries to Senators and clerks to committees is quite as just a claim as the claim of the pages for their fifteen days' pay, and the secretaries to Senators and clerks to committees have been kept out of their pay longer.

It occurred to me that this was a very proper place to put the amendment which I have suggested, and try the temper of the House of Representatives in regard to it. Of course, if this amendment be adopted to this bill, it will be in the control of the conferees of the House and the Senate, as is usual. But here is a bill, passed by the House of Representatives and sent to us, proposing to make an appropriation to pay the secretaries of members of the House for the present session. It appears to me that the amendment offered by me is germane to that proposition.

I ask whether the amendment I presented has been considered by the committee, whether there is any special reason why it should not be put upon this bill and sent to conference, or why it should be deferred to some other appropriation bill? I ask how the Senator feels about it?

Mr. COCKRELL. I simply repeat what I said before in regard to the matter. I have not changed my mind in reference to it, but there are numerous reasons, which it is not necessary now to consume the time of the Senate in explaining, why the provision ought not to go on the bill at this time. I shall very heartily support it when the proper time comes, and do all I can to secure its enactment into law.

I did not desire to call the full committee together and consume time, as they have all been very busy, but I have consulted with the members of the committee, and they agree with me that it is not best to place the provision suggested by the Senator from Oregon on this particular bill at this time. I say that very frankly, not that I want to evade any responsibility or any contest in regard to it, but for many reasons I do not think it is best or wisest to present the subject at present.

Mr. DOLPH. I understand the Senator from Missouri to be a very just man, and the fact that he takes the view in regard to this demand against the Senate that he does is proof of that.

I am unable to agree with him, however, just as yet to whether this is the proper place to insert the amendment I have suggested. Perhaps the Senator has some reasons which I do not understand, and I shall defer to his better judgment now, because I shall rely upon his help to secure this act of justice to these worthy persons who have been at the expense of remaining at the Capitol for two months and performing service. I desire the services of the Senator in securing their payment upon an appropriation bill, but after what he has said now publicly and what he has said to me privately in regard to the matter I shall not antagonize him by offering the amendment at this time.

I want it understood, however, that I am not the only Senator here who desires to see this claim paid. There are a good many other Senators in this body on both sides of the Chamber, I will say, who are under moral obligations to see their secretaries paid, and without desiring to be ugly or to obstruct the legislation of the Senate, I give notice that if a provision of that kind is not adopted by the Senate on some appropriation bill at this session, I shall be as ugly as I can be about the adoption of a conference report which drops the matter and throws it over for another year.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time, and passed.

EXCLUSION OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

Mr. DOLPH. Mr. President, what is before the Senate?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no further morning business, the Calendar under Rule VIII is in order.

Mr. VOORHEES. I ask that the regular order may be temporarily laid aside, without prejudice.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Indiana asks that the Calendar may be laid aside. Without objection that order will be made.

Mr. DOLPH. I am under obligations to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. VOORHEES. Not at all.

Mr. DOLPH. I wish it understood, however, that I have stated in the Senate and stated to the Senator from Indiana, and to all other persons, that I should not ask to take up any outside measure to the prejudice of the pending financial measure if there was now any Senator who desired to occupy the time of the Senate; but, under the circumstances, I ask to take up Senate bill 745, which is now on the table, for the purpose of making some remarks upon it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Oregon asks that the bill indicated by him may be taken up for the purpose of submitting remarks upon it. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. DOLPH. I ask that the bill may be read.

The Secretary read the bill (S. 745) making an appropriation to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to enforce the Chinese exclusion acts, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the sum of $500,000, or so much thereof as shall be required during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, be, and the same is hereby, appropriated for the enforcement of the several acts of Congress regulating and prohibiting Chinese immigration.

Mr. DOLPH. Mr. President, I have never been and am not radical on the Chinese question. Unbiased by prejudice and uninfluenced by public sentiment, I desire to submit to the Senate some observations upon the present phase of the Chinese question, with a view to correcting some current erroneous impressions concerning the so-called Geary law.

Before doing so, however, I will say that under our form of Government the powers of government are divided amongst three great departments, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. The line of separation between the powers of these departments is distinctly defined by the Constitution, and no department can encroach upon another without a violation of that instrument and danger to our political fabric.

Congress enacts the laws; courts, upon a proper case made before them, construe Congressional enactments, and it is the duty of the Executive to enforce them. The President has no more right to violate a law of Congress than the humblest citizen of the Republic.

Congress having passed the Geary law, and the Supreme Court having affirmed its constitutionality, any refusal or deliberate neglect of those whose duty it is to enforce it, to do so is criminal.

There are few American citizens, I think, who would not now regard the unrestricted immigration of Chinese laborers to this country as a great evil and as menacing our national prosperity. With over 400,000,000 of Chinese just across the Pacific from us, struggling for existence, with increasing facilities for travel, with a demand in this country for cheap labor, with the advertisement this country receives in China from returning Chinese with a few hundred dollars of hoarded wages, which become a fortune there, if the coming of Chinese laborers had not been restricted, the annual immigration of that class of Chinese to this country would have now been enormous.

Even under our restrictive laws, with the severe penalties provided for their violation, during the last year the British steamships sailing from Chinese ports to Victoria and Vancouver, in British Columbia, have been crowded with Chinese laborers intending to enter the United States along our unprotected borders, or by personating merchants and under forged certificates.

Many have so unlawfully entered this country, and thousands have been refused permission to land and have been sent back, many of them only to renew the effort to evade our laws at some other point.

There are many reasons that render the presence in this country of the class of Chinese known as Chinese laborers undesirable. No one can rightly judge of this class of Chinese by the educated, intelligent Chinese officials and travelers or even the occasional enterprising Chinese laborers seen in the Eastern States. The vast population in China is composed of many classes. There is the educated, intelligent, and wealthy class, and there is the miserable, degraded, vicious class, who live in vice, squalor, destitution, and starvation all their lives. Of the latter class mainly are the coolies imported into this country by the Chinese Six Companies.

Their condition in this country is no better than that of slaves. They go where they are sent, and do what they are told to do by their masters. They are hired out by hundreds or thousands, as the case may require, often without being consulted. Their wages are collected by others, and they receive such portion of their earnings as they, in their servile and dependent condition, are able to secure. They crowd into small, badly ventilated buildings until their abodes become breeding places for disease, necessitating municipal regulation. The portion of a city which they occupy becomes a nuisance. Vice thrives there in its most disgusting forms, and the very air is contaminated. Gambling and opium smoking is a passion among them, and white boys and girls are inveigled into their opium joints and speedily converted into moral lepers. Not only are the male Chinese laborers virtually slaves, owned by the Six Companies, but Chinese women in this country, with very few exceptions, are used for the vilest purposes, and are everywhere a merchantable commodity.

I know from experience and observation that Chinese laborers in this country do not regard either our laws or the obligation of an oath as administered in our courts of justice as binding upon them. When a criminal charge is made by one Chinaman against another, or a civil action is brought, it is just as likely to be done for revenge or to enforce the decrees of their secret and unlawful tribunals as otherwise. The late United States District Judge Hoffman, on January 16, 1888, writing to ex-Senator Felton, then a member of the House of Representatives, and recommending the passage of a law limiting the right of Chinese laborers who had departed from this country to return, and describing the embarrassments of the Federal courts in dealing with cases arising under the Chinese exclusion laws, said:

> It is not unreasonable that when the courts have devoted so much time and the Government has incurred so much expense in investigating the validity of these claims, and the courts have been in so many cases the victims of perjury and fraud, which it is impossible to detect, we should say that we can not longer afford to occupy the time of our tribunals in these investigations, and we have a right to notify the Chinese that if the privilege is not availed of within a short and designated period, to be fixed by law, it shall be deemed to have been waived.
>
> If you could have attended court and listened to the hearing of any of these cases, you would have recognized how completely the court is at the mercy of Chinese testimony and how impossible it is to distinguish a genuine case from a fraudulent one.

The Chinese in this country maintain a government of their own, with secret tribunals, and enforce their decrees by violence and even by murder. The Chinese population in this country is a nonassimilating and disturbing element. Between it and our people there is an impassable gulf. Every reason for maintaining a protective tariff for the purpose of protecting American industries and American labor applies equally in favor of the restriction of the coming of Chinese laborers to this country.

Although the work of Chinese laborers here is done in the country, it is of little benefit to the country. The Chinese laborer does not intend to become a part of our body politic, and could not if he did. He even contracts when he sells himself to the Six Companies that if he dies in America his bones are to be removed to China. He is a mere sojourner here. He is not a consumer to any considerable extent of American products. He lives on one-fourth of the amount required to support an American laborer, and hoards his wages and sends or carries them out of the country. He lives as no American laborer can live. He works for wages which will not support an American laborer. He is everywhere, necessarily in competition with intelligent American white labor.

The future of this country will be what the men who toil with their hands make it. Free government and republican institutions are not to be preserved by leveling down in this country the price of labor and the condition of laborers to that of Chinese coolies, but by maintaining a rate of wages which will make the laboring man comfortable, intelligent and independent. The fact that Chinese labor in this country is in necessary competition with white labor is the principal reason why I favor the prohibition of the coming of Chinese laborers to our shores.

It will conduce to a better understanding of the precise question now confronting Congress if a brief history of the Chinese and Chinese restrictive legislation in this country be given.

The first treaty of peace and amity between the United States and China was negotiated by Hon. Caleb Cushing, our minister to China in 1844, and was proclaimed in April, 1846. As early as the year 1853, a Democratic senate of the State of California, presided over by a Democratic lieutenant-governor, passed resolutions reciting that the Chinese were already residents of California in considerable numbers; that trade with China would be valuable to the United States, and especially so to California, which was situated nearest to the Chinese Empire, and praying for the appointment of a United States commissioner to reside in China.

Another and more liberal treaty was negotiated with China in 1858 by James Buchanan. It substantially provided that citizens of the United States should be permitted to travel and reside in China for the purpose of commerce, trade, etc., and that if subsequently China should give to any nation greater privileges than those granted to the United States by treaty the same should inure at once to the United States, so that the United States should enjoy commercial advantages with China equal to those of the most favored nations, and in return China was to have the good offices of the United States in any controversy with foreign powers.

This treaty having been made by a Democratic Administration was claimed by the Democratic party to be one of the important achievements of the Administration.

Chinese before the execution of the Buchanan treaty resided in considerable numbers in California, Oregon, and Washington. Under our laws they could, like the citizens and subjects of all other countries, lawfully come to and reside in the United States. There was no reason why there should have been inserted in the treaty any provision securing to Chinese subjects the right they already had and exercised to come and reside in the United States.

In the year 1868 the Chinese Government adopted a new policy toward the outside world. It sent an embassy to the United States, at the head of which was the Hon. Anson Burlingame, an American citizen, to negotiate a supplemental treaty. This resulted in the treaty known as the Burlingame treaty, signed on behalf of the United States in July, 1868. This treaty was ratified without opposition, both Democratic and Republican Senators voting for it. By that treaty the rights theretofore enjoyed by the subjects of China in common with the subjects of all other foreign countries, to come to and reside in the United States, was confirmed to them. I do not understand that that provision was inserted in the treaty in pursuance of any demand on the part of China or in anticipation of any possible change of our policy toward foreigners, but it was undoubtedly copied from other treaties with foreign nations as a matter of form.

When the embassy, headed by Mr. Burlingame, reached San Francisco in 1868, a grand banquet was tendered them there, over which the then Democratic governor of California, H. H. Haight, presided, and at which many of the leading Democrats of the State sat at table with the leading Chinese merchants of San Francisco.

The number of Chinese laborers in this country continued to increase, and while their labor helped to develop the country and was beneficial to those engaged in carrying on great enterprises requiring cheap labor, it became apparent to thoughtful persons that a large influx of Chinese laborers, who took no interest in our institutions and did not assimilate with our people, who saved their earnings to be sent out of the country instead of investing them here, and who could not become citizens, was undesirable, and that Chinese laborers supplanted by cheap labor more desirable laborers, capable of becoming citizens, who contributed both by their labor and by the expenditure of their earnings in the country to build up and support home industries.

When the sentiment upon the Pacific coast in favor of the exclusion of Chinese laborers had become so strong as to force recognition by the Government, the treaty of November 17, 1880, was negotiated by which the United States was authorized to suspend the coming of Chinese laborers into the United States, but not to wholly prohibit it. It was provided in the treaty that Chinese laborers who were then in the United States should be allowed to go and come at their own free will, and should be accorded all the rights, privileges, and immunities which are accorded by this Government to the citizens and subjects of the most favored nations.

By the act of May 6, 1882, the coming of Chinese laborers to this country was suspended for a period of ten years, but by section 2 of the act it was provided that such suspension should not apply to Chinese laborers who were in the United States on the 17th of November, 1880, or who should have come into the

United States before the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of the act.

The act further provided for the issuance of certificates to departing Chinese for the purpose of identification and as evidence of their right to return. The amendatory act of 1884 also provided that Chinese laborers who were in the United States when the treaty took effect, and those who came into the United States before the expiration of ninety days after the passage of the act of May 6, 1882, should be entitled to depart from this country and to return.

As to those laborers who departed before the act of May 6, 1882, went into effect, there was no record or other official evidence of their right to return, and when they returned and sought to enter the United States they were held by the courts to be entitled to prove in court their right to land in the same manner as any other question of fact is established.

Suspension of the coming of Chinese laborers to this country, or more correctly, the prohibition of the importation of Chinese coolies by the Six Companies, injured a profitable business of those companies. In consequence, the law was systematically violated by them, and thousands of Chinese were smuggled into the country. Experience disclosed defects in the acts of 1882 and 1884, which Congress sought to remedy. For this purpose the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations during the first session of the Forty-ninth Congress reported a bill, which passed the Senate, but did not receive consideration in the House of Representatives.

Early in the first session of the Fiftieth Congress there was reported to the Senate from the same committee a similar bill, but more simple and more effective in its provisions, which was not acted upon in the Senate on account of the pendency of the treaty between the United States and China, signed March 12, 1888.

That treaty, it will be remembered, provided additional and more stringent regulations for the identification of Chinese entitled to come to and reside in the United States, and restricted the right of Chinese laborers departing from the United States to return to those who had a child, parent, or wife residing in this country, or owned $1,000 worth of property or $1,000 of collectable debts.

The certificate of the right to return was to be applied for in advance upon a sworn application, so that its truth might be verified and perjury punished. If the right to return was claimed on account of the applicant having a wife in the United States, the marriage was required to have taken place one year before the application was made and to have been followed by cohabitation.

The treaty was slightly amended in the Senate, necessitating the consent of the Chinese Government to the amendments.

Anticipating the ratification of this treaty by the Chinese Government, Congress passed the act of September 13, 1880, which, by its terms, was to take effect when the treaty was ratified. Without waiting for the ratification of the treaty the Democratic House of Representatives, in an attempt to gain some political advantage, passed and sent to the Senate the Scott exclusion bill. The political origin and character of this act is proved by the following facts: It was publicly stated at the time, and I think was never denied, that the draft of the bill was upon paper which bore evidence that it came from the Executive Mansion. It was introduced by a leader of the Democratic party. It was introduced and passed the House the same day, and, I believe, within a period of two or three hours, without discussion or an opportunity for discussion. It was evidently introduced and passed through the House with the expectation that the Senate would refuse to pass it, and it could then be said that a Democratic House had passed a stringent restriction bill and the Republican Senate had refused to pass it. Coming to the Senate under such circumstances upon the eve of a Presidential election, it was impossible that the measure should receive in the Senate the consideration it deserved. Republican Senators believed a pit had been dug for them, and determined to let those who dug it fall into it.

The President, under such circumstances, felt forced to sign the bill, although the Chinese minister afterwards insisted in his official correspondence with the Department of State that he had Mr. Bayard's assurance that the bill, if passed by Congress, should be vetoed.

This law unquestionably violated our treaty with China. Although the treaty provided that Chinese laborers lawfully in this country at the date of the treaty might go and come at their own free will, the Scott act not only provided that Chinese laborers lawfully in this country once departing should not return, but invalidated certificates already issued to Chinese laborers, some 20,000 in number.

Many Chinese laborers who had once been in this country and departed, and whose right to return had been taken away by the Scott act, and many others who had never been in this country, endeavored to get into the United States, coming in in violation of this law, some by being smuggled across the Mexican border and the Canadian border, and some by personating merchants and presenting to the customs officials forged certificates. Thousands succeeded in evading the law. The dockets of the Federal courts on the Pacific coast were crowded with Chinese cases.

The Chinese restrictive laws were about to expire. I introduced in the Senate a bill indefinitely extending all existing Chinese legislation and proposing some minor amendments which experience had shown to be necessary, which was referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. It was amended so as to continue existing laws for a period of ten years from its date and reported to the Senate and passed. The following is the Senate bill:

SECTION 1. That all laws now in force prohibiting and regulating the coming into this country of Chinese persons and persons of Chinese descent are hereby continued in force for a period of ten years from the passage of this act.

SEC. 2. That any Chinese person or person of Chinese descent, when convicted and adjudged under any of said laws to be not lawfully entitled to be or remain in the United States, shall be removed from the United States to China, unless he or they shall make it appear to the justice, judge, or commissioner before whom he or they are tried that he or they are subjects or citizens of some other country, in which case he or they shall be removed from the United States to such country: *Provided*, That in any case where such other country of which such Chinese person shall claim to be a citizen or subject shall demand any tax as a condition of the removal of such person to that country, he or she shall be removed to China.

SEC. 3. That any Chinese person or person of Chinese descent arrested under the provisions of this act shall be adjudged to be unlawfully within the United States unless such person shall establish, by affirmative proof, to the satisfaction of such justice, judge, or commissioner, his lawful right to remain in the United States.

SEC. 4. That any such Chinese personor person of Chinese descent, once convicted and adjudged to be not lawfully entitled to be or remain in the United States, and having been once removed from the United States in pursuance of such conviction, who shall be subsequently convicted for a like offense, shall be imprisoned at hard labor for a period of not exceeding six months, and thereafter removed from the United States, as hereinbefore provided.

The House instead of taking up the Senate bill and acting upon that, as was usual in such cases after a long delay, and just before the existing Chinese restrictive laws were about to expire by their own limitation, passed and sent to the Senate its own bill, the Geary bill, thus necessitating the reference of the bill in the Senate to a committee and the consideration of the measure again by the Senate.

The Senate substituted my bill, the Senate bill, for the Geary bill, and asked a conference. The conference was agreed to, and the Senator from Ohio, the Senator from Alabama, and myself were appointed conferees on the part of the Senate.

It was well known that the Senator from Ohio was opposed to any more stringent provisions than were contained in the Senate bill, if not to that bill. I found myself in this position: I believed all existing legislation prohibiting and regulating the coming of Chinese into this country would expire on the 6th of May, 1892, which date was near at hand. It was necessary that some bill should be passed and approved before that date to prevent the influx of great numbers of Chinese laborers into this country, thousands of whom were already congregated on our borders waiting for an opportunity to come in. I was compelled to yield something to secure an agreement of a majority of the Senate conferees with the House conferees, and I finally yielded to the adoption of a provision for registration.

The bill agreed upon and reported by the conference committee was substantially the Senate bill with a provision for registration drawn by me radically different from the provision in the House bill upon the subject, stripped in fact of all its harsh and burdensome features, a provision which was, in my judgment, reasonable and was no violation of our treaty with China, unless the continuation of the Scott law for ten years was such a violation, and which was calculated as much for the protection of Chinese laborers lawfully in this country as for the convenience of this Government. I know that the President so regarded it, for I talked with him upon the subject; and if he had believed the bill was a violation of our treaty obligations with China or was degrading in its requirements he would not have approved it.

I quote from some remarks I made in the Senate when the conference report was under consideration to show how I then regarded the measure:

Mr. DOLPH. I had a great many misgivings about the Scott bill. It is not necessary now to recount the circumstance under which that measure was acted upon in the Senate. I feel a good deal about that bill, as many others have expressed themselves here, that it not only violated the treaty but was a great injustice to many Chinese persons who had come to this country under the treaty and departed from it with their certificates, leaving their business and business connections here, and who were entitled to return on those certificates, which were by that act declared void, and they were kept out of the United States. How many there were of this class I do not know. I have heard it claimed that there were some thirty thousand.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to make an inquiry. I did not understand the request of the Senator from Oregon about laying aside the regular order.

Mr. DOLPH. I suggested that, this being a privileged question, I sup-

posed the regular order would be laid aside temporarily until this question is disposed of; that is all.

Mr. CULLOM. This is a conference report.

Mr. DOLPH. This being a conference report. But the Scott bill became a law with my vote in the Senate, and the Senate has declared by a large majority vote that it will not attempt to disturb it. The bill reported by me early in the session from the Committee on Foreign Relations provided "That all laws now in force regulating the coming into this country of Chinese persons and persons of Chinese descent are hereby continued in force for a period of ten years from the passage of this act." That continues the Scott law. Even if that law should be repealed now, the injustice which was done to many of the Chinese who were out on certificates could not be remedied. The bill reported by the committee, and which was adopted as a substitute for the House bill, also provided in section 2:

"That any Chinese person or person of Chinese descent, when convicted and adjudged under any of said laws to be not lawfully entitled to be or remain in the United States, shall be removed from the United States to China, unless he or they shall make it appear to the justice, judge, or commissioner before whom he or they are tried that he or they are subjects or citizens of some other country, in which case he or they shall be removed from the United States to such country."

It then provided that if a tax or license is required of such Chinaman before he can enter such other country he shall be deported to China. The third section provided that a Chinese person arrested for being unlawfully in the country should have the affirmative to establish his right to remain. The only amendment of that section by the conference report is the insertion of the words "or the acts hereby extended;" so that the first clause of section 3 will read:

"That any Chinese person or person of Chinese descent arrested under the provisions of this act or the acts hereby extended," etc.

That was an omission in the draft of the section, and it was very properly inserted. The fourth section provided that when a Chinese person, after being convicted and deported from this country, returned and was again convicted, before he was again deported he should be punished by imprisonment for not exceeding six months. That has been amended so as to provide that any Chinese person who comes into this country in violation of the law may be punished not exceeding one year by imprisonment before he is deported, leaving it to the discretion of the court whether it shall be a month or a year, or a day or a year. The reason for that is that the punishment for a violation of the law by Chinese laborers seeking to enter now is very inadequate. It is simply that the Chinaman shall be deported from the country without cost to him, at the expense of the United States, and that he shall be taken back to China.

There may be cases, undoubtedly have been cases, and would be cases if the law is not changed, in which a Chinese person simply crosses the line, comes into the United States from Canada for the purpose of being sent back to China at the expense of the United States. It will be seen that that is a very inadequate penalty, and the committee of conference thought best to change the section so as to provide that a Chinese laborer might be imprisoned for the first violation. That is no unusual or unreasonable punishment for a wilful violation of our laws. The fact is that the violation of our laws by Chinese laborers seeking to come into the United States are all willful. They all know precisely what they are doing. They know they are violating the law and doing an unlawful act.

The only other provision which at all affects the rights of the Chinese is the provision requiring Chinese laborers to obtain certificates. The Senate will see, in the first place, that the requirement for certificates is only on the part of Chinese laborers. We have not touched the question as to who are merchants, as to what other Chinese persons are entitled to be or remain in the United States or to come into the United Stetes. We have only undertaken to provide some regulation by which the coming of Chinese laborers from the Canadian border and from the Mexican border into the United States can be prevented. We now have a right to exclude these Chinese laborers; the treaty gave us that right; we have legislated that they shall be excluded, and we find that it is impossible to exclude them with a land boundary line of 3,000 miles between the Canadian Dominion and the United States and our extended boundary line between Mexico and the United States. It is impossible to have a Government officer at every point along that line, and if existing laws are to be executed at all it is necessary to have some means of distinguishing between Chinese laborers who are lawfully here and Chinese laborers who come unlawfully into the United States.

The only difficulty in my mind about this provision has been as to how it would be received by the Chinese Government, and whether it would still further add to the dissatisfaction of the Chinese Government; but I have no question about its being within the treaty. I have no question about this provision for certificates being necessary in order to enable the United States to keep out Chinese laborers who are not entitled to come here under existing laws and under the treaty. In this provision the objectionable features of the similar provision in the House bill have been removed as far as possible. Practically this proposed amendment treats all Chinese laborers in the United States at the passage of this act or who shall apply for a certificate within a year as being rightfully, at least presumptively rightfully, in the United States, although the language of the provision is that they shall be Chinese laborers within the United States at the passage of the act, entitled to remain.

The only ground upon which any certificate could be refused would be that the officer before whom the application was made had evidence to show that the Chinese laborer had come into the United States since the passage of the act and was therefore not within the United States at the time of the passage of the act and for that reason not entitled to remain. It is not likely that any certificate would wrongfully be refused on that ground, and if it were there is no doubt at all that means could be found to secure the issuing of the certificate. We have left the minor matters to be provided for by the regulations of the Secretary of the Treasury.

I think this provision is as much in the interest of Chinese laborers in the United States to-day and entitled to remain, as it is in the interest of the United States to enable them to keep out Chinese laborers who are not entitled to come in. Any Chinese laborer now in the United States is liable to be arrested to-day on a claim that he has wrongfully come into the United States from Canada or from Mexico or from some other country, and is not entitled to remain in the United States; and he is liable to be tried on that charge before a judge or before a commissioner, and anybody maliciously or otherwise may cause his arrest and the trial of that question. But if he had a certificate duly issued in legal form he would be exempt from any interruption and annoyance of that kind. So the certificate would really be a benefit to him. It would be an evidence of his right to be in the United States and to remain in the United States, which he could carry with him at all times.

So the conference committee have inserted a provision that Chinese persons in the United States other than Chinese laborers may—not making it imperative upon them—but may apply if they choose for such certificates as evidence of their right to remain here, which shall be issued to them without charge.

Mr. GEORGE. I should like to call the attention of the Senator to the fact that this provision requires the certificate to be issued by the internal-revenue collector.

Mr. DOLPH. Or, of course, through some deputy.

Mr. GEORGE. It does not say anything about a deputy. The internal-revenue collector in the district in which I reside would live 500 miles from the Chinese person seeking the certificate.

Mr. DOLPH. The amendment requires the Secretary of the Treasury to make such regulations as will enable certificates to be issued convenient to the applicant.

Mr. GEORGE. The certificates have to be issued by the internal-revenue collector.

Mr. DOLPH. They are to be signed by him. They need not necessarily be delivered by him.

Mr. GEORGE. Why was not provision made that they may be issued by the clerk of a court?

Mr. DOLPH. That matter was discussed. I suggested putting in deputies; the conferees were opposed to that, but I secured another provision which was satisfactory to me and under which I think there will be no injustice done. As to the issuing of these certificates, in the first place I say the power to require them to be obtained is not a violation of the treaty. Some system of this kind is necessary to enable the United States to keep out those Chinese laborers not entitled to come in, to distinguish between those who are rightfully here and those who are not rightfully here; and therefore I think we are not violating the treaty by making such a provision. If I thought so, I would not vote for the bill, because I would not consent to any further legislation that I thought was a violation of the treaty.

Then I think, as I say, that it is quite as beneficial to the Chinese laborers themselves that they shall have these certificates as evidence of their right to be and remain in the United States undisturbed, as it is to the United States to enable them to prevent the coming of Chinese into this country.

The only other question is as to what provisions are necessary to secure the issuing of these certificates and to create no hardship or injustice to the Chinese laborers here. We have provided that they shall be issued without charge to the applicant. We have given the applicants one year in which to secure them. We have provided that the Secretary of the Treasury shall make such regulations as will provide for the issuing of certificates convenient to the applicants.

We have made the provision as liberal as possible. Instead of allowing one of these Chinese laborers who was in the United States at the time of the passage of the act to be brought up from spite by anybody, we provide that he may be arrested by certain officials, and instead of allowing him to be tried before any local commissioner in any county, we say he shall be brought before a United States judge, who it is presumed will not in his decision be governed by prejudice, but will undertake to do what is the proper and right thing to be done under the circumstances. Then we provide that if brought up at the expiration of a year, if he has neglected the duty of getting his certificate, and if he shall show that by reason of accident, sickness, or unavoidable cause he has not a certificate, and does show by one white witness that he was here at the time the act was passed and was entitled to a certificate, the certificate shall be issued to him. Then we provide that if he has had a certificate and is arrested, and alleges he has lost it, the case shall be delayed, and he shall have an opportunity to send and get a duplicate of it.

Mr. COKE. Will the Senator permit me to make a suggestion?

Mr. DOLPH. Certainly.

Mr. COKE. I suggest that as it requires one credible white witness the requirements will exclude from the witness box a very large number of citizens of the United States who are not white. I desire to ask if it was the intention to exclude them?

Mr. DOLPH. I think the intention of the conference committee was to provide a witness, who should not be a Chinese witness. I presume that was it; the use of the word white was accidental. It was copied from the House bill, but I do not think any harm can arise from this provision, because all the Chinese in this country are employed by white people. If they are employed as servants there will always be some white person who can identify them. If they are employed upon public works or in large bodies, then they are always connected with some Chinese company; they are registered; the company knows just who they are, what they are doing, and what wages they are receiving, and has an interest in their wages.

Mr. KENNA. I ask the Senator if the language of the bill would not exclude the colored population as witnesses?

Mr. DOLPH. I say it was not the intention to exclude colored persons, but to provide that one witness should be some other witness than another Chinese laborer.

Mr. KENNA. I do not ask if that was the intention; I ask if that is not the express meaning of the proposed statute?

Mr. DOLPH. It would exclude colored witnesses; there is no question about that.

I do not care to say anything more about this report, and I would have preferred myself the Senate bill without amendment. I have agreed to these amendments of it, because I think they are not in violation of the treaty. They are not any serious hardship upon the Chinese. The provision will really be beneficial to the Chinese laborers, giving them a certificate as evidence of their right to remain in this country.

Now, my friend from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] says we are introducing something new; that we are requiring something of the Chinese we do not require of people of other countries. Well, we introduced something new when we provided that Chinese laborers should be prevented from coming to this country. There was the innovation. If we should provide that Italian laborers or certain classes of Italians should not come to this country, it would probably be found necessary that we should give those who are here and were entitled to be here some evidence of their right to remain here in order that we might distinguish them from those who had not a right to come. I say the departure was when we undertook to exclude Chinese laborers, not in attempting to give them evidence of the right to remain or requiring them to procure evidence of the right to remain here in order that we may distinguish them from those who have not a right to come. We have discriminated against Chinese laborers. We have entered into a treaty that we might exclude them from the United States. We have legislated for their exclusion from the United States. Having done that, it is necessary for us to adopt some practical means to determine what Chinese laborers here are rightfully entitled to remain, and the necessity for this legislation arises from previous legislation and previous treaty stipulations.

I have not a doubt in the world that there will not be a Chinaman in the United States who will not understand within sixty days after this act is passed what is necessary. I do not believe at the end of the year there will be any Chinese laborers in the United States found without a certificate. As I said before, they come to this country by some arrangement with Chinese companies, the Six Companies. They are registered here by them; they are hired out by them; their wages are collected by them; their money is deposited with them, and their connection is such that the Chinese companies will at once see that the clients of their companies, the Chinamen who are attached to their companies, take the necessary steps to obtain the certificate.

While making the provision as liberal as possible, of course the committee were desirous that they should not make it so liberal that frauds could be practiced and those obtain certificates who are not entitled to them, and the certificates used to bring other persons into the United States.

This report is the agreement of the conference committee, and I hope it will be adopted, as but two days more remain for any legislation on the subject. I suppose on the morning of the 6th the present legislation will expire.

The act as finally passed is as follows:

An act to prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States.

Be it enacted, etc., That all laws now in force prohibiting and regulating the coming into this country of Chinese persons and persons of Chinese descent are hereby continued in force for a period of ten years from the passage of this act.

SEC. 2. That any Chinese person or person of Chinese descent, when convicted or adjudged under any of said laws to be not lawfully entitled to be or remain in the United States, shall be removed from the United States to China, unless he or they shall make it appear to the justice, judge, or commissioner before whom he or they are tried that he or they are subjects or citizens of some other country, in which case he or they shall be removed from the United States to such country: *Provided*, That in any case where such other country of which such Chinese person shall claim to be a citizen or subject shall demand any tax as a condition of the removal of such person to that country, he or she shall be removed to China.

SEC. 3. That any Chinese person or person of Chinese descent arrested under the provisions of this act or the acts hereby extended shall be adjudged to be unlawfully within the United States unless such person shall establish, by affirmative proof, to the satisfaction of such justice, judge, or commissioner, his lawful right to remain in the United States.

SEC. 4. That any such Chinese person or person of Chinese descent convicted and adjudged to be not lawfully entitled to be or remain in the United States shall be imprisoned at hard labor for a period of not exceeding one year and thereafter removed from the United States, as hereinbefore provided.

SEC. 5. That after the passage of this act, on an application to any judge or court of the United States in the first instance for a writ of habeas corpus, by a Chinese person seeking to land in the United States, to whom that privilege has been denied, no bail shall be allowed, and such application shall be heard and determined promptly without unnecessary delay.

SEC. 6. And it shall be the duty of all Chinese laborers within the limits of the United States, at the time of the passage of this act, and who are entitled to remain in the United States, to apply to the collector of internal revenue of their respective districts, within one year after the passage of this act, for a certificate of residence, and any Chinese laborer, within the limits of the United States, who shall neglect, fail, or refuse to comply with the provisions of this act, or who, after one year from the passage hereof, shall be found within the jurisdiction of the United States without such certificate of residence, shall be deemed and adjudged to be unlawfully within the United States, and may be arrested by any United States customs official, collector of internal revenue or his deputies, United States marshal or his deputies, and taken before a United States judge, whose duty it shall be to order that he be deported from the United States, as hereinbefore provided, unless he shall establish clearly to the satisfaction of said judge, that by reason of accident, sickness, or other unavoidable cause, he has been unable to procure his certificate, and to the satisfaction of the court, and by at least one credible white witness, that he was a resident of the United States at the time of the passage of this act; and if, upon the hearing, it shall appear that he is so entitled to a certificate, it shall be granted upon his paying the cost. Should it appear that said Chinaman had procured a certificate which has been lost or destroyed, he shall be detained and judgment suspended a reasonable time to enable him to procure a duplicate from the officer granting it, and in such cases, the cost of said arrest and trial shall be in the discretion of the court. And any Chinese person other than a Chinese laborer, having a right to be and remain in the United States, desiring such certificate as evidence of such right may apply for and receive the same without charge.

SEC. 7. That immediately after the passage of this act, the Secretary of the Treasury shall make such rules and regulations as may be necessary for the efficient execution of this act, and shall prescribe the necessary forms and furnish the necessary blanks to enable collectors of internal revenue to issue the certificates required hereby, and make such provisions that certificates may be procured in localities convenient to the applicants, such certificates shall be issued without charge to the applicant, and shall contain the name, age, local residence, and occupation of the applicant, and such other description of the applicant as shall be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and a duplicate thereof shall be filed in the office of the collector of internal revenue for the district within which such Chinaman makes application.

SEC. 8. That any person who shall knowingly and falsely alter or substitute any name for the name written in such certificate or forge such certificate, or knowingly utter any forged or fraudulent certificate, or falsely personate any person named in such certificate, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in a sum not exceeding $1,000 or imprisoned in the penitentiary for a term of not more than five years.

SEC. 9. The Secretary of the Treasury may authorize the payment of such compensation in the nature of fees to the collectors of internal revenue, for services performed under the provisions of this act in addition to salaries now allowed by law, as he shall deem necessary, not exceeding the sum of $1 for each certificate issued.

Approved May 5, 1892.

This act, as I have said, is radically and widely different from the bill known as the Geary bill which passed the House of Representatives. By this act and all existing laws providing for the restriction of Chinese immigration the restriction or prohibition of immigration is confined to Chinese laborers, one class of Chinese. Chinese officials, teachers, students, merchants, travelers, and in fact all other classes, may freely come to our shores.

The act as passed continues existing restrictive legislation for ten years, while the Geary bill was unlimited as to its duration. By the Geary bill it was provided that it should be

unlawful for any Chinese person or persons, whether subjects of the Chinese Empire or otherwise, as well as those who were within the limits of the United States, and who might hereafter leave the United States and attempt to return as those who had never been here, or, having been here, had departed from the United States (save and excepting only the following classes that, is to say: Such Chinese person or persons as may be duly accredited to the Government of the United States as ministers plenipotentiary or other diplomatic representatives, consuls-general, consular and commercial agents, including other officers of the Chinese or other governments traveling upon the business of that government, with their body or household servants) to come to or within, or to land at any port or place within the United States.

The class of persons who were excepted from the operations of the bill, that is diplomatic representatives, commercial agents, etc., were required by section 3 of the bill to produce their credentials, upon seeking to enter the United States, to the customs officers.

By section 7 of the bill any Chinese person found unlawfully in the United States was to be imprisoned in a penitentiary for a term not exceeding five years, and after the expiration of such term of imprisonment to be removed from the United States to the country from which he came.

By section 11 of the bill it was provided that the collector of customs of the ports where any vessel should arrive, having Chinese persons on board seeking admission to the United States, should determine who were and who were not Chinese, and his decision was only reviewable by the Secretary of the Treasury.

By section 12 of the bill it was made the duty of all Chinese persons, Chinese merchants, traders, teachers, students, and Chinese of every class in the United States at the time of the passage of the act to apply to the commissioner of internal revenue of their respective districts within one year after the passage of the act for a certificate of residence, and any Chinese person who failed or refused to do so was to be adjudged unlawfully within the United States, and to be subject to the same fines and penalties as though he had unlawfully come into the United States in the first place.

By section 13 of the act it was provided that the certificate to be obtained by the Chinese in this country at the date of the passage of the act should contain a true photographic copy of the applicant, together with his name, age, local residence, and occupation, and a duplicate of the same was to be filed in the office of the commissioner of internal revenue, and the applicant was required to pay the commissioner of internal revenue upon his application the sum of $3.

But I shall not further dwell upon the provisions of the Geary bill. I have sufficiently referred to them to show that the act as it passed was mild in comparison to that. The provision of this law requiring Chinese laborers entitled to be and remain in the United States to secure certificates was not enacted for the purpose of excluding any Chinaman entitled under previous laws to enter or to remain in this country or for the purpose of securing the deportation of any Chinese person who under such laws was entitled to remain. The sole object of the provision was the identification of Chinese laborers lawfully in this country, so that they might be distinguished from those being smuggled across our borders. I feared, knowing as I did the character of Chinese testimony, that the provision would result largely in securing certificates by those already unlawfully here, but that could not be avoided.

There was nothing degrading in the provision, and if certain gentlemen on this floor and elsewhere had not at once denounced the law as degrading and unjust to the Chinese, I have no doubt but that the provision would have been readily complied with.

China had reason to complain of the Scott exclusion act, which invalidated return certificates already issued to Chinese laborers who had been in this country and gone to China with the intention of returning, and which prevented Chinese laborers in this country and departing from again returning, but she has no reason whatever to complain of the provisions of the so-called Geary act requiring registration, a provision necessary to enable this Government to intelligently and fairly enforce previous legislation.

It is true that deportation may be a severe penalty for a refusal to comply with the Geary law and it may not be. There are undoubtedly many thousand Chinese laborers in this country who are ready to return to China and would be glad to be deported at the expense of the United States. But, however severe the penalty is, it seems it is not severe enough to secure compliance with the law.

The Chinese Six Companies appear to have preferred to have the Chinese laborers deported at the expense of the United States to permitting them to register and to obtain certificates of their right to remain, although the certificates were to be issued without charge and with as much regard to the convenience of the applicants as possible. The laborers were always ready to comply with the law. Some thousands, defying the Six Companies, did secure certificates and others were only prevented from doing so by the orders of the Six Companies. Some will say, Why should the Six Companies, the virtual owners of the Chinese laborers in this country, refuse to allow them to register and secure evidence of their right to be and remain in this country?

It is because the profits of the Six Companies have been largely

already realized upon Chinese laborers now lawfully residing in this country, and their profitable business can only be still further prosecuted by the continued unlawful importation of Chinese laborers. They know that when the Chinese lawfully in this country are once so identified that the Government can distinguish between them and those who have come into the country illegally the exclusion laws can be enforced and their profitable slave traffic will be destroyed. Hence they prefer to refuse to comply with the law, supposing that either our Government will find it impracticable to enforce it or that the Chinese Government will succeed in securing a modification of it.

There has been much absurd talk and ignorant criticism of the act of 1892. It mainly comes from members of religious organizations, many of whom show by their utterances that their information concerning the act is derived from incorrect newspaper or other statements, and not from an examination of the act itself. The ability to distinguish Chinese laborers rightfully here from those who unlawfully come into the country is as necessary for the protection of Chinese entitled to remain as for the removal of those unlawfully here. The right of the Government to prescribe necessary regulations to enable it to protect Chinese subjects lawfully in the United States and to deport those unlawfully entering is undoubted, and results from its right to restrict the coming of Chinese laborers.

All the talk on this floor and elsewhere about the disgrace of registration, in my judgment, is absurd. The seven or eight thousand Chinese laborers in this country who have complied with the law and obtained certificates have neither been disgraced nor harmed. On the contrary, they have been greatly benefited, and have the highest evidence in the form of a certificate issued by the Government that they are lawfully in this country and entitled to remain here unmolested.

In most of the States of the Union every American citizen who wants to vote must register, and by failing to do so he incurs a penalty never less than the loss of the most important right of citizenship. Such requirements are necessary to enable the Government to distinguish those entitled to exercise the elective franchise from those who are not, and no one ever claimed that such registration was degrading.

Persons wishing to marry must obtain a license. Under the internal revenue laws and the municipal laws of many of the States and municipalities, persons desiring to engage in different kinds of business must take out a license. American citizens going abroad take passports, which they carry with them in foreign countries as evidence of their citizenship. These instances might be multiplied indefinitely, where a certificate is required as evidence of a right, and no one supposes such a certificate is a badge of degradation or the requirement humiliating. The fact is the requirement of Chinese registration is a very simple, though necessary requirement.

No one need fear retaliation by China. China is not in a situation to complain or to retaliate. No one will deny that it is competent for this Government to provide such penalties as it chooses for the violation of its own laws. If Chinese laborers are deported under the act of 1892 it will be because they have deliberately and defiantly refused to comply with a reasonable law found necessary for the enforcement of Chinese restrictive legislation enacted in part in pursuance of treaty stipulations, and all of it acquiesced in by the Chinese Government. China would be clearly in the wrong to retaliate upon American citizens for the lawful punishment of her subjects in this country for the willful violation of our laws.

China is quite as much interested in maintaining commercial relations with the United States as the United States are with her. There are many thousands of Chinese merchants and other classes of Chinese subjects entitled to come to and remain in the United States now here, having large investments and profitable business enterprises dependent upon our laws for protection for their personal and property rights. Some seven or eight thousand laborers have complied with the Geary law and secured certificates and expect to remain in this country and enjoy the protection of our laws.

In view of these facts, I repeat, China is not in a position to injure or annoy American citizens in China. I regret that bad advice should have been given to the Chinese Six Companies, and that such companies, ignorantly possibly, certainly unwisely, prevented the registration of Chinese laborers, and that the necessity is forced upon this Government to enforce the law.

I did not dream when I agreed to the report of the conference committee that there would be any serious objection to complying with the law, or any failure to register. The execution of the law is entirely practicable, but it can not be fully executed in a day or a year. The ability of the courts, in addition to the transaction of other necessary business, to dispose of the cases for the deportation of Chinese brought before them, unless other provisions for the execution of the law shall be made, will measure the rapidity with which Chinese laborers without certificates can be deported.

The cost of executing the law has been greatly exaggerated. Comparatively small yearly appropriations will be sufficient for the purpose; but be the difficulties few or many, the cost small or great of executing the law, I can not see, while the Chinese Six Companies defy the law and the United States and refuse to permit Chinese laborers to register, how this Government can retain its self-respect and fail to execute the law. Notwithstanding the Six Companies have thus defied the United States and refused to comply with the law, there are those who gravely propose to repeal it. Others suggest an extension of the time for registration. To repeal a law reasonable in itself, and necessary as the provision for the registration of Chinese laborers is to enable the Government to administer the Chinese exclusion act, because a class of aliens in this country refuse to obey it, would be an extraordinary proceeding, and, in my judgment, inconsistent with national dignity.

If the Chinese Government should represent to this Government that the Chinese laborers had been prevented by the Six Companies from applying for certificates, were now desirous of complying with the law and ask an extension of time, while such a favor would not be deserved, there would be no insuperable objection to giving another opportunity for registration. As the deportation of Chinese laborers entitled to remain in the United States was not the object of the law, but a penalty only for refusal to register, an extension of time under such circumstances would not be inconsistent with the general purposes of the law.

While I believe the welfare of this country requires that the further importation of Chinese coolies into this country should be absolutely prohibited, I should have much preferred that laws for the purpose should always have been passed in pursuance of treaty stipulations. I regret that it has been thought necessary to abrogate in part a treaty by an act of Congress. Every effort to restrict the coming to this country of Chinese laborers or to get rid of those now here should not only be lawful, but should be done decently and in a manner to command the respect of the civilized world.

There is no denunciation too severe for the outrages which have been perpetrated upon unoffending Chinese in some sections of this country for the purpose of driving them out of the country. While lawfully here Chinese subjects, like the subjects of all other countries, are entitled to the full protection of our laws. The present condition of the business of the Federal courts upon the Pacific coast is scarcely less unsatisfactory on account of the Chinese restrictive laws than it would be with a determined effort upon the part of the Government to enforce the Geary law.

The dockets of the courts are already crowded with applications for habeas corpus by Chinese seeking to enter the United States, and by litigation growing out of the restrictive laws. The truth is, the Chinese question is a question which can not be avoided or trifled with. We must abandon the effort to restrict the coming of Chinese laborers to this country, and admit to the world that we are not able to keep undesirable immigration out of the country, or we must make the necessary provision for the enforcement of our laws.

Mr. WHITE of California. Mr. President, if it will not be out of order or against the desire of the Chairman of the Committee on Finance [Mr. VOORHEES], I should like to offer a few remarks suggested by the observations of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH].

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GRAY in the Chair). The Senator from California is in order and is recognized.

Mr. WHITE of California. I had no idea whatever, Mr. President, of saying anything at this time upon the Chinese question. The subject generally is pretty well known to the Senate, and I assume that it is unnecessary to discuss its merits; but the Senator from Oregon, who seems to have been treated badly in the Senate before I came here, and who appears to have failed to obtain the engrafting of his name upon the so-called Geary act, has made certain suggestions with reference to exclusive legislation and the participancy of the Democratic party in it which call for comment.

In the first place, I do not claim to know anything definitely with reference to the history of the passage of the Geary act, except in so far as the information was made public at the time. I do know that the best feature of that act is the registration clause; I do know that the bill which the Senator himself introduced at this end of the Capitol had nothing in it with reference to registration, but later the registration clause was incorporated in the House bill. I have heard—and what the Senator says corroborates the information—that after some conference or discussion of the affair he drew the present registration clause; but he was not the father of the registration idea, because that idea had been incorporated into the original House act of Mr. Geary.

I cordially agree with the Senator as to the necessity for the passage of some measure such as that which he has presented. The appropriation of money by the Government of the United States to carry out the provisions of that law is at once our duty and commanded by self-respect. Perhaps it is not generally known that there is not sufficient money in the Treasury of the United States to do anything effective whatever with reference to the enforcement of the Geary law. As we have passed such a law—and I believe it to have been thoroughly justified—it is the duty of the Government to see that it is enforced, and that duty, Mr. President, there is no reason to assume the present Administration will not faithfully discharge.

I am familiar with the act of 1888, because the Legislature of my State by special act authorized me and two other gentlemen to defend it before the Supreme Court of the United States against the assault that was made upon it at that time, and that duty we successfully discharged.

The Senator has said that the act of 1888 was passed for political effect. Shall we represent every individual who seeks to legislate wisely and for public interest as simply struggling for political effect? I would not if I could, but were I animated by that spirit I might make the same remark as to the Senator's address here to-day.

The Democratic party has had but one record upon this Chinese subject in the halls of national legislation. The votes which have been taken from time to time upon every measure show that if the people of California and of the portions of the United States most affected by Chinese incursion had had to rely upon the Republican party they would have been disappointed, the time for action would have gone, and no remedy would have been suggested. That is the record as made here. I have not, as I said before, done anything in the way of examining the subject, though I am familiar with the general facts as to the votes, but a critical examination of every roll call taken concerning these exclusion acts will demonstrate that what I have said is correct.

Hence, when the Democratic party unitedly, solidly, and enthusiastically enacted the law of 1888 and sent it to the President, and when he signed it, they were adopting no new rule of conduct, but were proceeding upon the line of policy which they had outlined and which to them was entirely unbroken. Certainly, when we are here to-day attempting to procure legislation in the way of an appropriation to assist in carrying out that act, it is no time for a Senator representing the Republican party in this Chamber to claim any merit whatever with reference to Chinese exclusion.

Everyone, I presume, who has sought to legislate upon this topic has become educated regarding it by the experience which we have all had; we have all learned something, and we have the support to-day of the masses of the Republican organization throughout the United States, but we did not have that assistance in earlier times when we had the support of the Democratic party, upon which alone we were compelled to rely.

The enforcement of the Geary act undoubtedly is attended with expense. In the Senator's own State more money is expended for the purpose of making officers behave themselves and execute the law as it is written than anywhere else. Sixteen persons were indicted the other day by the United States grand jury in that State, and one of them was the distinguished Republican collector of customs at Portland, for crimes committed against the laws of the United States upon this subject. The effort is being made to bring them to justice and to carry out the statute as it is written.

When the time comes and upon a proper occasion I may find it advisable to say something with reference to the merits of this measure, but it seems to me that the proper line of conduct for the Senator and myself and all of us to follow is not to claim all the merit or place all the censure upon any one or upon any number of individuals, but to stand together (for we have finally succeeded in getting together upon the subject) and pass such legislation as will enable the President to carry out, as he desires to do, the terms of the Geary law, and to send the men who have openly defied this Government where they should be transmitted—home.

The Senator says the act of 1888 was a bad act, because it violated provisions of a treaty. It has been settled for years and years by the authoritative decisions of the highest courts in this country that the legislation of Congress is paramount, and that Congress has the power to enact such legislation as it sees fit, even if it be against a treaty; but if the Senator will read the message which Mr. Cleveland transmitted in 1888 when he approved of that measure, he will find within the short terms of that document all practically which has been said here with reference to the necessity of legislation; he will also find ample justification for the enactment of the bill, and also discover that it does not violate any existing treaty.

There was at the time a treaty under negotiation, but it failed of ratification; the Chinese Government itself withdrew its consent. But, if it were true that a treaty had been violated, and if the people of this country were suffering as those of us who live upon the Pacific coast knew that they were suffering, it was a matter which called for a determination of no ordinary character, and justified any legislation we might enact which would prohibit Chinamen from coming to our shores.

I trust that in the future discussions of this question it will not become necessary to inquire as to whether the authorship of the Geary act was in one man or another; but that we shall endeavor to legislate in accordance with what we deem to be right and in accordance with the necessities of the case.

Mr. DOLPH. Will the Senator from California allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. WHITE of California. Certainly.

Mr. DOLPH. Will the Senator tell me whether all the money appropriated for executing the Chinese exclusion act was expended during the last fiscal year?

Mr. WHITE of California. I have the figures here, which I will give the Senator. I made the inquiry recently. I have here the total appropriations. I have looked them up as far back as 1889.

In 1889 there were $50,000 appropriated; in 1890, $30,000; in 1891, $60,000; in 1893, $100,000; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, $50,000; making a total of $290,000, expended as follows:

In 1889, $5,388.50; in 1890, $21,000; in 1891, $49,000; in 1892, $63,000; in 1893, $77,000; and during that portion of the present fiscal year which has passed, $17,000, amounting to $232,388.50, leaving a balance of some fifty-odd thousand dollars.

Mr. DOLPH. For the year ending June 30, 1893, how much was expended?

Mr. WHITE of California. Seventy-seven thousand dollars.

Mr. DOLPH. That left $23,000 of the appropriation unexpended. Can the Senator inform me whether any Chinese have been arrested or deported from the United States under the Geary act during the two months of the present fiscal year?

Mr. WHITE of California. No, sir; and I will tell the Senator why not. The reason is obvious. The number of Chinese to be deported is so numerous that if there is a commencement made it will result in an immense expenditure, and there is not sufficient money in the Treasury for the purpose, and has not been, to justify the inauguration of such a proceeding. If the Senator will expend the efforts which he has been expending to-day in trying to establish himself as the father of something that he does not appear to be very nearly related to, in procuring the enactment of an appropriation bill, then something can be done in this direction.

Not only is it necessary to expend money for the mere passage of a Chinaman from this country to China, but there are expenditures amounting to over $5,000 a month in the way of officers and inspectors, etc., including such enforcement of the law as I have spoken of, and including the carrying out of provisions other than the deportation clause.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Will the Senator from California allow me a question?

Mr. WHITE of California. Yes, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Is it not a fact that the failure to secure larger appropriations for the present fiscal year is chargeable to the Democratic House of Representatives?

Mr. WHITE of California. At that time I was not here. The Senator from Oregon was here. If I should see any disposition elsewhere to omit a provision of that kind I would bring my collateral exertions to try and accomplish a better result. I am sorry the Senator was not able to do that with success.

Moreover, when the Geary act was passed it was thought that the Chinese would register, and that therefore it would be unnecessary to make extraordinary expenditures.

Mr. DOLPH. It appears by the statement of the honorable Senator from California that while $100,000 was appropriated for the execution of the Chinese exclusion act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, but $77,000 was used. Therefore $23,000 of the appropriation reverted to the Treasury.

Mr. WHITE of California. That is right.

Mr. DOLPH. That might have been expended. Notwithstanding two months of the current fiscal year have expired, and it was well known that Congress would be convened in extra session, there has not been an attempt to deport a Chinaman who has not complied with the Geary act.

On the 19th day of January, 1893, I introduced in the Senate, and had referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and printed, the following amendment:

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. DOLPH to the bill (H. R

10238) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, and for other purposes, viz:

At page 40, under title of "Enforcement of the Chinese exclusion act," in line 11, strike out the word "fifty" and insert the words "five hundred" in lieu thereof.

January 25, 1893, I reported this amendment favorably from the Committee on Foreign Relations, and had it referred to the Committee on Appropriations. Immediately thereafter I was taken seriously ill and was upon my back until after Congress adjourned. I do not now recall what effort was made to secure the adoption of this amendment, but certainly I was not in a physical situation to even offer it in the Senate. So the Senator will see when he advises me to direct my energies to secure an appropriation that I did all that I reasonably could do in this matter.

Now, in regard to the Senator's remarks about my seeking to claim to be the author of the bill which passed the Senate, or about my being badly treated by the Senate, there is nothing in my remarks which would justify any such suggestion. As to the bill I introduced in the Senate and sent to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and reported from that committee, called up in the Senate, and had passed and sent to the other House, in the remarks I made to-day I stated distinctly that I was compelled to yield to a provision for registration in order to secure an agreement and the report of a bill which might be passed and signed before the 6th of May, 1892.

I claim no credit for having originated it, because the simple proposition I was discussing was that the final provision for registration, which, it seems, even as mild as it is, has not been complied with, was radically different, and from it were eliminated all the harsh features of a similar provision in the House bill. I do not stand here to disclaim anything I have done or to claim credit for anything I have done, or to complain on account of what I have not succeeded in doing. My proposition was embodied in the bill I introduced and reported from the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and I yielded to the provision which, it seems, is not now likely to be enforced, simply to obtain an agreement in the committee of conference; but I took care to draw such a provision as I believed was not incompatible with justice, not in violation of our treaty obligations, and to which no serious objection could be made.

Mr. WHITE of California. Since the Senator from Oregon called my attention to the matter I find that of the $100,000 appropriated for 1893 the salaries of officers was $36,736.57; that the expenses of officers and cost of deportation, there being about 152 Chinamen being deported under the provisions of the act, amounted to $27,287.30; that of the little registration we had the expense was $12,698.79, making a total of $76,722.66, this amount having been expended partially under the last and partially under the present Administration. I desire to say to the Senator from Oregon that if he imagines that by my remarks I discredited his efforts in the direction of Chinese exclusion he is mistaken. We know that during his career in the Senate he has uniformly and in the best of faith forwarded that good work, and I have not the least reason to doubt that he will continue to do so.

Mr. BERRY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. TELLER. I rose to say a few words, but I do not object to the motion.

Mr. BERRY. Does the Senator from Colorado desire to speak?

Mr. TELLER. I should like to say a word or two.

Mr. BERRY. I withdraw the motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion of the Senator from Arkansas is withdrawn.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, I wish to have the attention of the Senator on the other side of the Chamber who speaks of a violation of the treaty. A legislative abrogation of a treaty is not a violation of the treaty, and it seems to me that in dealing with this question we should at all times keep that point distinctly in view. The violation of a treaty carries with it an implication of misconduct on the part of the government violating the treaty. An abrogation of a treaty carries no such inference. Every government reserves to itself the right, when it makes a treaty with a foreign power, to abrogate it whenever, in its judgment, it is proper to do so. While the Constitution of the United States makes a treaty the law of the land, as if it had been enacted by the legislative department of the Government acting under the Constitution, still it does not preclude Congress from abrogating the treaty whenever it sees fit.

The trouble in this case was that certain officials of the United States Government seemed to think that the statute was an improper one to enact, and thereupon they practically and virtually set aside the act of Congress. We were told early last spring that the executive department of the Government would not in anywise interfere with the action of the Chinese who had declined to register.

Now, let us see what is complained of in the act. What was the offense that we had committed? We had said that the Chinese should come to this country only under certain conditions. Does anybody deny our right to do that? Does anybody assert anywhere that a nation has not the right to determine what class of people and what citizens of a foreign nation shall come within its borders and upon what terms they shall remain? The Supreme Court of the United States have repeatedly settled the doctrine that the question of alien residence is entirely under the control of the legislative department of the Government. I think every writer for the last five hundred years on international law has, without exception, asserted that that is, the power and prerogative of a nation. We said, if you come here under certain conditions and comply with certain regulations you may remain. That was said by a certain class of people in this country to be a burdensome regulation and one that ought not to be imposed.

Mr. President, I want to inquire what has the executive department of this Government to do with determining the merit or the demerit of a statute? Having been enacted according to the methods provided for the enactment of a law, it is binding on the executive department, in my judgment, whether they approve of it or not. And so early last spring (and I do not know but that I ought, in justice to the present Administration, to say that it was about in the same condition with the Administration that went out) there seemed to be an idea that the provision put in the statute for a registration of the Chinese in this country was a very harsh and wicked provision.

Now, what was it? The Chinaman who was entitled to remain here, if he wished to remain, must go before a certain officer designated, who was always convenient. He must bring with him some citizen of the United States who knew he was living in the country at the time of the passage of the act. He must sign and register, and produce the testimony of this witness that he was entitled to remain. I believe the Treasury Department, in addition to that, did also provide—which they could do under the law—that he should have his photograph taken and present it with the registry, which should be kept for identification.

Certain distinguished lawyers in the city of New York, probably moved more by the large fee that was offered by the Six Companies than by any other motive—that being always a moving motive with the profession—concluded that this was a violation of the Constitution. It is the first time in my life, I think, that I ever heard the Constitution of the United States invoked to destroy the power of the Government over aliens. I will admit that by the law, not by the Constitution, when foreigners come here there are certain rights we are bound to respect; but that is not by virtue of the Constitution. That is the law universal which prevails everywhere among nations.

But there never was any law, written or unwritten, that I know of, which prevented a nation from saying to the individuals who came within its borders and were not citizens, "You may remain here upon such and such conditions as we prescribe." I think an instance can not be found anywhere in the history of the world where a nation ever declined to exercise that power when there was necessity for it. It has been exercised by nearly every nation in the world at some time. History is full of repeated instances where a nation has felt compelled to take action as to foreigners within its bounds.

Now, the law that governs all civilized communities would require that this should be a reasonable and humane regulation. I do not mean to say the Government has the power to declare to the Chinaman who comes here, "If you do not deport yourself within the next thirty days we will take your head off." I suppose the Government of the United States could do that, after due trial and conviction, but it would be a very wicked and cruel thing to do, and it would bring on probably difficulties with the nation whose subjects we had thus inhumanly treated. However, when the Government of the United States said to them simply, "Appear before the collector of internal revenue in the district in which you live; bring with you a citizen of the United States who knows that you were a resident of this country when this act was passed," because that is what entitled him to remain here, being here when the act was passed, there was nothing in such a provision either cruel or unusual. There was nothing in it that should create the slightest objection on the part of the Government whose subjects they were.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. It was no punishment at all.

Mr. TELLER. As suggested by the Senator from Oregon, it was no punishment at all. It was a simple method of determining the fact that was provided for in the statute which made their residence here possible; that is, that they were here when the statute was passed.

As I was saying, some distinguished lawyers in New York asserted that the act of Congress was unconstitutional; that it was in conflict with some provision of the Constitution. They never pointed it out, and I have never taken the pains to read

the arguments they made before the Supreme Court, for it did not seem to me that they could be of such a character as to justify a busy man in taking very much time on that point, although the counsel were men of distinguished reputation in the profession.

Mr. GRAY. I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Colorado to the fact that Judge Field in a very able dissenting opinion seems to agree with the counsel.

Mr. TELLER. I have read the dissenting opinion. I know what the opinion of the court is and I know what the dissenting opinion is; but I was simply reaching a point to express my surprise that anybody should have thought the Government of the United States did not have ample and complete power over this subject. The Supreme Court of the United States had so declared on repeated occasions; and, if I may be pardoned, since the Senator from Delaware has alluded to one of the judges, I think that distinguished judge himself had laid down a principle which entirely justified the United States in that kind of legislation. I do not intend to criticise the minority of the court.

I only want to say that the action of the majority of the court was in strict accordance with the authorities in that court. It was in strict accordance with the unbroken and universal rule of international law as laid down by all the great law writers, Puffendorf, Vattel, Phillimore, and others. In my reading, which, though limited, has been perhaps as great as that of ordinary members of the profession, I do not know a single respectable authority that has ever assailed that doctrine. And it seems to me that position does not need any defense. I submit that a nation which can not clear its borders of a hostile and alien element is not a nation with full national prerogatives and rights.

It may be absolutely necessary on the eve of a great war between this country and some of the great powers of the world that we should with a strong hand send out of this country every man who did not swear allegiance to the Government of the United States. There are plenty of instances in history where that has been done. They should not be allowed to remain here to foment disorder and assist the invading hosts, if such things would be considered possible as to this country, which I hardly think will ever happen.

But take a small power. Take one of the little powers of Europe coming in antagonism with one of the great powers of Europe. A small percentage of their population alien to them, citizens of the invading country, would be very dangerous to them. So all governments from a time whence the memory of man runneth not to the contrary have always asserted the right to provide how and upon what conditions aliens should come in, what property they might own and what they might not own, under what conditions they should be compelled to part with their title, and when and how they should be deported, either voluntarily on their part because of the direction of the government or by force if they should decline to depart otherwise.

In this case we provided that the Chinese who were here should register. The great Six Companies, they call them in California (to which all these Chinamen owe an allegiance that no man who is not familiar with the subject can conceive of, an allegiance that the Anglo-Saxon will never yield to any power whatever, an allegiance that compels these people to do just exactly what those Six Companies declare they shall do), said to them, "Do not register," and there was such a terrorism in that command that the ordinary Chinaman did not dare to register, although I knew in some instances they really desired to register. It is said these companies hold the lives of these men in their hands when they go contrary to their edicts and their wills.

Senators ought to remember that the civilization of China is not the civilization of this country. While it is a civilization that is upon a high plane in many directions, it is upon an exceedingly low plane in another. So far as their handicraft is concerned they are a wonderful people, but there are other qualities which go to make up desirable immigrants which they do not possess. So, obeying this mandate of their superior intelligence, the Six Companies, they said "We will not sign." There is a large number of these people who are in this country who have thus put themselves in antagonism to the law. Whether they should now be deported is another question. Whether they have some excuse to give to us and say, "Now, having made a mistake as to the law, we think you ought to extend it and give us an opportunity to register hereafter," is another question.

When that comes up I shall act upon it as I think I ought. It is not up now, I understand. They could come here with a pretty fair grace and say, "Your executive officers of this country at least indicated that they had doubts upon this question." Why they should is, I repeat, beyond my comprehension; or was it because there is a feeling in certain sections of the country that the Western people have been exceedingly harsh towards the Chinaman. Is that it? Be that as it may, when that question is raised here it will be time for us to act.

Mr. President, the Senator from California arrays the Republican party on the Chinese question. I believe since I have been in the Senate it has never been a political question in such a sense of the term that either party can disclaim responsibility for the legislation if it is bad or claim any great deal of credit if it is good. So far as I am concerned I have always voted for the restriction of Chinese immigrants. I have voted for their restriction because they do not come here as citizens. They do not come here to make their homes; they do not come here to share with the American people the burdens of the state. They are not taxpayers except in a limited way. They contribute nothing to the support of schools and churches. They contribute nothing to the general prosperity of the country except as mere machines. No more do they contribute to the prosperity of the country than a machine that makes nails or screws; and they interfere with the labor of this country in a degree that nobody appreciates except those who have seen them come in contact with that labor, because it has been a fundamental principle with me that you could not put the labor of the United States by the side of servile labor and not degrade your labor.

It was that which in the first instance made me an opponent of African slave labor. I saw after I had once taken a trip through the South that the white man who labored by the side of a slave was the equal of the slave and only the equal of the slave. When you put great hordes of Chinamen in any community you bring down the laborer to their level, whatever it may be. I know that it is cheap labor. I know that it is valuable labor; that it never strikes; that it never gets up any *émeutes* of that character; that it takes what is paid it, saves it, lives on little, and eventually departs with its gains for another country. There is some advantage to the men who hire the Chinese laborers, but there is no advantage to the men who labor in having a great horde of Chinamen in this country.

So believing, I have always insisted that the right of the Government to exclude this class of people should be exercised. I am in favor of exercising it now. I have never made any excuse for my vote on this floor. I have never given a vote here because the people of California asked me to give it. I have given it because I do not believe it is fair to the laborers of the United States to put them in competition with that kind of labor, and because I believe that in all legislative matters our first duty is to the people of the United States, and not to people outside of our country.

Mr. GRAY. The hour of 2 o'clock has arrived, but I should like for a few moments to have the order of business laid aside.

Mr. BERRY. Certainly; I do not press my motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ALLEN in the chair). The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.

The SECRETARY. A bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

Mr. HARRIS. I ask the unanimous consent of the Senate that the unfinished business be informally laid aside in order that the Senate may proceed with the present matter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Tennessee? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from Delaware will proceed.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I do not expect to detain the Senate more than a moment, because although interested and agreeing in the main with what has been said by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER], at least agreeing with him in his sentiment of opposition to Chinese immigration, to the impolicy of encouraging that class of immigration into this country by reason of its degrading effect upon American labor, still I have a very decided opinion that some of the recent legislation of the United States has been in the direction of a violation of its plighted faith, and a violation of such a character as seems to me to have been entirely unnecessary.

We have had for a number of years treaty relations with the Empire of China. We have seen fit to undertake the obligations imposed by such treaty relations; and we have in undertaking them pledged the faith of this mighty people to their exact performance. Now, I do not believe that this great country can violate those treaty obligations wantonly and ruthlessly without a resultant evil to the country itself. There is a way and a mode by which we can honorably rid ourselves of those obligations other than the ruthless one of disregarding them. No nation, no great nation, can afford to disregard such obligations. I believe it is true in regard to our relations with China that there has never been a time during which the recent legislation has been discussed in the Houses of Congress when we could not have

initiated by diplomacy a modification of our treaty and have accomplished all that we sought to accomplish by the legislation that has been discussed here to-day.

If that were true, surely it was our duty to ourselves, we owed it to our own self-respect as a nation, to resort to that mode of accomplishing the result.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Will the Senator from Delaware allow me?

Mr. GRAY. Certainly.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. How does the Senator from Delaware reconcile his statement with the fact that after we had negotiated a treaty with China, having for its purpose the exclusion of Chinese laborers from this country and sent that treaty back to China, it was held there by the Chinese Government for months and months without acceptance, and never was accepted as a matter of fact?

Mr. GRAY. It was held for months and months by the Chinese Government, because at that very time the legislation which proposed ruthlessly and violently to set aside treaty obligations was being discussed in this or the other House.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. If the Senator will examine the records he will find that the bill known as the Scott bill, which is the one to which the Senator doubtless refers, was not introduced in the House of Representatives until the treaty to which I have referred had been pending for some months.

Mr. GRAY. How many months?

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Several.

Mr. GRAY. We must not impose upon the Chinese, with whom we recognize the duty of having treaty relations, the obligation of undue haste or of proceeding with more precipitation than we feel called upon to proceed ourselves in a like case. The time that had elapsed after the return of the amendment of the treaty was not more than sufficient, if it was quite sufficient, to enable them to duly discuss and bring the matter through the ordinary channels of diplomatic assent.

But I rose principally that I might enter my protest against the proposition which seemed to be asserted by the Senator from Colorado at the opening of his remarks. While I agree with him as to the policy of this country in discouraging and preventing Chinese immigration, and admire much that he has said upon that subject, I want to enter my protest against the proposition which I conceive he makes, that though it be true the legislative department of the Government can repeal a treaty and can repeal any other law binding upon its people, such a repeal can not be considered, I understood him to say, in the nature of a violation of such treaty.

The Government of the United States in all its departments is a totality to the governments of other countries with whom we have diplomatic relations. They have nothing to do with our executive department and our legislative department as a legislative department and an executive department, but what they have to do with and what they are entitled to consider is whether the Government as a totality has undertaken obligations with reference to such foreign nation and whether our Government has in any wise violated those obligations.

If we have a treaty with a foreign government which imposes obligations upon our Government and its citizens I grant that we can abrogate that treaty by legislation, but in abrogating it we may do it in such fashion as to absolutely violate the faith that this Government has pledged to the nations with whom it has such treaty relations. That is apparent. Our obligation is no less broken, whether the Legislature of the Union chooses to abrogate the obligation made by the treaty than if it had been abrogated ruthlessly by the executive department. The Government, as I said before, exists in the treaty relation as a totality. If we have promised by treaty to do a certain thing upon a condition that the other contracting party shall perform a certain thing we can, it is true, relieve our Executive from the performance of that contracted duty by legislation, but we have utterly broken our faith with the other contracting, party and the violation of our treaty obligation is none the less consummated and complete.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, I can not agree with the Senator from Delaware that in that which is done in accordance with law, and which the Government stipulates in every treaty that it makes—not in words, but because it is the law of all the world—that it may do, there is any moral obliquity or any misconduct to be attributed to the Government because it retires from that duty.

I do not think, with all the distinguished Senator's research and learning, he can find any law writer who will sustain him in that proposition. Every treaty made with China and every other country in the world has in it (whether it is inserted in or whether it is not, because that is the universal law of the world on that subject) a provision that if the nation through its legislative department of government sees fit to retire from it it may retire. There is a contract that while it is in force, and until we assert in some official way that we have retired from it, we will carry out the provisions of it; and if we fail to carry out certain provisions before we have abrogated it, then there is a violation of the treaty.

There is no violation of a treaty that does not carry with it a sense of misconduct. It may be that it is the omission simply to do something; it may be that it is commission; but we are bound to live up to a treaty until such time as by some proper method in this country it can be abrogated. The executive department of the Government may also abrogate a treaty, but it can be abrogated by the legislative department against the will of the Executive. In some countries that can not be done, but in this country there are two powers that may abrogate. The Executive may retire from it and the legislative department may retire from it; and in this case, in dealing with China, we have retired from it through the legislative department of the Government.

Mr. President, we never would have retired from it if there had been in the executive department of the Government a proper disposition to comply with what is the apparent wish and will of the people of our country upon this subject. There has never been, so far as I know, at any time, a condition in the executive department that was in entire harmony with the people on this subject.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Will the Senator from Colorado allow me?

Mr. TELLER. Certainly.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Is not the Senator from Colorado under a misapprehension when he says that the Executive may abrogate a treaty? It seems to me he is, and that so long as a treaty is in force it can only be abrogated either by a new treaty negotiated by the President and Senate or by an act of Congress. So long as the treaty remains in force, I think it is the sworn duty of the Executive to sustain and support it, just as a law.

Mr. TELLER. I think there are cases where the Executive may give notice that the Government of the United States retires from a treaty. That is frequently provided for. It is usually provided in the treaty how notice may be given. I would not say, there being no provision in the treaty and it being unlimited, without having examined it, what the power of the Executive is, because it is not necessary for the discussion now. Of course, the Executive could abrogate it by a new and different treaty.

The question simply is, here, has the legislative department of the Government the right to come in and abrogate, destroy, wipe out, modify, or change it? They can change it in any way they see fit. If the other side do not accept a change, of course if is not a part of the treaty. The legislative department of the Government may say that such a provision of the treaty may stand and such another provision shall not stand. Then the other country can say, "We retire from the whole of it if you retire from one portion of it."

I think I can see the very widest distinction between the violation of a treaty and the abrogation of a treaty. The point I was trying to make is, that we have the legal right, and having the legal right it must follow that the moral right goes with it. It can not be said that there is an immoral act in the abrogation of a treaty if that power is vested in us by the Constitution.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I do not wish to prolong this discussion, and yet it does concern a matter of international ethics that is worth considering. I do not deny, in fact I have fully admitted, that the legislative department of the Government may abrogate a treaty, that it may repeal it just as it may repeal a law, and henceforth after such repealing act or act of abrogation has passed through both Houses of Congress and is signed by the President, it is a law and has the force of law to all the citizens of the United States, and every citizen who had a duty to perform under the abrogated treaty is relieved from the discharge of that duty. There is no doubt about that. But I am merely speaking of the attitude the Government takes as a totality, as a great municipal corporation among the nations of the world by such a legislative act.

It by such act may have put itself in a position of repudiating its treaty obligations, of discarding its undertakings, of violating its promises, and will be amenable in the forum of the world's debates to the consequences of such violation—that is what I contend for—and that those who are concerned about the maintenance of the good faith of the United States as one of the nations of the world, are not relieved from that concern, are not relieved from that anxiety that it should preserve its self-respect and its attitude as a treaty-performing nation, by the mere fact that Congress has seen fit to abrogate a treaty. That is nothing more than the doing of the Government. If we have made a promise and refuse to keep it, we have broken it, whether that be done by the legislative branch or by the executive branch, by nonfeasance or misfeasance, or whatever has resulted in the violation of that law.

International law is that code of morals which obtains among nations as individuals of the world's compact, and just as one man who is under contract relations with another may break his promise or perform it, so a country or a nation may break a promise or it may perform it, and it matters not at all by what branch of the municipal organization that wrong is accomplished. Therefore we are concerned, and doubly concerned, when we consider this matter of repealing a treaty.

I am not here to contend that it may not be necessary sometimes to repeal a provision of a treaty, but we are not relieved from responsibility in regard to our contracts with other nations as to the manner, the occasion, and the circumstances under which we do it.

Mr. WHITE of California. Mr. President, I simply desire to say a word in response to the Senator from Delaware.

I am at a loss to find anything in the act of Congress regarding which this discussion commenced—the Geary law, with the exception of the clause regarding imprisonment, which clause has been held unconstitutional by the courts—which can make that act amenable to the criticism that it is in violation of a treaty.

Mr. GRAY. I will interrupt the Senator from California, to say that, so far as my rather general remarks had any application to a particular law, they were applicable to the law of which the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] was speaking, the Scott law of 1888.

Mr. WHITE of California. Yes, sir. That law which, in the case of Chae Chan Ping *vs.* United States, the Supreme Court of he United States held was not a violation of the Constitution.

Mr. TELLER. That is the imprisonment clause.

Mr. WHITE of California. The Senators are speaking of different things. The Senator from Delaware calls my attention to the fact that his criticism was directed at the act of 1888. When I spoke of a certain feature of the Geary law having been held to be unconstitutional I referred to the opinion of Judge Ross, of the southern district of California, who held that the section of the act providing for two years' imprisonment in the penitentiary was void, because it provided for no trial, and he determined that the imprisonment was an infamous punishment within the definition in Mackin *vs.* United States (117 United States Reports, 352).

Mr. TELLER. Upon the principle that the Government of the United States was bound to treat an alien as a citizen.

Mr. WHITE of California. That is the constitutional shield; guaranteeing the right of trial by jury in offenses of that character could not be disregarded as to an alien, but was alike effectual in his case as in any other; but the provisions of the statute being separable, that is, it being within the ability of the court to say that that particular subdivision might be withdrawn and yet a complete law remain, the decision did not affect the act as a whole.

Regarding the act of 1888, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL] attracted the attention of the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] to the pendency of treaty negotiations, and said, I think truly, that China had virtually refused to enter into that treaty; whereupon the Senator from Delaware suggested that a nation ought to be allowed a reasonable time to consider such a matter. That is, of course, true. But I will read very briefly from a message of the President of the United States, then Mr. Cleveland, transmitted to the House of Representatives, together with the act of 1888, which he had approved. I think the position therein stated is in all respects correct. The extract is very brief:

> The admitted and paramount right and duty of every government to exclude from its borders all elements of foreign population which for any reason retard its prosperity or are detrimental to the moral and physical health of its people, must be regarded as a recognized canon of international law and intercourse. China herself has not dissented from this doctrine, but has, by the expressions to which I have referred, led us confidently to rely upon such action on her part in coöperation with us as would enforce the exclusion of Chinese laborers from our country.
>
> This coöperation has not, however, been accorded us. Thus from the unexpected and disappointing refusal of the Chinese Government to confirm the acts of its authorized agent and to carry into effect an international agreement, the main feature of which was voluntarily presented by that Government for our acceptance, and which had been the subject of long and careful deliberation, an emergency has arisen, in which the Government of the United States is called upon to act in self-defense by the exercise of its legislative power. I can not but regard the expressed demand on the part of China for a reëxamination and renewed discussion of the topics so completely covered by mutual treaty stipulations, as an indefinite postponement and practical abandonment of the objects we have in view, to which the Government of China may justly be considered as pledged.

Hence the President justified that act, and I think he defended it not only with power, but with success.

I desire to say, before closing, that as to the present law, there is nothing harsh. Eliminating the section to which I have referred, and which is virtually no longer before the country, it simply provides for a registration. In the State of California we have a registration law, and I have no doubt that the same is the case in many other States, regarding the right to vote. As a citizen, before I can exercise that franchise I must register.

In that registration there must be entered a description of my person as nearly as may be—the color of my eyes, any particular apparent physical marks, anything manifest to the vision must be entered. There is one provision of our local registration law which, perhaps, might be objected to in some quarters. If a man is bald, for instance, his baldness must be noted and entered upon that record. If any such thing as that were required of the Chinese I have no doubt that certain people in the country would become so agitated that they would demand at once the abrogation of all Chinese exclusion laws.

The registration provided by the Geary act is a plain provision, costing the Chinaman not one cent. It was not incorporated in that act to hurt the Mongolian, but was put there for his benefit. It was to enable the officers of the Government to determine who were rightfully in this country and who were not here legally.

It is a law in the interest of the Chinamen who are legitimately and properly here, and it is a regulation which, as I have said, is not so severe as the regulations which have been imposed by States upon their own citizens. It is the absolute violation on the part of Chinamen of that provision which renders it necessary for us to come here and ask for a larger appropriation to carry out the provisions of the act.

We all thought, of course, that the law would be complied with; that it was so simple; that there was so little that was onerous about it—not a cent of expense to the applicant for registration—that it would unquestionably be complied with and acted upon; but it was not. Hence the bill the Senator from Oregon has introduced ought to be passed, so as to enable the officers of the Government to carry out the law, and they are anxious to do so, and will do so, if they are given the necessary means.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I did not have the pleasure of hearing all the remarks made by the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH] in the speech he made in advocacy of his bill; but I infer, from the reply made to his speech by the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE], that some criticism has been made by the Senator from Oregon of the attitude either of the Democratic party or of Democratic officials in reference to the Geary law.

I see the Senator from Oregon is now in his seat, and if I can have the honor of his attention, I desire to call that attention to certain provisions of that law, which made me for the first time vote against any bill which has passed this body for the purpose of excluding Chinese from this country.

One of the earliest speeches which I had the honor to address to this body was in favor of the Chinese exclusion act. If my memory is not at fault—and I do not think it is—on the occasion of the passage of the first exclusion act more than two-thirds of the Republican members of this body voted against it. I voted for it. The legislation of 1890 I was unable to vote for, for the reason, among others, that there was a provision in the bill which I thought was insulting to a large majority of my constituents, a provision to which I desire to call the attention of the Senator from Oregon. I ask him why a provision was inserted in that act by the American Congress which contained, not by implication merely, not by inference merely, but by direct statement, an assertion that no one of eight million citizens of the United States was to be credited on his oath when he came to testify in relation to the exclusion of Chinamen. I will read that clause of the statute. After providing for the arrest of a Chinaman and bringing him before a United States judge, the statute provides:

> That he be deported from the United States, as hereinbefore provided, unless he shall establish clearly to the satisfaction of said judge that, by reason of accident, sickness, or other unavoidable cause, he has been unable to procure his certificate, and to the satisfaction of the court—

If the statute had stopped there it would have been no reflection upon anybody; it would have been the usual and proper statement in a statute upon a matter of that sort; but it did not stop there. It proceeded—

> and by at least one credible white witness, that he was a resident of the United States at the time of the passage of this act.

That bill was passed through this body, as most of these Chinese bills have been passed through here, under a sort of pressure. I did not hear then, and I have not heard since, any reason given why the word "white" was inserted in this statute—"by at least one credible white witness." So, however numerous, however credible, however satisfactory the evidence might be from a hundred witnesses, if there did not happen to be among them one white man, then the poor Chinaman had not made out his case.

I desire to call the attention of the Senator from Oregon to that particular provision of the statute, and to ask him what process of reasoning, what public policy demanded a provision

of that sort in a statute in a government having a constitution which makes the black man the equal, if not the superior, of the white man.

Mr. DOLPH. Mr. President, the conference report upon the so-called Geary law was considered in the Senate of the United States on the 3d day of May. That left but two days intervening between the time when the report was under consideration and the time when the existing laws restricting Chinese immigration would expire by their own limitation. It was necessary to secure an agreement of both Houses to the conference report, the engrossment of the bill, its transmission to the President of the United States, and its approval by him within those two days in order to prevent an influx of many thousands of Chinese laborers, who were already congregated upon our borders, waiting for an opportunity to come in.

In the Senate it was discovered that, copied from the House bill, an unfortunate expression had been used. The provision in which it occurred was that if a Chinese laborer should be arrested after the expiration of a year from the date of the passage of the act and brought before a court, he should be deported unless he could show to the satisfaction of the court that he had failed to register by reason of accident or unavoidable cause, and could further show by a white witness that he had been a resident of the United States or had been within the boundaries of the United States at the time of the passage of the act. Continued residence for a year was the only fact that was required to be proved by a white witness. I have no doubt that whoever drew that provision intended by it only to secure other testimony than Chinese testimony to the fact of residence. Undoubtedly the use of the word "white" was to distinguish the witness required from a Chinese witness, and was not intended to prevent a colored witness from testifying, although it did in fact.

Attention was called to the matter in the Senate when the conference report was under consideration, but it was too late then to correct the mistake. The Senator from Texas, speaking to me, said:

Mr. COKE. Will the Senator permit me to make a suggestion?
Mr. DOLPH. Certainly.
Mr. COKE. I suggest that as it requires one credible white witness the requirements will exclude from the witness box a very large number of citizens of the United States who are not white. I desire to ask if it was the intention to exclude them?
Mr. DOLPH. I think the intention of the conference committee was to provide a witness who should not be a Chinese witness. I presume that was it; the use of the word white was accidental. It was copied from the House bill, but I do not think any harm can arise from this provision, because all the Chinese in this country are employed by white people. If they are employed as servants there will always be some white person who can identify them. If they are employed upon public works or in large bodies, then they are always connected with some Chinese company; they are registered; the company knows just who they are, what they are doing, and what wages they are receiving, and has an interest in their wages.
Mr. KENNA. I ask the Senator if the language of the bill would not exclude the colored population as witnesses?
Mr. DOLPH. I say it was not the intention to exclude colored persons, but to provide that one witness should be some other witness than another Chinese laborer.
Mr. KENNA. I do not ask if that was the intention; I ask if that is not the express meaning of the proposed statute?
Mr. DOLPH. It would exclude colored witnesses; there is no question about that.

That was the answer I made; and, with that understanding, the conference report was agreed to, because it was too late to correct the bill in that respect. The statement was not disputed by either of the other conferees on the part of the Senate, the senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] or the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], that the use of the word "white" there was accidental.

The truth is, in the whole matter of the examination of the Geary bill the Senate was hurried, the Senate committee was hurried, and the Senate conferees were hurried, because the House had delayed to act upon the measure and to send over the bill until the eve of the time when all legislation would expire by its own limitation. I repeat, the use of the word "white" was accidental, the intention being merely to provide for a witness other than a Chinese witness, a Chinese laborer.

But, now, let me give the Senator the remainder of the history of that measure. At the last session, in order to correct that mistake, I introduced a bill in this body to strike out the word "white." It was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations; it was there considered, and reported favorably to this body. I called it up in the Senate, and a Senator on the other side of the Chamber objected to its consideration, or, at least, if he did not object to its consideration, determined to discuss it until the morning hour was over; and so it was forced to go over in the busy portion of the session.

There was not a word of opposition on this side, every Senator on this side apparently confessing that that mistake should be corrected and the word "white" be stricken out. The Senator knows that the opposition came from the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PALMER], and that the bill was thrown over and did not receive consideration in this body at the last session.

So if there has been a mistake made, however responsible I may be for it, or any other Senator on this side of the Chamber, I have shown a disposition, the Senators on this side of the Chamber have shown a disposition, and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations have shown a disposition to correct the mistake and strike out the word "white," but the opposition came from the other side of the Chamber and the bill failed to receive the consideration of the Senate.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, I do not wish, as a member of this body, to allow this debate to pass away without expressing my disapproval of many of the propositions which have been made in this discussion.

While this country is almost unanimous, and there is scarcely any opposition, upon the question of the exclusion of Chinese or any other kind of immigration which is objectionable on any account to the people of the respective States, there is a feeling on the part of a large portion of the religious people of this country that this legislation has been harsh and unjustifiable; that it has had a tendency to interrupt and destroy the efforts of the humane and religious people of this country for the propagation of our ideas of religion and civilization over a large part of the human race; that it has interfered with our commercial relations, and that respect was due to this great mass of human beings and the authority constituted over them, to approach the question in the usual form of diplomatic intercourse and of proper courtesy toward them.

No one, I apprehend, thinks that to this great people of the United States, and this laboring element of ours, so intelligent, so capable in every respect, there was any danger in the delay of a few months in the passage of this legislation, or any treaty arrangements for that purpose. We all understand that this act of Congress was rushed through, not perhaps by one party or the other, but by both, upon political considerations relative to the success of parties in this country.

Mr. President, I have no objection to the exclusion of the objectionable portion of Chinese immigration, but there are two sides to this question. There is a great commercial interest and there is an interest of civilization, an interest of religion, an interest of good faith, and the good opinion of the people of the world toward this country. Therefore that legislation, in my judgment, was not only hasty, but, under the circumstances, was not justifiable.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GALLINGER in the chair). The Chair will inquire of the Senator from Oregon what disposition he desires made of the bill which has been pending?

Mr. DOLPH. Let it be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations for action before it goes to the Committee on Appropriations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That reference will be made, in the absence of objection.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. BERRY. I renew my motion that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After ten minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 2 o'clock and 52 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, September 4, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate September 2, 1893.

POSTMASTERS.

William H. Macartney, to be postmaster at Oakland, in the county of Kennebec and State of Maine, in the place of Everett M. Stacy, resigned.

Edward P. Lawton, to be postmaster at Lenox, in the county of Berkshire and State of Massachusetts, in the place of Andrew T. Servin, removed.

Ruel Curtis, to be postmaster at Fowlerville, in the county of Livingston and State of Michigan, in the place of De Witt C. Carr, whose commission expired March 23, 1893.

John W. Kirtland, to be postmaster at Lake View, in the county of Montcalm and State of Michigan, the appointment of a postmaster at the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after July 1, 1893.

Edwin E. Taber, to be postmaster at Long Branch City, in the county of Monmouth and State of New Jersey, in the place of Charles B. Woolley, removed.

Ellis Williams, to be postmaster at Granville, in the county of Washington and State of New York, in the place of Hugh G. Thomas, whose commission expired March 27, 1893.

Daniel O. Corcoran, to be postmaster at Oxford, in the county of Butler and State of Ohio, in place of John E. Chatten, resigned.

Augustus F. Julliard, to be postmaster at Louisville, in the county of Stark and State of Ohio, in place of Lemuel P. Bissell, resigned.

James C. Kearns, to be postmaster at Niles, in the county of Trumbull and State of Ohio, in the place of Jesse H. Hunter, deceased.

David W. Struble, to be postmaster at Fredericktown, in the county of Knox and State of Ohio, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after July 1, 1893.

John F. Meisner, to be postmaster at Clintonville, in the county of Waupaca and State of Wisconsin, in the place of Henry Giebel, removed.

Adam Paulus, to be postmaster at Marshfield, in the county of Wood and State of Wisconsin, in the place of John B. Gill, resigned.

Andrew W. Kennedy, to be postmaster at Buffalo, in the county of Johnson and State of Wyoming, in the place of William H. Fenn, resigned.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

Adjutant-General's Department.

Lieut. Col. Samuel Breck, assistant adjutant-general, to be assistant adjutant-general with the rank of colonel, August 31, 1893, vice McKeever, retired from active service.

Maj. Thomas Ward, assistant adjutant-general, to be assistant adjutant-general with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, August 31, 1893, vice Breck, promoted.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Commodore Aaron W. Weaver, to be a rear-admiral in the Navy, from the 27th June, 1893, vice Rear-Admiral D. B. Harmony, retired.

Capt. Charles C. Carpenter, to be a commodore in the Navy, from the 15th May, 1893, vice Commodore J. H. Gillis, retired.

Capt. William A. Kirkland, to be a commodore in the Navy, from the 27th June, 1893, vice Commodore William A. Weaver, promoted.

Commander John I. Read, to be a captain in the Navy, from the 27th April, 1893, vice Capt. C. G. Wiltse, deceased.

Commander Frank E. Chadwick, United States Navy, to be chief of the Bureau of Equipment in the Department of the Navy, with the relative rank of commodore, from the 1st of July, 1893, to fill a vacancy.

Medical Inspector James Rufus Tryon, United States Navy, to be surgeon-general and chief of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery in the Department of the Navy, with the relative rank of commodore, from the 11th May, 1893, vice Medical Director J. Mills Browne, transferred to the retired list.

Naval Constructor Philip Hichborn, United States Navy, to be chief of the Bureau of Construction and Repair, and chief constructor in the Department of the Navy, with the relative rank of commodore, from the 13th July, 1893.

Medical Inspector Adolph A. Hoehling, to be a medical director in the Navy, from the 11th May, 1893, vice Medical Director J. Mills Browne, retired.

Surgeon George A. Bright, to be a medical inspector in the Navy, from the 11th May, 1893, vice Medical Inspector A. A. Hoehling, promoted.

Passed Assistant Surgeon Henry G. Beyer, to be a surgeon in the Navy, from the 11th May, 1893, vice Surgeon George A. Bright, promoted.

Passed Assistant Surgeon John M. Steele, to be a surgeon in the Navy, from the 11th May, 1893, vice Surgeon H. C. Eckstein, retired.

The following-named naval cadets, graduates of the Naval Academy, to be ensigns in the Navy, from the 1st of July, 1893, to fill vacancies in that grade, viz: Reginald R. Belknap, De Witt Blamer, Arthur L. Willard, Edwin T. Pollock, Clark D. Stearns, Henry C. Kuenzli, Henry H. Hough, Renwick J. Hartung, Harley H. Christy, Noble E. Irwin, Waldo Evans, Harry H. Caldwell, Thomas J. Senn, Jay H. Sypher, Bion B. Bierer, Horace G. Macfarland, Charles F. Preston, Richard H. Leigh, Adelbert Althouse, William D. Brotherton, James F. Carter, and Henry E. Smith.

The following-named naval cadets, graduates of the Naval Academy, to be assistant engineers in the Navy, from the 1st July, 1893, to fill vacancies in that grade, viz: John K. Robison, John H. Rowen, Milton E. Reed, Charles R. Emrich, William H. McGrann, George H. Shepard, and George W. Laws.

Passed Assistant Engineer George H. Kearny, to be a chief engineer in the Navy, from the 27th June, 1893, vice Chief Engineer George W. Magee, retired.

Assistant Engineer Charles A. E. King, to be a passed assistant engineer in the Navy, from the 27th June, 1893, vice Passed Assistant Engineer G. H. Kearny, promoted.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE NAVY.

James Farquarson Leys, to be an assistant surgeon in the Navy, from the 22d June, 1893, to fill a vacancy in that grade.

Richard Godfrey Broderick, to be an assistant surgeon in the Navy, from the 2d of August, 1893, to fill a vacancy in that grade.

MARINE CORPS.

First Lieut. Paul St. Clair Murphy, United States Marine Corps, to be a captain in said corps, from the 16th March, 1893, vice Capt. Edward P. Meeker, Marine Corps, retired.

First Lieut. Le Roy C. Webster, United States Marine Corps, to be a captain in said corps, from the 18th of April, 1893, vice Capt. Robert D. Wainwright, Marine Corps, retired.

Second Lieut. Ben H. Fuller, United States Marine Corps, to be a first lieutenant in said corps, from the 16th March, 1893, vice First Lieut. Paul St. Clair Murphy, Marine Corps, promoted.

Second Lieut. Robert R. McM. Dutton, United States Marine Corps, to be a first lieutenant in said corps, from the 17th March, 1893, vice First Lieut. H. C. Fisher, Marine Corps, promoted and retired.

Second Lieut. Edward R. Lowndes, United States Marine Corps, to be a first lieutenant in said corps, from the 18th April, 1893, vice First Lieut. Le Roy C. Webster, promoted.

Second Lieut. Albertus W. Catlin, United States Marine Corps, to be a first lieutenant in said corps, from the 19th April, 1893, vice First Lieut. Louis J. Gulick, retired.

The following-named naval cadets, graduates of the Naval Academy, to be second lieutenants in the United States Marine Corps, from the 1st July, 1893, to fill vacancies in that grade, viz: Dion Williams, Rufus H. Lane, Albert S. McLemore, Elisha Theall, George Richards, and William N. McKelvy.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate August 30, 1893.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Joshua E. Dodge, of Wisconsin, to be Assistant Attorney-General.

SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF NEW MEXICO.

Charles F. Easley, of Cerrillos, N. Mex., to be surveyor-general of New Mexico.

SUPERINTENDENT OF MINT, NEW ORLEANS.

Overton Cade, of Louisiana, to be superintendent of the United States mint at New Orleans, in the State of Louisiana.

ASSAYER OF MINT, NEW ORLEANS.

R. L. Schroeder, of Louisiana, to be assayer of the mint of the United States at New Orleans, in the State of Louisiana.

MELTER AND REFINER OF MINT, NEW ORLEANS.

Lewis Guion, of Louisiana, to be melter and refiner of the mint of the United States at New Orleans, in the State of Louisiana.

COINER OF MINT, NEW ORLEANS.

H. Gibbs Morgan, of Louisiana, to be coiner of the mint of the United States at New Orleans, in the State of Louisiana.

PRINCIPAL CLERK OF SURVEYS, GENERAL LAND OFFICE.

Frank Flynt, of Griffin, Ga., to be principal clerk of the surveys in the General Land Office.

INDIAN INSPECTORS.

Clinton C. Duncan, of Perry, Ga., to be an Indian inspector.

Province McCormick, of Berryville, Va., to be an Indian inspector.

RECEIVERS OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Charles P. Johnston, of New Orleans, La., to be receiver of public moneys at New Orleans, La.

James C. Caldwell, of Kingfisher, Okla., to be receiver of public moneys at Kingfisher, in Oklahoma Territory.

Thomas H. Corbett, of Frankfort, Ky., to be receiver of public moneys at Guthrie, in Oklahoma Territory.

COLLECTORS OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Edward P. Kearns, of Pennsylvania, to be collector of internal revenue for the twenty-third district of Pennsylvania.

William H. Doyle, of Pennsylvania, to be collector of internal revenue for the first district of Pennsylvania.

REGISTERS OF THE LAND OFFICE.

G. McD. Brumby, of Delhi, La., to be register of the land office at New Orleans, La.

David H. Hall, of Eureka, Nev., to be register of the land office at Eureka, Nev.

William D. Lindsay, of Guthrie, Okla., to be register of the land office at Guthrie, in Oklahoma Territory.

Bushrod M. Dilley, of Hamilton, Mo., to be register of the land office at Oklahoma, in Oklahoma Territory.

INDIAN AGENTS.

Frederick Treon, of Crow Creek, S. Dak., to be agent for the Indians of the Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agency in South Dakota.

Thomas H. Savage, of Underhill, Wis., to be agent for the Indians of the Green Bay Agency in Wisconsin.

Dew M. Wisdom, of Muscogee, Ind. Ter., to be agent for the Indians of the Union Agency in the Indian Territory.

POSTMASTERS.

Samuel Bassett, to be postmaster at New Britain, in the county of Hartford and State of Connecticut.

Julius Deming, to be postmaster at Litchfield, in the county of Litchfield and State of Connecticut.

Adrian Norman, to be postmaster at Passaic, in the county of Passaic and State of New Jersey.

Japhia Van Dyke, to be postmaster at Long Branch, in the county of Monmouth and State of New Jersey.

James Bride, jr., to be postmaster at East Haddam, in the county of Middlesex and State of Connecticut.

Patrick W. Reardon, to be postmaster at Winchester, in the county of Middlesex and State of Massachusetts.

John J. Love, to be postmaster at Webster, in the county of Worcester and State of Massachusetts.

Hanson A. Littlefield, to be postmaster at West Acton, in the county of Middlesex and State of Massachusetts.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate September 1, 1893.

CONSUL.

Otto Doederlein, of Chicago, Ill., to be consul of the United States at Leipsic, Germany.

INDIAN AGENTS.

W. Leven Powell, of Seattle, Wash., to be agent for the Indians at the Neah Bay Agency in Washington.

Lewis T. Erwin, of Everett, Wash., to be agent for the Indians of the Yakima Agency in Washington.

COLLECTORS OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

William Ryan, of Virginia, to be collector of internal revenue for the second district of Virginia.

Hambleton Shepperd, of Virginia, to be collector of internal revenue for the sixth district of Virginia.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Leslie P. Ross, of Norman, Okla., to be receiver of public moneys at Oklahoma, in Oklahoma Territory.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate September 2, 1893.

SECRETARY OF LEGATION.

Owen McGarr, of Chattanooga, Tenn., to be secretary of the legation of the United States to Chile.

CONSULS.

C. F. Macdonald, of Massachusetts, to be consul of the United States, at Hamilton, Canada.

Francis H. Underwood, of Boston, Mass., to be consul of the United States at Leith, Scotland.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

Daniel R. Murphy, of Oregon, to be attorney of the United States for the district of Oregon.

MARSHAL.

Henry C. Grady, of Oregon, to be marshal of the United States for the district of Oregon.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Charles H. Page, of Oregon, to be collector of customs for the district of Oregon, in the State of Oregon.

INDIAN AGENT.

John F. T. B. Brentano, of St. Paul, Oregon, to be agent for the Indians of the Grande Ronde Agency in Oregon.

REJECTION.

Executive nomination rejected by the Senate, September 2, 1893.

SECRETARY OF LEGATION AND CONSUL-GENERAL.

Henry C. Stuart, of Denver, Colo., to be secretary of legation in Guatemala and Honduras and consul-general of the United States to Guatemala.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SATURDAY, *September 2, 1893.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the Speaker.

Prayer by Rev. ISAAC W. CANTER, of Washington, D. C.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read, corrected, and approved.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. MORSE, for ten days, on account of important business.

To Mr. WAUGH, for ten days, on account of important business.

To Mr. ROBINSON of Pennsylvania, for two weeks, on account of sickness in his family.

To Mr. PIGOTT, for three days, on account of important business.

To Mr. MUTCHLER, for four days, on account of important business.

To Mr. CAUSEY, until Tuesday next, on account of important business.

To Mr. WANGER, until Tuesday next, on account of important business.

EMPLOYÉS OF POSTMASTER, CLERK, AND DOORKEEPER.

Mr. RUSK. Mr. Speaker, I offer for reference the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RUSK] offers for reference a resolution the title of which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

A resolution providing for an increase in the number of employés of the Postmaster, Clerk, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives.

The SPEAKER. In the absence of objection, this resolution will be referred to the Committee on Accounts.

There was no objection.

TREASURY NOTES.

Mr. McLAURIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to offer a joint resolution for reference.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the title of the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution authorizing the issuing of $125,000,000 of Treasury notes under the acts of 1862 and 1863.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I think that should take its regular course.

The SPEAKER. Objection is made.

SPECIAL REPORT ON DISEASES OF CATTLE, ETC.

Mr. BABCOCK. I desire to offer a resolution for reference.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the title of the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution providing for the printing of 60,000 copies of the special report on the Diseases of Cattle and Cattle-Feeding.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks to introduce this resolution for reference.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I object.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments the bill (H. R. 4) to provide for certain urgent deficiencies in the appropriations for the service of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, and for other purposes; in which the concurrence of the House was requested.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT.

A message from the President, by Mr. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had approved and signed joint resolution (H. Res. 4) to make the provisions of the act of May 14, 1890, which provides for town-site entries of lands in a portion of what is known as Oklahoma, applicable to the territory known as the "Cherokee Outlet," and to make the provisions of said act applicable to town sites in the "Cherokee Outlet."

THE RULES.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I call up the report from the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] calls up the report from the Committee on Rules.

The Clerk will report the pending amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER].

The Clerk read as follows:

Where unanimous consent is asked, the objection of no single member shall prevent the House from taking up and considering any matter; but it shall require the concurrent objection of fifteen members to prevent the consideration of any measure.

Mr. HOOKER of Misssisippi. Mr. Speaker, the opinion seems to prevail on the part of several members with whom I have conferred that the number mentioned in my original motion is a little too large, and I would, therefore, ask leave of the House to modify it, so as to require the concurrent objection of seven members.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. DINGLEY. I would like to have the amendment read again.

The amendment as modified was read, as follows:

Where unanimous consent is asked, the objection of no single member shall prevent the House from taking up and considering any matter; but it shall require the concurrent objection of seven members to prevent the consideration of any measure.

The question was taken on the adoption of the amendment, and the Speaker announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Division.

The House divided: and there were—ayes 30, noes 84.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I ask for tellers.

Pending the count on ordering tellers,

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi said: I make the point of no quorum. That will give us tellers.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I submit that it is not in order to make the point of no quorum after the demand has been made for tellers. The demand for tellers is equivalent to a waiver of the point of no quorum.

The SPEAKER. It has several times been held, under the rules and practice of the House, when the rules have been adopted, that the demand for tellers is a waiver of the point of no quorum. But there are no rules, and, as the gentleman from Mississippi makes the point, the Chair is inclined to entertain it.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Let us have the yeas and nays, Mr. Speaker.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 52, nays 127, not voting 174; as follows:

YEAS—52.

Adams,	Hager,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Paschal,
Baker, N. H.	Hainer,	Kiefer,	Perkins,
Boatner,	Harris,	Kyle,	Pickler,
Broderick,	Hartman,	Lucas,	Powers,
Caruth,	Hayes,	McCall,	Stone, C. W.
Curtis, Kans.	Henderson, Iowa	McLaurin,	Stone, Ky.
Daniels,	Hepburn,	McRae,	Storer,
Doolittle,	Hermann,	Meiklejohn,	Strong,
Ellis, Oregon	Hilborn,	Mercer,	Talbert, S. C.
English,	Hooker, Miss.	Money,	Taylor, Tenn.
Epes,	Hulick,	Moon,	Thomas,
Funk,	Hull,	Neill,	Updegraff,
Gear,	Johnson, Ind.	Northway,	Wilson, Ohio

NAYS—127.

Abbott,	Cobb, Mo.	Holman,	Richards, Ohio
Alexander,	Coffeen,	Hudson,	Richardson, Tenn.
Arnold,	Cogswell,	Hunter,	Ritchie,
Babcock,	Conn,	Hutcheson,	Robbins,
Bailey,	Cooper, Fla.	Kilgore,	Rusk,
Baker, Kans.	Cooper, Ind.	Kribbs,	Russell, Ga.
Baldwin,	Cooper, Tex.	Lane,	Sayers,
Bankhead,	Cousins,	Lawson,	Schermerhorn,
Barnes,	Cox,	Layton,	Simpson,
Barwig,	Culberson,	Lester,	Smith,
Bell, Colo.	Davis,	Livingston,	Snodgrass,
Bell, Tex.	De Armond,	Maddox,	Sperry,
Beltzhoover,	De Forest,	Mahon,	Stallings,
Black, Ga.	Denson,	Mallory,	Stephenson,
Black, Ill.	Dingley,	Martin, Ind.	Stevens,
Boen,	Dockery,	McCreary, Ky.	Stockdale,
Breckinridge, Ark.	Donovan,	McDannold,	Stone, W. A.
Breckinridge, Ky.	Erdman,	McDearmon,	Strait,
Bretz,	Everett,	McGann,	Swanson,
Brickner,	Fithian,	McKaig,	Tate,
Brookshire,	Fyan,	McMillin,	Taylor, Ind.
Brown,	Geissenhainer,	McNagny,	Terry,
Bryan,	Gorman,	Meredith,	Tracey,
Bunn,	Grady,	Meyer,	Turner,
Bynum,	Gresham,	Montgomery,	Tyler,
Cabaniss,	Hall, Minn.	Moses,	Washington,
Cannon, Cal.	Hall, Mo.	Outhwaite,	Wells,
Cannon, Ill.	Hammond,	Page,	Wheeler, Ala.
Catchings,	Hare,	Patterson,	Williams, Ill.
Clark, Mo.	Harter,	Pearson,	Williams, Miss.
Clarke, Ala.	Heard,	Pendleton, Tex.	Wilson, W. Va.
Cobb, Ala.	Henderson, N. C.	Reed,	

NOT VOTING—174.

Aitken,	Bartholdt,	Blanchard,	Brattan,
Alderson,	Bartlett,	Bland,	Brawley,
Aldrich,	Belden,	Boutelle,	Brosius,
Allen,	Berry,	Bower, N. C.	Burnes,
Apsley,	Bingham,	Bowers, Cal.	Burrows,
Avery,	Blair,	Branch,	Cadmus,
Caldwell,	Gillet, N. Y.	Magner,	Ryan,
Caminetti,	Gillett, Mass.	Maguire,	Scranton,
Campbell,	Goldzier,	Marsh,	Settle,
Capehart,	Goodnight,	Marshall,	Shaw,
Causey,	Graham,	Marvin, N. Y.	Shell,
Chickering,	Grosvenor,	McAleer,	Sherman,
Childs,	Grout,	McCleary, Minn.	Sibley,
Clancy,	Haines,	McCulloch,	Sickles,
Cockran,	Harmer,	McDowell,	Sipe,
Cockrell,	Hatch,	McEttrick,	Somers
Compton,	Haugen,	McKeighan,	Springer,
Coombs,	Heiner,	Milliken,	Sweet,
Cooper, Wis.	Henderson, Ill.	Morgan,	Talbott, Md.
Cornish,	Hendrix,	Morse,	Tarsney,
Covert,	Hicks,	Murray,	Tawney,
Crain,	Hines,	Mutchler,	Tucker,
Crawford,	Hitt,	Newlands,	Turpin,
Cummings,	Hooker, N. Y.	Oates,	Van Voorhis, N. Y.
Curtis, N. Y.	Hopkins, Ill.	O'Ferrall,	Van Voorhis, Ohio
Dalzell,	Houk, Ohio	O'Neil, Mass.	Wadsworth,
Davey,	Hopkins, Pa.	O'Neill, Pa.	Walker,
Dinsmore,	Houk, Tenn.	Payne,	Wanger,
Dolliver,	Ikirt,	Paynter,	Warner,
Draper,	Johnson, Ohio	Pence,	Waugh,
Dunn,	Jones,	Pendleton, W. Va	Weadock,
Dunphy,	Joy,	Phillips,	Wever,
Durborow,	Kem,	Pigott,	Wheeler, Ill.
Edmunds,	Lacey,	Post,	White,
Ellis, Ky.	Lapham,	Price,	Whiting,
Enloe,	Latimer,	Randall,	Wilson, Wash.
Fellows,	Lefever,	Ray,	Wise,
Fielder,	Lilly,	Rayner,	Wolverton,
Fitch,	Linton,	Reilly,	Woodard,
Fletcher,	Lisle,	Reyburn,	Woomer,
Forman,	Lockwood,	Richardson, Mich.	Wright, Mass.
Funston,	Loud,	Robertson, La.	Wright, Pa.
Gardner,	Loudenslager,	Robinson, Pa.	
Geary,	Lynch,	Russell, Conn.	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. DINGLEY. I voted for the purpose of making a quorum.

The following pairs were announced:

Until further notice:

Mr. MARSHALL with Mr. HICKS.

Mr. GOODNIGHT with Mr. BURROWS.

Mr. STEVENS with Mr. RANDALL.

Mr. TALBOTT of Maryland with Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin.

Mr. MAGUIRE with Mr. HEINER.

Mr. MAGNER with Mr. CHICKERING.

Mr. COCKRAN with Mr. SHERMAN.

Mr. SHELL with Mr. MARSH.

Mr. BRANCH with Mr. SETTLE.

Mr. GRAHAM with Mr. LINTON.

Mr. HATCH with Mr. HARMER.

Mr. ENLOE with Mr. BOUTELLE.

Mr. LOCKWOOD with Mr. VAN VOORHIS of New York.

Mr. EDMUNDS with Mr. LOUDENSLAGER.

Mr. DUNPHY with Mr. WEVER.

Mr. TUCKER with Mr. RUSSELL of Connecticut.

Mr. BLAND with Mr. DINGLEY.

Mr. HAINES with Mr. LEFEVER.

Mr. CUMMINGS with Mr. SWEET.

Mr. COVERT with Mr. AITKEN.

Mr. PIGOTT with Mr. GROSVENOR.

Mr. CAPEHART with Mr. ROBINSON of Pennsylvania.

Mr. CADMUS with Mr. WRIGHT of Pennsylvania.

Mr. CAMPBELL with Mr. BELDEN.

Mr. PENDLETON of West Virginia with Mr. PAYNE, until Monday next.

Mr. ERDMAN with Mr. WANGER, until Tuesday next.

Mr. CAUSEY with Mr. BROSIUS until Tuesday next.

Mr. MCETTRICK with Mr. MORSE, until Wednesday next.

Mr. JONES with Mr. SCRANTON, until Thursday next.

For this day:

Mr. O'NEIL of Massachusetts with Mr. COGSWELL.

Mr. CRAIN with Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania.

Mr. OATES with Mr. HITT.

Mr. ELLIS of Kentucky with Mr. WALKER.

Mr. MUTCHLER with Mr. HOUK of Tennessee.

Mr. ALDERSON with Mr. WADSWORTH.

Mr. REILLY with Mr. REYBURN.

Mr. BLANCHARD with Mr. HENDERSON of Illinois.

Mr. FITCH with Mr. GILLETT of Massachusetts.

Mr. COOMBS with Mr. POST.

Mr. FELLOWS with Mr. LACEY.

Mr. BERRY with Mr. WAUGH, on this vote.

The result of the vote was then announced as above recorded.

The Clerk read as follows:

2. No appropriation shall be reported in any general appropriation bill, or be in order as an amendment thereto, for any expenditure not previously authorized by law, unless in continuation of appropriations for such public works and objects as are already in progress. Nor shall any provision in any such bill or amendment thereto changing existing law be in order, except such as, being germane to the subject-matter of the bill, shall retrench expenditures by the reduction of the number and salary of the officers of the United States, by the reduction of the compensation of any person paid out of the Treasury of the United States, or by the reduction of amounts of money covered by the bill: *Provided*, That it shall be in order further to

amend such bill upon the report of the committee having jurisdiction of the subject-matter of such amendment, which amendment, being germane to the subject-matter of the bill, shall retrench expenditures.

Mr. TRACEY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Strike out after the word "order," in line 3, page 22, second section of Rule XXI.

Mr. McMILLIN. Let us have it read, so that we can see what effect the amendment will have.

The language proposed to be striken out was read.

Mr. TRACEY. Mr. Speaker, this provision in Rule XXI was inserted in the Fifty-second Congress. The rules of the Fiftieth and Fifty-first Congresses did not contain it. My objection to continuing it in the rules is, that it causes a great deal of trouble in Committee of the Whole. Members are constantly offering amendments under cover of this rule which change existing law, and endless discussions occurred in the last Congress, causing a great deal of confusion. In addition to that, Mr. Speaker, great injustice is done. Laws have been made here by appropriate committees regulating the offices and the amount of salaries to be paid to officials.

Under this provision of the rule offices may be abolished without warning, so that the officials and their friends are surprised to discover that salaries which are not at all extravagant have been cut down by reason, sometimes, of a mere notion on the part of some member here. In that way very great injustice is done. There is no reason why existing laws should not be changed, when change is necessary, by the regular methods, upon the report of the proper committees, and there is no occasion whatever for such a provision as this in the rules.

Mr. DOCKERY. Will the gentleman from New York name one instance where injustice was done?

Mr. TRACEY. Well, I think one instance was the case of the cutting down of the salaries of the assistant secretaries of State, which were, I believe, cut from $4,500 to $3,500 by an amendment on an appropriation bill.

Mr. DOCKERY. Will the gentleman state also that in that case the salary allowed in the appropriation bill was exactly the amount fixed by law?

Mr. TRACEY. That may be; but I know that there have been numerous instances of what I consider gross injustice under this part of our rules. As to the point I made first, I think we all realize how the time of the House has been taken up in Committee of the Whole with discussion of amendments offered in that way. Weeks have been spent discussing amendments offered under cover of this rule, and what the ruling may be in any such case depends entirely upon who may be occupying the chair. Rulings have been made on exactly similar cases sometimes one way and sometimes the other. This part of our rule has only worked mischief from the time it was first adopted. During the Democratic caucus of the Fifty-second Congress I was absent from the city, but when I saw that this provision had been injected into our rules, I determined that at the first opportunity I would do what I could to strike it out.

Mr. REED. I will ask the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DOCKERY] whether the salaries of the auditors have not been reduced?

Mr. DOCKERY. They have been since the Forty-fourth Congress. The statute fixed the amount of those salaries at $4,000, and that was reduced by the Forty-fourth Congress to $3,600. That amount has been appropriated by every Congress since, including the Forty-seventh and the Fifty-first Congresses, which were under Republican control.

Mr. REED. But the reduction was made under this rule?

Mr. DOCKERY. That is true; but as to the instance of injustice referred to by my friend from New York [Mr. TRACEY], if injustice has been done in that case it would not be relieved by striking this provision from the rule.

Mr. TRACEY. Well, Mr. Speaker, I will say to the gentleman from Missouri that we all know that in any case where it is deemed proper to make a change, the committee are allowed to make the change, no point of order being raised. They are sufficiently protected in that manner, and there is no occasion for keeping any such means of reduction as this in our rules.

Mr. McMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, I do not think the proposition of the gentleman from New York [Mr. TRACEY] should be adopted by the House. We are confronted with a strange and rather difficult problem at the very best. The people of this country are justly demanding at the hands of this Congress a reduction of their rate of taxation—a reduction of the taxes imposed upon the things they eat and wear, and we have to begin at a time when the Treasury is bankrupt. There is no disguising the facts. We are able to meet our current expenses, but we are barely able to meet them, at a time when there is the highest rate of taxation ever known in the history of this country; and for this Congress to begin, at the threshold of its work, by saying that we do not intend to abolish unnecessary offices, that we will fix our rules so that on an appropriation bill we must go on and appropriate whether there is any need for a given office or not; or that if we find that there has been an extravagant expenditure we can not remedy it, but must take the law as we find it, and go on and make the extravagant appropriation; or that if we find there has been colossal injustice done in any case, we shall so formulate our rules as to be unable to end it on an appropriation bill—I say that to go into the work of this Congress, with three sessions ahead of us, with such a rule would be madness. It would be an injustice to the people which we have no right to inflict.

Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, there is no reason why, on an appropriation bill, we should not be able to do justice to the people in connection with the great appropriations which we are called upon to make. If the gentleman from New York [Mr. TRACEY] had been here as long as some of us, he would hardly clamor for this change. I remember this rule as, on many occasions, the only means we have had to reduce extravagant expenditures. I hardly remember an instance of a change in the direction of economy that has come except through the beneficial operation of this rule.

Years ago, when the right to use deputy marshals and troops at the polls was asserted, in 1879, there was an extra session of Congress called on account of the failure of the Senate to agree to amendments that dispensed with their use; and in the succeeding session of Congress the only way we were able to put any restraint upon the use of force at the polls was through this salutary rule. I remember the action of the distinguished gentleman from Ohio, Gen. Garfield. I remember the fierce conflicts that we had then, and I remember the great economies, just and laudable in themselves, by which we won ourselves honor with the people, that were inaugurated in the Forty-fourth Congress.

Yet, with the Treasury in a worse condition than it has been for years, it is proposed at the beginning of this Congress to break down the rule under which that was made possible. I do not think this ought to be done. I believe that if we should do it we would be advertising ourselves as the kind of Congress that the people did not think they were electing last fall.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. SIMPSON. I heartily agree with the suggestion of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McMILLIN]. We were told by the advocates of the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause here that that legislation operated to increase the value of the dollar; that the purchasing power of the laboring man's dollar was very much greater than it had been; that he could buy with it very much more of the things that he needs. This being true, I think there should be a very large reduction in the salary of every employé of the Government, including some of our high-salaried officials. [Laughter.]

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Mr. Speaker, I fully agree with the statement of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McMILLIN] that the sentiment of the country demands from this House a safeguard of this kind, and I shall vote to retain it in this section. There was no such sentiment of the country and no occasion for such a safeguard in the Fifty-first Congress; but, inasmuch as we have so large and overwhelming a Democratic majority, I think it proper that this provision should be retained. But I wish to suggest to my friend from New York [Mr. TRACEY] that by striking out all the words following the word "order," in the third line, the objection which has been raised will not be overcome. The clause would then read "nor shall any provision in any such bill or amendment thereto changing existing law be in order."

Mr. TRACEY. That is right.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. But you stop there.

Mr. TRACEY. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. But what is the sense of striking out the proviso and leaving the general prohibition in the rule? The language of the rule now is, "nor shall any provision in any such bill or amendment thereto changing existing law be in order except" under such and such circumstances. Now when you strike out the exceptions you leave the broad sweeping proposition that no amendment shall be in order changing existing law. If the exceptions are struck out it occurs to me we should, in order to reach the point intended, strike out all after the word "progress."

Mr. HOLMAN. Mr. Speaker, as has been remarked by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McMILLIN] this rule was adopted at the beginning of the Forty-fourth Congress; and all gentlemen are aware of the results of its adoption. During that Congress the expenses of this Government were reduced—properly reduced, without any injury to any branch of the public service—to the extent of $64,000,000 by virtue of the operation of this rule. And that reduction could not have been accom-

plished in any other way. A large number of salaries were reduced, not simply the salaries of the auditors mentioned, but a large number of others, by the legislation of the Forty-fourth Congress.

Mr. REED. Why was not the same rule as effectual in the last Congress?

Mr. HOLMAN. The Senate was against the House. The Senate was responsible.

Mr. REED. Was the Senate with the House in the Forty-fourth Congress?

Mr. HOLMAN. The expenses imposed upon the Government had been so much swollen, the contracts previously authorized were so numerous, as to render the legislation of the Fifty-second Congress exceedingly unsatisfactory to the country so far as public expenditures were concerned. Nobody has ever denied that.

Mr. DOCKERY. More than $150,000,000 of appropriations by the last Congress were made necessary by the legislation of the Fifty-first Congress.

Mr. REED. Oh, yes; it is always somebody else farther up the stream that has caused the trouble. [Laughter.]

Mr. DOCKERY. In this case there is no difficulty in fixing the responsibility.

Mr. HOLMAN. The action of the Fifty-first Congress made it impossible to reduce the expenses of our Government to the extent which was desired. But, I repeat, a large number of salaries were reduced by the action of the Forty-fourth Congress, and they have remained at the reduced amount ever since; the appropriations have been continued for those salaries upon the basis of the appropriations in the first session of that Congress. And nobody on this floor has ever seriously contended that those reductions were not proper.

Experience has demonstrated beyond all question that if you intend to retrench the expenditures of this Government you must have such a rule as this. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], who I see is now about to seek the floor, can not but confirm my statement that the only retrenchment we have ever been able to accomplish has been under the operation of a rule of this kind; that by direct legislation independent of appropriation bills there has never been any reduction of the expenditures of the Government.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am a little surprised that my practical friend from New York [Mr. TRACEY] should offer this amendment, because he is one of the practical legislators on this floor. I beg to call his attention to the fact that it does not make any difference whether the words included in this amendment are stricken out or not. I will say now to my friends on the other side that from the Democratic standpoint you had better retain the language to fool somebody with; because if you retain it you are not going to reduce any salaries—not one. I am not a prophet, but that will be the result. Why, sir, you did not reduce any salary while Mr. Cleveland was President before. The Senate did not stand in your way; and you had the control of the House. Now you have the whole shooting match [laughter] and the moment you undertake to reduce anybody's salary during this Administration you will find that the Democrats saying "no" to such a proposition will be as thick as robins about ripe cherry trees.

So, upon the whole, Mr. Speaker, I think you are getting right now, I will say to the gentleman from New York, all the advantage you will ever get from this clause in the rule. You had better keep it, therefore, for it may enable you to "thunder in the index" on the stump.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I hope, Mr. Speaker, that we will have a vote on the proposition.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Let the amendment be again read.

The amendment was again reported.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I desire to occupy the attention of the House for a few moments on this amendment.

The amendment proposed by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TRACEY], if adopted, would strike down one of the most important rules that was adopted in the Fourty-fourth Congress. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN], desiring to meet what had become a very bad practice on the part of the House, by the amendments to the appropriation bills increasing the amounts of the appropriations, presented this rule, which was then adopted. It was designed and intended to limit such amendments as might be offered to appropriation bills which looked to the expenditures of the Government, and in retaining the right to offer amendments it was stipulated that the amendment should be subjected to the provisions of this rule; that is to say, that in the first place they must be germane to the subject-matter of the bill, and, second, must retrench expenditures.

The object of the adoption of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana, and known generally as the Holman amendment, was to prevent appropriations on such bills which did not refer to the subject-matter of the bill, nor should such amendment be in order unless it reduced expenditures. Therefore it closed the avenue of extravagance which oftentimes crept into the appropriation bills by amendments, which amendments were designed to increase the salaries of officials or the appropriations for particular public works.

I think the rule as it now stands, guarded as it is by the Holman amendment, is a salutary rule and ought to remain the rule of the House, because it protects the Government against expenditures, allows amendments to appropriation bills only when they shall be germane to the subject-matter of the bill, and, second, only when they shall reduce expenditures.

I hope the amendment of my friend from New York will not be pressed, or that it will be voted down by the House.

Mr. TRACEY. Inasmuch as my friend from Mississippi so earnestly urges me I shall withdraw the amendment. [Laughter.]

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I am very glad that my speech has had that effect on my friend from New York, and hope it will also reach the Committee on Rules, because I have never been able to reach them heretofore in any other way.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I offer the amendment I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend clause 2 of Rule XXI by inserting after the word "committe," in the proviso, the words "or any joint commission authorized by law, or the House members of any such commission."

The amendment was adopted.

The Clerk read as follows:

RULE XXIII.

* * * * * * *

2. Whenever a Committee of the Whole House finds itself without a quorum, which shall consist of 100 members, the chairman shall cause the roll to be called, and thereupon the committee shall rise, and the chairman shall report the names of the absentees to the House, which shall be entered on the Journal; but if on such call a quorum shall appear, the committee shall thereupon resume its sitting without further order of the House.

Mr. KYLE. Mr. Speaker, I offer the amendment I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend Rule XXIII by striking out the following words, to wit: "Which shall consist of 100 members," in lines 2 and 3 of clause 2, page 24.

Mr. KYLE. Mr. Speaker, this amendment which I offer is to prevent an innovation on the rules as they have heretofore existed in the government of the House from time immemorial except during the Fifty-first Congress. I do not think the proposition to constitute 100 members a quorum for the Committee of the Whole ought to be sanctioned by the House.

I would like to call the attention of the House to the importance of this proposed change, and to the fact that the principal business in this branch of Congress is transacted in Committee of the Whole.

When we go into Committee of the Whole the certain restrictions that are thrown around our actions in the House do not exist; for instance, you can not call the yeas and nays in Committee of the Whole. That is an important matter in the consideration of subjects that come before Congress. The Committee of the Whole is virtually the House itself. I wish to call attention, in the first place, to the fact that the framers of the Federal Constitution, when they were naming what number should constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, declared that a majority of all the members-elect to the House of Representatives should constitute a quorum. Now, what is the Committee of the Whole? It is simply the House of Representatives transformed into a committee and governed by the forms of the rule which prevail in committee.

The proposition presented is an evasion of that provision of the Constitution which requires a majority of the members of the House to be present for the transaction of business. If it is not that, what is it? A Committee of the Whole House is the House itself; simply the form is changed and that is all.

I refer to Article I, section 5, of the Constitution, which is as follows:

Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, etc.

But let me call your attention to the business that comes before the Committee of the Whole. The principal business that is transacted by the House of Representatives is there considered. And I respectfully submit to the House that, to the matters that go through the Committee of the Whole, the House proper does not give much attention. That is to say, they receive but little attention in the House after the Committee of the Whole has acted on them. We all know that to be true from experience here. Why, we come here sometimes at night with but few members, and pass bills through the Committee of the Whole, and then the next day, with possibly only a third of the

members of the House present, that action of the Committee of the Whole is taken up and ratified. When it is stated on the floor of the House that a bill, no matter what it is, has been considered in a Committee of the Whole House, members take it for granted as a rule that it is all right, and let it go without question.

But here is the business to be considered in a Committee of the Whole House:

3. All motions or propositions involving a tax or charge upon the people; all proceedings touching appropriations of money, or bills making appropriations of money or property or requiring such appropriations to be made, or authorizing payments out of appropriations already made, or releasing any liability to the United States for money or property, shall be first considered in a Committee of the Whole.

Listen to the importance of it. It is also provided that amendments from the Senate to House bills must be considered in Committee of the Whole, if having originated in the House they would be subject under the rule to that consideration. And so without taking the time of the House to name all of these things, it is only necessary to state that nearly every proposition of importance that affects the revenue of the country is required to be considered in Committee of the Whole. And yet it is proposed to constitute 100 members a quorum, 51 of whom would be a majority to do this business, and this would afford an excuse for the other 256 members of the House to be absent.

Mr. Speaker, if there is even a doubt about the constitutionality of this proposition we ought not to adopt it. We have done well with the rules as they were without it in the past, and there can be no possible good in it unless the idea prevails that a few men will look after the interest of the country better than a larger number.

It may be a convenience, Mr. Speaker, but convenience is not always safety. If this is the idea 256 of these gentlemen might remain at home and permit the 100 to do the business of the House as well as of the Committee of the Whole. The proposition is to change a rule that has been in existence upon this subject from the early days of the Republic and to transfer this important business from a committee where a majority of the members of the House have been required to constitute a quorum to a committee in which 100 shall be a quorum. I submit that this is not the time nor the occasion for such a change.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LOUD rose.

Mr. KYLE. I would like five minutes more.

Mr. DE ARMOND. I move that the gentleman's time be extended five minutes.

Mr. BELTZHOOVER. If I may be recognized, I will yield my time to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. KYLE].

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. KYLE] asks five minutes more. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. KYLE. Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to call attention to the fact that the people throughout the country, where they have had opportunities to speak upon this subject, had shown themselves to be careful of their lawmakers; to provide against their escape from responsibility when dealing with the revenues and other important subjects. Nearly every State in the Union today requires its Legislature, when voting upon the subject of levying taxes upon the people or of appropriating money out of their treasuries, to have a majority of the members constituting the Legislature present and voting in the affirmative on a yea-and-nay vote.

The constitution of the State which I in part represent upon this floor, and in Ohio, the State of the gentleman [Mr. OUTHWAITE] who now advocates that 100 members shall make a quorum, as stated, provides, "That on the passage of every bill in either house the vote shall be taken by yeas and nays and entered upon the journal, and no law shall be passed in either house without the concurrence of a majority of all the members elected thereto." And the constitutions of all the States which have been adopted in the last few years contain similar provisions. I know the argument is that these matters are to be reviewed by the House after being acted upon in the Committee of the Whole; but in reply to that I will say, without any fear of contradiction, that the House usually accepts what is done in the Committee of the Whole for the action of the House. I submit that if the expressions of the people, as voiced in their constitutions of recent date, are taken as worth anything they mean that those who are charged with the duty of making laws and appropriating money out of the public Treasury and levying taxes shall show what they are doing.

It can not be denied that they have spoken against any opportunity of evading responsibility; and I say this innovation is wrong and improper, and my humble opinion is that it is fraught with danger to the revenues of this country, because measures will not receive that careful, calm, and considerate deliberation which they would receive if we were required to have a majority of the members to constitute a quorum of that committee.

I want to call your attention to this further fact, Mr. Speaker, that among the very first rules submitted by the Committee on Rules is one which requires members of this House to be present during the sittings of the House. This proposition here is not in harmony with that. When the important business of the House, affecting the revenues of the country, is under consideration, we at least give an excuse for 256 of these gentlemen to be away from here. They will say, "It is not incumbent upon me to be there. My presence is not required there, because 100 constitute a quorum, and that number is sufficient for the transaction of business." That is all I care to say now.

Mr. LOUD rose during the delivery of the foregoing remarks.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from California [Mr. LOUD].

Mr. LOUD. I do not wish to make a speech. I rose simply for the purpose of getting the gentleman's time extended, so that he might have further opportunity to call the faithful back into the fold. [Laughter.]

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. KYLE] has stated very strongly and fully the objections that may be urged to this amendment. I propose to state the reasons that moved the committee to submit this amendment, and also to consider the objections urged.

The first objection he urges is that members may think their presence is not necessary here when bills are under consideration in the Committee of the Whole. Theoretically that is less likely to occur if the number is larger, of course. There may be less danger of absenteeism when the quorum of the committee is larger. I am willing to admit that may be so; but in practical operation I never have observed any such result. Members do not feel, because they may be away, that they ought to be away. Members will come here, if they have the proper interest in the business before the House, whether the quorum of the committee is 100 or 200. The proposition is submitted for a reason which was manifest more than once on yesterday.

When there are present within the Hall here perhaps 200 members an amendment will be offered which is of no importance to the bill, or to any one except the gentleman offering it. Half a dozen members will vote one way and one or two the other. The vote does not satisfy some one member, and he immediately makes the point of no quorum.

Mr. REED. Then this is a substitute the purpose of which is to relieve the chairman of the Committee of the Whole from the necessity of counting a quorum.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. The gentleman may consider it that way if he pleases.

Mr. REED. No, I am submittting it to the House that that is the construction you rely on.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. There would not be an opportunity of counting a quorum in Committee of the Whole under the gentleman's rule.

Mr. REED. Oh, yes.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. There is no necessity for counting a quorum under the gentleman's rule. The fact is that we would be called upon perhaps to have a call of the House, and 200 members would respond to that call. Yet when we would again undertake to vote upon the amendment, the same indifference would be manifested, and members might not vote to the extent of a full quorum of a majority of the House. Yet as many men as generally participate in legislation would vote, and perhaps over 100 would vote, and so the business would go on until another such an incident would occur, and more time thus be wasted.

Another reason for the rule is this, that in the consideration of revenue bills, in which there are a multitude of items, or in the consideration of appropriation bills in which there are a multitude of items, members will look over the bill and see that it is such a measure as they would support or sustain, or that the part likely to come up is such as they find no objection to it, and withdraw from the hall of the House either to the committee rooms, to attend to some business which they think of more importance, or perhaps to go to the Departments and attend to business there. This is simply consenting to legislation, seeing beforehand that the report of the committee presenting the bill is one in which they would concur, and therefore they may absent themselves for a brief time without detriment to the good of the country. Thus, sometimes we are put to the necessity of moving along very slowly, being obstructed for hours or for days over matters of little or no importance whatever to the country generally, while we are simply preparing legislation to submit to the House.

Now, when it comes to the final vote, the vote that is of the greatest importance, the vote in the House, the yeas and nays may be demanded. It is true that the yeas and nays can not be demanded upon the several items in the bill; but it is equally true that it is the duty of every member who has any objection to any items in the bill to be present here in the Committee of the Whole. I do not see that reducing the number comprising the Committee of the Whole to 100 in anywise excuses the members from the performance of that duty, or in anywise justifies their absence or that they are likely to take advantage of it to any injurious extent.

Mr. REED. It simply excuses the chairman from the duty of counting.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. That duty is a question on which the gentleman from Maine and I differ, and the gentleman has emphasized his proposition very frequently.

Mr. DE ARMOND. Mr. Speaker, I feel that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. KYLE] ought to be adopted. I find some strong reasons given against the course advocated by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. OUTHWAITE] in a speech made by that gentleman when a similar rule and a similar amendment were under consideration in this House in the Fifty-first Congress, and I presume that the view taken then by the gentleman from Maine is now satisfactory to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I said that the other day; and I am four years older than I was then, and have had four more years of experience since then.

Mr. DE ARMOND. That is very true, Mr. Speaker; and that simply illustrates that a man may have increase of years and added experience without having a proper measure of gathered wisdom. [Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, the reasons that had the support of the Democratic members of the Fifty-first Congress were no more cogent then than to-day. I am not saying that a man who voted in a certain way four years ago is bound by constituency or duty to vote the same way now; but I say that reasons which were good four years ago ought to be equally good now.

What is the Committee of the Whole, Mr. Speaker? It is the House in undress uniform; the House with its coat off; the House handling in somewhat informal way the same sort of business which the House otherwise would have to handle in a more formal way. A trivial amendment is offered, as the gentleman from Ohio said, and a lot of people drop out of the room because they do not care about it. They are not concerned about it, and nobody is bu tthe man who offers it, says he, and therefore a hundred men are enough to defeat it. As to that amendment, that particular amendment, it need not take a hundred. Fifty men are enough, two men are enough, one man is enough; but that is not the proposition.

The question is whether the House—when it is constituted in a less formal way than here to-day when it must have present, in order to do business, a majority of its members—whether the House, sitting in that informal way, shall be constituted to do business with a lesser number than one-half of its members. An amendment of great importance may be offered to a bill and the amendment rejected in Committee of the Whole without any roll call, without any man putting himself upon record whether he voted for or against it, and when you come back into the House the House is powerless, if a single man objects, to consider the amendment.

It has been throttled and strangled and killed in the Committee of the Whole by a majority in a hundred votes, if you make that number the quorum of the Committee of the Whole by the adoption of this clause. The Committee of the Whole is unlike all other committees of the House. Like the House itself, it sits in judgment upon the work of all other committees, and what is done in Committee of the Whole House is what otherwise would be done in the House itself, in formal organization. Then you have a committee of 100 in the event that this rule be adopted, doing what the House itself can not do without one-half of its members. You have 100 members just as powerful in Committee of the Whole as a quorum of 179 in the House. A little further along in this same rule there is a provision which would enable the Committee of the Whole to dispense with debate, throttle debate, shut off debate, take the House virtually by the throat, when the House is not in formal organization to discuss a measure of vital importance and dispose of it.

Mr. Speaker, to show how some men stood in the Fifty-first Congress, and by way of illustration to show what progress we have made since, as the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] might say, I desire to note the names of those who voted for an amendment just like the one submitted by the gentleman from Mississippi—precisely the same amendment. These gentlemen voted to strike out of the Reed rules the words which the amendment before us would eliminate, namely, "which shall consist of 100 members:"

Abbott,	Crisp,	Lewis,	Richardson,
Anderson, Kans.	Culberson, Tex.	Magner,	Robertson,
Anderson, Miss.	Cummings,	Maish,	Rowland,
Andrew,	Dargan,	Mansur,	Sayers,
Bankhead,	Dockery,	Martin, Ind.	Seney,
Barnes,	Dunphy,	Martin, Tex.	Shively,
Bland,	Edmunds,	McAdoo,	Skinner,
Blount,	Elliott,	McCarthy,	Spinola,
Boatner,	Enloe,	McClammy,	Springer,
Breckinridge, Ark.	Fitch,	McClellan,	Stewart, Ga.
Breckinridge, Ky.	Fithian,	McCreary,	Stewart, Tex.
Brickner,	Flower,	McMillin,	Stockdale,
Brookshire,	Forman,	McRae,	Stone, Ky.
Brown, J. B.	Fowler,	Mills,	Stone, Mo.
Buchanan, Va.	Geissenhainer,	Montgomery	Stump,
Bucknalew,	Gibson,	Moore, Tex.	Tarsney,
Bunn,	Goodnight,	Morgan,	Tillman,
Bynum,	Grimes,	Mutchler,	Tracey,
Campbell,	Hare,	Norton,	Tucker,
Candler, Ga.	Hatch,	O'Ferrall,	Turner, Ga.
Carlton,	Hayes,	O'Neall, Ind.	Turpin,
Caruth,	Heard,	O'Neil, Mass.	Venable,
Catchings,	Hemphill,	Outhwaite,	Walker, Mo.
Chipman,	Herbert,	Owens, Ohio	Washington,
Clancy,	Holman,	Parrett,	Wheeler, Ala.
Clarke, Ala.	Hooker,	Paynter,	Whiting,
Clements,	Kerr, Pa.	Peel,	Wike,
Clunie,	Kilgore,	Pendleton,	Wiley,
Cobb,	Lane,	Penington,	Wilkinson,
Compton,	Lanham,	Perry,	Wilcox,
Cooper, Ind.	Lawler,	Pierce,	Williams, Ill.
Cothran,	Lee,	Price,	Wilson, Mo.
Covert,	Lester, Ga.	Quinn,	Wise,
Cowles,	Lester, Va.	Reilly,	Yoder.

During the reading of the names the time of Mr. DE ARMOND expired.

Mr. COX. How much time do you desire?

Mr. DE ARMOND. About five minutes more.

Mr. COX. I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman be extended five minutes.

There was no objection.

The reading of the names was resumed and concluded.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. DE ARMOND. Certainly.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Is that the vote which was had pending the discussion on the rules by the Republicans in that Congress?

Mr. DE ARMOND. Yes, sir.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Therefore it was a party vote.

Mr. DE ARMOND. Yes; the Republicans reported a rule such as has now been reported by this committee. A motion to strike out was made similar to that which the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. KYLE] makes now in relation to this rule, and the gentlemen whose names I have recapitulated voted to support the motion to strike out; but, there being a majority of Republicans in that House, the motion was lost.

A MEMBER. Who made the motion to strike out?

Mr. DE ARMOND. It was made by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. OUTHWAITE], if I am correct about it. At all events, he made a speech on the subject, which will be found on page 1337 of the RECORD, under date of February 14, 1890, and any gentleman who desires to know whether in four years of experience and of growing age the gentleman from Ohio has really advanced in wisdom has only to compare the speech which he made upon that occasion with the speech which he made here a few moments ago. [Laughter.]

Mr. REED. Could not the gentleman from Missouri give us some of the more salient points of the speeches that were made at that time—some of the choicer extracts? [Laughter.]

Mr. DE ARMOND. If I had the time I would be glad to do so, because some of the speeches made in support of this motion to strike out would, I think, be very good reading now; and the gentlemen who are making speeches to-day against the motion to strike out are but repeating, and feebly repeating, the arguments made by the Republicans in the House over which the gentleman from Maine presided.

Mr. REED. "Feebly" is good.

Mr. DE ARMOND. Mr. Speaker, if I have time I will have an extract read from the speech of the gentleman from Ohio.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. DE ARMOND. Very well.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to detain the House, but having examined this question four years ago and having now reëxamined it, my conclusion is precisely the same as it was then. That conclusion is that this provision is inexpedient, unwise, and of doubtful constitutionality; and with the consent of the House I will incorporate in my remarks what I said four years ago upon this subject, and will not occupy time in discussing that branch of the question.

Mr. TURNER. Mr. Speaker, I would be glad if the gentle-

man from Kentucky would have read at the desk the remarks he made four years ago on this subject.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky. If the House will grant me the time I will do so. But I want to ask attention now to a point presented with very great ability by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Blount], in a speech which he made against the proposition four years ago. It tends to encourage negligence on the part of Representatives in the discharge of their duties, and that, too, in the only portion of our proceedings of which no record is made. There are usually but two subjects before a Committee of the Whole House—the consideration of bills raising revenue by the imposition of taxation, and of bills appropriating money; that is, spending the revenues which have been raised by taxation.

All other legislation, as a rule, is done in the House sitting as House. There can be no exercise of sovereign power greater than that of the Government putting its hand in the pockets of the taxpayer and taking an aliquot part of his earnings, under any form of taxation, for the purpose of carrying on the Government, and the correlative duty of expending that money within the limitations of the deed of trust under which we act, and which is called the Constitution of the United States, is equally important. Those duties are practically performed by this House while sitting as a Committee of the Whole House. Every rule, therefore, which we can adopt to require of the Representatives of the people their personal presence at the transaction of this business; every temptation that we can give to those Representatives not only to be present, but to personally understand that legislation and its details, and to act upon it with their best judgment, is a rule in the interest of economy and of the proper discharge of our highest duties.

Now, this proposed rule is a virtual announcement to Representatives that less than one-third is all that may be required in shaping that legislation, for, while the final and efficient act which gives it the force of law must be done in the House, the shaping of that legislation is done in the Committee of the Whole House. The action of that committee in rejecting amendments is practically final, for votes can not be obtained in the House on the negative action of the Committee of the Whole. What that committee does, if not conclusive in the nominal and technical sense, is conclusive in the real sense that legislation is shaped there. It seems to me, therefore, that the duty of the House is to require, as far as it can do, the presence of all its members in the transaction of that particular business. Not only is it that we give to the members a sort of official leave of absence by this rule, but we do it in the only portion of our business of which no record is made.

No record of a member's absence from the Committee of the Whole is taken, no record of his vote there is made; so that practically there is no mode by which it can be ascertained whether he was present and participating or not. I desired to say this much, Mr. Speaker, so that I might not afterwards hear it said that when this proposition passed I had changed the view I formerly held; and now, with the permission of the House, I will have read by the Clerk what I said upon this subject four years ago.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] be extended so that he may have his former speech read.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

The Clerk read as follows:

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky. The proposed rule which makes a quorum of the Committee of the Whole House consist of 100 members is, if possible, even more dangerous, and is equally unconstitutional. This view has been so well presented by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Blount] that it is unnecessary to make a further argument upon it, but it will not be improper to say that the contention that the whole House, which by the Constitution can not "do business" unless a majority of its members participate therein, can by a simple rule adopted by itself change itself from the House to a committee, and by that mere change of name and some change in the mere rules of procedure become enabled to transact business with a hundred members.

It is mere splitting at straws and haggling over words to say that what is done in the Committee of the Whole is not "to do business," in the constitutional sense of those words. The business done is of the very highest importance. The amendments passed upon, accepted, or rejected, practically commit the House to the gravest and most important legislation. Vast sums of money are taken from the public Treasury by the action of that committee. The rights of the citizen, the duties of public officers, the course of public business are settled in that committee. That committee is the House; the House is that committee. When the House is in session that committee can not sit; the House may give permission to all other committees to sit during its sittings, but in the very nature of the case it is impossible for the House to give to the Committee of the Whole House permission to sit while it is in session. If the House adjourns the committee can not sit. If the House is in recess the committee can not sit.

By the action of a quorum of the House, that House then present resolves itself into the Committee of the Whole. It does not cease to be the House; it does not adjourn; it does not take recess; it does not dissolve. It simply, for parliamentary purposes, under parliamentary rules which by the Constitution the House has the power to adopt—it passes from the forms of procedure adopted for the government of the House, sitting as the House, to those adopted for the House sitting as a Committee of the Whole. This committee when it rises necessarily resolves itself into the House without any other action; without any action of any sort, *eo instanti*, by the very act of the committee rising, the House as a House is in session.

Now, it does seem to a plain man that it is absurd to say that it is mandatory upon the House to have 166 Representatives to resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole, that it takes 166 Representatives to constitute the House into which the Committee of the Whole resolves itself by virtue of its rising, but that in the interim the same House by merely calling itself the "Committee of the Whole" can "do business" with less than one-third of the elected Representatives of the people. This Committee of the Whole House, in the English House of Commons and in our country, has been the great protection of the tax-payers of the country.

In these committees, constituted of the members elected to the different bodies, have been discussed and settled what shall be the revenues which the Empire of Great Britain and the imperial Republic of the United States may have, what taxes shall be levied upon the labor of the respective countries, and what functions shall be granted to those to whom these revenues are given. Here the representatives of the people were given the very widest latitude of debate and the wider latitude of amendment. The forms of procedure by which this latitude was guaranteed did not make this committee a different body from the House whose members composed it, but simply took from them some of those trammels of parliamentary law which it has been supposed were necessary for the transaction of the more formal and agreed-upon motions passed upon by the House.

In this committee are perfected the bills; here the real work of economy, of frugality, of impartial distribution of burdens, is done; here jobs are throttled or exposed; schemes skilifully concealed in the midst of sections are brought to light, and in that light die. All this is changed by this rule, and changed not toward greater caution, more careful deliberation, wider debate, more anxious scrutiny, but to ill-considered haste, to the easy accomplishment of precedent arrangements, to the more pliant adoption of doubtful measures, to the curtailment of troublesome debate and annoying interrogatory by which well-devised schemes might be defeated.

With the power to substantially stifle debate, to render possible logrolling by combination between various schemes, the ease of preserving so small a quorum under such a combination, this new creature misnamed the Committee of the Whole House will become the most potent and, I respectfully predict, the most dangerous factor in legislation. With such a Committee of the Whole and the power to count a quorum, this House enters upon a new era of legislation. The experiment begins with the new century of Congressional government. The practice of a hundred years, adhered to by fifty Congresses, gives place to these two new rules; and I content myself with leaving to the future to write the history of the experiment upon which we are entering.

Mr. CATCHINGS. This is a very important amendment, which I think ought to be disposed of, if possible, by a full House. I therefore ask unanimous consent that we pass over this special amendment and proceed to the consideration of the residue of these rules with the understanding that this amendment shall lie over until some day next week when there will be a full attendance.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Is it the purpose of the gentleman to have the House dispose of the rules to-day?

Mr. CATCHINGS. I desire that the residue of these rules, so far as possible, be acted on to-day.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I mean, does the gentleman expect to get a vote on the body of the rules?

Mr. CATCHINGS. I propose that this matter be laid over and that we proceed to dispose of such other amendments as may be offered.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] asks unanimous consent that the section of the proposed rules now under consideration be passed over to be returned to after concluding the consideration of the remainder of the rules. Is there objection?

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I object.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I move, then, that the House pass over the consideration of this amendment and proceed to the consideration of the residue of the rules.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi moves that the House pass over clause 2 of Rule XXIII until the consideration of the remainder of the rules is finished.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I hope that proposition will be voted down. Let us dispose of this question now.

The question being taken on the motion of Mr. CATCHINGS to pass over the consideration of the amendment, it was rejected; there being—ayes 39, noes 41.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Then I ask to be recognized for some remarks on this question. I do not see why there should be objection to allowing this question to go over. I will state that I made this suggestion at the request of my friend from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN]——

Mr. HOLMAN. I think it important that there should be a full House when we take the vote on this question.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I had no desire to avoid a vote; but this is an important amendment, and I did think the suggestion of the gentleman from Indiana a good one. I thought this amendment could be better disposed of by a full House than by a slim one.

Mr. DOCKERY. I suggest that the gentleman from Mississippi again submit the request for unanimous consent.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I do not wish to do that after the request already made has been received in the manner it has been.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I rise to a question of order. I understand that the House has already voted upon the proposition of the gentleman from Mississippi to postpone the consideration of this matter; and the question can not be again considered in this informal way. Or, is a new motion made? I did not hear any motion made by the gentleman from Mississippi. I therefore call for the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] has the floor.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I did not understand what my friend from Mississippi said. I have made no motion except the one which was voted down.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] is in order.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I will again state that I made my motion upon the suggestion of my friend from Indiana, who is opposed to the proposition reported by the Committee on Rules and favors the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. KYLE]. I thought it wise, inasmuch as this proposition seems to be regarded as a matter of importance, that it should be voted upon by a full House. But if gentlemen here differ from that view we can, of course, go on and dispose of the question now.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my surprise that so able and eminent a lawyer as my friend from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] undoubtedly is, should in this presence deliberately have read an opinion expressed by him four years ago, to the effect that the proposition of the Committee on Rules is in violation of the Constitution. I have heard that suggestion made, but I never before heard it come from an eminent and distinguished lawyer.

Why, sir, there is nothing in the Constitution about a Committee of the Whole. We could dispense with a Committee of the Whole entirely if we chose to do so. That committee is a mere creation of the House, designed entirely for the purpose of aiding this House in the transaction of its business. It has no place in the Constitution. Nor, Mr. Speaker, is anything coming from the Committee of the Whole legislation. Of course, as we all understand, a majority of the membership of this House is, under the Constitution, required in order to legislate.

But, I repeat, nothing which may be done by the Committee of the Whole is in the remotest degree legislation. The action of the Committee of the Whole is a mere recommendation to the House. It has no more binding effect than the recommendations of any of the committees in this House, even the smallest. It is for the House, when such a recommendation comes before it, to reject it or approve it as may be deemed wise.

Mr. DE ARMOND. Will the gentleman allow me a question?

Mr. CATCHINGS. I will.

Mr. DE ARMOND. When the Committee of the Whole declines to recommend a particular amendment, can that amendment be considered in the House except by unanimous consent?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Of course it can not, because we have so provided in our rules.

Mr. DE ARMOND. Then, does not the Committee of the Whole practically dispose of that proposition and prevent its consideration in the House?

Mr. CATCHINGS. It does not, because it is entirely within the power of the House, if it chooses, to recommit the report to the Committee of the Whole with any instruction it may choose to give. The matter does not pass beyond the power of the House.

Mr. BYNUM. The gentleman from Mississipi will permit me to suggest that even in the House, unless the previous question is ordered, amendments are in order. So that the proceedings in the Committee of the Whole do not cut off the power of amendment in the House.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Of course that is true; but I am discussing now the question whether anything done by the Committee of the Whole can be conclusive in its character. Such conclusiveness as may be attached to any action of the Committee of the Whole does not come from the Constitution, but from our own rules. We have provided, for instance, that the yeas and nays shall not be had in the Committee of the Whole, and unless there should be some agreement to that effect they can not be taken. It is a matter for the House to determine. It is not a constitutional provision in the committee.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky. Will the gentleman allow me to make this suggestion, which I think covers the whole gist of the question? The words of the Constitution are that it shall be a majority of each House to constitute a quorum to do business. Does the gentleman contend that what is done in Committee of the Whole is not business? Does it come within the prescription of the Constitution to do business?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, what I contend is this—and that, it seems to me, must be manifest to every man who considers the matter—that when the House has resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House the House is not in session at all. It is the exact equivalent of the rising of the House or a recess and a subsequent organization of the Committee of the Whole; and we might, if we chose, provide in terms that when the body desired to resolve into a Committee of the Whole House, the House should first adjourn, and then it would be in order for a member to move to proceed as a Committee of the Whole House to discuss matters bearing upon legislation. So the House is not in session at all in any shape, manner, or form.

The Committee of the Whole is entirely distinct and separate from any action on the part of the House. But, as a matter of convenience, and as a matter of practice, the motion is made in the House that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole. But the equivalent is that the House do now adjourn, or that the House cease its sitting, and that the Committee of the Whole shall be organized.

Mr. REED. And let me suggest to the gentleman that there is no mention made of the action of the Committee of the Whole on the Journal except where the result is reported to the House.

Mr. CATCHINGS. As a matter of course. I was coming to that in the course of my remarks. I have been trying ever since I have had any connection with the Committee on Rules to have a rule made by the House whereby the Journal Clerk should make a record of the rulings made by the chairman of the Committee of the Whole. As a matter of fact no record is made of them; and if you want to find out what a chairman of the committee has ruled upon any question you have got to search through the record of the debates. It is not journalized as a part of the proceedings of the House. The proceedings in the Committee of the Whole form no part whatever of the Journal; and I repeat I have been trying for years to get these rulings of the chairmen of committees made by the Journal Clerk, just as the rulings of the Speaker are made in the House, for the convenience and instruction of the House on these subjects when they arise.

All that the Committee of the Whole does is to consider propositions and to advise the House of its judgment upon them, and that advice can be accepted or rejected by the House. It is not binding upon anybody. It is not, in any sense, the action of the House. It binds nobody; it binds nothing; and I think my distinguished friend from Kentucky would hardly venture his opinion if he were called in his professional capacity to give it, to the effect that the work done by the Committee of the Whole, with less than a majority of the House, is no work at all, because in that event whatever is done by the Committee of the Whole under such circumstances would be null and void.

So much for the constitutional question involved.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman be extended until he can conclude his remarks.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. In the absence of objection the gentleman will be recognized for five minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DE ARMOND]—though what bearing it had on the question now before us I can not understand—gave the vote in the Fifty-first Congress, when a similar proposition was pending. Why certainly I voted against it at that time. I do not remember now whether I listened to the discussion or not. It is quite likely I did. But all the country knows that in the struggle then going on, party lines were strictly and closely drawn, and the vote on the rules on both sides of the House was on party lines, as well as on every motion presented bearing upon that question. It was not confined to the rules at all, but on every motion presented.

Mr. SIMPSON. If the gentleman from Mississippi would allow me, I am very much interested in the discussion of this question, and particularly in that part of it which relates to the organization of the Committee of the Whole providing that 100 members shall constitute a quorum. Yet, in the experience of the people of this country, as well as of other countries, because the Constitution demands that there shall be a quorum in the House when it is in session, is it not unwise, in his judgment, to depart from that principle and adopt a different plan in the Committee of the Whole? I ask the gentleman if we are justified in doing away with the principle which is embraced in the Constitution and which has met the sanction of the people of this country for so many years?

Mr. CATCHINGS. The Constitution does not fix the membership of the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. SIMPSON. But I say the experience of human beings has demonstrated that the requirements of the Constitution as to a majority of the House is a wise one. Now, I ask if it is wise to depart from that principle in organizing the Committee of the Whole?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I must be excused from replying to the gentleman from Kansas. While I have very great respect for the gentleman, yet his inquiry has no pertinency to the point I am discussing.

But, as I was saying, the fact that we voted against this provision in the Fifty-first Congress is offered now as an argument why we should vote this recommendation down. But I presume there is no man here who has so little respect for himself and his own opinions that he would be influenced by any such suggestion. There is but one question before us and that is the question, is it right or expedient to adopt this change in the rules. It matters not how we voted in the past. The question has nothing to do with what is before us. The question is, is it wise to accept the modification? If it is not, vote it down; if it is, let us adopt it.

We have had a practical test, Mr. Speaker, of the operation of this rule making 100 a quorum in the Committee of the Whole, and I challenge any man on either side of this House—even my friend, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN], who is bitterly opposed to it—to rise in his place and name one single, solitary instance in which the least harm, even indirectly or inferentially, ever resulted from the quorum of 100 in Committee of the Whole.

I pause, Mr. Speaker, to allow some gentleman to rise in his place and indicate some single instance in which the least harm, even in the operation of the most vivid imagination, ever resulted to the public business by reason of 100 being made a quorum in Committee of the Whole.

Nobody answers, Mr. Speaker, because nobody can.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Will the gentleman permit me to interrupt him?

Mr. CATCHINGS. I will.

Mr. MCMILLIN. If it is so expedient now, and if the experience of the Fifty-first Congress proved that it was expedient, why was it not adopted in the last Congress, and what injury came from the want of it in the last Congress?

Mr. CATCHINGS. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] is the last person who should ask that question, because he knows that there were a great many amendments which, if we could have had his coöperation, would have been put into these rules, which were not put in because he was so opposed to any amendments.

Mr. MCMILLIN. This is not one of them, and the gentleman will not intimate that it is.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I do say that the Speaker of the House and myself, before we had ever conferred with the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] at all, had agreed that this was advisable; but the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] was so indisposed to make any amendments at all that we never pressed them.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I am not responsible for what you and the Speaker did privately, but nothing of the kind was ever intimated to me, and you will not state that it was.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I never said it was. The gentleman was asking why this amendment was not suggested, and I am giving the reason, which is, that the gentleman was so opposed to any sort of amendment to the rules that we did not present amendments which we otherwise would have presented.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Then you hold me responsible for the failure to adopt a clause which was never proposed to me, do you?

Mr. CATCHINGS. I do not hold you responsible for anything. You were asking why it was not done.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I do not understand the gentleman's reasoning, then.

Mr. CATCHINGS. You asked me a question, and I am endeavoring to answer it. There is no question of responsibility about it.

Now, Mr. Speaker—I repeat it again—I want some gentleman to get up here and point to some single instance in which the fact that 100 was made a quorum in the Committee of the Whole in the Fifty-first Congress ever operated harmfully. I say it resulted in great expedition of the transaction of the public business, and I say to gentlemen present now, that if this amendment shall be voted down they will regret it before this Congress is over; because, whether it is right or wrong, the fact is that gentlemen will not attend sessions regularly and constantly when we are at work on appropriation bills in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Is this change suggested in order to get rid rid of the attendance of members in the House?

Mr. CATCHINGS. No, sir; it is not, because members can come if they choose. It is to provide for the expedition of business. It is not binding or conclusive upon anybody in case members do not choose to absent themselves. It is not designed at all as a bid for absenteeism. The object of it was simply that the House, while it was acting merely in this advisory capacity, which binds and concludes nobody, should be allowed to go on with its business whether members choose to attend or not, provided 100 members were present.

Now, Mr. Speaker, many times since I have been a member of the House I have seen the public business obstructed for hours at a time because there was not a quorum present in Committee of the Whole. Some gentleman present would offer some amendment, important to him but trifling to the balance of us, and it would be voted down; and in the anger of the moment I have seen gentlemen make the point that no quorum was present. Then we have had the Sergeant-at-Arms with his deputies scurrying all over this town drumming up members so that we could get a majority of the whole membership here; and after several hours had been consumed in that way, and a quorum was brought here at last, we have seen the action of those present confirmed by the amendment still being rejected.

Mr. BAILEY. Will the gentleman from Mississippi allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Certainly.

Mr. BAILEY. I desire to ask the gentleman if the fact that the members now have clerks to attend to their correspondence and their Department work will not insure a larger attendance? If it does not, we made a mistake to give them clerks.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, that is a question which I can not answer.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. That is in the field of speculation yet.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] has expired.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky. I ask that the gentleman's time be extended five minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. CATCHINGS. As I was observing when my friend from Texas [Mr. BAILEY] interrupted me, I have seen the business of the House obstructed for several hours at a time in the way that I have stated; and after the attendance of a quorum had finally been secured, through the efforts of the Sergeant-at-Arms and his assistants, and we had proceeded again with the consideration of a further paragraph of the same appropriation bill, I have seen the same snag struck again, and the consideration of the bill obstructed because gentlemen had again dispersed to their committee rooms or to the Departments, or at all events because gentlemen had absented themselves from this Hall. Then we have had the same process repeated, and I have seen it take two or three weeks to pass a bill here which could have been passed, and would easily have been passed, in one week, if the provision now suggested had been a part of the rules. This proposition is in the interest of economy of the public time, and it is economy in every sense of the word.

Mr. MALLORY. I would inquire of the gentleman from Mississippi if it is not a fact that the basis of argument in favor of this quorum of a hundred in Committee of the Whole is that it will facilitate business?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MALLORY. The gentlemen who are opposing the amendment of the gentleman's colleague [Mr. KYLE] base their opposition on the ground that if we are to have what would be a House quorum that will necessitate a delay of business. I can not understand how it is that gentlemen who are occupying that side can make such an argument when only on yesterday and the day before they opposed the proposition of the gentlemen from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER] on the ground that it would facilitate the passage of measures before the House, by enabling a committee or a member of a committee, after two hours of debate, to close debate. It seems to me there is a little inconsistency in the gentlemen who are advocating this measure.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I am very sorry that the gentleman from Florida did not listen to what I said when I opposed the amendment of the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER], for if he had his imagination could not have drawn any parallel between that case and this. There is no parallel between them.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to say, in conclusion, that this amendment was offered in good faith by the Committee on Rules, believing that it would tend to expedite the consideration of public business, and the members of the Committee on Rules have no greater or less interest in this matter than other members on this floor; and if it is the wish of members here that it shall go out, they have it in their power to vote it out, and it will be all right, so far as the Committee on Rules are concerned.

We have discharged our duty and have reported such rules as we thought were best. We have no pride of opinion in the matter, but we thought that this amendment would have commended itself to the judgment of every member, and I am surprised that such opposition should be manifested to it, because it seemed to us so just and so proper that we had supposed it would be accepted without question.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question about just one matter?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Certainly.

Mr. COX. Now, is there any necessity for a rule that the

Committee of the Whole shall consist of 100 members only if every member attends in the Committee of the Whole to transact public business?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Of course not.

Mr. SNODGRASS. If you make the Committee of the Whole only 100 members the New York members and others will be enabled to be out all of the time and leave us to furnish the quorum. [Laughter.]

Mr. CATCHINGS. Of course there would be no necessity for the rule if every member attended in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. COX. Then there can be no necessity for reducing the number to 100, except to excuse the nonattendance of members here in the discharge of their duties.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I have stated that oftentimes. I have stated that the object of the committee is to enable us to proceed with our business, and enable as many as 100 members here to do the business work of the House. But the action of the Committee of the Whole is not final. It is simply a recommendation to the House, and the House can accept its recommendation or reject it. If it wants to add other amendments, it can recommit the work to the Committee of the Whole or to any other committee.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky. I desire only to take up a moment or two of the time of the House upon the single proposition which my friend has criticised. The words in the Constitution are that a majority of each House shall constitute a quorum to do business. The two propositions involved in the controversy between the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] and myself are, first, that the Committee of the Whole House, under the rule as reported, is practically and substantially the House, and that the Committee of the Whole House does "do business," in the meaning of the language of the Constitution. I affirm both propositions: That this House in the Committee of the Whole House is the House, and what is done in and by the Committee of the Whole House is doing "business."

The House does not adjourn. A member moves to go into Committee of the Whole; it is carried; the Speaker vacates the chair; the Chairman called by the Speaker assumes the chair, and the "business" goes on; and it is doing "business." It is not final, no more than even the business of the House is final, until the last vote upon a bill when the motion to reconsider is laid upon the table finally. But it is doing business beyond all question. Appropriations are put upon a bill; appropriations are stricken out of a bill. If it be a bill raising revenue, taxation is imposed; taxation is reduced; the objects of taxation are diminished; the subjects of taxation are increased. It is, therefore, "doing business."

Now, these are simple propositions. Whatever the power of the House may be, to adopt other rules or create another committee and call it the Committee of the House, is not involved; and therefore the illustration of the gentleman does not strike me as pertinent in the controversy between us. The simple question is: Does the Committee of the Whole House under these rules in the true sense of the words constitute the House? Secondly: Does what that committee does fairly come within the words of the Constitution "doing business?" If so, the proposition I have submitted seems to be persuasive, if not conclusive.

As to what has fallen from the gentleman as to the practical results of this rule in the Fifty-first Congress, I have to say that whatever may have been the part I bore, or whatever my views might have been in the discussion of the rules of the Fifty-first Congress, or whatever criticism upon the action of the Fifty-first Congress I may have heretofore made, is not relevant to this discussion, have passed into history, and I have no partisan comment to make on its action. I am considering these rules in a nonpartisan spirit. Whether the appropriations of that Congress in that Committee of the Whole meet the approval of the gentleman from Mississippi or not does not matter. It is not the question in dispute to-day. That the business ought to be facilitated I agree with him, with the single observation, however, that facilitating business is not by any means so important as doing well the business that is done. And there can be nothing that will give us more hope of having business well done than to have as full an attendance of the Representatives of the people as can be obtained in the transaction of whatever business we undertake.

Now, so far as I am concerned, I beg the gentleman from Mississippi to understand that I make these criticisms in no spirit of antagonism to the Committee on Rules. If nobody else had offered the amendment I would not have offered it, because my judgment was that in a House with so large a Democratic majority as we have here the party would be responsible for that which was done; that no rules would relieve it of that responsibility, and that, having both branches of Congress and the President, the responsibility to which we would be held at the bar of public opinion would give us the best inducement to legislate well without much regard to the rules under which we might legislate.

But as this question has been called up, and as some gentlemen have changed their opinion about it within the last four years, as my own judgment was that it was not wise, as my own remembrance of what was done under it in a former Congress led me to think that it was not expedient, it seemed to me to be not improper that I should make these few observations at this time. [Applause.]

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Mr. Speaker, in commenting upon this proposition in the rules a day or two ago, I called attention to the fact that I had made some remarks against a similar proposition in the Fifty-first Congress, so that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DE ARMOND], in directing attention to my speech made at that time, has not unearthed anything. I also stated that I thought I had good reason for changing the views which I had expressed on this subject at the beginning of the Fifty-first Congress. One of the views which I entertained and expressed four years ago was that the proposition was of doubtful constitutionality.

Since that time I have very carefully examined the question, and I have concluded that I was mistaken. Other gentlemen still entertain the opinion that there is doubt about its constitutionality, but there is no occasion for any great contention upon that point. There is no mention of the Committee of the Whole anywhere in the Constitution. That committee is a device for preparing business for the House, not a method of doing the business of the House. In that respect it is like the Committee on Appropriations or the Committee on Ways and Means.

The business reported from those great committees is now referred to the Committee of the Whole and there considered, for convenience, to give an opportunity for amendments and for extended discussion, but if this House chose to proceed to consider the measures reported from those committees directly in the House there would be nothing unconstitutional about that.

Mr. MCMILLIN. If the Committee of the Whole is the same as the Committee on Appropriations or the Committee on Rivers and Harbors or any of the other great committees of the House, why do you propose to increase the membership of those committees and at the same time to diminish the membership of the Committee of the Whole?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Because of the increase in the membership of the House, and the desire of members to be upon those several committees. Besides, the membership of those committees is restricted; nobody can participate in their proceedings unless by appointment upon the several committees, whereas the Committee of the Whole is open to every member of the House and all can participate.

Mr. Speaker, as I have said, there is nothing in the Constitution that would prevent us from abolishing the Committee of the Whole. It is a mere matter of convenience.

Its duties are not to do business, but to consider or prepare business for the House. When that business is reported to the House, the House votes upon it, either accepting or rejecting it, and it is then the business is done.

Mr. DINGLEY. I call my friend's attention to the fact that the form of the report of the Committee on the Whole is always that of a simple recommendation.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I thank the gentleman from Maine for reminding me of that, because members who are new to the business of the House might suppose from some of the statements made here that the report of the Committee of the Whole was a finality. It is nothing of the kind. It is nothing but a recommendation.

Mr. SNODGRASS. It is very persuasive, though. [Laughter.]

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Well, persuasiveness does not make constitutionality.

Mr. OATES. Mr. Speaker, I quite agree with my friend from Ohio that there is no constitutional question here, but I will ask him whether the practice of considering business in Committee of the Whole House is not derived from the immemorial practice of the British Parliament?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. That is true; but I am now answering a speech which I made four years ago. [Laughter.]

Another proposition which I made at that time, in my ignorance, was that the Committee of the Whole in the English House of Commons required a majority. Very soon afterwards I learned that it required only 40 members, with a membership of nearly 700.

Another proposition I laid down on that occasion, as I recall it, was that the reduction of the number of the Committee of the Whole to 100 would induce absenteeism, or might do so. I stated here the other day that my observation was that it had not had

that effect in any degree. I will go further to-day, and say that the attendance in the Committee of the Whole, during the Fifty-first Congress, when we had this provision in our rules, was quite as good as it was during the Fifty-second Congress when there was no such provision; that there was no more absenteeism resulting from the existence of this rule during the Fifty-first Congress than was induced by the absence of this rule during the Fifty-second Congress; and to sustain that proposition I simply appeal to the record.

Now, having observed those things and having observed furthermore that there was no perceptible falling off in the amount of the appropriations in the Fifty-second Congress as the result of the change in this respect——

Mr. McMILLIN. Does not the gentleman know, however, that many of the appropriations which swelled the aggregate of expenditures during the Fifty-second Congress were made necessary because the Fifty-first Congress had passed continuing appropriations which we could not reach but by a change in the law.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I know that; but I know also that when any bill was passed making those continuing appropriations there was about as large a vote in this House as there ever is, for those matters were made questions of party politics, and the two sides of the House were arrayed against each other in as full force as could be commanded.

Mr. KILGORE. Will the gentleman from Ohio allow me a moment?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Yes, certainly.

Mr. KILGORE. The gentleman has said that the Committee of the Whole simply prepares legislation. Now, after the Committee of the Whole has reported an appropriation bill to the House is it competent or in order to offer an amendment in the House enlarging or diminishing the appropriations as agreed to in Committee of the Whole?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. If upon a motion for the previous question to promote the passage of the bill in the House a majority of members are ready to vote down the previous question, they may take possession of the bill and amend it as they may desire.

Mr. KILGORE. One further question. Suppose in the House, the previous question not having been ordered, an amendment is offered to enlarge some appropriation. How under the rules can that amendment be considered in the House if a point of order is raised against it that it must first be considered in Committee of the Whole?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. As to the rules of order, they are the same in the House as in Committee of the Whole; and the same point would lie against an amendment in the House as in Committee of the Whole, or vice versa.

Mr. KILGORE. Would not that sort of an amendment compel the sending of the bill back to the Committee of the Whole?

Mr. HOLMAN. Certainly.

Mr. REED. Certainly not.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Is it contended that an amendment proposing to increase in the House an appropriation in a bill reported from the Committee of the Whole would be subject to the point of order that it must receive its first consideration in Committee of the Whole?

Mr. HOLMAN. Yes, sir; it would have to be first considered, under the rules, in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. DINGLEY. Oh, no.

Mr. HOLMAN. Undoubtedly it would; because under the rules any proposition increasing the amount of appropriation must receive its first consideration in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Not necessarily.

Mr. HOLMAN. That has been the ruling repeatedly.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I ask that my time be extended.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. If there be no objection, the gentleman from Ohio will proceed.

There was no objection.

Mr. SNODGRASS. I would like to ask the gentleman from Ohio a question. He has said that in the Fifty-first Congress the attendance was ordinarily as large as in the Fifty-second——

Mr. OUTHWAITE. In proportion to the number of members.

Mr. SNODGRASS. And that this attendance was on account of the partisan feeling——

Mr. OUTHWAITE. No, sir; I said that on certain legislation—the legislation which the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McMILLIN] had in his mind, which made it necessary to increase appropriations—both sides were here.

Mr. SNODGRASS. Now I wish to ask the gentleman whether it has not been the object and purpose of a great portion of the Democratic members in this House to have no partisan legislation, to bring all parties into harmony with each other? [Laughter.]

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I have no doubt such a purpose may have been in the heart of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SNODGRASS].

Mr. SNODGRASS. On a partisan quesion I am accustomed to act as a partisan.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I have had no partisan feelings in any legislation we have had up to this time.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have spoken with some earnestness in favor of this report, and also in defense of my change of views on this question. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DE ARMOND] questions my right to change my views, or holds that if I did so it should be made a matter of criticism. For that reason I have submitted these remarks. As a legislator, I believe the proposition of the Committee on Rules now under discussion would promote the transaction of business as against unnecessary and factious delay.

Mr. HOLMAN. It would make legislation easy.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Well, I do not know that there is any objection to "making legislation easy," if the minds of the legislators approve the proposed legislation.

Mr. LOUD. The gentleman concedes that four years ago he was expressing his political views?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I admit that my views at that time may have been slightly tinged with partisanship. [Laughter.]

Mr. LOUD. Did not the gentleman believe himself right four years ago?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. My convictions then were as honest and sincere as they are now.

Mr. Speaker, when the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN], a few moments ago, suggested to the Committee on Rules that so important a matter as this had better go over to be voted on in a full House, when there would be no danger that the vote would disclose the want of a quorum, I was a little surprised to find gentlemen who now oppose the reduction of a quorum in Committee of the Whole to 100, insisting that this House, with barely a quorum, should go on and consider this important rule which is to govern the transactions of this House for the rest of the Congress.

Sir, it matters nothing to me personally what disposition may be made of this question when the House shall vote upon it. Though I am chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, which is charged with the preparation of one of the appropriation bills, that bill is usually so nearly in conformity to the estimates that there is little contention about it; so that I have not the least personal interest in the question how this rule may affect legislation coming from either of these great committees.

I simply wanted to give the Committee of the Whole an opportunity to go on under the five-minute rule and consider a revenue bill or an appropriation bill without a chance for the exercise on the part of a few members of petty and factious opposition. I do not like to see a disappointed member keep 150 men here doing nothing, as has often been the case. The men who are willing to stay here and do their duty, the men who are here every day to respond to their names or to vote on all questions in Committee of the Whole, are to be kept here doing nothing unless the full number of a quorum of the House is present in that committee, if this amendment of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. KYLE] prevails. When those who constantly attend and are desirous of promoting the preparation of business for the House, I say they ought not to be kept here by factious opposition until gentlemen who seem to think that their duties of another character require their presence elsewhere are brought back again into the House.

Mr. COX. Can you give now a solid reason for reducing the quorum of the Committee of the Whole to 100 when it is assumed that every member of Congress will be here and attending to his duty?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Well, I do not know who assumes that. I do not, certainly. I take the experience of the past as my guide, and to assume such a thing as that is too violent for my wildest imagination. Therefore, I can not answer the question.

Mr. COX. Then your argument is that you are proposing a rule to relieve men from the duty of being here.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. It will not drive them away——

Mr. COX. Hold on; I have not finished—and legalize the absence of members of the House whose duty it is to be here.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. The members of the House understand their duty. This does not legalize their absence. It makes it convenient for the transaction of business. It does not matter what the number of the committee may be, the members will be here or elsewhere, according to their own judgment.

Mr. COX. Would it not be better, if it be a mere matter of the convenience of members, to put the number down to 50?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. If the gentleman assumes that to be the object he can adopt that view. But the object of the committee is to facilitate the transaction of business for submission to the House and not force men who are in their seats day after day to sit here idly waiting for a quorum. Reducing the number which may constitute a quorum in the Committee of the Whole to 100 does not invite or excuse the absence of members, unless

the constitutional provision that a majority of the House shall constitute a quorum to do business invites the absence of all the members above a quorum. I challenge members who oppose the proposition submitted by the Committee on Rules to point to a single instance where the rule was the instrument through which harm came to the country, and sustain his claim by a showing from the record.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. TURNER. Mr. Speaker, I usually accept without question the rules of procedure proposed by my party associates on the proper committees, but I deprecate so profoundly the proposition to reduce the quorum of the Committee of the Whole to 100, that I beg to say a word on this fundamental departure from the practice of the fathers.

The Committee of the Whole House was a device intended to delay legislation. It was an invention intended to secure deliberate action by a deliberate body. It was a scheme designed to afford to all the members a wider opportunity to confer with each other, and to express their opinion upon matters under consideration. If the purpose of the Committee on Rules is carried out by the adoption of the change here recommended, instead of its original purpose and design being preserved, the Committee of the Whole will become a machine by which to expedite and facilitate the business of the House.

Mr. CATCHINGS. That is on the assumption that members do not come here.

Mr. TURNER. In other words, it will be easier to get propositions through the Committee of the Whole than through the House itself.

Mr. HOLMAN. That is the point.

Mr. TURNER. It is therefore a complete reversal of the purpose of the fathers who invented and followed it.

It may, Mr. Speaker, look like an idle ceremonial to take down the mace, and that the Speaker shall descend from his chair and a private member take it as Chairman of the Committee of the Whole; it may be a mere formality, as the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DE ARMOND] has well stated; but it is the means by which fuller and better opportunities are afforded to the Representatives of the people for the discussion and molding of public measures. There is not in the committee, as in the House, any previous question to cut off debate and amendments.

I belong to that class of men which inclines to the belief that the practice of our fathers in this respect was the wisest, and I believe the opinions expressed by my friend from Ohio [Mr. OUTHWAITE] four years ago, with all due deference to him now, were better founded than those he has uttered here to-day.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to recall to members the principles on which the argument of those who agree with me in opinion are founded. In the first place the Committee of the Whole House, in my opinion, is the House of Representatives itself. Every member of the House of Representatives is a member of that committee. Where is the House when this grand committee is sitting? Is it dispersed, is it dissolved, has it adjourned or taken a recess?

On the contrary, sir, the Committee of the Whole itself can not adjourn; and in order to reach that end and terminate its session, it is necessary to recall the Speaker to the chair. It is the House itself. The Constitution provides that a majority of the members of the House shall constitute a quorum to do business. Can the House resolve itself into a quorum in which less than a majority can do business?

But suppose there is doubt on this subject. What is there in our present Constitution that takes us out of that great rule of liberty, the rule of that general parliamentary law of which we have heard so much in recent years that requires a majority of a deliberate body to constitute a quorum?

That is fundamental law. It is part of the unwritten constitution of parliaments that a majority of any body is necessary to do business and to constitute a quorum. If that were not the case this proposed change in the rules would have been unnecessary.

If that change proposed here is stricken out of these rules, then by the operation of the general law of parliaments, to say nothing of the Constitution, a majority of the members of this House will be necessary to constitute a quorum in this great committee.

Why should we depart from this institution of the majority? I beg to cite here the tendency of the better opinion now prevailing in this country, to require a larger number of the members elected to do business, rather than a smaller number. In many of the States this new tendency is to require even a majority of all the members elected to affirmatively agree to any legislative proposition, instead of a mere majority of a quorum. Such is the case in Georgia.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. McMILLIN. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Georgia be allowed to proceed.

There was no objection.

Mr. TURNER. I may be pardoned if I make allusion to a matter which has some weight with me. I belong to a school of opinion that insists upon a rigid construction of the Constitution. I also believe in that school of opinion which interprets the Constitution in such a way as to confer upon every member of the House the largest liberty. I believe in no stretching of the Constitution.

I believe it is of the utmost significance that this fundamental departure was first made on that side of the House which has never entertained these scruples concerning constitutional construction. I remember that it was first engrafted into our proceedings at the instance of those gentlemen who now constitute the minority of the House, those gentlemen who were then led with so much ability and with so much intrepidity by the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED].

I would like to know if our opinions change with our accession to power? How have our circumstances been altered that we, who denounced him and his methods in the Fifty-first Congress, should be so ready to unite with him in the adoption of rules of practice which we then inveighed against with all our might?

I have noticed that gentlemen on that side are piling over one another in order to induce us to fetter them, and they are like the gentleman from Maine himself, holding up hands and feet, begging to be bound and manacled and gagged by the rules of the House of Representatives. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. CATCHINGS. Will my friend allow me to ask him a question? Did he notice that gentlemen on the other side were very earnestly supporting the amendment offered by the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER] which was intended to take all fetters off entirely?

Mr. TURNER. I did not observe the incident which the gentleman from Mississippi has mentioned. We will see about that later.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I am endeavoring to discuss this matter with entire kindness and deference to gentlemen who differ with me—gentlemen who differed with me then as well as gentlemen who differ with me now. It is a fundamental difference of opinion.

I can understand why gentlemen who concurred then with the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] should desire now to perpetuate in our rules the practice which he established. Consistency requires it; and then no one who has been an observant listener to these debates has failed to notice with what keen relish the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] has watched every tendency or disposition on our part to vindicate the propriety of the rules which he then put upon us, and which we then so fiercely denounced.

Mr. Speaker, there is not only this matter of consistency involved in the policy of the opposition to-day; but if I could get down to the bottom, and interrogate these gentlemen as to their anticipations for the future, I could find the key to their present conduct in the hope that at some time—I trust in the far-distant future—they may have the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] in the stirrups and holding the reins.

With the highest respect to my honorable colleagues on this side, and in a spirit of entire deference to the fairness of the gentlemen who have supported it, I think this proposition is bad in theory, and will be of dangerous tendency. If we adopt this view in the matter of constituting the quorum the next step may come in the form of a proposition to adopt the method of the gentleman from Maine in counting the quorum itself. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Speaker, repeating the assurances of my entire confidence in the gentlemen who constitute this important Committee on Rules, and my entire respect for their sincerity and honesty, I should deplore this departure from the practice of our fathers; and instead of rushing legislation, as is proposed here, by making it easier to get a measure through the Committee of the Whole, rather than reduce the number of the Committee of the Whole I would abolish that grand committee altogether, and rely upon the larger body, to wit, the House of Representatives itself. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. CURTIS of New York. Mr. Speaker, like my friend from Georgia [Mr. TURNER], I have been educated in a school that believes in a strict construction of the Constitution. But I do not believe in extending, or attempting to extend, the provisions of the Constitution to other subjects than those to which they necessarily apply. There have been many crimes perpetrated in the name of liberty, and many mistakes committed in the business management of this House in the name of the Constitution. On assembling, we organize with a Speaker, who appoints a number of committees under order of the House. These several

committees have charge of bills relating to specific objects, and before these committees persons interested in the legislation contemplated by them may appear to present their views.

The Committee of the Whole is provided for by the rules of the House, to which reports upon bills from these general committees are sent for consideration before they are ordered to a third reading. Every member of the House is a member of the Committee of the Whole, and in the consideration of the bills before it he has an opportunity of expressing his views; but what is done in the Committee of the Whole is only advisory. As clearly stated by my friend from Georgia [Mr. TURNER], it has no power to legislate. He states it has not the power to adjourn the House, and admits its absolute inability to perform the essential powers pertaining to legislation. Its whole power consists in recommending to the House favorable or unfavorable action when it rises from the consideration of the bill or reports having come to no resolution thereon.

My friend from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN], who insists upon the Committee of the Whole having a quorum of the House to consider appropriation bills, will admit, I believe, that should a bill be reported from the Committee on Appropriations to the House and sent to the Committee of the Whole so as to comply with the rules of the House and not the provisions of the Constitution, that immediately after going into Committee of the Whole, the title of the bill having been reported by the Clerk, without reading a single line of the bill, my honorable friend could move that the committee rise and report progress; and this procedure would meet the rule of the House requiring a bill to be considered in Committee of the Whole. The moment the Speaker announces to the House that the chairman of the Committee of the Whole has reported, it matters not which of the three reports he [the Chairman] is authorized to make to the House, the bill may be ordered to engrossment and third reading, notwithstanding objections thereto.

Mr. HOLMAN. Has it ever been done?

Mr. CURTIS of New York. I am speaking of what might be done, and not speaking of the custom. We are seeking to correct a custom which has been shown to impede the progress of business. In the ordinary course of business in the Committee of the Whole every member has an opportunity to speak, as there is no previous question by which he may be cut off from debate in the House. It is a matter of convenience to provide that 100 shall constitute a quorum of the Committee of the Whole. It will facilitate the business of the House. If members will not come here to make a quorum for the dispatch of business, it is useless to bring others here, because when they do come you have no power to retain them or to compel them to vote while here.

All the steps in the progress of legislation, from the introduction of a bill, its reference to a committee, its consideration by the committee, a subcommittee, or a single member of it, including the hearing of those interested in the measure sought to be enacted, to the reporting of the same to the House and its consideration in Committee of the Whole, are all to be provided for by the rules of the House. The provision of the Constitution that a bill, to be enacted into law, shall secure a majority of the House relates only and entirely to its third reading and passage. Whatever will facilitate the work of the House in reaching its final consideration is wise, and ought to be provided for by the rules.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I had occasion in the general debate on these rules the other day to express my opinion upon the question involved in the motion of my colleague [Mr. KYLE] to strike out the provision of this rule that 100 members shall constitute a quorum in the Committee of the Whole. I will not, therefore, repeat what I then said, but will simply add that this proposition, if it goes into effect, relegates the whole power of the House into the hands of 51 members.

Our total membership here is 356; a quorum of the House is 179; but 51 is a majority of 100, and the proposition which comes to us from the Committee on Rules is to clothe 51 members of this House, a majority of this Committee of the Whole, with these extraordinary powers. I agree with my friend from Georgia [Mr. TURNER], who has just spoken on the other side of the Chamber, that when the House resolves itself, by motion and by vote, into a Committee of the Whole, it is still the House, governed by the rules of the House and by the methods of procedure of the House, as is indicated and enforced by the concluding paragraph of this rule, which provides that—

> The rules of proceeding in the House shall be observed in Committee of the Whole House so far as they may be applicable.

The vast importance of having a quorum of the House present in Committee of the Whole is shown by another paragraph of this same rule (paragraph 3), which provides that—

> 3. All motions or propositions involving a tax or charge upon the people; all proceedings touching appropriations of money, or bills making appropriations of money or property, or requiring such appropriation to be made, or authorizing payments out of appropriations already made, or releasing any liability to the United States for money or property, shall be first considered in a Committee of the Whole.

The singular importance of the Committee of the Whole and of the functions which it performs in our legislation is made manifest by the fact that none of the important classes of measures here enumerated can be considered by the House itself until they have been first referred to the Committee of the Whole. This paragraph of the rule, after providing, as I have read, that bills of this important character shall first be considered in a Committee of the Whole, goes on to say:

> and a point of order under this rule shall be good at any time before the consideration of a bill has commenced.

So that, in point of fact, until the Committee of the Whole has passed upon these measures, a point of order may be raised against their being considered by the House itself. Will any member say that when the House resolves itself into Committee of the Whole for the consideration of important measures of legislation which, under the rules of the House, can only be considered in that committee, that is a proceeding in which you ought not to have a full quorum of the House, or that the proceedings of that committee are not as important as those of the House, or ought not to be conducted as systematically, with as much circumspection, and with as many safeguards as the proceedings of the House? On the contrary, every rule of the House prevails in Committee of the Whole as far as it is applicable there, as is made manifest by the provisions contained in the several paragraphs of this very Rule XXIII. Paragraph 6 provides that:

> The committee may, by the vote of a majority of the members present, at any time after the five minutes' debate has begun upon proposed amendments to any section or paragraph to a bill, close all debate upon such section or paragraph, or, at its election, upon the pending amendments only (which motion shall be decided without debate); but this shall not preclude further amendment, to be decided without debate.

And paragraph 8, as I have already said, provides that:

> The rules of proceeding in the House shall be observed in Committee of the Whole House so far as they may be applicable.

Further, Mr. Speaker, it is well known to members who have had experience here that when the House resolves itself into Committee of the Whole to consider an appropriation bill, or any other bill, if that measure is voted down in the Committee of the Whole—and under this proposed rule it may be voted down by 51 members, less than one-sixth of your whole membership—if it is voted down in Committee of the Whole you can never get a hearing on that measure at all in the House itself. Therefore, I say, sir, that the Committee of the Whole House, clothed with the extraordinary powers conferred by these rules, as by the former rules of the House, is as important as the House itself, and I hold that it is fully as important to have a quorum there, and a full expression of opinion there as in the House itself. My honorable friend and colleague from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. OUTHWAITE] say that they have changed their opinions upon this question. Well, Mr. Speaker, it is said that "the greatest rival of a great man is himself," and these gentlemen are merely paying the penalty of rivaling what they have hitherto said and voted upon this question.

For my own part, I prefer to abide by the deliberate judgment expressed by those gentlemen by vote and speech three or four years ago, rather than to take their newly formed opinion resulting from this change of view. Mr. Speaker, there are a good many distinguished gentlemen now in the United States who are having to confront opinions which they had previously expressed, and who are realizing the truth of the declaration to which I have referred, that the greatest rival of a great man is himself. [Laughter and applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I move that when the House adjourns to-day it be to meet on Wednesday next.

The motion was agreed to.

THE RULES.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make a very few remarks in reply to those submitted by my distinguished friend from Georgia [Mr. TURNER]. The gentleman from Georgia is always strong, but I do not think he did himself quite justice in appealing to this House to sustain this amendment on the ground that if the rule as reported was agreed to, the House would be in the attitude of adopting one portion of the rules of the Fifty-first Congress. Now, Mr. Speaker, we live to learn, and if we are wise men we draw from the experience of the past, and, waiving the question of constitutionality, the only question to be considered is whether this is a safe and wise provision, which will

result in the expedition of public business. If it is, we should adopt it, whether it had its origin as suggested by the gentleman from Georgia or not.

I do not know any spirit of partisanship, Mr. Speaker, which should prevent us from availing ourselves of the benefit of anything that is good in parliamentary law, no matter where it may have had its origin. I am sure the distinguished gentleman from Georgia would not desire us to go back to the ancient method of introducing bills and resolutions in the House. Prior to the Fifty-first Congress the States were called on every Monday morning for the introduction of bills. It was a tedious and time-wasting operation. It did not conduce in the slightest degree to inform any member in regard to matters of legislation. Hence it was provided by a rule of the Fifty-first Congress that all bills, whether public or private, might be introduced by handing them to the Speaker in the one case or to the Clerk in the other.

Now, in the portion of these rules already passed upon we have assented to the readoption of that rule. There was no reason why we should not adopt it. Experience has shown us that it saves a great deal of trouble, that it is a great convenience to members to have the privilege of introducing their bills in this way. Hence we adopted that rule in the last Congress and have adopted it for the present Congress. Yet, if the argument of my distinguished friend is good at all, the fact that that rule was among those of the Fifty-first Congress was a sufficient reason why we should have refused to insert it in the present code.

Mr. Speaker, when the gentleman states that our friends on the other side of the Chamber have been inviting us to tie their hands and have shaped their methods with that object, I beg to differ with him. If he had been present during the discussion, or if being present he had listened to the discussion, on the amendment offered by my friend from Louisiana, which was supported by the Republicans *in solido* under the leadership of the distinguished gentleman from Maine, he would have seen that they were endeavoring not to get their hands tied, but to strike off absolutely all fetters; that they were attempting to have us adopt something which was more radical in the way of throwing aside the safeguards of our business than anything which was in their rules. Hence on that point I think my friend is mistaken. But all such argument is in my view not pertinent to the question. I think my distinguished friend from Georgia would have made his argument stronger if he had confined himself to the first part of his statement, which had reference to the constitutional view and to the practicability of the proposed rule.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman said that the Committee of the Whole is the House, because it can not entertain a motion to adjourn. But, Mr. Speaker, that is so, not because the Constitution has so provided, but because this House in creating the Committee of the Whole has provided how it shall assemble, under what rules its proceedings shall be conducted, and how it shall cease to exist. We may alter those rules at any time if we choose to do so. There is nothing in the Constitution making it impossible for this House by its rules to provide that when it is desired that the Committee of the Whole shall assemble, the House shall first adjourn or take a recess; that then the Committee of the Whole as a separate and independent body shall convene; that it shall on finishing its business adjourn and make report to the House after the House has again assembled.

There is only one reason why the Committee of the Whole can not adjourn, and that is by reason of the very rules of its creation, prescribed by us, and not by the Constitution.

Why, sir, we all know that when a message comes here from the Senate or from the President, if the Committee of the Whole is sitting, such message can not be received; we, as a Committee of the Whole, can not perform a single function with reference to the matter; and hence when the message is announced the committee rises, the House resumes its session, the message is received, and when that legislative act has been performed the House again resolves itself into Committee of the Whole.

There is not a single act done by the Committee of the Whole which can be called a legislative act. It passes nothing. It has no legislative function. It is an advisory body created by the House, because experience has shown that the House can discharge its duty better when it is thus advised by the members sitting as a Committee of the Whole. We have freer debate in Committee of the Whole. Nobody is bound by anything the Committee of the Whole does. What it does has no significance, no validity, no capacity of enforcement in itself, but only becomes effective when it has been reported to, accepted, and confirmed by the House as a House.

Mr. BOATNER. Has not the gentleman known the House frequently to be detained for a half day or a day in the effort to obtain a quorum for the Committee of the Whole?

Mr. CATCHINGS. I have, many times.

Mr. BOATNER. Then, does not the gentleman think that he will be taking away one of the most valuable "rights of the minority" when he takes away from any obstructionist the right to make the point of no quorum in the Committee of the Whole, and to detain the House half a day or a day in the effort to get a quorum?

Mr. CATCHINGS. Very likely that would be the effect.

Now, Mr. Speaker, when I had the floor a few moments ago I asked some gentleman to stand here and show this House a solitary instance in which the rules which prevailed during the Fifty-first Congress had operated in the least degree to the detriment of the right of any member or of the public service. I have yet to hear some gentleman make response to that request.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. McMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, there is no need of my assuring the gentlemen in charge of this report that my purpose in everything I do in connection with it is to try to secure the best rules possible for the government of the House in this Congress. Every amendment that has been offered that, in my judgment, ran counter to that purpose I have antagonized and have been with the committee in opposing. But when they come to propose a radical change such as this, which no Democratic House has had and no Republican but once for more than a hundred years, I am inclined to think that much better reasons will have to be given for its support than have been given on this floor during the discussion, before the House should adopt it.

Now, the gentleman from Mississippi asks some one to point out some instance of evil that came from the adoption of that rule in the Fifty-first Congress reducing the quorum to 100 members. The gentleman from Mississippi will not deny, the gentleman from Ohio will not deny—because they were both here at the time struggling against the adoption of that rule—that the object of the rule then was to facilitate the party then in power in this House in passing their appropriations and in getting through their revenue bill, and the divers obnoxious bills they passed. Will either of them deny that? Never.

The gentleman from Mississippi will not be rash enough to risk his reputation in the denial of that proposition. The sole object was not to insure deliberate action, but to railroad their measures through. Now, if it did assist, as all who were here know it did, in passing through the House these measures that were obnoxious to the people, and which have been condemned by the people since, against which we inveighed at the time and against which we inveigh now, that of itself, Mr. Speaker, is evidence—evidence against the gentleman. The object was to get through the revenue bill, which was wrong, and it did get it through; to get through their bounty bills and various other measures which were condemned by the people, and it aided in getting them through.

Mr. BYNUM. Let me interrupt the gentleman to ask if it would not be well to avail ourselves of the same rule to facilitate the repeal of the obnoxious measures to which he refers?

Mr. McMILLIN. No, sir; if the principle was wrong then it is wrong now. There are other ways of correcting the wrong. We can not advocate doing two wrongs to get one right result out of it. It was wrong then, and the gentleman from Indiana himself said it was wrong. It was wrong then, and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. OUTHWAITE], with all due deference to his speech to-day, said it was wrong, and made a much stronger presentation of that side of the question four years ago in declaring the wrong that was sought to be perpetrated upon the House and country than he has done to-day in advocacy of it. If I remember correctly one of his arguments was, and a forcible one, that the Speaker then, the distinguished gentleman from Maine, had just appointed fifty-one committees, and that his fifty-one chairmen, if the rule was adopted as proposed, could get together and control legislation.

Now, sir, what is the object of this rule if it is not to enable less than a quorum to do the work? We all know what practical legislation is. We know that to all intents and purposes the bill is finished—that revenue bills are finished, that tariff bills are finished, all great measures that come before the Committee of the Whole are practically finished before they are reported to the House for action. Their consideration is completed in Committee of the Whole in every detail, and there is no one time when we can secure the change of any one line or letter after it gets back to the House. You can not add an amendment, you can not strike out a clause. True, you may reject amendments which have been offered and accepted by the Committee of the Whole, but in other respects the bill is sacred from the touch of the House. It is not even read.

The report must be taken as an entirety. You can not change it. You can offer no amendment. You can only proceed by committing the whole bill, and can then get but one instruction on it. Your proposition now is to adopt a means by which only

two-fifths of the membership of this House shall be the membership of the committee. What new argument has the gentleman from Ohio presented to-day? Four years ago he thought it would not be well to encourage absenteeism. Now he tells us that one of the beauties of this rule is that it will afford opportunity for gentlemen, after getting through with the particular parts of the bill they are interested in, to go out and to attend to other business! Is it laudable to try to induce a legislator to desert the House? Is that a reason why we ought to adopt this rule?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Will the gentleman allow a suggestion?

Mr. McMILLIN. With pleasure.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. In that view of the case the Constitution itself encourages absenteeism because it only requires a majority.

Mr. McMILLIN. No, sir; not at all. The provision of the Constitution is that the House may force every member to be present. And further, that you can not move an inch in a single action without a majority.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. But you admit that the Constitution provides simply that a majority can do business?

Mr. McMILLIN. Yes; it provides that a quorum can do business, and that less than a quorum can enforce the attendance of every man who was elected a member of that body. But it also provides that less than half the members elected can not take a step in legislation.

Now, if the object is to encourage absenteeism, you have devised the right means. At the very time when Congress has voted clerks to members to enable them to sit here and do their work, and let the clerk go to the Departments and transact that part of the work heretofore done by members, it seems to me that no announcement ought to be made to the public that the Fifty-third Congress has been elected to do business and proposes not to do it. All the other important committees of the House have been increased by this Congress. I do not stop to argue that question, but simply to say that if it is necessary to increase the other committees, I do not see any reason for making a radical reduction in this one.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman is expired.

Mr. McMILLIN. I would like a few minutes more.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. In the absence of objection the time of the gentleman will be extended.

Mr. McMILLIN. Now, what is the effect of this rule? There are 356 members constituting this present House of Representatives. One hundred of them are enabled to do business. Therefore, your 100 can assemble and 256 can go fishing, and you can go on with the work of acting on bills to deplete the Treasury.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. And 51 of these 100 can do the business.

Mr. McMILLIN. And 51 of these 100, acting as a majority, can determine important questions, can fix it so you can not vote on an amendment to a bill, can fix it so you can not offer an amendment to a bill, can fix it so you can not change the bill anywhere from beginning to end.

Therefore, you are enabled by one-seventh of the members elected, acting affirmatively, to transact the important business of this House. Five-sevenths of Congress away and two-sevenths only attending.

Now, our fathers never submitted to any such methods. Gentlemen have spoken of the British Parliament. I hope, Mr. Speaker, that the British Parliament is not to be a model for this body. We have a constitutional inhibition against less than a majority doing the business of this Congress; but the British Parliament, whose members are not paid a salary, having to look after their private business, and also to look after the means of support at the same time, have adopted a different rule.

Our fathers thought, when we were elected, that we were elected to stay and do the work. So thinking they provided in the Constitution that the British method of having members serve gratis should not become a part of our law, and provided a salary for the members. They are paid to come here and do the work, and, as far as the gentleman's argument goes to the encouragement of men to absent themselves from this House, his argument ought not to prevail.

Sir, I agree with my friend from Georgia [Mr. TURNER] that this rule with reference to going into Committee of the Whole was adopted for the purpose of giving calm and deliberate consideration to measures.

It was not supposed that the Committee of the Whole would accelerate the passage of a measure. It was intended to give that one more means of calmly considering the questions that involve the taxes of the people and the payment out of their taxes, that is, their expenditures. There has been, it seems to me, no sufficient reason shown why we should run counter to those who framed the Constitution, and by contemporaneous action construed it. The men who were contemporaneous with those who framed the Constitution certainly knew as much about what its purport was as we do. It was never even suggested then that it would be proper to make a quorum of the Committee of the Whole consist of less than the number that constitute a quorum in the House of Representatives.

Mr. HOLMAN. Will my friend yield to me for a question?

Mr. McMILLIN. With great pleasure.

Mr. HOLMAN. It is known to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McMILLIN] that the Fifty-first Congress increased the expenditures of the Government, as against the Fiftieth Congress, to the extent of $217,733,061.40. Is not this rule a part of the system devised which rendered it possible with facility to impose that unexampled burden upon the people of this country?

Mr. McMILLIN. There is no question about the truth of Judge HOLMAN'S statement. You can not point to a single questionable measure that went through that Congress, which was not accelerated in its speed and facilitated in its passage by the adoption of that rule. It was intended to facilitate and put through. It did it, and I am surprised that any gentleman should question that fact. Not only were these excessive appropriations passed, but they were made continuing—placed beyond Congressional appropriation—and posterity is to be taxed because of the action of that Congress, which was facilitated in this way. And strange to say we are called upon to follow in the wake of those prodigies.

Mr. HOLMAN. Yes, and more than $50,000,000 were imposed in the way of additional appropriations in the Fifty-second Congress, which appropriations were made necessary by the action of the Fifty-first Congress.

Mr. KYLE. Will the gentleman from Tennessee yield to me for a question?

Mr. McMILLIN. With pleasure.

Mr. KYLE. I desire to put this question to my friend from Tennessee with a view to getting information upon it: Suppose the Committee of the Whole, sitting here, should find itself without a quorum of 100, and the committee then rose and went back into the House, and the Sergeant-at-Arms was directed to go and bring in enough members to constitute a quorum. How many should he bring in in order to make up a quorum? Should he bring in enough to make 100, or enough to make a quorum of the House?

Mr. McMILLIN. In order to get back into the Committee of the Whole, if the question were raised, he would have to bring in a majority of the House; because when the Committee resolved itself back into the House, it would take a quorum of the House to take any step except to bring in absent members; and hence when the absent members are brought in, and the proposition was made to go back into Committee of the Whole, the constitutional provision which we can not override, which provides in express terms that a majority of the members of the House shall be necessary to constitute a quorum, would make it necessary to have a majority of all the members in order to get back into Committee of the Whole. That would be the operation of it as I understand it, although I frankly say to my friend from Mississippi I do not remember a decision on the question.

Mr. KYLE. Then we could not proceed without having a majority of the House here—if the objection was made—in order to get into Committee of the Whole.

Mr. McMILLIN. That is true.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. You can not do any business in the House without the presence of a majority of the membership of the House, if the point of no quorum is made.

Mr. SNODGRASS. You can not get into the committee of 100, without having a majority of the House present, in order to take that action.

Mr. McMILLIN. That is true.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I hope I may be pardoned for stating that my sole purpose is to try to get the adoption of the best code of rules that we can adopt for the transaction of the public business. I am willing to be guided in a large measure is arriving at what is best by the experience of our fathers for a hundred years; and even if we did not have that experience shedding its light upon our pathway, with the experience of the Fifty-first Congress before me I would be slow to adopt a code of rules which I know full well was the means by which were adopted the very measures for the repealing of which we are called in in extra session.

Why, the silver bill was put through in that way.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. It was passed under a special order.

Mr. McMILLIN. I know it was passed under a special order.

Mr. BYNUM. And all those bills were passed by special orders.

Mr. McMILLIN. There was a special rule made for its passage, it is true; but it was considered first under this rule, if I

remember correctly. The McKinley bill was first considered under this rule.

Mr. BYNUM. It was passed under a special rule.

Mr. McMILLIN. I know it was finally passed under a special rule. I know how it was done, but it was considered here for days under the rule constituting a hundred a quorum.

Mr. BYNUM. And as there was no progress made by that committee, the special rule was brought in and adopted.

Mr. McMILLIN. I remember what was done. I was a little engaged in that matter at that time. Now, if you are going to argue that this would not assist you, that this will not facilitate you, then it is useless for your purpose.

Mr. BYNUM. The gentleman is necessarily aware that the McKinley bill was not considered in Committee of the Whole under the rule, but under special order.

Mr. McMILLIN. I say it was considered in the Committee of the Whole, but finally, not being able to get it out of the committee in the time they wanted to pass it, they adopted a special rule, and it was passed under a special rule. In that sense the gentleman is correct.

[Here the hammer fell.]

URGENT DEFICIENCY.

Mr. SAYERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the consideration of the report of the Committee on Rules be suspended for the purpose of enabling me to call up for consideration the Senate amendments to the urgent deficiency bill. There are but two amendments, and I think the House can dispose of them very easily.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Clerk will report the amendments, after which the Chair will ask if there be objection to their consideration.

The amendments of the Senate were read.

Mr. SAYERS. Mr. Speaker, the first amendment of the Senate provides for the expenditure of an appropriation already made to pay certain employés of the Senate from the 1st to the 15th of April last. The amendment contains no appropriation. The second amendment is to provide for the repair of the old Ford's Theater building; and I have the assurance of the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate that the Architect of the Capitol [Mr. Clark] has investigated the condition of the building and gives it as his opinion that $6,000 will be sufficient to repair it and make it entirely safe.

The House will observe that after the $6,000 has been expended under the supervision of the Chief of Engineers a board of engineers is to be constituted by the Secretary of War to examine into its safety before it shall be used at all. The Government is now paying something over $12,000 a year for the rent of a building necessary for the accommodation of those who were employed in the old Ford Theater building. I believe that both of these amendments should be concurred in.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the consideration of the Senate amendments? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The question was taken, and the amendments were concurred in.

On motion of Mr. SAYERS, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the Senate amendments were concurred in was laid on the table.

HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF LAYING THE CORNER STONE OF THE CAPITOL.

Mr. BYNUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the introduction of a couple of resolutions and their present consideration.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Clerk will report the resolution, after which the Chair will ask if there be objection to its consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (H. Res. 6) to make the 18th day of September, 1893, a holiday within the District of Columbia.

Be it resolved, etc., That there be added to the days by law declared to be holidays within the District of Columbia the 18th day of September, 1893, the same being the one hundredth anniversary of the laying of the corner-stone of the Capitol of the United States.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. BYNUM. I also ask for the consideration of the other resolution.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Clerk will report the resolution, after which the Chair will ask if there be objection to its consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (H. Res. 7) to permit the use of certain ensigns, flags and signal numbers to decorate the Capitol and its approaches, 1893.

Be it resolved, etc., That the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy be, and they are hereby, authorized to deliver to the Architect of the Capitol, for the purpose of decorating the Capitol, its approaches, and grand stands to be erected in the Capitol grounds on the occasion of the centennial celebration of the laying of the corner stone of the Capitol, such of the United States ensigns, flags (except battle flags), signal numbers, and other flags as may be spared, the same to be so delivered to said Architect not prior to the 10th day of September, and to be returned by him by the 30th day of September, 1893.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of this resolution? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. BYNUM, a motion to reconsider the several votes by which the joint resolutions were passed was laid on the table.

DISTRIBUTION OF DOCUMENTS.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to introduce a resolution for reference to the Committee on Printing.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That all documents and books ordered by the Fifty-second Congress which were not actually printed and distributed on the — day of August, 1893, and which remain at this time undistributed, shall be allotted to members of the present Congress, and transmitted to their residences as fast as printed, or distributed through the folding room of the House, as has been customary; and the resolution of this House dated February 27, 1893, be, and the same is hereby, rescinded in so far as the same is inconsistent herewith.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent to introduce this resolution for reference. Is there objection?

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. Why not adopt the resolution now?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman has only asked to introduce it for reference.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I have no objection to its present consideration.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. I object to present consideration.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Printing.

MONETARY COMMISSION.

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to introduce a joint resolution, for reference to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

The joint resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That a commission is hereby authorized and constituted, to consist of three Senators, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, three Representatives, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and three experts, to be selected by the President of the United States; with authority to determine the time and place of meeting, and to take evidence in Washington or any other city of the United States, before the whole committee or before subcommittees, and to inquire into, and report:

First. On the change which has taken place in the relative value of gold and silver, and whether the change is due to the depreciation of silver or to the appreciation of gold; the cause of the change, whether permanent or temporary; the effect thereof upon finance, trade, commerce, agriculture, labor, and other interests of the country, and upon the standard of value in this and other countries.

Second. On the policy of maintaining the double standard in the United States, and what should be the legal ratio between silver and gold, when coined.

Third. On the best means of reorganizing the banking system, and of restoring confidence in commercial and financial circles, and promoting international bimetallism.

Fourth. The report of the commission shall be presented to the Senate and House of Representatives not later than the 1st day of January, 1894.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the introduction of this joint resolution for reference to the Committee on Banking and Currency?

Mr. COX. I object.

THE BELKNAP-RICHARDSON CONTEST.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution from the Committee on Elections which I send to the desk.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives, That there be printed 500 copies of the resolution passed on the 25th day of August, 1893, by the House of Representatives relative to the Belknap-Richardson contest from the State of Michigan, for the use of the Committee on Elections, together with any papers bearing on the case that may now be in the hands of the Clerk of the House of Representatives, under the direction of the Committee on Elections.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of this resolution?

There was no objection, and the resolution was adopted.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and the House accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 28 minutes p. m.) adjourned until Wednesday next at 12 o'clock m.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *September 4, 1893.*

Prayer by Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday last was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the following joint resolutions; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

A joint resolution (H. Res. 6) to make the 18th day of September, 1893, a holiday within the District of Columbia; and

A joint resolution (H. Res. 7) to permit the use of certain ensigns, flags, and signal numbers to decorate the Capitol and its approaches, September 18, 1893.

ANNIVERSARY OF LAYING THE CAPITOL CORNER STONE.

Mr. VOORHEES. I ask that the joint resolutions which have just come from the House of Representatives be laid before the Senate and put on their passage. I will state that the first is a joint resolution passed by the other House, making the 18th of September a holiday in the District of Columbia. It is a centennial day of the laying of the corner stone of the Capitol. The other joint resolution authorizes the use of certain flags and ensigns by the Architect of the Capitol on that day. I should be very glad to have the Senate concur with the action of the House of Representatives and let the matter go along.

There being no objection, the joint resolution (H. Res. 6) to make the 18th day of September, 1893, a holiday within the District of Columbia was read twice and considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The joint resolution (H. Res. 7) to permit the use of certain ensigns, flags, and signal numbers to decorate the Capitol and its approaches, September 18, 1893, was read twice and considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. VANCE presented a petition of the Farmers' Alliance of Iredell County, N. C., praying that the so-called Sherman silver law be not repealed unless the free coinage of silver be substituted therefor; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. COKE presented memorials of citizens of Clay and Coleman Counties, in the State of Texas, remonstrating against the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman act, unless a law providing for the free coinage of silver be substituted therefor; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HARRIS. I present a communication addressed to my colleague and myself, praying for the immediate repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman act, signed by twenty-odd citizens of Chattanooga, Tenn.

I also present the stereotyped printed Wall street form of petition, praying for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act. I move that the petitions lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. LINDSAY presented a petition of citizens of Boone County, Ky., praying that the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law be unconditionally repealed; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of officers and stockholders of the four national banks of Richmond, Ky., praying for the passage of what is known as the Voorhees bill, to increase the circulation of national banks to the full value of the bonds deposited by them; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MILLS presented a petition of citizens of Fayette County, Tex., praying for the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. BUTLER presented petitions of D. C. Buff, R. E. Hook, and 22 other citizens of Lexington, of W. P. Ruth, H. E. Drafts, and 23 other citizens of Lexington, of D. B. Duncan, J. F. Brown, and 26 other citizens of Columbia, and of F. C. Corley, G. W. Reeder, and 28 other citizens of Lexington, all in the State of South Carolina, praying that an appropriation be made for the further improvement of the Congaree River, in South Carolina; which were referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. PASCO presented a petition of the Fort Meade (Fla.) Board of Trade and 58 others, business men and citizens of Fort Meade, Fla., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PROCTOR presented a petition of sundry citizens of Montpelier, Vt., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. LODGE presented the petition of Daniel J. Poore and other citizens of Merrimac, Mass., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clauses of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. KYLE presented a memorial of citizens of Aberdeen, S. Dak., remonstrating against the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law, and praying for the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented two petitions of citizens of Aberdeen, S. Dak., and a petition of citizens of Brown County, S. Dak., praying for the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. ALLEN presented a petition of citizens of Washington County, Ind., praying for the reopening of the mints to the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver on equal terms at a ratio of 16 to 1; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. VOORHEES presented the petition of Edward Lautenschlaeger, late private Company H, Seventh United States Infantry, praying to be compensated for imprisonment in the Kansas State penitentiary for a period of five days during the month of November, 1887; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of business men, merchants, and others of New Harmony, Ind., praying for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. VEST presented a petition of the Mississippi and Missouri Valley Hardware Association, praying for the immediate and unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of Q. A. Smith and other citizens of Lansing, Mich., praying for the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law, and for the free coinage of silver; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. CAREY presented two petitions of citizens of Rock Springs, Wyo., praying for the passage of what is known as the Stewart bill, providing for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. BLACKBURN presented a petition of sundry citizens of Kentucky, praying for the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MANDERSON. I present a petition, signed very numerously by hardware merchants of Omaha, Sioux City, Dubuque, and St. Paul, constituting the Mississippi and Missouri Valley Hardware Association, praying for the immediate repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law.

I also present a petition of like import, very numerously signed, of citizens of Blue Hill, Nebr.

I move that the petitions lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I present resolutions adopted by a convention of the people of Wallowa County, Oregon, which met August 19, 1893, at Lortine, Oregon, in which they resolve in favor of the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law, and favor the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

I also present resolutions adopted by Local Assembly No. 4898, Knights of Labor, of Albina, Oregon, to the same effect.

I move that the resolutions lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. PETTIGREW, from the Committee on Public Lands, to whom was referred the bill (S. 171) granting to the State of North Dakota certain lands heretofore set apart as a wood reservation for Fort Totten military reservation, for the use of the militia of North Dakota, and for other purposes, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 140) to aid the State of South Dakota to support a school of mines, reported it without amendment.

Mr. BERRY, from the Committee on Public Lands, to whom was referred the bill (S. 75) for the relief of Thomas Guinean, reported it without amendment.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 460) granting to the State of California 5 per cent of the net proceeds of the cash sales of public lands in said State, reported it without amendment.

Mr. DOLPH, from the Committee on Public Lands, to whom was referred the bill (S. 79) to authorize a corrected patent to be issued for the donation land claim of Wheelock Simmons and wife, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the

bill (S. 73) for the relief of William J. Cornell and Joseph M. Cornell, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 69) to grant to the State of Oregon townships 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31 south, in ranges 5 and 6 east of the Willamette meridian, in the State of Oregon, for a public park, reported it without amendment.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 71) for the relief of John W. Lewis, of Oregon, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. HUNTON introduced a bill (S. 826) to remit the penalties on the dynamite-gun cruiser Vesuvius; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. TELLER introduced a bill (S. 827) to aid the State of Colorado to support a school of mines; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 828) granting a pension to Julia E. Lock, formerly a widow of the late Gen. Daniel McCook; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 829) granting an honorable discharge to Cyrus Payne; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. CULLOM introduced a bill (S. 830) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the adjudication and payment of claims arising from Indian depredations," approved March 3, 1891; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Depredations.

Mr. DAVIS introduced a bill (S. 831) for the relief of Anna W. Osborne; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. HARRIS (by request) introduced a bill (S. 832) to simplify the form of deeds of conveyance, trust, and releases of land in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying letter of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. CALL introduced a bill (S. 833) granting a pension to J. L. Nash; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. MANDERSON introduced a bill (S. 835) providing for the filing of transcripts of judgments of the courts of the United States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. FAULKNER introduced a bill (S. 836) to remove the charge of desertion from John Lyon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. VOORHEES introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 26) to remit the duties on ammunition for naval ordnance imported by the Secretary of the Navy; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying memorandum and letter of the Secretary of the Navy, referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed.

SUSP NSION OF PENSIONS.

Mr. GALLINGER introduced a bill (S. 834) supplemental to an act entitled "An act granting pensions to soldiers and sailors who are incapacitated for the performance of manual labor, and providing for pensions to widows, minor children, and dependent parents," approved June 27, 1890, and for other purposes; which was read the first time by its title.

Mr. GALLINGER. I ask that the bill be read at length, and if there be no objection I should like to detain the Senate a short time in submitting some observations on the subject-matter of the bill.

The bill was read the second time at length, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc. SECTION 1. That in the administration of the act of June 27, 1890, by the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Pensions and in the rating of pensions thereunder, all claimants, showing a mental or physical disability of a permanent character, not the result of their own vicious habits, and which incapacitates them from the performance of manual labor, rendering them unable to earn a support from such manual labor, in such a degree as would be rated, under former laws and the rules and regulations of the Pension Office existing at the date of the passage of said act of June 27, 1890, at or above $6 per month, shall be rated proportionally in the same manner as like disabilities of service origin are proportionally rated; and all claimants showing a pensionable disability, which, if of service origin, would be rated at or above $12 per month, shall be rated at $12 per month.

SEC. 2. Whenever, in consideration of pension claims under the act of June 27, 1890, the claimant has shown that he is disabled by more than one wound, injury, or disease, pensionable under said act, the accumulated degree of disability arising from all of said separate disabilities shall be the measure of the rating of the pension granted, as provided in the preceding section.

SEC. 3. The Commissioner of Pensions shall have power as heretofore to establish at points most convenient for pensioners and applicants for pension examining boards of three surgeons each for the examination of applicants for pension. In selecting the members for said board, surgeons having had military or naval service in the Army or Navy of the United States shall be preferred for appointment as far as practicable: *Provided, however*, That such boards shall be constituted as far as practicable of surgeons who belong to different political parties.

SEC. 4. That whenever the certificate of a board of examining surgeons shall show that a claimant for pension under the act of June 27, 1890, is suffering from disabilities which, in their opinion, probably resulted from the vicious habits of the claimant, such case shall be placed in the hands of a special examiner of the Pension Bureau, who shall make an impartial examination into the facts of the case, at which special examination the claimant shall have full opportunity of being present, confronting and cross-examining the witnesses against him, and of introducing witnesses in his own behalf. When the report of the board of examining surgeons shall show that the disabilities found are, in their opinion, the result of causes not referable to the claimant's vicious habits, such disabilities shall be presumed to be resultant from pensionable causes.

SEC. 5. Except in case of established fraud, no pension shall be suspended, withheld, withdrawn or reduced, except after ninety days' written notice served upon the pensioner and a full and impartial hearing and investigation had upon sworn testimony: *Provided, however*, That the certificate of a duly appointed medical examining board may be used in evidence without the same being verified by the oaths of the members of such board signing the same.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New Hampshire? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from New Hampshire will proceed.

Mr. GALLINGER said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: The bill which has just been read is designed to remove every possible difficulty that now stands in the way of the administration of the pension law of July 27, 1890, and to secure its administration precisely as Congress intended that it should be administered. I will not take time to analyze the bill, as its provisions are so plain as to be readily understood.

On the 17th day of August I introduced a resolution directing the Committee on Pensions to inquire and report whether, in suspending and dropping pensioners from the rolls, the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Pensions were conforming to the provisions of existing law. That resolution is now on the table, and I propose to ask that, with this bill, the resolution be referred to the Committee on Pensions for their consideration. I am aware that since that time the Commissioner has greatly modified his former order, but notwithstanding that I am inclined to the view that even now he is outside of the law, and that great injustice may be done to pensioners under the operations of the modified order.

To place in the hands of one man the power to arbitrarily suspend or permanently drop from the pension rolls the names of soldiers duly enrolled thereon would be an act of folly, to say the least. It is indisputable that if one name can be suspended or dropped, as has been done in thousands of cases of late, every name on the pension roll can be dealt with in the same way, and all legislation relating to pensions be thus nullified by an administrative officer. Congress certainly never intended to confer upon either the Secretary of the Interior or the Commissioner of Pensions any such sweeping and arbitrary power, the recent exercise of which properly alarmed every man on the pension rolls of the United States.

Mr. President, I find no warrant of law for the suspension from the pension roll of the names of men duly enrolled thereon unless the element of fraud is first proved against them. In a recent newspaper article I discussed this matter, the substance of which I will repeat.

ONLY FOR FRAUD.

The Commissioner of Pensions has great discretion in the matter of granting pensions, and under the provisions of section 4739, Revised Statutes, the Secretary of the Interior has power to strike from the rolls the names of pensioners upon proof that the pensions were fraudulently obtained. But it will be noted that the element of fraud must enter into the case, and the decision, presumably, can not be reached until after the accused has had the opportunity to make defense. It does not seem to me that the suspension of a pensioner on the ground that the proof submitted to a former Commissioner was insufficient, is at all warranted by that or any other section of the statute. Indeed, I know of no legal ground upon which the present Commissioner can review and annul the action of his predecessor. If the doctrine of *stare decisis* does not apply here, then it is impossible to know under what circumstances it can be made applicable.

Let us carefully look at

THE LAW ON THE SUBJECT.

Section 4720, Revised Statutes, authorizes the Commissioner "upon satisfactory evidence that fraud was perpetrated in obtaining" a special act of Congress, to "suspend payment thereon until the propriety of repealing the same can be considered by Congress." This is the only statute which in terms authorizes the "suspension" of payment of a pension, and this is limited (1) to special acts, (2) where fraud was perpetrated, (3) after satisfactory evidence has been obtained, (4) and then only until Congress can consider the propriety of a repeal.

Section 4692, Revised Statutes, provides for pensions for disabilities less than total and variable in degree, and is the foundation of subsequent laws and practice in regard to the increase

and reduction of ratings. Sections 4771, 4772, and 4773, providing for biennial examinations, was repealed by section 3 of the act of June 21, 1879 (appropriation bill), which provided instead:

That the Commissioner of Pensions shall have the same power as heretofore to order special examinations whenever in his judgment the same may be necessary, or to increase or reduce the pension according to right and justice, but in no case shall a pension be withdrawn or reduced except upon notice to the pensioner, and a hearing upon sworn testimony, except as to the certificate of the examining surgeon.

Section 4698½, Revised Statutes (section 4, act of March 3, 1873), provides that—

Except in cases of permanent specific disabilities no increase of pension shall be allowed to commence prior to the date of the examining surgeon's certificate establishing the same, made under the pending claim for increase, and in this, as well as in all other cases, the certificate of an examining surgeon or of a board of examining surgeons shall be subject to the approval of the Commissioner of Pensions.

As the latter provision was the law when the former was passed, they must be construed together, and they provide that whenever a pensioner applies for increase the Commissioner may order a special medical examination, and if he approves the surgeon's certificate he may increase or reduce the rating according to right and justice; but he shall not withdraw or reduce a pension otherwise on a surgeon's certificate under a pending claim for increase except upon notice to the pensioner, and after he or she has been heard on sworn testimony. No power is here given to "suspend payment of a pension" pending such hearing, and the pensioner must be notified, heard, and sworn testimony taken before the Commissioner has lawful power to reduce, suspend, or withdraw a pension.

Section 4774, Revised Statutes, was amended by section 3, pension appropriation act of July 25, 1882, as follows:

The Commissioner of Pensions is authorized to detail from time to time clerks or persons employed in his office to make special examinations into the merits of such pension or bounty land claims, whether pending or adjudicated, as he may deem proper, and to aid in the prosecution of any party appearing on such examinations to be guilty of fraud either in the presentation or in prosecuting the allowance of such claims; and any persons so detailed shall have the power to administer oaths and to take affidavits and depositions in the course of such examinations, and to orally examine witnesses, etc.

It is clear from the statutes that before pension is suspended or dropped the pensioner

MUST HAVE A HEARING.

The original provision was "detail clerks to investigate any suspected fraud and to aid in prosecuting," etc. Under the original provision a "special examination division" was organized in the office to whom suspicious cases were referred, and the scope of whose duties was enlarged by the act of 1882. In the laws and practice of the Pension Office the phrase "special examination" has as definite and certain a meaning as has that of "trial by jury" in the laws and practices of courts.

Analyzing the foregoing, we find that the Commissioner of Pensions has lawful authority to make special examinations into the merits of pension and bounty land claims, as well those already allowed as those pending; that he must do this by detailing clerks or persons for this express purpose who are clothed with special power to administer oaths, etc., and who are entitled to "such additional compensation as is customary in cases of special service."

As neither this act nor the section which it amends authorizes the Commissioner to reduce, suspend, or withdraw a pension so investigated, but only to "assist in prosecuting frauds," we have to fall back on the proviso of section 3 of the act of June 21, 1879, for this power. When he has made the special examination in the manner and by the machinery provided in these acts he can then, and not until then, "reduce" or "withdraw" a pension.

Section 4719 provides that failure to claim pension for three years shall be "presumptive evidence that such pension was legally terminated, and the pensioner's name shall be stricken from the list."

Sections 4736, 4737, 4738, and 4739 relate to the war of 1812, and provide that "the Secretary of the Interior shall cause to be stricken from the pension roll the name of any person whenever it appears by proof satisfactory that such name was put upon such roll through false or fraudulent representations."

Act of January 29, 1887, granting pensions to soldiers and sailors of the Mexican war, section 3, contains the same provision, with the addition, "and that such person is not entitled to a pension under this act."

The manner of ascertaining whether pensions have or have not been obtained by fraud and the requirement that claimant shall be notified and heard, and action taken on sworn testimony, has been pointed out; and these restrictions would seem to apply here as well as elsewhere.

The suggestion has been made that the recent action of the Pension Office in making wholesale suspensions of pensions heretofore allowed under the act of June 27, 1890, and the calling upon such pensioners, without notice to the pensioners and a hearing upon sworn testimony to show that they are disabled, before ordering such pensioners for medical examination, is based upon an alleged previous practice of the Pension Office under former administrations. This claim is unwarranted by the facts, and although such suspensions may have been made in isolated cases, the plain fact is that the majority of such suspensions (which at most were few) under former administrations have been based upon charges of fraud made by persons residing in the same community with the pensioners.

Upon the receipt of such charges it has been the practice of the Commissioner of Pensions, if he was convinced that the charge was made by a reputable person, whose statement was worthy of consideration, to suspend the pension and give the pensioner an opportunity to rebut such charge; but action in these cases was taken cautiously, and as long ago as May 5, 1874, in the case of Lemon A. Simmons—Delano, Secretary—we find the Commissioner of Pensions directed not to order the suspension of a pension upon unsworn statements, and in the case of William W. Calhoun, under date of January 4, 1876, Secretary Chandler laid down the rule that in the suspension of a pension upon charges of fraud based upon the ground of nondisability or other grounds "the same degree of caution should be observed which obtains in the allowance of a pension."

It is a well settled principle of law that a judgment of an administrative officer under a construction of law duly announced and under which a claimant has established rights under the forms and regulations prescribed by a previous administration must stand, unless upon newly discovered evidence or unquestioned fraud. The cases sustaining this view of the law are too numerous to be cited individually. It is sufficient, however, to say that, as I understand the matter, it has heretofore been the settled rule in the Interior Department, and that it relates to all kinds of claims arising in that Department.

A pension duly granted under the terms and regulations prescribed, and upon due proof made in accordance therewith, which, under the construction of the Commissioner and Secretary of the Interior has been duly announced, is an established right, which may not be invaded by a successor to either the Commissioner or the Secretary, unless it can be clearly shown that manifest error has been committed, or new evidence is brought forward, the existence of which was not known at the time of the adjudication, or it shall appear from the face of the papers that fraud has been perpetrated in connection therewith.

In the case of the United States *vs.* Bank of the Metropolis, 13 Peters, 377, the rule is laid down that—

The head of a department has not a right to review the decision of his predecessor allowing a credit, except to correct some error or calculation. If he is of opinion that the allowance was wrongful he must have a suit brought.

In the case of the United States *vs.* Stone, 2 Wallace, 525, involving the question of the propriety of the issue of a patent for land, the court held "that one officer of the Land Office was not competent to cancel or annul the act of his predecessor."

The decisions of the Secretary of the Interior are binding upon his successors.

See opinions of the Attorney-General, volume 2, page 463; volume 5, pages 29 and 63; volume 5, pages 240 and 284; volume 7, page 701; volume 9, page 100; volume 12, page 355.

In the case of Thomas Riley—Bell, Secretary—November 19, 1878, volume 6, page 161, it was held that—

Reconsiderations of decisions of former administrations of the Department is declined in cases wherein title to pension is affected, and where in the original settlement all the facts were presented, there having been no change in the facts or law. The decision should not be reversed even though the incumbent believes his predecessor committed an error in judgment.

See also Hiram C. Shouse—Kirkwood, Secretary—December 20, 1881.

The deliberate decision of a former administration "of a question involving private rights and interests (no new facts being shown to exist when that decision was made) can not with propriety be reconsidered by its successors."

See opinion of the Attorney-General, April 26, 1869. Also opinion of March 7, 1871.

In the case of the United States *vs.* Arredondo, 6 Peters, page 729, the court held:

It is a universal principle that, where power or jurisdiction is delegated to any public officer or tribunal over a subject-matter, and its exercise is confided to his or their discretion, the acts so done are binding and valid as to the subject-matter, and individual rights will not be disturbed collaterally for anything done in the exercise of that discretion. The only questions which can arise between an individual claiming a right under the acts done and the public, or any person denying its validity, are power in the officer and fraud in the party. All other questions are settled by the decision made or the act done by the tribunal or officer, whether executive (1 Cranch, 170-171), legislative (4 Wheat, 423; 2 Peters, 412; 4 Peters, 563), judicial (11 Mass., 227; 11 S. R., 429; 2 Peters, 167, 168), or special (20 J. R., 739, 740; 2 Dow., Peters Cas., 521, etc.), unless an appeal is provided for, or other revision, by some appellate or supervisory tribunal, is prescribed by law.

The power of the officers to deal with the whole subject of pensions is just such as is conferred upon them by statute, either

by express terms or by necessary implication, and, in the discharge of their duties they are required to comply strictly with the provisions and directions of the statutes regulating the exercise of their powers; otherwise their acts or decisions will be nullities. Such officers exercise a naked statutory authority, and have no powers, except such as are granted to them by statute expressly or by necessary implication. These rules are stated by all the authorities. (See Throupe on Public Officers, section 556; Sutherland on Statutory Construction, section 390.)

Where a rule is laid down by a statute for the government of officers, we are not at liberty to inquire whether it can be departed from with safety, or whether the mode actually pursued is equally as beneficial to the party concerned as that prescribed by the statute. The answer to arguments of this kind is that the law has prescribed the manner in which the duty shall be performed, and that there is no superior power to direct otherwise. (See Sutherland on Statutory Construction, section 390.)

A statutory proceeding or a right given by statute is confined to the very cases provided for, and it extends to no other. It can not be enlarged by construction, nor be made available or valid except on the statutory conditions; that is, by strictly following the directions of the law. A party or officer, seeking the benefit or protection of such a statute must bring himself strictly not only within the spirit, but within its letter, and he can take nothing by intendment. (See Sutherland on Statutory Construction, sections 391, 392, 393, 398, and 399.)

Mr. President, I do not want to utter a word that can be construed into partisanship on this question. The matter is too serious for that. All over our land men are dreading misfortune. They are the men who for four long years bravely battled to save the Union and to preserve our tottering nationality. They are poor men, broken in health, and looking forward to an early release from their misfortunes and sufferings. For the first time in the history of the Government the Pension Bureau is apparently in hostility to their interests. Instead of bending its energies to settle unsettled cases, that great Bureau is giving its time to unsettle settled cases. It is a serious and an alarming condition. Every pensioner is apparently under suspicion. To be a pensioner is to invite sneers and derision; and besides this, the vast amount of work thrown upon the several divisions—notably the medical department—in the investigation of suspended cases has greatly congested the office so far as current work is concerned. I presume that at least ten thousand names have been arbitrarily and, as I believe, illegally dropped from the rolls, every one of which has diverted from the regular work of the Bureau a portion of the force which should be engaged in adjusting claims in process of consideration.

Mr. President, we are frequently reminded in the Halls of Congress that "the war is over." That is true; but, while the ranks of the country's defenders are being rapidly thinned, there yet remain with us a noble army of men who fought the good fight to preserve constitutional government and to forever establish the liberties of our people. The debt we owe these men can never be repaid. They may be sneered at here or elsewhere, but a grateful people will not forget their sacrifices or their sufferings, and the pittance that the Government has granted them in the way of pensions will not be taken from them without my protest. As an added and necessary protection to them, I trust that the bill that I have presented may meet the approval of the Committee on Pensions and be speedily enacted into law.

Mr. President, I ask the reference of the bill to the Committee on Pensions, and also the reference of the resolution which I submitted in August last.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill and resolution will be referred to the Committee on Pensions.

REPEAL OF TAX ON STATE-BANK CIRCULATION.

Mr. BUTLER submitted the following amendment, intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes;" which was read and ordered to lie on the table and be printed:

SEC. —. That section 3412 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, the same being section 122 of the national-bank act, imposing a tax of 10 per centum upon the amount of notes of any person or of any State bank or State banking association used for circulation and paid out by them, be, and the same is hereby, repealed: *Provided*, That such State banks of circulation only as secure their circulation by coin or approved State or municipal bonds shall receive the benefit of this act.

SILVER COINAGE.

Mr. KYLE submitted the following amendment intended to be proposed to the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of the act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes;" which was read and ordered to lie on the table and be printed:

At the end of line 13 of the amendment of the Committee on Finance insert:

That holders of silver bullion of the value of $50 or more, and not too base for the operations of the mints, shall be entitled to deposit the same for coinage at the mints of the United States, and to have the same coined into legal-tender standard silver dollars of 412½ grains standard silver to the dollar, on the same terms and conditions on which gold bullion is now deposited and coined: *Provided*, That in the coinage of all silver presented at the mints, the Government shall receive the seigniorage, or difference between the bullion and coin value of said metal; that silver certificates shall be issued on such dollars in the manner now provided by law for the issuing of certificates on standard silver dollars.

AMENDMENT OF THE RULES.

Mr. MILLS submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Rules:

Resolved, That Rule XXII of the Senate be so amended as to read as follows:

"PRECEDENCE OF MOTIONS.

"When a question is pending no motion shall be received, but—
"To adjourn to a day certain, or that when the Senate adjourn it shall be to a day certain;
"To adjourn;
"To take a recess;
"To proceed to the consideration of executive business;
"To lay on the table;
"To postpone indefinitely;
"To postpone to a day certain;
"To commit;
"To amend; which several motions shall have precedence as they stand arranged, and the motions relating to adjournment, to take a recess, to proceed to the consideration of executive business, to lay on the table shall be decided without debate."

LABOR DAY—PROPOSED ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. ALLEN. I offer, and desire to have immediately considered, the resolution which I send to the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be reported.

The Secretary read as follows:

Whereas it is due that Congress take cognizance of the labor organizations and industrial interests of the nation by observing this day, commonly known as Labor Day: Therefore be it

Resolved, That as a mark of respect for the labor organizations and industrial interests of the nation, the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. VOORHEES. I am in favor of all the jubilees and holidays for labor——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the Senator from Indiana that the motion is not debatable, except by unanimous consent.

Mr. VOORHEES. I was born in the ranks of labor, and I think the best tribute we can pay to labor is to go on to a conclusion with the business of the Senate as rapidly as possible. I say this with the utmost respect for my friend from Nebraska, and for his resolution, but I see no way in which we can contribute more to the interest of labor than to relieve the present situation of affairs.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Debate is by unanimous consent.

Mr. VOORHEES. I object to the resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Nebraska moves that the Senate do now adjourn. (Putting the question.) The noes appear to have it.

Mr. ALLEN. I ask for the yeas and nays on the resolution.

Mr. FAULKNER. I desire to inquire of the Chair if the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM] had not given notice that he desired to speak after the morning business, and I ask whether the Senator from Illinois was not really on the floor for that purpose?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that the Senator from Illinois has given such notice, but the Chair entertained the motion to adjourn, which he understood to be in order.

Mr. FAULKNER. Under such circumstances I think the Senator from Illinois should be permitted to proceed, and I shall vote against the resolution.

Mr. CULLOM. I wish to say that before proceeding with my remarks I was waiting until the measure on which I desired to speak was properly laid before the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair so understood.

Mr. STEWART. I should like to hear the resolution offered by the Senator from Nebraska read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be again read.

The Secretary read the resolution of Mr. ALLEN.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The yeas and nays are demanded on the resolution.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, ——

Mr. ALDRICH, Mr. HALE, and others. Regular order!

Mr. ALLEN. I am perfectly willing that the resolution which I offered shall be temporarily laid aside until the Senator from Illinois addresses the Senate, but I should like to call it up immediately after the conclusion of his remarks.

Mr. FRYE and others. Let us have the vote now.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HARRIS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL]. I do not know how he would vote if here, but I should vote "nay," if at liberty to vote.

Mr. LODGE (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. MARTIN]. I do not know how he would vote if he were present, but I should vote "nay."

Mr. PUGH (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR].

Mr. STOCKBRIDGE (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. GIBSON], but I am satisfied if he were present he would vote "nay;" I therefore vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. MANDERSON. I have received a telegram from the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY], stating that he is detained from the Senate by a death in his family, and for that reason will not be here to-day. On this and all other questions during the day I shall endeavor to see that the Senator is paired. On this vote I will pair him with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BLACKBURN].

Mr. DIXON. The Senator from Kentucky is paired.

Mr. MANDERSON. Then the Senator from Connecticut will have to remain unpaired on this vote.

Mr. HUNTON. I have a general pair with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT]. I believe if he were here he would vote "nay" on this question, and I shall record my vote "nay."

Mr. CALL. I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were here, I should vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 8, nays 41; as follows:

YEAS—8.

Allen,	Peffer,	Power,	Vance,
Irby,	Pettigrew,	Shoup,	Vest.

NAYS—41.

Aldrich,	Dixon,	McMillan,	Squire,
Allison,	Faulkner,	McPherson,	Stockbridge,
Bate,	Frye,	Manderson,	Vilas.
Berry,	Gallinger,	Mills,	Voorhees,
Blackburn,	Gorman,	Mitchell, Oregon	Walthall,
Butler,	Gray,	Mitchell, Wis.	Washburn,
Caffery,	Hale,	Palmer,	White, Cal.
Camden,	Hansbrough,	Pasco,	White, La.
Carey,	Higgins,	Perkins,	
Coke,	Hunton,	Roach,	
Cullom,	Lindsay,	Smith,	

NOT VOTING—36.

Brice,	Dubois,	Jones, Nev.	Pugh,
Call,	George,	Kyle,	Quay,
Cameron,	Gibson,	Lodge,	Ransom,
Chandler,	Gordon,	Martin,	Sherman,
Cockrell,	Harris,	Morgan,	Stewart,
Colquitt,	Hawley,	Morrill,	Teller,
Daniel,	Hill,	Murphy,	Turpie,
Davis,	Hoar,	Platt,	Wilson,
Dolph,	Jones, Ark.	Proctor,	Wolcott.

So the Senate refused to adjourn.

REDEMPTION IN SILVER.

Mr. ALLEN submitted the following resolution; which was read:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to furnish to the Senate, without unnecessary delay, full information on the following subjects:

1. Whether the Treasury Department has, at any time, redeemed any portion of the silver or coin certificates in silver coin, as provided by the act of July 14, 1890, commonly known as the Sherman act, and if so, when and what amount has been thus redeemed.

2. What amount, in coinage value, of silver bullion purchased by the Treasury Department under the act of July 14, 1890, and subject to coinage, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, remains uncoined, and why said silver bullion has not been coined and paid out, in accordance with the provisions of said act.

3. Whether any part, and, if so, what part, of the paper money redeemed in gold by the Treasury Department since March 4, 1893, was canceled after redemption or in any manner withheld from general circulation.

Mr. ALLEN. I desire to have the resolution considered at this time.

Mr. VOORHEES. Let it go over until to-morrow.

Mr. McPHERSON. And be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will go over under the rules, and be printed.

PURCHASE OF SILVER BULLION.

Mr. CULLOM. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Concurrent and other resolutions are still in order. If there be none, that order of business is closed, and the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, the title of which will be reported.

The SECRETARY. A bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

Mr. CULLOM. Mr. President——

Mr. PEFFER. I ask that the pending amendment may be stated before the Senator from Illinois proceeds.

Mr. CULLOM. The amendment may be laid before the Senate later.

Mr. PEFFER. I offered an amendment to the bill, which is the pending amendment, as I think the Journal will show, and I ask that it be stated as the pending amendment.

Mr. VOORHEES. I will suggest to the Senator from Kansas that at 2 o'clock this measure will be laid before the Senate as the regular order of business, and at that time, or a little later, it might be well to read his amendment, but not in connection with the remarks of the Senator from Illinois.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment of the Senator from Kansas to the amendment of the Committee on Finance is pending.

Mr. CULLOM. Mr. President, the questions now engrossing the attention of the country and especially of Congress surpass in importance any which have been the subject of Congressional action since slavery was abolished and the perpetuity of the Union secured. The determination of great financial questions affect beneficially or disastrously not only the people of one country, but, to an extent, all the nations.

Opinion is unanimous that the condition of affairs in this country now demands immediate attention and prompt action by Congress; all agree that commerce is stagnant in all the geographical divisions of our country; that banks and commercial houses are failing; that factories and mines are closed, and that within the last six months perhaps a million wage-earners have been thrown out of employment.

But, unfortunately for the country, there is no such agreement of opinion among the people or in Congress as to the cause of the distress that has so swiftly and unexpectedly come upon us, or, as to what is of paramount importance, the remedy for it. No such peculiar condition as exists in America to-day was ever known in our history. The people have suddenly found themselves in changed circumstances—the merchant without customers; the factory closed for lack of orders; the bank losing its deposits; the farmer without price for the products of the soil; the laboring man without work; all classes without confidence, and the entire country appealing to Congress for speedy relief.

We have been admonished by the public press and from sundry other sources, that in the present emergency patriotism should be superior to partisan politics, and sectional interests should yield to the common weal. Sir, if I believed it necessary that such admonitions should be given to the American Congress, I should regard a seat in this body as without honor, and should deplore the decadence of national spirit. Conscious of no purpose on my part other than that of securing the greatest stability to our Government, the highest prosperity, consistent with conservatism, to the nation, and the largest sum of happiness to the individual, I am unwilling to believe that other motives actuate my colleagues.

The chairman of the Committee on Finance has reported a bill allowing national banks to secure and issue circulation to the par value of the bonds deposited by them with the Treasury Department. The cry comes from the people for more money. This bill, if enacted into law, would result in an increase of our circulating medium, and as good money as the world affords. The measure is recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury, and yet, before a vote can be had on it, the whole national-banking system, which has been discussed for more than twenty-five years, must be discussed again in the same old strain and with the same arguments that have been heard at every crossroads from the time the act was passed. Why not give the country this crumb of relief, and when the people have emerged from their present distressed condition, take up the bank act, discuss it, and amend it if that is deemed wise?

The amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL], while it is of no great consequence in itself, yet if it should be adopted is to be the entering wedge which will result in the retirement of the national-bank notes now in circulation, and the issuance in their place of an equal amount of greenback promises to pay on demand in gold, added to nearly one thousand millions of paper already issued, which the Government is pledged to maintain. To what port are we, as a nation, drifting? Is it not time to stop and take our bearings, if it is not the purpose of the movers of such amendments to wreck the national Treasury, as I am sure it is not?

I favor the passage of the bill as it is, but think I do not object to the amendment of the Senator from Maryland.

The chairman of the Finance Committee, in response to the message of the President, has reported a bill to repeal the clauses of the act of July 14, 1890, providing for the monthly purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver. I shall vote for the bill.

I am not one of those who believe that the act of 1890 is in a great degree responsible for the existing financial condition. I am for its repeal, however, for the reason that it was passed as an expedient, and was not expected to remain on the statute book very long, and because the Government can not afford to

buy silver and coin or issue paper on it and call it a dollar when in fact the silver in the dollar or deposited as security for the dollar is worth less than 60 cents. Such a performance long continued would embarrass any government. The reason the people are satisfied with silver certificates now is because the Government stands behind them and is pledged to take care of them; but the Government is not called upon to continue such a policy.

Other causes have aided in producing the distrust. I shall refer to them later. The act of 1890 was not intended to represent the well-defined and permanent financial policy of the United States, but it was passed as the lesser of two evils—the purchasing of bullion and the issuance of paper money based on it, or the free and unlimited coinage of silver. It was a compromise measure to avert what a majority of our friends on the other side now will admit would have been a calamity—the free coinage of silver. The abuse and condemnation which have been heaped upon it are not justified by the facts. Fearful that the United States alone could not maintain silver at a parity with gold, with its mints open to the coinage of the silver of the world, and hopeful of a fruitful result from the then approaching monetary conference, the act was passed. It has at least given more money to our people, and if, as has been stated, it has at times driven gold from the country, the experience of the last few weeks demonstrates that while it is yet in force the yellow metal under the operation of trade comes to our shores.

I am not a monometallist; I do not believe in the disuse of either of the two metals named in the Constitution. There is no considerable number of men in this country who demand the ostracism of silver or of gold; on the contrary, all concede the utility of both as money metals. But the closer commercial relations of nations which marks the advance of civilization makes international concurrence in the free and unlimited use of both metals as money more desirable, if not absolutely necessary.

I favor the free use of silver which comes from international coinage upon a common basis or agreed ratio. Gold has no money function inherent in itself any more than has silver. Both metals are the creation of nature, while money is the creature of law. There are no natural laws which govern the science of money, and there is no theory in the science which is capable of mathematical demonstration. All that we know pertaining to the science is the result of experiments and experience, and it is not certain that what may to-day seem a well-defined principle in monetary science will very long remain so.

The people want silver; so do I. The people first of all want all our circulating medium, whether gold, silver, or paper, of equal value; so do I. The people are more interested in knowing that their money is all good and that it will continue so than they are to know the material out of which it is made.

I will insert as part of my remarks a table showing the amount of gold and silver coins and certificates, United States notes, and national-bank notes in circulation August 1, 1893.

The table is as follows:

Statement showing the amounts of gold and silver coins and certificates, United States notes, and national-bank notes in circulation August 1, 1893.

Gold coin	$416,909,941
Standard silver dollars	56,223,989
Subsidiary silver	64,007,129
Gold certificates	87,611,029
Silver certificates	330,188,390
Treasury notes, act July 14, 1890	143,774,138
United States notes	324,394,404
Currency certificates, act June 8, 1872	7,855,000
National-bank notes	180,134,997
	1,611,099,017

Taking the Treasury Department's estimate of population in the United States on the same date, August 1, 1893 (67,066,000), we have a per capita circulation of $24.02, which is about as much as we have ever had, and more than we had until recent years. The Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] suggests to me that we have added $69,000,000 during the month of August just passed, and that would be, as is suggested to me by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. DIXON], an increase of over a dollar per capita.

There would, therefore, seem to be no ground for believing that the present situation has been brought about by a scarcity of money in the country. It is in the country, but it is not in circulation. The trouble is serious impairment of confidence, which has caused the hoarding of money, and it will remain out of circulation until in some way confidence is reëstablished.

I may be allowed to digress sufficiently to say that I am gratified to learn that a very prominent gentleman in Chicago, Mr. Armour, is reported in the dispatches in the morning papers as saying that money is now coming, not only out of the pockets of individuals, but out of the banks in loans, and that the probabilities are that there will be an abundance of money very soon.

The amount of deposits in the national banks of the United States July 12, 1893, was $1,556,761,230. This vast sum belongs in large part to individuals and corporations; it lies in the banks idle, the banks holding it for the owners, and they do not withdraw it because they are afraid to use it. Many men who have money are not only afraid to leave it in the banks but they are equally afraid to use it in business.

The proposition to repeal the act of 1890 would not be opposed by the silver men but for the reason that they believe that such repeal, without some other legislation being at once enacted in lieu thereof, means the end of silver as money in this country. I do not believe, if we discontinue the purchase of silver bullion now, that it will be long before some more satisfactory plan for its use will be devised. So long as the act of 1890 remains on the statute books we will surely come no nearer free coinage than we are now. I suppose, as a matter of fact, if the question were now settled, there would be no one in the Senate, perhaps, who would be in favor of the retention longer on the statute book of the so-called Sherman act passed in 1890.

The American people do not desire a policy in reference to silver, either by continuing the purchase of silver bullion or by the adoption of free coinage, which will result in driving all the gold out of the country and making this a silver nation. This the majority will and ought not to submit to. I am inclined to believe that I state the fact truthfully when I say that there are not a dozen Senators on this floor who are to-day ready to vote in favor of making this a silver nation and driving gold out of the country.

The repeal of the act of 1890 does not make gold the standard money of the country. It is the unit of value now. Section 3511 of the Revised Statutes reads as follows:

> The gold coins of the United States shall be a one-dollar piece, which, at the standard weight of 25.8 grains, shall be the unit of value.

Then follows the description of other gold pieces. The statute of 1873 made gold the standard. I refer to this because many people believe that the repeal of the act of 1890 will in some way make gold the standard, and that it is not now the standard of value. We are not doing any such thing; we are not seeking to make gold the standard; we are simply seeking to repeal the Sherman act, which is an act for the purchase of silver bullion, and then coining a part of it or issuing silver certificates upon it. It has no reference whatever to the legal-tender quality of the money, and there is nothing in the act which in any way either interferes with the standard or makes gold or silver the standard money.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Will the Senator allow me there?

Mr. CULLOM. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. The Senator will admit, however, that if the Sherman act be repealed and nothing else is done, there will be no law at all on the statute book by which another silver dollar can be coined.

Mr. CULLOM. I understand that was the condition of the country up to the time of the passage of the Bland act—that then there were no silver dollars coined. But what I insist upon is that the repeal of the Sherman act has no reference whatever to the question as to whether silver or gold shall be the standard.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. The repeal of the Sherman act would leave us with one hundred and forty or one hundred and fifty million ounces of silver bullion on hand, with no provision whatever for its coinage.

Mr. CULLOM. I assume that the party in power in the Senate will take such action with reference to the bullion we have on hand as will be wise and proper in the premises.

Mr. ALDRICH. If the Senator from Illinois will allow me, the repeal of the purchasing clause of the act of 1890 would not repeal the provisions of that act which authorize the coinage of the bullion on hand or the redemption of the Treasury notes issued in accordance therewith.

Mr. CULLOM. I am obliged to the Senator from Rhode Island for the suggestion. The bill does not deal with that question at all. Therefore that subject stands as it was before any effort was made to repeal any portion of the act, and when we pass the repealing act, if we ever do, it will simply apply to the purchase of silver bullion, and stop there.

England adopted the gold standard in 1816, and has maintained it ever since. Germany suspended the free coinage of silver in 1871; the United States in 1873, when we adopted the gold standard. In the same year France limited the amount of silver to be accepted. Sweden and Norway demonetized silver in 1874. Holland suspended free coinage and established a gold standard in 1875. France stopped the mintage of silver in 1876, in which year Russia and Spain stopped the coinage of silver. Austria-Hungary adopted the gold standard in 1892, and, finally, this year India stops the coinage of silver, I believe, on private account, though I am not positive that it absolutely stops it.

Now, Mr. President, can we alone maintain bimetallism, for we are practically alone, so far as the great powers are concerned. The United States can not, in my opinion, alone maintain free coinage of silver unless we are willing to become a silver nation and drive the gold out. What we want is an international

agreement securing the use of both metals and free coinage on an agreed ratio, and if we repeal the act of 1890 and stop the purchase of silver I believe we will get it. The policy of piling up silver bullion is not wise statesmanship, and in a little time it will surely be stopped. The special friends of silver may as well realize this. The people will not continue indefinitely the business of buying and cording up silver bullion and issuing paper to represent it and make the Government responsible for its redemption. Why not, then, let it be stopped now and make another effort in favor of an international agreement?

England adopted the gold standard in 1816, doubtless because by so doing she could secure an advantage over other nations which owed her and were silver nations. She did secure an advantage. She made the silver nations in debt to her pay her in gold or its equivalent when they did not have the gold. There is now, however, a strong party in England in favor of bimetallism and the remonetization of silver. Before the disastrous failure of Baring Brothers a British commission was appointed to inquire into the depression of trade, and it reported that it was caused by the demonetization of silver by England and other nations; and on the question of restoring silver to its ancient use as money, remonetizing it, the commission divided equally—six to six. When England finds that she no longer derives an advantage by maintaining the single gold standard I trust and believe she will join other nations in favor of the restoration of silver and the maintenance of a bimetallic standard.

But we are told by gold monometallists that bimetallism is impracticable; that it is impossible to establish a permanent ratio between the two metals. I remember reading the observation of some student of the science, who, in dealing with this very dictum, compared it with the doctrine, "it is impossible for a man to draw a line absolutely straight, or to show two things that are exactly alike." He said:

> This so-called impossibility of a fixed ratio between the two metals is as unworthy to support a statesman in denying the possibility or desirability of a successful establishment of a fixed ratio as the impossibility of making anything straight, or of making two things alike, is unworthy to prevent the construction of machinery and works of engineering. Machinery and engineering works all demand for their perfection straight lines and identity between different parts. At the same time substantial straightness, substantial identity will suffice. In practice the infinitely small can be neglected by the engineer and mechanician; why not by the statesman, why not by the economist?

The United States must adopt a financial policy which will do even justice between all classes and all geographical divisions, between debtors and creditors, between employers and employés. It should be borne in mind that universal bankruptcy, which for some time has threatened the country, is as fatal to the creditor classes as to the debtor classes, and that the safety of the money interests of commerce lies in keeping money under the constant protection of wise laws.

Mr. President, I sympathize with that section of our Union which has been found to be so rich in minerals—copper, lead, silver, and gold—and which has contributed so many millions of the money metals to the world, and the people of those States may well be excused for their manifestation of intense anxiety.

The hardships overcome and the wonderful progress made by the patriotic settlers of that great region west of the Missouri, if written up, as it will be, will form one of the most thrilling stories in the whole progress of our race. In all their achievements they have been actuated by the thought that civilization has the right of way to the future on this continent. All the advantages that follow in the track of civilization now prevail over that vast area, through the persistent faith and dauntless energy of our citizens in that great section. As one humble representative of the Commonwealth of Illinois, the richest, most populous, and, commercially, the most powerful of the Central States of the Union, closely identified in its commerce with all the States west of it, as well as with those of the East, North, and South, I shall regret if any action we may take on this or any other question shall prove to be in any degree injurious to those brave and patriotic people.

But it seems to me more important to secure a settlement of the silver question upon some enduring basis, rather than leave it with the act of 1890 in force, which surely can not long stand. Secure free coinage, if possible, through an international agreement, and you will be on a basis which will endure.

Free coinage by the United States alone means monometallism; it means all silver and no gold. I am against making this a silver nation. I desire the free use of both silver and gold at a parity, which we can have if other nations will join with us, but which we can not have with safety without such concurrence of action.

Mr. PEFFER. Will the Senator allow me a moment?

Mr. CULLOM. I do not care to be interrupted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GALLINGER in the chair). The Senator from Illinois declines to be interrupted.

Mr. CULLOM. The question now is distinct from the question of free coinage—shall we repeal the act of 1890 or the silver-purchasing clause of it? Some of our Democratic friends seem more especially anxious for repeal; because, in the first place, they did not vote for the bill when it passed; and secondly, because they were profuse in the denunciations of the act in their national convention, which, in the language of the platform, "should make all of its supporters," meaning friends of the act, "anxious for its speedy repeal."

Mr. President, in my action I am not prompted by any political platform. I shall act as my judgment dictates is best. I will vote for repeal because it may help to restore confidence, even though the act did not have much part in producing the lack of it.

Mr. President, there are other causes for the present situation. The Senator from New York in his remarks the other day suggested that the question should be discussed in all its bearings. I shall ask the Senate to look at the subject from another standpoint. I do not regard it as out of place to look at the commercial questions which bear upon the general situation. A year ago the financial condition of the Government and its Treasury was satisfactory, and the credit of the nation at the highest point ever attained in our history. A year ago the gold bags of the world were ready to be poured into the United States Treasury in exchange for United States bonds at 2 per cent—certainly at 2½ per cent. Whether our credit still remains as good I am in doubt. I make no mistake when I say that the credit of the nation was higher and better a year ago than that of any other government or financial institution on the globe.

A year ago our internal and foreign commerce was larger than ever in our history. A year ago the manufacturing and mining industries were turning out a larger product than ever; a greater number of laborers were employed than ever, and the rate of wages was higher than ever. What is the spectacle which confronts us now and commands our attention? The credit of our National Government called in question for the first time since the outbreak of the war, and the commerce of the country reduced; factories closed or running on half time, mines shut up, and a million of men unemployed and willing to work for even half the wages they received a year ago.

Mr. President, my object is to seek the cause of all this untoward condition of affairs.

When Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President of the United States, in 1861, it was the end of a period of hard times. It may be said to mark the end of an epoch in American history and the beginning of a new one. The old one went out leaving the people poor, with no money and no work. The new one was inaugurated in a period of extreme financial depression among the people, with no national credit, and the country soon involved in the most expensive war ever waged on this planet.

I shall not stop now to describe the financial processes by which the National Treasury was abundantly replenished, the expenditures of a great war met, and the national credit lifted to the high plane which it occupied a year ago. It may be of interest to state that the expenses growing out of the civil war up to June 30, 1893, amounted to the enormous sum of $8,000,000,000. The bonded debt reached its highest point in August, 1865, now twenty-eight years ago. On the 30th of June last it had been reduced to about $841,000,000. I state these facts to show the financial power of this Government when properly administered.

At the beginning of this epoch in which the Republican party held substantial control a policy of taxation was inaugurated, both internal and customs, having one great object in view, the preservation of the life of the nation. The people bore taxation as the soldiers bore arms—to save the Union.

Money flowed into the National Treasury through the channels of internal taxation and customs duties. The nation entered upon a career of commercial and industrial vigor never before experienced. Protective-tariff laws had taken their place upon the statute books. Prior to the war no tariff law had been pronounced in favor of protection, and neither did a very long period elapse under a protective tariff to test its influence in favor of national prosperity or to demonstrate its influence in favor of American labor. Under the assurance that the needs of the Government would cause the policy of protection to be steadfastly maintained, there was seen an advance in every commercial and industrial pursuit, the like of which the world had never seen. I will not stop to give the statistics to prove what I state; they can be easily procured. I will say that the total value of the property devoted to manufactures and mining in 1892 amounted to nearly $9,000,000,000, the result in large measure of the financial policy of the Government prevailing for the last thirty years.

In November, 1892, an election came on and the party now in full possession of the executive and legislative branches of the Government triumphed. It came in, as speakers on the opposite side of this Chamber have repeatedly said, pledged to the

repeal of the protective-tariff laws of the country; pledged to overturn the policy under which our industries and resources had been developed; pledged to the proposition that any protective tariff is unconstitutional and is a robbery of the many for the benefit of the few; pledged to overturn the national banking system, which had furnished the best paper currency to the people the country ever had, by the repeal of the 10 per cent tax on State-bank circulation, and the establishment of State banks with a paper currency different and peculiar to every State and current nowhere except in the neighborhood of its issue and at a discount everywhere, if history repeats itself, and it surely will.

Down with the tariff; up with the reform tariff, whatever that may mean. Down with the Sherman law; up with free coinage. Down with the national banks; up with State banks. This is the bill of fare which will be put before the people if the history of the dominant party in the Senate and the utterances of its national conventions are an index of its future conduct. What wonder, Mr. President, when the country realized what had been done in securing this change of policy, by the election of a Democratic President and a Congress Democratic in both branches, distrust, hesitation, want of confidence seized the people, which has resulted in an almost complete paralysis of business and the hiding away of the circulating medium of the country, and finally in the President calling Congress together.

We will repeal the act of 1890, because it is not wise to continue in force a statute providing for the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month and issuing paper which the Government is bound to protect. I hope its repeal will be of service in removing the paralysis now upon business; but we will not soon have good times and good wages again if all the pledges made by the party now in power are redeemed in good faith. I hope I am mistaken. I am as anxious as any man to see confidence restored: to see the hundreds of thousands of idle men given a chance to earn good wages. If the people could be assured of the policy that is to prevail for the next four years they would know what they had to meet.

Mr. President, what is to be the policy of the Administration party on financial questions? I speak of the Administration party, because there are now two wings of Democracy in the Senate. Is the party simply to repeal the silver-purchasing act of 1890 and then take a rest? Are we to have the national banking system swept away, the circulation (the best we ever had) taken up, and greenback promises to pay substituted? The chairman of the Committee on Appropriations is headed in that direction. If these things are to come to pass you will find that instead of a renewal of the good times we had less than a year ago, that the gloom of stagnation, poverty, and distress will settle down upon the country for years to come.

Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation, the four pillars of our prosperity, as Jefferson once said, will continue to languish.

Our friends on the other side in this discussion have given much attention to the question of the construction of the money plank of their national platform, one side insisting that it meant unconditional repeal of the silver act of 1890, the other that it meant conditional repeal. Strong arguments have been made on both sides of the question. The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE], on Friday last, made the very potent argument, from a Democratic standpoint, that by conditional repeal that party would be united. I infer that he regards it as divided if unconditional repeal of the silver act is accomplished. This, Mr. President, would be a calamity the country could easily bear.

Mr. President, the platforms of the two parties on the money question are not very unlike in either language or meaning, and the prominent feature of each was that every dollar, whether of paper or coin, issued by the Government should be as good as any other and at all times equal.

And that is what the country wants. It wants whatever circulating medium we have, whether gold, silver, greenbacks, certificates, national-bank notes, or what not, the best. As we have all these forms of currency, the policy of the Government ought to be, and must be, if we treat the people right, that every dollar of whatever kind shall be as good as the best.

Each of the two platforms recognized the importance of securing an international conference to adopt measures to insure a parity between the two metals. The special champions of the silver-purchase act say that act must not be repealed, because to repeal it would be the end of silver as a money metal in this country. Of what value is the law now? The silver mines are closed; the smelters are reported to be shut down, while the silver-purchasing act still remains in force. Why? Because the product of the mines has become so cheap, notwithstanding the fact that the Government has been buying 4,500,000 ounces per month, that it does not pay to produce silver at its present price.

In the face of this, while the mines are closed up, as reported, and the smelters are shut down, we are appealed to by the silver men to insist that the act of 1890 shall stay upon the statute book unless we are ready to give them free coinage. I want to say that free coinage will not be given to them, if I am any judge of the public sentiment of this country, until some arrangement is made by which, when we authorize the issuance of silver dollars, they will be as good as gold dollars or any other dollars in the world.

If the Government continues the purchase of silver bullion under the law it will be mainly foreign silver instead of our own.

Mr. President, the interests of the people require a sound, stable currency. We can not afford to experiment in the adoption of doubtful policies. We want no fiat money. We want a dollar which is intrinsically worth 100 cents the world over.

I wish to say that there seems to be a growing disposition on the part of everybody apparently to find out some new financial scheme which he can thrust upon the country and disturb the business of the country, because that is the effect when such theories are thrown upon the country and have any particular following.

We want a system of finance which will not involve the Treasury Department in constant danger. We want to rid ourselves of the idea that all that is necessary to make money for the people is to print a promise to pay and put the Government stamp upon it. We want to secure to the country a sound currency and put it beyond danger of becoming debased. We will thus be serving the Government faithfully, and we will equally well serve the business men, the toilers, and all classes of our people.

Mr. President, the business men of all classes appeal to us to pass the bill for the repeal of the silver act of 1890. Multitudes of laborers are pleading for work.

If there is anything we as legislators can do, consistent with national honor and financial safety, to lift the clouds that darken the situation, remove the difficulties and start the wheels of commerce which are now rusting on the railroad tracks, in the shops, mills, factories, and mines, let us do it at once.

Mr. PEFFER. I desire to continue the discussion of the pending measure by advocating the pending amendment to the amendment of the committee. I understood that the Senator from Texas [Mr. COKE] is anxious to address the Senate upon the same subject, but I do not see him in his seat. Therefore I will proceed, and when the Senator arrives, if it is his desire, I will yield to him and conclude my remarks afterwards.

Mr. COKE entered the Chamber.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Texas is coming in now.

Mr. PEFFER. I see the Senator from Texas is now in his place.

Mr. COKE. Mr. President, the message of President Cleveland on the financial condition of the country is in effect a clear, unambiguous, and urgent recommendation of such legislation by Congress as will establish and maintain the single gold standard as the basis of our financial system, discarding silver except in a limited amount and as a subsidiary coinage. With characteristic boldness and directness, this utterance of the President sharply and forcefully presents the issue between gold monometallism and the bimetallic currency of the Constitution and the Democratic platform, championing the former in terms about which there can be neither mistake nor misconception.

This country can not afford to be held in suspense over such an issue thus presented. The highest public interest demands its determination and settlement; and that it can be settled finally and conclusively, and peace and rest, prosperity and stability restored to the business and commerce of the country only by the establishment of a bimetallic currency as it existed prior to 1873, when silver was demonetized, the temper of the country based on a maturely formed judgment abundantly shows. A decision falling short of this consummation will not be a settlement, nor will it be a postponement of the contest. The agitation, unrest, discontent, and demoralization will continue to vex and harass the country and disturb and unsettle business.

The people will never be content until the wrong of 1873, through which one-half of the money of this country was stamped out in order to double the purchasing power of the other half, has been undone and reversed. Since the demonetization of silver in this country, prosperity, which until that time blessed the agricultural people of the South and West, has departed, and their labors have met the poorest recompense they have ever known. They have in large part fed and clothed the world, and their exported products have maintained the balance of trade with foreign countries in our favor, and have brought to our Treasury the gold on which specie payments were resumed after the civil war and have been maintained.

Nearly 80 per cent of the exports of this country have been of agricultural products, while silver, the great factor which produced and sustained remunerative prices in foreign and domestic markets, making our agricultural communities the most pros-

perous in the world, has been pursued with hostile legislation until the American Congress has been brought face to face with the proposition to perform the last act which shall expunge from the statute book all recognition of it as money. The great agricultural staples, cotton and wheat, have declined as silver has gone down; and to-day silver bullion, degraded as it has been, will buy in the markets of the world as much or more of either as it did in 1873 before it was demonetized, thus showing conclusively, if proof were needed, that it is not silver which has fallen in value, but gold which under the influence of legislation has risen.

In the striking down of silver in 1873, twenty long years ago, the values of houses and lands, of cattle and horses, of flocks and herds, of all the products of the farm throughout the South and West were likewise stricken down and have remained down ever since. Who can estimate the loss which has accrued to these people in all these years from this cause, a loss almost fabulous in amount, all inflicted upon the great mass of the people for the purpose of enriching inordinately a comparatively small number. These things have been burned into the minds and memories of the people as they have passed through the fiery ordeal of adversity, and can never be forgotten or forgiven.

Hence I repeat, Mr. President, if the power of gold—of which it has been said that "Philip of Macedon refuted by it all the wisdom of Athens, confounded their statesmen, struck their orators dumb, and at length argued them out of their liberties"—shall again succeed, as it has heretofore done, in defeating the demand of the American people for a full and complete restoration of silver to free coinage and full money power, the financial question which now agitates this country will remain with us, and this Congress will have done all in its power to perpetuate it; for the people will never cease to resist the attempt to fasten upon them gold monometallism with its inevitable consequence of chronic money famine.

The constitutional right of our people to a gold and silver currency can not be gainsaid or questioned. Gold and silver are the money of the Constitution. The States are expressly prohibited to make any other a legal tender in payment of debts. To the National Government has been granted the power "to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin;" in other words, to create, from gold and silver bullion, coins of prescribed weight and fineness, and to stamp their values and designations upon them. The power to give the legal-tender quality to any money other than this thus coined or to foreign coin, the value of which has been regulated by Congress, has been expressly prohibited to the States.

The Constitution grants to the National Government the exclusive power to coin and declare the value of money, and reserves to the States, respectively, the absolute right to make gold and silver coin, and prohibits them absolutely from making any other money a legal tender. The power of the National Government to coin money and the power of the States to make gold and silver coin legal tender are correlative powers. The enjoyment by the States of the rights reserved to them in this regard, the right to make gold and silver coin a legal tender, is dependent upon the due performance by the National Government of its duty to coin these metals—not gold alone, but gold and silver.

All the recognized rules of construction require that the clauses of the Constitution be construed together, giving the National Government the full measure of power granted and the States the full measure of power reserved, and imposing upon each the corresponding duties in respect to the subject-matter. If silver can be demonetized, so can gold. If either can be demonetized, on the same principle both may be demonetized. It would be no more a violation of the Constitution to demonetize both gold and silver, and thereby deprive the States of the power to invest coins of these metals with the legal-tender quality, than it is to deprive them of silver when the Constitution reserves to them the right to both gold and silver.

Nor would the force of this argument be weakened if it be admitted that the National Government can constitutionally make other money than gold and silver coin a legal tender, for whatever power the National Government may possess in this regard can not impair the absolute recognition in the Constitution of the right of the States to make both gold and silver coin a tender; and as long as that right is recognized and the exclusive right of the National Government to coin money for their use or that of the people is admitted, so long of necessity must it be the duty of that Government to coin both gold and silver. In other words, the Constitution itself, in express terms, establishes bimetallism.

The alleged excessive production of silver is now the argument of those who would destroy that metal as money, creating, as they say, a greater supply than the demand, resulting in its depreciation. In 1873, when silver demonetization was consummated in the United States, we heard nothing of the staple argument of to-day against silver, that it is a cheap dollar, a 70-cent or a 60-cent dollar, a dishonest dollar. Nothing of the sort was said or could be said, because a silver dollar of 412½ grains, exactly the dollar we have now, commanded a premium of 3 per cent over what is now called the standard gold dollar. Silver was more valuable than gold, yet the bankers and capitalists of Europe and America engineered its demonetization with the same earnestness and zeal which now characterizes their opposition to its restoration to free coinage and full money power.

Since 1873, when silver was stripped of its legal-tender power and of all its money functions, except that of a subsidiary coinage, and relegated to the list of commodities as bullion, it has declined largely when compared with gold, say from 45 to 50 per cent. Gold monometallists, virtually abandoning their old sophistries on which they procured the demonetization of silver in 1873, have planted themselves on the depreciation of silver, ascribing it to the increased production of that metal, ignoring the fact that the coined silver dollar, possessed of full legal-tender power, is the equal in purchasing power of gold.

Having shifted their ground, their European allies have come to their aid in the very nick of time, just before the meeting of this Congress called to act on this subject, by closing the mints of India to silver coinage except on government account. Aided by the most powerful forces that ever combined in this country for the accomplishment of any purpose, the great combined money power of Europe and America hope and are striving, by the passage of the bill now pending in the Senate, to expunge from our statute book any recognition of silver as money, and thereby reduce the bullion value so low in the markets of the world that its competition with gold as a money metal will not be feared again.

The great argument now heard against silver is overproduction. An examination of well-authenticated figures showing the production of gold and silver from the year 1493 up to and inclusive of the year 1892 will puncture the argument most effectively. I invite attention to Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 17, Fifty-third Congress, first session, giving a statement of the production of gold and silver since the discovery of America, which I ask be published at this point in my remarks:

Statement of the production of gold and silver in the world since the discovery of America.

[From 1493 to 1885 is from table of averages for certain periods compiled by Dr. Adolph Soetbeer. For the years 1886–1892 the production is the annual estimate of the Bureau of the Mint.]

Period.	Gold.				Silver.				Percentage of production.			
	Annual average of period.		Total for the period.		Annual average of period.		Total for the period.		By weight.		By value.	
	Fine ounces.	Value.	Fine ounces.	Value.	Fine ounces.	Coining value.	Fine ounces.	Coining value.	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.
1493–1520	186,470	$3,855,000	5,221,160	$107,931,000	1,511,050	$1,954,000	42,309,400	$54,703,000	11.0	89.0	66.4	33.6
1521–1544	230,194	4,759,000	5,524,656	114,205,000	2,899,930	3,749,000	69,598,320	89,986,000	7.4	92.6	55.9	44.1
1545–1560	273,506	5,656,000	4,377,544	90,492,000	10,017,940	12,952,000	160,287,040	207,240,000	2.7	97.3	30.4	69.6
1561–1580	219,906	4,546,000	4,398,120	90,917,000	9,628,925	12,450,000	192,578,500	248,990,000	2.2	97.8	26.7	73.3
1581–1600	237,267	4,905,000	4,745,340	98,096,000	13,467,635	17,413,000	269,352,700	348,254,000	1.7	98.3	22.0	78.0
1601–1620	273,918	5,662,000	5,478,360	113,248,000	13,596,235	17,579,000	271,924,700	351,579,000	2.0	98.0	24.4	75.6
1621–1640	266,845	5,516,000	5,336,900	110,324,000	12,654,240	16,361,000	253,084,800	327,221,000	2.1	97.9	25.2	74.8
1641–1660	281,955	5,828,000	5,639,110	116,571,000	11,776,545	15,226,000	235,530,900	304,525,000	2.3	97.7	27.7	72.3
1661–1680	297,709	6,154,000	5,954,180	123,084,000	10,834,560	14,008,000	216,691,000	280,166,000	2.7	97.3	30.5	69.5
1681–1700	346,095	7,154,000	6,921,895	143,088,000	10,992,085	14,212,000	219,841,700	284,240,000	3.1	96.9	33.5	66.5
1701–1720	412,163	8,520,000	8,243,260	170,403,000	11,432,540	14,781,000	228,650,800	295,629,000	3.5	96.5	36.6	63.4
1721–1740	613,422	12,681,000	12,268,440	253,611,000	13,863,080	17,924,000	277,261,600	358,480,000	4.2	95.8	41.4	58.6
1741–1760	791,211	16,356,000	15,824,230	327,116,000	17,140,612	22,162,000	342,812,235	443,232,000	4.4	95.6	42.5	57.5
1761–1780	665,666	13,761,000	13,313,315	275,211,000	20,985,591	27,133,000	419,711,820	542,658,000	3.1	96.9	33.7	66.3
1781–1800	571,948	11,823,000	11,438,970	236,464,000	28,261,779	36,540,000	565,235,580	730,810,000	2.0	98.0	24.4	75.6
1801–1810	571,563	11,815,000	5,715,627	118,152,000	28,746,922	37,168,000	287,469,225	371,677,000	1.9	98.1	24.1	75.9

Statement of the production of gold and silver in the world since the discovery of America—Continued.

Period.	Gold.				Silver.				Percentage of production.			
	Annual average of period.		Total for the period.		Annual average of period.		Total for the period.		By weight.		By value.	
	Fine ounces.	Value.	Fine ounces.	Value.	Fine ounces.	Coining value.	Fine ounces.	Coining value.	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.
1811-1820	367,957	$7,606,000	3,679,568	$76,063,000	17,385,755	$22,479,000	173,857,555	$224,786,000	2.1	97.9	25.3	74.7
1821-1830	457,044	9,448,000	4,570,444	94,479,000	14,807,004	19,144,000	148,070,040	191,444,000	3.0	97.0	33.0	67.0
1831-1840	652,291	13,484,000	6,522,913	134,841,000	19,175,867	24,793,000	191,758,675	247,930,000	3.3	96.7	35.2	64.8
1841-1850	1,760,502	36,392,000	17,605,018	363,928,000	25,090,342	32,440,000	250,903,422	324,400,000	6.6	93.4	52.9	47.1
1851-1855	6,410,324	132,573,000	32,051,621	662,566,000	28,488,597	36,824,000	142,442,986	184,169,000	18.4	81.6	78.3	21.7
1856-1860	6,485,262	134,083,000	32,431,312	670,415,000	29,095,428	37,618,000	145,477,142	188,092,000	18.2	81.8	78.1	21.9
1861-1865	5,949,582	122,989,000	29,747,913	614,944,000	35,401,972	45,772,000	177,009,862	228,861,000	14.4	85.6	72.9	27.1
1866-1870	6,270,086	129,614,000	31,350,430	648,071,000	43,051,583	55,663,000	215,257,914	278,313,000	12.7	87.3	70.0	30.0
1871-1875	5,501,014	115,577,000	27,955,068	577,083,000	63,317,014	81,864,000	316,585,069	409,322,000	8.1	91.9	58.6	41.4
1876-1880	5,543,110	114,186,000	27,715,550	572,931,000	78,775,602	101,851,000	393,878,000	509,256,000	6.6	93.4	53.0	47.0
1881-1885	4,794,755	99,116,000	23,973,773	495,582,000	92,003,944	118,955,000	460,019,722	594,773,000	5.0	95.0	45.5	54.5
1885	5,127,750	106,000,000	5,127,750	106,000,000	93,276,000	120,600,000	93,276,000	120,600,000	5.2	94.8	46.8	53.2
1887	5,093,984	105,302,000	5,093,984	105,302,000	96,189,000	124,366,000	96,189,000	124,366,000	5.0	95.0	45.9	54.1
1888	5,316,412	109,900,000	5,316,412	109,900,000	109,911,600	142,107,000	109,911,600	142,107,000	4.6	95.4	43.6	56.4
1889	5,746,950	118,800,000	5,746,950	118,800,000	125,830,000	162,690,000	125,830,000	162,690,000	4.4	95.6	42.2	57.8
1890	5,473,631	115,450,000	5,473,631	113,150,000	133,213,000	172,235,000	133,213,000	172,235,000	4.0	96.0	39.7	60.3
1891	5,830,107	120,519,000	5,830,107	120,519,000	144,426,000	186,733,000	144,426,000	186,733,000	3.9	96.1	39.2	60.8
1892	6,328,272	130,817,000	6,328,272	130,817,000	152,062,000	196,605,000	152,062,000	196,605,000	4.0	96.0	40.0	60.0
Total			397,191,823	8,204,303,000			7,522,507,716	9,726,072,000	5.0	95.0	45.8	54.2

It will be seen from this table that from 1801 to 1820 the average yearly yield of gold was $9,710,500; silver, $29,823,500. From 1821 to 1840 the average yearly yield of gold was $11,466,000; silver, $21,968,500. From 1841 to 1860 the average annual yield of gold was $101,019,000; silver, $35,660,000. From 1861 to 1880 the average annual yield of gold was $120,691,500; silver, $71,287,500. From 1881 to 1892 the average annual yield of gold was $113,200,500; silver, $153,036,000. It will be seen from this table that the average yearly production of the two metals for four hundred years run closely together, the estimated production in the world for that period standing thus: Gold, $8,204,303,000; silver, $9,726,072,000.

The experience of the world for so great a period should exempt us from any fear of an undue production of either metal. During all the mutations of time and circumstance and of varying production of the two metals for four hundred years, gold and silver were held in parity without disturbance throughout the world by the legal-tender money function which both possessed, until silver was demonetized in 1873, and at that time silver outvalued gold. The people who have no access to the truth as exhibited in correct statistical figures are led to believe we are about being inundated with silver when nothing can be further from the truth. Relatively to gold, the production of silver was much greater from 1801 to 1840 than it is now.

From the beginning of the present century up to 1820 three times as much silver as gold was produced, and from 1821 to 1840 the production of silver was double that of gold. In the next period of twenty years, however, the conditions were reversed and the output of gold was three times as great as of silver. From 1861 to 1880 the production of gold exceeded that of silver by two-thirds; while in the last twelve years, 1881-1892, the total yield of silver is only about one-fourth greater than that of gold. The production of silver in later years has increased as compared with gold production, but the ratio of increase is insignificant compared with the ratio of earlier years, from which no disturbance of its relationship with gold as a money metal resulted. The world's coinage of silver now exceeds that of gold only about 16 per cent, when, as I have shown, the production of silver has repeatedly been in excess to 50, 100, 200, and as high as 500 per cent, to be succeeded in turn by like increase in the production of gold.

But it is said that this country under free coinage would become the "dumping ground" of the world for all cast-off silver. A brief statement of facts which are not controverted will refute this theory. It is agreed by all the writers on this subject, and notably by the late Secretary Windom, in his report to the Fifty-first Congress, that there is no known accumulation of silver bullion in the world, and that all the silver coin in Europe is doing duty as money in circulation. Our ratio of 16 of silver to 1 of gold is the highest silver ratio of any country in the world except Mexico, whose ratio is 16½ to 1, and Japan, with a ratio of 16.18 to 1.

In the gold-using countries, whether monometallic, like England, Germany, and Russia, or bimetallic, like France, Italy, Spain, and others, their silver circulates side by side at par and is exchangeable with gold. Any man desiring in any of these countries to exchange his silver for gold can make the exchange in the ordinary course of business at home, without expense or discount. No reason can be perceived why he should prefer to bring it to the United States, where the standard ratio of silver to gold is greater in our silver coin, and where, consequently, his silver must be sold at a discount.

All such silver coins, of course, would have to be melted and recoined, so that all loss by handling and abrasion would be deducted here. The loss from this source and from the discount by reason of the smaller silver ratio, the expense of shipment, insurance, etc., has been estimated by experts to be from 6 to 8 per cent, when without this loss this silver is being exchanged every day at home at par with gold, of course it will not be brought here. European silver would not be "dumped" into this country for the all-sufficient reason that it is needed there to do the very thing it is doing—that is, to circulate as money.

All the gold-standard countries use silver. Gold-standard England circulates $100,000,000 of it, of limited-tender power. Germany uses $103,000,000 full legal-tender silver, and $108,000,000 of limited-tender silver. Austria-Hungary, like England and Germany, a gold standard country, uses $90,000,000 full legal-tender silver, while the bimetallic countries like France, Belgium, and others, circulate great quantities of silver. Gold can never be used for the every-day purposes to which silver coins are applied throughout the world. Its subdivisions would be too minute for pocket use.

So, Mr. President, the fear of an inundation of foreign coin, if our mints should be thrown open, is groundless and illusory. This is one of the chimeras conjured up to frighten people into the belief that we should abandon silver and rely solely upon gold as a money metal, in opposition to the experience of the world that during all the ages it has been the great factor in the preservation of the equities between debtor and creditor, in holding down gold to a fair and just standard of valuation, in securing to labor fair and reasonable wages, and to the products of labor and all commodities just estimates of value.

In other words, silver and gold being mutual checks upon each other when both possess the full money function, preventing an undue fluctuation of either metal, they make conjointly a standard of value steady, conservative, and reliable in their relations to commodities, wages, and property exchanges. The very best evidence of the truth of this proposition is to be found in the universal fall of prices since 1873 when silver was demonetized, and gold unchecked began to rise in value and continues to rise, commodities falling in the same proportion, until $1 possesses now the purchasing power over cotton and wheat which required $2 to command in 1873, and all other commodities being affected, not to the same extent possibly, but heavily in the same direction.

Not only is this true in the United States, but it is equally true throughout Europe, in consequence of the destruction of silver as money, as is shown by the following extract from the Economic Crisis, an able work by Mr. Morton Frewen, of London, on encomic questions. He says:

It may, indeed, be affirmed without fear of contradiction, the legislation arranged in the interest of a certain class, first by Lord Liverpool in this country, and again by Sir Robert Peel at the instigation of Mr. Jones Loyd and other wealthy bankers, which was supplemented recently by simultaneous antisilver legislation in Berlin and Washington at the instance of the great financial houses. This legislation has about doubled the burden of all national debts by an artificial enhancement of the value of money.

The fall of all prices induced by this cause has been on such a scale that while in twenty years the national debt of the United States quoted in dollars has been reduced by nearly two-thirds, yet the value of the remaining one-

third, measured in wheat, in bar iron, or bales of cotton, is considerably greater, is a greater demand on the labor and industry of the nation than was the whole debt at the time it was contracted.

The aggravation of the burdens of taxation induced by this so-called "appreciation of gold," which is no natural appreciation, but has been brought about by class legislation to increase the value of gold which is in few hands, requires but to be explained to an enfranchised democracy, which will know how to protect itself against further attempts to contract the currency and force down prices to the confusion of every existing contract.

Of all classes of middlemen, bankers have been by far the most successful in intercepting and appropriating an undue share of produced wealth. While the modern system of banking and credit may be said to be even yet in its infancy, that portion of the assets of the community which is to-day in the strong boxes of the bankers, would, if declared, be an astounding revelation of the recent profits of this particular business; and not only has the business itself become a most profitable monopoly, but its interests in a very few hands are diametrically opposed to the interests of the majority. By legislation intended to contract the currency and force down all prices, including wages, the price paid for labor, the money owner has been able to increase the purchase power of his sovereign or dollar by the direct diminution of the price of every kind of property measured in money.

This writer graphically describes the origin of the policy sought to be engrafted on the institutions of this country by the gold monometallists, its methods, and results. It is not difficult to understand why England, Germany, and Russia (said now to be going to the gold standard), and the lesser powers should be wedded to the gold standard; all of them monarchies, buttressed by hereditary and moneyed aristocracies, nonproducers, all of them, living in luxury and splendor through pensions and annuities, offices and other forms of fixed incomes, on the products of the labor of the common people.

The gold standard doubles the value and purchasing power of their incomes, while it reduces by half the prices of the products of labor. The ruling classes, clothed in purple and fine linen, exhaust every form of luxurious living, while the great mass of the common people are bowed down with the merciless exactions of unrequited labor, to which they submit with the best grace they may, under the persuasive influence of fixed bayonets and double-shotted Gatling guns. This is a fair statement of the results of the European monometallic financial policy now sought to be forced on the American people.

Every political party in this country, without exception, has repeatedly, over and over again, declared for and pledged to the American people the bimetallic policy, the free coinage of both gold and silver, with full money power to each, without discriminating against either. Our response to these pledges solemnly made is in a bill now pending before the Senate for the unconditional repeal of the only law on our statute books authorizing the coinage of another silver dollar, placing the country avowedly on the single gold standard.

If this bill shall pass as introduced, and the vast power of the Administration is behind it urging its passage, the free men of America will have bowed their necks to the yoke of European domination in their foreign and domestic financial affairs. Rothschild's and the Bank of England, with their retainers, dictate the financial policies of Europe; and if the single gold standard is established in America, then Rothschild's and the Bank of England, with their New York associates, will become the arbiters of American finance and the dictators of our financial policies, because they control the gold we will be compelled to have.

The Director of the Mint in his latest report, of date February 16, 1893, referring to the world's product of gold for the years 1890, 1891, and 1892, says that according to the revised totals the amount was as follows: 1890, $113,149,600; 1891, $120,518,800; 1892, $130,816,600.

The gold product of the United States for the year 1892 is estimated by the Director of the Mint to be $33,000,000. For the year 1891 he estimates that $16,616,408 was used in the industrial arts, and for 1892, $16,644,953 was used in the arts in the United States—about half of the product, leaving the other half for coining. The Director of the Mint a few years ago estimated that $46,000,000 of the world's annual gold product was consumed in the arts in the manufacture of jewelry, gold plate, in dentistry, etc.

The gold product of the world has been for many years dwindling, being about $100,000,000, until in the last two years there has been a slight increase. Deducting the Director's estimate of the world's consumption of gold in the arts from the gold product of 1892, the largest in many years, and we have left for coinage $84,816,600 to recruit the losses of the original stock by abrasion, handling, and accident, and meet the necessities of the world arising from the growth of population, business, and commerce.

Over this the nations of the earth must struggle and scramble for accessions to their present stock. It is the European policy that this shall be so, because Europe already holds possession of it and can fix the price upon it. There all development is completed and finished, population is stationary or declining, and production, if not receding, is at least not advancing. Stagnation is the order of the day. Our country is young, full of vigor, growing rapidly in population, both from natural causes and from immigration. New States, new communities are being founded, great tracts of new country being populated and opened to production, new enterprises and new industries are being incepted and pushed, and general progressive development the leading characteristic of the people, the country, and the times.

A people and country like this will starve, will languish under suppressed development when held down to a volume of money circulation allowed by the aristocratic rulers of Europe to their overcrowded, underpaid, and overworked people. Yet this is what is proposed for our people in the pending bill. It will be said in reply to this that we have silver certificates, Treasury notes, national-bank notes, greenback notes, and other forms of money in addition to gold. There is one conclusive answer to all such assertions, and it is that all our paper money of every sort, kind, and description is held to be ultimately redeemable in gold, and, therefore, the volume of our money must be estimated on the breadth of the metallic redemption fund on which it rests.

Before silver was demonetized the volume of money rested on the broad basis of both gold and silver, which was not more than ample for its redemption, but was deemed sufficiently safe for a reasonably abundant circulation; but since silver demonetization, the metallic basis for paper money having been reduced one-half, the volume of paper, in order to be safe, had to be reduced and adjusted to the smaller metallic basis on which it rested for redemption. It is this reduction which has forced down the prices of commodities and all the products of labor, which have fallen because the volume of money in which all values are measured has been contracted one-half.

Our experience since 1873 in the fall of prices consequent upon the destruction of silver money establishes this proposition. The insufficiency of the gold basis sought to be forced upon our people by their European and American financial masters is thus made plainly apparent. That our volume of paper and credit money is a large overissue and is outstanding greatly in excess of a safe proportion to the gold redemption fund is made manifest by existing financial disturbances. The temptation to overissue has always been regarded as one of the principal dangers of the single standard. England has, since her adoption of the gold standard, been called "the land of panics."

With a bimetallic currency firmly established, both metals, under the friendly and fostering care of the Government and banks alike, instead of having silver boycotted and discriminated against as it has been by the banks and the Government, in defiance of the people's demand that it should be otherwise, with our paper and credit bottomed on the two metals instead of being confined to one, we would now be enjoying peace and prosperity instead of being threatened with universal bankruptcy by the greatest financial disturbance that has ever occurred during this generation.

The gold basis on which our credit paper has been resting has proved too narrow; and it has been an easy matter for the conspirators who have produced the existing crisis to topple over the paper superstructure, producing chaos and confusion. We vividly remember the widespread destruction resulting from silver demonetization and the resulting contraction of money circulation in 1873. We now have the same experience in the contemplation of the sweeping away of the partial remonetization of silver by the act of 1878, known as the Bland act, which the repeal of the Sherman act will complete.

As before remarked, notwithstanding a slight increase in the production of gold for the last two or three years, the production of that metal has been declining throughout the world for many years. The product of the mines of the United States, which has been between one-third and one-fourth of the world's entire production, has been derived almost entirely from the silver mines as an incident of silver-mining; and the closing down largely of these mines by reason of the great depreciation of silver, will greatly diminish the supply of gold in the United States, still further reducing the already confessedly inadequate supply of that metal.

Gold and silver are precious metals the world over, and have been so through all the ages and will continue to be, silver as fully as gold. These metals have in all ages been yielded by mother earth in quantities and proportions adapted to the wants and necessities of mankind. Notwithstanding the estimate of the aggregate of both metals in the world shows nearly equal proportions of gold and silver, it is a fact of their history that their relation to each other has constantly been changing by reason of the changing proportion of their production.

At one time gold has been produced largely in excess, and at another silver; but it has been the unvarying history of these metals that an excess of either has always been corrected by a corresponding increase in the production of the other in its turn, and that the supply of both has kept pace with the growth of busi-

ness and commerce of the world. The flood of gold which was poured from the mines of California, Australia, and Russia between 1850 and 1856, estimated at $900,000,000, which caused a decline of more than 5 per cent in that metal and moved alarmists to advocate its demonetization, as they do now of silver, as we all know has been corrected by the more recent discoveries of silver; and so it has been for all time.

A law of nature seems to have joined these metals together and to have denied perfect efficacy to their functions as money except as coöperative forces. Under the double standard, they support each other. If gold is scarce and high, silver becomes more abundant; if silver disappears, gold flows into its place. The people who have both to rely on can depend with absolute certainty on the presence at all times of one of them—a corner on both is impossible. It is through this coöperative action of the two metals under the double standard that a sufficient circulation is assured for the demands of trade and commerce, for living wages to labor, for fair valuations in the transfers of property, and a safeguard is furnished, as far as human wisdom can devise one, against crises and panics and the loss and ruin they entail.

The centralization of capital in the hands of a few men is impossible with the double standard of gold and silver, while with gold alone a few bankers and capitalists become the lords and masters of the people, as history shows is the condition throughout Europe, where the single gold standard prevails. Gold being concentrated in value, less in weight and bulk, and almost exactly one-half of the money of the world, is so much more easily handled, possessed, and cornered than silver that the great money barons of Europe and their coadjutors in America, designing to rule this country as Europe is ruled by the power of money, and to reduce our people to the same condition in which the common people of Europe, under the power of a great monied aristocracy, now exist, are moving heaven and earth to destroy silver, the only obstacle which stands in the way.

If the Sherman act shall be repealed without being substituted by some other which shall provide for the free coinage of silver, what will become of the silver already coined and the bullion now in the Treasury? There are of coined standard silver dollars $419,335,450, and enough of bullion in the Treasury when coined to swell this amount to about $600,000,000. What under these circumstances would be the status of this silver? That with the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act silver will fall heavily, nobody doubts. The depth to which it will tumble must be a mere matter of conjecture.

Producing, as this country does, 47 per cent of the silver produced in the world, its public sentiment the strongest of that of any one of the great powers of the earth in favor of its equal use with gold as a money metal, its abandonment by us will be its death knell so far as respects its use as money, except in such subordinate ways and such limited quantities as obtain in all gold-standard countries.

Our experience since 1878, when the Bland act was passed, as silver has been hammered down and boycotted by the national banks, by the officers of the executive department of our Government without regard to party, who in every conceivable way, in the execution of the laws, have discriminated against and prejudiced our silver money, would be worth very little if it did not teach us that the same arguments and agencies which assailed the silver dollar all along the line as it was made to decline, first as a 90-cent dollar, then as an 80-cent dollar, a 70-cent, and a 60-cent dollar, down as low as silver has fallen, would be used with tenfold greater effect against the coined silver dollar when its intrinsic bullion value has been reduced to 30, 40, or 50 cents. To stop the coinage of silver in the United States is the object of the present contest, and to remove from our statute book any recognition of it as money. The success of monometallism on this point will be insured by the passage of the bill for the unconditional repeal of the so-called Sherman act.

Our coined silver, reduced to a mere bagatelle in intrinsic value, compared with its legal value as a dollar, will be scoffed at as a dishonest, base, depreciated coin, worthless in itself unless made redeemable in gold. Those who have been able to bring down silver from a premium over gold, to its present depreciated condition as a commodity, and against the protest of two-thirds of the American people shall pass the pending bill abolishing its coinage, will find no difficulty in getting rid of the silver they have succeeded in making intrinsically worthless.

It is true that the legal-tender quality and the debt-paying power may preserve the silver dollar at par; but this will not prevent its persecution by the monometallists, who are bent upon its destruction, in order to supply its place with bank paper. The issuance of bonds to raise gold to redeem these discredited silver dollars will then be in order; and these bonds, of course, will be a basis for the perpetuation of the national banks, whose present lease of life is nearly exhausted. The purpose of the money power of this country has been for years past, and is now, to make gold and national bank notes the currency of the country.

On the 6th day of December, 1886, in his report to Congress, Daniel Manning, then Secretary of the Treasury of Mr. Cleveland's first Administration, used this language:

> The act making compulsory post-redemption issues and reissues of United States notes, and the act making compulsory Treasury purchases of silver, are each a separate menace to the public tranquility, are each injurious to the public morals, the public faith, and the public interest.

Secretary Manning simply reiterated the recommendations of his Republican predecessors. The scheme to fund the United States notes or greenbacks went hand in hand with that of demonetizing silver.

These notes, so embedded in the confidence and favor of the people, are too suggestive of the supreme excellence of a uniform national currency, issued directly by the Government, backed by its power and credit, redeemable at the will of the holder in coin, as are the United States notes, not to have incurred the deadly hostility of the national banking interest. A currency issued by themselves, put out and called in, expanded or contracted at their pleasure, is the object of their desire. Control of all the fiscal affairs of this Government and country they have constantly aspired to and hoped to achieve.

While not mooting the subject to any great extent in the last few years, the recent financial discussion through the press has developed the fact that this design is as vigorous and unyielding as ever. Having accomplished the demonetization of silver, if this bill passes, with renewed strength and prestige and assurance, they will address themselves to the accomplishment of their cherised purpose. We have, Mr. President, to deal with the exigencies of the present, but our action should be so framed as to provide well against the dangers of the future.

Our people demand bimetallism almost with one voice. All the organized political parties in the United States, without a single exception, demand bimetallism. Yet we are urged to pass the pending bill, which places the country avowedly on the single gold standard. We are promised bimetallism in the distant future on the impossible condition of an international agreement—a condition demonstrated by actual experience to be impossible. England must be a party to any international agreement, and England has repeatedly, over and over again, refused to be a party to such an agreement.

English capital, English diplomacy, English intrigue, coöperating with allied conspirators in the United States, have produced this panic, this financial convulsion, which now paralyzes the business of this country, for the purpose of coercing the people of the United States into the adoption of the monometallic policy, which the pending bill, if passed, will inaugurate. The $2,000,000,000 due from corporations in the United States to Europe, nearly all of it in England, and the annual interest accruing thereon, will be paid in gold if England can compel it so paid; and, in order to do this, England must defeat bimetallism in this country.

Mr. Gladstone, in a speech delivered in the British Parliament in February last, and reported March 1 in the London Times, scouts the idea that England, a great creditor nation, owing nothing to other nations, would ever consent to an agreement for bimetallism and thereby reduce the value of the great debts due from this and other countries to England, by allowing them paid in a cheaper money than gold. Mr. Gladstone knows if this country is forced to the gold basis, gold will rise in value, that the burden of all debts will be increased, and the profits of all creditors will be increased in the same proportion.

England, because she is a great creditor nation, and also Germany, who allies herself with England, has always been an immovable obstruction in the way of an international agreement for bimetallism, and always will be, because gold flowing into her coffers from all the nations of the world is more valuable, will buy more of the products of labor the scarcer and higher it is. If additional evidence of England's determination that bimetallism shall not be established in the United States, if she can prevent it, were needed, the recent action of the British Government in stopping silver coinage in India except on government account, the severest blow yet stricken the silver interest, on the eve of the meeting of this special session of Congress called to consider this subject, ought certainly to be conclusive.

We have no hope of an international agreement. There is no idea entertained anywhere that one is possible. We must depend on ourselves if we expect ever to have bimetallism. Our people have demanded the restoration of gold and silver coinage as they existed prior to 1873—both free and on an exact equality at the mints and before the law. In the language of

the distinguished Senator from New York [Mr. HILL], in his learned and able speech delivered a few days ago in this body:

Bimetallism does not mean the stoppage of further silver coinage while maintaining our present silver currency intact, but it means the free coinage of silver and gold by the Government either under an international agreement or independently.

The stoppage of further silver coinage, but the maintenance of existing silver currency, accompanied by the free coinage of gold, is not bimetallism, but it is what the famous French financier, Mr. Cernuschi, called "humped-back monometallism," such as exists in France and Germany to-day.

This definition of the distinguished Senator is an accurate and felicitous one, and is in strict accord with the popular signification of the word "bimetallism."

The Democratic party, in the Chicago platform, on which the present Administration came into power, pledged itself to the people on this subject in the following emphatic language:

SILVER PLANK.

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets, and in payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

In response to the solemn pledge given in this platform, it is proposed by the pending bill to repeal unconditionally the only law authorizing the coinage of a dollar of silver to be found on our statute book, and in doing so, to erect the single gold standard, discarding and rejecting silver. Pledged to bimetallism, we propose to establish monometallism. Pledged to the equal use of gold and silver, and paper redeemable at par in the coins of both metals, we deliberately falsify the pledge by abolishing the coinage of silver and providing for that of gold alone. We are driven by no necessity to thus violate the solemn promises of the Democratic party to the people. If they are thus violated and broken, the act is a purely voluntary one, and utterly without justification or palliation.

There are well-established precedents in the history of this Government under which our platform pledges can be surely and safely redeemed. The free coinage of silver as it existed prior to 1873, at the present ratio, it is believed by the great majority of the best thinkers in this country, would in a very short time, by bringing down the value of gold and raising that of silver, bring these metals together in substantial parity. Safeguards of legislation, it is confidently believed, could be brought to the aid of such an act in a way to insure the desired result.

A decrease in the number of grains of gold in the gold coin, or an increase in the number of grains of silver in the silver coin, or a decrease in the weight of the gold and an increase in the weight of the silver coin, would bring them to parity. The gold eagle (ten-dollar piece) as established in 1792, containing 270 grains of standard gold, was in 1834 reduced to 258 grains of standard gold. The silver dollar established as the unit of value in 1792, containing 416 grains of standard silver, was in 1837 changed to a dollar, the same we now have, of 412½ grains of standard silver.

It is no new thing to change the ratio of the metals to each other. Why can we not change it now, and for convenience reduce the number of grains in the gold coin, leaving the silver dollar, as at present, with 412½ grains of standard silver? Gold is overvalued about 40 per cent as compared with silver and other commodities, and a subtraction of a part of this overvaluation, by reducing its weight, would restore the proper equities between debtors and creditors, and raise the prices of all commodities from their depression to a fair and conservative level, while producing parity between the metals, as the party is pledged to do.

When Congress possesses the power, and the Democratic party holds the majority to do, and do surely and well, that which the American people have been promised shall be done, shall the wishes and demands of the people not be considered and some effort made to comply with the promise? It seems not. I warn Democrats that the people will be heard from later. We are told by the advocates of this bill, or at least by the leading ones among them, that we must pass this bill and adjourn and go home; that nothing more is needed to be done, except to pass a bill already favorably reported providing for the issuance by the national banks of $20,000,000 bank notes, which many believe will be locked up in their vaults as soon as issued, where all the other money in the country is hoarded instead of being put in circulation.

No need, say they, to press tariff reform and a repeal of the McKinley bill. True it is that manufacturers, producers of raw material, importers and consumers alike, are vitally interested in knowing what changes are to be made in the tariff, in order to intelligently and properly conduct their business, which is languishing almost to the point of paralysis for want of this information. We are told that it is too hot now, we must wait until the regular session in December next before taking hold of the subject. All that these gentlemen desire, if the pending bill passes, will have been secured in the destruction of silver and the inauguration of gold as the crowned despot of our monetary system. That accomplished, their labors are finished.

It is all they want, except that Congress shall adjourn. The $50,000,000 of legal-tender Treasury notes required under the Sherman act each year to be paid out for silver bullion, which goes out into circulation, and is the only source of increase in the volume of money to meet increased demands from increased population and business, will be cut off by the passage of this bill; and to this extent currency will be contracted, in addition to the universal shrinkage inevitably to occur from the adoption of the gold standard. The Secretary of the Treasury is reported by the daily papers of this city, in interviews, as saying that the country needs no addition to its circulation, that we have money enough, and that all we need is confidence. The President, in his message, makes but one recommendation, and that is to repeal the Sherman act.

The bankers, capitalists, and goldmongers, whose wealth is to be largely increased if not doubled by the repeal of the Sherman act, are using all their power over merchants and the interior bankers, resorting to every form of coercion. Printed petitions, with printed letters of instructions, have been showered over the country from New York and other Eastern cities, to be filled out with signatures and forwarded to Washington for effect upon members of Congress. The pressure through the national banks, machine petitions, the metropolitan press, and the vast power of the executive department of the Government for the passage of this bill is the most tremendous ever before known.

The House, unable to withstand it, has succumbed, and the United States Senate stands to-day the only barrier between the people and spoliation. Thrown into dire distress and rendered utterly helpless by a panic conceived, excited, produced, and, manipulated by the New York national banks and their co-conspirators in other Eastern cities and in England for the purpose of coercing their consent to the passage of this bill, the people of the United States have a right to expect Congress to protect them against the gigantic combination which is assailing them. Do Senators doubt the existence of this combination? I call to the stand Hon. John G. Carlisle, Secretary of the Treasury, who in 1878, on the floor of the House, of which he was then a member, in a speech of remarkable power, used the following language. It has been heard before, but will bear repetition:

I know that the world's stock of precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it ever will be so. Mankind will be fortunate indeed if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry. According to my views of the subject, the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy by legislation and otherwise from three-sevenths to one-half the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age. The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilences, and famines that ever occurred in the history of the world.

The absolute and instantaneous destruction of half the entire movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads, and other appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of one-half the metallic money of the world.

Mr. President, this testimony of Mr. Carlisle needs no comment. He denounces the conspiracy, formed "here and in Europe," to destroy by legislation or otherwise from three-sevenths to one-half of the metallic money of the world as the greatest crime of this or any other age. The same men, or their successors, animated by the purpose which moved the conspirators in 1873 to demonetize silver, are the conspirators of to-day, seeking the repeal of the Sherman bill, and, through that, the destruction of silver as a money metal. They are doubtless amused to hear gentlemen who vote for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman bill, and thereby vote against the coinage of another dollar of silver, claim to be bimetallists. They know that the power which destroyed silver in 1873, and is able to sweep it from the statute book in 1893, can and will never be overcome for the establishment of bimetallism by anything short of a financial and political revolution.

Those who cast such votes, honest and conscientious as I admit them to be, will have the consolation (if it be a consolation) of knowing that they have done all in their power to strike down silver as a money metal, to banish bimetallism from our system, and to establish gold as our sole primary metallic money; for

our silver coin is, by the bill passed by the House and now before us, in legal effect, made redeemable in gold.

I make no apology, Mr. President, for reading here an extract from the very able speech of Hon. WILLIAM H. HATCH, of Missouri, recently made in the House of Representatives, giving valuable information on the subject of the present panic, its origin, etc:

And if you desire to know the present, direct, and most potential cause of the present panic and money famine, it can be traced directly to the action and declared purposes of the bankers of New York City and other large money centers of the Government. And shrewd, astute, and able as they arrogantly claim to be, their babbling and bullying declarations furnish the most damaging testimony against them.

I will read some extracts from a great New York paper, one which is at the very head of New York journalism—my friend from New York [Mr. CUMMINGS] will not controvert that statement—a paper that claims to have the courage of its own convictions, a paper independent in all things, consistent in but few [laughter], though claiming to be in the main Democratic. I read from the New York Sun of Friday, April 28. After reciting some of the incidents of the enjoyable conference between Secretary Carlisle and the bankers, it says:

"As the Secretary outlined the policy of the Government, it was that nothing would be done that in any way would retard or check the determination of the Cleveland Administration concerning the repeal of the Sherman law. The Secretary went over the currency laws of the country, and said that they were in bad shape, and needed revision. He said the revision should start with the Sherman law. There is a determination, also, to show to the miners of silver the evil effects of the Sherman law on their fortunes.

"President Cleveland's advisers have told him that the only way to induce the Western and Southwestern Senators and Congressmen to consent to the repeal of the Sherman law, is to demonstrate to their constituents that they are losing money every day that this law is in operation. The missionary work in that direction has been started by a number of the banks in the solid communities of the East. They are daily refusing credits to the South, Southwest, and West, fearing the effects of the Sherman law.

"The Chicago bankers, it was said, are carrying out the same line of policy. Secretary Carlisle, in his talk with the bank presidents, made his stand very clear. It is to be heroic treatment all the way through on the Sherman law, and possibly by the next session of Congress the silver mine owners and the adherents of silver in the Senate and House will be ready to consent to a repeal of the law.

"The bank presidents, replying to Secretary Carlisle, cordially informed him that they would be ready at all times to coöperate with him in the successful administration of the financial policy of the Government. Everybody shook hands, and there was harmony all round." [Laughter.]

The New York Sun of Saturday, April 29, in its financial column, says:

"The conference yesterday between Secretary Carlisle and a number of the bankers of this city was of great value in that it resulted in a definite understanding of the financial policy of the Administration, as indicated in this column last Tuesday. That policy is to interpose no obstacle to the natural operations and logical results of the Sherman law. In a word, the Administration proposes to allow the people to reap the rewards of their own folly."

Was my friend from New York [Mr. CUMMINGS] in the city of Washington on the first day of May last?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I was.

Mr. HATCH. I thank the gentleman for giving me that information, because it furnishes a key to the whole situation. The New York Sun, in its Washington letter, published May 1, 1893, says——

Mr. CUMMINGS. Will the gentleman permit an interruption?

Mr. HATCH. Yes, sir.

Mr. CUMMINGS. The gentleman's statement is correct, but his assumption is erroneous. [Laughter.]

Mr. HATCH. That remark is simply evoked by the gentleman's modesty. [Laughter.] I will read this statement:

"The statement of Mr. Carlisle to the New York bankers makes it clear that, while Mr. Cleveland works in Congress, the bankers will be expected to work, not in New York only, but throughout the country, doing their utmost to pinch business everywhere in the expectation of causing a money crisis that will affect Congress powerfully from every quarter. There is an explicitness in these declarations and a boldness in making them that would be astounding were not the country too familiar with Mr. Cleveland and his methods to be astonished by anything from him."

The circulation and importance of this paper warrant the assertion that Mr. Carlisle read these statements. I have watched in vain for any denial or even modification of them. On the contrary, proofs as strong as Holy Writ are accumulating to justify and prove their correctness.

Now, my friends, there is the beginning of this money crisis.

The publication quoted by Mr. HATCH has been quoted from New York to San Francisco and has never been controverted or denied. The proofs piled up in this debate, both in the Senate and House, in support of the truth of the proposition, that this panic was deliberately brought about for the purpose of placing the people in duress, in order to compel their assent to the repeal of the Sherman bill and their acceptance of all its consequences in the revolutionary and radical changes in our monetary system, is so conclusive as to leave no room for doubt.

I take the liberty of using here again a quotation from the Philadelphia Press, one of the great newspapers of the country, which has been adverted to here and in the other House, as follows:

The New York banks for several days have been endeavoring to bring a home influence on United States Senators to induce them to vote for the repeal of the July silver law.

To this end correspondents of the New York banks in the West and South have been told that they need not expect to get money from New York until the purchasing clause was repealed, and the Southern and Western bankers have been strongly urged to write to their Senators and to insist that they work and vote for immediate repeal. This movement has given rise to the recent feeling in New York that the silver majority in the Senate could be overcome, as the influence of the banks of the metropolis, when concentrated on any object, is regarded as invincible. There is a feeling that the strain is not as great as it was, and improvement is hoped for. Some anxiety exists as to the action of savings-bank depositors when the thirty and sixty day limit expires next month. The requirements of money for the crops will also be a potent factor, but no one is disposed to contemplate future conditions, especially if they are likely to be unpleasant.

Mr. VANCE. If it would not interrupt the Senator from Texas, while he is on that point I will state that I received a letter this morning from a very respectable business gentleman in Salisbury, N. C., inclosing a letter from a New York banker, which is very short, and with his permission I should like to read it.

Mr. COKE. Certainly.

Mr. VANCE. The letter is as follows:

NO. 3 BROAD STREET, NEW YORK, *August 31, 1893.*

DEAR SIR: We are obliged to you for your favor of the 29th instant offering loan on your mills—

This gentleman is connected with a large cotton mill at Salisbury—

which appears to be very good. It is not in our line, however, and we don't know any parties here who could handle the paper. We hardly think that the times have sufficiently improved to warrant negotiations.

The Senators from your country are not looked upon as promoters of the general welfare. If their stand represents the views of your people on financial matters, it will be very difficult for you to secure any accommodation from capitalists in this section until there is a decided change.

Yours, truly,

E. D. SHEPARD & CO.

I. H. FOUST, Esq.,
Secretary, Salisbury, N. C.

Mr. COKE. I take the following from the New York Sun of April 29:

Let us point to another fact, and we are done. Never before have the large banking institutions of Chicago and the West ordered their gold in such large quantities direct from Europe, and in this fact is found one reason why our bankers are puzzled over the anomaly that although all these millions are coming to the country they experience little or no relief therefrom. The other reason, gentlemen, is, in order to force the repeal of the Sherman act and to quickly establish your power over the plain people of this land, you first sent out of the country one hundred and ten millions of the people's currency in order to assist the Rothschilds to demonetize silver in Austria and elsewhere, and then let it remain there, to teach the West and South an "object-lesson," as the President called it, until you found it was necessary to recall it in order to save your own house from destruction. Now, you have not only taught the West and the South an object-lesson, but yourselves one as well, and you can be sure of it.

These quotations from the leading papers of the country could be extended greatly beyond the time I can give to them, all establishing the existence of the great conspiracy.

Mr. President, when the Sherman act was on its passage through the Senate I voted and spoke against it, believing it a bill that should not pass. That bill repealed the Bland act of 1878, which partially remonetized silver and provided for the coinage of not less than two nor more than four million legal-tender silver dollars monthly. It is now proposed to repeal the Sherman act, without restoring the Bland act or in any other way providing for silver coinage.

The House bill now before us, as well as the substitute reported from the Finance Committee, provides for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act, making no provision for or recognition of silver coinage. The House bill is, in my judgment, the more direct and manly mode of dealing with the subject. It repeals the Sherman act, destroys silver without making any apology for it, and makes provision for disposing of the remains (the coined silver) by making them redeemable in gold, if this is necessary to preserve their parity with that metal. It disposes of the silver question and leaves nothing undone that is demanded by the gold monometallists.

The empty declaration of the Senate substitute in favor of bimetallism, in the same enactment that destroys bimetallism and establishes gold monometallism, is so grotesquely inconsistent as to need no comment.

I shall cast my vote against either or both of these bills. It is generally agreed that the Sherman act has had little or nothing to do with bringing about the present financial disturbance, and that the exportation of gold attributed to it is for the most part a natural and legitimate outflow for the liquidation of a large trade balance existing against the United States, which is now and for some time, notwitstanding the Sherman act, has been rapidly returning for the purchase of our agricultural and other products.

The legal-tender Treasury notes paid out under that act for silver bullion, amounting to about $50,000,000 each year, has been a much-needed accession to our volume of circulation. Its operation in this respect has been most beneficent. This act has been made a stalking-horse, behind which the plans for the demonetization of silver and the issuance of gold bonds for the benefit of the national banks have been perfected and pushed by a band of reckless and unscrupulous conspirators against the peace, welfare, and prosperity of the people of the United States.

The President of the United States and his Secretary of the Treasury are honest, patriotic men, devoted to what they conceive to be the best interests of the country, but they have been deceived, duped, and imposed on, and their confidence betrayed by the bold, bad men, who, on a cold calculation of enormous profit to themselves and their confederates, backed by unlimited wealth, have been able to control the influences which have pre-

cipitated the present unhappy monetary conditions upon the country.

Mr. President, the victory of organized capital against the people, if this bill shall pass, will be a memorable one. But the people have been taken unawares. They have been deceived and betrayed. Solemn pledges made to them have been broken and trodden under foot. They will never submit to the domination of the money-changers. The day the pending bill becomes law, if it shall pass, will mark a renewal of the contest, to be fought to a finish. The supremacy of the American people in the administration and control of their own Government will yet be vindicated.

Mr. BERRY. The Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEFFER] desires to take the floor on this question for the purpose of making some remarks. I have asked him to yield to me to make a motion to go into executive session for a short time, for the reason that it is absolutely important certain officers should be confirmed to-day in order that they may take possession of the offices and that the Outlet may be opened on the 16th of September, as has been announced by proclamation of the President. I therefore move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business, with the understanding that we shall go into legislative session again and the Senator from Kansas will then take the floor.

Mr. ALLISON. I rose merely to call attention to the fact that the Senator from Nevada (Mr. STEWART) gave notice some days ago that he would like to take the floor to-morrow morning. I hope that there will be nothing done to interfere with that arrangement.

Mr. ALDRICH. We shall go back into legislative session to-day.

Mr. ALLISON. Oh, to-day. I did not understand.

Mr. VOORHEES. I will state to the Senator from Iowa that I expect to move to go back into legislative session this afternoon. This is not to be the close of to-day's legislative session.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. BERRY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After thirty-five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

PURCHASE OF SILVER BULLION.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," the pending question being on the amendment proposed by Mr. PEFFER to the amendment of the Committee on Finance.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEFFER] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. PEFFER. I ask that the pending amendment to the amendment of the committee may be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment to the amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. At the end of line 13, in the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance, it is proposed to insert:

That the standard for both gold and silver coins of the United States shall hereafter be such that of one thousand parts by weight nine hundred shall be of pure metal and one hundred of alloy; and the alloy of the silver coins shall be of copper; and the alloy of the gold coins shall be of copper and silver: *Provided*, That the silver do not exceed one-half of the whole alloy.

SEC. 2. That of the silver coins the dollar shall be of the weight of 412½ grains; the half dollar of the weight of 206¼ grains; the quarter dollar of the weight of 103⅛ grains; the dime, or tenth part of a dollar, of the weight of 41¼ grains. And that dollars, half dollars, and quarter dollars, and dimes shall be legal tenders of payment, according to their nominal value, for any sums whatever.

SEC. 3. That of the gold coins the weight of the eagle shall be 258 grains; that of the half eagle 129 grains; and that of the quarter eagle 64½ grains. And that for all sums whatever the eagle be a legal tender of payment for $10, the half eagle for $5, and the quarter-eagle for $2.50.

SEC. 4. That the silver coins heretofore issued at the Mint of the United States and the gold coins issued since the 31st day of July, 1834, shall continue to be legal tenders of payment for their nominal values on the same terms as if they were of the coinage provided for by this act.

SEC. 5. That gold and silver bullion brought to the Mint for coinage shall be received and coined, by the proper officers, for the benefit of the depositor: *Provided*, That it shall be lawful to refuse, at the Mint, any deposits of less value than $100 and any bullion so base as to be unsuitable for the operations of the Mint: *And provided also*, That when gold and silver are combined, if either of these metals be in such small proportion that it can not be separated advantageously, no allowance shall be made to the depositor for the value of such metal.

SEC. 6. That when bullion is brought to the mint for coinage it shall be weighed by the treasurer, in the presence of the depositor, when practicable, and a receipt given which shall state the description and weight of the bullion: *Provided*, That when the bullion is in such a state as to require melting before its value can be ascertained, the weight after melting shall be considered as the true weight of the bullion deposited.

SEC. 7. That all provisions of existing laws relating to coinage which are not inconsistent with the provisions of this shall be construed in aid of the execution of this act.

SEC. 8. That all provisions of law in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

SEC. 9. That this act shall take effect and be in force immediately.

Mr. PEFFER. As it is late, if it be not the disposition of the Senate to remain in session an hour, I have no objection to yielding for the present and continuing my remarks at another time. I do not wish to be placed in the position of obstructing the discussion, but I simply suggest, as a matter of convenience to the Senate, that I am ready to proceed now if it be the pleasure of the Senate to hear me, and shall probably occupy an hour.

Mr. HARRIS. Does the Senator from Kansas prefer that the matter should go over until to-morrow?

Mr. PEFFER. I can not say, Mr. President, that I prefer it to go over. I simply make this suggestion for the Senate to consider and act upon. I do not desire to have Senators sit longer, unless they are entirely willing to do so. I do not wish to speak to empty seats.

Mr. VOORHEES. Under ordinary circumstances it would afford me absolute pleasure to respond to the Senator from Kansas by asking that the bill may go over until to-morrow; but, under the circumstances, I am not at liberty to do so. Much as I regret to incommode and interfere with the Senator's personal accommodation, I do not feel that I am at liberty at present to consent to an adjournment. The Senator will secure as patient and candid a hearing at this hour as at any other; but I am not at liberty to do otherwise than economize time. I trust the Senator will understand that this is with the utmost respect for him, and, with regret on my part that the condition of business is such that I feel warranted in pursuing no other course, I shall ask the Senate to continue in session.

Mr. JONES of Nevada (at 3 o'clock and 57 minutes p. m.). If the Senator from Kansas will permit me, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. HALE. Let us have the yeas and nays on that.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BUTLER (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CAMERON], but, as I believe he would vote "yea" on this question if present, I vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL]. I should vote "yea" if that Senator were present.

Mr. WALTHAEL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. DIXON].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. DOLPH (after having voted in the negative). Has the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE] voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He is not recorded.

Mr. DOLPH. Then I withdraw my vote, as I am paired with that Senator. I did not observe that he was not in the Chamber.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The vote of the Senator from Oregon will be withdrawn.

Mr. DOLPH. Has a pair been announced with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY]?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. No pair has been announced with that Senator, as the Chair is advised.

Mr. DOLPH. Then I will take the liberty of transferring my pair with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE] to the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY], and shall vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. VANCE (after having voted in the affirmative). I am paired with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN], who, I understand, has not voted. I therefore withdraw my vote.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The vote of the Senator from North Carolina is withdrawn.

The result was announced—yeas 20, nays 31; as follows:

YEAS—20.

Allen,	Call,	Irby,	Pugh,
Bate,	Carey,	Jones, Ark.	Roach,
Berry,	Coke,	Jones, Nev.	Shoup,
Blackburn,	Daniel,	Mitchell, Oregon	Teller,
Butler,	Dubois,	Pasco,	White, Cal.

NAYS—31.

Aldrich,	Gallinger,	McPherson,	Stockbridge,
Allison,	Gibson,	Manderson,	Turpie,
Caffery,	Gorman,	Mills,	Vest,
Cullom,	Gray,	Palmer,	Vilas,
Davis,	Hale,	Peffer,	Voorhees,
Dolph,	Hoar,	Perkins,	Washburn,
Faulkner,	Hunton,	Proctor,	White, La.
Frye,	Lindsay,	Smith.	

NOT VOTING—34.

Brice,	Chandler,	Dixon,	Hansbrough,
Camden,	Cockrell,	George,	Harris,
Cameron,	Colquitt,	Gordon,	Hawley,

Higgins,	Mitchell, Wis.	Power,	Vance,
Hill,	Morgan,	Quay,	Walthall,
Kyle,	Morrill,	Ransom,	Wilson,
Lodge,	Murphy,	Sherman,	Wolcott.
McMillan,	Pettigrew,	Squire,	
Martin,	Platt.	Stewart.	

So the Senate refused to adjourn.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Kansas will proceed.

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President, it will be observed that the proposed amendment is a copy of sections 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, and 15 of the act of January 18, 1837, which changed the standard weight of coins, reducing the alloy. The act of June 28, 1834, had reduced the weight of gold in the gold coins 6 per cent, leaving the weight of silver coin what it was.

My object in presenting the amendment in this form is to restore the old law as it was given to us by the first generation after the coinage of 1792 had been established by the fathers of the Republic. We insisted all along during the last political campaign, during the campaign of 1890, and ever since the silver-coinage question has been before the people, that all we asked for was a restoration of the old law. I have copied those sections of the law verbatim, with the single exception that the provisions for the coinage of the 5-cent piece are omitted. With that exception the words are the same as they were in the act of 1837.

In the discussion of this proposed amendment I wish to call attention to three or four particular points and to emphasize all of them. The first one is that the Administration——

Mr. McPHERSON. If the Senator from Kansas will yield to me, I should like to make an inquiry.

Mr. PEFFER. Certainly.

Mr. McPHERSON. Is the Senator debating any proposition now before the Senate or one which he intends to offer.

Mr. VOORHEES. His amendment is before the Senate.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is the pending amendment.

Mr. PEFFER. If the Senator from New Jersey had been as alert as he usually is he would have understood that I am speaking to the pending amendment.

The first point to which I wish to call the attention of the Senate is that the Administration is proposing no discussion of the philosophy of money. It is not proposing anything in the way of a bill to which we can add either in the way of a compromise or in the way of amendment that will not wholly change the character of the bill. In other words, the Administration is giving to Congress nothing whatever to do but to repeal an existing act, so that it would seem to be at least to some extent out of order to discuss the theory of money, the philosophy of finance, or the foundation principles upon which monetary systems are builded. I shall, therefore, not go into that discussion at all; but I wish to emphasize the point that while we have been called together in extraordinary session to relieve the financial condition of the country, and at a time of the year when it is most uncomfortable, unhealthy, and inconvenient, we are given nothing upon which we can offer anything in the usual legislative order.

The Administration offers us no compromise. It does not come to us saying: "We are not altogether satisfied whether the ratio between gold and silver is just what it ought to be. We are not entirely satisfied whether we had not better submit this whole subject to some foreign tribunal. We are not quite satisfied whether we had not better abandon the American system and adopt the foreign system." Nothing of that kind is proposed, but simply the repeal of an act which is now existing and which act provides for about $50,000,000 fresh, new currency every year for the people.

Second. I wish to call attention to the fact that the Southern States, at least seven of them, were carried for the national Democratic ticket in the year 1892 by reason of promises which were made to the people of that magnificent agricultural region that they should have, in case the Democratic party succeeded to power, free and unlimited coinage of silver.

Third. That repeal without providing for free coinage will destroy the two old political parties; and

Fourth. That the value of the dollar unit, whether it be made of silver or of gold, is 371¼ grains of pure silver.

First, the farmers in the country with substantial unanimity have not only asked for free coinage, but wherever they have been organized they have demanded it. There probably is not one practical farmer in the country to-day—I do not mean the old farmers who became fat with the profits of agriculture when farming was profitable, and are now living in the cities while renters are tilling their farms, but I mean the farmers who are working in the soil, who are practically digging their living out of the earth—there is not one in a thousand of them who would not be glad to have again the silver coinage of the fathers. We all remember, everyone of us who was reared on a farm, that in every farmer's house under the old régime, there was always a little till in the secretary, now called a bureau, where there was a pile of half dollars and quarter dollars, and some Spanish dollars, and Mexican half dollars. It was the common currency of the farmer. It was the only money that they used. I do not remember ever to have seen a gold coin in my father's till, but invariably, when the till was opened, I saw a pile of silver money; and it was so everywhere in the East, in the West, and in the South; for, as the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] suggested to me the other day, money has always been a cash article with the farmer.

But more recently the farmers of the country largely have organized themselves. About twelve years ago, perhaps a little more than that in Texas, a movement was begun among the farmers and it extended all over the South until in 1887, at Shreveport, La., the Farmers' Union, the Agricultural Wheel (the Farmers' Union was an organization in Louisiana, the Agricultural Wheel was an organization in Arkansas), and the Alliance, which had originated in Texas, organized themselves into a national body, and at that convention there was one if not more than one representative from the State of Kansas. By the time 1889 had come around all of the farmers' organizations in the country substantially had become united in one great body, and they met in the city of St. Louis in December of that year. They indorsed the early declaration of principles of the Farmers' Alliance, which demanded the free and unlimited coinage of silver. At that convention the Knights of Labor were represented and a number of other labor organizations. They met by committees and finally agreed unanimously upon a declaration of principles, and among them was the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

I dare say that many Senators and a great many public men, especially those in the eastern portion of the country, have no idea, and have not had at any time, of the extent of that great body of farmers. In 1890 I am satisfied the membership was at least 4,000,000, not 4,000,000 voters, but there were at least two and one-half million voters in the body at that time. All of them proclaimed to the world that they not only desired, but demanded the free and unlimited coinage of silver. At that particular convention there were twenty-six States represented.

The Knights of Labor had in their declaration of principles the same demand. So far as I am aware—and my opportunities for information have been very good in that respect—there have been no organizations of either farmers or wage-workers which have not demanded what I am now asking for. And when the demand was made it was not for some new ratio; we did not talk about any new ratio; we understood the ratio then existing, that which had been established in 1837, the very act which I have incorporated in my amendment.

In 1890, when the supreme council of the Farmers' Alliance met, the doctrine was repeated; in 1891 at Indianapolis it was reaffirmed; and in 1892 the executive committee of that great body of farmers came to this body and asked us in solemn petition to grant the free and unlimited coinage of silver. I see the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. PALMER] giving me the honor of his attention. He knows what was the feeling of the farmers of his State as represented in the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, a splendid organization of splendid men. That was their doctrine.

So strong had this feeling in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver become among the Alliance members, especially in the South and Northwest, that they were in the habit of calling their candidates before them and catechising them before they would pledge their suffrages to them. In Kansas it was common at the early stages for our people to require persons whose names were presented as candidates to hold up their hands before the convention, in order that it might be determined from actual ocular demonstration whether they were farmers or not, whether their hands were hardened from holding the plow handles.

In the South they were even more particular than that. They sent out to each of the different candidates a written request for their opinions. Not only that, but they provided them with a card, so that there might be no doubt about it. I have here a dispatch, which was given to the press from Charlotte, N. C., in 1890, calling attention to the strictness of the Farmers' Alliance with their candidates, and they mentioned a particular gentleman named Jones—I need not give the initials, because it is not necessary to identify the individual any further than the name does [laughter]—in which they requested him to sign certain demands.

The first demand was for the abolition of national banks and the substitution for their notes of legal-tender Treasury notes. The pledge under this demand, like all others, must be signed in the presence of a witness, says the card, a special line being left for the witness to sign, and it reads:

I approve the above demand, and, if elected to a seat in Congress, will endeavor to have it enacted into law.

So they go on with all the demands of the Alliance. They were so strict with the candidates in the Southern States that it attracted the attention of politicians, as it was intended to do, and it brought out a great many commendatory letters from gentlemen who were anxious to sit in one or the other branch of the Congress. I have here a copy of a dispatch from Atlanta, Ga., dated the 26th day of May, 1890. It is as follows:

Governor John B. Gordon, who is now a candidate to succeed Senator Joseph E. Brown in the Senate, has placed himself in line with the Farmers' Alliance and approved of their scheme. In a letter written to the secretary of the State Alliance to-day, after reviewing the constitution, he says:

"In view of these efforts to secure organization, during so many years of my past life, it is scarcely necessary for me to say that I hail the advent of the Farmers' Alliance as the possible final realization of a long-cherished hope; nor is it necessary, with my past record before you, to say that I indorse, without reservation and with unabated emphasis, the policy of the Alliance for the increase of the circulating medium of the country."

The General goes on speaking very kindly of the objects, the demands, and the principles of the Farmers' Alliance. The gentleman who was then General Gordon, is now a distinguished member of this body and favors the passage of the repeal bill.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. President, if it will not interrupt the Senator from Kansas, I will distinctly say that I indorse now all that I said then; but I do not indorse the Farmers' Alliance since it fell from grace.

Mr. PEFFER. The Senator from Georgia relieves me of some embarrassment, for it is not the Alliance which has fallen from grace; it is the Democratic party.

The action of Congress in 1891, in line with what had been done in the same direction by the same body in 1890, very justly as I believe, aroused the suspicion of the farmers that they were being played with; that their interests were being trifled with; that they were being pushed to the rear at a time when they ought not only to have had the attention of the law-making power, but its unflinching and unswerving support. This suspicion became quite general.

In May of 1891, a conference of farmers, wage-workers, and laborers in general, through delegates duly appointed, was called to meet in the city of Cincinnati. There were over fifteen hundred delegates, representing every farmers' organization and every labor organization in the country. After two or three days' discussion there was a platform of principles published to the world by that conference, and among the planks in the declaration of principles was one favoring the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Before the conference adjourned, arrangements were made for the organization of a new political party in case it should be deemed necessary after further conference. So rapidly did this proposed new political movement become diffused throughout the country that early in 1892 it was taking deep hold in the Southern States as well as in the Northwestern States.

I hold in my hand an editorial article, which I clipped from the Atlanta Constitution, dated March 31, 1892. I will read a paragraph of it. This, remember, was in March.

It is imperative that the Democratic party in this State, through its regular organization, proceed at once to the work of checking the progress of the third party movement in Georgia.

The Senate will understand that I am calling attention to the fact that the farmers in the South only supported the Democratic party in the last campaign because of the promises of their political leaders that they should have the sort of legislation that I am proposing here now.

The Constitution continues:

There is danger ahead, and unless the Democratic organization takes the matter in hand at once disaster will follow. The third party leaders are vigilant and enthusiastic. The organization of the movement is being systematically worked, and there is probably not a county in the State which has not been canvassed, and in which the third party has not established headquarters.

In some counties the regular Democratic executive committees have not enough members left to make a quorum, on account of the inroads of the new party.

That is the way it was in Kansas in 1890, only it was the Republican party instead of the Democratic. The trouble was well understood to be upon the money question, and that question turned, so far as the farmers were concerned, upon the coinage of silver. I gave expression to the thought when on this floor about that time that the problem before the people to be solved must be solved with a silver key. We were talking about the free coinage of silver. That was the money question at that time.

I have here another article from the Constitution, April 3, 1892:

On its face, the declaration of the Augusta Chronicle—

And this is answering some strictures upon the part of the Chronicle, published at Augusta, Ga.—

On its face, the declaration of the Augusta Chronicle that the farmers can not get a dollar without a just equivalent, is true. But it is not an argument against the free coinage of silver or against the financial relief which the farmers are demanding. The congestion of money in the centers of speculation has taken it out of circulation in these sections where it is most needed.

The whole truth of the matter is that the financiers, bankers, and speculators of the North and East have as much money as they want. The volume of currency is amply sufficient for their needs. They are always able to lay their hands on enough to meet the ordinary demands of speculation or the average necessities of business. They can not understand the demands of the people; they can not appreciate the revolution which the abnormal condition of finances is bringing about. The money of the country flies to the money centers of the North and East and stays there. In that quarter everything is serene. The smug banker rubs his hands together gleefully; the speculator counts his gains; the business man is happy with his profits. Why should anybody talk about increasing the volume of currency? We shall not present the reverse of this picture. Every reader of the Constitution, every farmer, every community in the South is familiar with it—the dearth of money and the stagnation of business.

As the campaign of education progressed the papers in the South as well as in the Northwest advocating the silver side of the money question became more and more intense in their discussion of the subject, and the disaffection was all over Georgia. I read another paragraph from the Constitution under date of April 15:

It is safe to say that two-thirds of the farmers of Georgia have indorsed the Ocala demands—

The "Ocala demands" means the demand by the Farmers' Alliance at the city of Ocala, in the State of Florida, the fall before—

It is safe to say that two-thirds of the farmers of Georgia have indorsed the Ocala demands—if not its letter, certainly its spirit.

Then below, after discussing the subject further, the editor says:

Yet, as our readers know, the question refuses to be suppressed. The victory of the Wall street contingent in the House will do more to embarrass the Democratic party than anything else, except the nomination of Mr. Cleveland.

I commend this language to the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GORDON]. I will read it again:

The victory of the Wall street contingent in the House will do more to embarrass the Democratic party than anything else, except the nomination of Mr. Cleveland. The feeling in favor of free coinage has been aggravated to such an extent that the farmers of the South are making it the leading issue, and this, in view of the effort to nominate Mr. Cleveland, which owes its origin and incentive to the Wall street bolt in New York, is putting a great strain on the party.

And now the party is beginning to feel it, Mr. President. The probable nomination of Mr. Cleveland as the party's candidate for the Presidency rendered the situation still more annoying. I have here another article (these all are from the Constitution) under date of May 3, 1892. The article begins in this way:

The danger of the Democratic party resides in that large element among the farmers which is biding its time and patiently waiting events.

That class of farmers who were not taking any active part in outdoor politics, who had their minds fixed upon the monetary question, upon silver coinage at the old ratio—that class of farmers were those who had to be attended to. Then the editor refers to a meeting held in South Carolina and refers to the fact that the whole South is becoming alive to this great question, and that unless the Democratic party takes hold of it with ungloved hands and complies with the wishes of the farmers there will be breakers in its course; and those breakers are now appearing. The article is as follows:

The danger of the Democratic party resides in that large element among the farmers which is biding its time and patiently waiting events. They are engaged in no movement of any sort; they have not gone into the third party, and they are not making any threats; they are absolutely quiescent. Yet they do not hesitate to say that if the Democratic convention caters to the gold-bug influence of the East and puts up an antisilver man on a financial plank that amounts to a straddle, they will feel themselves absolved from any further obligation to act with the Democratic party on national questions. This means, of course, that they will either join the third party, or act with the free-coinage party organizing in the far West. This means a serious Democratic division throughout the South—a division that will strip the party of a number of electoral votes.

The feeling on the part of the farmers who have not gone with the third party, but who are waiting to see what the Democratic party will do, may be judged from the frank expressions given in a meeting of the Farmer's Alliance in Fairfield County, S. C., two or three weeks ago. After the Alliance had transacted the business before it, the members resolved themselves into a farmers' meeting and discussed the political situation. The expressions of opinion were of the frankest and friendliest character. There were no politicians or would-be officeholders present to give a radical turn or interpretation to the purposes of the farmers, and the farmers carried on their debate and interchanged opinions without confusion and with a total absence of noisy demonstrations.

Finally the sense of the meeting was put in the shape of resolutions. It was resolved that in the case of the nomination for President or for State Congressmen of men who are opposed to the free coinage of silver, the farmers will not be expected to support the nominees. It was also resolved that it is neither necessary nor expedient to organize a third party until after the result of the Democratic national convention is known.

The question was discussed whether prospective bolters could honorably maintain their party affiliations. The meeting, after discussing the matter, decided that questions of national and local concern are essentially different and distinct; that the unity of the white people in State matters is essential to the preservation of white supremacy, on which depends the prosperity of

Carolina; but that there is no longer any good reason why people should not vote as they thought best for their interest and protection on all national questions.

Here the substantial and conservative farmers were speaking. They were speaking for a large body of voters, not only in Carolina, but in the whole South. The question is, will the national convention strike the party a staggering blow in the face by ignoring this attitude of the farmers? We have asked this question before and we shall ask it again. We shall continue to ask it until the convention assembles. It is a question that involves the unity of the party in the South, and a more important one will not be brought before the national body. The personality of candidates has nothing whatever to do with it; and the leaders at the North should be told now, so that they may not have the excuse of ignorance, that a compromise which Wall street can comfortably swallow will turn the stomachs of the Southern farmers.

If the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. IRBY] were present he would perhaps remember that at one of the meetings referred to in the article I have just read the Democratic Alliance men of South Carolina appointed their delegates to the Chicago national convention. They went upholding the free-coinage plank in their platform, but when they went home they were satisfied with the promises which had been made to them by their leaders in this makeshift, if I may so call it, that is now proposed to be attached to this bill, which means nothing unless it means that after the European nations have agreed upon what we shall do we will accept it, for in the platform no solution of the problem is suggested.

We believe in using both metals as standard money, "but every dollar must be of intrinsic value equal with every other dollar, and this must be determined by international agreement or by some sort of legislation that we will enact after we have ransacked all Europe, and I was going to say Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea to have somebody dictate a money policy for us." Those good farmers went home relying upon the promises of their leaders, and now we find that their leaders are divided. Verily a house divided against itself can not stand.

I need but to refer to the splendid speech of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE] a few days ago to show the truth of what I have said here, the remarks made by the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] as to a probable difference between the people he represents and himself upon this point, and the eloquent language of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GORDON] a few days ago. All these indications dropped from the lips of Senators from Southern States are proof, if I needed any, of the truth of what I am saying.

Repeal without providing for silver coinage means the discontinuance of silver coinage and the permanent establishment of the gold standard. This it plainly understood by all the people. Disguise it as we may, or attempt to conceal it as we may, the people of all classes understand very well that that is what the passage of this bill without amendment means. I have a copy of a recent issue of The Manufacturer, a paper published at Philadelphia, Pa. This is number 34 of the sixth volume, an established paper, not in the whirl of politics, not printed for the purpose of advancing any scheme or of inculcating any kind of partisan doctrine. I will read three short paragraphs from it:

One immediate consequence of the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchase clause, of course,—

It is a matter of course with the writer, just as it is with everybody else. I will repeat:

One immediate consequence of the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchase clause, of course, will be that no more Treasury certificates will be issued, and that the country will have just that much less increase of the volume of currency.

Proceeding:

Another result will probably be a fall of prices consequent upon the further appreciation of gold. It is hard to perceive how this can be avoided. There will be occasion for surprise if wheat does not fall to 50 cents.

Again:

The chances are, also, that this action will remove all possibility of silver remonetization in any shaped during Mr. Cleveland's Administration.

I will add to the editor's truthful language—during all subsequent Administrations, unless, and the danger hangs upon that word "unless," the people become aroused and with invincible power demand that their wishes shall be respected by the lawmakers.

Unless his views are much misunderstood he will veto any measure that may be offered to him in the silver interest.

And that means still further depreciation of values, as this writer says. The people point to the fact that wheat, and corn, and cotton, and other farm products and manufactured articles have fallen as silver has fallen since the protection of the law was taken away from it in 1873, and they expect that the fall will continue.

I present here a table showing the price of wheat in 1872 and the following years on down to 1893. These are the export prices, I believe, as they can be found by any Senator who will refer to any of the recent copies of the Statistical Abstract of the United States. Also the prices of cotton for the same years are given in another column; and the prices of silver bullion per ounce in another column:

Year.	Wheat	Cotton	Silver.	Year.	Wheat.	Cotton	Silver.
		Cents.				*Cents.*	
1872	1.47	19.3	1.32	1883	1.13	10.8	1.11
1873	1.31	18.8	1.29	1884	1.07	10.5	1.01
1874	1.43	15.4	1.27	1885	.86	10.6	1.06
1875	1.12	15.0	1.24	1886	.87	9.9	.99
1876	1.24	12.9	1.15	1887	.89	9.5	.97
1877	1.17	11.8	1.20	1888	.85	9.8	.93
1878	1.34	11.1	1.15	1889	.90	9.9	.93
1879	1.07	9.9	1.12	1890	.83	10.1	1.04
1880	1.25	11.5	1.14	1891	.85	10.0	.90
1881	1.11	11.4	1.13	1892	.80	8.7	.86
1882	1.19	11.4	1.13	1893	.72	7.3	.78

Besides that, and immediately following it, is produced a table of gold and silver produced in the world, and the commercial ratio of silver to gold for each calendar year since 1870, showing the gradual drop of silver in proportion to gold. This is a good companion piece to the table which immediately precedes it:

Production of gold and silver in the world, and the commercial ratio of silver to gold, for each calendar year since 1870.

Year.	Tons.		Ratio.	Year.	Tons.		Ratio.
	Gold.	Silver.			Gold.	Silver.	
1870			15.57	1882	169.1	2935	18.19
1871			15.57	1883	158.2	3058	18.64
1872			15.63	1884	168.7	2798	18.57
1873	159.5	2169	15.92	1885	179.8	3142	19.41
1874	150.5	1896	16.17	1886	175.8	3198	20.78
1875	161.7	2134	16.50	1887	175.5	3205	21.13
1876	172.0	2323	17.88	1888	182.8	3732	21.99
1877	189.1	2148	17.22	1889	204.7	4300	22.09
1878	197.3	2519	17.94	1890	199.7	4608	19.76
1879	180.7	2546	18.40	1891	209.2	4938	20.92
1880	176.6	2563	18.05	1892			23.73
1881	170.8	2705	18.16	1893			

A few days ago, when discussing the principal measure, I called the attention of the Senate to the fact that a number of foreign economists had selected a large number of articles in everyday use among the people. Something of the same kind appears, if I am not mistaken, in a report which was made to this body by a committee of which the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] was chairman. Finally Mr. Sauerbeck selected forty-five of the leading articles from the list and found a common divisor for their value, calling that the unit; and in his table he shows the gradual fall of the unit of those articles in conjunction with the fall of silver.

The farmers point to the fact that the general fall in prices has corresponded with and substantially in the same proportion that silver has fallen in its relation to gold. Further than that, the farmers call attention to the indebtedness of the people. They call attention to the fact that during the census years from 1880 to 1890 there were about $10,000,000,000 borrowed, chiefly from the Eastern States, for which their homes were mortgaged; that during the ten years about one-half of that amount had been paid, but that there still remained on the 1st day of January, 1890, so large an amount as to make an average indebtedness for different States that I will read to the Senate in a moment.

I wish to make it clear, first, that this average per capita is not the average for the individual debtors, but that it means a general average for the entire population of the States; that is to say, the total indebtedness of each of the different States amounts to a general average for the entire population, as the figures show. There have been just twenty States reported, as follows:

Alabama, $26; Arkansas, $13; Colorado, $206; Connecticut, $107; Illinois, $100.

Senators will understand that for a family of five persons this indebtedness in the State of Illinois will amount to $500, in the State of Connecticut it will amount to $535, in Colorado to $1,030, in Arkansas to $65, in Alabama to $130. By multiplying the figures by 5 as I go along, any one can determine for himself instantly just the amount of the average indebtedness to the family of five persons.

Indiana, $51; Iowa, $104; Kansas, $170; Maine, $49; Massachusetts, $144; Minnesota, $152; Missouri, $80; Nebraska, $126; New Hampshire, $50; Oregon, $73; Pennsylvania, $117; Rhode Island, $106; Tennessee, $23; Vermont, $84; Wisconsin, $72.

We must consider the fact that this indebtedness is entirely upon the farms and the lots in the cities. The general average is about two-thirds of the indebtedness upon the farms, while one-third is upon the lots in the cities.

Mr. GALLINGER. Will it disturb the Senator if I propound a question?

Mr. PEFFER. Not at all.

Mr. GALLINGER. In making that average of indebtedness I ask the Senator if the assets were taken into account at all in the individual cases or in relation to States? For instance, I notice that my own State is credited with an average per capita indebtedness of $50, but in my State we have $200 per capita in our savings banks alone. Of the entire population of New Hampshire there is a per capita of $200 in the savings banks. For every man, woman, and child there is that amount, aggregating $76,000,000. Yet we are charged in this calculation with being $50 per capita in debt. I wish to know if the balance was struck in any way, or if it was simply ascertained that a man owed something without reference to whether other people owed him, or whether he had railroad stock, or money in savings banks, or bank stock and other assets that would go to wipe out his indebtedness and leave him a balance.

Mr. PEFFER. The Senator has favored me by giving me a good introduction to what is to follow. Upon an examination——

Mr. CAREY. Will the Senator from Kansas allow me a moment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BUTLER in the chair). Does the Senator from Kansas yield to the Senator from Wyoming?

Mr. PEFFER. If he can so connect his question with the question of the Senator from New Hampshire that I shall not lose track of that, I will yield.

Mr. CAREY. The Senator has made a statement which I think a little unfair, but which was probably made inadvertently. I was looking a few minutes ago at the bulletin issued from the Census Office with reference to the State of Colorado, from which it appears that there is a mortgage indebtedness in the State of Colorado of about $89,000,000. Fifty-five per cent of that amount is in Arapahoe County, in which county is located the city of Denver. The great majority of those mortgages is on the city site where Denver is situated. If a critical examination were made of the census bulletins, it would be found that the mortgage indebtedness is on the cities and towns in the West which have been built very rapidly, and that Eastern money has been shipped out there to put up fine large buildings. We in the West had to borrow the money, as we had not money of our own.

Mr. PEFFER. I understand very well that this indebtedness is most of it for borrowed money. What the Senator says in relation to the State of Colorado may be true, and the points made by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] may be true; yet I think before I have concluded the Senators will be satisfied that the point I am making is true, and I shall not lose sight of it.

Upon examination, you will find that all of this indebtedness is either upon farms and upon lots in the cities—the homes of the people. Some of the lots in cities like Denver, where valuable improvements had been erected, are included in the list of lots. I have no doubt that the lots upon which the Millionaires' Club have erected their splendid edifice in the city of New York are included in this list.

Mr. President, you will find that this indebtedness is upon the poor people of the States quite largely, and you will find that the money which is in the savings banks belongs to persons who are not included in this vast list of indebtedness here. You will find, furthermore, that while this indebtedness upon the farmers and wage-workers of the cities has been accumulating at the enormous rate to which I have called attention, fabulous fortunes have been amassed year after year by speculators, by wealthy manufacturers, and by railroad magnates, as we call them—the wealthy classes, the privileged classes. They have been amassing fortunes while the poor people have been losing largely.

Mr. GALLINGER rose.

Mr. PEFFER. If the Senator will wait until I get through with this point I will answer his next question.

I wish to be understood as saying that while the farmers and the working people have been growing poorer, a few people in the cities have been growing richer. Now I yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GALLINGER. I shall endeavor not to be offensive to the Senator from Kansas in interrupting his discussion with a question, but I desire simply to say to him—and I can speak only for my own State in matters of this kind—that of the $76,000,000 in savings banks in my own State, aggregating $200 per capita, 75 per cent of the amount is in sums less than $300, showing that it is the wage-earners, the farmers, the mechanics, and the poor men and women who are depositing this money in the savings banks.

Mr. PEFFER. Yes; but it is not that class of wage-earners whose homes are mortgaged. If it were, the debts would be paid. The small sums of $200, $300, and $400 which are deposited by wage-earners are deposited by that class of wage-workers who earn good high wages. They are usually skilled workmen and such persons as have no families, so that what little they receive is sufficient to keep them and to have something left.

Mr. GALLINGER. The point I would further make is, that if the Senator will make a careful examination of the mortgage indebtedness of my State he will find that to a very considerable extent it is upon large properties—properties held by corporations, properties held by rich men—who have been compelled, as the men have been compelled in Denver, to erect large buildings, and in that way they come in possession of a balance in addition to the mortgage indebtedness.

Mr. PEFFER. That may be true, but if the Senator will examine in the cities of his own State he will discover that the number of renters even in dear old New Hampshire has increased wonderfully in the past ten years, people living in the cities whose homes have gradually drifted away from them. I do not remember the number, and I will not risk asserting it, but he will find that a large number of the people in the cities of his own State are to-day renters, as compared with the number in 1880.

Mr. ALLISON rose.

Mr. GALLINGER. I will suggest to the Senator——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Kansas yield to the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] or the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON]?

Mr. PEFFER. I should prefer not to continue this discussion any further.

Mr. GALLINGER. Just one word.

Mr. PEFFER. Very well.

Mr. GALLINGER. I will suggest that what the Senator states is due to the fact that we have to-day ten times as many French Canadians in our cities, who come to work in our mills, as we had a few years ago, and they are not property-holders.

Mr. PEFFER. That is because you can get them for lower wages.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to say one word respecting the table as applied to Iowa. It may have escaped the Senator's notice that in Iowa, of the mortgages as shown by the census bulletin, the aggregate is $150,000,000, and that upon town property, as stated by him, the mortgages amount to about $50,000,000, leaving $100,000,000 upon the farms of Iowa and property outside of the cities.

It so happens that in four counties in my State, and they are average counties, accurate and detailed accounts were taken as to the character of these mortgages and the purpose for which they were made. Two of the newer counties were taken and two of the older ones, and it appeared from actual investigation that on these mortgages 64 per cent in one county, 68 per cent in another, and a larger percentage in two others was for additional lands purchased by farmers who own their farms, and of the remainder 15 per cent was for improvements made upon those farms, leaving merely 10 per cent of the whole of this great sum for purposes not accounted for, not connected with the purchase of farms for homes. So these mortgages, as a rule in the State in which I live, show a prosperity of the farmers, and not that they are mortgaging their land because of their poverty.

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President, now I think it would be better if the discussion should not be further interrupted.

Mr. ALLISON. I beg the Senator's pardon.

Mr. PEFFER. That is all right. If I should yield for interruptions I would possibly have to occupy a good deal more time upon this very interesting subject than the Senate would care to wait for.

Mr. CALL. I will ask the Senator from Kansas if he will yield to me?

Mr. PEFFER. For what purpose?

Mr. CALL. I inquire if the Senator prefers to go on with his remarks this evening or to yield to a motion to adjourn?

Mr. PEFFER. I understand that to-morrow as soon as the routine morning business is completed, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] expects to address the Senate, and I do not wish to interfere with the Senator, as I know he does not wish to interfere with me. So perhaps it would be better that I should proceed now.

I was calling attention to the fact that the farmers point to these things. The farmers may be ill informed, they may not know what they are talking about. I know they were told during 1890, and they have been told a great many times since, that they did not know what they were talking about. That is what the Southern farmers were told and the farmers in Kansas, in Nebraska, in Iowa, and all through the West, wherever we undertook to talk about these things, were told by gentlemen to whom we had looked for leadership that we did not know what we were talking about, but we do. The farmers call attention

to the fact of the indebtedness resting upon the farms of the people. No matter how it came there, we need not discuss that now, and it is not introduced on my part for the purpose of criticizing the farmers or criticizing any of the particular States, but to call attention to the fact that the farmers know these things, and ask for some relief.

Every debt that is now due is payable in money upon the gold standard, and many of them were contracted at a time when silver and gold coin were the standards, and this is the reason our misfortunes have been multiplied and our debts have become burdensome. Dollars that we owe do not increase, while the property that we have out of which to purchase dollars is constantly depreciating in value.

In connection with the indebtedness of the farmers of the country I submit the following table, which shows the value of the taxable property of the people:

Preliminary statement showing the assessed valuation of real and personal property of the several States and Territories for 1880 and 1890.

[Census Bulletin No. 104, August 22, 1891.]

States and Territories.	Total assessed valuation.		Increase of assessed valuation.	Population.		Assessed valuation per capita.		Increase per cent of assessed valuation.	Increase per cent of population.
	1880.	1890.		1880.	1890.	1880.	1890.		
Total	$16,902,993,543	$24,249,589,804	$7,346,596,261	50,155,783	62,622,250	$337.01	a$387.62	43.46	24.86
Alabama	122,887,228	197,080,441	74,213,213	1,262,505	1,513,017	97.32	130.26	60.40	19.84
Arizona	9,270,214	21,434,767	12,164,553	40,440	59,620	229.23	359.52	131.22	47.43
Arkansas	86,409,364	b172,408,497	85,999,133	802,525	1,128,179	107.67	152.82	99.53	40.58
California	584,578,036	b1,071,102,327	486,524,291	864,694	1,208,130	676.05	886.58	83.23	39.72
Colorado	74,471,693	188,911,325	114,439,632	194,327	412,198	383.23	458.30	153.67	112.12
Connecticut	327,177,385	358,913,906	31,736,521	622,700	746,258	525.42	480.95	9.70	19.84
Delaware	59,951,643	b74,134,401	14,182,758	146,608	168,493	408.92	439.99	23.66	14.93
District of Columbia	99,401,787	153,307,541	53,905,754	177,624	230,392	559.62	665.42	54.23	29.71
Florida	30,938,309	76,926,938	45,988,629	269,493	391,422	114.80	196.53	148.65	45.24
Georgia	239,472,599	377,266,784	137,894,185	1,542,180	1,837,353	155.28	205.39	57.58	19.14
Idaho	6,440,576	25,581,305	19,140,429	32,610	84,385	197.51	303.15	297.17	158.77
Illinois	c786,616,394	c727,416,252	d59,200,142	3,077,871	3,826,351	255.57	190.11	d7.53	24.32
Indiana	727,815,131	782,872,126	55,056,995	1,978,301	2,192,404	367.90	357.08	7.56	10.82
Iowa	398,671,251	b478,318,248	79,646,997	1,624,615	1,911,896	245.39	250.18	19.98	17.68
Kansas	160,891,689	290,593,711	129,702,022	996,096	1,427,096	161.52	203.63	80.61	43.27
Kentucky	350,563,971	512,615,506	162,051,535	1,648,690	1,858,635	212.63	275.80	46.23	12.73
Louisiana	160,162,439	234,320,780	74,158,341	939,946	1,118,587	170.40	209.48	46.30	19.01
Maine	235,978,716	309,129,101	73,150,385	648,936	661,086	363.64	467.61	31.00	1.87
Maryland	e497,307,675	f482,184,824	d15,122,851	934,943	1,042,390	531.91	462.58	d3.04	11.49
Massachusetts	1,584,756,802	2,154,134,626	569,377,824	1,783,085	2,238,943	888.77	962.12	35.93	25.57
Michigan	517,666,359	g985,450,000	427,783,641	1,636,937	2,093,889	316.24	451.53	82.64	27.92
Minnesota	258,028,667	588,531,743	330,503,056	780,773	1,301,826	330.48	452.08	128.00	66.74
Mississippi	110,628,129	b157,518,906	46,890,777	1,131,597	1,289,600	97.76	122.15	42.39	13.96
Missouri	532,795,801	786,343,753	253,547,952	2,168,380	2,679,184	245.71	293.50	47.59	23.56
Montana	18,009,802	106,392,892	87,783,090	39,159	132,159	475.24	805.04	471.70	237.49
Nebraska	90,585,782	184,770,305	94,184,523	452,402	1,058,910	200.23	174.49	103.97	134.06
Nevada	29,291,459	24,663,385	d4,628,074	62,266	45,761	470.42	538.96	d15.80	d26.51
New Hampshire	164,755,181	232,722,016	67,966,835	346,991	376,530	474.81	671.19	53.39	8.51
New Jersey	572,518,361	688,309,187	115,790,826	1,131,116	1,444,933	506.15	476.50	20.22	27.74
New Mexico	11,363,406	b40,041,010	34,677,604	119,565	153,593	95.04	299.76	305.17	28.46
New York	2,651,940,006	3,775,325,938	1,123,385,932	5,082,871	5,997,853	521.74	629.45	42.36	18.00
North Carolina	156,100,202	212,697,287	56,597,085	1,399,750	1,617,947	111.52	131.46	36.26	15.59
North Dakota	8,786,572	h78,394,536	69,607,964	36,000	182,719	228.06	429.04	792.21	395.05
Ohio	1,534,360,508	1,778,138,457	243,777,949	3,198,062	3,672,316	479.78	484.20	15.89	14.83
Oklahoma					61,834				
Oregon	52,522,684	166,025,731	113,503,047	174,768	313,767	300.52	529.14	216.11	79.53
Pennsylvania	1,683,459,016	2,592,841,032	909,382,016	4,282,891	5,258,014	393.07	493.12	54.03	22.77
Rhode Island	252,536,673	321,784,503	69,227,830	276,531	345,506	913.23	931.23	27.41	24.94
South Carolina	133,560,135	132,182,638	d1,377,497	995,577	1,151,149	134.15	114.83	d1.03	15.63
South Dakota	11,534,958	131,592,587	120,057,629	98,268	328,808	117.38	400.21	1,040.82	234.60
Tennessee	211,778,538	347,510,103	135,731,565	1,542,359	1,767,518	137.31	196.61	64.09	14.60
Texas	320,364,515	h695,842,320	375,477,805	1,591,749	2,235,523	201.27	311.27	117.20	40.44
Utah	24,775,279	104,758,750	79,783,471	143,963	207,905	172.09	503.88	322.84	44.42
Vermont	86,806,775	161,551,328	74,744,553	332,286	332,422	261.24	485.98	86.10	0.04
Virginia	308,455,135	302,422,741	53,967,606	1,512,565	1,655,980	203.93	218.86	17.50	9.48
Washington	23,810,693	b124,795,449	100,984,756	75,116	349,390	316.99	357.18	424.12	365.13
West Virginia	139,622,705	169,927,587	30,304,882	618,457	762,794	225.76	222.77	21.70	23.34
Wisconsin	438,971,751	592,890,719	153,918,968	1,315,497	1,686,880	333.69	351.47	35.06	28.23
Wyoming	13,621,829	b51,431,495	17,809,666	20,789	60,705	655.24	517.77	130.74	192.01

a The assessed valuation of Oklahoma not being given, the population of that Territory is omitted in calculating the assessed valuation per capita for 1890 of the United States. *b* Annual report of 1889. *c* The State board of equalization declares that in 1880 the assessed value was 50 per cent and in 1890 only 25 per cent of the true value; hence the reduction. *d* Decrease. *e* Valuation for local purposes; amount for State purposes, $469,187,408. *f* Valuation for State purposes; amount for local purposes not reported. *g* Assessment of 1886; assessment made every five years. *h* Not including unorganized counties.

The farmers, calling attention to these things, believe that the President and Congress are treating them unfairly; and I think they are justified in that belief. They think that the President's message ignores the real cause of our troubles, and sets out only the banker's plea; and I agree with them. They fear that Congress is moved with an influence at variance with the common good and opposed to the general welfare.

The fear is well founded. What has been done in Congress thus far shows plainly that the friends of the Administration—strange as it may appear to an observing world, quite as numerous among Republicans as among Democrats—have not made and do not intend to make any investigations of the causes which brought about this disastrous state of affairs, and do not propose or intend to propose any change in our financial legislation, except only the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman law, which they know and we all know removes from silver the last recognition which it has as standard money. They do not come to us and say, "Let us reason together." They submit to us a single proposition, and it is in the commanding mood, or as we were taught at school, the imperative mood—repeal this law which gives to the people $50,000,000 fresh currency every year, and which has kept thousands of men at work. You set up wealth against men, gold against brains, affluence against want, speculation against labor, and demand a prompt compliance with the scheme to further increase your power over us.

As far as I am concerned and those whom I am proud to represent, we spurn your imperial decree. You offer no quarter, you need expect none. I give you warning now, we are in open rebellion against your usurpation, and bid godspeed to the coming revolution which will drive you from power and restore the Government of the United States to the people to whom it belongs.

Mr. President, it is free coinage at the present ratio which the people are asking. No other ratio was ever considered or discussed.

Again the farmers point to platform utterances and professions of orators and writers and say, "If you were false to us then, we will not believe you now;" and they submit this test: "Are you willing to couple repeal with free coinage?" That is what my amendment means. No Senator upon that side—and when I say that side, I mean the Administration side, including all the Senators here who favor unconditional repeal—has proposed anything of the kind.

I do not believe that Senators who favor this bill have any intention in the future to propose any measure at any time looking to free coinage at 16 to 1 or at any ratio. If they had

such intention, they would not stand halting in the face of a powerful public sentiment in favor of such a step. Having studied the course of Senators on this subject, I have been able to find only one reasonable explanation of their conduct, and that is that they have come to believe that the speculators and bankers are entitled to more respect than the people who perform the country's work and produce its wealth.

So believing, they are compelled to put the people off once more with promises, while they satisfy the money-changers by voting for their interests. You talk for the masses, but vote for the classes.

I ask any Senator, if you are sincere in this matter, why do you not show your faith by your works? Why has not the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], the distinguished chairman of the Finance Committee, or the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], who has so long been in the leadership of the Republican party, offered something of this kind if these Senators are bimetallists? If they want to accede to the demands of the people upon this subject, why do they not say so? Why do they not propose something looking, squinting that way, if I may use a vulgar expression? Why does not my venerable friend from Illinois [Mr. PALMER] or his colleague [Mr. CULLOM], who sits near him, both distinguished leaders in two great opposing parties and having the same view upon this question, suggest something?

The senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM], in his speech to-day, stated that, so far as he was concerned, he would never consent to the free coinage of silver until some ratio had been established by international agreement or by legislation. I was anxious to make an inquiry of the Senator, but he did not wish to be interrupted. I was anxious to ask the Senator this question: How he would arrive at the parity between the two metals? Would he measure silver by gold, or would he measure gold by silver, or would he strike down the protection of the law from gold, putting both the metals upon the open market on an equality one with the other, and let the ratio come in the open field of competition?

I now submit that question to any Senator who believes as the Senator from Illinois does upon this question, and I will repeat it: How will you arrive at the proper parity between the two metals? Will you measure gold by silver, as the fathers did, or will you measure silver by gold, as their unworthy descendants are doing; or will you put them both on the open market, as you do wheat and cotton, and let them find their level just as you do the products of the farm?

Mr. PALMER. May I ask the Senator one question?

Mr. PEFFER. Yes, if it is not long.

Mr. PALMER. It is very short. I ask what is the Senator's suggestion on that point?

Mr. PEFFER. It is in the amendment I have offered—to restore the old law of 16 to 1. There has never been any difficulty in understanding where our people stand; there has been no difficulty in understanding where the farmers and the workers of the country, the toiling masses, are; we have been there all the time, and in our public declarations given to the world year by year we have stated it plainly.

Mr. PALMER. I will ask the Senator one more question, if he will permit me.

Mr. PEFFER. Very well.

Mr. PALMER. Will the proposition of the Senator produce the result of equality in value?

Mr. PEFFER. Yes, sir; it always did before.

Mr. PALMER. Will it now?

Mr. PEFFER. It will now. If the Senator does not agree with me, I submit this proposition to him: Let us try it a while, and see.

Mr. PALMER. I ask the Senator another question. Have we not tried it? Is it not on trial now, and has it not failed?

Mr. PEFFER. No, sir; it is not on trial now. In 1873 the silver dollar was stricken out of the list of our silver coins; in 1874, by the revision of the statutes, the silver dollars were absolutely demonetized; and when we attempted to restore the old law in 1876, 1877, and 1878 the men who believed then just as the Senator from Illinois now believes turned their backs upon the people, and said "You can not have it;" and when, in 1890, we made the same attempt, the same class of Senators and Representatives turned their backs upon the people and repeated that language "You can not have it;" and we have not had it.

The Bland act, enacted in 1878, came the nearest to free coinage. The President of the United States vetoed the bill. After it became a law every Secretary of the Treasury, from that time until the law was repealed, has done his utmost within the purview of the law to defeat the will of the people. Instead of giving us four millions worth of silver in dollars every month, they gave us but $2,000,060 worth, and instead of putting those dollars out into circulation they purposely kept them in the Treasury. There can be no question about that.

This is plain language, Mr. President; but the record proves it. It was kept in the Treasury, and kept there in order that it should not get out among the people. Finally, so strong was the demand for change, for small notes and bills or forsil ver dollars, that silver certificates were issued. The people did not go to the Treasury and deposit their silver dollars. That is a fiction of law. But the silver certificates were issued in place of the coin.

There has been a studied attempt, I assert here without any fear of contradiction, under the administration of both parties to keep silver out of circulation.

So, in answer to the Senator's question—and I speak with some feeling about it, because I believe that the people were greatly wronged by it—I say there has been no trial of free coinage, but a studied attempt to prevent a trial of it.

Mr. President, unconditional repeal will disrupt the old parties. The unconditional repeal of this law means what will be described in common parlance as the East against the West. That is not the way it will be in fact, however. During the times that followed 1860 up to 1865, when this country was at war among its own people, we were in the habit of saying the North against the South, the Northern army against the Southern army, and so on. In the contest which is coming there will be friends upon the one side in all parts of the country, and friends on the other side in all parts of the country, and the line between them will not be geographical, but it will be a line based upon the money question. That is the way the line will be.

One class will favor the gold standard, because we will drive you to it in the end. If you insist upon a gold standard, and at the same time claim to be bimetallists, we will drive you to gold monometallism, because there is no consistency in any other position when you assume that doctrine. On the other hand, you charge us with going toward silver monometallism. Be it so, Mr. President. I believe when you come down to the logic of this question, the monometallist, whether he be for silver or gold, has the advantage in the argument. You say you are bimetallists, but you will measure silver by gold, and that means the gold standard. You charge us with wanting to measure gold by silver. But we ask only that we shall return to the bimetallism of the fathers.

There will be friends of the gold standard in the future as there are now in all parts of the country, in every State, and in every county, some more, some less; but we can not work together in the same harness when we are pulling apart, and the time has come when we must take our stand for or against silver. We have gold, and we all favor retaining gold, provided, of course, we can get silver. If we can not get both, then we are in favor of striking down gold and putting them both as commodities upon the open market, and let the people who want to buy gold and silver buy them in the open market just as they buy cattle and horses and potatoes.

Mr. HOAR. Does the Senator mean that we shall have no coin?

Mr. PEFFER. No, sir; I do not mean that. I mean that the Government will purchase gold and silver alike for the purposes of coinage. It was suggested by a New York friend to me the other day in an article which he had printed in a newspaper that the Government should take possession of all the gold and silver mines in the country. I do not see why that should not be done and the Government coin all the gold and silver that the people need, and just what they need, not for foreign exchanges among individuals, not for private enterprise, not to supply individuals in their speculations, but to supply the people with a national currency, or to let it lie in the Treasury and issue paper upon it as the people may need currency.

My own individual judgment upon this matter (and I speak for no one but myself) is that it would be vastly better, as long as the people insist upon having a metallic basis for their money, to purchase gold and silver alike in the open market, coin as much of it as the people need, and issue the value of all the rest of it in paper money. After awhile we shall all come to the conclusion that we do not need any gold or silver for money purposes whatever. Our business necessities will drive us to it, just as in the line of invention in the mechanic arts the necessities of manufacturers have driven them to the invention of new machines. I was out in Nebraska a little while ago looking at the beet-sugar manufacture there and observing what the beet-growers were doing, and the proprietor showed me a machine that necessity had driven him to have invented. He offered $5,000 for a machine that would lift the beets out of the furrow and take the tops off of them, and the machine came. Every great invention has come by the necessities of mechanics and manufacturers.

Now, we have found, and never so plainly as in our recent business disturbances, that our present financial system is wholly inadequate. In time of great trouble, when the people need

money, they can get none. They can not even get out of the banks their own deposits, and when checks are sent by banks in the West, and South, and Northwest to their Eastern bankers, where money is on deposit to their credit, they can not even get their own money in cash, but are compelled to accept clearing-house certificates.

This is called a bankers' panic. Everything that has occurred within the last ninety days in relation to our monetary affairs shows more and more conclusively, Mr. President, that our banking system and our financial system is out of order. Why, I have heard learned Senators on this floor, gentlemen who have grown gray in the public service, whose voices have echoed and reëchoed in this Hall a thousand times, say that these panics are the ordinary, usual, logical, and natural sequences that follow in the line of business transactions. Why, those are alarming statements. They are as alarming as they are surprising, and we propose to continue a system which we know is defective.

So I say, Mr. President, our system being wrong, it is time we began studying whether we can not improve it in some way instead of censuring those who suggest improvements. We do not come in and ask that any wild and untried, visionary, anarchistic scheme be brought to the attention of the people, but ask that an old custom of the fathers, one that was tried and tried successfully eighty years, be restored to us.

Then if you will issue to the people as much more money in paper as they need to transact their business there will be no question about the scarcity of money, provided still further, that you reduce the rate of interest so that people can afford to pay it, and so that a money-changer can not make any more money than a blacksmith or a bricklayer or a farmer; then money will always be plenty and remain out among the people, instead of moving always to money centers.

Bearing on this subject, I present an editorial article from the Atchison (Kans.) Champion, written by a gentleman who was honored by the suffrages of the people of our State four years for the office of lieutenant-governor, a gentleman of great intelligence and very high character. He purchased a daily newspaper that had been founded by John A. Martin, one of the pioneers of Kansas. Governor Felt, after the last election, gave expression to his conclusions in this article, beginning with "Something is the matter. The people know that sure enough and appreciate it strongly." The next paragraph follows: "Reform or revolution! Which shall it be?"

Something is the matter. The people know that sure enough and appreciate it strongly. The great bulk of the owners of three-fourths of all the wealth on this continent live north of the Potomac and east of the Apalachian range. It is not the result of their superior thrift, knowledge, pluck, age, or geographical position. They are loaners of money and merchandise. The balance of the United States are borrowers of money and merchandise. Ninety per cent of all the interest paid by the borrowers of this country goes to New England, New York, and Pennsylvania. They control the money market in all the South and all the West. Four years ago the Republicans promised to attempt to remedy these conditions. Two years ago the Democrats promised free coinage of silver. Wall street raised the cry "that is for the benefit of the silver regions of the West." It was beaten.

The advocates of the gold standard own and control the country to-day. And that, too, in the face of the declaration of all parties for bimetallism. Democrats never desert their party on account of its broken promises. If they did there would be no Democratic party to-day. Republicans are independent and leave in herds when they distrust the policy or leaders of their party. The result shows that.

Reform or revolution! Which shall it be? There has never been a time in the history of the world when so many people were giving patient, thoughtful study to financial questions as at the present moment. There is something vitally wrong, and the people know it. The people know they are sick. They think they know what ails them. They are seeking the remedy. Affairs are rapidly assuming a condition when it will be the struggle between organized capital and organized citizens. Trusts and combines govern the country. They elect Congress, make and unmake laws, are intrenched in courts, and dictate party platforms. The struggle is bound to come. Resolutions can not prevent it. Party promises can not stay its course. There must be prompt, absolute reform in financial affairs or a revolution in parties. The people know that a policy which makes combines rich and individuals poor is radically wrong. Dollars combine to double their value. The people are combining to save their own. The issue is here. It must be met. To attempt to evade it is abject folly. To refuse to listen to its demands is to invite disaster. To make the fight in the interest of organized capital against organized citizens means revolution. To say that the groundswell is all caused by demagogues and shysters is to imitate the imbecility of George III, who regarded Washington as a rebel, Hancock as a demagogue, and Patrick Henry as a political adventurer. There are many grains of golden truth hidden in the train-loads of buncombe offered by the Populist movement. To disregard those truths is both unwise and unpatriotic, and swings wide open the gateway of chaos.

Both of the great political parties, the Republican party which I loved so well and the Democratic party which I fought so long and so hard and so persistently, are both going the way of all old parties that have come to the end of their usefulness. To-day the leaders could grant to the workers of the country their simple request to restore to them one of the privileges that the fathers gave them, but instead of this they turn their backs upon the people and their faces are toward Wall street. It is time that the partnership existing between the Government of the United States and the speculators shall be dissolved. The leaders of the Democratic party are pursuing precisely the same course that the leaders of the Republican party did, and, Senators, you are on breakers.

The metropolitan press, the New York World, the Herald, and others, have offered something which I wish to present to the view of the Senate.

Here is a map from the New York World. [Exhibiting.] It is a map of the States of the United States, showing which of them, in the House of Representatives, voted for the repeal bill and which of them voted against it, and then in tables which follow, attention is called to the wealth of the different States and the population, calling special attention to what the Herald a few days before had referred to as the pocket boroughs of the West, and one of the other papers referred to as the "mining camps out in the Northwest," holding up to the world the idea that it is wealth against men, dollars against muscle; that because men in Massachusetts happen to be worth more than the men in Kansas, and the people in Pennsylvania happen to be worth a little more than the people in California, and the people in New York happen to be worth a little more than those in South Carolina and Georgia, therefore they are entitled to more consideration at the hands of the National Legislature. I say to the friends of this measure that they ought to discourage upon every possible occasion such exhibitions as this. Because a man happens to be rich he is no better and entitled to no more respect on that account than the man who is poor. I know we are poor in the West, but we are proud and defiant.

Mr. HOAR. What are the numbers in the population of the States given on the map, on one side and on the other?

Mr. PEFFER. I will give the map to the Senator and let him look at it at his leisure.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator stated that the map gives the population, and I wanted to see whether——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GORDON in the chair). Does the Senator from Kansas yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. HOAR. Does the Senator from Kansas decline to yield?

Mr. PEFFER. I will yield to the Senator if he will not occupy much time.

Mr. HOAR. I merely wish to call the attention of the Senator to the fact that in this raid which he says is made against the people by certain wicked persons, 42,535,272 people are on the side opposed to the Senator against only 19,000,000 on the Senator's side, according to his table.

Mr. PEFFER. I would not say a word if these newspaper criticisms were based upon population. The Constitution provides that in the House of Representatives the members shall be apportioned according to population, but that is not what is presented to the country and thrown into our faces while we are trying to build up an empire in the West, while we are throwing our railway lines through the mountains and in some places are compelled to place bridges upon overhanging wires, where we are opening mines and developing an arid region, exploring and settling a continent, we are taunted in this hour of our need with our poverty. I would care nothing about the comparison if it were simply confined to numbers.

The Senator from Massachusetts, in an able and eloquent speech which he delivered in this Chamber some days ago, took occasion to defend our people against some of the charges that were made, so that I know how kindly his heart is disposed to us; and I am satisfied he will pardon me when I say to him that while I think he is not responsible for it at all, what I call the insolence of the Eastern press is something intolerable, and that the people of the West have no patience with it. We are of the same stock the Senator comes from.

I want to say to Senators that they need not fear that any great harm will come to the country by reason of the predicted disintegration of the two old parties. There is a bright, young, vigorous party now on the map of politics that is ready to strike hands with men of all other parties to make the fight for silver. I care not whether you call it Populist, whether you call it National, no matter what you call it; there is coming a union of hearts and of hands on both sides of this great question, and that in the very near future. I delivered an address in the city of Washington about two and a half years ago, before I became a member of this body by taking the oath, in which I predicted that in a few years the leaders of two old parties would be together under the management of Grover Cleveland, and they are there now.

I wish to call the attention of the Senate to the number of the people demanding silver coinage, and of the number who are opposed to it. Take the producers of this country and compare them with the absorbers. Take 20,000,000 workers, give them $300 a year apiece, and the amount of money they would use in a year would be $6,000,000,000, or ten times as much as the capital of all the national banks in the country. There are only about 8,000 bankers, while there are 20,000,000 workers. I will ask the

Senate to permit me to incorporate in my remarks a quotation from a speech that I delivered in this body a year or more ago upon this particular branch of the subject:

Men of large means, men whose business affairs are managed on a large scale, need but little money. Our foreign commerce amounts to nearly $20,000,000,000 annually, and a few millions only are needed to settle balances. All the rest is done with drafts and bills of exchange. Our internal commerce is vast in extent, amounting yearly to many thousand million dollars, yet but little money comparatively is actually handled in doing the work, and most of that is needed to pay the poor men and women whose hands perform the hardest part of the labor. The farmer once made most of the implements he used in raising his crops. The fiber in his clothing was grown on the farm, the yarn was spun there, it was woven and made into garments within a few rods of the spot where it grew. Wheat and corn and cotton and tobacco were hauled miles away to the great market towns, and there exchanged for sugar, coffee, tea, spices, and other supplies which could not be produced at home. Meat was cured, fruit preserved, and grain ground on the land where they grew; but the smokehouse and the neighborhood mill, like the wagon shop by the wayside, have disappeared. The modern farmer sells his wheat and buys his flour; sells his cattle and swine and buys his meat; he sells his fruit and buys it back in cans and jars; he sells his cotton and wool and buys them back in cloth and clothing.

All this requires money, and a great deal of it. Only fifty years ago a few dollars sufficed to carry on an ordinary farm a year; now it requires ten times as much. Wheat and cotton will not pay for wagons and shoes and coats now. Money and only money will answer.

And now, after having superseded the farmer as a mechanic and manufacturer on his own ground, having crowded him out of the business of making forks, leather, and cloth, and having pushed him from barter to cash, having wrested from him many of his ancient privileges and changed his habits of economy and self-help, having removed his defenses and exposed his interests to the organized rapacity of stronger men, his competitors have diminished the sources of his income and thus increased the number of his necessities. At a time when he needs $10 they give him but one. When the aggregate business of the country nets but 4 per cent yearly profit he is compelled to pay 8 per cent to 10 per cent, and far beyond in some instances, for the use of borrowed money. Shadows flit over his fields, his bushels and pounds do not go as far as they did once; he has more trouble to pay his taxes, and his interest dues seem larger and harder to meet than ever before.

Now, one other point, and that is, the legal status of what we call the value of a dollar. Under the act of 1792 the silver dollar was made to represent the unit of value. It was not made the unit of value, but the simple single word dollar was made the unit of value, and that dollar was to be made of silver, weighing 371¼ grains of pure silver, or, as was stated by a Senator a few moments ago, 416 grains of standard silver, changed in 1837 to 412½ grains.

If Senators will take the trouble to refer to reports of committees, first session Twenty-third Congress, 1833–'34, they will find in Report No. 278 of the House of Representatives a report of a select committee on coins, a committee which had examined carefully the coinage of the country from the beginning of our history down to our time.

Mr. COCKRELL. In what year was that?

Mr. PEFFER. In 1834.

Mr. COCKRELL. Will the Senator from Kansas yield for a motion to adjourn?

Mr. PEFFER. If it is understood that I may conclude my remarks in the morning, before the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] proceeds, I will yield.

Mr. TELLER. There will be no objection to that, I think. I have none.

Mr. PEFFER. With the understanding that I am to have the floor in the morning, I will yield.

Mr. CALL. I ask leave to offer an amendment to the pending bill. I send it to the desk, and ask that it be printed and lie on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GORDON in the chair). It will be so ordered. What is the pleasure of the Senate?

Mr. COCKRELL. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 38 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, September 5, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate September 4, 1893.

COLLECTORS OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Moritz F. Blumenfeld, of Wisconsin, to be collector of internal revenue for the second district of Wisconsin, to succeed Earl M. Rogers, resigned.

W. K. Murphy, of Illinois, to be collector of internal revenue for the thirteenth district of Illinois, to succeed Daniel Hogan, resigned.

Furnifold M. Simmons, of North Carolina, to be collector of internal revenue for the fourth district of North Carolina, to succeed Elihu A. White, resigned.

I. C. Smith, of Michigan, to be collector of internal revenue for the fourth district of Michigan, to succeed John Steketee, resigned.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Lewis P. Stearnes, of Virginia, to be collector of customs for the district of Newport News, in the State of Virginia, to succeed Henry de B. Clay, resigned.

APPRAISER OF MERCHANDISE.

James E. Tucker, of California, to be appraiser of merchandise in the district of San Francisco, in the State of California, to succeed Robert A. Thompson, resigned.

POSTMASTERS.

William W. Screws, to be postmaster at Montgomery, in the county of Montgomery and State of Alabama, in the place of Charles W. Buckley, removed.

Milton A. Smith, to be postmaster at Anniston, in the county of Calhoun and State of Alabama, in the place of George B. Randolph, removed.

Chauncey M. Wright, to be postmaster at Milledgeville, in the county of Baldwin and State of Georgia, in the place of Carlos G. Wilson, whose commission expired March 27, 1893.

Albert S. Coil, to be postmaster at Beardstown, in the county of Cass and State of Illinois, in the place of Cad Allard, removed.

John Eddy, to be postmaster at Bloomington, in the county of McLean and State of Illinois, in the place of James S. Neville, whose commission expired March 26, 1893.

Isaac Fielding, to be postmaster at Champaign, in the county of Champaign and State of Illinois, in the place of John W. Spalding, removed.

John W. Potter, to be postmaster at Rock Island, in the county of Rock Island and State of Illinois, in the place of Howard Wells, removed.

William Cunningham, to be postmaster at Alexandria, in the county of Madison and State of Indiana, in the place of Joseph M. Tomlinson, resigned.

Allen H. Donham, to be postmaster at Terre Haute, in the county of Vigo and State of Indiana, in the place of David C. Greiner, removed.

Rufus H. East, to be postmaster at Bloomington, in the county of Monroe and State of Indiana, in the place of Joseph G. McPheeter, removed.

Francis M. Harbit, to be postmaster at Elwood, in the county of Madison and State of Indiana, in the place of James M. Overshimer, resigned.

Thomas A. Rush, to be postmaster at Columbus, in the county of Bartholomew and State of Indiana, in the place of Amos E. Hartman, resigned.

Henry Shireman, jr., to be postmaster at Martinsville, in the county of Morgan and State of Indiana, in the place of William H. Dryden, removed.

George W. Van Horne, to be postmaster at Muscatine, in the county of Muscatine and State of Iowa, in the place of John Mahin, removed.

Charles M. Blakesley, to be postmaster at Anita, in the county of Cass and State of Iowa, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after July 1, 1892; Sherman F. Myers, who was nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate December 22, 1892, not having been commissioned.

Jonathan R. Conrey, to be postmater at Leon, in the county of Decatur and State of Iowa, in the place of Jerome L. Harvey, resigned.

Philip Eich, to be postmaster at Bonaparte, in the county of Van Buren and State of Iowa, in the place of James P. Davis, removed.

Robert E. Kearney, to be postmaster at Sheldon, in the county of O'Brien and State of Iowa, in the place of Frank T. Piper, whose commission expired March 21, 1893.

John P. Kieffer, to be postmaster at Waterloo, in the county of Black Hawk and State of Iowa, in the place of Halsey H. Saunders, deceased.

Louie E. Lange, to be postmaster at Laurens, in the county of Pocahontas and State of Iowa, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after April 1, 1893.

Theodore B. Lemoin, to be postmaster at Manson, in the county of Calhoun and State of Iowa, in the place of George I. Long, whose commission expired April 1, 1893.

Louis A. Liffring, to be postmaster at Cherokee, in the county of Cherokee and State of Iowa, in the place of William M. Snell, resigned.

Henry R. Martin, to be postmaster of Oelwein, in the county of Fayette and State of Iowa, in the place of George W. Jamison, resigned.

Lewis A. Mitchell, to be postmaster at Vinton, in the county of Benton and State of Iowa, in the place of James C. Traer, resigned.

John L. Powers, to be postmaster at Carroll, in the county of Carroll and State of Iowa, in the place of John B. Hungerford, resigned.

Nelson C. Roberts, to be postmaster at Fort Madison, in the county of Lee and State of Iowa, in the place of James H. Duffus, resigned.

Joseph S. Root, to be postmaster at Charles City, in the county of Floyd and State of Iowa, in the place of Eugene B. Dyke, removed.

Justus J. Hetsch, to be postmaster at Newport, in the county of Campbell and State of Kentucky, in the place of Anne W. Jenks, removed.

Hamilton A. Belcher, to be postmaster at Farmington, in the county of Franklin and State of Maine, in the place of Josiah H. Thompson, resigned.

Henry F. Libby, to be postmaster at Pittsfield, in the county of Somerset and State of Maine, in the place of Henry F. Libby, whose commission expired January 29, 1891.

Harry B. Parker, to be postmaster at Bucksport, in the county of Hancock and State of Maine, in the place of Guy W. McAllister, whose commission expired March 19, 1893.

Frank L. Thayer, to be postmaster at Waterville, in the county of Kennebec and State of Maine, in the place of Willard M. Dunp, removed.

Jeremiah C. Byrns, to be postmaster at Ware, in the county of Hampshire and State of Massachusetts, in the place of Andrew J. Davis, resigned.

Jeremiah W. Coveney, to be postmaster at Boston, in the county of Suffolk and State of Massachusetts, in the place of Thomas N. Hart, resigned.

John W. Ellam, to be postmaster at Southbridge, in the county of Worcester and State of Massachusetts, in the place of George W. Corey, resigned.

John F. Freese, to be postmaster at East Walpole, in the county of Norfolk and State of Massachusetts, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after April 1, 1893.

William G. Goldsmith, to be postmaster at Andover, in the county of Essex and State of Massachusetts, in the place of Abraham Marland, resigned.

Emory E. Harwood, to be postmaster at Spencer, in the county of Worcester and State of Massachusetts, in the place of Edward M. Bliss, whose commission expired March 30, 1893.

Andrew Shanahan, to be postmaster at Rockland, in the county of Plymouth and State of Massachusetts, in the place of Joshua S. Smith, removed.

Fred W. Smith, to be postmaster at Adams, in the county of Berkshire and State of Massachusetts, in the place of John E. Mole, whose commission expired March 26, 1893.

Edwin M. Wheelock, to be postmaster at Hopedale, in the county of Worcester and State of Massachusetts, in the place of George A. Draper, whose commission expired March 21, 1893.

John J. Enright, to be postmaster at Detroit, in the county of Wayne and State of Michigan, in the place of Ellwood T. Hance, resigned.

John F. Crocker, to be postmaster at Kearney, in the county of Buffalo and State of Nebraska, in the place of Rice H. Eaton, resigned.

John A. Cook, to be postmaster at David City, in the county of Butler and State of Nebraska, in the place of Samuel L. Brown, jr., resigned.

Rogers Scribner, to be postmaster at St. Paul, in the county of Howard and State of Nebraska, in the place of Edwin F. Chinn, resigned.

Charles W. Dayton, to be postmaster at New York, in the county of New York and State of New York, in the place of Cornelius Van Cott, resigned.

James L. Dunning, to be postmaster at Cape Vincent, in the county of Jefferson and State of New York, in the place of John Buckley, whose commission expired March 23, 1893.

Charles L. Elwood, to be postmaster at Middletown, in the county of Orange and State of New York, in the place of Ira Dorrance, whose commission expired March 13, 1893.

Henry O. Fairchild, to be postmaster at Hammondsport, in the county of Steuben and State of New York, in the place of Llewellyn H. Brown, removed.

Henry B. Graves, to be postmaster at Genova, in the county of Ontario and State of New York, in the place of Herman F. Fox, whose commission expired March 23, 1893.

James A. McKenna, to be postmaster at Long Island City, in the county of Queens and State of New York, in the place of William Richensteen, resigned.

Edward C. Reynolds, to be postmaster at Haverstraw, in the county of Rockland and State of New York, in the place of Richard W. Oldfield, whose commission expired March 30, 1893.

Andrew T. Sullivan, to be postmaster at Brooklyn, in the county of Kings and State of New York, in the place of George J. Collins, deceased.

Lewis W. Terwilliger, to be postmaster at Hancock, in the county of Delaware and State of New York, in the place of Suydam F. Wheeler, whose commission expired March 30, 1893.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

Medical Department.

Maj. Henry R. Tilton, surgeon, to be deputy surgeon-general, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, August 12, 1893, vice Janeway, retired from active service.

Cavalry arm.

First Lieut. Alfred M. Fuller, Second Cavalry, to be captain, August 14, 1893, vice Eaton, Second Cavalry, deceased.

Second Lieut. David L. Brainard, Second Cavalry, to be first lieutenant, August 14, 1893, vice Fuller, Second Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Walter M. Whitman, Second Infantry, to be second lieutenant, May 3, 1893, with rank from November 20, 1892, vice Andrew, First Cavalry, resigned.

Infantry arm.

Second Lieut. Julius A. Penn, Thirteenth Infantry, to be first lieutenant, July 29, 1893, vice Benham, Second Infantry, appointed regimental quartermaster.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

Medical Department.

To be assistant surgeons, with the rank of first lieutenant, to date from May 12, 1893:

Alexander N. Stark, of Virginia, vice Moseley, promoted.

Charles Lynch, of New York, vice Burton, retired from active service.

John S. Kulp, of Pennsylvania, vice Taylor, retired from active service.

Edward L. Munson, of Connecticut, vice Skinner, promoted.

Charles E. B. Flagg, of South Carolina, vice Hopkins, resigned.

James M. Kennedy, of South Carolina, vice De Witt, resigned.

Guy C. M. Godfrey, of Ohio, vice De Loffre, promoted.

William F. Lewis, of North Carolina, vice Suter, resigned.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate September 4, 1893.

REGISTERS OF THE LAND OFFICE.

Frank P. Alexander, of Greenville, Tex., to be register of the land office at Alva, in Oklahoma Territory.

Wilson M. Hammock, of Hartsville, Tenn., to be register of the land office at Woodward, in Oklahoma Territory.

James E. Malone, of Juneau, Wis., to be register of the land office at Perry, in Oklahoma Territory.

Robert W. Patterson, of Macon, Ga., to be register of the land office at Enid, in Oklahoma Territory.

Edward Phillips, of Natchitoches, La., to be register of the land office at Natchitoches, La.

RECEIVERS OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Robert H. Allen, of Iuka, Miss., to be receiver of public moneys at Alva, in Oklahoma Territory.

Joseph H. King, of Anniston, Ala., to be receiver of public moneys at Perry, in Oklahoma Territory.

David H. Patton, of Remington, Ind., to be receiver of public moneys at Woodward, in Oklahoma Territory.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *September 5, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

VALUES OF EXPORTS AND IMPORTS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury inclosing a letter from the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of that Department stating the reason why a detailed statement of the values of exports and imports carried under the several flags engaged in the foreign carrying trade during each of the last two fiscal years, called for by a resolution of the 31st ultimo, can not be furnished unless a special appropriation is made for the purpose; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented three petitions of the Bankers' Association of Georgia, praying for the establishment of a subtreasury in that State; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. QUAY presented a petition of the Window Glass Workers' Assembly, No. 300, Knights of Labor, of Pittsburg, Pa., and a petition of the Patrons of Husbandry, of western Pennsylvania

and eastern Ohio, praying for the free coinage of silver; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the Central Labor Union, of McKean County, Pa., remonstrating against the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented three petitions of business men of Pittsburg, Philadelphia, and Shawsbury, in the State of Pennsylvania, praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. McMILLAN presented a petition of manufacturers, merchants, vesselmen, and other citizens of Detroit, Mich., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HOAR presented the petition of Timothy T. Sawyer, president of the Warren Institution for Savings, and other citizens of Charlestown, Mass., and the petition of the George H. Gilbert Manufacturing Company and numerous citizens of Ware, Mass., praying for the unconditional repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. FAULKNER presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Parkersburg, W. Va., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. BUTLER presented the petition of Thomas D. Richardson and others, representing the people of Beaufort, S. C., praying for Federal aid and relief for the sufferers by the late cyclone; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. WALTHALL presented a petition numerously signed by citizens of Port Gibson, Miss., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. KYLE presented a petition of citizens of Aberdeen, S. Dak., praying for the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of citizens of Aberdeen, S. Dak., remonstrating against the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MITCHELL of Wisconsin presented the petition of Stephen Bull, Jackson I. Case, B. B. Northrup and others, merchants and manufacturers of Racine, Wis., praying for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman silver law and favoring the appointment of an expert commission to devise an improved system of national currency; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I present a petition of 14 residents of Northwood, N. Dak., praying for the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver act. This petition seems to bear the impress of having been sent out from a common center. It is nicely printed, and has evidently been sent to interior banks throughout the country. I find on it a note, which reads:

Get signed and send to your Senator or Representative without delay.

I move that the petition lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. BATE presented a petition of citizens of Lake, Dyer, and Obion Counties, in the State of Tennessee, praying that an appropriation be made for the purpose of building a levee from Hickman, Ky., to the highlands at or near Island No. 10, in the State of Tennessee; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. ALLISON presented a petition of the Business Men's Association of Davenport, Iowa, praying for the repeal of the Sherman silver law, and for the appointment of a representative commission to inquire into the whole subject of the currency, to report to the next regular session of Congress; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a resolution of Algona Grange, No. 1684, Patrons of Husbandry of Iowa, favoring the coinage of all gold and silver mined in the United States, remonstrating against the repeal of the law taxing State banks, and praying that all money shall be issued by the General Government; also favoring an increase in the currency equal to $50 per capita; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented memorials of the Advance Farmers' Alliance, No. 568, of Shelby County, and of the Lynn Farmers' Alliance of Montgomery County, in the State of Iowa, remonstrating against the repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law, unless there be first enacted a law providing for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the present ratio of 16 to 1; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of members of the Mississippi Valley Hardware Association, and a petition of business men of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PALMER presented a petition of business men of Joliet, Ill., praying for the unconditional repeal of the so-called Sherman silver law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. LODGE introduced a bill (S. 837) for the relief of Albert Locke, alias Shipley; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. GALLINGER introduced a bill (S. 838) for the relief of Col. Jesse H. Strickland, Eighth Tennessee Cavalry, United States Volunteers; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. QUAY (by request) introduced a bill (S. 839) granting an increase of pension to George J. Bond; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also (by request) introduced a bill (S. 840) granting an increase of pension to James E. Engle; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 841) to amend sections 44 and 30, title 52, of the Revised Statutes of the United States; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. BUTLER introduced a bill (S. 842) to provide for the purchase of lands adjoining the United States naval station, Port Royal, S. C.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. McPHERSON introduced a bill (S. 843) for the relief of Bvt. Col. Thomas P. O'Reilly; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. PETTIGREW introduced a bill (S. 844) for the relief of W. L. Hall; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 845) granting a pension to George Gamache; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. ALLISON introduced a bill (S. 846) for the construction of a public building at Clinton, Iowa; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 847) to amend section 707 of the Revised Statutes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 848) authorizing the Secretary of War to place the name of Hugh McClain on the roll of the First Regiment of Iowa Cavalry; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 849) for the relief of Jean Louis Legaré, of Dominion of Canada; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also introduced a bill (S. 850) to refund to the State of Iowa the amounts paid by said State to the noncommissioned officers and enlisted men of the Second and Third Regiments Iowa Volunteer Infantry, for gray uniforms charged to them by the United States mustering and disbursing officers when they were mustered into the United States service in May and June, 1861, and afterwards ordered to be discarded and blue uniforms substituted therefor; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 851) to settle and adjust the claims of any State for expenses incurred by it in defense of the United States; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. McPHERSON (by request) introduced a bill (S. 852) to incorporate the National Light and Fuel Company; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. PEFFER (by request) introduced a bill (S. 853) to advance learning, the arts and sciences, and to promote the general welfare by founding a college of scientific learning in the District of Columbia; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

PURCHASE OF SILVER BULLION.

Mr. FAULKNER. Mr. President, I desire to give notice that I shall ask the indulgence of the Senate on Friday, immediately after the morning business, to submit some remarks upon the pending financial measure, which is the unfinished business.

DISTRICT GARBAGE.

Mr. VANCE. I submit a resolution and ask its reference to the Committee on the District of Columbia, as it relates to the abatement of a nuisance in this District.

The resolution was read, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, as follows:

Be it resolved, etc., That the Commissioners of the District of Columbia are hereby directed to immediately report to the Senate why they have permit-

ted a factory for boiling and manufacturing into fertilizers all garbage and dead animals collected in the District of Columbia within the city limits at the foot of South Capitol street.

Also the distance of said factory from the Capitol, and if its location at said point is not in violation of the health ordinances of the District of Columbia, approved by joint resolution of Congress April 24, 1820;

Also, how far said factory is located from any sewer, and if the offal escaping therefrom is not drained into the open gutters of South Capitol street and onto the stagnant marshes in the rear of said factory, in violation of an ordinance of the old corporation of Washington, approved August 16, 1862.

Also, if the contractor is not required by the terms of his contract to remove outside of the limits of the District of Columbia all garbage and dead animals that he collects, or consume them to ashes; and, if so, why he is allowed to manufacture such decayed and offensive substances into fertilizers within the limits of the city of Washington.

Also, if he is paid an extra price for manufacturing said garbage and dead animals into fertilizers, instead of incinerating them; and, if so, how much.

Also, if said contractor is paid an extra price for collecting, daily, the garbage of the entire cities of Washington and Georgetown; and, if so, how much; and if the complaints from citizens and reports of inspectors do not show that said garbage is not collected daily.

HOUR OF MEETING.

Mr. VOORHEES. I submit a resolution for consideration, which I ask may go over, subject to be called up for action to-morrow morning at the close of the routine business.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That on Thursday, the 7th day of September, and until further order of the Senate, the daily hour of meeting be 11 o'clock a. m.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will go over under the rule.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL QUESTIONS.

Mr. MORGAN. I submit a concurrent resolution and ask that it be printed and go over until to-morrow.

The concurrent resolution was read, as follows:

Concurrent resolution to raise a joint committee of the two Houses to consider questions of finance, etc.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That a committee of the two Houses of Congress be raised, to consist of seven Senators, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, and seven Representatives, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who, together shall constitute a joint select committee on finance, the chairman of which shall be chosen by the committee, by ballot, and he shall appoint a clerk to said committee.

2. Said joint committee shall hold its sessions in the Capitol, and in such other places as a majority thereof shall direct, and may employ a stenographer, and such messengers as shall be found necessary, and shall have power to direct the administration of oaths and to send for papers and persons. Eleven members of said joint committee shall constitute a quorum to do business.

3. Said joint committee shall examine into the financial and monetary condition of the Government and people of the United States, with a view to devising means for the betterment thereof, and, to this end, shall have full jurisdiction to examine and report upon any financial or monetary question that concerns the people or the Government of the United States.

4. Said committee shall make a special examination of the following subjects, and report upon each, separately, in their recommendations to Congress, and may submit one bill or several bills to the respective Houses to carry their recommendations into effect, that is to say:

(1) The full or partial remonetization of legal-tender silver coins and the ratio of legal value that shall be established between such coins and coins of gold.

(2) The revision of the laws relating to legal tender, so as to prevent unjust discrimination in the legal-tender quality of any descriptions of money coined or issued by the United States, or for the redemption of which the Government is pledged.

(3) The repeal of the taxes upon the issues of State banks that circulate as money, and what restrictions upon the conduct of such banks are necessary for the public security and welfare, and are within the competency of Congress to provide.

(4) The actual cause of the present embarrassed condition of the people and the national banks, in reference to the character or the supply of circulating medium, and the consequent paralysis of trade and industry. And what further legislation is required to prevent the national banks from abusing their powers under the law, either by their separate dealings, or in combination, concert, or conspiracy with other banks or persons to the detriment of the Government or the people of the United States.

(5) Said joint committee may appoint subcommittees, to consist of not less than four members thereof, three members to constitute a quorum, who shall be empowered to sit in any place in the United States and to take testimony on oath to be administered by the designated chairman of such subcommittee, to be reported to the general committee. Such subcommittees shall be appointed under the resolution or order of the general committee, in such manner as they shall agree.

(6) The expenses incurred in the execution of the requirements of this concurrent resolution shall be borne in equal sums by the respective Houses of Congress, to be paid out of the contingent funds appropriated, or to be appropriated by Congress.

Mr. HARRIS. The resolution has to go to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, I think. Does it not provide that the expenses shall be paid out of the contingent fund?

Mr. BUTLER. It does.

Mr. HARRIS. Then it has by law to go to that committee.

Mr. MANDERSON. It is to be printed and lie over.

Mr. HARRIS. It may be printed and lie over; but before the Senate can act upon it it must go before the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Mr. MANDERSON. Certainly.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The concurrent resolution will go over and be printed.

REDEMPTION IN SILVER, ETC.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution submitted by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN], coming over from yesterday. It will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted yesterday by Mr. ALLEN, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to furnish to the Senate, without unnecessary delay, full information on the following subjects:

1. Whether the Treasury Department has, at any time, redeemed any portion of the silver or coin certificates in silver coin, as provided by the act of July 14, 1890, commonly known as the Sherman act, and if so, when and what amount has been thus redeemed.

2. What amount, in coinage value, of silver bullion purchased by the Treasury Department under the act of July 14, 1890, and subject to coinage, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, remains uncoined, and why said silver bullion has not been coined and paid out, in accordance with the provisions of said act.

3. Whether any part, and, if so, what part, of the paper money redeemed in gold by the Treasury Department since March 4, 1893, was canceled after redemption or in any manner withheld from general circulation.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. ALLISON. I suggest to the Senator from Nebraska that he strike out the words "without unnecessary delay." I think that phrase is unusual in a resolution of inquiry.

Mr. ALLEN. I will do so. Let the resolution be so modified.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment suggested will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 2 of the resolution, after the word "Senate," strike out the words "without unnecessary delay."

Mr. ALDRICH. I suggest to the Senator from Nebraska that there are no silver certificates issued under the act of 1890. I suppose he means United States Treasury notes. I suggest that a change be made in the resolution in that respect also.

Mr. VOORHEES. They are all Treasury notes under that act.

Mr. ALDRICH. They are all Treasury notes issued under the act of 1890.

Mr. ALLEN. I will so modify the resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The proposed modification of the resolution will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 5, after the word "the," strike out "silver or coin certificates in silver coin" and insert "Treasury notes;" insert "for" after "provided," in line 6; and in line 8, after the word "act," insert "in silver coin;" so as to make the paragraph read:

First. Whether the Treasury Department has, at any time, redeemed any portion of the Treasury notes provided for by the act of July 14, 1890, commonly known as the Sherman act, in silver coin, and if so, when and what amount has been thus redeemed?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution as modified.

The resolution as modified was agreed to.

ADDITIONAL GOLD CERTIFICATES.

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask that action be taken on the joint resolution (S. R. 24) for the issue of additional gold certificates, introduced by me August 31, 1893. I see that it was simply read twice and ordered to lie on the table. I ask that it be read at length.

The joint resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed, in pursuance of the provisions of section 254 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, to issue certificates, not at any time to exceed 20 per cent beyond the amount of gold coin and bullion in the Treasury, and to use and expend the same in payment of interest on the public debt and any other demands, obligations, or liabilities of the United States.

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask that the joint resolution be referred to the Committee on Finance, and I desire to call their especial attention to it in order that prompt action may be had. Under the existing law the Secretary of the Treasury may issue 20 per cent of gold certificates in payment of the interest on the public debt. The joint resolution simply proposes to extend that provision so as to make gold certificates available to be expended on any liability of the Government, and I think in the present condition of the Treasury it is an absolutely necessary thing to do.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be referred to the Committee on Finance.

PURCHASE OF SILVER BULLION.

Mr. PEFFER rose.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," the pending question being on the amendment of Mr. PEFFER to the substitute reported by the Committee on Finance.

Mr. PEFFER. Mr. President, when the Senate adjourned yesterday I was calling attention to the peculiar phraseology of the law with regard to the value of the dollar. We commonly say that the silver dollar is the unit of value. The unit of value is the dollar simply, and its value as specified in the act of Congress of April 2, 1792, section 9, is the value of the Spanish milled dollar. The amount of silver contained in the Spanish milled dollar was ascertained by melting one thousand clean Spanish dollars of different dates, and dividing the product in pure silver by 1,000. It was found that the quotient was 371¼ grains, and that has been the value of the dollar from that day until this.

The word "value" must relate to either one or the other of two things. It must relate to the weight in silver or else it must relate to the value of products in general use which that much silver would purchase in the open market; and while the latter view is, I think, the correct one in monetary philosophy, yet our laws have constantly recognized the former—the weight. If you will examine the act of February 9, 1793, you will find that silver coins and gold coins of foreign nations then current in this country, were made legal tender in payment of debts at certain specified weights. You will find by consulting the act of 1834, and again the act of 1837, and again the act of 1857 and the act of 1873, that the same rule of weight has been maintained uniformly. I submit the sections of those acts:

Sections 9 and 11 of the act of April 2, 1792, are as follows:

SEC. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall be from time to time struck and coined at the said mint, coins of gold, silver, and copper, of the following denominations, values, and descriptions, viz: Eagles—each to be of the value of ten dollars or units, and to contain two hundred and forty-seven grains and four-eighths of a grain of pure, or two hundred and seventy grains of standard gold. Half eagles—each to be of the value of five dollars, and to contain one hundred and twenty-three grains and six-eighths of a grain of pure, or one hundred and thirty-five grains of standard gold. Quarter eagles—each to be of the value of two dollars and a half-dollar, and to contain sixty-one grains and seven-eighths of a grain of pure, or sixty-seven grains and four-eighths of a grain of standard gold. Dollars or units—each to be of the value of a Spanish milled dollar as the same is now current, and to contain three hundred and seventy-one grains and four-sixteenths parts of a grain of pure, or four hundred and sixteen grains of standard silver. Half dollars—each to be of half the value of the dollar or unit, and to contain one hundred and eighty-five grains and ten sixteenths parts of a grain of pure, or two hundred and eight grains of standard silver. Quarter dollars—each to be of one-fourth the valu of the dollar or unit, and to contain ninety-two grains and thirteen-sixteenth pars of a grain of pure, or one hundred and four grains of standard silver. Dimes—each to be of the value of one-tenth of a dollar or unit, and to contain thirty-seven grains and two-sixteenth parts of a grain of pure, or forty-one grains and three-fifth parts of a grain of standard silver. Half-dimes—each to be of the value of one-twentieth of a dollar, and to contain eighteen grains and nine-sixteenth parts of a grain of pure, or twenty grains and four-fifth parts of a grain of standard silver. Cents—each to be of the value of the one-hundredth part of a dollar, and to contain eleven pennyweights of copper. Half-cents—each to be of the value of half a cent, and to contain five pennyweights and half a pennyweight of copper.

* * * * * * *

SEC. 11. *And be it further enacted*, That the proportional value of gold to silver in all coins which shall by law be current as money within the United States, shall be as fifteen to one, according to quantity in weight, of pure gold or pure silver; that is to say, every fifteen pounds weight of pure silver shall be of equal value in all payments with one pound weight of pure gold, and so in proportion as to any greater or less quantities of the respective metals.

Section 1, of this act of February 9, 1793, is as follows:

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That from and after the first day of July next, foreign gold and silver coins shall pass current as money within the United States, and be a legal tender for the payment of all debts and demands, at the several and respective rates following, and not otherwise, viz: The gold coins of Great Britain and Portugal, of their present standard, at the rate of one hundred cents for every twenty-seven grains of the actual weight thereof; the gold coins of France, Spain, and the dominions of Spain, of their present standard, at the rate of one hundred cents for every twenty-seven grains and two-fifths of a grain, of the actual weight thereof. Spanish milled dollars, at the rate of one hundred cents for each dollar, the actual weight whereof shall not be less than seventeen pennyweights and seven grains; and in proportion for the parts of a dollar. Crowns of France, at the rate of one hundred and ten cents for each crown, the actual weight whereof shall not be less than eighteen pennyweights and seventeen grains, and in proportion for the parts of a crown. But no foreign coin that may have been, or shall be issued subsequent to the first day of January, seventeen hundred and ninety-two, shall be a tender, as aforesaid, until samples thereof shall have been found, by assay, at the Mint of the United States, to be conformable to the respective standard required, and proclamation thereof shall have been made by the President of the United States.

Section 1 of the act of March 3, 1849, is as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there shall be, from time to time, struck and coined at the Mint of the United States and the branches thereof, conformably in all respects to law (except that on the reverse of the gold dollar the figure of the eagle shall be omitted), and conformably in all respects to the standard for gold coins now established by law, coins of gold of the following denomination and values, viz: double eagles, each to be of the value of twenty dollars or units; and gold dollars, each to be of the value of one dollar, or units.

Section 3 of the act of February 21, 1857, is as follows:

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That all former acts authorizing the currency of foreign gold or silver coins, and declaring the same a legal tender in payment for debts, are hereby repealed: but it shall be the duty of the Director of the Mint to cause assays to be made, from time to time, of such foreign coins as may be known to our commerce, to determine their average weight, fineness, and value, and to embrace in his annual report a statement of the result thereof.

Section 8 and following of the act of January 18, 1837, are as follows:

SEC. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That the standard for both gold and silver coins of the United States shall hereafter be such that of one thousand parts by weight nine hundred shall be of pure metal and one hundred of alloy, and the alloy of the silver coins shall be of copper, and the alloy of the gold coins shall be of copper and silver, provided that the silver do not exceed one-half of the whole alloy.

SEC. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That of the silver coins the dollar shall be of the weight of four hundred and twelve and one-half grains; the half dollar of the weight of two hundred and six and one-fourth grains; the quarter dollar of the weight of one hundred and three and one-eighth grains; the dime, or tenth part of a dollar, of the weight of forty-one and a quarter grains; and the half dime, or twentieth part of a dollar, of the weight of twenty grains and five-eighths of a grain. And that dollars, half dollars, and quarter dollars, dimes, and half dimes shall be legal tenders of payment, according to their nominal value, for any sums whatever.

SEC. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That of the gold coins the weight of the eagle shall be two hundred and fifty-eight grains; that of the half eagle one hundred and twenty-nine grains; and that of the quarter eagle sixty-four and one-half grains. And that for all sums whatever the eagle shall be a legal tender of payment for $10, the half eagle for $5, and the quarter eagle for two and a half dollars.

SEC. 11. *And be it further enacted*, That the silver coins heretofore issued at the mint of the United States, and the gold coins issued since the 31st day of July, 1834, shall continue to be legal tenders of payment for their nominal values on the same terms as if they were of the coinage provided for by this act.

* * * * * * *

SEC. 14. *And be it further enacted*, That gold and silver bullion brought to the mint for coinage shall be received and coined, by the proper officers, for the benefit of the depositor: *Provided*, That it shall be lawful to refuse, at the mint, any deposits of less value than $100 and any bullion so base as to be unsuitable for the operation of the mint: *And provided also*, That when gold and silver are combined, if either of these metals be in such small proportions that it can not be separated advantageously, no allowance shall be made to the depositor for the value of such metal.

SEC. 15. *And be it further enacted*, That when bullion is brought to the mint for coinage it shall be weighed by the Treasurer, in the presence of the depositor, when practicable, and a receipt given which shall state the description and weight of the bullion: *Provided*, That when the bullion is in such a state as to require melting before its value can be ascertained the weight after melting shall be considered as the true weight of the bullion deposited.

The point I wish to make, and it is the only one in the conclusion of this address, is that to-day, as in 1792 and in all the intervening years, the value of the dollar, notwithstanding it is made in gold now, is 371¼ grains of pure silver, with the alloy as specified in the law, and that in all our coinage history the laws have provided gold should be measured by silver.

The coinage report of 1834, before alluded to, states in so many words that the object of the committee was to make the value of gold coin conform to its value in silver, and in the act of that year Congress reduced the weight of gold in gold coins 6 per cent. In every act relating to the subject the silver measure has been preserved. Even the demonetization act of 1873 does not change the rule, though it has always been construed as if it did.

I repeat, so that Senators need not mistake my meaning, the value of the dollar which we use is not 25.8 grains of gold, but it is 371¼ grains of pure silver; that that was the amount found and enacted to be the value of the dollar in 1792, and that it has been kept up continuously until the present time.

I now read a few lines from section 14 of the act of February 12, 1873:

That the gold coins of the United States shall be a one-dollar piece, which, at the standard weight of 25.8 grains, shall be the unit of value.

A gold dollar of the standard weight of 25.8 grains of gold shall be the unit of value. This "unit of value" was described and provided for in the act of 1792, and it has been preserved from that time to this, if the law be strictly construed. It is 371¼ grains of pure silver that constitutes the value of the dollar, the lawful dollar. The 25.8 grains dollar provided for in section 14 of the act of February 12, 1873, simply provides that the gold coin, not the value of it, shall be substituted for the silver coin when we refer to the unit of value. The value remains the same, though the metal of the coin be changed. The dollar is the standard—not metal of any kind.

APPENDIX A.

Coinage of the United States mints from 1840 to 1890, inclusive.

Calendar years.	Total coinage.			
	Gold.	Silver.	Minor.	Total.
1840	$1, 675, 482. 50	$1, 726, 708. 00	$24, 627. 00	$3, 426, 812. 50
1841	1, 091, 857. 50	1, 132, 750. 00	15, 973. 67	2, 240, 581. 17
1842	1, 829, 407. 50	2, 332, 750. 00	23, 833. 50	4, 185, 991. 40
1843	8, 108. 707. 50	2, 834, 750. 00	24, 283. 30	11, 967, 830. 70
1844	5, 427, 670. 00	2, 235, 550. 00	23, 987. 52	7, 687, 207. 52
1845	3, 756, 447. 50	1, 873, 200. 00	38, 948. 04	5, 668, 595. 44
1846	4, 034, 177. 50	2, 558, 580. 00	41, 206. 00	6, 633, 965. 50
1847	20, 202, 325. 00	2, 374, 450. 00	61, 836. 69	22, 638, 611. 69
1848	3, 775. 512. 50	2, 040, 050. 00	64, 137. 99	5, 879, 720. 49
1849	9, 007, 761. 50	2, 114, 950. 00	41, 984. 32	11, 164, 695. 82
1850	31, 981, 733. 50	1, 866, 100. 00	44, 467. 50	33, 892, 306. 00
1851	62, 614, 492. 50	774, 397. 00	99, 635. 43	63, 488, 524. 93
1852	56, 846, 187. 50	909, 410, 00	50, 630. 94	57, 806, 228. 44
1853	20, 377, 909. 00	9, 077, 571. 00	67, 059. 78	48, 522, 539. 78
1854	25, 915, 962. 50	8, 619, 270. 00	42, 638. 35	34, 577, 870. 85

Coinage of the United States mints from 1840 to 1890, inclusive—Continued.

Calendar years.	Total coinage.			
	Gold.	Silver.	Minor.	Total.
1855	$29,387,968.00	$3,501,245.00	$16,030.79	$32,905,243.79
1856	36,857,768.50	5,142,240.00	27,106.78	42,027,115.28
1857	32,214,040.00	5,478,760.00	178,010.46	37,870,810.46
1858	22,938,413.50	8,495,370.00	246,000.00	31,679,783.50
1859	14,780,570.00	3,284,450.00	364,000.00	18,429,020.00
1860	23,473,654.00	2,259,330.00	205,660.00	25,938,704.00
1861	83,395,530.00	3,783,740.00	101,000.00	87,280,270.00
1862	20,875,997.50	1,252,516.50	280,750.00	22,409,264.00
1863	22,445,482.00	809,267.80	498,400.00	23,753,149.80
1864	20,081,415.00	609,917.10	926,687.14	21,618,019.24
1865	28,295,107.50	691,005.00	968,552.86	29,954,665.36
1866	31,435,945.00	982,409.25	1,042,960.00	33,461,314.25
1867	23,828,625.00	908,876.25	1,819,910.00	26,557,411.25
1868	19,371,387.50	1,074,343.00	1,697,150.00	22,142,880.50
1869	17,882,987.50	1,266,143.00	963,000.00	19,812,130.50
1870	23,198,787.50	1,378,255.50	350,325.00	24,927,368.00
1871	21,032,685.00	3,104,038.30	99,890.00	24,236,613.30
1872	21,812,645.00	2,504,488.50	369,380.00	24,686,513.50
1873	57,022,747.50	4,024,747.60	379,455.00	61,426,950.10
1874	35,254,630.00	6,851,776.70	342,475.00	42,448,881.70
1875	32,951,940.00	15,347,892.00	246,970.00	48,546,803.00
1876	46,579,452.50	24,503,307.50	210,800.00	71,293,560.00
1877	43,999,864.00	28,393,045.50	8,525.00	72,401,434.50
1878	49,786,052.00	28,518,850.00	58,186.50	78,363,088.50
1879	39,080,080.00	27,569,776.00	165,003.00	66,814,859.00
1880	62,308,279.00	27,411,693.75	391,395.95	90,111,368.70
1881	96,850,890.00	27,940,163.75	428,151.75	125,219,205.50
1882	65,887,085.00	27,973,132.00	960,400.00	94,821,217.00
1883	29,241,990.00	29,246,968.45	1,604,770.41	60,093,728.86
1884	23,991,756.50	28,534,865.15	796,483.78	53,323,105.43
1885	27,773,012.50	28,962,176.20	191,622.04	56,926,810.74
1886	28,945,542.00	32,086,709.90	343,186.10	61,375,438.00
1887	23,972,383.00	35,191,081.40	1,215,686.26	60,379,150.66
1888	31,380,808.00	33,025,604.45	912,200.78	65,318,615.23
1889	21,413,931.00	35,496,683.15	1,283,408.49	58,194,022.64
1890	26,467,182.50	39,202,908.20	1,384,792.14	61,054,882.84

APPENDIX B.

Total gold and silver used as money of the world, in form of coin and bullion, and amount per capita.

Mr. Leech, Director of the United States Mint, has prepared for the Congressional Committee on Coinage a series of tables showing the estimated and officially reported amounts of gold, silver, and paper in circulation as money in different parts of the world. The following table comprises the portions of the statement in reference to gold and silver:

SPECIE.

Country.	Gold.	Silver.
United States	$702,018,869	$482,071,346
United Kingdom	550,000,000	100,000,000
France	900,000,000	709,000,000
Germany	500,000,000	145,000,000
Belgium	65,000,000	55,000,000
Italy	140,000,000	60,000,000
Switzerland	15,000,000	15,000,000
Greece	2,000,000	4,000,000
Spain	100,000,000	125,000,000
Portugal	40,000,000	10,000,000
Austria-Hungary	40,000,000	90,000,000
Netherlands	25,000,000	65,000,000
Scandinavian Union	32,000,000	10,000,000
Russia	190,000,000	60,000,000
Turkey	50,000,000	45,000,000
Australia	100,000,000	7,000,000
Egypt	100,000,000	15,000,000
Mexico	5,000,000	50,000,000
Central America		500,000
South America	45,000,000	25,000,000
Japan	90,000,000	50,000,000
India		900,000,000
China		700,000,000
The Straits		100,000,000
Canada	16,000,000	5,000,000
Cuba, Haiti, etc	20,000,000	2,000,000
Totals	3,727,018,869	3,820,571,346

POPULATION OF THE EARTH.

Europe	357,379,000
Asia	825,954,000
Africa	163,953,000
America	121,713,000
Australia	3,230,000
Oceanic Islands	7,420,000
Polar Regions	80,400
Total	1,479,729,400

The total gold of the world in coin and bullion used as money amounts to $2.51 per capita.

The total silver of the world in coin and bullion used as money amounts to $2.58 per capita.

The total gold and silver of the world in coin and bullion used as money amounts to $5.09 per capita.

If the whole world is reduced to a gold basis, $2.51 per capita will be our money of redemption, instead of $5.00 under a bimetallic system.

UNITED STATES COINAGE LAWS.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, the United States Mint was established by the act of April 2, 1792. The gold coins consisted of the ten, five, and two-and-a-half-dollar pieces. The silver coins consisted of dollars, half-dollars, quarter-dollars, dimes, and half-dimes.

The act declared—

That the proportional value of gold to silver in all coins which shall by law be current as money within the United States, shall be as 15 to 1, according to quantity in weight, of pure gold or pure silver; that is to say, every fifteen pounds' weight of pure silver shall be of equal value in all payments with one pound weight of pure gold, and so in proportion as to any greater or less quantities of the respective metals. (Laws relating to loans, currency, etc., 1886; page 213.)

The silver dollar was the unit of account, and consisted of 371¼ grains of pure silver, or 416 grains of standard silver. The dollar contained 3½ grains more of alloy than the present silver dollar, but exactly the same amount of pure silver. There was no gold dollar coined. The eagle, which was $10, contained 247½ grains of pure gold, which would make the dollar, if such a coin had been struck, contain 24¾ grains of pure gold.

Section 14 of the act declared—

That it shall be lawful for any person or persons to bring to the said mint gold and silver bullion, in order to their being coined; and that the bullion so brought shall be there assayed and coined as speedily as may be after the receipt thereof, and that free of expense to the person or persons by whom the same shall have been brought.

The act of June 28, 1834, reduced the quantity of gold in the gold coins and made the eagle or ten-dollar piece contain 232 grains of pure gold or 258 grains of standard gold, which would require only 23.20 grains of pure gold to make the dollar, or 25.8 grains of standard gold. This reduction changed the ratio from 15 to 1 to 16 to 1.

The act of January 18, 1837, reduced the alloy in the coins to one-tenth of the weight. The standard dollar by that act contained 371¼ grains of pure silver, or 412½ grains of standard silver, which is the same as the standard dollar now coined. The gold dollar, if such a coin had been authorized, would have contained 23.20 grains of pure gold, or 25.77 grains of standard gold. The fourteenth section of the act of 1837, declared—

That gold and silver brought to the mint for coinage, shall be received and coined, by the proper officers, for the benefit of the depositor.—*Ibid.*, page 225.

By the ninth section of the statute of 1837, the half-dollar contained 206¾ grains of standard silver, and the quarter-dollar, dime, etc., weight in proportion.

The act of February 21, 1853, reduced the weight of the subsidiary coin, making the weight of the half-dollar 192 grains of standard silver, and reducing the weight of the minor coins proportionally. By that act, the legal tender of the half-dollar, quarter-dollar, etc., was limited to $5, the dollar remaining a full legal tender.

The act of February 9, 1793, declared—

That from and after the 1st day of July next, foreign gold and silver coins shall pass current as money within the United States, and be a legal tender for the payment of all debts and demands, at the several and respective rates following, and not otherwise.—*Ibid.*, p. 217.

* * * * * * *

Spanish milled dollars, at the rate of 100 cents for each dollar, the actual weight whereof shall not be less than 17 pennyweights and 7 grains; and in proportion for the parts of a dollar. Crowns of France, at the rate of 110 cents for each crown, the actual weight whereof shall not be less than 18 pennyweights and 17 grains, and in proportion for the parts of the crown.—*Ibid.*, p. 217.

This law remained in force until the 21st of February, 1857, when it was provided that subsidiary Mexican and Spanish coin, when received at the mint, should be recoined; and all former acts making foreign coin a legal tender were repealed.

By the act of February 12, 1873, the silver dollar was omitted from the list of silver coins, and a gold dollar of 23.22 of pure gold, or 25.8 grains of standard gold, was substituted for the silver dollar as the unit of account.

The act of February 28, 1878, restored the standard dollar of 412½ grains of standard silver, as provided in the act of January 18, 1837, and provided for the purchase, at the market price, of not less than $2,000,000 nor more than $4,000,000 worth of silver bullion each month, to be coined into standard dollars.

The act of July 14, 1890, provided for the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion per month, at the market price, and the issuance of legal-tender Treasury notes in payment of such purchases. The act made these notes redeemable in gold or silver coin, at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury.

The third section of the act declared—

That the Secretary of the Treasury shall each month coin two million ounces of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act into standard silver dollars until the 1st day of July, 1891, and after that time he shall coin of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act as much as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes herein provided for.—*United States Statutes at Large*, volume 26, page 289.)

COINAGE OF SILVER BEFORE 1873.

From the establishment of the mint, in 1792, to 1873 there was no year in which there was not more or less legal-tender silver coins struck at the mints. There were many years in which there were no dollars coined, but there was no year, month, or day, Sundays and holidays excepted, when the owner of silver bullion could not take it to the mint and have it coined into dollars or some other denomination of silver coins. The total amount of silver coinage previous to 1873 was $105,437,025.60. Only about $8,000,000 of this amount was legal-tender silver dollars, but all the balance was full legal-tender silver money, excepting the subsidiary coin coined after 1853.

Between 1860, the date of the opening of the Comstock, and 1873, the date of the demonetization of silver, there were 4,337,610 standard silver dollars coined; in the year 1871, 1,115,760; in 1872, 1,106,450; and between January 1 and February 12, 1873, the date of the passage of the mint act, there were 293,600 dollars coined.

These figures are taken from the report of the Director of the Mint for 1890, page 247. I call particular attention to the fact that there were coined during the years 1871 and 1872, 2,232,210 standard silver dollars, and that there were coined between the 1st day of January, 1873, and the 12th day of February, 1873, when the mint act took effect, 293,600 standard silver dollars. If the coinage had continued at the same rate during the entire year there would have been coined in 1873, 2,492,185. The statement which emanated from the Senator from Ohio that the silver dollar was obsolete at the time of the passage of the mint act, and which statement has been constantly repeated by the gold press and gold orators ever since, is absolutely untrue. After the adoption of the ratio of 16 to 1 in 1834, silver was undervalued in our coinage, and the bullion value of silver for export was 3 per cent more than its coinage value. Consequently the silver dollars and silver bullion produced in this country were exported with profit.

But in the beginning of the seventies we produced more silver than could profitably be exported, and our silver miners found it desirable to take silver to the mint for coinage. At that time vast and extensive silver mines had been discovered in this country, and the prospect of a large increase in our current coin from our silver mines and from the mines of Mexico and South America was encouraging. The right of the owner of silver bullion to take the same to the mint and have it coined for his own benefit was of the greatest value.

THE GOLD MONOMETALLISTS

of London saw very clearly that if our mints remained open for the coinage of silver our financial strength would be irresistible, and their cherished scheme of a single gold standard for their debts must fail.

Since silver was demonetized by the mint act the gold monometallists have continually and persistently asserted that the silver dollar was suppressed by previous legislation, and that no existing valuable right was taken away by the legislation of 1873. I call attention to the following dialogue, which occurred in the Senate of the United States on March 30, 1876, in which Senators Conkling, SHERMAN, Bogy, and McDonald participated. It will be found on pages 2062 and 2063 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 4, part 3, Forty-fourth Congress, first session:

Mr. CONKLING. Will the Senator allow me to ask him or some other Senator a question? Is it true that there is now by law no American dollar: and if so is it true that the effect of this bill is to make half-dollars and quarter-dollars the only silver coin which can be used as legal tender?

Mr. SHERMAN. I will answer the Senator from New York, that since the law of 1853 the use of the silver whole dollar has been discontinued and none has been issued. That has been so since 1853.

Mr. CONKLING. Is there power to issue it?

Mr. SHERMAN. There is no power and has been none.

Mr. BOGY. The power to issue existed from 1853 to 1873; but since 1873 I think there has been no power.

Mr. SHERMAN. There has been no silver dollar issued since 1853, and my impression is that the law of 1853 did not confer the power to issue it. The Senator thinks it did confer the power, but the law of 1873 cut off the power, in my judgment, if it existed. The dollar was practically dropped from our coinage system for the best possible reason, the same reason that the five-franc piece and the large coins of England have been dropped out of their currency, simply because it is inconvenient in size and form for ordinary coinage and ordinary business.

* * * * * * *

Mr. MCDONALD. Permit me to ask the Senator from Ohio whether we have any law on the subject of the silver coinage of the United States except section 3513 of the Revised Statutes?

Mr. SHERMAN. I read that section.

Mr. MCDONALD. Is not that the only law we have defining the present silver coins of the United States?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, sir. I read that.

Mr. MCDONALD. Does not that leave out the old standard dollar entirely?

Mr. SHERMAN. Undoubtedly, but I say there has been none coined since 1853. The question of restoring that dollar is a question that is not in this bill at all. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 4, part 3, Forty-fourth Congress, first session, pages 2062 and 2063.)

* * * * * * *

The Senator from Ohio, in his speech of August 30, 1893 (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 31, page 1053), after he had undertaken to give figures as to the coinage of silver, which he obtained from the reports of the Director of the Mint, said:

After the passage of the act of February 21, 1853, gold in great quantities, the product of the mines in California, was freely coined at the ratio of 16 to 1 and was in general circulation. If, then, the purchase of silver instead of the free coinage of silver is the demonetization of silver, it was demonetized practically in 1835, and certainly in 1853, when the purchase of silver and its use as money increased enormously.

Comment upon such statements is unnecessary. The record of the mint, which I have given, is the best evidence that they are untrue.

The reasons why there was no more silver coined previous to the discovery of the Comstock mines were that the United States produced little or no silver, and the silver imported came in the shape of coin, and was made a legal tender. The Comstock mines were discovered in 1859, and, although specie payments were suspended, the coinage of silver dollars in the two years preceding the demonetization of silver was many times greater than in any preceding year.

It is true that the change of ratio in 1834, from 15 to 1 to 16 to 1, undervalued silver and overvalued gold, as compared with the valuations of Europe and Asia. At the ratio of 16 to 1 an ounce of silver is worth $1.2929. At the ratio of 15½ to 1, which is the prevailing ratio in Europe, an ounce of silver is worth a little over $1.33 in gold. At the ratio of 15 to 1, which prevailed in this country from 1792 to 1834, and which now prevails in Asia, an ounce of silver is worth a little over $1.37. This was the reason why the silver in the silver dollar was 3 per cent premium over the gold in the gold dollar. Europe would give $1.33 an ounce, while the United States paid only $1.2929. This was no reason for demonetizing silver. It might have been a reason for changing the ratio to conform to the European ratio, by making a lighter silver dollar.

HISTORY OF THE DEMONETIZATION OF SILVER.

Previous to the Napoleonic wars silver was the principal money of Great Britain, sometimes the only coin. But after the battle of Waterloo, and when peace had been fully established throughout Europe, England, in 1816, passed a law demonetizing silver and adopting the single gold standard. During the fifties, and while there was an enormous output of gold from California and Australia, an effort was made by Chevalier, of France, and Maclaren, of England, and other writers upon political economy, to demonetize gold. Germany, Austria, and Holland adopted the single silver standard and closed their mints against gold. The effort to demonetize the yellow metal, because it was plenty and cheap, would have succeeded if England could have been satisfied that gold would continue to be the plentier metal. In 1854 England sent commissioners to California and Australia to investigate the probable continuance of the output of gold, and after thorough investigation it was ascertained that the great gold placers would soon be exhausted.

From the discovery of America up to 1850 all writers who have investigated the question agree that there were more than 31 ounces of silver produced for every ounce of gold.

England inferred, and correctly inferred, from the experience of three hundred and fifty years that in the long run silver would be more plentiful than gold, and she therefore adhered to her gold policy.

Our war closed in 1865. In that same year a union was formed between France, Italy, Greece, Belgium, and Switzerland, by which it was agreed to establish common coins, weights, and measures.

In 1867 the French Emperor extended an invitation to the United States and all the nations of Europe to hold

A CONFERENCE IN PARIS

for the purpose of extending the principles of the union throughout the commercial world. Mr. Samuel B. Ruggles was appointed commissioner for the United States.

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], who was then chairman of the Committee on Finance of the Senate, visited London in the summer vacation of 1867. He afterwards visited Paris, where the conference was in session, and wrote to Mr. Ruggles the following letter:

HON. JOHN SHERMAN TO SAMUEL B. RUGGLES, ESQ., ADVOCATING THE GOLD STANDARD.

HOTEL JARDIN DES TUILERIES, *May 18, 1867.*

MY DEAR SIR: Your note of yesterday, inquiring whether Congress would probably, in future coinage, make our gold dollar conform in value to the gold 5-franc piece, has been received.

There has been so little discussion in Congress upon the subject that I can not base my opinion upon anything said or done there.

The subject has, however, excited the attention of several important commercial bodies in the United States, and the time is now so favorable that I feel quite sure that Congress will adopt any practical measure that will secure to the commercial world a uniform standard of value and exchange.

The only question will be how this can be accomplished.

The treaty of December 23, 1865, between France, Italy, Belgium, and Switzerland, and the probable acquiescence in that treaty by Prussia, has laid the foundation for such a standard.

If Great Britain will reduce the value of her sovereign 2 pence, and the United States will reduce the value of her dollar something over 3 cents, we then have a coinage in the franc, dollar, and sovereign easily computed, and which will readily pass in all countries; the dollar as 5 francs, and the sovereign as 25 francs.

This will put an end to the loss and intricacies of exchange and discount. Our gold dollar is certainly as good a unit of value as the franc, and so the English think of their pound sterling. These coins are now exchangeable only at considerable loss, and this exchange is a profit only to brokers and bankers. Surely each commercial nation should be willing to yield a little to secure a gold coin of equal value, weight, and diameter, from whatever mint it may have been issued.

As the gold 5-franc piece is now in use by over 60,000,000 of people of several different nationalities, and is of convenient form and size, it may well be adopted by other nations as the common standard of value; leaving to each nation to regulate the divisions of this unit in silver coins or tokens.

If this is done France will surely abandon the impossible effort of making two standards of value. Gold coins will answer all the purposes of European commerce. A common gold standard will regulate silver coinage, of which the United States will furnish the greater part, especially for the Chinese trade.

I have thought a good deal of how the object you propose may be most readily accomplished. It is clear that the United States can not become a party to the treaty referred to. They could not agree upon the silver standard, nor could we limit the amount of our coinage, as proposed by the treaty. The United States is so large in extent, is so sparsely populated, and the price of labor is so much higher than in Europe, that we require more currency per capita. We now produce the larger part of the gold and silver of the world, and can not limit our coinage, except by the wants of our people and the demands of commerce.

Congress alone can change the value of our coin. I see no object in negotiating with other powers on the subject. As coin is not now in general circulation with us, we can readily fix by law the size, weight, and measure of future issues. It is not worth while to negotiate about that which we can do without negotiation, and we do not wish to limit ourselves by treaty restrictions.

In England many persons of influence and different chambers of commerce are earnestly in favor of the proposed change in their coinage. The change is so slight with them that an enlightened self-interest will soon induce them to make it, especially if we make the greater change in our coinage. We will have some difficulty in adjusting existing contracts with the new dollar; but as contracts are now based upon the fluctuating value of paper money, even the reduced dollar in coin will have more purchasable value than our currency.

We can easily adjust the reduction with the public creditors in the payment or conversion of their securities, while private creditors might be authorized to recover upon the old standard.

All these are matters of detail, to which I hope the commission will direct their attention.

And now, my dear sir, allow me to say in conclusion that I heartily sympathize with you and others in your efforts to secure the adoption of the metrical system of weights and measures.

The tendency of the age is to break down all needless restrictions upon social and commercial intercourse. Nations are now as much akin to each other as provinces were of old.

Prejudices disappear by contact. People of different nations learn to respect each other as they find that their differences are the effect of social and local custom not founded upon good reasons.

I trust that the industrial commission will enable the world to compute the value of all productions by the same standard, to measure by the same yard or meter, and weigh by the same scales.

Such a result would be of greater value than the usual employments of diplomatists and statesmen.

I am, very truly, yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

(Senate Executive Document No. 14, Fortieth Congress, second session, pages 107 to 110.)

Mr. Ruggles, soon after the receipt of the above letter, obtained an interview with the Emperor Louis Napoleon, and in the report of that interview, among other things, says:

It was then stated to the Emperor that an eminent American statesman, Mr. SHERMAN, Senator from Ohio, chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate of the United States, and recently in Paris, had written an important and interesting letter, expressing his opinion that the gold dollar of the United States ought to be, and readily might be, reduced by Congress in weight and value to correspond with the gold 5-franc piece of France; that the letter is now before the international committee having the question of uniform coin under special examination, to which letter, as being one of the best interpretations of the views of the American people, the attention of the public authorities of France was respectfully invited. The Emperor then closed the audience by repeating the assurances of his gratification that the important international measure in question was likely to receive active support from the United States.

The letter of Mr. SHERMAN above referred to, dated the 18th of May, 1867, originally written in English, was presented in a French translation a few days afterwards to the international committee in full session, where it was received with unusual interest and ordered by the committee to be printed in both languages.—(*Senate Executive Document No. 14*, Fortieth Congress second session, page 9.)

This letter was presented by Mr. Ruggles to the international committee, as appears from the following extract from his letter to Mr. Seward of July 18, 1867:

On the 17th of May the undersigned presented to the international committee the letter of Senator Sherman in a French translation, which was received with lively interest and forthwith ordered, with the approbation of the imperial commission, to be published both in French and English. It is but due to the history of unification of money to state that the earnest and active agitation of this subject in a practical form, on the part of the United States, exerted its full share of influence in leading the Government of France to adopt the decisive measure of inviting in diplomatic form an authoritative "conference" of delegates, duly accredited from all the nations of the European and American world practically accessible, to meet at Paris on the 17th of June, not merely for an exchange of views or a discussion of general principles, but 'practically to seek for the basis of ulterior negotiation' between the nations."—*Senate Executive Document No. 14*, Fortieth Congress, second session, page 13.

SHERMAN'S POWERFUL INFLUENCE FOR MONOMETALLISM.

In his report of November 7, 1867, pages 99 and 100, Mr. Ruggles said:

The establishment of the single standard exclusively of gold is, in truth, the cardinal, if not the all-important feature of the plan proposed by the conference, relieving the whole subject, by a single stroke of the pen, from the perplexity, and, indeed, the impossibility of permanently unifying the multiplicity of silver coins scattered through the various nations of Europe. It is a matter of world-wide congratulation that on this vital point the delegates from the nineteen nations represented in the conference were unanimous, not excepting France itself, so strongly wedded by its national traditions to a double standard.

It will be seen by the report of the discussions (sixth "seance," pages 79 to 82) that the subject of the "common denominator," or unit of gold, elicited a considerable difference of opinion. A denominator or unit equivalent to and equiponderant with the existing gold 5-franc coin of France was actively supported by the United States and by Austria, Russia, Switzerland, Portugal, and other nations. The delegates from Great Britain and from Sweden urged, in preference, a denominator or unit of 10 francs.

The question was finally decided by a formal vote by ayes and noes, on a roll call of the nations, which resulted in a large majority in favor of the denominator or unit of 5 francs, thirteen (13) nations voting in its favor, and two (2), Great Britain and Sweden, in favor of the 10 francs. The delegates from Prussia, Baden, Bavaria, and Wurtemburg abstained from voting, mainly in view of existing stipulations in local monetary conventions, which temporarily embarrassed their action.

On all these questions the interests of monetary unification were materially advanced by the publication at Paris of the concise but admirable letter from the Hon. JOHN SHERMAN, Senator in Congress from the State of Ohio, a copy of which has been already communicated to the Department of State, but which for more convenient reference is now transmitted herewith in duplicate with its French translation.

His opinions are unmistakably expressed in the following extracts:

As the gold 5-franc piece is now in use by over sixty millions of people of several different nationalities, and is of convenient form and size, it may well be adopted by other nations as a common standard of value, leaving to each nation to regulate the divisions of this unit in silver coin or tokens.

If this is done France will surely abandon the impossible effort of making two standards of value. Gold coins will answer all the purposes of European commerce. A common gold standard will regulate silver coinage.

'In England many persons of influence and different chambers are earnestly in favor of the proposed change in the coinage. The change is so slight with them that an enlightened self-interest will soon induce them to make it, especially if we make the greater change in our coinage.—*Senate Executive Document No. 14*, Fortieth Congress, second session, pages 99, 100.'

The English Government was represented at the conference as an advocate of the single gold standard. Mr. Rivers Wilson, the delegate, read the following declaration:

Before recommencing a discussion of the lists of questions, the English delegates deem it their duty to the Government they represent, to the members of the conference, and particularly to the Government of the Emperor, by whose invitation they are present, and to prevent any misunderstanding, to indicate their delicate and exceptional situation. They are convinced of the necessity of this declaration from the serious and practical turn the discussion has borne to this time, and particularly from the high signification that must attach in public opinion to the presidency of his imperial highness, Prince Napoleon, and to the labors which must result from it.

The English Government was obliged to accept the cordial invitation from the Government of the Emperor to participate in this conference, because a refusal would have shown a want of courtesy and would have made it liable to accusations of prejudices upon this very important question.

Indeed, the English nation is in a position much more independent upon this question than most continental nations.

So long as public opinion has not decided in favor of a change of the present system, which offers no serious inconveniences, either in wholesale or retail trade, and until it shall be incontestably demonstrated that a new system offers advantages sufficiently commanding to justify the abandonment of that which is approved by experience and rooted in the habits of the people, the English Government could not believe it to be its duty to take the initiative in assimilating its coinage with those of the countries of the continent.

But the English Government will always be ready to aid any attempt to enlighten and guide public opinion in the appreciation of the question, and facilitate the discussion of the means by which such an assimilation, so advantageous in theory, may be effected.

Thus, while consenting to be represented in this conference, the English Government has found it necessary to place the most careful restrictions upon its delegates; their part is simply to listen to the different arguments, to study the situation as developed in the discussion, and to report to their Government. Thus far they have found no difficulty in voting in favor of all the propositions adopted by the conference, because their principles agree with the system now in force in England. But they cannot vote for any question tending to bind their Government, or express any opinion to induce the belief that Great Britain will adopt the convention of 1865.—*Senate Executive Document, No. 14*, Fortieth Congress, second session, page 55.

Mark the language:

The English delegates had found no difficulty in voting in favor of all the propositions adopted by the conference, because their principles agree with the system now in force in England. But they can not vote for any question tending to bind their Government or express any opinion to induce the belief that Great Britain will adopt the convention of 1865.

The convention of 1865 established the Latin Union, which was the bimetallic union of Europe. The earnest efforts of the English delegation, of Mr. Ruggles, the delegate from the United States, and of Mr. SHERMAN, chairman of the Committee on Finance of the Senate of the United States, procured a decision of the conference in favor of the single gold standard. England and the United States inaugurated the movement for a gold standard in the conference of 1867, and by the aid of Mr. SHERMAN'S letter secured the recommendation. The report of Mr. Ruggles, portions only of which have been quoted, abundantly establishes this most important fact.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to ask the Senator, while he is giving the history of that question, whether that report of Mr. Ruggles was not asked for by a vote of the Senate at the time, and whether it was not communicated to the Senate by the Treasury Department, and published as a Senate document?

Mr. STEWART. At the time?

Mr. HOAR. Yes.
Mr. STEWART. It was sometime afterwards, I believe.
Mr. HOAR. Within a few weeks or months?
Mr. STEWART. Did the Senator ever read it?
Mr. HOAR. Yes; I read it.
Mr. STEWART. At the time?
Mr. HOAR. I was not a Senator at the time, and I do not know whether I read it at the time or not.
Mr. STEWART. I suppose the Senator asked the question in order to have me read it.
Mr. HOAR. I wish to add, if the Senator will pardon me, as he was giving the history of that transaction, I thought he would himself desire that so important a part of the history of legislation as that report should be spread before the Senate.
Mr. STEWART. I do not care about a speech being injected in mine.
Mr. HOAR. I ask the Senator if that is not true?
Mr. STEWART. I am spreading before the Senate all the facts. If the Senator will not interrupt me, he can draw his inferences afterwards.
Mr. HOAR. What I stated is a fact.
Mr. STEWART. I am referring to the documents, and every document that I quote I refer to in my speech, giving the page, date, and everything connected with it.
Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator allow me?
Mr. STEWART. I do not wish to be interrupted, because it breaks the thread of my remarks.
Mr. HOAR. I desire to ask the Senator a question of fact purely, not to interrupt his remarks. I desire to ask whether the report to which he has referred was not asked for by the Senate by resolution, communicated to the Senate by the Treasury Department, and published by the Senate as a document? There is no doubt about that.
Mr. STEWART. Of course it was. If the Senator wants to know any particulars about it, he can see it. I refer to it. I can not get the report and read it now.
Mr. HOAR. I put my question, if the Senator will pardon me——
Mr. STEWART. I decline to be interrupted to put a whole lot of trash in my speech.
Mr. HOAR. Very well.
Mr. STEWART. It simply breaks up the narrative I was giving.
Mr. HOAR. I shall endeavor to make my point after the Senator gets through.
Mr. STEWART. After I get through the Senator can talk.

FIRST ATTEMPT BY MR. SHERMAN TO DEMONETIZE SILVER.

On the 6th day of January, 1868, Mr. Sherman introduced the following bill, which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

[Fortieth Congress, second session.]
S. 217.
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, *January 6, 1868.*

Mr. SHERMAN asked, and by unanimous consent, obtained leave to bring in the following bill; which was read twice, referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed:

A bill in relation to the coinage of gold and silver.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, with a view to promote a uniform currency among the nations, the weight of the gold coin of $5 shall be 124$\frac{4}{10}$ troy grains, so that it shall agree with a French coin of 25 francs, and with the rate of thirty-one hundred francs to the kilogram; and the other sizes or denominations shall be in due proportion of weight, and the fineness shall be nine-tenths or 900 parts fine in 1,000.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That, in order to conform the silver coinage to this rate and to the French valuation, the weight of the half dollar shall be 179 grains, equivalent to 116 decigrams; and the lesser coins be in due proportion, and the fineness shall be nine-tenths. But the coinage of silver pieces of one dollar, five cents, and three cents shall be discontinued.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That the gold coins to be issued under this act shall be a legal tender in all payments to any amount; and the silver coins shall be a legal tender to an amount not exceeding $10 in any one payment.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That in the assay of the gold coins to be issued under this act there shall be no greater deviation allowed from the standard of fineness than one-thousandth part above or below.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That the devices on the coins shall consist of such emblems and inscriptions as are proper to the Republic of the United States, but plainly distinct from those now in use; each coin shall express its proper date and value; and the value of the gold coins shall be stated both in dollars and in francs; and whenever it is ascertained that Great Britain has conformed the pound sterling to the value of the piece of $5, then the value in British terms shall also be stated; and the devices as well as the diameters of the coins shall be fixed by the Director of the Mint, under the control of the Secretary of the Treasury.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That foreign gold coins, conformed to the basis herein prescribed, shall be a legal tender in all payments whatsoever, so long as the standards of weight and fineness are duly maintained; and it shall be the duty of the commissioners of assay, meeting at the Mint in the month of February of each year, to try a sufficient number of such foreign coins of the preceding year, to be procured for that purpose by the Director of the Mint, and if any serious deficiency be found, the Secretary of the Treasury shall have power to suspend the right of legal-tender in the particular case.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That when the gold and silver coins of the United States are brought to the mint or its branches for recoinage, such coins shall be received by weight, and those of them which have been issued as nine-tenths fine shall be so received, but all others by assay. And in payments at the mint for both gold and silver coins above specified, the value shall be rendered according to the weights prescribed in the first and second sections of this act; and there shall be no charge for coinage, seigniorage, or internal revenue; and on all other deposits of gold for coinage the charge shall be one-half of 1 per cent.

SEC. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That for the uses of the Treasury and the custom-houses, the Secretary of the Treasury shall, as soon as this act takes effect, publicly declare the rates at which the coins of the United States and of foreign countries now current shall be reckoned upon estimates furnished by the Director of the Mint.

SEC. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That this act shall take effect on the 1st day of January, 1869, but to expedite the recoinage it shall be lawful for the mint and its branches to receive gold and silver coins of the United States for that purpose on and after the 1st day of October next, and to give certificates therefor, payable in the order of receipt in the new coins, and to convert the metals thus received into ingots and planchets to be ready for stamping when this act takes effect. And in respect to other deposits of gold or purchases of silver the like certificates may be issued if demanded, on and after the 1st day of October next.

SEC. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That the weights to be used at the mint when this act goes into operation may be either troy weights or French gram weights, or both, as the Secretary of the Treasury shall direct.

On the 9th of June, 1868, Mr. SHERMAN reported the foregoing bill favorably, and advocated its passage by an elaborately written report, in which he referred to and relied on the reports of Mr. Ruggles of the proceedings of the monetary conference which had been held in Paris the previous year. He then said:

The second inquiry of your committee was whether the plan proposed by the Paris conference was the best mode to accomplish the end desired.

It proposes:

1. *A single standard exclusively of gold.*
2. Coins of equal weight and diameter.
3. Of equal quality of fineness—nine-tenths fine.
4. The weight of the present 5-franc gold piece to be the unit.
5. The coins of each nation to bear the names and emblems prepared by each, but to be legal tenders public and private in all.

The single standard of gold is an American idea, yielded reluctantly by France and other countries, where silver is the chief standard of value. The impossible attempt to maintain two standards of value has given rise to nearly all the debasement of coinage of the last two centuries. The relative market value of silver and gold varied like other commodities, and this led first to the demonetization of the more valuable metal, and second to the debasement or diminution of the quantity of that metal in a given coin.

He then gave further reasons in favor of the gold standard, and continued—

For the reasons that induced the adoption of this unit of value, reference is made by your committee to the report of Mr. Ruggles. They may be summed up as follows:

"1. The coin proposed is the smallest gold coin in use, and therefore the most convenient unit of value.

"2. It approximates more nearly to existing coinage of the great commercial nations than any other proposed. The dollar reduced 3$\frac{1}{2}$ cents at the mint becomes the unit of value, and its decimal divisions and multiples enable us to retain all our well-known coins, both of gold and silver.

"A very slight reduction of the English sovereign makes it conform to the multiple of the dollar and franc, so that 5 francs are a dollar, and 25 are a sovereign, or half-eagle. The same unit is easily adapted to existing coinage of other nations.

"3. The franc is already in use by 72,000,000 of the most industrious and thrifty people of Europe—France, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, and Holland.

"4. The actual gold coinage in francs from 1793 to 1856 was 1,312,220,814, while the gold coinage in dollars during the same period was $845,536,591, and in sovereigns was $965,341,450, thus showing that in France alone the existing gold coinage on the proposed standard is greater than upon any other that could be adopted."

* * * * * * *

France, whose standard is adopted, makes a new coin similar to our half-eagle. She yields to *our demand for the sole standard of gold*, and during the whole conference evinced the most earnest wish to secure the cooperation of the United States in the great object of unification of coinage.—*Senate Committee Report No. 117*, Fortieth Congress, second session, pages 4, 5, and 6.

DEMONETIZATION DEFEATED IN 1868.

Senator E. D. Morgan, of New York, from the same committee, submitted a minority report from which I make the following extracts:

In June last, while the Universal Exposition was in progress, an international monetary conference was held in Paris under the presidency of the French minister of foreign affairs.

Delegates from the several European nations were present.

Mr. Samuel B. Ruggles represented the United States, and his report on the subject has been communicated to Congress through the Department of State. From this it appears that a plan of monetary unification was there agreed upon, the general features of which are:

1. A single standard, exclusively of gold.
2. Coins of equal weight and diameter.
3. Of equal quality, nine-tenths fine.
4. The weight of the present 5-franc gold piece to be the unit, with its multiples. The issue by France of a new coin of value and weight of 25 francs was recommended.
5. The coins of each nation to continue to bear the names and emblems preferred by each, but to be legal tenders, public and private, in all.

Senate bill 217 is designed to carry into effect this plan. Its passage would reduce the weight of our gold coin of $5, so as to agree with a French coin of 25 francs.

It determines that other sizes and denominations shall be in due proportion of weight and fineness, and that foreign gold coin, conformed to this basis, shall be a legal tender so long as the standard of weight and fineness are maintained. It requires that the value of gold coin shall be stated both in dollars and francs, and also in British terms, whenever Great Britain shall conform the pound sterling to the piece of $5.

It conforms our silver coinage to the French valuation, and discontinues the silver pieces of $1, and 5 and 3 cents, and limits silver as a legal tender to payments of $10. The 1st of January, 1869, is fixed as the period for the act to take effect.

The reduction which this measure would effect in the present legal standard value of the gold coin of the United States would be at the rate of three

and a half dollars in the hundred, and the reduction in the legal value of our silver coinage would be still more considerable.

A change in our national coinage so grave as that proposed by the bill should be made only after the most mature deliberation. The circulating medium is a matter that directly concerns the affairs of everyday life, affecting not only the varied, intricate, and multiform interests of the people at home, to the minutest detail, but the relations of the nation with all other countries as well. The United States has a peculiar interest in such a question. It is a principal producer of the precious metals, and its geographical position, most favorable in view of impending commercial changes, renders it wise that we should be in no haste to fetter ourselves by any new international regulation based on an order of things belonging essentially to the past.

* * * * * * *

The American continent, too, produces four-fifths of the silver of commerce. The mines of Nevada have already taken high rank, and Mexico alone supplies more than half the world's grand total. Our relations with the silver-producing people, geographically most favorable, are otherwise intimate.

Manifestly our business intercourse with them can be largely increased, a fact especially true of Mexico, which, for well-known political reasons, seeks the friendliest understanding. This must not be overlooked.

These two streams of the precious metals, poured into the current of commerce in full volume, will produce perturbations marked and important. Other countries will be affected, but the United States will feel the effect first and more directly than any other.

The Pacific Railway will open to us the trade of China, Japan, India, and other Oriental countries, of whose prepossessions we must not lose sight. For years silver, for reasons not fully understood, has been the object of unusual demand among these Asiatic nations, and now forms the almost universal medium of circulation, absorbing rapidly the silver of coinage. The erroneous proportion fixed between silver and gold by France, and which we are asked to copy, is denuding that country of the former metal. Our own monetary system, though less faulty, is not suitably adjusted in this respect. The silver dollar, for instance, a favorite coin of the native Indian and distant Asiatic, has well nigh disappeared from domestic circulation, to reappear among the Eastern peoples with whom we more than ever seek close intimacy.

As they prefer this piece we do well to increase rather than discontinue its coinage, for we must not deprive ourselves of the advantages which its agency will afford, and "it would be useless to send dollars to Asia inferior in weight and value to its well-known Spanish and American prototype."

Mr. Ruggles says that nearly all the silver coined in the United States prior to 1858 has disappeared. A remedy is not to be found in the adoption of a system that undervalues this metal, for that commodity, like any other, shuns the market where not taken at its full value to find the more favorable one.

It is a favorite metal, entering into all transactions of daily life, and deserves proper recognition in the monetary system.

It is said that "to promote the intercourse of nations with each other, uniformity in weights, coins, and measures of capacity is among the most efficacious agencies." Our weights, coins, and measures now correspond much more nearly to the English than to the French standard. Our commerce with Great Britain is nine times greater than with France, and if the former does not adopt the Paris system of coinage—and we have no assurance that she will—the United States would certainly commit a serious error in passing this bill. No argument is needed to enforce this. And what of the rising communities? A properly adjusted coinage would stimulate commerce with those great parts of the continent lying south and southwest of us, with the West Indies and the countless millions of trans-Pacific countries. We stand midway on the thoroughfare of traffic between these two widely-separated races. Our railways, canals, our natural highways, and merchant marine may be made to control their carrying trade.

But here, as everywhere else, a well-adjusted coinage becomes a wand of power in the hand of enterprise. Tokens are not wanting to mark the favor in which the United States are held by China. The unusual honor recently conferred by that government upon a citizen of this country was not alone because of his fitness as an ambassador at large, but was a mark as well of a friendly disposition towards this country. Future harmony of intercourse is assured, too, by their adoption as a text-book in diplomatic correspondence of a leading American authority on international law. Much might also be said about the growing partiality of Japan towards this country, but it is enough that the recent opening of certain ports indicates an enlightened change in the politics of these two old empires, of which commerce, especially our own, is availing itself.

* * * * * * * *

Our coinage is believed to be the simplest of any in circulation, and every way satisfactory for purposes of domestic commerce: it possesses special merits of everyday value, and should not, for light reasons, be exchanged where the advantages sought to be gained are mainly theoretical, engaging more properly the attention of the philosopher than the practical man. The instincts of our people lead them to believe that we are on the eve of important business changes, and we may therefore safely hold fast for the present to what experience has proven to be good, following only where clear indications may lead, and a future of great prosperity opens to our country.

The war gave us self-assertion of character, and removed many impediments to progress; it also proved our ability to originate means to ends. Its expensive lesson will be measurably lost if it fails to impress upon us the fact that we have a distinctive American policy to work out, one sufficiently free from the traditions of Europe to be suited to our peculiar situation and the genius of our enterprising countrymen.

The people of the United States have been quick to avail themselves of their natural advantages. The public lands, not only, and the mines of precious metals, but our political institutions, have likewise powerfully operated in our favor, and will continue to do so with increasing force.—*Senate Report, Com. No. 117*, 40th Congress, second session, page 13.

I observe we are doing business without a quorum. I do not ask that a quorum be present in my case, but I give notice that during the remainder of this session, when other Senators are speaking, who are giving facts and information so much needed by Senators who spend their time in the cloak rooms, we shall have 43 Senators in their seats.

Mr. PUGH. Mr. President, the absence of a quorum being suggested, and it being manifest that a quorum is not present, I move a call of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LODGE in the chair). The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators responded to their names:

Aldrich,	Davis,	Lodge,	Ransom,
Allen,	Dixon,	McMillan,	Roach,
Allison,	Dolph,	McPherson,	Shoup,
Bate,	Dubois,	Manderson,	Smith,
Berry,	Faulkner,	Mitchell of Oreg.	Stewart,
Blackburn,	Frye,	Morgan,	Stockbridge,
Brice,	Gordon,	Palmer,	Teller,
Butler,	Gray,	Pasco,	Vance,
Caffery,	Hale,	Peffer,	Vest,
Call,	Harris,	Perkins,	Voorhees,
Camden,	Hawley,	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Carey,	Hoar,	Platt,	Washburn,
Coke,	Jones of Ark.	Pugh,	White of La.
Cullom,	Lindsay,	Quay,	Wolcott.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Fifty-six Senators have answered to their names. A quorum of the Senate being present, the Senator from Nevada will proceed.

Mr. STEWART. The bill was never called up for action. If it had been the reading of Mr. Morgan's report would have settled its fate, and it would not have received a single vote in the Senate. The author himself would certainly have repudiated it in view of the cogent reasons why it should not pass which Mr. Morgan presented to the country. Neither the bill nor the report attracted the slightest attention, and it is doubtful if any Senator who was not on the Finance Committee ever knew that such a bill had been introduced. The title was, "A bill in relation to the coinage of gold and silver," and gave no indication of the real character of the legislation proposed.

But the report of Mr. Morgan must have satisfied the promoters of the scheme to demonetize silver that it could not be accomplished by open and direct means, and that a discussion in the Senate would be fatal to the object of their desire. Mr. Morgan's report stood as an absolute bar against the demonetization of silver. He had full knowledge of the objects of the bill, which he defeated, but the Senate and the country were ignorant of the whole transaction. No discussion in either House of Congress had taken place with regard to the demonetization of silver, and the Senate as well as the country were ignorant of what occurred in the Finance Committee. Senators are too busy to examine the reports of committees upon bills which are never called up for action. It would not do to bring up the question again while Mr. Morgan was a member of the Finance Committee of that body. His term of office expired March 4, 1869, and Mr. Reuben E. Fenton took his place.

SECOND ATTEMPT AT DEMONETIZATION OF SILVER.

Gen. Grant became President of the United States on the 4th of March, 1869, and Mr. Boutwell was his Secretary of the Treasury; John J. Knox, Comptroller of the Currency, and Mr. Linderman, Director of the Mint. *A revision of the mint laws* was undertaken.

Mr. SHERMAN says:

What is the history of that bill? I have here the original bill. It was a bill framed in the Treasury Department. It did not come into Congress in the ordinary way, but it was framed in the Treasury Department by a distinguished body of experts, every one of whose names is now borne with honor wherever it is mentioned. Most of them are dead; but some of them are living. Mr. Pollock, long a Director of the Mint; Mr. Secretary Boutwell, who, as I shall show you, claims to be the author of the bill, and properly so, because he was at the head of the Department; Mr. John J. Knox, who held the office of Deputy Comptroller of the Currency; Mr. Linderman, who was Director of the Mint; Mr. Patterson, who was superintendent of the mint at Philadelphia, and a whole host of other experts, framed that bill after a most elaborate correspondence, which is contained here in the official documents communicated to Congress at the time. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 31, 1893, page 920.)

The bill contained seventy-one sections, and was sent to Mr. SHERMAN, chairman of the Committee on Finance, with the following letter from Mr. Boutwell:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *April 25, 1870.*

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a bill revising the laws relative to the mint, assay offices, and coinage of the United States, and accompanying report. The bill has been prepared under the supervision of John Jay Knox, Deputy Comptroller of the Currency, and its passage is recommended in the form presented. It includes, in a condensed form, all the important legislation upon the coinage, not now obsolete, since the first mint was established, in 1792; and the report gives a concise statement of the various amendments proposed to existing laws, and the necessity for the change recommended. There has been no revision of the laws pertaining to the mint and coinage since 1837, and it is believed that the passage of the inclosed bill will conduce greatly to the efficiency and economy of this important branch of the Government service.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL,
Secretary of the Treasury.

Hon. JOHN SHERMAN,
Chairman Finance Committee, United States Senate.

It will be observed that Mr. Boutwell's letter transmitting the bill makes no mention of any change in the coinage laws, but he called it a bill revising the laws relative to the mint, assay offices, and coinage of the United States. This was the harmless title of the bill. He states that the bill was prepared under the supervision of John Jay Knox, Deputy Comptroller of

the Currency. Mr. Knox was soon after promoted from that office to the presidency of a leading national bank, one of the great financial institutions of New York. Such promotions of Treasury officials who have been faithful to the banking interests have been too frequent to escape observation.

Mr. Sherman states that Mr. Linderman and others assisted Mr. Knox in the preparation of the bill. Mr. Linderman was well qualified to render service in that behalf. His familiarity with the mint laws and his devotion to the cause of monometallism after his return from England made him a most efficient agent in securing gold monometallism after the example of Great Britain. Mr. Knox was also familiar with the English coinage laws, for he states in the documents which the Senator from Ohio had printed in his speech in the RECORD (page 922) that the appendix to his report recommending the bill which the Secretary sent to the chairman of the Finance Committee contained a copy of the English coinage act of 1870.

The title of the bill, "Revising the laws relative to the mint, assay offices, and coinage of the United States," was altogether misleading. No one would suspect from the title that it contained any device for the demonetization of silver. The Senator from Ohio in his speech of August 30, 1893, sets out in full

THE SECTIONS WHICH DECEIVED THE SENATE.

He says:

The bill contains seventy-one sections. Sections 15 and 18 of the bill are the only ones to which this implication has ever been made. I have here sections 15 and 18 as originally introduced by the Secretary of the Treasury and sent to the Committee on Finance. Here are the original sections:

"SEC. 15. *And be it further enacted*, That of the silver coin the weight of the half dollar, or piece of 50 cents, shall be 192 grains, and that of the quarter dollar and dime shall be, respectively, one-half and one-fifth of the weight of said half dollar. That the silver coin issued in conformity with the above section shall be a legal tender in any one payment of debts for all sums less than $1."

This is a literal copy, word for word, from the act of 1853, except that it drops the 5-cent piece, I believe it is.

Mr. MILLS. The act of 1873, the Senator means?

Mr. SHERMAN. No; I say the bill that was sent to us reënacts the law of 1853, and is an exact copy of it; but as the law of 1853 applied only to the fractional coins, in this draft, they added to the four or five sections fixing the gold and silver and other coins the following section:

SEC. 18. *And be it further enacted*, That no coins, either gold, silver, or minor coinage, shall hereafter be issued from the mint other than those of the denominations, standards, and weights herein set forth.

Two sections intervene between the fifteenth and eighteenth sections quoted by Mr. SHERMAN. A person reading the bill without any previous notice of the change in the currency would not have known that a change was contemplated. On the contrary, believing, as all did believe, that it was a mere codification of the mint laws, with only such changes as were necessary to harmonize and make them a consistent system, no one would suspect that anything had been omitted, much less the standard dollar, which had survived all changes since it was ordained by Hamilton and Jefferson.

The bill was introduced by Mr. SHERMAN on the 28th day of April, 1870, and referred to the Committee on Finance. On December 19, 1870, it was reported to the Senate with amendments. On the 9th day of January, 1871, the bill came up in the Senate, and was discussed in Committee of the Whole. No allusion whatever was made during that discussion to sections 15 and 18; in fact, there was nothing in those sections to discuss. They contained nothing objectionable. It was not what the bill contained, but

WHAT IT DID NOT CONTAIN,

that worked the wrong and demonetized silver.

The silver dollar was omitted from the list of coins, which omission was not observed and the attention of the Senate was not called to it.

After two or three unimportant amendments relating to salaries reported by the Committee on Finance had been disposed of, the following amendment reported by the committee came up for consideration in the Committee of the Whole:

For coinage, whether the gold and silver deposited be coined or cast into bars or ingots, in addition to the charge for refining or parting the metals, three-tenths of 1 per cent.—*Congressional Globe*, part 1, third session Forty-first Congress, 1870–'71, page 368.

This amendment was regarded as a direct attack upon the mining industry of the United States, and also upon domestic coinage. It was argued that such a provision of law would discourage the minting of gold and silver in the United States and encourage its exportation, because the mints of the leading nations of Europe made no charge for coinage after the metal had been refined and parted.

The discussion which followed on this amendment occupies eight pages in the Congressional Globe. (See *Ibid.*, pages 368 to 377, both inclusive.)

The amendment was finally agreed to—yeas 25, nays 22, absent 25.

Other sections, having no relation to sections 15 and 18, were then amended, and the Senate went into executive session.

On the following day, when the bill was reached in its order, the proceedings were commenced as follows:

MINT LAWS.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. No. 859) revising the laws relative to the mints, assay offices, and coinage of the United States.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Unless a separate vote be demanded, the question will be taken on concurring in the amendments made as in Committee of the Whole in gross.

Mr. COLE. I ask for a separate vote.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from California ask for a separate vote on the amendment in regard to the coinage charge?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SUMNER. There is one suggestion I wish to make. It comes under section 19.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That will still be in order after the amendments agreed to in Committee of the Whole shall have been acted upon.

Mr. SUMNER. Very well.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will report the amendment upon which a separate vote is demanded.

The Chief Clerk read the amendment, which was in section 25, after the words "as follows," in the third line, to insert "for coinage, whether the gold and silver deposited be coined or cast into bars or ingots, in addition to the charge for refining or parting the metals, three-tenths of 1 per cent."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The other amendment in the same section, inserting the words in line 12 "other than for coinage," will be considered at the same time, as they are dependent upon each other. The remaining amendments made as in Committee of the Whole will be regarded as concurred in. The question now is on concurring in this amendment made as in Committee of the Whole. (*Ibid.*, page 394.)

The coinage charge was discussed at great length. (See pages 394 to 399, both inclusive.)

The entire discussion on the last day, as it had been on the first, was confined to the charge of three-tenths of 1 per cent on the coinage of gold and silver bullion. The yeas and nays on the adoption of this amendment in the Senate were taken, resulting in the negative—yeas 23, nays 26, absent 23. (*Ibid.*, page 399.)

Mr. SHERMAN then said:

I should like to have a vote by yeas and nays on the passage of the bill.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and being taken, resulted—yeas 36, nays 14; as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Bayard, Boreman, Brownlow, Casserly, Cole, Conkling, Corbett, Davis, Gilbert, Hamlin, Harlan, Jewett, Johnston, Kellogg, McCreery, Morton, Nye, Patterson, Pomeroy, Pool, Ramsey, Rice, Saulsbury, Spencer, Stewart, Stockton, Sumner, Thurman, Tipton, Trumble, Vickers, Warner, Willey, Williams, Wilson, and Yates—36.

Nays—Messrs. Abbott, Ames, Anthony, Buckingham, Carpenter, Chandler, Fenton, Hamilton of Texas, Harris, Howell, Morrill of Vermont, Pratt, Scott and Sherman—14. (*Ibid.*, page 399).

It will be observed that Mr. SHERMAN voted in the negative and that I voted in the affirmative. I now desire to call particular attention to the amendment, which was substantially the only matter in controversy in the Senate, and about which all the debate took place. I will repeat it:

For coinage, whether the gold and silver deposited be coined or cast into bars or ingots, in addition to the charge for refining or parting the metals, three-tenths of 1 per cent.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President——

Mr. STEWART. I do not wish to be interrupted now.

Mr. ALDRICH. I should like——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CULLOM in the chair). The Senator from Nevada declines to be interrupted.

Mr. ALDRICH. I wish to put in a section of that bill at that point.

Mr. STEWART. Let the Senator put it in his own speech. The facts I am giving follow consecutively.

Mr. ALDRICH. I wish to put in a section of the bill, so as to show the exact facts.

Mr. STEWART. The Senator can not put it in my speech. Let him make his own speech. Of course, it is very aggravating to Senators to have the facts of the matter brought out, and I appreciate their position.

This amendment assumed that silver bullion could be deposited at the mint for coinage for the benefit of the depositor, and imposed a tax on the person so depositing for the privilege of coining. If the Senate had been advised, as Mr. SHERMAN says that he was, that no silver could, under that bill, be deposited at the mint for coinage, is it probable that it would have spent two days in hot debate over the question of taxing bullion which could not be deposited, and therefore never could be taxed? For what purpose did Mr. SHERMAN violently advocate the tax on silver bullion deposited for coinage in a bill which denied it the right of coinage, and denied to the owner of bullion the right to deposit it for that purpose?

Under the act of 1853 and under the provisions of the bill then under consideration, the subsidiary silver coin mentioned in section 15 could only be coined on the account of the Government. No private party could present it for that purpose. But the owners of bullion could, under existing laws, from the foundation of the Government, present the same to the mint and have it coined into standard dollars. Mr. SHERMAN says he knew that he had taken that right away, and that we all ought to have known the same. Why, then, was he combatting for a charge on the abolished coinage?

On the other hand, why should the Senate occupy two dasy of its time debating such a charge, if it also knew that the right of coinage of silver on private account was abolished? The

DISINGENUOUSNESS OF THE SENATOR FROM OHIO

was manifested at that time by advocating a charge on the coinage of silver for private parties, as well as of gold, when he knew that gold only could be coined on private account, if he succeeded with his measure.

I can draw no other inference from his course at that time than a purpose to conceal the fact that the silver dollar had been omitted. The fact that Mr. SHERMAN voted against the bill is most suggestive. Why should he vote to prevent a useful revision of the mint laws and the passage of so important a bill as the one then under consideration because the Senate would not consent to a charge for mintage which was not in the original bill introduced by him? He knew very well that his vote would not defeat the bill nor endanger it in the slightest degree; but by voting against it he made the Senate believe that he attached more importance to a charge of three-tenths of 1 per cent on the coinage of gold (and of silver bullion, the coinage of which on private account had been abolished) than to the systematizing of the various confused mint laws of the country, by a measure which had been the labor of experts so eminent as those he describes.

Mr. SHERMAN says he knew that silver was demonetized by the bill, and that everybody else ought to have known it. Is it not barely possible that, knowing that fact, he desired to avoid the odium of voting for it which would attach after its far-reaching consequences should have been realized? Is it not barely possible that that amendment was introduced at the early stage of the consideration of the bill to attract the attention of the Senate and divert attention from the other provisions of the bill to make it seem the most important provision? Is it not a little strange that after his visit to London and Paris and his celebrated letter to Mr. Ruggles, which I have quoted, that he took no further interest in the demonetization of silver?

Does not the fact that he introduced a bill for the demonetization of silver, and made a most elaborate report in its favor, which bill was consigned to oblivion after the minority report of Mr. MORGAN came in, add to the mystery of his conduct? Can it be supposed that the man who contributed so largely to swing nineteen nations into line for the gold standard, and who induced all the Finance Committee except one to favor the demonetization of silver, would forego this master desire of his heart, which he declares was "an American idea," because he could not impose a paltry charge of three-tenths of 1 per cent upon gold and silver coinage after the free coinage of silver had been abolished?

This disposes of the charge so often made by the gold monometallists and repeated by Mr. SHERMAN, that in 1871 I voted for the demonetization of silver and he voted against it.

In the report of Mr. Knox, printed in the remarks of the Senator from Ohio of August 30, 1893 (RECORD of August 31, page 923), the following further history of the bill is given:

On January 13, 1871, on motion of Hon. William D. Kelley, the Senate bill was ordered to be printed. On February 25, 1871, Mr. Kelley, the chairman of the Committee on Coinage, reported the bill back with an amendment, in the nature of a substitute, when it was again printed and recommitted.

The bill, therefore, was never heard of again at that session, and it never was debated in the House for a moment.

HISTORY OF THE DEMONETIZATION ACT OF 1873.

Mr. Kelley again, on March 9, 1871, introduced a bill in the Forty-second Congress, when it was ordered to be printed, and referred to the Committee on Coinage when appointed.

On January 9, 1872, the bill was reported by Mr. Kelley, chairman of the Coinage Committee, with the recommendation that it pass.

ITS GENEARL OBJECTS

were stated by Mr. Kelley. He informed the House that it had been prepared in the Treasury Department for the purpose of codifying and simplifying the mint laws. He informed the House that the most important change made by the bill was creating a Director of the Mint, with headquarters in the Treasury Department. He said:

It is of the highest importance, therefore, that the one single cardinal change that the bill proposes should be made.—*Congressional Globe*, part 1, Forty-second Congress, second session, 1871–'72, page 322.

Mr. Maynard stated what this

CARDINAL CHANGE

was:

It contemplates that the Mint shall be a bureau in the Treasury Department, and that the head of that Bureau shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for a period of five years, unless sooner removed for reasons given to the Senate. * * *

This bill is symmetrical in all its parts; it is a mere revision of the mint laws, suggested by the Secretary of the Treasury, and concurred in by every man who sees the difficulty of managing mints and assay offices, scattered over this country as they are, without having a responsible head. Its sole function is to so codify the laws, and to appoint a responsible head under the Secretary of the Treasury. (*Ibid.*, 325).

Some discussion was had with regard to the salaries of officers, but the main contention was with regard to nickel coinage, and how the nickel should be obtained.

The House adjourned that day without action on the bill. (See *Ibid.*, pages 322 to 328, both inclusive.)

On the 10th of January the House resumed consideration of the bill. The debate was confined to the question of salaries. The bill was finally recommitted to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures. (See *Ibid.*, pages 336 to 340, both inclusive.)

No allusion whatever was made to the omission of the silver dollar. If it was omitted in the bill offered by Mr. Kelley, as alleged, the original can not be found.

I again quote from the report of Mr. Knox, printed in the speech of the Senator from Ohio:

On February 9, 1872, it was again reported from the Coinage Committee by the Hon. Samuel Hooper, printed and recommitted, and on February 13, 1872, reported back by Mr. Hooper with amendments, printed, and made the special order for March 12, 1872, until disposed of.

The bill came up for consideration on April 9, 1872.

Mr. Hooper made a

LENGTHY EXPLANATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE BILL,

occupying four pages of the RECORD, from pages 2304 to 2307, both inclusive.

The only allusion made by Mr. Hooper to the silver dollar is contained in the following extract from his remarks, published in the speech of the Senator from Ohio, on page 924, as follows:

Section 16 reënacts the provisions of existing laws defining the silver coins and their weights, respectively except in relation to the silver dollar, which is reduced in weight from 412½ to 384 grains: thus making it a subsidiary coin in harmony with the silver coins of less denomination, to secure its concurrent circulation with them. The silver dollar of 412½ grains, by reason of its bullion and intrinsic value being greater than its nominal value, long since ceased to be a coin of circulation, and is melted by manufacturers of silverware. It does not circulate now in commercial transactions with any country, and the convenience of those manufacturers in this respect can better be met by supplying small stamped bars of the same standard, avoiding the useless expense of coining the dollar for that purpose. The coinage of the half-dime is discontinued, for the reason that its place is supplied by the copper nickel 5-cent piece, of which a large issue has been made, and which, by the provisions of the act authorizing its issue, is redeemable in United States currency. (Congressional Globe, part 3, second session Forty-second Congress, page 2306.)

Mr. Hooper correctly states the weight and fineness of the dollar contained in the bill then pending and as it finally passed the House, but he does not state that it was a legal tender for only $5. It is true he classes it with the subsidiary coin, but a person listening to his remarks might well suppose that the weight of the dollar was simply reduced, because he states at considerable length that the silver dollar was at a premium over the gold dollar, and the natural inference would be that he intended to establish the parity between the two metals.

Mr. Stoughton did say, in the course of the debate, that—

The silver coins provided for are the dollar, 384 grains troy; the half-dollar, quarter-dollar, and dime, of the value and weight of one-half, one-quarter, and one-tenth of the dollar respectively, and they are made a legal tender for all sums not exceeding $5 at any one payment. The silver dollar as now issued is worth for bullion 3¼ cents more than the gold dollar, and 7½ cents more than two half-dollars. Having a greater intrinsic than nominal value, it is certain to be withdrawn from circulation whenever we return to specie payment, and to be used only for manufacture and exportation as bullion. (Congressional Globe, part 3, second session Forty-second Congress, 1871–'72, page 2308.)

But it was reserved for the Hon. Clarkson Potter, of New York, to develop

THE REAL CHARACTER OF THE BILL

and show that it adopted a gold standard.

The speech of Mr. Potter, from which the following extracts are taken, developed the radical character and far-reaching scope of the bill, and furnished material for a protracted discussion, which must have defeated the object of our English friends and American doctrinaires to demonetize silver:

Mr. POTTER. I confess, therefore, that the introduction of the bill at such a period excited my suspicion. I was and am at a loss to gather from anything I know of or can learn that there is any necessity for the adoption of this measure now. When the bill comes to be read section by section I shall make such suggestions in the way of amendments as I think are calculated to make it better if it should go into operation. But for the present I desire to avail myself of the few minutes allowed me to state generally my objections to the adoption of any such law now.

* * * * * * *

Then, in the next place, this bill provides for the making of changes in the legal-tender coin of the country, and for substituting as legal-tender coin of only one metal instead, as heretofore, of two. I think myself this would be a wise provision and that legal-tender coins, except subsidiary coin, should be of gold alone; but why should we legislate on that now when we are not using either of these metals as a circulating medium? The bill provides also for a change in respect of the weight and value of the silver dollar, which I think is a subject which, when we come to require legislation about it at all, will demand at our hands very serious consideration, and which, as we are not using such coins for circulation now, seems at this time to be an unnecessary subject about which to legislate.

But beyond that, the bill provides for an entirely new subsidiary coinage. It provides for the coinage of new 5-cent, 3-cent, 2-cent, and 1-cent pieces, and it provides that these new coins shall be of a certain alloy of copper and nickel. Now, we have at present in circulation several hundred million pieces of subsidiary base coin. They are familiar to every one of us, and have been in circulation for some years. There is the ordinary nickel 5-cent,

the ordinary nickel 3-cent piece, and the bronze 2-cent piece, and the nickel 1-cent piece, for which there has been substituted of late years the bronze 1-cent piece. Of these pieces of subsidiary coinage, I repeat, several hundred million pieces are in circulation, and it is proposed that in place of these pieces we shall have another set of minor subsidiary coins of nickel copper, according to the form prescribed in this bill. For what reason? It has been suggested for the purpose of uniformity. That reason, however, seems to me so insufficient that it has occurred to me that behind this provision of the law lies the real motive power of this bill; that is, that it will make necessary a great consumption of nickel copper for several hundred million pieces of this new subsidiary coinage.—*Congressional Globe*, part 3, second session Forty-second Congress, 1871-'72, page 2310.

He continued at considerable length, pointing out other objections to the bill. The speech of Mr. Potter excited a general debate, which made it very clear that the passage of the bill by ordinary methods was impossible. The House adjourned pending the consideration of the bill and terminated a very exciting controversy. The debate which did occur occupies ten pages—from page 2307 to 2317, inclusive.

The opposition to this bill was so determined and aggressive that its friends professedly abandoned it and brought in

A SO-CALLED SUBSTITUTE,

which, they asserted, obviated the objections made. On the 27th day of May the following extraordinary proceedings were had in the House of Representatives:

MINTS AND COINAGE.

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. I desire to call up the bill (H. R. No. 1427) revising and amending the laws relative to mints, assay offices, and coinage of the United States. I do so for the purpose of offering an amendment to the bill in the nature of a substitute, one which has been very carefully prepared, and which I have submitted to the different gentlemen in this House who have taken a special interest in the bill. I find that it meets with universal approbation in the form in which I offer it. I move that the rules be suspended and that the substitute be put on its passage.

Mr. BROOKS. I ask the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Hooper) to postpone his motion until his colleague on the committee, my colleague from New York [Mr. Potter] is in his seat. It is my impression that he does not concur in this substitute.

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. It is so late in the session that I must decline waiting any longer.

Mr. BROOKS. I would again suggest to the gentleman that he should wait until my colleague comes in.

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. I can not do so.

Mr. HOLMAN. I suppose it is intended to have the bill read before it is put upon its passage.

The SPEAKER. The substitute will be read.

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. I hope not. It is a long bill, and those who are interested in it are perfectly familiar with its provisions.

Mr. KERR. The rules can not be suspended so as to dispense with the reading of the bill?

The SPEAKER. They can be.

Mr. KERR. I want the House to understand that it is attempted to put through this bill without being read.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Hooper] move that the reading of the bill be dispensed with?

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. I will so frame my motion to suspend the rules that it will dispense with the reading of the bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts moves that the rules be suspended and that the bill pass, the reading thereof being dispensed with.

Mr. RANDALL. Can not we have a division of that motion?

The SPEAKER. A motion to suspend the rules can not be divided.

Mr. RANDALL. I should like to have the bill read, although I am willing that the rules shall be suspended as to the passage of the bill.

The question was put on suspending the rules and passing the bill without reading; and (two-thirds not voting in favor thereof) the rules were not suspended.

* * * * * * *

MINTS AND COINAGE.

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. I now move that the rules be suspended and the substitute for the bill in relation to mints and coinage passed; and I ask that the substitute be read.

The Clerk began to read the substitute.

Mr. BROOKS. Is that the original bill?

The SPEAKER. The motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HOOPER] applies to the substitute, and that on which the House is called to act is being read.

Mr. BROOKS. As there is to be no debate, the only chance we have to know what we are doing is to have both the bill and the substitute read.

The SPEAKER. The motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts being to suspend the rules and pass the substitute, it gives no choice between the two bills. The House must either pass the substitute or none.

Mr. BROOKS. How can we choose between the original bill and the substitute unless we hear them both read?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can vote "aye" or "no" on the question whether this substitute shall be passed.

Mr. BROOKS. I am very much in the habit of voting "no" when I do not know what is going on.

Mr. HOLMAN. Before the question is taken upon suspending the rules and passing the bill, I hope the gentleman from Massachusetts will explain the leading changes made by this bill in the existing law, especially in reference to the coinage. It would seem that all the small coinage of the country is intended to be recoined.

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. This bill makes no changes in the existing law in that regard. It does not require the recoinage of the small coins. On the contrary, I understand that the Secretary of the Treasury proposes to issue an order to stop the coinage of all the minor coins, as there is now a great abundance of them in the country. The salaries are not increased. They remain as they were.

Mr. HOLMAN. Is not the salary of the subtreasurer at New York increased?

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. No, sir; it is not increased.

Mr. GARFIELD of Ohio. Does the gentleman say that no salary is increased by this bill?

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. No salary is increased by this bill.

Mr. FARNSWORTH. Are there any additional offices created?

Mr. SARGENT. The bill dispenses with some existing offices.

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. It dispenses with certain officers now in the mints, and the saving on their salaries will more than pay for the expenses of the new bureau of the Treasury Department.

Mr. HOLMAN. What is the new bureau called?

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. The new bureau is to be called the bureau of mines and coinage. There is now no general superintendence; each mint runs on its own hook. There is really now no law regulating the mints, and no responsibility.

Mr. HOLMAN. How many mints are provided for by the bill?

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. No new mints.

Mr. HOLMAN. Did the Committee on Banking and Currency consider the subject of discontinuing any of the mints?

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. They did consider it and did not deem it expedient. The Secretary of the Treasury has authority now, independent of this bill, to discontinue certain mints if he deems it expedient; one at Charlotte, for instance. This bill does not change his power at all in that respect.

Mr. MERRIAM. Has this bill been submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury; and if so, does it meet his approval?

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. It has been submitted to him, and he not only approves it, but strongly urges its passage. He deems it exceedingly important, as there are irregularities in the Mint now, which can not be controlled by any existing law.

Mr. KERR. Does the nickel clause, so-called, and which led to some controversy a month or so ago, remain in the bill as it was at that time?

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. It has been changed. Any nickel to be purchased is to be subject to bids after advertisement.

Mr. BROOKS. My colleague from the Westchester district [Mr. Potter] stated the other day that this bill provided for the recoinage of more or less of the small currency of the country and the creation of a new currency.

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. That is not the case with the bill as it now stands.

Mr. MCCORMICK of Missouri. I ask that the nineteenth section be read again.

The section was read, as follows:

"SEC. 19. That upon the coins of the United States there shall be the following devices and legends: Upon one side there shall be an impression emblematic of liberty, with an inscription of the word 'Liberty,' and the year of the coinage; and upon the reverse shall be the figure or representation of an eagle, with the inscriptions 'United States of America' and 'E Pluribus Unum,' and a designation of the value of the coin; but on the gold dollar and three-dollar piece, the dime, five, three and one-cent piece the figure of the eagle shall be omitted, and the Director of the Mint, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may cause the motto 'In God We Trust' to be inscribed upon such coins as shall admit of such motto; and any one of the foregoing inscriptions may be on the rim of the gold and silver coins."

Mr. MCCORMICK of Missouri. What I wish to inquire of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Hooper] is whether, under the provisions of the nineteenth section, the Director of the Mint is not authorized to recoin all the nickel coin of the United States in order to make it conform to the section?

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. He is not. On the contrary, under the existing laws, as I stated before, the amount of minor coinage is so large that the Secretary of the Treasury has prepared an order prohibiting any further coinage until further notice.

Mr. MCCORMICK of Missouri. I understand that the Director of the Mint says that it costs the Government almost as much to coin a 5-cent nickel piece as it does to coin a 10-dollar gold piece.

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. There is nothing in this bill to compel a recoinage.

Mr. MCCORMICK of Missouri. Would the gentleman have any objection to strike out that section?

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. Certainly I would.

Mr. GARFIELD of Ohio. Does this bill provide what shall be done with those officers of the Treasury that are now called assistant treasurers and who are *ex officio* officers of the mint? By this bill they are evidently separated from the Treasury, and belong wholly to this new bureau which is to be established. Now, will it not be necessary for us to establish new offices in their cases and give them a salary appropriate to the duties they will have to perform in the Treasury?

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. The Superintendent of the Mint (and that officer now exists) takes the place of the subtreasurer, who acted *ex officio* as an officer of the mint, and provision is made in this bill that the subtreasurer who acted *ex officio* shall go back and confine himself to his duties as assistant treasurer and disconnect himself from the mint.

Mr. GARFIELD of Ohio. Go back to the Treasury?

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. Yes.

Mr. GARFIELD of Ohio. The gentleman will then see that that entails upon us the necessity of providing a sufficient salary for those going back to the Treasury.

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. I beg the gentleman's pardon; it leaves the superintendent of the mint with the same salary as before.

Mr. GARFIELD of Ohio. I mean that the officers who go back into the Treasury must have salaries provided for them.

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. They were *ex officio* officers of the Mint; their salaries were not increased.

Mr. GARFIELD of Ohio. I beg the gentleman's pardon; they had one salary as *ex officio* officers of the Mint and another as officers of the Treasury.

Mr. SARGENT. That was not so, except in one instance.

Mr. MCNEELY. As a member of the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, having carefully examined every section and line of this bill, and generally well understanding the subject before us, I am satisfied the bill ought to pass.

Mr. SARGENT. I hope we will now have a vote.

The question being taken on the motion of Mr. Hooper of Massachusetts, to suspend the rules and pass the bill, it was agreed to; there being—ayes 110, noes 13.—*Congressional Globe*, part 5, second session Forty-second Congress, 1871-'72, pages 3882, 3883.

Some of the foregoing questions and answers are very significant. Following are examples:

Mr. BROOKS. I ask the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Hooper] to postpone his motion until his colleague on the committee, my colleague from New York [Mr. Potter] is in his seat. It is my impression that he does not concur in this substitute.

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. It is so late in the session that I must decline waiting any longer.

Mr. BROOKS. I would again suggest to the gentleman that he should wait until my colleague comes in.

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. I can not do so.—*Ibid.*, page 3882.

The refusal of Mr. Hooper to wait until Mr. Potter was present was more evidence of caution than of fairness.

Mr. KERR. Does the nickel clause, so called, and which led to some controversy a month or so ago, remain in the bill as it was at that time?

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. It has been changed. Any nickel to be purchased is to be subject to bids after advertisement.—*Ibid.*, page 3882.

This was not true. There had been no change in the bill in that respect.

Mr. BROOKS. My colleague from the Westchester district [Mr. Potter] stated the other day that this bill provided for the recoinage of more or less of the small currency of the country and the creation of a new currency.

Mr. HOOPER of Massachusetts. That is not the case with the bill as it now stands.—*Ibid.*, page 3883.

A comparison of the bill and substitute will show that the substitute and the original bill were the same as to coinage, new currency, and nickel. The difference as between the original bill and the substitute were trifling and immaterial, relating to matters of administration and phraseology, and were wholly outside of the subject of controversy over the original bill. No change was made with regard to a single matter objected to in the debate. I have carefully compared the original bill and the substitute, which are now on file in the document room of the Senate, open to the inspection of all, and I affirm that the substitute was the same as the original bill, so far as the matters in controversy were concerned in the debate in which Mr. Potter took so prominent a part.

Too much importance can not be attached to the fact that the substitute could not have been adopted if Mr. Hooper had not asserted that the controverted portions had been changed. The original bill, with the alterations made by the substitute, will show

HOW FAR FROM THE TRUTH MR. HOOPER'S REPRESENTATIONS WERE,

and how thoroughly the House was misled by such misrepresentations.

These documents from which I have quoted are on file in the document room of the Senate, and can easily be referred to.

I will now give

THE ENTIRE PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

on this House bill, commencing with the bill itself, as reported with amendments from the Finance Committee, together with every word of debate during its consideration.

[Note in explanation of the bill (H. R. 2934) printed below.

1. The body of the bill, printed in brevier, is as it came from the House.

2. Amendments to insert, reported by Committee on Finance, are in *italics*.

3. Amendments to strike out, reported by Committee on Finance, are in [brackets].

4. Amendments made by the Senate striking out words are in brevier, with brackets, and the words inserted in lieu thereof in the handwriting of the Clerk, are in SMALL CAPITALS.

5. Amendments reported by Committee on Finance, on page 12, section 18, line 9, in *italics* and brackets, were disagreed to by the Senate.

6. Amendment to strike out, on page 14, section 24, lines 5, and 6, was moved in the Senate, and is in SMALL CAPITALS and brackets.

7. The word "agreed," in the handwriting of the Clerk, showing what amendments were agreed to, is indicated by LARGE CAPITALS.

8. The exact pages and lines of the original bill are indicated.]

42d CONGRESS, 3d SESSION. H. R. 2934.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MAY 29, 1872.

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Finance.

DECEMBER 16, 1872.

Reported by Mr. SHERMAN with amendments, viz: Strike out the parts in [brackets] and insert the parts printed in *italics*.

JANUARY 7, 1873.

Mr. SHERMAN, from the Committee on Finance, reported additional amendments; which were ordered to be printed with the bill.

AN ACT

Revising and amending the laws relative to the mints, assay-offices, and coinage of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Mint of the United States is hereby established as a Bureau of the Treasury Department, embracing in its organization and under its control all mints for the manufacture of coin, and all assay-offices for the stamping of bars, which are now, or which may be hereafter, authorized by law. The chief officer of the said Bureau shall be denominated the Director of the Mint, and shall be under the general direction of the Secretary of the Treasury. He shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate,

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and shall hold his office for the term of five years, unless sooner removed by the President, upon reasons to be communicated by him to the Senate.

SEC. 2. That the Director of the Mint shall have the general supervision of all mints and assay-offices, and shall make an annual report to the Secretary of the Treasury of their operations, at the close of each fiscal year, and from time to time such additional reports, setting forth the operations and condition of such institutions, as the Secretary of the Treasury shall require, and shall lay before him the annual estimates for their support. And the Secretary of the Treasury shall appoint the number of clerks, classified according to law, necessary to discharge the duties of said Bureau.

SEC. 3. That the officers of each mint shall be a superintendent, an assayer, a melter and refiner, and a coiner, and, for the mint at Philadelphia, an engraver, all to be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advise and consent of the Senate.

SEC. 4. That the superintendent of each mint shall have the control thereof, the superintendence of the officers and persons employed therein, and the supervision of the business thereof, subject to the approval of the Director of the Mint, to whom he shall make reports at such times and according to such forms as the Director of the Mint may prescribe,

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which shall exhibit in detail, and under appropriate heads, the deposits of bullion, the amount of gold, silver, and minor coinage, and the amount of unparted, standard, and refined bars issued, and such other statistics and information as may be required. The superintendent of each mint shall also receive and safely keep, until legally withdrawn, all moneys or bullion which shall be for the use or the expenses of the mint. He shall receive all bullion brought to the mint for assay or coinage; shall be the keeper of all bullion or coin in the mint, except while the same is legally in the hands of other officers; and shall deliver all coins struck at the mint to the persons to whom they shall be legally payable. From the report of the assayer and the weight of the bullion, he shall compute the value of each deposit, and also the amount of the charges or deductions, if any, of all which he shall give a detailed memorandum to the depositor; and he shall also give at the same time, under his hand, a certificate of the net amount of the deposit, to be paid in coins or bars of the same species of bullion as that deposited, the correctness of which certificate shall be verified by the assayer, who shall countersign the same; and in all cases of transfer of coin or bullion, he shall give and receive vouchers, stating the amount and character of such coin or bullion. He shall keep and render, quarterly, to the Director of the Mint, for the purpose of adjust-

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ment, according to such forms as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, regular and faithful accounts of his transactions with the other officers of the mint and the depositors; and shall also render to him a monthly statement of the ordinary expenses of the mint or assay-office under his charge. He shall also appoint all assistants, clerks, (one of whom shall be designated "chief clerk,") and workmen employed under his superintendence; but no person shall be appointed to employment in the offices of the assayer, melter and refiner, coiner, or engraver, except on the recommendation and nomination in writing of those officers, respectively; and he shall forthwith report to the Director of the Mint the names of all persons appointed by him, the duties to be performed, the rate of compensation, the appropriation from which compensation is to be made, and the grounds of the appointment; and if the Director of the Mint shall disapprove the same, the appointment shall be vacated.

SEC. 5. That the assayer shall assay all metals and bullion, whenever such assays are required in the operations AGREED OR SAMPLES OF BULLION of the mint; he shall also make assays of coins/whenever required by the superintendent.

SEC. 6. That the melter and refiner shall execute all the operations which are necessary in order to form ingots of standard silver or gold, and alloys for minor coinage, suitable

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for the coiner, from the metals legally delivered to him for that purpose; and shall also execute all the operations which are necessary in order to form bars conformable in all

respects to the law, from the gold and silver bullion delivered to him for that purpose. He shall keep a careful record of all transactions with the superintendent, noting the weight and character of the bullion; and shall be responsible for all bullion delivered to him until the same is returned to the superintendent and the proper vouchers obtained.

SEC. 7. That the coiner shall execute all the operations which are necessary in order to form coins, comformable in all respects to the law, from the standard gold and silver ingots, and alloys for minor coinage, legally delivered to him for that purpose; and shall be responsible for all bullion delivered to him, until the same is returned to the superintendent and the proper vouchers obtained.

SEC. 8. That the engraver shall prepare from the

AGREED WORKING

original dies already authorized all the [wording] ^ dies required for use in the coinage of the several mints, and, when new coins or devices are authorized, shall, if required by the Director of the Mint, prepare the devices, models, molds, and matrices, or original dies, for the same; but the Director of the Mint shall nevertheless have power, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, to engage temporarily for this purpose the service of one or more artists distinguished

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in their respective departments of art, who shall be paid for such service from the contingent appropriation for the mint at Philadelphia.

AGREED ASSAY

SEC. 9. That whenever any officer of a mint or ^ office shall be temporarily absent, on account of sickness or any other cause, it shall be lawful for the superintendent, with the consent of said officer, to appoint some person attached to the mint to act in the place of such officer during his absence; but all such appointments shall be forthwith reported to the Director of the Mint for his approval; and in all cases whatsoever the principal shall be responsible for the acts of his representative. In case of the temporary absence of the superintendent, the chief clerk shall act in his place; and in case of the temporary absence of the Director of the Mint, the Secretary of the Treasury may designate some one to act in his place.

SEC. 10. That every officer, assistant, and clerk of the mint shall, before he enters upon the execution of his office, take an oath or affirmation before some judge of the United States, or judge of the superior court, or of some court of record of any State, faithfully and diligently to perform the duties thereof, in addition to other official oaths prescribed by law; which oaths, duly certified, shall be transmitted to the Secretary of the Treasury; and the superintendent of each

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mint may require such oath or affirmation from any of the employees of the mint.

SEC. 11. That the superintendent, the assayer, the melter and refiner, and the coiner of each mint, before entering upon the execution of their respective offices, shall become bound to the United States, with one or more sureties, approved by the Secretary of the Treasury, in the sum of not less than ten nor more than fifty thousand dollars, with condition for the faithful and diligent performance of the duties of his office. Similar bonds may be required of the assistants and clerks, in such sums as the superintendent shall determine, with the approbation of the Director of the Mint; but the same shall not be construed to relieve the superintendent or other officers from liability to the United States for acts, omissions, or negligence of their subordinates or employees: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Treasury may, at his discretion, increase the bonds of the superintendent.

SEC. 12. That there shall be allowed to the Director of the Mint an annual salary of four thousand five hundred dollars, and actual necessary traveling expenses in visiting the different mints and assay-offices, for which vouchers shall be rendered, to the superintendents of the mints at Philadelphia and San Francisco, each four thousand five hundred dollars; to the assayer, melters and refiners, and coiners of said mints, each three thousand dollars; to the engraver of the mint at

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Philadelphia, three thousand dollars; to the superintendent of the mint at Carson City, three thousand dollars; and to the assayer, to the melter and refiner, and to the coiner of the mint at Carson City, each, two thousand five hundred dollars; to the assistants and clerks such annual salary shall be allowed as the Director of the Mint may determine, with the approbation of the Secretary of the Treasury; and to the workmen shall be allowed such wages, to be determined by the superintendent, as may be customary and reasonable according to their respective stations and occupations, and approved by the Director of the Mint; and the salaries provided for in this section, and the wages of the workmen permanently engaged, shall be payable in monthly installments.

SEC. 13. That the standard for both gold and silver coins of the United States shall be such that of one thousand parts by weight nine hundred shall be of pure metal and one hundred of alloy; and the alloy of the silver coins shall be of copper, and the alloy of the gold coins shall be of copper, or of copper and silver; but the silver shall in no case exceed one-tenth of the whole alloy.

SEC. 14. That the gold coins of the United States shall be a one-dollar piece, which, at the standard weight of twenty-five and eight-tenths grains, shall be the unit of value; a quarter-eagle, or two-and-a-half dollar piece; a three-dollar piece; a half-eagle, or five-dollar piece; an eagle, or ten-dol-

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lar piece; and a double-eagle, or twenty-dollar piece. And the standard weight of the gold dollar shall be twenty-five and eight tenths grains; of the quarter-eagle, or two-and-a-half-dollar piece, sixty-four and a half grains; of the three-dollar piece seventy-seven and four-tenths grains; of the half-eagle, or five-dollar piece, one hundred and twenty-nine grains; of the eagle, or ten-dollar piece, two hundred and fifty-eight grains; of the double-eagle, or twenty-dollar piece, five hundred and sixteen grains; which coins shall be a legal tender in all payments at their nominal value when not below the standard weight and limit of tolerance provided in this act for the single piece, and, when reduced in weight, below said standard and tolerance, shall be a legal tender at

AGREED

valuation in proportion to their actual weight; [and any gold coin of the United States, if reduced in weight by abrasion not more than one-half of one per centum on the double-eagle and eagle, and one per centum on the other coins, below the standard weight prescribed by law, shall be received at their nominal value by the United States Treasury and its offices, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe for the protection of the Government against fraudulent abrasion or other practices; and any gold coins in the Treasury of the United States reduced in weight below this limit of abrasion shall be recoined.]

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[SEC. 15. That any gold coin now in circulation the

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weight of which is below the limit of abrasion prescribed in this act may be received at the mints in Philadelphia and San Francisco at par in exchange for silver coins: *Provided*, That the circulation of such gold coin, as shown by the date of coinage, has been sufficient to produce such loss by natural abrasion; and the coins so received shall be recoined; but no gold coins which appear to have been artificially reduced shall come within the provisions of this section.]

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SEC. [16] 15. [That the silver coins of the United States shall be a dollar, a half-dollar or fifty-cent piece, a quarter-dollar or twenty-five cent piece, and a dime or ten-cent piece; and the weight of the dollar shall be three hundred and eighty-four grains; the half-dollar, quarter-dollar, and the dime shall be, respectively, one-half, one-quarter, and one-tenth of the weight of said dollar; which coins shall be a legal tender, at their nominal value, for any amount not exceeding five dollars in any one payment.] *That the silver coins of the United States shall be a trade dollar, a half-dollar or fifty-*

AGREED A DIME OR TEN-CENT PIECE

cent piece, a quarter-dollar, or twenty-five-cent piece ^ *; and the weight of the trade-dollar shall be four hundred and twenty grains troy; the weight of the half-dollar shall be twelve grams and one-half of a gram; the quarter dollar and the dime shall be, respectively, one-half and one fifth of the weight of said half-dollar; and said coins shall be a legal*

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tender at their nominal value for any amount not exceeding five dollars in any one payment.

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SEC. [17] 16. [That the minor coins of the United States shall be a five-cent piece, a three-cent piece, and a one-cent piece; and the alloy for minor coinage shall be of copper and nickel, to be composed of three-fourths copper and one-fourth nickel; the weight of the piece of five cents shall be five grams, or seventy-seven and sixteen-hundredths grains troy; of the three-cent piece, three grams, or forty-six and thirty-hundredths grains; and of the one-cent piece, one and one-half grams, or twenty-three and fifteen-hundredths grains; which coin shall be legal tender, at their nominal value, for any amount not exceeding twenty-five cents in any one payment.]

AGREED

That the minor coins of the United States shall be a five-cent piece, a three-cent piece, and a one-cent piece, and the alloy

for the five and three cent pieces shall be of copper and nickel, to be composed of three-fourths copper and one-fourth nickel and the alloy of the one-cent piece shall be ninety-five per centum of copper and five per centum of tin and zinc, in such proportions as shall be determined by the Director of the Mint. The weight of the piece of five cents shall be seventy-seven and sixteen-hundredths grains, troy; of the three-cent piece, thirty grains; and of the one-cent piece, forty-eight grains; which coin shall be a legal tender, at their nominal

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value, for any amount not exceeding twenty-five cents in any one payment.

SEC. [18] 17. That no coins, either of gold, silver, or minor coinage, shall hereafter be issued from the mint other than those of the denominations, standards, and weights herein set forth.

SEC. [19] 18. That upon the coins of the United States there shall be the following devices and legends: Upon one side there shall be an impression emblematic of liberty, with an inscription of the word "Liberty" and the year of the coinage, and upon the reverse shall be the figure or representation of an eagle, with the inscriptions "United States of America" and "E Pluribus Unum", and a designation of the value of the coin; but on the gold dollar and three-dollar

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piece, [*the silver dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar,*] the dime, five, three, and one cent piece the figure of an eagle shall be

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omitted; *and on the reverse of the silver dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar, and the dime, respectively, there shall be inscribed the weight and the fineness of the coin;* and the Director of the Mint, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may cause the motto "In God we trust" to be inscribed upon such coins as shall admit of such motto; and any one of the foregoing inscriptions may be on the rim of the gold and silver coins.

SEC. [20] 19. That at the option of the owner, gold or

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silver may be cast into bars of fine metal, or of standard fineness, or unparted, as he may prefer, with a stamp upon the same designating the weight and fineness, and with such devices impressed thereon as may be deemed expedient to prevent fraudulent imitation, and no such bars shall be issued of a less weight than five ounces.

SEC. [21] 20. That any owner of gold bullion may deposit the same at any mint, to be formed into coin or bars for his benefit; but it shall be lawful to refuse any deposit of less value than one hundred dollars, or any bullion so base as to be unsuitable for the operations of the mint; and when gold and silver are combined, if either metal be in such small proportion that it can not be separated advantageously, no allowance shall be made to the depositor for its value.

SEC. 22 [21]. That any owner of silver bullion may deposit the same at any mint, to be formed into bars for his benefit; no deposit for coinage into silver coin shall be received; but silver bullion contained in gold deposits, and separated therefrom, may be paid for in silver coin, at such valuation as may be, from time to time, established by the Director of the

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Mint: *Provided, That at the option of the owner, silver may be cast into coins of standard fineness, and of the weight of four hundred and twenty grains troy, designated in section fifteen of this act as the trade-dollar.*

SEC. [23] 22. That when bullion is deposited in any of the

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mints, it shall be weighed by the superintendent, and, when practicable, in the presence of the depositor, to whom a receipt shall be given, which shall state the description and weight of the bullion; but when the bullion is in such a state as to require melting, or the removal of base metals, before its value can be ascertained, the weight, after such operation, shall be considered as the true weight of the bullion deposited. The fitness of the bullion to be received shall be determined by the assayer, and the mode of melting by the melter and refiner.

SEC. [24] 23. That from every parcel of bullion deposited for coinage or bars, the superintendent shall deliver to the assayer a sufficient portion for the purpose of being assayed, but all such bullion remaining from the operations of the assay shall be returned to the superintendent by the assayer.

SEC, [25] 24. That the assayer shall report to the superin-

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tendent the quality or [standard] ∧ of the bullion assayed by him, and such information as will enable him to compute the amount of the charges hereinafter provided for, to be made

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to the depositor, [FOR THE COST OF CONVERTING THE BULLION INTO BARS.]

SEC. [26] 25. That the charge for converting standard

AGREED Transfer to line 8, p. 15—insert after bullion:

gold bullion into coin, (*or for converting standard silver into trade dollars,*) shall be one-fifth of one per centum; and the charges for refining when the bullion is below standard,

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for toughening when metals are contained in it which render it unfit for coinage, for copper used for alloy when the bullion is above standard, for separating the gold and silver when

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these metals exist together in the bullion, ∧ and for the preparation of bars, shall be fixed, from time to time, by the Director, with the concurrence of the Secretary of the Treasury, so as to equal but not exceed, in their judgment, the actual average cost to each mint and assay-office of the material, labor, wastage, and use of machinery employed in each of the cases aforementioned.

SEC. [27] 26. That the assayer shall verify all calculations made by the superintendent of the value of deposits, and, if satisfied by the correctness thereof, shall countersign the certificate required to be given by the superintendent to the depositor.

SEC. [28] 27. That in order to procure bullion for the silver coinage authorized by this act, the superintendents, with the approval of the Director of the Mint, as to price, terms, and quantity, shall purchase such bullion with the bullion fund. The gain arising from the coinage of such silver bullion into coin of a nominal value exceeding the cost thereof shall be credited to a special fund denominated the silver-profit fund. This fund shall be charged with the wastage incurred in the silver coinage, and with the expense of distributing said coins as hereinafter provided. The balance to the credit of

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this fund shall be from time to time, and at least twice a year, paid into the Treasury of the United States.

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OTHER THAN THE TRADE DOLLAR

SEC. [29] 28. That the silver coins ∧ shall be paid out at the several mints, and at the assay-office in New York City, in exchange for gold coins at par, in sums not less than one hundred dollars; and it shall be lawful, also, to transmit parcels of the same, from time to time, to the assistant treasurers, depositaries, and other officers of the United States, under general regulations proposed by the Director of the Mint, and approved by the Secretary of the Treasury; but nothing herein contained shall prevent the payment of silver coins, at their nominal value, for silver parted from gold, as provided in this act, or for change less than one dollar in settlement for gold deposits: *Provided,* That for two years after the passage of this act, silver coins shall be paid at the mint in Philadelphia and the assay-office in New York City for silver bullion purchased for coinage, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Director of the Mint, and approved by the Secretary of the Treasury.

SEC. [30] 29. That for the purchase of metal for the minor coinage authorized by this act, a sum not exceeding fifty thousand dollars in lawful money of the United States shall be transferred by the Secretary of the Treasury to the credit of the superintendent of the mint at Philadelphia, at which establishment only, until otherwise provided by law, such

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coinage shall be carried on. The superintendent, with the approval of the Director of the Mint as to price, terms, and quantity, shall purchase the metal required for such coinage by public advertisement, and the lowest and best bid shall be accepted, the fineness of the metals to be determined on the mint assay. The gain arising from the coinage of such metals into coin of a nominal value, exceeding the cost thereof, shall be credited to the special fund denominated the minor-coinage profit fund; and this fund shall be charged with the wastage incurred in such coinage, and with the cost of distributing said coins as hereinafter provided. The balance remaining to the credit of this fund, and any balance of profits accrued from minor coinage under former acts, shall be, from time to time, and at least twice a year, covered into the Treasury of the United States.

SEC. [31] 30. That the minor coins authorized by this act may, at the discretion of the Director of the Mint, be delivered in any of the principal cities and towns of the United States, at the cost of the mint, for transportation, and shall be exchangeable at par at the mint in Philadelphia, at the discretion of the superintendent, for any other coins of copper, bronze, or copper-nickel heretofore authorized by law; and it shall be lawful for the Treasurer and the several assistant

treasurers and depositaries of the United States to redeem, in lawful money, under such rules as may be prescribed by the

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Secretary of the Treasury, all copper, bronze, and copper-nickel coins authorized by law when presented in sums of not less than twenty dollars; and whenever, under this authority, these coins are presented for redemption in such quantity as to show the amount outstanding to be redundant, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and required to direct that such coinage shall cease until otherwise ordered by him.

SEC. [32] 31. That parcels of bullion shall be, from time to time, transferred by the superintendent to the melter and refiner; a careful record of these transfers, noting the weight and character of the bullion, shall be kept, and vouchers shall be taken for the delivery of the same, duly receipted by the melter and refiner, and the bullion thus placed in the hands of the melter and refiner shall be subjected to the several processes which may be necessary to form it into ingots of the legal standard, and of a quality suitable for coinage.

SEC. [33] 32. That the ingots so prepared shall be assayed; and if they prove to be within the limits allowed for deviation from the standard, the assayer shall certify the fact to the superintendent, who shall thereupon receipt for the same, and transfer them to the coiner.

SEC. [34] 33. That no ingots shall be used for coinage which differ from the legal standard more than the following proportions, namely: In gold ingots, one-thousandth; in silver

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AGREED THREE-THOUSANDTHS

ingots, [two-thousandths;]\in minor-coinage alloys, twenty-five-thousandths, in the proportion of nickel.

SEC. [35] 34. That the melter and refiner shall prepare all bars required for the payment of deposits; but the fineness thereof shall be ascertained and stamped thereon by the assayer; and the melter and refiner shall deliver such bars to the superintendent, who shall receipt for the same.

SEC. [36] 35. That the superintendent shall, from time to time, deliver to the coiner ingots for the purpose of coinage; a careful record of these transfers, noting the weight and character of the bullion, shall be kept, and vouchers shall be taken for the delivery of the same, duly receipted by the coiner; and the ingots thus placed in the hands of the coiner shall be subjected to the several processes necessary to make from them coins in all respects conformable to law.

SEC. [37] 36. That in adjusting the weights of the gold coins, the following deviations shall not be exceeded in any single piece: In the double-eagle and the eagle, one-half of a grain; in the half-eagle, the three-dollar piece, the quarter-eagle, and the one-dollar piece, one-fourth of a grain. And in weighing a number of pieces together, when delivered by the coiner to the superintendent, and by the superintendent to the depositor, the deviation from the standard weight shall not exceed one-hundredth of an ounce in five thousand dollars in double-eagles, eagles, half-eagles, or quarter-eagles,

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in one thousand three-dollar pieces, and in one thousand one-dollar pieces.

SEC. [38] 37. That in adjusting the weight of the silver coins the following deviations shall not be exceeded in any single piece: In the dollar, the half and quarter dollar, and in the dime, one and one-half grains; and in weighing large numbers of pieces together, when delivered by the coiner to the superintendent, and by the superintendent to the depositor, the deviations from the standard weight shall not exceed two-hundredths of an ounce in one thousand dollars, half-dollars, or quarter-dollars, and one-hundredth of an ounce in one thousand dimes.

SEC. [39] 38. That in adjusting the weight of the minor coins provided by this act, there shall be no greater deviation allowed than three grains for the five-cent piece and two grains for the three and one cent pieces.

SEC. [40] 39. That the coiner shall, from time to time, as coins are prepared, deliver them to the superintendent, who shall receipt for the same, and who shall keep a careful record of their kind, number, and actual weight; and in receiving coins it shall be the duty of the superintendent to ascertain, by the trial of a number of single pieces separately, whether the coins of that delivery are within the legal limits of the standard weight; and if his trials for this purpose shall not prove satisfactory, he shall cause all the coins

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of such delivery to be weighed separately, and such as are not of legal weight shall be defaced and delivered to the melter and refiner as standard bullion, to be again formed into ingots and recoined; or the whole delivery may, if more convenient, be remelted.

SEC. [41] 40. That at every delivery of coins made by the coiner to a superintendent, it shall be the duty of such superintendent, in the presence of the assayer, to take indiscriminately a certain number of pieces of each variety for the annual trial of coins, the number for gold coins being not less than one piece for each one thousand pieces or any fractional part of one thousand pieces delivered; and for silver coins one piece for each two thousand pieces or any fractional part of two thousand pieces delivered. The pieces so taken shall be carefully sealed up in an envelope, properly labeled, stating the date of the delivery, the number and denomination of the pieces inclosed, and the amount of the delivery from which they were taken. These sealed parcels containing the reserved pieces shall be deposited in a pyx, designated for the purpose at each mint, which shall be kept under the joint care of the superintendent and assayer, and be so secured that neither can have access to its contents without the presence of the other, and the reserved pieces in their sealed envelopes from the coinage of each mint shall be transmitted quarterly to the mint at Philadelphia. A record shall also

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be kept at the same time of the number and denomination of the pieces so taken for the annual trial of coins, and of the number and denomination of the pieces represented by them and so delivered, a copy of which record shall be transmitted quarterly to the Director of the Mint. Other pieces may, at any time, be taken for such tests as the Director of the Mint shall prescribe.

SEC. [42] 41. That the coiner shall, from time to time, deliver to the superintendent the clippings and other portions of bullion remaining after the process of coining; and the superintendent shall receipt for the same and keep a careful record of their weight and character.

SEC. [43] 42. That the superintendent shall debit the coiner with the amount in weight of standard metal of all the bullion placed in his hands, and credit him with the amount in weight of all the coins, clippings, and other bullion returned by him to the superintendent. Once at least in every year, and at such time as the Director of the Mint shall appoint, there shall be an accurate and full settlement of the accounts of the coiner, and the melter and refiner, at which time the said officers shall deliver up to the superintendent all the coins, clippings, and other bullion in their possession, respectively, accompanied by statements of all the bullion delivered to them since the last annual settlement, and all the bullion

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returned by them during the same period, including the amount returned for the purpose of settlement.

SEC. [44] 43. That when all the coins, clippings, and other bullion have been delivered to the superintendent, it shall be his duty to examine the accounts and statements rendered by the coiner and the melter and refiner, and the difference between the amount charged and credited to each officer shall be allowed as necessary wastage, if the superintendent shall be satisfied that there has been a bona fide waste of the precious metals, and if the amount shall not exceed, in the case of the melter and refiner, one-thousandth of the whole amount of gold, and one and one-half thousandth of the whole amount of silver delivered to him since the last annual settlement, and in the case of the coiner, one-thousandth of the whole amount of silver, and one-half thousandth of the whole amount of gold that has been delivered to him by the superintendent; and all copper used in the alloy of gold and silver bullion shall be separately charged to the melter and refiner, and accounted for by him.

SEC. [45] 44. That it shall also be the duty of the superintendent to forward a correct statement of his balance-sheet, at the close of such settlement, to the Director of the Mint, who shall compare the total amount of gold and silver bullion and coin on hand with the total liabilities of the Mint. At the same time a statement of the ordinary expense account,

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and the moneys therein, shall also be made by the superintendent.

SEC. [46] 45. That when the coins or bars which are equivalent to any deposit of bullion are ready for delivery, they shall be paid to the depositor, or his order, by the superintendent; and the payments shall be made, if demanded, in the order in which the bullion shall have been brought to the mint; but in cases where there is delay in manipulating a refractory deposit, or for any other unavoidable cause, the payment of subsequent deposits, the value of which is known, shall not be delayed thereby; and in the denominations of coin delivered, the superintendent shall comply with the wishes of the depositor, except when impracticable or inconvenient to do so.

SEC. [47] 46. That unparted bullion may be exchanged at

any of the mints for fine bars, on such terms and conditions as may be prescribed by the Director of the Mint, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury; and the fineness, weight, and value of the bullion received and given in exchange shall in all cases be determined by the mint assay. The charge to the depositor for refining or parting shall not exceed that allowed and deducted for the same operation in the exchange of unrefined for refined bullion.

SEC. [48] 47. That for the purpose of enabling the mints and the assay-office in New York to make returns to depositors

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with as little delay as possible, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to keep in the said mints and assay-office, when the state of the Treasury will admit thereof, such an amount of public money, or bullion procured for the purpose, as he shall judge convenient and necessary, out of which those who bring bullion to the said mints and assay-office may be paid the value thereof, in coin or bars, as soon as practicable after the value has been ascertained; and on payment thereof being made, the bullion so deposited shall become the property of the United States; but the Secretary of the Treasury may at any time withdraw the fund, or any portion thereof.

SEC. [49] 48. That to secure a due conformity in the gold and silver coins to their respective standards of fineness and weight, the judge of the district court of the United States for the east-

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ern district of Pennsylvania, *the Comptroller of the Currency*, the assayer of the assay-office at New York, and such other persons as the President shall, from time to time, designate, shall meet as assay-commissioners, at the mint in Philadelphia, to examine and test, in the presence of the Director of the Mint, the fineness and weight of the coins reserved by the several mints for this purpose, on the second Wednesday in February, annually, and may continue their meetings by adjournment, if necessary; if a majority of the commissioners shall fail to attend at any time appointed for their meeting, the

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Director of the Mint shall call a meeting of the commissioners at such other time as he may deem convenient; and if it shall appear by such examination and test that these coins do not differ from the standard fineness and weight by a greater quantity than is allowed by law, the trial shall be considered and reported as satisfactory; but if any greater deviation from the legal standard or weight shall appear, this fact shall be certified to the President of the United States; and if, on a view of the circumstances of the case, he shall so decide, the officer or officers implicated in the error shall be thenceforward disqualified from holding their respective offices.

SEC. [50] 49. That for the purpose of securing a due conformity in weight of the coins of the United States to the provisions of this act, the brass troy-pound weight procured by the minister of the United States at London, in the year eighteen hundred and twenty-seven, for the use of the mint, and now in the custody of the mint at Philadelphia, shall be the standard troy pound of the Mint of the United States, conformably to which the coinage thereof shall be regulated.

SEC. [51] 50. That it shall be the duty of the Director of the Mint to procure for each mint and assay-office, to be kept safely thereat, a series of standard weights corresponding to the aforesaid troy pound, consisting of a one-pound weight and the requisite subdivisions and multiples thereof, from the

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hundredth part of a grain to twenty-five pounds; and the troy weights ordinarily employed in the transactions of such mints and assay-offices shall be regulated according to the above standards at least once in every year, under the inspection of the superintendent and assayer; and the accuracy of those used at the mint at Philadelphia shall be tested annually, in the presence of the assay-commissioners, at the time of the annual examination and test of coins.

SEC. [52] 51. That the obverse working-dies at each mint shall, at the end of each calendar year, be defaced and destroyed by the coiner in the presence of the superintendent and assayer.

SEC. [53] 52. That dies of a national character may be executed by the engraver, and national and other medals struck by the coiner of the mint at Philadelphia, under such regulations as the superintendent, with the approval of the Director of the Mint, may prescribe: *Provided*, That such work shall not interfere with the regular coinage operations, and that no private medal dies shall be prepared at said mint, or the machinery or apparatus thereof be used for that purpose.

SEC. [54] 53. That the moneys arrising from all charges and deductions on and from gold and silver bullion and the manu-

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facture of [metals]/\and from all other sources, except as herein-

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before provided, shall, from time to time, be covered into the Treasury of the United States, and no part of such deductions or medal charges, or profit on silver or minor coinage, shall be expended in salaries or wages; but all expenditures of the mints and assay-offices, not herein otherwise provided for, shall be paid from appropriations made by law on estimates furnished by the Secretary of the Treasury.

SEC. [55] 54. That the officers of the United States assay-office at New York shall be a superintendent, an assayer, and a melter and refiner, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The business of said assay-office shall be in all respects similar to that of the mints, except that bars only, and not coin, shall be manufactured therein; and no metals shall be purchased for minor coinage. All bullion intended by the depositor to be converted into coins of the United States, and silver bullion purchased for coinage, when assayed, parted, and refined, and its net value certified, shall be transferred to the mint at Philadelphia, under such directions as shall be made by the Secretary of the Treasury, at the expense of the contingent fund of the mint, and shall be there coined, and the proceeds returned to the assay-office. And the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to make the necessary arrangements for the adjustment of the accounts upon such transfers between the respective offices.

SEC. [56] 55. That the duties of the superintendent, assay-

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er, and melter and refiner of said office shall correspond to those of superintendents, assayers, and melters and refiners of mints; and all parts of this act relating to mints and their officers, the duties and responsibilities of such officers, and others employed therein, the oath to be taken, and the bonds and sureties to be given by them, (as far as the same may be applicable,) shall extend to the assay office at New York, and to its officers, assistants, clerks, workmen, and others employed therein.

SEC. [57] 56. That there shall be allowed to the officers of the assay-office at New York City the following salaries per annum: To the superintendent, four thousand five hundred dollars; to the assayer, and to the melter and refiner, each, three thousand dollars; and the salaries of assistants and clerks, and wages to workmen, and their manner of appointment, shall be determined and regulated as herein directed in regard to mints.

SEC. [58] 57. That the business of the branch mint at Denver, while conducted as an assay-office, and of the assay-office at Boisé City, Idaho, and all other assay-offices hereafter to be established, shall be confined to the receipt of gold and silver bullion, for melting and assaying, to be returned to depositors of the same, in bars, with the weight and fineness stamped thereon; and the officers of assay-offices, when their services are necessary, shall consist of an assayer, who shall have

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charge thereof, and a melter, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; and the assayer may employ as many clerks, workmen, and laborers, under the direction of the Director of the Mint, as may be provided for by law. The salaries of said officers shall not exceed the sum of two thousand five hundred dollars to the assayer and melter, one thousand eight hundred dollars each to the clerks, and the workmen and laborers shall receive such wages as are customary, according to their respective stations and occupations.

SEC. [59] 58. That each officer and clerk to be appointed at such assay-offices, before entering upon the execution of his office, shall take an oath or affirmation before some judge of the United States, or of the Supreme Court, as prescribed by

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the act of July [twentieth,]/\eighteen hundred and sixty-two, and each become bound to the United States of America, with one or more sureties, to the satisfaction of the Director of the Mint or of one of the judges of the supreme court of the State or Territory in which the same may be located, and of the Secretary of the Treasury, conditioned for the faithful performance of the duties of their offices; and the said assayers shall discharge the duties of disbursing agents for the payment of the expenses of their respective assay-offices.

SEC. [60] 59. That the general direction of the business of

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assay-offices of the United States shall be under the control and regulation of the Director of the Mint, subject to the

approbation of the Secretary of the Treasury; and for that purpose it shall be the duty of the said Director to prescribe such regulations and to require such returns, periodically and occasionally, and to establish such charges for melting, parting, assaying, and stamping bullion as shall appear to him to be necessary for the purpose of carrying into effect the intention of this act.

SEC. [61] 60. That all the provisions of this act for the regulation of the mints of the United States, and for the government of the officers and persons employed therein, and for the punishment of all offenses connected with the mints or coinage of the United States, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be, in full force in relation to the assay-offices, as far as the same may be applicable thereto.

SEC. [62] 61. That if any person or persons shall falsely make, forge, or counterfeit, or cause or procure to be falsely made, forged, or counterfeited, or willingly aid or assist in falsely making, forging, or counterfeiting, any coin or bars in resemblance or similitude of the gold or silver coins or bars, which have been, or hereafter may be coined or stamped at the mints and assay-offices of the United States, or in resemblance or similitude of any foreign gold or silver coin which by law is, or hereafter may be made, cur-

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rent in the United States, or are in actual use and circulation as money within the United States, or shall pass, utter, publish, or sell, or attempt to pass, utter, publish, or sell, or bring into the United States from any foreign place, or have in his possession, any such false, forged, or counterfeited coin or bars, knowing the same to be false, forged, or counterfeited, every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of felony, and shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, and by imprisonment and confinement at hard labor not exceeding ten years, according to the aggravation of the offense.

SEC. [63] 62. That if any person or persons shall falsely make, forge, or counterfeit, or cause or procure to be falsely made, forged, or counterfeited, or willingly aid or assist in falsely making, forging, or counterfeiting, any coin in the resemblance or similitude of any of the minor coinage which has been, or hereafter may be, coined at the mints of the United States; or shall pass, utter, publish, or sell, or bring into the United States from any foreign place, or have in his possession any such false, forged, or counterfeited coin, with intent to defraud any body politic or corporation, or any person or persons whatsoever, every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of felony, and shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by fine not exceeding one thousand dollars and

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by imprisonment and confinement at hard labor not exceeding three years.

SEC. [64] 63. That if any person shall fraudulently, by any art, way, or means whatsoever, deface, mutilate, impair, diminish, falsify, scale, or lighten the gold or silver coins which have been, or which shall hereafter be, coined at the mints of the United States, or any foreign gold or silver coins which are by law made current, or are in actual use and circulation as money within the United States, every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and shall be imprisoned not exceeding two years, and fined not exceeding two thousand dollars.

SEC. [65] 64. That if any of the gold or silver coins which shall be struck or coined at any of the mints of the United States shall be debased, or made worse as to the proportion of fine gold or fine silver therein contained; or shall be of less weight or value than the same ought to be, pursuant to the several acts relative thereto; or if any of the weights used at any of the mints or assay-offices of the United States shall be defaced, increased or diminished through the fault or connivance of any of the officers or persons who shall be employed at the said mints or assay-offices, with a fraudulent intent; and if any of the said officers or persons shall embezzle any of the metals which shall at any time be committed to their charge for the purpose of

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being coined, or any of the coins which shall be struck or coined at the said mints, or any medals, coins, or other moneys of said mints or assay-offices at any time committed to their charge, or of which they may have assumed the charge, every such officer or person who shall commit any or either of the said offenses shall be deemed guilty of felony, and shall be imprisoned at hard labor for a term not less than one year nor more than ten years, and shall be fined in a sum not exceeding ten thousand dollars.

SEC. [66] 65. That this act shall take effct on the first
AGREED APRIL SEVENTY-THREE
day of [July,] ∧ eighteen hundred and [seventy-two,] ∧ when the offices of the treasurer of the mints in Philadelphia, San Francisco, and New Orleans shall be vacated, and the assistant treasurer at New York shall cease to perform the duties of treasurer of the assay-office. The other officers and employees of the mints and assay-offices now appointed shall continue to hold their respective offices, they having first given the necessary bonds until further appointments may be required, the director of the mint at Philadelphia being styled and acting as superintendent thereof. The duties of the treasurers shall devolve as herein provided upon the superintendents, and said treasurers shall act only as assistant treasurers of the United States: *Provided*, That the salaries heretofore paid to the treasurers of the mints at Philadelphia, San Francisco, and

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New Orleans, acting as assistant treasurers, shall hereafter be paid to them as "assistant treasurers of the United States", and that the salary of the assistant treasurer at New York shall not be diminished by the vacation of his office as treasurer of the assay-office.

SEC. [67] 66. That the different mints and assay-offices authorized by this act shall be known as "the mint of the United States at Philadelphia", "the mint of the United States at San Francisco", "the mint of the United States at Carson," "the mint of the United States at Denver," "the United States assay-office at New York", and "the United
AGREED "THE U. S. ASSAY-OFFICE AT CHARLOTTE. N. CAROLINA"
States assay-office at Boisé City, Idaho;" ∧ and all unexpended appropriations heretofore authorized by law for the use of the mint of the United States at Philadelphia, the branch mint of the United States in California, the branch mint of the United States at Denver, the United States assay-office in New York, and the United-States assay-office at Boisé City, Idaho, are hereby authorized to be transferred for the account and use of the institutions established and located respectively at the places designated by this act.

SEC. [68] 67. That this act shall be known as the "Coinage
AGREED 1873
act of [eighteen hundred and seventy-two"] ∧; and all other acts and parts of acts pertaining to the mints, assay-offices, and coinage of the United States inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed: *Provided*, That this

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act shall not be construed to affect any act done, right accrued, or penalty incurred, under former acts, but every such right is hereby saved; and all suits and prosecutions for acts already done in violation of any former act or acts of Congress relating to the subjects embraced in this act may be begun or proceeded with in like manner as if this act had not been passed; and all penal clauses and provisions in existing laws relating to the subjects embraced in this act shall be deemed applicable thereto: *And provided further*, That so much of the first section of "An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the year ending June thirty, eighteen hundred and seventy-one, and for other purposes," approved July fifteen, eighteen hundred and seventy, as provides that until after the completion and occupation of the branch-mint building in San Francisco it shall be lawful to exchange, at any mint or branch mint of the United States, unrefined or unparted bullion whenever, in the opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury, it can be done with advantage to the Government, is hereby repealed.

Passed the House of Representatives May 27, 1872.
Attest: EDWARD McPHERSON,
Clerk.

[Indorsement on back of bill.]

42D CONGRESS, 3D SESSION. H. R. 2934. 704

AN ACT

Revising and amending the laws relative to the mints, assay-offices, and coinage of the United States.

1872—MAY 29.—Read twice and referred to the Committee on Finance.
DECEMBER 16, 1872.—Reported with amendments.
1873—JANUARY 7.—Additional amendments reported, which were ordered to be printed with the bill.
JANUARY 17, C. W.—Amended, read the third time, and passed.
JAN. 17.
Amended.
PASSED.
No papers.

SENATE PROCEEDINGS IN DETAIL.

The following proceedings were had in the Senate on Friday, January 17, 1873, when the foregoing bill was under consideration:

MINT LAWS.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Calendar under the Anthony rule is now in order.

Mr. SHERMAN. I rise for the purpose of moving that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the mint bill. I will state that this bill will not probably consume any more time than the time consumed in reading it. It passed the Senate two years ago after full debate. It was taken up again in the House during the present Congress, and passed there. It is a matter of vital interest to the Government, and I am informed by officers of the Government it is important it should pass promptly. The amendments reported by the Committee on Finance present the points of difference between the two Houses, and they can go to a committee of conference without having a controversy here in the Senate about them.

Mr. ANTHONY. I hope the Calendar will be laid aside informally, not postponed.

Mr. SHERMAN. Let it be passed over informally until we finish the reading of the mint bill and dispose of it. The reading is about half through, I am informed by the Secretary.

Mr. CRAGIN. I shall not oppose this motion, but I wish to give notice that as soon as the mint bill is disposed of I shall move to call up the bill (H. R. No. 3010) for the construction of six steam vessels of war, and for other purposes, which was reported from the Committee on Naval Affairs. I hope that bill will be left as the unfinished business this evening.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that it is proposed that the Calendar be informally passed over.

Mr. SHERMAN. I am perfectly willing that that should be done.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That will be regarded as the sense of the Senate, if there is no objection, and the bill referred to by the Senator from Ohio is now before the Senate.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. No. 2934) revising and amending the laws relative to the mints, assay offices, and coinage of the United States.

The Chief Clerk resumed and concluded the reading of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Committee on Finance report the bill, with amendments, which will now be read.

Mr. SHERMAN. I send to the clerk some amendments of a formal character from the Committee on Finance, adopted since the amendments first reported were printed. I will ask that they be acted upon with the others in their order.

The first amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 4, section 5, line 3, after the word "coins," to insert "or sample of bullion;" so that the clause will read:

"That the assayer shall assay all metals and bullion, whenever such assays are required in the operations of the mint; he shall also make assays of coin or samples of bullion whenever required by the superintendent."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was on page 5, section 8, line 2, to strike out the word "wording" before the word "dies," and insert the word "working."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was on page 6, section 9, line 1, before the word "office," at the end of the line, to insert the word "assay."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was on page 9, section 14, to strike out the following words:

"And any gold coin of the United States, if reduced in weight by abrasion not more than one-half of 1 per cent on the double eagle and eagle, and 1 per cent on the other coins, below the standard weight prescribed by law, shall be received at their nominal value by the United States Treasury and its offices, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe for the protection of the Government against fraudulent abrasion or other practices; and any gold coins in the Treasury of the United States reduced in weight below this limit of abrasion shall be recoined."

Mr. COLE. I hope that amendment will not be agreed to. I think it is a very wise provision in the bill as it came from the House, and it ought to be allowed to remain. It merely provides that coins, when a little abraded by natural use and wear, shall be received at the Treasury of the United States, and the concluding portion of the clause proposed to be stricken out provides:

"And any gold coins in the Treasury of the United States reduced in weight below this limit of abrasion shall be recoined."

It is certainly the duty of the Government to provide the coins of the country and at its own expense, and this section seems to be well guarded. The language is:

"Under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe for the protection of the Government against fraudulent abrasion or other practices."

It strikes me that this clause ought not to be stricken out. I remember at the last session of Congress we passed a law which contemplated the restoration of these coins. I will read it. It was passed at the earnest application of the Secretary of the Treasury, and I believe at the unanimous suggestion of the Committee on Finance of this body it was incorporated in an appropriation bill. It is as follows:

"For loss and expenses involved in the recoinage of gold coins in the Treasury which are below standard weight, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, $150,000."

The Government makes provision for the restoration of the coins when they have been reduced by natural wear, and I should think that this part of the section ought to be left in the bill. I see no reason why it should be stricken out.

Mr. SHERMAN. I can only say I have here a number of documents, not only from the Director of the Mint in Philadelphia, but from Professor Barnard and the Comptroller of the Currency, calling our attention to this very important feature of the bill, and the Committee on Finance, after a patient examination of the whole matter, decided that it was clearly inexpedient and wrong to put in this provision for the recoinage of all the present gold coins of the United States.

It is true, as the Senator says, we have provided for recoining the coin in the Treasury of the United States; but we go no further than that. No nation in the world has gone further than that. I do not wish to delay the Senate by reading these documents, but I suggest to the Senator whether he had not better let this proposition go to a committee of conference rather than undertake to discuss it here, because if we are compelled to discuss it here I shall be obliged to have these letters read, which entirely convinced the Committee on Finance that the United States dare not assume the loss of abrasion beyond the legal standard.

There is a legal standard within which the United States make the coin good, but when coin depreciates below the standard of abrasion, then neither the United States nor any other nation in the world undertakes to make the coins good except for their intrinsic value. The ways in which these coins might be abraded by fraud were shown to us, and it would be utterly impossible for any regulation of the Secretary to prevent great loss to the Government if we attempt to maintain these coins when they fall below the limit of abrasion and redeem them at the nominal instead of the real value. It is a delicate question, and it will only be necessary to read these papers in order to convince the Senator himself that it would not be wise for the United States to undertake to do what the House proposes.

Mr. COLE. I should like it better if the chairman of the Committee on Finance would give us some reasons why this amendment should be made. This clause protects the Government fully. The degree of abrasion is prescribed in this clause not to exceed one-half of 1 per cent on double-eagles and eagles, and not to exceed 1 per cent upon coins of lesser denomination. If it would involve the Government in some expense to restore these coins after they had been received in the ordinary business of the country, received at the custom-houses and in the Treasury, it is very proper that the Government should bear that expense. And let me again remind the Senator that we have entered upon that business, and at the last session made an appropriation of $150,000 to do this very thing.

Mr. SHERMAN. That was for the coin belonging to the United States.

Mr. COLE. Exactly. This clause provides that when the coin reaches the Treasury it may be so treated, and that this coin shall be received by the United States at the Treasury and other offices.

Mr. CASSERLY. I had risen to ask a question of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] which my colleague has anticipated. Authority is valuable only in proportion to the reason which goes with it. The names mentioned are of course names of authority in coinage and minting. But when it is said that we ought to strike out a provision such as that which we are now considering because the men of authority say it would be dangerous to enact it, we ought to know what reason they have for so saying.

In the first place, everybody knows that it is almost a mechanical impossibility to manufacture a coin that is exactly of the standard. The coin will be a little above or below the standard in weight, but generally it is below it. So that when you fix the limit of the abrasion as here at one-half of 1 per cent on the double eagle and eagle and 1 per cent on the other coins, you make your limit exceedingly narrow. In addition to that, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to make such rules as he sees fit for the protection of the Government against fraud. Now, what danger can there be to the Treasury of the United States under such a provision? Why should any respectable government consent to permit its gold coins to remain in circulation after they have suffered by abrasion so as to fall much below the legal standard? The loss by abrasion has to fall somewhere in the end, and it certainly ought to fall upon the whole people rather than upon the innocent holder who has taken the coin of the Government at its face, on the faith of the Government, without being aware of the reduction from its standard value.

I insist that it is the duty of the Government to make its coins of the standard value in the first place, and in the next place to keep them up to the standard value. The citizen is obliged by law to receive them for their full standard value, and, as the loss must fall somewhere, it ought to fall on the Government and not upon the citizen. It is hard enough that the innocent holder of a coin which has been fraudulently abraded, or reduced as by what they call "sweating," or by any other fraudulent process, must lose by the fraud to which he was no party. It is ever so much worse when you make him bear the loss of the natural and inevitable wear of the metal. Every such loss should be the loss of the Government, for it is the duty of the Government to keep its coin at the standard value at its own expense.

I do not understand the last two lines of this amendment as the Senator from Ohio understands them. If I understand them aright, he would not press his objection so strongly as he does. The language is:

"And any gold coins in the Treasury of the United States reduced in weight below this limit of abrason shall be recoined."

Mr. SHERMAN. The reason that those words are proposed to be stricken out is that the coins in the Treasury have already been provided for. The law now provides for recoining abraded coin in the Treasury of the United States. There is no necessity, therefore, for putting it in here again. Indeed, when this clause was inserted in the House the law providing for that recoinage had not been passed. It was passed in an appropriation bill on my own motion, I think, at the last session of Congress. The Mint was authorized to recoin the abraded coins in the Treasury of the United States, some of which were taken at their reduced value.

Mr. CASSERLY. Of course, if the Senator says the clause is unnecessary because it is the law now, there is nothing more to be said.

Mr. SHERMAN. The Senator's colleague referred to the law a moment ago.

Mr. CASSERLY. I am content to take what the Senator from Ohio says on that point. But that only corroborates what I say, that the Government recognizes it as its duty to restore its coins to the standard value after they have fallen below a certain limit of abrasion. Now, all that is asked is that before they fall below the limit of abrasion and while passing current in the business transactions of the country they shall be received at their denominational value by the United States Treasury, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe. I fully recognize what the Senator from Ohio says, that the whole subject of specie coinage is one of great intricacy, so that what appears a very small matter in itself may have very widespread consequences. But this provision now under consideration is so plain, so reasonable, and so perfectly guarded that I had very strong hopes the Senator from Ohio would consent to allow it to remain.

Mr. SHERMAN. I think after a full explanation of this matter the Senators from California themselves would vote for this proposition. I do not desire to take up time, but will say a few words in explanation of the amendment proposed by the committee striking out this clause.

All nations retain the nominal value of abraded coin to a certain standard, but when it falls below that the loss falls on the individual who holds it. That has been the custom of all countries. The coin that is held by the Treasury of the United States is received at its nominal value if it is within the limits of abrasion fixed by the law, but if it falls below the limits the loss falls on the holder of the coin, and much of that which is now being recoined in the United States was taken at the abraded value; that is, the reduced value. It was not taken at the full nominal value, but at the reduced value. Consequently, when we issue it again, we issue it in the form of coin up to the standard. Therefore, the question as to whether we shall recoin our own coin and the question whether we shall recoin the coin in the hands of citizens are very different things. Upon this identical point I will read a letter of Mr. Comptroller Knox. I may say that this clause was put in in the House, I believe, without the consent of the committee, and upon some motion made in the House; at least I am so informed, although I have not looked at the Globe to ascertain the fact. Mr. Knox writes this to the committee:

"I inclose herewith copy of a portion of a letter recently received from him (Prof. Barnard), in which you will be interested. I desire to call your especial attention to his criticisms upon sections 14 and 15 in reference to abrasion. So far as I can learn, no nation in the world has laws which offer inducements to wrong-doers to lighten the coins which are in circulation. If I had charge of the bill now before the Senate I should certainly much prefer its defeat to its passage, unless section 14 from line 20, and section 15, could be stricken from the bill."

That is what he says. Then I have here the letter of Prof. Barnard, which is very interesting. I will read a paragraph from it:

"Section 14 of the bill provides that any gold coin, if reduced in weight not more than one-half of 1 per cent on the double-eagle and eagle, and 1 per cent on the other coins, below the standard weight and limit of tolerance, shall be received at their denominational value by the United States Treasury and its officers, under such regulations, etc. This one-half of 1 per cent, with the tolerance, makes on the double-eagle about six-tenths of 1 per cent; that is to say, 12 cents on every such double-eagle, and on the eagle seven-tenths of 1 per cent, or 7 cents on every such eagle. This is an enormous sacrifice for the Government to propose to make, and one which will insure the return to the Treasury of a vast number of gold coins much reduced in weight by means which can not be proved to be fraudulent. A coin, or a lot of coins, which has been to some extent reduced by honest abrasion will be a Godsend to a rogue, for this may be still 'sweated' down to the limit named in this section without sensibly altering its appearance. Coins may moreover be abraded by rubbing them with rouge powder, or with prepared chalk, by hand or by mechanical means, so as seriously to reduce them without leaving any traces of violence. I am at a loss to know on what grounds the proposition is defended to receive 'at their nominal value' all coins depreciated by abrasion below the limits of legal tolerance.

"It is true that this section authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to 'prescribe regulations' under which such coins shall be received. If this authority extends so far as to permit him to refuse to receive them at all, at 'their denominational value,' it may prove a safeguard; otherwise the provision seems to me extremely dangerous."

Here is another and a later letter from Prof. Barnard to the Comptroller of the Currency, under date of December 24:

"MY DEAR SIR: Dr. Torrey has just told me a very important fact. There is a manufactory of watch cases in Brooklyn. The workmen put the last polish on the cases with fine paper and rouge powder. Some time since the proprietor applied at the assay office for advice, as to some method of burning these papers, so as to prevent gold from being carried away mechanically in the smoke. He said their loss from this cause was serious, but that in spite of this they recovered $5,000 worth of gold from these papers per annum.

"The establishment is a large one, it is true; but, on the other hand, the workmen do not work with the design to polish off as much gold as they conveniently can, but just as little as the object in view will allow.

"I mention this to show you how easy it would be for a designing man to live off the coin of the country, setting up with a capital of a few thousand dollars. It is needless to say that the coins so abased could not be detectable by their brightness, for nothing is easier than to tarnish them."

Within a certain degree, one-thousandth per cent, a small degree, the Government maintains the coins at their nominal value even if abraded, but when they are abraded below that the loss falls on the holder, and every man who receives a coin must look to it that it has not been abraded beyond the legal amount. If it is so abraded he can refuse to take it, or if he takes it at all he should take it for what it is intrinsically worth. The recoinage of the gold now in circulation, although not very large, would amount to $1,000,000 or $2,000,000. As a matter of course, as soon as our attention was called to this fact we struck out this clause. I do not wish to go any further into the details of the matter. I think the action of the Committee on Finance was clearly right, and it would be very wrong indeed to undertake in this ambiguous way to make good all the coin now outstanding.

Mr. CASSERLY. I do not wish to be tenacious about this matter, still less pertinacious. I am very glad that the Senator from Ohio has read the letters on which he relies. I think they speak for themselves. The burden of them is that gold coin may be abraded or reduced fraudulently with such skill as to make it almost impossible of detection at the Treasury. The last letter from Professor Barnard conjures up a phantom to terrify Senators withal. It is that if this provision should become a law a man might with a capital of a few thousand dollars, by fraudulent abrasion, make a good living out of the Treasury. I ask the Senator from Ohio, what does such an argument amount to? If a man can make a good living out of the Treasury by fraudulent abrasion of the coin, so skillfully made as to defy detection of the officers, how is it to be with the community?

Mr. SHERMAN. I will say to my friend from California that any citizen can at any time test it by weight.

Mr. CASSERLY. I was just coming to that. The Senator says any one can weigh each piece as he takes it. Just imagine a merchant in large business in the city of San Francisco going about with a pair of scales in his pocket to weigh gold coin hourly as he receives it! The Senator surely is not serious when he says so. We are legislating for the American people, a rapid if not a fast people in their enterprises; a people whose energies are impatient of pause, still less of delay. To suppose that such a people are to go about with scales at their button-holes to weigh coins is to suppose something which, wishing well to the Senator, I hope he may live long enough to see.

Mr. President, we can not carry on a great Government like this without running some risk. I am sure that nobody ought to put the whole risk of coinage upon the citizens. As I said, the citizen has no choice. He must take the lawful money of the country in the course of his lawful transactions, and at its denominational value. If there must be loss even by fraud, I am not sure that it ought not to be borne by the Government in the case of an innocent holder, but I do not wish to raise that question now.

The portion of the clause proposed to be stricken out for which I am contending is that which provides for the natural and lawful abrasion of the coins. I am surprised that these learned and scientific men make such objections as those which the Senator has read, although I think they pretty much answer themselves.

Before I take my seat I wish to observe to the Senator from Ohio that this appears to be a bill for the codification of all the laws on this subject. Consequently, the fact that there is another statute which covers the ground covered by lines twenty-eight, twenty-nine, and thirty of this clause would not be a good reason for striking them out. They should therefore be retained.

Mr. SHERMAN. I will say to the Senator from California that the amount heretofore appropriated will probably be sufficient to have that recoinage done before this bill will take effect; at all events there will be no trouble about that, and I do not care whether the clause is retained or stricken out. The thing is provided for already by an appropriation as a distinct matter.

Mr. CASSERLY. This is a codified law and repeals all other laws.

Mr. SHERMAN. If the Senator is willing to compromise on that I am perfectly willing to allow those lines to remain in the bill.

Mr. CASSERLY. I shall vote to retain the whole clause, but I shall not debate it any further.

Mr. SHERMAN. I have no objection at all to the gold coin in the Treasury, that which has fallen below the standard, being recoined; but that will be done under the present law, under an appropriation which I moved myself.

Mr. CASSERLY. To save any question about that, probably the Senator will consent to let those words remain.

Mr. SHERMAN. I have no objection to that.

Mr. COLE. I shall not detain the Senate from a vote on this question more than a minute or two.

By the Constitution of the United States it is the duty of the Government to furnish the circulating medium, the material which is the price of values in business transactions, the currency of the country. That they assume to do in one form or another. Gold is a legal tender for all debts, and it is presumed when the gold is presented with the stamp of the United States upon it, so indorsed by the Government of the United States, that it is of a certain value and weight. Now, what are the facts so far as the Pacific coast is concerned? There is a quantity of coin there that has been in circulation for more than a score of years, and of course it has become more or less abraded by natural wear. It has become so in its use in business, and the dates upon these coins will show that they have been in use a long time.

I hear it said about me, *sotto voce*, that we ought on that coast to have paper money, and in that way avoid this difficulty of having coins which are worn used in business transactions. What are the facts so far as this is concerned? Why, sir, in the first place, in California there never was any bank of issue, there never was a dollar of paper money issued by any bank in that State; but before the late rebellion gold and silver were the circulating mediums exclusively. When the nation adopted as a legal tender the United States notes, it was, as it will be well remembered, a long time before they were made to replace the bank notes that were in circulation throughout the various States. It occurred by slow degrees, and by the time you were ready to dispense with the State banking institutions the legal tenders had fallen in value below the value of gold. They were worth perhaps but 90, or 80, or 70 cents on the dollar, and before they had decreased in value there was no supply possible to be obtained in the community which I have the honor in part to represent. There was no possibility before that time to receive enough there to supply as circulating medium the place that was filled by gold and silver. California never resisted the acceptance of paper money, but from the force of circumstances it could not be adopted there.

In the States on the Atlantic side the United States notes very naturally came into use as money. They took the place of the bank notes at first circulated with them and at the same value, and from one description of paper money they very naturally fell into the use of another. These circumstances never existed on the Pacific coast, and we never have had any banks of issue or paper money there. The United States notes or greenbacks never were furnished in sufficient numbers or quantity to supply the wants of the country, and they never could circulate as the money of the country. It is owing to these facts, and not to any unfriendly disposition on the part of the State of California or her people, that the United States notes have never come into general use there. It is owing to the fact that gold and silver were all the currency there before the issuance of United States notes. It is a great misfortune to us, and we realise it, that we have not the use of United States notes there the same as here. That fact is realized by our business community very generally. But we have never seen the time when we could use them or adopt them in place of gold and silver as the measure of value for the reasons I have mentioned. And now, since there is in use there this abraded coin, it is very proper that it should be received when not much abraded, when not abraded below the amount specified in this bill by the United States for the various uses for which they accept that sort of currency, and I think this bill ought not to be amended as proposed by the Finance Committee of this body.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I understand that the law has been for a course of years that the Government would always receive at the nominal value coin that was not abraded more than one-half of 1 per cent. So I do not see the hardship which the Senator from California complains of. The people of that State and of that community that use coin could under the law at any time have had the abraded coin redeemed.

Mr. COLE. Let me correct the Senator. I do not understand, at all events, that the coin is receivable now when abraded, as specified in this section, to the amount of one-half of 1 per cent upon eagles and double eagles, and 1 per cent upon coins of lesser denomination. I do not understand that that is the case.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I understand that the law has been for a course of years that if the coin was not abraded more than the rate fixed by the law, such a law as existed, the Government received it at its nominal and not at its actual value. Therefore I do not see the difficulty.

Mr. SHERMAN. I will read the Senator a paragraph on that subject in this very bill. These coins are receivable now. The language is:

"Which coins shall be a legal tender in all payments at their nominal value when not below the standard weight and limit of tolerance."

Mr. COLE. What is that?

Mr. SHERMAN. It is one-thousandth per cent. And another section provides that when they do fall below the limit of tolerance they shall be received at their actual value.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. And that is only a reënactment of a preëxisting statute.

Mr. SHERMAN. Certainly; it is the law now.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Therefore I do not see that there is any hardship on the community that the Senator represents, inasmuch as they have had the right at any time to have that coin received at its nominal value within the limit fixed by the existing law, and it is absolutely necessary that the Government should have such a law. If this Government is to receive at its nominal value coin that has been reduced, abraded, it is a premium on fraud at once. Men will go to work with this process of sweating, and make money by it, and come and get the nominal value for the coin. This provision seems to me to be a very essential feature in our laws. The Government will of course receive the coin at its actual value; but if we should now pass a law that the Government would receive at its nominal value abraded coin, this coin that is in circulation in California, for instance——

Mr. COLE. How much abraded?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I do not remember the limit.

Mr. COLE. One-tenth of 1 per cent.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. The rate now is one-half of 1 per cent.

Mr. COLE. No, sir; one-tenth of 1 per cent.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Very well. It is altogether immaterial what the rate is. The point of difference is that which is insisted on as covering the coin in California and that which is provided by this bill, and that is the point to which I am directing my remarks. They could have gone and had that coin made anew, but they did not do so. Now they want the rate increased, so as to cover the abrasion which has taken place there, and that very provision any person who was disposed to commit a fraud upon the Treasury could avail himself of.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Committee on Finance, striking out the words which have been read.

The question being put, it was declared that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. CASSERLY. I should like to have a decision on that.

Mr. SHERMAN. We have not got a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator call for a division?

Mr. CASSERLY. Yes, sir, or the yeas and nays in order that we may have the sense of the Senate on the question. By the sound the noes had it, I think.

Mr. SHERMAN. I think no one voted but the Senators from California. I suppose if the question is put again and the Senators respond "aye" or "no," there will be no difficulty in deciding it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will put the question again on striking out the words which have been read.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CASSERLY. I understood the Senator from Ohio was willing to permit the last two lines to remain.

Mr. SHERMAN. I have no objection to that clause, because it is in accordance with existing law.

"And any gold coins in the Treasury of the United States reduced in weight below this limit of abrasion shall be recoined."

That is the law now, and I have no objection to retaining those words if it is desired.

Mr. CASSERLY. That means, abraded below this limit of one-half of 1 per cent.

Mr. SHERMAN. Oh, no; we struck out all about that.

Mr. CASSERLY. The meaning of the language is to be taken according to the place in which it is put.

Mr. SHERMAN. It is fixed above. If we strike out all between lines 19 and 27, then this clause will relate to the language before line 19, which reads:

"Which coins shall be a legal tender in all payments at their nominal value when not below the standard weight and limit of tolerance provided by this act for the single piece, and when reduced in weight below said standard and tolerance, shall be a legal tender at valuation in proportion to their actual weight."

Mr. CASSERLY. I understood the Senator to be willing to keep those words in the last clause of the section just in the meaning they had in that place; but of course if he has a different view of it I shall not contest it with him, because it is evident very few Senators are paying attention to this subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The next amendment will be read.

The next amendment was to strike out the fifteenth section of the bill in the following words:

"SEC. 15. That any gold coin now in circulation the weight of which is below the limit of abrasion prescribed in this act may be received at the mints in Philadelphia and San Francisco at par in exchange for silver coins: *Provided*, That the circulation of such gold coin, as shown by the date of coinage, has been sufficient to produce such loss by natural abrasion; and the coins so received shall be recoined; but no gold coins which appear to have been artificially reduced shall come within the provisions of this section."

Mr. CASSERLY. It seems to me that section is a section which should be retained, not only for the general reasons applicable to the other section which I stated, but for the further reason that there is a protection provided by the express language of this section which it seems to me is absolutely sufficient. The language is:

"That any gold coin now in circulation, the weight of which is below the limit of abrasion prescribed in this act, may be received at the mints in Philadelphia and San Francisco at par in exchange for silver coins: *Provided*, That the circulation of such gold coin, as shown by the date of coinage, has been sufficient to produce such loss by natural abrasion; and the coins so received shall be recoined; but no gold coins which appear to have been artificially reduced shall come within the provisions of this section."

Of course that section, if it is to remain in the sense in which I desire it to remain, should be modified so as to refer to the limit of abrasion just stricken out, that is, not more than one-half of 1 per cent on the double-eagle and eagle, and 1 per cent on other coins. I presumed, after the amendment the Senate has just adopted, the Senator from Ohio would be willing to retain the fifteenth section.

Mr. SHERMAN. No; the fifteenth section is the one I have been debating all the time.

Mr. CASSERLY. Then I must have the wrong bill before me.

Mr. SHERMAN. It is the same bill that the Senator has before him; but the two amendments go together. If one falls the other falls. Is it right, is it just that the people of the United States should maintain the gold in circulation in California against the abrasion of honest people, as well as the abrasion of rogues, when it refuses to maintain its own paper currency against the abrasion of accident? When our paper currency is reduced in value by being mutilated to the amount of one-sixteenth, the holder of the bill loses to the extent of that mutilation, and the Treasury redeems the paper at so much less, in proportion to the loss of the bill. A mutilated bill presented to the Treasury is not redeemed at its nominal value. It is reduced in proportion to the amount presented. In order to avoid fraud, it is indispensably necessary to have such a provision. Indeed, the Senators from California and their constituents are much more interested in the passage of this bill than the people of Ohio; and I hope, therefore, if they want the sense of the Senate on this question they will take it by yeas and nays, and let us go on with the bill. I believe this is the only controverted point in the bill. I think the people of the Pacific coast, who persist in circulating gold coin rather than paper money, should not seek to get the people of the United States at large to make good their abraded coin, not only against honest abrasion, but against dishonest abrasion; and, as Professor Barnard has told us, it is utterly impossible to distinguish between honest and dishonest abrasion.

Mr. COLE. Before the Senator takes his seat I should like to ask him who pays for printing the United States notes? Do not the people of the United States at large pay for it, the people of California as well as the people everywhere else? And as to this other point about the notes being torn, what we are providing for is equivalent to furnishing notes that have been effaced without being torn. It is provided here that if the coin is not abraded beyond a certain extent it shall be recoined at the expense of the United States. That is the effect of the proposition; but if it is reduced beyond that, as if a bill were torn one-sixteenth or one-fourth, then there shall be no relief for the party holding it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on striking out the fifteenth section.

Mr. CASSERLY. I do not propose to debate this bill at any length; but it is quite impossible for me to do my duty, as I understand it, to the people of California, or indeed of the United States who use gold coin, without suggesting the objections to it that occur to me. I understand the natural desire of the Senator from Ohio to get the bill passed with expedition. At the same time, each one of us here has to do his duty according to his lights.

I see no kind of analogy in the comparison which the Senator makes between gold coin that is abraded and a legal-tender note which is reduced in size to the extent of one-sixteenth. In the case of the note the reduction is visible, it is easily ascertained. In the case of the coin it not only is not easily ascertainable, but the whole argument of the Senator is it is so difficult to be ascertained as to make it dangerous to receive them at the Treasury.

The Senator aims to make some point in what he says of the people of California, namely, that they insisted on retaining a specie currency. Why, Mr. President, the people there had no choice about it. There never was a period of time between the going out of gold coin in the country at large and the coming in of paper as the sole currency when we could have made any such change in California. Our whole system of values was based upon gold coin. We could not have changed it if we had tried without such a disturbance as would have been a calamity to the State, from which, perhaps, she would not have recovered for years. We never have discredited the paper of the country.

On the contrary, we have always given from three-fourths of 1 per cent to 1½ per cent more for it than was paid for it in the State of the Senator from Ohio. The greenbacks of the Government, in reference to which so much is thrown out here against California, are now and always have been in better credit to-day in the city of San Francisco than in any city this side of the Rocky Mountains. You can get fewer of them for the same amount in gold in San Francisco than you can in Philadelphia, New York, Cincinnati, or Chicago. Yet we are constantly met when we seek to do anything to relieve the people of California in reference to the condition of the coinage there by the reproach that we insisted on keeping in California the gold coin of the country. Why, Mr. President, was it wrong for a State, when she had the right to choose between two kinds of lawful money, to choose that kind which formed her currency, and more than that, which formed her entire standard and basis of value?

Our situation in California in regard to our gold currency is one of very considerable difficulty and may become one of danger at any time. By the practice of the Federal officers there, all the new coin is systematically sent out of the country and the old coin is retained. The miner who takes his bullion to the mint in San Francisco to have it coined is, in nine cases out of ten, paid for it in the old coin of the country, abraded and reduced in value as it is. The result is that the old worn coin, instead of being taken up by the officers of the Government, as in the custom-house, and sent on here to the Treasury, is returned into the circulation of the State, to be more and more abraded and reduced, and the new $20 coins are sent forward to the Treasury at this side. It is not hard to see what must one day be the result of this state of things.

It seems to me, sir, that when we provide as we do in this section for the redemption of gold coins when the abrasion is no more than might honestly have taken place in the time during which, as the figures on their face show, they must have been in circulation, and when the section is further guarded for the protection of the Government against any sort of fraudulent or wrongful abrasion, there ought to be no unwillingness to retain the section as it came from the House.

I have proceeded all through upon the theory that these fraudulent abrasions were very difficult of detection, because that is the argument of the Senator from Ohio. My recollection of a number of criminal cases in England on the subject of sweating coin and similar offenses in the nature of fraudulent abrasions is that the crime is not so very difficult of detection, and that the condition of the coin will exhibit it to any person who inspects it closely.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment striking out the fifteenth section.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to strike out section [17] 16, in the following words:

"SEC. [17] 16. That the minor coins of the United States shall be a five-cent piece, a three-cent piece, and a one-cent piece; and the alloy for minor coinage shall be copper and nickel, to be composed of three-fourths copper and one-fourth nickel; the weight of the piece of five cents shall be five grams, or seventy-seven and sixteen-hundredths grains troy; of the three-cent piece, three grams, or forty-six and thirty-hundredths grains; and of the one-cent piece, one and one-half grams, or twenty-three and fifteen-hundredths grains; which coins shall be legal tender, at their nominal value, for any amount not exceeding twenty-five cents in any one payment."

And to insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That the minor coins of the United States shall be a five-cent piece, a three-cent piece, and a one-cent piece; and the alloy for the five and three cent pieces shall be of copper and nickel, to be composed of three-fourths copper and one-fourth nickel; and the alloy of the one-cent piece shall be 95 per cent of copper and 5 per cent of tin and zinc, in such proportions as shall be determined by the Director of the Mint. The weight of the piece of five cents shall be seventy-seven and sixteen-hundredths grains troy; of the three-cent piece, thirty grains; and of the one-cent piece forty-eight grains; which coins shall be a legal tender, at their nominal value, for any amount not exceeding twenty-five cents in any one payment."

Mr. SHERMAN. There is an omission in the matter proposed to be inserted by the committee. I move to insert in line eleven, after the words "twenty-five-cent piece," the words "and a dime, or ten-cent piece."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was adopted.

The next amendment was in section [18] 19, line 9, to insert, after the words "three-dollar piece," the words "the silver dollar, half dollar, quarter dollar," and also to insert in line 11, after the word "omitted," the words "and on the reverse of the silver dollar, half dollar, quarter dollar, and the dime, respectively, there shall be inscribed the weight and the fineness of the coin;" so that the section will read:

"SEC. [19] 18. That upon the coins of the United States there shall be the following devices and legends: Upon one side there shall be an impression emblematic of liberty, with an inscription of the word 'Liberty' and the year of the coinage, and upon the reverse shall be the figure or representation of an eagle, with the inscriptions 'United States of America' and 'E Pluribus Unum,' and a designation of the value of the coin; but on the gold dollar and three-dollar piece, the silver dollar, half dollar, quarter dollar, the dime, five, three, and one cent piece the figure of the eagle shall be omitted, and on the reverse side of the silver dollar, half dollar, quarter dollar, and the dime, respectively, there shall be inscribed the weight and fineness of the coin; and the Director of the Mint, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may cause the motto 'In God we trust' to be inscribed upon such coins as shall admit of such motto; and any one of the foregoing inscriptions may be on the rim of the gold and silver coins."

Mr. CASSERLY. It may be a matter of sentiment, but sentiment sometimes goes a great way, especially in those cases where it is difficult to reduce the action of men to a mathematical standard. I regret that the eagle is to disappear from the dollar, half dollar, and quarter dollar of our coinage. It will hardly be possible to think of a half dollar or quarter dollar as being such a coin without the eagle upon it.

Mr. SHERMAN. The Senator will see that the reason is because it is necessary to describe the weight and fineness of the coin. This amendment has been proposed by the officers of the mint. They have adopted a plan of describing on each coin its weight and fineness.

Mr. CASSERLY. What is the use of that, when we know that the weight of the coin is constantly being reduced?

Mr. SHERMAN. The reason given to us is because it has been adopted as a mode of international coinage. This method has been adopted in the corresponding coins of France and all the countries of Europe, pretty much, of describing upon the face of the coin its intrinsic weight and fineness.

Mr. CASSERLY. I must say I never saw a coin marked in that way.

Mr. SHERMAN. That is the reason the officers of the mint give for this change.

Mr. CASSERLY. I ask the Senator whether he is very strenuous in his ad-

vocacy of this amendment? I should like to save the American eagle on the half dollar and quarter dollar.

Mr. SHERMAN. The eagle is preserved on all gold coins in a size large enough to be caged. [Laughter.]

Mr. CASSERLY. But the half dollar and quarter dollar are the money of the people, and they are the leading coins of our entire silver coinage. I do not think it is of so much importance to put the fineness or the weight upon a half dollar or a quarter dollar as it might be upon a gold coin. I have never seen any foreign coin, and of course no American coin, marked in that way. To have the weight of the coin upon gold coin may be a useful thing because of the great preciousness of the metal; but what is the importance of having the weight inscribed upon the half dollar or quarter dollar? Does anybody ever weigh half dollars or quarter dollars in business?

Mr. SHERMAN. If the Senator will allow me, he will see that the preceding section provides for coin which is exactly interchangeable with the English shilling and the 5-franc piece of France; that is, a 5-franc piece of France will be the exact equivalent of a dollar of the United States in our silver coinage; and in order to show this wherever our coin shall float—and we are providing that it shall float all over the world—we propose to stamp upon it instead of our eagle, which foreigners may not understand, and which they may not distinguish from a buzzard or some other bird, the intrinsic fineness and weight of the coin. In this practical utilitarian age the officers of the mint seemed to think it would be better to do that than to put the eagle on our silver coin. I must confess I do not think it is very important; but I think the Senator ought to be willing to defer in these matters to the practical knowledge of the officers who have charge of this branch of the Government service. I will say that Mr. Linderman, whom the Senator must know, has suggested this as being a convenient mode of promoting international coinage.

Mr. CASSERLY. We can not have an international coinage on the basis of our silver coin unless our silver coin is up to the standard of all the nations with which we expect to have relations. Now, I ask the Senator whether this bill proposes a silver coinage of that character?

Mr. SHERMAN. This bill proposes a silver coinage exactly the same as the French and what are called the associated nations of Europe, who have adopted the international standard of silver coinage; that is, the dollar provided for by this bill is the precise equivalent of the 5-franc piece. It contains the same number of grams of silver; and we have adopted the international gram instead of the grain for the standard of our silver coinage. The "trade dollar" has been adopted mainly for the benefit of the people of California, and others engaged in trade with China. That is the only coin measured by the grain instead of by the gram. The intrinsic value of each is to be stamped upon the coin.

Mr. CASSERLY. Do I understand the Senator to say, then, that the intrinsic value of the dollar, half-dollar, and quarter-dollar is raised by this bill?

Mr. SHERMAN. There is a difference of about one-half of 1 per cent.

Mr. CASSERLY. I suppose it must be raised to the basis of international exchange.

Mr. SHERMAN. I think t is slightly raised, so as to conform with foreign coins. The Chamber of Commerce of New York first recommended this change, and it has been adopted, I believe, by all the learned societies who have given attention to coinage, and has been recommended to us, I believe, as the general desire. That is embodied in these three or four sections of amendment, to make our silver coinage correspond in exact form and dimensions, and shape and stamp, with the coinage of the associated nations of Europe, who have adopted an international silver coinage. I do not like myself to break in upon this plan or to change it in the slightest degree, but prefer to leave it to the proper officers of the Mint. Indeed, I would be perfectly willing to leave the whole thing to the officers of the Mint rather than to fix it by law. That was not deemed convenient, and therefore we had to drop the American eagle from these minor silver coins.

Mr. CASSERLY. I am not prepared to go as far as that. I would not leave it to anybody to remove from the eyes and the thoughts of the people those symbols of nationality which have stood this country in such good stead in many a hard-fought field by land and sea; and which may have to do the same service in the same way for many generations to come. While we laugh a good deal about the American eagle and the uses to which he is put by orators, political and otherwise, on the Fourth of July and other days, we must all feel that the associations that cluster around the American eagle are associations that make him a symbol of power, and I am not at all satisfied, because we desire to put the weight and fineness upon our half-dollar and our quarter-dollar, that therefore it is necessary to abolish the American eagle. The eagle, it is said, suffers little birds to sing, and the eagle will not object to having his value in the countries of the world put under his wing on the coin. I say retain the eagle and put whatever marks you like upon the face of your coin to indicate its weight and fineness. I do not think it will be of any value in regard to the simple coins of the denomination of half-dollar and quarter-dollar; but if the Senator is strongly of opinion that they ought to be there, let them be there.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the committee.

Mr. CASSERLY. I propose to strike out the words in italics in line 9 of section [19] 18, "the silver dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California can accomplish his object by voting against the amendment of the committee inserting those words.

Mr. NYE. I should like to hear the amendment of the committee read.

The Chief Clerk read the amendment, which was in section [19] 18, line 9, to insert after the words "three-dollar piece," the words "the silver dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar;" and in line 11, after the word "omitted," to insert "and on the reverse of the silver dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar, and the dime, respectively, there shall be inscribed the weight and the fineness of the coin," so that that portion of the section will read:

"But on the gold dollar and three-dollar piece, the silver dollar, half dollar, quarter dollar, the dime, five, three, and one cent piece the figure of the eagle shall be omitted; and on the reverse of the silver dollar, half dollar, quarter dollar, and the dime, respectively, there shall be inscribed the weight and the fineness of the coin."

Mr. CASSERLY. I think the question is not understood by the Senate generally. As I understand, to vote for the amendment of the committee is to abolish the American eagle on the silver dollar, half dollar, and quarter dollar, and to vote against it is to keep him there. The subsequent amendment, in line 11, to which there is no objection, will allow the mark of weight and fineness to be put upon the coin.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from California desire a separate vote on the two branches of the amendment?

Mr. SHERMAN. I suppose the Senator has no objection to the last one.

Mr. CASSERLY. None at all to the last one. The only point is that I wish to retain the American eagle on the silver dollar, half dollar, and quarter dollar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question will then be taken on the amendment in line 9, which is to insert the words "the silver dollar, half dollar, quarter dollar."

The amendment was rejected; there being on a division—ayes 24, noes 26.

Mr. SHERMAN. As the Senate are so patriotic that they will not abolish the eagle, I hope they will be perfectly willing now to hurry along with the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The other part of the amendment will be considered as agreed to, if there be no objection.

The next amendment was on page 13, section 22 [21], to add at the end of the section the following proviso:

"*Provided*, That at the option of the owner silver may be cast into coins of standard fineness, and of the weight of four hundred and twenty grains troy, designated in section 15 of this act as the trade dollar."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was in section [25] 24, line 2, to strike out the word "standard" and insert "fineness;" so as to read:

"That the assayer shall report to the superintendent the quality of the fineness of the bullion assayed by him, etc."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was in section [25] 24, lines 5 and 6, to strike out the words "for the cost of converting the bullion into bars;" so as to read:

"*Provided*, That the assayer shall report to the superintendent the quality or fineness of the bullion assayed by him, and such information as will enable him to compute the amount of the charges hereinafter provided for, to be made to the depositor."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SHERMAN. The next amendment is on page 14, in section [26] 25, line 2, to insert the words "or for converting standard silver into trade dollars." They should be transposed to line 7 of the same section.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is suggested by the clerk that the words ought to be inserted in line 8, after the word "bullion."

Mr. SHERMAN. At any convenient place, either after the word "bullion" in line 8, or after the word "standard" in line 7.

The CHIEF CLERK. The amendment of the committee is section [26] 25, line 8, after the word "bullion" to insert the words "or for converting standard silver into trade dollars;" so that the section will read:

"That the charge for converting standard gold bullion into coin shall be one-fifth of 1 per cent; and the charges for refining when the bullion is below standard, for toughening when metals are contained in it which render it unfit for coinage, for copper used for alloy when the bullion is above standard, for separating the gold and silver when these metals exist together in the bullion, or for converting standard silver into trade dollars, and for the preparation of bars, shall be fixed, from time to time, by the Director, with the concurrence of the Secretary of the Treasury, so as to equal but not exceed, in their judgment, the actual average cost to each mint and assay office of the material, labor, wastage, and use of machinery employed in each of the cases aforementioned."

Mr. SHERMAN. The Senate will see that the charge for converting standard silver into trade dollars, instead of being fixed at one-fifth of 1 per cent, is fixed at the actual cost. It is provided that the price for this work done at the mint shall be fixed by the Director of the Mint, but not in any case to exceed the actual cost of the operation.

Mr. CASSERLY. I did not suppose that the amendment to section [26] 25 had been disposed of.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is the question now pending.

Mr. CASSERLY. I supposed that the charge there of one-fifth of 1 per cent for silver coinage was a clerical error.

Mr. SHERMAN. The words "or for converting standard silver into trade dollars" were intended to come in after the word "standard" in line 7. The Committe on Finance observing that it was printed at the wrong place corrected it, and I gave the Secretary the correct place where it should be inserted. It is only to be the actual cost of the operation, whatever that may be.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 16, section [29] 30, line 1, after the word "coins" to insert "other than the trade dollar;" so that the clause will read:

"That silver coins other than the trade dollar shall be paid out of the several mints and at the assay office in New York City, in exchange for gold coins at par," etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CASSERLY. I wish to ask what has become of the amendment to section 26. I did not know that it had been passed upon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It has been adopted.

Mr. CASSERLY. I presume it will still be in order to offer an amendment to that section after the amendments of the committee have been disposed of.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be.

The next amendment was, on page 19, section [34] 35 line 4, to strike out "two-thousandths" and insert "three-thousandths;" so that the clause will read:

"That no ingots shall be used for coinage which differ from the legal standard more than the following proportions, namely, in gold ingots, one-thousandth; in silver ingots, three-thousandths; in minor-coinage alloys, twenty-five-thousandths, in the proportion of nickel."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 25, section [49] 48, line 4, after the word "Pennsylvania," to insert "the Comptroller of the Currency;" so that the clause will read:

"That to secure a due conformity in the gold and silver coins to their respective standards of fineness and weight, the judge of the district court of the United States for the eastern district of Pennsylvania, the Comptroller of the Currency, the assayer of the assay office at New York," etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 27, section [54] 53, line 3, to strike out "metals" and insert "medals."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 30, section [59] 58, line 5, to strike out "twentieth" and insert "second;" so as to read: "as prescribed by the act of July 2, 1862."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 34, section [66] 65, line 2, to strike out "July" and insert "April," and strike out "1872" and insert "1873;" so that the clause will read: "that this act shall take effect on the 1st day of April, 1873," etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 35, section [68] 67, line 2, to strike out "1872" and insert "1873;" so that the clause will read: "that this act shall be known as the coinage act of 1873," etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. This concludes the amendments proposed by the Committee on Finance. The bill is open to further amendments.

Mr. COLE. I offer the following amendment, to come in on page 13, at the end of section [21] 20:

"And the Secretary of the Treasury may issue through the Director of the Mint certificates for gold bullion deposited at any of the mints or assay office at New York, which certificates shall state the value of the bullion less the coinage and other mint charges, and be payable to bearer on presentation at the mint or assay office at which the bullion was deposited, either in bullion

or coin, at the option of the superintendent of the mint or assay office, or in such proportion of bullion or coin as the superintendent may prefer: *Provided*, That if any holder of a certificate demands to be paid in coin a certificate may be issued stating the time when such coin will be ready for delivery."

Mr. NYE. That is a thing that is already provided for by existing law. Each one of our mints has a bullion fund provided from which the depositor gets his pay in coin for the value of the bullion as soon as it is ascertained. There is no delay now or waiting for coinage at the Mint.

Mr. SHERMAN. The Senator from California showed me this amendment. As it had never been considered by the committee, I hesitated to give my consent to it, but I could not see any objection to depositing bullion with the Treasury or the mints or assay offices and allow certificates to be issued, and therefore I had no objection to allowing the amendment to be made. If there seems to be any objection to it we can abandon it in a committee of conference, although if there is any doubt about it I think it had better not go on the bill.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. POOL. In section [67] 66, line 7, after the word "Idaho," I move to insert the words "and the United States assay office at Charlotte, N. C." The chairman of the Committee on Finance I believe agrees to accept this amendment.

Mr. SHERMAN. That depends upon the fact whether there is a legal assay office in North Carolina. If the Senator says there is, I shall not object; but I have the impression it has been abolished.

Mr. POOL. No, sir; it has not been abolished.

Mr. SHERMAN. If there is still a legal assay office there it ought to be named in this bill.

Mr. POOL. There is no question about its being such.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. NYE. With the consent of the Senate I should like to have the vote reconsidered by which the amendment of the Senator from California [Mr. Cole] regarding certificates for gold bullion was adopted.

Mr. COLE. The bill has not yet been reported to the Senate. The Senator can have it reserved.

Mr. NYE. Then I shall reserve it in the Senate. I do not think the Senator himself will insist upon it.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on concurring in the amendments made as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. SHERMAN. The Senator from Nevada wished to reserve the amendment offered by the Senator from California [Mr. Cole].

Mr. NYE. I ask to have that amendment reserved.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the Chair will put the question on concurring in all the amendments together except the one indicated by the Senator from Nevada.

The remaining amendments were concurred in.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question now is on concurring in the amendment proposed by the Senator from California, which will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the amendment, which was to add to section [21] 20, the following:

"And the Secretary of the Treasury may issue through the Director of the Mint certificates for gold bullion deposited at any of the mints or assay office at New York, which certificates shall state the value of the bullion, less the coinage and other mint charges, and be payable to bearer on presentation at the mint or assay office at which the bullion was deposited, either in bullion or coin, at the option of the superintendent of the mint or assay office, or in such proportions of bullion or coin as the superintendent may prefer: *Provided*, That if any holder of a certificate demands to be paid in coin a certificate may be issued stating the time when such coin will be ready for delivery."

Mr. NYE. I do not understand that this amendment is insisted upon. The Senate will perceive at once that it is putting another currency into circulation, and one by which the superintendents of mints would be very likely to be injured and defrauded. I hope, therefore, it will not be adopted. They get their coin whenever they present their bullion now.

Mr. STEWART. There is a bullion fund provided for the purpose.

Mr. NYE. There is a bullion fund for that very purpose.

The amendment was nonconcurred in.

Mr. CASSERLY. I wish to move an amendment to section [26] 25. As it now stands it reads:

"That the charge of converting standard gold bullion into coin shall be one-fifth of 1 per cent."

I move to amend it so that it will read, "that there shall be no charge for converting standard gold bullion into coin."

The question raised by this amendment is not a new one in the Senate, nor indeed is it new in Congress. As I understand it has happened at least once that the Senate adopted the principle of my amendment, and that the House also adopted it; but neither of them adopted it upon the same bill. So that the amendment has the sense of each House of Congress in its favor. The principle of it is obvious.

I wish to say but this word in reference to it, that the only ground upon which the coinage charge has ever been supported was that the person depositing bullion for coinage ought to pay the Government for turning his bullion into the current coin of the country. I think it only requires a statement of that proposition to enable any of us to see its fallacy.

The person who furnishes the Government with the means to coin money for the necessary uses of its own citizens never should be taxed to pay for that which really is a great advantage to the Government. Why, sir, governments would be forced, if they could not get bullion without charge, to pay for it in order to manufacture their coins. It is contrary to the first principles of government, it seems to me, especially as applicable to this subject, that coinage charge should be continued. It is one which is evil in its results. It keeps up a discrimination which is always against us; and the reason to-day why the American man of business loses, at the rate of two cents and a fraction of a cent upon every pound sterling of exchange, all of which goes to the benefit either of the banker on this side or the payer of the exchange on the other, rests precisely in the maintenance of this extraordinary charge. But for this charge there would be no such discrimination in the rate of exchange against us.

A great many other grounds might be given, but I hope the Senator from Ohio will be willing to concede this amendment at this time, and that what the two Houses have both indorsed may now be embodied in this bill.

Mr. SHERMAN. I must confess my regret that the Senator from California should raise this disputed question at this stage of the bill, just as it was about on its passage. The Senate of the United States deliberately, after full discussion, after hearing the Senator at length and other Senators who maintain his view of this question, decided to retain the charge for coinage at one-fifth of 1 per cent. It is now one-half of 1 per cent. The Senate, by a very decided vote, after a full debate, settled that question. The bill went to the House of Representatives, and there was another effort made by the members from the Pacific coast to repeal the coinage charge, and there, after full debate, it was settled by an overwhelming majority to retain the charge of one-fifth of 1 per cent. The Senator says both Houses have at some time or other passed a bill abolishing the coinage charge. I am quite sure a proposition of that kind has never passed either House after debate and with full consideration.

If this question about the coinage charge is to be opened and pressed, it will compel those of us who are in favor of retaining the coinage charge to enter into an elaborate debate. I did so when it was here before. The Senator now in the chair [Mr. MORRILL of Vermont] and many other Senators participated in that discussion. The question has been settled, and this bill has now gone to its last stage. This bill once passed the Senate a few years ago, and was fully discussed, and the charge of one-fifth of 1 per cent was retained. I trust, therefore, that the Senator will not now seek to reverse the decision taken first by the Senate, and afterward agreed to by the House. This point is beyond our consideration practically. We ought not to undertake, at this period of the session, to review that decision.

The people of California are very largely interested in the revision of the mint laws. Indeed I have received more letters from that State about this coinage bill, desiring it to pass, than from any other portion of the country. I can see the great importance of it to them, and I believe it to be one of great importance to the whole people of the United States. Therefore I do not wish to enter into a discussion in regard to this coinage charge that may probably weary the Senate and delay the passage of the bill. I promised that the bill would not take more than an hour, and when I made that promise I supposed these amendments which have been acted upon would be acted upon *sub silentio*, and that other questions which had been settled would not be revived.

I therefore will not undertake to answer the argument of the Senator from California except to say that the question is *res adjudicata* so far as this bill is concerned. If, however, it is to be opened, as the Senator has a right to open it, it will lead to a long debate. I therefore prefer not to say anything on the question except that the coinage charge has not been and ought not to be repealed entirely. We have reduced it now to the lowest rate of any nation in the world except only Great Britain.

Mr. CASSERLY. If I have made a mistake as to the fact of the adoption in each House of the principle of this amendment, of course I desire to withdraw what I said.

Mr. SHERMAN. I do not deny that, if the Senator says it is so; but I do not remember it ever passing the Senate.

Mr. CASSERLY. I was so informed, and I have the impression that among the gentlemen so informing me was the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. SHERMAN. I have no recollection of it.

Mr. CASSERLY. I understand fully the objection to protracting debate at this late hour of the day, and I was very reluctant to say a word, even so much as was necessary to propose this amendment. I felt it to be my duty, however, to do so. I desire now to say that the continuance of this coinage charge repels from San Francisco, and, of course, from this country, almost the entire gold-bullion product of Australia. We refine so much more cheaply in San Francisco than they do in London, that but for this coinage charge the whole gold bullion of Australia would come to San Francisco to be refined.

Mr. SHERMAN. Oh, no.

Mr. CASSERLY. Perhaps the Senator does not understand me. I say the cost of refining in London is so much more than it is in San Francisco, that but for this coinage charge the gold-bullion product of Australia would come to us. Why? Because what they want in England all the while is silver for their Asiatic exchanges with India and China. We have more silver than we want. Nevada appears to be getting ready to deluge the world with silver. I see that her silver product last year was probably over $20,000,000.

Now, sir, there could not be a better basis for exchange, nor a more profitable operation for the American people, than to take the gold bullion of Australia and coin it in San Francisco and diffuse that much more specie through all the arteries of business, getting ready for the resumption of specie payments, of which the Senator spoke so well and so truly the other day, and to give them in return for their bullion this silver which we do not want and which before a great while may be at an absolute discount on our hands. I wish to say that much. I feel very earnest about this matter, because I think I understand the financial and commercial bearing of the great blunder we make in continuing this obsolete coinage tax. Having said so much, I leave the question to the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from California.

The amendment was rejected.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time, and passed.—*Congressional Globe*, parts 1 and 2, third session Forty-second Congress, 1872-'73, pages 668 to 674.

The amendments were engrossed and reported to the House of Representatives, as follows:

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, *January 17, 1873.*

Resolved, That the bill from the House of Representatives (H. R. 2934) entitled "An act revising and amending the laws relative to the mints, assay offices, and coinage of the United States" do pass with the following amendments:

1. Page 4, line 21, after "coins," insert *or samples of bullion.*
2. Page 5, line 20, strike out [wording] and insert *working.*
3. Page 6, line 4, after "or," insert *assay.*
4. Page 9, strike out all after "weight" in line 14, down to and including line 27.
5. Page 11, strike out section 15.
6. Page 11, strike out section 16 and insert the following:

SEC. 15. *That the silver coins of the United States shall be a trade dollar, a half dollar or fifty-cent piece, a quarter dollar or twenty-five-cent piece, a dime or ten-cent piece; and the weight of the trade dollar shall be four hundred and twenty grains troy; the weight of the half dollar shall be twelve grains and one-half of a grain; the quarter dollar and the dime shall be, respectively, one-half and one-fifth of the weight of said half dollar; and said coins shall be a legal tender at their nominal value for any amount not exceeding five dollars in any one payment.*

7. Page 11, strike out section 17 and insert the following:

SEC. 16. That the minor coins of the United States shall be a five-cent piece, a three-cent piece, and a one-cent piece, and the alloy for the five and three cent pieces shall be of copper and nickel, to be composed of three-fourths copper and one-fourth nickel, and the alloy of the one-cent piece shall be ninety-five per centum of copper and five per centum of tin and zinc, in such proportions as shall be determined by the Director of the Mint. The weight of the piece of five cents shall be seventy-seven and sixteen-hundredths grains troy; of the three-cent piece, thirty grains; and of the one-cent piece, forty-eight grains; which coins shall be a legal tender at their nominal value for any amount not exceeding twenty-five cents in any one payment.

8. Page 12, in line 11, after "omitted," insert: *and on the reverse of the silver dollar, half dollar, quarter dollar, and the dime, respectively, there shall be inscribed the weight and the fineness of the coin.*

9. Page 13, at the end of line 8, insert the following:

Provided, That at the option of the owner silver may be cast into coins of standard fineness, and of the weight of four hundred and twenty grains troy, designated in section fifteen of this act as the trade dollar.

10. Page 13, line 24, strike [standard] and insert: *Aneneas.*
11. Page 13, strike out all after "depositor," in line 26, down to and including line 27.
12. Page 14, line 6, after "bullion" insert: *or for converting standard silver into trade dollars.*
13. Page 14, line 27, after "coins" insert: *other than the trade dollar.*
14. Page 17, line 20, strike out [two-thousandths] and insert: *three-thousandths.*
15. Page 24, line 4, after "Pennsylvania," insert: *the Comptroller of the Currency,*
16. Page 30, line 12, strike out [twentieth] and insert: *second.*
17. Page 34, line 23, strike out [July] and insert: *April.*
18. Page 34, line 24, strike out [seventy-two] and insert: *seventy-three.*
19. Page 36, at the end of line 2, insert: *the "United States assay office at Charlotte, North Carolina."*
20. Page 36, line 14, strike out [1872] and insert: *1873.*

Attest:

GEO. C. GORHAM, *Secretary.*

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *January 25, 1873.*

Resolved, That the House nonconcur in the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 2934) revising and amending the laws relative to the mints, assay offices, and coinage of the United States, and ask a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Ordered, That Mr. Samuel Hooper, Mr. Stoughton, and Mr. McNeely be the managers of the conference on the part of the House.

Attest: EDWARD McPHERSON, *Clerk.*

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, *January 27, 1873.*

Resolved, That the Senate insist upon its amendments to the bill (H. R. 2934) revising and amending the laws relative to the mints, assay offices, and coinage of the United States, disagreed to by the House of Representatives, and agree to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Ordered, That Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. Scott, and Mr. Bayard be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

Attest: GEO C. GORHAM, *Secretary.*

CONFERENCE REPORT.

IN SENATE.

Thursday, February 6, 1873.

MINT LAWS.

Mr. SHERMAN submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the bill (H. R. No. 2934) revising and amending the laws relative to the mints and assay offices and coinage of the United States, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 20; and agree to the same.

That the Senate recede from its fourth amendment, and agree to the words proposed to be stricken out, with the following amendments: after the word "by," in line 16, insert "natural;" in lines 17 and 18 strike out the words "on the double-eagle and eagle, and 1 per cent on the other coins;" and in line 19, after "law," insert the words "after a circulation of twenty years, as shown by its date of coinage, and at a ratable proportion for any period less than twenty years;" and the House agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the sixth amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with the following amendments: In line 5 strike out the word "grains" at the end of the line, and insert in lieu thereof "grams (grammes;") and in line 6 strike out "grain" and insert "gram (gramme;") and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the eighth amendment of the Senate, and agree to the same with the following amendments: After "silver" insert "trade;" strike out the words "half-dollar, quarter-dollar, and the dime, respectively, there shall be inscribed," and the word "the" before "fineness;" and after "coin," at the end of the amendment, insert the words "shall be inscribed;" and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the ninth amendment of the Senate, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: Strike out the words proposed to be inserted, together with the remainder of the section, and in lieu thereof insert the following: "That any owner of silver bullion may deposit the same at any mint to be formed into bars or into dollars of the weight of 420 grains troy, designated in this act as trade-dollars, and no deposit of silver for other coinage shall be received; but silver bullion contained in gold deposits, and separated therefrom, may be paid for in silver coin at such valuation as may be from time to time established by the Director of the Mint;" and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the twelfth amendment of the Senate, and agree to the same with amendments as follows: Strike out the words proposed to be inserted and insert after "for," in line 3, section 26, the words "converting standard silver into trade-dollars, for melting and;" and in line 3, strike out "the;" and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the nineteenth amendment of the Senate, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Insert after "New York," in line 8, page 36 of the bill, the words "the United States assay-office at Charlotte, North Carolina;" and the Senate agree to the same,

JOHN SHERMAN,
JOHN SCOTT,
T. F. BAYARD,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

S. HOOPER,
WM. M. STOUGHTON,
Managers on the part of the House.

The report was concurred in.—*Congressional Globe*, part 2, third session Forty-second Congress, 1872-'73, page 1150.

THE AMENDMENT WHICH DEMONETIZED SILVER

and which finally found its way into the statute was the substitute brought in by the Finance Committee for section 16 of the House bill, which I now repeat:

The silver coins of the United States shall be a trade dollar, a half dollar, or 50-cent piece, a quarter dollar, or 25-cent piece, a dime, or 10-cent piece; and the weight of the trade dollar shall be 420 grains troy, the weight of the half-dollar shall be 12 grams and one-half of a gram, the quarter dollar and the dime shall be, respectively, one-half and one-fifth of the weight of said half dollar; and said coins shall be a legal tender at their nominal value for any amount not exceeding $5 in any one payment.

The debates and proceedings show that the amendments of the committee, according to the rules of the Senate, were first considered in their consecutive order, with the exception of section 16, which we will hereafter consider. The parts in brackets were to be stricken out, and the parts in italics inserted. The proceedings followed the usual order to and including section 15. That section was included in brackets; after debate it was stricken out by a vote of the Senate. Section 16 was also included in brackets, and the part in italics, which is the substitute I have already cited, was recommended by the committee to be inserted in its place. But the proceedings recorded in the Globe show that this substitute was

NEVER READ OR ACTED ON IN THE SENATE.

When the debate on section 15 was concluded the following proceedings occurred, as appears in the transcript I have already given. They will be found in the first volume, page 672, of the Congressional Globe, third session Forty-second Congress, part 1, 1872-'73:

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment striking out the fifteenth section.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to strike out section [seventeen] sixteen, in the following words:

It will be observed that the word "seventeen" is in brackets and the word "sixteen" follows. The fifteenth section having been stricken out, the sixteenth became the fifteenth and the seventeenth became the sixteenth. When amendments are made striking out a section, the remaining sections are given their new numbers and the original numbers are placed in brackets.

The seventeenth section was then read and amended, and after that the consideration of the amendments of the committee was continued in regular order.

No one who will read the debate and observe the criticisms of Senators on every amendment acted upon, can possibly doubt that if the substitute for section 16, which demonetized silver, had been read, it would have challenged debate and defeated the demonetization of silver.

When section 19 of the original bill, and 18 of the new number, was reached, the amendment of the committee, among other things, provided that "on the gold dollar, the three-dollar piece, the silver dollar, the half dollar, etc., the figure of the eagle shall be omitted, and on the reverse side of the silver dollar, half dollar, quarter dollar, etc., respectively, there shall be inscribed the weight and fineness of the coin."

Mr. Casserly, of California, called attention to the omission of the eagle; whereupon Mr. SHERMAN gave the following explanation of that omission:

Mr. SHERMAN. If the Senator will allow me, he will see that the preceding section provides for coin which is exactly interchangeable with the English shilling and the 5-franc piece of France; that is, a 5-franc piece of France will be the exact equivalent of a dollar of the United States in our silver coinage; and in order to show this wherever our silver coin shall float—and we are providing that it shall float all over the world—we propose to stamp upon it, instead of our eagle, which foreigners may not understand, and which they may not distinguish from a buzzard or some other bird, the intrinsic fineness and weight of the coin.—*Congressional Globe*, part 1, third session Forty-second Congress, 1872-'73, page 672.

There was a dollar in section 16 of the House bill, the exact equivalent of the 5-franc piece of France. It contained 384 grains of standard silver. This is

THE DOLLAR WHICH MR. SHERMAN DESCRIBES

when discussing section 19 as being still in existence in a preceding section. If he then told the truth, section 16 had not been amended. The trade dollar, which was at some other time or place incorporated into the act, contained 420 grains of standard silver. This statement of Mr. SHERMAN corroborates the record, which shows that no action was taken on the substitute for section 16.

The other amendments proposed by the committee were acted upon, and the bill passed without a division. No word was spoken or allusion made in the Senate at any time, when any bill was pending, to the important fact that a change was to be made in the silver coinage of the United States, except the statement of Mr. SHERMAN that the proposed dollar was the exact equivalent of the 5-franc piece. This statement that the bill contained a 384-grain dollar equivalent to the French 5-franc piece was made by him, notwithstanding the fact that his committee had reported a 420-grain trade dollar; and the Senate, at the time he was speaking, had passed beyond the consideration of the section in which the trade dollar proposed by him was to have been inserted. How could the 384-grain dollar be in the bill while he was discussing section 19, if the 420-grain dollar had been substituted for it in section 16?

I am aware of the fact that, as it came from the House, it lim-

ited the legal-tender quality of the new dollar to sums of $5, but that limitation was passed over in the Senate without observation.

Mr. SHERMAN enters into an elaborate argument in great detail to show the number of times the mintage bill was printed with the standard silver dollar omitted, and also to show that it was originally prepared in that form by experts in the Treasury Department; but

HE HAS NEVER GIVEN ANY EXPLANATION OF HIS OWN CONDUCT

as chairman of the Finance Committee in not calling the attention of the Senate to this important change. He knew the importance of the change, and that it demonetized silver and adopted the gold standard. His efforts, as before remarked, to secure the recommendation of the monetary conference of Paris in favor of the gold standard, and his elaborate report on the bill, which was defeated in the Forty-first Congress, show how important it was in his mind.

If he had supposed that it would result in a great benefit to the American people would he not have called attention to it with pride and emphasis? It had been the labor of years, as I have shown, and its accomplishment should have been a great event in his life. The contest for the last twenty years to reverse that legislation, and Mr. SHERMAN'S persistent opposition to all efforts to restore the silver dollar, show what importance he must then have attached to his work. And yet he gave the Senate no intimation of this important change.

When we witness the columns of editorials and correspondence with regard to the pending controversy we can imagine what interest would have been excited in the country if it had been proclaimed by him that Congress was about to demonetize silver.

NO WORD EXCAPED HIS LIPS

and the metropolitan journals of that day had no knowledge of what occurred. No mention of the demonetization of silver at that time can be found in their columns. The parliamentary history of the world may be searched in vain to find a parallel for the accomplishment of a great financial revolution by a leading financial statesman without an announcement by him of what he was doing or what he had done.

The conference report which is set forth in the foregoing transcript affords very meager information of the changes which were made in the joint committee of the two Houses. Nearly all the amendments are referred to by numbers, and those which are not simply mention words and phrases, which were inserted or omitted without giving the context. A comparison of the report with the engrossed bill shows that the amendment or substitute for section 16 was numbered 6. That harmless number imparted no information of the important change demonetizing silver, to which it related. The report was made and adopted in each House without a word of explanation which would indicate its scope and effect. No mention was made in either House on the presentation of that report as to the character of any of the amendments agreed to. It was understood that it was simply a bill to revise and codify the mint laws, and under such circumstances it was natural that there was no anxiety to inquire as to its details.

The fact that silver was demonetized by the bill did not become generally known until the Latin Union suspended the coinage of silver. Silver then fell in price, and an inquiry as to the cause became general. When

IT WAS ASCERTAINED THAT SILVER HAD BEEN DEMONETIZED

by the mint act, there was a general demand throughout the country for its remonetization. This demand came about two years after the passage of the bill. In the latter part of 1875, the mints of the Latin Union having been finally closed, intense interest was excited in the United States in 1876. Nearly all the leading journals of the country demanded the restoration of the silver dollar to the place it occupied as a legal-tender coin previous to 1873.

A Presidential election was to be held in the fall of 1876, and politicians were shaping their course with a view to the coming contest. The strong popular expression against the demonetization of silver and in favor of its restoration made it important for aspiring men in each of the great political parties to espouse the popular side of the question.

Mr. SHERMAN took an early opportunity to newly define his position. On the 6th of March, 1876, he made an elaborate argument against a resolution of the Chamber of Commerce of the city of New York in favor of repealing the resumption act of 1875. In the course of his remarks on that resolution he said:

Our coinage act came into operation on the 1st of April, 1873, and constituted the gold one-dollar piece the sole unit of value, while it restricted the legal tender of the new silver trade dollar and the half-dollar and subdivisions to an amount not exceeding $5 in one payment. Thus the double standard previously existing was finally abolished, and the United States as usual was influenced by Great Britain in making gold coin the only standard. This suits England, but does not suit us. I think with our large silver-producing capacity we should return to the double standard, at least in part, and this will constitute one of the means by which we will be enabled to resume specie payments.

This remarkable utterance of the original hero and the present advocate of gold monometallism appears on page 1481 of the Congressional Globe, Forty-fourth Congress, first session, volume 4, part 2.

The statement of the Senator from Ohio that

THE UNITED STATES WAS INFLUENCED BY GREAT BRITAIN

in making gold the only standard is in accordance with the opinion of all who have investigated the question; but it may be suggested that it is slightly in conflict with the Senator's report on the bill of 1868, entitled "A bill in relation to the coinage of gold and silver," wherein he said:

The single standard of gold is an American idea, yielded reluctantly by France and other countries, where silver is the chief standard of value.

This report will be found in Senate report of committee, No. 117, Fortieth Congress, second session, page 4.

The Senator from Ohio, who secured the demonetization of silver, had the means of knowing by what influence the standard silver dollar was stricken down in the United States, and when he states that it was by British influence, full faith and credit must be given to that statement. His visit to London and Paris in 1867, and the powerful aid he rendered in coöperation with the English delegation at the monetary conference at Paris to secure the consent of continental Europe to recommend the gold standard, gave him ample opportunity to know from what source came the influence which secured the demonetization of silver in the United States and robbed the people of this country of the benefits of an ample supply of metallic money from the great discoveries of silver mines which had then been made in the mountains of the West.

Why

THE SENATOR FROM OHIO YIELDED TO THAT INFLUENCE

an explanation is wanted. The remarks I have quoted show how important he regards the large silver-producing capacity of this country in the resumption of specie payments. He knows how much more important it now is to maintain specie payment. Why has he from that time to this so persistently resisted every effort to restore silver to the place it occupied previous to the passage of the act of 1873, which, he informs us, was obtained by British influence? If he was influenced by Great Britain in the passage of the act of 1873, why does he continue under that influence, and insist that the act of 1890 shall be repealed, and that the act of 1873, secured by British influence, shall be reaffirmed and made the permanent policy of the United States? If silver was demonetized in 1853, why was it necessary to invoke British influence to demonetize it in 1873?

The Senator from Ohio informed us in his speech the other day that after the repeal of the Sherman act we must issue bonds and increase the national debt to buy gold to maintain specie payments. What influence is forcing the passage of the bill now under consideration, which denies the people the right to mine and coin money, and compels them to buy British gold? Our annual interest account to-day on the money we owe Europe is more than $150,000,000. Is all hope of financial independence for this country to be abandoned?

"GOLD" AND "COIN" USED AS SYNONYMS.

In the course of his remarks the Senator from Ohio uses the following language:

The law was passed in February, 1873, and I do know that within a year from that time the Senator from Nevada knew that silver was demonetized, because he said so; and he said it February 11, 1874, as will appear in the document which I have here before me, and to which I give him a reference, so there can be no mistake about it. On page 1392, volume 2, part 2, of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, first session Forty-third Congress, he said:

"I want the standard gold, and no paper money not redeemable in gold; no paper money the value of which is not ascertained; no paper money that will organize a gold board to speculate in it."

Again, only a week or two after this, on the 20th of February, to be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 2, part 2, page 1677, when speaking in favor of the resolution instructing the Committee on Finance to report a bill providing for the convertibility of Treasury notes into gold coin or 5 per cent bonds, he said:

"By this process we shall come to a specie basis, and when the laboring man receives a dollar it will have the purchasing power of a dollar, and he will not be called upon to do what is impossible for him or the producing classes to do—figure upon the exchanges, figure upon the fluctuations, figure upon the gambling in New York; but he will know what his money is worth. Gold is the universal standard of the world. Everybody knows what a dollar in gold is worth."—*Congressional Record*, August 31, 1893, pages 925, 926.

It was of no consequence whether or not I knew in February, 1874, that silver was demonetized in February, 1873. It was too late to prevent what had been done in the previous year. My position at that time, as well as my knowledge, were entirely immaterial and irrelevant to this discussion. I did not know that silver was demonetized for more than a year after February, 1874, since which time my bitterest enemies will hardly blame me for not doing all in my power in and out of Congress to remonetize silver.

But the statement of the Senator from Ohio that I knew on the 11th day of February, 1874, that silver was demonetized, or that I said so, has no foundation in fact. The quotation from the speech which he held in his hand when he made the statement does not prove it, and the speech itself disproves any such inference. I was opposing an additional issue of bank circulation and arguing in favor of specie payment. The use of the term "gold" for specie was inaccurate, but it was a common practice at that time. Gold was simply a synonym for coin, and it was in that sense alone in which I used it, as the speech shows. His second quotation is taken from a speech advocating the return to the specie basis. At that time there was no difference in the bullion value between gold and silver coin. The mints of the Latin Union were still open, and the silver in the silver dollar was worth as much as the gold in the gold dollar.

The following January the specie-resumption act, providing for the redemption of Treasury notes in coin, was passed.

No mention was made in the discussion of the bill providing for resumption of specie payment of the demonetization of silver. On the contrary, the assumption was that the

REDEMPTION WAS TO BE IN GOLD AND SILVER.

On this subject Mr. SHERMAN said:

I may say the whole credit and money of the United States is placed by this bill under the direction of the proper executive officers not only to prepare for, but to maintain resumption, and no man can doubt that if this bill stands the law of the land from this time to the 1st day of January, 1879, specie payments will be resumed, and that our United States notes will be converted at the will of the holder into gold and silver coin.—*Congressional Record*, volume 3, part 1, Forty-third Congress, second session, page 195.

Mr. Bogy, of Missouri, said:

Gold and silver are the only true measures of value not only here, but throughout the world.—*Ibid.*, page 200.

Mr. Hamilton of Maryland offered a substitute for the bill, as follows:

That from and after the 4th day of July, A. D. 1876, nothing but gold and silver shall be a legal tender for the payment of debts contracted thereafter.—*Ibid.*, page 204

DEMONETIZATION UNKNOWN AT THE TIME.

The Senator from Ohio says:

Sir, I would rather stand this day before you defending a law which has been denounced and vilified, as this has been, boldly avowing that I did read the law, and that I knew its contents, than to plead the baby act, and say I did not know what was pending here before us for two or three years as an act of legislation.—*Congressional Record*, August 31, 1893, page 925.

Such a charge under ordinary circumstances might be regarded as a reproach. If I stood alone I would not feel complimented by the charge. But I was in illustrious company, and I will now introduce some of those associates to whom the charge of "pleading the baby act" equally applies.

Senator Thurman, on the 15th of February, 1878, in debate said:

I can not say what took place in the House, but know when the bill was pending in the Senate we thought it was simply a bill to reform the mint, regulate coinage, and fix up one thing and another, and there is not a single man in the Senate, I think, unless a member of the committee from which the bill came, who had the slightest idea that it was even a squint toward demonetization.—*Congressional Record*, volume 7, part 2, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, page 1064.

Senator Conkling, in the Senate, on March 30, 1876, during the remarks of Senator Bogy on the bill (S. 263) to amend the laws relating to legal tender of silver coin, in surprise, inquired:

Will the Senator allow me to ask him or some other Senator a question? Is it true that there is now by law no American dollar? And, if so, is it true that the effect of this bill is to make half dollars and quarter dollars the only silver coin which can be used as a legal tender?—*Congressional Record*, volume 4, part 3, Forty-fourth Congress, first session, page 2062.

Senator ALLISON, on February 15, 1878, when the bill (H. R. 1093) to authorize the free coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character was under consideration, observed:

But when the secret history of this bill of 1873 comes to be told, it will disclose the fact that the House of Representatives intended to coin both gold and silver, and intended to place both metals upon the French relation instead of on our own, which was the true scientific position with reference to this subject in 1873, but that the bill afterwards was doctored, if I may use that term, and I use it in no offensive sense of course——

Mr. Sargent interrupted him and asked him what he meant by the word "doctored."

Mr. ALLISON said:

I said I used the word in no offensive sense. It was changed after discussion, and the dollar of 420 grains was substituted for it.—*Congressional Record*, volume 7, part 2, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, page 1058.

On February 15, 1878, during the consideration of the bill above referred to, the following colloquy between Senator Blaine and Senator VOORHEES took place:

Mr. VOORHEES. I want to ask my friend from Maine, whom I am glad to designate in that way, whether I may call him as one more witness to the fact that it was not generally known whether silver was demonetized. Did he know, as Speaker of the House, presiding at that time, that the silver dollar was demonetized in the bill to which he alludes?

Mr. BLAINE. I did not know anything that was in the bill at all. As I have before said, little was known or cared on the subject. [Laughter.] And now I should like to exchange questions with the Senator from Indiana, who was then on the floor and whose business it was, far more than mine, to know, because by the designation of the House I was to put questions; the Senator from Indiana, then on the floor of the House, with his power as a debater, was to unfold them to the House. Did he know?

Mr. VOORHEES. I very frankly say that I did not.

(*Ibid.*, page 1063.)

Senator Beck, in a speech made in the Senate January 10, 1878, said:

It [the bill demonetizing silver] never was understood by either House of Congress. I say that with full knowledge of the facts. No newspaper reporter—and they are the most vigilant men I ever saw in obtaining information—discovered that it had been done.—*Congressional Record*, volume 7, part 1, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, page 260.

Senator Hereford, in the Senate, on February 13, 1878, in discussing the demonetization of silver, said:

So that I say that beyond the possibility of a doubt (and there is no disputing it) that bill which demonetized silver, as it passed, never was read, never was discussed, and that the chairman of the committee who reported it, who offered the substitute, said to Mr. HOLMAN, when inquired of, that it did not affect the coinage in anyway whatever.—*Ibid.*, page 989.

Senator Howe, in a speech delivered in the Senate on February 5, 1878, said:

Mr. President, I do not regard the demonetization of silver as an attempt to wrench from the people more than they agree to pay. That is not the crime of which I accuse the act of 1873. I charge it with guilt compared with which the robbery of two hundred millions is venial.—*Congressional Record*, volume 7, part 1, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, page 764.

Gen. Garfield, in a speech made at Springfield, Ohio, during the fall of 1877, said:

Perhaps I ought to be ashamed to say so, but it is the truth to say that, I at that time being chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and having my hands overfull during all that time with work, I never read the bill. I took it upon the faith of a prominent Democrat and a prominent Republican, and I do not know that I voted at all. There was no call of the yeas and nays, and nobody opposed that bill that I know of. It was put through as dozens of bills are, as my friend and I know, in Congress, on the faith of the report of the chairman of the committee; therefore I tell you, because it is the truth, that I have no knowledge about it.—*Congressional Record*, volume 7, part 1, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, page 989.

Mr. Bright, of Tennessee, said of the law:

It passed by fraud in the House, never having been printed in advance, being a substitute for the printed bill; never having been read at the Clerk's desk, the reading having been dispensed with by an impression that the bill made no material alteration in the coinage laws; it was passed without discussion, debate being cut off by operation of the previous question. It was passed, to my certain information, under such circumstances that the fraud escaped the attention of some of the most watchful as well as the ablest statesmen in Congress at that time. * * * Aye, sir, it was a fraud that smells to heaven. It was a fraud that will stink in the nose of posterity, and for which some persons must give account in the day of retribution.—*Congressional Record*, volume 7, part 1, second session Forty-fifth Congress, page 584.

Mr. HOLMAN, in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives July 13, 1876, said:

I have before me the record of the proceedings of this House on the passage of that measure, a record which no man can read without being convinced that the measure and the method of its passage through this House was a "colossal swindle." I assert that the measure never had the sanction of this House, and it does not possess the moral force of law.—*Congressional Record*, volume 4, part 6, Forty-fourth Congress, first session, appendix, page 193.

Again, on August 5, 1876, he said:

The original bill was simply a bill to organize a bureau of mines and coinage. The bill which finally passed the House and which ultimately became a law was certainly not read in this House.

* * * * * * *

It was never considered before the House as it was passed. Up to the time the bill came before this House for final passage the measure had simply been one to establish a bureau of mines; I believe I use the term correctly now. It came from the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures. The substitute which finally became a law was never read, and is subject to the charge made against it by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], that it was passed by the House without a knowledge of its provisions, especially upon that of coinage.

I myself asked the question of Mr. Hooper, who stood near where I am now standing, whether it changed the law in regard to coinage. And the answer of Mr. Hooper certainly left the impression upon the whole House that the subject of the coinage was not affected by that bill.—*Congressional Record*, volume 4, part 6, Forty-fourth Congress, first session, page 5237.

Mr. CANNON, of Illinois, in a speech made in the House on July 13, 1876, said:

This legislation was had in the Forty-second Congress, February 12, 1873, by a bill to regulate the mints of the United States, and practically abolished silver as money by failing to provide for the coinage of the silver dollar. It was not discussed, as shown by the RECORD, and neither members of Congress nor the people understood the scope of the legislation.—*Ibid.*, appendix, page 197.

Mr. Burchard, of Illinois, in a speech made in the House of Representatives on July 13, 1876, said:

The coinage act of 1873, unaccompanied by any written report upon the subject from any committee, and unknown to the members of Congress, who without opposition allowed it to pass under the belief, if not assurance, that it made no alteration in the value of the current coins, changed the unit of value from silver to gold.—*Ibid.*, page 4560.

Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, who had charge of the bill, in a speech made in the House of Representatives on March 9, 1878, said:

In connection with the charge that I advocated the bill which demonetized the standard silver dollar, I say that, though the chairman of the Committee on Coinage, I was ignorant of the fact that it would demonetize the silver dollar or of its dropping the silver dollar from our system of coins, as were those distinguished Senators Messrs. Blaine and VOORHEES, who were then

members of the House, and each of whom a few days since interrogated the other: "Did you know it was dropped when the bill passed?" "No," said Mr. Blaine; "did you?" "No," said Mr. VOORHEES. I do not think that there were three members in the House that knew it. I doubt whether Mr. Hooper, who, in my absence from the Committee on Coinage and attendance on the Committee on Ways and Means, managed the bill, knew it. I say this in justice to him.—*Congressional Record*, volume 7, part 2, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, page 1605.

Again on May 10, 1879, Mr. Kelley said:

All I can say is that the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, who reported the original bill, were faithful and able, and scanned its provisions closely; that as their organ I reported it; that it contained provision for both the standard silver dollar and the trade dollar. Never having heard until a long time after its enactment into law of the substitution in the Senate of the section which dropped the standard dollar, I profess to know nothing of its history; but I am prepared to say that in all the legislation of this country there is no mystery equal to the demonetization of the standard silver dollar of the United States. I have never found a man who could tell just how it came about or why.—*Congressional Record*, volume 9, part 1, Forty-sixth Congress, first session, page 1231.

President Grant was also ignorant of the demonetization of silver. Eight months after the passage of the bill he wrote a letter to Mr. Cowdrey, from which the following extract is taken:

The panic has brought greenbacks about to a par with silver. I wonder that silver is not already coming into the market to supply the deficiency in the circulating medium. When it does come, and I predict that it will soon, we will have made a rapid stride towards specie payments. Currency will never go below silver after that. The circulation of silver will have other beneficial effects. Experience has proved that it takes about forty millions of fractional currency to make small change necessary for the transaction of the business of the country. Silver will gradually take the place of this currency, and, further, will become the standard of values which will be hoarded in a small way. I estimate that this will consume from two to three hundred millions, in time, of this species of our circulating medium.

It will leave the paper currency free to perform the legitimate functions of trade and will tend to bring us back where we must come at last, to a specie basis. I confess to a desire to see a limited hoarding of money. It insures a firm foundation in time of need. But I want to see the hoarding of something that has a standard of value the world over. Silver has this, and if we once get back to that our strides toward a higher appreciation of our currency will be rapid. Our mines are now producing almost unlimited amounts of silver, and it is becoming a question, "What shall we do with it?" I suggest here a solution that will answer for some years, and suggest to you bankers whether you may not imitate it: To put it in circulation now; keep it there until it is fixed, and then we will find other markets.—*McPherson's Handbook of Politics for 1874*, pages 134 and 135.

RECAPITULATION.

I will now recapitulate. In 1867 the mints of the United States and every mint on the Continent of Europe were open to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. The mints of Germany, Austria, and Holland were closed against gold. The mints of England were open to the free coinage of gold, but closed against silver.

A conference was in session at Paris which had been called by the Emperor to consider the unification of coins, weights, and measures. Samuel B. Ruggles represented the United States, and Rivers Wilson represented Great Britain. These two delegates, representing a hundred millons of English-speaking people, with the powerful aid of the Senator from Ohio, chairman of the Committee of Finance of the Senate, obtained the reluctant consent of the nations of the Continent of Europe to join England and the United States in recommending the single gold standard.

The Senator from Ohio undertook to carry out that recommendation by the legislation of Congress. He returned to the Senate, and in the following session introduced a bill making gold the standard of value and reducing silver to token money. He induced the majority of the Finance Committee to sanction his elaborate report recommending the passage of the bill, and in claiming that the single gold standard was an American idea yielded reluctantly by France and the associated nations of the continent.

Senator E. D. Morgan, of New York, a member of the Finance Committee, submitted a minority report, which exposed the scheme and settled the fate of the bill. It was never called up for action, and the country was ignorant of the fact that such a bill had been introduced or such reports made.

After the expiration of the term of office of the Senator from New York a clique in the Treasury Department, headed by John Jay Knox, prepared an elaborate bill of seventy-one sections—professedly to revise and codify the mint laws—which omitted the standard dollar from the list of coins. The bill was introduced by the Senator from Ohio, referred to the Committee on Finance, and by him reported to the Senate, with amendments. All the amendments were inconsequential except one, and that one imposed a tax of three-tenths of 1 per cent upon the coinage of gold and silver bullion in addition to the charges for parting and refining. Such a charge was opposed, because it would discourage coinage in the United States and encourage exportation of gold and silver.

Two days' debate were had over this amendment. There was no other controverted matter debated in the Senate. The amendment was finally rejected, and the bill passed by an overwhelming majority, Mr. SHERMAN voting in the negative. He knew very well before his name was reached in the calling of the roll that the bill would pass by an overwhelming majority. But by voting against the bill he would say by his vote that he attached more importance to a tax of three-tenths of 1 per cent upon gold and silver bullion deposited for coinage—when he knew, but the Senate did not, that no silver could be deposited for that purpose—than he did to the very important bill which he had introduced for the codification of the mint laws.

A bill which had been prepared by a commission of eminent men whom he described in his speech the other day, earnestly recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury, and introduced by him without the charge of three-tenths of 1 per cent for minting gold and silver coin, was declared by the vote of the Senator from Ohio to be of less consequence than the tax he proposed on deposits of gold and of silver, which could not be deposited under the provisions of the bill. His vote was either in good faith, showing that the tax proposed was of paramount importance in his opinion to the codification of the mint laws, to the recommendation of the gold standard by the Paris conference, and to the adoption of the gold standard in this country, so earnestly and elaborately urged in his report from the Finance Committee in 1868, or that he desired by that amendment and that vote to conceal the omission of the silver dollar from the list of coins which had escaped the attention of the Senate.

The history of the bill in the other House was equally suggestive, and after the fact was developed by Hon. Clarkson Potter, member of Congress from New York, that it contained a provision demonetizing silver, Mr. Hooper of Massachusetts, who had charge of the bill, affected to abandon it. Some days afterwards, and in the absence of Mr. Potter, Mr. Hooper presented a substitute for the bill, which he falsely claimed did not contain any of the objectionable features which had caused debate on the original bill. The House passed the substitute under the erroneous belief, produced by the statements of Mr. Hooper, that the substitute contained none of the objectionable features contained in the original bill.

The substitute as it came from the House, contained, in the sixteenth section, a dollar of 384 grains, the equivalent of the 5-franc piece with legal tender limited to $5.

The Senator from Ohio, as chairman of the Committee on Finance, reported the bill to the Senate with various amendments, among which was a substitute for section 16, which contained a trade dollar of 420 grains, and limited the legal tender of all silver coins to $5.

Notwithstanding all the other amendments reported by the committee are recorded in the Globe, according to the practice of the Senate, no mention is made of the substitute for the sixteenth section.

After the sixteenth section had been passed over and the nineteenth section was reached and under consideration, Mr. Casserly, of California, made inquiry why the eagle was omitted from the silver dollar and other coins, whereupon the Senator from Ohio said:

Mr. SHERMAN. If the Senator will allow me, he will see that the preceding section provides for coin which is exactly interchangeable with the English shilling and 5-franc piece of France; that is, a 5-franc piece of France will be the exact equivalent of a dollar of the United States in our silver coinage; and in order to show this, wherever our silver coin shall float—and we are providing that it shall float all over the world—we propose to stamp upon it instead of our eagle, which foreigners may not understand and which they may not distinguish from a buzzard or some other bird, the intrinsic fineness and weight of the coin. In this practical, utilitarian age the officers of the mint seem to think it would be better to do that than to put the eagle on our silver coins.

The remaining amendments of the committee were disposed of, and the bill passed without a division.

The conference report designated the substitute for section 16—which, as before remarked, does not appear in the Senate proceedings recorded in the Globe—as No. 6, and thus made it a part of the statute.

I have shown that the leading members of the two Houses who were present during the consideration of the bill were ignorant of the fact that the silver dollar was omitted in the codification of the mint laws. The Senate and the country must judge whether a fair opportunity was afforded the members of the two Houses to know of the omission of the silver dollar from the list of coins.

It was repeatedly stated by the Senator from Ohio, who had charge of the bill in the Senate, and Mr. Hooper of Massachusetts, who had charge of the bill in the House, that it had been carefully prepared in the Treasury Department by competent experts, which statements naturally inspired confidence that it was a conservative and honest compilation of existing laws, without any radical or revolutionary change. No reference was made in the debate in the Senate either to the gold standard or to the omission of the silver dollar from the list of coins, as will appear from a perusal of that debate, every word of which will be printed in these remarks.

The fact that so many prominent and leading members of the two Houses, and the President of the United States, who signed the bill, were ignorant of the omission of the silver dollar, is significant. The fact that the Senator from Ohio, who did so much to secure the recommendation of the gold standard by the Paris conference, introduced in 1868 a bill with a harmless title adopting the gold standard, claiming that the gold standard was "an American idea," had charge of the mint bill from beginning to end and failed to notify the Senate that it demonetized silver, is most astonishing.

But,

IN CONCLUSION,

let me say that the important question above and beyond all that is, was the legislation demanded or approved by the American people? It certainly was not. They knew nothing of it. It was not discussed in any political campaign. It was not published or commented upon in any of the great dailies. It remained a profound secret, so far as the masses of the people were concerned, for more than two years, and did not become generally known until the mints of the Latin Union were closed against silver and the price of silver declined in the markets of the world, since which time the people have demanded the restoration of silver to the place as a money metal which it occupied previous to the passage of the mint act.

No political party has ever at any time in national or State convention declared in favor of the single gold standard. On the contrary, every convention, State or national, has either ignored the question or declared in favor of bimetallism, and at every Congress since the discovery was made that silver was demonetized, a majority of the members of each House professed at the time of their election to be in favor of bimetallism.

In the last campaign the platform of all political parties declared in favor of bimetallism, and all parties were pledged, in case of success, to legislate to that end. The great dailies of the Republican and Democratic parties claimed that no party was opposed to bimetallism, and that it was not a party question, and that the tariff was the main issue to be decided by the people.

It is true that the Republican platform favored a national election law, which gave the Democratic party an opportunity to frighten the South by the ghost of negro domination and secure a solid South without regard to other considerations.

I did not believe that the organs of the two great parties were sincere in making the tariff the only issue with the ghost of negro domination as an adjunct.

I returned to my State, and informed the people whom I in part represent that the pending contest between the Democratic and Republican parties was a sham battle over the tariff and the force bill to secure power to be used for another and very different purpose. I told them that it made no difference which party succeeded, the result would be the same. Both Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Harrison were gold monometallists, and if either succeeded, the power and patronage of the Administration would be used to destroy silver and establish the single gold standard. I also told my people that I would support neither Mr. Cleveland nor Mr. Harrison, and that I repudiated the false pretenses of the managers of both of the great political parties.

But the great mass of the people in the United States would not believe that the parties to which they belonged intended to deceive them, and reluctantly voted the party ticket, hoping for the best.

The deception was not universal. More than a million votes were cast for Mr. Weaver, who was running on a free-coinage platform without hope of success. Another million remained away from the polls and refrained from voting. The people of my State, irrespective of party, voted for members of the Legislature and other officers pledged to the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and elected every member of the Legislature and the Member of Congress by more than a two-thirds vote.

When the Legislature met my position was indorsed by the unanimous vote of each house. I am here to represent the people of my State and the vast majority of the people of all the States who by their votes for the last twenty years have signified their desire for the restoration of silver to its place as a money metal.

I was severely censured, especially by Republicans, for the position I took as to the aims and purposes of the leaders of the two great political parties to deceive the people by proclaiming their intention to do one thing to obtain power with the design of doing the opposite after they gained control of the Government.

I saw no difference in the position of the two candidates, and could trust neither. The Administration of President Cleveland is doing to-day just what I predicted in the canvass. Immediately after the polls were closed, the bondholders and the national banks claimed that the victory was theirs, and that the verdict of the people demanded a repeal of the only law which recognized silver as a money metal.

This law which, notwithstanding the numerous violations by the executive department of its most beneficial provisions, has added one hundred and fifty millions of the new legal-tender money to the currency of the country, can not have caused the scarcity of money which produced the panic. It has not been shown, and no effort has been made to show, that the Sherman act has up to this time inflicted any injuries upon the country. On the contrary, it is admitted that thus far it has been beneficial, and the Senator from Ohio informs us that it prevented a panic in 1890.

The country is familiar with the predictions of the gold monometallists. They have denounced every law and every bill looking to the restoration of silver as pregnant with calamity. From 1878, when the Bland act was passed, to the present hour they have declared that silver legislation would ruin the country, but they have been unable to point out any instance where legislation favorable to silver has been injurious. The evils they predicted from the use of silver as money are always in the future; never in the past.

The bankers' panic was inaugurated to force Congress to demonetize silver and prevent predicted evils; not to remedy evils already produced by the Sherman act. The coöperation of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Cleveland was to degrade silver, the former by suspending coinage in India and the latter by refusing to obey a mandatory law requiring the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase four and a half million ounces of silver per month. They accomplished their object by closing the silver mines and increasing the panic. The President in his message, finding it impossible to point out any injury the increase of $150,000,000 of new money had done, was compelled to rest his demand for the repeal of the Sherman act upon the apprehension of future evils. He said:

> It may be true that the embarrassments from which the business of the country is suffering arise as much from the evils apprehended as from those actually existing.

He failed to inform Congress that the apprehended evils which produced the panic existed only in the imagination of the bondholders; the bankers, and their newspaper organs, who had created the present distress in the country for their own selfish and sordid purposes; the bondholders to make money scarce and to increase the obligations of their debtors; the banks to destroy silver, to create the necessity to sell bonds and buy gold for more national-bank circulation, and the newspapers to do the bidding of the banks and the bondholders for their patronage and other considerations.

Every day the false pretenses of the hue-and-cry against the Sherman act become more apparent. No member of either House of Congress since the debate began has been able to show how the $150,000,000 of new legal-tender money issued under the Sherman law has made money scarce or in anyway injured the business of the country. No one has shown or attempted to show that the continued issuance of legal-tender notes, until the voice of the people can be again heard on the main question of bimetallism or the gold standard, will produce any possible injury. On the contrary, the experience of the past abundantly demonstrates the beneficial effects of more new money.

The machinations of the banks and the bondholders have created dire distress in the country. The immediate duty of the hour is to relieve that distress. There is an honest remedy and a dishonest remedy. The honest remedy is to restore silver. If that can not be done, utilize the silver in the Treasury Department belonging to the Government by issuing silver certificates thereon, and issue enough greenbacks to relieve the distress. The dishonest remedy is to pass the bill under consideration and ratify and sanctify the infamous act of 1873 and fasten a perpetual gold standard upon the country; donate $20,000,000 of the people's money, as is proposed in another bill, to the banks without any consideration from them; sell bonds, increase the national debt, and levy more taxes for the purpose of allowing the national banks to usurp the power of the Government in furnishing the people money.

I am in favor of honest legislation. I am in favor of utilizing the $50,000,000 of idle silver in the Treasury by the issuance of silver certificates thereon. I am in favor of putting out whatever greenbacks may be necessary—$100,000,000, $200,000,000, or any amount that may be necessary to relieve the distress which has been inflicted upon the country by the false pretenses of the money power.

In view of the conspiracy inaugurated by concentrated capital to reduce the masses of the people of this country to poverty and want, it is the duty of every Senator who loves his country to resist by every possible parliamentary means the perpetration of this great wrong. I do not wonder that bondholders, bankers, and their organs demand an immediate vote. They want no dis-

cussion. They fear the result of an exposé of their conspiracy. It is significant at this time that the great journals of New York say, "Vote first, and debate afterwards." Surrender and give up your arms; then fight if you can.

We notify them now that the fort occupied by the defenders of the people will never be surrendered. The armies of avarice, fraud, and deception must take it if they can.

To-day the united metropolitan press applaud bimetallists who will vote for monometallism. The service of deserters is always gratefully received during the hour of battle; but when the war is over there is but one opinion of their conduct by both friends and foes. Seventy millions of people constitute the tribunal which must ultimately pass upon the proceedings of this extra session. They will not view with approbation the men or parties whom they trusted with power, on the promise to restore the money of the Constitution, who use that power to rob them of that money and transfer their property to an organization of gold monopolists.

The pretext for the passage of this bill is not only flimsy, but it is absurd. We are told that the object of the bill is to restore confidence. Confidence in what, and in whom? Confidence in the Government? Nobody has questioned the solvency of the Government or the quality of any money bearing the stamp of the Government. Confidence in the people themselves? Nothing has happened to shake the confidence of the American people in their own ability to live and prosper, except the robbery which has been practiced in the past and is threatened in the future. Confidence in the bondholders and banks? They have sufficient confidence already in their power to acquire the wealth of others. They have been in the habit so long of reaping where they did not sow that their confidence in their own ability is sufficiently strong. The fact that they regard the Sherman act as an obstacle to their schemes of plunder is no reason why it should be repealed.

On the contrary, it is the strongest possible reason why it should be retained until all the Sherman acts, from 1873 to 1890, both inclusive, can go, and go together. The country wants no more Sherman acts. But before we repeal the act which was extorted from him, let us blot from the statute book the act which he placed there without the knowledge or consent of the American people in 1873. When that is done prosperity will be restored, and not till then. There can be no progress or prosperity while the iron grasp of contraction binds the limbs of enterprise. Contraction can not be permanently prevented without the remonetization of silver. The metallic basis of gold is too narrow for the present generation, and will continue to grow narrower and narrower as the supply grows less and less.

The creditor class may as well know first as last that the people of this country will not consent to continual falling prices, hard times, and stagnation. If the bondholders can change the contract and make it payable in gold and take away the option of the debtor to pay in either gold or silver, the people will ultimately see to it that the debtor has money of no more or less value than the money of the contract. The people do not ask to change the contract; the bondholders do. They have already doubled the value of gold, and by so doing they have doubled the obligations of the debtor. This was revolutionary. It is dangerous for capital to engage in revolution, and I appeal to the Senate to-day to listen to the voice of the people as expressed in twenty years of elections, and turn a deaf ear to a subsidized press and bankers' petitions extorted from their trembling debtors.

Mr. President, there are many other branches of this subject which it is necessary to discuss, and to discuss in good faith. I do not know whether I can get through to-night with what I wish to say; I do not suppose I can; but I wish to refer to a few additional facts. When the false pretense is made that this bill is the road to bimetallism, we should examine that question carefully.

What is the situation of the world in this respect? In the first place, England is the

CREDITOR NATION OF THE WORLD.

The outside world owe her $10,000,000,000 upon what she has received, and she is receiving $500,000,000 annually in interest. When I speak of England I mean the bonded aristocracy, for the poor people of England are suffering the same as are our poor people; but the England that governs is concentrated capital with claims against the balance of the world of $10,000,000,000. I do not know how much of that this country owes, but I am inclined to think that we owe very nearly half of it. I said in my remarks that we had to pay England $150,000,000 annually. I think we are paying more than that. I think we are paying $200,000,000 to England. See what a position she has! The outside world has to pay her $500,000,000 a year; which is an enormous contribution to England, besides the supremacy she has in the carrying trade and other commercial advantages.

The continent of Europe is

POOR AND PROSTRATE.

It is said that they are supporting 22,000,000 soldiers at an expense of more than $800,000,000 a year. Most of those countries are bankrupt, and owe England, particularly Austria and Italy.

It was England and the United States which destroyed silver. The United States joined England to destroy silver, and for what purpose? For the obvious purpose to enhance the value of money. Now, it said that we must go on a gold basis with England; that there is no other mode; that there is nothing else for us to do.

THE PRESIDENT SAYS

we must have the same kind of money that England has. What does that mean? We have to pay her $200,000,000 a year now, and she has demands enough against us at present to break us down, if we attempt to compete with her for gold.

If we undertake to buy gold, where is the gold? It is all locked up; $536,000,000 in Russia, for instance; $150,000,000 probably in Austria, most of which she got from us; she can not pay it out; eight or nine hundred millions are in France, and she dare not pay any of it out. She protects herself by paying out silver.

The same condition exists in Germany. She can not pay out gold. England has the advantage of collecting gold from all the world. That does a good deal toward keeping up her gold supply, but she adopts an expedient to keep her gold at home. Whenever an attempt is made to draw out her gold, she raises her rate of interest. England has never allowed any country to draw out her

INTERNATIONAL MONEY.

From the earliest history of England, whenever that attempt has been made, she has suspended specie payments or raised the rate of interest, and in that way protected her people.

During the Napoleonic wars she would not allow any international money to circulate in the country; no nation could draw her gold out and bankrupt her. If she allowed such an enemy as the gold board in New York to exist in London she never could have sent a soldier to the Continent. Since that war she has suspended specie payments three or four times, and she has time after time raised the rate of interest, so that the money could not be drawn out of the country. She had to do that, notwithstanding she was a great creditor nation. We, the only country in the world which pretends to have an international money, allow gold to go where it pleases.

Now, what position are we in? It is said that we must

SELL BONDS TO BUY GOLD.

Suppose we do it. In that event greenbacks will be presented and take the gold out. I know the banks want that, because they want the bonds to bank on. That is what makes them so intensely anxious for this plan. If we sell bonds and buy gold, you can not keep it; it will be taken away from you, and the same trick will be played on you which has been played this year.

When they want to carry out the Austrian scheme, and when they want gold in Europe for any purpose, they come here and sell our bonds, create a panic, and then the gold goes. The gold went last spring in that way; securities were sold, dumped on the market, and

A PANIC CREATED.

That was one of the processes by which it was created in connection with the New York banks, who are agents for the English bondholders. They are simply investors and collectors on foreign account. They started this trouble. They sold the securities, got the gold, and took it away, and when the panic came the securities went down 40 or 50 cents on the dollar, and the gold is coming back to buy them up. The gold which is coming now is to devour the carcasses of those who were killed and destroyed by taking it away.

It is said we must fight with England for this gold and that we can bring England to time. When we buy gold she can call it back by calling on us for three or four thousand millions. We can not compete with England in that way. We are a great country, but

WE ARE A DEBTOR NATION,

with vast unimproved resources, and if we begin to draw that gold out they will draw it back when they want it. They will take the foundation right out of our financial system. Do you not see what game was played in New York regularly some years ago when we were buying bonds every year for two three years? There would be a little combination in New York that would buy up the bonds during the winter and summer months, invest in them, get the interest, and when the stringency came to move the crops in the fall they would call on the Treasury to buy bonds, and $30,000,000 or $40,000,000 would be thrown in the hands of those men. The stringency had cre-

ated a panic; stocks would be down 20 or 30 per cent and they would have the gold to buy them, and then they would make their regular harvest; and while we were buying bonds the harvest was as regular as the returning seasons.

Do you not suppose that our English friends who can draw this gold out when they please will have that harvest all the time? They will have it this year. They will make hundreds and hundreds of millions

OUT OF THIS CALAMITY.

Do you not believe that they will repeat it? You have no foundation but what they can take out from under you. You will always have a panic when they command. With that great creditor nation we can not live in the world on an equality. If we give her the control of our circulating medium, if she can say at any time when a panic shall come, the people of this country are at her command. You in your experience know something of English rule. I do not mean the great body of the people of England. I speak of the concentrated capital that controls more than $20,000,000,000 of bonds, to which the whole world is paying tribute to-day. I speak of that capital which has no sympathy with the laboring interests of humanity. I speak of that capital that is crushing the masses of Europe to the earth. I speak of that capital that

GRINDS THE FACE OF THE POOR.

I speak of that capital that accumulates at the expense of the sweat and blood of the laboring masses. I speak of that capital that has turned back the wheels of progress and placed the laboring masses of Europe in a worse condition than they were fifty years ago. I speak of that capital that has produced this panic, stopped our mines and our mills, and filled the country with sorrow and grief. I speak of that heartless organization that looks upon America, not as a country, but as a land to be plundered. They look upon our people with scorn and contempt, and they

RIDICULE OUR IGNORANCE

in their reports.

The contempt which bondholding Europe has for America is well expressed by Daniel Watney, one of the leading advocates of the gold standard of Great Britain before the royal commission, when he said:

I can not suppose that everybody is wise. Just think of the folly of the United States when they were a debtor nation in adopting a gold coinage. They know nothing about currency matters; they did not know that it was going to increase their debt enormously.—*Second report, Royal Commission*, page 210.

Ah, the Senator from Ohio tells us that silver was demonetized by English influence. Oh, if some of our friends could be free for one session from English influence and legislate for America things would be different. What would have been the condition of this country if this crime had not been committed? At the time silver was

CLANDESTINELY DEMONETIZED

the miners of the West were taking their bullion to the mints. Previous to that time it had been more profitable to export it because of the mistake in the ratio, but the accumulations were too great for export. We had silver mines and in addition the gold mines to make us the strongest financial nation of the world. We were on the western hemisphere, where gold and silver have always been obtained in the greatest quantity. We had Mexico as a near neighbor, willing to buy of us, willing to trade with us, and to-day, notwithstanding the obstacles thrown in the way by the gold monometallists, she is, or she was until her silver mines were closed a short time ago, a great consumer of our products; and we had an ample supply. We had employment for our people. We might have had in this country to-day, if it had not been for the crime of 1873, as much gold and silver coin as the Roman Empire had in its palmiest days—nearly $2,000,000,000; and we would then have been free from debt. We would have owed nothing by this time. If we had been allowed

TO COIN OUR OWN MONEY

we would have been the leading nation. But by destroying our own resources, by denying our people the right they had under the Constitution, we are to-day reduced to the verge of bankruptcy. We can do nothing without the consent of the money powers of England. We can not legislate in these Halls without such consent. Their organs tell us that we must not discuss the question. They are teeming every morning with commands to the Senate to abdicate its power.

Right in this connection I will show you how they talked on another occasion when there was no money in question and when they were free from their masters. We will see what they said when they were not under the money power, when they were

FREE FROM THE ENGLISH INFLUENCE

of which the Senator from Ohio speaks. He says the act of 1873 was procured through English influence. I am going to read what some of these papers said when they were free from English influence. I first read from the New York World of January 5, 1891:

Will the brave-talking Western Senators execute the "ghost dance" to the crack of the party whip in the hands of those superannuated medicine men, HOAR and Edmunds, at the caucus to-day.

This is the way they talk when there is no money in it:

The desperate attempt of the old Republican leaders to drive the force bill through the Senate under the crack of the caucus whip is the boldest defiance of the popular will seen since the days of secession. * * * Under the lead of this besotted partisanship a Republican caucus will to-day seek to dragoon unwilling and protesting Senators.

[New York World, January 6, 1891.]

The Administration organ regards free speech in the Senate as "a pretended courtesy," and says "the Senate can not afford to waste time" in it. Fancy what Seward and Greeley would have said to such a claim. * * *

[New York World, January 8, 1891.]

The country has turned its face toward the future, and these younger men who realize that there are concerns of the present and future to be considered, decline longer to be led by men whose eyes are in the back of their heads.

* * * * * * *

The assumption that men are traitors because they ally themselves with one political party rather than another, is no longer to be accepted anywhere outside an asylum for aged and decrepit politicians of a past generation.

[New York World, January 8, 1891.]

Do you deny the agreement? says HOAR to GORMAN. Were you not to lie still and have your throat cut?

[New York World, January 19, 1891.]

The Democratic Senators would indeed be false to their duty if they neglected any resource, even the most extreme possible under parliamentary forms, to defeat this rascally and revolutionary conspiracy.

[New York World, January 20, 1891.]

No Democratic Senator would so far forget his constitutional duty as to refrain from resorting to every device to defeat the passage of the force bill.

[New York World, January 21, 1891.]

The present duty of Democrats in Congress is to kill the force bill. No sacrifice is too great, and no means should be left unused.

[New York World, January 23, 1891.]

If the minority of the Senate had no rights, there would be no one in Congress to speak in behalf of the people. * * * It is to silence the minority, to turn the people out of court, that cloture is suggested, and if the Democrats should not resort to every device to prevent the outrage they would be betraying a sacred trust.

Mr. MORGAN. Will the Senator from Nevada yield to me for a moment?

Mr. STEWART. Certainly.

Mr. MORGAN. The Senator has been on his feet discussing this question for a great while and evidently he is fatigued. He has not drawn as yet to the conclusion of his remarks, and doubtless has some valuable suggestions to make upon this question. With the Senator's permission, I will move that the Senate proceed to executive business.

Mr. STEWART. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. MORGAN. I make that motion.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Alabama moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. ALDRICH and Mr. HAWLEY called for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HARRIS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL]. I should vote "yea" if the Senator from Vermont were here.

Mr. LODGE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. MARTIN]. If he were present I should vote "nay."

Mr. STOCKBRIDGE (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. GIBSON]; but I am advised that he would vote "nay" if present. I will therefore vote. I vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BUTLER. I am paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CAMERON]. I am not sure how he would vote on this question, and I withhold my vote. If he were present I should vote "yea."

Mr. DOLPH (after having voted in the affirmative). I am paired with the senior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE], but I do not see him in the Chamber, and I will withdraw my vote.

Mr. HARRIS. The Senator from Oregon can let his vote stand if he chooses. I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL] and I will record my vote.

Mr. DOLPH. Very well.

Mr. HARRIS. I vote "yea."

Mr. BUTLER. I am informed by Senators who appear to know that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CAMERON] would vote "yea" if present. I therefore vote "yea."

Mr. BLACKBURN (after having voted in the affirmative). I

ask if the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. MANDERSON] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted, the Chair understands.

Mr. BLACKBURN. I am paired with that Senator on all questions, and I withdraw my vote.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so noted.

The result was announced—yeas 35, nays 28, not voting 22; as follows:

YEAS—35.

Allen,	Dolph,	Mitchell, Oregon	Shoup,
Bate,	Dubois,	Morgan,	Stewart,
Berry,	Faulkner,	Pasco,	Teller,
Butler,	Harris,	Peffer,	Turpie,
Call,	Hunton,	Perkins,	Vance,
Cockrell,	Irby,	Pettigrew,	Vest,
Coke,	Jones, Ark.	Power,	Walthall,
Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Pugh,	Wolcott.
Davis,	Kyle,	Roach,	

NAYS—28.

Aldrich,	Frye,	Lindsay,	Quay,
Allison,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Smith,
Brice,	Gorman,	McPherson,	Squire,
Caffery,	Gray,	Mills,	Stockbridge,
Carey,	Hale,	Palmer,	Vilas,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Platt,	Voorhees,
Dixon,	Hoar,	Proctor,	White, La.

NOT VOTING—22.

Blackburn,	Gibson,	Manderson,	Sherman,
Camden,	Gordon,	Martin,	Washburn,
Cameron,	Hansbrough,	Mitchell, Wis.	White, Cal.
Chandler,	Higgins,	Morrill,	Wilson.
Colquitt,	Hill,	Murphy,	
George,	Lodge,	Ransom,	

So the motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After twenty minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 4 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, September 6, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate September 5, 1893.

POSTMASTERS.

Hudson Ausley, to be postmaster at Salamanca, in the county of Cattaraugus and State of New York, in the place of Edward B. Vreeland, whose commission expired March 27, 1893.

Don C. Bishop, to be postmaster at Pulaski, in the county of Oswego and State of New York, in the place of Lawson R. Muzzy, whose commission expired March 13, 1893.

Daniel Budd, to be postmaster at Rye, in the county of Westchester and State of New York, in the place of James M. Field, whose commission expired March 21, 1893.

Robert E. Connolly, to be postmaster at Phelps, in the county of Ontario and State of New York, in place of Frederick R. Hoag, whose commission expired March 23, 1893.

George F. Ketchum, to be postmaster at Warwick, in the county of Orange and State of New York, in the place of George H. Quackenbush, removed.

Milton H. Northrup, to be postmaster at Syracuse, in the county of Onondaga and State of New York, in the place of Carroll E. Smith, removed.

Jonas Shays, to be postmaster at Owego, in the county of Tioga and State of New York, in the place of William Smyth, removed.

Edmund M. Wilbur, to be postmaster at Saugerties, in the county of Ulster and State of New York, in the place of William V. Burhans, removed.

Archibald H. Boyden, to be postmaster at Salisbury, in the county of Rowan and State of North Carolina, in the place of James H. Ramsey, resigned.

Edwin T. Hutchinson, to be postmaster at Lakota, in the county of Nelson and State of North Dakota, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after April 1, 1893.

Thomas R. Robertson, to be postmaster at Charlotte, in the county of Mecklenburg and State of North Carolina, in the place of Archibald Brady, removed.

John C. Bollmeyer, to be postmaster at Wauseon, in the county of Fulton and State of Ohio, in the place of James S. Brailey, whose commission expired March 21, 1893.

William L. Cox, to be postmaster at Prospect, in the county of Marion and State of Ohio, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after April 1, 1893.

Frank A. Hockett, to be postmaster at Wellston, in the county of Jackson and State of Ohio, in the place of George W. Darling, removed.

Frank C. Schiffer, to be postmaster at Shelby, in the county of Richland and State of Ohio, in the place of John R. Wolfe, resigned.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

To be additional second lieutenants.

1. Cadet George P. Howell.
2. Cadet Charles W. Kutz.
3. Cadet Meriwether L. Walker.
4. Cadet Robert P. Johnston.
5. Cadet Robert R. Raymond.

ARTILLERY ARM.

To be second lieutenants.

6. Cadet William M. Cruikshank, vice Burr, First Artillery, appointed first lieutenant in the Ordnance Department.
7. Cadet Gordon G. Heiner, vice Davis, Second Artillery, promoted.

To be additional second lieutenants.

9. Cadet George H. McManus.
10. Cadet Edward J. Timberlake, jr.
12. Cadet David M. King.
14. Cadet Samuel C. Hazzard.
15. Cadet S. J. Bayard Schindel.
18. Cadet Otho W. B. Farr.
19. Cadet Robertson Honey.

CAVALRY ARM.

To be second lieutenants.

8. Cadet John H. Rice, vice Stewart, Third Cavalry, promoted.
13. Cadet Lincoln C. Andrews, vice Carter, Third Cavalry, promoted.
16. Cadet William R. Smedberg, jr., vice Hardeman, Fourth Cavalry, promoted.
21. Cadet John M. Morgan, vice Walcutt, Eighth Cavalry, promoted.
23. Cadet Andrew E. Williams, vice Barnum, Third Cavalry, promoted.
25. Cadet Walter C. Babcock, vice Byron, Eighth Cavalry, promoted.
26. Cadet William Yates, vice Traub, First Cavalry, promoted.
27. Cadet Herbert B. Crosby, vice Brooks, Eighth Cavalry, promoted.
29. Cadet Benjamin B. Hyer, vice Pershing, Sixth Cavalry, promoted.
30. Cadet Mathew C. Smith, vice Bean, Second Cavalry, promoted.
31. Cadet Edward B. Cassatt, vice Trout, Ninth Cavalry, promoted.

To be additional second lieutenants.

33. Cadet Kenzie W. Walker.
35. Cadet Harry H. Pattison.
36. Cadet Edward E. Hartwick.
37. Cadet Charles G. Sawtelle, jr.

INFANTRY ARM.

To be second lieutenants.

17. Cadet Howard Laubach, vice Davis, Twenty-third Infantry, promoted.
20. Cadet Elmer W. Clark, vice Dodge, Fourteenth Infantry, dismissed.
22. Cadet Louis B. Lawton, vice Duncan, Ninth Infantry, promoted.
24. Cadet Amos H. Martin, vice Summerall, First Infantry, transferred to the Fifth Artillery.
28. Cadet Buell B. Bassette, vice Kimball, Fifth Infantry, promoted.
32. Cadet Thomas L. Smith, vice Druien, Seventeenth Infantry, promoted.
34. Cadet Arthur M. Edwards, vice Kalk, Third Infantry, promoted.
38. Cadet Howard R. Perry, vice Frier, Seventeenth Infantry, promoted.
39. Cadet George E. Houle, vice McRae, Third Infantry, promoted.
40. Cadet Lincoln F. Kilbourne, vice Winn, First Infantry, promoted.
41. Cadet Verling K. Hart, vice Vance, Sixteenth Infantry, deceased.
42. Cadet Robert E. L. Spence, vice Brown, Sixteenth Infantry, resigned.
43. Cadet William C. Rogers, vice Baker, Seventh Infantry, promoted.

43. Cadet Frank B. McKenna, vice Williams, Fifteenth Infantry, promoted.
45. Cadet George H. Jamerson, vice Lasseigne, Seventh Infantry, promoted.
46. Cadet Edward E. Carey, vice Ballou, Sixteenth Infantry, promoted.
47. Cadet Edward Taylor, vice Poore, Twelfth Infantry, promoted.
48. Cadet Hamilton A. Smith, vice Smith, Third Infantry, promoted.
49. Cadet Hunter B. Nelson, vice Barton, Twenty-fourth Infantry, transferred to the Tenth Cavalry.
50. Cadet Albert Laws, vice Keene, Twenty-fourth Infantry, promoted.
51. Cadet Mathew E. Saville, vice Swaine, Twenty-second Infantry, promoted.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate September 5, 1893.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

John J. S. Hassler, of Forest City, S. Dak., to be receiver of public moneys at Enid, in Oklahoma Territory.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *September 6, 1893.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. PEFFER. I present a petition, in the form of resolutions of the executive committee of the Industrial Council of the two adjoining Kansas cities, praying that Congress shall have power to instruct the Secretary of the Treasury to issue Treasury notes for circulation among the people as money, and loan the money to the different States upon application and approved security at a rate of interest not exceeding 1 per cent per annum to be by the several States distributed among their own people, and that such notes shall be legal tender in the payment of debts. I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on Finance for consideration in the future.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. BRICE presented petitions of the Corrugating Company, of Cincinnati; of the Rolling Mill Company, of Piqua; of Nathan Drucker, Levi C. Goodale and Michael Ryan, committee of the Chamber of Commerce of Cincinnati; of the Perkins Campbell Company, of Cincinnati; of Stix, Krouse & Co., of Cincinnati; of Samuel Ach & Co., of Cincinnati; of J. B. Hearne, president of the Third National Bank, of Cincinnati; of the Linseed Oil Company, of Cincinnati; of The Plant and Marks Shoe Manufacturing Company, of Cincinnati; of Frank C. Grote & Bros., of Cincinnati; of N. Druker & Co., of Cincinnati; of Merrie, Verhage & Co., of Cincinnati; of the Chas. Moser Company, of Cincinnati; of Corbin, Mendel & Co., distillers, of Cincinnati; of Claude Ashbrook, cashier of the City Hall Bank, of Cincinnati; of James E. Mooney, president of the American Oak Leather Company, of Cincinnati; of S. M. Felton, of Cincinnati; of the Chamber of Commerce of Cleveland; of Leo A. Brigel, president of the Jackson Brewing Company, of Cincinnati, and of the Bucket Pump Company, of Cincinnati, in the State of Ohio, praying for the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Democratic executive committee of Seneca County, Ohio, praying for the repeal of the civil-service rules requiring competitive examination of applicants for appointment in the railway-mail service; which was referred to the Committee to Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service.

Mr. SHERMAN presented a petition of merchants, business men, and others, of Miamisburg, Ohio, praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the act of July 14, 1890; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. ALLISON presented two petitions of business men and farmers of Belmond and Shenandoah, in the State of Iowa, earnestly praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. QUAY presented a petition of Indiana Assembly, No. 2043, Knights of Labor, of Indiana, Pa., praying for the free coinage of silver and for the abolishment of all banks, national, State, and private, and remonstrating against any further issue of bonds and foreign domination in American finance; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of Local Assembly, No. 6401, Knights of Labor of Pennsylvania, praying for the free coinage of silver; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburg, Pa., praying for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of Erie Lodge, No. 101, International Association of Machinists, remonstrating against the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. BERRY, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 333) for the relief of Margaret Kennedy, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. POWER, from the Committee on Public Lands, to whom was referred the bill (S. 335) to provide for the disposal of the abandoned Fort Maginnis military reservation in Montana, under the homestead and mining laws, for educational and other purposes, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon, from the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, to whom was referred the bill (S. 109) for the relief of the legal representatives of Chauncey M. Lockwood, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 110) for the relief of L. A. Davis, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

COMPENSATION OF APPOINTED SENATORS.

Mr. VANCE. From the Committee on Privileges and Elections, I submit reports in reference to the compensation of the three appointed Senators who were refused seats in the Senate. The amount to be allowed to each appointee is specified in the report. I suppose I may ask for the immediate consideration of the reports.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let the reports be read, and then we will determine whether we will consider them.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The first report will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

The Committee on Privileges and Elections, to whom was referred resolution providing compensation for John B. Allen for his time and expense in prosecuting his claim to a seat in the United States Senate from Washington, report that he be allowed $2,500.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let the resolution be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. SQUIRE and referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections August 30, 1893, as follows:

Resolved, That there be allowed out of the contingent fund of the Senate to John B. Allen the sum of $5,000, in full compensation for all his time and expense in prosecuting his claim to a seat in the Senate as a Senator from the State of Washington.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the Senator from North Carolina that the resolution and report should go to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Mr. COCKRELL. I was going to make that suggestion. Let all the reports take the same course.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That will be the order.

Mr. VANCE. I ask that the other reports be also read.

The Secretary read as follows:

The Committee on Privileges and Elections, to whom was referred a resolution providing compensation for Lee Mantle for his time and expense in prosecuting his claim to a seat in the United States Senate from Montana, report that he be allowed $2,500.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The report will be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Mr. VANCE. Let the third report be read.

The Secretary read the following resolution, reported from the Committee on Privileges and Elections:

Resolved, That there be allowed out of the contingent fund of the Senate to A. C. Beckwith the sum of $2,000, in full compensation for all his time and expense in prosecuting his claim to a seat as a Senator from the State of Wyoming.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. HOAR introduced a bill (S. 856) for the relief of John M. Goodhue; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. CULLOM introduced a bill (S. 855) to repeal all laws providing for the creation or maintenance of the sinking fund; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. PLATT introduced a bill (S. 856) for the relief of Louis

H. Bristol, administrator; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 857) to correct the military record of James McConnell; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. POWER introduced a bill (S. 858) to aid the State of Montana to support a school of mines; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. VOORHEES introduced a bill (S. 859) for the relief of Capt. John B. Dowd, on account of injuries received by him by the collapse of the old Ford's theater, on the 9th day of June, 1893; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. COKE introduced a bill (S. 860) to quiet the title to certain lands in the State of Mississippi, and for the relief of the heirs and representatives of Eli Ayres; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. PEFFER introduced a bill (S. 861) for the relief of Charles M. Gourley; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 862) for the relief of Solomon S. Crosswhite; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 863) to amend the military record of certain enlisted men of the war of the rebellion, named therein, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. PERKINS introduced a bill (S. 864) to authorize the payment to Rear-Admiral John H. Russell of the highest pay of his grade; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. MITCHELL of Wisconsin introduced a bill (S. 865) to confer the rank and pay of a first lieutenant of infantry upon the director of gymnastics and instructor in swordsmanship at the United States Military Academy; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. DUBOIS introduced a bill (S. 866) for the relief of the citizens of the States of Oregon, Idaho, and Washington who served with the United States troops in the war against the Nez Percés and Bannock and Shoshone Indians, and for the relief of the heirs of those killed in such service, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

On motion of Mr. HOAR, it was

Ordered, That John M. Goodhue be permitted to withdraw from the files of the Senate all papers relating to his case.

VIEWS OF MR. SEYD ON COINAGE.

Mr. HOAR. I move that the letter of Ernest Seyd, which was printed as a document the other day, be reprinted for the use of the Senate. I understand there is great application for it, and that the copies are all gone.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. COCKRELL. What is the motion?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Massachusetts will kindly repeat his motion.

Mr. HOAR. The motion is that the letter of Ernest Seyd, which was printed as a document, be reprinted for the use of the Senate. The copies are all gone and there is great application for it from all parts of the country.

Mr. CULLOM. There will be no objection to that.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the motion of the Senator from Massachusetts? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

INTERNATIONAL BIMETALLISM.

Mr. ALLEN. I should like to have the privilege of placing in the RECORD a short but very carefully prepared document on the subject of the impossibility of international bimetallism. It is a document well worthy the study of every member of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Nebraska? The Chair hears none.

Mr. PLATT. What is the request?

Mr. GRAY. I rose to object. I have no objection to its being printed as a document, but I do object, with all respect to the Senator from Nebraska, to the abuse of the privilege of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I think the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ought to be, as its name imports, a faithful record of the proceedings and debates of this body, and that it should not be used for any other purpose. I have no objection, and, in fact, I should be glad to see the Senator's paper printed as a document.

Mr. PLATT. What is the request?

Mr. ALLEN. I have no objection to its being printed as a document, if it will be available to all Senators in that form.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the Senator from Nebraska that it is impossible to hear him.

Mr. ALLEN. Perhaps there will be no objection to having it published as a public document and as a part of the document which contains the letter of Ernest Seyd.

Mr. HOAR. May I ask the honorable Senator to raise his voice? It is impossible to hear him on this side of the Chamber.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senate will be in order.

Mr. ALLEN. I say, perhaps there will be no objection on the part of the Senate to permit this document to be published with the letter of Ernest Seyd as a part of the same public document, and if there is no objection I make that request.

Mr. HOAR. Let it be published separately, if the Senate think it is worth while. The Ernest Seyd document has been once printed and all the copies are gone, and I suppose it will be much more convenient at the Printing Office to use the type already set up. They would have to make a new title-page, etc.

Mr. ALLEN. Let it be printed, then, as a separate document.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

Mr. PLATT. I do not think any Senator on this side knows what is the request or what the document is. Without knowing what it is I shall object. Perhaps when I know what it is I shall have no objection.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair requests that conversation be suspended.

Mr. TELLER. The fault is not with the Senator from Nebraska, but with Senators on the floor who are continually talking in a tone that prevents anybody from hearing what the Senator says.

Mr. ALLEN. The document consists of about six pages of very carefully prepared statistical matter upon the subject of the impossibility of international bimetallism. It is prepared by a gentleman well qualified to prepare such a document, and I am satisfied it would be of great benefit to the members of the Senate.

Mr. PLATT. That is all right.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection the document will be printed as requested.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 4) to provide for certain urgent deficiencies in the appropriations for the service of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled bill (H. R. 4) to provide for certain urgent deficiencies in the appropriations for the service of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, and for other purposes, and it was thereupon signed by the Vice-President.

HOUR OF MEETING.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] coming over from yesterday, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted yesterday by Mr. VOORHEES, as follows:

Resolved, That on Thursday, the 7th day of September, and until further order of the Senate, the daily hour of meeting be 11 o'clock a. m.

Mr. VOORHEES. With the permission of the Senate, I desire to make a brief statement. After full and careful consultation with the friends on this side of the Chamber of the bill repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, in whose judgment I have been accustomed to confide and whose wishes I can not disregard, I ask that the resolution go over for the present, believing that if we occupy the time of the Senate carefully and conscientiously we can make as much speed perhaps as by its adoption—until at least a later day.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will go over.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL QUESTIONS.

The Vice-President laid before the Senate the concurrent resolution submitted yesterday by Mr. MORGAN; which was read, as follows:

Concurrent resolution to raise a joint committee of the two Houses to consider questions of finance, etc.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That a committee of the two Houses of Congress be raised, to consist of seven Senators to be appointed by the President of the Senate, and seven Representatives, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who together shall constitute a joint select committee on finance, the chairman of which shall be chosen by the committee, by ballot, and he shall appoint a clerk to said committee.

2. Said joint committee shall hold its sessions in the Capitol, and in such

other places as a majority thereof shall direct, and may employ a stenographer, and such messengers as shall be found necessary, and shall have power to direct the administration of oaths and to send for papers and persons. Eleven members of said joint committee shall constitute a quorum to do business.

3. Said joint committee shall examine nto the financial and monetary condition of the Government and people of the United States, with a view to devising means for the betterment thereof, and, to this end, shall have full jurisdiction to examine and report upon any financial or monetary question that concerns the people or the Government of the United States.

4. Said committee shall make a special examination of the following subjects, and report upon each, separately, in their recommendations to Congress, and may submit one bill or several bills to the respective Houses to carry their recommendations into effect, that is to say:

(1) The full or partial remonetization of legal-tender silver coins and the ratio of legal value that shall be established between such coins and coins of gold.

(2) The revision of the laws relating to legal tender, so as to prevent unjust discrimination in the legal-tender quality of any descriptions of money coined or issued by the United States, or for the redemption of which the Government is pledged.

(3) The repeal of the taxes upon the issues of State banks that circulate as money, and what restrictions upon the conduct of such banks are necessary for the public security and welfare, and are within the competency of Congress to provide.

(4) The actual cause of the present embarrassed condition of the people and the national banks, in reference to the character or the supply of circulating medium, and the consequent paralysis of trade and industry. And what further legislation is required to prevent the national banks from abusing their powers under the law, either by their separate dealings, or in combination, concert, or conspiracy with other banks or persons to the detriment of the Government or the people of the United States.

(5) Said joint committee may appoint subcommittees, to consist of not less than four members thereof, three members to constitute a quorum, who shall be empowered to sit in any place in the United States and to take testimony on oath to be administered by the designated chairman of such subcommittee, to be reported to the general committee. Such subcommittees shall be appointed under the resolution or order of the general committee, in such manner as they shall agree.

(6) The expenses incurred in the execution of the requirements of this concurrent resolution shall be borne in equal sums by the respective Houses of Congress, to be paid out of the contingent funds appropriated, or to be appropriated by Congress.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution which has just been read.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President——

Mr. VOORHEES. What is the action desired by the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. MORGAN. I desire a vote on the resolution.

Mr. VOORHEES. A resolution of so much importance, it strikes me, ought not to be voted upon without reference to a committee and its examination. It involves a question of the greatest importance. I think it will have to be referred to the Committee on Contingent Expenses, any way——

Mr. MORGAN. No.

Mr. VOORHEES. And at the proper time I shall move the reference of the resolution to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. MORGAN. That will be a very proper motion, Mr. President, and whenever it is made we shall discuss it.

Before I submit the resolution to the Senate for reference, however, I desire to modify it by striking out the sixth clause of it.

Mr. VOORHEES. I give notice that the resolution can not be taken up now unless it displaces the regular order. The Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] has given notice of a speech to-day, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] has the floor to conclude an unfinished speech, and I shall ask the Senate, in all fairness and candor, to continue the consideration of the pending business of the Senate, which is House bill No. 1.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, I have been absent for some time from the Senate, unfortunately——

Mr. HARRIS. If the Senator from Alabama will allow me, I will suggest to him that he has a right to modify his resolution, and that he need not move to amend it.

Mr. MORGAN. I have already done that. I have modified it in the particular I have indicated.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That has been done.

Mr. MORGAN. Then I wish to strike out "eleven," where it occurs in line 15, and insert "nine," so as to have a quorum consist of nine members instead of eleven.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That modification will be made.

Mr. VOORHEES. I ask, and if necessary I move, that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the regular order of business.

Mr. MORGAN. The Senator from Indiana ought to know that he can not take me off the floor by a motion of that kind. What I desire to do is to inquire of the Chair whether the rules of the Senate have been so far altered in my absence as that there is no longer a morning hour? If there is a morning hour, I have the right to occupy my position here now on the floor in the advocacy of a measure which comes up in the morning hour.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the Senator from Alabama that there has been no change in the rules.

Mr. MORGAN. Very good. Then I am in order, and the Senator can wait for his bill until 2 o'clock. That is the rule of the Senate at least.

Mr. VOORHEES. I desire simply to say that, while that is true, the Senator from Alabama, with exceeding delicacy, takes two Senators off the floor who have given notice of their desire to address the Senate. One of them, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART], is on the floor with an unfinished speech, and the other with a notice given of an intention to speak. That is all I wish to say.

Mr. MORGAN. I shall be entirely delicate and respectful to every Senator in this body, Mr. President, when he is in order, but I am in order now, and no Senator has the right to the floor to supersede me speaking to a resolution which the President of the Senate has laid before the Senate. This body has jurisdiction of the resolution, because it is in the morning hour and the President of the Senate has laid it before the Senate. Therefore I am not guilty of any indelicacy towards any Senator in trying to assert what are my rights under the rules of the Senate.

The Senator from Indiana has given notice of a motion to refer this matter to the Committee on Finance. If the joint select committee which I propose, Mr. President, were not expressly intended to supersede the functions of the Committee on Finance in both Houses that would be a very proper motion, but I do not expect that the Senate will refer to the Committee on Finance a measure which has for its purpose to supplement the powers of the Committee on Finance, because the action of that committee up to this time has not been in conformity with, and it does not entirely or properly cover, the condition or the necessities of this country. That is not a friendly committee to any general plan of financial relief or reformation.

In my own conception of the situation, there being no human being responsible for this resolution but myself, I have thought that there was an attempt made here to cure a great breadth of financial trouble and evil and difficulty in the United States by the administration of a certain nostrum to cure a particular part of a complaint which the people of the United States recognize as being a very serious one and having many different aspects.

An extensive combination of diseases needs a broader treatment than the measure reported by the Committees on Finance of the two Houses.

I have not observed a greater difference between any Senators since I have been in this body than exists apparently between those Senators who are in the advocacy here of the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of what is called the Sherman act of 1890. In regard to what shall take place after that repeal has been accomplished they have no common purpose, no agreement, no accord. There seems to be a great wildness of conjecture, a great want of concert of action amongst the gentlemen, all of whom agree together to repeal that portion of that law, as to what shall take place after it has been repealed; and the object of this resolution is to place it in the hands of the two committees of the two Houses to determine what is to be done in the event the Senate shall concur or shall fail to concur with the House in its proposition to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act.

Will any man undertake to say that there will be no necessity for further legislation after that law has passed, or after it has been defeated? Has any one hinted that that repeal is to be a cure of the financial difficulties of the people of the United States? Is it proposed to do anything more than to give a mere respite to action until the country can right itself up, or until the legislation of Congress, which is necessary to bring the country right, can be matured?

No one has suggested, I believe, as yet that this particular remedy is going to relieve the country of all the great evils that we are experiencing now and have been experiencing for the last few months, indeed for the last year.

Therefore, it is necessary not only to meet public expectation, but it is a necessary duty devolving upon legislators of the United States in Congress assembled that they shall take a broad, general, and complete view of all the difficulties which have been suggested in respect of the financial and monetary situation of the United States; that they shall in their wisdom fully and completely investigate the whole subject, and when they have understood it that they will bring forward either one bill or several bills for the purpose of rectifying all the troubles under which we are living, or else dying.

The differences that exist, Mr. President, are very marked in respect to the remedies which have been suggested. Some of those men who claim to be *par excellence* Democrats, who have enjoyed that honorable name for many years, and have fought many valiant battles under the flag of the great Democracy, think that one remedy, perhaps an all-sufficient remedy, to be applied to the situation after the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act has been carried through, is that which is so emphatically and clearly stated in the Democratic platform at Chicago, the repeal of the tax upon the issues of the State

banks. There are other Democrats of just as good standing, and Republicans also of good standing in their own party, who believe that the next measure that ought to be adopted after the repeal of this purchasing clause will be the remonetization of silver. When I speak of the remonetization of silver, I mean to have it placed where it was in 1873.

There are both Democrats and Republicans one this floor and in the other House who believe not only that that is a necessaay policy to be observed to secure financial smoothness and equability of financial operations, but that it is a constitutional right of the people to have the free coinage of silver—not of the people *en masse*, but of every individual man in the United States to have this, and upon the united basis of gold and silver coins to reëstablish the system of banks chartered by the States.

When you commence to deal with matters which appertain to the constitutional rights of individual men in the United States you begin to trench upon a somewhat delicate ground, and it is necessary to be cautious and careful. At a more convenient time I hope to discuss this question.

So there are men who believe that the action of Congress in the demonetization of silver and the destruction of its constitutional and legal parity with gold has violated the Constitution of the United States, and that this country has no chance of recovery, no possible hope for a remedy, until that violation has been withdrawn and the evil which it has inflicted has been healed. There are men of that sort here, and they are neither few nor are they weak.

There are men here who believe that the common working, laboring classes of the people of the United States, of Great Britain, of France, of Germany, of Italy, of Austria, of Russia, and of every civilized power in this world, are obliged to have a silver currency in order to live; that they can not conduct their daily operations, their small industries, and feed their families without the aid of a silver currency. In most of the countries of the world, and in the United States also—shame that it should be said—this silver currency is called a subsidiary currency. More than that, it is dwarfed in its metallic value. Two silver half dollars, or four quarters, or ten dimes do not contain as much silver bullion as a dollar of the fathers by 8½ grains, I believe it is. That sort of money is supposed by a good many political economists and very sounding and resounding Democrats, who boast themselves of being just and liberal to the people of the United States, to say the least of it, to be good enough for them.

Our silver currency amounting to 412½ grains to the dollar, nine parts fine, is under the law, except when it is superseded by a contract, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private. Your subsidiary coin, which the people must use every day in their transactions, or go hungry and naked, is a legal tender for $10, and only for $10. There are $100,000 of subsidiary coin used in the United States in the daily transactions of the people to $5,000 of full round silver dollars and gold coin, but that is considered good enough for the common people of the United States. Shovel off upon them four quarters for a dollar, two halves for a dollar, ten dimes for a dollar, which contain 8½ grains less of silver than the dollar itself, and say, "With this you can pay a debt of $10, but no more; while with gold you can pay a debt of any amount, and with any gold that has been coined. If it is below the standard of legal circulation, you can take it and weigh it out in the scales and make your creditor take it."

That is the legal-tender quality of gold. The silver dollar of 412½ grains you may pay your debt with, no matter what it amounts to, unless the contract is the other way. All the subsidiary coin that you furnish to the people with less bullion in it than there is in the silver dollar, where the functions of money are equivalent to the face of the coin, you shovel upon the people and say "That is good enough for you." And, in the jealousy of the holders of gold, even that is denied to the poorer classes in proper supply.

Democrats have been accustomed, since I was a boy, to declaiming against class legislation. You legislate for the wealthy classes of this country by putting in your acts legal-tender money, with a full quota of silver in it or gold in it, as the case may be, and when you come to legislate for "the common masses of the common people" you say, "Take your depleted half dollars and your quarters and your dimes that you have to buy your daily bread with and get for your wages. That is good enough for you." I do not like that class feature in the legislation of the Congress of the United States. I am very much in favor of a proposition that has been made here, and argued and debated, of making all the minor subsidiary coins of the United States carry fully as much silver metal as the dollar of 412½ grains.

That is one of the things that we ought to be looking after. There is a point where we can rectify the rights of the people. There is the point where we can take care of the masses against the classes. There is a clean-cut proposition making it necessary for the action of some committee, and it ought not to be the Committees on Finance of the two Houses, for one House has passed over this great subject and sent to us, having apparently exhausted their powers of wisdom and contrivance, a bill that contains a single proposition, without looking through the whole field of legislative duty and providing for what the country so urgently needs and demands and what justice requires. That is a point that can be taken into consideration by this joint select committee of the two Houses, as it has not been by the standing committee of either House.

Another point may be taken into consideration by them, and ought to be and must be considered and settled before the financial system of the United States can even claim moderate respectability. That is, the legal-tender laws of the country.

Mr. PEFFER. By way of suggestion to the Senator from Alabama, I have the act of February 28, 1853, in my hand, in which it is provided that the weight of the half dollar, or piece of 50 cents, shall be 192 grains. If we double that we have 384 grains, which subtracted from the weight of the dollar, 412½ grains, leaves a difference of 28½ grains.

Mr. MORGAN. That is not pure silver?

Mr. PEFFER. No.

Mr. MORGAN. It is standard silver.

Mr. PEFFER. Standard silver.

Mr. MORGAN. I had reference to pure silver.

Mr. PEFFER. It is nine-tenths of that.

Mr. MORGAN. Nine-tenths. Now, we have quite a medley, quite a patch-work, quite a crazy-quilt performance, here in our statute books on the subject of legal-tender money. Under the Revised Statutes, section 3587—

> The gold coins of the United States shall be a legal tender in all payments at their nominal value, when not below the standard weight and limit of tolerance provided by law for the single piece, and, when reduced in weight below such standard and tolerance, shall be a legal tender at a valuation in proportion to their actual weight.

That is what the legal-tender laws of the United States do for gold and gold coin. It is an advantage that is unseemly and unjust.

Under section 3587 of the Revised Statutes the minor coins of the United States are legal tender for 25 cents.

Under sections 3473, 3475, and 5182 of the Revised Statutes:

> After any such association shall have caused its promise to pay such notes on demand to be signed by the president or vice-president and cashier thereof, in such manner as to make them obligatory promissory notes, payable on demand, at its place of business, such association is hereby authorized to issue and circulate the same as money; and the same shall be received at par in all parts of the United States in payment of taxes, excises, public lands, and all other dues to the United States, except for duties on imports; and also for all salaries and other debts and demands owing by the United States to individuals, corporations, and associations within the United States, except interest on the public debt, and in redemption of the national currency.

Now, there is a limited, peculiar, legal-tender quality given to the national-bank notes differing from all other legal-tender qualities given to all other species and descriptions of money.

> Silver dollars of the weight of 412½ grains troy, of standard silver * * * which coins together with all silver dollars heretofore coined by the United States, of like weight and fineness, shall be a legal tender, at their nominal value, for all debts and dues, public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract.—(Revised Statutes, sections 3099, 3473, 3474, 3513, 3586; Statutes, volume 20, page 25.)

Silver dollars are subjected there expressly to the stipulation that may be made in the contract between the parties, whereby they may establish for themselves a legal-tender rate and a legal-tender law as they think, but no judge would ever think of executing it.

> That the present silver coins of the United States of smaller denominations than $1 shall hereafter be a legal tender in all sums not exceeding $10 in full payment of all dues, public and private.—(Statutes, volume 21, page 8.)

The act of March 3, 1863, provides that—

> Treasury notes issued under the authority of the acts of March 3, 1863, chapter 73, and June 30, 1864, chapter 172, shall be legal tender to the same extent as United States notes for their face value, excluding interest: *Provided*, That Treasury notes issued under the act last named shall not be a legal tender in payment or redemption of any notes issued by any bank, banking association, or banker calculated and intended to circulate as money. (Revised Statutes, section 3590; Statutes, volume 12, page 710; Statutes, volume 13, page 218.)

There is another entirely peculiar phase of legal-tender law applicable to a particular part of our currency.

Then we come to Treasury notes:

> SEC. 2. That the Treasury notes issued in accordance with the provisions of this act shall be redeemable on demand, in coin, at the Treasury of the United States, or at the office of any assistant treasurer of the United States, and when so redeemed may be reissued; but no greater or less amount of such notes shall be outstanding at any time than the cost of the silver bullion and the standard silver dollars coined therefrom, then held in the Treasury, purchased by such notes; and such Treasury notes shall be a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract, and shall be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues, and when so received may be reissued; and such notes, when held by any national-banking association, may be counted as a part of its lawful reserve. That upon demand of the holder of any of the Treasury notes herein provided for the Secretary of the Treasury shall, under such regulations as he may prescribe, redeem such notes in gold or silver coin, at his discretion. (Statutes, volume 26, page 289.)

That is the act of the 14th of July, 1890. Then comes the old foundation act, the legal-tender law, in regard to United States notes:

United States notes shall be lawful money and a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, within the United States, except for duties on imports and interest on the public debt. (Revised Statutes, section 3588; Statutes, volume 12, page 711.)

Here are nine different legal-tender laws applicable to the different kinds of money issued by the United States.

Now, I submit, Mr. President, that there never was such a medley of legislation upon one vital topic as that which now infests the statute books of the United States. If there was a ground of distrust of the value of the currency of the United States, of its actual money value, that ground would be firmer and stronger under the feet of the objector in respect to the legal-tender laws than any other part of the whole fabric of our patchwork of finance and monetary system. It is a crude, ill-digested, contradictory, elaborate, almost impossible-to-be-understood system of legal-tender laws, applying to all the various aspects of money that from time to time we have had occasion to put forth to meet the exigencies of our political and financial situation.

Ought that not to be remedied? Ought not any money issued by the United States or any money redeemable by the United States or any money coined by the United States (unless, perhaps, it is the minor coins made of nickel and copper) to be an equal legal tender for the payment of debts? If you have a legal-tender value attached to money at all, why is it that every dollar in the United States issued or coined by its authority is not of equal legal-tender value? Who, in framing a monetary system, would ever think of making this gross batch of inconsistencies and absurdities a part of that system? Until we get rid of that, discriminations are necessarily to be made, and will always be made, between the different classes of money issued by the authority of the Government of the United States.

That is a very important subject for the consideration of the Congress of the United States, one that we can not pretermit. We can not forbear to act upon it without disappointing just expectations and without impeaching the wisdom, if not the integrity of our action upon this financial question.

Our national-bank system stands between the people of the United States and the Government as the almoner, I will call it, the distributor of the promises of the Government of the United States that stand for money. While it has been guarded with all the care and supervision that has been possible by the wise men who have dealt with it heretofore, it is still an utterly insufficient system for the protection of the people against just such calamities and troubles as we are emerging from to-day.

Now, is that the fault of the system itself? Have we a system that may be abused by the adroitness of financiers here and in Europe to such an extent as that the national banks may violate all of their duties to the people and to the Government with absolute impunity, and yet, as the honorable Senator from Texas [Mr. COKE] told you the other day, and the honorable Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] told you also, require the people of the United States to pay interest upon every dollar of national-bank notes that goes into circulation? They furnish the credit; they furnish the representatives to enact the laws; the laws are enacted; and the laws impose upon the money the people handle every day, taxation and interest. The people have to bear all these burdens; the banks bear none of them; and while the people are in this condition, the banks at will and pleasure perform or violate their duties, according to their best interests, and not according to the obligations either of oaths or public duty. Is that the fault of the system, or is it the fault of the administration of the system? That there is a fault no man denies, no man can deny.

I will not this morning, Mr. President, undertake to go over what has been so well portrayed here by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER], from facts that he has brought in evidence before the Senate, and by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] upon an equally strong statement of facts, to show the criminal responsibility of the national banks of the United States in their dealings with the people of this country in these latter days, and especially during the last five or six months. There is no necessity on this occasion for me to do that. I hope to speak of this at a later date. There is not a man who can read the promise on the face of a bank note in the United States who does not understand it. We may think that this subject is so clouded up that the common people of this country can not understand it, but they all understand it perfectly, and they have at last learned, at the expense of a terrible experience, that they are to be made the sufferers of every financial calamity that can be brought upon this land.

They are beginning to understand that their representatives in the Senate of the United States and in the other House, either because of their being tied up with political affiliations that they dare not break through, or because of their indisposition to take the responsibilities of their high and awful position, stand by and refuse to grant them relief. They even stand by and refuse to consider the subject of relieving them. The House committee has had this subject before it, and the Senate Committee on Finance also; and with all of this startling development of cruel disappointment to the people of the United States, bringing almost actual starvation into the houses of thousands and hundreds of thousands of good people, they have been standing by and witnessing the refusal of the banks to pay their depositors when they had the money in their vaults and did not deny it; refusing all discounts upon paper and securities, it made no difference how good they were; locking up all the avenues of trade and industry, so that no man could do more than feed his family, and a great many could not do that.

These Representatives have stood by and seen the whole of it, and they have been as dumb as statues upon the subject of the interests and rights of the people, and of their responsibilities to them. They come forward with one single proposition where there are many to be considered, and demand of us that we shall consider that, and only that; and after we have received from them this modicum of what they claim to be a temporary relief, and not a complete and thorough and satisfactory relief to the people, then we are compelled beseechingly to ask them if they will not, in their goodness and benevolence to the people, after a while take up these other subjects for consideration and lend a helping hand.

I can not do my duty unless I demand more of the Senate of the United States than that, and I do demand it. I demand it, sir, as a Democrat. More than that, I demand it as an American Senator. If any party tie stood in the way of my making this demand and enforcing it I would strike it from me with delight and go as an honest and a free man to the fearless representation of an honest and free people. I could not be bound by such slight obligations to party ties while refusing to do my duty to a suffering constituency.

What are we to do about the rehabilitation of the State banks? There is not a wealthy man in the Senate who is in favor of it—not one. There is not a wealthy man in the United States I have ever heard of, who is in favor of it. If it depended upon their votes we would never get it, it would be an impossibility, notwithstanding that great pledge of the Democratic platform. Is that to be recalled? Is it to be swallowed whole? Is it to be ignored? Have we no responsibility of a party kind connected with the consideration of that question? Yet, Mr. President, if I were to offer such an amendment to the bill from the House pending here it would be voted down by the friends of the repeal of the Sherman act.

It would be voted down without hesitation. It would be voted down by them with the same unanimity of feeling that they would vote down the free coinage of silver, and so the rectification of the legal-tender laws would be voted down by them. If I should have the temerity to bring into the Senate a proposition that every dollar coined and issued by the United States Government should be an equal legal tender for the payment of debts, it would be voted down. So would any proposition to restrain the banks from destroying the industries of the people be discarded.

What we must do, if we do any thing at all for the sake of the people, is to do all that is in our power to consider the whole length and breadth of these great questions and determine them at one time and by one committee, and also in one session of Congress.

If this committee is properly constituted it would consist of representative men from every political party in this country. It would consist of seven members of the House and seven members of the Senate. Amongst that membership of seven there would be ample room for all the parties who are represented on this floor, the Populists, the free-coinage Democrats, the anti-silver Democrats, the free-coinage Republicans, and the anti-silver Republicans. They could all have a full and fair representation upon that committee in both Houses, and when they have met together for the purpose of considering the measures that are necessary for the welfare of the people of the United States we would find no mere party assemblage there.

We would find an assemblage of every interest represented on the floors of the two Houses. A just representation of the people of the United States, and every man would have his voice, could bring forward his facts and his views and make his report, and when the reports came into the two Houses the House and the Senate would have nothing to do but to adopt that report which will best coincide with its views of the requirements of the general situation and the welfare of the whole country.

Now, if we want to get at this question in a nonpartisan spirit—and almost every gentleman who has discussed this question in either House, I observe, has attempted to have the country be-

lieve that he approached it in an entirely free and nonpartisan spirit—if we want to get at this question in a nonpartisan spirit, let us have a committee upon which all of these respective interests are directly and distinctly represented. After such an examination of this great and comprehensive subject, it will be the duty of all parties to acquiesce in the wishes of the majority and to aid in carrying their plan of finance into full execution.

Then the people of the United States will have confidence in your patriotism and your impartiality. Then they will say you are conferring in a friendly spirit with all the people and all their representatives, and you are trying to bring them into harmony of action upon this great question of finance. You are trying in good faith to relieve the people.

Is there any reason why that should not be done? It ought not to disappoint the expectation or wound the pride of the Committee on Finance in the Senate or in the House that this should be done, for the reason, if there were no better reason, that you can not get concert of action between the two Houses otherwise than by the action of a joint committee. These two Committees of Finance, although they are Democratic in majority both in the House and in the Senate, are not in concert of action in every particular.

There has been but one point upon which they could meet. There has been but one point that they were willing to discuss or could afford to discuss. They have either ignored or else they have refused to consider every other proposition except the single one of coalescing with the honorable Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] in destroying the act which he was so proud of here, and for several sessions after it had been enacted. That is as far as they can get.

Well, that does not go far enough to suit me as a Democrat. I never recognized the honorable Senator from Ohio as my file-leader as a Democrat. There were some other Democrats in the United States whom I preferred to affiliate with in former times. I will name one of them—Allen G. Thurman. Allen G. Thurman was always a free-coinage Democrat. I believe he has not lived until he has been forgotten as a Democrat. His teachings and his honorable labors in behalf of Democracy, as well as free coinage, will survive in the memory of men the history of 90 per cent of the members on this floor to-day, or who have been here in the last thirty or forty years. When you speak about great and good and consistent men who are Democrats I may proudly refer you to Allen G. Thurman, the Old Roman; not the modern Roman, who is represented in the person of the Chairman of the Committee on Finance.

I took up the Washington Post this morning, which I always read with satisfaction, because it is a bright paper, and it usually holds the front row, I may say, upon the news that is current through the United States. I find the following special to the Post:

NEW YORK, *September 5.*

The last trace of acute stringency in the money market disappeared to-day, there being no premium on cash. The banks are now paying out cash freely. The steamships Umbria, La Champagne, and Saale brought about $1,500,000 in gold.

The whole amount of the profits of the dealers in currency while the premium lasted aggregates $1,000,000, the statement of the representative of one firm being that their profits were $600,000. The profits of the remaining brokers are easy of estimate. The firm making the largest established a lead from the beginning, though forced by two banks to withdraw their accounts. The third bank accepted their account only on condition that currency should never be demanded of them. This and other discouragements offered by the banks intimidated many from engaging in the business, else the aggregate of profit might have been larger and the banks themselves forced to buy currency. The railway and express corporations helped the banks out by refusing to sell their cash receipts, and the premium on currency thus ended to-day and sooner than would otherwise have been the case.

The premium will not return in half a century. Banks say that the conditions producing the scarcity were unusual, and will never occur again in ordinary circumstances.

The most valuable of the influences against a premium is the growth of the sentiment against the sale of currency in hard times. The banks have been supported during the struggle to keep the premium down by the leading mercantile and stock houses.

Those who have had to buy the money have been principally large employers of labor, and the immediate effect of the dropping of the premium will be that more factories will start up, and concerns that have failed will not have to postpone resumption of business longer than is absolutely necessary.

Bankers at the uptown resorts said this evening that they had for the first time in five weeks been paying merchants and business men currency on demand and in whatever denominations were desired. Their customers were delighted, and the bankers assured them that henceforth they may expect to get currency of whatever denomination they asked for on their checks.

What has produced that marvelous relaxation, that sudden brightening up of the zenith and the horizon around the monetary world? What has so inspired these gentlemen as that they at last give their consent that the people of the United States shall have the use of their own money; that the depositors shall actually have their drafts honored when they are sent to the banks, and that "gilt-edge paper" may be discounted in the banks? What has produced this marvelous toning up of the confidence of the banking institutions in the United States? Is it the passage through the other House of the bill to repeal the Sherman act? It has not passed the Senate yet. We are invited to pass it. We are urged to pass it. We are commanded to pass it. We are threatened if we do not pass it. Our Democracy is questioned if we hesitate to pass it; but there seems to be quite a disposition on the part of the Senate to look into the subject before they pass it; they want to examine into it. These gentlemen who have become so confident in the monetary situation in the United States are not counting with absolute confidence upon the action of the Senate. No, sir; it is a different thing.

Four or five months ago this movement was commenced. It was commenced in Great Britain. It was commenced by a determination in Great Britain that the monetary system of the United States should be brought down to the English basis. Money had been loaned here upon bonds and securities of various kinds, put up as collateral, and if they could make money scarce in the British markets and hard to obtain, of course the collaterals would go down in value and would have to be sold. They made the cinch upon the monetary world in Great Britain and Germany, but chiefly in Great Britain. They got these securities on the down grade. The bears were triumphant. The speculators in lower prices had the rule of the money market, and the control of the bond market, and the margin market, and everything connected with the pledge of stocks as security for loans; and down and down went the securities that had been pledged in Great Britain for the loan of money.

These securities, it is said, were sent home for sale, and they were sold, and they were bought, and as soon as these men got hold of enough of them to make themselves rich, as soon as they had secured the market in their own hands and could buy them almost at their own prices, then they relaxed the money market and said to the people, "We have confidence now; we will relax the money market and prices will go up; ease and comfort will come into the monetary situation: bonds will rise, and we will reap a tremendous harvest out of this situation."

That is how it happened; and the wise gentlemen who fancy that they understand all about finances and financial operations can not deny these statements. Neither can they state any other ground for the terrible conflict and depression that we have passed through than that I have just stated.

The money of the United States, Mr. President, is not used for the purpose of developing agriculture, or mining, or the interests of forestry, or even of shipping and navigation, and scarcely for railroads. The great bulk of the money of the United States that is employed in Wall street is handled by the gamblers in stocks. They get the first call on the money market. They go there with their bonds, their securities piled up, and pledge them as collateral for the purpose of getting money to buy more with, and to speculate upon them, for that is the whole routine of their life and their business—speculation, and nothing else. When a merchant in good standing, I care not how good he may be, or a manufacturer with large industries under his control of the greatest possible advantage to the country and all the way from 1,000 to 10,000 employés and operatives to be taken care of, goes to one of these banking institutions and asks for a loan upon any kind of mortgage or pledge that he can possibly put up, they will not let him have it.

Now, there is a reason for that, and a good banking reason. The man who handles stocks can always throw them upon the market, and his money is borrowed upon call. It is a call debt. When the market shows that the stock which is put up as security is depreciating, and is likely to go below the proper margin for the payment of the amount loaned, the banker has not anything to do but to take it and put it upon the market and sell it and realize. A merchant goes to one of these banks that has had perhaps a million dollars loaned upon call, fortified by stocks as a collateral security, and asks for a loan. "What length of time do you want?" "Why, I want thirty days (or sixty days or ninety days) time. I am obliged to have some credit. I can furnish you ample security, of good indorsers, but I am obliged to have some credit." The answer is: "We can not take your paper at all, for the reason that we can make more money upon our call loans. We can handle our money two or three times over in a month, perhaps; at all events, it is always ready when we demand it, and if it is not paid we can go into the stock market and sell securities and realize." So that the great mass of the money of the country is employed continually in supplying funds for stock gamblers.

This thing reaches across the ocean, and there must be points where there are accumulations of capital sufficient to supply this great demand for money. Where are they? Go and unlock the vaults of the Rothschilds treasury, and you will find one of them; unlock the Seligman vaults, and you will find another; unlock the vaults of four or five of the great banking houses of Europe, and you will find them all. They are all there.

The fountain sources of the supply of money are there. They control the money, not of individuals merely, but of governments;

they control the whole financial system of Europe, and our banks go there to borrow money to lend to the stock gamblers, and not to lend to the people. So when there comes a tightness in the money market of Europe we find that the first effect is to place these bonds and securities upon the market at the loss of the stock gamblers, and we find that the next effect is that no commercial or industrial man can get a shilling on any paper that he can offer; no credit that he had been a lifetime building up is worth a cent to him; nothing is worth anything to him, because the power of the banks is controlled almost exclusively by the gamblers. That is why the people can not get in contact with their own institutions and their own money. That congestion is passing away, it seems. They have bought their stocks at great depreciation, and now they begin to want to realize, and money is let loose and prices rise. Prices rose 10 per cent in a week on stocks sold in the markets in New York.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to ask the Senator from Alabama, with his leave, if his statement of facts as to the course of the business of the national banks as to their preference in loans is made as the result of his observation of the national banks of his own State? Is that their course of business, so far as he is informed?

Mr. MORGAN. My observation, Mr. President, of course has been confined to the national banks of my own State pretty much, but the national banks of Washington also do the same thing, and I have some acquaintance with what they do. I know that a merchant can not go here in Washington city and get his bill discounted, no matter how good he makes it on the security of indorsements, and get the money for the purpose of carrying on his business. He can not make a loan in a national bank in Washington, but a man who can go and put up certain stocks for security can do so.

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator will permit me, I do not think it would be proper to rise to controvert his statement of fact about what comes within his personal observation, but I think I can say, as a man who has had some large experience in business affairs in my own State and large observation as a professional man, that that statement is not true of the banks of Massachusetts or New England. The class of speculators described by the Senator are the terror of the national banks. They never like their paper, and they get rid of it and reject it when they can. The business of the banks is almost exclusively confined to discounting the business paper of manufacturers and merchants at moderate rates, and these banks have been paying dividends of late years of about 5 or 6 per cent only. The panics, which the banks are charged with getting up, light upon the banks with more severity than on any other kind of capital invested in business.

Mr. MORGAN. Does the Senator from Massachusetts know how many savings banks in his State have demanded thirty days' notice from depositors?

Mr. HOAR. I do not, but I suppose they all do when they are expecting a run.

Mr. MORGAN. Every one. They demand time; they will not pay, and they can not pay. Their resources are locked up.

Mr. HOAR. That is entirely another question, which I will not interrupt the Senator to go into at this time, but I shall discuss it at the proper time.

Mr. MORGAN. It is not by any means another question. It is a part of the same troubles. The savings banks in Massachusetts and in all of New England have been remarkable for their punctuality in their dealings, and for their meeting all the demands brought upon them by the poor people who put their money in their charge; and now, even those honest New Englanders, who have handled the money of the people with so much care, so much circumspection heretofore, are forced by conditions which they can not possibly obviate or correct to demand thirty days' time when a poor fellow who has a deposit of $5 in the savings bank goes there to get his money to buy bread for his family.

Mr. HOAR. If my honorable friend will pardon me I think I know something of that also. What reputation I can give as a voucher for the statement I give, that the poor fellow whom the Senator describes will always get, does now get, and has through this panic got his money.

The thirty days' notice is a mere protection against a run, a panic, an excitement, an utterly unfounded delusion, but during all this time, as a rule in our savings banks, persons wanting their money to pay their taxes, to support their families, or to meet obligations which they had contracted depending on the savings bank deposit to meet them, have got their money.

The Senator is aware that the banks can only take to the amount of $1,500 from any one person in Massachusetts.

Mr. GRAY. With the permission of the Senator from Alabama, may I ask the Senator from Massachusetts a question?

Mr. MORGAN. I am in hopes that the Senator from Delaware and the Senator from Massachusetts will both come in and debate this resolution, for the reason that I want it carefully examined before it is acted upon.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator should remember that my last statement was made in reply to his question.

Mr. MORGAN. I want this resolution adopted because the Senator from Massachusetts and myself, without either of us desiring to make an incorrect impression in the slightest degree, find ourselves at cross points, at loggerheads, on a very important state of facts; and I want the proposed committee to examine into the facts and give us the truth, and let us see who is right and who is wrong.

Mr. GRAY. May I make a single observation in line of what the Senator is saying?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Mr. GRAY. If I understand it—I do not know how it may be in Massachusetts—all of the savings banks of which I have any knowledge have it as a rule, it is one of their by-laws, that when a deposit is made it is made subject to the understanding or contract that thirty days, or some specified number of days, notice shall be given before the deposit is withdrawn.

Mr. MORGAN. Of course, Mr. President, that is the way it is done.

Mr. GRAY. It is part of the contract with the depositor.

Mr. MORGAN. Otherwise they would be put into bankruptcy, or perhaps their officers would be put into the penitentiary for not having complied with their obligations to pay the money, and so they have a reservation of thirty days; but when do they ever use that right?

Mr. GRAY. Only in times like these.

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, in times like these. It is because these times exist that the necessity has been forced upon the banks to claim thirty days before paying the deposits of these poor breadwinners.

Mr. HOAR. Ninety days.

Mr. MORGAN. I want to investigate. I want the country informed, and I want the country relieved in respect to these matters, not that I have any particular pet measure which I am advocating here or anywhere else, but I want the Congress of the United States to look into the whole subject and do everything that can be done for the purpose of rectifying these evils.

I thought, Mr. President, that I would read some extracts from the letter of the president of a national bank in Alabama to me upon the subject of the depression which exists in that State amongst the laboring people. It is not necessary that I should read the letter at large, and I find also that one sheet of it is missing. I thought I had it here.

This gentleman goes on to state that in those splendid iron industries in Alabama, which have been so prosperous and have done so much good to the people there and to the United States and to the world, the payment of wages of laborers is made daily or weekly in meat and bread. They do not ask any money; they do not expect to get it; they are working for a bare subsistence—enough to support them and their families. Men who could ordinarily get their $2.50 to $5 a day are working in the mines and in the iron establishments in Alabama upon a contract that they will receive from the companies enough meat and bread to feed their families. They can not get any money, and could not get any.

The people of the State of Alabama, through their newspapers, are sending up supplications and prayers to, heaven, and also to the national banks for some relaxation of the stringency of money matters. Once in a while a paper will come out in triumph and glee and say, "We are to have money to buy cotton;" and that carries a cheerful thought to the hearts of these poor laboring people of my State—money to buy cotton, as if the world did not need that staple as much almost as it does food; cotton, which has always commanded gold as well as currency whenever it might be landed at a railroad depot or on a steamboat, or on any place where it is accessible to navigation, from the time of its foundation as one of the leading industries of the United States; cotton, which has been crowned as a king in some of the days of this present generation, is a poor pitiful beggar wanting to know whether there is to be money to buy cotton.

Who has the control of the money so that the people who raise cotton for the clothing of the human family can not find a market for it, can not find money to sell it for? Who has got the money locked up? Who has got the control of it? Do you not know who has it? Has anybody ever suggested a doubt or a question that the money was locked up in the hands of banks and of bankers, that they have got the control of all the monetary system and the entire finances of the people of the United States? More than that, they bring their pressure to bear in this instance, as they have frequently before, just at the time when the wheat, cotton, and corn crops are maturing. Corn and wheat and cotton are at prices now which are discreditable to the Congress of the United States, which are a disgrace and a shame to these bodies, because we have not stood by our people and enabled them to have a sound currency for the purpose of carrying their crops to the markets of the world.

Wheat down even below 50 cents a bushel, cotton 5 to 5¼ cents a pound, corn at less than 30 cents a bushel, and all because the banks and bankers have got the money locked up in their vaults and treasuries and will not let the people have it, while they are taxing them to pay interest on it, and we stand idly by here and dream of party success and party allegiance and party fidelity, and see our people starve and go naked, and never raise a hand or a voice to undertake to care for them. I am not of such, thank Almighty God. [Manifestations of applause.]

I could go on, Mr. President, and show from the papers I have before me—but I shall not now refer to them—other very important facts to prove the necessity of our taking hold of this subject in a strong and earnest way.

Now, I have no pet policy or purpose about it. I am willing to go with and abide by my people after they have had a full hearing and after a free conference upon any system of measures which will make our people secure henceforth against these outrages and wrongs from which we are just now escaping. I care not whether it may be called a Republican, a Democratic, or a Populist measure—it makes no difference. If it will give the relief to the people, in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, which they have a right to demand at our hands, I will unite with whoever it is that brings that measure forward if it commends itself to my judgment. I am not going to be illiberal or stringent about it, either. I am not going to inquire whether somebody outside of this Chamber wants it done or does not want it done. I am not going to ask persons who have no legislative power whatsoever to form joint commissions to investigate this question. I feel upon this question the responsibilities of a representative of my State and people; I feel the necessity of action. I desire broad, catholic, orthodox action in respect of this question, consistently with the Constitution of the United States, and that is all I desire.

If you want to take the tax off the State-bank system, and that is the judgment of Congress as being one of the useful remedies or one of the best remedies which can be adopted, do so. If you want to remonetize silver as a means of restoring confidence and as a means of giving to the people a basis of credit and power of redemption, do that. I should be delighted if you were to do it. If you want to strike both gold and silver to death, if necessary, do it, if it is for the welfare of the people; but let us, Mr. President, hold the reins over our own institutions and our own establishments; let America furnish to Americans the proper currency to circulate in their business, let us not be dependent upon Great Britain or Germany or France for anything in respect of our currency. We have the material here to build up a system of finance better than any that exists in this world.

We already predicate a system of finance which requires us to redeem $800,000,000 of circulating paper on less than $100,000,000 in gold, and we sustain it without difficulty. What supplies the great vacuum between $100,000,000 of gold in the Treasury and $800,000,000 of paper in circulation in the hands of the people, for the redemption of every dollar of which the United States is responsible? What supplies it? The credit of the people. Their taxpaying power, their labor, their toil, their economy, their suffering, their patriotism supplies all that great breadth of disparity between $100,000,000 of gold in the Treasury and $800,000,000 of paper to be redeemed.

I say, let us help those people to bear these burdens; let us give them, as far as it is possible to do so, all the relief that we can. While we are here in Congress, while this question is up, while it is absorbing the public attention, while it is engaging the utmost efforts of everybody connected with government, while it is making demands upon our time, upon our talents, upon our energies, our industry, and our honesty and courage, of the most supreme character, let us not refuse to take the whole subject into consideration, and so deal with it and dispose of it that this country and our noble toilers shall have a monetary system suited to our greatness.

Mr. President, I could broaden this view of the question, if I had time to do so and felt that I was warranted in doing so, upon one idea or line of thought, which I shall merely suggest. The States of the western hemisphere from Mexico and Central America down, including all of South America, have a monetary system which is somewhat akin to ours—pretty close kin—based chiefly upon silver. They have also free republics and constitutional governments, which are copied after ours; they have sympathies in common with us; they are becoming more and more great producing peoples; their contributions to the commerce of the world are becoming exceedingly important. Those contributions ought to be interchanged in New York, and not in London.

There is enough of financial wealth and power in the western hemisphere to make of New York a city greater, within a comparatively short period of time, than London is in its financial and commercial power. If we will, in the effort to adjust our financial system, accommodate it to the interests and conditions of the people in South America, we can draw them right to our homes, with all their trade and credit. They are suffering as we are, perhaps in a worse degree, from the same causes; they have not got the credit that we have, and if a great joint committee of the two Houses would also take that subject into consideration and act upon it there would be brought into the Treasury of the United States and into the reach of the people an amount of wealth and power that we little dream of. That is one of the matters which this great committee ought to consider. It has not been considered heretofore, or, if so, in such a perfunctory manner that nothing has come of it. The subject has been slurred over.

Within what length of time, Mr. President, could this committee prepare itself to act upon all the leading propositions which I have suggested, or others, if you please, and report either separate bills or one bill to cover the whole question? I can take the honorable Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL], whose seat is now occupied by my colleague [Mr. PUGH], and put him at the head of a committee of that kind, and in twenty days he would have all the facts before this body which would be necessary for the purpose of having the subject perfectly understood and acted upon with wisdom, caution, and security. There would be no trouble about that.

By the time that in decency and in order the debate in this body would end upon the proposition which is now before it by the passage of the bill of the House as amended by the Committee on Finance of the Senate, the Senator from Missouri in charge of a committee of 14 members of both Houses—I designate him merely because his qualities and characteristics, his energy and his power entitle him to be designated—the Senator from Missouri could take such a committee as that, and, under his leadership, be prepared, within thirty days, to submit a plan which would cover the whole field of financial and monetary legislation in which we ought to engage.

I am entirely unambitious in this matter, and if the Senate of the United States should raise this committee, I give notice now that I would not accept a position on it, my notice being predicated upon the fact that I can look around me and see half a dozen Senators, both Democrats and Republicans, who are better fitted for such work than I am.

I want, Mr. President, that our people shall come together; I want that the finances of the people of the United States shall not be knocked about, like a weaver's shuttle, between politicians while they are suffering and starving; I want that they shall have relief, and that the politicians shall not stand in their way. I am as much a politician as any of them; but when I get upon a question of this sort, I am willing to surrender my politics for the welfare and interests of the people. So I announce that if the Senate should pass the resolution in the form I have it, or in any form whatsoever, I will not be a member of that committee. I want to stand upon ground where I can recommend this measure to the consideration at least of the Senate of the United States entirely aside from all party and personal considerations.

Now, is there any reason why we should not do this? Can any man, from pride of opinion or otherwise, rise in his place and object to having a great joint committee act on this subject? Have we not on many occasions when our country was imperiled, when the people were suffering, raised great joint committees to consider questions like this, before whom everybody could be heard and in whose body almost every feature of opinion in the Senate and House of Representatives was distinctly represented? That is all I ask you to do. It makes no difference whether the bill which is now before the Senate shall pass or shall not pass, the duties of this committee would be just as vital in the one event as in the other. The committee would be ready with its investigation, ready with its report, to take up this subject after the pending bill had passed or failed to pass, and enter upon the consideration of the broader view of the duty of the Congress of the United States toward the people. Then hope would revive in the hearts of the people, and we should inspire them with confidence, so much needed, in the justice of their own Government.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President, I ask now that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill No. 1, on which the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] desires to occupy the floor. It is not necessary, I suppose, to make a motion to that effect.

Mr. MORGAN. I should like to have a vote on the resolution. The hour of 2 o'clock has not arrived.

Mr. VOORHEES. Let the resolution of the Senator from Alabama go over. I believe it goes properly to the Calendar.

Mr. HARRIS. The resolution of the Senator from Alabama is now before the Senate. It may be postponed by a majority, but it can not be disposed of in the manner the Senator from Indiana suggests.

Mr. VOORHEES. I supposed it would not be necessary to

make a motion to take up the regular order at this time, though I know a motion is necessary if there is objection to doing so. As there seems to be objection, I move the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill No. 1.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Indiana moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of a bill the title of which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Indiana. [Putting the question.] The "noes" seem to have it.

Mr. VOORHEES. I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I rise to a question of order.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Arkansas will state his question of order.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Rule VII, in prescribing the order of morning business, after the first paragraph, specifies—

> The Presiding Officer shall then call for, in the following order:
> "The presentation of petitions and memorials;
> "Reports of standing and select committees;
> "The introduction of bills and joint resolutions;
> "Concurrent and other resolutions;"
> all of which shall be received and disposed of in such order unless unanimous consent shall be otherwise given.

This being a resolution regularly before the Senate, it seems to me that it must be disposed of in some way by the Senate, unless unanimous consent is given to the contrary; and a motion to proceed to the consideration of other business is not a proper disposition of this resolution.

Mr. McPHERSON. If the Senator will look at Rule VIII he will find that—

> At the conclusion of the morning business for each day, unless upon motion the Senate shall at any time otherwise order, the Senate will proceed to the consideration of the Calendar of bills and resolutions.

The motion of the Senator from Indiana is therefore in order.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair thinks the motion of the Senator from Indiana is in order; and upon that motion the yeas and nays are demanded. Is there a second to the demand?

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. ALLISON. I should like to make a suggestion to the Senator from Alabama and the Senator from Indiana. In seven minutes from now the regular order, which the Senator from Indiana desires to reach, will be reached in the course of the business of the Senate.

Mr. VOORHEES. What we shall do in the next seven minutes is what is troubling me.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Alabama desires to have a vote upon his resolution this morning. I submit to him that the importance of his resolution and the suggestions which have been made by himself will probably elicit other suggestions in the same direction or perhaps in other directions. So I think it would hardly be practicable to get a vote this morning. I suggest that we go on as though the hour of 2 o'clock had arrived without taking the yeas and nays, which will occupy nearly the whole intervening period of time.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. MORGAN. I wish to say a word about that. Inasmuch as the morning hour had not yet expired I had a right to have a vote on my resolution, unless some Senator wished to debate it. Of course, if anyone wishes to debate it, I am entirely willing that it should go over; but it is not proper that the resolution should be destroyed merely by a resort to the regular order of the Senate within the morning hour.

Mr. VOORHEES. I desire to say to the Senator from Alabama that my action was not prompted by the slightest disposition to destroy his resolution or to do anything derogatory to it or to put it in any wrong attitude; but there were ten minutes left of the morning hour when I rose, and I did not know what else to do with those ten minutes before the measure of which I have charge would be laid before the Senate as the regular order of business, and so I asked the Senate for permission to proceed with what would be the regular order in ten minutes. Objection was made, and nothing was left to me but to make the motion which I did, with perfect respect to the Senator from Alabama and his resolution.

Mr. HARRIS. I suggest to the Senator from Indiana that we might consume the remaining minutes of the morning hour in taking the vote upon the resolution of the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. VOORHEES. I would suggest, from what I have heard other Senators say, not to speak of my own views, that this is a matter of such importance that it deserves further consideration than one single speech. It seems so to me; though, if the Senate wants to consider a measure of this sort without anything further, of course I am not going to interpose.

Mr. HARRIS. Of course, if any Senator takes the floor to debate the resolution, no one would go further than I to preserve his rights to do so; but as nobody does so, why not dispose of the resolution now?

Mr. VOORHEES. I insist upon my motion to proceed with the regular order of business.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. This debate has been proceeding by unanimous consent. The Secretary will call the roll on the motion of the Senator from Indiana.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOLPH (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE], whom I do not see in his seat, and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. HARRIS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL]. The Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH] has announced a pair with the senior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE]. If it suits the convenience of the Senator from Oregon, we may transfer our respective pairs.

Mr. DOLPH. That is entirely agreeable to me.

Mr. HARRIS. Then I vote "nay."

Mr. DOLPH. I vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. LODGE. I am paired on this question with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. MARTIN]. If he were present I should vote "yea."

Mr. PUGH. I am requested to state that the Senator from Georgia [Mr. COLQUITT] is paired with the Senator from Iowa [Mr. WILSON]. If the Senator from Georgia were present he would vote "nay."

Mr. VANCE (after having voted in the negative). I am paired with the Senator from New York [Mr. HILL] on this question, and withdraw my vote.

Mr. ROACH (after having voted in the negative). I am paired with the junior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY] on this question, and therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. CALL (after having voted in the negative). I inquire if the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR] is recorded as voting?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair is advised that the Senator from Vermont is not recorded.

Mr. CALL. Then I withdraw my vote, as I am paired with that Senator.

The result was announced—yeas 37, nays 21; as follows:

YEAS—37.

Allison,	Gallinger,	McPherson,	Smith,
Blackburn,	Gibson,	Manderson,	Stockbridge,
Brice,	Gorman,	Mitchell, Oregon	Vest,
Caffery,	Hale,	Palmer,	Vilas,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Pasco,	Voorhees,
Davis,	Higgins,	Pettigrew,	Washburn,
Dixon,	Hoar,	Platt,	White, La.
Dolph,	Hunton,	Quay,	
Faulkner,	Lindsay,	Ransom,	
Frye,	McMillan,	Sherman,	

NAYS—21.

Allen,	Harris,	Perkins,	Teller,
Bate,	Irby,	Power,	Walthall,
Berry,	Jones, Ark.	Pugh,	Wolcott.
Coke,	Jones, Nev.	Shoup,	
Dubois,	Morgan,	Squire,	
Hansbrough,	Peffer,	Stewart,	

NOT VOTING—27.

Aldrich,	Cockrell,	Kyle,	Proctor,
Butler,	Colquitt,	Lodge,	Roach,
Call,	Daniel,	Martin,	Turpie,
Camden,	George,	Mills,	Vance,
Cameron,	Gordon,	Mitchell, Wis.	White, Cal.
Carey,	Gray,	Morrill,	Wilson.
Chandler,	Hill,	Murphy,	

So the motion was agreed to.

Mr. HARRIS. Does not the Senate proceed to the consideration of the unfinished business by reason of the fact that it is the unfinished business and the hour of 2 o'clock has arrived?

Mr. VOORHEES. That will do very well, but the vote which has been taken helps somewhat; and that I wish to emphasize.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The title of the bill which has been taken up by vote of the Senate will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

Mr. TELLER. I rise to a question of order. I simply wish to know, as a parliamentary question, whether the bill is before the Senate by virtue of its being a special order or by virtue of the vote which has been taken?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the Senator from Colorado that, in the opinion of the Chair, House bill No. 1 is before the Senate both by virtue of the vote just taken and the fact that the hour of 2 o'clock has arrived.

Mr. TELLER. I should feel inclined to antagonize the Chair in that opinion.

Mr. DOLPH. Does the Senator from Colorado object to proceeding with the bill?

Mr. TELLER. Not at all. It strikes me that the motion made in hot haste to take up the bill did not succeed in getting it up until 2 o'clock and went for nothing, because at most we could only have taken it up under that motion until the time for the regular order. Had there been any other bill than this pending as the unfinished business it would have displaced the bill that we had taken up by motion. Consequently, if the bill is before the Senate now, it is not by virtue of that vote, or aided by that vote, but merely because it is the regular order.

Mr. VOORHEES. I wish to say to the Senator from Colorado that there was no hot haste about it, and he is mistaken in so characterizing it. There was a space of about ten minutes, and I knew of no other use to put it to except to execute the rules of the Senate, and I did so with no disposition of hot haste. What else might have come in that interval I did not know, and I was not at liberty to take any risk. The Senator can have the bill up now by virtue of the hour of 2 o'clock arriving, or by virtue of the vote we have taken, just as he chooses. It is up, however, and I hope the Senate will proceed with it.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, the resolution of the Senator from Alabama was before the Senate, upon which any of us who chose to do so had a right to be heard, and undoubtedly somebody would have been heard for the remaining five or eight minutes; but the Senator from Indiana, who has had no difficulty whatever in getting his bill before the Senate—because there has been no antagonism to his taking up that bill, and he has had it taken up from time to time with the assent of the opponents of the bill—makes a rush, if I may use the term, as if there were some great purpose in getting it up immediately. I am myself quite willing that the bill shall be taken up at 2 o'clock, but I do not think he is entitled to have it taken up before that time unless something is to be gained by it. I do not think it makes a particle of difference whether the bill has been taken up on the Senator's motion or whether it has been taken up in the other way. We are prepared to debate it.

Mr. VOORHEES. The Senate will bear witness that I said I made the motion when I did without any intention to destroy or do anything derogatory to the resolution of the Senator from Alabama. I first asked unanimous consent, and did not get it: and then I made the motion, because I was compelled to do so. In that connection the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS] announced with some emphasis that if there was anybody ready to take the floor and debate the resolution as a matter of course he had a right to do so. I acquiesced in that. If anybody had risen at that time and taken the floor to debate the matter for ten minutes, nothing would have afforded me greater pleasure than to have allowed it, because I did not wish to occupy this little remnant of time by calling the yeas and nays.

Mr. HARRIS. The Senator from Indiana will allow me to say there, that no matter what came up, he certainly knew that at 2 o'clock his bill would be laid before the Senate as the unfinished business, and would have the right of way, no matter what the condition of things was at the moment 2 o'clock arrived.

Mr. VOORHEES. The Senator from Tennessee will pardon me for saying that he must not presume too much upon my parliamentary knowledge. He must not measure it by his own.

Mr. HARRIS. Then the Senator will allow me to say that I know the rule is exactly as I stated, and I supposed the Senator knew.

Mr. VOORHEES. Of course the Senator from Tennessee knew.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled joint resolutions:

A joint resolution (H. Res. 6) to make the 18th day of September, 1893, a holiday within the District of Columbia; and

A joint resolution (H. Res. 7) to permit the use of certain ensigns, flags, and signal numbers to decorate the Capitol and its approaches, September 18, 1893.

PURCHASE OF SILVER BULLION.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, the title of which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill is before the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. The Senator from Nevada yields to me in order that I may give notice that on Tuesday next, immediately after the conclusion of the morning business, I shall ask the indulgence of the Senate to submit some remarks on the pending bill.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, when the Senate went into executive session yesterday I was referring to some comments in the New York newspapers as to

THE RIGHT OF THE SENATE TO LEGISLATE

and the right of Senators to speak—a right which these journals now deny. What they then called a duty they now call filibustering. In view of the fact that the money power has control of the press, has cut off all intercourse between the people and Congress, has surrounded Congress with its lobbies, with its newspapers, and with every force that can be brought to bear to produce coercion, and is keeping the people entirely ignorant about it in their efforts to stampede Congress and obtain legislation which the great mass of the people are opposed to, I shall be pardoned for dwelling a little further upon this question.

In order to show the exact position which they occupied when there was no money at stake, when they were speaking their sentiments as patriotic citizens, I shall be pardoned for calling attention to that, and then comparing that with what they say when they are obeying the mandates of the money power and seeking to wrench from the people a right which has existed under the Constitution from the foundation of the Government. I think it is wise and expedient to take a little retrospect and see how these organs stood which are

STAMPEDING CONGRESS

and creating such a panic here that some Senators are losing their nerve and going back on their records, and seem to think that the people have changed because the newspapers in New York have changed.

I now read from the New York Times of January 22, 1891:

[New York Times, January 22, 1891.]

* * * The Democrats were ready and anxious to attend to any of the legitimate measures before the Senate, but they steadily refused to make a quorum to enable the Republicans to adopt a gag law. * * * The tactics of the minority in defense of the right of debate were pursued with all necessary decorum.

[New York Times, January 23, 1891.]

Still another day of the session now so near its end was wasted by the Senate yesterday over the absurd and yet outrageous scheme for suppressing debate. * * *

[New York Times, January 27, 1891.]

The six Republican Senators who voted yesterday with the Democrats to abandon the effort to abridge discussion * * * were wiser in their generation than the thirty-three Republicans who rallied around Mr. HOAR.

[New York World, January 22, 1891.]

* * * It is the imperative duty of the Democrats in this Congress to see to it that this thing shall not be accomplished within the thirty-six days (end of Congress).

They have the means of defeating it in their hands now, if they are resolute and courageous in their use. They may have to sacrifice much for its defeat, but no sacrifice is too great which will baffle. * * * Every device for delay must be used in the Senate. Every day of delay renders the final triumph of wrong more difficult and less likely.

It should be the resolute determination of the Democrats * * * that nothing else shall be done unless and until the force bill shall be finally abandoned. In ordinary circumstances such dilatory tactics would be justly blamed. But these are not ordinary circumstances, and no legal act of any conceivable kind done to prevent the working of so great a revolution will be other than praiseworthy.

[New York World, January 25, 1891.]

Senator STEWART of Nevada packed a world of sound sense and truth into a sentence or two yesterday, when he told his fellow Republican Senators that a gag law would be an invasion of every precedent. * * *

[New York Times, January 25, 1891.]

When a majority can, at its discretion, shut off all amendments to a bill, its despotism is nearly as complete, and nearly as injurious to the rights of the public, as if it could prevent the minority from voting at all. To be able to say that a member of the Senate must vote a simple yea or nay upon a measure with the preparation of which he has had nothing to do, is a peculiarly offensive form of tyranny. It is, so far as it goes, revolutionary, since it strikes directly at that freedom of representative action which is the safeguard of the public rights. A body like the Senate, which was especially created in order that all action by Congress should be soberly and intelligently reviewed, needs every reasonable opportunity to develop the views of all members who may have them. * * * To shut off amendments arbitrarily, to compel members to accept or reject absolutely naked, unqualified propositions, is to confer on the majority a power that it will take more than the average fidelity to public duty to protect from abuse. * * * Nothing so subversive of inherent principles of legislation under a representative government has ever before been attempted in the United States. We are far within the truth when we say that never in the proudest and most insolent period of the domination of the slave power in Congress was anything so plainly inconsistent with the first principles of our Government done or attempted.

* * * * * * *

The men who are planning and leading the assault on some of the most valuable safeguards of free institutions are also those who in times past have fought with the utmost courage and fidelity against the abuses of Executive influence.

[New York Herald, January 19, 1891.]

* * * The Democrats in Congress are resisting this measure by every device known to honorable parliamentary tactics. * * * They have the right of the question.

[New York Herald, January 22, 1891.]

Mr. GORMAN and his plucky followers are making a brave and determined fight against the force bill in the Senate.

Perhaps it is vain to hope that this most iniquitous measure will be defeated, but the day of its passage should be delayed as long as possible by every honorable means known to parliamentary tactics.

* * * If they fail, after having done their utmost, they will still have the consciousness that they did what they could to avert the inevitable disaster.

[New York Herald, January 23, 1891.]

HAVE THE MINORITY ANY RIGHTS WHICH THE MAJORITY ARE BOUND TO RESPECT?

What are the rights of the minority in the Senate now so ably led by GORMAN, of Maryland? That is the question of the hour. Are the majority justified in closing debate simply because, being a majority, they have the power to do so?

Let us look at the matter squarely and fairly. * * *

First. A well-handled minority is one of the most important elements in a deliberative body. Its business is to discover the blunders made by the majority, and expose them by statement, argument, and ridicule.

Second. When the majority are unopposed * * * there is nothing on earth more tyrannous or mor harmful to the country. * * * A majority bent on passing laws * * * without regard to the welfare of the people as a whole, constitute a national peril which should be very zealously watched.

Third. The minority are just as apt to be right, just as likely to be patriotic, and to represent the sober second thought of the community as the majority.

Fourth. If a minority honestly believe that the majority are wrong, and their action will be injurious to the general welfare, they are bound to block the way to a final vote by every honorable means known to parliamentary tactics.

* * * If their opposition is not trivial or factious, but is based on the rules which govern the Senate, they are quite right to cause delay by every means within reach.

If they are more skillful in use of tactics than the majority, so much the worse for the majority—the best player wins the game, that's all. * * * The minority are too strong for them, and so they resort to cloture—that is to say, they will cut off debate, gag the opposition, refuse to recognize them when they take the floor, and push the question to a vote by the brute force of superior numbers. * * *

That is the New York Herald.

[New York Herald, January 26, 1891.]

NOW AND THEN.

Senator HOAR wrote an article for the Youth's Companion of November 15, 1890, in which he said:

"In this Assembly (the Senate) speech is absolutely unfettered. Every measure can be discussed fully without restraint and amended without limit. This is of immense importance not only to the perfection of legislation, but also to the dignity of the Senate, and, in my opinion, to civil liberty itself." * * *

Nothing is more clear than that * * * sound common sense controlled Mr. HOAR then.

[New York Herald, January 27, 1891.]

THE ACCURSED FORCE BILL AND THE INFAMOUS GAG RULE.

* * * We extend to GORMAN of Maryland, to the brave army of Democrats, and to the few Republicans who defied the revenges of the Administration our hearty congratulations. They have made a glorious fight.

* * * The naked truth is that the minority have been engaged in obstructing the Republican attempt to inaugurate a new period of disorder. * * * The minority are the conservative element of the Senate. They demand that the customs, traditions, and usages which have governed them for the last hundred years shall not be tampered with; that debate shall be conducted after the manner which has made the Senate a dignified, a deliberative, and useful body. * * *

[New York Herald, January 29, 1891.]

We should like to see the Senators who wanted to shut off debate try the experiment on their wives and daughters. Circus? That is too tame a word to describe the situation.

[New York Herald, February 5, 1891.]

Mr. Depew knows that during the discussion of the force bill the only "revolutionary measure" was introduced by a New England Senator, Mr. ALDRICH, in the shape of a cloture resolution, better known as the "gag rule." That was, indeed, revolutionary with a vengeance. Nothing of the kind was ever heard of before in the Senate Chamber. It was a radical and dangerous reversal of the methods of that body which struck the country with surprise and dismay. * * *

The Republicans wanted to change the rules by which the Senate has been governed for a century, but the Democrats blocked their way and demanded that the rights of free speech should not be invaded.

I have a large number of other coercive demands of the present hour in my hand. I will first read what appears in the World this morning:

END THE FILIBUSTERING.

All real debate in the Senate is over. Every Senator who had anything earnest to say on either side of the question has said it. The matter has been talked out. It is time to fix upon a day for a vote on the repeal bill.

The proceedings now in progress are, in their essence, filibustering. They are an abuse of that courtesy of the Senate which alone permits them. They are meant to secure indefinite delay, and for no other purpose whatever. The speeches that are made now are intended to kill time and postpone action. The majority has fully made up its mind to obey the popular command. The minority has fully recorded its protest and set forth its reasons.

It is time now for action. It is time to name a day for the vote. The country waits with growing impatience. The notice by Senator VOORHEES that he will call up to-day his resolution for earlier sessions is a move in the right direction. The next move should be to fix an early day for a vote, and to press the repeal bill to its passage.

Before I read any more I wish to remark that comparing the force bill in importance with this measure is belittling the issue before us. I was as much opposed to the force bill as anyone. I believed then and I believe now that the force bill would have changed and centralized our Government. I believed then and I believe now that it would have given the Federal authority control over every local election and cut off the "tap root," so to speak, of civil liberty. I believed then and I believe now that it would have ultimately made a monarchy of this Government. It is a terrible change from liberty and freedom to monarchy. But that is

NOTHING COMPARED TO THIS MEASURE.

Monarchies have lived and prospered. People have been happy under monarchies. The change in the form of government is nothing compared with consigning those now living and those to come after us to perpetual misery and starvation.

I have spent days and nights investigating the history of countries and the effect of a supply of money, and I have found that whenever the supply of money was cut off, barbarism and slavery followed. If you will give me the history of the production of the precious metals which any country could obtain I will write the rise and fall of that country. You can go back to antiquity, when the pyramids were built, and you will find that contemporaneous with that the mines of Nubia in Africa and mines in Western Asia were opened. When Solomon built his temple the mines in Western Asia and elsewhere were productive in the precious metals. When the Phœnicians were at the zenith of their power history records that they gathered gold and silver from Asia and all the countries surrounding the Mediterranean. When the mines gave out every nation of ancient times crumbled and fell. The Greeks, when Athens was the university of the world and when her philosophers and statesmen were more brilliant than in any other age, whose civilization we can only faintly imitate in some respects, had

MOST VALUABLE MINES.

Xenophon tells us that they got their gold and silver from the mountains of Thrace. The explorer in his travels finds the excavations and the ruins of their ancient works. When these ancient nations commenced to decay and when the gold and silver had fallen into the hands of a few, when it was monopolized as gold is being monopolized to-day, their power waned and the Roman invaders overran them. The Romans took the accumulations of gold and silver then existing to Rome. It had not been used there as money up to that time, but its use as money was soon ascertained. First it was held by the rich, and finally it commenced to be exchanged as money and its power was realized; and so greatly did it add to the power of Rome that in her future conquests she made slaves of the armies she captured and forced them to mine in Spain and Italy. The excavations and the ruins in Spain and Italy are most marvelous. There is nothing in modern times that shows such an extent of excavations as are found in Spain. Mountains were removed there by slave labor, and the two thousand years which have since elapsed have not been able to heal over the wounds that the slaves of the Roman Empire inflicted upon the mountains of Spain. By this process the Roman Empire acquired, according to Jacob and Gibbon, $1,800,000,000 of gold and silver, and as she acquired that wealth she advanced in power and in magnificence until her eagles floated all over Europe, western Asia, and Africa. She was then

THE RULER OF THE WORLD.

It was the gold and silver she had with which she paid her conquering legions that made her the mistress of the world.

The mines gave out. She decayed. Contraction, hard times, the stagnation of which we feel a touch to-day, gradually but continually for one thousand four hundred years reduced the proud Romans from a conquering race to feudal slaves to be sold as villeins with the land, and not one ray of hope was vouchsafed to humanity. It was all dark and gloomy until Columbus with his little band performed that daring and heroic voyage, the four hundredth anniversary of which we are to-day celebrating. The compass that guided his little bark across the ocean pointed the way to the creation of a new civilization, and when the gold and silver of Mexico and of South America floated into the Old World a new civilization was born which is now the civilization of the nineteenth century. It is that civilization which started in the sixteenth century; writers tell us there was a wonderful development of human energy, human thought, an uprising that they could not account for. The wonderful development in the sixteenth century was marvelous. We have heard so much of that. They pictured what they saw, but they did not know why it was. It was because the dormant energies of the downtrodden people and the slaves of Europe was

TOUCHED BY THE MAGIC WAND

of gold and silver. The stream of gold first touched Spain, an insignificant power, and immediately she rose and conquered nearly all Europe, and, as if by magic, seemed destined to rival the grandeur of the Roman Empire in its palmiest days. Her armies—while she monopolized the money from the New World—were everywhere irresistible. By and by the money got distributed and all Europe progressed. The new civilization was inaugurated; and to that new civilization, and to that money

from Mexico and South America, we owe the free institutions of the United States to-day.

Reflect a moment. In the islands of Great Britain when that discovery was made the

COMMON PEOPLE WERE SERFS.

The land was held by the few, by only 30,000. The poor were living without thought, without energy, without power of resistance. In the first hundred years after that discovery, the gold and silver of the world was more than quadrupled, prices advanced, and the landholders of Great Britain were swelled to a hundred thousand. They then had money. They could buy land. They could improve it. Out of that and by that means the common people of Great Britain, the yeomanry of Great Britain, were able to come into existence. To that yeomanry we owe the progress of the English-speaking race, all that is good in the British and American Constitutions. Until that time there never was a struggle for liberty because the masses were too poor; but when they had money from the New World they went on developing and acquiring wealth and they formed the yeomanry of Great Britain; and it was that yeomanry that settled this country and laid the foundation of our institutions.

From them we sprang. It was the yeomanry of Great Britain, who were brought into resistance by the discoveries of the New World, that peopled this country; and we brought with us the spirit of liberty and independence which our fathers on the other side possessed. We established these institutions; and the yeomanry of Great Britain continued powerful, continued to be able to grapple with despotism, to contend for their rights until the Napoleonic wars. At the end of that war the number of real-estate owners had risen to over 160,000—some put it at 200,000—but in ten years after Great Britain adopted the gold standard they were reduced back to 30,000, and they have been kept

UNDER THE HEEL OF DESPOTISM

and crushed by this mighty power; as all the world is being crushed by gold contraction. The yeomanry of Great Britain can send out no more colonies to establish liberty. They are too poor. If Australia and Canada had not got a start before they were crushed they never would have become successful colonies.

Then trace this thing further. This stream of gold and silver came continuously without any diminution. Of course, the percentage of increase of the volume was not as great as in the latter part as it was at first, because the volume had been so much increased. It quadrupled in the first instance, and then it could only increase at a small percentage from that time on; but from the first discovery until the commencement of this century, there was a gradual increase. Then came the Spanish-American war and cut off four-fifths of the supply. The world's production of gold and silver from that time until 1850 was not sufficient to supply the arts. None was furnished for new money. Then came

A PERIOD OF STRUGGLE,

of hard times, of battling against what seemed to be impending fate.

Those who were old enough can remember what the condition of the country was previous to 1850. This country was in a better condition than any other because we had new lands, but the laboring masses of Europe were set back at least a hundred years by the failure of the money metal. In this country, with all our new lands, the wages of labor were merely nominal. A farm hand thought he was doing well if he could get $8 a month and his board. Times were hard. Every device was resorted to to remedy the evil. Banks of every description were tried. All the wild-cat inventions that genius could devise were tried and all failed. They were tried in Europe and were equally failures there. Civilization seemed to be again on

THE DOWNWARD COURSE.

There was nothing in any part of the world but gloom. Hard times was the rule, and there was scarcely an exception among all the civilized nations of the world.

It seemed almost providential that the great discoveries of California and Australia were made, at this time of gloom and despair. The condition of civilization was changed. The vitalizing effect of the copious output of gold from the new mines started enterprises everywhere. Industries of every kind were advanced. There was activity everywhere, activity of mind and activity of pocket. There were more inventions in the twenty-five years following 1850 than at any other period of the world's history. Literature prospered; science advanced; everything that tended to the happiness of man all over the world was quickened. More wealth was created during the twenty-five years while that bounteous supply of gold and silver was coming from California and Australia than in any hundred years previous. Nothing can be compared to it.

Then the bondholders, as I showed yesterday, by the device of avarice and cunning, by indirection and fraud, the people not knowing what was being done, struck off half of the world's supply of money metal.

THEY STRUCK DOWN SILVER.

One-half the supply was struck off. Then we started down again towards hard times; and since that time there has been a desperate struggle against the inevitable fate of a contracting basis of circulation. See at what time it was. See how we were situated at that time. See how we were situated and mark how cruel it was. We had just passed through a terrible war. Our people were loaded with debt, debts contracted in inflated money; but we had enormous resources and we were full of hope for the future. During the war there had been silver mines developed in the Western States and Territories that gave ample assurance of plenty of gold and silver coin. At those vast developments your statesmen and good men rejoiced. I remember well the first time I came to Washington. It was the first time I was ever here. I visited President Lincoln. He took me by both hands and said: "My young friend, I am glad to see you. I am particularly glad to see you because you come from the Far West."

"YOUR PIONEERS HAVE SOLVED THE QUESTION.

"You have made it possible for us to sustain our financial system during the war. You have developed mines that will enable the people to pay the enormous debt from the proceeds of of their own country." Said he: "I congratulate your people. We were all very thankful and we were all very much gratified at the discovery of Comstock and these other mines. It has removed a dark cloud from the horizon and gives us hope for the future." But the war closed and a conspiracy in London and Paris and here tore from the people this grand heritage, and robbed them of the right to mine and coin their own money. For what purpose was this done? Could anybody tell? Has anybody ever said why it was done? Silver had been as good as gold during all time. It was used as money long before gold was. It was the money of the people. Twelve hundred millions of people used silver. Gold was only used in a few commercial centers. Silver was the money of the Constitution. Why was it struck down?

Now, to appreciate this we must examine the situation as it then existed. England, located on an island, had been free from wars and invasions for centuries. She had large accumulations. The money power had confiscated all the property of the enterprising people of England by converting $4,000,000,000 of paper money in 1816 by one rude act into $4,000,000,000 of gold-bearing obligations. The paper money

WAS WORTH 30 CENTS ON THE DOLLAR

and gold money was worth 100 cents. That was the rude act of which men boast. The Rothschilds and others were able to get accurate information of the battle of Waterloo and conceal it from the public long enough to accumulate the vast mass of this indebtedness. I say that has been regarded as smart. It laid the foundation of the money power of Europe, the bonded power which to-day, according to Mr. Gladstone, holds against the balance of the world a demand of $10,000,000,000, bringing an annual interest from the toiling masses of other nations of $500,000,000.

MR. GLADSTONE,

in a speech in Parliament on the reassembling of the Brussels Monetary Conference, said:

I suppose there is not a year which passes over our heads which does not largely add to the mass of British investments abroad. I am almost afraid to estimate the total amount of the property which the United Kingdom holds beyond the limits of the United Kingdom, but of this I am well convinced, that it is not to be counted by tens or hundreds of millions. One thousand millions ($5,000,000,000) probably would be an extremely low and inadequate estimate. Two thousand millions ($10,000,000,000), or something even more than that, is very likely to be nearer the mark. ["Hear!" "Hear!"] I think under these circumstances it is rather a serious matter to ask this country to consider whether we are going to perform this supreme act of self-sacrifice. I have a profound admiration for cosmopolitan principles. I can go a great length in moderation [laughter], in recommending their recognition and establishment, but if there are these two thousand millions ($10,000,000,000) or fifteen hundred millions ($7,500,000,000) of money which we have got abroad, it is a very serious matter as between this country and other countries.

We have nothing to pay them; we are not debtors at all; we should get no comfort, no consolation out of the substitution of an inferior material, of a cheaper money, which we could obtain for less and part with for more. We should get no consolation, but the consolation throughout the world would be great. [Loud laughter.] This splendid spirit of philanthropy, which we can not too highly praise—because I have no doubt all this is foreseen—would result in our making a present of fifty or a hundred millions ($500,000,000) to the world. It would be thankfully accepted, but I think the gratitude for your benevolence would be mixed with very grave misgivings as to your wisdom. I have shown why we should pause and consider for ourselves, once, twice, and thrice before departing from the solid ground on which you have within the last half century erected a commercial fabric unknown in the whole history of the world—before departing from the solid ground you should well consult and well consider and take no step except such as you can well justify to your own understanding, to your fellow countrymen, and to those who come after us. [Cheers.]—*The Times*, London, March 1, 1893.

I shall speak of the other England by and by. I now speak of the money power of England. I now speak of that grasping

power, that unscrupulous organization which cares not for humanity; that power which wants to have the whole world in its grasp; that power which says that the less money there is the more the purchasing power of our accumulations will be, the more it will take of labor and of sacrifice to pay the $500,000,000 of annual interest. That power was too apparent. Why did our delegate to Paris betray America and ask continental Europe to bow down to that power? Why should we send a delegate to join England in

SACRIFICING OUR MINES

and our people on the altar of the greed of that monster power, organized to rob, organized to feed upon the labor of others? But we did. I gave the history of that yesterday. It is a history that every American ought to know, and it ought to go out from this Capitol; but we must discuss it within closed walls, surrounded by the influence of that power.

The young men who write in the galleries have no heart in this work, for they must send out reports that represent us as filibustering and as seeking to delay, which are not true. There ought to be delay before the infamous act of 1873 is recognized and the right to mine and coin our money is forever taken away. If this bill passes and we are driven to the single gold standard, there is no prospect but poverty and starvation for the people. There is no gold here. Two-thirds of the gold of the world is held for war purposes. There are $500,000,000 in the Russian war chest, $350,000,000 or $400,000,000 in the German war chest, $900,000,000 in the French war chest, which she protects by paying out silver if anybody demands it, and about $400,000,000 in the British Empire, which she is paying a premium on exchange to get and raising the rate of interest to keep. If we attempt to get that we shall have less and less money; and if we put out bonds we shall have more and more failures and bankruptcies and more hard times like the present.

WE OWE ENGLAND

I think $3,000,000,000 or more. It is estimated all the way from $2,500,000,000 to $5,000,000,000. Suppose we sell bonds and buy gold. She draws out what she wants. Whenever she desires she can make a panic in this country by drawing at the foundation of your circulation. She can make a panic to order every year, sell her stocks at a premium and buy them in at a ruinous sacrifice. There is 40 per cent difference between the price of the stocks which she sold a year ago and the price at which she is buying them to-day. That is the game she plays with us; and do you say that can be compared with the force bill which I contended against and now believe meant monarchy? Monarchy is not as bad as slavery. No country has been robbed of its money that did not relapse into slavery and barbarism. This is a scheme put forth boldly for the avowed purpose of

ROBBING THIS COUNTRY

of its money, confiscating its mines, reducing the price of propty and wages, and increasing the obligations of contracts.

Now, this being the object and purpose of the legislation proposed, it is pertinent to show what the same papers which gave such good advice to the Senate two years ago are saying to-day.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, I suggest that there is not a quorum present.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PASCO in the chair). The Senator from Colorado suggesting the absence of a quorum, the Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Allen,	Dubois,	Manderson,	Smith,
Allison,	Frye,	Mills,	Squire,
Bate,	Gordon,	Mitchell, Oregon	Stewart,
Berry,	Gray,	Pasco,	Stockbridge,
Blackburn,	Hawley,	Peffer,	Teller,
Brice,	Higgins,	Perkins,	Turpie,
Butler,	Hoar,	Pettigrew,	Vest,
Caffery,	Hunton,	Platt,	Vilas,
Call,	Irby,	Power,	Voorhees,
Carey,	Jones, Ark.	Proctor,	Walthall,
Cockrell,	Jones, Nev.	Pugh,	Washburn,
Coke,	Lindsay,	Quay,	White, Cal.
Cullom,	Lodge,	Roach,	White, La.
Dixon,	McMillan,	Sherman,	Wolcott.
Dolph,	McPherson,	Shoup,	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Fifty-nine Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present. The Senator from Nevada will proceed.

Mr. TELLER. I ask the Senator from Nevada if he will yield to me just a moment?

Mr. STEWART. Certainly.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, I asked that the roll should be called to see whether a quorum was present. I did not do this for the purpose of delaying the business of the Senate. I did it because I think this question is big enough to justify us in insisting that there shall be a quorum present while we are transacting the business of the Senate.

Mr. President, it is no ordinary question that has brought us here at this special session. I have expressed my opinion as to the gravity and the importance of the subject. I need not go into that now. I believe that those who are opposed to the repeal of the act called the Sherman law have a right to come here and to discuss it in the way the traditions of the Senate justify them in doing. Up to this hour there has been no indication that they intend to do it otherwise than in that way. We who are opposed to repeal have been lampooned through the press and have been threatened with the vengeance of the power that seems to control in this country just now if we should venture to take the time of the country to discuss this most important question, in accordance, I repeat, with the methods which have been pursued for a hundred years in this body. We are attacked as willfully obstructing the public service, and we are charged in the public press with being enemies of the public good.

Mr. President, for one I intend to discuss this question in a proper spirit and a proper temper if I can, and I insist that those who believe this question is so important that it must be voted on without any discussion or any opportunity for those who differ with them to be heard shall stay in the Senate when it is being discussed. There was no member of the Committee on Finance in favor of the repeal in the Senate for the last hour, if I am not mistaken. I sat here night before last an hour and thirty minutes with a good portion of the time only 20 Senators in the Chamber, a part of the time only 18. I was here and could have called for a quorum. I knew that if I did I would be charged with interrupting and hindering the business of the Senate. We submitted when we knew that there were not within the Capitol more than one-third of the Senate at that time, although the Senate two hours before had declined to adjourn.

Yesterday, when one of the oldest members of the Senate had been on his feet for four hours, a thing occurred that in my acquaintance with the Senate, for now nearly seventeen years, had never occurred before. When that Senator said, as Senators have said on this floor hundreds of times, "I prefer not to go on any longer on this subject to-day; I am weary;" there was very nearly a majority of the Senate who said he should go on, contrary to the custom and usage of the Senate. In the presence of the Senate I venture to say that he had discussed the question in a tone and temper that was senatorial in every respect, and there was no reason why the courtesies and decencies of the Senate should not have been extended to him, and why it shall not be extended to the rest of us when we, in the discharge of a duty that we believe to be incumbent upon us on our oaths, shall have discussed it until our physical endurance is so taxed as to require us to take a rest.

Mr. President, I intend, while the debate goes on, to see that there is a quorum present, and especially will I do that, although it may inconvenience Senators, if those who do not believe in a repeal are to be inconvenienced and denied the ordinary and usual courtesy of this hitherto courteous body.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada will proceed.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I have already read some of the views of the metropolitan press on another occasion, when although a great question was pending every one who is familiar with the pending question and will take time and study it will know that this is vastly more important.

September 4, 1893, when this bill had been before the Senate but a day or two, when we had been waiting for the other House, and much more time had been occupied by the friends of the bill than by its opponents, the New York Herald said:

HIGH TIME FOR A VOTE.

The Senate of the United States wasting precious time in dreary harranguing when the country is suffering for financial relief is a deplorable spectacle which should be brought to a speedy end.

Senator Voorhees has said that after reasonable debate he would press for a vote. What does Senator Voorhees consider reasonable debate?

The majority of the Senators have made up their minds that the Sherman law must be repealed in obedience to the popular will and for the good of the country. In view of that fact further debate is unnecessary and delay iniquitous.

For such abuse the majority of the Senate is responsible to the country. It has the power to stop the useless talking and order a vote. It owes it to itself as well as the people to exercise that power.

No one supposes that any further speaking on either side will have the slightest effect on the result. To keep it up is a public evil and a public nuisance.

It is time to call a vote. The Senate is simply increasing popular disgust and indignation by its inaction. This week should not be allowed to close without seeing the repeal of the law which has wrought such widespread havoc.

I would not call attention to these demands of the money power if I did not see a disposition in the Senate to obey them, a disposition

TO DENY THE RIGHT OF DEBATE.

and when I find the mandates of the money kings issued through the papers affecting the Senate then they are legitimate matters

of discussion. If the newspapers are the masters of the Senate let us discuss the conduct of the masters. I quote the following from the New York Times of September 4, 1893:

THE SENATE AND REPEAL—MAJORITY OF AT LEAST TWENTY FAVORING THE PENDING BILL.

WASHINGTON, *September 3.*

Much interest will be taken in the vote to be urged to-morrow by Mr. VOORHEES in the Senate on his motion to begin the daily sessions at 11 o'clock from Tuesday.

The supporters of repeal are in a strong majority at this time, and if the repeal bill could be brought to a vote the Administration would be sustained by almost as strong a vote, relatively, as that in the House. As the vote for early sessions is a step toward a vote on repeal, it may be that the strength of the repeal column will be shown early to-morrow.

Mr. VOORHEES is fully aware of the desire all over the country that there should be prompt action, and he is laboring to that end with much energy. He feels that he is well supported, and he has not lost any of his enthusiasm since the State of Indiana presented a solid front for repeal when the bill was passed by the House.

He knows that there are many silver men in his State, and that they know that he was always a silver man. Several of the House members are just as strong for silver as he, yet none of them has been censured by his constituents for supporting the Administration in its efforts to have the silver-purchase clause of the Sherman bill obliterated unconditionally.

Should the vote on the repeal be taken to-morrow, it is believed that there would be, with a full Senate, about 20 to 21 majority for it. A canvass made by a member sets the vote down as follows:

For repeal—Aldrich (Rep., R. I.), Allison (Rep., Iowa), Blackburn (Dem., Ky.), Brice (Dem., Ohio), Caffery (Dem., La.), Camden (Dem., W. Va.), Cameron (Rep., Pa.), Carey (Rep., Wyo.), Chandler (Rep., N. H.), Cullom (Rep., Ill.), Davis (Rep., Minn.), Dixon (Rep., R. I.), Dolph (Rep., Oregon), Faulkner (Dem., W. Va.), Frye (Rep., Me.), Gallinger (Rep., N. H.), Gibson (Dem., Md.), Gordon (Dem., Ga.), Gorman (Dem., Md.), Gray (Dem., Del.), Hale (Rep., Me.), Hawley (Rep., Conn.), Higgins (Rep., Del.), Hill (Dem., N. Y.), Hoar, (Rep., Mass.), Hunton, (Dem., Va.), Lindsay, (Dem, Ky.), Lodge (Rep., Mass.), McMillan (Rep., Mich.), McPherson (Dem., N. J.), Manderson (Rep., Nebr.), Mills (Dem., Tex.), Mitchell (Rep., Oregon), Mitchell (Dem., Wis.), Morrill (Rep., Vt.), Murphy (Dem., N. Y.), Palmer (Dem., Ill.), Pasco (Dem., Fla.), Platt (Rep., Conn.), Proctor (Rep., Vt.), Quay (Rep., Pa.), Ransom (Dem., N. C.), Roach (Dem., N. Dak.), Sherman (Rep., Ohio), Smith (Dem., N. J.), Squire (Rep., Wash.), Stockbridge (Rep., Mich.), Turpie (Dem., Ind.), Vilas (Dem., Wis), Voorhees (Dem., Ind.), Washburn (Rep., Minn.), White (Dem., La.), Wilson (Rep., Iowa).—53.

Against repeal—Allen (Pop., Nebr.), Bate (Dem., Tenn.), Berry (Dem., Ark.), Butler (Dem., S. C.), Call (Dem., Fla.), Cockrell (Dem., Mo.), Coke (Dem., Tex.), Colquitt (Dem., Ga.), Daniel (Dem., Va.), Dubois (Rep., Idaho), George (Dem., Miss.), Hansbrough (Rep., N. Dak.), Harris (Dem., Tenn.), Irby (Dem., S. C.), Jones (Dem., Ark.), Jones (Rep., Nev.), Kyle (Pop., S. Dak.), Martin (Pop., Kans.), Morgan (Dem., Ala.), Peffer (Pop., Kans.), Perkins (Rep., Colo.), Pettigrew (Rep., S. Dak.), Power (Rep., Mont.), Pugh (Dem., Ala.), Shoup (Rep., Idaho), Stewart (Rep., Nev.), Teller (Rep., Colo.), Vance (Dem., N. C.), Vest (Dem., Mo.), Walthall (Dem., Miss.), White (Dem., Cal.), Wolcott (Rep., Colo.)—32.

When the vote for silver has been tried, and it is found that there is a majority against it on any ratio proposed, there will undoubtedly be several changes from the vote as enumerated, just as in the House the vote for repeal was increased by the discovery that all other propositions were defeated.

The little group that will give the most trouble, as has been anticipated from the first, is that including the Republicans from the silver-producing States. Peffer is not likely to be so obstinate as they. They will oppose any change in the ratio, and then they will oppose repeal, and they will oppose it as long as they dare to filibuster.

The Democrats can not afford to filibuster. The "guerrillas" can afford anything, for they have little to lose.

There is plenty of such matter in the metropolitan press. It is too voluminous to read. Here is the World again of September 4, 1893:

[New York World, September 4, 1893.]

THE MAJORITY MUST RULE.

"This is a country," said Gen. Gradt, "where the will of the people is the law of the land."

What a mockery to call the will of

A BAND OF SPECULATORS

in Lombard street the will of the people of America! I shall discuss what is the will of the people of America and how it has been expressed before I take my seat.

If this is not always ture, it should be. The principle of majority rule must never be regarded as "old-fashioned," as Senator VOORHEES intimated that in some quarters it apparently now is. When the mandate of the people can not be made law, popular government is a failure.

"Mandate of the people!" We will examine that and see what is the mandate of the people.

The vast majority of the people desire and have decreed the repeal of the silver-purchasing act. The States which voted for repeal in the House represented a majority of over 23,000,000 of the population.

The Democratic members who were recorded for repeal represented a majority of over 1,500,000 of the Democratic votes cast for Congressmen last year. With the Republican affirmative vote added the popular majority for repeal is over 4,000,000.

It is known and conceded that a majority of the Senate is in favor of repeal. President Cleveland is justified, therefore, in urging that the minority should not be permitted much longer to deny the relief which the country needs and which the people demand.

It is to be hoped that the motion to-day for earlier meetings of the Senate will be adopted. When a great public duty is pressing all means necessary to its speedy accomplishment should be adopted. Mere obstruction in the Senate ought not to be permitted. It is time to execute the people's will.

[New York World, September 3d, 1893.]

VOTE! VOTE!

The Senate ought to pass the repeal bill this week.

A month of talk is too much to give to a question upon which every Senator has probably made up his mind. It is far too much when the country suffers while it waits, as now it does.

Except a closing speech for the repealers, nothing more needs to be said on that side. Nothing can be added to the speeches already made by Senators VOORHEES, SHERMAN, MORRILL, HILL, GORDON, and CAFFERY.

The anti-repeal side has also been adequately presented in the speeches already made.

The minority concedes that repeal is inevitable. It should not be permitted to delay it out of mere wantonness. An order to meet at 10 o'clock in the morning, and to hold evening sessions would probably bring the matter to an issue.

The cry of the country is, Vote! Vote!

[New York World, August 31, 1893.]

THE COUNTRY WAITS—THANKS TO THE HOUSE—NOW FOR THE SENATE.

The 138 Democratic Representatives who supported the repeal bill received 2,649,818 votes.

The 77 Democratic members who resisted repeal received 1,117,404 votes.

The majority of the popular vote on the Democratic side, as represented by the members in favor of repeal, was 1,532,414.

The percentage of the Democratic popular vote in favor of repeal was 70 to 30.

These figures show in a clear and striking manner the great preponderance of Democratic sentiment in favor of stopping the compulsory purchase of silver.

They afford an additional reason why the Democratic Senators from the South should follow the example of Senator GORDON, and—

Obey the people's will.

Fulfill the party's pledge.

Sustain the Democratic Administration.

Support the Democratic majority in the House.

Give immediate relief to the country.

The House has done its duty. Business is already reviving under the inspiration of its splendid vote. The country waits upon the Senate. It should not be compelled to wait long.

[New York World, September 1, 1893.]

THE COURTESY OF THE SENATE.

The rule of courtesy observed in the Senate fixes no limit to debate.

The only reason for suffering legislative proceedings to be governed by a rule of courtesy instead of a written rule is an assumption that honorable Senators will not abuse courtesy, but will be reasonable in using their liberty. It has been assumed that they would not persist to the point of obstruction in resisting the right of the majority to conclude debate by a vote.

The minority has usually been permitted, in the history of the Senate thus far, to determine for itself when it had fully presented its case and defended its intended action. But this privilege would not have existed so long if the minority had at any time announced a purpose to prevent a vote on a measure of vital public importance.

It is desirable that this particular courtesy shall continue by the consent of all Senators, but this will require that the Senators who profit by the courtesy of the majority shall be themselves courteous and not reward freedom with usurpation. Whenever the latter condition is brought about those who misapprehend and misuse courtesy will be responsible for the necessary substitution of a more arbitrary rule.

The majority of the Senate to-day is unquestionably in favor of the prompt repeal of the silver-purchase act. That majority should not permit the welfare of the country to be sacrificed to a misused tradition. After a reasonable time for debate—which does not mean a long time—if a vote is not conceded it should be compelled. Senator VOORHEES gave distinct notice yesterday that he will act upon this view, making no effort to abridge genuine debate, but promptly moving for a closure rule if, after debate is done, speech-making is continued for the evident purpose of delaying action.

[New York World, September 2, 1893.]

THE TWO REPEAL BILLS.

There is hardly substance enough in the difference between the Voorhees and Wilson repeal bills for a serious dispute.

Each bill repeals the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, and that clause is the most important cause of the country's present financial ills. The thing to do is so evident that anyone who favors doing it ought not to hesitate over the form of words in which the end is accomplished.

The Voorhees bill adds a stump speech to the repealing clause. It is a mere repetition of a proviso already on the statute books which nobody proposes to disturb. The law now declares that it is the policy of the Government to maintain the parity of the two metals, gold and silver. This provision has been interpreted by the present Administration to impose upon the Secretary of the Treasury the duty of maintaining silver at par with gold at any cost. Thus far it has been of service. The Voorhees bill would simply make the law say this over again. The Wilson bill would leave the law as it is.

It is certainly crude and illogical lawmaking for Congress to repeat the declaration. However, the important thing is repeal, and if the Senate will vote that any the sooner for the repetition, let the repetition be made.

A harmless absurdity ought not to stand in the way of repeal.

[New York Herald, September 2, 1893.]

HURRY UP THE VOTE.

Senator VOORHEES gave the Senate warning yesterday that fair discussion of the repeal bill would be permitted, but no talking against time would be countenanced. In other words, he would press for a vote after reasonable debate.

In this emergency fair discussion is limited discussion, and reasonable debate is brief debate.

The question of repeal has been thoroughly discussed by the country. It has been fully debated in the House. The subject has been exhausted. All the argument, reason, and logic that can be advanced for or against has been advanced. The question has been decided and the verdict rendered. It is that the Sherman law must be repealed and the purchase of silver stopped.

It only remains for the Senate to sanction that verdict by its vote. The majority is ready to do so now. The sooner it is done the better for the country. Prolonged debate is useless and mischievous.

The country calls for action. It demands a vote. Let the Senate hear from the people.

[New York Herald, September 1, 1893.]

STOP TALKING AND GO TO VOTING.

There is no doubt that a majority of the Senate is in favor of repealing the Sherman law and ready to vote for repeal now.

The silver Senators, who are uncompromisingly opposed to repeal and determined to use every means in their power to defeat it, constitute but a small minority.

Shall the majority or the minority rule? That is the simple question which confronts the Senate and the country. It sums up in a nutshell the whole situation at Washington.

It is not to be supposed for a moment that the silver-mining Senators can prevent the repeal of the law which has proved so disastrous and so dangerous to the country. The people have commanded repeal in a voice which their representatives in the House were compelled to obey and their rep-

resentatives in the Senate dare not disobey. In spite of all opposition and obstruction, the Senate must and will repeal the Sherman law.

Powerless to prevent repeal, shall the silver Senators be permitted to delay it by interminable harangues, obstruction, or filibustering?

It is vitally important not only to stop the ruinous purchase of silver, but to stop it at once. Every day's delay is a detriment to the country. It is a menace to financial, commercial, and industrial interests. Capital and labor, trade and industry, are suffering for relief. The people are calling for action. In such a crisis it is simply intolerable to see the Senate wasting precious time in useless talk and inaction.

There is no earthly need of long-winded speeches and no excuse for them. It has been settled beyond all doubt or occasion for debate that the Sherman law must be repealed and the purchase of silver stopped. That was forcibly shown by the vote in the House. Then why debate, why delay, why hesitate?

We have said that a majority of the Senate is in favor of repeal. Under the Constitution and by popular consent the majority rules. It can not only pass the bill, but can order a vote without delay. It can cut off debate, stop obstruction, and prevent filibustering.

It is time for the majority to exercise its power. This is demanded by the public interests and the popular will. It has become the patriotic duty of the majority to order an early vote and repeal the ruinous silver-purchase law.

That the Senate may realize and feel the force of popular sentiment, every wire to Washington should be made hot and every mail heavy with messages from chambers of commerce, boards of trade, banks, merchants, manufacturers, and workingmen, calling upon Senators to quit talking and go to voting—to repeal the Sherman law and stop buying silver. The vital fact should be impressed upon the Senatorial mind that the people want action and will not tolerate delay.

The country has already been through a long and trying ordeal. It needs financial relief by the immediate repeal of the silver-purchasing law, and having secured that it will need a breathing spell. Repeal the Sherman law at once and then give the country a rest.

[New York Times, August 30, 1893.]

FORTY-ONE MILLIONS FOR REPEAL.

Two-thirds of the people of the Union, speaking through their Representatives in Congress, demand the immediate, unconditional repeal of the silver-purchase provision of the Sherman act. As their will was recorded in the vote taken on Monday in the House of Representatives, 41,000,000 of the population of the United States desire the repeal of the act, against 19,000,000 who oppose repeal. The tables prepared by The Times and elsewhere published give the details of the vote by Congressional districts and population. For the repeal there were recorded the votes of 239 Congressmen representing districts having in the aggregate a population of 41,000,000, according to the census of 1890. Against the repeal there were 109 votes, cast by members representing 19,000,000 of population.

The Wilson bill goes to the Senate, therefore, accompanied by the imperative demand of the country that it pass at once. Rarely have the people spoken with the emphasis of such a tremendous majority. The pluralities of Presidents are measured in thousands and in fractional percentages. There is a majority of 22,000,000 for the repeal of the Sherman act. It is unprecedented and compelling in its magnitude.

It would be wanton impudence on the part of the Senate to defer obeying this command of the people. There is no call for a Senate debate, no wish to hear further argument. The country's mind is made up, it has spoken plainly, and it expects its servants in the Senate to hear and obey. Immense pecuniary loss will result from every day of postponement. The Senators must lay aside their silly delusion that they are as a body too dignified and ponderous to be hurried. Precedent and practice are demolished by such a pressure as now besets the Senate. The repeal is a question of the utmost urgency.

There is no impediment to its passage save obstinacy; there can be no excuses for delay save such as have birth in solemn stupidity. Immediate repeal is the duty of the Senate.

[New York Times, September 3, 1893.]

THE SENATE IS TOO SLOW.

If we read aright the signs of the times, this country is about ready to resume business in the customary volume and with its usual energy. Trade conditions are mending. We have seen the worst of the financial stringency. Money is getting to be easier and cheaper. In industries where there has been stagnation, life stirs again. There is going to be work to do for hands that have been idle. There will be men and capital for old enterprises and new ones. The recovery may be prompt or gradual—opinions differ as to that. We print this morning some interviews with well-informed men on that subject, which will be read with attention. On the whole, conditions seem to us to favor a somewhat more speedy return to business activity and prosperity than has been looked for in any quarter up to a very recent date.

The one great obstacle, the chief element of doubt, is the dawdling of the Senate over the Wilson repeal bill. That measure went to the Senators with the indorsement of a two-thirds majority of the House of Representatives, representing in the aggregate population of their districts more than forty millions of people. The great majority for the bill was in effect a command to the Senators that they should pass the bill without delay. The Senate of the United States, however, has always refused to be commanded by anybody, even by the people. It has sometimes obeyed, against its will, but grudgingly, and without admitting the fact. In respect to matters of politics, even in respect to matters of principle, it has usually been possible to indulge in the Senate's liking for dignity and deliberation. Its present behavior can be tolerated only at a great material loss.

The repeal of the silver-purchase act is not a party measure, but we may be permitted to point out that any Democrat in the Senate who obstructs or delays the passage of the Wilson bill is guilty of the plainest disloyalty to his party. The bill passed the House as a Democratic measure, and Democratic votes gave it a majority sufficient for passage, even had the Republicans abstained from voting. It is an Administration measure, and it is supported by the leaders of the Democratic party. The Republican-Populist silver Senators are responsible to no one for their behavior. Senators who still call themselves Democrats may be held to a certain accountability. We suppose the country must put up with some further speechmaking from the silver side of the Senate, though it is mortally weary of the old and empty arguments. But if there is any Democratic Senator who is still undelivered of his speech on that side, he will seize the first opportunity to make it, and will make it short if he takes a loyal interest in the welfare of the Democratic party.

Some of the earnest friends of the Wilson repeal bill are inclined to criticise the course of Mr. VOORHEES as the leader of the Senate in this matter. They say that he is allowing too great license to the silver Senators in the way of debate and is in danger of being entangled by them in some parliamentary complications which will delay repeal. We think that these criticisms are so far unfounded. Mr. VOORHEES has not yet reached the point where the real test of his skill and devotion will be made. He could not, if he would, shut off debate immediately. It would be bad policy to do so if he could, for such speeches as VANCE and TELLER and STEWART and WOLCOTT, and COCKRELL and VEST have made and will make for some days yet do not strengthen the silver cause a particle. They only awaken public sentiment against it. The test of Mr. VOORHEES's strength will come when the attempt, which is inevitable, is made to saddle the Wilson bill with amendments. If he successfully resists that, he will be amply vindicated.

[American Grocer, August 30, 1893.]

THE PATHWAY OF DUTY.

Unconditional repeal is the pathway of duty, said ex-Speaker REED. And so said Senator HILL of New York. And so said the House of Representatives, irrespective of party, by a vote of 240 to 110. Now let the Senate promptly vote for unconditional repeal, and confidence will be quickly restored. It matters nothing whether we are in favor of a single or double standard; the absolute free coinage of one or both metals; the fact is that the common people, as well as the money-lenders of the world, have lost confidence in the currency of the United States, and lost it through the operations of the Sherman bill. It has been the tool to create distrust at home and abroad, and distrust is the forerunner of disaster. Let unconditional repeal be the cry until the Senate follows the lead of the House of Representatives and votes for the repeal of the Sherman act. Let every one wire or write to their representatives in the Senate and urge unconditional repeal.

I will not occupy the time of the Senate at the great length I desire on this subject, because I do not want any suggestion made that I am speaking for delay. I am speaking to bring before the Senate

THE AWFUL RESPONSIBILITY

of disobeying the voice of the people and taking a snap judgment, as I shall show before I get through.

The press that is held to be the guardian of liberty has not always been so. It is not so now, and it was not so in former times. I do not think I can do any better than to read from Alison a short chapter showing the vile service the press has done for tyranny and oppression. Ordinarily it is one of the guardians of liberty. Free speech and a free press are what we prize as American citizens. Unfortunately a press may sometimes be bought, and it may be sometimes in the interest of the enemies of the people; and this is not the first time. I will read from the first volume of Alison's Europe, second series, page 16:

It is generally supposed that the powers of thought, if allowed free expression, are the best guaranty against the encroachments of despotism; and that the loss of freedom is never to be apprehended as long as the liberty of the press is preserved. But though that is often it is by no means always true; on the contrary, the selfish measures of class government, and the destruction of free privileges by military power are never so effectually secured as by the support of a corrupted or hireling press. Beyond all question the rude despotism of Cromwell in England, the nicely constructed chains of imperial power in the hands of Napoleon in France, never could have existed but for the cordial and interested support of an impassioned press in both countries. The utter ruin of the West India Colonies; the deep depression of agricultural industry in Great Britain and Ireland, in consequence of the free-trade system; the general and long-continued distress of the whole class of producers in both countries from the monetary laws, never could have been effected if these measures had not been advocated by able and indefatigable journals in the interest of the moneyed class and the consumers. Those who lay the flattering unction to their souls that genius is the eternal enemy of oppression, and that liberty is safe if its expression is secured, would do well to look at the condition of Rome when every successive emperor was lauded in the eloquent strains of servile panegyrists; of England, when the mighty genius of Milton was devoted to defending the measures of the regicide and Long Parliament; or of France, when the sonorous periods of Fontanes celebrated in graceful flattery the despotism of Napoleon.

If there ever was in all the world a more intolerant and a more cruel exhibition of the power of the press, emanating from the money centers of this country, to coerce Congress to perform an act which will consign the masses to poverty and misery, I should like any man to name it.

Much is said about the position of England on this question and England's influence here in the Senate Chamber,

ENGLAND'S INFLUENCE

in securing the legislation of 1873, and there are somewhat confused ideas about it. There are two Englands, one the enlightened, philosophical, generous, benevolent, and noble England; the other the cruel, money-getting, bondholding, grasping, tyrannical, and wicked England. They are distinct. England, if you can reach the great heart of the people, in learning and philosophy surpasses any other country in the world; but when you turn to her concentrated money power you find the great enemy of civilization and the cruelest monster that has been created in any age. I will call your attention to one England and then to the other. The learned and honest England produces such men as Balfour, Goschen, Archbishop Walsh, Foxwell, Molesworth, Frewen, Houldsworth, Thompson, Chaplin, Montague, and Grenfell.

If the Senators who are leaving the Senate Chamber would take a little time to read the productions of the men I have named they would talk more intelligently; they would not be staying away without knowing the first principles of monetary science; they would not be talking about "intrinsic value." Do you suppose that any of the persons I have mentioned would use such a term as that?

INTRINSIC VALUE,

As if value is intrinsic in the thing. If it was in there would it not stay? Suppose all the rocks were gold, would it have the

same intrinsic value? Intrinsic applies to quality; value is an estimation of man. Here Senators leave the Chamber and will not listen to me, who have not learned the meaning of the term "value," who have not gone through their A B C's; and the President of the United States talks about intrinsic value, and that we must get gold because it has value in it and it can not be got out of it.

The values of everything change with circumstances, and the value of gold changes more frequently than the value of wheat. I have seen the value of gold on the board in New York change 10 points in twenty minutes, back and forth. Value is the estimation of man, and yet Senators get up here and talk about intrinsic value. Enlightened, intellectual, and scholar-like England does not talk in that way. I will read a very recent utterance of one of the most experienced men in England to show you how a philosophic and experienced English statesman views this question. I read from a letter by W. H. Grenfell, one of the ex-governors of the Bank of England.

[The Times-Democrat, August 30, 1893.]

CONTRACTING THE WORLD'S CURRENCY.

We publish elsewhere a letter from Mr. W. H. Grenfell, formerly governor or president of the Bank of England. Mr. Grenfell is an Englishman, and discusses the financial and commercial situation from the English standpoint, the closure of the Indian mints to the coinage of silver being a more important matter to him than the repeal of the Sherman law; but it so happens that the financial question just now is the same over the entire world, and what Mr. Grenfell says is as applicable to America as it is to Europe. As a matter of fact, his argument is decidedly American, for it is the view taken by the overwhelming majority of the American people.

Mr. Grenfell declares himself strongly in favor of bimetallism, and insists that the world can not get along with gold alone. "I feel convinced," he says in warning words, "that the attempt to make gold alone do the work that has always been performed by gold and silver is a folly and a crime."

This is a strong expression, but Mr. Grenfell gives his reasons for it briefly but vigorously. We are producing less gold to-day, he points out, than we did forty years ago, and more of it is lost in the arts, in jewelry, gilding, and dentistry, an enormous amount being diverted from coinage in these ways. With less gold in circulation, the demand for it is much greater. India is trying to get on a gold basis, and the United States will set up a further demand for gold. "Where is it to come from?" he asks.

And as trade and population increase—and they have never increased as fast as now—as the needs of the world grow greater and greater for more money, "we are throwing away what is practically half the money of the world by demonetizing silver."

"The fight against falling prices and stock depreciation is an impossible one," he declares; "men are holding on in hopes for better times, but no better times, taking trade and commerce as a whole, can come in gold countries while gold appreciates. The pitiable army of the unemployed must increase through no fault of their own. I believe that if England had not refused to coöperate with other countries at the recent conferences, owing to a wrong, selfish, and utterly mistaken policy, we should have escaped and other countries would have escaped the misery, suffering, and despair which have been so prevalent during the last twenty years, owing to the fatal policy of contracting the currency of the world."

The Times-Democrat pointed out these same facts Sunday, and showed the widespread and deleterious effects that have already resulted and would further result from the desertion of bimetallism.

BIMETALLISM—VIEWS OF A PROMINENT ENGLISH FINANCIER OF WHAT THE RESULT OF DEMONETIZING SILVER WILL BE.

The Manchester Guardian publishes the following letter from W. H. Grenfell, ex-governor of the Bank of England, to Albert Simpson, of Elmhurst, near Garstang:

"MY DEAR SIR: Your idea of a party to hold aloof from party squabbles and to devote all their energies in the first place to placing trade, commerce, and agriculture on a sound footing appears to me admirable, and I am willing to assist in any way that I can. The first necessity for attaining this sound footing is a stable measure of value. I have not missed much that has been written on currency subjects during the last nine years, and feel convinced the attempt to make gold alone do the work that has always been performed by gold and silver is a folly and a crime. In 1852 the gold produced in the world was thirty-six millions; now it is twenty-three millions. Since 1852 (when the world was practically bimetallic) Germany, the United States, Italy, and other countries have set up an extra demand for gold, which Mr. Goschen, in a paper read before the Bankers' Institute, estimated at a fresh demand for £200,000,000 upon gold. Austria is now trying to get £35,000,000. India is apparently struggling to get on a gold basis, and the United States will also set up a further demand for gold. Where is the gold to come from? As trade and population increase we want more money; by demonetizing silver we are throwing away what is practically half the money of the world. The demand for gold for the arts—watches, jewelry, dentistry, gilding—is enormous, and is increasing with the spread of civilization. Sovereigns are melted and gold is hoarded; gold is appreciating at some 6 per cent per annum; it is more profitable to hoard it than to invest it in commercial enterprises and in machinery, etc., which is depreciating, measured by gold, as gold appreciates. The fight against falling prices and stock depreciation is an impossible one; men hold on in hopes of better times; no better times, taking trade and commerce as a whole, can come in gold countries while gold appreciates. Employers of labor can not hold out forever against losses; and what will happen to the wage fund?

"The pitiable army of the unemployed must increase, through no fault of their own or their employers, and the work will be less well performed as the wages bill is cut down (in agriculture this is especially the case; the land is being starved of labor and the laborers are being driven into the towns). There is no question before the public of one-tenth part of the importance of the necessity for a stable measure of value. Local option may be good, the disestablishment of the Church in Wales may be good, the creation of parish councils may be good—these matters will be wrangled over for months; but supposing they were all passed into law to-morrow week, what appreciable effect will they have on the prosperity of the country? Or will any one say that all three together would have a result fit to be mentioned in the same breath as the closing of the Indian mints to the coinage of silver? I am dead sick of all this straining at gnats and swallowing camels. The first object of any government should be the prosperity and welfare of the country, and the prosperity and welfare of the country can not be secured unless the trade, commerce, and agriculture of the country are on a sound basis. Then can come the question of the proper and fair distribution of wealth and the hundred other questions which divide opinion. But the wealth must be there before it can be distributed. In my opinion, there is no greater obstacle to the creation of wealth than an unjust measure of value. An appreciation measure of value checks industry, stifles enterprise, and robs the industrious classes, while the bondholder, annuitant, and money lender thrives on the artificial cheapness. I believe the quantitative theory of money to be indisputable. I believe the evil of restricting the currency and causing an artificial fall in prices to be indisputable, and I believe that the fact that the present depression, agricultural and commercial, is mainly caused by alterations that have taken place in the currency laws is also indisputable. I also believe that if England had not refused to coöperate with other countries at the recent conferences, owing to a wrong, selfish, and utterly mistaken policy, we should have escaped and other countries would have escaped the misery, suffering, and despair which have been so prevalent during the past twenty years, owing to the fatal policy of contracting the currency of the world.

"Yours truly,

"W. H. GRENFELL.

"TAPLOW COURT, MAIDENHEAD, *August 5, 1893.*"

Mr. Grenfell is one of the ex-governors of the Bank of England, and I am told that every ex-president of that bank and every professor of political economy of the present day of any standing in England is a bimetallist. They have one or two statisticians who are in the employ of the gold men, but the leading thinking men of England see what is coming just as well as we do.

I have in my hand a contribution by Prof. Foxwell, in which he states the consequences to the masses, to the laborers, and to the whole human family

IF THIS GREAT OUTRAGE

is finally consummated. I wish Senators here knew as much about it as the leading men of England do, and I believe if they would not spend as much time in the cloak rooms, but more time in studying it, they would vote differently. They have not given this subject study. I am sorry to say it has not had the consideration it should have, and we do not compare in knowledge to the people of England. Our learned men who govern us are no more than children. I have here collected the pamphlets of different Englishmen who have elucidated this subject, showing that they understand it thoroughly. I am speaking of intellectual, honest England now. I will speak of the other England by and by.

I hold in my hand a contribution by the clearest-headed and ablest divine in the world,

ARCHBISHOP WALSH, OF DUBLIN,

the man who has done so much for the liberation of Ireland, for home rule in Ireland; the man who differed with his own church and stood by the people, who when the present home-rule bill came in criticised it. He looked at its provisions and felt called upon to furnish his first interview, in which he points out that home rule must necessarily be a failure if the policy of gold monometallism prevails. He alludes to the efforts previously made when the bill passed some twenty years ago, turning the matter over to the courts to determine what would be a reasonable rent when the lease was taken for twenty years. He says they made a rule that the rent should be about one-third of the crop. At first it was regarded as a great relief to Ireland, but it now takes more than two-thirds, on account of the appreciation of gold. Then he goes on to show that the provision in the home-rule bill for fifteen-year leases and forty-nine-year purchase will operate in the same way. He also shows how this affects the people of England with their mortgaged homes; how it depresses production, and how it is building up

THE COLOSSAL GOLD POWER OF ENGLAND.

Every American citizen ought to read the pamphlet of Archbishop Walsh. He is a great, good man, and I am rejoiced that any church can produce such a man, who has real sympathy with humanity. I am glad that pamphlet was written by a bishop in a church. It shows that even in the churches they can turn aside to think of the oppressions of humanity.

When we have on the one side this luminous contribution to the science and learning of this subject from England, we have coming from the other side that dark, cruel, revengeful force that is enslaving mankind. Take Egypt, for example. I will read what an Englishman says that this power did to Egypt. I read now from a little work entitled "The Economic Crisis," by Moreton Frewen:

To those who profess a convenient belief that, although the fall of prices increases the burden of national debts, yet that a lessened cost of production avails to right the balance, I would recommend a short study of Egyptian finances to-day. There is a nation of peasants, cultivators, 6,000,000 of people farming 5,090,000 of acres, whose agricultural implements are neither better nor worse than at the time when Joseph was sold by his brethren; nor is the tide of the same Nile, which to-day brings to market the produce of the same fields in similar barges, either faster or less fast than five thousand years ago. Twenty-five years since Egypt was free of foreign debt, but in an evil hour the ex-Khedive Ismail borrowed about a hundred millions sterling at enormous rates of interest in London and Paris. This money was not spent on internal improvements, but was squandered on the construction of twelve royal palaces in Cairo, and in the purchase of pictures and furniture for these palaces. The Levantine contractors who built the palaces made immense fortunes, and for the most part reinvested these fortunes in loans to the fellahin at rates varying from 2 to 6 per cent per month.

Truly a vicious circle! The Khedive pledged the homesteads of his subjects to borrow money in London. This money passed on to foreign mid-

dlemen, who in turn lent it at usurious rates to the peasantry, who were themselves the security for the original loans. The cultivators were in the pleasant position of having to pay, first, 7 per cent to the foreign financier, and a further 30 per cent per annum on the same money to the foreign contractor. To pay the interest on this national debt each acre of cultivated land in Egypt has to convert enough of its produce into gold to send almost a sovereign yearly to the foreign creditor. In addition to this, each acre has to contribute a further share to the expenses of the home government. The taxes of Upper Egypt are collected not in money, but directly in produce. The lower prices fall the greater the amount of produce which is appropriated from each acre to pay the sovereign required of it. Since the time the debt was contracted the prices of the staple products of Egypt—cotton, sugar, wheat, and beans—have fallen more than 50 per cent. The revenue for the current year shows a small surplus over the Budget estimate, simply because cotton has risen nearly a penny per pound and sugar about 3s. a hundredweight. But if prices are to fall still further, the gold payments which Egypt owes to England can only be exacted from a starving nation by the most merciless exactions, and by the free use of the kourbash. Here is an instance, an extreme instance, I admit, of that "appreciation of gold" about which philosophers with fixed incomes write so complacently, and which is said to be for the advantage of England, the creditor nation.

Then he speaks of other countries. I have looked at the finances of Egypt, and I find that they not only have to pay out of their 5,000,000 acres of land $25,000,000 in taxes to the English but they are taxed to raise a revenue to support the English army and carry on the Government between $27,00,000 and $28,000,000 more, making from $8 to $10 an acre each year. That is

THE HUMANITY OF THIS CRUEL ENGLAND.

That is the Government of England when she has the power. These speculators bought the bonds. The extravagant Khedive sold them. He failed to pay the interest, and then this concentrated power in England sent the English army there, sent the ironclads and battered down Alexandria, and placed English officers over them as collectors. I saw a year or two ago a strong protest from that other England against the use of the lash in Egypt. It was referred to the war department for report. They reported that the lash was necessary to collect the interest, and there the matter stopped. It only marks the conduct of the monster England that is ruling us to-day. It was only one step in this history.

Look at India. The history of wrongs there never had a parallel on earth. The other day the money power of England demonetized silver in India. What does that mean? It means that the thousand million dollars or thereabouts of uncoined silver which the Indians have hoarded from time immemorial, and which they worship and which they convert into coin when the hour of necessity comes,

SHALL BE CONFISCATED

and shall not be coined into rupees. It means that the Indian debt shall be doubled and paid in gold. It means more taxation, more slavery, more cruelty, more oppression, more hard times, more suffering. See what England has recently done to Austria. She made Austria, her debtor, change her $2,400,000,000 of 5 per cent bonds, payable in silver, into $2,800,000,000 of 4 per cent bonds, payable in gold. That is the way she deals with her debtors.

What has England done to Italy? Let the starving multitudes of that country answer. It was England alone that forced all these countries upon a gold basis because they were her debtors and she wanted to increase the obligation—I mean unrelenting, tyrannical England. This was the England for which Gladstone spoke when he said the outside world

OWED THEM TEN BILLION DOLLARS,

and it would be great folly in them to remit one cent; they must not only have the pound of flesh but the last drop of blood of these oppressed nations.

What has England done for us now? She has thrown us into a condition of panic. She has drawn out the gold to carry out her scheme of plunder in Austria, and for other purposes has created a panic; and the gold comes here to buy back the same securities at 40 per cent discount. That is the England with which we are dealing.

In this connection I should like to call attention to the mode proposed to get even with the tyrant England—not the learned, decent, generous, humane England, but the tyrant England. How are we going to get even? Every morning we find in one of the

ORGANS OF THE GOLD PARTY

down here—the Post—the following:

THE SURE ROAD TO BIMETALLISM.

The way to force Europe to agree with us upon international bimetallism is for the United States to stop buying silver and buy gold.

The repeal of the Sherman law is only the first step. If we follow it up by getting our share of the gold of the world, we will compel England to come to our terms.

That is the proposition. Now, the teachings of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] before he went over to the gold side of the question have done much good, and I can pardon almost anything in him, because he instructed his people upon this great question so that we see the fruits of it. I hold in my hand a pamphlet written by a

MR. WOLCOTT, OF INDIANA.

which states the condition we will be in in not trying to get the gold away from England. I ask the Secretary to read it, omitting the portion which I have marked through, which is not quite pertinent. I ask the Senate to pay attention. The writer has figured it out better than any of us have done.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PASCO in the chair). The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

NO INTERNATIONAL BIMETALLISM INCLUDING GREAT BRITAIN IS POSSIBLE.

In England, since the time of the civil war in the days of Cromwell and Charles I, near two hundred years ago, the steady workings of agriculture, manufactures, and other productive employments have had little direct disturbance from military interference, and the exchanges of the merchants have been unhindered. During the same time, in continental Europe—France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and other nationalities have been fought over many, many times. Mutually they have devastated and wasted their fields of agriculture; their manufacturing cities have been captured, sacked, and burned, and their stores of merchandise have been seized and carried away. These countries have been impoverished by withdrawal from the industrial pursuits of millions of men who have been engaged in war, and they have been further impoverished by the direct and vast expenditures of war.

On the other hand, England, safe in her insular seclusion, rich in an abundance of coal and iron, the valued and necessary elements of mechanical and manufacturing force, with a people of great capacity and energy, has for nearly two hundred years sold her surplus productions to the governments and people of the different European nations in time of war at war prices.

In all ages history informs us the nations of wealth have been the manufacturing and commercial nations. England, with the special advantages she has possessed, has become, beyond all example in history, the richest nation in the world in money wealth. Fifteen years ago Ricardo, an eminent political economist and statistician, estimated that the people of Great Britain enjoyed investments among other nations to the amount of $7,500,000,000, on which was paid to the people of England in interest and dividends 5 per cent per annum, or $375,000,000. Mr. Gladstone in a recent speech in Parliament in opposition to bimetallism estimated the amount of investments by people of Great Britain in other countries at $10,000,000,000.

At 5 per cent this would give the English an interest and dividend account from nations foreign to Britain of $500,000,000 a year. Mr. Gladstone further said "the amount was constantly increasing; that they owed nobody, and everybody owed them, and with such advantages as they possessed it would be folly for them to adopt bimetallism." It would be so great a folly for England, that England is sure to maintain the advantage which she enjoys in the single gold standard. There is no chance for universal international bimetallism, with England wedded to the single gold standard, by her vast money interests and the profits derived therefrom. The annual income of few nations of Europe equal their annual expenses. Such do not really own themselves. It is estimated that 22,000,000 of soldiers are maintained, at an annual expense of $800,000,000, by different nations of continental Europe. England, now owning of securities and properties of other nations to the amount of $10,000,000,000, with annual income from them of $500,000,000, is probably as rich in money as all the rest of Europe combined, as nearly all European nations are heavily indebted, and most of them have no money surplus. England insists upon the single gold standard; and England is able, from her condition of universal creditor, to maintain her position. Therefore no international bimetallism including Great Britain is possible. Under present conditions the United States has not free choice. Necessity is dictator. The gold basis is but a trap.

There is an insufficent supply of gold to meet the wants of this nation with money actually on a gold basis, and of the other nations which are striving to get on a gold basis, as is proven by the struggle for the possession of gold and by the distressing derangements extensively prevailing in different parts of the world, wholly owing to an insufficent gold supply for those seeking gold. Witness the downfall in the securities of the Argentine Republic and the ruin of the old and once rich banking house of Baring Brothers, of London, England; the financial wreck of Italy, striving for a gold basis; the purchase of gold for a money use by agricultural Austria, with the expense of her great armies, near 2,000,000 men—a gold basis which Austria will never be able to maintain any more successfully than did Italy; and the widespread, extensive bankruptcies and financial ruin in Australia. All these indebted and overborrowed nations were encouraged by the great money-lenders of Europe to assume to be upon a gold basis, without the possibility of gold to maintain such basis. But for such encouragements the efforts to become established on a gold basis could never have been tried. In the wreckages of the great properties, securities, and estates which the money-lenders have wrought, they can buy at their own price things of greatest value.

What matters it to them what destruction they bring upon others if they secure their many "pounds of flesh," and blood as well? More near and more interesting to us is the financial condition of our own country. Ever since the close of the late civil war the United States has presented to European money-lenders the safest, most extensive, and most profitable fields for investments of money. South America, Africa, and Australia, compared with the United States, have not been very inviting fields for investments, and while these countries have, as we know, received some European moneys, the United States has received very much more.

Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury, in his report for the year 1868 estimated that Europe then held $850,000,000 of American securities, "on the greater part of which interest was being paid in gold." He says railroad and other stocks are not included in this estimate. He further says: "We are even now increasing our debt to Europe at the rate of $60,000,000 to $70,000,000 per annum in gold-bearing bonds." He further says: "Of the $1,300,000,000 of the gold and silver products of California and the Territories, produced since 1848, we have exported $1,100,000,000."

WAS THIS VAST EXPORT OF GOLD AND SILVER, LARGELY GOLD, IN ANY PART REALLY DUE TO THE SHERMAN SILVER LAW, ENACTED IN 1890?

The monetary commission appointed by the Government of the United States in 1876 estimated that the foreign indebtedness of the United States could not then be less than $2,000,000,000. Since 1876 foreign investments, mostly English, have continued to increase very largely.

Mr. Gladstone claims for Great Britain ownership outside of Britain to the amount of $10,000,000,000, which is mostly on a gold basis. That indebtedness, including ownership of different properties, can not now be less than $4,000,000,000 or $5,000,000,000 in the United States.

As there are in all the world but about $3,600,000,000 in gold, in money, on a gold basis, Great Britain completely dominates the world. World-wide financial disorders are prevailing, owing to the efforts of money-lenders for their own profit to establish gold as the single and universal money standard, without the gold being in existence to meet such extensive and universal use, even if gold were equally distributed among the nations of the earth.

Much more serious than a general lack of gold for all the world's monetary uses is the unequal distribution of gold among the various nations. Some have much, others but little, some none.

As related to us, Great Britain has the financial strength of a great creditor nation; the United States the financial weakness of a great debtor nation. Our gold can be called from us whenever the interests, necessities, or caprices of foreign investors or creditors dictate the call. And we are helpless to resist these calls as long as we, in practice, maintain the single gold standard; as witness the current financial history of the day. On the single gold standard, with the present great demand for and the limited supply of gold, no debtor nation can maintain such gold standard, as against a creditor nation, except by sufferance.

Practically the United States are borrowing gold on call. In this regard we have no independence whatever. Let the United States, by legal enactment or otherwise, make gold the exclusive money basis, and we will be a completely ruined people. As the result of what has been done by the Government of the United States already, and as the result of what is foreshadowed, the industries of the country have been paralyzed; business men have been bankrupted; laboring men have been thrown out of employment, and a universal depreciation of property values has occurred East, West, North, and South; everywhere throughout the United States, and to an amount, within the last six months, equal to the whole money cost of the late war. For whose benefit is this? Not the people of industry, for they are suffering. This wreck and ruin is for the profit of the money-lenders of Europe and the United States. Out of the depreciated property values in railroad and every other kind of investments, the money-lenders select their prey at their own prices and those who before were exorbitantly rich become richer at the expense of and by sacrificing the men of industry, who are the stay and support of the nation.

The money-lenders and their advocates say they do not want cheap money. For once they have not lied. They do not want cheap money. They want it as dear as by any possibility they can make it. But there is no cheap money in the United States. Of whatever material it may be; in whatever form it may exist; to whatever issue in money form, the laws give the money function; all is equally money in the United States, to pay all debts and obligations, and to purchase all kinds and forms of property. What can our people desire more? What can they have better?

In the effort to exclude silver from the money use in the United States, which the money-lenders falsely call cheap money, the money-lenders have made cheap labor, cheap farms, cheap factories, cheap wheat, cheap corn, cheap cotton, cheap everything among us that has its value measured by money; and a cheap nation, for all we have seems to be in the market at the depreciated prices fixed by the money-lenders.

The gold monometallists falsely claim that the export of gold is caused solely by the existence of the silver certificates issued under what is called the Sherman law of 1890. The Director of the Mint in his report for 1892 (page 42) states: "The heavy export of gold commenced in 1888, aggregating to July, 1889, $61,435,989. In the summer of 1890 another movement commenced, which continued for two months, with a total export in that brief period of $15,672,982."

THE SHERMAN LAW HAD NOT THEN BEEN ENACTED.

As a result of the collapse of the Argentine Republic's securities in 1890, the failure of the English banking house of Baring Brothers in 1891, gold was exported to the amount of $70,233,494. No Sherman law in this. Gold was taken because it was needed.

Besides we have had large balances of trade against the United States. English failures in Australia have occurred, and also gold demands in Austria. These are the sufficient causes for the export of gold from the United States; not the Sherman law, which has had no more necessary influence than the "idle wind." * * * If the United States shall have such a supply of money as will properly represent its property values, and such as is required for the best condition of its productive interests and exchanges, imperative necessity demands that the basis be broad in proportion to the extent of the country, the number of inhabitants, the amount of property and business which require a money repres entation, regardless of all interests except the interests of the people of the United States. There are methods by which we can meet our foreign obligations without the folly of self-destruction.

The purchasing clause of the Sherman law should not be repealed, except in favor of some law that will assure to the American people a fuller supply of money for Americans, and that would be a coinage law, with the coin to circulate. With Great Britain's holdings of $10,000,000,000 of investments outside of Great Britain, with probably one-half of all such holdings in the United States, much of them calling for gold payments, with but $3,600,000,000 of gold among all the nations of the earth, we have conditions that leave the money markets of the United States subject to being cornered at any time; which is in effect a corner of all our pro erty of every kind that is in the market, causing the stoppage of business and the destruction of values, as we are now sadly experiencing. On a gold basis, under the condition now upon us, we can not avoid these disasters whenever the gold-holders choose to inflict them. Therefore, as we have no inde endent power to control the supplies of gold, no single gold standard is practicable nor possible for the United States.

Witness the recent large exportation of gold, which we would not have permitted if avoidable, creating a money corner of great stringency, to which designing men have added a destructive and terrible panic by misrepresentations designed for such effect.

Recently there has been added to the single gold standard countries vast and populous India; two-thirds as populous as all Europe, a people, too, known to be great hoarders of money.

If the gold supply for all the nations (only $3,600,000,000) was before much short of what was needed, how will other nations fare with India's 200,000,000 of people added to those striving for gold? Those, now short of an adequate supply of gold, will be reduced to increased destitution of that scarce metal.

But the supreme evil in our unfortunate situation is that our rulers do not appear to apprehend our financial conditions.

The Sherman law, which, though faulty, need not here be criticised, was by the Administration of President Harrison, and is by the present Administration enforced contrary to the plain and proper sense of one of its most important provisions; that which declares that it is the policy of the Government of the United States to maintain the parity of gold and silver.

Whoever has received from the Government a silver certificate, or otherwise obtained the same, has taken it subject to the law of redemption in silver. Such holder has neither legal nor moral right to insist upon anything but silver in the redemption of such certificates. The Government under the circumstances should do as a private individual would do, where it had both legal and moral right on its side; it should be governed by its own interest and convenience.

The Government had abundance of silver; it had not abundance of gold. On the contrary, the lack of gold amounted to financial distress, affecting our whole country and people. The payment of gold to the holders of silver certificates, under the facts as they have existed, was a maladministration of the law. Fifty million dollars of gold needlessly paid, where silver was due, has done much to shorten the Treasury supply of gold and to produce the panic.

The intention of the Treasury Department to continue this policy is a present national calamity.

It is not a maintaining of the parity of gold and silver, or even an attempt at so maintaining such parity. The enemies of silver have been permitted to work their will against it.

The occasion of recent gold imports has been no general balance of trade in our favor. It has been of gold sent here to pay for our securities, sold to foreigners, at the lowest prices of a destructive panic. It is robber money sent by foreigners to obtain the property of Americans at half their intrinsic value.

The question of complete bimetallism is a question of vital interest to all the people, of property, industry, and labor in the United States.

We are now virtually a financial dependency of Great Britain.

The history of Britain, in the treatment of those in her power, has been a long history of cruelty and oppression. We are now victims. How long are we to remain such?

A. WOLCOTT, *Wolcott, Ind.*

Mr. McPHERSON. Who is the author of that paper?

Mr. STEWART. A. Wolcott, of Indiana. He signs himself A. Wolcott, of Wolcott, Ind. The Senator from Indiana need not be ashamed of him; he is from his State. I know him only by this paper, and if men are to be judged by their works, if "by their fruits ye shall know them," he is a great man, because he has given facts that show a very strong case against the folly we are asked now to perpetrate. He has shown in this paper that we propose ta make a contest with the money power of England, that has at its command all the bonded indebtedness of the world, that has a demand on us for from $3,000,000,000 to $5,000,000,000. It is proposed to make a demand upon them for the purpose of bankrupting them, to take their gold away from them; and the way it is proposed, by the promoters of this scheme and by pretty nearly all who have advocated the repeal of the Sherman act, is to borrow more gold. Suppose we should borrow $150,000,000 a year, we shall have to pay them back with interest. They can afford to lend us the interest. If they would lend this country the interest we would have to pay them back again, and allow the debt to remain as it is; and on the present debt, if we do that, we would have to increase our national debt from $150,000,000 to $300,000,000 and make it $300,000,000 a year.

Do you suppose we can deprive them of gold by selling bonds and

BORROWING MORE GOLD OF THEM

and paying them more interest? That is the proposition, and this gentleman from Indiana has made a statement of it that Senators ought to examine. He has shown how completely all the nations of Europe, except perhaps France, are absolutely prostrated at the feet of this money power. He has shown that this money power has already created this panic and has abundant power to create a panic whenever it will suit it. He has stated facts that are open to the examination of everyone, and that shows the proposition to repeal this act and borrow gold the most wicked and monstrous ever suggested for any legislative body.

This same monster, this cruel tyrant, moneyed England, has been operating

TO DEFEAT THE CLAIM OF BIMETALLISM.

It brought the United States to monometallism; it made it discard silver. That I abundantly proved yesterday. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] said in March, 1876, that it was English influence that secured the demonetization of silver in this country. We know it was at the command of England that Austria was put on a gold basis last year. Her English creditors demanded it. We know it was the action of England that put India on a gold basis. Did not that suit the money power of England? Now you propose to make them quit by giving them supreme power, to make them quit by giving them the opportunity to put the people of the United States where the people of Egypt, India, and Austria are.

I said it was England's influence, and I said, by the authority of the man who demonetized silver in this country [Mr. SHERMAN], that

ENGLAND SECURED THAT DEMONETIZATION.

I say, further, that England appeared at your monetary conference in 1878 and broke it up. She again appeared at your monetary conference in 1881 and broke it up. She again appeared at your monetary conference in 1892 and broke it up. There is one thing about it, the present Executive is not going to play this farce any further. I said it was a farce when we attempted to play it last year. I am thankful to President Cleveland that he does things straight. He says what he is going to do, and he will not engage in a farce.

HE IS A MONOMETALLIST,

honest, consistent, vigilant, affirmative. His surroundings are all monometallic. He believes in the New York policy and carries

it out; but he does not believe in any fraud or farce in attempting to get England to help carry it out. There was a good deal of talk about this when he was President before, and he sent some commissioners over to Europe to see whether there was anything in it. I read now from his annual message sent to Congress in December, 1885. The President's message can always be found anywhere, and I need not give a reference:

To this end I delegated a gentleman well instructed in fiscal science to proceed to the financial centers of Europe and, in conjunction with our ministers to England, France, and Germany, to obtain a full knowledge of the attitude and intent of those governments in respect of the establishment of such an international ratio as would procure free coinage of both metals at the mints of those countries and our own. By my direction our consul-general at Paris has given close attention to the proceedings of the congress of the Latin Union in order to indicate our interest in its objects and report its action.

It may be said, in brief, as the result of these efforts, that the attitude of the leading powers remains substantially unchanged since the monetary conference of 1881, nor is it to be questioned that the views of these governments are in each instance supported by the weight of public opinion.

The steps thus taken have therefore only more fully demonstrated the uselessness of further attempts at present to arrive at any agreement on the subject with other nations.

We have had one trial since that, and it is still further demonstrated. I said it was a farce at the time, and it has proved so. Now it is said that if you will only prostrate yourself, rob the people, adopt the gold standard, you can impoverish your creditors, to whom you owe $3,000,000,000, by taking the gold away from them so that they will want you to have cheaper money. Others have said all you have to do is to sell your products cheaper and cheaper and buy gold and you will bring them to terms.

But all agree that the United States should be at the mercy of the Shylocks; all agree that before there can be any relief, Shylock must have his pound of flesh, and that there is nothing nominated in the bond which prevents him from taking the heart's blood. That is the position into which they propose to drive the United States.

A MORE WICKED,

relentless, and cruel proposition never has been suggested than that we, a debtor nation, should abandon our own monetary system, adopt England's, and attempt to get her gold.

Now, see what we are and what we might have been but for the act of 1873. We have had since the war nearly thirty years of abundant harvests without anything to impede our progress. So far as our country is concerned, so far as the seasons are concerned, so far as the health of the community is concerned, and so far as the unlimited resources of the country are concerned, everything but the trick of 1873 has been favorable. But for that trick, we would have been the greatest financial nation in the world; we would have been stronger in money than any other. We have produced an average of about $65,000,000 in silver and $33,000,000 in gold, or nearly a hundred millions a year of the precious metals, for the last twenty-seven years. If that amount had been coined, and the people had it as a basis,

WHAT NATION ON EARTH COULD RIVAL US?

We have vast mineral resources of all kinds, greater in extent than any other country in the world, particularly gold and silver. Our near neighbor and our friend on the south, Mexico, has furnished more gold and silver for the world than any other country. Her mines are being reopened, until we have a continent of wealth. When this fatal act of 1873 was passed, silver had been better than gold as money for all the ages, and our silver dollar had 3 per cent more silver in it in proportion to gold than that of any other country. Our mints were open.

What we should have done was to reduce the quantity of silver in the silver dollar so as to have had a uniform ratio with Europe. But that was immaterial. Just before the fatal act was done, notwithstanding we were in suspension, notwithstanding there had been only a little over three million silver dollars coined since the foundation of the Government, when the Comstock and other mines were developed our miners commenced to take their silver to the mint. If they had not been cut off, if they had continued to take it in the same proportion that they did from the 1st of January to the 12th of February, 1873, we should have coined about two and one-half millions that year. There it was, and

THE MANIPULATORS OF EUROPE

understood it. They understood that we would be compelled to borrow money of them if they could close our mines.

The crime of 1873 was committed secretly, so as not to arouse the attention of the American people to the robbery. For twenty years the American people have struggled to get back their rights. What a monstrous proposition, that in the dark, secretly, the great mining interests of the United States should be at once confiscated and the people of the United States denied the right to mine and coin their own money, and be compelled to borrow money of Europe! Being so compelled, they have done it, and the indebtedness has been doubled in the last twenty years, and goes on increasing year by year. The more it increases the harder times become,

THE MORE PROPERTY FALLS,

and the more labor and suffering are required to pay the demands of Shylock and his associates in this country. That is the situation.

Now we are called upon by a solemn act to sanctify and justify that crime of all the ages. The attempt of this extra session is to take a snap judgment on the people. You dare not submit this question to the people, and yet you have the audacity to tell me that a subsidized press, which surrounds this Capitol and keeps the news of what is going on from the people, is the voice of the people!

Let us see what were the issues of the last campaign. The platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties have been frequently read, and both declare for bimetallism. What is proposed here as to that issue? I stated yesterday that I told my people that it was

A FALSE PRETENSE

to claim that the tariff and the force bill were the real issues. I repudiated the managers of both political parties for their insincerity to the people, and said that I would support neither party; and I was right. Here is what the press said as to the issues on which the Democratic party came into power. I take the New York World, which is cracking the whip daily over the Senate and seeking to make it a blind tool and servant of the money power of Europe. The New York World of June 27, 1892, says:

AN ISSUE ELIMINATED.

It is the general opinion of conservative men that the Democratic silver plank is stronger than the Republican.

Whatever the platforms may say, however, the silver issue is not in the present campaign. As the World has urged, this issue has been sent to the rear, behind the tariff, the force bill, and billion-dollarism. * * *

Not only is the silver question not an issue in the present campaign, but there is a wholesome sign in the excellent Democratic plank that when it comes up for serious consideration, it will be dealt with on business principles and will not be made the sport of politics.

[New York World, June 30, 1892.]

THE REAL ISSUE.

Neither party could escape the tariff issue if it would. Neither party has shown any disposition to do so.

The candidates and the record of the two parties make up the issue. * * * Neither the resurrected old "free trade" bugaboo on the one side, or the iridescent dreams of idealists on the other will divert the voters from the real issue * * * and it is upon this that the World bases its confident assurance that the next President will be a Democrat.

[New York World, October 6, 1892.]

FUSION A DUTY.

There are several States in the Northwest where the Republican party is in the minority, but where the Democratic party is not in the majority. * * * Although there may be differences of opinion on questions of principle between Democrats and their allies, there is agreement on the essential principle—hostility to the robber tariff. * * *

This duty first attended to, other problems can be settled.

That was the duty to be first attended to, and yet from the mouth of every gold advocate the cry now is that the first duty is to repeal the Sherman act

AND ESTABLISH MONOMETALLISM.

What insincerity! Talk about the voice of the people, when you lie to them in that way during the campaign!

The Democratic party comes in here like a Trojan horse, prepared to destroy the country; it comes in disguise into this Capitol, with armed men, to strike down the liberties of the people. Pretending to be a harmless thing and just going to fight the tariff and tariff battles, when it gets in power it turns out that it is the enemy of mankind and seeks to strike down the people's money and reduce the masses to poverty and want.

I believed this would be so from what I saw before I left here last year, and I acted upon that belief, that if either party got into power under the pretense that the tariff was the only issue, they would strike a deadly blow at the most fatal part of our financial system, would

SANCTIFY THE INFAMOUS ACT OF 1873,

and leave us in the grasp of the money power of Europe. I have not been deceived,

[New York World, October 17, 1892.]

THE WESTERN REVOLT.

* * * The conditions are wholly different in the two sections. At the South the Democrats who have been in revolt are in sympathy with their party upon the main issues before the country—the tariff, the force bill, and the black Republican record generally for the past four years. * * * In the West the revolt of the farmers was, and is, against the cardinal principles and the current policy of their party. They are against the high tariff.

[New York World, November 5, 1892.]

A LAST WORD TO THE WEST.

The telegraph can carry to the Democrats of the Northwest this last appeal: * * * Complete the revolution begun two years ago. Down with high tariff! Down with trusts, monopolies, and plutocratic rule!

When they get here they raise the flag of plutocratic rule and say it is the will of the people. In November it was "Down with

plutocratic rule;" but no sooner had the victory been won than you raised the flag of the plutocrats of the world and said that it was your purpose and that you were sent here to double the obligations of contracts, increase the power of the plutocrats, and humiliate and degrade your own people. Talk about obeying the will of the people! It is a mockery and an outrage that you should claim you were elected to demonetize silver when you were elected for a wholly different purpose.

I select these papers because they are leading the crusade to stampede the Senate and to deny to it the right to exercise its legitimate function to-day. They say, "Vote first, and discuss afterwards." I am not surprised that they should dread discussion with such a record as this to be presented to the country.

[New York Herald, June 24, 1892.]

* * * The [Democratic] platform is squarely representative of Democratic principles. It is right on tariff, right on silver. * * *

[New York Herald, June 28, 1892.]

* * * It is to be a battle of political policies. * * * The banner of one army will represent high taxes, while that of the other will represent the lowest taxation consistent with current expenses of the Government. * * *

[New York Herald, September 14, 1892.]

In the letter which appears in this morning's Herald, Murat Halstead concedes the claim of the solid South. * * * The force bill brass band bellowing has had influence in the South. * * *

That is true. You told the people of the South on every stump and everywhere that they must stand by the Democratic party to prevent negro domination, and that they must sink all other questions. All of you told them that. I read your speeches, and saw what position you took. You told them that they should send you here to protect them from negro domination, to protect them from unreasonable taxation. You showed them your constant record

IN FAVOR OF BIMETALLISM,

and they believed you. Will you now say to this people "We deliberately deceived you; we have got into power under false pretenses, and we will rob you of the most sacred right which you have demanded for the last twenty years in every convention and on every stump?"

[New York Herald, September 26, 1892.]

* * * Nor is there likely to be any radical change of policy. * * * There is but one issue in which the people are practically interested—the tariff.

[New York Herald, September 27, 1892.]

* * * That tariff reform is the vital issue of the campaign in the estimation of Mr. Cleveland, is made clear by his letter of acceptance.

Vital issue! He has said not a word about it except incidentally. The fact is that now the vital issue is to take away the constitutional right of the people to coin their own money; and the vital issue has been made since he got into power.

The New York Tribune concurred with the Democratic press as to what the issue was, and the Republicans came here with the same claim that the Democrats did: that they would carry out the views of the party on the issues of the campaign.

[New York Tribune, June 14, 1892.]

WHAT BUSINESS MEN WANT.

* * * The influence of all conservative business men will be powerfully exerted during the next five months to prevent the unsettling effects of a Democratic victory for so-called tariff reform. * * *

[New York Tribune, June 16, 1892.]

ISSUES OF THE CANVASS.

* * * The chief issue which his [Cleveland's] party will advocate is peculiarly his own. * * * "The people's cause of tariff reform" will be the cardinal doctrine of the Democracy in this canvass. * * * "The consecrated cause of tariff reform." * * *

Protection is a stronger policy to-day than it was in 1888, and it was a winning issue then. It is a winning issue now.

[New York Tribune, June 21, 1892.]

* * * Behind Cleveland is a party which in the last three years has declared for free silver in thirty-one State platforms, and in two Congresses has voted for free silver bills with substantial unanimity.

[New York Tribune, June 23, 1892.]

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

Everybody knows that the great majority of the convention [Democratic] was disposed to adopt an unequivocal free-silver platform, * * * but on the great questions of the hour the Democrats have not dared to speak the truth. They mean what they do not dare to say. It is a free-silver platform. * * * It is a free-trade platform. * * *

[New York Tribune, November 2, 1892.]

THE VITAL QUESTION.

The vital question this year is whether an American or a British industrial policy shall prevail. * * *

[New York Tribune, November 10, 1892.]

* * * But we desire to be perfectly frank on this subject also. The election [Tuesday, November 8] means, we suppose, that a majority of the American people is made up of those who are not unwilling to see the economic doctrine of the Democratic platform put into practice. * * *

Thus they met the issue, and thus they have changed it. Can anybody say that we are not now here to take a snap judgment upon the people? How dare any newspaper, which said through the whole canvass that the tariff was the only issue, come forward now and say that the people of the United States demand this legislation?

All public men of all parties

SINCE SILVER WAS DEMONETIZED

have claimed that they were bimetallists. The only question was how to accomplish bimetallism. They dared not speak their real sentiments, if they were monometallists, for "there is no vice of so simple a form but assumes some form of virtue in its outer part." It is the old idea that those who claim to be bimetallists would not let the country have bimetallism, but they had to pretend that they favored it. It is the old-fashioned way of putting on "the livery of the court of heaven to serve the devil in." Many of them have done that, but they had to assume to be bimetallists to get here. All of you had to do that.

Now we are impudently told that we have come here to do England's will; that that is the demand of the American people. I have here the New York Times, and I might take all the papers and show how they misrepresent their constituencies. That paper goes on to say how nearly 40,000,000 people were represented in the House of Representatives by those who

VOTED TO DEMONETIZE SILVER

the other day. They voted to carry out the edict of the money power, but they are held up to us as men who obey their constituents, and we are told that only a few million people are represented by those who voted the other way.

What a comment it is on the fidelity of the representatives of this Government to the will of the people that those who represent 40,000,000 voted to sanctify and ratify the act of 1873, which all have condemned and nobody has excused, which has been condemned in every canvass and on every stump! It is an issue which they dared not submit to the people squarely in a Presidential campaign and which they claim was not a party issue. Nearly everyone who has been elected to either House of Congress for the last twenty years has been elected as a bimetallist in some form; but now they say that voting against bimetallism and voting for the single gold standard is fidelity to the people, while voting as they promised for twenty years and as the people have demanded all that time is infidelity to their constituents!

THE EFFRONTERY AND THE AUDACITY

of such a proposition surpass the comprehension of man and presuppose that the Senate is ignorant of the history of the country.

Then, on top of that, they say "Vote first and discuss afterwards." If we would not expose this enormous rascality, if we would not expose this duplicity, if we would not expose this betrayal of the dearest interests of the people here on this floor, we should be unfit to represent the people.

The situation has been well set forth in a publication in the New York Daily Indicator of August 30, 1893, which I desire to have read. I will ask my friend from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL] to read it for me.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon read as follows:

AFTER SILVER, WHAT?

It is possible to expect too much to result from the repeal of the purchasing clause of the silver act of 1890, even admitting that the repeal is practically assured. The mistake having been made in assuming that the silver law was responsible for every disagreeable thing that has happened, it is more than likely that there will be more or less disappointment over the results to follow the repeal of the law. It is even possible that the repeal may take a different shape from that now suggested by the action of the House of Representatives.

It may be that the Senate will agree to the Wilson bill, although we should not be surprised if it brought forth a compromise measure, just as was done in 1890, when it was a question of free coinage, or what? Now it is no silver coinage or what, and if the Senate should bait a silver hook with an abolition of the tax on State bank notes, for instance, there might be a new phase put upon the question. With all the bell ringing over the big majority against silver in the House, the fact remains that the party in power has a very strong leaning toward silver, and any plausible excuse would cause a majority to take sides for silver. In 1890 the Democrats in the House voted 112 for free coinage and only 12 against. On Monday 100 voted for free coinage and 114 against. This would indicate a sweeping change in the sentiment of Congress on this question but for the fact brought out many times during the discussion that every trick of influencing, by threat and by promise, was played to catch votes for repeal. The distribution of "pie" was frequently alluded to, and reference to the "pressure" brought to bear upon refractory Congressmen was made in no doubtful terms. In spite of it all the dominant party barely records a majority against free coinage.

More than this, that part of the country whence comes the greater proportion of the representatives of the President's party is largely represented by silver men. At the very last ditch, when all was up with silver and the final vote on the bill to repeal the purchasing act was taken, we find Alabama voting 6 against the repeal, 3 for; Arkansas, 5 against, 1 for; Florida, 1 against, 1 for; Georgia, 4 against, 6 for; Kentucky, 2 against, 8 for; Louisiana, 2 against, 3 for; Maryland, none against, 6 for; Mississippi, 6 against, 1 for; Missouri, 12 against, 1 for; North Carolina, 7 against, 1 for; South Carolina, 4 against, 1 for; Tennessee, 5 against, 3 for; Texas, 9 against, 4 for; Virginia, 2 against, 8 for; and West Virginia, none against, 3 for; a total of 66 against, and 50 for repeal.

He would be very unwise, indeed, who refused to heed the sentiment of those fifteen States, and that sentiment was more strongly expressed in the vote on restoring the old act of 1878, the total vote of those States being 90 in favor, against 34 opposed. That the silver question is not settled, and will not be settled by the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the act of 1890, is almost certain, even assuming that the Senate will follow the example of the House.

Back of this question is, What are we going to do with our currency system? We have a national-bank currency, which is of prescribed volume and can not be extended very much under the present system. We have a silver currency, which will also be limited to the present amount as soon as the Government stops purchasing silver. We have a legal-tender currency, also limited to its present volume unless Congress enacts new laws to increase the issue of Government notes. Remaining, there are only gold coin, which may be minted to any amount within the capacity of our mints, and gold certificates, which may be issued to any extent not to exceed the gold deposited therefor.

What, then, is our currency to be hereafter? If we are to have increased issues of money, what kind of money is it to be, and how much? It must be seen that we have just got to the beginning of our currency legislation, instead of to the end of it. After silver, what? Well, it will require all the wisdom of the greatest minds of this country to solve the financial problems that are now about to present themselves.

Mr. STEWART. I have another communication here from James H. Monroe, who was chairman of the committee on resolutions at the meeting of bimetallists in New York a few days ago. Mr. Monroe is an eminent law writer, and has written one of the best books on what he terms The Two Sides of the Silver Question, of any American. He understands the situation well, and in his letter he sums up the present status in such a way as to throw much light upon the subject. I should like to have that read by the Secretary to go in the RECORD. Inasmuch as it is constantly said that we are not obeying the will of the people, the present status is very important to show where we are and what we are doing.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The paper referred to will be read in the absence of objection.

The Secretary read as follows:

NEW YORK, *August* 30, 1893.

RESPECTED SIR: I respectfully address you as the chairman of the mass meeting of the bimetallists of New York City, a city whose representatives in the Congress of the United States have so lately repudiated the national platforms of both the great parties of the country, and that, too, while hundreds of thousands of their constituents are being prevented from starving through the charitable gifts of bread doled out to them one loaf at a time, because the number of hungry people are so much in excess of the means of those who so generously seek to aid their starving fellow-citizens of a country where bread is selling for less than its cost of production,

I read with regret and humiliation this recent action of the lower House of Congress on the great financial question now before the country as regards the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act.

The New York World says that "the fourteen silver State Senators represent, all told, a population of 1,253,735, or less than 2 per cent of the population of the United States." The World also states that "the New York Senators represent a population of 5,997,853, or 9¼ per cent of the population of the country, and five times that of the seven silver States." According to this statement the New York World ignores the sentiments of the highly respectable and influential Cooper Union mass meeting of over 3,000 citizens and about 3,000 who went away unable to get in, the same that our members of Congress have done by voting for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law.

I deny the above statements. When the New York Senators vote for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law they do not represent one-third of the people of New York, and, furthermore, they do not represent the majority of the people of the United States who are in favor of bimetallism, which should be enacted in connection with the repeal of the Sherman law, as a substitute therefor. If the Sherman law is repealed unconditionally it may require years of incessant effort on the part of the people to overcome the influence and maneuvers of the unscrupulous gold advocates, whose influence over certain officials are of a very peculiar and masterly nature.

No member of Congress represents the majority of the people of the United States who shall vote for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law, and this assertion is maintained by the platforms of both the great parties of the country, which reads as follows:

Democratic platform asserts that—

"We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver, without discrimination against either metal and without charge for minting."—*Chicago Democratic Convention of 1892.*

Republican platform asserts that—

"The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of gold and silver as standard money."

Those Democratic and Republican members of Congress who vote for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law not only repudiate their respective party platforms, but they disregard the instructions of both the Democratic and the Republican voters who elected them as their special representatives, and not, in any sense whatever, as the representatives of those who advocate the gold standard of market values.

It is the effort to enforce the gold standard that has caused banks and merchants to fail, factories to suspend operations, a premium to be paid for currency, a reduction of wages, a general discharge of hundreds of thousands of industrious workmen, and last but not the least of the direful misfortunes that have been inflicted upon the American people, is the demoralizing and degrading necessity of charitably supplying bread for the hungry, to prevent their starving in a country where an immense surplus supply of food of all kinds is being sold daily at less than the cost of production.

Members of Congress who serve the gold men instead of their constituents pretend that the bankers are the debtors, and therefore their advocacy of the gold standard is to be considered as against their greedy creditors. If our bankers are so badly situated is it meet for our Government officials to act under their advice in a financial sense? If the bankers are debtors instead of being creditors, they are most assuredly insolvent, and, being so, their resultant practical want of financial ability should deter all honest men from accepting their instructions upon such an important question as that of bimetallism and the financial interests of the starving people.

It is the attempt to reduce the market value of labor and products to a gold standard that has inflicted upon us the present financial distress. With the view of reducing the people to a condition of absolute servitude the gold men have insisted upon the repeal of the Sherman law, for the sole purpose of preventing the people obtaining the benefits to be derived from a regular increase of Government currency to the amount of $4,500,000 monthly, and thereby cause a greater stringency in the money market, with a corresponding depression of business and an oppressive effect upon those who are dependent for their living upon their daily toil.

The fact that the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States has been advised to illegally reduce the monthly purchases of silver proves conclusively to all unprejudiced minds that the gold men are unscrupulously attempting, through his instrumentality, to starve the people into the support of the gold standard, by thus reducing the monthly supply of Government notes to such an embarrassing extent as to compel the employers of wage-earners to either pay a ruinous premium for currency, or discharge their employés, because they can not obtain the money required to pay them their weekly wages.

Those members of Congress who voted against the amendment to the Wilson bill, providing for the coinage of gold and silver upon a parity of 16 ounces of silver to 1 of gold, have thereby repudiated the platforms of both the great parties of the country, and have deliberately disregarded the desires of their constituents, and proved recreant to their obligations toward all mankind.

Those members of Congress who, having announced their adherence to bimetallism, but, nevertheless, voted against the Bland amendment of the bill repealing the Sherman law, have thereby stultified themselves, and have also destroyed any confidence that the people may have possessed in their ability to defend their personal rights as citizens of the United States, or being capable in their honest desires to maintain such rights in a patriotic and practical manner. Men who speak one way and act another are shorn of all rights of respect and confidence in a political sense.

Honest money measures wheat at $1 or more per bushel. Dishonest money measures wheat at 60 cents or less per bushel. Silver and gold upon a parity of 16 to 1 restrains the rich man's greed and supplies the workingman's need.

An inflated value of money is more demoralizing than inflated market prices, because inflated money enriches the gold owner and impoverishes the gold earner. The people of all parties and sections of the country voted for bimetallism. Members of Congress can not ignore that fact with impunity.

Respectfully,

JAMES H. MONROE,
Chairman Committee on Resolutions.

RICHARD LACEY, Esq.,
Chairman Cooper Union Mass Meeting.

Mr. VOORHEES: I rise to inquire whether the Senator from Nevada expects to conclude to-night?

Mr. STEWART. I would rather be excused from concluding to-night, as I have not got as far along as I had hoped to do.

Mr. VOORHEES. Then, with the permission of the Senator, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. STEWART. I thank the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Indiana.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After twelve minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 12 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, September 7, 1893, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate September 6, 1893.

SURVEYOR-GENERAL.

Charles H. Dickinson, of Plaquemine, La., to be surveyor-general of Louisiana, vice Charles B. Wilson, to be removed.

MELTER OF THE MINT, DENVER, COLO.

Walter Allen, of Colorado, to be melter of the mint of the United States at Denver, in the State of Colorado, to succeed Safford R. Hainer, resigned.

ASSAYER AND MELTER, CHARLOTTE, N. C.

William E. Ardrey, of North Carolina, to be assayer and melter of the assay office of the United States at Charlotte, in the State of North Carolina, to succeed S. W. Cramer, resigned.

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE MINT, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

John Daggett, of California, to be superintendent of the mint of the United States at San Francisco, in the State of California, to succeed William H. Dimond, resigned.

COLLECTORS OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Frank P. Bond, of Tennessee, to be collector of internal revenue for the fifth district of Tennessee, to succeed David A. Nunn, resigned.

John T. Essary, of Tennessee, to be collector of internal revenue for the second district of Tennessee, to succeed A. B. Bowman, resigned.

Rudolphus O. Randall, of Alabama, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Alabama, to succeed Robert A. Moseley, jr., resigned.

Paul B. Trammell, of Georgia, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Georgia, to succeed W. H. Johnson, resigned.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

John A. Michel, of Texas, to be collector of customs for the district of Brazos de Santiago, in the State of Texas, to succeed Robert B. Rentfro, removed.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

Infantry arm.

First Lieut. James A. Irons, regimental quartermaster, Twentieth Infantry, to be captain, August 25, 1893, vice Hamner, Twentieth Infantry, appointed paymaster.

First Lieut. Frank de L. Carrington, regimental adjutant, First Infantry, to be captain, August 30, 1893, vice Armstrong, First Infantry, deceased.

Second Lieut. Edward M. Lewis, Eleventh Infantry, to be first lieutenant, August 31, 1893, vice Morrison, Twentieth Infantry, appointed regimental quartermaster.

Second Lieut. Richard C. Croxton, Fifth Infantry, to be first lieutenant, September 1, 1893, vice Brant, First Infantry, appointed regimental adjutant.

POSTMASTERS.

John C. Devine, to be postmaster at Alliance, in the county of Stark and State of Ohio, in the place of Harper Brosius, whose commission expired March 27, 1893.

Robert Galbreath, to be postmaster at Edmond, in the county of Oklahoma and Territory of Oklahoma, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after April 1, 1893.

William F. Boyle, to be postmaster at Freeland, in the county of Luzerne and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of Owen Fowler, removed.

William W. Carr, to be postmaster at Philadelphia, in the county of Philadelphia and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of John Field, resigned.

Charles H. Dorr, to be postmaster at Berwick, in the county of Columbia and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of Robert S. Bowman, whose commission expired March 20, 1893.

George W. Fink, to be postmaster at Irwin, in the county of Westmoreland and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of Benjamin Steele, resigned.

Byron H. Frampton, to be postmaster at Clarion, in the county of Clarion and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of John B. Patrick, whose commission expired March 29, 1893.

Charles C. Graeber, to be postmaster at Ashland, in the county of Schuylkill and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of George S. Keiper, resigned.

Ira M. Harvey, to be postmaster at Lock Haven, in the county of Clinton and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of Robert S. Barker, whose commission expired April 1, 1893.

William H. Hay, to be postmaster at Meyersdale, in the county of Somerset and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of William H. Zufall, whose commission expired April 1, 1893.

Michael T. Hogan, to be postmaster at Emporium, in the county of Cameron and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of Cornelius B. Gould, whose commission expired April 1, 1893.

Urbanus B. Hubbs, to be postmaster at Mount Pleasant, in the county of Westmoreland and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of Daniel S. Jordan, resigned.

Thomas F. Kennedy, to be postmaster at State College, in the county of Center and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of Joseph E. Mitchell, deceased.

Henry E. Kulp, to be postmaster at La Plume, in the county of Lackawanna and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of Isaac F. Tillinghast, removed.

George A. Rehr, to be postmaster at Orwigsburg, in the county of Schuylkill and State of Pennsylvania, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after April 1, 1893.

William A. Shrum, to be postmaster at Latrobe, in the county of Westmoreland and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of James Ogden, whose commission expired April 1, 1893.

Eden A. Townsend, to be postmaster at Apollo, in the county of Armstrong and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of David D. P. Alexander, whose commission expired April 1, 1893.

Frank M. Vandling, to be postmaster at Scranton, in the county of Lackawanna and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of David M. Jones, whose commission expired March 29, 1893.

Frederick O. Whitman, to be postmaster at Lewisburg, in the county of Union and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of John V. Miller, removed.

Joseph F. Windfelder, to be postmaster at St. Marys, in the county of Elk and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of Henry A. Parsons, jr., resigned.

CONFIRMATION.

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate September 6, 1893.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Thomas J. Black, of Oregon, to be collector of customs for the district of Willamette, in the State of Oregon.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, *September 6, 1893.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by Rev. ISAAC W. CANTER, of Washington, D. C.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday last was read and approved.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. SOMERS (on motion of Mr. BARWIG), for two weeks, on account of important business.

To Mr. LILLY (on motion of Mr. WRIGHT), indefinitely, on account of sickness.

To Mr. HARTER, indefinitely, on account of sickness in his family.

To Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee, indefinitely, on account of sickness in his family.

To Mr. COBB of Missouri, for one week, on account of important business.

To Mr. BLANCHARD, until October 1, on account of important business.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. TALBERT of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to introduce the bill which I send to the desk and to have it referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the title of the bill, after which the Chair will ask if there be objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill for the enlargement of the volume of the currency and the distribution of the same.

Mr. BROSIUS. Mr. Speaker, I call for the regular order.

THE RULES.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is demanded, which is equivalent to an objection. The regular order is the further consideration of the report from the Committee on Rules. The Clerk will report the pending amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend Rule XXIII, paragraph 2, by striking out, in lines 2 and 3 of said paragraph, the words, "which shall consist of 100 members;" so that the clause will read: "Whenever a Committee of the Whole House finds itself without a quorum the Chairman shall cause the roll to be called," etc.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I desire to say that since the House took its recess last Saturday a great many members on this side have expressed a desire that the Committee on Rules should accept the pending amendment. Many gentlemen have expressed this desire who will vote to sustain the committee if the committee should refuse to yield to this request. As this proposition from the committee was not fundamental at all in its character, but looked simply to the expedition of public business, we have thought best to yield to this request coming from so many gentlemen on this side. The committee does not at all mean to be understood as assenting to the idea that their suggestion was subject to the objections which have been made against it. We are still of opinion that the proposition was a wise one, and that if agreed to by the House it would result in great expedition of the public business. But we have no desire to force anything upon the House that it does not wish, and we have thought that under all the circumstances it is best we should assent to this request coming from so many sources on this side of the House and accept the amendment offered by my colleague [Mr. KYLE].

Mr. DOLLIVER. Mr. Speaker, I had taken the floor on Saturday, just prior to the adjournment, with a view to saying a few words in favor of the proposition from which the Committee on Rules is just about to retreat. Our biennial discussions about the rules have been for a long time, and promise to be for a long time to come, a very entertaining part of the business of the House. The Fifty-first Congress was made notable by the adoption of a good many reforms that had been suggested, many of them, a long time before, but never before adopted by the House as a rule of its faith and its practice.

I think rather the most interesting thing I have seen in the House has been the effort—gentle, but up to this moment very firm—of the Committee on Rules to deliver, if possible, their less enlightened brethren from their surviving prejudices against the Fifty-first Congress. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. OUTHWAITE], until this moment, have been the unconscious instruments of a process of education which in time promised to enable the Democratic party to believe that they were the authors, instead of the screaming and struggling victims, of our reformed procedure. [Laughter.]

I count myself fortunate that I came to the House in the ses-

sion when the bondage of usage and tradition gave place to common sense in the rules and government of this body. We found the House handicapped by a system of obstruction, including a partisan refusal to participate in current proceedings, the studious use of certain easy and convenient parliamentary motions, and the inherited notion that the Constitution preserves the quorum of the Committee of the Whole with the same care by which it preserves the quorum of the House itself. These weapons of obstruction, even in the hands of inexperienced statesmen, were effective to kill the progress of business, and left the House, notwithstanding the pressure of its responsibilities, stranded and helpless.

Of course we might have gone on, as many Congresses had gone on year after year under the old régime, spending most of our time calling the roll and waging an unequal warfare with a little group of statesmen that had already grown famous on motions to adjourn. We might have done that; but fortunately for ourselves, and I have always believed fortunately for the country, we found a strong leadership in the Fifty-first Congress that enabled this House to correct the abuses of precedent and custom and to restore the almost obsolete right of self-government. We have been very much gratified, indeed, at the gradual approach of the Committee on Rules to the true standard.

It is admitted that you have disguised your approbation of the reforms of 1890, mutilating them, if I may use a familiar figure, as gypsies used to treat children they had stolen, so that their friends would not recognize them. At the same time, we are able to discern from your movements that the reign of the filibuster in this House is over, and that hereafter he lives, if he live at all, by the grace of the Committee on Rules; that is to say, the Democratic party managers reserve the right to revoke his license at their pleasure. I must express my regret at the retreat of the Committee on Rules, insufficiently covered by the words which have just fallen from the lips of the gentleman from Mississippi. We were going on smoothly in a direction that led even the dullest man in the United States to perceive that only time and a little closer pressure of party convenience were necessary to make the Democratic party indorse the entire record of the historic Speakership of the Fifty-first Congress.

And yet, Mr. Speaker, it is only four years since this House was filled with a clamor which, I venture to say, was never equaled in the French Chamber of Deputies, and hardly surpassed by the recent fist fights in the English House of Commons, and all because of the fact that the majority of the House undertook to assume the duties which were imposed upon them in the transaction of the public business. Few of us on this side of the House will ever be able to forget the day when my friend from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM] rushed into the area in front of the Speaker's chair, gesturing like a madman, declaring that the day would never come when he would submit to despotism in the American Congress. And when the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] on Saturday last sent to the desk a record of a speech of his delivered in 1890, and asked to have it read, in order to show that in the vicissitudes of time his devotion to the Constitution, at least, was unshaken, many here recalled the day when he stood in his place and denounced as "revolutionary, usurpatory, and corrupt" an orderly decision of as brave and true a man as ever presided in this House. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky. I ask that the gentleman may be permitted to proceed until he concludes his remarks.

The SPEAKER. In the absence of objection, the gentlemen from Iowa will proceed for five minutes longer.

There was no objection.

Mr. DOLLIVER. All of these things it does not take a very long memory to recall to our minds, and we remember also that in the midst of the noise and tempest of disorderly tongues the Speakership of the House and the person of the Speaker passed through the ordeal without the loss of prestige or confidence in the public mind. They called him a revolutionist; yet our highest courts of justice have affirmed his judgment. They called him a usurper; yet everybody knows that he preserved all rights except the right to defeat the progress of public business.

In the heat of party passion they did not hesitate to attack his personal character; yet behind him stood the solid support of his party associates, and behind them the conservative good sense of the people everywhere. [Applause on the Republican side.]

I congratulate him to-day that he is permitted to see so many tokens of his victory over the mean and stubborn prejudices that once assailed him, and I congratulate the House that in so large a measure it has entered into the liberty of action secured to it by the courage and genius of the gentleman from Maine. [Applause on the Republican side.]

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment joint resolutions of the following titles:

Joint resolution (H. Res. 6) to make the 18th day of September, 1893, a holiday within the District of Columbia; and

Joint resolution (H. Res. 7) to permit the use of certain ensigns, flags, and signal numbers to decorate the Capitol and its approaches September 18, 1893.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

Mr. HAGER, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled the bill (H. R. 4) to provide for certain urgent deficiencies in the appropriations for the service of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, and for other purposes; when the Speaker signed the same.

THE RULES.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I am not surprised at this outbreak on the part of my friend from Iowa [Mr. DOLLIVER]. He has to-day witnessed a spectacle on this side of the House which could never have occured on the other side. He has had evidence, sir, that the power of the Speaker of this House is not to be used for the purpose of compelling the adoption of such rules as the Speaker himself thinks are just and proper. He has had evidence, sir, that on this side of the House we recognize the right of every gentleman to interpose his objections, and when they become of a serious character, as in this instance, he has seen the Committee on Rules willing to assent or yield its views to the pressure of opinion brought against them. It is something, I say, which was never witnessed on the other side of the House, at least since I have been a member of Congress, and I have been here now during four terms.

Our friends on the other side are quite fond of having the idea go out throughout the country that we have been following in the train of the Republican leadership in the rules we propose for the government of this House. Why, sir, after most careful inspection of the rules and with the disposition which we have manifested to take from them everything which we believe to be good, we have found but two things that we were able to accept. One was the method providing for the introduction of bills, and the other the proposition to make one hundred a quorum in Committee of the Whole.

But everything else contained in the Rules of the Fifty-first Congress, except those things which have been common to all Congresses, have been rejected by the Committee on Rules. Indeed, the Committee on Rules have never for one moment contemplated suggesting them to this House for adoption.

Mr. Speaker, the rules of this House, as they have been proposed and as they will be adopted, recognize freedom of debate in its fullest extent. They are based upon the conception that no rules are good which do not yield to the individual members of this House the fullest freedom of discussion and debate. They recognize that there can be no wise legislation which is not accompanied with this freedom of discussion and debate.

But more than that, Mr. Speaker, they expressly reject and repudiate the idea that supreme power shall be vested in the Speaker. Under these rules the power, in the last resort, is left where it should always be, with the majority of this House. While we have a power which will put an end to discussion and to debate, and bring any measure to a vote, that is a power which can only be exercised when it is fairly considered and acted upon by a majority of the members of this House.

We have no rule which indulges the fanciful theory that a member who is actually absent may be theoretically present. I wish to call attention to the difficulty in which the distinguished gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] found himself when he had made his famous quorum count. We learn from gentlemen on the other side that it was farcical and absurd to say that a man could be physically present and at the same time theoretically absent; and yet we found the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] soon driven to accept the reverse of that proposition, and to hold that a man, though physically absent, was theoretically present; and his explanation of that was of the most technical and flimsy kind. I allude to the explanation given by him a few days since in this House. He said that there had to be some time when a man should be taken to be present, and he fixed that time as being the time when a yea-and-nay vote was ordered.

Now, Mr. Speaker, that was an arbitrary assumption on his part. As a matter of fact gentlemen were physically absent, and yet were constantly, day by day, counted by him as being present; and if it was absurd to say that a man could be physically present and theoretically absent, it was just as absurd to say that he could be physically absent and theoretically present. And yet

that was the performance to which our attention was invited almost every day during the Fifty-first Congress.

It goes to show, Mr. Speaker, the dangers which will be encountered whenever we depart from the ancient rule that a man's presence is to be determined by his answering to the roll call. Of course, a man may answer to the roll call and then leave the Chamber and not be present when the vote is announced; but during the whole of the pendency of the roll call it is not required that he should be present; and there is no safety in fixing any other time as indicating his presence, except that time when his name is called and when he answers.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it was often the case here that when a yea-and-nay vote was ordered, members would leave this Hall; and yet they were counted as present, though physically absent. That was something which the distinguished gentleman from Maine did not contemplate, perhaps, when he made his famous quorum-count rule. His idea doubtless was that we would remain in our seats and submit ourselves to this proceeding, so that we could be counted, but when he discovered that we left the Hall, then he was driven, in order to make his proceeding effective, to go one step further and indulge in the very absurdity which he and those standing with him had so bitterly criticised.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make one statement in reply to the remarks of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. DOLLIVER] upon this subject. So far as the rules of the Fifty-first Congress are concerned, there was no objection taken to them that was not of a usual character when changes of rules come up in this House from year to year, except upon two propositions. And if the rules of the Fifty-first Congress had not assumed the powers granted in those two rules there would have been little exception taken to them at the time.

The first of these rules is that which is found in Rule XVI, clause 10, and is as follows:

No dilatory motions shall be entertained by the Speaker.

That was a departure from the parliamentary precedents of the past. In fact, I challenge the production of a precedent, in a parliamentary body in this country or Europe, where the Speaker was clothed with the absolute power to decide any and all motions to be dilatory. Under the authority of this rule the Speaker of this House was absolute in his rule. When a proposition was under debate, when a member moved that the House adjourn the Speaker might say that that motion was dilatory.

If a member appealed from the decision of the Chair the Speaker declined to entertain the appeal. No appeal was therefore permitted. The Speaker was arbitrary. The Speaker could refuse to put a motion to adjourn to the House, and on appeal refuse to entertain the appeal. When a question was under debate and a member moved to lay the proposition or bill upon the table, the Speaker claimed the right to say that that motion was dilatory, and rule it out of order; and also rule out of order any appeal from his decision. This put the whole power of the House, and every member of the House, in the hands of the Speaker. From that decision there was no appeal allowed, and, therefore, he was the master of the situation. Gentlemen speak about giving the right to the majority to rule. I am in favor of that; but I am opposed to giving the right to any one man, whether he be Speaker or member, to pass upon the motives of others and to put a veto upon all our proceedings.

This was one of the things which was unprecedented and revolutionary in its character, and excited most largely the contentions which arose in the Fifty-first Congress.

No proposition has come from any Democratic House or committee to return to that proposition; and so long as this country endures, no Democratic majority, in my judgment, will propose such things to a Democratic House.

Mr. DOLLIVER. I may misunderstand the power to stop filibustering given by the rules as reported, but if I understand them aright it simply transfers from the Speaker to the Committee on Rules the absolute power to prevent any form of dilatory motion after one such motion, and clothes the Democratic party with the power to stop filibustering against it, leaving the Republican party to take care of themselves.

Mr. SPRINGER. The difference is this: That it transfers the power to stop filibustering from the Speaker, who exercised it in the Fifty-first Congress, to the majority. When a question is presented for our action we transfer that power to the majority of the House, and the Republicans can vote upon that proposition to determine when dilatory motions shall be brought to an end, rather than to leave it to the Speaker, as was done by the Republican Congress, from whose holdings there was no appeal whatever.

Mr. DOLLIVER. At any rate the filibusterer is cut off by the new rules.

Mr. SPRINGER. The right to do so was given to the Speaker in the Fifty-first Congress, and he entertained just such motions as he chose to entertain.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. I understood the gentleman to say that the Republicans have the right to vote. [Laughter.] I hope we will have that privilege, and that you have not taken it away from us.

Mr. SPRINGER. So long as the Democratic party has control of this House the Republican party shall have the right to vote. [Applause.]

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Well, is it a fact that the Republican votes are counted?

Mr. SPRINGER. They will be counted.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. When?

Mr. SPRINGER. At the proper time.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. At the proper time! We hope that it will come; we have been waiting a long time.

Mr. SPRINGER. The motion need not be one of those known to the House as a dilatory motion.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. SPRINGER. I desire a few more moments.

There was no objection.

Mr. SPRINGER. The motion contemplated in this rule need not be what is known in parliamentary law as a dilatory motion. Any motion that the Speaker saw fit to decide to be dilatory was ruled to be dilatory; and the Speaker refused to put it to the House. So that all motions were dilatory if the Speaker saw fit to decide them such, and from that decision he refused to entertain an appeal: hence every motion that might be made in this body was subject to his will as to whether it should be entertained or not.

Now, the other proposition which was new and, as we thought, revolutionary, was the right of the Speaker to count a quorum when there was a yea-and-nay vote, and when members who did not see fit to answer to their names were recorded as present and the proposition which declared as passed when a majority of those voting were in the affirmative. That was not giving the power of the majority of this House to legislate, but giving the power of the minority to legislate. No man can deny the right of a majority to pass any bill which it sees fit to pass, but we do deny the right of the minority of this House to pass a measure when the measure is presented and has not the consent of the majority, on the record, for its passage. Why, that is frequently seen in legislative bodies; and it happened in the State of Illinois in the last contest for Senator, when if one Republican had voted it would have resulted in the election of the Democratic candidate.

The Republicans would not vote: and if one Republican should have voted, he would have incurred the displeasure of the whole party, having, by voting, caused the election of the candidate of the opposite party. They did not go out of the Hall but they sat in their seats and refused to vote, and no speaker would have dared in that body to have counted those gentlemen as constituting a quorum and to have declared the Democratic Senator elected. It is, therefore, the right of the members of this House to quit the Chamber when we can defeat a bill by so doing, whereas if we remain in our seats we allow the bill to pass.

If the Democratic party in this House has a majority in favor of any measure it must bring its majority here. When it brings its majority here and passes its bill, it has a right to exercise that power; but I deny the right of a less number than a majority of this House to legislate and bind the country by its legislation. I hold that when there is a yea-and-nay vote, the only evidence that members are present and voting is the record of yeas and nays, and that every other record is outside of proper parliamentary proceedings, and ought not to be regarded, because it would enable two or three men to pass a bill while others were present and not voting, but simply counted as present. It would enable three men to pass a bill over the President's veto, if they voted in the affirmative, while a quorum sat here and refused to vote. Thus it will be seen this rule, or this alleged rule, can be reduced to an absurdity by applying it with its full force and effect.

The Democratic party in this House has never advanced in the direction of that rule. Neither has it advanced in the direction of the other rule called the dilatory-motion rule. So far as those two propositions are concerned, the Democratic party has not advanced in that direction and never will do so. They were regarded when introduced in the Fifty-first Congress as revolutionary, as a departure from all rule and all precedent, and on those grounds they were opposed by this side of the House; and, because we are trying now to simplify the rules in other respects, we can not be justly accused of any desire to adopt or even to palliate what we believe to have been the objectionable features of the rules adopted by the Fifty-first Congress.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentle-

man from Mississippi, to strike out the words "which shall consist of 100 members."

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I hardly know myself what I should do unless I had some preconceived notions upon this subject. When I find the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] and the Supreme Court of the United States in opposition, of course it would be a very puzzling matter to me if I did not have some convictions of my own. [Laughter.] I am sorry that the gentleman can not seem to understand the matters involved in these discussions. I am exceedingly sorry that the Democratic party can not understand them, and I realize the truth of the old proverb that a match for the very gods is lack of knowledge—to put it in no harsher fashion. [Laughter.] It seems impossible to get the fundamental principles involved in this question fairly before the average Democratic mind.

Of course the higher ones among the Democracy, such as are put upon Committees on Rules, can understand more or less about this subject. [Laughter.] They understand some of the better things connected with parliamentary rules, although they may not be able to comprehend absolutely the highest, but in due time all of you gentlemen will be dragged to the light, and you will understand that prejudice even can be overcome, and that in the progress of time the truth must finally prevail.

I should not reply again to these strictures, but they appear again on the record, and, if undisputed, some one might suppose that something strange had been done. Filibustering, except in sporadic cases, is of modern origin and hence has received only modern treatment. You can not go back for a treatment for filibustering to a period before the disease set in. No cholera remedies were ever invented until cholera had made its appearance. But after all, the great principles of medical science which had existed through the centuries were appealed to in that case, as the principles of parliamentary law are appealed to in the treatment of this new enemy of order and decency, filibustering.

The power of the Chair is the power of the House. Gentlemen speak of it as if it was an individual who was doing all these things. How would it be possible for a single individual, for a presiding officer, to do what the House did not want done? How would it be possible for him, without support, to accomplish what the House did not intend? Why, when you state the question to yourselves you can at once see the absurdity of it, and whatever charges are made with regard to the Fifty-first Congress are made against the House itself, and a majority of it, who from first to last sustained the action of the Chair. Now, there is a great deal of talk about the nonentertainment of dilatory motions. Why, that, by general parliamentary law, is the duty of the presiding officer.

Let me give you a plain example of it. In the year 1880, if I am not mistaken in the date—it was in 1880 or 1881—33 members of the House of Commons undertook so to prolong debate as to stop the business of the House. In the House of Commons there never was even a previous question of the character we have here. Nevertheless at the end of forty hours the Speaker of the House, although the proposition was absolutely a new one there, filibustering having commenced with the gentlemen who were undertaking that particular act, announced to the House that he should call upon no more gentlemen to speak, should permit no more motions, but should put the question to the House.

The question was put to the House and was carried; and that was the origin of a real cloture law which now exists in the British House of Commons.

Mr. SPRINGER. Was that the first case in history?

Mr. REED. The first case in history? I think not. I think if you will take Mr. Crocker's treatise on parliamentary law you will find a plain recognition of that principle.

Now, let me say a word with regard to the exercise of this power; and I defy contradiction from any honest man on the other side. In addressing the House upon the adoption of the rules of the Fifty-first Congress—no, I did not address the House—I think it was in the report of the Committee on Rules that I made the remark—that this power over dilatory motions would never be exercised until every gentleman in this House knew the motions which were attempted were dilatory, and that the only danger was that the power should not be exercised soon enough. Now I say that it never was exercised until every man in this House believed and saw that dilatory motions were being used solely for the purpose of destroying time and stopping the public business.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. That is absolutely true.

Mr. REED. That is absolutely true; and every man within hearing of my voice who was present knows it to be true.

Men made confusion in their minds about motives. Why, sir, the presiding officer has nothing to do with motives. When the action attempted is a stoppage for willful purposes of the business of the House, and that is perfectly apparent, it is the duty of the presiding officer to interpose and arrest it; and in my judgment it will be the duty of the present Speaker to do so in the future proceedings of this House, notwithstanding what has taken place upon this report of the Committee on Rules. It is his general parliamentary power.

As to the question of appeals from the decision of the Chair, anybody can see that an appeal can be made a dilatory motion. The present occupant of the Chair, if I am not mistaken, attempted to make an exception by allowing appeals to be regarded as nondilatory motions, and the House voted otherwise, thus recognizing the right on the part of the Speaker—or rather his duty, because the Chair has no rights; he has duties to perform; that is all. This matter will in time become perfectly plain and simple. In time every gentleman will understand it. And I notice with gratification that as these debates go on there is less and less foolishness talked.

Why, sir, the gentleman from Illinois is much more sensible than he was during the period which has been referred to. [Laughter.] His language is much more moderate and reasonable. This does not result from his disposition to be on both sides of a great many questions; it is because the slow process of time has infiltrated him with some knowledge of these affairs, as I know it will the rest of you, gentlemen. [Laughter.] I bid you Godspeed in the progress you have thus far made. I know that Bourbonism is very strong in the Democratic party; I know that "conservatism" reigns triumphant there; but, after all, you will find that the world moves. [Laughter.]

The question being taken on the amendment of Mr. KYLE, it was agreed to; there being—ayes 118, noes 61.

The Clerk (proceeding to read) read the following:

The committee may, by the vote of a majority of the members present, at any time after the five minutes' debate has begun upon proposed amendments to any section or paragraph to a bill, close all debate upon such section or paragraph, or, at its election, upon the pending amendments only (which motion shall be decided without debate); but this shall not preclude further amendment, to be decided without debate.

Mr. ENLOE. I move to amend by inserting after the word "without" in line 7 of the paragraph just read the words "amendment or;" so as to read, "or at its election upon the pending amendments only, which motion shall be decided without amendment or debate."

Mr. CATCHINGS. We have no objection to that amendment.

Mr. ENLOE. Mr. Speaker, the object of this amendment is to perfect this paragraph. As I understand the purpose of the provision here reported, it is to enable the Committee of the Whole to close debate and bring the committee to a vote. It will be seen that without the words which I offer as an amendment, an unlimited number of amendments as to time might be offered and thereby the object of this paragraph be defeated.

Mr. REED. This paragraph is the same that was adopted in the Fifty-first Congress, was it not?

Mr. ENLOE. I have not looked to see. I want to say to the gentleman from Maine that when I am trying to determine what ought to govern this House I do not look to see what governed the Fifty-first Congress.

Mr. REED. I am sorry to hear the gentleman say that. It might imply his disapproval of the rules of the Fifty-first Congress.

Mr. ENLOE. Not as an entirety. There are several paragraphs in the pending code of rules which were the rules of the Fifty-first Congress and were readopted by the Fifty-second Congress upon my motion. And I believe I then received the compliment from the gentleman of being classed as among those intelligent Democrats who were making a little progress. [Laughter.]

Mr. REED. Well, I had forgotten, probably, the gentleman's position.

Mr. ENLOE. And I wish to say also to the gentleman from Maine that I appreciated a compliment of that character coming from him, because I was educated in the school of the Fifty-first Congress, and learned there considerable "parliamentary" law. Every gentleman who served through that Congress ought to be able to throw some little light on the rules that ought to govern the methods of administration in this House, and he should have gained experience which will be profitable in his future legislative work.

I thank the gentleman from Maine for past compliments, and I also appreciate the force and significance of the lectures which he has delivered to us from time to time. We recognize that as his prerogative, for to lecture Democrats is about all he will be able to do in this Congress. [Laughter.]

Mr. REED. I think under the system of rules proposed that is very probable.

Mr. ENLOE. That is one reason why I favor these rules.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Will my colleague allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. ENLOE. Certainly.

Mr. McMILLIN. If the amendment of my colleague is adopted what will be the effect? Suppose, for instance, that the House is in Committee of the Whole and the member in charge of a bill proposes to limit debate say to ten minutes, will not the effect of your amendment be to prevent the possibility of the committee adopting any different time if it sees proper to do so?

Mr. ENLOE. You mean any different time for debate?

Mr. McMILLIN. Yes.

Mr. ENLOE. I think not.

Mr. BURROWS. Why not?

Mr. McMILLIN. It strikes me that that would be the effect of it.

Mr. ENLOE. The committee can vote down the proposition if it does not like the limitation, and adopt some other. But if the proposition to close debate is to remain as it is now in the rule, many other amendments may be offered. The motion may be made to close debate in five minutes, another may be made to close it in six, and so on illimitably.

Mr. McMILLIN. Limit the number of amendments, if you please, that may be offered; but it does seem to me that the House ought not to put itself into the awkward attitude of being unable to vote at any other time than that suggested by the gentleman having the bill in charge. It may not be satisfactory to the House.

There is no such necessity for the House to tie itself up in that way. I am willing to do anything that will expedite business, but I am not willing to see the House put itself in this awkward position from which it can not extricate itself. It ought to be in the power of the House at all times to amend such motions in the first, second, and third degrees whenever it sees fit to do so.

Mr. ENLOE. It occurs to me that the House, if it did not desire to close the debate in the time suggested by the gentleman in charge of the bill, could vote down the motion to close debate, and immediately thereafter another motion fixing a different time would be in order.

Mr. McMILLIN. Why not avoid the whole difficulty by making the motion to close debate amendable? Now, I sympathize with the disposition of my colleague to expedite business. But by this plan as proposed here the House will find itself tied hand and foot. You may say that one or two amendments could be offered to the amendment to close debate, which would remedy the difficulty. But there ought to be means by which other members would be able to get the sense of the House concerning the time, which might be a very different idea from that suggested by the gentleman in charge of the bill.

Mr. ENLOE. I am willing to accept the suggestion of the gentleman if he will put it in the form of an amendment, so as to limit the amendments for closing debate to two.

Mr. McMILLIN. I only made the suggestion with the view of showing that the rule if adopted as proposed to be amended by my friend will have the effect, when the House is in Committee of the Whole, and the gentleman in charge of the bill proposes to limit debate to one, two, or ten minutes, that even if the House wishes to fix the debate at twenty or thirty minutes it will have no power to offer an amendment to that end. Now, I do not think we ought to be placed in that situation.

Mr. ENLOE. I think the committee would vote down the proposition if it was not agreeable, and adopt another.

Mr. McMILLIN. But if it votes it down we then have no proposition to limit debate at all. Whereas if the right to amend exists, the House can, while it is in consideration of the question, limit the debate to some fixed hour.

Mr. ENLOE. I think a new motion might be submitted as fast as the preceding motions are voted down if the committee saw proper to do so.

If you did not close the debate on the motion the House, after it has voted down that motion, can entertain a motion to close debate at any other time, which would be in order. It is a matter that the House could control at any time by different votes.

The question being taken on the amendment of Mr. ENLOE, the House divided; and there were—ayes 26, noes 62.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk, continuing the reading of the rules, read as follows:

Third. On Friday of each week, after the morning hour, it shall be in order to entertain a motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House to consider business on the Private Calendar; and if this motion fail, then public business shall be in order as on other days.

Mr. ENLOE. Mr. Speaker, I offer the amendment which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Add to Rule XXIV: "Memorial services in honor of deceased members of the Senate and House of Representatives may be held in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Sundays, and the eulogies may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as heretofore; but eulogies on deceased members of the Senate and House of Representatives shall not be in order at any other time."

Mr. ENLOE. Mr. Speaker, this is another amendment in the interest of economy of the public time, and to promote the business of the session. We have been in the habit and are in the habit of indulging in very expensive grief when any member of Congress or of the Senate dies during the session. In fact, whether the death occurs during the session or not, we are in the habit of setting apart days for pronouncing eulogies, in addition to the time that we lose by adjournments out of respect to the deceased.

I want to try to economize a little of the public time by making provisions for using this Hall for funeral services on Sunday. That day is better fitted for such services than any other day of the week.

We spend from twenty to thirty days of every session of Congress in pronouncing eulogies in honor of deceased members—eulogies which are pronounced to empty chairs. Nobody comes here to listen to eulogies when we pronounce them during the other days of the week; but if we were to fix Sunday for paying tributes of respect to our deceased colleagues, there would be a large attendance of people who would be interested in hearing the eulogies to be pronounced on such occasions. It would answer all the purposes of those who speak, for us to have memorial addresses printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It would be no desecration of the Sabbath to do it, because it is perfectly in harmony with the idea of a Sabbath to hold funeral services on that day.

I tried to get this amendment adopted in the rules of the Fifty-second Congress, and I then had the assistance of the distinguished gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED]. I hope that I may have his assistance now in trying to get this House to adopt an amendment which will certainly contribute much to the interest of the services for deceased members, and it will go far to hasten the end of the session by preventing the consumption of the working time of the House.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Why not have these memorial services at evening sessions?

Mr. ENLOE. I would have no objection to following the suggestion of my colleague from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS], that we hold evening sessions for this purpose. I have no objection to evening sessions for this purpose, but I do not believe that the House ought to set apart days during the week for pronouncing eulogies, which nobody will come to hear, except the gentlemen who are to speak.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman modify his amendment?

Mr. ENLOE. I think I will let it stand, and if the House wants to modify it, it can do so; and if it wants to vote it down it can do so.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I have no objection to it, so far as I am concerned.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Let the amendment be again reported.

The amendment proposed by Mr. ENLOE was again read.

Mr. HEARD. Mr. Speaker, I move to amend the amendment by striking out the word Sunday, and insert in lieu thereof the words—

at evening sessions of the House.

Mr. COGSWELL and others. Oh, no.

Mr. HEARD. I offer the amendment as expressing my views of what we ought to do in the premises. Any other gentleman is at liberty to offer any modification he deems proper.

Mr. MILLIKEN. I hope that the amendment of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HEARD] will not prevail, because I think the suggestion of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. ENLOE] that nobody comes to hear these eulogies when they are delivered on week days, would apply still more forcibly to the evening sessions. I think if it were on Sunday members of Congress would come here to listen to them. In the evening, after we have been through a long day's session, when every one is tired, but few of us will come, and the same thing which happens at other evening sessions will happen then.

There can be no reason that I can conceive of why these services should not be held on Sunday. It is eminently appropriate that they should be. Why, private funerals all over the country are quite as liable to be held on Sunday as on any other day, and I think more so; and it seems to me that the amendment just as it comes from the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. ENLOE] is a proper amendment to be adopted by the House.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HEARD] to the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. ENLOE]. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. ENLOE], and then the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HEARD].

The amendments were again read.

The amendment to the amendment, offered by Mr. HEARD, was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question now is on the amendment to the rules proposed by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. ENLOE].

The question being taken, the Speaker announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

On a division (demanded by Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa) there were—ayes 101, noes 41.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 86, nays 117, not voting 150; as follows:

YEAS—86

Aldrich,	Cooper, Ind.	Johnson, Ohio	Sibley,
Allen,	Cooper, Tex.	Joy,	Simpson,
Bailey,	Cox,	Lacey,	Snodgrass,
Baker, N. H.	Cummings,	Layton,	Springer,
Baldwin,	Daniels,	Lynch,	Stallings,
Barnes,	Davis,	Maguire,	Stevens,
Bartholdt,	De Armond,	McDannold,	Tarsney,
Bell, Colo.	Denson,	McDearmon,	Taylor, Ind.
Boen,	Dockery,	McLaurin,	Thomas,
Bowers, Cal.	Epes,	McRae,	Tracey,
Brawley,	Erdman,	Milliken,	Tucker,
Brookshire,	Everett,	Morgan,	Turner,
Brosius,	Fithian,	Neill,	Tyler,
Bryan,	Forman,	Oates,	Warner,
Bunn,	Fyan,	Outhwaite,	Wells,
Cannon, Cal.	Gillet, N. Y.	Patterson,	Wheeler, Ala.
Capehart,	Gresham,	Pence,	Whiting,
Catchings,	Hager,	Pendleton, Tex.	Williams, Miss.
Clarke, Ala.	Hainer,	Pendleton, W. Va.	Wilson, Ohio
Cockran,	Hayes,	Reed,	Woomer.
Coffeen,	Hunter,	Robbins,	
Cogswell,	Ikirt,	Shaw,	

NAYS—117.

Abbott,	Covert,	Kiefer,	Perkins,
Adams,	Culberson,	Kribbs,	Pickler,
Alderson,	Curtis, Kans.	Kyle,	Richardson, Tenn
Alexander,	De Forest,	Lane,	Ritchie,
Arnold,	Dinsmore,	Latimer,	Robertson, La.
Avery,	Dolliver,	Lawson,	Russell, Ga.
Baker, Kans.	Doolittle,	Lester,	Ryan,
Barwig,	Durborow,	Loudenslager,	Sayers,
Beltzhoover,	Edmunds,	Lucas,	Schermerhorn,
Black, Ga.	Ellis, Oregon	Maddox,	Smith,
Blair,	English,	Mahon,	Sperry,
Breckinridge, Ky.	Fletcher,	Mallory,	Stone, C. W.
Bretz,	Gear,	Marshall,	Stone, W. A.
Brickner,	Geissenhainer,	Martin, Ind.	Strong,
Broderick,	Grady,	McAleer,	Swanson,
Burnes,	Hall, Mo.	McCall,	Talbert, S. C.
Burrows,	Hammond,	McCreary, Ky.	Talbott, Md.
Bynum,	Hare,	McCulloch,	Tate,
Cabaniss,	Hartman,	McGann,	Tawney,
Caldwell,	Haugen,	McKaig,	Terry,
Causey,	Heard,	McMillin,	Turpin,
Clark, Mo.	Henderson, Iowa	Meiklejohn,	Updegraff,
Cobb, Ala.	Hepburn,	Mercer,	Van Voorhis, Ohio
Cockrell,	Hines,	Meredith,	Weadock,
Compton,	Hooker, Miss.	Meyer,	Williams, Ill.
Conn,	Hopkins, Ill.	Moon,	Wolverton,
Coombs,	Hulick,	Moses,	Wright, Pa.
Cooper, Fla.	Hutcheson,	Murray,	
Cornish,	Johnson, Ind.	Page,	
Cousins,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Payne,	

NOT VOTING—150.

Aitken,	Dunphy,	Jones,	Rayner,
Apsley,	Ellis, Ky.	Kem,	Reilly,
Babcock,	Enloe,	Kilgore,	Reyburn,
Bankhead,	Fellows,	Lapham,	Richards, Ohio
Bartlett,	Fielder,	Lefever,	Richardson, Mich.
Belden,	Fitch,	Lilly,	Robinson, Pa.
Bell, Tex.	Funk,	Linton,	Rusk,
Berry,	Funston,	Lisle,	Russell, Conn.
Bingham,	Gardner,	Livingston,	Scranton,
Black, Ill.	Geary,	Lockwood,	Settle,
Blanchard,	Gillett, Mass.	Loud,	Shell,
Bland,	Goldzier,	Magner,	Sherman,
Boatner,	Goodnight,	Marsh,	Sickles,
Boutelle,	Gorman,	Marvin, N. Y.	Sipe,
Bower, N. C.	Graham,	McCleary, Minn.	Somers,
Branch,	Grosvenor,	McDowell,	Stephenson,
Brattan,	Grout,	McEttrick,	Stockdale,
Breckinridge, Ark.	Haines,	McKeighan,	Stone, Ky.
Brown,	Hall, Minn.	McNagny,	Storer,
Cadmus,	Harmer,	Money,	Strait,
Caminetti,	Harris,	Montgomery,	Sweet,
Campbell,	Harter,	Morse,	Taylor, Tenn.
Cannon, Ill.	Hatch,	Mutchler,	Van Voorhis, N. Y.
Caruth,	Heiner,	Newlands,	Wadsworth,
Chickering,	Henderson, Ill.	Northway,	Walker,
Childs,	Henderson, N. C.	O'Ferrall,	Wanger,
Clancy,	Hendrix,	O'Neil, Mass.	Washington,
Cobb, Mo.	Hermann,	O'Neill, Pa.	Waugh,
Cooper, Wis.	Hicks,	Paschal,	Wever,
Crain,	Hilborn,	Paynter,	Wheeler, Ill,
Crawford,	Hitt,	Pearson,	White,
Curtis, N. Y.	Holman,	Phillips,	Wilson, Wash.
Dalzell,	Hooker, N. Y.	Pigott,	Wilson, W. Va.
Davey,	Hopkins, Pa.	Post,	Wise,
Dingley,	Houk, Ohio	Powers,	Woodard.
Donovan,	Houk, Tenn.	Price,	Wright, Mass.
Draper,	Hudson,	Randall,	
Dunn.	Hull,	Ray,	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. BRETZ. Mr. Speaker, I desire to say that my colleague [Mr. NAGNY] has been called home on account of sickness in his family, and I ask that he be excused indefinitely.

There was no objection.

The following pairs are announced:

Until further notice:

Mr. PEARSON with Mr. WADSWORTH.

Mr. MONTGOMERY with Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania.

Mr. FITCH with Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee.

Mr. KILGORE with Mr. GROSVENER.

Mr. GOODNIGHT with Mr. LOUD.

Mr. HATCH with Mr. HARMER.

Mr. BLANCHARD with Mr. HENDERSON of Illinois.

Mr. BLAND with Mr. DINGLEY.

Mr. CAMPBELL with Mr. BELDEN.

Mr. HAINES with Mr. LEFEVER.

Mr. LOCKWOOD with VAN VOORHIS of New York.

Mr. STEVENS with Mr. RANDALL.

Mr. MAGNER with Mr. CHICKERING.

Mr. COCKRAN with Mr. SHERMAN.

Mr. SHELL with Mr. MARSH.

Mr. BRANCH with Mr. SETTLE.

Mr. GRAHAM with Mr. LINTON.

Mr. ENLOE with Mr. BOUTELLE.

Mr. EDMUNDS with Mr. LOUDENSLAGER.

Mr. DUNPHY with Mr. WEVER.

Mr. TUCKER with Mr. RUSSELL of Connecticut.

Mr. HENDERSON of North Carolina with Mr. CANNON of Illinois.

Mr. ERDMAN with Mr. WANGER.

Mr. ASPLEY with Mr. RYAN.

Mr. MCETTRICK with Mr. MORSE, until Wednesday next.

Mr. JONES with Mr. SCRANTON, until Thursday next.

Mr. LAPHAM with Mr. DRAPER, for ten days.

For this day:

Mr. O'FERRALL with Mr. WAUGH.

Mr. ELLIS of Kentucky with Mr. WALKER.

Mr. O'NEIL of Massachusetts with Mr. COGSWELL.

Mr. CRAIN with Mr. SWEET.

Mr. STOCKDALE with Mr. AITKEN.

Mr. WASHINGTON with Mr. ROBINSON of Pennsylvania.

Mr. REILLY with Mr. REYBURN.

Mr. BERRY with Mr. GILLETT of Massachusetts.

Mr. STONE of Kentucky with Mr. LILLY.

Mr. CAMINETTI with Mr. POST.

Mr. CARUTH with Mr. HEINER.

Mr. ENLOE. I am paired with the gentleman from Maine [Mr. BOUTELLE].

The result of the vote was then announced as above recorded.

Mr. ENLOE. Mr. Speaker, I desire to offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On the death of a member of the House of Representatives, or of the Senate, the Speaker shall appoint a committee to draft a suitable tribute of respect to the deceased member, which shall be published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Speeches eulogizing deceased members shall not be in order at any time, and the Speaker shall not entertain any motion to fix a time for pronouncing eulogies on any deceased member of the Senate or House of Representatives.

Mr. ENLOE. Mr. Speaker, we have just had an exhibition of the truth of the statement of the gentleman from Maine when he spoke of a certain storm center in the neighborhood of the House of Representatives. On a vote which was not a record vote, the amendment I offered a few moments ago commended itself to the judgment of the House, but on a record vote it did not commend itself to the judgment of the House. [Laughter.]

There is a difference between the judgment of the House and the courage of the House. I do not mean to complain of gentlemen, however, who became stampeded and ran away from the amendment under the idea that it provided for a session of the House on Sunday; but I want to assure them that such was not the fact. It simply granted the use of the Hall of the House of Representatives on Sundays for the purpose of pronouncing eulogies on deceased members. Mr. Speaker, I expect that many gentlemen here belong to different secret orders which hold memorial services over deceased members on Sunday, such as the Masonic fraternity, the Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias, and many other good orders of the same character. There is no desecration of the Sabbath in that and there was none in this. Some gentlemen seem to fear a charge of voting to violate the Sabbath who would not, I think, be afraid of violating it themselves if it were not made a matter of record.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I propose, if possible, to get rid of this practice of having the House of Representatives spend twenty or thirty days in each Congress pronouncing eulogies on deceased members. The proposition I have just submitted provides that the Speaker shall appoint a committee which shall

draft a suitable tribute of respect to the deceased member, that it may be printed in the RECORD so that a copy may be sent to the family of the deceased member. That will answer all the purposes of a tribute to the virtues of the dead. It is true it will deny to some gentlemen the opportunity to write up speeches and have them printed in the RECORD, and come here and deliver them when there is nobody to hear them. I know I will encounter opposition when I offer to cut off this precious privilege of airing grief; but the country is getting tired of such expensive exhibitions of grief over deceased members. I hope the House then, in the interest of economy of time, will agree to this amendment.

Mr. COX. I would like to ask a question of my colleague?

Mr. ENLOE. Certainly.

Mr. COX. Do you not really expect that you will die in Congress; and would not you want us to say all the good things we could of you?

Mr. ENLOE. Mr. Speaker, I am glad the gentleman asked me that question. I have no intention, if I can avoid it, of giving any such body as this an opportunity to pronounce a eulogy over me. [Laughter.] I do not want some gentlemen here who I am sure would take pleasure in doing it to have that opportunity. [Laughter.]

The question was taken; and the Speaker declared that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. ENLOE. I ask for a division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 51, noes 64.

Mr. ENLOE. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, 27 members voting in favor thereof.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 71, nays 125, not voting 157; as follows:

YEAS—71.

Allen,	Heard,	Henderson, Iowa	Sibley,
Avery,	Davis,	Hudson,	Simpson,
Bailey,	De Forest,	Johnson, Ohio	Snodgrass,
Baker, N. H.	Dinsmore,	Joy,	Springer,
Bartholdt,	Draper,	Kiefer,	Storer,
Bell, Colo.	Ellis, Oregon,	Kribbs,	Strong,
Boen,	Everett,	Mallory,	Talbert, S. C.
Bowers, Cal.	Fithian,	McCleary, Minn.	Tarsney,
Brawley,	Fyan,	McDannold,	Taylor, Ind.
Brookshire,	Gear,	McDearmon,	Tucker,
Burrows,	Geary,	McLaurin,	Turner,
Cadmus,	Goldzier,	Morgan,	Tyler,
Cannon, Cal.	Hager,	Moses,	Updegraff,
Clark, Mo.	Hainer,	Pence,	Warner,
Conn,	Harris,	Reed,	Williams, Miss.
Coombs,	Hartman,	Robbins,	Wilson, Ohio
Cooper, Fla.	Haugen,	Sayers,	Woomer.
Cummings,	Hayes,	Shaw,	

NAYS—125.

Abbott,	Curtis, Kans.	Lester,	Rayner,
Adams,	Daniels,	Livingston,	Richards, Ohio
Alderson,	De Armond,	Loudenslager,	Richardson, Tenn.
Aldrich,	Denson,	Lynch,	Ritchie,
Alexander,	Dockery,	Lucas,	Robertson, La.
Arnold,	Dolliver,	Maddox,	Russell, Ga.
Baker, Kans.	Donovan,	Maguire,	Ryan,
Barwig,	Doolittle,	Marshall,	Schermerhorn,
Beltzhoover,	Durburow,	Martin, Ind.	Smith,
Black, Ga.	Edmunds,	McCall,	Sperry,
Blair,	English,	McCreary, Ky.	Stallings,
Bower, N. C.	Epes,	McCulloch,	Stone, C. W.
Breckinridge, Ark.	Erdman,	McKaig,	Stone, W. A.
Bretz,	Forman,	McKeighan,	Strait,
Brickner,	Geissenhainer,	McRae,	Sweet,
Broderick,	Grady,	Meiklejohn,	Tate,
Brosius,	Gresham,	Mercer,	Tawney,
Bunn,	Haines,	Meyer,	Terry,
Burnes.	Hare,	Milliken,	Thomas,
Cabaniss,	Hepburn,	Moon,	Tracey,
Catchings,	Hilborn,	Murray,	Turpin,
Causey,	Hooker, Miss.	Neill,	Wanger,
Clarke, Ala.	Hopkins, Ill.	O'Neil, Mass.	Weadock,
Cobb, Ala.	Houk, Ohio	Page,	Wells.
Cockrell,	Hulick,	Payne,	Wheeler, Ala.
Coffeen,	Hunter,	Paynter,	Whiting,
Cooper, Tex.	Hutcheson,	Pendleton, Tex.	Wilson, W. Va.
Cornish,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Pendleton, W. Va.	Wolverton,
Cousins,	Lacey,	Perkins,	Wright, Pa.
Covert,	Lane.	Phillips,	
Cox,	Lawson,	Pickler,	
Culberson,	Layton,	Pigott,	

NOT VOTING—157.

Aitken,	Brattan,	Compton,	Funk,
Apsley,	Breckinridge, Ky	Cooper, Ind.	Funston,
Babcock,	Brown,	Cooper, Wis.	Gardner,
Baldwin,	Bryan,	Crain.	Gillet, N. Y.
Bankhead,	Bynum,	Crawford,	Gillett, Mass.
Barnes,	Caldwell,	Curtis, N. Y.	Goodnight,
Bartlett,	Caminetti,	Dalzell,	Gorman,
Belden,	Campbell,	Davey,	Graham,
Bell, Tex.	Cannon, Ill.	Dingley,	Grosvenor,
Berry,	Capehart,	Dunn.	Grout.
Bingham,	Caruth,	Dunphy,	Hall, Minn.
Black, Ill.	Chickering,	Ellis, Ky.	Hall, Mo.
Blanchard,	Childs,	Enloe.	Hammond,
Bland,	Clancy,	Fellows,	Harmer,
Boatner,	Cobb, Mo.	Fielder,	Harter,
Boutelle,	Cockran,	Fitch,	Hatch,
Branch,	Cogswell,	Fletcher,	Heiner,
Henderson, Ill.	Lisle,	Outhwaite,	Stevens,
Henderson, N. C.	Lockwood,	Paschal,	Stockdale,
Hendrix,	Loud,	Patterson,	Stone, Ky.
Hermann,	Magner,	Pearson,	Swanson,
Hicks,	Mahon,	Post,	Talbott, Md.
Hines,	Marsh,	Powers,	Taylor, Tenn.
Hitt,	Marvin, N. Y.	Price,	Van Voorhis, N. Y.
Holman,	McAleer,	Randall,	Van Voorhis, Ohio
Hooker, N. Y.	McDowell,	Ray,	Wadsworth,
Hopkins, Pa.	McEttrick,	Reilly,	Walker,
Houk, Tenn.	McGann,	Reyburn,	Washington,
Hull,	McMillin,	Richardson, Mich.	Waugh,
Ikirt,	McNagny,	Robinson, Pa.	Wever,
Johnson, Ind.	Meredith,	Rusk,	Wheeler, Ill.
Jones,	Money,	Russell, Conn.	White,
Kem,	Montgomery,	Scranton,	Williams, Ill.
Kilgore,	Morse,	Settle,	Wilson, Wash.
Kyle,	Mutchler,	Shell,	Wise,
Lapham,	Newlands,	Sherman,	Woodard.
Latimer,	Northway,	Sickles,	Wright, Mass.
Lefever,	Oates,	Sipe,	
Lilly,	O'Ferrall,	Somers,	
Linton,	O'Neill, Pa.	Stephenson,	

So the amendment was rejected.

The following additional pair was announced: Mr. BRYAN with Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin, until further notice.

Mr. ENLOE. I am paired with the gentleman from Maine (Mr. BOUTELLE). Mr. Speaker, I offer the amendment which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The amendment was read, as follows:

The Hall of the House of Representatives may be used on Sunday for the purpose of holding memorial services in honor of deceased members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, and the colleagues of the deceased may give notice in open session of the House of such services. The eulogies pronounced on such occasions may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as heretofore, but eulogies shall not be in order at any session of the House.

Mr. ENLOE. Mr. Speaker, I understand that a number of gentlemen voted awhile ago against a proposition somewhat similar to this under the impression that it provided for Sunday sessions of the House. I do not think the language of that amendment was fairly subject to any such construction, but in order to remove that difficulty from the minds of members I present this proposition, and I hope the House will adopt it.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. ENLOE. Mr. Speaker, I offer the amendment which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The amendment was read, as follows:

Upon the announcement of the death of a member it shall be in order for members to make remarks on the life and character of deceased, at the conclusion of which the House shall adjourn, and no other memorial services or eulogies shall be in order.

Mr. ENLOE. Mr. Speaker, I have been trying to get some rule adopted by the House that will meet the requirements of this particular branch of our business here, and I think that if we adopt this amendment, then when we do have eulogies there will be some heart and spirit in them. Gentlemen will not go off and spend several days preparing eulogies to be read to empty benches, but each gentleman who feels disposed will rise upon the announcement of the death and will say what he desires to say about the deceased. In that way the matter will be disposed of, and we shall save one day in each case. I hope this amendment will be adopted.

The question was taken, and the Speaker declared that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. ENLOE. I ask for a division.

Mr. MEIKLEJOHN. Mr. Speaker, may we have the amendment again reported?

The amendment was again read, and it was then rejected—ayes 16, noes 78.

The Clerk read as follows:

RULE XXVI.

2. The second and fourth Mondays in each month shall be set apart for the consideration of such business as shall have been previously reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia, unless otherwise determined by the House.

Mr. HEARD. Mr. Speaker, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The amendment was read, as follows:

Amend by striking out paragraph No. 2 of Rule XXVI, and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"2. The second and fourth Mondays in each month shall, when claimed by the Committee on the District of Columbia, be set apart for the consideration of such business as may be presented by said committee."

Mr. HEARD. Mr. Speaker, the object of this is to restore the text of the rule of the Fifty-second and preceding Congresses, and the Committee on Rules have agreed to accept the amendment.

The amendment was adopted.

Mr. DE ARMOND. Mr. Speaker, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The amendment was read, as follows:

Amend by inserting the following:

"RULE XXXIII.

"ATTENDANCE AND PAY OF MEMBERS AND DELEGATES.

"No Member or Delegate shall receive compensation for any month in which the House shall be in session until after he shall have presented to the Sergeant-at-Arms a statement, subscribed by him, showing the number of days, if any, of his absence from the House during such month, the cause of such absence, and whether with or without the leave of the House; and the Sergeant-at-Arms shall deduct from the monthly payments of each Member and Delegate the amount of his salary for each day of his absence from the House, unless such Member or Delegate, in his written statement aforesaid, assigns as reason for such absence the sickness of himself or of some member of his family."

Mr. DE ARMOND. Mr. Speaker, if this rule be adopted it will be merely declaratory of the law as it at present exists.

Section 40 of the Revised Statutes reads as follows:

The Secretary of the Senate and the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House, respectively, shall deduct from the monthly payments of each Member or Delegate the amount of his salary for each day that he has been absent from the Senate or House, respectively, unless such Member or Delegate assigns as the reason for such absence the sickness of himself or of some member of his family.

The fact is, Mr. Speaker, there is very great difference here as to the attendance of different members. The law has provided clearly—but it has not been followed—that those who are absent, except on account of sickness of themselves or members of their families, shall not be paid for the time they are absent. I have no notion that it is necessary to put anything into the rules in order to add to the force of this law, or to make this duty any more binding upon the Sergeant-at-Arms.

As a matter of fact, however, deductions have not been made from the pay of members on account of their absence; nor have members been called on to state why they have been absent; but all have been paid alike. There comes to my mind now one notable instance of absenteeism in the last House. One of the members from New York, Mr. Stahlnecker by name, was here at the time of the holding of the Democratic caucus and was here, I think, at the time of the election of officers of the House; he then vanished, and during the first session of that Congress this House knew him no more.

There are other instances, perhaps not so remarkable, not so notorious, but sufficiently numerous to suggest that we should do whatever we can to remedy this abuse. I think that a member before receiving his pay for any month during any part of which the House has been in session should make to the Sergeant-at-Arms a statement showing whether he has been absent and declaring whether he claims that his absence, if any, was occasioned by the sickness of himself or his family. If occasioned in that way he is entitled under the law to full compensation, if not he is not entitled to compensation for the time he is absent, if the law is to be regarded. I think this rule should be adopted.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Missouri, in the remarks just made, has taken occasion to allude to my predecessor, Hon. William G. Stahlnecker, as a special instance of absenteeism during the last Congress. I wish to say, on behalf of Mr. Stahlnecker, that his absence was caused by sickness, and was in accordance with the direct orders of his physician. I deem it proper that this exculpatory statement should go upon the record in connection with the remark just made by the gentleman from Missouri.

The question being taken on the amendment of Mr. DE ARMOND, there were, on a division—ayes 19, noes 87.

Mr. DE ARMOND. I make the point that no quorum has voted.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman makes the point of no quorum. The Chair will appoint tellers.

Mr. DE ARMOND. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were not ordered; there being—ayes 12, noes 106; less than one-fifth voting in the affirmative.

The SPEAKER. The demand for the yeas and nays is refused; the noes have it——

Mr. DE ARMOND. Mr. Speaker, the point of "no quorum" has been made. The suggestion was made by the Speaker that tellers would be appointed. I then asked for the yeas and nays, but I did not withdraw the point of "no quorum," and I do not now withdraw it.

Several MEMBERS. Too late.

The SPEAKER. Technically, after the adoption of the rules this point would come too late. When no quorum has voted, the demand for the yeas and nays is generally understood to be a waiver of the point of "no quorum;" but in the absence of formal rules the Chair has not enforced this point against several gentlemen during this debate, and will not now enforce it against the gentleman from Missouri. The point of "no quorum" being made, tellers will be appointed. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DE ARMOND] will please act as tellers.

The House again divided; and the tellers reported—ayes 10, noes 172.

So the amendment of Mr. DE ARMOND was rejected.

The Clerk (proceeding to read) read the following:

RULE XLV.

RULES OF THE HOUSE.

These rules shall be the rules of the House of Representatives of the present and succeeding Congresses, unless otherwise ordered.

Mr. WEADOCK. Mr. Speaker, it is already declared in a previous part of these rules that they are to be the rules of the House of Representatives; but no rules which we may now adopt can bind the House in any succeeding Congress; so it seems to me there is no necessity for the declaration embraced in the rule now pending.

Mr. REED. It has been the Democratic custom, just the same, to adopt such a rule.

Mr. WEADOCK. It does no good, and if there has been any custom such as suggested, I do not think we should continue it.

Mr. REED. I quite agree with the gentleman.

The question being taken on the amendment of Mr. WEADOCK, it was agreed to.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I ask consent to go back to Rule XXVIII, on page 29, for the purpose of correcting a misprint. At the end of the paragraph the words "such proposition" were inadvertently omitted, and should be inserted.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the paragraph as proposed to be amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

3. When a motion to suspend the rules has been seconded, it shall be in order, before the final vote is taken thereon, to debate the proposition to be voted upon for thirty minutes, one-half of such time to be given to debate in favor of, and one-half to debate in opposition to, such proposition.

The SPEAKER. If there be no objection, the proposed amendment will be agreed to.

There was no objection.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I now desire to move the previous question——

Mr. BURROWS. One moment, if the gentleman pleases. I desire to make a motion to substitute for the pending rules the rules of the Fifty-first Congress, with one amendment. I ask the Clerk to read my proposition as I send it to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. BURROWS offers as a substitute the rules of the House of the Fifty-first Congress, with this amendment: Amend Rule VIII by inserting, after clause 1, the following:

"Whenever on any question a quorum is found not to be present there shall be a call of the House, and the yeas and nays on the pending question shall at the same time be ordered. The Clerk shall call the roll, and each member as he answers to his name or is brought before the House under the proceedings of a call of the House shall vote on the pending question. If those voting on the question and those who are present and decline to vote shall together make a majority of the House, the Speaker shall declare that a quorum is constituted, and the pending question shall be decided as those voting shall appear."

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. Speaker, just a word in relation to this motion.

I offer as a substitute for the code of rules submitted to the House by the Committee on Rules, the rules of the Fifty-first Congress, with a single modification, which modification, however, we deem to be very important. The practice has obtained heretofore and it will doubtless be continued in this Congress when a question is under consideration, for the minority to abstain from voting, with a view of breaking a quorum and forcing a call of the House, and as the rules which you will probably adopt do not provide for counting those members thus abstaining from voting as present, a motion for a call of the House will be in order.

On that call every member who declined to vote will respond to his name, showing the presence of a quorum; then the question will recur on the proposition, and the minority will again decline to vote, leaving the House without a quorum. Another call of the House is in order, when the silent member will respond as before, and the question will again recur on the original proposition, on which the minority again decline to vote, and so the process continues *ad infinitum*. The amendment which I suggest to the rules of the Fifty-first Congress provides that when a call of the House is ordered the yeas and nays shall also be considered as ordered at the same time on the pending proposition; so that when the members of the House are called, under the call of the House, they are required to vote on the proposition before the House, and thereby the proposition itself can be acted upon and the process of breaking a quorum will be thwarted. This rule was once submitted by Randolph Tucker, of Virginia, and there is no reason why it should not be adopted by a body desiring to transact business.

I have only one word to say in relation to the rules of the Fifty-first Congress. To the new members of the House the body of rules you are probably going to adopt will prove to be a source of serious disappointment. It has been objected that the

rules of the Fifty-first Congress had two serious objections. In the first place, they clothed the Speaker with arbitrary power to determine whether a motion was dilatory or not; but it will be observed that in the body of rules submitted by the Committee on Rules, and which you will probably adopt, the same power is given to the Speaker of this House. Under two of your proposed rules it is provided that no dilatory motion shall be entertained. One is in the case frequently cited of a motion to suspend the rules. That rule is as follows:

8. Pending a motion to suspend the rules the Speaker may entertain one motion that the House adjourn; but after the result thereon is announced he shall not entertain any other dilatory motion till the vote is taken on suspension.

Who is to determine what constitutes a "dilatory motion" within the meaning of that rule? The Speaker of the House, under your own rules. If the motives of members are not to be inquired into, why do you clothe the present Speaker with power to do it? And yet in two different instances, in this very code of rules which you have presented to the House, you clothe the Speaker with absolute power to determine whether a motion is or is not dilatory. So the objections urged against the body of the rules of the Fifty-first Congress, if they are of any validity, are equally forceful when applied to this code of rules.

Another ground of objection to the code of rules adopted by the Fifty-first Congress is that the Speaker is clothed with the power to count a quorum. That is not a just criticism. The rules as adopted by the Fifty-first Congress did not clothe the Speaker with any such power, but simply directed the Clerk, in calling the roll, if a member was present, recognized by the Clerk to be present, and declined to vote, to mark him as present and not voting. That is all there is of it. So that in determining the question whether a quorum was present or not you could add to the names of those voting and those not voting the names of those who were present and declined to vote on either side, and if the three combined showed the presence of a quorum a constitutional quorum was held to be present for the transaction of business. That is all there is in the rules of the Fifty-first Congress about counting a quorum, prescribed by a rule of the House and declared to be legal by the Supreme Court of the United States. But in this body of rules you clothe the Speaker himself, not through the Clerk, but on his own motion, with the power to count a quorum. Let me read you what the rule provides on this subject:

A call of the House shall not be in order after the previous question is ordered, unless it shall appear upon an actual count by the Speaker that a quorum is not present.

You provide in this code a system that gives to the Speaker of the House the right in two instances to determine whether a motion is dilatory or not. You clothe him with power to count and declare whether a quorum is present or not. That is all the rules of the Fifty-first Congress authorized. So the objections you have urged against the rules of the Fifty-first Congress are equally valid when applied to the code of rules we are now considering, and you had better at once adopt the rules of the Fifty-first Congress which stopped filibustering, which provided for the transaction of public business, rather than adopt this system which has the same features, but under which you may make it absolutely impossible to do one stroke of business if a minority interpose. Under this system of rules, except through the intervention of the Committee on Rules, this House will be absolutely powerless: and why?

Mr. TURNER. Will the gentleman allow me to interrupt him for a question?

Mr. BURROWS. Certainly.

Mr. TURNER. The rule which the gentleman cites as embodied in the proposed code is only a preliminary count, and the means of verifying the count of the Speaker still remains. But in the other case, where you refer to the counting of a quorum, that was part of a final proceeding.

Mr. REED. This is part of a final proceeding.

Mr. BURROWS. But in that case the record of those present and not voting is open to correction then and there, and it is just as clear and distinct as the record of the yeas and nays. It is simply a record of those present and not voting.

Mr. TURNER. But that final proceeding is a part of the call of the yeas and nays.

Mr. BURROWS. In this case, under the rules you adopt, after the previous question is ordered, no motion for a call of the House is in order if the Speaker, by a count, determines that a quorum is present. In other words, after the previous question is ordered—for instance, upon these rules, if we were operating under the rules—if I should move for a call of the House after the previous question is ordered the Speaker would be obliged under that rule to rise in his place and count this body to determine whether a quorum was present, because this rule provides for an actual count by the Speaker; and so the very thing you object to you embody in these rules.

Mr. REED. He would either be obliged to do it, or evade it.

Mr. BURROWS. Yes. One word more. Having shown that the things you object to are put in these rules, I want to say in conclusion, if the Chair will indulge me, that under these rules you will find yourself absolutely powerless. I will undertake to-morrow morning to prevent the reading of the Journal of this day's proceedings, and to stop the business of this House under these rules for the balance of the session, unless you invoke the help of the Committee on Rules. Everybody understands that, and I suppose it will be conceded that I can stop all proceedings to-morrow morning, and you can not lift a finger to write a law or pass a resolution, commencing to-morrow morning, unless the Committee on Rules comes in and stops filibustering.

The Committee on Rules is clothed with extraordinary power. Whenever you refer a resolution to any other committee of this House, that committee must report it back within one week; but when you refer a proposition to the Committee on Rules, you do not compel that committee to report at all.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Will the gentleman from Michigan excuse me for a moment?

Mr. BURROWS. Yes.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. That provision which you speak of refers only to resolutions of inquiry. Committees are not compelled to report on other resolutions referred to them.

Mr. BURROWS. I understand that it refers to resolutions of inquiry. The point I desire to make is that every other committee, if called upon to take action, must report within one week; but the Committee on Rules is not required to report at all.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. The provision the gentleman refers to is simply as to resolutions of inquiry addressed to the heads of Departments.

Mr. BURROWS. The gentleman from Ohio need not repeat that. I understand that perfectly.

Mr. OUTHWAITE. But the gentleman does not make the distinction appear clearly.

Mr. BURROWS. I think everybody understands it except the gentleman from Ohio. These committees must report back within one week, but when you refer a proposition for a cloture, for instance, to the Committee on Rules, they can report it back or not. So as in this case in the last Congress, when we had under consideration the bankruptcy bill, certain gentlemen were anxious to pass that measure. A proposition was made to the Committee on Rules to secure a cloture, so as to force a vote on that bill. The Committee on Rules never reported it. In other words, you clothe the Committee on Rules with absolute power over legislation, and if there is filibustering going on in this House against any measure in which gentlemen are specially interested, and about which they are particularly anxious, you can not force the Committee on Rules to bring the House to a vote unless it is a proposition which is favored by the majority of the Committee on Rules. That is the only kind of a proposition upon which you will be able to secure a vote in this Congress.

In other words, the entire legislation of the House is in the hands of a majority of the Committee on Rules. Suppose a gentleman is very anxious to have a public building in his district. The bill is before the House. He must have it passed or he thinks he can not come back to Congress, and, therefore, it is of vital importance to him. Suppose I am filibustering against it, or suppose some other gentleman is filibustering. You ask the Committee on Rules to stop filibustering. They say, "No, it is our policy to have no public-building bills passed." What is your remedy? You have none. Take any measure of public interest in which committees or individuals are interested. You are tying yourselves up by this body of rules, and placing yourselves absolutely in the hands of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. DOCKERY. We will pass a tariff bill, though.

Mr. BURROWS. So that you might just as well say first as last that all legislation in the House of Representatives of the Fifty-third Congress shall be under the direction of the majority of the Committee on Rules. That will cover the whole matter and do away with the necessity of this voluminous system.

Mr. REED. And if filibustering is Republican, it can be stopped; but if Democratic, it may be permitted to proceed.

Mr. BYNUM. Mr. Speaker, I did not intend to take up the time of the House in the discussion of the rules in a general way, and I should not now take the floor were it not for the purpose of expressing my views concerning the rules of the Fifty-first Congress as compared with the rules that have been presented by the committee.

The gentleman from Michigan calls attention to the fact that there are provisions in the rule by which the Speaker shall ascertain the presence of a quorum by a count. It has always been in the rule since I have been a member of this House, and I pre-

sume much longer. But the counting of the members to ascertain the mere presence of a quorum is a far different thing from the practice which obtained in the Fifty-first Congress, when the Speaker was authorized to count men present for the purpose of passing measures.

When the Speaker takes the chair it is his duty, if he is in doubt of the presence of a quorum, to count the House; but it is a different thing from counting a quorum to pass a bill. That is as far as the rule goes. If the Speaker at any time is in doubt that there is a quorum present it is his duty to satisfy himself before allowing business to proceed. It is not necessary that he shall ascertain it by a roll call. When the absence of a quorum is developed on a roll call the Speaker must stop proceedings and inform the House of the fact, and the House must require the presence of a quorum before any business can be proceeded with. Whenever a vote is taken by yeas and nays, that of itself fixes the status and shows the number present in the House, and the Speaker has no authority and no power to go further. As an officer he is bound by the record which has been made. When the record is made, showing that by the proceeding of the House itself that no quorum has participated, the House is powerless to confer authority upon the Speaker to add to or take from that record. It can not delegate to the Speaker a power it does not itself possess.

In the rule made in the Fifty-first Congress, for the purpose of ascertaining the presence of a quorum, the gentleman says did not go to the extent of transferring the power to the Speaker, except to register their mere presence. The yeas and nays is of American invention. It was no part of the parliamentary practices of other nations, but is prescribed by our Constitution. Suppose it required 166 votes to constitute a quorum, as it did in the Fifty-first Congress, and 165 men voted. Suppose two men declined to vote because they had a personal interest in the measure. Under that rule the Speaker of the House or the Clerk of the House registered these men as present, and thus they were actually voted when they had no right under that rule to vote. It was this giving the right to count men for the purpose of passing measures through the House that was obnoxious, and I care not whether the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that it was legal or not.

So far as I am concerned as a member of this House, I acknowledge no power greater than the House itself to determine its constitutional rights and privileges. The Supreme Court of the United States is not clothed with power to lay down rules for the government of this House, or to prescribe the limits of our consciences, in the construction of the Constitution. That is a privilege that pertains to us as members of a coördinate branch of the Government. And in the formation of rules I shall refuse to look to the decisions of courts to ascertain the extent of my rights or the boundaries of my powers. I am not participating in this debate because I want to criticise especially the rules of the Fifty-first Congress, but I desire to put upon record the differences between them and the old rules and the rules under consideration, so that the difference may be well understood.

Now, in the Fiftieth and previous Congresses it is true we adopted a system of rules that tied the hands of every member of this House. It tied the hands of the House and we were powerless to release ourselves from the filibusterer, because the same motions could be interposed against the report of the Committee on Rules that were used to obstruct other business. Gentlemen talk of the fact that men in the Fifty-first Congress sat here and refused to vote. There was a very easy way of remedying that. You have no right to bring a man here and vote him, but you have the right and the power to bring him here and compel him to discharge his duty, and to punish him if he refuses to do so.

Mr. REED. How long would that process take? Probably a day.

Mr. BYNUM. It would not take long. It might perhaps take an hour or two.

Mr. REED. I am asking this question seriously.

Mr. BYNUM. It would not take long.

Mr. REED. Let me make a supposition to the gentleman from Indiana. Suppose that such a man had a political party behind him; how long would it take to go through one of those things, I will ask my friend?

Mr. BYNUM. It might take a day.

Mr. REED. If it would take a day for one man, and there were 120 men in the party, how soon would the question be disposed of?

Mr. BYNUM. The gentleman is supposing an extreme case.

Mr. REED. It is a case I have witnessed.

Mr. BYNUM. If you want to prevent men from absenting themselves and adopt a rule requiring their presence and that they shall vote or suffer the penalties, and a few of them punished with the admonition that the rule is to be enforced, this sort of obstruction will cease, and that very soon.

You may look over the RECORD and you will find that in these instances where the names of persons present and not voting were recorded there were not over 20 or 30, and sometimes not over 10 were registered as present. The yeas and nays required in the Constitution were provided for the purpose of making a record, so that the people of the country might see how their representatives voted. Now, under the rule in the Fifty-first Congress the Speaker registered certain names as present and not voting, and said that with those voting there were 175 present, so the bill was passed.

There may have been but one single vote cast, and not even that. Now, when you register those men as present, what do you do? Why, you absolutely vote them. You not merely count them as present, but you count them present and voting in the affirmative, because if you did not your measure would be defeated.

Mr. REED. Has not the Speaker this very day, on the voices of only two or three men, declared certain propositions carried?

Mr. BYNUM. Oh, now, the gentleman is dealing with another question entirely. The gentleman's question suggests one of the fallacies that he and those who stood with him have quoted here in support of their action, yet the distinction between the two cases is very clear. The distinction is this: When we are here voting *viva voce*, it is presumed that there is a quorum until the contrary is shown, and it is presumed that a quorum acquiesces in the vote of the majority; and therefore, in the records of Congress as long as they have existed, I presume you will find that a vote has sometimes been declared carried where there were but 25 in the affirmative and 15 in the negative. Why? Because where the members are at liberty to vote or not as they please, in that form of proceeding the presumption is that there is a quorum present and acquiescing in everything that has been done; but that presumption ceases when you come to call the yeas and nays, because the Constitution requires each and every member to put his vote on record in response to his name.

Mr. REED. Does not the presumption that a quorum is present continue when the votes cast and the presence of the men actually demonstrate it? In other words, the gentleman is trying to say that a presumed quorum will work, but an actual quorum will not.

Mr. BYNUM. But you have got no actual quorum. That is the point. What is the Journal? It is nothing but a record of the proceedings of the House. The Speaker is the organ, the mouthpiece of the House, to register the acts of the House, and whenever he undertakes to go beyond that and to make a record of something other than the acts of the House he is simply injecting into the record some action of his own, which he has no more right to do than any man who is not a member of the House.

The House can not delegate to the Speaker the power to do that. Whenever, under the Constitution and the rules, the yeas and nays are called, the record of the yeas and nays is the highest proof of the presence of members, and if any man on such call refuses to vote there is no power in the Speaker to compel him to vote or to record him as voting; nor can the House confer any power on the Speaker to record a member's vote for him: yet that is what you do when you allow the Speaker to count members as present for the purpose of enacting legislation.

Now, as to this matter of dilatory motions, the word "dilatory" need not be in the rule at all where we are suspending the rules, simply because suspension cuts off all motions. Of course, any motion that delays is a dilatory motion in one sense of the word. You might say that after one motion to adjourn no other motion shall be in order, because any motion which delays is dilatory, and therefore the rule practically is that when one motion to adjourn is made and voted down no other is in order until a vote is taken on the main proposition. But under your rules you had vested in the Speaker the power to say arbitrarily whether a motion was dilatory or not. I am not citing an instance which did not occur when I say that late one evening, about 6 o'clock, I made a motion to adjourn, and the gentleman from Maine, presiding in the Speaker's chair, said it was dilatory, and I guess he was right.

Mr. REED. I guess so.

Mr. BYNUM. But a gentleman upon his side of the House arose in about two minutes afterwards and made the same motion, and then it was held not to be dilatory. Now I am at a loss to understand how it was dilatory in the one case and not in the other.

Mr. REED. Well, you confess it in your instance. Now, who was the other gentleman?

Mr. BYNUM. Mr. McKinley.

Mr. REED. Well, I suppose he would confess that his motion was not dilatory if he were here. [Laughter.]

Mr. BYNUM. But, unfortunately, when Mr. McKinley was a

candidate for reëlection the gentleman from Maine went down to help reëlect him——

Mr. REED (interposing). Oh, now, do not introduce anything like that into a beautiful discourse on parliamentary law. [Laughter.]

Mr. BYNUM. Well, I would not, only that the case is so remarkable. The gentleman from Maine in that campaign made five speeches in five Republican districts in the State of New York, and they all went Democratic. Then he went out to Ohio and spoke in a Republican district, and that went Democratic. He went then to Ironton, and that went Democratic. He came over into our State, where the President had only three members out of thirteen, and made one speech at Logansport, and that went Democratic. He went over into Brother CANNON'S district in Illinois, and Brother CANNON stayed at home. [Laughter.] He then went over into the district of Mr. Rowell, the very able chairman of the Committee on Elections of the Fifty-first Congress, and we have seen no more of Rowell. [Laughter.] From there he went to Mr. Gest's district, and Mr. Gest remained at home. From there he went to Chicago, and we have seen nothing of Brother Adams and Brother Mason since that time. [Laughter.] Winding up, he went to Wisconsin, and gave us almost a solid Democratic delegation, and on his way home he stopped to visit Brother Allen, in Michigan, and that melodious voice has not been heard since in this Hall. [Laughter.] Taken altogether it is a very remarkable record of unbroken success for the Democratic party.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. As the gentleman seems to be a prophet, perhaps he can tell us how large Governor McKinley's majority will be this year.

Mr. BYNUM. Now, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] says that these rules leave us absolutely in the hands of the Committee on Rules. Well, sir, you can not adopt any system of rules that does not vest power somewhere. I agree with the gentleman from Maine on that proposition. The power must be vested somewhere, and I would rather put it in the hands of the Committee on Rules and let them come in and report to the House and let the House say whether the filibustering shall stop, rather than clothe the Speaker with such extraordinary powers as would put him practically in control of all legislation. That is the difference. I am willing to trust the committee. As I have said, the power must be vested somewhere, and we vest it in the Committee on Rules, subject to the action of the House, and not in the presiding officer.

It is true we can not compel that committee to act; nor would I have respect for a committee over which we would have to place a rule so as to drive it into doing what might be deemed proper. I am willing to trust that committee to come in here with their reports at all times and under all circumstances; for the House is the power that is finally to determine what action shall be taken relative to its course of proceedings.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I now move the previous question on the pending substitute and on the report as amended.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The first question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] to substitute for the pending report the rules of the Fifty-first Congress with an amendment.

The question having been put—

The SPEAKER. The noes seem to have it.

Mr. BURROWS. We may as well have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 65, nays 149, not voting 139; as follows:

YEAS—65.

Adams,	Fletcher,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Smith,
Aldrich,	Funk,	Joy,	Stone, C. W.
Avery,	Funston,	Lacey,	Stone, W. A.
Baker, N. H.	Gear,	Loudenslager,	Storer,
Blair,	Gillet, N. Y.	Lucas,	Strong.
Brostus,	Hager,	Mahon,	Tawney,
Burrows,	Hainer,	McCall,	Thomas,
Caldwell,	Hartman,	Meiklejohn,	Updegraff,
Cogswell,	Haugen,	Mercer,	Van Voorhis, Ohio
Cousins,	Henderson, Iowa	Milliken,	Wanger,
Curtis, Kans.	Hepburn,	Moon,	Wilson, Ohio
Curtis, N. Y.	Hermann,	Payne,	Wilson, Wash.
Dalzell,	Hilborn,	Perkins,	Woomer,
Daniels,	Hopkins, Ill.	Phillips,	Wright, Pa.
Dolliver,	Houk, Tenn.	Pickler,	
Doolittle,	Hulick,	Reed,	
Ellis, Oregon	Johnson, Ind.	Shaw,	

NAYS—149.

Abbott,	Bankhead,	Brawley,	Cabaniss,
Alderson,	Barnes,	Breckinridge, Ark.	Cadmus,
Alexander,	Barwig,	Bretz,	Cannon, Cal.
Allen,	Bell, Colo.	Brickner,	Capehart,
Arnold,	Bell, Tex.	Brookshire,	Caruth,
Bailey,	Beltzhoover,	Bunn,	Catchings,
Baker, Kans.	Black, Ga.	Burnes,	Causey,
Baldwin,	Boen,	Bynum,	Clark, Mo.
Clarke, Ala.	Fyan,	McAleer,	Sibley,
Cobb, Ala.	Geary,	McCreary, Ky.	Snodgrass,
Cockrell,	Geissenhainer,	McDannold.	Sperry,
Coffeen,	Goldzier,	McDearmon,	Springer,
Conn,	Grady,	McGann,	Stallings,
Coombs,	Gresham,	McKaig,	Stralt,
Cooper, Ind.	Hall, Minn.	Meyer,	Swanson,
Cooper, Tex.	Hall, Mo.	Money,	Talbert, S. C.
Cornish,	Hammond,	Moses,	Talbott, Md.
Covert,	Hare,	Mutchler,	Tarsney,
Cox,	Harris,	Neill,	Tate,
Crawford,	Hayes,	O'Neil, Mass.	Taylor, Ind.
Culberson,	Hines,	Outhwaite,	Terry,
Cummings,	Hooker, Miss.	Page,	Tracey,
Davis,	Houk, Ohio	Paschal,	Tucker,
De Armond,	Hudson,	Paynter,	Turner,
De Forest,	Hunter,	Pence,	Turpin,
Denson,	Ikirt,	Pendleton, Tex.	Tyler,
Dinsmore,	Johnson, Ohio	Pendleton, W. Va.	Warner,
Dockery,	Kyle,	Pigott,	Weadock,
Donovan,	Lane,	Price,	Wells,
Dunn,	Lawson,	Richards, Ohio	Wheeler, Ala.
Durborow,	Lester,	Richardson, Mich.	Whiting,
Edmunds,	Livingston,	Richardson, Tenn.	Williams, Ill.
English,	Lynch,	Ritchie,	Wilson, W. Va.
Epes,	Maddox,	Robbins,	Wise,
Erdman,	Maguire,	Robertson, La.	Wolverton.
Everett,	Mallory,	Russell, Ga.	
Fellows,	Marshall,	Sayers,	
Fithian,	Martin, Ind.	Schermerhorn,	

NOT VOTING—139.

Aitken,	Draper,	Lapham,	Randall,
Apsley,	Dunphy,	Latimer,	Ray,
Babcock,	Ellis, Ky.	Layton,	Rayner,
Bartholdt,	Enloe,	Lefever,	Reilly,
Bartlett,	Fielder,	Lilly,	Reyburn,
Belden,	Fitch,	Linton,	Robinson, Pa.
Berry,	Forman,	Lisle,	Rusk.
Bingham,	Gardner,	Lockwood,	Russell, Conn.
Black, Ill.	Gillett, Mass.	Loud,	Ryan.
Blanchard,	Goodnight,	Magner,	Scranton,
Bland,	Gorman,	Marsh,	Settle,
Boatner,	Graham,	Marvin, N. Y.	Shell,
Boutelle,	Grosvenor,	McCleary, Minn.	Sherman,
Bower, N. C.	Grout,	McCulloch,	Sickles,
Bowers, Cal.	Haines,	McDowell,	Simpson,
Branch,	Harmer,	McEttrick,	Sipe,
Brattan,	Harter,	McKeighan,	Somers,
Breckinridge, Ky.	Hatch,	McLaurin,	Stephenson,
Broderick,	Heard,	McMillin,	Stevens,
Brown,	Heiner,	McNagny,	Stockdale,
Bryan,	Henderson, Ill.	McRae,	Stone, Ky.
Caminetti,	Henderson, N. C.	Meredith,	Sweet,
Campbell,	Hendrix,	Montgomery,	Taylor, Tenn.
Cannon, Ill.	Hicks,	Morgan,	Van Voorhis, N. Y.
Chickering,	Hitt,	Morse,	Wadsworth,
Childs,	Holman,	Murray,	Walker,
Clancy,	Hooker, N. Y.	Newlands,	Washington,
Cobb, Mo.	Hopkins, Pa.	Northway,	Waugh,
Cockran,	Hull.	Oates,	Wever,
Compton,	Hutcheson,	O'Ferrall,	Wheeler, Ill.
Cooper, Fla.	Jones,	O'Neill, Pa.	White,
Cooper, Wis.	Kem,	Patterson,	Williams, Miss.
Crain,	Kiefer,	Pearson,	Woodard,
Davey,	Kilgore,	Post,	Wright, Mass.
Dingley,	Kribbs,	Powers,	

So the amendment of Mr. BURROWS was rejected.

Mr. HENDERSON of Illinois. I am paired with the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BLANCHARD]. If he were present he would vote "no," and I should vote "aye."

Mr. DRAPER. I am paired with the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. LAPHAM]. If he were present I should vote in the affirmative.

Mr. RYAN. I am paired with the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. APSLEY].

The result of the vote was announced as above stated.

The SPEAKER. The question is now upon agreeing to the report of the Committee on Rules as amended.

The question being taken, it was determined in the affirmative.

On motion of Mr. CATCHINGS, a motion to reconsider the vote just taken was laid on the table.

BUSINESS OF WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE.

Mr. WILSON of West Virginia. I am instructed by the Committee on Ways and Means to ask the adoption of the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Ways and Means is authorized to sit during the sessions of the House and to conduct any inquiry relating to the subjects under its jurisdiction by subcommittee or otherwise that it may deem necessary, the expenses to be paid out of the contingent fund of the House upon the warrant of the chairman of the committee.

There being no objection, the House proceeded to consider the resolution, which was adopted.

PRINTING OF THE RULES.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee submitted the following resolution; which was read, considered, and adopted:

Resolved, That there be printed 2,000 copies of the rules of the House for the use of Members and Delegates.

On motion of Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee, a motion to reconsider the vote just taken was laid on the table.

ADJOURNMENT TILL SATURDAY NEXT.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I move that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Saturday next. I will state the purpose of this motion. We want to allow an opportunity for the introduction, reference, and printing of bills, so that we may see what legislation should properly be brought before the House at that time.

The motion of Mr. CATCHINGS was agreed to.

Mr. WILSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, are we now at liberty to introduce petitions and bills in the manner followed heretofore?

The SPEAKER. Petitions and private bills can be introduced through the box, and public bills may be handed to the Clerk, and referred under the direction of the Speaker.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. HENDERSON of North Carolina, for one week, on account of sickness in his family.

To Mr. WRIGHT of Massachusetts, for ten days, on account of sickness.

To Mr. BRYAN, for one week, on account of important business.

To Mr. MOON, for ten days, on account of important business.

To Mr. COCKRAN, indefinitely, on account of sickness.

To Mr. HOUK of Ohio, for one week from the 10th instant, on account of important business.

To Mr. DANIELS, for Saturday next, on account of important business.

To Mr. BRANCH, indefinitely, on account of important business.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED.

Mr. HAGER, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled joint resolutions of the following titles; when the Speaker signed the same:

Joint resolution (H. Res. 6) to make the 18th day of September, 1893, a holiday within the District of Columbia.

Joint resolution (H. Res. 7) to permit the use of certain ensigns, flags, and signal numbers to decorate the Capitol and its approaches, September 18, 1893.

And then, on motion of Mr. CATCHINGS (at 4 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned until Saturday next.

BILLS, MEMORIALS, AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced, and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. APSLEY: A bill (H. R. 8) to erect a public building at Fitchburg, in the State of Massachusetts—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. BRAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 9) to transfer the Morris Island life-saving station, near Charleston, S. C., to Sullivans Island—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BOWERS of California: A bill (H. R. 10) to amend an act entitled "An act for the relief of certain settlers on the public lands, and to provide for the repayment of certain fees, purchase money, and commissions paid on void entries of public lands—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 11) prohibiting the coinage in the mints of the United States of gold coins of a less denomination than $5, or the issue by the Treasury of notes, certificates or any kind of paper currency of a less denomination than $5—to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12) to extend the provisions of an act entitled "An act to provide for the adjudication and payment of claims arising from Indian depredations," approved March 3, 1891, to include certain claims presented to the secretary of state for the State of Nevada—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13) to provide for the erection of a public building at San Diego, Cal.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 14) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Fresno, in the State of California—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15) prohibiting aliens from holding offices or places of profit, honor, or trust under the Government of the United States, and for other purposes—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 16) to establish a uniform rule of naturalization—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, a bill (H. R. 17) to restrict the disposition of public lands to citizens of the United States—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. BUNN: A bill (H. R. 18) to provide for constructing a road to the national cemetery near Raleigh, N. C., and for other purposes—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 19) for the relief of the city of Raleigh, N. C.—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 20) to refund to the State of North Carolina certain moneys therein named—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BRYAN: A bill (H. R. 21) for the erection of a public building at Lincoln, in the State of Nebraska—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 22) providing for the erection of a public building at the city of Plattsmouth, Nebr., and for other purposes—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 23) authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay to the city of Lincoln, Nebr., one-half the cost of constructing pavements in front of the public square owned by the United States Government in said city—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. COOMBS: A bill (H. R. 24) for the protection of distinguishing flags and symbols used on vessels of the United States—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 25) to refund the certain goods remaining in bonded warehouse October 6, 1890—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 26) authorizing the Secretary of War to procure and present suitable bronze medals to the officers and men who volunteered for the Port Hudson storming column under General Orders, No. 49, Department of the Gulf, Nineteenth Army Corps, before Port Hudson, June 15, 1863—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CADMUS: A bill (H. R. 27) to increase the appropriation for the erection of a public building at Paterson, N. J.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. CUMMINGS: A bill (H. R. 28) making Labor Day a legal holiday—to the Committee on Labor.

Also, a bill (H. R. 29) to amend an act to prevent counterfeiting—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 30) to insure preference in appointment, employment, and retention in the public service of the United States to veterans of the late war—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, a bill (H. R. 31) to provide for and facilitate commercial and political union between the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 32) to provide communication from lightships and outlying light-houses to the shore—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 33) to amend an act, approved October 1, 1890, entitled "An act to reduce the revenue and equalize duties on imports, and for other purposes"—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 34) authorizing the purchase of oil paintings for the Executive Mansion—to the Committee on the Library.

Also, a bill (H. R. 35) for the erection of a monument in the city of Washington to the memory of the late Commodore John Paul Jones—to the Committee on the Library.

Also, a bill (H. R. 36) to improve the postal service by limiting the hours of labor of clerks and employés therein—to the Committee on the Post Office and Post-Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 37) to establish communication with lightships and light-houses—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 38) relating to the pay and retirement of mates in the United States Navy—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 39) to increase and equalize the pay of letter-carriers—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 40) to limit the hours of work of clerks and employés in first and second class post-offices—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 41) to define the duties of army and navy musicians and to regulate their pay—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 42) granting pensions to certain officers and enlisted men of the Life-Saving Service and to their widows and minor children—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 43) to amend the contract-labor law—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, a bill (H. R. 44) relating to the compensation of fourth-class postmasters—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. COGSWELL: A bill (H. R. 45) in relation to the retirement from active service of officers of the Army—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 46) for the erection of a statue or monument

in the city of Washington to the memory of Maj. Gen. Israel Putnam—to the Committee on the Library.

Also, a bill (H. R. 47) to pay certain bounties to enlisted men afterwards promoted to be commissioned officers—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 48) to provide a roll to be known as the medal-of-honor roll—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 49) to protect the insignia and name of the Red Cross, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 50) to regulate the import duty on yachts intended for pleasure purposes—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. COOPER of Florida: A bill (H. R. 51) to create the eastern judicial district of Florida—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CRISP: A bill (H. R. 52) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Americus, in the State of Georgia—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. DAVIS: A bill (H. R. 53) appropriating money for the completion of authorized improvements at Fort Riley, Kans.—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 54) to provide for the settlement of accounts and claims in certain cases—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DUNPHY: A bill (H. R. 55) to increase and equalize the pay of letter-carriers—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 56) for the classification of clerks in first and second class post-offices and for fixing the salaries of the same—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 57) to authorize the New York and New Jersey Bridge Companies to construct and maintain a bridge across the Hudson River between New York City and the State of New Jersey—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. DOOLITTLE: A bill (H. R. 58) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the times and places to hold terms of the United States courts in the State of Washington"—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also (by request), a bill (H. R. 59) to authorize the construction and operation of an electric railroad in the Yellowstone National Park—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. FITCH: A bill (H. R. 60) to repeal all statutes relating to supervisors of election and special deputies—to the Committee on Election of President and Vice-President and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. GILLETT of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 61) to provide that superintendents of United States armories shall be civilians—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HARTER: A bill (H. R. 62) for the better protection of national banking associations and the public—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, a bill (H. R. 63) to provide for the sale of bonds of the United States—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 64) providing for an increase in the circulating notes of national banking associations—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, a bill (H. R. 65) providing for the opening of the mints of the United States by the President to the free coinage of silver—to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

Also, a bill (H. R. 66) to amend the present national banking laws and to provide for the issue of circulating notes upon securities other than United States bonds—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. HERMANN: A bill (H. R. 67) to provide for the establishment of a life-saving station at mouth of Siuslaw River, in Lane County, Oregon, and for a crew thereat—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 68) providing for a life-saving station at the entrance of Tillamook Bay, in Oregon, and for a life-saving crew, etc.—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 69) prescribing limitations of time for completion of title to certain lands disposed of under the act of Congress approved September 27, 1850, and the acts amendatory and supplemental thereto, and commonly known as the "donation act," and for the protection of purchasers and occupants on said lands—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 70) to amend an act entitled "An act for the relief of certain settlers on the public lands and to provide for the repayment of certain fees, purchase money, and commissions paid on void entries of public lands"—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 71) for the relief of purchasers of timber and stone lands under the act of June 3, 1878—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 72) for the repayment of purchase money on erroneous entry of public lands—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 73) supplementary to the act of Congress, approved January 28, 1879, entitled "An act defining the manner in which certain land scrip may be assigned and located or applied by actual settlers and providing for the issue of patents in the name of the locator or his legal representatives"—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 74) to provide for the construction of a public building at Roseburg, Oregon—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 75) to extend the time for filing certain claims for compensation for horses and other property lost in the military service of the United States—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 76) to provide for the construction of a public building at Salem, Oregon—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 77) pensioning soldiers who served in Indian wars—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HENDERSON of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 78) for the erection of a public building at the city of Dixon, Ill.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 79) to provide for the construction of a public building at Sterling, Ill.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. HAINES: A bill (H. R. 80) for the erection of a post-office and public building at the city of Hudson, N. Y.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 81) authorizing the employment of additional clerks in the office of the Civil Service Commission—to the Select Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. HARTMAN: A bill (H. R. 82) to authorize the Missouri River Power Company of Montana to construct a dam across the Missouri River—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 83) authorizing the State of Montana to make selections from certain public lands—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. HEARD: A bill (H. R. 84) to amend the patent laws for the better protection of the innocent users of patented articles—to the Committee on Patents.

Also, a bill (H. R. 85) to compel applicants for patents to prosecute their claims under such applications without unnecessary delay—to the Committee on Patents.

Also, a bill (H. R. 86) for the protection of persons furnishing materials and labor for the construction of public works—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 87) to authorize the disbursement of moneys withheld by the Government of the United States from contractors on public buildings—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 88) to prohibit monopoly in the transportation of cattle to foreign countries—to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 89) to amend "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 90) for the final adjustment of the Agricultural College grant to the State of Missouri—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 91) to provide a commission to prepare a municipal code for the District of Columbia—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. HOUK of Tennessee: A bill (H. R. 92) to create a port of delivery at Knoxville, Tenn.—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 93) providing for the adjustment and payment of claims due to citizens of the United States residing in the insurrectionary States—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 94) to establish a port of entry and delivery at the city of Knoxville, Tenn.—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 95) to extend the provisions of the United States pension laws to a designated class of citizens residing in the insurrectionary States during the war of the rebellion—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LIVINGSTON: A bill (H. R. 96) establishing a subtreasury at Atlanta, Ga.—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LESTER: A bill (H. R. 97) to repeal sections 3412 and 3413 of the Revised Statutes of the United States and all other laws which impose a tax on circulation other than that of national banks—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. LOUD: A bill (H. R. 98) to amend section 837 of the Revised Statutes relating to the compensation of United States attorneys and marshals—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 99) to encourage American shipbuilding—to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 100) repealing sections 1790 and 2693 of the Revised Statutes—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MALLORY: A bill (H. R. 101) to amend section 4131 of the Revised Statutes of the United States—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 102) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to settle the account stated between the General Government and the State of Florida by the said Secretary under the authority of the act approved March 2, 1889, known as the deficiency act, and to pay the balance found to be due—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 103) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to establish and cause to be maintained a free public school for children under 17 years of age at the village of Warrington, on the naval reservation on Pensacola Bay, in the State of Florida—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 104) to establish a light-house and a range-light at the entrance to St. Andrew Bay, in the county of Washington, in the State of Florida—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 105) to restore to the pension rolls of the United States the names of all persons who were drawing pensions at the beginning of the late rebellion by reason of their services in the wars of Florida and whose names were stricken from the pension rolls by reason of their participation in or sympathy with said rebellion—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MERCER: A bill (H. R. 106) to increase the appropriation for the purchase of site and the erection of a public building at Omaha, Nebr.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 107) to establish a branch mint of the United States at Omaha, in the State of Nebraska—to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

Also, a bill (H. R. 108) to fix the times and places for holding the Federal courts in the State and district of Nebraska—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 109) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at South Omaha, in the State of Nebraska—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 110) to authorize the location of a branch home for volunteer disabled soldiers and sailors at or near the city of Blair, Nebr., and for other purposes—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also (by request), a bill (H. R. 111) to establish postal savings banks and to encourage small savings—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. MORSE: A bill (H. R. 112) to prohibit the manufacture and sale of spirituous and intoxicating liquors in the District of Columbia—to the Committee on the Alcoholic Liquor Traffic.

Also, a bill (H. R. 113) to authorize the Post-Office Department to forward mail matter upon which postage is not prepaid—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 114) to amend chapter 4 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, section 1315, as amended by act of Congress approved June 11, 1878—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 115) to repeal the interstate-commerce law, or "An act to regulate commerce," and all acts in addition thereto—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 116) for the erection of a public building at Brockton, Mass.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. McRAE: A bill (H. R. 117) to authorize a compromise and settlement with the State of Arkansas—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 118) to finally adjust the swamp land grants and for other purposes—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 119) to protect public forest reservations—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 120) to grant the thirty-sixth sections of land to certain States for free schools, and for other purposes—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 121) to amend an act to forfeit certain lands heretofore granted for the purpose of aiding in the construction of railroads, and for other purposes, approved September 29, 1890—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 122) to fix the minimum price of public lands—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 123) to repeal section 3480 of the Revised Statutes—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 124) to credit and pay to the States all moneys collected as a tax or duty on raw cotton under the act approved July 1, 1862, and the acts amendatory thereto—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 125) to revive the right of action under the captured and abandoned property acts, and for other purposes—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 126) to annex a portion of the Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory, to the eastern judicial district of Arkansas for judicial purposes—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, abill (H. R. 127) for an increase in the issue of Treasury notes and the retirement of national-bank notes—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, a bill (H. R. 128) for the free coinage of gold and silver and for the issue of gold and silver certificates—to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

Also, a bill (H. R. 129) to define and tax trusts, and to authorize the free importation of articles covered by them, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 130) to lay a graduated revenue tax and to provide for the manner of collecting the same, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 131) to repeal the Federal election law—to the Committee on Election of President and Vice-President and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. McCALL: A bill (H. R. 132) to supply courts for the Indian reservations and to supplement the act approved February 8, 1887—to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. MILLIKEN: A bill (H. R. 133) providing for a public building in Gardiner, Me.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 134) for the erection of a public building at Waterville, Me.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. OATES: A bill (H. R. 135) to authorize national banking associations to loan money on real estate security—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, a bill (H. R. 136) to suspend section 3412 of the Revised Statutes of the United States as to the circulating notes of certain State banking associations—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, a bill (H. R. 137) to repeal the laws of the United States providing for supervisors and deputy marshals at elections—to the Committee on Election of President and Vice-President and Representatives in Congress.

Also, a bill (H. R. 138) to provide for refunding the tax laid and collected on raw cotton in the event that the Supreme Court holds the laws under which the same was collected to have been unconstitutional—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 139) to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 140) to be entitled an act to provide for a special judge in the Federal court in the Indian Territory—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'NEIL of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 141) to establish a "reserve list" in the Army—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 142) limiting the operation of certain acts relating to constructions over navigable waters—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 143) to reduce the rate of postage on letters written by the blind—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 144) to consolidate mail matter of the third and fourth classes—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. PIGOTT: A bill (H. R. 145) for the erection of a public building at Waterbury, Conn.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee: A bill (H. R. 146) to extend North Capitol street to the Soldiers' Home—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, a bill (H. R. 147) to repeal sections 3412 and 3413 of the Revised Statues of the United States and all other laws which impose a tax of 10 per centum on circulation of all other than national banks, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 148) in relation to the examination of claims for army supplies—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 149) to authorize the auditing and allowance of claims for use and occupation or destruction of buildings during the late war which were used alone for educational and religious purposes—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H R. 150) to equalize taxation and impose an income tax—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 151) authorizing the Quartermaster-General and Commissary-General to reëxamine claims against the

United States and extending time for filing such claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 152) creating form of real-estate deed for the District of Columbia—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, a bill (H. R. 153) making the surveyor of the District of Columbia a salaried officer and to provide for more efficient service in the surveyor's office—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, a bill (H. R. 154) to incorporate the Washington Traction Company of the District of Columbia—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. REILLY: A bill (H. R. 155) to erect a public building at Pottsville, Pa.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. RANDALL: A bill (H. R. 156) for the establishment of a light and fog-signal station near Butler Flats, New Bedford, Mass.—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RYAN: A bill (H. R. 157) to erect a public building at Yonkers, N. Y.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. SMITH of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 158) to amend clause 5 of section 4693 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, Title LVII—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 159) to reduce letter postage to 1 cent per half ounce—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 160) to provide for the construction of a graveled road from the termination of the graveled road and bridge on the north side of Cache River, in Pulaski County, Ill., to the national military cemetery near Mound City, in Pulaski County, Ill., and for other purposes—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TALBOTT of Maryland: A bill (H. R. 161) to repeal the sections of the Revised Statutes authorizing the employment of marshals and supervisors of elections—to the Committee on Election of President and Vice-President and Representatives in Congress.

Also, a bill (H. R. 162) to increase the efficiency of the Engineer Corps of the Navy—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 163) to repeal paragraph No. 209 of the "act to reduce the revenue and equalize duties on imports, and for other purposes"—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 164) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate a certain cannon to the Naval Veteran Association of Baltimore, Md.—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TRACEY: A bill (H. R. 165) to refund duties paid by the State of New York on arms imported in 1863—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 166) to provide a more perfect organization for the United States Naval Observatory, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 167) placing sundry articles on the free list—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also (by request), a bill (H. R. 168) to amend an act entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," approved July 14, 1890, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee: A bill (H. R. 169) to establish a soldiers' home at or near Greeneville, Greene County, Tenn.—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 170) to create a new division in the eastern judicial district of the State of Tennessee—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WALKER: A bill (H. R. 171) to secure to the people the advantages accruing from the issue of circulating promissory notes by banks, to increase the volume of such notes, and to supervise and control banks by officers of the United States—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. WISE: A bill (H. R. 172) to provide for the issue of circulating notes to national banks—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, a bill (H. R. 173) to repeal the laws of the United States providing for supervisors and deputy marshals at elections—to the Committee on Election of President and Vice-President and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. WHEELER of Alabama: A bill (H. R. 174) to provide for the admission of the State of Arizona into the Union, and for other purposes—to the Committee on the Territories.

Also, a bill (H. R. 175) to enable the people of New Mexico to form a constitution and State government and to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States—to the Committee on the Territories.

Also, a bill (H. R. 176) to enable the people of Utah to form a constitution and State government and to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States—to the Committee on the Territories.

Also a bill (H. R. 177) to enable the people of New Mexico, Utah, Arizona, and Oklahoma to form constitutions and State governments and to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States—to the Committee on the Territories.

Also, a bill (H. R 178) directing the Secretary of the Treasury to ascertain the amount still due and unpaid to depositors in the Freedman's Bank—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, a bill (H. R. 179) to reduce the postage on certain letters—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 180) to amend an act entitled "An act to afford assistance and relief to Congress and the Executive Departments in the investigation of claims and demands against the Government"—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 181) to authorize an increase of bank circulation—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, a bill (H. R. 182) to create and establish a tariff statistical bureau—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 183) to determine final balances of accounts due to and from the United States Government, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Expenditures in the Treasury Department.

Also, a bill (H. R. 184) to amend an act entitled "An act to restrict the jurisdiction of the Court of Claims and to provide for the payment of certain demands for quartermaster's stores and subsistence supplies furnished to the Army of the United States"—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 185) to establish a port of delivery at Florence, Ala.—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 186) to adjust the claims of the States against the United States—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 187) to regulate the pensions of soldiers who never engaged in battle and who never incurred any disability in the service—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 188) providing for the command of enlisted soldiers—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 189) to increase the school fund of the State of Alabama—to the Committee on Education.

Also, a bill (H. R. 190) to increase the compensation of fourth-class postmasters—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 191) to remove the tax from spirits made from fruit in certain cases—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 192) to dispense with proof of loyalty in certain cases—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 193) to place cotton bagging or other materials suitable for baling cotton on the free list—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 194) to provide for the printing of additional copies of the Records of the War of the Rebellion—to the Committee on Printing.

Also, a bill (H. R. 195) to amend an act entitled "An act to exclude the public lands in Alabama from the operation of the laws relating to mineral lands, approved March 3, 1883"—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 196) to provide for refunding to the several States certain sums of money which were collected from persons residing in said States as a tax upon cotton—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 197) to amend an act to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, a bill (H. R. 198) to grant to the Birmingham, Sheffield and Tennessee River Railway Company a right of way over the public lands traversed by it—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 199) to authorize the Secretary of War to appoint a board of review in certain cases—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 200) to provide for a tax upon incomes—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 201) to provide for the settlement of accounts with certain railway companies—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 202) to amend the Articles of War, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 203) to establish a marine hospital at Florence, Ala.—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 204) to fix the salaries of the officials of the Government—to the Committee on the Revision of the Laws.

Also, a bill (H. R. 205) to make it unlawful for an officer of the Federal Government to interfere with elections in States and re-

pealing all laws which authorize officers of the United States Government to interfere with elections in States—to the Committee on Election of President and Vice-President and Representatives in Congress.

Also, a bill (H. R. 206) to designate the time for the convening of Congress—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 207) for the erection of a public building at Florence, Ala.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 208) for the erection of a public building at Decatur, Ala.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 209) for the relief of soldiers who served in the Mexican war and afterwards in the Confederate army—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 210) in relation to claims arising under the provisions of the captured and abandoned property acts and for extension of time in which to bring suit—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 211) for the coinage of the products of the silver mines of the United States—to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. HOUK of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 212) to admit certain filtering materials free of duty—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HEARD (by request): A bill (H. R. 213) to pay for alley condemned in square No. 493, in the city of Washington, D. C.—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee: A bill (H. R. 214) providing for the public printing and binding and the distribution of public documents—to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. PAGE: A bill (H. R. 215) to provide a life-saving station at or near Watsons Pier, on the coast of South Kingston, in the State of Rhode Island—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 216) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Providence, in the State of Rhode Island—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 217) to repeal Title XXVI of the Revised Statutes of the United States known as the Federal election law—to the Committee on Election of President and Vice-President and Representatives in Congress.

Also, a bill (H. R. 218) to provide a life-saving station at or near Green Hill, on the coast of South Kingstown, in the State of Rhode Island—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 219) for the erection of a public building in the city of Woonsocket, R. I.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. KEIFER: A bill (H. R. 220) to increase the appropriation for the erection of a public building at St. Paul, Minn.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. RAYNER: A bill (H. R. 221) for the relief of sundry citizens of Washington City, D. C.—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HARMER: A bill (H. R. 222) to remit the penalties on the dynamite-gun cruiser Vesuvius—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 223) granting the right to sell burial sites in parts of certain streets in Washington city to the vestry of Washington parish for the benefit of the Congressional Cemetery—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, a bill (H. R. 224) to enlarge the Department of Agriculture—to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 225) to require persons who make their residence on boats on the interior waters of the United States to obtain license, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BROSIUS (by request): A bill (H. R. 226) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase certain books—to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. HAYES: A bill (H. R. 227) for the construction of a public building at Clinton, Iowa—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 228) fixing the rate of postage on semiweekly and triweekly publications mailed at certain free-delivery offices—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 229) to provide for the construction of a public building at Iowa City, Iowa—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 230) to provide a public building at Muscatine, Iowa—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. MARTIN: A bill (H. R. 231) to reimburse the Miami Indians of Indiana—to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 232) to limit the terms of office of employés governed by civil-service rules—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, a bill (H. R. 233) to supplement the act of June 27, 1890, as to pensions—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 234) to repeal section 3 of the McKinley tariff act—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 235) to repeal law granting a sugar bounty—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 236) to amend section 4837 of the Revised Statutes of the United States as to soldiers' homes—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 237) concerning weight of evidence in pension claims—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TUCKER: A bill (H. R. 238) to place binding twine on the free list—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 239) to place sulphuric acid or oil of vitriol on the free list—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 240) to prevent trusts, monopolies, and combinations in trade—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 241) for facilitating commerce among the States—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 242) to repeal all statutes relating to supervisors of elections and special deputies—to the Committee on Election of President and Vice-President and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE: A bill (H. R. 243) to restrict immigration, imposing penalties for the violation of its provisions, and providing for their enforcement in the United States courts—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 244) relating to the compensation and duties of United States attorneys, clerks, marshals, and other court officials, and for other purposes—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CULBERSON: A bill (H. R. 245) to repeal sections 2002 to 2031, both inclusive, of the Revised Statutes—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COOPER of Texas: A bill (H. R. 246) to authorize the issue of United States notes and for the redemption of the same—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. GROUT: A bill (H. R. 247) to reduce the postage on fourth-class matter—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 248) providing representation in Congress for Alaska—to the Committee on the Territories.

Also, a bill (H. R. 249) for the erection of a public building at Newport, Vt.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 250) to enable the people to name their postmaster—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 251) to increase the pension of certain soldiers and sailors—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 252) increasing pension of certain soldiers and sailors—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 253) for the relief of Union soldiers who were confined in Southern prisons—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 254) relating to the postal money-order system—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 255) to provide for the settlement of disputed claims for funds in the possession of the United States or its officers or for moneys admitted to be owing and due from the United States—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BLACK of Georgia: A bill (H. R. 256) to authorize national banking associations to lend money on real estate—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. OUTHWAITE: A bill (H. R. 257) to establish companies of the Hospital Corps, United States Army, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 258) to provide for the speedy and frequent redemption of United States paper currency and national-bank notes which have become soiled, impure, unclean, or otherwise unfit for use—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BYNUM: A bill (H. R. 259) to provide for the erection of a public building at Indianapolis, Ind.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. HAGER: A bill (H. R. 260) to provide for the construction of a public building at Atlantic, Iowa—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 261) to establish a branch mint of the United States at Council Bluffs, Iowa—to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

Mr. MEIKLEJOHN: A bill (H. R. 262) extending relief to Indian citizens, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 263) to fix the rate of postage on mail mat-

ter of the first class—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 264) for the erection of a public building at the city of Norfolk, Nebr.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 265) to increase the circulation of national banks—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, a bill (H. R. 266) for the coinage of legal-standard silver dollars, and to repeal so much of the act of July 14, 1890, as requires the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion or so much as may be offered each month, and to make such coin a legal tender—to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

Also, a bill (H. R. 267) to amend an act entitled "An act granting pensions to soldiers and sailors who are incapacitated for performance of manual labor, and providing pensions to widows, minor children, and dependent parents"—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FLYNN: A bill (H. R. 268) for the relief of settlers on the public lands in Oklahoma Territory, and for other purposes—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. HILBORN: A bill (H. R. 269) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Alameda, in the State of California—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 270) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Oakland, in the State of California—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 271) making an appropriation and providing for the construction of a United States revenue cutter for service in the harbor of San Francisco, State of California—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HARE: A bill (H. R. 272) to provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Findlay, Ohio—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. CURTIS of New York: A bill (H. R. 273) to define the crimes of murder in the first and second degree, and manslaughter, and providing punishment thereof, and to abolish the punishment of death—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 274) for the retirement of certain officers of the Navy—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 275) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to fix and limit the compensation of collectors of customs and surveyors of customs, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 276) to increase the pension of the totally blind—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 277) to provide for the relief of certain officers and enlisted men of the volunteer forces—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. COVERT: A bill (H. R. 278) for the establishment of a light-house at Orient Point, on the coast of Long Island, New York—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. VAN VOORHIS of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 279) to provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Zanesville, Ohio—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. COVERT: A bill (H. R. 280) for the establishment of a buoy light at or in the vicinity of Shagwong Reef, Long Island, New York—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MONEY: A bill (H. R. 281) to refund to the producers of cotton the internal-revenue tax collected thereon—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McKAIG: A bill (H. R. 282) to increase the rate of pension for certain cases of deafness—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions

By Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 283) for the erection of a public building at Paris, Ky.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. FLYNN: A bill (H. R. 284) for the relief of those settlers who made homestead entry of less than 160 acres of land in Oklahoma Territory—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. FITHIAN: A bill (H. R. 285) for the free admission to American registry of ships built in foreign countries—to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. BELTZHOOVER: A bill (H. R. 286) to authorize the payment of damages sustained by citizens of the State of Pennsylvania from Union and Confederate troops during the late war, as adjudicated and liquidated by the State of Pennsylvania under the provision of an act of the General Assembly of the said State of Pennsylvania approved the 22d day of May, A. D. 1871—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. ENLOE: A bill (H. R. 287) to authorize the Secretary of War to cause to be investigated and to provide for the payment of all claims for the use and occupation of church and school buildings and grounds for Government purposes by the United States military authorities during the late war and all claims for damages resulting from the appropriation to Government use of any of the furnishings or materials in said class of buildings—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. FLYNN: A bill (H. R. 288) to provide for three additional associate justices of the supreme court of the Territory of Oklahoma, and for other purposes—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAINER: A bill (H. R. 289) for the free coinage of domestic silver, the issue of certificates thereon, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. MONEY: A bill (H. R. 290) to repeal all statutes relating to supervisors of elections and special deputies—to the Committee on Election of President and Vice-President and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. SNODGRASS: A bill (H. R. 291) authorizing the construction of a bridge over the Tennessee River at Chattanooga, Tenn.—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 292) making it a misdemeanor for any association doing business under the national-banking laws of the United States to charge or take an illegal rate of interest and to confer upon the States and Territories concurrent jurisdiction with the United States—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, a bill (H. R. 293) to make the bonds of the United States payable in any currency of the United States that is a legal tender for any debt or purpose—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 294) to secure uniform and equalization of taxation and impose an income and direct tax—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 295) providing that the pension of all pensioners who are inmates of a soldiers' home shall cease so long as they shall remain inmates of such homes—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 296) directing the establishment of a branch of the Soldiers' Home on the Chickamauga and Chattanooga Military Park—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HILBORN: A bill (H. R. 297) to authorize a retired list for enlisted men and appointed petty officers of the United States Navy—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ARNOLD: A bill (H. R. 298) making an appropriation for the building and construction of a bridge over the North Fork of White River, in Ozark County, Mo.—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. CURTIS of Kansas: A bill (H. R. 299) to extend the time for the construction of the railway of the Choctaw Coal and Railway Company, and to confer additional powers upon said company—to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. HARTMAN: A bill (H. R. 300) to provide for the construction of a public building at Butte City, Montana—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 301) to provide for the construction of a public building at Missoula, Mont.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 302) to provide for the construction of a public building at Helena, Mont.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 303) to provide for the construction of a public building at Miles City, Mont.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 304) to provide for the construction of a public building at Great Falls, Mont.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. GEARY: A bill (H. R. 305) to provide for the foreclosure of the mortgage on the Union and Central Pacific Railroads, and for other purposes connected therewith—to the Committee on the Pacific Railroads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 306) to reenact sections 42, 43, 44, 45, and 46 of the tariff act of June 10, 1890—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 307) providing for import duties—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 308) providing for naval training station on Pacific coast—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 309) providing for the transfer of brandy in bond—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 310) providing for drawback on bottles, corks, etc.—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 311) providing for the reduction to original proof—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 312) providing for the right to blend brandy in bond—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 313) providing for an indefinite bonding period—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 314) providing for the right to bottle spirits in bond—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 315) to admit coal and iron ore free of duty into the United States—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 316) fixing tariff on imported wines, etc.—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 317) for a public building at Santa Rosa, Cal.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 318) for a public building at Eureka, Cal.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. PICKLER: A bill (H. R. 319) providing for the payment of damages to settlers upon the Crow Creek and Winnebago Indian Reservation, in the State of South Dakota—to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 320) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Deadwood, in the State of South Dakota—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 321) granting to the State of South Dakota 5 per centum of the net sales of public lands in that State—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 322) to provide for the appointment of Indian agents—to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 323) providing that no pension shall be stopped or suspended until after full hearing and final determination by the Secretary of the Interior—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 324) to amend section 1754 of the Revised Statutes giving preference to the soldiers for civil offices—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, a bill (H. R. 325) providing that no person upon the pension rolls shall receive less than $6 per month as such pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 326) to expedite the prosecution of pension and other claims arising out of the military and naval service of the United States of America—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 327) granting a service pension to persons serving in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the war of 1861 to 1865, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 328) to establish a military post at or near the city of Pierre, Hughes County, in the State of South Dakota—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WARNER: A bill (H. R. 329) for the relief of certain officers of the Navy—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 330) to authorize a retired list for enlisted men, appointed petty officers, and pay clerks of the United States Navy who have served for a period of thirty years or upwards—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 331) to reduce taxation and to readjust on a revenue basis the duties to be levied on imports—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BELTZHOOVER: A bill (H. R. 332) to provide for the coinage of standard silver dollars and to maintain their parity with the gold dollars of the United States—to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

Also, a bill (H. R. 333) to establish a limited post and telegraph service, and for other purposes—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. DE FOREST: A bill (H. R. 334) making the first Monday of September, otherwise called Labor Day, a national holiday—to the Committee on Labor.

Also, a bill (H. R. 335) to provide for the acquisition of additional land and the erection of an addition to the custom-house, post-office, etc., building at Bridgeport, Conn.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. McKAIG: A bill (H. R. 336) to incorporate the Washington, Burnt Mills and Sandy Spring Railway Company—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. JOSEPH: A bill (H. R. 337) for the erection of a public building at Las Vegas, N. Mex.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. SIMPSON: A bill (H. R. 338) for the relief of certain settlers within what was formerly the Fort Dodge military reservation, in Ford County, Kans., and to confirm entries of public lands erroneously allowed thereon—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 339) to repeal the portions of section 14 of an act approved February 12, 1873, which made the gold dollar the unit of value—to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. CURTIS of Kansas: A bill (H. R. 340) to authorize the construction and maintenance of a dam or dams across the Kansas River, within Shawnee County, in the State of Kansas—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. WOLVERTON: A bill (H. R. 341) to amend section 1014 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to offenders against the United States—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 342) to amend section 847 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to commissioners' fees—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 343) to amend section 833 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to semiannual returns of fees by district attorneys, marshals, and clerks—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 344) to amend section 828 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to clerks' fees—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CLARK of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 345) to provide for an income tax—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BAKER of New Hampshire: A bill (H. R. 346) relating to jurisdictional questions between the State and Federal courts—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 347) to provide for the adjudication and payment of the claim of the State of New Hampshire for reimbursement of the national bounties advanced and paid for the United States by said State upon the authority of the Secretary of War—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 348) for the construction of a memorial bridge from the Naval Observatory grounds to the Arlington National Cemetery—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 349) for the erection of a monument and statue of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant in the city of Washington, D. C.—to the Committee on the Library.

Also, a bill (H. R. 350) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Nashua, in the State of New Hampshire—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 351) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Keene, in the State of New Hampshire—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. RAWLINS: A bill (H. R. 352) to enable the people of Utah to form a constitution and State government and to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States—to the Committee on the Territories.

By Mr. JOSEPH: A bill (H. R. 353) to enable the people of New Mexico to form a constitution and State government and to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States—to the Committee on the Territories.

Also, a bill (H. R. 354) to establish a military post at or near the city of Santa Fe, in the county of Santa Fe, in the Territory of New Mexico—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 355) to establish an additional land office in the Territory of New Mexico—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 356) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to reserve from sale certain land in the abandoned Fort Cummings military reservation, and for other purposes—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 357) to aid the Territory of New Mexico to support a school of mines—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 358) for the repayment of purchase money in certain cases—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 359) for the erection of a public building at Albuquerque, N. Mex.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 360) to provide for the reclamation of arid lands in certain States and Territories—to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 361) to amend chapter 340, United States Statutes at Large, volume 24, Forty-ninth Congress, and to promote and encourage mining and the construction of railroads—to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

Also, a bill (H. R. 362) granting lands to the Territory of New Mexico for common school, university, and other purposes—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. JOSEPH: A bill (H. R. 363) for the relief of actual settlers on the Navajo Reservation addition—to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. HINES: A bill (H. R. 364) for the purchase of ground and the erection of a public building at Wilkesbarre, Pa.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. CARUTH: A bill (H. R. 365) establishing a subtreasury at Louisville, Ky.—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 366) providing for the sale of the old custom-house and lot connected therewith in the city of Louisville, Ky.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 367) to amend section 993 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to the District of Co-

lumbia so as to make the 2d day of April a holiday within said District—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, a bill (H. R. 368) providing for the purchase of the portrait of Gen. George H. Thomas, painted by Gen. S. W. Price—to the Committee on the Library.

Also, a bill (H. R. 369) to amend section 3868 of the Revised Statutes of the United States—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 370) to amend section 3904, chapter 4, title 46 of the Revised Statutes of the United States—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 371) supplementary to the several acts relating to pensions—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TYLER: A bill (H. R. 372) authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Navy to contract for the purchase of a lot of land opposite to the Gosport navy-yard—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 373) to provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Portsmouth, in the State of Virginia—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 374) for the erection of a public building for the use of the custom-house and post-office at Newport News, in the district of Newport News, Va.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 375) providing for the building of a road to the national cemetery at Yorktown—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GRESHAM: A bill (H. R. 376) to create the southern judicial district of the State of Texas, and to fix the times and places of holding courts in said district and in the eastern and western judicial districts of said State—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COVERT: A bill (H. R. 377) for the application of the accretions of the Caracas awards of 1868 to the new awards made in 1889 and 1890—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ARNOLD: A bill (H. R. 378) to tax incomes—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WEADOCK: A bill (H. R. 379) to provide for the division of the eastern district of Michigan into the northern and southern divisions, and for holding the circuit and district courts of the United States therein, and for other purposes—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 380) for the erection of a public building at Alpena, Mich.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 381) to impose duties on lumber, wood pulp, and other articles in case any foreign country shall impose any export duties on the material from which they are made—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DOLLIVER: A bill (H. R. 382) to indemnify the settlers on the so-called Des Moines River lands, in the State of Iowa—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. COX: A bill (H. R. 383) to repeal the tax on State bank circulation—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. TALBERT of South Carolina: A bill (H. R. 384) for the enlargement of the volume of currency and the distribution of the same—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. COVERT: A bill (H. R. 385) to incorporate the National Historical Society—to the Committee on the Library.

Also, a bill (H. R. 386) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to appoint commissioners to estimate damages done to planted oysters and oyster beds in Raritan Bay and adjoining waters in New York and New Jersey, and to make compensation therefor—to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 387) to authorize the construction of a life-saving service at or near East Marion, Long Island, N. Y., and making an appropriation therefor—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 388) to adjust the pensions of those who have lost limbs—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also (by request), a bill (H. R. 389) to establish the United States University in the District of Columbia—to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. DOOLITTLE: A bill (H. R. 390) to provide for the construction of a public building at Tacoma, Wash.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. BAILEY: A bill (H. R. 391) to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 392) to increase the currency and to provide for the redemption thereof, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, a bill (H. R. 393) to regulate pensions, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PIGOTT: A bill (H. R. 394) for the erection of a public building at Waterbury, Conn.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. DOOLITTLE: A bill (H. R. 395) to remove the restrictions upon the disposition of the lands within the Puyallup Indian Reservation, Washington—to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. ALDERSON: A bill (H. R. 396) to repeal the act approved January 16, 1883, entitled "An act to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States" and all other acts relating to the same subject, and to provide for departmental examinations—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. McGANN: A bill (H. R. 397) to provide for the erection of a Government building at Chicago, Ill.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 398) to limit the regulations of commerce between the several States and with foreign nations in certain cases—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ROBBINS: A bill (H. R. 399) for the total repeal of the internal-revenue laws—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 400) to repeal sections 2002 to 2031, both inclusive, of the Revised Statutes of the United States—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LOUDENSLAGER: A bill (H. R. 401) to increase the limit of cost for the erection of a public building in Camden, N. J.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr CLARKE of Alabama: A bill (H. R. 402) to provide for the free collection and delivery of mails in rural districts—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. WILSON of Washington: A bill (H. R. 403) providing for the erection of a public building at the city of Seattle, in the State of Washington—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 404) providing for the erection of a public building at the city of Spokane, in the State of Washington—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 405) to provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Walla Walla, Wash.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. ALEXANDER: A bill (H. R. 406) to facilitate exchanges through the United States mail—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. McKAIG: A bill (H. R. 407) to provide for the establishment of a producers' wholesale and retail market in the city of Washington, D. C.—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, a bill (H. R. 408) to refund to corporate authorities of Frederick City, Md., the sum of $200,000, exacted of them by the Confederate army under Gen. Jubal Early, ——, 1864, under penalty of burning said city—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. MALLORY: A bill (H. R. 409) to amend section 4141 of the Revised Statutes of the United States—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 410) to amend section 627 of the Revised Statutes of the United States—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 411) to require steam vessels of the United States of 1,000 tons or more to have one engineer and helper on watch in their engine rooms while under way and to require all steam vessels of the United States continuously under steam for more than ten hours to carry two licensed engineers—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 412) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to appoint special agents to note and report to the local inspectors of each steamboat-inspection district all violations of the laws relating to the regulation of steam vessels—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HEARD: A joint resolution (H. Res. 8) to provide for the settlement of the claims of the officers and enlisted men of the various militia organizations of the State of Missouri for horses and equipments lost while engaged in the military service of the United States—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a joint resolution (H. Res. 9) in regard to the export trade in cattle—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee: Joint resolution (H. Res. 10) making available the sum of $250,000, appropriated in 1890 and suspended in 1891, to provide accommodation for the Government Printing Office—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a joint resolution (H. Res. 11) authorizing John C. Sanders, administrator of B. Lillard, deceased, of Tennessee, to present his claim to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a joint resolution (H. Res. 12) authorizing Musadora, Victoria, Ella, and Frank Wassen, of Tennessee, to present their claim to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BRYAN: A joint resolution (H. Res. 13) proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people of the sev-

eral States whenever they shall make provisions for the same by statute or constitution—to the Committee on Election of President and Vice-President and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. BRICKNER: A joint resolution (H. Res. 14) authorizing the State of Wisconsin to place in Statuary Aall at the Capitol the statue of Pere Marquette—to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. McLAURIN: A joint resolution (H. Res. 15) authorizing the issuing of $125,000,000 of Treasury notes under the acts of 1862 and 1863—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky: A joint resolution (H. Res. 16) authorizing the publication of a history and digest of the international arbitrations to which the United States was a party—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HAYES: A joint resolution (H. Res. 17) proposing an amendment to the Constitution in relation to pensions, pay, and emoluments to and on account of soldiers and sailors—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MARTIN: A joint resolution (H. Res. 18) looking to settlement of international disputes by peaceful means—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a joint resolution (H. Res. 19) to amend Constitution of the United States as to election of United States Senators—to the Committee on Election of President and Vice-President and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. TUCKER: A joint resolution (H. Res. 20) proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing that Senators shall be elected by the people of the several States—to the Committee on Election of President and Vice-President and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. FUNSTON: A joint resolution (H. Res. 21) to print bill in equity in case of the United States *vs.* Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad Company *et al.*—to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. DURBOROW (by request): A joint resolution (H. Res. 22) to amend the act approved April 25, 1890, relating to the admission of articles intended for the World's Columbian Exposition—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BELTZHOOVER: A joint resolution (H. Res. 23) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States in relation to the election of President and Vice-President—to the Committee on Election of President and Vice-President and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. JOSEPH: A joint resolution (H. Res. 24) to provide for the equitable distribution of the water of the Rio Grande River—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky: A joint resolution (H. Res. 25) authorizing the appointment of a commission to inquire into and report on the relative value of gold and silver, and the effect thereof upon finance, trade, commerce, agriculture, and labor, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. COVERT: A joint resolution (H. Res. 26) calling on the President to take such measures as he may deem necessary to consummate the agreement between the Governments of Spain and the United States for the relief of Antonio Maximo Mora, a naturalized citizen of the United States—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ALDERSON: A joint resolution (H. Res. 27) providing for the printing of additional copies of the Special Report on Diseases of the Horse—to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee: A concurrent resolution to print the fourteenth annual report of the Director of the Geological Survey—to the Committee on Printing.

Also, a concurrent resolution to print thirteenth annual report of Director of the Bureau of Ethnology—to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. GEARY: Resolution calling upon the Secretary of the Treasury and Attorney-General for certain information regarding the amount of money necessary to enforce the Chinese exclusion act—to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa: A resolution for appointment of E. L. Currier and George Jenison as special messengers—to the Committee on Accounts.

Also, resolution of Republican caucus asking for the appointment of E. L. Currier and George Jenison as special messengers—to the Committee on Accounts.

PRIVATE BILLS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills of the following titles were presented and referred as indicated below:

By Mr. ALDERSON: A bill (H. R. 413) granting a pension to Andrew Brown—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 414) granting an increase of pension to Isaac W. Clinger—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also (by request), a bill (H. R. 415) to submit to the Court of Private Land Claims, established by an act of Congress approved March 3, 1891, the title of William McGarrahan to the Rancho Panoche Grande, in the State of California, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Private Land Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 416) to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Henry T. Woody—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 417) granting a pension to James A. Matheney—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ALEXANDER: A bill (H. R. 418) for relief of Thomas McBryde, of Robeson County, N. C.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. ALLEN: A bill (H. R. 419) for the relief of Mrs. Mollie A. Smith, of Tishomingo County, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 420) for relief of Shelby Newman, of Alcorn County, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 421) for relief of estate of Francis Whitfield—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 422) for the relief of the estate of James Roach, deceased, of Hinds County, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 423) for the relief of F. S. Casper—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 424) for relief of the trustees of Cumberland Presbyterian Church, of Corinth, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 425) for relief of Isabella Rowsey, of Alcorn County, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 426) for relief of Thomas P. Young, of Alcorn County, Miss.—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 427) for relief of the trustees of the Baptist Church, of Corinth, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. APSLEY: A bill (H. R. 428) to remove the charge of desertion against Levi E. Ferrin—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ALDERSON: A bill (H. R. 429) granting a pension to Harvey Geyer—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 430) granting a pension to Adam Radabaugh—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 431) for relief of J. B. Johnson, of Paint Creek, W. Va.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 432) for relief of W. T. Appling—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 433) granting a pension to Amaryllis Young, mother of Asa B. Young—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 434) granting a pension to Harvey and Mary Ann Walls—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 435) for relief of Dr. Mat Wallace—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 436) for relief of G. W. Ratcliff—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 437) granting a pension to Marshall Cottrell—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 438) granting a pension to A. M. Jarrett—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BANKHEAD: A bill (H. R. 439) for relief of Alfred B. Chum, of Jefferson County, Ala.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 440) for relief of the estate of Rev. Edward McManes, deceased, of Jefferson County, Ala.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BAKER of New Hampshire: A bill (H. R. 441) for relief of Walter W. Vezeay—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 442) for relief of Francis L. Abbot, administrator—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BELL of Texas: A bill (H. R. 443) for relief of John F. Byars, of Brown County, Tex.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BLANCHARD: A bill (H. R. 444) for relief of Thomas Kergon, of Rapides Parish, La.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also (by request), a bill (H. R. 445) for relief of Jacob A. Wolfson—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 446) for relief of Emily Dietrich, Mary T. Hickman, and Ernestine Lemee, of Grant Parish, La.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 447) for relief of estate of Joseph Martin—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also (by request), a bill (H. R. 448) for relief of the estate of Jean Delille, late of Winn Parish, La.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BOWERS of California (by request): A bill (H. R. 449) for the relief of Mrs. Sarah Elizabeth Holroyd, widow and administratrix of the estate of John Holroyd, deceased—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 450) to restore William A. Winder to the United States Army and to place him on the retired list with the rank of captain of artillery—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 451) to remove the charge of desertion against William Britton—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 452) for relief of Henry H. Burton, administrator—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 453) for relief of Emily Murdock, administratrix—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 454) granting a pension to Benjamin F. Howland—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 455) for the relief of Jonathan J. Warner—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 456) granting a pension to Benjamin F. Howland—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BOATNER: A bill (H. R. 457) for the relief of Joseph Cordill—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 458) for the relief of Mrs. Ann Sheely, of Concordia Parish, La.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 459) for relief of the estate of R. M. Scanlon—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 460) for the relief of estate of Patrick Gilfoil—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 461) for the relief of Fannie Solari—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 462) for the relief of Mary A. Dennis, formerly McFarland—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 463) for the relief of Eugenia and W. B. Duffy and John Elzy—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also (by request), a bill (H. R. 464) for the relief of Mrs. Emma L. Andrus, of St. Landry Parish, La.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 465) for the relief of the estate of Mrs. Mary Morgan, late of Carroll Parish, La.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 466) for relief of A. A. Harvey, guardian, of Washington Parish, La., as found due by the Court of Claims under the act of March 3, 1883—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 467) for the relief of the heirs of Robert M. Browning, deceased, late of Claiborne Parish, La.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 468) for relief of Luke Madden, administrator of Patrick Madden, deceased, of Madison Parish, La., as found due by the Court of Claims under the act of March 3, 1883—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 469) for the relief of the estate of Samuel Richardson, deceased, late of East Carroll Parish, La.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 470) for the relief of the estate of J. S. Douglass, deceased, late of Tensas Parish, La.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Arkansas: A bill (H. R. 471) for the relief of Mrs. Elizabeth L. Traweek, of Sebastian, Ark.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 472) for the relief of James A. Mitchell, of Sebastian County, Ark.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 473) for the relief of Abner D. Lewis, of Pope County, Ark.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 474) for the relief of J. S. Murrell, of Monroe County, Ark.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 475) for the relief of L. G. Bowers, of Monroe County, Ark.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 476) for the relief of the Pine Bluff Baptist Church, of Jefferson County, Ark.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 477) for the relief of J. S. Siddall, of White County, Ark.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 478) to erect a monument to Zachary Taylor—to the Committee on Library.

Also, a bill (H. R. 479) to relieve W. H. Cohorn from the charge of desertion—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 480) for the relief of Eliza Bowman Major Reid, of Kentucky—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 481) for the relief of Sarah K. T. Baker, of Lexington, Ky.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 482) for the relief of Leo L. Johnson—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 483) to increase the pension of Maj. Andrew S. Bloom—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 484) for the relief of D. W. Price—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 485) for the relief of Oldham County, Ky.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 486) for the benefit of James M. Speer and others—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BRYAN: A bill (H. R. 487) to pension Ambrose G. Davis—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 488) to correct the military record of L. H. Burnwood—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 489) for relief of H. S. Jenkins—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 490) for the relief of John M. Burks—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BELDEN: A bill (H. R. 491) for the relief of J. J. Lints—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BRANCH: A bill (H. R. 492) for the relief of the Primitive Baptist Church, at Newport, N. C.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 493) for relief of the heirs of John D. Priddy—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 494) for the relief of the representative of John G. Blount—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 495) for the relief of Josiah L. Bell—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 496) granting a pension to Ann L. Alexander—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 497) for the relief of O. F. Adams—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 498) for the relief of the Methodist Church of Morehead City, at Morehead City, Carteret County, N. C.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 499) for the relief of John J. Tolson, administrator of Kilby Tolson—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 500) for the relief of L. T. Oglesby—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 501) for the relief of E. W. Pelliter—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 502) for the relief of Zaddock Meadors—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 503) for the relief of T. W. Knight, administrator of R. B. Knight—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 504) for the relief of H. C. Nixon, of Chowan County, N. C.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BRAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 505) to reimburse George C. Tanner, late consul, the sum of $200 paid by him for rent of rooms—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 506) for the relief of James B. McElhose—to Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BRANCH: A bill (H. R. 507) for the relief of J. E. Merriam—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 508) for the relief of Mary E. Hughes, heir of D. L. Pritchard, deceased, late of Camden County, N. C.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Mr. BUNN: A bill (H. R. 509) for the relief of F. Y. Ramsey, the heir at law and distributee of Joseph Ramsey—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 510) for the relief of the estate of Vasti Smith, deceased, of Wake County, N. C.—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 511) for the relief of James Bigler—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 512) for the relief of Thomas R. Debnam, of Raleigh, N. C.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 513) for the relief of the estate of Franklin A. Davis, late of Orange County, N. C.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 514) for relief of Anna S. Rawls, of Durham, N. C.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 515) for the relief of the estate of Franklin Alexander Davis, of Alamance County, N. C.—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 516) for the relief of Mrs. Fannie E. Gardner—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 517) for the relief of H. D. Coley, of Wake County, N. C.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 518) for the relief of Mrs. Margaret D. Young, of Highlands, N. C.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 519) for the relief of Fanny Gordon nee Fanny Kelly—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 520) directing the issue of duplicate United States bonds to Mrs. Victor Thunot—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 521) for the relief of W. Dallas Haywood, Raleigh, N. C.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 522) for the relief of Benjamin Alford—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BRATTAN: A bill (H. R. 523) for the relief of the heirs of Henry Leef, deceased, owner of the bark Mary Teresa,

illegally seized by Alexander H. Tyler, consul of the United States at Bahia, Brazil—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CARUTH: A bill (H. R. 524) for the relief of Benjamin F. Alford—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 525) for the relief of the estate of Michael Fillion, deceased—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 526) for the relief of Joseph Haxthausen—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 527) for the relief of Alexander M. Mackey—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 528) for the relief of Samuel McKee—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 529) for the relief of W. J. Tapp & Co.—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 530) for the relief of Thierman & Frost—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 531) for the relief of the legal representatives of Thomas L. Alexander—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 532) for the relief of George Lewis Cousens—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 533) for the relief of Mrs. Mary T. Duncan—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 534) for the relief of Hamilton T. Figg—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 535) for the relief of Elizabeth A. Forman—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 536) for the relief of G. Dwight Hamilton—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 537) for the relief of R. W. Hawkins, of Jefferson County, Ky.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 538) for the relief of the estate of Elizabeth A. Hoffler, deceased—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 539) for the relief of the estates of W. C. Hollis and George Hollis—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 540) for the relief of Patrick Hyland—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 541) for the relief of Caleb Maratta—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 542) for the relief of Mrs. Frances Marshall—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 543) for the relief of John W. Neville—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 544) for the relief of Mrs. Emily Oldham—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 545) for the relief of Mary L. Piatt—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 546) for the relief of Henry S. Saunders—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 547) for the relief of Frank Speckart—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 548) for the relief of Adelia B. Stewart—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 549) for the relief of K. P. Thixton—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 550) for the relief of Capt. I. B. Webster, of Louisville, Ky.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 551) for the relief of Joseph Werner—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 552) granting a pension to Michael O'Bryan—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 553) for the relief of John H. Brunning, afflicted son of John G. Brunning, late a member of Company I, Twenty-eighth Kentucky Infantry—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 554) granting a pension to Mike McCarty, afflicted son of Dennis McCarty, late a lieutenant of Company H, Seventh Kentucky Cavalry—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 555) granting a pension to John J. Tully—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 556) granting a pension to Milton C. Tully—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 557) for the relief of D. C. Buford—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 558) for the relief of Don Carlos Buell—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 559) for the relief of John D. Lanahan, late first lieutenant of Company G, Fifteenth Regiment Kentucky Volunteers—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 560) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Caroline Tranernicht—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CATCHINGS: A bill (H. R. 561) for the relief of John and Sarah Griffin—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. CAPEHART: A bill (H. R. 562) for the relief of Marlin Parks—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 563) for the relief of the late A. S. Core—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 564) for the relief of Daniel Roush—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 565) for the relief of A. D. Hodam—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 566) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Robert E. Morrow—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 567) for the relief of Israel B. Smith—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 568) granting a pension to J. J. C. Slaughter—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 569) for the relief of William R. Hawkins—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 570) granting a pension to Allan C. Vickars—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 571) for the relief of the estate of George W. Surbaugh—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 572) for the relief of Mathew Tate—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 573) for the relief of David P. Roush—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 574) for the relief of F. F. Morris—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 575) granting a pension to Charity Ann Smith—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 576) for the relief of Hatcher and Hiram Short—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 577) for the relief of Delatus Kent—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 578) for the relief of William Price, late lieutenant-colonel of the One hundred and thirty-ninth Regiment of the Virginia Militia—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 579) for the relief of William H. C. McCune—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 580) for the relief of William Large—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 581) for the relief of Thomas Matheny—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 582) for the relief of the Methodist Church, of Point Pleasant, W. Va.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 583) to correct the record of George H. Williams—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. H. 584) for the relief of J. A. Starcher—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 585) for the relief of Samuel Roush—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 586) for the relief of Anthony McCale, late Company A, One hundred and eighty-seventh West Virginia Militia—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 587) to correct the record of George W. Taggart—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 588) to pay John Foster, of Elizabeth, W. Va., for ferrying United States soldiers during the late war—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. CABANISS: A bill (H. R. 589) for the relief of Eli Frasuer, of Wilkinson County, Ga.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. CADMUS: A bill (H. R. 590) for the relief of Stewart Taylor, administrator—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. DINSMORE: A bill (H. R. 591) for the relief of John J. Govan—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also (by request), a bill (H. R. 592) for the relief of Martha A. Lanford—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 593) for relief of Mary F. Pollan, administratrix of William H. Pollan, deceased, late of Crittenden County, Ark.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 594) for the relief of Mary E. Whitehead—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 595) for the relief of the estate of Richard Higgins, late of Phillips County, Ark.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 596) for the relief of S. N. Caughey, of Chicot County, Ark.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. CATCHINGS: A bill (H. R. 597) for the relief of the estate of Edward B. Willis, deceased, of Warren County, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 598) for the relief of W. A. Hopper, administrator of David Hopper, deceased, of Warren County, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 599) for the relief of William Whittaker, of Warren County, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 600) for the relief of Margaret Summer, of Washington County, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.